



**Luwili. Hittite-Luwian Ritual Texts Attributed to
Puriyanni, Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫḫi (CTH 758–763).
Volume II: Discussion and Glossary**

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Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

Herausgegeben im Auftrag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz,
von Elisabeth Rieken und Daniel Schwemer

Band 72,2

Ilya Yakubovich and Alice Mouton

With a contribution by Laura Puértolas Rubio

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YAKUBOVICH AND MOUTON

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1. HITTITE-LUWIAN RITUAL TEXTS AND THE METHOD OF THEIR STUDY

1.1 CONTEXTUALIZING LUWIAN INCANTATIONS

The Luwian language belongs to the Anatolian group of the Indo-European language family and thus constitutes a close relative of Hittite. In the early second millennium BCE it was spoken in the central part of Asia Minor (present-day Turkey). Subsequent Luwian migrations were connected with the expansion of the Kingdom of Ḫattuša (also known as the Hittite Kingdom), where Hittite was the socially dominant language, while the Luwian speakers were more numerous. Luwian is the only language of the Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions (van den Hout 2021, 21), and it is also attested in the cuneiform archives of Ḫattuša, mainly through incantations embedded in Hittite ritual texts. Furthermore, isolated Luwian words are embedded in Hittite texts of almost all genres, being frequently marked by a special sign, known as *Glossenkeil* / “Gloss Wedge” (van den Hout 2007, 226–51). Finally, Luwian names dominate the Ḫattuša onomastics in the 14th–13th centuries BCE (Weeden 2013a). After the abandonment of Ḫattuša, Luwian remained the main language of the so-called Neo-Hittite states (also known as Syro-Hittite states and Syro-Anatolian states), situated in southwestern Anatolia and northern Syria. These states continued to produce Luwian texts in the Anatolian hieroglyphic script until about 700 BCE (Bryce 2012). The closest relatives of Luwian are the so-called Luwic languages (Lycian A, Lycian B, Carian, and arguably also Sidetic and Pisidian), all of which are attested in the alphabetic transmission.

Formerly a relatively insignificant appendix to Hittitology, Luwian studies quickly developed into a research field in its own right following the progress in the understanding of Luwian texts. Historical linguists have realized that Luwian is as important as Hittite for reconstructing the Anatolian proto-language (Melchert 1994), and sometimes its data can contribute to refining our reconstruction of Early Indo-European (Rieken 2005; Yakubovich 2008). Historians have learned that the study of Luwian inscriptions can shed light on events that are not reflected in other kinds of written sources. As a recent example, one can mention the discovery of a number of stelae with Luwian inscriptions emanating from the previously unknown north Syrian kingdom of Walastina/Palastina, which was created in the wake of the Sea People migrations and whose name evokes the biblical Philistines of southern Levant (Hawkins 2011; Weeden 2013b). The contacts between Luwian and the neighboring languages can be explored in order to reconstruct the sociolinguistic situation in Bronze Age Anatolia (Yakubovich 2010a), while the study of Phoenician and Luwian bilingual inscriptions is conducive to advancing a new scenario of how the Phoenician alphabet was transmitted to the Greeks (Yakubovich 2015b).

The decipherment of Luwian inscriptions began even before that of Hittite. The bistrigal (cuneiform and hieroglyphic) seal of Tarkasnawa, King of Mira (called Tarkondemos in ancient publications), allowed A.H. Sayce to provide the correct interpretation of the logograms for king (REX) and land (REGIO) as early as 1880. In the early 20th century, the close genetic relationship between Luwian and the better-understood Hittite language was conducive to determining the value of a number of Luwian lexemes. The extensive Luwian and Phoenician bilingual of KARATEPE, discovered in 1947, provided a solid confirmation of many hypothetical readings offered in the preceding decades. Further progress in this field was initially hampered by the false assumption that the Luwian cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts reflect two different Anatolian languages (the latter was known then as “Hieroglyphic Hittite”), until the revised values of several key hieroglyphic signs (the so-called New Readings; Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies, and Neumann 1974) narrowed down the difference between Cuneiform Luwian and Hieroglyphic Luwian and facilitated the comparison across corpora. The key find that paved the way to the New Readings was the discovery of short matching inscriptions in cuneiform and Anatolian hieroglyphs, which were found on vessels excavated at the Urartian archaeological site of Altintepe. Nowadays, our knowledge of Luwian is continuously improved through the discovery of new hieroglyphic monuments and the publication of new cuneiform fragments.

At the same time, a large number of Luwian texts have defied interpretation for a long time. This is particularly clear in the instance of Luwian fragments in cuneiform transmission embedded in Hittite texts. Although their full corpus was published in transliteration more than thirty years ago (Starke 1985), the majority of the relevant fragments still lack a full edition with translation and commentary. When philological treatments of substantial fragments become available, more frequently than not they serve subsidiary purposes, such as elucidating meanings of certain problematic lexemes (e.g. Poetto 1997; Melchert 2003b) or addressing the intricacies of the Luwian supposedly poetic language (e.g. Melchert 2006; Francia 2014). An objective difficulty in studying Hittite cuneiform texts with Luwian insertions concerns their genres. Most of the available Luwian texts in cuneiform transmission represent incantations preserved for the sake of their ritual efficacy. This restriction is due to the fact that cuneiform scribes normally did not treat Luwian as a literary language and used it mostly for rendering direct speech citations (real or invented). At the same time, it would be an exaggeration to say that substantial progress in the interpretation of Luwian cuneiform texts is impossible for linguistic reasons in the present state of our knowledge. The best counterargument here is the existence of Melchert’s 1993 dictionary, whose revised version is now in preparation, and the *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts* (see Section 1.3), where the majority of Luwian words occurring in these fragments have been provided with contextually determined meanings.¹

1 The situation with the hieroglyphic texts is somewhat different, since the majority of them have been translated with comments in Hawkins 1995 and Hawkins 2000. Yet, although the efforts of J. David Hawkins brought about a true breakthrough in our understanding of Luwian hieroglyphic texts, these editions still cannot be regarded as definitive. It should be noted that a new volume currently planned by Hawkins will contain a full re-edition of all the Luwian texts of the Bronze Age published in Hawkins 1995.

One potential way toward improving our understanding of Luwian passages embedded in Hittite ritual texts is the analysis of Luwian religious discourse and religious jargon. In the spirit of Hoffman 1993, one has to accept that every type of professional jargon serves the double purpose of transmitting and organizing human knowledge. Therefore, the linguistic and philological study of religious texts cannot be separated from determining their pragmatics within the context of their authors' religious worldviews. This fact has practical consequences in the fields of Assyriology and Hittitology, where it has been widely acknowledged for a long time that the work on religious ceremonies requires a different set of qualifications from, say, the study of economic documents. It was less obvious in the field of Luwian Studies as long as the linguistic understanding of Luwian texts had not yet reached an advanced stage. We believe, however, that the time is now ripe for further specialization in the interpretation of Luwian religious discourse, which would go beyond the combinatory and etymological methods that define the work of linguists and philologists. Such methods must now be complemented with a functionally oriented approach, which should emphasize how individual elements of Luwian incantations interplay with the general structure of the ritual texts and other texts that they belong to.

The way one should approach the pragmatics of Luwian religious texts depends to a large extent on whether one can assume the existence of a uniform "Luwian religion", which can be collected, like a puzzle, from individual pieces. A consequence of this assumption would be the possibility and the necessity of studying all the Luwian religious fragments as one corpus, segregating it from the corpus of Hittite religious texts. In our opinion, such an approach has little to recommend itself, since there is no evidence that the speakers of the Luwian language considered themselves as a monolithic ethnic group in the historical period. We would rather stand by the philosophy of the book *Luwian Identities* (Mouton, Rutherford, and Yakubovich 2013), whose title implies the existence of diverse forms of cultural expression, including religious life, in various areas inhabited by Luwian speakers. Furthermore, quasi-bilinguals teach us that the same or similar religious concepts could be simultaneously expressed in Luwian and other languages. Therefore, we submit that a key to the improved interpretation of Luwian religious texts is their comparison with better understood texts in different languages reflecting similar religious traditions.²

There are at least three geographic regions, where the available religious texts in the Luwian language are known to reflect the interaction with known non-Luwian population groups. In Bronze Age central Anatolia, which constituted the core of the Kingdom of Hattuša, the Luwian texts reflecting state cult are likely to have been impregnated by Hittite and Hattian religious views (see Yakubovich 2010a, 248–60). The Luwian passages emanating from Kizzuwadna, a principality in Bronze Age south-eastern Anatolia, are expected to reflect the religious traditions of the mixed Luwian and Hurrian milieu (Hutter 2003, 250–54 and Strauß 2006). A controversial problem

2 Certainly, the comparative study of different religious traditions may yet reveal non-trivial similarities between various areas populated by the speakers of Luwian or closely related languages (for one recent example, see Mouton and Rutherford 2013). Nonetheless, we would like to make it explicit that this approach is not a focus of the present book.

associated with texts describing Kizzuwadna rituals is the degree of their manipulation at the hands of Ḫattuša scribes (Melchert 2013b). The Hittite-Luwian ritual texts relating to the Lower Land in central Anatolia show numerous affinities with the Kizzuwadna rituals, to the point that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two. Finally, the religious discourse of Late Luwian texts from Early Iron Age Syria was not immune to the influence of the local West Semitic cults but also displays a progressive adaptation to the Neo-Assyrian patterns. One of the typical features of Luwian religious texts from this zone is their frequent reference to the Syrian goddess Kubaba (Hawkins 1981). Accordingly, scholars must operate with different sets of comparisons. For Luwian texts from Ḫattuša and its vicinity, these are primarily compositions in Hittite, and secondarily those in Hattian and Palaic, two poorly understood languages of Bronze Age central Anatolia.³ For Kizzuwadna, these are both Hittite and Hurrian ritual texts, although the degree of our understanding of the latter group varies to a great extent. In the instance of Iron Age Syria, these are royal inscriptions in Akkadian, Urartian, and West Semitic languages.⁴

The advantage of comparing texts in various languages that come from the same or adjacent areas and reflect common religious traditions is the likelihood that they will reveal non-trivial similarities in the use of formulae. In order to make this idea intuitively clear it would suffice to refer to the structural similarity in Christian liturgies deployed in various language communities, even if they reflect different religious denominations. From the linguistic viewpoint, the comparison between similar formulae is almost as fruitful for the interpretation of poorly understood languages as is the analysis of bi- and multilingual inscriptions. On the other hand, the initial search for formulaic parallels does not always necessitate the use of primary sources in their original languages. Thus, given that the majority of Hittite ritual texts have already been provided with translations, a quick search within this corpus for the relevant concepts can yield much-needed comparative information in a reasonable amount of time.⁵ Another time-sparing strategy is turning to standard ancillary tools,

3 See the use of a Hittite narrative passage for elucidating a parallel Luwian narrative embedded within the same text of the Tauriša tradition (see the following section). As a further application of textual comparison pertaining to the same areal cluster, see the use of Hittite incantations for interpreting their counterpart in Palaic transmission (Eichner 2010, Sasseville and Yakubovich 2018).

4 One example of how formulaic comparison was successfully applied to the study of Luwian is the use of Neo-Assyrian parallels for the interpretation of “prosperity clauses” in the inscriptions of Neo-Hittite rulers (Hawkins 1986). Another is the recent identification of the topos of a god granting a mighty weapon to a king in Late Luwian texts supported through its comparison with a parallel topos in Neo-Assyrian and Urartian texts (Yakubovich 2019, 549–50). These examples can be mentioned here only in passing, since the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Iron Age generally remain beyond the scope of the present book.

5 Drawing yet another analogy from the study of Luwian hieroglyphic texts, one can search for parallels to Iron Age Luwian collocations not only with the help of philological editions, such as Tropper 1993 for West Semitic texts from Sam’al or Salvini 2008 for Urartian, but also initially relying on competent translations, such as Grayson 1991 and 1996 for the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions of the relevant period. This strategy played a key role in the identification of Neo-Assyrian counterparts to Late Luwian passages referring to the royal weapon (see the previous footnote).

such as Haas 2003, and using specific ritual items as keywords in a quest for potential textual parallels.

Yet this approach to textual contacts has not played a decisive role in the analysis of Luwian religious texts, at least in the last fifty years of their study.⁶ Many textual comparisons proposed thus far involve formulaic similarities between fairly distant traditions, as is, for example, the case of an attempt to compare Luwian and Vedic incantations (Garrett and Kurke 1994). In other cases, scholars endeavored to compare collocations occurring in Luwian songs embedded in religious ceremonies from Iṣṭanuwa and the Homeric epic (Watkins 1995, 144–51). There were even attempts to establish relationships between Luwian songs and Lesbian lyric poetry (Teffeteller 2013). Whatever be the merit of such approaches for the history of religion, they are unlikely to trigger a breakthrough in the interpretation of the Luwian texts. From the sociological viewpoint, a partial explanation for this trend is the predominance of Indo-Europeanists, as opposed to Near Eastern scholars, among the people involved in the study of the Luwian cuneiform texts.

The study of contacts among religious texts across linguistic boundaries certainly plays a more important role in Hittitology. One trend here is the focus on partially matching concepts, such as ritual purity or blood sacrifice in Hittite rituals and the Bible (see e.g. Feder 2011; Christiansen 2013).⁷ In other instances, modern comparativists tackle the migrations of whole literary genres between Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Greece (Metcalf 2015; Bachvarova 2016). The study of parallels in Hittite-Luwian ritual texts also has place in modern Hittitological research but usually contributes to the elucidation of Hittite rather than Luwian passages (Torri 2010; Pisaniello 2015). Since the Hittite language can be considered fully understood, this research line has limited impact on linguistic interpretation beyond the specific passages treated. Research papers that directly address parallels between religious formulae in Luwian and Semitic languages tend to be written by scholars with a background in Semitic but not in Luwian (Pardee 2009; Sanders 2012). As a result, more frequently than not, they likewise tend to rely on the existing Luwian interpretations in order to clarify the Semitic idioms. The closest approximation to the methodology of the Luwili Project is the systematic analysis of Hittite and Luwian curse formulae in Reichardt 1998, but this dissertation concentrated on the better-understood formulae and therefore its impact on linguistic interpretation likewise remains modest.

This brief background survey is in no means exhaustive. It has the sole purpose of conjecturing that the interpretation of Luwian passages embedded in Hittite religious texts can yet be advanced through textual comparison. Naturally, the confirmation of this conjecture can be achieved only through a philological edition of the relevant texts.

6 The last reservation is necessary, since the pioneering work of Emmanuel Laroche on the study of Luwian incantations in the 1950s did rely on intertextual comparison to a significant extent—see e.g. Laroche 1955, Laroche 1958, and Section 1.3 below.

7 However, criticism of Feder's comparisons seems in order, since they have been overstretched by him; see Mouton 2014b.

1.2 DELINEATING THE CORPUS

The purpose of the present book is an edition of the Hittite-Luwian ritual texts belonging to the Puriyanni tradition (CTH 758) and Kuwattalla tradition (CTH 759–763). The Puriyanni ritual texts, in as much as we can elucidate their purpose, are devoted to the purification of the house, while the rituals attributed to the female attendant Kuwattalla and/or the Old Woman Šilalluḫi address the person's defilement. This said, there are several similarities between the two traditions that warrant their conjoined study. Thus, we shall see that both traditions feature manipulations with the *taluppi*-object (a lump of dough) and the characteristic merisms deployed for the classification of miasma 'past or present/future, internal or external, of the living or the dead ...' (Mouton and Yakubovich 2019).

Nothing is known about the prosopography of the male ritual practitioner Puriyanni, who does not appear to be mentioned outside the corpus of texts inspired by his ritual practice. In contrast, a person named Kuwattalla and carrying the title ^{MUNUS}ŠUḪUR.LÁ 'female attendant' is also known as the recipient of the land grant issued by Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikkal (Rüster and Wilhelm 2012, 231–44). The assumption that she represents the same person as the performer of the rituals is supported not only by the identity of names and titles but also by the paleographic compatibility of the earliest tablets of the Kuwattalla tradition with their dating to the early 14th-century BCE, the reign time of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikkal. If Kuwattalla was indeed active at the royal court of Ḫattuša, this localization has non-trivial repercussions for the development of the Kuwattalla tradition, as we shall see in the subsequent chapters. Our present task is specifying how this corpus (and that of the related Puriyanni tradition) is different from other Hittite cuneiform texts with Luwian insertions, which are not systematically treated in this book.

A number of Luwian passages occur in the texts of Hittite festivals emanating from Ḫattuša or its vicinity. The famous examples comprise KUB 35.133+, which belongs to the festival text mentioning the *ašuša(tal)la*-people (CTH 665),⁸ as well as fragments featuring alternating Luwian and Palaic insertions, which belong to the festivals for the god Zapparwa or other members of Palaic pantheons (CTH 750–754). But the largest group of festival texts with Luwian insertions address the celebrations that are associated with the towns of Ištuḫwa and Lallupiya (CTH 771–773). The Hittite festivals are different from privately sponsored rituals in that, prototypically, they are performed periodically and lack attributions to specific performers.⁹ The description of the Ištuḫwa festivals features repeated indications that the participants

8 It is worth a passing mention that the Hittite-Luwian fragments currently listed under CTH 768 "Luwian mythological fragments" can also be classified as containing the description of festivals, since they feature references to various gods and cult sites that can be venerated in the context of such celebrations. Unfortunately, the fragments grouped under CTH 768 contain no incipits or colophons, and therefore the confirmation of the proposed hypothesis requires their full edition—which cannot be accomplished in the context of this monograph.

9 For a more detailed discussion of the distinction between rituals and festivals in the Anatolian milieu, see Appendix I.

sing (SĪR-*RU*) the Luwian words. The corpus of Hittite festival texts is now comprehensively studied within the framework of the multi-year project *Das Corpus der hethitischen Festrитуale: staatliche Verwaltung des Kultwesens im spätbronzezeitlichen Anatolien*, sponsored by the Mainz Academy of Science and Literature. It is expected that the Hittite festival texts with Luwian insertions will also be addressed as a part of this project.

The Hittite-Luwian fragments collected under CTH 764–766 are subsumed here under the label of the Tauriša tradition.¹⁰ They belong to the genre of conjurations (Hittite *hukmaiš* or Akkadographic *ŠIPAT*, as opposed to the Sumerograms *SISKUR*/*SÍSKUR* and *EZEN*₄ used for ‘rituals’ and ‘festivals’ respectively in Hittite texts).¹¹ The texts belonging to this genre do not mention a specific performer; they are performed on particular occasions, which in the instances of CTH 764–766 usually have to do with pregnancy or children’s diseases. The beneficiaries of these performances are not called *EN SISKUR* (lit. ‘patron of the ritual’), but are rather known as *DUMU.NAM.LÚ.U₁₉.LU* ‘human child’ / ‘human being’. Furthermore, the conjurations of this group feature a quite peculiar divine triad—namely, the Sun-god Tiwad, the goddess Kamrušepa (probably an adaptation of Hattian Katalzifuri), and their offspring, the Tutelary God of Tauriša. While the Luwian Sun-god Tiwad is also common in CTH 759–763, the other two deities do not occur in the Puriyanni or Kuwattalla traditions. The conjurations are usually shorter than ritual prescriptions, but their Luwian portions may contain not only incantations as such but also historiologiae. Arguably the best known among the latter is the tale of a botched banquet organized by the Sun-god, which can be interpreted based on its Hittite quasi-parallel version (CTH 764.1; Steitler 2017, 387–400). A number of Hittite fragments featuring isolated Luwian words and usually classified under CTH 767 likewise belong to this tradition. Its study could form the topic of a separate inquiry, which would need to draw upon the compositions from the Hattian-Hittite milieu as typological parallels.

The separation of the fragments belonging to the Tauriša tradition from those reflecting the Kuwattalla and Puriyanni traditions is facilitated by the grammatical differences between the two groups. The distinct feature of the former corpus are the clitics =*wa* and =*ku-(wa)*, both of which are completely absent in CTH 758–763. The peculiarity of the latter corpus consists in the frequent use of the proleptic construction (see Appendix II). Furthermore, there are lexical cues: the mention of the ‘conjuration’ of the Tutelary God of Tauriša affirms such an attribution. Nevertheless, there is a residue of unclear cases—for example, the fragment KBo 9.145, featuring a fragmentary Luwian passage of thirteen lines. The argument for its connection with the Tauriša tradition is the characteristic numeral 3-*šu* 9-*un* ‘three times nine’; see the

10 For the justification of this term, see Mouton and Yakubovich 2021. The obvious starting point here is the prominent role of the Tutelary God of Tauriša in the pantheon associated with this group of texts (see immediately below). In the preceding scholarship, the texts of the Tauriša tradition are sometimes considered together with those of Kizzuwadna (see e.g. Hutter 2021, 154).

11 In this book, the term ‘conjuration’ will be used exclusively for rendering the semantic field of Hittite *huk-/huek-*. As far as we can see, this type of incantation specifically aims at protecting the ritual patron. The term ‘incantation’ is broader and designates all types of ritual speech, conjurations included.

parallel expression KUB 35.89:11' 2-š[(u)] 9-un-[za] 'two times nine' (CTH 765). On the other hand, the mention of numerous pegs and the act of nailing down links this fragment with the Kuwattalla tradition, where nailing down the miasma represents a recurrent topos. In this and similar cases we prefer to err on the side of caution: we do not attribute the controversial fragments to the Puriyanni or Kuwattalla traditions, treated in the present book, without prejudging the issue of whether they may belong to CTH 764–766.

Only one Hittite-Luwian text belongs to the genre of prayers. This is the anonymous invocation (*mugawar*) to the Storm-god of Zippalanda according to its colophon (KBo 29.31), while several more pieces belonging to the same tablet are assembled in Sasseville, forthcoming. For the sake of completeness, we must mention two Luwian fragments classified under CTH 769, which best qualify as Luwian secular texts in cuneiform transmission. The first of these (KBo 8.17) clearly represents a letter and features a subscript in Akkadian, presumably addressed to the scribe on the receiving end. The second (KBo 29.38) may also be a letter, although the mention of the Kaška people prompted Starke (1985, 368) to advance a hypothesis that its content is political. At any rate, this ethnonym separates the fragment under discussion from CTH 758–763, which have nothing to do with the northern Anatolian periphery.

Finally, there are several ritual traditions featuring Luwian passages that must be kept apart from the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions. A Hittite-Luwian ritual text that had a paramount importance for the initial study of the Luwian language is attributed to Zarpiya, a physician from Kizzuwadna (CTH 757). This is the only Hittite-Luwian text that was preserved almost in its entirety, although the Luwian insertions comprise only four paragraphs out of 25 according to the treatment of this composition in Görke 2015. Furthermore, it contains an invocation to the god Šanta and his retinue, which is recorded first in Hittite and then in Luwian, with only limited variations, and thus represents a quasi-bilingual (Yakubovich 2010a, 282–83). In view of the rapid appreciation of these peculiarities, the autographs of the short Zarpiya ritual were published earlier than those of most other Hittite-Luwian texts and translated several times, Görke 2015 being the latest among such translations. Different variants of CTH 757 can be characterized as duplicates rather than as parallel versions. While new fragments of this text emerge every now and again, they can be easily recognized as such and add little to the substance of its interpretation. Therefore, despite the similarity of genre, the corpus of CTH 757 can easily be kept apart from that of CTH 758–763.

A more complicated case is that of the Tunnawiya tradition (CTH 409), for which see Mouton 2015a. There is only one Luwian passage attested in the “first ritual” belonging to this tradition (Starke 1985, 43–46). Yet, certain grammatical features of its “second” and “fourth” ritual texts suggest that at least some of their incantations have been translated from Luwian (Mouton and Yakubovich 2021). Furthermore, we will be arguing in Chapter 4 of this monograph that several formulae occurring in the Tunnawiya tradition find non-trivial counterparts in the Luwian passages of the Kuwattalla tradition. This opens a possibility that some of the Hittite-Luwian ritual text fragments may in fact belong to a ritual CTH 409 or its specific version where the

Luwian incantations failed to be translated into Hittite. The question is essentially empirical: can we find the fragments which, despite the overall resemblance between the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions, display closer similarities to the former than to the latter?

It turns out that this question can be answered in the affirmative. On the one hand, Pisaniello (2015) convincingly argued that the Hittite-Luwian fragment KUB 35.146, traditionally classified under CTH 767, can be directly compared with KBo 20.73+, which in turn can be assigned to the Tunnawiya tradition on the basis of its numerous parallels with CTH 409.IV and CTH 409.II (see Fuscagni 2016a). On the other hand, the Hittite-Luwian fragment KUB 35.80, traditionally assigned to CTH 763, shows unmistakable similarity to the spitting formula of the Tunnawiya tradition, as opposed to that of the Kuwattalla tradition. Of particular importance here is the reference to spitting three times (line 11') and the phrase *pangauwaz* EME-az 'from the tongue of the assembly' (line 10'), whereas the Kuwattalla tradition prescribes spitting once at a time and deploys the Luwian expression *ma-a-ia-aš-ša-an-za-ti* EME-ti 'from the tongue of the multitudes' instead of its Hittite equivalent.

