Hittite Birth Rituals
Second Revised Edition

by Gary M. Beckman

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OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN
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### PREFACE

Scholarship is a cooperative enterprise, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance I have received from institutions and individuals in the preparation of this work.

Research for my 1977 Yale University Ph.D. dissertation, the basis of this book, was largely carried out utilizing the resources of the Marburger Boğazköy-Archiv, while revision was done with the aid of the files of the Hittite Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The compilers of these lexical collections, Prof. Heinrich Otten and Prof. Harry A. Hoffner, respectively, have not only made these materials available to me, but have also been my teachers, both in and outside of the classroom. It would not be possible to detail their many contributions to this volume, but I must mention specifically the generosity of Prof. Otten in allowing me to utilize unpublished material from the current series of Boğazköy excavations, most importantly 232/d, 1502/u (Text Q), 1265/v (Text R), 464/w (Text He), and Bo 77/94 (= KBo XXVII 67, Text U).

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Finally, I must thank heartily the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst for providing me with the opportunity to study from October 1975 through February 1977 at the Altorientalisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität in Marburg/Lahn.
ABBREVIATIONS
(In general these follow those given in HW² 13–33)

/a, /b Excavation numbers of tablets and fragments excavated at Boğazköy in 1931 ff.
AAA Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology—Liverpool.
ABoT Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Table-
leri, Istanbul 1948.
AF Altorientalische Forschungen—Berlin.
AfO Archiv für Orientforschung—Berlin and Graz.
AHw W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, Wies-
baden 1958 ff.
AMT R. Campbell Thompson, Assyrian Medical Texts, Ox-
ford 1923.
AO Der Alte Orient—Leipzig.
AOATS Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Sonderreihe—Keve-
laer.
Appu The “Story of Appu,” cited after Siegelová, StBoT 14, 4–17.
ArOr Archiv Orientální—Prague.
AS Assyriological Studies—Chicago.

Belleten. Revue publiée par la Société d’histoire tur-
que/Türk Tarih Kurumu—Ankara.
Biblica Commentarii periodiciPontificiiInstitutiBiblii—Rome.
BoR Bibliotheca Orientalis—Leiden.
BoTU E. Forrer, Die Boghazkoi-Texte in Umschrift (WVDOG 41/42)—Leipzig 1922, 1926.
von Brandenstein, Bildbeschreibung C.-G. von Brandenstein, Hethitische Götter nach Bild-
beschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten (MVAEG 46.2)—Leipzig 1943.
Bush (1964) F. W. Bush, A Grammar of the Hurrian Language (Dis-
sertation Brandeis University)—University Microfilms, Ann Arbor 1964/65.
Carruba, Part O. Carruba, Die zehnzehnleitenden Partikeln in den indo-
 germanischen Sprachen Anatolians (Incanubula Graecæ XXXII)—Rome 1969.
Cor.ling Corollas linguistica; Fs F. Sommer—Wiesbaden 1955.
CTH Designation of compositions after Laroche, Car².
del Monte, RG 6 G. F. del Monte (and J. Tischler), Répertoire Géographi-
que des Textes Cunéiformes, Bd. 6, Die Orts- und Ge-
wässernamen der hethitischen Texte—Wiesbaden 1978.
see Laroche, DLL.
DLL W. Dressler, Studien zur verbalen Pluralität (SOAW 259.1)—Vienna 1968.
Dressler, StudVerbPlur Edel, Ärzte E. Edel, Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am he-
hitischen Königshof, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akade-
mie der Wissenschaften, Vortrag 6205—Opladen 1976.
Abbreviations

FHG

Fragments hittites de Genèvre (Laroche, RA 45, 1951, 131-38, 184-94; 46, 1952, 52-50.)

Friedrich, HE 1, II


HG

J. Friedrich, Die hethitischen Gesetze (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 7)—Leiden 1959.

HW1

Hethitisches Wörterbuch—Heidelberg 1952-54.

HW1, 1, 2, 3. Erg.


Fs

Festschrift


FsFinkelstein

Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein—Hampsden, Ct. 1977.

FsFriedrich


FsGüterbock


FsKoschaker

Symbolae ad iura Orientis Antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschakeri dedicatae—Leiden 1939.

FsKraus


FsLaroche


FsOtten


FsF

Forschungen und Forschritte—Berlin.

Garelli, AC


Gelb, HS

I. J. Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians—Chicago 1944.

Goetze, AM


-, Hatt

A. Goetze, Ḫattuṣiliššu. Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung neben den Paralleltexten (MVAeG 29.3)—Leipzig 1925.

-, Kleinasiens


-, Madd

A. Goetze, Madduwallaš (MVAeG 32.1) — Leipzig 1928.

-, NBr

A. Goetze, Neue Bruchstücke zum großen Text des Ḫattušiliššu und den Paralleltexten (MVAeG 34.2) — Leipzig 1930.

Abbreviations

-, Tunn


Goetze/Pedersen, MS

A. Goetze/H. Pedersen, Mursili’s Sprachlähmung (Danske Vid.Selsk. XXI)—Copenhagen 1934.

Gordon, UGTb


GsKretschmer

MNHMHS XARIP. Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer—Vienna 1956.

Gurney, Aspects


Haas, KN

Haas/Thiel AOAT 31

V. Haas, Der Kult von Nezik (StPohl 4) — Rome 1970.

Haas/Thiel AOATS 3


HAB

see Sommer/Falkenstein, HAB.

H&I


Hatt

The “Apology of Ḫattušiliššu III,” cited after Goetze, Ḫatt.

Hawkins/Morpurgo-Davies/


HbOr

see Kammenhuber, HbOr.

HE 1

see Friedrich, HE 1.

Hofner, AlHeth


-, EHGI


Houwink ten Cate, Records


HSM

see Registration numbers of the Harvard Semitic Museum.

HT

Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum—London 1920.

-, HW1

see Kammenhuber, HW1.

-, HW2

see Kammenhuber, HW2.
Abbreviations


IF  Indogermanische Forschungen–Straßburg and Berlin.


JKF  Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung–Heidelberg.


KIF  Kleinasiatische Forschungen–Weimar (1927–)30.


KUB  Keilschrifttukunden aus Boghazköi–Berlin 1921ff. (often cited only by volume no.)


Lg  Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America–Baltimore.

MAOG  Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft–Leipzig.


Mêlanges Linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen–Copenhagen 1937.


MIO  Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung–Berlin.

MSL  B. Landsberger et al., Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon–Rome 1937ff.

MSS  Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft–Munich.

Mü  Registration numbers of tablets and fragments found at Maşat-Höyük.


NBC  Registration numbers of the Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale University.


OLZ  Orientalistische Literaturzeitung–Berlin.

XIV

Abbreviations

Or
OrAnt
Oriens
Otten, histQuellen
Otten, HTR
¬, LTU
¬, Luv
¬, Pudhpepa
¬, UberITM
Popko, Kultobjekte
RA
RHA
RHR
RIA
RS
Sbo II
von Schuler, HDA
¬, Kaïk
SMEA
Sommer/Ehelolf, Pap
Sommer/Falkenstein, HAB

Sprache
Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft—Vie-
nena/Wienbaden.
SBoT
Sturtevant/Bechtel, Chrest
E. Sturtevant/G. Bechtel, A Hittite Chrestomathy—Phi-
ladelphia 1935.
Tel Aviv
Tel Aviv. Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of
Archaeology—Tel Aviv.
THerz
Tischler, HEG
J. Tischler, Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar—Inns-
bruck 1977 ff.
UF
Ugarit-Forschungen—Kevelaer.
Ugaritica III, V (Mission de Ras Shamra VIII, XVI)—Par-
is 1956 ff.
Ullik
The “Song of Ullikummi,” cited after Güterbock, JCS 5,
1951, 135–61, and 6, 1952, 8–42.
Ungnad/Matous, Grammatik
A. Ungnad, Grammatik des Akkadischen, neubearbei-
VAT
Registration numbers of the Vorderasiatischen Abteilung
der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin.
VBoT
A. Goetze, Verstreute Boghazköy-Texte—Marburg 1930.
WbMyth
H. W. Haussig, ed., Wörterbuch der Mythologie—Stutt-
gart (1962)–1965 ff.
Winkels, Diss
H. Winkels, Das zweite Pestgebet des Muršili—KUB XIV
8 und Duplikate. Eine methodologische Untersuchung
Chr. (Dissertation Universität Hamburg 1979).
WO
Die Welt des Orients—Göttingen.
WWDog
Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen
Orient Gesellschaft—Leipzig and Berlin.
WZKM
Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlan-
des—Vienna.
YOS
Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts—New Haven.
ZA
Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatische
Archäologie)—Leipzig and Berlin.
ZAW
Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft—Berlin.
ZDMGSuppl
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesell-
schaft. Supplementa—Wiesbaden.
I. INTRODUCTION

A. General

Human reproduction in its progressive stages—conception, pregnancy, and childbirth—finds frequent mention in Hittite texts of the most varied genre, attesting to the natural concern of the Hittites for the perpetuation of their society. This concern is visible on two levels. The first of these is the societal (or perhaps better, the “cosmic”) level. In the Hittite view, humans and their activities were integrally bound up with the rest of the natural order. The proper functioning of human fertility was an indispensable element in the existence of this order.  

In the myths of the “Vanishing God” type, in which the disappearance of an important deity brings nature temporarily to a standstill, the failure of human beings to reproduce is mentioned among the characteristics of this sterile period. For example, we read in KUB XVII 10 13’-17’ that as a consequence of the departure of Telepinu

barley (and) wheat no longer thrive. Cattle, sheep (and) human beings no longer conceive, and those who are (already) pregnant do not give birth in this time.

The trees have dried up, and buds do not come forth.  

Later, the return of Telepinu (IV 20ff.) corrects these unfortunate conditions.

1 A passage from one of the “Plague Prayers” of Muršili II, KUB XXIV 3 III 3’-16’, and duplicates, indicates that the Hittite gods were held to be quite literally dependent on the activities of humankind. Here the gods are warned that as a consequence of the raging of a plague which they had allowed, agricultural and culinary workers are dying off and the continuity of temple service therefore threatened. (For a translation, see Goetze, ANET 3 396.) Thus the maintenance of a proper level of population of humans was of vital importance for the divine world.

2 13’. ... mu nam-ma
14’. Qal-ki-ti ZI Z-tar U-UL ma-a-i mu-za nam-ma GUD 3 I A UDU 3 I A DUMU. LÚ UUL 3 I A nu 8 Û-UL
The second level of concern with reproduction for the Hittite was personal. Most pressingly, each person needed offspring who would provide for his material needs when he was no longer capable of doing so himself, that is, when he had grown old, and even more importantly, after he had died. As in Babylonia, the deceased were thought to require food and drink offerings from the living. While we possess relatively detailed information concerning the posthumous cult only for members of the royal family, it seems that some offering was due to all of the dead.

But beyond material considerations, it was clearly a major part of each adult Hittite’s role to produce offspring in the interest of the continuation of his society. The condition of one who failed to meet this societal obligation is best illustrated by the “Story of Appu.” Although Appu is the most wealthy man in the town of Ṣudul, counting silver, gold, and lapis-lazuli among his treasures, he is nonetheless unhappy, for he is childless. We read:

And he lacks nothing; only one thing does he lack—he has neither a son nor a daughter. (When) the elders of Ṣudul sit before him to eat, and this one gives to (his) son bread and meat, and [that] one gives something to (his) son to drink, Appu has no-one to whom to give bread.

(I 15–217)

Obviously Appu is socially disgraced, and furthermore he is subjected to the taunts of his wife: “You have never taken (me correctly)! Have you taken (me correctly) now?,” 8 she complains one night while they lie together in bed. And even worse for Appu’s self-esteem, his wife has begun to grumble to the household slaves about his sexual failures. 9 No wonder he answers her words testily: “You are (only) [a woman] of the usual female sort and (consequently) don’t know anything!” 10 Childlessness, then, was considered such an evil that it offset even the pleasure to be derived from great riches. 11

In short, childlessness was a curse, and on occasion the threat of this condition is actually employed in curse formulae. For example, in the “First Military Oath” (CTH 427.A), in which troop commanders swear fealty to the royal house, those involved perform a ritual destruction of mallet and then bind themselves to the condition that whoever should transgress these oaths by undertaking evil against the king (and) queen (or) against the royal princes—let the oaths of the gods on that account likewise 12 destroy his future! Let his wives 13 [bear] neither male nor female children! (KBo VI 34 II 34–39 14)

And in a treaty concluded with the Kaškæans we encounter the passage:

And if you transgress the oaths, then let your cattle, your sheep (and) your human beings not

8 StBoT 14, 6 (I 33–34):
[Ur]-UL-ua ku-zi-la-an-qa kat-ta e-ip-ta
[mu]-wa ki-mu-an kat-ta e-ip-ta.
kat-ta ep- - is certainly an expression of dynamic sexual performance on the part of the male—see von Brandenstein apud Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 244, and compare kat-ta šēr, “jem. beschlafen” (HW 3 191). Colloquial English “to take (sexually)” seems to render the nuance well here.
9 See the “Story of Appu” I 27–30.
10 See the “Story of Appu” I 36–37:
[SA]-li-an-za-za-za SÁL-ši-li-ya-at zi-ik
[mu]-wa Ū-UL ku-it-ki ša-at-zi.
11 There is no passage in Hittite literature which deals with the plight of a barren woman. However, we may assume that in Hittite society the lot of a woman who failed to produce children was comparable to that of the barren woman in the Old Testament—cf. the situation of Hannah in I Samuel 1:14.
12 That is, as the malt had been destroyed.
13 II 38 reads DAM₄₂₃₂₂, but note that the verb in II 39—[h(a-a)]:ši—is singular. See Oettinger, StBoT 22, 35–36, for a discussion of the problems involved here.
14 For a transliteration, see StBoT 22, 10–11.
Having thus outlined the importance of the phenomenon of human reproduction for the Hittites, I now proceed with a survey of occurrences of this theme in the various texts found in the Hittite archives.

B. Birth in Hittite Texts

1. Birth in Mythological Texts and Märchen

We may begin our survey with this group of texts because, outside of the birth rituals themselves, it is this genre which provides us with the fullest documentation concerning birth among the Hittites. In keeping with the oft-cited remarks of Güterbock on the relative simplicity of the native Anatolian myths vis à vis mythology of the Hurro-Mesopotamian milieu, we find a distinct difference in the handling of birth in the two groups of texts. In the "Illyunya Myth," the entire process by which the Storm-god marries and begets a son is dealt with in two lines:

And he took the daughter of a poor man as his wife, and he sired a son. (KBo III 7 II 4'-5' 22)

In contrast to this laconic phrasing, birth scenes in the Hurrian-derived texts are quite elaborate and in fact constitute a distinct literary topos. In illustration I quote here the birth scenes from the previously mentioned "Tale of Appu." Through the intervention of the Sun-god, Appu is finally successful in impregnating his wife:

The wife of Appu conceived. The first month, the second month, the third month, the fourth month, the fifth month, the sixth month, the seventh month, the eight month (and) the ninth month [passed]. And the tenth month

22 4'. nu-za DUMUSAL.SA 10 a-iš-ša-an-da-aš 5'. A-NA DAM-SU da-aš naz DUMUSALTA ha-aš-ta
arrived. Then the wife of Appu gave birth to a son. The [nurse] lifted the son and transferred to the knees (of) Appu. Appu began to delight in this son, and he began to groom him. And he gave to him the pleasant name "Evil Person," (saying:) "As much as my fatherly gods did not hold out for him the good way, but (instead) held out the bad way," let his name be "[Evil Person]."

Further, a second time [the wife of] Appu conceived. [The tenth] month arrived, and the woman gave birth to a son. The nurse lifted [the son], and he (Appu) gave to him the name "Righteous (Person)," (saying:) "Let him henceforth be called "Righteous (Person)"

Thus 

Hoffner has outlined the structure of this mythological birth topos as follows:

1. the statement of conception,
2. the counting of the months of gestation,
3. the statement of birth,
4. the activity of the nurse,
5. the father’s first holding and fondling of the child, and
6. the bestowal of the name.

This topos also appears in three other texts of the Hurrian milieu found at Boğazköy, though due to textual breaks and the exigencies of plot, nowhere else in its complete form. These other passages include: the "Song of Ullikummi, Tablet I 101 ff., the "Story of the Sun-god, the Cow, and the Fisherman, XXIV 7 18–19, 19 38–41; and the "Labor of Mt. Wašitta, XXXII 118.

Birth is also the main theme of the text known as "Kingship in Heaven." It is indeed unfortunate that columns II, III, and IV are in such poor condition, for in them a number of births occur. These births, however, are hardly of the usual type, involving as they do either a male deity (Kumarbi) or the Earth, which has been fertilized through the reception of the revered genitalia of Anu. KUB XXXIII 120–1 IV 6–27 presents another occurrence of the birth topos discussed above.

Two sagas from Boğazköy also employ birth as an important element in their plots. The first is the Old Hittite text dealing with the town of Zalpa. In this tale, the queen of Kanes first gives birth to thirty sons, but sets them afloat in containers on the river. These children attain manhood in the land of Zalpa. The queen later bears another brood—this time thirty daughters, who are allowed to remain in Kanes. In true Märchen fashion, the princes eventually return to Kanes and unwittingly take their sisters to wife.

In addition, the badly mutilated KBO XII 3 IV 11'ff. seems to record a story involving the exposure of a new-born child, a fate similar to that of the princes of the Zalpa saga, and of course, that of Sargon and of Moses.

24 For this translation of hula, see Goetze, JAOS 74, 1954, 188.
25 This rendering of the verb kanku is uncertain, but as Neumann has pointed out (IF 78, 1973, 240), the old translation "schaukeln"/"lindle" is incorrect. Apud Neu, StBoT 5, 102, the same writer suggests a translation "aufrichten."
26 For the difficulties involved in translating *sanezzi* here in the traditional manner as "sweet," see Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 201–02.
27 The translations "Evil Person" and "Righteous (Person)" have been chosen because the text determines the names of the brothers not with the Personenkel, but rather with LÜ, albeit inconsistently in the case of NINC.SL.SA.
28 This is perhaps a reference to the manner in which Appu successfully had intercourse with his wife. See Hoffner, loc. cit.
29 See ibid., 202, n. 42.
30 For a transliteration of this passage, see StBoT 14, 10.
31 JNES 27, 1968, 199.
In historical texts, which are also to a large extent the records of the Hittite royal family, birth plays a role in two areas. First, the presence or absence of a legitimate heir to the throne was of extreme importance. In the "Proclamation of Telepinu" we read:

Let a prince of the first rank, a son, become king!
If there is no first-ranking prince, then whoever is a son of the second rank—let him become king! But if there is no prince, no male offspring, then whoever is a first-ranking daughter—let them take a husband for her, and let him become king!40

In his "Apology,"41 Ḫattušili III explains how, due to the lack of a first-ranking successor, he had set Ureh-Teshub, son of an ESERTU-woman,42 on the throne. And in KUB XXVI 33 II 7–9 an unnamed official relates his vain attempt to find a child sired by his deceased lord, Arnuwanda III:

And he had no offspring. A preg[nant] woman I sought, but a preg[nant] woman was not at hand.43

Also in the "Apology of Ḫattušili III," the author stresses the extraordinary favor shown to him by his patron goddess in making him king of Ḫatti,44 when he was not first in line for this position, but rather the youngest of the (first-rank) children:

40 KBo III 1 III 36–39 (restorations from KBo VII 15 + KBo XII 4 II 11 ff.):
36. LUGAL-ú-ša-an ša-an-te-iz-zi-ya-aš-pat DUMU.LUGAL DUMU.RU ki-ik-ki[(i-
-iš)]a-ru tāk-ku DUMU.LUGAL
37. ša-an-te-iz-zi-iš NU.GAL nu ku-ši ta-ann pi-e-da-ši DUMU.RU nu LUGAL-ú-ši
a-pa-a-ši
38. ki-ša-ru ma-a-an DUMU.LUGAL ma DUMU.NITA NU.GAL nu ku-ši
DUMU.SAL ša-an-te-iz-zi-iš
39. nu-as-li-ša-an an-ti-ya-an-ša-an a-pa-a-an-du nu LUGAL-ú-a-pa-a-ši ki-
ši[(a-ši)]
41 II 40ff. See Goetze, NBr 22–23.
42 In addition to AHW 249, see Ünal, THeth 3, 110, n. 1, and Bin-Nun, THeth 5, 217, n. 26.
43 7. nu-as-li NU.MUNU NU.GAL a-ša-št a-r mà-ul-a[a]-ša-an(a-ši)]
8. SAL-an pu-nu-us-la-an nu a-[ma-a]-ša-an-ta-an(a-ši)]
9. SAL-as Ū-UL a-ša-št
44 Cf. IV 41 ff.

My father Muršili sired us four children—
Ḫalpašulapi, Muwatalli, Ḫattušili and
DINGIR.Í.RI-i,45 a daughter. And I was the
youngest child of all.46

Secondly, the granting of children to a couple could be interpreted as indicating the approval of their union by the gods. Thus Ḫattušili III describes his marriage to Pušūpea as follows:

And the daughter of Pentipšarrī the priest,
(namely) Pušūpea, I took to wife on the
command of the goddess. And we set up house-
keeping, [and] the god gave to us the love
of husband (and) wife. And we produced for
ourselves male children and female children.47

Clearly we must understand such an ideal marriage also as the result of the favor of "the goddess" (here = Šauša).

3. Birth in Hittite Letters

The fortunate marriage of Ḫattušili III is also mentioned by Pušūpea herself in a boastful passage of a letter to Ramses II of Egypt:

And my personal deity, who did these things—
as the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god,
Ḫebat, and Šauša made (me) queen—(my personal
deity) put me together with your brother (in
marriage), and I produced male children and
female children (so that) the people of Ḫatti
speak of (my) "exceptional vitality"48...
my brother also recognizes this. Further,
when I entered into the (royal) household,

45 Read Maššanuzzu? See Otten, Pušūpea 9ff.
46 19–11. For a transliteration, see Goetze, Ḫatt 6.
47 "Apology" III 1–4, with reading of III 3 after Otten, Pušūpea 17, n. 36:
1. nu-za DUMU.SAL "Fu-šu-ti-šar-zi" SANGA 'Pu-da-hé-pa-an
3. [nu-un-ni]-a-e DINGIR.LIM ŠA.LI MU-DI DAM a-a-i-ša-tar pi-e-š-ta
4. nu-un-ni-a DUMU.NITA.MES DUMU.SAL.MES I-ša-ši-en
48 This translation of ša-an-na-a-an ti-ša-ša-an is suggested by Goetze apud Helck,
JCS 17, 1963, 92. See now HW 7 76 for literature on this obscure Luwian' expression.
induced miscarriage is simply twenty shekels if the woman is free and ten shekels if she is a slave, regardless of the month of pregnancy.

Finally, Tablet I § 77a covers induced miscarriages in livestock, calling for a payment of two shekels in the case of a cow, and three shekels in the case of an ass caused to abort.

5. Birth in Prayer Texts

Previously we have seen that in the ritual texts progeny are among the most desired blessings for the members of the royal family. Quite naturally this attitude is also reflected in the prayers. For example, in KUB XXIV 2 rev. 12′ ff. a deity is beseeched:

To the king, queen, princes, and to (all) the land of Ḥattušili [w]e寿命, health, strength, long years, and joy in them the future! [And to them] give future thriving of grain, vines, fruit, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules, asses—together with wild animals—and of human beings.

Additionally, reference to birth or early childhood—periods during which a person is utterly dependent upon others—is made occasionally in prayers in order to stress an intimate connection between a worshiper and a deity. Note, for instance, the “Prayer of Kantuzili” (KUB XXX 10) obv. 6: “O my god, since my mother gave birth to me, you, my god, have reared me.”

In a metaphorical passage in a prayer, Ḥattušili III turns this situation around and compares himself to a nurse, in view of the efforts and attention

52 So OH KBo VI 2 IV 7; the MH duplicate KBo VI 3 III 80 has two shekels also in the case of a she-ass.

53 XXIV 2 rev. 12′–16′:
14. [nu-][u-][u-][a][l][i-ki][y][a]-aṣ ﺇ-ල-几乎没有 aṣ GUD[BLA]-aṣ UD[BLA]-aṣ MAŠ[BLA]-aṣ
15. [基金份额][ANŠE.GIR.] NUN. NA[BLA]-aṣ ANŠE-aṣ gi-im-ra-aṣ ḫa-ii-tu-i-ni

Restorations in lines 15′ and 16′ are from XXIV 1 IV 13–14—see Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 32–35. For the translation “fruit” for ḫesla(na), see Laroche, Ug V, 778.

54 am-eme-[i] DINGIR-YA ku-it-ma-[a] AMA-YA ḫa-a-ṣa-[a] mu-[a] na-[u] am-me-el DIN-
GIR-YA ḫa-al-la-nu-us.
which he had lavish upon the holy city of Nerik, cult site of the young Storm-god, son of the Sungoddess of Arinna:

If a person raises a child for the father (and) mother, do not raise the (and) mother indeed give him (the fee) of the nurse? Do they not (then) rejoice over him? I have exerted myself in regard to the city of the Storm-god of N[erik], your beloved son. Now, o Sun-goddess of Arinna, [My Lady, for the sake of the city] of the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved son, be well disposed toward my soul, toward the soul of my wife, toward (those of) my children (and) [grandchildren].56

For a similar metaphor, in which Puduhepa refers to herself as SAI. harna- 
waš, “woman of the birth-stool” (KUB XXI 27 obv. 15 ff.), see below, pp. 233 ff.

6. Birth in Omen Texts

Among the omen material found at Boğazköy, all of which is derived from Mesopotamian sources, there are fragments of the birth omen series šumma izbu, both in Akkadian versions57 and in Hittite translation. This latter material has been edited by Riemschneider in StBoT 9 (1970). According to Riemschneider, these texts reflect the existence of a Middle Babylonian forerunner to the classical series, although the material does not seem to have assumed at this point the shape and organization of the later tablets from the Library of Assurbanipal.58 The omens in this series attempt to forecast the future through interpretation of monstrous births, on the part of both women and of animals.

Also discovered at Boğazköy was a small fragment of a physiognomonic omen text, KUB XXXVII 189 (CTH 537). Lines 8–17 of this piece are duplicate to BM 92694 obv. 36–45,59 part of the fortieth tablet of the series eni-ma ana bit marsi ašpu illiku. This section of the series contains predictions concerning the sex and/or destiny of an unborn child, based upon observation of the physical appearance of the mother.

Another group of omens dealing with birth is contained in obv. 1–10’ of KUB VIII 35 (CTH 545), a tablet which represents a Hittite translation of Akkadian omen material60 (menologies), later attested as part of the series iqua rîpu.61 With the exception of the lines relevant to our discussion, the contents of this tablet have been discussed and edited in part by Berman, Fs Güterbock 57–63.62 Obv. 1’–10’ have been published in transliteration by Friedrich in HE II 49, and in translation in AO 25.2, 1925, 29–30, but have never been edited fully. Therefore an edition is presented here.63

55 at-ta- an-ni- is a collective here and thus takes the singular verb forms pa-a-i and du- 
56 XIV IV 11–19:

11. ... ma-a-an UN-aš-pašt
12. at-ti-an-ni DUMU-an šal-la-zi mi mušši at-ta-aš an-na-aš
13. ša šu UMMEDU ŠU-UL im-ma pa-a-i ŠU-UL ma-an-za-an-kîn
14. dušši ki-yi an-ma-qas an-kîn A-NÁ ša šu UNI N(e-ri-k)
15. DUMU-KA a-[ašš]-ya-an-ta-aš URU-rí an-da-[ ]
17. ša šu URRU-NE-ri-iš DUMU-KA a-[ašš]-ši-[ya-an-ta-aš URU-rí]
18. ŽI-YA ŽI DAM-YA DUMU-MES.Y [A DUMU.DUMU-MES.Y]
19. [ši-en-su-]a-a-i...

58 See StBoT 9, 6.
59 See René Labat, Traité akkadien de diagnostiques et prognostics médicaux (Paris, 1951), I, 202–05, and II, planche LI
58. KUB XXXVII 18, an Akkadian fragment also listed by Laroche under CTH 545, is too small to be of any value here.
61 See Labat, calendrier.
62 Two comments are in order regarding Berman’s edition. First, judging from the signs, the ominous event of obv. 11’–22’ is more probably to be read as IM.KUN than as IM.GÚA. Leaving aside the question as to the more original reading, it seems likely that the Hittite scribe, at least, understood IM.KUN, “the wind with a tail” (= “tornado”)—see Labat, calendrier 190, n. 3.
63 Secondly, a reading of the apodosis in obv. 14’ as mu-ca at-ta-aš DUMU-an KÚ.BABBAR l-[ša-AB B-[IL] is unlikely. Neither habala A nor B provides a satisfactory meaning, and there is no other instance in this text in which a verb is fully written out in Akkadian. The photo of the tablet shows by the spacing of the signs that we should read here mu-ca at-ta-aš DUMU-an KÚ.BABBAR l-[ša-AB l-[ša-ti-ts-]
the ‘father will sell’ the son for silver.” This Hittite translation could have resulted from a misunderstanding of the rather common apodosis KILAM TUR(sa), “the market price will be small,” as “the sale of the child.” (In private conversation, H. Berman informs me that he has abandoned his earlier interpretation.)
63 My study of KUB VIII 35 has benefited from the discussion of this text in a course given by Prof. H. Hoffer at Yale University in 1974, and from the examination of a photo of the tablet now in the Nachlaß of K. K. Riemschneider at the Oriental Institute in Chicago. In addition, I was able to consult Riemschneider’s unfinished manuscript dealing with the omen material found at Boğazköy.


10'. [m ū-šì DUMU-aš ma-e-ik-ki i-ya-zì l-NA ITU.13.KAM DUMU-aš mi-ya-ri NU.GÁL ku-it-ki

[If in the first month a child is born, this ch[ild] will scatter the house of (his) father, but in the future he will recover it.

2'. [If in the second month a child is born, this child will lack inner vitality. (If) in the third month a child is born, this child will experience justice.

[(If) in the fourth month a child is born, this child will become ill. (If) in the fifth month a child is born, his days will be short.

4'. [(If) in] the sixth [mon]th a child is born, the father and mother to (= of?) this child will come' into the cold; the child (himself) from the river, from [w]in'd', from fire, (and) from the hot iron' will escape. (If) in the seventh month a child is born, a god will single out this child.

6'. (If) in the eighth month a child is born, this child will procure grain and silver. (If) in the ninth month a child is born, this child will die;

if he does not die, then his father (and) mother will experience fear.

8'. (If) in the tenth month a child is born, in whatever house he is born—(that) (hou)se will become empty.

(If) in the eleventh month a child is born, this child will become strong. (If) in the twelfth month a child is born, this child will grow old

10'. [and] produce many children. (If) in the thirteenth month a child is born, there is no (omen).
Commentary

In part this paragraph runs parallel to § 64 of Labat’s edition of the series *iqqur iqiši*, a section which unfortunately is not well preserved.

1’. The beginning of this line is restored after obv. 13 of this tablet: ma-a-an-kám IG1-zi ITU-ı-mí IM.KUN 66 KUR-e an-da ka-ri-ya-zi.

The reading ar-ša BIR-ya-zi, which is unique in Hittite texts, is supported by BIR ("is [appab]"); “dissolve, scatter,”66 in the Akkadian parallel. Elsewhere, the BIR-sign is found only with the reading ELLAĞ, “kidney”67—see Deimel, SL 400:3.

That EĞIR-pa UD.KAM-ti is a single term, equivalent to the more usual weiting EĞIR.UD.(KAM) (=appāšiwaṭ, “future”) is shown by the presence of the enclitics =ma=at only on the second element here.

The reading of the verb at the end of the line is supported by the photo.

2’. LA-zi: Since in Akkadian contexts LA often represents ṭašṭu, “to be small; to lack (something),”68 it probably stands here for Hittite wašišayęzi, which appears in phonetic spelling in obv. 11 of this text. To the expression ṢA-aš huššaṭar waksišaṭa compare UL huššaṭašā (es’), “not one of life,” Text C obv. 14, and the “Apology of Ḥattušili III” I 15, in both instances used of a baby or young child.

For the lack of the conditional conjunction mān, which is the rule rather than the exception in this paragraph, HE II 49 refers the reader to HE I 2 § 328 a.

4’/f. A birth in the sixth month seems to bode ill for both the parents and the child69—the former will be exposed to the elements,70 while the latter will experience a number of narrow escapes. The reading [hu-w]a-an-ri-zu, “from [w]ind,” at the beginning of line 5’ was given by Riemschneider in his unpublished work on the omens and is supported morphologically by VII 21:11: huwa-an-da-zi. The photo is unclear here. For the metal implement *lappa*- see CHD III 40; our context suggests either a branding iron for marking a slave or an implement of torture.

7’. The grammatical subject of wemašu- here is pitāšušaš (nom.sg.) and the object is A-BU-SU AMA-SU.

8’. The significance of the adverb EĞIR-an in this line is unclear. Friedrich, AO 25.2, 1925, 29, translated “das Haus, in dem er hinten’ geboren wird.” É was probably lost here by haplography between the quite similar KAN- and IR-signs.

10’. This is a reference to the birth of a child in an intercalary month.

7. Birth in Ritual Texts

The rites of analogic magic employed in Hittite ritual texts were for the most part based upon processes and experiences common in the daily life of the Anatolian peasant of the second millennium B.C. Thus, for example, we encounter rites involving the preparation of soap from alkali-bearing plants71 and others featuring the fermentation of yeast.72 Therefore, it is not surprising that we find the reproduction of livestock as the subject of one of these instances of analogic magic. KUB VII 41 and dupes. IV 29–36 reads:

And the seer places a ram and a ewe before the gods and speaks as follows: “(As) the ram ‘splits’ (i.e., ‘mounts’) the ewe so that she becomes pregnant, (so) let this town and dwelling-complex become a ram, and let it ‘split’ the Dark Earth in the steppe! And let the Dark Earth becom[e] pregnant with the blood, the impurity (and) the sin! But as a pregnant woman and sheep give birth, let this town and dwelling-complex likewise give birth to the evil (and) the blood! And let the Dark Earth hold fast the…”73

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64 See Labat, calendrier 132–35.
65 See above, note 62.
66 See Ahw 1024.
67 Formerly read KALÁM, but see now MSL 5, 191; MSL 13, 212 II 6.
68 See Ahw 636.
69 The apodosis has been completely lost in the case of the sixth month (Ulūli) in the Akkadian parallel.
70 Thus we interpret ekummi DU-an-zi. A problem is presented, however, by the fact that both of the usual Hittite readings of the Sumerogram DU, ly-
71 KBo IV 2 139ff.
72 KBo VI 34 1 29ff.
73 For a transliteration, see Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 138.
a woman's children keep dying, or if she continuously aborts, or if a man's or a woman's sexual organs are disabled in consequence of a polluting spell.\footnote{81}

A fragmentary text edited by Otten and Siegelová in AFO 23, 1970, 32–38,\footnote{82} may well deal with the same complex of problems. Note the address to the river:

But you, o river, have taken for yourself the purification, the life of the progeny, and procreation\.\footnote{83}

The word tentatively translated here as "procreation",\footnote{84} ḫuṣantariša-, is the Luwian abstract substantive of the adjective ḫuṣantari-, "fertile,"\footnote{85} a rather rare word which, however, occurs five times in Goette's "Tunnawi" ritual.\footnote{86} This fact supports our surmise that this text is a related work.

In any event, the concern of Hitite ritual with the problems of fertility and reproduction is evident in these several texts,\footnote{87} and it is further to be observed in the numerous birth rituals per se, which are edited in the following chapters.

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\footnote{81} VII 53 I 4–6:
5. \textit{ma-ša-ka-šu} \textit{ša-li-sal-mu} DUMU-\textit{meš (AFO 23, 1970, 26)}

\footnote{82} The exemplars as listed by Otten and Siegelová are A = Bo 3617, B = Bo 3078, and C = KB III 104 + Bo 6464.

\footnote{83} 13'-14' (ibid. 33):
[\textit{ka-šu-ka-šu}] DUMU-\textit{meš (AFO 23, 1970, 26)}
[\textit{ka-šu-ka-šu}] DUMU-\textit{meš (AFO 23, 1970, 26)}

\footnote{84} Otten and Siegelová render it as "Fortpflanzungskraft" and discuss it fully, ibid. 33–36.

\footnote{85} See Goette, Tunn 75.

\footnote{86} See Tunn, index, s. v.

\footnote{87} Sturtevant and Bechtel, Chrest 118, suggested that the "Ritual of Anniwiyanu" (CTh 393) is intended to promote the birth of sons. This is not stated explicitly, however. The introduction (VBoT 24 I 2–3) reads: \textit{ma-ša-ka-šu} "\textit{LAMĀ} \textit{hu-li-mi-ya-šu} SISKUR.SISKUR-yâ-mi, "when I perform a ritual for the \textit{lulim}-protective deity," and the purpose of the ritual activity is clearly the replacement, in regard to the offertar, of this deity by "\textit{LAMĀ} \textit{innarauwant}-" (cf. II 2–44). But since we are not certain as to the meaning of the modifiers here, we are unclear as to the concrete goal of this text. The opposition \textit{lulim}-:\textit{innarauwant}- is probably not "eliminate: manly" as suggested by Sturtevant and Bechtel—see HW\textsuperscript{1} 130, and CHD III 82.
II. THE TEXTS
2. [When] a woman is giving birth, then the midwife prepar[es] the follow-
ing:

§ 1
2. [two] sto[ols] (and) three cushions. On each
stool is placed one cushion.

§ 2
4. And one spreads out [on]e cushion between the stools

§ 3
To the [go]ds allotments are given. The Sun-goddess in Arinna
10. has [se]ated herself, and Ḥalma'uītu in Ḥarpaṣa likewise,
and Ḥaṣep[ī] (mu) in Maliliuḥa likewise, ḤA[MA] in Karāḫa
likewise,
12. the [awe]some Telepin in Taw[i]niya likewise,
and Ḥuzu[i] in Ḥakmiu likewise.

14. But for Ḥannaḫana there did not remain a place; so for her, man (kind)
remained (as) a [pl]ace.

16. [the central (pl) ace]. And this

§ 4
[is n]ot. There is no window.

18. [a place of the [pill]ar there is.

[ ] lay.
Commentary

This one-columned text, of which only the obverse was inscribed, presents a ritual for time of delivery. Although Otten has suggested that this text may represent a “Sondertafel,” that is, a separate tablet on which the incantations necessary for the performance of a ritual are collected, this is unlikely since §§ 1–2 clearly deal in some detail with the physical preparations for birth. The presence of Hittic deities in § 3 suggests an origin within this cultural group for the ritual.

Collation of the original by Prof. Otten now shows that the inscription begins on the upper edge of this tablet, an archaic feature. Since only E (obv. 2, 6, 9, and 14—but cf. obv. 16 and 18) and ŠAR (obv. 2, 3, 4, and 7) display relatively late shapes, while no very late forms are found, an early fourteenth-century date is probable.

obv. 1. In discussing this line in Orients 10, 1957, 356, Güterbock restores only [mânt], but New Hittite seems to have required -za with baš-, “give birth,” and it has therefore been included here. The sole exception to the use of -za with baš- in an NH composition is XLI 8 IV 33 (Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 138), but even here the particle is employed with baš- in the very next line, and it also appears in the duplicate KBO X 45 IV 34. Therefore -za was probably omitted by error in line 33, that is, read [][GI]M-an-ma-(za). In Old Hittite, however, the reflexive particle does not always accompany baš-. Due largely to the small number of attestations available, the conditions calling for its use cannot yet be determined. The increase in the employment of -za observable

1 BOr 8, 1951, 230 n. 51.
2 See below, p. 38.
3 See Otten/Souček, StBoT 8, 12, n. 2. Prof. Otten also informs me that a comparison of script and clays indicates that Text M may indirectly join Text A.
4 See, however, Neu/Rüster, StBoT 21, 5.
5 Note especially the archaic shapes of HJR (obv. 7) and URU (obv. 11, 13).
6 The rule presented by Goetze, JAOS 74, 1954, 189, by which the use of the particle is conditioned by the presence of a direct object has been refuted by Otten, StBoT 17, 31.
7 E.g., KBO XXII 2 I 1, 2 (StBoT 17, 6) and in the majority of the Hittite translations of Akkadian birth omens, which, although for the most part preserved in NH copies, go back to an older period—see Riemschneider, StBoT 9, 7–8.
8 See Otten, StBoT 17, 31. The comment by Josephson, Kratylbos 18, 1973 (1975), 141, that -za is employed only to indicate “intimen Bezug, nicht aber Nutzen oder Gewinn des Subjektes” does not convince me in regard to baš-, since the intimate participation of the mother seems called for in all births.

in this usage parallels that described by Hoffner for nominal sentences in JNES 28, 1969, 226. For bašnapalla-, see below, pp. 232f.

obv. 2. The restoration 2 ku-up-pi-is-ī-śar is given by Güterbock, Orients 10, 1957, 356. Although in this instance and apud HWL, 342, he suggests that the scribe has accidentally omitted a ŠAR-sign, Güterbock also entains the possibility of a “short” stem kupp-i. The only other attestations of this word in Hittite—both in this text—belong to the r/ṇ stem, and the two occurrences of the Luwian cognate ku-up-pi-is-śa, XXXV 54 II 21, and ku-up-pi-eś-śa, XXXV 68:9 also point to a Hittite stem kupp-iś-śar. 10

While shortened stems are not unknown in Hittite, it is simpler to assume an error here than to posit two stems for a word that occurs only three times, and then in a single text. Note also the large number of instances on this tablet in which signs have been omitted (obv. 11, 14, 16–19).

The meaning “(foot)stool” is well established for the Luwian word through alternation with the Sumerogram GIR.GUB, and this translation also fits the occurrences in Text A. A more common word for “(foot)stool,” whose meaning was likewise established through an alternation with GIR.GUB, is hapalli/-hašalli, found in Text K obv. 24. The fact that the two GIR.GUB in § 1 of Text A seem to correspond to the 2 GIR.GUB in Text B I 5, 16 suggests that the GIR.GUB was a smaller stool.

9 See also Carruba, Part 46–50.
10 See Laroche, DLM 140, § 32.
11 See Otten, StBoT 17, 28, for errors of this type.
12 ku-up-pi-in in XLI 34:5 and the gloss GIR.GUB in the Akkadian medical text XXXVII 1 obv. 25 (Kührer, AFO 16, 1952, 54–55) are probably not relevant here.
13 See Otten, Luv 42–43. The suggestion found there that Luwian kupp-iššar is related to the Semitic root ks/kbš, and particularly to Biblical Hebrew kebš “footstool,” is to be rejected. This latter word occurs but once in Hebrew, and even in this instance it has been shown by North (ZAW 50, 1932, 29–39) to be the result of a pious emendation of an original kebš “lamb.” And, although A. Salonen in Die Möbel des Alten Mesopotamiens (Helsinki, 1963), pp. 28–30, lists a kibšu, “Schemel,” both CAD K (sub kibšu B) and AHw (sub kibšu II) define this word as a piece of fabric.
14 See Sommer, OLZ 1939, 681, and also Archi, SMEA 1, 1966, 82, n. 31.
15 See however the doubts expressed by Laroche, OLZ 1957, 134ff. (sub no. 121).
16 See below, p. 36, for the relationship between Texts A and B.
than the $\text{gi}$baššali-, which is found in alternation only with unmodified $\text{gi}$GIR.GUB.\textsuperscript{17}

Outside of the present text, only two occurrences of $\text{sa}rp\text{a}si$- are known, both of which deal with the furniture of the Storm-god of Kuliwîn(has): KBo XV 30 obv. 10: $\text{gi}$GAD 1 $\text{kU}$NIG.BAR $\text{sa}rp\text{a}-\text{si}-\text{si}$-iši, and KUB LI 22 1 8–9 (MOI 4, 1956, 339):

$\text{iIM U} $\text{U} $\text{kU} $\text{li}-u-iš-na 1 $\text{gi}$SŪ.A-ŠU

$\text{sa}rp\text{a}-\text{si}-\text{si}$

Note only that the latter passage, like Text A, mentions $\text{sa}rp\text{a}si$- in connection with a piece of furniture upon which one may sit ($\text{gi}$SŪ.A, “chair, throne [in Hittite texts]”).

$\text{gu}$Sū $\text{sa}rp\text{a}si$- is a derivative in -ašši-\textsuperscript{18} of $\text{gu}$Sū $\text{sa}rp\text{a}$-, and both words have been discussed by many scholars.\textsuperscript{19} Güterbock’s translation, “bolster, cushion,”\textsuperscript{20} cannot be far wide of the mark and fits this context well.

obv. 5. That (katta) maus-, literally “fall (down),” does not refer simply to the entrance of the child into the birth canal is shown by its use in the “Ritual of Tunnawi(ya)” to describe miscarriage.\textsuperscript{21} A semantic parallel to this Hittite usage is found in Akkadian maqātu, “to fall,” in a circumstantial context in BAM 248 1 50: išer-um lim-qu-um-ma ZALĀG IGI, “let the baby fall, let him see the light (of day)!”

obv. 7. [ki-iš]-šar-ta: For the instrumental singular ending in -ta, which appears on a small number of nouns—mostly r/n heteroclitics, see Oettinger, StBoT 22, 39, n. 78.

obv. 8. $\text{bu}$-uk-ki-iš $\text{ki}$-ši: The use of the second person singular, addressed to the practitioner, is unusual in Hittite rituals,\textsuperscript{22} but very common in Akkadian ritual texts. Note in this connection the Akkadian language medical text

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\textsuperscript{17} See also Danmanville, RHA 70, 1962, 57–58.

\textsuperscript{18} See Friedlænder, HE I § 51 b. Since this affix forms nouns of common gender, $\text{gu}$Sū $\text{sa}rp\text{a}-\text{si}-\text{si}-\text{kun}$ in obv. 4, which is accusative by context, must be interpreted as an error, rather than as evidence that we have here an $\text{s}$-stem neuter like nepši.

\textsuperscript{19} Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 90–92; Güterbock, Orients 10, 1957, 356–57, 362; (Jakob-)Rost, MOI 4, 1956, 338–40; Popko, Kultobjekte 129.

\textsuperscript{20} Orients 10, 1957, 356.

\textsuperscript{21} VII 53 I 4–5—see above, p. 181, with n. 81.

\textsuperscript{22} Note the isolated occurrences of tešši, “you say,” in the “First Military Oath”—see Oettinger, StBoT 22, 115 (Glossar). In this text too, however, the third person singular is usual in the verb.
the ideology behind Hittite kingship and the expansion of its hegemony in Anatolia in the early second millennium (p. 73).

This last point, however, is unlikely. Ḫalmašuitt(i), whose name is often written in later texts utilizing the Sumerogram GIS.EA.DAG, is a divinized object—if not the throne, then probably the throne-daïs, and often receives offerings in the company of the hearth, window, door-bolt, etc., as well as in that of anthropomorphic deities. His priest is among those in attendance at the "Festival of Procreation" (IBot I 29 obv. 20ff.), and at KUB VI 45 I 52 he is invoked along with numerous other gods to come to the aid of Muwatallil. Finally, Text A here shows that Ḫalmašuitt(i) could indeed appear in association with a particular locality, an association which does not invalidate the close connection of Ḫalmašuitt(i) with kingship so clearly displayed in the ritual CTH 414. Whether this special relationship to the king plays any role in Text A is uncertain, but nothing else in the ritual indicates that it was composed specifically for royal use.

No other passages document the connection of Ḫalmašuitt(i) with the poorly-attested city of Harpša, which, due to its association with Kalina in CTH 381 (VI 45 + II 52; dup. VI 46 III 20), is probably to be located in the central Anatolian territory of the city of Išarha. obv. 11. [â]â)a-te-pî-(nu-)â-as URMA-li-la-a-ha: Laroche, Rec 25, tentatively deities the deity mentioned here as an independent divinity, but it is more likely that this is simply a scribal error for Ḫâtpenûḫi Ḫâtpene. Very little is known about this goddess, but the fact that she is the spouse of the...
Tawiniya, an important town already in the Old Assyrian period, was located in the vicinity of Ḥattuša. The movements of the sacred fleece during the AN.TAH.SUM festival indicate that Tawiniya must have been situated within a day's journey of the capital, and the mention of a KÁ.GAL ṢA URU-Ta-ii-i-ni-ya, "Tawinian gate," on the northern side of Ḥattuša determines in which direction one must look.

*obv. 13.* Ḥu-uc-zi-ya-sa-az Ḥa-a-ak-mi-i-ša: Ḥuzziya is also a Hittite deity, and is associated with Telepinu in the ritual VBO T 128 (II 16–17). Ḥu-uc-zi is found at XLV 55 obv. 9; KBo XI 1 obv. 4; and KBo XVII 98 rev. 26, but all of these contexts reflect Hurrian influence, and it is uncertain if the same deity is intended as in Text A.

Ḫakmiš, which also appears as Ḥakpiš, is discussed fully by Haas, RIA IV, 49f. Situated somewhere near the lower course of the Kızıl Irmak, Ḥakmiš was closely associated with the religious center of Nerik and its Hittite pantheon.

*obv. 14.* For DINGIR.MAH, see below, pp. 239ff. I have postulated the omission of a sign in (NAM.)DUMU.LÚ.ULU because the mention of the entire human race, rather than of a single mortal, seems more appropriate here. This is not crucial, however, for as it stands unemended the text may be construed as referring to the individual new-born.

*obv. 17.* Although the Sumerogram NU.GÁL usually appears without complementation and stands simply for Hittite natta, NU.GÁL-an here is proba-

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44 Known as Taminia, it was the site of a kārum—see L. Orlin, Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia (The Hague, 1970), p. 85. For spellings of the name of this city in all periods, see StBo T 17, 39, and, in general, see now del Monte, RG 6, 416–18.
45 See KBo X 20 124–28. These lines, as restored from the duplicates, are transliterated by Güterbock in JNES 19, 1960, 81.
46 XV 31 I 13–14.
48 See Laroche, Rech 81, and NH 288.
49 Both of these deities lent their names to kings of the Hittite Old Kingdom, and Ḥuzziya also appears as a proper name in the records of the Old Assyrian trading settlements—see StBo T 17, 59, and Garelli, AC 143.
50 See already Houwink ten Cate, RHA 81, 1967, 120.
51 For the m/p alternation, see Goetze, Madd 112, and von Schuler, Kaš 101.
52 See also del Monte, RG 6, 65–67.
53 The character of this group of deities is shown by the discussion of Haas, KN 67ff.
54 Cf. Text C rev. 4*, 10*.
55 See StBo T 23, 165, n. 21.

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56 This noun is neuter in the singular, yet common gender in the plural—see CHD III, 88.
57 Hittite el- = Akkadian batu—see HW 42. Compare also XIV 8 rev. 29*: a-ša-a-na-at i-ya-ma-na-at, "it is true (lit. 'it exists'), I have done it," with rev. 15* of the same text: e-eš-zi-ya-at i-ya-ma-na-at.
58 14. nu-ua-aš-ša-an ṢA EMŠE ma-ar-ha-an 4 hal-bal-tu-ma-r(i)-e-eš ta-a-ga-an`
16. aš-ša-ul PA-NI DINGIR MEŠ I-NA EGIR.UD ME QA-TAM-MA li-e u-e-iš-zi
1. [k-e-i-z]

2. [k-e-i-z-i-y-a]

3. da-g(a-[a-an])

4. [mu-u-i-s-an DU MU-aš kat-[ta] ma-u-i-si]'


6. mu A-NA SAL 1 GāGIR.GUB ha-[a-ke-te-zi-ya-az ki-it-ta]

1 GāGIR.GUB ma-aši ap-pi-[i-zi-ya-az ki-it-ta]

8. [mu-]za-an SAL-MAŠŠA ZU TIM I-eš[a-an-ta-ni]

[k]-u-it-ma-an-ma-az SAL-za u-i-[i-i-i-i-ki-iz-zi nu SALSĀ.ZU]

10. hu-uk-k[i]-iš-ki-iz-zi Sī-PALT u-i-[i-i-i-i-ki-u-wa-aš]

ma-an-an-SAL-ŠA z[a] ka-wa-pi i-i-i-i-iš-ki-wa-an da-a-i nu SALSĀ.ZU]

12. hu-uk-ki-iš-[k][i]-iz-zi Ġ-SU TIM I [TUP-PI-m[a

nu hu-uk-mi-iš-aš DUB[N]-A TIM ar-ḫa-y[a-an]

14. SAL-za-ma-az ku-wa-pi u-i-i-i-ki-wa-an d[a-a-i]

DU MU-an pi-ra-an ka-nu-ḫa-an-da-a-an-ni D[UMU]-aš-ma


na-an pi-ra-an ka-nu-ḫa-an-da-a-an-ni har-kā-nā-[i]

18. [k]-u-it-ma-an-ma-az [SAL]-za nu-wa-wa u-i-i-i-i-ki-iz-zi]

nu UDU.U ("SIG.SAL") [k]-iš-ša-an-da-a-anza ma-an-an ar-ma-u-wa-a(n-z)[a]

20. [mu-a-an ša-an-an-pi-li-iš na-an-kān EŠA-ni

an-da-an ŠA-an-ma-an-zi ma-ab-ša-an-ma-az SAL-za ha-[a-ši]

22. DUMU-aš ma-u-i-si a-pu-an-[aš ma-ša]-a NA SAL A-[NA

SAG.DU-ŠU]

3-ŠI wa-ab-me-an-z[ī] SALSĀ.ZU ma-kān an-da [ki-iš-ša-an]

24. [me-mi]-iš-ki-iz-zi

[a-pu-an] uwa-kān SAL-an ku-i-e-eši ka-ta-[a]

26. [ ]× an za-an-kān ar-ḫa

[ma-aš]" SAL-an ar-ḫa tarm-ta-[a]-n[u]

28. [ ]××× SAG.D[U

a. the RI is followed by two small Winkelhakens
b. erasure follows

[... on one side]

2'. and on the other side [...]

§ 1'. sits. (On?) the ear[th]...]

4'. Then the child [falls (i.e., is born)]...

§ 2'. Two small[ ] footstools [they bring].

6'. And one footstool [is placed] in fr[ont] of the woman,

while the other footstool [is placed] behind her.

8'. [Then] the midwives se[at] themselves.

§ 3'. But while the woman cri[es out in labor, then the midwife]

10'. conjures repeatedly "The Incantation of Cry[ing Out]."

At the time when the woman [begins] to cry out in labor, then the midwife

12'. conjures repeatedly. But from one tablet [...] And the tablets of incantation are sep[arate].

14'. But at the point when the woman beg[ins] to cry out in labor,

§ 4'. (then for) the child they have already made prior preparations. The chi[ld]

16'. in that month, on those days, will be b[orn].

And her (the mother) they have already prepared.

18'. But while the [woman] is still crying out,

§ 5'. then a ewe which has been prepared—either pregn[ant]

20'. or not—into the inner chamber

they drive. But when the woman gives bir[th] (and)

22'. the child is falling (i.e., being born), then this ewe (over) the woman,

[over her head],

three times they swing. And the midwife meanwhile

24'. [she] speaks [as follows]:

§ 6'. "Whatever [exile thir] woman [afflict],

26'. her away [...] [And] may [they] relea[se] the woman!"

28'. [...]... head [...]

[...]
The preserved portion of this text deals specifically with parturition. In §§ 1'–2' the necessary apparatus and its positioning are detailed, § 3' prescribes the recitation of a certain incantation to ease the pain of the mother in labor, and § 5' describes a magical operation and an incantation for the moment of delivery. The obverse of the tablet breaks off in the middle of this

a. erasure follows

Commentary

incantation, and the preserved paragraphs of the reverse pick up again midway through an incantation on behalf of the child (§§ 8'–10'). Then a speech by the midwife seeking the continued fertility of the mother is presented (§§ 11'–12'). It is interesting to note that in these concluding paragraphs a wish is expressed that the mother’s next pregnancy should result in the birth of a child of the sex opposite to that of the child just born. No preference for male children is evidenced here.

The colophon (IV 19'–22') indicates that the text is not complete on this tablet, and one may speculate that the composition continued with rites to be
carried out during the early infancy of the new-born. Since in IV 19' the number of the tablet within the composition has been lost, it is also possible that it was preceded by other material detailing the regimen for pregnancy, but the title, "When a Woman Gives Birth," makes this unlikely.

An attribution of this text to a specific cultural group within Ḫatti is difficult—there are no deities or foreign words in the preserved portion of the text to aid in this task. From content alone, one might be tempted to assign it to the Hattic sphere, due to the parallels between its first two paragraphs and the initial portion of Text A, but on the other hand, the name of the probable author of the text, [Tun]jawiya, points to a Hurro-Luwian milieu.

This text exhibits two older grammatical features: the use of the voiceless CV sign TU instead of the voiced DU in e-es-tu (IV 12'), and the presence of the homorganic ending -en between -ten (en-ten, IV 6') and -ten (en-ten, IV 7'). This last characteristic indicates a Middle Hittite date of composition, and the absence of any late sign forms shows that the tablet itself was probably inscribed in this period, or at least before the middle of the fourteenth century.

I 2' ff. §§ 1'–2' here, in which a birth apparatus consisting chiefly of stools is prepared by the practitioners, closely resemble in content §§ 1–2 of Text A. The wording of the two texts, however, is different, suggesting separate efforts at expressing in writing the same folk practices. Although the present passage cannot completely be restored utilizing the evidence of Text A, a comparison is nonetheless possible: da-gi-[a-a-an] is tentatively restored in I 3' on the model of [i]a-ga-a-an in Text A obv. 5, and the restoration DUMU-āš ka-[a ma-u-zi] in I 4' receives support from DUMU-āš-ka-an ku-wa-pi ka-ta ma-u-zi in Text A obv. 5, as well as from DUMU-āš ma-u-zi in I 22' of the present text.

I 8'. The appearance of more than one midwife in this text is unusual, but it is undoubtedly the author [Tun]jawiya herself who performs the recitations so central among the activities of this text (§§ 3', 5'H.). The other midwives presumably aid in carrying out the ceremony involving the swaying of the ewe (§ 5').

59 See immediately below.
60 See below, pp. 40f.
63 Note also the archaic form of HAR in IV 6'.
64 For 54SÅ. ZU, "midwife," see below, pp. 232–35.

I 10'. Śī-PĀT ă:i-[ă:i-i-i-kı-wa-a-š] is restored on analogy with [EZEN (u-e-u-)] e-es-ki-wa-aš, "[Festival] of Crying Out," Text Y II 4'. For the onomatopoeic verb wîwai/wîwisk—cries waiwai and wîwai are attested—see StBoT 7, 12–13.

In one of the birth scenes of the "Kingship in Heaven" myth, the verb wîwai is also prominently employed. KUB XXXIII 119 + 120 IV 12'–18' reads:

12'. A-a-ša ba-ša-ta-ku-an [pa-aš LUGAL-ud ITUЯМ]<
16'. ITU.10.KAM KI-āš ti-i-u-e-i-i-ki-wa-an da-a-š]<

17'. ma-a-an-za KI-āš i-i-i-ški-it |
18'. DUMUЯM-wiš ha-as-ta

Ea, [the king] of ws[dom], counted [the months]—The first month, [the] second month, passed. The fourth [mon]th, the fifth month, the sixth month passed. [The seventh month, the eighth month, the ninth month] passed, and the tenth month [arrived]. And so the tenth month the Earth [began] to cry out.

When the Earth cried out [... she gave birth to children.

The trilingual lexical text KBo I 44 + KBo XIII 1' presents in line I 40 the equation of Akkadian ḫA·A·LU, "to be in labor," with Hittite u-i-wiš-kat-tal-la-š, "the crier out" = "woman in labor." The fact that a nomen actoriae derived from the durative stem of wîwai here designates the mother-to-be, taken together with the importance of this verb in XXXIII 119 +, indicates that the crying out of the woman was considered a normal, and indeed characteristic, feature of childbirth. Note, however, that wîwiskattal- does not appear in any of the texts edited in this work.

65 See above, p. 7.
66 Note also II 54 where the pregnant Kumarbi u-e-i-i-ki-wa-an da-a-š.
67 See StBoT 7, 10.
68 As von Soden, StBoT 7, 12, points out, the presence in I 39 of ZĀBU, "to dissolve," shows that the Hittite scholar here has misinterpreted an intended ḫĀLU A, "to be liquified," as ḫĀLU > HĀLU C, "to be in labor."
I 13’. For a discussion of the practice, relatively uncommon at Hattuša, of inscribing incantations on tablets separate from those detailing the rituals in which they were to be employed, see Otten, Luv, 17, with n. 3, and BiOr 8, 1951, 230, n. 51.71 In the present text, however, an incantation is presented in §§6’ff.

I 15’. Context makes it clear that the adverb pîran here and in I 17’ is to be understood in a temporal rather than a spatial sense. Note the use of the present hândancz with the adverb kau in I 15’, contrasting with that of the present perfect hândan hârâncz in I 17’. See Neu, StBoT 18, 104, for this problem of tense.

I 16’. For the Middle voice of miya- as “be born,” see most recently StBoT 5, 117, with n. 8, and cf. the lexical entry KBo XIII 2 ob. 9: |-LU’-A-RU = DUMU-aš ku-wa-pi mi-ya-ri nu a-ta ar-ha e-ir-zî, “when a child is born and holds the mouth away,”71a an apparent reference to the refusal of the infant to suck at the breast.

I 19’. UDU.U: “Sīg.SAL” is apparently a Boğazköy transformation of Upu,72 but since it differs so greatly in form from the Mesopotamian shape, I have transcribed it simply as U.U.73 Otten has already transliterated and translated I 19’–23’ in BiOr 8, 1951, 230.

I 22’. Kammenhuber, Theth 7, 128, puts forth the reading SALL-ha-[ ...] for the signs immediately preceding the break, suggesting a phonetic spelling SALL-ha-[ ...]- here, beside SALLA.ZE.ZUM (I 8’, 23’). However, the clearest space between SAL and the following traces does not favor this interpretation, and it must also be noted that nowhere else in the corpus of birth rituals do the phonetic and logographic writings of “midwife” occur in the same text.

I 25’. [a-pu]-lim” is uncertain, especially in view of the plene writing a-pu-um in I 22’, but for the shorter spelling see HW 134.

