

HITTITE LOCAL CULTS



Writings from the Ancient World Series

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Number 40

HITTITE LOCAL CULTS

by Michele Cammarosano

SBL Press
Atlanta

HITTITE LOCAL CULTS

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ISBN 978-1-628372-15-1 (paper); 978-0-884143-13-0 (cloth); 978-0-884143-14-7 (ebook)

Cataloging-in-Publication Data on file with the Library of Congress



Printed on acid-free paper.

*Tutto nel mondo è burla.
L'uom è nato burlone,
La fede in cor gli ciurla,
Gli ciurla la ragione.
Tutti gabbati! Irride
L'un l'altro ogni mortal.
Ma ride ben chi ride
La risata final.*

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SERIES EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Writings from the Ancient World is designed to provide up-to-date, readable English translations of writings recovered from the ancient Near East.

The series is intended to serve the interests of general readers, students, and educators who wish to explore the ancient Near Eastern roots of Western civilization or to compare these earliest written expressions of human thought and activity with writings from other parts of the world. It should also be useful to scholars in the humanities or social sciences who need clear, reliable translations of ancient Near Eastern materials for comparative purposes. Specialists in particular areas of the ancient Near East who need access to texts in the scripts and languages of other areas will also find these translations helpful. Given the wide range of materials translated in the series, different volumes will appeal to different interests. However, these translations make available to all readers of English the world's earliest traditions as well as valuable sources of information on daily life, history, religion, and the like in the preclassical world.

The translators of the various volumes in this series are specialists in the particular languages and have based their work on the original sources and the most recent research. In their translations they attempt to convey as much as possible of the original texts in fluent, current English. In the introductions, notes, glossaries, maps, and chronological tables, they aim to provide the essential information for an appreciation of these ancient documents.

Covering the period from the invention of writing (by 3000 BCE) down to the conquests of Alexander the Great (ca. 330 BCE), the ancient Near East comprised northeast Africa and southwest Asia. The cultures represented within these limits include especially Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Aramean, Phoenician, and Israelite. It is hoped that Writings from the Ancient World will eventually produce translations of most of the many different genres attested in these cultures: letters (official and private), myths, diplomatic documents, hymns, law collections, monumental inscriptions, tales, and administrative records, to mention but a few.

The Society of Biblical Literature provided significant funding for the Writings from the Ancient World series. In addition, authors have benefited from working in research collections in their respective institutions and beyond.

Were it not for such support, the arduous tasks of preparation, translation, editing, and publication could not have been accomplished or even undertaken. It is the hope of all who have worked on these texts or supported this work that Writings from the Ancient World will open up new horizons and deepen the humanity of all who read these volumes.

Theodore J. Lewis
The Johns Hopkins University

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book could not have been written without the help of a number of institutions and colleagues, and it is a great pleasure to thank them here. The D.Phil. thesis on which the book is based was written with the support of a doctoral scholarship of the University of Naples “L’Orientale” under the supervision of Stefano de Martino and Carlo Zaccagnini. Further research work was carried out at the Freie Universität Berlin thanks to a DAAD short-term grant supported by Jörg Klinger. Selected manuscripts could be collated, digitized, and studied in the frame of the projects “3D-Joins und Schriftmetrologie” (directed by Gerfrid Müller) and “Hethitische Festrituale” (directed by Elisabeth Rieken and Daniel Schwemer). The last stages of preparation were carried out in Würzburg in the frame of the DFG-funded project “Hittite Local Cults.”

I’m particularly grateful to Stefano de Martino, Elisabeth Rieken, and Daniel Schwemer for their constant advice and support during these years: their contribution to this study goes far beyond what can be explicitly acknowledged here. I also wish to express my gratitude to Theo van den Hout for serving as editor of the book and for fulfilling that role in such a wonderful way, as well as to Ted Lewis, Nicole Tilford, and the entire SBL Press staff for their invaluable aid during the production process. Special thanks are due to Billie Jean Collins for originally suggesting that this book may find a place within the SBL WAW series, and for her excellent contribution in the last stage of the manuscript preparation. Furthermore, I’m deeply indebted to Detlev Groddek and Craig Melchert for an extraordinary number of precious observations on an advanced draft of the manuscript; to Elisabeth Rieken for discussing with me linguistic aspects of the corpus and for allowing to present here editions of newly discovered tablets from Kayalıpınar; to James Burgin, David Sasseville, Karen Sonik, and Charles Steitler for so many fruitful discussions and for improving the style of sections of the manuscript; to Andreas Schachner for his steady support and many valuable suggestions; to Adam Kryszewski for sharing with me his collection of toponyms before publication. This study has greatly profited from Silvin Košak’s *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* and from Detlev Groddek’s *Liste der Sekundärliteratur zu Textstellen aus Boğazköy*, and I would like to thank both scholars for providing such excellent research tools. Several other colleagues

and friends generously provided advice and help, and I hope that they will accept these collective thanks.

Italians are famously attached to their mums, and I am no exception to this pattern. My own one, Simonetta Ortaggi, passed away at the age of 54 many years ago, but her smile is still alive in so many ways—this book is dedicated to her memory.

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person (morphological analysis)
abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
col.	column
coll.	collective
com.	common (gender)
dat.-loc.	dative-locative
DN	divine name
esp.	especially
ex.	example
gen.	genitive
GN	geographical name
IE	Indo-European
imp.	imperative
instr.	instrumental
iter.	iterative
l. col.	left column
l. e.	left edge
lit.	literally
lo. e.	lower edge
LNS	Late New Script
Luw.	Luwian
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
n.	note
neut.	neuter (gender)
NH	New Hittite
nom.	nominative

NS	New Hittite Script
OA	Old Assyrian
obv.	obverse
OH	Old Hittite
OS	Old Hittite Script
part.	participle
pers. comm.	personal communication
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
q.v.	quod vide
r. col.	right column
<i>Rek.</i>	<i>Rekonstruktion</i>
rev.	reverse
scil.	scilicet
sg.	singular
transl.	translation by
<i>vel sim.</i>	or the like

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
ABoT 1	Kemal Balkan. <i>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletleri</i> . Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1948
ABoT 2	Akdoğan, Rukiye. <i>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletleri II / Boğazköy Tablets in the Archaeological Museum of Ankara II</i> . CHDS 1. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AfOB	Archiv für Orientforschung, Beihefte
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>ArAn</i>	<i>Archivum Anatolicum = Anadolu Arşivleri</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies
<i>AuOr</i>	<i>Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo</i>
<i>Belleten</i>	<i>Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten</i>

BGH	Richter, Thomas. <i>Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BMECCJ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan
Bo	inventory numbers of the Boğazköy tablets
BoHa	Boğazköy-Hattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen
BoSt	Boghazköi-Studien
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Edited by Ignace J. Gelb [†] et al. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
CDOG	Colloquium der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHD	<i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Edited by Hans G. Güterbock [†] , Harry A. Hoffner [†] et al. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980–
CHDS 2	Soysal, Oğuz. <i>Unpublished Bo-Fragments in Transliteration I (Bo 9536–Bo 9736)</i> . Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CHLI	Hawkins, John David. <i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions</i> . Vol. 1: <i>Inscriptions of the Iron Age</i> . 3 vols. UISK 8.1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001
CLL	Melchert, H. Craig. <i>Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon</i> . Lexica Anatolica 2. Chapel Hill, NC, 1993
CollAn	<i>Colloquium Anatolicum</i>
COS	<i>The Context of Scripture</i> . Edited by William W. Hallo [†] and K. Lawson Younger Jr. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2016
CTH	Laroche, Emmanuel. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris: Klincksieck, 1971 (with supplements in <i>RHA</i> 30 [1972]: 94–133 and <i>RHA</i> 33 [1973]: 68–71; now extensively expanded and revised in the on-line <i>Catalog der Texte der Hethiter</i> of the <i>Hethitologie-Portal Mainz</i> : S. Košak and G. G. W. Müller, hethiter.net/: Catalog [2015-08-04], http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/)
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
EDHIL	Kloekhorst, Alwin. <i>Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon</i> . Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 5. Leiden: Brill, 2008
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FHG	Emmanuel Laroche, “Fragments hittites de Genève,” in <i>RA</i> 45 (1951): 131–138, 184–194; <i>RA</i> 46 (1952): 42–50

- FHL Durand, Jean-Marie, and Emmanuel Laroche. Fragments hittites du Louvre. Pages 73–107 in *Mémorial Atatürk: Études d'archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes*. Synthèse 10. Paris: A.D.P.F., 1982
- GrHL Hoffner, Harry A., and H. Craig Melchert. *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*. Part 1: *Reference Grammar*. Languages of the ancient Near East 1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008
- GrHL Addenda Melchert, H. Craig. Addenda et Corrigenda to Harry A. Hoffner Jr. and H. Craig Melchert, *Grammar of the Hittite Language* (GrHL). *Reference Grammar*, www.eisenbrauns.org/books/supplements/Addenda_Corrigenda_GrHL.pdf
- HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik
- HED Puhvel, Jaan. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Trends in Linguistics. Documentation. Berlin: de Gruyter; Amsterdam: Mouton, 1984– (volumes are referred to by the letter[s] covered in each)
- HEG Tischler, Johann. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. IBS 20. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 1977–2016 (volumes are referred to by the letter[s] covered in each)
- hethiter.net/: CTH ... : online text editions of the *Hethitologie-Portal* Mainz, <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/txthetlink.php>
- Hethitica *Hethitica* (subseries of *Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain*)
- HrwG *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*. Edited by Hubert Cancik, Burkhard Gladigow, and Karl-Heinz Kohl. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1988–2001
- HFAC Beckman, Gary M., and Harry A. Hoffner Jr. "Hittite Fragments in American Collections." *JCS* 37 (1985): 1–60
- HKM Alp, Sedat. *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991
- HS *Historische Sprachforschung* (continuation of *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*)
- HT King, Leonard W. *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 1920
- HW² *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. Zweite völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte. Edited by Johannes Friedrich[†], Annelies Kammenhuber[†] et al. Indogermanische Bibliothek, zweite Reihe: Wörterbücher. Heidelberg: Winter, 1975– (volumes are referred to by the letter covered in each)
- HZL Rüster, Christel, and Erich Neu. *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989

IBoT	İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri(nden seçme metinler). Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944, 1947, 1954; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
IM	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
JAC	<i>Journal of Ancient Civilizations</i>
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JCSSup	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series</i>
JIES	<i>Journal of Indo-European Studies</i>
JKF	<i>Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen</i> (1950–1953; 1954ff. = <i>Anadolu Araştırmaları</i>)
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916–1923; Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1954–
Konkordanz	Silvin Košak. <i>Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln</i> , Hethitologie-Portal Mainz. Online: http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/
Kp	inventory numbers of the tablets from Kayalıpınar
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> . Berlin: Akademie, 1921–1990
Kubaba	<i>Kubaba. Arkeoloji - Sanat Tarihi - Tarih Dergisi - İzmir</i>
KUBABA-SA	Collection KUBABA, Série Antiquité
KuSa	inventory numbers of the tablets from Kuşaklı–Sarissa
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
MesCiv	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> (Berlin)
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
MVAeG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i>
MZL	Borger, Rykle. <i>Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon</i> . AOAT 305. Münster 2003
NABU	<i>N.A.B.U. Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
OA	Oriens Antiquus
OAAS	Old Assyrian Archives, Studies (within PIHANS)
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>

<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia. Nova Series</i>
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul = Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul
Privat	Hittite tablets in private collections, numbering follows the <i>Konkordanz</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
<i>RHA</i>	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>
<i>RIL</i>	<i>Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere</i>
<i>RIA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> . Edited by Erich Ebeling et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–
RS	Inventory numbers of the tablets from Ras Shamra (Ugarit)
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians
SCO	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
<i>Sprache</i>	<i>Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft</i>
StAs	Studia Asiana
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
StBoTB	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beihefte
StMed	Studia Mediterranea
StPohl	Studia Pohl
TCL	Textes Cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
<i>TIES</i>	<i>Tocharian and Indo-European Studies</i>
TTKYayın	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TUAT NF	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge
TVOa	Testi del Vicino Oriente antico
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit Forschungen</i>
UISK	Untersuchung zur Indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft
VBoT	<i>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte</i> . Edited by Albrecht Götze. Marburg: Selbst-verlag des Herausgebers, 1930
<i>VO</i>	<i>Vicino Oriente</i>
VSNF	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Neue Folge
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
YH	Inventory numbers of the tablets from Yassihüyük

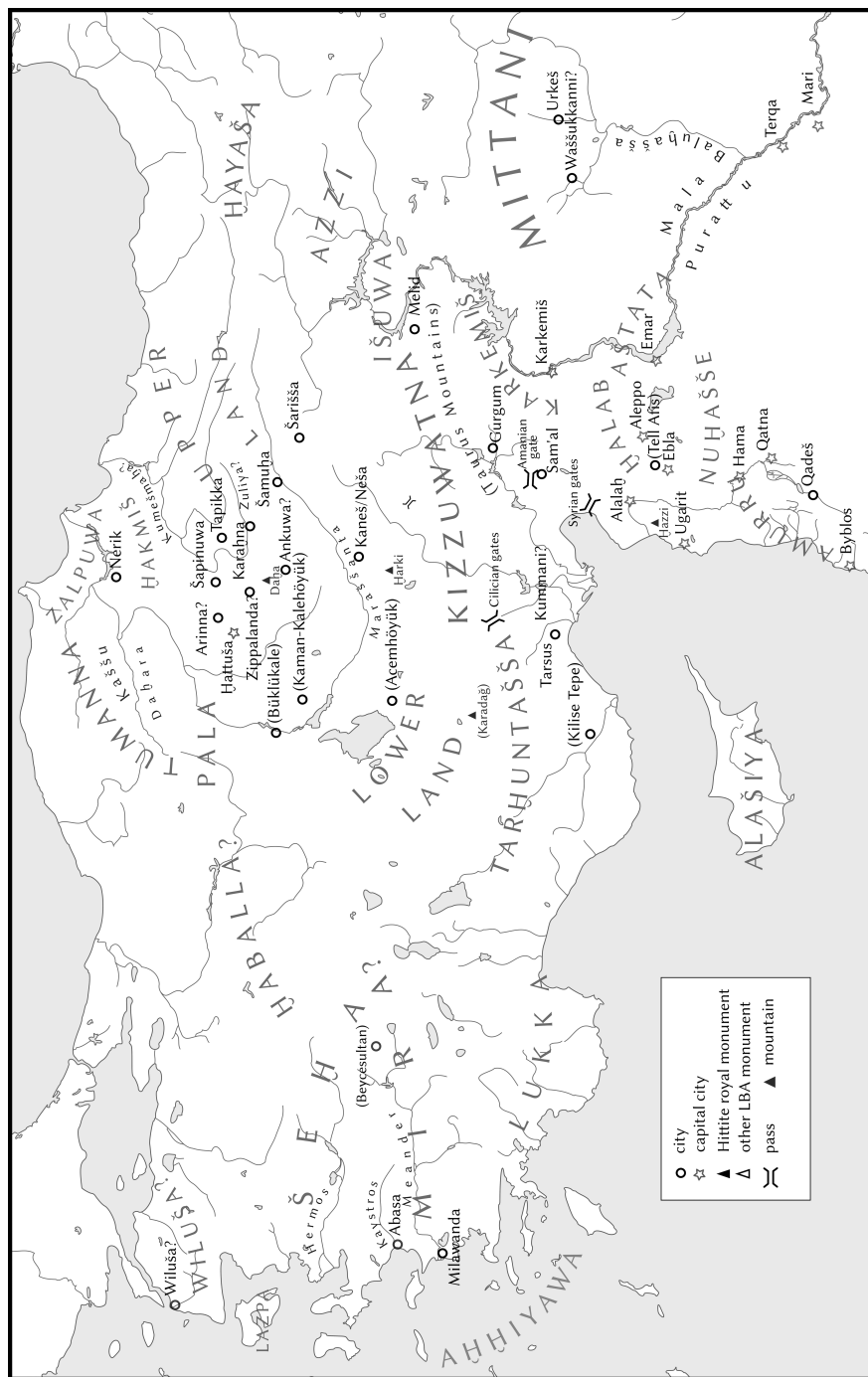
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Verwandte Gebiete</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZVS	<i>Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft (Kuhns Zeitschrift)</i>

SIGNS AND CONVENTIONS

[]	reconstructed text
[...]	gap of indeterminate length
* *	sign(s) written over erasure
{ }	erased sign(s) to be deleted from the text
šu'	nonstandard or emended sign (against unidentifiable sign on tablet)
šu'(ma)	emended sign (against identifiable sign on tablet)
?	reading/restoration of sign uncertain
(?)	reading/restoration of signs/word/phrase uncertain
┐	partially broken signs
< >	supplied signs
{ }	removed signs
sic	marks a discrepancy with the hand copy; collated on photograph or on the original
↖ ↗	so-called Glossenkeil(e), indicate a word of foreign (most often Luwian) origin
DUG <u>har-ši</u>	portion of text recovered from copy or photo, no longer preserved on the tablet
//	parallel text
n, n	numeral
x	illegible sign (transliteration)
+	fragments join directly; after reference to a single fragment, join(s) with other fragment(s) (not listed)
(+)	indirect join
§	chapter, paragraph; paragraph line (transliteration)
/.../	phonetic analysis
=	separates morphological elements within words
	italic text in translations indicates uncertain meanings or restorations

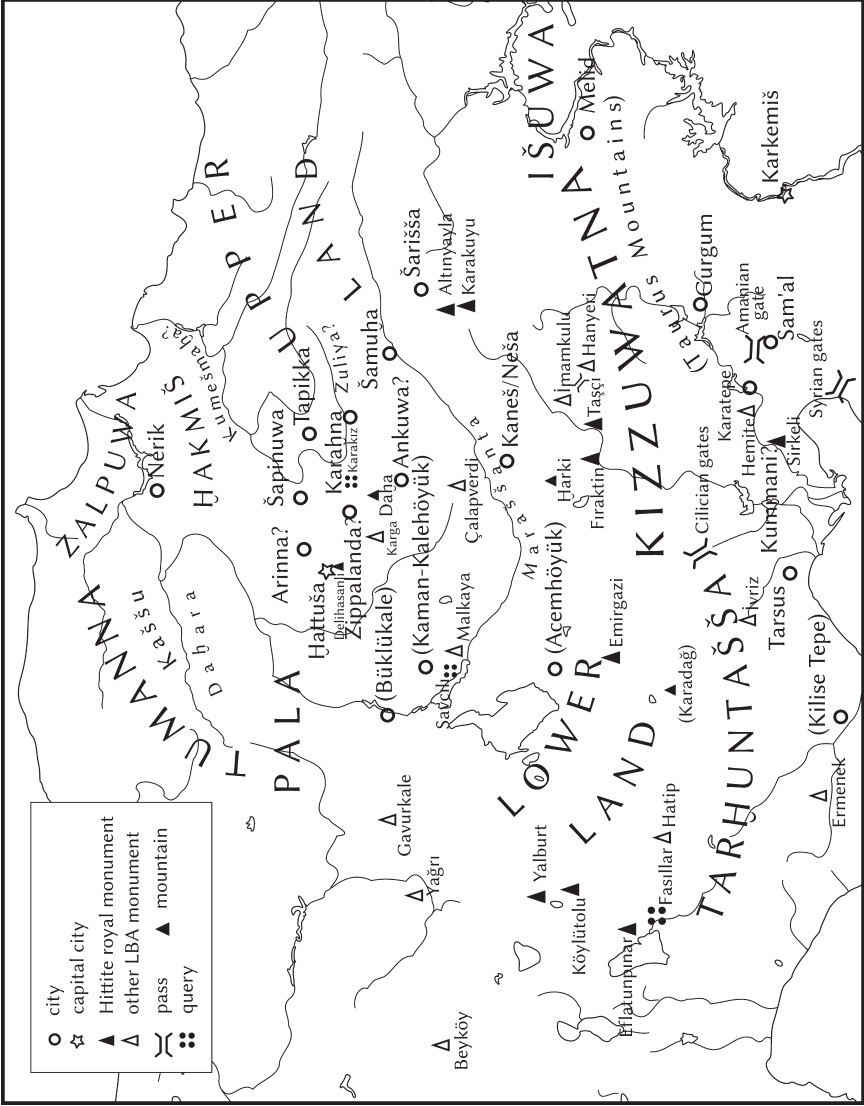
CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

Approximate Date (BCE)		Hittite Kings	Synchronisms with Egypt	Synchronisms with Assyria
1550	OLD KINGDOM	Ḫattušili I		
		Muršili I		
		Ḫantili I		
		Zidanta I		
1500		Telipinu		
		Alluwamna		
		Ḫantili II		
1450		Zidanta II		
		Ḫuzziya II		
		Muwattalli I		
1400	EARLY NEW KINGDOM	Tutḫaliya I	Thutmose III	
		Arnuwanda I		
		Tutḫaliya II(I)	Amenhotep III	
1350	EMPIRE PERIOD	Šuppiluliuma I	Amenhotep IV	Aššur-uballiṭ I
		Arnuwanda II		
		Muršili II		
1300		Muwattalli II	Ramesses II	Adad-narari I
		Muršili III (Urḫi-Teššob)	(ditto)	
		Ḫattušili III	(ditto)	Šalmaneser I
1250		Tutḫaliya IV		Tukulti-Ninurta I
		Arnuwanda II		
		Šuppiluliuma II		



Map 1 (facing page).
Hittite Anatolia

Map 2 (this page).
The geographical
scope of the Hittite
cult inventories



1

INTRODUCTION

This book contributes to the study of religion and cult management in Hittite Anatolia, based on the analysis of a corpus of texts known as “cult inventories.” The so-called cult inventories are reports on the cults of provincial towns and villages, documenting the interaction between central administration and local settlements on religious affairs. As such, they do not concern the official cults of the Hittite kingdom, but rather allow us to cast a glance in the varied world of the indigenous traditions of local settlements, albeit through the lens of the central bureaucracy. Glimpses into so-called popular culture are rare for the ancient Near East. Indeed, the corpus of the Hittite cult inventories provides “considerable evidence to answer an important and seldom asked or answerable question: ‘What’s going on outside the center(s) of power?’” (Beal 2005–2006, 363). Since they tend to offer an all-round report on the state of local shrines, cult images, festivals, and cult offerings, the cult inventories constitute a key body of evidence for the study of crucial aspects of the Hittite religion: composition of local panthea, materiality of cult images and iconography of the gods, religious beliefs at different levels of the society, local festivals, theory and practice of the offering system, the agricultural calendar, and cult administration and record-keeping.

The goal of this book is threefold: to provide an up-to-date overview of the corpus of the cult inventories, to explore selected aspects of the Hittite local cults, and to offer critical editions of a representative sample of manuscripts. Before diving into the discussion of these topics, it will be advantageous to define briefly what the words “Hittite,” “local,” and “cults” are meant to denote, which sources and method form the basis of the analysis, and how the book is structured.

1.1. THREE WORDS: HITTITE LOCAL CULTS

1.1.1. Hittite

The terms “Hittites” and “Hittite kingdom” are an oversimplification: the real Hittites never self-identified as such, but rather referred to themselves as the “men of the Land of Ḫattuša,” and did not have a term for “nation.”

The term “Hittites” is conventionally used to denote one of the Indo-European speaking communities who entered Anatolia at some point in the third millennium BCE. The Hittites settled on the Anatolian plateau, and established around the seventeenth century BCE a kingdom centered on the city of Ḫattuša (modern Boğazköy), which was ultimately to become one of the superpowers of the ancient Near East. The Hittite language belongs to the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European family: it is therefore related to Palaic and Luwian (attested already in the Bronze Age), as well as to Lydian, Lycian, Carian, Pisidic, and Sidetic (attested in the Iron Age). Our knowledge of the ethnic and cultural landscape of Bronze Age Anatolia relies ultimately on the material gained from archaeological excavations and surveys, among which the thousands of cuneiform tablets uncovered in Boğazköy and other sites play a major role.

The first scholars dealing with this material were already well aware that languages do not necessarily correspond to ethnicity and nationality, not to mention the difficulty of defining the boundaries of “cultures.” Indeed, the identification of different ethnic and cultural strands in the civilizations of Bronze Age Anatolia is a problematic matter. The Hittite civilization had a pronounced composite character, which evolved over time and resulted from the contact with different peoples and cultures. Most relevant among them, beside the Hittites, are the Hattians, the Luwians, and the Hurrians. The Hattians represent the local inhabitants of central Anatolia in the third millennium BCE at the time Hittites and Luwians settled there. The Hattian urban culture was largely adopted and assimilated by the newcomers; fragments of Hattic, a poorly understood non-Indo-European language, survive as incantations embedded within Hittite texts. On the coexistence of Hittite-Luwian and Hattian strata alongside one another see most recently Goedegebuure 2008a and Steitler 2017, 94–95. Luwian, on the contrary, is an Indo-European language closely related to Hittite. It is believed that the area inhabited by Luwian-speaking communities in the second millennium BCE extended over a broad arc to the west and south of the Kızılırmak basin. As has recently been stressed,

even the analysis of cuneiform texts can no longer be used to support the hypothesis that the population of Ḫattuša was exclusively or even predominantly Hittite.... It emerges ... that for different reasons each of the Luwians, Hittites (in their modern sense), and Hattians has a claim to being the most important ethnic group in the kingdom of Ḫattuša. The only way of deciding between them is by reconstructing the complex socio-linguistic situation in Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Asia Minor with a goal of defining functional differences between various languages used in this region. (Mouton, Rutherford, and Yakubovich 2013, 3)

The relationship between “Hittites” and “Luwians” is particularly relevant, as sociolinguistic investigations point to language contact, widespread bilingualism, and a growing role of Luwian speakers in the course of the history of the Hittite kingdom (Melchert 2003; Rieken 2006; Yakubovich 2010; Mouton, Rutherford, and Yakubovich 2013). Indeed,

Already for the first part of the 2nd millennium BCE one can postulate widespread Hittite-Luwian bilingualism, which speaks for the contiguity of the areas where these two languages were spoken.... There is no way to define or even estimate the number of Luwian speakers at any given point in time. We should, however, assume that the Luwians were more numerous than the Hittites in the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE, since otherwise it is hardly possible to account for the progressive language shift from Hittite to Luwian in the Kingdom of Ḫattuša in spite of the cultural dominance of Hittite in this polity. (Yakubovich 2015, 3–4)

The Hurrian civilization flourished in the basin of the Ḫabur River from the late third millennium BCE on; over the course of the second millennium BCE it spread over a broad arc including northern Syria and Kizzuwatna (classical Cilicia). As the kingdom of Kizzuwatna became part of the Hittite kingdom in the fifteenth century BCE, the Hurrian language and culture began to exert a considerable influence on the Hittite religion, although this influence remained mostly restricted to parts of the ruling elite and to the society of specific regions (de Martino 2017b).

The “local cults” that form the object of this study are those of the provincial towns and villages of the core area of the Hittite kingdom, the “central districts” located across the basin of the Kızılırmak River (Hittite Maraššantiya) and its immediate vicinity (see map 2 and §2.5). Therefore, the references to the “Hittites” throughout the book are meant to apply in the first instance to the Hittite-Luwian communities of the “Kingdom of Ḫattuša.” The chronological focus of the book is the late Empire period, the age when the extant cult inventories were drafted. This time corresponds roughly to the reigns of the kings Ḫattušili III and Tuthaliya IV (see the chronological table). As will be argued in §5.3, however, the rites treated in the texts are likely to reflect local traditions that are rooted in much older times. At the period to which our texts can be dated, Hattian gods and religious traits had been fully merged with the Hittite-Luwian culture, and Hurrian influence is very limited if not absent in the area of the central districts.

A final but very important *caveat* pertains to the use of cuneiform and more generally written sources, which constitute the main body of evidence on which the present study is based. The distortion imposed on us by the texts when we try to “understand” Hittite culture simply cannot be overes-

timated. Even when reading the most vivid mythological fragment or the most intimate letter, we look at the “Hittites” as if we were looking at Mona Lisa through the bottom of a thick glass. Not only do the extant written sources represent a tiny part of the body of texts originally produced, entire genres and media are forever lost, and the surviving manuscripts are fragmented and often hard to read. Virtually all the available written sources are the product of the chancery of a Bronze Age kingdom: they were conceived to answer questions that are very different than those we would like to pose to them, and they speak to us from a distant world, one separated, for example, from Homer by several centuries.

1.1.2. Local

The Hittites, like most ancient Near Eastern powers, held a conception of their “state” as the extended royal family, with the king at the top and his own relatives, in-laws, and associates constituting a plethora of intensely intertwined branches (Starke 1997, 460). In the course of its history, the Hittite kingdom expanded considerably, bringing large portions of western Anatolia and northern Syria under its authority. The system of government was multilayered, with different kinds of dependence and dominance strategies. The topics treated in this book concern the core area of the kingdom (§2.5). Here, the administrative-governmental structure was three-tiered: the central government at Ḫattuša, regional governmental centers, and local urban centers (Siegelová 1986; Hoffner 2009, 117). With a relatively short interruption during the reign of Muwattalli II, Ḫattuša remained the capital city until the end of the kingdom. It is true that there were royal residences in other towns, where the king spent long periods of time, and that such towns, like Šamuḫa (modern Kayalıpınar) and Šapinuwa (modern Ortaköy), can almost be viewed as alternative capitals. But there can be no doubt that the Hittites considered Ḫattuša as the only true capital of their country, as can be inferred from the way they define their kingdom, namely, through the expression KUR^{URU} ḪATTI, “Land of Ḫattuša” (Weeden 2011a, 244–50). The territory directly governed by the central power was organized into administrative divisions or “districts” (KUR), which primarily served the purposes of tax management and conscription. The districts were placed under a provincial governor, called *auriyaš išḫaš*, “frontier post governor”; local urban centers depended on the regional center to which they referred. The dynamics of interaction between second and third tier can be observed up to a certain level of detail in the corpus of letters recovered at Maşat Höyük (Hittite Tapikka). Towards the urban centers gravitated villages, “ruin-towns” (deserted

villages; see §6.3), summer pastures, and other extra-urban structures like temples and sanctuaries.

The control exerted by the Hittite authority on the territory of the kingdom was far from uniform. Large portions of land were under constant threat of being plundered by the “enemy,” that is, groups of people coming from bordering lands or, as was often the case, semipastoral communities practicing transhumance, usually subsumed under the name of “Kaška” in the Hittite sources, in some cases possibly representing the descendants of Hattian communities (Singer 2007). Some cult inventories, such as KUB 25.23+ (text no. 13), provide a telling glimpse into these circumstances. Material conditions played a relevant role in determining the structural instability of a large part of the kingdom. The mountainous nature and the extremely varied climate of central Anatolia favor the fragmentation of the region into a myriad of microsystems and makes it harder, albeit by no means impossible, for the central authority to maintain a firm control over the entire territory (Schachner 2011, 33–40; Hütteroth 1982, 96–133, 169–72). It need be stressed that the textual sources reflect the point of view of the central authority of Ḫattuša, and the story we are told would be very different if we had the perspective of the “others” too. Also, the interaction between urban centers and extramural communities, including pastoral and semipastoral groups, largely escapes our understanding, and the same holds true for many aspects of the Hittite economy, a topic which suffers from the lack of systematic interdisciplinary investigations.

1.1.3. Cults

Among the Hittites one could no doubt also find people who, in reply to a desperate appeal to throw themselves at the feet of the statue of some god, would say: “Of which statue? Oh, do you then believe there are gods?” (Aristophanes, *Knights*, 32). But in general, the Hittite civilization is imbued with the divine, and did not really know the notion of secularity. As D. Schwemer recently wrote:

The sphere of the divine forms part of the Hittite landscape; mountains, rivers and rocks are regarded as numinous powers, as are the sea, the sun and the storm. The gods inhabit the various regions of the cosmos and the land, but, at the same time, they reside in houses built for them by mortals whose relationship to their divine lords is conceived in analogy to that of a slave to his master. The people take care of and provide for the gods whose contentment and favourable presence are considered to be essential for the prosperity of the land. The basic patterns of how and when mortals provide and honour the gods are, on the one hand, shaped by the conceptualisa-

tion of divine beings in analogy to human authorities (anthropomorphism), and, on the other hand, by the basic time structure that is determined by night and day, the waxing and waning of the moon and the change of the seasons. The regular rites and ceremonies, which guarantee the continual worship of and the provision for the gods, are complemented by more extensive festivals at specific times of the year; the performance of these festivals often involves not only the temple personnel but also members of the royal family and other dignitaries. The entirety of the rites, rituals, ceremonies and festivals performed in and outside the sanctuaries constitutes what we would call the Hittite cult. (Schwemer 2016, 1–2)

Following a tradition that ultimately goes back to Scholasticism, we understand “cult” (from Latin *cultus* “care, worship”) as a general term for the complex of religious ceremonies in any religious system (Lang 1993, 475–77); Hittite *šaklai-*, “custom” comes close to this meaning (Hutter 2015, 201–3, Schwemer 2016, 2–3). The cultic experience of the worshippers’ community typically culminates in the festivals, where “festival,” logographically written as EZEN₄ in Hittite texts, denotes periodic rituals performed recurrently at specific occasions and kept distinct from the basic daily cultic provisions (see §4). The term “rite” (to which Hittite *hazziwi-* comes close) will be used to refer to ritual actions taken singularly, as the most basic component of any religious ceremony. Within this framework, the category of “ritual” is employed in accordance with Kertzer’s (1989) interpretation of rituals as “actions wrapped in a web of symbolism.” Taken *per se*, rituals are of necessity neither sacred nor elaborate: their distinguishing feature is the fact of being in some way differentiated from the corresponding daily practices, while at the same time entertaining with them a complex semiotic relationship (Dietler 2001).

Cult practices are a crucial factor in the complicated micropolitical struggles that contribute to holding the Hittite polity together. This is even more true in the case of local cults, since here, in contrast to the state cults, most if not the entirety of the local communities takes part in the rites, first and foremost in the cult meal, which constitutes the core of any festival. The introductory remarks in §§5 and 6 aim at stressing the crucial node between local festivals and their economic and social implications, highlighting the need for studying Hittite cults from a broader perspective.

Cultic activities were performed both in temples or sanctuaries and at open-air locations such as sacred springs, trees, rocks, rivers, or stelae; the texts presented in §7 provide a rich assemblage of all these locations.

Being the chief of the kingdom, the Hittite king also acted as the highest-ranking priest. He stood in a very special relationship with the gods, in the name of whom he administrated (*maniyahh-*) the land:

May the *labarna*, the king, be agreeable to the gods. To the Storm God alone belongs the land, to the Storm God alone belongs the army of heaven and earth. And he made the *labarna*, the king, his governor, and he gave him the whole land of Ḫattuša. The *labarna* shall govern the whole land! (IBoT 1.30 obv. 2–6; see Gilan 2015, 230)

The gods, the Sun goddess and the Storm god, have allotted me, the king, the land and my house, and I, the king, will protect my land and my house. You shall not come to my house, and I will not come to your house. The gods have allotted me, the king, many years. The years are without limit. From the sea, the Throne brought rule and the (royal) cart to me, the king. The land of my mother has been opened, and I, the king, have been designated *labarna*. (CTH 414 §5–7, transl. Beckman 2010, 73)

[A father I] have not, a mother I have not: you, o gods, are my father, [you, o gods, are] my [mother]. You are the Majesty! And I am one of your subjects! ... You alone, o gods, have placed kingship into my hand; I govern the whole land, the [*pa*]nku- (i.e., the assembly/congregation), (and) the population. (CTH 389.2 §6, see Groddek forthcoming and cf. Steitler 2015, 208)

The king acted as supreme priest of the kingdom. As such, he bore the responsibility of assuring a correct relationship between men and gods, on which the cosmic balance depended (Beckman 1995). The timely and meticulous observance of the traditional cult regulations represented a crucial condition for the gods' favor towards the mortals, thus for the well-being of the land:

Only Ḫattuša is a true, pure land for you, o gods, and only in the land of Ḫattuša do we repeatedly give you pure, great, fine sacrifices. Only in the land of Ḫattuša do we establish respect for you, o gods. (CTH 375 §§2', 6'; cf. Singer 2002, 41, no. 5)

Any negligence in the performance of the ritual obligations, even involuntary ones, represented a disruption to the cosmic balance, which caused divine anger and could potentially bring ruin to the entire land. If this happened, it was the king's duty to investigate the cause of the gods' anger in order to repair for it. This attitude is most evident in the famous "plague prayers" of Muršili II, where we also find a reluctant meditation on the theme of the father's sin which is laid upon the son:

O Storm God of Ḫattuša, my lord! O gods, my lords! So it happens that people always sin. My father sinned as well and he transgressed the word of the Storm God of Ḫattuša, my lord. But I did not sin in any way. Nevertheless, it so happens that the father's sin comes upon his son, and so the sin of my father came upon me too. I have just confessed it to the Storm

God of Ḫattuša, my lord, and to the gods, my lords. It is so. We have done it. But because I have confessed the sin of my father, may the soul of the Storm God of Ḫattuša, my lord, and of the gods, my lords, be appeased again. May you again have pity on me, and send the plague away from Ḫattuša. Let those few bread bakers and libation pourers who still remain not die on me. (*CTH 378.2* §8, see Singer 2002, 59–60)

At the same time, the Hittites were well aware that men's dependence on the gods ultimately works the other way round too. Like the protagonists of the Babylonian "Dialogue of Pessimism," they were keen to remind them about that:

Because the land of Ḫattuša has been oppressed by the plague, it has been reduced in size. [And those bread makers and libation pourers who used to prepare] the offering bread and the libation for the gods, my lords, [since the land of Ḫattuša] has been severely oppressed by [the plague], [they have died] from the plague. [The plague] does not subside at all, and they continue to die, [even those] few [bread bakers] and libation pourers [who still remain will die, and nobody will prepare] for you offering bread and libation any longer. (*CTH 378.1* §8, see Singer 2002, 63)

The insistence on the importance of the cult tradition and of the worship of *all* the gods, even the forgotten ones, finds expression in a passage from the Instructions for Military Officers and Frontier Post Governors, datable to the Early New Kingdom:

But they shall now attend to whatever ancient cult stele in a town that has not been attended to. They shall set it up, and they shall perform for it whatever rite that (was performed) for it from ancient (days). And for whatever springs are behind the town, for whatever spring there is an offering regimen, they must perform it regularly, and they must come up to visit it regularly. And they must even come up to visit regularly any spring for which there is no offering regimen. They must never neglect it. (*CTH 261.I* §35', see Miller 2013, 229; see §4.3 for discussion)

Hittite cult regulations may be subdivided into two broad categories, the "state cults" and the "nonstate cults" (see §2.2). In general, it can be said that the state cults entail the participation of the king and form the body of the official cult of the kingdom, whereas the nonstate cults do not. Although several state cults took place outside Ḫattuša, and vice versa some nonstate cults were performed there, we can regard local cults and nonstate cults as largely overlapping categories. This overlap corresponds in a simplified manner to the cults of local communities in provincial towns and villages in which the king does not take part. These are the cults recorded in the corpus

of the so-called cult inventories, that represent the subject of this book (§2). They form an extremely varied complex of rites and festivals. While sharing some common aspects, they attest to a bewildering spectrum of religious practices (§5). The Hittite local cults represent no doubt the result of intricate dynamics of cultural contact, tradition, and evolution, the complexity of which can only be reconstructed to a small extent.

A general and up-to-date presentation of Hittite religion is currently lacking. For a very rich presentation of the material see Haas 1994; still very useful is Popko 1995. Concise overviews are offered in Güterbock 1964, von Schuler 1965, and Beckman 2005; fundamental aspects of Hittite religion are discussed in Gurney 1977; Beal 2002; Wilhelm 2002 (with a useful bibliography in nn. 1–2), and Schwemer 2006. A recent comprehensive treatment is Taracha 2009, on which see, however, the critical remarks by Miller (2014). The recent monograph devoted to the solar deities of Bronze Age Anatolia by Steitler (2017) represents the best up-to-date introduction to the complex question of Hittite “multiculturalism,” besides offering a thorough study of the multiple Hittite sun deities.

1.2. SOURCES AND METHOD

The main body of evidence examined for the present study is represented by the so-called Hittite “cult inventories,” which are grouped in the eighth chapter of the *Catalogue des textes hittites* (CTH, see the updated online version of Košak and Müller, at hethiter.net/: Catalog). The corpus I considered includes all fragments catalogued under CTH 501–525 in the *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* online (version 1.84), plus a considerable number of cult inventory fragments catalogued under CTH 530 (CTH 526–529 are vacant). The sample has been augmented to include texts that can be considered cult inventories despite being presently classified under other CTH numbers. Conversely, texts catalogued within CTH 501–530 that do not seem to be true cult inventories have been excluded (see Cammarosano 2013, 84–89). This provides a corpus numbering more than two-hundred fragments. Since most of the remaining texts are poorly preserved fragments, the results of this study may be regarded as significant for the text genre as a whole.

The corpus of cult inventories used in the present study includes the following texts and fragments (cf. Cammarosano 2013, 65):

KBo series: 2.1; 2.7–8; 2.13; 2.16; 12.56–57; 12.138; 12.140; 13.231; 13.235; 13.237–238; 13.246; 13.250; 13.251 (+) IBoT 2.104; 13.252; 18.167; 19.131; 21.81 (+) 34.106; 23.58; 24.117 (+) 39.48 + 40.42; 25.140; 26.147 + 55.174; 26.148–152; 26.154; 26.159–161; 26.176; 26.179; 26.182; 26.187–188; 26.194; 26.196; 26.199;

26.201; 26.212; 26.218; 26.221; 26.224; 26.228; 30.130; 31.168; 39.49; 41.123; 45.178; 45.180; 46.82; 47.213; 47.215; 48.109; 49.205; 49.300; 51.104; 51.107; 51.113; 52.94–95; 53.94; 54.164; 55.172; 55.187; 57.112; 58.15; 58.58; 59.63–64; 59.131; 60.87; 61.9; 70.109 + Bo 8787 + Bo 7225.

KUB series: 7.24 + 58.29; 12.2–3; 12.36 + 60.9; 13.32; 17.35–36; 20.89; 25.22; 25.23 (+) 59.34 (+) KBo 57.113 + Bo 4615; 25.24; 25.30; 27.68 + 42.100 + KBo 26.181 + Bo 3758; 30.37; 31.24; 34.87; 38.1 + *CHDS* 2.43; KUB 38.2–5; 38.6 + Bo 6741 + 57.58; 38.7; 38.8 (+) 38.9; 38.11–18; 38.19 + IBoT 2.102; 38.20–21; 38.23–25; 38.26 (+) 38.27 + KBo 70.110; 38.28–35; 38.37–38; 42.41; 42.85 (+) 54.94; 42.88; 42.91–92; 42.105 + 54.45 + Bo 6572; 44.1; 44.4 + KBo 13.241; 44.20–21; 44.29; 44.42; 46.17; 46.21; 46.27; 46.34; 48.105 + KBo 12.53; 48.113–114; 51.3; 51.23 +² 57.108; 51.26; 51.33; 51.47; 53.21; 54.61 (+) 54.90; 55.14–15; 55.48; 56.39–40; 56.56; 57.67; 57.88; 57.97; 57.102–104; 58.7; 58.58; 59.14; 60.27; 60.127; 60.140; 60.162–163.

Other: ABoT 1.55; 2.116–123; HT 4; 14; 71 + IBoT 3.100; IBoT 2.103; 2.105; 2.131; 3.120; KuSa I/1.3–13; 39; VBoT 26; VSNF 12.111; Bo 3245; 3432; 3512a; 3998; 4370; 5554; Ku 99/153; KuT 54; Privat 48; YH 2005/1.

1.3. STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

The book is structured in two parts. Following this introduction, the first part is devoted to an analytical discussion of fundamental aspects related to the Hittite local cults (§§2–6). These are the nature and character of the so-called cult inventories as an instrument of cult management (§2), their palaeography and linguistic features (§3), the structure of the local panthea, the principal gods attested therein and the nature and role of cult images (§4), the nature, character, and antiquity of the attested rites and festivals (§5), and the working principles of the cult offering system with its economic implications (§6). The second part of the book (§7) consists of critical editions of a representative sample of cult inventories. They touch upon all aspects discussed in the previous chapters and provide an immediate and vivid picture of the varied world of the local cults within the Hittite kingdom through the voice of the texts. Cross-references between the analytical chapters and the text editions allow for an effective connection between the discussion of specific questions and the edited manuscripts, where these multiple facets are inherently intertwined.

2

LOCAL CULTS AND CULT MANAGEMENT: THE HITTITE CULT INVENTORIES

2.1. LOCAL CULTS AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION

Within the urban civilizations of the ancient Near East, the interaction between center and periphery takes the form of dynamics of control and power. As far as the sphere of cult is concerned, for the central administration this interaction represents a matter of “management,” very much in line with the etymology of the word (*manu agere*, see Braverman 1998, 46–47). In a society where the spheres of economy and cult largely overlap, cult management ultimately reflects relations of control over the production and distribution of goods (§6). But from the point of view of royal ideology, the control over the cult plays a crucial role in assuring the maintenance of the cosmic balance and thereby of the well-being of the land. The “obsession” with the fulfillment of the cult regulations is characteristic of the Hittite civilization, which explains why the “festival texts” alone make up ca. one-third of all known Hittite written sources and the largest corpus related to the royal cult for the entire ancient Near East. The reality of cultic observance often diverged quite sharply from the ideal of thorough fulfillment of the prescribed rites (Schwemer 2016, 4–7). Such an impressive body of written documentation originates precisely from the tension between reality (*šakuwantariya*-, “to be neglected”) and ideal (*šakuwaššara*-, “complete”), for which the king was ultimately responsible (§1.1.3). In this sense, the Hittite festival tradition can be viewed as the product of “quality assurance managers” (Schwemer 2016, 23–24).

Cult management involved a number of subjects, objects, and actions. Our understanding of its machinery relies essentially on textual sources, supplemented by the archaeological evidence. The factors that inspired the production and conservation of the texts related to the cult administration have been summarized by Schwemer (2016, 23) as follows:

- (1) the high number of cultic institutions;
- (2) the extent of the cultic calendars;
- (3) the considerable extent and complexity of individual festivals;

- (4) the duty of the king and the royal administration to ensure a correct and complete observance of the cult in the entire land;
- (5) the practice of centrally administering and controlling the regular performances, including those outside the capital (especially, but not exclusively, cultic events that involved members of the royal family);
- (6) the ideal of preserving and restoring the correct, original tradition;
- (7) the necessity of regular, often annual, adaptation and change.

The entire dynamics of cult management revolves on two kinds of asymmetry: that of ideal vs. reality, and of center vs. periphery. The ideal vs. reality asymmetry entails the already-mentioned effort to avoid shortcomings in the performance of the rites, but also the measures that were taken to change the cult, for example, in order to increase offerings or to adapt it to new conditions. The center vs. periphery asymmetry is more a matter of power and control than a geographical one. It does not necessarily imply imposition of anything by the central authority, but rather the fact that the management of the cults is performed at the orders and through the instruments of the central authority, in accordance with the concept of the king as responsible for the cults of the entire land. This implies that we always “read” the Hittite cults through the lens of the Hittite state chancery, even when the aim was to record (and maintain) a local custom, as is often the case (see §§2.3, 5.3).

Local cults (as defined in §1.1.3) were the object of a variety of actions by the king and those who acted in his name and at his orders: survey and investigation, documentation, implementation, and innovation. Accordingly, the texts that relate to the management of the cult have both descriptive and prescriptive character. Although it is often unclear to which extent a text or a passage reflects a local reality (and is therefore “descriptive”) or rather an ideal state of things (and is therefore “prescriptive”), there are strong hints suggesting that overall the cult inventories tend to record the state of the cult as it was at the time they were drafted, except where otherwise stated (see §§2.3, 5.3).

Based on the premises discussed above, it is clear that local cults must have been the object of the king’s attention along the entire course of Hittite history. We have indirect evidence for this beginning with the Early New Kingdom, thanks to a passage of the Instructions for Military Officers and Frontier Post Governors. The frontier post governor is requested to write down a report on the cultic paraphernalia and send it to the king: “Further, the governor of the post shall make a record of the paraphernalia of the deity (*ŠA DINGIR-LIM UNUTUM awariyaš EN-aš gul(a)šdu*), and he shall have

it brought before <His> Majesty” (CTH 261.1 §34’, transl. Miller 2013, 227). Other texts dating back to various periods of Hittite history corroborate the assumption that keeping track of the local cults was a traditional task of the central administration (Cammarosano 2012, 7–14 with literature). Interestingly, the verb *gulš-*, “to carve, to scratch, to write in hieroglyphs” in the quoted passage from the Instructions for Military Officers and Frontier Post Governors suggests the use of wooden boards, and perhaps of hieroglyphic script. Indeed, *gulš-* serves as a *terminus technicus* for “writing hieroglyphs” in opposition to *ḫazziye/a-*, “to pierce” > “to write in cuneiform” (Marazzi 1994, 137–40; Waal 2011, 23–24; Yakubovich 2014, 284 n. 3). However, the use of the verb *gulš-* does not necessarily imply usage of wooden boards and/or hieroglyphic script, since *gulš-* may have developed into a loose term for “writing down notes,” “sketching,” based on the frequent use of wooden boards as “notebooks.” Hence Miller’s (2013, 227) cautious translation “make a record” has been retained here. Terms that denote—at least originally—specific kinds of this medium are *kwanzattar* (GUL-zattar), *kurta-*, and GIŠ.ḪUR (cf. §2.2.2; for the reading *kwanzattar* see Yakubovich 2014 and Melchert 2016).

Besides oral communication, the exchange of information related to the management of local cults involved two media: wooden boards and clay tablets. The former are forever lost, and the latter were apparently discarded as they became obsolete with the passing of time. Of all documents produced, only meager scraps survive to our days: most of them are represented by the so-called cult inventories.

2.2. CULT INVENTORIES: CORPUS AND *SITZ IM LEBEN*

2.2.1. Cult Inventories and Festival Texts

The written sources associated with the cult have been grouped by Schwemer (2016, 7–11) as follows:

- (1) Outline tablets covering more than one festival;
- (2) Outline tablets covering one complex festival;
- (3) “Day tablets” or “daily outlines”;
- (4) Tablets detailing rations;
- (5) Tablets detailing recitations and chants;
- (6) Royal orders and proclamations regulating the cult;
- (7) Cult inventories;
- (8) Oracle reports and related texts;
- (9) Writing boards.

Of these categories, nos. (1) to (5) make up the large corpus of the so-called festival texts, which, as has been said, constitute alone about one-third of all known Hittite written sources. Wooden boards (9) represent a special case, insofar as it is defined by its medium rather than by its content. Indeed, a wooden board may in fact belong to any of the other text groups. We are informed only indirectly about them, as not one is known to have survived to the present day; the diptych recovered from the Uluburun shipwreck, however, constitutes a good comparison (Payton 1991).

While royal orders and oracle reports (nos. [6] and [8] respectively) are separated and clearly identifiable text genres, festival texts and cult inventories are closely connected to each other. Still, they constitute two genres on their own, each one following specific rules and responding to a different rationale. In order to understand their *Sitz im Leben*, it is beneficial to recall a basic distinction that characterizes the Hittite cult system.

Hittite cult regulations may be subdivided into two broad categories, the state cults and the nonstate cults (Cammarosano 2013, 68–69 with literature). The state cults are those celebrated by or in the presence of the king, the queen or a prince: they form what may be regarded as the official cult of the kingdom at a given time. The rest are nonstate cults. This dichotomy is not only justified by pragmatic reasons, but also reflects an emic distinction that is apparent from the extant texts: state cults are normally treated in the so-called festival texts (German *Festrituale* or *Kultrituale*), whereas most “nonstate cults” pertaining to local settlements are treated in the so-called cult inventories. The two text genres served different purposes, were organized and managed according to different principles, and possibly drafted by different groups of scribes, as is apparent from a comparative analysis of their content, colophons, layout, orthography, and palaeography (Cammarosano 2013, 67–81). Importantly, the offering system observable in the nonstate local cults treated in the cult inventories is bipartite, whereas in the state cults it is not (see §6.4.1). Many state cults were performed in Ḫattuša, and most nonstate cults in provincial towns and shrines, but it is important to stress that the dichotomy lies between “state” vs. “nonstate” cults, not between “cults performed in the capital” vs. “local cults”: those local cults where the king takes part are treated in festival texts and not in cult inventories (see, e.g., the state cults of Karahna, treated in KUB 25.32+, cf. §7.5). While cult inventories never treat state cults, the converse is not true: festival texts (and other genres as well) may treat either a “state” or a “nonstate” cult (Cammarosano 2013, 81).

2.2.2. *Sitz im Leben*

Cult inventories can be defined as reports on the state of the cult in one or more specific places at a specific time. Typical components of the cult treated in the cult inventories are the following: (1) cult objects, (2) temples and shrines, (3) cult offerings and people charged with their supply, (4) lists of festivals, (5) outlines of festivals, (6) cult personnel, and (7) negligence concerning delivery of supplies, rites, or maintenance of cult object and temples. Although several or even all of these components are usually treated in a single cult inventory, two subgroups of texts stand out: those that focus on cult image descriptions and those that focus on festivals (see, e.g., Güterbock 1964, 70–71). Moreover, cult inventories can have a “descriptive” or “prescriptive” character or, as most often happens, a mixture of both (for a typological classification of the corpus see §2.4).

In order to facilitate the classification of the texts, cult inventories can be said to meet two basic conditions (Cammarosano 2013, 77):

- (1) They deal with certain deities in relation to one or more specific towns and treat at least one further component of the cult;
- (2) They are arranged by town(s) and not by festival(s) or other components of the cult, and tend towards a comprehensive treatment of the relevant components of the cult.

From the point of view of text management, a cult inventory is a one-off report of ephemeral nature, which becomes outdated as soon as a follow-up is available. As such, it is not conceived for long-term storage and it is not meant to be copied and recopied over time. These features may well account for the almost total lack of cult inventories predating the latest period of the Hittite kingdom (§2.3), and are most clearly exemplified by a few fortunate cases where the relation between different manuscripts can be observed. These are KBo 2.13 with KBo 2.7 (text no. 3) and KUB 57.97 with VSNF 12.111, which represent two pairs of subsequent versions of cult inventories pertaining to the same area (Cammarosano 2013, 95–100). A similar relation might exist between IBoT 2.131 (text no. 6) and Bo 3245. Another interesting case is represented by KBo 2.1 with KUB 17.35, where the entry “the (inventory of the) town Guršamašša is (already) completed” in the former manuscript may be a reference to KUB 17.35 (see text nos. 1, 2). This does not mean that cult inventories are never copied. The rare examples of texts which seem to be copies of cult inventories are to be explained either by the relevance of the cult center inventoried therein (so KUB 38.12 // KUB 38.15, see Cammarosano 2013, 92–93 and text no. 16), or by some other particular reason, like the deposition of Mr. Tarḫini in KUB 12.36+ // KUB 30.37 (Cammarosano 2013, 93).

Taken in its entirety, the corpus of the cult inventories represents “almost as heterogeneous a mixture as one can want” (Carter 1962, 1), and still the most fragmented of all Hittite text genres (Müller 2014, 589–90); even their layout and colophons constitute the most varied and complicated among the Boğazköy tablets (Waal 2015, 379). Such peculiarities are rooted in the fact that these texts arose from the ongoing process of cult management in different areas of the kingdom. Some documents, like the inventory of the temples of the “Great Sea” and the “*tarmana*-Sea” CTH 722, very closely resemble cult inventories, but are not arranged by towns (Lorenz 2015, 130–31). As local reports (or copies thereof), the cult inventories go back ultimately to the work of different individuals, and were written at different times and with different purposes, albeit within the general framework of the royal cult administration. Most importantly, cult inventories were often drafted on the basis of very heterogeneous material: the direct experience of royal delegates, depositions of local cult personnel and other involved people, and written documents.

Direct investigations and interviews with local priests or savants are sometimes referred to in the texts (see introduction to KUB 42.100+, text no. 12). Similarly, written sources that contributed to clarify what rites and offerings were traditionally envisaged in this or that town are mentioned in the extant texts as well. References to this material are obviously of crucial importance, as they make it clear that the kind of texts we have represent but a portion of a far more complex body of documentation, most of which is forever lost. Usually, such references assert that the rites have been checked against or copied from older documents, most typically wooden writing boards, as the terms GIŠ.ḪUR, *kwanzattar*, *kurta* and *gastarḫa(i)da* all refer to this type of document; see Marazzi 1994; Schwemer 2005–2006, 223–24; Waal 2011, 22–25, all with further literature. In some contexts, the term GIŠ.ḪUR retains its original Sumerian value of “plan, sketch, schedule,” on which see Marazzi 1994, 142–53, esp. 147 (not cited in Taracha 2017, 11).

The most interesting cases that bear witness to the use of preexisting documents in the course of the inventorying process are the following ones. A cult inventory pertaining to the holy city of Nerik, KUB 42.100+ (text no. 12), bears witness to the consultation of “old (clay) tablets” (§§15', 28', 32', 36'') as well as of *kurta* and *kwanzattar* wooden writing boards, some of which date back to Muršili II and Muwattalli II (§§10, 11, 27', 37'', 43''). A cult inventory from Kayalıpınar/Šamuḫa, Kp 14/95+ (text no. 14), overtly refers to wooden boards from the local “temple” that were to be checked against wooden boards brought from Ḫattuša in order to determine rites and cult offerings (§§2–4; similarly in Kp 15/6+ obv. i 15). Interestingly, the officer who brought those boards from Ḫattuša to Šamuḫa is known from the Boğazköy

texts to have been put under trial precisely because of alleged faults related to his activity in the capital's tablet collections (see introduction to text no. 14). A cult inventory pertaining to the cult center of Karahna, KUB 38.12 (text no. 16), states that the festivals listed there have been "established according to a *gaštarhaida* writing board." Other references to the use of older documents are found in KUB 55.48, KUB 58.7, KUB 38.19+, IBoT 2.131 (text no. 6), KUB 53.21, and Kp 15/7+ obv. i 40–41 (text no. 15); see Cammarosano 2013, 66–67 n. 11. Worth mentioning is, finally, the occasional reference to a "separate tablet" on which particular shortcomings are recorded (Kp 15/7+ obv. i 7–8, text no. 15).

The hints at the use of written sources in the inventorying process show that

- (1) at least in some periods, reports on the state of local cults were expected to be dispatched from the local towns to the capital, and they were likely drafted on wooden boards;
- (2) in the capital, both clay tablets and wooden boards containing information on the state of local cults were kept in the "archives" and could be sent to the provinces in order to determine rites and offerings, if need be;
- (3) at least in some towns, reports on the state of the local cults were kept in the local "archives" and were occasionally used to determine rites and offerings.

The relatively frequent reference to wooden boards within the corpus of the cult inventories proves the relevance of that medium in the realm of cult administration, and calls for some comment. In principle, "wooden boards" could be inscribed by scratching or painting signs directly on the wooden surface (Waal 2011, 29 with n. 8). However, it seems most likely that the "wooden boards" normally refer to waxed boards. Towards this conclusion point not only the fact that waxed boards represented a widespread medium in the ancient Near East (Volk and Seidl 2016), but also the ready availability of beeswax in Hittite Anatolia (Simon 2014), as well as the convenience of easily reusing waxed boards simply by passing a spatula over the inscribed surface.

Waxed boards could be inscribed both in cuneiform script and in Anatolian hieroglyphs (see Marazzi 1999 and Waal 2011, the former arguing for the use of cuneiform script on waxed boards, the latter for hieroglyphic script on wood). The use of the latter script on waxed boards is proven by several bronze styli mainly from Boğazköy, but also from Alaca Höyük. These styli have a pointed tip on one end and a spatula on the other, and thus can only be interpreted as styli for hieroglyphic script on waxed

boards (Cammarosano 2014a, 73; cuneiform cannot be written with a pointed tip). To which extent the Luwian hieroglyphic orthography of the Late Empire was able to convey complex morphosyntactical relations is, of course, another matter. As for cuneiform script, its use on waxed boards in Hittite Anatolia can be safely assumed, although it cannot be proven at present: for the reasons explained above, it would be most peculiar if the Hittites refused to write in cuneiform, a script with which they were so familiar, on the medium they used for hieroglyphs. The possible existence of “hieroglyphic” cult inventories vis-à-vis those on clay tablets raises intriguing questions regarding the interaction of the two scripts, which can be only investigated through indirect evidence. As will be argued in §3.1, considerations pertaining to the orthography and syntax of the texts suggest that hieroglyphic boards could hardly have served as *Vorlagen* for cult inventories, at least as far as one assumes that the contemporary Luwian hieroglyphic orthography was quite unsophisticated. It therefore seems preferable to assume that the wooden boards referred to in our texts were cuneiform wax boards.

Based on the evidence discussed above, it is legitimate to view the bulk of the extant texts against the background of the following model. Reports on the state of the local cults, probably drafted on wooden boards, were regularly dispatched to the capital, where they served as basis for the redaction of prescriptive texts; of these, the extant Boğazköy tablets would represent archival copies. Such copies could be used again in the future, as the case of Kp 14/95+ attests (text no. 14), but as a rule they were discarded as soon as they become obsolete. The nature of the texts of “descriptive” character is more difficult to grasp. They may represent either archival copies of the incoming reports, or archival copies of the texts dispatched to the provinces, if we assume their “latent” prescriptive character (on this see the observations in §5.3). The extant cult inventories from outside Boğazköy would represent in some cases the prescriptive texts sent from the capital, or perhaps archival copies thereof, in other instances (copies of) the reports to be sent to Hattuša. This is especially evident if we contrast the corpus of cult inventories found in Kuşaklı/Şarišša (Wilhelm 1997a; Hazenbos 2003, 144–66), most of which can clearly be ascribed to the first class, with those found in Kayalıpınar/Şamuha (Rieken forthcoming b), which pertain to the second one. Allegedly, cult inventories have also been found in Ortaköy/Şapinuwa (Süel 1992, 490). The texts found outside Hattuša attest to “the grip the central administration exerted on local affairs” (van den Hout 2011, 66), and show that the Hittite cult administration represented a branched network that was not confined to the capital but was still dependent on the royal bureaucracy.

2.2.3. The Current State of Research

Cult inventories have been the object of various studies in the past. Given the nature and extent of the corpus, the defining criteria have always been crucial to the success of systematic investigations of the genre. A group of texts containing detailed descriptions of cult images has been masterfully edited by C.-G. von Brandenstein (1943); for more passages of this kind see Rost 1961 and 1963. A group of texts containing detailed accounts of local festivals has been edited in a Chicago dissertation by C. Carter (1962), which also contains a discussion of the nature and classification of the corpus. Carter's dissertation has enjoyed wide circulation among specialists as microfilm publication, and still constitutes a reference work, justly admired for the richness of its insights and the thoroughness of the text editions (cf., e.g., Singer 2000, 221). A further group of fifty-eight texts has been edited by J. Hazenbos (2003; see also the reviews by Taracha 2004b; Miller 2005; Beal 2005–2006; Soysal 2008b; Torri 2008). According to Miller (2005, 312), “perhaps the most significant shortcoming of the volume ... is its failure to clearly define its corpus,” so that “one suspects that the process of selection was less than deliberate, and further, that this has impacted the value of the study.” This criticism is unmerited, since Hazenbos's selection criteria are clearly defined: as stated on p. 4 (cf. also p. 53), the author singled out all fragments securely datable to Tudḫaliya IV or which contain an explicit reference to “His Majesty,” with the addition of the cult inventories from Kuşaklı/Şarišša and four more texts from Boğazköy.

Apart from these more extensive works, single cult inventories have been edited in scattered publications by various scholars (among the most relevant are Archi and Klengel 1980; Darga 1973; Forlanini 1990; Taggar-Cohen 2002b; Pecchioli Daddi and Baldi 2004; Lamante and Lorenz 2015; and Cammarosano 2015a). Furthermore, cult inventories constitute the main body of information for numerous studies on various aspects of the Hittite religion: local panthea (e.g., Forlanini 2008a, 2009); religious iconography, cult images, stela shrines (e.g., Güterbock 1983; Hutter 1993; Collins 2005); local rites, cult administration, cult calendar (e.g., Archi 1973a; Houwink ten Cate 1992; Hazenbos 2004; Pecchioli Daddi 2006). The *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln* online (version 1.9) classifies 648 fragments as cult inventories (of which ca. 130 are still unpublished). Critical editions are available for only ca. ninety of them, and many topics, in particular the production and management of cult offerings, remain largely unexplored.

2.3. THE DATING OF THE TEXTS AND THE QUESTION OF THE “CULT REFORM” OF TUDḪALIYA IV

Based on palaeography and language, the extant cult inventories can be dated, with a few exceptions, to the so-called Late Empire period (reigns of Ḫattušili III to Šuppiluliuma II, but perhaps already from Muwattalli II on). The ephemeral nature of these documents allowed them to be discarded after some time. This fact, together with the customary practice of drafting such reports on wooden boards, seems to account for the dearth of older texts (see for details Cammarosano 2012, 4–7). A small group of texts can be dated with certainty or reasonable likelihood to a specific ruler, and this happens to be in all cases TudḪaliya IV (pp. 21–24, for a list of these fragments see table 1). From this fact, many scholars inferred that the bulk of the cult inventories is likely to date back to TudḪaliya IV as well, who would have promoted a “reform” or “reorganization” of the cults of the kingdom. The nature, scope, and extent of the reconstructed operation vary greatly according to the views of the various scholars who supported this view; for a “hard” approach see Carter 1962, 21–25 and Laroche 1975; for a “soft” approach see Houwink ten Cate 1992, 101–9 and Hazenbos 2003, 3 (for details, see Cammarosano 2012, 14–16). The most forceful appraisal of the alleged cult reform was an influential article published in 1975 by E. Laroche, who viewed it against the background of broader changes in contemporary society and religion, stressing both the centralization of the process and its alleged theological implications. The idea of a unitary operation had a lasting impact: this trend probably reached its peak with the erroneous dating of the entire Temple Quarter of the Upper City of Ḫattuša to TudḪaliya IV. At that time, archaeology and philology seemed to support each other, but in fact they were both wrong. A more balanced interpretation was put forward by Houwink ten Cate (1992, 101–9), who stressed the centralized and progressive character of the process and the effort to extend the standard seasonal festivals of autumn and spring to the whole country. He argued that “the uniqueness of the ‘Cult Reform’ thus depends on its geographical scope and the special character of this inquiry, manifesting, as indeed it does, the aspects of both intensification and restoration and showing furthermore in its application a remarkable amount of personal involvement of His Majesty himself” (p. 102).

Attractive as these views can be, however, neither the “hard” nor the “soft” version on the alleged cult reorganization seems to withstand scrutiny. In a study devoted to the topic (Cammarosano 2012), a “minimalist” interpretation of the evidence has been put forth. The conclusions are that (1) the arguments behind the assumption that the majority of the extant fragments

Table 1: Overview of securely datable cult inventories

Text	Grounds for dating	Geographical scope; royal measures
KBo 12.57	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	Area of Nerik (?); restoration of previously neglected cult supplies
KBo 26.179	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	?
KBo 26.188	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	?
KUB 7.24+	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	Takkupša, Ḫawalkina: area of Nerik; construction of new cult images
KUB 13.32	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	Area of Nerik (?); institution of the pithos
KUB 25.22	explicit reference to Tud(ḫ)aliya	Nerik; institution of additional cult offerings
KUB 25.23(+)	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	Area of Ḫakmiš; construction of new cult images, reinstitution of cult offerings
KUB 25.24	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	Nerik; institution of a (spring?) festival
KUB 31.24	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	?
KUB 38.23	likely explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	Construction of new cult images, institution of cult offerings
KUB 38.35	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	Area of Nerik; restoration of cult images within the frame of a general restoration of the town
KUB 42.100+	content, reference to “father of His Majesty”	Nerik; report on the state of the cults
KUB 46.34	explicit reference to Tudḫali(ya) (draft)	?
KUB 56.56	content	Ḫurma (Anti-Taurus region?); possible institution of the cult of ^d KAL.LUGAL, ^d DAG, and Zithariya

Text	Grounds for dating	Geographical scope; royal measures
KUB 58.7	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	Kašaya (? , south of Ḫattuša); references to a “great festival of the king’s journey” and to the king’s arrival
IBoT 2.131	reference to Urḫi-Teššob and “father of His Majesty”	Area of the middle Kızılırmak; report on negligences concerning cult supplies and rites
KuSa I/1.3	reference to “father of His Majesty”	Area of Šarišša; reference to inquiries about the state of the cults, restoration of cult offerings or festivals, and measures previously taken by Ḫattušili III
KuSa I/1.5	reference to “father of His Majesty”	Area of Šarišša; report on negligences concerning cult supplies and rites
KuSa I/1.39	reference to “father of His Majesty”	?
Bo 3998	explicit reference to Tudḫaliya	References to inquiries and to an “inventory”

should be dated to Tudḫaliya IV are fallacious, (2) the measures taken by this king reflect practices in the maintenance and restoration of local cults that were customary from the Early New Kingdom at the latest, without any substantial innovation, and (3) despite their stylistic similarities, the accounts of local festivals found in the texts are more likely to reflect the traditional custom of the provincial towns than standard models allegedly imposed by the king. Indeed, the inference that the bulk of the corpus is likely to date back to Tudḫaliya because he is the only ruler to be mentioned in the texts is entirely dependent upon the statistical representativeness of the sample. In other words, the strength of the “statistical argument” would be considerably diminished or even nullified if it were to be demonstrated that some specific circumstances are responsible for Tudḫaliya being the only ruler to whom cult inventories can be attributed. This is precisely what may be inferred from other sources, which point to an “overexposure” of this king because of self-celebratory reasons (Cammarosano 2012, 24–27). Moreover, the measures taken by Tudḫaliya as attested in the texts attributable to him (table 1) consist in restoration or enrichment of cult images, shrines, and of-

ferings, with no theological implications at all—and sometimes in declared continuity with his father’s own acts. Such practices, as well as reports on local cults, were customary from the Early New Kingdom at the latest, although possibly at an erratic rate and intensity over time (Cammarosano 2012, 7–14, and here §2.1). The innovative character of Tudḫaliya’s operations might well lie, following Houwink ten Cate (1992, 102), in its geographical scope and fervor, but this assumption is dependent on the number of anonymous texts one attributes to him and therefore cannot be convincingly proven. It is true that a considerable number of texts (ca. 70) mention “His Majesty,” but how should one rule out that some of them, in principle even all of them, date back to Ḫattušili III or other late rulers? All in all, the evidence of the cult inventories ultimately corroborates Itamar Singer’s view, according to which “if Ḫattušili III was a great *innovator* in many respects ... his son was a great *consolidator* of the state institutions and the religious legitimacy of his reign” (Singer 2009, 180, emphasis added). Finally, stylistic similarity among these documents does not necessarily hint at efforts to introduce standard seasonal festivals in the whole country. Despite their common basic pattern, these festivals present a great deal of variety, and there is evidence supporting the view that the texts tend to reflect traditional local rites rather than a superimposed pattern (Cammarosano 2012, 16–21, and here §5.3).

The above considerations are not meant to argue that the bulk of the corpus (or even all of it) is *unlikely* to date back to Tudḫaliya IV, but rather that, at present, this view is not supported by convincing evidence. Given the likely rather short reign of Suppiluliuma II, one would indeed expect cult inventories to be mostly from Tudḫaliya IV because the last systematic production of such texts in the capital would have been during his reign. Indeed, I never argued that “the majority of these inventories are not to be attributed to that king,” although Archi 2015, 18 n. 22 credits me with this view. Rather, I pointed out that the majority of the texts cannot be unequivocally attributed to him. Further, the above considerations show that the prescriptive measures attested both in the anonymous and in the attributable texts reflect a customary attitude of the Hittite rulers towards local cults, not a “reform” or a “reorganization” in the common sense of these words.

2.4. TYPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION

Within the system of the *CTH*, the cult inventories are currently subdivided into thirty separate numbers (*CTH* 501–530). This classification, which goes back to Laroche’s first edition of his *Catalogue* (1971), has become increas-

ingly inadequate over time. Inconsistencies arise for various reasons: (1) an increase in published fragments disproportionate to the established framework, (2) overlap between different *CTH* groups, and (3) uncertainty or ambiguity in the evaluation of fragments (for a detailed discussion see Cammarosano 2013, 81–83). Given that each cult inventory is, according to its very nature, a *unique* document, it would seem appropriate in principle either to have as many *CTH* numbers as there are cult inventories, or to group them according to some typological subdivision (note that the classification proposed by Rost [1961, 163] pertains solely to the descriptions of cult images, irrespective of the text genre).

To this purpose, the corpus has been investigated on the basis of a pragmatic principle. As for the layout (on which see Waal 2015, 85–118), the texts have been classified according to (1) the number of columns of the tablet, and (2) the organization of the text. The text can be arranged by (a) sections and paragraphs, (b) sections alone, or (c) paragraphs alone. “Paragraph” and “section” denote portions of text separated by single and double paragraph lines respectively. Tablets arranged by paragraphs, with only the colophon separated by double line, have been included in the last group (e.g., KUB 38.12, KBo 70.109+). As for the content, the texts have been classified according to two parameters that have emerged as most conducive to a development of a meaningful genre typology. The first parameter is whether the following “components of the cult” are treated: name of the god, information on the relevant cult image, and offerings. The second parameter is whether “festival descriptions” are present, where “festival description” is defined as an account of the festival(s) going beyond a bare listing of festival names. The first parameter is justified by the fact that the three selected components of the cult are the most common and typical ones to be attested in the texts; the second parameter has been conceived as a modifier of the first one. The resulting typological frame is presented in table 2.

The fact that only a selection of the approximately five hundred extant fragments has been analyzed, together with uncertainties in the classification of fragmentary texts, calls for caution in evaluating these data. Nevertheless, the following conclusions seem secure enough to be considered representative for the entire genre.

As for format and layout, most texts are drafted on two-columned tables, with eight to ten cases of single-columned tablets and three or four three-columned tablets. There seems to be no single explanation for these exceptions. Typically, cult inventories are arranged in sections and paragraphs: this group makes up two-thirds of all the fragments of which the structure could be determined. Further, a general correlation between structure and presence of festival descriptions seems to exist, since these are more rarely

Table 2: Overview of a typological classification of the cult inventories (sign +: festival descriptions are present, sign -: festival descriptions are absent; no +/- sign: too fragmentary for classification).

Typological class	Attested variants	Number of tablets
A: Information on the gods, on the cult images and on the offerings is present	A	58 tablets, of which 29 with festival descriptions (note that 11 texts are too fragmentary to establish the presence or absence of this feature with reasonable certainty). Structure: 25 tablets are arranged in sections and paragraphs, 12 otherwise.
	A+	
	A-	
B: Either information on cult images (B1) or on the offerings (B2), or both, is (are) lacking	B1+	30 tablets, of which 9 with festival descriptions. Structure: 14 tablets are arranged in sections and paragraphs, 11 otherwise.
	B1-	
	B2+	
	B2-	
	B3-	
C: Too fragmentary for classification	C	89 tablets, of which 36 with festival descriptions (note that 41 texts are too fragmentary to establish the presence or absence of this feature with reasonable certainty)
Total		177 tablets, of which 74 with festival descriptions (note that 52 texts are too fragmentary to establish the presence or absence of this feature with reasonable certainty)

attested in fragments arranged by paragraphs alone, and never in fragments arranged in sections alone.

As for the content, it emerges that the cult inventories typically treat both cult images and offerings besides listing the gods of a town (in most texts, additional aspects are also treated). Furthermore, festival descriptions constitute a characteristic feature of the genre, not an exception. Indeed, two-thirds of all the fragments that can be classified under the main types “A” or “B” belong to the former group; moreover, “festival descriptions” are present more often than not (they appear in 58 percent of all the fragments where this feature can be determined). It is important to stress that the presence of “festival descriptions” represents an accessory element for

the rationale of the cult inventories. Indeed, we can reasonably assume that a festival was “described” only when its performance could not be taken for granted. Thus, we may say that cases where festivals are only listed contain festival descriptions *in absentia*. This feature is analogous to the festival texts’ nature of “protocols” (on which see, e.g., Klinger 1996, 729 and Schwemer 2016, 19–20). A text like KBo 39.48+ is a good example of what is meant: here, festivals are mostly referred to by means of the sentence “the men of the town so and so celebrate the god,” but in exceptional cases additional information is given (col. v 17’–19’: “The whole town—old men, old women, young men, young women—al[l (of them)] arrive and celebrate him”; see Hazenbos 2003, 100).

The sequence in which the three basic components of the cult appear is the same in most of the texts, namely, name of the god(s), cult image(s), and offerings. This rule applies independent of whether additional aspects are treated, and in which position within the sequence. Among the rare exceptions to this rule are KBo 26.152, KUB 12.3, KUB 17.35, KUB 38.18, KUB 38.24, KUB 42.88, where the cult image is listed first, as well as KBo 13.241+ and KUB 48.114, where cult images are not treated and the list of offerings precedes the god’s name.

2.5. GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE

The question of the geographical scope of the cult inventories is closely interlaced with that of the alleged cult reform of Tudḫaliya IV. Up to now, all appraisals of the question have interpreted the evidence against the background of a coherent program of “reform” or “reorganization” of the local cults promoted by this king. But if Goetze (1957a, 169), Carter (1962, 21–24), and Rost (1963, 167) stressed the relevance of the northern area of Nerik and Ḫakmiš within the corpus, connecting it with the claim of Ḫattušili III to have won back from the Kaška the northern districts, Houwink ten Cate (1992, 103, 139–40 n. 42) maintained that the reorganization involved “large parts if not all of the country.” Hazenbos (2003, 191–99) followed the view of Houwink ten Cate (albeit with some inconsistency, see Taracha 2004b, 351), concluding that

it is clear that the Cult Reorganization concerned large parts of the Hittite empire. Although it is certainly true that destruction after a period of war has led to the restoration of the cult in some northern towns, there must have been other reasons in the case of other towns, especially in the centre, the south and the west. It is therefore more likely that the operation aimed at a general revision of the cult. (Hazenbos 2003, 198–99)

This interpretation, however, does not seem to withstand scrutiny. A telling example of the risks of reading the texts “through the eyes of Tudḫaliya” is the case of *CTH* 510.1 (text no. 17). The geographical setting of this inventory has been argued to be in northern Mesopotamia by Houwink ten Cate and Hazenbos, but in northern Anatolia by Archi and Taracha, both options being based on the idea that the “foreign” gods attested therein would be connected with the political agenda of Tudḫaliya IV. However, there are compelling arguments to relate the text to the area of the middle Kızılırmak (Cammarosano 2015a, 206–8, expanding on arguments by Forlanini and Schwemer). Another telling example is provided by KBo 20.90, a fragment that has been considered a cult inventory of Tudḫaliya IV referring to cult restorations in Kizzuwatna, but happens to be a historical text dating back to the Early New Kingdom (Cammarosano 2013, 85–87).

A look at the corpus considered for this study leads to a different conclusion, namely, that the geographical scope of the cult inventories is limited to the area that formed the core of the kingdom in the Late Empire. Essentially, this area encompasses (1) the central districts (including Katapa, Zippalanda, Iṣtaḫara, Kammama, Ḫattena; on this area see most recently the topological study of Kryszewski 2016); (2) the area of Nerik and Ḫakmiš with its surroundings to the north, see §7.4; (3) the districts encompassing Šapinuwa, Tapikka, Šariša, Šamuḫa, and Karaḫna to the east, see §7.5; and (d) the area of the middle Kızılırmak, stretching northwards up to (and perhaps beyond) Büklükale, see text no. 17. To which extent the cult inventories concern the area west of the Kızılırmak is unclear; to this region we can only assign one inventory referring to the district of Kaššiya (KBo 12.53+, text no. 7), and the uncertain cases of KUB 17.35 and KBo 2.1, pertaining to the area of Guršamašša and mount Šuwara (see the discussion in text no. 1 and text no. 2).

An overview of texts whose geographical scope is clear is presented in table 3, whereas map 2 provides a visual glance at the geographical distribution of the texts.

The overview includes only those texts whose geographical scope can be securely established *and* localized with certainty or a high degree of confidence. Besides them, there are many more texts for which the geographical scope can be investigated and determined with various degrees of plausibility based on the place names mentioned and their possible localizations. A systematic mapping of the corpus remains to be undertaken.

The significant limitations on the accuracy and completeness of the evidence presented above call for caution in drawing conclusions. Still some clear impressions do emerge. The evidence suggests a “minimalist” view on the geographical scope of the cult inventories, which in some way parallels that of the alleged cult reorganization of Tudḫaliya. The geographical

Table 3: Overview of the geographical scope of the cult inventories

Text	Geographical Scope
<i>Central Districts</i>	
KUB 42.105 + KUB 54.45 + Bo 6572	Ĥiřarla, Iřtuĥila, Tařkuriya, Zilalimuna, Mezzuwa (area of Katapa)
KUB 57.108 (+) KUB 51.23	Udā, Uluna, řuwanzana, Anařepa, Wannada, Taparla (area of Zippalanda; see Lorenz and Rieken 2007, 470)
KUB 38.2	Area of Iřtaĥara and Kammama (Forlanini 2008a, 169)
KUB 55.15, KUB 38.14	Area of mount Daĥa (near Zippalanda)
KUB 38.19 + IBoT 2.102	Central districts
KBo 21.81 (+) KBo 34.106	Ĥattena
YH 2005/1	Yassiĥöyök
<i>The North</i>	
KUB 42.100+, KUB 25.22, KUB 25.24	Nerik
KUB 38.35	Ĥalinzuwa
KUB 13.32	Area of Nerik? (the Storm god of Za[ĥalukka] is inventoried)
KUB 58.29 + KUB 7.24	Taĥniwara, Takkupřa, Ĥawalkina
KUB 42.85 (+)? KUB 52.94	Area of Nerik? (the Storm god of Nerik, the war god, and Zaĥapuna are inventoried)
KUB 25.23+	Ĥakmiř and surrounding area
KBo 39.48 + KBo 40.42 (+) KBo 24.117, KUB 38.25, KUB 46.34	Northern districts
KUB 53.21	Area of Nerik or Ĥakmiř
<i>The East</i>	
KuSa I/1.3–13, KuSa I/1.39, Ku 99/153, KuT 54	řariřřa
KBo 12.53 + KUB 48.105 §§29'–34'	District of Tapikka
KUB 38.12 // KUB 38.15	Karaĥna; reference to Ĥurma and Kumma as “not included”

KUB 56.56	Ḫurma (region of Tegarama, see de Martino 2012, 377 with literature)
Kp 14/95+, Kp 15/7+	Šamuḫa
<i>The South</i>	
KBo 12.53 + KUB 48.105 §§1'–7'	District of Wašḫa[niya]
KBo 12.53 + KUB 48.105 §§8'–25'	District of Durmitta
KBo 70.109+ // KUB 38.6+, KUB 12.2	Area of the middle Kızılırmak
KBo 2.7, KBo 2.13	Wiyanuanta, Panišša, Mamnanta, Laršiliya (area of the middle Kızılırmak; see Forlanini 2009, 45–49)
KUB 38.1+	Tarammeka, Kunkuniya, Wiyawanta, Lapana, Tiura, Pirwaššuwa (area of the middle Kızılırmak; see Forlanini 2009, 45)
KUB 38.26 (+) KUB 38.27	Parminašša and others (west of the Salt Lake?; see Forlanini 2008b, 71–72 with nn. 73, 75)
IBoT 2.131 // Bo 3245	Area of the middle Kızılırmak
<i>The West</i>	
KBo 12.53 + KUB 48.105 §§26'–28'	District of Kaššiya
KUB 17.35, KBo 2.1	Guršamašša and surrounding area (western districts?)

scope of the texts seems to coincide with the districts placed under the direct control of the central administration, those districts that formed the core of the Hittite kingdom (§1.1.2). Neither Kizzuwatna nor northern Syria nor western Anatolia is represented in the corpus. Interestingly, this conclusion fits very well with (and represents a complement of) recent interpretations of the archaeological evidence, which view the Hittite Empire as a “multiple overlapping and intersecting socio-spatial network” and define a nuanced range of dominance relationship in Late Bronze Age Anatolia (Glatz 2009). Within this framework, the geographical scope of the cult inventories coincides with the “sphere of increasingly materially manifested direct imperial control on the central Anatolian plateau,” the area where Hittite material culture is most intensely observable (Glatz 2009, 138; see also 139, fig. 10, zone 1 and Schachner 2011, back cover map). Again, we can appreciate this conclusion both from an “economical” and a “religious” perspective, the two

spheres being largely two sides of the same coin. The evidence corroborates the conclusions reached for the question of whether and to what extent the process attested by the cult inventories is to be viewed as a coherent attempt to standardize the cults of the “land of Ḫattuša.” While the texts certainly attest to the “grip” the central power exerted on the local affairs, this grip does not aim to impose new cults or standardize the existing ones, but rather to preserve, restore, and in some cases enrich them (§5.3). In other words, the central power was concerned with but one theological issue, namely, the responsibility of ensuring continuity in the fulfillment of the cult obligations towards all the “gods of the land of Ḫattuša.” The occasional introduction of new cults, such as the basic seasonal festivals of autumn and spring, was always conceived as the *restoration* of rites that must once have existed at a location but were apparently forgotten; indeed, it is normally explicated as such. The topological evidence gained here seems to corroborate this view, showing that the grip of the central administration on local cults did not extend to the whole of the lands that stood in a subordinate relationship with Ḫattuša, but only to those districts that were part of the directly governed territory.

3

PALAEOGRAPHY, ORTHOGRAPHY, AND LANGUAGE

3.1. ORTHOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LINGUISTIC REMARKS

Cult inventories were composed by the central administration for internal use as reports serving the cult management in the provinces of the kingdom. As such, they represent the ideal context for the development of a technical jargon. The first attempts at a systematic identification and analysis of jargon in the Hittite written sources are the ground-breaking studies by E. Rieken focusing on the genres of festival and ritual texts (Rieken 2011 and 2014 respectively; see 2011, 207–9 for an informative overview of the topic, with further literature). The corpus of the cult inventories offers an opportunity for a contrastive analysis. Indeed, elements of a jargon are recognizable; moreover, some of them happen to be restricted to this corpus, a fact that further confirms its nature as an autonomous text genre (§2.2).

As far as orthography is concerned, the corpus displays much variety, which falls into two distinct categories: free variation and conditioned variation. Free variation refers to such phenomena as the interchange of different spellings within one and the same tablets. Specific patterns and more consistent tablets (or scribes) are sometimes attested (see, e.g., the case of *CTH* 510.1, text no. 17); for a curious example, see the distribution of the spellings of *dāiš* “(His Majesty) instituted” in *KBo* 12.53+ (text no. 7). Conditioned variation refers to those cases of variation that reflect consistent patterns of distribution. The most relevant case of conditioned variation pertains to the spelling of proper nouns. As is well known, the conventions of Hittite cuneiform orthography require proper nouns to be written in the stem form when they follow a heterographic cluster (see most recently Rieken and Yakubovich forthcoming; for previous interpretations see Neu 1979, 182–85). In some cult inventories, a notable extension of this rule can now be identified, insofar as these texts consistently spell proper nouns in the stem form even when they occur at the beginning of a paragraph or sentence: see, for example, *KBo* 2.13 (obv. 21), *KUB* 38.1+ (obv. i 1', 4', 29', obv. ii 1', rev. iv 1, 8, all GNs at the beginning of a paragraph; note that the inflected form is

used in obv. i 10' for a DN, also at the beginning of a paragraph), KUB 38.3 (rev. iii 11'), KBo 2.1 obv. i 37. Other texts, on the contrary, follow the usual convention, so that proper nouns are regularly inflected when they occur at the beginning of a paragraph or of a sentence: see, for example, KBo 2.7 (rev. 24), KUB 38.26(+) (rev. 25, 35'), KUB 38.2 (obv. ii 4', rev. iii 12, 18), KUB 38.4 (obv. i 1), KUB 38.6+ (obv. i 5', 9', 13', and passim) // KBo 70.109+ (obv. i 11', obv. ii 14, 32 and passim). The remarkable consistency in the observation of either pattern shows that we are faced with two sets of established conventions, both of which are permitted by the overarching orthographic system governing the corpus. Such differences seem to go back to different scribal trainings (cf. §2.2.2).

Differently than in palace inventories, common nouns are rarely spelled pseudo-Akkadographically within the corpus of the cult inventories. The few attested cases mostly pertain to free variability, as confirmed by the presence of (concurrent) inflected spellings in the same tablet or in parallel passages. This is the case of the spelling \dot{U} -*NU*-*WA*-*AN* in KBo 2.1 (obv. i 9 and rev. iii 15, text no. 2) and *GUR*-*ZI*-*IP* in KUB 38.6+ (obv. i 27', text no. 17). Different is the case of the shorthand writing ^{DUG}*HAR*-*ŠI*, which is regularly used in place of ^{DUG}*har-ši-aš* (gen. sg.) after the logogram *NINDA.GUR*₄.*RA* in some of texts: here, again, we are faced with two consistent patterns reflecting different orthographical usages (see §5.5.3).

The different treatment of pseudo-Akkadographic spellings of common nouns in cult inventories vis-à-vis palace inventories—rare in the former genre, frequent in the latter—is striking and calls for comment. It is argued here that the different distribution pattern may be explained by the different degree of morphosyntactical complexity that characterizes the two genres. Whereas palace inventories basically consist of simple lists of objects, cult inventories contain complex descriptions of objects and festivals, which would hardly be intelligible if common nouns were often spelled in the stem form. If correct, this observation has important consequences for the hypothesis that cult inventories might have been drafted also on the basis of hieroglyphic boards (§2.2.2). Today, most scholars agree that Luwian hieroglyphic orthography was still at an early stage in Late Bronze Age Anatolia. This means that it would not have been able to render complex morphosyntactical relations at the time when the extant cult inventories were drafted. It is therefore unlikely that cult inventories could have been drafted based on a hieroglyphic *Vorlage*, so that we may assume that the wooden (waxed) boards frequently referred to in the texts were inscribed in cuneiform script. The hypothesis of a hieroglyphic *Vorlage* might work, in principle, for palace inventories, but the frequency of stem forms in these texts seem to be better

explained as an effort-saving strategy than as a byproduct of script interference (so also Rieken and Yakubovich forthcoming).

Turning to general aspects of the orthography employed in the corpus, very frequent are abridged spellings without *scriptio plena* or without marking of a fortis stop (as in festival texts, see Rieken 2011, 213), for example, *ke-nu-(wa)-an-zi* and ^{DUG}*hu-pár*. Some spellings reflect phonetic phenomena. The most relevant case is the “nasal reduction” observable in the spelling of the pres. 3 pl. ending “...-zi” in place of the usual “...-an-zi,” which reflects the weakening of a nasal before a following obstruent (*GrHL*, 46–47 §135 with additional remarks in *GrHL Addenda*; see KBo 2.7, KBo 2.13, KUB 56.39, KUB 25.23+); the same phenomenon also in the part. nom. sg. com. *wa-tar-na-aḥ-ḥa-za* (KUB 17.35 rev. iv 6). Notable is the use of nom. forms instead of acc. forms in phrases like “(the priest) offers this and that,” to be viewed as an element of the conventions of these texts, where much of the paraphernalia are treated as if they were part of lists—which in a sense they are (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert; see, e.g., KUB 17.35, text no. 1, rev. iv 10). Luwian loanwords and Luwianisms deserve a separate investigation, as well as the use of gloss wedges. Noteworthy are the gloss-marking of *ta-ninu-* in KUB 56.39 and the treatment of the *i*-mutation of *annalla/i-* (§3.3.1) and ^{LÚ.MES}*ḥilammatta/i-* in KBo 2.1 and KUB 38.12 (see commentary on KBo 2.1 obv. i 23).

Typical linguistic features observed in the corpus of the cult inventories are the absence of the archaizing conjunction *ta* (Torri 2008, 548, for the presence of *ta* in festival texts see Rieken 1999b, 80) and the writing *-ma-aš* for *=ma=šmaš* (see §3.4.7). Cult inventories behave differently than festival texts also with respect to the three archaizing medio-passive verbal forms occurring in the latter corpus, namely, *paršiya* “he breaks (loaves of bread),” *ḥalziya* “it is called,” and *lukkatta* “the day breaks” (Rieken 2011, 212, expanding on work by Yoshida). The standard forms in cult inventories are *paršiyazi* and *paršiyanzi* (with archaizing *paršiya* rarely attested as well), nonarchaizing *ḥalziyari*, and *lukat(=ma)* or *lukatti(=ma)* (never *lukatta*, see §3.4.2). Note, finally, the use of rare sign values which seem to be specific to this text genre: TĒN with the value /dan/ (*pé-dan_x-zi*, *pé-dan_x*, *ú-dan_x-zi*) and LIŠ for /li/ (Carter 1962, 48 n. 3; Berman 1978, 123–24). Noteworthy are the rare examples of the so-called cleft construction in IBoT 2.131 obv. 24’, rev. 23, 33 (see commentary, text no. 6).

The most evident features characterizing the genre as a jargon pertain to lexicon and syntax, and consist of (1) the semantic specialization of certain words and expressions as formulas and *termini technici* (§§3.3–4), and (2) the development of strategies of language compression (§3.5).

3.2. PALAEOGRAPHY AND *SCHRIFTBILD*

Palaeography and the outer appearance of the script (*Schriftbild*) of the cult inventories are generally those typical of Hittite administrative texts of the thirteenth century BCE. Many tablets show cursive script, characterized by shallow impressions and marked aperture angle inclination of vertical wedges (Cammarosano 2015c, 167–70). Sometimes, cursive script also shows a marked slant of the verticals, either to the left (e.g., KUB 42.100+, KBo 70.109+) or to the right (KUB 56.39). The sign variants are those typical for the texts of the Late Empire, corresponding to the phases conventionally labeled NS and LNS. A look at the palaeographical summaries placed at the head of the text editions in §7 reveals that within one and the same tablet both “older” and “newer” variants of a sign can coexist, in some cases even with a curious distribution over the tablet (see KBo 12.53+, text no. 7).

Cursive sign variants are also attested (e.g., AR and DUG without broken horizontal and vertical respectively, or the “older” AZ in KBo 2.7), but again, neither are tablets always consistent in this respect, nor does the presence of cursive variants correlate with that of simplified variants of other signs. Also, it appears that there are both consistent and inconsistent scribes with respect to the use of alternative sign variants (e.g., for ḪA, DA, KI, NA). Furthermore, the group of tablets securely datable to Tudḫaliya IV does not seem to allow for the identification of sign variants that might be considered diagnostic for the dating.

These observations confirm that it is still not possible to establish a fine-tuned palaeographic system as a framework for the NS-LNS phase (Weeden 2011a, 50–51); they also show that individual contemporary scribes operate on the basis of different scribal traditions as well as different idiosyncratic habits. As one of the biggest corpora of administrative texts, cult inventories have the potential to expand our knowledge of how different mechanisms characterize different scribal traditions depending on text genre and function, but only a systematic annotation of the attested sign variants would allow for solid conclusions on this topic.

Finally, two peculiar sign variants and one abbreviated logogram deserve mention: the “halved” ALAM (ALAM_x) in KBo 2.1 and KUB 17.35 (text nos. 1, 2; see palaeographical commentaries), the idiosyncratic use of DÛ without inscribed vertical within the form DÛ-(an)-zi in Kp 14/95+ (text no. 14), and the writing ZAG.GAR for ZAG.GAR.RA in VSNF 12.111 (Miller 2005, 311; Groddek 2014, 158, with discussion and reference to analogous cases).

3.3. *TERMINI TECHNICI*

The development of *termini technici* and formulaic expressions, either as new words entering the lexicon or by semantic specialization of existing terms, represents a typical aspect of jargon (Rieken 2011 with literature). The formulas with the king as subject plus the verbs *dai-/te-/tiya-*, *katta hamenk-*, or *pai-/pe-/piya-* have already been discussed by Hazenbos 2003, 201–3. In the following overview, the most common formulas and *termini technici* found in the corpus are listed and briefly discussed.

3.3.1. Comparing: *annalla/i-*, “Former(ly)” and *kinun*, “Now”

These two words represent the most common *termini technici* in the corpus. They are used to distinguish between the former and present state of things, with respect to the moment when the inventory was drafted. Often, but by no means always, the two terms appear together, thus building a contrastive pair (see, e.g., KBo 2.1, KUB 38.12). In this case, the topicalizing particle =*ma* is frequently attached to *kinun*. Sometimes the form *kinuna* is found. In view of the fact that this form is generally interpreted as a mere late variant of *kinun* (GrHL, 395), it is interesting to note that some texts seem to contrast *kinuna* with *kinun=ma* (see IBoT 2.131, text no. 6, and Kp 14/95+, text no. 14). The contrastive use of *annalla/i-* and *kinun* in the cult inventories was already noted by Güterbock 1946, 486–87.

The counterpoint between the former state of the cult (*annalla/i-*) and actual measures taken by the king emerges also in the absence of the adverb *kinun*. This is best observed in KBo 2.1 (text no. 2), where the cult images that were already “in place since of old” (*annallan*) are contrasted with what the king “has made,” which is fronted in the clause (obv. i 40; ii 16, 24, 35, 41; rev. iii 2, 8, 15, 22, 29, 40; iv 6).

The label *annalla/i-* can be applied to any components of the cult, including cult images (e.g., KUB 38.23, where the “former” stelae are contrasted with the “new” [GIBIL] statuettes), personnel (e.g., KUB 38.12), festivals (e.g., KUB 55.14, KBo 2.8), and offerings (e.g., KBo 2.7). The stem *annalla/i-*, a Luwian loanword, undergoes i-mutation (Rieken 1994, 49–50 with n. 31; Melchert 2003, 187–88; GrHL 83 nn. 40, 86–87). This fact accounts for the variance in the attested spellings and forms. In the jargon of the cult inventories, *annalla/i-* may be used adjectivally or adverbially; the attested forms are *annalla*, *annalli*, *annallan*, *annallin* (rare), and *annallaz* (cf. Carter 1962, 178). Whereas *annallaz* is clearly adverbial, most occurrences of the other attested forms are predicative and depictive, often with ellipsis of some neuter word expressing the totality of the cult installation (thanks are due to C.

Melchert and E. Rieken for discussion on this point). For the depictive use of adjectives in Hittite see Rieken forthcoming a; a significant example can be found in KBo 2.7 obv. 7' (text no. 3). It seems that the scribes resorted to various strategies in using this element of the jargon: contrast, for example, the bewildering variance in the spelling of *annalla/i-* in KBo 12.53+ (text no. 7) with the consistent use of the form *annallan* in KBo 2.1 (text no. 2), regardless of the gender or number of the objects being referred to, suggesting that *annalla/i-* is not used as an attributive adjective there.

3.3.2. Supplying

3.3.2.1. *pai-/pe-/piya-*, “to give, to supply”

This verb is specialized as a *terminus technicus* for the supply of goods to be used as regular cult offerings. As such, the term is quite ubiquitous in the corpus. Perfective and imperfective forms are equally distributed, the latter ones have marked iterative or habitual value. Most often the verb appears in the pres. pl. 3 form. The subjects are mostly the inhabitants of the town inventoried, often also the local priest, the governor or another officer, rarely the king (so in KBo 12.53+, KUB 42.105+, KUB 57.108+⁷ KUB 51.23; Hazenbos 2003, 201–7); often, the provenience of the offerings is specified as well. The variant *appanda pai-/pe-/piya-* found in KUB 38.12 and KBo 12.53+ means perhaps “to supply additionally” (see commentary on KUB 38.12 obv. i 7–8, text no. 16).

3.3.3. Instituting, Establishing, Imposing

3.3.3.1. *dai-/te-/tiya-*, “to institute”

The pret. sg. 3 form *dāiš* is used as *terminus technicus* for the institution of offerings and festivals; within the corpus, this formula is found in about forty different texts. Very interestingly, when the verb is used without preverbs the king happens to be the only subject attested. In other words, the king emerges as the only person entitled to “institute” something in the context of the cult. There are some variants of the formula, depending on whether the subject precedes or follows the list of offerings and on whether the particle =*kan* is present or not (Hazenbos 2003, 202 n. 85, with examples). The king (𐎲UTU-ŠI, “His Majesty”) is mostly left anonymous, whereas the formula explicitly refers to Tudḫaliya (IV) in KBo 12.57, KUB 25.23+, and perhaps also in KUB 38.23 and Bo 3998. Note that *dai-/te-/tiya-* is used for the institution of festivals also in KUB 48.119, attributed to Ḫattušili III (del Monte 1978, 181; cf. de Roos 2007, 208–9). Sometimes, the verb *dai-* is combined with

=*kan* and *appanda*, which seems to refer to the institution of something additional: see Ku 99/153 obv. ii' 8'–9' and KUB 25.23+ obv. ii 44," with the king as subject, and also Kp 14/95+ obv. ii 13, 22, with the Commander of Ten as subject (here combined with *šarā dā*–; see the commentary on Kp 14/95+ obv. ii 13–15, text no. 14). In other instances, the verb is combined with *kattan* (without =*kan*), likely in the meaning "to employ, to assign" (Kp 14/95+ obv. i 39, 41, ii 6, 8); here, it is various lands or groups of people that are subject or object of the expression.

3.3.3.2. *katta ḥamenk*–, "to fix, to mandate"

Formulas constructed with this verb are attested in a dozen different texts within the corpus, and can have the king, officers, or offerings and festivals as subject. According to Hazenbos (2003, 202) "the attestations of this formula mostly relate to offerings that certain groups of people have to bring." See already Archi 1973a, 18 n. 48 and *HED* H, 64–68. The basic meaning of *ḥamenk*– (with preverb *anda*) is "to tie, bind." The use with *kattan* (here in the basic sense "with, together" rather than "below") may give an overall contextual sense of "to add, supplement" (kindly suggested by C. Melchert).

3.3.3.3. *tarrawae*– and *ḥandā(e)*–, "to establish"

These verbs are rare in the corpus. The most interesting case is that of two pairs of cult inventories, namely, VSNF 12.111 with KUB 57.97 and KBo 2.7 with KBo 2.13 (the latter couple corresponds to text no. 13). Each of these pairs consist of subsequent versions of reports pertaining to the same geographical area: VSNF 12.111 and KBo 2.7 are the previous, more detailed versions, whereas KUB 57.97 and KBo 2.13 are the summary versions compiled at a later stage (for details see Cammarosano 2013, 95–100). Interestingly, both KBo 2.7 and VSNF 12.111 display two peculiar formulas referring to royal measures, namely, ^dUTU-ŠI *tarrāuwait* and EZEN₄(-ŠU ...) *tarrāuwānza* in KBo 2.7, ^dUTU-ŠI *ḥandāet* (SI×SĀ-*et*) / EZEN₄ *ḥandanza* (SI×SĀ-*anza*) in VSNF 12.11 (see Cammarosano 2013, 99 n. 176 for attestations). Both sets of formulas basically mean "His Majesty has established/arranged" / "The(ir) festival has been established/arranged"; the precise rationale for the choice of *tarrawae*– against *ḥandā(e)*– and vice versa is not clear. The verb *ḥandāe*– (SI×SĀ) may, but must not, refer to oracular practices; for the meaning "to be ordered according to..." applied to festivals cf. the "Bronze Tablet" (Bo 86/299) rev. iii 62–64. The parallel of these two pairs of inventories is even more striking since *tarrawae*– and *ḥandā(e)*– are very rarely attested in the corpus. The first one is attested in a recurring formula of KUB 38.12, "the

festivals have been established according to the *gaštarḥaida* writing board” (see text no. 16 with commentary on obv. i 18).

3.3.4. Selecting

3.3.4.1. *parā app-/ēpp-*, “to select, single out”

This verb (both with and without the particle =*kan*, in KUB 38.12 obv. i 6 also with *appanda*) is used as a *terminus technicus* for the selection of cult personnel (cf. *HW*² E, 82; Houwink ten Cate 1992, 126; *CHD* P, 111). For examples, see KBo 2.1 obv. i 23, ii 4; KUB 38.12 i 3–7, ii 19, iii 6, 11, ii 19, iii 6'; KUB 57.108+ ii 8'; Kp 15/7+ obv. ii 25.

3.3.4.2. *anda app-/ēpp-*, “to include”

This verb is used as a *terminus technicus* to mark that certain items have been included (or not included) in lists and totals; see *HW*² E, 66.

3.3.4.3. *arḥa išḫuwa-*, “to throw out, to discard”

This verb, attested in KUB 38.12 and Kp 15/7+, is used as *terminus technicus* to mark items to be discarded; see commentary on KUB 38.12 rev. iii 10'–11' (text no. 16), with discussion.

3.3.5. Building, Constructing, and Renewing

3.3.5.1. *wete/a-*, *weda-*, “to build,” *iya-*, “to make,” *appan iya-*, “to renew”

Such formulas do not require comment: these verbs are regularly used as *termini technici* for the construction of shrines (*wete/a-*, *weda-*) and cult images (*iya-*), as well as for their renewal (*appa iya-*, KUB 38.12 obv. ii 6).

3.4. FORMULAS IN FESTIVAL DESCRIPTIONS

The “festival descriptions” contained in the cult inventories attest to a number of formulas and technical expressions. On the one hand, these clearly draw on a shared jargon and on a common imagery; on the other hand, the remarkable variance in the usage of some formulas is one of the elements that speak against the idea that the festival descriptions of the cult inventories reflect a standardized pattern (§5.3).

3.4.1. The Coming of Autumn and Spring

The festivals of autumn and spring are inherently connected to the cycle of seasons (§5.5.1). There are essentially two ways to refer to them, with variants attested for each one. The first is rooted in the rites of the pithos, the *ḥarši(yalli)* vessel, which functioned as a symbol for fertility and the seasonal cycle (§5.5.3). Thus, the autumn festival is the “festival of pouring (*išḫuwa-*, *šuhḫa-*) into the pithos” (pace Miller 2005, 310), whereas the spring festivals is the “festival of opening (*kenu-*, *ḥaš-/ḥeš-*) the pithos”; alternative labels are simply “autumn festival” and “spring festival” (see §5.5.2). Interestingly, the verb *išḫuwa-* is normally used in connection with ^{DUG}*ḥaršiyalli*, and *šuhḫa-* with ^{DUG}*ḥarši* (Gurney 1940, 121 n. 5, Carter 1962, 190), although exceptions do exist (KBo 2.7 rev. 28, KUB 58.29+ obv. i 5). Within festival descriptions, the autumn festival is normally introduced by the formula *mān(=kan) ANA* ^d... *zēni* ^{DUG}*ḥarši šuhḫanzi*, “When in autumn they pour into the pithos for the deity ...” (e.g., KBo 2.7 obv. 6’). Variants of this formula include KUB 17.35 rev. iii 1 (*mān ANA* ^d10 EZEN₄ *zēni*); KUB 57.97 obv. i 7–9 ([^{DUG}*ḥ*]*arši=ma=kan* EZEN₄ *zeni šuhḫanzi* ⁸[*m*]*ān ANA* ^d*iyaya* ^{PÚ}*kuwannaniya* ⁹[EZ]EN₄ *zeni DÛ-anzi*); KUB 56.40 iii 17’ (*zeni šuhḫanzi*); KBo 2.7 rev. 12 (*mān=kan zēni DÛ-ri ANA* ^d10 ^{HUR.SAG}*kenkališa* [^{DUG}*ḥarši šuhḫanzi*], note the aberrant nom. sg. *zēni*).

The spring festival is normally introduced by the formula GIM-*an ḥamešḫanza DÛ-ri tetḫai* ^{DUG}*ḥarši kēnuanzi*, “When spring comes (and) it thunders, they break open the pithos” (e.g., KBo 2.7 obv. 9’, rev. 16). The formula refers both to the rite of the pithos and to the first thunder, which signalled the outbreak of spring (§5.5.2). Also for this formula variants are attested: see KUB 17.35 obv. ii 12’ (GIM-*an=ma DIŠI DÛ-ri tetḫiman išta-maššanzi*); rev. iii 24’ (*mān ANA* ^{PÚ.GAL} EZEN₄ *DIŠI DÛ-anzi*); rev. iv 19 ([*mān ANA* ^d10] EZEN₄ ^{DUG}*ḥarši ḥēšuwāš DÛ-anzi*); KUB 38.32 rev. iv 13’ (GIM-*an=ma tetḫai*); KUB 25.23+ obv. i §8’ (GIM-*an=ma ḥamišḫi tetḫai*, note the confusion between variants of the formula at obv. i 8’, on which see the commentary).

3.4.2. The Coming of Dawn

Within festival descriptions, each new day is introduced by the expressions *lukat*, *lukat=ma*, *lukatti=ma* “at dawn” > “on the morrow, on the following day.” For these adverbial forms, see Neu 1980, 16–19 and CHD L–N, 76–78. Differently than in festival texts (Rieken 2011, 212), the functionally equivalent form *lukkatta*, an archaism in late texts, is not attested in the cult inventories.

3.4.3. The Coming of Sunset

There is no standard formula for the coming of sunset, which is usually introduced by expressions like *išpanti* (KUB 44.42), *maḥḥan=ma nekuzi* (KUB 17.35), *maḥḥan=ma išpanza kišari* (KUB 38.25), *maḥḥan=ma nekuza mēḥuni kišari* (KBo 2.13; on this form, see the commentary on KBo 2.13 obv. 19), all meaning “when it gets dark,” “when evening comes.”

A group of texts, however, uses a peculiar formula of poetic character: GIM-*an*(=*ma*) “UTU AN-E *laḥḥurnuzziuš appanzi*, “When the leafy branches seize the Sun god of Heaven ...” (first interpreted as such by Goetze 1969, 116). On the stem *laḥḥurnuzzi-* and the contrast between count vs. collective plural in the attested contexts see the insightful observations of Melchert (2000, 66, with further literature). With one exception, the formula is attested only in cult inventories, and the few cases where the geographical scope of the text can be determined all refer to the area of Ḫakmiš: (1) KUB 25.23+ obv. i 23’, 48’, ii 17’, 34’–35’, rev. iii 8–9 (text no. 13, area of Ḫakmiš, to this text may belong also the fragmentary attestation in Bo 8531 6’); (2) KUB 17.36 l. 11’ (area unknown); (3) KUB 58.29 + KUB 7.24 obv. i 20–21 (Hazenbos 2003, 27; the text treats the town Takkupša, hence the area of Ḫakmiš or Nerik, see Barjamovic 2011, 269 with n. 1047, cf. KBo 14.42 6’); (4) KUB 56.39 obv. ii 4’–5’, iv 25–26 (text no. 5, town of Šuwarzapa, area unknown; note here the pl. nom. com. *laḥḥurnuziaš*, probably the form quoted as nom. sg. com. by Szabó 1975, 339 no. 1 without reference, to which CHD L–N, 16 refers); (5) Bo 5230 l. col. 8’ (Fuscagni 2007, 102–3, area unknown); (6) HT 71 + IBoT 3.100 l. 11’ (area unknown); (7) KBo 26.151 obv. i 10’ (area unknown); (8) KBo 14.142 obv. ii 17 (CTH 698.IA, offerings for the Aleppine Teššub and Ḫebat at Ḫattuša, for the dating at Ḫattušili III or Tudḫaliya IV see Archi 2006, 159). In KUB 38.25 obv. i’ 7’, the form *laḥḥurnuzziyaš* is most probably not part of the formula; be that as it may, this cult inventory refers to the area of Ḫakmiš too. The close connection with the cult inventories and the possible relationship to the area of Ḫakmiš suggest that this formula might be rooted in the northern region of the kingdom. The imagery of wooded mountains has a suggestive yet unrelated parallel in the Mesopotamian literary image “Utu, as you emerge from the pure nether heavens, as you pass over mount Ḫašur ...,” where the mountain owes its name to the homonymous tree (see Woods 2009, 190, kindly pointed out by S. Alaura). It is worth noting that the image of the sunset as branches seizing the solar disk diverges from typical Indo-European imagery, traces of which seem to survive in Luwian-Hittite contexts, where the sunset is compared to a color-changing veil (Dardano 2010): might this be a hint that the sun-seizing branches are rooted in the Hattian culture?

For the sake of completeness, two more images featuring the Sun God of Heaven, the solar disk, can be listed here. The first one, also denoting a time of the day, is found in KUB 42.100+ (text no. 12): “As soon as the Sun god of Heaven glo[ws] ...,” within the description of a festival for the Storm God of Zaḫaluka in Nerik (obv. i 5). The second one is found in a much-discussed passage of Muwattalli II’s prayer to the Storm God of Lightning CTH 381: “Sun-god of Heaven, my lord, shepherd of mankind; you, Sun-god of Heaven, arise from the sea, and you take your stand in heaven” (KUB 6.45+ rev. iii 13–15, transl. Singer 1996, 39; for the possible Mesopotamian origin of the image, see now Alaura 2014, 44).

3.4.4. The Sacrifice

The fundamental rite of any festival is the “offering” or “sacrifice,” a binding transfer of a substance from the man to the gods (§6.4). Two verbs crucially define the offering, namely, *šipant-*, “to libate, to consecrate, to offer” and *ḫuek-*, “to slaughter, to conjure.” Both verbs undergo semantic and syntactic changes in Hittite: for *šipant-* see Goetze 1970–1971; Kühne 1986, 115–16 n. 120; Rieken 2014c, 219–20; for *ḫuek-* see Rieken 2014c.

In the cult inventories, the verb *šipant-* has the meaning “to sacrifice, to offer” (most frequently, an animal to a deity). As is well known, the combination of *šipant-* with an enclitic particle (=š_{an} or =k_{an}) depends on the semantics: *šipant-* with particle means “to consecrate,” insofar as the animal is still alive after performing it, whereas *šipant-* without particle means “to sacrifice, to offer (in cultic context)” (Goetze 1970–1971, 85–92). The cult inventories generally follow this tendency, see, for example, KUB 17.35 obv. ii 19’, iii 3, 28, iv 9 (*šipant-* with particle, followed by a reference to the slaughtering [*ḫuek-*]) and KBo 2.7 obv. 25’, rev. 20 (*šipant-* without particle, not followed by a reference to the slaughtering). But exceptions are attested: see, for example, KBo 2.13 obv. 14, rev. 6’ (*šipant-* without particle, followed by a reference to slaughtering, *pace* Goetze 1970–1971, 89, but cf. obv. 4) and KUB 25.23+ obv. i 16’, 27’, 42’–43’, obv. ii 29’, rev. iv 52’ (*šipant-* with particle, not followed by a reference to slaughtering, but cf. obv. ii 34’–37’, l. e. ‘a’ 4).

Differently than in festival texts, “wine” is never implied as direct object of *šipant-*, no doubt because among local cults the standard drink offering is that of beer, not of wine (see §6.4; for the context of festival texts, see Rieken 2014c, 219).

Interestingly, *šipant-* is always attested with an overt direct object in the corpus of the cult inventories. As for the subject of the formula, three options are attested: (1) overt subject, a priest (e.g., KUB 17.35 obv. ii 19’, rev. iii 3–4, iii 28, iv 9, iv 20 [SANGA-priest]; KUB 25.23+ obv. i 16’ [SANGA-priest], l. e.

‘a’ 4 [“man of the Storm God”]; KUB 44.1 obv. 7’; KUB 44.21 obv. ii 3 [GUDU-priest]); (2) impersonal (pl. 3 form, the usual spellings are BAL-*zi*, BAL-*an-zi*, e.g., KUB 25.23+ obv. i 27’, KUB 17.35 obv. ii 31’, KBo 2.7 obv. 7’, KUB 56.39 obv. ii 28’, but note Kp 15/6+ rev. iii 9’ BAL-*ippanzakanzi*, KUB 25.23+ obv. i 43’ *šippantanzi*); (3) rarely, covert subject, sg. 3 form, with subject change and the priest as implicit subject (so in KBo 2.13 obv. 14, see §3.5.3).

In the more detailed accounts of festivals, the reference to the offering (*šipant-*) is supplemented by the information on where the sacrifice takes place. To this purpose the impersonal pres. pl. 3 form *hūkanzi*, “they slaughter” is used, together with a specification, usually “at the altar,” “at the stela,” or “at the pithos” (see §6.4.2; for iconographic evidence, see fig. 1). Within this context, *hūek-* evidently means “to slaughter” (Goetze 1970–1971, 89–90, note also the analogous contexts with verbs like “hit,” “kill,” “cut open” etc., pp. 88–92). The meaning “to conjure,” attested in other text genres (Rieken 2014c), is never attested in the examined corpus of cult inventories apart from a single exception (see presently). From this conclusion it follows that *hūek-* is usually constructed with null object in the context under discussion: see, for example, KUB 17.35 obv. ii 19’–20’ ¹⁰SANGA 1 GU₄ 1 UDU ANA ⁴UTU MĒ BAL-*anti* ^{20’}NA₄ZI.KIN *hūkanzi šuppa tiyanzi*, “And the priest offers 1 bull and 1 sheep to the Sun Goddess of the Water. They slaughter (them) at the stela; they place the meat (there).” Interestingly, in KUB 38.26(+) two patterns are attested for the description of the offering: (1) 1 UDU (*vel sim.*) BAL-(*an-*)*ti hūkanzi*, “he offers 1 sheep (*vel sim.*), they slaughter (them),” with covert change of subject and null object (obv. 37’; rev. 3–4, 22), and (2) 1 UDU (*vel sim.*) *hūkanzi*, “they slaughter 1 sheep (*vel sim.*)” (obv. 31’ 47’; no doubt also in obv. 55’). The fact that in the latter case the animals appear as the overt object of *hūek-* suggests that the expression has to be interpreted accordingly also in the other texts, thus that *hūek-* is used there with null object, not in absolute use. The only exception to this general usage is found in KUB 56.39 obv. ii 18’–19’ (text no. 5), where in the description of the festival of the grain pile for the local storm god we read: x x 1 UDU ¹⁰SANGA ⁴10 BAL-*anti* ^{19’}šēlan *hūkanzi*. A secundative construction analogous to *eku-* + accusative of the god = “to toast a god” (Melchert 1981) would be possible in principle, but since this is not attested for *hūek-* (Rieken 2014c, 223) the assumption that the verb takes here the value of “to conjure” seems more probable (“The priest offers 1 sheep to the storm god; they conjure the grain pile”).

3.4.5. Presenting the Meat

The standard formula for the presentation of the meat at the occasion of the cult meal is *šuppa hūēšawaz zeyantaz tiyanzi*, “they place the meat (there),

from the raw and from the cooked” (partitive ablative, see, e.g., KUB 25.23+ i 17’). Sometimes, a shorter formula is found (*šuppa tiyanzi*, e.g., KUB 56.39 ii 19’), and rarely a variant with nominative-accusative is attested (KUB 44.42; KUB 25.23+ rev. iv 40’, 53’, note the standard formula with ablative in all other occurrences in the tablet). The first to interpret this expression correctly was Goetze (1957a, 164 n. 12, *pace* Hazenbos 2003, 29 n. 67). The formula refers to the portion of the sacrifice that was reserved for the gods (§6.4.2).

3.4.6. Feasting

The fundamental moments of the cult meal (or feast) are referred to by four formulaic expressions: “they break loaves of bread” (if need be, the dimension of the loaves is specified), “they fill the *BIBRU*-vessels,” “they eat (and) drink,” “they provide the cups”—*NINDA.GUR₄.RA paršīyanzi*; *BIBRU=kan šunnanzi*; *adanzi akuwanzi*; *GAL^{HLA}=kan aššanu(w)anzi* (a variant with infinitive *aššanummanzi*, “(the cups) are to be provided” is also attested). Interestingly, these expressions are found always in the same sequence, although not all of them are always present; in KUB 17.35 and KBo 2.13, the list of offerings “at the altar” is inserted in between. The asyndetic formula *adanzi akuwanzi*, “they eat (and) drink” (§3.5.2) signals the beginning of the meal; note the presence of enclitic =*šmaš* in KUB 17.35 obv. i 27’, on which see the commentary *ad locum*. In a few cases, the information on the cups being provided is complemented by an additional remark, namely, *GAL^{HLA}=kan IGI-ziaš GAL^{HLA} SI×SÁ-anteš*, lit. “the cups are in accord with the first cups,” probably to be understood in the sense that all the cups conform to the first ones (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert); see KUB 17.35 obv. i 11’, 23’, rev. iv 12’–13’, 23’ [restored]; KUB 57.67 obv. 6’; KUB 60.140 obv. 7’, 12’–13’, rev. 15’–16’).

3.4.7. Rejoicing

Among the most typical and interesting formulas of the corpus, the expression *DINGIR-LUM-* / *DINGIR^{MES}-ma-aš-kán dušk(išk)anzi*, “(they) rejoice in the god(s)” denotes a moment of “joy” taking place after the cult meal at the climax of the seasonal festivals. The expression apparently refers to manifestations of joy and exuberance, probably consisting of songs, music and dance, enacted by the *hazkara*-women and perhaps also by the local community that took part in the festival (§5.6). For details and discussion, see Cammarosano 2014b, 138–53, and note the shorthand writing *-ma-aš-* for =*ma=šmaš* with the enclitic pronoun in reflexive function. The formula was previously interpreted transitively in the sense of “they entertain the gods.”

Admittedly, the intransitive interpretation of *dušk-* + reflexive particle with acc. is still not conclusively proven, insofar as a transitive interpretation is indeed possible for both passages deemed crucial for the new analysis, namely, KUB 24.8+ rev. iii 5'–6' (the story of Appu) and KUB 14.7 rev. iv 11–14 (the prayer of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna; see Cammarosano 2014b, 142–43). In the latter case, Rieken et al. 2016a (colon 136 with n. 67) opt for the transitive interpretation based on the argument that it better explains the *tertium comparationis* for the plea to come. But this argument is not compelling. Indeed, the logical chain of the text may well be led by the concept of reward: parents do reward a wetnurse (and he or she rejoices over it) > Ḫattušili took care of the gods' beloved city, Nerik > may the gods reward Ḫattušili. Moreover, a nice parallel for the inner rejoicing of the supplicant is provided by a passage of Muwattalli II's prayer to the assembly of gods CTH 381, colon 143, KUB 6.45+ rev. iii 60: *ug=a=kan ANA ^mNIR.GÁL ANA ARAD-KA ZI-anz(a) anda dušgai* "As for me, Muwattalli, your servant, (my) soul will rejoice inside (me)" (kindly pointed out by E. Rieken; transliteration of Rieken et al. 2016b, transl. Singer 1996, 41). Overall, the constant presence of the reflexive particle hints at the intransitive interpretation for *dušk-* + reflexive particle with accusative, which is therefore retained here.

The spelling *-ma-aš*, which is not restricted to the genre of cult inventories, stands for (=ma)=šmaš within the "rejoicing formula." This is to be interpreted as shorthand writing, or perhaps as interference with Luwian *-m-anz(a)* (see for this option Rieken 2014b, 168). Besides the standard formula with *dušk*, we also find variants constructed with the derivative *duškaratt-*, usually in the nominative (*duškaraz*, "(there is) rejoicing"), but also in the comitative ablative (*duškarataz*, "with rejoicing (they do such and such)"). Analogous to the standard formula, such expressions occur either after the reference to the cult meal and/or to ritual contests, or at the very end of the festival description.

3.4.8. "Bringing the Gods"

Some cult inventories attest to a formulaic usage of the verb *peda-*, "to take (somewhere), to carry off" in connection with the celebration of festivals. Object of the expression are gods and festivals, and the verb always appears in the periphrastic perfect (*pedan ḫarkanzi*, "they have brought"), normally with reflexive pronoun. The formula is mostly found at the end of a section or within the colophon.

In KBo 2.7 obv. i 17' (text no. 3), the formula concludes the description of a spring festival: DINGIR^{MES} NA₄ZI.KIN=ma=šmaš *pedan ḫarkanzi*, "They

have ‘brought’ the ‘gods of the stela’” (on the label “gods of the stela” see §4.4.3.3 and commentary on KUB 38.12 rev. iii 22’–23’). In KUB 56.40 rev. iii 12’ (Hazenbos 2003, 76) and KUB 38.26(+) obv. 39’’, 49’’, 57’’ (text no. 4) the “deities of the lot(s)” are the object of the formula, which reads DINGIR^{MES} *pulaš pedan ħarkanzi*, “they have ‘brought’ the ‘deities of the lot(s).” Both in KBo 2.7 and in these occurrences, the formula concludes the descriptions of spring festivals in which the gods are taken to extramural stelae sanctuaries, thus allowing the hypothesis that the reference is to the procession that led to them. In KUB 56.39 rev. iv 31–32 (text no. 5), the formula is found in the colophon of the tablet: ^d10=*kán* ^dUTU ^{URU}PŪ-na ³²*pedan ħarkanzi*, “They have ‘brought’ the Storm God (and) the Sun Goddess of Arinna.” Two further occurrences are found in KUB 42.100+ obv. ii 32 and 36 (text no. 12), where festivals are the object of the expression: *kūš=ma=šmaš* EZEN₄^{MES} *pedan ħarkanzi*, “they have ‘brought’ these festivals.” The formula occurs here within a report on oracular inquiries that had been carried out in order to ascertain which festivals were to be celebrated. In this case, the expression cannot have the meaning of “to bring to the stelae,” but rather seems to mean “to establish the celebration” of festivals. This would fit the other occurrences as well, where the formula applies to gods rather than festivals. In view of the uncertainty about its precise meaning, the formula is translated literally in the text editions of §7. Finally, an occurrence of the formula seems to be present in KBo 12.53+ rev. 30 (text no. 7), at the end of the section concerning the district of Durmitta. The context is fragmentary, and object of *peda-* are here the cult images: [...] *x-za* DINGIR^{MES}-*tar pedan ħar[kanzi (?)]* KUR^{URU} *durmitta QATI* “[... they] have ‘brought’ the divine images. The district of Durmitta is compl[eted].”

3.5. SYNTACTIC PHENOMENA

3.5.1. Nominal Style and List-Grammar Constructions

The syntactic phenomena discussed here pertain principally to strategies of language compression, serving a swift yet accurate transmission of information (Rieken 2011, 209 with literature). The main strategies observed in the corpus are the nominal style, ellipses, serial and asyndetic construction, and covert subject change.

Cult image descriptions—for example, KUB 38.3 obv. i 9–18 (text no. 10)—provide excellent examples of the nominal style that is found in administrative texts and other genres as a component of jargonistic language (Rieken 2011, 212). Phonetic complementation can provide an insight into how the scribes perceived syntactic relations within these lists. An interesting case is

that of the information on statuettes representing gods as “standing” (GUB, Hittite *arant-*) or “seated” (TUŠ, Hittite *ašant-*). Three different strategies can be ascertained, depending on whether the participle is found in the sg. nom. neut., then in agreement with *ešri*, “statuette” (pattern A), or in the sg. nom. com., then in agreement with the god (pattern B), or in the sg. gen. in adverbial function (pattern C). The last option is seemingly influenced by the formula GUB-*aš* / TUŠ-*aš*, which is ubiquitous in festival texts and is probably related to the so-called free-standing genitive (Neu 1982, 147 n. 75; *GrHL*, 256–57 §16.64; Rieken 2011, 211; cf. *HW*², 207–8; and Holland 1986, 164–65 n. 2). If additional participles are present, a secondary distinction can be made within the first and third pattern, depending on whether the participle agrees with the god or with the cult image.

The following examples shall exemplify the variance attested in the perception of these syntactic relations.

Pattern A with additional participle in the nom. com. sg.: see, for example, KUB 38.1+ obv. i 10'–12', rev. iv 1–2 and passim (text no. 9): ^d*iš-ḥa-aš-ḥu-ri-ia-aš al-da-an-ni-iš* ¹¹DINGIR-LIM-tar 1 ALAM MUNUS GIŠ KÛ.BABBAR GAR.RA [^]*ḥu-u-pí-ta-a-u-wa-an-za* TUŠ-an, “Spring Išḫašḫuriya: the divine image is 1 statuette of a woman, of wood, plated with silver; she is *veiled*; (the statuette is) seated” (KUB 38.1+ obv. i 10'–12', on the interpretation of the form *ḥupidanza*, “veiled” see commentary on KUB 38.26(+) obv. 50, text no. 4). In KUB 38.3 obv. ii 6–8 (text no. 10), the additional participle agrees with neut. *ešri* “statuette,” showing that the pattern applies independently on the sequence in which the elements are listed: INA ^{URU}*za-an-zi-iš-na* ^{HUR}^{SAG}*iš-ki-[ša-aš]* ⁷DINGIR¹-LIM-tar¹ 1 ALAM GIŠ KÛ.BABBAR GAR.RA LÚ GUB-an [TÚG] *wa-aš-ša-an ŠA* 1 SIG.KÛŠ ^s*ku-un-zi-ia-la-za a-ni-ia-an*, “In the town of Zanzišna: Mount Iški[ša] (“mountain ridge”): the divine image is 1 statuette of wood, plated with silver, of a man, standing, clothed [(with) a garment], of 1 *short cubit*, treated⁷ with *kunziyala*-(pigment?).”

Pattern B: see, for example, KUB 38.2 obv. i 21' (text no. 8): ^dLIŠ *ḥal-zi-ia-u-wa-aš* ALAM KÛ.SI₂₂ LÚ GUB-an-za, “Šawuška of Summoning: a statuette of gold; he is a standing man”; similarly in KUB 17.35 rev. iii 23 (text no. 1), KBo 2.1 obv. i 34 and passim (text no. 2), KUB 38.6+ rev. iv 16' // KBo 70.109+ rev. iv 14' (text no. 17).

Pattern C: see, for example, KUB 17.35 obv. ii 36' (text no. 1): 1 ALAM_x LÚ GUB-*aš* AN.BAR, “1 statuette of a man, standing”; similarly in KBo 2.1 rev. iv 3 (text no. 2). Also with additional participle in the sg. nom. com., see, for example, KUB 38.26(+) obv. 50”; ditto, with additional participle in the sg. nom. neut., see KUB 38.6+ obv. i 27' (cf. KBo 2.1 ii 22).

A perusal of the texts nos. 1–2, 4, 8–11, and 17 reveals eighteen occurrences for pattern A (texts nos. 8–11), seven occurrences for pattern B (texts

nos. 1, 2, 8, 17), and sixteen occurrences for pattern C (texts nos. 1, 2, 4, 17). The analysis of the relevant passages leads to the following conclusions. On the one hand, more than one pattern can be used within a single tablet; on the other hand, the distribution of the variants turns up to be meaningful: first, scribe-specific preferences for this or that pattern emerges, and second, at least in some tablets such preferences are stylistically driven by the kind of cult image that represents the object of the description. The last point is well exemplified by KBo 2.1, where, out of thirteen attestations of pattern C, twelve pertain to statuettes, while descriptions of theriomorphic vessels mostly follow pattern B.

3.5.2. Ellipses; Serial and Asyndetic Constructions

Ellipses as well as serial and asyndetic constructions are typical phenomena of language compression, frequently attested throughout the corpus; these categories partially overlap with each other, so that single attestations may be assigned to more of them at the same time.

Pronouns, direct objects, and even entire phrases may be dropped if they can be derived from the context. Telling examples of this kind of ellipsis are found in KBo 2.1 rev. iii 12 (^{LU}SANGA *na-a-wi*₃, “There is not yet a priest,” text no. 2), IBoT 2.131 obv. 9’ (*ku-^r it-wa’ A-BI ^{UTU}-ŠI LUGAL-iz-zi-ia-at-ta nu Ū-UL ‘SUM’-a[n-zi]*, “Since the father of His Majesty ruled as king, they do not supply (offerings any more),” text no. 6), KUB 38.2 rev. iii 20 (*zé-e-ni ‘ha-me’-eš-^{hi} LÚ^{MES URU} pa-a-da*, “The people of the town Pada (regularly celebrate his 2 festivals) in autumn and spring,” text no. 8).

The most interesting kind of ellipsis occurring in the corpus as an element of the jargon are null objects. Null objects very rare in Hittite grammar, but they have been recognized as a characterizing feature of the highly compressed jargon of the festival texts, as recently established by Pflugmacher (2016). Interestingly, some of the verbs that are attested in null object constructions in cult inventories are the same as are attested in festival texts, but other verbs are attested with null object only in cult inventories and vice versa. This fact corroborates Pflugmacher’s conclusion that null objects are restricted to constructions that occur with high frequency within a specific text genre, thus representing an element of a technical jargon. Within the texts edited in §7, null object constructions are attested for the verbs *huk-*, “to slaughter,” *pai-/pe-/piya-*, “to give,” *peda-* and *uda-*, “to bring,” *dai-/te-/tiya-*, “to place,” and *taninu-*, “to arrange.” Some tablets, on the other hand, do use null objects very rarely or not at all (KUB 25.23+, IBoT 2.131). The fact that the texts with and without null objects are contemporary to each other show that the use of this feature varied from scribe to scribe.

Another typical case of ellipsis is that of the asyndetic formula *mallanzi ḥarranzi*, “they grind (and) mill (the grain contained in the pithos)” (§5.5.3). The object, namely, the wheat, is mostly left unexpressed, but is overtly mentioned, for example, in KBo 2.7 obv. 24, rev. 18 (ZÍZ); KUB 38.32 rev. iv 26’ (ZÍZ); HT 71+ 2’ (*ḥalki-*). In general, asyndeton is very frequent in the cult inventories. A good case in point is the formula *adanzi akuwanzi*, “they eat (and) drink” (§3.4.6): since the actions of eating and drinking were presumably contemporaneous rather than sequential, the wording *adanzi akuwanzi* (against expected **adanzi akuwanzi=ya*) is best interpreted as a case of asyndeton. Note that this formula does not feature a null object, but rather an absolute construction (“*absoluter Gebrauch*”; for a crosslinguistic appraisal of verbs of eating and drinking see Næss 2009, kindly pointed out by M. Pflugmacher).

Finally, there are frequent examples of a construction that may be most conveniently labeled as consecutive (Garrett 1990, 75–76; van den Hout 2010b, 192–94), where two (or more) covertly coordinated verbs refer to distinct events having the same object or theme. See the phrases ^{NA}ZI.KIN ŠE.NAGA-*anzi* Ì-*anzi*, “they wash (and) anoint the stela” (e.g., KUB 17.35 obv. ii 18’), *n=at* LÚ^{MES} URU^{URU}urišta *mallanzi ḥarranzi*, “(They open the pithos), and the men of Urišta grind (and) mill it(s) content)” (KUB 25.23+ obv. i 38’–39’, cf. also KBo 2.7 obv. 24, rev. 18 cited above).

3.5.3. Covert Change of Subject and Free Variance within the Offering Formula

Covert changes of subject are quite widespread in the festival descriptions embedded in cult inventories. The two typical cases are: (1) covert subject change from third-person pl. to third-person sg., and (2) from third-person sg. to third-person pl. The most frequent examples of the former kind are those constructed with the verb *šipant-*, “to offer,” whereby the object is either the sacrificed animal(s) or the beer that is libated after breaking loaves of bread at the end of the festival. For the former context, see, for example, KBo 2.13 obv. 14 (and perhaps also KUB 38.26(+) rev. 3), for the latter one, for example, KUB 25.23+ obv. i 25’ NINDA.GUR₄.RA *paršiyanzi* KAŠ=*ya* *šip-panti*, “they break thick bread and (the priest) libates beer.” In both cases, it is to be assumed that the covert subject is the priest, since he is the only person entitled to perform the ritual offering. In the case of the sacrifice, this is confirmed by the occurrences where a priest appears as overt subject of the formula (§3.4.4). It is of interest to note that within the same tablet and in both contexts plural, (impersonal) and singular forms (either with overt or covert subject) alternate freely. This shows that to make explicit who pre-

cisely performed the sacrifice was not deemed important by the scribes, no doubt since it could only be the local priest: differently than in state cults, the cult personnel are essentially restricted to a priest in small towns and villages, see §6.5. The following overview exemplifies the variance in the libation scene (for the sacrifice scene see §3.4.4). In KUB 17.35: sg. forms in obv. ii 29', rev. iv 15 vs. pl. forms in rev. iii 19, 37; KUB 38.26(+): sg. forms in obv. 49', rev. 14 vs. pl. form in obv. 39'; KUB 25.23+: sg. form in obv. i 25' vs. pl. form in obv. i 14'. Isolated cases of covert subject change from pl. 3 to sg. 3 with verbs other than *šipant-* are found in KBo 2.7 rev. 20 (*daninuanzi ... BAL-anti*) and KUB 25.23+ rev. iv 51'–52' (*genuwanzī ... n=at mallai ḫarrai*). At first sight, also KBo 2.13 rev. 2–3 (*karpiyanzi ... pē ḫarzi*) should be included, but the latter form can be emended in *ḫar<kan>zi*, see commentary *ad locum*.

The second case of covert subject change is that from third-person sg. (the priest) to third-person pl. Here, the covert subject is assumed to be the people taking part in the festival or, if the context suggest it, the *ḫazka-ra*-women. The wording “(animals) BAL-(an)-ti *ḫūkanzi*” of KUB 38.26(+) (see the introduction to text no. 4 for attestations) is an example of this usage, see also, for example, KBo 2.13 obv. 14, KUB 56.39 obv. ii 18'–19'.

In sum, it can be said that fluctuations in the number of certain verbal forms reflect patterns of covert subject change and free variation, to be viewed as elements of a jargon. I therefore do not agree with Carter's statement about the cases of “confusion of number” and “lack of agreement” which would be occasionally found in the cult inventories (Carter 1962, 152). All occurrences listed by Carter can be explained according to one of the patterns discussed presently: ŠE.NAGA-*zi* and analogous forms are to be taken as pl., the sg. form in KUB 17.35 obv. i 24' is correct (see commentary on obv. i 23'–24'), the subject of KUB 25.23+ obv. i 16' is the priest, whereas obv. i 25' and rev. iv 52' have been discussed above. The only case known to me where a lack of agreement seems the most likely option is KUB 25.23+ obv. i 27' (text no. 13, see commentary for discussion).

GODS AND CULT IMAGES

4.1 THE PANTHEON

As committed polytheists, the Hittites did not bother limiting the number of gods they would welcome and worship. On the contrary, their diligence (or obsession) was such that at a certain point someone coined the justly famous phrase of the “thousand gods of Ḫattuša” to describe their overflowing pantheon. To the modern eye, however, this abundance takes rather the aspect of a nightmare: “The first impression one gets when looking at the world of the Hittite gods is chaos. Towards us comes an endless abundance of divine names and figures” (Goetze 1957a, 131, my translation). Indeed, the Hittite “pantheon” represents the multifaceted and continually evolving product of centuries of “theological convergence” and systematization. To complicate matters, the extant documentation reflects primarily the official cult of the kingdom and the religious concerns of the royal court, offering little insight into the religious life of the common people. The bulk of the deities we find in the textual sources are of Hattian origin, together with ancestral Indo-European (Hittite and Luwian) gods and demons (Archi 1993; on the official state pantheon see Schwemer 2006). In the course of time, political expansion brought the Hittites in contact with the cultural riches of northern Mesopotamia and Syria, and Syrian, Hurrian, and Mesopotamian gods entered Ḫattuša as a result of territorial acquisition (Singer 1994; Schwemer 2008a). Modern efforts to identify and separate the different “national” or “cultural” threads of this multicolored fabric may well have looked futile to Hittite eyes, since newly adopted gods were revered with the same piety as “autochthonous” ones (Singer 1994, 90–91).

The encounter with foreign cultures encourages systematization and harmonization: this process takes the forms of syncretism and *Gleichsetzungstheologie* (Wilhelm 2002; Schwemer 2006). In some cases, the ancient texts preserve most lucid assertions on the intellectual process by which two gods were considered to be just one and the same god, worshiped under different names. This phenomenon is illustrated by a well-known passage of Queen Puduḫepa’s prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna, whom a part of the ruling elite identified with the Hurrian Ḫebat, spouse of the storm god Teššob,

in turn identified with the Hittite storm god Tarḫunza: “O Sun Goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of all the lands! In Ḫattuša you gave yourself the name Sun Goddess of Arinna, but in the land which you made, that of the cedar, you gave yourself the name Ḫebat” (*CTH* 384 §2; cf. Singer 2002, 102).

Typically, it is functional similarity that serves as a catalyst for syncretic processes. Thus, the functional similarity of the so-called storm gods typical of the rainfed agricultures of Anatolia and northern Syria and Mesopotamia allowed for the convergence of the Hattian god Taru and the Hittite and Luwian Tarḫu(нта), later also of the Aleppine Ḫaddu and the Hurrian Teššob (Schwemer 2007, 165–68; 2008b, 17–19). Analogously, local deities who shared traits typical of a weather god could be considered local manifestations of Tarḫu(нта) and therefore subsumed by the Hittite scribes under the “type” of the storm god. The names of this and other archetypal gods are regularly written by the Hittite scribes by means of Sumerograms and Akkadograms. In this way there comes into being the plethora of local storm gods (^d10 or ^dIŠKUR), sun deities (^dUTU), war gods (^dZA-BA₄-BA₄), and so on that we find in the Hittite texts. Their names are often provided with an epithet or geographical complement, which identifies and differentiates them: Storm God of the town such and such, Sun Deity of the Field, etc. Since we hardly have the chance to gain more precise information on their individual personalities, we can never be sure whether different manifestations of a god of a certain “type” represent hypostases of a specific divine archetype or altogether independent deities. But the ancient scribes were not necessarily in a better position than we are: especially in the case of the storm gods, one gets the impression that the Hittite scribes “on occasion employed this Sumerogram [i.e., ^d10] to indicate any male deity of whose precise character they were uncertain” (Beckman 2012b, 129 with n. 5).

Parallel to processes of convergence, opposite dynamics are at work, by which divine epithets or local manifestations of a certain deity acquire an autonomous personality and end up as altogether different gods. This phenomenon is favored and triggered by the practice of “splitting” a god in order to host and worship him at different places, and by the tendency to identify a god with his cult image (Beal 2002; van der Toorn 1997; and here §4.2). The intimate relation between gods and cult images plays a relevant role in the potential multiplication of the former along with the replication of the latter: each time a new cult image is manufactured, the basis is provided for the potential genesis of a new god.

As the pantheon grew to impressive proportions, it became more and more difficult for the Hittite rulers to cope with it and they sought ways of averting the risk that some of the “thousand gods of Ḫattuša” lacked the due cult provisions. To this purpose, the gods were grouped into clusters, either

by typology or by geographical areas. These are the two strategies followed, for example, by Muršili in one of his plague prayers (*CTH* 379, arrangement by typology, see Singer 2002, 66–69), and by Muwattalli II in his prayer to the assembly of gods (*CTH* 381, arrangement by geography, see Singer 1996). This kind of conceptual systematization, based on the combination of an archetypal god with an individualizing epithet or geographical characterization, was not a mere intellectual construct restricted to theologians and erudites, but must have caught on in other segments of the society, as suggested by the diffusion of hypostatic theophoric names in Luwian onomastics (e.g., ^mḪarwa-wašḫa “Pledge to the (god(s) of the) road,” ^mPiḫa-walwa “Lion of (the Storm God of) Splendour” etc.; see Yakubovich 2013, 98–106; 2014, 290 n. 1. According to Steitler (2017, 290–91), the Hittites even had a term designating deities of the same type, thus coming close to our “hypostasis,” namely, ^(d)*kipikkišdu*. In my view, however, this word is more likely to denote a particular kind of deified cult object.

While a thorough analysis of the local panthea as they emerge from the cult inventories would go far beyond the limits of the present study, it is conducive to examine briefly the principal figures attested therein. Most commonly, the pantheon of a provincial town as recorded in a cult inventory has at its top a local storm god. This is not at all surprising, since we expect a weather god to be the prominent deity in any region of rainfed agriculture, as central Anatolia happens to be. In Anatolia, the supreme weather god is associated since ancestral times with the bull: like the bull, the storm god embodies the two essential qualities of superhuman strength and fertilizing power (the former manifesting as thunder and lightning, the latter as rain). This is why storm gods are often represented as (or associated with) bulls, even when they appear beside other gods that are represented anthropomorphically (see, e.g., KBo 2.1 §2, text no. 2).

Alongside the storm god at the head of the Hittite pantheon we find a solar deity, most commonly written sumerographically as ^dUTU. The sumerogram ^dUTU is used to express any of the solar deities peculiar to the different strands, or “milieus,” which amalgamate in the Hittite culture: the Hattian goddess Eštan (named Ištanu in Hittite), the Luwian god Tiwad, Palaean Tiyad, Hurrian Šimige, Akkadian Šamaš, and Sumerian Utu (Beckman 2012b). From the Early New Kingdom on, the sun goddess Eštan/Ištanu was often referred to, after her principal cult site, as the Sun Goddess of Arinna.

The complex panorama of the Hittite solar deities calls for some comment. It can hardly be doubted that the Hittite-speaking communities regarded the sun as a divine power as they came in contact with the Hattians towards the end of the third millennium BCE. However, it is at present impossible to identify the name of the alleged “proto-Hittite” sun deity: whereas Luwian

and Palaic retained PIE **dyéwot-* to denote the Sun god (as Tiwad and Tiyaḏ respectively), the corresponding derivation in Hittite means “day” (*šiwatt-*). Conceivably, an alleged proto-Hittite Sun deity was a male deity, with a profile similar to the Luwian and Palaean Sun gods, Tiwad and Tiyaḏ (for a thorough discussion of the question see Steitler 2017, 177–227). The female Hattian chief-goddess Eštan was embraced very soon in the Hittite pantheon as the two milieus came into contact, together with many other Hattian gods and religious traits. Later on, the Hittites came in contact with the Hurrian Sun god Šimige as well as with the Mesopotamian Šamaš and Utu. As manifestations of the same celestial element of the universe, all these deities shared some similar traits and were up to a certain extent identified with each other. In particular, the daily succession of day and night favored the conception of a deity of alternate gender, whose manifestations correspond with the sun’s journey from east to west through the sky during the day, from west to east through the underworld by night. Already in the Old Kingdom, we find two principal manifestations of the Hittite Sun deity: a female one, best known as the Sun Goddess (Ištanu) of Arinna, and a male one, equally named Ištanu, who is sometimes referred to as the “Sun god of Heaven.” Besides them, the Sun Goddess of the Earth, a solar deity of chthonic character, who seems to be rooted in the Luwian milieu (Steitler 2017, 229–45), is attested. Finally, the texts bear witness to the existence of numerous local solar deities, the profile of whom remain mostly unclear. See Steitler 2017 for a detailed study of the solar deities of Bronze Age Anatolia, with a thorough discussion of the intricate questions related to the interaction of different religious milieus within the Hittite culture. Given the complex panorama of the Hittite solar deities, the neutral translation “sun deity” will be generally used, unless the epithets or the context allow us to identify with some confidence which specific deity is meant, for example, the Sun Goddess of Arinna in KBo 2.13 rev. 2 (text no. 3), or the Sun god of Heaven in KUB 38.12 rev. iii 5 (text no. 16). When a solar deity appears together with a storm god and a stag god, it is assumed that a sun goddess is meant (see further below for the concept of the “triad”).

The third principal deity to appear in the local pantheon examined here is the “stag god” Innara/Kuruntiya, referred to by means of the Sumerogram *“KAL*. In the Hittite texts, this sumerogram can denote the Hattian goddess Inar, its Hittite equivalent In(n)ara (who was male, at least in the Empire period), and the Luwian stag god Kuruntiya. See for discussion and references Hutter 2003, 229; Collins 2010; and Weeden 2011a, 263–68; for the interpretation of this type of god as “tutelary deity” see McMahon 1991, 9–10, 23–33. By the Late Empire at the latest, Innara and Kuruntiya seem to have been regarded as two manifestations of the same god (Hawkins 2005, 290;

2006, esp. 51–52). Innara/Kuruntiya, like the storm god and the sun deity, functioned as an archetypal god, of whom a number of particular manifestations are known. Innara/Kuruntiya is the god of the wild animals and of uncontaminated nature, the god of hunt (Hawkins 2006; Berthon 2017, 177–78), and also the king’s patron in war (Archi 2015, 19–20). He is closely associated with the stag (§4.4.2.3). His popularity seems to peak in the Empire and Late Empire period, as shown by the fact that Stag gods appear more frequently than storm gods and sun deities in the corpus of seal impressions of Nişantepe (Herbordt 2005, 110). Also, he had a special importance for Tudḫaliya IV, a “hunter-king” who instituted cults and devoted several sacred hunt precincts to him (Hawkins 2006; see also Collins 2010).

In a number of minor towns and villages, we find a storm god, a sun deity, and a stag god at the top of the list of the local gods. The frequency with which the three gods are listed together gives the impression of a triad. However, there is no evidence proving that they were perceived as a unity vis-à-vis the other gods of the respective towns, such as, for example, the presence of a common offering. Rather, it seems more likely to consider them simply as the most widespread gods in the central provinces of the kingdom, at least at the time to which the corpus of the cult inventories is to be dated. Moreover, it may be legitimately suspected that in some of these cases the triad (or some of its components) was introduced from above (either at the time the inventory was drafted or at an earlier period), or perhaps reflects an adaptation of the names of a deity or group of deities of whose identity the scribe was not uncertain. While this option is open, no secure cases where this possibility can be substantiated are known to me. At least in some cases, the positioning of the three gods at the very beginning of such lists seems to reflect an effort of order and systematization by the scribe rather than the actual hierarchy of the gods worshiped in the town or their location in the temple. On the question of the nature of the alleged “triad” see most recently the remarks of Steitler 2017, 167–71.