The emerging presence of a layer of Luwian incantations in the Tunnawiya tradition is compatible with the existence of problematic Hittite-Luwian ritual fragments, which can be assigned either to the Tunnawiya tradition or elsewhere. As an example, one can mention KUB 9.7, traditionally listed under CTH 763. The obverse of this fragment features a Hittite passage with the presentation of two pigs, one of which is a living animal while the other is a figurine made of tallow (lines 8–13). Such a gesture finds a direct parallel in Tunnawiya's "second ritual" (KUB 9.34 iii 24'–27'; Hutter 1988, 38), while less precise parallels are also found in the other versions of the Tunnawiya tradition (Haas 2003, 418–20). Yet, the likely reverse of the same fragment addresses ritual manipulations involving the figurine of a herald (lines 6'–13'), which lacks any parallels in the Tunnawiya tradition.¹² Accordingly, although the attribution of the fragment under discussion to CTH 409 is the default hypothesis, there remains some room for doubt. For our purposes, however, the only crucial thing is that the fragment under discussion has no chances of being assigned to either the Kuwattalla or Puriyanni tradition.

At this point it seems important to make brief comments on how we understand the term "tradition". We assume the historicity of ritualists mentioned in the Hittite sources and believe that at least some of the available rituals were recorded in close cooperation with their practitioners. This last belief is particularly necessary in the instance of compositions with Luwian incantations, which reflect dialects other than that of Ḫattuša and therefore could not represent a product of Ḫattuša scribes. Therefore, the Old Woman Tunnawiya or the female attendant Kuwattalla must be taken as directly responsible for the performance of at least some of the rituals that bear their names. At the same time, we accept the arguments presented in Miller 2004 and Christiansen 2006 in favor of the ongoing modification of ritual texts in Ḫattuša

¹² The only mention of a herald in a ritual context known to us is found in the Arzawa ritual text attributed to Ḫuwarlu (Bawanypeck 2016, §§ 2–3).

chanceries and believe that the list of secondary products of court scholarship is likely to be extended in the future. The elite group of scholar-scribes, discussed in van den Hout 2015, would supply the most likely milieu for the modification of the pre-existent ritual texts. This means in practice that some of the ritual texts attributed to Tunnawiya or Kuwattalla may represent mere scribal compilations, which is perfectly compatible with still treating them as parts of the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions respectively. What is no less important, the scribe can change the attribution of a ritual to a specific performer, its patron, or the titles of the invoked deities, for ephemeral reasons, which we are not always able to trace. This explains, for example, why variants of the same ritual can be attributed to Kuwattalla, Šilalluḫi, or the cooperation of the two practitioners, as will be discussed in more detail below.

Under such conditions, a crucial criterion for attributing a ritual fragment to this or that tradition is, above all, the similarity of its diction and formulaic repertoire to the fragments that have already been reliably attributed to the same tradition. The scholar-scribes may have changed references to the key figures or terms, but they were unlikely to alter radically the description of the ritual and even less likely to replace its incantations. In other words, the procedures to follow in identifying variants of the same ritual tradition are more or less the same as those embedded in modern algorithms for detecting plagiarism. This observation may seem trite, but it is still necessary, given that the traditional guiding principle of the *Catalogue des textes hittites* is to identify compositions based on their titles preserved in the incipits and colophons. Furthermore, the colophons and incipits, when available, will play the key role in distributing the fragments of CTH 758–763 according to their particular CTH numbers in this monograph. There is no contradiction between the two criteria of classification, because the scholar-scribes tended to adjust the titles of the modified versions. It is, however, important to distinguish between the said two criteria, because the majority of the ritual fragments at our disposal plainly lack either incipits or colophons.

While the identification of two fragments as duplicates was always considered sufficient in order to assign them to the same CTH number, even in the absence of titles, structural parallelisms between two fragments did not necessarily trigger their assignment to the same tradition in the past. This need not be taken as a point of criticism directed at the work by Emmanuel Laroche or other early contributors to the *Catalogue des textes hittites*. It is obvious that one and the same fragment may exhibit similarities of various degrees to several counterparts belonging to different CTH numbers. In such a case its assignment is impossible without cluster analysis—that is, evaluating the relative degree of resemblance of all the potential candidates, which is in turn contingent upon working with a closed corpus. At the time of Laroche, who knew only a portion of the Hittite-Luwian fragments found in Ḫattuša, the corpus still remained open. No less importantly, the creation of the *Catalogue des textes hittites* largely predated the philological work on scribal manipulation of ritual texts, which fleshed out the concept of ritual tradition. Under such conditions, Laroche's classification must have featured certain provisional solutions, such as the creation of temporary depositories for fragments awaiting further classification. In

particular, the characterization of CTH 761 and CTH 762 as “Great Ritual” and “Fragments of the Great Ritual” respectively makes little sense unless one assumes that the members of the second group are likely to belong to the same composition as the members of the first one; however, the matter merits closer scrutiny.

The present situation is different. We are lucky to work at a time when the bulk of the excavated fragments from Boğazköy archives and nearly all the well-preserved incipits and colophons have been published in autograph. Even though one cannot rule out that some newly emergent fragments will yet reveal to us entirely new ritual texts, it seems reasonable to treat the core of the existing classification as something that has stood the test of time. In particular, the survey of Hittite-Luwian texts provided above can be regarded as nearly exhaustive. This means that if we are dealing with a fragment of unknown attribution, it is entirely reasonable to wonder to which of the known traditions it belongs, while the hypothesis that it represents a specimen of a heretofore unknown tradition can only be entertained as a last resort solution. Furthermore, when one is classifying the fragments of an established tradition, it is likewise reasonable to group them into clusters based not only on their incipits or colophons but also on their diction and formulaic repertoire.

This is why we have changed the definitions of CTH 760, CTH 762, and CTH 763 vis-à-vis the earlier versions of the *Catalogue des textes hittites*. The specific rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition corresponding to CTH 760 and CTH 762 have now been defined on the basis of the characteristic incipits and colophons respectively (see Chapter 3), while the set of fragments grouped under both these numbers has been assembled through cluster analysis, taking into consideration ductus, orthographic features, diction, and/or formulaic repertoire. In the case of CTH 762, the new results did not interfere with the established boundaries between traditions: this CTH number had previously been subsumed under the Kuwattalla tradition, and it remains there after the necessary adjustments. In the case of CTH 760, the texts previously attributed to Tunnawiya were extracted from there to be moved to CTH 409, but otherwise this CTH number also remains anchored in the Kuwattalla tradition.

Not so is the case of CTH 763. This CTH number previously represented a depository for Hittite-Luwian ritual fragments of uncertain attribution. Our analysis suggests that some of the relevant fragments belong to the Tunnawiya tradition and thus have also to be moved to CTH 409 (see above in this section). The majority of them, however, display non-trivial similarities to those of the Kuwattalla tradition. The only fragmentary colophon remaining within this group attributes the fragment to a performer from Kizzuwadna, whose name is lost in the lacuna (KUB 35.8 i 1). While KUB 35.8 does not bear characteristic similarities to the Kuwattalla tradition on its own, its diction is conducive to linking it to some additional fragments, which in turn can be linked to those of the Kuwattalla tradition through other peculiarities in their diction and formulaic repertoire (see Chapter 3). This mediated comparison helps to annex CTH 763 to the zone of the *Catalogue des textes hittites* that is associated with the heritage of Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi. This said, not all the texts classified under CTH 763 can be connected to KUB 35.8; there remains a residue of minor fragments that show affinity with the Kuwattalla tradition but resist attribution to any specific

ritual. What we do not have any longer is the group of Hittite-Luwian ritual fragments that defy distribution among traditions. Those pieces that are so tiny that they cannot be attributed to any ritual tradition turn out to lack in general any sound foundation for identifying them as ritual fragments. For the time being, they can be classified under CTH 770, understood as the residual depository for Hittite-Luwian fragments of unidentified genre.

At the risk of seeming tedious, we must repeat once again that not all the fragments classified under CTH 758–763 and edited below necessarily reflect the actual performance of Puriyanni, Kuwattalla, or Šilalluḫi. The proven interference of scholar-scribes leaves ample room for secondary modification of the existing ritual texts, including their radical abbreviation and amalgamation of several sources. The picture that we have attempted to draw in our segmentation and classification of the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions rather corresponds to the perception of the scribal community, stretching from the point when the respective rituals were first recorded to the break of the written transmission of Hittite in Ḫattuša.

1.3 PREVIOUS AND CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

The core of this book is the philological study of the texts that can be attributed to the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions. The edition of each fragment features an introductory section, where the previous editions, joins, and other most important advances in their study are usually listed. Here we shall limit ourselves to mentioning those works that were of particular significance for the holistic study of the relevant corpus. Furthermore, we shall endeavor to outline the most important tendencies in approaching the interpretation of this corpus. Many of the observations made in this section are also relevant for the Hittite-Luwian compositions at large.

While some texts of the Kuwattalla tradition (e.g. KUB 9.6) were published at the dawn of Hittitology, the publication of KUB 35 by Heinrich Otten in 1953 introduced the largest fragments with Luwian passages, including those of CTH 758–763, to the community of cuneiform scholars. Roughly simultaneously with the appearance of this autographic edition, Otten published a monograph devoted to the interpretation of Hittite-Luwian texts. A considerable portion (Otten 1953, 60–106) addresses those texts mentioning the Old Woman; according to the present state of our knowledge, they belong to the Kuwattalla tradition. A fragmentary incipit mentioning Kizzuwadna, which we likewise attribute to the Kuwattalla tradition, is considered separately (Otten 1953, 30–35). For the study of Luwian incantations, Otten primarily relied on the combinatorial method—in particular, on the analysis of recurrent formulae. While the state of the understanding of the Luwian language was clearly insufficient for venturing full translations of the edited texts at that point, the indirect join KUB 32.8 (+) KUB 32.5 (CTH 759.10.b), essentially arrived at based on the study of a Luwian passage, bears witness to the maturity of Otten's approach. Unfortunately, Otten's remarks about the similarity of scribal hands in the foreword to KUB 35 have not found confirmation in many cases.

A number of subsequent steps toward the elucidation of our corpus are due to the work of Emmanuel Laroche. He had no access to unpublished Hittite-Luwian fragments but quickly realized that the compilation of a provisional Luwian lexicon is a key to the interpretation of the published material. Several years of his engagement with Hittite-Luwian fragments culminated in the publication of Laroche 1959. While preparing the lexicon, he produced several research papers, where he justified the previously unknown meanings of many Luwian lexemes. The innovative aspects of his method were, on the one hand, the close attention that he paid to the genetic comparison between the language of Luwian cuneiform texts, that of Luwian hieroglyphic texts, and of Lycian, and on the other hand, his hunt for parallel formulae in Hittite and Luwian incantations. The latter innovation is particularly relevant for our project; thus, he had pioneered the comparison between formulae in the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions (see e.g. Laroche 1959, 147–51), which was largely neglected for several decades, until undergoing further elaboration in Chapter 4 of this book. Laroche 1955 exemplifies how such a comparative study can lead to non-trivial lexical identifications.

Another accomplishment of Emmanuel Laroche that is highly relevant for our work is the preliminary classification of the published Hittite-Luwian texts (CTH 757–773) according to their genres. This task was accomplished within the framework of preparing the comprehensive *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Laroche 1971) and thus represented but one of many advances of this monumental project. The texts with Luwian insertions were arguably among the most difficult pieces to classify, due both to the paucity of large fragments with colophons and to their generally obscure content. Some shortcomings of Laroche’s classification, conditioned in part by the limited set of fragments available to him, will be discussed below in Section 3.1. Here, it is appropriate to stress that despite all its problems, its basic building blocks have essentially stood the test of time. In particular, Laroche drew a clear boundary between the Hittite-Luwian texts of the Kuwattalla tradition (CTH 759–763) and those of the Tauriša tradition (CTH 764–766), even though he did not operate with such cover terms. This is a particularly impressive achievement, given that Laroche did not base his classification on linguistic criteria, aside from setting apart the Luwian dialect of Iṣtanuwa (CTH 771–773).

New opportunities for the study of our corpus emerged with Otten’s publication of another large group Hittite-Luwian fragments in KBo 29 in 1983. With the appearance of this book, the corpus of the fragments attributable to CTH 758–763 approached its current size. The release of the autographs of the new group was coordinated with Frank Starke’s work on transliterating all the fragments with Luwian insertions identified at that point. The resulting book (Starke 1985) introduced paleographic datings of Hittite-Luwian fragments in accordance with the new system developed by the Marburg school but also refined Laroche’s assignment of texts to individual compositions in the light of the new evidence. In particular, Starke classified all the texts attributed to Kuwattalla and/or Šilalluḫi as belonging to three distinct compositions: the *dupaduparša*-ritual, the Great Ritual, and the “third-ritual” (Starke 1985, 72–167). The next five years saw him turning to the linguistic implications of his phi-

lological work. Starke 1990 represents a monograph on Luwian nominal derivation, which draws on both cuneiform and hieroglyphic data.

Starke's decision to limit himself to the transliteration of Hittite-Luwian fragments was optimal for the time being: the work on their translation should have followed an in-depth linguistic study of Luwian and could hardly be accomplished single-handedly in any case.¹³ At the same time, it inevitably led to certain shortcomings in the philological presentation of the fragments treated. In particular, the holistic understanding of the text improves the possibility of its restoration (including the reading of fragmentary signs) and helps to recognize joins. These are among the areas where we hope to have reached considerable progress beyond Starke 1985, and we have attempted to reflect it in our commentary. Furthermore, Starke's meticulous attention to dating the tablets on the basis of their sign forms contrasts with the virtual lack of involvement in identifying scribal hands.

The growth of the accessible Luwian cuneiform corpus and the improved understanding of Luwian morphology called into being the new commented Luwian lexicon (Melchert 1993). This reference work both develops and revises the analysis of Luwian nouns reached in Starke 1990 and offers a new classification of Luwian verbal stems. In comparison with Laroche 1959, many more lexemes are provided there with assured or tentative interpretations, to a large extent as a result of the author's personal research. The publication of Melchert 1993 marked the point when "reading with the glossary" could yield approximate translations of Luwian incantations, for the benefit of Hittitologists and Indo-Europeanists alike. At the same time, Melchert's approach to the interpretation of the Luwian lexicon relied on the etymological method even more heavily than that of Starke 1990. In particular, his comments focus on the cognates in Hittite and the other Anatolian languages but frequently sideline the combinatorial parallels established by Laroche and others.

The publication of the bulk of Luwian hieroglyphic texts in Hawkins 1995 and Hawkins 2000 raised the overall profile of Luwian studies. This in turn triggered the appearance of Melchert 2003 (ed.), the first collective monograph devoted to this field. Its chapter on Luwian religious practices (Hutter 2003) addresses, among other things, the content of Hittite texts with Luwian insertions. Manfred Hutter generally follows the classification of CTH 758–763 adopted by Starke but adds the argumentation for the origin of all these texts in the region of Kizzuwadna in southeastern Anatolia (Hutter 2003, 250–52). The arguments are essentially linguistic. On the one hand, it is assumed that all the Luwian insertions in Hittite texts, except for those reflecting the cult of the area of Iṣtanuwa are written in a single dialect; and since some of them mention Kizzuwadna in their incipits, this is likely to be the origin of all the texts. On the other hand, several Hurrian loanwords or their derivatives are attested

13 One can compare the work on the decipherment of the Luwian hieroglyphic texts, which unfolded roughly at the same time and relied on the joint effort of J. David Hawkins, whose perspective was primarily philological, and Anna Morpurgo Davies, whose approach was primarily linguistic. The most successful contributor to the philological study of CTH 758–763 was at the time Annelies Kammenhuber, Professor of Hittitology at Munich (see Kammenhuber 1985 and Kammenhuber 1986).

in the texts classified under CTH 758–763, while Kizzuwadna is thought to be the primary locus of interaction between the Luwians and the Hurrians.

Hutter's pioneering treatment served as a point of departure for all the subsequent work on the geographic localization of the rituals under discussion. The Kizzuwadna origin of the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions was endorsed, again with reference to Hurrian loanwords, in Yakubovich 2010a, a monograph addressing the Luwian language from a sociolinguistic perspective. More recently, the problem of Hurrian influence in CTH 758–763 found elaboration in Kaynar 2019, a paper entirely devoted to the interplay of Hurrian and Luwian elements in the Kizzuwadna rituals. The heterogeneous origin of both traditions is defended by both authors of this monograph in Mouton and Yakubovich 2021, a paper that emerged within the framework of the Luwili Project. On the one hand, this paper defines the Tauriša tradition with its own dialectal features and thus pronounces itself against the linguistic homogeneity of Luwian cuneiform passages. On the other hand, it stresses the non-trivial similarities between the Luwian incantations in the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions, noted already by Laroche, and argues that Kuwattalla is likely to hail from the same region as Tunnawiya, whose connection with the Lower Land is near universally acknowledged. As for the Hurrian influence of CTH 758–763, we maintained that it can reflect the adaptation of the Kuwattalla and Puriyanni traditions at the court of Ḫattuša.

Quite independently of these proposals, two recent papers, Hutter 2019a and Sas-seville 2020b, provided evidence against the rigid separation of the Kuwattalla tradition into three rituals. We interpret this evidence, addressed in more detail in Section 3.2, as the argument for the ongoing re-naming and re-shuffling of the compositions attributed to Kuwattalla and/or Šilalluḫi on the part of the Ḫattuša scribes. There are independent arguments, some of which were already offered in Christiansen 2006, 10–11, for the adaptation processes affecting the development of the Puriyanni tradition. If one accepts the dynamic approach to the study of the compositions under discussion, there is no longer a contradiction between their Lower Land and Kizzuwadna features. It is, for example possible that a new text was created by amalgamating the descriptions of the rituals that reflect the practices of Kizzuwadna and the Lower Land, or that a ritual specialist at the court of Ḫattuša imitated the performance structure of another specialist from a different region.¹⁴

Turning back to the linguistic issues, new opportunities for the study of our texts became available with the development of the computer corpora. H. Craig Melchert was the first scholar to open a searchable digital file with the Luwian cuneiform texts for public use.¹⁵ The file is based on the documentation of Starke 1985 but features many new readings and the overt marking of clitic boundaries. This was in turn used as a basis for the cuneiform module of the Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts (ACLT), a project implemented in 2013–2015 by the team of Ilya Yakubovich and his associates under the auspices of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences.¹⁶

14 These two hypotheses are fleshed out in Section 3.6 and Section 5.4 respectively.

15 <https://linguistics.ucla.edu/people/Melchert/CLUVIAN.pdf>.

16 <http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/>.

Its primary purpose was to enable the search of Luwian texts for lemmata and grammatical parameters, but its implementation involved a close reading of the texts collected in Starke 1985 (although not their collation with cuneiform originals). As a result, the ACLT lemmata contain a number of interpretations that go beyond Melchert 1993 and anticipate some of the results explicated in the present monograph. At the same time, since ACLT is primarily a search engine, no attempt was made to systematically refer to its interpretations here. In the instance of the discrepancies between ACLT and the present edition, one is recommended to follow the latter.

Another technical innovation, which facilitated the work with all the cuneiform texts from Hattuša, was the publication of the photographs of the majority of the known fragments at the Hethitologie-Portal Mainz, a project of the University of Würzburg and the Mainz Academy of Science and Literature headed first by Gernot Wilhelm and then by Daniel Schwemer and Gerfrid G. W. Müller.¹⁷ Before this, the observations on scribal hands had remained the prerogative of those who had access to the original tablets in the museums of Istanbul and Ankara or undertook trips to consult their photographs at the Mainz Academy of Science and Literature; afterward, all interested Hittitologists gained permanent access to these paleographic features, which cannot be adequately observed on the basis of the autographic editions. This opportunity was particularly fruitful in the instance of the Hittite-Luwian texts, which can be easily set apart on the basis of their content, and yet had not been systematically classified on the basis of their scribal hands in the context of their previous treatment. The numerous joins to CTH 758–763 identified by the authors and contributors to the present book and communicated to the Hethitologie-Portal Mainz bear witness to the practical use of such a classification. In the present edition, we have attempted to explicate this classification as much as is feasible: our methodology is summarized in Chapter 2.

Already at the stage of preparing the Annotated Corpus of Luwian texts, it became clear that the study of the Luwian language had reached the point when one could venture a commented edition of the rituals under discussion. Nevertheless, the Luwili Project derived additional benefits from a number of research initiatives that unfolded simultaneously with our work. First of all, one should mention the Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages project (eDiAna, 2014–2022), headed by Olav Hackstein (Munich), Jared Miller (Munich), and Elisabeth Rieken (Marburg). A number of conventions used in this book—for example, the notation of Luwian nominal and verbal stems—were directly influenced by the discussions at the working meetings of the eDiAna project. Second, Sasseville 2020c, a monograph on the verbal derivational morphology of the Luwic languages, impacted our notation of Luwian verbal stems and provided a valuable second opinion on the interpretation of a number of contexts. But by far the most important impact was that of H. Craig Melchert, who simultaneously worked on the revised edition of his *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*. Many of the new linguistic interpretations reached in the course of the Luwili Project were immediately communicated

17 <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php>.

to Melchert, who always reciprocated with quick and helpful feedback. The two papers by Melchert and Yakubovich cited in the bibliography of this book exemplify the vigor of this cooperation, which it is hoped was of equal benefit for both parties.

1.4 METHODS OF INTERTEXTUAL COMPARISON

There are two principal reasons the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions were selected among other Hittite-Luwian compositions for the publication in this book. On the one hand, this is the largest coherent corpus of Hittite texts with Luwian insertions; even with all the joins accomplished in the course of the project, it still comprises approximately 130 fragments. Furthermore, the best-preserved Hittite-Luwian fragments also cluster within this group: see for example KUB 9.6+ (CTH 759), KBo 29.3+ (CTH 760), and KBo 29.55(+) (CTH 761). On the other hand, we submit that this is the area where the most significant progress in the interpretation of Luwian texts can be achieved at present. While the demonstration of this claim must ultimately be derived from the edition of the relevant texts, it seems appropriate to show in this section how the peculiarities of the corpus under discussion facilitate the use of intertextual comparison, which was proposed earlier in this chapter as the most promising way of advancing the study of the Luwian language. We obviously do not strive to provide here a comprehensive treatment of the comparative material; our goal is rather to present a variety of strategies available for this particular corpus.

One structural feature that characterizes the descriptions of rituals as a genre is their presentation as a sequence of rites, which are sometimes aligned with the paragraphs of the cuneiform text. A rite prototypically consists of manipulations with a limited number of ritual items, which are followed by an incantation accompanying them, often clarifying them in the process. For example, after the ritual patron breaks the hand and tongue made of clay, the Old Woman states that he has broken the evil tongue (KBo 29.3+ iii 13'–17', CTH 760). Since the Luwian incantations of our corpus are not translated into Hittite, the relevant rite is conducive to identifying the stem of the Luwian verb 'to break'. This is not a new observation; see already Melchert 1988, 215, fn. 10. But the systematic application of the same comparison between the Hittite description of ritual gestures and the matching Luwian incantations is still capable of bringing about new results.

Let us illustrate this point with a rite belonging to a ritual against the impurity of the house attributed to Puriyanni (CTH 758). At a certain point in the performance, the Old Woman transfers silver, gold, all the seeds, and a variety of garden tools to the ritual patron (KUB 35.54 ii 27'–29'). Then the Luwian incantation begins with the statement: 'Here lie all the seeds, *in-za-ga-a-an* and *wa-aš-ḫa*' (KUB 35.54 ii 31'–32'), while the next sentence of the same Luwian passage describes the treatment of these items with two different tools. Since tools are unlikely to be treated with other tools, the principle of correspondence between the ritual gesture and the incantation suggests that *in-za-ga-a-an* and *wa-aš-ḫa* are likely to represent words for 'silver' and 'gold', or perhaps their pragmatic equivalents. This, however, is not the solution ad-

vanced in Melchert 2003b, 148, where the preference is given to the hypothesis that *in-za-ga-a-an* and *wa-aš-ḥa* refer to the seeds as well. It seems that the etymological considerations played the primary role in adopting such an interpretation: Melchert reconstructs the stem *inzagan-* as a hypostasis of Proto-Indo-European **en d^hǵ^hom* ‘in(to) the earth’.