I 4’. A reading NAM-bê-kur-û is possible here, but since all other occurrences of this word show a consonantal stem NAM-bekur, I read NAM-bê-kur (SAG.) US. The Sumerogram SAG.US, which stands for Hittite ukturi, “enduring, eternal,” is attested with NAM-bekur also at KBo XII 38 II 17’, 18’, IV 3’ and KUB XXI 33 IV 23. The use of this adjective is appropriate here in an incantation.

71 Cl. also Text K obv. 13, 45, 46, rev. 35.
71a See Hofner, BiOr 35, 1978, 244.
72 So according to the opinion of M. Civil, kindly communicated to me by H. G. Gütterbok in a letter of S.XII.77.
73 For the reading “u” rather than “ganam,” see MSL II, 102.

where the resistance of the NAM-bekur to natural forces is stressed. (Note also the use of the adverb ukturi in IV 12’.) For NAM-bekur, “peak, rock sanctuary,” see Otten, MDOG 94, 1963, 18ff., Güterbok, JNES 26, 1967, 81, and Imparati, SMEA 18, 1977, 19–64.74


IV 7’ff. The subject of the second person plural imperative usuwa[ste]n is presumably the deities in whose presence the ritual is carried out. pidi ... n[minkan-z] is restored on analogy with IV 10’–11’, and the sentence-particle -kan is included in both IV 7” and IV 9” on the model of KUB I 11 2 52–53 (Goetz, Ḥatt 20):


Further he (Muwatalli) removed the gods of Ḥatti, together with the manes, and he took them down to the city of Tarḫuntašša.

For the expression pidi ninink-, see Goetz, Madd 115–16.75

Rock serving as a symbol of permanence76 in an incantation is attested also at KBo XV 10 II 5–6:


As this rock is eternal, let the sacrificer and his wife (and) [his children[ren] likewise be eternal!

And the topos of erosion, the continuing battle between the elements and the earth, is found in the “Song of Ulikumm” Tablet II B III 9’–11’ (JCS 6, 1952, 14ff.):

ku-e-e-á-kán A-NA 90 IKU-ni NAM-pî-ru-ni-[sil]


74 The present text is omitted from the list of passages containing NAM-bekur presented on pp. 63ff.
75 To the passages there cited, add KBo II 11 obv. 11’; XXX 65 + + obv. 12; XXX 56 III 15 (pî-e-da-az ni-ni-in-kán-zì); and XLI 33 IV 4’ [Pî-di ni-ni-in ku-wa-aš].
76 Another analogic incantation involving the word ukturi, this time in reference to an aya-tree, is XXIX 1 rev. 17–21—see Haas, AF 5, 1977, 269.
Those things which to a distance of 90 furlongs break the ro[cks], but (to a distance of) 800 (furlongs) cover (them)—the winds and the rains let them call!

IV 9'. It is in this portion of the text that the fragments KBo XVII 62 and 63 are to be joined. KBo XVII 63 x+1 is the same line of the tablet as KBo XVII 62 IV 6'. In KBo XVII 62 IV 12' = 63'7 the remains of a single RI-sign have been preserved on both fragments.

In IV 9' we are probably dealing with an ellipsis involving the noun modified by the dat./loc.pl. demonstrative pronoun kedāš, that is, perhaps kedāš (par-na), "these (rooms)" = "this (house)." 77

IV 10'. For the "ergative" expression idalawant- uddanant-, cf. KUB XV 1 II 32 f.: mu 4UTU. ĤUL-u-ua-an-za ud-da-na-an-za an-da Ü-UL. ku-š-ki KAR-zi, "No evil matter will befall His Majesty."

IV 13'ff. Exactly what articles are referred to by the phrases "goods of the male child" and "goods of the female child" in §§ 11''-12'' is uncertain, since they are mentioned nowhere else in the preserved text. It is tempting to think here of the classic Hittite symbols for masculinity and femininity, 80 that is, bow and arrows on the one hand, and spindle (with or without an accompanying distaff) on the other. Such articles might have been presented to the child at birth in order to confer ritually the proper sexual role.

Note the use of the first person singular imperative u-da-al-liu as a volun-
tative in IV 15' and 18'—see HE 1 I § 263 b.

IV 20'. That ["Tu-na-awi-ya is the correct restoration here, and that the author of the text is the same woman who composed the well-known text edited by Goetze and Sturtevant (CTH 409)" is made likely by the concern of both rituals with human reproduction. 82 Another ritual authored by this woman is referred to in the catalogue text KUB XXX 57' + 59 I 5-7': 83

First tablet. The Word of Tunnawiya, the Old Woman: "When I Invoke the Dead"—Incomplete; we have not yet found its last tablet. 84

While the Hittite librarians were unable to locate the last portion of this work, we today are in possession of none of it. Its evident concern with the chthonic,

79 For the writing a-zi-su, see SBoT 11, 19.
80 See Hoffner, JBL 85, 1966, 330ff., Goetze, Kleinasiens 156, and Oettinger, SBoT 22, 75-76.
81 See Tunn.
82 See above, p. 181.
83 As seen now also Kammenhuber, THeth 7, 124.
84 For a transcription, see below, p. 164.

however, is shared by the final ritual attributed to Tun(n)awiya—KBo XXI 1-6. The introduction to the first of the tablets making up this latter composition reads:

[U][M-MA.] Tu-na-awi-ya 85SU.GI [as URU] Ha-[a]-ti
(KBo XXI 1 I 1-2 86)

[Th]us says Tunawiya, the Old Woman[n] of Ḥattuša—When I take the king (and) queen from the earth, then the following things I take:

There follows a lengthy list of necessary provisions, chiefly baked goods.

Although no details are provided in the scanty material now available, "taking the king (and) queen from the earth" must be a symbolic action of some sort, thought to bring the power of the deified rulers of the past to bear upon the problems of a sufferer in the present. This interpretation fits well with the other chthonic elements here—note the presence throughout the composition of takna[t 4UTU, "the Sun-goddess of the Earth" 87 (e.g., KBo XXI 1 III 8', 11'), and the operations carried out in regard to the storage vessel(s) (ARÅH'[a], KBo XXI 1 III 9'; KBo XXI 5 rev. 2', 4'). In any case, the concern of Tun(n)awiya with both reproduction and death is apparent. 88

The name Tun(n)awiya is probably Luwian, meaning "the woman of Dun-na," 89 referring to a city in the Lower Land, near Tarḫuntašša, 90 and an ultimate origin in this area—note that in KBo XXI 1 I 1 she is called "the Old Woman of Ḥattuša"—would not be surprising for a practitioner employing Hurrian and Luwian elements in her work, as does our author—see especially the Luwian speech in KUB VII 53 + 1 58-59. 91

85 Space will not permit the additional restoration of KUR here.
87 See below, p. 54.
88 Compare the responsibilities of the patilli-priest—see below, pp. 236-38.
89 For the difficulties involved in the interpretation of the suffix -awiya, see Laroche, NH 325-26, 345.
90 For the location of URU Dunna, see del Monte, RG 6, 439.
91 As for the dates of the texts involved, KBo XXI 1 and 6 show sign shapes comparable to those of Text B, while KBo XXI 2, 3, 4, and 5 are too small to allow a judgment. For CTH 409, on the other hand, VII 53+ and the fragment XXXIX 65 display NH script and orthography, but the great number of errors in the main text demonstrates that it is a copy. An early fourteenth-century date for the woman Tun(n)awiya is thus not excluded.
Text C = KBo XVII 61

§ 1 [ ] of her [wo]mb√
§ 2 [ ] among which one is of wood [...]√
§ 3 [ ] above [...]√
§ 4 [ ] And here also one (portion of) rennet is set.
§ 5 [ ] in [what]ever place I shall bring up [the child],
§ 6 [ ] the diviner and the augur give.
§ 7 [ ] the šnušt (she) swings overhead repeatedly.
§ 8 [ ] and to me the midwife√

And the šarša I carry there, and the containers are placed.

[And] the net is spread out. And the child on the containers

§ 18 [ ...] I purify. The šarša I swing over him.
[And] a wolf's [head] I burn up.

§ 20 [And] I, the [Old] Woman√, wash his head, and for him the queen
§ 21 [ ...] dresses. But from that one I take away her own (clothes).
§ 22 [And] I place the child on her√ knees.

§ 7 [...] And to him (the child) fresh medicine I have already given. But the medicine ...
§ 24 [...] (she [...]) And I come (and) further, a copper box√ (and√) medicine I give to him.
[...] I take: cr[ocu]s√, letuce
§ 26 [...] (and) one + vessel(s) of cheap beer for drinking.
Rev. [ ]̄-ši-it n[a]-

2'. [ ]̄-an pár-ah-du ša-
[ ma-ni-in-k]u-an-du-uš MUGA-uš KI.3 (=pár-ah-du][ KI.4
4'. [ ]̄-NU-DUMUL[.U].ULUL-ma ta-lu-ga-uš MUGA-uš pi-i-[k]-i-
[ d⁻dy]
6'. [ ]̄-an-ar-aš-an na-at-la-da 4TU-uš NA-pa-ši-la-uš iv-id-du
[ ]̄-ni nu ki-ša-an šu-ik-mi ne-pi-ša-az-kān kāt-ta ši-e-
[ ]̄-šā ši-ya-ti

8'. [ ]̄-[a]-ti nu l-NA TÜR pa-a-an nu-aš-ta 4Im-mar-ni i MĀŠ.
[ ]̄-LU-ULU I-NA 9
[ ]̄-LU-ULU ap-pi-iš-ki-mi

10'. [ ]̄-LU-ULU ap-pi-iš-ki-mi

§ 9'. [ ]̄-shor years, ditto 3, [...] ditto 4.

§ 10'. [Then] I [...] and I conjure as follows: “Down from the sky it flowed.

§ 11'. [...] eyes are arranged against his eyes, eyebrow to eyebrow, ditto;

§ 12'. [...] ditto 3; ears to his ears, ditto 4; mouths (sic!) to his mouth, ditto 5;

§ 13'. [...] to his high mountains he will carry off.

§ 14'. [...] to the grass of the [Sun-goddess [of the Earth]] he will carry off.

§ 20'. [...] let him [tak]e', and let the male goat go to the Sun-goddess of the Earth!

§ 22'. [...] the male goat I butcher.

§ 24'. [...] these things I burn up.
7. the plene spelling še-e-ir (obv. 3, 9, 15, 18), 100
8. the spelling of the pros.3.sg. active -iya-verb ending with the vowel sequence -i-i-, and not with -i-e- or -i-ya- ([vw]a-asi-it-zi, obv. 21), 101 and
9. the spelling of the 3.sg. enclitic personal pronoun with the ŠE-sign (obv. 18). 102

On the other hand, the Luwian influences evident in rev. 8' and 17', as well as the representation of the negative by the Akkadogram Ū-UL. (obv. 14) and the appearance of the 3.pl. neuter enclitic pronoun as -at, and not as -e, 103 demonstrate that this tablet dates from the Middle Hittite and not the Old Hittite period. 104 The script as depicted in the copy is consistent with this judgment. 105

On neither the obverse nor the reverse has the left-hand margin of this text been preserved. The calculation of available space has been based for the obverse on the restorations in line 13, and for the reverse on the (very probable) restorations in lines 13' and 16'.

A complete edition of this text has been presented by Berman, JAOS 92, 1972, 466–68, and rev. 11'–16' have been transliterated and translated by Haas, Or ns 40, 1971, 417–18.

obv. 1. [ha-asi-ta-an-na-asi-as]: See Otten, Introduction to KBo XVIII, v., with n. 6. The context here favors the translation “womb” over “family.”

obv. 5. taraksa-, which is also found in obv. 18 and is probably to be restored in obv. 16, is not attested in any other text. 106 In his edition, Berman suggests that this word designates some sort of animal, but this is by no means certain, since the adjective buiswants may mean “fresh” as well as “living”—cf. the similar buiswa-in obv. 23.

92 See Otten/Souček, StBoT 8, 12, n. 2.
93 See below, p. 52, and Otten, Introduction to KBo XVII, v.
94 A spelling -a-ug-ga would indicate the enclitic coordinate conjunction—see Houwink ten Cate, FsOtten 119–39.
95 See HE I § 106.
96 See Houwink ten Cate, Records 22–23.
97 See Carruba, ZDMGSuppl I, 1969, 236. Oettinger, StBoT 22, 67–70, has shown that texts which have -(a)šta in contexts other than na-asi-ta (here obv. 17 and rev. 8') must be considered no later than Middle Hittite in date of composition.
98 See HE I § 97.
99 See Houwink ten Cate, Records 24–25.

100 See Carruba, ZDMGSuppl I, 1969, 236.
101 See Houwink ten Cate, Records 16, and below, p. 149, with n. 345.
102 See Otten, ZA 52, 1957, 219, and Houwink ten Cate, Records 14–15.
103 The transition from the use of -e to that of -at seems to have taken place during the Middle Hittite period—see the table in Houwink ten Cate, Records 14f.
104 Otten, StBoT 17, 16, declares this text to be “sprachlich alt.” Kammenhuber, HW3 307, describes it as “jihet-hurr,” which is incorrect on both counts.
105 The single late form—IG in rev. 8'—is due to a copying error. According to Winkels, Diss 11, a photo shows that the sign actually has the shape which appears in Sp. IX of StBoT 21. Collation of the original by Prof. Otten now confirms this.
106 Cf. only XXXVI 57 II 7': -x-kaš tar-asli-ša-an, which Siegelová, StBoT 14, 62, takes as a form of taršna-, “skull.”
obv. 6. The knife and the pegs listed here do not appear in the lines which have been preserved. Was the knife perhaps employed in the cutting of the umbilical cord?

obv. 7. Neither the name nor the profession of the author of this text has been preserved, but it is possible to determine the latter. Here the author, probably a woman in any case, speaks of the place where she rears a child: [DUMU-an kujaqi andan šallamašši. (Note the use of the durative here.) Further, in obv. 22 the author says: DUMU-an gennaššaš taḫḫu, “I place the child on his/her knees.” Both of these activities—child rearing and the setting of the new-born on the knees of a parent—belong to the sphere of activity of the S|A|UMMEDA, “(child’s) nurse,” in Hittite texts. For the former, note KUB XIV 7 IV 11–13:

ma-a-an UN-ša-pāt
at-ti an-ni DUMU-an šal-la-nu-zi nu-usš-ši at-ta-š an-na-ši
ŠA S|A|UMMEDA U-UL im-ma pa-a-i

If a person raises a child for the father (and) mother, do not (and) mother indeed give him (the fee) of the nurse? 108

And, although the logogram S|A|UMMEDA does not appear in the text, the Gulišes and the DINGIR.MAH[U] in the “Song of Ulikummi” must be understood as performing this function. See Tablet I A IV 14’–15’ (JCS 5, 1951, 136), where Enlii asks himself:

ku-iš-wa-na-ši a-sti DUMU-aš ku-[in] nam-ma šal-la-nu-š-e šī Gullušu-ši
DINGIR.MAH[U] uš

“Who is he, this child whom the Fate-deities (and) the Mother-goddesses further have reared?” 109

The placing of a child on the knees by a nurse is seen in KUB XXIV 8+ III 9–11 (StBoT 14, 10): 110

SA|U|UMMEDA-aš-za DUMU.NITA-an kar-ap-ta na-an-111.Ša-an "Ap-pu
gi-nu-wa-ši ha-la-ši

And the tenth month arrived. Then the wife of Appu gave birth to a son. The [nurse] lifted the son and transferred him to the knees (of) Appu.

Note also that the Gulišes and the DINGIR.MAH[U] set Ulikummi on the knees of Kumbari. 112

Finally, Izi Boghazköy 49 (KBo I 42 I 39’) reads: UMMEDA-za ku-šš DUMU-an kar-pa-an har-zi. 113 Güterbock, MSL 13, 134, translates this as “a nurse who has lifted (abducted) a child for herself,” but a semantic comparison with the Akkadian equivalent tāritu, 114 G participle of taru, “to lift up,” 115 suggests that despite the odd usage of the periphrastic perfect in this entry, we should understand it as descriptive of the characteristic activity of a nurse and render it simply as “a nurse who has lifted up a child.”

The author of Text C was undoubtedly such a child’s nurse—here she takes charge of the infant immediately after the midwife has brought him to birth (obv. 10–12), 116 and is responsible for his initial purification (§§ 5–6). That the nurse continued to care for the child is implied by XIV 7 rev. 11–13, quoted above. The absence of the nurse in all of the other Hittite birth rituals is to be explained by the fact that while many would seek the services of a professional, such as a midwife or a priest, for the crisis of birth itself, only the wealthy could afford to employ a full-time servant to care for the baby thereafter. We must remember that this text deals with a birth within the royal family, and that Appu and Kumbari, who employ nurses, were very rich men, 117 and a god, respectively.

111 Text: -šš, but the duplicate XXXVI 59 II 3' has the expected -an-
112 The "Song of Ulikummi" Tablet I A III 11–12’ (JCS 5, 1951, 152).
113 The Sumerian and Akkadian columns have been lost for this entry. For the problems of interpretation here, see Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 200–01.
114 Cf. Izi Boghazköy 268 (KBo I 42 IV 41): (Sum.) D[A|R] = (Akk.) tā-ri-tu = (Hitt.) UMMEDA-an-za. In line 49 UMMEDA-za probably contains an abbreviated form of the phonetic complementation exhibited here, rather than the reflexive particle.
115 AHW 1330 defines tāritu(m) as “Aufhebende,” Kinderwärterin.
116 haš- in obv. 11 with the subject S|A|U|UMMEDA- must mean “cause to be born,” an idea expressed elsewhere through the use of the causative hašaru-
117 See above, p. 2.

107 For this logogram—URUDU.DA at Boghazköy—see Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 199ff. One Hittite phonetic reading is S|A|U|BARAS, as shown by Laroche, OLZ 156, 421, but Hoffner, op. cit. 200, has pointed out that S|A|U|UMMEDA-aš in XXIV 8+ III 10 (nom.sg) stands for a thematic stem. Haas and Thiel, AOAT 31, 28–29, erroneously translate both S|A|U|ZA and S|A|U|UMMEDA as “Hehamme.”
108 Cf. also KBo XXVI 94 III 12’; šī-ŠA S|A|U|UMMEDA-pš-pš-
109 A final, unpublished, passage in which S|A|U|UMMEDA is the subject of šallamu- is Bo 1607 IV 11, cited by Sommer, HAB 73.
110 Lines III 18–19 are similar.
obv. 8. ḫu-uš-ti-š GIM-an KALAG.G"A
KALAG.GA-aš e-es-du

As the ḫusti is strong[...]
So let him be strong!

ḫušt(i)- is quite commonly employed in the (arba) wahrnu- “swinging,”
procedure. 126 Cf. KBo XXII 108 II 7’f.; KBo XXII 161 rev. 4; KUB X 63 I
10’f.; XVII 8 III 1; XXVII 21 1’f., 25; XXIX 4 III 65’f.; XXIX 8 II 7’f.; KBo
XXIII 1 I 2’f., and IBOT II 113 I 3. ḫušt(i)- in these instances may appear in
either the instrumental 127 or in the accusative. 128

obv. 9. [ma-a]-na-an-kāñ NA-ŠU-ŠU ša-ab-mi: Berman maintains that the
verb in this phrase is a form of ša-b-, “stop up,” rather than of ša-b-, “sweep,
clean.” 129 “The intent is clear in stopping up the child’s mouth if he is not of
life,” he states. The ša-ab-mi action in this text, however, is clearly carried
out on the child who is going to live, as well as on the unfortunate child. Certainly
a purification is more expected here than a smoothening. Note that while there
is no other evidence in the birth rituals for infanticide, passages from two other
texts edited here show the importance of purification of the mouth: Text Ha II
30: nu SAL KA-ŠU ŠUPPIYAHU, “and he purifies the mouth of the woman,”
and Text K obv. 12: me-ra-ka Cuando KA-ŠU pura šuppiyahu, “and she purifies
her (own) mouth.”

Admittedly these two passages do not employ the verb ša-b-, but XII 38 II
3 proves that this term as well as parkunu- and šuppiyahu- can be used of
cleaning a person: ka-a-ša-kīn NI. ḫu-uš-ma-an-da ša-ab-hu-iš-ki-mi. This
line has already been translated by Goette, Tun 17, as “I now am scrubbing
all the limbs.” Berman also quotes KBo III 8 II 29–30 as providing examples of
ša-b-:

ša-ab-du SAŠ-ša-ša-na-aš pa-[it mu-š-ti] EME-ŠU ša-ab-ta

Here too I interpret the verbs as belonging to ša-b-, and render the passage:
“I am bringing[the Old Woman. [Let her go,
and] his tongue let her cleanse!]” Then the
Old Woman w[ent], and his tongue she cleansed.

118 Cf. also V 6 + II 8, where the result of an oracular question is IŠTU 14ŠU. GL SIG,
IŠTU 14AZU 14MUŠEN-DU-ya NU.SIG3, and XXXVI 83 + 1 9; 14MUŠEN-
DUN MUŠEN-DUN MUŠEN.DU 14MEŠGI 14ENSL.
119 E.g., XXX 38 + II 3.
120 RA 51, 1957, 100.
121 See also 1.Erg. 7.
122 This sign is illegible. Although syntactically an acc., this word must be understood
as nom.sg. in form, i.e., *ḫušt[i]. Perhaps the immediately preceding series of un-
completed logograms, which are of course formally identical in all cases, led
to this error. Two unpublished references for the nom.sg. *ḫušt[i] are 2027/k:5; x-
çu ḫu-uš-ti-ša-ma-[u] and 78/c rev. 18 (SBoT 5, 150, n. 7) ḫu-uš-ti-ša-ma-
ku-nu-ma-[i].
123 For šamšelija-, “râucherm,” see Otten apud HW 3, 3 Erg 27.
124 Cf. the passages listed in the works cited under notes 120 and 121.
125 See Hoffner, EHGI 79, and CAD A, I, 228.
Purification of the mouth is the subject of an important Hurrian ritual series found at Bogazköy, CTH 777.\textsuperscript{130} Cf. also VII 1129: na-aš-ta DUMU-an a-iš-
ši-iš pa-a-ra ar-ra-af-hi “And I wash the mouth of the child.”


A-NA 8Ha-at-tu-su-li-wa MU.KAM[MA] ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an-te-eš
U-UL-wa-ra-aT-an-na-aš

“F̄ Ḥattušili the years are short; he is not one of (long) life.”

How it was decided at birth whether the baby was “of life” is unknown, but perhaps a determination was made during the mouth washing. Whether this depended upon the child’s physical condition or an act of divination is uncertain, although the presence of the seer and augur in obv. 8 points to the latter alternative.

For the verb whose final signs can be seen after the break in obv. 14, Berman restores [da-a]-la-ar-hi, “I [leave],” a suggestion which seems to be dependent upon his interpretation of the previous lines. I prefer a restoration [lu-ad-da-
lu-a-ar-hi], “I [give (him) health],” indicating a magic action, perhaps even alluding to the acts of the rest of the text.

Unfortunately the verb in obv. 15 has been lost completely, since it would be most interesting to learn what measures the nurse took on behalf of the ill-fated child.

The presence of the DUMU É.GAL, “palace functionary,”\textsuperscript{131} in obv. 15, together with that of the queen in obv. 20 shows that this text was intended specifically for use by the royal family. šer ar, “stand over,” must be understood here in the sense of “supervise.” Cf. the use of ar- in R5 17:109 obv. 2–5 (Laroche, Ugar 1, 769):

8 ME KUB.BABBAR šar-ta
du-ta-ma-ku-ša-pi
ni 8Pal-lu-ta-y-a-as-ša ar-ta-at

“Atallii, the tax collector, held 800 (shekels of) silver on my behalf.\textsuperscript{132} But when he received\textsuperscript{133} them, then Pallariya also stood by (i.e., was a witness).”

\textsuperscript{130} Cf. XXIX 8 IV 36–37:

DUB.10.KAM QA-TI ŠA SISKUR.SISKUR it-kal-zi-aš
a-iš šar-u-pi-ya-ar-šu-wa-aš

On this official, see Imparati, On 44, 1975, 89, n. 57, and SMEA 18, 1977, 54f.

\textsuperscript{131} See Kümmel, UF 1, 1969, 161.

\textsuperscript{132} See StBoT 5, 161, n. 2.

\textsuperscript{133} See Josephson, FSP 142.

\textsuperscript{134} Cf. also KBo XX 3 II 8: t½ ŠAG.DU ŠAH, and KBo XVII 21 + obv. 10 (StBoT 25, Nr. 19): 2 SAG.DU GUD, where the animal heads, however, are not burned.

\textsuperscript{135} Cf. KUB XXX 25 + obv. 19—see Otten, HTR 26f.

\textsuperscript{136} For this action, see above, pp. 48f.

\textsuperscript{137} Although the usual material, and thus determinative, of PISAN at Bogazköy is reed (GI), e.g., IBoT I 31 obv. 16ff., or wood (GIŠ), e.g., KBo IX 91 obv. 5, 15, 19, a probable GIŠ-PISAN is attested at XL 95 II 7 (Kempinski/Košak, Tel Aviv 4, 1977, 88).

\textsuperscript{138} See Ahw 822, sub p诟, “Korh.” The usual reading of GUR at Bogazköy, however, is datar, “other”—see Laroche, RA 47, 1953, 72.
obv. 25. For the restorations in this line, and for ḫazzuwanmi- as “leettuce,” see Hoffner, JCS 25, 1973, 234.

rev. 2'. The subject of paraḫdu here is uncertain, but it is more likely a deity than a scapegoat, since it is probably the same subject who bestows long years upon the child in rev. 4'.

rev. 3'. Since KL3.142 undoubtedly stands for paraḫdu, Berman’s restoration [ḫu-um]a-an-du-uš MUB. is doubtful a request for the driving out of “[a]l]l years” makes little sense. [ma-ni-ka]u-an-du-uš is supported both by the “Apology of Ḥattušili III” I 14 (see above, p. 52) and VIII 35 obv. 3’ (see above, p. 16).

rev. 4'. For the restoration of the indirect object at the beginning of this line, cf. rev. 10', and for the restoration of the verb, cf. Text D rev. 11'.

rev. 5'. In this line the Sun-goddess of the Earth, who also aids the new-born in Text D rev. 8'ff., is summoned to remove some evil threatening the child by turning it into pebbles.141

The Sun-goddess of the Earth had no particular concern with birth, but is present here only in her well-attested capacity as recipient of unwanted evils from the world of humankind.142 For the character of this deity, including the question of sexual identity, see von Schuler, WbMyth I, 199–200.

rev. 6'. Berman construes the verb in this line as an incorrectly formed imp. 3.sg. of dala-, “leave.” I prefer a simple emendation of LU to Ū, which yields da-a-u, a form both grammatically and contextually correct.

rev. 7’. ši-ē-eš-šar here is rendered by Berman as “beer.” This is indeed possible, since similar “super plene” spellings of this word with this meaning are found at KBo XVII 83 II 12; KBO XXI 21 III 7; and Bo 2309 III 4. However, F. Starke has suggested to me that ši-ē-eš-šar might be an abstract noun derived from ši-yar,143 meaning “Guš,” and that šieššarität ši-yar- is to be under-

stood as a figura etymologica.145 The short incantation here might refer to some unknown myth concerning precipitation.

rev. 8'. 1lm-mar-ni-i This deity appears elsewhere in two different versions of the “Myth of Telepinu.” XVII 10 I 10’–11’146 tells of the dire consequences of the departure of the god:


And Telepinu went away. Grain, Immarni,147 šalḫianti, mannitti, and sateity he carried away.

While the meanings of the Luwoid šalḫi-šalḫi-anti- and mannitt- are not known,148 the presence of grain and sateity along with Immarni here suggests that this deity is either a personified natural product or a natural force associated with the production of such. The other Telepinu passage supports this interpretation. KUB XXXIII 9 III 9’–11’ relates of Telepinu upon his return:

-ač pa-ra-a u-da-aš šal-ki-in 1lm-mar-ni-iš
a-aš ša-ma-šu ša-e-eš-šar a-aš ša-šu-šu IMUB. a-pa-a-at’ta lu-um ma-an pa-ra-a u-da-aš

 [...] he has brought forth. Grain, Immarni, [...] the go[od] rains, the good winds, [...] all [this] he has brought forth.

As shown by Laroche, RHA 60, 1957, 23, and DLL 51, the name of this deity is a derivative of Luwian immari-, “[steppe].”150 In Luwian the word is

145 šieššar is probably both an abstract and a particular liquid—cf. Sanskrit sōma, for which see William Dwight Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1889) §§ 1166, 1168.

146 Parallel is KBO XXVI 124:20–21, which is part of a Vanishing God text featuring the Storm-god (“U”.

147 Goetze, ANET 126, translates “Immarni as “…(fertile) breeze.”

148 See Laroche, DLL 85 (ša-al-ha-a-ti).

149 For the former word, HW x 179 tentatively gives the translation “Wachstum (??).” Outside of this mythological topos—citations at Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 31, n. 2—this inseparable pair of words occurs only at XLV 28 ++ obv. 16 (Otten/Rüster, ZA 68, 1978, 154ff.;) x-[ma šal-šit-ti-ti ša-an-ni-it-ti-ti NINDA-zi-ip- pi-na-ta TUS-zi, and KBO XXXIII 3:4]: šal-ši-ti-ti-in ma-i.

150 For the suffix -ni, cf. the Luwian gentilic -anni- (DLL § 30.8), and Hititte -(a)nni- (HE I § 50 c), which Güterbock, Bog-Ḫarr, IX, 197f., with n. 23, has demonstrated is not a diminutive affix.
plural: "Im-mer-ri-zi-a (XXV 32 I 13), 4Im-mar-ri-iz-za (KBO XVII 89 III 4), i.e., 4Immar-ni(iz)za, 151 dat./acc.pl., and probably indicates a group of lesser deities associated with the keeping of flocks, analogous to the Greek fauns. When borrowed into Hittite, the word was reduced both semantically and grammatically to the singular 4Immar-ni-.

An interpretation of Immarni as the divinity responsible for stock farming 152 is confirmed by the request made in Text C that he's supply a goat which will serve as a substitute for the human being. 153

rev. 9'. For SAT-‘ahaswua- as a "cover term" for female ritual practitioners, see below, pp. 232f.

rev. 10'. While here the nurse speaks of treating "the nine body parts," in the following lines it appears that thirteen parts of the child's body are actually mentioned. Another common number attested with body parts in Hittite ritual is twelve, 154 although here also, in many cases where the procedure is described in detail, the number of limbs and organs treated fails to match this total. If, in Text C, the number nine does not represent the actual number of items involved, it must have been chosen because of its innate magical or religious significance. Note the common motif in which nine paths are prepared for the enticement of the deity in the evocatio. 155

The ritual technique by which the various parts of a person to be purified are matched with those of his substitute, who thereby assumes the pollution, is discussed at length by Haas, Or ns 40, 1971, 410–30, where evidence is presented that this motif is of Mesopotamian origin. 156

rev. 11'. That bandan should not be translated here as "arranged," which implies actual physical manipulation, but as "matched, paired with," is indicated by IX 34 II 46–47, 157 where blood is subjected to this action. It is not to be doubted, however, that this ritual actually included the touching of the goat to the child.

rev. 12'. Haas, Or ns 40, 1971, 417, restores [EME-kàn A-NA EME-ŠU KI.3] at the beginning of this line. While this restoration would require slightly more space than reconstructed here, this is not a decisive objection. It is important to note, however, that Haas' suggestion would place the tongue between the eyebrows and ears, and that the text does not mention the mouth until later, as the fifth item.

rev. 13'. The copy here shows KUŠ-kàn A-NA ZÉ KI.7. Haas reads both Sumerograms as KUŠ without comment; similarly, Berman reads ZÊ twice. In a context immediately following UZ̄NIG.GIG, "liver," I have opted for ZÊ, "gall bladder."

rev. 14'. |x-ti KI.8 presents several problems: If we wish to keep the numerals with KI in order (emending to KI.5 1 in rev. 12' and to KI.9 in rev. 14'), we must assume that KI.8 pertains to gi-en-zu-kàn at the end of rev. 13'. There is no way to write this word so as to end in TI, and it must be kept in mind that all acc./dat. pairs in this paragraph are exact--there are no synonyms or substitutions of Sumerograms for phonetic spellings or vice versa. Nor are there any adverbs inserted in the phrases. The available space also suggests that p more than one word is to be restored in the break.

For zaqarsaṣ and arkišše (rev. 15'), see Berman's comments (p. 468), and for the latter term, cf. Watkins, BSL 70, 1975, 11–25, and Kammenhuber, HW² 307.

rev. 16'. It is uncertain whether we should restore in the break KI.11 or KI.MIN, as in the last two items in this line.

rev. 17'. For the reading of the signs at the beginning of this line, see StBoT 15, 4, on bartralls-, "mixing bowl; maladiction;" see Jucquois/Lebrun, H&L 106ff.

rev. 18'. This speech must have been recited by the nurse while the "matching" ritual was performed. In the break at the beginning of rev. 18', "all evils" or the like is probably to be restored. The subject throughout these lines is the goat, which is to carry off the evils to the high mountains, where they will be at a safe distance from humankind. However, rev. 22' indicates that this is only

151 For the loss or assimilation of the n, see DLL § 7.
152 Note the company kept by the Luwoid plural "Immar-ni-zza in the god list KBO XVII 89 III 4–8: "Im-mar-ri-iz-za / Mi-ia-da-an-zi-pa / gi-im-ra-as / LAMA / u-sa-al-li-š / LAM[ / SA / GES[NIN (al-ki-š)."
153 On "Immar-ni, see now also Otten, RIA V, 73.
154 See Sommer/Falkenstein, HAB 89; Goette, Tunn 42, with n. 126; Otten, Luw 100, n. 187; and Güterbock, Bulletin of the History of Medicine 36, 1962, 111–12.
155 For references here, and on the number nine in general, see Carruba, StBoT 2, 12, n. 8. See also Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 177, and Haas, KN 104, nn. 1–2.
156 See, however, Kimmel, StBoT 3, 194ff., where the existence of an independent Hittite tradition of ritual substitution is argued. This need not invalidate Haas' conclusions concerning the "matching" topoi. See also AOATS 3, 25–26.
metaphorical here, since the goat is butchered, and not driven off into the hills.

rev. 19'. Berman puts forth a restoration [a'-er-]ni'-wa-as ù-el-ku-ua, “to the grass of the [nea]dow,” while Otten, StBoT 8, 97, n. 2, restores [uUTU]-uwa-as.\(^{158}\) In support of this latter reading, cf. XXXII 115+ + IV 17 (MIO 1, 1953, 346): [(mu bāšā)]U.GI "UTU-as ù-el-ku da-a-i, “And the Old Woman takes the plant of the Sun-deity,” which shows clearly that a specific botanical entity is indicated.\(^{159}\) Since rev. 20' and possibly also rev. 21' mention the Sun-goddess of the Earth, I have tentatively assumed in my restoration that it was this “Sun-deity” who lent her name to the plant. In any case, the parallelism of welkuwa (term.sg.\(^{160}\) with pargawuwa hiUR-SAG\(^{18}\)-as in the preceding line shows that it too must indicate a possible remote destination for the unwanted evils. Compare here Text N 5': [pargawuwa'] hiUR-SAG\(^{18}\)-as halluwaš harriyas, “[to the high] mountains, to the deep valley[s].” Therefore, the plant must represent here, in a pars pro toto construction, the area in which it grows—perhaps a valley (cf. Text N) or a meadow.

rev. 21'. For torches in Hittite cult, see Haas, KN 61–62. The subject of the imp.3.sg. har-du here is uncertain, but it can hardly have been the goat. On the other hand, this imperative is more probably part of the incantation than of the ritual instructions.

rev. 22'ff. Here the goat is killed, and thus it enters the realm of the chthonic, carrying its burden of pollution to the Sun-goddess of the Earth. The image of wood was presumably among the things burned in rev. 24', and thus was probably another substitute for the new-born.

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158 Puhvel, KZ 83, 1969, 64ff., translates this phrase as “Meadow of the Underworld.”

159 XXXII 115+ + IV 17ff. suggests that the Luwian name of this plant was tšwariya. See already (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 1, 1953, 375–76, where the possibility that the sunflower is indicated here is discussed. This interpretation would be thrown into doubt if the connection made above with the essentially nonsolar Sun-goddess of the Earth is correct.

160 Gettinger, StBoT 22, 36, indicates a reading ù-el-ku-ua-(an) for this word, which would be nom./acc.sg. of a neuter noun welkuanat-, identical in meaning with welku-. However, the parallelism with rev. 18’ makes it certain that this word should not be construed as an acc. object of ḫ operate.
Text D = KBo XVII 60

Obv. [UM-MA ṢA URU] Li-ilḫ-ša ma-a-an-za SAL-z-a ha-a-[ši] na-a-š-ta DUMU-an ×?

2. [ ] x-zi an-da p[e]-da-an-zi nu a-p[e]-da-aš [ ] MEŠŠI te-ilḫ-ḫi na-at-kān iš-ḫi ma-ni-it a-ar-āš-mi
8. [ ] x-āb-ḫi n-a-an A-NA DUMU ki-it-kar te-ilḫ-ḫi [nu ki-iš-ša-an te-šmi]
10. [ ] DUMU-an da-a-āb-ḫ[i] [ša-[pē-k]u-uš-ta-ša-wa-aš-ši [ ] A[T] [ ] × [ ] kān
12. [ ]
14. [ ] Ū-ŠU
16. [ ] k[i]-išt-k]ar³

Rev. [ ] īš³
2°. [ ]
4°. [ ]
6°. [ ] ×³ da-a-ā 4 NINDA.kUR 
12°. [UM-MA ṢA URU] Li-ilḫ-ša ma-a-an-za SAL-z-a ha-a-ši nu ki-i ut-tar-šē-it ([ ] DUB.1.KAM QA-TI

§ 1 [Thus says ... of] Liḫša: When a woman gives bir[th], then the child
2. [...] they bring in. Then in/on those
[...] I place. And them with a rope I...
4. [...] the ear[th] I dig. At (his) head, feet (and) side
[...] I place'.

6. [...] one barley loaf ... from the earth³

§ 2 [...] I tak]e³, and thereafter upon an ornamented pin
8. [...] I' [...] And I place it at the head of the child,
[and] I [sp]eak [as follows]:

10. “[... the child] I take. The pin for him
12-16. (traces)

1°-3°. (traces)
4°. [...] and the child (s)he has cau[sed to live].

§ 5° [...] (s)he swings about.
6°. [...] (s)he takes/places. But four thick loaves
[...] outside, in a different
8°. [spot I place]. And I say: “Sun-goddess of the Earth,
[...] (various evils) may you seize! And further
10°. [...] you shall [not] let (them) loose (again)! But for the child life, fitness
(and) long years continually give!”

12°. [Thus says ... of] Liḫša: When a woman gives birth, this is the procedure
§ 6° in regard to her.
Tablet 1, complete.

a. obv. 1–3 are written on the upper edge
b. text: ḤA
c. erasure follows
d. over erasure
Commentary

This text is a fragment of a ritual to be performed for the new-born in order to rid him of evils and secure for him life, fitness, and a long existence (see rev. 10'f.).

The beginning of the text is on the upper edge of the tablet, an archaic feature, and the text also employs the enclitic possessive pronoun (uttar-šēt, rev. 12'). The youngest orthographic feature here is the non-plene spelling of šē-ir (obv. 7), which in any case does not indicate a tablet necessarily younger than the Middle Hittite period. Graphically, the shapes of E (rev. 9', 10'), AZ (rev. 4), and especially TAR (rev. 10', 12') are archaic and make it clear that we have here a Middle Hittite composition preserved on a Middle Hittite tablet.

Obv. 1. Since the left edge of the tablet is missing, calculation of the available space here is not possible.

A town Libša is unattested outside of this text, and it is possible that .URU Li-ibša is a variant spelling of .URU Liššina.

Obv. 3. The verb arš, “flow,” is well established, and formally a-arš-mi could indeed belong to this stem. But, outside of perhaps a mythological context involving a personified river, the first person is unexpected, as is a noun in the instrumental case (here šihmanšti) with this intransitive verb. I can cite two additional occurrences of a verb ar(a)š- with the instrumental: XXXI 147 II 7: [NAG]KA-ri ar-ša-an-zu e-ša-du, and KBo III 43 rev. 13' (BoTU 140); GUSKIN-ši ar-ša-an-ka. Clearly this word must be kept separate from arš, “flow.” Unfortunately the three broken contexts available do not permit a determination of its meaning.

Obv. 5. |x-ḥu-ua-eš te-ib-ša: The reading of the first signs preserved in this line is uncertain. The emendation is suggested by obv. 3 and 8, although admittedly the erasure in the same word makes it unlikely that another error would have gone unnoticed.

161 See Otten/Souček, StBoT 8, 12, n. 2.
162 See Carruba, ZDMGSuppl I, 1969, 236.
163 H. Ertém, Boğazköy metinlerinde geçen çografya adları dizini (Ankara, 1973), p. 86, lists also KBo XIV 21 1 22 as an occurrence of this town, but the line is very fragmentary—only |x-ib-ša-| may be seen—and therefore inconclusive. Cf. also the mountain, .URU šEG Li-ibša-aš, IBoT II 131 obv. 21.
164 See del Monte, RG 6, 247f.

Obv. 6. This line is largely unintelligible—is […]-ki-in-qa-af-ha a Luwian verb, pt.1sg.? For NINDA.ŠE, see Hoffner, AllHeth 203. ta-mi-in-qa-mar is perhaps a neuter noun derived from the verb demanak, “join oneself,” and ta-ka-an-za, like tak-an-za in Text L rev. 26, possibly a variant of the usual tak-naza, abl. of tekau, “earth.”

Obv. 7. ša-pi-ku-uš-ta-an: See Goethe, KIF 1, 1930, 234–35; id., JCS 11, 1957, 35; Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 90; and Güterbock, Oriens 10, 1957, 357. Attestations of šepik/šepkušta- and its logographic equivalent .URU 0-ŠE 0-ŠE ZL.KIN.BAR are rather numerous:

nom. sg.
ša-pi-ik-ku-uš-ta-ša XVII 28 I 14
ša'-a-pi-ku-uš-ta-ša Bo 2967 II 1
ša-p[i-k]u-uš-ta-ša XLI 45: 4'
URUDU ši-pi-[k]u-uš-ta-ša KBo XVII 60 (Text D) obv. 10
XLV 47 I 13

Acc. sg.
ša-pi-ku-uš-ta-an KBo XVII 60 (Text D) obv. 7
šep[i-k]u-uš-ta-an XXIX 27: 8'
URUDU ši-pi-[k]u-uš-ta-an XLV 47 I 20

Gen. sg.
URUDU šep[ku-uš-ta]aš XXIV 4 I 13; KBo XXII 78: 6'
URUDU ZL.KIN.BAR-aš XIV 10 IV 19'; XXV 117 19; XXV 117 19

Dat./loc. sg.
šep[ku-uš-t]i KBo XII 112 (Text E) obv. 6'

Uninflected ZL.KIN.BAR XVII 20 II 22; XLI 36: 3'; KBo VI 10
II 13; KBo XIII 239 obv. 8; KBo XVIII
172 rev. 13; KBo XVIII 176 v 6

Nom. pl.
ša-pi-ku-uš-te-ša XLI 15 obv. 6'

165 Goethe’s suggestion in JCS 11 that the last two signs of this logogram, which is found only at Boğazköy, are a “dissolution” of KARA, is to be rejected because it is likely that some relationship, as yet unclear, exists between .URU 0-ŠE 0-ŠE ZL.KIN.BAR and the Semerogram (NAG) 0-ŠE = ḫwašši, “baetyl,” which is also attested only in Hittite texts—see Darga, RSHA 84/85, 1969, 12.
The Texts

acc. pl.
URUDATiša-pi-ik-ku-UM-du-UM
URUDATiša-pi-ik-ku-UM-tu-UM
URUDATiša-pi-ik-ku-UM-tu-UM
URUDATiša-pi-ik-ku-UM-tu-UM
URUDATiša-pi-ik-ku-UM-tu-UM

XLII 97: 9'; 236/n IV' 5'
Bo 2650 118 (StBoT 19, 8)
XXVII 49 III 18

broken
URUDATliša-pi-ik-ku-UM-[-
URUDATliša-pi-ik-ku-UM-[-
URUDATliša-pi-ik-ku-UM-[-

KBo XVII 84 I 12'
KBo XXI 7 IV 8'
KBo XXI 7 IV 8'

XLVIII 123 III 18
XLII 39:3

Zl.KIN.BAR

The ša/epik(k)ušta- could be made of copper (e.g., XXIV 4 I 13), of bronze (e.g., XLII 45:4'), or, in one text, of gold (KBo XIII 239 obv. 8). In this last instance a weight of one shekel is specified.

XXVII 49 III 16ff., 166 where several ša/epik(k)ušta-, in association with a kerchief (ša/kurššar-), are taken from the head of a bride and stuck (pašš-ar-) into a magic figure, indicates that one meaning of the word is “(hair)pin.”

Further, Gurney’s understanding of ša/epik(k)ušta- as “stylus” 167 finds added support in KBo XVIII 172 rev. 13: 1 ZL.KIN.BAR LE.DUB.[SAR, “one s. of the scr[ibe].” Generalizing from this evidence, ša/epik(k)ušta- may be said to designate a long pointed metal object with a single shaft. 168 German “Nadel” and English “pin” are the best translations.

This object was employed frequently in cult 169 and magic, 170 as is the case in Texts D and E. In these instances the adjective dammarran-, literally "empty," may be understood either as "unornamented," 171 or as indicating a contrast to those cases in which something is attached to a ša/epik(k)ušta- (cf. XVII 28 I 15; XLV 47 I 14; Text E obv. 6’).

obv. 8. ḫ-ḫ-ḫ-ḫ is probably the end of a verb in the prs.1.sg., agreeing in person and number with the other verbs preserved in this paragraph.

obv. 9. [mu ki-iš-ša-an te-im]: For the restoration, note the particle -wa- in the next line and cf. Text A obv. 8.

rev. 7–8’. dam-mi-lī [pi-e-di ti-ib-ḫ]-lī]: For this phrase in ritual, see Güterbock, RHA 74, 1964, 103–05, but note that his suggested translation of dam-meli as “virgin; uncultivated” is to be rejected—see Neu, StBoT 18, 21, and Puhvel, KZ 92, 1978, 103, with n. 16.

rev. 10’. in-na-ra-ab-hu-ar is the verbal substantive of in(n)arabī, “be strong.” That it is essentially synonymous with the more common innarnutu- is confirmed by a comparison of this passage with XV 32 I 55–56, where several deities are urged:

mu-us-si pi-iš-si [en Ti-tar] ha-ad-du-la-a-tar in-na-ra-u-ua-a-tar MU.BLA GID.-

DA ...

Giv[=] to him [life], health, fitness, long years (etc.)!

166 Translated by Güterbock, Oriens 10, 1957, 357. The duplicate KBo XXIX 97 IV 5’ reads [a-pi-UM-du-UM] ša/epik(k)ušta-, thus confirming Güterbock’s restoration [ša/epik(k)ušta-] for XXVII 49 III 21.

167 AAA 27, 1940, 90. This interpretation was based on XVII 20 II 22: LI-IlE KU.BABBAR ZL.KIN.BAR [KU.BABBAR], “a ‘wooden tablet’ of silver, a s. [of silver].”

168 The texts do not support the conjecture of Goetze, KIF 1, 1930, 234, that a “Spange” (i.e., “hair clasp; fibula”) is indicated here.

169 Cf. XL I 5 I 6’ff. and Bo 2650 I 18ff. (StBoT 19, 8). The phrase r-ašša/nukkan urudāši epikku/kutum urudāši epikku/kutum ZL.KIN.BAR-aš šar-pa4 kunk-, found several times in Hittite prayers (XIV 10 IV 19’; XXIV 3+ 401/u II 23; XXIV 4 I 13; and KBo XXII 76:6’), remains as obscure today as in Goetze’s time. All that may be said is that a ritual gesture or activity of some sort is involved.

170 Note especially XVII 28 I 11ff.

171 See Goetze, Tunn 50f., for the closely-related word dannara- as “unornamented.”
1'-3'. (traces)

4'. [ ]

$\text{§ 2'}$ [ ] an unornamented

6'. [pin she takes?] on the pin she binds.

$\text{§ 3'}$ [ ] onto the cradle she binds.

8'. [ ]

10'. [ ] And it she binds onto her? shirt.


$\text{§ 4'}$ [ ] the human child she inspires. And him she

$\text{§ 5'}$ [When a woman] is pregnant [with child], then she conjures for her as

14'. [ ] fat of ... she demanded. Of the big

16'. [ ] of the sm[all] she demanded.

18'. [ ] and (s)he sent the small ones.

$\text{§ 6'}$ [ ] I will go.

18'-20'. (traces)

a. long erasure
Rev. [ ] ra-aš SAG.DU-ya
2'. [ ] ×-ab-ha-un
[ ] kán pa-ra-a le-el-ba-wa-i

4'. [ ] a-n'-ta-an u-dab-ha-an
[ ] nu-ua tar-aš-kiši i-it-wa-ra-an-kán
6'. [ ] a-n-da-pa-i

c. [ ] a-ap-pa A-NA DINGIR[me-miš-ta
8'. [mu-ua-kán] a-pa-at-ta ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki du-me-mi pa-id-du-wa-az
[ ] gi-im-ra-aš tar-pa-tar-pa-an da-a-ú mu-wa gi-im-ma-ra-aš ma-
ab-ha-an
12'. [ ] u-e-ha-at-ta DUMU-la-aš-ša-an an-ni-iš-ši
[an-da-an QA-TAM-MA] u-e-ha-at-ta-ru
14'. [ ] da-a-ú mu-wa ku-ut-ta-aš ša-lu-i-(ša)-na-an
[GIM-an Ú-U]L u-e-mi-iz-zi DUMU-la-an-na-wa
16'. [ ] QA-TAM-MA li-e u-e-mi-iz-zi
[ ] DU]-MU'-an u-da
18'. [ ] ×-u-wa u-i-te-ni-it
[ ] ×-an-za
20'. [ ] kú-za
[ ] ×

a. over erasure

[... and the head of ...
2'. [... I [...] ed.
§ 8" [...] she pours forth.
4'. [...] I brought here.
§ 9" [...] You speak continually: 'Go!, him (the child')
6'. [...] give!"
§ 10" [...] she responded to the gods:
8'. [...] and we are thereby taking (evil') from someone (i.e., so-and-so').
Let her go,
[...] the tarapatarpa-plant of the [f]ield let her take! And as that of the
field (i.e., the t-plant),
10'. let him (the child) in his [m]other likewise turn!
§ 11" '[Let her go!] Braziers' let her take! And as the door
12'. [in the socket] tujriš, let the child [in] his mother
[likewise] turn!
14'. '[Mortar' let her take! And [as] the mortar of the wall
§ 12' [...] does [not] find,
16'. [may evil' likewise not f]ind the child!
§ 13" '[... the ch]ild bring!
18'. [...] with water
19'-21': (traces)

Commentary

Goetze, JCS 18, 1964, 91, pronounced this rather fragmentary one-
columned tablet a "ritual concerning pregnancy and childbirth." In fact, this
tablet appears to have contained at least two rituals—note the double par-
agraph stroke following obv. 12' and what seems to be an introductory formula
in obv. 13'.
To judge from UN-aš DUMU-an anda ašši in obv. 11', the first text was
possibly a birth ritual, but its poor state of preservation makes this uncertain.
The second portion may be assigned with greater certainty to the sphere of
birth. §§ 10"-11" seem to be incantations of the analogic magic type intended
to induce the child to turn within his mother's body immediately prior to birth.
§ 12” may be a charm pertaining to the birth itself, and it is possible that the almost totally destroyed § 13” refers to the washing of the new-born (cf. rev. 18’: u-i-te-ni-iti, “with water”).

Nothing in the preserved portion of the text allows us to assign it to a particular cultural group within Ḫatti. The composition—speaking now of the second ritual, not enough of the first remaining to justify a statement—is to be dated no later than the early fourteenth century. Note the use of the enclitic possessive pronoun (anniš, rev. 10’, 12’s), the use of the AZ-sign to express the reflexive particle (rev. 8’, 11’s), and the spelling u-e-mi-iz-zi (rev. 15’, 16’s). However, the employment of the AS-sign for the Akkadian form INA (obv. 9’), the younger spellings kis-an (obv. 13’s) and GIM-an (rev. 11’s), as well as the late shape of LI (rev. 3’), show that we are dealing with a thirteenth-century copy here.

obv. 4’. For the restoration here, cf. rev. 12’ and 13’.

obv. 6’. For ša’epik(k)išta-, see above, pp. 63f.

In this and the following lines I have assumed that the subject of the verbs is a female, since a majority of the persons active in the Ḫitti birth rituals is of that sex.

obv. 7’. For 6Ti5ninilya- as “cradle,” see Otten, Introduction to KUB XXXV, III.

obv. 13’. For the restoration and translation here, see Text L rev. 1.

obv. 14’ff. The fragmentary §§ 5’-7’ are obscure, but may contain a mythological reference to the procurement of the offering and magic materials—cf. Text C rev. 8’.


To the spelling du-me-ni, cf. tu-me-ni (KBo XXV 8:2’) and tu-me-e-ni (XLIII 25:12’).

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172 See HE I 2 § 106.
173 See Hoffner, JNES 31, 1972, 32, and Winkels, Diss 51.
174 See Houwink ten Cate, Records 16.
175 See Oettinger, StBoT 22, 32–33.
176 But see HE I 2 § 312.
177 See HW3 § 62.
178 For this word, see Bossert, FuF 29, 1953, 211–13.
179 XXI 27 III 44, where it is an epithet of the goddess Zintuḫḫi.
181 For the hearth/brazier in cult, see Archi, SMEA 16, 1975, 77–87.
Fa 1 [ ] × ZI × [ ]

2'. nam-ma DUG KA:DÛ NAG[ ]
   GAL' LAM.GAL' gal-as-zi n[a-at']
4'. mu G[ ] DA.GUR[ ] hab tar n[a-i]
   an-da iš-ḫi-e-i-e-zi n[a-at']
6'. GA:wa-ar-da-li-in pa-[
   na-ša-ta DUG hu-u-ap-par šu-[n-n[a-ša-
8'. ḫu-um-an-da an-da iš-ḫu-u-wa[a-a-i]
   ka-ri-ya-an-zi na-at AN-NA[ ]
10'. na-at a-ap'[p-i]-iz-zi UD-ti

EGR-ŠU-ma 1 [ ] DUG KU-KU-UB ME-E 1 [ ] DUG KU-KU-UB KAŞ
12'. 1 DUG KU-KU-UB wa-al-ḫi 1 DUG KU-KU-UB mar-nuwa-an' da-a'[ ]

me-na-ab ba-an-da-ma-kâ-n DINGIR LUM
14'. da-ga-a-an e-e-[zi nu ma-a[ ]
    ba-ma-an-kâ-n nam-ma-ša-an[ ]
16'. mu-š-[ši ] × x [ ] iš'-ša'[ ] e'[ ]
    × [ ] × [ ]
18'. [ ] iš-ši-ša-ma-ša-ši-ši EGR-a-an[ ]
    [1 DUG ME-E ya-as ši a-wa-an[ ]

20'. mu ma-ab ba-an ki-ša-ša-an × [ ]
    nam-ma-ša-ša-an SA:ŠA.ZU ga[ ]
22'. mu-š-ša-an ša-ne-iz-zi ši-na-an-ta
    [ ] DUG GA:ya-ša-ša-an ša-hu-wa-[a-i
24'. SA:ŠA.ZU ma ki-[š]-ša-an ma-[a-i

ša-ne-iz-zi-tiš-ša-ša-pi-[š]-ši-ši ya-mi

26'. 4 An-zi-li-iš-za ša-a-it' [Zu.uk-ki-iš-za ša-a-it']
    GUB-la-an-za KUS.E.SIR ZAG-na-az [šar-ku-ut-ta ZAG-na-an-za-ša-
    KUS.E.SIR]
28'. GUB-la-az šar-ku-ut-ta TÜG-za m[a-

(traces)

2'. Further, a vessel of cheap beer for drinking [she pours out] …
§ 2'. pistachio-wood she whittles. And it …
4'. And drinking-straws she se[ts] …
   she binds on. And it …
6'. the wardulli-plant […]
   And the bowl she fills …
8'. All of them she th[rows] in […]
   they cover. And them to […]
10'. And them on the last day [of preg]nancy …

§ 3'. Thereafter, one jug of water, [one jug of beer],
12'. one jug of wally (and) one jug of marnwu-an' she takes'.

§ 4'. And opposite, the deity […]
14'. on the ground it is. And […]
   bound. Further […]
16'. And to her … […]
   (traces)
18'. But on her [b]ack, in revers[e] …
   And [the one] jug of water to her, away […]
20'. And when as follows […]
5'. Further, the midwife […]
22'. And the crushed delicacies […]
   And fine oil she pours […]
24'. But the midwife spea[k]s as follows:

§ 6'. "The delicacies [I] throw out …
26'. Anzili became angry; [Zukki became angry].
   The left shoe on the right foot [she put; the right shoe]
28'. on the left foot she put. A garment […]
§ 7’ “She pinned breast ornaments to the back of her divine robes.
30’. She let the rear of her veil fall down in front, while the front she let fall down in back. She stood up, 32’. and she went out of the tapinama chamber.

§ 8’ ["Fog seized [the house]. Smoke seized the windows.
6. [On the altar the gods were stilled. On the hearth
8’ [the logs were stilled. In] the stall the cattle were stilled.
[The mother and her child were stilled. The wife
10. [and her husband were stilled.

§ 9’ ["The great Sun-god proclaimed a feast], and he invited the great gods
12. [(saying:) ‘’] I have eaten.
[...] not

Fa IV “In the house of the offerant [olive-wood]
2. burns. šaḫti-wood burn[...]

§ 10’ pursulli-wood burn[s [...]
4. cedar burns. And [...] says;
‘Hey! Co[m]e back! [...]”
6. back! But pursulli-wood [...]”

8. In the house of the offerant, in the gaksešar, the fog loosed the floorboards, the smoke loosed the [windows],
10. On the altar [the gods were] free.
On the he[arth] the log[s were] free.

12. ‘[In the pen the sheep were] fi[ne. In the stall the cattle were] fine.
§ 12’ The mother and her child were fin[e. The wife and her husband]
14. were fin[e].
§ 13' "The message went to the Sun-god: ['She has] [come, Anzilī]"
16. She has come, Zulk[i]! Then the Sun-god replied:\"
'Now I will eat (and) drink! [...]"
18. Now I will prepare a meal!\" Now [...]"

§ 14' "Anzilī turned, [and on...] she sat [down]."
And she [sat down] on the carved [...]"
22. But she h[eld] out her right hand [...] a tooth-loaf
she consumed'. And what[ever ...] lay on the table—
24. everything she consumed'. [There]after, the salt of the meadow from the
saltlick she consumed'. As the meadow from the saltlick
is not exhausted—[afterward] the land [in]spects the mort[al]—
and [may] this one forever after [not be exhausted']

Example (FC 15')... from the land may not [be exhausted!]

§ 16' The [life] of the offerant [from the city] may not
§ 15' be exhausted! [The life] of the [offerant]
18. from the inner chamber may not be ex[hausted!],
[but] let it be[e] eternall"
20. [And] "beebread'" ... [...]"

Commentary

Otten was the first to suggest that this variant of the "Vanishing God" myth is a birth ritual. 183 This type of ritual/mythological text, as Otten has elsewhere shown, 184 was employed to resolve real-life crises, and as Güterbock has noted, 185 the presence of the midwife (Fa I 21', 24') makes it likely that this particular text was intended for the relief of a woman experiencing difficulties

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183 See Introduction to KUB XXXIII, III.
in giving birth. Thus it may be termed a parturition ritual. 186 Unfortunately we learn little from it about Hittite birth practices, since the ritual activities in the preserved portions are intended solely for the placation of angry deities (here Anzili and Zukki), and are not actions specifically restricted to birth. 187

The use of -Sû to express the Akkadian possessive pronoun in Fa I 11' indicates a thirteenth-century date 188 for the main exemplar, but the absence of any late grammatical or orographic features, plus the likely Middle Hittite date of Fa 189 and possibly also of Fb 190 shows that the composition itself is considerably older. This text, like the closely related "Myth of Telepinu" is an amalgam of Hattic and Luwian elements. 191

The most important previous treatments of this text are a transliteration by Laroche of the entirety of Fa and Fb in RHA 77, 1965, 135–38, and Güterbock's translation and brief discussion of Fa I 26–Fb II 10 in JAOS 84, 1964, 115.

Fa I 2‘ff. It is unfortunate that § 2‘ is not completely intelligible, for if a-ap'1- pi-iz-zi UD-ti refers to the final day of pregnancy, it might represent a partial description of the preparation of the mother for delivery.

Fa I 2‘–4‘. These lines describe the concocting of a potion—fragments of pistachio-wood (and perhaps something else, lost at the end of I 3‘) suspended in a vehicle of beer. For the restoration tern{a} cf. KBo X 45 IV 71.: nu-kân DUG KA.Dû NAG la-hu-ua-i nu GA.DA.GUR1A tar-na-a-i

Fa I 6‘. For the plant wardulli-, see Jakob-Rost, THeth 72, 72, and Burde, StBoT 19, 27.

Fa I 14‘. For dagan as the locative of tekan-, “earth,” see Neu, “Lokativ” 8–13.

186 Note also the similarity of this text to Text R, which is said in its colophon to be concerned with birth.

187 Laroche, Cat 76, n. 2, suggests some connection between this text and CTH 439, a ritual performed for Anzili and Zukki. It is, however, unlikely that CTH 439 belongs with this composition since the ritual activities carried out there are different than those usually found in the ritual portion of “Vanishing God” texts.

188 See Neu, StBoT 18, 51.

189 Older forms of Tar (obv. 14‘) and E (obv. 5‘, 6‘, etc.) are present, while En (obv. 14‘, 16‘) shows the shape found in StBoT 20 only in the Middle Hittite Sp. VI (i.e., KUB XVII 21).

190 Note the older shapes of Tar (III 5‘) and E (II 12).

191 See Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 22f.

182 See already Eheloli, OLZ 1933, 5.

183 Their association is not invariable, however, as stated by Laroche, Rech 79–in VII 25 17 and 12, for example, only Anzili is mentioned.