4.2. VISIBLE GODS

4.2.1. General Remarks

In addressing the topic of cult images, one should avoid both the simplifications of anti-iconic polemics, of which Deut 4:28 is the most famous example, and those of a spiritualizing point of view. On the one hand, nobody ever believed that a piece of wood or stone could be identified *sic et simpliciter* with the god, to use the image put *en ridicule* by the Deuteronomist. On the other hand, the importance of materiality, a cornerstone of all religious sys-

tems, can hardly be overestimated; see Kohl 2003 and Fabietti 2014 for two recent contributions to this topic, both from an anthropological perspective. In accordance with the concept of a divine-imbued universe, all extra-human entities could be regarded as divine, and consequently written with the determinative reserved to the gods (DINGIR): natural forces and elements (e.g., fire, frost; mountains, rivers and springs; rocks, plants, and animals), artifacts (e.g., the throne, the hearth, the window), and *a fortiori* the “proper” gods and demons who crowded the pantheon.

The “cult image” is conventionally defined here as “the representation of a god which serves as an object of worship and is thus permanently or temporarily identified with the god or represents him” (Gladigow 1998, 9, my translation). On the conceptualization of cult images in the Hittite culture see recently Goedegebuure 2012. Cult images (which include aniconic idols) may be seen as part of the broader category of “cult objects,” but this term is traditionally reserved for the rich assemblage of instruments, buildings, ex-vota, and other objects that are used in the frame of cult practices and at the same time represent themselves an object of worship (Popko 1978; Haas 1994, 489; Collins 2005, 22–24). A general feature of cult images is a high degree of social interaction, which finds expression in ritual practice. The intimate relation between gods and cult images plays a relevant role in the potential multiplication of the former along with the replication of the latter. Most telling in this respect is the process of properly deifying a cult image: the name of the Hittite god Zikkanzipa simply means “stela” (van Gessel 1998, 580) and can be compared to the Mesopotamian gods Bethel, Sakkun, Abnu, and Šulmu (van der Toorn 1997). The most relevant sources for the knowledge of Hittite cult images are cult inventories and oracle reports, together with archaeological finds.

4.2.2. Terminology

There is no exclusive *terminus technicus* for “cult image” in Hittite. Anthropomorphic idols are referred to primarily by *ešri* (ALAM) “(divine) statue(tte), (cult) image,” whereas *šena-*, “statuette, figurine” applies normally to smaller, noncultic statuettes (Collins 2005, 20, but ALAM never stands for *šena-*; see *CHD* Š, 373). Nonanthropomorphic idols are either referred to by means of words denoting the relevant object, like GU₄.MAḪ, “bull” or ^(NA₄)*huwaši*, “stela,” or by **šiuniyatar*, “divine image” (literally “divinity, godliness,” abstract noun of *šiu-*, “god”), or even simply as “god” (DINGIR). See the use of DINGIR with the sense of “statuette, divine image” in KBo 2.1 rev. iv 6 (text no. 2): [2] DINGIR^{MES} dUTU-ŠI DÜ-at “His Majesty made [two] gods (i.e., cult images)”; also *CHD* Š, 484–85 and Goedegebuure 2012,

416–21. The term *šiuniyatar* is not restricted to anthropomorphic representations: in KUB 38.35, for example, it refers to a hunting bag (^{KUŠ}*kurša-*). In KUB 7.24+ (Hazenbos 2003, 26–30), a cult inventory which dates back to Tudḫaliya IV, it is told that “formerly, there were no divine representations” of Mount Malimaliya (obv. i 1: ^{HUR.SAG}*malimaliyaš annalaz DINGIR^{MES}-tar ŪL ēšta*). The king promoted the construction of an anthropomorphic statuette to be kept in the shrine of Mount Kukumuša (lines 2–3), while “as a *ḫuwaši*, they place him in the town of Taḫniwara, on a rocky outcrop” (line 4: ^{NA₄}*ZI. KIN=ya=an=kan INA^{URU} Taḫniwara paššui šer tiyanzi*). According to Güterbock (1983, 210–11), the *ḫuwaši* was probably the old cult object, superseded by the anthropomorphic statuette and thus moved to Taḫniwara. Since the word *šiuniyatar* is not restricted to anthropomorphic representations, however, the text can also be interpreted in the sense that two cult objects had been built: the statuette to be kept in the shrine, and the stela to be moved to Taḫniwara (according to Melchert, pers. comm., this is indeed the most likely interpretation).

Typically, Hittite cult images were figures in the round. It can hardly be doubted, however, that reliefs (cf. *kuttaššara/i-*, “orthostat”) and perhaps even paintings could also function as cult images, although there is no textual evidence proving this assumption. An interesting comparison is that with the inscription on the Iron Age stela of Kuttamuwa from Zincirli: “a ram to my ‘soul’ (likeness?), which (is) on (or: in?) this stela” (see Hawkins 2015 for discussion). The gods sculpted in relief on the walls of the natural sanctuary of Yazılıkaya were viewed in all likelihood as cult images, not simply as “art,” and the raised bench beneath them functioned probably as an altar on which offerings were placed (Güterbock 1975d, 277; see also §4.4.3.4). The same can apply to monumental rock reliefs like those at İmamkulu, Hanyeri, and Fraktın; in the last case, the presence of so-called cup marks for libations cut into the rock above the relief corroborates this interpretation.

4.3. MANUFACTURE, ACTIVATION, LOCATION, AND CULT PRACTICE

4.3.1. Manufacture

Cult images could be made of stone (stelae and sometimes also statuettes, see KUB 38.21 obv. 8’), wood, metal (most frequently bronze, but also iron, silver, and gold), ivory and precious stones (see, e.g., the divine animals of the gods, §4.4.1), clay (divine vessels, divine models of buildings), wicker, skin (divine hunting bags), and wool (*uliḫi*-object, *CTH* 481). Wooden statuettes were often plated with silver, gold, or tin, with inlaid eyes, and small parts and accessories made of precious stones. Both “to plate” and “to in-

lay” are conveyed by Hittite *ḫališšiya-*, mostly written logographically as GAR.RA, see *HW²* Ḫ, 44–50, for examples of inlaid eyes, see *CHD* Š, 69. Statuettes could have an extensive wardrobe (Haas 1994, 503–4). Not rarely, cult images were provided with emblems. Most relevant among them are moon crescents, astral disks, and sun rays. The moon crescent corresponds to Hittite *armanni-* (U₄.SAKAR); for the textual evidence, see Sommer 1940, 44–45 and *CHD* Š, 460; for archaeological finds see Boehmer 1972, 30–34 and 1979, 1–2. Sun disks are conveyed by the Sumerogram AŠ.ME. This may correspond to Hittite *šittara/i-*, but the equation is debated: Starke and other scholars consider the meaning of *šittara/i-* to be “pointed object” (*CHD* Š, 460–61; *EDHIL*, 761–762; *HEG* Š, 1070–73). Possibly, *šittara/i-* (and perhaps also AŠ.ME) could be used to denote both solar disks and other astral disks, of the kind of those archaeologically documented, for example, in Boehmer 1972, 19–30 and 1979, 1 (kindly pointed out by M. Vigo). The Hittite word for the (solar) “ray” is *kalmara-*. For an example of a stela decorated with silver sun rays see KUB 17.35 obv. ii 6 (text no. 1). On the word *kalmara-* see *EDHIL*, 431, for a different etymology see Laroche 1983. Small-sized cult images stand normally on a base (*palzahḫa-*) and could be provided with a “heaven” (*ŠAMU* = *nepiš*), seemingly a sort of baldachin (Tognon 2004, 75 n. 85). KUB 38.3 obv. ii 8–9 (text no. 10) shows that cult images could also be provided with inscriptions and drawings.

A variety of craftsmen were involved in the manufacturing of cult images: stonemasons, sculptors (^UNAGAR NA₄), woodworkers, smiths, and goldsmiths (^UKÛ.DÍM; see, e.g., KUB 13.33 rev. iv 1–6, cited in Collins 2005, 32 n. 71; see also the commentary on KUB 38.12 obv. i 2, text no. 16), tailors (Kp 15/7+ obv. i 6, text no. 15), and leatherworkers (^UAŠGAB, KBo 20.23 rev. 5’–6’, see McMahon 1991, 167). Exceptionally, some cult inventories mention the names of such craftsmen: see KUB 38.37 and KUB 38.16, where Mr. Palla may be the goldsmith of *CTH* 293 and related texts; for attestations, see van den Hout 1995a, 217. For the proper manufacturing of a cult image, a particular location could also be relevant. The cult images referred to in KUB 19.28 obv. i 10–11 must be made at a “pure place, where water is available.” Detailed accounts of the construction of complex cult images can be found in *CTH* 481 §§2–8 (statuette of the Goddess of the Night, see Miller 2004, 273–78) and *CTH* 683 (divine hunting bag, see especially KBo 13.179, McMahon 1991, 165–67). The famous passage of the building ritual *CTH* 414, §30, refers either to a metaphorical description of the king or to a (divine) statue of him: “They made his figure (ALAM) of tin. They made his head of iron. They made his eyes those of an eagle. They made his teeth those of a lion” (Collins 2005, 33 with n. 74).

By nature, cult images tend to get old and eventually decompose. It is therefore just natural to restore or replace them, as proudly stated by Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal in their prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna: “Furthermore, your divine images of silver and gold, when anything had grown old on some god’s body, or when any objects of the gods had grown old, no one had ever renewed them as we have” (*CTH* 375 §5’, transl. Singer 2002, 41; on renewal of cult images see *CHD* L–N, 458–59, McMahon 1991, 254–55; cf. also §3.3.5). The care of cult images was among the obligations of the temple personnel (KUB 13.4 obv. ii 25’–51’, *CTH* 264.A §8; see Miller 2013, 254–55); remarks on the restoration of cult images and on the negligence of such are found in cult inventories, oracle reports, instructions, and prayers.

4.3.2. Size

Cult images varied greatly in size, from a minimum of a few centimeters to monumental proportions. The height of statuettes is normally given in *še-kan*, a unit that is between the span (*UPNU*) and the *gipeššar* within the Hittite metrological system (van den Hout 1990, 518–19, on the *gipeššar* see also Müller-Karpe 2015, 148–49). Since the span is likely to be around 6–7 cm and the *gipeššar* around 50 cm, the *še-kan* plausibly measures around 15/25 cm (one *še-kan* cannot measure “probably 50 cm” as stated in de Roos 2008, 1 n. 2). According to the textual evidence, statuettes were normally between one-half and two *še-kan* high. Some statuettes were smaller: in KUB 38.19 + IBoT 2.102 obv. 10’ a statuette is described, the size of which is one span, three fingers and one “nail” (1 *UPNU* 3 ŠU.SI 1 UMBIN). For statuettes sized one span, see KBo 2.1 obv. ii 15 (text no. 2) and van den Hout 1990, 519; in KBo 2.1 obv. ii 34, a statuette is said to be “small.” Statuettes of small size are well documented archaeologically (Genz 2017a, 244–48 with literature); their role as cult images is normally difficult if not impossible to prove (Collins 2005, 17 with n. 13, 14, 17). But there were bigger statues, too. A statuette of the Sun Goddess of Arinna in KBo 26.218 was at least four *UṬU*-spans high (4 *UṬU*[I ...], van den Hout 1990, 520). The existence of life-size cult statues is demonstrated indirectly by references found in oracle reports (AT 454 rev. iv 10’–11’, pointed out by Haas 1994, 491; cf. also KUB 5.7 rev. 45’–46’); in KUB 38.1+ obv. ii 21’, a spring(-basin?) of iron weighing 90 minas (ca. 40 kg?) is mentioned. Whether a life-size statue of Ḫattušili III, which Puduḫepa promised in a vow, is to be considered a cult statue, is debatable (*CTH* 384 §9”; see Singer 2002, 104). Archaeological evidence bears witness to statues of bigger size: near Ahurhisar a bronze statue with an iron core has been found, which must have been approximately 50 cm high when complete (İlasli 1993; Collins 2005, 17). The 7 m high stela of Fasillar is a secure (although unique)

example of a monumental free-standing (cult) image. Finally, indirect proof of the existence of life-size cult statues, at least in the major towns, comes from the remains of monumental bases in the temples of Ḫattuša (Bittel 1964, 126–29).

4.3.3. Activation and Reuse

The manufactured object did not turn into a cult image until the god settled into it. In order to achieve this, the god must be courted and attracted to the new abode by means of appropriate rites, which varied depending on tradition, time, and place. The most eloquent example of such rites is the well-known ritual for the expansion of the cult of the Goddess of the Night (a hypostasis of Ištar; *CTH* 481: Beal 2002; Miller 2004, 273–310). After completing the construction of the new cult image, a complex series of rites is carried out, which reach a climax when the deity is asked to preserve its “person” (NÍ.TE, Hittite *tuekka-*), but to “divide” (*šarra-*) its divinity (*šuniyatar*) in order to settle (also) into the new statuette: “Honoured deity! Preserve your being, but divide your divinity! Come to that new house, too, and take yourself the honoured place!” (*CTH* 481 §22, transl. Miller 2004, 290). Similarly, Ḫattušili III reports in a decree how he “split” the goddess Šawuška of Šamuḫa in order to transplant the “cutting” in the town Urikina (KUB 21.17 obv. ii 5–8; see *CHD* P, 279–80). Another interesting case is that of the festival for renewing the divine hunting bags (^{KUS}*kurša-*), *CTH* 683. After replacing the hunting bag of the Stag God of Ḫatenzuwa, the old bag is renamed as the hunting bag of the Stag God of Zapatiškuwa and sent as such to the province (KUB 55.43, see McMahon 1991, 183–88). Similarly, in KUB 7.24+ obv. i 4 the (old?) stela of Mount Malimaliya is sent to Taḫniwara to be installed on a rocky outcrop, following the construction of a statuette (for discussion see §4.2.2). In other cases, it seems clear that the old cult images continued to stand side by side to the newly constructed ones. And again, we must assume a great variety of possible outcomes. That reuse was not always the destiny of older cult images is made clear by another text dealing with the renewal of divine hunting bags (KUB 25.31+, *CTH* 662): whereas in KUB 55.43 the old bags were renamed and sent to the provinces, here they are to be burnt (McMahon 1991, 185–86).

4.3.4. Location

Cult images of all kinds were typically hosted in shrines and temples (*CHD* P, 278–84), in villages and small towns also in the priest’s house (see, e.g., KBo 70.109+, text no. 17). Stelae frequently stood in the open, in extramural stelae

sanctuaries or in the countryside along roads or at rocky outcrops (*paššu-*), sacred springs and trees and other holy places, hence their secondary function as boundary stones (§4.4.3.3). Unfortunately, the texts are silent on cult images housed in private households. Within the temple, cult images were arranged in rooms, shrines, and chapels. They were normally placed on altars, as shown by the descriptions of spring festivals (§5.5.5, §6.4.3). In Hittite, *šiunaš per* “house (of the god)” stands both for “temple” and “shrine,” “room (of a temple),” so that it is often impossible to establish which kind of structure is meant. Sometimes, the texts specify the respective positioning of cult images within a shrine (KUB 42.100+ rev. iv 20’–21’, 39’–40’, see text no. 12), and sometimes a cult image was temporarily housed in the shrine of another god (KUB 25.23+ rev. iv 4–5, 47’–49’, see text no. 13). The displacement of cult images had serious consequences, since they represented the dwelling of the gods. This is most clearly exemplified by the event of the capital’s transfer to Tarḫuntašša during the reign of Muwattalli II (Singer 2009, 172–73), to which the oracle report KUB 5.7 rev. 14–16 refers, or by so-called godnapping, a common practice in the ancient Near East, which was also used by the earlier Hittite kings (Gilan 2014). Ḫattušili I made extensive use of this during his campaigns; see, for example, KBo 10.2 obv. i 37–40 (CTH 4.II.A); the “deportation” of Marduk from Babylon by Muršili I has a late echo in the Marduk Prophecy, K 2158+, for which see Borger 1971.

4.3.5. Cult practice

As in most polytheistic religions, Hittite cult images enjoyed a high degree of social interaction. They were regularly washed, oiled, dressed, and fed by priests and temple personnel (Haas 1994, 504–8 and *CHD* Š, 474–76 offer a nice overview of things done for the gods by humans). Cult images took part actively in the religious festivals, where they were addressed, worshiped, and manipulated in various ways. One example among many is the handling of the statuettes of the *damnaššara-* goddesses on the occasion of the KILAM festival, where the goddesses are constantly turned in the appropriate directions in order to allow them to see and survey the rites (Haas 2004, 51).

4.4. ICONOGRAPHY

4.4.1. Types of Cult Image and Their Compresence

Conventionally, Hittite cult images are classified into anthropomorphic, theiomorphic, and symbolic representations, with stelae (*huwaši*) constituting

a separate category. All these types of cult image are attested already in the Old Hittite period and throughout the span of Hittite history; equally attested are hybrids of these categories (for example, a statuette mounted on a mace). There is no hint either at a diachronic tendency or a reform favoring anthropomorphic representations against theriomorphic or aniconic ones, contra Laroche 1975 and others. The textual evidence confirms the coexistence of different kinds of cult images; see, for example, the processions of local seasonal festivals (§5.5.4), and the rituals where the god has to decide on his own cult image (CTH 406 §19, KUB 50.89 rev. iii 5'–7'; see Collins 2005, 24 n. 41).

The evidence of the local seasonal festivals is particularly relevant to this question. These festivals reached their climax when the theriomorphic or anthropomorphic figurines were carried in procession from the urban shrines to the extramural open-air stela sanctuaries in order to be worshiped together with “their stela.” At that point, one and the same god was present in the form of both a statuette and a stela, one placed in front of the other (§5.5.4, §5.5.5). Collins (2005, 29) interprets the use of two images in a ritual as a hint at the “anthropomorphization of the cult, which included, among other things, the dressing, feeding and entertaining of the deity—activities presumably not required by or for symbolic representations, including *huwaši-s*.” But in the context of these rites stela were also anointed, dressed, fed, and “enjoyed” like the other types of cult image (§5.5.4). The rationale of the rite seems, on the contrary, analogous to that of making a new cult image, when the god is asked to “split” his divinity in order to inhabit both the old and the new object (Wilhelm 2002). On the occasion of the seasonal festivals, the village community brings together the two avatars of the local gods, those dwelling in the town and those dwelling in the stela sanctuaries: for two days, the two avatars meet up again and enjoy the party together.

It is true that renovation of cult images as attested in the late cult inventories consists mostly of the construction of statuettes for gods previously represented by stela. However, this need not be interpreted as anthropomorphization of the cult. First, the new cult images are meant to complement, not replace, the older ones: nowhere are the older stela said to be disposed of or destroyed (in one case, a stela might be moved to a new location, see KUB 7.24+ obv. i 4 discussed in §4.2.2). Second, the construction of new cult images is to be interpreted as an effort to enrich the shrines with more elaborate cult images, rather than as a tendency from aniconic to anthropomorphic representations (see also Hutter 1993, 93; Güterbock 1946, 489). In other words, it was a matter of appearance and prestige rather than theology. Therefore, a tendency “away from *huwaši-s*” (Collins 2005, 41) can be

admitted only as a byproduct of such enrichments. This view is corroborated by exceptions to the alleged anthropomorphizing tendency, that is, cases in which anthropomorphic images are complemented by theriomorphic ones (KBo 2.1 obv. ii 21–24, see text no. 2), stelae are complemented by more elaborate stelae (KBo 2.1 obv. ii 9–13) or by other kinds of symbolic and aniconic representations (KUB 38.23 obv. 7'–11', see *CHD* Š, 485), and bulls are complemented by more precious bulls (KBo 2.1 obv. i 28–34, analogous cases are found throughout the tablet). In sum, the older evolutionary model of a tendency from aniconic to anthropomorphic divine representation does not stand the test of the evidence (*pace*, e.g., Güterbock 1946, 489 and Laroche 1975). A thorough analysis of the textual sources by a modern heuristic approach highlights, on the contrary, the joint presence of aniconic and iconic representations as parallel traditions along the entire span of Hittite history, analogous to what is observed for other ancient and modern cultures (see, e.g., Kohl 2003, 213–16 with literature; for the role of cult stelae see §4.4.3).

Hittite gods were often represented in form of vessels. The most typical kind of vessel attested as a cult image is the *BIBRU*, an Akkadian term that denotes vessels shaped as animals or body parts. *BIBRU*-vessels could be made of metal, stone, pottery, and wood (Güterbock 1983, 212–14; Otten 1989; Soysal 2014, 2, with a list of attested forms). The frequently encountered translation as “rhyton” is inaccurate, as the latter term refers to vessels provided with two openings, which allow the liquid to pour through. Often, *BIBRU*-vessels are shaped as animals “standing on (all) four (legs)” or as the animal’s “(head and) neck,” in this case with the front quarters in “kneeling” or “standing position.” Needless to say, the animals are those with which the respective gods are identified: the bull (rarely also the ram) for the Storm God, the horse for Pirwa, the stag for Innara/Kuruntiya. Among theriomorphic cult images we may also count the “animals of the gods” (*DINGIR*^{MES}-*naš ĥuitar*), made of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, ivory, and precious stones, and used in the procession of the KILAM festival (Singer 1983, 92–97). Other objects, like the throne (the goddess Ḫalmašuit) and various kinds of weapons, could serve as cult images as well (e.g., the spear, see Singer 1983, 90–91; the dagger, see KBo 2.1 obv. i 32–33, 38–39, text no. 2). Hittite kings became gods *post mortem*: they were worshiped through cult statues, on which we are scarcely informed (Otten 1958, 112; Imparati 1977, 37; Singer 2009, 179–80; see now also Kp 15/7+ l. e., l. col. 5 with commentary, text no. 15).

4.4.2. The Iconography of the Principal Gods

The distribution of these types and the concrete appearance of cult images are determined by the interaction of (1) conceptions of the nature and

character of the gods, (2) iconographic conventions, and (3) technical and material constraints. Needless to say, all these factors vary depending on place and time. Attributes and iconography of certain gods can be extended to other functionally comparable gods through processes of convergence and systematization (§3.1.1). The resulting “archetypes” are reflected in the iconography of the cult images: although one and the same deity could be represented in more of these forms and under different variants, tendencies do emerge, at least for the major gods of the pantheon.

4.4.2.1. Storm Gods

Storm gods are associated with bulls in ancient Anatolia, a feature in which prehistoric traditions and Syro-Mesopotamian influences seem to converge (Wilhelm 2002, 58; Bunnens, Hawkins, and Leiren 2006, 69 with n. 64; Herbordt 2016, 100), and almost a cognitive universal where storms and bulls are present (both the storm god and the bull combine superhuman strength with fertilizing power). Thus, the storm god was often represented as a bull, for example, on the İnandık vase and on the orthostat reliefs from Alacahöyük (fig. 1; also on seals, see Herbordt 2005, nos. 620, 710). More frequently, however, local storm gods appear to have been represented through bull-shaped *BIBRU*-vessels, either standing on all four legs (e.g., KUB 38.3 obv. i 1–7, text no. 10), or with the front quarters in kneeling or standing position (e.g., KUB 38.2 obv. ii 14'–15' vs. rev. iii 9–10, text no. 8; cf. the silver zebu-shaped *BI-BRU*-vessel of the Schimmel collection, fig. 1). Exceptionally, the Storm God of the Countryside in the town of Tabbaruta is represented as a wooden ram (KBo 70.109+ rev. iii 40', text no. 17). Note, finally, that a bull-shaped vessel is the cult image of Ištar of Nineveh in a small Cappadocian town (KBo 70.109+ obv. ii 39), and that, contrary to previous views, the “bull with cone” frequently found on Old Assyrian seals does not represent the Anatolian storm god, but rather the deified mountain Aššur (Lassen 2014, 111–12).

The anthropomorphic representations of the storm god in the Empire period follow a consistent iconography, which has been conveniently summarized by S. Herbordt as follows:

They show the deity bearded with a long lock of hair following down his back. Generally, he wears a high conical headdress, a short kilt, and shoes with upturned toes. In most cases the weather god is shown shouldering a mace, although in some examples he holds the mace raised in “smiting pose.” Often a sword with a crescent handle is sheathed at his waist. It is only through the hieroglyphic epigraphs that different manifestations of the weather god can be distinguished: Tarḫunta, Teššob, the weather god of heaven, the weather god of Ḫalab/Aleppo, the weather

god of Tarḫuntaša (=the weather god of lightning), and the weather god of Kumman(n)i. Readily recognizable by his own specific iconography is solely the weather god of Ḫalab/Aleppo ascending his bull-drawn chariot. (Herbordt 2016, 102)

The description of the statuette of the Storm God of Heaven in KUB 38.2 obv. ii 8'–12' (text no. 8) reads: “Storm God of Heaven: a statuette of a man, plated with gold, seated; in his right hand he holds a mace, in his left hand he holds a golden (hieroglyphic sign for) ‘Good(ness).’ He stands on 2 mountains (represented as) men, plated with silver.” The description can be compared with the representation of Teššob in the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (relief. no. 42) and to the depiction of the Storm God of Heaven in various *Umarmungs-siegel* of Muwattalli II and Muršili III (fig. 2). In all these depictions, the god holds in the right hand a mace with long shaft and (more or less stylized) round head, Hittite *ḫattalla-* (^{GIS}TUKUL), a foreign import in Anatolia; for a detailed analysis see commentary on KUB 38.2 obv. ii 8'–10' (text no. 8).

4.4.2.2. Sun Deities

Sun deities were represented as sun disks (also winged sun disks, Herbordt 2011a, 621) or were characterized by the presence of (sun) rays (*kalmara*) or by the winged sun disc above their head (fig. 3). In Yazılıkaya, the Sun god of Heaven (no. 34, DEUS SOL) is represented with the winged sun disk on his head, wearing a mantle and a round headdress, and holding the lituus (*kalmuš*), an iconography that closely resembles that of the Hittite king (Güterbock 1993; van den Hout 1995b, 553). For the Sun Goddess of Arinna, both symbolic and anthropomorphic representations are attested. In KUB 17.35 obv. ii 6'–7' and KBo 2.1 obv. ii 9–16 (text nos. 1 and 2), silver stelaes “with rays on top” are listed as cult images of the goddess. “Rays” are also present in the cult image of the Sun Goddess of Šanantiya described in KBo 2.1 rev. iv 4–5: “1 statuette of a woman, in sitting position, of silver, 1 *šekan* (in height), under which are 2 wild sheep of iron, under which is a base of iron” (text no. 2). The Sun Goddess of Arinna could be represented as a sun disk (AŠ.ME); see KUB 25.14 obv. i 10'–17' and KUB 38.37 rev. 8–10 (Taş and Weeden 2010, 357–58; Steitler 2017, 303 with n. 958). In KBo 52.111+ obv.⁷ 27' (Steitler 2017, 285–87), a *šittar* is brought into the temple of the Sun Goddess (of Arinna), but this does not imply that the object is to be seen as a cult image of her. Statuettes of the Sun Goddess of Arinna are listed in KBo 26.218 1'–2' (four *UṬI*-spans high, see §4.3.2) and in KUB 38.37 rev. iii 16'–17'. The only secure depiction of the Sun Goddess of Arinna is found on a seal of Tudḫaliya IV (Schaeffer 1956, 19–21 figs. 24–26, DEUS SOL SOL; fig. 3). There, she wears a long garment and a characteristic bonnet-like headdress

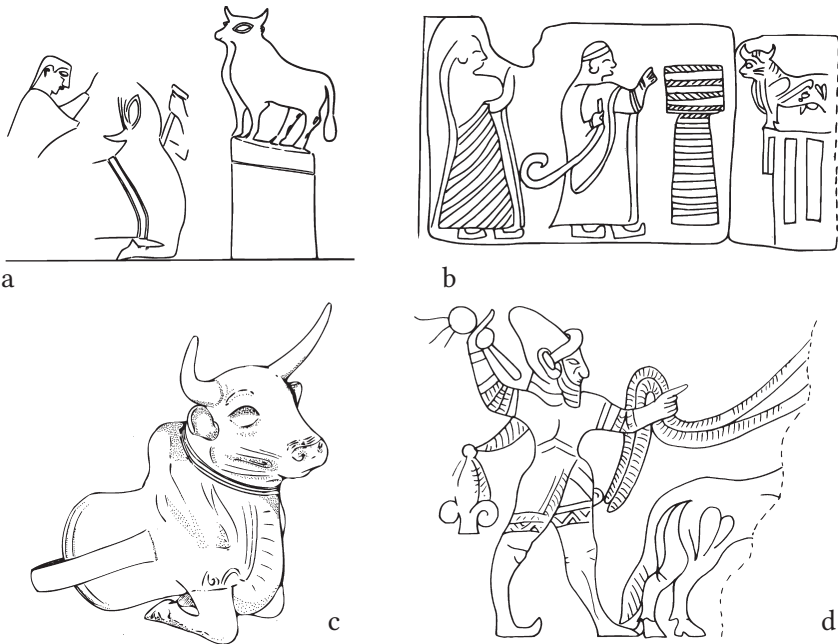


Fig. 1: The Storm God represented as a bull. (a) The Storm God receiving a sacrifice (cf. §3.4.4), from the İnandık vase, end of the sixteenth century BCE (after Özgüç 1988, 175 fig. 64). (b) The Storm God as a bull on an orthostat relief from Alacahöyük, likely dating to the sixteenth or fifteenth century BCE (Schachner 2012a, 137–41; after Mellink 1970, fig. 2). (c) The silver zebu-shaped *BIBRU*-vessel of the Schimmel collection (author's drawing after Muscarella 1974 no. 124). (d) The Storm God, facing right behind a (partially preserved) bull, on the Boston fist-shaped *BIBRU*-vessel (after Güterbock and Kendall 1995, 52 fig. 3.7).

(Radhaube, on which see Herbordt 2007). The same iconography is used in Hittite art for the representation of queens, thus paralleling the sun god iconography used for kings. This peculiar headdress resembles a large disk if seen from the front, a cowl if seen from the sides. Several pendants, figurines and statues are known, which represent a goddess wearing this headdress. Most famous is a golden pendant from the Schimmel collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Muscarella 1974, no. 125), the goddess holds here a child on her lap (fig. 3). Other examples are known from Boğazköy, Alaca, Çiftlik, and Eflatunpınar (Bittel 1984 with literature). It is tempting to see the bonnet-like headdress as a symbol for the disk of the sun, therefore to identify this iconographic type with the Sun Goddess of Arinna, but this conclusion is far from certain (Bittel 1984, 105–6; Mayer-Opificius 1989, 358). Only the cited seal of Tudḫaliya IV provides a secure depiction of the goddess.



Fig. 2: Anthropomorphic representations of the Storm God. (a) The Hurrian storm god Teššob in the climactic panel at Yazılıkaya, standing on two divine mountains (relief. no. 42, after Bittel et al. 1975, pl. 58). (b) and (c) The Storm God of Heaven embracing the king, on seals of Muwattalli II and Muršili III respectively (after Herbordt et al. 2011, 94 fig. 23, pl. 18 *Rek.* 53.1–4).

4.4.2.3. Stag Gods

Innara/Kuruntiya, the god of hunt and wild animals, was closely associated with the stag. Representations of gods standing on a stag are already found in the Old Assyrian glyptic (von der Osten-Sacken 1988, 75–76), but the identity of this god, seemingly a “master of animals,” cannot be established with certainty. The god on a stag reappears sporadically in the earlier Hittite glyptic; the bulk of the extant depictions dates back to the Empire period

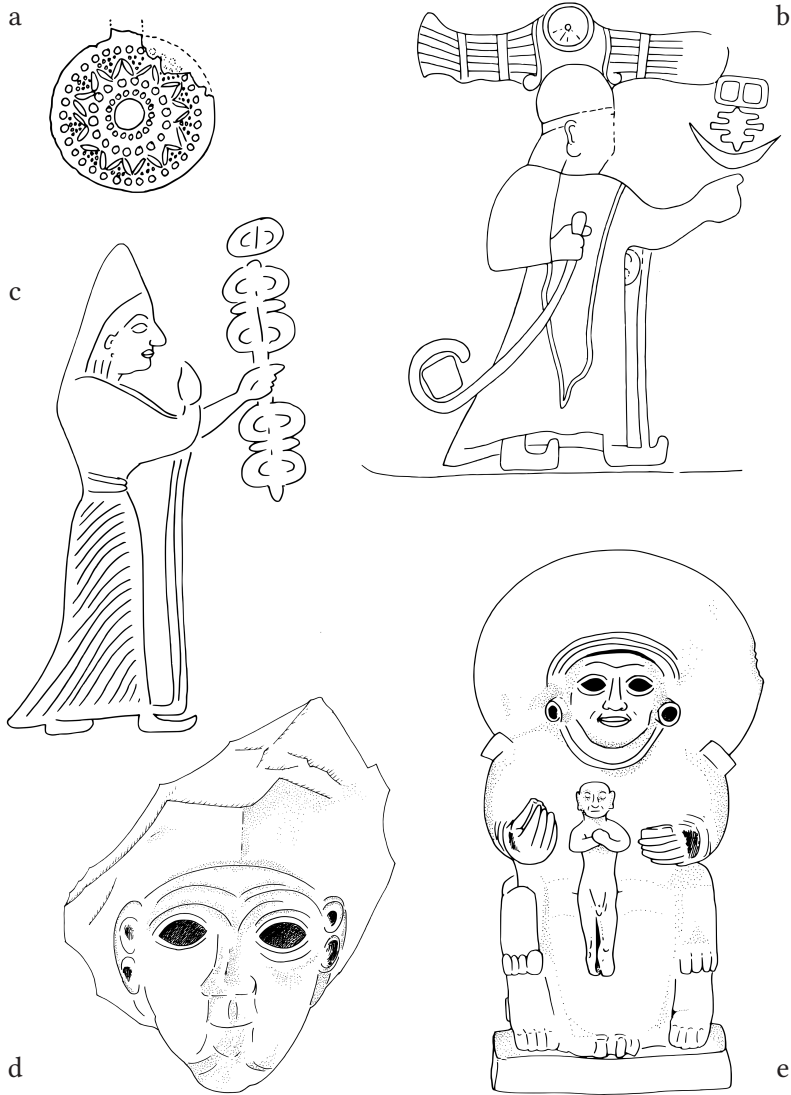


Fig. 3: Sun deities. (a) Astral disk pendant (silver, 4.1 cm, fourteenth or thirteenth century BCE, after Boehmer 1972, 29 fig. 16.b, 169 no. 1761). (b) The Sun God of Heaven as depicted in the procession of male gods on the relief sculpture of Yazılıkaya (after Bittel et al. 1975, pl. 57 no. 34). (c) The Sun Goddess of Arinna as depicted on a seal of Tudḫaliya IV, after Schaeffer 1956, 19 fig. 24. (d) Head of a statue of a goddess from Boğazköy, slate, height 16 cm; the statue predates the Empire period (author's drawing after Bittel 1984 pl. 17). (e) Seated goddess with child from the Schimmel collection (possibly a sun deity), gold, height 4.3 cm (author's drawing after Muscarella 1974 no. 125).

(von der Osten-Sacken 1988; Collins 2010, 66–71). The earliest depictions and cult image descriptions which can be securely identified with Innara/Kuruntiya (^dKAL) date back to this late period, when the god enjoyed the special favor of Tudḫaliya IV and an extraordinary popularity also beyond the circle of the royal court (McMahon 1991, 44–46; Hawkins 2006; Collins 2010, 66–69). The iconography of stag gods is characterized by the presence of birds of prey, curve-ended sticks, hares, and other elements connected with hunt and falconry (von der Osten Sacken 1988; Canby 2002; Collins 2010, 66–71). These elements can be variously combined; the variance in the attributes, as well as in the god's posture and attire, seems to reflect iconographic conventions rather than specific manifestations of the god (see presently). Based on the shape of antlers, at least two different species of deer can be recognized (red deer and fallow deer, see von der Osten-Sacken 1988, 71–73). The Stag God may be represented anthropomorphically or as a stag (fig. 4), also symbolically as a hunting bag (^{KUŠ}*kurša*-; see McMahon 1991, 183; also 20–22, 182–84, 250–54; Archi 2015, 19–20). Most frequently, however, he is represented as a man standing on a stag (fig. 4). According to von der Osten-Sacken (1988, 76), with the passing of time the crook gives increasingly way to a number of weapons. This fact may signify a shift towards a more bellicose nature of the god, a development that might be compared with the case of Artemis (so von der Osten-Sacken), and would fit well with the god's function as patron of the king in battle (§4.1). In the late period, some convergence between stag gods and mountain gods is observed (von der Osten-Sacken 1988, 67; Herbordt 2005, 62 with n. 466).

The description of the Stag God of the Countryside in the town of Wiyanawanta reads as follows:

Stag God of the Country[side: the divine image] is 1 statuette of gold, of a man, [stand]ing; [he] wea[rs] a (conical horned) helmet, in his right hand he holds a golden bow, [in his] left [hand] he holds a golden eagle (and) a golden hare. (He has?) 1 golden dagger, with golden fruits attached. He stands on a stag of gold, standing on (all) four (legs). (KUB 38.1+ obv. ii 1'–6', text no. 9)

Similarly, the cult image of the Stag God found in KUB 38.2 obv. ii 24'–26' reads: "Stag God: a statuette of a man, standing, his eyes are inlaid with gold. In his right hand he holds a silver *mari*-spear, in his left hand he holds a shield. He stands on a stag" (text no. 8).

Both descriptions can be compared with several depictions of Innara/Kuruntiya, although for neither of them is an exact match available (see, e.g., for the eagle and hare a mold from Ḫattuša, for the bow the Altnyayla stela, and for the dagger a seal of Tuwarša (fig. 4).

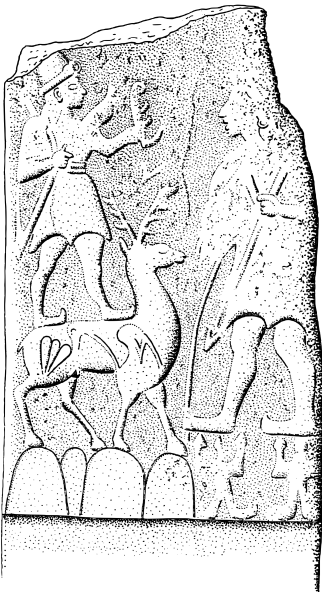
a



b



c



d



e



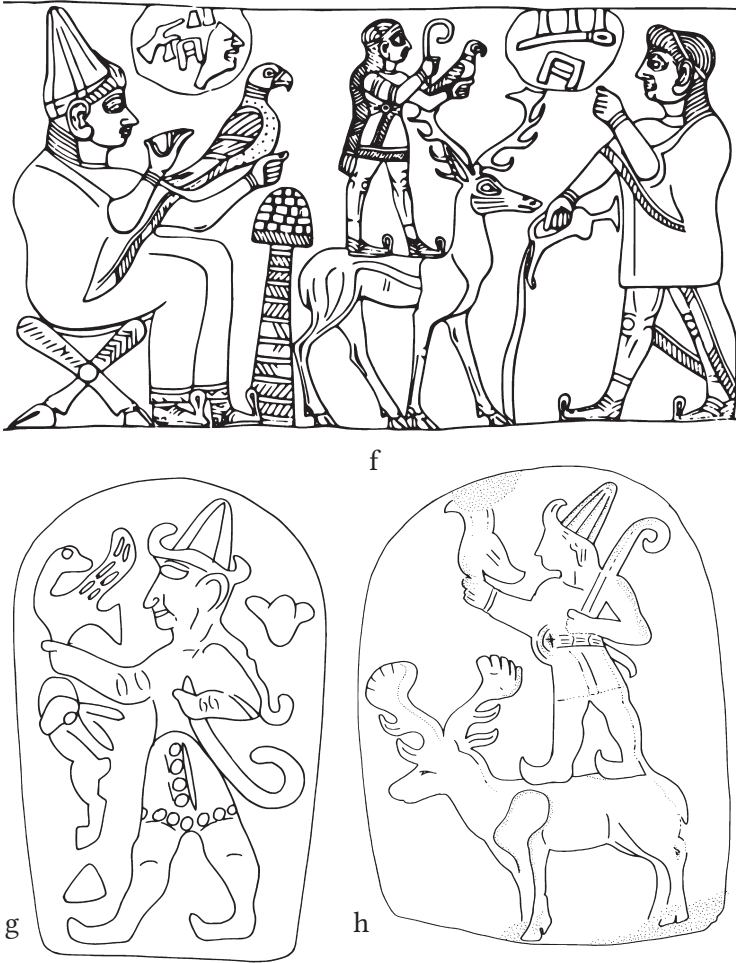


Fig. 4: The stag god Innara/Kuruntiya. (a) In the procession of male deities at Yazılıkaya, after Bittel et al. 1975, pl. 57 no. 32 (epigraph: DEUS.CERVUS₃-ti). (b) On a seal of prince Kuruntiya, son of Muwattalli II, after Herbordt et al. 2011, pl. 51 no. 136 (epigraph: CERVUS₂). (c) On the Altınyayla stela (reign of Tudḫaliya IV?; after Müller-Karpe 2003, 318 fig. 2; epigraph: CERVUS₃-ti). (d) On a relief block from the temple of the Storm God in Aleppo, early first millennium BCE (author's drawing after Kohlmeyer 2000, pl. 15; epigraph: DEUS.CERVUS₃). (e) On a seal of the officer Tuwarša (late Empire period; after Herbordt 2005 pl. 38 no. 482b, cf. Güterbock 1942 no. 222; epigraph: CAELUM ?). (f) On the stag-shaped *BIBRU*-vessel of the Schimmel collection, receiving a libation together with the goddess Ala; the dead stag, the quiver, and the hunting bag behind the deities are not reproduced here (after Güterbock 1981–1983, 5 fig. 1b; epigraph: DEUS.CERVUS₃). (g) On a Hittite mold from Ḫattuša (after Baykal-Seeher and Seeher 2003, 101 fig. 1.2; height ca. 1.5 cm). (h) On the Yeniköy stela-model (author's drawing after Kulaçoğlu 1992, fig. 140; height 6.4 cm).

When an epigraph is present, the god can be securely identified. The stag god Kuruntiya, without further attributes, appears as the god no. 32 in the procession of male deities at Yazılıkaya, on two seals of Prince Kuruntiya, on the Altınyayla stela, on the stag-shaped *BIBRU*-vessel in the Schimmel collection, and on a relief block from the Storm God temple in Aleppo (fig. 4). The Stag God of the King appears on the seal of the official Taprammi and two other seals from the Nişantepe archive (Herbordt 2005, 100 with n. 857, and nos. 409, 621–622). Possibly, the Stag God of Heaven (CAELUM) is to be seen on a seal of Tuwarša (fig. 4, SBo II no. 222, Herbordt 2005 no. 482, see Bolatti Guzzo and Marazzi 2010, 13–14). Based on the presence of a crook, also the tutelary god to whom Ḫattušili III pours a libation on the Fraktın relief is likely to be a stag god, but the epigraph is unfortunately damaged (Kohlmeyer 1983, 73, von der Osten-Sacken 1988, 76 n. 76). Note that in Fraktın the god holds the *508 (*HWT*) sign, which appears also elsewhere on seals featuring him (Herbordt 2005, 60–61, Hawkins 2005, 260–61).

A perusal of these attestations shows that one and the same manifestation of the stag god can be portrayed in different ways and with different attributes (cf., e.g., two depictions of the Stag God of the King in Herbordt 2005, nos. 621 and 622). The variance observed in the attributes of the god is therefore likely to reflect also visual tendencies and individual preferences rather than specific manifestations of the god, contrary to what has been suspected in the past (Güterbock 1983, 207, McMahon 1991, 4).

4.4.2.4. Other Gods

Among the most attested deities in the corpus of the cult inventories are divine mountains (always male) and divine springs (always female). In Hittite iconography, mountain gods are normally represented wearing a conical skirt-like garment marked with the characteristic pattern conveying stylized mountainous terrain (fig. 5). Cult image descriptions, however, mostly refer to “maces” (^{GIS}TUKUL), often adorned with the astral symbols of the moon crescent and the *šittara/i-* (sun disks, if the equation with AŠ.ME is correct, see §4.3.1). The weapon denoted as ^{GIS}TUKUL (Hittite *hattalla-*) had a long shaft and a round head, and represents a foreign import in Anatolia (see commentary on KUB 38.2 obv. ii 8’–10’). Normally, “on” the mace there is an anthropomorphic statuette (ALAM), mostly one *šekan* high; in KUB 38.26(+) obv. 42’–43’ and rev. 15–16 (text no. 4) the statuette has an iron eagle on top and a wooden lion beneath. The cult image descriptions of the cult inventories can be compared with the mountain god depicted on a seal of Arnuwanda III, where both an eagle or other bird of prey and the mace are present (fig. 5). It is not clear whether the statuette was in round, stand-

ing on top of the mace, or was engraved or embossed on the mace itself: Haas 1994, 513 inclines towards the latter option, whereas von Brandenstein (1943, 35–36) and Güterbock (1983, 214–15) leave the question open. Divine figures in high relief are found in the bronze ceremonial axe from Şarkışla, where a sun god stands on a lion, having a winged sun disk and a griffin on top: an interesting parallel to the mountain god of KUB 38.26 (+) KUB 38.27 (on the Şarkışla axe, see Bittel 1976a, 19–27; on its possible provenience from Kuşaklı/Şarişsa see Müller-Karpe 2017, 8–9). Furthermore, a ritual hammer (NÍG.GUL) “on which the Storm God is depicted” is featured in KBo 10.24 rev. iv 1–4. Besides maces, cult images of divine mountains could also be other objects, like vessels (e.g., KUB 38.2 rev. iii 18–19, in KBo 70.109+ rev. iii 39’), *šittara/i-* (KBo 70.109+ rev. iii 38’), and anthropomorphic statuettes (KUB 38.3 obv. ii 6–15, with “the name of the king and animals of the countryside engraved on (it)”).

Spring goddesses were invariably represented as women or girls, in sitting position. Some of the more detailed descriptions specify that the spring goddesses are veiled (*ḥupidawant-*, the meaning of which is not certain, see commentary on KUB 38.26(+) obv. 50,” text no. 4), and hold a cup in the right hand. The most complete descriptions are found in KUB 38.1+ and refer to three divine springs of the town Tammeka (obv. i 10’–23’, text no. 9); here, the goddesses are further decorated with fruits, bracelets, and moon crescents.

Other interesting descriptions of cult images found in the cult inventories pertain to Pirwa and Šawuška. Pirwa was a god closely connected with horses, whose cult was particularly popular in the area of classical Cappadocia. The fragment KUB 38.4 (text no. 11) refers precisely to this region. Here, the only detailed description of a cult image of Pirwa is found (obv. i 1–11): a man standing on a horse, and a horse-shaped *BIBRU*-vessel, comparable to those recovered in Kayalıpınar/Şamuḫa (fig. 6). Šawuška, the “Great (one),” was a major Hurrian goddess, whose profile was greatly influenced by the Mesopotamian Ištar. She was the goddess of war, sex, and magic (Wegner 1981, Beckman 1998; for an overview see Trémouille 2009). On the tablet KUB 38.2 (text no. 8) two cult images of Šawuška are described, corresponding to a female and a male manifestation of the deity. Indeed, the contradiction is the essence of Ištar/Šawuška, not to be confused with hermaphroditism proper (Trémouille 2009, 101 with literature; Groddek 2016, 151 n. 49). In both cases, Šawuška is provided with wings, is associated with a winged monster (*awiti-*, see commentary to KUB 38.2 obv. i 12’), and is flanked by the servants Ninatta and Kulitta. These descriptions can be compared to the representation of Šawuška at Yazılıkaya (no. 38, see fig. 6) as well as to several seal impressions (Herbordt 2009). The most interesting comparison is probably the Ashmolean golden ring seal of Urawalwi, reportedly from

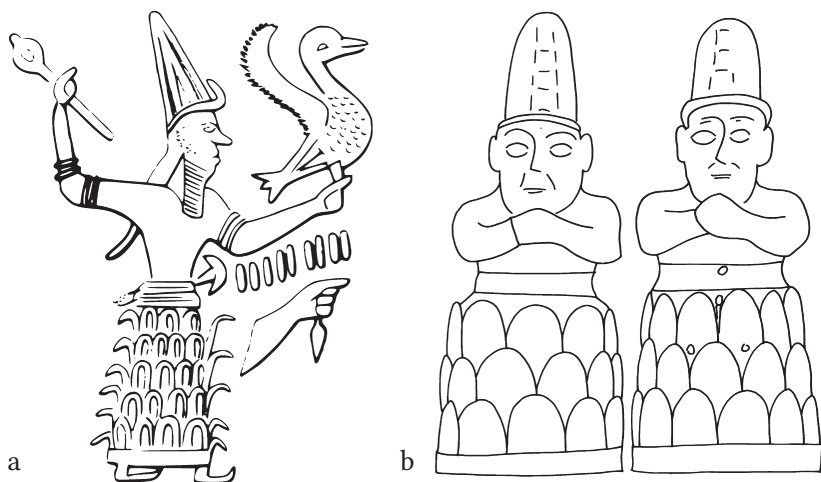


Fig. 5: Divine mountains. (a) The divine mountain Arnuwanda on a seal of King Arnuwanda III. Note the presence of mace and bird of prey (after Herbordt et al. 2011, pl. 52 *Rek.* 138.2–4). (b) Two mountain gods from the base of the monument at the pond of Eflatunpınar (after Ehringhaus 2005, fig. 97.1–2). Mountain gods are to be seen also in fig. 2.a.

Konya (Hogarth 1920, no. 195, see fig. 6). Here a winged deity, which can be confidently identified with Šawuška, stands on a leashed winged lion with a human head plus a lion head protruding from the chest, clearly to be identified with an *awiti*-. Indeed, the *awiti*-monster could be single- or the two-headed. The latter variant appears to be a peculiar Anatolian creation, which is attested first in Hittite art, and enjoyed some popularity in Iron age Syria (for details and references see commentary on KUB 38.2 obv. i 12').

4.4.2.5. Summary Table

Table 4 on pp. 87–102 constitutes an overview of the cult image descriptions contained in the corpus of the critical editions (bare references to stelae are not included).

4.4.3. Cult Stelae

4.4.3.1. General Remarks

Cult stelae (Hittite *ḫuwaši*) are a characteristic element of Hittite religion, justly the object of thorough studies in the past (see esp. Darga 1969; Hutter 1993; now also Cammarosano forthcoming). Their nature as cult image

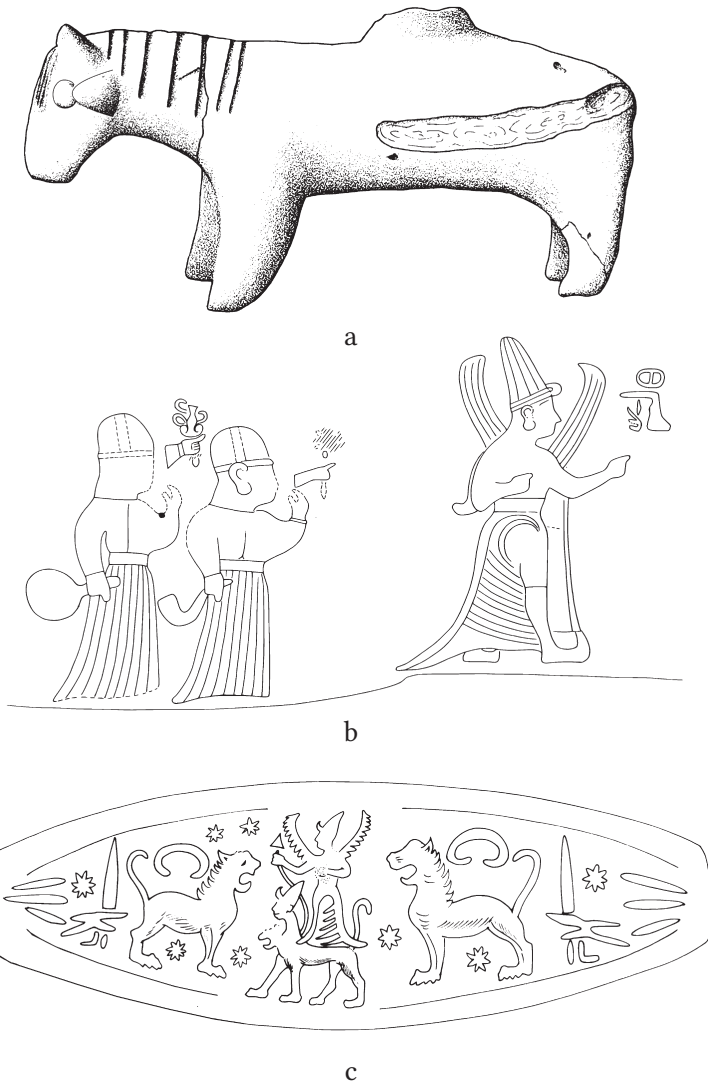


Fig. 6: Pirwa and Šawuška. (a) Imitation of a horse-shaped *BIBRU*-vessel from Kayalıpınar; note the rendering of mane and blinkers (after V. Müller-Karpe *apud* Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe, and Rieken 2006, 225 fig. 10 top; height ca. 8 cm). (b) The male Šawuška as portrayed in the procession of gods at Yazılıkaya, accompanied by his attendants Ninatta and Kulitta. A block with the female Šawuška, of which only the hieroglyphic epigraph survives, probably stood on the opposite side of the chamber (after Bittel et al. 1975, pl. 57 nos. 36–38). (c) Šawuška on a two-headed *awiti*-monster, from the Ashmolean golden ring seal of Urawalwi. Note the hieroglyphic sign for “Good(ness)” in the goddess’s hand, matching the cult image descriptions of KUB 38.2 (author’s drawing after Bittel 1976b, 206, fig. 237).

emerges very clearly from the textual sources. The *huwaši*-stones were generally left undecorated, but it may be assumed that they could on occasion bear reliefs or inscriptions. Although unhewn stones resembling stelae may well have served as cult stelae, there is no reason to assume that irregular rocks were ever worshiped as *huwaši*. Furthermore, the term *huwaši* is never applied to funerary stones, although *huwaši*-stones could acquire an additional, secondary function as boundary markers or even as memorial stelae, and were sometimes used as *materia magica* in cultic contexts.

The evolutionary interpretation according to which “primitive” aniconic representations would tend to be progressively replaced by anthropomorphic representations proves to be inadequate. On the contrary, the available evidence shows that aniconic cult stelae constitute a tradition parallel to therio- and anthropomorphic cult images as well as to other symbolic representations. The complementation of stelae through additional cult images (statuettes and others) attested in several cult inventories is best interpreted as an enrichment of the shrines without any theological implication, as discussed in §4.4.1. The major role of *huwaši*-stones in the Hittite religion emerges most clearly in the climactic procession of the spring festivals. On that occasion the divine statuettes were carried from the urban shrines to the extramural stelae sanctuaries, where statuettes and corresponding stelae enjoyed the party together (§5.5.4).

4.4.3.2. Forerunners

Ancient Anatolia reveals a remarkable variety of standing stones. Among the best known are the pillars from Nevalı Çori and those with theriomorphic figures in low relief from Göbeklitepe (Neolithic Age), as well as the three stelae from the “Burnt Palace” of Beycesultan (Middle Bronze Age) and the stelae placed near city gates at Troy (levels VI–VII). The Vishapakars of the Armenian plateau, monumental stelae usually in the form of a fish adorned by a bull skin on the top, which seemingly date back to the Bronze Age, are another case in point. For none of these cases, however, is there evidence suggesting a role as forerunners of the *huwaši*-stones (for discussion, see Cammarosano forthcoming).

The most relevant parallels for Hittite cult stelae can be found among the Old Assyrian Colonies. Y. Heffron recently demonstrated that the upright stones found in private houses in the Lower Town of Kültepe/Kaneš served cultic purposes, and the rooms where they were placed functioned as domestic chapels (Heffron 2016; see fig. 7 here). The available excavation reports allow for the investigation of five stelae only, but three more finds are reported, and others may have gone unnoticed. Thus, the magnitude of the

phenomenon cannot be assessed with certainty at present. The pieces come from the level I of the *kārum*, but some of them may date back to level II. The stelae were connected to ritual activity involving liquid offerings, a fact that is most evident in the one example where a trough or basin is present in front of the stela (Heffron 2016, 27–28 no. 1). The presence of graves in some of the rooms where the stelae were located suggests that these might be connected to the cult of the dead, but this does not mean that they could not serve also as cult images. The stelae from Kültepe/Kaneš “share a gradually tapering form, a roughly rounded top and worked sides, with an average height of 1 m and an average width of 30–50 cm at the base and 10–15 cm at the top” (Heffron 2016, 27, referring to stelae nos. 1–3 and 5; the no. 4 is lower than the other ones, note that no. 5 is cylindrical in shape). The Kanešian stelae seem to belong primarily to Assyrian households, but surely not in isolation from the Anatolian community, given the hybrid nature of the town (Heffron 2016, 38–39).

Two further parallels for the Hittite cult stelae deserve to be mentioned. The first one is a peculiar obelisk-shaped object with protruding bull protomes on a stamp seal impression from Acemhöyük dating back to the second quarter of the eighteenth century BCE (fig. 7). The second one is the motif of the “bull with cone,” which is frequently attested in the glyptic of the Old Assyrian Colonies period in seals of “Old Assyrian” and “Anatolian” groups and has been convincingly interpreted as a representation of the mountain-god Aššur (fig. 7). For discussion and references see Lassen 2014, 111–12; Gilibert 2015; and Cammarosano forthcoming.

The major role played by cult stelae in the religion of Bronze Age Syria and northern Mesopotamia poses the question of whether a Syrian influence on the Hittite *ḫuwaši* can be posited, as argued by Durand 1988. The answer is most likely negative: the *ḫuwaši* appears as a well established cult object already in the Old Hittite period in a variety of rites including those belonging to the Hattian milieu, that is, in contexts for which a far-reaching Syrian influence in religious matters can be ruled out (so also Hutter 2011, 137; following Nakamura 1997, 13; differently Hutter 1993, 91–92).

4.4.3.3. Philological Evidence

The word *ḫuwaši* is attested in Hittite cuneiform sources from the Old Hittite period on (Nakamura 1997, 11–13), but its etymology is unclear. In all likelihood, the term *ḫuwaši* was not borrowed from Akkadian *ḫumā/ūsum* (pace Collins 2005, 37): this option would imply the existence of a Syrian influence in the archaic period, which is most unlikely (see above, §4.4.3.2). Soysal (2008a, 119) proposes a Hattian etymology, but IE etymologies are

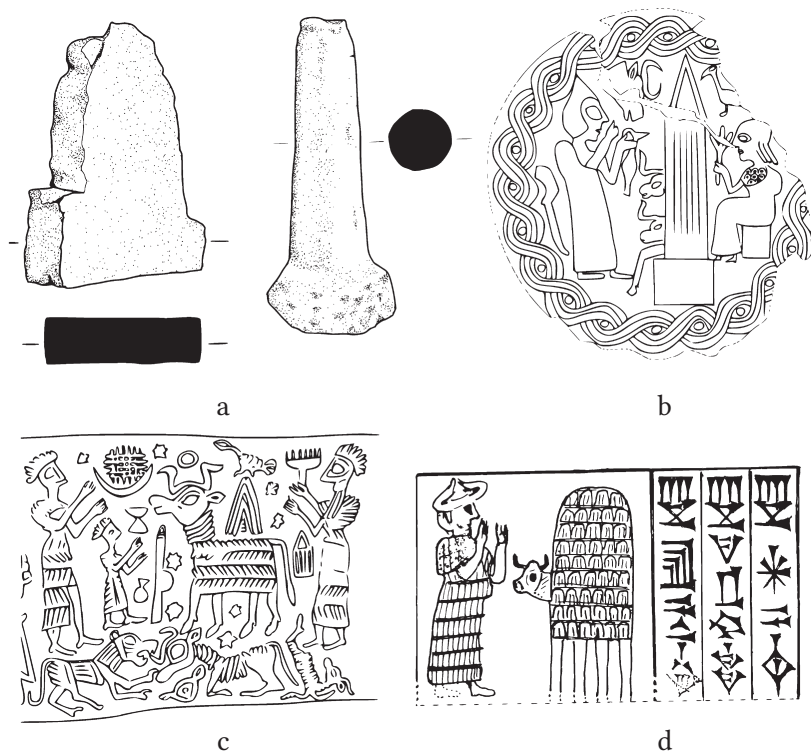


Fig. 7: Old Assyrian stelae and stela-like structures. (a) Two Old Assyrian stelae from Kültepe/Kaneš, level Ib (after Heffron 2016, 27 fig. 2 stela no. 1, height ca. 1 m, flat on the front, unworked on the back; p. 31 fig. 9, stela no. 5, measurements unknown). (b) Seal impression from Acemhöyük, eighteenth century BCE (after Gilibert 2015, 207 fig. 1). (c) The “bull with cone” on an Old Assyrian seal impression (drawing: A. Gilibert). (d) Detail from the seal of the *nibum* of Aššur (after Veenhof 1993, pl. 124 no. 3).

equally possible. In particular, Hittite *huwaši* may be related to the Luwian roots for “life” (*hwid-*) and “wild animal” (*hwisar* / *hwitar*), thus corresponding to reconstructed **h₂wósi-*, “thing imbued with life (?)”, as suggested by Oreshko during the Ninth International Congress of Hittitology in 2014 (kindly communicated by C. Melchert).

The primary function of *huwaši* is that of cult image, as is also apparent from the pseudosumerographic writing developed by the Hittite chancery, probably during the Early New Kingdom (Nakamura 1997, 12). The pseudo-sumerogram ^{NA}4.ZI.KIN likely conveys the Semitic word *sikkanum* (root SKN “to inhabit, to stay”), perhaps influenced by a folk etymology and a scribal pun in the juxtaposition of ZI, “soul” and KIN, “object” (Hutter 1993, 91).

Indeed, the *huwaši* is in principle interchangeable with other types of cult images. In the ritual of Paškuwatti (CTH 406) we read: “He will come and worship the goddess. In addition if she prefers a pithos-vessel, he will make her stand as a pithos-vessel. But if not, then he will make her stand as a *huwaši*-stone. Or he will ‘make’ (worship?) her (as) a figurine” (KUB 7.7 rev. iv 11–16, transl. Hoffner 1987, 279).

Different from other types of cult images, *huwaši*-stones were normally made of stone, immovable, and undecorated. This is clear from the contexts of a number of passages of various natures. Within descriptions of cult images they are merely listed, whereas other cult images are described in greater detail, thus supporting the assumption that stelae were normally left undecorated. In some cases, a *huwaši* is said to be made of silver, iron, or wood (Darga 1969, 11 n. 6; *HW²* H, 832). Similarly, some texts bear witness to stelae that are provided with accessories: stelae of silver with “sun rays on top” are listed in KUB 17.35 obv. ii 6’ and KBo 2.1 obv. ii 12–13 (Texts nos. 1 and 2), and a “plated” or “mounted” stela (*hališšiya*) is vowed to the war god by the king in a dream (KUB 15.1 obv. ii 3–4). The passage KBo 2.1 obv. ii 21–22 (text no. 2) is traditionally interpreted in the sense that a stone stela is decorated with a figure of the storm god, made of tin. However, it seems more convincing to view it as a reference to two distinct cult images (see commentary). Another case of a stela allegedly decorated with a figure in relief is referred to in the secondary literature, namely, KBo 2.1 obv. i 33. But again, the “Nursing Mother” mentioned in the text is not a reference to a relief figure on the stela, but rather the name of the goddess who inhabited it (see commentary). The preceding observations are meant to stress that evidence for the existence of cult stelae decorated with relief images is lacking, but not to rule out the possibility of their existence; indeed, some of the recovered stelae with reliefs may be cult stelae (§4.4.3.4).

M. Hutter (1993, 87, 95, 103–4) has rightly stressed the conceptual distinction between cult stelae on the one hand, and memorial and funerary stelae on the other. This conceptual distinction is not as clear-cut in the real world: since the basic appearance is the same for all kinds of stelae, different functions can coexist in a stela (Hutter 1993, 87, 95, 103–4). Thus, a *huwaši* may acquire a secondary function as a boundary stone or reference point. This is evident in several land grants (e.g., in StBoTB 4 no. 7 obv. 17–20), and most notably in the tablet Bo 2004/1 (KBo 62.5), dating back to the Early New Kingdom (Wilhelm 2005; Lorenz and Rieken 2007). The tablet refers to the town Šaššuna in central Anatolia and can be considered a sort of cadastral text. Among the landmarks mentioned in the text there are many *huwaši*, and the entire document may be, as suggested by Singer, a topographical description and delimitation of stelae sanctuaries (Singer *apud* Lorenz and

Rieken 2007, 485 n. 53). This text also demonstrates that the word *huwaši* can refer to a complex, that is, to a stela(e) sanctuary: “They, the hewn stones, (are) inside the *huwaši*-(sanctuary)” (^{NA4}*huwašiya=at=kan andurza walḥanteš peruneš*, Bo 2004/1 = KBo 62.5 obv. 8–9, cf. also obv. 13). That the term *huwaši* can on occasion stand metonymically for the precinct into which extramural stelae can be grouped has already been convincingly argued by Carter (1962, 40 n. 3) and Singer (1986, 247–48, differently Gurney 1977, 41). This fact seems to explain the apparent interchange between the use of Akkadian *ANA* and *INA* in the formula “they bring the gods (in) to the stelae (sanctuary)” (on the processions to stela sanctuaries see §5.5.4).

The available textual sources show that *huwaši*-stones cannot serve as funerary stones (Hutter 1993, 103). In a passage of a cult inventory from Kayalıpınar/Šamuḥa, two of the listed stelae (^{NA4}ZI.KIN^{HLA}) are seemingly labeled as “souls” (ZI^{HLA}) of “dead persons” (GIDIM; Kp 15/7+ l. e., l. col. 5, text no. 15). Since the text refers to the “Palace of the Grandfathers” in Šamuḥa, the “souls” may be those of dead kings, which would help explain the uniqueness of the passage: as cult images, stelae were able to house the deified souls of dead kings.

That stelae were perceived as a distinct category among cult images is most evident in the cult inventory KUB 38.12, which differentiates deities “of the temple” (i.e., represented by anthropomorphic or theriomorphic images stored in a shrine) from deities “of the stelae” (i.e., represented by *huwaši*-stones; KUB 38.12 rev. iii 22’–23’, text no. 16). Similarly, in CTH 510.1 (text no. 17) the gods whose cult-object is a simple stela are grouped together under the label DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{NA4}ZI.KIN “deities of the stela” or “stela-deities,” which distinguishes them from those provided with an anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, or symbolic cult object (see, e.g., MS A i 9’//MS B i 19’). The label “gods of the stela(e)” also occurs in a peculiar formula that concludes the description of the seasonal festivals in KBo 2.7 and KBo 2.13 (text no. 3, on this formula see §3.4.8).

4.4.3.4. Archaeological Evidence

What did Hittite cult stelae look like? The most straightforward evidence to answer the question is probably the hieroglyphic sign for “stela” (L. 267), especially as drawn on the stone bases BOĞAZKÖY 1 and 2 from the Lower City of Hattuša and on the ÇALAPVERDI 3 stela (fig. 8): the upright objects visible on the depicted bases may be confidently regarded as *huwaši*-stones.

Several archaeologically documented Late Bronze Age stelae fall into the categories of “votive” and “memorial/votive” stelae. Whereas a votive stela is not necessarily a cult image, it is reasonable to assume that some

of them were, in which case they would represent true *huwaši*-stones. As in other ancient cultures, also in the Hittite world votives and cult images were not exclusive categories. This is apparent when we consider descriptions of cult images engraved with the name of the person who dedicated them, as is the case of KUB 38.3 obv. ii 6–13 (text no. 10). Examples of preserved Late Bronze Age stelae that may be cult stelae are ÇAĞDIN, ALTINYAYLA, DELİHASANLI, ÇALAPVERDİ 3, and KOCAOĞUZ (fig. 9; see Cammarosano forthcoming for discussion). In pointing out their possible role as *huwaši*-stones, it should also be noted that they would hardly provide a representative sample of that category of objects: as we have seen, *huwaši*-stones were mostly undecorated, whereas all of the listed stelae bear reliefs, inscriptions, or both. Stelae naming (or representing) a Hittite king may also represent *huwaši*-stones, but only if they were intended as cult images of the (deceased) deified king. This applies to BOĞAZKÖY 3, BOĞAZKÖY 18, and BOĞAZKÖY 24. A special case is represented by the “Tudḫaliya-relief” found in Building A within the sacred area of Temple 5 in the Upper Town of Boğazköy (=BOĞAZKÖY 19). Be it a cult image of King Tudḫaliya I (or IV) or not, the squared shape of the orthostat differs greatly from that of all other stelae discussed above, making it unlikely that *huwaši* was the Hittite term for such an object.

The fact that cult inventories also list silver stelae among cult images proves the existence of small-sized *huwaši*-stones. As a consequence, one must admit the possibility that objects like the steatite stela from Yeniköy (6.4 cm high) or those that resulted from small-size molds may well represent either true *huwaši*-stones or models of them (see fig. 4 f–g; for the Yeniköy stela, see Börker-Klähn 1982, 247 no. 305; for a Boğazköy mold see Baykal-Seeher and Seeher 2003). On the other end of the spectrum, the monumental trachyte stela of Fasillar may have been viewed as a gigantic *huwaši* (so also Herboldt 2011b, 139).

Remains of a *huwaši*-sanctuary dedicated to the Sun Goddess of Arinna and to Mezzulla may be recognized at the Kızılarkaya complex west of the postern walls in Ḫattuša, following an hypothesis by Pierallini and Popko (1998). The rocky platform of Kızılarkaya probably represented a monumental cult platform, provided with a water basin and a connected system of water regulation (Dittmann and Röttger *apud* Schachner 2010, 183–88). The two chiseled conical projections emerging from the rock platform may be the remains of the two stelae mentioned in festival texts, according to which the king, approaching Ḫattuša from the south and heading to the Palace at Büyükkale after having performed ablutions at the *tarnu*-house, could stop at the *huwaši*-stone of the Sun Goddess to worship it. The northern projection has a diameter of 2.25 m at the base, the southern one of 1.5 m, the

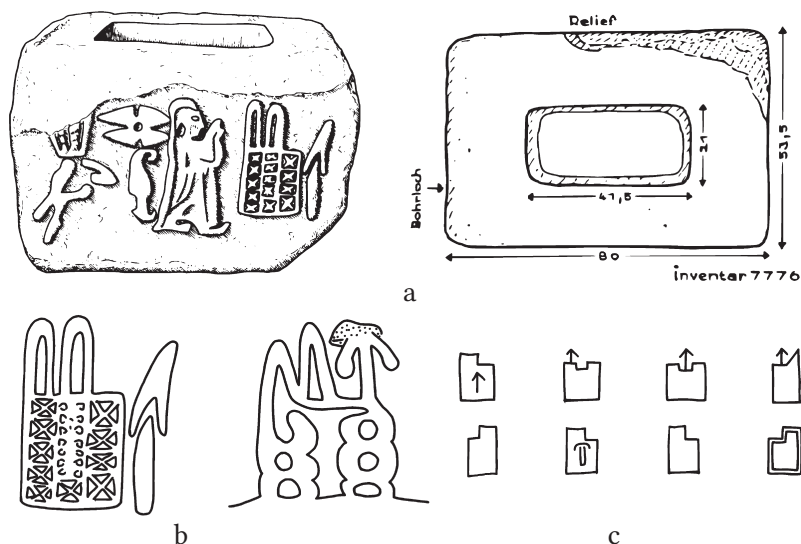


Fig. 8: The Hieroglyphic sign for “stela.” (a) the base BOĞAZKÖY 1 from the Lower City of Hattuša (after Marazzi 1990 pl. 10.2 and Bittel 1937, 12–14; 80 × 58 × 53.5 cm). Originally, a stela must have stood on the base, inserted in the hollow on its upper surface. The base dates back to the Empire period. (b) The sign STELA as drawn on the base BOĞAZKÖY 1 (author’s drawing) and on the ÇALAPVERDI 3 stela (after Taş and Weeden 2010, 351, fig. 1). (c) Overview of variants of the sign STELA, after Laroche 1960, 138.

maximum preserved height of both is ca 1 m. In the proximity of the former projection, so-called cup marks are present.

Singer (1986), expanding on insights by Güterbock and Carter, persuasively argued that Chamber A of the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya corresponds to the “*huwaši* (sanctuary) of the Storm God,” which is referred to in the KILAM Festival (fig. 8; this interpretation is endorsed among others by Schwemer 2006, 263–64 and Seeher 2011, 156–57). Importantly, this “*huwaši* of the Storm God” could be “entered” (*anda pai-*, see Singer 1986, 247–48), that is, the term *huwaši* refers here metonymically to a larger complex, as in Bo 2004/1 (see §4.4.3.3). The question of whether the natural stone formation was considered the *huwaši* and worshiped as such, or an extra, artificially made, stone stela was set up in the chamber cannot be answered with certainty. The imposing stone face of the rock cliff on which the “main scene” was carved has a peculiarly tapered shape. Thus the “main scene,” featuring the encounter of the storm god Tešub with his spouse Hebat, may indeed have been brought directly upon the “*huwaši* of the Storm God” (kindly suggested by C. Steitler).



Fig. 9: Profiles of archaeologically preserved stelae that may have served as *huwaši*-stones, and of the “Tudḫaliya-relief.” Top row: ÇAĞDIN, ÇALAPVERDİ 3, KOCAOĞUZ, ALTINYAYLA; bottom row: BOĞAZKÖY 3, BOĞAZKÖY 18, DELİHASANLI, and the “Tudḫaliya-relief” (BOĞAZKÖY 19).

The extensive hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions on the EMİRGAZİ cult stands refer to cult images and stelae set up by Tudḫaliya IV in honor of the Stag God, his spouse Ala, and the divine mountain Šarpa. The latter is likely to be identified with the Arisama Dağ at the foot of which the cult stands lay (Hawkins 1995, 86–102; 2006, 54–62). The mention of “stelae,” in connection to the unclear word *HWISATI*, clearly refers to the cult stelae, which must have been located somewhere in the proximity of the cult stands, *not* to the cult stands themselves (contra Michel 2015, see Cammarosano forthcoming for further discussion).

The best-preserved archaeological context of an extramural *huwaši*-sanctuary of the kind mentioned by the cult inventories is that of Kuşaklı/Šarišša

(§5.5.4; fig. 11), a fortunate case where archaeological and philological evidence can be successfully combined. On the Kuşaklı sanctuary see most recently Wilhelm 2015; for the archaeological evidence see Müller-Karpe 1997, 118–20; 1998, 152–53, 108–9; 1999, 79–91, 106–8. The sanctuary is located around 2.5 km south of Kuşaklı, at an altitude of roughly 1900 m. The complex has convincingly been associated with festival texts recovered both in Hattuša and the Building A on the acropolis of Kuşaklı: when celebrating the spring festival, the king worships the *huwaši* of the Storm God before entering the town. A drawing scratched on the left edge of KUB 7.25, a tablet describing precisely these rites, may indeed represent a topographical sketch of the area (Mielke 2017, 19–20). The partially plastered pool and the remains of a building can be identified with reasonable certainty with the divine spring Šuppitaššu and the stela sanctuary respectively, which are referred to in the written sources (Wilhelm 1997a, 9–15, 17–18; 2015, with further references).

Within the perimeter of Building A there are two rocky blocks, which must have fallen from the steep rock outcrop south of the area (Müller-Karpe 1999, 82–84; Wilhelm 2015, 99 fig. 5). Since the building was certainly part of the *huwaši*-sanctuary, there has been some speculation on whether they might actually be two *huwaši*-stones. In a recently published study on the worship of stones in Hittite Anatolia and Emar, P. Michel (2014, 182–87) takes it for granted that the two rocks represent the two *huwaši*-stones of the Storm God and Anzili. However, it is neither probable nor likely that these natural blocks are *huwaši*-stones. The texts related to the *huwaši*-sanctuary of Šarišša speak of three stelae, not two (see the convenient overview in Wilhelm 2010, 342; Michel 2014, 183 erroneously identifies Anzili with “LAMA,” that is, with the Stag God). Neither block resembles a stela, and their position within the perimeter of the structure does not suggest any special significance. An archaeological investigation would easily establish whether the blocks were in place already before the construction of the surrounding building or not, thereby providing the conclusive answer to our question. Since this has not been made yet, any assumption on the nature of the rocks must remain entirely speculative, as stated by Müller-Karpe (1999, 84) and Wilhelm (2015, 95).

More generally, there is no evidence suggesting that unhewn stones not resembling stelae could serve as *huwaši*-stones (*pace*, e.g., Beckman 2007, 334, Herbordt 2011b, 138). Indeed, the available evidence referring to *huwaši* consistently points to hewn stones. First, both the use of the logogram KIN “work, manufactured object” in the pseudo-sumerogram ^{NA}4.ZI.KIN and the frequent use of the “chisel”-sign (SCALPRUM, L.268) within the sign STELA (L.267, see §4.4.3.3) necessarily refer to hewn stones. Second, when a text

specifies something about a *huwaši*, the reference is regularly to manufactured features, never to a natural quality of the stone: see the references to cult stelae being “polished” (KUB 25.23+ obv. i 34’, text no. 13) or “made” by craftsmen (KUB 38.16 obv. 4’–9’, cf. KUB 38.37 rev. 16’–20’). Third, we know the Hittite term for “(unhewn) rock,” *peruna-*, and this is never found in connection to *huwaši*-stones, apart from a passage that explicitly defines (*huwaši*?) stones standing within a *huwaši*-sanctuary as “hewn stones” (see the quotation in §4.4.3.3).

4.4.3.5. Location and Religious Significance

Although stelae were housed also in shrines and temples, their typical location was open-air, often outside the town. The cadastral text Bo 2004/1 and the remains of the stelae sanctuary of Šarišša, both discussed above, constitute most eloquent exemplifications of these circumstances. Archaeological finds allow us to assume or suspect the presence of *huwaši*-sanctuaries at various locations. The ALTINYAYLA stela was most likely part of a cultic precinct in honor of the Stag God on mount Šarišša, which in turn can be identified with the Karatonus Dağ at the foot of which the stela was found (Hawkins 2006, 63). The same applies to the DELİHASANLI stela set by Tudḫaliya IV for the Stag God of the Countryside (Hawkins 2006, 63–64), and to the EMİRGAZI complex discussed above. Textual evidence, coming mostly from cult inventories and festival texts, attests to the existence of extramural stelae or stelae sanctuaries in the vicinity of a great number of towns and villages. Sometimes, the texts provide details on the spatial context in which stelae are placed: in most cases, these are rocky outcrops (*paššu-*), sacred trees, groves and springs, mountains, and roads (see Cammarosano 2015b and forthcoming for details).

The religious significance of the *huwaši* has been conveniently highlighted by Hutter (1993). Particularly telling is a passage from the Instructions for Military Officers and Frontier Post Governors, where we read: “(§35’) But [wha]te[ver] ancient cult stele in a town that has not been attended to, they shall now attend to. They shall set it up, and they shall [per]form for it whatever rite that (was performed) for it from ancient (days)” (excerpt from CTH 261.I §35’, transl. Miller 2013, 229). The importance of cult stelae is most evident in the fact that the fundamental seasonal festivals of the Hittite communities reached their climax when in spring the statuettes of the gods were taken in procession from the urban shrines to the extramural *huwaši*-sanctuaries in order to be worshiped together with “their” stelae, as discussed in §4.4.1 and §5.5.4. On the one hand, the accounts of these festivals found in the cult inventories show that they represented a widespread tradition of an-

cient origin, not an imposed standardization (§5.3). On the other hand, they also suggest that in this context the extraurban and immovable *huwaši*-stones were perceived as going back to ancestral times, whereas statuettes were not, a circumstance that can be compared to the *xoana* of ancient Greece (on which see Kohl 2003, 212 with literature).

Table 4: Overview of cult image descriptions contained in the texts edited in §7 (transcriptions have been simplified). The entries are arranged primarily by god type, secondarily by attestation (text, line).

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Storm gods			
Storm God of Maraš	Bull, plated with tin, standing on all four legs	Bull of silver, standing on all four legs, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 i 28–40
Storm God of Šuruwa	Stela	Bull of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 ii 9–16
Storm God of Wattarwa	A stela, furthermore a statuette of a [standing] man, plated with tin, one and a half <i>šekan</i> in height, wearing a helmet, holding a mace in his right hand and a copper <i>henzu</i> in his left hand	Bull of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 ii 21–24
Storm God of Hursalašši	Stela	Bull of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 ii 32–35
Storm God of Aššaratta	Stela	Bull of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 ii 40–41
Storm God of Šaruwalašši	Stela	Bull of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 iii 1–2
Storm god of Parenta	Stela	Bull of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 iii 7–8
Storm [God] of Šarpaenta	Bronze statuette of a standing man, one <i>šekan</i> in height; he holds a mace with [the right ha]nd	Iron statuette of a standing man, [one <i>šeka</i>]n in height	KBo 2.1 iii 20–22

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
[Storm God] of Šanantiya	Diverse objects	Bull of iron, standing on four legs, two <i>šekan</i> in height, his eyes inlaid with gold	KBo 2.1 iv 1–6
Storm God of Ziyaziya in Panišša		[Bul] of iron	KBo 2.13 obv. 1
Storm God in Mammananta		Bull of iron	KBo 2.13 obv. 21–24
Storm God in Parminašša		The st[atnette’ of] the Storm god [...] On the top of him ten’ ‘fishes’ of silver	KUB 38.26+ rev. 35’–36’
Storm God of Heaven		Statuette of a man, plated with gold, seated, in his right hand he holds a mace, in his left hand he holds a golden hieroglyphic sign for “Goodness.” He stands on two mountains represented as men, plated with silver. Beneath him there is a base of silver. Further, there are two <i>BIBRU</i> -vessels of silver	KUB 38.2 ii 8’–12’
Storm God of the Royal House		Bull’s head and neck, of silver, with the front quarters kneeling	KUB 38.2 ii 14’–15’
Storm God of the Royal House		Bull’s head and neck, of silver, with the front quarters in standing position; a silver tankard	KUB 38.2 iii 9–10
Storm God of the army, Šanta AMAR. UTU in Taramneka		Two silver <i>wakšur</i> -vessels, their weight is two minas of silver	KUB 38.1+ i 1’–2’

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
The strong Storm God in Kunkuniya		<i>BIBRU</i> -vessel shaped like a bull, of wood, plated with silver, standing on all four legs, it is one <i>short cubit</i> in height, beneath him there is a base of wood, plated with silver. Furthermore: one libation vessel of iron, two silver tankards, one wreath of silver—the name of the strong Storm god is engraved on it—one small bronze dish of the Palace, one horn, inlaid with silver in two places, three staves of the god—the handle is plated with silver	KUB 38.1+ i 29'–35'
[Storm God (?)] in Pirwaššuwa		Statuette of wood, of a man, standing, [...] beneath him there is a wooden ox [standing] on all four legs. [...] horns of silver, <i>kunz</i> [<i>iyala</i> -pigment' ...] 1 copper <i>wašḡašša</i> [...]	KUB 38.1+ iv 17–22
Storm God of Lihzina in Tiliura		<i>BIBRU</i> -vessel shaped like a bull, of wood, standing on all four legs, plated with silver, his head and chest plated with gold, it is one <i>short cubit</i> in height. Beneath him there is a base. King Muršili dedicated a silver cup weighing eight shekel. For the Storm god of Lihzina ten small bronze sun disks are affixed to the altar of the g[od]	KUB 38.3 i 1–7
Storm God of Heaven in Nerik		“Accoutrements” of the Storm god: three silver <i>BIBRU</i> -vessels, shaped like a bull's head and neck, [...] of silver, one silver <i>BIBRU</i> -vessel, shaped like a wild sheep standing on all four legs, [...] ... of silver, of the “big sickle,” with a lyre [...]	KUB 42.100+ iii 27'–30'

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Storm God of the Meadow of Urišta		A well polished stela	KUB 25.23 + i 34'
Storm God of Rain in Hlakmiš		A stela, it stand[s] outside	KUB 25.23 + iv 47'
Storm God of Heaven in Karaḥna		Bull standing on all four legs, of silver, inlaid with gold (or: inlaid with silver and gold?)	KUB 38.12 ii 12-13
Valiant Storm God in Kanzana		Statuette of a standing man, made of wood, wearing a br[o]nze gorget; to the right, beneath him, is a base	CTH 510.1 A i 27'-28' // B i 39'-40'
Storm God of Tapparešiya in Tabbaruta		One bronze cup, two horns, one tin-plated staff	CTH 510.1 B iii 32'-42'
[Storm] God of Išūwa in Tabbaruta		Bull's head and neck, of wood	CTH 510.1 B iii 32'-42'
Storm God of the Countryside in Tabbaruta		Wooden vessel shaped like a ram	CTH 510.1 B iii 32'-42'
Storm God of [Gr]owth in Tabbaruta		Bronze cup	CTH 510.1 B iii 32'-42'
[storm] god, sun deity, stag god, Mount Šiwanta in Šapagurwanta		Staves	CTH 510.1 A iv 8'-9' // B iv 6'-7'

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Storm God of Mallitta in Mallitta		Wooden bull, tin-plated, standing on all four legs; a bronze bowl as paraphernalia	CTH 510.1 A iv 16'–17' // B iv 14'–15'
Sun deities			
Sun Goddess of the Water of Guršamašša	Stela	Stela of silver with sun rays on top	KUB 17.35 ii 6'–7'
Sun Deity of Šuruwa	Stela	Stela of silver with sun rays on top	KBo 2.1 ii 9–16
Sun Goddess of Šanantiya		Statuette of a woman, in sitting position, of silver, one šekan in height, under which are two wild sheep of iron, under which is a base of iron, (the statuette is further provided with?) ten sun rays of gold	KBo 2.1 iv 1–6
Sun God of Heaven		Statuette of a man, of silver, seated, on his head there are silver "fishes"; beneath him there is a base of wood	KUB 38.2 iii 5–6
Sun Deity in Tabbaruta		Bowl	CTH 510.1 B iii 32'–42'
Stag gods			
stag god		Statuette of a man, standing, his eyes are inlaid with gold. In his right hand he holds a silver <i>mari</i> -spear, in his left hand he holds a shield. He stands on a stag. Beneath him there is a ba[se, plated with s]ilver	KUB 38.2 ii 24'–26'

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Stag God of the Country [side] in Wiyanawanta		Statuette of gold, of a man, [stand]ing, wea[ring] a conical horned helmet, in his right hand he holds a golden bow, [in his] left [hand] he holds a golden eagle and a golden hare. (He has) ⁷ a golden dagger, with golden fruits attached. He stands on a stag of gold, standing on all four legs. Silv[er ...]	KUB 38.1+ ii 1'-6'
Stag God of the Countryside in Wiyanawanta ?		Statuette of gold, of a man, standing, he wears a cap, [he stands (?)] on a bridled sphinx of gold. [...] of gold [...]	KUB 38.1+ ii 7'-9'
Stag God in Nerik	Formerly in Nerik the (holy) hunt[ing bag ...] inside was broken [...]		KUB 42.100+ iii 41'-42'
Stag God in Tabbaruta		Bowl and staff	CTH 510.1 B iii 32'-42'
Divine mountains			
Mount Šuwara	Stela	Mace, [adorned with <i>sun disk</i> (s), on which a statuette of a man, of iron, standing, small in height, is made	KUB 17.35 iii 39-41
Mount Šuwara	One bronze mace, one copper dagger, one "star," [n+] ¹⁰ scepters, one <i>wakšur</i> -vessel, one ring, plated with silver, two scepters, in three places inlaid with silver, one silver wreath, on the front of which there are fruits of gold	Mace, adorned with <i>sun disk</i> (s) and moon crescent(s); on it one statuette of a man is made, in standing position, of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 i 28-40

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Mount Auwara	Stela	Mace, adorned with <i>sun disk(s)</i> and moon crescent(s) of silver; on it one statuette of a man (is made), in standing position, of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 ii 9–16
Mount Šaluwanta of Ħarruwaša	Stela	Mace, adorned with <i>sun disk(s)</i> and moon crescent(s); on it a statuette of a man is made, in standing position, of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 iii 13–16
Mount Šuwara of Maliyašaša	Stela	Mace, [adorn]ed with <i>sun disk(s)</i> and moon crescent(s); on top of it a statuette of a standing man, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KBo 2.1 iii 26–29
[Mo]unt Šuwara of <i>Da---wišta</i>	[Stela]	Mace, [ad]orned with sun disk and [moon crescent; on it one man]—a statuette—is made, of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height, in standing position	KBo 2.1 iii 34–38
Mount Kilinuna in Panišaša		Mace, on it a statuette of iron	KBo 2.13 obv. 1
Mount Arnuwanda in Mammananta		Mace, on it a statuette of iron	KBo 2.13 obv. 21–24
Mount Ħurranašaša in Mammananta		Mace, on it a statuette of iron	KBo 2.13 obv. 21–24
Mount “White” in Mammananta		Mace, on it a statuette of iron	KBo 2.13 obv. 21–24

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Mount [Šu]mmyar[a]		A m[ace [?] ... they adorn it] with bronze moon crescent(s) and bronze <i>sun di[sk(s)]</i> ...] on it 1 statuette (or: image) of a man, of iron [...] on it an eagle of iron	KUB 38.26 + obv. 8'–11'
[M]ount Ḫalalazipa		[They] ad[orn] Mount Ḫalalazip[a—a] a mace—with copper moon crescent(s) and copper <i>sun disk(s)</i> (?)] On it they make a statuette (or: image) of iron of a man, standing, one <i>šekan</i> in height. [They make] on it an eagle of iron, at the bottom of it a li[on of wood]	KUB 38.26 + rev. 15–16
Mount Išdabarunuwa		A <i>hutuši</i> -vessel for wine, plated with silver on the inside; a silver tankard.	KUB 38.2 iii 18–19
[Mou]nt Kar-[...]		St[at]uette ...] <i>helme[ted ...]</i> to the ... [...] in [his] right ha[nd] he holds ...] 20 [?] f[ruits [?] ...]	KUB 38.1 + iii 5–10
Mount Iški[ša] in Zanzišna		Statuette of wood, plated with silver, of a man, standing, clothed [(with) a garment], of 1 <i>short cubit</i> , treated [?] with <i>kunziyala</i> -(pigment?). The name of the king and animals of the countryside are engraved on it, his eyes and eyebrows are made of <i>glass</i> . He holds in his right hand a bronze mace; he hol[ds] in his left hand a s[ilver] shield, an eagle inlaid with ivory, (and) a lion inlaid with ivory. (Furthermore, as accoutrements): one <i>washtub</i> , two ibex horns, and ten <i>talla</i> -vessels	KUB 38.3 ii 6–15
Mount Dunna in Tabbaruta		Ten <i>litui</i> , a bowl, a staff	CTH 510.1 B iii 32'–42'

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Mount Šaluwantiya in Tabbaruta		Sun disk of silver	CTH 510.1 B iii 32'–42'
Mount Mammananta in Tabbaruta		Cup	CTH 510.1 B iii 32'–42'
Divine springs			
Great Spring in Guršamašša		Statuette of a woman, seated, of iron	KUB 17.35 iii 23
Spring Šinarāši	Stela	Statuette of a woman, in sitting position, of iron, one fist in height	KBo 2.1 ii 9–16
Spring Hapuriyata	One bronze <i>wakšur</i> -vessel, one stela	Statuette of a woman, in sitting position, of iron, small	KBo 2.1 ii 32–35
Springs Dupša, Kummayanni, Šiwanna, Hašhana[ri], and Halwanna		Statuettes of girls, of iron	KBo 2.13 obv. 21–24
Spring Išhašhuriya in Tarammeka		Statuette of a woman, of wood, plated with silver; she is <i>veiled</i> ; (the statuette is) seated, it is one <i>short cubit</i> in height; in her right hand she holds a silver cup. She has one bracelet of silver; twenty fruits of gold on her forehead, of which seven are of silver, and three moon crescents of silver on her chest	KUB 38.1+1 10'–14'

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
[Spring ⁹ ...] in Taramneka		Statuette of a woman, of wood, plated with silver; she is [ve]lled; (the statuette is) seated, it is one <i>short cubit</i> in height; [in her right hand] she holds a silver cup. She has three fruits of silver, of which one is of gold, [on her forehead (?)]	KUB 38.1+ i 15'–18'
[Spring ⁹ ...] in Taramneka		[Stat]uette of a woman, of wood, plated with silver; [she is ve]lled; (the statuette is) seated, it is one ¹ <i>short cubit</i> [in height]; in her right hand [she holds a silver] cup. (She has) [n fruits] of gold, of which one is of silver, on [her] fo[rehead]	KUB 38.1+ 19'–23'
Other gods			
Yarri of Guršamaša	Two scaled helmets, with flaps (or: two scaled gorget-flaps), two bronze maces, one stela	Statuette of a man, standing, of iron, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KUB 17.35 ii 35'–37'
Belu, the Lord	Five daggers of copper, of which one is small	Statuette of a man, in standing position, of silver, one <i>šekan</i> (in height), the eyes inlaid with gold; one copper dagger, embossed with gold	KBo 2.1 i 28–40
The Nursing Mother	Stela	Statuette of a woman, in sitting position, of silver, one <i>šekan</i> (in height), the eyes inlaid with go[ld]	KBo 2.1 i 28–40
River Šigašiga		Statuette of a girl	KBo 2.13 obv. 21–24
Iyaya		Statuette of iron, of a woman, seated, veiled, one <i>šekan</i> in height	KUB 38.26+ obv. 50 ²

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
The st[rong?] Šawuška		[Statuette ...] seated, from her shoulders [wings protrude], in her right hand [she holds] a cup of gold, [in her left hand] she holds a gold hieroglyphic sign for “Goodness.” Beneath her there is a base, plat[ed] with silver. [Beneath] the b[ase] lies a sphinx, plated with silver. And to the right [and left] of the wings of the sphinx stand Ninatta and Kulitta, their eyes of silver, inlaid with [go]ld. And beneath the sphinx there is a base of wood	KUB 38.2 i 7’–16’
Šawuška of Summoning		Statuette of gold; he is a standing man; from his shoulders wings protrude, in his right hand he holds an axe of gold, in his left hand he holds a golden hieroglyphic sign for “Good(ness).” He stands on a sphinx, its tail plated with silver, its chest plated with gold. And [behind], to the right and left of his wings, stand [Nin]atta and Kulitta	KUB 38.2 i 21’–27’
[Karma]hili		Statuette of a man, seated, [his eyes are inlaid with] gold, [in his right hand] he holds a mace. Beneath him there is a base of silver	KUB 38.2 ii 4’–5’
war god		Statuette of silver; of a man, [standing (?)]; in his right hand he holds a mace, in his left hand he holds a shield. Beneath him [stands] a [lion]. Beneath the lion there is a base, plated with silver	KUB 38.2 ii 17’–20’

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Ḫatepuna		Statuette of a woman, (fashioned as) a KAR.K[ID]-woman, seated' (?), veiled, her eyes are inlaid with gold. In her right hand she holds a silver cup. Beneath her there is a [wooden] ba[se]	KUB 38.2 iii 12-14
ḫekur Temmuwa		A hutuši-vessel for wine, plated with silver on the inside	KUB 38.2 iii 21-22
war god in Tarammeka		Silver fist, its weight is twenty shekels. Two large copper shields, one copper lance, three copper daggers, one copper spear, one bronze mace, one copper axe as accoutrements	KUB 38.1+ i 4'-8'
Fragmentary; the Heptad and Ala are mentioned		The Hept[ad ...] beneath them a bas[e ...] ... [...] 123 fruits of gold, [...] 128 branches, [of which 64 br]anches are of gold and 64 of silver. [A bas]e of silver, to the front it is carved' with gold, but it is wide opened. 1 spring(-basin?) of iron, its weight is 90 minas, (provided with) 100 šariyani-stones, of which 10 (are) of gold, 20 of silver, 20 of gl[a]ss, 20 of [...]-stone, 20 of alabaster, 1 "hea[d" ...] of alabaster, the equipment how[ever' ...], (and) 10 of (the goddess) Ala	KUB 38.1+ ii 13'-26'

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Iyaya in Lapanā		Statuette of wood, of a woman, seated; she is <i>veiled</i> ; (the statuette's height is) one [<i>short cubit</i>]; her head is plated with gold, her limbs and the throne are pla[ted] with tin. Two wild sheep of wood, plated with tin, are seated under the goddess, to the right and left (of her). (Furthermore, as accoutrements): one eagle, plated with tin, two copper scepters, and two bronze cups	KUB 38.1+ iv 1–6
Iyaya in Tiura		Statuette of wood, of a woman, plated with silver, seated; she is <i>veiled</i> , one <i>short cubit</i> in height; in her right hand she holds a cup, in her left hand she holds a silver hieroglyphic sign for “Goodness,” beneath her is a wooden base. One silver <i>talla</i> -vessel stands before the goddess: the accoutrements of the goddess are present	KUB 38.1+ iv 8–13
Iśaśhūriya of Tiliura		Statuette of wicker, of a woman, seated, plated with silver, it is one and a half <i>short cubits</i> in height; one silver headwreath, (with) five fruits of gold on (it); eight necklaces of gold—of which three' (are) of silver—on her neck; six (<i>sun</i>) <i>disks</i> of gold—of which two (are) of silver—on the [goddess' breast; three pairs of earrings—[in which one (pair)] of gold and two (pairs) of ZĀLAG-stone are included—at her ears; three pairs of festive garments, of which one (pair is) yellow, one (pair is) red, and one (pair is) of (the color of) ZĀLAG-stone	KUB 38.3 i 9–17

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Fragmentary		[...] plated with silver, (of?) a woman, seated, (it is) 1 ½ <i>short cubits</i> in height [...] 1 silver headwreath, (with) 5 fruits of gold on (it), [<i>n</i> necklaces of gold—of which <i>n</i>] (are) of silver, on her neck; [...] on [...] (of the color of) ZALAG-stone [...] shekel(s) (<i>breaks off</i>)	KUB 38.3 i 18–24
Fragmentary		One <i>washtub</i> , inside it is [...] its rim is plated with gold; two horns [...] a silver mace, a silver eagle [...] of silver, of ten sh[ekels ...]	KUB 38.3 ii 17–21
Fragmentary		One ho[rm of gold (or: of silver)] of ten shekel[s; <i>n sun dis</i>]k(s) of silver, of which [...] we [re]placed	KUB 38.3 iii 5'–8'
Queen of the Sluice in Iššaliya		Statuette of wood, of a woman, plated with silver, [seated]; she is <i>veiled</i> , [<i>n short cubit</i> (s)] in height	KUB 38.3 iii 11'–14'
Halki in Iššaliya		[Stat]uette of wood, of a woman, seated; she is <i>veiled</i> , one <i>short cubit</i> [in height]	KUB 38.3 iii 14'–15'
Fragmentary		Silver staff [...]	KUB 38.3 iv 2'
Pirwa of Šippa		[Statuette of a man ... he stands' o]n a silver-plated horse [...] silver reins [...] in his right hand he holds a bea[ting]-whip of silver, [in his left hand] he h[olds two'] <i>ašišā-</i> of black iron. [...] (He is) gird[ed with a dagger (?) of gold]. [One B]BRU ^U -vessel shaped like a horse, of gold [...] of gold, for him there is a stone-plated DAB-vessel [... with the f]ront (quarters) in standing position	KUB 38.4 i 1–11

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Telipinu in Nerik	<p>(a) And in Nerik [...] <i>n</i>+1 <i>mari</i>-spears, plated with silver, [...] made like [...] 1 <i>m[ari]-spear</i> (?) ...] plated with [gol]d, 1 tankard of carnelian, plated with gold [...] was.</p> <p>(b) [Thu]s (spoke) the temple personnel: "Muwattalli made (cult objects of) Telipinu (and of?) the gods of [Neri]k in Utruna, and he stood as a stela [in?] the house [of the St]ag² god. But there was no silver (and) gold yet. As the father of His Majesty celebrated the <i>purulli</i> festival in Utruna, they found Telipinu on the tablets of the <i>purulli</i> festivals, in the rites. And they made (a cult image of) him: a small tankard of silver."</p>	(b) Now he is a small tankard of silver, and stands on the altar next to the stag god	KUB 42.100+ iv 3' - 8' a, iv 10' - 21' b
Halki in Nerik	Muwattalli made (a cult image of) her: a statuette, and she stands in front of the Storm god of Nerik in the house of the Storm god of Nerik		KUB 42.100+ iv 33' - 41'
Fragmentary, in Kanzana		Two statuettes of women, in sitting position, tin-plated	CTH 510.1 A i 27' - 28' // B i 39' - 40'

Gods	Former state	Present state	Text
Ištar of N[ineveh] in [...]-ašši		Bull's head and neck of wood, its head [is tin-plated (?)]	<i>CTH 510.1 B ii 39</i>
Fragmentary, in [...]-ašši		A [bull's] head and ne[ck] of wood, [i]ts hea[d] is tin-plated	<i>CTH 510.1 B ii 40</i>
Marduk (or Šanta, AMAR.UTU) in Tabbaruta		Statuette of a man, standing, of wood	<i>CTH 510.1 B iii 32'–42'</i>
Iyaya, [nur]sing ⁷ woman ⁷ , in Tabbaruta		Statuette of a woman, in sitting position, of wood	<i>CTH 510.1 B iii 32'–42'</i>
Šalupiya in Tabbaruta		Bowl of the “young man”	<i>CTH 510.1 B iii 32'–42'</i>

5

THE FESTIVALS

5.1. THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF LOCAL FESTIVALS

Festivals were defined in §1.1.3 as periodic rituals performed recurrently at specific occasions. Festivals occupy the most prominent place in the cult: if rituals can be defined as “action wrapped in a web of symbolism” (Kertzer 1988, 9), festivals constitute those rituals where the symbolic power of actions is most strongly perceived.

The enhanced interaction of gods and men, combined with the involvement of a larger community, places local festivals at the intersection of the social, religious, and economic spheres: an interaction that peaks in the cult meal, where the men meet their gods and the cohesion of symbolic and material power is realized in the ritualized consumption of food and drink, “embodied material culture” (Dietler and Hayden 2001; Dietler 2011), as well as in the manifestations of sheer “joy” which follow as a natural and necessary consequence. Precisely the accent placed in cult inventories on the “rejoicing” within local (nonstate) cults marks a fundamental difference with the state cults, where no reference to such “joy” is found. Apparently, the reason behind this divide is to be found in the highly official character of state cults as opposed to the more popular nature of nonstate cults (§6.5, Cammarosano 2014b, 162–65).

All Hittite local festivals include (1) the initial preparation of the (images of the) gods, and (2) a set of rites usually entailing a procession to an extramural sanctuary where the core of the festival is staged. All festivals culminate with the cult meal. This can be viewed as a special case of “feast,” where a feast is defined as “public ritual events of communal food and drink consumption” (Dietler 2001, 69). As stressed by M. Dietler in a recent overview of the topic,

the symbolic power of feasts derives from the fact that food and drink serve as the media of expression, and commensal hospitality constitutes the syntax in the context of a ritual of consumption. Food and drink are highly charged symbolic media because ... they are “embodied material culture” produced specifically for ingestion into the body. They are a basic and continual human physiological need that are also a form of highly

condensed social fact embodying relations of production and exchange and linking the domestic and political economies in a highly personalized way. Moreover, although eating and drinking are among the few biologically essential acts, they are never simply biological acts. Rather, they are learned “techniques du corps” ...—culturally patterned techniques of bodily comportment that are expressive in a fundamental way of identity and difference. (Dietler 2011, 181)

It is important to stress how different the local cults of nonstate character are from the state cults as far as the participants are concerned. Irrespective of the impact that they may exert on a broader “public,” state cults are staged by a restricted elite. In state cults, the participants in the cult meal are confined to members of the royal family, priests, and selected dignitaries. In the case of local nonstate cults, on the contrary, a large part if not the entirety of the local community takes part in the rites, first and foremost in the cult meal, which constitutes the core of any festival. The assumption of a large participation of the village communities in the local festivals is based on a generalization of selected passages as well as on the analysis of the cult provisions listed in the inventories (§§6.4.4, 6.5), and has major implications for the assessment of the social relevance of the local cults (see Sallaberger 2012 for a revealing study of the analogous situation at Late Bronze Age Emar). On the one hand, festivals served as a crucial cohering and defining factor in the construction of the local communal identity, primarily through the cult meal, ritualized consumption of food and drink in the presence of the communal gods. Moreover, a closer look at the character of the festivals makes it apparent that many of them functioned (also) as catalysts for labor mobilization at the occasion of major agricultural operations, a fact which allows us to compare them with the category of “work feasts” (§6.5). On the other hand, the bare existence of the corpus of the cult inventories with their background of recursive center-periphery dynamics makes it clear that the interaction of the central power with the local cults must be viewed as a key element within the complex of “micro-political struggles of negotiation and legitimation,” which alone enable states and empires to survive and operate (see Dietler 2003, 271–72). A proper investigation of the complex dynamics of prestige and authority transfer that are at play at the occasion of local festivals, however, is still to be done, as well as an in-depth study of their economic implications. Selected aspects that are fundamental to the analysis of the latter topic are discussed separately in §6.

The Hittite texts preserve the names of dozens of different festivals (see Hoffner 1967, 39–41; Neu 1982, 125–27; van Gessel 2001, 281–87). The fundamental divide between state cults and nonstate cults (mostly of local character) has been discussed in §2.2.1, whereas in §5.3 it has been argued that the

festival accounts preserved in the late cult inventories are likely to reflect old local traditions. Indeed, Gurney noted already forty years ago that

Hittite religion ... has two distinct aspects: the local cults, each with its own traditions, and the State religion of the king, based on the capital, Ḫattuša. The local cults must go back to prehistoric times, with little change over the centuries.... Knowledge of the age-old local cults comes almost entirely from the cult inventories. (Gurney 1977, 1, 25)

The accounts of local festivals, which are frequently included in cult inventories (§2.4), like those of festival texts, are better viewed as protocols or memos than proper “descriptions” of rites (Klinger 1996, 727–38, esp. 729, with literature). They concisely list whichever moments of the celebration are deemed functional to the nature of the report, together with the number and quality of the offerings, which are ultimately the essential element from the viewpoint of a cult inventory. This is why information on the unfolding of the festival is even more meagre than it is in festival texts, with the cult meal merely referred to through the expression “they eat and drink,” and so on (§3.4).

The following sections will provide an insight into the nature and character of the local festivals dealt with in the examined corpus of texts, beginning with an overview of the attested rites (§5.2). Before delving into the discussion of the festivals themselves, a fundamental matter will have to be addressed up front, namely, the question of the antiquity of the rites as described in the late cult inventories and the related debate over the extent of alleged processes of “centralization” and “standardization” (§5.3). After a discussion of the basic rites known as “daily bread” and “monthly festival” (§5.4), the core seasonal festivals of autumn and spring will be presented (§5.5). The central elements that characterize them, namely, the rite of the pithos and the procession to extramural stela sanctuaries, will be dealt with in this section, although they are not exclusive of the spring and autumn festivals (§§5.5.3–5.5.4). The relevance of the “joy” manifested by the feasting community, as well as of the athletic games which followed the cult meal, will be addressed in §5.6. In the remaining sections, the other festivals attested in the corpus will be examined: first, those rooted in the seasonal cycle and in the connected agricultural operations (spring: §5.7; summer–autumn: §5.8; winter: §5.9), then those of different character (§5.10).

5.2. ATTESTED FESTIVALS, AGRICULTURAL YEAR, AND CULT CALENDAR

The most frequently attested festivals are those of autumn and spring, which constitute the core of the Hittite religious calendar (§5.5). Though not all texts list these two festivals, since the aspects of the cult treated in the cult

inventories vary across the corpus, it can be safely assumed that they were celebrated in every settlement where a Hittite-Luwian community was present. Frequently mentioned are also the daily offering of loaves of bread and the monthly festival, both of which ensured the periodical feeding of the gods (§5.4). Apart from these basic rites, a number of festivals are attested. Many are of agricultural character, that is, they accompanied fundamental moments of the agricultural calendar, whereas others refer to meteorological events, ritual actions, or specific objects, places and deities. Table 5 gives an overview of the festivals attested in the examined corpus of texts.

The Hittite seasonal cult calendar has to be reconstructed through a systematic analysis of the available sources. Hoffner (1974, 12–51) presents an excellent overview of the Hittite calendar, focused on the succession of the seasons and the related agricultural works. However, an important correction has to be made: contrary to what Hoffner (1974, 13, 24–28) maintains, the Hittites only distinguished three seasons of four months each (*HED* Ț, 73; Glocker 1997, 109; *HEG* W–Z, 691–92, all with further literature). These were spring (*ḫamešḫa-*, approximately April through June), (summer-)autumn (*zena-*, approximately July through October), and winter (*gim-*, approximately November through March). The logogram BURU₁₄ only means “harvest” in the Hittite texts, never “summer.”

In central Anatolia rainfall peaks in May, with a lower peak in November (Hoffner 1974, 48; Hütteroth 1982, 111). Local religious calendars happen to revolve on the key moments of the agricultural year; accordingly, the time of celebration of the festivals of seasonal and agricultural character could vary depending on the climatic and meteorological conditions (see §5.5.2 on the role of thunder as marker for the distinction of seasons). The unpredictable climate of central Anatolia with the related phenomena of famines and extreme variability in the harvest should not be underestimated (Hütteroth 1982, 119–33; Schachner 2012a). No doubt, many Hittites would agree with the following saying of a Jordanian farmer: “In a good year, we eat wheat and the livestock eats barley—in a bad year, we eat the barley and the livestock” (quoted by Pasternak and Kroll 2017, 217).

In order to determine the festival calendar of the local cults, it is conducive to look at the evidence of the lists of festivals preserved in some cult inventories:

- (1) KBo 2.8 obv. i 14–15: *ḫarpaš*, SĒD *ḫarpiya*, [DIŠI (?),] *lēlaš*, URUDUŠU.KIN *tarnummaš*, ȚU[R ...];
- (2) KUB 38.12 obv. i 20–23: *taggantipū*, *šēliyaš*, *ḫarnayaša*^{SAR}, GIŠTIR, *zēnandaš*, ZUNNI, *ēššayaš*, HUR.SAG *kantaḫuyaš*, GIŠGEŠTIN *tuhšuwaš*;
- (3) KUB 38.12 obv. ii 9: *tetḫešnaš*, GIŠBURU₁₄;

- (4) KUB 38.12 rev. iv 3'–4': *ašanāyaš, tethešnaš*, GURUN;
- (5) KBo 2.1 obv. i 42'–44': *zenaš, DIŠI, lelaš, ḪUR.SAG-i pedummaš*,
GIS *muttaḫilaš, ŠU.KIN, pulaš*;
- (6) KBo 2.1 rev. iv 7–10: *zenaš, DIŠI, ḫēuwaš, lelaš, ŠU.KIN, ge[nzu]*,
GIBIL *tiyauwaš*;
- (7) KUB 55.14 obv. 8'–10': [...] *DIŠI, ḫarpiya, lelaš*, [...], URUDU ŠU.KIN,
šelaš [...];
- (8) KBo 12.56 obv. i 6': *zeni, DIŠI*, GURUN;
- (9) KUB 17.35 obv. ii 1'–5': [*zēni*]^{DUG} *ḫarši šuhḫuwaš*, GIBIL *t[iyau-*
waš ...], *DIŠI*^{DUG} *ḫarši ḫēšuwaš, aša[naiyaš ...]*, *pulaš, ŠU.KIN DÜ,*
ali-x[...], *genzu*.
- (10) KUB 42.91 obv. ii 1'–26', rev. iii 1'–16' (sequence of the festival de-
scriptions): [*DIŠI (?)*], GURUN, ^{LÜ}SIPA.UDU [...] ŠU.KIN (?), *šeliyaš*
[...].

Although nothing requires the assumption that festival lists must reflect the actual sequence of celebration, the converging evidence of these passages allows for some conclusions. The autumn festival is often the first to be listed, and its mention always precedes that of the spring festival, although the Hittite year begins in spring (§5.5.1–2). This principle seems to apply also in relation to the rain and thunder festivals, if it is true that they were performed in the spring (§5.7.1). Furthermore, the mention of spring festivals, namely, those of the rain, of the thunder, of the fruits, and the spring festival proper, regularly precedes that of autumn festivals, namely, those of the harvest and of the sickle (which of course is a harvest festival as well). The sickle festival, in turn, precedes the festival of the grain pile in both lists where both are attested (nos. 7 and 10). The *lelaš* festival, tentatively interpreted as “conciliation” festival, is always listed between spring festivals and sickle festival (nos. 1, 5, 6, and 7), showing that it must take place in the late spring or early summer, although its precise nature still escapes us (for attestations see *CHD* L–N, 57). Finally, the festival of the grape harvest is listed last, perfectly fitting the general pattern.

In sum, the lists of the cult inventories tend to reflect the sequence of celebration of the various festivals, and what is more, this order follows a basically common schema. This means that local cult calendars shared basic similarities that went beyond the variation observed across the various towns. The cult calendar happens to begin in the autumn and to revolve on the agricultural year. In view of this, it is conducive to recall Kloekhorst's proposal that Hittite *zēna-*, “autumn” is derived from the verb *zē-*, “to cook” (*EDHIL*, 1034). According to C. Melchert (pers. comm.), however, his assigned transitive meaning seems to be incorrect. It is not the “closing” season (it

Table 5: Overview of the attested festivals. Texts preserving a “description” of the festival are underlined. Autumn and spring festivals are not listed.

Names written phonetically	
<i>ašanayaš</i>	KBo 2.1, KUB 17.35 (EZEN ₄ <i>a-š[a-]</i>), KUB 38.12
<i>ēššayaš</i>	KUB 38.12
<i>ešūwaš</i>	Kp 14/95+
<i>ḫaluwaš</i>	KUB 56.56
<i>ḫarnayayaš</i> ^{§AR} (“of the <i>ḫarnayaya</i> plant”)	KUB 38.12
<i>ḫarpaš</i> , <i>ḫarpiyaš</i> (“of the pile”?)	<u>KBo 2.8</u> , KBo 26.179, KUB 42.100+, KUB 53.21, <u>IBoT 2.103</u> , IBoT 2.131
<i>ḫarpiya</i>	<u>KBo 2.8</u> (SÈD <i>ḫarpiya</i>), KUB 55.14 (<i>ḫarpiya</i>)
<i>ḫeuwaš</i> (“of the rain”)	KBo 2.1, KUB 38.12 (<i>ZUNNI</i>), KUB 56.39 (<i>ḫe-e-[]</i>)
<i>ḫiyaraš</i>	Kp 15/7+
<i>ippiyaš</i> (“of the vine”)	KUB 12.2
<i>irḫaš</i> (“of the border”)	KBo 13.241+
<i>genzu</i> (“of mercy”?)	KBo 2.1 (<i>ge[-]</i>), KUB 17.35 (<i>ge-en-zu</i>),
<i>lelaš</i> (“of the conciliation”)	KBo 2.1, KBo 2.8, KUB 53.21, KUB 55.14
<i>mimizzuwaš</i>	KUB 56.56
<i>muḫḫuelašši-</i>	KUB 42.100+ (<i>muḫḫue-[]</i>)
^{GIŠ} <i>muttaḫilaš</i>	KBo 2.1
<i>nuntarriyašḫaš</i> (“of timeliness”)	KUB 42.100+, Kp 14/95+
<i>pulaš</i> (“of the lot(s)”)	KBo 2.1, <u>KUB 17.35</u> , Kp 14/95+ (uncertain)
<i>šeliyaš</i> (“of the grain pile”)	KUB 38.12, <u>KUB 42.91</u> , KUB 55.14 (<i>šelaš</i>), <u>KUB 56.39</u> , <u>KBo 13.241+</u> , Kp 14/95+
<i>taggantipū</i>	KUB 38.12
<i>tetḫešnaš</i> (“of the thunder,” cf. BÚN)	KUB 38.12, KUB 42.105+, KUB 53.21, KUB 56.56
<i>warpuwaš</i> (“of the ablutions”)	<u>KUB 17.35</u> (ŠE.NAGA- <i>uwaš</i>)
<i>zuppari</i> (“of the torch”)	KUB 38.14
Names written heterographically	
BÚN (“of the thunder(storm),” cf. <i>tetḫešnaš</i>)	KUB 53.21, KuSa I 1.4
BURU ₁₄ (“of the harvest”)	KBo 26.218, <u>KUB 12.2</u> , KUB 38.12, KUB 53.21

Table 5, *continued*

GAL (“big festival”)	KBo 13.252, KUB 38.12, KuSa I 1.5 (pl.)
KASKAL LUGAL (“of the king’s journey”)	KBo 21.81(+), KUB 58.7 (EZEN ₄ .GAL ŠA KASKAL LUGAL)
ŠA MU 3.KAM (“of the third year,” i.e. celebrated every three years)	KBo 13.231, KuSa I 1.4 (pl.)
GAL ^{MUNUS} ŠU.G[^I MEŠ] (“of the Chief of the Old Women”)	YH 2005/1
^{GIŠ} GĒŠTIN <i>tuḫšūwaš</i> (“of the grape harvest”)	KUB 38.12
GIBIL (“of the new (moon)”?; so Hoffner 1967, 40)	KBo 13.252, KUB 38.5, KUB 42.100+
GIBIL <i>tiyawaš</i> (“of the new installation”)	KBo 2.1, KUB 17.35 (GIBIL <i>t[i-]</i>)
GU₄ BAL (“of offering an ox”?)	KuSa I 1.5
GURUN (“of the fruit”)	KBo 12.56, KBo 13.241+, KUB 38.5 (?), KUB 38.12, KUB 38.19+, <u>KUB 42.91</u>
ḪULLANU (“of the <i>ḫullanu</i> -wrap”?)	KBo 70.109+
ḪUR.SAG-i <i>pedummaš</i> (“of carrying (the gods?) to the mountain”)	KBo 2.1
ŠA GIŠ ^d INANNA.GAL (“of the big INANNA-instrument”)	IBoT 2.131
ITU ^{KAM} (“of the month”)	KBo 13.252, KBo 21.81(+), KBo 26.149, KUB 38.2, KUB 38.12, KUB 38.14, KUB 38.33, KUB 42.100+, KUB 55.14, KUB 55.48, KUB 56.56, KUB 57.102, Ku 99/153, KuSa I 1.3, KuSa I 1.4, Kp 14/95+
MÁŠ.TUR (“of the kid”)	<u>KUB 38.25</u> (MÁ[Š.TUR])
^{GIŠ} SAG.KUL (“of the bolt”)	YH 2005/1
SAG.[...]	KUB 38.2
SĒD (“of/in winter”)	KBo 2.8, KuT 60, KUB 30.37 // KUB 12.36+ (<i>INA gemi</i>)
^{LÚ} SIPA.UDU (“of the shepherd”)	<u>KUB 42.91</u>
(^{URUDU}) ŠU.KIN	KBo 2.1, <u>KBo 2.8</u> (^{URUDU} ŠU.KIN <i>tarnummaš</i> ^d), KBo 13.231, <u>KUB 12.2</u> , KUB 17.35 (ŠU.KIN DŪ), <u>KUB 42.91</u> (restored), KUB 55.14
SUM(-) <i>itkamna</i> (?)	Kp 14/95+
^{GIŠ} TIR (“of the wood”)	KUB 55.48, KUB 38.12

Table 5, *continued*

TÚG-TUM <i>waššuwāš</i> (“of putting on the garment”)	KUB 56.56
TÚG-TUM <i>arḥa peššiyawāš</i> (“of taking off the garment”)	KUB 56.56
^{GIŠ} ZAG.GAR.RA <i>šuppiyahḥūwāš</i> (“of the sanctification of the altar”)	<u>KUB 44.21</u>
Festivals connected to specific deities or persons	
EZEN ₄ ^{MES} ^{HUR.SAG} <i>Arnuwanda[š]</i> (“of Mount Arnuwanda”)	KBo 26.182
[EZE]N ₄ ^d <i>Huwarpazipa</i> (“of Huwarpazipa”)	YH 2005/1
EZEN ₄ <i>IKRIBI</i> ^m <i>Kantuzili</i> (“of Kantuzili’s vow”)	Kp 15/7+
EZEN ₄ ^{HUR.SAG} <i>Kantaḥuyaš</i> , EZEN ₄ ^{HUR} ^{SAG} <i>Šakutunuwa</i> (“of Mount Kantaḥuya, of Mount Šakutunuwa”)	KUB 38.12
[EZ]EN ₄ ^{HUR.SAG} <i>Puškurunuwa</i> (“of Mount Puškurunuwa”)	KBo 13.241+
EZEN ₄ <i>MU</i> ^{KAM} - <i>TI ŠA</i> ^d <i>NIR.NIR.BI</i> (“yearly festival of NIR.NIR.BI”)	IBoT 2.131
Festival at the stela (i.e. spring festival?)	KUB 56.56

hardly could if *ḥamešḥa*-, “spring” is the start of the year and autumn marks the beginning of the cultic calendar), but rather reflects the original sense of *zē*-, “to be(come) finished,” that is, it indicates the end of the growing season, whereas later it became specialized to mean “to be(come) done” (of cooking).

Combining the evidence of the lists with that of the text corpus as a whole, we gain the following picture:

Table 6: The seasonal cult calendar as it emerges from the cult inventories

Season	Festivals
Autumn	Festivals of the sickle, of the grain pile, and of the harvest; autumn festival
Winter	Winter festival, festival of the ritual washing (in Guršamašša), <i>ḥarpiya</i> winter festival
Spring	Spring festival; festivals of the kid, of the fruits, of the rain, and of the thunder; <i>ippiyaš</i> festival; festival of the conciliation

5.3. UNITY AND DIVERSITY: ANTIQUITY OF THE FESTIVALS, CULT EVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION

A crucial aspect for the interpretation of the Hittite local cults as well as for the evaluation of center–periphery dynamics in Late Bronze Age Anatolia is the question of whether the rites described in the cult inventories reflect a superimposed, standardized pattern or rather the traditional cults of the local communities as they were at the time the texts were drafted. In the past, scholars dealing with this question have been quite unanimous in inclining to the former option, mainly on the basis of the similarity in style and content observed in the treatment of local festivals throughout the corpus. Carter (1962, 20) stated that “the fact that the festivals described in the cult-inventory texts are all based on one model ... tends to indicate imposition into the cult (and thus enrichment or intensification) from a single, outside source.” Houwink ten Cate (1992, 104) more prudently concluded that “the concise festival descriptions sometimes contained in this type of text and usually pertinent to the Festivals of the Spring and the Autumn are not necessarily always a description of what traditionally happened, but may have been, at least in part, rather prescriptive in character.” Klinger (1996, 23) spoke of an aggressive operation of coercive standardization of local cult practices, carried out by the central power in order to achieve a uniform cult over the entire kingdom. In the most recent appraisal of the question, Hazenbos writes that

the similarity in the descriptions of autumn and spring festivals is striking indeed and calls for comment. The only explanation one can think of is that these festivals, in the form that we know them, were instituted by a central source. Apparently it was of importance for the authorities in Hattuša to regulate the way the local autumn and spring festivals were celebrated in order to make them equal. Without doubt these regulations were an important part of the cult restoration of Tudḫaliyaš IV. (Hazenbos 2003, 169)

In further comments based on his thesis, Hazenbos (2004, 244–47) concedes that the similarity in the descriptions is basically due to the conciseness of the texts and admits that minor variations from place to place do occur, but maintains that the ubiquitous core rites relating to the filling and opening of the pithos cannot be due to chance, a fact that suggests a superimposed restyling and standardization process.

A number of arguments, however, point toward an altogether different interpretation of the evidence, as I argued in a recent reappraisal of the question (Camararosano 2012, 16–20). Indeed, the similarity displayed by the festival descriptions embedded in cult inventories is confined to the use

of formulaic expressions when referring to certain moments and aspects of the rites, and to recurring patterns as far as the outline of the festivals is concerned. The former feature descends from the very nature of the corpus: for concise reports drafted by officials more or less directly dependent on the central administration, the use of specific linguistic and orthographic conventions is to be expected. Even within this jargon, a systematic analysis of the administrative language of the cult inventories highlights a certain variation in the formulas and their wording (see §3.4). As far as similarities in the outline of the festivals are concerned, a closer look at the texts proves that such similarities are confined to (1) the almost ubiquitous presence of the autumn and spring festivals as basic cults attested in local towns; (2) the presence of a pithos for the ritual storage of wheat, which is subsequently turned into loaves of bread; (3) a procession to the extramural stela sanctuaries, mostly at the occasion of the spring festival; and (4) the characteristic partitioning of the offerings in two portions, namely, “(portion) at the altar” and “provisions.” Now, these elements are precisely those that independent evidence shows to be characteristic of the most widespread, firmly rooted, genuine “Hittite” seasonal festivals (see most recently Archi 2015, 17–23 for an assessment of the role and antiquity of autumn and spring festivals). Likewise, the extramural stela sanctuaries to which the seasonal processions lead were clearly not built up at the king’s orders, but rather represented the focal point of traditional cults (§5.5.4).

Finally, the bipartite division of the offerings reflects their usage within the ceremony (§6.4.1). Apart from these recurring elements, the extant accounts of local festivals bear witness to a great variety of rites, as well as to the bewildering richness of the local panthea (Cammarosano 2012, 18 with nn. 39–41). The very existence of the corpus of the cult inventories is certainly proof of the “grip the central administration exerted on local affairs” (van den Hout 2011, 66), but the variety of the attested rites leaves little doubt that overall the festivals do not reflect the result of a superimposed model, but rather the cults of local towns and villages as they were in place at the time the texts were drafted. Among other examples, particularly telling are panthea starring gods of non-Anatolian origin (see *CTH* 510.1, text no. 17), or where the most prominent god is not the Storm God, for example, Mount Šaluwanta in Ḫarruwaša (KBo 2.1, text no. 2), or Maliya of the Carpenter in Šallunatašši (*CTH* 510.1, text no. 17).

This conclusion is corroborated by the consideration of the vital role of tradition in the Hittite religion. Perhaps with the sole exception of Muwatalli II, all Hittite kings for whom the relevant evidence is available insist that customary cults must be maintained and passed down to the next generations. This attitude is most clearly expressed in a remarkable section of

the Instructions for Military Officers and Frontier Post Governors. These are explicitly requested to care for the restoration of cult images and shrines *as they were before* and for the reverence due to *all* the gods, at the time and in the way that are customary in the respective towns:

But in whatever town the governor of the post drives back to, he shall count the *ritualists*, the priests, the anointed ones and the mother-deity priestesses, and ... they shall restore it. As it was built before, so they shall rebuild it. Further, reverence for the deities shall be maintained; for the Storm God, though, reverence shall be *firmly* established. ... Further, they shall venerate the deities in a timely (fashion): For whatever deity there is a (set) time, they shall venerate him/her at that time. ... But [wha]te[ver] ancient cult stele in a town that has not been attended to, they shall now attend to. They shall set it up, and they shall [per]form for it whatever rite that (was performed) for it from ancient (days). And for whatever springs are behind the town, for [wh]atever spring there is an offering regimen, they must perform it regularly, and they must come [u]p to visit it regularly. And they must even come up to visit regularly any spring for which there is no offering regimen. They must never neglect it. (excerpts from CTH 261.I §§31'–35', transl. Miller 2013, 227, 229; on the interpretation of *mekki* in §33' line 37' as “firmly” rather than “particularly,” see Miller 2013, 382 n. 408)

The composition dates back to the age of Tudḫaliya I and Arnuwanda I, and its content cannot be transferred *sic et simpliciter* to other periods. But in this case the text highlights a crucial aspect of the Hittite attitude to divine affairs, which heavily conditions the center–periphery relationship and can be considered representative for the Late Empire period as well. The central power certainly gives an impulse aimed to affirm its “agenda,” in this case the firm reverence due to the Storm God—not only since he is the chief god in the pantheon of the royal family (and beyond), but probably also because he can play a key role in the construction and preservation of a “Hittite” identity, comparable to that of the major Olympians in Greek religion. But this does not imply imposition of any gods or rites against the local tradition: on the contrary, the preservation of the latter is vital to the well-being of the entire land. Importantly, this attitude goes so far as to recommend reverence also for those deities who might have been by the wayside, as well as for those gods of whom not even the names are known: it is the Roman principle known as *sive deus sive dea*, which we also recognize in some lists of deities including “nameless gods,” see, for example, CTH 510.1 (text no. 17) §§7', 26''' and 27'''. References to the search for older tablets and interviews with local cult personnel (e.g., in KUB 42.100+, text no. 12) are further elements that hint at the effort of preserving existing traditions (and, if need be, enhancing or reestablishing them).

That the festival descriptions of the cult inventories tend to reflect local traditions rather than a superimposed pattern does not obviate either their general “prescriptive” character or the many changes that they record and order. Whereas such prescriptive measures are explicitly marked as such, in many cases the suspicion is legitimate that the list of offerings might refer to an ideal state of things. The crucial point is, however, that in all cases where a prescriptive measure is recorded, these pertain to the restoration, enhancement, or reinstitution of images, shrines, rites, and offerings, *not* to the introduction of new cults (see table 1 in §2.3). Importantly, this applies also to the (re)institution of the pithos, the central element of the seasonal festivals of autumn and spring (see Cammarosano 2012, 20–21; and already Archi 2006, 151 n. 22).

5.4. DAILY BREAD AND MONTHLY FESTIVAL

The offering of “daily loaves of bread” (NINDA.GUR₄.RA *UMI*) constitutes the basic offering due to the gods rather than a festival proper, much in line with the fact that the god’s board was modeled on the human one. In the Instructions for Priest and Temple Personnel (*CTH* 264), datable to the Early New Kingdom, this offering is indirectly referred to in §14’, where we read: “All you w[h]o are kitchen personnel of the deities: ... you must ... maintain great respect for the bread loaf (and) wine pitcher of the deities” (transl. Miller 2013, 259). This fits well with the evidence, for example, of KBo 2.1 (text no. 2), where the daily bread offering is said to consist of “(bread made out of) one handful of flour, (and) a cup of beer” (obv. i 42, ii 26; rev. iv 7; in the last case the beer went apparently forgotten; similarly in KUB 38.2 obv. i 17’). In Nerik, the daily loaves of bread for the local Storm god are inspected by the “Lord of the Land,” who can beat and fine the baker if faults are found (*CTH* 672 MSS A & D l. e. 1–4, see Součková 2010, 299). Cult inventories, however, normally do not mention this offering, possibly since its presence was considered to be self-evident. The offering of “daily bread” is explicitly mentioned in KBo 2.1, KBo 13.252, KBo 26.218, KBo 34.106(+), KBo 49.205, KUB 38.3, KUB 38.12, KUB 56.56, KuSa I 1.4, and Kp 14/95+ (see 14/95+ [text no. 14], sections 1–2 and 13,” for a detailed account of this offering in the town of Šamuḫa). Seemingly, it was simpler to mark the cases where the offering happened to be absent than those where it was present: for the former case see KBo 13.252, KUB 38.19+, KUB 38.33, and KuSa I 1.5. As one would expect, in bigger cult centers this offering is more elaborate than in smaller town and villages: see the exemplary case of Šamuḫa (Kp 14/95+, text no. 14).

Like the daily bread, the “monthly festival” (or “festival of the month,” EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM}) also pertains to the standard cult due to the gods, and in-

deed happens to be the most frequently mentioned festival in the corpus. The monthly festival is connected to the lunar cycle and takes place once a month, as confirmed by the fact that in one year twelve monthly festivals are to be celebrated (see, e.g., KUB 42.100+; KUB 55.14). On this festival see most recently Barsacchi forthcoming, with further literature in Dardano 2006, 123. In the frame of the state cults, the festival of the month could be very complex (Klinger 1996, 286–614); in local cults, on the contrary, it was a rather modest celebration, as quality and quantity of the envisaged offerings attest (KUB 42.100+, KUB 55.14, KUB 57.102, KUB 55.48, KBo 26.149, KBo 13.252, KUB 38.2). Again, exceptions are attested for more prominent cults, like those of the Storm God of Lightning and the Sun Deity of the Field in Šamuḫa (Kp 14/95+, text no. 14), and of the circle of the Storm God of Nerik (CTH 672, Součková 2010). Since the Hittite month begins at new moon, it can be assumed that the festival was performed at that time, thus marking the transition to the new month. According to Barsacchi (forthcoming), the festival was not necessarily connected to the new moon and depending on place and time could take place also at other moments of the lunar cycle, but this standpoint does not seem to be supported by compelling evidence. The celebration of an additional rite at full moon in the context of the festival of the month for the Storm god of Nerik clearly represents an exception, due to the outstanding importance of the holy city, and is explicitly marked as such in the text (CTH 672, Součková 2010; in MS A obv. i 8 restore [... SISKUR ITU]^{KAM}, cf. MS D obv. i 28). The “monthly festival” is therefore a “festival of the month” (and vice versa). The exceptional expression [... EZEN₄ IT]^{HLA} MU-ti mīyanaš of KUB 24.3 obv. i 16’ does in no way allow the conclusion that the logogram EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} stands for the “festival(s) performed in the course of the month” (pace Tischler 1981, 52). Indeed, the usual wording EZEN₄^{HLA}-tta EZEN₄ ITU EZEN₄^{HLA} MU-aš mēanaš “your festivals, (namely,) the month festivals (and) the (other) festivals in the course of the year” (e.g., in KUB 24.1 obv. ii 3) shows that the cited variant is to be interpreted as [... EZEN₄ IT]U <EZEN₄>^{HLA} MU-ti mīyanaš.

5.5. AUTUMN AND SPRING FESTIVALS: THE RITE OF THE PITHOS AND THE RITE OF THE STELA

5.5.1. Origins, Nature, and Function

The autumn and spring festivals can be considered the most important ones of the Hittite cult calendar. Their seasonal character stands out, as these celebrations aim to bind together the times of the year and bring about fertility (e.g., Archi 1973a; Hazenbos 2004). Their role in propitiating fertility is ap-

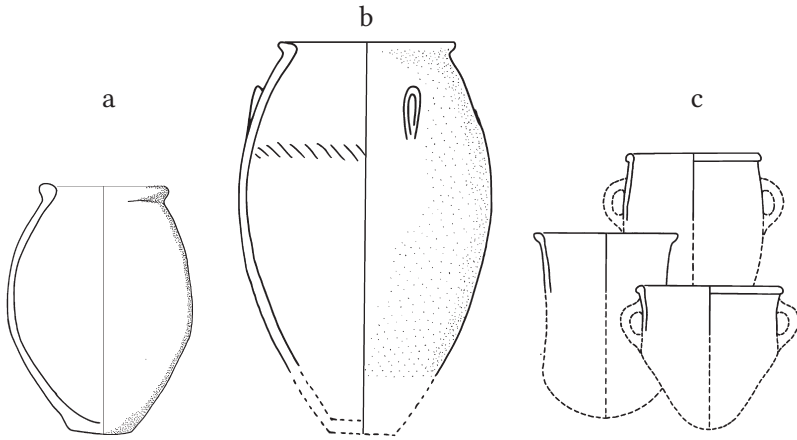


Fig. 10: Hittite storage jars. (a) Storage jar from the “brewery” of Kuşaklı-Şarişša (after V. Müller-Karpe 2000, 329 fig. 12.15; height ca. 85 cm, capacity ca. 145 l). (b) Storage jar from the *Westhang* of Kuşaklı-Şarişša (after Mielke 2006, pl. 46; height ca. 110 cm). (c) Large multipurpose pots, functionally comparable to storage jars and pithoi (after Mielke 2006, 85 fig. 60, 88 fig. 64).

parent in the concluding invocation of the spring festival for the Storm God of the Rain in Ḫakmiš: “O Storm God, my lord, make rain plentiful! And let the dark earth be satiated! And, O Storm God, let the loaves of bread become plentiful!” (KUB 25.23+ rev. iv 57’–59’, text no. 13). Both the interrelation of the autumn and spring festivals as well as their function as promoters of fertility are most evident in the fact that the action of both festivals turns on the manipulation of a pithos (storage jar, see §5.5.3 with fig. 10). In autumn, the pithos is filled with harvested wheat; in spring, it is opened and with the wheat contained in it ritual loaves of bread are prepared, which are subsequently offered to the gods during a feast at the climax of the festival. Filling the pithos with wheat symbolizes the act of seeding, whereas opening it and making bread brings about growth and harvest. Thus, from the frame of reference of the pithos, the autumn festival logically precedes the spring festival, and this fact may well explain why they are almost invariably listed in this order, despite the Hittite calendar beginning in spring (§5.2). It is also possible that this order of mention reflects an older calendar (Hazenbos 2003, 169), but this hypothesis is not necessary to account for the evidence. The autumn and spring festivals are mentioned in this order also in the Instructions for Priest and Temple Personnel (*CTH* 264, §4’), where the error of switching them is overtly stigmatized (§9’, see Miller 2013, 255 with n.

539). Exceptions to this general rule, that is, cases where the spring festival is listed first, are rare: the inverted order is attested in KUB 12.3, KUB 55.15, KBo 13.231 (rev.[?] 1'–2', 5'–6', but in the obv.[?] the standard sequence is used), and KUB 42.100+ rev. iii 13'–14' (but in all other occurrences the standard order is used).

Hazenbos (2004, 244–47) contrasted the omnipresence of the rite of the pithos with the local peculiarities observable in the execution of the seasonal festivals, interpreting it as a proof that the local cults were the object of an ample process of standardization promoted by Tudḫaliya IV in the Late Empire period. Here I argue, on the contrary, that the evidence suggests the rite of the pithos to be a genuine, widespread element of the Hittite-Luwian seasonal festivals (§5.5.3). The fact that a rare example of an early empire cult inventory attests to a “winter” festival besides the spring festival (KUB 30.37 // KUB 12.36+, ed. Hazenbos 2003, 142–43) certainly can be seen as a corroboration of Hazenbos’s standpoint, but nothing prevents one from considering it simply a chance occurrence. Indeed, a connection between autumn and spring festivals can be assumed also for older periods, and conversely winter festivals are attested in the Late Empire as well (§5.9): note that the late cult inventory KuT 60 seems to pair precisely a winter and spring festival (obv. i 14': 1 EZEN₄ SÈD-aš 1 EZ[EN₄ DIŠ], cf. obv. i 6' and passim, see Wilhelm forthcoming).

Whereas the rite of the pithos can safely be viewed as a pan-Hittite element in historical times, it is difficult to fix it to a specific cultural milieu. The opening of the pithos is attested for the major spring festival of the official cult (AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}), a festival with clear Hattian roots, but it seems perhaps premature to state that the rites of the pithos go back “without any doubt” to the Hattian period (Archi 2015, 18), also in view of the fact that the corresponding ceremony of filling the jar is not attested for the *nuntar-riyašḫaš* festival, the autumn counterpart of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} (Güterbock 1964, 69).

Besides the rite of the pithos, the central element of the Hittite local seasonal festivals was a procession in the spring to the extramural sanctuaries, where the cult statuettes brought from the shrines in the town “met” their stela-counterparts and the gods enjoyed the cult meal. The feast, followed by athletic games and other manifestations of “joy,” marked the peak of the rites. There is evidence to support the assumption that a large part of the local community normally took part in the celebration (§6.5). As one would expect, the Hittite local seasonal festivals can be compared with a number of functionally analogous rites attested in other cultures, among them the Mesopotamian *akitu* (Hazenbos 2004, 242 with literature).

5.5.2. Denomination and Timing

The autumn and spring festivals are normally labeled either as such, or by reference to the rite of the pithos, thus “festival of pouring into the pithos” and “festival of opening the pithos” respectively. It is interesting to contrast these labels with the reference to the autumn festival in a shelf list: “[Tablet *n*, (the text is) finished]: when in the autumn, in the course of the year, the sacred priest goes to his house [in Zippal] and in order to open [the pitho]s (and fill it with grain). (The text is) finished” (Cammarosano 2013, 72 with literature).

Given their seasonal character and their close connection to the fertility of the fields, it is natural to assume that the precise time of celebration of both autumn and spring festivals depended on meteorological conditions and therefore was not bound to a fixed day within the calendar. As we will see, the available evidence supports this conclusion.

Crucially, seeding must take place shortly before the first autumn rains, which in central Anatolia peak in November (Hoffner 1974, 48). As has been argued, the autumn festival was likely connected to the time of seeding, therefore it may be suspected that it was normally celebrated at the end of October or beginning of November. In the cult inventory KUB 38.32, autumn is stated to begin in the eighth month of the year (obv. 8–10, see Hoffner 1974, 42; the reading *MU-UH-TU* instead of *MU^{KAM}-ti* in Taggar-Cohen 2006, 299 is erroneous). If we assume November to be the eighth month, the Hittite calendar would begin in April, and this is precisely the time when the winter snow has melted from the lowlands of the central plateau and spring begins (Hoffner 1974, 15; but see Hütteroth 1982, 118–19, 131–33 for more nuanced data). The celebration of the spring festival depends on the first rainstorm of the season in April/May: “When spring comes (and) it thunders, they break open the pithos” (for this formula see §§3.4.1). The thunder has a complex symbology in the Hittite culture: in the frame of local cults it marks the beginning of an agricultural season, in the state cult a (potentially negative) omen for the royal person (*CTH* 631); see Archi 1973a, 13 n. 34; Oettinger 2001, 462, 470–74; Barsacchi 2015.

Occasionally, spring festivals could be bound together:

When they pour into the pithos for the Storm God of Guršamašša, they pour (wheat to make) loaves of bread into the pithos for the Sun deity of the Water as well. [...] When spring comes, (and) they hear the thunder, on whate[ver] day the festival of opening the pithos (for the Storm god) is completed, on that day they open the pithos of the Sun deity of the Water with the (wheat to make) loaves of bread. (KUB 17.35 obv. ii 9’–14’, text no. 1)

Typically, the autumn festival lasted one day, and the spring festival three days, with the procession taking place in the second day.

5.5.3. The Rite of the Pithos

The pivotal role played by the pithos in the seasonal festivals has been discussed in §5.5.1: its filling and opening binds together autumn and spring, symbolizing the renewal of the vegetation cycle and thus bringing about fertility. The pithos was filled with wheat, either bread wheat or einkorn (§6.1). The word pithos, strictly speaking a large storage jar, translates the Hittite terms ^{DUG}ḫarši and ^{DUG}ḫaršiyalli. The two forms are used in the corpus of the cult inventories as synonyms and denote a storage jar, of the type of which many examples have come to light from archaeological excavations (fig. 10; Seeher 2016, 593–94; Müller-Karpe 1988, 61–62; Mielke 2006, 84–86, 105–6).

The term ḫarši(yalli) seems to be cognate to ^{NINDA}ḫarši “bread loaf” and ḫaršar “head” (< *h₂ers-, see Rieken 1999a, 311, 436). The vessel primarily served for the short-term storage of cereals, secondarily also of other products, including oil and wine. This is confirmed by textual evidence, attesting the use of ḫarši(yalli)-vessels for a variety of goods, first of all grain and wine, as well as cases of ḫarši(yalli)-vessels made of wood, and even of models made of precious materials.

Archaeological finds show that Hittite storage jars were normally ca. 50 cm–1 m high in average household contexts, but could reach 2 m in the case of the big pithoi in the storerooms of the Great Temple in Ḫattuša, with a capacity of up to 2,000 l (Seeher 2016, 594). A preliminary analysis of the textual sources suggests that the storage jars used in cultic context within local seasonal festivals usually contained three BĀN-measures of wheat (possibly corresponding to ca. 25 l): this is the capacity attested in KBo 26.182 obv. i 3, KUB 38.26(+) rev. 16, VBoT 26 obv.[?] 7', and Ku 99/153 obv. ii' 8'–9'. At least two cases attest a storage jar with a capacity double of that, that is, one PARĪSU-measure (ca. 50 l): KBo 13.234+ rev.¹ 19' and KBo 2.7 obv. 19', rev. 28–31 (with the parallel KBo 2.13 obv. 25–28). Textual evidence from the realm of the state cults attests to even bigger dimensions, see, for example, KUB 46.17 rev. iv 6 (six PARĪSU, see HW² Ḫ, 373). For the sake of convenience, Hittite ^{DUG}ḫarši(yalli) is always translated as “pithos” in this book, although “storage jar” would be a more accurate term.

So strong is the symbolic value of the pithos for the seasonal festivals, that the vessel could stand metonymically for the seasonal festivals as a whole. Thus, the expression “His Majesty (re)instituted the ḫarši(yalli)-vessel” stands *tout court* for the (re)institution of the autumn and spring fes-

tivals (e.g., in KBo 26.182 obv. i 3, KUB 55.14 rev. 9'–10', Ku 99/153 obv. ii' 8'–9'; see Cammarosano 2012, 20–21). The festivals themselves could be simply labeled “festival of pouring into the pithos” and “festival of opening the pithos” (§5.5.2). This fact is of importance when one tries to determine the vessel’s capacity based on textual sources: in passages like “His Majesty instituted 23 *PARĪSU*-measures of wheat for the pithos” (23 *PA ZÍZ* ^{DUG}*harši* “UTU-ŠI ME-iš, KBo 2.1 obv. ii 3; also, e.g., KUB 54.67 rev. 5'), the expression “of the pithos” means simply “for the seasonal festivals,” and does not allow assumptions on the capacity of the vessels that are referred to (so also according to the translation of KBo 2.1 by Carter 1962, 63 and Hoffner, *COS* 3.34:63–64; differently *HW*² H, 373). Similarly, the shorthand formula “they grind (and) mill the pithos” clearly means that the people grind and mill the grain contained in the pithos, as proven by the parallel passages reading “they grind (and) mill the wheat of the pithos” (§3.5.2), not that the vessel itself is crushed (as curiously maintained by Puhvel in *HED* H, 199). This fact has not been taken into due consideration in the discussion of *HW*² H, 366–69, 371–75, a bias that seems to prejudice its effort to keep separate allegedly distinct stems for “transportable” vs. “not transportable” *harši(yalli)*-vessels, to investigate their use as units, and to establish the maximal capacity for each of them.

The analysis of *HW*² is also problematic from a linguistic point of view, first and foremost because all attestations of the spelling ^{DUG}*har-ši* have been considered to pertain to an alleged uninflected stem ^{DUG}*harši* “großes (nicht transportables) Vorratsgefäß,” thus dismissing the reasonable assumption of a secondary neuter stem ^{DUG}*harši* besides common gender ^{DUG}*haršiš*, influenced by neuter ^{DUG}*haršiyalli*. The latter interpretation is implied in the analysis of Carter (1962, 186), and is explicitly taken into consideration by Puhvel (*HED* H, 197), although he prefers to consider the spellings ^{DUG}*har-ši* and ^{DUG}*har-ši-aš* as scribal shorthands for the corresponding forms of ^{DUG}*haršiyalli*. The main objection to the interpretation of *HW*² are its cumbersome consequences. First, forms like ^{DUG}*har-ši* and ^{DUG}*har-ši-ia-aš* are filed by the *HW*² under different stems even when they occur in the same lines and clearly refer to the very same object, as in KBo 2.13 obv. 8 vs. obv. 11 (examples could be easily multiplied). Second, according to the *HW*², all occurrences of ^{DUG}*har-ši* that clearly refer to a quite “transportable” jar must be necessarily emended (e.g., VBoT 3 rev. vi 7–9, quoted on p. 368). Conversely, most occurrences of the spelling ^{DUG}*har-ši* make perfect sense if interpreted as neuter nom.-acc. and dat.-loc. sg., while the alternance of the forms ^{DUG}*harši* and ^{DUG}*haršiyalli* can be seen as a consequence of scribal and style conventions. This conclusion is further corroborated by the stylistic pairing with the verbs *išhuwa-* vs. *šuhḫa-* (§3.4.1) and by the case of KUB 25.23+

(text no. 13), where both stems are used in the same context (see, e.g., obv. i 38' vs. obv. i 44', 49'). Only in a very few cases, the form ^{DUG}ĤAR-ŠI represents a shorthand writing for an ablative (^{DUG}ĥaršiyaz) or genitive singular (^{DUG}ĥaršiyaš) following a heterographic cluster (most frequently NINDA. GUR₄.RA), as already argued by Carter (1962, 186; see already Gurney 1940, 120–24, who reached similar conclusions). This is the case of KUB 17.35 obv. ii 17', 20', rev. iv 24, 25; KUB 38.26(+) obv. 31'', 37'', rev. 12; KUB 41.34 + KUB 46.22 obv. i 9', rev. iv 9; VBoT 3 rev. vi 8' (*IŠTU 2 ĤAR-ŠI*); contrast them, for example, with KBo 2.7 obv. 11', KUB 25.23+ obv. i 18'.

5.5.4. The Rite of the Stela

So frequent are cases in which a local spring festival culminates in a procession to an extramural open-air stela sanctuary, that this feature can be considered the most defining feature of the Hittite seasonal festivals, second only to the rite of the pithos (see among others Carter 1962, 26–40; Archi 1973a, 21–24). The gods of the town, that is, the cult images kept in the urban shrines, are carried to “their stela” at a sanctuary outside the town, where the cult meal and the athletic games that usually follow it take place. The importance of the procession resides in the fact that the gods “of the shrines” and those “of the stela” meet up at the sanctuary. In many cases, to be sure, they constitute separate manifestations of the same gods, according to the conception discussed in §§4.2.1 and 4.4.3; this is apparent in some of the preserved accounts, where the text states that “they place each god in front of his stela” (KBo 2.7 rev. 19–20 // KBo 2.13 obv. 12–13). Their yearly meeting is a mirror-image to the splitting of a god when a new cult object is made (§4.3.3), and this momentous circumstance accounts for the crucial role of the rite as well as for the “rejoicing” (§5.6) experienced by the local community gathered there. The participation of the local community in the celebration (§6.5) is indicative of the relevance of the rite within Hittite religion: the open-air extramural stela sanctuaries served as cult space for common people, first and foremost at the occasion of the spring procession, when the cult images normally kept in the urban shrines were exceptionally present and visible (Hutter [2010, 406–7] already pointed out the role of the extramural sanctuaries as a cult place for commoners). Finally, the importance of the rite of the stela emerges from a peculiar formula that concludes the description of the seasonal festivals in some cult inventories: “they have ‘brought’ the ‘gods of the stela’” (i.e., they have established the celebration of their festivals); on this, see §3.4.8.