Fortunately, the work on the Luwili Project shed more light on the rite under discussion. The parallel passage KBo 29.2 + KUB 35.52 ii 9’ [*za-a-ú-i z*] *i-i-ia-ri* ‘NUMUN^{HA}-*na pu-u-na-[t]a* KÜ.BABBAR-*an* KÜ.GI-*a[n]*’, which became available as a result of a recent join (Sasseville 2020c, 554), can be translated without any doubt: ‘[Here] lie silver, gold, and all the seeds’. Thus, *in-za-ga-a-an wa-aš-ḥa* effectively alternate with KÜ.BABBAR-*an* KÜ.GI-*an* ‘silver (and) gold’ within the same formula. Melchert’s etymological suggestion is in no way undermined: the reconstructed phrase **en d^hǵ^hom* ‘in(to) the earth’ fits equally well as the etymology of a metal. What is defended here with the help of a parallel version is the principle of using the Hittite text for interpreting the appended Luwian incantation. Other things being equal, one should maximize the match between the Hittite and Luwian parts of the same rite. Naturally, this is not a hard and fast rule, but rather a faithfulness constraint, which should always be weighed against other constraints imposed by philology.

On top of the match between the description of the rite and the incantation, there is a higher level of textual organization that contributes to the combinatorial analysis of our corpus. Several rites and key ritual items of the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions are co-referenced in the lists of ritual implements at the beginning of the respective compositions. Such lists again belong to the standard features of the ritual text genre, but in the instance of Hittite-Luwian compositions they acquire a particular exegetic importance. Thus, the interplay of the information available in the lists of ritual implements and the main parts of the ritual texts sheds light on the meaning of the *ikkunatt*-rite and some related Luwian lexemes.

Sasseville (2020c, 562) proposed to analyze the Luwian *ik-ku-wa-a[r]* (KUB 35.72:8’) as the word for ‘liver’ and a cognate of Greek ἥπαρ, Latin *iēcur*, and Vedic *yákr̥t/yaknáḥ*. The combinatorial support for this suggestion is derived from the occurrence of the Sumerogram for ‘liver’, ^{UZU}NÍG.G[IG] in the preceding Hittite paragraph (KUB 35.72:3’). It is formally attractive to treat /ikkuna(i)-/ as a denominative verb based on the oblique stem **ikkun-*, and to analyze *ikkunatt-* ‘(name of a sacrificial rite)’ as a secondary nominal derivative from this verbal stem, borrowed into Hittite.¹⁸ Now, the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice requires one or two sheep for its performance, according to the available lists of ritual implements (see Bo 4388:4’ and KUB 35.18(+)) i 10 respectively). The descriptions of the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice are preserved in a number of tablet fragments, but the most transparent one is arguably KUB 35.78(+) iv 3’–11’, where

18 Differently Sasseville 2020c, 191–93, who operates with the verb /ikkunawa-/ (sic) ‘to make something equate the liver (vel sim.)’. This translation is motivated by the proposed join KUB 35.72 (+) KUB 35.35, which implies that the livers of the ritual patron and an animal have been aligned in the course of the ritual. We believe, however, that the join KUB 35.72 (+) KUB 35.35 is incorrect. The fragments KUB 35.72 and KUB 35.35 are to be assigned to two different ritual texts: CTH 758 and CTH 759 respectively. Compare the discussion below in the editions of the respective fragments.

gen.sg. [*i-ik-ku-n*]*a-at-ta-aš* is preserved in line 8'. We learn from this description that the liver and heart of the sacrificial animal, alongside its raw meat, play an important role in the rite. In fact, the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice is the only rite of the Kuwattalla tradition that refers to liver and heart, which supports the translation of the verb /*ikkuna-*/ as 'to treat with liver' and the interpretation of the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice as the rite of treating gods with liver (among other ingredients). Thus, Sasseville's etymological hypothesis can be confirmed on independent grounds.

Sometimes the meaning of a Luwian lexeme can be established only with the reliance on joins and parallel versions. A case in point concerns the manipulations with a rope in a ritual of the Kuwattalla tradition (CTH 762). The matching Hittite and Luwian forms KUB 32.79:9' [*š*]*u-ma-an-za-an* 'rope' and KBo 29.5:6' *šum-m*[*a-an-ti...*] (restored after KBo 22.254(+) ii 3) occur in the fragments that were shown to belong to the same tablet series (namely a group of tablets written by the same scribe, reflecting the same composition and belonging to the same exemplar of such a composition) based on paleographic analysis. The meaning of the second form has not been elucidated (see Melchert 1993, 196), but it is tempting to take it as the Luwian equivalent of Hitt. *šumanza(n)-*. The demonstration of this hypothesis is contingent upon showing that KBo 29.5 and KUB 32.79 belong to the adjacent parts of the tablet or tablet series¹⁹ and thus may reflect the same rite (or a group of rites linked by a common ritual object). The restoration of the two fragments suggests that KBo 29.5 features the familiar incantation that accompanies the destruction of clay hand and tongue, while KUB 32.79 contains the incantation for the purification of the gods. Now, the recent join KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94 offers evidence that the incantation for the purification of the gods closely follows breaking the clay hand and tongue in a different ritual of the same tradition (CTH 759.3). In the light of this evidence, one can suggest that *šumanza(n)-* 'rope' is deployed immediately after the destruction of the clay hand and tongue and in some way serves the purpose of purifying the gods in CTH 762. In addition, we gain the meaning of the Luwian stem /*summant(i)-*/.

The success of the procedure outlined above is due to the remarkable cohesion of our corpus, which manifests itself at various levels. First, the Luwili Project has shown that it contains a number of undetected joins, such as KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94, which are promptly reported to the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*. Second, the project features numerous fragments that are written in the same hand and belong to the same tablet series without forming joins. While some of these have already been noted in Starke 1985 and others added in the previous versions of the CTH, the bulk of such groups was revealed in the course of the Luwili Project. In particular, we submit that KBo 29.5 and KUB 32.79 belong to the same tablet series as eleven other fragments. Third, our corpus is rich in close parallel versions of the same rites, which can be used for restoration purposes. This is the case of KBo 29.5 and KBo 22.254(+), which reveal a fairly specific version of the incantation accompanying the destruction of clay hand and tongue, despite reflecting very different scribal hands. Fourth, we have

19 The texts of the Kuwattalla tradition usually consist of a series of tablets, whereas those of the Puriyanni tradition always seem to fit on a single tablet each.

four or five basic rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition, definable on the basis of colophons or incipits (see Chapter 3). The texts of these rituals are usually not close enough to each other to be helpful for restoration (except for certain formulae), but they tend to show the same sequence of rites and therefore can be used for structural macro-comparison. Fifth, the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions show remarkable overlap in the use of ritual items. Thus, the reference to *šumanza*- ‘rope’ in KUB 35.54 i 15’ and IBoT 3.96+ ii 8 (CTH 758) add credence to the restoration of [š]u-ma-an-za-an in KUB 32.79:9’.

Naturally, the texts of CTH 758–763 do not have a monopoly on joins and parallel versions, but it is fair to say that they have more of such tools left in stock for philologists than any other group of Hittite-Luwian fragments. They can be contrasted, on the one hand, with the Zarpiya ritual, which is preserved in several duplicates but shows little textual variation, and, on the other hand, with the conjurations of the Tauriša tradition, which are united by common themes and imagery but were not yet assembled into larger units, let alone organized into parallel versions. On top of this, however, the ritual texts edited in this book display an additional peculiarity helpful for intertextual comparison. Two groups of ritual texts notionally lying outside its scope, namely the Tunnawiya tradition (CTH 409) and Maštigga tradition (CTH 404), show non-trivial similarities to the Kuwattalla tradition (CTH 759–763), which can be explained only in terms of non-casual contacts.

As argued in detail in the first part of Chapter 4, the similarities between the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions primarily concern the incantations. One must assume that the original locus of contacts between the two traditions lay outside Ḫattuša, since the Luwian incantations of the Kuwattalla tradition reflect the dialectal norm that is distinct from the Luwian dialect of Ḫattuša. Nevertheless, since the great majority of incantations belonging to CTH 409 were subsequently translated into Hittite, it is possible to use them as exegetical tools for the interpretation of Luwian incantations embedded in CTH 759–763. The pioneer in this domain was Emmanuel Laroche, who established the meanings of a number of Luwian formulae through direct comparison with their Hittite counterparts (see e.g. Laroche 1959, 147–50). For a long time, this line of scholarly research had been neglected, but the Luwili Project revealed additional parallel formulae, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 4. Furthermore, the comparison between the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions can sometimes contribute to understanding Luwian incantations even in the absence of direct formulaic parallels.

To illustrate the last point, it is appropriate to consider the Luwian verbal form *ḫal-li-na-i* (3sg.pres.), which occurs several times in substitution rites of the Kuwattalla tradition and can be combined with body parts matched as subjects and objects. The interpretation of this verb in Melchert 1993, 48 is ‘to be sick, hurt’, while at the early stages of the Luwili Project we entertained the meaning ‘to contaminate’, also reflected in Sasseville 2020c, 530–31. The rationale for the last interpretation was the likely genetic relationship between *ḫal-li-na-i* and the nominal form *ḫal-li-iš-sa*, which occurs in the Puriyanni tradition with the negative meaning ‘defilement’ (vel sim.). The subsequent work on textual restoration, however, showed that the substi-

tute (Luw. *tar-pa-a-aš-ša-aš*) can function as the subject of the *hallinai*-clauses, while the ritual patron can function as its object. The substitute is unlikely to function as a means of contaminating the ritual patron; quite to the contrary, the substitution rite normally serves the purpose of purifying the commissioner of the ritual through the absorption of his miasma. But if *hal-li-na-i* means ‘purifies’ or something similar, how can such a meaning be reconciled with the proposed etymology?

A comparable formula in CTH 409.II offers a solution: KUB 9.34 ii 38 S[AG.DU-*aš-kán* SAG.DU-*aš* GIG-*an*] *kar-ap-du tar-na-aš tar-na-aš-ša* GIG-*an* KI.MIN “may the head lift up > remove the sickness of the head, the skull ditto the sickness of the skull ...” illustrates the possibility of expressing purification of the matched body parts by way of referring to their impurity. The syntax of the Luwian *hallinai*-clauses featuring matched body parts is admittedly different: here we find the construction of the type KUB 35.24+ obv. 14’ [*har-ma*]-‘*hi-iš*’ *har-ma-hi-in hal-l[i-na]-i* “The head *hallina*-es the head ...” (CTH 761). It is, however, perfectly conceivable that the Hittite and Luwian languages use different strategies of conveying the same propositional meaning: in Hittite, ‘lifting up > removing sickness’ was rendered by a verbal phrase (GIG-*an kar-ap-du*), which necessitated the use of genitive for the affected body parts, while in Luwian the matching concept of ‘absorbing defilement’ was expressed by a derived verb, which freed the slot of the direct object for the same body parts. Given that both formulae describe the result of an identical rite—namely, aligning body parts of the ritual patron and substitute animal, they must be taken as functional equivalents, which in turn is conducive to confirming the meaning of *hal-li-na-i* ‘absorbs defilement’. In order to preserve the syntactic correspondence between the relevant Luwian clauses and their English counterparts, we use the less precise semantic equivalent ‘decontaminates’ in the translation of the texts.

The role of the Maštigga tradition in the interpretation of the Kuwattalla tradition is not the same. In this case, the comparison between incantations has some limited impact, but far more important is the structural isomorphism between the two traditions. It turns out that the available fragments of CTH 759–763 largely preserve the same set of rites and many of the same rite sequences as Maštigga’s Ritual against Domestic Quarrels (CTH 404.1). This observation, which came as a surprise in the course of the Luwili Project, is crucial for the analysis of fragmentary passages found in our corpus, as they can sometimes be restored and interpreted on the basis of the better-preserved ritual attributed to Maštigga, the Old Woman of Kizzuwadna. Furthermore, different fragments of CTH 759–763 can frequently be arranged vis-à-vis each other with the help of the fully preserved structural template of CTH 404.1. While the full implications of this remarkable similarity will be addressed in the second part of Chapter 5, here we will limit ourselves to addressing one example of how the Maštigga tradition contributes to making sense of Hittite-Luwian ritual fragments.

A recent join KBo 29.22 + KBo 57.226 (Sasseville 2020c, 558) revealed a Hittite-Luwian passage that seemingly belongs to a substitution rite and yet shows differences in diction from the better-preserved rites of this kind associated with the Kuwattalla tradition. One of its unusual elements is the fragmentary form *ti-iš-ša-aš*-

[...] (line 4'), which is likely to refer to a substitute based on context. There are no Luwian or Hittite lexemes compatible with such a restoration in the Kuwattalla tradition, but Maštigga's Ritual against Domestic Quarrels contains a substitution rite featuring a piece of tallow wrapped in white wool and black wool, which is called *tiššatwa* (KBo 39.8 i 44–49; Miller 2004, 66). The presence of inanimate substitutes in the Kuwattalla tradition receives independent support from the fragment KUB 35.74 (CTH 762) where the mention of ^{UZU}LUDU 'sheep fat, tallow' precedes a Luwian incantation referring to a white sheep. Yet, without the fully preserved rite involving the *tiššatwa*-object made of tallow in CTH 404.1, it would hardly be possible to juxtapose the fragments KBo 29.22 + KBo 57.226 and KUB 35.74 and prove the existence of inanimate objects functioning as substitutes in CTH 759–763.

The selection of examples given above does not exhaust the typology of textual parallels that are relevant for the interpretation of the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions. We hope, however, that these examples suffice to demonstrate that intertextual comparison has a potential to complement the previous contributions to the study of the Luwian language, at least as far as our texts are concerned. As noted in Section 1.1, our focus on quasi-bilinguals harks back to the earlier breakthroughs in the field of Luwian Studies, which were based on the study of bilingual or digraphic inscriptions. The results that we present for your attention in the present section and elsewhere in the book may look less impressive, because they pertain to an advanced stage in the study, but they would still be impossible without the application of similar methods.

1.5 LINGUISTIC AND PHILOLOGICAL CONVENTIONS

The publication of Hittite-Luwian fragments undertaken in this book continues the tradition of the commented editions of Boğazköy texts and, as such, follows most conventions that are typical of such editions. Below we would like to dwell on some choices and idiosyncrasies in this area, which partly stem from the subject matter of this edition and partly reflect the academic backgrounds of one or both of its authors.

The narrow (sign-by-sign) transliteration of Hittite and Luwian forms mostly follows the modern conventions of StBoT. We use the italic capitals not only for the Akkadograms but also for the stem forms of proper nouns—for example, ^fKU-WA-AT-TAL-LA. The rationale for such a convention is the observation that the stem-forms prototypically occur in heterographic expressions—for example, KUB 35.41 iv 3'-4' 'A'-WA-AT ^fŠI-LA-AL-LU-HI 'U' ^fKU-WA-AT-TAL-LA ^{MUNUS}SU^{HUR}.LA₅ 'The word of Šilallu^{hi} and Kuwattalla, the female attendant'.²⁰ The same convention was previously used in other StBoT volumes, namely Oettinger 1976 and crucially Starke 1985, where most of the texts published here were previously edited in transliteration. The Sumerogram of plurality is transliterated HÁ rather than HLA, thus following the HZl (259, no. 335).

²⁰ For the similarities between the stem-forms of proper nouns and Akkadograms, see further Kudrinski 2017b, 117–18.

The Hittitological transcription (known as bound transcription in Hittitological circles) is used for Hittite forms, as well as for Luwian forms in those cases where they are addressed as technical terms (e.g. *dupaduparša*-ritual, *hallinai*-clauses). Furthermore, the Luwian forms are cited in Hittitological transcription in the glossary, in order to be able to keep the same alphabet in both its Hittite and Luwian sections.²¹ In other cases, the Luwian bound forms are given in linguistic transcription—for example, /tubadubarsa/ rather than *dupaduparša*. The ultimate rationale between the different systems of rendering the Hittite and Luwian lexemes is that the Hittite texts are always attested in cuneiform transmission, whereas the Luwian forms also occur in hieroglyphic transmission; therefore, the representation of the latter requires a common denominator that is independent from a particular writing system. In our case, this consideration plays a subsidiary role, since the hieroglyphic texts are not edited in this book. The different ways of referring to Hittite and Luwian forms, however, are useful as a handy reminder that we are dealing with bilingual texts. In other words, the difference between the Hittitological transcription and linguistic transcription in the commentary serves the same function as the difference between roman (upright) and italic (slanted) fonts used for rendering Luwian and Hittite transliterated forms respectively, in the main text of the edition.

The conventions of Luwian linguistic transcription are partly similar to those implemented in the Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts²² and branded “interpretative transliteration” in Yakubovich 2015a. We refer the readers to the last source, in particular to Sections 4.2 and 5.1, for the phonetic-graphic interface and phonological inventory respectively. Yet, since linguistic transcription must strive to approximate phonetic reality using a universal notation, we made additional changes that reflect the emerging consensus about the pronunciation of individual Luwian phonemes. Thus, we use /x/ instead of /h/ in most positions; /-y-/ instead of /-h-/ between vowels; /ts-/ instead of /z-/; /-zz-/ instead of /-zz-/; /k^w/ instead of /kw/; /g^w/ instead of /gw/; and /j/ instead of /y/. For example, we transcribe /k^wis-xa/ instead of /kwis-ha/ ‘anyone’ and /tsaja/ instead of /zaya/ ‘these’. We realize that these conventions may be unusual for scholars with training in Cuneiform Studies but not in Linguistics, yet they are unlikely to cause any confusion, since the citations of transcribed Luwian forms normally follow their instantiations in transliteration. On the positive side, we believe that introducing the Luwian linguistic transcription to broad circles of Hittitologists and Ancient Near Eastern scholars has certain educational value.

The morphological representation of Hittite forms follows the established best practices and does not require special comments. In the case of the Luwian forms, we follow the representation of Luwian nominal and verbal stems suggested in Yakubovich 2015a and elaborated in the course of the eDiAna project (for the verbal stems, see also Sasseville 2020c). These representations are equally applicable to forms in

21 A special convention concerns Appendix I: there the Luwian forms are cited in Hittitological transcription in the case of numbered examples without morphological annotation, and in linguistic transcription in the case of the annotated numbered examples.

22 <http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/>.

linguistic transcription and Hittitological transcription. They imply, for example, that the word for ‘hand’ is transliterated here as *iššar(i)-*, as opposed to *iš(ša)ra/i-* in Melchert 1993, 95. The notation of Luwian verbal stems in our book, but not in Melchert 1993, distinguishes where possible between the verbs of *i-*, *ti-*, and *di-*conjugations. The readers should pay careful attention to the existing differences in Luwian morphological notation, which reflect divergent approaches to the grammatical description as a whole rather than disagreements on the analysis of individual forms.

Italics are used in translation for marking the Hittite and Luwian technical terms—for example, *dupaduparša*-ritual, *ikkunatt*-sacrifice. They are also occasionally deployed for marking the translations of Hittite lexemes with less than assured meanings. In contrast, we chose not to mark the degree of reliability of Luwian translations, relegating the relevant discussion to the commentary. The reason for such a decision is not our complete confidence in the proposed interpretations; quite to the contrary, it is the sense of humility with regard to the task of translating from a language that has not yet been fully understood. A mere glance at our commentaries will be sufficient to appreciate the range of contexts where our translations from Luwian reflect original research, subject to the critical evaluation of other scholars. In a comparable number of instances, the meaning of a word is suggested based on a limited number of contexts, or there are tensions between the contextual and etymological meanings. Under such conditions, special marking of controversial cases would make little sense unless one evaluates every Luwian word on a scale of reliability and introduces a complicated multi-dimensional notation.

The Luwian dialect of CTH 758–763 was labelled Kizzuwadna Luwian in Yakubovich 2010a, and this label has found considerable following in recent years (see e.g. Melchert 2013b, 159–60; Rieken 2017a, 301–2; Giusfredi 2018, 80). It is appropriate, however, to stress that not all the incantations displaying the linguistic features of Kizzuwadna Luwian are necessarily to be linked with the land of Kizzuwadna (classical Cilicia). The dearth of Luwian textual material demonstrably associated with the Lower Land (southern part of Central Anatolia) makes it impossible to distinguish between the Luwian dialects of Kizzuwadna and the Lower Land on linguistic grounds. While most of the rituals associated with the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions lack specific text-internal attribution, it has already been mentioned that they display specific textual links with both the Tunnawiya tradition, usually attributed to the Lower Land, and the Maštigga tradition, firmly grounded in Kizzuwadna. A common linguistic feature of the Kuwattalla, Maštigga, Puriyanni, and Tunnawiya traditions is the proleptic construction (see Appendix II). The Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions exhibit it in Luwian incantations, while the ritual texts attributed to Tunnawiya and Maštigga calqued it in their incantations that were translated into Hittite. The combination of these factors suggests that, pending further evidence, the linguistic term Kizzuwadna Luwian can also be applied to the dialect of the Lower Land. This modification does not affect the transparent distinction between Kizzuwadna Luwian and the Luwian dialect of Ḫattuša and its vicinity.²³

23 For a more in-depth discussion of the problems treated in this paragraph, see Mouton and Yakubovich 2021.

The reconstructed Proto-Indo-European forms are cited using standard conventions, which will not be specially addressed in this chapter. It might be appropriate, however, to stress that comparative and etymological information plays a subsidiary role in this book and is adduced only in those cases where it directly contributes to the interpretation of the text. Such an approach aims at avoiding duplication of the *Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages* and the new edition of the *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*, currently in preparation by H. Craig Melchert. The formal cooperation with the eDiAna project and informal exchange of opinions with H. Craig Melchert gave us an opportunity to communicate our new translations to both these lexicographic projects. Furthermore, many of them have already been published as separate papers (see e.g. Yakubovich 2017/2018; Mouton and Yakubovich 2019; Yakubovich 2019) or will be published in the near future.

Turning to philological matters, our edition of CTH 758–763 shows that this corpus is so fragmentary in character that it prevents us from reconstructing entire tablets. Under these circumstances, it is still difficult if not impossible to affirm whether we are dealing with exact duplicates or with parallel versions, since textual overlaps can be only partially observed. In fact, whenever the tablet fragments are large enough to provide a wider reconstruction, it seems that we are dealing with parallel versions rather than exact duplicates. To this observation, we should add another one: since the entire corpus of cuneiform texts in Luwian language is not very large, each orthographic or linguistic variation is precious to us. In practice, this means that each tablet is edited separately, and the round bracket notation for supplying the missing content on the basis of an allegedly exact duplicate tablet is absent in our edition. This approach is different from the practice adopted in Starke 1985, where the round bracket notation is extensively used. This discrepancy should in itself be sufficient to show that our decision to avoid interpreting these tablets as exact duplicates is rooted in our respective research frameworks and priorities. According to Starke, CTH 758–763 can be divided into a finite number of texts, while the variation between different versions of the same text seems to be perceived as information noise, which impedes the main task of restoring their content and is to be filtered by philological methods. This approach reflects the Hittitological mainstream of the 20th century and is ultimately rooted in the aspirations of Classical philologists to restore the textual archetype associated with a specific Greek or Roman author by removing scribal corruption. In contrast, the new approach to the study of Hittite texts, inaugurated in Miller 2004 and Christiansen 2006, emphasizes that every tablet or tablet series is unique, and the study of scribal adaptations is inherently of no less interest and sometimes of more intrinsic value than the restoration of the “standard” version of a particular Hittite ritual text.

The ramifications of the new approach for the classification of ritual traditions have already been addressed in Section 1.2 above. Here we would like to focus on their practical implications for textual restoration, using the small fragment KUB 35.42 as an example. According to Starke (1985, 148), this is the duplicate of KUB 35.43 ii 12–19, and all the lines of KUB 35.42 are fully restored using the round brackets. In

particular, the Luwian verb *la-at-ta* ‘he took’ is restored in KUB 35.42:6’, even though the reduplicated form *la-a-la-a[t-ta]* ‘he took’ occurs in the parallel clause KUB 35.42:7’. In the matching passage KUB 35.43+ ii 17–18, we find *la-at-ta* in both clauses. Thus, Starke’s analysis privileges the restoration based on an alleged duplicate over the internal structural parallelism, which is arguably a consequence of the round bracket notation. Now, Detlev Groddek identified KUB 35.42 as belonging to the same tablet or tablet series as KUB 34.62 + KBo 34.247 + KUB 32.14,²⁴ while *la-[a-la-at-ta]* is a better restoration than *la-[at-ta]* for space reasons in line 4’ of KUB 34.62+. Furthermore, the reduplicated form ‘*la’-la-at-’ta*’ is attested in the same formula in KUB 35.43+ iii 23’—that is to say, on the alleged duplicate of KUB 35.42—although in a different rite. Therefore, the restoration of *la-a-la-at-ta* in KUB 35.42:6’ emerges as the default option, even though it undermines the notion that KUB 35.42 and KUB 35.43+ ii 12–19 are exact duplicates.