184 See Laroche, Rech 79, (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8, 1963, 205, and Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 144, n. 2. Add now XXXII 87 rev. 2‘, 27‘, 32‘; XLIII 87 V 7‘; and XLVIII 105 rev. 16, and cf. the woman’s name ‘An-zi-li-i, XL 80 obs. 5, 6, 9.

185 Note especially § 7‘, where the hubiki, characteristic feminine headress, is worn. For this piece of clothing, see Laroche, RHA 68, 1961, 25–26. Note also the Bildbeschreibung XXXVI 19 + IBoT II 102 rev. 8‘–10‘: ‘An-zi-li-i ALAM KUB BABBAR SAL7‘[ pûr qa-al-ti-yta-at 1 U.TU (error for UP-NU?) 3 SUSI ZAG-za SU-ez GAL KUB BABBAR har-zi GAM-an-il Anzili: a silver female image […] And in height it (is) one hand‘ and (two) fingers […] In her right hand she holds a silver goblet. Beneath her r
with the Mother-goddesses and the Fate-deities.\footnote{Note, for example, XV 31 I 1–2 (Haas/Willhelm, AOATS 3, 148): DINGIR. MA\textsuperscript{HA}-\textsuperscript{A} \textsuperscript{G} \textsuperscript{U} \textsuperscript{L} \textsuperscript{S} \textsuperscript{A} DINGIR \textsuperscript{M\textsuperscript{ES}} NÎ.TE\textsuperscript{M\textsuperscript{ES}} aš UN-aš DINGIR. MA\textsuperscript{M\textsuperscript{AS}} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{A}ZU-UK-KI-IN AN-ZI-LI-IN KASKAL-až kiš-an ḫu-ū-IT-IT-ya-an-ZI} The Mother-goddesses (and the Fate-deities of the persons of the gods, the Mother-goddesses of human(s), Zukki (and) Anzili they draw back from the road as follows: \textit{Fa I} 29'. For the group of signs written over the erasure at the beginning of this line Güterbock apud Larco, RHA 77, 1965, 136, reads TŪG-an-ši-wa-za-kán, which, however, involves a pleonasm of indirect objects (-ši- and -za-) as well as an isolated appearance of the particle -wa(r)-. I therefore follow Melchert, JCS 31, 1979, 63, with n. 14, in reading TŪG.DINGIR.LIM-wa-aš-za-kán, although no other occurrences of TŪG.DINGIR.LIM-ME, “divine robe(s),” are known to me. In his transliteration, Larco–followed here by Melchert–indicates that a numeral 2 immediately follows the disputed group of signs, but this is not to be seen on the copy.} For \textsc{TUDITTU}, “(woman’s) breast ornament,” see now AHw 136\textsuperscript{f.}, with appearances as an Akkadogram in Hitite texts listed in section 4.

\textit{Fa II} 9. [AMA-ŠU DUMU-ŠU-ya iš-šu-ri-ya-aḫ-nu-anni-irat is restored after \textit{Fa IV} 13–14: AMA-ŠU DUMU-ŠU-ya SIG₃-an-ța-[at DAM-ZU-ki-ša-DU-SU-ya] SIG₂-an-ta-[at], where the second sentence is correspondingly restored with the aid of \textit{Fa II} 9–10. [\textsuperscript{1\textsuperscript{a}]} MU-DU-SU-ya] in both instances is not certain, but very probable.

\textit{Fa II} 12. Larco, RHA 77, 1965, 137, suggests [ša-n]e\textsuperscript{1} iz-zi, which finds support in Fa I 25, but which does not seem to fit the traces.

\textit{Fa IV} 1. The sense of the complementation in EN.SISKUR.SISKUR-īš-ša-ša-an is not clear. Is it to be analysed as EN.SISKUR.SISKUR-īš-an or EN.SISKUR.SISKUR-īš-an? After SA one expects no case ending at all, as below in \textit{IV} 8, or perhaps a genitive complementation in -iš-ā.

\footnote{It is extremely unlikely that Anzili and Zukki are identical with \textsuperscript{G} \textsuperscript{U} \textsuperscript{L} \textsuperscript{S} \textsuperscript{A} DINGIR. MA\textsuperscript{HA}-\textsuperscript{A}, as suggested by Larco, Rech 79. First, both DINGIR.MA\textsuperscript{HA}-\textsuperscript{A} and \textsuperscript{G} \textsuperscript{U} \textsuperscript{L} \textsuperscript{S} \textsuperscript{A} are plural, while the deities in question are each singular. Secondly, apposition does not seem to be a possibility in the passage from XV 31 quoted here. Thirdly, in X 30 An-zi-li-ir appears in I 4, while \textsuperscript{G} \textsuperscript{U} \textsuperscript{L} \textsuperscript{S} \textsuperscript{A} is found in I 7, where apposition is again unlikely.}
The overseer of the cooks ḫa’s the groats; before the cult stone he offers three times. Again he ḫa’s; at the hearth he offers once; for the sphinx he makes offering.

Cf. also KBo XXIV 115 I’ 20: ḫi-ḫu-ḫu-up-pa-iz-zi, “the cooks ḫi,” and 819/a:4: ZI.ZI ḫu-ḫu-up-pa-a-iz-zi, “wheat groats he ḫa’s.” Finally, VBoT 58 IV 32’–33’ (RHA 77, 1965, 86) reads:

3 DUGU-IA GES-TI-na mar-su-an KAS LAL 3 DUGU-IA KU-UB-IA u-er-te-na-as ḪAQ-DI-U

GAL ḪUG.GA GAL LAL GAL I.NUN 203 ša-nu-203,iz-zi ki-na-an-da ki-i ḫu-up-pa-a-203,iz-zi 203

And three wine vessels—(one each of) marnu-ak, beer (and) honey—three jugs of water, together with a beaker of fine oil, a beaker of honey (and) a beaker of butter are mashed together as a delicacy. These things he ḫa’s.

ḫup(p)-Ḫup(p)ai- in this usage has as its object both groats and liquids, and in the passages quoted here it seems to indicate an activity preparatory to the repast or offering. In Text F also it associated with verbs of eating and drinking.

Hoffner has recently 204 put forth for Ḫup(p)-Ḫup(p)ai- the meaning “gather together into a pile,” and as a technical term of the culinary art this may be construed more particularly as “blend, combine,” 205 and perhaps even taken generally as a designation for culinary activity as a whole, i.e., “combine (ingredients)” = “prepare (a meal).” 206

Fa IV 19. As a transitive verb, waḫmu- normally requires an object, but Freydenk, MIO 7, 1962, 374, has demonstrated an intransitive-reflexive construc-

202 Readings from Laroché, RHA 77, 1965, 86. On p. 81 Laroché states that he collated AO 4703 (= VBoT 58) in the Louvre. Goetz’s copy shows UDU, NI, and AN, respectively.

203 Laroché, RHA 77, 1965, 86, n. 11, suggests a comparison with XXVII 29 III 8: nu EN.SISKUR 7-ŠU ḫu-ḫu-up-pa-a-iz-zi.

204 FaFinkelstein 105–06.

205 Is the unclear KBo III 34 l’3 (“Palace Chronicle”): ḫE.LI.NINDA.DU.DU ḫu-ḫu-up-pi-ir, “and they ḫe the baker,” the result of a scribal misunderstanding of a passage originally referring to this activity, or a particularly cruel punishment?

206 It is uncertain how the employment of Ḫup(p)-Ḫup(p)ai- in musical contexts relates to this usage—cf. KBo VIII 74’ + III 13’; (SBoT 25, Nr. 137); KUB XL 97’ III 2’; and KBo XV 59 III 5’. Oettinger, H&F 199, translates ḫu-ḫu-up-pi-ir-kan-zi in this last passage as “zapfen.”

Fa IV 22. ZAG-an-mara-šan: The particle of unreality -man- is out of place here. Fe obv. 7’, which reads ZAG-an-ma-za-an (i.e., ZAG-an-mara-šan) undoubtedly better reflects the original text.

Fa IV 23. kadupai-, a verb unattested elsewhere, 207 seems from context to indicate the consumption of food.

Fa IV 24. As a source of salt associated with a pasture, wawan- can only be a saltlick. This Luwian word is also found in a Hittite context at KBo XXIII 41:11: da-ša-su-ša-šal-ki-ša, la-wa-ša-ša-ša-li-ša-li-ša-li-ša-li, and has already been recognized by Laroché 208 as a source of salt in Luwian texts. The Glossenkeilwort Ḫapana-šar, defined by CHD III, 41, as “summer grazing ground,” must rather be recognized as a compound of Ḫapana, “summer pasture,” and wawan(n)i-, that is, “saltlick of the summer pasture ground.” 209

Fa IV 26–27. [(da-an-du-kiv-ša-aš D)UMU-an u]-ki-iz-zi: Cf. Text E obv. 11: UN-aš DUMU-an anda aššu. The “mortal” here and the “offerant” in the following paragraph must refer to the new-born.

Fc rev. Only a few signs have been preserved here, most of the surface having split off. All that remains is:

1’. SUM-a[n]

2’. mu U[TU]

3’. ×× [ ]

207 Cf. only XXXIII 33:12: kad-du-wa-ša-[t], and XXXIII 79 II 9: kad-du-wa-[t].

208 Cf. only XXXIII 33:12: kad-du-wa-ša-[t], and XXXIII 79 II 9: kad-du-wa-ša-[t].

209 DII.106.

209 For such compounds, see Hoffner, Or ns 35, 1966, 388–92.
II ŚI-PĀT e-eš-ḥa-na-āš ma-a-an-za SAL-za ḫ[a-a-ši]
2. nu e-eš-ḥa-ar-še-it a-ri-it-ta n[a-an kiš-an]
    ḫu-uk-mi ta-ḥa-aš-tu-ūš-tu* tu-u-mi-[el
4. ka-a-ap-tu-u *Ta-ru pāt-ta-pt-eš-
    tu-u-ūš-su-ul li-e-e-it[
6. li-e-tu-u-mi-el 5-ŠU te-x[

ŚI-PĀT ḫu-wa-an-da-āš ma-a-an-za ḫa-a-ši na-aš UR-[UL]
8. ḫu-un-ta-ri-yat-ta na-an kiš-an ḫu-u[k-mi]

(A Hattic-language incantation follows in II 9–32.)

"Incantation of Blood"—When a woman is giving birth
2. and her bleeding is inhibited, then [for her as follows]
3–6. I conjure: (Hattic)

"Incantation of the Wind"—When (a woman) is giving birth, and she
8. does not

9–32. (Hattic)

Commentary

KUB XVII 28 is a Sammutafel. The colophon (IV 57–59) reads:

57. 6 ŚI-PĀT QA-TI ma-q-an-na 4XX-āś ša-ki-ya-az-zi
58. ma-a-an-na ERĪNMEŠ 1,6 KūR-āš ḫu-ul-li-ya-az-zi
59. ȘU "SAS-pa-la

Six incantations, complete. (Including:) "When the Moon-god Gives an
Omen" and "When the Enemy Defeats the Army." Written by SAS-pala.

Among the compositions here recorded are the rituals for a defeated army
CTH 458.2 (II 33–IV 44) and CTH 426.2 (IV 45–56).210 The two conjura-
tions dealing with birth (more specifically, with delivery) are in the Hattic
language, but are introduced by Hittite protases.

As Hattic texts, the incantations are relatively old—Kammenhuber has esti-
mated that active knowledge of Hattic was lost by 1400 B.C.211 The use of the
enclitic possessive pronoun in the Hittite lines (e-eš-ḥa-ar-še-it, II 2) also shows
that these are rather early. Evidence that this tablet is a later copy, however, is
found in the spelling kiš-an (II 8).212

II 2. For a-ri-it-ta here, see Neu, StBoT 5, 12–13.213

210 See Masson, RHR 137, 1950, 5ff.
211 HBOr 430.
212 See StBoT 22, 32.
213 Although Houwink ten Cate, FsBöhl, 209, admits only a single verb araį-ariya,-
"lift up; rise up," the present passage seems to require the postulation of a separate
verb araį-, "inhibit."
II 3–6. According to Kammenhuber’s interpretation of these Hattic lines, this incantation calls upon the Storm-god to release his rain. This would be analogous to the hoped-for onset of bleeding in the woman prior to delivery.

II 7f. For ḫuntarīya-, see Neu, StBoT 5, 60. In n. 1 he suggests a restoration ṻ[zu]arrāni or Ṽ[zu]arrād for the end of this line, that is, an indication of the part of the body involved in the flatulence. This would be redundant, however, and Otten’s reading Ṽ-[UL] is preferable. Since flatulence is a normal prelude to giving birth, its absence would be an ominous, if not indeed medically dangerous, sign. This interpretation also brings the occasion of the second incantation into parallelism with that of the first, where an expected phenomenon fails to occur.

Text H = KUB IX 22 and Duplicates

The five duplicates to IX 22 often differ from the main text, especially in the placement of paragraph strokes. For the greater part of the edition, I have given the text as represented by IX 22, with the paragraphs divided as in that text. Variant readings found in the duplicates have been indicated in the textual apparatus. Col. I of IX 22 has largely been lost—at most three signs are now visible at the end of any one line—but that small portion of the tablet that does remain here shows that the text of this column originally consisted of approximately nine paragraphs. Therefore the numbering of the paragraphs in col. II of IX 22 here begins with § 10. Since the text of KUB VII 39, however, contains three paragraphs which precede this § 10, these have been numbered §§ 7–9. Below is a chart showing the relationship of the duplicate texts. The sigla employed are as follows:

Ha = KUB IX 22
Hb = ABoT 17
Hc = KUB VII 39
Hd = KBo XVII 64
He = 464/w = KBo XXX 1
Hf = Bo 4876

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214 MSS 17, 1964, 26.
215 StBoT 7, 26.
216 Prof. H. Otten has kindly made available to me his collations cf. cols. I and IV of Ha, as well as of Hc.
The Texts

Hc  
2'. [ ] hag-bal-te-um-ma-ra-fa(1) × ²[k]  


na-aš-ta hár-na-aš ku-[š  

ki-e-iz  


GER[1]ZE-ER-TUM [iš-ha-a]-i  


Ha  


Hb  


Text H = KUB IX 22 and Duplicates

89

Hc  


2'. [6] [6] and pegs above[  


6'. [6] [6] And of it [ ... on one side]  

and on the other side, a peg[ ...]  


10'. [6] [6] two jugs of wine he takes, (and) ab[ove ...]  

§ 10'. [6] [6] tamarisk' (and) olive-woods [are bound on]. And one on this side,  


Ha II  

In whatever inner chamber the woman is,  

§ 11'. [6] [6] then outside of that inner chamber two pegs—  

6'. [6] [6] one peg on one side and one on the other side—  

he poun[ds] (in). Further, on the pegs  


10'. [6] [6] are hu[n]g down. And the ball of yarrn'  

1.  


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a. so after collation  
b. Ha II 2: ]-te-ès  
c. Although the text in Hc continues here, there is a paragraph stroke after [(ga-a)]-n-ki  
in Ha II 3. From here the text, and the paragraph divisions, are according to Ha.  
d. Hc 13': an-da  
e. over erasure  
f. Hc 15': 1-an  
g. Hc 15': GUL-al-[š-i]  
h. Hc 16': GER[1] pa-a-i  
i. a long erasure is found under Ha II 8  
k. paragraph stroke lacking in Hb  
l. text: US, Hb II 6: mu-ri-ya-li-š
12. And the chair, the table, the bed.

§ 13' the pot-stand (and) the birth-stool of the woman—and the woman herself—the patilli-priest

14. swing[s] (over) with a sheldrake.

§ 14' And the woman in the inner chamber

16. sacrifices on her own behalf for zurgi. And she washes her hands. And one takes her in before the birth-stool.

18. And one duck to the path he sacrifices. But one duck

§ 15' to the habi for tikalziya (and) kulamušiya

20. he sacrifices. And the birth-stool and the pegs one b(in)ds (together).

22. And cedar, tamarisk' (and) olive(-woods) with red wool

§ 16' are bound up. And the patilli-priest

24. takes them, and them on the woman, on the strap’ he places. And fine oil

26. he pours on her head, and to her hand he binds red wool.

28. Further, the patilli-priest takes the b*nai out of the bowl,

§ 17' together with the cedar, tamarisk’ (and) olive(-woods).

30. And the mouth of the woman he purifies.

§ 18' Then the patilli-priest puts the bowl (and) the b*nai (therein)

32. on the pegs, and it (the bowl)
he covers up. Then the woman goes and to the birth-stool
34. bows down. Further, (her) hand toward the birth-stool
she holds out. Further, she seats herself, and her husband,
36. the patili-priests and the katra-women
38. go, and they bow down to the woman.

§ 19' makes a seal[ing] (of the chamber). But whatever *barna*i in a *kappi-
measuring vessel
40. was poured,* and whichever two pegs outside, before
the door of the inner chamber he pounds (in)— (these things he takes
and)
42. he puts the *kappi*-measuring vessel (of *barna*) on top
and covers it up.

§ 20' they give to eat. And they
46. go away. But when
it becomes night (and) a star twinkles,
48. then the *patili*-priest g(o)e[s] in
and makes a (ritual-)opening (of the chamber) before the birth-stool.

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a. see commentary
III and he brings [s] the woman inside.
2. And she bows down before the birth-stool. [Fur][ther,
§ 21'] she holds out (her) hand. Then from the inner chamber she
4. comes forth, and the [pat[i]]-priest before the inner chamber
makes a sealing.

6. [And] the woman sits down on the b[ed]. And
§ 22' near her [he]ad he places one wickerwork table.
8. [Fur][ther, he places a nahl[i]-loaf (on it).
And on the nahl[i]-loaf the moon, the sun
10. and the star(s) are modeled.

§ 23' And such cedar,
12. tamarisk (and) olive-woods, bound up with red wool,
as the pat[i]-priest had placed on the woman, on the strap—
14. (now) these he takes away from her,
and he places them with the nahl[i]-loaf.

16. [And] the pat[i]-priest gives a jug of wine to the woman,
§ 24' while she hands over to him two young goats.
18. And them the woman "sacrifices" with wine,
and the pat[i]-priest drives them away.

20. And when at the crossing of the road
§ 25' he arrives, then one young goat for the male [deities] of the ši[i]p
22. he [sac]ritics, and (the other) young goat for the male deities of the city
he [sacrifices].

24. [And] the [pat[i]]-priest comes back,
§ 26' [and he be]fore (the door of) the inner chamber bows down, (and) to
26. the woman
be [bow's] down, and he cries "well-being!"
And they go to drink, to
[and] he goes forth.

§ 27' The next morning the woman washes.
30. And if she is (shown) by a dream (to be) pure,

a. Hb III 4 indicates that this is the third day
then the patili-priest takes her in
32. to the birth-stool.

§ 28' And she bows down, and on the birth-stool
34. places (her) hand.

§ 29' But if she is (shown) by a dream (to be) impure, then she before the door
36. bows down. Further, out[side]
she puts (her) hand forth toward the birth-stool.
38. But when at night a star [rw]inkles,
then he (the patili-priest) takes the woman in to the birth-stool.
40. And she bows down to the birth-stool, [and (her)] h[and]
she places forth (on it). And she goes forth.

42. [And] the patili-priest [before] the inner chamber makes a [sealing].
44. [...] on the road, at the cro[ss]ing
[...] he [...]
Commentary

This text, which forms a group with the "Ritual of Papanikri"217 and Text J,218 deals with purificatory ceremonies performed on behalf of a woman. In the preserved lines, only the presence of the harnau/, "birth-stool," indicates that a birth is involved. It is likely that these ceremonies were employed in the actual birth, although it must be noted that no mention of entering into labor is preserved. It is unfortunate that both the initial lines and the colophons of all of the exemplars have been lost, for it is there that we might find an explicit statement of purpose for this ritual. It is certain only that the ritual is concerned with the mother in the (immediate?) pre-parturition period, and that it centers about her purification and ritual introduction to the birth-stool. Presumably evils or impurities which might otherwise threaten the lives of mother and child during birth are removed here. Possibly the lost col. IV dealt with the birth of the child and his or her purification.219

The Hurro-Luwian background of this text, as evidenced most conclusively by the foreign vocabulary of § 15, shows that it cannot have been composed before the Middle Hittite period, when Hittite culture was first subjected to strong influence from the Hurrian and Luwian south.

Ha and Hb reveal no late sign forms and appear to be fourteenth-century tablets. Since Hc replaces the phonetic spelling wa-al-ab-zi of Ha II 41 with the logographic writing GUL-ab-[zi] (15'),220 it was probably inscribed later than Ha and Hb. In addition, the sign E (e.g., 6', 7', 8') is drawn here with the large initial vertical characteristic of the later script.

As for the smaller fragments, Hd and Hf are of thirteenth-century date, as indicated by the writing GIM-an (Hd 6', Hf 7') and the later form of LI (Hd 7', Hf 5'). The use of \~{\textcircled{\textcdot}} for the logographic possessive pronoun in Hc (KA\textcircled{\textcdot}U-\textcircled{\textcdot}, 4') reveals a late thirteenth-century date for that piece.221 In summary we may state that Text H was probably composed early in the Empire period and was recopied several times during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.

217 See Sommer/Ebelof, Pap 79.
218 Text Ja (= Bo 4951) is included by Laroche under the same Catalogue number (477.4) as Text H (477.1-3).
219 Perhaps the material in the lost col. IV of Text H was similar to that preserved in Text J.
220 For the tendency of later scribes to substitute logograms for phonetic spellings, see Houwink ten Cate, Records 49.
221 See Neu, StBoT 18, 51.

Hc 5'. For harnai, see below, pp. 102-04.

Hc 8'. Gi\textsuperscript{5}paini = Hurrian paini = Akkadian bi\textsuperscript{n}u = Sumerian Gi\textsuperscript{5}sin\textsuperscript{4} is conventionally translated "tamarisk" on the basis of an Aramaic gloss to the Akkadian word,222 but it may in actuality designate the juniper.223 For the use of Gi\textsuperscript{5}paini in other Hittite ritual contexts, see Hoffner, AHeth 119.

Hc 10'. A reading Du\textsuperscript{5}ug\textsuperscript{5}Hab.Dub\textsuperscript{7}ub is also possible, but my interpretation avoids an unnecessary combination of Sumerian and Akkadian elements in a single logogram.224 In any case Du\textsuperscript{5}ug\textsuperscript{5}Kuk.Dub\textsuperscript{7}ub is synonymous with Du\textsuperscript{5}ug\textsuperscript{5}Hab. Dub\textsuperscript{7}ub.

Hc 10'-12'. Since 12'b-16' of Hc duplicate Ha II 4-8, we must assume that Hc 10'-12' run parallel to Ha II 1-3, although very little is preserved of these lines, and the texts of Hc and Ha in this section cannot be reconciled totally. In particular, Ha II 2 shows j-te-\textsuperscript{\textcdot}a, presumably a ppl.nom.pl.c, while the three woods which must be the subject of the sentence here are grammatically n.pl.—cf. Ha II 22-23. I have conjecturally restored a grammatically correct participial form in the break in Hc 11'.

Ha II 4ff. In these lines the pegs are pounded into the outer wall of the room, on either side of the door. The objects hung on these pegs in this and the following paragraphs are then either magically associated with the events taking place within the chamber, or else serve as apotropaic devices warding off evil before it enters the room.

The officiating person here, as throughout this ritual, is the patilli-priest226—note the relationship of this paragraph to § 19', where the G\textsuperscript{5}patilli is mentioned expressly.

Ha II 7. I have restored wa-al-ab-zi here, instead of GUL-ab-zi as in Hc 15', in agreement with Ha II 41.

222 See CAD B 242.
223 See Güterbock, MDOG 101, 1969, 24. If Gi\textsuperscript{5}paini were mentioned only in ritual texts, it could be argued that both the usage and the word itself were imported from the south, but the Hittite iar tambari text (KBo XXII 6) tells of a Gi\textsuperscript{5}paini growing in the Anatolian city of Purui\textsuperscript{u}inda (\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcdot}}Acm\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcdot}}b\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcdot}}\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcdot}}y\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcdot}}k) (IV 14-15). For the archaeologically-attested presence of the tamarisk in Anatolia, see Wilcox, AnSt 24, 1974, 126-27.
224 Perhaps the occurrence of Du\textsuperscript{5}ug\textsuperscript{5}Hab.Dub\textsuperscript{7}ub in VII 20 19 listed by Friedrich, HW\textsuperscript{1}, 2. Erg. 30, is also to be interpreted as Du\textsuperscript{5}ug\textsuperscript{5}Ku-Ku\textsuperscript{\textcdot}ub.
225 See HW\textsuperscript{1} 309.
226 See below, pp. 235-38.

Ha II 9. [4 mu-ri-ya]-li-zi is restored on the basis of Hb II 6:4 mu-ri-ya-li-zi. Whether the first sign is to be read as NINDA or as the numeral 4 is uncertain, but it does not show the indented middle vertical often characteristic of NINDA.\(^227\) In any case, Otten and Šouček, SBTOT 8, 99, have shown that nuriyalaka-, with or without the NINDA determinative, must be understood as “Trauben-Brot.”\(^228\)

The traces of the verb in Hb II 6 could just as well represent the finite form ga-an-ki[i], but the restoration of the participial ga-at[(n-k)šin-te-eš] better fits the space in Ha II 10. This understanding of the text necessitates an emendation to [(mu-ri-ya)-]li-zi (nom.pl.c.) in Ha II 9, which is supported by Hb II 6c.

Ha II 10. For sīguširita-, “ball of yarn,” see Sommer/Ehkolof, Pap 71. To the passages quoted there, add now only Text U: 6, which is a mere fragment, and 1d I 8:9:

\[\text{]-zi ŠIG mi-ti-eš-kán-zi} \]
\[\text{sīguši-du-ri-ta-aš ŠUMAMÁ-aš me-mi-eš-ki-iž-zi} \]

It is interesting that this passage, if correctly restored, shows širita- in the immediate context of ŠIG mišekenzi, “one attaches\(^229\) the wool,” which would accord well with the interpretation of širita- as a conglomeration of wool. In form, širita- is perhaps another Hurrian plural in -\(\text{da}\).\(^230\)

Ha II 12. [(ša-as-a)]šu-un, acc.pl.c., is restored on the basis of ša-\(\text{aš-}t\)-an, acc.sg.c., as found in Hb II 8.\(^231\) For the treatment of the possessions as well as the person of a ritual subject, cf. KUB XXX 4218–14, a colophon preserved in a catalogue text:

8. [DUB] 1.KAM ŠA LDUΓ.GA ŠA \(\text{A}^{-}\)a-z-za-ri \(\text{R}^{-}\)AL.ZU \(\text{bu}-\)la-aš
9. ma-a-an tu-wa-ab-ba-aš ku-wa-pi tu-uz-zi-un
10. la-ab-bi \(\text{A}^{-}\)NA URU \(\text{L}^{-}\)KUR pr-e-šu-te-iž-zi
11. nu EN.KARAS ku-is PA-NI KARAS \(\text{bu}-\)ya-an-zu

\(^{227}\) See Otten apud Hoffner, AlHeth 151, n. 6.

\(^{228}\) See also Hoffner, AlHeth 173, 207.

\(^{229}\) For mita-, “attach, fasten,” see Goetz, Mudd 84, n. 17.


\(^{231}\) See below, pp. 171 ff., for the use of both sg. and pl. with a noun indicating a piece of furniture.

12. nu LDUΓ.GA GIM-an \(\text{bu}-\)uk-zi nam-ma EN.KARAS
13. iš-ki-iž-zi ANŠE.KUR. \(\text{R}^{-}\)MAŠ ŠU-ya QA-DU \(\underline{\text{U}}^{-}\)GIGIR-ŠU
14. Ú-NU-UT M-E-ya \(\text{bu}-\)ma-an-ta-an iš-ki-iž-zi QA-TI

First tablet of the fine oil, of Azzari, the female Hurrian physician. Whenever a man leads forth troops on a campaign against an enemy city, then whoever is the general, [that is,] whoever goes before the army—when one consecrates the fine oil, (then) further she anoints the general. And his chariot, together with his team and all of his weapons of war she anoints. Finished.\(^232\)

Ha II 14. MUŠEN [\(\text{HUR}-\)RI]—For this bird, see Landsberger, WO 3, 1964/66, 262–64. Literally “bird of the cave,” the MUŠEN HURRI is probably the Tadorna casarca, a member of the duck family known in English as the “sheldrake.” Along with such proverbially salacious animals as the stag, the MUŠEN HURRI plays a significant role in Mesopotamian potenciations,\(^233\) but in Hittite texts it is employed in a wide variety of ritual contexts. The Hittite designation for this bird is as yet unknown, for although XLI 11 rev. 4 mentions I MUŠEN \(\text{bu}-\)ri-li-in, “one Hurrian bird,” the isolation of this writing and the fact that there is no Mesopotamian evidence linking this bird with the Hurrian people show that it merely reflects an incorrect interpretation on the part of a single scribe.

Ha II 15. [\(\text{bu}-\)ur-ki-ya—For this Hurrian offering term, see Otten, SBTOT 15, 12–13, and Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 64–65. According to the latter authors, zurgi belongs to the group of “Unreinheits- and Sündenbegriffen,” i.e., it indicates the pollution which is to be removed by means of the offering. In this instance, the word appears to be a Hittite dat./loc., but Haas and Wilhelm have shown that the -\(\text{yu}\) often found in these offering terms is probably an Old Hurrian case ending, related to the Essiv\(^234\) of the Mitanni letter.\(^235\)

Ha II 16. Here the woman washes her hands after the expiatory offering in order to purify herself prior to being brought before the birth-stool. The cleansing of hands—either one’s own or those of another—is a frequently attested purificatory act in Hittite ritual.\(^236\) No standard formula was developed to indicate this action, various verbs being employed. Beside arra-, as in this

\(^{232}\) Compare also the treatment carried out for the aphasia of Muršili II—see Goetze/Pedersen, MS.

\(^{233}\) See Biggs, ŠA.ZILGA, index, 81.

\(^{234}\) Their term, otherwise called “stative.”

\(^{235}\) Note ko-\(\text{di-}\)ya in a text from Alalakh level VII (AT 126: 37). See AOATS 3, 130ff.

\(^{236}\) Compare also Deut. 21: 1–9.
text, are found šap- "scrape off" 237 (e.g., XXV 36 i 13'238), šepīyahu, "purify" (e.g., KBo X 20 III 32), and anš, "wipe off" (e.g., KBo XII 96 i 35'239).

Ha III 17. The form and function of the barnau-240 "birth-stool," are discussed by Sommer and Ehelon, Pap 3–4. The barnau- seems to have consisted of a bowl (LIŠ.GAL) upon which the mother sat, two pegs (KAK) which the woman grasped during delivery, and possibly several boards (DUB) placed under the bowl. In the “Ritual of Papanikri” 18 we read of urinals (UNUTE—presumably materials used by midwife and priest) being carried within the barnau-, possibly in the bowl.241

Outside of the texts edited in this work (see GLOSSARY, s.v.), the stem barnau-242 occurs only in the vow Bo 7953 (III 11': ha-na-a-u-ua-ama me mi an, 16': INIM ha-na-a-u-ua-asi), in the professional name “woman of the birth-stool” 243 (i.e., gen.sg.—XXI 27 II 16: ha-na-a-u-ua-as SAL; XXI 27 II 17: ha-na-a-u-ua-as SAL; and XXVII 66 III 11: SAL ha-na-a-as), and in the “Ritual of Papanikri.” 244 The occurrences in that text are:

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<tr>
<td>nom.sg.c.</td>
<td>144</td>
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<tr>
<td>ha-na-a-ua</td>
<td>17, 12, 31, 39</td>
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<tr>
<td>ha-na-a-ua(i)</td>
<td>125</td>
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<tr>
<td>gen.sg.</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>ha-na-a-ua-as</td>
<td>120, IV 38</td>
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<tr>
<td>dat./loc.sg.</td>
<td>12, 23, 24, 26, 245 IV 37</td>
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239 See Rosenkranz, Or ns 33, 1964, 240.
240 Although likely, this reading is not entirely certain because all attestations of barnau-, as well as of barnai-, involve the multivalent sign HAR/HUR/MUR.
241 Cf. the brick constructions employed in parturition by the Babylonians (see Atra- hasis myth I 255–305 as reconstructed by Lambert and Millard, Atra- hasis 60–65), the Egyptians (see I. Mensch, Archiv für Gynäkologie, 131, 1928, 446–50), and the Hebrews (see Ex. 1: 16).
242 This form of the stem is found only in Text K—see below, p. 151.
243 See below, pp. 233f.
244 Add also possibly the fragmentary dream text KBo VIII 63 IV 3': x(·)ha-na-a-ua-ua-as S'1 (M).
245 Emendation ha-na-a-ua(i) with Eichner, H&I 45, n. 9., and Neu, "Lokativ" 48, n. 113.

We see from the assembled material that this word is found in both the neuter and the common gender and is thus far attested only in the singular.246

In addition to the -au-stem, HW1 58 lists without references an -ai-stem barnai-. However, Otten has pointed out the existence of a separate word barnai-247 to which, in fact, almost all occurrences of the stem barnai- must be assigned.

Note KBo XVII 93 obv. 6:

pār-ka-i u-a-tar ha-ra-in-na da-[an-zi]

Pure water and barnai they7 ta[ke.]

KUB XII 49 I 17:

u-a-tar ha-ra-in-na pa-ap-pār-ṣi-ṣ-kān-zi[ ]

Water and barnai they sprinkle.

and KUB XI 98 I 23:

gāš-ru-ad-da-az-za gāš ba-a-i-ni-ya-az-za ha-ra-a-in-na da-[an-zi]{}

They7 ta[ke] the barnai from the u-wood and from the tamarisk7.

In none of these passages would a piece of furniture be appropriate. Rather, they must be taken, like all occurrences of this word in Text H except that in Ha II 20 = Hb II 15, where the birth apparatus is certainly meant, as indicating some substance employed in purificatory rites. The section of XLI 98 quoted above suggests a substance produced by aromatic woods, perhaps a sap. The other available attestations of barnai-.248—KUB XV I 1 26ff., XVIII 58 III 36', XXXI 111: 2', KBo XVII 73 II 8', and VBoT 13 rev. 2', add nothing to the discussion due to their fragmentary contexts.

The weight of the evidence indicates that the -au-stem barnau- alone correctly serves to indicate “birth-stool,” while the -ai-stem barnai- designates a substance. However, the Hitite scribes themselves seem to have had trouble on occasion keeping barnau- and barnai- apart—see below, p. 110, for an instance where barnau- has been substituted for barnai-. On the other hand, barnai in Ha II 20 = Hb II 15 is more satisfactorily explained as a simple

246 Goetz, Madd 98, suggested that ha-ra-u-ri-ti-zi (XVII 24 II 4) is a denominative from barnau-, but the context in which the word is found—"EMM", "house," appears to be the object of this verb—makes this highly unlikely.
247 WO 2, 1959, 479, n. 1, where he suggests that barnai- might be the Hitite word for ‘milk.’ He retracts this view, however, apud HW1, 3. Erg. 14.
248 See now also StBoT 25, 73, n. 272.
It seems likely that the -a-stem word for the -a-stem, than as evidence for the equivalence of the two terms.

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**Ha II 18ff.** For **MÜSEN.GAL** = ursday rabû as “duck,” see AHw 390.

For **bāri** = KASKAL, “path,” see Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 117-18. This word refers to magic trails, similar to those often found in the evocation rituals, e.g., CH 484.

**babi** is possibly another cultic site, but while **itkalziya and kulumāri** are listed by Haas and Wilhelm among the “Heilsbegriffe,” i.e., those desirable states which are to be reached through performance of the ritual. The former word may mean “purify” or the like, and the second, rather rare, word is attested in the birth rituals with the variant spellings **ku-la-mu-ri-ya** (Ha II 19) and **ku-la-mu-ri-[ya]** (Hb II 14). Perhaps the spelling without a is to be explained by HE I 1 30b, but since we are dealing with a foreign word, this is uncertain.

**Ha II 24.** **i-pu-ul-li-ya-âš** = Alp, Belleten 12, 1948, 322, n. 7a, analyses **ipilli** as a derivative in **ulli** from **ep**., “grasp,” and defines it as “handle” or “hilt.” Alp’s etymology, however, has been called into doubt by van Bruck, who points out that an i-vowel never appears in a verbal form of **ep**.

Alp’s translation is also unlikely. Certainly it fits even enough the passage which he quotes, XVI 83 obv. 51:

**ŠA** 60**TUKUL GUSKIN-ya-ua-kän i-pu-ul-li IŠ-TU** N[52ZA.GIN253] ar-ha pi-pa-[ān]

“And of the golden weapon the **ipilli** with [lapis lazuli] (is) knock[ed] away.”

249 See Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 77.
250 See Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 83-84, 88.
251 A spelling with **r**, **ku-la-mu-ri-ya-âš**, is found in KBo XIV 142 (1 43, 46; II 12, 16), at KBo XXI 62 IV 13, and elsewhere, and thus seems to be normative. XX 97 IV 6 and KBo X 20 III 13 and 33 offer yet another variant, **ku-la-mu-ri-ya**, with **u** in the second syllable. Cf. finally KBo XXIII 27 IV 11: **ku-la-mu-er-mi-el-la**. See also Laroche, GLH 151, and now Wegner, AOAT 36, 141, where the fragment 103r is added as an additional context for **kula/umma(r)i**.

252 RHA 71, 1962, 114.
253 This restoration, which goes back to von Brandenstein, Bildbeschreibung 65, is uncertain, but the sign at the beginning of the break is clearly **NA**, and therefore some (semi-)precious stone is indicated.

But KBo X 24 II 3-6, with the presence of the determinative **SÍG**, presents difficulties for Alp’s interpretation:

3. **L³** AL[MJZ][U]
4. **A-NA** L²⁶SANGA **U** GÚ[B-J]ā-[za]
5. i-ya-at-ta
6. na-an L²⁶i-pu-ul-li-[t har-zi]

The “jester” goes on the left of the priest of the Storm-god, and him by the **ipilli** [he holds].

The verb in line 6 here has been restored through comparison with Bo 2923 IV 1’-2’ (STBoT 25, 88);

L³ [H][a]-ma-šu-it-ta-aš L²⁶SANGA-aš i-pu-ul-li-še-it har-zi

Of the priest of **Ḫalmašutt** he holds his **ipilli**.

It seems likely that the **ipilli** constituted some part of the priestly apparel in these instances. Compare now KUB IX 28 I 15’-19’, in which an image (erēr, 1 11) is dressed as the goddess **IŠTAR**.

16’. **SÍG** ZA.GIN iš-ba-uz-zi-ya-an-Za **SÍG** SA₅
17’. i-pu-ul-li-ša-it i-NA L²⁶i-pu-ul-li-ša-it i-NA **SÍG** SA₅ ki-it-ta
18’. I-BA GÚ-SU N²⁶ku-un-na-aš ku-ul-ta-na-al-šu
19’. ne-e-yé L²⁶-an na-aš 4IŠTAR-ša-i-ya-an-Za

She wears a garment (and) she holds outstretched a small tissue silver spear. Blue wool, is bound on as a belt. Red wool (is) her **ipilli**—on her breast the red wool is placed. Around her neck is suspended a necklace of beads. And it is (thus) made to be **IŠTAR**.

If **SÍG SA₅** in lines 16’ and 17’ refers to the same piece of material, then the **ipilli**- could be worn on (= across) the chest. This suggests that the article in question was a type of cord or strap of wool, perhaps worn as a symbol of authority by the priests in two of the passages quoted. The **ipilli**- in XVI 83, which is part of a weapon of a deity, could have been a strap (although natur-}

254 In support of the assumption of a similarity in content between this passage and KBo X 24 II 3-6, note that in KBo X 23 IV, which runs parallel to the latter, we find i-pu-ul-li-ša-it in line y+2.
255 Text: ne-e-la-e-an, on which see Goetz, JCS 1, 1947, 309, n. 17. For the emendation, see Eichner, Sprache 21, 1975, 160f.
rally not of wool) decorated with precious stones.\textsuperscript{256} ipulliya\textsuperscript{257} in Text H adds nothing to the discussion—perhaps the preparation of this object, or at least its donning by the woman, was mentioned in the lost col. I.

\textit{Ha II 25f.} The anointing of the head of the woman here may be seen as a rite marking her entrance into a special state of purity, conducive to successful delivery. Note that in the Ancient Near East the anointing of a woman's head was an important element in the betrothal ceremony.\textsuperscript{258} Among the Hittites there is evidence for this practice in the marriage correspondence between Ḥattušili III/Puduḫepa and Ramses II.\textsuperscript{259} Note especially III 24 + 59 obv. 5: i-na UD-mi 1 SA.G DUG.GA a-na SA.G.DU DUMU.SAL it-[bu-ku]

On the day that po[ured] fine oil on the head of the daughter.

Betrothal, as well as childbirth, marked the transition from one important state in the life of a woman to another. This significance of anointing as indicative of entrance into a new or special social status is visible also in the ceremonies of consecration of the Hittite monarch\textsuperscript{260} and in the ritual preparation of a general before a campaign.\textsuperscript{261}

\textit{Ha II 28f.} For the differing functions of \textit{IŠTU} in these lines, contrary to correct Akkadian usage, see HE I\textsuperscript{3} § 356.

\textit{Ha II 30.} For the purification of the mouth, see above, pp. 51f.

\textit{Ha II 31.} Asyndesis of DUG.L[Š].GAL har-na-in here suggests a close relationship between the two—probably the (remaining)\textsuperscript{3} harnai- had been returned to its container after the purification.

\textit{Ha II 36.} \textit{katra} is defined generally in HW\textsuperscript{1} 106 as “eine Tempelfunktionärin.” The role played by the \textit{katra}-women in the preserved portion of this ritual—they depart in Ha II 35ff., and in II 44f. they are fed—provides little toward a more precise definition of their status and responsibilities in the cult.

\textsuperscript{256} A final attestation of \textit{i-pulli-} is from the inventory XII 111 5: NAI GUŠKIN iP-wul-lu-ya-as, and probably indicates an object similar to that in XVI 83.

\textsuperscript{257} Dat./loc.pl., and not gen., as stated by Alp, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{258} See Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien I (Heidelberg, 1920), p. 401, de Vaux, Ancient Israel I (New York, 1965), pp. 103–04, and Goetze, JCS 1, 1947, 315. On the development of the practice of anointment, see van Dijk, Or ns 44, 1975, 79, who speculates that the original locus of this rite was child-birth.

\textsuperscript{259} See Edel, JKF 2, 1953, 268–69.

\textsuperscript{260} See Kümmel, StBoT 3, 43–45.

\textsuperscript{261} See the colophon quoted above, pp. 100f.

\textsuperscript{262} The \textit{i}-stem is attested at XXXII 133: 18: \textit{kat-ri-š}.

Jakob-Rost suggests that the \textit{katra}-women were musicians,\textsuperscript{263} and this is supported by the “Ritual of Papanikri” (KBo V 1) 48–49:

\textit{nu-za\textsuperscript{5A} ka-at-ra-aš GIBBALAG da-a-i na-aš-ta DINGIR\textsuperscript{MES} an-da ūl-zu-a-i

The \textit{katra}-woman takes up the drum\textsuperscript{264} and calls in the gods.

KBo XXI 34 II 26–27:

\textit{na-aš-ta A-NÂ dê-hat GAD-a-la-a-lu ar-ḥa da-an-zi \textsuperscript{1Ú}.MES\textsuperscript{NAR} \textsuperscript{1Ú}.MES\textsuperscript{B}BALAG.-DL[\textsuperscript{GAL}]

\textsuperscript{3A}SAM\textsuperscript{MES}kat-ri-e-eš is-ḥa-mi-iš-kān-zi

And they take away the alalu-garment from Ḫebat, (and) the musicians, the drum\textsuperscript{3} players (and) the \textit{katra}-women sing.

and KUB XLVII 65 II 13–15:

[SIR \textit{Š}a zi-in-za-pu-ul-ši-y a-ma \textsuperscript{3A}SAM\textsuperscript{MES}ka-at-ri-eš -a}ne-zi nu tar-ku-ua-an-zi \textsuperscript{1Ú}NAR-ma

\textit{SIR} RU

The [Song of] z. 265 the \textit{katra}-women […], and they dance. But the musician plays.

KUB XXXIX 69 may also be adduced here—\textsuperscript{3A}SAM\textsuperscript{MES}kat-ri-eš-ma in obv. 3’ is followed by \textsuperscript{1Ú}NAR in 4’.

That various functions were performed by the \textit{katra}-women, however, is evident from other passages in the “Ritual of Papanikri”—in III 52f. \textit{katra}-women unravel a garment, and in IV 11 a single \textit{katra}-woman symbolically gives birth to a lamb.\textsuperscript{266}

The only \textit{katra}-woman known by name, Arši/akaziti, is an author of the purificatory ritual KBo XII 116,\textsuperscript{267} KUB XXXII 1331 18ff. finds a lone \textit{katra}-woman taking up a pure, silver, water jug, after which there follows a ceremonial involving colored wool. XXXIX 71 22ff. shows a \textit{katra}-woman drawing pure water (\textit{ṣebbehuiyal waṭar}) and making offerings at a sacred well. In KBo XXIII I 15 ff pure (\textit{su-up-ps-eš}) \textit{katra}-women in the company of a seer

\textsuperscript{263} Translation without comment, MIO 1, 1953, 367–68. Otten, ZA 53, 1959, 181, translates \textit{SAM\textsuperscript{MES}katru} as “Sängerinnen.” See now also Wegner, AOAT 36, 151–53.

\textsuperscript{264} See Gurney, Aspects 35, with n. 3.

\textsuperscript{265} See Salvini, Introduction to KUB XLV, sub no. 40.

\textsuperscript{266} See below, p. 123.

\textsuperscript{267} This text is listed in the catalogue text VIII 71 obv. 11.
(ŁAzu) cleanse rhytons with soda (nitri). These last passages suggest that ritual purification was as important a function of the kitra-women as the providing of music.

KUB XXIX 4 l 50 ff. and III 9 f. tell us only that kitra-women participated in the ceremonies for the resettlement of Dingir.GiGo without delineating any specific duties. In a fragmentary cultic context, X 91 II 7 ff., kitra-women appear together with SAL.MES.BURRU TIM, 268 dancers, and prostitutes. 269 KUB X 63 VI 3, KBo XIII 43 1 3', and KBo XIX 142 II 8 feature kitra-women performing miscellaneous offerings, while V 10 + obv. 38 ff. and KBo XXIII 111 rev. are oracle inquiries involving this functionary. Finally, SAL.MES.kat-ra-a-ašt in the catalogue text XXX 60 obv. left col. 6, and SAL.MES.kat-ri-ēš-š in the ritual KBo XVII 70 rev. 4' provide contexts too broken to be of any use. 270

In summary, it may be stated that the kitra-woman appears, alone or with colleagues, performing diverse tasks in Hitite ritual. The designations "singer" and "musician" cover only a part of her duties. That she was a member of a recognized profession is evidenced by her inclusion among the personnel of the "House of Crafts" (E.Gi.KIN.TI = BIT KISKATI 271). Also, it is possibly she is referred to under the logogram SAL DINGIR.LIM 272 a designation which would shed new light on her functions, since it is obvious from other evidence that the cult is her area of concern. 273 A particular involvement with birth is not indicated.

Ha II 37. Since the doing of obeisance (UŠKÈN) is an honor usually reserved in Hitite ritual for deities and royalty, its attestation here in connection with a private person must be attributed to a special ritual status of the mother-to-be by which she is set apart from the rest of society. Ha II 38 f. bar-na-ati i pta-an ši-ya-[i]-zi: Goetzke, NB 79, expressed the opinion that a compound verbal form šiyan parzi stood both here and in the similar III 5. In this line, space appears insufficient to allow a restoration ši-ya-[an bar]-zi, while in III 5, either my restoration ši-ya-[i]-zi 274 or Goetzke's implied ši-[ya]-a-[n] 275 bar-[zi] would fit well. The verbal form was probably the same in both lines.

The meaning of these two lines (and probably also of the restored III 42) presents a problem in its own right. šīya- is a transitive verb, but no object is expressed in either case. Goetzke 276 correctly pointed out the relationship of the action in II 39 to harnaui piran ki-nu-uz-zi 277 in II 49—what is done in the first instance is clearly undone in the second. 278 He also suggested that the understood object here is the DUG.kappi- of II 39 and 42. That this vessel was involved, however, is unlikely—it is preferable to take šitā-kīnu- in an "absolute" sense here as "seal"/"break (a sealing)," 279 in reference to the door of the inner chamber. Note that no mention of the birth-stool is made between II 39 and II 49.

274 Cf. Text Ha III 28, where the last sign of the final word of a paragraph is also set off significantly to the right of the preceding sign.
275 The traces of the sign visible at the left edge of the break better suit UI than AN.
276 Loc. cit.
277 Hoffner's suggestion (EHG 53, n. 89; cf. also HW 3, 3. Erg, 19, and Riemsneider, FsOtten 278, with n. 28), that kīnu- here may mean "kneel" must be rejected. Although the resemblance of the stem of this verb to the Hitite nōga, "kneel" (< PIE *gōna; cf. Neu, KZ 86, 1972, 288 ff.) certainly makes Hoffner's suggestion attractive, and the parallelism with the action expressed by the Akkadian USKÉN, "bows down," also carried out before the birth-stool in II 33–34, III 2 and 40 adds support, the šita-action is also performed "before the birth-stool" here. From a linguistic standpoint, it is unlikely that the same unaugmented stem should be both a noun and a verb. Indeed, Hitite possesses two other verbs definitely meaning "kneel," both expanded forms of the stem ŋū-g(a)-raššiya- and ŋū-g(a)-raššiya-. See Neu, KZ 86, 1972, 291–92. Here, and in SrBoT 5, 91, n. 1, he denies the existence of a verb kīnu-, "kneel," in the second-cited work assigning kīnizzu in the passage from Text H to kīnu-, "break open."
278 See Archi, UF 5, 1973, 14, where the filling of the pithoi in the autumn (DUG.parži šuḫḫa-) is contrasted to their opening (kīnu- or ḫēl(ī)-) in the spring.
Ha II 39f. Duugkap-pi-ma-aš-ša-an ku-iš har-na-a-iššu la-bu-an-zi makes no sense as it stands—the verb has no object, and the use of labušiši, “pour,” in connection with bannatu- is puzzling. However, since He 13′ shows here the participial form la-bu-an-za, it is clear that the scribe of Ha misunderstood his Vorlage. Presumably this earlier text showed b−a_n−a−aššu la−bu−an−za, “the bannatyi−is poured out.” If the éš-sign in bannatuššu in the older text was only slightly damaged, the scribe could easily have read it as US, and, like the modern philologist, 280 have become confused between bannatyi− and bannatu-. Having opted in this instance for the latter, the scribe could have inserted a US-sign in his copy in order to avoid all future confusion. This would explain b−a_n−a−aššu here. Then, since this form may be interpreted as acc.pl., 281 the scribe may have intentionally altered the correct la−bu−an−za to the transitive la−bu−an−zi.

HW 98 defines Duugkappi− as “ein Hohlmaß,” but in addition to this text, KBo II 4 II 1 ff. also shows that the word occasionally indicates an actual vessel of this capacity. A comparison of II 39f. with II 28 and 31 suggests that kappi− might be one Hittite phonetic reading of Duuglis.Gal.

Ha II 44. For An-NA 1.U.ŠS夏天pat-ti-li-ešš, see below, pp. 235f.

Ha II 47. MUL uš-at-ku-zi: Haas, Or ns 40, 1971, 426, considers this stipulation to be a Mesopotamian element in this text. In fact, the phrase is probably a calque on Akkadian kakkbul isšiḫ, “a star shimmersed,” 283 and does not denote the sighting of a meteor, as claimed by Kronasser, SchwGoth 42, 48, 60. What is meant here is simply that night has fallen and it has become dark enough to view the stars. All of the ritual activities from this point in the text until III 29 thus take place at night.

Ha III 6. The traces following GIS are very slight. b−[a]−[r−n]a−iš−i would fit the traces, but this would require more space than is available. Also, “birth-stool” is nowhere else written with a determinative. A seat suitable for a woman is obviously required here, but S[U.A] and GIS[RG]U are both excluded by the traces. GIS[BLA−][aššu] is, however, fits all criteria. Cf. KBo XVI 39 rev. 7: GIS[BLA−][aššu]. For the plural number, cf. above, II 12 and see Guthebock, AIO 18, 1957/58, 79, n. 48.

280 See above, p. 103.
281 Note, however, that this would be the only attested occurrence of this word in the plural.
282 HW 282 lists the phonetic complement -ni for Duugliš.Gal.
283 Cf. YOS X 58 rev. 6, where oil kī-ma ka-ka-brim iš-bi-iš, and see CAD K 48–49.
Ha III 20. KASKAL-sa-aš ha-at-ri-eš-na-aš: “at the crossing²⁸⁸ of the road”; hatreššar is a dat./loc.pl.²⁸⁹ That KASKAL-sa-aš is probably gen.sg. is shown by III 44: KASKAL-si hatreššas, “at the road (sg.), at the crossing,” where the same idea as in III 20 is expressed by two coordinate dat./locs. That an emendation to KASKAL-aš is not called for here is shown by KASKAL-si in Hd 7.²⁹⁰

For an offering at a crossroads, cf. KUB XXIV 11 II 1⁴⁻¹⁷:²⁹¹

15. [a]-at-kár KASKAL-si ZAG-aš da-a-i nu KAŠ ši-pa-an-ti nu te-iz-zi ... 16.  ... 1 NINDA.SIG KASKAL-aš ha-at-ta-ri-iš-na-aš
17.  [(pár-si-ya KASKAL)]²⁹²-si GÚB-zá da-a-i KAŠ ši-ip-pa-an-ši nu te-iz-zi ...

He breaks one thin loaf for Ariya and places it at the right side of the road. Then he libates beer and says ... (Then) one thin loaf he breaks at the crossing of the road (and) places (it) at the left side of the road. He libates beer and says ...

Another passage which must be compared here is KUB VII 54 II 13⁻¹⁴: na-at KASKAL-sa-aš ha-ad'-da-ri-eš-(šar)²⁹³ pa-ri-ya-an ši-šu-um-an-zi

And they scatter them over the crossing of the road.

For “crossing,” Hb III 14 shows the expected spelling ha-at-ta-ri-eš-na-aš. It is not possible to decide whether the scribe of Ha has merely committed an orthographic error, in both instances omitting a TA-sign, or whether the spelling ha-at-ri-eš-na-aš indicates syncopation in pronunciation.²⁹⁴ The beginning of the word has been lost in Hd 8³⁰.

²⁸⁸ On this probable meaning of hat(t)areššar, see Tischler, HEG 221, and cf. Haas, Or 45, 1976, 2021, with n. 40.
²⁸⁹ See below, pp. 171f., and note KASKAL-aš hatarmiyaššas, XVII 12 I 9. Güterbock, Onians 15, 1962, 349, interprets this as a dat./loc.pl., and tentatively translates it as “Waggabelung.”
²⁹⁰ See also Neu, “Lokativ” 44, n. 102.
²⁹¹ See Jakob-Rost, THeth 2, 36-37.
²⁹² Restoration from dupl. XXIX 9 II 37⁻.
²⁹³ I have been convinced by the morphological argument brought by Neu, “Lokativ” 41-45, and have given up my earlier interpretation of hatteššar as an endingless dat./loc.
²⁹⁴ A spelling with double ū is expected, since it serves to distinguish hatteššar, “crossing,” from hatreššar, “message.” See Laroche, G.Kreitsermer II 3, n. 3.

Ha III 2¹. The DINGIR, ĻnMES³⁰⁵ “male deities,” who are not distinguished by name, and who here receive offerings at a crossroads in the dead of night, are presumably chthonic beings,²⁹⁵ perhaps representing the male aspect of fertility.

For šišapsi, a word of Hurrian provenience indicating a building or a part thereof, see Laroche, RA 54, 1960, 197⁻⁹⁸, where it is suggested that it represents the portal of a holy precinct. This interpretation was questioned by Goetze,²⁹⁶ however, and Haas and Wilhelm²⁹⁷ put forth a translation “Ents:jünghaus.”

In Text K, a number of ritual activities carried out in the šišapsi (§§ 2²⁻²³) are followed by the remark that na-aš-ta SÁL-za I[S]-TU E. DINGIR LEM p[á]-ra-a u-ii-[z]-zi (Ka rev. 21), “Then the woman comes forth from the temple.” This strongly suggests that šišapsi- and E.DINGIR LEM are synonymous terms. Such an understanding would also allow us to interpret ku-it ku-it SA ši-na-aššu paššu-ut-ta (Kar rev. 17⁻¹⁸), “whatever matter of the [šišapsi]-house,” as “whatever matter of the temple” = “whatever religious concern.”

In light of Laroche’s opinion that the šišapsi was a part of the temple,²⁹⁸ we may have in Text K a pars pro toto construction, in which the šišapsi-structure stands for the temple as a whole.

The particular function of the šišapsi may well have been ritual purification. In the “Ritual of Papanikri,” after the mother-to-be has become impure through the collapse of the birth-stool, she leaves her home, and delivery takes place outside of a šišapsi. There follows a series of offerings performed both outside and inside of this structure (I 12⁻II 6).

Ha III 2⁵. Perhaps KÁ was mistakenly omitted here after [PA-N]I, the phrase originally being similar to III 3⁵⁻³⁶.

Ha III 2⁶. ki-el-di ba-lza-a: keldi is a Hurrian word meaning “well-being,”²⁹⁹ corresponding in texts found at Ras Shamra to the Semitic šhr.³⁰⁰ The cultic use of shouting is discussed by Goetze, Tunn 33⁻³⁴, and an extensive list

²⁹⁵ Note that the later Greek (originally Anatolian) goddess Hekate, who was quite concerned with the chthonic realm, received her worship of preference at crossroads—see Theodor Kraus, Hekate (Heidelberg, 1960).
²⁹⁶ JCS 17, 1963, 61.
²⁹⁷ AOATS 3, 36⁻³⁸.
²⁹⁸ See now Laroche, GLH 234, and also the sequence I-NA ÚUR-KI-iz-za-um-at-na l-NA Ė IM ši-na-ap-ši-ya in XXX 31 I 5.
²⁹⁹ See AOATS 3, 85⁻⁸⁷, with references cited there.
³⁰⁰ See Laroche, Ugar V 526, and GLH 141⁻⁴².
of examples is provided by Neu, StBoT 5, 37–38. Note that in the “Ritual of Papanikri” III 46ff. a patili-priest also cries “keldi” immediately after returning from performing an offering in another location, and immediately before a meal.

Ha III 29. 1-NA UD.3. KAM in Hb III 4’ indicates that the third day of ritual activity begins here. No mention of individual days is found here or anywhere else in the preserved portion of the main text, but the lack of lukkatta in col II of Ha indicates that all of the action here described took place during the course of the second day. The entirety of the first day, then, has probably been lost along with the first column.

Ha III 30ff. [mu] ma-a-an SAL te-ēz-ba-az pār-kū-i-ē: tešba- here cannot refer to sexual intercourse,301 for the pregnancy has certainly progressed too far for it to have been practiced conveniently or safely. Rather, this is a reference to an incubation oracle—cf. Text K § 22 and the “Ritual of Papanikri” I 43–44 for other instances of such in connection with a pregnant woman. Ha III 30 and 35 have the abl. tešba, while Hb III 6’ has the inst. tešpi. This latter shows that the abl. in the main text is also to be understood in an instrumental sense, and not as an ablative of separation. That is, what is demanded is a positive indication through a dream that the woman stands in an acceptable relationship to the divine world, and not merely that the woman has no contrary night vision. If this condition has not been met, the woman cannot at this point enter the inner chamber, but must wait until nightfall (cf. III 38–39).302

Ha III 35ff. Hb 4’ff. begins to run parallel here. Lines 1’–3’ of this fragment, however, provide a text which is not paralleled elsewhere among the duplicates:

| XV ma-a-
a-n-da p[i-
NINDA]L]E.DÉ. A-kān EGI[R-

Ha III 36. Hb III 11’ has ara-ab-zē-ni-ya-āš-ā-an (= arāḫēnī-yašišan), while Hb 5’ reads ara-ab-zē-ni-ya-āš-ā-an (= arāḫēnī-yašišan). Space considerations in the main text, however, allow only the restoration of the adverb ara-[ab-za], which in any case is preferable both grammatically and contextually. For it is clear that if the woman cannot at this point enter the inner chamber, she might nonetheless stretch out a hand toward the birth-stool while remaining outside. arāḫēnī is an adjective in the dat./loc. case, modify-

<301> 301 See HW 222.

<302> 302 See Kammenhuber, THeth 7, 40.

<303> 303 See Schindler, KZ 81, 1967, 301.
The Ritual of Papanikri

The activities detailed in the preserved portion of Text H are designed in part to purify the birth-stool in anticipation of its role in parturition. If, in spite of this ritual preparation, the apparatus proved defective when actually employed, this was naturally viewed as a bad omen, indicative of the displeasure of some deity. The tablet KBo V 1, edited by Sommer and Ebeling in 1924, deals with this very eventuality. It is neither necessary nor possible to re-edit completely this text here. However, I will present a summary of the contents of this ritual and briefly comment on an important passage in order to facilitate the understanding of Texts H and J, as well as of the corpus of Hittite birth rituals as a whole.

KBo V 1 is a New Hittite text, the sole grammatical archaism being the use of the terminative parma, “to the house” (III 2) which is certainly to be explained as a frozen form in a very common word. While the appearance of the late form of the sign LI (III 49, IV 24) indicates a thirteenth-century date for the tablet, the absence of any very late grammatical or orthographic features, together with the mixture of older sign forms (e.g., URU, I 1, II, IV 42; AK, I 20, II 24, 28, III 42, 51; and LI, II 1, 16, 10, 13, 14, etc.) with later ones (e.g., LI; and IK, I 1, 3, 42, 44, 46, II 45) suggests that we are dealing here with a later copy of a fourteenth-century composition.

The naming by the author of the capital city of Kizzuwatna as his home (URU Kummanni, I 1, IV 42) indicates a Hurro-Luwian background for this text.

The introduction (I 1–6) reads: “Papanikri, pattili-priest of the land of Kummanni, says as follows: ‘If a woman is (seated) upon the birth-stool, and the dish of the birth-stool is damaged, or a peg is broken—then if the woman has not yet given birth, but is (still) seated thereupon, then the boards they open again. But it (the birth-stool) is no longer pure.’”