The climactic procession takes place most typically during the second day of the spring festival and leads to a stela sanctuary, but neither feature

is obligatory. The procession may take place at the occasion of festivals different than the spring one, and a sacred spring or another holy place can fulfill the role normally played by the stelae: see, for example, the procession to the *ḥarpušta*, perhaps a sacred grotto, in KUB 17.35 §26''' (festival of the ritual washing), text no. 1. In yet other cases, there is no procession at all. A (not exhaustive) list of cult inventories dealing with processions to extramural sanctuaries includes KBo 2.7 // KBo 2.13, KBo 2.8 (procession to a sacred spring), KBo 13.246, KBo 26.151 (?), KBo 26.159 (?), KBo 26.182 (procession to a sacred spring), KBo 26.227, KUB 12.2 (?), KUB 17.35 (including a procession to a sacred spring), KUB 25.23(+), KUB 38.26(+), KUB 38.32, KUB 44.42, KUB 46.21, KUB 51.47 (procession to a sacred spring?), KUB 55.14 (restored), KUB 55.15, KUB 56.40, KUB 57.102 (?), KUB 58.29+, KUB 60.163, VSNF 12.111 // KUB 57.97 (Cammarosano 2012, 18–19 n. 42). Some variation is attested also in the duration of the ceremonies performed at the sanctuary: at some places the statuettes are brought back to the urban shrines at the end of the day, in other cases the texts specify that the gods spend the night at the sanctuary (e.g., KBo 2.7 §4', KUB 25.23+ 13'). See §4.4.3.1–4 for a discussion of the Hittite stela (*ḥuwaši*) as cult image, and §4.4.3.5 for the question of their location.

As already observed, the best preserved archaeological context of an extramural sanctuary of the kind mentioned in the cult inventories is that of Kuşaklı/Şarišša, located around 2.5 km south of the Kuşaklı site at an altitude of roughly 1900 m (fig. 11). The partially plastered pool and the remains of a building can be identified with reasonable certainty with the divine spring Šuppitaššu and the sacred precinct respectively, which are referred to in the written sources (fig. 11; see §4.4.3.4 for details and literature). Most of the sanctuaries referred to in cult inventories related to villages and small towns were no doubt much more modest, likely consisting of a simple precinct around the stelae; nevertheless, the case of Kuşaklı gives a good idea of how to figure out the setting of a spring festival.

5.5.5. Execution

5.5.5.1. Autumn festival

The autumn festival lasts normally one day, but sometimes longer: KUB 17.35 rev. iii 1–19 (text no. 1) attests to an autumn festival of two days, and KUB 38.32 obv. i 8–29 to one of three days. At the core of the festival is the filling of the pithos with wheat (§5.5.3). The information on the execution of the autumn festival is normally more succinct than for the spring festival, and the quantity of offerings is smaller. Details like the ritual preparation of

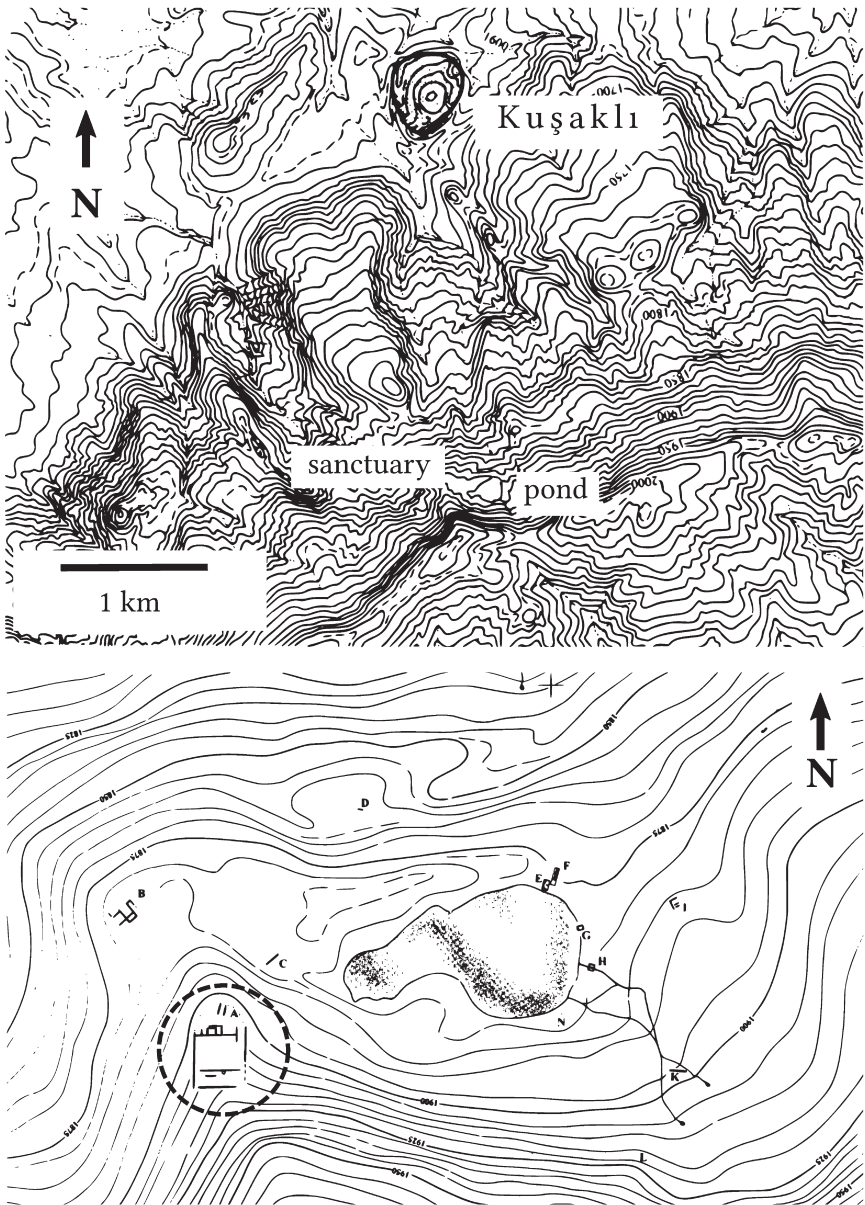


Fig. 11: The extramural stelae sanctuary of Kuşaklı (ancient Šarišša) with the spring Šuppitaššu (adapted from Müller-Karpe 1997, 119 fig. 20 and 1999, 81 fig. 20).

the cult images or the positioning of the meat are taken for granted in the texts, which mention them only in exceptional cases (KBo 2.13 obv. 3–7, cf. the more concise wording of the parallel text KBo 2.7 rev. 12–15, text no. 3; KUB 25.23+ obv. i 1'–7', text no. 13). A moment of “rejoicing,” probably to be understood as the performance of songs, music and dance, likely played a role as well, if we generalize the information provided by KUB 44.42 rev. 1'–6'. Apart from the central rite of filling the pithos, the key element of the autumn festival is the cult meal. The offerings normally follow the usual pattern: a sacrifice of an animal (most commonly a sheep), accompanied by a certain quantity of bread and beer. The offerings are divided as usual into a smaller portion “for/at the altar” beside a bigger portion of “provisions” (§6.4.1); also the treatment of the meat no doubt followed the usual schema (§6.4.2), as shown by the few more prolix texts. In smaller settlements, however, the offering of an animal may be absent, see, for example, KUB 25.23+ obv. i 34'–37' (text no. 13, town of Urešta in the vicinity of Ḫakmiš). Typical accounts of autumn festivals are found, for example, in KBo 2.7 obv. 6'–8', 20'–22', rev. 1–3, 12–15, 28–32 (text no. 3); KUB 38.26(+) rev. 16–18 (text no. 4); KUB 38.32 rev. iv 22'–24'. An exceptional autumn festival is that for Mount Ziyana in the area of Ḫartana (perhaps near Oyaca, Forlanini 2009, 49, 58–59 with n. 118), described in KUB 38.32 obv. i 8'–32'. The festival lasts three days and entails an unusual offering of wine as well as a series of libations. Another exceptional case is that of Yarri of Guršamašša, whose autumn festival is treated in KUB 17.35 rev. iii 1–19 (text no. 1). Contrary to the norm, here it is the spring festival that conforms with the autumn festival; the latter one lasts two days and entails a procession to the extramural stelae sanctuary as well as a “day of the liver.”

5.5.5.2. Spring Festival

The spring festival lasted normally for two or three days. The first day culminated in the opening of the pithos and in the preparation of bread loaves made out of the wheat contained therein. The opening of the pithos is indeed the first element to be mentioned in the accounts of the festival (e.g., KBo 26.182 i 5, KBo 2.7 obv. 9'). Ritual purity was essential for approaching the divine sphere; hence, the priest and all people taking part in the rites “wash” themselves (*warp-*), and the cult images are “washed” as well (e.g., KUB 44.42 rev. 8'; KUB 17.35 obv. i 1', rev. iii 24, iv 3, 19; KUB 55.15 obv. ii 6', rev. iii 5; KBo 13.246 obv. i 7'; KUB 42.105+ obv. ii 2'; KUB 56.39 obv. ii 12', rev. iii 8). Then the gods, that is, their cult images, are placed on the altars (e.g., KBo 13.246 obv. i 8'; KUB 25.24 obv. ii 8–9). There, in front of the gods, the sacrifice takes place (§6.4.2). At this point the texts provide a list of the offerings,

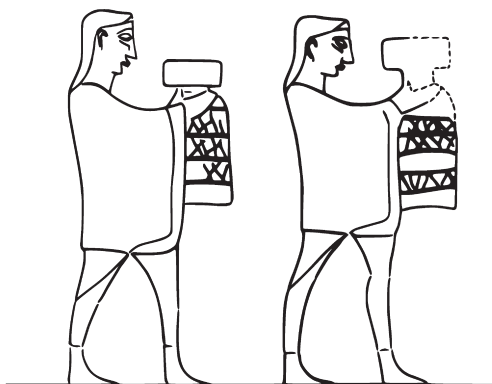
divided according to the usual pattern (§6.4.1); then, the formula “they mill (and) grind (the wheat contained in the pithos)” concludes the account of the first day. The wheat stored in the winter months into the pithos is turned into loaves of bread, as is clear from the frequent reference to “loaves of bread of the pithos” and from the analogous passage in the festival text KUB 27.15 rev. iv 10’ (CTH 698): ^{DUG} *haršiyallaš* ZÍZ NINDA.GUR₄.RA DÛ-*anzi*, “they make loaves of bread out of the wheat of the pithos” (Gurney 1940, 122 n. 1). The cult inventory KBo 13.246 obv. i 10’ specifies that the milling operation is performed “on/at the altar,” but the assumption is legitimate that it might also take place in the “house of the miller,” as it happens in a state cult performed in Karaḥna (KUB 25.32+ obv. ii 22–24, see McMahon 1991, 64).

On the second day, the gods are “taken up” (*karp-*) by the *ḥazkara*-women and brought to the extramural sanctuary together with the “loaves of bread of the pithos.” In most but not all cases, it is a stela sanctuary, where the gods are placed each one in front of “his” (or “her”) stela (§4.4.3; in KUB 17.35 rev. iii 2 the operation is performed by the priest). The stelae are washed and anointed (KUB 17.35 obv. ii 18’, iv 26), and the bread loaves are presented (*pē ḥark-*) to the gods. At this point, some texts provide information on where the *ḥazkara*-women stand, and state that the gods, the altar, or the community are adorned with fruit and wreaths brought by them. The act of adorning with wreaths is normally expressed via expressions like GU-RUN-*it unuwanzi* (e.g., HT 71+ 3’) or by means of the logogram GILIM. Two texts witness the use of the rare verb *kililai-*, derived from Akkadian *kilīlu* (< Sumerian GILIM), see Laroche 1967, 33. This verb is attested only in the cult inventories KUB 38.26(+) obv. 38” and KUB 44.42 rev. 20’, and perhaps in the ritual fragment KUB 39.62 9’. The altars referred to can be compared to the mobile cult-stands depicted, for example, on the Inandik vase (fig. 12).

It is only now that the cult meal takes place. The sacrifice is performed in front of the gods; the pieces of meat, “from the raw (and) from the cooked,” are placed and offered to the gods (§§3.4.5, 6.4.2). Some texts state additionally that the *marḥa*- and *ippiya*-dishes are set in place as well (KBo 2.13 obv. 15; KBo 26.182 obv. i 13; KUB 17.35 obv. i 8’, ii 21’, rev. iv 28; KUB 57.97 obv. i 13; see also KUB 25.32+ [CTH 681.1, cults of Karaḥna] obv. i 49–50). The composition of these dishes is unknown (CHD L–N, 182); the *ippiya*-dish possibly contained the *ippiya*-plant, that is, the grapevine. The bread and beer offerings are listed, following the usual partition (§6.4.1).

The fundamental moments of the feast are referred to by four formulaic expressions: “they break the loaves of bread” (if need be, the dimension of the loaves is specified), “they fill the *BIBRU*-vessels,” “they eat (and) drink,” “they provide the cups” (§3.4.6). Some texts add the information that “the cups are in accord with the first cups.” In many cases, it is specified that

Fig. 12: Transport of wicker cult stands in cultic context, detail of a scene from the İnandık relief vase, possibly dating to the end of the sixteenth century BCE (after Özgüç 1988, fig. 64 nos. 28–29).



athletic games and manifestations of “joy” follow the feast (§§3.4.7, 5.6), and we can confidently assume that at least the latter element was a common if not guaranteed element of the festival even when not overtly mentioned by the texts. It is informative to examine the description of the spring festival for the Storm God of Panišša and Mount Kenkališa as given in KBo 2.13 (obv. 8–20) compared to KBo 2.7 (obv. ii 16–23), the latter of which constitutes a later and more concise report on the same geographical area (text no. 3). Whereas the information on the quality and quantity of offerings is identical, the two texts diverge in the detail of the festival description, so that in the “summary” table all superfluous elements are omitted.

In most spring festivals, the gods are brought back to the urban shrines at the end of the second day (e.g., KBo 2.7 rev. 16–23 // KBo 2.13 obv. 8–20, text no. 3). There an offering can be made, often consisting of bread and beer, sometimes also of liver (KUB 17.35 obv. ii 29', text no. 1). Some texts specify that the gods, that is, the statuettes, are placed on the altars, and lamps are set up. In some cases, at the conclusion of the festival the *talaimmi*-vessels are filled (Cammorosano 2011).

The length of the spring festival is variable: it can last one, two, or three days (e.g., KUB 25.23+ rev. iv 8–10, KBo 2.7 rev. 16–23 // KBo 2.13 obv. 8–20, and KUB 17.35 rev. iv 19–38 respectively). If, as usual, the gods have been brought from the extramural sanctuary back to the town at the end of the second day, the rites of the third day take place in the temple (e.g., KUB 17.35 obv. ii 30'–32'). But there are towns where the festival goes on at the sanctuary. As evening comes, on the second day, lamps or torches are set up (*šašanuš tiyanzi*; ^{GIS}*zupparu*^{HLA}=*kan peran lukkanzi*), and the gods “spend the night there” (KBo 2.7 obv. 14', KUB 25.23+ obv. ii 36'). On the formulas that mark the coming of evening see §3.4.3. KUB 56.39 rev. iv 22 specifies that “they use lighting all night; to[rches] (are there).” Noteworthy is a fragmen-

tary passage from the text Bo 5500, which refers to “rejoicing” taking place during the night: DINGIR-LUM PANI ^{NA4}ZI.KIN šešzi GE₆-an duškaradaz(a) [...], “the god spends the night in front of the stela; during the night, with rejoicing, [...]” (Bo 5500 rev. 15’). The third day of the spring festival, when envisaged, is characterized by the offering of a dish named *šiyami*, which is made out of liver. This day is labeled “day of the *šiyami*-(dish)” (KBo 2.7 obv. 15’, 29’) or “day of the liver” (KUB 17.35 obv. ii 30’, rev. iii 18; obv. i 35’–36’, festival of the lot(s); KUB 58.31+ rev. iii 27’ // KUB 55.60+ rev. iv 14’ [CTH 678, cults of Nerik]). The *šiyami*-dish is attested only in cult inventories, that is to say, it is typical of local cults. For attestations, see CHD Š, 338; add KUB 56.39 obv. ii 28’; Bo 4748 obv. 2; and KUB 60.27 obv. 11’–12’ (restored); note the form *ši-ia-mi-ta* in Bo 4748 obv. r. col. 2. The festival normally ends with an offering of bread and beer.

In some texts, the description of the festival is concluded by a formulaic statement, which either highlights the essence of the festival or stresses that its outline has been reestablished or newly fixed. See for the former case the formula on “bringing” the gods (§3.4.8), for the latter case the formulas constructed with the verbs *tarrawae*- and *handā(e)*-, “to establish” in VSNF 12.111 // KUB 57.97 and KBo 2.7 // KBo 2.13 (§3.3.3.3).

Depending on place and god, a number of minor and major variants to the typical pattern of the spring festival are attested. Exemplary cases are, for example, the procession to a sacred spring in KBo 26.182 obv. i 7–17, or the additional celebrations referred to in VSNF 12.111 rev. 4–6 and in KUB 25.23+ l. e. ‘a’ and ‘b’.

5.6. ATHLETIC GAMES AND “REJOICING”

Among the most characteristic features of the Hittite local festivals are the performance of athletic games and a moment of “joy” taking place after the cult meal at the climax of the festival, denoted by the formula “(they) rejoice over the god(s)” (§3.4.7). The expression apparently refers to manifestations of joy and exuberance, probably consisting of songs, music, and dance, enacted by the *hazkara*-women and perhaps also by the local community that took part in the festival (Cammarosano 2014b, 151–52; for an overview of music and dance among the Hittites see de Martino 1995). Comparable phenomena are very common in the context of local seasonal festivals in the most diverse periods and cultures (see, e.g., Makal 1954, 127–28 for comparable traditions in a village of central Anatolia in modern times). As far as the athletic contests are concerned, the attested disciplines are boxing (GÉŠPU), wrestling (*hulhuliyā tiye/a*-), “fighting with cheese” (*IŠTU GA.KIN.AG*

zahhiye/a-), shot put (NA₄ *šiye/a-*), and weightlifting (NA₄ *karp-*), see Carter 1988; Puhvel 1988; and Cammarosano 2014b, 153–65. The mock combat described in KUB 17.35 rev. iii 1–19, on the contrary, is to be considered a sort of Tazieh or Passion play rather than a true contest (text no. 1), and is therefore not included in the present discussion. As one would expect, the contests were mainly enacted by the “young men,” who are often mentioned

Table 7: Distribution of the athletic contests in the cult inventories

Text	Disciplines					Geographical setting
	Boxing	Wrestling	Shot put	Cheese fighting	Weightlifting	
KUB 25.23+ i 21'–22'	+	+				Ḫakmiš and surrounding area
KUB 25.23+ ii 12'–16'	+	+		+		
KUB 25.23+ iii 4–8	+	+	+	+		
KUB 17.36 4'–9'			+	+		?
KUB 42.91 ii 14–16				+		Šaḥpina ?
KUB 44.20 l. col. 8'–13'	+	[+]	+	+		?
KUB 57.103 i 1'–5'				+		?
KUB 46.27 rev. 2–3		+	+	[+?]		?
KUB 17.35 ii 26'		+	+			Guršamašša (western districts)
KUB 17.35 iii 34		+		+?		
KUB 17.35 iv 34		+		+?		
KUB 60.27 obv. 2'–3'		+		+		?
KBo 59.131 i ² 6'–8'				+		?
KUB 44.42 obv. 16'–17'	+	+				Šuwašuwa ?
KUB 60.127 1'–2'		+				?
KUB 7.24+ i 19–20		+				northern districts
KBo 2.8 iii 28'					+	Parnašša ?
Attested occurrences	5	12	5	8 to 11	1	

as subject of the relevant verbal forms. Most puzzling among the disciplines are the frequently attested fights with cheese (Cammarosano 2014b, 155–65). The cheese is first pressed, then presented to the gods and given to the “people”; only at this point the “young men” begin to “fight with the cheese(s).” Given the importance of milk products in the Hittite economy, the presence of a cheese-related game is hardly surprising. Among many possible parallels, a ritual game from ancient Sparta offers a stimulating comparison. Here the goal was for someone (a single player, or perhaps a team) to steal as many possible pieces of cheese from Orthia (the goddess, meaning probably from the goddess’s altar), whereas other players, acting as defenders, tried to prevent the theft by capturing and beating the stealer(s) (Xenophon *Lac.* 2.9; see Cammarosano 2014b, 161–62). The distribution of the athletic contests across the corpus is summarized in table 7.

Most interestingly, neither the formula of the “rejoicing” nor the athletic games attested in the cult inventories are found in the texts related to the official state cults: there, the attested disciplines are different (racing, equestrian competitions), and no hint at manifestations of sheer joy occurs (Cammarosano 2014b, 162–65). The natural conclusion to be drawn from this observation is entirely consistent with the nature of the two parallel strands of tradition (§2.2.1). The so-called state cults reflect the official, institutionalized ritual tradition, where physical exuberance and other manifestations of sheer “joy” may have been considered not quite appropriate and hence inhibited. The cult inventories, on the other hand, tend to reflect local cult practices that are closer to commoners; in those practices, revels, athletic games and “rejoicing” still find a place. An analogous split between “official” vs. “popular” tradition is observable in most religions, but the latter is hardly documented in the written legacy of ancient cultures. The information provided by the cult inventories on the role of athletic games and “rejoicing” within local festivals constitutes once again a most precious piece of evidence for the understanding of Hittite religion.

5.7. SPRING FESTIVALS

5.7.1. Festivals of the Kid, of the Fruits, of the Rain, and of the Thunder

The festival of the kid (MÁŠ.TUR) for a local storm god, described in KUB 38.25, was celebrated “when the sheep give birth” (Güterbock 1971, 382). The offerings, placed in a basket, included a lamb and a kid (*CHD* P, 95). It is a typical rite of first fruits, per the Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel:

Furthermore: You who are the cowherds of the deity (and) shepherds of the deity: If there is a rite for some deity during the birthing season, and you bring him a calf, a lamb, a kid or the afterbirth (and) the *umbilical cord*, then you will not delay it. Bring it at the proper time. The deities should not be kept waiting for it. Before a person consumes the young animals, bring them punctually to the deities. Or if there is a milk festival for some deity, do not neglect it (the festival) while they churn the milk. Carry it out for him. If you do not bring the young animals to the deities immediately, but rather you hastily consume them yourselves, or you bring them to your foreman, and afterwards it becomes known, you commit a capital offense. (CTH 264 §18', after Miller 2013, 263–65)

The festival of the fruits (GURUN) must have been a spring or early summer festival. Indeed, in festival lists it follows the spring festival in KBo 12.56 (obv. i 6') and the festival of the thunder in KUB 38.12 (rev. iv 3'–4'). The section about the festival of the fruits for a local storm god (of Šaḫpina?) follows in KUB 42.91 the section that seems to treat the spring festival (obv. ii 8–19, see Hazenbos 2003, 111–15). In the preserved part of the description, unfortunately, fruits do not seem to play any special role.

Also the festivals of the rain (*ḫeuwaš*, ZUNNI) and of the thunder (*tetḫešnaš*, BÚN) are presumably celebrated in the spring, at the time when rainfall peaks in central Anatolia (Hoffner 1974, 18–19; Hütteroth 1982, 111). The rain festival is attested mainly in the frame of local cults: KBo 2.1 rev. iv 8, KUB 38.12 obv. i 22, KUB 56.39 rev. iii 1 (cf. Klinger 1996, 269 n. 38), also KUB 59.1 rev. vi 14'–17' (CTH 619, kindly pointed out by D. Groddek). For the cult of the Storm God of Rain in the area of Ḫakmiš see KUB 25.23+ (text no. 13); on the relevance of the thunder see §5.5.2.

5.7.2. The Festival of the Grapevine

According to KUB 12.2 rev. iv 3–4, the *ippiyaš* festival is celebrated “when it thunders” and the pithos is broken open. Since this is the time for the spring festival, the *ippiyaš* festival might also be characteristic of this season. An *ippiya*-dish is envisaged among the offering for the spring festival in KUB 17.35 obv. i 8', ii 21', iv 28 (text no. 1), and in KBo 2.13 obv. 15 (text no. 3), see Carter 1962, 181. Since the *ippiya*-plant is probably the grapevine (HED E-I, 378), the festival might refer to the pruning of the shoots (kindly pointed out by C. Corti). A festival of “cutting the vine” (^{GIS}GEŠTIN *tuḫšuwaš*) is listed in KUB 38.12 obv. i 23 among the cults of Karaḫna (text no. 16). This festival might refer to the pruning as well, although it is traditionally interpreted as a grape harvest festival (§5.8.3). In Anatolia, the grapevine was cultivated in several areas already in the Bronze Age (see recently N. Miller 2008); on

the role of Hittite vine and viticulture see the overview provided by Klengel 2006, 14–16 (with previous literature).

5.8. SUMMER AND AUTUMN FESTIVALS

5.8.1. The Festivals of the Harvest and of the Sickle

The festival of the harvest (BURU₁₄) is listed in KUB 38.12 obv. ii 9 after the thunder festival among the cults of Karaḥna, and is described in KUB 12.2 obv. i 3'–7' (Carter 1962, 74). The treatment of the harvest festival on this tablet, which possibly refers to the area of the middle Kızılırmak (Schwemer 2008a, 150–52), constitutes an exception to the otherwise ubiquitous occurrence of the autumn and spring festivals (the other exception is the *ippiyaš* festival). The harvest festival is paired to the autumn festival in KUB 53.21 rev. 3', 5', and 7' (cf. Haas 1970, 309–10). Neither case is surprising, since harvest time and autumn festival are closely related to each other.

The sickle (^{URUDU}ŠU.KIN) is pivotal to several seasonal festivals (attestations in Dardano 2006, 123). These were no doubt connected with reaping, which in central Anatolia begins in July (Hoffner 1974, 24–29; Yakar 2000, 169). A “festival of *making* the sickle” (^{URUDU}ŠU.KIN DÛ) is listed in KUB 17.35 obv. ii 4' (text no. 1). A sickle festival is treated in KBo 2.8 rev. iii 4'–30'; however, in the preserved portion of text the sickle plays no role at all. On this tablet, a festival “of *releasing* the sickle” (^{URUDU}ŠU.KIN *tarnummaš*) is mentioned also in a list of festivals on line obv. i 15. The interpretation of the verbal substantive is uncertain: Tischler (*HEG* T, 197) and Hazenbos (2003, 137) translate “festival of wielding the sickle” (“Fest des Sichelschwingens”), perhaps based on an Old Assyrian designation for the time of reaping, “taking the sickle in hand” (*šibit nigallim*). But this is not easy to reconcile with the semantics of *tarna-*, which means “to leave, to release, to permit.” A connection with the sickle is found also in Bo 3306 8'–9' (Dardano 2006, 123), where we read “But when they *release* the sic[kle] (GIM-an=ma ^{URUDU}ŠU.KIN *tarnanzi*), they celebrate the sickle festival for the Storm God of Liḫzina as follows.” Also the cult inventories KUB 12.2 and KUB 42.91 preserve fragmentary festival descriptions attesting to the use of the verb *tarna-* in connection with sickles. In the former text (KUB 12.2 rev. iv 5–6; Carter 1962, 78–79), the list of offerings for the *ippiyaš* festival is followed by the phrase “When they *release* (*tarnanzi*) the big sickle, they take the staff down,” followed by the information on who has to supply offerings for the spring festival (the mutual relationships of the *ippiyaš* festival, the sickle ceremony, and reference to the spring festival are not clear; cf. Hoffner 1974, 29 and Collins 2006a, 47). In the latter text (KUB 42.91 rev. iii 6'–8', Hazenbos 2003,

113–14), we read: “he lifts up the sickle, (then) he *releases* the sickle [...] he *releases* (reflexive form) the sickle” ([^{URUD}UŠU.KIN UGU *dāi nu* ^{URUDU}ŠU.KIN *tarnai* [...] ^{URUDU}ŠU.KIN *ZI-za tarnāi*). Both Carter and Hazenbos translate *tarna-* in KUB 12.2 and KUB 42.91 as “to wield.” However, given that there is no compelling argument favoring this interpretation, one may assume that the reference is to the “releasing” of the sickle for use in the fields (cf. Hoffner 1974, 29).

5.8.2. The Festival of the Grain Pile

The festival of the grain pile (EZEN₄ *šeliyaš*) represents one of the most interesting cases of a seasonal festival. Before discussing its nature and character, the question of the meaning of Hittite *šeli-* must be addressed.

The recent attempt by the *CHD* (Š, 364–66) to understand the word as “harvest(ed goods)” is in my opinion not convincing, since the proposed meaning is too vague, whereas the contexts where the word is attested clearly show that the term denotes a specific object (see below, and note also the meaningful distinction between sg. and pl. in KUB 56.39 and other texts).

Crucial for the understanding of the term are the facts that a *šeli-* could consist of various types of cereals, and could be transported. For the former point see KUB 30.24 rev. iii 37–41 and KUB 56.39 (text no. 5) obv. ii 14’–15’, 25’–26’, attesting to *šeli-s* made out of five and one *parisu* of ZÍZ (bread wheat) respectively, as well as HKM 111 9–12, where certain amounts of ŠE (barley) and *šepit* (Einkorn wheat) are encompassed under the label of *šeli-*; for the latter, note the usage of *šeli-* as direct object of the verbs *uda-* (KUB 56.39 obv. ii 14’–15’, 25’) and *dai-/te-/tiya-* (KUB 42.91 rev. iii 11’, KUB 39.41 rev. 13). Importantly, a *šeli-* could be the object of *šunna-*, “to fill” (also “to top up”), see, for example, KUB 27.17 rev. iii 14’; note also Hittite law §86, where a pig gets into a *šeli-*.

These passages lead to the assumption that *šeli-* denote either a movable place, structure, or container to collect cereals, or something made out of cereals. The Hittites used to store cereals either in (clay) vessels or in earthen pits of various dimensions, whereby pits could provide long-term and more secure storage (Seeher 2016). By combining textual and archaeological sources, it emerges that earthen pits, which were often lined, are designated in Hittite texts by means of the logogram ÉSAG (Hoffner 1974, 34–37; 2001, 208–9, Fairbairn and Omura 2005; similar pits were in use in central Anatolia until very recent times, see Makal 1954, 19–20). Hoffner has pointed out that the possible reading *še-li-uš pád-[da-an-te-eš (?)]* in HKM 66, 5, if correct, “suggests that the *šeli-* was either the Hittite reading of ÉSAG ‘silo, grain-storage pit’ or has a closely allied meaning” (Hoffner 2009, 222 with

n. 174). An equation *šeli-* = ÉSAG “grain-storage pit” would also fit nicely with a possible etymological connection between *šeli-* and words from other Indo-European languages that denote underground grain-storage pits (HEG Š, 987, advocating both “grain pile” [Getreidehaufen] and “grain-storage pit” [Getreidegrube] as meanings of *šeli-*). This notwithstanding, neither does the equation with ÉSAG seem sustainable, nor can *šeli-* mean earthen pit or granary. First, the fact that the sign PÁT immediately follows UŠ in HKM 66, 5 and the short space available in the broken surface on the right edge make the tentative reading *še-li-uš pád-[da-an-te-eš (?)]* very unlikely (collated on 3D model; note that words are generously spaced out throughout the tablet). The passage is best read *še-li-uš-pát*, so that we do not need to assume that a *šeli-* could be dug into the earth. Furthermore, the Hittite word for ÉSAG is expected to be a *n*-stem, per Hoffner 1974, 37 and 2001, 209. Finally, a *šeli-* could be transported (see above), which cannot apply to an earthen pit; on the other hand, *šeli-* also cannot denote a vessel, since we would expect in this case the determinative DUG to be present in at least some of the attestations.

Thus, *šeli-* is best interpreted as “pile of threshed and winnowed grain,” as already proposed by Hoffner himself (1974, 33; 2001, 207, expanding on Otten’s insights). This fits very well with the fact that a staff can be “planted” on top of a *šeli-* (KUB 56.39 obv. ii 17’, text no. 5, see also *infra*). Piles of freshly threshed and winnowed grain would typically have been placed in the vicinity of threshing floors (cf. the oracle text KUB 30.46 l. col. 7–9, which discusses the case of an eagle alighting upon a *šeli-* or upon a *ḫarpali-* near a threshing floor). When *šeli-* happens to be the object of *šunna-*, “to fill,” the verb has to be understood in the sense of “to top up, to pour until the desired capacity is reached” (see, e.g., *ḫalkiuš ... šunnatteni* in KUB 13.4 rev. iv 18).

This interpretation does *not* cause any of the problems that CHD Š, 366 pretends to solve by favoring a more generic interpretation (such a pile would be movable, and no determinative is expected). Furthermore, it fits very well with ethnological and ethnoarchaeological data on how harvesting and threshing was traditionally practiced in central Turkey, a process that in many aspects had not changed much since the Bronze Age until recent times. Indeed, heaping up the grain after winnowing allows it to cool, a necessary step before proceeding to storage. Yakar describes the process as follows:

The second step is the gathering and heaping (*tiğlamak*) of the threshed crop. This process is carried out with a wooden pitchfork (*yaba*) which is used to overturn the harvested crop being processed on the threshing floor. This is followed by winnowing (*dirgen*) with pitchforks by tossing

the chaff and grain against the wind. The grain (*çeç*) is then collected into heaps, marked with a special sign made either by hand, shovel or large wooden-stamp (*çeç mûhürü*), and covered with thick cotton fabric to keep it clean. The stamping on the heaps is an old tradition perhaps connected with measures against theft, since even a small quantity of grain taken from the heap would damage the seal impression. The process of heaping the grain allows it to cool. Otherwise, if immediately transferred from the threshing floor to storage, the grain, still relatively warm from the hot and dry summer climate, tends to mildew and become lice-infested. Once it has cooled the grain is measured with sieves and packed in large woollen or cotton bags for transportation to granaries or storage facilities. (Yakar 2000, 172; on the *çeç mûhürü* see Given 2004, 39–40, with literature; the reference to Koşay 1976 for analogous objects from Bronze Age Anatolia is a misunderstanding)

The interpretation of the *šeliyaš* festival as “festival of the grain pile” also fits very well with the fact that its description in KUB 42.91 rev. iii 10'–16' immediately follows that of the sickle festival; the same sequence is observed in the festivals list of KUB 55.14 (obv. 10'; differently, in *CHD* P, 374 it is assumed that *še-la-aš* is a mistake for *pu-la-aš*). In a passage of the decree of Hattušili III and Puduḥepa KUB 27.12 (*CTH* 86.1.A), the preparation of the *šeli-s* represents the step immediately preceding the ritual filling of the pithos with wheat:

When the time of year arrives to fill the grain piles (*šeliaš šunnumanzi*), they bring down the *BIBRU*-vessel of Šawuška of Šamuḫa from Hattuša. They open the pithos and fill the grain piles (*šeliuš=ma šunnan[zi]*). They fi[ll] both the grain-pithos and the wine-[pithos]. (KUB 21.17 rev. iii 9'–17'; cf. Ünal 1974, 2:26 and *CHD* Š, 365)

Thus, the festival of the grain piles was celebrated after the grain had been winnowed in the threshing floor, as the cereals, now free of impurities, were collected finally to be stored in jars (^{DUG}*ḫarši(yalli)-*) and pits (*ÉSAG*). Note that the festival of the grain pile is not the same as the autumn festival; indeed, they are kept distinct in the list of KUB 38.12 obv. i 20–23, while KUB 27.15 rev. iv 22–24 mentions a festival of the grain pile besides a festival of the pithos. Whereas the autumn festival represents together with the spring festival the Hittite seasonal festival *par excellence*, and is accordingly attested virtually for all towns, nothing implies that the festival of the grain pile must have been universally celebrated.

Only three accounts of this festival are known, and all of them are found in cult inventories. The first one is to be found in KBo 13.241+, a cult inventory on the cult of the “Queen” (*Kataḫḫa*) of Katapa:

The men of the palace supply one sheep, one KA.GAG-vessel (of beer) and one *PARĪSU*-measure of flour for the festival of the grain piles for the (divine) Queen of Katapa. When they fill the grain pile, the mother-deity priestess spreads out (her) robes. The mother-deity priestess takes for herself as much as (her) robes will support. (KBo 13.241+ obv. 26, rev. 19–21; cf. *CHD* Š, 363)

According to KUB 42.91 (cults of Šaḥpina),

When they celebrate the festival of the grain pile for the Storm God of Šaḥpi<na>, when they set up the grain piles of the Palace, they bring down the throne of the Storm God and set it down before the grain piles together with an offering table (KUB 42.91 rev. iii 10'–13', the ritual offering follows; cf. Hazenbos 2003, 113–14 and *CHD* Š, 364).

Finally, KUB 56.39 provides the most detailed account of a festival centered on the grain piles. The festival's name is not preserved, but can confidently be restored as “festival of the grain pile.” The celebration lasted three days and was celebrated for the Storm God of Šuwarzapa (text no. 5, §§4'–6'). On the first day, the “whole town” was involved in certain unclear operations, the temple was cleaned, and the cult images washed. On the second day, the town “brings the grain pile[s] in(to the temple)”: each household must contribute one *PARĪSU*-measure of wheat, and whoever does not do it is punished. The grain piles are placed in front of the god and a staff or scepter is “planted” on top on one of them, then the sacrifice takes place. The festival was concluded by a highly symbolic act, namely, the priest lifted up grain, apparently taking it out of a grain pile.

These descriptions bear witness to the genuinely agricultural character of the festival. Very interesting are the differences in the attested variants. They not only support the view that the festivals described in the cult inventories were *not* standardized (§5.3), but also show that seasonal festivals could unfold in different ways depending on where they were celebrated. Although the focus lies in all cases on the grain pile, the specific rites varied from town to town: a hint at the multifaceted panorama of Hittite local cults, which also suggests that such rites were deeply rooted in local religious traditions.

5.8.3. The Festival of the Grape Harvest

A festival “of cutting the vine” (^{GIS}GEŠTIN *tuhšuwaš*) is listed in KUB 38.12 obv. i 23 among the cults of Karaḥna (text no. 16). Traditionally, it is considered a grape harvest festival, hence a late summer festival, since it would take place presumably in September–October (Hoffner 1974, 39). The possi-

bility that the label refers to pruning (§5.7.2), however, cannot be ruled out. On Hittite vine and viticulture see the literature cited in §5.7.2.

5.9. WINTER FESTIVALS

Only a few cases of winter festivals are attested within the corpus of the cult inventories. In KUB 30.37 // KUB 12.36+, which is to be dated to the Early New Kingdom, the spring festival is paired to a winter festival (*INA gēmi*, for discussion see §5.5.1). Winter festivals (EZEN₄ SĒD-*aš*) are mentioned also in fragmentary context in KBo 2.8 rev. iv 6' and KuT 60 obv. i 14' (Wilhelm forthcoming); a winter *ḥarpiya* festival is listed in KBo 2.8 obv. i 14 and i 31 (see §5.10.1). Finally, the elaborate festival of the ritual washing (*warpuwaš*) for the Storm God of Guršamašša (KUB 17.35 iv 3–15, text no. 1) takes place in the twelfth month of the year, that is, presumably in march, at the end of the winter. It lasts three days (*pace* Hazenbos 2003, 170) and includes a procession to the *ḥarpušta*, possibly a sacred grotto (see commentary).

5.10. MISCELLANEOUS FESTIVALS

5.10.1. The *ḥarpaš*, *ḥarpiyaš*, and *ḥarpiya* Festivals

Several texts, first of all cult inventories, mention festivals named *ḥarpaš*, *ḥarpiyaš*, and *ḥarpiya* (table 8); see for previous discussion Carter 1962, 180, 182; Archi 1973a, 12 with n. 30; Beckman 1985, 140; HED H, 183–84; HW² H, 334–35; Cammarosano 2012b, 110–11. The verbal stems *ḥarp-*, *ḥarpiya-* and *ḥarpā(i)-* have recently been analyzed by Melchert (2010). According to Melchert, *ḥarpā(i)-* is a denominative stem from the noun *ḥarpa-*, “pile, heap,” which in turn derives from *ḥarp-* and probably had the original sense of “association, bringing together.” In view of the functional equivalence of *ḥarp-* and *ḥarpiya-* and on the basis of the preserved occurrences, it can be assumed that the names of the *ḥarpaš* and *ḥarpiyaš* festivals are derived from these two verbal stems and therefore denote a “festival of the pile.” It is conceivable that the name refers to piles of threshed goods, hence an autumn festival; this would explain well its frequent attestations. But the precise character of the festival is unclear. The *ḥarp(iy)aš* festival was probably not a festival “of the sheaf” as assumed by Hazenbos, since the Hittite word for sheaf is *šepa-* (cf. Hazenbos 2003, 170–71, perhaps based on Hoffner 1967, 39, but Hoffner probably connected the name with Akkadian *ḥarbu*). Neither was it a festival of the piles of threshed and winnowed grain, since this function is accomplished by the *šeliyaš* festival (§5.8.2, *pace* Cammarosano 2012b,

Table 8: Attestation of the *ħarpaš*, *ħarpiyaš*, and *ħarpiya* festivals

EZEN₄ <i>ħarpaš</i>	KBo 2.8 i 14, 17; KUB 42.100+ iii 22'; IBoT 2.103 iv 5'; IBoT 2.131 obv. 11'; Bo 8300 (DBH 43/2.26, probably part of KUB 25.23+, text no. 13) 3': all EZEN ₄ <i>ħar-pa-aš</i> .
EZEN₄ <i>ħarpiyaš</i>	KBo 26.179 r. 4': [...]x <i>ħar-pí-ia-aš</i> EZ[EN ₄ ...]; KUB 5.6 i 21': EZEN ₄ <i>ħar-pí-ia-aš</i> ; KUB 18.63+ i 11': [... E]ZEN ₄ <i>ħar-pí-ia-aš</i> ; KUB 22.14+ obv. [?] 3': EZEN ₄ <i>ħar-pí-ia-aš-ma-w[a ...]</i> ; 6': EZEN ₄ <i>ħar-pí-ia-aš-ma[...]</i> ; KUB 58.39 l. e. 1: [... EZ]EN ₄ <i>ħar-pí-ia-aš</i>
EZEN₄ <i>ħarpiya</i>	KBo 2.8 i 14, 31: EZEN ₄ SĒD <i>ħar-pí-ia</i> ; KBo 18.78 obv. 6': EZ[EN ₄ <i>ħar-pí-</i>]r <i>i'-ia</i> ; 9': EZEN ₄ <i>ħar-pí-i-i[a]</i> ; KUB 52.34 top e.: [UD [?]] 3 ^{KAM} <i>ħar-pí-ia</i> ; KUB 55.14 obv. 9': EZEN ₄ <i>ħar-pí-ia</i>
ambiguous and uncertain cases	KBo 26.178 iv 2': EZEN ₄ ^{MES} <i>ħar-pí-[...]</i> ; KBo 30.144 rev. 3': EZEN ₄ <i>ħar[- ...]</i> ; KBo 55.208 rev. 17' EZEN ₄ <i>ħar-pí-i[a(-) ...]</i> ; KBo 24.132 rev. 1': EZEN ₄ <i>ħar-pa-aš-ši-eš</i> x ^{MES?} [...]; KUB 25.30 i 13': EZEN ₄ <i>ħar-pí-ia-ia-aš-ša-an[...]</i> ; KUB 53.21 rev. 2': [...] x-aš-ši <i>ħar-pí-ia-aš</i> EZEN ₄ x[...]

111). The only preserved description of this festival in KBo 2.8 obv. i 17–30 (Hazenbos 2003, 133, 137–38) does not clarify the matter.

The name of the (SĒD) *ħar-pí(i)-ia* festival seems to be unrelated to the stems *ħarpā(i)-*, *ħarp-*, and *ħarpiya-* (so already Hazenbos 2003, 171, 233; differently HW² H, 335). This hypothesis is supported by the attested spellings, which regularly keeps it distinct from the quasi-homonymous *ħarp(iy)aš* festival (note the mention of both of them in KBo 2.8). Furthermore, in KBo 2.8 obv. i 31 the SĒD *ħarpiya* festival is said to take place “on the twelfth day of the month,” that is, at a fixed time, which is never the case for agricultural festivals, a class to which the *ħarp(iy)aš* festival seems to belong. It hardly can be interpreted as a “winter festival performed at harvest (time)” as assumed by the HW² H, 335.

5.10.2. Festivals Connected to Priests and Cult Personnel

Several festivals happen to be related to priests and other members of the cult personnel. The festival of the lot(s) (*pulaš*) described in KUB 17.35 obv. i 17'–36' served the choice of a new priest (Taggar-Cohen 2002b; see the detailed commentary in text no. 1). As argued by Taggar Cohen (2002b, 153–55, *pace* Haas 1994, 698), it was celebrated when needed, not at fixed intervals. The fact that this festival is mentioned in a number of texts prove that it was a widespread rite. The festival of the purification of the altar (^{GIS}ZAG. GAR.RA *šuppiyahħuwaš*) was probably performed after a new priest got his position (2002, 140–43). Whether the festival “of setting the new (priest)”

also referred to the inauguration of new priests is very uncertain (Taggar-Cohen 2002b, 153–54 with n. 72). Other festivals that seem to be connected to cult personnel are the “festival of the Chief of the Old Women” (GAL^{MUNUS}ŠU.G[^{IMES}]), listed in YH 2005/1, and those “of putting on/taking off the garment” (TÚG-*TUM waššuwaš* / *arḥa peššiyawaš*), listed among the rites of the town of Ȧurma in KUB 56.56.

5.10.3. Other Festivals

Of a number of local festivals little to nothing besides the names is known. Festivals connected to sacred objects and places were those of the bolt, of the torch, of the *hullanu*-wrap (?), of the wood, of carrying (the gods?) to the mountain. The festivals of the shepherd and “of offering an ox” (?) have agricultural character. Still other festivals are connected to specific places and occasions (see table 5 in §5.2). A special mention is due to the festivals of Šamuḥa, to which two cult inventories recently found at Kayalıpınar bear witness (Kp 14/95+, Kp 15/7+, Texts nos. 14 and 15). Some of these festivals are already known from the Boğazköy texts: the festivals of the lot(s) and of the grain pile as well as a *hiyara*-festival for Teššob and Ȧebat of Aleppo. Other festivals were previously unattested: the festival “of the vow of Kantuzili,” seemingly connected with Kantuzili “the priest,” a prominent figure of the town’s early history (see text no. 15); the SUM *itkamnan* and *ēšuwaš* festivals (text no. 14). Finally, the interesting case of a complex and peculiar festival performed “at the time of the journey” can be recalled, for which see IBoT 2.131 rev. 6–21 (text no. 6).

ECONOMICS OF THE LOCAL CULTS: OFFERINGS AND PARTICIPANTS

6.1. THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF LOCAL CULTS

The cult inventories represent one of the most interesting text corpora for the study of Hittite economy, but this potential has never been exploited. The nature of the question of the relevance of the local cults for the understanding of Hittite economy demands that the topic be addressed through a genuinely interdisciplinary approach. Textual sources should be systematically analyzed, philological and archaeological evidence should be combined together without prejudice of the respective methodologies, and ethnological as well as anthropological approaches should be integrated into the picture. Therefore, an in-depth investigation of the “economic” implications of the cult inventories remains a task for future research, while this chapter aims at clarifying a limited number of structural aspects that are crucial for the correct evaluation of the textual sources. These are the metrological framework used in the definition of the offerings (§6.2), the range of people who were responsible for their supply (§6.3), the rationale of the offering system and the destination of the offerings (§6.4), and the extent of the participation of the local communities in the festivals (§6.5).

The social and economic implications of the local festivals derive primarily from their placement at the intersection of the religious, social, and economic spheres, as argued in §5.1. Two elements play a pivotal role in determining this, namely, the importance of the cult meal as a moment of collective consumption of food and drink within a highly ritualized context, and the frequent connection of local festivals with major agricultural operations, where the festivals themselves can function as a catalyst of labor mobilization. Thus, any analysis of the quality and quantity of the cult offerings (which are subsequently consumed by the participants) must contrast them with the corresponding evidence for patterns of daily consumption. As Dietler recently observed,

The ritual symbolism of feasting is constituted through a complex semiotic relationship to daily consumption patterns, and both form part of a

common semiotic field. ... In order to understand the symbolic logic of feasts and the social roles they play, it is clearly necessary to examine feasts and daily meals together and to explore the various ways in which both symbolic differentiation and commonality are invoked in different contexts within the overall system of foodways. ... [I]t must be remembered that food is not only a sign system, and its consumption is not only the consumption of signs. It is also a material construction of the self in much more than a figurative sense, and the study of feasting should also be grounded in analysis of the material conditions and social relations of production and distribution. (Dietler 2011, 180–81)

But there is another reason why a systematic study of the offerings pertaining to the local cults should play an important role in the investigation of the Hittite economy. As pointed out by Dietler, “It is the cultural construction of proper consumption, with its symbolic taboos and valuations, that determines production, not vice versa. Hence, in many ways consumption is analytically prior to production rather than being simply an end result” (Dietler 2003, 277). Thus, cultural constructs of cultic nature should be taken into account besides technical acquisitions and material conditions when trying to investigate the modes of production and distribution of goods in the Hittite kingdom (for recent studies on the Hittite economy see Klengel 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008; Schachner 2012b; Pasternak and Kroll 2017).

The cult offerings that are referred to in the corpus are principally of three kinds: meat, bread, and beer. By far the most frequently attested meat offering is that of sheep, followed by goats and oxen; pigs represent an absolute exception, in contrast to the seemingly remarkable role of pork in the menu of rural communities (§6.4.2).

Bread offerings are normally implicit in the supply of wheat or flour (§6.2.1). Symbolically prominent is the mention of the cereals stored in autumn into the pithos (§5.5.3). The pithos was filled with one of the varieties of wheat cultivated by the Hittites, which was turned into bread at the occasion of the spring festival. Since in the lists of supplies of cereals the logogram ZÍZ is normally used, it is reasonable to assume that the pithos was filled with this variety of wheat, that is, bread wheat (*triticum aestivum*; see Hoffner 1974, 60–61, 65–69; 2001, 202–3). Bread wheat (ZÍZ) appears as overt object of the formula “they grind and mill” in KBo 2.7 obv. 24, rev. 18 and KUB 38.32 rev. iv 26'. On the other hand, in KUB 38.32 rev. iv 22' the pithos is filled with *šep̄pit*, most probably Einkorn wheat (*triticum monococcum*; see Hoffner 2001, 203); the use of *ḫalki-* in HT 71+ 2' likely refers generally to “grain,” not specifically to barley (Hoffner 1974, 60–61). The specific varieties of cultivated cereals, however, varied depending on several factors, such as the altitude and climatic conditions of the various geographical areas, and

it is possible that the ubiquitous use of the sign *ZÍZ* obliterates differences in the actual practice. Apart from wheat, flour, and bread, the lists of offerings refer frequently to porridge (BA.BA.ZA) and groats (*ARSANNU*), for the preparation of which see Pasternak and Kroll 2017, 208–11. On the preparation of bread in Hittite times see Hoffner 1974, 136, 146 and Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2002; on the cereal remains and their identification see most recently Bolatti Guzzo 2006, Pasternak and Kroll 2017.

The beverage used as offering is almost invariably beer (*KAŠ*). The quality of beer is never specified, and we can safely assume that it varied depending on place and tradition. On Hittite beer and beer production see del Monte 1995 and V. Müller-Karpe 2005. Offerings of wine are rare, in sharp contrast to the evidence of festival texts, that is, of state cults. Nevertheless, wine was produced in several areas of Hittite Anatolia (see the literature cited in §5.7.2), and a detailed study of the texts attesting wine offerings might provide useful information for the reconstruction of the geography of grapevine at that time. For a recent overview on the ritual relevance of alcohol consumption see Dietler 2006.

Besides meat, cereals, and beer, many other products are mentioned within the lists of offerings: the principal of these are various kinds of pulses and fruit (Hoffner 1974, 95–112; Frantz-Szabó 2003), honey (Simon 2014, 716–9), various milk products (Hoffner 1994), and salt (only in IBoT 2.131 [text no. 6]; Kp 14/95+ [text no. 14], and a few other texts).

6.2. METROLOGY OF OFFERINGS: VESSELS AND UNITS

6.2.1. Dry Measures

To list the quality and quantity of cult offerings was one of the central purposes of the cult inventories. The cult offerings that are referred to in the corpus are principally of three kinds: meat, bread, and beer. To count the meat is easy: it suffices to specify the number of animals to be supplied and offered to the gods, since the partitioning of the various meat cuts can be given for granted (§§6.4.2–3). The Hittites measured bread both by the volume of the wheat used to make the loaves and by the weight of the final product, but the texts show that the former way was far more frequent than the latter. Wheat was measured by means of vessels (Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2002, 61). The units of capacity most frequently attested in the cult inventories are the *PARĪSU*-measure (ca. 50 l), the *BĀN*-measure (also written as *SŪTU*, corresponds to 1/6 of a *PARĪSU*, ca. 8.4 l), the *ḫazila*-measure (1/4 of a *BĀN*), the “handful” (*UPNU*), and the *tarna*-measure (1/4 of an *UPNU*). On these units see van den Hout 1990, 523–24 and Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2002,

29–33; the correspondences with liters are tentative and base on the assumption that the Hittite BÁN was identical with (or very close to) the Mesopotamian BÁN. Four different relations between *UPNU* and BÁN are attested in the Hittite texts, as one BÁN can correspond to 6, 12, 24, or 20 *UPNU*. In KUB 42.100+ (text no. 12) and KUB 56.56, the equivalence 1 BÁN = 6 *UPNU* applies, whereas in Kp 14/95+ 1 BÁN (of porridge) = 12 *UPNU*. It seems therefore at present impossible to establish a constant relation between the BÁN-measure and the *UPNU* for the corpus of the cult inventories. The system of the units of capacity can be summarized as follows:

Table 9: Units of capacity used in the cult inventories

Measure	Relation	Approximate volume (liters)
<i>PARĪSU</i>	= 6 BÁN	50
BÁN	= 4 <i>ḫazila</i> -, = 6 / 12 <i>UPNU</i>	8.4
<i>ḫazila</i> -		2.1
<i>UPNU</i>	= 4 <i>tarna</i> -	1.4 / 0.7
<i>tarna</i> -		0.35 / 0.12

Bread loaves are usually said to be made with one *tarna*-measure, one-half handful, or one handful of wheat. Assuming for wheat flour a specific weight of ca. 0.6 ± 0.2 , it stands to reason that the typical bread loaves weighed ca. 120/128 g (loaves of one *tarna*-measure of wheat), 240/256 g (loaves of one-half handful of wheat), and 480/512 g (loaves of one handful of wheat), as pointed out by Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2002, 62.

In some texts, the “analytic” lists of offerings are complemented with “synthetic” totals at the end of the corresponding sections. Such totals give at first sight an impression of great precision, since even large quantities of cereals are apparently not rounded up: see, for example, Kp 14/95+ rev. iii 23’ (text no. 14, “31 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) 1 BÁN-measure of flour”) and the similar data in KUB 38.12 obv. ii 24, rev. iv 6’ (text no. 16). If the tablet is sufficiently well preserved, the totals can be compared to the analytic lists of offerings, which sometimes makes it possible to establish equivalences between different units (as is the case of the BÁN and the *UPNU* in KUB 42.100+ and KUB 56.56). But the comparison can also highlight incongruences, which on a case-by-case basis are to be ascribed either to our imperfect understanding of the logic of the text or to a calculation error of the ancient scribe. The following passage from Kp 14/95+ exemplifies the case in point:

Now, as to the *kwanzattar* (writing board) that the Commander of Ten [brought] from Ḫattuša: he fixed the monthly festival as follows: 1 ox, 2 (read: 6?) sheep, 1 *ḫazila*-measure (and) 1 handful of porridge, 1 *PARĪSU*-measure, 1 *BÂN*-measure (and) 2 handfuls of flour, 3 KA.GAG-vessels (of beer). (Offering) of 1 year for him, (offering) of 12 months: 12 oxen, 72 sheep, 4 *BÂN*-measures of porridge, 13 *PARĪSU* of flour. (Kp 14/95+ obv. i 33–50, text no. 14)

Here, $12 \times (1 \text{ } \overline{\text{PARĪSU}} + 1 \text{ } \overline{\text{BÂN}} + 2 \text{ handfuls of flour})$ seems to be equated with 13 *PARĪSU*-measures of flour, which is impossible; note also the incongruence in the count of the sheep. On the other hand, the count of the porridge seems to attest to the equivalence $1 \text{ } \overline{\text{BÂN}} = 12 \text{ } \overline{\text{UPNU}}$ in this text.

6.2.2. Liquid Measures

6.2.2.1. The Use of Vessels as Units

The offerings of beer are measured by means of vessels, which function as units. The standard vessels used to define beer supplies in the cult inventories are the following: the *ḫuppar(a-)* (bowl), the *ḫanišša-* (jug), the KA.GAG-vessel, and the not more closely defined “vessel of beer” (DUG KAŠ).

The fact that liquid offerings are defined by means of vessels poses the question of whether and to which extent these vessels were actually standardized, of how their production was (or was not) organized, and of whether and how the Hittite central administration managed to exert a control on keeping a system of standard units in place over the whole kingdom. Based on the textual evidence, one gets the impression that to define the supplies of liquid offerings by listing the kind and number of some specific vessels was deemed perfectly appropriate to the purpose of defining cult offerings. At the same time, the available texts provide very scarce evidence on the strategies through which the vessels could reliably function as units, as well as on how the production was organized and the entire system was kept running over a large geographical span.

From an archaeological point of view, there are various metric devices that may have been in place within the Hittite pottery tradition: proportional relations within a set of vessels in specific contexts (in Boğazköy: Seidl 1975, 95; in the “brewery” of Kuşaklı: V. Müller-Karpe 2005, 179 with fig. 9; cf. Mielke 2016, 164); explanatory inscriptions (Bittel 1937, 53–54 with pl. 38; Neve 1969, 15; Mielke 2016, 170–74); capacity demarcation marks (see for Late Bronze Age Tell Sabi Abyad, Duistermaat 2008, 436–37, 440 no. 12 with fig. VI.17.12 on pp. 446, 584); and pottery standardization.

The question of whether and to which extent the Hittite pottery was actually standardized has recently been dealt with by Schoop (2003, 2006, 2009), Postgate (2007), Mühlenbruch (2014, 189–213), and Mielke (2016, 2017, esp. 130–38). The investigation is complicated by the uncertain dating of most finds, by insufficient data on archaeological contexts, and by the extremely fragmentary state of conservation of the finds, which mostly allows us to determine the dimensions of the vessel's rim, but not its capacity. Studies on networks and organization of the pottery production are just beginning, while the entire question of the definition of “Hittite pottery” and its allegedly standardized features must be addressed on the basis of a sound methodology, starting with a discussion of what exactly standardization means (Mielke 2016, 2017 with literature). At this juncture, it has to be stressed that the reference to the use of specific vessels as units, as attested in the cult inventories, does not imply a large-scale production of vessels with standardized dimensions. In principle, it would suffice to have one set of measuring vessels per town, with which the exact quantities of wheat and beer could be measured at the proper time. Crucial aspects of the question of the standardization of Hittite pottery remain unclear, as much more systematic research of both archaeological and philological evidence is needed to improve our understanding of the use of vessels as units; of the pottery production networks; and of their interaction with the central administration within the Hittite kingdom.

6.2.2.2. The *ḥuppar(a)*-vessel

For the *ḥuppar*-vessel, two stems are attested, the common gender ^(DUG)*ḥuppara-* and the neuter ^(DUG)*ḥuppar* as secondary stem (Neu 1982–1983, 125–26; Rieken 1994, 277). Both stems are used in the corpus of the cult inventories, with a strong prevalence for the latter. Even if the form *ḥuppar* originated as a pseudo-Akkadographic writing rather than a secondary neuter form (so according to *GrHL Addenda* 116–17), the occurrence of the neuter plural form ^{DUG}*ḥupparri*^{HIA} (perhaps also ^{DUG}*ḥupparra*^{HIA}, see *HW²* Ḫ, 732) shows that it could be perceived as such. The term *ḥuppar(a)-* denotes at the same time a container and a unit of capacity. Its is overtly defined as such already in OH sources, as proved by several passages (Singer 1983, 162–63; del Monte 1995, 222 n. 22). It seems that the unit *ḥuppar* was used only for liquids, not for dry products, differently than the homonymous vessel (Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2002, 52 with nn. 164, 157, contra Singer 1983, 162 n. 34; on the reading of KBo 11.36 rev. iii 18', see *HED* Ḫ, 391). Apart from pottery, the *ḥuppar* could be made of wood and in special cases also of silver or gold. Based on the evidence of the texts, it served primarily the short-term

storage or transport of beer, wine, and *marnuwan*-drink; more rarely of oil, water, and other products.

Most relevant for the determination of its shape and dimensions are passages attesting to its various usages, namely: (1) to draw water from a *huppara*- (KBo 39.8 rev. iv 21, *CTH* 404; see Miller 2004, 104); (2) to put a hunting bag (^{KUS}*kurša*-) in a wooden *huppar* (KUB 33.59 rev. iii 11'–12', *CTH* 336; see Laroche 1965, 150; cf. also KUB 33.67 obv. i 7'–8', *CTH* 333, where a *huppar* is seemingly filled with some objects; see Laroche 1965, 150, Beckman 1983, 72); (3) to pour libations into a *huppar* (Kammenhuber 1971; Archi and Kammenhuber 1976, 351–52; Klinger 1996, 440; *HED* H, 389–90; *GrHL*, 259 §16.70; *pace* Starke 1977, 57–58); (4) to libate by means of a *huppar* (e.g., KBo 4.9 obv. i 16–19, *CTH* 612; see Badali and Zinko 1994, 23); (5) to carry “water of the hand” (i.e., for washing the hands) by means of a *huppar* (e.g., KBo 4.9 rev. vi 17–19, *CTH* 612; see Badali and Zinko 1994, 58); (6) to put the remains of the dead king's burned bones into a silver *huppar* filled with fine oil (note that they are subsequently taken out of it: KUB 30.15+ obv. 3–4, *CTH* 450; see Kassian, Korolev, and Sidel'tsev 2002, 260, 283, Singer 1983, 162–63 n. 25); (7) to water horses during training by means of a wooden *huppar* (e.g., KUB 29.45(+) rev. iv 21'–22', *CTH* 286; see for attestations and comments Kammenhuber 1961, 174–75, 182–84, 311, 329–30). The last context is of particular relevance: according to the so-called “*Rein hethitische*” *Pferdetrainingsanleitung*, at a certain point of the *katkattinu*-treatment, water is carried out using a ^{GIS}*huppāra*-; thereafter, “each horse drinks one wooden *huppāra*-vessel (of water)” (KUB 29.45(+) rev. iv 21'–22'; see Kammenhuber 1961, 182). Though not explicitly stated by the texts, it is quite clear that the horses drink directly from this vessel, and in any case, that the horse drinks an amount of water corresponding to one *huppar* all at once. It is worth pointing out that in another famous horse-training treatise, namely, the so-called Kikkuli text, it is often envisaged that the horse drinks three *hazzila*-measures of water (ca. 6.3 l); more rarely the quantity referred to amounts to just one *hazzila*-measure (ca. 2.1 l), or to one “handful.” One can therefore suspect that the capacity of the *huppar* of the “*Rein hethitische*” *Pferdetrainingsanleitung* would conceivably not be far from three *hazzila*-measures. Tentative as it is, this hypothesis fits well with the overall textual evidence, which suggests that the standard *huppar* is a rather capacious open-top container, wider than it is deep. The observation of a relation between the quantity of bread envisaged as an offering and the use of the *huppar* vs. the *hanišša*-vessels corroborate the conclusion reached here (§6.2.2.6), as does the fact that occasionally the capacity of a storage jar (*harsi*) could be of one *huppar* (KBo 25.13+ obv. ii 8', *CTH* 635, cf. also KUB 11.21a+ obv. i 10 // KUB 25.6+ rev. v 12; see Singer 1983, 162 n. 34). Therefore, the *huppar*-vessel is

conveniently translated as “bowl,” and the most appropriate archaeological comparison consists of large carinated bowls and the so-called multipurpose pots. Accepting a generalization of the capacity of 3 BÁN-measures for the average KA.GAG-vessel, and based on the relation between *ḫuppar*-vessel and KA.GAG-vessel observed in Kp 14/95+ (text no. 14), we come to the assumption that the standard capacity of the *ḫuppar*-vessel in the genre of the cult inventories corresponds to 1 BÁN-measure (ca. 8.4 l), as argued in §6.2.2.4.

6.2.2.3. The *ḫanišša*-Vessel

The *ḫanišša*-vessel is widely attested as having a cultic function in the Hittite texts. It is used most frequently for beer, but also for wine; more rarely for other beverages. Its name is likely to derive from the IE root for “drawing” **h₂en-* (e.g., Rieken 1999a, 227–28; *HED* Ḫ, 76–77; differently *HW²* Ḫ, 148 and *EDHIL*, 286–87). In his study of Hittite pottery, Coşkun (1979, 56 with n. 211) tentatively proposes to identify the *ḫanišša*-vessel with the class of the *Trichterrandtöpfe*. The proposed equation of Hittite *ḫanišša* with the logogram ^{DUG}GUR₄.GUR₄ (= ^{DUG}ḪAB.ḪAB), in turn possibly identical with Akkadian *kuk(k)ub(u)*, is uncertain (Weeden 2011a, 241–43). Importantly, the capacity of the *ḫanišša*-vessel was smaller than the *ḫuppar*, as shown by the fact that it tends to be connected to smaller quantities of bread (§6.2.2.6).

6.2.2.4. The KA.GAG-Vessel

On the vessel written as ^{DUG}KA.GAG in the Hittite texts see del Monte 1995, 219–24 and Weeden 2011a, 258–59. Del Monte demonstrates that the logogram denotes primarily a container of variable size, but normally large; it was most frequently used as a receptacle for beer, but not always and not necessarily for one and the same kind of beer. Nevertheless, in the genre of the cult inventories the KA.GAG-vessel is clearly used as a unit for beer, although its content is not overtly specified (see also del Monte 1995, 222). Whether in the lists of offerings the KA.GAG vessel refers to a fixed amount of beer remains unclear, all the more given its variable capacity. But the intrinsic logic of the texts should imply a positive answer to this question, and the texts do not contradict it. In KBo 2.7 obv. 13’ and 21’ (text no. 3), the KA.GAG-vessel is said to be “of 3 BÁN-measures,” which would correspond to ca. 25.2 liters. The offering lists of Kp 14/95+, on the other hand, suggests the equivalence $12 \times 1 \text{ ḫuppar-vessel} = 3 \frac{1}{2} \text{ KA.GAG-vessels}$, hence $1 \text{ KA.GAG-vessel} = \text{ca. } 3 \text{ ḫuppar-vessels}$:

On a *kwanzattar* (writing board) of the temple, the monthly festival for him is fixed as follows: 2 sheep, 3 BÁN-measures of flour, 1 bowl of beer. (Offering) of 1 year for him, (offering) of 12 months: 24 sheep, 6 *PARĪSU*-measures of flour, 3 ½ KA.GAG-vessels (of beer), 3 BÁN-measures of milk. (Kp 14/95+ obv. i 25–28, text no. 14)

Accepting as a working hypothesis the generalization of the capacity of 3 BÁN-measures attested in KBo 2.7 for the KA.GAG-vessel, the *huppar*-vessel would therefore correspond to 1 BÁN-measure (ca. 8.4 l), at least in Kp 14/95+. This conclusion fits well with the overall evidence on the *huppar*-vessel discussed in §6.2.2.2, thus leading to the tentative hypothesis that the standard capacity of the *huppar* and KA.GAG-vessels in the genre of the cult inventories corresponds to 1 BÁN-measure (ca. 8.4 l) and 3 BÁN-measures (25.2 l) respectively.

6.2.2.5. The “Vessel of Beer”

The expression “vessel of beer” (DUG KAŠ) is used in the offering lists of the cult inventories as a unit, just as is the case with the *huppar*, the *hanišša*, and the KA.GAG-vessel. Unfortunately, it seems at present impossible to determine whether the “vessel of beer” actually denoted a specific kind of vessel and a related fixed volume, and if yes, how much beer it corresponded to.

6.2.2.6. Complementary Distribution of the *huppar* and *hanišša*-Vessels

A systematic analysis of the offerings brings to light a meaningful distribution of the *huppar* and *hanišša*-vessels. Whereas at first sight the references to these two vessels seem randomly spread among the offering lists, a specific tendency is observed to govern their distribution depending on the amount of the relevant dry supplies. Indeed, their distribution turns out to be complementary, the *huppar*-vessel being used when the amount of wheat (or flour) is one BÁN-measure or more, whereas the *hanišša*-vessel is used with amounts of one BÁN-measure or smaller. Offerings of exactly one BÁN-measure (ca. 8.4 l) appear in connection with both vessels. Similarly, when the dry offerings are defined in terms of bread loaves, the *hanišša*-vessel appears in connection with a smaller number of loaves than the *huppar*, with the dividing line seemingly being four loaves:

Wheat or flour amount ≥ 1 BÁN, or bread loaves > 4 → *huppar*-vessel
 Wheat or flour amount ≤ 1 BÁN, or bread loaves < 4 → *hanišša*-vessel

In order to explore the scope of this tendency, approximately one hundred different documents have been examined, including about seventy cult inventories and thirty festival texts. The fragmentary state of many tablets, as well as the necessity to single out the cases in which the presence (or absence) of a correlation between either the *huppar* or the *hanišša*-vessel and a specific amount of dry supplies could be determined, reduce considerably the number of relevant occurrences. A total of sixty-five occurrences from eighteen different documents, mostly cult inventories, could be singled out. Of these, sixty occurrences confirmed the observed tendency, whereas five occurrences constitute true exceptions (thirteen cases concern the divide quantity of 1 BÂN, and are counted among those confirming the tendency).

The observed tendency confirms that the *huppar* and *hanišša*-vessels are used within the Hittite system of management of local cults as standard units; importantly, it suggests a smaller capacity for the *hanišša* as compared to the *huppar*. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the *hanišša* regularly follows the *huppar* when both vessels are mentioned within an offering list, a context in which smaller units are generally listed after bigger ones.

6.3. THE DELIVERY OF CULT SUPPLIES

An overview of the officials and groups of people mentioned as responsible for the delivery of cult supplies within the corpus of the cult inventories delivers in some way a cross section of the Hittite society in the Late Empire period, insofar as all segments playing a role within the Hittite polity happen to be represented as contributors of cult offerings:

- priests (SANGA, GUDU₁₂), fathers of priests (KUB 56.39), mother-deity priestess (KBo 13.252);
- governors, officials (Frontier Post Governors [*BEL MADGAL-TI*], Commanders of Ten [^{LÜ}UGULA 10], Lords of the district [EN KUR], Chiefs [GAL] of specific groups of people, administrators [^{LÜ}AGRIG]);
- subordinate regional kings (of Tumanna and Išuwa);
- local “palaces” (É.GAL);
- local threshing floors (KISLAḪ) and “houses of the poor man” (É^{LÜ}MÁŠDA);
- palace “servants” (ARAD^{MES} É.GAL);
- temple “servants” (ARAD^{MES} É DINGIR-LIM);
- individuals specified by name, but not by title, as well as their “servants”;

- local communities (“the town” [URU]; the people of a ruin-town [URU₆DU₆], or “who live around the ruin-town such-and-such,” KUB 38.2, KUB 25.23+; the “old towns of Hattuša,” KUB 38.19+; “the house(hold)” [É], KUB 56.39; the highlanders [LÚ^{MES} HUR.SAG], KBo 2.8);
- the “land,” that is, the district (KUR);
- professional groups and individuals (a nonexhaustive list includes: saltlick wardens: Kp 14/95+, IBoT 2.131; salt producers: KUB 38.19+; GIS^{TUKUL.GÍD.DA}-men: KBo 13.231; troops of Išḫupitta: KBo 12.53+; *šarikuwa*-troops: KUB 38.12; wine stewards: KBo 39.48+, KUB 38.19+, KUB 25.22; ploughmen: KBo 39.48+; cooks: HT 4, KUB 38.14; goldsmiths: IBoT 2.131; doormen: KUB 51.33; weavers: KUB 57.108+² KUB 51.23; cleaners: KBo 13.241+).

By far the most frequently attested category to be responsible for the supply of cult offerings are the local priests as well as the local communities, the latter ones being mostly subsumed under the general labels of “town” (URU) and “district” (KUR). The involvement of communities centered on “ruin-towns” suggests that these played some role in the socioeconomic network of the territory, perhaps comparable to that of deserted villages in Ottoman Turkey (on which see Hütteroth 1968, 174–85; for the interpretation of URU₆DU₆ as “ruin-town, deserted village” see the introduction to KUB 25.23+, text no. 13). Very frequent is the mention of local palaces of various kinds (É.GAL), as well as that of their “servants”; they played the important role of intermediary between the central power and local communities in the regional economy of the Hittite lands (Archi 1973b; Siegelová 2001). Analogous was the role of local temples, most frequently attested through the mention of groups of temple “servants” as responsible for the offerings. The appearance of subordinate regional kings, governors, and officials, as well as of various groups of professionals, bears witness to their involvement in the provision of goods to be redistributed at the occasion of the feasts, while the appearance of a number of apparently prominent individuals is likely to reflect the existence and power of local landlords. The recently found cult inventory Kp 14/95+ (text no. 14) provides a unique insight into the process of the determination of the cult supplies and of the individuals and groups responsible for their delivery, a process that still remains largely unknown.

A systematic appraisal of the people and structures that are listed in the cult inventories as responsible for the delivery of the cult offerings would be of great value for improving our understanding of crucial aspects of the Hittite economy, not only because of their geographical scope, but also because of the role played by local festivals in the (re)distribution of goods and

in symbolic power through the participation of the community in the feasting, frequently in connection with major moments of the agricultural calendar (§§2.5, 5.2). Differently than for other topics, such an appraisal must be based on a meticulous analysis of the cult offerings over the whole corpus of the cult inventories, an endeavor that falls outside the scope of the present study.

6.4. THE OFFERING SYSTEM

6.4.1. The Structure of the Cult Offering

Descriptions of nonstate local cults display a typical division of the offerings, with a formally tripartite structure: the sacrifice of one or more animals, and two portions labeled “at the altar” and “provisions” (*aššanumaš*) respectively, consisting normally of bread and beer. As will be argued below, these two labels distinguish the portion dedicated to the gods from that meant for consumption by the feasting congregation. Importantly, this characteristic bipartition never occurs within the descriptions of state cults, and therefore represents a very useful clue for the classification of fragmentary texts (§2.2.1). This observation does not imply that among state cults no such division existed, but rather that it is differently expressed in the texts. Indeed, the portions of offerings that go to the participants are listed in a special subgenre of texts within the system of the state cults, namely, the so-called *MELQĒTU*-lists (see, e.g., for the KILAM festival Singer 1983, 139–70; for the cults of Zippalanda Popko 1994, 94, 98–104).

6.4.2. The Animal Sacrifice

The sacrifice has been defined in §3.4.4 as a binding transfer of a substance from men to the god(s). Naturally, an animal sacrifice constituted the principal part of the cult offering. The importance of the animal sacrifice is evident in that it could be omitted only under exceptional circumstances: At the occasion of the spring festival for Mount Ḫalwanna described in KUB 25.23+ obv. i 8'–25', the offering is limited to bread and beer “if (the valley) is under control by the enemy,” while otherwise one ox and eight sheep are sacrificed. The standard animal to be sacrificed among local cults is the sheep; sometimes, however, oxen or goats are offered. The text KUB 12.2 features a sacrifice of piglets for a group of gods, who seem to share a chthonic nature (Collins 2006a). These figures can be viewed on the background of the available archaeological evidence, which shows that sheep and goats were the most common species on the Hittite menu followed by

cattle; the pattern of pork consumption seems to be influenced by the urban vs. rural character of the settlements, with higher numbers in the latter context (Berthon 2017, 178–81; on the role of pigs in Hittite religion see Collins 2006b). The sacrifice was normally celebrated by the priest; a noteworthy exception is found in HT 71+ 4', where it is performed by the "man of the billy goat" (LÚ MAŠ.GAL, perhaps to be translated as "owner of small livestock," see Otten 1988, 46).

The semantics of the sacrifice has been discussed in §3.4.4, first and foremost the use of the key verbs *šipant-*, "to offer" and *huk-*, "to slaughter." The cult inventories never indulge in details of how the sacrifice was actually performed, so that we can only speculate on this point, based on information from other text genres: on this topic see Kühne 1986 and Beckman 2011, also Groddek 2000, and cf. fig. 1 for iconographic evidence. Of interest are passages from local cults taking place at sacred springs, where the formulation of the text makes it clear that the animal was slaughtered in such a way that allowed for the blood to flow down into the spring (KUB 17.35 rev. iii 29, text no. 1, see also rev. iv 14 for an offering of liver to be poured down into a *harpušta*, perhaps a sacred grotto). When the precise location of the animal sacrifice is specified, it is said to take place either "at/on the altar" (Collins 1995, 81 n. 20), "at the stela" (not "for the stela"!), or "at the pithos." In the case of sacrifices "at the stela," it is conceivable that the animal's blood was poured in an offering pit placed in front of the stela (cf. the KARAHÖYÜK stela) or even on the stela itself (cf. the interpretation given by Hawkins 2015, 55 for the Iron Age stela of Kuttamuwa). Sacrifices performed at the pithos are attested in a few cases of festivals where no procession to the extramural sanctuary takes place; see KUB 17.35 rev. iv 20 (text no. 1); KBo 2.7 rev. 13 // KBo 2.13 obv. 5 (text no. 3); KBo 26.196 rev. 4'.

After the ritual slaughtering, the meat of the sacrificed animal was prepared in order to be offered to the gods and distributed to the participants in the ritual meal. The cult inventories regularly refer to this by using the expression "they place the meat (there), from the raw (and) from the cooked" (§3.4.5). Concise as it is, the formula clearly shows that certain meat cuts were cooked, whereas other ones were left raw, and the portion dedicated to the gods included both raw and cooked meat. Moreover, the presence of the formula in a number of texts pertaining to different areas of the kingdom seems to suggest the existence of a widespread tradition as far as the preparation of the ritual meat is concerned, although the use of highly formulaic language in the accounts of the festivals must warn us of hasty generalizations. In Hittite culture, the meat cuts that were typically used in cult meals were the shoulder, chest, head, legs, bones, and fat (raw or cooked), as well as the liver and heart (usually cooked); see Haas 1994, 654–58; Collins 1995;

and Archi 1979 (who argues that the expression “liver and heart” might also refer to the entrails as a whole). It can be speculated that the destination of the meat often corresponded more or less to this schema, but no certainty can be attained: as Collins observes, “it is difficult to talk about a typical procedure for the consumption of the sacrificed animal in Hittite ritual since no two instances are exactly alike, the amount of details varies greatly from description to description, and the most detailed descriptions are not necessarily the most typical” (1995, 78). The liver enjoyed a special importance within the local cults, as is clear from the role played by liver offerings within the rites that characterize the end of the festivals (§5.5.5).

6.4.3. The Portion “at the Altar”

The first and smaller portion within the dichotomy “at the altar” and “provisions” is labeled by means of the dat.-loc. *ištanani* / *ištananiaš* “at/for the altar(s),” mostly written heterographically, *ANA* / *INA* ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA. As Gurney observed, “the *ištananiaš* was not a cult-object but a stone altar which could also be used as a support for a statue—a ‘cult stand’” (Gurney 1977, 37). Hittite altars were usually made of wood or stone; see Popko 1978, 66–71; Boehmer 1983, 31–33; Haas 1994, 514–15; *HW*² I, 243–50. Some texts specify that the altars are adorned with fruit in the context of local festivals (KBo 2.13 obv. 13, text no. 3). The statuettes of the gods normally stand on altars in the urban temples and shrines; interestingly, KUB 42.100+ reports a deposition by the cult personnel, informing that “Formerly the god was back in the inner chamber, and the (worshipping) assembly could not see him. But now he stands on the altar” (rev. iii 36’–38’, see text no. 12).

That the portion of offerings labeled “at the altar” was dedicated to the gods is evident. More intriguing is the question of its final material destination, which is never made explicit. An option would be to suppose it was burnt, as happens, for example, to the bones of the sacrificed animals in the local state cults of Karaḥna (KUB 25.32+ obv. ii 4, 10; McMahon 1991, 62). But this option seems unlikely, both because there is no hint altogether pointing to this, and because such a practice has few parallels among Hittite cults. More interesting is the hypothesis that the portion “at the altar” was ultimately consumed by the priest(s) or more generally by the cult personnel. The topic of the final destination of cult offerings is relatively poorly understood, principally because of the scarce information delivered by the texts on this point. Lambert (1993, 200) observed in relation to the Mesopotamian world that “the question of what happened to all this luxurious food set before statues of the gods is not plainly answered in any cuneiform text.” Nevertheless, we know that in Babylon the gods “ate” the offerings

with their eyes, after which the king materially consumed them (Oppenheim 1964, 189–93). Moreover, less pious priests have always been used to consume cult offerings as a more or less tolerated practice; this is the custom ridiculed, for example, in the story of Bel and the Dragon known from the extended Book of Daniel (e.g., Lambert 1993, 200). Aside from illicit practices, in a number of situations the cult offerings are dedicated to the gods by means of specific formulas and recitations, but are subsequently consumed by cult personnel and other participants in the rites (this is particularly evident in the Old Babylonian *sattukku*-offering texts; see Sigrist 1984, 2 with nn. 8–9). Hittite instructions and prayers normally insist on the fact that nobody may take for himself the offerings dedicated to the gods (see, e.g., de Martino 2004, 349–51; Miller 2013, 245). But this prohibition was not as strict as is commonly believed, nor should prescriptions known from specific ritual texts be too hastily generalized. Indeed, Hagenbuchner-Dresel (2003, 303–4) demonstrated that there are cases where meat cuts consecrated to the gods (^{UZU}*šuppa*) were legitimately consumed by the priest. And the Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel seem to hint at the idea that priests have rather the duty of consuming the cult offerings after the gods have properly “eaten” them:

Further, you shall utter (these) word(s) regarding yourselves before the deity: ‘Whoever has taken from your divine bread loaf (and) from your wine pitcher, you, my god, my lord, shall [tor]ment him! May he seize his household below (and) above!’ If, [howe]ver, [you are able] to eat and drink [the bread, the beer, and the wine] on that day, [then] eat (and) drink [i]t. But if you are not able, [then] eat (and) drink [it ...] the third day. (CTH 264 §6’, transl. Miller 2013, 251; cf. CHD Š, 236)

The sense of the passage is, with CHD Š, 236, that priests (with their wives, children, and servants) “should eat and drink the god’s leftovers on the day they are offered or at most over three days”; the underlying concept, which is found in Mesopotamian religions as well as in a number of ancient and modern cultures, implies that the gods are able to eat the essence of the offerings simply by looking at them, while the men subsequently content themselves with the “remains.” In view of the evidence discussed above, it can be assumed with a reasonable degree of certainty that the portion of offerings “at the altar” was materially consumed by priests and cult personnel after being dedicated to the gods.

6.4.4. The “Provisions”

The second and larger portion within the dichotomy “at the altar” and “provisions” is labeled *aš(ša)numaš*, gen. sg. of the verbal noun *aš(ša)nuw/mar*, which is derived in turn from the verb *aš(ša)nu-*, “to deliver, to provide” (see *HW²* A, 374–78 for attestations from the corpus of the cult inventories, and *EDHIL*, 217–18 for etymological interpretations). In rare cases, the infinitive *aš(ša)numanzi* is used in the deontic sense “(is/are) to be provided” to denote this part of the offerings (see, e.g., KBo 13.237 obv. 5, 10; KUB 25.23+ i 45', ii 10', text no. 13). Carter (1962, 178–79) translated the expression *aššanumaš* as “for display,” interpreting the basic meaning of *aššanu-* as “to arrange (for display),” “to set (on the table, as a decoration).” But soon it became clear that this portion of the offerings is best understood as the portion put at the disposal of the participants in the cult meal (Archi 1973a, 9 and passim; 1979, 210 n. 30; Houwink ten Cate 1992, 95–96); accordingly, the expression *aššanumaš* has been translated as “à disposition (de la communauté)” (Archi 1973a); “for provision” (Hazenbos 2003, 26 n. 50 and passim); “für die Versorgung (scil. der versammelten Festgemeinde)” (Hazenbos 2004, 243); “of the supplies” (Cammarosano 2012, 17; 2013, 76). In this study the term “provisions” is used (kindly suggested by J. Burgin and Ch. Steitler). The expression is used in the deontic sense: “(that) of providing,” that is, that which is to be provided. When the festival concerns several gods at the same time, the text not infrequently makes it explicit that the offerings “at the altar” are divided into a corresponding number of subportions (e.g., KBo 2.7 rev. 12–15 // KBo 2.13 obv. 3–7, text no. 3); this never happens with the “provisions,” confirming that they were meant for consumption by the congregation of the participants in the feast. As has been said, the presence of the “provisions” represents a trademark of the offering system of the local cults as treated in the cult inventories. To my knowledge, true exceptions to this feature are confined to KBo 2.8 obv. i 17–30 and KUB 55.15, but the latter might be a festival text.

The quality of the offerings included in the “provisions” does not differ from that of the corresponding offerings placed “at the altar,” in both cases consisting mostly of bread and beer. On the other hand, the quantity of offerings diverge considerably, insofar as the “provisions” are normally twice as large as the portion “at the altar”; the discrepancy is not infrequently even bigger, with a ratio of 1:3, 1:4, or even 1:6. The average supply of flour for the “provisions” of the second day of a spring festival is about one to three *PARĪSU*-measures, corresponding to ca. 50 to 150 liters of flour, that is ca. 30 to 90 kg of bread (cf. §6.2.1). This has implications for the question of the participants in the festivals, as the considerable amount of food constituting

the “provisions” points to a relatively large participation of the local community in the feast (§6.5).

6.5. PARTICIPANTS

The participants in local festivals can be divided into two broad categories: cult personnel and members of the local community. Cult personnel in small towns and villages are far less variegated than in the capital. Ubiquitous is the “priest” (^{LÜ}SANGA, sometimes ^{LÜ}GUDU₁₂ “GUDU-priest”); besides him, the attested cult personnel are limited to the *šiwanzanna*-priestesses (which name means “mother-of-the-god” or “divine mother”; see *HEG* Š, 1089; *CHD* Š, 493; Steitler 2017, 185 with n. 592) and the *hazkara*-women, a class of female “multipurpose” cultic assistants (Carter 1962, 187–88; Hoffner 1998, 37–40; Röbke 2004; Torri 2006; Soysal 2010b). Typically, the *hazkara*-women are said to care for the transport of the gods back and forth at the occasion of the processions, to prepare wreaths, attend rites, sing, and take part in the “rejoicing” during the celebration. Sometimes, they appear together with the “lion-men” (^{LÜ.MES}*walwalla*-), which represent a class of low-level cultic attendants as well (Soysal 2010b, 342 with n. 11; Weeden 2011a, 287–89). Occasionally, cult personnel of other kinds are mentioned. In major cult centers, like Nerik, Šamuḫa, and Karaḫna, the cult personnel are much richer than usual, but these represent exceptional cases in the panorama of the local nonstate cults (see KUB 42.100+, text no. 12; Kp 14/95+, Kp 15/7+, and KUB 38.12, Texts nos. 14–16).

More complex is trying to determine which part of the local communities actually took part in the festivals, and which was their role. As is typical for ancient cultures, the available written sources provide very scarce information on the religious traditions of commoners and on their role in the cult (Sallaberger 2007, 424); in the case of the cult inventories, the extremely concise character of the descriptions makes things even worse. Nevertheless, it is possible to argue that usually a large part of the local community, if not the whole of it, actively participated in the festivals, first and foremost in the rites at the extramural sanctuaries and in the feast. Two kinds of arguments support this thesis: passages that overtly refer to the participation of the community in the rites, and the indirect evidence of the offerings labeled as “provisions.”

Evidence of the former kind is found in the following passages:

KUB 44.21 obv. ii 11–12: “[The peo]ple of the town eat [and drink] in the house of the new priest.”

KUB 17.35 rev. iv 32–34 (text no. 1): “[... The elders] drink [wine] to the (last) drop (or: “in the vapour”). [The *hazkara*-women bring fruit. They put a wreath on the god; the people put on wreaths. They regularly supply a bull and a sheep. [They press cheese, place (it) in front of the god, (and) g]ive (it) [to the people]. They step into a wrestling fight.”

KUB 44.20 l. col. 9’–13’: “[They pre]ss [cheese]. (They) present (it) to the gods [and] give (it) [to the people ...]. The young men fight [with the cheese]. They [s]tep into a boxing [(and) wrestling] fight, they ‘throw the stone’ (i.e., a shot put contest takes place). (They) [a]ll keep rejoicing over [the gods].”

KUB 46.21 rev. 1–2: “The next day the priest and the town w[ith] ...] go up. The priest of the deity *Har*-[...] brings (it) up to the [m]ountain [... they] place (it) in front of the stela.”

KBo 39.48 + KBo 40.42 (+) KBo 24.117 rev. v 14’–19’: “Panza, Pa[rg]a, Upa, Walliya: small stelae. [...] The whole town, (namely) old men, old women, young men, girls, al[l of them] arrive and celebrate them.”

KBo 2.13 obv. 18 (text no. 3): “They bring fruit (and) adorn the gods with wreaths; the people adorn themselves with wreaths. They keep rejoicing over the gods.”

KUB 56.39 obv. ii 9’–18’ (text no. 5): “When [they celebrate (?)] the fe[stival of the grain pile] for the Storm God of Šuwarzapa, on the first day the men the ent[ire?] town [...] They clean the shrine ... They wash the gods (and) place (them) on the altar. On the next day they, the whole town, bring in the grain pi[les]. They regularly supply] 1 *PARISU*-measure of wheat per household. They place the grain piles in front of the god. [The men (?)] plan[t] a staff (or: a scepter) on top of the grain pile. The priest ... offers 1 sheep to the Storm God.”

The cited passages, pertaining to various geographical areas, point to a large participation of the local communities (UN^{MES}, Hittite *antuḫšatar* “people, population”) in the rites, and it seems reasonable to generalize this conclusion to the entirety of the local cults. Corroboration for this standpoint can be found also in a report written by an official to the governor of the provincial town of Pitašša, referred to in a letter dated to the Empire period:

[Say to Mr. ..., my Lord: thus speaks Mr. ..., your servant. I ke]pt writing [to the governor of Pitašša as follows:] ‘send me the troops of Pitašša!’ But he does not send me the troops of Pitašša and [keeps on] *buying time* (saying): “The troops of Pitašša will not come in the month in which the men of Pitašš[a] celebrate the [*harp*]iya festival. When the men of Pi[tašša] will

have completed [the celebration] of the *ḥarpiya* festival, in that month the troops of Pitašša will come.” (KBo 18.78 obv. 1’–rev. 1’; see Marizza 2009, 145–46; also Beal 1992, 127 with n. 470)

Even if the determination of the population of Pitašša to celebrate the *ḥarpiya*-festival was just an excuse (and nothing indicates it actually was), the mere fact that this argument could be used shows how important the celebration of local festivals could be for the respective communities. The quoted passage constitutes a revealing *pendant* of §9’ in the Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel, where we read:

Moreover, you who are the temple personnel: if you do not celebrate the festivals at festival time, (e.g.,) you perform the spring festival [i]n autu[mn], bu[t] then you celebrate the autumn festival i[n] the spring; or when the proper time to celebrate a festival has arrived, and the one who is to perform it either comes to you priests, anoint[ed] ones, mother-deity priestesses and te[mple] personnel, and he grabs your knees (crying): ‘The harvest is before me’; or a dowry or a journey or some other matter, (or he says): ‘Stand behind me! Let me take care of this matter in the meantime, and as soon as I have taken care of this matter, I will perform the festival as such.’ In no case shall you act according to the man’s wishes! He shall not make you feel sorry for him. (CTH 264 §9’, transl. Miller 2013, 255)

Besides expressing the tension between local needs and the central administration’s urge to stick to the rules, the juxtaposition of the two passages shows that, just as in modern societies, also in the Hittite world, both elements were normal: the attachment of individuals and communities to “their” religious traditions, and the very understandable effort to adapt or bypass cultic regulations when these conflicted with other needs.

The second kind of argument that can be added to support the idea of a large participation in the local rites is based on the evidence of the portion of offerings labeled as “provisions,” which, as we have seen, was meant for consumption by the participants in the feast (§6.4.4). Normally, the amount of bread and beer constituting the provisions was such that it only makes sense under the assumption that some dozens of people take part in the meal, all the more given the very limited number of cult personnel involved (see above). The precise number of people, of course, varies from town to town and should be estimated on a case-by-case basis with the help of ethno-archaeological comparative approaches.

All in all, both direct and indirect evidence points to the assumption that a large part if not the entirety of the local communities, including women and children, normally took part in the festivals, most notably in the cult meal that marked its climax. Compare, again, the analogous situation at Late

Bronze Age Emar, for which see Sallaberger 2012, rightly insisting on the role of the preparation of the cult offerings within the dynamics of feasting. Since the most typical of these rites were closely connected with the agricultural calendar, that is to say, with major moments of the work in the fields, it is legitimate to compare them with the category of “work feasts” as described by Dietler and Herbich:

Collective Work Events are fundamental to the operation of the agrarian economy because they mobilize the essential interhousehold communal labor flows that, in fact, sustain domestic units. ... Moreover, work feasts, in particular, are extremely important in the political economy because of the context they provide for the acquisition and conversion of symbolic and economic capital (to employ Bourdieu’s ... useful terminology). ... Work feasts, in effect, act as a mechanism of indirect conversion between spheres of exchange in multi-centric economies and thereby provide a potential catalyst for increasing inequality in social relations. ... Such economies, in which different classes of goods circulated in separate exchange regimes (of variable number and kind depending upon the culture) and in which there were strong moral sanctions against converting between the spheres, were a very common feature of pre-monetary economic systems that did not have a uniform and universal scale of value. (Dietler and Herbich 2001, 246, 251)

Like some “work feasts,” many Hittite local cults clearly served as driving factor for the mobilization of labor at the occasion of agricultural works that typically involved the entirety of the village community, and this “economic” function is inextricably bound with its primary religious role (see, e.g., the festival of the grain pile, §§5.8.2, 7.2.5). It is this intersection of religious and economic spheres that determines the social significance of the Hittite local cults, and defines the cult inventories as a crucial corpus for the study not only of Hittite religion, but also of the Hittite economy. Its proper investigation under a genuinely interdisciplinary approach constitutes a work for the future, and a most promising one.

TEXT EDITIONS

7.1. SELECTION AND EDITION CRITERIA

The present anthology aims to provide the reader with a representative sample of the genre, and to offer reliable critical editions of texts, which, for various reasons were in need of a new treatment. The texts are grouped into five sections. The first presents a meaningful selection of cult inventories of various kinds; the second contains texts focused on the descriptions of cult images, and the remaining ones offer an overview of local cults in three different areas of the Hittite kingdom: the north, the east, and the south. The anthology bears witness to the richness of information that can be gained from the corpus of the cult inventories, touching all aspects that are crucial to our understanding of Hittite religion: local panthea, cult images, and iconography of the gods, religious beliefs at different levels of the society, festivals and rites, the offering system, the agricultural calendar, economy, royal intervention and center–periphery dynamics, and cult administration and record keeping.

The critical editions are structured following a common schema: manuscripts and literature, introduction, transliteration, and translation, and line-by-line commentary. All manuscripts have been collated by means of photographs and where possible by means of 3D models as well as the original tablets. The 3D models of the manuscripts presented here were taken by G. Müller and by me in the context of the project *3D-Joins und Schriftmetrologie* (2012–2015). Because of time constraints, however, only selected passages could be collated based on the original manuscripts. The line and paragraph numbering follows the usual convention, after which apostrophes mark gaps in the preserved sequence of the text. Adjoining fragments are labeled with sigla; the line numbering of the published copies is given at regular intervals beside the continuous numbering of the reconstructed text. Parallel texts are labeled by means of capital letters. In translating the inventories, an effort has been made to balance fidelity to the technical jargon of the original text with the necessary adaptations to the rules of modern English. Also, an effort has been made to be consistent in the translation of formulaic expressions that occur frequently in the corpus (see §§3.3–4). For

the sake of simplicity, the Hittite words *ḫuwaši* (^{NA4}ZI.KIN), “betyl” and *ištan-ana-* (^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA), “cult-stand” are consistently translated as “stela” and “altar” respectively (see §§4.4.3, 6.4.3 for discussion). Also, the Sumerogram URU is consistently rendered as “town,” although most occurrences likely pertain to villages; the Sumerogram GU₄, “ox, cow, cattle,” which sometimes stands for GU₄.MAḪ, “bull,” is translated as “ox” or “bull” depending on the context (see also commentary on KUB 38.2 i 20’ (text no. 8); the logogram GAL is consistently translated as “cup,” although it could denote different kinds of vessels (Soysal 2010c). Hittite É DINGIR-LIM (*šiunaš per*) “temple, shrine,” lit. “house of the deity,” has been translated as “shrine” whenever it is unclear whether the reference is to a building or a chapel. For the conversion of ancient units, the reader is referred to §6.2. So-called pseudo-Akkadographic spellings are transliterated as Akkadograms in the case of common nouns, since this represents a notable exception to the common usage of Hittite orthography (for details see §3.1). In view of the fact that a clear-cut distinction between “Akkadian” and “Hittite” words is not always possible, no graphic distinction between pseudo-Akkadographic spellings and “proper” Akkadographic spellings is made here (differently Miller 2013). Furthermore, proper nouns written in the stem form are not marked as pseudo-Akkadographic spelling, since this reflects the common usage of Hittite orthography (see §3.1 for details).

7.2. THE WONDERFUL WORLD OF THE HITTITE LOCAL CULTS

The texts collected in this chapter are among the longest and best-preserved cult inventories to have come down to us, and have been selected with the aim of providing an all-round overview of the genre. KUB 17.35 and KBo 2.1 (text nos. 1, 2) are among the very first Hittite tablets to have been published. The former preserves detailed accounts of local festivals, the latter a singular report on the renovation of cult images and on the state of the cults in several towns. KBo 2.7 and KBo 2.13 (text no. 3) happen to be two subsequent reports focusing on the same geographical area, and thus allow us to follow the progressive implementation of royal measures as time passed by. The four tablets listed so far also contain descriptions of cult images, contributing to our knowledge of the iconography of Hittite gods. The same holds true for KUB 38.26(+) (text no. 4), which contains detailed descriptions of mountain gods, as well as concise outlines of festivals. KUB 56.39 (text no. 5) preserves a detailed description of the festival of the grain pile and other rites. IBoT 2.131 (text no. 6), securely datable to the reign of Tudḫaliya IV, is mainly concerned with the cult of the horse-god Pirwa in the region of the

middle Kızılırmak. Among other things, it preserves valuable information on the reign of Muršili III, who suffered a *damnatio memoriae* following the coup d'état by Hattušili III, father of Tudḫaliya IV. Finally, KBo 12.53+ (text no. 7) constitutes a unique report on the repopulation of a number of settlements in four different districts of the kingdom. By combining restoration of cult supplies and measures aimed at boosting the labor force and production of goods, it constitutes a telling example of the interdependence of what we call “cult” and “economy.”

TEXT NO. 1. KUB 17.35: LOTS, CHEESE, AND WRESTLING IN GURŠAMAŠŠA

Manuscript: Bo 614 (KUB 17.35). **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Edition:** Carter 1962, 123–53; Taggar-Cohen 2002b, 132–36 (obv. i 17'–37'); Archi 1973a, 23–24 (rev. iii 23–38). **Discussion:** Taggar-Cohen 2002a, 2002b; Kellerman 1981, 38–41 (on the festival of the lot(s) treated in obv. i 17'–37'); Puhvel 1988, 28–29; Gilan 2001, 119–21; Millington 2013, 548 (on the mock combat described in rev. iii 9–15); Forlanini 1996 (on the geographical setting).

Known already since 1925 also among non-Hittitologists because of Ehelolf's account of the mock combat between “men of Ḫatti” and “men of Maša,” KUB 17.35 is probably the princeps of all cult inventories. There is ample ground to justify this status. First, the amount of preserved text is considerable and the festivals treated therein are described in greater detail than in most cult inventories; second, two of the local festivals treated in the tablet are of great interest from the point of view of the history of religions, namely, the festival of the lot(s) for the Storm God of Guršamašša (obv. i 17'–37') and the autumn festival for Yarri in the same town (rev. iii 1–17).

The festival of the lot(s) represents, or is in close connection with, the installation rite of a new priest, and together with clues from other texts it provides the key to understanding the process of lot casting: seemingly, the lots were first put into a vessel, then the lot casters, seated, shook it until a lot “jumped out” of the vessel (a practice with Mesopotamian parallels, see the commentary on obv. i 18'). The one “for whom the lot jumps out” seemingly is the “new priest,” with the subsequent steps representing his own installation rite. Among the elements of interest in the festival is a sheep, which is adorned, presented to the god, and finally set free without being killed, an action to be numbered under the various Hittite scapegoat rituals (on this topic see Hoffner, *COS* 3:xxii and Collins 2007, 186–89).

The autumn festival for Yarri includes the ritual combat mentioned above, in which the group of the “young men” is divided into “men of Hatti” and “men of Masa” and have to engage in combat, the former having weapons of bronze, the latter of reed. Predictably, the “men of Hatti” win, take a prisoner and consign him to the god (i.e., he becomes a temple servant). Significantly, the rite is dedicated to Yarri, a god associated with war and combat, and has parallels from ancient and modern times (Puhvel 1988, 28–29; Millington 2013, 548, also discussing similarities and differences between Yarri and the Greek Ares). Clearly aimed to dispel defeat in combat and to assert in a ritualized way the dominance of the local social group (the “men

Text	Gods	Content	Supply of offerings
§§1'–4' (i 1'–16')	Storm God (of Guršamašša)	spring festival	priest
§§5'–7' (i 17'–37')	Storm God (of Guršamašša), Heptad	festival of the lot(s)	new priest
gap			
§8' (ii 1'–5')		list of festivals for the Storm God of Guršamašša	[town?]
§§9'–10' (ii 6'–8')	sun deity of the water of Guršamašša	preamble, the deity is housed in the shrine of the Storm God	
§11' (ii 9'–11')	ditto	autumn festival	town (i.e., Guršamašša)
§§12'–15' (ii 12'–34')	ditto	spring festival	ditto
§16' (ii 35'–37')	Yarri of Guršamašša	preamble, a shrine is built	
§§17'–18' (iii 1–19)	Yarri of Guršamašša, Heptad	autumn festival (with mock combat)	town (i.e., Guršamašša)
§§19'–20' (iii 20–22)	ditto	spring festival	ditto
§21' (iii 23)	Great Spring (of Guršamašša)	preamble, the goddess is housed in the shrine of the Storm God	
§§22'–23' (iii 24–38)	Great Spring (of Guršamašša)	spring festival	town (i.e., Guršamašša)
§24' (iii 39–41)	Mount Šuwara (of Guršamašša?)	preamble, fragmentary	
gap			
§25''' (iv 1–2)	[Storm God of ...]	autumn festival, fragmentary	[priest-exor]cist ²
§§26'''–27''' (iv 3–18)	Storm God (of ...)	festival of the (ritual) washing, performed at the <i>ḥarpušta</i>	towns Mutarašši, Šallunatašši, Šarwalašši, [...] Laḫinašši
§§28'''–31''' (iv 19–40)	Storm God (of ...), Heptad, <i>ḥarpušta</i>	spring festival, [performed at the <i>ḥarpušta</i>]	ditto

of Hatti”) against the “other,” the rite may well also be reminiscent of actual combats with the people of Maša in western Anatolia (see *infra* for the geographical setting). Although the name given to the team representing the enemy might refer, in principle, to contemporary conflicts, it is reasonable to suspect here an echo of the time when the military campaigns towards Maša peaked, namely, under Šuppiluliuma I and Muršili II (on the history of Maša see Heinhold-Kramer 1989, 441–42).

Further points of special interest are the scenery of the *ḥarpušta*, possibly a sacred grotto, a waterfall or a underground basin, where a “festival of the (ritual) washing” and probably also a spring festival are performed, as well as various descriptions of cult images. These include a silver stela with (sun) rays on the top (Sun Deity of the Water, see the commentary on obv. ii 6’), two “(scaled) helmets (with) flaps” (Yarri, see the commentary on obv. ii 35’), and a composite cult image representing Mount Šuwara (see the commentary on rev. iii 39–40).

The text is organized, as usual, into sections, each one devoted to a particular deity, and subsections devoted to the various aspects to be inventoried: (1) cult images, temples, and royal measures, (2) festivals, (3) total amount of offerings and people responsible for their supply.

Not all the treated gods enjoy their own shrine: the Sun Deity of the Water and the Great Spring of Guršamašša are housed in the shrine of the local storm god; either a priest or “the town” (undoubtedly Guršamašša) is responsible for the offerings, but sometimes a group of settlements: Mutarašši, Šallunatašši, Šarwalašši, and Laḥinašši (the names of one or two more towns are lost). These “towns,” the names of which contain the Luwian morpheme *-ašši-*, are no doubt small settlements in the vicinity of Guršamašša. From the progression of the text it is clear that the extant paragraphs up to line rev. iii 38 (probably also rev. iii 39–41) refer to the town of Guršamašša, with the list of festivals in obv. ii 1’–5’ closing the section devoted to the local storm god. The extant paragraphs in col. iv instead must refer to another town, as shown by the change in the supply of the offerings and, more importantly, by the fact that the storm god to which the festivals are devoted is not likely to be the same Storm God of Guršamašša treated in obv. i 1’–ii 5’. The transition from Guršamašša to a new town is to be looked for in the gap between rev. iii 41 and rev. iv 1.

The place names mentioned in the text coherently point to the western districts of the empire period; Forlanini (1996) has made a persuasive case for the area of Afyonkarahisar. The settlement of Šallunatašši has to be kept distinct from the homonymous town of KBo 70.109+; see text no. 17, commentary on MS A ii 6’/B ii 14. The GN Maša, after which the enemy team within the mock combat at Guršamašša is named, has unanimously been

equated with the “Land of Maša” in western Anatolia: see among others Goetze 1957a, 180 n. 1; Hawkins 1998, 29–30 with n. 193. The complex, at first glance conflicting, geographical associations of Maša are discussed in Gander 2010, 32–34; the GN Maša and a “man of Maša” are mentioned also in the Ortaköy texts; see Süel 2009. KUB 17.35 has close ties with KBo 2.1 (text no. 2). There, Mount Šuwara appears as the principal deity in four different settlements, and the town Guršamašša is said to be “(already) completed” (KBo 2.1 rev. iii 43–44, text no. 2)—in all likelihood, a very fortunate reference to the very tablet KUB 17.35 (discussion in Forlanini 1996, 5 and *passim*). Note that Carter (1962, 24) connected KUB 17.35, KBo 2.1, and KBo 2.16 with cult restorations promoted by Tudḫaliya IV in the aftermath of a war in eastern Anatolia, but this view is based on the erroneous attribution of KUB 23.21 to Tudḫaliya IV. For the geographical setting of the two inventories see Forlanini 1996, which analyzes the place name Šuranḫapa as *Šu(wa)ran-ḫapa “rivière du Šuwara” and makes a case for locating the towns inventoried here between Eskişehir and Afyon Karahisar.

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph.

Format and Layout: Two-columned tablet inscribed in a neat script (width ca. 19 cm, almost complete; preserved height ca. 13.5 cm, ca. one half of the tablet is preserved). Large *intercolumnium* (> 1 cm). The left column is considerably wider than the right one, as in KUB 38.3 (ca. 9–9.5 vs. 7.5–8 cm).

Palaeography: LNS: late QA (ii 27' and *passim*). Note the simplified, “halved” variant of ALAM, which is formally identical with GĀR (ii 36', iii 23); this variant is used also in KBo 2.1. Following a suggestion by Groddek, the variant is transliterated here as ALAM_x.

Orthography: Note the use of AŠ for Akkadian *INA* (i 3', 6', 21', 24', 26' and *passim*), LIŠ for /li/ (i 33', ii 26', iv 32, 34), and UGU for *šara* (ii 6', iv 24). In view of the context, the form *par-ši-zi* in obv. i 21' is to be interpreted as a scribal mistake for the pres. pl. 3, rather than a sg. 3 form as assumed in *CHD* P, 180 (a true attestation of this form is exceptionally found in KUB 42.100+ i 9, text no. 12). In this text the shorthand ^{DUG}ḪAR-ŠĪ (for ^{DUG}ḫar-ši-aš) is used after the logogram NINDA.GUR₄.RA (see §5.5.3). On the “nasal reduction” observable in several spellings and on the use of nom. instead of acc. within the lists of offerings see §3.1.

Transliteration

Obv. i

(upper half of the tablet missing entirely)

- §1' 1' [ma-a-an A-NA ^d10 EZEN₄ ^{DUG}har-ši h_é-e-šu-wa-aš DÛ-an-zi]
ŠE.NAGA-an-zi ^{LÚ}SANGA-za ŠE.NAGA-^rzi^r
- 2' [DINGIR-LUM ŠE.NAGA-zi INA ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA ti-an-zi nu-kán
^{LÚ}SANGA 1 UDU] ^d10 BAL-an-ti
- 3' [^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA hu-kán-zi šu-up-pa ti-an-zi n BÁN ZÌ.DA n ^{DUG}ha-n]i-
ša-aš INA ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA
- 4' [n NINDA UP-NI 1 ^{DUG}ha-ni-ša-aš KAŠ aš-ša-nu-ma-aš ^{DUG}ha]r-ši ma-
al-la<-an>-^rzi^r har-ra-an-zi §
- §2' 5' [lu-kat-ti-ma-kán NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}HAR-ŠI ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}ha-zi-k]a₄-ra-
za ša-ra-a ú-dan_x-zi
- 6' [TA ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA ^d10 kar-pa-an-zi na-an-kán IN]A É DINGIR-LIM
pé-dan_x-zi
- 7' [A-NA ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA ti-an-zi nu-kán ^{LÚ}SANGA 1 UDU ^d10 BAL-ti
^{GIS}^rZAG^r.GAR.RA hu-kán-zi
- 8' [šu-up-pa ti-an-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA pá-r-ši-an]-^rzi^r ip-pí-ia-an mar-
ha-an ti-an-zi
- 9' [n BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}hu-up-pár KAŠ INA ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.R]A NINDA.
GUR₄.RA pá-r-ši-an-zi BI-IB-RU-kán
- 10' [šu-un-na-an-zi n BÁN ZÌ.DA n DUG KAŠ n ^{DUG}hu-up-pár] ^raš-ša-nu-
ma-aš^r GU₇-zi NAG-zi
- 11' [GAL^{HLA}-kán aš-ša-nu-an-zi GAL^{HLA}-kán] ^rTGI-zi-aš GAL^{HLA}^r SI×SÁ-
an-te-eš
- 12' [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}ha-zi-ka₄-ra-za DINGIR-LUM GILIM-an-z]i DINGIR-LU[M-
ma-aš-ká]n du-uš-kán-zi §
- §3' 13' [lu-kat-ti-ma UD^{KAM} UZU^{NÍG}.GIG šu-up-pa UZU^{TU7}ši-ia-mi D]Û-an-zi
PA-NI DINGIR-LIM ti-an-zi
- 14' [n NINDA UP-NI pá-r-ši-an-zi KAŠ BAL-an-zi] ^r1^r BÁN ZÌ.DA 1
^{DUG}ha-ni-ša-aš KAŠ §
- §4' 15' [ŠU.NÍGIN n UDU n PA n BÁN ZÌ.DA n DU]G KÁŠ ^rLÚSANGA TA^r
É-^rŠÚ pé^r-eš-ke-ez-zi
- 16' [1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI ^{DUG}har-ši h_é]-^re^r-šu-wa-[aš] §

Translation

- §1' (i 1'–4') (*upper portion of the column lost*) [When they celebrate for the Storm God the festival of opening the pithos], they perform ablutions. The priest washes himself, [(then) he washes the god. They place (him) upon the altar. The priest] offers [1 sheep] to the Storm God. [They slaughter (it) at the altar, they place the meat (there). *n* BÂN-measures of flour, *n* ju]gs (of beer) at the altar; [*n* loaves of bread of one handful (of flour), 1 jug of beer (are) the provisions]. They grind (and) mill the (wheat of the) [pit]hos.
- §2' (i 5'–12') [The next day the *ḥazk*]ara-women bring up [the loaves of bread of the pithos. They take up the Storm God from the altar and] carry [him in]to the shrine. [They place (him) on the altar and the priest offers 1 sheep to the Storm God]. They slaughter (it) at the altar. [They place the meat (there); they brea]k [loaves of bread]; they place the *ippiya* (and) *marḥa* (dishes there). [*n* BÂN-measures of flour, 1 bowl of beer at the alta]r. They break the loaves of bread and [fill] the *BIBRU*-vessel(s). [*n* BÂN-measures of flour, *n* vessels of beer, *n* bowls (of beer)] (are) the provisions. They eat (and) drink. [They provide the cups. The cups] conform to the first cups. [The *ḥazkara*-women pu]t [a wreath on the god]. They keep rejoicing over the go[d].
- §3' (i 13'–14') [The next day is the day of the liver. They m]ake [a *šiyami*-dish out of the meat]; they place (it) before the god. [They break *n* loaves of bread of one handful (of flour); they offer beer]. 1 BÂN-measure of flour, 1 jug of beer (as offerings).
- §4' (i 15'–16') [Total: *n* sheep, *n* *PARĪSU*-measure(s) (and) *n* BÂN-measures of flour, *n* vess]els of beer: the priest regularly supplies (them) from his house. [1 spring festival, of the op]ening of the [pithos].

Spring festival
for the Storm
God (of
Guršamašša)

- §5' 17' [*ma-a-an* A-NA ^d10 EZEN₄ *pu-la*]-aš DÛ-an-zi ŠE.NAGA-an-zi
^{LÚ}SANGA-za ŠE.NAGA-zi DINGIR-LUM ŠE.NAGA-zi
 18' [(ca. 10 signs) -m]a² TUŠ-aš *pu-la-an-zi nu-kán pu-u-ul ku-e-da-ni*
wa-at-ku-zi
 19' [*na-at* INA É DINGIR-LIM a]r-^rha¹ pé-e-da-i na-at-kán A-NA ^{GIS}ZAG.
 GAR.RA ME-i
 20' [*nu-kán* ^{LÚ}SANGA GIB]IL 1 UDU ^d10 *1* UDU ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI BAL-ti
^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA *hu-kán-zi*
 21' [*šu-up-pa ti-an-zi*]i 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*hu-up-pár* KAŠ INA ^{GIS}ZAG.
 GAR.RA NINDA.GUR₄.RA *pár-ši<-an>-zi BI-IB-RU-kán*
 22' [*šu-un-na-an-zi*] 1 PA ZÌ.DA 4 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}*hu-up-pár aš-ša-nu-*
ma-aš GU₇-zi NAG-zi
 23' [GAL^{HIA}-*kán aš-š*]a-nu-an-zi GAL^{HIA}-*kán* IGI-zi-aš GAL^{HIA} SI×SÁ-an-
te-eš nu ^{LÚ}SANGA GIBIL 1 UDU
 24' [IŠ-TU GUR]UN² *ú-nu-wa-an-zi nu* UDU *ú-nu-wa-an-ta-an* INA É
 DINGIR-LIM ŠA ^{LÚ}SANGA LIBIR.RA
 25' [*pé-en-n*]a-an-zi ^{LÚ}SANGA GIBIL ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-zi-ka₄-ra-ia* A-NA UDU
 EGIR-an i-ia-ta-ri
 26' [INA É DINGIR-LI]M ^{LÚ}SANGA LIBIR.RA 3-ŠÚ *pé-en-na-an-zi* INA 3
 KASKAL-NI-ma-za ^{LÚ}SANGA GIBIL
 27' [A-NA] ^{LÚ}SANGA LIBIR-RU *ša-ra-a e-ša-ri nu-uš-ma-aš* GU₇-zi NAG-
zi
 28' [GAL^{HU}]-^rA¹-*kán aš-ša-nu-an-zi nu* DINGIR-LUM *kar-pa-an-zi* UDU
ú-nu-wa-an-ta'(na)<-an> PA-NI DINGIR-LIM
 29' [*pé-e*]n-né-eš-kán-zi ^{LÚ}SANGA 'GIBIL' ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-zi-ka₄-ra* A-^rNA
 DINGIR-LIM EGIR-an' DU-ri
 30' [*ma-a*]-an DINGIR-LUM INA É DINGIR-LIM ^{LÚ}SANGA GIBIL a-ri nu
^{LÚ}SANGA 'GIBIL A-NA DINGIR-LIM ^{GIS}BANŠUR' TA NINDA.GUR₄.
 RA
 31' [IGI]-an-da ME-i DINGIR-LUM INA É DINGIR-LIM ŠA ^{LÚ}SANGA
 GIBIL an-da *pé-dan_x-zi* [^{GI}]^srZAG.GAR¹.RA ti-an-zi
 32' [UDU-m]a ku-iš *ú-nu-wa-an-za'* na-an ar-*ha tar-na-an-zi* Ú-UL-kán
ku-en-na-an-zi
 33' [nu GEŠT]IN ^{LÚ}MEŠŠU.GI *wa-ar-šu-li_x* NAG-zi DINGIR-LUM-ma-aš-
kán ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-zi-ka₄-ra-za du-uš-kán-zi*
 34' [*ša*]-ša-an-nu<-uš> ti-an-zi §
- §6' 35' [*lu-kat-t*]i-ma UD^{KAM} UZUNÍG.GIG ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG^{HIA} UZU ^{TU}7ši-ia-mi DÛ-
 an-zi PA-NI DINGIR-LIM ti-an-zi
 36' [NINDA.GUR₄.R]A *pár-ši-an-zi BI-IB-RU-kán* *šu-un-na-an-zi* §
- §7' 37' [ŠU.NÍGIN] 1 UDU 1 PA 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 5 DUG KAŠ 1 'EZEN₄ *pu-la-aš*
^{LÚ}SANGA GIBIL' *pa-a-i* §
 (Randleiste)

- §5' (i 17'–34') [When] they celebrate [for the Storm God the festival of the l]ot(s), they perform ablutions. The priest washes himself, (then) he washes the god. [...] seated, they manipulate the lots, and (the person) for whom the lot jumps (out) brings [it/ them (i.e., the lot(s)) a]way [to the temple] and places it/them on the altar. [The ne]w [priest] offers 1 sheep to the Storm God (and) 1 sheep to the Heptad. They slaughter it at the altar. [They pla]ce [the meat (there)]. 2 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 bowl of beer at the altar. They break loaves of bread, [they fill] the *BIBRU*-vessel(s). 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of flour, 4 vessels of beer, 1 bowl (of beer are) the provisions. They eat (and) drink. They [pro]vide [the cups]. The cups conform to the first cups. They adorn the new priest and 1 sheep [with frui]t², and they [dr]ive the adorned sheep into the temple of the old priest. The new priest and the *hazkara*-women walk behind the sheep. Three times they drive (it) [into the templ]e of the old priest, and on the third time the new priest takes his seat above the old priest. They eat (and) drink. They provide the [cup]s. They take up the god; they [d]rive the adorned sheep in front of the god. The new priest and the *hazkara*-women walk behind the god. [W]hen the god reaches the temple of the new priest, the new priest sets a table, with loaves of bread (on it), [in f]ront of the god. They carry the god into the temple of the new priest, and place (it) upon the altar. They release the adorned [sheep], they don't kill (it). The elders drink [win]e to the (last) drop (or: "in the vapor"), the *hazkara*-women keep rejoicing over the god. They set up the [l]amps. Festival of the lot(s) for the Storm God (of Guršamašša) and the Heptad
- §6' (i 35'–36') [The next d]ay is the day of the liver. They make a *šiyami*-dish out of the livers; they place (it) before the god. They break [loav]es of [bread], they fill the *BIBRU*-vessel(s).
- §7' (i 37') [Total]: 1 sheep, 1 *PARĪSU*-measure (and) 2 BÂN-measures of flour, 5 vessels of beer, 1 festival of the lot(s)—the new priest supplies (the offerings).

Obv. ii

(upper half of the tablet missing entirely)

- §8'' 1' [] x x [1 EZEN₄ zé-e-ni]
 2' ^{DUG}har-ši šu-uḥ-ḥu-wa-aš 1 EZEN₄ GIBIL ti-[ia-u-wa-aš ...]
 3' 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI ^{DUG}har-ši hé-e-šu-wa-aš 1 EZEN₄ a-š[a-na-i-ia-aš (?)]
 4' 1 EZEN₄ pu-la-aš 1 EZEN₄ ŠU.KIN DÛ 1 EZEN₄ a-li-x[...]
 5' 1 EZEN₄ ge-en-zu ^{d10 URU}gur-ša-ma-aš-ša [URU-aš pé-eš-ke-ez-zi (?)]
 §§
- §9'' 6' 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN an-na-al-la-an 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN KÙ.BABBAR UGU-kán kal-
 [ma-ra]
 7' ^{dUTU}ŠI DÛ-at ^{dUTU}ME-E ^{URU}gur-ša-ma'-aš-ša ŠĀ É DINGIR-LIM ^{d10}
 [pé-dan_x-zi] §
- §10'' 8' 3 BÁN ZÍZ ^{DUG}har-ši ^{dUTU}ŠI ME-iš §
- §11'' 9' GIM-an-kán A-NA ^{d10 URU}gur-ša-ma-aš-ša ^{DUG}har-ši šu-uḥ-ḥa-an-z[i]
 10' A-NA ^{dUTU}ME-E-ia-kán ^{DUG}har-ši TA NINDA.GUR₄.RA šu-uḥ-ḥa-
 an-z[i]
 11' 3 NINDA UP-NI *{BÁN' [ZÌ.DA]}* 1 ^{DUG}ḥa-ni-ša-aš KAŠ §
- §12'' 12' GIM-an-ma DI₁₂-ŠI DÛ-ri te-et-ḥi-ma-an iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi ku-e-
 d[a-ni]
 13' ku-e-da-ni-kán UD^{KAM}-ti EZEN₄ ^{DUG}har-ši hé-e-šu-wa-aš kar-ap-ta-ri
 14' ŠĀ ^{dUTU}ME-E-kán ^{DUG}har-ši a-pé-e-da-ni UD^{KAM}-ti IŠ-TU NINDA.
 GUR₄.RA ḥé-^re-ša'-an-z[i]
 15' 3 NINDA UP-NI 1 ^{DUG}ḥa-ni-ša-aš KAŠ ^{DUG}har-ši ma-al-la-an-zi ḥar-ra-
 an-z[i] §
- §13'' 16' lu-kat-ti-ma-kán DINGIR-LUM TA ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA ME-an-zi nu
 DINGIR-LUM INA ^{NA4}ZI.KIN^r
 17' pé-e-da-an-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}ḤAR-ŠI PA-NI DINGIR-LIM pé-e
 ḥar-kán-zi ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}ḥa-^rzi^r-ka₄-^rra-az^r
 18' EGIR-an GUB-ri ^{NA4}ZI.KIN ŠE.NAGA-an-zi Ì-an-zi DINGIR-LUM PA-
 NI ^{NA4}ZI.KIN
 19' ti-an-zi nu-kán ^{LÚ}SANGA 1 GU₄ 1 UDU A'-NA ^{dUTU}ME-E BAL-an-ti
 20' ^{NA4}ZI.KIN ḥu-kán-zi šu-up-pa ti-an-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}ḤAR-ŠI
 pá-r-ši-an-zi
 21' ip-pí-ia-an mar-ḥa-an ti-an-zi 6 ^{NINDA}dan-na-aš 6 ^{NINDA}ga-ḥa-ri-iš
 22' 6 NINDA.KU₇ 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG 1 DUG KAŠ INA ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA NINDA.
 GUR₄.RA pá-r-ši-an-zi
 23' BI-IB-RU-kán šu-un-na-an-zi 1 PA 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 4 DUG KAŠ aš-ša-
 nu-ma-aš
 24' GU₇-zi NAG-zi GAL^{HIA}-kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}ḥa-zi-ka₄-ra-za
 25' GURUN ú-da-i DINGIR-LUM GILIM-an-zi ^{LÚ}SANGA-ia GILIM-an-zi

- §8''
(ii 1'–5') (after a large gap) [... 1 autumn festival], of the pouring into the pithos, 1 festival of se[tt]ing the new (priest?) [...], 1 spring festival, of opening the pithos, 1 *aša[naiyaš]* festival, 1 festival of the lot(s), 1 festival of “making the sickle,” 1 festival *ali*-[...], 1 festival of *mercy*, for the Storm God of Guršamašša—[the town regularly supplies (the offerings) (?)] List of festivals for the Storm God of Guršamašša
- §9''
(ii 6'–7') 1 stela, in place since of old. 1 stela of silver, (with sun) r[ays] on the top, His Majesty (commissioned it to be) made: Sun Deity of the Water of Guršamašša. [They bring (the deity)] into the temple of the Storm God. Sun Deity of the Water of Guršamašša
- §10''
(ii 8') His Majesty instituted 3 BĀN-measures of wheat for the pithos.
- §11''
(ii 9'–11') When they pour into the pithos for the Storm God of Guršamašša, they pour (wheat to make) loaves of bread into the pithos for the Sun Deity of the Water as well. 3 loaves of one handful (of flour), 1 jug of beer (as offerings). Autumn festival
- §12''
(ii 12'–15') When spring comes, (and) they hear the thunder, on whate[ver] day the festival of opening the pithos (for the Storm God) is completed, on that day they open the pithos of the Sun Deity of the Water with the (wheat to make) loaves of bread. 3 loaves of one handful (of flour), 1 jug of beer (as offerings). They grind (and) mill the (wheat of the) pithos. Spring festival
- §13''
(ii 16'–29') The next day they take up the deity from the altar, and they carry the deity to the stela. They present loaves of bread of the pithos before the deity. The *hazkara*-women stand behind. They wash and anoint the stela. They place the deity in front of the stela, and the priest offers 1 bull and 1 sheep to the Sun Deity of the Water. They slaughter (them) at the stela, place the meat (there), (and) break loaves of bread of the pithos. They place the *ippiya* and *marḥa* (dishes there). 6 loaves of *dannaš* bread, 6 loaves of *gaḥari* bread, 6 loaves of sweet bread, 1 KA.GAG-vessel

- 26' DINGIR-LUM-*ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-zi hu-ul-hu-li_x-ia ti-an-zi* NA₄-*an ši-ia-an-zi*
- 27' GIM-*an-ma ne-ku-zi* DINGIR-LUM *kar-pa-an-zi* DINGIR-LUM *INA É DINGIR-LIM* ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ha-^rzi¹-ka₄-ra-za*
- 28' *ar-ha pé-dan_x-zi* DINGIR-LUM-*kán* *INA* ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA *ti-an-zi*
- 29' ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG-*ia PA-NI* DINGIR-LIM *ti-an-zi* 1 NINDA *UP-NI pár-ši-an-zi* KAŠ 'BAL-ti¹ §
- §14'' 30' *lu-kat-ti-ma* UD^{KAM} ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG *šu-up-pa* UZU ^{TU₇} *ši-ia-mi DÛ-zi*
- 31' *PA-NI* DINGIR-LIM *ti-an-zi* 3 NINDA *UP-NI pár-ši-an-zi* KAŠ BAL-*an-zi*
- 32' ½ BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG} *ha-ni-ša-aš* KAŠ §
- §15'' 33' ŠU.NÍGIN 1 GU₄ 1 UDU 2 PA ½ BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG 5 DUG KAŠ
- 34' 1 ^{DUG} *hu-up-pár* 2 EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ *zé-ni* 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI URU-*aš pé-eš-ke-[ez-zi]* §§
- §16'' 35' 2 GUR-ZI-IP *pát-tar* 2 ^{GIS}TUKUL ZABAR 1 ^{NA₄}ZI.KIN *an-[na-al-la-an]*
- 36' 1 ALAM_x LÚ GUB-*aš* AN.BAR 1 *še-kán* ^{DU}TU-ŠI DÛ-at É DINGIR-LI[M]
- 37' *ú-e-da-an-zi* ^di-ia-^rri-iš ^{URU}gur-ša¹-[*ma-aš-ša (vacat?)*] §
(Randleiste)
- Rev. iii
(Randleiste)
- §17'' 1 ^rma-a-an A-NA ^d10 EZEN₄ ¹ *zé-e-ni* ^rŠE.NAGA-*an-zi*¹ [^{LÚ}SANGA-*za ŠE.NAGA-zi*]
- 2 ^rLÚ'SANGA¹ DINGIR-LUM *INA* ^{NA₄}ZI.KIN *pé-e-da-i* ^{NA₄}ZI.[KIN ŠE.NAGA-*an-zi*]
- 3 ^rT'-*an-zi* DINGIR-LUM *PA-NI* ^{NA₄}ZI.KIN *ti-an-zi nu-kán* ^rLÚ'SANGA¹ 1 UDU
- 4 ^rd-i-ia¹-ri¹ 1¹ UDU¹ ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI BAL-*an-ti* ^{NA₄}ZI.KIN *hu-kán-zi*
- 5 *šu-up-pa ti-an-zi* 6 ^{NINDA} *dan-na-aš* 6 ^{NINDA} *ga-ha-ri-iš* 6 NINDA.KU₇
- 6 1 ^{DUG} *hu-up-pár* KAŠ *INA* ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA NINDA.GUR₄.RA *pár-ši-an-zi BI-IB-RU-kán* *šu-un-[na-an-zi]*
- 7 5 BÁN ZÌ.DA 4 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG} *hu-up-pár aš-ša-nu-ma-aš* GU₇-*zi* NAG-*zi*
- 8 GAL^{HIA}-*kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* DINGIR-LUM-*ma-aš-kán* ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ha-zi-ka₄-ra-za du-uš-kán-zi*
- 9 *nu* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GURUŠ *ták-ša-an ar-ha šar-ra-an-zi na-aš lam-ni-ia-an-zi*
- 10 *nu-uš-ma-aš ták-ša-an šar-ra-an* LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU}GIDRU-TI *hal-ze-eš-ša-an-zi*
- 11 *ták-ša-an šar-ra-ma-aš-ma-aš* LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU} *ma-a-ša hal-ze-ša-an-zi*
- 12 *nu* LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU}GIDRU ^{GIS}TUKUL^{HIA} ZABAR *har-kán-zi* LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU} *ma-ša-ma*

(of beer), 1 vessel of beer at the altar. They break the loaves of bread (and) fill the *BIBRU*-vessel(s). 1 *PARĪSU*-measure (and) 2 *BÂN*-measures of flour, 4 vessels of beer (are) the provisions. They eat (and) drink. They provide the cups. The *hazkara*-women bring fruit. They put a wreath on the deity; also on the priest they put a wreath. They rejoice over the deity. They step into a wrestling fight; they throw the stone (i.e., a shot put contest takes place). When evening comes, they take up the deity; the *hazkara*-women bring the deity away to the shrine. They place the deity upon the altar and place liver before the deity. They break 1 loaf of one handful (of flour); (the priest) offers beer.

- §14''
(ii 30'–32') The next day is the day of the liver. They make a *šiyami* dish out of the meat; they place (it) in front of the deity. They break 3 loaves of one handful (of flour); they offer beer—½ *BÂN*-measure of flour, 1 jug of beer.
- §15''
(ii 33'–34') Total: 1 bull, 1 sheep, 2 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) ½ *BÂN*-measure of flour, 1 *KA.GAG*-vessel (and) 5 vessels of beer, 1 jug (of beer), 2 festivals—1 autumn festival and 1 spring festival—the town regularly suppl[ies (the offerings)].
- §16''
(ii 35'–37') 2 (scaled) helmets, (with) flaps (*or*: 2 scaled gorget-flaps), 2 bronze maces, 1 stela—in place since of o[ld]. 1 statuette of a man, in standing position, of iron, 1 *šekan* (in height)—His Majesty (commissioned it to be) made. They build a shrine. Yarri of Gurša[mašša]. Yarri of Guršamašša
- §17''
(iii 1–17) At the time when (they celebrate) the autumn festival for the Storm God, they perform ablutions. [The priest washes himself]. The priest brings the god to the stela. [They wash] (and) anoint the ste[la]. They place the god in front of the stela, and the priest offers 1 sheep to Yarri (and) 1 sheep to the Heptad. They slaughter (it) at the stela; they place the meat (there). 6 loaves of *dannaš* bread, 6 loaves of *gaḥari* bread, 6 loaves
- Autumn festival, with mock combat

- 13 ^{GIS}TUKUL^{HIA} ŠA { *x* } GI¹ *ħar-kán-zi nu MÊ-iš-kán-zi*
 14 *nu-uš-ma-ša-^raš¹ LÚ^{MES} URU¹ GIDRU-TI tar-uħ-ħa-an-zi nu ŠU.DAB.BU*
ap-pa-an-zi
 15 *na-an A-NA DINGIR-LIM ħi-in-kán-zi nu DINGIR-LUM ^rša¹-ra-a*
kar-pa-an-zi
 16 *na-an INA É DINGIR-LIM ar-ħa pé-dan_x-zi ^{GIS}ZAG.^rGAR.RA¹ ti-an-zi*
 17 *1 NINDA UP-NI pá-r-ši-an-zi KAŠ BAL-an-zi ša-ša-an-nu-uš ti-an-zi §*
- §18'' 18 *lu-kat-ti-ma UD^{KAM} UZU¹ NÍG.GIG šu-up-pa UZU^{TU7} ši-ia-mi DÛ-zi*
 19 *PA-^rNI¹ DINGIR-LIM ti-an-zi 1 NINDA UP-NI pá-r-ši-an-zi KAŠ BAL-*
an-zi §
- §19'' 20 *EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI-kán A-NA EZEN₄ zé-ni ħa-an-da-an-za §*
- §20'' 21 *ŠU.NÍGIN 4 UDU 2 PA 4 BÁN ZÌ.DA 10 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG} ħu-up-pár 2*
^rEZEN₄¹
 22 *1 EZEN₄ zé-ni 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI URU-aš pé-eš-ke-ez-zi §§*
- §21'' 23 *1 ALAM_x MUNUS TUŠ-za AN.BAR PÚ.GAL ^dUTU-ŠI DÛ-at ŠÀ É*
DINGIR-LIM ^d10 pé-dan_x-zi §
- §22'' 24 *ma-a-an A-NA PÚ.GAL ^rEZEN₄ DI₁₂¹-ŠI DÛ-an-zi ŠE.NAGA-zi*
LÚ^rSANGA¹-[za ŠE.NAGA-zi]
 25 *DINGIR-LUM ŠE.NAGA-zi PÚ-kán ^rša¹-ra-a ša-an-ħa-an-zi*
 26 *LÚ^rSANGA-kán DINGIR-LUM TA ^{rGIS}ZAG.GAR¹.RA ME-i na-an-kán*
TA ^rÉ¹ [DINGIR-LIM]
 27 *pa-ra-a ú-da-i nu DINGIR-LUM INA PÚ pé-e-da-i DINGIR-LUM P[A-*
NI PÚ]
 28 *ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi nu-kán LÚ^rSANGA 1 UDU A-NA PÚ.GAL BA[L-an-*
tí]
 29 *ŠÀ PÚ-an-kán ħu-kán-zi šu-up-pa ti-an-zi 6 ^{NINDA} da[n-na-aš]*
 30 *1 ^{rDUG} ħu¹-up-pár KAŠ INA ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA NINDA.GUR₄.RA pá-r-ši-*
an-zi B[I-IB-RU-kán]
 31 *šu-^run-na¹-an-zi 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 4 DUG KAŠ aš-ša-nu-ma-aš GU₇-zi*
[NAG-zi]
 32 *GAL^{HIA} kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi ^{MUNUS.MES} ħa-zi-ka₄-ra-za GURUN ú-d[a-*
an-zi]
 33 *DINGIR-LUM GILIM-an-zi UN^{IMES}-na-za GILIM-iz-zi GU₄ UDU peš-*
ka₄-[an-zi]
 34 *GA.KIN.DÛ dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi PA-NI DINGIR-LIM ti-an-zi UN^M[^{ES}-*
ni-ia pí-an-zi]
 35 *DINGIR-LUM-ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-zi DINGIR-LUM INA É DINGIR-*
LIM ^{MUNUS.MES} [ħa-zi-ka₄-ra-za]
 36 *ar-^rħa¹ pé-e-da-an-zi ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA ta¹-ni-nu-wa-an-zi [(vacat)]*
 37 *2 ^rNINDA UP-NI pá-r¹-ši-an-zi KAŠ BAL-an-zi §*

of sweet bread, 1 bowl of beer at the altar. They break loaves of bread; they fil[l] the *BIBRU*-vessel(s). 5 BÂN-measures of flour, 4 vessels of beer, 1 bowl (of beer are) the provision. They eat (and) drink. They provide the cups. The *hazkara*-women rejoice over the god. They divide the young men into two (groups) and name them. They call half of them “Men of Ḫatti” and they call (the other) half of them “Men of Maša”: the “Men of Ḫatti” have weapons of bronze, whereas the “Men of Maša” have weapons of reed. They fight: the “Men of Hatti” win, take a captive, and consign him to the god. They take up the god, bring him away to the shrine, (and) place (him) upon the altar. They break 1 loaf of bread of one handful (of flour); they offer beer. They set up lamps.

- §18''
(iii 18–19) The next day is the day of the liver. They make a *šiyami* dish out of the meat; they place (it) in front of the god. They break 1 loaf of one handful (of flour); they offer beer.
- §19''
(iii 20) The spring festival conforms with the autumn festival. Spring festival
- §20''
(iii 21–22) Total: 4 sheep, 2 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) 4 BÂN-measures of flour, 10 vessels of beer, 1 bowl (of beer), 2 festivals—1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival. The town regularly supplies (the offerings).
- §21''
(iii 23) 1 statuette of a woman, seated, of iron: the Great Spring. His Majesty (commissioned it to be) made. They bring (her) into the shrine of the Storm God. Great Spring (of Guršamašša)
- §22''
(iii 24–37) When they celebrate the spring festival for the Great Spring, they perform ablutions. The priest [washes himself]. They wash the goddess; they clean the spring out. The priest takes the goddess from the altar and brings her out of the sh[rine]. He carries the goddess to the spring. They place the goddess in f[ront of the spring]. The priest off[ers] 1 sheep to the Great Spring. They slaughter it (in a manner that the blood flows) into the spring. They place the meat (there). 6 loaves of

§23'' 38 [Š]U.NÍGIN 1 UDU 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 5 'DUG' KAŠ '1 EZEN₄' DI₁₂-ŠI
URU-aš [pé-eš-ke-ez-zi] §§

§24'' 39 [1^{NA4}] 'ZI.KIN' an-na-al-la-an 1^{GIŠ}TUKUL 'ši-it' -[tar-za ú-nu-wa-an-
za]

40 [UGU-kán ALA]M 'LÚ' AN.BAR GUB-aš TUR 'DÛ-an' x[...]

41 [x x^{HUR.SA}]G⁷r šu²-wa¹-ra-aš [...]

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Rev. iv

(Randleiste)

§25''' 1 [ŠU.NÍGIN n UDU n] BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 DUG KAŠ 1^{DUG} hu-up-pár 1 EZEN₄
zé-ni^{DUG} ħar-ši šu-^ruh-^hu¹-wa-aš

2 [L^USANGA (1-2 signs)]-ša-ni-iš TA É-ŠÛ pé-eš-ke-ez-zi §

§26''' 3 [ma-a-an A-N]A MU^{KAM} ITU 12^{KAM} ti-ia-zi nu A-NA^{d10} EZEN₄
ŠE.NAGA-u-wa-aš DÛ-zi ŠE.NAGA-zi

4 [DINGIR-LUM ŠE.NA]GA-an-zi^{L^U}SANGA 9 NINDA.GUR₄.RA 9
NINDA.GUR₄.RA GA.KIN.DÛ NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.<A> me-ma-al

5 [1^{DUG} ħa-ni-š]a-aš KAŠ ME-i na-at INA ĤHAR-pu-uš-ta-aš pé-e-da-i
na-at-kán GAM-ta iš-^r ħu-wa¹-i

6 [me-mi-an-k]án an-da me-ma-i lu-kat-ti-wa-za^{d10} ŠE.NAGA-zi nu-
wa-za-kán wa-tar-na-aĥ-ħa-za e-eš

7 [GU₄ UD]U-ia a-ra-an-zi nu-kán GU₄ UDU UL ku-iš-ki pa-ra-a tar-
na-i lu-kat-ti-ma DINGIR-LUM kar-pa-an-zi

8 [na-an] INA ĤHAR-pu-uš-ta-aš pé-e-da-an-zi^{NA4}ZI.KIN ŠE.NAGA-an-
zi Ì-an-zi DINGIR-LUM PA-NI^{NA4}ZI.KIN

9 [ti-a]n-zi nu-kán^{L^U}SANGA 3 UDU^{d10} BAL-ti^{NA4}ZI.KIN ħu-kán-zi šu-
up-pa ti-an-zi 6^{NINDA} dan-na-aš

10 [6^{NIN}]^{DA}ga-ħa-ri-iš 1^{DUG} ħu-up-pár KAŠ INA^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA 3^{NINDA}
dan-na-aš 3 NINDA.KU₇ 1^{DUG} ħa-ni-ša-aš ŠÀ ĤHAR-pu-uš-ta-aš

11 [BAL-t]i NINDA.GUR₄.RA pár-ši-an-zi BI-IB-RU-kán šu-un-na-an-zi
1 PA 3 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 DUG KAŠ 1^{DUG} ħu-up-pár

12 [1^{DUG} ħa-n]i-ša-aš aš-ša-nu-ma-aš GU₇[!]-zi NAG-zi GAL^{HLA}-kán aš-ša-
nu-wa-zi GAL^{HLA}-kán IGI-zi-aš

13 [GAL^{HLA}-kán SIxS]Á-an-te-eš DINGIR-LUM-ma-aš-kán^{MUNUS.MEŠ} ħa-
zi-ka₄-ra-za du-uš-kán-zi DINGIR-LUM kar-pa-zi EGIR-pa-an INA É
DINGIR-LIM

14 [ar-ħa pé-da]n_x-zi^{U²}NÍG.GIG-ma-kán ŠÀ ĤHAR-pu-uš-ta-aš iš-ħu-
wa-an-zi DINGIR-LUM-ma-kán^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA

15 [ta-ni-nu-a]n-zi 1 NINDA UP-NI pár-ši-an-zi KAŠ BAL-an-ti ša-ša-
an-nu-uš ti-an-zi §

da[nnaš] bread, 1 bowl of beer at the altar. They break loaves of bread and fill the *B[IBRU-vessel(s)]*. 2 BÂN-measures of flour, 4 vessels of beer (are) the provisions. They eat (and) [drink]. They provide the cups. The *hazkara*-women br[ing] fruit. They put a wreath on the goddess; the people put on wreaths. They regularly su[pply] cattle (and) sheep. They press cheese (and) place (it) in front of the goddess; [also, they give (it)] to the peop[le]. They rejoice over the goddess. The [*hazkara*]-women carry the goddess away to the shrine (and) place (her) upon the altar. They break 2 loaves of bread of one handful (of flour); they offer beer.

- §23''
(iii 38) [T]otal: 1 sheep, 2 BÂN-measures of flour, 5 vessels of beer, 1 spring festival—the town [regularly supplies (the offerings)].
- §24''
(iii 39–41) [1 s]tela, in place since of old. 1 mace, [adorned with] (*sun*) *dis[k(s)]*, on which a statu]ette of a man, of iron, in standing position, small (in height), is made. [... Moun]t Šuwara [...] Šuwara (of Guršamašša?)
- §25'''
(iv 1–2) (*after a large gap*) [Total: *n* sheeps, *n*] BÂN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer, 1 bowl (of beer), 1 autumn festival of the pouring into the pithos—the [...]-*šaniš* [priest] regularly supplies from his house. Storm God; autumn festival
- §26'''
(iv 3–15) [When] the twelfth month of the year arrives, they celebrate for the Storm God the festival of the (ritual) washing. They [wa]sh [the god]. The priest takes 9 loaves of bread, 9 loaves of cheese, oil cake, meal, [(and) 1 j]ug of beer, brings them to the *harpušta*, and pours them down (into it). While doing so he speaks [the (following) words]: “Tomorrow the Storm God will wash himself—may thou be enjoined!” [A bull] and [a sh]eep arrive. No one lets out the bull and the sheep. The next day they take up the god [and] carry [him] to the *harpušta*. They wash (and) anoint the stela. They [pla]ce the god in front of the stela; the priest offers 3 sheep to the Storm God. They slaughter Festival of the (ritual) washing for the Storm God

- §27''' 16 [ŠU.NÍGIN 1 GU₄ n UDU n BÁN n] UP-NI ZÌ.DA 2 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}hu-up-pár 1 ^{DUG}ha-ni-ša-aš 1 EZEN₄ ŠE.NAGA-u-wa-aš
 17 [URU^{MEŠ} peš-ka₄-an-z]i ^{URU}mu-ta-ra-aš-ši-iš ^{URU}sal-lu-na-ta-aš-ši-iš
^{URU}sa-ar-wa-la-aš-ši-iš
 18 [(ca. 8 signs)] ^{URU}la-ḫi-na-aš-ši-iš §
- §28''' 19 [ma-a-an A-NA ^d10 EZEN₄ ^{DUG}ḫar-ši] ḫé-e-šu-wa-aš DÛ-an-zi
 ŠE.NAGA-zi DINGIR-LUM ŠE.NAGA-an-zi
 20 [INA ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA ti-an-zi ^{LÚ}SANG]A 1 UDU'(ZÍZ) ^d10 BAL-ti
^{DUG}ḫar-ši ḫu-kán-zi šu-up-pa ti-an-zi
 21 [(ca. 9 signs) INA ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA NINDA.G]UR₄.RA pár-ši-an-zi BI-
 IB-RU-kán šu-un-na-an-zi
 22 [(ca. 15 signs) aš-š]a-nu-ma-aš GU₇-zi NAG-zi GAL^{HIA}-kán aš-ša-nu-
 an-zi
 23 [GAL^{HIA}-kán IGI-zi-aš GAL^{HIA} SI×SÁ-an-te-eš] (blank space) §
- §29''' 24 [lu-kat-ti-ma DINGIR-LUM TA ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA ME-an-z]i NINDA.
 GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}ḪAR-ŠI ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}ḫa-zi-ka₄-ra-za UGU ú-dan_x-zi
 25 [nu DINGIR-LUM INA ḪAR-pu-uš-ta-aš (?) ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}ḫa-zi]-^rka₄¹-ra-
 za pé-dan_x-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}ḪAR-ŠI PA-NI DINGIR-LIM
 26 [pé-e ḫar-kán-zi ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}ḫa-zi-ka₄-ra-za ^{NA₄}ZI.KIN] ŠE.NAGA-an-zi
 Ì-an-zi DINGIR-LUM PA-NI ^{NA₄}ZI.KIN
 27 [ti-an-zi nu-kán ^{LÚ}SANGA 1[?] UDU ^d10 1[?] UDU ^d]IMIN.IMIN.BI 1 UDU
 ḪAR-pu-uš-ta-aš BAL-ti
 28 [^{NA₄}ZI.KIN ḫu-kán-zi šu-up-pa ti-an-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA p]ár-ši-an-zi
 ip-pí-an mar-ḫa-an ti-an-zi
 29 [6 ^{NINDA}dan-na-aš 6 ^{NINDA}ga-ḫa-ri-iš 1 ^{DUG}hu-up-pár] KAŠ INA ^{GIŠ}^rZAG¹.
 GAR.RA NINDA.GUR₄.RA pár-ši-^ran¹-zi
 30 [BI-IB-RU-kán šu-un-na-an-zi n PA n BÁN ZÌ.DA n ^{DUG}ḫ]u-up-pár aš-
 ša-nu-ma-aš GU₇-zi NAG-zi
 31 [GAL^{HIA}-kán aš-ša-nu-an-zi nu-kán ^d10 ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI N]AG-an-zi
 EGIR-ŠÚ ḪAR-pu-uš-ta
 32 [NAG-an-zi (ca. 10–12 signs) GEŠTIN ^{LÚ.MEŠ}ŠU.GI] wa-ar-šu-li_x NAG-
 an-zi
 33 [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}ḫa-zi-ka₄-ra-za GURUN ú-da-i DINGIR-LUM GILIM-an-zi
 UN^{MEŠ}-na-za GIL]M-iz-zi GU₄ UDU peš-ka₄-an-zi
 34 [GA.KIN.DÛ dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi PA-NI DINGIR-LIM ti-an-zi UN^{MEŠ}-
 ni-ia p]i-^ran¹-zi ^rḫu¹-ul-ḫu-li_x-ia ti-an-zi
 35 [GIM-an-ma ne-ku-zi DINGIR-LUM kar-pa-an-zi DINGIR-LUM INA
 É DINGIR-LIM ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}^rḫa-zi¹-ka₄-ra-za
 36 [ar-ḫa pé-dan_x-zi DINGIR-LUM-kán INA ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA ta-ni-nu-
 wa-an-zi NINDA.GU]R₄.RA ti-ia-an-zi
 37 [(ca. 22 signs) š]a-ša-an-nu-uš ti-an-zi §

(them) at the stela; they place the meat (there). 6 loaves of *dannaš* bread, [6 loaves of] *gaḥari*-bread, 1 bowl of beer at the altar. (The priest) [offe]rs 3 loaves of *dannaš* bread, 3 loaves of sweet bread, 1 jug (of beer) to (lit.: into) the *ḥarpušta*. They break loaves of bread; they fill the *BIBRU*-vessel(s). 1 *PARĪSU*-measure (and) 3 *BĀN*-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer, 1 bowl (of beer), [1 j]ug (of beer are) the provisions. They eat (and) drink. They provide the cups. The cups [conf]orm to the first [cups]. The *ḥazkara*-women rejoice over the god. They take up the god; they [br]ing him [away] to the shrine. The liver, instead, they dump into the *ḥarpušta*. They [plac]e the god upon the altar; they break loaves of bread. (The priest) offers beer; they set up lamps.