But the problem does not end here. The fragment KUB 34.62 + KBo 34.247 + KUB 32.14 features *BE-EL SISKUR* (variant: ^{LÜ}*BE-EL SISKUR*) as the designation of the ritual patron. Since *BE-EL SISKUR* rarely alternates with *EN SISKUR* or *EN SISKUR* within the same tablet or tablet series (see Appendix I), one would expect the restoration of *BE-EL SISKUR* in KUB 35.42, if this fragment indeed once belonged to the same tablet series as KUB 34.62+. In contrast, KUB 35.43+ consistently deploys the Sumerogram *EN SISKUR*; thus, pursuing the duplicate hypothesis, one would also be tempted to restore [*EN SISKUR*]R in KUB 35.42:8’. Starke prefers the third option and restores [*EN SISKUR*]R, which lacks obvious philological motivation. The whole question may ultimately be moot, however, because the presence of the ‘ritual patron’ in the restored lines of KUB 35.42 is by no means guaranteed. Starke restored the final Hittite line 8’ on this passage on the assumption that it is the exact duplicate of KUB 35.43+ ii 19 and thus belongs to a substitution rite involving a white sheep. Yet, this conjecture is unprovable, because the preceding Luwian incantation (KUB 35.42:1’–7’) is in no way linked to a white sheep, but it would be quite appropriate in any substitution rite. On a more practical note, Starke’s reading of KUB 35.42:8’ as [... *EN SISKUR*]R ‘*an’-d[a ...]*’ does not stand close scrutiny, since the alleged DA sign begins with a vertical; we prefer the reading [...]*x* ‘*DINGIR*^{MES}’ *x* [...], which does not match anything in KUB 35.43+ ii 19 and thus speaks against treating KUB 35.42 as a duplicate of KUB 35.43+ ii 17–19.

The necessarily technical discussion above provides an illustration of how looking for duplicates among the small fragments may lead to wishful thinking. At the same time, most of Starke’s restorations offered in connection with KUB 35.42 hold up perfectly, even without reliance on a specific duplicate. The formulae such as ‘I have made it run to his left, so that it took his sinisterness. I have made it run to his right, so that it took his evil terror’ can freely re-emerge at various points in the Kuwattalla tradition and, as we shall see below, can even be shared between the Kuwattalla and Tunnawiya traditions. Far from exercising skepticism for the sake of skepticism, we effectively offer an alternative restoration strategy for our corpus: the scope of comparison conducive to filling in the lacunae is no longer a particular tablet or tablet se-

²⁴ See *Konkordanz sub* KUB 32.14.

ries but rather, as the case may be, a specific rite, incantation, or collocation. The best practice for indicating such parallels seems to be listing them in the commentary to the specific restored passages. Such a practice, unlike the round bracket notation, leaves room for variation between parallel passages, such as *la-at-ta* vs. *la-a-la-at-ta* ‘took’ in the incantation quoted above.

Hittitologists commonly operate with the distinction between direct and indirect joins. When two fragments are directly joined, they become one fragment, physically or virtually. The verification of direct joins is usually unproblematic, at least if the original fragments are available. The closer indirect joins can be further subdivided into horizontal and vertical, with typologically meaningful consequences. If a horizontal indirect join is extensive enough, it is usually possible to reconstruct the textual content of several lines running between the joined pieces, thus verifying their relative placement. A recent example of such a join within our corpus is KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94 (CTH 759). The vertical joins do not share lines of text, and their physical arrangement vis-à-vis one another is normally possible only in those cases when there is a duplicate or parallel version overlapping with both upper and lower pieces. Thus, in the instance of KUB 35.16 (+) KUB 35.14 (CTH 760), the parallel versions KBo 29.9 and KUB 32.8(+) help to demonstrate that the distance between the two joined fragments is hardly more than one to two lines.

The grey area begins with those fragments belonging to the same tablet, the distance between which cannot be evaluated. As an example, which comes from the workshop of the Luwili Project, one can consider the join KBo 53.228 (+) KBo 60.32 (CTH 758). Both fragments can be identified on independent grounds as belonging to the Puriyanni ritual and can be ordered vis-à-vis each other, while the paleographic analysis strongly points toward the identification of the same scribal hand. Yet, judging by other tablets of the Puriyanni tradition, the fragments hardly belong to the same column. Assigning them to columns two and three respectively is the most likely solution, but it cannot be proven either, because parallel versions of the Puriyanni ritual may vary in the distribution of rites across columns. This means in practice that such an indirect join cannot be regarded as either vertical or horizontal and generally cannot be drawn. Yet, as long as we can assume that all the compositions of the Puriyanni tradition consist of just one tablet, KBo 53.228 (+) KBo 60.32 can still formally be regarded as a join.

In contrast, the Kuwattalla tradition offers many instances of fragments that reflect the same tablet series but demonstrably belong to different tablets or cannot be proven to belong to a single tablet. The clearest case is that of KUB 35.41 and KUB 35.40, which are assigned to the eighth and ninth tablets respectively according to their colophons and reflect the same tablet series of the *dupaduparša*-ritual, characterized by the peculiar orthography *du-pi-du-pa-ar-ša* (CTH 759.2). Furthermore, the indirect vertical join KUB 35.94 (+) KUB 35.83 can be assigned to the same tablet series on paleographic grounds: it can belong to the eighth tablet, the ninth tablet or, no less likely, to a different tablet of the same series. On the one hand, there is no justification for assigning exactly the same CTH entry to KUB 35.41, KUB 35.40, and KUB 35.94 (+) KUB 35.83, as if they were indirect joins; on the other hand, it seems necessary to

distinguish such groups from the parallel versions of the same ritual. Toward this end, we have introduced the notation involving small letters—that is, KUB 35.94 (+) KUB 35.83 = CTH 759.2.a, KUB 35.41 = CTH 759.2.b, and KUB 35.40 = CTH 759.2.c. The order of letters corresponds to the perceived order of fragments within the tablet series, whenever a judgment on this subject is at all possible.

Another way of underscoring the distinction between different kinds of joins (and non-joins) is the convention concerning the use of the prime adopted in this book. It is an established Hittitological practice to increase the prime in the instance of line numbers belonging to the same column, which are separated by lacunae of uncertain length (e.g. 1-x [lacuna] 1'-x' [lacuna] 1"-x" etc.). The prime, however, is not increased if the indirectly joined fragments are assumed to belong to different columns, as in the case of KUB 7.14(+) (CTH 758). The fragment KUB 7.14 is anchored at the beginning of column one and therefore begins with line 1, while the fragments KBo 29.2 + KUB 35.52, KUB 35.53, and VS NF 12.60 demonstrably begin in the middle of columns two, three, and four respectively, and therefore their numbering begins with line 1' in all three cases. In contrast, if elements of an indirect join cannot be assigned to specific columns, the prime is still increased, as if they belonged to the same column. This is the case of the above-mentioned fragments KBo 53.228 and KBo 60.32, which are assigned lines beginning with 1' and 1" respectively. Finally, in the instance of elements belonging to the same tablet series but not necessarily forming an indirect join, the prime is obviously not increased, since the lines are technically attributed to different tablets of the same series.

It is obviously easier to follow all the proposed conventions if one turns to the edition of the relevant fragments. The purpose of outlining them together in this section is to summarize the specific challenges that reflect the subject matter of the Luwili Project. First, our corpus is dominated by the bilingual texts; second, these texts are organized into parallel versions displaying a considerable degree of variation vis-à-vis each other; and third, many compositions consist of several tablets and can be pieced together only on the basis of paleographic analysis. The Hittitologists who will be facing similar challenges in the future are invited to review the proposed set of conventions with regard to its applicability to their own work and suggest their own refinements.

2. IDENTIFYING JOINS AND ASSEMBLING TABLET SERIES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The goal of this chapter is to provide arguments for treating together the fragments of Hittite-Luwian ritual texts that were considered separately in previous scholarship, or, in rarer cases, for disputing the joins advanced in earlier publications. Most modern editions of Anatolian cuneiform texts introduce the new joins in passing, while the online concordance of the *Hethitologie-Portal Mainz* was considered the designated place for reporting such discoveries for the last twenty or so years. The reason we have found it necessary to deviate from the established practice, and also to duplicate in part the information found in the textual edition below, has to do with the nature of our data. Only in a few cases did the Luwili Project yield new direct joins, such as KBo 22.137 + KBo 29.4, KBo 39.180 + KUB 35.104+, IBoT 3.96 + ABoT 2.241 + ABoT 2.237, and KUB 35.71 + KUB 35.31.²⁵ In the majority of cases, our identifications range from indirect joins to fragments belonging to different tablets of the same tablet series (for a more nuanced discussion of different options, see Section 2.5). Such hypotheses cannot be verified on the spot to everyone's satisfaction and require detailed argumentation, while in extreme cases they remain probabilistic.

The key procedure that enabled us to move forward with joining and classifying the fragments of CTH 758–763 was the identification of scribal hands. Since the days when the photographs of cuneiform fragments from Hattuša first became publicly available at the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*, it has become a standard procedure to test the possible joins by way of drawing paleographic charts for the joined fragments and establishing whether they may belong to the same scribe. The Luwili Project availed itself of paleographic information in a more rigorous fashion: all the major fragments of our corpus were classified for scribal hands, and then those reflecting the same hand were evaluated for additional similarities. In many instances, we could argue on independent grounds that such fragments also reflect the same tablet series, while in a smaller group of cases they turned out to reflect different tablet series, or

25 One of the reasons for such a state of affairs is that at the very start of the Luwili Project, our colleague David Sasseville undertook independent efforts aimed at joining Luwian cuneiform fragments and was able to identify a larger number of direct joins, which he promptly communicated to the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* and also reported in his publications. His results demonstrated how much work remains to be done in this area and thus provided inspiration for our own efforts. Unfortunately, Sasseville was not able to collate the relevant fragments in the Ankara museum, while some of his joins did not find confirmation through our subsequent analysis. This is, for example, the case of two among the nine new joins listed in Sasseville 2020c, 553: the collation revealed the physically incompatibility of KBo 29.58 and KUB 60.36, while KUB 35.72 and KUB 35.35 are written in different hands and appear to belong to different compositions (see Fig. 2.6 and Fig. 2.25 below).

even different compositions, despite the paleographic similarities. This, of course, is the expected outcome: it is quite conceivable that the same scribe was responsible for several Hittite-Luwian ritual texts, or for several versions of the same text. Nevertheless, given that the last scenario is rare,²⁶ we assume that Hittite fragments written by the same scribe and showing indications of belonging to the same composition also belong to the same tablet series unless there is evidence to the contrary.

So far as we can judge, paleographic analysis on such a scale has not yet been undertaken in connection with the philological edition of cuneiform texts from Boğazköy. Given the novelty of our approach, we felt it incumbent upon ourselves to document it in concrete visual terms. This is the purpose of 27 paleographic charts illustrating different scribal hands, each represented by more than one fragment. The charts are placed immediately after this chapter. Since it would take too much space and time to describe every paleographic analogy or dissemblance for each chart, only the most characteristic signs are addressed in the text of the chapter. The description of the most characteristic paleographic features reflected in each chart is immediately followed by the evaluation of these findings in the light of contextual and other data.²⁷

The greatest challenge for the paleographic analysis comes from the Middle Script fragments, whose sign shapes are generally very similar. The scribal hands of the Middle Script period, therefore, are more difficult to identify than those of the bulk of New Script hands. This observation goes hand in hand with the fact that many Middle Script fragments are quite tiny and their surface is badly worn away. With all these points of caution in mind, we suggest that our paleographic analysis of the Middle Script fragments should be taken as tentative. Fortunately, in a number of cases this deficiency can be compensated through contextual and physical similarities.

The proposed analysis arguably represents an approach whose significance goes beyond the Luwili Project. Indeed, there is no reason why it cannot be undertaken with respect to other groups of Boğazköy texts featuring numerous copies and/or parallel versions, with similar results for the improvement of their classification. Furthermore, once paleographic classification is performed for several corpora, this can be conducive to the comparison of scribal hands across the respective groups and beyond them. If feasible, the holistic classification of scribal hands in Hattuša has obvious practical advantages. On the one hand, the paleographic identification of tablets with and without colophons can allow scholars to assign the latter to the known scribes and thus significantly extend our knowledge about their prosopography. On the other hand, even if the name of the scribe remains unknown, a set of different texts

26 The only assured case of two tablet series reflecting the same composition and belonging to the same scribe in our corpus are CTH 762.1 and CTH 762.2, both showing the hand of Pariziti (see under Fig. 2.23 below). An additional likely case is that of KUB 60.36 vs. KBo 29.58 (see under Fig. 2.25 below), but in this case we cannot be fully assured that these two fragments reflect the same scribal hand.

27 We hasten to add that the paleographic identifications suggested in this book are not exclusively based on this subset but also take into account others signs appearing in the charts. Our selection of signs for the charts is deliberately larger than the list of so-called diagnostic signs used for dating tablet fragments. The larger the selection of signs is, the easier the identification of each scribal hand becomes. In an attempt to avoid any bias, we offer the complete list of characteristic signs or their clusters.

attributed to the hand of the same individual can teach us a lot about the relative chronology of Hittite compositions. Finally, establishing the scribal hands of fragments of uncertain textual attribution may restrict the options in assigning their CTH numbers and even help in joining them. In particular, we expect that more Hittite fragments that are currently grouped under CTH 470 and CTH 500 can be assigned to CTH 758–763 once they are shown to reflect one of the scribal hands treated below.

2.2 ANALYSIS

The discussion below follows the figure number of paleographic charts, which are in turn ordered according to the occurrence of the respective fragments (or the first among those fragments) in the text edition. It covers all the new joins reached in the course of the Luwili Project, except for KUB 35.71 + KUB 35.31, because this direct join, which has been physically verified at the Ankara museum, does not require paleographic verification, and there seem to be no other fragments reflecting the same scribal hand in our corpus.

Fig. 2.1: The DU sign of KUB 35.54, KUB 35.15 and KUB 35.65 has a wedge (*Winkelhaken*) on top of the horizontal elements, which tends to be placed quite close to the head of the upper horizontal element. The left vertical element of the E sign is much shorter than the right one. The wedges of the NA sign are obliquely aligned and often form a continuous oblique line. The vertical elements of the RU sign are located very much apart from each other, the middle vertical element being significantly shorter than the other two. The wedge placed before the vertical elements of the RU sign has its frontal tip looking downward. The RU sign, therefore, is significantly different from that of Fig. 2.17 (fragments of one-column Middle Script tablets). The RA sign is probably the most characteristic sign of this scribe, featuring a large empty space between the middle horizontal and left vertical elements. The shape of this RA sign resembles that of Fig. 2.13, but the empty space is absent from the latter. Furthermore, the ḪA sign of Fig. 2.1 shows wedges whose lower extremity is extended toward the bottom. This feature, as well as the oblique alignment of the wedges of the NA sign, as per the discussion above, constitute additional differences from Fig. 2.13. Therefore, although the signs in Fig. 2.13 and Fig. 2.1 share several features in common, they still reflect different hands. They may emanate from scribes belonging to the same circle.

Despite the identity of the scribal hands, one can positively claim that KUB 35.54 reflects a different composition from KUB 35.15 and KUB 35.65: in the first case we are dealing with the best-preserved tablet of the Puriyanni tradition, while in the second we can safely identify the two fragments as belonging to the Kuwattalla tradition. In view of this fact, the hypothesis that KUB 35.15 and KUB 35.65 belong to the same tablet series does not impose itself. There are, in fact, indications that KUB 35.65 reflects a very particular version of the Kuwattalla tradition, featuring a bull and a ram among the ritual items and /xaradar-/ ‘offence’ and /waskulimm(a)-/ ‘fault’ as the main set of miasma (see Section 3.6), while KUB 35.15 refers to a more usual triad

of /tabaru-/ , /tadarijamman-/ , and /xirun/d-/ . Therefore, despite the reference to the *nakkušši*-rite in both KUB 35.15 and KUB 35.65, we interpret them as belonging to two different versions of the Kuwattalla tradition. It is possible that the scribe of the three Middle Script fragments under discussion specialized in Hittite-Luwian ritual texts—for example, due to his good command of the Kizzuwadna dialect of Luwian—and therefore was asked to copy/record several of them.

Fig. 2.2: The scribal hand of KUB 7.14(+) is recognizable by its peculiar A sign, with a very thin and shorter left vertical element and a higher right vertical element with a very large head. The same structure can also be observed in the E and IA signs. The head of the vertical elements is slanted, as well as those of the horizontal elements. The HA sign is quite short with two wedges placed at the middle height of the vertical elements. The TI sign is one of the most recognizable signs of this scribe, with its very short structure, slanted heads, and the wedge placed under the central vertical element.

The fragments KUB 7.14, KBo 29.2+, KUB 35.53, and VS NF 12.60 can all be assigned to the Puriyanni tradition on the basis of their diction. KUB 7.14 and VS NF 12.60 feature direct references to Puriyanni, while KBo 29.2+ and KUB 35.53 contain parallel versions of the passages known from KUB 35.54. In addition, KUB 7.14, KBo 29.2+, and KUB 35.53 demonstrably belong to the version of the ritual featuring first-person references to the performer. Because the layout of KUB 35.54 indicates that the text of Puriyanni's ritual against the impurity in the house fits on a single tablet, all four pieces can be treated as indirect joins, belonging to columns one, two, three, and four respectively. Note that KUB 35.52 and KUB 35.53 had already been treated as belonging to the same tablet in Starke 1985, 63–64.

Fig. 2.3: The scribe of KBo 22.137+ makes short and large signs, as is the case of A, E, IA and ZA. The top wedge of the WA sign crosses the head of the vertical element with its right horizontal element often touching the vertical element.

The fragments KUB 35.47, KBo 22.137, and KBo 29.4 can all be assigned to the Puriyanni tradition on the basis of their diction. KUB 35.47 contains a characteristic incantation accompanying purification with water and salt, while KBo 22.137 and KBo 29.4 refer to the Storm-god of the Open Country. Because Puriyanni's ritual against impurity always fits on a single tablet, we initially assumed that all the four pieces form indirect joins, despite being unable to determine the distance between the fragments on the vertical axis. The collation of the relevant fragments in the Ankara museum brought about a gratifying surprise—namely, the direct vertical join KBo 22.137 + KBo 29.4—thus confirming the proposed paleographic identifications.²⁸

Fig. 2.4: The scribe of IBoT 3.96+ and KBo 29.53 tends to make A signs with a left vertical element that is thin and sometimes slightly curved, whereas the right vertical element features large and flat heads. Many more vertical elements of signs associ-

28 Contrast Otten's tentative hypothesis that KBo 29.3 and KBo 29.4 belong to the same tablet, which was problematic from the perspective of paleography as well as of content, and which furthermore delayed for a long time the recognition of the direct join KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45 belonging to a text of the Kuwattalla tradition (Sasseville 2020b, 112).

ated with this scribe also feature large and flat heads—for example, ŠA/TA, AN, E, and IŠ/UŠ. This peculiarity, compounded with the longer HA and ZA signs and a wedge on top of the DU sign, is what clearly distinguishes the scribe under discussion from that of Fig. 2.7, whose sign shapes are otherwise quite close and who may have come from the same scribal circle. Furthermore, the ŠA and TA signs in Fig. 2.4 feature a top wedge with a longer upper end, whose tip looks slightly downward. The WA sign has two wedges that are obliquely aligned with one another, the upper wedge being closer to the vertical element.

The fragments IBoT 3.96, ABoT 2.237, and ABoT 2.241 were all identified as parts of the Puriyanni tradition on the basis of their content before we were able to ascertain that they belong to the same tablet on the basis of their ductus (in particular, the WA sign). Once this step had been made, we quickly arrived at the direct join IBoT 3.96 + ABoT 2.241 and the indirect join involving these two and ABoT 2.237, which eventually turned into another direct join thanks to physical collation at the Ankara museum. In contrast, KBo 29.53 can be alternatively assigned to the Puriyanni or Kuwattalla traditions on the basis of its content, and even if one chooses the former option, it is not immediately conducive to determining its place on the tablet. Therefore, we have not affirmed its indirect join with IBoT 3.96+ (see the edition of CTH 763.3.1).

Fig. 2.5: The scribal hand of KBo 53.228 and KBo 60.32 is one of the most recognizable of our corpus, because of its slender signs; see for example the small distance between the vertical elements of the EN sign, as well as the horizontal elements of the LA and RA signs. The head of the top horizontal element tends to be much larger than the others, as is the case of the DA, IT, AD, LA, IŠ/UŠ, and Ū signs. The outlook of the TI sign, with its horizontal element positioned under the central vertical element and large wedge on the right, is also noteworthy.

Both KBo 53.228 and KBo 60.32 can be assigned to the text of Puriyanni's ritual against impurity in the house on the basis of their content. The former fragment shows a non-trivial overlap with the second column of IBoT 3.96+, including the rare verb *pu-uš-ša-i[z-zī]*, while the latter fragment contains a characteristic incantation accompanying purification with water and salt. Because Puriyanni's ritual against impurity always fits on a single tablet, an indirect join remains a default hypothesis, even though in this case one cannot calculate the physical distance between the two fragments.

Fig. 2.6: The paleographic data do not yield support to the indirect horizontal join KUB 35.72 (+) KUB 35.35 offered in Sasseville 2020c, 561–62. The A sign of KUB 35.35 is short and its two vertical elements are far apart. This is not the case for the A sign of KUB 35.72, whose vertical elements are closer to each other as well as longer. Although the RA sign of KUB 35.72 is partly damaged, one can see that the horizontal elements of the left part of the sign reach above the head of the left vertical element. The RA sign of KUB 35.35 looks quite different, since its horizontal elements are placed much lower. The NU sign of KUB 35.35 shows the tip of the oblique element going across the head of the horizontal element, which is not the case of the NU sign of KUB 35.72, where the oblique element is positioned further to the right. Although

there are very few signs to compare between these two tablet fragments, these observations suggest that we are dealing with two distinct scribal hands.²⁹

The proposed indirect join also cannot derive support through contextual argumentation. KUB 35.72 refers to the Storm-god of the Open Country and therefore can be safely assigned to the Puriyanni tradition (see further the edition of CTH 758.5). The textual attribution of KUB 35.35 is less assured, but the reference to raw meat represents a link between this fragment and the *dupaduparša*-ritual (see further the edition of CTH 759.11). The only assured lexical similarity between the two fragments is the mention of Luw. *ik-ku-wa-a[r]* ‘liver’ in KUB 35.72 vs. the derived adjective *ik-ku-na-a-an-ti-^ren*’ in KUB 35.35, but it has no value for the classification of the latter fragment, because the *ikkunatt*-rite, another derivative of the Luwian word for ‘liver’, is independently attested in the Kuwattalla tradition, including in the *dupaduparša*-ritual.

Fig. 2.7: The HA, AN, ŠA/TA, IA, and ZI signs of KBo 39.181 and the related fragments have short vertical elements. The unique wedge of the DA sign is placed midway along the horizontal elements, and there is sometimes an empty space between the wedge and the vertical element. The proximity of the scribal hand of KBo 39.181(+) to that of Fig. 2.4 and the very symmetric wedges of its IN, NA, and ZI signs might suggest a Middle Script dating.

The joins KBo 39.181 (+) KBo 39.180 and KUB 35.104 + KUB 35.120 had already been made before the start of the Luwili Project (see the edition of CTH 758.6). Both pairs of fragments share the reference to the *ilwatiyati*-breads and thus could be assigned to Puriyanni’s ritual against the impurity of the house once the same bread was identified in KUB 7.14 i 12. On the basis of paleographic similarities, it became possible to hypothesize that the two pairs of joined fragments belong to the same tablet—that is, form an additional indirect join, with uncertain distance between the fragments. The inspection of the fragments in the Ankara museum confirmed and refined this hypothesis, yielding the direct join KBo 39.180 + KUB 35.104.