304 See Pap. Despite such difficulties for the contemporary reader as an outdated system of transliteration, this early work of Hittitology is still remarkably useful.
305 The appearance of divergent shapes for LÜ—e.g., that of I 1 and 14, as opposed to that of I 7 and II 10—also lends support to the interpretation of KBo V 1 as a recopied text.
306 The subject of the nominal sentence in I 6 cannot be the woman, as construed by Sommer and Ebeling, Pap 3*, since the predicate adjective šu-up-pi is neuter.
307 1. UM-MA *Pa-a-pa-ni-ik-ri; ŠA KUR Kum-ma-an-ni
2. ma-a-an SAL za šar-na-a-u-i e-eš-zu nu 308 ŠAG-LIS.GAL

There follows the ritual itself, composed as usual in the third person: The pattili-priest removes the birth-stool and its accessories from the home of the mother, pausing at the door of the house to burn birds for the deity Alatpara and the gods of the city (DINGIR MES URU EMA I 7–11). The implements are then carried to a šinašši, where the pattili-priest sets them down outside. Here the woman gives birth (I 12–14).

The remainder of this, the day of birth, and the two following days are taken up by an oracular inquiry to determine the cause of the bad omen and by purificatory rites intended to remove this blemish. These ceremonies, which take place both within and outside of the šinašši (I 18–57, II 1–6) and in the home of the mother (II 7f.), do not seem to be peculiar to birth and thus may be passed over without comment. I need mention here only the laconic description of the purification of the child on the evening of the third day: DUMU-ya šu-up-pi yat-aš-ša-an-zu (II 5).

However, on the fourth night is performed a ceremony which is indeed of importance for our subject. Therefore I shall deal more extensively with the passage in question.

After an involved seven course cultic meal in the home of the mother, at which Tēšub and Ḫebat are divine guests, and where the human company is composed of pattili-priests and karat-women in addition to the family of the mother, we find:

3. šar-na-a-u-ua-aš šu-ni-ik-ta-ri na-aš-ma GIG.KAK
4. du-ua-ar-na-at-ta-ri na-a-an SAL.TUM na-a-zi
5. ša-a-ši na-aš-kin a-pi-ya-pa-an-da e-eš-ci nu GIG.DUBUL.A
6. EGI-go ya aš-ta-an-zu nu nam-na ŠU-UL šu-up-pi

308 For the practice of purification through the burning of birds, seemingly characteristic of Hurrian-influenced texts at Bogazköy, see Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 50f.
309 This divine name is found only here.
310 See above, p. 113.
311 na-aš-kin SAL.TUM an-da-an-pašt ša-a-ši.
312 In I 12–40 the birth-stool and its pegs are treated, but only as defiled objects which must be purified and presented to the deity of the šinašši.
III ... When
52. the seventh dish arrives, then the *katra*-women
unravel
a garment.

54. And when
they have finished unravelling
the garment, then red wool

IV they gather up, and it on top of the garment
2. they place, thereby fashioning a ball of yarn
Then the *patili*-priest
takes water (and) fine oil, and these things he carries forth (from the house).
4. And they wipe down a lamb—(its) mouth
(and) its feet he (the *patili*-priest) washes off. Further, with the fine oil
6. he anoints it, and the red wool onto his feet
he binds. Then the ball of yarn
8. they wrap around its head.

Then the *patili*-priest takes the lamb into (the house),
10. and he swings it seven times over the seven fires.
Then he places it on the knees of a *katra*-woman.
12. But another *patili*-priest
lifts up a pot of water and it into the washtub basin
14. he pours.

Then they wash the lamb. Further,
16. he pours out the bath water before the deity. But they adorn the lamb, and they dress it in red garments.
18. And they put the helmet on
the head, they put on it. And his (i.e., of the child) bracelets (on its forelegs)
20. and the anklet(s) on its (hind-)feet they put, and they take it to the *sinapsi*.

22. The offerant (i.e., the mother) goes behind.
But when they arrive at the gate of the *sinapsi*,
24. then the offerant sits down, and the *patili*-priest
takes the lamb away from her, and to a pure place
26. takes it away. And he cries "well-being!"
Then the offerant(s) go into the Šinapši, 
28. and with a bird for ūnazaḫiya 
he offers. And one bird he offers for well-being. 
30. Then the offerants go away to their own houses. 
But when it is morning, 
32. then they purify the child, and above him 
they pound a stick7 (into the wall)

34. Meanwhile the day passes, 
and seven-strength (and) triple-strength beer" 
36. they libate.
Commentary

IV 2. For šurita-, see above, p. 100.

IV 17ff. The garments and jewelry employed here certainly belong to the new-born. In the list of provisions for this ceremony (III 50–54), where four examples of several of the articles are on hand, they are expressly characterized as TUR, "small."

IV 18. For kupaḫi- designating a piece of headgear, see Hoffner, JNES 23, 1964, 67, with n. 17.

IV 22. For BÈL SISKUR.SISKUR in reference to a woman, see the discussion below, pp. 167f., concerning EN.SISKUR(SISKUR).

IV 28. uruṣḫiḫa is a Hurrian offering-term, listed by Haas and Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 101, among the "Heilsbegriffe."

IV 32. Outside of this passage and Text J, ḫ-pḫšša- is attested only in the fragmentary KBo XXII 135 1 3' (1 ḫ-pa-ab-ḫi-ša), where it is apparently part of the equipment of a seer (1AZU, 1 6', 7'). Sommer and Eheloff suggested the translation "Stock,," which is neither necessary for the few passages available, nor contradicted by their evidence. I have employed the translation "stick" only for convenience. What is probably indicated both here and in Text J is a magic act to drive out evil forces from the vicinity of the child.

IV 34. For pai-, "go," indicating the passage of time, see Kümmel, StBoT 3, 94, and Text Ka obv. 27.

IV 35. sī-tp-ta-mi-ya and te-ri-ya-al-la, written 7-mi-ya and 3-ya-al-la, respectively, in Text Ja 13', apparently designate beverages. For the possible significance of these terms, see Eheloff, OLZ 1929, 323ff. To the passages cited there add HT 74: 5, 9UGKU-UB te-r[ī]-[ya-al-la].

In this section of the "Ritual of Papanikri," in a rite similar to that involving a goat in Text C §§ 10ff., a lamb is employed as a substitute for the new-born.

313 pa-bḫi-ša-in XIX 44 rev. 4 and 7 is not probably not relevant here because of the lack of the determinative GIŠ. The broken context also makes it difficult in both instances to decide if paḫišša is even to be isolated as an independent word.

314 Páp 76. This was based on a false reading of the form in "Papanikri" as ḫ-pa-ab-ḫi-ša, i.e., as a Sumerogram with an extended phonetic complement. See the retraction of this view by Eheloff, OLZ 1929, 322.

315 A comparison with XVII 4 111: DUMU-an ḫ-pa-it GUL-ab-ḫu-an, "I smote the child with the stick," is not in order here, for in this instance the child is the direct object of waḫḫ-ša, which is not the case either here or in Text J.

child. While in Text C the animal is ritually associated with the infant by being touched to his body, the same goal is here attained through the dressing of the lamb in the clothes of the child. The substitution of the lamb for the child is also accomplished by placing it on the knees of a kartra-woman (IV 11). This action may be interpreted either as a ritual parody of the setting of the new-born on the knees of the father, or as a symbolic representation of the birth itself, with the kartra-woman playing the role of the mother. In any case, the washing of the lamb in IV 15 and the pouring out of the bath water before a deity must be understood as reflecting a normal purificatory rite carried out on a human infant. The purifications of the child which are cursorily mentioned in II 5 and IV 32 were probably of this sort.

Although the "Ritual of Papanikri" is expressly intended to deal with a special situation arising in connection with birth, a comparison of col. IV, quoted here, with Text J makes it likely that the activities described were not restricted to this one set of circumstances. That is, the mention of a purificatory lamb (SIL.A pu-u-ḫu-ḫa-ri-in) in Text Ja rev. 14' and the employment of the ḫ-pḫšša- in § 1' of Text J indicate that the rites involving these materials here were of more general applicability.

316 Cf. XXIV 5 + obv. 19'ff. (StBoT 3, 10), where a prisoner of war, serving as a ritual substitute for the Hittite king, is clothed in the garments of royalty.

317 See above, pp. 5f.

318 The bathing and anointing in IV 4–6 are simply a preparatory purification of the animal for its ritual role.

319 It is possible that the special activities called forth by the damage to the birth-stool come to an end already with the purification of the šmaḫšša in II 6.

320 See below, p. 131.
Ja Rev.
1'--2' (traces)
§ 3' [ ... the stick? he does not pou[nd].
4'. [ ... and one stick? they [...] 
[ But when he'] is pure, for the second time a stick? they pou[nd].

6'. [ If the] child? dies in the birth-stool?, then the pat[i]-priests
§ 4' [take up] the child, and they take him to a different spot. And [as are]
8'. [their] instructions, so they treat him. And the birth-stool? they take.
[And as] are their instructions, so they act.

10'. [... further, the pat[i]-priest takes the male child forth. On
§ 5' the . . . th day [. . .] they place—further, on that day the u[zi-offering
12'. [(zu-ur-)]kī-yā šī-ṣu-an-ti nu-za ar-na-am-mi-it-ti
Jc [(še-hi-li)]ši-ṣi-in-na b pa-a-
14'. [ ku-an-]za-ga-an-na-ša i-yā-an-zi nu SILĀ pu-u-šu-ga-ri-in
[ ( ) ] 3-ya-al-la 7-mi-yā šī-ṣu-an-ta-an-zi SAL-za-ma-za [( )]
16'. [ ha-ra-ši]u-ni da-a-an pār-ku-nu-zi
[ma-ah-ša-an DUMU-a2] KASKAL-ši-ṣa a-ki nu DUMUNITA Ū-
 nu-te][BL] [G]IRa'-ya ku-e IT-T[1-ŠU]
18'. [ LÜMERša-ti-li-e-e-ša-da-an-zi-pāt ma-ah-ša-an-[ma ut-tar-ša-mi-
it]
[na-an] QA-TAM-MA i-yā-an-zi I-NA UD.7.KAM-ma-kān L[0]
20'. [ xMEŠ pa-ra-a [( )]
[ ] ša-an pa-ra-a šu-us-ki-iz-zi
22'. [ ku-an-ši] ga-na-ši-i-yā-z[i
[ Ši-nap-ši x]
24'. [ x-da-iz-z[i

a. erasure follows
b. paragraph stroke omitted in Jc

12'. for zurgi he offers. And he ..., and he gives [ṣēbelumši.

14'. [...] the kunjzagannahīt they prepare. And a substitute lamb
§ 6' [...] triple-strength and seven-strength beer⁷ they libate. But the woman
16'. [...] at the birth-jstool² a second time purifies herself.

§ 7'' [And if the child¹] dies en route, then the male child and such utensils of
fired clay² as are with him³
18'. [...] the patii-priests eat. [But,] as [are their instructions],
so they treat [him]. But on the seventh day, […]
20'. [...] forth.

§ 8'' [...] he waits longer⁷ […]
22'. [...] the kunjzagannahīt he pre[pare]s …
[...] śinašši-house …
24'. [...] he … […]
Commentary

I have been able to study Bo 4951 (Ja) both from a photograph and from a transliteration prepared by H. Ehelof, and provided to me by Prof. H. Orten. This latter witness to the text is important because several signs are unclear on the photo, while Ehelof had the advantage of preparing his transliteration directly from the original. In addition, he indicated that he had checked his readings on 24.VII.34, and we may therefore assume that the work was done with care. KBo XVII 68 (Jb) is a duplicate to (approximately) lines 4'-10' of the main text. In the Introduction to KBo XVII, p. V, VAT 6212,321 which I have also studied from a photograph, is identified as a duplicate to number 68, and it is thus also a duplicate to Ja.

This composition dates from the early part of the Empire period – note especially the Hurro-Luwian influence manifest in arramitt (Ja rev. 12') and kunziganakkit (Ja rev. 14' and 22'). An older feature is the use of the enclitic possessive pronoun urreitar-samnit (Ja rev. 9').322

All of these fragments are relatively small, and thus a dating on the basis of script is uncertain, but Ja displays no late sign forms and may belong to the fourteenth century. On the other hand, the spelling GIM-[an] in Jb 2' (versus ma-ab-ba-an in Ja rev. 18') and the appearance of the late form of LI in Jc rev. 4' show that these pieces are later in date.

If the reading DUMU2'-as in Ja rev. 6' and the restoration [DUMU-as] in Ja rev. 17' are correct, then this portion of a ritual is intended for the unfortunate, but hardly rare, occasion when the child should perish at birth. Since the material in question comes from the reverse of a tablet, it is probable that the text as a whole dealt with birth in general, and that only this section was concerned with the possible death of the newborn.

In OLZ 1929, 322ff., Ehelof transliterated and discussed lines 3'–5', 10'–12' and 15' of Ja, which he characterized as "wohl die Rs. einer ein-kolummigen Tafel."

Ja obv. The poorly preserved portion of the obverse here probably deals with purificatory activities not particular to birth. The remaining fragmentary lines are not duplicated by any material in our corpus.

Ja rev. 6'. While the reading DUMU2'-as is possible from the photo, the sign is not at all clear. Ehelof, however, in addition to his original transliteration also read DUMU7.

For the patiti-priests, see below, pp. 235–38.

321 Due to a typographical error, this appears in the volume incorrectly as VAT 6112.
322 See HE I § 106.
The abl./inst. here is ambiguous—the line could be translated either as “then they clean[se] the female child from k.,” or as “then they clean[se] the female child by means of k.” Ja rev. 14’ and 22, however, where the verb iya- is employed with kunzi/agan(n)ahit—“they/he prepare(s) the k.”—prove that k. is the material with which the cleansing is carried out, and not the evil from which the subject is purified.

This word shows the Hurrian adjectival suffix -he,327 which has been reinterpreted as the Luwian abstract suffix -hit(-).328 The underlying kunzi/a,329 is attested fairly often in texts found at Bogazköy.330

In both X 28 I 19ff. and XI 21 a VI 9’ff., ku-un-zi-ta and a sun-disk (ṣittar) are employed in ceremonies of the state cult. kunzita, a “Hurrianizing” neuter plural in -ta,331 must, like ṣittar, represent some religious symbol.332 The EZEN ku-un-zi of XXV 27 I 22 might then be a festival involving, or performed for, this symbol, analogous to other ceremonies taking their names from implements—cf. EZEN BIBRI, “Festival of the Rhyton,” and EZEN MEŠ pulabi, “Festivals of the Lot(s).”333

XXVI 84 II 8ff. (JCS 10, 1956, 64), where the kunzi of a certain district is apparently burnt by the Kaskaeans and later scattered by Suppiluliuma, may symbolically indicate the devastation wrought by war. In XXXI 84 III 52–53 (von Schuler, HDA 49),334 ku-un-zi-šu-ši(-)‘, if to be understood as the acc.pl. of kunza-, might indicate protective symbols provided for a new building.

sle‘kunzi/a-, X 85:2, X 87:3, and XI 20 I 5, apparently indicates a woollen cord and does not belong to this Hurrian stem.

Derivatives of kunzi/a- include kunzi-yala-, an object with which the statue of a deity is provided in XXXVIII 3 II 8, and the offering terms kunzi-lahib (Bo 2437 I 21—see Güterbock, JCS 10, 1956, 64, n.a.) and kunza-gašṣī (“Ritual of Papankiri” III 6, 13, 27). Both of these terms are found only in the immediate vicinity of kelidi, “well-being.” (60) Kunzišali- is a deity associated with Ḫebat in

327 See Bush (1964) §§ 6.46ff. The unsuffixed form is found in the Hurrian-language passage Ḫbo XXIV 64:11’, with restoration from duplicate Ḫbo XXIV 65:10’: ([ku-un-zi]‘-ig ga-an ni pa-ri-[te]-da-[su]).

328 See Carruba, RHA 81, 1967, 152–53.

329 See Haas/Wäfler, OrAnt 13, 1974, 222, n. 37, and Laroche, GLH 155.

330 See Güterbock, JCS 10, 1956, 64, n.a., and Sommer, ZA 46, 1940, 23.


333 See Güterbock, XVII RAJ 177.

334 [x-]a-ša-ki-na ku-un-zi-šu-ši(-)]‘ /
]‘xšA ku-ut-te-el SIG3-in u-e-[te-id-da].

XI 27 I 23; XXVII 13 I 16; KBo XI 5 II 8; KBo XIV 142 II 26; and BFO I 49 III 8’.335 (60) Kunzišali-Kunzi-na of X 68:9 and KBo XXIII 83:12f. is probably simply the divine kunzi/a-.336

Finally, in Hurrian-language passages, we find ku-un-zi-ib, “your (second person singular)337 kunzi,” throughout CTH 701,338 and ku-uzi-zi-ši-yi in XXXII 50 obv. 16’, which is probably to be interpreted as kunziš-si-ya.339

In determining the meaning of kunzi/a-, we can begin with the offering terms containing it. Their close association with keldi suggests that they fall into the category of “Heilsbegriffe,” as defined by Haas and Wilhelm.340 kunzi/a- might then be some desirable state or quality, an interpretation which fits well both its attestation as a symbol (parallel in usage to SIGs, “well-being”), which appears in the Bildbeschreibungen as an object held by divine images341, and also the employment of its derivatives as divine names or epithets. Therefore, kunzi/agan(n)ahit-, although the precise meaning carried by the element -gana- is unknown, seems to indicate a certain purificatory material through whose use a desirable state might be attained.

SILÁ pu-u-šu-ga-ri-in: For pešugarī, a Hurrian lexeme derived from Akkadian pīšu, “substitute,” see Kümmel, StBoT 3, 81–82. A SILÁ pešugarī is found also in the oracle fragment XVI 9 III 5’1, but the adjective is otherwise attested at Bogazköy only with GUD, “bovine,” as in CTH 486.342

Ja rev. 16’. For the restoration [pa-ra-‘a’]-u-ni, cf. Ja rev. 6’ and 8’.

335 In OrAnt 13, 1974, 222, n. 27, Haas and Wäfler claim that “Kunzišali is shown by XI 27 I 23 and KBo XI 5 II 8 to be the daughter of Ḫebat. XI 27 I 22–24 reads:
22. [h]e-bat 4LUGAL-ma 4He-bat 4AL-IA-AN-ZU
23. [h]e-bat 4ku-un-zi-ša-al-li
24. [h]e-bat 4Ha-la-la-at-ši 1 060 BANSUR AD. (KID)
The relationship to one another of the members of each of the pairs of divine names in this offering list is not clear, but just because Sarruma of line 22 is the son of Ḫebat, it is not a necessary conclusion that the other deities here are also her offspring.

336 Cf. also XI 35 IV 5: ‘ku-un-zi-zi-mi-ixi.’

337 See Bush (1964) § 6.433.

338 E.g., KBo XXI 331 16, and always in the phrase kunziži sun(i)zimakib.

339 For -ya, see Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 130ff.

340 See AOATS 5, 58. On pp. 88–89 kunzagashi is listed among the “Heilsbegriffe.”

341 See von Brandenstein, Bildbeschrij 87ff.

§ 1 [Thus says PN:] If a woman becomes pregnant, and in the house she
[...]
2. [...] (but) she does not (as yet) seat herself on the [birth-]stool...
[...] she comes and with kunzigannaht cleanses herself.
4. she[...]

§ 2 [When the seventh month (of pregnancy) arrives, then the husband
does not any longer “en[ter]” with his wife.
6. And[... in] the seventh month performs the mala (-offering) of pregnancy.

§ 3 Furthe[r, such] …-offerings [as (are)] before [her]—them
8. (s)he perform[s] completely [...] And indeed (s)he performs the
mala(-offering). Further, the azi (and) zarji(-offerings)
(s)he perform[s]. And (s)he (thus) bestows [purify].

10. The next morning[the seer] purifies [her] [mouth] as follows: The seer
§ 4 into a beaker of fired clay […] pours’]. But [there] in he throws harnai.
And cedar,
12. olive […] (and) tamarisk(-woods) there in he places. And she purifies her
own mouth.
But [how] he [meanwhile] speaks in Hurrian—this (material is the con-
tents) of a separate tablet.

14. Further, it is [not] allowed for her [to go] back (to her home?). If
§ 5 someone summons her,
then she goes into the kalli[starwana]-house. But as is the reg[u]lation of
the clean[sing] of the birth-stool
16. and of purification, even [now these] things are the same.
§ 6 For her, eating [ing] aštau[ar [during this time'] is not allowed. [And] she does [not eat] tab[pi.

18. Grou[n(d-up)] press she does [not eat], (but rather) garden press she eat[s] continually.

The aštau[ar [of] the woman [her] hus[band eats continually] (but) aštau[ar] the woman does not eat.

20. [If] her husband [is with] her, then h[e] too is washed* pure. And when

§ 7 it is [me] to eat […] a table for her husband also

22. [is required], and [for] the wife one is also required. And a bowl for (each of) them is required.

Certainly it is [in] her presence, but the woman does not eat [with] him.

24. Both the [utensils] of wood and the utensils of fired clay, the stool and

§ 8 the bed—each new thing—[they] [take […] empty. But such utensils as are of bronze—they burn therein.

26. [And] they take them back. And all these things they take. There is no incantation.

§ 9 But when [the woman] gives birth, and while the seventh day (after birth) is passing, then they perform

28. the mal[a]-offering) of the new-born […] on th[at] seventh day. Further, if[]

[a male child is [born], in whatever month [he is-born]—whether

30. [one day or] three [days […] remain—

§ 10 [then from that] month they count off. And when [the third month arrives],

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a. Kb ovb. 4*: [wa-ar]-pa-an-[za]
b. Kb ovb. 13*: [za]-aš-k[an-da]-aš
c. Kb ovb. 14*: [za]-a[n]-ta-an-zi
d. text: DU; see commentary; Kb rev. 1: kap-pu-aš-ka-[ni-zi]
e. this clause omitted in Kb

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a. text: “I washed”; see commentary
b. text: “let them count off”; see commentary
32. [then the] male [child] with kunzigannya\textit{hit} they cleanse. For
[the seers are] expert with the kunzigannya\textit{hit}, [and it to ... they offer].

34. But [if] a female child is born, [then] from that month they count off.
§ 11 But when [the fourth] month [ar]rives, then the female child with 'kunzigannya\textit{hit}
36. [they] [\textit{cl}eanse].

§ 12 But when it is time for the Festival [of the Wo\textit{jm}b\text{-}that\text{\textit{i}}], at the time
when she gives birth—how they perform the festival—
38. [it is written up \textit{as a kurta-tablelet}. And it is (from) Kizzuwa\textit{t}na. And I
[do not know] the festival orally
[by heart, but (rather) I will fetch it from there].

40. [\textit{Wh}ile\textit{\ldots} is being brought to an end, then they do not strike or battle
§ 13 anyone, [n]or do they sin against anyone. Were someone to anger
42. [someone\textit{\ldots} (he would go\textit{\ldots}) back. But when he steps forward—then
they will see [hi]\textit{m}.
[\ldots] they [\textit{inquire\textit{\ldots}}].

44. [\textit{But} at the time when [the woman] becomes pregnant, then the Moth-
§ 14 er-goddesses of the body back
[by means of trail(s) they entice\textit{\ldots}. And how for them they perform the
festival there—this (material is the contents of) a separate tablet.
46. [...] but how the [...] of the days has come—this (material) too (is the contents of) a separate tablet.

§ 15 [While...] the woman is pregnant, then for the Mother-goddesses of the body a monthly festival
48. [they perform, and to them ...] they also [g]ive continually. And en route
they keep possession of them'. But when they
[ ... they [bring]³, then they set them up in the house of the birth-stool.
50. [...] the seers likewise give continually.

§ 16 [When the woman gives birth] then on whatever day she gives birth, for
the Mother-goddesses
52. [of the body² and for Ḫebat' ... on that] day the Festival of Birth
[they perform ... And for them] they complete the festival according to
that model'.
54. [...] they send back here. To the Mother-goddesses and to Ḫebat
[they sacrifice. And to ...] they [sacrifice—as much as (seems) good to
the offerant.

Rev. [Thus says PN:] If a woman becomes pregnant, but does not (as yet)
§ 17 seat herself on the birth-stool,
2. [...] the regulation is as follows:
§ 18 [...] when for her in the sixth month two days remain,
4. [...] the husband does not any longer “en[ter]” [with his wife].
§ 19 [...] the marštaya-offerings of the Old Women
6. [she performs ... Wh]en the mašt(-offering) of Apritta too
[she performs’ ... F]urther, thereafter the marštaya-offerings of the seer
she performs.
8. [But when] the marštaya-offerings of the seer she completes,
[then in [this] matter an uzi(-offering) she performs completely. And
they (thus) bestow purity.

Rev. [Thus says PN:] If a woman becomes pregnant, but does not (as yet)
§ 17 seat herself on the birth-stool,
2. [...] the regulation is as follows:
§ 18 [...] when for her in the sixth month two days remain,
4. [...] the husband does not any longer “en[ter]” [with his wife].
§ 19 [...] the marštaya-offerings of the Old Women
6. [she performs ... Wh]en the mašt(-offering) of Apritta too
[she performs’ ... F]urther, thereafter the marštaya-offerings of the seer
she performs.
8. [But when] the marštaya-offerings of the seer she completes,
[then in [this] matter an uzi(-offering) she performs completely. And
they (thus) bestow purity.
The Texts

10. [ ] a-nis-sa-an-[t]a hur-nu-an-ta an-da-ya-at ka-ru-
    u is-tap-pa-an-ta
    [ ] a-pa-aš SAL-za SISKUR.SISKURMES aš-nu-zi ku-
    ir-iš in-ma ku-it pi-ra-an
12. [ ] × [ ] -z]i a-da-an-na-ya-aš-ši pi-an-zi ma-a-na-ša ŠA
    DINGIR.GI-ya
    [ma-a-na-ša ŠA[a]] SISKUR.SISKUR aš-nu-uz-zi
14. [ma-ab-ba-an2-m]a-aš-ši [a-pi-e-e][š] ŠA DINGIR.LM šar-la-at-ta ki-el-di-
    ya-[y]a pi-ra-an
    nu-zu-kán [ḫe-[u]-ma-an [i]-ya-z]í ma-a-aš-ši ŠA dši-nap-ši-aš-ša ku-it
    [{ }]
16. SISKUR.SISKUR kal-la-šir ba-an-da2-a]n e-eš-zi nu-zu-kán a-pa-a-at-ta
    [i]-ya-zi
    ma-ab-ba-an-ma-zu-kán MUS[EN§A wa-a]-r-nu-zi nu-zu-kán ku-it ku-it
    ŠA dši-na-ap-ši
18. u-tar le-eš-bi-it ti-wa-an-[na pa]-iz-zí]í ku-i-ta-ši-kán ma-ab-ba-an ZI-
    ni an([-a]n]
    nu-zu a-pi-e-d[u]-a [m]i ud-da-[n]i-i ] [NA dši-nap-ši] MUSEN§A pi-ra-
    an ar-ba [wa]-a[r]-nu-zi
20. nam-ma-zA šA dši-na-ap-ši ki-el-di]-ya-ši-pa-an-ti nu-za 1-NA dši-
    na-ap-[ši] e-iz-za-zi
    na-aš-ta SAL-za l[[S][E] DINGIR.LM p[a-ra-a-u]-i]-zi pi-ra-an-ma-aš-
    kí NINDA a-a-an-ta pūr-š]-y]-a-an
22. nu-AT NINDAPAR-šA-[a]-[a]-e]-š i-e-n[-]z [-] na]-aš-ta ma-ab-ba-an SAL-za pa-
    ra-a a-ri 1 NINDA dšA [n]i]-i]-d[u]
    L[O]MEŠ su-up-pa-[i]-ya-la-aš
    NINDA ga-az-ma-an[-š] pi-an-[-zi]
    nu-zu SAL-za ar-ba dšar-na-aš-pa[-]-zí-n[u] šu-up-pa wa-[a]-[r-p]-a-an-za
e-eš-zi A-NA L[M(U-D)]I-Š[u]-ma
    n[u] a-pāl-da pi-em-na-i m[a-ab]-ba-an-
    ITU.8.KAM ti-y-[a]-zz]í na[a]-aš-ta ma-[aš]-ba-an UD.2.KAM a-aš-sa-
    an-zí nu-zu SAL-za wa-ar-ap-zi [{ }]

a. erasure follows

10. [...] are whitewashed (and) sprinkled. And it (the house) has already
    §20 been shut up.
    [...] th[at woman completes the rites. Whatever is before her,
12. [...] and they give to her to eat. Whether it is of the Black Deity
    [or of] [...] the rites she completes.
    §21 before her,
    then [a][ll (this) she do]es. And if for her certain
16. offerings of the šinapši-house are [established by oracle] to be kallar,
    then these things also she [perform]s.
    §22 But when she [bu]rns the bird(s), then whatever matter of the [šina]pši-
18. [come]s7 to be see[n] in a dream—when anything (appears) in her mind—
    then in regard to that matter [...] i[n] the šinapši-house she [bu]rns up
    the birds completely.
    §20. Further, in the šinapši-house [...] for well-bein[g] she offers. And she eats
23. in the šinapši]-house.
    And the woman [com]es for[th] from the temple. But in front, in the
22. and they mak[e] them into crumbs. [And] when the woman has come
    forth, one šan[i][ddu]-loaf
    (and one) gaz(za)m(-loaf) they giv[e]. And to the pa[tilli]-priests, the
    kat-ra-women (and the torch-bearers)
24. they giv[e] gazzami-loaves.
    §24 And the woman go(es] out to the inn. And she is washed pure. But
26. if (it) seems] good to her hus[band] then [he eat[s]] with her. But wherev-
    er (seems) ri[ght]—thither (she) drives. But wh[e]n in
    the eighth month arrives, and whe[re] two days remain, then the woman
    washes herself.
28. [But] the next morning they w[ash] her [mouth, and the utensils] of fired clay and the utensils of wo[od—each of them] they ta[ke]. B[u]t such utensils as are of bronze—they burn [there]j[n]. And they are taken back.

30. [And all these things they take]. There is [no] incantation.

§25 [... A]nd the woman goes into that house. B[u]t [to/on] the birth-stool...

32. [... I]n th[ose rooms she performs the zurgi-offering. Further, she [...]

§26 [And her own mouth she purif[ies]. But how he meanwhile speaks in Hurrian—this (material is the contents of) a [sep]arate [tablet].

36. [...] and inside they cleanse. [A]nd the woman does not go forth again. [...] [s]he [...]

38. [But (when) the woman gives birth, and while] the seventh day (after) birth is passing—then the malat-(offering) of the new-born on that seventh day they perform. And if a male child has been born, in whichever month he has been born—whether one day or two days

40. [remain]—then [from that month] they count off.

§28 But when the third month a[rrives], then the male child with kunzigan[alth] they [c]leanse.

42. For the seers are expert with the kunzigan[altht], and it t[o ... they off]er.

§29 But if a female child is born, [then from th]at month they cou[n]t off. But [w]hen the fourth month

44. arrives, then they clean[se] the female child with [kunzi]ganna[altht].

a. a single paragraph stroke appears under the signs in the second half of this line
b. space between this and the following sign
c. text: GA
§ 30 But when (it is time for) [the Festival of the Womb—(that is), at the time when she [gives birth—how they [per]form the festival—it is written up as a kurta-tablet.

46. And it is (from) Kizzuwatna. [And I] do not know the festival orally by heart, but (rather) they will bring [it …] from there.

§ 31 When they [make offering] to Ḥebat, then these things they take: one duck, […] N] mulati-loaves of one-half handful of flour (each),

48. five thin loaves, oil, a wooden […] a little, and one jug of wine […] (she) offers. Further […] (she) fills.

50. Further, the seer [takes] two’ [pieces of cloth’—either …] or a shirt, or

§ 32 […] of a cur[tain’],

and [over the offerant he places (them)]. But under her hands [he places] two thick loaves [of one handful of pap (each)].

52. [But] below [her feet, two thick loaves] of one handful of pap (each) he places. But [on] her neck a yoke […] he places. Under it two kīši […]

54. two tarpa[la of …-colored wool'] he places. And the seer sits down on (her) back. […]

56. … (she) takes away.

§ 33 [And the seer says to her; “You’ have become the maidservant of Ḥebat, and of her the maidservant [you shall remain’]

58. […] and (of Ḥebat) the temple, the command and custom you shall observe’]

 […] to the deity she bows down—whatever (are) the materials (for the ritual), this (she gives’).

60. Finished.

§ 34 […] (she) offers as follows: one kīši, two tarpa[la of …-colored wool’]

62. […] of (one) sittu of flour, one mulati-loaf of one-half handful of flour, four thin loaves […]

[…] oil, a little, and one jug of wine they take. And to him/her basket[s …]

64. […] whoever [perfor]ms the offering—[to him] the offerant pays a fee—whatever (seems) good to him/her […]

Text K – KBo XVII 65
Commentary

KBo XVII 65 is a large one-columned tablet, containing 55 lines of text on the obverse and 64 on the reverse. The left edge was also inscribed. The tablet was broken into many fragments, some of which have previously been published individually as ABoT 21, ABoT 25 and FHG 10. Large portions of the text have been lost, and it has been necessary to make extensive restorations in order to reach an understanding of the contents.

The structure of the text is unusual—the opening paragraph of each side (§§ 1 and 17) begins: “If a woman becomes pregnant,” and §§ 9–11, 12, 16, 27–29 and 30 all specifically mention the act of birth itself. This tablet seems to contain two versions of a ritual regimen for pregnancy and post-parturition, one on each side.343 (Note, however, that the actual birth is not dealt with in any detail.) In the first several paragraphs of each side the events and ritual activities of the regimen are presented in chronological order, and there then follow as a sort of appendix more specific instructions for particular events within the regimen. For this practice, uncommon at Boğazköy, note the scribal remark in KUB XXXII 123 (with dup. Bo 2447) IV 42'–43' (Kümmel, FsOtten 178):

[(ŠIR Misk-ma-ša-an) ap-pi-izi-zi-ya [(A-NA TUP-PAB LUŠ SISKUR a-mi-)ya-an-da]

But the songs are done as an appendix to (lit. “later”) the tablets of the ritual.

The present text probably represents a compilation of several earlier, closely related, tablets, which were in part copied exactly, without regard to the new context—note the presence of QATI, “finished,” in rev. 60, although four additional lines of text remain on the reverse, and at least eight more on the edge.344 Similarly, § 34, which can hardly be considered an independent com-

343. The here KBo XXIII 1 and duplicates (CTh 472), where a single ritual is written twice on one tablet, with very little variation between the two versions—see Otten, BoOr 8, 1951, 230, and ZA 70, 1981, 1531.

344. See Haas, SMEA 16, 1975, 226, for the phenomenon of the inclusion of the colophon of a previous recension within the body of a new series.
position, is enclosed by double paragraph strokes. (However, other textual material necessary for the performance of this regimen, consisting in particular of Hurrian-language incantations, has not been included here, but is to be sought on separate tablets—cf. obv. 13, 45, 46, rev. 35.)

The structure of this text may be outlined as follows:

Obv. § 1: Introduction. Purification marking entrance into the state of pregnancy.

§ 2–4: Prescription of cessation of sexual intercourse at beginning of seventh month.

§§ 5, 6: Ceremonies in seventh month, prior to separation of expectant mother from her family.

§ 7: Preparation of materials for birth.

§ 8: Birth. Offering on seventh day following birth.

§ 9: Outing ceremony for male child three months after birth.

§ 10: Outing ceremony for female child four months after birth. (End of chronological exposition.)

§ 11: Outing ceremony for female child four months after birth.

§ 12–13: Reference to parturition ritual. Prescription of avoidance of violence in period following birth.

§ 14–16: Rituals for the DINGIR.MAHMEŠ QI.A (Mother-goddesses):

§ 14: Ritual for the DINGIR.MAHMEŠ at the beginning of pregnancy.

§ 15: Monthly festivals for the DINGIR.MAHMEŠ during pregnancy.

§ 16: Ritual for the DINGIR.MAHMEŠ on day of birth.

Rev. § 17: Introduction.

§ 18: Prescription of cessation of sexual intercourse at end of sixth month.

§ 19: Offerings on behalf of the ritual practitioners concerned with pregnancy.

§ 20–21: Rites involving the Black Deity.

§ 22: Expiation of impurities revealed through dreams.

§ 23: Offerings in the sinapiti-house, involving numerous cultic personnel.


§ 27: Birth. Offerings on seventh day after birth.

§ 28: Outing ceremony for male child three months after birth.

§ 29: Outing ceremony for female child four months after birth. (End of chronological exposition.)

§ 30: Reference to parturition ritual.

§§ 31–33: Offering to Ḫebat, with list of materials. Ritual treatment of offerant by seer, including speech dedicating her to Ḫebat.

§ 34: Offering, with list of materials.

Left edge § 35: Offering, with list of materials.

§ 36: Libations to Ḫebat and other deities.

§ 37: Outing ceremony.

§ 38: Determination of fate of the child.

This text is definitely to be assigned to the Kizzuwatnaean group of religious texts. The explicit mention of the city of Kizzuwatna” (obv. 38, rev. 46) and the prescription of Hurrian-language incantations (obv. 13, rev. 35), this text contains numerous Hurrian offering terms and other vocabulary (note especially kunziggamahiti, obv. 3, etc.). Similarities with the Hurro-Luwian Text H are particularly apparent in § 25.

Because of the extent of Hurrian influence evident here, this text cannot have been composed earlier than the Middle Hittite period. The alternation in the spelling of the third person singular present -iṣu-verb ending of the sequences -Ci-iz-zi (pi-eš-si-iz-zi, obv. 11) and -Ci-e-iz-zi (pi-eš-si-e-[iz-zi], rev. 33), 345 as well as the use of the archaic stem antuwaṭu- (edge 6) 346 make it likely that the tablet itself is of Middle Hittite date.

This conclusion is not contradicted by an analysis of the paleography: Neither exemplar contains any sign form characteristic of the thirteenth century, and Ka displays the old form of TAR (rev. 18, 30, 54, etc.) and URU (rev. 46). Kb is shown by the younger shapes of AL (obv. 8') and IK (obv. 11') to be of somewhat later date than the main text. As far as it has been preserved, Kb shows only one significant grammatical difference from Ka—in rev. 4, Kb has nu-šu-nu, while Ka obv. 34 (restored with certainty from rev. 41) has na-še-ša.

In RA 45, 1951, 189–90, Laroche presents a transliteration of the greater part of the fragment originally published as FHG 10.

On the copy of KB 67 765 it is indicated that the relative placement of the fragments 1660/c and AnAr 8349 (AbO 21) is uncertain. This is unfortunate because the position of 1660/c determines the width of the columns on both the obverse and the reverse. I have accepted the placement of the fragments as tentatively reconstructed by Otten in his copy, since it seems to agree well with the amount of space required for my reconstructions for the reverse.

345 See Arrubara et al., ArOr 33, 1965, 13–14, and Neu, KZ 93, 1979, 71f.
346 See Neu, KZ 93, 1979, 76.
The task of recovering the text has been made somewhat easier by the fact that §§ 9–27 (obv. 27–39) are paralleled quite closely by §§ 27–30 (rev. 38–46). Other portions of the text may also be restored through internal comparison and will be remarked upon explicitly in the commentary.

obv. 1. The beginning of this line probably contained the name and possibly also the professional designation of the author of this ritual.

It is likely that either Text K itself or one of its forerunners is referred to in the library catalogue entry KBo XXII 102 obv. 8–9:

ma-a-an-za SAL-za ar-ka-im-bi
ma-ak-ha-an an-d(a) 347

It is also probable that the author of this text was a woman, but it is impossible to discover the sex of the author from the text itself. The only actor mentioned on this side of the tablet whose profession (and thus sex) can definitely be established is a male (see § 4), but in §§ 19ff. of the reverse a woman (possibly a midwife) plays an important role. Unfortunately for our understanding, the subjects of many verbs on this tablet have either been lost, or else were never indicated explicitly.

armahb: This verb, a denominative in -aabb. 348 from arma-, "moon," 349 means "make or become pregnant." The etymology reveals the essential relationship which the Hittites, like so many other peoples, saw between pregnancy and the lunar cycle.

Standing alone, the verb indicates the action of impregnation on the part of the male. Note KUB XXXIII 120 1 31–33:

a-aš-ma-at-ta ar-ka-im-bu-un 10Ma-an-it na-ak-ki-it
3-an-na-at-ta ar-ka-im-bu-un na-ak-ki-ta Û-Ta-aš-m[í-i]lt

(Anu announces to Kumarbis:) "Lo! I have made you pregnant with the noble Storm-god. Secondly, I have made you pregnant with the river Tigris, not to be borne. Thirdly, I have made you pregnant with the noble Tašmišu.)” 350

347. Note, however, that this catalogue text was found in the excavation debris of the Great Temple (see KBo XXII, p. X), while Text Ka was excavated in Gebiude A of the Büyük kale (see KBo XVII, p. IX).

348. See HE I 3 § 136.


This is the only definite occurrence known to me of this usage. 351 More common is the construction with the reflexive particle -z, used of females: "make oneself pregnant." 352 The best example here is provided by the present passage. Outside of this corpus, see KUB XVII 10 I 14–15; 353

nu-za nam-ma GUD[BLA UDU[BLA DUMU.LU.LU.LU.MEŠ Ú-UL ar-ma-ah-ha-
an-zi

And cattle, sheep (and) human beings no longer conceive.

The participle armahhat- is attested in tablet II § 63 of the Hittite Laws (GUD.[BLA ar-ma-ah-ha-an-ti, at III 111:18 (ar-ma-ah-ha-an-[za]) and at XXVI 31 II 8f. (ar-ma-ah-ha-an-za) SAL-aš, while the verbal substantive armahba(u) is found in this text at obv. 6 and in Text Na rev. 2.

Finally, the abstract armahhatar, "pregnancy; propagation," 354 is attested in the Hittite version of CTH 314, a trilingual hymn to the Storm-god. In KUB IV 4 obv. 3ff. this deity is addressed:

3. ... ki-im-ma-an-ten
4. ar-ma-ah-ha-an-ni ...
9. e-eš-ka-a[t-ti] 355

The winter you create ... for propagation.

obv. 2. [har-nu-u-], dat./loc.sg., has been restored through comparison with rev. 1–har-nu-u-i, a form also found in rev. 31. In obv. 15 we find the gen.sg. 3 bar-nu-u-aš. The stem of these words is harnu-, which context shows is a by-form of bar-nun, "birth, stool." 356

A related word is found in obv. 49: w-aš-kan harr-na-u-ši-aš E-šaanda aššana, "they place them in the house of the birth-stool." A scribal error must be postulated here: on the one hand we may be dealing with a gen.sg. of the stem just discussed, with ŠI inserted by error (quasi-dittography), i.e., read

351 Due to the fragmentary context it is impossible to evaluate with certainty in this regard the imp.3.sg. ar-ma-ah-bu in XXXVII 53 II 22, 24, 27, and 29, but line 22, in which an acc. (10) ar-na-an-ca-a-[bi] immediately precedes the verb, indicates that armahb should probably be understood, with HW 332, as transitive. On this passage see also Rosenkrantz, RHA 61, 1957, 105f.


353 Damaged parallel passages are XXXVII 44 + 12 and XXXIII 24 + 112.

354 See Goette, Hatt 92.

355 For the restoration here, see Laroche, RA 58, 1964, 73.

356 See above, pp. 102-04.
har-mu-ua-(št-)aš, but more likely we have here a defective written Luwian genitival adjective derived from this same stem, i.e., read har-mu-ua-(aš-)si-at. The meaning is essentially the same in both cases.

Obv. 1–2 indicate that while the woman is indeed pregnant, she has not yet entered into labor.

EGIR-pa ki-nu-ua-an […] The spacing, as shown on the copy of ABoT 21, indicates that whatever signs might have been lost in the break were probably not part of the word kimwuan. That is, this is definitely a pl.nom./acc.sg.n., and the restoration of the finite form ki-nu-ua-an-[zi] is not possible. The noun agreeing with this plp. has either been lost in the break or else was never indicated—cf. Text Ha 1 49 for the finite form piran kimwazi without expressed object. In any case the sense here escapes me.

Although § 1 is roughly paralleled by § 17, there is no counterpart in the latter paragraph to obv. 2b–4.

obv. 3. uuwa- here is phraseologic—see HE 1 § 312; for kunzigannaht, see above, pp. 129–31. The cleansing here was apparently carried out by the expectant mother and would have marked her transition into the state of pregnancy. For rites celebrating the beginning of pregnancy, cf. below § 14. For another culture, that of modern Central Africa, see P. Enny, Les premiers pas dans la vie de l’enfant d’Afrique noire (Paris, 1972), pp. 86ff. Here the woman is forbidden to take any public notice of her condition before it has been recognized socially through a rite instituted by other members of her family.

obv. 5. [ma-ah-ša-an ITU.7].KAM ti-ya-az-zi: For tiya- indicating the onset of a period of time, see Friedrich, HG 99. The month to be restored here remains uncertain—although the custom of forbidding intercourse with a pregnant woman is wide-spread, the length of time into pregnancy at which this taboo is instituted varies widely among cultures. In § 18, which is parallel to the present passage, it is seemingly stated that intercourse must cease two days before the end of the sixth month of pregnancy, which suggests the restoration ITU.7.KAM here.

For (maninkuwann) tiya- as a euphemism, see Hoffner, EHGI 79, and cf. Biblical Hebrew ḥāʾ “el-ʾissā, “to enter unto a woman.”

357 See Laroche, DLL §§ 24, 30.
359 See below, p. 168.
360 See Kochler/Beumgarner, Lexicon 111.

For IMA-צשא-ŠU employed incorrectly in a Hittite context as a nominative, cf. KUB XXX 26 I 3:


But his spouse was dependant upon him in regard to bread and beer.

obv. 6. -za is restored here with šipant- on analogy with the similar usage in obv. 8. The purpose of the reflexive particle here is uncertain. Goetze, JCS 23, 1970, 78, suggests that -za is employed with šipant- in clauses “based on nominal sentences.” This is hardly the case in obv. 8, however, and perhaps some personal interest of the subject in the action is indicated by the presence of -za here. Was the missing subject in line 6 the woman herself? For the translation “perform,” see ibid. 80ff.

ar-ma-ah-ša-aš ma-la: “maša-[offering] of pregnancy.” maša-offerings occur in three other instances in this text—in obv. 8, in rev. 6 (“maša-[offering] of šapit,”), and in rev. 3 (“maša-[offering] of the new-born”). The offering-term maša is a Hittite a-stem (interpreted as pl.n.?), perhaps borrowed from Hurrian maša. A connection with the obscure word maša is likely.

obv. 7. piran (eš)- here, as well as in rev. 11 and 14, is probably not to be understood in either a spatial or a temporal sense. It seems instead to denote for that person indicated in the dative an intention or obligation to undertake an activity. Compare here semantically modern German vorhaben = “beabsichtigen.”

It seems that nothing has been lost in the break at the end of this line since the preverbs piran arḥa probably immediately preceded their verb. For piran arḥa šipant-, see Goetze, JCS 23, 1970, 81, with n. 32.

obv. 8. u-ci-ya: Haas and Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 63–64, point out that uz[i] is frequently paired with zurgi, as in the present line. A reading BÜR-zu-ya, “in the pit,” is also possible but should be disregarded since there is no previous mention of digging. Note also that when BÜR appears as the location of offerings in Hittite texts it is usually preceded by ANA (e.g., IX 2 I 12: A-NA BÜR-uz-zu-ya, and XXX 31 II 2, 4, etc.: ANA BÜR-zi-an-za).


361 See Ottel, HTR 100, for context.
362 See Haas/Willhelm, AOATS 3, 67. The word is included here among the “Herrschaftsbegriffe.”
363 See here also Kümmel, StBoT 3, 125, for the possibly related adjective malant-, “kraftsrotzend.”
364 Another possible restoration here is [šē-ši-li-ši-k]-na pa-a-ši—see above, p. 129.
obv. 10. The restoration here is suggested by obv. 12. For the ceremony of the purification of the mouth, see above, pp. 511.

obv. 11f. For barnai-, see above, pp. 102–04.

There is probably nothing missing at the end of line 11, since any restoration would interrupt the list of woods—cf. rev. 33. In both obv. 12 and rev. 34 I have restored gšt-paini on analogy with Text Ha II 22, etc., although the order in which the woods are listed would differ in the two texts.

obv. 13. Restored on analogy with rev. 35.

obv. 14. My restoration here assumes a separation of the woman from the rest of her family after this point in the pregnancy—see immediately below. Note, however, that the more usual practice seems to have been for the mother to deliver in her home. This, at least, is the impression given by Text H, in which the ĖŠA so often mentioned was probably the bedroom of the expectant parents. Compare the “Ritual of Papanikri,” where the birth-stool was apparently originally set up in the home of the mother, and also the “Tale of the Sun-god, the Cow, and the Fisherman” (XXIV 7) IV 45–49. Here, upon receiving a foundling whom he wishes to present to his neighbors as his own offspring, the fisherman says to his wife:

45. ku-un-za DUMU-an da-a na-kān ĖŠA-ni an-da i-it nu-za-kān
46. LU N santé-kū-pa-i nu URU-aš da-pi-an-za is-
47. DAM ma-aš
48. nu kiš-an me-ma-an-zi DAM UŠU PEŠ-wa-za DUMU NITA-an ha-aš-ta
49. mu-na-na-ša ku-iš NINDA-an ku-iš-ma-an-na-(aš) KĀŠ-eš-tar ku-iš-ma-
50. an-na-ša

"Take this child, go into the bedroom, and (lie) down (as if to) sleep on the bed! Then cry out so that the entire city will hear! Then it will be said: 'The wife of the fisherman has given birth to a son.' And to us one (will bring) bread, another (will bring) beer, and another will bring oil."

This story thus envisions birth taking place in the home. The other members of the community would undertake to provide food for the family during the period in which the mother was unable to do this comfortably herself.

ma-a-an-an-za ša-la-ca-a-ša: For the use of the reflexive particle here, see Hoffner, JAOS 93, 1973, 522–23.


Text K = KBo XVII 65

obv. 15. ša-tar-wa-ni' an-da pa-i-zi: This restoration is conjectural because the only other occurrence known to me of the building involved here also lacks the end of the word:

[nu]-wa-ad-da-uz-zi ša-tar-wa-
[jal-zi]-ya-an-zi (XXXIII 114 I 25–26)

And you to the k.-house […] they (ca)?

Note that in this case, as in Text K, the verb halzi- is found in the immediate context of the k.-house. This accords well with an etymological connection of the designation of the building with kalleš-, “cry; invite.” For this latter meaning of the verb, cf. KUB XVII 51 S 5–8:

5'. na-aš-ta meš-[š]-la-ya-an-k[a-an]
6'. ba-an-te-e-nu-za ša-ra-a kal-li-iš-ta
7'. ka-ša-wa EZEN-an i-ša-ši
8'. nu-wa a-da-an-na a-ku-wa-an-na e-bu

And she invited Illuyank[u]a up out of (his) hole (saying): “I’m having a party! Come eat (and) drink!”

There is also an adverb kallištarwamili, which occurs only in KUB IV 3 obv. 13 and 15. The latter line reads:

kar-ša-an-za gal-liš-tar-wa-ni-ši u-šu-ša-ta-[ri]

The harlot dresses herself up for a festive occasion.

Segmenting off the adverbial formant -ši (see HE I 2 § 227), we are left with a stem kallištarwana-, which would designate that occasion or place to which one is called or invited. This is important here because, due to the break in

366 Note, however, XXXVI 25 IV 12f.: DINGIR meš-mu kal-li-im [UJR.MAH-an/ an-da kal-li-š-tar-wa-š], where the determinative E has perhaps been omitted.
367 See Zuntz, Sengiširu 540.
368 Obv. 13 is difficult to interpret, but in any case would not affect greatly our understanding of the word in question.
369 See Laroche, Ugar 873.
370 For the morphology, see already Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 87. Note, however, that Otten apud Kümmel, UF 1, 1969, 164, questions the existence of the noun *kallištarwana- “invitation” (see HW 95). An n-stem is also indicated by the noun ša-tar-wa-ni, XXXVI 25 I 11, which seems to indicate a type of servant, as well as by the fragmentary KBo XXVI 111:5: ša-l-liš-tar-wa-ni.
371 See Kümmel, UF 1, 1969, 164, for the suggestion that *kallištarwana- is the Hittite reading of EZEN, “festival.”
Text K, it is uncertain whether the woman goes to, or comes from the k-house. I suggest that this building was a type of seclusion hut to which the pregnant woman was “called” during the latter portion of her pregnancy.

*obv. 17. (a-)ašt-ta-ur-ur-ur*: This word, which is not found outside of Text K, designates a foodstuff tabooed to the pregnant woman. The common phenomenon of dietary restrictions during pregnancy is discussed by B. Ayres, “Pregnancy Magic: A Study of Food Taboos and Sex Avoidances,” in Cross-Cultural Approaches, ed. C.L. Ford (New Haven, 1967), pp. 111–25.

For food taboos among the Hittites, cf. KUB XXX 10 obv. 13–14 (Güterbock, JNES 33, 1934, 325):


That which is sacred to my god, (and thus) not proper for me to eat—that I never ate and (thus) I did not defile my body.

tap-pi-[l]n]: This aliment is probably to be identified with the tappi-employed in a medical context at XLIV 61 rev. 20’ and treated ritually at XX 70 VI 4 ff.—see Burde, StBoT 19, 23–24.

*obv. 18*. For ŹA.AH.LI18A, see Hoffner, AlHeth 110–11. The normal connotation of this plant is one of desolation—it is sown upon the ruined cities and is associated with abandoned fields—and its significance for the diet of the pregnant woman is unclear.

It seems that the woman is allowed domestic (“of the garden”) cress while other cress is tabooed. It is uncertain whether two different varieties of the same plant are referred to here, or whether the woman is to eat only vegetables grown under (ritually?) controlled circumstances.

Note that the prohibitive statements in this paragraph employ the simple indicative of the verb ed- (e-iz-za-zi), while the iterative form az-zi-ki-iz-zi is found in the concessive statement in obv. 18. The break in obv. 19 has been restored accordingly. The sense of this line is that what the woman may not eat is to be consumed by her husband.

*obv. 20*. The verb as it stands in Ka is wa-ar-pa-un, “I washed,” which makes little sense in this context, but [wa-ar-pa-an-[za] in Kb obv. 4’ shows that a participle was intended here.

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372 ŠAR-[aš Z]ÀÀH.LI here is to be contrasted to (NUMUN) ŽÀÀH.LI14A gi-im-[a-arl], “reed of cress of the field,” in XXXVII 1 obv. 35 (Hittite in Akkadian context—see Köcher, AO16, 1952/53, 47ff.).

šu-up-pa here and in rev. 24 is to be understood as an adverb, similar to šu-up-pa-ya373 in KUB XIV 8 rev. 44’:

na-at-ša-ma-ššu-up-pa-ya374 še-eš-[k][i-š-š-šan-zi]375

And they will sleep long*” (and) purely on these things (i.e., during an incubation oracle).

*obv. 21ff*. The import of these lines is that while the husband might visit his wife during her absence from the household, if he should take a meal in her presence, the two must eat from separate vessels and at separate tables.

*obv. 24–26*. Rev. 28–30 present a rough parallel to these lines. In Ka obv. 25 there is room for about six more signs than are required by the restoration [(da-an-ra-an-a[d]a-an-zi)], yet Kb obv. 9’ clearly reads [(šu]-u-m[a-an GIBILTM da-an-ra-an-a[d]a-an-zi)], with nothing intervening between these words. Perhaps there was originally an adverb in Ka which was not present in Kb.

This paragraph deals with the preparation of the materials for the actual birth—note that the similar passage in § 24 also immediately precedes the mention of delivery.376 Brand-new (GIBILTM) equipment is to be employed and metal utensils are to be purified through burning (or aromatics). For 15[Ašša-l-a], “stool,” see above, pp. 25 ff.

*obv. 28*. In Ka there appears to be room for about eight more signs than would be required by a simple restoration [(ma-a-la a-pī-d-a-ni] UJ.7.KAM, based upon the sequence of words clearly visible in Kb and in Ka § 27. Perhaps the text of Ka § 9 originally contained another Hurrian offering term.

Here we encounter a ceremony performed on the seventh day after birth. In many cultures rituals are carried out for an infant several days after he or she is born. The Hebrew boy was circumcision on the eighth day (cf. Lev. 12:3), and in ancient Greece the amphidromia ceremony in which a child was repeatedly carried around the house of his parents was performed on the seventh day.377

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373 See HW1 199 and Winkels, Diss 76ff.
374 The duplicates XIV 11 IV 18’ and XIV 10 IV 13’ both read šu-up-pa here.
375 Restoration from XIV 10 IV 14’.
376 For the ritual treatment of personal furnishings, cf. Text H § 13’.
377 See L. Deubner, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie nF 95, 1952, 374–77. J. Morgenstern, Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death and Kindred Occasions among the Semites (New York, 1973), p. 8, notes that among the Yazidis of early twentieth-century Iraq, baptism was performed for a child on the seventh day after birth.
The social import of this type of ceremony is shown by the fact that after a child had undergone the amphidromia, he or she could no longer be disposed of through exposure. 378 That is, this rite marked both the acceptance of the child into the family and entrance into a state of social personhood. Note also that the ceremony would take place after the child had survived the period immediately following birth, a time which would have been extremely dangerous in a culture without modern medical and hygienic knowledge—a “sign” of sorts would be given by the dropping off of the remains of the umbilical cord (if it had not been completely removed by those officiating at the delivery), an event which normally occurs five to seven days after birth.

obv. 29. In this line the Middle prs.3.sg. mi-i-ya-ri is twice restored, although the parallel § 27 (rev. 39) employs the prt. mi-ya-ri. This is because later, in the section dealing with the female child, Kb rev. 4 has mi-i-ya-ri, and the sparse traces at the end of this verb in Kb obv. 29 (first occurrence) resemble [R]J more than [T]J.

obv. 30. § 27 (rev. 39–40) reads našta UD.1.KAM našma UD.2.KAM (ašša)na-za. Here in § 9 all that is actually preserved is [UD.]3.KAM, which could be emended to [UD.].2.KAM. This is unimportant, however, since we are not dealing with the indication of an exact period of time. What is being stated is that in the calculation of the three- or four-month period which must elapse before the purification of the child, one should not take into account the exact day of birth, but should rather round off to the nearest month.

Kb presents a problem in this instance since UD.1.KAM stands isolated in obv. 16. Its position, with significant space available to either side, seems to indicate that it was the last word of the paragraph. Also, in Ka obv. 30 difficulties are encountered. Between [UD.].3.KAM and a-āš-ša-an-za there is a break with room for about eight signs. This space would presumably have been inscribed, since nowhere else on this tablet, as far as can be determined, is the entire last word of the paragraph set off to the right. However, it is difficult to find a suitable restoration here.

The use of aššanu here indicates that in this text šiwwat-, a noun of variable gender (see HW 195), is of common gender.

obv. 31. [(kap-)]u-ū-ū-ša-ša-[k]-dn: The verb kappuwas occurs in this text in an identical context six times—here, and at Ka obv. 34, rev. 40 and 43, Kb rev. 1 and 5—and only here is it certainly in the imperative mood. Ka rev. 40 and Kb rev. 5, the only other instances in which the end of the word has been pre-served, both read kappuškanzi, “they shall count off.” Accordingly, I have emended DU to ZI, yielding the indicative mood here also.

A slight difference between the two exemplars of the text is to be noted here: Ka employs the sentence-particle -aša with kappuwas (rev. 40), while Kb uses -kan (rev. 5). Also, the unusual plene spelling of kappuwas- attested in Ka (obv. 31, rev. 40 and 43) is nowhere employed in Kb.

obv. 32. Kb rev. 2 has ]-aša ku-ū-ū-ša-na-na-ta-az, but a comparison with the parallel passage on the rev. of Ka (line 41) shows that TA is to be emended here to USI, i.e., NITA.

obv. 33. Kb rev. 3 has LUMES.5HAL, but the parallel § 28 (Ka rev. 42) reads LUMESAZU. Since the terms AZU and HAL are synonymous at Boğazköy, 379 this presents no significant problem, but it seems best to employ the same logogram throughout one tablet—therefore LUMESAZU has been restored here.

(z)ak-šak- should be understood here in the sense of “be proficient in, practice”—cf. from the “Proclamation of Telepinu,” KUB XI 1 IV 23’–24’:
[Whose]ever in the (royal) family should practice sorcery, you, the (royal) [j]am[i]ly, seize him and deliver him to the gate of the palace!

Clearly more than a passing acquaintance with the subject of sorcery is envisioned here. Note also KUB XXII 611 14’–19’ (Bulde, StBoT 19, 4):
14. ’U pa-ra-yu-ua-ua-an-zar ku-it DUMUSAL ’Na-a-ya
15. ’U Me-[mi]-ya-aš nam-ma-ya LUMES.5AZU ku-it še-ik-kám-[z]
16. ’U LUMÉ.5 ku-it me-[ig]-za-ya na-at-za a-ri-ya-mi
17. ku-it-mu ’U SÍ.L.5.SÁ.5.A.ZU a-ri-ya-mi
18. ku-ši-mu LUMÉ.5 AZU SÍ.L.5.SÁ.5 ni-šu-šu A A.NA 4TU[S]I
19. ’U LUMÉ.5 a-pa-a-at SÍ.[pa-ar-ri]-ti-ti

Whatever plant in addition” the daughter of Naya (i.e.) Memiya, and further the physicians utilize—because there are many plants, I will make an oracular inquiry about them. Whatever plant is recommended to me by the oracle—I will also make an oracular inquiry concerning the physicians—such a physician as is (also) recommended to me by the oracle shall rub that plant in the eyes of My Majesty.