§27'''
(iv 16–18) [Total: 1 bull, *n* sheep, *n* *BĀN*-measure(s and) *n*] handful(s) of flour, 2 vessels of beer, 1 bowl (of beer), 1 jug (of beer), 1 festival of the (ritual) washing—[the towns] Mutarašši, Šallunatašši, Šarwalašši, [...] Laḥinašši [regularly suppl]y (the offerings).

§28'''
(iv 19–23) [When] they celebrate [for the Storm God the festival] of the opening [of the pithos], they perform ablutions. They wash the god; [they place (him) upon the altar. The prie]st offers 1 sheep to the Storm God. They slaughter (it) at the pithos. They place the meat (there). [... at the altar]. They break [lo]aves of [bread]; they fill the *BIBRU*-vessel(s). [... (are) the pr]ovisions. They eat (and) drink. They provide the cups. [The cups conform to the first cups].

Spring festival
for the Storm
God, the
Heptad, and
the *ḥarpušta*

§29'''
(iv 24–37) [The next day they tak]e [up the god from the altar]; the *ḥazkara*-women bring loaves of bread of the pithos. [The *ḥaz*]kara-[women] carry [the god to the *ḥarpušta* (?); they present] loaves of bread of the pithos in front of the god. [The *ḥazkara*-women] wash (and) anoint [the stela. They place] the god in front of the stela [and the priest] offers [1[?] sheep to the Storm God, 1[?] sheep to the] Heptad, (and) 1 sheep to the *ḥarpušta*. [They

§30''' 38 [*lu-kat-ti-ma* UD^{KAM} UZU^{NI}G.GIG *šu-up-pa* UZU^{TU}₇*ši-ia-mi* DÛ^z*PA-*
NI DINGIR-LIM *ti-a*]*n-z*i 3 NINDA *UP-NI* §

§31''' 39 [ŠU.NÍGIN (ca. 20 signs) 1] EZEN₄ *DI*₁₂-ŠI
 40 [^{DUG}*har-ši* *hé-e-šu-wa-aš* URU^{MES} *peš-ka₄-an-zi* URU^U *mu-ta-ra-aš-ši-iš*
^{URU}*šal-lu-na-t*]*a-aš-ši-iš*

(breaks off; latter half of the column missing entirely)

slaughter (them) at the stela; they place the meat (there). They b]reak [loaves of bread]; they place the *ippiya* and *marḥa* (dishes there). [6 loaves of *dannaš* bread, 6 loaves of *gaḥari* bread, 1 bowl] of beer at the altar. They break loaves of bread [and fill the *BIBRU*-vessel(s). *n PARĪSU*-measure(s) and *n BÂN*-measure(s) of flour, *n* b]owl(s) (of beer are) the provisions. They eat (and) drink. [They provide the cups. They d]rink [(to the honor of) the Storm God and (to the honor of) the Heptad], then they [drink (to the honor of)] the *ḥarpušta*. [... The elders] drink [wine] to the (last) drop (or: “in the vapor”). [The *ḥazkara*-women bring fruit. They put a wreath on the god; the people put on wre]aths. They regularly supply cattle (and) sheep. [They press cheese, place (it) in front of the god, (and) g]ive (it) [to the people]. They step into a wrestling fight. [When evening comes, they take up the god]. The *ḥazkara*-[women bring the god away to the shrine; they place the god upon the altar]. They place [lo]aves of [bread (there). ...] They set up the [l]amps.

§30'''
(iv 38) [The next day is the day of the liver. They make a *šiyami*-dish out of the meat; they plac]e (it) [in front of the god]. 3 loaves of one handful (of flour as offerings).

§31'''
(iv 39–40) [Total: ... 1] spring festival, [of the opening of the pithos—the towns Mutarašši, Šallunat]ašši, [... regularly supply (the offerings)]. (*breaks off*)

Spring festival
for the Storm
God (of
Guršamašša)

Commentary

For the discussion of the GNs see the introduction. The observations pertaining to the treatment of the festival of the lot(s) by Taggar-Cohen 2002b apply to Taggar-Cohen 2006, 218–19 as well, where the same interpretations are found.

i 8' and passim: On the *ippiya* and *marḥa* dishes see §5.5.5.2.

i 11', 23'; rev. 12'–13', 23': On the expression “the cups conform to the first cups” see §3.4.6. Taggar-Cohen (2002b, 134, for obv. i 23') translates “the first goblets (are) arranged,” which does not take into consideration the last occurrence of GAL^{HIA}.

i 13' and passim: On the “day of the liver” and the *šiyami*-dish see §5.5.5.2. In the present tablet the formula is found in obv. i 13', i 35', ii 30'–31', rev. iii 18–19, and rev. iv 38; note the variance in the wording and the functional equivalence between “liver” (i 35') and “(sacred) meat” (obv. ii 30', rev. iii 18).

i 18': At the beginning of the line, Carter (1962, 124) restores [^{LÜ.MES}*pu-la-le-eš-m*]a, “the lot casters”; Kellerman 1981, 43 n. 11, followed by CHD P, 375, restores [^{LÜ.MES}*SANGA-m*]a; Taggar-Cohen (2002a, 134) translates “[] seated they cast lots” and observes (2002a, 132 with n. 24) that (1) Carter's restoration can neither be refuted nor assured, and (2) since the new priest is to be drawn from those who are not yet priests, Kellerman's restoration is unlikely, so either another class of personnel or another expression (e.g., “before the Storm God”) has to be restored in the gap. But in another study (2002b, 99) that appeared the same year, she translates “[The priest?] seated, manipulate the lots,” rightly advocating the view that “the lots were not cast down, but were handled in such a way that caused them to jump out” (*wat-ku*-). Indeed it seems that the Hittites used to throw lots into a vessel, which was subsequently shaken, causing the lots to “jump” out in sequence. This practice is well-attested in Mesopotamia (Hallo 1983; Taggar-Cohen 2002a, 100–101). Especially interesting is the passage from the beginning of the Atramḥasis-Epos describing how the three great gods Anu, Enlil, and Enki cast lots in order to apportion the world: they “took the jug by its ‘cheek’ (and) threw the lot” (for this interpretation, which was first put forward by von Soden, see Shehata 2001, 27–28 with literature). This passage paves the way for a discussion on the “lot vessels”: on the one hand, we find here a long-necked vessel (*kūtum*), on the other, some scholars propose to connect Akkadian *pūru(m)* “lot” with Akkadian *pūru*, *purru* “bowl” and in turn with Sumerian BUR, also meaning “bowl” (Hallo 1983, 21; against this etymology see Kellermann 1981, 43–44 n. 17). Interestingly, in KUB 60.24 obv. 5' a vessel made “of *kuwanna(n)*-stone” is mentioned in connection with lots: “*pu-ul-le-e-wa pé-eš-š[i-ia-...]*”⁵ *nu-kán ŠA* ^{NA4}NUNUZ DUG-*i pa-ra-a* [...], note the

form *watkut* “it jumped” on line 10'. The word *pullē* is probably the otherwise unattested nom.-acc. pl. of *pūl* “lot” (van den Hout 1994, 122; Rieken 1999a, 78; more cautious *CHD* P, 375). The lots are likely thrown (*peššiya-*) into the *kuwanna(n)*-stone vessel and subsequently “jump out” (*watku-*) from it. We are left with no secure solution for the restoration at the beginning of the line: those who prefer to restore the “priests” as subject of *pulanzi* will have to assume that the group of the lot casters is different from that of the “eligible” ones—of course, if we accept that the festival of the lot(s) described here is to be understood as an installation rite for the new priest, which in light of the counterpoint between new priest and old priests, central to the festival, seems very likely. On the etymology of Hittite *pūl*, “lot” (cf. Hurrian ¹⁰*pulahlu*, “lot caster” and Akkadian *pūru(m)*, “lot”), see most recently Rieken forthcoming c.

i 20': The traces point clearly to the restoration of the sign GIBIL, contra *CHD* P, 200 and Taggar-Cohen 2002b, 133 n. 25, 134 n. 30; see already Carter 1962, 150. It seems that two sheep are offered, of which one is to the Storm God and one to the Heptad. But either the latter sheep is forgotten in the total given in obv. i 37', or the assumption of two different sheep is erroneous.

i 21': The interpretation is based on the standard pattern; differently Taggar-Cohen 2002b, 134 (“at the altar he breaks loaves of bread”).

i 23'–24': Carter (1962, 138) interprets “And the new priests one sheep [with fru]it adorn” and understands the whole section in the sense that the text speaks of new priests (plural), based on the assumptions that (a) “it must be pl. in line 23, since the verb (line 24) is pl.,” and (b) “it is hardly likely that just one of the new priests would give the things listed in i 37, in spite of the singular *pāi*.” Both assumption are, however, incorrect. There is no problem in considering the plural subject of *GILIM-anzi* being left unexpressed, as often happens in the text, and it is perfectly conceivable that the new priest, at the time of his installation, supplies a bigger amount of offerings. The text clearly refers to a single new priest (so also Taggar-Cohen 2002b, 133 n. 25). The sign at the beginning of obv. i 24' is uncertain: the traces are not compatible with the form of *GURUN* as is normally found on this tablet (see also rev. iii 32 below), but, since they are compatible with the variant *HZL* no. 193/12, Carter's restoration has been maintained here, cf. similarly Taggar-Cohen 2002b, 133 n. 27.

i 26': The restoration follows Taggar-Cohen 2002b, 133, differently Carter 1962, 124.

i 27': Restoration and interpretation follow *CHD* Š, 223, differently Carter 1962, 125, 138 ([*PA-NI*], “the new priests [before] the old priests sit up”); Neu 1968, 30 ([*IT-TI*], “... setzt sich der neue Priester hinauf [zu dem] alten Priester”); Taggar-Cohen 2002b, 133, 135 ([*IGI-an-da*], which is too long for the

break, “the new *sanga*-priest sits down [in front of] the old *sanga*-priest”). The initiatory act of the new priest sitting “above” the old one can be compared to that of the various cult functionaries sitting (and officiating) “in front of” the prince in the royal festival *CTH* 633 (IBoT 1.29). Note the unusual presence of the reflexive =šmaš attached to the formula on the eating and drinking (cf. obv. ii 24, rev. iii 7', 31', iv 12, 22, 30), not surprising in view of the intransitive behavior of these verbs (see Næss 2009 and §§3.4.6, 3.5.2). The use of the reflexive within this formula is quite frequent, on the contrary, in festival and ritual texts, perhaps underscoring the commonality of the eating and drinking (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert, see, e.g., KBo 17.36+ rev. iii 11'–12', KUB 9.32+ rev. 19').

i 28': The form *ú-nu-wa-an-na* is to be interpreted as a mistake for *ú-nu-wa-an-da-an*, since the sheep is surely the one already adorned.

i 31': Carter (1962, 125) reads *ANA* <^{GIS}>ZAG.GAR.RA; Taggar-Cohen (2002b, 135 with n. 34) interprets “they put up an altar.” Contrary to what is stated by Taggar-Cohen, KUB 44.21, where at a certain point a “table” is set up in the frame of the “festival of purifying the altar,” does not support her own interpretation of the passage.

i 32': So with Taggar-Cohen 2002b, 134 n. 28, who assumes ZI for ZA to occur more frequently than IŠ for IN. Alternatively read, with Carter, *ku-in'(i)š u-nu-wa-an-zi*.

i 33', iv 32: The interpretation of the phrase *waršuli eku-* is uncertain (see most recently Taggar-Cohen 2002b, 135 n. 36 and *EDHIL*, 975–78 with literature). Since the *waršula-* can be “tasted” as well as “seen,” the translation “vapor” for *waršula-* seems appropriate. The meaning in the present context may be that of drinking “to the lees,” as per Zinko 1987, 39–40 (whether from “to the (last) drop” or “to satiation,” kindly pointed out by C. Melchert) or that of toasting the god(s) “only by sniffing the aroma of the wine,” as per Güterbock, quoted in *EDHIL*, 977. The “elders” perform this ritual act also in the local festival described in KUB 46.27 obv. 14'.

ii 1'–5': On the festivals listed here see §5.2; for the *genzu* festival (“of mercy”?) see the commentary on KBo 2.1 rev. iv 8–10; on the interpretation of the festival GIBIL *tiyawaš* see Neu 1982, 127 n. 25.

ii 6': Cf. KBo 2.1 ii 12–13 (text no. 2), where the cult object of a Sun Goddess is a silver stela with rays on top. Note that here a stela is replaced by another stela. For other occurrences of Sun deities “of the Water,” see van Gessel 1998, 877.

ii 10', 14': That the pithos was filled with bread loaves instead of, as was usual, with wheat, as a literal interpretation of the passage suggests, is unlikely (*pace* HED H, 195; see already Carter 1962, 151). In favor of the proposed interpretation see the analogous case of KUB 57.97 obv. i 16

[^D]UG^har<ši> IŠTU NINDA.GUR₄.RA genuw[anzi], where the interpretation “they op[en] the pithos with (the wheat to make) loaves of bread” is confirmed by the parallel text VSNF 12.111 rev. 13, where the pithos’ content is milled and ground. The same formulation is probably to be restored in KUB 38.26(+) obv. 35’’ (text no. 4). See also §5.5.3 for discussion.

ii 24’–25’: MUNUS.MEŠ^hazikaraz(a) ... udai is a rare exception to the normal pattern of agreement of collective nouns in cult inventories and other late texts, see Rieken 2017, 13 (note that other attestations in the same text show the usual plural agreement, e.g., obv. ii 27’–28’).

ii 29’: For the covert change of subject see §3.5.3.

ii 35’: For the interpretation of GUR-ZI-IP pāt-tar see the commentary on KUB 38.6+ obv. i 27’ // KBo 70.109+ obv i 39’ (text no. 17).

ii 37’: Carter (1962, 128) restores the phrase “Into the temple of the Storm-god they carry (him),” which is inconsequent in view of the fact that a shrine is built.

iii 1: At first glance, the reference to the Storm God might lead to the assumption that Yarri is intended here, that is, that the name of the Storm God of Guršamašša is Yarri. But, as convincingly argued by Carter 1962, 32 n. 2, the reference is best to be taken as a time indicator; cf. analogously obv. ii 9’–10’ and ii 12’–14’.

iii 9–11: This passage is treated in CHD Š, 229.

iii 15: Note that the prisoner is not killed but rather “consigned” to the god, that is, is assigned to some cultic institution as workforce. The best analysis of the passage is offered by Kümmel 1967, 160–62.

iii 21–22: This passage is quoted by CHD P, 50 as example of the use of the verb pai- with festival(s) as an object.

iii 25: See CHD Š, 169, 171 for the semantics of šara šanḥ- (with local particle) in this context.

iii 29: It seems that “the sacrifice is performed above the spring, so that the blood flows down ‘into’ it” (Carter 1962, 151); for syntax and semantics of huek- see Rieken 2014c, 222–23. On the distinction between “slaughter up” vs. “slaughter down” (šarā / katta huek-) see Kühne 1986, 94–95 and Beckman 2011, 99–100.

iii 33: Since there are no other “marked imperfectives” in this passage, the form peškanzi is likely to have distributive value, implying that they give “cattle and sheep” (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert).

iii 34: Only here and in rev. iv 34, the preparation of cheese is not followed by the formula about the “cheese fighting.” It seems likely that either the formula is taken for granted, or has been omitted.

iii 40: Cf. KUB 38.26(+) (text no. 4) and §4.4.2.4 for other examples of maces adorned with šittar and statuettes.

iii 41: Carter (1962, 132), based on the hand copy by Ehelolf only, read “[x x ^{HUR.SAG}šu²-wa²]-ra-aš”; his tentative restoration is corroborated by the traces visible on the photograph. This fits well with the fact that Mount Šuwara is attested also in KBo 2.1 (obv. i 32’, 37’; rev. iii 34, see text no. 2), which also pertains to the area of Guršamašša, hence to the same geographical setting of KUB 17.35. Moreover, note that the analogous cult object described in KUB 38.26(+) also pertains to a divine mountain. Carter (p. 132) restores the phrase “they bring (him) into the temple of the Storm God”; this, however, depends on whether an extra shrine is built or not, which we do not know.

iv 2: Carter (1962, 132, 146) restores [^{LÜ}SANGA x ta-pī]-ša-ni-iš, “[The priest x *tapi*]šana-vessels from his (own) house continues to give.” In my view, the mention of this rare kind of vessel, otherwise unattested in the corpus, separately from that of all other offerings, seems problematical; also the space in the gap seems to me rather too short for the restoration. Some priestly title is probably to be restored here.

iv 4: I take the expression NINDA.GUR₄.RA GA.KIN.DÛ as denoting cheese shapes, see the commentary to IBoT 2.131 rev. 14–19; differently Carter 1962, 146 (“loaves of bread (with) cheese”). NINDA.Ī.E.DĒ.A and *me-mal* occur often together (cf. CHD L–N, 266–67), for an example from the cult inventories see KUB 25.23+ iv 33’.

iv 5, 8, 10, 14, 27, 31: The meaning of the non-Hittite, possibly Luwian word *ḫarpušta* (note the presence of the *Glossenkeil*) is uncertain. Probably, it was a sacred natural entity like a grotto or crevasse, a well, a waterfall, or an underground water basin. This is suggested by the fact that the *ḫarpušta* could receive cult offerings like bread, beer, and liver, which were “poured” into it (iv 5, bread and beer: *katta išḫuwa*-; iv 14, liver: ŠĀ *ḫarpuštaš išḫuwa*-); the connection with the “festival of the (ritual) washing” points to a connection with water. The word is attested in this document only (rev. iv 5, 8, 10, 14, 27, 31). In the last of these occurrence the word is in the pl. acc., otherwise in the (pl.) dat.-loc. (on these forms see already Güterbock 1956, 131). It seems, therefore, the word is a *plurale tantum*. Since the term is always written with the ḪAR sign (HZL no. 333), the spelling might also be *ḫurpušta*, in principle even *murpušta*. There is no need to assume a relation with Hittite *ḫurpašta(n)*-, “leaf” (Rieken 1999a, 223–24; Busse and Simon forthcoming, with literature; pace Puhvel 1980, 136–37; HEG A–K, 182; HW² Ḫ, 148 on KUB 17.35 rev. iv 11: “... [libier]t er in die Blätter”; more cautious HW² Ḫ, 340). Carter (1962, 185) assumes that the *ḫarpušta* “cannot be a type of ‘baptismal font’ because it is treated as a deity.” But a baptismal font, as any other object, could be perceived as sacred and therefore deified. A homonymous town (^{URU}ḪAR-*pu-uš-ta*) is attested in KUB 40.106 rev. 9’ // KUB 19.9 rev. 8’, Forlanini (2008a, 149) locates it between Örtaköy/Şapinuwa and

Ištaḥara. Busse and Simon (forthcoming) argue that *ḥarpušta* denotes the kind of hollow cut in the stone into which offerings could be poured (see Ussishkin 1975 for the archaeological evidence). Whereas this is certainly a viable option, I see no reason to rule out the possibility that *ḥarpušta* may denote a crevasse.

iv 6–7: For *anda mema-* as “to speak concurrently with an action” see CHDL–N, 261–62. Carter (1962, 146) interprets the sentence as an address to the Storm God: “The next day the Storm God will wash himself. And (now, my lord) be (thou thus) implored,” and includes the two following sentences in the direct speech. But it seems more likely that the *ḥarpušta* is the subject of the verbal form *watarnahḥanz(a) ēš*, since these words are spoken by the priest while he pours the offerings down into it, and *watarnahḥ-* means “command, enjoin,” not “implore.” Presumably, the *ḥarpušta* is being told to cooperate (kindly suggested by C. Melchert). The following sentences can be taken as a description, also in view of the absence of the particle =*z(a)*.

iv 15: See the commentary on obv. ii 29’.

iv 18: For the reading of the place name Laḥinašši (rather than Carter’s Teḥinašši) see Laroche 1966, 272, followed by RGTC.

iv 19: Despite Carter’s statement (1962, 152), neither this nor other passages he refers to feature “confusion of number,” see the discussion in §3.5.3.

iv 20: Carter (1962, 133, 152) assumes that the god is placed in front of a stela here, but since the latter, as for the present festival, is to be found at the *ḥarpušta* (see the description of the procession in the following paragraph), it is more likely that the god is placed on the altar. Cf. the analogous passage in line i 2’. Note also that whenever the deity is placed in front of the stela, it is there that the sacrifice takes place, whereas here the sheep is slaughtered “at the pithos.”

iv 24–38: The proposed restorations partly differ from those proposed by Carter (1962, 134–35). Carter (152) bases his restorations on the assumption that “for the most part, the ends of lines here indicate a close parallelism to obv. ii 16–29.” This assumption is problematic, insofar as the extant text seems not more closely parallel to obv. ii 16’–29’ than to other sections, see, for example, the reference to drinking “in the vapor” (rev. iv 32, absent in obv. ii 16’–29’ but present in obv. i 33’), or the expression “they regularly supply cattle (and) sheep” (rev. iv 33, absent in obv. ii 16’–29’ but present in rev. iii 33); also the offerings restored by Carter for rev. iv 29 have a closer parallel in rev. iv 10 than in obv. ii 21’–22’. Moreover, a thorough examination of the gaps reveals that most of Carter’s restorations are too short to account for the available space (this must be the reason why in some cases he did *not* follow the alleged parallel of obv. ii 16’–29’, e.g., in line rev. iv 33). For the restorations of the offerings in rev. iv 29–30 cf. rev. iv 9–10.

iv 25: Based on the festival of the washing as treated in rev. iv 3–18 it is assumed that the procession of the spring festival leads to the *ḥarpušta*, not to a stela (differently in Carter’s edition). The discrepancy is not substantial, since the stela would have been located in the vicinity of the *ḥarpušta*; cf. rev. iv 8.

iv 31–32: For the expression “to drink (to the honor of) a deity” (with “formal accusative”) see Melchert 1981, expanding on arguments by Puhvel, Carruba and others; recently also Soysal 2008a; Goedegebuure 2008b. For analogous cases of syntactic transformation in Hittite see Rieken 2014c.

iv 40: Cf. obv. i 16’.

TEXT NO. 2. KBo 2.1: OLD CULT IMAGES, NEW CULT IMAGES

Manuscript: Bo 1 (KBo 2.1). **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Edition:** Hrozný 1919, 1–27; Carter 1962, 51–73. **Discussion:** Güterbock 1983, 212, 214–16 (discussion of selected cult image descriptions); Forlanini 1996 (geographical setting); Hoffner, *COS* 3.34 (translation of obv. ii 9–iii 6, iv 1–16).

Among the longest and best-preserved cult inventories, KBo 2.1 caught the interest of scholars from the very first days of Hittitology because of its detailed treatment of cult objects for a number of deities. Especially interesting is the information on newly manufactured cult objects as compared to pre-existing ones. The inventory consists of sixteen sections, which follow the same structure: first, the preexisting cult object(s) are listed (*annallan*, “(was/were) in place since of old,” see §3.3.1), then the new ones, manufactured at the orders of the king, are described. A list of the envisaged festivals and offerings follows; §§1–2 also have a list of temple personnel. Finally, the text gives information on the shrines which have been built, and on the priests, who are “in charge of silver and gold.” Interestingly, only in five cases is a priest actually there; the names of these priests are Iyarapiya (§1), Takkušša (§2), Piyamatarawa (§3), Nattaura (§6), and Alluwa (§10). In four cases “there is not yet a priest” (§§7–9, 12), and in three cases “the priest has fled” or “has been chosen” (§§4–5, 11; see the commentary on obv. ii 31). This fact points to a situation of social or political instability, perhaps of war. The script of the tablet dates the text to the late empire. Carter (1962, 24) connected KUB 17.35, KBo 2.1, and KBo 2.16 with cult restorations promoted by Tudḫaliya IV in the aftermath of a war in eastern Anatolia, but this view based on the erroneous attribution of KUB 23.21 to the late Tudḫaliya.

KBo 2.1 has close links with KUB 17.35 (text no. 1). In both texts a town named Guršamašša is referred to. In KUB 17.35 this town is extensively treated. In KBo 2.1, on the contrary, the paragraph devoted to Guršamašša simply declares that the town is “(already) completed” (*taruptat*, rev. iii 43–44). Within cult inventories, the formula *tarupta(t)* is normally used to mark the end of a larger section devoted to a specific town, signalling the transition to the next town (KUB 38.1 obv. i 28, KUB 38.3 obv. ii 5, Kp 15/7+ l. e., l. col. 6, KUB 38.12 rev. iv 9’; text nos. 9, 10, 15, 16). In KBo 2.1, the label seems to point out that the inventory of Guršamašša, perhaps the principal settlement in the area, had been “(already) completed” on another tablet. If this is true, the label represents a fortunate reference to KUB 17.35 (see also Forlanini 1996, 5 and *passim*). Thus, the various paragraphs of KBo 2.1 would refer each one to a different town, namely, that of the god listed first in each

section (normally, a storm god). The geographical setting must be the same as that of KUB 17.35, that is, the western districts (see introduction to KUB 17.35, text no. 1); the town Šaruwalašši referred to in KBo 2.1 (§7) is no doubt identical with Šarwalašši mentioned in KUB 17.35.

Of the greatest interest are the descriptions of cult images, not only because of their detail, but also because they allow us to compare their former state with the new one. In most cases, the preexisting cult images are stone stelae (*huwaši*), while the new ones correspond to the iconographic representation that is typical for each type of god: bulls for storm gods, statuettes for solar and spring goddesses, composite maces for mountain gods. The principle, which can be generalized, is thus typological, and implies in no way an “evolutionary” trend from symbolic to anthropomorphic representations (as maintained by Laroche 1975). This is proved by the fact that all types of cult images are already attested within the lists of objects being “in place since of old” (see, e.g., the bull of the Storm God of Maraš in §1, or the statuette of the Storm God of Šarpaenta in §10); conversely, a stela can represent the new state (so in the case of the Sun Goddess of §3, for whom a new stela made of silver and with rays on top is made). Indeed, the principle that governs the renovation is not “towards” or “away from” a particular type of representation, but rather towards an enriched, more elaborate and precious object. This results most times in the construction of a statuette, so that the observable trend is *de facto* “away from the stelae” (so Collins 2005, 41), but without evidence of any theological implication (see §4.4.1 for discussion). Stelae and other aniconic representations are well attested among the “new” cult images, and, most importantly, there is no hint to suppose that the old stelae were discarded or in some way neglected. Indeed, the continued worship of cult stelae is evident in the yearly procession to the stelae sanctuaries (§5.5.4), whereas old stelae in the temples probably cohabited with the newcomers, independent of which kind of object these were. Within the descriptions of cult images, there is an interesting variance in the way expressions like “seated” or “adorned” are conveyed, on which see the discussion in §3.5.1.

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph, hand copy (tiny portions of the tablet at the end of columns iii and iv went lost before the available photos were taken).

Format and Layout: Two-columned tablet (width ca. 18 cm, height ca. 35 cm); double paragraph lines are remarkably spaced out.

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: LNS: late AK, LI, URU. ḪA with two *Winkelhaken*. The sign ALAM appears in a simplified, “halved” variant,

which is formally identical with GÀR (obv. i 36, 37, 39, ii 14, 15, 21, 34, iii 15, 20, 21, 28, iv 4, 19). The same variant is used in KUB 17.35 obv. ii 36', rev. iii 23). Following a suggestion by D. Groddek, the variant is transliterated here as ALAM_x. There are frequent corrections, in some cases a line invades the opposite column (e.g., i 39).

Orthography: The plural determinative MEŠ is often omitted when it applies to EZEN₄. Note the variance in the denomination of the autumn festival (EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš*, EZEN₄ *zé-ni*); for the variance in the formulation of the statement about statuettes being “seated/in sitting position” etc. see §3.5.1. This tablet shows some inconsistency in the spelling of proper nouns following a heterographic cluster: see the unexpected inflected spelling of a GN in obv. i 28 and 32 (vs. obv. ii 9 and i 37 respectively). Also, the pseudo-Akkadographic spelling *UNUWAN* is found twice in the tablet (obv. i 9; rev. iii 15), see the commentary on obv. i 9.

Transliteration

Obv. i

- §1 1 [...]x
 2 [...]
 3 [...]
 4 [...]
 5 [...]^rHUR¹.SAG_x[...]
 6 [...]x KÙ.BABBAR ^dUTU ^dKAL
 7 [...]x-ri-iš
 8 [... 1 ALAM_x] 'LÚ' GUB-aš AN.BAR 1 še-kán
 9 [... 1 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL ši-i]t-tar-za U₄.SAKAR-za Ū-NU- WA-AN
 10 [...]x
 11 [... ^dUTU-ŠI] DÛ-at (erasure)
 12 [A-NA ^d10^{URU} ... (?) NINDA].GUR₄.RA U₄-MI kiš-an
 13 [n UP-NU ZÌ.DA n GAL KAŠ n EZEN₄^{MEŠ}] '8' EZEN₄^{MEŠ} zé-na-aš
 14 [n EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI n EZEN₄ x x 1] EZEN₄ pu-la-aš
 15 [n EZEN₄ ... 1 EZ]EN₄ a-ša-na-i-ia-aš
 16 [...]^dUTU-ŠI ME-iš
 17 [n GU₄ ŠÀ.BA (?) n] 'GU₄?'^dUTU-ŠI ME-iš 40 UDU^{HIA} ŠÀ.BA 15 UDU
 18 [^dUTU-ŠI ME-i]š 40 PA ZÌ.DA ŠÀ.BA [n] PA ZÌ.DA ^dUTU-ŠI 'ME'-i[š]
 19 [n ^{DUG}]KA.GAG ŠÀ.BA 2 ^{DUG}KA.GAG [^dUTU]-'ŠI ME'-i[š]
 20 [n DUG] KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}hu-u-up-pár KAŠ ŠÀ.BA 8 DU[G]
 21 [^dUTU]-ŠI ME-iš 6 PA ZÍZ ^{DUG}har-ši ½ PA [ZÍZ]
 22 [^rDUG¹ har-ši ^dUTU-ŠI ME-iš *{6}*
 23 6 ^{LÚ}.^{MEŠ}hi-lam-ma-at-ti-iš-kán pa-ra-'a' [DAB-an-za]
 24 1 ^{LÚ}MUḤALDIM 1 ^{LÚ}NINDA.DÛ.DÛ 1 ^{LÚ}KÚRUN.N[A 1 ^{LÚ}AD.KID]
 25 1 ^{LÚ}BÁḤAR₅ 1 ^{LÚ}NAR U[RU-aš ti-ia-zi]
 26 4 É DINGIR-LIM ú-e-dan_x A-NA KÙ.BABBAR-kán KÙ.SI₂₂ [(vacat)]
 27 ^mi-ia-ra-SUM-ia-aš pé-ra-an e-eš-zi [(vacat)] §§
- §2 28 ^d10^{URU}ma-ra-a-aš 1 GU₄.MAḤ AN-NA-KI GAR.RA
 29 '4 GUB-za' 1 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL ZABAR 1 ^{URUDU}GÍR 1 UD.ZAL.LE [(vacat?)]
 (erasure)
 30 [n+]10 ^{GIŠ}GIDRU 1 wa-ak-šur 1 ḤUP-PU KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA
 31 '2' ^{GIŠ}GIDRU 3 AŠ-RA KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA 1 GILIM KÙ.BABBAR
 SAG.KI-ši
 32 GURUN KÙ.SI₂₂ ^{HUR}.SAGšu-wa-ra-aš 5 ^{URUDU}GÍR ŠÀ.BA 1 ^rURUDU¹GÍR
 TUR
 33 BE-LU EN-aš 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN an-ni-iš ti-ta-i-me-iš
 34 4 DINGIR^{MEŠ} *an-na-la-an* 1 GU₄.MAḤ KÙ.BABBAR 4 GUB-za
 35 1 še-kán 1 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL ši-it-tar-ra-za U₄.SAKAR-za ú-nu-wa-[an]-za
 36 še-er-ši-kán 1 ALAM_x LÚ GUB-aš AN.BAR 1 še-kán DÛ-an

Translation

- §1 (i 1–27) (*fragmentary*) [...] silver; Sun God, Stag God (name of the deity not preserved)
[... 1 statuette of] a man, in standing position, of iron, 1 *šekan* (in height) [... a mace] adorned [with (*sun*) *di*]sk(s) and moon crescent(s) [...—His Majesty] (commissioned it to be) made. [For the Storm God of ... (?)] the daily (offering of) loaves of [bread] is as follows: [*n* handful(s) of flour, *n* cup(s) of beer, *n* festivals]: 8 autumn festivals, [*n* spring festivals ... 1] festival of the lot(s), [... 1] *ašanaiyaš* festival, [...]—His Majesty instituted (it). [(As offering there are) *n* oxen, of which *n*] ox(en) His Majesty instituted; 40 sheep, of which 15 sheep [His Majesty institut[ed]; 40 *PARĪSU*-measures of wheat, of which [*n*] His Majesty institut[ed; *n*] KA.GAG-vessels (of beer), of which 2 KA.GAG-vessels His [Majesty] institut[ed; *n* vessels] of beer (and) 1 bowl of beer, of which 8 vess[els] His [Majesty] instituted; 6 *PARĪSU*-measures of wheat for the pithos, (of which) ½ *PARĪSU*-measure [of wheat] for the pithos His Majesty instituted. 6 temple employees [have been] sele[cted]: 1 cook, 1 baker, 1 vinte[r, 1 reed-mat weaver], 1 potter, 1 singer the tow[*n* puts (at disposal)]. 4 shrines (are) built; Iyarapiya is in charge of the silver (and) gold.
- §2 (i 28–ii 8) Storm God of Maraš: 1 bull, plated with tin, standing on (all) four (legs). 1 bronze mace, 1 copper dagger, 1 “star,” [*n*+]10 scepters, 1 *wakšur*-vessel, 1 ring, plated with silver, 2 scepters, in three places inlaid with silver, 1 silver wreath, on the front of which there is fruit of gold: Mount Šuwara. 5 daggers of copper, of which 1 copper dagger (is) small: Belu, the Lord. 1 stela: the Nursing Mother. 4 deities (in all), in place since of old. (The present state): 1 bull of silver, standing on (all) four (legs), 1 *še-kan* (in height, representing the Storm God). 1 mace, adorned with (*sun*) *disk*(s) (and) moon crescent(s); on it 1 statuette of a man is made, Storm God of Maraš (and others)

- 37 HUR.SAG^š *šu-wa-ra* 1 ALAM_x LÚ GUB-*aš* KÙ.BABBAR 1 *še-kán* (erasure)
 38 IGI^{HIA} (erasure) KÙ.SI₂₂ GAR.RA 1 URUDU^U GÍR TA KÙ.SI₂₂ *hu-u-^rwa-al-*
pa^{sic}-zi-na-an^r
 39 BE-LU EN-*aš* 1 ALAM_x MUNUS TUŠ-*aš* KÙ.BABBAR 1 *še-kán* IGI^{HIA}
 KÙ.[SI₂₂ G]AR.RA
 40 *an-ni-iš* *ti-ta-i-im-me-iš* 4 DINGIR^{MEŠ} dU[TU-Š] DÛ-at
 41 A-NA^{d10} URU^U *ma-ra-ša* NINDA.GUR₄.RA U₄-MI *kiš-a[n]*
 42 1 UP-NU ZÌ.DA 1 GAL KAŠ 13 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} 4 EZEN₄ *z[é-n]a-aš*
 43 4 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI 1 EZEN₄ *li-la-aš* 1 EZEN₄ HUR.SAG-i *pé-[e]-du-um-*
ma-aš
 44 '1' EZEN₄ GIŠ^š *mu-ut-ta-ši-la-aš* 1 EZEN₄ ŠU.KIN 1 EZEN₄ *p[u-l]a-aš*
 45 [n G]U₄ ŠÀ.BA 1 GU₄ dUTU-ŠI ME-*iš* *28 UDU^{HIA*}
 46 [ŠÀ].BA 8 UDU dUTU-ŠI ME-*iš* 34 PA ZÌ.DA
 47 [ŠÀ.B]A 5 PA ZÌ.DA dUTU-ŠI ME-*iš*
 (Randleiste)

Obv. ii

- (§2 1 [n DUG KA.GAG] ŠÀ.BA 2 DUG KA.GAG dUTU-ŠI ME-*iš*
 cont.) 2 [n DUG KAŠ Š]À.BA '5' DUG KAŠ dUTU-ŠI ME-*iš*
 3 '23 PA ZÍZ DUG^U *har-ši* dUTU-ŠI ME-*iš*
 4 '6' LÚ^{MEŠ} *hi-lam-ma-at-ta-aš pa-ra-a* DAB-an-za
 5 1 LÚ MUḪALDIM 1 LÚ NINDA.DÛ.DÛ 1 LÚ KÚRUN.NA 1 LÚ AD.KID
 6 1 LÚ BAḪAR₅ 1 LÚ NAR URU-*aš ti-ia-zi*
 7 4 É DINGIR-LIM *ú-e-dan_x* A-NA KÙ.BABBAR-*kán* KÙ.SI₂₂
 8 'm^{ták}-ku-uš-ša-aš *pé-ra-an e-eš-zi* ŠŠ
 §3 9 d10^{URU} *šu-ru-wa-a* 1 NA₄ZI.KIN 1 NA₄'ZI.KIN dUTU'
 10 1 NA₄ZI.KIN HUR.SAG^š *a-u-wa-ra-aš* 1 NA₄ZI.KIN
 11 PÚ^š *ši-na-ra-aš^{sic}-ši* 4 DINGIR^{MEŠ} *an-na-la-an*
 12 1 GU₄.MAḪ AN.BAR 1 *še-kán* 1 NA₄'ZI'.KIN KÙ.BABBAR dUTU{-Š}
 13 *še-er-ši-kán kal-ma-ra* KÙ.BABBAR DÛ-an 1 GIŠ^š TUKUL *ši-it-tar-za*
 14 UD.SAR-za *ú-nu-wa-an-za* (erasure) *še-er-ši-kán* 1 ALAM_x 'LÚ GUB'
aš AN.BAR
 15 1 *še-kán* '1' ALAM_x MUNUS TUŠ-*aš* AN.BAR (erasure) 1 UP-NI 4
 DINGIR^{MEŠ}
 16 URU^U *šu-ru-wa-a* dUTU-ŠI DÛ-at 10 EZEN₄ 5 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš*
 17 5 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI 12 UDU^{HIA} 6 PA 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA
 18 [n D]UG KAŠ 3 PA ZÍZ DUG^U *har-ši* 1 É DINGIR-LIM *ú-e-dan_x*
 19 [A-N]A KÙ.BABBAR-*kán* KÙ.SI₂₂ m^{pí}-*ia-ma-ta-ra-u-wa-a-aš*
 20 [*pé-r*]a-an (erasure) *e-eš-zi* ŠŠ

in standing position, of iron, 1 *šekan* (in height): Mount Šuwara. 1 statuette of a man, in standing position, of silver, 1 *šekan* (in height), the eyes inlaid with gold, (and) 1 copper dagger, embossed with gold: Belu, the Lord. 1 statuette of a woman, in sitting position, of silver, 1 *šekan* (in height), the eyes inlaid with go[ld]: the Nursing Mother. 4 deities [His] Ma[jesty] (commissioned to be) made. And for the Storm God of Maraš the daily (offering of) loaves of bread is as follows: 1 handful of flour, 1 cup of beer. 13 festivals (are foreseen): 4 au[tu]mn festivals, 4 spring festivals, 1 festival of the *conciliation*, 1 festival of carrying (the god) to the mountain, 1 *muttaḥilaš* festival, 1 festival of the sickle, 1 festival of the lot(s). [(As offerings): *n* o]xen, of which 1 ox His Majesty instituted; 28 sheep, [of wh]ich 8 sheep His Majesty instituted; 34 *PARĪSU*-measures of flour, [of whi]ch 5 *PARĪSU*-measures His Majesty instituted; [*n* KA.GAG-vessels (of beer)], of which 2 KA.GAG-vessels His Majesty instituted; [*n* vessels of beer, o]f which 5 vessels of beer His Majesty instituted. (Furthermore), His Majesty instituted 23 *PARĪSU*-measures of wheat for the pithos. 6 temple employees have been selected: the town puts (at disposal) 1 cook, 1 baker, 1 vinter, 1 reed-mat weaver, 1 potter, (and) 1 singer. 4 shrines are built; Takkušša is in charge of the silver (and) gold.

§3
(ii 9–20)

Storm God of Šuruwa: 1 stela; 1 stela: Sun Goddess; 1 stela: Mount Auwara; 1 stela: spring Šinarašši. 4 deities (in all), in place since of old. (The present state): 1 bull of iron, 1 *šekan* (in height, representing the Storm God). 1 stela of silver: the Sun Goddess, on top of it silver (sun) rays are made. 1 mace, adorned with (sun) disk(s) (and) moon crescent(s) of silver; on it 1 statuette of a man (is made), in standing position, of iron, 1 *šekan* (in height, representing Mount Auwara). 1 statuette of a woman, in sitting position, of iron, 1 fist (in height, representing spring Šinarašši). 4 deities of the

Storm God of
Šuruwa (and
others)

- §4 21 [d]10 ^{URU}*wa-at-tar-wa* 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN 1 LÚ ALAM_x AN-NA-KI GAR.RA
 22 [GUB-aš²] 1 ½ *še-kán gur-zi-pa-a-an* ZAG-za ŠU-za
 23 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *har-zi GÜB-za* ^{URUDU}*he-en-zu har-zi an-n[a-l]a-an*
 24 1 GU₄.MAḤ AN.BAR 1 *še-kán* ^dUTU-ŠI DÛ-at [(vacat)]
 25 A-NA ^d10 ^{URU}*wa-at-tar-wa* NINDA.GUR₄.RA U₄-MI kiš-an
 26 1 UP-NU ZÌ.DA 1 GAL KAŠ 2 EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-
 ŠI
 27 1 GU₄.MAḤ* 14 UDU^{HLA} 5 PA 4 BÁN ZÌ.DA
 28 4 ^{DUG}KA.GAG 10 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}*hu-up-pár* KAŠ
 29 3 BÁN ZÍZ ^{DUG}*har-ši* ^dUTU-ŠI ME-iš URU-aš SUM-ez-zi
 30 1 É DINGIR-LIM *ú-e-dan_x* (erasure)
 31 ^{LÚ}SANGA-kán [(erasure?)] *wa-at-ku-ut* (erasure) §§
- §5 32 <1> ^rNA₄'ZI.KIN *^d10 ^{URU}*hur*-ša-la-aš-ši*
 33 1 *wa-ak-šur* ZABAR *1* ^{NA4}ZI.KIN ^{PÚ}*ha-pu-ri-ia-ta-aš*
 34 *an-na-la-an* 1 GU₄.MAḤ AN.BAR 1 *še-kán* 1 ALAM_x MUNUS-TI
 AN.BAR TUŠ-za ^rTUR'
 35 ^{PÚ}*ha-pu-ri-ia-ta-aš* ^dUTU-ŠI DÛ-at
 36 3 EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš* 2 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI 1 GU₄.MAḤ
 37 4 UDU 4 PA 1 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG 11 DUG KAŠ
 38 URU-aš SUM-ez-zi 1 É DINGIR-LIM *ú-*^re-dan_x*^r*
 39 ^{LÚ}SANGA-kán (erasure) ^r*wa'-at-ku-ut* (erasure) §§

town Šuruwa [His] Ma[jesty] (commissioned to be) made. 10 festivals (are envisaged): 5 autumn festivals, 5 spring festivals. (As offerings): 12 sheep, 6 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) 2 *BĀN*-measures of flour, [*n ve*]ssels of beer, 3 *PARĪSU*-measures of wheat of the pithos. 1 shrine is built, Piyamata-rauwa is [in ch]arge [o]f the silver (and) gold.

- §4
(ii 21–31) Storm God of Wattarwa: 1 stela, 1 man—a statuette, plated with tin, [in standing position], 1½ *šekan* (in height), wearing a helmet, holding a mace in (his) right hand (and) a copper *henzu* in (his) left (hand)—in place since of old. (The present state): 1 bull of iron, 1 *šekan* (in height), His Majesty (commissioned to be) made. For the Storm God of Wattarwa the daily (offering of) loaves of bread is as follows: 1 handful of flour, 1 cup of beer. 2 festivals (are envisaged): 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival. (As offerings): 1 bull, 14 sheep, 5 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) 4 *BĀN*-measures of flour, 4 *KA.GAG*-vessels (of beer), 10 vessels of beer, 1 bowl of beer, 3 *BĀN*-measures of wheat for the pithos—His Majesty instituted (them). The town regularly supplies (the offerings). 1 shrine is built; the priest has fled (or: the priest(’s lot) has jumped; see commentary).
- §5
(ii 32–ii 39) 1 stela: Storm God of Ḫuršalašši; 1 bronze *wakšur*-vessel, 1 stela: spring Ḫapuriyata—in place since of old. (The present state): 1 iron bull, 1 *šekan* (in height, representing the Storm God). 1 statuette of a woman, of iron, seated, small: spring Ḫapuriyata. His Majesty (commissioned them to be) made. 3 festivals (are envisaged): 1 autumn festival, 2 spring festivals. (As offerings): 1 bull, 4 sheep, 4 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) 1 *BĀN*-measure of flour, 1 *KA.GAG*-vessel (of beer), 11 vessels of beer. The town regularly supplies (the offerings). 1 shrine is built; the priest has fled (or: the priest(’s lot) has jumped, see commentary).
- Storm God of Wattarwa
- Storm God of Ḫuršalašši (and others)

§6 40 ^d10^{URU} *a-aš-ša-ra-ad-da* 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN *an-na-la-an*
 41 1 GU₄.MAḪ AN.BAR 1 *še-kán* ^dUTU-ŠI DÛ-at
 42 2 EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI 1 GU₄.MAḪ
 43 4 UDU 3 PA ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG (erasure) 8 DUG KAŠ
 44 3 BÂN <ZÍZ> ^{DUG}ḫar-ši ^dUTU-ŠI ME-iš 1 É DINGIR-LIM *ú-e-dan_x*
 45 A-NA *KÛ.BABBAR*-*kán* ^mna-ad-da-u-ra *pé.an* ^re-eš¹-zi §
 (Randleiste)

Rev. iii

(Randleiste)

§7 1 ^d10^{URU} *ša-ru-wa-la-aš-ši* 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN
 2 *an-na-la-an* 1 GU₄.MAḪ AN.BAR 1 *še-kán* ^dUTU-ŠI DÛ-at
 3 2 EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI 1 GU₄.MAḪ
 4 4 UDU 2 PA ZÌ.DA 6 DUG KAŠ 3 BÂN ZÍZ ^{DUG}ḫar-ši
 5 ^dUTU-ŠI ME-*iš* 1 É DINGIR-LIM *ú-e-dan_x*
 6 ^{LÚ}SANGA-*ma-aš-ši na-a-wi₅* §§
 §8 7 ^d10^{URU} *pa-re-en-ta-aš* 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN *an-na-la-an*
 8 1 GU₄.MAḪ AN.BAR 1 *še-kán* ^dUTU-ŠI DÛ-at
 9 2 EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI 1 GU₄.MAḪ^r
 10 3 UDU 2 PA ZÌ.DA ^r5[?] DUG KAŠ 3 BÂN ZÍZ ^{DUG}ḫar-[ši]
 11 ^dUTU-ŠI ME-^riš¹ 1 É DINGIR-LIM *ú-e-dan_x*
 12 ^{LÚ}SANGA *na-a-wi₅* §§
 §9 13 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN ^{HUR.SAG}ša-lu-wa-an-ta ^{URU}ḫar-ru-wa-^rša¹-aš
 14 *an-na-al-la-an* 1 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *ši-it-tar-za* U₄.SAKAR-za
 15 ^rÚ^r-NU-WA-AN UGU-*kán* 1 ALAM_x LÚ GUB-aš AN.BAR ^r1^r *še-kán*
 DÛ-an
 16 ^{HUR.SAG}ša-lu-wa-an-ta-aš ^dUTU-ŠI *i-ia-at*
 17 2 EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ ^rzé¹-na-aš 1 ^rEZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI 1 GU₄
 18 2 UDU ^r1^r PA ZÌ.DA ^r6[?] DUG KAŠ ^r3[?] BÂN ZÍZ ^{DUG}ḫar-ši
 19 ^rd¹UTU-ŠI ME-iš 1 ^rÉ DINGIR-LIM *ú^r-e-dan_x* ^{LÚ}SANGA *na-a-wi₅* §§

- §6
(ii 40–45) Storm God of Aššaratta: 1 stela, in place since of old. (The present state): 1 iron bull, 1 *še-kan* (in height). His Majesty (commissioned it to be) made. 2 festivals (are envisaged): 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival. (As offerings): 1 bull, 4 sheep, 3 *PARĪSU*-measures of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), 8 vessels of beer, 3 BĀN-measures <of wheat> for the pithos. His Majesty instituted (them). 1 shrine is built; Nattaura is in charge of the silver. Storm God of Aššaratta
- §7
(iii 1–6) Storm God of Šar(u)walašši: 1 stela, in place since of old. (The present state): 1 iron bull, 1 *še-kan* (in height). His Majesty (commissioned it to be) made. 2 festivals (are envisaged): 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival. (As offerings): 1 bull, 4 sheep, 2 *PARĪSU*-measures of flour, 6 vessels of beer, 3 BĀN-measures of wheat for the pithos. His Majesty instituted (them). 1 shrine is built, but there is not yet a priest for it (or: for him, i.e., for the Storm God). Storm God of Šaruwalašši
- §8
(iii 7–12) Storm God of Parenta: 1 stela, in place since of old. (The present state): 1 iron bull, 1 *še-kan* (in height). His Majesty (commissioned it to be) made. 2 festivals (are envisaged): 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival. (As offerings): 1 bull, 3 sheep, 2 *PARĪSU*-measures of flour, 5⁷ vessels of beer, 3 BĀN-measures of wheat for the pith[os]. His Majesty instituted (them). 1 shrine is built; there is not yet a priest. Storm God of Parenta
- §9
(iii 13–19) Mount Šaluwanta of Ḫarruwaša: 1 stela, in place since of old. (The present state): 1 mace, adorned with (*sun*) *disk(s)* (and) moon crescent(s); on (it) 1 statuette of a man is made, in standing position, of iron, 1 *še-kan* (in height): Mount Šaluwanta. His Majesty (commissioned it to be) made. 2 festivals (are envisaged): 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival. (As offerings): 1 ox, 2 sheep, 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of flour, 6⁷ vessels of beer, 3⁷ BĀN-measures of wheat for the pithos. His Majesty instituted (them). 1 shrine is built; there is not yet a priest. Mount Šaluwanta of Ḫarruwaša

- §10 20 [d]10^{URU} *šar-pa-en-ta* 1 ALAM_x LÚ GUB-aš ZABAR 1 *še-kán*
 21 [ZAG-za Š]U-za^{GIŠ}TUKUL *ḥar-ʿzi an^{sic}-na^{sic}-la^{sic}-an* 1 ALAM_x LÚ
 GUB-aš AN.BAR
 22 [1 *še-ká*]n^dUTU-ŠI DÛ-ʿat 2¹ EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš*
 23 [1 EZEN₄ D]I₁₂-ŠI 1 GU₄.M[AḤ] ʿ2[?] [UDU] ʿ1¹ PA ZÌ.DA 1^{DUG}KA.
 GAG
 24 [n DUG KAŠ n+]1 PA ZÍZ^D[UG^hḥar]-ʿši¹ dUTU-ŠI *da-a-iš*
 25 [1 É DINGIR-LIM] ú-ʿe¹-[dan_x A]-ʿNA KÛ.BABBAR¹-kán^mal-lu-wa-
 a-aš
 25_{bis} [pé-ra-an e-eš-zi] §§
- §11 26 [1^{NA4}]ZI.KIN^{HUR.SAG} *šu^{sic}-wa^{sic}-ra¹* URU^{ma-li-ia-aš-ša}
 27 [an-na]-al-la-an 1^{GIŠ}TUKUL ʿši-it-tar¹-za U₄.SAKAR-za
 28 [ú-nu-wa-a]n-za UGU-kán ʿ1 ALAM_x LÚ¹ GUB-aš 1 *še-kán*
 29 [i-i]a-ʿan^{sic}-za[?] dUTU-ŠI ʿDÛ¹-at
 30 [2 EZE]N₄ ʿ1 EZEN₄ ʿzé-ni 1 ʿEZEN₄ DI₁₂¹-ŠI
 31 [n UDU] ʿ2[?] BÁN ZÌ.DA¹ 6 ʿDUG KAŠ 3[?] BÁN¹ ZÍZ^{DUG}ḥar-ši
 32 [URU-aš] ʿSUM-ez¹-zi 1 É DINGIR-LIM ú-e-dan_x
 33 [LÚ]SANGA-kán] ʿwa-at-ku-ut¹ §§
- §12 34 [1^{NA4}]ZI.KIN^{HUR}]-SAG^š *šu-wa-ra* URU^{da-x-wi₅-iš-ta}
 35 [an-na-al-la-an] ʿ1^{GIŠ}TUKUL¹ ši-it-tar-za
 36 [U₄.SAKAR-za ú]-nu-wa-an-za
 37 [UGU-kán 1 LÚ] ALAM_x AN.BAR 1 ʿše-kán GUB¹-aš
 38 [DÛ-an n EZEN₄] 2 EZEN₄ *zé-ni*
 39 [n EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] ʿ6 UDU 2¹ PA ZÌ.DA
 40 [n DUG KAŠ] n PA ʿZÍZ^{DUG}ḥar¹-ši dUTU-ŠI ME-iš
 41 [1] ʿÉ DINGIR-LIM ú-e-dan_x¹
 42 [LÚ]SANGA-ʿma¹ na-a-wi₅ §
- §13 43 [URU]gur-ša-ʿma-aš-ša¹-aš
 44 [ta]-ru-up-ta-at
 45 (traces)
 (Randleiste)

- §10 Storm [God] of Šarpaenta: 1 statuette of a man, in Storm [God] of
(iii 20–25) standing position, of bronze, 1 *šekan* (in height); Šarpaenta
he holds a mace with [(his) right ha]nd—in place
since of old. (The present state): 1 statuette of a
man, in standing position, of iron, [1 *šeka*]n (in
height). His Majesty (commissioned it to be) made.
2 festivals (are envisaged): 1 autumn festival,
[1 sp]ring [festival]. (As offerings): 1 bu[ll], 2⁷
[sheep], 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of flour, 1 KA.GAG-
vessel (of beer), [*n* vessel(s) of beer, *n*+1
PARĪSU-measures of wheat for the [pith]os. His
Majesty instituted (them). [1 shrine] is bui[lt];
Alluwa [is in charge] o[f] the silver.
- §11 Mount Šuwara of Maliyašša: [1 s]tela, in place Mount Šuwara
(iii 26–33) [since of]ld. (The present state): 1 mace, [adorn]ed
with (*sun*) *disk*(s) (and) moon crescent(s); on
(it) 1 statuette of a man is [ma]de⁷, in standing
position, 1 *šekan* (in height). His Majesty (com-
missioned it to be) made. [2 fest]ivals (are envis-
aged): 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival. (As
offerings): [*n* sheep], 2⁷ BÂN-measures of flour,
6 vessels of beer, 3⁷ BÂN-measures of wheat for
the pithos. [The town] regularly supplies (the of-
ferings). 1 shrine is built; [the priest] has fled (or:
[the priest('s lot)] has jumped, see commentary).
- §12 [Mo]unt Šuwara of *Da...-wista*: [1 stela, in [Mo]unt
(iii 34–42) place since of old]. (The present state): 1 mace, Šuwara of
[ad]orned with (*sun*) *disk*(s) (and) [moon *Da...-wista*
crescent(s); on (it) 1 man]—a statuette—[is
made], of iron, 1 *šekan* (in height), in standing
position. [*n* festivals (are envisaged)]: 2 autumn
festivals, [*n* spring festival(s)]. (As offerings): 6
sheep, 2 *PARĪSU*-measures of flour, [*n* vessels of
beer], *n* *PARĪSU*-measures of wheat for the pith-
os. His Majesty instituted (them). [1] shrine is
built, but there is not yet a priest.
- §13 [The (inventory of the) town of] Guršamašša has Cross-
(iii 43–45) been [co]mpleted (already). (*traces, fragmentary*) reference

Rev. iv

(Randleiste)

- §14 1 [d10] ^{URU}ša-na-an-ti-ī[a] 3 ši-it-tar KÙ.BABBAR ŠÀ.BA 1 ši-ī[t-tar
A]N.BAR
2 [1] wa-ak-šur ZABAR 1 SI 'BŪN' an-na-al-la-an
3 1 GU₄.MAḤ AN.BAR 4 GUB-aš 2 še-kán IGI^{HILA}-ŠÚ KÙ.SI₂₂ GAR.'RA'
4 1 ALAM_x MUNUS TUŠ-aš KÙ.BABBAR 1 še-kán GAM'-ŠÚ 2 UDU.
KUR.RA AN.BAR
5 GAM-ŠÚ^{GIŠ} pal-za-ḥa-aš AN.BAR 10 'kal'-ma-ra KÙ.SI₂₂ ^drUTU'-{ŠI}^r
^{URU}ša-na<-an>-ti'-ia
6 [2] 'DINGIR^{MEŠ}' ^dUTU-ŠI DÛ-at A-NA ^d10 ^{URU}ša-na-an-ti-ia
7 [NINDA.GUR₄.RA U₄-MI kiš-a]_n 1 UP-NI ZÌ.DA 8 EZEN₄ 2 [EZ]EN₄
zé-ni
8 [2] EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI 1 EZEN₄ [ḥé]-e-u-wa-aš 1 EZEN₄ li-la-aš [(vacat)]
9 1 EZEN₄ ŠU.KIN^{siC} 1 EZEN₄ g[e-en-zu (?) nu-uš]-še-kán 3 EZ[EN₄]
10 1 EZEN₄ GIBIL ti-'ia'-u-wa-aš '1 EZEN₄' x[x] '1' E[ZEN₄ (ca. 2-3
signs)]
11 ^dUTU-ŠI ME-iš 3 GU₄.MAḤ ŠÀ.BA 1 G[U₄.MAḤ ^dUTU-ŠI ME-iš]
12 93 UDU^{HILA} 33' PA 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 10+3^{siC} DUG KA[Š (vacat?)]
13 4 PA ZÍZ 2 PA GEŠTIN ^{DUG}ḥar-ši ŠÀ.BA 2 BÁN [GEŠTIN ^{DUG}ḥar-ši]
14 ^dUTU-ŠI ME-iš URU-aš 'KUR^{siC}'-e-za SUM-zi É [DINGIR-LIM]
15 na-a-wi₅ ú-e-da-an ^d10 ^{rURU}ša-na'-an-ti-ia-a[š ...]
16 x-x-ḥu-u-wa-an-zi A-NA ^dUTU-ŠI x x x [...] §§
- §15 17 4 NA₄ZÌ.'KIN ^{HUR.SAG}šu-wa-ra' x x (traces)
18 ^{HUR.SAG}tar-li-pa-an-ta-aš an-na-la-'an' [...]
19 9 ALAM_x MUNUS TUŠ-aš ^dUTU x x x [...]
20 [x x] ši-it-tar-za x x [...]
21 (traces)
22 (traces)
23 [x x] x 1 DUG [...]
24 (traces) §§
- §16 25 (traces)
26 [...]
27 []x wa-a[k-šur]
28 [n E]ZEN₄ 2 EZ[EN₄ zé-ni ...]
29 [n DU]G KAŠ x [...]
30 [x x] x x x [...]

(breaks off; ca. 15 lines lost)

- §14 (iv 1–16) [Storm God] (and Sun Goddess?) of Šanantiy[a]: 3 (*sun*) *disks* of silver, of which 1 (*sun*) *di[sk of i]ron* (i.e., two of silver, one of iron), [1] bronze *wakšur*-vessel, 1 “thunder-horn”—in place since of old. (The present state): 1 bull of iron, standing on (all) four (legs), 2 *šekan* (in height), his eyes inlaid with gold (representing the Storm God). 1 statuette of a woman, in sitting position, of silver, 1 *šekan* (in height), under which are 2 wild sheep of iron, under which is a base of iron, (the statuette is further provided with?) 10 (*sun*) rays of gold: the Sun Goddess of Šanantiya. 2 gods His Majesty (commissioned to be) made. For the Storm God of Šanantiya [the daily (offering of) loaves of bread is as foll]ows: 1 handful of flour. 8 festivals (are envisaged): 2 autumn [festi]vals, [2] spring festivals, 1 festival of the [r]ain, 1 festival of the *conciliation*, 1 festival of the sickle, 1 festival of *m[ercy]* (?). And] His Majesty instituted for him 3 (more) fest[ivals]: 1 festival of setting the new (priest?), 1 ... festival, 1 [...] festival. (As offerings): 3 bulls, of which 1 bu[ll His Majesty instituted], 93 sheep, 33 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) 2 *BĀN*-measures of flour, 13 vessels of bee[r], 4 *PARĪSU*-measures of wheat, 2 *PARĪSU*-measures of wine for the pithos, of which 2 *BĀN*-measures [of wine for the pithos] His Majesty instituted. The town regularly supplies (the offerings) from the land. A shr[ine] is not yet built. The (or: for the) Storm God of Šanantiya ... for His Majesty ...
- §15 (iv 17–24) 4 stelae: Mount Šuwara, ... Mount Tarlipanta—in place since of old. (The present state): 9 statuettes of women, in sitting position. Sun Deity (or: [His] Majesty) [...] (*sun*) *disk(s)* [...] 1 vessel [...]
- §16 (iv 25–30) [...] *wa[kšur*-vessel(s) ... *n* fe]stivals (are envisaged): 2 [autumn] fest[ivals ... vesse]l(s) of beer [...]
- [Storm God] of Šanantiy[a] (and others)
- Four stela-deities

Commentary

i 9: Here and in rev. iii 15, the pseudo-Akkadographic spelling *UNUWAN* is found, whereas in all other occurrences the participle is spelled, as expected, *unuwanza* (obv. i 35–36, ii 14; rev. iii 28, 36). The distribution of the two variants as well as the occasional presence of pseudo-Akkadographic spelling for common nouns (§3.1) make the proposed interpretation more attractive than the assumption that the scribe thought of two different words when writing ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.

i 23: The term ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hīlammatta/i-*, etymologically a “gate keeper, courtyard-official,” can be translated as “temple personnel, temple employee,” see Sommer and Falkenstein 1938, 133 n. 2; Hoffner 1974, 131–32; Houwink ten Cate 1992, 126; Weeden 2011b, 128. This word shows i-mutation (Rieken 1994; Melchert 2003, 187–88 with literature); note the i-stem in obv. i 23 “6 ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hī-lam-ma-at-ti-iš-kán*” vs. the a-stem in obv. ii 4 “6¹ ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hī-lam-ma-at-ta-aš*,” both are nom. sg. (collective, see Rieken 2013, 328), cf. KUB 38.12 obv. i 4–5 and passim (text no. 16); Weeden 2011b, 128 n. 75. For *para epp-* as a *terminus technicus* (“to single out”) see §3.3.4.

i 33, 39: The god Belu, “Lord,” may correspond to the Old Assyrian *Bēlum*, thus representing a legacy of the Assyrian colonies period (thanks are due to G. Kryszat for discussion of this point). On this deity see Larsen 1976, 120; for analogous cases see §7.6, text no. 17.

i 33, 40: Carter (1962, 61, 178 with literature), following Laroche, translates *anniš* *ṭitaimiš* as “mother and suckling (child)” (so also, e.g., Hutter 1993, 93; cf. also Güterbock 1983, 217 n. 99). But the Luwian participle can express both the passive and active meaning, being only incompatible with the overt expression of the direct object; cf. KULULU 2 §9 (kindly pointed out by I. Yakubovich), and the same holds true for the Hittite participle, see Dardano 2014. The attributive interpretation seems preferable in the present context. Cf. also KBo 70.109+ rev. iii 33’ (text no. 17). Hutter (1993, 93) consider this to be a stela ornamented with an anthropomorphic relief, but the parallel with the other cult image descriptions makes it clear that *anniš* *ṭitaimiš* is the name of the deity whose cult image is being inventoried. The iconography of mother with child is found also in the famous goldent pendant from the Schimmel collection (see §4.4.2.2 with fig. 3).

i 38: The copy is rather imprecise at this point, but the sign PA (omitted by Carter and emended, e.g., in *HED* and *HW*²) is clearly visible on the photo.

i 39: Carter omits KÜ.[SI₂₂ G]AR.RA.

i 40; ii 16, 24, 35, 41; iii 2, 8, 15, 22, 29, 40; iv 6: See §3.3.1 on the word order in the phrase referring to the new cult objects, and on the contrapunct between former state of the cult and actual measures taken by the king.

i 43–44: For the festivals listed here see §5.2.

ii 15: A rare case where the height of the cult image is not expressed in *šekan*; see §4.3.2.

ii 17–18: Differently than assumed by Hoffner (*COS* 3.34:63), the quantities are meant in all likelihood for the totality of the festivals, not for each of them.

ii 21: There were two cult images, one stela and a statuette, or just one stela, ornamented with an anthropomorphic figure in relief? Güterbock opted at first for the former option (1946, 490; so also Hoffner in *COS* 3.34:63), later for the latter (1983, 216, followed by Hutter 1993, 93 and Haas 1994, 509). In his later contribution, Güterbock argued that a deity provided with both a stela and a statuette would represent an *unicum*, and that the inverted sequence “LÚ ALAM” (the usual wording is ALAM LÚ) points towards the hypothesis of an ornamented stela. But the sequence LÚ ALAM is found also in rev. iii 37 (partially restored, but virtually certain), and the cult image description is analogous to all other descriptions of statuettes. Furthermore, the alleged ornamented stela would represent a striking *unicum* as well, and there are passages in the tablet that may be compared to the assumed inversion of signs in this line (cf. obv. ii 9, and the inversion in the listing of god and cult object, e.g., in obv. ii 32–34 vs. obv. ii 40, rev. iii 7 vs. rev. iii 13). Finally, there are gods for whom two cult images, a stela plus another object, are listed: e.g., a statuette and a dagger in obv. i 37–38 (Belu), a stela and a *wakšur*-vessel in obv. ii 33 (spring Ḫapuriyata). It seems therefore preferable to assume the existence of two separate cult images. A third yet not demonstrable possibility should also be mentioned, namely, that the reference to a stela might itself constitute a scribal mistake. The meaning of the word *henzu* is uncertain; perhaps it denotes a weapon or the lightning trident of the storm god (see *HW²* Ḫ, 569, with literature and discussion).

ii 22: For the meaning of *gurzipan* see the commentary on KUB 38.6+ obv. i 27' // KBo 70.109+ obv. i 39' (text no. 17).

ii 31, 39, iii 33: The expression ^{LÚ}SANGA=*kán watkut* has always been interpreted as a reference to the fact that “the priest has fled,” possibly a hint to state of war in the region (see, among others, Carter 1962, 24). However, the verb *watku*- “to jump, to flee” may also be a reference to the selection process through which priests were chosen (kindly suggested by Th. van den Hout; on this process see the commentary on KUB 17.35 obv. i 18', text no. 1). Thus, the phrase may be translated either “the priest has fled” or “the priest(’s lot) has jumped.” The fact that in other sections of the text the priest’s name is made may speak rather for the traditional view, but both interpretations are possible.

iii 7: Note the spelling of the place name with final AŠ sign.

iii 15: See the commentary on obv. i 9.

iii 21: The reading ^r*an-na-la*¹-*an* has been photo collated; Carter omits the sequence “1 ALAM LÚ GUB-*aš* AN.BAR.”

iii 23: The vertical wedge visible in the copy after GU₄ is erroneous (photo collated).

iii 25bis: Carter restores the expression at the end of line 25, but these signs are to be restored in the following line, not numbered in the copy (photo collated).

iii 26: On the reading of ^{HUR.SAG}*š*^r*u-wa-ra*¹, photo collated, see already Carter 1962, 57 and 72 (with a collation by Çig).

iii 29: The reading [*i-i*]*a*^r*an-za*¹ is compatible with the traces visible on the photo, Carter reads [*i*]-*ia-an*.

iii 37: Note that the sequence of the various elements in the description of the statuette diverges from the standard one.

iii 44: On the formula *tarupta(t)* and its interpretation in this particular occurrence see the introduction.

iv 2: The logogram SI.BÚN is attested at present only here (for this reading see already Güterbock 1946, 486, against von Brandenstein 1943, 64), in KBo 2.16 10', and in IBoT 2.103 rev. iv 12'; all are cult-inventories. The logogram is best interpreted as “blowing horn” (so Weeden 2011a, 261); it has been tentatively translated as *Donnerhorn* or “thunder-horn” by Güterbock 1946, 486; Carter 1962, 68, 194; *CHD* P, 107; Hoffner in *COS* 3.34:64; Hazenbos 2003, 98 n. 159. It seemingly was a cult object (KBo 2.1, KBo 2.16), after which a class of cultic personnel was named (IBoT 2.103 rev. iv 12': “the men of the blowing horn blow.” There seems to be no reason to mark the sign SI in IBoT 2.103 as aberrant (*pace* Hazenbos 2003, 98).

iv 3: Hoffner (*COS* 3.34:64) interprets IGI^{HILA} “eyes” as referring to the entire face.

i 4: For UDU.KUR.RA “wild sheep” see Waetzoldt 1975, 422 and Weeden 2011a, 163 n. 727; Collins 1989, 175–82 argues that this was a particular breed of domestic sheep, not a wild one; *CHD* P, 175 translates instead “antelope.”

iv 6: This line is left untransliterated in *COS* 3.34:64.

iv 7: Cf. obv. i 41.

iv 8–10: For the festivals listed here see §5.2. The *genzu*-festival (mentioned only in KUB 17.35 obv. ii 5' and possibly here) has been tentatively interpreted as “mercy-festival” by Hoffner (*COS* 3.34:64, but cf. already Hoffner 1967, 40); for the possibility that *ge-en-zu* represents a heterographic spelling see already Carter 1962, 181.

iv 10: Differently Carter, who reads “2 EZEN₄ [] x x [].”

iv 12: The copy has 10+2, but an extra vertical wedge was added, apparently after the following sign (PA) had already been impressed (photo collated, see also the collation by Çig *apud* Carter 1962, 72).

iv 14: Carter (1962, 58, 69, 72), following the copy, reads URU-*aš-še-e-za*, “The town gives (these things) to him” (so also Hoffner, *COS* 3.34:64); Goedegebuure (2006, 175–77, followed by *CHD* Š, 335–36), interprets *še-e-za* as a numeral: “the city gives (it) in one > all together” / “the city gives (it) alone > all by itself.” However, the space following AŠ and the collation on photo of the following sign (incorrectly drawn in the copy) lead to the reading KUR-*e-za*. As in KUB 25.23 obv. i 41’ (see Miller 2005, 310, differently Hazenbos 2003, 37) and in KBo 12.53+ obv. 13’ (text no. 7), KUR-*e-za* is to be interpreted as an ablative: “from the district.”

iv 16: As Carter (1962, 72) wrote, the reading of this line is “plagued with problems.” Not only are the first and last signs in the hand copy probably incorrectly drawn, but precisely the portion of tablet surface preserving these signs was lost very early (see the available photographs of the *Akademie Mainz*). Carter (1962, 59, 69, 72) proposed reading *tar²-aḥ²-ḥu-u-wa-an-zi* ANA ^dUTU-ŠI ^rDÜ-*at*’ {GAR²-x}[], to be interpreted as “(For the Storm God of Šanantiya) the king was able (to care)” (*taraḥḥūwanzi ... kišat*). But this solution, which also forces us to admit that the signs TAR and AḤ were completely misinterpreted on the copy (which has LÚ UP), does not seem to be very convincing. The ending -*wanzi* may also represent an indicative 3rd p. pl., or even a Luw. nom. pl., depending on what one might want to restore in the gap at the end of the preceding line.

TEXT NO. 3. KBo 2.7 // KBo 2.13: RENEWING IDOLS, REVIVING FESTIVALS

Manuscripts: MS A: Bo 10 (KBo 2.7), MS B: Bo 28 (KBo 2.13). **Findspot:** Boğazköy, Büyükkale E (both MSS). **Edition:** Carter 1962, 90–115. **Discussion:** Archi 1973a, 8–9 (excerpts from the festival descriptions); Forlanini 2009, 45–49 (geographical setting); Cammarosano 2013, 95–99 (relation between the manuscripts).

These tablets constitute one of the rare occurrences of parallel texts among the corpus of the cult inventories. More precisely, they represent two subsequent reports referring to the same geographical area. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between the two fragments see Cammarosano 2013, 95–99. KBo 2.13 treats only three towns, giving a detailed account of their festivals and using the present-future tense when referring to the restoration of cult objects. KBo 2.7, on the other hand, includes six towns, the latter three being those dealt with in KBo 2.13. KBo 2.7 refers to royal measures with the preterite tense and has a more concise character. A similar relationship can be observed in another pair of cult inventories, namely, KUB 57.97 and VSNF 12.111. It is also worth noting that both the summary versions KBo 2.7 and VSNF 21.111 refer to royal provisions by means of peculiar formulas otherwise unattested within the corpus (for details see §3.3.3.3). As for the pair KBo 2.13 // KBo 2.7, a detailed comparison confirms that they represent subsequent reports written at different stages of the inventorying process. The relationship between the two tablets is complex: the analysis of scribal mistakes suggests that KBo 2.13 did not serve as a direct model for KBo 2.7 (Cammarosano 2013, 96–97). Noteworthy is also that both these cult inventories were stored in the tablet collections of the Palace complex on the citadel of Hattuša (Büyükkale E), not in the area of the Great Temple or of the House on the Slope, where most cult inventories have been recovered. Moreover, KBo 2.7 is labeled in the colophon “(tablet) of ‘leaving behind’” (EGIR-*an tarnūwaš*), a puzzling archival term possibly marking “release versions” of tablets, text no. 12).

Both manuscripts are large single-columned tablets. The text is structured in sections and paragraphs, each section referring to a single town. The upper half of KBo 2.7 and the lower half of KBo 2.13 are lost; both fragments preserve the colophon, which helps in restoring the sequence of the towns inventoried.

Following a common pattern, each section begins with a preamble stating the royal provisions: construction of statuettes and shrines, and restora-

tion or institution of cult offerings. KBo 2.13 also provides descriptions of statuettes. Storm gods are fashioned as bulls of iron, whereas divine mountains are represented as maces adorned with statuettes (or relief figures), and divine rivers and springs are fashioned as girls (see §4.4.2.4). As usual, in each town we find one principal deity besides a number of secondary deities. Usually, but not always, the principal deity is the local storm god. In the town inventoried in KBo 2.7 obv. 1'–17' the principal god is Mount Šidduwa, while in Wiyanuanta there are two principal deities, storm god and sun goddess, whose festivals are treated separately.

After the preamble, the autumn and spring festivals are treated. The latter ones reach their climax, as usual, with the procession to the extramural stela sanctuaries (§5.5.4). At Laršiliya, the stela are located near to a spring, called Warwataliyanza. At the stela, the participants celebrate the gods with offerings and joyful rites—the allusive “rejoicing” mentioned both in KBo 2.7 and KBo 2.13, on which see §5.6. At Wiyanuanta, however, there seems to be no stela sanctuary, but rather another shrine, to which the statuettes are brought (KBo 2.7 obv. 26'ff.).

Based on the geographical names occurring in the texts, Forlanini (2009, 45–49) assumes that these inventories refer to the area of the middle Kızılırmak in Cappadocia. If this is correct, the town [... (-)š]arišša mentioned in KBo 2.7 obv. 1' is not to be identified with the town of Šarišša, which is located at Kuşaklı in the modern province of Sivas.

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph, 3D model, collation.

Format and Layout: MS A: single-columned tablet, with an additional ruling on the left side of the reverse (width ca. 16 cm, preserved height ca. 15.5 cm, max preserved thickness ca. 4.5 cm; ca. one-half of the tablet missing). Colophon on the left edge. Coarse clay, now of a sienna color. MS B: single-columned tablet (width ca. 17 cm, preserved height ca. 12.5 cm, max preserved thickness ca. 4.5 cm). Colophon on the reverse, indented. Fine, reddish clay.

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: MS A: LNS. The occurrence of the older variant of AZ is to be interpreted as cursive variant (obv. 26', rev. 23). ĦA with one *Winkelhaken*. In obv. 18', IT has two horizontals instead of *Winkelhaken*, corresponding to HZL no. 215/24. Cursive script. Inscribed verticals are occasionally omitted: so in KĀN (obv. 17'; rev. 1, 7), ŠA (obv. 1'), TA/ŠA (obv. 19'). Occurrences of ŠA and TA without inscribed verticals are marked as nonstandard although they are listed in HZL as nos. 158/11 and 160/10 respectively. The inscribed verticals of DUG are sometimes heavily, sometimes feebly, impressed (compare the occurrences in obv. 8' and rev. 21 with those

in obv. 19', 21'). MS B: LNS. Late QA, HA with one *Winkelhaken*, UN with inscribed vertical (obv. 18, 20); older LI (but late LI in obv. 14). Noncursive script.

Orthography: MS B: Note several cases of “nasal reduction” (§3.1): *pé-e-da-zi* (obv. 10), *šu-un-na-zi* (obv. 20), *ta-ni-nu-wa-zi* (rev. 8'). Scribal mis-

Transliteration

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

Obv.

(almost one half of the tablet missing)

- §1' 1' [x x x (x) ^{URU}(-)š] *a-ri-iš-ša' za-x[...]*
 2' [x x x (x)] ^{URU}*gaz-za-na-a za-x[...]*
 3' [x x] 20 NINDA 1 DUG KAŠ *pí-an-zi* UDU x x[...]
 4' [n PA n B]ÂN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ha-a-né-eš-ša-a-aš* KAŠ ^{GIS}ZA[G.GAR.RA ...]
 5' EZEN₄-ŠŪ *tar-ra-a-u-wa-a-an-za* §
- §2' 6' *ma-a-an A-NA* ^{HUR.SAG}*ši-id-du-wa zé-e-ni* ^{DUG}*har-ši šu-uḥ-ha-a-an-zi* 1
 NINDA *dan-na-aš pá-r-ši-an-[zi]*
 7' 1 UDU *an-na-al-li-in* ^{HUR.SAG}*ši-id-du-wa* BAL-*an-zi* 12 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1
^{DUG}*hu-u-up-pár-aš* KAŠ ^{GIS}ZA[G.GAR.RA]
 8' 4 PA 4 DUG KAŠ *aš-nu-ma-aš* EZEN₄-ŠŪ *tar-ra-a-wa-a-an-za* §
- §3' 9' GIM-*an-ma* DI₁₂-ŠI DÛ-ri *te-et-ha-i* ^{DUG}*har-ši ge-^re-nu¹-an-zi* 1 UDU
 BAL¹-*an-zi* ½ BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ha-n[é-eš-ša-aš* KAŠ]
 10' ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA 1 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*hu-u-up-pár* KAŠ *aš-nu-ma-aš* ZÍZ
ma-[a]l-la-an-zi har-ra-an-zi §
- §4' 11' *lu-kat-ma* ^{HUR.SAG}*ši-id-du-wa-an* NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*har-ši-aš*
 NA₄ZI.KIN^{HIA} *pé-dan_x-zi* 1 NINDA *dan-na-aš pá-r-ši-an-[zi]*
 12' 1 GU₄ 1 UDU ^{HUR.SAG}*ši-id-du-wa* 1 UDU ^d10 1 'UDU' ^dUTU '1' UDU
^dKAL 1 MÁŠ.^rGAL^r ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI
 13' 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG ŠA 3 BÁN 1 ^{DUG}*hu-u-up-pár-aš* KAŠ
^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA 1 PA 4 BÁN ZÌ.DA
 14' 2 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG *aš-nu-ma-aš* DINGIR-LUM *še-eš-zi* §

takes: *har<-kán>-zi* (rev. 3'), *ti-ia-an-zi'(ti)* (rev. 6'), *aš-ša-nu-wa-an<-zi>* (rev. 8'), *pé-e-da-ni* (rev. 8', read *pedanzi*); note also DINGIR^{MES} instead of ^d10 in obv. 6.

Translation

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

A §1' (obv. 1'–5')	[... town of (-)š]arišša ... [...] town of Gazzana [...] they supply [...] 20 breads, 1 vessel of beer; a sheep ... [... B]ÂN-measure(s) of flour, 1 jug of beer at the al[tar; ... (are) the provisions]. His festival is established.	
A §2' (obv. 6'–8')	When, in autumn, they fill the pithos for Mount Šidduwa, [they] bre[ak] 1 loaf of <i>dannaš</i> bread; they offer 1 sheep, as of old, to Mount Šidduwa. 12 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 bowl of beer at the al[tar]; 4 PARĪSU-measures (of flour), 4 vessels of beer (are) the provisions. His festival is established.	Mount Šidduwa, autumn festival
A §3' (obv. 9'–10')	When spring comes (and) it thunders, they open the pithos. They offer 1 sheep. ½ BÂN-measure of flour, 1 ju[g] [of beer] at the altar; 1 BÂN-measure of flour, 1 bowl of beer (are) the provisions. The grind (and) mill the wheat.	Spring festival
A §4' (obv. 11'–14')	The next day they bring Mount Šidduwa (and) the loaves of bread of the pithos to the stelae. [They] break 1 loaf of <i>dannaš</i> bread. (They offer) 1 ox (and) 1 sheep to Mount Šidduwa, 1 sheep to the Storm God, 1 sheep to the Sun Goddess, 1 sheep to the Stag God (and) 1 goat to the Heptad. 2 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer with a capacity) of 3 BÂN-measures, 1 bowl of beer at the altar; 1 PARĪSU-measure (and) 4 BÂN-measures of flour, 2 vessels of beer, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer are) the provisions. The god spends the night (there).	(2nd day)

- §5' 15' *lu-kat-ma* ^{TU7}*ši-ia-am-mi DÛ-an-zi* ½ BÂN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-[né-e]š-ša-aš* KAŠ ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA 3 BÂN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG} KAŠ *aš-nu-ma-aš*
 16' DINGIR-LUM *kar-ap-pa-an-zi* INA É DINGIR-LÌ-ŠÛ-an 'ar'-ḥa pé-
 'dan_x'-zi ^{NINDA}*dan-na-aš pár-ši-an-zi*
 17' DINGIR^{MES} NA₄ZI.KIN-*ma-aš-ma-aš pé-dan_x ḥar'-kán'-zi* §§
- §6' 18' ^{URU}*wi₅-ia-nu-an-ta-aš* ^{d10} ^{URU}*ḥu-ur-ša'* ^dUTU ^dKAL ^d*pí-ir-wa-an*
 ALAM^{HIA} É 'DINGIR-LIM'-ia ^dUTU-ŠÌ *tar-ra-u-wa-it*
 19' A-NA ^{d10} ^{URU}*ḥu-ur-ša'* 1 PA ZÍZ {x} ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši* 3 BÂN ZÍZ ^dUTU 3 BÂN
 ZÍZ ^dKAL 3 'BÂN' <ZÍZ> ^d*pí-ir-wa* ^dUTU-ŠÌ *da-[a-iš]* §
- §7' 20' *ma-a-an-kán* A-NA {12} ^{d10} ^{URU}*ḥu-ur-ta* 'zé-e'-ni ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši* 1 PA *šu-uḥ-*
ḥa-a-an-zi '1 UDU'-kán' 'd'10 BAL-*an-z[i]*
 21' '2 BÂN ZÌ'.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥu-u-up-pár* KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}KA.G[AG] ŠA 3 BÂN
^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA 4 BÂN ZÌ.DA 2 ^{DUG} [(ca. 2 signs)]
 22' [*aš-nu-m*]a-[a]š EZEN₄-ŠÛ *tar-ra-a-u-wa-a-a[n]-za* §
- §8' 23' GIM-*an-ma* [DI₁₂-ŠÌ DÛ-ri te-et]-'ḥa-i ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-kán ge-e-nu-an-zi* 3
 NINDA.KU₇ *pár-ši-an-zi*
 24' ^{DUG}*ta-la-im-m*[i-uš-kán *šu-u*]n-na-an-zi ZÍZ *ma-al-la-an-zi ḥar-ra-*
an-zi (erasure)
 25' MÁŠ.GAL-ia A-'NA' [DINGIR-LIM (?) BA]L-*an-zi* §
- §9' 26' *lu-kat-ma-kán* NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}[*ḥar-ši-aš* ^{MUNUS}]^{MES}*ḥa-az-ka-ra-a-*
'i-ia'-za INA 'É' DINGIR-LIM UGU *ú-dan_x-zi*
 27' 1 GU₄.MAḤ 8 UDU^{HIA} A-NA ^d[10 ^{URU}*ḥu-u*]r-ša *an-na-a[l-li-i]n* 'BAL'-
an-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*ḥar-š[i-aš]*
 28' 1 PA ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥu-u-up-pár-aš* KAŠ [n ^{DUG}KA.GAG KA]Š² ŠA '3'
 [BÂN ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA n PA ZÌ].DA '2'^{sic} ^{DUG}KA.GAG *aš-nu-ma-aš* §

- A §5'
(obv. 15'–17') The next day they make a *šiyami* dish. $\frac{1}{2}$ (3rd day)
BÁN-measure of flour, 1 j[u]g of beer at the altar; 3 BÁN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer (are) the provisions. They take up the god; they bring him away to his shrine. They break *dannaš* bread. They have “brought” the “gods of the stela.”
- A §6'
(obv. 18'–19') Town of Wiyanuanta: Storm God of Ḫurša, Town of
Sun Goddess, Stag God, Pirwa. His Majesty Wiyanuanta:
established the (construction of) statuettes Storm God of
and (of) a shrine. His Majesty insti[tuted]: Ḫurša
1 *PARĪSU*-measure of wheat for the Storm
God of Ḫurša, for the pithos; 3 BÁN-
measures of wheat for the Sun Goddess; 3
BÁN-measures of wheat for the Stag God; 3
BÁN-measures (of wheat) for Pirwa.
- A §7'
(obv. 20'–22') When in the fall they pour 1 *PARĪSU*- Autumn festival
measure (of wheat) into the pithos for the
Storm God of Ḫurša¹, they offe[r] 1 sheep
to the Storm God. 2 BÁN-measures of flour,
1 bowl of beer, 1 KA.G[AG]-vessel (of beer
with a capacity) of 3 BÁN-measures at the
altar; 4 BÁN-measures of flour, 2 vessels
[... (are) the provi]s[io]ns. His festival is
established.
- A §8'
(obv. 23'–25') Then, when [spring comes (and) it thunders], Spring festival
they open the pithos. They break 3 loaves
of sweet bread; they [f]ill the *talaimm[i]*
vessels. They grind (and) mill the wheat, and
[they o]ffer a goat to [the god].
- A §9'
(obv. 26'–28') The next day the *ḫazkara*-[wo]men bring up (2nd day)
the loaves of bread of the p[ithos] into the
shrine. They offer 1 bull (and) 8 sheep, as of
[o]ld, to the [Storm] God [of Ḫu]rša. Loaves
of bread of the pith[os], 1 *PARĪSU*-measure
of flour, 1 bowl of beer, [*n* KA.GAG-vessel(s)
of bee]r⁷ (with a capacity) of 3 [BÁN-
measures at the altar; *n* *PARĪSU*-measures
of flo]ur, 2 KA.GAG-vessels (of beer are) the
provisions.

- §10' 29' ^rlu¹-kat-ti-ma UD^{KAM} ši-ia-am-mi(-)[(ca. 11–14 signs) ^{DUG}h]a-né-e[š-
ša-aš KAŠ]
30' [(vacat)]^rGIS¹ZAG.GAR.RA 2 BÁN ZĪ.DA 1 DU[G (a few signs?) KAŠ
aš-nu-ma-aš] §
(Randleiste)

Rev.

(Randleiste)

- §11' 1 ma-a-an-kán¹ zé-e-ni ^dUTU [...]
2 3 BÁN ZĪZ¹ ^{DUG}har-ši 2 UDU ^dUTU [BAL-an-zi ... GIS¹ZAG.GAR.RA]
3 4 PA ZĪ.DA 4 DUG KAŠ aš-nu-ma-aš [EZEN₄-ŠŪ tar-ra-a-u-wa-a-an-
za (?)] §
§12' 4 GIM-an-ma ha-me-iš-ha-an-za DÛ-ri t[e-et-ha-i ^{DUG}har-ši ge-e-nu-an-
zi (ca. 5–8 signs)]
5 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA UP-NI ^r1¹ ^{DUG}wa'-lu-ta'-aš-š[i-ia-an-za (?) KAŠ
GIS¹ZAG.GAR.RA (ca. 8–11 signs)]
6 aš-nu-ma-*aš^{*} ZĪZ ma-al-la-an-zi [har-ra-an-zi] §
§13' 7 lu-kat-ma-kán¹ NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}har-ši-aš [MUNUS.MEŠ ha-az-ka-ra-i-
za INA É DINGIR-LIM UGU ú-dan_x-zi (?) n x A-NA ^dUTU]
8 BAL-an-zi 2 BÁN ZĪ.DA 1 ^{DUG}hu-u-up-[pár-aš KAŠ ... GIS¹ZAG.GAR.RA
... KAŠ aš-nu-ma-aš]
9 EZEN₄-ŠŪ du-uš-ka-ra-at-ta-[za tar-ra-a-u-wa-a-an-za] §§
§14' 10 ^{URU}pa-^rni-iš¹-ša ^d10 ^mr zi¹-i[a]-zi-HUR.SAGr₋ke-en₋-[ka-li-i-ša ALAM^{HIA} É
DINGIR-LIM-ia]
11 ^rd¹[UTU-Š]I tar-ra-a-u-wa-it 3¹ BÁN ^rZĪZ ^{DUG}har-ši ^d10 3 BÁN ^rZĪZ
HUR.SAG¹[ke-en-ka-li-i-ša ^dUTU-ŠI da-a-iš] §

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

Obv.

- §1 1 [^{URU}pa-ni-iš-ša ^d10 ^mzi-ia-zi-ia GU₄.MA]H AN.BAR DÛ-an-zi ^{HUR.SAG}ki-
li-nu-na-aš GIS¹TUKUL UGU-ŠU ALAM ^rAN.BAR DÛ-an¹-zi
2 [A-NA ^d10 ^{HUR.SAG}ki-li-nu-na ^{DUG}har-š]i 3 PA ZĪZ ^d10 ^mzi-ia-zi-ia 3 PA
ZĪZ ^{HUR.SAG}ki-li-nu-na ^dUTU-ŠI da-a-^riš¹ §

A §10' (obv. 29'–30')	The next day is the day of the <i>šiyami</i> -(dish). (3rd day) [... <i>n j</i>]u[g(s) of beer] at the altar; 2 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 vess[el ... of beer (are) the provisions].	
A §11' (rev. 1–3)	When, in autumn, for the Sun Goddess [...] 3 BÂN-measures of wheat for/into the pithos, [they offer] 2 sheep for the Sun Goddess [... at the altar]; 4 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures of flour, 4 vessels of beer (are) the provisions. [Her festival is established (?)]	Sun Goddess, autumn festival
A §12' (rev. 4–6)	When spring comes (and) it th[unders, they open the pithos ...] 3 loaves of bread of one handful (of flour), 1 <i>walutašš[iyant]</i> -vessel [of beer at the altar; ...] (are) the provisions. They grind (and) [mill] the wheat.	Spring festival
A §13' (rev. 7–9)	The next day [the <i>hazkara</i> -women bring to the shrine] the loaves of bread of the pithos. They offer [... to the Sun Goddess]. 2 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 bo[wl of beer at the altar; ... (are) the provisions]. Her festival, wi[th] “rejoicing,” [is established].	(2nd day)
A §14' // B §1 (A rev. 10–11 // B obv. 1–2)	KBo 2.7 (MS A) Town of Panišša: Storm God of Mr. Ziy[a]zi, Mount Ken[kališa: His Maje]sty established (the construction of) [statuettes and (of) a shrine. His Majesty instituted]: 3 BÂN-measures of wheat for the Storm God, (to be poured) into the pithos, (and) 3 BÂN-measures of wheat for Mount [Kenkališa].	Town of Panišša: Storm God and Mount Kenkališa
	KBo 2.13 (MS B) [Town of Panišša: Storm God of Mr. Ziyaziya]: they make [a bul]l of iron. Mount Kilinuna: they make a mace, on it a statuette of iron. [For the Storm God (and) Mount Kilinuna, (to be poured) into the pith]os, His Majesty instituted: 3 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures (read: BÂN-measures) of wheat for the Storm God of Ziyaziya, (and) 3 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures (read: BÂN-measures) of wheat for Mount Kilinuna.	

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

- §15' 12 *ma-a-an-kán zé-e-ni DÛ-ri* (erasure) *A-NA* ^{d10} ^r ¹ ^{HUR.SAG} *ke-en-ka-li-i-ša*
^D[^{UG} *ḥar-ši šu-uḥ-ḥa-an-zi*]
- 13 1 UDU ^{d10} ^{GIS} *ZAG.GAR.RA* (erasure) 1 UDU ^{d10} ^r ¹ ^{DUG} ^r ¹ ^{HUR.SAG} *ke-en-ka-li-i-ša* [*BAL-an-zi*]
- 14 2 BÁN *ZÌ.DA* 1 ^{DUG} *KAŠ* ^{GIS} *ZAG.GAR.RA* ½ 'BÁN *ZÌ.DA*' 1 ^{DUG} *ḥa-né-eš-ša-aš* *KAŠ* ^{HUR.SAG} [*i* ^{GIS} *ZAG.GAR.RA*]
- 15 3 BÁN *ZÌ.DA* 1 ^{DUG} *KAŠ* *aš-nu-ma-aš* 'EZEN₄'-ŠÚ *tar-ra-a-u-wa-a-an-za* §

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

- §2 3 [*GIM-an zé-ni DÛ-ri A-NA* ^{d10} ^m *zi-ia-zi-i*]*a*^{sic} ^{HUR.SAG} *ke-ek-ka₄-li-ša*
^{DUG} *ḥar-ši šu-uḥ-ḥa-an-zi*
- 4 [*DINGIR*^{MES} ^{GIS} *ZAG.GAR.RA-ni pé-dan_x-zi* (?) *na-at*]-*kán* (erasure)
^{GIS} *ZAG.GAR.RA-ni ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi* 1 UDU-*kán* ^{d10} *BAL*-*an-ti*^r
- 5 [^{GIS} *ZAG.GAR.RA ḥu-u-kán-zi* (?) 1 UDU-*kán* *BAL-an*]-*ti* ^{DUG} *ḥar-ši ḥu-u-kán-zi* 1 UDU-*ma-kán* *A-NA* ^{HUR.SAG} *ke-ek-ka₄-li-ša*^r
- 6 [^{DUG} *ḥar-ši* (?) *BAL-an-zi* 2 BÁN *ZÌ.DA* 1 DU]G *KAŠ* ^{d10} (MEŠ) ^{GIS} *ZAG.GAR.RA-ni* ½ BÁN *ZÌ.DA* 1 ^{DUG} *ḥa-ni-ša* *KAŠ* ^{HUR.SAG} *i* ^{GIS} *ZAG.GAR.R*[*A-ni*]
- 7 [3 BÁN *ZÌ.DA* 1 ^{DUG} *KAŠ* *aš-ša-nu-um-m*]*a-aš ḥal-zi-ia-ri* *GAL*^{HIA}-*kán aš-ša-nu-an-zi* §

A §15' // B §2

(A rev. 12–15 //

B obv. 3–7)

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

Autumn festival

When autumn comes, [they fill the pithos] for the Storm God and Mount Kenkališa. [They offer] 1 sheep to the Storm God, at the altar; 1 sheep to the Storm God, at the pithos; 1 sheep to Mount Kenkališa. 2 BĀN-measures of flour (and) 1 vessel of beer (for the Storm God) at the altar; ½ BĀN-measure of flour, 1 jug of beer for the mountain [at the altar]; 3 BĀN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer (are) the provisions (for both of them). Their festival is established.

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

[When autumn comes], they fill the pithos [for the Storm God of Mr. Ziyazyi]a (and) Mount Kekkališa. [They bring the deities to the altar (?); they place [them] on the altar. (The priest) offers 1 sheep to the Storm God; [they slaughter (it) at the altar. (The priest) offer]s [1 sheep (?)], they slaughter (it) at the pithos. Further, [they offer] 1 sheep for Mount Kekkališa [at the pithos (?). 2 BĀN-measures of flour, 1 vessel] of beer for the Storm God (text: “for the deities”) at the altar; ½ BĀN-measure of flour, 1 jug of beer for the mountain at the alta[r; 3 BĀN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer (are) the provisi]ons. They call out; they provide the cups.

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

- §16' 16 GIM-an *ḥa-meš-ḥa-an-za* DÛ-ri *te-et-ḥa-^ri* [^{DUG}_G *ḥar-ši-kán ge-^re'-nu-an-zi* 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-né'-eš-[ša-aš KAŠ]*
- 17 ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši* ^d10 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-né-eš-š[a-aš KAŠ* ^{HUR.SA}]_G-i ^r1 BÂN ZÌ^r.[DA] ^r1? ^{DUG} KAŠ *aš'-nu-ma-aš*
- 18 ^rZÍZ *ma-al'-la-an-zi ḥar-ra-an-zi* §

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

- §3 8 [GIM-an *DI₁₂-ŠI* DÛ-ri ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši g*]*e-nu-wa-an-zi* 3 NINDA.KU₇ 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-ni-ša-aš KAŠ* ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši* ^d10 3 NINDA.KU₇ 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-ni-š[a-aš KAŠ]*
- 9 [^{HUR.SAG}-i 1 BÂN ZÌ^r.DA n ^{DUG} KAŠ *aš-nu-m*]*a-aš ḥal-zi-ia-ri* GAL^{HLA}-*kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* (erasure)
- 10 [ZÍZ-*ma-kán*] ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḥa-az-ga'-ra-ia-za pé-e-da<-an>-zi ḥar-ra-an-zi ma-al-la-an-zi* §

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

- §17' 19 *lu-kat-ma* ^d10 ^{HUR.SAG}-ia NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^rDUG^r *ḥar-ši-aš* ^{NA₄}ZI.KI[^{NME}]_S *pé-e-dan_x-zi ku-in-na*
- 20 A-NA PA-NI ^{NA₄}ZI.KIN-ŠÛ *da-ni-nu-an-zi* 2 UDU ^d10 1 UDU ^{HUR}.^rSAG^r *ki-in-ka-li-i-ša BAL-an-^rti*
- 21 NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-aš* 2 BÂN ZÌ^r.DA 1 ^{DUG} KAŠ^r (erasure) ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.[R]A 2 PA ZÌ^r.DA 2 ^{DUG}KA.GAG *aš-nu-ma-aš*
- 22 UD^{KAM} ^r*ku-la-ni-it-tar* DINGIR^{MEŠ} INA É DINGIR-LÌ-ŠÛ *ar-ḥa pé-^rdan_x'-[z]* 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA *tar-na-aš*
- 23 *pár-ši-an-zi* EZEN₄-ŠÛ *ḥa-az-zi-wi₅-ia-za du-uš-ka-^rra'-at-ta-za(a)* *tar-ra-a-u-wa-an-[za]* §§

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

- §4 11 [*lu-kat-m*]*a'* NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{MEŠ} ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-aš* ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḥa-az-ga-ra-i-ia-za ša-ra-a ú-da-an-zi* ^d10 ^{HUR.SAG}-ia *kar-ap-pa-an-zi*
- 12 ^rNINDA^r.GUR₄.RA^{MEŠ} ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-aš-ma-aš pé-ra-an pé-e ḥar-kán-zi* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ku-in-na a-pé-él A-NA* ^{NA₄}ZI.KIN *pé-ra-an*
- 13 *ta-ni-nu-an-zi* ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA-an-ma-aš IŠ-TU GURUN *ú-nu-wa-an-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{MEŠ} ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-aš-ma-aš pé-ra-an ti-ia-an-zi*
- 14 2 UDU ^d10 1 UDU ^{HUR.SAG}*ki-*li-nu-na** BAL-an-ti ^{NA₄}*ḥu-u-wa-ši-ia-aš ḥu-u-kán-zi šu-up-pa ḥu-e-ša-u-wa-za*
- 15 *zé-an-^rta'-za ti-ia-an-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{MEŠ} ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-aš pár-ši-ia-an-zi* ^{TU₇}*mar-ḥa-an* ^r*ip'-pí-ia ti-ia-an-zi*
- 16 2 BÂN ZÌ^r.DA 1 ^{DUG} KAŠ ^d10 ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA-ni 2 BÂN ZÌ^r.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-ni-ša-aš KAŠ* ^{HUR.SAG}-i ZAG.GAR.RA-ni

A §16' //

B §3

(A rev. 16–18 //

B obv. 8–10)

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

When spring comes (and) it thunders, Spring festival
they open the pithos. 3 loaves of bread, 1
ju[g of beer] at the pithos, for the Storm
God; 3 loaves of bread, 1 ju[g of beer, for
the mount]ain; 1 BÂN-measure of flo[ur],
1[?] vessel of beer (are) the provisions. They
grind (and) mill the wheat.

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

[When spring comes, they o]pen [the
pithos]. 3 loaves of sweet bread, 1 jug of
beer, at the pithos, for the Storm God; 3
loaves of sweet bread, 1 ju[g of beer, for the
mountain; 1 BÂN-measure of flour, *n* vessels
of beer (are) the provisi]ons. They call out;
they provide the cups.

A §17' //

B §4

(A rev. 19–23 //

B obv. 11–20)

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

The next day they carry the Storm God and (2nd day)
the mountain (with) the loaves of bread of
the pithos to the st[ela]e. They place each
(god) in front of his stela. (The priest) offers
2 sheep to the Storm God, 1 sheep to Mount
Kinkališa. The loaves of bread of the pithos, 2
BÂN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer at the
altar; 2 *PARĪSU*-measures of flour, 2 *KA.GAG*-
vessels (of beer are) the provisions. The day is
completed. They carry the gods away to their
shrines. They break 3 loaves of bread of (one)
tarna-measure (each). Their festival, includ-
ing rites and rejoicing, is established.

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

The next da]y, the *ḥazkara*-women bring
up (to the stelae) the loaves of bread of the
pithos. They take up the Storm God and the
mountain. They present loaves of bread of
the pithos in front of them, place each god in
front of his stela, adorn the altar with fruit,
(and) place in front of them loaves of bread
of the pithos. (The priest) offers 2 sheep to
the Storm God, 1 sheep to Mount Kilinuna.
They slaughter (them) at the stelae. They

- 17 2 PA ZĪ.DA 2 ^{DUG}KA.GAG *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš ḫal-zi-ia-ri GAL^{HLA}-kán*
aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi
- 18 GURUN *ú-da-an-zi* DINGIR^{MES} GILIM-*an-zi* UN^{HLA}-*za* GILIM-*a-iz-zi*
DINGIR^{MES}-*ma-aš-kán du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi*
- 19 GIM-*an-ma ne-ku-za me-e-ḫu-ni ki-ša-ri* DINGIR^{MES} MUNUS.MES^{MES} *ḫa-az-*
ka₄-ra-i-ia-za ar-ḫa pé-e-da'-an-zi
- 20 *iš-ta-na-ni-aš ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{MES} *tar-na-aš-ma-aš*
pár-ši-ia-an-zi ^{DUG}*ta-la-i-mi-uš-kán šu-un-na-<-an>-zi* §§

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

- §18' 24 URU₁ *ma-am-ma-na-an-ta-aš* ^{d10} HURSAG *ar-nu-an-ta-aš* HURSAG *ḫur-ra-na-*
aš-ša-aš
- 25 HURSAG BABBAR (erasure) ^{1D} *ši-^r i'-ka-aš-ši-ka-aš al-ta-an-ni-iš* ¹ *du-up-*
ša-aš
- 26 *al-ta-an-ni-iš* ¹ *kum-ma-ia-an-ni-iš* ^{PÜ} *ši-w[a-n]a-aš* ^{PÜ} *ḫa-aš-ḫa-an-*
na-ri-[iš]
- 27 [^P]^Ü *ḫal-wa-an-na-aš* ALAM^{HLA} *IŠ-TU É* DINGIR-LIM [^{dU}]TU-ŠI *tar-ra-*
a-u-wa-it §

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

- §5 21 URU *ma-am-na-an-ta* ^{d10} GU₄.MAḪ AN.BAR HURSAG *ar-nu-wa-an-da-aš*
GIŠTUKUL UGU ALAM AN.BAR *i-ia-an-zi*
- 22 HURSAG *ḫur-ra-na-aš-ša-an* GIŠTUKUL UGU ALAM AN.BAR HUR.
SAG BABBAR GIŠTUKUL UGU ALAM AN.BAR *DÛ-an-zi* ^{1D} *ši-ga-ši-ga-*
a[n]
- 23 ALAM DUMU.MUNUS ^{PÜ} *al-da-ni-iš* ¹ *du-up-ša* ^{PÜ} *al-ta-an-ni-iš* ¹ *kum-*
ma-ia-an-ni-iš ^{PÜ} *ši-wa-an-na-aš* ^{PÜ} *ḫaš-ḫa-na-[ri-iš]*
- 24 [(erasu)re] {AŠ} ^{PÜ} *ḫal-wa-an-na-an* ALAM^{HLA} DUMU.MUNUS^{MES}
AN.BAR *DÛ-zi* 1 É DINGIR-LIM-*ma-aš É.ŠÀ* ^{DUG} *ḫar-ši-ia-aš* D[^Ü-*an-*
zi] §

place the meat (there), from the raw (and) from the cooked. They break loaves of bread of the pithos. They place the *marḥa*- (and) *ippiya*-dishes (there). 2 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer for the Storm God, at the altar; 2 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 jug of beer for the mountain, at the altar; 2 *PARĪSU* of flour, 2 KA.GAG-vessels (of beer are) the provisions (for both of them). They call out; they provide the cups. They bring fruit (and) adorn the gods with wreaths. The people adorn themselves with wreaths. They keep rejoicing over the gods. When it becomes evening, the *ḥazkara*-women carry the deities away (to the shrine). They place them on the altars, break for them loaves of bread of (one) *tarna*-measure (each), (and) fill the *talaimmi*-vessels.

A §18' // B §5

(A rev. 24–27 //
B obv. 21–24)

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

Town of Mamnanta: Storm God, Mount Arnuwanda, Mount Ḥurranašša, Mount “White,” river Šigaššiga, spring Dupša, spring Kummayanni, spring Šiwana, spring Ḥašḥannari, spring Ḥalwanna: His Majesty established the (construction of) statuettes and (lit. “with”) a shrine.

Town of
Mam(ma)nanta:
Storm God and
others

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

Town of Mammananta: Storm God: they make a bull of iron; Mount Arnuwanda: a mace, on it a statuette of iron; they make Mount Ḥurranašša: a mace, on it a statuette of iron; Mount “White”: a mace, on it a statuette of iron; river Šigaššiga: a statuette of a girl; spring Dupša, spring Kummayanni, spring Šiwanna, spring Ḥašḥana[ri], spring Ḥalwanna: they make statuettes of girls, of iron. They b[uild] for them 1 shrine (and) the cella of the pithos.

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

- §19' 28 [z^e-e-ni DÛ-r]i ^{DUG}har-ši da-pí-aš A-NA DINGIR^{MES} 'kiš'-[an] iš-^hu-u-wa-a-^ran-zí^r 1 PA [ZÍZ ^{d10} 3 BÁN ZÍZ]
- 29 [^{HUR.SAG}a]r-^rnu'-an-^rta' 3 BÁN ZÍZ ^{KUR}hur-ra-^rna'-[aš-ša 3 BÁN ZÍZ]
^rHUR.SAGBABBAR' [3] 'BÁN ZÍZ' ^{ld}[šⁱ-i-ka-aš-šⁱ-ka]
- 30 [3 BÁN al-ta-a]n-ni ^r[kum-m]a-^ria'^{sic}-an-ni' 3 BÁN ZÍZ' [^{PÜ}šⁱ-wa-na 3 BÁN ZÍZ] ^rPÜ^r ^r[^ha-aš-^ha-an-na-ri]
- 31 [3 BÁN ZÍZ ^{PÜ}hal]-wa-an-na 1 'UDU A-NA' [^{d10} ...]
- 32 [(ca. 4–5 signs)] iš-^hu-u-wa-a-an-[zi ...] §

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

- §6 25 [GIM-a]n-ma z^e-ni DÛ-ri A-NA ^{d10} ^{HUR.SAG}ar-nu-wa-an-da A-NA DINGIR^{MES} da-pí-aš ^{DUG}har-ši kiš-an šu-u^h-^ha-an-[zi]
- 26 [1 PA] ZÍZ (erasure) ^{DUG}har-ši ^{d10} 3 BÁN ZÍZ ^{DUG}har-ši ^{HUR.SAG}ar-nu-an-^rda' [3] 'BÁN ZÍZ ^{HUR.SAG}hur-ra'-na-aš-ša 3 BÁN ^{HUR.SAG}BABBAR 3 'BÁN' [^{ld}šⁱ-ga-šⁱ-ga]
- 27 [3 BÁN ^P] ^{PÜ}al-ta-an-ni ^rdu-up-ša 3 BÁN ^{PÜ}al-^rta'-[an-ni ^rkum-ma-ia-an-ni 3 BÁN ^P] ^{PÜ}šⁱ-wa-an-na 3 BÁN ^{PÜ}haš-^ha-an-[na-ri]
- 28 [3 BÁN ^P] ^{PÜ}du-up-ša 3 BÁN ^{PÜ}hal-wa-an-na [1 UDU A-NA ^{d10} ^{DUG}har-ši (?) BAL-an-z]i UN^{HLA}-za wa-ar-[ap-pa-an-zi]
- 29 [(ca. 4 signs) iš-t]a-na-ni ka[t-ta (ca. 12 signs) ^h]u-u-kán-z[i ...]

(breaks off; one half of the tablet, or more, missing)

A §19' // B § 6 **KBo 2.7 (MS A)**(A rev. 28–32 //
B obv. 25–29)

[(When) autumn co]mes, they pour (wheat) Autumn festival
into the pithos for all the gods as follo[ws]:
1 *PARĪSU*-measure [of wheat for the Storm
God, 3 *BÁN*-measures of wheat for Mount
A]rnuwanda, 3 *BÁN*-measures of wheat
for Mount Ḫurranašša, 3 *BÁN*-measures
of wheat] for Mount “White,” [3] *BÁN*-
measures of wheat for river [Šigaššiga,
3 *BÁN*-measures (of wheat) for sp]ring
[Kumm]ayanni, 3 *BÁN*-measures of wheat
[for spring Šiwana, 3 *BÁN*-measures of
wheat] for spring [Ḫašḫannari, 3 *BÁN*-
measures of wheat for spring Ḫal]wanna. 1
sheep for [the Storm God ...] they pou[r ...]

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

[Whe]n autumn comes, they pou[r] into
the pithos for the Storm God, for Mount
Arnuwanda (and) for all the gods as fol-
lows: [1 *PARĪSU*-measure] of wheat, for the
pithos, for the Storm God; 3 *BÁN*-measures
of wheat, for the pithos, for Mount Arnu-
wanda; [3] *BÁN*-measures of wheat for
Mount Ḫurranašša, 3 *BÁN*-measures for
Mount “White,” 3 *BÁN*-measures [for river
Šigaššiga, 3 *BÁN*-measures for] spring Dupša,
3 *BÁN*-measures for spri[ng Kumm]ayanni,
3 *BÁN*-measures for spri[ng Šiwanna, 3
BÁN-measures for spring Ḫašḫan[nari, 3
BÁN-measures for sp]ring Dupša, 3 *BÁN*-
measures for spring Ḫalwanna. [They offe]r
[1 sheep for the Storm God, at the pithos.
(?)] The people wa[sh] themselves [... at the
al]tar do[wn ... they s]laughte[r ...] (*breaks
off*)

KBo 2.7 (MS A)

§20' 33 [GIM-an DI_{12} -ŠI DÛ-r]i t[e-et-*ḥa*-i^{DUG} *ḥar-ši-kán ge-e-nu-an-zi* ...]
(breaks off; almost one half of the tablet missing entirely)

l. e.

(vertical line on the left of the colophon)

§21'' 1 *ke*-^r*e*¹-[*da*-n]i-kán *ṬUP-PÍ*^{URU} *ar-te*₉-*eš-na-aš*^U[^{RU} (ca. 3–5 signs) ^{URU}*wi*-
ia-nu-an-ta-aš^{URU} *pa-ni-iš-ša-aš*^{URU} *ma-am-ma-na-an-ta-aš*]
2 ^{URU}[*a*-a]*r*-^{*}*ši*¹-*li*^{*}-*aš* EGIR-an *tar-nu-u-w*[*a-aš* (vacat)]

KBo 2.13 (MS B)

Rev.

(one half of the tablet, or more, missing)

§7' 1' *ma*-[*al-la-an-zi ḥar-ra-an*]-*zi* [(vacat?)] §§
§8' 2' *lu-kat-ma* ^r*d*₁₀¹ ^dUTU *PÚ-na* ^dKAL ^{HUR.SAG}*pí-iš-ka*₄-*ra-na kar-pí-ia-an-zi*
3' NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{MEŠ} ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-aš-ma-aš pé-ra-an pé-e ḥar-<kán>-zi*
DINGIR^{MEŠ} MUNUS.MEŠ *ḥa-az-ka*₄-*ra-i-ia-za*
4' ^{PÚ}*wa-ar-wa-ta-li-ia-an-za A-NA* ^{NA4}ZI.KIN^{HILA} *pé-e-da-an-zi* DINGIR^{MEŠ}
PA-NI ^{NA4}ZI.KIN^{HL}[^A]
5' *ta-ni-nu*-^r*wa*¹-*an-zi* 1 UDU ^d₁₀ 1 UDU ^dUTU *PÚ-na* 1 UDU ^dUTU
^rAN¹-E 1 UDU ^dKAL 1 UDU ^{HUR.SAG}*pí-iš*-[*ka*₄-*ra-na*]
6' BAL-an-*zi A-NA* ^{NA4}ZI.KIN^{HILA} *ḥu-u-kán-zi šu-up-pa ti-ia-an-zi*(ti) 1
PA ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG
7' *iš-ta-na-ni da-pí-aš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš* 3 *PA ZÌ.DA* 3 ^{DUG}KA.GAG *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš ḥal-zi-ia-ri*
8' GAL^{HILA}-*kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-<zi>* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ar-ḥa pé-e-da-an*(ni)-*<zi> iš-ta-na-ni ta-ni-nu-wa-<an>-zi*
9' NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{MEŠ} *tar-na-aš-ma-aš pá-r-ši-ia-an-zi ša-ša-an-nu-uš ti-an-zi* §§
§9' (lines 10'–14' are indented)
10' *ke-e-da-ni-ša-an A-NA ṬUP-PÍ*
11' 3 URU-LIM^{HILA} *zi-in-na-an-te-eš*
12' ^{URU}*pa-ni-iš-ša-aš*
13' ^{URU}*ma-am-na-an-ta-aš*
14' ^{URU}*la-ar-ši-li-ia-aš*

(rest of the tablet uninscribed)

(Randleiste)

A §20' (rev. 33)	[When spring com]es (and) it thund[ers, they open the pithos ...] (<i>breaks off</i>)	Spring festival
A §21'' (l. e. 1–2)	On th[i]s tablet: Town of Artešna, t[own ... , town of Wiyanuanta, town of Panišša, town of Mammananta], town of L[a]ršilia. <i>Relea[sed (version)]</i> .	Colophon (MS A)
B §7' (rev. 1')	(<i>following a large gap</i>) They gr[ind (and) mi]ll (the wheat).	Town of Laršili(y)a, spring festival
B §8' (rev. 2'–9')	The next day they take up the Storm God, the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Stag God (and) Mount Piškarana. They present loaves of bread of the pithos in front of them. The <i>ḥazkara</i> -women bring the gods to the stelae, at spring Warwataliyanza. They place the gods in front of the stela[e]. They offer 1 sheep to the Storm God, 1 sheep to the Sun Goddess of Arinna, 1 sheep to the Sun God of Heaven, 1 sheep to the Stag God, 1 sheep to Mount Piš[karana]. They slaughter (them) at the stelae. They place the meat (there). 1 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measure of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer) at the altar, for all the gods; 3 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures of flour, 3 KA.GAG-vessels (of beer are) the provisions. They call out; they provide the cups. They carry the gods away (to the shrine), place (them) on the altar, break for them loaves of bread of (one) <i>tarna</i> -measure (each), (and) set up lamps.	(2nd day)
B §9' (rev. 10'–12')	On this tablet 3 towns are completed: Panišša, Mamnanta, Laršiliya.	Colophon (MS B)

Commentary

A obv. 3': Carter 1962, 90 reads *an-n[a-al-li-in ^dx BAL-an-zi]*. The reading NA, however, does not seem compatible with the traces.

A obv. 7': Note the depictive use of the postponed adjective *annalla/i*-, which here agrees with UDU “sheep” (cf. §3.3.1), and cf. the analogous wording in obv. 27'.

A obv. 17': Carter translates (1962, 97): “The deities of the *huwaši*-(s) to them they have brought.” Differently Archi (1973a, 9): “Ils ont porté les dieux à leurs stèles,” but the position of the pronoun speaks against this interpretation. Cf. the analogous expression in the cult inventories KBo 12.53+, KUB 38.26(+), KUB 56.39, and KUB 56.40, on which see §3.4.8. On the counterpoint between “gods of the stela” and “gods of the temple,” see the commentary on KUB 38.12 rev. iii 22'–23', text no. 16.

A obv. 18': The name of Pirwa was first omitted, then inserted within the line spacing.

A obv. 18'–20', 27': The reading of this GN is uncertain. It is spelled *hu-ur-ša'* in obv. 18', *hu-ur-ša'* in obv. 19' (without inscribed verticals, HZL nos. 158/11 or 160/10), *hu-ur-ta* in obv. 20', [*hu-u*]r-ša in obv. 27' (the last occurrence is not booked in RGTC). Note that TA has only one inscribed vertical in ^{DUG}*wa-lu-ta'-aš-š[i-ia-aš]* (rev. 5), and that ŠA lacks the inscribed vertical in obv. 1'.

A obv. 20': The interpretation of the numeral “12,” written in the line spacing, is difficult. Carter (1962, 103) cautiously put forward the possibility that it might refer to the number of storm gods of the town Wiyanuanta, which is very uncertain.

A obv. 28': Differently Carter 1962, 92. The latter vertical in the sign for '2' is not broken as shown in the hand copy.

A rev. 1: Carter (1962, 103) assumes an erasure or surface defect within the large gap in this line.

A rev. 7: Cf. obv. 26'–27'. Carter restores [DINGIR-LUM ^{NA4}ZI.KIN *pé-dan_x-zi* x x x x x].

A rev. 9: Cf. also rev. 23, see §3.4.1.

A rev. 10 // B obv. 2: The noun Ziyazi(ya) seems to be mistakenly marked as personal name instead of toponym, see Carter 1962, 103–4 and Cammarosano 2013, 96. On the other hand, note the PN Ziziya or Zazaya, charioteer, on the bronze bowl ANKARA 3, dated to the thirteenth century BCE (Çifçi and Hawkins 2016, 240–41). In view of the uncertainty, the determinative is taken as face value in the present edition.

A rev. 11: The traces of ŠI are omitted in the hand copy, for which reason Carter restores the expression in the following line. For the restorations of lines 10–11 cf. obv. 18'–19' and the parallel passage in KBo 2.13.

A rev. 12: On the ungrammatical phrase *mān=kan zēni DÛ-ri* see the commentary on KUB 25.23+ obv. i 8' (text no. 13).

A rev. 13: Carter restores ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA BAL-*an*-zi. Interpreting the following passage is problematical. A peculiar variation seems to be attested here, with a sacrifice performed at the pithos in addition to that performed at the altar. In principle, one might interpret the passage as a scribal mistake or a misleading wording: there would be a single sheep, slaughtered at the pithos and offered at the altar. However, the analogous offering performed at the pithos in rev. 17 and the fact that two sheep are offered to the Storm God within the spring festival, whereas only one goes to the divine mountain (rev. 20), corroborates the literal interpretation.

A rev. 17 // B obv. 8: Here the offering “at the pithos” appear to be a peculiar variation of the normal offering “at the altar”; cf. also commentary on MS A rev. 13.

A rev. 21: A portion of the offerings was mistakenly omitted by the scribe, cf. the list in the parallel passage (MS B obv. 16).

A rev. 22: On the expression *kulanittar* see Carter 1962, 29 n. 1; 1974.

A rev. 25 // B obv. 22: Cf. the term *šiggašigga-*, of unknown meaning (CHD Š, 359).

A rev. 29: As sometimes happens in cult inventories, the determinative KUR has here the same function as 𒍪UR.SAG.

A rev. 30: The offering for spring Dupša was omitted; curiously, the parallel passage shows the opposite mistake, insofar as the offering for Dupša is listed twice (MS B obv. 27–28).

A l. e. 2: For the restoration cf. rev. 10; on the interpretation of this formula see the commentary on KUB 42.100+ rev. iv 42' (text no. 12).

B obv. 1–3, 5, 14: The name of the divine mountain is inconsistently written on the tablet, since the spelling *Kilinuna* (obv. 1, 2, 14) alternates with *Kekkališa* (obv. 3, 5), which in turn is a variant of the spelling *Kenkališa* used in the parallel MS A (rev. 10, 11, 12, 13, 20). The three occurrences of *Kilinuna* are probably scribal mistakes, cf. Carter 1962, 115 and Cammarosano 2013, 96.

B obv. 2: Cf. MS A obv. 19' and commentary on MS A rev. 10. Carter restores [A-NA ^d10 𒍪UR.SAG Ki-li-nu-na É DINGIR-LI]M. It seems likely that the two occurrences of *PARĪSU* in MS B are scribal mistakes, to be interpreted as BÂN. Except for this point, both texts correspond exactly to each other in the listing of offerings.

B obv. 3: Cf. obv. 25. Carter restores [ma-a-an-kán zé-e-ni DÛ-ri A-NA ^dI]M, based on the hand copy which has an unbroken vertical. Collation, however, confirms that this is in fact a broken vertical, hence the reading IA;

cf. the same sign at lines obv. 9 and 11 and note, moreover, that the name of the storm god is always written ^d10 on the tablet.

B obv. 5: Restoration uncertain, Carter proposes [^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni* 1 UDU-*ma-kán* ^d10 BAL-*an*]-*ti*.

B obv. 6: Carter restores [BAL-*an-zi* 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 DU]G, which is too short for the gap, unless one assumes an erasure in it.

B obv. 8: The sign NU is preceded by traces of a *Winkelhaken*, which rules out Carter's proposed reading [*ge-e*]-*nu-wa-an-zi*. On the offering "at the pithos" see the commentary on MS A rev. 17.

B obv. 9: Carter's [ḪUR.SAG-*i aš-ša-nu-um-m*]a-*aš* is too short for the gap and does not include the offerings "at the altar" for Mount Kilinuna (cf. MS A rev. 17).

B obv. 14: The scribe wrote at first *Ke-^rek₄-ka₄-li-ša-aš'* (still readable under the overwritten signs). The confusion about the name of the divine mountain is clear from the alternation between *Kilinuna* (obv. 1) and *Kekka-liša* (< *Kenkališa*, obv. 3, 5); the parallel text has *Ken[kališa]* (MS A rev. 10).

B obv. 15: Note the use of the stem form *ippiya*, the gloss wedge attached to it, and the inverted sequence as compared to the usual one in the listing of the two dishes.

B obv. 16: The sign NI was at first omitted, then appended to RA after the following signs had already been written. Note also the omission of the determinative ^{GIŠ} in the logogram ZAG.GAR.RA.

B obv. 19: The phrase GIM-*an=ma nekuza meḫuni kišari* was correctly interpreted by Carter (1962, 112, "When it becomes evening"); it does not mean "When it takes place in the evening/at dusk" (so *CHD* L-N, 240; see Neumann 1960, 140).

B obv. 28: Cf. MS A rev. 31; for the redundant listing of the offering for Dupša see the commentary on MS A rev. 30.

B rev. 5': Note that the Sun God of Heaven is not included in the list of rev. 2'.

TEXT NO. 4. KUB 38.26(+): DIVINE MOUNTAINS AND LOT DEITIES

Manuscripts: Bo 2316 (KUB 38.26^{A1}; l. e.: KBo 70.110^{A2}) (+) 2316a + 2999 (KUB 38.27^{A3}). **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Edition:** KUB 38.26: Rost 1963, 182–86 (obv. 21'–30', rev. 15–16); KUB 38.27: Rost 1963, 186–88 (obv. 7'–11', rev. 7'–10'). **Discussion:** Güterbock 1971, 382–83 (collation, reading, and corrections to the copy); Laroche 1983 (semantics of Hittite *kalmara* and *šittar*); Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 170 (role of the King of Tumanna, geographical setting).

This large single-columned tablet written in a very cursive script treats no fewer than eight different towns. The indirect join between KUB 38.26 and KUB 38.27, already proposed by Rost (1963, 187) and Güterbock (1971, 383), is corroborated by collation, which also makes it possible to specify the respective positioning of the fragments (see KBo 70.110). Type of clay, script, sign variants, and content speak in favor of the indirect join. On the left edge of KUB 38.27, the town Parminašša and the “deities of the lot(s)” are mentioned, which are treated in KUB 38.26. The presence of a ruling on the left edge of KUB 38.27 (rev.), absent in KUB 38.26, does not disprove the possibility of a join; indeed, the ruling seems to start around the fourth line of the fragment. Large gaps in the central part of the tablet can often be restored with some confidence based on parallel passages. The structure of the text follows the usual division in sections and paragraphs (see table on p. 231).

Sections are devoted sometimes to a town (obv. 58'', rev. 35'), sometimes to a specific deity or group of deities (rev. 25). Given the fragmentary state of the text, in many cases it is impossible to assign a paragraph to a specific town. Typically, a section is constituted by two paragraphs, the first one devoted to cult images and to the offerings for the autumn festival, the second one to the spring festival (so sections II, III, and IV). That the offerings of the first paragraph are intended for the autumn festival is clear from the reference to the “pouring into the pithos” found in obv. 59'' and rev. 16. In some cases, however, a section consists of several such groups of paragraphs (see sections I and V). Sections Ib and VII are extraordinary insofar as the autumn festival is treated in a separate paragraph, whereas section Ic shows an additional paragraph following the treatment of the spring festival.

The treatment of each deity opens with a detailed description of its cult image. Two of them deserve special attention, namely, those of the goddess Iyaya and of the divine mountain Ḫalalazipa. Iyaya is fashioned as a *veiled* seated woman (obv. 50''), similarly as in KBo 70.109+ and KUB 38.1+ (see commentary). For Ḫalalazipa two cult image descriptions are preserved,

namely, in sections II (obv. 42''–43'') and Vb (rev. 15–16). As is often the case with divine mountains, he is fashioned as a mace (^{GIS}TUKUL), adorned with astral symbols—moon crescent and *šittar* (sun disk?). “On” the mace a “statuette” (ALAM) of a standing man is made; for the question of whether this is be conceived as an all-round statuette or as a figure in reliefs see §4.4.2.4. In both descriptions, the cult image is further complemented with an iron eagle on its top and a wooden lion at its bottom. Interesting comparisons for these cult images descriptions can be made with a seal of Arnuwanda III and the bronze ceremonial axe from Şarkışla (see §4.4.2.4). The fragmentary description of the cult image of Mount Şummiyara resembles that of Mount H̄alalazipa, but here the astral symbols are of bronze rather than copper (obv. 8'–11'). Other fragmentary cult images descriptions, often referring to the presence of “rays of silver,” are found in sections Ic (obv. 21''–22''), Id (obv. 33''), IV (obv. 58''–59'', with reference to an iron statuette), Va (rev. 7–8), and VII (rev. 35'–36', probable reference to a statuette of the Storm God). Note that both the statuette of Iyaya and that placed “on” the mace of Mount H̄alalazipa are one *šekan* in size (between ca. 7 and ca. 50 cm, see §4.3.2).

In the first paragraph of each section we also find the information on whether a shrine is built and on whether the god is being housed in the shrine of another god (see obv. 33'', rev. 37' and obv. 4', rev. 16, 33' respectively). The paragraph is normally closed by the formula “His Majesty instituted (it),” marking the intervention of the Great King in the restoration and implementation of the cult. The formula *annallan* (“in place since of old”) occurs four times, signalling that festivals (obv. 41'') or offerings (obv. 32'' and 48'', rev. 5) were already in place when the inventory was drafted (§3.3.1). The expression SI×SÁ occurs twice (obv. 52'', l. e. 4), possibly implying that some measures had been established by oracle (§3.3.3.3). The formula *katta ḫamenk-* “to fix” (§3.3.3.2) is found twice (obv. 40'', rev. 26), applied to the autumn festival and contrasting with *annallan*.

The festival descriptions follow the usual pattern. In autumn, the pithos is filled with wheat, which is turned into loaves of “bread of the pithos” at the beginning of the spring festival. This reaches its climax on the second day, as the usual procession to the stela sanctuary takes place. The specification according to which the gods are brought “down” to the stelae, found in obv. 36'' and rev. 21, does not necessarily imply that the extramural sanctuaries were located in a lower position with respect to the town (Cammarosano 2015b, 228). Beyond the general pattern, many variants are observable, ranging from the quantity of the offerings to the place where the sacrifice takes place, the formulas used in the descriptions, and so on. Variance is also observed in the layout (sections Ib and VII treat the autumn festival in a dedicate paragraph), in patterns of grammatical agreement (sg. BAL-(*an*)*ti*

Section	Text	Towns and Gods
Ia	§§1'–2' (obv. 1'–7')	Stag God (fragmentary)
Ib	§§3'–5' (obv. 8'–20')	Mount Šummiyara
Ic	§§6'–8' (obv. 21''–32'')	Stag God, Storm God of the Forest ² , Sun Goddess
Id	§§9'–10' (obv. 33''–39'')	“Deities of the lot(s)”
II	§§11'–12' (obv. 40''–49'')	Mount Ḫalalazipa, “deities of the lot(s)”
III	§§13'–14' (obv. 50''–57'')	Storm God, Iyaya, “deities of the lot(s)”
IV	§§15'–16' (obv. 58''–rev. 6)	Town x-x- <i>ta²-ra</i> -[...]: Storm God, Sun Goddess, Stag God
Va	§§17'–18' (rev. 7–14)	[Town ²] Mikuya ² ; Storm God, Sun Goddess, Stag God
Vb	§§19'–20' (rev. 15–24)	Mount Ḫalalazipa
VI	§§21'–23'' (rev. 25–34')	[Šaḫḫ]aššara of the King of the Land of Tum[anna], Storm God
VII	§§24''–27'' (rev. 35'–43')	Town Parminašša: Storm God, Sun Goddess, Stag God
VIII	§28''' (l. e. 1–4)	Towns Dumna[ma?, ...-a]tta, Marwešna, Annu[m-...], Ḫišuniya(-)[..., -w]ešša, Parminašša; “deities of the lot(s)”

in obv. 37'', 49'', rev. 3, 8, 14 vs. pl. BAL-*anzi* in obv. 39'', see §3.5.3), and in spelling (see below, on orthography). The description of the spring festival in §§10' and 12' is closed by a peculiar expression, “they have ‘brought’ the ‘deities of the lot(s),’” which is found also in other cult inventories (see §3.4.8).

On the tablet at least eight towns were inventoried, namely, the towns Parminašša, Dumna[na²], [...]-*atta*, Marwešna, *Annu*[*m*-...], Ḫišuniya², and [...]-*wešša*, listed in the colophon, also perhaps *Mikuya*² (rev. 7). Parminašša was in the district of Ḫarziuna (Imparati 1974, 26–27, 76), perhaps west of the Tuz Gölü (Forlanini 1977, 214; Gurney 1992, 219; Forlanini 2008b, 71–72 with n. 73 and 75; de Martino 2017a, 258–59). The mention of the goddess “Šaḫḫaššara of the king of the Land of Tumanna” (rev. 25) is an interesting hint at the considerable importance of this ruler in the late empire; on this personality see Cammarosano and Marizza 2015 and the introduction to KBo 12.53+ (text no. 7).

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph, 3D model, collation.

Format and Layout: Single-columned tablet (width: 19.5 cm; preserved height: ca. 20 cm, original height ca. 27.5 cm). Lateral ruling on part of the left edge on the rev. of MS A3.

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: Late LI (obv. 38''), H₁A with one *Winkelhaken*. Cursive script.

Transliteration

Obv.

- §1' 1' (A3 obv. 1') (traces)
 2' [(ca. 8 signs)]x 2' [...]
 3' [(ca. 7 signs)] DINGIR]-LUM du-uš-k[i-iš-kán-zi ...] §
- §2' 4' [(ca. 5 signs)]x ^dKAL I-NA 'É' [DINGIR-LIM (?) ...]
 5' [(ca. 8 signs) ^{GIŠ}]ZAG.GAR.RA-ni-aš-kán [...]
 6' []x x[]x A-NA DINGIR-LIM 1 NINDA [...]
 7' ^{DUG}ta-la-^rim¹-mi-in-kán [...] §
- §3' 8' HUR.SA [^Gšu]-um-mi-[i]a-ra-a[^{šic}pá]t' ^{GIŠ}[TUKUL ...]
 9' IŠ-[T]U U₄.SA[K]AR ZABA[R] š[i-tar ú-nu-wa-an-zi ...]
 10' 'UGU-kán' 1 AL[A]M LÚ A[N.BA]R [...]
 11' še-^rer¹-ši-kán ^{TI}₈ ^{MUŠEN} AN.BAR [... É DINGIR-LIM (?)]
 12' ú-e-[d]a-an-zi 3 BÁN ZÍZ x[...] §
- §4' 13' 'GIM¹-an-ma zé-e-ni 'DÛ¹-r[i ...]
 14' IŠ-TU NINDA.GUR₄.RA iš-^{hu}-u-wa-[an-zi ...]
 15' 1 ^{DUG}ha-né-eš-[š]a-a-aš KAŠ [...]
 16' 1 BÁN ZÌ.DA ^r1¹ ^{DUG}hu-u¹-[pá-r ...] §
- §5' 17' GIM-an-ma [ha-mi-iš-kán-za DÛ-ri ...]
 18' ^{DUG}har-š[i ...]
 19' ^r1¹ x[...]
- (possible break of 1–2 lines)
 20'' (A1 obv. 1') (traces) §
- §6' 21'' [... UG]U kál-^rma-ra KÛ¹[.BABBAR DÛ-an-zi]
 22'' [... ši]-^rtar ú¹-nu-wa-[a]n-zi [(vacat?)]
 23'' [... pé-d]an_x-zi [k]e-e-da-ni¹ A-NA 'DINGIR¹-[LIM]
 24'' [... 1 UD]U ^dKAL 1 UD[U^d]10 ^{<GIŠ>}TIR? ^rDUGhar-ši¹ [(vacat?)]
 25'' [BAL-an-ti hu-kán-zi ...]x 1 DINGIR-LIM ^dU[TU-Š]I ME-iš ^rda^{šic}-pí-aš^{šic} [DINGIR^{MEŠ} (?)] §

Orthography: The shorthand ^{DUG}*HAR-ŠI* (for ^{DUG}*har-ši-aš*) is used after the logogram NINDA.GUR₄.RA (see §5.5.3). Variance in spelling: *aššanumaš*, “provisions” (*aššanummaš* in obv. 32’’, 43’’, 48’’, 56’’, rev. 4, 11, 17, 20, 23; rev. 9; *aššanumaš* in obv. 28’’; *aššanumma<š>* in obv. 34’’ and *aš-ša-nu-um-aš* in obv. 60’’); *Ḫalalazipa* (^{HUR.SAG}*ḫalālazipa* in obv. 42’’, 45’’ vs. ^{KUR}*ḫalalazipa* in rev. 22). On *ḫameškanzi* in rev. 19, for *ḫamiškanza* (obv. 53’’ and rev. 1), see the commentary. Further, note the use of UGU for *šara* and AŠ for Akkadian *INA*, unusual among cult inventories.

Translation

§1’ (obv. 1’–3’)	[...] they keep rej[oicing over the go]d [...]	Stag God (fragmentary)
§2’ (obv. 4’–7’)	[...] the Stag God in the sh[rine (?) ...] them on the altar [...] to the god 1 loaf [...] a <i>talaimmi-vessel</i> ^{acc.} [...]	
§3’ (obv. 8’–12’)	Mount [Šu]mmiyara: a m[ace (?) ... they adorn (it)] with bronze moon crescent(s) and (<i>sun</i>) <i>di[sk(s) ...]</i> on (it) 1 statuette (or: image) of a man, of iron [...] on it an eagle of iron [... a shrine (?)] they build, 3 BÂN-measures of wheat [...]	Mount Šummiyara
§4’ (obv. 13’–16’)	When autumn comes [...] with loaves of bread [they] pou[r (read: they pour wheat) ...] 1 jug of beer [...] 1 BÂN-measure of flour, 1 bow[l ...]	Autumn festival
§5’ (obv. 17’–20’)	When [spring comes ...] the pith[os ...] (<i>fragmentary</i>)	[Spring] festival
§6’ (obv. 21’’– 25’)	[... o]n (it) [they make] rays of sil[ver ...] they adorn (it) [with (<i>sun</i>) <i>di[sk(s) [... they b]ring</i> . For this deit[y ... (The priest) offers 1 she]ep for the Stag God, 1 shee[p for the] Storm God of the Forest ² ; [they slaughter (them)] at the pithos. [...] 1 deity. His Majesty instituted (it), for all [the gods. (?)]	Stag God, Storm God of the Forest, Sun Goddess (fragmentary; autumn festival)

- §7' 26'' [GIM-an-ma *ḥa-mi-iš-kán-za* DÛ-ri ... ^d10 (?)] ^dKAL ^dUTU *ke-nu-wa-an-zi* 1 B[ÁN] ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥu-u-pár* 'KAŠ' [^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA]
- 27'' [n BÁN ZÌ.DA n DUG ... *aš-ša-nu-ma-aš ma-al-la-an-zi ḥar-r*] *a-an-zi lu-kat* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *kar-pa-an-^rzi ^{NA4}ZI.KIN^{THLA}-*aš pé*-[*dan_x-zi*]*
- 28'' [... *ḥu-u-kán-z*]ⁱ 4 BÁN ZÌ.DA 4 DUG KAŠ ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA 2 PA ZÌ.DA 2 ^{DUG}'KA'.[GA]G *aš-[š]a-n[u-m]a-aš*
- 29'' [... *pé*]-*dan_x-zi* ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA *ta-ni-n[u-w]a-an-zi k[u]-e-da-ni-ia* A-NA DINGIR-LIM 1 ^{NINDA}*d[a]n-na-aš [pár-ši-ia]* §
- §8' 30'' (^{A1 obv. 11'}) [... n BÁN ZÌ.DA n ^{DUG}*ḥa-ni-i*]-*š-ša-aš* KAŠ ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 [D]UG KAŠ *aš-ša-nu-um-^rma*'-[*aš*]
- 31'' [...]-*zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*ḤAR-ŠI* GAM-an *pé-e ḥ[ar-k]án-zi* 1 UDU [^N^{A4}'ZI. 'KIN *ḥu-u-k[án-zi]*
- 32'' [... *aš*]-*ša-nu-um-ma-aš an-na-al-la-an* DINGIR-LUM EGIR-pa [*p*]-*é-dan_x-zi* 1 ^{NINDA}*da[n-n]a-aš pár-ši-ia* §
- §9' 33'' [... 1' š]e-^r*kán*' DÛ-an-*zi É* DINGIR-LIM *ḥa-an-ti* DÛ-an-*zi*
- 34'' [... n BÁN ZÌ.DA n ^D]UG *ḥa-ni-iš-ša-aš* KAŠ ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 DUG KAŠ *aš-ša-nu-um-[m]a<-aš>* ^dUTU-ŠI M[E^{sic}-iš] §
- §10' 35'' [GIM-an-ma *ḥa-mi-iš-kán-za* DÛ-ri ... ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši IŠ-T*] U NINDA. 'GUR₄'.RA [*k*]-*e-nu-[w]a-an-zi* ½ BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-ni-iš-š[a]-aš* KAŠ ^{GIS}Z[AG.GAR].RA
- 36'' [n BÁN ZÌ.DA n DUG KAŠ *aš-ša-nu-ma-aš ma-al-la-an-zi*] *ḥ[ar-r]a-an-^rzi* *lu-kat* DINGIR-LUM *kar-pa-an-zi* ^{NA4}ZI.KIN *kat-ta pé-^rdan_x-zi*
- 37'' [...] x x [BAL]-*an-ti ḥu-u-kán-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*ḤAR-ŠI* 1 ^{DUG}[*ḥ*]-*u-pár* KAŠ ^{GIS}[ZAG].GAR.RA
- 38'' [... *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš*] x x x x -*zi* DINGIR-LUM *ki-li-la-an-zi du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-aš* [(vacat?)]
- 39'' [... DINGIR-LUM EGIR-pa *pé*]-^r*dan_x-zi* 1 ^rNINDA *dan-na*'-*aš pár-ši-ia* KAŠ-ia BAL-an-z[i DINGIR^{ME}]^š *pu-la-^raš* *pé-dan_x 'ḥar*'-[*kán*]-*zi* §§

- §7' (obv. 26''–29'') [When spring comes ...] they open [... (for) the Storm God (?), the Stag God, (and) the Sun Goddess. 1 BÁN-measure of flour, 1 bowl of beer [at the altar; *n* BÁN-measure(s) of flour, *n* vessel(s) ... (are) the provisions. They grind (and) mill (the wheat). The next day they take up the gods (and) bring (them) to the stelae. [... they slaughter]^r. 4 BÁN-measures of flour, 4 vessels of beer at the altar; 2 *PARĪSU*-measures of flour, 2 KA.[GA]G-vessels (of beer are) the provisions. [... they bring. They place (them) on the altar. For each deity [they break] 1 loaf of *dannaš*-bread. [Spring] festival
- §8' (obv. 30''–32'') [... *n* BÁN-measure(s) of flour, *n* jug(s) of beer at the altar; 2 BÁN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer (are) the provision[s]. They [...]. They present loaves of bread of the pithos (to the gods). They slaughter 1 sheep at the stela. [... (are) the provisions—in place since of old. They bring back the god(s), they break 1 loaf of *dan[na]*-bread. (continuation?)
- §9' (obv. 33''–34'') [...] They make [... one' *š*]*ekan* (in height). They build a shrine separately. [... *n* BÁN-measure(s) of flour, *n* jug(s) of beer at the altar; 2 BÁN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer (are) the provisions. His Majesty ins[tituted (it)]. “Deities of the lot(s)” (fragmentary; autumn festival)
- §10' (obv. 35''–39'') [When spring comes, ...] they open [the pithos with the (wheat to make) loaves of bread. ½ BÁN-measure of flour, 1 jug of beer at the altar; [*n* BÁN-measure(s) of flour, *n* vessel(s) of beer (are) the provisions. They grind (and) mill (the wheat). The next day they take up the deity (and) bring (it) down to the stela. [... offer]. They slaughter (it/ them). Loaves of bread of the pithos, 1 bowl of beer at the [al]tar; [... (are) the provisions]. ... They put a wreath on the deity. (The wreath) is of (i.e., for) rejoicing (?). [... They bring [back the deity], they break 1 loaf of *dannaš*-bread and offer beer. They have “brought” the [“deities of the lot(s).” [Spring] festival

- §11' 40'' (A1 obv. 21') [... ^N]A4^rZI.KIN^{HIA} *pé-dan_x ḫar-kán¹-zi* EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš kat-ta ḫa-am-ma-an-kán-z[i]*
- 41'' [...]BI EZEN₄^{HIA} *DI₁₂-ŠI an-na-al-la-an pé-dan_x ḫar-kán-zi*
- 42'' [... N]I ^{HUR.SAG}*ḫa-la-a-la-zi-pa-an* ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *IŠ-TU* ^{URUDU}U₄.SAKAR ^{URUDU}*ši-tar [ú-nu-wa-an-zi]*
- 43'' [UGU 1 ALAM AN.BAR LÚ GUB 1 *še-kán DÛ-zi (?)* UG]U TI₈^{MUŠEN} AN.BAR GAM UR.MAḤ ^{GIŠ}*DÛ-an-zi É DINGIR-LIM DÛ-an-zi*
- 44'' [... n BÁN ZÌ.D]A 1 ^{DUG}*ḫa-ni-iš-ša-aš KAŠ* ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*KAŠ aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš* ^{r^d sic}[UTU-ŠI] ^{r^{ME} sic-iš^{sic}} §
- §12' 45'' [*ma-a-an ḫa-mi-iš-kán-za DÛ-ri* ^{DUG}*ḫar-ši (?)* ^{HUR.SAG}*ḫa-l]a-^ra-la¹-zi-pa ke-nu-wa-an-zi* ½ BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḫa-ni-iš-ša-aš KAŠ* ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA
- 46'' [n BÁN ZÌ.DA n ^{DUG}*KAŠ aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš* ^{DUG}*ḫar-ši ma-a]l-^rla¹-an-zi ḫar-ra-an-zi lu-kat* DINGIR-LUM *kar-pa-an-zi*
- 47'' [^{NA4}ZI.KIN *kat-ta pé-dan_x-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*ḪAR-ŠI* GAM-an *pé-e*] *ḫar-kán-zi* 1 UDU ^{NA4}ZI.KIN *ḫu-u-kán-zi*
- 48'' [... ^{DUGK}]A.GAG *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš an-na-al-la-an*
- 49'' [DINGIR-LUM EGIR-pa *pé-dan_x-zi* n ^{NINDA}*dan-na-aš pár-ši-ia (?)* KAŠ-i]a BAL-an-ti DINGIR^{MES} *pu-la-aš pé-[d]an_x ḫar-kán-zi* §§
- §13' 50'' (A1 obv. 31') [... ^di-ia-i]a 1 ALAM AN.BAR MUNUS TUŠ-aš *ḫu-u-pí-ta-u-wa-an-za* 1 *še-kán DÛ-an-zi*
- 51'' [...]^r1¹ UDU A-NA ^d10 ½ BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḫa-ni-iš-ša-aš KAŠ* ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA
- 52'' [...] *ke-e-da-ni* SI×SÁ-an ^dUTU-ŠI *ME-iš* §

- §11' (obv. 40''–44'') (*a new section begins*) [... the] stelae they have “brought.” They fix the autumn festival. They have brought [...] the spring festivals, in place since of old. [... They adorn] Mount Ḫalalazipa—a mace—with copper moon crescent(s) and copper (*sun*) disk(s); [on (it) they make a statuette of iron, of a man, standing, 1 *šekan* (in height). (?)] They make [on top] (of it) an eagle of iron, at the bottom (of it) a lion of wood. They build a shrine. [... *n* BÁN-measure(s) of flo]ur, 1 jug of beer at the altar; 2 BÁN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer (are) the provisions. His [Majesty] instituted (it). Mount Ḫalalazipa, “deities of the lot(s); autumn festival
- §12' (obv. 45''–49'') [When spring comes], they open [the pithos (?) (for) Mount Ḫal]alazipa. ½ BÁN-measure of flour, 1 jug of beer at the altar; [*n* BÁN-measure(s) of flour, *n* vessel(s) of beer (are) the provisions. They gri]nd (and) mill [the (wheat of the) pithos (?)]. The next day they take up the god [(and) bring (him) down to the stela. They pre]sent [loaves of bread of the pithos (to the god)]. They slaughter 1 sheep at the stela. [... K]A.GAG-vessel(s) (of beer are) the provisions—in place since of old. [They bring back the god. They break *n* loaves of *dannaš*-bread (?) a]nd (the priest) offers beer. They have “brought” the “deities of the lot(s).” [Spring] festival
- §13' (obv. 50''–52'') (*a new section begins*) [... Goddess Iyay]a: they make 1 statuette of iron, of a woman, seated, veiled, 1 *šekan* (in height). [...] 1 sheep for the Storm God, ½ BÁN-measure of flour, 1 jug of beer at the altar [...] for this has been determined. His Majesty instituted (it). Storm God, Iyaya, “deities of the lot(s); autumn festival

- §14' 53'' [ma-a-an ḥa-mi-i]š-k[án-za DÛ-ri ... ^{DUG}ḥar-ši ...] ke-nu-wa-an-zi ½
BÁN ZĪ.DA 1 ^{DUG}ḥa-ni-iš-ša-aš KAŠ [GI]^SZAG.GAR.RA
54'' [n BÁN ZĪ.DA n] DU[G] KA[Š aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš ^{DUG}ḥar-ši ma-al-la-
an-zi ḥar-r]a-an-zi lu-kat DINGIR^{MES} kar-pa-an-zi [(vacat)]
55'' [(erasure or na-aš) ^{NA4}]Z[I.K]IN^H[^{LA}-aš pé-dan_x-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA
^{DUG}ḤAR-ŠI GAM-an pé-e ḥar-kán-zi] '1' UDU A-NA ^d10 1 UDU ^di-ia-
ia ^N[^{A4}ZI.KIN^H^{LA} ḥu-u-kán-zi]
56'' [x x (x)]x 'ZI IA' A[N[?] ... n ^{DUG}KA.GA]G 'aš-ša'-nu-um-ma-aš an-'na-
al'-l[a-an]
57'' (traces) [... 3 ^{NINDA}A dan-na-aš pár-ši-i[a DINGIR^{MES} pu]-'la'-[aš] 'pé-
dan_x' [ḥar-kán]-'zi' §§
§15' 58'' ^{URU}x-x-'ta²-ra'-[... U]GU kál-ma-ra KÛ.'BABBAR' DÛ-an-zi
59'' [x x 1] ALAM A[N.BAR ...]x ku-'e'-da-ni-<ia> A-NA DINGIR-LIM 3
BÁN šu-uḥ-ḥa-an-zi
60'' (^{A1 obv. 41}) (traces) [... KA]Š aš-ša-nu-um-aš
61'' (traces) §
(Randleiste)

Rev.