Figs 2.8 and 2.9 show the hand of Ziti II, son of NU.GIŠ.SAR I and member of Anuwanza’s scribal circle (see Gordin 2015, 179–80 for more details). Ziti II’s hand is identified through tablet fragments showing his name on their colophons (including those not edited in this book) in Fig. 2.8, while all the other fragments of our corpus sharing the same ductus are presented in Fig. 2.9. Thanks to these two paleographic charts, one can summarize the characteristics of Ziti II’s hand in some detail. The first vertical element of the A sign is sometimes slightly curved. The horizontal elements of the PA sign are situated very close to the head of the vertical element and have a longer part on the right side. The head of the lower horizontal element slopes to the right. The KI sign is tiny, featuring one large wedge right in front of its structure. The inscribed vertical element of the ŠA sign is small and shifted toward the left edge of

29 The shape of the WA, IŠ, and NA signs of KUB 35.72 prompt us to suggest that this fragment reflects Middle Script. The dating of KUB 35.35 is less obvious, but the shape of its NA sign reminds us of that of Middle Script fragments. Several features of KUB 35.72 remind us of the fragments of Fig. 2.18. However, the AR sign of KUB 35.72 does not show a very high and oblique wedge on its left side. KUB 35.72 also differs from the fragments in Fig. 2.13 through the curved shape of the lower horizontal element of its NI, I, and PA signs, as well as through its RA sign.

the sign. The right wedge of the HA sign is raised quite high up, whereas its left wedge is almost invisible. The right horizontal element of the GI sign is placed very obliquely. The left vertical element of the UN sign is quite remote from its other two vertical elements. The AL sign is large, with one lower horizontal element. The wedge of the RU sign slants toward the left, while the wedges of the ZI sign form a triangle.

According to the colophon of KUB 35.41, Ziti II is responsible for the eighth tablet of the *dupaduparša*-ritual (spelled *du-pí-du-pa-ar-š[a]*). The fragment KUB 35.40, also attributed to his hand, contains a colophon of the ninth tablet of the *dupaduparša*-ritual and features the same unusual spelling *du-pí-du-pa-ar-[ša]*, which is a strong argument for the two fragments reflecting the same tablet series. The other two Hittite-Luwian fragments attributable to Ziti II's hand—namely, KUB 35.83 and KUB 35.94—apparently form an indirect vertical join (see the edition of CTH 759.2.a). Despite the fact that they show only isolated words on the right edge of the tablet, a possibility of restoring one of these passages based on KUB 35.67 confirms that they also belong to the *dupaduparša*-ritual, which in turn is compatible with their attribution to the same tablet series as KUB 35.41 and KUB 35.40.

Fig. 2.10: One of the most recognizable signs of the scribe of KUB 35.81(+) is the TI sign, distinguishable through its horizontal element placed under the central vertical element. Furthermore, the tip of the right wedge of the TI sign tends to look upward. The DU sign features a top element placed horizontally over two other horizontal ones, although the medium horizontal element tends to be slightly curved. All three horizontal elements are quite long. The tendency to make long horizontal elements is also noticeable in the AL sign, with its two long horizontal elements stretched to the left, as well as the E and the Ū signs. In the latter, the vertical elements are sometimes three, sometimes four in number.

The identification of this scribal hand was conducive to assembling the indirect join KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94 (+) KUB 35.78 (+) KUB 35.37, the fragments of which all belong to the first tablet of the abbreviated version of the *dupaduparša*-ritual (see the edition of CTH 759.3 and compare the discussion at the end of Section 3.3). The distinctive feature of this tablet is the truncation of Luwian incantations up to the initial 2–3 forms. Yet, other fragments showing the same hand definitely do not conform to this pattern. KUB 35.42 and KUB 34.62 + KBo 34.247 + KUB 32.14, assigned to the same tablet series by Detlev Grodek (communication to the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*), display archaic features and probably represent a copy of an older text of the Great Ritual (see the edition of CTH 761.2.3). The collation of these two fragments in the Ankara museum confirmed that their signs are smaller than those of KUB 35.81(+), thus providing an additional indication that they reflect a different composition. The final fragment showing the same hand is KBo 29.14. Judging by its content, it may represent yet another fragment of the Great Ritual, but given its small size and the lack of exploitable sign shapes we prefer to err on the side of caution and not to assign it to CTH 761.2.3 for the time being.

Fig. 2.11: In KUB 35.3, KBo 29.24, and KUB 35.67, the upper extremity of the wedges of the NA sign is high up, while the two wedges of this sign are almost symmetrically aligned along the vertical axis. The right wedge is placed very high, at the

top of the vertical element of the NA sign. This scribe's tendency to print his wedges almost vertically is also visible in the IŠ sign, whose lower horizontal element is in addition much shorter than the upper one. In a similar way, the E sign features a lower horizontal element that is much shorter than the upper one. The IN sign is quite long, while its horizontal element is slightly undulated. Although this last trait is also present in Fig. 2.12, the other signs of Fig. 2.11 addressed above indicate that we are dealing with two different scribal hands.

Both KBo 29.24 and KUB 35.67 can be assigned to the *dupaduparša*-ritual, since both mention purification with the *gangati*-plant, which constitutes a distinct peculiarity of this version of the Kuwattalla tradion (see Section 3.7). The reference to the Old Woman in KUB 35.3 suggests that it likewise represents a part of the Kuwattalla tradition, while the physical appearance of the fragments, collated in the Ankara museum, is compatible with the option that KUB 35.3 and KUB 35.67 belong to the same tablet. It is also to be noted that KUB 35.3 probably refers to household deities, while KUB 35.67 introduces purification of different parts of the house, which raises the possibility that the two fragments reflect the same rite. Although a strict proof that the small fragment KUB 35.3 reflects the *dupaduparša*-ritual is lacking, Occam's razor would encourage us to assign all three fragments to the same tablet series.

Fig. 2.12: KBo 8.129, KUB 32.8 (+) KUB 32.5, and KUB 35.85 share a wide KI sign, whose two wedges are placed far apart. The TI sign is quite short. The IN sign features a slightly undulated horizontal (see the discussion of Fig. 2.11 above). The WA and ŠI signs have wedges that form an extra-sharp angle. The ZA sign can be quite large. Finally, the left vertical of the UN sign is far apart from the other vertical elements. All these characteristics resemble those of KUB 7.14(+) (see Fig. 2.2), although the latter reflects another composition and comes from a different find spot. At the same time, it is reminiscent of Ziti II's hand (Figs 2.8 and 2.9), although with non-trivial differences. Thus, the TAR sign features a strictly vertical element below the horizontal, whereas Ziti II's TAR sign has an oblique element instead. Also, the DU sign is elongated, with a horizontal upper-left element and a slightly undulated element running parallel to it below. In contrast, Ziti II's DU sign has a wedge on top of a very similar structure. This combination of similarities and differences prompts the suggestion that the scribe of KBo 8.129 and the associated fragments might have belonged to the same scribal circle as Ziti II.

While KBo 8.129 and KUB 32.8 (+) KUB 32.5 are unlikely to belong to the same tablet, they may well reflect the same tablet series. The strongest argument in favor of such a hypothesis is the reference to the Luwian deity 'Supreme Sun-god', shared by these two tablets but occurring nowhere else. It is also worth noting the shared expression *za-an-da du-ú-pa-a-im-mi*- 'downstriking', written with the DA sign. In contrast, the small fragment KUB 35.85 does not provide contextual arguments for treating it together with the other two fragments, but the collation at the Ankara museum revealed its close physical similarity to KUB 32.8 (+) KUB 32.5, implying a possibility of belonging to the same tablet. While we cannot insist on an indirect join involving KUB 35.85, the hypothesis that all the fragments treated in Fig. 2.10 belong to the same tablet series can still be regarded as the default solution.

Fig. 2.13: In the case of both KUB 35.18(+) and KBo 58.225, the heads of the vertical elements are noticeably slanted, while the lower head of the right vertical element (e.g. in A) is almost invisible. In the HA and ZA signs, the lower head of the left vertical element clearly protrudes toward the left, and all the heads of the vertical elements are slanted. The wedges of the HA sign are placed quite low. The horizontal elements of the signs also generally have a slanted head, as is the case of the ŠA/TA, AN, and DU signs, for instance. The slanted heads of the two horizontal elements of the ŠA/TA sign are vertically aligned. Apart from its slanted heads (both for its horizontal and vertical elements), the E sign is distinguishable through its shorter left vertical, which is placed far apart from its longer counterpart to the right. The NA sign has a short horizontal element that ends with a wedge whose lower extremity is longer. The right wedge is placed very high up, often over the head of the vertical element.

Thanks to the paleographic comparisons in Fig. 2.13, we established the indirect join KUB 35.18 (+) KUB 35.66 (+) KBo 29.11 (+) KBo 29.10, which belongs to the first tablet of the combined version of the “ritual of striking down” and the Great Ritual. The first two fragments could be assigned to the first tablet based on their content (incipit and inventory list), while the last two find textual parallels in KBo 29.3+, which likewise reflects the first tablet of the combined version. The assessment of KBo 58.225 is more complicated. Its formulaic repertoire is generally compatible with what is expected of the first tablet (see the edition of CTH 760.1.b), but we lack precise parallels in the preserved part of KBo 29.3+, and therefore caution dictates merely taking it as an additional fragment of the same tablet series. A common feature of all the five fragments, vis-à-vis the parallel version KBo 29.3+, consists in significantly shorter lines.

Fig. 2.14: The scribe of KBo 29.3+ and KUB 35.46 tends to make horizontal elements which are slanted downward from left to right, as is the case of the LI, GI, RU, RA, and ŠU signs, for instance.³⁰ This tendency is not present in the equivalent signs of KUB 9.36. This shows that the latter does not come from the same scribe, thus undermining the suggestion of a direct vertical join KUB 35.46 + KUB 9.36 advanced in Starke 1990, 596–97.

The question whether KBo 29.3+ and KUB 35.46 belong to the same tablet series is probably to be answered in the negative. The expression ‘tongue of misery’ followed by merisms in KUB 35.46 contrasts with its placement in KBo 29.3+ but finds a close parallel in KUB 35.49 (see the edition of CTH 761.2.1.a). If we take this formula as diagnostic (see Section 3.4), it follows that the scribe of KBo 29.3+ also copied a more archaic version of the Great Ritual, although given the small size of KUB 35.46 this hypothesis remains tentative.

Fig. 2.15 illustrates the identity of the scribal hands responsible for KUB 35.14, KUB 35.16, and KUB 35.51, as well as the impossibility of attributing KUB 35.117 to

30 Otten tentatively suggested in his foreword to KUB 35 that KUB 35.45, KUB 35.46, and KUB 35.47 all belong to the same tablet. In the meanwhile, KUB 35.45 was joined to KBo 29.3, while KUB 35.47 can now be joined to KBo 22.137 and KBo 29.4 and interpreted as part of the Purianni tradition (see Fig. 2.3). This refutes the core of Otten’s suggestion, although the implied observation that KUB 35.45 and KUB 35.46 reflect the same scribal hand can still be credited to him.

the same hand, which undermines the tentative join KUB 35.14 (+) KUB 35.117 advanced in Goedegebuure 2010a, 305 fn. 30. The scribe of KUB 35.51 and KUB 35.16(+) tends to print long vertical elements with large and flat heads. The lower vertical element of the EN sign is placed right under the head of the horizontal element. The lower extremity of the vertical element of the TI sign is often placed under the wedge, which overlaps with its center. This shape significantly differs from the TI sign of KUB 35.117, whose central element placed under the vertical element almost resembles a horizontal. The AL sign of KUB 35.51 and KUB 35.16(+) often has an extra oblique element crossing the two vertical elements. The lower horizontal element of the BI sign protrudes toward the left. The Ú sign has sometimes three, sometimes four vertical elements. The IN sign has a long and slightly undulated horizontal element on top of which the right wedge is placed close to its head. In contrast, the right wedge of the IN sign of KUB 35.117 is remote from the head of the horizontal. The two wedges of the WA sign of KUB 35.117 are widely stretched, unlike those of KUB 35.51 and KUB 35.16(+), which are very close to each other. The I sign of KUB 35.117 is noticeably different from that of KUB 35.51 and KUB 35.16(+), with the two heads of the upper horizontal element going downward, whereas the same heads have an extended upper extremity in the instance of KUB 35.51 and KUB 35.16(+). Finally, the GAD sign of KUB 35.117 features a very large head of the upper horizontal element, whereas the heads of the upper and lower horizontals have the same size in the instance of the GAD sign of KUB 35.51 and KUB 35.16(+).

The paleographic identity between KUB 35.16 and KUB 35.14, already spotted by Otten in his foreword to KUB 35, was conducive to establishing a vertical indirect join between these two fragments, the distance between which can be defined through parallel versions (see Section 3.3 for details). In contrast, KUB 35.51 almost certainly belongs to a different tablet, although it shares orthographic innovations with KUB 35.16(+), notably the shorter spellings EN SISKUR ‘ritual patron’ and *hu-uk-zi* ‘conjures’. The fragmentary colophon of KUB 35.16(+) bears a unique resemblance to that of KUB 35.18(+), which suggests that KUB 35.16(+) reflects a combined version of the “ritual of striking down” and the Great Ritual. Since the content of KUB 35.51 is the rites of the Great Ritual, the assumption that it reflects the same tablet series as KUB 35.16(+) does not cause any difficulties.

Fig. 2.16: KBo 29.19’s most characteristic sign is BI, whose lower horizontal element is protruding toward the left. KBo 29.19’s TA sign, with its slightly curved upper horizontal element and its shorter left vertical element may be compared to that of KBo 29.22+. The ŠI signs of both fragments are also comparable, both featuring a wedge whose upper extremity reaches the head of the vertical element and a left horizontal element whose head is almost invisible. Finally, the IA signs of each fragment have an upper horizontal element whose right head is slightly lower than the left one.

The Luwian incantations of KBo 29.19 and KBo 29.22+ can assuredly be attributed to the substitution and spitting rites of the Kuwattalla tradition on the basis of their diction. Their restoration suggests that their lines consisted of a comparable number of signs. The inspection of both fragments in the Ankara museum confirmed that their signs are of the same size, and their other physical features (sign depth, layout,

shape of dividing lines) are also compatible. Therefore, pending evidence to the contrary, these small fragments may be considered as reflecting the same tablet series, even though one cannot say whether they belong to the same tablet.

Fig. 2.17: The group of Middle Script tablet fragments consisting of KUB 35.23, KUB 32.10+, KUB 35.24+, KUB 35.21, KBo 29.15, and KUB 32.9(+) is badly preserved and its paleographic analysis, therefore, is tentative. In all the tablet fragments of this group, the unique wedge found on the left side of several signs, such as ŠI, AR, and RU, tends to be placed very high up and to have a lower extremity that is longer than the upper extremity. The vertical elements of the RU sign are quite close to each other, with the middle vertical element being only slightly shorter than the other two. The EN sign is characterized by very short vertical elements on top. The two wedges of its lower part are placed immediately under the right vertical element and go downward almost vertically, while its lower vertical element is placed on the left side of its top left vertical element. All these features make this EN sign quite different from that of Fig. 2.18. The top element of the TAR sign (featuring a double head) is almost horizontal, while the bottom element is vertical. This differs from the TAR sign of Fig. 2.13.

The core members of the group under discussion—namely, KUB 35.23, KUB 35.24+, KUB 35.21, and KUB 32.9(+)—were already treated as fragments of the same tablet series in Starke 1985, 74. In the case of KUB 35.24+ and KUB 32.9(+), this hypothesis is supported by the identical format and content of the respective colophons. Furthermore, KUB 35.24+, KUB 35.21, and KUB 32.9(+) demonstrably belong to one-column tablets and show a contrast between a very short Hittite narrative frame and longer Luwian incantations. KUB 35.24+ and KUB 32.9(+) can be identified as parts of the Great Ritual based on their colophons, while the other two can be assigned to the Great Ritual based on their content. The Luwili Project added KUB 32.10+ and KBo 29.15 to the same group, primarily on paleographic grounds. Note, however, that both fragments can also be assigned to the Great Ritual on the basis of their content, while the former fragment also shares the short Hittite narrative frame. Another contribution of the Luwili Project is the realization that KUB 35.21 and KUB 32.9(+) cannot belong to the same tablet, which invalidates the indirect join between these two fragments offered in Starke 1985, 87–91. The collations of the relevant fragments in the Ankara museum revealed that they belong to tablets of different size; that of KUB 35.21 was broader and thicker. On these grounds, one can in principle doubt whether the two even belong to the same tablet series; however, assuming that the two series of one-column tablets were written by the same scribe is a considerable complication, not to be accepted lightly. As long as there is no textual overlap between the one-column tablets of different size, it seems still safe to assume that a scribe availed himself of disparate tablets for recording a single draft of the same text (contrast the discussion of Fig. 2.23).³¹

31 For the loose association of one-column tablets with drafts, see van den Hout 1995a, 9 (with fn. 9) and Waal 2015, 90. Although not all the one-column tablets can be regarded as drafts, it is remarkable that the only assured one-column tablet series of the Kuwattalla tradition addressed here is arguably the earliest available text belonging to this tradition (see already the paleographic datings in Starke 1985).

Fig. 2.18: Typical features of KUB 35.34, KUB 35.49(+), KUB 35.69, KUB 35.82, and DBH 46/2.33 are slanted heads of both the vertical and the horizontal elements. The left wedge of the HA sign often crosses the left vertical. The horizontal elements of the KI sign increase their length from top to bottom. The horizontal elements of the ŠA/TA sign form a trapeze, as also do those of the BI sign. In both cases, the horizontal elements are placed close to each other, and the upper wedge on the right side is often situated over the upper horizontal element. In both the ŠA/TA and BI signs, the horizontal elements are often placed slightly obliquely. The tip of the wedge of the RU sign goes slightly downward; its vertical elements are close to each other, the medium one being shorter than the other two. Its horizontal element features a large head, which is placed far apart from the vertical elements. The AR sign shows a very high and oblique wedge on its left side. The lower vertical elements of the EN sign are placed exactly under its two top vertical elements, whereas its two obliquely aligned wedges are placed on the right side of these top verticals. Finally, although seldom preserved, the MEŠ sign is noteworthy, since its left wedge is located on the left side of the vertical element.

From the perspective of textual assignment, the fragments assembled in Fig. 2.18 represent one of the most complicated cases in our corpus. All the fragments of this group with known find spots were found in Büyükkale. The only holistic generalization one can make about their orthography is the lack of innovative spellings, which is generally expected of Middle Script tablets. Their content leaves no doubt that all of them belong to the Kuwattalla tradition, but it is equally clear that they cannot all belong to the same tablet. Although we lack positive evidence that they all belong to the same tablet series, we provisionally accept this hypothesis as long as there are no textual overlaps (see the discussion of Fig. 2.17). The fragments KUB 35.49, KBo 9.147, and KUB 32.6 belong to the first tablet of the ritual on the basis of their parallels with KBo 29.3+ (see further under CTH 761.2.1.a). Although all three fragments appear to belong to different columns, their physical features are compatible with the hypothesis of their indirect join, as suggested by their collation in the Ankara museum. Two other possible candidates for an indirect join are KUB 35.69 and KUB 35.82: both of them feature slightly smaller signs than KUB 35.49(+) and show offprints of fabric. Yet, in the absence of a textual argument for the adjacency of the two relevant passages, and given their different, albeit close, findspots (Bk. A and Bk. D), we chose not to insist on this join. Finally, the fragments DBH 46/2.33 and KUB 35.34 do not show particular physical similarities to other fragments treated here and may belong to additional tablets. Summing up, this is an excellent example of a new hypothetical tablet series that is primarily assembled on the basis of a scribal hand.

Fig. 2.19: Both KBo 29.7 and KBo 47.290 are very worn away, which complicates their paleographic analysis. Furthermore, they are tiny and have only a few signs in common. However, all the signs they display have a shape which one could call “geometric” and which is common to most of the Middle Script fragments of our corpus: vertical elements that are not very close to each other (see IŠ/UŠ, NA, IA signs), right wedges that tend to be high up and with a longer lower extremity (see e.g. the ŠI sign; see Fig. 2.17), and oblique elements of the NI/IN signs that form a wide-open

angle. The signs that appear on both fragments, notably TI and IŠ, seem to match visually.

In this case, the tentative paleographic identification derives strong support from the identical find spot of both fragments in Bk. M, where no other fragments of our corpus have been found. They also contain the characteristic incantations that are otherwise attested in the version of the Great Ritual attributed to Kuwattalla, addressed above in connection with Fig. 2.17. The probability of an indirect join between the two fragments remains considerable, while their attribution to the same tablet series is nearly certain.

Fig. 2.20: On the paleographic level, KBo 22.143, KBo 30.190, and KUB 35.28 are mainly distinguishable by their ŠI sign, whose wedge crosses the vertical elements with its lower part and the head of the vertical element with its upper part. The IŠ/UŠ signs are characterized by a wedge with a longer upper extremity, two vertical elements placed close to each other, the right one being higher than the left one, and the upper horizontal element that protrudes toward the left.

The most characteristic feature of these three fragments is that they are all pre-ruled (*vorliniert*). Although a couple of other pre-ruled tablets are also available in our corpus, this feature is rare enough to corroborate the hypothesis of a single tablet series. Furthermore, the content of KBo 22.143 and KUB 35.28 is compatible with the hypothesis that they reflect the same incantation, which even prompted Sasseville (2020b, 114) to propose a direct vertical join between the two fragments. Although the collation at the Ankara museum unfortunately showed the physical impossibility of such a join, the incantation involved may occur several times in the text of the ritual, so its co-occurrence in KBo 22.143 and KUB 35.28 supports rather than contradicts the assumption that the two fragments belong to the same tablet series. Both KBo 51.220 and KBo 22.143 were found in the Temple I area, while the findspot of KUB 35.28 has not been recorded.

Fig. 2.21: KBo 51.220, KUB 35.29+, KUB 35.112, and KBo 29.16 feature both the vertical and the horizontal elements of signs with slanted heads. In general, the vertical elements are placed close to each other. The ŠA/TA sign is characterized by an upper horizontal element that clearly protrudes toward the left. This is also the case of the BI, AM, IŠ/UŠ, and UN signs. The right horizontal element of the AL sign has a larger head, while the left vertical element is shorter than the right one. The horizontal element of the NI/IN sign is curved. The upper horizontal element of the MA sign protrudes toward the left and has a larger head than the other two horizontal elements. The left vertical of the UN sign is much shorter than the other two and placed far apart, while its horizontal elements are long.

All the four fragments can be assigned to the Kuwattalla tradition on the basis of their content, while the collation at the Ankara museum confirmed the similarity of their physical features. Furthermore, the Luwili Project established that KUB 35.29+ and KUB 35.112 form a horizontal indirect join, where the missing content can be fully restored (see the edition of CTH 761.3.5.b). The fragments KBo 51.220, KUB 35.29+, and KBo 29.16 were all found in the Temple I area, while the same find spot of KUB 35.112 is assured through the join made.

Fig. 2.22: The signs of KBo 29.55+ and KUB 35.56 often have large wedges on the right side, with a long lower extremity, as is the case of EN, HA, TI, and MU. The EN, HA, and AM signs are quite recognizable through their defective shapes: no lower vertical element in the EN sign, only one visible wedge in the HA sign, and only one large wedge in the middle of the AM sign.

This paleographic identification led us in turn to propose a “deep” join between the two fragments, where KUB 35.56 is superimposed upon the cavity in KUB 35.43 (see the edition of CTH 761.3.8). This join could not be physically verified in the Ankara museum because of the way the parts of KUB 35.43 are fastened together, and thus it remains indirect for the time being. Nevertheless, it is conducive to filling a large lacuna between the two better-preserved parts of KUB 35.43 with the contextually expected content.

Fig. 2.23 comprises fifteen fragments showing the hand of Pariziti, a scribe that belonged to Walwaziti’s circle (Gordin 2015, 285–91). These are KBo 29.5, KBo 29.6, KBo 29.45, KBo 40.276+, KBo 44.221, KBo 29.63, KUB 32.4, KUB 32.7, KUB 32.70, KUB 32.79, KUB 35.12, KUB 35.17, KUB 35.33(+), KUB 35.70, and KUB 35.74. Within this group, the DA sign tends to get a shorter lower horizontal element. The A sign tends to have the lower head of its right vertical element at the same level as the head of the left vertical. The TI sign features a horizontal element under the central vertical element. The left horizontal element of the GI sign is low, while another distinctive feature of the same sign is a series of three obliquely placed wedges on top of a horizontal element, which is placed only slightly obliquely. The two horizontal elements of the PA sign tend to be very short to the left of the central vertical element.