379 This equivalence is challenged by Kammenhuber, THeTh 7, 134–36, but the evidence of this text, as well as that adduced by Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 147, supports it nonetheless. See also Füchter, FSlaRoche, 140, and Gurney, Aspects, 45, n. 6.
-za šak- here must designate a professional competence of the physicians with the various medicinal plants. This is the same situation as in Text K.380

The restorations in the second break in obv. 33 are drawn from rev. 42. -at is to be interpreted as the nom./acc.sgn. enclitic pronoun, and must refer to the kunzigannabat and serve as the object of šipandazê. This indicates that the cleansing material was offered to some deity after being used to purify the child. Although it seems unlikely that any deity would have welcomed such a gift, there is no alternative to this interpretation. The possibility of taking -at as the nom.pl.c. enclitic pronoun, referring to the seers and serving as the subject of šipandanzê, is ruled out by the presence of [ap]e here, denoting the practitioners. In any case, the break presumably contained the name of the deity to whom the offering was made.

obv. 35. ma-ab-ha-an-ma rather than nu ma-ab-ha-an as in Kb rev. 5 has been restored here because the former construction is employed in the parallel § 29, also in Ka (rev. 43). [I[TU.4.KAM] has been restored from the same line of the reverse.

A comparison with the preceding line 32, as well as with the parallel rev. 44, shows that the accusative ku-un-zi-ga-(an-)ma-hi-ti of both Ka and Kb here is an error for the grammatically correct abl./inst.

§§ 10–11 probably deal with an “outing ceremony” by which the child is both purified and presented to the community.381 (This latter aspect is not stated explicitly here, but may be assumed through a comparison with the analogous Christian sacrament of baptism, which normally takes place before the assembled religious community to which the parents belong.) After this ceremony, both the mother and child would (re)enter into normal relations with the rest of their community.382 The longer period which must elapse after the birth of a female child before this purification may be performed is analogous to the situation described in Lev. 12:1–5. Here we learn that while a woman is extremely impure for seven days after the birth of a male child and must undergo a purificatory process lasting 33 days, the mother of a female child is very impure for two weeks and does not escape her impurity totally until 66 days have passed. Many other examples, from the most divergent cultures, of a similar differentiation of the lengths of the ritual periods of time applicable to male and female children could be cited.383

At this point in this tablet the chronological exposition of the regimen of pregnancy, birth and post-parturition has been completed.

obv. 37. To the rite mentioned here, cf. EZEN ba-aš-sa-an-na-aš[aš], Text Ya II 4'.

That ba-aš-si here is an error for ba-aš-ši, “she gives birth,” is shown by a comparison with the parallel rev. 45, which has [ba-aš]-ši-ra.

obv. 38. [(n)2]-aš gis² kur-ta-aš i-y[a-an-za: The referent of the enclitic subject pronoun here, as well as in the next phrase and in line 39, is the ritual.384

The majority of the currently known attestations of gis² kurta- are found in KUB XLII 100:

ŠA anÁNIR.GAL gis² kur-ta-za 12 EZEN × /

From the k. of Muwatalli, twelve festivals[

[ma₂ ŠA A-BI³⁶⁹] A-BI UTU²ISRAN gis² kur-ta-za 1 EZEN GIBIL 1 EZEN bar-pa-aš (III 22–23')

[And'] from the k. [of the grand]father of His Majesty, the New Festival (and) the Festival of the Harvest[

[I]Š TU A-BI A-BI UTU²ISRAN²gi² gur-ta-za DINGIR²MEŠ (IV 10')

And from the grandfather of His Majesty, from the k., the god[s]

baš-kir-iš URRNe-ri-ik-ki-kans an-na-al-li gis² gur-ta A-NA SÜM-MU DINGIR²MEŠ an-da SÜM-an i-y[a-an-za (IV 33–34')

As for the grain (deity): In Netir on' an ancient k. he is recorded by name among the names of the gods.

380 Note also that the pl. šekkant- seems to mean “educated, trained.” This is the conclusion to be drawn from the lexical list KBo i 42, where Û-UL še-ik-kân-za (= Å.NU.GAL = [LA]-A I-SÂ A-NU) (I 11') stands in implied contrast to wa-ša-ga-ab-ha-an-za (= Å.GAL = [LE]-E-UI) (I 3').

381 For such ceremonies, see Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1910), II, 640ff.


383 An example in which the waiting period for purification is longer for a male child is found in traditional Vietnamese culture, where the mother leaves her house for the first 29 days after birth if she has borne a boy, and for 28 after delivery if the baby is a girl. See R. J. Coughlin, “Pregnancy and Birth in Vietnam,” in Southeast Asian Birth Customs, D. V. Hart et al. (New Haven, 1965), p. 249.

384 The Hittite word hidden by the logogram EZEN is of common gender (= *kalli₃-tarwana₃—see note 371)—see HW² 271.

385 Cf. I 20' for this restoration.
What may be drawn from these passages is 1) that the kurta- was a wooden object and 2) that it was the source of various festivals. In this connection note Bo 3289:

9.‘ | x I-NA É ŢUP-PA-aš
10.‘ | x KAR-u-en
12.‘ | gur-da-za

which, although damaged, suggests that the kurta- was the source for that which was found (KAR-u-en) in the scribal school (É ŢUP-PA-aš). Compare here Bo 3968:1‘ | x x x an-na-la-za putt-pi-za KAR-u-en, which suggests an approximate equivalence of kurta- and annala- tuppī, “old (clay) tablet.” This relationship is clarified through an examination of KUB XXXVIII 19 + IBoT II 102 rev. 4‘-5‘.

[k]-a-ru-ú-li-ya-za-at 387, kànu GIS UR gur-da-[za ...]
ar-ša gur-sa-an-za

From the ancient wooden kurta-tablet it is [...] written up.

k’urta-da- is here provided with a more specific determinative than in the preceding instances, namely with GIS HUR, “wooden tablet.” Therefore kurta- must designate a particular type of this writing material, and in Bo 3289, be only functionally equivalent to tuppī- in Bo 3968. Another type of wooden tablet is the GIS gis-gur-dā-sa-za (240‘r IV 7‘) and GIS gur-sa-an-za (KBo XI 1 obv. 41 389). An etymological connection with GIS kurta-lī-, a type of container, is possible.191

URU Ki-iz-zu-aa-ta appears here in the undeclined stem-form. Since the Sumerogram KUR is not present, perhaps we are dealing with the capital city—

386 A final attestation of GIS kurta-, Bo 3295 III 7‘: | x kurš GIS gur-da-aaš, is of little help here, although it should be noted that gur-sa-an follows in line 9‘.
387 Since the following participle is of common gender, perhaps the neuter -at here is an error for -aš.
388 For this type of writing material in the Mesopotamian Kulturkreis, see Hunger, AOAT 2, 7–8.
389 Cf. obv. 21 and see Laroche, OLZ 1963, 246.
390 Cf. also GIS gis-gur-da-aaš’, KBo XVIII 82 obv. 9‘.
391 See Otten, HTR 134, kurta-, “citadel,” is certainly to be kept separate from the word here under discussion. See HV 3 119 for references and secondary literature. Kurta-, as attested in KBo VIII 19 obv. 10 ("gur-da-aaš") and Bo 3948 II 1–2: | x GIS gur-da-aaš Ti-ii-wa-at-ti-aš / | x BI-IB-RUR pa-ra-a ėr-ki-ir is probably also to be understood as “citadel.”

of Kizzuwatna (i.e., Kummanni), rather than with the area as a whole. For the importation of written materials concerning rituals from Kizzuwatna, cf. the colophon to KUB XXXIV 116 . . . 393


When Puduḫēpa, the queen, instructed UR MAH LI, the chief of the scribes, to search for the tablets of the city of Kizzuwatna in the city of Ḫattuša, he thereupon prepared these tablets of the bišua-festival on that day.

obv. 39, kar-ta is to be understood as an archaic terminative sg. of ker, “heart,” preserved into the later stages of the language in a frozen expression.394 The sentence here may be rendered literally as “And the festival is not orally (pressed)395 to my heart,” and refers to the internalization of information. Other examples known to me of the usage without a verb are all written with the aid of a Sumerogram:

mu-ka-n ku-e A-VA-TE²S A-NA UTUŠI ŠA-ta (VI 45 + IV 46)
mu-ua-ra-aš mu-ka-n ŠA-ta (XIII 33.11 12)
mu-ua-ra-aš mu-ka-n ŠA-ta (XXXI 55.11 17)
[ŠA-ta-pat-eš-ta] (KBo IV 12 obv. 32)

Another possibility is to read KAR-ta = u-emiyatta,396 resulting in a translation “is found orally by (i.e., near) me,” but the parallelism of obv. 39 with the passages employing the unambiguous ŠA-ta, however, speaks against this.

393 Quoted by Otten, BiOr 8, 1951, 225.
394 For other examples of this phenomenon, see Oettinger, StBoT 22, 29–30.
395 The ellipted verb here is probably šà- as in XLVIII 99.3: a-an-ša Pi-ir-ua kar-ta ša-aa-li’/’
396 For the passive prs.3.sg. ending -ta with u-emiyatta-, cf. KBo XVIII 50 obv. 11: u-em-ya-at-ta.
Obv. 38–39 are not part of the text itself, but constitute rather a scribal "marginal note," a fact which explains the anomalous appearance of the first person singular verb in line 39. Such remarks, while rare in texts from Boğazköy, are not otherwise unknown. Note, for example, KUB XXX 57 + 59 I S–7, a passage from a library catalogue:

[DUB.1.KAM A-WA-AT'Du-um-na-uniya [2SK]5UI.GI
[mi]-a-an ak-kiin-ta-an mu-u-ga-mi Ù-{I}UL QA-TI
[EGIR-iz-zi ma-aš-si TUP-PU na-a-uni u-e-mi-ya-u-en

First tablet. The word of Tunnawiya, the Old Woman: "When I Invoke the Dead"—Incomplete; we have not yet found its last tablet.

And KUB XXXVII I, an Akkadian-language medical text copied as a school exercise at Ḥattuša,397 contains a Hittite gloss in obv. 9:


Likewise, cedar (and) salabita-wood—I do not know this salabita-wood.

The scribe of one of the forerunners398 to KBo XVII 65 has in these lines indicated that he was unable to provide details of this particular festival, since it was foreign and he had not committed it to memory.399 Rather, it was necessary for him to wait until the material (in the form of a kurta-tablet) had been imported400 from Kizzuwatna.

Obv. 40ff. This paragraph apparently imposes a ban on violence and conflict in the period immediately following the birth, a measure which anthropology suggests would have been taken in order to prevent the contamination of the new-born by the evil influences stirred up by such activities.401 The scope of the group covered by such a ban is not stated here, but was certainly the family of the parents, in a narrower or wider sense.

Obv. 40. For the Passive of karp- meaning "be completed," see Neu, StBoT 5, 80–81. If this refers to the "Festival of Birth" mentioned in § 12, then the two paragraphs must be considered a single "appendix" to the regimen.

398 See above, pp. 146–48. That this note is present on both sides of the tablet provides support for my analysis of the structure of this text.
399 Note the uncertainty of the Hittites as to how they were to treat foreign deities (specifically those of Aḫḫiyawaw and Lazpa) in V 6 II 57–64.
400 By himself personally, as here (up-pa-ab-ḫi), or by others, as in rev. 46 and Kb rev. 10 (i-da-an-zi).

Text K = KBo XVII 65

Obv. 41. wa-aš-du-la-an-zí-ya is prs.3.sg. of waṣdulai-; a verb not listed in HW1. It cannot be doubted, however, that it is an "ai-denominative"402 from waṣṭul-, "sin," synonymous with the more common waṣṭa-, "commit sin." Similarly, za-ab-ha-an-zí-ya in the previous line can only be a form of zahbi-403, while the normal stem for "fight" is zahbiya-.404

In the main text we have the particle of unreality man, while the scribe of Kb "corrected" his text to show the conjunction män (rev. 13). For the occasional omission of a conjunction in conditional sentences with man, see HE 12 § 330b.

[k(ar)-]tim-mi-ya-ab-hi is prs.3.sg. of kartimmiyah-, "make angry."404 For the HI-verb ending on this type of MI-verb, see HE 12 § 150b 1.

Obv. 42. [...] EGI-GA-pa ('pa-iz-zi) ma-ab-ha-an-ma: In Kb rev. 14 maḫhan is immediately preceded not by EGI-Ga-pa, as in Ka, but by a word ending in the ZI-sign. Before this ZI-sign there is preserved a single vertical stroke. These traces must represent the end of a verb, which I have restored as [pa-iz-zi].405 Since it seems unsatisfactory for a clause to end in an adverb such as EGI-Ga-pa—a nominal sentence is unlikely here—I have postulated a scribal error of omission in Ka.

The sense of 41b–42 is not entirely clear, but it probably deals with the undesirable consequences of a breach of the ban mentioned earlier in the paragraph.

Obv. 44ff. This and the following two paragraphs constitute a unit, giving instructions as to how the tueggaš DINGIR.MAḪMES-GLA ("Mother-goddess of the body") are to be treated ritually at each stage during pregnancy. For these deities, see below, pp. 241–46.


A comparison of the writings of the name of these deities in this text—tu-e-ga-aš DINGIR.MAḪMES in line 44 and A-NA DINGIR.MAḪGLA tu-e-ga-aš in line 47—illuminates a scribal convention by which the genitive, which

402 See Goetz, Madd 83ff.
403 za-ab-ha-at in the fragmentary XI 1 IV 10 (BoTU 23B IV 10) is probably the prt.3.sg. of this stem, although HW1 257 tentatively lists it as the inst. of the noun zahhai-.
404 See HW1, 3. Erg. 18.
405 [ni-iz-zi] is equally possible.
406 For this emendation, see Laroche, Cat2 181.
407 See also the colophon to CTH 484, transliterated and translated by Haas and Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 170ff.
usually precedes its noun in Hitite, is placed after a Sumerogram or Akkadian logogram if this logogram is preceded by an Akkadian preposition. This was undoubtedly done in order to keep the logograms in immediate contact.

It is uncertain if tu-e-ig-ga-aż should be restored at the beginning of line 52, following A-NA DIN. MAH\textsuperscript{11,4} at the end of line 51. On the one hand this restoration would result in a parallelism among § 14, § 15, and § 16, but on the other, simple A-NA DIN. MAH\textsuperscript{11,4} appears in line 54. In any case, it is not to be doubted that the same deities are treated in § 16 as in § 14 and § 15.

**obv. 47ff.** This paragraph indicates that a festival is to be performed for the DIN. MAH\textsuperscript{11,4} of the body every month\textsuperscript{409} during pregnancy—note the use of the iterative form peš\textsuperscript{2}kanzi in obv. 48. The iterative/durative form es\textsuperscript{2}kanzi has been restored in obv. 48 accordingly.

**obv. 48.** For the translation "en route" for EGI.R.KASKAL\textsuperscript{409} see already Goetze/Pedersen, MS 121. Although a translation "return trip" is suggested by an analysis of the Sumerogram, neither our passage nor XII 27 dealt with by Goetze and Pedersen mention a previous journey.\textsuperscript{410}

As a technical term in augury, EGI.R.KASKAL seems to denote a particular segment of the field of observation—see Archi, SMEA 16, 1975, 176.\textsuperscript{411} Those birds which follow the designation EGI.R.KASKAL\textsuperscript{412} are not usually the same as those which precede it, leading to the conclusion that a separate part of the observation is indicated.

In the enclitic pronoun -aš in both obv. 48 and 49 to be construed as acc.p.l.c., referring to the (images of the) DIN. MAH deities: If so, these would have been placed in the room where the birth was to take place (harnu-\textsuperscript{2}waž\textsuperscript{2}ziya\textsuperscript{2}wa E) where they would have been at hand to carry out their duties at the moment of birth and in the determination of the fate of the new-born.

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\textsuperscript{408} For EZN ITU, “monthly festival,” see Archi, UF 5, 1973, 10, with n. 9. Note the use of the ppl. armu\textsuperscript{2}wa\textsuperscript{2}r\textsuperscript{2}wa to indicate the state of pregnancy, while the finite form arm\textsuperscript{2}r\textsuperscript{2}hi\textsuperscript{2}hi (obv. 1, 44, rev. 1) indicates the act of becoming pregnant.

\textsuperscript{409} Neither this ideogram nor its presumed Akkadian reading “arkat harrâni(m)" appears in the CAD (sub arkatu or harramu) or in the AHw (sub harr\textsuperscript{2}m\textsuperscript{2}nu(m)).

\textsuperscript{410} In this regard note XXXII 130:20ff., where EGI.R.KASKAL is employed in the description of the return of (an image of) Šauša to Šanuša—see Lebrun, Šanuša 168, where EGI.R.KASKAL is rendered as “en retour.”

\textsuperscript{411} Archi’s translation “dietro la strada” is simply mechanical.

\textsuperscript{412} The position of the sentence-particle in a passage like IboT I 32 obv. 27: EGI.R.KASKAL.\textsuperscript{412}a ha-aż-da-pi-aš-kân EGI.R UGU SIG\textsuperscript{2}ta ii-er shows that EGI.R.KASKAL in the oracles stands outside of the syntax as a sort of “subheading.”
and KBo XIV 133 III 9:
ŠA EN.SISKUR A-NA 1 ŁGMU-DI-SU

Note also the absence of a logogram *NIN.SISKUR/SISKUR at Boğazköy.

In rev. 51 ff. of this tablet, EN.SISKUR:SISKUR certainly refers to the expectant mother, since the "offerant" in that instance is treated quite extensively. Also, this "offerant" is probably the subject of the speech in § 33, which definitely applies only to a woman. But in obv. 55 and rev. 64, where the EN.SISKUR:SISKUR is responsible for expenditures, we may be dealing with the husband.

rev. 3. Due to the ambiguity of Hittite usage of the Sumerogram ITU.N.KAM, ITU.6.KAM UD.2.KAM aššanzi here could also be translated "(when) six months (and) two days remain," indicating a much earlier cessation of intercourse. This measure would be less justified biologically than a taboo beginning at the seventh month. Note also that the ceremonies introduced in the parallel § 2 and described in §§ 3–4 last exactly two days, indicating that in any case the time required for the ritual is included in the calculations.

rev. 4. Restored on the basis of obv. 5.

rev. 5 f. marša-ya SISKUR:SISKUR:maršaya is attested elsewhere only at KBo XVI 97 obv. 34, and the character of the offering cannot be established from the two passages. Judging by the context in Text K, any connection with marša-, "false," is unlikely. Presumably the most important ritual practitioners involved with the pregnancy and birth are treated in this ceremony. In addition to the ŁAZU active in § 26, these include the SALKAM:GI, who here must be the midwife and her assistants.

For the assumption of a female actor in this paragraph, see below, p. 169.

rev. 6. Apritta, not listed by Laroche, Rech, is shown to be a female deity by KBo XX 111:12: ḫIP-r-t-t-ia-si SALKALUGAL SAL-za, "Apritta, the queen, the woman." The mention of Uruk Ki-izi-uwa-[at-na] in line 15' of KBo XX 111 makes a connection with this area likely, a fact which accords well with the appearance of this goddess in the present context. The only other text known to me in which Apritta is found, KBo XII 107 (rev. 5', 10'), is also a purification ritual of Hurro-Luwian origin.

416 See below, p. 172.
417 With duplicate 23/g.

rev. 10. The subject of the three nom./acc.pl.n.pls.418 in this line, as well as the referant of the enclitic subject pronoun -at, is some building (whose designation has presumably been lost in the break at the beginning of the line), appearing in the n.pl.419 This building is prepared for its cultic role through a purification consisting of the whitewashing (ĥaneš-) of its walls and the sprinkling (šart[n]-i) of water on its floor in order to settle the dust.420 It has also previously been closed off (anda šistapp-) to profane traffic.

rev. 11. Since [a-pa]-la-as SALK-za, "that woman," in performing the offerings here is acting in a professional capacity, it is better to understand the expression as referring to the midwife, rather than to the mother-to-be, although in all other instances in this tablet simple SALK seems to indicate the patient. Probably this woman is the actor in all of §§ 19–22.

rev. 12. For DINGIR.GI, see Carruba, RIA III, 355. The identity there demonstrated of the "Black Deity" with the Moon-god423 fits well with the occurrence in this pregnancy regimen of an offering for this divine personage. For the moon in connection with birth, see above, p. 150, and below, pp. 181–83. Note also that KUB XXXII 133 deals with the transference of the cult of DINGIR.GI from Kizzuwatna to Šamšu, the latter town being located in Ḫatti proper. This movement is parallel to that of the ritual practices detailed in this text.

rev. 14. For šarlat-ta-, "encomium-offering," see Laroche, FsFriedrich 293. The form here is uninfluenced. Cf. ku-us šar-la-at-ta, IBoT III 148 IV 48 (acc.pl. by context). For the restoration of the Hittite conjunction -ya in kel-diya-[ya] (the traces are quite slight), cf. XV 32 II 20:
ki-el-di-ya-ya 9 MUŠAMI 1 SILÁ-ya ši-pa-an-ti

418 Morphologically these could also be interpreted as M/P pros.3.pl., but since neither haneš- nor ūrmeš- has M/P forms listed in StBoT 5, and since elsewhere in Text K M/P verbs have the final ending -ri (e.g., Karap attendance, obv. 40; ešari, rev. 54), this is unlikely.
419 See below, pp. 171f.
420 Cf. XXIX 7 obv. 46 (Lebrun, Šamšu 120):
nu-ta wa-ar-pa-ar-zi Ė.DINGIR KAN-ya-kin šar-me-er-zi
Then they wash themselves and besprinkle the temple.
421 Lebrun, Šamšu 28–31, suggests that in some cases DINGIR.GI is equivalent to ISTAR/Sauska, a deity who would also fit well into our context—see below, pp. 222f.
And for well-being he sacrifices nine birds and one lamb.

**keldiya** itself was originally in the Hurrian -ya-case,\(^{423}\) but has been taken over into Hitteite, receiving no additional inflectional ending in the process.\(^{424}\)

rev. 15. The restoration [i-ya-z] here is based upon the following line. *ma-aa-si* is *mam-mi*, with assimilation (*-ns- > -ss*).\(^{425}\) It is probable that nothing has been lost in the break at the end of this line, and that *kuit* is employed here for the usual indefinite relative pronoun *kuikti*—see HE II § 253ba.

rev. 16. The stem *kallar-* has been shown by Laroch\(^{426}\) to alternate with NUMSIG\(\_\) and thus to designate an unfavorable quality. On the other hand, the vocabulary KBo I 130 obv. 11 provides the equivalence:


suggesting that another aspect of the semantic field of this stem is "greatness."\(^{427}\)

However, it seems most likely that what is indicated here are offerings designed to rid the woman of malignant influences,\(^{428}\) possibly those resulting from neglect of religious duties (see immediately below). For another offering receiving its designation from that which it is intended to remove, cf. SISKUR. SISKUR *paparrnas*, "offering of impurity," KUB VII 53 IV 6.

rev. 17ff. What is involved in this paragraph is the fulfillment of such religious obligations (literally "things of the šinapči-house") as should be revealed to the expectant mother in a dream,\(^{429}\) and the treatment of anything which should be troubling her conscience. After these things had been taken care of, the woman would be in a favorable moral condition to undertake the dangerous experience of giving birth.

rev. 18. The restoration here is very uncertain, but space clearly requires more than a simple *u-us-an-[zi].*

rev. 21. The seeming incongruity between NINDA-a-an-ta and pār-si-yā-an—see HW\(\_\) 441.—is to be explained as an instance where the n.pl. is employed in the attributive position—*ayanta* is actually an adjective modifying NINDA—but not in the predicate—see HE II § 256b.

rev. 22. 1 NINDAqš-ša-li-du: The reading here is uncertain, and no bread of this name is included by Hoffner in AlHeth.

rev. 23f. For the bread gaz(a)mi, see Hoffner, AlHeth 168. For the patilli-priests, see below, pp. 235–38, and for the *kattru*-women, see above, pp. 106–08.

rev. 25. For ḫarana-, "inn," see Güterbock, JCS 10, 1956, 90, n.a, and Hoffner, FS Güterbock 113–21. However, I cannot agree with Hoffner’s interpretation (ibid. 114–15) of ḫar-za-na-āš in this instance as gen.sg. Admittedly the present passage is ambiguous due to the presence of Šit, which may be interpreted as either a determinative or as a logogram, but this is not the case in KBo IV 2124–26, where a tallow dog is addressed:


And as by day you do not admit another stranger into the house, (likewise) tonight may you not admit an evil matter!

No *rege* is present here for pār-na-āš, and the form must therefore be interpreted as dat./loc.pl.

Compare also Text K rev. 31: a-pi-e-da-āš pār-na-āš, where only one building is meant, and Güterbock, XIX RAI 308, where it is pointed out that ḫalantumca, "palace," usually appears in the plural.

Thus the designations of single buildings in Hitteite could in some instances be declined as plurals, probably because the buildings themselves consisted of a number of rooms. A similar situation is encountered in regard to certain

impotence is determined by whether or not the patient experiences an erotic dream involving a goddess.
pieces of furniture. Note the use of the dat./loc.pl. in the phrase ȝar-pa-aš e-ša-at, an “he sat on the bolster,” and in XXY 15 19 (Otten, HTR 66): ma-ana SAL-za-za na-ša-an ȝa-at ȝa-li-ya-ka-ti ȝa-ša-an ti-an-zī
But if it is a woman, then they place them (the bones of the deceased) on the stool.432

Other pieces of furniture are attested at Boğazköy as occurring in sets: 433 1 NL-TUM gisNÁ, “one bed outfit” (XXVII 14 IV 3), 2 TA-PAL DUSGILR.GÁN ZABÁR, “two sets of ...-containers of bronze” (XXIX 4 1 23) and 1 NL-TIM gisšiš-ta, “one chair/throne” (XXIX 4 1 28, 29), a fact which also points to their being conceived of as a collection of component parts.434

rev. 26. [e-iz-za-zi]: Conjecturally restored from context and from comparison with obv. 23, although it should be noted that if the regimen of birth and pregnancy outlined on the reverse is identical to that of the obverse, it would have been generally forbidden for the woman to eat in the presence of her husband (cf. § 6).

rev. 28. Note the lack of congruence between human (nom./acc.sg.n.) and damsaranan (acc.sg.c.).

rev. 29. da-aš-ki-ši-ta-ri: This unique Passive iter. form of da-, “take,” has already been noted by Neu, StBoT 5, 160. For the restoration in the break, cf. the similar obv. 25.

rev. 32. zu-ur-ki-ta-iz-zi is a verbal derivative of the Hurrian offering term zurgi—see Otten, StBoT 15, 13, and Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 64.

rev. 33 ff. For the restorations here, cf. obv. 11 ff. On analogy with those lines, the subject here is probably also the seer.

rev. 35. It is uncertain whether the paragraph stroke visible under the second half of this line was merely poorly drawn or whether it represents an error, only partially corrected by the scribe. For convenience I have ignored it in the numbering of the paragraphs.

rev. 39. The use of the sentence-particle -ašta here with [a-ša-ša]-an-za in the following line is unusual; the parallel obv. 29 employs -kan.

430 XXXIII 19 III 1—cf. also XXXIII 21 III 2.
431 Incorrectly listed in HW3 55 as gen.sg.
432 Cf. XXX 24 II 16 (Otten, HTR 60) and XXXIX 14 IV 7–8 (ibid. 82).
433 IŠTENOTU and TĀPALU—the terms are roughly synonymous—see Goetze, ZA 40, 1931, 79–80; Speiser, JAOS 74, 1954, 25; and Kronasser, SchwGoth 42–43.
434 See also above, p. 110.

rev. 43. [na-ša-ša a-pi-e-iz: na-ša-ša has been restored in the break here on analogy with -ašta kappunwai in rev. 40.

rev. 47 ff. In §§ 31–33 we find instructions for an offering ceremony dedicated to Ḫebat. Just when within the course of the preceding regimen this offering was to take place is not stated. The materials listed here are not mentioned previously in the text.

A basic element in the character of Ḫebat is that of the Mother-goddess.435 Note in this regard her association with the DIN.GIR.MAḪ in obv. 54 here. The speech in § 33 ties the offerant closely to Ḫebat as her maidservant, thus establishing a relationship which would be of particular importance if the goddess is seen as especially concerned with reproduction.

It would be interesting to know if rev. 58, which speaks of the observing by the offerant of the “temple, command, and custom” (E iššul šaklaim-a) of Ḫebat refers to actual service in the cultic establishment or whether this is simply an admonition to the expectant mother to comport herself in a religiously correct manner.

Another question which presents itself is whether only a woman who had given birth could be such a "maidservant of Ḫebat."

rev. 47. NINDNÁmulati- is discussed by Hoffner, AlHeth 172–73, where it is pointed out that the usual amount of flour employed in the preparation of such a loaf is one-half UDNU, as is the case here.

rev. 48. ulmarišänder, unattested elsewhere, perhaps involves the Hurrian adjective ulmi—see Laroche, GLH 280.

rev. 50. kušNÍG.BÁR: Restoration uncertain, but another example of a kušNÍG.BÁR in a list of ritual equipment is found at KUB XXIX 4 11 4. (Note that two tarpal- and one ŠGšišr-, objects also mentioned in this text, are listed in the line immediately preceding.)

rev. 51 ff. These lines have been mutually restored. For bread made from BÂ.BA.ZA, “pap, porridge,” see Hoffner, AlHeth 193.

rev. 53 ff. The copy shows u-ta-ša-an(-), but since no Hittite word so beginning is known, it seems best to postulate a scribal error by which the first two signs of the word were interchanged.436 yugan, “yoke,” fits well here both as a reasonable object to be set on the neck of a person and as a symbol of the subjugation described in the speech recorded in the next paragraph.

435 See Danmanville, RIA IV, 326–29, especially 326. See also already Gelb, HS 106–07.
436 For such errors, see Sommer, OLZ 1953, 17.
Laroche, RHA 76, 1965, 43–44, supports Sommer and Ehelolf in translating $\text{kiišri}$ as "glove." This rendering had been challenged by Goetze, as well as by Friedrich. Laroche stresses that this word has a variant nom.sg. $\text{kiišari}$ (KBo VII 18), from which the normal form $\text{kiišri}$ must be considered a syncopation. The fuller stem is practically identical to the Hittite word for "hand," $\text{kiškar},$ and Laroche claims that this provides confirmation of Sommer and Ehelolf's early interpretation. However, at the same time, Laroche points out that $\text{kiišri}$ is attested only in Kizzuwatnaean texts, and he even suggests that the $\text{f}$ theme vowel is a Luwianism. But since the Luwian word for "hand" is $\text{iššari},$ lacking the initial stop, it is highly questionable that $\text{kiišari}$-$\text{kiišri}$ signifies "glove." In addition, it should be noted that none of the actual textual occurrences of this word demands this interpretation.

rev. 54. Although not usually provided with the determinative $\text{SÎG},$ a $\text{arpallu}$ is a woolen product, found in association with $\text{kiišri}$ also below, rev. 61, and in the "Ritual of Papanikri" II 25. $\text{arpallu}$ is usually accompanied by a designation of the color of the wool from which it is fashioned—cf. the line just cited.

rev. 55. $\text{la-ak-sa-ıš}$: This word is attested elsewhere only at Bo 6976 IV (or VI): $\text{SÎG}$ $\text{SA SÎG ZA.GÎN la-ak-sa-ı[i]}$], which suggests that it designates an implement employed in connection with wool. If the next line in Text K indeed begins with a form of $\text{pašı}: $"stick," then we may perhaps be dealing here with a knitting needle or the like. At any rate, the $\text{lakšai}$ was a small object, weighing relatively little.

rev. 57. To $\text{GEME ki-ıš-ta-at}$ cf. XXII 70 rev. 65 (Unal, THeth 6, 98): $\text{DINGIR UM GEME-ıš-ta-at-ta}, "\text{o god, I am your maid servant!}"

left edge. Two large inscribed portions of the left edge of the tablet have been preserved, with a piece large enough to hold 15–18 signs lost between them. The extreme left and right ends of the edge surface have also been broken off. It is not possible to determine how close to the top of the tablet the inscription on the edge began. The left edge of its preserved portion is situated opposite rev. 15, or approximately one-fourth of the way down the tablet. The present right edge (of the edge) is at about rev. 57, but from context it appears that very little has been lost at this end.

edge 1 ff. It is possible that §§ 35–38 are to be taken as a unit, providing additional details of the "outing ceremony" (cf. obv. §§ 9–11, rev. §§ 27–29).

1 $\text{NINDA} \text{SA-nu-za-ıš}$: Hother, AlHeth 179, lists no other occurrences of this type of bread.

1 $\text{GÎS ga-ar-ka-r} \text{GÎS IN-BI}$: cf. KBo XV 37 III 50–53:

50. EGIS $\text{DU ma} \text{GÎS ga-ar-kar} \text{GÎS IN-BI}$

51. $\text{SA NINDA LÂL bu-um-za-an-ta-za}$

52. $\text{tar-na-za ba-an-da-a-an}$

53. $\text{na-at PA-ANI DINGIR UM da-a-i}$

Thereafter, two garkar of fruit (are) prepared with each tarna of honey-cake, and he places them before the deity.

Note also KBo XXIV 40 obv. 9: 1 $\text{GÎS ga-ar-kar IN-BI};$ KBo XXIV 70 I 18: $\text{GÎS ga-ar-kar} \text{GÎS IN-BI};$ and Bo 6034 I 11: 1 $\text{GÎS ga-ar-kar NINDA LÂL GÎS IN-BI}$. From these contexts it is clear that $\text{GÎS garkar}$ indicates a type of wooden container, and if KBo XIII 164 IV 5: $\text{GÎS kar-[ga-ra-ya-]AD.KID}$ is correctly restored as a plural of this word, a garkar could be made of reed as well and was probably a sort of basket.

edge 5. If the $\text{za}$ in this clause indicates a personal involvement in the action on the part of the subject, then this subject is probably the mother of the child.

edge 6. [...] $\text{ma-a-na-aš a}n-tu-ua-ab-ıa-ta$ $\text{SIGa-za-na-za}$: cf. Text C § 4, where the fitness of the new-born is determined immediately after delivery. Here, however, we are probably dealing with an occasion several months after birth.

edge 7. [...] $\text{ri-aš $\text{LÎNAR-ya}$}$: This is the only mention of a musician on the entire tablet. [...] $\text{ra-aš}$ is probably the end of a genitive modifying $\text{LÎNAR}$.

437 Pap 34.
438 Thum 89.
439 HW 111, and 1. Erg. 10.
440 For the $\text{i}$-vowel in the first syllable, see Otten/Soucek, StBoT 8, 48.
441 See Laroche, DLI 52–53.
443 See Carruba, StBoT 2, 11, n. 5, for the equivalence of a loaf made of 1/2 $\text{UPNI}$ ("handful") of grain to one weighing 1 tarna.

444 Duplicate XXV 40 IV 1: $\text{GÎS ga-ar-kar}$
445 Ibid. I 5: 1 $\text{GA-AR-KAR UM}$
446 Ibid. I 3: $\text{GA-AR-KAR LÂL}$
447 Otten, HTR 94, n. b., suggests a comparison to $\text{GÎS karkarali}$

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448 Duplicate XXV 40 IV 4: $\text{GÎS ga-ar-kar}$
Rev. [UM-MA] }Pi-te-i ma-a-an DUMU-an ar-ma-iz-zi
2. [ne-pi]-ša-aš-ta GLa-i wa-(aš)-ši-ya-at nu-za Ñu-ša-si-pa wa-aš-si-ya-
(at) ÑXXX-aš-ma-(za) e-eš-ba-ni-ya wa-aš-si-ya-(at)
nu-za Uš-aš GîS BAN ME-aš x x 7
4. [Š]U-za wa-a-wa-ra-an pa-abḫur ña-ta Šu-az-ma Ña-dan-na-am-ma
GIRLI-pa har-ta
[n]a-ši-ka-n an-da-an Ña-al-la-u-wa-ra-i ya-yan-an-ki-ši nu-ki-aš-ki-uš
Ñu-ut-ti-ya-an-za [NA] EL
LILGUL pu-ut-
na-ši ḤUš-ri ya-ad-da-at u-e-ri-te-eš-ta nu-ši-ši-ka-n KA × ui-ši ta-pu-
sa pa-ti
8. IGIUL-wa KIMIN (= ta-pu-ša pa-it) 9 ULGUL KIMIN na-an-zan-a
SAG. Du DU-at na-an UGU ši-ya-eš-ki-i-iz-zi
AMA DUMU.NITA tash-ku-pa-it nu-ši-ša-an GAM AN-za-4 U-aš-ta e-ni-
ma-wa ku-it
10. nu GIM-an UL ku-it-ki na-at da-pi-an EGR-pa QA-TAM-MA Ñu-
wa-iz-zi
nu-šu-ka-n a-pa-da-ma-ma qa-e-da-mi-ik-ki tuš-um-me-ne pa-a-an-du-wa
DINGIR.MA[H menace] mu-eš-ši-pi-rá-q-an 9 SAl.MEŠ-SÁ.ZU
12. kaš-šu-kaš-ši Ñs-ša-a-ni-in ME-an-(du) TA KASKAL 9 Ñs-ku-wa-ra-
in ME-an-di-šu [ ] × [ -a-ra-ši-da-ma [SAH]ARGL-wa ME-an-du
tu-li-ya-aš NA4-an ME-an-du NA-pu-šu-na-aš GURUN ME-an-du
IGI*-ša-aš*[ -š]-aš-ša*[ × [ ME]-an-di-šu
14. TI-an NA4-an ME-an-du na-at ku-wa-aš-ku-wa-aš-aš-an-du na-at
[ ] [NUN] IG₁-an-di-šu in-mi-ya-an-du
mu-šu-ška NANA-DUMU.NITA Ñu-ša-an-ti-ya-la-aš an-da i-ya-an-du
an-na-an-ma GAM wa-ar-pa-an-du
16. a-wa-an ar-ša ti-ya Ñu-ša-an-mi-iš-ti Ña-an-ni-aš-ši ki-ma-
[ ] × ki-ši
na-at e-eš-ta SIG₃-in pa-id-du-wa-at SIG₃-in na-at nam-ma [SA]AG.DU-
ŠÜ ] × me-ši-a
18. 2-ŠU hu-yuk-zí

a. over erasure
b. erasure
19–21. These lines belong to the text presented on the obverse of this tablet—see Otten, ZA 64, 1975, 47.

22. EMELA EMELA ku-wa-pi-ia pa-it-te-[ni] NAPA-pu-mi pal-ba-na pa-

a-i-u-e-ni A GAM AG NI
A-NA NAKA \\
\( \text{ut-wa-ar-ma-a-ni} \) p[a-a-i-u-e-ni UR MAH GIS-

ru-

an-zí KMIN (= pa-a-i-u-e-ni)
24. UR.BAR.RA \\
\( \text{pa-tal-ba-u-ni} \) KMIN \\
\( \text{sa-am-ma-an-ti} \) DUMU.NITA

lá-la-u-ná KMIN
\( \text{na-at} \) EDIR-pa wa-a-b-mu-zí a-aš-ma-wa-ra-[a]t \( \text{u-wa-an-zí} \) UH \\
\( \text{BLA}; \) SAL \\
\( \text{IS} \)

26. EMELA EMELA ku-wa-an-da-za NAPA-in x₁ [(d)₂[a]a]-a-i GIS tág-an-zá KMIN (= da-

a-i) \( \text{si-wa-ir-bar-zi} \)
IGI-an-dq-za-aš-kán šar-bi-ya-at-[t]a \( \text{ma}_{1}-z-a-n-

ni} \) SAL-is \\
SASK
ZU
28. KWE-IR²-du \( \text{si-wa-lú-za-an} \) IGIV\( \text{II} \) wa ta-aš-wa-a-ha-an-du \\
\( \text{HASPURA} \) hu-wa-an-da-za-aš-kán
KA \( \text{X-UD} \) du-a-an-du wa-a-b-mu-ü tUL-la-uš EME-aš SUL-

za EN-SÚ ar-

hú \( \text{Is} \)
29. KU-Iš-wa-kán ki-e-da-ní DUMU-l[i] HUL-lú [tú] kí-ki-is-iz-zí AN-is pal-ba-

am-ma a-aš-du
KMIN \( \text{gi-ma-wa-} \) (an) a-aš-du] DINGIR GAL DINGIR
\( \text{I} \)
pal-ba-da-mi-in KMIN (= a-aš-du) u-ISTAR-an \( \text{pa-pa-ar-ta-ma} \)
KMIN UR.BAR.RA \\
\( \text{pa-tal-ba-an-da-} \) KMIN \\
MUS-[aš] GIR \( \text{ME} \) KMIN ku-Is-wa ku-a-ni DUMU-\( \text{an} \) \( \text{da-wa-} \)
\( \text{al} \) ki-e-ní tk-lú-tk-ki-e-iz-zí
34. nu kí-EDIR-pa wa-a-b-mu-zí

Commentary

This is a large one-columned tablet, containing two separate compositions, one on the obverse and another on the reverse. The text on the reverse is written upside-down in relation to the text on the obverse and in a smaller script.

The obverse contains the text of a springtime festival for the goddess SAL.

LU GAL. Of Katapa (CTH 520). Cf. obv. 1: [ma-a-an] A-NA SAL.LUGAL

448 The join of XLIV 4 with KBo XIII 241 is pointed out by Otten, ZA 64, 1975, 47.

449 See Klenkel, Introduction to KUB XLIV, V.

450 Although this logogram may represent the divine name Kata\( \text{h} \)a (Hittite thematicization of the Hattic common noun for "queen")—see Otten, StBoT 13, 46—this is
two highly similar names\(^{456}\) refer to the same person, and in view of the damaged condition of the surface of the tablet, it is even possible that we should read 'Pit-te-y-a here.

That arm matière-as well as armahh (ha) indicates the condition of pregnancy was first stated by Goetze, JCS 18, 1964, 91,\(^{457}\) and the present context leads me to follow him in this interpretation, despite the doubts expressed by Kammenhuber, HW^\(^{2}\) 324. As stated above, p. 150, I also prefer to retain the traditional connection of this family of words to arma-, "moon." DUMU-an must be regarded here as an accusative of respect, and although seemingly superfluous, is apparently a usual compliment to this verb.\(^{458}\) Note that DUMU-an is never found with armahhp, although an accusative of respect is sometimes attested,\(^{459}\) and in another instance we find the instrumental.\(^{460}\)

Rev. 1 is isolated syntactically—one expects it to be followed by a statement such as "then I conjure as follows,"\(^{461}\) or "then I take the following articles."\(^{462}\) Here the conditional clause often found at the beginning of rituals seems to have become frozen as a sort of title—note that there is a significant amount of space remaining in this line, and that the body of the text does not begin until rev. 2. This line is best paraphrased as "[The treatment of] Pittei, (for the occasion) when a woman (is) pregnant with child."

rev. 2. [ne-pi-ša-aš-za]: We have here a common gender a-stem formed from the š-stem neuter nepiš.\(^{463}\) The acc.sg. of this stem is found at XXXIII 106 III 40,\(^{464}\) XXXVI 32; 10, and XXXVI 55 II 32 (each time written ne-piš-aš-an).\(^{465}\)

456 Laroche, NH 245, n. 18, writes: "Le -y-a anatolien n'est pas fonctionnel."
457 See also Puhvel, BiOr 36, 1979, 58, where arm matière is explained as "be in a lunar way."
458 Cf. the fragmentary passage from a medical text KBo XXI 20 127 (StBoT 19, 44): DUMU-an ar-ma-ic-[\(\ldots\)]
459 E.g., XLI 8 IV 32–33 (Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 138): na-zā e-[\(\ldots\)] ar pa-ap-ri-tar wa-šu Gšš₂₃ ar-ma-ab-hu-\(\ldots\)  
And let the Dark Earth becom[e] pregnant with the b[loom]d, the impurity (and) the sin!
460 The form ar-ma-ab-hu-[\(\ldots\)] as transliterated by Otten is unexpected—the duplicate KBo X 45 IV 33 has ar-ma-ab-du—and indeed the copy of this text later published by Jakob-Rost does not seem to show enough space to restore both [\(\ldots\)] and [G]M₃ at the beginning of the next sentence. The text is probably not in order here.
461 XXXIII 120 131–33, quoted above on p. 150.
462 Cf. Text E obv. 13'.
463 Cf. Text A obv. 1.
464 On this process, see Goetze, Méh-Pedersen 488–95.
The spelling uwa-ašši-ya-at (prt.3.sg.) is probably intended for all of the verbs in this line, since the form uwa-ašši-ya as it stands is imp.2.sg., which yields little sense here. Note in this connection the frequent omission of signs in this line.

The sky is said here to have dressed itself GLk-t. This form is probably a nom./acc.sg.n. 466 of dāknut, “black, dark.” The statement that the sky was clothed in black is simply an indication that the activity narrated took place at night—the presence of the Moon-god is thus natural. While the sky is presumably also the subject of the second waššiya-here, 2 du1-wi-ip (if read correctly) remains completely obscure.

The Moon-god has dressed himself ę-eš-ša-ni-ya. This word is to be interpreted in parallelism with GLk-t as a nom./acc.sg.n. of an otherwise unattested ešhanitiya, adjective in -iya 468 from the oblique stem of ešhan-ša, “blood; bloody deed.” 469 ešhanitiya is basically synonymous with the more common eššānuwanant, “bloody; blood-red.” 470 It is possible that some meteorological phenomenon involving the moon is alluded to here, but a comparison of the complete context (i.e., through rev. 4) with KUB IX 311 36–41 471 indicates that we are confronted by a literary topos:

36. [(e-s)] 4 AMAR.UTU 5[(at-ti-ti-mi)]-[a]-a-ta 4 In-na-ra-uwa-an-ta-a
37. [(i-)] ywa-([an]-) du eš-ha-([nu-uwa-an]-) tu ku-eš ša-eš-ša-an-ta
38. [(L)] 4 4 Lū-ur-la-hi-ya-a(z-sa-a)n 472 hu-ar-pu-uš ku-eš ša-ša-a-ni

464 The “Song of Uliukummi” Tablet III A III 40’. This form was listed already by Friedrich, HW 150, where it is characterized as “vereinzelt.”
465 Does ne-pi-ša-an-na-na (XVII 29 I 30 in a broken context) also belong here? As a neologism, nepiša is obviously later in development than nepiš—see the comment by Neu, IsOt 239, on kisšara- 4 vis a vis kisšar.
466 Prof. H. Klenkel has collated this line and assures me that the copy is correct here.
467 For the accusative with the M./P. of waššiya, see Neu, StBoT 5, 193, and Otten, Luv 36.
468 Cf. 4špar-ti, “night”; 4špar-tiya, “nocturnal”—see HE I § 49c.
469 For further derivatives from this stem, see Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 143, 154.
470 For this word and its Luwian cognate eššānuwanant, see Otten, Luv 36ff.
471 CTH 757, the “Ritual of Zarpiya.” Transliteration basically after Otten, LTU 14, with restorations from the duplicates HT 1 and XXXV 9.
472 The Luwian version of this passage (II 24) has 4ł-ur-la-hi-in-zu(-), with the divine determinative. On this group see now Laroche, GLH 160.

Come Śanta, 473 and let the Inanna-wants-deities, 474 who are wearing bloody garments, who are bound to the cords 475 of the Lulapi, who have girded themselves with daggers, (and) who hold taut bows and arrows, come with you! Come and eat!

Since the equipment of the Inanna-wants-deities here is practically identical to that of the Moon-god in Text I, it seems that eššāniya is merely part of the costume of a terrifying deity. 476 Frightfulness is not in keeping with the general character of the Hittite Moon-god, so we must assume that the deity is so clad here in preparation for the confrontation in rev. 6ff. But see below, pp. 186–88.

rev. 3. For the reading Uš-aš = eššanitiya here, cf. KBo X 45 IV 10 (Uš-aš) and its duplicate XLI 8 IV 9 (ešš-aš-nu-aš). Whether the equipment of war described here in Text I is to be understood as covered with blood, or merely red in color, as is the case with the garments in the preceding line, is uncertain.

For putaliyatiya, see Goetze, Cor. Ling 56, and Holt, BiOr 15, 1958, 148–49. Since the verb is not elsewhere attested in the M./P., the form here should be interpreted as a prt-3.sg. of the Luwian conjugation. 477 While the exact meaning of this verb has not yet been determined, it is clear that it often refers to the donning of military equipment. Thus in this text KUBLA probably indicates some sort of leather armor. A parallel to this passage is found in the Old Hittite ritual KBO XVII I 24–25. Here it is stated that two wooden models of the Ḥantaepa-deities, which have been described previously as having been held by heads and lances, are

u-ešša-[a]-n-da-ma 4š-har-wa-an-tu-uš TUGBLA-uš pu-ta-li-ya-[a]-n-te-esša 478

dressed in blood-red garments and putaliyant-.

The copy of Text L appears to show slight traces at the end of rev. 3, but in collation Prof. H. Klenkel was unable to see anything more here than appears on the copy.

473 For 4 AMAR.UTU = Șanta, see Laroche, Rech 102, and in Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine (Paris, 1973), p. 110.
474 See Laroche, Rech 74. These deities seem to be closely connected with the concept of force.
475 This translation of 4 špar-ti has been borrowed from Gurney, Aspects 29.
476 Note the mention of the War-god in IX 34 1 26 as il-har-wa-an-da-an 4U.GUR, and see Otten, Luv 37ff.
477 Cf. the Luwian prs.3.sg. 4 pu-ta-li-it-ti, XL 106 III 3’.
478 After Otten/Souček, StBoT 8, 20, and Neu, StBoT 25, 6.
rev. 4. For *wa-ri-wa-ra-an pa-ah-hur*, see already Sommer, KIF 1, 1930, 346, n. 1.

For *d-an-na-am-ma,* "all," cf. Luwian *tanima/-i*, *tama/-a* (D.LL 90) and Hieroglyphic Luwian *tan(a)m*—(Meriggi, HhGl 117–18).

rev. 5. *d-a-la-u-ya-ra* is unclear. It is related to the *zalla-* of the horse-training texts, 479 perhaps it modifies the locomotion expressed in *and-an-ya-nai*.

The second half of this line is also difficult: *mu-kas a-aš-ki-uš* 480 might be construed as an error for *nu-uš-kas ašši* 481 taking *uš* as acc.pl.c. of the enclitic pronoun employed proleptically with *mu-ut-ti-yt-ya-an-ca* (Luw.acc.pl.c.). This word is probably identical in meaning to 482 *mu-uni-tā-ti*, which seems to denote some kind of demonic being, similar to the *ammar-* and *tarpi*. 483 Cf. XXVII 13 IV 17*: NAd-gur an-na-ri-in NAAd-gur mu-u-ya-at-ti-in-na. Unfortunately the last signs in this line are illegible, but it appears that the Moon-god has encountered some sort of protective deities in the gate. The relationship of the Moon-god to the following events is uncertain—see below, pp. 186–88.

rev. 6. For *mi-eš-ta* as Act.prt.3.sg. of *mai-‘miya-*, note M.pt.1.sg. *mi-eš-ba-ti*, XXX 10 obv. 11 483 and Act.dur.prs.3.sg. *mi-eš-ki-tu-zi*, XII 44 II 27, and cf. the secondary prt.3.sg. *pešta to-pa-*, "give." 484 Here the Active must share the meaning "be born" usually expressed by the Middle. 485

The identity of the person who is giving birth with such difficulty in this and the following lines is unknown—our only indication is AMA, "mother," in rev. 9. That *d-an-na-am-an-ta-š DUMU-š*, however, is the irregularly placed subject of *mi-eš-ta* and thus the person being born is made likely by the absence of any conjunctions and/or sentence-particles between the verb and the noun + adjective. Such placement of the subject is found in several instances in Text L—cf. rev. 11, 25, 27.

479 See Laroché, DLL 112, with literature there cited, and Güterbock, JAOS 84, 1964, 270ff.

480 An understanding of this form as an irregular acc.pl. of *ašši* is made unlikely by the fact that this word is nowhere else attested in the plural.

481 This may be due to the very late date of this text. Cf. also rev. 27: IGI-ana-da-za-aš-kan, where the order of the sentence enclitics violates the rule as stated in HE 1º 288.5 a.

482 See Otten/von Soden, StBoT 7, 27–32. The vocabulary edited in this volume (KBo I 44 + KBo XIII 1) equates *tarpi-* with *SEDU* and *annar-* with *LAMASSU* (IV 35f.). Note that at least by Neo-Assyrian times *šedu* and *lamassu* often refer to protective figures set up in gates—see von Soden, BağhM 3, 1964, 154–56.

483 See StBoT 5, 117.

484 See HW¹ 155.

485 See above, p. 38.

486 See below, p. 191.

487 The writing DUMU-NITA rather than simple DUMU in rev. 24 is probably a scribal error.

488 This observation may aid in the understanding of Luwian *zaman*—see DLL 113.

489 For example, VII S 18. See Güterbock, ZA 44, 1938, 62.

490 See HW¹ 269.

491 See Goetze/Pedersen, MS.

492 Ibid., 18–9.

493 MS 23–26. Unal, Belleten 163, 1977, 458, with n. 64, is incorrect in taking this expression literally.

494 See Unal, THeth 4, 167 (sub *šan*).

495 See Dressler, StudvberPhur 193–94.
The activity of the Storm-god in this line serves to highlight the unusualness and the importance of the events discussed. Even a god who in the course of his duties witnesses everything in heaven and on earth is moved upon glimpsing the birth to cry out: “What is this!” Note the similar passage in the “Song of Ulikummi” (Tablet I A IV 33 ff.), where the Sun-god discovers the existence of the stone goddess, and cf. especially XXIV 7 II 53:

\[\text{UTU-uš-kān AN-zá GAM a-u-tūž-ta.}\]

rev. 10. A reading hā-iš-iš-ua-iz-zi here is, according to Prof. Klenge's collation, impossible. We might read šu-ua-iz-zi, that is, a verb preceded by Glossenkele, identical perhaps to zuwai (see StBoT 15, 14), whose meaning is unfortunately unknown. That zuwai is a verb of speech, as might be assumed from Text L, is disapproved by KBo XII 89 III 8 and 17, where it has as its object tūbbi, “smoke.”

rev. 11. Direct speech resumes in this line, and the speaker is presumably still the Storm-god. For the expression at the beginning of this line, see above, p. 70.

Since the imperatives in this and the following lines are without exception 3-pl., the subject nominatives must also be understood as plurals. Hence the readings DINGIR.MAH\textsuperscript{MES} 496 and SAL.CEMEŠÁ.ZU. Because the Mother-goddesses are the subject only of the verb qa-a-an-ru-ua, which is introductory to the entire series of imperatives, SAL.CEMEŠÁ.ZU must be seen as standing in apposition to DINGIR.MAH\textsuperscript{MES}. This explicit naming of the Mother-goddesses as midwives is hardly surprising in view of the functions which they are known to perform on both the divine and human levels. 497

In fact, it is just these lines which provide the connection between the events in the mythological world and the actual birth mentioned in the “title” of this ritual (rev. 1). The Storm-god has discovered an unusual and difficult birth and seeks to remedy it by sending the Mother-goddesses to the aid of the mother. There can be no doubt that the activity of the Storm-god here in recommending various materials and procedures to the divine midwives served as an etiological justification for the employment of the same procedures and materials on the human level.

496 A reading DINGIR.MAH\textsuperscript{MES} is impossible due to space considerations, according to Prof. Klenge's collation. We are probably dealing here with a defective singular writing of DINGIR.MAH\textsuperscript{MES}\textsuperscript{U/IA}—see below, pp. 246–47. The presence of the plural verb pāndu shows clearly that DINGIR.MAH = Ḥannahanna is not intended here.

497 See below, pp. 242–46.

The action described here in rev. 9–12 is paralleled by a common topos in Mesopotamian birth rituals, in both Sumerian and Akkadian language, referred to by van Dijk as “L’Esclave de la Lune.” 498 The best preserved example is found in BÁM 248 (= KAR 196), a tablet from Assur containing various materials relating to birth. The section which interests us here begins with line III 10, where the identity of the human mother with a mythological cow is established: EN 1-it ÁB šá 4\textsuperscript{XX} GEMÉ \#EN.ZU.NA šum-šá, “Incantation: (This) one is the cow of the Moon-god; ‘the Maidservant of Sin’ (is) her name.” A mythological narrative follows (III 11–19) in which the Moon-god spies the cow from on high and is seized with desire for her. He has intercourse with the cow, and then, we read:

20. UDMEŠ-tá AŠ qa-ut-ti-i á-rí-bí šá AŠ ga-ma-ri
21. ÁB ig-ta-li i\textsuperscript{499} ga-al-lit ...
23. DIŠ ik-ki-li-šá DIŠ ri-gim ḫa-li šá ip’-pal-sah \#NANNA-rú
24. \#XXX AŠ AN-e iš-tam-me ri-gim-šá iš-ši qa-as-su šá-ma-me
25. 2 \#LAMÁ\textsuperscript{MES} AN-e u-ri-da-nim-ma

(When) her days (of pregnancy) were at an end, (when) her months were completed, the cow quaked violently. The Moon-god crouched down at her cry of woe, at the noise she made in parturition. The Moon-god in heaven heard her noise, he lifted high his hand. Two protective deities of heaven went down (to her) ...

The next lines (III 25–32) describe the anointing of the cow with the “water of parturition” (mē hālī) 500 and the successful birth. Then the section draws to a close with the lines:


As “the Maidservant of Sin” gave birth correctly, (so) let the distressed maid give birth!

which corresponds to rev. 17 of the Hitite Text L—see below, pp. 190f.


499 Text: i, but cf. the dup. AMT 67, 1 III 11: ig-da-lit i-ga-al-lit.
500 For the “water of purification,” see Goette, JCS 9, 1955, 15f.
appear with Glossenkeile. Since no other examples of a Luwian stem *haršanı* are found in DLL, we may assume a Hittite lexeme here. While the usual Hittite stem is *haršanı*, 506 a nominaive form *har-la-ni-iš* 507 is found at XXXIII 66 II 17. 508 *hurš-a-ni-in* in Text I is the accusative of this stem, here employed adverbially.

**rev. 13.** Does Naḫ-ti-ra-na-aš GURUN, literally “fruit of the rock,” designate a crystal?

**rev. 14.** While the grinding of ingredients does not seem to occur with great frequency in Hittite medical contexts, 509 it is found also in Text P II 6 and is quite common in Mesopotamian medicine. 510

The restoration [im-mi-yu-an-du] is of course conjectural; for immiyä- in a medical context, cf. KBo XXI 20 rev. 17:

[ ] \( \times \) 511 an-da 512 im-me-yu-ši na-[

**rev. 15.** Although the traces of the first two signs in the word as shown in the copy are difficult to interpret, the photo (of Bo 551) shows that *du-ma-an- ti-yu-la-aš* is to be read here. This word, Hittite dat/loc.pl. in case, is a derivative of Luwian *tu-mun-an*, “ear,” 513 and indicates some part of the ear. Hoffner has identified a verb *tumanti-*, “hear, listen” (KBo XXII 254 rev. 12: \( \langle \)tu-\)

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506 See Goetze, JAOS 57, 1937, 111.
507 If correctly read. The damaged line may also perhaps be read as *har-la-ni-ši-[i]-\( \times \)\( \rangle \) cf. ta-ik-ki-ši-ši in II 16’.
508 The context here (II 16’–20’) deals with parts of the body, and indeed with features of the head (except perhaps for *wa-a-la-aš-la-aš*, 18’, which is unattested elsewhere). Therefore there can be little doubt that *haršani* means “head.” Note also the occasional complementation of SAG.DU as an i-stem (SAG.DU-i, IX 41 22; SAG.DU-in, KBo III 21 II 28). I thus disagree with Ottinger, StBoT 22, 47, n. 112, on the question of the existence of a stem *haršani-*, “head.”
509 *tu-kuš-ı* appears only twice in the index to the medical texts edited by Burde in StBoT 19 (p. 66), and in both contexts there listed indicates the preparation of an ingredient for inclusion in a potion, rather than in a salve as in Text L.
509 Note with special reference to our “prescription” the statement on stones in Mesopotamian medicine by Ritter, AS 16, 309: “Whereas the *ātapsu* uses stones qua stones as inherently of magical value for amulets, the asi treats them as he does other drugs, crushing them and compounding them into various remedies.”
510 The traces exclude a reading IG.
512 For bow and arrows as symbols of the male role, see Hoffner, JBL 85, 1966, 330 ff.
513 See Otten, Luv 74–75, and Laroche, DLL 42.
ma-an-ti-in-ta, Luw.prt.3.pl.), of which our tumantiyala- is an instrumental noun. The context here, which may be rendered literally as “May they perform a treatment (with the salve prepared previously) in (anda) the ḫ. d in regard to the male child!,” favors a translation “ear canals” over “ear lobes” or “ridges of the ears.” A cleansing of the facial orifices of the new-born is certainly indicated—cf. the washing of the mouth (KA ×U šan-b-h) in Text C obv. 13.

Similarly, the mother herself is washed in order to remove the debris of birth—blood, lochia, etc. My restoration is not certain, but likely, wa-at-ra-sa-an-du, “[let them] wipe off,” should also be considered.

rev. 16. The unexpressed subject of the imperative awan arba tiya is probably some evil or undesirable quality which had become attached to the mother and/or child during birth. Prescribed to the divine midwives on the mythological level, this phrase would presumably actually have been spoken by the human ritual practitioner(s) during the cleansing mentioned in rev. 15. Zu-un-mi-iš-ti is a Luwian verb of unknown meaning, pres.3.sg., while its subject ma-an-na-i-ši-š is to be analysed as the nom.sg.ppl. of the Luwian verb manna(i)-. The meaning of this verb is also uncertain, but Olten has suggested that it may lie in the realm of exorcism. We still do not have enough material to settle this question, but a signification “exorcised one,” referring to either the subject or the object of the action, would fit well at the conclusion of an incantation, as in Text L. In any case, with the end of rev. 16 we seemingly come to the close of the speech of the Storm-god begun in rev. 9.

rev. 17. In this line is found explicit statement of the connection between the previous mythological events and the current birth—just as the archetypical event came to a good conclusion, may this birth likewise be successful. For a similar passage in Luwian, cf. KUB XXXV 103 rev. 6f.: 521

514 BiOr 33, 1976, 337.
515 It is unlikely that there was room for a subject for this verb at the end of rev. 15.
516 Cf. Text D § 5.
517 The nom.pl. of this ppl. is found at KBo XX 107 + KBo XXXII 50 II 23: ma-an-na-a-im-mi-in-czi, and the acc.pl. ma-an-na-a-im-mi-in-czi in III 32 of the same text. (In HW? 355 the entry “arutannanimmi,” should be deleted since it arose through a mis-segmentation of these lines.)
518 See DLL 67.
519 Luv 31f.
520 To pai-, “go,” with SIG3-in, cf. XIV 14 obv. 30: me-aš-ši KUR ÚVI Hat-ti lu-u-ma-an pi-ra-an SIG3-in i-yu-an-ni-ši, translated by Goetze, JCS 14, 1960, 72, as “in his time the whole Hittite land walked in well-being.”
521 See below, p. 228, and Meriggi, WZKM 53, 1957, 197.