(Randleiste)

- §16' 1 (^{A1 rev. 1}) ma-a-an ḥa-mi-[i]š-kán-za DÛ-r[i ... -z]i²
2 ½ BÁN ZĪ.DA '1' ^{DUG}ḥa-ni-iš-š[a-aš KAŠ ^{GI}SZAG.GAR.RA n BÁN
ZĪ.DA n DUG KAŠ aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš (?) ku-e-da]-ni-ia A-NA
DINGIR-LIM k[i-ša]^{sic}-an
3 ^{DUG}ḥar-ši ma-al-la-an-zi ḥ[ar-ra-an-zi lu-kat DINGIR^{MES} kar-pa-an-
zi ^{NA4}ZI.KIN^H^{LA} pé-dan_x-zi 1 UDU A-NA ^d]10¹ 1 UDU ^dUTU 1 UDU
^drKAL¹ BAL-an-ti
4 ḥu-u-kán-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}ḤAR-[ŠI pé-e ḥar-kán-zi ...] '1'[?]
[^D]UGKA.GAG aš-ša-nu-[u]m-ma-aš
5 an-na-al-la-an DINGIR^{MES} ŠA ^{UR}[^{U?} ...]x
6 3 ^{NINDA}dan-na-aš pár-ši-ia KAŠ-[ia BAL-an-ti ...] DÛ-an-zi §§
§17' 7 [^{URU}]r mi²'-ku²-ia-aš 1 ḥa-ap-š[a-al-li (?) ... UGU k]ál-ma-ra 'KÛ.
BABBAR'
8 [DÛ-an-zi] '1' ALAM AN.B[AR ...] 'd¹KAL BAL-ti
9 [... aš-š]a-nu-um-[ma]<-aš> 'd¹UTU-ŠI ME-iš §

- §14' (obv. 53''–57'') [When sp]r[ing comes, ... the pithos ...] they open. ½ BÂN-measure of flour, 1 jug of beer at the altar; [*n* BÂN-measure(s) of flour, *n* vessel(s) of beer [(are) the provisions. They grind (and) mi]ll [the (wheat of the) pithos (?)]. The next day they take up the gods (and) [they bring them to the] stelae. [They present loaves of bread of the pithos (to the gods). They slaughter] 1 sheep for the Storm God, 1 sheep for Iyaya at the s[telae. ... *n* KA.GA]G-vessel(s) (of beer are) the provisions—in place since of ol[d. ...] They brea[k 3 loaves of] *dannaš*-bread. They [have] “brought” the [“deities of the l]o[t(s)"]. [Spring] festival
- §15' (obv. 58''–61'') (*a new section begins*) Town x-x-^r *ta²-ra¹*-[... o]n (it) they make rays of silver. [... 1] statuette of i[ron ...] for each god they pour three BÂN-measures (of wheat). [... of bee]r (are) the provisions. [...] Town ... : Storm God, Sun Goddess, Stag God; autumn festival
- §16' (rev. 1–6) When spring comes, [...] ½ BÂN-measure of flour, 1 ju[g of beer at the altar; *n* BÂN-measure(s) of flour, *n* vessel(s) of beer (are) the provisions. (?)] They grind (and) m[ill] the (wheat of the) pithos [for ea]ch god in this way. [The next day they take up the gods (and) bring (them) to the stelae]. (The priest) offers [1 sheep for the] Storm God, 1 sheep for the Sun Goddess, 1 sheep for the Stag God. They slaughter (them). [They present] loaves of bread of the pit[hos (to the gods). ...] 1^r KA.GAG-vessel (of beer are) the provisions—in place since of old. The gods of the to[wn[?] ...] They break 3 loaves of *dannaš*-bread [and (the priest) offers] beer. [...] they make. Spring festival
- §17' (rev. 7–9) (*a new section begins*) [Town[?]] Mikuya[?]: 1 st[ool ... on (it) they make r]ays of silver. 1 statuette of ir[on ...] (the priest) offers to the Stag God. [... (are) the pro]visio[ns]. His Majesty instituted (it). [Town[?]] Mikuya[?]: Storm God, Sun Deity, Stag God; autumn festival

- §18' 10 [ma-a-an ha-mi-iš-kán-za DÛ-ri ... -z]i
 11 [... ^{DUG}ha-ni-iš-š]a-aš KAŠ aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš
 12 [^{DUG}har-ši ma-al-la-an-zi har-ra-an-zi lu-kat DINGIR^{MES} kar-pa-an-zi
^{NA4}ZI.KIN^{HLA} pé-dan_x-z]i NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}ĤAR-ŠI pé-ra-an pé-e
 har-kán-zi
 13 [1 UDU] ^r_{d10} 1 UDU ^d₁U[TU^{sic} 1 UDU ^dKAL ^{NA4}ZI.KIN^{HLA} hu-u-kán-zi
 ... ^{DUG}^rhu-u-pár^r ^{DUG}ha-ni-iš-ša-aš KAŠ ^{GIS}^rZAG^r.GAR.RA
 14 [1[?] P]A ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG [aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš ... ^{GI}^rZAG.GAR.
 RA^r pé-dan_x-zi 3 NINDA dan-na-aš pár-ši-ia KAŠ-ia [BA]L-an-ti §
- §19' 15 [^{HU}^{R.SAG}^rha-la-a-la-zi-pa-[aš ^{GIS}TUKUL IŠ-TU ^{URUDU}U₄.SAKAR ^{URUDU}ši-
 tar (?) ú-nu]-wa-an-zi U[G]U 1 ALAM AN.BAR LÚ GUB ^r1' še-kán
 DÛ-zi
 16 UGU TI₈^{MUŠEN} AN.BAR GAM UR.[MAĤ ^{GIS}DÛ-an-zi ... I-NA É
 DINGIR-LIM ŠA (?) ^d₁₀ an-da pé-dan_x-zi ^{DUG}har-ši ŠA 3 BÁN [ZÍZ
 š]u-uĥ-ha-an-zi
 17 1 UDU ½ BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}ha-ni-[iš-ša-aš KAŠ ... ^G^rISZAG.GAR.RA 3
 BÁN ZÌ.DA 2 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}[h]u-[u-pár aš-š]a-nu-um-ma-aš
 18 ^r_{d1}UTU-ŠI ME-iš [(vacat)] §
- §20' 19 ma-a-an ha-me-eš-kán-zi ^rDÛ'-[ri ... A-NA ^{KUR}ha-la-la-z]i-pa ^{DUG}har-
 ši ke-nu-wa-a[n-z]i (traces)
 20 ½ BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}ha-ni-iš-ša-a[š KAŠ ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA n BÁN ZÌ.DA
 n DUG KA]Š ^raš-ša-nu-um^r-ma-aš ^r_{DUG}^rh[ar-š]i ^rma-a^{šic}-la^{sic}^r-[an]-zi
 ha[r-r]a-an-zi
 21 lu-kat DINGIR-LUM ^{NA4}ZI.KIN kat-t[a pé-dan_x-zi ...] (traces)
 22 1 UDU ^{KUR}ha-la-la-zi-pa BAL-an-t[i ^{NA4}ZI.KIN hu-u-kán-zi ...] (traces)
 [^{GIS}ZA]G.[GAR.RA]
 23 1 PA ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG aš-ša-nu-^rum^r-[ma-aš ... GIM-an-ma (?)]
 24 ne-ku-uz-zi DINGIR-LUM kar-pa-an-z[i ... 3 NINDA dan-na-aš pár-ši-ia
 KAŠ-ia BAL-an-ti (?)] §§

- §18' (rev. 10–14) [When spring comes ... *n* j]ug(s) of beer (are) [Spring] festival
the provisions. [They grind (and) mill the (wheat of the) pithos. The next day they take up the gods (and) brin]g (them) [to the stelae]. They present loaves of bread of the pithos (to the gods). [They slaughter 1 sheep] for the Storm God, 1 sheep for the Su[n Goddess, 1 sheep for the Stag God at the stelae. ...] bowl(s), (1) jug of beer at the altar; [1[?] *P*]ARĪSU-measure of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer are) [the provisions ... to the a]ltar they bring. They break 3 loaves of *dannaš*-bread and (the priest) [of]fers beer.
- §19' (rev. 15–18) [They ad]orn Mount Ḫalalazip[a—a mace—with copper moon crescent(s) and copper (*sun*) *disk*(s); (?)] on (it) they make 1 statuette (or: image) of iron of a man, standing, 1 *šekan* (in height). [They make] on top (of it) an eagle of iron, at the bottom (of it) a li[on of wood]. They carry (him) [into the shrine of (?)] the Storm God. They pour [wheat] into the pithos (with a capacity) of 3 BÂN-measures. 1 sheep, ½ BÂN-measure of flour, 1 j[ug of beer ... at the] altar; 3 BÂN-measures of flour, 2 vessels of beer, 1 b[owl (of beer are) the pr]ovisions. His Majesty instituted (it). Mount Ḫalalazipa; autumn festival
- §20' (rev. 19–24) When spring com[es, ...] they open the pithos [for Mount Ḫalalaz]ipa ... ½ BÂN-measure of flour, 1 ju[g of beer at the altar; *n* BÂN-measure(s) of flour, *n* vessel(s) of be]er (are) the provisions. They gr[i]nd (and) mill the (wheat of the) pithos. The next day [they bring] the god dow[n] to the stela [...] (The priest) offers 1 sheep for Mount Ḫalalazipa. [They slaughter (it) at the stela. ... at the a][tar]; 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer are) the provisi[ons. ... But when (?)] evening comes, they take [up the god ... They break 3 loaves of *dannaš*-bread and (the priest) offers beer (?)]. Spring festival

§21' 25 [dša-ah-h]a-aš-ša-ra-aš ŠA LUGAL KUR^{URU}tu-m[a-an-na ...]
 26 [EZEN₄ zé-e-n]a-aš (?) kat-ta ha-ma-an-ká[n-zi ...]
 27 [x x x (x)] '1' DUG¹hu-u-pár KAŠ^{DUG}ha-n[i-iš-ša-aš ...] §

§22' 28 [(ca. 6 signs)]x^{d10} 1 UDU x[...]

(break of ca. 8–10 lines)

29' (A3 rev. 1') x[...] §

§23'' 30' NINDA.GUR₄R[A ...]
 31' x NI x[...]
 32' 3 BÁN Z[Ī.DA ...]
 33' DINGIR-LUM INA 'É' [DINGIR-LIM
 34' DUG¹ta-la-[im-mi-i]n-[kán' ...] §§

§24'' 35' URU¹pár-mi-na-aš-[š]a-aš^{d10} A[LAM' ...]
 36' UGU-kán 10' KU₆? x [Z]A' KÛ.BABBAR DÛ-an-z[i ...]
 37' 'É' DINGIR-LĪ-ŠŪ DÛ-[a]n-zi 'EGIR'¹-a[n ...] §

§25'' 38' 'GIM'¹-an zé-e-'r ni'¹ DUG¹har-ši-aš [an-da šu-uḥ-ha-an-zi (?) ...]
 39' (A3 rev. 11') '3' BÁN ZÍZ^dKAL [x] É-ši [...] §

§26'' 40' ma-a-an ha-m[e-eš-kán-z]a'^dKAL [...]
 41' '1' UDU¹[x x x (x) ^{d10} (?)] 'd' UTU^d[KAL (?) ...]
 42' [... ZĪ.D]A' x[...] §

§27'' 43' (traces)

(breaks off)

l. e.

§28''' 1 (A2 l. e. 1) 'ke-e-da-ni'-[kán A-NA ṬUP-PĪ (ca. 5 signs) I]Š[?] URU¹du-um-na-
 [ma²- (space for ca. 12 signs) -a]t²-ta-aš^{URU}mar-wi₃-eš-na-aš^{URU}an-
 nu-u[m- (space for ca. 5–7 signs)]
 2 'URU¹x[(ca. 10 signs)] URU¹hi-šu-'r ni'²-ia(-) [(space for ca. 12 signs)
 -w]i₅'-eš-ša-aš^{URU}pár-mi-na-aš-ša-aš [(space for ca. 5–7 signs)]
 3 [...] (traces) [...] (blank space) DINGIR^{MES}pu-u-la-aš [(space
 for ca. 12 signs)]
 4 [...] ALAM SI×SÁ-an 'EZEN₄' x[(space for ca. 12 signs)]

§21' (rev. 25–27)	(<i>a new section begins</i>) [Goddess Saḥḥ]aššara of the king of the Land of Tum[anna ...] They fi[x the autum]n [?] [festival ...] 1 bowl of beer, 1 j[ug ...]	Šaḥḥaššara of the king of Tumanna, storm god; autumn festival
§22' (rev. 28–29')	[...] Storm God, 1 sheep [...] <i>break of ca. 8–10 lines, then one fragmentary line</i>	
§23'' (rev. 30'–34')	Loaves of bread [...] (<i>fragmentary</i>) 3 BÂN-measures of f[lour ... They bring] the god into the shr[ine of ...] a <i>tala[imm]i</i> -vessel ^{acc.} [...]	
§24'' (rev. 35'–37')	(<i>a new section begins</i>) Town Parminašša. The Storm God, a st[atnette [?] ...] On (top of him) they mak[e] 10 [?] “fishes” ^{??} of silver [...] They make his shrine. Furth[er [?] ...]	Town Parminašša: Storm God, Sun Goddess, Stag God
§25'' (rev. 38'–39')	When autumn (comes), [they pour into (?)] the pithos ^{pl.} [...] 3 BÂN-measures of wheat (for) the Stag God, [...] for him a “house” (or: his “house”) [...]	Autumn festival
§26'' (rev. 40'–42')	When sp[rin]g (comes), (for) the Stag God [...] 1 [?] sheep [?] [... for the Storm God (?)], the Sun Goddess [(and) the Stag God (?) ... flo]ur [?] [...]	Spring festival
§27'' (rev. 43')	(<i>traces, then broken off</i>)	
§28''' (l. e. 1–4)	On this [tablet ...] town Dumna[ma [?] ... town ...]- <i>atta[?]</i> , town Marwešna, town <i>Annu[m- ...]</i> town [...] town Ḫišuniya(-)[... town ...]- <i>wešša</i> , town Parminašša [...] The “deities of the lot(s)” [...] statuette—(it has been) determined (or: ordered)—festival [...]	Colophon

Commentary

obv. 7': For the reading ^{DUG}*talaimmi-* here and in rev. 34' see Cammarosano 2011.

obv. 9': Cf. obv. 42'', rev. 15.

obv. 21'': Cf. obv. 58''. On *kalmara-* “rays (of the sun)” (also in obv. 58'', rev. 7) see Laroche 1983, 309–10; Güterbock 1983, 215 n. 94 (correct there the reference to KBo 26.58: line 41', not 37). For the etymology see *EDHIL*, 431 (< **kalm-* “glowing/burning long object”), contra Laroche 1983.

obv. 25'': For the reading 'da-pí-aš' (collated) see already Güterbock 1971, 382.

obv. 26'': Note that the Sun Goddess is exceptionally listed after the Stag God, rather than before him.

obv. 35'': Cf. commentary on KUB 17.35 obv. ii 10', 14' (text no. 1).

obv. 38'': It is unclear whether the form *dušgarattaš* (gen. sg.) is to be emended and whether something has to be restored thereafter. The tentative translation of the passage has been kindly suggested by C. Melchert.

obv. 39'': Here, as well as at the end of sections II and III, the gods are collectively labeled “deities of the lot(s)”; their relationship to lot casting is unclear. On the “festival of the lot(s)” see KUB 17.35 obv. i 17'–37' (text no. 1).

obv. 42''–43'': Cf. rev. 15–16.

obv. 44'': 'a'[UTU-Š] 'ME-iš': collated, omitted in the hand copy; Güterbock 1971, 382 proposed to restore the formula at the beginning of the following line.

obv. 47'': Cf. obv. 31'', rev. 12.

obv. 50'': The cult image refers undoubtedly to the goddess Iyaya, who appears together with the Storm God in the following paragraph. Iyaya's cult image is in form of a seated woman also in KBo 70.109+ rev. iii 33'' (text no. 17) and in KUB 38.1+ rev. iv 1–2, 8–9 (text no. 9). On the terms *hupigawant-*, *hupidant-*, and *hupidawant-* see Güterbock 1983, 206 with n. 18–19, who correctly stresses that the meaning “veiled” cannot be taken for certain; *HED* H, 393–94; *HW*² H, 741–44; Rieken 2008, 642, 644. Ehringhaus (2005, 64) identifies *hubida-* with the *Radhaube* (on which see §4.4.2.2 and Herboldt 2007). Whereas *hupidawant-* is attested only in cult inventories, *hupigawant-* appears also in other text genres and never with gloss wedge(s); the relation between the two forms is still to be clarified (information kindly provided by A. Busse, 10.10.2016). The ending *-anza*, present in all occurrences within the texts edited in this book, is taken as the sg. com. participle ending. The hypothesis of a Luwian sg. neut. (van den Hout 1984, 66–67) is not supported by convincing evidence, all the more if one concedes, as van den Hout does, that the context does not require necessarily an adjective in the neuter

gender (see also *CLL*, 75). Hieroglyphic Luwian *hu-pi-tà-ta-tà*, attested in a description of a statue of Kubaba (BOYBEYPINARI 2 §§2 and 4, CHLI I VI.2), is surely connected to Hittite *hupidant-* and *hupidawant-* (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert).

obv. 55'': Cf. rev. 12. In the gap at the beginning of the line either an erasure or a conjunction plus overt object (*na-aš*) is expected, note that the other occurrence of the expression are constructed with null object throughout the tablet. At the end of the line also B[AL-*an-ti hu-u-kán-zi* (?)] is possible, cf. rev. 3–4.

obv. 59'': The form *kuedani* is seemingly a mistake for *kuedaniya*, cf. obv. 29'':

rev. 2: Cf. obv. 29''–30.'' No traces of *Winkelhaken* preceding the last sign on the line are visible either on the photo or on the original tablet (differently according to the copy).

rev. 3: Cf. obv. 27'' and *passim*.

rev. 7: The reading [^{URU}]^r*mī¹-ku²-ia-aš* is uncertain; note that the alleged KU, with inserted vertical, would be different from that on line 24 further on. The restoration of the determinative for GNs rather than for DN is suggested by the fact that within this section the “triad” comprising the Storm God, Sun Goddess, and Stag God is treated, with no mention of other deities.

rev. 12: Cf. obv. 27'', 36'' and *passim*.

rev. 13: Cf. obv. 31'', 47''.

rev. 15–16: Cf. obv. 42''–43'' and commentary on that passage.

rev. 19: Note here *hameškanzi* for *hameškanza*, which is in turn a late form of *hamešhanza*, see *GrHL*, 13.

rev. 20: On the reading ^r*ma-al-la¹-[an]-zi* see already Güterbock 1971, 383.

rev. 22: As sometimes happens in cult inventories, the determinative KUR is used for (divine) mountains in place of the usual HUR.SAG (cf. rev. 15). For the restoration cf. rev. 3–4.

rev. 25: This reference to a personal deity of the king of the Land of Tumannu is discussed in Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 170 with n. 69, for the relevance of this personality see KBo 12.53+ (text no. 7).

rev. 26: Cf. obv. 40''.

rev. 34': Cf. obv. 7'.

rev. 36': A *crux*. For the problematical reading of the passage see the commentary on KUB 38.2 rev. iii 5–6 (text no. 8).

rev. 40': The restoration is problematical insofar as it forces the admission that the sign HA was written here with two *Winkelhaken*, differently than in all other occurrences.

l. e. 1–4: See KBo 70.110 for a line drawing (the left edge of Bo 2316 is omitted in KUB 38.26); cf. Güterbock 1971, 383 for the readings. The colo-

phon's *incipit* is analogous to that of KBo 2.7 // KBo 2.13 (text no. 3) and KBo 70.109+ (text no. 17); see the discussion in Cammarosano 2013, 69–72. The wedges of line 4 were seemingly impressed when the clay was already quite dried up. For the place names attested here, see the introduction.

TEXT NO. 5. KUB 56.39: THE FESTIVAL OF THE GRAIN PILE

Manuscript: Bo 2562 (KUB 56.39). **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Edition:** Tischler 2016, 60–65 (transliteration only, based on the copy; discrepancies with the present edition are not marked here). **Discussion:** Košak 1988, 147 (corrections to the copy).

The colophon identifies this tablet as the second one of a series treating the cults of Šuwarzapa. The town is mentioned only here, so that the geographical setting of the inventory is unclear. This badly damaged tablet describes various festivals for the local storm god together with his spouse, the Sun Goddess of Arinna. The sections are separated from each other by means of simple paragraph lines, the colophon is preceded by double paragraph line.

Most interesting is the description of a seasonal festival for the local storm god, described in §§4''–6'' (obv. ii 9'–32'). The festival is focused on the *šeli*-s, the piles of freshly threshed and winnowed grain (see the discussion in §5.8.2). The name of the festival is not preserved, but there is little doubt that it was the “festival of the grain pile,” attested in other cult inventories as well. A perusal of the extant descriptions of the festival highlights the variance in the outline of the rites depending on time and place (§5.8.2). In the variant described here, the grain piles are brought into the temple and placed in front of the god on the second day of the festival; then, the sacrifice takes place. The festival is concluded by a highly symbolic act, that of lifting up grain, apparently taken out of a grain pile (obv. ii 31'). We can get an idea of the dimension of such grain piles from the information that each household has to supply one *PARĪSU*-measure of wheat, ca. 50 liters (obv. ii 14'–15'). Whoever does not provide the requested amount of grain is to be punished, having to supply one (additional?) *PARĪSU*-measure of wheat (obv. ii 25'–26'). The “father of the priest,” in turn, provides the sheep that is to be offered to the god (obv. ii 27'). Thus, the description suggests that all households connected to the town of Šuwarzapa were involved in the festival, at least insofar as each one contributed one grain pile: together with the reference to the “whole town” (rev. iii 24, perhaps also in obv. ii 10'), one among many hints at the participation of local communities to the seasonal rites (see §6.5).

The descriptions of rites contained in the tablet contribute many details to the varied picture of local festivals as we know them from the genre of the cult inventories: among others, note the mention of a “rain festival” and of a *wa-al*-... festival (rev. iii 1, 4); the role of the mother-deity priestess, rare among local cults; the use of fruit wreaths and torches and lamps “all

night”; the cleaning of temples and washing of cult images; and the hint at the closure of the temple after the end of the rite. The sunset is referred to by a peculiar formula: “when the leafy branches seize the Sun God of Heaven,” on which see §3.4.3.

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph, 3D model.

Format and Layout: Two-columned tablet (preserved width ca. 16 cm, preserved height ca. 16 cm), the surface is badly abraded. Reddish clay. The upper half of the tablet is missing, the lower edge is only partly preserved. Colophon on the rev., iv col., indented.

Transliteration

Obv. i

(upper part of the column missing)

- §1' 1'–2' (traces)
 3' [...]x GAL^{HLA}-ia-[kán aš-nu-wa-an-zi]
 4' [...]-x-an-zi^{MUNUS} AMA.DINGIR-LIM-za-kán
 5' [...^{MUNUS} AMA].DINGIR-LIM-za-kán ge-nu-wa-aš
 6' [...]x ti-ia-an-zi
 7' [...]x x 'IN' GU₄^{MES}-ma na-na-an-zi
 8' [...]x da-pí-an-te-eš*{x x ZI}*
 9' [...^{LÚ}] 'SANGA'-ma-aš-kán IŠ-TU^{URUDU} ZI.[KI]N.BAR
 10' [...]x-x-iš ḫal-ze-eš-ša-an-zi
 11' [...]x pa-iz-zi nu^{LÚ} SANGA 1 UDU
 12' [... A-NA^{GIŠ}] ZAG.GAR.RA ṽta-ni-nu-an-zi
 13' [... B] I-IB-RI-kán šu-un-[n]a-an-zi
 14' [...] (erasure) §
- §2' 15' [...] (traces) da-an-zi
 16' [...] (traces) -'ez'⁷-zi
 17' [...] RA 'AN' ta-ni-nu'-an-zi
 18' [...] PA (traces)
 19' [...] ú-nu-wa-an-[zi]
 20' [...]-tal-li-ia-aš(-)[...]
 21' [...]x da-a-i[...]
 22' [... -a]n-te-eš x-ša-an-zi
 23'–26' (traces)
 27' [...] ZAG.'GAR.RA'[...]

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: Based on the late KI (ii 24') and QA (iv 22, 25, 26), the palaeography of the tablet can be classified as LNS. UN with inscribed vertical, DA with broken central horizontal, ĦA with two *Winkelhaken*, late URU. Cursive script (note the right slope of the vertical wedges).

Orthography: The verbal forms of *taninu-* are provided with a gloss wedge in all but one occurrence (obv. i 12', ii 7'; rev. iv 27'; without gloss wedge in obv. i 17'), see on this Neu *apud* HEG T, 104. Note the spellings *za-ki-la-an-zi* for *zankilanzi* (weakening of nasal, see §3.1) and *aš-nu-wa-an-zi* in obv. ii 23' (vs. [aš-š]a-nu-wa-an-z[i] in rev. iii 18). The use of UGU for *šara* (obv. ii 31'), TIN for /dan/ (rev. iii 9), as well as the late verbal stem *duškiya-* (obv. ii 24') confirm the late dating of the tablet.

Translation

- | | | |
|--------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| §1'
(i 1'–14') | (<i>the first portion of the column is lost</i>) [...] and [they provide] the cups [...] The mother-deity priestess [... The mother]-deity-priestess [...] of the opening [...] they place. [...] But they drive the oxen [...] all [...] But the priest for ² them with a pin [...] they call repeatedly [...] he goes. And the priest 1 sheep [...] They arrange [... on] the altar. [...] They fill the <i>BIBRU</i> -vessels. [...] | Fragmentary description of a festival |
| §2'
(i 15'–32') | They take [...] (<i>fragmentary</i>) They arrange ... [...] They ador[n ...] (<i>fragmentary</i>) he takes [...] (<i>fragmentary</i>) (on) the altar [...] for this, it has been determined. [... (are the) provi]sions. [They] eat (and) drink. (<i>fragmentary</i>) | (continues) |

28' [... *ke*]-*e-da-ni* ^rSI×SĀ¹-*an* [(*vacat?*)]

29' [... *aš-nu-m*]*a-aš* GU₇ NAG-[*zi*]

30'–32': (traces)

(*Randleiste*)

Obv. ii

(upper part of the column missing)

§3'' 1'–2': (traces)

3' PA-NI ^rDINGIR¹-[*LIM* ...]

4' [G]IM-*an-ma* ^dUTU A[N *la-aḥ-hur-nu-zi-aš*]

5' *ap-pa-an-zi* DINGIR^{MES} MUNUS^{MES} *ḥa-az-ka₄*-[*ra-ia-az I-NA*]

6' É DINGIR-LIM *ar-ḥa ú-da-an-zi* [PA-NI ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA]

7' *ṭa-ni-nu-wa-an-zi* 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA [*pār-ši-ia-an-zi*]

8' BI-IB-RI-*kán šu-un-na-an-zi* G[U₇ NAG-*zi*] §

§4'' 9' *ma-a-an A-NA* ^d10 URU *šu-wa-ar-za-pa* E[ZEN₄? *še-li-aš DÛ-an-zi* (?)]

10' IGI-*zi* UD^{KAM}-*ti* UN^{MES}-^rza²⁷ URU-LUM ^rda'-pī⁷-[*an'- ...*]

11' É DINGIR-LIM-*kán ša-an-ḥa-an-zi* x x x [(space for a few signs)]

12' DINGIR^{MES} ŠE.NAGA-*zi* ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.^rRA¹ *ti-ia-an-z[i]*

13' URU-LUM-*kán a-^rpé⁷-da-ni-pât* [UD-*t*]i (?) *wa-tar-na-a[ḥ-ḥa-an-zi]* §

§5'' 14' *lu-kat-ti-ma-kán* URU-LUM *da-pi-an-za še-l[*i-uš*]*

15' *an-da ú-da-an-zi* ŠA É-TI1 PA ZÍZ [*pé-eš-kán-zi* (?)]

16' PA-NI DINGIR-LUM *še-la-an ti-ia-an-zi*

17' x x [x x] ^{GIS}GIDRU *še-e-li še-er paš-ká[n-zi]*

18' x x 1 UDU ^{LÜ}SANGA ^d10 BAL-*an-ti*

19' ^rše¹-*e-la-an ḥu-kán-zi šu-up-pa ti-ia-a[n-zi]*

20' ^r1? BÁN ZÌ.⁷DA 1 DUG KAŠ ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni* 3 BÁN ZÌ.DA
[(*vacat?*)]

21' ^r2? DUG KAŠ *aš-nu-ma-aš* NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{HIA} *pār-ši-ia-an-zi*

22' BI-IB-RI-*kán šu-un-na-an-zi*

23' *ḥal-zi-ia-ri* GAL^{HIA}-*kán aš-nu-wa-an-zi*

24' ^rLÜ¹.^{MES}SANGA¹-*kán du-uš-ki-ia-an-z[i]*

25' *ku-iš-ma še-la-an Ū-UL ú-da-i*

26' *na-an za-ki-la-an-zi nu-uš-ši-kán* 1 PA ZÍZ [(*vacat?*)]

27' *da-an-zi* 1 UDU A-BI ^{LÜ}SANGA É-ŠÚ *pa-^ra¹-[i]* §

§6'' 28' *lu-kat-ti* PA-NI <DINGIR-LIM> *šu-up-pa* BAL-*an-zi* ^{TU}7⁷ *ši-ia-m*[^ric DÛ-*an-zi*]

29' ¹/₂? BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-né-eš-ša-aš* ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA 1 BÁN ZÌ.DA n
DUG KAŠ]

30' *aš-nu-ma-aš* GU₇-*zi* NAG-*zi* ^rGAL^{HIA}¹-*kán a[š-nu-wa-an-zi]*

31' [^{LÜ}]^ÜSANGA-*za ḥal-ke-en* UGU *da-a-^ri* [(*vacat*)]

- §3''
(ii 1'–8') (after a large gap) in front of the deity [...] But when [the leafy branches] seize the Sun God of Heaven, the *hazka[ra]*-women bring the gods away [to] the shrine. They arrange (them) [in front of the altar, break] 3 loaves of bread, fill the *BIBRU*-vessels, ea[t (and) drink]. Last day of a festival (fragmentary)
- §4''
(ii 9'–13') When [they celebrate (?)] the fe[stival of the grain pile] for the Storm God of Šuwarzapa, on the first day the men the ent[ire⁷] town [...] They clean the shrine ... They wash the gods (and) place (them) on the altar. On that [da]y⁷, they char[ge] the town (with that task). Festival of the grain pile for the Storm God of Šuwarzapa: first day
- §5''
(ii 14'–27') On the next day they, the whole town, bring in the grain pi[les. They regularly supply] 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of wheat per household. They place the grain piles in front of the god. [The men (?)] plan[t] a staff (or: a scepter) on top of the grain pile. The priest ... offers 1 sheep to the Storm God. They conjure up the grain pile (or perhaps: they slaughter (it) at¹ the grain pile); [they] place the meat (there). 1² *BĀN*-measure of flour, 1 vessel of beer at the altar; 3 *BĀN*-measures of flour, 2 vessels of beer (are) the provisions. They break the loaves of bread, fill the *BIBRU*-vessels, call out, (and) provide the cups. The priests (read: the *hazkara*-women?) rejoice (over the gods). But they impose a penalty on whoever does not bring a grain pile: they take from him 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of wheat. The father of the priest supplies 1 sheep from his house. Second day
- §6''
(ii 28'–32') On the next day they offer meat in front of <the god>. [They make] a *šiyami*-dish (out of the meat). ½ *BĀN*-measure of flour, 1 jug (of beer) at the altar; 1 *BĀN*-measure of flo[ur, *n* vessels of beer] (are) the provisions. They eat (and) drink (and) p[rovide] the cups. The priest lifts up grain. The festivals <ʿ⁷ *ha*⁷ʿ-[...]. Third day

(the following line is written in the available space between line 31' and the *Randleiste*)

32' EZEN₄^{MES} \leftarrow^r *ha*²¹-[...]

(*Randleiste*)

Rev. iii

(*Randleiste*)

- §7'' 1 [EZE]N₄ *wa*-^r*al*^r-x-x EZEN₄ *hé*-^r*e*^r-[*u-wa-aš* ...]
 2 ^r2' BÂN ZÍZ² DUG¹ *har-ši-ia-al-li*[...]
 3 A-NA EZEN₄ *zé-ni iš-ḥu-wa-an*-[*zi* ...] §
- §8'' 4 *ma-a-an A-NA* ^rEZEN₄ *wa*^{sic}-*al*-x-x[...]
 5 x-x-^r*kán*^r-*na an-da-an* {2'} DÛ-*an-z*[*i* ...]
 6 x x-^r*in*²¹-*ma DINGIR-LIM UN*^{MES} ^rŠA²¹[...]
 7 ^rÉ' DINGIR-LIM-^r*kán*²¹ *ša-an-ḥa-an-zi*[...]
 8 DINGIR-LUM ^r*wa*-^r*ar-pa-an-zi* ^{GIS}ZA[G.GAR.RA-*ni*]
 9 *ti-ia-an-zi* ^r3' NINDA *dan-na-aš* [*pár-ši-ia-an-zi*]
 10 *me*-^r*ma*^r-*al iš-ḥu-wa-an-zi* [...]
 11 x x ^{LÜ}SANGA 1 UDU [A-NA DINGIR-LIM (?)]
 12 BAL-*an-ti* ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni* [*ḥu-kán-zi*]
 13 ^rUZU *šu*^r-*up-pa ti-ia*-[*an-zi* ...]
 14 1 BÂN ^rZÎ.DA' 1 DUG KAŠ[...]
 15 1 UDU 2 BÂN ^r½' BÂN ZÎ.DA[...]
 16 NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{MES} *pár-ši-ia-an-zi*[...]
 17 BI-IB-RI^{HIA}-*kán šu-un-n*[*a-a*]*n-zi*
 18 ^rGAL^{HIA}-*kán* [*aš-š*]*a-nu-wa-an-z*[*i*]
 19 ^rGIM-*an-ma*^r [*i*]^{sic}-*pa-an-za ki*-^r*ša*^r-[*r*]*i*²
 20 DINGIR-LUM^{MUNUS}[A]MA.DINGIR-LIM *kar*-^r*ap-zi*^r
 21 ^{GIS}*zu-up-pa*-^r*ru*^{HIA}-*kán*^r *pé-ra*-[*a*]*n lu-uk-kán-z*[*i*]
 22 ^{MUNUS.MES}*ḥa-az-ka*₄^r(*zi*)^{sic}-*ra-iš-ši*-^r*kán*²¹ (traces, perhaps erasure) E x[(a few signs?)]
 23 *ḥa-aḥ*^{sic}-*ra-an-na-aš ú-e*-[*eh*]-*zi*
 24 [U]RU-LUM *da-pí-an-da*-^r*an*²¹ x[(space for a few signs)]
 25 [n UD]U^r-*ia BAL-an-ti* [(space for a few signs)]
 26 [x x x] ^rEGIR^r-*pa* ^{MUNUS.MES}*ḥ*[*a-az-ka*₄-*ra-ia-az* (space for a few signs)]
 27 (traces)

(breaks off)

Rev. iv

(*Randleiste*)

- §9''' 1–10 traces. Line 3: ^rUTU-*u*[*n*]^r, line 5: [...]-^r*an*^r-*zi*, line 8: GIM-*an*, line 10: *ḥa-an*-^r*da*^r-*an*-[*zi*]^r §

- §7''
(iii 1–3) *Wal*-... festival, ra[in] festival [...] 2 BÁN-measures of wheat of/into the pithos [...] th[ey] pour for the autumn festival. [...] List of festivals; autumn festival
- §8''
(iii 4–27) When for the *wal*-... festival [...] they make in [...] ... of the deity, the men of? [...] they clean the shrine [...] they wash the deity (and) place (him/her) on the al[tar. They break] 3 loaves of *dannaš* bread; they pour meal [...] The priest offers 1 sheep [to the deity (?)]. [They slaughter] (it) at the altar; [they] place the meat (there) [...] 1 BÁN-measure of flour, 1 vessel of beer [...] 1 sheep, 2 ½ BÁN-measures of flour [...] They break the loaves of bread [...] They fill the *BIBRU*-vessels (and) [pr]ovide the cups. When night comes?, the mother-deity priestess takes up the deity. They light torches in front. The *hazkara*-women ... [...] “He of the rake” turns (himself). The whole town^{acc.} [...] and he offers [*n* shee]p?. [...] ... the *h[azkara]*-women [...] (*breaks off*) Festival “*wal*-[...]”
- §9'''
(iv 1–10) (*too fragmentary for translation*)

- §10''' 11 [... ŠE.N]AGA-*ar*
 12 [...]^rKISLAḪ^{7?} x[(a few signs)]
 13 (traces)
 14 [(a few signs)]x GAM *pé-da-an*-[*zi*ⁱ (ca. 4 signs)]x ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši*ⁱ (?)
 15 [(a few signs)] *pé-e ḥar-kán-zi* [(ca 4 signs)]x x
 16 [(a few signs)]x MI BAL-*an-zi* ^{rNA4?}[ZI.KIN (?)]
 17 [1-2 sign(s)]x *ú-ia-an-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{HIA}-*ia*[...]
 18 [n DUG KA]Š ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni* x ḪA AN ^rZI^{7?}[...]
 19 [n BÁN[?]] ZÌ.DA 2 DUG KAŠ NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{HIA} x[(ca 4 signs) -z]^{i?}
 20 [(erasure?) B]-*IB-RI-kán šu-un-na-an-zi ḥal-zi-ia*-[*ri*]
 21 [GAL^{HIA}]-*kán aš-nu-wa-an-zi* DINGIR-LUM-*kán PA-NI* ^{rNA4?}[ZI.K]IN
 22 [*ti-ia-an-z*]*i* GE₆-*an da-pí-an lu-uk-ka₄-nu-wa-an-zi* ^rša^{7?}-[*ša-nu-uš*
 (?)] §
- §11''' 23 [*lu-kat-t*]*i-ma šu-up-pa* ^{rTU7?}š*i-ia-mi DÛ-an-zi*
 24 [^{1/2?} BÁN ZÌ.D]A 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-né-eš-ša-aš* ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA 1 BÁN ^rZÌ.DA¹ 1
^{DUG}*ḥu-up-r pár* KAŠ¹
 25 [*aš-nu-ma-a*]^š ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḥa-az-ka₄-ra-i* GURUN *pa-iz-zi* DINGIR-LUM
^rGILIM-*ez*¹-*zi* [GIM-*an-ma*]
 26 [^dUTU A]N ^rla¹-*aḥ*-ḥur-nu-zi-aš ap-pa-an-zi* DINGIR-LUM
^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḥa-az-ka₄-ra*-[*ia-az I-NA*]
 27 [É DINGIR-LIM *ar*]-*ḥa pé-da-an-zi PA-NI* ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA *ta-ni-nu-*
wa-an-z[*i*]
 28 [3[?] NINDA.GU]R₄.RA *pár-ši-ia-an-zi BI-IB-RI*^{richIA}-*kán šu-un-na-an-*
zi]
 29 [*ša-š*]*a-nu-uš* ^r*pé-da*¹-*an-zi* É¹ DINGIR-LIM *iš-tap-pa-an*-[*zi*] §§
- §12''' (the following lines are indented)
 30 2 ṬUP-PU^{URU}š*u-wa-ar-za*-[*pa*]
 31 ^d10-*kán* ^dUTU^{URU}PÚ-*na* [(*vacat?*)]
 32 *pé-da-an* [*ḥar-kán-zi*]

(breaks off, but no text is expected in the missing portion of the column)

- §10''' [... wa]shing [...] the threshing floor² [...] they A festival, first
(iv 11–22) carry down [...] the pithos² [...] they present day
[...] they offer. At the s[tela² ...] they send. And
loaves of bread [... *n* vessels of beer] at the altar
... [... *n* BÁN-measures²] of flour, 2 vessels of
beer, loaves of bread [...] They fill the [B]BRU-
vessels. [They] call out. They provide [the cups,
th]ey [place] the deity in front of the s[te]la.
They use lighting all night. (There are) la[mps²].
- §11''' [The next d]ay they make a *šiyami*-dish out of the Second day
(iv 23–29) meat. [$\frac{1}{2}$ ² BÁN-measure of flo]ur, 1 jug (of beer)
at the altar; 1 BÁN-measure of flour, 1 bowl of
beer [(are) the provisio]ns. The *hazkara*-women
go to the fruit; they put a wreath on the deity.
[When] the leafy branches seize [the Sun God
of Hea]ven, the *hazkara*-women carry the deity
[aw]ay [to the shrine]; they place (him/her) in
front of the altar. They break [3² loaves of] bread,
fill the B]BRU-vessels, carry the [la]mps out,
(and) clos[e] the temple.
- §12''' Second tablet of the town Šuwarza[pa. They Colophon
(iv 30–32) have] “brought” the Storm God (and) the Sun
God of Arinna.

Commentary

i 3': Cf. obv. ii 23'; rev. iii 18, iv 21.

i 7': On the verbal form *nananzi* see Otten 1973, 27.

i 29': Cf. obv. ii 30'.

ii 4'–7': Cf. rev. iv 25–28. For the restoration of the form ^{MUNUS.MES}*ha-az-ka₄-ra-ia-az* here and in rev. iv 26 see Hoffner 2003, 620.

ii 5'–6': Cf. rev. iv 26–27.

ii 7': Cf. obv. ii 21' and *passim*.

ii 9': The traces of the broken sign on the photo and on the 3D model do not look very much like in the hand copy. They seem compatible with EZEN₄ or EGIR. The proposed reading is based on the fact that a festival name is expected here. Since the grain piles (*šeli-*) are the focus of the rites described in this and the following paragraphs, the festival name has been restored accordingly.

ii 10': For the restoration cf. *HW² H*, 241 (but semantics and traces require UN^{MES}-*'za'*, not UN^{MES}-*'tar'*). An alternative reading 'KISLAḤ' seems perhaps also possible, although in contrast with the hand copy.

ii 14'–19': The passage is treated in *CHD* Š, 365, with significant differences as compared to the present edition.

ii 14': The adverbial expression *lukkatti* means here “the next day” as required by the context, not “in the morning” (so *CHD* Š, 365). The *CHD* considers both *še-l[i-in]* and *še-l[i-uš]* possible here, but the use of *še-(e)-la-an* as acc. sg. (obv. ii 16', 19', 25') shows that the latter option must be adopted (Tischler 2016, 62 restores the former one). The parallel with line 25' confirms that an acc. is expected here.

ii 17': The ritual action of “planting” a staff or scepter on top of the grain pile reminds of the description of the *šeliyaš* festival found in KUB 42.91, where the Storm God's throne is brought down to the grain piles of the Palace (see §5.8.2). This passage provides a hitherto unnoticed spelling for *pašk-pres*. 3 pl. and together with KUB 25.23+ l. e. “a” 1 secures the value /pas/ for the sign KIR (*HZL* no. 244). The reading *še-e-li še-er* is secure: one cannot read *še-e-li-in* here (contra *CHD* Š, 365, followed by Tischler 2016, 62, note also that the attested acc. sg. form on this tablet is *šelan*, not *šelin*, see obv. ii 16', 19', 25'). At the beginning of the line a subject or an adverbial expression is expected, perhaps UN^{MES}-*za* “the men, the population.”

ii 18': At the beginning of the line a subject or an adverbial expression is expected, perhaps EGIR-*an-da*, but this does not seem to fit the traces.

ii 19': In analogy to the standard pattern of the festival descriptions, *h₂uek-*denotes here the ritual slaughtering, inclusive of the concurrent conjuration (see §3.4.4 for discussion). But differently than in the usual context, we have

here a direct object rather than an indirect object indicating the place where the rite is performed. Since the “secundative construction” of *huek-* is otherwise not attested (Rieken 2014c, 223), either a mistake for intended dat.-loc. *šeli* is to be assumed here, or the metonymic meaning “to conjure up” is meant (§3.4.4). Be that as it may, the present passage does not supply an attestation of the alleged **huek-*, “to thresh,” demanded by the existence of the form *huigatar* (contra *CHD* Š, 365; cf. *HW²* H, 629 with literature).

ii 24': This is the only case where the subject of the “rejoicing” is the priests, not, as usual, the *hazkara*-women (§3.4.7). In view of this and of the fact that a single priest is mentioned in the other passages of the festival description (ii 18', 27'), a scribal mistake may have occurred.

ii 27': The signs of the phrase “1 UDU A-BI ¹⁰SANGA É-ŠŪ” are partly damaged, but do not seem erased as assumed by Tischler 2016, 62 n. 99.

ii 28': Cf., e.g., KBo 2.7 obv. 15'.

ii 32': The traces visible on the photo may be read ZA or HA; a *Winkelha-* is quite clearly visible to the right, pointing to the latter reading.

iii 1: For the reading *hé-^r e³-[u-wa-aš ...]* see Klinger 1996, 269 n. 38.

iii 6: Tischler (2016, 63) reads *hal-ki-in-ma*, but the traces do not seem to fit this.

iii 9: Cf. obv. ii 21' and *passim*.

iii 22: Interpretation uncertain, see Hoffner 1998, 39.

iii 24: For the reading *dapiandan* see also *HW²* H, 241.

iv 3: For the reading “UTU-u[n]”, see van Gessel 1998, 857.

iv 16: Cf. rev. iv 21.

iv 18: Tischler (2016, 64) reads ŠA, but this does not seem to fit with the traces.

iv 22: For the semantics of the verb *lukkanu-* see Neu 1974, 79–80.

iv 25–28: Cf. obv. ii 4'–7'; transliteration and translation of this passage in *HW²* H, 551 are to be corrected. The sign GURUN was read as BAL by Hoffner 1998, 39 no. 11. Note the contrast between the sg. verbal forms in line 25 and the pl. forms in line 27.

iv 29: Expressions used to indicate the closure of the temple are collected in Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2007, 354 n. 13.

iv 30: Cf. obv. ii 9'.

iv 31–32: For the formula on “bringing the gods” see §3.4.8.

TEXT NO. 6. IBoT 2.131: URḪI-TEŠŠOB AND THE VINEYARDS OF PIRWA

Manuscript: Bo 2009 (IBoT 2.131). **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Discussion:** Imparati 1990 (general discussion, edition of rev. 24–33 and Bo 3245); van den Hout 1995a, 156–57 (dating, prosopography of Ḫattuša-KAL); Watkins 1997 (role of the *lapanalli*-men); Forlanini 2009, 39–42 (geographical setting); Cammarosano 2012a, 10–11, 22 (dating, discussion of obv. 15'–21'); 2013, 94–95 (relationship with Bo 3245).

This peculiar cult inventory is concerned with the cult of Pirwa and other gods in various towns and shrines located in the Cappadocian area of the middle Kızılırmak. Indeed, §5' treats cults of Pirwa connected with the temple of Šippa (obv. 28'), a fortunate match to KUB 38.4, where the cult image of Pirwa of Šippa is described (text no. 11). The single-columned tablet, made out of very coarse clay, presents an unusually elongated shape and is badly abraded: the hand copy itself is a monument to Güterbock's mastery as an epigraphist.

The text consists of twenty paragraphs, with one or two more paragraphs lost at the very beginning of the obverse. Each paragraph lists offerings and the people responsible for their supply, and in most cases ends with the remark that the offerings are not being supplied any more. Sometimes the text barely states that “now, they do not supply (the offerings any more)” (*kinuna ŪL SUM-anzi*: obv. 40', 41', 44', 47'; *ŪL peškanzi*, obv. 8'). But more often than not, an additional specification is appended. Three variants are attested. In the first one, it is stated that “this is the second (or: third, fourth, etc.) year that they do not supply (the offerings),” or “... that (the offerings) have been cut off.” This variant bears witness to an interesting cleft construction, see obv. 24', rev. 23, 33, and commentary. In the second attested variant, it is stated that “Since the father of His Majesty ruled as king, they do not supply (offerings any more),” with a remarkable elliptical construction (obv. 9'; in obv. 31' a variant of this formula is found; see already Imparati 1990, 174–75 for discussion). In the third attested variant, it is stated that “they do not supply (any more that) of the days of the father of His Majesty” (obv. 14', 34', 49', rev. 20; in rev. 25 the reference is to the “(offerings) of the second month”); cf. Imparati 1990, 176. The reference to the “father of His Majesty” dates this inventory to the reign of Tudḫaliya IV (Cammarosano 2012a, 22). The question arises whether the formula “they do not supply” hints at an exemption from the obligation or at a culpable negligence in the duty of providing cult offerings; Imparati (1990, 175–76, 179) inclines towards the former option. The general context is one of abandonment and desolation: neglected and

destroyed vineyards (§§5', 19'), resettlements, depopulation (§§3'–4', 7', 9'), offerings that are no longer provided or have been cut off. The inventory lists the present state of things as the outcome of a survey, which was apparently conducted also with the aid of oral sources (cf. the quotes in §§2' and 15'). Prescriptive measures are not recorded, nor is the interruption in the delivery of cult supplies in any way overtly stigmatized. But there is little doubt that the interruption of cult supplies, even if conceded or tolerated by the central authority, was seen by Tudḫaliya IV as an offence to the gods and thus as a serious danger for the well-being of the land. The possible connection to the oracle report KBo 14.21 (see presently), which is concerned with negligences in the cult of Pirwa and can be dated back to the reign of Tudḫaliya IV as well, strengthens this assumption. IBoT 2.131 is therefore to be seen as a piece of a larger set of texts and actions taken in order to restore neglected cults in the area of the middle Kızılırmak.

One of the most interesting passages of the tablet is a paragraph dealing with the outcome of cultic measures taken by Urḫi-Teššob (Muršili III) for the vineyards of Pirwa in the vicinity of Šippa (obv. 17'–20'). This represents a rare hint to events that occurred during the reign of Muršili III, that is not under the light of the *damnatio* perpetrated by his usurper and successor Ḫattušili III, the father of Tudḫaliya IV. A second interesting reference to viticulture, again connected with the cult of Pirwa, is found in §19' (rev. 26–30). Here a vineyard, apparently intended to produce wine for the cult of Pirwa, has been “cut down” (*ḥašp-*) and turned into a field for private use by the “servants of Ḫattuša-KAL.” A further element of interest is the role of the rarely attested saltlick wardens (*lapanalli*-men, see Watkins 1997; for the role of saltlicks in the supply of cult offerings see Kp 15/7+, text no. 15). The saltlick wardens are mentioned in §§11', 16' and 17'. In §16' they are involved, together with a priest and the lion-men, in a curious festival, introduced by the expression “when the time of the (cultic) journey arrives ...” (rev. 6), during which the cult image of Pirwa is placed on a salt pile (rev. 14–16). The saltlick wardens have to supply yearly three-hundred “loaves” of salt, twenty sheep, and various dairy products—a valuable hint at their role as herdsmen and producers of salt, which was gained either at saline lakes or at rock formations. Further hints at cultic rites are found throughout the texts: see especially the “festival of NIR.NIR.BI during the year” (§1'), the “festival of the big INANNA-instrument” (§2'), and the “festival *ḥarpaš*” (§3'; on this festival see §5.10.1).

Many “towns” are mentioned in the inventory, mostly as inventoried settlements, but sometimes as the birthplace of individuals and communities responsible for the supply of offerings. Noteworthy are references to the resettlement of specific groups of people in §§3'–4', 7', and 9'. The analysis

of the place names suggests that the geographical setting of the inventory is the Cappadocian area of the middle Kızılırmak (Forlanini 2009, 39–42; cf. also Imparati 1990, 172–74): see in particular the towns Tiwaliya “of the king of Išuwa” (obv. 12’, perhaps the same town treated in KBo 70.109+ rev. iv 37’, see commentary, text no. 17), Šaššuna (obv. 30’, the same of Bo 2004/1 = KBo 62.5, on which see Lorenz and Rieken 2007), Šippa, and Ikšuna (Forlanini 2009, 41, with further references). It would be tempting to argue that the saltlick wardens of this text operated at the Tuz Lake, still the main source of salt in Turkey. But such a conclusion is not necessary, since salt was gained no doubt in many other areas, for example, in Šamuḫa (see Kp 15/7+, text no. 15); for the rich deposits of the Çankırı area, with a Bronze Age site at Balıbağı [Sarıçi] Höyük, see Matthews and Glatz 2009, 59.

Besides place names, a number of personal names are also mentioned in the text (for discussion see Imparati 1990, 167–72). Among them there is Ḫattuša-^dKAL, who is probably identical with the person mentioned in the oracular inquiry KBo 14.21 and in the Tarḫuntašša treaties (see the commentary on rev. 28).

The tablet has a parallel text in the fragment Bo 3245, an unusual circumstance for cult inventories (Bo 3245: 1’–13’ // IBoT 2.131 rev. 22–31). See Cammarosano 2013, 94–95 for discussion, and Imparati 1990, 166 n. 2 for a transliteration of the parallel text. The precise relation between the two fragments is unclear. IBoT 2.131 is peculiar also in that the reverse is uninscribed after line 33, still neither a “concluding” formula nor a colophon is present. Does this mean that the tablet was left unfinished and Bo 3245 represents a new copy? But if so, why was the unfinished version apparently not discarded? A tentative hypothesis would be to link these cult inventories to an oracle inquiry. F. Imparati argued that IBoT 2.131 may be connected with the oracular tablet KBo 14.21, which deals with noncompliance related to the cult of Pirwa (Imparati 1990, 181–87; van den Hout 1995a, 155–57). If so, copies or excerpts of the cult inventories providing information on this may have been requested within the oracular procedures, and IBoT 2.131 might be one of these.

An interesting feature of the tablet is its style, which is unusually rich in ellipses and elements typical of the spoken language (see especially obv. 9’, 14’, 31’, and most notably the cleft constructions in obv. 24’, rev. 23 and 33). Finally, note the occurrence of three rarely attested words: *larella* (rev. 8, 9), *luššanu-* (rev. 12), and *lapanalli-* (obv. 42’, rev. 10, 11, 17, 22).

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph, 3D model.

Format and Layout: Single-columned, unusually elongated tablet (width ca. 12 cm, preserved height ca. 25 cm, a few cm missing at the top of the obv.). The tablet has a peculiar biconvex shape, the obverse being almost as curved as the reverse. Coarse-grained clay, of grey color; surface abraded.

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: Late AZ, IK, and LI; 𒀭A with two *Winkelhaken*; UN with inscribed vertical. Cursive script.

Orthography: Note the contrast between *kinuna* (passim) and *kinun=ma* (obv. 13', 23', rev. 28), on which see §3.3.1; the omission of signs in obv. 27', 29', and 32'; the geminating conjunction =*a* attached to the plural determinative 𒀭A in rev. 11.

Transliteration

Obv.

(ca. 5 lines lost)

§ (double paragraph line according to the copy)

- §1' 1' [... Z]Ī.[D]A 'DUR₅ 1[?] PA ZĪ.DA H[ÁD.DU.A]
 2' [...] x 1 DUG KA.GAG šī-x[(space for a few signs)]
 3' [... DUG] 'hu¹-up-pár KAŠ šu-up-pí-ah-hu-u-w[a-aš]
 4' [...] 12 DUG KAŠ 12 DUG hu-up-pár KAŠ[(space for a few signs)]
 5' [...] x x 'ZI LI' MU^{KAM}-ti-li URU pá-r-za-li-u-wa-[aš (vacat?)]
 6' {[A-N]A} 'EZEN₄' MU^{KAM}-TI ŠA dNIR.NIR.BI DU^{Jsic?}-[zi'] §
- §2' 7' [k]i-nu-un-ša-ma-aš m^{pal}-la-an-na-aš m^{ar}-ma-LÚ m^{ša}-li-ia-nu-[uš
 EZEN₄ (?)]
 8' ŠA GIŠ dINANNA.GAL e-eš-še-er nu Ū-UL 'pé'-eš-kán-z[i]
 9' ku-'it-wa' A-BI dUTU-ŠI LUGAL-iz-zi-ia-at-ta nu Ū-UL 'SUM'-a[n-
 zi] §
- §3' 10' 6 'UDU' 3 ME 58^{sic} NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{HLA} ŠA ½¹ UP-NI '11[?] NINDA.
 GUR₄.RA 'tar-na-aš' [(space for a few signs)]
 11' ŠU-ŠI NINDA.GUR₄.RA ha-zi-la-aš '9' DUG KAŠ EZEN₄ har-pa-aš
 12' URU ti-wa-li-ia-aš ŠA LUGAL URU i-šu-wa e-eš-še-eš-ta §
- §4' 13' ki-nu-un-ma-at-kán ar-ha pa-a-er I-NA URU a-ri-wa-'aš'-šu-w[a']
 14' EGIR-an a-ša-an-zi ŠA UD^{KAM} A-BI dUTU-ŠI Ū-UL SUM-an-z[i] §
- §5' 15' A-NA d^{pí}-ir-wa-ma GIŠ KIRI₆.GEŠTIN 'kat-ta' pa-a-an-'te'-eš 2 DUG har-
 ši-ia-a[l-lī]
 16' 1 DUG har-ši-ia-'al-li ŠA¹ d^{pí}-ir-'wa 1¹ [DUG] 'har-ši'-ia-al-li-ma ŠA d[haš-
 ga-la (?)]
 17' nu m^{ur}-hi-d¹⁰ sic-'up' ku-wa-pí 'd¹ pí-'ir'-wa-an EGIR-pa ta-ni-nu-ut
 18' na-aš me-mi-eš-ta 'ku'-it-ma-an-'wa' [GI]Š¹ KIRI₆'.GEŠTIN EGIR-pa
 DÙ-an-zi [(vacat)]
 19' GEŠTIN-ma-wa IŠ-TU Ê DINGIR-LIM pé-eš-kán-du nu a-pé-ez-za
 UD^{KA}[M-az]
 20' DUG har-ši-ia-al-li 'ŠA¹ sic d¹ [haš] sic-'ga'-la GUB-ri Ū-UL-wa SUM-an-zi
 [(vacat)]
 21' HUR.SAG li-iḥ-ša-aš GIŠ.HUR ši-ia-an-te-eš ŠA d^{pí}-ir-wa har-zi
 22' IŠ-ŠÚ GIŠ wa-ar-ša-ma-an GIŠ Ū-e-'ep^{sic}-pí'-ia-[an]a[?] A-NA GIŠ ZAG.
 GAR.R[A]
 23' iš-pár-ru-um-ma-an-zi pé-e har-'ker' ki-nu-un-ma-za ku-it 1 GÍN
 'KÙ'.[BABBAR?]
 24' x x 'KU' UŠ[?] ŠA[?] NA x x 'ŠA' AT[?] nu ka^{sic}-a-aš^{sic} MU 4^{KAM}-r TT ku-it
 [kar-ša-an (?)]
 25' nu A-NA d^{pí}-ir-wa IŠ-ŠÚ 'GIŠ wa-ar'-ša-ma-an GIŠ Ū-e-ep-pí-i[a-an-na']

Translation

(small gap)

- §1'
(obv. 1'–6') [...] of moist flour, 1[?] *PARĪSU*-measure(s) of d[ry] flour [...] 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer) ... [...] 1 bowl of beer (for the festival?) of purificati[on]. [...] 12 vessels of beer, 12 bowls of beer [...] (*fragmentary*) yearly the town Parzaliuwa [...] celebrat[es][?] the yearly festival of NIR.NIR.BI (with these offerings).
- §2'
(obv. 7'–9') Now Pallanna, Armaziti, (and) Šaliyanu[(-)[?]] used to celebrate [the festival (?)] of the large INANNA-instrument. They do not supply (offerings any more). “Since the father of His Majesty ruled as king, they do not supply (offerings any more).”
- §3'
(obv. 10'–12') 6 sheep, 358 loaves of bread of ½ handful (of flour each), 11[?] loaves of bread of (one) tarna-measure (each) (*fragmentary*) [...] 60 loaves of bread of a *hazila*-measure, 9 vessels of beer: the town Tiwaliya of the king of Išuwa regu-measure larly celebrated the *harpas* festival (with these offerings).
- §4'
(obv. 13'–14') Now, however, they went away: since then (lit. “afterwards”) they are settled in Ariwaššuw[a][?]. They do not supply (any more that) of the days of the father of His Majesty.
- §5'
(obv. 15'–28') The vineyards for Pirwa are neglected. There are 2 pitho[i], 1 pithos of Pirwa and 1 pithos of [Ḫašgala[?]]. When Urḫi-Teššob reestablished (the cult of) Pirwa, he spoke (as follows): “While they rebuild the vineyards, let the wine be provided by the temple!” And from that da[y] the pithos of Ḫašgala stands (there). “They do not supply (the cult offerings any more).” Mount Liḫša hosts the sealed wooden tablets of Pirwa. They (regularly) delivered wood—firewood [an]d[?] vine-wood—to be spread on the altar. But now, since 1 shekel sil[ver][?] ...] (*fragmentary*) This is the 4th year that (it) [has been cut off], and he does not supply the wood for Pirwa—firewood [and[?]] vine-wood—to be spread [o]n the altar. [...] Mr. Zu yearly provides, [*in additi*]on[?], the TUKUL-service due to Pir<wa>. Temple of the town Šippa.

- 26' [A-N]A^{GIS}rZAG¹. [GA]R.R[A] iš-pár-ru-um-ma-an-zi Ū-UL pa-a-i
 27' [x]x x^{rGIS}TUKUL ŠA^dpí-ir<-wa>^mzu-^rú²-uš MU^{KAM}-ti-li
 28' [EGIR-an-d]a (?) pé-^reš-ke-ez¹-zi É DINGIR-LIM^{URU}ši-ip-pa §
- §6' 29' [(ca. 3 signs)]n UDU 3^rPA¹ BA.BA.<ZA> 1 PA ZĪ.DA DUR₅ 2 PA ZĪ.DA HĀD.DU.A
 30' [(ca. 3 signs)]KAŠ-ia 2 PA 3 BĀN-ia NÍG.ĀR.RA^{URU}ša-aš-šu-na
 31' [SUM-it ku-i]t (?) <A-BI> (?) ^dUTU-ŠI LUGAL-iz-na-ni e-ša-at nu Ū-UL SUM-an-zi §
- §7' 32' [n+]1 UDU 15 NINDA.GUR₄.RA 2 DUG 'KAŠ^{URU}hur²¹-la-aš[?] LÚ^{MES}<E>-PI-IŠ KŪ.SI₂₂
 33' ar-ḥa-at-kán pa-an-te-eš A-NA^{URU}ga-pár-ša-^rat²¹-kán EGIR-an
 34' ŠA UD^{KAM}A-BI^dUTU-ŠI Ū-UL SUM-an-zi §
- §8' 35' 2 UDU 20 NINDA.GUR₄.RA 2 DUG KAŠ^{URU}ḥa-mi-ia-ra-aš pé-eš-ke-et
 36' ki-nu-na-pát[?] ^rtan¹-na-at-te-^rer¹ ^{A.ŠA}A.GĀR^{HIA}-ma-aš-ši LÚ^{MES}^{URU}iš-tu-u-na
 37' an-né-eš-kán-zi §
- §9' 38' 1 GU₄ 6 UDU ŠU-ŠI NINDA.GUR₄.RA 6¹ DUG KAŠ^rŪ[?] ŠA[?]^mpít-ta-az-zi
 39' ^d10 KARAŠ^{HIA}I-NA^{URU}ḥa-pu-uš-na EGIR-an a-ša-an-zi
 40' ki-nu-na Ū-UL SUM-an-zi §
- §10' 41' 2 DUG GEŠTIN^{URU}^ra¹-la-a-^raz¹ MU^{KAM}-ti-li pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na Ū-UL SUM-zi §
- §11' 42' 3 UDU LÚ^{MES}la-pa-na-al-li-^{HIA}-uš ŠA 'É¹.GAL pé-eš-ker §
- §12' 43' 3 'UDU' 3 PA ZĪ.DA 3^{DUG}KA.GAG^{URU}ga-ak-^rkal¹-na-az MU^{KAM}-^rti-li¹
 44' [pé-eš-ker^da]n-zi-^rli-ia¹ I-NA^{URU}ik-šu-na ki-nu-na Ū-UL 'SUM-an¹-z[i]
 (the following line is indented; inscribed in the available space between line 44' and the paragraph line)
 45' 'É^{sic} DINGIR¹-LIM^{URU}ik-šu-na §
- §13' 46' [n UDU n PA (?) ZĪ.D]A 1^{DUG}^rKA¹.GAG^{URU}^ra²-ia[?][?]-an-zi-ia-az pé-^reš¹-k[er]
 47' [(vacat) ki]-nu-na Ū-UL SUM-an-zi §
- §14' 48' [(ca 4 signs)] ^rDUGKA¹.GAG^{URU}^rša²-it[?]¹-ḥa-^rša¹-x-^raz[?] pé¹-[eš-ker]
 49' [(vacat?)] ŠA 'UD^{KAM}^rA-BI^dUTU-ŠI ar-ḥa [kar-aš-še-er (?)]
- (Randleiste or paragraph line)

- §6' The town Šaššuna [used to supply] *n* sheep, 3 *PARĪSU*-measures of porrid<ge>, 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of moist flour, 2 *PARĪSU*-measures of dry flour, [...] and beer, 2 *PARĪSU*-measures and 3 *BĀN*-measures of fine flour. [Sinc]e⁷ <the father of> (?) His Majesty sat in kingship, they do not supply (offerings any more).
- §7' The gold<sm>iths of Ĥurla (used to supply) [*n*+]¹ sheep, 15 loaves of bread, 2 vessels of beer. They have gone away: since then (lit. “afterwards”) (they are settled in) Gaparšat⁷. They do not supply (any more that) of the days of the father of His Majesty.
- §8' The town Ĥamiyara used to supply 2 sheep, 20 loaves of bread, 2 vessels of beer. Now they have become desolated, and the people of Ištuna cultivate the fields for him (i.e., for Pirwa⁷).
- §9' 1 ox, 6 sheep, 60 loaves of bread, 6 vessels of beer ... of Pittazzi (for) the Storm God of the Army. They are settled in Ĥapušna, now they do not supply (it).
- §10' They used to supply yearly 2 vessels of wine from Ala. Now they do not supply (it).
- §11' The saltlick wardens of the Palace used to supply 3 sheep.
- §12' From Gakkalna [they used to supply] yearly 3 sheep, 3 *PARĪSU*-measures of flour, 3 *KA.GAG*-vessels (of beer) [for⁷] Anzili in Ikšuna. Now they do not supply (it). Temple of Ikšuna.
- §13' From Ayanziya⁷ they used to supply [*n* sheep, *n* *PARĪSU*-measure(s) of flou]r, 1 *KA.GAG*-vessel (of beer). [N]ow they do not supply (it).
- §14' From Ša...ḥaša⁷ [they used to] supply [... *n*] *KA.GAG*-vessel(s) (of beer). They [cut⁷] off (that) of the days of the father of His Majesty.

Rev.

(Randleiste or paragraph line)

- §15' 1 [n NINDA.GUR₄.R]A GA.KIN.A[G] ŠA '1? BÂN? A-NA¹ ^dpí-ir-[wa]
 2 [n NINDA.GU]R₄.RA GA.KIN.AG TUR UDU^{HIA}-wa ŠA KUR-TI 'hu-
 u¹-[kán-zi]
 3 [URU?]-ma-kán ku-e-ez-zi-ia 1 UDU ar-*ha* ap-pa-an-z[i]
 4 na-an-kán A-NA¹ ^dpí-ir-wa Ū A-NA^dMU[NUS].LUGAL BAL-an-'ti¹
 5 ki-nu-na Ū-UL SUM-an-zi §
- §16' 6 GIM-an-ma KASKAL <MU^{KAM}-ti> (?) 'me²-ia-ni¹ DŪ-ri nu LŪ^rSANGA
 IŠ-TU^r NINDA^{HIA} KA[Š-ia?]
 7 GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA^{HIA} ta-'eš¹-ti-ia-zi nu ^dr pí-ir¹-wa-an
 8 '𐎶¹la-re-el-la LŪ¹HA-TÁ-NI-'ŠU^r pé-e-da-a[n]-zi
 9 nu ^dpí-ir-wa-an 𐎶¹la-re-el-la A-NA^dMU[NUS.LUG]AL kat-ta-an
 10 GIŠZAG.GAR.RA-ni 'da¹-ni-nu-wa-an-zi nu LŪ¹MEŠ^rla-pa-na¹-al-li-'e¹-[eš]
 11 1 UDU hu-u-kán-zi LŪSANGA ŠA DUMU.NITA LŪ¹M^[eš]la-p]a-na-al-'li¹
^{HIA}-'r ša¹
 12 ŠA DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} nu lu-uš-ša-nu-an-zi LŪ¹MEŠ{x}wa-al-wa-al-la^rHIA¹
 13 wa-aḥ-nu-an-zi nu-kán Ĭ.NUN.NA GIŠlu-ti-ia-az
 14 ar-*ha* pé-eš-ši-ia-an-zi ^dpí-ir-wa-an ša-ra-a ME-an-zi
 15 na-an-kán pa-ra-a pé-'e¹-da-an-zi na-an-kán 𐎶¹har-pí ŠA MUN
 16 ša-ra-a pí-ia-an-zi nu GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA^{HIA} IŠ-TU MUN
 17 ta-'eš¹¹-ti-ia-an-zi nu LŪ¹MEŠ¹𐎶¹la-pa-na-al-l¹^{HIA}-uš
 18 3 ME NINDA.GUR₄.RA ŠA MUN 1 ME NINDA^{HIA} 2 DUG KAŠ 20 UDU
 10 EM-ŠŪ
 19 10 GA.KIN.AG 3 PA ŠE.NAGA-ia MU^{KAM}-ti-li pé-eš-ker
 20 'ki¹-nu-na ŠA UD^{KAM} A-BI^dUTU-ŠI Ū-UL SUM-an-'zi¹
 21 'É? DINGIR²-LIM²? (traces) 'ŠA? RU¹ x x 'RU¹ WA¹ §
- §17' 22 [(ca. 3 signs) LŪ¹MEŠ]𐎶¹la-pa-na-al-'li^{HIA}-uš^{URU} pu-la-an-ta-ri-iš-'ša¹ pé-
 eš-[ker]
 23 [ki-nu-na ka-a-a]š MU '6¹KAM-'r T¹ ku-it Ū-UL SUM-an-zi §
- §18' 24 [x x n^{DU}]G^rKA¹.GAG '1 PA ZĬ.DA DUR₅¹ m^dAMAR.UTU-LŪ
 25 [LŪ^{URU}hi-m]u-wa pé-[eš]-'ke-et¹ ŠA ITU 2^{KAM} 'Ū¹-[UL SUM-zi] §
- §19' 26 [GIŠKIRI₆.GEŠTIN-za] m^dAMAR.UTU-LŪ LŪ^{URU}hi-'mu¹-wa
 27 [A-NA] 'd¹pí-ir-wa IGI-an-da 'MU¹KAM-ti-li šar-re-e[š-ke-et]
 28 [k]i-nu-un-ma-an-kán A[RAD^{ME}]š^mha-ad-du-ša-dKA[L]
 29 'LŪ¹MEŠ^{URU}ga-pí-li-wa-an-ta ha-aš-pé-er
 30 nu-uš-ma-ša-an^{A.ŠA}.GÀR¹ i-e-er¹ na-an an-né-e[š-kán-zi] §
- §20' 31 2 UZ₆ '2²?¹ DUGKA.GAG 2 'PA? ZĬ.DA ARAD¹MEŠ^mhu-ra-[(space for a
 few signs)]
 32 LŪ^{URU}ha-zu-uš-ra^rA.ŠA.A.GÀR¹ ŠA^dzu-li-[ia pé-eš-ker]
 33 ki-nu-na ka-a-aš MU '5²?¹KAM-TI ku-it kar-ša-a[n] §
 (rest of the column uninscribed)

- §15' [n loave]s (of) cheese of 1² BĀN-measure² for Pir[wa, n] small
(rev. 1–5) [loa]ves (of) cheese. “[They] slau[gher] the sheep^{pl} of the land. From each [town²] they take 1 sheep and (the priest) offers it to Pirwa and to the ‘Queen.’” Now they do not supply (it).
- §16' But when <in the course of the year> the (time of) the (cultic)
(rev. 6–21) journey arrives, the priest loads the wagons with breads [and²] beer, and they carry away Pirwa (and the?) *larella* (i.e.,?) his son-in-law (or: brother-in-law). They set Pirwa (and the?) *larella* on the altar next to the “Queen.” The saltlick warden[s] slaughter 1 sheep. The priest (is on the side?) of the young men, and the saltlick wardens (are on the side?) of the young women. They do *luššanu-*. The lion-men turn around and throw butter out of the window. They pick up Pirwa, carry him out, and hand him up onto a pile of salt. They load the wagons with salt. The saltlick wardens used to supply yearly 300 loaves of salt, 1 hundred breads, 2 vessels of beer, 20 sheep, 10 (portions of) sourdough, 10 cheeses, and 3 *PARĪSU*-measures of *soap herbs*. Now, they do not supply (any more that) of the days of the father of His Majesty. Temple² (of) ... (*fragmentary*)
- §17' The saltlick wardens of Pulantarišša [us]ed to supply [... Now,
(rev. 22–23) thi]s is the 6th year that they do not supply (it).
- §18' Šantaziti, [man of Ħi]muwa, used to supply [... , n] KA.GAG-
(rev. 24–25) vessels (of beer), 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of moist flour. [He does] no[t supply] (the offerings) of the 2nd month.
- §19' Šantaziti, man of Ħimuwa, apporti[oned] yearly [a vineyard]
(rev. 26–30) for Pirwa. But now the se[rvant]s of Ħattuša-KA[L], men of Gapiliwanta, have cut it down, turned it into fields for themselves, and they cult[ivate] it (for themselves).
- §20' The servants of Ħura-[...], man of Ħazušra, [used to supply]
(rev. 31–33) 2 goats, 2² KA.GAG-vessels (of beer), 2 *PARĪSU*-measures² of flour, (for) the fields of Zuli[ya]. Now, this is the 5th year that (it) has been cut [off].

Commentary

obv. 1': Cf. obv. 29', reading kindly suggested by D. Groddek.

obv. 6': Based on ANA "for," we would expect the verb *pai-/pe-/piya-* "to give, to supply" at the end of the line. But the traces suggest DÜ, "to make, to celebrate"; cf. obv. 7'–8', 12'. The sign TI appended to MU^{KAM} may be read akkadographically or phonetically, where the former option seems more likely (cf. also commentary on rev. 23, 33).

obv. 7'–9': For the PNs of this paragraph see Imparati 1990, 168. The verbal form LUGAL-*izziyatta* in the direct speech (of the three persons mentioned in line 7'?) quoted in obv. 9' is to be interpreted either as pres. sg. 3 (cf. Neu 1968, 109) or as a Luwian pret. sg. 3 (not Hittite, *pace* HW² H, 471). The sentence on line 9' seems to have a parallel in obv. 31'.

obv. 11': For the *ħarpaš* festival see §5.10.1.

obv. 12': For the role of the king of Išuwa among local cults see Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 175 n. 86. Note that the paragraph line does not run over the entire width of the tablet, and the signs of line 13' are written on the ruling.

obv. 13': At the end of the line W[A] is more likely than H[I] (so also RGTC 6, 37).

obv. 13', 33': On the interpretation of *arħa pai-* (with =*kan*) and EGIR-*an ašanzi* (in line 33' only EGIR-*an*) see Imparati 1990, 177–78; on the temporal use of *appa* see Hoffner 2002.

obv. 15'–21': A problematic passage. For the restorations on lines 16' and 19' cf. HW² H, 374; for other examples of sealed wooden boards cf. CHD Š, 16. The passage on line 21' cannot be read as proposed in HW² H, 371: ^{GIS}*ħar-ši-ia-an* LÜ^{IMES} ŠA ^d*pí-ir-wa ħar<-kán>-zi*. If one assumes no constituent of the sentence in line 21' to be missing, then the subject is either "Mount Liħša" or "(he, i.e., the priest) of Pirwa." In Cammarosano 2012a, 11 with n. 23 I inclined toward the latter option. Now, however, the former interpretation seems to me more likely, in view of passages from other cult inventories in which *har(k)-* "to have, hold" is used in the sense of "to host (shrines or cult objects)": cf. KUB 38.1+ (text no. 9) obv. i 25', 27'; KUB 25.23+ (text no. 13) rev. iv 48'. That the subject might have been at the end of the preceding line seems unlikely: the gen. ^{HUR.SAG}*liħšaš* would be in the stem form if preceded by heterograms, otherwise it would precede its head noun. "Mount Liħša" seems to be reference to a structure or settlement (see Imparati 1990, 180, Forlanini 2009, 41 n. 8).

obv. 18': The use of the enclitic subject pronoun is striking, since *memi-* is not an "unaccusative" verb (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert).

obv. 23', 27': The copy shows at the end of line 23' 1 GÍN BU[R ...] (so also HW² I, 70), but the alleged BUR might be read as GÍN (kindly suggested by C. Corti). Unconvincing is the translation offered by RGTC 6, 19 "jetzt aber, weil [seine] einzige Hürde die Stadt A(nkušna) (?) wurde, sind es 4 Jahre her, daß [es unterbrochen ist]," thus interpreting the signs at the end of line 23' as a form of Akkadian *supūru* (for the alleged GN Ankušna see the commentary on obv. 24'). Not really convincing is also a reading ^mŠU-PUR-[...], although Akkadian PNs of the type *šupur*-... are indeed attested.

obv. 24': For the restoration at the end of the line cf. rev. 23 and 33. The beginning of the line is a *crux*. Forlanini 1992, 172–73 (see also 2009, 41 with n. 11) and RGTC 6, 19 read ^{URU}an-ku-uš-ša-na-an, to be equated with Ankušna, but do not give an explanation for the problematic ending -an. HW² I, 70 reads x-an kuššan=an "[...] wurde der Lohn (Kasus unklar)," which does not make things better. Importantly, the traces of two of the signs of this line do not fit with Güterbock's otherwise excellent copy: the first sign of the line seems to have a *Winkelhaken* to the left, and the first sign of the alleged form *ki-ša-at* ends with two verticals, seemingly an IŠ rather than a KI. Furthermore, the traces of the alleged signs KU, UŠ, ŠA, and AN at the beginning of the line leave ample space for interpretation. For the reading *kāš* MU 4^{KAM}-TI kuit [*karšan*] (collated, against the copy and *tān* of HW² I, 70) cf. rev. 23 and 33 and related commentary. Thanks are due to C. Corti for providing additional photos of the tablet, which were used to discuss this passage.

obv. 27': The traces of a *Winkelhaken* between TUKUL and ŠA are probably a scratch or a damage. CHD P, 42, 275 takes the sequence PÉ ER as pret. pl. 3 of *pai-/pe-/piya-*. For the reading ^mzu-^rú⁷-uš see already Imparati 1990, 169, a reading "1 GÍN x UŠ" seems less convincing. The PN Zu is attested in the spellings ^mzu-u-uš in HKM 72 obv. 34 and ^mzu-ú in KBo 55.193 4', noteworthy is the occurrence of the same PN on a recently published Late Old Babylonian tablet from Tigunatum (MS 1856/1, ed. A. R. George, CUSAS 34.60, spelling ^mzu-ú, as in KBo 55.193).

obv. 28': The copy shows traces of a vertical wedge at the beginning of the line, but collation suggests this might be a crevice.

obv. 31': For the restoration cf. obv. 9'. Imparati (1990, 175) suggested the reading ^rA⁷<-BI>.

obv. 32'–33': The highly abridged phrasing of this passage seems to reflect technical jargon. For the interpretation cf. obv. 13'–14' and see already Imparati 1990, 177–78.

obv. 38': The passage seems to be corrupted. One would expect ARAD^{MEŠ} or similar in place of Û.

obv. 39': Cf. obv. 13'–14', 33'.

rev. 1–5: Cf. commentary on rev. 14–19 on the use of NINDA.GUR₄.RA for loaves of various products. The context requires a verbal form at the end of line 2, hence the proposed restoration.

rev. 7–9: The passage is not entirely intellegible, since the gloss-word *larella* is uninterpreted.

rev. 10–11: Collation confirms the reading ^{LÚ.MES}*la-pa-na'-al-li-'e'-[eš]* (so also *HED* L, 61 and *CHD* 40, 88), the only occurrence of the nom. pl. in *-eš* instead of *-uš* for this rare word. Note the unusual spelling of the coordinating conjunction in ^{LÚ.M}[^{ES}*la-p*]*a-na-al-'li'*^{HLA}*-'ša'* (kindly pointed out by E. Rieken).

rev. 14–19: On this passage see Watkins 1997 and Fritzsche 2011, 44–45, with literature; on the role of “saltlick wardens” see the introduction. On the use of NINDA.GUR₄.RA to denote “loaves” of cheese and other products see Hoffner 1974, 121–22 and Fritzsche 2011, 35; cf. also KUB 17.35 rev. iv 4 (text no. 1).

rev. 23, 33: Here and in obv. 24' rare new examples of cleft construction in Hittite are found (kindly pointed out by E. Rieken; on this construction see Rieken and Widmer 2010). For the temporal expression used here cf. Hoffner 2004, 338–39 quoting two examples from the oracle texts KUB 18.16 and KUB 18.21 (with *kāš* and *kāša* respectively). The regular use of *kāš* in IBoT 2.131 makes an emendation of *kāš* in KUB 18.16 unlikely. Note in these occurrences the spelling MU n^{KAM}-*TI*, with wrong use of the Akkadian gen. ending for a Hittite nom.

rev. 26–30: Restorations are based on the parallel text Bo 3245 4'–12' (see Imparati 1990, 166 n. 2). On this passage see van den Hout 1995a, 156. This passage provides important support for Melchert's (2007) claim that *ḥašp*- means “to cut down”; see also the new attestations in Kp 15/7+ (text no. 15) obv. ii 14–15 and lo. e. 3.

rev. 28: Based on the context, Ḫattuša-^dKAL (Ḫattuša-In(n)ara or Ḫattuša-Kuruntiya) is probably identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the oracular inquiry KBo 14.21 (van den Hout 1995a, 155–57), who in turn can be identified with the holder of the office of GAL.GEŠTIN mentioned in the Bronze Tablet and in KBo 4.10+ (on whom see most recently Marizza 2007, 164–67).

rev. 31: For this PN cf. the PNs Ḫuraša (TCL 20.191 30) and *ḥu+ra/i'-CERVUS₃-ti'* (Herbordt 2005, no. 126, REX.FILIUS).

**TEXT NO. 7. KBo 12.53+: WORKFORCE, LIVESTOCK, AND SEEDS:
PROPELLING THE ECONOMY AND THE CULTS**

Manuscripts: 435/s + 452/s (KBo 12.53^{A1}) + VAT 7461 + VAT 13028 (KUB 48.105^{A2}). **Findspot:** Boğazköy, House on the Slope. **Edition:** Archi and Klengel 1980. **Discussion:** Giorgadze 1982 (general observations on KUB 48.105); Forlanini 2009, 49–56; Barjamovic 2011, 248–55; Kryszewski 2016, 363–82; de Martino 2017a, 254, 257 (geographical setting); Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 167–68 (role of the king of Tumanna, dating).

The cult inventory records measures taken by “His Majesty” in order to restart the production of cult supplies in a number of towns located in four districts, namely, those of Wašha[niya] (§§1’–7’, cf. commentary on obv. 17’; at least six towns), Durmitta (§§8’–25’, seventeen towns), Gaššiya (§§26’–28’, two towns), and Tapikka (§§29’–34’, at least six towns). The text is arranged in sections and paragraphs. Each paragraph treats a single town; sections are separated by double paragraph line and end with the formula “the district of so and so is completed” (obv. 18’, rev. 30 and 36).

Each paragraph opens with the words “in the town so and so, for the gods so and so, His Majesty instituted the following.” Then, the goods to be provided are listed, often together with the persons or institutions that are responsible for supplying them. Differently than in most cult inventories, neither cult images nor festivals are mentioned, and the recorded provisions of goods do not represent regular offerings, but rather one-off contributions. Exceptional is also the fact that the identity of the gods of the various settlements is of secondary importance in this text, so that they are often referred to simply as “the gods (of the town so and so).” Most notable is the large amount of workforce, livestock, and seeds allocated in the inventoried towns. Seeds are mostly produced by threshing floors (the quantities vary between 15 *PARĪSU*-measures in §5’, 30 *PARĪSU*-measures in §§11’, 12’, 14’, and 150 *PARĪSU*-measures in §8’); in §27’, however, they are supplied by the king of Tumanna (120 *PARĪSU*-measures). The allocation of workforce, livestock, and seed, clearly represents an effort to restart the economy of depopulated areas. Production is the prerequisite for the existence of any cult, a fact that exemplifies the interdependence of gods and men: only where the land is populated are goods produced, a part of which will sustain the gods in the form of cult offerings, either collected through some form of taxation or provided directly by the estate of temples and other cult institutions. Thus, this text testifies to the deep interrelation of economy and cult management within the Hittite Kingdom, a fascinating and still poorly investigated topic (Archi 1973b; Klengel 1975).

The measures recorded in this tablet are no doubt related to events occurring at the time of Muwattalli II, Muršili III, and Ḫattušili III. Indeed, in the so-called Apology of Ḫattušili III, we read that Muwattalli II (re)built the reconquered towns of Anziliya and Tapikka (§9), which are among the towns treated by KBo 12.53+ (rev. 37, 43). Moreover, the districts of Durmitta and Gaššiya, which represent the bulk of the area treated here, are among the “waste lands” entrusted by Muwattalli II to Ḫattušili at the time when the latter was made king of Ḫakmiš. This seems to make a strong case for dating the text to the reign of Ḫattušili III, at least if we are to give credit to his claim to have repopulated those regions (*appa ašešanu-*, see Apology, §10b–c). Note that the customary dating of this cult inventory to the reign of Tudḫaliya IV (e.g., Archi and Klengel 1980, 152; Kryszewski 2016, 358) is based solely on the unnecessary assumption that the whole corpus of the cult inventories would date back to this king (see §2.3 for discussion). In principle, neither a dating to Muršili III, who took those regions back for himself after his accession to the throne (Apology, §10c), nor a dating to Tudḫaliya IV, successor of Ḫattušili III and promoter of many cult restorations, can be ruled out. But there are indeed arguments supporting the dating to Ḫattušili. First of all, there can be little doubt that this charismatic ruler tried to get the most out of the districts entrusted to him during the reigns of Muwattalli II and Muršili III. To repopulate and revitalize those areas meant only the increase of his own power and position, independently of whether this would have occurred in anticipation of the showdown with his nephew and rival, or as Great King.

The major role of the king of Tumanna as provider of goods (see presently) may also be a hint for the dating to Ḫattušili. This vassal kingdom was created most likely either by Muršili III or by Ḫattušili in the frame of their showdown, as a way to gain support for his own party (Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 172). Since the “king of Tumanna” continues to play an important role still at the time of Tudḫaliya IV (Cammarosano and Marizza 2015), and in view of Ḫattušili’s dedication to the northern districts, it is reasonable to assume that this figure had always been an ally of the latter. The overall evidence, therefore, suggests giving credit to Ḫattušili’s claim about the revitalization of an area that largely overlaps with that treated by this cult inventory, thereby supporting the dating of the tablet to the time of his reign as Great King.

The allocation of large numbers of transportees constitutes one of the most interesting aspects of the text. As often happens in pre-modern civilizations, also in the Hittite kingdom the scantness of population made the workforce a most precious commodity. As a sort of “reserve army of labor,” the Hittites had at their disposal the population of regions outside or at the

margins of their control (Korn and Lorenz 2014, 65–69). A campaign into hostile land would lead most typically to the capture of a certain number of “civilian prisoners,” which were transported to settlements within the land of Hatti in order to (re)populate specific regions and contribute to the production of goods. The Hittite term *arnuwala-* “transportee” (from *arnu-* “to make go”), mostly written logographically as NAM.RA, denotes precisely this kind of people. They were often specialized workers and they were not slaves, at least not in the sense we are used to giving to the word. Note that transportees could be exempted up to a certain extent from taxes and services as a way to “help” them in establishing their own activity (see the Hittite Laws, §112).

Characteristically, the “transportees” were obliged to reside on the land where they had been forcibly settled: “They belong to specific lands, settlements or temples, that they may not leave. If—discontented with their lot—they ever cross over into a foreign land, diplomatic exchanges immediately arise concerning their extradition. They form a good portion of the spoils of war and as such are transplanted from one land to another in order to settle newly founded villages or in order to put stretches of waste land under cultivation” (Goetze 1957a, 106, in the translation given by Hoffner 2009, 164; for further reading see Hoffner 2009, 112). In administrative texts, transportees are commonly referred to in terms of “house(hold)s” (logogram É) composed of a certain number of people, most commonly ten, a striking parallel to the grouping of the Helots in ancient Sparta (cf. also the ten-men bands of *ḫapiru* referred to in the Tigranid letter, see Hoffner 2009, 76). Often, their provenience is specified: most notably are groups of transportees from Azzi (obv. 19') and Arzawa (rev. 41), terms that refer to eastern and western Anatolia respectively. In some cases, the specialization of the transportees is detailed: we find “*ubati*-men” (LÚ^{MES} *upatiyaš*, see the commentary on obv. 23'), cattle herders (obv. 24'), king's weavers (obv. 34'), horse herders (obv. 37'), *daḫarili*-men (obv. 39', 43'), members of the standing army and spear holders (rev. 4), and the uninterpreted *ḫuwadalanzi warmamenzi*-men (rev. 32).

As for the question of the geographical setting of the inventory, nothing requires the assumption that the treated districts would be contiguous. Neither the towns treated in the text represent the totality of the towns of the treated districts (Durmita and Tapikka, for example, counted far more towns than those listed here), nor do the treated districts necessarily border each other. The common trait is rather here the repopulation of selected settlements located in regions that had been entrusted to Ḫattušili as he was made king of Ḫakpiš. And indeed, the fact that both the district of Kaššiya (west of the Kızılırmak) and that of Tapikka (Maşat Höyük, east of Ḫattuša) are treated shows that the targeted districts stretch over a very large geo-

graphical span. The actual puzzle is represented by the district of Durmitta, the “Durḫumit” of the Old Assyrian sources. The location of Durmitta has been much disputed in recent times, the main tentative localizations being a northeastern one, in the area of Merzifon (Barjamovic 2011, 249–55; for the *memorandum* Kt 91/k 437, see pp. 271–75), a southern one, on the middle Kızılırmak (Forlanini 2009, 49–57; 2012, 294–95, with a different appraisal of Kt 91/k 437), and a central one, in the area of Çankırı between the rivers Devrez and Kızılırmak (Kryszeń 2016, 343–87; de Martino 2017a, 253–55). The interpretation of the available evidence is not plain, but the close ties with Tuḫupiya in the south (cf. commentary on rev. 26) and the overall interpretation of the Hittite sources support the “central” localization argued by Kryszeń and others. At first sight, KBo 12.53+ does not provide conclusive evidence to settle the dispute, since the town Uwalma (obv 31') may well be different from Old Assyrian Ulama (Hawkins 2016, 641; Kryszeń 2016, 380–82), and the Nenašša of KBo 12.53+ (obv. 29') is not necessarily identical with the well-known Nenašša on the middle Kızılırmak (Forlanini equates them, Barjamovic splits them; for attestations and discussion see most recently Kryszeń 2016, 371–76 and de Martino 2017a, 254–55 with references).

Of interest for the question of the location of Durmitta is the role of the king of Tumanna. In the cult inventory, this vassal king plays the role of major provider of livestock and transportees within the districts of Durmitta and Gaššiya, whereas he is completely absent in the districts of Wašḫa[niya] (*pace* Forlanini 2012, 294) and Tapikka. This circumstance is hardly coincidental, and suggests a certain proximity of these two districts both with each other and with the kingdom of Tumanna. The core of the land of Tumanna was probably in the area of Kastamonu, north of the Devrez, or perhaps further to the southeast (see most recently Forlanini 2013, 44; Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 175–83), but the kingdom of Tumanna, created at some point at the time of Muršili III or Ḫattušili III, likely expanded to the south, including the territories that in previous times formed the land of Pala (Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 163–64, 181–83; Cammarosano 2016, 81–83). This fits very well with the distribution of the provisions as observed in KBo 12.53+, and seems to favor the hypothesis of a “central” localization of Durmitta, although it would not necessarily be incompatible with the eastern localization proposed by Barjamovic.

Among the providers of the one-off supplies listed in our tablet, the king of Tumanna has a prominent role. Indeed, he is the only person mentioned as provider of livestock (in §27' also seeds) for the districts of Durmitta and Gaššiya. Thus, KBo 12.53+ testifies to the importance of this newly created kingdom in the Late Empire period. The king of Tumanna appears as provider of cult offerings also in other late cult inventories, and is considered in the

oracle IBoT 1.32, together with the king of Išuwa, as the possible commander of a military expedition into the land of Azzi in eastern Anatolia (Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 164–72, 183–88). In the cuneiform sources this king is never mentioned by name, but at least some of the attestations may pertain to Kaššu, the “king of the land of Tumanna” of the seal impression Bo 91/944 (Cammarosano 2016). Besides the king of Tumanna, other individuals are responsible for the provision of supplies in our tablet: Innarawa (§§2', 5'), Piḫananaya (§5', 6'), the troops of Iṣḫupitta and the “salt-men” of Ḫappala (28'), and possibly the Great King himself (§§26' and 31', if the restorations are correct).

The tablet offers a rich harvest of divine, personal, and place names. Among the attested gods Pirwa (obv. 36', 38') and Nanaya (obv. 42'), both in the district of Durmitta, stand out. Indeed, this is the only Hittite text mentioning the Assyro-Babylonian goddess Nanaya (obv. 42', town of Malidaškuriya), which is likely to be interpreted as an Old Assyrian survival (Schwemer 2008a, 152; *pace* Archi and Klengel 1980, 151; for the survival of Old Assyrian gods in Hittite times see *CTH* 510.1, text no. 17). As for the horse-god Pirwa, it is no accident that the only group of horse-herders mentioned in the text is allotted precisely to him (obv. 37').

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph; 3D model (only MS A1).

Format and Layout: Single-columned tablet (width ca. 14 cm; preserved height ca. 21.5 cm, original height ca. 25 cm [differently Klengel 1975, 195]).

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: LNS: late KI (obv. 16'; rev. 6, 9, 12, 14, 16, 27, 31, 34, 43) and QA (obv. 18'; rev. 30, 36). Note the presence of different variants of various signs: the “older” KI is found in obv. 13', 28', 29', 31', 36', 38', 41', and in rev. 16; ḪA has two *Winkelhaken* in eleven occurrences, one *Winkelhaken* in five occurrences; MEŠ has normally three *Winkelhaken*, but four *Winkelhaken* in obv. 20', 39'; curiously, LI is written on the obv. in the older variant (obv. 20', 26', 42'), on the rev. in the later variant (rev. 15, 16, 20, 28, 35, 41, 43). The central horizontal of DA is not broken; inscribed verticals in ŠA and TA are generally high. On the palaeography of the tablet see already Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 168 n. 51 (what is observed for QA in Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 168 n. 51 is to be corrected). The script is not cursive; lines and rulings are not quite parallel to each other, especially on the reverse.

Orthography: The verbal form in the formula “His Majesty instituted ...” is spelled logographically (ME-*iš*) in the first part of the tablet, namely, up to obv. 37' (one exception is found in obv. 16'), but phonetically from obv. 38' on. Note the apparently mistaken ending attached to the dat.-loc. of

logographically written DNs in obv. 9' (ANA ^d10 ^dUTU-*uš*) and rev. 31 (^dKAL-*aš*); the unusual inflected form of a GN in obv. 39' ([L]Ú^{MES} URU *šarmanzanaš*); the use of LUGAL instead of ^dUTU-ŠI in rev. 16; the frequent use of AŠ for

Transliteration

Obv.

(upper part of the tablet broken off)

- §1' 1' (A1 obv. 1') [... T]A[...] §
- §2' 2' (A1/A2 obv. 2') [INA URU (?) (ca. 3–4 signs) -a]š-ši ^d10-aš 'DINGIR'[(ca. 6 signs)]x x x[(space for a few signs)]
- 3' [... T]A É ^dUTU-AŠ ^mKARA[Š-... (ca. 8 signs) ^{LÚ}]ZABAR.DAB '40?' [(space for a few signs)]
- 4' [(ca. 3–4 signs)] 1-NU-TIM ^{TÚG}NÍG.LÁM^{MES} an-d[(space for a few signs) 1-NU-TIM] ^{KUŠ}E.SIR *ha-at-ti-liš* 1-NU-TIM [^{TÚG}SAG.DUL (?)]
- 5' [QA-D]U ^{KUŠ}MAR-ŠUM 1 KIN[?]-TUM x[(ca. 4–5 signs) ^min-na-r]a-u-wa-a-aš pa-a-i §
- §3' 6' IN[A URU^rša-na-na-u-ia ^dIŠTAR LÍL ^d[U]TU-ŠI [ki]-^ršic[?] ME-iš 2 É-TUM ŠĀ 24 NAM.RA^{MES}
- 7' [x[?]+]ⁿ NAM.RA^{MES} ŠĀ É ^dUTU-AŠ ŠĀ-B[A n N]AM.RA^{MES} ŠĀ É gaz-zi-ma-ri-ia
- 8' [KAŠ GEŠ]TIN (?) TA[!] URU^rši-en-da-za 'GAM'-an *ha*-[ma-an-k]án-zi §
- §4' 9' [IN]A URU^ruš[?]-*ha-ni-ia* A-NA ^d10 ^dUTU-*uš* ^dU[TU-ŠI k]i-i ME-iš 3 É-TUM ŠĀ 30 NAM.RA^{MES} É.^rGAL ^d[UTU-ŠI] §
- §5' 10' INA URU^rki[?]-*pí-it-ta* A-NA ^dUTU-AŠ ^rd[?][UTU-ŠI] ki-i ME-iš 1 É-TUM ŠĀ 10 'NAM'.RA^{MES} (erasure) [(vacat?)]
- 11' 'ŠĀ É^r ^mla-ba-ar-na LÚ^{MES} UR[^Ux-x-x]-x-na ^min-na-ra-u-wa-a[!]-aš pa-a-i 4 GU₄.APIN.LÁ [(vacat?)]
- 12' '70?' U[DU^{HIA}] ŠĀ URU^ruš-*ha-ni-ia* GAM-[an *h*]a-ma-an-kán-zi 1 ME UDU^{HIA} ŠĀ LÚ^{MES} MUN [(space for a few signs)]
- 13' 20 U[Z₆] ^mpí-*ha-na-na-ia-aš* KUR-e-za pa-a-i ^{GIŠ}TUKUL DÛ-an-zi 15 NUMUN KISLAḤ DÛ-z[i] §

Akkadian *INA*, unusual among cult inventories; the variance in the spelling of the GN Tumanna.

Translation

- §1' (fragmentary)
- §2' (obv. 1'–5') (after a large gap) [... in the town (?) ...]ašši District of
the Storm God (and?) the god(s) [... f]rom the Wašḥa[niya]
shrine of the Sun Deity Mr. Kulan[a- ... the] (incipit lost)
wine steward 40 [...] 1 set of festive garments
is inclu[ded ... 1 set of] Hattian shoes, 1 set [of
shoes? wit]h straps, 1 outfit [... Innar]auwa
supplies.
- §3' (obv. 6'–8') I[n the tow]n Šananauya, for Ištar/Šawuška
of the Countryside, His Majesty instituted
[the fol]lowing: 2 households, composed of 24
transportees—*n* transportees belonging to the
shrine of the Sun Deity, including [*n* tr]ansportees
belonging to the house of Gazzimariya. They
f[i]x (the amount of) [beer (and) wi]ne (to be
supplied) from the town Šenda.
- §4' (obv. 9') [I]n the town Ušḥaniya, for the Storm God
(and) the Sun Deity, [His] Majesty instituted
the following: 3 households, composed of 30
transportees (belonging to) the Palace of [His]
Ma[jesty].
- §5' (obv. 10'–13') In the town Kipitta, for the Sun Deity, [His]
Ma[jesty] instituted the following: 1 household,
composed of 10 transportees, belonging to the
House of Labarna, men of the to[wn ...]-*na*—
Innarauwa supplies (them). They fix 4 plough-
oxen (and) 70' sh[EEP] (as contribution) of the
town Ušḥaniya. 100 sheep of the “salt-men” [...]
Piḥananaya supplies from the district 20 goats.
They perform the TUKUL-service. The threshing
floor produces 15 (*PARĪSU*-measures) of seed.

- §6' 14' INA ^{URU}*u-uh-ḫi-u-wa* A-NA ^dZA-BA₄-BA₄ 20 UZ₆ ^m*pí-ḫa-na-na-ia-aš*
pa-a-i 1 ^{URUDU}ŠEN 1 G[ÍR]
 15' 1 ^{URUDU}ŠA-AK-RU-Ú ^m*pí-ḫa-na-na-[i]a-aš* [p]a-a-i § (an additional
 paragraph line runs on the right portion of the column)
- §7' 16' INA ^{URU}*ka-pí-ta-*ta-am-na** A-NA ^d[10[?] DINGIR^{MES}-i]a[?] *^d*UTU-ŠI **ki-*
i da-a-iš* 2 É-TUM x[(space for a few signs)]
 17' (erasure) 12 NAM.RA^{MES} 5 É-TUM ŠÀ [n NAM.RA^{MES}] ŠA ^{NA4}*ḫé-kur*
^dKAL KUR ^{URU}*wa-aš-ḫ[a-ni-ia]*
 (the following line is indented and inscribed on the paragraph line)
 18' (A2 obv. 18') QA-TI ŠŠ
- §8' 19' (A1 obv. 18'/A2 obv. 19') INA KUR ^{URU}*dur-mi-it-ta* INA[!] ^{URU}*li-iš¹-ši-na* A¹-NA ^d10
^dUTU-ŠI *ki-i* ME-iš
 20' 50 É-TUM ŠÀ 5 ME NAM.RA^{MES} 1 URU-LUM 3 URU.DU₆ ^{LÚ.MES}Š[ANGA
a]n-^rna-al^r-li-iš
 21' (A1 obv. 20'/A2 obv. 21') 3 É-TUM ŠÀ 30 NAM.RA^{MES} INA ^{URU}*ḫa-^rad-du-ḫi-na*
^{LÚ^{MES}} ^{URU}*az-zi* 1 É-TUM ŠÀ 10 NAM.RA[^{MES}]
 22' ŠA É.^rGAL¹ ^{<URU>}*ḫa-^ra¹-ri-ia-ša* INA ^{URU}*ḫa-at-[x]-x-x-nu* 3 É-TUM ŠÀ
 30 NAM.RA^{MES} ^{URU}*zi-ip-^rla²-da[?]*
 23' [3] É-[TUM ŠÀ] ^r30^{sic} NAM^r.RA^{MES} ŠA ^{URU}*da-zi-pa* ^{LÚ^{MES}}*ú-pa-^rti¹-aš* 1
 É-TUM ŠÀ 10 NAM.RA^{MES}
 24' [x]x x x x x 3 É-[TUM] ŠÀ 30 NAM.RA^{MES} ^{LÚ^{MES}}SIPA.GU₄ (erasure)
 (MS A1 breaks off)
 25' [^{URU?}*tá*]^{g?}*ga-še-ba-at-kán* EGIR-*pa-an* 2 ^rÉ'-TUM 20 NAM.RA^{MES}
^{LÚ^{MES}} ^{URU}*ka-za-a-ḫa*
 26' ^rLÚ^{MES}¹ ^m*da-du-u-i-lí* ^{LÚ^{MES}}*ú-pa-ti-aš* ŠU.NÍGIN 16 É-TUM ŠÀ 1 ME
 ŠU-ŠI NAM.RA^{MES}
 27' ^dUTU-ŠI EGIR-*pa-an-da pa-a-iš* n[^G]^{U4}ÁB 4 ME UDU^{HLA} ŠÀ 1 ME 20
 UZ₆ ^{GIŠ}TUKUL DÙ-zi
 28' 1 ME 50 NUMUN KISLAḪ DÙ-zi §
- §9' 29' INA ^{URU}*ne-na-aš-ša* ^dUTU-ŠI *ki-i* ME-iš 1 ME ^r40[?] NAM.RA^{MES} *an-na-*
al-liš ŠA DINGIR-LIM
 30' 24 GU₄ 2 ME UDU LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*tu-um-ma-na pa-a-i* §

- §6' In the town Uḫḫiwa, for the War god, Piḫananaya supplies 20 goats. Piḫananaya supplies 1 copper kettle, 1 da[gger], (and) 1 copper ŠAGARU.
- §7' In the town Kapitātamna, for the [Storm?] God an[d for the (other) gods (?)], His Majesty instituted the following: 2 households [...] 12 transportees, (and) 5 households, composed of [n transportees] belonging to the ḫekur-shrine of the Stag God. The district of Wašḫa[niya] is completed.
- §8' In the district of Durmitta: in the town Liššina, District of
(obv. 19'–28') for the Storm God, His Majesty instituted the Durmitta
following: 50 households, composed of 500 transportees. 1 town, 3 ruin-towns, (and?) the p[riest]s from before. 3 households, composed of 30 transportees, in Ḫadduḫina, men of Azzi. 1 household, composed of 10 transportees, belonging to the Palace of Ḫariyaša in Ḫat-...-nu. 3 households, composed of 30 transportees, (men of) Zippalanda. [3] households, composed of 3]0 transportees of the town Dazipa, ubati-men. 1 household, composed of 10 transportees ... (*illegible*). 3 households, composed of 30 transportees, cattle-herder—Behind [the town? Ta]ggašebe 2 households, (composed of) 20 transportees, men of the town Kazaḫa, men of Mr. Daduili, ubati-men. Total: His Majesty additionally supplied 16 households, composed of 160 transportees. n cows (and) 400 sheep, of which 120 are goats (are provided). They perform the TUKUL-service. The threshing floor produces 150 (PARĪSU-measures) of seed.
- §9' In the town Nenašša His Majesty instituted the
(obv. 29'–30') following: 140 transportees, (personnel) of the deity, in place since of old. The king of the land of Tumanna supplies 24 oxen (and) 200 sheep.

- §10' 31' [INA^{UR}]U^U-wa-al-ma A-NA DINGIR^{MES} dUTU-ŠI ki-i ME-^riš¹ 1 É-TUM
ŠÀ 10 NAM.RA^{MES}
32' [ŠA] G^{IS}TUKUL.GÍD.DA 1 É-TUM ŠÀ 16 NAM.RA^{MES} ŠA LÚ^M[^{ES}] HUR.
SAG 1 É-TUM ŠÀ 10 NAM.RA^{MES}
33' ARAD^{MES} ŠA^m in-na-ra-a 1 É-TUM ŠÀ 4 NAM.RA^{MES} Š[A] LÚSANGA 1
É-TUM ŠÀ 10 NAM.RA^{MES}
34' LÚ^{MES}UŠ.BAR ŠA LUGAL ŠU.NÍGIN 4 É-TUM ŠÀ 50 NAM.RA^{MES} ^r50
UDU^{HIA} an-^rna-li-eš[?] [(vacat)]
35' 14 GU₄ ŠÀ 4 GU₄.APIN.LÁ LUGAL KUR^{URU}tu-um-ma-na pa-a-i §
- §11' 36' [INA^{UR}]U^U-ni-zi-da-ša A-NA d^pi-ir-wa dUTU-ŠI ki-i ME-iš⁴ 4 É-TUM
[ŠÀ 40[?] NAM.RA^{MES}]
37' [LÚ]^{MES}SIPA ANŠE.KUR.RA 4 GU₄ 30 UDU LUGAL KUR^{URU}tu-um-ma-
na pa-a-i 30 PA [NUMUN KISLAḤ DÛ-zī] §
- §12' 38' [INA] ^{URU}BAD-da-ni-ia-ša A-NA d^pi-ir-wa dUTU-ŠI ki-i da-a-iš¹ 1
É-[TUM ŠÀ 10 NAM.RA^{MES}]
39' [L]U^{MES} ^{URU}šar-ma-an-za-na-aš 2 É-TUM ŠÀ 20 NAM.RA^{MES} LÚ.^[M]ES^{da-}
ḥa-ri-l[i-eš[?]]
40' [1] ^rÉ-TUM^r ŠÀ <10> NAM.RA^{MES} LÚSANGA an-na-al-la-aš ŠU.NÍGIN
4 É-TUM ŠÀ ^r40[?] [NAM.RA^{MES}]
41' [n GU₄] 20 UDU^{HIA} LUGAL KUR^{URU}tu-um-ma-na pa-a-i 30 PA
NUMUN KISLAḤ DÛ-z[i] § (an additional paragraph line runs on
the right portion of the column)
- §13' 42' [INA^{URU}ma-l]i-da-aš-ku-ri-ia A-NA dⁿa-na-ia 2 É-TUM ŠÀ 20 NAM.
[RA^{MES}]
43' [(ca. 3 signs)]x ARAD^{MES} DINGIR-[LIM 5[?] É-TUM ŠÀ] 50 NAM.RA^{MES}
LÚ^{MES}da-ḥa-[ri-li-eš[?]]
(Randleiste)

Rev.

(Randleiste)

- §14' 1 (A2 rev. 1) [INA^{URU} ... 7[?]] ^rÉ¹-TUM ŠÀ 70[?] [N]AM.RA^{MES} 30 PA NUMUN
KISLAḤ D[Û-zī]
2 [n GU₄ n UDU LUGAL KUR^{URU}]tu-um-ma-na [p]a-a-i §

- §10' (obv. 31'–35') [In the to]wn Uwalma, for the gods, His Majesty instituted the following: 1 household, composed of 10 transportees, [belonging to] the TUKUL. GĪD.DA(-men). 1 household, composed of 16 transportees, belonging to the highlanders. 1 household, composed of 10 transportees, servants of Mr. Innara. 1 household, composed of 4 transportees, belonging to the priest. 1 household, composed of 10 transportees, weavers of the king. Total: 4 (*read*: 5) households, composed of 50 transportees. 50 sheep are in place since of old. The king of the land of Tumanna supplies 14 oxen, of which 4 are plough-oxen.
- §11' (obv. 36'–37') [In the to]wn Tenizidaša, for Pirwa, His Majesty instituted the following: 4 households, [composed of 40[?] transportees], horse-herders. The king of the land of Tumanna supplies 4 oxen (and) 30 sheep. [The threshing floor produces] 30 *PARĪSU*-measures [of seed].
- §12' (obv. 38'–41') [In] the town Piddaniyaša (or: Paddaniyaša), for Pirwa, His Majesty instituted the following: 1 household, [composed of 10 transportees], men of the town Šarmanzana. 2 households, composed of 20 transportees, *daḥarili*-men. [1] household, composed of <10> transportees, (belonging to) the priest, in place since of old. Total: 4 households, composed of 40 [transportees]. The king of the land of Tumanna supplies [*n* oxen] (and) 20 sheep. The threshing floor produces 30 *PARĪSU*-measures of seed.
- §13' (obv. 42'–43') [In the town Ma]lidaškuriya, for Nanaya, 2 households, composed of 20 transpo[rtees, ...] servants of the goddess. [5[?] households, composed of] 50 transportees, *daḥa[rili]*-men.
- §14' (rev. 1–2) [In the town ... 7[?]] households, composed of 70 transportees. The threshing floor produ[ces] 30 *PARĪSU*-measures of seed. [The king of the land of] Tumanna supplies [*n* oxen (and) *n* sheep].

- §15' 3 [INA^{URU} (ca. 5 signs) ^dUT]U-ŠI ki-i da-a-iš 2 'É' ŠÀ 20 NAM.RA
^{GIŠ}TUKUL.GĪD.DA x[(space for a few signs)]
 4 [(ca. 5 signs) ^{LÚ.MES}UK]U.UŠ (?) ŠA LUGAL 1 É ŠÀ 10 NAM.RA LÚ^{MES}
^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR [(vacat?)]
 5 [(ca. 5 signs) É.GA]L ^rURU^šu¹-lu-pa-aš-ši-ia-aš '4' GU₄.^rAPIN'.LÁ 20
 UDU LUGAL KUR ^{URU}du-[um-ma-na pa-a-i] §
- §16' 6 [INA^{URU} (ca. 5 signs)] DINGIR^{MES} ^dUTU-ŠI *ki*-i da-a-iš 1 'É' 10 NAM.
 RA ^{URU}ha-at-ta-r[i-na (?)]
 7 [(ca. 6 signs)] ^mga-aš-ga-DINGIR-LIM LÚ^{MES} ú-pa-a-ti-ia-aš 6 G[U₄]
 20 UZ₆ ŠA ^mga-[aš-ga-DINGIR-LIM (?)]
 8 [(ca. 6 signs)] pí-ia-an-zi §
- §17' 9 [INA^{URU} (ca. 5 signs)]-ra A-NA DINGIR^{MES} ^dUTU-ŠI ki-i da-^ra¹ sic-[iš n
 É Š]À 50[?] N[AM.RA]
 10 [(ca. 6 signs) n GU₄]^r40[?] UDU LUGAL KUR ^{URU}du-um-ma-an-na [pa-
 a-i]
 11 [...] (extant part of the line uninscribed) §
- §18' 12 [INA^{URU}]x-ra-at-ta ^dpí-ir-wa ^rd¹UTU-ŠI ki-i da-a-iš '3[?] [É ŠÀ 30[?]
 NAM.RA]
 13 [(1–2 signs)]x '2[?] GU₄¹ sic UDU[?].NITA¹ ŠA É.GAL du-up-[p]a¹ sic-^raš¹ sic 4
 GU₄ 20 UDU LUGAL KUR ^{URU}du-m[a-an-na pa-a-i] §
- §19' 14 [INA^U]^{RU}ka-a-la-aš-mi-it-ta ^dKAL ^da-la-a ^dU[TU]-ŠI ki-i da-a-iš 2 'É'
 [ŠÀ 20[?] NAM.RA]
 15 [a]n-na-al-li-iš ARAD^{MES} DINGIR-LIM 5 É^{MES} ŠÀ 50 NA[M.R]A ^{URU}a-
 ha-ri-i-wa-aš-ša [(space for a few signs)] §
- §20' 16 INA^{URU}ta-me-et-ta-ia ^d10 KI.LAM ^dan-zi-li [LU]GAL ki-i da-a-iš
 17 1 É 10 NAM.RA ^{LÚ}rSANGA 1 É' 10 NAM.RA ŠA x[x]x ^{URU}wa[?]-[...]
 18 1 É 10 NAM.RA ŠA ^mx-[(1–2 signs)]-x-pa²-a-^hi LÚ^{MES} x[(ca. 4 signs)
]x[...]
 19 LUGAL KUR ^{URU}du-ma-an-na pa-a-^ri¹ §

- §15' (rev. 3–5) [In the town ... His Ma]jesty instituted the following: 2 households, composed of 20 transportees, (belonging to) the TUKUL.GÍD. DA(-men). [... men of the standi]ng army (?) of the king. 1 household, composed of 10 transportees, “men of the spear.” [... of the Pala]ce of Šulupašši. The king of the land of Tu[manna supplies] 4 plough-oxen (and) 20 sheep.
- §16' (rev. 6–8) [In the town ...], for the gods, His Majesty instituted the following: 1 household, composed of 10 transportees, of the town Ḫattari[na[?] ...] Mr. Gašgaili, *ubati*-men. [...] supply 6 oxen (and) 20 goats of Mr. Ga[šgaili[?]].
- §17' (rev. 9–11) [In the town ...]-ra, for the gods, His Majesty institut[ed] the following: [*n* households, com]posed of 50[?] tra[n]sportees, ...] The king of the land of Tumanna [supplies *n* oxen] (and) 40[?] sheep.
- §18' (rev. 12–13) [In the town ...]-ratta, for Pirwa, His Majesty instituted the following: 3[?] [households, composed of 30[?] transportees, ...] 2[?] oxen (and?) rams^{??} of the tablet-palace. The king of Tuma[nna supplies] 4 oxen (and) 20 sheep.
- §19' (rev. 14–15) [In the to]wn Kalašmitta, for the Stag God (and) Ala, His Majesty instituted the following: 2 households, [composed of 20[?] transportees], servants of the god(s), in place since of old. 5 households, composed of 50 transportees, of the town Aḫariwašša. [(*vacat*?)]
- §20' (rev. 16–19) In the town Tamettaya, (for) the Storm God of the gate-house (and) Anzili, the king instituted the following: 1 household, (composed of) 10 transportees, (belonging to) the priest. 1 household, (composed of) 10 transportees, of (*illegible*) (of the) town Wa-[...] 1 household, (composed of) 10 transportees, of Mr. [...]-paḫi, men [...] The king of the land of Tumanna supplies [...].

- §21' 20 *INA*^{URU} *dur-mi-it-^rta¹* A-NA DINGIR^{MES} ^d[UTU-ŠI *ki*]-^r*i¹* *da-a-iš* 4 É ŠÀ
40[?] [N]AM.RA *an-na-le-eš*
21 1 ME 50 NAM.RA ^m[*p*]^{i[?]} *ga-na¹-te-iš-š[i (vacat?)* LUGAL KUR^{UR} ^U*du-*
ma-an-na pa-a-i
22 20 GU₄ ^{GIS}TUKUL DÛ-zi x[(ca. 6–7 signs) *pa*]-^r*a¹-i* §
- §22' 23 *INA*^{rURU} [... ^dUTU-ŠI *ki-i*] *da-a-iš* 20 ^{GU4}ÁB 1 ME UDU ^{GIS}TUKUL DÛ-
z[*i*]
24 x[... LUGAL KUR^{URU} *du-u*] *m-ma-an-na pa-a-i* §
- §23' 25 (A1 rev. 1/A2 rev. 25) [*INA*^{URU} (ca. 5 signs) A-N]A DINGIR^{MES} ^dUTU-Š[*I ki*]-^r*i¹*
da-a-iš 3 É ŠÀ 30 NAM.RA
26 [(ca. 6 signs) ^{URU}*tu²-h*]^{u²-u-up-pí-ia} [n GU₄.API]N.LÁ LUGAL KUR
^{URU}*du-um-ma-an-na pa-a-^ri¹* §
- §24' 27 [*INA*^{URU} (ca. 5 signs) -*p*]^{ár²-ga-u-i} A-NA DINGIR^M[^{EŠ?}] ^{r^d}UTU-ŠI *ki-i*
da-a-iš
28 [n É ŠÀ n NAM.RA ŠA (?)] ^{m²}*pí-du-li-ma* L[^Ú^{MES} *ú-p*]*a-ti-ia-aš* 1 É 10
NAM.RA ŠA ^{URU}x[(space for a few signs)]
29 (A1 rev. 5/A2 rev. 29) [n É ŠÀ n NAM.RA ŠA (?)] ^m*du-u-wa-ia-al-^rla¹* [^Ú^{MES}]
^r*ú¹-pa-ti-ia-aš* 4 GU₄ LUGAL KUR^{URU} *du-ma-[an-na pa-a-i]* §
- §25' 30 [(ca. 5–6 signs)]x-za DINGIR^{MES}-*tar pé-^rdan_x* *har¹-[kán-zi (?)]* KUR
^{URU}*dur-mi-it-ta QA-[TI]* §§
- §26' 31 [*INA*^{URU} *ga-a*]-š-š*i-ia* *INA* [^U^{RU} *a-aš-^ršu-wa-aš-ša¹* *INA* [^{URU}[?]x]-x-*hal'-ha-*
za ^dKAL-*aš* ^dUTU-ŠI *ki-i* [*da-a-iš*]
32 1 ^rÉ¹ 10 NAM.RA ^{LÚ}^{MES} *hu-u-wa-da-a-la-an-[z]* *i* *wa-ar-ma-me-en-zi*
^dUTU-ŠI *p[a-a-iš (?)]*
33 4 GU₄ ^r50[?] UDU[?] LUGAL KUR^{URU} *du-um-ma-an-na ^rpa-a-i¹* §
- §27' 34 (A1 rev. 10/A2 rev. 34) *INA*^{URU} *ha-ar-ta-a-na* ^d*ia-ar-r[i]* ^dUTU-ŠI *ki-i da-a-iš* 8 É
[ŠÀ 80[?] NAM.RA]
35 *an-na-li-iš* ŠA DINGIR-LIM 1 ME 20 PA NU[MU]N ^r20¹ ^{GU4}ÁB 1 ME
UDU ŠÀ-BA 50 UZ₆ LU[GAL KUR^{URU} *du-ma-an-na pa-a-i]* §

- §21' (rev. 20–22) In the town Durmitta, for the gods, H[is Majesty] instituted [the foll]owing: 4 households, composed of 40⁷ transportees, in place since of old. [The king of the land of] Tumanna supplies 150 transportees (belonging to?) Mr. Piganatešš[i⁷]. 20 oxen. They perform the TUKUL-service. [...] supplies [...].
- §22' (rev. 23–24) In the town [... His Majesty] instituted [the following]: 20 cows (and) 100 sheep. They perform the TUKUL-service. [The king of the land of Tu]manna supplies [...].
- §23' (rev. 25–26) [In the town ... , f]or the gods, His Majesty instituted [the foll]owing: 3 households, composed of 30 transportees, [... of the town Tu]ḫuppiya⁷. The king of the land of Tumanna supplies [n] plough-[oxen].
- §24' (rev. 27–29) [In the town ...]-pargawi, for the god[s]⁷, His Majesty instituted the following: [n households, composed of n transportees, belonging to(?)] Mr.⁷ Pidulima⁷, [u]bati-men. 1 household, (composed of) 10 transportees, of the town [... n households, composed of n transportees, belonging to (?)] Duwayalla, ubati-[men]. The king of the land of Tuma[nna supplies] 4 oxen.
- §25' (rev. 30) [... they] have “brought” the divine images. The district of Durmitta is compl[eted].
- §26' (rev. 31–33) I[n the town Gaš]šiya, in the town Aššuwašša, in District (lit. “town”) of Gaššiya
[the town ...]-ḫalḫaza⁷, (for) the Stag God, His Majesty [instituted] the following: 1 household, (composed of) 10 transportees, ḫuwadalanzi warmamenzi-men—His Majesty s[upplies⁷ (this)]. The king of the land of Tumanna supplies 4 oxen (and) 50⁷ sheep⁷.
- §27' (rev. 34–35) In the town Ḫartana, (for) Yarri, His Majesty instituted the following: 8 households, [composed of 80⁷ transportees], (personnel) of the deity, in place since of old. The ki[ng of the land of Tumanna supplies] 120 PARĪSU-measures of seed, 20 cows, 100 sheep, of which 50 are goats.

- §28' 36 'INA¹ URU *ga-^r aš¹-š¹-[i]a QA-TI* §§
- §29' 37 KUR URU *ta-a-pí-ka-a-aš^d* 10 DINGIR^{MES}-*ia^d* UTU-Š^d[*I ki*]-*i da-a-iš* 4 É ŠÀ
50 NAM.RA [...]
- 38 3 GU₄ ÉRIN^{MES} URU *iš-ḥu-pí-it-ta pé-eš-ká[n-z]* i 20 UDU LÚ^{MES} MUN
URU *ḥa-ap-pa-la [pé-eš-kán-zi (?)]* §
- §30' 39 (A1 rev. 15/A2 rev. 39) URU *ga-ag-ga-ad-du-u-wa^d* 10 4 É ŠÀ 50 [NAM.RA]A URU *ar-*
za-u-wa 30 UZ₆ ^m*zu-z[u- ...]*
- 40 NA₄? 'KU' x x 1 ŠA-RI-x 'KÛ'.BABBAR ^dUTU-Š^d[*I pa-a*]-*i* §
- §31' 41 'INA URU *za¹-pí-^r iš¹-ḥu-u-na^d* an-zi-li '60'+[n N]AM.RA KUR URU *ar-za-*
u-wa^d UTU-Š^d[*I pa-a-i*] §
- §32' 42 [INA URU] ^U*iš-tar-wa-a* 'DINGIR'[(1–2 signs) ^dUTU-Š^d*I ki-i da-a-i*]š 4 'É'
ŠÀ 30 NAM.RA [...] §
- §33' 43 [INA URU] *a[n-zi-li-i[a ...^d* UTU-Š^d*I ki-i da-a-iš* 4 [É ...]
- 44 (A1 rev. 20/A2 rev. 44) [(1–2 signs)]x-*ar(-)x*[...] *pé-eš-kán-zi* [...]
- 45 [(ca. 3 signs) *pa*]-^r*a-i* (?) [(*vacat*?)] (rest of the line uninscribed) §
(MS A1 breaks off)
- §34' 46 [... Š]*U-Š*I NAM.RA x[...]
- 47 [... n G]ADA 1 GADA 2[...]
- 48 [...]^r3[?][...]
(breaks off)

- §28' In the town Gaššiya (the inventory) is completed.
(rev. 36)
- §29' District of Tapikka. (For) the Storm God and District of
(rev. 37–38) the (other) gods His Majesty instituted the Tapikka
[foll]owing: 4 households, composed of 50
transportees [...] The troops of Išhupitta
regularly supply 3 oxen. The “salt-men” of the
town Happala [regularly supply (?)] 20 sheep.
- §30' Town Gaggadduwa. (For) the Storm God Mr.
(rev. 39–40) Zuz[u- ... supplies?] 4 households, composed
of 50 [transport]ees. His Majesty [supp]lies
(*illegible*) of silver.
- §31' In the town Zapišhuna, for Anzili, His Majesty
(rev. 41) [supplies] 60+*n* transportees of the land of
Arzawa.
- §32' [In the to]wn Ištarwa, for the god[(s)? ... His
(rev. 42) Majesty institut]ed [the following]: 4 households,
composed of 30 transportees [...]
- §33' [In the town A]nziliy[a ... His Majes]ty instituted
(rev. 43–45) the following: 4 [households ...] they regularly
supply. [... su]pplies?
- §34' [... 6]0 transportees [... *n* ga]rments, 1 garment,
(rev. 46–48) 2 [...] 3? [...] (*breaks off*)

Commentary

obv. 2': Archi and Klengel (1980) read "1' É-TUM Š]À 10' NA[M.RA.MEŠ]," which does not seem to fit the traces.

obv. 3': The PN could be Kuwalanamuwa, Kuwalanaziti or Kuwalanalla (for the first two see Hawkins 2005, 261; the third one is attested in KBo 5.7 obv. 6). For the writing "UTU-AŠ, corresponding to Hittite Ištanu, see Kasian and Yakubovich 2004.

obv. 4': For TUGNÍG.LÁM "festive garment" see Baccelli, Bellucci, and Vigo 2014, 123–24.

obv. 5': The term *MARŠUM* occurs in the Hittite texts with the determinatives for leather (KUŠ) and clothes (TÚG); often it qualifies the SAG.DUL hat, hence the tentative restoration proposed here, which differs from that put forward by Archi and Klengel. Based on the attested contexts, it is best translated as "straps," "thongs" (kindly pointed out by M. Vigo, see CAD M/1, 296 and Siegelová 1986, 896; differently Archi and Klengel: "Quaste(?)"). The tentative reading KIN-TUM (cf. HZL no. 47/11) has been kindly suggested by D. Groddek.

obv. 7'–8': For other attestations of the "house of Gazzimar(iy)a" and for the restoration in obv. 8' see Archi and Klengel 1980, 150–51.

obv. 11': On the "palaces" and "houses of Labarna" see CHD L–N, 42 and Hazenbos 2003, 148, 156–59. The traces of a wedge at the end of the line, drawn as such in the hand copy, are not visible on the photo.

obv. 12': Archi and Klengel read "10 ME(?) [UDU]" at the beginning of the line and assume a GN to be restored at its end.

obv. 13': Here and passim, the amount of seed is expressed in *PARĪSU*-measures, although this is not explicitly noted (cf. obv. 37' and passim). Giorgadze's (1982, 114) interpretation of the phrase as "sie werden einen Dreschplatz (für) x *PARĪSU* (Saat) Getreide machen" is not convincing: the threshing floor is probably the subject of the verb *iya-* (here "to produce"). Note that the verbal form is always spelled DÛ-zi in this context, whereas both DÛ-an-zi and DÛ-zi are used in the phrase "They, namely, ... perform the TUKUL-service."

obv. 16': The traces at the end of the line do not fit the reading ŠÀ proposed by Archi and Klengel (1980). The tentative restoration in the middle of the line is by Archi and Klengel.

obv. 17': On the "*ḫekur*-shrine of the Stag God" see Imparati 1977, 24–38. Whether the sanctuary referred to in this passage is to be identified with the one that is known from other texts is unclear. The name of the district the inventory of which ends here has always been restored as Wašḫaniya (Forlanini 1979, 174; Archi and Klengel 1980, 144; RGTC 6/2, 187; Forlanini

2009, 49; Barjamovic 2011, 248). That the expression KUR ^{URU}Wašḥa[niya] is not a specification of the Stag God (so Archi and Klengel 1980, 147) but rather the subject of the following verbal form “is completed,” is demonstrated by the larger size of the signs, matching that of *QATT* in the following line, as well as by the other occurrences of the concluding formulas.

obv. 19': On the reading of the GN Liššina see the collation by Wilhelm referred to in Barjamovic 2011, 249 n. 938, whereas Archi and Klengel read “Liḥzina.” The two names may refer to the same town, see Kryszeń 2016, 364–68; on this town see also Corti 2017, 228.

obv. 20': On the interpretation of the formula based on *annalli/a-* see §3.3.1. This line is interpreted differently by Archi and Klengel.

obv. 21': Archi and Klengel (1980) read *ḥa-ḥ[a²-r]i-ia-ša*.

obv. 22': The reading ^{URU}*zi-ip-p[ṛ²-i]š²-[]* proposed by Archi and Klengel (1980) is not attested elsewhere.

obv. 23': The reading is based on the total of sixteen households given in obv. 26', under the assumption that the illegible signs at the beginning of line 24' specify the provenience, qualification, or affiliation of the preceding group of transportees. On the photo, traces of two *Winkelhaken* are visible, so that the numeral may be “20” or “30.” On the *ubati*-men, attested in obv. 23', 26' and rev. 7, 28, 29, see Beal 1992, 539–49; this term means perhaps “unit, association” of persons, soldiers, or civilians, who were capable of holding land.

obv. 26': The total does not include the fifty households listed first in the paragraph.

obv. 27': On the interpretation of *appanda pai-/pe-/piya-* see the commentary on KUB 38.12 obv. i 7–8 (text no. 8) and §3.3.2.1.

obv. 31'–32', rev. 3: For the interpretation of the passage see d'Alfonso 2010, 77. The label ^{GIS}TUKUL.GÍD.DA-man, attested only in texts of the Late Empire period, is a generic designation of middle- or high-ranking state dependents (d'Alfonso 2010, 76–78).

obv. 34': The numeral that specifies the number of households is “4” on the tablet (the copy is correct, the reading “5” in the edition by Archi and Klengel is erroneous), which is however evidently a mistake for “5.”

obv. 36'–37': It is no chance that the transportees allocated to Pirwa, the horse god (cf. KUB 38.4, text no. 11), are horse herders. The town Tenizidaša is not attested elsewhere.

obv. 38': On the GN Piddaniyaša see now Kryszeń 2016, 377–78.

obv. 39', 43': The reading ^{LÜ(MES)}*da-ḥa-ri-li-* (instead of *daḥatalli-*) is supported by the *hapax* ^{LÜ.MES}*da-ṛḥa¹-ra-i-[li- ...]* found in KBo 19.89 7' (HEG T, 15).

obv. 42': The unique mention of the Assyro-Babylonian goddess Nanaya is likely to be interpreted as an Old Assyrian survival (see the introduction). On the GN Malidaškuriya see now Kryszewski 2016, 368–69 and de Martino 2017a, 256–57, 259.

rev. 1: The numeral is “60” or “70.”

rev. 5: There is no *Winkelhaken* following DU at the end of the line. On the Palace of Šulupašši see Archi and Klengel 1980, 151.

rev. 12: The missing sign in the GN ends with a vertical wedge. Neither *Waratta* nor *Aššaratta* seem to be possible readings.

rev. 16: Noteworthy is the use of LUGAL instead of the ubiquitous “UTU-ŠI. On the GN Tametta(ya) see now Kryszewski 2016, 378–79.

rev. 26: The only GN known to me that could fit the traces is Tuḫuppiya; the writing ^{URU}*tu-ḫu-u-up-pi-ia* is however not attested. Note that the region of Tuḫuppiya probably bordered the district of Durmitta; see Forlanini 2008b, 68 n. 55 (proposes a localization in the nearby of Kaman); Barjamovic 2011, 311.

rev. 28: The reading of the otherwise unattested PN Pidulima is uncertain.

rev. 30: The tentative reading, if correct, provides a further attestation of the formula on “bringing the gods,” on which see §3.4.8.

rev. 31: The AŠ preceding the gap in the middle of the column is to be interpreted as the preposition *INA*, not as case ending of the GN Aššuwašša (so in the edition of Archi and Klengel 1980; cf. also the preceding GN). For “KAL-*aš* functioning as a dat. sg. see obv. 9’.

rev. 32: Note the Luwian nom. pl. ^{LÚ.MES}*ḫuwantalanzi* “warmamenzi. The former may be related to the incomplete gloss-word “*ḫu-u-wa-an-ta-la*-[...] at KUB 21.8 obv. ii 4’, whereas the latter is likely the past participle of the Luwian verb *warmā(i)-* (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert).

7.3. CULT IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS

The four cult inventories presented in this chapter are mainly concerned with descriptions of cult images. They are among the most relevant sources for the iconography of several Hittite gods, together with the reliefs of the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya. The story of their publication intersects with a sad chapter of German history. In the late 1930s, the young orientalist C.-G. von Brandenstein carefully collected and studied the Hittite texts preserving descriptions of cult images (*Bildbeschreibungen*), but the war forced him to write down his dissertation during a three-month *Wehrmachtsarbeitsurlaub* in spring 1940 (von Brandenstein 1943, 2 n. 1). Since von Brandenstein had been interned by English troops in Iran in autumn 1941, J. Friedrich decided in 1943 to proceed to print the book, which was still not entirely ready for publication, adding here and there observations of his own (von Brandenstein 1943; cf. p. 3). While working on the texts, von Brandenstein had generously put his transliterations and notes at the disposal of colleagues. Among them there were H. Otten and H. G. Güterbock. The latter could take advantage of that material for his groundbreaking studies on Anatolian hieroglyphs and on the Hittite pantheon (cf. Güterbock 1943, 299 n. 11; 1946, 482). Editing these texts anew more than seventy years later highlights the excellence of von Brandenstein's pioneering work, his profound mastery of the sources as well as his acute intuitions on the meaning of difficult words and passages.

Although many other texts preserving descriptions of cult images are known to us (see above all KBo 2.1, KBo 2.7 and 2.13, KUB 38.26+; text nos. 2–4), the internal coherence of this group of tablets is such that it still seems most conducive to present them together, and in the same order as in von Brandenstein's book. Their distinguishing feature resides indeed in the primary concern with cult images and divine accoutrements. These texts differ from KBo 2.7, KBo 2.13, and KUB 38.26+ insofar as they contain no festival descriptions, and from KBo 2.1, insofar as they contain no lists of festivals and offerings, no comparison between “previous” and “present” state of the cult images, and, interestingly, no direct reference to the king's decisions. Indeed, the frequent mention of the construction of new shrines, as well as of the installment of new personnel and the number of towns inventoried, are clear hints at an operation of inventorying and restoration of cult images, no doubt carried out at the orders of the central authority. However, such measures are not referred to by means of the usual hint at “His Majesty's” decisions, but rather through a verbal form in the first person plural (“we made a new shrine ... we installed a priest”), or a participial expression (“a new shrine is made”); both constructions are used in KUB 38.1 as well as in

KUB 38.3. This group of texts also shows interesting peculiarities in some extratextual features: fingernail impressions as well as an unusual treatment of *Randleisten* and a column divider in KUB 38.2, and an unusual shaping of the double paragraph lines in KUB 38.1+ and KUB 38.3. The latter tablet also preserves an interesting depiction of two human heads. Both KUB 38.1+ and KUB 38.3, written by the same scribe, are structured in sections and paragraphs: the former are devoted each one to a different town, while the latter are devoted each one to a different god within a specific town. The fragmentary tablets KUB 38.2 and KUB 38.4 probably followed the same principle.

The so-called *Bildbeschreibungen* preserved in these and other texts provide us with a vivid picture of the appearance of Hittite cult images. The only conducive way to study them is in combination with the extant archaeological evidence. Iconographic and textual sources supplement and enlighten each other, allowing for a better understanding of the nature and appearance of the Hittite gods (for more on this subject see §4).

TEXT NO. 8. KUB 38.2: ŠAWUŠKA

Manuscript: Bo 2383 (KUB 38.2, but more accurate is the hand copy by von Brandenstein 1943, *Keilschriftkopie von Text I*). **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Edition:** Von Brandenstein 1943, 4–10. **Discussion:** Otten *apud* Bittel, Naumann, and Otto 1941, 83 (discussion of obv. ii 8'–12'); Rost 1961, 174–78 (translation and notes); Güterbock 1975a, 189–90 (edition and discussion of obv. i 21'–26' and ii 8'–12'); Güterbock 1983, 204–6 (discussion of the cult image descriptions); Hoffner, *COS* 3.35:64–65 (translation).

The extant portion of the tablet preserves seventeen paragraphs, each one devoted to a different god: the str[ong?] Šawuška (§3'), Šawuška of Summoning (§4'), [Karma]hili (§7''), the Storm God of Heaven (§8''), the Storm God of the (Royal) House (9''), the War God (§10''), the Stag God (§11''), the Sun God of Heaven (§12''), the Storm God of the (Royal) House (13''), H̄atepuna (§14''), Mount Išdaḥarunuwa (§15''), the *hekur* Temmuwa (§16''), and perhaps another storm god (§17''). Paragraphs concerning the same town were probably grouped into sections in the original tablet. There is no direct evidence for this due to the fragmentary state of the tablet, yet the fact that the Storm God of Heaven and the Storm God of the (Royal) House are treated twice (§§7''–8'' and 12''–13'') hints at that conclusion. Admittedly, the only preserved double paragraph line is used to keep distinct two hypostases of the goddess Šawuška (§§3', 4'). The toponyms mentioned in the text show that the geographical setting of this inventory is the region around Ištaḥara and Kammama, probably to the northeast or northwest of Örtaköy/Şapinuwa (Forlanini 2008a, 169; Corti 2017, 222–23). Besides cult image descriptions, the text provides information on shrines and cult personnel, occasionally also on festivals, on the people responsible for their celebration, and on the provenience of offerings (note the mention of the “house of the king,” §§8''–9'', also found in KUB 38.3 §2).

Of special interest is the description of the cult images corresponding to two different manifestations of Šawuška in obv. i 7'–27'. Šawuška, “the Great (one),” is a Hurrian deity corresponding to the Mesopotamian Ištar, the goddess of war, sex, and magic (§4.4.2.4). Most striking here is the fact that the former—the “st[rong?]” Šawuška—is represented by a female, the latter—Šawuška “of Summoning”—by a masculine statuette. The contradiction is indeed the characteristic trademark of Ištar, not to be confused with hermaphroditism proper (Trémouille 2009, 101 with literature). In both cases, Šawuška is provided with wings and stands on a winged monster (the *awiti*-, on which see the commentary on obv. i 12'), flanked by the servants Ninatta and Kulitta.

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph, 3D model.

Format and Layout: Lower half of a two-columned tablet (width 17 cm; max preserved height ca. 17 cm, original height ca. 30 cm). KUB 38.2 presents some peculiar features as to its outer appearance. As in KUB 38.1+, there is no *Randleiste* at the top of the rev. (no apparent reasons for this; cf. Waal 2015, 104–5, 208–9). Furthermore, there is no *intercolumnium* proper, but rather a single vertical line (for this feature see Waal 2015, 92; KUB 38.2 is not listed in the catalogue on pp. 197–98, since this feature is not apparent in the KUB copy); finally, it is one of three Hittite tablets known to display fingernail impressions, specifically, on the first paragraph of the iv col. (the

Transliteration

Obv. i

(Upper half of the column broken off)

- §1' 1' [(ca. 2 signs)]x Ḫ[AR? ...]
 2' EZEN₄ zé-[e-ni ...]
 3' EZEN₄ SAG[?][UŠ? ...] §
- §2' 4' Ú-NU-TE-ŠU [...]
 5' 1 ZA.ḪUM ZAB[AR ...]
 6' 1 BI-IB-RU KÙ.[BABBAR (or: KÙ.[SI₂₂] ...) §§
- §3' 7' ^dIŠ^{TAR} <an-[na-ri-iš (?) ALAM ...]
 8' a-ša-a-an 'ZAG.UDU¹-za [pát-tar ú-wa-an]
 9' ZAG-za ŠU-za [GA]L KÙ.S[_{I₂₂} ḫar-zi GÜB-za ŠU-za]
 10' SIG₅ KÙ.SI₂₂ ḫar-zi P[AL? ...]
 11' GAM-ŠU pal-za-ḫa-aš KÙ.BABBAR GA[R.RA] pa[l-za-ḫa-aš GAM-an]
 12' a-ú-i-tiⁱ-iš KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA GAR-ri
 13' a-ú-i-ti-ia-aš-ma-kán [p]át-^rta-na-ašⁱ ZA[G-za GÜB-za]
 14' ^dni-na-at-ta-aš^r ^d[ku-l]i-it-^rtaⁱ-[aš]
 15' ŠA KÙ.BABBAR 'IGI^{HLA}-ŠU [KÙ.S][_{I₂₂} GAR.'RA GUB¹-ri
 16' a-ú-i-ti-ia-aš-ma GA[M-an pa]l-za-ḫa-aš IŠ-ŠÍ
 17' NINDA.GUR₄.RA UD^{KAM}-ši ŠA UP-NI 'GAL.GIR₄' ŠA GEŠTIN
 18' ^dni-na-at-^rta-ašⁱ ^dku-li-it-ta-aš
 19' an-da ap-^rpaⁱ-an-za EZEN₄ ITU ŠÎR-ŠU
 20' ^{LÚ}SANGA-ŠU NU.GÁL 1 BI-^rIB¹-RU GÚ GU₄ KÙ.SI₂₂ §

first lines of which are inscribed, *pace* Waal 2015, 54). A comparable case is that of the Old Babylonian tablet VAT 1155: here, too, fingernail impressions are spread across an inscribed portion of the tablet; their number and orientation is surprisingly close to those of KUB 38.2.

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: Late KU (i 18', for the diagnostic value of this variant see Giorgieri and Mora 2004, 34); HA with two *Winkelhaken* (ii 5', 6', 12', 13', 20', 21'; iii 2, 6); KÜ = HZL no. 69/A, differently than in KUB 38.1+ (other sign variants, e.g., KÂN and RA, are different as well).

Orthography: Note in obv. i 22' *tar-pát*, mistake for *pát-tar*, and the use of KUR instead of the more common HUR.SAG in rev. iii 18.

Translation

§1' (after a large gap) ... au[tumn] festival [...] festival ... [...]
(i 1'–3')

§2' his/her accoutrements [...] 1 bron[ze] tankard [...] 1 *BIBRU*-
(i 4'–6') vessel of sil[ver (or: gold) ...]

§3' The st[rong?] Šawuška: [a statuette ...] seated, from her shoulders
(i 7'–20') [wings protrude], in her right hand [she holds] a cup of gold, [in her left hand] she holds a gold (hieroglyphic sign for) “Good(ness).” Beneath her there is a base, plat[ed] with silver. [Beneath] the b[ase] lies a sphinx, plated with silver. And to the right [and left] of the wings of the sphinx stand Ninatta and Kulitta, their eyes of silver, plated with [go]ld. And beneath the sphinx there is a base of wood. Her daily (offering is a) loaf of bread of one handful (of flour, and) a clay cup of wine. Ninatta and Kulitta are included (as recipients of the offerings). (Furthermore:) a monthly festival, her “song.” Her priest is missing. 1 *BIBRU*-vessel (shaped like) a bull’s (lit.: ox) (head and) neck, of gold.