The inspection of the fragments attributed to Pariziti is immediately conducive to dividing them into two unequal groups. The largest fragments—KBo 29.6 and KUB 35.70—show signs that are markedly smaller than those of the remaining pieces. Both fragments assuredly belong to the Kuwattalla tradition, while their content prompts the hypothesis of an indirect join, where KBo 29.6 contains large parts of column one and column two, while KUB 35.70 contains large parts of column two and column three (see the edition of CTH 762.2). The remaining thirteen fragments are all markedly smaller but have larger signs. Among them, one should single out KBo 29.63, whose content closely parallels the lower part of KUB 35.70 ii, KUB 35.33 (+) KBo 29.20—which features a partially preserved colophon attributing it to a particular version of the Kuwattalla tradition—and KBo 34.245+, which assuredly belongs to the Kuwattalla tradition on the basis of its content and mentions Pariziti’s name. If these three and the remaining ten fragments all belong to the same tablet series, it is reasonable to assume that we are dealing with a closely parallel version of the text represented by KBo 29.6 (+) KUB 35.70. While we do not have a contextual proof of this hypothesis, one can at least say that there is not a single fragment among them whose content complicates its attribution to the Kuwattalla tradition, while the majority of them supply positive evidence for such an attribution (see the edition of CTH 762.1 for details). It is also remarkable that eleven of these thirteen fragments were found in Building A of Büyükkale (the other two were found outside of Building A but also in Büyükkale). The most suspect of the thirteen is KBo 29.45,

which was found in building K and contains a rather generic list of Luwian theonyms. For the implications of assembling Pariziti's version for understanding the history of the Kuwattalla tradition, see Section 3.4.

Fig. 2.24: the signs of KBo 22.254 and KBo 29.18 feature noticeably slanted heads of the vertical elements, which tend to be printed close to one another and are quite long, as in the instances of A, E, AR, and Ū signs. The ŠA/TA signs have an upper horizontal element which protrudes toward the left. The DU sign has a short horizontal element on top of the two usual longer horizontal elements on the left side, which are printed close to each other. The Ū sign has short horizontal elements, the lower one being even shorter than the upper one, and three vertical elements, which are printed close to each other.

Both fragments were found in the Temple I area, assuredly belong to the Kuwattalla tradition, and very likely reflect the same rite, since both refer to a golden vessel in the Hittite text and mention a woman in the accompanying Luwian incantation. Given that the relevant rite begins at the end of column three in KBo 22.254, it is logical to assign KBo 29.18 to column four of the same tablet; therefore, we propose their indirect join. Assigning KBo 29.18 to the upper part of a column is compatible with the results of its collation at the Ankara museum.

Fig. 2.25: The scribe of KUB 60.36, KBo 29.58, and KBo 29.60 tends to print wedges with their tips going slightly downward and sometimes featuring a long lower extremity, as is the case of the KI, IŠ/UŠ, WA, AR, and RI signs. The ŠA/TA signs tend to have short middle vertical element(s). The horizontal element of the RA sign runs obliquely.

All three fragments were found in the Temple I area and reflect the Kuwattalla tradition. Unfortunately, the indirect join KBo 29.58 (+) KUB 60.36, proposed in Sasseville 2020c, 556, was not confirmed by the collation of the relevant fragments at the Ankara museum.³² The signs of KBo 29.58 are slightly larger than those of KUB 60.36, and the thickness of the two fragments is also different. At the same time, at the purely textual level, the proposed join remains fairly plausible. As long as the scribal hands of KBo 29.58 and KUB 60.36 are indeed the same (which can be doubted, given the small number of signs common to both fragments), this leaves only one solution: there were at least two tablet series containing the same text, written by the same scribe and featuring the same layout. Unfortunately, if this is the case, then it is impossible to say whether KBo 29.60 belongs to the same tablet series as KBo 29.58 or KUB 60.36, and all three fragments are to be considered separately for formal reasons.

Fig. 2.26: The scribe of KUB 35.68 and KUB 32.124 tends to make narrow signs (see e.g. A, IŠ/UŠ, and ZI). The horizontal elements of the DA sign decrease from top to bottom. The AN sign has a short horizontal element, with two large heads. The KU sign is narrow, with a particularly short middle horizontal element. The BI sign is likewise narrow, featuring very large heads and an upper horizontal element that

³² According to Sasseville 2020c, this was actually a direct join KBo 29.58 + KUB 60.36, even though his transliteration shows a restored space of 2–3 signs between the left and right fragments. It is not immediately clear to us whether the use of + instead of (++) is merely a misprint or Sasseville operated with a different definition of what constitutes a direct join.

protrudes toward the left. The wedges of the WA signs are aligned more or less vertically and placed very close to the vertical element.

Both fragments assuredly belong to the Kuwattalla tradition and, furthermore, show independent links to a very particular version of this tradition, which is probably associated with Kizzuwadna. KUB 35.68 features an incantation that finds a parallel only in KUB 35.65 (see the discussion of this fragment under Fig. 2.1), while KUB 32.124 refers to a bovine as a ritual carrier, which again resonates with the mention of the bovines in KUB 35.65. Both fragments were found in the same room of Building A in Büyükkale.

Fig. 2.27: In the instance of KBo 29.42, as well as in KBo 61.31, the A sign has a left vertical element that is curved and very thin. The TA/ŠA signs are characterized by upper wedges whose upper extremity runs high up. The right head of the horizontal element of the AN sign is larger than the left one and has a more developed lower extremity. The Ū sign is large and made of four vertical elements, which is in line with the Middle Script dating of the fragments under discussion. The two wedges of the WA sign are obliquely aligned, while those of the NA sign are placed very high up.

Both fragments were found in the same part of Temple I area, roughly to the east of Magazine 10, and have the same clay quality according to the description of *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*. Both belong to the Kuwattalla tradition on the basis of their content, but their tiny size precludes any more specific conclusions. Since the paleographic identification of Middle Script fragments is generally more difficult, the hypothesis that these two small fragments belong to the same tablet series, although likely, is not absolutely assured.

2.3 INTERIM BALANCE

Summing up the progress of the Luwili Project in piecing together the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions, one can state that it amounts to five direct joins, nineteen indirect joins, and thirty-four attributions for fragments to the same tablet series (within the latter category, some of the claims advanced are probabilistic). To this one can add the joins KBo 29.2 + KUB 35.52, KUB 35.33 (+) KBo 29.20, KBo 29.22 + KBo 57.26, KUB 35.13 + CHDS 2.99 + KUB 35.36, and KUB 35.64 + KBo 34.245 + KBo 40.276, independently reached by David Sasseville at the time of the Luwili Project, as well as the important join KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45, which was initially identified by Annelies Kammenhuber but remained without official recognition until its re-discovery by David Sasseville (see Sasseville 2020c, 53). Taken together, these joins represent a significant step forward in our interpretation of CTH 758–763.

At the same time, one must make a distinction between the ways these new data contribute to the interpretation of the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions. In the former case, the juxtaposition of all the identified and joined fragments is conducive to reconstructing and roughly sequencing all the main rites of the ritual for the purification of the house. The initial part of the ritual is reconstructed on the basis of the join KBo 39.181 (+) KBo 39.180 (+) KUB 35.104 + KUB 35.120 (CTH 758.6) and features

the act of tying the *šēna*- and *ilwatiyati*-breads to the patient. Presumably, these objects embody the miasma, and some of them possibly represent figurines of the evil *nakkiu*-spirits. The next important sequence became available due to the join KBo 22.137 + KBo 29.4 (CTH 758.2.2): the patient's wooden substitute is dressed before a *huwaši*-stone, and then the rope linking the patient to the miasma is cut. The following step in the progression of the ritual consists in manipulations with the severed figurine (*šēna*-bread), accompanied by the incantation for the destruction of the miasma. This rite is attested at the beginning of KUB 35.54 ii (CTH 758.1).

The tablet KUB 35.54 represents the largest available fragment of the Puriyanni tradition and establishes the rite sequence of the central part of the ritual for the purification of the house. After the miasma are severed from the patient, the wooden substitute symbolically transfers the polluted furniture items to the Storm-god of the Open Country, who is expected to neutralize their pollution (ii 17'–41'). At this stage of the ritual, utmost care is exercised to prevent the pollution of the Storm-god of the Open Country (see III.2.4). A brief interlude is the presentation of the symbols of Heaven and Earth, underscoring the irreversible character of the ritual acts (ii 41'–45'). The next major step is the purification of the house proper, which is accomplished by means of a scapegoat (ii 46'–iii 11). Finally, both the patient and his house are purified by means of water and salt, (iii 12–38), even though other versions of the ritual apparently prescribe the patient's purification earlier on, immediately after the manipulations with the severed *šēna*-bread (KUB 35.55 = CTH 758.3.2 and KBo 60.32 = CTH 758.3.3).

The last discrepancy shows that the variation within the text of the Puriyanni tradition occasionally concerns not only stylistic matters but also performance; relevant aspects, such as the order of rites. Another possible example illustrating the same phenomenon concerns the placement of sacrificial rites on a tablet. Thus, KBo 22.137 (CTH 758.2.2) apparently contains the description of a sacrifice in column two, KUB 35.72 (CTH 758.5) refers to a sacrificial rite in column two or column three, while VS NF 12.60 (CTH 758.2.1) refers to a sacrifice in column four. Since all the contexts are fragmentary, we cannot be fully certain whether the relevant versions contained one or more sacrificial rites; under the former scenario, one has to assume their changing order. Yet, whether one operates with a repetition or transposition of sacrificial rites, it seems clear that such rites are not ritual-specific and therefore do not constitute the structural core of the Puriyanni tradition. The only text belonging to this group whose structure remains opaque is the so-called second ritual (CTH 758.4), of which only the incipit has been preserved.

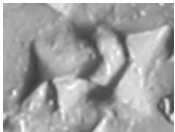
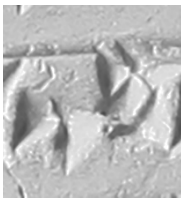
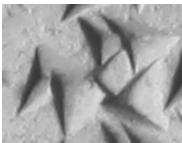
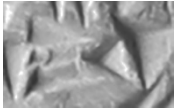

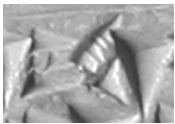

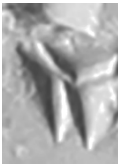
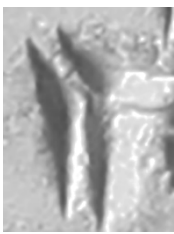
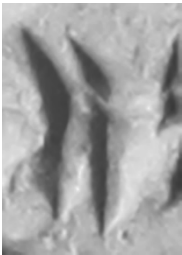
The case of the Kuwattalla tradition (CTH 759–763) is rather different. While the new joins and paleographic attributions reduce the uncertainties within this group, they are not immediately conducive to clarifying the structure of the respective compositions. The reasons for such a state of affairs are twofold. First and foremost, all the rituals attributed to Kuwattalla and/or Šilalluhi fit on more than one tablet, which in practice means that the majority of paleographic identifications do not qualify as joins. Under such conditions, the information about the attribution of a particular fragment to a specific column or part of the tablet has a limited value for positioning it vis-à-vis other fragments reflecting the same scribal hand. Second, there is no con-

sensus on a number of rituals belonging to the Kuwattalla tradition, or the way of attributing individual fragments to specific ritual texts.

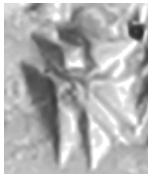
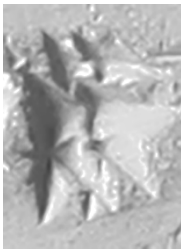
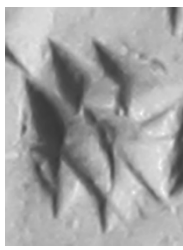
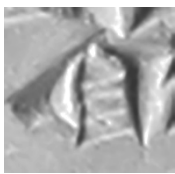
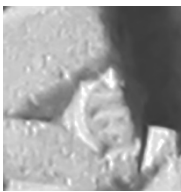
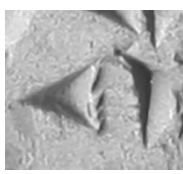

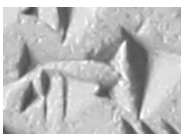
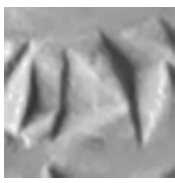
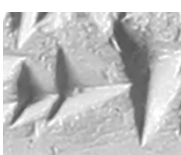
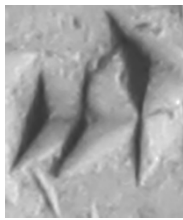


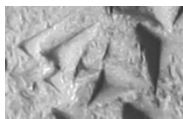
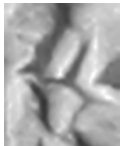
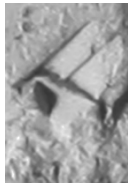

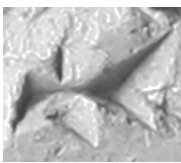
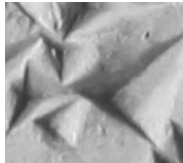
The discrepancy outlined in this section constitutes the principal reason the three chapters to follow closely focus on the structure of the Kuwattalla tradition. In Chapter 3, we shall attempt to build the rationale for assigning its individual fragments to CTH 759 through 763, building on the paleographic classification achieved in this chapter. In contrast, chapters 4 and 5 will be devoted to the comparative treatment of the Kuwattalla tradition. While its comparison with the Tunnawiya tradition undertaken in Chapter 4 is primarily important for clarifying its history, its comparison with the Maštigga tradition pursued in Chapter 5 unexpectedly provides a tool for sequencing its rites. Far from claiming that the discussion to follow can solve all the remaining problems, we would like to stress that the study of scribal hands merely represents one tool for approaching the pitfalls of our corpus, to be complemented through intertextual comparison.

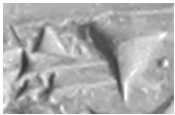

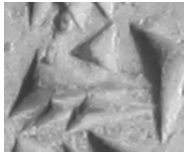
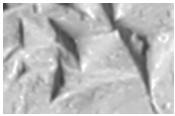
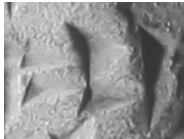
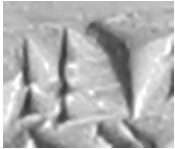
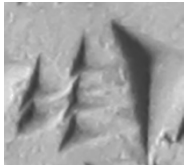
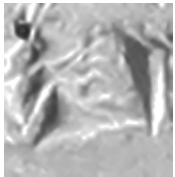
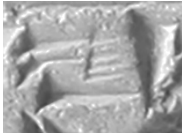
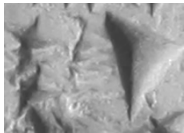
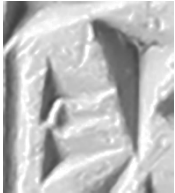
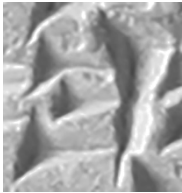
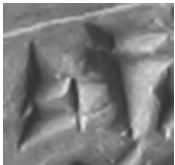
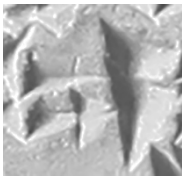

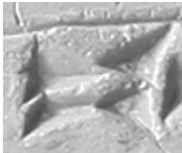
2.4 PALEOGRAPHIC TABLES

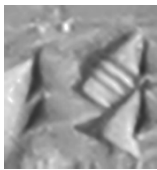
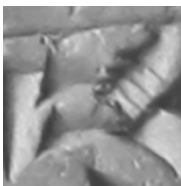
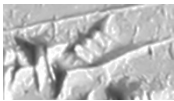


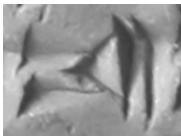
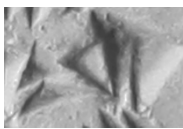
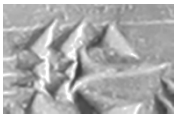
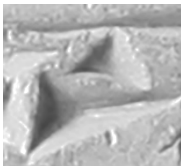

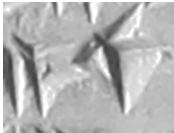

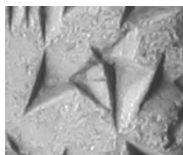
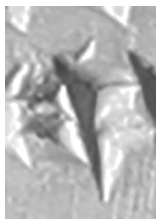
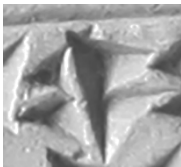
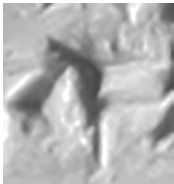
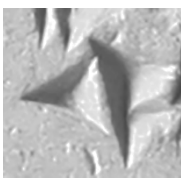
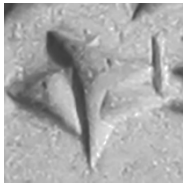
Figure 2.1: Paleography of KUB 35.54, KUB 35.15 and KUB 35.65

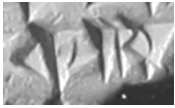
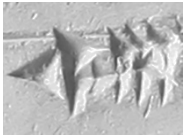
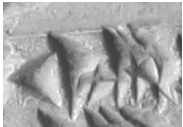
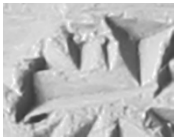
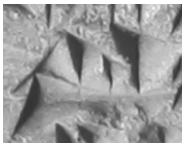
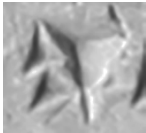
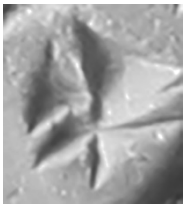
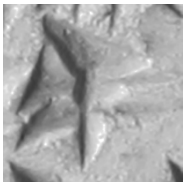
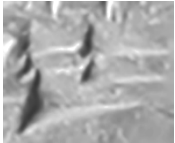
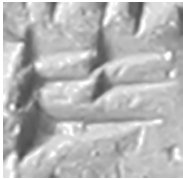
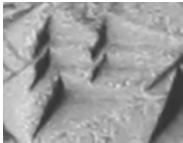

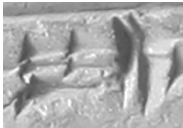
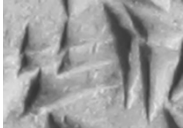
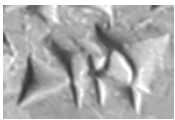

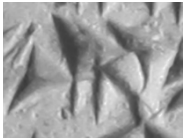
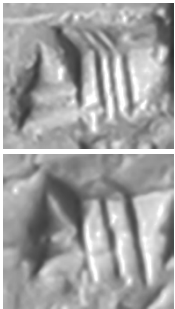


	KUB 35.54	KUB 35.15	KUB 35.65
EN			
DA			N/A
IT			N/A
A			



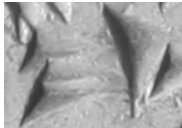

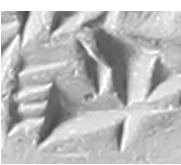


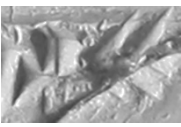



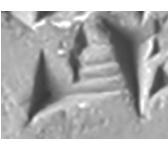
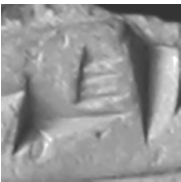



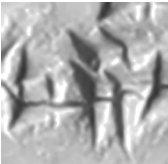
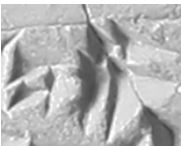
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HA			
KI			
ŠA/TA			N/A
AN			
LI			
TAR		N/A	
TI			

	KUB 35.54	KUB 35.15	KUB 35.65
DU			
AL		N/A	
AD		N/A	
LA			
KU			N/A
E			N/A
BI			N/A

	KUB 35.54	KUB 35.15	KUB 35.65
AM			N/A
GI			N/A
IŠ/UŠ			
NI/IN			
NA(+)			
UK/AZ			
WA			N/A
ŠI			

	KUB 35.54	KUB 35.15	KUB 35.65
AR			
RU		N/A	
PA			
I			
IA			
RI			
Ú			

	KUB 35.54	KUB 35.15	KUB 35.65
MA			
RA			
ZI			
GAD			N/A
ŠU			N/A
ZA			
UN			N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A

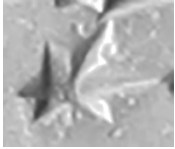
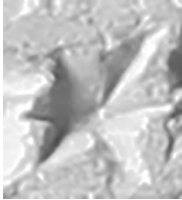
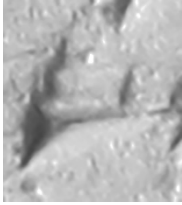
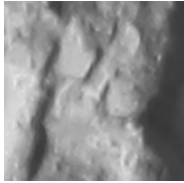

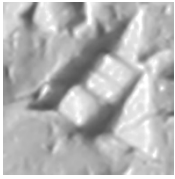
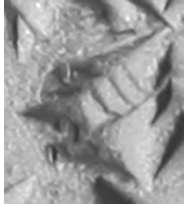
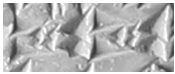
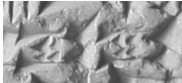

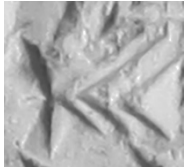
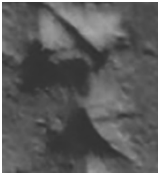
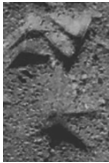







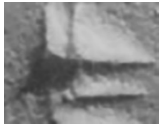
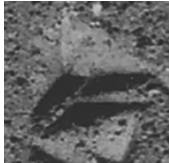










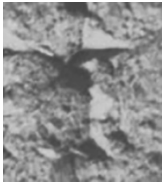
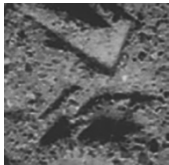
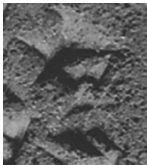
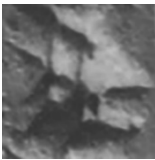

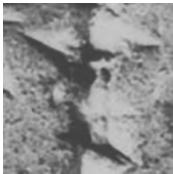







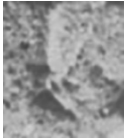

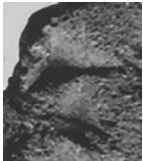

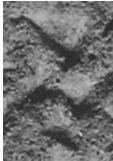
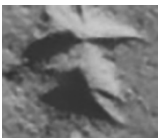



	KUB 35.54	KUB 35.15	KUB 35.65
NU			N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A		
TE		N/A	N/A
HI		N/A	
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR			N/A
MEŠ		N/A	

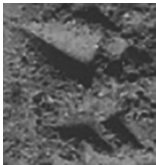





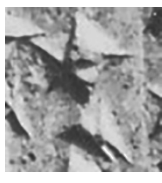

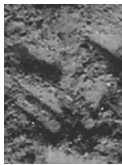



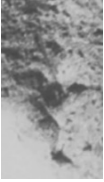

Fig. 2.2: Paleography of KUB 7.14 and related fragments





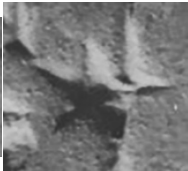

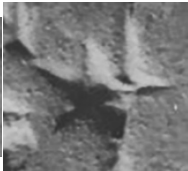
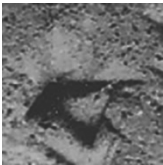





	KUB 7.14	KBo 29.2	KUB 35.52	KUB 35.53	VS NF 12.60
EN			N/A		
DA			N/A		
IT		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
A					

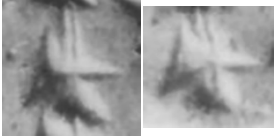

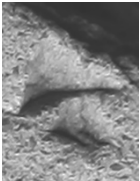


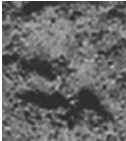
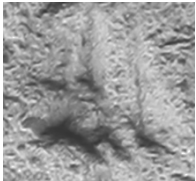
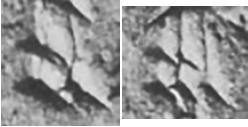



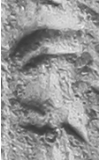
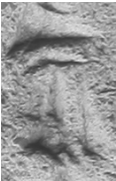

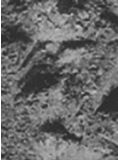

VS NF 12.60			 
KUB 35.53	N/A	N/A	 
KUB 35.52		N/A	
KBo 29.2		N/A	
KUB 7.14			 
	ḪA	KI	ŠA/TA








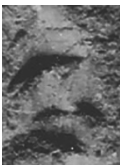
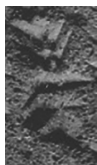

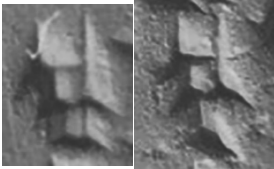
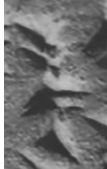