... pa-aš pu-uu-ua [ku-ti]a-ti a-aš-ta na-mu-un-ba-ša a-pa-ti a-ša-du

And as she was formerly, so let her be now!

pa-īd-du-ua-at: Admittedly the subdivision of the discourse in this section of the text is uncertain, but since there is no quotative particle in the immediately preceding na-at e-ēš-ta SIG3-in, we must segment here simply paidd-du=ut, and understand -wu not as -wu(ri)-, but as a glide between u and a.

rev. 22 ff. The second paragraph of this text consists of three incantations, each followed by the same physical magical operation, namely the partial rotation of (model) tongue(s). This is expressed fully only in the speech in rev. 29: wa-ab-nu-ud HUL-lu-ul EME-aš, but there can be little doubt that the same action is indicated by the narrative na-at EGIR-pa wa-ab-mu-zi (rev. 25) and nu ki-ı EGR-pa wa-ab-mu-zi (rev. 34). The first magical act (comprising both incantation and physical operation) runs from rev. 22 through rev. 25, the second from rev. 26 through rev. 29, and the third from rev. 30 through rev. 34.

Laroche, OLZ 1971, 148–49, has pointed out that our text, to which he assigns the siglum “A,” has certain affinities to two other Luwianizing texts, XII 62 (= “B”) and XXXV 145 (= “C”). Here a more precise description of the relationship among these texts may be given—we are dealing with Luwian-derived incantations which have been so skillfully worked into each of larger ritual contexts that, were it not for the existence of the other texts, we would not suspect that we were confronted with stock elements. But this is indeed the case. The first incantation in “A” is matched by “B” obv. 10–17; rev. 1–6, the second by “C” rev. 3–18. The relevant portions of “B” and “C” follow here:

522 Note the identical spelling [pa]-id-du-[wa]-at in the fragmentary VII 1 III 27, where the quotative particle is also unlikely.
523 Cf., for example, VII 53 + XII 58 I 63–64: EGIR-an-da-ma-aš-ši-š-a-an EME IM še-ir e-ip-zı mu SÅ EME lu-uk-ma-in lu-uk-zı

Thereafter she lifts the clay tongue over him/her, and speaks the incantation of the tongue.

For EME[32] symbolizing the potency of words spoken in anger or in sorcery, see Szabo, THeth 1, 64.
524 XVII 15 III 14–18 is duplicate to “C” 3–5.
"B" = KUB XII 62 obv. 10'-rev. 6

Obv.
10'. EME-aš EN-aš ku-wa-pi pa-a-ši KASKAL-aš ka-ri-pu-wa-an-[zi pa-a]-mi
UR.MAḪ tar-wa-u-wa-an-zi pa-a-mi a-li-li wa-ar-šu-wa-an-zi pa-q-i-mi
12'. DUMU.(Ū).UL(U) la-la-wa-an-ci pa-a-mi KASKAL-aš-zu ka-ri-pu-wa-an-ci Ū-UL
me-im-ma-i UR.MAḪ-aš-zu tar-wa-u-wa-an-ci UL me-im-ma-i a-li-la-aš-za
14'. wa-ar-šu-wa-an-zi Ū-UL me-im-ma-i ÛTU-uš-za HUL-mu-uš EME[U]
ul me-šu semeš-šu
16'. [d]-ta-an-ni-iš ar-ta an-da-na-aš-ta GIŠ.ru ar-ta GAM-an-ma UR.MAḪ
ha-aš-ša-an-za

Rev.
an-da-kān GIŠ.ru ha-aš-ša-an-za UR.MAḪ-aš ha-aš-ša-an-(za) ha-aš-ša-an-za-
ta
2. si-il-ta-an-za DAR. MAŠ-aš ha-aš-ša-an-za HUL-wa-aš-ša UH x EME ha-aš-
ša-an-za
EME EN-aš ku-wa-pi pa-a-ši HUR.SAG-i a-ra-wa-an-zi pa-a-mi ha-a-
ša-an-za pa-a-mi KASKAL-aš ka-ri-pu-wa-an-zi pa-a-mi HUR.SAG-aš-zu a-ra-
wu-an-zi
me-im-ma-i ha-rí-ya-aš-za ap-pa-an-na me-im-ma-i KASKAL-aš-zu
ka-ri-pu-wa-an-zi
6. me-im-ma-i HUL-aš-ša-an-za UH x aš EME-aš HUL-μe im-ma-i

This incantation involves the questioning of the "lord of the tongue" (i.e.,
the curser/sorcerer) concerning his planned travels and his answer to this
inquiry. The sense of this response is not entirely clear, but there can be little
doubt that what is intended is the thwarting or destruction of the evil words.
This is stated expressly in the last sentence of the first paragraph: "The Sun-
god(dess) the evil tongues will not refuse," which is paralleled in the birth
rituals by the role of the Sun-goddess of the Earth in accepting undesirable
qualities for disposal—cf. Text C §12' and Text D §5'.

There follows a mythological interlude in which a parasidac situation is
described, a situation which is disrupted by drought. Through a chain reaction,
EME\textsuperscript{B1-A} and plural verbs in the first incantation. That is, the subject here is the tongues themselves rather than their lord. If *palhani*, “broad” (see below, p. 198) is indeed a ppl., as suggested by Larode (DLL 77), then *palhäna* could be the Luwian infinitive of this stem *palhä(i)*, meaning something like “stretch out.”

The four signs at the end of this line are completely unintelligible.

rev. 23. A comparison of UR.MAḪ GIS-ru-an-zi here with UR.MAḪ tar-wa-uw-ua-an-zi in “B” obv. 11 yields the value ta₄ for GIS—see Larode, OLG 1971, 148, but it is perhaps more prudent to regard this as a simple rebus writing.

For *tawu*i, “dance; jump,” see HW\textsuperscript{3}, 1. Erg. 21.

rev. 24. For *palthā-i*, “fetter,” see Larode, RHA 61, 1957, 127, and below, p. 209. The occurrence of UR.MAḪ-an GIS-ru-an-da-an and UR.BAR RA₂₈-pa-ta-ha-an-da-an in the third incantation (rev. 32), with reference back to this and the preceding line, serves to tie together the magical activity of this paragraph.

For *za₄mamanti* DUMU₅-NITA, see above, p. 185.

la-ša-nu, Luwian infinitive, corresponds to la-la-ua-an-zi, Hitite infinitive, in “B” obv. 12. For Luwian laša-,”take,” see Larode, DLL 61, and CHD III 25 f. In the present context the nuance is probably one of seizure, like that of Hitite ep- (HW\textsuperscript{3} 41).

rev. 25. That UHₓ₄-\textsuperscript{A} uš SAS-MES₂-iš means “sorceresses” (rather than perhaps “bewitched women”) is shown by a comparison with KUB XXI 17 I 10–11: 528 nam-ma-mu-kān SAS-MES₂ UHₓ₄ EGR UGU te-e₃-ki-it [n]u-mu UHₓ₄-ir

Further, he set sorceresses upon me, and they bewitched me.

The sorceresses in Text L are simply the more substantial embodiment of the evil curses referred to as “tongues” in rev. 22. See rev. 29 where the two nominatives HUL-ša-MES₁-ŠU and SAL-za function as vocatives in apposition.

For the translation of the first part of this line and the interpretation of alma as an interjection, see Pulverel, KZ 92, 1978, 105–06.

rev. 26. Here begins the second incantation. *ku-wa₃-

\textsuperscript{a}-ir* is otherwise unknown—“wind” seems unlikely here—but probably indicates the place from which the flint is taken. The reading [d]a₄-wa₄-i is uncertain, but fits the context well.

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527 Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 92, transcribes lines 8’–10’ of this text.
An interpretation GīṣDAG-an-za, “from the throne-dais,” is also possible, but the presence of the throne-dais is un motivated, and there would also be no object for KLMIN (= daṣ). Decisive, however, is the observation that in this line the same objects are taken which occur in the speech in rev. 27–29. Gīṣ here is a logogram corresponding to the full form GīṣH%AŠ%HUR-la- in rev. 28. and thus cannot serve as a determinative for DAG. For the use of the alternative ablative form in -anza529 with tekan-, “earth,” cf. ne-pi-ša-an-za[a], “from heaven,” in XV 34 IV 32.

Outside of this text, štiwal is found only in NBC 11786, which is probably a fragment of an inventory:

1. | X ZABAR l PA-AŠšU GAL[
2. | -al-li-an-da ap-pa-an-ta[
3. | X URUDUš-su-ah al da-šš-su[
4. | X ZABAR [ (?)]

This passage shows that štiwal was a weighty tool which could be made of copper. My translation “dagger”530 is only a suggestion, based upon the use of štiwal as an instrument of blinding in the inscription here. sehmuw in “C” rev. 19’ (se-hu-wa-a-al-[za]-abl.sg.) is undoubtedly a variant form of this word.

rev. 27. For the transition Middle verb šarhijya-, cf. Bo 1706 rev. 17 (SBot 5, 154): mu-wa-zza-kân ku-a-[u-t] EMMES šar-hij-ya-ah-hu-ut, “and these tongues š.” The Active iterative šarbišṭi-, which probably belongs to the same stem, is loosely defined by Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 105, as “behave in the manner of a lion.”531 Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 251, and HW 1 185, put forth for šarbišṭi- the definition “herfallen (über).”532 Otten, SBot 7, 13, has suggested that šarhantiliš-, “like a robber” (equated in a lexical list with Akkadian AL-PU) is a related word. Finally, if Gīṣšarhull[i], which indicates certain architectural projections in the walls of Hittite cells,533 also belongs here, perhaps the basic meaning of the stem šarh(i)ya- is “press, push (down or out); oppress.”

529 See HE II § 60.
530 Note that while the Sumerogram Gīṣ, “knife, dagger,” takes as its phonetic complement -an—see HW 1 274—there are several compound logograms indicating cutting instruments—e.g., Gīṣ.URUDU.GAL—which Hittite correspondences remain completely unknown.
531 The context discussed by Gurney involves the land of Ḫattu performing this action in relation to its neighbors.
532 See Neve, FSOtten 271–72.
[And] flint, the stone, (and) apple-wood I hold... To the bewitched [person the flint and the apple-wood I hold out] (saying:) "With the apple-wood let them take his tooth! [With the flint] let him be struck! And the nine [body parts]..."

The third line here is practically identical to rev. 28–29 of Text L and thus provides another partial example of our second incantation.

rev. 29. wa-ab-mu-ut here is imp.2.sg. in parallelism with e-iz-za. For wa-ab-pa with the intransitive meaning "turn oneself," see Freydank, MIO 7, 1959/60, 374.

Although EN-KA, "your lord," would better fit the context here, EN-ŠU certainly refers to the person who has brought the HUL-laš EME-aš into existence, probably by means of the SAL-za, "(sorcerous) woman."

rev. 30ff. The sense of the third incantation is blurred for us by the cultural specificity of its metaphors. The curse seems to imply that the malefactor of the child shall suffer various frightening and unusual experiences. This is readily evident in rev. 32: UR.MAḪ-an GIš-ru-an-da-an KLIN(M) (= ašdu), "Let him see the springing lion!," but the other cases are not so clear. Certainly, however, the sense of each phrase is negative.

rev. 30. The spelling [tāk-ki-š-i-iz-zi] (cf. also tāk-ki-š-e-iz-zi, rev. 33), merely a graphic variant of tāk-ki-š-e-iz-zi on analogy with the very common verbal type represented by peḫutzezi (I 2a in HE P), is yet another indication that we are dealing with a late text here.539

AN-taš pal-ha-am-ma corresponds to ne-pi-il pal-ha-a-ma-an in "C" rev. 7'. While these attributes would seem to be nom./acc.pl.n. and acc.pl.c., respectively, of a Luwian participle, forcing us to understand nepiš as a plural,

4)ISTAR ṣa-pa-am-ta-ma in line 30 shows that the grammatical forms here are not entirely in order.540

rev. 31. Ki-an gi-nu-ua-an-da(-an): For the emendation here, cf. "C" rev. 8': [pār-ku-ši-in ma da-ša-an-zi-pa-an gi-nu-ua-an-ta-an. Its īnmuwaš is the participle of īnmuš, "break open," in connection with the earth, and in parallelism with AN-taš pal-hamma, it could very well have the meaning "spread open, yawning," as in a chasm.541

538 Cf. however Oettinger, StBoT 22, 33, where these spellings are adduced as possible evidence for an interchange š/z.

539 See Kempinski/Kolak, WO 5, 1970, 205, n. 36.

540 See already Laroche, OLZ 1971, 148–49.

541 Prof. W. Cowgill has pointed out to me the parallel presented to this idea by Iliad 4.182 and 8.150.

542 For "U.GUR = Nergal = Hattic Šulinkattu = Hurrian Ḫešue", a god of war and pestilence, see Laroche, Rech 105, Haas, K 73 f., and Otten, Anatolica 4, 1959, 33.

543 See StBoT 5, 205 f., and StBoT 7, 13 f.
2'. [nu²] DINGIR.MAḪ Z/l²
    la-ši.uk-ki-[l]š-mu-ud-du

4'. ma-a-an DUMU.NITA-[aš ... mi-ya-ri']
    na-ša-ša-[i]-wa-la-id-du¹

6'. ma-a-an DUMU.SAL-d[iš ... mi-ya-ri']
    na-ša ṣa-[l]

8'. i-ya-a-t[a-(ar²)]
    na-at[l]

10'. a-aš-šu-ul[l²]
    [ ] A²[t]

Rev. UM²-MA,m⁷x[

2'. ka-a-ši ha-an-[da-a-iz-zi]
    ma-a-an-zá SAL-zá ii-šu-[i]-š-ki-u-ra-an da-a-ši]

4'. nu³ši ha-ša-[m]-pa-al[l[a-ši hu-uk-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi']

(traces)

2'. [And] Ḫannaḫanna the so[u]² ...
§ 2' let her illum[i]nate ... 

4'. When a male child [...] is born,
§ 3' then let her (Ḫannaḫanna) make (him) str[ong ...]

6'. When a female child [...] is born,
§ 4' then let her (Ḫannaḫanna) [...] 

8'. Abundance[e ...]
§ 5' And it [...] 

10'. Good condition[...]

Rev. Thus says'[ ...]

2'. This one prepar[es ...]
§ 9' When the woman [begins to] w[ail],
4'. then the midwife[e conjures repeatedly²].
In §§ 3'-4' Hannaanna is seemingly called upon to dispense her favor to the new-born. In § 3' she is asked to make strong the baby boy, and in § 4' to bless the baby girl. Of the verb in this latter instance only the sign HA remains; presumably some quality appropriate to a woman is sought here.

obv. 8': i-ya-a-t[a-a(r)]; Plene writing of iyata(r), “abundance,” is found also at XII 63 rev. 29: i-ya-a-ta, and KBo III 7 i 18: i-ya-a-da'.

rev. 1'-4'. Do these lines, despite the internal division by a paragraph stroke, constitute the colophon of this text, or does a new ritual begin here? rev. 3'-4'. A restoration ma-a-an-za SAL-za i-ti-[i-s-ki-iz-z] is also possible, but the supine seems to be a better choice than the indicative here. For this and the restoration in 4', cf. Text B § 3'.

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544 See now above, p. 24, n. 3.
545 Cf. obv. 11't: mu A-NA SALLUGAL DUMU'MES,ŠU A-NA ZI-ŠU an-[da-an QA-
547 RA 58, 1964, 78.
Text N = KBo XXIV 17

Obv. [ a]r-ša ta[r-n]a-qa[a]-h][i
2'. [ n]u]-ša-an i-d[a]-[lu(-)
[ ] × IK3 × [ ]-an'-ti-an i-d[a]-lu [1][Gi']
4'. [ i]-d[a]-lu-un [u]-ur-ki-in i-d[a]-lu-un pa-[a]-la-ša-an' 
[ pär-ga-u-wa-ša] HUR.SAG^I^A- август халат ураш ар [и]-ыз-а[ш]
6'. [ (c)]ar-ša[-c(-)] × [ ](-)im-ma-a[š][-c(-)]

Rev. ([DUB.2.KAM ma-k^a-]q-an sAJ ha-ša-u-wa-ša [ ]
2'. [ (DUMU-a)n ]r-ma-ab-hu-wa-ša wa-aš-ši-ya-az [ ]
[ (iš-k)]i-iz-zi QA-T1

Commentary

This is a very small fragment, preserving portions of seven lines on the obverse and three on the reverse, these latter lines constituting the colophon of the text.546 The text is shown by its colophon to be part of a two-tablet burial ritual. The few lines preserved on the obverse present a text greatly resembling Text C § 12’, which is a ceremony for the removal of evils. The beneficiary of this ceremony has not been preserved here, but it was undoubtedly the newborn child.

Obv. 1’–ff. The lost object of the verb here was presumably some animal employed as a “scapegoat”546 to carry off the undesirable qualities enumerated in the following lines. This animal would also have been the subject of the lost verb in obv. 5’. Unfortunately, the text is so badly damaged that only one of the evils involved—[idalu]n urkin, “the evil trick,” in obv. 4’—can be read with relative certainty.

Obv. 4’. i-d[a]-lu-un pa-[a]-la-ša-an is only a suggestion, but it seems to fit the context well. Cf. in lists of evils similar to that of Text N, XXXIII 8 III 12:

a. copy shows -as^I^A
b. for the restorations here, see below, p. 205

546 Not enough of this text has been preserved for a secure dating—note only that the AZ-sign with subscript (rev. 2’) shows that it was inscribed no earlier than the Middle Hitite period.

549 See Kümmel, StBoT 3, 191ff.

Obv. [...] I loos[e ...]
2’. [...] And the evil[ ...]
[ ]- ... evil e[ye’ ...]
4’. [...] the evil trick, evil fe[ter’ ...]
[ ]- ... to the high] mountains, to the deep valley[s let him take’!]
6’–7’ (traces)

Rev. Tablet 2. When the Old Woman
2’. with the medicine of pregnancy

5' 6' anoints the child. Finished. Text C rev. 18’.

rev. 1’ff. This colophon also appears in the catalogue text KUB XXX 43 31 20–22.550 (Nb), from which the restorations here have been drawn:

DUB.2.KAM ma-an ha-a-ša-u-wa-ša DUMU-an
ar-ma-ab-hu-wa-az-za wa-aš-ši-ya-az[i]
iš-ki-iz-zi

Although Otten551 has suggested a restoration wa-aš-ši-ya-[z-zi], “she clothes,” for XXX 43 III 21, note that there is no further sign following wa-aš-ši-ya-z in KBo XXIV 17 rev. 2’, and that we are thus dealing with the abl. of wašši, “medicine,”552

Also, ar-ma-ab-hu-wa-ša (Na rev. 2’), gen. of armabhunwar, “pregnancy,” is to be regarded as the correct original writing here, and ar-ma-ab-hu-wa-az-za (Nb III 21) as a corruption thereof.553

550 See Otten, Das Altertum 1, 1955, 74, with n. 4, and Laroche, Cat 2 177.
551 ZA 50, 1952, 234, n. 1, taken over in HW 3 324. But see now Introduction to KBo XXIV, VI.
552 XXX 43 31 20ff. must also be deleted from the collection of attestations of the verb wašši-ya- assembled by Eichner, MSS 27, 1970, 5ff. Eichner lists this passage on pp. 17–18, having taken over its interpretation from an early translation by Laroche—ArOr 17, 1949, 17.
553a Cf. now Pulver, BiOr 38, 1981, 351.
2'. [...] becomes soil[ed ...]
§ 2' [...] his wife. When she [...]  
4'. [...] the woman goes forth from the house.  
[...] they [sw]eep' and at the birth-stool they sprinkle.  
6'. [...] But afterwards water [...]
[...] the woman, away, to her house  
8'. [...] she sets up. But when the days  
[have passed'] [...] then she washes herself. Further, this one  
10'. [...] by means of a bird, [performs] the uzi-offering.  
But [...] by means of a lamb, (s)he performs the uzi-offering.  
12'. [...] bestows [pur]ity'. But in the morning [...]
14'. [...] they reach [for]th. And the birds of the fettering
§ 3' [...] the birds of the burning up
16'. [...] for well-being, by means of a sheep, (s)he offers.  
[...] And (s)he back [...]
18'. (traces)

II GIS[uK?]
2'. lā-zi-m[a-an-zi']
§ 2' [...] KUB, BABBAR-aş]
4'. 1 UDU A-NA[  
IŠ'-TU GALI]
6'. pa-zi-zi UD[U']
[...]  
8'. mu DUMU-an pa₄-{  
 a-aš-z[4] a-[  
10'. GAM-an a[r-
EGIR-p[4  
12'. na-[  
×]

(traces)

§ 5' remains [...]
10'. down [...]
11'-13'. (traces)
Kammenhuber has classified this fragment as part of a birth ritual, and her interpretation is confirmed by the presence of *harnae*, "birth-stool," in I 5'. The text is of Hurro-Luwian character, and it shows similarities particularly to Texts H, J, and K. The few lines which have been preserved in col. I seem to deal with the pre-parturition purification of the birth equipment, and possibly also with offerings on the day of birth itself. Col. II 8', which mentions the child (DUMU-an), suggests that the birth has already taken place by this point in the ritual proceedings.

Although its date of composition may, like those of the related Texts H and J, very possibly lie in the early Empire period, the use of -šU (I 7') to represent the third person singular possessive pronoun indicates a late thirteenth-century date for the inscription of this fragment.

I 2'. šaknes- here and in Text U rev. 5 is an -ei-formation from the stem šakkar/sakrišiš-, "excrement; defilement"—see Puhvel, FsLaroche 302f.—with the meaning "become soiled."

I 3'. šA-ŠA-ZU is a defective writing of what would appear in correct Akkadian as dšasassu. Although "wife" is usually expressed in Hittite texts by means of the Sumerogram DAM, the occasional occurrence of the mixed logogram DAM-ŠU, next to the more usual mechanical writing DAM-ŠU, shows that at least some of the scribes of Hittite texts at Boğazköy were aware of the Akkadian sound change -š-. > -šš-. I 4'ff. Apparently the expectant mother (SAL-xa) here leaves her house, returning to it in I 7'f. Only the ritual treatment of the birth-stool has taken place in the interim. If the restoration of pa-an-zi at the beginning of I 9' is correct, and the preceding UDUL refers to the period of pregnancy, then the remaining preserved lines of col. I probably relate offerings made in the time immediately prior to parturition. lukatta in I 12' indicates that these activities began the day before the birth itself was expected.

I 12'. For the restoration [je-bi-][l]-li-in, cf. Text Ka obv. 9 and rev. 9. In these passages, as in the present context, the act of šešelmin pai follows directly upon the completion of a series of offerings.

I 14'. For the reading pa-tal-li-ya-aš-ša, rather than hat-tal-li-ya-aš-ša, see Oettinger, StBoT 22, 26–27. To his evidence should be added the existence of the related šatalhaš, "fetter," and šatalbaš, "fetter (verb)," the latter of which appears in Text L rev. 24 and 32.

II 1'f. The reading Gil[AK] is uncertain, but note that in the "Ritual of Papanikri" (KBo V 1) I 25–26 the birth-stool and its pegs are smeared with blood (išharmumai).
Commentary

In the Introduction to KBo VIII Otten identifies this text as a “Luwische Beschworung eines Arztes (im Falle einer Schwangeren).” While the fragment is not large enough to permit detailed analysis, we immediately recognize the basic structure in which quasi-medical operations (here §§ 1’–2’) are accompanied by incantations (§§ 2’–3’; §§ 4’–5’ s.67)

It is not possible to date this fragment with precision, but the absence of characteristic thirteenth-century sign-forms and the appearance of the older forms of E (II 5, 7, III 2’) and TAR (II 8) as well as the UK-sign with subscript (II 8), suggest that it was inscribed in the fourteenth century.

Burd, StBoT 19, 9, has previously transliterated and translated III 7’–8’, which, despite the absence of a preceding double paragraph stroke, appear to

a. this word is written above the line

567 Since the obverse represents the beginning of col. II and the reverse the end of col. III, it is unlikely that these paragraphs are part of one and the same Luwian speech.

567a Prof. Otten’s collation suggests that Text P may well be a single-columned tablet.
568 A unilingual Luwian birth ritual—see below, p. 238.
§ 1’ [ ] ×-an ar-bīt[a’a]n

§ 2’. [ ] × ar-ba ×

du-wa-ar[2]ni-iz-[i ša-


§ 2’ [ ] EGIR-pa ši-i-e-iz-zi DUG.UTUL-[i-

§ 6’. [ ] ar-ba A-NA SAG.DU-SU ši-[i

§ 3’ [ ] ar-ba du-]wa-ar-ni-iz-[i

8’. [ ] k[a’-a-aš da-an-na-ra-aš DUG.UTUL-aš]

§ 3’ [ ] d[i-i ši nu ka-a-aš ma-ab-ba-an [DUG.UTUL-aš ar-ba]

10’. [du-wa-ar-na-an-zār ku-i]-ša ki-e-da-mi A-NA SALTI-i-d[a’a]-a-lu

[ ] × na-an DINGIRMEŠ ar-ba QA-TAM-MA

du-][a-ar-na-an-du]

12’. [ ] ×MEŠ.SU QA-TAM-MA ti-ya-[an-du]

§ 4’ [ ] × [ ]

§ 5’ [ ] × [ ]

§ 18’. [ ] G]UNNI ne-e-a-ri

20’. [ ] × [ ]

do-a-ni-ki-e iz [×]

the other side of the fragment has been lost

Commentary

It is likely, but not certain, that this Empire-period fragment is part of a birth ritual. The presence of the midwife569 and the fact that a woman is treated here speak in favor of this assumption. The only well-preserved and thus intelligible part of the text, §§ 2’–3’, presents an instance of analogic magic involving the breaking of an empty pot.570 The desired effect of this action is the parallel destruction of the woman’s curse/sorcerer (10’–11’). In the context of a birth, this type of action could have been employed to counter difficulties in delivery arising from unknown causes, or simply as a precaution before the birth began.

569 Note, however, that the midwife occasionally appears in situations other than birth—see below, p. 235.

570 Cf. 1) XXII 115 + + (“Second Ritual of Maštiqa”) IV 9–14 ([Jakob]-Rost, MIO 1, 1953, 364) and parallel KBo XXIV 1 (“Third Ritual of Maštiqa”) 19–12, where a pot is first swung over the offerants and then broken, and 2) the “Song of Ullikummi” Tablet I A III 25’ (JCS 5, 1951, 152), where Kumarbi expresses the wish that his son, the stone monster, should chase the gods from heaven like birds and


id-du

break them up [like] empty vessels!

See also Sommer, OLZ 1953, 17, and KBo XX 60:5–7.
Text R = 1265/v = KBo XXX 3

1. še₂₃[  
2. A-N[A

§ 2° EGIR ₀₁₃[  
4°. ūu]-pa-₉[ul]<  
₂₃]ha-t₇-[g₄₃-
6°. S[₃]g SA₈ ₃[u²-  
₉]ki-₈-du-[₃n²-
8°. EGIR-az-ma₄-[]  
₉]ki-₈-du-[₃n²-

10°. nu A-NA DINGIR [₃]LM ZAG₇{  
§ 3°. še-ra-a₃-₉-[a-an BULÚG[  
12°. wa-ar-du-li-i₉n  
MUN NINDA KA UD LÀL ì{  
₀₉]₉₉-[¼₉₉]-ul-li da-₉[a₈-
16°. pi₉-ra-an kat-ta-ma-p₉[  
[ ]-la₆-a₃-[u₉-

18°. [  
₉]× [ ]  

IV A-W[A₇]:AT  
2°. ša-[a-₉i-
§ 5° na-a₉n  
4°. Š[₃]₃[ZU

Text S = KBo XVII 72

1°. [  
₉]× [ ]  

2°. [  
₉]u-s₉₉-[a₈-[₉₉]-mu-[a₈-
₉]₉₉-[₉₉]-an TÔG[af₉-
₉]₉₉-[₉₉]-UL × [  
₉]₉₉-[₉₉]-mu₉-[u₉q]-qa-[z₉₉]-ka₉₉-ti-[₂₉₉]-ši  
₉]× [ ]  

This piece is included here because of the occurrence of Š[₃]₃-[a₈-[₉₉]-mu-[a₈-
₉]₉₉]-an TÔG[af₉- "midwife," in line 2°. This form is of interest because it has not syncopated the a-vowel before the -₉₉-causative suffix, as in all other attested examples of this word.

The few preserved words and the closely-drawn paragraph lines give the impression that we are dealing here with a ritual, rather than with a mythological narrative or a prayer, other types of text in which a midwife is attested.

The colophon of this fragment indicates that it is possibly a birth ritual—note ša-[a-₉i-
IV 2°) and Š[₃]₃[ZU (IV 4°). The resemblance between the ritual materials listed here in § 3° and those mentioned in § 10° of Text F strongly suggests that this piece is related to that composition.
Text T = KUB XLIV 58

Col. I shows only the ends of several lines which extend into the space dividing the columns.

II e-ku-[j]
2'. tu-u-n[i]
§ 1' ni-ra-am-bi[ ]
4'. 3 NINDA.SIG bär-[]i-ya-an-zi[ ]

§ 2' nu DINGIR bär-ri-a[ ]
6'. pi-da-an-zi nu h[u-u-r]i-y[a]
§ 3' nam-ma A-NA DING[ ]R.MAH bär-ri-a[ ]
8'. giš h[u-u-wa]-ši ti-š-[tu]-wa-a[n]-zi
[...]u-u-kán-zi k[a]-ta-an na-aš-ma-a[i]

10'. GIM-an-ma DINGIR bär-ri-a[ ] p-i-ra-[a]
§ 4' [aš]-ap-[š]-ya ši-ša-[am]-mi-ši-ya

12'. [...] 2' gaz-[i-] [...]

III [ ] × ×  
2'. [ ]-eš-zi nu A'-A[ ]
§ 6' [ ] b[a-a]-ti-li-ši ša-r[a]-a[ ]
4'. [ ] k[ ]u-a-pi A-NA [ ] b[a-a]-ti-li-ši-ya[ ]
[ ] R.SAG-i ši-ša-aš-ši[ ]  
6'. [ ] a-pi-ya p-i-da-an-zi[ ]

§ 7' [ ] × AMA DUMU.NITA pár-[ku-n][u-u]-a-[ ]  
8'. [ ] × ×  

This Hurrian-derived text—note tum i (II 2'), nirambi (II 3'), huwari (II 6'), and [aš]apsi šašša [mmišiya] (II 11')—is shown to be a birth rite by III 7'... they purify [the] male child. A thirteenth-century date of inscription is indicated for this fragment by the presence of the 0 late form of LI in III 3'.

The preserved portion of col. II apparently describes offerings for the gods, especially for the mother-goddess, before whom a cultic stone is erected (II 9'). This is reminiscent of Text K §§14–16, where a program of worship for these deities is prescribed for the entire course of pregnancy. To col. III, where a pati-li-priest, a šinapši-house, and purificatory rites are mentioned, cf. the "Ritual of Papanikri" (KBo V 1) I 12ff., and Text J, especially § 6'.

For other examples of huwaši— with the determinative GIS, see Darga, RHA 84/85, 1969, 11, n. 6.

571 A close relationship to Text J is seemingly indicated by the unusual spelling bati-li in both texts—see below, p. 236.
572 Cf. NINDA.duni, Haas/Willhelm, AOATS 3, 286. But see also Neu, StBoT 12, 57, n. 37, and Laroché, GLH 271.
573 See AOATS 3, 111, and GLH 184.
574 See AOATS 3, 101–02, and GLH 299.
575 For the restoration, cf. XV 34 I 46ff.: 1 MUSEN aš-aš-ša šašša bī-li-ša-am-mišiya wa-ar-m[u]-a-zi. For the cultic terms (aš)apsi and šeššammi, see GLH 215 and 108.
Obv.

2’. [2 tar-pa-la-as'] SÍ.G.S[A]
    [ ]-a-pür-ku-eēš-

4’. [ ] I-NA ši-nap-[ši
    [ne-ku-uz] me-ḫur še-ḫe-el-[l]-i-ši-ki-y-a[s'] EGIர-an-da]

6’. [tu-ḫal-zi]-i-[n] SUM-an-zí
    [ ] ap-ša-an-[zi] šam-m[a']

8’. [da]m[r]-me-li pi-di ša-
    Iš-TU MUŠEN BAL-an-zí]

10’. ši-pa-an-ta-an-zi mu [(c)
    ti-an-zi ŠA ×]

12’. ne-ku-uz m[e-ḫur ši-ḫe-el-li-ši-ki-y-a[s'] EGIɾ-an-da]
    tu-ḫal-zi-[l]n SUM-an-zí

14’. [ ] ×

Rev. ma-a-an SAL-za-ma ḫār-na-a-ū-i e-ēš-zi nu-c[a] ××
2. ITU₄ⁿ⁻¹ʳ⁻¹-ya ka-nu-ša-ra-a tri-it-ta-mu-[z][i] ma-a-an DUMU.NITA nu
    SISKUR
    I-NA ITU₃.KAM DŪ-an-zí ma-a-an DUMU.SAL-ma nu SISKUR I-
    [NA ITU₄.KAM]

4. DŪ-an-zí nu-šš-ša-an ma-a-an SISKUR.SISKUR pi-di ka-nu-ši
    SAL₂NU.SIS[NUR]-ma ša-ak-mi-ēš-zi nu ma-a-an DUMU.RU
    I-NA ITU₄.KAM²]

6. ka-nu-ši pa-a-an-za nu-šš-an ITU₄.KAM-ya UD²'[UL']
    ma-a-na-aš DUMU.SAL-ma ka-nu-šš-ši ITU₄.KAM pa-a-an-za [(c)]

8. nu-šš-ša-an ITU₅.KAM na-a-ute ap-pa-an-zi ma-a-na-
    ITU₂.KAM-ya EGIɾ-an pa-iz-zi a-pa-a-šī-qa ××

10. U-UL GAR-ri na-aš-ma-kān ku-it-kî?
    [a]n-da DŪ-ra nu a-pa-a-qt

12. [n]-a-at Ū-UL DŪ-ri
    [DŪ-ri] ma-a-an-kān

14. [ (a)n-da ××

575a Unpublished 543/s shows similarities to both this text and Text O—see KBo
XXVII, p. IV, n. 7.

(traces)

2’. [two tarpala'] of r[ed] wool […]

[…] becom[es] pure […]

4’. […] in the īn[ap]-ši-house […]

[at night, behind the šeḫell[išk]i

6’. they offer a [tuḫalzi]. […]

 […] they hold. Furth[er] …

8’. at a [di]ff[erent] place […]

by means of a bird they offer […]

10’. they offer. And […]

they step. Of […]

12’. at nig[h]t, behind the šeḫelliški

[they offer a tuḫalzi. […]

14’. (traces)

When a woman is (seated) upon the birth-stool, and […]

2. and she has already piled up (i.e., completed) the months—[if it is a male

child, then the ritual]

they perform in the third month (after birth). But if it is a female child,

then the ritual

4. they perform [i]n the fourth month.] And if the ritual in place already […]

the woman, the offerant, will become impure. And if the (male) child

into [the fourth month]

6. has already entered, and the tenth day of the fourth month has n[ot]…

But if it is a female child, and for her the fourth month has already

passed,

8. but they have not yet attained the fifth month—[if […]

and the tenth month passes, this one […]

10. will not stand, or something[4g …]

will occur [there].[in. And this […]

12. [An][d it will not occur][r …]

[will occur]. If […]

14–15. (traces)
Commentary

This text of Kizzuwatnae background is preserved in a thirteenth-century copy—the late form of LI is found in obv. 8’—but its composition is shown to be earlier by the presence of the sentence-particle šānu (rev. 4, 6, 8). It is uncertain whether the offerings mentioned on the very fragmentary obv. are part of the ritual presented on the rev., or whether a new composition begins with rev. 1. The rev., at any rate, discusses the timing of a post-parturition ritual for the new-born—cf. here Text K §§ 10–11 and §§ 28–29.

Obv. 5’. For the restoration here and in obv. 12’, cf. KBo XXIV 45 obv. 28’:

\[(lu-\text{u})k-\text{kat-ta-ma} \text{ še-ḫe-el-li-î-š-ki} \text{ EGER-an-da} \text{ tu-ḫal-zi-in} \text{ ši-pa-an-da-an-zi}\]

and KUB XXXI 31 + XXII 114 IV 29–32:

\[lu-\text{uk-ka-ta-ma} \text{ I-NA UD.22.KAM} \text{ I-NA URU Ki-iz-za-aw-at-ni} \]

\[še-ir šal-li 5\text{ ka-ri-im-ma-na-aš} \text{ A-NA 4IM 6Hē-bat še-ḫi-el-li-iš-ki-ya-aš} \]

\[EGER-an-da \text{ [t]}u-\text{ḫal-zi-in} \text{ ši-pa-an-da-an-zi} \]

\[tu-\text{ḫal-zi} \text{ is a Hurrian word}^{576} \text{ which appears as an offering only a few times in the Boğazköy texts.}^{577} \text{ The “Ritual of Papanikri” (KBo V 1) I 56, I-NA UD.2. KAM-\text{ma} 2 tu-ḫal-zi ši-pa-an-da-an-zi. “On the second day they offer two t.”,} \]

shows that tuḫalsī denotes something concrete, as does XLVII 45 III 12’–13’.

\[nu \text{ LQAZU A-NA BE-EL SISKUR.SISKUR x[} \]

\[tu-u-ḫal-zi-in pâ-ra-a e-ip-zi \[i \text{ ši-pa-an-ti} \text{ LQAZU pur-li-li]i} \]

where the tuḫalsī is held. A more precise meaning cannot be established from these few contexts.

Rev. 1. To this line cf. the “Ritual of Papanikri” (KBo V 1) I 2—see above, p. 116, with n. 307.

Rev. 2. For šara tittani, “cover (a distance),” see Gütberck, JAOS 84, 1964, 271. Although Gütberck explains the term in connection with spatial distance, this line demonstrates that šara tittani could also be used of temporal spans.

For the secondary signification “already” of karu with the present tense or participle, see Neu, StBoT 18, 104.

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576 See Laroche, GLH 269, and Kronasser, SchwGoth 52.
577 Note SISKUR tu-ḫal-zi in XXIX 4 + KBo XXIV 86 III 24, and see III 14 and 35 where tu-ḫal-zi-in is the object of šipan-.

rev. 5ff. For the verb šakneš, “become soiled,” see above, p. 208.

The restoration and interpretation of these lines is not entirely certain, although their general sense is apparent. Mutual restoration of lines in Text U and comparison with §§ 10–11 and §§ 28–29 of Text K show that a ceremony was prescribed for a male child in the third month after birth and for a female child in the fourth month. Text U seems to deal with the possibility that the proper ritual has been neglected or delayed. Confusion arises due to the fragmentary condition of the piece, which renders the apodosis of rev. 10ff. unintelligible, and due to the employment of two different constructions for the passing of time, both involving the verb pait-, “go.” In rev. 7 we have the usual construction with the unit of time (here ITU.4.KAM) serving as the subject of pait-, while in rev. 5f. we probably have DUMUʷ, the child, as the subject of pait-, with the expression of time given by the logographic prepositional phrase I-NA [ITU.4.KAM]².

Text W = KBo XIV 23

1'. \[1 \times \[\]

2'. \[1 \text{ GL\underline{u}-la-a-i} \]

\[t\underline{i}? \]

4'. \[i\text{ši-ḫi-yu-an-da} \]

\[\]

6'. \[ššu²-rj-it-ta \]

\[pa-a²-ri-ni \]

8'. \[\times \times \text{ ga-a-an} \]

This fragment has been included here because Laroche lists it under CTH 477 (which contains Texts H and J), although its extremely fragmentary condition makes any conclusions as to its character or date difficult. Binding is certainly a prominent feature in Text H, and ššu²-šu₂-rj-it-ta in 6’ and pa₂-a₂-ri-ni in 7’ would strengthen this assignation, though by no means prove it.

For GL\underline{u}-la- in 2’, see CHD III 80.

578 See Küimmel, StBoT 3, 94.
579 See Hoffner, AlHeth 119.
III. VARIA

Text Y = KBo VII 74 II 3'-4'

In addition to the texts edited here, the Hitites possessed yet other rituals dealing with birth. One of these is known to us because its colophon has been preserved in a library catalogue of thirteenth-century date, 1 KBo VII 74 II 3'-4' (with dup. HSM 3644 1'-2' [Yb] 2), although the text itself has not been recovered: 3

[N TUP.PU m(a-a-a)n] A-NA 4ISTAR 4UR.SAG A-a-na EZEN ŠUM-MA-[TEMES]

[EZEN (u-e-u²)] e-es-ki-u-wa-a EzEN ḫa-aįš-an-na-aš i-ya-an-zi]

[Nth tablet:] When for Šauša of Mount Amanus the Festival of the Pigeons, [the Festival] of Crying Out (and) the Festival of the Womb [they perform].

3'. If 4UR.SAG A-a-na here refers to the Amanus range, as is likely, 4 4ISTAR would represent the Hurrian goddess Šauša. 5 4ISTAR is found in association with 4UR.SAG Amana also at XXX 31 IV 1 and KBo XIX 142 III 20, and with another Syrian mountain 6 (4UR.SAG Piiaša) also in the mythological text XXXIII 108. 7

A “Festival of the Pigeons” is not attested elsewhere, but it is interesting to note that the dove/pigeon is known in connection with an Istar figure in other contexts. In the archaic Istar Temple at Assur were discovered small clay models of houses ornamented with facades made up of tiny “doves.” 8 More

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1 For Ya note the late LI-sign in II 2', and for Yb the late KU in 7'.
3 See Laroeche, Cat² 159, 161.
4 See von Brandenstein, Or ns 8, 1939, 76, n. 3, and del Monte, RG 6, 11f.
5 The area to the north of Aleppo had already been penetrated by Harrians in the Middle Bronze period—see Kupper, CAH² II, Pt. 1, 23.
6 See del Monte, RG 6, 316, and Astour, XXIV° RAI 16.
7 See Friedrich, JKF 2, 152/53, 147ff.

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10 See Franz Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism (New York, 1911), p. 117.
12 This latter rendering is tentatively suggested by Laroeche, Cat² 161.
13 See Edzard in WbMyth I, 81ff. (sub Inanna/Istar).
Another Hittite text must be included here, although it differs considerably from those which have been discussed previously. Due to its fragmentary state of preservation, the ultimate purpose of this cultic text remains obscure, but it is clear that the ritual presented here involves the birth of a deity.

**Za**

II [ ] EN.SISKUR[...
2'. [ ] ×-an LحHAL pu'a'b,[
   [ ?] da-a-t[^2]

4'. [na-aš-t]a EN.SISKUR 3 BI-IB-RU[
   [(šar)]un-nu [nu-uš-ša-an 3 ×[...
6'. EGIR-pa da-a-i 1 BI-IB-RA PA-NI [(Gul-ša-aš)]
   DINGIR.MAH[^5, aš[^5] da-a-t [[{ }]]

8'. UD.2.KAM tab-ša-aš-[t]

**Zb**

   mu SAL.GAL an-da bar-kun-ci na-an EN.DINGIR[^5]
14'. [?]ša-an-mi-iš-ša-an ki-ya- [ ] ×[
   [-(š[t])a-na-aš-ma 1 NAM-MA-[TUM[^6] I]

---

a. with duplicate KBo XXIV 6 (Zb)
b. over erasure
c. Zb obv. 3': DINGIR.MAH-aš
d. this phrase omitted in Zb
e. Zb obv. 5': i-i-iš-ši-u-an
f. Zb obv. 7': [j̱]-pa-an-da-an
g. Zb obv. 8': 1 NAM-MA-AN-DU
Commentary

The birth mentioned in this text seems to be a physical activity and not part of an incantation or a mythological interpolation in a ritual context. It is very possible that a divine image was manipulated while a priestess acting as the mother (the SAL.GAL, "great woman," of II 11?) feigned labor and delivery, but this must remain only a suggestion. The employment of the vocabulary of normal human birth in this text demands its inclusion in this corpus.

Not enough of this text has been preserved to allow a dating of any precision. Za is shown to be of thirteenth-century date by the later form of AK in II 13', while Zb may have been inscribed earlier—note the older forms of AH (obv. 6), AK (obv. 7) and E (obv. 10'). Where Za has the logogram GL₂-an (II 13'), Zb has preserved the phonetic spelling is-pa-an-da-an (obv. 7').

Za Il 4'. For the restoration of the sentence-particle -ašta with šuma-; cf. Text Fa 17'.

Il 8'. For the Middle voice of tuḫi-tuḫheš- as "come to an end," see Neu, StBoT 6, 176.

Il 9'. For hali-, "watch (period of time)," see Güterbock, JCS 6, 1952, 35–36.

II 10'. For wiwai-, see above, p. 37. Judging from the texts edited here, the spelling of this word with e-vocalization is younger than that with the i-vowel.

II 11'. The Sumerogram SAL.GAL is not found elsewhere. Note only KBo XXIII 1 III 2–4.

mu-za ŠA.É.DIN GIR.LM šal-li-š
SAL.za pár-ku-in ŠIG BABBAR a-li-in
da-a-i

And the pure "great woman" of the temple takes the white ali-wool.

which may feature the same practitioner.

The EN.DIN GIR.LM EN.DIN GIR.LM,14 literally "lord of the god(s)," is attested in both the singular and plural numbers.15 This cultic functionary is apparently at home in texts of Hurro-Luwian milieu—note his appearance in texts of the cults of the goddess Ḫuwašanna of Ḫubēša (XXVII 57 II 15, 18; XXVII 65 I 20; XXVII 66 II 10', 12', 13', all belonging to CTH 692), of Šebu and Ḫebat (KBo XIV 133 III 8'–CTH 706), and of Ištar of Nineveh (X 63 I 28–CTH 715). Unfortunately the available material does not permit a precise determination of the character of this practitioner. Note only that in Bo 2715 III 15'–16' we find the EN.DIN GIR.LM performing the (arba) waḫme-, "swinging," ceremony, as in Text Z:16

na-an EN.DIN GIR.LM IS-TU MUŠEN ḪUR-RI
wa-ah-zi-ni nu MUŠEN ḪUR-RI ar-ḫa tar-na-i

14 Not to be confused with the appositional expression EN.MES DINGIR.MES, "the gods, the lords," found, for example, at VI 45 I 16.
15 E.g., X 63 I 28: LUN.MES EN.DIN GIR.MES.
16 For this treatment of the mother by the "swinging-"ceremony, cf. Text H § 13'.
The second Luwian birth ritual is represented by KUB XXXV 88, with duplicate XXXV 89 (CTH 765.1). The copy indicates that XXXV 88 was originally a two-columned tablet, but all that has been preserved are portions of obv. II and rev. III. The surface of obv. II has been so badly damaged that it is difficult to extract much sense from it. Only II 11 is readily intelligible: [ku]-i
ta-a-ti.] 20) DUMU-ni-ad-du-ua-a-al a-a-na-ni-[i-ti], "[whoever prepares] evil against [this] child." This line suggests that the child has already been born, and that this ritual is therefore at least partially post-parturitive. While nothing may be said about what stood in the lost obv. I of XXXV 88, XXXV 89:20, which follows upon a duplicate paragraph at the end of the fragment, and which therefore quite likely represents a colophon, indicates that the emphasis in this composition is on the events after birth, and not upon pregnancy itself: [ma-a-an] DUMU-aš l-NA GIUr-ni-ya-al-ša ki-it-taš, "[when the child lies in the cradle]."

In XXXV 88 rev. III, only one paragraph (13–17, dup. 12’–14’) is preserved to any extent, and it describes a purification of the child through the use of comb. A speech by the practitioner 21 plays an important role here:

15. ki-ša-am-ma-an a-aši-du SAG.DU-za GIUr.zâ IG1Ur-ša GIUr-zâ [al-ša]
17. GIUr-za UZUG.Bu-ša za GIUr-zâ 5 nu UZUG.Bu-ša-su-an-taš ši-[u-a-ia-zâ]

She lifted up the child (saying): "Let Kamrušepa 24 take the nine combs! With the combs 25 let him (the child) be combed! The sicknesses of the head, the

16a See now also KBo XXVII 117, which seems to be a Hurrian-language birth ritual—cf. Otten, KBo XXVII, p.v., and note especially obv. 1: ŠI-PAT ma-a-an-za SAL-za2; and 7: [ku]-ša-ab-wu-mi-nš-ša umu-ur-ša.
17 For complete transcriptions, see Otten, LTU 94–95. Due to the extensive parallels between the two fragments it seems likely that they represent duplicates rather than portions of the same tablet, as suggested by Otten, ibid. 94, n. 2, and 95, n. 1. It would be particularly strange for the colophon-like line XXXV 103 rev. 10 and XXXV 102 rev. 10 to appear twice on a single tablet.
sicknesses of the eyes, the sicknesses of the ears, the sicknesses of the mouth, the sicknesses of the thighs and the sicknesses of the hands (let them (the combs) take!)” And she treats all of the body parts [in order].

For the purification of the nine parts of the body following birth, cf. Text C §§ 10–11. For the use of the comb as an instrument of purification, cf. XII 26 II 1–10 (where Kamrušepa, along with the Sun-god, is again present), and the “Ritual of Tunnawi(ya)” § 23.27

Other “Birth Rituals”

In THeth 7, 127, n. 216, Kammenhuber provides a list of Hittite birth rituals, most of which28 have been edited in the preceding pages. She also includes a number of texts, however, which I feel do not belong in this corpus. These are:

KBo XVII 66, 67, 69,29 70, 71,30 and 93: Of these texts, numbers 69, 70, and 93 show no conclusive evidence of concern with birth. The appearance of the 

\[\text{10}^{10}\text{patili-} \]in numbers 69 and 70 is not proof that these texts are birth rituals, since this ritual practitioner is also active in other types of rituals.31 Kammenhuber has presumably included number 93 in her list because of the presence of \[\text{harrai-} \]in line 6: \[\text{par-ku-i uwa-a-tar har-na-in-na da-[an-zi’]} \], but we have seen32 that this word designates a purificatory material and is not simply a variant spelling of \[\text{harrau-} \], “birth-stool.” On the other hand, numbers 66, 67, and 71 are small fragments whose identity as birth rituals can neither be confirmed nor denied. In any case, they definitely do not join any of the texts edited in this work.

CTH 472: Why this text, now (re)published as KBo XXIII 1 and duplicates, is included by Kammenhuber in her enumeration of birth rituals is unclear.

26 See Goez, Coriling 46.
27 Goez, Tunn 14–17. Here again the comb is nine in number, but instead of the nine body parts, an image of clay is the subject of the treatment.
28 It has not been possible to completely re-edit CTH 476, the “Ritual of Papanikiri,” but see above, pp. 116–23.
29 Also characterized as a “Gebrutsritual” by Haas and Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 38.
30 In the Introduction to KBo XVII (p. V), Otten designates numbers 60 through 72, inclusive, as birth rituals.
31 See below, pp. 236–38.
32 See above, pp. 102–04.

33 Cf. KBo XXIII 1 II 19–22:

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{ma-a-an-kas 1-NA E.DINGIR.LNM} \\
\text{an-da [u-[p-p]]a-i pi-di ku-in im-ma ku-in} \\
\text{mar-la-al-ta-me-ri-in ii-em-i-ya-an-zi} \\
\text{nu ki-i SISKUR.SISKUR-ŠU}
\end{array}\]

If in the temple, in the pure place, any deception at all is discovered—then this is its ritual.
IV. PERSONNEL IN THE BIRTH RITUALS

A. Human

A great variety is to be observed in the practitioners taking part in the Hittite birth rituals. Among other professionals are found the seer (\textit{LUGAL}-Text C and Text K; \textit{LUGAL}-Text Kb), the nurse (Text C—see above, pp. 48 f.), the \textit{katra}-woman (Text H and Text K—see above, pp. 106–08) and the physician (\textit{LUGAL}-Text P). But birth was not the chief sphere of activity of any of these occupations. Rather, only two professions—that of the midwife and (to a lesser extent) that of the \textit{patil}-priest—were intimately concerned with human reproduction, and it is these professions that will be discussed here.

1. The Midwife

The Hittite word denoting this occupation is \textit{bašanupalla}, which, however, usually syncopates a syllable to become \textit{bašunupalla}. Although the formative \textit{-palla} has yet to be explained, this word is clearly a \textit{nomen actoris} derived from the \textit{mu}-causative stem of verb \textit{baš}, "give birth." In addition, the Sumerogram \textit{SAŠ.ZU}, "midwife," is found several times in Hittite-language texts.

The word \textit{bašauwa} has also been thought to indicate the midwife, due to its obvious derivation from \textit{baš} by way of the verbal substantive. However, while leaving open the exact relationship between \textit{SAŠ.baši(ša)mu-palla} and \textit{SAŠ.bašauwa}, Otten has shown that the latter term is the phonetic reading of \textit{SAŠ.GI}, "old woman." This is a title which is often borne by female ritual practitioners in Hittite texts, and it is not surprising that such a practitioner should be known by a term originally indicating a connection with childbirth. By the time in which our Hittite texts were inscribed, however, \textit{SAŠ.GI}/\textit{SAŠ.bašauwa} seems to have become a general term for a female ritual practitioner, including various, more specialized, occupations under its rubric. For example, Tunn infant is called \textit{SAŠ.GI} in the text edited by Goetze and \textit{SAŠ.ZU} in a birth ritual (Text B IV 20). Also, the chief actor in Text C is probably a child's nurse, yet she is referred to as a \textit{SAŠ.bašauwa}.

Another expression meaning "midwife" is \textit{SAŠ.haraunawā}, a genitival construction to be translated literally as "woman of the birth-stool." In a passage from one of her prayers, queen Puduhepa tells the Sun-goddess of Arinna:

Among men it is said: "To a 'woman of the birth-stool' a deity is favorable." I, Puduhepa, am a "woman of the birth-stool" (and since) I have devoted myself to your son, yield to me, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! Grant to me what I ask of you! Grant life to [Hattušili,] your servant! Through [the Fate-deities] (and) the Mother-goddesses, let long years (and) days be given to him!

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1 Text S 2.
2 Text A obv. 1; 6; Text M rev. 4.; Text C obv. 10, 11.
3 The view of Kronasser, Sprache 7, 1961, 160–61, that we are dealing here with the Hurrian root \textit{pal}, "know," is certainly false. See Kammenhuber, Arier 107, n. 334 a.
4 See Otten, ZA 50, 1952, 233.
5 See von Soden, AFO 18, 1957/58, 119–21, for the use of this Sumerogram in Mesoopotamian texts.
6 E.g., Kbo XII 89 II 12; Text B IV 13, 20, 23.
7 See Sayce, RA 24, 1927, 123. Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 200, n. 24, expresses doubt that the midwife is designated by \textit{SAŠ.bašauwa}.

8 ZA 50, 1952, 231–34.
9 See Jakob-Rost, Theth 2, 188–89, and Haas/Willhelm, AOATS 3, 19, with n. 1. For a differing interpretation of the entire subject of \textit{SAŠ.GI}/\textit{SAŠ.bašauwa}, see Kammenhuber, Theth 7, 119–29.
10 VII 53 + XII 58 1 1, IV 44.
11 See above, pp. 48 f.
12 Obv. 20 and rev. 9.
13 XXI 27 II 15–23.
15 A-NA DUMU:NAM.LÚ:ULÚ ULI-pat-kín an-da me-mi-an kši-an me-mi-ši kán-
zi
16 baš-na-u-ua-aš-ua SAL-ni DINGIR LUM ka-a-ri ti-[y]a-[a]
17 am-mu-qa-qa-[wa] Pi-du-bi-pa-ša baš-na-u-ua-aš SAL-[ka
18 A-NA DUMU-KA še-ir SAG.DU-az pi-ya-an baš-[mi]
19 nu-mu *LUU URBUL-na GAŠAN-YA ka-a-ri ti-[y]
20 nu-ut-a-[u]-aš ki-ša na-at-šu pa-a-i
21 A-NA [A] ša-[at-ta]-li JR-KA TI-tar pa-a-i
22 […] DINGIR.MAḪ-ES-az MUŠLI UD管理条例
23 [da-lu-ga-e-eš … pr]ya-an-te-eš
In his translation of this passage, Goetze renders SAL harnawaš as "woman in travail," but this is shown to be an incorrect interpretation by an inventory text which records the dispersal by a patilli-priest of one mina of silver from the royal stores to a SAL harnawaš. The nature both of the text and of the transaction here make it clear that "woman of the birth-stool" is a professional designation and not a description of a woman experiencing pregnancy or childbirth.

A designation of a person by means of a genitival construction such as SAL harnawaš is not at all unusual in Hittite. In the Hittite Laws (Tablet I § 73), for instance, we find tayazilaš, "he of the theft," as an expression for "thief."

The activities of the midwife attendant at birth may be divided into two categories. First, of course, there are the actual physical tasks involved in any birth: The midwife prepares the equipment necessary for delivery and thereafter also delivers the child.

Secondly, the midwife recites incantations on behalf of the new-born, beseeching the gods to remove evil influences and to grant a desirable fate to the child. Of one of these incantations reads, in part:

Sun-goddess of the Earth [...] may you seize! And further [...] you shall [not] let (them) loose (again)! But for the child life, fitness (and) long years continually give!

When we compare this speech to the request made by Puduḫepa on behalf of her husband Ḫattušili in the prayer quoted above, the similarity is evident. Life and long years are the chief boons requested in each instance. It should also be noted that the DINGIR.MAJ, Mother-goddesses who are also concerned with the allotment of the fates of humans, are specified by Puduḫepa as the agents of divine good favor.

2. The patilli-priest

Since the title of this ritual practitioner appears in the "Ritual of Papanikri" in the spelling LIPA-tek-eš(-), it was at first read by Sommer and Ebendorf as iš-šaš-šu-šu, "the Hittite priest," but this interpretation soon had to be abandoned with the discovery in Bo 4951 (Text J) of the writings LIPA-a-ša-ša-ša and LIPA-tek-eš. The great majority of tablets on which the LIPA-tek-ša appears are of thirteenth-century date, with a few pieces going back to the fourteenth century; no attestations prior to the Empire period are known. That this occupation belongs to the Hurro-Luwian milieu is apparent from an examination of those texts in the present corpus in which it appears—the "Ritual of Papanikri," Text H, Text J, Text K, and Text T. Also relevant here is the abstract LIPA-tek-eš(-)-šaš-šu-šu, "patilli-priesthood" (KBO XXVI 88 I 7), which is a hybrid form derived from a Hurrian -he-abstract by way of the Luwian -he-abstract, as well as the incorrect employment of the nom. pl. as gen. pl. (ŠA LIPA-tek-eš(-)-šaš-šu-šu—KBO V 1)

22 The occasion for the speech of the midwife in the fragment XXXIV 97:7 is unclear.
23 See P. 57–58.
24 See Ebendorf, OLZ 1929, 322–23.
25 E.g., Text H, Text K, and XXX 28.
26 See Bush (1964) § 6.4.612.4.
27 See Laroche, DLI § 30, and Carruba, RHA 81, 1967, 151–53.
28 See Pap 1.
II 46 29 and as dat. loc. pl. (A-NAG ^ME^ pa-ti-li-e-eš—Text Ha II 44; the dup. Hi has the correct ^LC^ pa-ti-li-ya-aš line 5). In addition, the rare spelling of this word with the initial voiced sign RA is confined to a very small number of texts, namely Text Jt, Text Jt, Text Jc, Text T, and the extremely fragmentary KBo III 62 (7); ^LC^ ne-ti-li-iš, and may very well go back to a non-Hittite (i.e., a Hurrian) scribal tradition.

Since a significant proportion of the available textual occurrences of this priest are in birth rituals (see below, GLOSSARY, s.v.), it has been suggested that the very presence of the ^LC^ patili- in a text possibly indicates a birth. 30 That this is not strictly true in all cases, however, is shown by the occurrence of the ^LC^ patili- in the “Second Military Oath” (XLIII 38 rev. 31—fragmentary context 31) and in a Totentext (XXX 28 + XXXIX 23—CTH 488 32—passim).

In this latter text, a patilli-priest stands on the roof of a building (a šinapsi-house ccf. rev. 4) and calls out the name of the deceased, asking whither he has gone. Six times the patilli-priest receives an evasive answer from “the gods with whom he (the deceased) finds himself,” but upon his seventh inquiry he is told:

\[
\text{an-na-aš-u-aš-šī \quad \text{mu-}ua-ra-an-za} \\
\text{ŠUB-ha it IS-BAT nu-wa-ra-an pri-e-bi-te-es} \\
\quad \text{(rev. 11—12)}
\]

The mother [came] to him [and] took him by the hand and led him away.

This response quite likely indicates that a departed person was thought to rejoin his actual physical mother in the afterlife, but it is also possible that a deity is referred to as “mother” here. In this case the “mother” is perhaps the Sun-goddess of the Earth (taknaš UGUTU), who is mentioned expressly at the beginning of the following paragraph (rev. 14). 33

31 See Oertinger, SBeOT 22, 20 and 58.
32 See Orten, HTR 94—97.
33 For the Sun-goddess as mother, see Neu, SBeOT 18, 125 ff., and Haas, Or ns 45, 1976, 204. Although most available evidence concerning the motherhood of a Sun-goddess refers to the deity *Wursheša = ḪUTU UGUTU Arinna, it does not seem possible to draw an absolute distinction between this deity and the Sun-goddess of the Earth. But note that while the Sun-goddess of the Earth is indeed attested several times in the birth rituals, a special interest in this specific deity does not seem to be indicated—see above, p. 54.

But no matter how the question of the identity of the “mother” here is to be resolved, it is certain that death is understood here as a kind of birth. Thus the predominant concern of the patilli-priest with birth explains his presence in a rite de passage marking the transition of an individual from the earthly existence to the afterlife. In the broken context of the “Second Military Oath” it is possible that the patilli-priest introduces an oath involving the consequence of childlessness as a sanction. 34 Thus he would retain here too an indirect connection with his main sphere of activity.