- §4' 21' ^dLIŠ *hal-zi-ia-u-wa-aš* ALAM KÙ.SI₂₂ LÚ GUB-*an-za*
 22' ZAG.*UDU* -*za tar-pát* (read: *pát-tar*) *ú-wa-an* ZAG-*za ŠU-za*
 23' HA-ŠÍ-IN-NU KÙ.SI₂₂ *har-zi* GÙB-*za ŠU-za*
 24' SIG₅ KÙ.SI₂₂ *har-zi a-ú-i-ti-ia-kán*
 25' 'KUN KÙ'.BABBAR 'GAR.RA' GABA-ŠU KÙ.SI₂₂ GAR.RA GUB-*ri*
 26' [EGIR-*an-d*]*a-ma-kán pát-ta-na-aš* ZAG-*za GÙB-za*
 27' [^d*ni-na*]-*at-ta-aš* ^d*ku-li-it-ta-aš* GUB-*ri*
 (*Randleiste*)

Obv. ii

(Upper half of the column broken off)

- §5'' 1' [...]x-x ŠA x[...] §^{sic}
- §6'' 2' [2 EZE]N₄-ŠU *zé-e-na-an*-[*ti ha-me-eš-ha-an-ti* (?)]
 3' [(ca. 3 signs)]x EZEN₄ ITU NU.GÁL [(*vacat?*)] §
- §7'' 4' [^d*kar-ma-h*]*i-liš* ALAM LÚ *a-ša-a*[*n IGI-ŠU*] KÙ.SI₂₂ [GAR.RA]
 5' [ZAG-*za ŠU-z*]*a* ^{GIS}TUKUL *har-zi* GAM-ŠU 'pal-*za-ha-aš*'
 KÙ.BABBAR
 6' [2 EZEN₄-Š]*U zé-e-ni ha-^rme-eš^r-hi*
 7' 'DU₆.URU'^{MES} 'TUR' *e-eš-ša-an-^rzi*' ARAD-ŠU NU.GÁL §
- §8'' 8' '^d10 AN-E ALAM LÚ KÙ.SI₂₂ GAR.RA *a-š*[*a-a*]-^r*an*'
 9' [Z]AG-*za ŠU-za* ^{GIS}*hat-^rtal-la^r-an har-zi*
 10' [G]ÙB-*za ŠU-za a-aš-šu* KÙ.'^{SI₂₂} *har-zi*
 11' A-NA 2 HUR.SAG ALAM LÚ KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA x^r 'GUB-*an*'-z[*a*]
 12' GAM-ŠU ^{GIS}*pal-za-ha-aš* KÙ.BABBAR 2 BI-IB-RU 'KÙ.BABBAR'
 13' 2 EZEN₄-ŠU *zé-e-ni ha-me-eš-hi* TA 'É' [LUGAL SUM-*an-zi* (?)]
 (traces of erased signs) §
- §9'' 14' ^d10 É-TI 'GÚ GU₄ KÙ.BABBAR' IGI-z[*i*]
 15' *gi-nu-^ršar-ri^r-an-za* 2 'EZEN₄'-ŠU [*zé-e-ni*]
 16' *ha-me-eš-hi* TA É LUGAL [SU]M^r-*a*[*n-zi* (?)] §
- §10'' 17' ^dZA-BA₄-BA₄ ALAM KÙ.BABBAR 'LÚ' [GUB-*aš* (?)]
 18' ZAG-*za ŠU-za* ^{GIS}TUKUL *har-zi* GÙ[B-*za ŠU-za*]
 19' A-^rRI-TUM' *har-^rzi*' GAM-ŠU U[R.MAḤ GUB-*ri*]
 20' 'GAM UR.MAḤ *pal-za-ha-aš*' KÙ.BABBAR GAR.R[A]
 21' 2 EZEN₄-ŠU *zé-e-ni ha-me-eš-hi*
 22' LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*kam-ma-ma e-eš-ša-an-zi*
 23' ˁ 1 ZA.ḤUM KÙ.'BABBAR' ARAD-ŠU NU.GÁL §
- §11'' 24' ^dKAL ALAM LÚ GUB-*an* IGI-ŠU KÙ.SI₂₂ GAR.RA
 25' ZAG-*za ŠU-za ma-ri-in* KÙ.'BABBAR' *har-zi*
 26' GÙB-*za ŠU-za A-RI-TUM* '*har-zi*'
 (*Randleiste*)

- §4'
(i 21'–27') Šawuška of Summoning: a statuette of gold; he is a standing man; from his shoulders wings protrude, in his right hand he holds an axe of gold, in his left hand he holds a golden (hieroglyphic sign for) “Good(ness).” He stands on a sphinx, (its) tail plated with silver, its chest plated with gold. And [behi]nd, to the right and left of (his) wings, stand [Nin]atta and Kulitta.
- §5''–6''
(ii 1', 2'–3') (*after a large gap*) [His/her 2 festi]vals, in autu[mn and spring (?)] ... there is no monthly festival.
- §7''
(ii 4'–7') [Karma]hili: a statuette of a man, seated; [his eyes are inlaid with] gold; [in his right hand] he holds a mace. Beneath him there is a base of silver. The small ruin-towns celebrate his [two festivals] in autumn (and) spring. His servant is missing.
- §8''
(ii 8'–13') Storm God of Heaven: a statuette of a man, plated with gold, seated; in his right hand he holds a mace, in his left hand he holds a golden (hieroglyphic sign for) “Good(ness).” He stands on 2 mountains (represented as) men, plated with silver. Beneath him there is a base of silver. (Further, there are) 2 *BIBRU*-vessels of silver. His 2 festivals are in autumn (and) spring. [They provide (the offerings)] from the house [of the king (?)].
- §9''
(ii 14'–16') Storm God of the (Royal) House: a bull's (lit.: ox) (head and) neck, of silver, with the front (quarters) kneeling. His 2 festivals are [in autumn] (and) spring. [They pr]ovi[de] (the offerings) from the house of the king.
- §10''
(ii 17'–23') The War God: a statuette of silver, of a man, [standing (?)]; in his right hand he holds a mace, in his lef[t hand] he holds a shield. Beneath him [stands] a l[ion]. Beneath the lion there is a base, plated with silver. The people of the town Kammama regularly celebrate his 2 festivals in autumn (and) spring. 1 silver tankard. He has no servant.
- §11''
(ii 24'–iii 4) Stag God: a statuette of a man, standing, his eyes are inlaid with gold. In his right hand he holds a silver *mari*-spear, in his left hand he holds a shield. He stands on a stag. Beneath him there is a ba[se, plated with s]ilver. The ruin-towns of Dala regularly celebrate his 2 festivals in autumn (and) spring. He has no servant.

Rev. iii

- (§11'' 1 A-NA 'LU.LIM'-{*nu*}-*kán* GUB-ri GAM-ŠU *pal-z[a-ḥa-aš K]*Û.
cont.) BABB[AR GAR.RA]
 2 2 EZEN₄-ŠU *zé-e-ni ḥa-me-e[š-ḥi]*
 3 'DU₆'.URU^{MES URU} *da-a-la 'e-eš-ša'-an-'zi'*
 4 ARAD-ŠU NU.'GÁL' §
- §12'' 5 dUTU AN-'E ALAM' LÚ KÙ.BABBAR *a-'ša'-an*
 6 'SAG.DU'-i 'KU₆^{HIA}-za (?) KÙ.BABBAR GAM-ŠU *pal-za-ḥa GIŠ-ŠÍ*
 7 2 EZEN₄ *zé-e-ni ḥa-me-eš-ḥi*
 8 LÚ^{MES URU} *ba'-a-'da' e-eš-'ša'-an-zi* §
- §13'' 9 d10 É 'GÚ' GU₄ KÙ.BABBAR IGI-zi GUB-*an-za*
 10 '2' EZEN₄-ŠU 'zé-e'-ni *ḥa-me-eš-ḥi* 1 ZA.ḤUM KÙ.BABBAR
 11 LÚ^{MES} URU-'*aš e-eš-ša'-an-zi* §
- §14'' 12 dḥa'-*te-pu-na-aš* ALAM MUNUS-TI KARK[ID? TUŠ-*an* (?)]
 13 [*ḥu*]-'u'-*pí-da-an-za* IGI^{HIA}-ŠU KÙ.SI₂₂ GAR.R[A]
 14 'ZAG-za' ŠU-za GAL KÙ.BABBAR *ḥar-zi* GAM-ŠU *pal-[za-ḥa-aš*
GIŠ-ŠÍ]
 15 2 E[ZEN₄-Š]U *zé-e-ni ḥa-me-eš-ḥi*
 16 LÚ^{MES} UR]U-*aš 'e-eš-ša-an'-zi*
 17 MUNUS'AMA'.[DINGI]R-LIM *e-eš-zi* §
- §15'' 18 KUR*iš*-'da'-*ḥa-ru-nu-wa-'aš* ŠA GEŠTIN *ḥu-u-t[u-ši-iš]*
 19 *an-dur-'za'* [K]Û.BABBAR GAR.RA 1 ZA.ḤUM KÙ.'BABBAR'
 20 *zé-e-ni 'ḥa-me'-eš-ḥi* LÚ^{MES URU} *pa-a-da* §
- §16'' 21 NA₄*ḥé-gur 'te-em^{sic}-mu-u-wa-aš* 'ŠA GEŠTIN'-*pát*
 22 *ḥu-u-tu-ši-'i'-iš an-dur-za* 'KÙ.BABBAR' GAR.RA
 23 2 EZEN₄ *zé-e-ni 'ḥa-me'-e[š-ḥi]*
 24 LÚ^{MES URU} *da-a-la-aš 'e'-[eš-ša-an-zi]* §
- §17'' 25 'd?'10? 2 ŠU-UL-PA-TI[...]
 26 [(ca. 2 signs)]x x[...]
 (breaks off)

Rev. iv and l. e.: see commentary.

- §12''
(iii 5–8) Sun God of Heaven: a statuette of a man, of silver, seated, on (his) head there are silver “fishes.”” Beneath him there is a base of wood. The people of the town Pada regularly celebrate (his) 2 festivals in autumn (and) spring.
- §13''
(iii 9–11) Storm God of the (Royal) House: a bull’s (lit.: ox) (head and) neck, of silver, with the front (quarters) in standing position. His 2 festivals are in autumn (and) spring. (There is) 1 silver tankard. The people of the town regularly celebrate (his festivals).
- §14''
(iii 12–17) H̄atepuna: a statuette of a woman, (fashioned as) a KAR.K[ID²-woman, seated², ve]iled, her eyes are inlaid with gold. In her right hand she holds a silver cup. Beneath her there is a [wooden] ba[se]. The people of the [to]wn regularly celebrate her 2 festivals in autumn (and) spring. She has a mother-[dei]ty priestess.
- §15''
(iii 18–20) Mount Išdaḥarunuwa: a *ḥutu[ši]*-vessel for wine, plated with silver on the inside, 1 silver tankard. The people of the town Pada (regularly celebrate his 2 festivals) in autumn (and) spring.
- §16''
(iii 21–24) The “*ḥekur Temmuwa*”: a *ḥutuši*-vessel for wine, plated with silver on the inside. The people of the town Dala [regularly] ce[lebrate] (his) 2 festivals in autumn (and) spri[ng].
- §17''
(iii 25–26) Storm God (?): 2 straws [...] (*breaks off; for the traces on rev. iv and on the l. e. see commentary*)

Commentary

i 3': Restore perhaps SAG.[UŠ] (von Brandenstein 1943, 23) or SAG-[*ia-ma* NA₄] (cf. Hoffner 1967, 40).

i 7'–27': On the two manifestations of Šawuška treated in these two paragraphs see Laroche 1952, 116–17, 119 and Güterbock 1983, 204–5. Note the different signs used for the goddess' name (*IŠTAR* in line 7', LIŠ in line 21'; on the orthography of the goddess' name see Beckman 1998, 3 with n. 33). The proposed restoration of line 7' is tentative; besides *annari-*, the following gloss words beginning with the syllable AN are attested: *anzanu-*, *antari-*, *annan*, and *aniyan* (information kindly provided by E. Rieken). The assumption that the deity treated here is female is based on the fact that the deity is represented seated rather than standing.

i 10': The (hieroglyphic) sign for “Good(ness)” (L. 370 ‘BONUS₂’, Hittite *aššu* = SIG₅, see the phonetic spelling in obv. ii 10' below) has the form of a triangle (see already von Brandenstein 1943, 29–30, 87–91). Indeed, various gods frequently “held” a hieroglyphic sign in pictorial representations, see, e.g., a seal of Ukkura from the Nişantepe archive (Herbordt 2005, no. 495), showing the BONUS₂ sign, or Šawuška with the sign VITA in a seal of Talmitēššub (Herbordt 2005, no. 625). According to von Brandenstein (1943, 29), the gods always held the “Good(ness)” sign with the left hand in cult image descriptions.

i 8': The writing *a-ša-a-an* (in rev. iii 5 without plene spelling) corresponds to the more frequently attested TUŠ-*an*; see von Brandenstein 1943, 24–25; Watkins 2010, 244–45. For the reading and interpretation of ZAG.UDU “shoulder” (Hittite *paltana*) see von Brandenstein 1943, 25–26 and CHD P, 79–80. Neither the *Winkelhaken* nor the vertical wedge copied by Rost in KUB 38 before the sign ZAG are visible on the photo, and they are absent in von Brandenstein's copy. For the restoration cf. obv. i 22'.

i 12': The *awiti-* is a composite creature, more specifically a winged lion with human head, thus best translated as “sphinx” (too cautious Pappi 2011, referring to Hazenbos 2002). That the noun *awiti-* could denote a striding winged lion with human head is demonstrated by the reading *awi-* for the hieroglyph SPHINX (L. 121) in KARKAMIŠ A4b 3, as originally suggested by Singer (*apud* Hawkins 2000, 81). Textual sources explicitly speak of *awiti-s* having wings (KUB 38.2 i 13'; KUB 38.11 11'). The *awiti-* was primarily, though not exclusively, associated with Ištar/Šawuška. On the Ashmolean golden ring seal of Urawalwi, reportedly from Konya (Hogarth 1920, no. 195), a winged deity (undoubtedly Ištar/Šawuška) stands on a leashed winged lion having two heads: a human head and a lion head protruding from the chest. This creature is clearly to be identified with an *awiti-*; see the

description of Ištar/Šawuška on an *awiti*- in KUB 38.2 obv. i 7'–20', i 21'–ii 3'; for a leashed *awiti*- see ANA *awiti* ... *išmeriyanti* in KUB 38.1 obv. ii 8'. Thus, *awiti*- denoted both the single-headed and the two-headed sphinx. The latter appears to be a peculiar Anatolian creation, attested first in Hittite art, and which enjoyed some popularity in Iron age Syria (Bellucci 2012, 55–56). Apparently, the *awiti*-s were represented both in standing and in crouching position; for the latter case see KUB 12.1 rev. iv 17 (Hoffner 1989, 95). The references to *awiti*-shaped *BIBRU*-vessels are listed in Otten 1989, 368. For the interpretation of the winged monster of the Imamkulu rock relief as an *awiti*- see Hazenbos 2002, 154–61. There is no hint that the term *awiti*- might also denote a griffin or lion-griffin (Bellucci 2012, 49–50; 2013; for previous translation of *awiti*- as lion-griffin see, e.g., Güterbock 1975a, 190) or a lion-headed winged lion (as represented on the Şarkışla axe, Bellucci 2012, 48–49), although this possibility cannot be ruled out with certainty (cf. Güterbock 1983, 205 n. 15). The *awiti*- is to be distinguished from the *damnaššara*- deities, even if these may well be conceived as a specific kind of sphinx (Haas 2004; Giliert 2011, 46–47).

i 18'–19': Differently Hoffner in COS 3.35:64: “Her monthly festival includes Ninatta and Kulitta together.” The reference to a “song” as regular celebration is unique among the cult inventories. Might this be related to the Hurrian *zinzabuššiya*-songs, which are peculiar to Ištar of Nineveh (Beckman 1998, 6)?

i 20': Here and elsewhere, cult images of the storm god are in the shape of male cattle (§4.4.2.1). In these cases, the logogram GU₄ “ox, cattle” is always translated as “bull”, whereas the scribes use either the simple writing GU₄ or the more precise writing GU₄.MAḪ.

i 21': Laroche (1952, 119), followed by Güterbock (1983, 205 n. 11) and Hoffner (COS 3.35:65), proposed understanding the epithet *ḫalziyawaš* (gen. of the verbal substantive of *ḫalzai*- “to call, to cry”) as “of the (battle) cry” in view of the masculine character of this manifestation of Ištar. But the meaning of *ḫalzai*- is clearly “to invoke, to call upon” when used as an epithet of gods and in festival names (Neu 1982, 130–31; HW² Ḫ, 110). See the commentary on KBo 70.109+ obv. ii 21 and the reference to a cult statue “of summoning,” i.e., which is to be called upon, in KUB 25.25 5' (*ḫaḫpunan*=*kán* ALAM *ḫalziyawaš* [...] *katta pedanzi* “they carry down Zaḫpuna (as) statue of summoning”).

i 23': On the axe (here Akkadian *haššinnu*) held by Šawuška see the commentary on obv. ii 8'–10'.

i 25': For the reading KUN see Güterbock 1975a, 190.

ii 1'–3': Because of the large gap in obv. ii, these lines do not belong together with the last paragraph of obv. i (differently Hoffner, COS 3.35:65).

Traces of a paragraph line between the lines obv. ii 1' and 2' are still visible on the original tablet, although the line is absent in the copies by von Brandenstein and Rost. See KBo 70.109+ obv. ii 5 for an analogous short paragraph listing festivals. For the restoration of line 2' see von Brandenstein 1943, 34–35.

ii 4–5': For the restoration of this rare DN see von Brandenstein 1943, 6, 35 and Güterbock 1983, 205; more cautious Otten 1976–1980, 447. On Karmahili see Klinger 1996, 265 with n. 34. On the broken part of the right edge there is sufficient space for restoring GAR.RA (so von Brandenstein, differently Güterbock); both KÛ.SI₂₂ (l. 4') and KÛ.BABBAR (l. 5') are omitted in von Brandenstein's copy.

ii 7', iii 3: For the reading DU₆.URU^{MES} see Friedrich *apud* von Brandenstein 1943, 36–37. For the occurrence of “ruin-towns” among local cults, see §6.3.

ii 8': Haas (1994, 494) assumes a scribal mistake in *ašan* “seated” of line 8' vis-à-vis GUB of line 11'. This would bring the cult image description closer to the depiction of Teššub in Yazılıkaya. But it seems preferable to follow Güterbock (1975a, 189), who explains GUB as a “loose” reference to the fact that the storm god “stands” with his feet on the mountains.

ii 8'–10': The cult image description of the Storm God of Heaven has often been compared with the relief no. 42 in the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (Laroche 1952, 116; Güterbock 1975a, 189, cf. also p. 151). As Teššob in Yazılıkaya, the Storm God of Heaven stands (or, in the case of KUB 38.2, is seated) on two mount peaks, represented as men; on the discrepancy between *ašan* “seated” in line 8' and GUB “standing” in line 11' see the commentary on obv. ii 8'. The description can also be compared to the depiction of the Storm God of Heaven in the *Umarmungssiegel* of Muwattalli II (Herbordt, Bawanypeck, and Hawkins 2011 nos. 39–44) and of Muršili III (no. 53). In all these depictions, the god holds in the right hand a mace with a long shaft and a (more or less stylized) round head. This confirms the equation of ^{GIS}*hattalla-* (line 9') with ^{GIS}TUKUL, as argued by Güterbock 1943, 306 n. 30. Note that in this paragraph we have ^{GIS}*hattallan* in the context where we expect ^{GIS}TUKUL (see, e.g., obv. ii 18'), as well as *āššu* (line 10') where we normally have SIG₅ (see, e.g., obv. i 10', 24'). The logogram ^{GIS}TUKUL is indeed attested, like its Akkadian counterpart *kakku*, with the general meaning “weapon” as well, a fact that explains why it sometimes parallels *tūri-*, “spear, weapon” (*HED* 𒌦, 456–57 with literature; the standard logogram for *tūri-* is ^{GIS}ŠUKUR). The logogram ^{GIS}TUKUL also conveys Hittite *ḫatanti(ya)-*, “dry land” (Sommer and Falkenstein 1938, 132–33), note the connection of “agricultural” and “military” value of ^{GIS}TUKUL in Hittite Anatolia (Weeden 2011a, 622–23) and in Mesopotamia (Hruška 2005, 512). But when the logogram stands for a

specific weapon, as in this case, it is the mace with long shaft and round head (^{GIS}TUKUL = Akkadian *kakku*). This kind of mace, as well as sickle-shaped swords, seems to represent foreign imports in Hittite Anatolia, where they were attributed to the gods alone (Seeher 2011, 44–45). Besides being held by various gods, maces could represent the cult symbol of deities, again as in Mesopotamia (CAD K, 55–56). In this function, in Anatolia they seem to be restricted to mountain gods (on cult images of divine mountains see §4.4.2.4). The mace (^{GIS}TUKUL = Hittite ^{GIS}*hattalla*-) is to be kept distinct from the axe (Akkadian *haššinnu*, attested in KUB 38.1+ obv. i 7', KUB 38.2 obv. i 23'), as shown by their occurrence in KUB 9.18+ 15'–20' (see already von Brandenstein 1943, 38). Other weaponry attested in the cult inventories are the dagger (GÎR), the shield (Akkadian *arutum*), and the “gorget” or “(scaled) helmet” (**gurzip(p)i*-, see the commentary on KBo 70.109+ obv. i 39', text no. 17). Still quite unclear is the precise characterization of Hittite spears: attested are the spear (^{GIS}ŠUKUR, Hittite *tūri*-), the *lance* (Akkadian *imittum*), which is kept distinct from ^{GIS}ŠUKUR in KUB 38.1 obv. i 6'), and the *māri*-spear (CHD Š, 340; HEG L–M, 133–34; and HED M, 66–68 with literature). The equation of *māri*- with the sickle-shaped sword, contrary to what is assumed by Alp (1983, 43 n. 49), is far from certain, insofar as it is only based on the unnecessary assumption that the sickle-shaped sword carried by the god no. 32 in the procession of Yazılıkaya corresponds to the *mari*-weapon of the Stag God in KUB 38.2 obv. ii 25' (see commentary). The entry *Waffe* in the *RIA* (to be integrated by Stol and Seidl 2015) does not cover Hittite Anatolia; for the archaeological evidence see most recently Seeher 2011, 44–45 and Genz 2017b.

ii 8, 11': On the problematic reading of the last signs of obv. ii 11' see Güterbock 1975a, 189. The traces of ZA seen by von Brandenstein are no more visible on the tablet. It is difficult to establish whether traces of a sign are present between GAR.RA and GUB on line 11': so according to von Brandenstein's copy, but the traces might in fact be broken surface, as indeed L. Rost interpreted them. Otten (*apud* Bittel, Naumann, and Otto 1941, 83) proposed reading IGI, referred to the mountain gods (then GUB-*an-t[e²-eš*]), “mov[ing] forwards.” But the expression has no parallels (note that the context of IGI-zi GUB-*anza* of rev. iii 9 is different), and the solution is not very convincing (cf. also the doubts expressed by Hoffner in COS 3.35:65 n. 9).

ii 13': The restoration follows von Brandenstein, cf. obv. ii 16'.

ii 14'–16': The paragraph is devoted to a protective storm god of the royal family, see CHD P, 288. Also the paragraph rev. iii 9–11 is devoted to a storm god “of the (Royal) House,” and also there the cult object is a bovine *BIBRU*-vessel, but with the front quarters in standing position.

ii 17'–20': The Mesopotamian war god Zababa is identified in Anatolia with the Hattian god Wurunkatte and with the Syrian god Hešue (note that the Akkadographic writing ^dZA-BA₄-BA₄ can also convey the names of the gods Waḥiši [Klinger 1996, 477] and, perhaps, Šanta [Cammarosano 2015a, 206 with n. 29]). The mace and shield of the cult image description (on Akkadian *aritum* “shield” see von Brandenstein 1943, 40–41) do not match either the depiction of the relief no. 27 or that of no. 30 in the procession of Yazılıkaya, which correspond to the two warrior gods in the sequence of the male deities on the left side of chamber A. Nevertheless, it seems convenient to identify the god no. 27 with Nergal, and the god. no. 30 with Hešue/Zababa (see Güterbock 1975c, 176–77 for discussion). Nergal corresponds to U.GUR, Hattian/Hittite Šulinkatte, Hurrian Iršappa: he was originally Nergal's vizier Uqur, the “sword” (see Wiggermann 1999, 220), and note that his hieroglyph is a hand holding a sword. In Yazılıkaya, these as well as other gods carry a sickle-shaped sword over the shoulder, a weapon that seems to represent a foreign import in Anatolia, only attributed to gods (Seeher 2011, 44–45).

ii 23': Note the gloss wedge marking the indentation of this line.

ii 24'–iii 1: A not more closely specified “stag god” is treated here, who can be compared with the god no. 32 at Yazılıkaya (Alp 1983, 43 n. 49; McMahon 1991, 24; but the sword depicted there must not correspond to the *mari*-spear of our text; see the commentary on obv. ii 8'–10'). For the reading of rev. iii 1' see Güterbock 1946, 485.

iii 5–6: The Sun God of Heaven plays a central role in Hittite religion and was the object of complex syncretic processes; see recently Singer 1996, 180–81 (with previous literature in n. 381) and Beckman 2012b, 129–31. This is the god who in Yazılıkaya (no. 34) holds a lituus and has a winged sun on his head (see already Güterbock 1943, 298). The puzzling reference to alleged “fishes” on his head, provided that the reading is correct, has been variously interpreted. Von Brandenstein (1943, 77) took the text literally (so initially also Friedrich apud von Brandenstein 1943, 77, and seemingly also Singer 1996, 181). Güterbock first (1946, 485) suspected a word *ḥa-x-za* “winged sun,” then (1983, 206) considered the possibility that a scribe not quite trained in iconographical matters misunderstood the god's winged sun for fishes, a hypothesis that Friedrich had already advocated in a postcard sent to him forty years earlier (Singer 1996, 181 n. 391). According to Haas (1994, 500 n. 79), a misunderstanding of hieroglyphs might also be possible. The passage KUB 38.26+ rev. 36' (text no. 4) might constitute a parallel, but there the reading is uncertain as well.

iii 8: The aberrant shape of BA seems to originate from a confusion between the signs PA and BA (on line 20 the name is spelled *pa-a-da*).

iii 9: Cf. commentary on obv. ii 14'–16'.

iii 10: The context of the parallel passages in obv. ii 23' and rev. iii 19 suggests that the reference to the tankard does not belong to the formula about the celebration of the festivals, the latter part of which had been perhaps forgotten and was inserted *a posteriori* (differently Hoffner in COS 3.35:65: “celebrate ... (with) 1 silver ZA.ḪUM vessel”).

iii 12–17: The reading KAR.K[ID'] in rev. iii 12 is uncertain; see Güterbock 1983, 206. It is not necessary to assume the presence of *iwar* in the gap, as suggested by von Brandenstein 1943, 44. The gap at the beginning of rev. iii 12 seems too short to allow the restoration of a gloss wedge (differently von Brandenstein). For the restoration of rev. iii 16; cf. rev. iii 11 above; the space in the gap does not suffice for four signs as suggested by von Brandenstein. The reading ^{MUNUS}AMA'.[DINGI]R-LIM in rev. iii 17 follows Rost 1961, 177 with n. 70, followed already by Güterbock 1983, 206 (the copies by von Brandenstein and Rost slightly diverge here; von Brandenstein's transliteration ^{MUNUS}KAR.KID^m-ši is quite inexplicable to me).

iii 20: The shortened, elliptical formulation of this line is unusual even for administrative texts.

iii 21: There is no *Winkelhaken* following GUR. The sign AŠ (following WA) is omitted in von Brandenstein's copy. A divine name, a toponym, or some other characterization is often appended to references to *ḫekur*-buildings (a sort of stone peak, secondarily also an institution originally connected with it): the *ḫekur temmuwa* was probably a (divine) mountain peak (Imparati 1977, 21–22 with n. 15).

rev. iv and l. e.: Both col. iv and the left edge are badly damaged. Remains of signs are visible in the first two lines of the iv col., whereas the rest of the first paragraph is curiously covered with fingernail impressions (lines 3–5 in KUB 38; the line numbering in von Brandenstein's copy diverges). Relevant is the mention of a deity “of the town Šagamaha (ŠA^{URU}ša-ka₄-mah) in the second paragraph; in the following line three *iškaruḫ*-vessels are listed (³^{DUG?}iš-ka₄-ru-ú-uh^{HLA}). In line 9' the expression 'INIM' TÂŠ-PUR, “you wrote (about) the matter” is found. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the tablet prevents us from reconciling this with the general context. Houwink ten Cate's idea (1992, 140 n. 43) that this might be a reference to a letter written by a brother of Tudḫaliya IV is entirely speculative: note that the pl. 1 forms in KUB 38.1 and KUB 38.3 referred to by him are best interpreted as a reference to those dignitaries and clerks who were authors of investigations and/or responsible for taking measures with regard to the cult.

TEXT NO. 9. KUB 38.1+: İYAYA, THE SPRINGS, AND THE STAG GOD

Manuscripts: VAT 6688 + Bo 2496 + Bo 3978 + Bo 4519 (KUB 38.1^{A1}) + Bo 9583 (CHDS 2.43^{A2}). **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Edition:** Von Brandenstein 1943, 10–16 (only VAT 6688 + Bo 2496). **Discussion:** Rost 1961, 178–82 (translation and notes); Güterbock 1946, 486; 1983, 204, 206–8; van den Hout 1995b, 565–66 (discussion of obv. ii 1–8); Groddek 2015, 132 (join with Bo 9583).

This tablet records cult images, accoutrements, shrines, and personnel in the towns of Tarammeka, Kunkuniya, Wiyanawanta, Lapana, Tiura, and Pirwaššuwa, describing in great detail the appearance of the idols. Of particular interest are the divine representations in the form of various kinds of vessels, including *BIBRU*-vessels shaped as a fist (§2') and as a bull (§6'), as well as the elaborate statuettes of spring goddesses (§§3'–5'), of the Stag God of the Countryside (§7''), and of the goddess İyaya (§§11'''–12'''). On the left edge of the tablet, a single line records festivals for the Stag God and Ala celebrated by the “man of Wiyanawanta,” and seems to be thus connected with §§7'–8'' of the main text, where this town is treated. Based on the toponyms attested, Forlanini (2009, 45) concluded that the geographical setting of this inventory is the middle course of the Kızılırmak in central Cappadocia. The tablet is organized as usual in sections (for different towns), and paragraphs (for different gods). Double paragraph lines are used primarily to demarcate sections, but sometimes also to separate groups of paragraphs within a single town (as in the case of the group of three spring goddesses in §§3'–5'). The structure and content of the text are summarized in the table opposite (fragmentary sections are not included in the table).

KUB 38.1+ and KUB 38.3 (for which see text no. 10) must have been written by one and the same scribe. Apart from the sign variants used, both tablets share peculiar features in the layout (extremely spaced out double paragraph lines), formulas (*taruṣta*, “is completed,” KUB 38.1 obv. i 28' and KUB 38.3 obv. ii 5), vocabulary (SIG.KÜŠ, “short cubit,” see the commentary on KUB 38.1+ obv. i 12'; *pargašti*, “height”), and orthography (4 KI.GUB, “standing on (all) four (legs)”). CHDS 2.5 (Bo 9541) is likely to be an indirect join either of KUB 38.1+ (Groddek 2015, 128) or of KUB 38.3 (note the occurrence of SIG.KÜŠ, also *kurutauwant-*, *pargašti*).

The detailed descriptions of cult images constitute the major element of interest of the tablet. Besides this, remarkable are the variance in the formulas referring to the construction of shrines and installment of personnel (obv. i 3', 9', 23'–24'; rev. iii 3–4; iv 7, 13–14), as well as the reference to a silver wreath engraved with the name of the “strong storm god” (§6').

Text	Town	Gods
§§1'–5' (i 1'–18')	Tarammeka	Storm God of the Army, Šanta, War God, spring Iššašhūriya, two more spring goddesses
§6' (i 29'–35')	Kunkuniya	Strong Storm God
§7''–10'' (ii 1'–iii 10)	Wiyānawanta	Stag God of the Countryside, [...], Ala, Mount ² Kar-[...]
§11''' (iv 1–7)	Lapana	Iyaya
§12''' (iv 8–14)	Tiura	Iyaya
§14''' (iv 17–22)	Pirwassuwa	[Storm God?]
§15''' (iv 23–29)	-	<i>Totals</i>
l. e.	-	(Remark on the “man of Wiyānawanta”)

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph, 3D model.

Format and Layout: Two-columned tablet (width ca. 15 cm; preserved height ca. 18.5 cm, original height ca. 24 cm). As in KUB 38.2, there is no *Randleiste* at the top of the reverse. As in KUB 38.3, written by the same scribe, the double paragraph lines are remarkably spaced out. Between rev. iv 12 and 13 traces of an erased double paragraph line are visible.

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: LNS: late QA (i 1', 4', 12', 16', 28'; ii 15'; iv 10) and KI (i 30'; ii 21'; iv 19). UN with inscribed vertical (i 29'), (M)EŠ with four *Winkelhaken* (i 25', 26'; iv 3; in KUB 38.1 31' with three *Winkelhaken*, against the copy), KÁN with two inscribed verticals (i 27', 32'; ii 5', 6', 8', 15'), ḪA with two *Winkelhaken* (i 7', 10', 31'; iv 11, 20), MEŠ₄ (iv 3), RA as in HZL no. 233/13 (i 1' and passim), IR with four inscribed verticals (iv 17).

Transliteration

Obv. i

(upper part of the tablet, ca. 15 lines, broken off)

(one uninscribed paragraph of ca. 4 lines; simple paragraph lines at the beginning and at the end of it)

- §1' 1' ^{A1 i 1')} URU *ta*^{isic}-*ra-am-me-ka*₄ ^d10 KARAŠ ^dAMAR.UTU-*a*[š? (*vacat?*)]
 2' DINGIR-LIM-*tar* 2 *wa-ak-šur* KÛ.BABBAR KILÁ.BI 2 MA.NA
 KÛ.BABBAR
 3' É DINGIR-LIM GIBIL-*ša-ma-aš* DÛ-*u-en* ^{LÜ}SANGA *ti-i*[*a-u-en*]
 (one line uninscribed) §
- §2' 4' URU *ta-ra-am-ka*₄ ^rd¹ ZA-BA₄-BA₄ DINGIR-LIM-*tar*
 5' 1 GÉŠPU KÛ.BABBAR KILÁ.BI ^r20¹ GÍN.GÍN 2 URUDU A-RI-TUM GAL
 6' 1 URUDU I-MI-IT-TUM 3 URUDU GÍR 1 URUDU GIŠŠUKUR
 7' 1 GIŠTUKUL ZABAR 1 URUDU HA-AŠ-ŠÍ-^rIN'-NU
 8' Ū-NU-TÚ ŠA ^dZA-BA₄-BA₄ *ta-ru-^rup-ta*¹
 9' É DINGIR-LIM GIBIL-*ši* ^{LÜ}SANGA DÛ-*u-en* §§
- §3' 10' ^diš-*ha-aš-hu-ri-ia-aš al-da-an-ni-iš*
 11' DINGIR-LIM-*tar* 1 *ALAM MUNUS* GIŠ KÛ.BABBAR GAR.RA [˘]*hu-*
u-pí-ta-a-u-wa-an-za TUŠ-*an*
 12' *pár-ka*₄-*aš-ti* 1 SIG.KÜŠ ZAG-*na-za* ŠU-*za* ^rGAL KÛ.BABBAR' *har-zi*
 13' 1 ḪAR.ŠU KÛ.BABBAR 20 GURUN KÛ.SI₂₂ ŠÁ 7 'KÛ.BABBAR A-NA
 SAG.KI-ŠŪ' *an-da*
 14' 3 U₄.SAKAR 'KÛ.BABBAR' A-NA GABA-ŠŪ-*kán* §
- §4' 15' [(ca. 4 signs)]x DINGIR-LIM-*tar* 1 ALAM MUNUS GIŠ KÛ.BABBAR
 GAR.RA
 16' [[˘]*hu-u-pí-ta*]-^r*a*¹-*u-an-za* TUŠ-*an* *pár-ka*₄-*aš-ti* ŠA 1 SIG.KÜŠ
 17' [ZAG-*na-za* ŠU-*za*] GAL KÛ.BABBAR *har-[z]*i 3 GURUN KÛ.BABBAR
 ŠÁ 1 KÛ.SI₂₂
 18' [A-NA SAG.KI-ŠŪ-*k*]án (?) *a*[*n-d*]*a* §
- §5' 19' [(ca. 4 signs)]x x[(ca. (1–2 signs) DINGIR-LIM-*tar* 1 AL]AM MUNUS
 GIŠ KÛ.BABBAR GAR.RA
 20' [[˘]*hu-u-pí-t*]*a-a-u-w*[*a-an-za* TUŠ-*an* *pár-ka*₄-*aš-t*]*i* 1¹ SIG.KÜŠ
 21' ^rZAG-*na*¹-*za* ŠU-*za* GA[L KÛ.BABBAR *har-zi* x GUR]UN KÛ.SI₂₂
 22' ŠÁ 1 KÛ.BABBAR A-NA S[AG.KI-ŠŪ-*kán* (*vacat?*) *an*]-*da*
 23' ŠU.NÍGIN 3 ALAM MUNU[S (ca. 5 signs)]'É DINGIR-LIM' -*ma-aš-*
*ma*¹-*aš* GIBIL DÛ-*u-en*
 24' ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR-LIM-*ša-ma-a*[š *ti-ia-u-en* (*vacat?*)]
 25' DINGIR^{MES} *an-ni-ša-an* ^rLÚ^{MES} KUR[?]¹[-*e-aš* (?) *h*]ar-ke-er
 26' *ki-nu-na-ma-aš* LÚ^{MES} É.GAL-ŠŪ-*ša* ARAD^{MES} ^m*ta-at-ta-ma-ru-ia*
 27' *har-kán-* *zi*
 28' URU *ta-ra-am-me-ka*₄-*aš ta-ru-up-ta* §§

Translation

- §1'
(i 1'–3') Town of Tarammekā. Storm God of the Army, Šanta: the divine images are 2 silver *wakšur*-vessels, their weight is 2 minas of silver. We made a new shrine for them. [We] install[ed] a priest.
- §2'
(i 4'–9') Town of Taram<me>ka. The War God: the divine image is 1 silver fist, its weight is 20 shekels. 2 large copper shields, 1 copper *lance*, 3 copper daggers, 1 copper spear, 1 bronze mace, 1 copper axe: the accoutrements of the War God are completed. We made a new shrine and (we installed) a priest for him.
- §3'
(i 10'–14') Spring Iṣḥašhūriya: the divine image is 1 statuette of a woman, of wood, plated with silver; she is *veiled*; (the statuette is) seated, (it is) 1 *short cubit* in height; in her right hand she holds a silver cup. (She has) 1 bracelet of silver, 20 fruits of gold on her forehead, of which 7 are of silver, (and) 3 moon crescents of silver on her chest.
- §4'
(i 15'–18') [*Spring*² ...]: the divine image is 1 statuette of a woman, of wood, plated with silver; she is [*vei*]led; (the statuette is) seated, (it is) 1 *short cubit* in height; [in her right hand] she holds a silver cup. (She has) 3 fruits of silver, of which 1 is of gold, on [her forehead (?)].
- §5'
(i 19'–28') [*Spring*² ... : the divine image is 1 stat]uette of a woman, of wood, plated with silver; [she is *ve*]il[ed]; (the statuette is) seated], (it is) 1¹ *short cubit* [in heigh]t; in her right hand [she holds a silver] cu[p]. (She has) [*n fru*]its of gold, of which 1 is of silver, on [her] fo[rehead]. Total: 3 statuettes of wome[n ...] We made a new shrine¹ for them. [We installed] a mother-deity priestess for them. Formerly, the people of the land² hosted (lit. “had”) the deities, but now the personnel of their palace and the servants of Tattamaru host (lit. “have”) them. The town of Tarammekā is completed.

- §6' 29' ^{URU}*ku-un-ku-ni-ia* ^{d10} GA₅-AŠ-RU DINGIR-LIM-tar
 30' 'BĪ-IB-RU GU₄ GIŠ KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA 4 KI.GUB *pár-ka₄-aš-ti* 1
 SIG.KÙŠ
 31' GAM-ŠŪ ^{GIŠ}*pal-za-aš-ḥa-aš* KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA 1 BAL-u-wa-aš
 AN.BAR
 32' 2 ZA.ḪUM KÙ.BABBAR 1 KI-LI-LU KÙ.BABBAR ŠUM ŠA ^{d10} GA₅-
 AŠ-RU-kán
 33' *an-da-an gul-aš-ša-an* 1 'URUDU' DÍLIM.GAL TUR' É.GAL
 34' 1 ^{SI}*ša-wa-tar* 2 AŠ-RU KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA
 35' 3 ^{GIŠ}GIDRU DINGIR-LIM ŠU-aš AŠ-RU KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA
 (Randleiste)

Obv. ii

(upper part of the tablet, ca. 15 lines, broken off.) §§

- §7'' 1' ^{URU}*wi₅-ia-na-u-wa-[a]n-ta* ^{dKAL} LÍ[L DINGIR-LIM-tar]
 2' 1 ALAM KÙ.SI₂₂ LÚ [GU]B-an *ku-ru-ta-a-u-wa-[an-za]*
 3' ZAG-na-za ŠU-za ^{GIŠ}^rPAN' KÙ.SI₂₂ *ḥar-zi* GÜB-la-[za ŠU-za]
 4' TI₈^{MUSEN} KÙ.SI₂₂ AR-NA-BU KÙ.SI₂₂ *ḥar-zi*
 5' 1 GÍR KÙ.SI₂₂ GURUN KÙ.SI₂₂ -š*i-kán an-da*
 6' A-NA LU.LIM KÙ.SI₂₂-kán 4 KI.'GUB' GUB-ri KÙ.BA[BBAR ...] §
 §8'' 7' 1 ALAM KÙ.SI₂₂ LÚ GUB-an *lu-u-pa-an-na-u-w[a-an-za]*
 8' A-NA a-^rwi₅-^rti KÙ.SI₂₂-kán *iš-me-ri-ia-an-ti* [GUB-ri (?)]
 9' x x[(ca. 5 signs)]x-x-^rna-aš KÙ.SI₂₂'[(vacat?)]
 (gap of ca. three lines)
 13' [(ca. 8 signs)]^rd¹IMIN.IMI[N.BI (vacat?)]
 14' [(ca. 7 signs)]x GAM-ŠŪ-NU *pal-^rza-aš^r-ḥ[a-aš]*
 15' [(ca. 6 signs) (-)]^raĪ-ka₄-aš-ta-na-aš-š*i-kán*
 16' [(ca. 5 signs)]x 1 ME 23 GURUN KÙ.SI₂₂
 17' [(ca. 5 signs)]1 ME 28 A-AR-TŪ
 18' [ŠA ŠU-ŠI 4 A-A]R-TŪ KÙ.SI₂₂ ŠU-ŠI 4-ma KÙ.BABBAR
 19' [^{GIŠ}*pal-za-aš*]-ḥa-aš KÙ.BABBAR IGI-an-da-aš-kán KÙ.SI₂₂
 20' 'GUL' ar-ḥa¹-ma-aš-kán *ḥé-e-ša-an-za*
 21' 1 PÚ AN.BAR KI.LÁ.BI 90 MA.NA
 22' 1 ME ^{NA4}*ša-ri-[i]a-ni-iš* ŠA 10 KÙ.SI₂₂ 20-ma KÙ.BABBAR
 23' 20-ma ^{NA4}KÁ.D[INGIR].RA 20-ma ^{NA4}x[(ca. 4 signs)]
 24' 20-ma NA₄ ^{KUR}*ḥu-u-piš-na* 1 SA[G (ca. 4 signs)]
 25' NA₄ ^{KUR}*ḥu-u-piš-na* Ū-NU-UT-m[^a (ca. 4 signs)]
 26' 10 ŠA ^da-la [(vacat)]
 (Randleiste)

- §6'
(i 29'–35') Town of Kunkuniya. The Strong Storm God: the divine image is a *BIBRU*-vessel, (shaped like) a bull (lit.: ox), of wood, plated with silver, standing on (all) four (legs), (it is) 1 *short cubit* in height, beneath him there is a base of wood, plated with silver. (Furthermore:) 1 libation vessel of iron, 2 silver tankards, 1 wreath of silver—the name of the Strong Storm God is engraved on it—1 small⁷ bronze dish of the palace, 1 horn, inlaid with silver in 2 places, 3 staves of the god—the handle is plated with silver.
- §7''
(ii 1'–6') (*after a large gap*) Town of Wiyanawanta. Stag God of the Country[side: the divine image] is 1 statuette of gold, of a man, [stand]ing; [he] wea[rs] a (conical horned) helmet, in his right hand he holds a golden bow, [in his] left [hand] he holds a golden eagle (and) a golden hare. (He has?) 1 golden dagger, with golden fruits attached. He stands on a stag of gold, (standing) on (all) four (legs). Silv[er ...]
- §8''
(ii 7'–26') 1 statuette of gold, of a man, standing; [he] wear[s] a cap, [he stands (?)] on a bridled sphinx of gold. [...] of gold [...] (*gap, possible paragraph line in between*) [...] the Hept[ad ...] beneath them a bas[e ...] ... [...] 123 fruits of gold, [...] 128 branches, [of which 64 br]anches are of gold and 64 of silver. [A bas]e of silver, to the front it is carved⁷ with gold, but it is wide opened. 1 spring(-basin?) of iron, its weight is 90 minas, (provided with) 100 *šariyani*-stones, of which 10 (are) of gold, 20 of silver, 20 of glass, 20 of [...]-stone, 20 of alabaster, 1 “hea[d” ...] of alabaster, the equipment how[ever⁷ ...], (and) 10 of (the goddess) Ala.

Rev. iii

§9'' 1 *INA É tup-[pa-aš ...]*
 2 ^{GIŠ}*ĤAR-ĤA-TI [...]*
 3 *É DINGIR-LIM G[IBIL-ši DÛ-u-en (?)]*
 4 *'LÚ?'[SANGA ti-ia-u-en (?)] §*

§10'' 5 [^{HUR?}]^{SAG}*kar-[...]*
 6 *DINGIR-LIM-tar 1 A[LAM ...]*
 7 **ku-ru*-ta-[u-wa-an-za ...]*
 8 *A-NA x x[...]*
 9 *ZAG-na-za Š[U-za ...]*
 10 *'20?' G[URUN? ...]*
 (breaks off)

Rev. iv

§11''' 1 ^{URU}*la-pa-na* ^d*i-ia-*^r*ia*¹-*aš* *DINGIR-LIM-tar* (erasure)
 2 1 *ALAM GIŠ MUNUS-TI TUŠ-an* ^r[']*hu-u-pí-ta-a-u-wa-an-za ŠA 1*
 [SIG.KÛŠ]
 3 *SAG.DU-SÚ KÛ.SI₂₂ GAR.RA 'NÍ'.TE^{MEŠ}₄-ma* ^{GIŠ}*DAG-iš-ša NAGGA*
GA[R.RA]
 4 2 *UDU.KUR.RA GIŠ NAGGA 'ha*¹*-liš-ši-ia-an A-NA DINGIR-LIM*
GAM-an
 5 *ZAG-na-za GÛB-la<-za> TUŠ-an-zi 1 TI₈* ^{MUŠEN}*NAGGA GAR.RA*
 6 2 ^{URUDU}*GIDRU 2 GAL ZABAR Ū-NU-UT DINGIR-LIM Ì.GÁL-iš*
 7 *É DINGIR-LIM GIBIL-ši* ^{LÚ}*SANGA-ši* ^{LÚ}*KUŠ₇ an-na-al-liš §§*

§12''' 8 ^{*URU}*tí*-i-u-ra* ^d*i-ia-ia-aš* *DINGIR-LIM-tar*
 9 *ALAM GIŠ KÛ.BABBAR GAR.RA MUNUS-TI TUŠ-'an*¹ [']*hu(ri)-pí-*
*ta-'u*¹*-wa-an-za*
 10 *pár-ka₄-aš-ti ŠA 1 SIG.KÛŠ ZAG-na-za ŠU-za *GAL har*-zi*
 11 *GÛB-la-za ŠU-za SIG₅ KÛ.BABBAR har-zi GAM-ŠÚ* ^{GIŠ*}*pal-za-aš*-ha*
 12 **1 ta*-al-'la*¹*-aš KÛ.BABBAR A-NA DINGIR-LIM-{aš} *pé-ra*<-an>*
*GAR-*ri**
 13 *Ì.GÁL-iš Ū-NU-TÚ ŠA DINGIR-LIM 'É DINGIR-[LIM GIB]IL*
 14 *DÛ-an* ^{MUNUS}*AMA.DINGIR-LIM ti-ia-a[n-za] §*

§13''' 15 [(ca 3 signs)]x-TUM UR[...]
 16 [...]
 (one line uniniscribed) §§

- §9''
(iii 1–4) In the storehouse [...] the lyre [... we made for him (?)] a n[ew] shrine, [we installed (?)] a p[riest (?)].
- §10''
(iii 5–10) [Mou]nt Kar-[...] the divine image is 1 st[atnette ...] *helme[ted ...]* to the ... [...] in [his] right ha[nd he holds ...] 20² f[ruits (?)] ...] (*breaks off*)
- §11'''
(iv 1–7) (*after a large gap*) Town of Lapana. Iyaya: the divine image is 1 statuette of wood, of a woman, seated; she is *veiled*; (the statuette's height is) 1 [*short cubit*]; her head is plated with gold, (her) limbs and the throne are pla[ted] with tin. 2 wild sheep of wood, plated with tin, are seated under the goddess, to the right and left (of her). (Furthermore) there are 1 eagle, plated with tin, 2 copper scepters, (and) 2 bronze cups as accoutrements of the goddess. She has a new shrine, she has as a priest a *chariot-fighter*, in place since of old (or: she has a priest (and) a *chariot-fighter* etc.)
- §12'''
(iv 8–14) Town of Tiura. Iyaya: the divine image is a statuette of wood, of a woman, plated with silver, seated; she is *veiled*, 1 *short cubit* in height; in her right hand she holds a cup, in her left hand she holds a silver (hieroglyphic sign for) "Goodness," beneath her is a wooden base. 1 silver *talla*-vessel stands before the goddess: the accoutrements of the goddess are present. A new shrine is made. A mother-deity priestess is install[ed].
- §13'''
(iv 15–16) (*traces*)

§14''' 17 ^{URU}*pí-ir-wa-aš-šu-w*[*a ...* ^d10 (?)]
 18 ALAM GIŠ LÚ GUB-*an* [...]
 19 GAM-ŠÚ GU₄ GIŠ 4 KI.[GUB ...]
 20 SI^{HIA} KÙ.BABBAR *ku-un*-[*zi-ia-la-* (?) ...]
 21 1 ^{URUDU}*wa-aš-ḥa-aš-ša*[...]
 22 ^{LÚ}SANGA-*ši* [...] §§

§15''' 23 (^{A1} iv 23/^{A2} 1') ŠU.NÍGIN 38 [*BI-IB-RU*(?) ...]
 24 ŠÀ 6 *BI-I*[*B-RU* ...]
 25 10 *BI-IB-RU-m*[*a ...*]
 26 '6?'¹ ZA.ḪUM 2 G[*IŠ?* ...]
 27 '4?'¹ [GA]L² ŠÀ 2 Z[ABAR ...]
 (MS A2 breaks off)
 28 2 *BI-I*[*B-RU*(?) ...]
 29 DINGIR^{MES} [...] §

§16''' 30 **kí*-i(-)m*[*a?* ...]
 31 GAM-ŠÚ^{GIŠ}*pa*[*l-za-aš-ḥa* ...]
 32 '4'¹ KI.G[UB ...]
 33 '3'¹ [...]
 (breaks off; ca. 10–15 lines lost)

l. e.

§17'''' 1 (^{A1} l. e. 1/^{A2} l. e. 1) 'LÚ¹ ^{URU}*wi₅-ia¹-na-u-wa-an-ta* A-NA ^dKAL EZ[EN₄ *DI₁₂-ŠI*(?)
A-N]A ^d*a-la* EZEN₄ *D*[*I₁₂-ŠI* x-*u*]n²-*ni-iš* DÜ-at DINGIR-LIM-tar-ma
na-a-[*wi₅* ...]

- §14'''
(iv 17–22) Town of Pirwaššuw[a ... Storm God (?): the divine image is] a statuette of wood, of a man, standing, [...] beneath him there is a wooden bull (lit. ox) [standing] on (all) four (legs). [...] horns of silver, *kunz[iyala-pigment² ...]* 1 copper *wašhašša* [...] For him a priest [...]
- §15'''
(iv 23–29) Total: 38 [*BIBRU*-vessels (?) ...] of which 6 *BIB[RU]*-vessels ...] 10 *BIBRU*-vessels, howe[ver, ...] 6 tankards, 2 wo[oden² ...] 4² [cu]ps², of which 2 of bro[nze ...] 2 *BI[BRU]*-vessels (?) ...] the gods [...]
- §16'''
(iv 30–33) These² [...] beneath him/her a ba[se ...] st[anding] on (all) four (legs) [...] 3 (*breaks off*)
- §17'''
(l. e.) The man of Wiyanauwanta celebrated the [spring²] fest[ival] for the Stag God (and) the sp[ring] festival [...] for Ala. The divine image, however, [has/is] no[t yet ...].

Commentary

i 5'–7': On the weapons listed here see the commentary on KUB 38.2 obv.
 ii 8'–10' (text no. 8).

i 4'–9': This paragraph is translated also in Collins 2005, 25.

i 8': The transliteration \dot{U} -*NU*-*TÚ* (not \dot{U} -*NU*-*UT*) takes into consideration the different spellings attested in the Hittite sources: sg. nom. \dot{U} -*NU*-*TUM*, sg. gen. \dot{U} -*NU*-*TIM*, sg. acc. \dot{U} -*NU*-*TAM* ("UT"), pl. nom/acc. \dot{U} -*NU*-*TÚ* ("UT"), pl. gen. \dot{U} -*NU*-*TE*, st. constr. \dot{U} -*NU*-*UT* (kindly pointed out by D. Groddek).

i 9' This line provides a nice example of zeugma (kindly pointed out by Th. van den Hout).

i 12': The interpretation of the length measure SIG.KÜŠ "short cubit," attested in KUB 38.1 and KUB 38.3 only (as well as in CHDS 2.5, an indirect join of either the former or the latter), is unclear (cf. van den Hout 1990, 519–20). SIG.KÜŠ is probably identical to KÜŠ.SIG, attested only in the inventory text KUB 42.37 3'. The standard Old Babylonian cubit (KÜŠ, Akkadian *ammatum*) was of ca. 50 cm; both KÜŠ and *AMMATUM* are attested in Boğazköy only twice (van den Hout 1990, 520). The length of SIG.KÜŠ / KÜŠ.SIG was perhaps in between that of a cubit and of a *UṬU* (half of a cubit, "handspan"; see Powell 1990, 472–73; in Boğazköy, *UṬU* is attested only in two cult inventories, see van den Hout 1990, 520). There is no Mesopotamian "small cubit" ("kleine Elle") of 40 cm, with which SIG.KÜŠ could be equated (so von Brandenstein 1943, 46–47, cf. Powell 1990, 462). In view of the attestation of KÜŠ.SIG in KUB 42.37 and of the equation $1\ UṬU = \frac{1}{2}\ KÜŠ$, the hypothesis of Güterbock (1983, 206–7), that the sign SIG might be here a misinterpretation for $\frac{1}{2}$, seems unlikely, even if Akkadian *ūtu* could be written as $\frac{1}{2}$.KÜŠ in Mesopotamia (*CAD* U, 358).

i 13', 18', 22': The adverb *anda* here shows that the objects are attached to the body of the deity (note the absence of expected =*kan* in obv. i 13'); for this function of *anda* see Brosch 2014, 158–59.

i 15'–18', 19'–28': Based on the extant description, these paragraphs refer to spring goddesses.

i 18'–25': There is no hint supporting Friedrich's hypothesis (*apud* von Brandenstein 1943, 47), that a seal impression might have stood in the middle of the column. On the contrary, the text restorations speak against it. The case of KUB 25.32, which Friedrich takes as a parallel, is different, since there the seal was impressed in the very middle of the reverse.

i 20': There is a small, weakly impressed horizontal at the bottom of the vertical, as if the scribe hesitated between "1" and " $\frac{1}{2}$."

i 23': The verbal form DÛ-*u-en* is written vertically in the *intercolumnium*.

i 25': Additional photos of this line have kindly been provided by

D. Schwemer. According to D. Groddek (pers. comm.), the traces of KUR on line 25' may be better read KÚR; in view of the context, it seems preferable to read KUR, which seems to be compatible with the traces as well (collation D. Schwemer, September 2017).

i 25', 27': The verb *har(k)-*, “to have, hold” is used here in the sense of “to host (shrines and cult objects),” so already von Brandenstein 1943, 13; “to provide (supplies)” (so Rost 1961, 179, “versorgen”) is rather expressed by *pešk-*. Cf. also KUB 25.23+ rev. iv 48' (text no. 13), with commentary.

i 26': Noteworthy here is the writing *ki-nu-na-ma-aš*, where the particle =*ma* is attached to *kinun=a* (on *kinun* see §3.3.1). Whether Tattamaru, the servants of whom host the cult images at the time when the text was written, is identical with the well-known prince of the time of Ḫattušili III and Tuḫaliya IV, is uncertain (van den Hout 1995a, 124).

i 28': On the formula *tarupta(t)* see the commentary on KBo 2.1 rev. iii 44 (text no. 2).

i 29', 32': The “strong” Storm God is attested only here. Is he to be equated with 10 NIR.GÁL, the “mighty” Storm God?

i 30'–31': On this very special animal-shaped *BIBRU*-vessel, hardly a vessel in the usual sense, see Güterbock 1983, 213.

i 32'–33': On the problematic identification of the ZA.ḪUM-vessel see Weeden 2011a, 178–79; the translation “tankard” has been chosen here (cf. Beal 2005–2006, 363). For inscriptions and drawings on cult objects see KUB 38.3 obv. ii 8–9 (text no. 10). The sequence TUR? É.GAL may be read also DUMU.É.GAL (so von Brandenstein 1943 and Rost 1961).

i 34': That this horn might also be used as a musical instrument, as tentatively put forward by Schuol 2004, 134, is a mere possibility (on Hittite horns see pp. 132–36).

ii 1'–6': The cult of the Stag God of the Countryside, a deity that was closely associated with the hunt, was widespread in Hittite Anatolia, especially in the provinces (McMahon 1991, 44–46). On “stag gods” and their iconographic representations see §§4.1, 4.4.2.3, and cf. KUB 38.2 obv. ii 24'–iii 1' (text no. 8).

ii 2': On *kurutawant-* “wearing a conical helmet” see van den Hout 1995b, 565–69 (**kuruta(i)-* = *Spitzhelm*, *Hörnerkrone*). If worn by gods, the helmet was provided with horns.

ii 7'–9': The cult image description refers either to another manifestation of the Stag God of the Countryside or to a different deity whose name is not specified (Güterbock 1983, 207; McMahon 1991, 45). The *lupanni-* was a round cap made of cloth; see Vigo 2010, 303–14. On the iconography of the two cult images and the counterpoint *kurutawant-/lupannawant-*, see van den Hout 1995b, 566.

ii 7', iv 18: On the agreement pattern observable in the cult image descriptions, see §3.5.1; note the participle GUB-*an* (corresponding to *ašān* in KUB 38.2) in agreement with ALAM (*ešri*).

ii 8': On *awiti*- "sphinx" see the commentary on KUB 38.2 obv. i 12' (text no. 8). For the image of a god standing on an animal on a leash see the Ashmolean seal of Urawalwi (fig. 6) and a leashed lion on a seal from the Nišantepe archive (Herbordt 2005, no. 612b).

ii 13'–26': Bo 3978 and Bo 4519 are edited (with omissions) in Rost 1961, 180–81 nn. 81, 83.

ii 15': Interpretation unclear, the word is seemingly not to be equated with *alkištān*, "bough, branch" (*HW*² A, 59).

ii 20': *HW*² H, 397 reads at the beginning of the line 'GAR!RA', which forces one to posit a scribal mistake; the traces look more like GUL; cf. KUB 42.11 rev. v 7 "7 *palzaḥaš* ŠÀ 1 GUL."

ii 21'–26': The cult image of the spring treated in this section is very different from the statuettes of women or girls that normally represent springs (cf. §4.4.2.4). This imposing cult image (90 minas!) is provided with 100 *ša-riyani*-stones of various minerals. Among them there are the Babylon-stone, probably meaning glass, intended to imitate precious stones (see Baykal-Seeher and Seeher 2003), and the "stone of (the town of) Ḫubišna," which translates Akkadian *gišnugallu* in the trilingual RS 25.421 rev. iii–iv 26'–27', see Laroche 1967, 33. The term *šariyani* here denotes the form of the pebbles, not the mineral (differently according to *CHD* Š, 259). The sum of 100 stones adds up if the "10 (stones) of Ala" are included in the list.

iii 1: Or É.DUB.[BA.A ...] "scribal school"?

iii 2: To equate with Akkadian *ḫarḫadû* (a lyre), see Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 263 (add there this attestation).

iii 8: L. Rost (1961, 181 n. 83) reads SI, but there are more wedges on the original tablets than in the KUB copy. Still, the sign might be written on a (partly) erased sign.

iv 3: The interpretation offered by Rost 1961, 181 with n. 84 is unclear to me. For the use of EŠ with the value MEŠ₄ see Lorenz and Rieken 2016.

iv 1: The name of this town means "saltlick"; on this term see the commentary on Kp 14/95+ obv. i 40 (text no. 14).

iv 1–5: See also *HW*² H, 48. For UDU.KUR.RA see the commentary on KBo 2.1 obv. i 4; for *ḫališšiya*-, "to inlay" see *HW*² H, 44–50.

iv 6: Note the phonetic complement appended to the (Luwian?) participle Ì.GÁL. See already Friedrich *apud* von Brandenstein 1943, 55.

iv 7: Rost 1961, 181 with n. 86 reads ^{LU}SANGA-ši LÚ-iš, "a male priest for her," "männliches Geschlecht wohl betont im Hinblick auf die Göttin, indem dies nicht der Normalfall" (on SANGA-priestesses see Pecchioli Daddi 1982,

425–26). In the present case, however, the reference seems to be to a specific kind of servant. On the ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇ see Beal 1992, 162–72 and Weeden 2011a, 254. According to Beal, the ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇ in Hittite texts is most likely the chariot-fighter, not the charioteer.

iv 11: On the “Good(ness)” symbol see the commentary on KUB 38.2 obv. i 10’.

iv 12: The *talla*-vessel was perhaps shaped as a lower limb, see Pecchioli-Daddi 2010. Among cult object descriptions it occurs also in KUB 38.1 iv 12 and KUB 38.3 ii 14’.

iv 17–19: The statuette of a standing man and the ox hint at a storm god (so also according to Haas 1994, 494 and *HEG* W–Z, 395).

iv 20: Cf. KUB 38.3 ii 8, with commentary.

l. e. 1: The traces of an alleged vertical wedge in the sign LÚ (so von Brandenstein 1943, 16 n. k) are in my view broken surface (collated, so also in the KUB copy). The verbal form in the gap at the end of the line cannot be restored with certainty (cf. Laroche 1975, 91 n. 15; Güterbock 1983, 208). This line is evidently connected to §§7’’–8’’, where the Stag God of the Country-side and Ala of Wiyanawanta are treated.

TEXT NO. 10. KUB 38.3: THE QUEEN OF THE SLUICE

Manuscripts: Bo 2318 + Bo 8042 (KUB 38.3; erasures are often left unmarked in the copy). **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Edition:** Von Brandenstein 1943, 16–21. **Discussion:** Rost 1961, 182–85 (translation and notes); Güterbock 1946, 486; 1983, 209, 213 (discussion of the cult image descriptions). **Notes:** CHDS 2.5 (Bo 9541) is likely to be an indirect join either of KUB 38.1+ or KUB 38.3 (see the introduction in text no. 9).

As with the other inventories of this chapter, KUB 38.3 is also mainly concerned with detailed descriptions of cult images. The *incipit* of the text is preserved, showing that cult inventories did not have any preamble (Cammorosano 2013, 73). The text is organized in sections and paragraphs, according to the usual schema. The structure and content of the tablet can be summarized as follows (fragmentary sections are not included in the table):

Text	Town	Gods
§§1–4' (i 1–ii 5)	Tiliura	Storm God of Liḫzina, Iṣḫaṣḫuriya, a goddess, a deified river (names not preserved)
§§5–6' (ii 6–ii 21)	Zanzišna	Mount Iṣkiša, a deity (name not preserved)
§§7''–9'' (iii 1'–10')	-	an unspecified number of deities in fragmentary context, among them the Storm God of the Meadow, Mušuna, and perhaps a Storm God
§10'' (iii 11'–18')	Iṣšaliya	the Queen of the Sluice, Ḫalki

None of the three towns treated in the preserved portion of the tablet provides a clear hint at the geographical setting of the inventory. Indeed, a town named Tiliura is known to be located in the far northeast of the kingdom, raising the suspicion (Forlanini 2009, 45 n. 34) of a scribal mistake for Tiura, which is treated in KUB 38.1+ (§12''', text no. 9). Note also that both in KUB 38.1+ and in KUB 38.3 a goddess Iṣḫaṣḫuriya is mentioned, although the one in KUB 38.1+ does not pertain to the town Tiura. Since the GN Tiliura is attested twice in KUB 38.3, the idea of a scribal mistake seems problematical. But equally problematical would be to assign this inventory to an area that we know to be remote from the Hittite heartland. Against this option speak the fact that cult inventories in general pertain to the central provinces of Hatti, and the close ties with KUB 38.1+, which is related to central Cappa-

docia. Until new evidence becomes available, it seems therefore safe to keep Tiliura and Tiura distinct, while at the same time admitting a homonymy with the northern Tiliura. Based on the similarity of content, on the recurrence of the divine name Išḫašḫuriya, and on the fact that KUB 38.3 was written by the same hand as KUB 38.1+ (q.v.), the geographical setting of this inventory may well be central Cappadocia.

The pantheon of this tablet is firmly rooted in a rural landscape: along with local storm gods, mountain and spring goddesses, a Storm God of the Meadow, a Queen of the Sluice, and the grain-goddess Ḫalki are among the deities attested here. As far as the cult image descriptions are concerned, an elaborate animal-shaped vessel (§1) and an unusually big statuette of wicker (§2) stand out. On the statuette representing Mount Iškiša (§5'), "the name of the king" is engraved in hieroglyphs, together with figures of "animals of the open country" (see the commentary on obv. ii 9). As Güterbock (1983, 209) observed, it must be no accident that ^dKAL of Mount Iškiša and ^dKAL of the wild animals (*ḫuitna-*) are listed together in KUB 2.1 obv. ii 15'–16', a list of tutelary deities of Tudḫaliya IV. This neither implies nor suggests that the king referred to in KUB 38.3 is Tudḫaliya IV, since the association between the two deities may well be older. Note that KUB 38.3 also mentions a dedication by Muršili (II) in §1. Besides descriptions of cult images, the text provides information on shrines, cult personnel, and provenience of offerings (note in §2 the "House of the King," which also plays a role in KUB 38.1+). An extraordinary feature of this tablet is a drawing of two human heads in profile. The figures are not made with the writing stylus, but rather by using a blunt tip. The nature of the drawing is unclear: it has no apparent connection with the text, yet it encumbers a paragraph within col. ii. For an overview of drawings made on clay tablets see Finkel 2011 (Mesopotamia) and Ünal 1989 (Hittite Anatolia, the case of KUB 38.3 is discussed on p. 507).

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph, 3D model.

Format and Layout: Upper half of a two-columned tablet (width ca. 15.5 cm, max preserved height ca. 11 cm), the reverse is badly burnt. The left columns are remarkably wider than the right ones, similarly in KUB 17.35 (ca. 8 vs. ca. 6.5 cm). As in KUB 38.1+, double paragraph lines are remarkably space out.

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: LNS: late QA (i 3, 10, iii 13') and KI (i 11, 18, 20; ii 6). UN with inscribed vertical (ii 8); ḪA with two *Winkelhaken*; RA as in HZL no. 233/13; KÁN with two *Winkelhaken* (i 12, 15, 21, iii 6'; three *Winkelhaken* in other occurrences). Note the peculiar variant of LI in obv. i 9, a ŠA with four verticals in obv. i 16, and the peculiar SAG in obv. ii 6.

Orthography: Note the spellings *INA* in obv. ii 6 and *pí-iš-ker₈* in obv. i 17.

Transliteration

Obv. i

§1 1 ^rd¹ 10 ^{URU}li-iḫ-zi-na ^{URU}ti-li-ú-ra
 2 'DINGIR'-LIM-tar BI-IB-RU GU₄ GIŠ 4 KI.GUB KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA
 3 SAG.*DU*-ŠÚ GABA^{HLA} KÙ.SI₂₂ GAR.RA pá-r-ka₄-aš-ti 1 SIG.KÙŠ
 4 GAM-ŠÚ^{GIS} pal-za-aš-ḫa-aš 1 GAL KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 8 GÍN.GÍN
 5 ^mmur-ši-DINGIR-LIM-iš LUGAL-uš pé-eš-ta A-NA ^d10 ^rURUli-iḫ-zi-na^r
 6 10 ši-it-tar ZABAR *TUR* A-NA ^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA DINGIR-L[IM (?)]
 7 an-da-an RA-an É DINGIR-LIM GIBIL-ši DÛ-^ru'-[en (vacat)]
 8 ^{L0}SANGA-ši an-na-al-liš ^{L0}*GUDU₁₂ -ši 'LÚ* ^{GIS}ŠUKUR-ši' [ti-ia-u-en
 (or: DÛ-u-en)] §

§2 9 ^diš-ḫa-aš-ḫu-ri-ia-aš ^{URU}ti-li-ú-ra DINGIR-LIM-tar
 10 1 ALAM AD.KID *MUNUS*-TI TUŠ-an KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA pá-r-
 ka₄-aš-ti 1 SIG.KÙŠ ½ SIG.KÙŠ
 11 1 KI-LI-LU KÙ.BABBAR 5 GURUN KÙ.SI₂₂-kán an-da
 12 8 pí-in-na-ti-iš KÙ.SI₂₂ *ŠĀ* '3' KÙ.BABBAR' A-NA GÛ-ŠÛ-kán an-da
 13 6 ši-it-tar KÙ.SI₂₂ ŠĀ' 2 'KÙ.BABBAR' [A-NA DIN]GIR-LIM GABA-
 ŠÛ-kán an-da
 14 3 TA-PAL 'ḪUB'.[B]I [ŠĀ 1-NU-TUM] KÙ.SI₂₂ *2-NU-TUM-ma*
^{NA4}ZÁLAG
 15 *an*-da DAB-an A-NA 'GEŠTU^{HLA}-ŠÛ-kán an-da
 16 3 TA-PAL ^{TUG}NÍG.LÁM ŠĀ 1-NU-TUM 'SIG₇' 1-NU-TUM-ma SA₅
 17 *1-NU*-TUM-ma ^{NA4}ZÁLAG TA É LUGAL pí-iš-ker₈
 18 ki-nu-na ka-ru-ú SUM-er (erasure) §

§3 19 [(ca. 2 signs)]x-^ran' KÙ.BABBAR *GAR*.RA MUNUS-TI*^rTUŠ*-an
 pá-r-ka₄-aš-ti 1 SIG.KÙŠ ½ SIG.KÙŠ
 20 [(ca. 4–5 signs)]'1' KI-*LI*-LU KÙ.*BABBAR* 5 GURUN KÙ.SI₂₂-
 kán an-da
 21 [n pí-in-na-ti-iš KÙ.SI₂₂ ŠĀ n]'KÙ.BABBAR' A-NA GÛ-ŠÛ-kán an-da
 22 [... a]n-da
 23 [...]^rNA₄'ZÁLAG
 24 [...]'GÍN'.GÍN
 (breaks off)

Obv. ii

§4' 1 ^{ld}[(ca. 4–5 signs)]x AR[...]
 2 MUNUS.LUGAL [(ca. 4–5 signs)] ŠA ^{GIS}D[ĪM ...]
 3 ^rd^x[...] ŠU.NÍGIN ^r5²[...]
 4 [(space for ca. 6 signs)] AŠ[...]
 5 ^rURUti-li-ú-ra^r-aš ta-ru-up-[ta] §§
 (two human heads engraved in profile) §

Translation

- §1 (i 1–8) Storm God of Liḫzina in Tiliura: the divine image is a *BIBRU*-vessel, (shaped like) a bull (lit. ox), of wood, standing on (all) four (legs), plated with silver, his head and chest plated with gold, (it is) 1 *short cubit* in height. Beneath him there is a base. King Muršili dedicated (lit. “gave”) 1 silver cup (weighing) 8 shekel. For the Storm God of Liḫzina 10 small bronze (*sun*) *disks* are affixed to the altar of the g[od]. We bui[lt] a new shrine for him. His priest (is) in place since of old; [we installed] for him a GUDU-priest (and) a spear-holder.
- §2 (i 9–18) Iṣḫašḫuriya of Tiliura: the divine image is 1 statuette of wicker, of a woman, seated, plated with silver, (it is) 1 ½ *short cubits* in height; 1 silver headwreath, (with) 5 fruits of gold on (it); 8 necklaces of gold—of which 3[?] (are) of silver—on her neck; 6 (*sun*) *disks* of gold—of which 2 (are) of silver—on the [godd]ess’ breast; 3 pairs of earrings—[in which 1 (pair)] of gold and 2 (pairs) of ZÁLAG-stone are included—at her ears; 3 pairs of festive garments, of which 1 (pair is) yellow, 1 (pair is) red, and 1 (pair is) of (the color of) ZÁLAG-stone—they used to give (it) from the king’s house, and now they have already given (it).
- §3 (i 19–24) [...] plated with silver, (of?) a woman, seated, (it is) 1 ½ *short cubits* in height [...] 1 silver headwreath, (with) 5 fruits of gold on (it), [*n* necklaces of gold—of which *n*] (are) of silver, on her neck; [...] on [...] (of the color of) ZÁLAG-stone [...] shekel(s) (*breaks off*)
- §4’ (ii 1–5) (*after a large gap*) River [...] queen [...] of a pi[llar ...] Total: 5[?] [...] The town of Tiliura [is] completed.
(*two human heads engraved in profile*)

- §5' 6 *INA*^{URU} *za-an-zi-iš-na*^{HUR.SAG} *iš-ki-[ša-aš]*
 7 'DINGIR¹-*LIM-tar*¹ 1 ALAM GIŠ KÛ.BABBAR GAR.RA LÚ GUB-*an*
 [TÚG] *wa-aš-ša-an ŠA* 1 SIG.KÛŠ
 8 *ku-un-zi-ia-la-za a-ni-ia-an ŠUM ŠA* LUGAL-*kán*
 9 *ki-im-ra-aš-ša* ^r*hu*¹-*u-i-tar an-da-an gul-aš-^rša*¹-*an*
 10 IGI^{HIA} *i-ni-ru-^ruš*¹ NA₄ KÁ.DINGIR.RA
 11 ZAG-*na-za ŠU-za* ^rGIŠ¹TUKUL ZABAR *har*¹-*zi*
 12 GÛB-*la-za ŠU-za A-RI-TUM* K[Û.BABBAR T]₈^{MUSEN} ZU₉ AM.SI SI
 13 UR.MAH₇ ZU₉ AM.SI SI *har*-[*zi*]
 14 1 ^{GIŠ}NAG.NAG 2 SI DÀRA 10 <^{DUG}(DAB) *ta-al-la*
 15 *Ì.GÁL*-*iš ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM*
 16 É DINGIR-*LIM* GIBIL-*ši DÛ-an* ^{LÚ}S[ANGA-*ši an-na-al-liš*] §
- §6' 17 1 ^{GIŠ}NAG.NAG *an-dur-za* [...]
 18 NUNDUM^{HIA} KÛ.SI₂₂ GAR.RA 2 SI [...]
 19 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL KÛ.BABBAR T₈^{MUSEN} KÛ.BABBAR x[...]
 20 [(ca. 2 signs)]x KÛ.BABBAR ŠA^{sic} 10 G[ÍN.GÍN ...]
 21 [(ca. 2–3 signs)]^r*Ú-NU-TUM*^r [...]
 (breaks off)

Rev. iii

(ca. half of the column broken off)

- §7'' 1' [...] x [...]
 2' [(1–2 signs) DI]NGIR[?]-*LIM*^r x[...]
 3' [^{LÚ}SA]NGA-*ši* ^rA.SÀ A.GÀR DINGIR¹[^{MES?} ...]
 4' [*pa*[?]-*r*]*a*[?]-*a-an-kán tar-nu-um-me-e*[*n*] §
- §8'' 5' [(ca. 3 signs)]x x[(ca. 4–5 signs)] 1 S[I KÛ.SI₂₂ (or: KÛ.BABBAR)] ŠA
^r10¹ GÍN.[GÍN]
 6' [n *ši-ta*]*r*(?) KÛ.BABBAR ŠÀ[(ca. 4–5 signs)]x-*kán* [*a*]*n-da*
 7' [*šar*]-*ni-in-ku-u-en* [(*vacat?*)]
 8' (one line uninscribed) §
- §9'' 9' [^d]^r10¹ Ú.SAL DINGIR-*LIM-tar* [(ca. 4–5 signs)]x-^r*šu*[?]-*u-na-aš*
 10' [(1–2 signs)]x ^d*mu-šu-na-an* [(*vacat?*)]^rd²10[?]^r x[(ca. 2 signs)]x-^r*zi*^r
 (one line uninscribed) §§
- §10'' 11' [^{URU}*i*]*š-ša-li-ia iš-tap-pé-eš-na-aš* MUNUS.^rLUGAL¹-*aš*
 12' [DINGIR-*LIM*]-*tar* 1 ALAM GIŠ 'MUNUS'-*TI* *KÛ.BABBAR GAR.
 RA* (traces of erased signs, omitted in the copy)
 13' [TUŠ-*an*] <^r*hu-u-pí-t*[*a*]-^r*a*¹-*u-wa-an-za pár-ka*₄-*aš-ti*
 14' [n SIG.KÛŠ[?] 1 AL]AM GIŠ MUNUS-*TI* TUŠ-*an* <^r*hu-u-^rpí-ta-u-wa-*
an-za^r
 15' [*pár-ka*₄-*aš-ti*] 1 SIG.KÛŠ *hal-ki-iš*
 16' [É DINGIR-*LIM* GIBIL-*š*]*a-ma-aš DÛ-u-^ren*^r

- §5' In the town of Zanzišna: Mount Iški[ša] ("mountain ridge"): the
(ii 6–16) divine image is 1 statuette of wood, plated with silver, of a man, standing, clothed [(with) a garment], of 1 *short cubit*, treated⁷ with *kunziyala*-(pigment?). The name of the king and animals of the countryside are engraved on (it), (his) eyes (and) eyebrows (are made) of *glass*. He holds in his right hand a bronze mace; he hol[ds] in his left hand a s[ilver] shield, (with) an eagle of ivory (and) a lion of ivory (inlaid). (Furthermore) there are 1 *washtub*, 2 ibex horns, (and) 10 *talla*-vessels (as accoutrements) of the god. For him a new shrine is made; [his] p[riest] is in place since of old].
- §6' 1 *washtub*, inside (it is) [...] (its) rim is plated with gold; 2 horns
(ii 17–21) [...] a silver mace, a silver eagle [...] of silver, of 10 sh[ekels ...] accoutrements (*breaks off*)
- §7'' (*after a large gap*) ... [... de]ity⁷ [... a pri]est for him/her, the god[s⁷]
(iii 1'–4') (of?) the fields [...] we left him (?) (or: we released him?).
- §8'' (*fragmentary*) 1 ho[rn] of gold (or: of silver)) of 10 shekel[s; *n (sun)*
(iii 5'–8') *dis]ks⁷* of silver, of which [...] we [re]placed.
- §9'' Storm [god] of the Meadow: the divine image is [...] Mušuna,
(iii 9'–10') Storm God (?) [...]
- §10'' [Town of I]ššaliya: the Queen of the Sluice: the [divine im]age is
(iii 11'–18') 1 statuette of wood, of a woman, plated with silver, [seated]; she is *veiled*, [*n short cubit(s)*] in height. [(Furthermore:) 1 statuette of wood, of a woman, seated; she is *veiled*, 1 *short cubit* [in height]: (the goddess) Ḫalki ("grain"). We made [a new shrine] for them. They were [...] we made (*fragmentary*).

17' [(ca. 4–5 signs)]x-na-za^re-še-er^r
 18' [(ca. 4–5 signs) EGI]R-pa DÛ-u-en
 (end of column)

Rev. iv

(ca. two-thirds of the column broken off)

§11''' 1' (traces) §

§12''' 2' [(ca. 4–5 signs)]^r1'-NU-TUM 1^{GIS}GIDRU KÛ.BABBAR [...]

3' [(ca. 4–5 signs)]^rŠA⁷ x ZA^{rLÛsic}SANGA^r x[...]

4' [(ca. 6–7 signs)]-^rzi-iš^r-ma-aš-ši [...]

(breaks off, ca. 10 lines to the end of column)

Commentary

i 1–4: For the locative interpretation of ^{URU}*tiliura* in obv. i 1 see Güterbock 1946, 486. This *BIBRU*-vessel is made of wood and stands on a base: were such cult objects indeed used as (ritual) drinking vessels or not? Cf. Güterbock 1983, 213 (“... kaum ein Gefäß”). For the use of SIG.KÛŠ “short cubit” see the commentary on KUB 38.1+ obv. i 12' (text no. 9).

i 5–7: The constituent ANA ^d10^{URU}*liḫzina* belongs to the following phrase (... *andan* RA-an), not to the preceding one (... *pešta*; so von Brandenstein 1943, 17, followed by Rost 1961, 182). For *andan walḫ-* in this context see CHD Š, 459. At the end of i 6 ^{URU}*liḫzina* is normally restored, but DINGIR-L[IM (?)] is equally possible. For the reading and restoration in line 7 see Rost 1961, 182 n. 90 and cf. KUB 38.1+ obv. i 23'.

i 8: Cf. KUB 38.1+ obv. i 3', 9'. The sign traces assumed by von Brandenstein (1943, 16) at the end of the line are not visible on the photo, so also the copy in KUB 38.

i 9: Išḫašḫuriya is identical with the homonymous spring goddess described in KUB 38.1+ i 10'–14' (town of Tarammekā; so also according to Güterbock 1983, 209).

i 10: There is no reason to doubt the meaning “wicker” for the pseudo-sumerogram AD.KID (von Brandenstein 1943, 56; Bossert 1954, 271). That a thin sheet of silver is placed upon a wicker statuette of one and a half “short cubits” (perhaps around 30 cm?) is perfectly conceivable (kindly pointed out by J. Seeher).

i 14: For the writing 2-NUTUM (an analogical formation, unattested in Akkadian) see *GrHL*, 160 n. 23. The nature of the ZALAG/ZÁLAG stone is unclear (Polvani 1988, 177–78), in KUB 38.3 (obv. i 14, 17, 23) the sign is ZÁLAG, not ZALAG as transliterated by von Brandenstein and Polvani.

§12''' (after a large gap) [...] (the divine image is) 1 silver staff [...]
 (iv 2'–4') (fragmentary) the priest (fragmentary, then broken off)

i 16: For ^{TUG}NÍG.LÁM “festive garment” see Baccelli, Bellucci, and Vigo 2014, 123–24.

i 17–18: For the unusual spelling *pé-eš-KAR* see *HZL* no. 244. On *kinuna* see §3.3.1. Von Brandenstein (1943, 19, followed by L. Rost) translates *kinuna karu* SUM-er, “und hat man (auch) diesmal schon gegeben”; *HW²* A, 76, musing on a possible influence of *annalla/i-* on *karu*, “Auch jetzt hat man das Frühere gegeben”; Polvani (1988, 177) “finora si è dato.”

i 19–20: The *incipit* of the paragraph seems to deviate from the usual schema, see Rost 1961, 183 n. 93. She tentatively restored “veiled” at the beginning of line 20.

ii 2: Von Brandenstein (1943, 18) could still see traces of a sign following LUGAL.

ii 5: On the formula *tarupta(t)* see the commentary on KBo 2.1 rev. iii 44 (text no. 2). The restoration of the formula in the present tense is based on KUB 38.1+ obv. i 28 (text no. 9).

ii 6: For the restoration see RGTC, 492 with literature.

ii 7: The restoration follows Rost 1961, 183 n. 95.

ii 8: The interpretation of Hurrian *kunziyala-*, perhaps a pigment, is uncertain, see von Brandenstein 1943, 57 and *BGH*, 224.

ii 9: The Hittite verbal root *gulš-* means “to carve, scratch,” hence the secondary value “to write in hieroglyphs” as opposed to *hazziye/a-* “to pierce,” hence “to write in cuneiform.” See Waal 2011, 22–24, but the reference to hieroglyphic writing is secondary, not primary (see most recently Yakubovich 2014, 284 n. 3); for the substantial difference in the writing technique as reflected in these two roots see Marazzi 1994. As correctly observed by Güterbock (1983, 209), this passage must refer to hieroglyphs (the king’s

name) accompanied by engraved figures (the animals of the open country), thus nicely covering the semantics of *gulš*–.

ii 10: On the “Babylon-stone” (probably denoting glass) see the commentary on KUB 38.1+ obv. ii 21’–26’.

ii 12–13: On the reading of this passage see Güterbock 1946, 486; the interpretation given here differs from that of Güterbock 1983, 209 with n. 42.

ii 14: For ^{GIS}NAG.NAG as washtub (?) see von Brandenstein 1943, 21. For the reading DĀRA (without MAŠ, against von Brandenstein 1943, 20) see Güterbock 1946, 486; 1973, 83; in KUB 38.2 rev. iii 1 (text no. 8) we find the writing LU.LIM. Before UDU two *Winkelhaken* are visible (or an oblique wedge and a *Winkelhaken*); the first one does not fit any of the variant of DĀRA listed in *HZL*, and is closer to the following *Winkelhaken* than it appears from the copy. The alternative is therefore not between the numeral “10” and a gloss wedge, as assumed by Pecchioli Daddi 2010, 197 n. 7, 198 n. 12, but rather between the numeral “20” and the numeral “10” + gloss wedge. In view of the slightly different appearance of the two wedges, and of a glossed attestation of *talla*– in KUB 15.3 obv. i 20, the latter option seems preferable. On the logogram DAB, here seemingly used in place of DUG or GIŠ, see *HZL* no. 210 and cf. KUB 38.4 obv. 9 (text no. 11). On the *talla*-vessel (perhaps a vessel shaped like a lower limb) see Pecchioli Daddi 2010.

ii 15–16: Cf. KUB 38.1+ rev. iv 6–7 (text no. 9).

ii 20: For the restoration see Rost 1961, 184.

iii 7’: Restored after Rost 1961, 184 n. 99.

iii 8’: The horizontal trace visible both on the photo and on the copy does not seem to be the rest of a sign.

iii 10’: It is unclear whether the reference here is to the Hurrian deity Muš(un)ni or not (Wilhelm 1997b, 499).

iii 11’–15’: Restored and interpreted after Güterbock 1983, 209 with n. 43–44. Here and in the following lines the gaps are shorter than assumed by von Brandenstein. “TUŠ-*aš*” in line 13’ is restored after Rost 1961, 184 with n. 100.

iii 18’: Von Brandenstein (1943, 20) reads [... EGI]R-ŠŪ.

TEXT NO. 11. KUB 38.4: PIRWA ON THE HORSE

Manuscript: Bo 5693 (KUB 38.4). **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Edition:** Von Brandenstein 1943, 22. **Discussion:** Rost 1961, 185 (translation and notes); Güterbock 1983, 208; Starke 1990, 551–52.

The extant part of KUB 38.4 preserves a description of the cult image of the god Pirwa, which can be partially restored thanks to an analogous description from an oracle report (see the commentary on obv. 1–2). Once thought to be a female or double-gender deity, Pirwa turns out to be, as is now clear, a warrior god, closely associated with horses (Otten 1953; Haas 1994, 412–15; Pecchioli-Daddi 2005). His cult was very popular in the city of Kaneš (central Cappadocia) in the Old Assyrian period, and apparently enjoyed a revival in the Hittite Empire period, since he seems to have been worshiped in several areas of the kingdom (van Gessel 1998, 358). The present text refers to Pirwa of Šippa in central Cappadocia, where he had his own temple, perhaps the same one that is referred to in IBoT 2.131 (text no. 6). Pirwa is represented as a man standing (or sitting) on a horse, holding a whip in his right hand and two⁷ *ašuša-s* of “black iron” in his left hand. Noteworthy, besides the statuette there is also a *BIBRU*-vessel shaped like a horse, which can be compared with textual and archaeological evidence (see §4.4.2.4 fig. 6 and commentary on obv. 8).

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph, 3D model.

Format and Layout: Fragment of the left upper edge of a tablet. The extant part of the reverse is uninscribed, with a *Randleiste* at the bottom.

Transliteration

Obv. i

- §1 1 ^rd¹ *pí-ir-wa-aš* ^rURU *ši¹-i*[*p-pa-aš* ALAM LÚ ...]
 2 [A]-NA ANŠE.KUR.RA KÛ.BABBAR GAR.R[A GUB (?) ...]
 3 ^{KUS}KIR₄.TAB.ANŠE KÛ.*BABBAR* IŠ[...]
 4 ZAG-za ŠU-za ⁴*du-pa-ú-n*[*a-aš-ši-in[?]*]
 5 EL-TÛ-ĦU KÛ.BABBAR ^r*har¹-zi* [GÛB-za ŠU-za]
 6 [2[?]] ^r*a¹-šu-ša-aš* AN.BAR GE₆ (erasure) *h[ar-zi ...]*
 7 [^{URUDU}GÍR (?) KÛ].SI₂₂-*kán iš-ĥu-zi-ia*-[*an-za (?) (vacat?)*]
 8 [1 BI-Ī]B-RU ANŠE.KUR.RA KÛ.SI₂₂ x[...]
 9 [(ca. 3 signs)]x KÛ.SI₂₂ DAB-ši NA₄ GAR.RA [...]
 10 [(ca. 5 signs)]x-*ma-a-u-wa-an-za* 9 x[...]
 11 [(ca. 6–7 signs)]I]GI-zi GUB-*an-te-eš* [...]

(breaks off)

Translation

- §1 Pirwa of Šip[pa: a statuette of a man ... he stands[?] o]n a silver-plated horse [...] silver reins [...] in his right hand he holds a bea[ting]-whip of silver, [in his left hand] he h[olds two[?]] *ašuša*-of black iron. [...] (He is) gird[ed with a dagger (?) of go]ld. [1 BI]BRU-vessel shaped like a horse, of gold [...] of gold, for him there is a stone-plated DAB-vessel [... with the f]ront (quarters) in standing position.

Commentary

obv. 1–2: The GN was first restored by Otten (1953, 65, 67). On the cult of Pirwa of Šippa, in central Cappadocia, see Imparati 1990, 173; Forlanini 2009, 39–42; cf. also IBoT 2.131 (text no. 6). The partial restoration of the cult image description is based on the oracle report KBo 44.209+, which mentions a silver-plated statuette of “Pirwa of Ziparwa” standing on a bronze horse and holding silver reins (rev. iv 8’–9’; see already Otten 1953, 64–65). There, Pirwa is a statuette “of a man,” showing that this was a male deity (Otten 1953, 65–66, 72 n. 20, against Bossert; *pace* Güterbock 1983, 208). The fragmentary cult image description in KUB 38.21 rev. 1’–6’, mentioning a silver horse, might well refer to Pirwa, or perhaps to Pirinkir.

obv. 3: Possibly the participle *išmeriyanza* “leashed” or “holding the reins” is to be restored; cf. KUB 38.1+ obv. ii 8’ (text no. 9). Pecchioli Daddi’s translation (2005, 575) “in his right hand he is holding the reins and in his left a silver whip” is to be corrected.

obv. 4–5: For the restoration of the form $\leftarrowdupaun[aššin']$, from Luw. *dupi-/dupai-* (Starke) or Luw. **dupa-* (Melchert, *CLL*, 235), see Starke 1990, 551–52, superseding Bossert’s (1944, 57–61) interpretation as “oblong shield,” which is based on the comparison with Egyptian female statuettes. Starke’s discussion is overlooked by Haas (1994, 413, 499), who tentatively translated **dupau-* as “halter.” The reading *h[arzi]* in line 6 forces the restoration [GÜB-za ŠU-za] in the gap of line 5, not of line 4 (so von Brandenstein and others), confirming that the gloss-word in line 4 modifies *ELTUHU* “whip.”

obv. 6: Since *ašušaš* may be sg. or pl., the restoration of the numeral is uncertain. The proposed restoration is based on the comparison with Bo 3826 rev. iii 9', a rare description of the cult image of a deceased king (Otten 1958, 112; Rost 1963, 202), who holds the *lituus* in the left hand and two *ašuša-s* (in the right hand?). The meaning of *ašuša-* is uncertain (*HW*², 539–40). They were hardly “earrings” as assumed by Güterbock (1983, 208, see Starke 1990, 552 n. 2044). The precise nature of “black iron” (AN.BAR GE₆) is unclear (Kořak 1986, 125–26, 132–33; Kammenhuber 1996, 217).

obv. 7: For the restoration cf. *IŠTU GİR=ya=ššan kuieš išhuzziyanteš* in HT 1 obv. i 32, referred to in *HW*² I, 168.

obv. 8: For textual attestations of horse-shaped *BIBRU*-vessels see Carruba 1967: 89; for archaeological ones, see V. Müller-Karpe *apud* Müller-Karpe et al. 2006, 224–25.

obv. 9: For the uncertain value of the logogram DAB see the literature quoted sub *HZL* no. 210 and cf. KUB 38.3 obv. ii 14 (text no. 10).

obv. 11: Apparently, von Brandenstein could still read the sign EŠ, not visible on the photo and now lost.

7.4. THE NORTH

The two large cult inventories edited in this chapter pertain to the northern districts of Nerik (text no. 12) and Ȧakmiř (text no. 13). Nerik is to be identified with Oymaağaç Höyük, on the eastern side of the Kızılırmak 7 km northwest of Vezirköprü in the province of Samsun (Czichon 2015), whereas Ȧakmiř probably lies around Amasya or Merzifon (Alparslan 2010; Corti 2017, 223–24). Nerik was the most important cult center in northern Anatolia in Hittite times: a veritable holy city. The god whom the Hittites revered most in the city was the Storm God of Nerik; relevant was also the cult of Mount Zaliyanu, Zařhapuna, and Telipinu (Haas 1970; 1994, 594–607, Corti 2009). An ancient spring festival called *purulli* used to be celebrated in Nerik (Klinger 2009, 99–100); the festival has ties to the myth of the serpent Il-luyanka (*CTH* 321, Rieken et al. 2015, 146–49), which was perhaps staged in the frame of the rite. According to Lamante and Lorenz (2015, 265 with n. 41) three cult inventories relating to Nerik have been identified so far: KUB 38.85, KUB 42.100+, and KUB 53.21.

During the Early New Kingdom, Nerik was seized by the so-called Kařka people, together with other northern areas. But the reverence paid by the Hittites to the city was such that its cults were transferred to Ȧakmiř and other centers less exposed to the enemy, in order to assure continuity in the celebration of the rites. Humiliating agreements were made in the effort to ensure that the cult supplies could reach the gods. Thus speak Arnuwanda and Ařmunikal in their prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (*CTH* 375 §§15''–16'', 28''–30''):

From the land of Nerik, from the land of Hursama, from the land of Kařtama, from the land of Serisa, from the land of Himuwa, from the land of Taggasta, from the land of Kammama, from the land of Zalpuwa, from the land of Kapiruha, from the land of Hurna, from the land of Dankusna, from the land of Tapasawa, (var. adds: from the land of Kazza[pa]), from the land of Tarugga, from the land of Ilaluha, from the land of Zihhana, from the land of Sipidduwa, from the land of Washaya, from the land of Pataliya, the temples which you, O gods, had in these lands, the Kaska-men have destroyed and they have smashed your images, O gods. [...] And since we are respectful to the gods, we concern ourselves with the festivals of the gods. Since the Kaska-men have captured Nerik, we send offerings from Hatti to Hakmis for the Storm god of Nerik and for the gods of Nerik: offering bread, libations, cattle and sheep. We summon the Kaska-men and give them gifts; we make them swear: 'The offerings which we send to the Storm god of Nerik, you keep watch over them and let no one attack them on their way!' They come, take the gifts and swear, but when they return

they break the oaths and they despise your words, O gods, and they smash the seal of the oath of the Storm god. (transl. Singer 2002, 41–43)

Besides Ḫakmiš, other settlements hosted the cults of Nerik after the loss of the city; among them there was Utruna (see text no. 12 and del Monte 1978, 189–91; the assumption of Taracha 2009, 102, according to whom cults of Nerik were transferred to Kaštama, does not fit the available evidence). Four generations later, Ḫattušili III credits himself with the reconquest of the city, as well as with its reconstruction and with the restoration of its cults:

The city of Nerik was like a shell in the sea, it was under deep water. I brought the city of Nerik up like a shell out of deep water. I picked it up for the sake of the Storm god of Nerik, your son. I resettled the land of Nerik and I rebuilt the city of Nerik. (*CTH* 383.1, transl. Singer 2002, 99; see also Klinger 2009, 102)

According to the version given by Ḫattušili, endorsed also by his wife Puduḫepa and by his son and successor Tudḫaliya IV (*KUB* 25.21 obv. iii 2–3), Nerik remained deserted from the reign of Ḫantili (II, see Klinger 2008, 282) until the time when he, still king of Ḫakmiš, reconquered it:

Because the city of Nerik had been destroyed since the days of the king Hantili, I rebuilt it and of the countries that surrounded Nerik, I made the cities of Nera and Hastira the border. (Apology of Ḫattušili III §10b, transl. van den Hout, *COS* 1.77:202)

Or in the words of Ḫattušili's spouse Puduḫepa:

O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of all the lands! [...] You picked me up, my lady, and Hattusili, your servant, to whom you married me, and he too was attached by destiny (lit. lot) to the Storm god of Nerik, your beloved son. The place in which you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, installed us, is the place of your beloved son, the Storm god of Nerik. How the former kings neglected it, that you know O Sun goddess of Arinna, my lady. Those who were former kings, to whom you, O Sun goddess of Arinna, had given weapons, kept defeating the [surrounding] enemy lands, but no one [tried] to take/[succeeded] in taking the city of Nerik. But he who is your servant, Hattusili, and whom you now [pursue (?)], O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, was not even a king, but only a prince. Yet, it was up to him to take the city of Nerik. (*CTH* 384 §2, transl. Singer 2002, 102)

However, the real picture must have been far more complex than the propaganda of Ḫattušili wants us to believe. As Klinger (2009, 102) recently put it, “the cult of Nerik shows a continuous tradition since the old Hittite times down to the 13th century. The question is, in which places were those

rituals documented in the different texts from old through middle until new Hittite times performed? We know very well that the city of Hakmis served as a home for the Nerik cults since the reign of Arnuwanda I—we don’t know how long this situation lasted.” Indeed, the fragmentary text KUB 21.8 (*CTH* 101.1), datable to Ḫattušili III as well, proves that already Muršili II and Muwattalli II reached Nerik, and that the former king celebrated rites there (Klinger 2009, 103–4, for the text see Haas 1970, 10–11, with different interpretation). The two cult inventories edited in this chapter, both dating back to Tudḫaliya IV, deserve an important place in the critical reconsideration of the history of Nerik. Indeed, KUB 42.100+ provides ample evidence to the care Muršili II and Muwattalli II put in nourishing the cult of Nerik, also bearing witness to actions that may have been taken in the very town of Nerik, not in its “surrogates”: a possibility that fits well with the fact that Muršili celebrated rites there. Furthermore, the text shows that the cults of Nerik treated in the text were actually restored and implemented by Tudḫaliya IV, not by Ḫattušili. To complicate the picture, KUB 25.23+ proves that also the area of Ḫakmiš, which is traditionally thought to have been under more stable Hittite control, suffered from political instability still under the reign of Tudḫaliya IV.

The picture that results from the evidence summarized here is one of structural instability, with settlements, roads, and valleys periodically shifting from Hittite to Kaška influence and the other way round. Most details of this story are forever lost to us, including the way local communities coped with the situation and managed their allegiances from time to time. There is little doubt that Ḫattušili indeed invested a lot of energies in the effort toward a more durable reconquest of the holy city, an operation that must have taken place while he was king of Ḫakmiš (*CTH* 90, Corti 2006). There is no reason to question his success. His position as king of Ḫakmiš played a key role in this attitude, as well as his special reverence to the Storm God of Nerik—it was he and Ištar of Šamuḫa whom Ḫattušili called on to decide the struggle with Urḫi-Teššob (Apology of Ḫattušili III, §10c). But neither was Ḫattušili the first one to reconquer Nerik since the days of Ḫantili II, nor had Nerik been since then an empty town: and the northern districts, as we know, never were to remain firmly under Hittite control.

TEXT NO. 12. KUB 42.100+: THE CULTS OF NERIK

Manuscripts: Bo 215 + Bo 217 + Bo 2619 (KUB 42.100^{A1}) + Bo 60 (KUB 27.68^{A2}) + 1625/u (KBo 26.181^{A3}) + Bo 3758^{A4} + Bo 6278^{A5}. **Findspot:** Boğazköy, Great Temple. **Edition:** Lamante and Lorenz 2015 (considering Bo 3289 as an indirect join of this MS, differently than in the present edition); Hazenbos 2003, 14–24 (KBo 26.181, KUB 42.100); del Monte 1978, 181–88 (KUB 42.100); Haas 1970, 300–302 (KUB 27.68). **Discussion:** Del Monte 1978, 189–92; Klinger 2009, 104–5 (dating and historical context); Lamante 2014, 441 (on obv. i 3–18); Taggar-Cohen 2006 (on obv. i 26–34). **Notes:** (1) The rulings following lines 3' and 7' in the copy of KBo 26.181 are not found on the tablet (colated). (2) I disagree with the proposal to consider Bo 3289 an indirect join of this tablet, as put forward by S. Lamante. The indirect join is accepted by S. Košak (*Konkordanz*) and with some caution in Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 245 n. 3, 251 n. 22, 260. The alleged join would imply that the paragraph, which lists the offerings for the monthly festival for the Stag God (rev. iii 51', §34'') would have been followed by three paragraphs of different content, not by a list of the remaining offerings due for the autumn and spring festivals as is the case in all other sections and as is actually implied by the list of festivals preserved in rev. iii 49'–50'. As KUB 42.100+ resumes, in turn, we find a listing of temple personnel, which is otherwise regularly found at the end of the section and thus implicitly confirms that the preceding paragraphs must have dealt with the offering for the autumn and spring festivals, as in all analogous passages. (3) The join Bo 6278 is edited according to the excavation transliteration.

One of the longest preserved cult inventories, KUB 42.100+ deserves a prominent place in the genre for at least three reasons: its geographical setting, the hints at previous restorations of cults, and the account of the inventorying procedure.

The scenery could not be more august: Nerik, the holy city in the far north, the cults of which were not forgotten even during the long period in which the town was under enemy control (see introduction to §7.4). As the colophon states, this is the third one of a series of tablets inventorying the “gods of Nerik.” On the tablet six gods are treated: the Storm God of Zaḫaluka, the War God, the Storm God of Heaven, the Stag God, Telipinu, and Ḫalki. The colophon and the descriptions of cults performed in the *daḫanga*, a sacred building in Nerik (Lamante 2014), as well as other hints to this town in the text, leave no doubt that the tablet represents an inventory of Nerik. According to Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 265 with n. 41, only three inventories are attributable to Nerik: KUB 38.85, KUB 53.21, and the present one.

The text is organized, as usual, in sections and paragraphs. As in the case of KUB 38.3, the *incipit* of the text is preserved, showing that cult inventories did not have any preamble (Cammarosano 2013, 73). The content can be summarized as follows:

Text	God	Topic
§§1–12 (i 1–45)	Storm God of Zaḥaluka	List of festivals (§1); monthly festival, celebrated by the priest (§2); offerings (§§3–7); autumn and spring festivals, celebrated by the GUDU-priest, and relevant offerings (§§8–9); archival cross-check (§§10–12).
<i>(large gap)</i>		
§§13'–17' (ii 1–38)	?	Fragmentary section with depositions of temple personnel, possibly related to the War God.
<i>(large gap)</i>		
§§18''–22'' (iii 1'–12')	War God (cont.)	End of the section pertaining to the War God. Offerings, list of temple personnel. Priest: Tiwataziti.
§§23''–31'' (iii 13'–40')	Storm God of Heaven	List of festivals (§23''); offerings (§§24''–26''); archival cross-check (§§27''–28''); inventory of accoutrements and depositions of temple personnel (§§29''–30''); list of temple personnel (§31''). Priest: Lupakki.
§§32''–35'' (iii 41'–iv 2')	Stag God	Inventory and depositions of temple personnel (§32''); list of festivals and offerings (§33''–34''); after a short gap the text resumes with the list of temple personnel (§35'').
§§36'''–42''' (iv 3'–32')	Telipinu	Inventory and archival cross-check, with depositions of temple personnel (§§36'''–37'''); list of festivals (§38'''); offerings (§§39'''–41'''); list of temple personnel (42'''). Priest: Gallili.
§43''' (iv 33'–41')	Ḫalki	Inventory and archival cross-check. No festivals determined.
§44''' (iv 42'–47')	-	Colophon: list of the “six gods of Nerik” treated on the tablet.

Of great interest are the references to restorations of cults and cult objects taken in previous times by the “father of His Majesty,” by Muwattalli (II), and by the “grandfather of His Majesty.” We are told that cults of gods of Nerik were treated on *kurta*-writing boards “of Muwattalli” and “of the grandfather of His Majesty” (§10, 11, 27'', 37''); furthermore, that Muwattalli made a cult object of Telipinu (seemingly a stela) in Utruna (§37''), and a statuette of Ḫalki (in Utruna or in Nerik? §43''); finally, that the “father of His Majesty” celebrated the *purulli* festival in Utruna, on which occasion another cult object of Telipinu was made (§37''). Utruna was, together with Ḫakmiš, among the towns to which the cults of Nerik had been transferred after the loss of the city at the time of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal (del Monte 1978, 189–91). The importance of this information can hardly be overestimated. First, it shows that the text has to be dated to Tudḫaliya IV. Although Beal (2005–2006, 362–63) is right in pointing out that the genealogical references do not prevent an attribution to Šuppiluliuma II (*pace* Hazenbos 2003, 14), the reference to the “father of this Majesty” celebrating the *purulli* festival in Utruna is a strong hint for the dating of our inventory to Tudḫaliya IV, since KUB 48.119 and other texts bear witness to the transfer of cults from Utruna back to Nerik at the time of Ḫattušili III (see del Monte 1978, esp. 189–92, for details; on KUB 48.119 see also de Roos 2007, 208–13). Thus, the “grandfather of His Majesty” is Muršili II, the “father of His Majesty” Ḫattušili III, and the author of the text Tudḫaliya IV.

Telipinu’s role in the cults of Nerik is a minor one. He shares his shrine with Ḫalki (§§37'', 42''), a fact that leads us to suspect that he was the city-god of Utruna, and found his way to Nerik precisely when the *purulli* festival was brought back to Nerik in the time of Ḫattušili III (del Monte 1978, 192). The allusions to measures taken by Muršili II and Muwattalli II with respect to cults and cult images also have an important place in the arguments dismantling, to a certain extent at least, the picture of Nerik as a ruined wasteland from the days of Ḫantili II up to the reconquest of Ḫattušili III, as recounted by the latter (see introduction to §7.4). Rather, they show that the picture is far more complex. On the one hand, the rulers who preceded Ḫattušili III actively promoted the celebration, restoration, and implement of the cults of Nerik, and some of the measures referred to in the text were possibly taken in Nerik, not in other towns (so according to Kammenhuber 1991, 150 and Klinger 2009, 104–5; however, our text does not specify whether Muwattalli II made the statuette of Ḫalki in Utruna or in Nerik). On the other hand, the text—which, as noted above, was part of a comprehensive series on the “gods of Nerik”—suggests that the actual “reactivation” of the cults of Nerik took place primarily under Tudḫaliya IV, even if planned by Ḫattušili III (del Monte 1978, 189).

The third major point of interest is the unusually rich record of the inventorying process, which provides a rare glimpse into the complex operations that ultimately led to the actual cult inventory as we actually have it: interrogation of local cult personnel, oracular inquiries, search for relevant archival material, and cross-check of the information gained. Depositions of priests and cult personnel are quite rare among cult inventories. Besides the present text, relevant examples are found in KUB 38.37 (Werner 1967, 56–57), KUB 30.37 (Hazenbos 2003, 142–43), and KuSa I/1.3 (Hazenbos 2003, 159–63). Archival documents mentioned here include “old (clay) tablets” (§15’, 28”, 32”, 36”) as well as *kurta* and *kwanzattar* wooden writing boards (§§10, 11, 27”, 37”, 43”, see also §16’); note, moreover, the reference to a storehouse (É *tuppaš*, §10). Together with Kp 14/95+ (text no. 14), KUB 42.100+ informs us on the practice of determining festivals and offering through a cross-check of written documents, combined with oracular inquiries and interrogation of cult personnel.

Last but not least, the detailed and well-preserved offering lists lead to interesting observations on the “mathematics” of the offering management as well as on the products. In particular, the presence of analytical lists of offerings followed by totals shows that in KUB 42.100+ the equivalence 1 BÁN = 6 UPNU applies (see §6.2.1 and commentary on obv. i 22–25), and that broad beans must have been a basic ingredient of the *kangati*-soup (see the commentary on obv. i 22–25).

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph; 3D model (only MSS A1–3).

Format and Layout: Two-columned tablet (width ca. 17 cm, preserved height ca. 27 cm). At the top of Bo 3578 (MS A4) traces of a *Randleiste* seem to be visible, whereas no *Randleiste* is to be seen at the top of MS A2: was the ruling traced only at the top of col. ii? The double paragraph lines following rev. iii 12’ and rev. iii 40’ are ornamented with *Winkelhaken*, paired at regular intervals. Small rectangular impressions are visible to the left of the erased line following the colophon, as well as on lines obv. i 34, rev. iii 19’, and rev. iv 38’; they are likely to originate from scribal tools, not, however, from the stylus, for which a thicker impression would be expected.

Palaeography and Schriftbild: Cursive script: shallow impressions, marked aperture angle inclination of vertical wedges (see Cammarosano 2015c, 167–68); verticals lean slightly to the left, as in KBo 70.109+ (text no. 17). The sign 𒄩A always has two *Winkelhaken*, DA regularly displays the broken middle horizontal, DUG is never written in a simplified variant. Note the occasional tendency to dislocate the last word of a line to the right (e.g., in rev. iii 48’), which is unusual among cult inventories. Further characteris-

tic variants: QA and UN always pre-LNS, SANGA similar to *HZL* no. 231/21 (Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 260). Occasionally, some signs variants display more wedges than usual: see RI and Ū with four verticals (e.g., ii 10, iii 10', iii 16'), KĀN with four inscribed verticals (e.g., ii 8), EŠ and MEŠ with four *Winkelhaken* (e.g., ii 9, 14, iv 6', 8').

Orthography: There is some variation in the designation of the spring festival: Ū.BAR₈, *ḫamešḫi*, *ḫamešḫantaš*; ditto for the nouns *daḫanga* (cf., e.g., i 12 vs. ii 3) and *kangati* (cf., e.g., i 19 vs. i 21). The unusual spelling *A-NA*^{GIS} ZAG.GAR.RA-*TI* is found in rev. iv 20'. Note the use of *INA* (i 14, ii 21, iii 33').

Transliteration

Obv. i

- §1 1 ^(A2 i 1) [A-N]A ^rd¹[10 ^{URU} za-*h*]a-lu-ka₄ 12 EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} 2 EZ[EN₄MEŠ]
 2 1 ^rEZEN₄ zé^r-e-^rni 1 EZEN₄ Ú.^rBAR₈ ki-nu-un ^{LÚ}SANGA T[A Ê-ŠU
 e-eš-ša-i] §
- §2 3 e-eš-ša-i-ma-aš kiš-an ma-a-an EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} U^[RU]ne-ri-ik-ki (?)
 4 DÛ-zi nu ŠA ^d10 ^{URU}za-*h*a-lu-ka₄ an-da-an [*h*al-zi-ia-u-wa-ar]
 5 kiš-ša-an GIM-an-kán ^dUTU AN-E wa-an-t[*a*-ez-zi]
 6 nu-za ^{LÚ}SANGA ŠA ^d10 za-*h*a-lu-ka₄ 2 NINDA LAB-KU³[^{L.A}]
 7 2 NINDA.GUR₄.RA tar-na-aš da-a-i na-aš ^{GIŠ}ta-*h*a-a[*n*-ki pa-iz-zi (?)]
 8 na-aš-kán ^{GIŠ}AB-za an-da pa-iz-zi nu NINDA.G[UR₄.RA]
 9 pâr-ši-ia-zi ar-*h*a-ma-an UL ar-nu-z[i ...]
 10 da-a-i 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA-ma pâr-ši-ia-zi na-^ran^r [DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš (?)]
 11 *h*a-az-zi-ú-i-aš pé-e-da-aš šar-ra-i [LÚ ^d10 (?)]
 12 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA-ma ^rda^r-a-i na-aš ^{GIŠ}ta-*h*a-an-^rki^r [*an*-da (?)]
 13 DÛ-zi nu ^d10 za-*h*a-^rlu^r-ka₄ an-da-an *h*al-za-a-^ri^r [DINGIR-LAM (?)]
 14 šu-up-pí-an-ta-an EGIR-pa INA Ê DINGIR-LIM p[^é^{sic}-e-da-i]
 15 na-an-kán ZAG.GAR.RA-ni da-a-i nu A-N[A] ^rAŠ-RU^r [...]
 16 [(ca. 2 signs)]-ma ^{GIŠ}ta-*h*a-an-ka₄-^raš^r an-da-an *h*a[l-za-a-i]
 17 [(ca. 2 signs)] ^dr10 za-*h*a-lu^r-ki-pât a-a-ra ^{GIŠ}t[*a*-*h*a-an-ki ...]
 18 [(ca. 2 signs)] ^ran-da-an^r UL ku-iš-k[i ...] §
- §3 19 ^(A1 i 1) [2 BÁN ZÌ.D]A 1 DUG KAŠ 1 ^rDUGÚTUL^r [T]^{U7}^rkán-ka₄^r-t[i A-NA
 1 EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM}] §
- §4 20 [1 UDU 1 P]A 3 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG 1 [DU]^GÚTUL ^{TU7}[kán-ga-ti
 A-NA EZEN₄ Ú.BAR₈] §
- §5 21 1 UDU 1 PA ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG 1 ^{DUG}ÚTUL [T^{U7}k]án-^rga-ti^r [A-NA
 EZEN₄ zé-e-ni] §

Translation

- §1 (i 1–2) [Fo]r the [Storm] god of [Zaḥ]aluka the priest [regularly celebrates] 12 monthly festivals (and) 2 (more) fest[ivals], (namely,) 1 autumn festival (and) 1 spring festival, fr[om his house]. Storm God of Zaḥaluka: list of festivals
- §2 (i 3–18) And he celebrates them as follows: when (he) celebrates the monthly festival i[n Nerik (?)], the [invocation] of the Storm God of Zaḥaluka is as follows: as soon as the Sun God of Heaven glo[ws], the priest of the Storm God of Zaḥaluka takes 2 loaves of moist bread (and) 2 loaves of bread of (one) *tarna*-measure (each), and [goes?] to the *daḥan[ga]*. He enters (the *daḥanga*) by the window and breaks (one) lo[af of] bread, but does not remo[ve] it. He takes [...] and he breaks 1 loaf of bread and divides it up at the places of the rites [of the gods (?)]. The man of the Storm God (?), however, takes 1 loaf of bread, goes [in?] the *daḥanga* and invokes the Storm God of Zaḥaluka. He br[ings the] consecrated [(statuette of the) deity (?)] back to the shrine and places it on the altar. To the place [...] of? the *daḥanga* he in[vokes ...] for the Storm God of Zaḥaluka is (ritually) permitted, in? the *da[hanga ...]* inside nobody [...] Monthly festival, celebrated by the priest
- §3 (i 19) [2 BÁN-measures of flou]r, 1 vessel of beer, 1 pot of *kangati*-soup—[for each monthly festival] (lit. “for one monthly festival,” ditto in the other occurrences). Offerings
- §4 (i 20) [1 sheep, 1 *P*]ARĪSU-measure (and) 3 BÁN-measures of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), 1 pot of [*kangati*]-soup—[for the spring festival].
- §5 (i 21) 1 sheep, 1 PARĪSU-measure of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), 1 pot of *kangati*-soup—[for the autumn festival].

- §6 22 ŠU.NÍGIN 6¹ PA 3 BÁN ZÌ.DA 4 BÁN ½ BÁN BAPPÍR '4 BÁN ½ BÁN'
DIM₄ 3 P[A ...]
(the following line is indented and written in smaller script)
23 2 BÁN 2 UP-NU GÚ. 'GAL.GAL'¹ [(vacat?)] §
- §7 24 ŠU.NÍGIN.GAL 2 UDU 12 PA *tar-ša-an ma-al-la-an A-NA* 1[2 EZEN₄
ITU^{KAM}]
25 Û A-NA 2 EZEN₄^{MES} *ze'(ad)-e-ni ha-me-eš-ḫi-ia* LÚSANGA 'TA' [É-ŠÛ
pé-eš-ke-ez-zi] §
- §8 26 LÚ^rGUDU₁₂¹ URU *ne-ri-ik ku-iš nu-kán šu-up-pí* GISGIDRU 'e'¹-[*ep-zi na-*
at/aš (?)]
27 'ŠÀ É'¹-ŠÛ *ar-ta-ri nu* LÚGUDU₁₂ A¹-NA ^d10 *za*^(NINDA)-*ḫa*-[*lu-uk-ka*]
28 ²sic 'EZEN₄¹MES 1 EZEN₄ *zé-e-ni* 1 EZEN₄¹(EZEN×U) *ḫa-me-eš-ḫi* 'e-eš-
ša'-a'-[*i*]
29 1 UDU 1 PA 3 BÁN ZÌ.DA' 'DUR₅¹sic 1 DUGKA.GAG 1 DUG<ÚTUL>
^{TU7}*kán-ka*₄-*ti ḫ*[*a-me-eš-ḫi*]
30 '1¹sic PA ZÌ.DA 1 DUGKA.GAG 1 DUG<ÚTUL> ^{TU7}*kán*<-*ga*>-*ti zé-e-ni*
ŠU.NÍGIN 1 U[DU 4 PA 5 BÁN]
31 *tar-ša-an ma-al-la-an* TA'(ŠA) É LÚGUDU₁₂ [(vacat?)] §
- §9 32 ŠU.NÍGIN.GAL 3 UDU¹sic 16 PA 5 BÁN *tar-ša-an ma-al-la-an A-NA* [12
EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM}]
33 Û A-NA 4 EZEN₄^{MES} LÚSANGA LÚGUDU₁₂-*ia* T[A? É^{MES}-ŠÛ-NU *pé-eš-*
ka-an-zi (?)]
34 (two lines erased, sign traces are visible) §
- §10 35 (A1 i 17/A3 1') ŠA mNIR.GÁL GIS*kur-ta-za* 12 EZEN₄ 'ITU^{KAM}' 1 EZEN₄
Ú.BAR₈ [DÛ-*an-za*]
36 EZEN₄ *zé-e-ni-ma UL* DÛ-*an-za* [ŠÀ?] É *tup-pa-aš-ša ku-e* [(vacat)]
37 GUL-*za-tar*^{HLA} *nu* EZEN₄ Ú.BA[R₈] DÛ-*an-za* EZEN₄ *zé-e-ni-ma* [UL
DÛ-*an-za*] §
- §11 38 (A1 i 20/A3 4') ŠA A-BI A-BI ^dUTU-ŠI-m[*a* GIS*kur-t*]*a'*-*za* 2 EZEN₄ *zé-e-n*[*i*]
39 *i-ia-an-za* EZEN₄ Ú.B[AR₈-*ma*? Û-U]L *i-ia-an-za* §

- §6
(i 22–23) Total: 6 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) 3 *BĀN*-measures of flour, $4\frac{1}{2}$ *BĀN*-measures of BAPPIR, $4\frac{1}{2}$ *BĀN*-measures of malt, 3 *P[ARĪSU]*-measures ...] 2 *BĀN*-measures (and) 2 handfuls of broad beans.
- §7
(i 24–25) Grand total: The priest [regularly supplies] from [his house] 2 sheep (and) 12 *PARĪSU*-measures of dried milled (grain) for the 1[2 monthly festivals] as well as for the 2 festivals in autumn and in spring.
- §8
(i 26–31) He who is the GUDU-priest of Nerik t[akes?] the sacred scepter; [it?] stands in his house. And the GUDU-priest regularly celebrates 2 festivals—namely, 1 autumn festival (and) 1 spring festival—for the Storm God of Zaḥa[luka]. 1 sheep, 1 *PARĪSU*-measure (and) 3 *BĀN*-measures of moist flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), 1 pot of *kangati*-soup in s[pring]; 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), 1 pot of *kan<ga>ti*-soup in autumn. Total: 1 sh[EEP, 4 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) 5 *BĀN*-measures] of dried milled (grain), from the house of the GUDU-priest. Autumn and spring festivals, celebrated by the GUDU-priest, and related offerings
- §9
(i 32–34) Grand total: the priest and the GUDU-priest [regularly supply] fro[m their houses] 3 sheep, 16 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) 5 *BĀN*-measures of dried milled (grain) for [12 monthly festivals] as well as for 4 (autumn and spring) festivals.
- §10
(i 35–37) On a *kurta*-writing board of Muwattalli 12 monthly festivals (and) 1 spring festival [are recorded] but the autumn festival is not recorded. As to the *kwanzattar* (writing boards) of the storehouse: the spring festival is recorded but the autumn festival [is not]. Archival cross-check
- §11
(i 38–39) On a [*kur*]ta-(writing board) of the grandfather of His Majesty 2 autumn festival are recorded [but] the spri[ng] festival [is no]t recorded.

- §12 40 ^(A1 i 22/A3 6) *an-na-a[l-la-* (ca. 7–10 signs)]x ^r*tup*¹-*pí*KAR-*u-en* [(*vacat*)]
 41 *nu* x[(ca. 4–7 signs) ^d10 *za-ḥa-l*]u-*uk-ka*₄ [(*vacat*)]
 42 U[Š (or: IŠ) (ca. 10–15 signs)] ^d10 *za-ḥa-^rlu*¹-*uk-ka*₄ [(*vacat*)]
 43 ^(A1 i 25/A3 9) *pe*²-[(ca. 10–15 signs)] EZEN₄ *mu-uḥ-ḥu-^re*¹-[*la-aš-ši*]
 44 x[(ca. 10–15 signs)] *ku-wa-pí* [(*vacat*)]
 (MS A1 breaks off)
 45 [...]x x[(*vacat*?)]
 (breaks off; ca. one-third of the column missing)

Obv. ii

(*Randleiste*)

- §13' 1 ^(A4 ii 1) [(ca. 5 signs) ^m*mi-it-tan-n*]a²-A.A PA-NI A-BU-IA-wa-kán
 2 [...]-x ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *šu-up-pí ŠÀ ^rÉ?¹[DINGIR-LIM(?)]
 3 [...]-x-at *nu-wa ^rA¹-NA ^rGIŠ¹*ta-ḥa-ka*₄ DINGIR-LIM
 4 [...]-x-^r*li*¹ NINDA.GUR₄.RA U₄-MI UD^{KAM}-*li*
 5 [...]-ia-an-né-eš-ke-et
 6 [...] *pa-a-an* §**
- §14' 7 [... Š]I² É DINGIR-LIM-wa-kán
 8 [...]-x *Ú-UL-wa-ra-at-kán*
 9 [...]-x *e-eš-ta* GIM-an-ma-wa DINGIR^{MEŠ}
 10 [... *pa*²]-*ra-a ú-te-er*
 11 [...]-^r*an*²¹ *ḥa-pal-ki an-da i-e-er*
 12 [...]-x-*ki-ma-wa ki-i iš-ḥi-ú-^rul*¹
 13 [...]x ^rGIŠ¹ŠÚ.A UL A[N²]
 14 [...]-^r*ze*²¹-^r*eš*¹-[
 (MS A4 breaks off; a gap of one or two lines is possible, see Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 248 n. 13)
 15 ^(A1 ii 1') [...]x x x[(ca. 3 signs)]x-^r*er*¹
 16 [...]-wa-an-zi
 17 [...]x[(1–2 signs)]-^r*lu*¹-wa-ra-aš
 18 [... -z]i *ḥu-u-ma-an-ti-ia-wa-ra-aš-kán*
 19 [...] *šal-li-iš* §
- §15' 20 ^(A1 ii 6) [DINGIR]-LUM-m[a an-na-al-la]-^r*za*¹ *tup-pí-ia-za* GIM-an
 21 ^(A1 ii 7/A5 1') [(1–2 signs)]x x x-ta-a[n²] *e-eš-ta* INA^{URU}*ne-ri-ik-ka*₄-aš-kán
 22 [...]x *e-eš*-[*t*]a *na-aš QA-TAM-MA-pát*
 23 [...]x^{MEŠ} É DINGIR-LI[M] A-BU-NI-wa-an-na-aš
 24 [... ap]-*pa me-mi-eš-ke-er* [D]INGIR-LUM-pát-wa *ša-ku-wa-šar-ra-aš*
 25 [...]x-ra-li-iš^{URU} *ne-ri-ik-ki-wa-kán*
 26 ^(A1 ii 12/A5 6) [...]x *še-er e-^reš*¹-ta §

- §12 The ol[d ...] tablet we found. And [... the Storm
(i 40–45) God of Zaḥal]uka [...] Storm God of Zaḥaluka
[...] the *muḥḥue*[*lašši*] festival [...] where/
when [...]

(*large gap*)
- §13' [(Thus spoke) ... Mittan]amuwa: “At the time Depositions of
(ii 1–6) (or: in front) of my father [...] pure offering temple person-
table in the sh[rine? ...] to the *daḥanga* the (or: nel, possibly
of the?) god [...] the daily (offering of) loaves related to the
of bread daily [...] given.” War God
- §14' [“ ...] temple [...] they/it not [...] was. But
(ii 7–19) as the gods [...] they brought [...] they made
[...] iron [...] ... this obligation [...] the seat
not [...] (*fragmentary*) all [...] big.”
- §15' Since on [an ol]d tablet [the dei]ty [...]
(ii 20–26) (*fragmentary*) (s)he was. In Nerik (s)he [...]
was. And them as follows [...] (*fragmentary*) of
the temple. “Our father us (or: to us) [...]” They
replied: “The deity (i.e., the cult image) intact
[...] (*fragmentary*) Up in Nerik [...] was.”

- §16' 27 ^(A1 ii 13'/A5 7') [(a few signs) KÙ.BABBA]R KÙ.SI₂₂ ŠA ^d10 *za-ḥa-lu-uk-*
 '*ka*₄' GIŠ.<ḪUR> *ḥa-ti-ú-i-ta-an*
 28 [(a few signs)] MI' KÙ.BABBAR *wa-ak-ka₄-ri* GUB' x x LÚ^{MEŠ} É
 DINGIR-LIM
 29 [(a few signs)]x-*ma*²-*wa ku-wa-pí pē*⁷(BAD).*an e-eš-ta*
 30 [(a few signs)]-x-*ra-aš-kán IŠ-TU* É DINGIR-LIM '*pa-ra*¹-*a ḥar-ak-ta*
 §
- §17' 31 ^(A1 ii 18'/A5 11') DINGIR-LUM-*ma IGI-an-da a-ri-ia-nu-un ku-*'*u*¹-[*u*]š-*ma-*
 aš^{šic}
 32 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} *pé-e-ta-an ḥar-kán-zi* EGIR-'*an*¹-*da-ma-kán*
 33 [Ú-U]L *ku-it-ki ne-ia-an-zi* NU.SIG₅
 34 [EZ]EN₄ *nu-un-tar-ri-ia-aš-ḥa-an-kán* EGIR-*an-da*
 35 [*i-i*] *a-an-zi ku-u-uš-ma-aš-ma-aš* EZEN₄^{MEŠ}
 36 ^(A1 ii 23'/A5 16') [*pé-e*]-*ta-an ḥar-kán-zi* SI×ŠÁ-*ta-at zi-la-a*[š] NU.SIG₅ §
 (MS A1 breaks off)
 37 [(a few signs)]-x-*nu-un nu* DINGIR-LUM A-NA x x x x
 38 (traces)
 (breaks off, lower half of the column missing)

Rev. iii

(ca. one third of the column missing)

- §18'' 1' ^(A1 iii 1') 1' x[...]
 2' '*2*⁷' PA x[...]
 3' *ku-u-*'*uš*⁷ x[...] §
- §19'' 4' ŠU.NÍGIN 3 x[...]
 5' ŠA EZEN₄^{MEŠ} I[TU^{KAM} ...] §
- §20'' 6' *ḥa-az-zi-ú-i* x[...]
 7' LÚSANGA-*ši šu-up-pí-eš* [...] §
- §21'' 8' KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.SI₂₂ *kap-pu-wa-a-an* '*UL*¹ x[...] §
- §22'' 9' LÚSANGA ^mdUTU.LÚ-*eš* 7 LÚ^{MEŠ} 2 DUMU.NITA [...]
 10' ŠU.NÍGIN 17 SAG.DU^{MEŠ} *pa-ri-ia-na-aš-kán* LÚSA[NGA ...]
 11' LÚKISAL.LUḪ 1 <LÚ> ^{GIŠ}TUKUL LÚNAR-*ia-aš-ši* [...]
 (the following line is indented and written in smaller script)
 12' 1 É DINGIR-LIM ŠA ^dZA-BA₄-BA₄ ^{URU}n[*e-ri-ik* (vacat?)] §§
- §23'' 13' A-NA ^d10 AN-E 12' EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} 1 EZEN₄ ÚB[AR₈ 1 EZEN₄ *zé-e-ni*]
 14' *ki-nu-un* LÚSANGA IŠ-TU É-ŠÚ *e-eš-ša-*'*i*¹ [(vacat)] §
- §24'' 15' 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}ÚTUL ^{TU}7*kán-ka₄-*'*ti A*¹-[NA] '*1*
 EZEN₄¹ [IT]U^K[^{AM}] §

§16' (ii 27–30)	[... The silve]r (and) gold of the Storm God of Zaḥaluka are inventoried on a wooden <board>. [...] of silver is missing. (<i>fragmentary</i>) The temple personnel [...] “when was/were in charge of [...]” (<i>fragmentary</i>) disappeared from the temple.	
§17' (ii 31–38)	As a countercheck I performed an oracular inquiry on the god. They have “brought” these festivals. But they will not add anything. (The outcome is) unfavorable. They will [ce]lebrate afterwards the festival of timeliness. They have [“br]ought” these festivals. Let (it) be determined (through oracular inquiry): the outcome is unfavorable. [...] (<i>fragmentary</i>) and the deity to ... (<i>fragmentary, then broken off</i>)	
§19'' (iii 4'–5')	(<i>following a large gap; §18'' is too fragmentary for translation</i>) Total: 3 [...] of the m[onthly] festivals [...]	End of the section pertaining to the War God: offerings
§20'' (iii 6'–7')	The rite [...] To him the priest pure ^{pl} [...]	
§21'' (iii 8')	Silver (and) gold have been counted. Not [...]	
§22'' (iii 9'–12')	Priest Tiwataziti. 7 men, 2 boys [...] in total 17 persons. Beyond them the pri[est ...] a fore-court washer, 1 TUKUL-<man> and a singer for him [...] 1 shrine, of the War God of N[erik].	List of temple personnel
§23'' (iii 13'–14')	For the Storm God of Heaven the priest now regularly celebrates 12 monthly festivals, 1 spr[ing] festival, (and) [1 autumn festival] from his house.	Storm God of Heaven: list of festivals
§24'' (iii 15')	2 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer, 1 pot of <i>kangati</i> -soup fo[r] each monthly festival.	Offerings

- §25'' 16' 1 UDU 1 PA 3 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG 1 DUG *k[á]n-^rka₄-ti* EZEN₄^r
 Ú.BAR₈
 17' 1 UDU 1 PA ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG 1 ^{DUG}ÚTUL ^{TU₇}*k[á]n-ka₄-ti* EZEN₄
zé-e-^rni^r
 18' *ar-kam-ma-an-na ku-wa-pí* ^{rURU}*na^{sic}-ta-a^r-za ú-da-an-zi*
 19' [n]u 1 DUG KAŠ 1 BÁN ZÌ.DA ^{rLÚ}SANGA ^r^{d10} AN-E *pa-a-i* §
- §26'' 20' [ŠU.NÍG]IN 12 PA *tar-^rša^r-an^r ma^r-al-la-an* A-NA 12 EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM}
 21' [Ú A-NA] ^r2' E[ZE]N₄[^{ME}]^S ^{LÚ}SANGA *IŠ-TU É-ŠÚ* *ki-nu-un* SUM-zi §
- §27'' 22' [ŠA A-BÍ] A-BI ^dUTU-ŠÍ ^{GIS}*kur-ta-za* 1 EZEN₄ GIBIL 1 EZEN₄ *ḥar-pa-aš*
 23' [DÛ-an-za] EZEN₄ *ḥa-me-eš-ḥa-an-ta-aš-ma* UL DÛ-an-za
 24' [*ḥal-ku-eš*]-šar-ma *kiš-šu-wa-an-pát ki-nu-un ma-ši-wa-an*
 25' [A-NA] EZEN₄ *zé-e-ni* EZ[E]N₄ Ú.BAR₈-aš-ša *pé-eš-kán-zi* UL-kán
wa-ak-k[a₄]-ru §
- §28'' 26' [*an-na-l*]a-za-ma *tup-pí-za* EZ[E]N₄^{MES} *ḥa-zi-ú-i* UL^r *ku-it-ki* KAR-u-en §
- §29'' 27' [Ú-NU-T]UM ŠA ^{d10} AN-E *kap-pu-wa-a-an* 3 GÛ GU₄ KÛ.BABBAR
 28' [(ca. 3 signs)] KÛ.BABBAR 1 BI-IB-RU UDU.KUR.RA KÛ.BABBAR 4
 GÛR^{MES} *a-ra-an-za*
 29' [(ca. 3 signs)] x-eš-ši-ia-tar KÛ.BABBAR ŠA ^{rURUDU!}KIN^r.GAL *IŠ-TU*
^{GIS}*ḤAR-ḤA-TI*
 30' [(ca. 3 signs)] -zu-ú *kap-pu-wa-u-en* UM-MA ^m*lu-pa-ak-ki*
 31' [(ca. 3 signs)] -wa *an-na-la-za* UL *ú-uk ḥar-ku-un*
 32' *IŠ-TU* UD^{KAM} ^mNIR.GÁL-wa-ra-an *ku-iš ḥar-ta*
 33' *nu-wa-ra-aš* INA ^{URU}*u-ut-ru-na* A-NA ^{d10} ^{<URU>}*ne-ri-ik* ^{LÚ}SANGA DÛ-an-za
 34' [*k*]u-it-ma-wa *am-mu-uk* ^{LÚ}SANGA *i-e-er nu-wa-mu* Ú-NU-TE^{MES}
 35' [*k*]u-e EGIR-pa *ma-ni-ia-aḥ-ḥe-er nu-wa-ra-at ti-it-ti-ia-an* §
- §30'' 36' [U]M-MA LÚ^{MES} É DINGIR-LIM *an-na-la-za-wa-kán* DINGIR-LUM
 É.ŠĀ-ni
 37' (A1 iii 37/A2 iii 1') ^rEGIR^r-an *e-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-an pa-an-ku-uš* UL *uš-gít*
 38' *ki-nu-un-ma-aš-kán* ^{GIS}*iš-ta-^rna^r-[ni]* GUB-ri §

- §25''
(iii 16'–19') 1 sheep, 1 *PARĪSU*-measure (and) 3 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), 1 pot of *kangati*-soup for the spring festival. 1 sheep, 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), 1 pot of *kangati*-soup for the autumn festival. When they bring the tribute from Nata, the priest of the Storm God of Heaven supplies 1 vessel of beer (and) 1 BÂN-measure of flour.
- §26''
(iii 20'–21') [Tot]al: the priest now supplies from his house 12 *PARĪSU*-measures of dried milled (grain) for the 12 monthly festivals [as well as for] the 2 festivals (of autumn and spring).
- §27''
(iii 22'–25') On a *kurta* (writing board) [of the grand]father of His Majesty 1 “new festival” (and) 1 *ḥarpaš* festival [are recorded] but the spring festival is not recorded. And [the (cultic) rat]ion is precisely of this kind: so much as they now regularly supply [for] the autumn festival, that much they supply for the spring festival. Nothing shall be lacking! Archival cross-check
- §28''
(iii 26') On the [ol]d tablet, however, we did not find any festival (nor any) rite.
- §29''
(iii 27'–35') [The accoutre]ments of the Storm God of Heaven have been counted: 3 silver (*BIBRU*-vessels, shaped like a) bull's (lit.: ox) (head and) neck, [...] of silver, 1 silver *BIBRU*-vessel, (shaped like) a wild sheep standing on (all) four legs, [...] ... of silver, of the “big sickle,” with a lyre [...] we counted. Thus (spoke) Lupakki: “Formerly I did not hold [...]; the person who held him (i.e., the god) since the time of Muwattalli has been made priest of the Storm God of Nerik in Utruna. But since they appointed me priest, the implements which they handed over to me are present.” Inventory of accoutrements and depositions of temple personnel
- §30''
(iii 36'–38') Thus (spoke) the temple personnel: “Formerly the god was back in the inner chamber, and the (worshipping) assembly could not see him. But now he stands on the alta[r].”

- §31'' 39' (A1 iii 39/A2 iii 3') LÚ^rSANGA^r ^mlu-pa-ak-kiš 4 LÚ^{ME}[^s É DINGIR-LIM
ŠU.NÍGIN n] 'SAG.DU^{MEŠ}^r
40' ARAD^{MEŠ} d¹⁰ AN-E 1 <LÚ> ^rGIŠsic^rTUKUL L[^UNAR-ia-aš-ši (?)] §§
- §32'' 41' (A1 iii 41/A2 iii 5/A4 1') d^rKAL^r [a]n-na-^rla^r-za ^{URU}ne^r-ri-ki ^{KUŠ}kur-š[a-aš² ...]
42' x x x[(2–3 signs)] x x[...] an-da RA-an-za e-eš-^rta^r [(vacat?)]
(MSS A1 and A2 break off)
43' (A4 3') [(ca. 5 signs) an-na]-al-li-uš UL KAR-u-en ki-nu-[un]
44' [(ca. 6 signs)]-^rš^r^r-it-x an-da RA-an-za
45' [(ca. 8 signs)] ^mNIR.GÁL PA-NI A-BI A-BI ^dUTU-ŠI-^rma-aš^r
46' [(ca. 8 signs)] e-eš-ta UM-MA LÚ^{MEŠ} É DINGIR-^rLIM^r
47' [(ca. 8 signs)]-mu-wa-kán ZAG.GAR.RA ^{NA4}ZI.KIN ^dKAL
48' [(ca. 8 signs)]-x-ma-at UL GUB-ri §
- §33'' 49' (A4 9') [A-NA ^dKAL 12 EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} 1 E]ZEN₄ zé-e-ni 1 EZEN₄ Ú.BAR₈
LÚSANGA
50' [ki-nu-un IŠ-TU É-ŠÚ] e-eš-ša-i §
- §34'' 51' (A4 11') [2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 DUG] KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}ÚTUL ^{TU7}kán<-ka₄>-ti A-NA 1
EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM}
(Randleiste)

Rev. iv

(ca. 15 lines missing)

- §35''' 1' (A1 iv 1') [(ca. 4 signs)] x x Ú 'UK'[...]
2' [(ca. 2 signs)] ^r5^r [DUM]U^{MEŠ} ARAD^{MEŠ} ^rd^r[KAL ...] §§
- §36''' 3' ^rd^rte-li-pí-nu-un an-na-^ra^r[-la-za tup-pí-ia-za UL (?)]
4' [K]AR-u-en ^{URU}ne-ri-ik-ki-i[a ...]
5' [n+]1 ^{GIŠ}ma-ri-uš KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA wa-x[...]
6' i-wa-ar i-ia-an-te-eš 1 ^{GIŠ}m[a-ri-iš (?) ... KÙ.S]I₂₂ GAR.RA
7' 1 ZA.ĤUM ^{NA4}GUG KÙ.SI₂₂ GAR.RA x[...]
8' ^re^r-eš-ta EZEN₄^{MEŠ}-ma-aš-ši EZEN₄ 'ITU'^{KAM} an-na-al-la-za (?)]
9' tup-pí-ia-za UL ku-i-e-eš-ka₄ KAR-^ru^r[-en] §
- §37''' 10' [I]Š-TU A-BI A-BI ^dUTU-ŠI-ia ^{GIŠ}gur-ta-za DINGIR^{ME}[^s ^{URU}ne-ri-ik (?)]
11' [EZE]N₄^{MEŠ} EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} UL ku-i-e-eš-ka₄ KAR-u-e[n]
12' [UM-M]A LÚ^{MEŠ} É DINGIR-LIM ^dte-li-pí-nu-un-wa DINGIR^{MEŠ} U^[RU]ne-ri-i]k
13' [^mNI]R?.[GÁL]L? ^rT-NA ^{URU}ut-ru-na i-ia-at nu-wa-ra-aš [^{NA4}Z]I.KIN
14' [I-NA (?)] 'É'^r [^dKA]L^r ar-ta-at KÙ.BABBAR-ma-wa KÙ.SI₂₂ [(vacat?)]
15' ^rna-a^r-wi₅ ku-it-^rki^r e-eš-ta nu-wa-za A-BI ^dUTU-ŠI [(vacat)]
(erasure) *{AN}*
16' ku-wa-^{*}pí^{*} I-NA ^{URU}ut-ru-ú-na EZEN₄ pu-ru-ul-li-i[a-a]š
17' i-ia-at nu-wa-kán A-NA ṬUP-PA^{HLA} EZEN₄ pu-ru-ul-li-i[a-a]š
18' ^dte-li-pí-nu-un ḥa-az-zì-ú-i-ia-aš an-da KAR-^rer^r

§31'' (iii 39'–40')	The priest Lupakki. 4 (members of the) [temple] per[sonnel, in total <i>n</i>] persons as servants of the Storm God of Heaven. (In addition:) 1 TUKUL-<man> [and] a s[inger for him (?)].	List of temple personnel
§32'' (iii 41'–48')	Stag God: formerly in Nerik the (holy) hunt[ing bag ...] inside was broken [...] we did not find the [o]ld ^{accpl} . [...] No[w, ...] ... inside is (or: [was]) broken [...] Muwattalli. But at the time of the grandfather of His Majesty he was [...] Thus (spoke) the temple personnel: [...] to me (on?) the altar a stela (representing) the Stag God [...] however, it does not stand.	Stag God: inventory and depositions of temple personnel
§33'' (iii 49'–50')	[For the Stag God] the priest [now] regularly celebrates [12 monthly festivals, 1] autumn festival, (and) 1 spring festival [from his house].	List of festivals
§34'' (iii 51')	[2 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 vessel] of beer, 1 pot of <i>kan<ga>ti</i> -soup for each monthly festival.	Offerings
§35''' (iv 1'–2')	(<i>following a large gap</i>) [...] 5 ² [bo]ys (as) servants of the [Stag] God [...]	List of temple personnel
§36''' (iv 3'–9')	We did [not?] find Telipinu on the ol[d tablet]. And in Nerik [...] <i>n</i> +1 <i>mari</i> -spears, plated with silver, [...] made ^{pl} . like [...] 1 <i>m[ari]</i> -spear (?) ...] plated with [gol]d, 1 tankard of carnelian, plated with gold [...] was. But w[e] did not find any festivals, (inclusive of the) monthly festival, on [the old] tablet.	Telipinu: Inventory and archival cross-check
§37''' (iv 10'–21')	On a <i>kurta</i> (writing board) dating back to the time of the grandfather of His Majesty as well, we did not find anyone (of) the gods [of Nerik (?)] (nor any) [festi]val, (inclusive of the) monthly festival. [Thu]s (spoke) the temple personnel: “Muwattalli made (cult objects of) Telipinu (and of?) the gods of [Neri]k in Utruna, and he stood as a stela [in?] the house [of the St]ag? God. But there was no silver (and) gold yet. As the father of His Majesty celebrated the <i>purulli</i> festival in Utruna, they found Telipinu on the tablets of the <i>purulli</i> festivals, in the rites. And they made (a cult image of) him:	Ditto, with depositions of temple personnel

19' *nu-wa-ra-an* ZA.ḪUM KÙ.BABBAR TUR *i-e-er na-aš ki-nu-^{*}un^{*}*
 20' ZA.ḪUM KÙ.BABBAR TUR *na-^{*}aš-^{*}ṛkán^{*}* * A-NA ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA-TI
 21' A-NA ^dKAL GAM-an GUB-ri §

§38''' 22' *ki-nu-un-ma-aš-ši* 12 EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} 1 EZEN₄ *zé-e-ni*
 23' EZEN₄ *ḥa-mi-eš-ḥi* ^{LÚ}SANGA *IŠ-TU Ê-ŠÚ e-eš-ša-i*
 24' 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}ÚTUL 'GÚ'.GAL.GAL A-NA 1 EZEN₄
 ITU^K[^{AM}] §

§39''' 25' 1 UDU 2 PA 3 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG A-NA EZEN₄ Ú.BAR₈-aš §

§40''' 26' 1 UDU 1 PA ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}ÚTUL GÚ.GAL.GAL A-NA EZEN₄ *zé-e-ni* §

§41''' 27' ŠU.NÍGIN 2 UDU 11 PA 4 BÁN *tar-ša-an ma-al-la-an*
 28' A-NA 12 EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} Û A-NA 2 EZEN₄ ^{MEŠ} ^{LÚ}SANGA TA 'É'-[ŠÚ]
 29' *pé-eš-ke-ez-zi* §

§42''' 30' ^{LÚ}SANGA ^mgal-li-li-iš 1 LÚ 1 MUNUS-TUM 1 DUMU.NITA 1 DUMU.
 MUNUS
 31' 4 SAG.DU^{MEŠ} ARAD^{MEŠ} ^dte-li-pí-nu 1 É DINGIR-LIM ŠA ^dKAL
 32' Û ŠA ^dte-li-pí-nu §

§43''' 33' *ḥal-ki-iš* ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik-ki-kán an-na-al-li* (erasure)
 34' ^{GIŠ}gur-ta A-NA ŠUM-MU DINGIR^{MEŠ} *an-da ŠUM-an i-ia-an-za*
 35' A-NA KASKAL DUMU.LUGAL-ia-aš-kán *an-na-al-li an-da*
 É-^ṛri'
 36' *i-ia-an-za* DUMU.LUGAL *ku-wa-pí ú-ez-zi na-aš ḥu-u-da-a[k]*
 37' I-NA É *ḥal-ki pé-ra-an pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi*
 38' *na-an* ^mNIR.GÁL ALAM *i-ia-at*
 39' *'na-aš-kán'* ŠÀ É ^d10 ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik-ka₄*
 40' [A-NA] PA-NI ^d10 ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik-ka₄* GUB-ri
 41' [EZ]EN₄ ^{MEŠ}-*ma-aš-ši* UL *ku-i-e-eš-ka₄* GAM-an *ḥa-ma-a[n-kán-te-eš]*
 §

(MS A1 breaks off)

§44''' (colophon follows, indented)

42' (^{A2 iv 1'}) *3*-ŠU ṬUP-PU EGIR-an *tar-nu-wa-aš*
 43' ŠA DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik-ka₄*
 44' *ke-e-da-ni-eš-ša-an* A-NA ṬUP-PÍ
 45' 6 DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^d10 *za-ḥa-lu-uk-ka₄* ^dZA-BA₄-^ṛBA₄'
 46' ^d10 AN-E ^dte-li-pí-nu-uš
 47' ^dKAL ^dḥal-ki-iš SI×SÁ-an-te-eš

(one erased line, rest of the tablet uninscribed; *Randleiste* at the bottom of the tablet)

a small tankard of silver.” Now he is a small tankard of silver, and stands on the altar next to the Stag God.