VSNF 12.60		N/A	N/A	
KUB 35.53			N/A	
KUB 35.52		N/A		
KBo 29.2			N/A	
KUB 7.14	 	N/A		
	AN	LI	TAR	TI

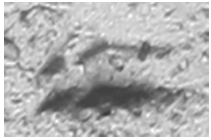
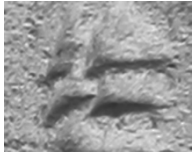
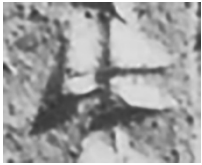
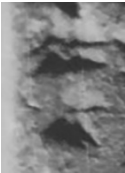


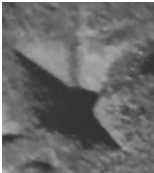
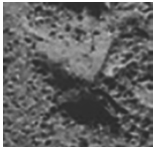

	VS NF 12.60		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	KUB 35.53		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
	KUB 35.52		N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
	KBo 29.2	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	KUB 7.14		N/A				
DU		AL	AD	LA	KU	E	

	KUB 7.14	KBo 29.2	KUB 35.52	KUB 35.53	VS NF 12.60
BI	N/A		N/A	N/A	
AM	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
GI	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
IŠ/UŠ			N/A		
NI/IN			N/A		N/A
NA(+)				N/A	
UK/AZ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

	KUB 7.14	KBo 29.2	KUB 35.52	KUB 35.53	VS NF 12.60
WA		N/A	N/A		  
ŠI	 		N/A		 
AR		N/A	N/A	N/A	
RU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

	PA		KUB 7.14	N/A		KUB 35.52		KUB 35.53		VS NF 12.60	N/A
	I				N/A						N/A
	LA				N/A						N/A
	RI						N/A				N/A
	Ū										

	VS NF 12.60		N/A		N/A	N/A
	KUB 35.53				N/A	N/A
	KUB 35.52		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	KBo 29.2				N/A	N/A
	KUB 7.14				N/A	
MA			RA		GAD	ŠU
				ZI		

	KUB 7.14	KBo 29.2	KUB 35.52	KUB 35.53	VS NF 12.60
ZA	N/A	N/A			
UN		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MU		N/A	N/A	N/A	
NU			N/A	N/A	N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A



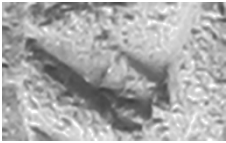

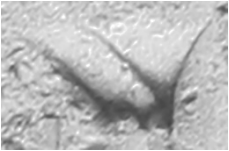
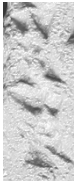

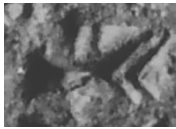

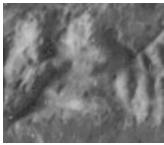
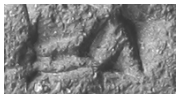




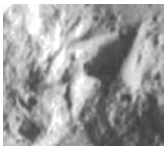
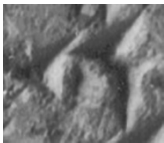




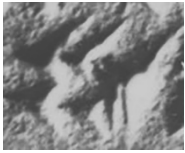
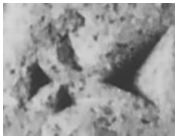
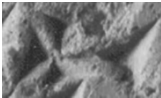
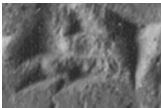
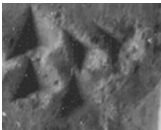
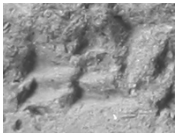

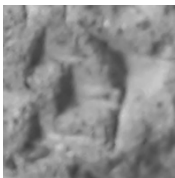

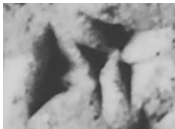


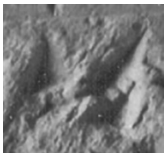
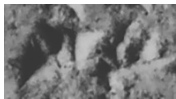

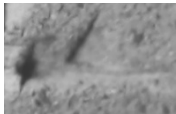
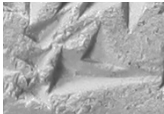





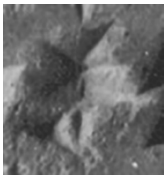
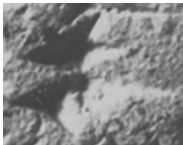
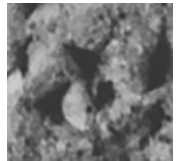





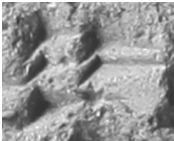
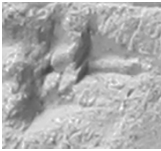

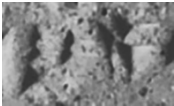


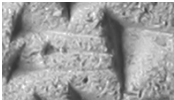



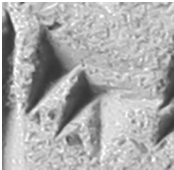
	KUB 7.14			N/A	
	KBo 29.2			N/A	
	KUB 35.52		N/A	N/A	
	KUB 35.53	N/A		N/A	
	VS NF 12.60	N/A		N/A	
𒄩	SISKUR/ SÍSKUR			MEŠ	

Fig. 2.3: Paleography of KBo 22.137, KBo 29.4 and KUB 35.47

	KBo 22.137	KBo 29.4	KUB 35.47
EN		N/A	N/A
DA			N/A
IT		N/A	N/A
A			
ḪA			N/A
KI	N/A		N/A
ŠA/TA			N/A
AN			N/A

	KBo 22.137	KBo 29.4	KUB 35.47
LI	N/A	N/A	
TAR	N/A	N/A	N/A
TI			N/A
DU	N/A		N/A
AL	N/A		N/A
AD			N/A
LA	N/A	N/A	N/A
KU			N/A
E		N/A	N/A
BI		N/A	N/A

	KBo 22.137	KBo 29.4	KUB 35.47
AM			N/A
GI		N/A	N/A
IŠ/UŠ	N/A		N/A
NI/IN			
NA(+)			
UK/AZ	N/A	N/A	N/A
WA			
ŠI			N/A
AR		N/A	
RU	N/A	N/A	N/A

	KBo 22.137	KBo 29.4	KUB 35.47
PA		N/A	
I			
IA		N/A	
RI	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ú		N/A	N/A
MA		N/A	N/A
RA		N/A	N/A
ZI			N/A
GAD		N/A	N/A

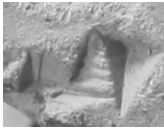
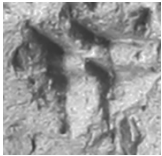
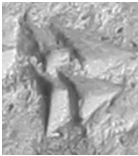
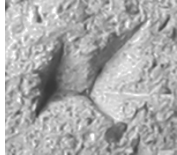
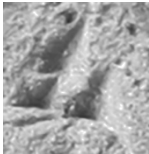
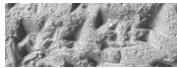
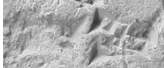
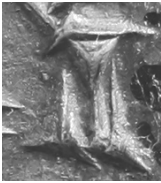


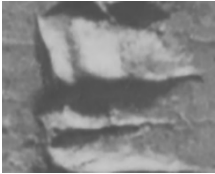
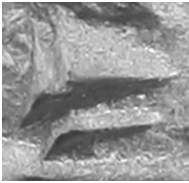
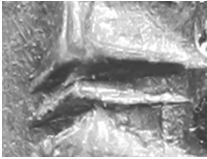
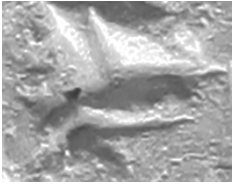
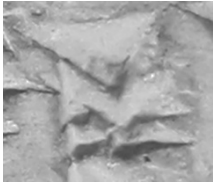




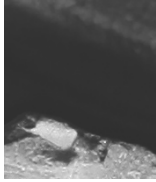
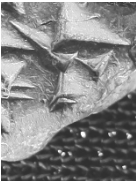


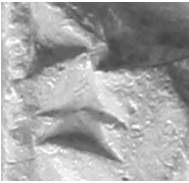
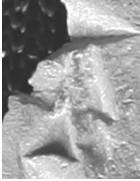

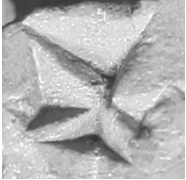





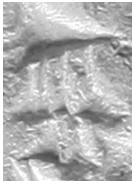

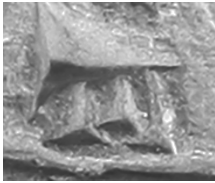


	KBo 22.137	KBo 29.4	KUB 35.47
ŠU	N/A		N/A
ZA			N/A
UN	N/A	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A
NU		N/A	N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A	N/A
HI		N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR			N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A	N/A

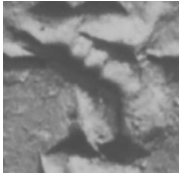




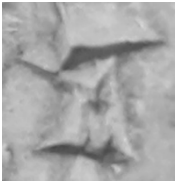
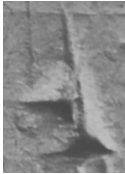



Fig. 2.4: Paleography of IBoT 3.96 and related fragments

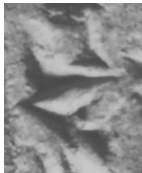



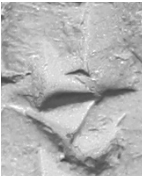
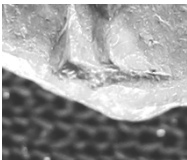
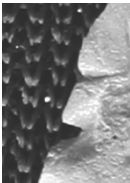



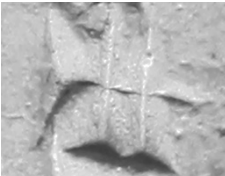
		IBoT 3.96	ABoT 2.241	ABoT 2.237	ABoT 2.239	KBo 29.53
EN		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
DA		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
IT			N/A		N/A	N/A
A				N/A		
HA		N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A

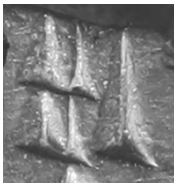


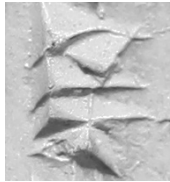





	KI	ŠA/TA		AN	LI
	IBoT 3.96	N/A			N/A
	ABoT 2.241	N/A			N/A
	ABoT 2.237	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	ABoT 2.239	N/A			N/A
	KBo 29.53	N/A			N/A





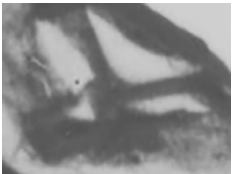

KB0 29.53	N/A	N/A		N/A
AB0T 2.239	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
AB0T 2.237			N/A	N/A
AB0T 2.241	N/A			
IB0T 3.96	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	TAR	TI	DU	AL

	AD	IBoT 3.96	ABoT 2.241	ABoT 2.237	ABoT 2.239	KBo 29.53
					N/A	
		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	LA		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	KU	N/A		N/A		v
	E		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	BI	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

		IBoT 3.96	ABoT 2.241	ABoT 2.237	ABoT 2.239	KBo 29.53
AM		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
GI	N/A	N/A				N/A
IŠ/UŠ				N/A	N/A	N/A
NI/IN				N/A	N/A	N/A
NA(+)				N/A	N/A	N/A
UK/AZ	N/A	N/A				

	W/A		IBoT 3.96	  	ABoT 2.241		ABoT 2.237		ABoT 2.239		KBo 29.53
	ŠI		N/A				N/A		N/A		N/A
	AR		N/A				N/A		N/A		N/A
	RU		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A
	PA								N/A		N/A

	IBoT 3.96	ABoT 2.241	ABoT 2.237	ABoT 2.239	KBo 29.53
I	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
IA	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
RI		N/A			N/A
Ū	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MA			N/A		

	IBoT 3.96	ABoT 2.241	ABoT 2.237	ABoT 2.239	KBo 29.53
RA	N/A		N/A		N/A
ZI	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
GAD	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
ZA			N/A	N/A	N/A
UN	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

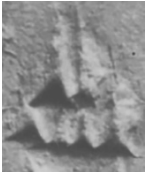

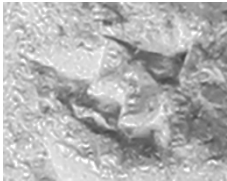










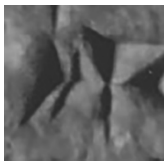
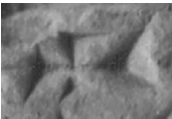
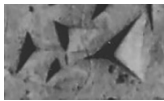

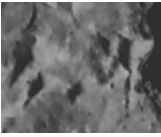





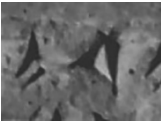


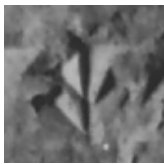







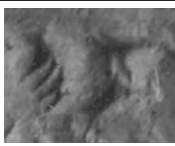
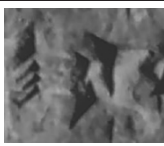


	IBoT 3.96	ABoT 2.241	ABoT 2.237	ABoT 2.239	KBo 29.53
NU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
DUMU		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
HI	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SISKUR		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Fig. 2.5: Paleography of KBo 53.228 and KBo 60.32

	KBo 53.228	KBo 60.32
EN		
DA		
IT	N/A	N/A
A		
HA	N/A	N/A
KI	N/A	N/A
ŠA/TA		
AN		
LI	N/A	N/A
TAR	N/A	N/A
TI		

	KBo 53.228	KBo 60.32
DU	N/A	
AL	N/A	
AD		
LA		
KU	N/A	N/A
E	N/A	N/A
BI	N/A	N/A
AM	N/A	N/A
GI	N/A	N/A
IŠ/UŠ		
NI/IN	N/A	
NA(+)		N/A
UK/AZ	N/A	N/A

	KBo 53.228	KBo 60.32
WA	N/A	
ŠI	N/A	N/A
AR	N/A	N/A
RU	N/A	N/A
PA		
I		
IA	N/A	N/A
RI		
Ú		
MA	N/A	N/A
RA		
ZI		




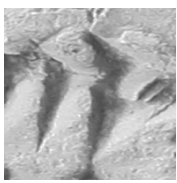
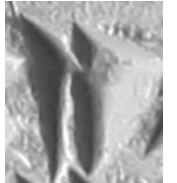


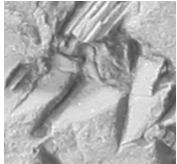
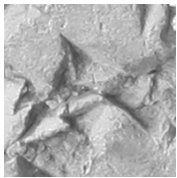
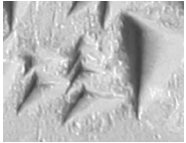
	KBo 53.228	KBo 60.32
GAD	N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A	N/A
ZA	N/A	
UN	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A
NU	N/A	N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A
HI	N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR		
MEŠ	N/A	N/A

Fig. 2.6: Paleography of KUB 35.35 and KUB 35.72

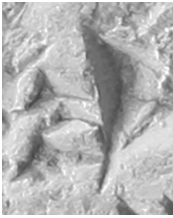
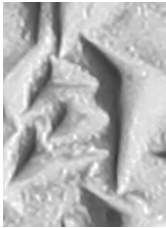

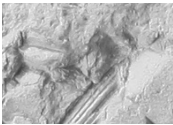

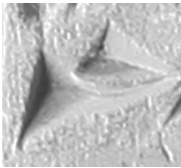

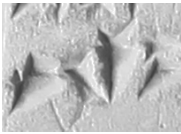
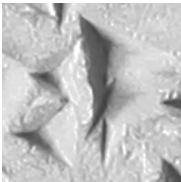
	KUB 35.35	KUB 35.72 (different hand)
EN	N/A	N/A
DA	N/A	N/A
IT	N/A	N/A
A		
ḪA	N/A	N/A
KI	N/A	N/A
ŠA/TA		
AN		N/A
LI	N/A	N/A
TAR	N/A	N/A
TI		N/A
DU	N/A	N/A
AL	N/A	N/A
AD	N/A	

DOI: 10.13173/9783447119955.2.029

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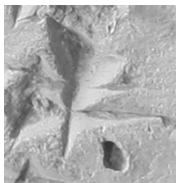
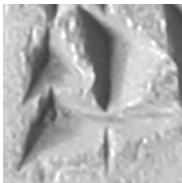

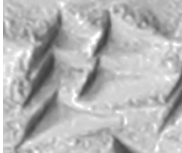


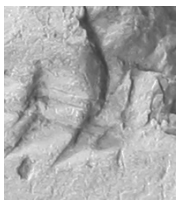
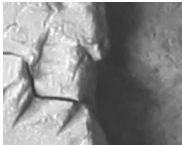

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	KUB 35.35	KUB 35.72 (different hand)
LA	N/A	N/A
KU		
E	N/A	N/A
BI	N/A	N/A
AM	N/A	N/A
GI	N/A	
IŠ/UŠ		
NI/IN	N/A	
NA(+)		
UK/AZ	N/A	N/A
WA	N/A	
ŠI	N/A	N/A

DOI: 10.13173/9783447119955.2.029

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	KUB 35.35	KUB 35.72 (different hand)
AR	N/A	
RU	N/A	N/A
PA		
I		
IA	N/A	N/A
RI	N/A	N/A
Ú	N/A	
MA		N/A
RA		
ZI		N/A

DOI: 10.13173/9783447119955.2.029

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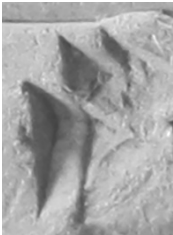
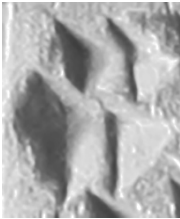
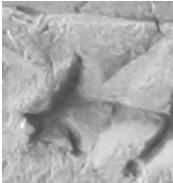
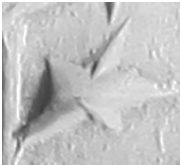

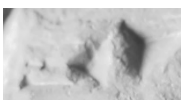



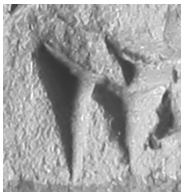
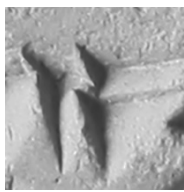









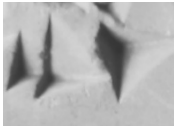

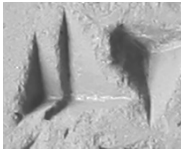

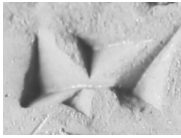
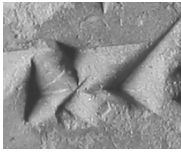




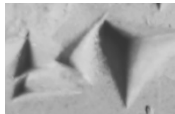


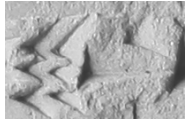


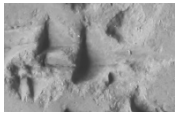
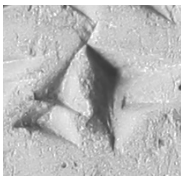
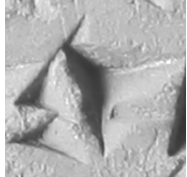
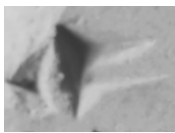





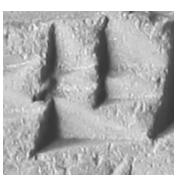
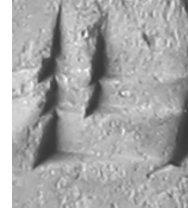
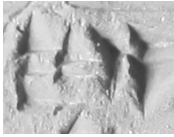
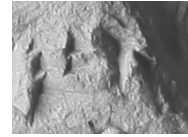
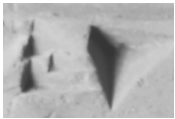

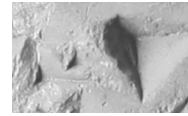



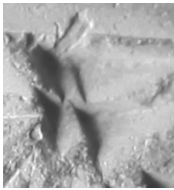
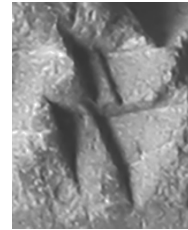
	KUB 35.35	KUB 35.72 (different hand)
GAD	N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A	N/A
ZA		
UN	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A
NU		
DUMU	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A
HI	N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR	N/A	N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A

Fig. 2.7: Paleography of KBo 39.181, KBo 39.180 and KUB 35.104+

	KBo 39.181	KBo 39.180	KUB 35.104 + KUB 35.120
EN	N/A	N/A	N/A
DA			
IT		N/A	N/A
A			
ḪA			
KI			
ŠA/TA			

	KBo 39.181	KBo 39.180	KUB 35.104 + KUB 35.120
AN			
LI	N/A	N/A	
TAR	N/A	N/A	N/A
TI	N/A		
DU	N/A	N/A	
AL	N/A	N/A	
AD	N/A	N/A	N/A
LA	N/A	N/A	
KU	N/A	N/A	N/A
E		N/A	N/A
BI	N/A	N/A	N/A
AM	N/A	N/A	N/A
GI	N/A	N/A	N/A

	KBo 39.181	KBo 39.180	KUB 35.104 + KUB 35.120
IŠ/UŠ		N/A	
NI/IN	N/A		
NA(+)			N/A
UK/AZ		N/A	N/A
WA	N/A		
ŠI			N/A
AR	N/A	N/A	
RU	N/A	N/A	N/A
PA		N/A	

	KBo 39.181	KBo 39.180	KUB 35.104 + KUB 35.120
I			
IA	N/A		
RI	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ú	N/A	N/A	N/A
MA			
RA		N/A	N/A
ZI	N/A		
GAD	N/A	N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A	N/A	N/A
ZA	N/A		
UN	N/A	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A


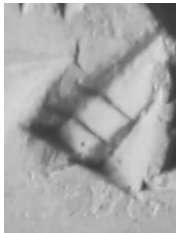
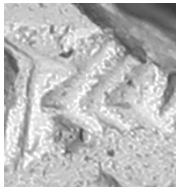




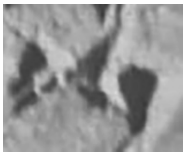
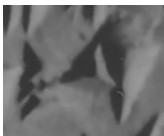









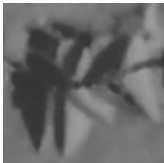

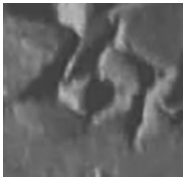



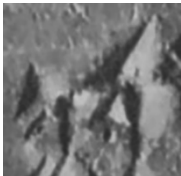

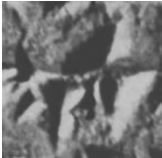

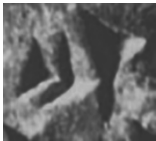

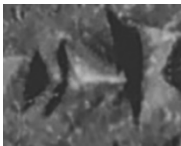


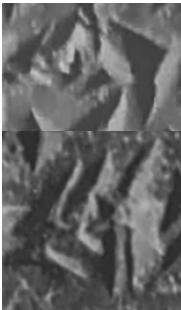


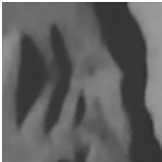








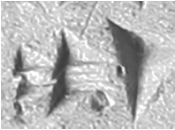
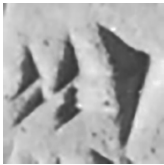

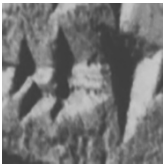
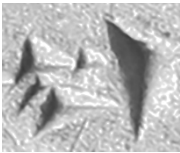
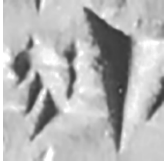




	KBo 39.181	KBo 39.180	KUB 35.104 + KUB 35.120
NU		N/A	N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A	N/A
ḪI		N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR	N/A	N/A	N/A
MEŠ		N/A	N/A

Fig. 2.8: Paleography of fragments associated with Ziti II

	KUB 35.41	KUB 29.4+ (CTH 481)	KBo 14.86+ (CTH 330)	KUB 27.59+ (CTH 691)
EN	N/A			
DA	N/A			
IT	N/A			
A				
ḪA	N/A			
KI	N/A			












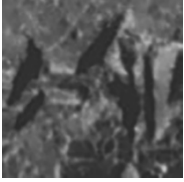
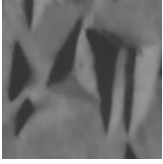






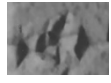

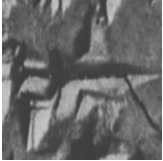
	KUB 35.41	KUB 29.4+ (CTH 481)	KBo 14.86+ (CTH 330)	KUB 27.59+ (CTH 691)
ŠA/TA				 
AN		 		
LI	N/A			
TAR	N/A		N/A	