However, a number of other ritual fragments which do not appear to be birth rituals also feature the patilli-priest, with no indication of any relationship to human reproduction. These are: KBo XVII 67:4; KBo XVII 69:7, 11, 15; KBo XVII 70 obv. 2; 35 Bo 3860 II 3, 5', 10'; and the very small 298/u:3. 36

Turning to other than strictly ritual texts, we find mention of a purificatory activity of the ^LC^ patili- in the oracle collection KBo XXIV 126:

\[
\text{nu-u-si ^LC^ pa-ti-li-iš še-ir aš-ta-ni-yi-piš-kān-na za-an-ki-la-tar-ra} \\
\text{IS-TU E LUGAL SUM-an-zī} \\
\quad \text{(rev. 7')}
\]

And on his behalf the patilli-priest will perform a sin-offering 37—the (offerings) of atonement and contrition will be brought from the house of the king.

In Bo 7953 38 col. III, a number of patilli-priests are said to have transgressed their own rules of conduct (^LC^ pa-ti-li-ya-aš ša-ak-la-a-in—lines 9—10') while performing an offering of ḫarnai. 39

Finally, 40 a patilli-priest by the name of Lullu is mentioned in the administrative document XXVI 66 (with dup. KBo XVIII 153), where he dispenses a sum of silver to a midwife:

34 See above, pp. 31, for examples of such curses.
35 The vocabulary of this text is quite similar to that of XXX 28 +—note especially ^[a-12] KAB.ZU.ZU (obv. 7), šiša-na-ap-ši (obv. 1), and 4pa-am-ri (obv. 19—cf. ḫa-am-ri-is-ḫa-ra, passim in XXX 28+).
36 See Neu, KZ 86, 1972, 289, n. 7. Lines 3' and 5' here feature the spelling ^LC^ pa-TE-li, found elsewhere only at XXX 28 + obv. 14 (^LC^ pa-TE-li-lib[i]).
37 Cf. 4aššimšāru, “sin”—see Goetze, Tunn 87.
38 This text is of uncertain type. It is a first person report (of a king?) of the discovery and rectification of an offense committed by the patilli-priests.
39 See above, p. 103.
40 The function of ^LC^ pa-ti-li- in the vow fragment KBo IX 96 IV 6' is unclear. Note also the Hieroglyphic Luwian writing of the title pa-ti-li on the seal SBO II 149.
III 9. 2 MA.NA KÜ.BABBAR I KILLAL ÂMUŠEN =UR.MAH.LÜ a =Pu-pu-liši-ša bar-kir
10. na-at SAL.LUGAL ka-ru-ü ša-ra-a da-a-aš mu 1 MA.NA KÜ.BABBAR

UR.MAH.LÜ and Pupulki held two mina of silver (in the form of) one eagle weight, and the queen has already received it. Lullu, the patilli-priest, sent one mina of silver to a midwife (dups. adds: in the city of ...). ⁴¹

Within the rituals in which he appears, the competence of the \(L\)\(\nu\)patilli- seems to be general—he makes offerings (e.g., Text H § 15'), purifies persons (e.g., Text H § 17'), animals (e.g., Papanikri IV 4) and objects (e.g., Papanikri I 20 ff.) and recites speeches (e.g., XXX 28+ rev.). Indeed, in the “Ritual of Papanikri” and in Text H he carries out an extremely wide variety of ritual activities, all of which may be seen as contributing to the achievement of the requisite state of ritual purity by the mother, the birth equipment, or the child. Note only that in the birth texts the patilli-priest is never involved directly with parturition itself—this function seems to be the preserve of the midwife in Hittite texts.

In conclusion, the \(L\)\(\nu\)patilli- may best be described as a purificatory priest whose chief sphere of activity is that of birth, but whose professional duties are not absolutely restricted to that area.

B. Divine

Numerous deities are mentioned in the Hittite birth rituals, ⁴² but only several seem to have had any special connection with the phenomenon of human reproduction and birth. These deities, all female, include the great goddess

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a. dup. rev. 15' inserts GaL
b. dup. rev. 16' inserts s-
c. dup. rev. 16' inserts i-na URU

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⁴¹ On this passage, see Kempinski/Košak, Tel Aviv 4, 1977, 89 f. My translation differs from theirs in that I take "Lullul \(L\)\(\nu\)patiši as a correctly formed nominative and thus the subject of pedaš, rather than as a dative conjoined with SAL farnau-usš. Note that Kempinski and Košak render this latter term as "midwife"—see above, pp. 233 f.

⁴² Some twenty in all—see below, GLOSSARY, sub DIVINE NAMES, and add "Alitapara and "the deities of the city" from the "Ritual of Papanikri"—see above, p. 117.

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Divine

⁴³ GISTAR (= Sauša). ⁴⁴ and the pair Zukki and Anzilli. ⁴⁵ But most importantly we encounter in these texts deities represented by the Sumerogram DINGIR.MAH and by its plural DINGIR.MAH\(M\)\(E\)\(S\)\(U\)\(L\)A.

The subject of the DINGIR.MAH\(M\)\(E\)\(S\)\(U\)\(L\)A has been discussed by many scholars, but the most significant contributions to our understanding of this question have been made by Goetze ⁴⁶ and by Carruba. ⁴⁷ The apparent indifference to grammatical number displayed by the writings of DINGIR.MAH has long been troublesome to researchers and has led Carruba to postulate the identity of singular DINGIR.MAH and plural DINGIR.MAH\(M\)\(E\)\(S\)\(U\)\(L\)A. ⁴⁸

This solution of the problem, however, is not entirely satisfactory, for the alternation of singular and plural writings is by no means present to the same extent in all types of texts. Note that mythological compositions feature almost exclusively \#⁴⁹ the singular DINGIR.MAH. It was through the use of this Sumerogram, ⁵⁰ occasionally in alternation with "NIN.TU", ⁵¹ that the Hittite scribes indicated Ḥannaḫanna, ⁵² a native Anatolian Mother-goddess and a deity of the first rank. Ḥannaḫanna is one of a long series of Anatolian fertility deities, a series which stretches from (at least) the goddess depicted by the

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⁴³ See above, p. 173.
⁴⁴ See above, pp. 222 f.
⁴⁵ See above, pp. 79 f.
⁴⁶ Tunn 55 ff.
⁴⁷ StBoT 2, 28–30.
⁴⁸ StBoT 2, 29.
⁴⁹ There are but few exceptions to this generalization. The plural DINGIR.MAH\(M\)\(E\)\(S\)\(U\)\(L\)A is found in the "Song of Ullikummi" Tablet I A IV 14'–15', but this is in reference to a birth, the structure of whose narration has simply been borrowed from that of normal human birth. Similarly, the DINGIR.MAH\(M\)\(E\)\(S\)\(U\)\(L\)A appearing in a group of deities in the "Telepinu Myth" (XVII 10 III 31–RHA 77, 1965, 95–96) do not take part in the mythological action, but are merely present within the ritual performed for Telepinu by the goddess Kamruša. There can be no doubt that this ritual was taken over bodily from a purificatory rite normally carried out by a human practi-

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⁵⁰ For the Mother-goddess in Mesopotamia, see Edzard in WhMyth I 103–06, and Jacobsen, Or nr 42, 1973, 277–98.
⁵¹ See XVII 10 I 29–30, where both Sumerograms are found within two lines.
⁵² See Laroche, Rech 73, with literature there cited.
figurines of Çatal Hüyük to Cybele of Phrygian times and the Ephesian Artemis of the Hellenistic period.

In the myths Hannâhanna bestows life and also appears as the wisest of deities, a personage to whom the other gods turn in time of disaster. For example, when in XVII 10 129 ff. Telepinu disappears and the fertility of the land is thereby impaired, and after all other efforts have failed, only the intervention of Hannâhanna sets in motion the chain of events which brings about the restoration of the proper functioning of the world. In CTH 334 (RHA 77, 1965, 138–46) Hannâhanna herself plays the role of the disappearing god. Finally, CTH 336 (RHA 77, 1965, 147–56), “le mythe d’Inara,” is a fragmentarily preserved composition showing Hannâhanna (syllabic spelling) alternating with DINGIR.MAH and ṢIN.TU in several contexts together with the professional designation ṢIN.AMMEDU, “nurse.”

Other types of texts reveal a strong connection between Hannâhanna and agricultural fertility. Note XXV 11 II 12–13:

GIM-an-ma ḫal-ki-in I-NA ḫ DINGIR.MAH ar-nu-wa-[an-zi]

When they bring[ing] the grain into the temple of Hannâhanna

Bo 2526 III 14–15:

[A-NA?] DINGIR.MAH Ezen Šu.Kin.Gal'

[ ] ya-ar-zi

[For?] Hannâhanna they perform […] the Festival of the Large Sickle.

and XLVI 17 IV 12:

| × × -li-iš (ŠA) DINGIR.MAH Ezen Gurun Aš UD.3 Kam a-ša-ḫa-a-ša e-eš-ši-iš-ta

53 See Mellaart, AnSt 13, 1963, 93, esp. figs. 31 and 32.
55 See KBo X 47c (+) 487 44ff. (Hittite Gilgamesh translation) where she is responsible for the creation of Enkidu. An allusion to the creation of humankind by Hannâhanna is found in XLI 8 I 20ff.—see Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 144 (lines I 43ff. of reconstructed text).
56 See above, p. 1.
57 Outside of this text, the syllabic spelling is found only at KBo VII 58 rev. 1' and KBo XX 59:13'.
58 See above, pp. 44 f.
59 ašēh- is not attested elsewhere—see HW² 395.
60 E.g., in XVIII 45 obv. 7 and XXII 37 obv. 4'.
61 See KBo X 20 12 II (JNES 19, 1960, 84).
62 In Sahnihyati (VI 45 II 30; 348/v.3), Parnāša (348/v.9), and Ḥākpiš (XXXII 87 rev. 19; 348/v.11).
64 In Egypt the “seven Hathors,” who were fate deities similar to the Hittite Guliše, seem to have received their designation because some of their functions overlapped with those of Hathor, the great goddess of love, fertility, and death—see Siegfried Moreno, Untersuchung zur Rolle des Schicksals in der ägyptischen Religion (Berlin, 1960), pp. 32ff.
65 See Friedrich, HE ² § 336.
66 Tunn 55.
It is in regard to these deities, who are most often found in the company of the "Gul-še-eš", the Fate-deities, that the previously mentioned indifference to number is attested.68 This is simply a graphic variance, with the group of deities being indicated by both the singular and the plural writings.69

In this connection we may compare two texts chosen practically at random from the numerous available examples. KBo IX 140 13-15:

1 NINDA.KUR₄,RA KU₇.ma pâr-ši-ya na-an A-NA DINGIR.MAĦ⁴ "Gul-še-eš pi-ra-an da-a-i"

He breaks one sweet loaf and places it before the Mother-goddess(es) (and) the Fate-deities.

and KBo XIV 142 125:

1 NINDA.SIG A-NA "Gul-ša-aš DINGIR.MAĦBLA.aš"

One thin loaf for the Fate-deities (and) the Mother-goddesses.

Similar offerings to identical deities are certainly indicated here. Note also the alternation of singular and plural writings within a single text—KBo XV 62 obv. 21: DINGIR.MAĦ; obv. 23: [DINGIR.MJAHME₃]; and within the duplicates of a single line—Text Za II 7: DINGIR.MAĦ⁴.aš, Text Zb obv. 3: DINGIR.MAĦ.aš. In regard to form this DINGIR.MAĦ could be a nom. or gen.sg., but context (PA-NI precedes) shows that a dat./loc.pl. is intended.

As stated previously, the DINGIR.MAĦME₃BLA often accompany the Gulšēs, and the two groups correspond to the Hurrian Ḫtēna Ḫtellūra.70 These two groups of goddesses may indeed be of Hurrian origin71—not that "Gulšēs DINGIR.MAĦ stand in a list of Hurrian deities at KBo V 2 II 57–III 16.72

67 A great deal has been written about these deities. See most recently Otten, RIA III 698. Note especially that singular DINGIR.MAĦ (= Ḫannaḫanna) is seldom found in a context with these deities.
68 See Friedrich, Or ns 33, 1964, 88, where the basic difference between the singular and plural writings of DINGIR.MAĦ is already clearly stated.
69 In cases where the singular and plural graphic representations are in alternation, the former never shows a complementation in -n, which would indicate a reading Ḫannaḫanna.
70 See Laroche, JCS 2, 1948, 124–26. Laroche has since abandoned his earlier etymological explanation of the Hurrian divine names—see GLH 111.
71 See Otten, RIA III 698.
72 See already Goetze, Tunn 56, where, however, the citation is given incorrectly as KBo V 2 I 15.

An interesting text from the cult of these goddesses is presented by 232/d (= KBo XXX 4) III 3–11:

3'. [n]u SAL.za ku-iš ar-ma-u-za-an-zu 3' [NINDA.SIGME₃]
4'. A-NA DINGIR.MAĦBLA pâr-ši-ya še-e-ra-ša-aš-a-[n]
5'. UZ blot.KIG UZĻÂ ku-ra-an da-a-[i ( )]
6'. še-e-ra-ša-an NINDA.ÎL.DE.A ma-ma-[a ( )]
7'. ili-bu-u-wa-[i nu PA-NI DINGIR.MAĦBLA da-a-[i ( )]

8'. 3 NINDA.SIGME₃-aš A-NA "Gul-ša-aš pâr-ši-[y]a[a]
9'. še-e-ra-ša-an UZLOT GIR UZĻÂ ku-ra-an
10'. da-a-[i še-ra-ša-an-a-an NINDA.ÎL.DE.A ma-ma-al]
11'. ili-bu-u-[a-[i nu PA-NI "Gul-ša-aš da-a-[i]

And a woman who is pregnant breaks three [thin loaves] for the Mother-goddesses. Thereupon she places a liver (and) a heart, cooked. And on top she scatters mutton-fat cake (and) meal. And she places (it all) before the Mother-goddesses.

But three thin loaves she breaks for the Fate-deities. Thereupon she places a liver (and) a heart, cooked. And on top she scatters mutton-fat cake (and) meal. And she places (it all) before the Fate-deities.

It is important to note that in line 3' the fact of pregnancy is expressed not through an attributive adjective (i.e., not through armawanzas SAL.za) but by means of a subordinate clause (SAL.za ku-iš armawanzas). This, together with the fact that the pregnant woman here is seemingly introduced only in the third column of the text lead to the conclusion that she is not the offspring, but that she is acting as a member of the cultic personnel. That is, 232/d is not a fragment of a birth ritual. Rather, it seems that a pregnant woman was particularly well-suited to bring offerings effectively to the Gulšēs and DINGIR. MAĦME₃BLA. This relationship could easily have arisen if there was a special connection between these groups of deities and human reproduction.73

Such a connection may be demonstrated without difficulty. In the mythological sphere the DINGIR.MAĦME₃BLA and Gulšēs serve as the nurses of Ulli-

73 Examples of affinity between deity and offering in Hittite ritual are provided by the preference of female deities for offerings of the female sex—see Kümmel, StBoT 3, 122—and of chthonic divinities for victims drawn from the culturally uncanny animals (dog and pig)—see StBoT 3, 152.
An involvement with the birth of each individual is firmly established by passages from two ritual texts. The first is Bo 3617 (and dupls.) II 13'-17', where the ritual practitioner says to a river:

13'. [(c)i-[][k-ma-za)] ID-ā šip-ku-me-mar DUMU-la-an-na-aš ħ[i-(u-i-du-
       mar)]

14'. [(i]-u)[u]-a-an-[i]((a-r)]a-hi-ša ta-at-ta mu ku-it ku-e-[i]a-na te-iz-z[i]

15'. [(ba-)][u]-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi na-aš EGIR-pa tu-uk A-N[/(A ID)]

16'. [(u)a-[a]-p]u-aš-ša *Gul-še-ša DINGIR.MAHMES pa-iz-[i][z]o

17'. [a]-[a]-u-ah-ša-an ku-ae-eš ša-ah-ma-ni-eš-kān-zi[[(z)]

But you, O river, have taken for yourself the purification, the life of the progeny and procreation'. And (if someone) says something to someone (so that it) becomes difficult, then he goes back to you, to the river, and to the Fat-deities (and) the Mother-goddesses, who are continually creating (each) hu-[man]

Here the deities with whom we are concerned are said to be responsible for the very life of each human being. XLIb 55 II 11-21 records an address directly to these deities: 77

11. ka-aš-a-wa ki-e-da-ni ud-da-a-ni
12. [ DI]NGIR.MAHMES-is 4Gul-še-ša ku-ut-tu-wa-ab-bu-u-en
13. [m a]-a-a-an-an-ah-ša-ša ku-wa-pi mi-ya-a-ra
14. [m a]-a-iš-ša a-pi-e-da-ni UD-ti ma-ab-ša-an 4Gul-še-ša
15. [DINGIR.MAHMES-iš-ša aš-su-ul gul-ša-an-zi

16. [ ] × ka-aš-a-a-pa-aš UD.KAM-zu mu-kàn 4Gul-še-ša
17. [DINGIR.MAHMES-iš-ša ki-e-di UD.KAM-ti A-NA LUGAL SALLU-
       GAL Ti-tar

18. [ ] × tar-{na} in-na-ra-wa-tar MUKAM GIĐ.DA

(there follow several lines, some poorly preserved, listing desired boons)
21. ... gul-aš-ten

In regard to this matter we have just now summoned as witnesses the [...] Mo[ther]-goddesses and the Fate-deities. [And if] a man is at any time born, [then] as the Fate-deities and the Mother-goddesses on that day designate well-being for him—

This is that day! May you Fate-deities and Mother-goddesses designate today life ... strength, long years (and numerous other boons) for the king (and) queen!

This text refers to a different facet of the birth-related activities of the Fate-deities and the Mother-goddesses—namely to their allocation of life-qualities to each person who enters the world.

It is likely that these two functions—the giving of life and the allotting of fate—were originally separate spheres of activity, the former being the responsibility of the DINGIR.MAHMESHILA and the latter that of the Guššes. 78 Only because both groups were present at each birth did their roles become conflated, with both sets of deities together exercising the two functions. Note, in support of this analysis, that there is no mention of the Guššes in our preserved birth rituals per se, while Text K records a series of rites to be performed on behalf of the DINGIR.MAHMESHILA—at conception, during pregnancy, and after birth. Also, Text L presents the Mother-goddesses in a mythological passage as midwives. It is significant that the offerings presented to both groups of deities in Text Z occur immediately before the birth, when both groups would have been active.

In the latter life of an individual one of the group of deities which had brought him to birth was thought to stand in a special relationship to him, an idea somewhat analogous to the Christian concept of "guardian angel."

Note DINGIR.MAḪ ŠAŠU.GI, "the Mother-goddess of the Old Woman," IBoT II 108:22 SALLUGAL-əš DINGIR.MAḪ, "Mother-goddess of the queen," KBo XXIII 72 rev. 30; DINGIR.MAḪ ŞAŠU.LUGAL, "the Mother-goddess of the person of the queen," Bo 5048 I 17; and [DINGIR.MAḪ ȘAŠU.MAŠ UTU.SI, "the Mother-goddess of the mother of His Majesty," KBo XXIII 72 obs. 12. Bo 5360, right-hand column, records an address to such a protective deity: (16') DINGIR.MAḪ ITT-TI SALLUGAL pa-a-i-ši ...
(19) zi-ik DINGIR.MAḪ SIG.GI in i-yā, “You go, o Mother-goddess, with the queen... May you, o Mother-goddess, treat (her) well!” 80

KBo XXIII 72, a text of the state cult in which offerings are made individually to the DINGIR.MAḪ of several important persons (see immediately above), as well as collectively A-NA DINGIR.MAḪ ḫu-um-a-ga-an-da-a-ā (obv. 20), “to all the Mother-goddess(es)” — cf. rev. 29: [ḫu-um-a-an-du-u-ā DINGIR.MAḪ.INLA] Ḫa-at-tu-ša-ā, “all the Mother-goddesses of Hattuša” — is to be interpreted as documenting an effort to secure well-being for the entire Hittite society through the obtaining of the favor of the protective deity of each and every individual.

It is the undifferentiated mass of goddesses who receive worship in the state festivals, 81 who are mentioned in god lists, 82 and for whom a temple is attested. 83 As a group they are also often active on behalf of adult individuals in purificatory rituals. 84

The Hittite name standing behind the logogram DINGIR.MAḪ.MEŠ/QLA remains unknown, although both Kunuštara 85 and Darauwa, 86 which are on occasion attested in conjunction with the Guššu in contexts where we are accustomed to finding this Sumerogram, have been proposed. The evidence is not yet conclusive, 87 however, and it is indeed possible that both terms—and possibly others—designate our deities.

There seems to have been a certain amount of secondary confusion of DINGIR.MAḪ = Ḥannahanna and the plural DINGIR.MAḪ.MEŠ/QLA. In the

80 Note that a single Fate-deity is also on occasion attested as influencing the life of an individual, although this deity does not appear to have been associated intimately and exclusively with the person of that individual. Cf. XXIII 85 rev. 6: [ni-ut-ta 4Gul-ša-a ḫu-lu-ḫa-dar, “and a Fate-deity has done evil to you,” and Bo 2931 I 5: [ni-ḫa-dī ḫu-lu-ša-an 4Gul-ša-a ni-u-an BAL-ḫi-bi, “[and] I treat the evil Fate-deity as follows on his behalf.”]

81 Cf. especially the texts listed under CTH 646. Note, however, that the local varieties of Ḥannahanna also appear in such texts, e.g., XXXII 87 rev. 19–20: DINGIR.MAḪ MEŠ/QLA Ḫa-ak-mi-iš-sī[.] Ṭa-pa-ta-ya-aṭ DINGIR.MAḪ, “Ḥannahanna of Ḥapšu[...] Ḥannahanna of the fief.”

82 E.g., KBo IV 13 IV 2.


84 See CTH 484, KBo XV 25, and XLIII 55.

85 See Friedrich, Or ns 33, 1964, 88.

86 See Carruba, StBoT 2, 30, n. 48.

87 KBo XXIV 101 rev. 6: DINGIR.MAḪ 4Gul-ša-a Ḫa-ark-a-wa-li, seems to speak against the second suggestion.

offering list XXV 32 I 14‘ we find the entry 1 SILĀ DINGIR.MAḪ-ni 1 UDU 4Gul-ša-a. The complementation in -ni makes it certain that we are to read 4Ḥannahanna here in the company of the Fate-deities. A problem is presented by the occurrence in several purificatory rituals 88 of wa-puwaš DINGIR.MAḪ, “Mother-goddess of the river bank,” a divinity who is shown by complementation 89 to be a form of Ḥannahanna. Is this perhaps a manifestation of an age-old purificatory function of the Anatolian Ḥannahanna—note her connection with a river bank in XLI 8 I 20 ff.? 90— or is it another example of the transference of characteristics of the alien group of Mother-goddesses to Ḥannahanna? Note here the association of these deities with the river in Bo 3617 II 13‘ ff. 91

Finally, an instance of purely graphic confusion is presented by XXXIII 24 I 37–38:


Here 4NIN.TU, which serves as an allograph of DINGIR.MAḪ (singular writing only) when it stands for Ḥannahanna, has been employed erroneously in place of (plural) DINGIR.MAḪ.MEŠ/QLA, the Mother-goddesses. This passage must therefore be translated:

The father of the Storm-god went down to the Fate-deities (and) the Mother-goddesses. Thus spoke the Fate-deities (and) the Mother-goddesses: “O father of the Storm-god, why have you c[ome]?”

In summary: DINGIR.MAḪ and DINGIR.MAḪ.MEŠ/QLA are not simply interchangeable writings indicating one and the same deity or group of deities. In the Boğazköy texts we find on the one hand the Anatolian Mother-goddess Ḥannahanna, whose name is written by means of the singular DINGIR.MAḪ. This deity is important for both human and agricultural fertility, and, as wa-puwaš DINGIR.MAḪ, is active in purificatory rituals. On the other hand, we have a group of lesser Mother-goddess figures, perhaps of Hurrian origin, who are designated by the plural writing DINGIR.MAḪ.MEŠ/QLA. This term, whose

88 E.g., CTH 402 (THeth 2), CTH 409 (Goetz, Tunn), and KBo XI 17. In each of these texts, only the singular form of DINGIR.MAḪ appears.

89 E.g., XXIV 9 IV 9‘: wa-ap-pu-wa-aš DINGIR.MAḪ-an-ni; VII 53 + XII 58 I 26: wa-ap-pu-wa-aš DINGIR.MAḪ-ni; and KBo XI 17 II 14‘–5‘: wa-ap-pu-wa-aš DINGIR.MAḪ-ni. See already Jakob-Rost, THeth 2, 84, who errs, however, in regarding Ḥannahanna as one of the lesser deities.

90 See above, p. 240, n. 55.

91 Quoted above, p. 244.
phonetic correspondence remains uncertain, may also be written defectively as a singular. Thus for the modern philologist there arises confusion with Ḫannahanna.92 The lesser Mother-goddesses are associated with an individual human being before, during, and after birth, and one of their number seemingly accompanies the individual throughout his lifetime. In festivals and rituals offerings are made to these deities as a group, both as a college of “guardian angels” of the population, and as purificatory divinities of the chthonic type. Some secondary confusion of Ḫannahanna and the DINGIR.MAḪ ṢEŠ.KI.A is also observable in the Hittite texts.

V. SUMMARY

Hittite Practices Concerning Pregnancy and Birth

In utilizing the evidence of the texts edited in this work to construct a schema of Hittite practice in regard to pregnancy and childbirth, it must be kept in mind that the details of this schema may be related only distantly to what actually took place in the households of the common people.1 It is quite probable that most women gave birth without elaborate ceremony, either during pregnancy or during parturition—certainly the expenditures entailed in carrying out rituals such as those described in the “Ritual of Papanikri” and in Text K were beyond the means of the ordinary family.

We must also remember that the birth rituals themselves do not present a unified corpus, but rather detail procedures from various population groups,2 areas,3 and periods within the history of the Hittite state.4 All of these ritual texts were probably brought to the Hittite capital, and in most cases recopied there over the course of years, in order that the knowledge contained in them might be accessible to those practitioners attendant upon the royal family in times of crisis. It was of no consequence that contradictory practices were found in the rituals as a group; what was important was that the experts who aided the ladies of the royal court in problems of reproduction have available to them as much information as possible. Therefore it is doubtful that all of the procedures included in the following outline were carried out in the case of any single pregnancy, even where these procedures are not mutually exclusive.

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92. As a rule of thumb, if a text shows only the singular writing, it is likely that Ḫannahanna is indicated. An obvious exception is presented by the case of the expressly named protective deities (DINGIR.MAḪ ṢA ṢEŠ.KI.GI, etc.).

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1 See Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 203, where the discrepancy between naming practices as described in mythological texts and actual usage as revealed by the corpus of Hittite personal names is discussed.
2 For example, Text G contains Hittic incantations, while Text H, Text J, and “Papanikri” are derived from Hurrian sources.
3 For example, to judge from the probable location of the cities named in the incantation in Text A (§ 3), this text is of central Anatolian origin, while obs. 38 and rev. 46 of Text K indicate quite clearly a Kizzuwatnaean provenience.
4 For example, Text C and Text H go back to the Middle Hittite period, while Text L is very late in composition.
Pre-parturition

The very entering of a woman into the state of pregnancy could be marked by a special festival performed in honor of the Mother-goddesses (Text K § 14).

During pregnancy, monthly rites might be carried out for these same deities (Text K § 15), and the mother-to-be was subject to certain restrictions in her diet (Text K § 6) and sexual relations (Text K §§ 2, 18). At various times during pregnancy offerings (Text K §§ 2, 3, 19, 23) and purifications (Text K §§ 4, 26) were made, and after a certain point, the woman could be separated from her family for the remainder of her term (Text K §§ 5, 7). It seems, however, that in most cases births occurred in the home. 8

Prior to delivery an oracle might be sought to determine if the woman was in the proper moral condition to give birth successfully (Text K §§ 21–22), and offerings could be performed to correct the situation if the answer to this inquiry was negative (Text K § 22).

Finally, there were rites to prepare the possessions of the woman (Text K §§ 8, 24), the birth apparatus (Text H, Text K § 25), and the woman herself (Text K § 26) for the act of parturition.

Parturition

The equipment necessary for delivery consisted of two stools and three cushions (Text A §§ 1–2), or of two foot stools (Text B § 2) or, in texts of the Hurrian milieu, of the birth-stool (haranak– Text H, Text O, Text U, “Papanikri”; harauni– Text J). If the apparatus sustained damage during labor, this was considered a bad omen, and time permitting, the place of birth was changed (“Papanikri” I 7–11).

Various incantations to aid in delivery are attested: the “Incantation of Crying Out” (Text B § 3), known only by title, takes its name from a characteristic activity of the mother during parturition and presumably was held to comfort her in the face of labor pains. The Hittite “Incantation of Blood” (Text G § 1) and “Incantation of the Wind” (Text G § 2) were intended to give aid in event of physical difficulties in delivery. In Text A (§§ 3–4) and Text L

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8 See above, pp. 102–04.
9 See above, p. 37.
In addition, there seem to have been ritual procedures for the unfortunate possibility that a child should die during, or soon after, birth (Text J §§ 4'-8').

It is immediately apparent that the great majority of these activities fall into a realm more accurately described as magico-religious than as medical. The exceptions to this generalization are few and mostly uncertain:10 Text P possibly prescribes the administration of drugs to a pregnant woman, yet refers to itself in its colophon as an incantation (ŠI-PÂT). Text C § 7 speaks of the giving of “fresh medicine” (ḫušu wašši) to the new-born, but the context is not entirely comprehensible. More clearly, Text L § 1 deals with the preparation of a salve and its application to the inner ears of the infant. Finally, the numerous purifications of the child might well have been of hygienic value, and the substance kunzīgannaḫit11 often employed in these purifications was possibly a drug.

This preponderant concern with the magico-religious, almost to the exclusion of the medical, sets the group of texts edited here in sharp contrast to available Mesopotamian materials dealing with birth.12 Many of these indeed contain magico-religious elements, but the majority also present instructions for the preparation and administration of medications in the form of potions, salves, poultices, enemas, etc. Even “l’Esclave de la Lune” tradition, which as we have seen,13 preserves mythological material closely related to Text L, often appears on the same tablet with purely medical instructions.14

Note also BAM 240 (= KAR 195), an Akkadian text which, with the exception of two intrusive paragraphs of magical material,15 deals in a strictly medical manner with the treatment of a great variety of difficulties which might arise in connection with pregnancy and delivery. For example, obv. 29:

DIŠ SAL. U.TU-ma SU-šá bir-di SIA DÜR-šá ma-qīl 683 PA ḪA.LU.UB AŠ 1ES AŠ KAŠ NAG

If a woman has given birth, and her skin is covered with spots, and her anus has collapsed—(you take) a twig of oak1 and smear it in oil. She shall drink (it) in beer.

Among the other problems discussed are cramps of the lower torso (obv. 17’ff.), flatulence (obv. 25’ff.), distress in the lower tract (obv. 34’ff.), and the failure to conceive (rev. 69’f.). Certainly none of the texts concerned with birth and its problems known from the Hittite capital are comparable in their approach.

That this situation is probably not the result of the chance of discovery is suggested by a royal letter, 652/3 + 28/n + 127/r, sent by Ramses II of Egypt to Hattušili III, and published by E. Edel. In this communication the Egyptian first refers to an earlier request of the Hittite monarch:

11N-T3—see Civil, JNES 33, 1974, 331–36.
Rm 376—see Lambert, AS 16, 283–88.
RS 17.81—see Nougayrol, Ugar V 29.
STT 98, 284.
TCL VI 49 (= AO 6473)—see Thureau-Dangin, RA 18, 1921, 161–71.
URT VII 123.
VS 17, 34—see van Dijk, Or ns 41, 1972, 339–48.
YOS XI 17 (forthcoming: = YBC 5630)—see van Dijk, Or ns 44, 1975, 53.
YOS XI 88 (forthcoming: = YBC 4602)—see van Dijk, Or ns 41, 1972, 339–40, with n. 4.
15 That is, obv. 11’–15’ and 61’–63’.
[That which my brother] wrote to me concerning Mata[n]az[i], his [sis]ter: “Let my brother send a man, so that medicines might be prepared for her, so that she might be caused to give birth!” 16

Rameses then adds his reply:

Look, Matanazi, the sister of my brother—(I), the King, your brother, know (of) her. It is said (in your letter) that she is a fifty-year-old. No—she is a sixty-year-old! ... No—for a woman who has completed sixty years, it is not possible to prepare medicines for her, so that she might still be caused to give birth. 17

The pharaoh concludes by agreeing nonetheless to send the requested expert and materials in the hope that divine intervention might bring about a miracle in this instance (rev. 6–13).

It is the Hittite attitude which is of interest here. If there were persons at the Hittite court expert in the use of medicines for the treatment of gynecological problems, they could certainly have informed Ḥattušili that his hopes in regard to the possible fertility of his sister were misplaced.

We are led to conclude that the Hittite practitioners had no real practical acquaintance with the use of medicines in gynecology, and thus no understanding of their capacities and limitations. This conclusion, drawn from a text

of a different type, supports our observations concerning the Hittite rituals dealing specifically with human reproduction. That is, these works exhibit an almost exclusive reliance upon the magico-religious in their efforts to bring about the successful entry of a new human being into the world. They also endeavor to secure for the new-born social and ritual integration into the community, as well as a happy fate.

16 Obv. 8–13 (restorations from Edel, Arzte 68):
8. ... [ša SES-qa]
9. iš-pu-ra a-na ya-ši aš-šum]
10. ṯMa-ta-[n]a-[ši] NIN-šu
11. um-ma-a SES-qa lī-šē-bi-la
12. LÚ-la3 a-na e-pé-ši UME₂ a-na ša-ši
13. a-na na di-ni a-na a-la-di-ša
For nadâmu + inf., a syntactic borrowing from Egyptian here replacing the Akkadian S-stem, see Edel, Arzte 86, with n. 160.

17 Obv. 16–Rev. 5:
16. a-mur ṯMa-ta-na-zi l-a-ha-ti
17. ša SES-qa LUGAL SES-ka i-di-ši
18. um-ma-a ša 50 MU₃.SE₂ ši-ši
19. ya-nu-um-ma ša ša-ši MU₃.SE₂
20. ši-iši ...
1. ya-nu-um-ma ša u-ma-al-la
2. ša-ši MU₃.SE₂ uš i-ša-ši
3. a-na e-pé-ši UME₂ a-na ša-ši
4. a-na na di-ni a-na a-la-di-ša
5. ap-pa-na-ša
ADDENDUM

After the completion of this work, Professor Otten provided me with a transcription of the unpublished fragment Bo 2469, made by C. G. von Brandenstein and checked by H. Ebeling. This piece is concerned with the activities of several females, probably all members of the royal family. Since the first two paragraphs of col. II deal with offerings and purifications at time of parturi-
tion, I present the text here with a short commentary: 1

Bo 2469

x + 1 nu wa-aš-ta-um-e-ja na-an ṣar-na-a-i(-i) × [ 2'. nu DUMUŠAL ku-ši mi-yā-ri nu e-ku(-zi a-pē-qi(-ya)
SAG.DU az pa-a-i pa-a-i-ma-at ku-ša-da-me [pi-di]
4'. na-at-za a-ri-ya-e-ša-šar i-yā-mi nu ma-a-an [ ḫi-nap-zi Dū-mi na-aš ma-a-an a-pī-ya SI × SĀ-r[i
6'. ma-a-na-aš I-NA URU QA-ti-ya-ma SI × SĀ-r[i
na-an I-NA URU QA-ti-ya pa-a-i
8'. UM-MA 4TUŠ-MA ku-u-un-wa IN]M T[i-li-eš-du(-)
nu-wa AMA-ŠU ku-ša-pi ar-ma-ah-ša-an-an e-eš-ta ne-[wa(-)
10'. DUMUŠAL-ya-ya-ka[n SAG.DU an za-az-zi-ta a-ša-an-ša-an-[zi
I.o.ŠA[pu-ša-ap-ši-iš da-pi-an-te-eš an-da ar-an-an [ž
12'. ta-pa-dri-ya-a-e-ni EGI-a-an-an-ša-an-dā-an-zi
A-BU YA-ya-za ku-it DUMUŠAL-ŠU A-NA × ×-YA-ŠA× tap-ri-ta- [aš-
ši-y[a]
14'. ti-ya-an ṣar-ta nam-ma me-mi × × × a-pi-yā-pat [×
ku-ši me-ma-a-i A-NA DINGIR-us-ra-aš 1Da-ni-ti-ši-e-eš-ta
16'. ku-ši-ma(-wa) me-ma-i A-NA 4LUGAL-ma-ša-ra-aš 1Da-ni-ti-ši-e-eš-[ta

§ 1'. And they regarded (it) as a sin, and her, on the birth-stool [...] 2'. Then the female child who is born—she will drink 1(i.e., suckle). The[se (offerings) ... she (the mother) will give personally. But in which [place?] she will give them— 4'. that I will make (the object of) an oracular inquiry. And if [...] I treat the ṣinaššu-house. And if she is instructed by oracle (to give it) there [...] 6'. If she is instructed by oracle (to give it) in (the town of) Qatiya, then she will give it in Qatiya.

8'. Thus says His Majesty: “This word of Ḫilešdu [I have heard].” 9'. While her mother was pregnant, then [...] 10'. And they will[ ] purify the head of the female child with z., [...]” All of the seers’ will enter, [and her fate] 12’. we will determine. Thereafter they will set her in order.

§ 3’. Because my father had installed his daughter as a t.-woman for [...] 14’. further ……. One might say “She, Daniti, belonged to a deity,” 16’. but another will say “She, Daniti, belonged[ed] to Šarruma.”

Commentary

II 11’. For the occasional confusion of harnai- with harnau-, see above, pp. 103ff., and for the occurrence of waštanu- in a similar context, cf. KBo V 1 (“Papankū”) 138ff.

II 6’, 8’, 10’. The town Qatiya, the woman Ḫilešdu, and the substance zazzita- are all unattested elsewhere. Although a single birth is apparently mentioned in both § 1’ and § 2’, the role of Ḫilešdu is not clear. Is she the mother, the newborn child, or the ritual practitioner who speaks in the first person in § 1’?

II 8’ff. It is uncertain if the speech of the king indeed ends with line 10’, as I have rendered the passage. Although the quotative particle is not present after the beginning of line 10’, it may have been lost at the end of lines 10’ and 11’, and in any case it is frequently omitted.

II 11’. For 11pur apāši- as the possible reading of 11HAL/azu, see Gurney, Aspects 45ff., with n. 6. For the presence of a seer at birth, cf. Text C obv. 8ff.

II 13’. For 8ša tapritašši- , see HWI, 1. Erg. 20.

1 Otten has already quoted lines 2 and 9 in ZA 71, 1981, 216, with n. 5.
II 15'f. Daniti, whose dedication to a deity is discussed here, is almost certainly identical to a woman known from two other religious contexts—the author of the ritual KBo II 20 and the holder of landed property named in KUB XL 2 obv. 39ff., a donation to the temple estates of the goddess Ḭara in Kizzuwatna (CTH 641) (Da-ni-ti-išša).²

GLOSSARY

All forms occurring in the birth rituals edited here have been included. However, forms from the duplicate texts have been cited only when they differ from those of the main text, or when they alone have been preserved. Totally and largely restored forms have been omitted in most instances, as have the Hittite vocabulary of Text G and the Luwian words of Text P and the "Luwian Birth Rituals." Words which appear in this corpus only as ideograms have been given in the Akkadian or Sumerian section, even when their Hittite readings are known.

For convenience, a recapitulation of the sigla employed for the texts is presented here:

| A | KUB XXX 29 | CTH 430.1 | Kb | KUB XLIV 59 | CTH 489.B |
| B | KBo XVII 62 + 63 | CTH 478 | L | KUB XLIV 4 + KBo XIII 241 rev. | CTH 520 |
| C | KBo XVII 61 | CTH 430.3.B | M | KUB XXX 30 | CTH 430.2 |
| D | KBo XVII 60 | CTH 430.3.A | Na | KBo XXIV 17 | — |
| E | KBo XII 112 | CTH 470 | Nb | KUB XXX 43 III | — |
| Fa | KUB XXXIII 67 | CTH 333.A | 20–22 | CTH 276.2 |
| Fb | KUB XXXIII 36 | CTH 333.B | O | KBo XXI 45 | CTH 500 |
| Fc | Bo 4861 | — | P | KBo VIII 130 | CTH 770 |
| G | KUB XVII 28 II 1–32 | CTH 730 | Q | 1502/µ | — |
| Ha | KUB IX 22 | CTH 477.1.A | R | 1265/ν | — |
| Hb | ABoT 17 | CTH 477.2 | S | KBo XVII 72 | CTH 430.3.C |
| Hc | KUB VII 39 | CTH 477.1.B | T | KUB XLIV 58 | — |
| Hd | KBo XVII 64 | CTH 477.3 | U | KBo XXVII 67 | — |
| He | 464/ν | — | W | KBo XIV 23 | CTH 477.3 |
| Hf | Bo 4876 | — | Ya | KBo VII 74 II 3'–4' | CTH 277.4.A |
| Ja | Bo 4951 | CTH 477.4.A | Yb | HSM 3644 1'–2' | CTH 277.4.A |
| Jb | KBo XVII 68 | CTH 477.4.B | Za | KBo XXIV 5 | — |
| Jc | VAT 6212 | CTH 477.4.C | Zb | KBo XXIV 6 | — |
| Ka | KBo XVII 65 | CTH 489.A | — | — | — |

Addendum:  
He 464/ν = KBo XXX 1  
Q 1502/µ = KBo XXX 2  
R 1265/ν = KBo XXX 3

² Goetze, Kizz 70, n. 273 reads line 1: 'Ta-ni-ša 5al-Ta-[wa-an-na-an-na'], which is indeed highly uncertain, but a religious office for this woman is nonetheless likely.

³ See Goetze, op. cit. 62ff. (text cited as Bo 4889). Add also perhaps unpublished Bo 1583 obv. 6: 'Da-ni-te-išša.
Glossary

(anda)

as preverb:

Anda as(a)

har(k):

Fa I 5'; Ha II 8, 23, III 13

ilži-

Fa I 8'

ilžnuwai-

U rev. 11

kiš-

B I 24'; Ka obv. 13, rev. 35

tax- 

E rev. 6'; Ha II 48

pelute-

Ha II 17, III 1, 32, 39

poštiya-

Ka rev. 33

peda-

D obv. 2

šanš-

Ka rev. 36

dai-

Ka obv. 12, rev. 34

itiya-

Fa IV 7

wu- 

Ka rev. 25, rev. 29

Anda adv. — “in” an-da-an

B I 21'; C obv. 7; E rev. 10'; Ha II 4; L rev. 5

Anda c.

“human being” acc.sg.

an-tu-šu-ba-an

P II 4

gen.sg. UN-aš

E obv. 11'

Antuwašša c.

“human being” nom.sg.

an-tu-šu-a-ba-aš

Ka edge 6

apa-

prn.—“that” nom.sg.

a-pa-aš

E obv. 11'; Ha III 17]; Ka rev. 11'; O I 9'; U rev. 9

a-pa-aša

Fa IV 27'; Kb obv. 3'

acc.sg.c. a-pa-um

B I 22'; P II 4

[a-um]a

B I 25'
	nom./acc.sg.n. a-pa-at-um

A obv. 16; Ka obv. 46, rev. 16, edge 3; U rev. 11

gen.sg. a-pi-e-el

Hc 6'

a-pi-e

C obv. 21

dat./loc.sg. a-pi-e-da-mi

B I 16'; Hb II 2; Ja rev. 11'; Ka obv. 52], rev. 19, 38; Kb obv. 13'

Hittite

abl.sg. a-pi-e-iz

Ka obv. 31], 34], 39, 53, rev. 43], 46

nom./acc.pl.n. a-pi-e

Ka obv. 16], 33]
dat./loc.pl. a-pi-e-da-aš

B I 16'; D obv. 2; Ka rev. 31, 32]

appa

adv. — “back; again”

a-ap-pa

E rev. 7'

EGIR-pa

Fa I 29'; Ka obv. 2, 14, 42, 44; L rev. 10; O I 17'; II 11'; Q 5'

EGIR

as preverb:

appa pašk-

šiš-

da-

dai-

Ka rev. 29

wasa-

Ha III 24

wušnu-

L rev. 25, 34

Appan

adv. — “back; later”

EGIR-an

Fa I 18', IV 5, 6; Ka edge 5, 7; U rev. 9; Za II 13'

Appanda

adv. — “behind; thereafter”

EGIR-an-da

Ft obv. 13)] (2 X); Ka rev. 7; O I 6'

[EGIR-šumu

FC obv. 10'

EGIR-šumu

Fa I 11'; Hd 3'](?)

Appada

adv. — “thither; thereby”

a-pit-

da-

a-pa-at-

C obv. 16

Ka rev. 26; L rev. 11

E rev. 8'

Ape/itzi

adv. — “last; latter; rear”

nom./acc.sg.n. a-ap-pi-iz-zi

Fa I 30'
dat./loc.sg. a-ap-pi-iz-zi

Fa I 10'

abl./inst.sg. a-pi-iz-te-

B I 17'](?)'; Fa I 31'
dat./loc.pl. a-pi-iz-da-

Za II 9'

adv. — “behind” EGIR-at-

R 18'
Glossary

apiya  adv.--"there" a-pi-ya  Ka obv. 45; T III 6'
ar-  "come" prs.3.sg. a-ri  Ha III 21; Ka rev. 22
ar-  "stand" M,prs.3.sg. ar-ta  C obv. 15
ara n.  "correct thing" nom./acc.sg. (UL) a-ra-ra  Ka obv. 14, 17
arra-  "wash"  prs.3.sg. a-ar-ri  Ha II 16, III 29
ar-ri  Jc obv. 7'
arai-  "inhbit" M,prs.3.sg. a-ri-it-ta  G II 2
arahta  adv.--"outside" a-ra-ab-Za  D rev. 7'; Ha II 5], 41, III 36
arabzma-  adj.--"outer" dat./loc.sg. a-ra-ab-Ze-ni  Hb III 11'
term.sg.(?) a-ra-ab-Ze-na  Hd 5'
ar(a)š-  verb--meaning unknown prs.1.sg. a-ar-aš-mi  D obv. 3
arša  adv.--"away" ar-ša  B I 26'; Ka obv. 53, rev. 25; O I 7'; Q 1 (?), 2', 6'; S 4'
as preverb:
arša arra-  Jc obv. 7'
ed-  L rev. 29
happešnaï  C rev. 22'
kappuwaï  Ka obv. 34, rev. 40, 43; Kb . rev. 1
paš-  Ha II 46, III 28
piran arba kuer-  Ha II 11(?)
piran arba šipant-  Ka obv. 7, rev. 9
arba da-  C obv. 21; Ha III 14
tarna-  B I 27'; Na obv. 1'
aysan arba tiya-  L rev. 16
arba duwarinai-  Q 11'
uppa-  Ka obv. 54
šer arba uhušma-  C obv. 9, 18
arba warnu-  C obv. 19, rev. 24'; O I 15'
piran arba warnu-  C rev. 24'; Ka rev. 19

Hittite

aršayan  adv.--"separately"  B I 13'
arša-ya[(a-an)]  Vı 15'
arši- c.  "testicle(?)" nom.pl. ar-ši-i-e-eš  C rev. 15'
arša-ahš-  "make or become pregnant" prs.3.sg. ar-na-ahš-ı  Ka obv. 1, 44, rev. 1]
verbal sub.gen.sg.  ar-na-ahš-ı-wa-aš  Na rev. 2'
aršna-ahš-ı-s  Ka obv. 6
arša-  "be/become pregnant" prs.3.sg. ar-na-ı-ı-ı  E obv. 13'
aršna-ı  L rev. 1; P III 7(?)
aršna-ı-wa-wa-an-za  B I 19'; Ka obv. 47
ara-ı-ı  verb--meaning unknown prs.3.sg. ar-na-ı-ı-mi-ı-ti  Ja rev. 12'
šar-ı-ı-ı  "inn" dat./loc.pl. ar-ı-ı-ı-na-aš  Ka rev. 25
arša-  "remain" prs.3.sg. a-ar-aš  O II 9'
prus.3.pl. a-ar-aš-an-za  Ka rev. 3, 27
prt.3.sg. a-ar-aš-ta  A obv. 14, 15
prp.nom.sg.c. a-ar-aš-an-za  Ka obv. 30, rev. 40]
lašpašš (Hurr.) [a-lašš]-ši-ya  T obv. 11'
aša-  "place; set up" prs.3.pl. aš-šu-aš-an-za  Ka obv. 49
aška- c.  "gate" dat./loc.sg. aš-ši-ki  Ka rev. 21; L rev. 5
ašma-  interj.--"lo!" aš-ši-ka  L rev. 25
ašn-  "prepare; complete" prs.3.sg. aš-nu-ı-ı-ı-ı  Ka rev. 13
aš-nu-ı  Ka rev. 8, 11
aštarwar n. a foodstuff nom./acc.sg. aš-tar-ı-ı-aš  Ka obv. 17
aš-tar-ı-ı-aš  Ka obv. 19 (2 X)
-ašta  sentence-particle na-aš-ta  C obv. 17; rev. 8'; D obv. 1; Fa I 17'; Ha II 48, III 1, 11, 39; Hb III 13'; Hc 5', 6'; Ka obv. 25, 27, 35, 40, rev. 21, 22, 27, 31, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44; Zb rev. 5'

nu-uš-še-eš-ta  C obv. 18

aššu-  adj.-“good” nom./acc.sg.n. a-ššu- Ka obv. 55, rev. 26 (2X), 64

aššu n.  “good, possession” nom./acc.sg. a-ššu-u B IV 14', 15', 17', 18'

aššal n./c.  “well-being” nom./acc.sg. a-ššu-ul M obv. 10'

au()-  “see” prs.3.sg. a-uš-zi E obv. 11'; P III 8'
prs.3.pl. a-uš-an-zi Ka obv. 42
prt.2./3.sg. a-uš-ta C rev. 9'; L rev. 9
imp.3.sg. a-uš-du L rev. 30, 31, 32
inf. a-uš-an-[na] Ka rev. 18
dur.prs.3.sg. [uš-]-ki-iz-zi Fa IV 27

awon  intensifying preverb a-sea-an Fa I 19'
awon arṣa tiya- L rev. 16
awon kita da- Ka rev. 56

ekt-c.  “net” nom.sg. e-ikt-za C obv. 17

eku-  “drink” prs.1.sg. e-ku-mi Fa IV 17
prs.3.sg. e-ku-zi T II 1'
inf. a-ku-ua-an-na Ha III 27; P II 3 a-ku-an-na Ka edge 3, 5
NAG C obv. 26; Fa I 2'

eni-  anaphoric prn. nom./acc.sg.n. e-ni L rev. 9

ep-  “seize; grasp” prs.3.sg. e-ip-zi Ha III 17; Q 13'
prs.3.pl. ap-pa-an-zi O I 14'; U obv. 7'; rev. 8
prt.3.sg. Iš-BAT Fb II 5 (2X)

imp.2.sg. e-ip D rev. 9'
dur.prs.1.sg. ap-piš-ki-mi C rev. 10'
eš-  “be” prs.3.sg. e-eš-zi A obv. 18; Fa I 14'; Ha II 4; Ka obv. 21, rev. 16, 25; Kbb obv. 7'; U rev. 1
prt.3.sg. e-eš-ta L rev. 17
imp.3.sg. e-eš-su B IV 11'; 12'; Fc obv. 19'[(?]
eš-  “sit; be seated” M.prs.3.sg. e-ša-ri B I 3'; Ha II 35, III 6; Ka obv. 2, rev. 1, 54

e-ša  M.prs.3.pl. e-[a-an-ri] B I 8'

elhaniya-  adj.-“bloody; blood-red” nom./acc.sg.n. e-eš-ha-ni-yā L rev. 2

elbar n.  “blood” nom./acc.sg. e-eš-ha-ar G II 2
gen.sg. e-eš-ha-na-aš G II 1

Üš-aš  L rev. 3 (3X)
ed-  “eat” prs.1.sg. e-iti(?)-mi Fa IV 17
prs.3.sg. e-iz-za-zi Ka obv. 17[, 18], 19, 23, rev. 20
prs.3.pl. a-za-an-zi Ja rev. 18'
prt.1.sg. e-du-an Fb II 12
imp.2.sg. e-iz-za L rev. 29
inf. a-da-an-na Ha II 45; Ka obv. 17[, rev. 12; Kb obv. 4'
dur.prs.3.sg. az-zi-ki-[i]-zi Ka obv. 18

halbaltumari-c/n.  “corner” hal-hal-tu-u-ma-ri(-) Gc 1'

hali- n.  “watch (period of time)” dat./loc.pl. ha-a-[u]-a(-?)] Za II 9'

ballu-  adj.-“deep” dat./loc.pl. bal-lu-u-aš Na obv. 5'
| Halga- c. | “report” | nom.sg. ba-lu-ga-aš | Fa IV 15 |
| Halza | “cry, shout” | prs.3.sg. hal-za-a-i | Ha III 26; Ka obv. 14 |
| | | prs.3.pl. hal-za-iš | Fb II 11 (2×) |
| | | inf. hal-zi-yu-an-zi | Ka edge 6 (2×) |
| Hamank- | “bind” | prs.3.sg. ha-ma-an-ki | E obv. 6’, 7’, 9’; Ha II 27 |
| | | ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. ha-ma-an-ki | Fa I 15’ |
| Hanēš- | “whitewash” | ppl.nom./acc.pl.n. ha-ni-ša-an-ta | Ka rev. 10 |
| Handai- | “prepare” | prs.3.sg. ha-an-da-a-az-zi | A obv. 1; M rev. 2’[(?) |
| | | prs.3.pl. ha-an-da-a-an-zi | B I 15’ |
| | | ppl.nom.sg.c. ha-an-da-a-an-za | B I 19’ |
| | | ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. ha-an-da-a-an | B I 17’; C rev. 11’ |
| Hantezzi(ya)- | adj. –“front” | nom.sg.c.(?) IG(I)-ya-aš(?) | L rev. 13 |
| | | nom./acc.sg.n. ha-an-te-iz-zi | Fa I 31’ |
| Harti- | adj. –“separate” | ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. ha-an-zi | Ka obv. 13, 45, 46, rev. 35 |
| Happešai | “cut up” | prs.1.sg. ha-ap-pi-il-na-mi | C rev. 22’ |
| Habi (Hurr.) | offering term | ha-a-pi-ya | Ha II 19’ |
| Haraueni- c. | “birth-stool” | acc.sg. ha-ra-u-ni-in | Ja rev. 8’ |
| | | ha-ra-u-(ni-)in | Jb 6’; Jc rev. 2’ |
| | | dat./loc.sg. ha-ra-u-ni | Ja rev. 6’, 16’ |
| Harī- c. | “valley” | dat./loc.pl. ha-ra-ri-ya-[az] | Na obv. 5’ |
| Harī (Hurr.) | offering term –“path(?)” | ha-ra-ri-ya | Hb II 13 |
| Harik | “giveth; beget; cause to be born” | prs.3.sg. ha-a-ši | A obv. 1; B I 21’, IV 19’; D obv. 11’, rev. 12’; G II 1’, 7; Ka obv. 51, rev. 45’; Kb obv. 12’; R IV 2’[(?) | Ka obv. 37 |
| | | prs.3.pl. ha-a-ši | Ha II 17’; Ka obv. 48; Za II 11’ |
| | | prt.3.sg. ha-a-ši | L rev. 4 (2×) |
| | | imp.3.sg. ha-a-ši | C rev. 21’ |
| | | imp.2.pl. ha-a-ši | B IV 6’ (2×) |
| Harūnu- / Harūnu- c/n. | “birth-stool” | acc.sg. ha-nu-ru-un | Ha II 9 |
| | | gen.sg. ha-nu-ru-aš | Ka obv. 15 |
| | | dat./loc.sg. ha-nu-ru-aš | Ha II 33, 34, 38, 49, III 2, 31, 33, 37, 39, 40, IV 5; O I 5’; U rev. 1 |
| | | ha-nu-ru-i | Hb II 12, III 8’, 11’ |
| | | ha-nu-ru-[i] | Hb III 6’ |
| | | ha-nu-ru-i | Ka obv. 2, rev. 1, 31 |
| | | [har-nu]-ru-i | Hf 10’ |
| | | acc.pl.* ha-nu-ru-uš | Ha II 40 |
| Harūnuwašši- | adj. – “of the birth-stool” | dat./loc.pl. ha-nu-wa-(aš)-ši-aš | Ka obv. 49 |
| Has- | “give birth; beget; cause to be born” | prs.3.sg. ha-a-ši | A obv. 1; B I 21’, IV 19’; D obv. 11’, rev. 12’; G II 1’, 7; Ka obv. 51, rev. 45’; Kb obv. 12’; R IV 2’[(?) | Ka obv. 37 |
| | | prs.3.pl. ha-a-ši | Ha II 17’; Ka obv. 48; Za II 11’ |
| | | prt.1.sg. ha-a-ši | L rev. 4 (2×) |
| | | ppl.gen.sg. ha-ašša-an-ta-aš | Ka rev. 38 |

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a. but see above, p. 110.
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<td><strong>gaš batalke</strong>-na**-c.**</td>
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<td><strong>gaš</strong> <strong>batalke</strong>na**-c.**</td>
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<td><em>hugguhuppar</em> n.</td>
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<td><em>hugguhuppar</em></td>
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<td><em>hur</em></td>
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<td><em>hur</em></td>
<td>a mineral(?)) acc.sg. <em>hur-u-ta-ši</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>hur</em></td>
<td>“receiving blanket” acc.sg. <em>hur</em></td>
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### Notes
- *hrušawtar* appears to be a personal name used in a religious context.
- *hunant* is a loan word from Hurrian.
- *hunhatiyati* describes the act of breaking the wind.
- *hupai* relates to the accumulation of foodstuffs.
- *hugguhuppar* is a more formal term for a bowl.
- *huri* is used inHurrian rituals.
- *hurnu* is a verb meaning to sprinkle.
- *hurtali* refers to a mixing bowl or a maleficent act.
- *hur* is a common Hurrian verb of waiting.
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<td>“make the rounds”</td>
<td>prs.3.pl. ir-ba-an-zi Ka edge 3</td>
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<td>oth</td>
<td>“basket”</td>
<td>nom./acc.pl. oth-fu-i-ta Ka rev. 63</td>
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<td>dat./loc.sg. <strong>kušša-da-ni-yu</strong></td>
<td>A obv. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kuški</strong></td>
<td>indefinite pron.—&quot;whatever&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.sg.c. <strong>kuški</strong></td>
<td>Ka obv. 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.sg.c. <strong>kuški-ti</strong></td>
<td>Ka obv. 41; Kb rev. 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom./acc.sg.n. <strong>kuški-ti</strong></td>
<td>Ka obv. 26, rev. 30, edge 2, 5, 6; L rev. 10; U rev. 10(?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat./loc.sg. <strong>kušša-da-ni-i-k-i</strong></td>
<td>E rev. 8'; L rev. 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kuit</strong></td>
<td>conj.—&quot;because&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B IV 9(?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kuitman</strong></td>
<td>conj.—&quot;while, during; until&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ku-it-ta-a</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B l 9', 18'; Kb obv. 12', rev. 40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kulaµu(?)iya</strong> (Hurr.) offering term</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ku-la-mur-ti[yu]</strong></td>
<td>Hb II 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ku-la-mu-ši-yu</strong></td>
<td>Ha II 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>guls</strong></td>
<td>&quot;carve, engrave; write; indicate&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prs.3.sg. <strong>guls-zi</strong></td>
<td>Fa l 3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ppl.dat./loc.sg. <strong>guls-ša-an-ti</strong></td>
<td>Fa IV 21</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>guls-ša-an-ti</td>
<td>Fe obv. 6'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kunzī/agan(n)sahit-</strong> n. (Hurr./luw. loan)</td>
<td>a purificatory substance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom./acc.sg. <strong>kunzī-ga-an-an(?)-ša-ti</strong></td>
<td>Ka obv. 35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kunzī-ga-an-an(?)-ša-ti</strong></td>
<td>Kb rev. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>guš</strong> kuppīšar n.</td>
<td>&quot;cushion&quot; nom./acc.sg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[guš/kup-pi-iš-ša]</td>
<td>([?])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat./loc.sg.</td>
<td>A obv. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[guš/kup-pi-iš-ša]</td>
<td>A obv. 3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>[guš/kup-pi-iš-ša]</td>
<td>A obv. 4, 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[guš/kurbakki-] c.</td>
<td>&quot;pillor&quot; gen.sg.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>[guš/kur-kak]</td>
<td>A obv. 18</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>[guš/kurt] c.</td>
<td>a writing material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.sg. [guš/kur]</td>
<td>Ka rev. 45</td>
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<tr>
<td>[guš/kurtali-] n.</td>
<td>a container nom./acc.pl.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>[guš/kurt-la-li]</td>
<td>C obv. 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[guš/kurt-la-li]</td>
<td>C obv. 17</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>kutt</strong> c.</td>
<td>&quot;wall&quot; gen.sg. <strong>ku-ut-ta-ta</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E rev. 14'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>kuwapi</strong></td>
<td>adv.—&quot;when; where&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ku-wa-pi</strong></td>
<td>A obv. 5; B l 11', 14', IV 13'; C obv. 7'; Ka obv. 21', 37, 44, rev. 26, 45; L rev. 22; T III 4'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kuwu]aru c.</td>
<td>meaning unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.sg. [kuwu]ari</td>
<td>L rev. 12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ku(s)iku(s)iha</strong></td>
<td>&quot;grind up&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>prs.3.sg. <strong>kuwa-aš-ku-zu</strong></td>
<td>P II 6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>imp.3.pl. <strong>kuwa-aš-kuwa-aš-an-du</strong></td>
<td>L rev. 14</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ppl.acc.sg.c. <strong>ku-wi-ku-ša-an-ta-an</strong></td>
<td>Ka obv. 18(?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Glossary**

- **lāhūswāl**
  - "pour" prs.3.sg. lā-hu-wi
  - Ha II 26
  - prs.3.pl. lā-a-hu-[a-an]-zi
  - Hb II 19
  - la-hu-an-zi
  - Ha II 40
  - ppl.nom.sg.c. [la]-h[au]-an-za
  - He 13'

- **lākmā**
  - "bend, pass (the night)"
  - prs.3.pl. la-ak-muwa-an-zi
  - Za II 13'
  - an implement
  - nom.sg. la-ak-lā-i
  - Ka rev. 55

- **lāla**
  - "take(?)"
  - Luw.inf. la-la-u-ta([l])
  - L rev. 24

- **lālukkāsnu**
  - "brighten" imp.3.sg. la-la-uk-ki-il[-nu-ud-du]
  - M obv. 3'

- **lē**
  - adv. "not!"
  - D rev. 10'; Fc obv. 15', 18'

- **lēlīswāl**
  - "pour" prs.3.sg. lī-el-hu-wa-i
  - E rev. 3'

- **lūkkās**
  - "ignite"
  - ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. lu-uk-kān
  - C rev. 21'

- **lūkkattā**
  - adv. "the next morning" lu-uk-kat-ta
  - Ha III 29'); Ka obv. 10, rev. 28'; O I 12'

- **gīšalai-n.**
  - a wooden object
  - nom./acc.sg. gīša-la-a-i
  - W 2'

- **gīšlattai-n.**
  - "window"
  - nom./acc.sg. gīša-ut-ta-i
  - nom./acc.pl. gīša-[û]-u
  - A obv. 17

- **ma**
  - conj. "but"
  - C obv. 14, 19, 23, rev. 4', 22'; D rev. 6', 10'; Fa I 11', 24'; Fc obv. 10'; Ha II 18, 46, III 22, 29, 38; Hb III 9'; He 12'; Hl 4'; Ja rev. 17'; Je rev. 5'; Ka obv. 15, 23, 25, rev. 21, 23, 26 (2×), 29, 41, 43 (2×), 45;

**Hintre**

- **ma**
  - Kb rev. 4, 7; L rev. 4, 11, 15;
  - O I 16', 8', 12'; T II 10; U rev. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9; Za II 15'

- **-ma**
  - A obv. 10, 14; B I 7', 9', 12';
  - 14', 18', 21', 22', 23', IV 15',
  - 17'; C obv. 15, 21; Fa I 13',
  - 18', 31'; Fc obv. 7'; Ha II 39, 43, III 9; Hb III 8'; Ja rev. 15', 19'; Ka obv. 11, 13, 21, 42, rev. 1, 14, 17 (2),
  - 33, 42, 51, 52, 53, edge 3; Kb
  - obv. 12', rev. 3; L rev. 2, 9,
  - 16, 28; O I 11'; R I 18', 16'; Za
  - II 12'

- **maḥhan**
  - conj. "when; how"
  - ma-ab-ha-an

- **ma-ab-ha-an**
  - E rev. 9'; Fa I 120'; Fc obv. 11;
  - Ha III 20; Ja rev. 18'; Ka obv.
  - 15, 31, 37 (2×), 45, 46, rev. 3,
  - 18, 22, 27, 35, 45 (2×); Kb
  - rev. 5; Q 9'

- **ma-ab-ha-an-ma**
  - B I 21'; Ha II 46, III 38; Ka
  - obv. 42, 48, rev. 6), 17, 26([,
  - 41, 43), edge 3

- **GIM-an**
  - E rev. 11'; Hl 6'; Hf 7'; Jb
  - 2'; Jc obv. 8(?)'; L rev. 10; O
  - I 8'; T II 10'

- **malā**
  - an offering
  - ma-a-la

- **ma-a-an**
  - Ka obv. 6, 8, rev. 6, 38; Kb
  - obv. 13'

- **malā**
  - particle of unreality
  - man

- **mān**
  - conj. "if; when"
  - ma-a-an

- **ma-a-an**
  - B I 19', 20', IV 13', 16'; C.obv.
  - 12, 13; Ha III 30, IV 4; Ka
  - obv. 20, 29, rev. 26, 43, 47;
  - Kb obv. 14'; L rev. 1; M obv.
  - 4', 6'; Na rev. 1'); P III 7'; U
  - rev. 1, 3, 4, 5; Yb 1'

- **ma-a-an-κān**
  - Kb rev. 13; U rev. 13

- **ma-a-an-za(-κān)**
  - B I 11'; D obv. 1, rev. 12; GII
  - 1, 7; Ka obv. 1; M rev. 3'
ma-a-na-  C obv. 13], 14, 15; Ha III 35; 
Ka obv. 14, rev. 12, edge 6; O I 3'; U rev. 7, 8

ma-a-aš-ši (mās-ši)  Ka rev. 15

mA(mannai)-

Luw. ppl.nom.sg.  L rev. 16

[m]a'-an-mi-iš  L rev. 27

maninkwantu- adj. – “short”

acc.pl.c. [mā-in-k]u-an-du-uš  C rev. 3'

maršaya an offering mar-ša-ya
SISKUR.SISKUR\textsuperscript{ms3}  Ka rev. 5, 7, 8

mašwant- rel.prn. – “as much as”

nom./acc.sg.n. ma-ši-wa-an  Ka obv. 55

maš- “fall; be born”

prs.3.sg. ma-ši-zī  A obv. 5; B I 22'

mešur n. “time; hour”

nom./acc.sg. me-ešur  Hf 8'

mešur  Ha II 47; U obv. 5', 12'

mem- “speak” prs.3.sg. me-ma-i

prt.3.sg. me-mi-iš-ta  E rev. 7'

dur.prs.3.sg. [me-m]-iš-ki-i-zī  B I 24'

menabanda adv. – “over against”

me-na-aš-fa-an-da  Fa I 13'; T II 7'(?)