§38''' (iv 22'–24')	And now, for him, the priest celebrates 12 monthly festivals, 1 autumn festival (and one) spring festival, from his house. 2 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 vessel of beer, 1 pot of broad beans for each monthly festival.	List of festivals
§39''' (iv 25')	1 sheep, 2 PARĪSU-measures (and) 3 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer) for the spring festival.	Offerings
§40''' (iv 26')	1 sheep, 1 PARĪSU-measure of flour, 1 pot of broad beans for the autumn festival.	
§41''' (iv 27'–29')	Total: the priest regularly supplies from [his] house 2 sheep, 11 PARĪSU-measures (and) 4 BÂN-measures of dried milled (grain) for the 12 monthly festivals as well as for the 2 festivals (of autumn and spring).	
§42''' (iv 30'–32')	Priest Gallili. 1 man, 1 woman, 1 boy, 1 girl: 4 persons as servants of Telipinu. 1 shrine, of the Stag God and Telipinu.	List of temple personnel and shrines
§43''' (iv 33'–41')	Ḫalki: in Nerik (her) name is recorded among the names of the gods on the old <i>kurta</i> (writing board), and she is celebrated, as of old, in (her) shrine on the occasion of the prince's (cultic) journey. As soon as the prince arrives, he goes forthwith, ahead of time, to the shrine of Ḫalki (i.e., before he does anything else). Muwattalli made (a cult image of) her: a statuette, and she stands in front of the Storm God of Nerik in the shrine of the Storm God of Nerik. But for her no festivals are fi[xed] (or: no festivals are asso[ciated] with her).	Ḫalki: inventory and archival cross-check
§44''' (iv 42'–47')	Third tablet, <i>released version</i> , of the gods of Nerik. On this tablet (the cults of) 6 gods are determined: Storm God of Zaḫaluka, War God, Storm God of Heaven, Telipinu, Stag God, (and) Ḫalki.	Colophon

Commentary

i 1–18: For the restorations cf. Haas 1970, 300; Lamante 2014, 441; Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 260; for line 4 cf. also *HW*² H, 108.

i 5: On “poetic” formulas denoting sunrise and sunset see §3.4.3.

i 8: On the GUDU-priest in Nerik see Haas 1970, 28–30 and Taggar-Cohen 2006, 231.

i 19–20: The restoration is based on the total amount of flour listed in line 22, the same quantities of flour are envisaged for the analogous festivals listed in rev. iii 15'–21'.

i 20–21: The sequence of the festivals is restored according to the analogous section in rev. iii 15'–21'; note, however, that in lines 2 and 25 the mention of the autumn festival precedes, as usual, that of the spring festival.

i 22–25: As observed by del Monte (1978, 188), the “total” given in lines 22–23 refers analytically to the quantities of products that are envisaged for the preparation of the offerings, whereas the “grand total” of *taršan mallan* in lines 24–25 refers to the general amount of cereals supplied by the priest. In the analogous section in rev. iii 15'–21', only one total is given. The total amount of 39 BÂN of flour given in line 22 is coherent with the quantities given in lines 19 and 20 (for the restoration cf. rev. iii 15'–21'). Thus, 72 BÂN-measures of *taršan mallan* are used to produce 39 BÂN of flour, 12 vessels + 2 KA.GAG-vessels of beer, and probably also for beer-bread and malt, for 14 pots of *kangati*-soup, and for some other derivate (3 P[A ...]). The presence of 2 BÂN + 2 handfuls of broad beans within the “total” in obv. i 23 allows the assumption that broad beans were a basic ingredient of the *kangati*-soup (no other offerings are envisaged apart from flour, beer and the soup). This conclusion is supported by the fact that “pots of broad beans (soup)” are listed in place of *kangati*-soup in the analogous section in rev. iv 22'–29'. Furthermore, based on the total of broad beans given in the text, it stands to reason that one handful of broad beans is needed for each pot of *kangati*-soup, thus showing that the ratio 1 BÂN = 6 UPNU holds true in this text (different ratios are attested elsewhere, see §6.2.1). The *kangati*-soup is named after the *kangati*-plant, the name of which is probably a Hurrian loanword in Hittite (see BGH, 184–85 for references; this plant plays a relevant role in the recently published Hurrian offering ritual from Ortaköy/Şapinuwa Or 97/1, on which see Wilhelm and Süel 2013). The term BAPPIR is usually translated as “beer bread,” but its meaning is far from clear (see Fritzsche 2011, 32–33 with literature).

i 26: The restoration 'e¹-[ep-zi] was proposed by del Monte. What is in the priest's house is unclear: the GUDU-priest (so *HW*² E, 63), the scepter (so Taggar-Cohen 2006, 261), or some other cultic object (so del Monte 1978,

186, Hazenbos 2003, 21 n. 41)? In view of the fact that the GUDU-priest of Nerik is said to hold the scepters of the god Zaliyanu in another festival fragment (KBo 21.79 iv 8'–9', see Taggar-Cohen 2006, 260), the second one is a distinct option. Then, however, why do we not find here the imperfective form (*appeškezzi*)?

i 29: ZĪ.DA DUR₅ according to Hazenbos 2003, 17 with n. 32 and Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 246 with n. 6, based on a collation by Th. van den Hout. Accordingly, the sign DA is to be marked as aberrant, since its vertical wedge is missing.

i 32: The restored quantities of *taršan mallan* are based on the totals given in lines 24 and 32.

i 33: The expected form would be Ê-ŠŪ-NU, see Groddek forthcoming.

i 36, 38: Lamante and Lorenz assume a gap at the end of these lines.

i 43: On the poorly attested *muḫḫuelašši*-festival, see Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 261.

ii 1–25: We are probably faced here with two different reported speeches (Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 261). Based on the restoration of Mittanamuwas name, as proposed by Lamante and Lorenz, a son or grandson of his may be mentioned in line 1, and the “father” mentioned in the text might be Mittanamuwa himself. Mittanamuwa was an influential chief scribe and high official in the reigns of Muršili II, Muwattalli II, and Ḫattušili III; we know the names of six sons and four gransons of him (for an overview of Mittanamuwas family see now Gordin 2015, 150–52). The restoration of his name is very likely, since we know that officials active in the administration were involved in the cult inventorying process (see the case of Kp 14/95+, text no. 14).

ii 27: The proposed interpretation follows del Monte 1978, 183 and is corroborated by the new join; Hazenbos 2003, 22 takes GIŠ as a determinative appended to the participle. On syntactical and linguistic grounds, the interpretation of an alleged substantive ^{GIS}*ḫatiwitan* (Taracha 2004a, 20–21) is not convincing.

ii 29: For the expression *peran ēš-/aš-* “to be in charge of” cf. KBo 2.1 obv. i 27 and passim (text no. 2).

ii 31, 35: The writing *-ma-aš* and *-ma-aš-ma-aš* in the two parallel expressions provide new evidence for the shorthand *-ma-aš* used for *=ma=šmaš* (on which see Cammarosano 2014b, 144–48).

ii 32, 36: For a tentative interpretation of the expression EZEN₄^{MES} *pedan ḫarkanzi* see §3.4.8.

iii 10': ŠU.NÍGIN is written in the *intercolumnium* to enhance retrievability, as, for example, in KUB 38.19 + IBoT 2.102 obv. i 5'.

iii 11', 40': For another case in which ^{GIS}TUKUL seems to denote the TUKUL-men see Miller 2013, 331 n. 18; more cautious Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 262. On the TUKUL-men see most recently d'Alfonso 2010, 75, expanding on Beal 1988.

iii 12': For the cult of the war god (Zababa) in Nerik see Haas 1970, 76–78 and Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 262.

iii 15'–21': For the quantities of products listed here see the commentary on obv. i 19–25.

iii 18': The reading of the GN Nata, connected to Nerik also in KUB 5.60+ (CTH 678.3), has been kindly suggested by C. Corti (pers. comm.).

iii 22': For the *harpaš* festival see §5.10.1.

iii 25': For the reading *wakkaru* see Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 262. The use of *UL* (*natta*) with an imperative is striking, and perhaps due to Luwian influence (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert).

iii 27': For previous readings see del Monte 1978, 188, Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 263; for the use of Akkadian *unutu* to refer to the “accoutrements, utensils” of a god see, e.g., KUB 38.1+ i 8' (text no. 9).

iii 29': Cf. KUB 38.1+ iii 2 with commentary (text no. 9).

iii 35': On *tittiyan* meaning “to be present” see Melchert forthcoming, with ex. 13. According to Melchert, two homonymous stems *titti-* are attested: (a) *titti-*, “to place, install (*einlegen*),” reduplicated form of *dai-*, “to place, put,” and (b) *titti-*, “to install (*eintreten lassen*)” < **tai-*, “stand,” cf. *tiya-* “to assume a standing position.” For previous interpretations, see Beal 1988, 274–77 n. 41 (“the implements ... are presenting themselves, i.e., are to be found available for viewing”), and HEG T, 390–92. The same usage of *tittiyan* is found in Kp 15/7+ obv. i 2 (text no. 15).

iii 36'–38': The passage is translated also in CHD P, 90–91. For the sign BU a value *kit*₁₀ can be assumed (MZL no. 580, kindly pointed out by D. Groddek).

iii 39'–40': Restored after the analogous passage in rev. iii 9'–12'.

iii 51': Restored after rev. iii 15'.

iv 6': The expression [... KÛ.S]I₂₂ GAR.RA is written in the *intercolumnium*. In the copy these signs are placed as they were to be assigned to line 5'.

iv 12': The traces of IK (omitted in the copy) and of [^{NA4}Z]I.KIN at the end of the following line are to be assigned to lines iv 12' and 13' respectively (see Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 251 n. 25–27).

iv 13': The interpretation of *iya-* is based on the context (an inventory of cult objects) and on the fact that, as Hazenbos (2003, 24 n. 44) observes, the reflexive particle is lacking. Note however that sometimes the verb *iya-* means “to celebrate rites” even without reflexive particle (cf., e.g., rev. iv 35'–36' in this text).

iv 15': The hand copy, followed by Hazenbos 2003, 20, places the erased AN at the end of the preceding line.

iv 22'–29': On the listing of products cf. the commentary on obv. i 22–25.

iv 33', 37': As often happens, the name of the goddess Ḫalki is written without determinative (not so, however, in the list of rev. iv 47'). For the interpretation of line 37' see *CHD* P, 33.

iv 42': On the scribal label *appan tarnumaš*, “of leaving behind,” perhaps denoting “released versions” (so J. Lorenz) see most recently Cammarosano 2013, 97–99; Lorenz 2014, 480–81, and Gordin 2015, 209–12.

iv 47': For the reading SI×SÁ instead of KIN (so Haas 1970, 302; Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 253), see Cammarosano 2012b, 112.

TEXT NO. 13. KUB 25.23+: THE CULTS OF ḪAKMIŠ

Manuscripts: VAT 13040 (KUB 25.23^{A1}) + Bo 7337^{A2} + 677/v (KBo 57.113^{A4}) + Bo 4615^{A5} (+) Bo 3039 (KUB 59.34^{A3}) (+)? Bo 8300 (DBH 43/2.26^{A6}) (+)? Bo 8531 (UBT 35^{A7}). **Findspot:** Boğazköy, Great Temple (based on KBo 57.113). **Edition:** Carter 1962, 154–76 (KUB 25.23); Hazenbos 2003, 30–40 (KUB 25.23), 43–44 (KUB 59.34). **Discussion:** Miller 2005, 309–10 (corrections to Hazenbos’ edition). **Notes:** My former proposal to view KUB 17.36 as a possible indirect join of KUB 25.23+ (Cammarosano 2014b, 156–58) seems to be mistaken. The use of the younger form of AZ (9’, 12’) speaks against a join, since in KUB 25.23+ in all but one occurrences the older form is used (see presently). Also, the *Schriftbild* is similar, but not identical, and the profile of the column divider seems of different shape than in KUB 25.23+, at least based on the available photographs.

The tablet, datable to Tudḫaliya IV and apparently written in his presence, treats the cults of three towns. One is Ḫakmiš, the town where the cults of Nerik were hosted as long as the city was under enemy control (see introduction to §7.4). The other ones are two minor settlements that were clearly located in the vicinity of Ḫakmiš: Urišta and another village, perhaps Parduwata (her name in the colophon is lost, see the commentary on rev. iv 60’).

The “gods” of the villages Urišta and (perhaps) Parduwata were hosted in Ḫakmiš, as is clear from two considerations. First, the passages specifying the positioning of cult images (§§6’, 8’, 10’’, 17’’, 20’’, 25’’). Second, the fact that at the end of the procession that took place during the spring festival, the gods of those towns are said to be brought back to Ḫakmiš (§5’, 8’, 14’’, the last occurrence is restored). This shows that the cult images of the gods of these minor villages were “picked up” in Ḫakmiš on the occasion of the spring festival, in order to be carried up to the stela sanctuaries in the vicinity of their home towns: a hint to the intimate tie between gods, communities, and places. The wording of some passages clearly points at (a part of) the community coming to Ḫakmiš in order to pour wheat into the pithos in autumn, and to “pick up” their gods in the spring. See, e.g., §3’, obv. i 10’–11’: “And the next day the priests, the GUDU-priests, the lords, the free men ... come in (i.e., to Ḫakmiš, cf. obv. i 32’–33’), and carry Mount Ḫalwanna up to the mountain.” The text preserves an extensive account of two such cases, that of Mount Ḫalwanna (§§1’–5’) and that of the Storm God of the Meadow (§§6’–8’), both pertaining to the village of Urišta. In the former case two options are envisaged, depending on whether the valley is under enemy control (procession to the stela on the mountain) or not (procession to the stela along the river). In both cases, the stela stands under a poplar.

In Ḫakmiš, the local gods as well as those of the neighboring settlements were hosted in the shrines of various gods, whereby the choice was no doubt meaningful. In §8', the Storm God of the Meadow of Urišta is said to be in the shrine of the Storm God of the Meadow of Ḫakmiš, where the statuettes face one another. This reminds us of the case of Telipinu and Ḫalki in Nerik, standing “on the altar, next to the Stag God” and “in front of the Storm God of Nerik” respectively, see KUB 42.100+ §§ 37''' and 43''' (text no. 12). In §10'', Ḫatipuna (of Urišta) is apparently housed in the shrine of a mountain god in Ḫakmiš. Finally, in §17''' Telipinu is said to be in the shrine of the War God in Ḫakmiš, and in §25''' the Storm God of Rain is said to be in the shrine of the Storm God of Ḫattuša.

We are not told why the gods of Urišta and of the other village (Pardu-wata?) were hosted in Ḫakmiš. The hint that the region around Urišta may be under enemy control suggests that political instability may be the reason. Indeed, this cult inventory proves that the northern region revolving around Nerik and Ḫakmiš suffered from structural political instability still under Tudḫaliya IV, a picture that contrasts strikingly with the bombastic claims made by him and by his father (see introduction to §7.4 and text no. 12). The reference to an “enemy” may well refer to pastoral communities practicing transhumance, usually subsumed under the name of “Kaška” in the Hittite sources (Singer 2007).

The text is structured in sections and paragraphs: the former ones separate the treatments of different gods, the latter ones those of different festivals (or days within a festival). The content of the tablet is summarized in the table on p. 360.

The festivals envisaged for the various gods are the seasonal autumn and spring festivals (note that the former is never neglected, *pace* Hazenbos 2003, 31). The structure of the tablet can be reconstructed, up to a certain extent, by reading the text against the colophon, where the towns are listed (see the commentary on rev. iv 60'). The first town inventoried is the village of Urišta (the first lines of its inventory are lost). The transition to the next settlement may correspond to the short gap between obv. ii 37' and 38'', following which no mention of Urišta is found; otherwise is to be looked for in the large gap at the end of rev. iii. The name of the second inventoried village in the colophon is lost. Perhaps it is Pardu-wata, based on the admittedly fragile argument that an “ox of Pardu-wata” is mentioned among the offerings listed in §14''. When the text resumes at the beginning of rev. iv, we are already in the third section of the tablet, which is concerned with the town of Ḫakmiš (§§15'''–26'''). The section seems to treat a group of deities labeled “gods of Ḫakmiš”; separate paragraphs are devoted to Telipinu (named Teli-puna in the colophon), Ḫuwattašši (the “Wind”), and the storm gods of the

Text	Town	God
§§1'–5' (i 1'–33')	Urišta	Mount Ḫalwanna
§§6'–8' (i 34'–50')	Urišta	Storm God of the Meadow
(gap)		
§9'' (ii 1'–17')	Urišta?	?
§§10''–13'' (ii 18'–37')	Urišta?	Ḫatipuna
(short gap)		
§14'' (ii 38''–iii 10)	Parduwata??	?
(large gap)		
§15'''–16''' (iv 1–3)	Ḫakmiš	“Gods of Ḫakmiš”
§17'''–19''' (iv 4–10)	Ḫakmiš	Telipinu
§§20'''–22''' (iv 11–22)	Ḫakmiš	Ḫuwattašši
(short gap)		
§§23'''–24''' (iv 33'–46')	Ḫakmiš	Storm God of the Thunderstorm
§§25'''–26''' (iv 47'–59')	Ḫakmiš	Storm God of the Rain
§27''' (iv 60'–64')	Colophon	
§28''' (l. e.)	Deaf Man's Tell	Storm God of the Rain

Thunderstorm and of the Rain. The latter two cults are of special interest, since they entail propitiatory recitations. The former one is unfortunately lost, the latter one aims to bring about abundance of rain, and harvest: “O Storm God, my lord, make rain plentiful! And make the dark earth satiated! And, O Storm God, let the loaves of bread become plentiful!” Following the colophon, we find one more section inscribed on the left edge. It is a kind

of appendix to the inventory of the cults of the Storm God of the Rain, concerned with rites performed on the “Deaf Man’s Tell” (§28’’), a “ruin-town” that no doubt was located in the vicinity of Ḥakmiš. Here, the god inhabits a stela standing on a rocky outcrop. The rites are celebrated not, as usual, by the priest, but rather by the “man of the Storm God,” who comes from Ḥakmiš for the occasion of the festival. This circumstance, together with the fact that some offerings are provided by the “men who live around the Deaf Man’s Tell,” shows that we have indeed to do with an abandoned town. Again, an interesting hint at the ties connecting gods, places, and people, as well as at the Hittite concern with the due celebration of the cults, including those that for various reasons might be neglected, either because of enemy occupation, as in the case of Mount Ḥalwanna, or because of depopulation, as in the case of the “Deaf Man’s Tell.”

(Re)institutions of offerings by the king are explicitly marked as such, thereby suggesting that the greatest part of the text is of descriptive character. Tudḫaliya IV instituted offerings for seasonal festivals in a town neighboring Ḥakmiš, perhaps Parduwata (§14’’), and in Ḥakmiš (§25’’). Interestingly, the tablet was apparently written in his presence, perhaps by (or with the contribution of) a certain Lilawalwi (see the commentary on rev. iv 62’, 63’, and l. e. “b” 5).

Elements of special interest in this cult inventory are also the detailed information about the people responsible for supplying offerings, the descriptions of athletic contests within seasonal festivals (on which see §5.6), and a peculiar formula used to denote the coming of sunset (“when the leafy branches seize the Sun God of Heaven,” see §3.4.3 for discussion).

Basis of Transliteration: Photographs; 3D models (only MSS A3 and A4).

Format and Layout: Two-columned tablet (preserved width ca. 14 cm, originally ca. 20 cm; preserved height ca. 26 cm, originally ca. 28 cm). Colophon at the end of col. iv, with an additional section inscribed on the left edge. This is in turn subdivided in two halves (l. e. “a” and “b”) by one of the lines of the reverse (iv 33; for a comparable partition of the left edge see Kp 15/7+, text no. 15).

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: LNS (so also Hazenbos 2003, 30, 43; differently according to the *Konkordanz*: jh.): late QA (rev. iii 4 [MS A3], iv 59’ [HZL no. 21/B]; l. e. “b” 4 [HZL no. 21/6–9]), TIN for /dan/ (passim). For KI and UN (ii 13’, 15’; iv 42’) the pre-LNS variants are used; LI appears both in the older and later variant. AK and AZ show a similar pattern. AK: later variant in rev. iv 61’, older variant elsewhere (obv. i 8’, 32’, 36’, 40’, iv 2, l. e. “a”

2); AZ: later variant in rev. iii 4 (MS A3), older form elsewhere (obv. i 27', 28', 43'; ii 34'; l. e. "a" 5; l. e. "b" 4, 5). HIA always with one *Winkelhaken*, DA always with broken middle horizontal. On the tablet there are many erasures and a few scribal mistakes.

Orthography: Note the spelling ^d*te-li<-pí>-nu-un* in rev. iv 4 contrasting with ^d*te-li-pu-na-aš* in rev. iv 61'. Noteworthy spellings: late, non-logographic *ši-ip-pa-an-ta-an-zi* (obv. i 43'), unusual among cult inventories, also *ši-ip-pa-an<-da-an>-zi* in obv. i 14'; *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-an-zi* (obv. i 45') vs. *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* (obv. i 47'); ^{DUG}*har-ši* (erasure) *šu-uḫ-ḫa-ú-wa-aš* (obv. i 37') vs.

Transliteration

Obv. i

(ca. 7 lines lost)

- §1' 1' (A1 i 1') [GIM-a]n z[é-e-ni DÛ-ri ...]
 2' ^{LÜ}SANGA GI[BIL? 1 UDU A-NA ^{HUR.SAG}ḫal-wa-an-na BAL-an-ti]
 3' *šu-up-pa ḫ[u-e-ša-u-wa-az zé-e-an-ta-az ti-ia-an-zi (vacat?)]*
 4' 2 BÂN ZĪ.DA 1 ^{DU}[^Gḫa-ni-iš-ša-aš KAŠ ^{DUG}ḫar-ši šu-uḫ-ḫa-u-wa-aš]
 5' ^{LÜ}SANGA IŠ-TU 'É¹-[ŠU pa-a-i NINDA.GUR₄.R]A 'pár-ši-ia'-a[n-zi]
 6' BI-IB-R^{HIA}-kán 'šu-u-wa'-an-zi a-da-an-z[i a-ku-wa-an-zi]
 7' GAL^{HIA}-kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi §
- §2' 8' GIM-an-ma ḫa-mi-iš-ḫi {DÛ-ri} te-et-ḫa-i ^{DUG}ḫar-'ši' [ge-e-nu-wa-an-zi na-at]
 9' LÜ.MEŠ ^{URU}ú-ri-iš-ta ma-al-la-an-zi ḫar-ra-an-z[i] §
- §3' 10' lu-kat-ti-ma ^{LÜ.MEŠ}SANGA ^{LÜ.MEŠ}GUDU₁₂ BE-LU^{HIA} EL-LU-TI^{HIA} x x x x
 11' an-da a-'ra'-an-zi nu ^{HUR.SAG}ḫal-wa-an-na-an *^{HUR.SAG}*-i 'UGU pé'-dan_x-zi
 12' *nu ma-a-an IŠ-TU ^{LÜ}KÚR* kat-ta ki-it-ta-*ri' 'na'-[a]n ^{HUR.SAG}-i pé-dan_x-zi na-'an' [^{NA4}ZI.KIN pé-ra-an ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi]
 13' ^{NA4}ZI.KIN-ia ^{GIŠ}ḫa-a-ra-u-i kat-ta-an ar-ta-'ri' *3* NINDA UP-NI *pár*-ši-ia-an-zi
 14' KAŠ-ia ši-ip-pa-an<-da-an>-zi ma-a-an 'IŠ-TU' ^{LÜ}KÚR Ú-UL kat-ta ki-it-ta
 15' *na-an ^{NA4}ZI.KIN* ^{GIŠ}ḫa-ra-u-i ka[t-t]a-an ÍD-an-kán (erasure) ta-pu-ša
 16' *ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi* nu-'kán' [^{LÜ}SANG]A 1 GU₄ 8 UDU BAL-an-ti EN KUR-TI pa-a-i
 17' *šu-up-pa ḫu-e-ša-u-wa-a[z z]é-e-an-ta-az ti-ia-an-zi*

^{DUG}*har-ši* (erasure) *šu-uh-ḫa-u-wa-aš* (rev. iv 50'); EZEN₄-*NU-(ma)*, rev. iv 46'. Note the inflected form of the GN following a heterographic chain in obv. i 36': *I-NA* ^{URU}*ḫa-ak-miš-ši*.

Notes: No additional apostrophe has been added in the paragraph numbering following §13'' and §22'''. As far as KUB 25.23 is concerned, most restorations follow Carter's edition, for details and discussion see the commentary. Palaeography and handwriting of MSS A6 and A7 are compatible with KUB 25.23: an indirect join seems probable.

Translation

§1' (i 1'–7')	(<i>after a break of ca. 7 lines</i>) [Whe]n it becomes au[tumn ...] the n[ew?] priest [offers 1 sheep to Mount Ḫalwanna. They place] the meat (there), from the r[aw (and) from the cooked]. The priest [supplies] from [his] house 2 BÂN-measures of flour (and) 1 [jug of beer for pouring into the pithos]. They brea[k loaves of bre]ad, fill the <i>BIBRU</i> -vessels, eat (and) [drink], provide the cups.	Mount Ḫalwanna Autumn festival
§2' (i 8'–9')	When in spring it thunders, [they open] the pithos, and the men of Urišta grind and mill [it(s content)].	Spring festival, on the mountain
§3' (i 10'–25')	The next day the priests, the GUDU-priests, the lords, the free men (<i>fragmentary</i>) come in, and carry Mount Ḫalwanna up to the mountain. If (the valley) is under control by the enemy, they carry him to the mountain and [place] him [in front of the stela (?)], and the stela stands under a <i>poplar</i> . They break 3 loaves of (one) handful (of flour) and they offer beer. If (the valley) is not under control by the enemy, they place him at the stela under the <i>poplar</i> (which is) by the side of the river. And [the pries]t offers 1 ox (and) 8 sheep—the lord of the district supplies (the offerings). They place the meat (there), from the raw (and) from the	

- 18' NINDA.GUR₄.RA <DUG> *ḥar-ši-ia-aš* 1 DUG 'KAŠ' ZAG.GAR.RA-ni 30
NINDA 4 DUG KAŠ *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš*
- 19' ḪUR.SAG-i-ia *ku-e-eš* 'URU¹DIDL^{HLA} *a-^rra¹-aḥ-za-an-da nu-za* NINDA
KAŠ *da-pí-za*
- 20' *ú-da-i* NINDA.GUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ia-an-zi BI-IB-RF^{HLA}-kán šu-u-wa-an-zi*
- 21' *a-da-an-zi a-ku-wa-an-zi* G[A]L^{HLA}-*kán šu-u-wa-an-zi PA-NIDINGIR-*
LIM
- 22' GĒŠPU *ḥu-ul-ḥu-lí-ia ti-eš-kán-zi du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi*
- 23' GIM-an ^dUTU <AN>-E *la-aḥ-ḥur-nu-uz-zi-uš ap-pa-an-zi nu* DINGIR-
LUM
- 24' *{nu}* URU-ri *ar-ḥa pé-e-da-an-zi na-an-kán ŠĀ É* DINGIR-LIM *ta-ni-*
nu-wa-an-zi
- 25' *šu-up-pa pé-ra-an ti-ia-an-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ia-an-zi KAŠ-ia*
ši-ip-pa-an-ti Š
- §4' 26' *lu-kat-ti-ma* LÚSANGA *I-NA É-ŠU A-NA* ḪURSAG *ḥal-wa-an-na EZEN₄*
DI₁₂-ŠI
- 27' [I]Š-TU É-ŠU *i-ia-an-zi* 1 UDU-kán BAL-an-zi *šu-up-pa ḥu-u-e-ša-u-*
wa-az
- 28' '*ze¹-an-ta-^raz¹ ti-ia-an-zi* 30 NINDA 3 DUG KAŠ ŠĀ É LÚSANGA
- 29' 10 NINDA 1 ^{DUG}[*h*] *u-up-pár* KAŠ ZAG.GAR.RA-ni 20 NINDA 2 'DUG'
KAŠ <1[?]> ^{DUG}* *ḥu-up-pár**KAŠ *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš*
- 30' NINDA.GUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ia-an-zi BI-IB-RF^{HLA}-kán šu-u-wa-an-zi*
- 31' *a-da-an-^rzi¹ a-ku-wa-an-zi* GAL^{HLA}-*kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi Š*
- §5' 32' *lu-kat-ti-ma* DINGIR-LU[M š] *a-ra-a da-an-zi na-an* URU *ḥa-ak-miš-ši*
33' *ar-ḥa pé-e-d[a-a]n-zi na-aš a-pí-ia ŠŠ*
- §6' 34' ^d10 Ū-ŠAL-LI URU *ú-ri-iš-^rta¹* NA₄ZL^{KIN} *ḥa-aš-ḥa-aš-ša-an SIG₅ ti-e-er*
35' 1 PA ZÍZ ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-al-^rli¹-ia-aš* LÚ^{MEŠ} URU *ú-ri-iš-ta*
- 36' *I-NA* URU *ḥa-ak-miš-ši ŠĀ 'É'* ^d10 Ū-ŠAL-LI-kán *iš-ḥu-u-wa-an-zi*
- 37' ½ BÁN ZĪ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥa-ni-iš-^rša¹-aš* KAŠ ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši* (erasure) *šu-uḥ-ḥa-*
ú-wa-aš Š
- §7' 38' GIM-an-ma *ḥa-mi-iš-ḥi te-et-ḥa-i nu-kán* ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-al-li*
39' *ge-nu-wa-an-zi na-at* LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^r *ú¹-ri-iš-ta ḥar-ra-an-zi ma-al-la-an-zi Š*

cooked. Loaves of bread of the pithos, 1 vessel of beer at the altar; 30 loaves, 4 vessels of beer (are) the provisions. And one brings bread (and) beer from all the towns that are around the mountain. They break loaves of bread (and) fill the *BIBRU*-vessels; they eat (and) drink; they fill the cups. Before the god they step into a fight of boxing (and) wrestling. They rejoice (over the god). When the leafy branches seize the Sun God of Heaven, they carry the god away to the town and arrange him in the temple. They place the meat in front (of him), they break loaves of bread and (the priest) offers beer.

§4'
(i 26'–31')

The next day the priest celebrates¹ a spring festival for Mount Ḫalwanna in his house at the expense of his house. They offer 1 sheep. They place the meat (there), from the raw (and) from the cooked. 30 loaves (and) 3 vessels of beer of the priest's house, 10 loaves (and) 1 bowl of beer at the altar; 20 loaves, 2 vessels of beer, <1²> bowl of beer (are) the provisions. They break loaves of bread, fill the *BIBRU*-vessels, eat (and) drink, provide the cups.

Additional
spring festival,
in the house
of the priest

§5'
(i 32'–33')

The next day they pick up the god and carry him away to Ḫakmiš. And he (stays) there.

§6'
(i 34'–37')

Storm God of the Meadow of Urišta. They set up a well polished stela. The men of Urišta pour 1 *PARĪSU*-measure of wheat of the pithos in Ḫakmiš in the shrine of the Storm God of the Meadow. ½ *BĀN*-measure of flour, 1 jug of beer, for pouring into the pithos.

**Storm
God of the
Meadow of
Urišta**
Autumn
festival

§7'
(i 38'–39')

When it thunders, in spring, they open the pithos, and the men of Urišta mill (and) grind it(s content).

Spring festival

- §8' 40' *lu-kat-ti-ma* ALAM ŠA ^d10 Ú.SAL ^{U[R]U^r} *ha^r-ak-miš kar-ap-pa-an-zi*
na-at pé-dan_x-zi
 41' (erasure) PA-NI ^{NA4}ZI.KIN *ta-ni-nu-w[a-an-z]i* *1* GU₄ 7 UDU KUR-
ez-za pa-a-i
 42' 1 UDU-*ma* LÚ^{MES} URU *ú-ri-iš-ta p[í-ia-a]n-zi* GU₄-*kán* UDU^{HLA} *ra^r*
 43' ^(A1 i 43/A2 1') *ši-ip-pa-an-ta-an-zi šu-up-pa hu-e-^rša^r-[u-w]a-az zé-^re-an^r-*
t[a-az]
 44' *ti-ia-an-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{<DUG>} *har-ši-ia-aš* 1 ^{DU[G]} *hu-up-[pár KA]Š*
 ZAG.^rGAR^r.R[A-ni]
 45' ^(A1 i 45/A2 3') 30 *NINDA 3* DUG KAŠ *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-an-^rzi^r*
 NINDA.GUR₄.RA [*pár-ši-ia-an-zi*]
 46' *BI-IB-RÍ^{HLA}-kán šu-u-wa-an-zi a-da-an-zi ^ra^r-ku-[wa-an-zi]*
 47' GAL^{HLA}-*kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi ^rdu^r-uš-ki-iš-kán-z[i]*
 48' GIM-*an-ma* ^dUTU AN-E *la-aḥ-hur-nu-uz-zi<-uš> ap-pa-a[n-zi]*
 49' *{nu}* NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG(NINDA)} *har-ši-ia-aš kar-pa-an-zi na-an I-NA*
^{URU} *h[a-ak-miš-ši]*
 50' ^(A1 i 50/A2 8/A3 i 1') ŠĀ É ^d10 Ú.SAL-*kán pé-dan_x-zi ^rna^r-at* PA-NI DINGIR-
LIM [ta-ni-nu-wa-a]n-zi
 (Randleiste)

Obv. ii

- §9'' 1' ^(A4+A5 1') [...]x[...]
 2' [...]x *da-a[n²- ...]*
 3' [...]-^r*kán^r* ^{DUG}x[...]
 4' [... -a]n²-zi *NINDA*.GUR₄.RA x[...]
 5' [...]x-az *pé-e-da-an-z[i ...]*
 6' [...] *30 NINDA UP-NI LÚ^{MES}* URU *ú-ri-[iš-ta ...]*
 7' [...]x *šu-up-pa hu-e-ša-u-wa-[az zé-e-an-ta-az]*
 8' [*ti-ia-an-zi* NINDA.G]UR₄.RA ^{<DUG>} *har-ši-ia-aš ^r1^r* DUG KAŠ
 ZAG.GAR.RA-ni [(vacat)]
 9' ^(A1 ii 1'/A4+A5 9') (entire line erased)
 10' 30 NINDA UP-NI 4 DUG KAŠ *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-an-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA
pár-ši-ia-[an-zi]
 11' *BI-IB-RÍ^{HLA}-kán šu-u-wa-an-zi a-da-an-zi a-ku-wa-an-z[i]*
 (MS A4 breaks off)
 12' GAL^{HLA}-*kán aš-ša-nu-w[a-a]n-zi* PA-NI DINGIR-LIM GĒŠPU *hu-ul-*
hu-[li-ia]
 13' ^(A1 ii 5'/A5 13') *ti-ia-an-zi* UDU^H[^{LA}] *u-un-na-an-zi na-at *{x-kán}* [...]*
 14' GA.KIN.AG *ta-ma-aš-š[a-an-z]i* PA-NI DINGIR-LIM *ti-ia-an-z[i]*
 15' UN^{MES}-*ni-ia pí-[ia-an-z]i nam-ma IŠ-TU* GA.K[IN.AG]
 16' *za-aḥ-ḥi-ia-an-zi d[u-uš-ki-iš-ká]n-z[i]*
 17' GIM-*an-ma* ^dUTU AN-^rE' [*la-aḥ-hur-nu-uz-z]i-^ruš^r* [*ap-pa-an-zi ...]* §§
 (MS A5 breaks off)

§8'
(i 40'–50')

The next day they pick up the statuette of the Storm God of the Meadow in Ḫakmiš, and carry it (to the stela). They plac[e] (it) down in front of the stela. One supplies 1 ox (and) 7 sheep from the district, whereas the people of Urišta su[ppl]y 1 sheep. They offer the ox (and) the sheep. They place the meat (there), from the r[a]w (and) from the cooke[d]. Loaves of bread of the pithos, 1 bowl of beer at the alta[r]; 30 breads (and) 3 vessels of beer are to be provided. [They break] loaves of bread, fill the *BIBRU*-vessels, eat (and) dri[nk], provide the cups. They rejoice (over the god). And when the leafy branches seiz[e] the Sun God of Heaven, they pick up loaves of bread of the pithos (and the god), carry him to Ḫa[kmiš] into the shrine of the Storm God of the Meadow, and [arran]ge them in front of the god.

(small gap)

§9''
(ii 1'–17')

(*fragmentary*) loaves of bread [...] they carry [...] 30 loaves of one handful (of flour) the people of Uri[šta ... They place] the meat (there), [from] the raw (and) [from the cooked]. Loaves of [bread] of the pithos, 1 vessel of beer at the altar; 30 loaves of one handful (of flour), 4 vessels of beer are to be provided. They brea[k] loaves of bread, fill the *BIBRU*-vessels, eat (and) drink, provide the cups. In front of the god they step into a fight of boxing (and) wrestl[ing]. They drive the sheep and [...] them. They press cheese, place (it) in front of the deity, (and) gi[v]e (it) to the people. Then they fight with the che[ese(s)]. They re[joice] (over the god). And when [the leafy branch]es [seize] the Sun God of Heaven, [...]

?
(**Cults of
Urišta**)
[Spring
festival?]

- §10'' 18' (A1 ii 10') ^d*ḥa-ti-pu-na-an* x[...]
 19' ŠĀ Ê ^{HUR.SAG}x[...]
 20' ^{NA4}ZI.KIN-ši [*ḥu-u-kán-zi* (?) ...] §
- §11'' 21' (A1 ii 13') 3 BÁN ZÍZ ^{DUG}*ḥar-š[i-ia-al-li-ia-aš ... iš-ḥu-u-wa-an-zi]*
 22' (erased line) §
- §12'' 23' (A1 ii 15') GIM-*an-ma ḥa-[mi-iš-ḥi te-et-ḥa-i nu-kán* ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-al-li]*
 24' *ge-nu-wa-an-z[i na-at LÚ^{MES} URU ú-ri-iš-ta* (?) *ma-al-la-an-zi ḥar-ra-an-zi]* §
- §13'' 25' (A1 ii 17') *lu-kat-ti-ma* [...]
 26' ^{URU}*ú-ri-iš-[ta ...]*
 27' *nu ku-it-ma-a[n ...]*
 28' (A1 ii 20') *nu* ZAG.GAR.RA *t[a-ni-nu-an-zi* (?) ...]
 29' *nu-kán* 1 UDU B[AL-*an-zi šu-up-pa ḥu-e-ša-u-wa-az zé-e-an-ta-az]*
 30' *ti-ia-an-zi* [NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-aš* 1 ^{DUG}*ḥu-up-pár* KAŠ ZAG.GAR.RA-ni]
 31' 30 NINDA UP-NI 3 DU[G KAŠ *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš* NINDA.GUR₄.RA *pár-ši-an-zi]*
 32' BI-IB-RÍ^{HIA}-*k[án šu-u-wa-an-zi a-da-an-zi a-ku-wa-an-zi]*
 33' (A1 ii 25') GAL^{HIA}-*kán aš-š[a-nu-wa-an-zi DINGIR-LUM-ma-aš-kán]*
 34' ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḥa-az-za-[ka₄-ra du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi GIM-an-ma* ^dUTU AN-E]
 35' *la-aḥ-ḥur-nu-u[z-zi-uš ap-pa-an-zi ... DINGIR-LUM]*
 36' *še-eš-zi* x[...]
 37' *nu-kán* DING[IR? ...] §
 (MS A1 breaks off, gap of ca. two lines)
- §14'' 38'' (A3 ii 1') [(ca. 8 signs)]x x[...]
 39'' [(ca. 5–6 signs)]x *pé-ra-an i-x*[...]
 40'' [(ca. 4 signs)]^{rGIS*}KIRI₆^{MES} LUGAL *an-da ar-^rda¹-[ri²]*
 41'' [DINGIR-LUM-ma-ká]n *wa-ar-pa-an-zi na-an PA-NI* ^{NA4}Z[I.KIN]
 42'' (A3 ii 5') [*ta-ni-n*]u-wa-an-zi *nu-kán* 1 GU₄ *ŠA* ^{URU}*pár-du-wa-t[a]*
 43'' [(1–2 signs)]x 1 UDU.ŠIR (erasure) ŠA LÚ MÁŠ.GAL BAL-*an-zi*
 [(vacat)]
 44'' [^dU]TU-ŠI-aš-kán ^m*tu-ut-ḥa-li-ia-aš* EGIR-*an-da* ^r*da¹-[a-iš]*
 45'' A-NA ^{NA4}ZI.KIN^{MES} *ḥu-u-kán-zi šu-up-pa ḥu-^ru¹-[e-ša-u-wa-za]*
 46'' *zé-ia-an-ta-za ti-ia-an-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA GEŠTIN[(2–3 signs, or vacat)]
 47'' (A3 ii 10') 1 DUG.KA.GAG.A 1 DUG KAŠ ^{GIS*}ZAG.GAR.RA-ni [(vacat)]
 (Randleiste)

§10'' (ii 18'–20')	Ḫatipuna ^{acc} [...] in the shrine of Mount [...] at the stela [they slaughter (?) ...]	Ḫatipuna
§11'' (ii 21'–22')	[They pour] 3 BÂN-measures of wheat of the pith[os ...]	Autumn festival
§12'' (ii 23'–24')	When in spr[ing it thunders, they] open [the pithos (and) the men of Urišta (?) grind (and) mill it(s content)].	Spring festival
§13'' (ii 25'–37')	The next day [...] Uriš[ta ...] as long as [... they] a[rrange?] the altar [... they] of[fer] 1 sheep. They place [the meat (there), from the raw (and) from the cooked. Loaves of bread of the pithos, 1 bowl of beer at the altar]; 30 loaves of one handful (of flour), 3 vess[els of beer (are) the provisions. They break loaves of bread, fill] the <i>BIBRU</i> -vessels, [eat (and) drink], pro[vide] the cups. The <i>ḫaz</i> [<i>kara</i> -women rejoice over the god. And when] the leafy bran[ches seize the Sun God of Heaven ... The god ...] spends the night (there). [...] And the go[d?] ...] <i>(gap of ca. two lines; probable transition to the second town, perhaps Parduwata)</i>	
§14'' (ii 38''–iii 10)	[...] in front of [...] (s)he/it stand[s] in the king's gardens. They wash [the god(dess)] (and) [arr]ange him/her in front of the st[ela]. They offer 1 ox of the town Parduwata, [one ...], 1 ram of the goatherd. His Majesty Tudḫaliya additionally institu[t]ed them. They slaughter (them) at the stelae. They place the meat (there), from the ra[w] (and) from the cooked. Loaves of bread, wine, [...?] 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), 1 vessel of beer at the altar; 2 warm loaves, 2 loaves of GÚG-bread, 2 loaves of ½ BÂN-measure, 2 loaves of <i>soup-bread</i> , 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer) [–(which) His Majesty (?)] instituted–(are) the provisions. They break loaves of bread, fill the <i>BIB[RU]</i> - vessels. They call out. They provi[de] the cups. There is rejoicing: they rejoice over the god. [In front of the god] they step into a fight of [boxin]g (and) wrestling. They th[row] the	? (Cults of Parduwata?) [Spring festival?]

Rev. iii

(Randleiste)

- 1 ^(A3 iii 1') 2 *a-a-an* 2 NINDA.GÚG 2 NINDA ½ ŠA-A-TI '2' NINDA.TU₇ 1
DUG.KA.GAG.[A ^dUTU-ŠI(?)]
- 2 *da-a-iš aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš* NINDA.GUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ia-an-zi* BI-I[B-
RI^{HIA}-kán]
- 3 *šu-un-na-an-zi ḫal-zi-ia-ri* GAL^{HIA}-kán *aš-ša-nu-w[a-an-zi]*
- 4 [*d*]u-^ruš^r-ka₄-ra-az-za DINGIR-LUM-ma-aš-kán *du-uš-kán-^rzi* [PA-
NI DINGIR-LIM]
- 5 [GÉŠP]U ^rḫu-ul^r-ḫu-li-ia ti-ia-an-zi NA₄-an š[i-ia-an-zi]
- 6 [(ca. 4 signs)]x-^ran^r-zi GU₄^{HIA}-kán UDU^{HIA} (erasure) «D[U? ...]
- 7 [(ca. 3 signs) GA.KIN.A]G *dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi* ^L[^{Ú.MEŠ}GURUŠ]
- 8 [*IŠ-TU* GA.KIN.AG *za-aḫ-ḫ*]i-^ria^r-an-zi GIM-a[n-ma ^dUTU AN-E]
- 9 [*la-aḫ-ḫur-nu-uz-zi-uš ap-pa-an-zi*]i [DING]IR-LUM ^U[^{RU}ḫa-ak-miš(?)]
- 10 [*ar-ḫa pé-dan_x-zi* (?) ...]x x[...] §

(MS A3 breaks off; large gap)

Rev. iv

(Randleiste)

- §15''' 1 ^(A1 iv 1) *du-uš-ki-iš-^rkán^r-zi* [...] §
- §16''' 2 *lu-kat-ti-ma* DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{URU}ḫa-a[k-miš ...]
3 *na-aš-kán* ŠĀ É DINGIR-LIM t[a-ni-nu-wa-an-zi ...] §§
- §17''' 4 ^dte-li<-pí>-nu-un ALAM[... na-an(?)]
5 ŠĀ É ^dZA-BA₄'(AN)-BA₄ *pé-d[an_x-zi ...]* §
- §18''' 6 2 BÁN ZÍZ ^{DUG}ḫar-ši-ia-al-li-[ia-aš iš-ḫu-u-wa-an-zi n BÁN ZĪ.DA]
7 1 ^{DUG}ḫa-ni-iš-ša-aš KAŠ ^D[^{UG}ḫar-ši šu-uḫ-ḫa-u-wa-aš] §
- §19''' 8 GIM-an-ma ḫa-mi-iš-^rḫi te^r-[et-ḫa-i ^{DUG}ḫar-ši-ia-al-li ge-nu-wa-an-zi
na-at]
- 9 *ma-al-la-an-z[i ḫar-ra-an-zi ...]*
- 10 3 DUG KAŠ LÚ^M[^{ES} ... pé-eš-kán-zi(?)] §
- §20''' 11 ^dḫu-wa-at-t[a-aš-ši-in ...]
12 *KILAM*[...]
13 ŠĀ É DINGIR-L[IM pé-dan_x-zi ...]
14 *na-at-ká[n* ...] §
- §21''' 15 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} zé-[e-ni ...]
16 *an-da ḫa-^ran^r-[da-an-te-eš(?) ...]* §

stone (*i.e., a shot put contest takes place*). They [...] Cattle (and) sheep (*fragmentary*) [...] They press [chees]e. The y[oung men fig]ht [with the cheese(s). And] when [the leafy branches seiz]e [the Sun God of Heaven, they carry the g]od(dess) [away] t[o Ḫakmiš (?) ...]

(*large gap*)

§15''' (iv 1)	They keep rejoicing (over the gods) [...]	Gods of Ḫakmiš (First part of the section lost)
§16''' (iv 2–3)	The next day the gods of Ḫak[miš ...], and they ar[range?] them in the shrine [...]	[Spring festival?]
§17''' (iv 4–5)	Telipinu ^{acc.} : the statuette [... And] they ca[rry him] into the shrine of the War God. [...?]	Telipinu
§18''' (iv 6–7)	[They pour] 2 BÁN-measures of wheat of the pitho[s ... n BÁN-measure(s) of flour], 1 jug of beer [for pouring into the pithos].	Autumn festival
§19''' (iv 8–10)	When in spring it thu[nders, they open the pithos and grind (and) [mill it(s) content]. ...] The men [... regularly supply (?)] 3 vessels of beer.	Spring festival
§20''' (iv 11–14)	Ḫuwatta[šši ^{acc.} ...] the gate (<i>or: the market</i>) [... They carry (the god)] into the shrine [...] and it [...]	Ḫuwattašši
§21''' (iv 15–16)	The autu[mn] festivals [...] partici[pated?] ...]	Autumn festivals

- §22''' 17 GIM-an-^rma¹ [*ḥa-mi-iš-ḥi te-et-ḥa-i* ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-al-li ge-nu-wa-an-zi na-at*]
 18 ^rma¹-a[*l-la-an-zi ḥar-ra-an-zi ...*]
 19 nu [...]
 20–22 (sign traces)
 (ca. 10 lines lost)
- §23''' 33' (on the left edge) PA-NI DINGIR-LIM NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A me-m[a-al]
 34'–36': (lost)
 37' [ŠÀ] É DI[NGIR-LIM pé-dan_x-zi ...] §
- §24''' 38' [GI]M-an DI₁₂-Š[*I te-et-ḥa-i* ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-al-li ge-nu-wa-an-zi*]
 39' [n]a-at ma-a[*l-la-an-zi ḥar-ra-an-zi nu-kán* ^{LÜ}SANGA 1 UDU A-NA ^{d10}BAL-an-ti šu-up-pa]
 40' ḥu-e-šu ^rze'-i[a-an ti-ia-an-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ia-aš n DUG KAŠ*]
 41' ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA-ni 30 NINDA U[P-NI 3 DUG KAŠ aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš NINDA.GUR₄.RA pá-r-ši-ia-an-zi]
 42' BI-IB-RÍ^{HIA}-kán šu-u[n-na-an-zi a-da-an-zi a-ku-wa-an-zi GAL^{HIA}-kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi]
 43' nu 1 ^{DUG}PUR-SÍ-TUM *ḥar-ši-ḥar-ši*[...]
 44' na-at du-wa-an du-wa-an-na x x[...]
 45' ^{d10}ḥar-ši-ḥar-ši-ia-aš EN-IA ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši-ḥar-^rši* [...]
 46' le-e i-ia-ši EZEN₄-NU-ma ^{URU}*ḥa-ak-mi*[š-ši i-ia-an-zi (?)] §§
- §25''' 47' ^{d10}^rḥé'-e-u-wa-aš ^{NA₄}ZI.KIN a-ra-aḥ-za ar-ta-[ri ...]
 48' ^dUTU-ŠI ME-iš DINGIR-LUM ku-iš ḥar-zi na-at-kán a-pa-a-[aš pa-a-i]
 49' ŠÀ É ^{d10} ^{GIŠ}GIDRU-at-kán ti-ia-an-zi ½ BÁN ZÌ.D[A n ^{DUG}*ḥa-ni-iš-ša-aš KAŠ*]
 50' ^{DUG}*ḥar-ši* (erasure) šu-uḥ-ḥa-u-wa-aš §

§22''' (iv 17–22)	When [in spring it thunders, they open the pithos and] gri[nd (and) mill it(s content). ...]	Spring festival
§23''' (iv 33'–37')	<i>(after a gap of ca. 10 lines)</i> In front of the deity oil cake, mea[1 ... They carry ... into] the shri[ne ...]	Storm God of the Thunderstorm (First part of the section lost)
§24''' (iv 38'–46')	When in spring [it thunders, they open the pithos] and gr[ind (and) mill] it(s contents). [The priest offers 1 sheep to the Storm God. They place the meat (there)], raw (and) coo[ked. Loaves of bread of the pithos, <i>n</i> vessels of beer] at the altar; 30 loaves of one ha[ndful (of flour), 3 vessels of beer (are) the provisions. They break loaves of bread], fi[ll] the <i>BIBRU</i> -vessels, [eat (and) drink, provide the cups]. 1 “thunderstorm-dish” (or: 1 dish [for/of the Storm God of] the Thunderstorm) [...] And it hither and thither [...] “O Storm God of the Thunderstorm, my lord, the thunderstorm-pithos [...] do not make!” And they [celebrate (?)] the festival in Ḫakmiš.	Spring festival
§25''' (iv 47'–50')	Storm God of the Rain: a stela, (it) stand[s] outside (or: The Storm God of the Rain stand[s] outside as a stela). [...] His Majesty instituted. Whoever hosts the god, [has to supply?] it. They set it (i.e., the stela?) down in the shrine of the Storm God of Ḫattuša. ½ BÂN-measure of flour, [<i>n</i> jug(s) of beer] for pouring into the pithos.	Storm God of the Rain Autumn festival

- §26''' 51' GIM-an DI₁₂-ŠI {DÛ-ri} te-et-*ha-i*^{DUG} *har-ši-kán ke-e-nu-wa-an-z[i]*
 52' *na-at ma-al-la-i har-ra-i* 1 UDU-kán A-NA^{d10} *hé-e-ia-u-wa-aš* B[AL-an-ti]
 53' *šu-up-pa hu-u-e-šu zé-ia-an ti-ia-an-zi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{DUG} *har-š[i-ia-aš n DUG KAŠ]*
 54' ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA-ni *30* NINDA UP-NI 3 DUG KAŠ *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš* NINDA.GUR₄.RA^r *pár¹-[ši-ia-an-zi]*
 55' BI-IB-RI^{HIA}-kán *šu-un-na-an-zi* GU₇-zi NAG-zi GAL^{HIA}-kán *a[š-ša-nu-wa-an-zi]*
 56' *nu* 1^{DUG} *hu-up-pár* KAŠ *ta-ga-a-an da-pí-an la-hu-u-wa-an-zi*
 57' *me-mi-ia-an-kán an-da me-ma-an-zi* ^{d10} EN-IA *hé-e-ú-u[n-wa]*
 58' *me-ek-ki i-ia nu-wa da-an-ku-in da-ga-an-zi-p[a]-^ran¹*
 59' *ha-aš-ši-ik-ka₄-nu-ut nu-wa* ^{d10}-aš NINDA.GUR₄.RA *ma-a-ú ŠŠ*
- §27''' 60' (indented) 1 TUP-PU DINGIR^{MEŠ} URU* *ú-re-eš*-ta* DINGIR^{MEŠ} [URU *pár-du-wa-ta* (?)]
 61' [D]INGIR^{MEŠ} URU *ha-ak-miš-ša-ia* ^dte-li-pu-na-aš ^rdu¹-[wa-at-ta-aš-ši-iš]
 62' ^rd¹⁰ *har-ši-har-ši-ia-aš* ^{d10} *hé-e-u-wa-aš* [PN]
 63' [P]A-NI *^dUTU-ŠI*^m *tu-ut-ha-li-^ria¹* [(vacat?)]
 64' (indented) SI×SÁ-it
 (end of the column missing, but no text expected there)

l. e.

- §28''' "a"
- 1 ^{d10} *hé-e-u-wa-aš I-NA* URUDU₆ LÚ¹Ú.ĤÚB-aš-kán *paš-šu-u-i še-er ar-ta-ri*
 DI₁₂-^rŠI^r DÛ-ri
 2 *nu-kán* LÚ^{d10} URU *ha-ak-miš-ša-az kat-ta pa-iz-zi* 3 NINDA UP-NI 1
^rDUG¹ *ha<-ni>-iš-[š]a-aš* KAŠ
 3 IŠ-TU É-ŠU *pé-e-da-i* 1 UDU GE₆ LÚ^{MEŠ} URUDU₆ LÚ¹Ú.ĤÚB *pí-^ria-an¹-zi*
 4 *na-an-kán* LÚ^{d10} BAL-an-ti^{NA4} ZI.KIN-ši *hu-u-kán-zi* ^ršu¹-up-pa
 5 *hu-e-ša-u-wa-az zé-e-an-ta-az ti-ia-an-^rzi¹*
 "b"
 1 *NINDA KAŠ* (erasure) LÚ^{MEŠ} URUDU₆ LÚ¹Ú.ĤÚB *a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da ku-e-eš*
 2 *nu a-pu-uš-ša* SUM-an-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ia-an-zi* BI-IB-RI^{HIA}
šu-u-w[a-an-zi]
 3 *a-da-an-zi a-ku-wa-an-zi* ^rGAL¹HIA-kán *aš*-ša-nu-wa-an-zi
 4 *du-uš-ka₄-ra-az*
 5 ^mli-la-*PİRIG*(-)[?]AN(-)[?] *kar-ta-it*

- §26'''
(iv 51'–59') When in spring it thunders, they open the pithos, and grind' (and) mill' it(s content). (The priest) of[fers] 1 sheep to the Storm God of the Rain. They place the meat (there), raw (and) cooked. Loaves of bread of the pith[os, *n* vessels of beer] at the altar; 30 loaves of one handful (of flour), 3 vessels of beer (are) the provisions. They br[eak] loaves of bread, fill the *BIBRU*-vessels, eat (and) drink, pr[ovide] the cups. They pour 1 bowl of beer, in its entirety, on the ground, and speak concurrently: "O Storm God, my lord, make rain plentiful! And make the dark earth satiated! And, O Storm God, let the loaves of bread become plentiful!" Spring festival
- §27'''
(iv 60'–64') 1 tablet: the gods of Urišta, the gods [of Parduwata (?)], and the gods of Ḫakmiš–Telipuna (i.e., Telipinu), Ḫu[wattašši], the Storm God of the Thunderstorm, the Storm God of the Rain—[PN] in front of His Majesty, Tudḫaliya, established. **Colophon**
- §28'''
(l. e.) Storm God of the Rain: on the Deaf Man's Tell he stands on a rocky outcrop. Spring comes: the Man of the Storm God comes from Ḫakmiš. He brings from his house 3 loaves of one handful (of flour, and) 1 jug of beer. The people of the Deaf Man's Tell supply 1 black sheep, and the Man of the Storm God offers it. They slaughter (it) at the stela. They place the meat (there), from the raw (and) from the cooked. The people who live around the Deaf Man's Tell supply bread (and) beer as well. They break loaves of bread, fi[ll] the *BIBRU*-vessels, eat (and) drink, provide the cups. There is rejoicing. Lilawalwi *carved him* (i.e., the god, meaning his cult image?). **Storm God of the Rain, on the Deaf Man's Tell**
Spring festival

DBH 43/2.26 (Bo 8300, MS A6)

- 1' [...]x x[...]
 2' [... wa-a]r-pu-u-wa-an-^rzi¹ x[...]
 3' [... E]ZEN₄ ħar-^{*}pa-aš DÛ^{*}-an-z[i ...]
 4' [...]x^{LÜ}SANGA IŠ-TU Ê-Š[U pa-a-i ...]
 5' [... šu]-up-pa ħu-e-ša-u-wa-a[z zé-e-an-ta-az ti-ia-an-zi]
 6' [... ^D]UG ħu-up-pár KAŠ Z[AG.GAR.RA ...]
 7' [...]10² NINDA.GUR₄.RA 2 DUG KA[Š aš-ša-nu-ma-aš]
 8' [NINDA.GUR₄.RA pá-r-ši-ia-an-z]i BI-IB-R^{HLA}^rA¹-[kán šu-un-na-an-zi]
 9' [a-da-an-zi a-ku-wa-an-z]i GAL^{HLA}-kán [...]
 10' [... aš-š]a-nu-wa-an-[zi ...] §
 (breaks off)

UBT 35 (Bo 8531, MS A7)

- 1' ^r1^{NINDA}a¹-a-an [...]
 2' ti-ia-an-z[i ...]
 3' ŠA EZEN₄ ħ[a²-me-eš-ħa-an-da-aš (?) ...]
 4' BI-IB-R[I^{HLA}-kán šu-un-na-an-zi a-da-an-zi a-ku-wa-an-zi]
 5' GAL^{HLA}-kán [aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi GIM-an-ma^dUTU AN-E]
 6' la-aĥ-ħur-n[u-uz-zi-uš ap-pa-an-zi DINGIR-LUM ar-ħa]
 7' pé-e-d[a-an-zi ...]
 8' x x[...]
 (breaks off)

Commentary

i 1': Carter (followed by Hazenbos) reads [GIM-an-m]a, but the gap seems too short to accomodate that; the formula lacks the enclitic =ma also in rev. iv 38'.

i 2': Carter's restoration of the sign GIBIL fits very well the sign traces (photo collated). For the restoration of the offering formula cf. rev. iv 52' and passim, for the restored DN cf. obv. i 11'.

i 4': Cf. obv. i 37', iv 50'.

i 8', iv 51': The scribe erroneously conflated here two variants of the formula denoting the coming of spring: "When it thunders in the spring" and "When it becomes spring," as is also clear from the occurrence of the "regular" formula in obv. i 38' and rev. iv 8. For more on these formulas see §3.4.1. Differently Hoffner 1974, 19: "and when it happens in spring (that) it thunders ..."; Carter 1962, 185 calls it an "ungrammatical idiomatic form."

DBH 43/2.26 (Bo 8300)

[...] for [wa]shing [...] they celebrate the *ḥarpaš* festival [...] the priest [supplies] from his house [... they place the m]eat (there), from the raw [(and) from the cooked. ...] bowl(s) of beer, on the a[l]tar; ...]^{10?} loaves of bread, 2 vessels of beer [(are) the provisions. They brea]k [loaves of bread, fill the] *BIBRU*-vessels, [eat (and) drin]k, the cups [... they di]spose [...] (*breaks off*)

UBT 35 (Bo 8531)

[...] 1 warm loaf [...] they place [...] of the s[pring] festival [... they fill] the *BIBRU*-vessels, [eat (and) drink, provide] the cups. [When] the leafy branc[hes seize the Sun God of Heaven], they bri[ng the god away ...] (*breaks off*)

A comparable mistake is found in KBo 2.7 rev. 12 (*mān=kan zēni DÛ-ri ...*). Note the shortened, paratactic wording *DIŠI DÛ-ri* in l. e. “a” 1.

i 11': Actually, the (cult image of the) mountain god is brought “up to the mountain” only if the valley is under control by the enemy, as is made clear in the following lines.

i 12': Carter's restoration, for which cf. line 16' and KBo 2.13 obv. 12, is followed here. Note that *na-an* is written vertically in the *intercolumnium*, so that the restored text is assumed to have been written there as well.

i 16', 25': [^{L0}SANG]A: collated. The sg. BAL-*anti* is no mistake, *pace* Carter 1962, 175; sg. *šippanti* in line 25' must refer to the priest, see §3.5.3 for the covert change of subject in analogous cases.

i 18': Note here as well as in obv. i 44' and in KBo 57.113 + Bo 4615 8' the omission of the determinative DUG; in obv. i 49' *ḥaršiaš* appears with the determinative NINDA, only in rev. iv 53' the determinative DUG is used.

i 19': The form *da-pí-za* is abl., see *GrHL Addenda*, comments on GrHL, 152; cf. also the analogous passage in obv. i 41'.

i 26'–27': Note the pl. *īyanzi*, where one would expect a sg. Carter (1962, 175) assumes that SANGA here refers to the “priest-group,” but a lack of agreement, or a lacking verbal form, seems to me more likely. Note the pl. ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA in line 10' vis-à-vis the sg. in line 16'. According to Miller (2005, 309), this may be “a kind of partitive apposition,” yielding “Then on the morrow, they, i.e., the SANGA-priest, celebrate the the spring festival” Note also the absence of the reflective particle with *iye/a-* “to celebrate (festivals).”

i 29': The first occurrence of KAŠ had been forgotten and was added later.

i 34': Differently *HED H*, 220 “an openly displayed stela.”

i 39': Note the inverted sequence in *ḥarranzi mallanzi*.

i 40': Ḥakmiš is here loc., not gen., with Carter (1962, 166 “(at) Ḥakmiš”), followed by Hazenbos (2003, 37), *pace* Miller 2005, 310. Indeed the section deals with the Storm God of the Meadow of Urišta, not of Ḥakmiš, as clearly pointed out in line 34'.

i 41': For the interpretation of KUR-*ez-za* see the commentary on KBo 2.1 rev. iv 14 (text no. 2).

i 49'–50': Carter's conjectural restorations (followed by Hazenbos) must be modified in light of the new join. The scene must be the usual procession back to the town, but the wording is apparently faulty. For the emendation of NINDA see already Carter 1962, 175.

i 50': Carter's restoration has to be modified in light of the new join. Note the neuter =*at* (apparently referring to the statuette) vis-à-vis common =*an* (referring to the god himself) in line 49'. The last signs of the line are preserved on the indirect join KUB 59.34.

ii 10': Note the unusual label of the portion of offering constituting the “provisions”: *aššanummanzi* “(is/are) to be provided” instead of the usual *aššanumaš* (on which see §6.4.4).

ii 20': According to Miller (2005, 310), the sign ŠI in ^{NA4}ZI.KIN-*ši* (here and in l. e. “a” 4) is a phonetic complement, not a pronoun.

ii 21': Cf. obv. i 35'–36' and rev. iv 6.

ii 23': Restored after obv. i 38', so also Carter; Hazenbos (2003, 33) restores the line after obv. i 8' which, however, is an exceptional case (see commentary).

ii 43'': On the rarely attested LÚ MÁŠ.GAL “goatherd” see Otten 1988, 46.

ii 44'': On the meaning of *appanda dai-/te-/tiya-* in this context cf. the phrase *appanda pai-/pe-/piya-* (§3.3.2.1 and commentary on KUB 38.12 obv. i 7–8, text no. 16).

ii 45'': Noteworthy is the use of MEŠ as plural determinative of ^{NA4}ZI.KIN (normally, ḪI.A is used, in this manuscript and elsewhere).

iii 1: Note the spelling ŠA-A-TI instead of the ubiquitous BÂN. Hazenbos (2003, 43) restores [*ku-e*“UTU-ŠI”]. In view of the limited space available in the gap, the shortened formulation seems preferable.

iii 9: Cf. obv. i 35’–36’, 49’; Hazenbos (2003, 43 n. 108) proposes U[RU-ri ar-ha pé-e-da-an-zī].

iv 6–7: Cf. obv. i 35’–37’ and rev. iv 50’.

iv 11: The god Ḫuwattašši (the “Wind”) is attested in KBo 70.109+ (text no. 17) and in a few other texts. KBo 70.109+ bears witness to the cult of Ḫuwattašši in several settlements in the Cappadocian area of the middle Kızılırmak. His place within the pantheon is still poorly understood; according to Yoshida 1996, 39, he belongs to the circle of the Storm God of Nerik.

iv 33’: The sweet NINDA.Ī.E.DĒ.A “bread/cake onto which oil has been poured” was perhaps similar to the *halva*, see Hoffner 1974, 197; and Beal 2005–2006, 362.

iv 39’: For restorations cf. rev. iv 39’, iv 52’, and the list of gods in the colophon.

iv 40’, 49’, 53’: The number of vessels of beer was no doubt specified by means of a numeral, *pace* Carter 1962, 162, followed by Hazenbos 2003, 34–35. Note here and in rev. iv 53’ the variant *huesu zey[an]* (acc.) instead of the usual partitive abl. *huesawaz zēantaz*.

iv 43’: Carter 1962, 172 translates “1 *ḫaršiḫarši*-offering (?) dish,” perhaps a fuller writing of the *ḫaršiḫarši*-vessel mentioned in line 45’ (p. 186); Hazenbos (2003, 39) translates “an offering plate thunderstorm”; HW² Ḫ, 370 reads “1 ^{DUG}PUR-ŠĪ-TUM *ḫar-ši-ḫar-ši-[ia-aš^d10-aš⁷]* “1 Opferschale [des Wettergottes?] des Gewitt[ers].”

iv 45’–46’: Note the absence of the direct speech particle =*wa*. In line 46’ note, if the restoration is correct, the absence of =*z(a)*.

iv 47’, 52’, l. e. “a” 1: No other attestations of the Storm God of the Rain are known to me. Note that the “rain festival” is attested mainly in the frame of local cults (§5.7.1).

iv 47’–48’: The phrase “His Majesty instituted” refers probably to offerings, which would have been listed at the end of the preceding line. Line 48’ seems to specify that the offerings instituted by the king are to be supplied by the person who is in charge of hosting the cult image; differently Carter 1962, 162, 172 (followed by Hazenbos 2003, 35, 39), who restores *pēdai* and refers it to the transport of the cult image.

iv 52’: On the sg. form *mallai ḫarrai* see §3.5.3.

iv 57’–59’: For an analysis of this passage see Oettinger 1989–1990, 85.

iv 60’: The scribe wrote first the name of the town Ḫakmiš, then corrected it in Urišta (traces of the signs *ḫa-ak-miš* are still visible under the erased surface); this fact shows that the towns were listed according to a meaning-

ful sequence. Unfortunately the place name at the end of the line is broken. It might be Parduwata, based on the fact that an “ox of the town Parduwata” is listed among the offering within a section treating the town the name of which is lost (obv. ii 34'', §14'').

iv 62': In the gap there was probably a PN, perhaps that of Lilawalwi (cf. commentary to l. e. “b” 5).

iv 63': The expression *PANIPN* may convey “in front of PN” as well as “at the time of PN.” The context points to the former option.

iv 64': For the reading *SI×SÁ* instead of *KIN* (so Carter 1962, 163, 176, followed by Hazenbos 2003, 35), already suggested by Miller (2005, 310), see Cammarosano 2012, 112. In the gap of line 62' a PN is expected.

l. e. “a” 1: Here and elsewhere in the text (l. e., l. col. 3; r. col. 1) the sign is *ḪUB*, not *ḪÜB*, *pace* Carter 1962, 163 and Hazenbos 2003, 35. On the meaning of Hittite *paššu-*, a rocky outcrop, see de Martino 2006 and Soysal 2008b, 118. On the use of *KIR* (*HZL* no. 244) with the value /pas/ (already noted by Berman 1978, 124) cf. commentary on KUB 56.39 obv. ii 17' (text no. 5).

l. e. “b” 1: *NINDA* is written on a partially erased *Winkelhaken*, see already Carter 1962, 176. On the “deaf” (*duddumi-*) in Hittite society see Velhartická 2009 with literature. On the “man of the Storm God” see Ünal 1998, 67–82; Holubová 2003 (*non vidi*), Velhartická 2009.

l. e. “b” 2: Note the absence of the particle =*kan* in the phrase *BIBRI*^{HIA} ... *šuwanzi*.

l. e. “b” 5: A *crux*. Both *ṁli-la-UR.MAḪ* and *ṁli-la-PÌRIG* convey the PN Lilawalwi (*HZL* no. 93, Weeden 2011a, 163–64; on the scribe Lilawalwi see Gordin 2015, 225). The name is followed by the sequence *AN KAR TA IT* in this line as well as on the colophon of another cult inventory, KUB 13.32 (l. e. 1: [...] *ṁli<-la>-PÌRIG AN KAR T[A IT? ...]*, see *CHD* L–N, 57). The interpretation as a composite PN with an otherwise unattested deity “Kartait” is problematical, both because of the length (Carter 1962, 192) and of the context (one would expect a verbal form after the PN). Preferable is the tentative interpretation of Hazenbos (2003, 47 n. 120), who takes *AN* as personal pronoun and *kartait* as a verbal form from the rare stem *kartai-* “to cut off, to carve.” Problematical in this hypothesis are the word spacing in KUB 13.32 (but not in KUB 25.23) and the unclear reference of the alleged pronoun (perhaps to the Storm God of the Rain?). As far as the latter point is concerned, it may be assumed that *kartai-* refers to the carving of a cult image (the stela?), and the pronoun *-an* to the god (kindly suggested by C. Melchert).

7.5. THE EAST

Šamuḫa was the regional capital of the so-called Upper Land, the broad region encompassing the eastern part of the kingdom north of Azzi and Išuwa (Gurney 2003). Its crucial role in the Hittite political and religious history was recognized already at the dawn of Hittitology, but it was only in 2014 that its localization at Kayalıpınar in the province of Sivas could be determined with certainty, thanks to textual findings excavated by the Turkish-German mission which since 2005 explores the site under the direction of Vuslat and Andreas Müller-Karpe (Rieken 2014a; but see already the correct intuition of A. Müller-Karpe 2000, 363–64).

Šamuḫa is located on the northern bank of the Kızılırmak ca. 45 km downstream from Sivas, and played a relevant role already in the Old Assyrian trade colonies network (Barjamovic 2011, 151–54; Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe, and Kryszat 2014, 13–17, 30–38). The role of the city for Hittite history becomes crucial in the Early New Kingdom, both from the political and religious perspectives. At the time of Tudḫaliya I/II at the latest, Šamuḫa is firmly established as a royal residence, and cults of Hurrian origins enter the town by the mediation of the recently annexed kingdom of Kizzuwatna (de Martino 2008, 133–34; Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe, and Kryszat 2014, 26–28). Most relevant among these are several hypostases of Šawuška, the Hurrian Istar: Šawuška of the Field (KUB 32.130, see for the dating Klinger 2010 and Beckman 2012a); Istar of Tamininga (*CTH* 713); and a “Goddess of the Night” whose identity is still unclear (see most recently J. Miller 2008). Two generations later, the town is at the center of the dramatic events that shake the Hittite kingdom during the reign of Tudḫaliya III: the so-called “concentric invasion” in the frame of which Ḫattuša and the entire Upper Land are plundered by enemy groups (Stavi 2015, 28–65). After a violent destruction, which seems to be connected with the “concentric invasion” (end of level 3, see Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe, and Kryszat 2014, 29), Šamuḫa offers refuge to the king and becomes the place from which the reconquest of the land takes place (de Martino 2008, 134–38; Stavi 2015, 69–70). We know that a prince named Kantuzili, probably the brother of Tudḫaliya III, played an important role in this crucial moment, and the mention of a “festival of the vow of Kantuzili” in the late cult inventory Kp 14/95+ seems to refer precisely to these events (text no. 15).

Šamuḫa is again at the core of Hittite political history at the time of the coup d'état by Ḫattušili III, who overturns the legitimate king Muṣšili III (Urḫi-Teššob) probably in the second quarter of the thirteenth century BCE. On the run from his uncle, Muṣšili seeks refuge in Šamuḫa, but it is precisely there that he is “locked up like a pig in a sty” (Apology of Ḫattušili, §11).

Ḫattušili credits his victory to Ištar (Šawuška) of Šamuḫa, his patron goddess, to the care of whom he had been entrusted by his father Muršili II:

Ištar, My Lady, sent Muwattalli, my brother to Muršili, my father, through a dream (saying): ‘For Ḫattušili the years (are) short, he is not to live (long). Hand him over to me, and let him be my priest, so he (will) live.’ My father took me up, (while still) a boy, and handed me (over) to the service of the goddess, and as a priest I brought offerings to the goddess. At the hand of Ištar, My Lady, I experienced prosperity, and Ištar, My Lady, took me by the hand and provided for me. (Apology of Ḫattušili, §3, transl. van den Hout, COS 1.77:199).

Among the most recent textual finds from Kayalıpınar (Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe, and Rieken 2017, forthcoming b), a group of cult inventories likely dating back to the reign of Ḫattušili stands out. They provide a most interesting insight into the religious and economic life of the town, while one of them, the so-called “Šamuḫa-tablet,” represents the find that allowed the secure identification of the site (Rieken 2014a; text no. 14). The two cult inventories presented here bear witness to the religious panorama of Šamuḫa, complementing and often matching the information known from the Boğazköy texts. As prominent gods, the Storm God of Lightning, the Sun Goddess of Arinna, and a hitherto unattested “glorious Sun Deity of the Field,” which are treated together in Kp 14/95+ (text no. 14), stand out. Furthermore, several hypostases of Šawuška, the Aleppine pair of Teššob and Ḫebat, and a number of local deities are attested, including Abara, the river Maraššanta, and the gods of the neighboring town of Zipi.

Like few other Hittite texts, the tablet Kp 14/95+ (text no. 14) provides an eloquent picture of the inextricable interlacing of cult and economy in a Hittite town, as well as of the complex tablet-checking processes that ended up in a cult inventory. At the same time, the text delivers through the list of the cult supplies and their providers a vivid cross section of the various segments of Hittite society, from top officers like the frontier post governor to local commoners like saltlick wardens and palace servants. The tablet Kp 15/7+ (text no. 15) is likely to constitute for the most part an inventory of the “Ancestors’ Palace,” a sacred complex of venerable antiquity well known from the Boğazköy texts. The text lists a great number of deficiencies and faults found in a review of the shrines of this complex, delivering a quite desolate picture of the state of the gods housed there. Other local palaces stand on the town’s horizon and emerge as relevant elements of the economic life of the region, namely, the palaces of the Sun Deity of the Field and of the House of His Majesty (in Šamuḫa), as well as those of Karaḫna, Ḫaryaša, Kašaya, and Šahpina mentioned in Kp 14/95+ (text no. 14).

To the regional capital of Šamuḫa gravitated a number of towns and villages. Of many of them we know little more than the name: this is the case for Zipi and its sacred springs, mentioned in Kp 15/7+ (text no. 15). For others, more evidence is at our disposal, in some cases even entire tablets. This is the case for Karaḫna, an important cult center that is to be located in all likelihood at the site of the classical Carana/Sebastopolis. The tablet KUB 38.12 (text no. 16) constitutes a report on the ongoing inventory of the cults of this town. Among them, the local Stag God as well as the richness of the local shrines stand out: the colophon mentions the unparalleled number of 775 temple employees, the duties of whom are detailed in the text. The tablet Kp 14/95+ shows that the Palace of Karaḫna was among those that contributed supplies for the cults of Šamuḫa, in spite of the remarkable distance that separates the two places. A further glimpse into the local cults of this part of the kingdom comes from KUB 25.32 (*CTH* 681.1), preserving the description of various local state festivals performed by the king in the vicinity of Karaḫna (McMahon 1991, 53–82). The dating in the late thirteenth century BCE is assured by the presence of Taprammi's seal, an officer known from other Hittite texts (Hawkins 2002, 226). Analogous to the local festivals treated in the cult inventories, these celebrations involved rites taking place at extramural stela sanctuaries located in a wood near Šamuḫa, on Mount Ḫura, and in a wood in the vicinity of Akaliya.

The picture of local cults in the eastern part of the kingdom would not be complete without mention of the cult inventories excavated at the site of Kuşakı (Hittite Šarišša). These texts are very similar to their counterparts from Boğazköy. Most of them have been edited by Hazenbos (2003, 144–66) and are therefore not reproduced here.

TEXT NO. 14. Kp 14/95+: LOCAL CULTS OF ŠAMUḪA

Manuscripts: Kp 14/95 + Kp 15/8 + Kp 15/10 + Kp 15/32 + Kp 15/48 + Kp 15/52 + Kp 15/62 + Kp 15/85 + Kp 15/136 + Kp 15/149 (+) Kp 15/156 (hand copy see Rieken forthcoming b). **Findspot:** Kayalıpınar, *Archiv-Grabung 2015* (ca. 160 m northeast of Building D; see Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe, and Rieken 2017). **Edition:** Rieken 2014a (Kp 14/95 only); Cammarosano *apud* Rieken forthcoming b.

This large tablet, also known as “ŠamuḪa tablet,” provided in 2014 the clue for the definitive identification of Kayalıpınar with Hittite ŠamuḪa (Rieken 2014a). It provides a detailed account of the cults of three gods of the town, as established through a careful cross-check of documents both from the local archives and from the capital Ḫattuša. The structure is summarized in the table opposite.

In the first part (§§1–7), the text treats the cults of the Storm God of Lightning and his spouse, the Sun Goddess of Arinna. At the outset of the inventory, the daily bread and the monthly festival are reviewed. The base for the determination of the offerings are in both cases *kwanzattar* boards (wooden tablets). Interestingly, boards “of the (local) temple” are checked against boards that have been brought from Ḫattuša by a certain Ukkura, Commander of Ten. Ukkura appears to have been responsible for the inventorying procedure, together with another official named Mizramuwa. Both of them are known from the Boğazköy texts as well, suggesting the reign of Ḫattušili III as the most likely dating for this tablet (see the commentary on obv. i 23). A reference to additional investigations to be carried out in the palace (obv. i 49–50) constitutes a further hint at the complexity of the inventorying process. Besides daily bread and monthly festival, at least three further festivals are treated, including one of unclear nature and reading (“SUM *itkamna*,” obv. ii 9). Since the Storm God of Lightning was one of the patron gods of Muwatalli II, the reference to previous measures taken by this king in relation to his monthly festival seem to be no coincidence (obv. i 48).

As the text resumes after a gap, the cults of an hitherto unknown “glorious Sun Deity of the Field” are treated (§§8’–21’). This solar deity must have played a relevant role in late empire ŠamuḪa, as is clear from the number and nature of the envisaged festivals, as well as from the fact that its cults are treated on the same tablet with two major gods. Although the fact that this deity seems to be unattested in the Boğazköy texts may sound surprising, and the similarity to the “glorious Ištar/Šawuška of the Field” of Muršili II is indeed striking, there seems to be enough evidence to exclude that the

Text	Content
§§1–10'': Cult of the Storm God of Lightning and the Sun Goddess of Arinna	
§1 (i 1–12)	Daily bread offering for the Storm God of Lightning and the Sun Goddess of Arinna
§2 (i 13–24)	Ditto, after a wooden board from Ḫattuša
§3 (i 25–32)	Monthly festival, after a wooden board of the temple
§4 (i 33–50)	Ditto, after a wooden board from Ḫattuša
§5 (i 51–ii 8)	Yearly festival ... for the Storm God of Lightning and the Sun Goddess of Arinna
§6 (ii 9–17)	“SUM <i>itkamna</i> ” –festival for the Storm God of Lightning
§7 (ii 18–25)	Festival ... for the Storm God of Lightning
	(gap)
§§8'–10'' (iii 1'–18'')	(three fragmentary paragraphs)
§§11'–21'': Cult of the Glorious Sun Deity of the Field	
§11'' (iii 19''–21'')	<i>ešūwaš</i> festival for the Sun Deity of the Field
§12'' (iii 22''–28'')	Grand total
§13'' (iv 1–7)	Daily bread offering for the Sun Deity of the Field
§14'' (iv 8–15)	Monthly festival for the Sun Deity of the Field
§§15''–17'' (iv 16–27)	(Three festivals for the Sun Deity of the Field, names not preserved)
§18'' (iv 28–30)	Festival of the l[ots ³] for the Sun Deity of the Field
§19'' (iv 31–33)	Festival of the grain pile for the Sun Deity of the Field
§20'' (iv 34–36)	Festival of timeliness for the Sun Deity of the Field
§21'' (iv 37–48)	Grand total

writing “Sun” (sign UTU) actually conveys the name of Ištar/Šawuška (sign LIŠ; for discussion see the commentary on rev. iii 19''). For the “glorious Sun Deity of the Field” a rich variety of rites and festivals are envisaged: daily bread, monthly festival, festivals of the l[ots³], of the grain pile, and of timeliness (all known from the Boğazköy texts as well), as well as a hitherto unattested festival named *ešūwaš*; at least three more festivals were treated, the names of which are not preserved.

The listing of cult supplies is particularly detailed in this text; moreover, it is coupled with careful information on the various officials and groups of people responsible for their delivery. The provided “totals” can be checked against the corresponding analytical sections (as, e.g., in KUB 42.100+, text no. 12). A systematic analysis of this information provides interesting observations on the production and redistribution of goods in the system of administration of a Hittite regional capital, as well as on the internal logic of such counts (see for some discussion §6.2.1).

The edition presented here closely follows the German edition provided in Rieken forthcoming b. The edition benefited greatly from discussions with a group of colleagues, first and foremost with E. Rieken and D. Schwemer. For a more detailed commentary the reader is referred to the German edition in Rieken forthcoming b.

Transliteration

Obv. i

- §1 1 A-NA ^d10 *pí-ḫa-aš-š[a-aš-ši ^dUTU ^{URU}]^r a-ri-in¹-n[a]*
 2 NINDA.GUR₄.RA UD^{KAM}-MI [I ...]
 3 ^rkiš¹-an kat-ta [*ḫa-ma-an-kán* ...]
 4 ^rNINDA.GUR₄.^rRA UD^{KA}[^M-MI ... ZÌ.D]A DUR₅
 5 2 ^{DUG}wa-l[*u-ta-aš-ši-uš* (?) ...]x
 6 2 ŠU.G[ÁN^{SAR} ...]
 7 1 ^D[^{UG}K]A.G[AG ...]
 8 [ŠA] MU 1^{KAM}-[*ma-aš-ši* ...]
 9 1 PA GA K[U₇ ...]
 10 ŠÀ É DINGIR-LIM [...]
 11 nu NINDA.GUR₄.RA UD^{KAM}-MI ...]
 12 na-an kiš-[*an* ...] §
- §2 13 *ki-nu-na ku-[it ^{GIS}GUL-za-tar ^{LÚ}UGULA.10]*
 14 ^{URU}KÛ.BABBAR-za ^rú¹-[*da-aš nu NINDA.GUR₄.RA UD^{KAM}-MI* (?)]
 15 *kiš-an kat-ta [*ḫa-ma-ak-ta* (vacat?)]*
 16 ŠA UD 1^{KAM} 1 x[(ca. 3 signs)]x x x[...]
 17 1 *tar-na-aš GÛ.G[A]L 1 tar-na-aš AR-SÁ-AN-NU* [(vacat?)]
 18 2 ^{DUG}*ḫa-né-eš-ša KAŠ ŠA ITU* *1^{KAM}-*ma-aš-ši*
 19 1 PA 1 BÁN {1} ½ BÁN BA.BA.ZA 5 BÁN ^rZÌ.DA DUR₅
 20 3 ^{DUG}KA.GAG ŠA MU 1^{KAM}-*ma-aš-ši* [(vacat)]
 21 15 PA BA.BA.^rZA^r 10 PA ZÌ.DA ^rDUR₅ 1 PA 1 BÁN ½ BÁN GÛ.GAL
 22 1 PA 1 BÁN ½ BÁN [A]R-SÁ¹(ḫa)-AN-NU 36 ^{DUG}KA.GAG
 23 *na-at ^muk-ku-r[a-aš] ^{LÚ}UGULA.10 ^mmí-iz-ra-A.A-aš-ša¹*
 24 *kiš-an GAM ḫa-ma-an-[ke-er] pé-eš-kán-zi-ma-at na-a-wi₅ §*

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph.

Format and Layout: Large two-columned tablet (width ca. 18 cm, height ca. 24 cm).

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: EN with inscribed vertical; late DA, LI, AG, URU; KI with one vertical; HA with two *Winkelhaken*. The sign DÛ appears always in a simplified variant within the spelling DÛ-*an-zi*, otherwise is normally written in the usual variant (exceptions are found in obv. i 20, 28). For more details on palaeography and handwriting see the German edition in Rieken forthcoming b.

Orthography: Note the rare spelling *kat-an* in obv. i 41 and ii 8 (Rieken 2014a, 51 with n. 4).

Translation

§1 (i 1–12)	The dai[ly] (offering of) loaves of bread for the Storm God of Ligh[tning (and) the Sun Goddess of] Arinna [... has] been fi[xed] as follows: [...] The dai[ly] (offering of) loaves of bread [...] moist [flou]r, 2 <i>wal[utaššiya(nt)]</i> -vessels [...] 2 ŠU.G[ÁN-plants ...] 1 [K]A.G[AG-vessel (of beer) ...] (Offering) of 1 ye[ar] for them: [...] 1 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measure of sweet [?] milk [...] in the shrine [...] and the dai[ly] (offering of) loaves of bread [...] and [they [?] ...]him as follo[ws].	Daily bread offering for the Storm God of Lightning and the Sun Goddess of Arinna
§2 (i 13–24)	Now, as to [the <i>kwanzattar</i> (writing board) that the Commander of Ten] bro[ught] from Ḫattuša: [he] fi[xed the daily (offering of) loaves of bread (?)] as follows. (Offering) of 1 day: 1 [...] 1 <i>tarna</i> -measure of peas, 1 <i>tarna</i> -measure of groats, 2 jugs of beer. (Offering) of 1 month for them: 1 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measure (and) 1 ½ BÂN-measures of porridge, 5 BÂN-measures of moist flour, 3 KA.GAG-vessels (of beer). (Offering) of 1 year for them: 15 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures of porridge, 10 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures of moist flour, 1 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measure (and) 1 ½ BÂN-measures of peas, 1 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measure (and) 1 ½ BÂN-measures of groats, 36 KA.GAG-vessels	Ditto, after a wooden board from Ḫattuša

- §3 25 EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM}-*ma-aš-š[i]* ŠA É DINGIR-LIM ^{GIŠ}GUL-*za-at-na-za*
 26 *kiš-an* GAM *ḥa-ma-an-kán* 2 UDU 3 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}*ḥu-up-pár* KAŠ
 27 ŠA MU 1^{KAM}-*ma-aš-ši* [Š]A ITU 12^{KAM} 24 UDU^{HIA} 6 'PA' ZÌ.DA
 28 3 ^{DUG}KA.GAG ½ ^{DUG}KA.GAG-*ia* 3 BÁN GA
 29 'na-at' *ki-nu-un kiš-an pé-eš-kán-zi*
 30 'UDU'^{HIL}[^A E]N 'MAD-GAL₉'-TI ^{URU}*ša-mu-ḥa pé-eš-ke-ez-zi*
 31 'tar'-*ša-a[n-ma ma-a]l-'la-an* 'ARAD'^{MEŠ}
 32 'd'10 *pí-ḥ[a-aš-ša-aš-š]i* [^U]^{RUR} *tal-wa'-[nu]-'wa-za'* SUM-z[i] §
- §4 33 *ki-nu-un-ma ku-i*[^t]^{GIŠ}GUL-*za-tar* ^{LÚ}UGULA.10 ^{URU}GIDRU-z[*a ú-da-aš*]
 34 *nu* 'EZEN₄' ITU^{KAM} *k[i]š-an kat-ta ḥa-ma-ak'(zi)-ta*
 35 1 GU₄ 2 UDU^{HIA} 1 *ḥa-[z]i-la-aš* 1 UP-NU BA.BA.ZA
 36 1 PA 1 BÁN 2 UP-NU ZÌ.DA 3 ^{DUG}KA.GAG
 37 ŠA MU 1^{KAM}-*ma-aš-ši* ŠA ITU 12^{KAM} 12 GU₄^{HIA}
 38 72 UDU^{HIA} 4 BÁN BA.BA.ZA 13 PA ZÌ.DA
 39 *nu* GU₄^{HIA} KUR *a-am-pa-ra-aš kat-an ti-ia-an-za*
 40 A-NA UDU^{HIA}-*ma* ^{URU}*ku-um-mar-na-aš la-pa-na-aš*
 41 KUR ^{URU}*ša-mu-ḥa-aš-ša kat-an ti-ia-an-za*
 42 ŠÀ.BA 24 UDU^{HIA} EN MAD-GAL₉-TI ^{URU}*ša-mu-ḥa*
 43 *pé-eš-ke-ez-zi* 24 UDU^{HIA}-*ma* ŠA É.GAL É ^dUTU-ŠI
 44 24 UDU^{HIA} ŠA É.GAL ^{URU}*ka-ra-aḥ-na*
 45 ^{URU}*ku-um-mar-na-aš la-pa-na-aš pé-eš-k[e-e]z-zi*
 46 *tar-ša-an-ma ma-al-la-an* ^{URU}*tal-wa-n[u]-wa-aš*
 47 ARAD^{MEŠ} ^d10 *pí-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši pé-eš-kán-zi*
 48 ^mNIR.GÁL-*at* GAM *ḥa-ma-ak-ta p[é]-eš-kán-zi-ma-at*
 49 *na-a-wi₅ I-NA* É.GAL-LIM-*at-ká[n]*
 50 EGIR-*pa pu-nu-uš-šu-u-an-zi* EGI[R-*pa* GAR-ri (?)] §§

(of beer). Ukkura, Commander of Ten, and Mizramuwa fix[ed] that in this way; however, they (i.e., the responsible persons) have not yet regularly supplied it.

§3
(i 25–32)

On a *kwanzattar* (writing board) of the temple, the monthly festival for them is fixed as follows: 2 sheep, 3 BÂN-measures of flour, 1 bowl of beer. (Offering) of 1 year for them, (offering) of 12 months: 24 sheep, 6 PARĪSU-measures of flour, 3 ½ KA.GAG-vessels (of beer), 3 BÂN-measures of milk. And now they regularly supply it as follows: the frontier post governor regularly supplies the sheep, [whereas] the servants of the Storm God of Lig[htning] regularly supply from Talwa[nu]wa the dried [mil]led (grain).

Monthly festival, after a wooden board of the temple

§4
(i 33–50)

Now, as to the *kwanzattar* (writing board) that the Commander of Ten [brought] from Ḫattuša: he fixed the monthly festival as follows: 1 ox, 2 (read: 6?) sheep, 1 *ḫazila*-measure (and) 1 handful of porridge, 1 PARĪSU-measure, 1 BÂN-measure (and) 2 handfuls of flour, 3 KA.GAG-vessels (of beer). (Offering) of 1 year for them, (offering) of 12 months: 12 oxen, 72 sheep, 4 BÂN-measures of porridge, 13 PARĪSU of flour. And for the oxen the land of Ampara is appointed, whereas for the sheep the saltlick of Kummarna and the land of Šamuḫa are appointed. Of these, the frontier post governor of Šamuḫa regularly supplies 24 sheep, whereas the saltlick of Kummarna regularly supplies the 24 sheep of the Palace of the House of His Majesty (and) the 24 sheep of the Palace of Karaḫna. The servants of the Storm God of Lightning (who are) in Talwanuwa regularly supply the dried milled (grain). This was fixed by Muwattalli, but they have not yet regularly supplied it. [It is up to (?)] the Palace to investigate the (preceding) matter.

Ditto, after a wooden board from Ḫattuša

§5 51 *ma-a-an A-NA* ^d10 *pí-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši* ^dUTU ^{UR}[*a-ri-in-na*]
(Randleiste)

Obv. ii

1 [(ca. 5 signs)]x x EZEN₄ MU^{KAM}-ti DÛ-an-^rzi^r
2 [(ca. 7 signs)]1 BÁN {2}^r 2 UP-NU ZÌ.DA
3 ^r1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG GU₄ UDU EN^r MAD-GAL₉-TI ^{URU}ša-mu-ḥa pé-eš-ke-et
4 NINDA-ma KAŠ ARAD^{MES} ^d10 *pí-ḥa-ša-aš-ši*
5 ^{URU}tal-wa-nu-wa-za pé-eš-kán-z[i]
6 *ki-nu-na* ^{LÚ}UGULA.10 A-NA GU₄ KUR am-pa-ra-an <kat-an> da-a-iš
7 A-NA UDU-ma ^{URU}ku-um-mar-na-an <la-pa-na-an
8 kat-an da-a-iš pí-ia-an-zi-ma na-a-wi₅ ku-it-ki §§

§6 9 *ma-a-an <A>-NA* ^d10 *pí-ḥa^r-ša-aš-ši* EZEN₄^r SUM it-kam-na-an DÛ-an-zi
10 2 GU₄^{HIA} 12 UDU^{HIA} 2 PA 2 BÁN ½ BÁN ḥa-zi-^rla^r-aš 2 UP-NU ½ U[P-NI-ia] 'ZÌ.DA'
11 3 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}ḥu-up-pár GEŠTIN 1 GA.^rKIN.AG^r (erasure)
12 nu 2 GU₄^{HIA} 4 UDU^{HIA}-ia EN MAD-GAL₉-TI ^{URU}ša-mu-ḥ[a pé-eš-ke-et]
13 ^r2^r UDU-ma-kán ^{LÚ}UGULA.10 EGIR-an-da da-a-iš [(vacat)]
14 [n]a-aš-kán A-NA LÚ^{MES} ^{URU}ku-um-mar-na <la-pa-n[i]
15 ŠA É.GAL É ^dUTU-ŠI ša-ra-a IŠ-BAT
16 [n]a-aš na-a-wi₅ pé-eš-kán-zi
17 NINDA-ma KAŠ ^{URU}tal-wa-nu-wa-aš ARAD^{MES} DINGIR-LIM 'pé-eš'-[kán-zi] §§

§7 18 *ma-a-an A-NA* ^d10 ḤI.ḤI-ši EZE[N₄ ...]
19 ^r2^r GU₄^{HIA} 12 UDU^{HIA} 1 ḥa-zi-la-[aš ...]
20 2 PA 3 BÁN ZÌ.DA 3 ^{DUG}KA.GAG ½ U[P-NU ...]
21 nu 2 GU₄^{HIA} 8 UDU^{HIA}-ia EN MAD-[GAL₉-TI ^{URU}ša-mu-ḥa pé-eš-ke-et]
22 ^r4^r UDU^{HIA}-ma-kán ^{LÚ}UGULA.10 EGIR-an-[da da-a-iš]
23 [n]a-aš-kán A-NA LÚ^{MES} ^{URU}ku-[um-mar-na <la-pa-ni]
24 [Š]A É.GAL É ^dUTU-ŠI [ša-ra-a IŠ-BAT]
25 ^rna^r-[aš] ^rna-a-wi₅ pé^r-[eš-kán-zi]
(gap of unknown length)
26' [... -z]i
(breaks off)

- §5
(i 51–ii 8) When they celebrate yearly [...] the festival for the Storm God of Lightning and the Sun Goddess of [Arinna]: the frontier post governor of Šamuḫa used to supply [...] 1 BÁN-measure (and) 2 handfuls of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), cattle and sheep, whereas the servants of the Storm God of Lightning regularly supply bread (and) beer from Talwanuwa. But now the Commander of Ten <ap>pointed the land of Ampara (as responsible) for the (supply of) cattle, whereas for the (supply of) sheep he appointed the saltlick of Kummarna. They have not supplied anything yet. Yearly festival ... for the Storm God of Lightning and the Sun Goddess of Arinna
- §6
(ii 9–17) When they celebrate the “SUM *itkamna*”–festival for the Storm God of Lightning (the following is envisaged): 2 oxen, 12 sheep, 2 *PARĪSU*-measures, 2 ½ BÁN-measures, (one) *ḫazila*-measure and 2 ½ handfuls of flour, 3 vessels of beer, 1 bowl of wine, 1 cheese (as offerings). And the frontier post governor of Šamuḫa [used to supply] 2 oxen and 4 sheep. As for the Commander of Ten, he fixed (as offering) 2⁷ additional sheep, and took them up from the people of Kummarna (and?) the saltlick of the Palace of the House of His Majesty. They have not yet regularly supplied them. The servants of the Storm God of Lightning (who are) in Talwanuwa [regularly] supply bread (and) beer. “SUM *itkamna*”–festival for the Storm God of Lightning
- §7
(ii 18–25) When [they celebrate] the fest[ival ...] for the Storm God of Lightning: 2 oxen, 12 sheep, 1 *ḫazila*-measure [of ...], 2 *PARĪSU*-measures (and) 3 BÁN-measures of flour, 3 KA.GAG-vessels of beer, ½ hand[ful of ...] And the frontier [post] governor [of Šamuḫa used to supply] 2 oxen and 8 sheep. As for the Commander of Ten, he [fixed (as offering)] 4 addition[al] sheep, and [took them] up from the people of Ku[mmarna (and?) the saltlick] of the Palace of the House of His Majesty. [They do] not yet regularly sup[ply them]. (*breaks off*) Festival ... for the Storm God of Lightning

Rev. iii

(upper portion of the column missing)

- §8' 1' [...] (blank space)
 2' [... ^{URU}ša-m]u-ha SUM-zi
 3' [... pé-eš-k]e-ez-zi
 4' [... ⁴l]a-pa-na-aš
 5' [...] (blank space)
 6' [... p]é-eš-kán-zi
 7' [... pé-eš-k]e-ez-zi-pát
 8' (sign traces)
 (gap of unknown length)
- §9'' 9'' [...]x-^rna-aš^r [(ca. 2 signs)]
 10'' [...]x x[n+]1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG
 11'' [...]x-aš 1 UP-NU ZÍZ 1 UP-NU GÚ.TUR
 12'' [... ^{DUG}wa-lu-ta-a]š-ši-uš (?) LÁL
 13'' [...]x-ia-aš 1 ^{DUG}NAM-MA-AN-DUM Ì.NUN
 14'' [... ARAD^{MES} DINGI]R-LIM pé-eš-kán-zi §§
- §10'' 15'' [... mu-l]i-li-ia-aš (?) DÛ-an-z[i]
 16'' [...]x 1 PA 3 BÁN 1 ^rUP-NU' Z[Ì?]
 17'' [...] (blank space)
 18'' ^rku-it-ta^r wa-ar-na-aš ARAD^{MES} ^rDINGIR-LIM^r pé-eš-^rkán^r-zi §§
- §11'' 19'' ma-a-an A-NA ^dUTU LÍL EZEN₄ e-šu-u-wa-aš DÛ-an-zi
 20'' 1 ^rGA.KIN.AG^r 1 NINDA ŠA 1 PA 1 ^rDUG^r hu-up-pár KAŠ
 21'' ARAD^{MES} ^dUTU pé-eš-kán-zi §§
- §12'' 22'' ŠU.NÍGIN.GAL 1 GU₄ 18 UDU^{HIA} 24 MUŠEN^{HIA}
 23'' ^r1[?] PA ½^r BÁN 2 UP-NU ½ UP-NI-ia BA.BA.ZA 31 PA 1 BÁN ZÌ.DA
 24'' [n ^D]UG^rKA.GAG 1 DUG KAŠ-ia na-at 78 PA 1 UP-NU ½ UP-^rNU-ia^r
 25'' [tar-ša-a]n ma-al-la-an GÚ.GAL-kán GÚ.TUR GÚ.GAL.GAL^r(ma)
 an-da
 26'' [n BÁN IN]-^rBU^r 1 BÁN Ì.GIŠ 1 BÁN LÁL 4 PA 2 ^rwa-ak-šur Ì.NUN^r
 27'' ^r3 PA 3 BÁN 3^r wa-^rak^r-šur A-NA EZEN₄^{MES4} da-p[í-aš]
 28'' NINDA.GUR₄.RA UD^{KAM}-kán EZEN₄ITU^{KAM} ^ran-da DAB^r-an §
 (Randleiste)

- §8' (after a large gap) [... (of?) Šam]uha supplies (fragmentary)
 (iii 1'–8') (or: supply) [... regularly sup]plies [... (of?)
 the salt]lick [... regu]larly supply [... regu]-
 larly supplies. (*Gap of unknown length*)
- §9'' (fragmentary) 1[?] KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), (fragmentary)
 (iii 9''–14'') [...] 1 handful of wheat, 1 handful of lentils,
 [... *waluta*]šši^{ya}²-[vessels] of honey, [...] 1
nammandu-vessel of ghee, [... the servants of
 the g]od regularly supply.
- §10'' [When they ... *mul*]ili^{ya}š² (festival?) celebra[te: (fragmentary)
 (iii 15''–18'') ...] 1 *PARĪSU*-measure, 3 BĀN-measures, 1
 handful of f[lour? ...] The servants of the god
 regularly supply a *warna*-measure of each one
 (of the listed offerings).
- §11'' When they celebrate the *ešūwaš* festival for *ešūwaš* festival
 (iii 19''–21'') the Sun Deity of the Field, the servants of the for the Sun
 Sun Deity regularly supply 1 cheese, 1 loaf of Deity of the
 1 *PARĪSU*-measure (of wheat; read: of 1 BĀN- Field
 measure?), 1 bowl of beer.
- §12'' Grand total: 1 ox, 18 sheep, 24 birds, 1[?] Grand total
 (iii 22''–28'') *PARĪSU*-measure, ½ BĀN-measure, (and) 2
 ½ handfuls of porridge, 31 *PARĪSU*-measures
 (and) 1 BĀN-measure of flour, [*n*] KA.GAG-
 vessels (of beer), 1 vessel of beer—it is 78
PARĪSU-measures (and) 1½ handful [of dri]ed
 milled (grain). In (the count of) the peas (both)
 lentils (and) broad beans[?] are included. [*n*
 BĀN-measure(s) of fr]uit, 1 BĀN-measure
 of oil, 1 BĀN-measure of honey, 4 *PARĪSU*-
 measures (and) 2 *wakšur*-measures of ghee,
 3 *PARĪSU*-measures, 3 BĀN-measures (and) 3
wakšur-measures—for al[l] festivals. The daily
 (offering of) loaves of bread (and) the monthly
 festival are included.

Rev. iv

- §13'' 1 [A-NA ^dUTU LÍL *wa-al-l*] *i-wa-l*[*i*]-*ia* NIN[DA.GUR₄.RA UD^{KAM}-*MI*]
 2 [EZ]EN₄ IT[U E]ZEN₄^{MES4}-*ia kiš-an k[at-ta ha-ma-an-kán]*
 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA UD[^K]^{AM}-*ši ŠA UD 1^{KAM} 1 UP-NU Z[Í.DA ...]*
 4 ŠA ITU 1^K[^{AM}]-^r*ma¹-aš-ši 2 BÁN ½ BÁN ZÍ.D[A]*
 5 3 ^{DUG}(^{ta})*hu-up-pár 1 ha-né-eš-ša-aš KAŠ Š[A MU 1^{KAM}-ma-aš-ši]*
 6 5 PA ZÍ.DA DUR₅ 9 ^{DUG}KA.GAG É.GAL[^{HLA} (?)]
 7 ^{URU}*ša-mu-ḥa pé-eš-kán-zi* [(*vacat*)] §§
- §14'' 8 EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM}-*ma-aš-ši ŠA ITU 1^{KAM} 1 [UDU 2 MUŠEN^{HLA}]*
 9 ½ BÁN *ḥa-zi-la-aš 2 UP-NU 1 tar-na-aš ZÍ.[DA (*vacat*?)]*
 10 1 ^{DUG}*hu-up-pár KAŠ ŠA MU 1^{KAM}-ma-aš-ši ŠA I[TU 12^{KAM}]*
 11 12 UDU^{HLA} 24 MUŠEN^{HLA} 1 PA 5 BÁN ½ BÁN 1 *ḥa-z[i-la-aš n UP-NU(?)]*
 12 ½ *UP-NI-ia ZÍ.DA 4 'DUG KAŠ' NINDA KAŠ É.GA[L^{HLA} (?)]*
 13 ^{URU}*ša-mu-ḥa p[é-eš-kán-z]i UDU^{HLA}-[...]*
 14 ^{LÚ}MES^SŠÌR x[...]
 15 MUŠEN^{HLA}-*ma-aš-[ši ...] §§*
- §15'' 16 *ma-a-an A-[NA ^dUTU LÍL EZEN₄ ...]*
 17 1 GU₄ 3 UDU^{HL}^{rA¹} [...]
 18 UDU^{HLA} ITU^K[^{AM} ...]
 19 *tar-ša-an-ma [ma-al-la-an ...]*
 20 ^{URU}*ša-mu-[ḥa ...]*
 21 ^{LÚ}MES É.G[AL ...] §§
- §16'' 22 *ma-a-an A-NA ^d[UT]U [LÍL ...]*
 23 1 MUŠEN 1 *UP-NU BA.BA.Z[A ...]*
 24 1 DUG KAŠ NINDA^{HLA} KAŠ É.[GAL^{HLA} ^{URU}*ša-mu-ḥa* (?)]
 25 *pé-eš-kán-zi UDU^{HLA}-ma[...] §§*
- §17'' 26 [*ma-a-an*] ^r*A-NA¹ ^dUTU L[ÍL ...]*
 27 1 'UDU' 1 BÁN ½ BÁN BA.BA.ZA 1 BÁN ^r½ BÁN' x[(2–3 signs)]
 x[...] §§

§13'' (iv 1–7)	[The daily (offering of) loaves of] bre[ad], the month[ly fest]ival and [the (other) fe]stivals [for the glo]rious [Sun Deity of the Field are] f[ixed] as follows. The daily (offering of) loaves of bread, (offering) of 1 day for her: 1 handful of fl[our, ...] (Offering) of 1 month for her: 2 ½ BÂN-measures of flour, 3 bowls (and) 1 jug of beer. [(Offering) of 1 ye]ar [for her]: 5 PARĪSU-measures of moist flour, 9 KA.GAG-vessels (of beer). The palace[s] ⁷ of Šamuḥa regularly supply (it).	Daily bread offering for the Sun Deity of the Field
§14'' (iv 8–15)	Further, the monthly festival for her, (offering) of 1 month: 1 [sheep, 2 birds], ½ BÂN-measure, a <i>hazila</i> -measure, 2 handfuls (and) 1 <i>tarna</i> -measure of flo[ur], 1 bowl of beer. (Offering) of 1 year for her, (offering) of [12] mo[nths]: 12 sheep, 24 birds, 1 PARĪSU-measure, 5 ½ BÂN-measures, 1 <i>haz[ila]</i> -measure, n^{+7} ½ handfuls of flour, 4 vessels of beer. The palace[s] ⁷ of Šamuḥa [regularly supply] bread (and) beer. The singers [... regularly supply] the sheep, whereas [... regularly supply (or: supplies)] the birds for h[im/her].	Monthly festival for the Sun Deity of the Field
§15'' (iv 16–21)	When [they celebrate the festival ...] f[or the Sun Deity of the Field]: 1 ox, 3 sheep, [...] the monthl[y] sheep [...] but dried [milled (grain) ...] Šamu[ḥa ...] the servants of the Pala[ce ...]	Festival ... for the Sun Deity of the Field
§16'' (iv 22–25)	When [they celebrate the festival ...] for the [Su]n deity [of the Field: ...] 1 bird, 1 handful of porrid[ge, ...] 1 vessel of beer, bread loaves (and) beer—the pala[ces of Šamuḥa (?)] regularly supply (it), whereas the sheep [...]	Festival ... for the Sun Deity of the Field
§17'' (iv 26–27)	[When they celebrate the festival ...] for the Sun Deity of the Fi[eld]: 1 sheep, 1½ BÂN-measures of porridge, 1½ BÂN-measures (<i>traces</i>)	Festival ... for the Sun Deity of the Field

- §18'' 28 *ma-a-an A-NA* ^dUTU LÍL *wa-al-li-^rwa-al^r-li-ia* EZEN₄ *pu-l[^aaš (?)*
DÛ-an-zi]
 29 1 UDU 1 MUŠEN 1 *UP-NU* BA.BA.ZA 1 BÁN $\frac{1}{2}$ *UP-NU* ZÌ.DA
 30 1 DUG 1 *hu-up-pár* KAŠ É.GAL^{HIA} *GUB-an-te-eš pé-eš-kán-zi* §§
- §19'' 31 *ma-a-an A-NA* ^dUTU *wa-al-li-wa-al-li-ia* EZEN₄ *še-e-li-aš* DÛ-*a[n-zi]*
 32 1 UDU 1 MUŠEN 1 *UP-NU* BA.BA.ZA $\frac{1}{2}$ BÁN 2 *UP-NU* $\frac{1}{2}$ ^rUP^r-NI
 ZÌ.^rDA^r
 33 1 DUG 1 *hu-up-pár* KAŠ *pé-eš-kán-zi* §§
- §20'' 34 *ma-a-an A-NA* ^dUTU *wa-al-li-wa-al-li-ia* EZEN₄ *nu-un-tar-ri-ia<-aš>-*
^r*ha^r-[aš]*
 35 DÛ-*an-zi* 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 DUG 1 *hu-up-pár* KAŠ
 36 É.GAL^{HIA} ^{URU}*ša^r-mu-ha pé-eš-^rkán^r-zi* §§
- §21'' 37 ŠU.NÍGIN.GAL 1 GU₄ 18 UDU^{HIA} ^r28^r MUŠEN^{HIA} 3 BÁN BA.BA.ZA 9
 PA 2 BÁN ZÌ.DA 1 ^{DUG}KA.GAG (the last five signs are written in the
intercolumnium)
 38 *na-at* 24 PA 4 BÁN^r *tar-ša-an ma-al-la-an*
 39 3 BÁN GA 3 PA^r MUN MU^{rKAM^r} *-ti me-ia-na-aš*
 40 *nu* 1 GU₄ EN MAD-GAL₉-*TI* ^{URU}*ša-mu-ha pé-eš-kán-zi*
 41 18 UDU^{HIA} *ma^r3^r PA^r MUN-ia^r*
 42 [L]^{ÚMES} *la-^rpa^r-[na]-^rli-uš^r* ^{URU}*har-ia-ša pé-eš-kán-zi*
 43 28 MUŠEN^{HIA} *ma* LÚ^{MES} É.GAL ^dUTU LÍL *pé-eš-kán-z[i]*
 44 *tar-ša-an-ma ma-al-la-an* 6^r É.GAL^{HIA}
 45 É.GAL *hu-uh-ha-aš* É.GAL É ^dUTU-ŠI
 46 É.GAL ^{URU}*ka-ra-aḥ^r-na-^{*}{aš}^{*}* É.GAL ^{URU}*har-ia-ša*
 47 É.GAL ^{URU}*ka-a-ša-ia* Û É.GAL ^{URU}*šaḥ-pí-^rna^r*
 48 ^rMU^{rKAM^r} *-ti^r-li pé-eš-kán-zi* §§

(uninscribed space of ca. 5 lines, then *Randleiste*)

§18'' (iv 28–30)	When [they celebrate] the festival of the l[ots?] for the glorious Sun Deity of the Field, the <i>active</i> (lit. “standing”) Palaces regularly supply 1 sheep, 1 bird, 1 handful of porridge, 1 BĀN-measure (and) ½ handful of flour, 1 vessel (and) 1 bowl of beer.	Festival of the l[ots?] for the Sun Deity of the Field
§19'' (iv 31–33)	When they cele[brate] the festival of the grain pile for the glorious Sun Deity, they regularly supply 1 sheep, 1 bird, 1 handful of porridge, ½ BĀN-measure (and) 2 ½ handfuls of flour, 1 vessel (and) 1 bowl of beer.	Festival of the grain pile for the Sun Deity of the Field
§20'' (iv 34–36)	When they celebrate the festival of timeliness for the glorious Sun Deity, the Palaces of Šamuḥa regularly supply 2 BĀN-measures of flour, 1 vessel (and) 1 bowl of beer.	Festival of timeliness for the Sun Deity of the Field
§21'' (iv 37–48)	Grand total: 1 ox, 18 sheep, 28 birds, 3 BĀN-measures of porridge, 9 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures (and) 2 BĀN-measures of flour, 1 KA.GAG-vessel of beer—it is 24 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures (and) 4 BĀN-measures of dried milled (grain); 3 BĀN-measures of milk, 3 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures of salt—in the course of the year. And the frontier post governor of Šamuḥa regularly supplies ¹ 1 ox, whereas the saltlick wardens of Ḥaryaša regularly supply 18 sheep (and) 3 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures of salt. Further, the servants of the Palace of the Sun Deity of the Field regularly supply 28 birds, whereas 6 Palaces supply yearly the dried milled (grain): the Ancestors' Palace, the Palace of the House of His Majesty, the Palace of Karaḥṇa, the Palace of Ḥaryaša, the Palace of Kašaya, and the Palace of Šaḥpina.	Grand total

Commentary

i 13–14, 25–26, 33: These passages provide further evidence on the use of various kinds of wooden boards in the drafting of cult inventories; see on this topic the remarks in §§2.1, 2.2.1. Other references to the use of wooden boards in the cult inventories from Kayalıpınar are found in Kp 15/7+ obv. i 40–41 (text no. 15) and Kp 15/6+ obv. i 15. The logographic interpretation of the sign GUL in GUL-*zattar* (*kwanzattar*) follows Yakubovich 2014 (see also Melchert 2016).

i 23: The Commander of Ten Ukkura mentioned in this tablet can be confidently identified with the homonymous officer of the “depositions” *CTH* 293 and *CTH* 295. Both in the depositions and in the inventory, Ukkura’s main responsibilities appear to have been connected to the management of archival records: he has access to collections of written documentation in Ḫattuša, cares for the transport of documents between the capital and Šamuha, and is involved in record keeping and determination of cult offerings. Ukkura is mentioned also in another cult inventory from Kayalıpınar, Kp 15/57+ obv. i 15, 24. As for Mizramuwa, he might be identical with the homonymous “Chief of the Shepherds of the Left” of the Šaḫurunuwa land donation, (*CTH* 225), but this is uncertain. The mention of Ukkura and Mizramuwa allows us to date Kp 14/95+ and Kp 15/57+ to the reign of Ḫattušili III or of Tudḫaliya IV at the latest, whereby the former option seems to be the most likely. For a detailed discussion see the German edition.

i 25 and passim: On the monthly festival see §5.4.

i 40, 45; ii 7, 14, 23; iii 4’, iv 42: On Hittite *lapana* “saltlick” see Watkins 1997; cf. the saltlick wardens (^{LÜ.MES}*lapanallius*) mentioned in IBoT 2.131 (text no. 6).

i 43; ii 15, 24; iv 45: To my knowledge, the “Palace of the House of His Majesty” is mentioned only here and in KUB 5.9+ obv. 9 (kindly pointed out by C. Cignetti).

i 50: Cf. KUB 57.108+² KUB 51.23 ii 10’ (Hazenbos 2003, 103).

i 51: Cf. obv. i 1.

ii 6: Cf. obv. i 39.

ii 9: The interpretation of the festival’s name is unclear; for a possible analysis see the commentary in the German edition.

ii 13–15, 22–24: Here *šarā dā-* (written *šarā IŠBAT*) seems to function as a *terminus technicus*, denoting the collection of goods from specific groups of people. On *appanda dai-/te-/tiya-* see §3.3.3.1. The reading of the numeral at the beginning of line 13 is uncertain, but the pl. enclitic pronoun in the following line seems to require a pl. there, despite the absence of the pl. determinative.

iii 15'': Cf. Kp 15/7+ l. e., l. col. 4 (text no. 15).

iii 19'': The form *ešūwaš* might be interpreted as a variant of *ašannaš*, gen. of the verbal substantive of *eš*-, “to sit, to inhabit”; for details see the German edition. That *ešūwaš* might represent a variant of *hišuwa* seems unlikely, since the Sun Deity is almost absent from the rites of CTH 628 (kindly pointed out by D. Groddek).

iii 19'': iv 1, 22, 26, 28, 31, 34, 43: The attribute *walliwalli(ya)*- is, like Hieroglyphic Luwian and Hittite *walli(ya)*-, a derivative of Cuneiform Luwian *walli(ya)*-, “to raise” (kindly pointed out by D. Sasseville); as such, it is best interpreted as “glorious.” The attribute is best attested as epithet of a personal deity of Muršili II, the “Glorious Ištar of the Field of Muršili,” who represents a hypostase of Ištar/Šawuška of the Field of Šamuḫa. This circumstance raises the suspicion that the sign UD might actually convey the name of Ištar, which name can be written by means of the very similar sign LIŠ. However, there is no hint supporting this scenario. The attribute *walliwalli(ya)*- is not confined to Muršili’s tutelary deity. First, it characterizes the personification of the “winds” in the mythological text KUB 33.112+ rev. iii 14' (CTH 343.1). Secondly and most importantly, it is found precisely as an epithet of a solar deity in the oracle text KUB 5.1+ obv. ii 110: (‘‘UTU *wa-li-wa-li-aš mu-wa-tal-[la-aš(?) ...]*). Therefore, the interpretation as solar deity for the spelling ‘‘UTU throughout the cult inventory can be confidently maintained (see the commentary in the German edition for more discussion). The festivals and provisions to which Kp 14/95+ bears witness show that the place of the otherwise unattested “Glorious Sun Deity of the Field” in the religious panorama of late empire Šamuḫa must have been remarkable; the profile of the deity and its relation to other gods remain unfortunately obscure.

iii 25'': The proposed interpretation of this difficult passage has been kindly suggested by J. Lorenz and E. Rieken. Alternatively, the text may be emended in GÜ.GAL-*kán* GÜ.TUR GÜ.GAL<.GAL>-*ma*, but the position of the enclitic =*ma* speaks against this option.

iv 30: The part. *arant*-, lit. “standing,” is perhaps used here in the meaning “active, functioning,” or perhaps “responsible (for the delivery of offerings)” (the latter kindly suggested by D. Groddek).

iv 34: Interestingly, the humble offerings envisaged for the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival make it clear that the magnitude of the ceremony referred to here differs considerably from the homonymous major festival known from the Boğazköy texts. Hittite *nuntarriyašḫa*- is translated here “timeliness,” which seems more accurate than the customary translation “haste”: the king is to perform the ritual as soon as is practicable upon his return from military campaigns (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert).

iv 34–48: For the local palaces referred to here see the remarks in the introduction and the commentary in the German edition. For the town Țharyaša (rev. iv 42, 46) see the remarks of E. Rieken *apud* Müller-Karpe and Müller-Karpe 2009, 211–14. On the Ancestors' Palace of Šamuḥa see the introductory remarks to Kp 15/7+ (text no. 15).

TEXT NO. 15. Kp 15/7+: THE ANCESTORS' PALACE OF ŠAMUḪA

Manuscripts: Kp 15/7 + Kp 15/27 + Kp 15/46 + Kp 15/51a + Kp 15/67 + Kp 15/68b + Kp 15/70 + Kp 15/75 (copy see Rieken forthcoming b). **Findspot:** Kayalıpınar, *Archiv-Grabung* 2015 (ca. 160 m northeast of Building D, see Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe, and Rieken 2017). **Edition:** Cammarosano *apud* Rieken forthcoming b.

This large tablet represents an inventory of several shrines, mostly located in a complex that can be identified with the “Ancestors’ Palace” of ŠamuḪa. Two sections of the text overtly pertain to shrines located in the *ḫalentuwa*-building of this complex (obv. ii 19–27, iii 13’–16’), and in line l. e., l. col. 6 a formula is found that marks the end of the treatment of the Ancestors’ Palace, thus suggesting that the entire tablet up to that line represents its inventory. If this is correct, the reference to an *arkiu*-building in line rev. iv 1’ possibly marks the beginning of the inventory of this specific part of the complex, which seems to have housed mostly cult stelae. This would fit the traditional interpretation of the *arkiu*-building as a structure located near the door of palaces and temples, perhaps a canopy (Alp 1983, 333–48; Güterbock and van den Hout 1991, 61–64). Following the end of the inventory of the Ancestors’ Palace, the last section (§26’’) treats ten spring goddesses of Zipi, a town or village in the vicinity of ŠamuḪa.

The Ancestors’ Palace (É.GAL *ḫuḫḫaš*) of ŠamuḪa, referred to in this and other late cult inventories from Kayalıpınar, can be identified with the “House of the Grandfather of His Majesty” (É *ABI ABI* ^dUTU-ŠI), which is known from some Boğazköy texts, first and foremost the ritual for Ištar of Tamingina in ŠamuḪa *CTH* 713, dated to the Early New Kingdom. The fact that the ritual *CTH* 713 refers to a “House,” while the Prayer of Muwattalli II to the Assembly of Gods *CTH* 381 (KUB 6.45+ obv. i 42–42) as well as the late cult inventories speak of a “Palace,” may hint at an enlargement of the complex in the course of time. Equating these two entities is possible because Akkadographic *ABI ABI* and Hittite *ḫuḫḫaš* can be used to convey both “grandfather” and “ancestor.” Possibly, an original reference to a specific founding father (perhaps Tudḫaliya I/II) subsequently came to encompass more “grandfathers,” becoming thus a reference to the “ancestors” of the Hittite king, and the fact that *ḫuḫḫaš* means both “grandfather” and “ancestor” facilitated this evolution (for details on this question see the German edition). Complexes named “Ancestors’ House” (or Palace) existed also in Ḫattuša, Katapa, and perhaps in Tapikka. The new finds from Kayalıpınar prove their cultic function. The tablet presented here shows that the An-

cestor's Palace of Šamuḫa housed several separate shrines for a number of deities, many of which are known from the Boğazköy texts to be especially connected with this town. Most interesting is the mention of stelae that seem to have represented deified dead kings (GIDIM, "spirit of the dead," l. e., l. col. 5). This interpretation, if correct, not only constitutes the only known attestation of stelae as cult images of dead kings, but lends some support to the otherwise very overrated assumption that the Ancestors' Palaces might have served as cult places for former Hittite rulers (*pace* Taracha 2000, 200–201; Kapelus 2007a, 2007b).

The first sections of the tablet are devoted to the shrines of Ištar/Šawuška of Šamuḫa (§1), of the Aleppine Storm God and Ḫebat (§§2–3), and of the Storm God of Zippalanda (§6'). The latter follows two paragraphs mentioning no fewer than three hypostases of Ištar/Šawuška (of Waršpa, of the Field, and the "glorious" one, §§4'–5'). After a gap, the inventory of the Ancestors' Palace goes on, as the reference to cult images housed in its *ḫalentuwa*-building on rev. iii 14'–15' shows. Section 10'' (obv. ii 17'–24') contains a list of shrines for various gods. As has been said, on rev. iv 1' the inventory of another part of the Palace seems to begin, namely, of the *arkiu*-building. The following paragraphs mostly list cult stelae and the corresponding rituals, also including two interesting sections on divine mountains (§§22'''–23'''). The last three paragraphs of the tablet contain references to a Kantuzili (l. col. 1, cf. Kp 14/95+), to cult stelae of "spirit(s) of the dead (kings)," and a list of the spring goddesses of Zipi.

The text insists on the bad condition of a number of cult images and on numerous faults and deficiencies, conveying a quite desolate picture of the condition of the Ancestors' Palace at the time the inventory was drafted. Especially cult statues seem to have suffered bitterly from the theft of precious stones and other valuable components, like the collar of an ivory bull referred to in obv. ii 8.

One of the most interesting elements of this inventory is the mention of a "festival of the vow of Kantuzili," of which the first part is said to be celebrated, whereas the second part was neglected (obv. i 24–25, section on the shrine of the Aleppine Storm God and Ḫebat). Who is Kantuzili and why was his "vow" so important that in the late empire a festival named after it was still celebrated? In view of the history of Šamuḫa, it is fascinating to associate the festival with the "priest Kantuzili," a royal prince who played a relevant role in a dramatic moment of the town's history during the reign of Tudḫaliya III (who was probably a brother of his). This Kantuzili is justly famous because of a fervent prayer, which shows significant Mesopotamian motifs and was transmitted down into the empire period in the archives of the capital (see most recently Schwemer 2015). It is conceivable, although

not provable, that Kantuzili's "vow" is related to his prayer. If this is correct, the survival of a festival devoted to it at the time of Ḫattušili III or Tudḫaliya IV constitutes a most remarkable example of the interweaving between political history and religious beliefs in the life of the town. Note, further, the mention of a "Palace of Kantuzili" in the cult inventory of Karaḫna KUB 38.12 (text no. 16, rev. iv 8').

The edition presented here closely follows the German edition provided in Rieken forthcoming b. This edition has benefited greatly from discussions with a group of colleagues, first and foremost with E. Rieken and D. Schwemer. For a more detailed commentary the reader is referred to the German edition in Rieken forthcoming b.

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph.

Format and Layout: Two-columned tablet (width ca. 19 cm, preserved height ca. 23 cm).

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: KI appears both with two and one vertical(s), see obv. i 28, ii 7 vs. rev. iv 1'; DI with two verticals (ii 17). On the tablet different variants of the following signs coexist: ḪA, LA, KÛ, NA, ŠAR. Cursive variants for AR, LA, TE, and URU are attested. Cursive script. For more details on palaeography and handwriting see the German edition in Rieken forthcoming b.

Orthography: Note the spelling ^{URU}*zi-ip-la-da* in rev. iii 23', the absence of the determinative for ^(GIŠ)PAN on rev. iii 24', and the abbreviation *pé.an* for *peran* in obv. i 12 and 46.

Transliteration

Obv. i

- §1 1 1 É DINGIR-LIM ŠA ^dGAŠAN ^{URU}ša-[m]u-*ha*
 2 É DINGIR-LIM *tí-it-tí-ia-an*
 3 LÚ^{MES} É DINGIR-LIM *a-ša-an-zi*
 4 [A]LAM^{HLA}-*ši ku-e pé-ra-an nu* NA₄
 5 *ar-*ha* iš-*hu-u-wa-an* 'har'-kán-zi*
 6 *wa-aš-pa-aš ŠA 'E-PIŠ' [GADA] KÙ.SI₂₂ ar-*ha**
 7 *pí-ip-pa-an-za wa-aš-'ku-uš-ma' ku-i-e-eš*
 8 *na-at ha-an-ti-i TUP-PU §*
- §2 9 '1 É' DINGIR-LIM ŠA ^d10 ^{URU}HA-^rLA¹-AB ^rd^hé'-*pát* ^{URU}HA-^rLA¹-A[B]
 10 (erasure) [n]a-at
 11 UL SIG₅-*an-te-eš BI-IB-RÍ^{HLA}-ši* [NU.G]Á[L (?)]
 12 *ku-ut-ta-aš ú-nu-wa-aš-ha-aš pé.an* x-[x]-^rza¹
 13 *na-aš IŠ-^rTU' LÚKÙ.DÍM UL SIG₅-[an]-^rza*
 14 NA₄-*ia ar-*ha* iš-*hu-u-wa-an* h[ar]-^rkán-zi*
 15 ^{MUNUS}*ní-ir-ní-iš* NU.^rGÁL' DUMU.MUNUS É DINGIR-L[IM NU.GÁ]L
 16 ^{MUNUS}*ku-ma-ša-^ral'-liš* NU.GÁL ^{MUNUS}*ir-*hu*-[i-ta-la-aš]*
 17 NU.GÁL ^hé(i)-*gur* [(vacat)] ^d10 *ar-*ha* pí-i[p-pa-a]n*
 18 ^{GIŠ}KÁ.GAL *an-dur-ia-aš^h ar-ki-i-ú-i'*
 19 *ní-ní-en-kán A-NA É DINGIR-LIM ^d10* [(vacat?)]
 20 A-NA 'É' A-^rBU^r-^rSÍ GIŠ.ÛR^{HLA} *u-da-^ran-te'-eš*
 21 '^rA'-NA x x x '^rar'-*ha har-ra-an* [š]a-aš-^rta'<-aš> *aš-nu-an-za*
 22 Ì.GIŠ 'KAŠ'[(ca. 5–6 signs)]'Ì'.DÛG.GA [(space for max 4 signs)]x
 23 *pé-eš-kán-^rzi*' x x x 'KÁ' É[(space for 1–2 signs)]
 24 EZEN₄ *IK-RÍ-BI^mkán-^rtu-zi'-l[i 1-aš (?) ša]r-ra-aš*
 25 *i-ia-an-za '2'-an šar-ra-aš-ma 'kar'-ša-an-za*
 26 2 DUG GEŠTIN ^{URU}*zi-zi-ma-za IŠ-^rTU' UD A-BI^dUTU-ŠÍ*
 27 *kar-ša-an '2 DUG GEŠTIN' ku-it A-NA EZEN₄^{MES}*
 28 [x]x[(space for ca. 5 signs)]x '^rki'-*nu-un-ma 2-an*
 29 [...]x[...]
 30 *kar-[ša-an(-) ...]*
 (two uninscribed lines) §
- §3 31 3 'É' [DINGIR-LIM ...]
 32 Û[...]
 33 *UL*[...]
 34 (erased line)
 35 ^rLÚ^rNAR ^{URU}*ka-ni-i[š ...]*
 36 *nu '2?' GAL^{HLA} aš-nu-ma-an-[zi ...]*
 37 A-NA 'EZEN₄' *hi-ia-ra-aš-š[i' ...]*

Translation

- §1 (i 1–8) 1 shrine of the Lady of Šamuḫa (i.e., Šawuška). Shrine of Šawuška of Šamuḫa
The shrine (and) the temple personnel are present. They have stripped the (precious) stone(s) from the statues that stand in front (of the shrine?). The garment of the [cloth]-maker, of gold, is turned inside out. But the (other) faults are recorded on a separate tablet.
- §2 (i 9–29) 1 shrine of the Storm God of Aleppo (and) Ḫebat Shrine of the Storm God of Aleppo and Ḫebat of Aleppo
of Aleppo: they are not in a good state. Its *BIBRU*-vessels [are not th]er[e (?)]. The decoration of the wall to the front [...] and it has not been well made by the goldsmith. Moreover, they have removed the (precious) stone. There is no *nirmi*-woman. [There is n]o “daughter of the temple.” There is no *kumašalli*-woman. There is no *irḫu*[*itala*-woman]. The *ḫekur*²-building of the Storm God is kn[ock]ed down. The inner gate [in the] *arki*[*u*]-building is detached. For the shrine of the Storm God (and) for the storehouse, beams have been brought. For ... is (or: are) damaged. The bed is arranged. Oil, beer, [...] aromatic oil [...] they regularly supply. The door of the house (or: of the shr[ine] / of the Pal[ace]) [is ...] The festival of Kantuzili’s vow: the [first p]art has been celebrated, but the second part has been neglected. (The supply of) 2 vessels of wine from Zizimaza is being neglected since the days of the father of His Majesty. As for the fact that 2 vessels of wine for the festivals [...] but now the second one [...] negle[cted ...]
- §3 3 shr[in]es [...] and [...] not [...] The singer
(i 31–47) of Kane[š ...] 2² cups have to be arranged [...] for the *ḫiyara*-festival, for h[im² (or: he[r²)] ...] a fattened cow is made (or: is celebrated) [...] haggard^{pl}. [...] a *kwanzattar* (writing board) of[f² ...] brought from Ḫattuša [...] as the loaves of white bread [...] and very ha[r² ...] but now [...] they regularly offer [... they] se[al²] before [...] (*fragmentary, then broken off*)

38 ^{GU4}ĀB.NIGA *i-ia-an-za* [...]
 39 *ma-ak-la-an-te-eš* [...]
 40 ^{GIS}GUL-*za-at-tar* Š[A? ...]
 41 ^{URU}GIDRU-*za ú-da-aš* [...]
 42 NINDA.GUR₄.RA BABBAR GIM-*an*[...]
 43 *nu me-ek-ki na-[ak-ki (?) ...]*
 44 *'ki'-nu-un-ma ku-[...]*
 45 BAL-*kán-zi* [...]
 46 *pé.an ši-ia-[an-zi (?) ...]*
 47 *[a]r-ḥa x[...]*
 (breaks off)

Obv. ii

- §4' 1 ^{LÚ}NAR NU.GÁL ^{LÚ}É É 'DINGIR¹-LIM EN^{1MES} 'TU₇¹
 2 *UL UGU ti-ia-an-te-eš* ^{GIS}ŠIM^{HLA} *ša-m[e]-nu-ma-aš*
 3 Ì LÀL ^{GIS}IN-BU 'Ì.DÛG.GA¹ NU.GÁL
 4 ALAM LUGAL-*aš* 'ar-ḥa 2[?] *ku¹-ra-am-ma-an* [(vacat)]
 5 *na-at EGIR-pa GAR-^rri¹ ^{GIS}BANŠUR¹ ḥu-^rit¹-na-^ri¹-[i]a*
 6 *ar-ḥa pí-^rip-pa-an GUL[?]-an[?]-ma-at UL*
 7 ^ÉTAR-NU-ZA 'ar¹-ḥa *pí-ip-pa-an-za* ^d10 'KARAS¹
 8 *[n]a-a-wi₅ 'DÛ-an SI.GAR¹ ŠA GU₄ AM.SI NU.GÁL §*
- §5' 9 ^dLIŠ¹ *wa-a[l-li-wa-a]l-li-ia-aš* NA₄ IŠ-TUNÍ.¹TE¹
 10 *[d]a-pí-an-da-za 'ar-ḥa¹ iš-ḥu-u-wa-an 'ḥar¹<-kán[?]>-zi*
 11 *A-NA ^dLIŠ ^{URU}wa-^rar-aš¹-pa É DINGIR-LIM NU.GÁL*
 12 *na-aš-kán 'ŠA É DINGIR-LIM[?] ŠA ^dLIŠ LÍL*
 13 *an-na-al-^rla¹-za [DINGIR[?] URU[?]]-aš INA (erasure) ^{URU}wa-ar<-aš>-pa*
 14 *'e¹-eš-ta 'INA[?][(space for 2–3 signs)]-^rša¹-ma-kán ^{GIS}TIR*
 15 *[ar-ḥ]a <ḥa-aš-^rpa-an¹ ^{GIS}ZA.LAM.GAR^{HLA} ku-e-^rda¹-aš*
 16 ^{GIS}*ip-pí-ia-^raš¹ GAM-an e-eš-ta*
 17 *'A¹-NA DINGIR-LIM 'ku¹-[e-da-ni p]é-di SISKUR pé-eš-kán-zi*
 18 *na-at-kán 'GIBIL¹-[an (?)]*
 (two uninscribed lines) §
- §6' 19 1 'É¹ DINGIR-LIM ^d10 ^{URU}z[*i-ip-la*]-da Û^d10 KARAS¹
 20 *I-^rNA¹ ^Éḥa-le-en-^rtu¹-u-w[a-ša-at] ŠA É.GAL ḥu-uḥ-ḥa-aš*
 21 *EG[IR-a]n LÚ É DINGIR-LI[M NU.GÁ]L EN^{1MES} TU₇-ši UL*
 22 *a-^rša¹-an-zi LÚ^M[^{ES} É.*GA]L ku-i-e-eš**
 23 *'ke¹-[e-z]a GAL DUB.SAR [(ca. 3 signs)]-eš-ta¹*
 24 *n[a-at (?)]*ŠA x*[(space for 2–3 signs)]*MEŠ te-pu-uš[?]**
 25 *[...]*^rna¹-a-wi₅ {x} pa-ra-^ra¹ {x} *ap-pa-an-za*
 26 *[...]x 'KI¹ x [...]*
 27 *[...]x[...]*
 (breaks off)

- §4' (ii 1–8) There is no singer. The temple personnel (and the kitchen personnel are not complete. There are no aromatics for burning, (no) oil, (no) honey, (no) fruits, (and no) aromatic oil. There are 2 pieces cut off of the statue of the king. They are put back (on). The offering table *with decorations of wild animals* is knocked over, but is not smashed[?]. The model of the *tarnu*-building is knocked down. (The cult image of) the Storm God of the Army has not been made yet. The collar of the ivory bull (lit. ox) is absent.
- §5' (ii 9–18) They have (lit. “he has”) stripped the (precious) stone(s) from the entire statue (lit. “body”) of the gl[ori]ous Ištar/Šawuška. There is no shrine for Ištar/Šawuška of Waršpa, and she is (housed) in the shrine of Ištar/Šawuška of the Field. Formerly she was in War(š)pa, [as goddess] of [the town] (?). In[?] [...] (*fragmentary*) the woods have been cut [do]wn. The tent next to which the grapevine used to be, at the pl[ace whe]re they regularly perform the ritual, [has been] renew[ed (or: is new)].
- §6' (ii 19–27) 1 shrine of the Storm God of Z[ippalan]da and the Storm God of the Army. [They are] in the *ħalentuwa*-building of the Ancestors' Palace, at the back (of it). [There is n]o temple employee, its kitchen personnel are not present. The [palac]e employees who ... The chief of the scribes [...]-ed. And [they[?] ...] (*fragmentary*) [...] a few[?] [...] not singled out yet. (*fragmentary, then broken off*)
- Shrine of the Storm God of Zippalanda and the Storm God of the Army in the Ancestors' Palace

Rev. iii

- §7'' 1' [...]x AŠ?
 2' [...]x §
- §8'' 3' [... I]GI⁷-a[n-da (?)]
 4' [... A-N]A[?] d10 ŠA 'É¹ mla-ba-ar-na
 5' [d^ha-an-ti-t]a-aš-šu-uš dA[MAR].UTU
 6' [...]d¹AMA.GU₄ [d]mu-li<-li>-ia-aš
 7' [...]É^rMES¹ GAL [NU[?]].^rGÁL¹
 8' [... -š]i[?] NU.GÁL
 9' [...]x-ša-^rat-kán¹
 10' [...]x-x-[i]a-aš EGIR-^ran¹
 11' [x x]x-ma-aš[(ca. 6-7 signs)]x-an
 12' [...] (erasure) [...] §
- §9'' 13' ^rd[?]10[?] lu-la-hi-i[n (ca. 4 signs)]x
 14' [d]a[?]-an-te-eš I-NA ^Éha-le-^ren-tu¹-wa-ša-at-kán
 15' [Š]AÉ.GAL hu-u^h-ha-aš EGIR-an-ši
 16' 'É¹ DINGIR-LIM-ma-aš LÚ É DINGIR-LIM UL Ì.GÁL §
- §10'' 17' [... n]*É DINGIR-LIM* (erasure)
 18' [x x x dLI]Š[?] ^rURU¹ša-mu¹-ha 1 dLIŠ LÍL
 19' [1[?]]*^rÉ¹ DINGIR-LIM dLIŠ ^rURU¹[m]a-ra-ša-an-ti*-ia
 20' [1] ^rd10 ^{URU}¹HA-LA-AB ^rd¹[h]é-pát ^{URU}HA-LA-^rAB¹
 21' [1] ^rd¹10¹ pⁱ-ha-ša-aš-^rši¹ dUTU [^{UR}]U^PŪ-na dme-zu-^rla¹
 22' [1] d¹10 ^{URU}zi-pí 1 d¹a-ba-r[a]
 23' [1] ^rd¹10 ^rURU¹zi-^rip¹-la-[d]a 1 d10 [^{URU}wa-r]a-aš-pa
 24' [1] ^rdKAL¹ PAN 1 dAL-LA-TUM Ì.G[Á]L §
 (end of column)

Rev. iv

- §11''' 1' ^rÉ¹ar-ki-^rú-i[?][...] §
- §12''' 2' 2 NA₄ZI.KIN d^x[...]
 3' 'A-NA¹ ha-az-zi-^rwi₅¹[...]
 4' (erasure)
 5' 'DÙ¹-at G^{IS}TIR x[...] §
- §13''' 6' 1 NA₄ZI.KIN HUR.SA[G ...]
 7' 'ŠA¹ É.GAL ^{URU}ka-š[a-ia (?) ...]
 8' LÚ^{MES} É.GAL ^{URU}ka-r[a-a^h-na (?) ...] §
- §14''' 9' 1 NA₄ZI.KIN[...]
 10' ^{ÍD}ma-ra-a[š-ša-an-ta-aš ...]
 11' SISKUR-ši MU-[aš ...] §

§7'' (iii 1'–2')	(<i>fragmentary</i>)	
§8'' (iii 3'–12')	[... in fr]ont o[f? ... fo]r? the Storm God of the House of Labarna, [Ḫanti]taššu, [Ša]nta, [...] the “Mother-of-the-Ox,” Muliya, [...] (of?) the “big houses” are [not?] present [...] there is no [... for i]t (or: for him). (<i>fragmentary</i>)	
§9'' (iii 13'–16')	The Storm God (?) <i>lulaḫi</i> ^{acc.} [...] are taken?. They are in the <i>ḫalentuwa</i> -building of the Ancestors' Palace, at the back (of it). But there are no shrine (and no) temple employee for them.	Various gods, in the Ancestors' Palace
§10'' (iii 17'–24')	[... n] shrine(s) [... Išta]r?/[Šawušk]a? of Šamuḫa, 1 (shrine of) Ištār/Šawuška of the Field, [1] shrine (of) Ištār/Šawuška of the river Maraššantiya, [1 (shrine of)] the Storm God of Aleppo (and) Ḫēbat of Aleppo, [1 (shrine of)] the Storm God of Lightning, the Sun Goddess of Arinna (and) Mezzulla, [1 (shrine of)] the Storm God of Zipi, 1 (shrine of) Abar[a, 1 (shrine of)] the Storm God of Zippalanda, 1 (shrine of) the Storm God [of Wa]ršpa, [1 (shrine of)] the Stag God of the Bow, 1 (shrine of) Allatum (i.e., Lelwani)—they are present.	List of shrines of various gods
§11''' (iv 1')	In the <i>arkiu</i> -building [...]	Possible beginning of an inventory of the <i>arkiu</i> -building in the Ancestors' Palace
§12''' (iv 2'–5')	2 stelae: [...] for the rite [...] It has been celebrated. The wood [...]	
§13''' (iv 6'–8')	1 stela: Mount [...] of the Palace of Kaš[aya? ...] The personnel of the Palace of Kar[aḫna? ...]	
§14''' (iv 9'–11')	1 stela: [...] the river-deity Maraš[šanta ...] the ritual of the year for him [...]	

- §15''' 12' 1 ^{NA4}ZI. 'KIN' [...]
 13' GUB-ri SISKUR-ši x [...] §
- §16''' 14' 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN 'IM'.U₁₉'[?]. [LU (?) (ca. 3 signs)]IZ x [...]
 15' SISKUR- ši 'LÚ'^{MES} É.GAL ^{URU}ka-ra-aḥ-na [SUM-zi] §
- §17''' 16' 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN ^dA.A 'SISKUR'-ši ^ma-x- [... SUM-zi]
 17' 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN *ták-na-aš* ^dUTU-uš SISKU[R-ši ... SUM-zi]
 18' 1 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN ^dDAG- 'iš' SISKUR-ši L[Ú'^{MES} ... SUM-zi]
 19' 1 ^{NA4}ZI. 'KIN' ^dNIN.É.GAL [...]
 20' [L]Ú'^{MES} *ma-pa-li-ia-aš* SUM-[zi ...]x x [...]
 21' [AŠ']- 'RU' *ḥu-ut-na-li-ia-aš še-er* DÛ-ri UL [...] §
- §18''' 22' '2 NA₄' ^{ID}ma- 'ra'-aš-ša-an-ta ^{GIS}ar-me-ez-z[i- ...]
 23' SISKUR-ši LÚ'EN.NU'. [UN] x 'KI' UR' TI SUM-zi DÛ-a[t] §
- §19''' 24' '1 NA₄' [^dḥi²-i]š'-ḥu²-ra [˘]wi₅-la-ia-an-za [(vacat?)]
 25' 'DINGIR'-LUM *ḥa-me-eš-ḥi* INA MU 3^{KAM} pé-e 'ḥar-kán-zi' [(vacat)]
 26' 1 ^{NA4}ZI. 'KIN' ^da-ba- 'ra ^{GIS}KIRI₆' [DINGIR-LUM MU] '2^{KAM} p[é-e ḥar-
 kán-zi]
 27' DINGIR-L[UM] A-NA EZEN₄ MU 3^{KAM} pé-e 'ḥar-kán'-zi DÛ-a[t] §
- §20''' 28' an-da-at UL wa-aḥ-nu-wa-an [(vacat)] §
- §21''' 29' *ḥu-u-wa-ap-pí-ia-aš* É-ši KÁ-ši INA ^{HUR.SAG}ma-wa-li-i[a]
 30' 'SISKUR'-ši MU-aš LÚ'^{MES} ^{URU}wa-tar-wa SUM-zi INA MU 3^{KAM} DÛ-zi [(vacat?)] §
- §22''' 31' '^{HUR}.^{SAG}ma-wa-li-ia-aš šu-up-pí- 'eš'-šar SAG.DU-i-ši-kán 'še-er'
 32' 1 ^{GIS}-ŠÍ GUB-ri šu-up-pí-eš-[ni'] 'SISKUR' a-pí-ia pé-eš-[kán-zi]
 33' A-NA ^d10 ^{URU}ma-wa-li-ia 'SISKUR' INA MU 3^{KAM} a-pí-ia SUM-an-[zi]
 34' 'ARAD'^{MES} É.GAL ^d10 ^{URU}*ḥu²-u²'*-la-na DÛ-zi
 (end of column)

- §15''' 1 stela: [...] stands, the ritual for him [...]
(iv 12'–13')
- §16''' 1 stela: the [south] wind^{??} [...] The personnel of
(iv 14'–15') the Palace of Karaḥna [perform] the ritual for
him [...]
- §17''' 1 stela: Aya (or: Ea), Mr. A-[... performs] the
(iv 16'–21') ritual for him. 1 stela: the Sun Goddess of the
Earth, [... perform(s)] the ritu[al for her]. 1
stela: Ḫalmašuit, the per[sonnel ... performs] the
ritual for him. 1 stela: NIN.É.GAL [...] The men
of Mr. Tapaliya perfo[rm the ritual for her ...] It
is celebrated at the *ḫutnaliyaš*-[pla]ce[?]. Not [...]
- §18''' 2 stones (i.e., stelae): the bridges of the river
(iv 22'–23') Maraššanta [...] The sentry (*illegible*) performs
the ritual for him. It has been celebrated.
- §19''' 1 stone (i.e., stela): [Ḫi]šḫura[?] (or: 1 st[ela]:
(iv 24'–27') Abara[?]) *wilayanza*. They present the deity in
spring, in the 3rd year. 1 stela: Abara of the
Garden (or: in the garden?). [They] pr[esent
the deity in the] 2nd [year], they present the
deity for the festival in the 3rd year. It has been
celebrated.
- §20''' It has not changed.
(iv 28')
- §21''' Ḫuwappiya: for him/her there is a house, for
(iv 29'–30') him/her there is a gate on Mount Mawaliya. The
men of Watarwa perform the ritual of the year
for him/her, they celebrate (it) in the 3rd year.
- §22''' The *šuppieššar* of Mount Mawaliya (or: Mount
(iv 31'–34') Mawaliya: a *šuppieššar*). On top of him stands 1
tree. [They regularly] perform the ritual [for?]
the *šuppieššar* there. [They] perform the ritual
for the Storm God of Mawaliya there, in the 3rd
year. The servants of the Palace of the Storm
God of Ḫulana^{??} celebrate (it).

- §26''' 1 1 PÚ *mu-li-li-ia-aš* SISKUR-ši DÛ-^rri¹ 1 PÚ *an-na-ri-iš* 2 PÚ *aš-ši-ia-*
aš^r ša-aš-x-x-[ti-eš(?)] (SISKUR-ši DÛ-^rri¹ added later)
2 2 PÚ *ka-ri-pa-aš ka-ri-pa-ti-eš* 2 PÚ *pé-^ren^r-na-aš pé-en-na-^rti-eš¹*
3 1 PÚ *a-aš-šu-wa-an-ta-aš* 1 ^rPÚ¹ *a-da-ni-ia-aš* ŠU.NÍGIN 10 ^rPÚ^{III A}
^{URU}_Z[*i-p*]*i*
4 SISKUR A-NA *mu-li-li-ia-pát* Ì.GÁL *ke-^rda^r-aš-^rma^r* UL Ì.GÁL §

- §23''' (lo. e. 1–4) The *šuppieššar* of Mount Aštiapra (or: Mount Aštiapra: a *šuppieššar*). 1 stela stands. The men <of> Aštarutta perform the ritual of purificat[ion]. The mountain [has been] cleared, it has been *released*.
- §24''' (l. e., l. col. 1–4) [...]^{pl.} (of?) Kant[uzili ...] from Ḫarana[?]. Bread and beer, however, [...] regularly [sup]ply. It has been celebrated.
- §25''' (l. e., l. col. 5–6) [... s]telae, including 2 “souls”: spirit(s) of the dead. [... (The inventory of) the Anc]estors’ [Palace] has been completed. End of the inventory of the Ancestors’ Palace
- §26''' (l. e., r. col. 1–4) 1 spring (goddess) *muliliyaš* (the reference here and in the following is to divine water sources): the ritual for her i[s] (or: h[as been]) celebrated. 1 spring (goddess) *annariš*, 2 spring (goddesses) *aššiyaš šaš...*[*tieš*[?]], 2 spring (goddesses) *karipaš karipatieš*, 2 spring (goddesses) *pennaš pennatieš*, 1 spring (goddess) *aššuwantaš*, 1 spring (goddess) *adaniyaš*. Total: 10 spring (goddesses) of the town Zipi. Only for *muliliya* is the ritual provided, whereas for these (other deities the ritual) is not provided. Spring goddesses of Zipi

Commentary

i 2: For the interpretation of *tittiya*- see the commentary on KUB 42.100+ iii 35' (text no. 12).

i 15–16: These female cult assistants are connected to the Hurrian milieu. The name of the *nirni*-women may contain the Hurrian root *nir*- “good” plus individualizing suffix *-ni* (kindly pointed out by M. Giorgieri), see KBo 35.117+ obv. i 25' for another attestation; ^{MUNUS}*kumašalliš* is hapax; for the *e/irhuitalli*-women see *HW*² E, 92 and BGH 99.

i 17: An *igur* building is otherwise unattested; it seems likely that we are faced with a mistaken writing of ^E*hekur*.

i 19: Note the uncorrect predicative agreement of *ninenkan* against expected *ninenkanza*.

i 24–25: For the reference to a festival of the “vow of Kantuzili” see the introductory remarks and the commentary in the German edition.

i 40–41: See the commentary on Kp 14/95+ i 13–14, 25–26, 33 (text no. 14).

ii 4–5: The reference here seems to be to a cult statue of the king, since for the DN Šarruma the spelling LUGAL-*ma*(-) is used. The reading of “2 *kuramman*” has kindly been suggested by E. Rieken and D. Schwemer. Note that in all other occurrences, *kuramma*- (as opposed to *kuwaramma*(-)) is a noun, not a participle of *ku(wa)r*- “to cut,” and the presence of the numeral “2” supports this conclusion in the present instance too (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert).

ii 5: The uncertain reading *huitnaya*[?] may point to a connection with *huitar* and *huitnaima* (kindly pointed out by E. Rieken); cf. also rev. iv 21'.

ii 7: The form ^ETAR-NU-ZA (from ^E*tarnuza*- “model of a *tarnu*-building”) seems to represent a pseudo-Akkadographic spelling.

ii 20, iii 14': Previously identified either with the adyton of a temple (Alp 1983; *HW*² H, 20–26) or with a (part of a) palace (Güterbock and van den Hout 1991, 59–60), the *halentuwa*-building was a part of a larger complex—be it a palace, a temple, or a *huwaši*-sanctuary—where cultic activities took place. See the German edition for more discussion.

iii 4'–6': These lines are parallel to Kp 15/57+ obv. i 7–9. The spelling ^dAMA.GU₄, attested only here and in Kp 15/57+, may convey **gwawannaš* or **gwawannanaš* (kindly suggested by I. Yakubovich). For the uncertain reading [^d]*mu-li*<-*li*>-*ia-aš* cf. Kp 15/57+ obv. i 9, possibly there is a relation to the *muliliya*-spring mentioned in l. e., r. col. 1, and/or to the *mūlili*-plant.

iii 8': An alternative restoration may be ^EMES GAL (kindly pointed out by J. Lorenz).

iii 9': Perhaps to be restored [*I-NA* ^E*ha-le-en-tu-w*]*a-ša-at-kán* (cf. rev. iii 14').

iii 17'–24': For many of the gods the shrines of which are listed here, a connection with Šamuḥa is already known from the Boğazköy texts; see the commentary in the German edition.

iv 1: On the reference to the *arkiu*-building see the introductory remarks.

iv 7'–8': Cf. Kp 14/95+ rev. iv 46–47 (text no. 14).

iv 21': The reading AŠRU *hutnaliyaš* is uncertain; the form *hutnaliyaš* might represent a syncopated form of **huitnali-* (kindly suggested by E. Rieken); cf. also obv. ii 5. For the use of AŠRU to denote *loci numinosi* cf. the “place” (AŠAR, AŠRU, AŠRI) of various gods, van Gessel 2001, 155 with references.

iv 24': An alternative reading may be ^r1 ^{NA4}[ZI.KIN]^r*a-ba*¹-*ra* (kindly suggested by C. Corti).

iv 26'–27': For the expression “to present a deity” cf. KUB 38.32 obv. i 4–6.

iv 29', 31'–32'; l. e. 1–2: The terms *huwappiyaš* and *šuppieššar* seem to refer to *loci numinosi* (for the latter cf. KUB 18.24+ 5', 9', see HEG Š, 1184). The sequence GIŠ ZI might be read also ^{GIŠ}ZI “wooden stela” instead of GIŠ-ŠĪ, “tree.”

iv 34: The reading of the GN name is uncertain; perhaps Ḫašuna rather than Ḫulana?

lo. e. 3: The restoration has been kindly suggested by E. Rieken. On *hašp*-, “to cut, to clear” see Melchert 2007.

l. e., l. col. 5: The text seems to refer to cult stelae of dead kings; see the introductory remarks.

l. e., l. col. 6: The formula *taruptat* is used in cult inventories to mark the end of a larger section, see the introductory remarks on KBo 2.1 (text no. 2). Here, it seems to mark the end of the inventory of the Ancestors' Palace of Šamuḥa.

TEXT NO. 16. KUB 38.12 AND KUB 38.15: TEMPLES AND CULTS OF KARAḤNA

Manuscripts: Bo 2077 (KUB 38.12^{A1}), Bo 897 (KUB 38.15^{B1}). **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Edition:** Darga 1973. **Discussion:** Darga 1969, 7–11 (iii 1'–27'); Rost 1961, 200–201 (ii 12–14); Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 210–12 (i 1–18, ii 1–5 and 12–21, iv 10'–18'); RGTC 6, 178–80 (partial translation); McMahon 1991, 36–37, Houwink ten Cate 1992, 126 (general observations, notes on selected passages); Taggar-Cohen 2006, 21–24, 166 (general observations and partial translation); Weeden 2011b, 128–31 (discussion of obv. i 9–18); Cammarosano 2013, 92–93 (relationship between the MSS).

As its colophon states, this large and carefully written tablet contains a cult inventory of the town Karaḥna, most probably to be located at Sulusaray (classical Carana/Sebastopolis; see Mouton 2011 with literature). The colophon refers to the neighboring towns of Ḥurma and Kumma as “not included” in the inventory (see the commentary on rev. iv 18'). Karaḥna was an important cult center, which gravitated to the provincial capital of Šamuḫa. Its relevance is immediately apparent from the amount of 775 temple employees recorded in the colophon, a number with no parallel in the corpus of the cult inventories. The tablet preserves detailed lists of clergy and temple attendants and provides a most interesting insight both into the “cultic life” of a middle-size Hittite town and in the inventorying process. The existence of a duplicate text (KUB 38.15), a very unusual circumstance among cult inventories, may be due to the exceptional relevance of the town treated therein (see Cammarosano 2013, 92–93 for details). On palaeographical grounds the tablet can be dated to the reign of Ḫattušili III or Tudḫaliya IV.

The tablet is concerned with the state of local shrines, cult images, personnel, festivals, and offerings; furthermore, it records measures taken in order to restore or bolster these aspects of the cult. In other words, the inventory is a report on the ongoing reorganization of some of the cults of Karaḥna. As such, it is nicely complemented by the festival text KUB 25.32+, which records some of the “state cults” of Karaḥna (see the introductory remarks to §7.5). Prominent among the gods treated in KUB 38.12 is the Stag God of Karaḥna, on whom see McMahon 1991, 36–37, 80–81, and Taggar-Cohen 2006, 21, 165–66.

The content of the tablet can be summarized as follows:

Text	Gods	Festivals
§1 (i 1–27)	Stag God of Karaḥna	Daily (offering of) loaves of bread, monthly festival; eleven annual festivals: one “big festival,” one <i>taggantipu</i> -festival, one festival of the grain pile, one festival of the <i>ḥarnayaya</i> -plant, one festival of the grove, one autumn festival, one rain festival, one <i>eššayaš</i> -festival, one festival of Mount Kantaḥuya, (and) one festival of the grape <i>harvest</i> ; one festival of Mount Šakutunuwa every third year
§2’ (ii 1–5)	Stag God and Storm God of Karaḥna	
§3’ (ii 6–11)	Storm God of Liḥzina	One festival of thunder, one festival of the harvest
§4’ (ii 12–29)	Storm God of Heaven and Sun Goddess of Arinna	Daily (offering of) loaves of bread, monthly festival, one thunder festival
§5’’ (iii 1’–6’)		(A spring festival is mentioned in fragmentary context)
§6’’ (iii 7’–27’)	The “gods of the shrine”: Sun Deity of Durra, Ḫatipuna, [(one DN)], Mount Ḫapidduni, Ḫašuma, [(one DN)], three statuettes of mother goddesses, (namely) Allinalli, [(one DN)], Iyaya. The “gods of the stelae”: Storm God <i>taggantipa</i> , Stag God, Kippamula, Kubaba, Storm God of Kummaḥa, Storm God (of the?) Eagle (i.e., Ešue?), Šalwani-gods of the Gate, Storm God “coming in” (or: “looking inside”), Storm God of Walma, Storm God of Nerik, Storm God of Tarmaliya, the new Ištar, Storm God of Lightning, Storm God <i>piḫaimi</i> , Storm God of Growth, Yarri, river Gazzarunaili, Šarruma, Ḫalki.	
§7’’’ (iv 1’–9’)		[... one? fest]ival? <i>taggantipu</i> , 1 festival [... one?] festival <i>ašanayaš</i> , 1 festival of thunder, 1 festival of the fruits.
§8’’’ (iv 10’–18’)		(Colophon)

Differently than in most cult inventories where prescriptive measures are mentioned, these are never detailed by means of a reference to “His Majesty,” but rather referred to through an impersonal expression (“they have made ... they provide ...”). The usual counterpoint between former and present state of the cult (*annalla/i-* vs. *kinun*, §3.3.1) is frequently found throughout the tablet. The renovations of cult images and the construction of new shrines are normally referred to by means of a verbal form in the past tense, but the

imperfective present tense *weteškanzi* in rev. iii 13' makes it clear that the text can be viewed as a sort of final report on the implementation of a set of measures that must have been taken earlier.

One of the most interesting aspects of the inventory are the detailed lists of cult personnel, grouped after the categories of clergymen (^{LÚ.MES}*ħazziwitašši-*, from *ħazziwi-* “rite”) and temple employees (^{LÚ.MES}*ħilammatta/i-*, originally “men of the gate-house,” see the commentary on obv. i 4). This meaningful distinction, apparent in the wording of obv. ii 1–4, does not prevent a looser use of the more general term *ħilammatta/i-*, a fact that explains why priests and mother-deity priestesses are counted among the “temple employees” in the grand total of the colophon, although in obv. ii 1–4 the two classes are kept distinct (cf. Güterbock 1975b, 131; Görke 2016, 107–8 with n. 12; note, also, that a priest is listed among them in obv. ii 20). The tablet shows that the clergy of Karahna was composed of priests, GUDU-priests, mother-deity priestesses, and *katra*-women, whereas the colorful picture of temple employees included scribes, scribes-on-wood, diviners, singers, butlers, cooks, cup-bearers, spear-holders, doormen, *šahtarili*-singers, criers, *arkammi*-players, brewers, bakers, water-carriers, cleaners, augurs, potters, porridge-makers, and stonemasons (§§1, 4).

Not only were scribes installed among the temple employees (i 12, ii 20, ii 25), but their chiefs took part actively in the restorations of the cults by selecting and allotting cult personnel to this or that temple. The “chief of the scribes-on-wood” managed the assignment of additional transportees to the estate of the temple of the Storm God of Heaven and the Sun Goddess of Arinna (ii 18) as well to that of another god or gods (iii 5'); in the former case, the “chief of the scribes” was responsible for the assignment of six temple employees (ii 21). The presence of both “scribes” and “scribes on wood” reflects a specialization of these professionals with regard to the medium on which they wrote—clay tablets vs. (waxed?) wooden boards—without prejudice for the question whether the latter ones were inscribed in cuneiform or in hieroglyphs (cf. §2.1). On the role of the chief scribes see Marizza 2010; for an alternative hypothesis on the role of the “scribes-on-wood” see van den Hout 2010a. The key role played by scribes in the administration of local cults is also apparent from the fact that festivals, personnel and cult provisions were established and verified primarily on the basis of earlier records. In the case of KUB 38.12, the text states that “the festivals have been established according to a *gaštarhaida* writing board” (i 18, ii 7, ii 22, iii 24': EZEN₄^{MES} GIŠ.HUR *gaštarhaita tarrawan*). The rare term *gaštarhaida* refers to a specific kind of wooden writing board (inscribed in cuneiform or in hieroglyphs?), while the verb *tarrawae-* is found only here and in KBo 2.7 within special formulas (§3.3.3.3, Cammarosano 2013, 99–100). The presence

of the PAP sign, marking a passage that the scribe was not able to read on the tablet he was copying, constitutes a hint at the complex genesis of this cult inventory as well.

The lists of festivals and offerings provide very valuable information on the cultic calendar of the town, its institutions, and the economy of the region. Festivals include the basic rites of “daily loaves of bread” and “monthly festivals,” annual festivals, and a festival celebrated every third year (i 24). Most festivals have an agricultural character, others are focused on local sacred places and gods. Noteworthy is the mention of a “festival of the grape *harvest*” (obv. i 23), which, together with the unusual presence of wine among the supplies (obv. i 26), confirms the existence of vine cultivation in the region of Karaḥna and Šamuḥa (see §5.8.3). The text attests to the presence of at least three “palaces” in Karaḥna, namely, the “Palace of Karaḥna” (obv. ii 11, this structure is mentioned also in Kp 14/95+, see text no. 14); the “Palace of His Majesty” (rev. iii 5’); and the “Palace of Kantuzili” (rev. iv 8’). The latter one is of great interest, since it may be linked to the “festival of Kantuzili’s vow” of Kp 15/7+ (text no. 15).

Basis of Transliteration: Photograph.

Format and Layout: Upper half of a two-columned tablet (preserved height ca. 14 cm, original height ca. 28 cm; width ca. 19 cm). Paragraph lines are made up by a sequence of short impressions of the stylus (see Cammarosano 2014a, 74 for a discussion of this feature).

Palaeography and *Schriftbild*: The script can be classified as LNS based on the occurrence of the late QA (iv 10’). The tablet also shows pre-LNS UN (e.g., i 8, 22) and the recent variants of the signs AZ, IK, LI, and URU. ḪA is regularly written with two *Winkelhaken*, DA and IT with broken middle horizontal. Neat, noncursive script.

Orthography: Note the spelling ^{LÜ.MEŠ}*hi-lam-ma-ti-EŠ*, alternating with ^{LÜ.MEŠ}*hi-lam-ma-at-ta-aš* (cf. commentary on obv. i 4).

Transliteration

KUB 38.12

Obv. i

- §1 1 [A-NA] ^r_d¹KAL ^{URU}*ka-ra-^raḫ¹-na* KÛ.BABBAR ^r_{KÛ.SI₂₂}¹ *kap-pu-u-wa-an* É DINGIR-LIM-ši
- 2 [*an-d*]ur-za IŠ-TU ^{LÚ}KÛ.DÍM ^{LÚ}BUR.GUL SIG₅-*aḫ-ḫa-an*
- 3 [^{LÚ}].MEŠ¹NAM.RA-ši *kap-pu-u-wa-an-te-eš* PAP ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ḫi-lam-ma-ti-eš-ši-kán*
- 4 ^r*pa¹-ra-a* DAB-an-za an-na-al-li-eš-ši 9 ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ḫi-lam-ma-ti-eš*
- 5 *ki-nu-na-aš-ši-kán* 9 ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ḫi-lam-ma-at-tin an-na-al-la-aš* É-aš
- 6 EGIR-an-da *pa-ra-a* DAB-er na-aš 18 ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ḫi-lam-ma-ti-eš*
- 7 an-na-al-la-aš É-aš 8 É-TUM-ma PAP ÉRIN^{MEŠ} *ša-ri-wa-an*
- 8 *ki-nu-un IŠ-TU* É.GAL-LIM EGIR-an-da SUM-er
- 9 ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GUB.AN-ma-aš<-ši>-kán LÚ ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR ^{LÚ}NI.DUḪ LÚ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR ^{LÚ}GALA
- 10 ^{LÚ}*pal-wa-tal-la-aš* ^{LÚ}*ar-kam-mi-ia-la-aš* ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÛ ^{LÚ}BAḪAR₅
- 11 ^r*pa¹-ra-a* DAB-er ŠU.NÍGIN 26 ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ḫi-lam-ma-ti-eš* ŠĀ 1 ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂
- 12 ^r¹ ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR 1 ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR.GIŠ 1 ^{LÚ}ḪAL 2 ^{LÚ}NAR 1 LÚ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR
- 13 ^r³ ^{LÚ}MUḪALDIM 2 ^{LÚ}SAGLA 1 LÚ ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR 1 ^{LÚ}NI.DUḪ
- 14 ^r¹ ^{LÚ}GALA 1 ^{LÚ}*pal-wa-tal-la-aš* 1 ^{LÚ}*ar-kam-mi-ia-la-aš*
- 15 1 ^{LÚ}KÚRUN.NA 2 ^{LÚ}NINDA.DÛ.DÛ 1 LÚ A ŠA KUŠ.LÁ 2 ^{LÚ}KISAL.LUḪ
- 16 1 ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÛ 1 ^{LÚ}BAḪAR₅ 1 LÚ *E-PIŠ* BA.BA.ZA
- 17 ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ḫi-lam-ma-at-ti-eš* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GUB.BA¹-ḫa ŠĀ É GIŠ.KIN.TI-ši-kán
- 18 an-da DAB-an-za EZEN₄^{MEŠ}-ši ^{GIŠ}<ḪUR>¹ *gaš-tar-ḫa-i-ta tar-ra-u-wa-^ran¹*
- 19 NINDA.GUR₄.RA U₄-MI-ši EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} 11 EZEN₄-ši MU^{KAM}-aš *me-e-ia-na-aš*
- 20 ^rŠĀ¹ 1 EZEN₄ GAL 1 EZEN₄ *tág-ga-an-ti-pu-ú* 1 EZEN₄ *še-e-li-ia-aš*
- 21 1 EZEN₄ *ḫar-na-ia-ia-aš*^{ŠAR} 1 EZEN₄ ^{GIŠ}TIR 1 EZEN₄ *zé-e-na-an-da-aš*
- 22 1 EZEN₄ *ZU-UN-NI* 1 EZEN₄ *e-eš-ša-ia-aš* 1 EZEN₄ ^{ḪUR.SAG}*kán-ta-ḫu-ia-aš*
- 23 1 EZEN₄ ^{GIŠ}GESTIN *tuḫ-šu-u-wa-aš* MU-aš *me-ia-na-aš*
- 24 1 EZEN₄ ^{ḪUR.SAG}*ša-ku-du-nu-wa* I-NA MU 3^{KAM}-an *e-eš-ša-an-zi*
- 25 ^r*ḫal¹-ku-e-eš-šar-ši* MU-aš *me-ia-na-aš kiš-an pé-eš-kán-zi* 7 GU₄^{MEŠ}
- 26 [n] ^rUDU^{ḪILA¹} 1 ME 55 PA *tar-ša-an ma-al-la-an* 3 PA ^rGESTIN¹
- 27 [(ca. 4 signs)] n.KAM ^rEZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} Û A-NA ^r3¹ E[ZEN₄ (space for a few signs)]

(column breaks off, lower half of the column lost)

Translation

§1 (i 1–27)	<p>The silver (and) gold [for] the Stag God of Karaḥna have been recorded. The [in]side of his shrine has been repaired by the goldsmith (and) the stonecutter. The transportees (allotted) to him have been recorded ... (<i>here belong one or more signs illegible for the scribe who copied the tablet, perhaps detailing the number of transportees allotted to the temple</i>). His temple employees have been selected: formerly there were 9 temple employees, now they have selected 9 additional temple employees of the old temple: that makes 18 temple employees of the old temple. 8 households ... (<i>again the scribe could not copy one or more signs</i>) They have now provided additional <i>šari(ku)wa</i>-troops from the Palace. Further, they have selected his <i>standing-men</i>: spear-holder, gatekeeper, butler, <i>šaḥtarili</i>-singer, crier, <i>arkammi</i>-player, augur, (and) potter. Total: 26 temple employees, including 1 GUDU-priest, 1 scribe, 1 scribe-on-wood, 1 diviner, 2 singers, 1 butler, 3 cooks, 1 cup-bearer, 1 spear-holder, 1 gatekeeper, 1 <i>šaḥtarili</i>-singer, 1 crier, 1 <i>arkammi</i>-player, 1 brewer, 2 bakers, 1 water-carrier, 2 cleaners, 1 augur, 1 potter, (and) 1 porridge-maker. His temple employees and <i>standing-men</i> of the House of the Craftspeople are included (in the count). His festivals are established according to a <i>gaštarḥaida</i> writing board: for him (there are) the daily (offering of) loaves of bread, the monthly festival, (and) 11 annual festivals. Among them 1 “big festival,” 1 <i>taggantipu</i>-festival, 1 festival of the grain pile, 1 festival of the <i>ḥarnayaya</i>-plant, 1 festival of the grove, 1 autumn festival, 1 rain festival, 1 <i>eššayaš</i>-festival, 1 festival of Mount Kantaḥuya, (and) 1 festival of the grape <i>harvest</i> are annual, (whereas) they celebrate 1 festival of Mount Šakutunuwa every 3rd year. They regularly provide the annual cultic supplies as follows: 7 oxen, <i>n</i> sheep, 155 <i>PARĪSU</i>-measures of dried</p>	Stag God of Karaḥna
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Obv. ii

- §2' 1 1 LÚSANGA dKAL URUKa-ra-aḫ-na 1 LÚSANGA r^d[10 URUKa-ra-aḫ-na]
 2 1 LÚSANGA dKAL GIŠTIR 1 MUNUSAMA.DINGIR-^rLIM' 15 MUNUS.MEŠk[a-at-
 ra-aš (?)]
 3 ŠU.NÍGIN 19 LÚ.MEŠḫa-az-zi-wi₅-ta-aš-ši-iš
 4 LÚ.MEŠḫi-lam-ma-at-ta-aš-kán kap-pu-eš-ni UL an-da [DAB-an-za]
 5 2 É DINGIR-LIM dKAL URUKa-ra-aḫ-na (erasure) d10 URUKa-ra-aḫ-^rna' §
- §3' 6 d10 URUli-iḫ-zi-na DINGIR-LIM-tar ki-nu-un EGIR-pa DÜ-er
 7 É DINGIR-LIM-ši ú-e-te-er EZEN₄ MEŠ GIŠLHURgaš-tar-ḫa-i-da
 8 tar-ra-u-wa-an 2 EZEN₄ MEŠ-ši MU-aš me-ia-na-aš
 9 ŠĀ 1 EZEN₄ te-et-ḫe-eš-na-aš 1 EZEN₄ GIŠBURU₁₄ 5 UDU^HLA
 10 7 PA 3 BÂN tar-ša-an ma-al-la-an ŠĀ 5 PA ZÍZ ^rDUG'ḫar-ši-^ria-la'-aš
 11 LÚ^{MEŠ} É.GAL URUKa-ra-aḫ-na pé-eš-kán-zi §
- §4' 12 d10 AN-E dUTU URUPÚ-na KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.SI₂₂ kap-pu-u-wa-an
 13 DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-LIM-tar GU₄.MAḤ 4 GUB-an KÙ.BABBAR
 KÙ.SI₂₂ GAR.RA ki-nu-un DÜ-er
 14 2 TA-PAL É^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ} GIBIL-TIM ŠĀ d10 AN-E dUTU URUPÚ-na
 15 ú-e-te-er LÚ.MEŠNAM.RA-ši kap-pu-u-wa-an-te-eš
 16 an-na-al-liš-ši 2 É-TUM 20 LÚ^{MEŠ}NAM.RA
 17 ŠĀ LÚ^{MEŠ} URUKÙ.BABBAR-TI ki-nu-na-aš-ši 1 É-TUM ŠĀ 12
 LÚ.MEŠNAM.^rRA'
 18 GAL LÚDUB.SAR.GIŠ EGIR-an-da pé-eš-ta ŠU.NÍGIN 32
 LÚ.MEŠ^rNAM.RA'
 19 LÚ.MEŠḫi-lam-ma-tiš-ši-kán pa-ra-a DAB-an-za 6 LÚ.MEŠḫi-lam-[ma-ti-eš]
 20 LÚSANGA LÚḪAL LÚDUB.SAR LÚNAR LÚNINDA.DÜ.DÜ [(vacat)]
 21 LÚNAGAR NA₄ GAL LÚDUB.SAR^{MEŠ} lam-ni-ia-at *UL*-aš SU[M-an-te-
 eš (?)]
 22 EZEN₄ MEŠ GIŠLHURgaš-tar-ḫa<-i>-ta tar-ra-u-wa-an [(vacat)]
 23 NINDA.GUR₄.RA UD^{KAM}-ši EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} e-eš-zi 1 EZEN₄ te-e[t-ḫe-
 eš-na-aš]
 24 [M]U-^raš me'-ia-na-aš 27 UDU^HLA 52 PA 2 UP-NU tar-š[a-an ma-al-la-
 an]
 25 [(ca. 3 signs)]n UDU^HLA LÚ^{MEŠ} tup-pa-na-li-uš L[Ú ...]
 26 [(ca. 6 signs) tar-š]a-an-ma ma-al-la-an [...]
 27 [(ca. 7 signs)]x^{MEŠ} DINGIR-LIM wa-ar-[...]
 28 [...]x ^rPA' x ^rURU'[...]
 29 [...]x-^rzi'[...]

(column breaks off, lower half of the column lost)

milled (grain), 3 *PARĪSU*-measures of wine [...]
monthly festival, and for 3 fest[ivals ...] (*breaks off*)

(*large gap*)

- | | | |
|-------------------|--|--|
| §2'
(ii 1–5) | 1 priest of the Stag God of Karaḥna, 1 priest of the [Storm] god [of Karaḥna], 1 priest of the Stag God of the Forest, 1 mother-deity priestess, 15 <i>k[atra²]</i> -women. Total: 19 clergymen. The temple employees [are] not [included] in the count. 2 shrines, of the Stag God of Karaḥna (and) of the Storm God of Karaḥna. | Stag God and Storm God of Karaḥna, totals of clergymen and shrines |
| §3'
(ii 6–11) | Storm God of Liḥzina. Now they have renewed the divine image (and) built a shrine for him. The festivals are established according to a <i>gaštarḥaida</i> writing board: for him 2 festivals (are celebrated) annually, among them 1 festival of thunder (and) 1 festival of the harvest. The men of the Palace of Karaḥna regularly supply 5 sheep (and) 7 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures of dried milled (grain), including 5 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures of wheat of (i.e., for) the pithos. | Storm God of Liḥzina |
| §4'
(ii 12–29) | Storm God of Heaven (and) Sun Goddess of Arinna: (their) silver (and) gold have been recorded. Now they have made the divine image of the god, a bull (standing) on (all) four (legs), of silver, inlaid with gold (or: inlaid with silver (and) gold?). They have built a set of 2 new shrines, of the Storm God of Heaven (and) of the Sun Goddess of Arinna. The transportees (allotted) to him have been recorded: formerly, there were for him 2 households (with) 20 transportees, men of Ḫattuša, and now the chief of scribes-on-wood additionally provided 1 household composed of 12 transportees. Total: 32 transportees. His temple employees have been selected. The chief of scribes appointed 6 temple emp[loyees]: priest, diviner, scribe, singer, baker, (and) stonemason. They are not (yet) pro[vided]. The festivals are established according to a <i>gaštarḥaida</i> writing board: for him there are the daily (offering of) loaves of | Storm God of Heaven and Sun Goddess of Arinna |

Rev. iii

(upper half of the column broken off)

- §5'' 1' [...]x[...]
 2' [... ^{DU}]^{GR} *har*¹-*ši-ia-la-aš* 2 ^{DUG}KA¹. [GAG]
 3' [(ca. 3–4 signs) EZEN₄ D]I₁₂-*ŠI pé-eš-kán-zi*
 4' [*ki-nu-na* 1 (?)]¹É¹-TUM ŠA 7 ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAM.RA [LÚ^{MEŠ} (?)]
 5' [Š]A É.GAL ^dUTU-ŠI GAL ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR.GIŠ *pé-eš-[ta]*
 6' 1 LÚ DINGIR-LIM-*ši-kán pa-ra-a* DAB-an-za §
- §6'' 7' ^dUTU ^{URU}*du-úr-ra* ^dha-ti-pu-na-aš ^d[...]
 8' ^{HUR.SAG}*ha-pi-id-du-i-ni-iš* ^dha-šu-ma-a-aš ^d[...]
 9' 3 ALAM DINGIR.MA^H^{MEŠ} ^dal-li-na-al-li-iš ^rd¹[...]
 10' ^di-ia-ia-aš ŠU.NÍGIN 9 DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ar-ha-at*
 11' *iš-hu-u-wa-an-te-eš e-šer EGIR-pa-aš*
 12' ALAM^H^{LA} KÛ.BABBAR GAR.RA GIBIL-TIM DÛ-¹er¹
 13' 7 É^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*ma-aš ú-e-te-eš-kán-zi*
 14' ^d10 *tág-gán-ti-pa* ^dKAL ^dkip-pa-mu-la-aš
 15' ^dku-pa-pa-aš ^d10 ^{URU}*kum-ma-ha* ^d10 TI₈^{MUSEN}
 16' ŠA ^{GIŠ}KÁ.GAL ^dša-la-wa-ni-eš ^d10 *an-da-an ú-wa-an-za*
 17' ^d10 ^{URU}*wa-al-ma* ^d10 ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik*
 18' ^d10 ^{URU}*tar-ma-li-ia* ^dLIŠ GIBIL ^d10 *pí-ha-¹aš-ša¹-aš-ši-eš*
 19' ^d10 ^{HI.HI} ^d10 *pí-ha-i-mi* ^d10 *mi-ia-an-na-aš*
 20' ^dia-ar-ri-iš ^{ID}*gaz-za-ru-na-i-li*₁₂
 21' ^dLUGAL-ma-aš ^dhal-ki-iš ŠU.NÍGIN 17 DINGIR^{MEŠ}
 22' ŠA ^{NA4}ZI.KIN^H^{LA} ŠU.NÍGIN GAL 26 DINGIR^{MEŠ}
 23' ŠÀ 9 ŠA É DINGIR-LIM 14 ŠA ^{NA4}ZI.KIN^H^{LA}
 24' EZEN₄^{MEŠ} ^{GIŠ}^{HUR}*gaš-tar-ha-i-ta tar-ra-u-wa-an*
 25' MU-aš-ma-aš *me-ia-na-aš* 4 GU₄^H^{LA} 39 UDU^H^{LA}
 26' 24 PA ZÌ.DA 25 ^{DUG}KA.GAG LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU}*ka-[ra-aḥ-na]*
 27' (indented) *pé-eš-kán-zi*
 (Randleiste)

bread (and) the monthly festival; (furthermore)
 1 festival of thu[nder], annually. 27 sheep, 52
PARĪSU-measures (and) 2 handfuls of dri[ed
 milled (grain) ...] *n* sheep the scribes [... dr]ied
 milled (grain) [...] the deity (*fragmentary, then
 broken off*)

(*large gap*)

§5'' (iii 1'–6')	[...] of the pithos, 2 KA.[GAG]-vessels (of beer) [...] they regularly supply (for) the spring [festival]. [... Now?] the chief of scribes-on- wood provid[ed 1?] household composed of 7 transportees, [men?] of the Palace of His Majesty. For him, 1 “man of the deity” (i.e., a temple servant) has been selected.	Provisions (fragmentary)
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§6'' (iii 7'–27')	Sun Deity of Durra, Ḫatipuna, [(<i>one divine name</i>)], Mount Ḫapidduini, Ḫašuma, [(<i>one divine name</i>)], 3 statuettes of mother goddesses, (namely) Allinalli, [(<i>one divine name</i>)], (and) Iyaya. Total: 9 divine images, they had been discarded. They have made them (as) new statuettes, plated with silver, and they are building 7 shrines for them. Storm God <i>taggantipa</i> , Stag God, Kippamula, Kubaba, Storm God of Kummaḥa, Storm God (of the?) Eagle (i.e., Ešue?), Šalwani-gods of the Gate, Storm God “coming in” (or: “looking inside”), Storm God of Walma, Storm God of Nerik, Storm God of Tarmaliya, the new Ištar/Šawuška, Storm God of Lightning (<i>mistakenly written twice</i>), Storm God <i>piḫaimi</i> (“imbued with splendor”), Storm God of Growth, Yarri, river Gazzarunaili, Šarruma, Ḫalki. Total: 17 gods “of the stela.” Grand total: 26 gods, among whom 9 “of the shrine” and 14 “of the stela.” The festivals are established according to a <i>gaštarḫaida</i> writing board. The men of Ka[raḥna] supply annually 4 oxen, 39 sheep, 24 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures of flour, (and) 25 KA.GAG-vessels (of beer).	Diverse gods (statuettes and stela)
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(*large gap*)

Rev. iv

(more than half of the tablet lost)

- §7''' 1' [...]x[...]
 2' [1[?] EZE]N₄[?] *tág-gán-ti-pu-ú* 1 EZEN₄ 'AN' x[...]
 3' [1[?]] EZEN₄ *a-ša-na-a-ia-aš* 1 EZEN₄ *te-et-ḥe-eš-na-[aš]*
 4' 1 EZEN₄ GURUN *ḥal-ku-eš-šar-aš-ši* MU-aš *me-ia-na-aš*
 5' *kiš-an pé-eš-kán-zi* 3 GU₄^{HIA} ŠU-ŠI 4 UDU^{HIA}
 6' 35 PA 5 BÁN ½ BÁN *tar-ša-an ma-al-la-an*
 7' 8 GA.KIN.AG 5 BÁN ½ BÁN 2 *wa-ak-šur* Ì.NUN
 8' LÚ^{MES} É.GAL ^m*kán-tu-zi-DINGIR-LIM pé-eš-kán-zi*
 9' ^{URU}*ka-ra-aḥ-na-aš ta-ru-up-ta-at* §§
- §8''' 10' (indented) *ṬUP-1-PU QA-TI* ^{URU}*ka-ra-aḥ-na-aš*
 11' '1' ME '38' LÚ^{MES} *ḥi-lam-ma-ti-eš*
 12' 'nu' 1 ME 41 EGIR-*an-da* SUM-*an-za*
 13' [n[?]+]¹¹? ŠĀ 34 ŠĀ LÚGIDIM
 14' [n[?]+]¹¹ LÚ^{MES} *ta-pa-na-u-wa-an-te-eš*
 15' n+6 *an-na-al-le-eš* 26 ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR-LIM
 16' ŠU.NÍGIN GAL 7 ME 75 LÚ^{MES} *ḥi-lam-ma-ti-eš*
 17' QA'-DU LÚSANGA ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR-LIM ^{URU}*hur-ma-aš-kán*
 18' ^{URU}*kum-ma-aš-ša Ú-UL an-da*
 (Randleiste)

KUB 38.15 (// KUB 38.12 obv. i 1–14)

Notes: In obv. i 14 to the left of the numeral “2” a tiny rectangular impression is visible, likely originating from a scribal instrument (not a stylus).

Obv. i

- §1 1 A-NA ⁴KAL ^{URU}*ka-ra-[aḥ-na KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.SI₂₂ kap-pu-u-wa-an]*
 2 É DINGIR-LIM *an-dur-za IŠ-[TU LÚKÛ.DÍM LÚBUR.GUL SIG₅-aḥ-ḥa-an]*
 3 NAM.RA-ši *kap-pu-u-wa-an-te-eš* [PAP[?] LÚ^{MES} *ḥi-lam-ma-ti-eš-ši-kán*]
 4 *pa-ra-a* (spaced) *ap-pa-an* (spaced) [DAB-*an-za*] §
- §2 5 *an-^rna-al'-li-iš* 9 LÚ^{MES} *ḥi-lam-[ma-ti-eš]*
 6 [*ki-nu-n*]-*a-kán* 9 LÚ^{MES} *ḥi-l[am-ma-at-tin an-na-al-la-aš É-aš EGIR-an-da]*
 7 [*pa-ra-a*] '*e*'-*ep-pé-er* n[*a-aš* 18 LÚ^{MES} *ḥi-lam-ma-ti-eš*]
 8 [*an-na-a*] ^{isc-}'*la*'-*aš É-a*[š 8 É-TUM-*ma* PAP[?] ÉRIN^{MES} *ša-ri-wa-an ki-nu-un IŠ-TU É.GAL-LIM]*
 9 [EGIR-*a*]n-'*da*' *pí-i-i[š-ke-er* LÚ^{MES} GUB.AN-*ma-aš-kán* LÚ^{GIS}ŠUKUR]
 10 ^{LÚ}NL.DUḥ' LÚ^{GIS}BANŠ[UR LÚGALA LÚ^{LÚ}*pal-wa-tal-la-aš*]

§7''' (iv 1'–9')	[... 1 [?] fest]ival [?] <i>taggantipu</i> , 1 festival [... 1 [?]] festival <i>ašanayaš</i> , 1 festival of thunder, 1 festival of the fruits. They regularly provide the annual cultic supplies for him/her as follows: the men of the Palace of Kantuzili regularly supply 3 oxen, 64 sheep, 35 <i>PARĪSU</i> -measures, 5 ½ <i>BĀN</i> -measures of dried milled (grain), 8 cheeses, (and) 5 ½ <i>BĀN</i> -measures (and) 2 <i>wakšur</i> -measures of ghee. The town of Karaḥna is completed.	Festivals and provisions (fragmentary)
§8''' (iv 10'–18')	1 tablet, (the inventory is) completed. Town of Karaḥna. 138 temple employees. And 141 (temple employees have been) additionally provided. [<i>n</i> [?] +] <i>11</i> [?] (temple employees?), among whom 34 are of the <i>GIDIM</i> -man, [<i>n</i> [?] +] <i>11</i> are <i>tapanauwa</i> -men, <i>n</i> +6 are in place since of old, 26 mother-deity priestesses. Grand total: 775 temple employees, including priests (and) mother-deity priestesses. The towns of Ḫurma and Kumma are not included.	Colophon

- 11 ^{LÚ}*ar-kam-mi-ia<-la>-aš* ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÛ ^{LÚ}BAḪAR₅ *pa-ra-a* DAB-er]
 12 ŠU.NÍGIN 26 ^{LÚ.MES}*hi-lam-m[a-ti-eš ŠÀ* 1 ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ 1 ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR]
 13 1 ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR.GIŠ 1 ^{LÚ}Ḫ[AL 2 ^{LÚ}NAR 1 ^{LÚ}GIŠBANŠUR]
 14 ³ ^{LÚ*}MUḪALDIM* 2 ^{LÚ}SAG[I.A 1 ^{LÚ}GIŠŠUKUR 1 ^{LÚ}NI.DUḪ]
 15 1 ^{LÚ}GALA ¹ ^{LÚ}*pal-wa-tal-la-aš ...*]
 16 1 ^{LÚ}...]
 (column breaks off)

Rev. iv

(upper portion of the column broken off)

- §3' 1' ¹ *haP¹-x* [...]
 2' 3 ŠA x[...]
 3' *ma-al-li[a-an ...*]
 4' ^{LÚ.MES}Ē.[GAL[?] ...]
 5' ^{URU}*ka-[ra-aḫ-na ...]* §§
 §4' 6' (indented) *ṬU[P- ...]*
 7' *g[a²- ...]*
 8' ¹*pa²-[...]*
 9' x[...]

(*Randleiste*)

Commentary

i 2: According to the *CHD* (L–N, 458), the Hittite ^{LÚ}BUR.GUL, differently than in Mesopotamia, appears to work with precious metals rather than stone. He appears in fragmentary context also in Kp 15/6+ rev. iv 22'.

i 4, iv 15: The form *an-na-al-li-EŠ*(=šši) seems to be best interpreted in obv. i 4 as an adverb, in rev. iv 15 as adverb or adjective (see Weeden 2011b, 128 n. 75; for the stem *annalli-* see §3.3.1). On the ^{LÚ.MES}*hilammatta/i-* “gate-keeper > temple personnel” see the commentary on KBo 2.1 (text no. 2) obv. i 23; note here and passim the spelling ^{LÚ.MES}*hi-lam-ma-ti-EŠ*, alternating with ^{LÚ.MES}*hi-lam-ma-at-ta-aš* (e.g., obv. ii 4), both nom. sg. (collective: Weeden 2011b, 128 n. 75; Rieken 2013, 328).

i 6: For the terminus technicus *para app/-ēpp-*, “to select, single out” (here and in obv. i 11, ii 19, iii 6'; in obv. i 6 also with *appanda*) see §3.3.4.1.

i 3–7: This passage is treated also in *CHD* P, 111.

i 7–8: The phrase *appanda pai-/pe-/piya-* (obv. i 8, ii 18, iv 12', also in KBo 12.53+ obv. 27') is perhaps to be interpreted in this context “to supply additionally” rather than “to give afterwards” (so *CHD* P, 52–53, referring to other texts). On the *šari(ku)wa*-troops, a corps probably forming part of the king's standing army, see *CHD* Š, 260–62.

i 9–18: On this passage, especially on the function of the “House of the Craftspeople” (É GIŠ.KIN.TI) and on the reading of the difficult LÚ^{MES} GUB.BA’-*ha* of line 17, see the thorough analysis by Weeden 2011b, 128–30. The professionals listed here are the logical object of *para epper* of line 11; the sequence LÚ^{MES} GUB.AN- of line 9 might be read LÚ^{MES} GUB-*an*; the nom. sg. endings attached to the *palwatalla*- and *arkammiyala*-men are well “a reflex of list grammar” (Weeden 2011b, 129). On the cultic singer LÚ GALA (Hittite *šahtarili*-) see CHD Š, 10–12. The *palwatalla*-man is rather a “crier” (Badali 1990; CHD P, 80–85) than a “clapper” (so Weeden; Taggar-Cohen 2006, 22 leaves the name untranslated). The *arkammi*- was probably a drum rather than a lyre (Polvani 1988). On the logogram LÚ A ŠA KUŠ.LĀ see Weeden 2011b, 129 n. 76; on the duties of the “cleaners” (LÚ KISAL.LUḪ) see the remarks of van den Hout 1995a, 66. The ḪA after LÚ^{MES} GUB.BA’ is taken here, following Weeden, as the Luwian connective -*ha*. Weeden (2011b, 129 n. 77) tentatively suggested that the otherwise unattested logograms LÚ GUB.AN/-*an* and LÚ GUB.BA’ may be ad hoc transliterations of the hieroglyphic professional title CRUS into cuneiform. The logogram É GIŠ.KIN.TI “House of the Craftspeople” denotes a building used as “place of work,” not necessarily a scribal institution, although the É GIŠ.KIN.TI in the *Sūdareal* of Ḫattuša seems to have hosted intense scribal activity (Weeden 2011b, 130–31; Gordin 2010, 159 with n. 6).

i 13: The reading of the numeral ‘3’ at the beginning of the line, not contradicted by the copy of KUB 38.12 and confirmed by the parallel KUB 38.15 i 14 (both also photo collated), vindicates the total of 26 *hīlammatieš*-men given in line 11. Houwink ten Cate (1992, 127) proposed to read “2” at the beginning of lines 12 and 14, but the parallel KUB 38.15 shows that this solution is not possible. Taggar-Cohen (2006, 22) reads “2”; Darga (1973, 8) and Weeden (2011b, 129) read “1.”

i 18, ii 7–8, 22, iii 24’: The formula EZEN₄^{MES} GIŠ.ḪUR *gaštarḫaida tarrawan* is attested in this tablet (i 18, ii 7–8, 22, iii 24’) and in the votive text KBo 9.96 obv. i 5’ (GIŠ.ḪUR *ga-aš-tar-ḫa-i-ia-^rda^r* kuiēš EZEN₄^{MES} *tar^r*-[*ra-u-wa-an*], this occurrence kindly pointed out by C. Melchert). The form *gaštarḫaida* is Luwian, dat.-loc. sg. On the use of the verb *tarrawae*-, rare in the corpus, see §3.3.3.3; for the reading *gaštarḫaida* see Neu *apud* Marazzi 1994, 135 n. 13.

i 19, 23–25, ii 8, 23–24, iii 25’–27’, iv 4’–5’: On the expression MU-aš(=šmaš) *meyanaš* “annual, in the course of the year,” which “first appears in NH, probably after the dissolution of the single accentual unit [*witti meyani*] into independently declinable nouns,” as shown here by the occurrence in rev. iii 25’, see CHD L–N, 232–34.

i 20: On the festival of the grain pile (*šeliyaš*) see §5.8.2.

i 24: I am reluctant to accept *CHD*'s reading "MU.2(coll.)" (*CHD* L–N, 232), since on the photo the numeral appears exactly as in the copy (three vertical wedges, the left one smaller than the other two).

i 25, iv 4': The term *ḫalkueššar* (Akkadian *MELQĒTU*) denotes the part of the harvested goods which is to be consecrated to the gods as cult offerings, see Singer 1983, 147–49 and *HED* Ḫ, 39–41.

ii 1: The restoration is required by obv. ii 4.

ii 3: Note the Luwian or Luwoid form ^{LÚ.MES}*ḫazziwitašši-* (cf. *HED* Ḫ, 282–84; *HW*² Ḫ, 544, 547). On the relevance of this passage see the introduction and Görke 2016, 107–8.

ii 4: For the restoration cf. obv. i 17–18.

ii 9: On Hittite rites connected to thunder cf. §5.5.2.

ii 14: Here we have one set (*TAPAL*) composed of two shrines, not two pairs of temples (so *CHD* L–N, 455; *CHD* P, 280; Rost 1961, 200). For the constructions with *TAPAL* see *GrHL*, 160.

ii 21': Darga 1973, 10; *CHD* L, 39; and *CHD* Š, 196 read ^{LÚ}KÚRUN.NA¹, but both hand copy and photo show ^{LÚ}NAGAR NA₄; ^{LÚ}KÚRUN.NA is found in obv. i 15. For the restoration, see Darga 1973, 10 "SU[M-ta]."

ii 24': The numeral "7" is written here with 3+2+2 verticals, and in rev. iv 16' with 4+3 verticals: both are unorthodox writings (normally, 7 is written with 3+3+1 verticals).

iii 7': In all likelihood, the GN Durra is not to be equated with the *du-ú-ra* of the Annals of Tudḫaliya I/II (KUB 23.11 ii 15 // KUB 23.12 ii 7'), part of the coalition of Aššuwā (kindly pointed out by M. Gander).

iii 9'–10': The statuettes of three local manifestations of the mother goddess Ḫannaḫanna, the protective goddess of agricultural and human fertility, are mentioned here; see most recently Taracha 2010, 306. According to Taracha, the logogram DINGIR.MAḪ mostly refers in Hittite texts to the Mesopotamian mother goddess worshiped under the name or epithet of Ḫannaḫanna, not to a native Anatolian one.

iii 10'–11': Alaura 2001, 8 with n. 46, followed by *HW*² I, 161–62 (contra *HW*² A, 277), considers *arḫa išḫuwa-* to be a *terminus technicus* for the singling out of cult statue(tte)s to be renewed. However, the recent attestations from the cult inventory Kp 15/7+ (obv. i 5, 14, ii 10; text no. 15) clearly refer to precious stones that had been "stripped" thus pointing to a meaning "to throw out, discard, strip."

iii 13': Seven shrines for nine gods because, as Darga (1969, 10) noted, the three mother goddesses will share a single shrine.

iii 14': The meaning of the epithet *taggantipa* is unclear (cf. *HEG* T, 36; a *taggantipu*-festival is mentioned in rev. iv 2'). The deity Kippamula is likely

connected to the *kippa*-, a shrine or container for cult images and paraphernalia (Haas 1994, 520; *HED* K, 186).

iii 16': The epithet of the Storm God is ambiguous, since *ú-wa-an-za* can be participle of *uwa*- "to come" or of *auš*- "to see," see Dardano 2014, 251 n. 33.

iii 17': On the uncertainty about the possible identification of the GN (U)walma/Ulama cf. Kryszewski 2016, 380–82.

iii 18'–19': The juxtaposition of the spellings ⁴10 *piḥaššaššiš* and ⁴10 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, conveying the same god, is to be viewed as a scribal mistake (Starke 1990, 103–4 and Singer 2005, 559, *pace* CHDP, 257). Both the Storm God *piḥaššašši* "of lightning" and the Storm God *piḥaimi* "imbued with splendor" are local manifestations of the Storm God Tarḫunt, the former one later being conflated with the Greek Pegasus (Hutter 2003, 223); note that *Piḥami* and *Piḥaimi* appear as independent gods in *CTH* 510 (text no. 17). Also the rarely attested Storm God of Growth (iii 19') occurs both here and in *CTH* 510.

iii 22'–23': The gods whose cult images have been listed in lines 7'–21' are grouped into two categories. On the one hand the "gods of the shrine," that is, the nine gods who inhabit statuettes, who are to be kept in the seven shrines (cf. lines 7'–13'); on the other hand the "gods of the stela," that is, those who inhabit *ḥuwaši*-stones (cf. lines 14'–21'). The labels "gods of the shrine" and "gods of the stela" find their justification in the fact that stela, differently than statuettes, need not be hosted in a shrine or temple; on the contrary, they are usually open-air, and may or may not be enclosed in a sacred precinct. Neither does this passage establish an equivalence between shrine and stela nor it can be used to argue that the Hittite *ḥuwaši* was not a cult image (*pace* Darga 1969, 12–13 and Güterbock 1983, 215; on stela as cult images see §4.4.3). The numbers of the totals found in the text seem impossible to reconcile with the listing: either the totals refer to a count that only partially reflects the preceding text or a scribal mistake has to be assumed.

iv 2': The name of the *taggantipu*-festival reminds of the epithet of the Storm God listed in rev. iii 14'. The geminate -gg- and the quite opaque second part of the word make any connection with *tēkan*, *dagan*- extremely unlikely (kindly pointed out by C. Melchert).

iv 8': In my opinion, the Palace of Kantuzili is likely to go back to the same personality to which the "festival of Kantuzili's vow" of Kp 15/7+ refers, probably Kantuzili the "Priest" and⁹ chief of the bodyguards, son of Arnuwanda I (see text no. 15 for details).

iv 10': On the writing *ṬUP-n-PU* see *GrHL*, 167 (§9.51); for the notation of the tablet's position within a series in the genre of the cult inventories see Cammarosano 2013, 70.

iv 15': The interpretation offered here diverges from that of Taggar-Cohen 2006, 23 with n. 63 "[3?]6. The previous 26. AMA.DINGIR-priestess."

iv 16': Cf. commentary on obv. ii 24.

iv 18': The town of Kumma, apparently located in the vicinity of Karaḥna and Ḥurma, is not to be confused with Kumme (Kummiya), see Schwemer 2001, 458 n. 3779; 2008b, 41. According to Forlanini (2007, 279 n. 67), the city of Ḥurma may be localized at Pınarbaşı on the upper course of the Zamantı Su.

7.6. THE SOUTH

The southern area of the central districts is mainly represented by the region of the middle Kızılırmak in Cappadocia (§2.5). To this area pertain several cult inventories, of which the most impressive is probably KBo 70.109+, edited here. The other pertinent texts are edited within other chapters: KBo 2.7 // KBo 2.13 (text no. 3), KUB 38.26(+) (text no. 4), IBoT 2.131 (text no. 6), KUB 38.1+ (text no. 9), and KBo 12.53+ (text no. 7, districts of Wašḫa[niya] and Durmitta).

TEXT NO. 17. KBo 70.109+ // KUB 38.6+: HITTITE, LUWIAN, AND MESOPOTAMIAN GODS MEET UP

Manuscripts: MS A: Bo 434 (KUB 38.6^{A1}) + Bo 6741^{A2} (+) Bo 979 (KUB 57.58^{A3}); MS B: Bo 594 + Bo 595 + Bo 595 *Zusatz* (KBo 70.109^{B1}; KUB 57.106 + KUB 38.10 + KUB 38.10a) + Bo 8787^{B2} + Bo 8885^{B4} (+) Bo 7225^{B3}. **Findspot:** Boğazköy. **Edition:** Cammarosano 2015a (without MSS B2 and B3); Rost 1961, 185–90 (KUB 38.6), 195–97 (KUB 38.10 + 10a); Otten and Rüster 1982, 141 (Bo 6741); Cornil 1988 (KUB 57.106). **Discussion:** Cammarosano 2015a, with further references. **Notes:** The indirect join with Bo 7225 has been identified and kindly pointed out to me by J. Miller (e-mail 10 January 2016); its position is uncertain, the fragment is presented at the end of the edition and is given the paragraph number “§n.” Unpublished fragments are edited according to the excavation transliteration.

The most salient feature of this large and well-known inventory is the mixed picture of the gods of the many towns reviewed therein. The panthea of those towns and villages are almost as heterogeneous a mixture as one could want: unique among the entire corpus of Hittite texts, this composition witnesses the cult of Mesopotamian deities mixed together with a plethora of local, regional, and “pan-Hittite” Anatolian gods.

The text can be reconstructed from two manuscripts that constitute largely, though not entirely, identical copies of the composition. Expanding on previous work by L. Rost, H. Otten, A. Archi, S. Košak, Th. van den Hout, and P. Cornil, a new edition of the inventory could recently be presented, which also profited from collation of the original tablets and examination of 3D models (Cammarosano 2015a). The latter option proved especially useful for the reconstruction of MS B, as well as for deciphering the badly damaged parts of that manuscript, of which a new copy has been published (KBo

70.109). The present edition basically reproduces the one provided there, augmented by the new joins.

The inventory is structured by paragraphs, each one treating a different town. Twenty-eight sections are entirely or partially preserved, the last one constituting the colophon. The original tablets likely contained not more than ca. thirty to thirty-two sections, but the whole composition was larger, as the remark “not complete” in the colophon shows. The content is summarized in the table opposite.

Each section begins with the name of the town reviewed therein, followed by the list of cult images, deities, and envisaged festivals. Most deities happen to be represented in the form of a simple stela; anthropomorphic, theriomorphic or symbolic cult objects are listed first and concisely described; note the descriptions of the Valiant Storm God (§8'), Ištar of Nineveh (§15'), the Storm God of Išuwa, Marduk, Iyaya, the Storm God of the Countryside (§23''), and the Storm God of Mallitta (§26'''). Note that the totals given for the stelae rarely correspond to the number of gods one can obtain from the list. With a single exception, the festivals listed are always those of autumn and spring, representing the “minimum standard” of care for the gods within Hittite religion (in §26''', a *ḫullanu*-wrap festival is also mentioned).

By far the most interesting aspect of the composition is the religious mixture that is found in the list of the gods worshiped in the various settlements. Practically in every paragraph, local deities alternate with “pan-Hittite” ones as well as with gods of the official state pantheon, gods typical of specific areas of the Hittite Empire, as well as Syrian, Assyrian, and Mesopotamian deities. Prominent in this *mélange* are some Luwian deities: Piḫami and Piḫaim(m)i, which are originally epithets of the Luwian Storm God, “imbued with splendor,” and which appear together only in this composition; Ḫuwattašši (Ḫuwadašši), the “Wind”; the stag god Innara/Kurun-tiya; the goddess Maliya; the war and plague gods Yarri (Iyarri) and possibly Šanta (written akkadographically as ZABABA); Putallima; the moon god Arma; finally, a number of linguistically Luwian or luwianized divine names in -aššiš, (often *hapax legomena*), as well as sacred springs, mountains, and other local deities. Among the “pan-Hittite” gods and those who had entered the official state pantheon by the time the composition was drafted, we find the storm gods of Nerik and Kaštama, the Valiant Storm God, and the “triad” represented by Storm God (^d10), Sun Goddess (^dUTU), and Stag God (^dKAL), on which see §4.1. The triad is often listed first in the sequence, as frequently happens in cult inventories. The sumerogram ^d10 stands presumably for the local manifestations of the Storm God, whereas the sumerogram KAL is used for Innara/Kurun-tiya. As for the solar deity, the Sun Goddess of Arinna is probably intended when mentioned beside the Storm God and Stag God.

§	Town	Text
1'	...	B i 1'-4'
2'	Šalitašši	B i 5'-10'
3'	Wa(u)wara ŠJA LŪ ŠUKUR	A i 1'-8' // B i 11'-18'
4'	Paḥaḥanta	A i 9'-12' // B i 19'-23'
5'	Parmašḥapa	A i 13'-16' // B i 24'-27'
6'	^{URU} DU ₆ ^m Hurlušša	A i 17'-20' // B i 28'-32'
7'	Šappitta (<i>Colophon</i> : Šippitta)	A i 21'-26' // B i 33'-38'
8'	Kanzana	A i 27'-32' // B i 39'-44'
9'	Iššanašši	A i 33'-37' // B i 45'-46' (not complete)
10'	...	B ii 1-5
11'	^{URU} x-[2-3 signs]-x- ^r aš-ši-iš ² Š[A ² ...]	B ii 6-13
12'	Šallunatašši ŠA Ê.GAL (<i>Colophon</i> : Šalluwataši)	B ii 14-23
13'	^{URU} ki ² -ša ² -an ² -ta ² -aš ²	B ii 24-31
14'	[A ²]rumašši	B ii 32-38
15'	[^{URU} x-x-x]-x-x-aš-ši-i[š]	B ii 39-45
16'	...	B ii 46-55
17'	[^{URU}]x-aš ² -ša ² -aš	B ii 56-63
18'	...	Lost
19'	Gullanta	A iii 1'-9' (not complete) // B iii 2'-12'
20'	...	B iii 13'-16'
21'	...	B iii 17'-23' (not complete)
22''	...	B iii 24''-31''
23''	Tabbaruta	B iii 32''-45'' (not complete)
24'''	...	A iv 1'-7' // B iv 1'-5'
25'''	Šapagurwanta	A iv 8'-15' // B iv 6'-13'
26'''	Mallitta	A iv 16'-26' // B iv 14'-24'
27'''	...	A iv 27' sqq. // B iv 25'-35'
28'''	<i>Additional towns mentioned in the colophon</i> : Tiwaliy[a], ..., ^{URU} DU ₆ ^m Lukkašši, Wantara-..., [...] ^r ú ² -ti ¹ -te-eš-ki, [...] ^w i ₅ -ia-an- ^r ta-aš ¹	B iv 36'-46' (not complete)
n	^{URU} x-x-[ta ² -aš-ši ¹ -i[š]]	B 1'-5' (MS B3, placement uncertain)

Gods who are typical of regions outside the core of the Hittite kingdom are the Storm God of Išuwa (§23'', town Tabbaruta) and the Storm God of Azzi in (§25''', town Šapagurwanta). Finally, the “foreign gods”: those of Assyrian origin are the Storm God of Aššur and Ištar of Nineveh, both occurring in most paragraphs, whereas those of Syrian origin are the deified river Baliḫ, attested only once under its luwianized name *Baluḫašša*, and Milku, who is attested in Emar as well (Archi 2002, 50). Finally, there is one attestation of Ištar of Babylon in §25''' (town Šapagurwanta).

How is such a mixture to be accounted for? In the past, there has been much speculation about this; the proposed explanations ranged from a localization close to Upper Mesopotamia of the villages treated in the text (Rost), to a connection with Tudḫaliya IV, his major political interests and the relationship with Assyria (Hazenbos, Archi). But on a closer look, there can be little doubt that the presence of Mesopotamian and northern Syrian gods in these villages represents the legacy of the trade colonies of the Old Assyrian period, as already suggested by Forlanini and Schwemer (see Cammarosano 2015a, 206–8 for details). Indeed, the town Mallitta treated in §26''' is known to have been located along an Old Assyrian route between Wašḫaniya and Waḫšušana, thus pointing to the area west of Kaneš/Neša as the probable geographical setting of this inventory. This would explain nicely the presence of Assyrian gods as well as other deities that were worshiped by Assyrian merchants, including the Baliḫ River (luwianized *Baluḫašša*), which they had to cross on the road from Assyria to Anatolia; for analogous cases see the god Belu, treated in KBo 2.1 (text no. 2), and the goddess Nanaya, treated in KBo 12.53+ (text no. 7). The presence of the Storm Gods of Azzi and Išuwa is best explained, with Houwink ten Cate (1992, 108) and Schwemer (2008a, 152), through the assumption that these gods would have found their way to the middle Kızılırmak along with groups of civilian transportees (let the transportees from Azzi and Arzawa of KBo 12.53+, text no. 7, be recalled here). The mention of the Storm God of Išuwa might be due to analogous reasons, or may be related to a specific cult established by the king of Išuwa, who appears to have been directly or indirectly involved in some local cults of the Cappadocian area (Cammarosano and Marizza 2015, 175 n. 86). Rather than attesting to the introduction of foreign deities into local Hittite panthea at the orders of Tudḫaliya IV, the composition instead gives witness to a typical Hittite attitude, according to which no deity whatsoever should remain deprived of care once (s)he had been established in a certain place (cf. §1.1.3). This attitude explains why in the composition some deities are listed and worshiped, whose identity could no longer be established (§§7', 9', 26''', 27'''), and why a number of Old Assyrian deities persisted in these small settlements through the centuries up to the Late

Empire, long after the sunset of the trading colonies—indeed, it may be no accident that some of the inventoried villages are described as “ruin-towns.” To which extent these deities were integrated in the local panthea and in which periods they may have enjoyed a lively cult in the age following the end of the colonies, remains a matter of debate. Be that as it may, this unique cult inventory deserves a relevant place among the sources that bear witness to the richness and complexity of the Hittite pantheon.

This composition constitutes one of the few cases of duplicates in the corpus of the cult inventories (Cammarosano 2013, 91–100). The reasons for this are unclear, nevertheless a close comparison between the manuscripts is worthwhile. As for the content, there are minor discrepancies (see the commentary on MS A obv. i 4', 6', 18'; obv. ii 2'–3'; rev. iv 19', 21'). Interestingly, the sequence of towns as listed in the colophon does not entirely reflect that of the main text, possibly because of a *saut du même au même* in MS B iv 42' (see commentary). The two manuscripts also diverge in orthographic habits (see the remarks on the orthography), as well as in the *Schriftbild* and in the sign variants: both tablets are written in LNS, but the script is neat and clear in MS A, heavily cursive in MS B, which also shows a peculiar slant of the verticals (see the remarks on the palaeography).

Basis of Transliteration: Photographs, 3D models (only MSS A1, A3, and B1), collation (only MS B1).

Format and Layout: MS A: Two-columned tablet of fine-grained brown-reddish clay (preserved width ca. 13.5 cm, preserved height ca. 16 cm: Bo 434 without joins, ca. half of the tablet preserved); column width 10 cm; max preserved thickness 4.6 cm; neat, noncursive script. **MS B:** Two-columned tablet of fine-grained brown-reddish clay (preserved width ca. 18.5 cm, preserved length ca. 26.5 cm: almost complete); max thickness 5 cm; cursive script, vertical wedges slightly leaning to the left, especially on rev. iv.

Palaeography and Schriftbild: MS A: LNS; late QA, ḪA with 1 *Winkelhaken*. MS B: LNS; late QA, ḪA with 2 *Winkelhaken*.

Orthography: Characteristic are the forms *kuedaniya* (MS A) vs. *kuiedaniya* (MS B) in the closing formula of each paragraph, the spelling *KÁ-ia-aš* (MS A, i 6', ii 13'), ME.EŠ (HZL no. 360/2, transliterated as MEŠ in the edition) used without exception in MS B, vs. usual MEŠ (HZL no. 360/A) in MS A, ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik-ka₄* (MS B, vs. alternation *ne-ri-ik-ka₄* / *ne-ri-ik* of MS A), ^d*ia-ri-iš* (MS B, vs. ^d*i-ia-ri-iš* in MS A). For the form *zé-ni* in MS B iv 35' (as opposed to *zé-na-aš*, which is found in all other occurrences) see commentary *ad locum*.

Transliteration

§1' **A obv. i:** missing

B obv. i

(ca. 16 lines missing)

1' ^(B1 i 1') (traces)

2' [x x (x)]x ^d[...]

3' [x x (x)]*an-na-li-*[... *ku-i-e-da-ni-ia* A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MES}]

4' [1 EZEN₄] *zé-na-aš* [1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] §

§2' **A obv. i**

(Upper half of the tablet lost)

[§]

B obv. i

5' [^{URU}*ša-l*]*i-ta-aš-ši-i*[š ...]

6' [^d10 UR.S]AG ^d*pí-^rhu^r*-[...]

7' [x x (x)]x-x ^d*za-wa-a*[*l'-li-iš* (?) ...]

8' [^d10 ^{GIS}]KÁ ^dLIŠ ^U[^{RU}*ne-nu-wa* (?) ...]

9' [x x (x)]x-*ra-da-x*[...]

10' [*ku-i-e*]-*da-ni-^ria* A^r-[NA] DIN[GIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] §

§3' **A obv. i**

1' ^(A1 i 1') [^{URU}*wa-(u)wa-ra-aš Š*]A ^rLÚ^r [ŠUKUR ...]

2' [(ca. 4–5 signs)](-)x(-)^r*na^r-aš* 3 ^{GIS}GIDRU [...]

3' [^d10 ^{URU}*n*]*e-ri-ik* ^d10 ^{URU}*kaš-d*[*a-ma* ...]

4' [x x (x)] x ^d*pí-ḥa-mi-iš* ^d10 ^{KUR}*a*[š-šur ...]

5' [Ú.SAL *t*]*i-wi₅-na-la-aš* ^d*ḥu-u-wa-dáš-š*[*i-iš* ...]

6' [^{GIS}K]Á-^r*ia-aš^r* ^{PÚ}*wa-u-wa-ra-aš* x [...]

7' ^rd^rNISABA ^d*pa-an-za-aš* ^d*pár-*[*ga-aš* ...]

8' ^rA^r-NA DINGIR-LIM ^r2 EZEN₄ ^r1 EZ[EN₄ *zé-e-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] §

B obv. i

11' [^{URU}*wa-(u)wa*]-*ra-aš Š*[A LÚ ŠUKUR ...]

12' (traces)

13' (traces)

14' [^d*pí-ḥa-mi*]-*iš* ^d*pí^r*-[*ḥa-i-mi-iš* ...]

15' [Ú.SAL] ^r*i-wi₅-na^r*-[*la-a*]^rš ^r*ḥu-u-wa-dáš^r*-[*ši-iš* ...]

16' [x x x] ^{PÚ}x x [x] x ^{PÚ}*wa-u-wa-ra-aš* [...] x

17' [x x (x)] x ^dNI[SABA] ^rd^r*pa-an-za-aš* [^d*pár*]-^r*ga^r-aš* [...]

18' [*ku-i-e*]-*da-ni-[ia* A-N]A DINGIR-LIM ^r2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ *zé-na^r-aš* 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI §

Translation

- §1'
(B i 1'–4') [...] former/old [... For each deity 2 festivals: 1] autumn [festival, 1 spring festival].
- §2'
(B i 5'–10') [Town Šal]itašši: [... the Va]liant [Storm God], *Piḫu*-[...] Zawa[lli[?] ... Storm God of the] Gate, Ištar [of Nineveh ...] ... [For ea]ch dei[ty 2 festivals: 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival].
- §3'
(A i 1'–8' // B i 11'–18') [Town Wa(u)wa]ra of the [Spear]-holder [...] 3 staves [... Storm God of N]erik, Storm God of Kašt[ama ...] Piḫami, Storm God of A[ššur ...] (*MS B1 has: [Piḫam]i, Pi[ḫaimi ...]*), [meadow] Tiwinala, Ḫuwadašši, [...] spring [...] [... of the G]ate (*note that MSS A and B diverge here*), spring Wauwara, [...] Nisaba, Panza, Parga, [... For e]ach deity 2 festivals: 1 autu[mn] festival, [1 spr]ing [festival].

§4' A obv. i

- 9' ^{URU}[*pa-ḥa-ḥa-an-ta-a*]-^raš 15' DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^rNA₄'[ZL.KIN ^d10 ^dUTU ^dKAL (?) ...]
- 10' ^rd¹⁰ ^{URU}*kaš-da-ma*^r ^d10 UR.^rSAG ^d10 ^{URU}x[...]
- 11' Ú.SAL *ti-wi*₅-^rna-la^r-aš ^dḥu-u-wa-dáš-ši-i[š ...]
- 12' ^dmil-ku-uš ^d10 ^rḥar^r-ši-ḥar-ši *ku-e-da-ni-ia* ^rA-NA DINGIR-LIM 2' [EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ zé-e-na-aš 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] §

B obv. i

- 19' [^{URU}*pa-ḥa-ḥ*]*a-an*-[*ta-a-aš* 15 DINGIR^{MEŠ} NA₄']^rZL.KIN ^d10 ^dUTU ^dKAL' [(ca. 5 signs)]
- 20' [^d10 ^{URU}*k*]*aš-d*[*a-ma* ^d10] UR.SAG ^rd¹⁰ ^{URU}[x]-x-x-^rwa[?] ^I[^Dx x x x (x)] x x
- 21' [Ú.SAL *ti-wi*₅-*na-la-aš*] ^dr *ḥu-u-wa-dáš-ši*^r-[*iš* ...] x x
- 22' [^dmil-ku-uš ^d10 *ḥar-ši-ḥa*]*r-ṣi*^r *ku-i-e-da-ni-ia* A-NA DIN[GIR-LIM] 2 EZEN₄^{ME}[š]
- 23' [1 EZEN₄ zé-na-aš] 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI §

§5' A obv. i

- 13' [^U^{RU}*pár-ma-aš-ḥa-pa-aš* 16 DINGIR^{MEŠ} NA₄ZL.KIN ^d10 ^dUTU ^dKAL ^d10 ^{URU}*n*[*e-ri-ik-ka*]]
- 14' ^rd¹⁰ ^rURU^r*kaš-da-ma* ^d10 UR.SAG ^d10 ^{KUR}*aš-šur* ^{PÚ}*al-la-tin-na* ^d[IMIN.IMIN.BI ^dNISABA[?]]
- 15' ^rd¹⁰ ^rURU^r*ḥa-ra-na* ^dmil-ku-uš ^di-ia-ri-iš ^{ID}*pár-ma-aš-ḥa*-[*pa-aš* ^dLIŠ ^{URU}*ne-nu-wa*]
- 16' ^rku^r-e-da-ni-ia A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} 1 EZEN₄ zé-e-[*na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] §

B obv. i

- 24' [^{URU}*pár-ma-aš-ḥ*]*a-pa*-[*aš* 16 DINGIR^{MEŠ} N]^{A4}ZL.KI[N] ^rd¹⁰ ^rdUTU ^dKA[L] ^d10 ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik-ka*^r
- 25' [^d10 ^{URU}*k*]*aš-ta-ma* ^rd¹⁰ [10 U]R.SAG ^d10 ^{KUR}*aš-ṣur*^r [^{PÚ}]^r*al-la-tin-na*^r ^d[IMIN.IMIN.BI ^drNISABA[?]]
- 26' [^d10 ^{URU}*ḥa-r*]*a-na* ^dm[*il-ku-uš*] ^dr *ia-ri-iš*^r ^{ID}*pár-ma*-[*aš*]-^r*ḥa-pa*^r-*aš* ^dLIŠ ^{URU}*ne*^r-*nu-w*[*a*]
- 27' [*ku-i-e-da*]-^rni^r-ia A-NA [DINGIR-LIM 2 EZ]EN₄^rMEŠ^r 1 EZEN₄ z[é]-^rna-aš^r 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI §

- §4' [Town Paḥa]ḥan[ta]: 15 stela-deities: Storm God, Sun Goddess, Stag God, [...] Storm God of Kaštama, Valiant Storm God, Storm God of ...-wa², riv[er ...] meadow Tiwinala, Ḫuwadašši, [...] Milku, Storm God of the Thunderstorm. For each deity 2 festivals: [1 autumn festival], 1 spring festival.
- §5' [T]own Parmašḥapa: 16 stela-deities: Storm God, Sun Goddess, Stag God, Storm God of Nerik, Storm God of Kaštama, Valiant Storm God, Storm God of Aššur, spring Allatinna, Heptad, Nisaba², Storm God of Ḫarana, Milku, Yarri, river Parmašḥapa, Ištar of Nineveh. For each deity 2 festivals: 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival.

§6' A obv. i

- 17' ^{URU}DU₆ ^mhu-u-ur-lu-uš-ša 15 DINGIR^{MEŠ} NA₄ZI.KIN [^d10 ^dUTU ^dKAL
^d10 ^{URU}ne-ri-ik-ka₄]
- 18' ^rd¹⁰ kaš-da-ma ^d10 UR.SAG ^dLIŠ ^{URU}ne-nu-wa [(3–5 signs) Ú.SAL
ti-wi₅-na-la-aš]
- 19' ^rd¹⁰ hu-u-wa-dáš-ši-iš ^d10 ^{GIŠ}TIR ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ^rd¹⁰ [mil-ku-uš ^d10]
^{URU}ha-ra-na¹ [ku-e-da-ni-ia]
- 20' A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} 1 EZEN₄ zé-e-na-aš [1 EZEN₄] ^rDI₁₂-ŠI' §

B obv. i

- 28' [^{URU}DU₆ ^mh]u-u-ur-^rlu¹-[uš-ša 15 DINGIR^M]^{ES} ^rNA₄ZI'.[KIN] ^rd¹⁰ ^dUTU
^dKAL¹
- 29' [^d10 ^{URU}ne-r]i-ik-k[a₄ ^d10 ^{URU}kaš-[da-m]a ^rd¹⁰ [LIŠ ^{URU}n]e-^rnu-wa ^d10
UR.SAG¹
- 30' [x x (x)]x-aš 'Ú'.[SAL] ^rti¹-wi₅-n[a-la-aš ^dhu-u-wa-dáš]-^rši-iš¹ ^d10
^{GIŠ}TIR
- 31' [^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ^dmi]l-ku-uš ^d10 ^{URU}ha-r[a-na ku-i-e-da-ni]-^ria A-NA
DINGIR-LIM¹
- 32' [2 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} 1 E]ZEN₄ zé-[na]-aš 1 EZ[EN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] §

§7' A obv. i

- 21' ^{URU}ša-ap-pí-it-ta-aš 23 DINGIR^{MEŠ} [^{NA}₄ZI.K]IN ^d10 ^rd¹⁰ [UTU ^dKAL ^dhu-u-
wa-dáš-ši-iš]
- 22' ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ^di-ia-ri-iš ^rd¹⁰ ^[URU]^rne¹-ri-ik-ka₄ ^rd¹⁰ [(ca. 3 signs)] ^d10
^{URU}^r [(ca. 3 signs)]
- 23' ^dmil-ku-uš ^da-na-az²-x ^dLIŠ ^{URU}ne-nu-wa ^rd¹⁰ ^{KUR}aš-šur ^rd¹⁰ [(ca. 5 signs)]
- 24' ^d10 ^{URU}ha-ra-na ^dER[EŠ.K]I.GAL ^{KUR}la-wa-ta ^{PÜ}ni-x 'MÊ¹-[ia-aš (ca.
5 signs)]
- 25' ^rd¹⁰ ba-lu-ha-aš-ša-[aš] ^d10 ^{GIŠ}KÁ 1 ^{NA}₄ZI.KIN ^dUTU ^{URU}^rwi₅²-[(ca. 3
signs)]
- 26' ku-e-da-ni-ia 'A¹-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ zé-e-^rna-aš¹ 1
[EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI]I §

B obv. i

- 33' [^{URU}ši-ip-pí-it-ta-aš 23 DINGIR^{MEŠ}] ^rNA₄ZI.KIN ^d10 ^d10 [UTU ^dKAL] ^rd¹⁰ hu-
u-wa-dáš-ši-iš¹
- 34' [^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ^d(i)-ia-ri-iš] ^d10 ^{URU}ne-ri-ik-ka₄ ^d10 [(ca. 3 signs)]
- 35' [^d10 ^{URU} (ca. 3 signs) ^dmil-ku-u]š ^da-na-x-x ^rd¹⁰ LIŠ¹ ^{URU}n[e-nu-wa] ^rd¹⁰ ^{KUR}
aš-šur
- 36' [(ca. 6 signs) ^d10 ^{URU}ha-ra-na ^dEREŠ.'KI.GAL¹ ^{KUR}la-wa-[ta ^{PÜ}ni-x]
'MÊ-ia¹-aš
- 37' [(ca. 5 signs)] ^{ID}ba-lu-ha-ša-aš ^d10 ^{GIŠ}K[Á 1 ^{NA}₄]'^r.ZI.KIN¹ [^d]^rUTU
^{URU}wi₅²-pí²-tí²-za²
- 38' [ku-i-e-da-ni-ia A-NA] DINGIR-LIM 2 'EZEN₄^{MEŠ} 1 EZEN₄ zé¹-n[a]-aš
[1] 'EZEN₄' DI₁₂-[ŠI] §

- §6' Ruin-town of (Mr.) Ħurlušša: 15 stela-deities: Storm God, Sun Goddess, Stag God, Storm God of Nerik, Storm God of Kaštama, Ištar of Nineveh (*the sequence of these two deities is inverted in MS A*), Valiant Storm God, [(*one DN*)] mea[dow] Tiwina[la], Ħuwadašši, Storm God of the Forest, Heptad, [Mi]lku, Storm God of Ħarana. For [ea]ch deity 2 festivals: 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festi[val].
- §7' Town Šappitta (*in the colophon the name is spelled Šippitta*): 23 stela-deities: Storm God, [Sun Goddess, Stag God], Ħuwadašši, Heptad, Yarri, Storm God of Nerik, [(*one DN*)] Storm God of [...], Milku, *A-na-azⁿ-x*, Ištar of Nineveh, Storm God of Aššur, [(*one DN*)] Storm God of Ħarana, Ereškigal, Mount Lawata, spring *Ni-...* of the Battle, [(*one DN*)] river Baliḥ, Storm God of the Gate, 1 (further) stela (*i.e., one which could not be attributed any more to a specific deity*), Sun Goddess of Wipitiza^{??}. For each deity 2 festivals: 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival.

§8' **A obv. i**

- 27' ^{URU}*kán-za-[a-n]a-aš* 1 ALAM LÚ GUB-aš GIŠ-ŠÍ *gur-zi-ip-a[n ZABAR ZAG-za]*
- 28' [GAM]-ši *p[al-za]-ḥa-aš* ^d10 UR.SAG 2 ALAM MUNUS TUŠ-aš NAGGA [GAR.RA (ca. 4 signs)]
- 29' ^rÚ 19 DINGIR^{MEŠ} NA₄ZI.KIN ^d10 *kaš-ta-ma* ^d10 ^{URU}*ḥa-ra-^rna^r* [(ca. 5 signs)]
- 30' ^rd¹⁰ ^{KUR}*aš-šur* ^d*pí-ḥa-mi-iš* ^{KUR}*la-wa-ta* ^dEREŠ.KI.GAL ^rd¹[¹⁰ ^{KUR}*ka²-x-x*]
- 31' ^d*ḥu-u-wa-dáš-ši-iš* ^{PÚ}*ta-ut-ta-wa-zi-iš* ^dLIŠ MÈ ^rd¹[¹⁰ *ar...*]
- 32' *ku-e-da-ni-ia* A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} 1 EZEN₄ *zé-e-^rna-aš* 1^r [EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] §

B obv. i

- 39' [^{URU}*kán-za-a-na-aš* 1 ALAM] LÚ GUB GIŠ ^rGUR^r-ZI-^rIP^r Z[AB]AR ZAG-za
- 40' [GAM]-ši *pal-za-ḥa-aš* ^d10 UR].SA[G 2 A]LAM MUNUS TUŠ-a[š NA]GGA GAR.RA [(ca. 3 signs)] x
- 41' [^Ú 19 DINGIR^{MEŠ} NA₄ZI.KIN ^d10 *kaš-ta-ma* ^d10 ^URU^r*ḥa-ra-^rna^r* [(ca. 5 signs)]
- 42' [^d10 ^{KUR}*aš-šur* ^d*pí-ḥa-mi-iš* ^{KUR}*la-wa-ta* ^dEREŠ.KI.GAL ^d10 ^{KUR}*k[a²(-x)]* -x
- 43' [^d*ḥu-u-wa-dáš-ši-iš* ^{PÚ}*ta-ut-ta-wa-zi-iš* ^dLIŠ] MÈ ^d10 *a[r-(1-3 signs)]*
- 44' [*ku-i-e-da-ni-ia* A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} 1 EZE]N₄ *zé-na-aš* 1 EZE[N₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] §

§9' **A obv. i**

- 33' ^{URU}*iš-ša-na-aš-ši-iš* 20 DINGIR^{MEŠ} NA₄ZI.KIN ^d10 ^dUTU ^dKAL ^d[EREŠ.KI.GAL]
- 34' ^d10 *ḥar-ši-ḥar-ši* ^d10 ^{URU}*kaš-da-ma* ^d10 ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik-ka₄* ^dLIŠ [^{URU}*ne-nu-wa*]
- 35' ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ^d10 ^{URU}*ḥa-ra-na* ^d10 ^{KUR}*aš-šur* ^d*ḥu-u-wa-dáš-ši-iš* 3 P[^Ú (vacat?)]
- 36' ^{PÚ}*ti-i-na-ta-aš-ši-iš* ^{PÚ}*zi-gur-wa-aš* ^{PÚ}*ša^r-^rna²-^ria-aš* ^dr¹⁰ *a-ru^r-x*[...]
- 37' ^d10 LÍL *ku-e-da-ni-ia* A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 ^rEZEN₄^{ES} 1 EZEN₄ *zé-e-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] §

(Randleiste)

B obv. i

- 45' [^{URU}*iš-ša-na-aš-ši-iš* 20 DINGIR^{MEŠ} NA₄ZI.KIN ^d10 ^dUTU ^d]^rKAL^r ^dEREŠ.KI.GAL]
- 46' [^d10 *ḥar-ši-ḥar-ši* ^d10 ^{URU}*kaš-da-ma* ^d10 ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik-ka₄* ^dLIŠ ^{UR}]^U*ne-[nu-wa]*

(breaks off; the column consisted of three more lines, which can be reconstructed based on MS A obv. i 35'–37')

- §8'
(A i 27'–32' //
B i 39'–44') Town Kanza[n]a: 1 statuette of a man, in standing position, made of wood, wearing a br[o]nze *gorget*; to the right, beneath him, is a base: the Valiant Storm God. 2 statuettes of women, in sitting position, tin-plated, [...] and 19 stela-deities (*note that the following list counts only 12 deities*): Storm God of Kaštama, Storm God of Ḫarana, [(*one DN*)] Storm God of Aššur, Piḫami, Mount Lawata, Ereškigal, Storm God of the land of K[a-... (=Katapa?),] Ḫuwadašši, spring Tauttawazi, Ištar of the Battle, Storm God a[r- ...]. For each deity 2 festivals: 1 autumn festival, 1 [spring] fest[ival].
- §9'
(A i 33'–37' //
B i 45'–46') Town Iššanašši: 20 stela-deities: Storm God, Sun Goddess, Stag God, Erešk[igal], Storm God of the Thunderstorm, Storm God of Kaštama, Storm God of Nerik, Ištar of Ni[neveh], Heptad, Storm God of Ḫarana, Storm God of Aššur, Ḫuwadašši, 3 spri[ng(-goddesse)s], (namely,?) spring Tinatašši, spring Zigurwa, spring Šanaya', Storm God *aru*-... [...], Storm God of the Countryside. For each deity 2 festival[s: 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival].

§10' A obv. ii: missing

B obv. ii

- 1 ^{URU}[...]
 2 ^{d10} [...]
 3 x[...]
 4 ^{d10} ^{URU}r *tap⁷¹*-p[*a²-re-eš-ši-ia* (?) ...]§
 5 A-NA [DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ *DI₁₂-ŠI*]§

§11' A obv. ii

(ca. 9 lines missing)

- 1' (A3 1') [... ^{d10} ^{KUR}a]š-šur ^{r^{d71}}[...]
 2' [^{dLIŠ} ^{URU}n]e-nu-wa ^{d10} ^U[^{RU}kas-da-ma ...]
 3' [^{d10} (?) ^{GIŠK}Ā-ia-aš ^{d10} ^{URU}n[e-ri-ik-ka₄ ...]
 4' [^di-i]a-ri-iš (erasure) ^{d10} ^{A.ŠĀ}A.G[ĀR ... *ku-e-da-ni-ia*]
 5' [A-NA D]INGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1-EN E[ZEN₄ *zé-e-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ *DI₁₂-ŠI*]§

B obv. ii

- 6 ^{URU}x-[(2–3 signs)]-x-^raš-ši-iš⁷¹ Š[A[?] ...]
 7 (traces) ŠĀ [...]
 8 [(ca. 4 signs)] x ^dhu-u-wa-dáš-[ši-iš ...]
 9 [^dpí-ḥa]-mi-iš ^{r^{d71}}pí-ḥa-i-mi-[iš ...]
 10 [^{d10}] ^{r^{KUR}}aš-šur⁷¹ ^{d10} ^{KUR}kum-mi-eš-maḥ ^d[^{LIŠ} ^{URU}ne-nu-wa]
 11 ^{d10} ^{URU}ne-ri-ik-ka₄ ^{d10} ^{URU}kaš-da-m[a ^{d10} (?) ^{GIŠK}Ā-ia-aš]
 12 ^dia-rī-iš ^{d10} ^{A.ŠĀ}A.GĀR ^{d10}+mi-ia-an-na-aš [(vacat?)]
 13 *ku-i-e-da-ni-ia* A-NA [DINGIR]-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZ[EN₄ *zé-na-aš* 1 *DI₁₂-ŠI*]§

§12' A obv. ii

- 6' [^{URU}šal-l]u-na-ta-aš-ši-iš ŠA É.[GAL ^mla-bar-na 1 ALAM MUNUS ...]
 7' [I-NA]É⁷¹ ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dma-li-ia-[aš ŠA ^{LÚ}NAGAR 30 DINGIR^{MES}
^{NA₄}ZI.KIN]
 8' [^{d10}] ^{r^{d71}}UTU ^dKAL ^{KUR}la-wa-ta [^{d10} mi-ia-an-na-aš ^dpí-ḥa-mi-iš]
 9' [^dpí-ḥ]a-i-mi-iš ^{d10} ^{URU}n[e-ri-ik-ka₄ ^{d10} ^{URU}kaš-ta-ma]
 10' [^{d10} ^{GIŠ}KĀ ^{PÚ}ḥi-la-aš ^d[ia-ri-iš ^{d10} UR.SAG ^{HUR.SAG}GE₆]
 11' [^dLIŠ ^{URU}]ne-nu-wa ^dLIŠ [MÊ ^dmil-ku-uš ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI]
 12' [^dhu-u-wa-d]a-aš-ši-iš ^{PÚ}[ḥar-ki ...]
 (MS A3 breaks off)

B obv. ii

- 14 [^{URU}]r šal-lu-na-ta-aš-ši-iš <ŠA> É.GAL ^mla-bar⁷¹-na 1 ALAM MUNU[S
 (ca. 1–5 signs)]
 15 ^rI-NA É ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dma-li⁷¹-ia-aš ŠA ^{LÚ}NAGAR 30 [DINGIR^{MES} ^{NA₄}ZI.KIN]
 16 ^{d10} ^{r^{d71}}[UTU ^dK]AL ^{KUR}la-wa-ta ^{d10} [^m]i-ia-an-na-aš ^dpí-ḥa-[mi-iš]
 17 ^dpí-ḥa-i-mi-iš ^{d10} ^{URU}ne-ri-ik-ka₄ ^{d10} ^{URU}kaš-sic-t[^a_{sic}-ma]
 18 ^{d10} ^{GIŠ}KĀ ^{PÚ}ḥi-la-aš ^dia-r[ⁱ-i]š ^{d10} UR.SAG

- §10' Town [...] Storm God [...] Storm God of Tapp[areššiya^{??} ...]
(B ii 1–5) For [each deity 2 festivals: 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival].
- §11' Town [...]-ašši[?] o[f[?] ...] ... into [...] Ḫuwadaš[ši ...
(A ii 1'–5' // Piḫa]mi, Piḫaim[i ... Storm God of] Aššur, Storm God of Mount
B ii 6–13) Kummiešmaḫ, [Ištar of N]ineveh, Storm God of Nerik, Storm
God of Kaštam[a, Storm[?] god of the G]ate (*note that the sequence
of the last four deities diverges in MS A*), Yarri, Storm God of the
Farmland, Storm God of Growth. For each deity 2 festivals: 1
[autumn] fest[ival, 1 spring festival].
- §12' [Town] Šallunatašši of the Palace of Labarna: 1 statuette of
(A ii 6'–12' // a woma[n ... in the] priest's house: Maliya of the Carpenter.
B ii 14–23) 30 [stela-deities]: Storm God, Sun Goddess, Stag God, Mount
Lawata, Storm God of the Growth, Piḫa[mi], Piḫaimi, Storm
God of Nerik, Storm God of Kašt[ama], Storm God of the Gate,
spring Ḫila, Yarri, Valiant Storm God, Dark Mountain, Ištar of
Nineveh, Ištar of the Battle, Milku, He[ptad, Ḫu]wadašši, White
Spring, Stag God of the Spade, the Great Sun Deity, [Mount]
Tarmaimi, Sun Deity “cal[li]ng up,” Sun Deity of the Farmla[nd],
Spring of the Apple Tree on[?] the Dark Mountain, Aḫ[ḫal]i. For
each deity 2 festival[s: 1] autumn festival, 1 [spring (festival)].

- 19 ^{HUR.SAG}GE₆ ^dLIŠ ^{URU}ne-nu-wa ^dLIŠ MÊ ^dmil-ku-uš ^drIMIN'.I[MIN.BI]
 20 [^dhu]-^ru-wa¹-da+aš+ši-iš PÚ har-ki ^dKA[L ^{GI}]S³MAR ^dUTU GAL
 [(vacat)]
 21 [^{KUR}]tar-ma-i-mi-iš ^drUTU' UGU hal-z[ⁱ-i]a-^ran-za¹ ^dUTU ^{A.SA}A.GÀ[R]
 22 'PÚ' ŠA ^{GIŠ}HAS³HUR 'ŠÀ⁷ ^{HUR.SAG}GE₆ ^dAH³-[ha-li]-i-iš
 23 'ku-i'-e-da-ni-ia A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZE[N₄^{MES} 1 E]ZEN₄ zé-na-aš 1
 [DI₁₂-ŠI]§

§13' **obv. ii:** missing

B obv. ii

- 24 ^{URU}kí²-ša²-an²-ta²-aš² <ŠA> Ê.GAL x x x x [x x x] x 1 ALAM LÚ [x (x)]
 25 IG^{H.A}-ŠÚ NAGGA GAR.RA x x x x x x [(3-4 signs)] x x [(2-3 signs)]
 26 ^d10² ar²-x-x-x-^reš²-ša² x x x [...]
 27 ^d10 ^drUTU⁷ [x] x [...]
 28 [(3-4 signs)] ^d10 ^{URU}kaš-ta-ma¹ ^d10 [(ca. 4 signs)] (traces)
 29 PÚ[^da]-^rni-ia¹-aš ^{KUR}kaš²-šu²-uš ^d[(ca. 5 signs)] (traces)
 30 ^dh[u-u-w]a-dáš-ši-iš ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ^d[(3-4 signs)]-x-ši
 31 ku-i-[e]-da-ni-ia A-NA DINGIR-LIM '2' [EZEN₄^{MES} 1] 'EZEN₄ zé-na-aš 1'
 [DI₁₂-ŠI]§

§14' **A obv. ii:** missing

B obv. ii

- 32 ^U[^{RU}a²]-ru-ma-aš-ši-iš [1] GÚ G[U₄.MAH x (x)] (traces)
 33 [nu-uš]-ši-kán 'GİR⁷ KÛ.BABBAR RA-[IŠ² x x x] (traces)
 34 [x x ^d]KAL [^d10] ^{URU}ne-ri-ik-[ka₄ ^d10 ^{UR}]U kaš-^rda-ma¹ ^d[x x (x)]
 35 [(ca. 6 signs)] LÍL [^d]hu-u-wa-dáš-^rši-iš⁷ [^d]rIMIN.IMIN.BI' [(x x)]
 36 [(ca. 8 signs)]-iš ^dLIŠ ^{URU}ne-nu-wa ^d10 x[(x x)]
 37 [(ca. 6 signs)]-za² ^r^d1 pi-ha-mi-iš ^dpi-ha-i-mi-i[š]
 38 [ku-i-e-da-ni-ia A]-NA DING[IR-L]IM 2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ zé-na-aš
 [1 DI₁₂-ŠI]§

§15' **A obv. ii:** missing

B obv. ii

- 39 [^{URU}x-x-x]-x-x-aš-ši-i[š] 1 GÚ GU₄.MAH GIŠ SAG.DU-S[Ú NAGGA
 GAR.RA (?) ...]
 40 '1' G[Ú GU₄.MAH] GIŠ SAG.D[U-S]Ú NAGGA GAR.RA ^dLIŠ ^{URU}n[e-
 nu-wa]
 41 [(ca. 4 signs)] 12 DINGIR^{MES} N[A₄Z]I.KIN ^dUTU ^dKAL ^d10 ^{KUR}a[š-šur
 (vacat?)]
 42 [^d10 ^{URU}kaš-d]a-ma ^r^d10 ^{URU}[n]e-^rri-ik'-[ka₄] ^dp[ⁱ-ha-mi-iš]
 43 ^dp[ⁱ-ha-i]-mi-iš ^di-^ria-ri-iš ^di-^ru-uš ^d7[x x (x)]
 44 PÚ an-x-[x-x]-x ^d10 LÍL ^d10 har-ši-har-ši ^dhu-u-wa-dáš-[š-iš]
 45 ku-i-e-d[a-ni-i]a A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ zé-n[a-aš 1
 DI₁₂-ŠI]§

- §13'
(B ii 24–31) Town Kišanta⁷ <of> the Palace ... [...] 1 statuette of a man [...], his eyes inlaid with tin, ... [...] Storm⁷ god *ar*²-[...] Storm God, Sun Goddess (?), [...] Storm God of Kaštama, Storm God [...] ... spring Šaniya, Mount Kaššu⁷, [...] ... Ḫ[uw]adašši, Heptad, *illegible DN*. For each deity 2 [festivals: 1] autumn festival, 1 [spring (festival)].
- §14'
(B ii 32–38) T[own A⁷]*rumašši*: [1] bu[ll]'s (head and) neck [... it]s feet⁷ are of silver, dama[ged ...] Stag [God, Storm God] of Neri[k, Storm God of] Kaštama, [...] of the Countryside, Ḫuwadašši, Heptad, [...] Ištar of Nineveh, Storm God [...], Piḫami, Piḫaimi. [For each] deity 2 festivals: 1 autumn festival, [1 spring (festival)].
- §15'
(B ii 39–45) [Town ...]-ašši: 1 bull's (head and) neck, of wood, its head [is tin-plated (?): *DN*]. 1 [bull's] (head and) ne[ck], of wood, [i]ts hea[d] is tin-plated: Ištar of N[ineveh. ...] 12 s[te]la-deities: Sun Goddess, Stag God, Storm God of A[ššur, Storm God of Kašt]ama, Storm God of Nerik, Pi[ḫami], Pi[ḫai]mi, Yarri, Iru, [(one *DN*)] spring *An*-... (or: spring of the Sun Deity), Storm God of the Countryside, Storm God of the Thunderstorm, Ḫuwadaš[ši]. For ea[c]h deity 2 festivals: 1 autu[mn festival, 1 spring (festival)].

§16' A obv. ii: missing

B obv. ii

46 ^{URU}š[^{a2}- (ca. 7 signs)] DINGIR^{MES}NA⁴ZI.K[IN x x (x)]
 47 ^{d10}[(ca. 5 signs)] x x x [x] ^{d10}^{URU}ne-r[i-ik-ka₄]
 48 ^{r d10}^{URU}ḱ[aš-da-ma] ^dpí-ḱa-mi-iš ^{r d1}pí-ḱa-i-mi-i[š]
 49 ^dia-r[i-iš ^dLÍŠ ^{URU}n]e-nu-^rwa¹ (traces) [^{d10}^{KU}]^raš-šur¹
 50 ^{r KUR}la-wa-[ta]-aš ^dZA-BA₄-BA₄ ^{d r}ḱu-u-wa-dáš-ši¹-[iš] ^{r d}IMIN.IMIN.BI¹
 51 ^{r d1}pár-m[i²]-nu-la²-aš-ši-iš ^{r PÚ}ú-x-x-x ^{d10}^{GIŠ}^rKÁ¹ [(vacat?)]
 52 ^{d10}^rmi-ia¹-an-na-aš ^{d10} x x [x x (x)]-^rú-na²-aš¹
 53 ^{d10}ḱar-š[i-ḱa]r-ši ^{d10}LÍL ^dER[EŠ.KI.GAL] ^{r d10}^{GIŠ}TIR
 54 ^dza-wa-^rli-iš¹ [^d]^{sic}^rAMAR.UTU ^{d r}^{sic}x[(3-4 signs)]-du-ma-an-t[e²-eš²]
 55 [ku-i]-e-da-^rni¹-ia ^rA-NA DINGIR-LIM¹ [2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZ]EN₄¹ ^rze¹-
 na-aš ^{r1}DI₁₂¹-[ŠI]§

§17' A obv. ii: missing

B obv. ii

56 [^{URU}]x-aš²-ša²-aš 23 ^rDINGIR^{MES}¹[^{NA4}ZI.KIN ^{d10}] ^dUTU ^dKAL
 57 ^{r d1}[10] ^{r URU}ne-r-ik¹-ka₄ ^{d10} ^{r URU}kaš-da-ma ^{d10}^r^{KUR}aš-šur
 58 ^{r d1}[LÍŠ] ^{URU}ne-n[u-w]a ^{d10}^rUR¹.[SAG] ^{d10}^rḱar-ši-ḱar¹-ši
 59 ^{d10}^rmi-ia¹-an-na-[aš] ^{KUR}la-wa-ta (traces)
 60 ^{d10} ^{r URU}ḱa-ra¹-[na x x] x x x ^{r d1}[...]
 61 x x [x] ^{PÚ}x-[...]
 62 [ku-i-e]-da-ni-i[a A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MES}]
 63 [1 EZEN₄ z]é-n[a-aš 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] [§]
 (breaks off; the three last lines of the column are missing)

§18' A rev. iii

(ca. 6 lines missing, corresponding to the paragraph straddling between end of obv. ii and beginning of rev. iii in MS B, equally lost)
 [§]

B rev. iii

(2-3 lines missing; the lost lines at the beginning of the column contained the continuation of paragraph 18', whose first part occupied the lost lines at the end of obv. ii)

1' (traces)§

- §16' Town Š[a- ... n] stela-deities: [...] Storm God [...] ... Storm
(B ii 46–55) God of Neri[k], Storm God of K[aštama], Piḥami, Piḥaimi,
Yar[ri, Ištar of] Nineveh, (*traces*) [Storm God of] Aššur, Mount
Lawa[ta], War God, Ḫuwadašši, Heptad, river Parm[in]ulašši?,
spring ..., Storm God of the Gate, Storm God of the Growth,
Storm God ..., Storm God of the Thunde[rs]torm, Storm God of
the Countryside, Er[eškigal], Storm God of the Forest, Zawalli,
Šanta, [...] ... For [e]ach deity [2 festivals: 1] autumn [festi]val,
1 spri[ng] (festival).
- §17' [Town ...]-ašša²: 23 [stela]-deities: [Storm God], Sun Goddess,
(B ii 56–63) Stag God, [Storm] God of Nerik, Storm God of Kaštama, Storm
God of Aššur, [Ištar] of Nin[ev]eh, Val[iant] Storm God, Storm
God of Thunderstorm, Storm God of the Growth, Mount
Lawata, ... Storm God of Ḫara[na ...] ... [...] ... spring [... For
e]ac[h deity 2 festivals: 1] autu[mn festival, 1 spring festival].
- §18' (*one paragraph, only traces preserved*)

§19' A rev. iii

- 1' ^rURU *gul-la-an*¹-[*ta-aš* 1 ALAM LÚ GUB ...]
 2' 1 ALAM LÚ GI[Š ... DINGIR-*LIM*-(*ni-ia*)-*tar ú-nu-wa-an-zi* ...]
 3' ŠÀ É DINGIR-*LIM* [30 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN ^d10 ^dUTU ^dKAL (?)]
 4' ^d10 *kar-an-z*[*a* ^dKAL LÍL ^dLIŠ ^{URU}*ne-nu-wa* ...]
 5' ^d*mil-ku-uš* [... ^d10 *te-et-ḥe-eš-na-aš*]
 6' ^d*i-ru*-[*uš* ... ^d10 ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik-ka*₄]
 7' ^d10 *kaš*-[*da-ma* ...]
 8' ^d10 [... ^d*ḥu-u-wa-dáš-ši-iš*]
 9' ^{PÜ}X-[... ^d*pé-en-ta-ru-uḥ-ši-iš*]
 (breaks off)

B rev. iii

- 2' [^{URU}*gul-la-an-ta-aš*] 1 ALAM LÚ GUB [...]
 3' [1 ALAM LÚGIŠ DINGIR-*LIM*-(*ni-i*)]*a-tar ú-nu-wa-an-z*[*i* ...]
 4' [ŠÀ É DINGIR-*LIM*] ^r30¹ ^{NA4}ZI.^rKIN¹ ^d10 ^dU[TU ^dKAL (?)]
 5' [^d10 *kar-an-z*]*a* ^r^dKAL¹ LÍL ^d^rLIŠ¹ ^{URU}*ne-nu-wa* [...]
 6' [^d*mil-ku-uš* ...] (traces) ^d10 *te-et-ḥe-eš-š*[*a-na-aš*]
 7' [^d*i-ru-uš* ...] (traces) ^r^d10¹ ^{URU}*ne-r*[*i-ik-ka*₄]
 8' [^d10 ^{URU}*kaš-ta-ma* ...]-x-*li*²-*ia*-[...]
 9' [^d10 ...] ^r^d*ḥu*¹-[*u*]-*wa-dáš-ši-iš*
 10' [^{PÜ}...]-x ^r^d*pé-en-ta*¹-[*ru-uḥ-ši-iš*]
 11' [... *ku-i-e-d*]*a*-^r*ni*¹-*ia* ^r*A*¹-[*NA* DINGIR-*LIM*]
 12' [2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ *DI*₁₂-Š]I §

§20' A rev. iii: missing

B rev. iii

- 13'–15' missing
 16' [*A-NA* DINGIR-*LIM* 2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ *z*]*é-na-aš* 1 EZ[EN₄ *DI*₁₂-Š]I
 §

§21' A: missing

B rev. iii

- 17' [(ca. 11 signs)] ^d10 [^dUT]U ^d[KAL[?] ...]
 18' [(ca. 11 signs)] ^rKUR¹*la-wa-ta*¹ [...]
 19' [(ca. 11 signs)] x U WA x [...]
 20': (traces)
 (gap of ca. 6 lines)
 21'' (B2 1') [...]x[...]
 22'' [...]^r2 EZEN₄^{MES}¹
 23'' [1 EZEN₄ *zé-na-aš* 1 EZEN₄ *D*]*I*₁₂-ŠI §

- §19' Town Gullan[ta]: 1 statuette of a man, in standing position,
 (A iii 1'–9' // [...] 1 statuette of a man, of woo[d ... the cult im]age they
 B iii 2'–12') decorat[e ...] in the shrine, 30 stelae: Storm God, Su[n goddess,
 Stag² god], Storm God *karant*-, Stag God of the Countryside,
 Ištar of Nineveh [...] Milku [...] Storm God of the Thunder,
 Iru [...] Storm God of Ner[ik], Storm God of Kaš[tama ...] ...
 Storm God [...] Ĥuwadašši, spring [...] Penta[ruḥši ... For
 e]ac[h deity 2 festivals: 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival].
- §20' [... For each deity 2 festivals: 1 au]tumn [festival], 1 [sprin]g
 (B iii 13'–16') fes[tival].
- §21' [...] Storm God, Sun [goddess], [Stag²] God [...] Mount Lawata
 (B iii 17'–23'' [...] (*gap*) [For each deity] 2 festivals: [1 autumn festival, 1]
 spring [festival].

§22'' A rev. iii: missing

B rev. iii

- 24'' (B1 iii 21''/B2 4'') URUR^rx^r [...]x^rd10^r AN^r x x [(vacat?)]
 25'' ^dtap-pí-kir [(ca. 5–6 signs) ^{PÚ}]r^rša-ni^r-ia-aš [(vacat?)]
 26'' ^dEREŠ.KI.GAL ^d[x x x]x^{KUR}la-wa-ta-aš [(vacat?)]
 27'' ^da-ma-li-ia-aš [x x]x^d10 hu-u-wa-ri-ia-w[a[?]]
 28'' (B1 iii 25''/B2 8'') ^dLIŠ^{URU}ne-nu-wa^d10^{URUR}ne^r-ri-ik-ka^d10^{URU}kaš-da-[ma]
 29'' ^d10 UR.SAG ^dpu-tal-li-maš^dr^rmil^r-ku-uš^dpí-ḥa-mi-i[š]
 30'' ^dpí-ḥa-i-mi-iš^d10^{KUR}aš-šur^{PÚ}a-x-^rša^r-aš [(vacat?)]
 (MS B2 breaks off)
 31'' ku-i-e-da-ni<-ia> A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN^M^[EŠ 1] ^rEZEN^d zé^r-[na-aš 1 DI₁₂-ŠI] §

§23'' A rev. iii: missing

B rev. iii

- 32'' ^{URU}tab-ba-ru-ta-aš 1 GAL ZABAR 2 ^rSI^r 1 ^{GIŠ}GIDRUNAGGA GAR.R[A]
 33'' (B1 iii 30'') ŠÀ É ^{LÚ}SANGA ^d10^{URU}tap-pa-^rre^r-eš-ši-ia^r 1 ^{GIŠ}KAP-PU ŠÀ É ^{LÚ}[SANGA]
 34'' ^dUTU 1 ^{GIŠ}KAP-PU 1 ^{GIŠ}GIDRU ^rd^rKAL ŠÀ É ^{LÚ}SANGA-^rni^r
 35'' 1 GÚ GU^d ^{GIŠ}ŠÀ É DINGIR-LIM ^dr^r10^r ^{KUR}i-šu-wa 2 ALAM^{HIA}
 36'' 1 ALAM ^{LÚ}GUB ^{GIŠ}^rd^rAMAR.UTU [1] ALAM MUNUS TUŠ-aš ^{GIŠ}^di-ia^r-ia-aš MUNU[S[?].GA]BA[?]
 37'' 10 ^{GIŠ}gal-mu-u-uš-ša ^r1 ^{GIŠ^r}KAP-PU 1 ^{GIŠ}GIDRU ŠÀ É ^{LÚ}SANGA [(vacat)]
 38'' (B1 iii 35'') ^{KUR}du-un-na-aš 1 ši-it-^rtar^r KÙ.BABBAR ^{KUR}ša-lu-wa-an-ti-ia-aš
 39'' ŠÀ É ^{LÚ}SANGA 1 ^{GIŠ}KAP-PU ^{KUR}ma-^ram^r-ma-na-an-ta-aš
 40'' ŠÀ É ^{LÚ}SANGA 1 UDU.ŠIR ^{GIŠ}^d10 LÍL ^rŠÀ^r É ^{LÚ}SANGA [(vacat)]
 41'' 1 ^{GIŠ}KAP-PU ŠA ^{LÚ}[G]URUŠ^dša-lu-pí-ia-aš ŠÀ É ^{LÚ}SAN[GA]
 42'' 1 GAL ZABAR ^d10 [mi-i]a-an-na-aš 2 ME 44 ši-it-tar Z[ABAR]
 43'' (B1 iii 40'') [x U₄].SAKAR ZAB[AR (3–5 signs)] x ZABAR ŠA ^{KUR}m[i- ...]
 44'' [x x] ^rZABAR^r [(ca. 6 signs)] x x [x] TUŠ-an-za DA[M[?] ...]
 45'' [...] x x x [...]
 (breaks off; ca. 7 lines missing to the end of the column)

- §22'' Town [...] Storm God of Heaven², [...] Tappikir [...] spring
(B iii 24''–31'') Šaniya, Ereškigal, [(*one DN*)] Mount Lawata, Amaliya, [(*one DN*)] Storm God *ḫuwariyaw*[*a*²], Ištar of Nineveh, Storm God of Nerik, Storm God of Kašta[ma], Valiant Storm God, Putallima, Milku, Piḫami, Piḫaimi, Storm God of Aššur, spring *A-x-ša*. For each deity 2 festivals: 1 au[tumn] festival, [1 spring (festival)].
- §23'' Town Tabbaruta: 1 bronze cup, 2 horns, 1 tin-plated staff, in
(B iii 32''–45'') the house of the priest: Storm God of Tappareššiya. 1 bowl, in the house [of the priest]: Sun Goddess. 1 bowl, 1 staff: the Stag God, in the house of the priest. 1 bull's (lit.: ox) (head and) neck, made of wood, in the shrine: [Storm] god of Išuwa. 2 statuettes—1 statuette of a man, standing, made of wood: Marduk (or: Šanta). [1] statuette of a woman, in sitting position, made of wood: Iyaya, [nur]sing² woman². 10 *litui*, 1 bowl, 1 staff, in the house of the priest: Mount Dunna. 1 (*sun*) *disk*, made of silver: Mount Šaluwantiya, in the house of the priest. 1 cup: Mount Mammananta, in the house of the priest. 1 wooden (vessel, shaped like a) ram: Storm God of the Countryside, in the house of the priest. 1 bowl of the “young man”: Šalupiya, in the house of the priest. 1 bronze cup: Storm God of the [Gr]owth. 244 (*sun*) *disks* of b[ronze], [*n* lunar] crescent(s) of bro[nze ...] ... seated, s[pouse² ...].

§24''' A rev. iv

(ca. 3 lines missing)

- 1' ^(A2 1') [(5-6 signs)]-ti-x-[...]
 2' ^(A1 iv 1'/A2 2') [(5-6 signs)] ^{d10 URU}ne-^rri¹-[ik (ca. 8 signs)]
 3' ^{d10 URU}kaš-ta-m]a ^dpí-^ha-mi-iš ^dpí-^h[a-i-mi-iš (-)[?]]
 4' ^dm]il-ku-[uš ^dLIŠ ^U]RUne-nu-wa ^di-ia-ri-iš ^drZA-BA₄-BA₄¹ [(space for ca. 3 signs)]
 5' ^{NA4}hé-gur x-[x-r]a-aš ^di-ia-ri-iš ^{URU}a-la-ú-na ^dAL-L[A-TUM]
 6' ^(A1 iv 5'/A2 6') ^dpé-en-ta-r[u]-^ruh¹-ši-iš ku-e-da-ni-ia A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MEŠ}
 7' EZEN₄ zé-e-n[a-a]š EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠIŠ
 (MS A2 breaks off)

B rev. iv

(ca. 4-5 lines missing)

- 1' [...]-iš ^rd¹[...]
 2' [...]x x ^d[...]
 3' ^{NA4}hé-gur x-x-ra]-aš ^di-ia-^rar¹-[ri-iš ^{URU}a-lu-ú-na ^dAL-LA-TUM]
 4' ^dpé-en-ta-ru-uh]-ši-iš ku-^ri¹-e-d[a-ni-ia A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MEŠ}]
 5' [1 EZEN₄ zé-na-aš] ^r1¹ EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI [(vacat)] §

§25''' A rev. iv

- 8' ^(A1 iv 7') ^{URU}ša-pa-gur-wa-an-ta-aš ^r2¹ [^{GIŠ}GIDRU ^{d10 2?} ^{GIŠ}GID]RU ^dUTU 2 ^{GIŠ}GIDRU ^dKAL ^{GIŠ}GIDRU
 9' ŠA ^{KUR}ši-wa-an-ta ŠÀ É ^rLÚSANGA¹ [n+8 DINGIR^M]^{ES} ^{NA4}ZI.KIN ^drEREŠ.KI¹.GAL
 10' ^dhu-u-wa-dáš-ši-iš ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ^{d10 URU}ha-r[a-na a]l-da-an-ni-iš ša-wa-an-ta-aš
 11' ^(A1 iv 10') ^{PÚ}ša-ni-ia-aš ^dwa-aš-ša-an-ta-ta-iš ^{d10 URU}ne-ri-ik
 12' ^{d10}kaš-ta-ma ^dpí-^ha-i-mi-iš ^dpí-^ha-mi-iš ^dmil-ku-uš ^{d10}UR.SAG
 13' ^dLIŠ ^{URU}r^{ne}¹-nu-wa ^{d10}har-ši-^har-ši ^di-ia-ri-iš ^dLIŠ ^{KUR}kar-^ddu-ni-ia
 14' ^di-ru-uš ^{d10}KURaš-šur ^{d10}KURaz-zi ^{d10}kar-an-^rza¹ ^{d10}LÍL
 15' ku-e-da-ni-ia ^rA-NA¹ DINGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ zé-e-na-aš 1 E[ZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI]I §

B rev. iv

- 6' [^{URU}ša-pa-gur-wa-an-t]a-aš 2 ^{GIŠ}GIDRU ^d[10 2? ^{GIŠ}GIDRU ^dUTU 2 ^{GIŠ}GIDRU ^dKAL ^{GIŠ}GIDRU ŠA ^{KUR}ši-wa-an-ta]
 7' [ŠÀ É ^{LÚ}SANGA x+]8 DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{NA4}[ZI.KIN ^dEREŠ.KI.GAL ^dhu-u-wa-dáš-ši-iš]
 8' [^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ^{d10 URU}ha-ra-na ^d[al-da-an-ni-iš (?) ša-wa-an-ta-aš]
 9' [^{PÚ}ša-ni-ia]-aš ^dwa-aš-ša-[an-ta-ta-iš ^{d10 URU}ne-ri-ik ^{d10}kaš-ta-ma]
 10' [^dpí-^ha-i-mi-iš] ^dpí-^ha-[mi-iš ^dmil-ku-uš ^{d10}UR.SAG ^dLIŠ ^{URU}ne-nu-wa]

- §24''' [...] Storm God of Neri[k ... Storm God of Kaštam]a, Piḫami,
 (A iv 1'–7' // Pih[aimi, (...) M]ilku, [Ištar of] Nineveh, Yarri, War God, [(...)]
 B iv 1'–5') *ḫekur*-building ... [... -r]a, Yarri of Alauna, All[atun] (i.e.,
 Lelwani), Pentaruḫši. For each deity 2 festivals: [1] autumn
 festival, 1 spring festival.
- §25''' Town Šapagurwanta: 2 staves (of) the [Storm] God, [2² stav]es
 (A iv 8'–15' // (of) the Sun Goddess, 2 staves (of) the Stag God, (1) staff of
 B iv 6'–13') Mount Siwanta, in the house of the priest. *n* + 8 stela-deities:
 Ereškigal, Ḫuwadašši, Heptad, Storm God of Ḫarana, spring
 Šawanta, spring Šaniya, Waššantatai, Storm God of Nerik,
 Storm God of Kaštama, Piḫaimi, Piḫami, Milku, Valiant Storm
 God, Ištar of Nineveh, Storm God of the Thunderstorm, Yarri,
 Ištar of Karduniya (i.e., of Babylon), Iru, Storm God of Aššur,
 Storm God of Azzi, Storm God *karant-*, Storm God of the
 Countryside. For each deity 2 festivals: 1 autumn festival, 1
 spr[ing festival].

- 11' [^d10 *ḥar-ši-ḥa*]r-ši ^dia-[ri-iš ^dLIŠ ^{KUR}kar-^ddu-ni-ia ^di-ru-uš]
 12' (B1 iv 12'/B4 1') [^d10 ^{KUR}aš-šu]r ^d10 ^{KUR}az-[zi ^d10 kar-an-za ^d10 LÍL ku-i-e-da-
 ni-ia A-NA DINGIR-LIM]
 13' [2 EZEN₄]^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ [zé-na-aš 1 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI] §

§26''' **A rev. iv**

- 16' (A1 iv 15') URU *ma-al-li-it-ta-aš* 1 GU₄.MAḤ GIŠ NAGGA GAR.RA 4 GUB-
 z[*a* ^d10 ^{URU}*ma-al-li-it-ta*]
 17' 1 ^{GIŠ}KAP-PU ZABAR Ū-NU-UT ^d10 3 EZEN₄ 1 EZEN₄ z[é-e-na-aš 1
 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI]
 18' 1 EZEN₄ ḤU-UL-LA-NU 32 DINGIR^{MES} NA₄ZI.KIN ^dUTU ^rd¹[KAL ^dKAL
 LÍL]
 19' ^{KUR}wa-ar-wa-l[ⁱ-i]a ^{KUR}tar-ma-i-mi-iš ^rd¹⁰^r ^{GIŠ}TIR ^rPÚ^r[x x (x)
^dEREŠ.KI.GAL (?)]
 20' ^rd¹*ḥu-u-wa-dáš-ši-iš* ^dEN.GURUN^r 1 *al-da-an-ni-iš* [^{PÚ}*ḥar-ša-ni-ia-aš* (?)]
 21' (A1 iv 20') ^ral-da-an^r-ni-iš ku-wa-an-na-ni-ia-aš ^rID^rza-^rra^r-li-i[*a-aš* ^d10
mi-ia-an-na-aš]
 22' ^dmil-ku-uš ^d10 UR.SAG 3 ^rd¹*i-ia-ri-iš* ^d10 ^{URU}n[*e-ri-ik*]
 23' ^dLIŠ ^{URU}ne-nu-wa ^dLIŠ MÊ ^d<10 ^{URU}> *kaš-ta-ma* ^d10 [Ū.SAL]
 24' ^d10 ^{URU}kum-mi-x-eš-maḥ ^d10 ^rḥar-ši-ḥar^r-ši ^dr¹⁰ RA^r-IŠ [^d10 LÍL]
 25' ^r1^{sic} NA₄ZI.KIN ^di-^rru-uš ku-e-da^r-ni-^ria A^r-N[A DINGIR-LIM 2
 EZEN₄^{MES}]
 26' (A1 iv 25') ^r1 EZEN₄^r zé-^re-na-aš 1 EZEN₄^r DI₁₂-ŠI [(vacat)] §

B rev. iv

- 14' (B1 iv 14'/B4 3') [^{URU}m]*a-al-li-it-t[a-aš* 1 G]U₄.MAḤ GIŠ NAGGA GAR.RA 4
 GUB-za ^rd¹[10] ^{URU}ma-[a]l-[li-it-ta]
 15' [1 ^{GIŠ}KA]P-PU ZABAR [Ū-NU]-UT ^d10 3 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ zé-ni ^r1^r
 EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI
 16' [1 EZEN₄ ḤU-U]L-[LA-NU 3]2 DINGIR^{MES} NA₄ZI.KIN ^dUTU ^dKAL ^dKAL
 LÍL

(MS B4 breaks off)

- 17' [^{KUR}wa-ar-wa-lⁱ-i]a ^{KU}^rtar-ma-i-mi-iš ^d10 ^{GIŠ}TIR ^dEREŠ.^rKI^r.GAL
 18' [^dḥu-u-wa-dáš-ši-iš ^dEN].GURUN 1 *al-da-an-ni-iš* ^{PÚ}*ḥar-ša-ni-ia-aš*
 19' [*al-da-an-ni-iš ku-wa-an-n[a-li-ia-aš* ^{ID}za-ra-li-ia-aš ^d10 *mi-ia-an-na-
 aš*]
 20' [^dmil-ku-uš ^d10 UR.SAG] ^r3^r ^dr¹*i-ia-ri-uš* ^d10 ^{URU}ne-ri-ik-ka₄
 21' [^dLIŠ ^{URU}ne-nu-wa ^dLIŠ] MÊ ^rd¹⁰^r ^{URU}kaš-ta-ma ^d10 Ū.SAL
 22' [^d10 ^{URU}kum-mi-eš-maḥ] ^rd¹⁰^r ^rḥar-ši-ḥar-ši ^d10 RA-IŠ ^d10 LÍL
 23' [1 NA₄ZI.KIN ^di-ru-uš k]u-i-e-da-ni-ia A-NA DINGIR-LIM 2 E[ZE]N₄^{MES}
 24' [1 EZEN₄ zé-na-aš 1 EZEN₄ D]I₁₂-ŠI §

§26'''

(A iv 16'–26' //

B iv 14'–24')

Town Mallitta: 1 wooden bull, tin-plated, standing on (all) four legs: [Storm] god of Mall[itta]. 1 bronze bowl, accoutrements of the Storm God. 3 festivals: 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival, 1 *hullanu*-(wrap)⁷ festival. 32 stela-deities: Sun Goddess, Stag God, Stag God of the Countryside, Mount Warwaliya, Mount Tarmaimi, Storm God of the Forest, spring [...] (*note that MSS A and B diverge here*), Ereškigal, Ħuwadašši, EN.GURUN, 1 spring, spring Ħaršaniya, spring Kuwannaniya (*MS B: Kuwannaliya*), river Zaraliya, Storm God of the Growth, Milku, Valiant Storm God, 3 (stelae representing) Yarri(s), Storm God of Nerik, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of the Battle, Storm God of Kaštama, Storm God of the Meadow, Storm God of Kummiešmah, Storm God of the Thunderstorm, Trampling Storm God, Storm God of the Countryside, 1 (further) stela (*i.e., one which could not be attributed any more to a specific deity*), Iru. For each deity 2 fes[tiv]als: 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival.

§27''' **A rev. iv**

27' ^(A1 iv 26) (traces) ^rpa^r[-[za]-^rha^r ^d30-^raš^r [...]
(breaks off; lower half of the tablet lost)

B rev. iv

25' [(ca. 9 signs) *pa*]l-za-*ha-aš* ^d3[0-a]š ^dUTU ŠÀ É ^{LÚ}SANGA
26' [(ca. 8 signs) ^d10] ^{URU}ne-ri-i[k-k]a₄ ^d10 ^{URU}kaš-da-ma
27' [(ca. 8 signs) -d]a-ni-ia-aš ^d[10[?] R]A-IŠ ^dpí-ha-mi-iš
28' [^dpí-ha-i-mi-iš (?) ^d]mil-ku-uš ^dia-ri-[iš] ^dpé-en-tar-ru-uḫ-ši-iš
29' [(ca. 7 signs)]^dLIŠ MÊ ^dKAL L[Î]L-aš ^dKAL ^{GIŠ}SUKUR
30' [(ca. 6 signs)]^r^dḫu^r-u-wa-dáš-ši-iš ^{Id}ma-r[a-š]a-an-ta-aš
31' [(ca. 6 signs)]x ^dEN.GURUN ^d10 LÍL ^{PU}ḫ[u]-u-up-pár-aš A^{HLA}-ar
32' [(ca. 6 signs)]x ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ^dpa-an-za-aš ^dpár-ga-[aš] ^dup-ra-aš
^dwa-li-ia-aš
33' [(ca. 5 signs) ^d]tu-na-^rpi^r-iš ^{PU}ša-ni-ia-aš ^dpu-tal-li-maš
34' [(ca. 5 signs)]^r^d10^r ^{URU}ha-ra-na 12 ^{NA4}ZI.KIN [^d]10 mi-ia-an-na'-aš
^dNISABA
35' [ku-i-e-da-ni-ia A]-^rNA^r [D]INGIR-LIM 2 EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ zé-ni 1
EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI ŠŠ

§28''' **A rev. iv: missing****B rev. iv**

36' [(ca. 6 signs) EGI]R-an tar-nu-u-wa-i NUTIL ke-e-da-n[i-pá]t
37' [A-NA ṬUP-PI (?) n UR]U^{IDILLHLA} a-ni-ia-an ^{URU}ti-wa-li-i[a-aš]
38' [(ca. 7 signs; 1 town)]^{URU}DU₆ ^mlu-uk-kaš-ši ^{URU}wa-an-ta-ra-x-aš
39' [(ca. 7 signs; 1 town)]^{URU}ša-li-ta-aš-ši-iš ^{URU}wa-wa-ra-aš [Š]A LÚ
^rSUKUR^r
40' [(erasure?) ^{URU}p]a-*ha-ha-an-ta-a-aš* ^{URU}pár-ma-aš-*ha-pa-aš*
41' [^{URU}DU₆ ^mḫu-u-ur-lu-u]š-ša ^{URU}ši-ip-pí-it-ta-aš
42' [^{URU}kán-za-a-na-aš ^{URU}iš-š]a-an-na-aš-ši-iš ^{URU}šal-lu-wa-ta-ši-iš ŠA
^rÉ.GAL^r
43' [(ca. 9–11 signs)]-^rú^r-tí^r-te-eš-ki
44' [(ca. 8–10 sign) ^{URU}a[?]]-ru-ma-aš-ši-iš
45' [(ca. 10–12 signs) -w]i₅-ia-an-^rta-aš^r
46' [(ca. 10–12 signs) ^{URU}]gul-l[a]-^ran-ta^r-[aš]
(breaks off; ca. 4 lines missing to the end of column)

§? (MS B3, position within the tablet uncertain)

1' ^(B3 1) ^{URU}x-x-^rta[?]-aš-ši^r-i[š ...]
2' ^{KUR}la-wa-ta-aš ^d1[0[?] ...]
3' ^d10 ^{URU}ne-ri-i[k-ka₄ ...]
4' ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ^d10 x[...]
5' ku-i-e-da-ni-^ria^r [...]
(breaks off)

- §27''' [... (beneath them there is)] a base: the Moon god (and) the Sun Goddess, in the house of the priest. [... Storm God of] Nerik, Storm God of Kaštama, [... -d]ania, [Trampl]ing [Storm?] god, Piḥami, [Piḥaimi?], Milku, Yarri, Pentaruḥši, [...] Ištar of the Battle, Stag God of the Countryside, Stag God of the Spear, [...] Ḫuwadašši, river Maraššanta, [...] EN.GURUN, Ištar of the Countryside, spring Ḫuppara, the “Waters” [...] Heptad, Panza, Parga, Upra, Waliya, [...] Tunapi, spring Šaniya, Putallima, [...] Storm God of Ḫarana, 12 (further) stelae (*i.e.*, *stelae which could not be attributed any more to specific deities*), Storm [God] of Growth, Nisaba. [For each] deity 2 festivals: 1 autumn festival, 1 spring festival.
- §28''' (Colophon) [... he rel]eases. Not complete. On this [tablet? n t]owns are treated: Tiwaly[a, (*one GN*)] ruin-town of (Mr.) Lukkašši, Wantara-..., [(*one GN*)] Šalitašši, Wawara [o]f the Spear-holder, [(*erasure or GN*)] P]aḥaḥanta, Parmašḥapa, [ruin-town of (Mr.) Ḫurlu]šša, Šippitta, [Kanzana, Išš]anašši, Šaluwatašši of the Palace, [...]-utiteski?, [... A]rumašši? [...]-wiyanta [...] Gullanta [...].
- §? Town x-x-tašši [...] Mount Lawata, St[orm?] God [...] Storm God of Nerik, [...] Heptad, Storm God [...] For each [deity ...]

Commentary

B i 5', iv 39': The GN Šalitašši is a *hapax*.

A i 1'//B i 11': The GN Wa(u)wara occurs only in this composition, namely, on line B i 11' (fragmentary) and in the colophon on line iv 39'. Note the name of spring Wauwara, listed among the deities of this town in line A i 6'//B i 16'. Given some incongruities in the correspondence between the GNs of the colophon vis-à-vis those of the text (see A i 21' vs. B i iv 41'; B ii 14 vs. B iv 42'), the spelling of lines A i 1'//B i 11' cannot be restored with certainty.

A i 4'//B i 14': It is assumed that the two MSS diverge here, since it does not seem possible to restore Piḫaimi's name in MS A.

A i 4' and passim: The "Storm God of Aššur" (Adad of Aššur) is to be kept distinct from the god Aššur himself; see Schwemer 2001, 581 with n. 4695 (*pace* Forlanini 2009, 59 n. 122).

A i 6': The traces read IA-AŠ better than GAL, so also RGTC 6, 556; cf. obv. ii 3'. The unusual phonetic complement to KÁ found here and on obv. ii 3', indeed, is a hint supporting the assumption of the indirect join between KUB 38.6 and KUB 57.58. On the phonetic reading of KÁ see HED A, E/I, 214; the form KÁ-*ia-aš* is remarkable, since it cannot stand for *aška*.

B i 16': The extant traces are difficult to reconcile with the parallel MS A i 6', so that at this point a discrepancy in the sequence may be assumed.

A i 9'//B i 19': The GN has been restored by Forlanini 2009, 60 as [P]aḫaḫantaš on the basis of the more complete occurrence found in the colophon (B iv 40'). It occurs in this composition only.

A i 9'//B i 19' and passim: The gods whose cult image is a simple stela (Hittite *ḫuwaši*) are grouped together under the label of DINGIR^{MES} NA₄ZI.KIN (*ḫuwašiyaš šiuneš* / *maššaninzi*), "deities of the stela" or "stela-deities." This label distinguishes them from those provided with an anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, or symbolic cult object, see the discussion in §4.4.3.3.

B i 20': ^d10^{URU}[x]-x-x-^rwa⁷: the traces of the last sign read WA or perhaps ŠI. They are not compatible with a reading ^{URU}ne-nu-wa.

A i 13'//B i 24': The GN Parmašḫapa (occurring also in the colophon, B iv 40', only the latter occurrence is booked in RGTC) is attested in this composition only. This GN may be etymologised as Hattian, containing /par/ "thousand"? and /shap/ "deity," whereas /ma/ might be analyzed as a variant spelling of the plural prefix /wa_a/ (kindly pointed out by Ch. Steitler; see Soysal 2010a, 787), thus giving "the thousand' gods."

A i 15'//B i 26' and passim: The Storm God of town ḫa-ra-na occurs often within the composition. This GN refers most probably to an Anatolian settlement (so Forlanini 2009, 59 n. 122; note that a Stag God of Ḫarana is also attested elsewhere), not to the Syrian town Ḫarran as assumed by Archi

2006, 152 and Schwemer 2008a, 151. RGTC 6, 83–84, relates the occurrences of *CTH* 510 to an Anatolian Ḫarana, but on p. 546 (entry *Šaniya*), implicitly relates the same occurrences to Ḫarran in Syria.

A i 17'//B i 28': The “ruin-town” of Mr. Ḫūrlušša (see also in the colophon, B iv 41') is not elsewhere known; for attestations of the roughly assonant PN Ḫū(wa)rlū see Laroche 1981, 17 no. 417a.

A i 18'//B i 29': Note the inverted sequence in MS B as compared to MS A in the listing of the Valiant Storm God and Ištar of Nineveh.

A i 21'//B i 33': The restored spelling Šippitta in MS B is based on the spelling found in the colophon (B iv 41'), whereas MS A spells Šappitta. A connection with *šep̄pit-* (a kind of grain) is very uncertain (*CHD* Š, 400).

A i 23'//B i 35': ^a*a-na-az*ⁿ-x: in MS A, perhaps also in MS B, this DN is spelled ^a*a-na-UK*-x.

A i 27': The GN Kanzāna is a *hapax*, if not to be equated with the town Gazzanā, which is mentioned in the cult inventory KBo 2.7 obv. 2'.

A i 27'//B i 39': The Hittite denominative participle *gurzip(p)ant-* “wearing a **gurzip(p)i-*” goes back to Akkadian *gurpisu* / *gursipu*, usually translated as “hauberck,” but more precisely denoting “the protective leather apron (densely covered with metal scales) that was directly attached to the helmet and covered the neck, ear, chin and throat of the soldier, leaving exposed only the eyes and nose” (Oppenheim 1950, 192–93 no. 17; *CAD* G, 139–40; Goetze 1957b, 81; *HED* K, 287–88). A semantic development from “gorget” to “(scaled) helmet,” in Hittite context, is possible, but uncertain: Hoffner translates *gurzipan* as “wearing a helmet” (*COS* 3.34:63); the combination with Hittite *pattar* “wing / basket” in the cult inventory KUB 17.35 obv. ii 35' (2 *GUR-ZI-IP pāt-tar* 2 ^{GIS}TUKUL ZABAR etc., see text no. 1) suggests a translation “two (scaled) helmets, (with) flaps,” alternatively “two scaled gorget-flaps”; cf. Goetze 1957b, 81. The reference here is probably to the “flaps” that protect the ears of the soldier; see the helmet of the deity portrayed on the King's Gate at Boğazköy and Carter 1962, 194, whereas *CHD* P, 242 considers the meaning of *pattar* in this passage uncertain. The spelling *gur-zi-ip-an* is problematic insofar as one would expect either akkadographic *GUR-ZI-IP ZABAR* (as in the parallel MS B i 39') or Hittite *gur-zi-ip-pa-an* / *gur-zi-pa-a-an* (for the attested spellings see *HED* K, 287, see also KBo 2.1 ii 22, text no. 2). We are seemingly faced here with an aberrant phonetic spelling.

B i 42': At the end of the line, perhaps the Storm God of the “land of Ka[ta]pa” is mentioned; for the cult of the Storm God in Katapa see Popko 2001.

A i 31': The name of the spring Tauttawazi is a *hapax*, perhaps to be compared to the DN Tazziwazi, for which Soysal 2005, 195–96 proposes a Hattian etymology, “the divine concubine.”

A ii 6'//B ii 14: RGTC 6/2, 136 reads for A ii 6' "... -l]u-wa'-ta-aš-ši-iš" based on the spelling in the colophon (see B iv 42'). However, the traces on MS B ii 14 show that the reading NA is correct here. The occurrences of town Šaluwataši in RGTC 6 and 6/2 are to be booked under Šalunataši, a town attested also in KUB 17.35 rev. iv 17 (text no. 1); Šalluwataši is to be considered a variant spelling for the same town. Buildings labeled "Palace (or 'House') of Labarna" might have been located in provincial towns as well as in Ḫattuša; for attestations see *CHD* L-N, 42 and Hazenbos 2003, 148, 156–59.

B ii 20: If the proposed interpretation is correct, the name of the god Ḫuwadašši is spelled here haplographically by means of a ligature DA+AŠ+ŠI (since, the components of ŠI are already present in DA-AŠ); for another possible haplographic writing see comment on MS B ii 12. Alternatively, we have to assume a scribal mistake and transliterate [^dhu]-^ru-wa'-da-aš<-šī>-iš.

B ii 21: At least four different sun deities are mentioned in this paragraph. For the otherwise unattested Sun Deity "cal[li]ng up" cf. ^dĀlaš šara ḫalziyau-w[aš] (McMahon 1991, 126–27, "Ala [of] calling upon") in KUB 40.108 v 4, as well as the use of šara ḫalzai- in the myth of Illuyanka (*HW²* Ḫ, 109). For the epithet ḫalziyawaš see the commentary on KUB 38.2 obv. i 21' (text no. 8). Van Gessel 1998, 879, based on Archi's copy, reads *pitt[iyanza]*.

B ii 22: 'PŪ' ŠA ^{GIS}ḪAŠḪUR: RGTC 6/2, 209 reads PŪ ša-na'-ia. A spring named Šanaya is indeed attested in MSS A i 36' (§ 9'), B ii 29 (§ 13'), A iv 11' (§ 25'''), B iv 33' (§ 27'''). The signs, however, clearly read ^{GIS}ḪAŠḪUR. The occurrence of a "Spring of the apple tree" calls to mind a short mythologem occurring in the Hattian-Hittite bilingual KUB 28.6 (*CTH* 731.1.A), which tells of an apple tree growing over a spring, and the Sun Goddess laying her garment over it, see Steitler 2017, 129. An "apple tree of the S[un?]² deity" (^{GIS}ḪAŠḪUR ŠA ^dU[TU²] ...], see van Gessel 1998, 893) occurs in KUB 33.9 iii 12', a mythological text (*CTH* 324.3). As for ^dAḪ-[ḫa-li]-i-iš, van Gessel (1998, 3) reads ^dAḪ-[li]-ī-iš, but the available space in the gap allows for the proposed reading, which also fits better with the occurrence ^dAḪ-ḫa-li-i[n] found in KUB 58.75 rev. 1.

B ii 24: For a tentative reading ^{URU}kī²-x-an²-ta²-aš² see already Forlanini 2009, 60.

B ii 29: If the uncertain reading "Kassu" is correct, this mountain should be kept distinct from the homonymous mountain in northern Anatolia, localized within the Ilgaz range.

B ii 32: The restoration [^{URU}a²]-ru-ma-aš-ši-iš is tentative; the same GN is perhaps to be read also in the colophon on rev. iv 44'; cf. RGTC 6, 525 and Forlanini 2009, 60 n. 125.

B ii 32–33: Here and in the following paragraphs cult vessels shaped as bovine “(head and) neck” are listed (cf. §4.4.1). On the use of GŪ, “neck” to indicate such objects see Güterbock 1983, 212–13. In addition to the head and neck, the front quarters may also be present, cf. specifications like “... including the front quarters kneeling” (KUB 38.2 obv. ii 14–15); this is confirmed by archaeological finds, as, for example, the well known silver *BIBRU*-vessel of the Schimmel collection (fig. 1). A reference to the ox’s damaged “feet” would therefore fit with the context here, the reading GĪR is however uncertain (for the sign form see *HZL* no. 301/7). A reading GĪR.TAB “scorpion” also seems possible palaeographically (for the sign form see *HZL* no. 6/17), but seems less likely.

B ii 39: [^{URU}x-x-x]-x-x-*aš-ši-i*[š]: Forlanini 2009, 60 reads [...]*x-na²-na²-aš*.

B ii 43: The tablet has ^d*e¹-ru-uš*, cf. the analogous mistake in rev. iii 33’.

B ii 50: In view of his frequent association with Yarri, it is perhaps possible that the occurrences of *ZABABA* in §§16’ and 24’’ conceal the name of Šanta, although his name is normally written *AMAR.UD*. On the god Šanta see Melchert 2002, 241–43; Archi 2010, 24–25; Millington 2013).

B ii 52: The traces preceding the gap may be read *hu^{sc}-u*[...] (kindly suggested by D. Groddek).

B ii 54: The reading *AMAR.UTU* has been kindly suggested by D. Groddek.

A iii 1’/B iii 2’: The GN is restored on the basis of the occurrence in the colophon, B iv 46’, see already Forlanini 1992, 178 n. 54 and RGTC 6/2, 82.

B iii 3’: For the spelling of *šiuniyatar* “cult image” see *CHD* Š, 507.

B iii 25’–29’’: In this paragraph three rare deities are mentioned. The DN ^d*tap-pi-kir* in line iii 25’’ is a *hapax* (Rost 1963, 195 reads ^d*tap-pi-piš*, misquoted as ^d*tap-pi-kiš* in van Gessel 1998, 442), as well as the DN ^d*a-ma-li-ia-aš* in rev. iii 25.’’ The name of the poorly attested Luwian god Putallima is perhaps to be connected with *putalliya/e-*, “to gird, gird up,” see Haas 1994, 569–70 and *HEGP*, 675. Unclear is the epithet of the Storm God *huwariyaw*[*a*’] (line 27’): perhaps related to Luwian or Luwoid *huwarai*-?

B iii 32’’: A town Tabbaruta/Tapparuta is attested also in the itineraries KBo 52.225b(+) and 54.240(+); see Forlanini 2009, 42. On the *teššummi*- and *zeri*- vessels, both written with the Sumerogram *GAL*, see Soysal 2010c. Since in the present context it does not seem possible to disambiguate between the two, the term is generically translated as “cup.”

B iii 32’–45’’: As usual throughout the composition and as required by the text framing, the mention of each deity follows the description of the corresponding cult object (differently according to the translation provided in RGTC 6, 399–400; there, the “Gottheit Umijana” is to be understood as “Storm God of Growth,” i.e., ^d10 *miyannaš*).

B iii 36'': ^d*i-ia'-ia-aš*: the tablet has ^d*i-i-ia-aš*. The tentative reading MUNUS.GABA is problematic insofar as it would represent the only attestation of the (alleged) pseudo-sumerogram. Indeed MUNUS.GABA, as far as I can see, is only attested within the compound DUMU.MUNUS.GABA, “female suckling child,” both in Mesopotamian and in Hittite sources. For the latter ones see especially the occurrences in land grants, listed in Rüter and Wilhelm 2012, 255–56; according to the lexical filecards of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz*, there is no attestation of MUNUS.GABA alone, so that the entry MUNUS.GABA in *HZL*, 238 no. 297 would actually refer to DUMU.MUNUS.GABA (information kindly provided by F. Fuscagni). If the proposed reading is correct, the pseudo-sumerogram MUNUS.GABA with the supposed meaning “nursing woman” would represent a nice parallel to another cult image description: in the cult inventory KBo 2.1, line i 33' and 40' respectively, a stela and a statuette of a seated woman are referred to a goddess who is qualified in Luwian as *anniš ʿtitaimmiš*, which can be interpreted as “nursing mother” (text no. 2).

B iii 38'': The (divine) mountain Dunna is booked neither in RGTC nor in van Gessel 1998. A homonymous town is mentioned in the Bronze Tablet and in KUB 57.87 (*CTH* 389), see RGTC 6/2, 173.

A iv 4': On the value of ZABABA see the commentary on MS B ii 50.

A iv 5'//B iv 3': Otten and Rüter 1982, 141 (followed by *HW*² H, 560) read ^u[^{RU}*u-r*]a-aš based on a comparison with KUB 26.29+ obv. 9 ([...]x I-NA ^{URU}*u-ra-a A-N*[A ^d]i-ia-ar-ri etc.). However, the reading URU is not compatible with the traces of a *Winkelhaken* besides a horizontal wedge. For the reconstruction of MS A iv 3'–6'; see already Otten and Rüter 1982, 141.

A iv 7'//B iv 5': Note the double omission of the numeral “1” in MS A within the closing formula.

A iv 8'//B iv 6': The GN Šapagurwanta derives from *zamangur* “beard”; see *CHD* Š, 118 with literature.

A iv 10'//B iv 8': The presence of the determinative DINGIR preceding the restored mention of spring Šawanta (a *hapax*, not to be confused with Mount Šiwanta, mentioned within the same paragraph), in MS B iv 8', is unexpected: when *aldanniš* is preceded by a determinative, this is PÚ, not DINGIR. If the restoration is correct, the presence of DINGIR may be taken at face value, that is, stressing the divine nature of the spring (differently, however, in rev. iv 18'). The tentative localization in northern Syria put forward in RGTC 6, 547 is based on an erroneous connection with the town Ḫarana (equated there with Ḫarran), which in fact refers to the preceding Storm God. According to *CHD* Š, 315, Šawanta might be a substantive used as a GN.

A iv 11'//B iv 9': The reading of DINGIR as determinative for the DN Waššantatai (again a *hapax*) is confirmed by MS B, although in MS A the

sign has an aberrant extra *Winkelhaken* (the sign PÚ in Rost 1963, 188 and in the hand copy are erroneous, cf. already the remark in RGTC 6, 556). There is no reason to suspect a localization in the vicinity of Nerik, as put forward in RGTC 6, 556, apparently only because the mention of the Storm God of Nerik follows that of Waššantatai.

A iv 16'//B iv 14': For the reconstruction of this line see already Güterbock 1983, 211 n. 60. The GN Mallitta occurs only here and, perhaps, in KUB 51.53 rev. l. col. 4' (so RGTC 6/2, 99; Groddek 2004 reads ^{URU}*ku-li-ta*, the sign, however, looks more like MA to my eyes), in KBo 26.182 rev. iv 8' and KUB 31.2+ rev. iii 2' (fragmentary). For the localization of this town see the introduction.

A iv 18': The *HULLANU* festival was likely concerned with wraps or garments of wool; the possible relations between Hittite **hulana-* “wool,” its alleged IE cognates, and Akkadian *HULLANU*, attested in Nuzi and in Middle Babylonian, which some consider a Hurrian loanword, are unclear (see BGH, 161; HW² 𒄩, 695–96; EDHIL 357–58). According to Hoffner 1967, 39–40 n. 53, this might be a festival of shearing the sheep, whereas M. Vigo considers a connection with ritual dressing of cult statues more likely (pers. comm.).

A iv 19'//B iv 17': A discrepancy between the two MSS is assumed here; apparently, the mention of the spring is omitted in MS B. The sign PÚ in MS A is confirmed by collation (against DINGIR in Rost 1961, 188).

A iv 20'//B iv 18': In this case, as in §§ 7' and 27'', the stela of a divine spring (*aldanniš*) could no longer be connected to a specific deity, which is also true for the stela mentioned further on in this paragraph. According to van Gessel 1998, 620, the deity EN.GURUN is attested in this composition only (A iv 20'//B iv 18', B iv 31').

A iv 21'//B iv 19': The tentative restoration [*aldanniš kuwann*]*aliyaš* in MS B (the occurrence is not booked in RGTC 6, 536–37) is based on the parallel passage in MS A, where the usual spelling Kuwannaniya is found. There was more than one spring bearing this name, for attestations see RGTC 6, 536–37 and RGTC 6/2, 206–7, to which add now KBo 39.48+ rev. iv 17[; KBo 47.76 obv. 11, 13, rev. 3[; 5; KBo 54.82 obv. 3; ABoT 2.120 rev. 3[.

A iv 22'//B iv 20': Note in MS B the plural form 3 ^d*iyariuš* “three Yarris” (i.e., three stelae representing Yarri), whereas MS A has 3 ^d*iyariš*.

A iv 24'//B iv 22': The writing ^{URU}*kum-MAN-eš-maḥ* in MS A iv 24' (a *hapax*) is well to be interpreted as ^{URU}*kum-mi_x-eš-maḥ*. The sign MAN has also a reading *ma₁₀* (Groddek 2014, 157, with analogous cases of CV values for CVC signs); in view of the writing ÍD ^{URU}*kum-mi-iš-m[a-ḥa]* in KBo 44.216(+) obv. ii 9' (besides the usual /kummesmaha/) and of the occurrence of a Storm God of Mount *kum-mi-eš-maḥ* in MS B obv. ii 10 (q.v.), a value *mi_x* besides *ma₁₀* for the sign MAN seems probable (kindly pointed out by D. Groddek).

To my knowledge, the Storm God RA-IŠ is documented in this composition only (here and further on, MS B iv 27'); the same god is attested in KBo 13.168 i 10' as "Storm God of the devastation," ^d10 RA-IŠ-aš (*walḫuwaš* or *walḫuwannaš*; read, with van Gessel 1998, 788 and 2001, 134, A-NA ^d10 RA-IŠ-aš *itarkī*, not ^{*d}*U-ra-wa* as per Alp 1983, 204 and Wegner 2002, 106). The use of RA instead of the more common GUL for Hittite *walḫ-*, "to strike" goes back to Mesopotamian examples (see Schwemer 2001, 416–19 and cf. the omen text KUB 4.63 rev. iii 5: ^dIŠKUR RA.RA "(If) Adad repeatedly tramples ..."). The spelling RA-IŠ, which will sound odd to Assyriologists, is therefore to be interpreted either as verbal noun (as in KBo 13.168) or as a participial form: then Akkadian *rāḫiṣu*, not *māḫiṣu*, to convey Hittite *walḫant-* "striking (/struck)," cf. the use of the writing SÎR-RU both for pl. and sg. On the forms *walḫuwaš* and *walḫuwannaš* see HEG W–Z, 250 and cf. Hoffner 2004, 355 n. 10. The town ^{URU}*kum-man-eš-maḫ* is a *hapax*, a connection with ^d10 ^{KUR}*kum-mi-eš-maḫ* mentioned in MS B ii 10 is uncertain.

A iv 25': '1' ^{NA4}ZI.KIN: there is only one vertical wedge visible on the fragment (differently Rost in her hand copy; Rost [1961, 188] reads "II?").

B iv 30': This is the only occurrence of the river Maraššant(iy)a (modern Kızılırmak) in the composition. In the copy by Rost the traces of ŠA are drawn as if there were a broken vertical at the end of the sign, hence the reading ^{ID}*ma-x[]x-an-ta-aš* in Rost 1961, 196 and RGTC 6, 530 and 540; Forlanini (2009, 61) reads ^{ID}*ma[zz]awanda*, probably based on the existence of a homonymous mountain (see RGTC 6, 267).

B iv 31'–32': ^{P0}*ḫ[u]-u-up-pár-aš*: Rost 1961, 196 and RGTC 6, 530 read *ḫu-up-pár-aš*, but the traces clearly show *ḫ[u]-u-...*, which is a well-attested spelling for the nom. sg. of this stem. Panza, Parga, Upa, Waliya: these deities are treated in this very order in KBo 39.48+ rev. v 14'–15' as well.

B iv 35': This is the only attestation of the autumn festival within the join KUB 38.10 + 10a. The spelling *zé-ni* is problematic, insofar as KUB 57.106 regularly uses the spelling *zé-na-aš*. In view of the evidence supporting the sandwich join between the two fragments, the spelling *zé-ni* may be tentatively explained by assuming a need to save space: the space at disposal after ZÉ would have been too little to accommodate for the remaining part of the formula, so that the shorter form *zé-ni* would have been chosen instead of *zé-na-aš*. Alternatively, it may be interpreted as a free variant, as in KBo 2.1 (q.v., text no. 2), cf. also the alternations in spelling and sign forms found in the occurrences of the GN Kaštama.

B iv 36'ff.: There is no empty line after KUB 38.10 rev. iv 22' (= B iv 35'), *pace* Rost 1961, 196 and the line numbering in her hand copy.

B iv 36': Rost (1961, 196) restores [... *ma*]-*a-an tarnūwai*, whereas I prefer to assume a variant of the archival formula *appan tarnumaš*, "of leaving

behind” (on this formula see the commentary on KUB 42.100+ rev. iv 42', text no. 12). The form attested here is a monstrem: one can only think of an incorrect verbal noun **tarnuwaš*, and then a secondary denominative verb from that (kindly suggested by H. C. Melchert). Differently than in the usual formula, the name of the person responsible for “leaving behind” seemingly constituted the subject in this variant. At the end of the line there is no further sign after the fragmentary PÁT; what is drawn in the hand copy as a vertical wedge is in fact a crevice standing between lines 36' and 37'). The partially restored formula “on this tablet *so many* towns are treated” occurs often in the colophons of cult inventories; see Cammarosano 2013, 70 with n. 24.

B iv 37': There was more than one town named Tiwaliya (RGTC 6, 431; 6/2, 171); this one is perhaps to be equated with that mentioned in IBoT 2.131 (so Forlanini 2009, 42).

B iv 38': “Ruin-town of (mr.) Lukkašši”: the PN, booked as *Lukpiši* in Laroche 1966, 107 no. 704, is a *hapax*. Town ^{URU}*wa-an-ta-ra-x-aš* -...: RGTC 6/2, 186 reads ^{URU}*wa-an-ta-ra-[an-t]a-aš*, which is not compatible with the space in the gap. The illegible sign seems to have an unbroken vertical wedge at the end.

B iv 39': The signs [Š]A LÚ 'ŠUKUR' are omitted in the editions of Rost 1961, 196 and Cornil 1988, 21. The GN Šalitašši is a *hapax*. Town Wawara: Forlanini (2009, 60) reads ^{URU}*wa-wa-ra-a[š-š]a*, but the reading ^{URU}*wa-wa-ra-aš* (so also RGTC 6/2, 189) is confirmed by the spacing following AŠ in KUB 57.106 obv. i 11'.

B iv 40': The hypothesis of an erasure follows from the sequence of the towns treated in the text (cf. B i 5', 11', 19'). Alternatively, we should assume a mismatch in the sequence of the colophon vis-à-vis that of the text. For the restoration of the following GN see MS A i 9'//B i 19' and see already Forlanini 2009, 60.

B iv 42': The restoration is based on the sequence of towns as treated in the main text. From now on, however, there is a discrepancy in the sequence of the colophon as compared to that of the main text (see the table on p. 435). The town preceding Šaluwataši seems to end in *-aššiš*, just as Iššanašši, a fact which could have triggered a *saut du même au même*.

B iv 44': For the tentative restoration [... ^{URU}*a*²]-*ru-ma-aš-ši-iš* see the commentary on MS B ii 32.

B iv 46': For the reading cf. already Forlanini 1992, 178 n. 54; the town Gullanta is treated in §19, see MS A iii 1'//B iii 2'.

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