IGI-an-da  L rev. 6, 14, 27

-mi-

enclitic poss.prn.

2.sg.nom./acc.sg.n. -te-it  Jc rev. 1'

3.sg.nom./acc.sg.n. -te-it  D rev. 12'; G II 2

-ši-it  C rev. 1'

3.sg.gen.sg. -ša-ši  C obv. 1

3.sg.dat./loc.sg. -ši  E rev. 10', 12'

miya- “thrive; be born”

M.prs.3.sg. mi-ya-ri  Ka obv. 29(!); Kb rev. 4

mi-ya-ri  B I 16'; IV 13'

mi-ya-ta  L rev. 6

M.prt.3.sg. mi-ya-ti  B IV 9'; Ka rev. 39 (2 X), 43

-mu(-) enclitic personal pron.

1.sg.acc./dat./loc. -mu(-)  C obv. 10, 12, 15; Ka obv. 38

NINDA\textsuperscript{mulatl}- c. a bread nom.sg.

NINDA\textsuperscript{mu-la-a-ti-iš}  Ka rev. 47, 62

muriyala- c. “grape(shape) loaf”

nom.pl. mu-ri-ya-li-iš  Hb II 6

muttiya- c. a demonic being(?)

Luw.acc.pl. mu-ut-ti-ya-an-za  L rev. 5

NINDA\textsuperscript{najjiti}- c. a bread acc.sg.

NINDA\textsuperscript{na-ji-ti-in}  Ha III 8

dat./loc.sg. NINDA\textsuperscript{na-ji-ti-i}  Ha III 15

[\textsuperscript{NINDA}a-ji-ti  Ha III 9

nahšariya- “take fright”

M.prt.3.sg. HUŠ-ri-ya-ad-da-at  L rev. 7

nai/neya- “turn”

M.prs.3.sg. ne-e-a-ri  Q 18'

namma adv. – “further”

nun-ma  C obv. 24; D rev. 9'; Fa I 2'; 
Ja rev. 11'; Ka obv. 5, 28, rev. 36, 49, 50, edge 3; L rev. 17; 
T II 7'; U obv. 7'(?); Zb obv. 10'

nam-ma-Fa I 15', 21'; Ha II 28, 34, 35, 
III 8', 36; Hb II 4; Ja rev. 10'; 
Ka obv. 7'(?), 8, 14, rev. 7, 
20, 32, edge 5, 8; O I 9'
našma
adj.-"or"
na-šš-šš
Ka rev. 39, 50 (3 X); T II 9; U rev. 10

naši
adv.-"not yet"
na-šš
U rev. 8

nekut-c.
"night"
gen.sg. ne-ku-uz
Ha II 47, III 38; U obv. 5', 12'

nepiš-n.
"sky"
nom./acc.sg. AN-iš
L rev. 30
abl.sg. ne-pi-sa-az
C rev. 7'
AN-za
L rev. 9

nepišš-c.
"sky"
nom.sg. [ne-p]šš-sa-šš
L rev. 2

că
"cradle" dat./loc.pl.
că
ni-ni-yā-la-šš
E obv. 7'
ninink-
"lift up; rouse"
prs.3.sg. ni-ni-ik-zi
B IV 11'
nirambhi (Hurr.)
an implement
ni-ra-am-bi
T II 3'
nu
conj.-"and"
Ka rev. 29; Kb rev. 4; L rev. 5, 15

nu
A obv. 1; B I 6', 13'; 19', IV 13' (2 X), 16'; C obv. 16, rev. 7', 8', 20'; D obv. 2, rev. 4', 8', 12'; E obv. 16; Fa I 4', 14', 20', IV 4, 24; Fc rev. 2'; G II 2; Ha II 2, 12, 18, 22, 30, 33, 35, 38, 40, 44, 49, III 4, 15', 20', 26; Hb II 2, 15, III 5' (2 X); Hd 11'; Ja rev. 6', 7', 9', 14', 17'; Jc obv. 8'; Ka obv. 5; 20, 31, 37, 41, 46, 47, 51, rev. 25, 26, 45, 47; Kb obv. 3', 12'; rev. 5; L rev. 10, 34; M rev. 4'; O I 5', II 7', 8'; Q 9'; R 10'; T II 5', 6', III 2'; U obv. 10', rev. 3, 5, 11; Za II 11'; 13'
nu-kān
Ka rev. 29; Kb rev. 4; L rev. 5, 15

nu-waš(-)
B IV 3', 6', 7'; E rev. 5', 9', 11', 14'; Ka rev. 57, 58; L rev. 11
nu-zaš(-)
A obv. 9, 16; Fb II 11; Ha II 15, III 29; Hb II 11; Ja rev. 12'; Ka obv. 6, 8, 12, 44, 51, rev. 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 27; L rev. 2, 3 (2 X); O I 19'; U rev. 1; Za II 9'; Zb obv. 9'
mu-šš-la-an
A obv. 2; B I 4'; Fa I 22', IV 23; Ha II 31, 42; Ja rev. 4'; Ka rev. 51, 55; L rev. 9; N obv. 2'; U rev. 4, 6, 8; Za II 5'
mu-šš-ma-šš
Ka obv. 45
mu-šš-za-an
Ka obv. 6; B I 8'; Ka obv. 44
na-šš-šš
C obv. 17, rev. 8'; D obv. 1; Fa I 7'; Ha II 48, III 1, 31, 11, 39; Hb III 13; Hc 5', 6'; Ka obv. 25, 27, 35, 40, rev. 21, 22', 27, 31, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, Zb rev. 5'
mu-šš-di(-)
A obv. 14; B IV 9' (?); C obv. 18, 20, 23, 24; Fa I 16', 30'; Ha III 6; Hb III 2'; Ka rev. 63; L rev. 6, 7, 11

nu-mu(-)
C obv. 10, 12; Ka obv. 38
nu-šš(-)
C obv. 13; Fa I 32', IV 20, 21; G II 7; Ha III 2, 18, 19, 20, 33, 40, 41; Hb III 10'; Hd 10'; Jc obv. 1'; Ka obv. 15, 38, 49, rev. 26, 39, 45, 46, edge 5; L rev. 5, 7; M obv. 5', 7'; O I 17'; Q 17'

nu-an(-)
B I 17', 20'; D obv. 8; E obv. 9', 13'; G II 2, 8; Ha II 17, 32, III 31; Hb III 15'; Ja rev. 7', 8'; Ka obv. 39, 42, rev. 35, 46[1]; L rev. 8 (2 X); P II 6, III 8'; Q 11'; R IV 3'; Za II 11'
nu-an(-)
B IV 11', 12'; D obv. 3; Fa I 9', 10'; Ha II 23, 24, 37, 45, III 14, 15; Ka obv. 7, 13, 45,
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Na-am</th>
<th>rev. 22, 29, 42, 59, edge 2; L rev. 10, 14 (2×), 17 (2×), 25; M obv. 9; P II 5; U rev. 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>muwa</em></td>
<td>adv. &quot;still&quot; nu-u-wa B I 18'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>palhainu</em></td>
<td>&quot;protect&quot; ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. pa-ah-ha-al-mu-an B IV 11'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>palpaša</em></td>
<td>&quot;stick(?)&quot; nom./acc.sg. oš<em>pa-ah-hi-ša</em> Ja rev. 4', 5'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pahi</em></td>
<td>&quot;protect&quot; prs.2.sg. pa-ah-ti Ja rev. 3'</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>palhatur</em></td>
<td>&quot;fire&quot; nom./acc.sg. pa-ah-hur L rev. 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pai</em></td>
<td>&quot;go&quot; prs.1.sg. pa-a-i-mi L rev. 4</td>
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<td>prs.3.sg. pa-iz-zi E obv. 17'</td>
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<td>prs.1.pl. pa-a-i-um-e-ni Ha II 33, 48, III 28; Hb III 5'; Ka obv. 15), 27, rev. 25[, 31, 38, edge 4; Kb rev. 14(?); O I 4', II 6'; U rev. 9</td>
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<td>prs.2.pl. pa-ii-te-[ni] L rev. 22</td>
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<td>prs.3.pl. pa-a-an-zi Ha II 37, 46</td>
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<td>prt.1.sg. pa-a-un C rev. 8'</td>
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<td>prt.3.sg. pa-it Fa IV 15; L rev. 7</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imp.2.sg. i-it E rev. 5'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imp.3.sg. pa-id-du C rev. 20'; E rev. 8'; L rev. 17</td>
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<td></td>
<td>imp.3.pl. pa-a-an-du L rev. 11</td>
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<td>ppl.nom.sg.c. pa-a-an-za U rev. 6, 7</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>palpaša</em></td>
<td>&quot;give&quot; prs.1.sg. pi-ih-ši C obv. 23, 24</td>
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<td>prs.3.sg. pa-a-i Ha III 16; Ja rev. 13'; Ka obv. 9, edge 5; O I 12'</td>
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<td>prs.3.pl. pi-ya-an-zi Ha II 45, III 27</td>
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<td>pi-an-zi C obv. 8, 12; Ka rev. 9, 12, 23[; 24[</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glossary</td>
<td>Ka obv. 42</td>
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<tr>
<td>tlya-sawa-</td>
<td>“chase”</td>
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<tr>
<td>imp.3.sg. pär-ab-da</td>
<td>C rev. 2'</td>
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<tr>
<td>parku-</td>
<td>adj. – “high”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat./loc.pl. pär-ga-u-ua-aš</td>
<td>U obv. 3' (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parkueš-</td>
<td>“be(com) pure”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prs.3.sg. pär-ku-il-zi</td>
<td>T III 7'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pär-ku-eš-[</td>
<td>C obv. 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parkui-</td>
<td>adj. – “pure” nom.sg.c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pär-ku-iš</td>
<td>C obv. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pär-ku-il</td>
<td>Ka obv. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parkum-</td>
<td>“purify”</td>
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<tr>
<td>prs.1.sg. pär-ku-nu-mi</td>
<td>Ha II 23, 28, 31, 38, 48, III 4], 11, 16, 19, 24], 31, 42, 43, IV 3; Hb II 12, 18], III 4'] 13'</td>
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<tr>
<td>prs.3.sg. pär-ku-ue-zi</td>
<td>C rev. 5'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? pär-ku-nlu-</td>
<td>C rev. 22</td>
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<tr>
<td>parkuyatar n.</td>
<td>“purification”</td>
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<tr>
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<td>prt.3.sg. pi-i-e-it</td>
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| piyanai- | "pay, reward" |
| prs.3.sg. pi-ya-na-a-iz-zi | Ka rev. 64, edge 7, 8' |
| pi-ya-na-iz-zi | Ka edge 5' |
| piran | adv.—"before" |
| pr-ra-an | B I 15', 17'; Hb II 39, 41, 49, III 5; Hb II 12'; Ka obv. 7, rev. 11, 14, 21; L rev. 11(?); R I 16'; T I 10' |
| as preverb: | piran šum- |
| piran arḫa kuer- | Jb II 11(?) |
| arḫa šipant- | Ka obv. 7, rev. 9 |
| arḫa uramu- | Ka rev. 19 |
| puḫugari- | adj.—"substitute" |
| acc.c. pu- u-ḪU-ga-rij- | Ja rev. 14' |
| pumū- | "ask, inquire" |
| prs.3.sg. pu-umu-aš-zi | Hb III 5' |
| prs.3.pl. [pu]-[i]-u-šu-ša-an-zi | Ka obv. 43 |
| buri (Hurr.) | meaning unknown |
| bu-u-riy[a] | T II 6' |
| putalliya- | "strap on; cinch up" |
| Luw.prt.3.sg. pu-tal-ši-it-ta | L rev. 3 |
| ša- | "be angry" |
| prt.3.sg. ša-a-it | Fa I 26' |
| goššaḫḫu- c. | a wood |
| nom.sg. gošša-ḫḫu | Fa IV 2 |
| acc.sg. goššu-[a]-ḫḫu- | R I 14' |
| šak-ḫek- | "know" |
| prs.3.pl. še-ik-kan-zi | Ka obv. 33]; rev. 42 |
| še-kan-zi | Kb rev. 3 |
| šaklai- c. | "custom" |
| acc.sg. ša-ša-ka-la-in | Ka rev. 58 |
| šakneš- | "be (come) soiled" |
| prs.3.sg. ša-ak-ni-eš-zi | U rev. 5 |
| ša-ak-ni-eš-zi- | O I 2' |
Glossary

**tūgali**
meaning unknown
S 3'

**šallamu**
"bring up"
dur.prs.1.sg., ša-ali-la-ša-ša-ki-mi
C obv. 7

**šalli**
adj. — "big"
gen.pl. šal-la-ya-aš-ša
E obv. 14'

**šalwina**
"mortar"
GAL

**-tan**
sentence-particle
-ša-an
A obv. 2, 5; B II 4'; C obv. 4(?), 22; D obv. 7; E rev. 11', 12'; Fa I 15', 21', 22', 23', 25'; IV 1, 10, 23; Fb II 6; Ha II 25, 26, 31, 34, 39, 42, III 2, 8, 9, 15, 20, 36, 40; Hb II 4, III 8'; Ja rev. 4'; Ka obv. 10, 46, rev. 32, 51, 53, 55; L rev. 9; Na obv. 2'; R I 11'; U rev. 4, 6, 8; Za II 5', 14'

**-za-an (= zašan)**
A obv. 6; B II 8'; Fa IV 22; Ka obv. 44; L rev. 8(?)

**šanapili**
adj. — "empty, not pregnant"
nom.sg. ša-an-na-pi-li-ši
B I 20'

**šanezi**
adj. — "first-class, desirable"
nom./acc.sg.n. ša-ne-te-ci
Fa I 22', 25'

**šanbi-šah**
"cleanse"
prs.1.sg. ša-ah-mi
C obv. 13, 15

**šam**
a breadstuff
nom./acc.sg. NINDA ša-[i]-iš-du
Ka rev. 22

**šamdu**
a breadstuff
nom.sg. NINDA ša-[i]-wa-li-ši
Ka edg 1

**ša/epikusta**
"pin"
nom.sg. ša-[p]-ki-la-ši-ta-[a]
D obv. 10
acc.sg. ša-pi-kú-ša-ta-an
D obv. 7
dat./loc.sg. še-pi-ku-ša-ti
E obv. 6'

**šara**
adv. — "up"
ša-ra-a
Jc obv. 2'; T II 5', III 3'([?])
as preverb:
šara da-tiit-tam-ta-
Ha II 42

**šarbiya**
"press, push (down or out); oppress"
M.prn.3.sg. šar-bi-yay-at-[a]
L rev. 27

**šarkuwai**
"put on shoes"
prt.3.sg. šar-ku-at-ta
Fa I 28'

**šaratta**
"encomium"
uninflected šar-la-at-ta
Ka rev. 14

**kušaršápašši**
"cushion"
nom.sg. kuššar-pa-ši-ši
A obv. 2

**šasan**
"lamp"
dat./loc.sg. ša-ša-an-ni
Za II 14'

**šasta**
"bed"
acc.sg. ša-ša-ta-an
Hb II 8
nom.pl. giš[N]Ašša
Ka obv. 24
acc.pl. ša-ša-[di]-išt([?])-ši
Ha II 12
dat./loc.pl. giš[N]Ašša-ši
Ha III 6

**šehelli**
a container(?)
acc.sg. še-[š]-el-li-in
Ka obv. 9[1], rev. 9; O I 12'([?])

**šehelliški**
"purity(?)"
acc.sg. [še-[š]-el-li]-ši-ši-ši
U obv. 5'

**t̪∃nul**
"breadstuff"
nom.sg. NINDA ša-[i]-wa-li-ši
Ja rev. 13'
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<td>šunna-</td>
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<td>šuppahh-</td>
<td>adv. - &quot;in a pure manner&quot;</td>
<td>Ha II 30; Ka rev. 10, 35'</td>
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<td>slošurita-</td>
<td>&quot;ball of yarn(?)&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>da-</td>
<td>&quot;take&quot;</td>
<td>Hb II 7; U 6'(</td>
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### Sīr

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<td>&quot;flow; beer&quot;</td>
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| M.prt.3.sg. ši-ya-ti | iter.prs.3.sg. ši-ya-ši-izzi | L rev. 8 |
| šūṣi- | a cultic building | gen.sg. šu-ṣi-aš | Ha III 21 |
| šūṣi-napši | Ka rev. 15 |
| ŠA šu-ṣi-napši-aš | Ka rev. 17'(|), 20 (2×); T III 5' |
| ŠA šu-ṣi-napši- | U obv. 4' |
| ŠA šu-ṣi-napši | Ja rev. 23'; Ka rev. 19 |
| šipant- | "libate; offer" | Ha II 16, 20(|), III 18, 22, 23; Hb II 13; Hb 9'; Ja rev. 12'; Ka obv. 6, 8 (2×), 9, rev. 7, 9, 20, 49, 61, edge 3 |
| prs.3.sg. ši-pa-an-ti | O I 11', 16' |
| BAL-ti | Ja rev. 15'; Kb obv. 14' | L rev. 29 |
| prs.3.pl. ši-pa-an-ta-an-zi | Ja rev. 15'; Kb obv. 14'; U obv. 10' |
| ši-pa-an-da-an-zī | Ka obv. 28, 33, 55, rev. 42, edge 1 |
| BAL-an-zi | U obv. 9' |

### Šal-

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<th>dammmá</th>
<th>“all” nom./acc.pl.n.</th>
<th>L rev. 4</th>
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<tr>
<td>dan-na-am-ma</td>
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<tr>
<th>dannara</th>
<th>adj.—“empty”</th>
<th>Q 8'</th>
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<tr>
<td>nom.sg.c. da-an-na-ra-aš</td>
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<td>acc.sg.c. da-an-m[a]-aš</td>
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<th>dannarant</th>
<th>adj.—“empty”</th>
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<tr>
<td>acc.sg.c. ta-an-na-ra-an-da-an</td>
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<tr>
<td>da-an-na-ra-an-da-an</td>
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<td>nom./acc.pl.n. da-an-na-ra-an-da-an</td>
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<tr>
<th>dankui</th>
<th>adj.—“black, dark”</th>
<th>L rev. 2</th>
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<td>nom./acc.sg.n. GI-a-i</td>
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<tr>
<th>dandukeŠar-n</th>
<th>“mortality”</th>
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<td>gen.sg. da-an-du-ki-ê-na-aš</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>tappen-c</th>
<th>a foodstuff(?)</th>
<th>Ka obv. 17</th>
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<tr>
<td>acc.sg. tap-pi-in</td>
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<tr>
<th>dapiya</th>
<th>adj.—“all”</th>
<th>L rev. 10</th>
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<td>nom./acc.sg.n. da-pi-an</td>
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<tr>
<th>tapinama</th>
<th>adj.(?)—meaning unknown</th>
<th>Fb II 4</th>
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<td>abl.sg. ta-pi-na-ma-až</td>
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<tr>
<th>tapuša</th>
<th>adv.—“sideways”</th>
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<td>ta-puša</td>
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<th>tapuša-za</th>
<th>adv.—“at the side”</th>
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<td>ta-puša-za</td>
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<tr>
<th>taraiša-c</th>
<th>a substance(?)</th>
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<tr>
<td>nom.sg. ta-ra-ša-aš</td>
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<td>acc.sg. ta-ra-ša-an</td>
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<tr>
<th>tarna</th>
<th>“loose”</th>
<th>Na obv. 1'</th>
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<tr>
<td>prs.1.sg. tar-na-ah-ki</td>
<td>——</td>
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<td>prs.2.sg. tar-na-ti</td>
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<tr>
<td>prs.3.sg. tar-na-i</td>
<td>Fa I 4'; P II 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>prt.3.sg. tar-na-aš</td>
<td>Fa IV 9'; Fb III 5'</td>
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<tr>
<td>imp.3.pl. tar-na-[a]-aš</td>
<td>B I 27'</td>
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<tr>
<th>tarnai</th>
<th>a weight</th>
<th>Ka rev. 55</th>
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<tr>
<th>tarpala-c</th>
<th>a woolen object</th>
<th>Ka rev. 54', 61</th>
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<td>nom.pl. tar-pa-la-aš</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>tarpata-pa-c</th>
<th>a plant</th>
<th>E rev. 9'</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acc.sg. tar-pa-tar-pa-an</td>
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<tr>
<th>taru-i</th>
<th>“dance, jump”</th>
<th>L rev. 23</th>
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<td>inf. GIš-ru-an-zi</td>
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<tr>
<th>tar-za-aš</th>
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<th>da-aš-ka-ri-i-x</th>
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<th>P II 2</th>
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<tr>
<td>taškupai-</td>
<td>“cry out”</td>
<td>L rev. 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>dāš(aw)ahh-</td>
<td>“make blind”</td>
<td>L rev. 28</td>
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<tr>
<td>L dawalla-</td>
<td>“give the (evil) eye(?)”</td>
<td>L rev. 33</td>
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<tr>
<td>te-/tar-</td>
<td>“speak”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekap-</td>
<td>“earth”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepu-</td>
<td>“little”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teriyalla-</td>
<td>a beverage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telba-</td>
<td>“sleep; dream”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiya-</td>
<td>“step; tread; arrive, enter”</td>
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<tr>
<td>titamnu-</td>
<td>“set up”</td>
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<tr>
<td>tueggaga-c.</td>
<td>“body”</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuhalzi-c.</td>
<td>(Hurr.) meaning unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>tugh-</td>
<td>“divide; M.: to come to an end”</td>
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<tr>
<td>tughui-c.</td>
<td>“vapor”</td>
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<tr>
<td>tugg-</td>
<td>“be visible, be prescribed”</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuliya-c.</td>
<td>“assembly”</td>
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<tr>
<td>L dumantiyala-c.</td>
<td>“ear canal(?)”</td>
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<tr>
<td>tenni (Hurr.)</td>
<td>meaning unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>tappi-n.</td>
<td>“clay tablet”</td>
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<tr>
<td>turini-n.</td>
<td>“spear(?), staff(?)”</td>
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<tr>
<td>duwarnai-</td>
<td>“break”</td>
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<tr>
<td>uk</td>
<td>independent personal pron. 1sg. nom.</td>
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<tr>
<td>O I 8; U rev. 2;</td>
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**Hittite**

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<tr>
<td>acc.sg. tu-eh-zi-in</td>
<td>U obv. 6', 13'</td>
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<tr>
<td>M,pr.3.sg. tuh-bu-ū-sa-</td>
<td>Za II 8'</td>
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<tr>
<td>nom.sg. tuh-bu-ū-sa-</td>
<td>Fb II 5, III 5'</td>
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<td>M,pr.3.sg. tu-sg-ga-ā-ri</td>
<td>Ka obv. 22 (3X)</td>
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<td>gen.sg. tu-li-ya-ā-š</td>
<td>L rev. 13</td>
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<tr>
<td>dat./loc.pl. du-ma-an-ia-la-āš</td>
<td>L rev. 15</td>
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<tr>
<td>nom./acc.sg. tu-u-ni</td>
<td>T II 2'</td>
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<tr>
<td>nom./acc.pl. DUBL₂₅™</td>
<td>Ka obv. 13, 45, 46, rev. 35[</td>
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<td>DUB.N.KAM</td>
<td>D rev. 13'; Nb III 20</td>
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<td>ab.lsg. IŠT 1 TU₆-P'I</td>
<td>B I 12'</td>
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<td>nom./acc.pl. DUBL₂₅™</td>
<td>B I 13'</td>
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<tr>
<td>nom./acc.sg. tu-u-ri</td>
<td>Q 15', 16'</td>
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<td>prs.3.sg. du-we-ar-ni-it-zi</td>
<td>Q 3',1', 7'</td>
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<td>imp.3.pl. du-su-ar-na-an-</td>
<td>Q 11'</td>
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<tr>
<td>inf. du-su-ar-na-ma-ā[n]-zi</td>
<td>L rev. 23</td>
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<td>independent personal pron. 1sg.nom. u-uk</td>
<td>E obv. 17'(?)</td>
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<td>u-̣a</td>
<td>C rev. 9'</td>
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<td>1sg.dat./acc. [am-mu(?)]-uq-qa</td>
<td>S 5'</td>
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<td>2sg.nom.sg. zi-ik</td>
<td>D rev. 9'</td>
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<td>Glossary</td>
<td>Hinite</td>
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<td><strong>ukturi</strong></td>
<td>adv. - &quot;forever&quot;; adj. - &quot;eternal&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>ul-mu-ri-ul-zi-ic(?)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>unna</strong></td>
<td>&quot;drive in&quot;; prs.3.pl. <em>u-un-mi-ya-an-zi</em></td>
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<td><strong>umusawi</strong></td>
<td>&quot;adorn&quot;; ppl.dat./loc.pl. <em>u-nu-ua-an-[ka-lu]</em></td>
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<td><strong>uppa</strong></td>
<td>&quot;send&quot;; prs.1.sg. <em>up-pa-ah-hi</em>; prs.3.pl. <em>up-pi-an-zi</em></td>
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<td><strong>urki-c</strong></td>
<td>&quot;path, track&quot;; acc.sg. <em>u-ur-ki-in</em></td>
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<td><strong>uttar n.</strong></td>
<td>&quot;word; incantation; matter&quot;; nom.sg.c.&quot;erg.&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>uda-na-an-sa</strong></td>
<td>nom./acc.sg. <em>ut-tar</em></td>
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<td><strong>uwu</strong></td>
<td>&quot;come&quot;; prs.1.sg. <em>u-ua-mi</em>; prs.3.sg. <em>u-ia-zi</em>; prs.3.pl. <em>u-ua-an-zi</em>; prt.3.sg. <em>u-it</em>; imp.2.sg. <em>e-hu</em>; imp.2.pl. <em>u-ua-[t-tet]-in</em></td>
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<td><strong>uwani-c(?)</strong></td>
<td>&quot;sale-lick&quot;; abl.sg. <em>u-wa-ni-ya-az</em></td>
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<td><strong>uz(zi) (Hurr.)</strong></td>
<td>offering term <em>u-uz-zi-[t-ya]</em></td>
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<td><strong>wak</strong></td>
<td>&quot;bite; taste&quot;; inf. <em>wa-k-an-na</em></td>
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<td><strong>wall</strong></td>
<td>&quot;strike; pound (in)&quot;; prs.3.sg. <em>wa-al-ah-zi</em>; GUL-[h-zi]</td>
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<td><strong>walla</strong></td>
<td>a beverage; nom./acc.sg. <em>wa-al-hi</em></td>
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<td><strong>waala</strong></td>
<td>&quot;make strong&quot;; imp.3.sg. <em>wa-li-wa-la-id-du(?)</em></td>
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<td><strong>war</strong></td>
<td>&quot;burn (trans.)&quot;; prs.3.sg. <em>wa-ra-an-mi</em></td>
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<td><strong>wa(r)</strong></td>
<td>quotational particle; B I 25'; IV 3'; 6'; 7'; 9'; 14'; 15'; C obv. 11; D obv. 10; E obv. 14', 17', rev. 5' (2 ×), 8', 11', 12', 14', 15', 18'; Fa IV 16; Ka rev. 57, 58, edge 7(7); L rev. 9, 11 (2 ×), 22, 25, 30, 33 (2 ×)</td>
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</table>
warriwa-  
“burn (intrans.)”
nom./acc.sg., n.  
wə-ri-wə-ra-an  
L rev. 4

warnu-  
“burn (trans.)”
prs.1.sg. wa-ar-nu-mi  
C obv. 19, rev. 24’
prs.3.sg. wa-ar-nu-zi  
Ka rev. 17, 19]
prs.3.pl. wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi  
Ka obv. 25
wa-ar-nu-zi  
Ka rev. 29
dur.prs.3.pl.  
wa-ar-nu-ul-kin-zi[i]  
Jc obv. 5’

warp-  
“wash”
prs.1.sg. wa-ar-ap-mi  
O obv. 20
prs.3.sg. wa-ar-ap-zi  
Ka rev. 27; O 19’
prs.3.pl. wa-ar-[pa-an-zi]  
Ka rev. 28
prt.1.sg. wa-ar-pu-an  
Ka obv. 20
imp.3.pl. wa-[pa-an-du(?)]  
L rev. 15

wasi-  
a plant  
acc.sg.  
wa-ar-du-li-in  
Fa I 6’
wa-ar-du-li-in  
R I 12’

wasi-  
“ingredients; medicine”
nom./acc.sg.  
wə-ši-li-ya-at  
C obv. 23 (2X), 24
abl.sg. wa-ši-li-ya-at  
Na rev. 2’
nom./acc.pl. wa-ši-la-li-a  
P II 2

waśši(ya)-  
“dress”
prs.3.sg. wa-ašši-iz-zi  
C obv. 21
prt.3.sg. wa-(-ašši-zi)-ya-at  
L rev. 2
wa-ašši-ya-(at)  
L rev. 2 (2X)

waššu-  
“sin”
prs.3.pl. waššu-də-la-an-zi  
Ka obv. 41

wata n.  
“water”
nom.sg.  
wə-tər  
O I 6’
inst.sg. ui-te-ni-it  
E rev. 18’; P II 3
Akk. ME-E  
Fa I 11’, 19’

watk-  
“jump; twinkle (of a star)”
prs.3.sg. wa-at-kə-zi  
Ha II 47, III 38]

weh-  
“turn”
prs.3.sg.  
weh-  
E rev. 4’[?], rev. 12’

wek-  
“ask for, demand”
prt.1.sg. u-e-ik-ku-an  
C rev. 8’
prt.3.sg. u-e-ik-ta  
E obv. 14’, 15’

welku- n.  
“grass”
term.sg. u-e-kə-wa  
C rev. 19’
welul- c.  
“meadow”
dat./loc.sg. u-e-kə-wa  
Q 14’

wemiy-  
“find”
prs.3.sg. u-e-mi-is-zi  
E rev. 15’, 16’

werite-  
“be afraid”
prt.3.sg. u-e-te-e-ta  
L rev. 7

wešüriya-  
“grasp violently”
P.prs.3.pl.  
us-ur-ri-ya-an-da-at  
[us-ur-ri-ya-an-ta-at  
us-ur-ri-an-da-at  
Fb II 7], 9], 10]
Fb II 6
Fb II 8

wiai-  
“cry out”
dur.prs.3.sg.  
ui-ui-iš-ki-iz-zi  
B I 9’, 18’
dur.supine  
ui-ui-iš-ki-u-wa-an  
B I 1’[; 14’; M rev. 3[  
ui-ei-iš-ki-u-an  
Za II 10’
Zb obv. 5’
dur.verb.al sub.gen.sg.  
ui-ui-iš-ki-u-wa-š  
B I 10’[; Yb 2[  
Ya II 4’

IZA-  
reflexive particle

A obv. 6, 9, 16; B I 8’, 11’; C rev. 5’; D rev. 1; E obv. 14’; Fa I 26’, 27’, 28’, 29’, 31’, IV 17, 18, 20, 21, 22;  
Fb II 11; Fc obv. 20’; G II 1,
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<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>(-za)</td>
<td>“扎 battle; fight”</td>
<td>prs.3.pl. za-ab-ha-an-ci</td>
<td>Ka rev. 40</td>
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<tr>
<td>zurgi</td>
<td>“zurgi term”</td>
<td>zu-ir-ki-ya</td>
<td>Ha II 15; Ka obv. 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>zurkitai</td>
<td>“perform a zurgi offering”</td>
<td>zu-ir-ki-ta-s-it-zi</td>
<td>Ka rev. 32</td>
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<tr>
<td>zuwasi</td>
<td>verb—meaning unknown</td>
<td>prs.3.sg. zu-wa-za-ti-zi</td>
<td>L rev. 10</td>
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<tr>
<td>zappia</td>
<td>adj.—meaning unknown</td>
<td>acc.sg. za-ap-pi-an</td>
<td>L rev. 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zaqaraa n.</td>
<td>part of the body—“anus”</td>
<td>nom.sg. za-at-ga-ra-l</td>
<td>C rev. 14</td>
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<tr>
<td>zinna</td>
<td>“come to an end”</td>
<td>M.prs.3.sg. ci-ma-na-at-ta-ri</td>
<td>Fa IV 26; Fe obv. 15 [17', 18']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zapparian</td>
<td>“torch”</td>
<td>nom./acc.sg. at-t zu-ap-pa-r</td>
<td>C rev. 21'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luappa-yala-c.</td>
<td>“torch bearer”</td>
<td>dat./loc.pl. Lu mub zu-ap-pa-ri-yi-la-as</td>
<td>Ka rev. 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zurgi (Hurr.)</td>
<td>offering term</td>
<td>zu-ir-ki-ya</td>
<td>Ha II 15; Ka obv. 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>zurkitai</td>
<td>“perform a zurgi offering”</td>
<td>prs.3.sg. zu-ir-ki-ta-s-it-zi</td>
<td>Ka rev. 32</td>
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<td>NUMBERS</td>
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<table>
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<td>1</td>
<td>B I 6; 7; 12; C obv. 2, 4, 6; D obv. 6; Fa I 11' (2 x); 12' (2 x); Ha II 18 (2 x); III 7, 21, 22; Hb II 3, III 13; Ja rev. 4; Ka rev. 22, 47, 48, 55, 61, 62, 63, edge 1 (3 x); O II 4; W 2; Za II 6, 15'</td>
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<td>1-an</td>
<td>A obv. 3 (2 x), 4; Ha II 2, 6; He 12'</td>
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<td>1^n</td>
<td>B I 5; Ha II 5, 41, III 17; He 10'; Ka rev. 50(?), 51, 53, 54, 61; L rev. 18; T II 12(?)</td>
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<td>B I 5; Ha II 5, 41, III 17; He 10'; Ka rev. 50(?), 51, 53, 54, 61; L rev. 18; T II 12(?)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>A obv. 2; Ka edge 5; O II 7; T II 4'; Za II 4', 5'</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>C obv. 6; D rev. 6'; Hb II 6(?); Ka rev. 62</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Ka rev. 48, edge 1</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>JC rev. 6'</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>C rev. 10'; L rev. 8</td>
</tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>C rev. 9'</td>
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<td>Sumerograms</td>
<td>Glossary</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl. DINGIRmegš</td>
<td>E rev. 7; Fb II 11; Ka edge 3; Q 11, 17; T II 5, 10’</td>
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<tr>
<td>dat./loc.pl.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>DINGIRmegš-na-aš</td>
<td>A obv. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(DÜ)</td>
<td>see rya- and kiš-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(DUB)</td>
<td>see tuppri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUG</td>
<td>“vessel”</td>
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<tr>
<td>DUG.UTUL</td>
<td>C obv. 26; Fa I 2’, 19’</td>
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<tr>
<td>“pot”</td>
<td>Q 5’</td>
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<tr>
<td>nom.sg. DUG.UTUL-aš</td>
<td>Q 8’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUMU</td>
<td>“son; child” DUMU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.sg. DUMU-la-aš</td>
<td>DUMU-RU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUMU-aš</td>
<td>DUMU-jaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUMU-jaš</td>
<td>E rev. 12’</td>
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<tr>
<td>acc.sg. DUMU-la-an</td>
<td>L rev. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUMU-an</td>
<td>E rev. 15’</td>
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<tr>
<td>dat./loc.sg. DUMU-li</td>
<td>B I 15’; C obv. 12, 17, 22; D obv. 1, 10ajan, rev. 4; E obv. 11, rev. 17(17); Ja rev. 6’, L rev. 1, 33(1); Nb III 20; O II 8’</td>
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<td>BA.BA.ZA</td>
<td>A obv. 5, B I 4’, 15(122; Ja rev. 6(?)</td>
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<td>BAL</td>
<td>L rev. 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>“pap”</td>
<td>E rev. 15’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ba.edge 5</td>
<td>B I 15’; C obv. 12, 17, 22; D obv. 1, 10ajan, rev. 4; E obv. 11, rev. 17(17); Ja rev. 6’, L rev. 1, 33(1); Nb III 20; O II 8’</td>
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<td>BAL</td>
<td>L rev. 30</td>
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<tr>
<td>“offering”</td>
<td></td>
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<td>BAN</td>
<td>DUMU É GAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>“bow”</td>
<td>“palace functionary”</td>
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<td>pl. LUG.BANŠUR</td>
<td>C obv. 15</td>
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<td>“table”</td>
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<td>FC.Obv. 9; Ha III 7; Hb II 8; Ka obv. 21</td>
<td>DUMULU.LU.ULUššš</td>
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<td>“beer-bread”</td>
<td>“mortal”</td>
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<td>BULUG</td>
<td>B IV 13’, 14’, 18’; Ja rev. 10’, 17’, Ka rev. 41; Kb rev. 2(2); L rev. 9, 15, 24; M obv. 4’; T III 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>“malt”</td>
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<td>DAM</td>
<td>DUMU.SAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>“wife”</td>
<td>“female child”</td>
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<td>DAMŠU</td>
<td>B IV 15’, 16’, 17’; Ka obv. 35, 43, 44, edge 5; Kb rev. 4; U rev. 3, 7</td>
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<td>DAM.ZU</td>
<td>nom.sg. DUMU.SAL-aš</td>
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<tr>
<td>DINIR</td>
<td>M obv. 6’</td>
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<td>“deity”</td>
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<td>sg. DINIR LUM</td>
<td>Kunsu sir</td>
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<tr>
<td>DINIR LUM</td>
<td>“shoe”</td>
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<tr>
<td>DINIR LAM</td>
<td>Fa I 27’</td>
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<tr>
<td>DINIR LAM</td>
<td>see per/parn-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Za II 10’; Zb obv. 9’</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.DINGIR LAM</td>
<td>“temple”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ka rev. 21</td>
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<td>Sumerograms</td>
<td>GEŠTIN</td>
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<tr>
<td>GESUTLA</td>
<td>“ears”</td>
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<tr>
<td>(GLa)</td>
<td>see <em>tijant- and dankui-</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIBIL</td>
<td>“new”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GID.DA</td>
<td>“long”</td>
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<tr>
<td>(GIM)</td>
<td>see <em>mahbarr</em></td>
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<td>GIR</td>
<td>“knife”</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIR</td>
<td>“foot”</td>
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<tr>
<td>GirsGIR.GUB</td>
<td>“footstool”</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIR4</td>
<td>“fired clay”</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIS</td>
<td>“wood”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>GÜ</td>
<td>“neck”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GÜB</td>
<td>“left”</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>GUD</td>
<td>“ox”</td>
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</table>
GUL  see wealth-  
GUNNI  "hearth"  Fa IV 11; Fb II 6; Q 18'  
GURUN  "fruit"  L rev. 13  
H Hal  "seer"  Za II 2'  
pl. lq. (mrk) Hal  Kb rev. 3  
G HASHUR  "apple(?);" abl.sg.  
G HASHUR-lu-wa-an-za  L rev. 28  
(HUL  see idalu-  
HUR.SAG  "mountain"  dat./loc.sg. HUR.SAG-i  T III 5'  
dat./loc.pl. HUR.SAG-bl-aš  C rev. 18'; Na obv. 5'(!)  
(HUŚ  see nāštariya-  
(I masqi)  "fat; oil"  E obv. 14'; R I 13'; Zb obv. 8'  
I.DUG.GA  "fine oil"  Fa I 23'; Ha II 25  
ILIŠ  "oil"  Ka rev. 48, 63  
I.NUN  "butter"  L rev. 14  
GIŠ  "door"  E rev. 11'  
IGI  "eye"  
pl. IGIBLA  
IGIBLA-wa  C rev. 11' (2 X)  
L rev. 8, 28  
ITU  "month"  
ITU.KAM  Ka obv. 29  
ITU.N.KAM  Ka obv. 6, 35[; rev. 3, 27, 41, 43; U rev. 3, 6, 7, 8, 10  
dat./loc.sg. ITU-mi  B I 16'; Ka rev. 39]  
abl.sg. ITU-aš  Ka obv. 31[; 34  
ITU-aš  Ka rev. 43  
pl. ITU-HLA  U rev. 2  
EZEN ITU  Ka obv. 47  
N4KA  "flint(?);"  
nom.sg. N4KA-ša-aš  L rev. 27  
acc.sg. N4KA-in  L rev. 26  
KA × U  "mouth"  
KA × U-ŠU  C obv. 13, 15, rev. 12'; Ha II 30; Ka obv. 12  
nom.sg. KA × U-aš  L rev. 7  
inst.sg. KA × U-aš  Ka obv. 38, rev. 46  
pl. KA × UBLA  C rev. 12'  
KA × UD  "tooth"  
acc.pl. KA × U-aš  L rev. 29  
KADU  a cheap beer  C obv. 26; Fa I 2'  
KÁ  "gate; door"  Ha III 35  
dat./loc.pl. KÁ-aš  Ha II 40; T II 10'  
GIŠ KAK  "peg"  
pl. OBL KAKBLA  Ha II 5, 7, 20, 32, 41; Ha 2'; 4'  
4 KAK ZABAR  C obv. 6  
GIŠ KAK.Ü.TAG.GA  "arrow"  
KASKAL  "road"  
gen.sg. KASKAL-ša-aš  Ha III 20  
dat./loc.sg. KASKAL-ši  Ha III 44; Hd 7'; Ja rev. 17'  
KASKAL II  L rev. 12  
(KI  see tēkan  
KLAL  "weight"  
KLAL-ŠU  Ka rev. 55  
KL.MIN  "ditto"  
A obv. 10, 11, 12, 13; C rev. 11', 16'(2 X); Lrev. 8(2 X), 23, 24 (2 X), 26, 31, 32 (3 X), 33  
KL.3  C rev. 3'  
KL.4  C rev. 3', 12'  
KL.5  C rev. 12'  
KL.6  C rev. 13'  
KL.7  C rev. 13'  
KL.8  C rev. 14'  
KL.9  C rev. 14'  
KL.10  C rev. 15'
| KUBABBAR | "silver" | Ka rev. 55 |
| KUR | "land" nom.sg. "erg." KUR-an-za abl.sg. n. KUR-az | Fc obv. 12' Fc obv. 15' |
| KUS | "skin, hide" pl. KUSHA | L rev. 3 |
| LAL | "honey" | R I 13' |
| GB.LAM.GAL | "piatichio" | Fa I 3'(!) |
| DU.LIŠ.GAL | "bowl" | Ha II 28, 31; Hc 3'; Ka obv. 22 |
| LUGAL | "king" | R I 10'(?') |
| MASH.GAL | "buck" nom.sg. MASH.GAL-as | C rev. 8', 22' C rev. 20' |
| MAS.TUR | "young goat" | Ha III 17, 21, 22 |
| ME | see da- | |
| MU | "year" pl. MUSHA acc.pl. MUH.A-as MU-an-ni (= ukitannu) "in the course of a year" | D rev. 11' C rev. 3', 4' B IV 15', 18' |
| MUL | "star" | Ha II 47, III 10, 38 |
| MUN | "salt" | Fc obv. 10'; R I 13' |
| MUS | "snake" gen.sg. MUS-[as(?)] | P II 1' L rev. 33 |
| MUSEN | "bird" pl. MUSENHA | Ha III 43'; O I 10'; U obv. 9' Jc obv. 4'; Ka rev. 17', 19'; O I 14', 15' |
| MUSEN HURRI | "sheldrake" | Hb II 9 |
| LU.MUSEN.DU | "augur" | C obv. 8 |
| MUSEN.GAL | "duck" | Ha II 18 (2'); Hd 7'; Ka rev. 47, edge 1 |
| (ISPNA) | see šašta-) |
| NA | "stone" acc.sg. NA-an | L rev. 13[14] |
| (NAG) | see éku-) |
| (NAM.)DUMU. LÚLULÚ | "mankind" | A obv. 14 |
| LUGAR | "musician" | Ka edge 7; Za II 12' |
| KUSNAG.BAR | "curtain" | Ka rev. 50 |
| URUGIG | "liver" | C rev. 13'; Zb rev. 4' |
| [NINDA.]E.DÉ.A | "mutton-fat cake" | Hd 6' |
| NINDA.KA×UD | "tooth loaf" | Fc obv. 8'; R I 13' |
| NINDA.KUR×RA | "thick loaf" pl. NINDA.KUR×RAHA | Ka rev. 51 D rev. 6' |
| NINDA.SIG | "thin loaf" pl. NINDA.SIGMEŠ | Ka edge 1 |
| NINDA.ŠE | "barley loaf" | D rev. 6 |
| NUGAL | "there is not" | Ka obv. 26, rev. 30], edge 2, 6(!) |
| UURUPISAN | "copper box" acc.sg. URUPISANAN | C obv. 24 |
| SA | "red" SIG SA | Ha II 22, 27, III 12; R I 6'; U obv. 2' |
| SAG.DU | "head" | B I 28'; C obv. 19; E rev. 1'; L rev. 8(!) |
| SAG.DU-SU | | Ha II 26; O 6' |
| SAG.DU-ZU | | C obv. 20 |
| (SAG.)US | "eternal" | B IV 4' |
| SAHAR | "dust" acc.pl. SAHARHA-as | L rev. 13 |
Glossary

SAL
“woman” SAL
B I 6’, 22’; IV 19’; Ha II 12,
24, 30, 33, 37, III 1, 6, 13, 16,
18, 25, 29, 30, 39; Hb II 1, 9,
10, III 5’
U rev. 5

SAL₂₄
nom.sg. SAL-an-zu
A obv. 1

SAL₂₅
nom.sg. SAL-an-zu
A obv. 6; B I 9’, 11’, 14’, 18’,
21’; D obv. 1, rev. 12; G II 1;
Ja rev. 15; Ka obv. 1, 19,
23(1), 47, rev. 11, 21, 22, 25,
27, 31, 36; L rev. 29; M rev.
3’; O I 4’, 7’; P III 7’; U rev. 1

SAL₂₆
acc.sg. SAL-an
L rev. 27
B I 23’, 27’

SAL₂₇
gensg. SAL-ad
Ka obv. 19

SAL₂₈
ša SAL²⁵
Hb II 8; Q 15’
Hb II 17; Q 10’

SAL₂₉
dat./loc.sg. ANA SAL²⁷
L rev. 25

SAL.GAL
a cultic functionary
Za II 11’

SAL.LUGAL
“queen”
C obv. 20

SAR
“garden”
Ka obv. 18

gensg. SAR-[aš]

SīG
“wool”
E obv. 1(?)

SīG₂⁵
“good”
pkt.3.pl.
Fb III 6’, 8’

SīG₂₆
SīG₂₅-an-ta-at
Fa IV 12[, 13[, 14[

SīG₂₇
pl.pl.
SīG₂₆-an-ta-at
Ka edge 6

SīG₂₈
dat./loc.sg.
SīG₂₆-an-ta-at

SīG₂₉
adv. — “well”
L rev. 17 (2×)

SILÁ
“lamb”
Ja rev. 14’; O I 11’

SĪR
“sing”
pl. SĪR₂⁶
Za II 13’

SISKUR,(SISKUR)
“offering”
SISKUR
U rev. 3

Sumero-grams

SISKUR.SISKUR
pl. SISKUR.SISKUR[^8]
Ka rev. 13, 16; U rev. 4

(SUD
see hušiiya-)

(SUM
see pai-)

ŠÀ.BA
“among”
C obv. 2

(SAL₂₅.SÀ.ZU
see (SAL₂₅)ša(ša)nupalla-)

(SU
see kiššara-)

(SAL₂₅.SU.GI
see (SAL₂₅)šašauw-)n

ŠU.SI
“finger”
10 ŠU.SI
C rev. 9’

(gisū).A
“stool”
Hb II 8

(TA
see IŠTU)

(TI
see hušištar)

TI-tišu-
“give life”
prt.3.sg. TI-t[iš]-mu-ušu-
D rev. 4’

TÜG.DINGIR₂⁶
“divine robe(?)
Fa I 28’

dat./loc.pl.
TÜG.DINGIR₂⁶-[aš]-aš
Fa I 29’

TUR
“small”
C obv. 6; Ka rev. 55

TÜR
“stock pen”
C rev. 8’; Fa IV 12; Fb II 7

Ü.SAL
“meadow”
Fc obv. 10’

Ü.SAL₂⁶
Fa IV 25

UD.(KAM)
“day”
UD.N.KAM

Hb III 4’; Ja rev. 19’; Jc rev.
5’; Ka obv. 27, 28, 30, rev. 3,
27’, 38 (2×), 39 (2×); Kb obv.
16’; U rev. 6(?) ; Za II 8’, 9’

dat./loc.sg.
UD.KAM-ti
Ja rev. 11’

UD-ti
Fa I 10’; Ka obv. 51, 52
O I 18’

nom.pl. UD²⁶A
Ka obv. 46

dat./loc.pl. UD²⁶A-āš
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<th>Glossary</th>
<th>AKKADOGRAMS</th>
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<td>UDÚ</td>
<td>“sheep”</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl. UDÚ.BLA</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDU.B</td>
<td>“ewe”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(UGU) see šer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>UH₃</td>
<td>“sorcerous”</td>
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<tr>
<td>nom. pl. UH₃.BLA-še</td>
<td>L rev. 25</td>
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<tr>
<td>(UN) see antu.bā-</td>
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<tr>
<td>UR.BAR.RA</td>
<td>“wolf”</td>
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<td>L rev. 24, 32</td>
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<tr>
<td>UR.MAḪ</td>
<td>“lion”</td>
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<td>acc.sg. UR.MAḪ-an</td>
<td>L rev. 32</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>UZUḪ</td>
<td>“body part, limb”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 UZUḪ</td>
<td></td>
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<td>L rev. 8</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>URU</td>
<td>“city”</td>
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<tr>
<td>URU.LU</td>
<td>Ha III 22</td>
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<tr>
<td>ŪŠ</td>
<td>“fate; death”</td>
</tr>
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<td>nom./acc.sg. ŪŠ-an</td>
<td>L rev. 32</td>
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<td>(ŪŠ) see șētar</td>
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<td>ZAḪ.LA.SAR</td>
<td>“cress”</td>
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<td>Ka obv. 18 (2 X)</td>
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<td>ZABAR</td>
<td>“bronce”</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIR TUR ZABAR 4 KAK ZABAR</td>
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<td>C rev. 6</td>
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<td>UNUT ZABAR</td>
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<td>Ka obv. 25, rev. 29</td>
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<td>ZAG</td>
<td>“right”</td>
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<td>acc.sg. ZAG-an</td>
<td>Fa IV 22</td>
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<td>abl.sg. ZAG-na-na</td>
<td>Fa I 27’</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>EMEŠU</td>
<td>“rennet”</td>
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<td>EM-SU</td>
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<td>GIŠ.GANNUM</td>
<td>“pot stand”</td>
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<td>GIŠ.GA-AN-NU-UM</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ha II 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Glossary

**giNBU**
“fruit”

**giN-BI**
Ka edge 1

**IŠTU**
“from; by means of”

**IŠ-TU**
with Sumerogram
C rev. 9'; Fa I 32'; Ha II 22, 28, 29, III 3, 12, 18; Ka rev. 21; O I 10', 11', 16', II 5'; U obv. 9'

with Akkadogram
B I 12'; Ha II 14

* ?

**IŠTU (TA)**
with Sumerogram

**ITTI**
“with”

**IT-TI**
Ja rev. 17'; Ka obv. 5

**DUUGKUKUBU**
“jug”

**DUUGKUKUBU**
**DUUGKUKUBU**

**DUUGKUKUBU**
Fa I 72'; Fa I 72

**DUUGKUKUBU**
Fa I 72

**DUUGKUKUBU**
Ha III 16; Ha 100(!); Ka rev. 48, 63, edge 2

**DUUGKUKUBU**
Fa I 11'

** ME**
see uŝtar

**MELOQETUM**
“contents; materials”

**ME-EL-QÉ-TUM**
Ka rev. 59

**LÖMUTU**
“husband; spouse”

**LÖMUTU**
Ka obv. 21

**LÖMUTU**
Ka rev. 25

**LÖMUTU**
Ha II 35; Ka obv. 5, 19', 20

**DUUGNAMMA(N)DU**
“measuring cup”

**NAM-MA-AN-DU**
Zb obv. 8'

**NAM-MA-TUM**
Za II 15'

**PÅNU**
“face; front; PA-NI—adv. —“before”

Hb III 10'; Hd 10'; Ka edge 3;
Za II 6'

**QATAMMA**
“likewise”

**QA-TAM-MA**
B IV 10', 11'; E rev. 10'; Ja rev. 8', 9', 19'; Ka obv. 16, 50; L rev. 10; Q 11', 12'

**QATI**
“is finished”

**QATI**
B IV 19'; D rev. 13'; Ka rev. 60; Na rev. 3'

**QATI**
(QATU)

see kîšar-

**ŠIḪRU**
“small”
pl. ŠIḪ-R[U-TI]

**ŠA**
“of”

**ŠA**
B I 5'

**ŠA**
B IV 14', 15'; Fa I 4, 8; Fc obv. 10', 16', 17'; Ha II 12, 40; Ka rev. 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17; L rev. 6, Q 15'; U obv. 11'

**ŠAPAL**
“below”

**ŠAPAL**
ANA ša-PAL

Ka rev. 51, 52

**ŠATU**

A measure

**ŠA-ATI**
Ka rev. 62

**ŠIPTU**
“incantation”

**ŠIPTU**
stat.const. ŠI-PAT

**-ŠU**
“N-times”

2-ŠU

3-ŠU

5-ŠU

G II 6

**ŠU**
3.sg.enclitic poss.pron.

**ŠU**

L rev. 18

**-ŠU**
B I 23'

**-ŠU**
C obv. 13, 15, rev. 11', 12'
(2×); Fa IV 13 (2×); Ha II 26 (2×), 30, 35; Hb II 11; Ka obv. 5 (2×), 10, 12, 20, 21,
rev. 25, 28, 51, 52, 55, edge 5, 7; Kbh obv. 6'; Q 6', 12'

**-SU**
Fa I 11'; He 4'; L rev. 29; O I 7'

**-ZU**
C obv. 20; E rev. 1'; Fb II 9; O I 3'

**ŠUMU**
“name”

nom./acc.sg. ŠUM-an

Fc rev. 1'

**ŠUMMATU**
“pigeon”
pl. ŠUM-MA-[TE]Mûš

Ya II 3'

**TUDITTU**
“breast ornament”
pl. TU-DI-IT-TI[BA]http://.

Fa I 29'
Glossary

(TUPPU) see tuppi

U

"and"

UL

"not"

Ü-UL

UMMA

introductory particle of direct speech

UM(?)-MA

UNÔTU

"implement"

sg. Û-NU-UT

pl. Û-NU-TE(û)?û

UN-NU-TE(û)?û

UPNU

"handful (a measure)"

UP-NI

USKÈN

"bow down"

prs.3.sg. US-KE-EN

US-GE-EN

prs.3.pl. US-KE-EN-NU

ZERTUM

(= SIRDU)

"olive(tree)"

ZÈ-ER-TUM

DIVINE NAMES

*Anzili

nom.sg. *An-zi-li-š

Fa I 26', IV 19; Fb III 3'

*Aprišta

šA *Ap-ri-it-ta

Ka rev. 6

L rev. 31

DINGIR.GAL

DIVINE NAMES

DINGIR.GL

"Black Deity"

Ka rev. 12

DINGIR.LUMÀ

"male deities"

Hd 9'

dat./loc.pl. DINGIR.LUMÀ-NA-Â

Hb III 15'

[DINGIR.LUMÀ ši-napšiša]

Hb III 21

DINGIR.LUMÀ URU LAM

Hb III 22

DINGIR.MAH

Ḫannahanna

sg. DINGIR.MAH

dat./loc.sg. DINGIR.MAH-(û) ni

A obv. 14

DINGIR.MAHMEŠ-u-Â

Mother-goddesses

DINGIR.MAHMEŠ-BLÀ

Ka obv. 54

DINGIR.MAHMEŠ

L rev. 11(?); T II 7'

DINGIR.MAHMEŠ-tu-gaš

Ka obv. 44

DINGIR.MAHMEŠ tu-gaš

Ka obv. 47, 51(?)

dat./loc.pl. DINGIR.MAHMEŠ-âš

Za II 7'

DINGIR.MAH-âš

Zb obv. 3'

*Gutâš

Fate-deities

dat./loc.pl. *Gul-ša-âš

Zb obv. 3'

*Ḫalmauiût

divinized throne-dais(is) nom.sg.

*Ḫal-ma-âš-šu-iz-za(û)

A obv. 10

*Ḫatêpinû

nom.sg. [*]Ḫa-a-te-pî-(nu)-ša

A obv. 11

*Ḫebat

*Ḫe-bat

Ka obv. 54, rev. 47, 57, edge 3 (2X)

*Ḫuṣṣîya

nom.sg.

[*]Ḫuṣṣi-az-zi-ya-ša

A obv. 13

*Immarni

dat./loc.sg. *Im-mar-ni

C rev. 8'

*IŠTAR

acc.sg. *IŠTAR-an

Ya II 3'

*LAMÁ

tutelary deity

A obv. 11

*Telipinû

nom.sg. *Te-li-pî-nu-âš

A obv. 12

*U

Storm-god

nom.sg. *U-âš

L rev. 9
Luwian

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