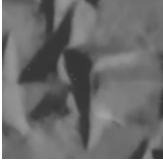



















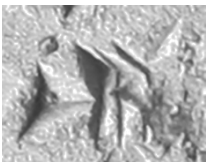



	KUB 35.41	KUB 29.4+ (CTH 481)	KBo 14.86+ (CTH 330)	KUB 27.59+ (CTH 691)
TI	N/A			
DU			N/A	
AL	N/A		N/A	
AD				
LA			N/A	N/A
KU				

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	KUB 35.41	KUB 29.4+ (CTH 481)	KBo 14.86+ (CTH 330)	KUB 27.59+ (CTH 691)
E	N/A			
BI	N/A			
AM	N/A		N/A	
GI	N/A		N/A	N/A
IŠ/UŠ				
NI/IN	N/A			
NA(+)				
UK/AZ	N/A		N/A	






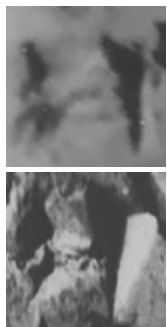
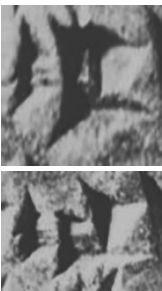

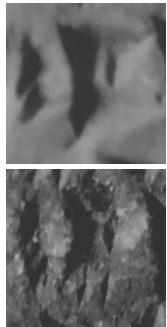




	KUB 35.41	KUB 29.4+ (CTH 481)	KBo 14.86+ (CTH 330)	KUB 27.59+ (CTH 691)
WA				
ŠI	N/A			
AR				
RU	N/A		N/A	
PA				
I	N/A			
IA	N/A			
RI				











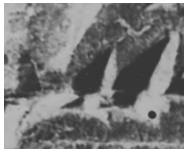



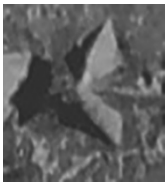
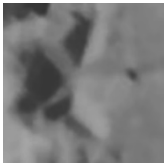


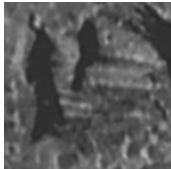
DOI: 10.13173/9783447119955.2.029

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	KUB 35.41	KUB 29.4+ (CTH 481)	KBo 14.86+ (CTH 330)	KUB 27.59+ (CTH 691)
Ú	N/A			
MA	N/A			
RA	N/A			
ZI	N/A		N/A	
GAD	N/A			N/A

	KUB 35.41	KUB 29.4+ (CTH 481)	KBo 14.86+ (CTH 330)	KUB 27.59+ (CTH 691)
ŠU	N/A			
ZA	N/A			
UN	N/A		N/A	 
MU	N/A			
NU				
DUMU				N/A

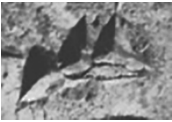





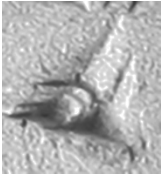


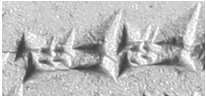



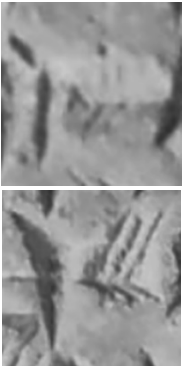


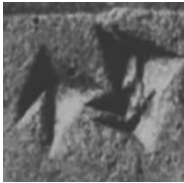

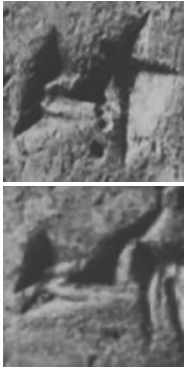
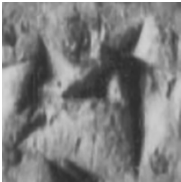

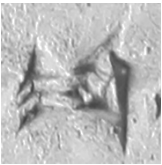



	KUB 35.41	KUB 29.4+ (CTH 481)	KBo 14.86+ (CTH 330)	KUB 27.59+ (CTH 691)
LÚ				
TE	N/A		N/A	
ḪI			N/A	
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR			N/A	
MEŠ	N/A			

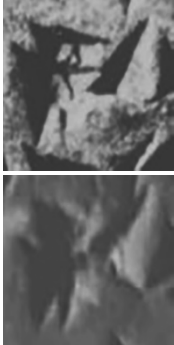
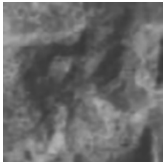
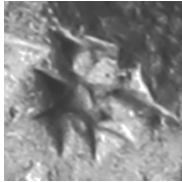


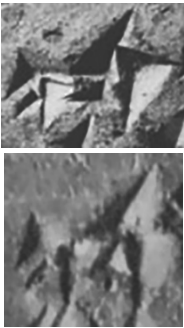
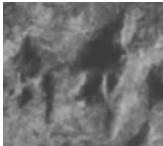
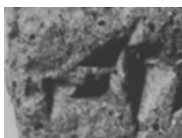




Fig. 2.9: Paleography of fragments attributed to Ziti II

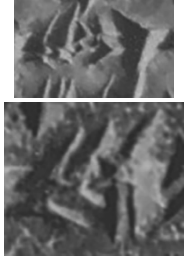


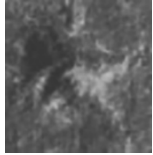


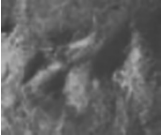
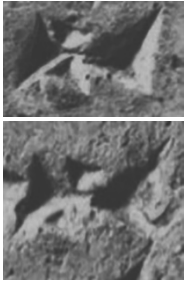

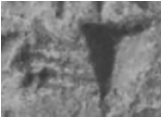





	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
EN		N/A		N/A
DA		N/A		
IT			N/A	N/A
A		N/A		










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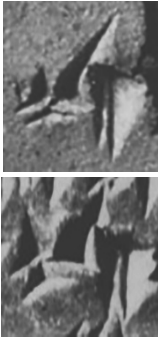









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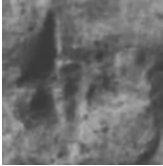








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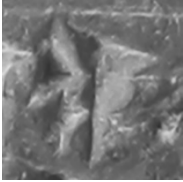


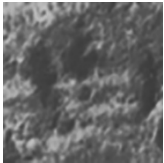
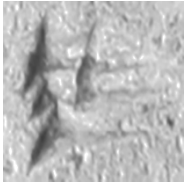



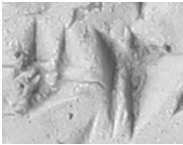
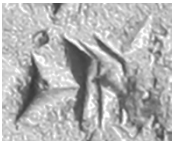
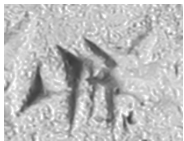
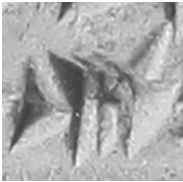


	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
ḪA				N/A
KI		N/A	N/A	
ŠA/TA				
AN				



	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
LI		N/A		N/A
TAR				N/A
TI				N/A
DU				
AL		N/A		

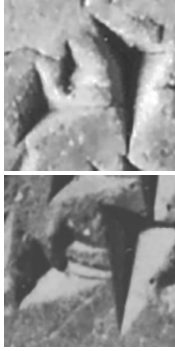
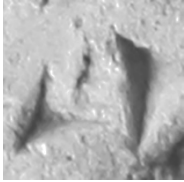
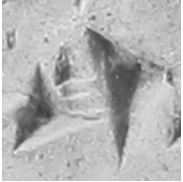

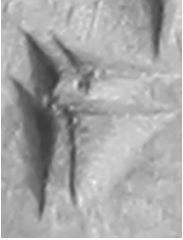

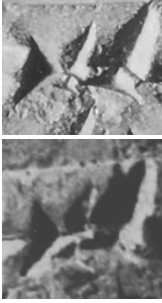
	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
AD		N/A		
LA		N/A	N/A	
KU	 	N/A	N/A	
E		N/A		 
BI	 	N/A	N/A	


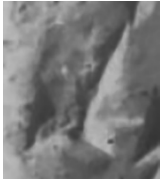
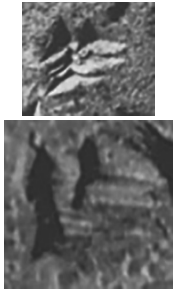
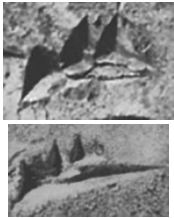

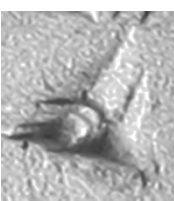

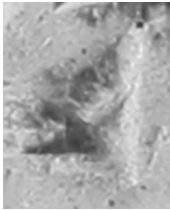
	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
AM		N/A		N/A
GI		N/A	N/A	
IŠ/UŠ		N/A		N/A
NI/IN				
NA(+)		N/A	N/A	
UK/AZ		N/A	N/A	

	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
WA				
ŠI		N/A		
AR		N/A	N/A	
RU		N/A	N/A	N/A

	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
PA			N/A	
I	 			N/A
IA	 	N/A		
RI		N/A		
Ú	 	N/A	N/A	N/A

	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
MA		N/A		N/A
RA		N/A	N/A	N/A
ZI				N/A
GAD		N/A	N/A	N/A

	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
ŠU		N/A		
ZA		N/A	N/A	
UN		N/A	N/A	N/A
MU		N/A	N/A	N/A

	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
NU		N/A	N/A	
DUMU		N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ		N/A	N/A	N/A
TE		N/A	N/A	N/A
HI		N/A		


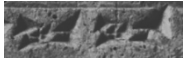



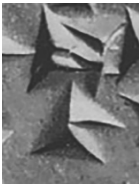


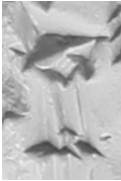







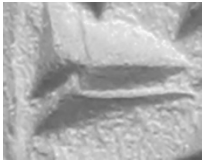


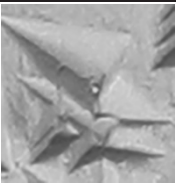
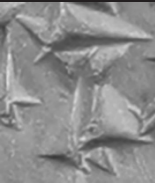
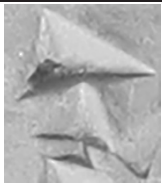












	Ziti II attested by colophon	KUB 35.94	KUB 35.83	KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8
SISKUR/ SĪSKUR		N/A		
MEŠ	 	N/A	N/A	N/A

Fig. 2.10: Paleography of KUB 35.81 and related fragments

	KUB 35.81	KBo 71.94	KUB 35.78	KUB 35.37	KUB 35.42	KUB 34.62+	KBo 29.14
EN	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
DA	N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A
IT	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A
A							

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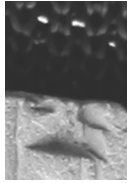

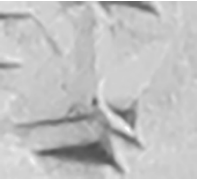














KBo 29.14	N/A	N/A		
KUB 34.62+		N/A		
KUB 35.42	N/A	N/A		N/A
KUB 35.37	N/A	N/A		
KUB 35.78		N/A		
KBo 71.94		N/A		
KUB 35.81		N/A		
	HA	KI	ŠA/TA	AN


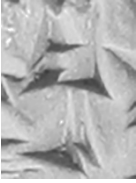

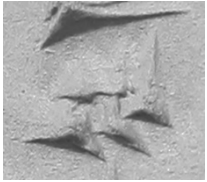







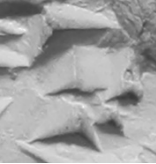
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KBo 29.14	N/A	N/A	N/A	
KUB 34.62+				
KUB 35.42	N/A	N/A		N/A
KUB 35.37	N/A			
KUB 35.78	 			
KBo 71.94	N/A	N/A	N/A	
KUB 35.81		N/A	N/A	
	LI	TAR	TI	DU











KBo 29.14	N/A	N/A		N/A
KUB 34.62+			N/A	N/A
KUB 35.42	N/A	N/A		N/A
KUB 35.37	N/A			
KUB 35.78			N/A	N/A
KBo 71.94		N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 35.81	N/A			N/A
	AL	AD	LA	KU

DOI: 10.13173/9783447119955.2.029

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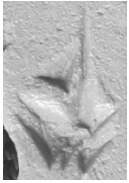



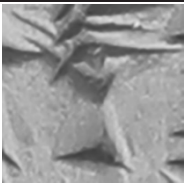

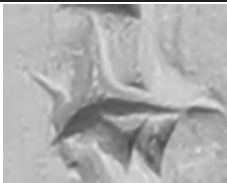
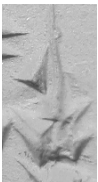

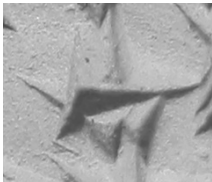









	KUB 35.81	KBo 71.94	KUB 35.78	KUB 35.37	KUB 35.42	KUB 34.62+	KBo 29.14
E	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A
BI	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
AM	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
GI	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
IŠ/UŠ	N/A			N/A	N/A		N/A

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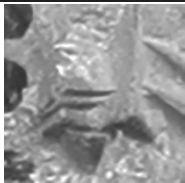
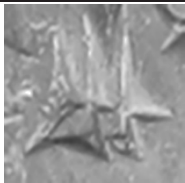
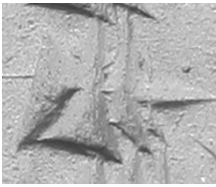








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KBo 29.14				N/A
KUB 34.62+				
KUB 35.42			N/A	
KUB 35.37	N/A	N/A	N/A	
KUB 35.78			N/A	
KBo 71.94			N/A	
KUB 35.81	N/A		N/A	
	NI/IN	NA(+)	UK/AZ	WA

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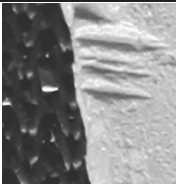
















KBo 29.14		N/A	N/A	
KUB 34.62+	N/A			
KUB 35.42	N/A	N/A	N/A	
KUB 35.37	N/A	N/A	N/A	
KUB 35.78				
KBo 71.94	N/A		N/A	N/A
KUB 35.81	N/A		N/A	
	ŠI	AR	RU	PA

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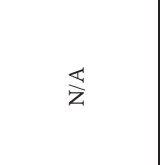

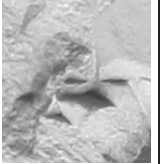




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	KBo 29.14		N/A	N/A	
	KUB 34.62+				
	KUB 35.42		N/A		N/A
	KUB 35.37		N/A		
	KUB 35.78			N/A	
	KBo 71.94			N/A	N/A
	KUB 35.81		N/A		N/A
		I	IA	RI	Ū

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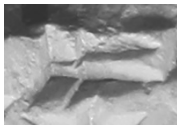


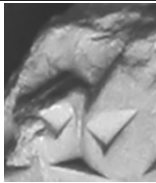

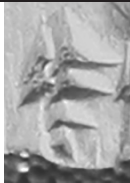
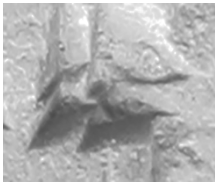
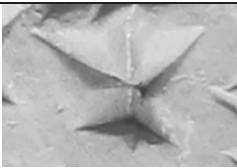

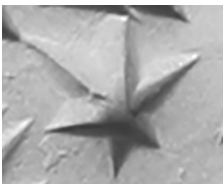




	KUB 35.81	KBo 71.94	KUB 35.78	KUB 35.37	KUB 35.42	KUB 34.62+	KBo 29.14
					N/A		N/A
MA				N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
RA					N/A	N/A	N/A
ZI	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
GAD		N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A

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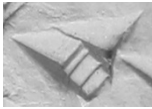


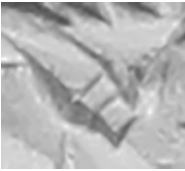



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	KUB 35.81	KBo 71.94	KUB 35.78	KUB 35.37	KUB 35.42	KUB 34.62+	KBo 29.14
							
ZA	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UN	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
NU							
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

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	KUB 35.81	KBo 71.94	KUB 35.78	KUB 35.37	KUB 35.42	KUB 34.62+	KBo 29.14
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
TE	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
ḪI		N/A	 	N/A	N/A		N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR	N/A	N/A			N/A		N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

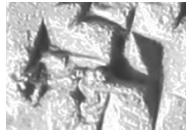
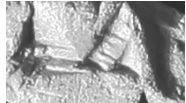
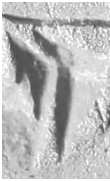
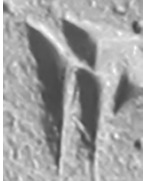
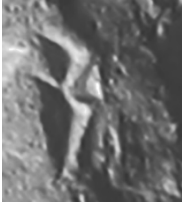
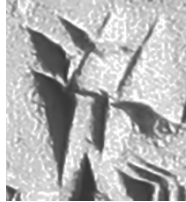

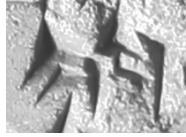

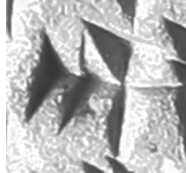
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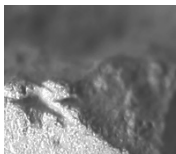
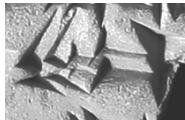
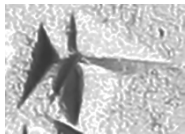
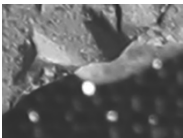
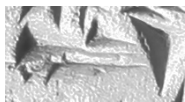
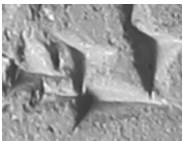
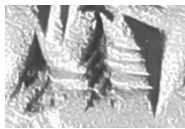
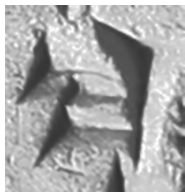
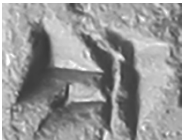
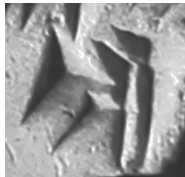
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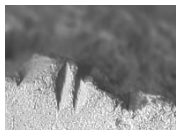
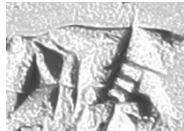

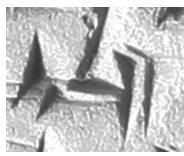


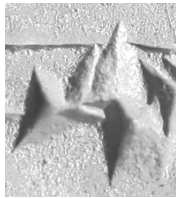
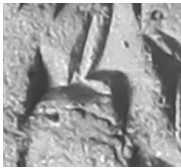
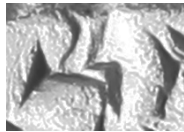
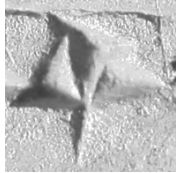
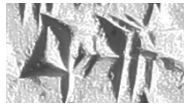
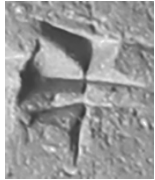
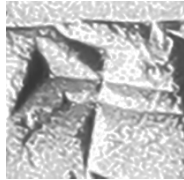
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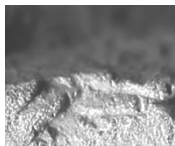
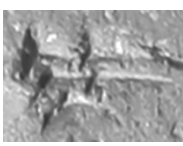
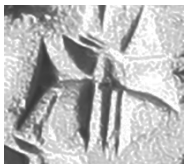
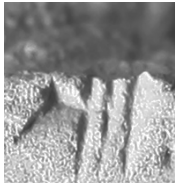


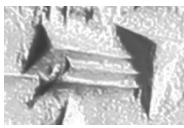
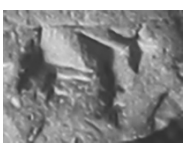
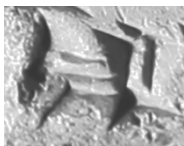
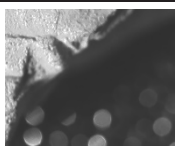

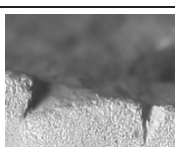
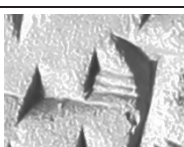
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Fig. 2.11: Paleography of KUB 35.3, KBo 29.24 and KUB 35.67

	KUB 35.3	KBo 29.24	KUB 35.67
EN	N/A	N/A	N/A
DA	N/A	N/A	
IT	N/A	N/A	
A			N/A
ḪA	N/A		
KI	N/A	N/A	N/A
ŠA/TA	N/A		
AN	N/A		

	KUB 35.3	KBo 29.24	KUB 35.67
LI		N/A	
TAR	N/A	N/A	
TI	N/A	N/A	N/A
DU	N/A		
AL	N/A		N/A
AD	N/A	N/A	
LA	N/A	N/A	N/A
KU	N/A	N/A	
E	N/A		
BI	N/A	N/A	N/A
AM	N/A	N/A	N/A

	KUB 35.3	KBo 29.24	KUB 35.67
GI		N/A	
IŠ/UŠ	N/A		
NI/IN		N/A	
NA(+)			
UK/AZ	N/A	N/A	N/A
WA	N/A	N/A	N/A
ŠI		N/A	N/A
AR	N/A	N/A	
RU	N/A	N/A	N/A
PA	N/A		

	KUB 35.3	KBo 29.24	KUB 35.67
I			N/A
IA	N/A	N/A	N/A
RI	N/A	N/A	
Ū		N/A	
MA	N/A		
RA	N/A		
ZI		N/A	
GAD	N/A	N/A	N/A
ŠU		N/A	

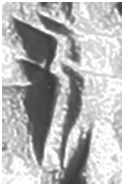
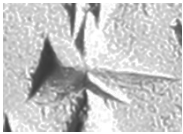
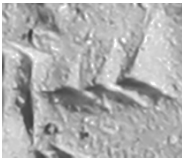
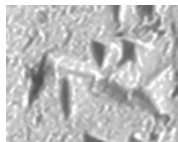
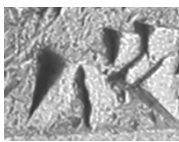
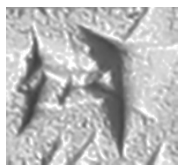

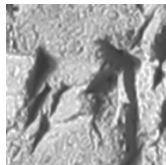

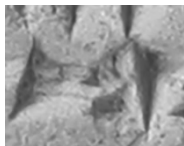
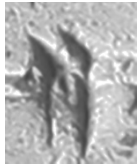


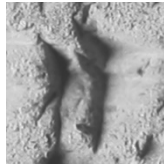
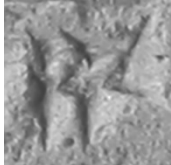

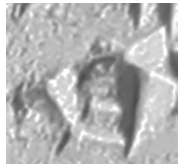

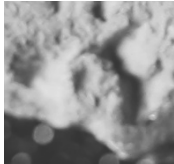
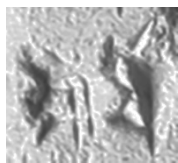



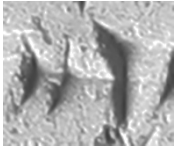
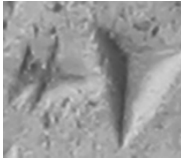
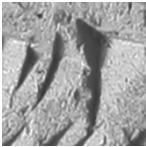

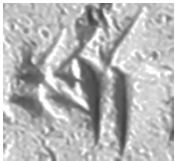
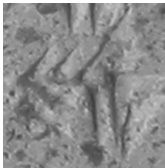
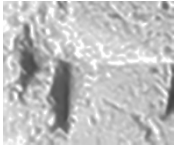
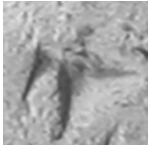
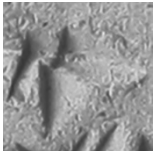

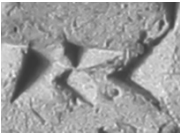

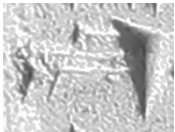
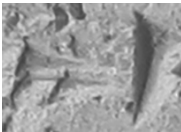
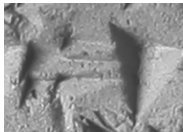

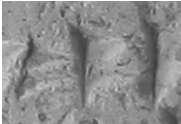
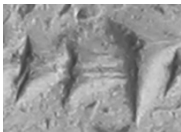
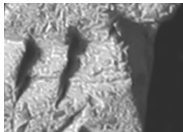
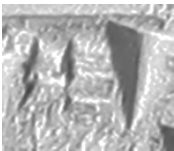

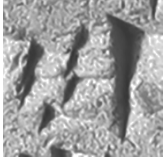




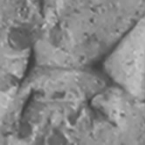

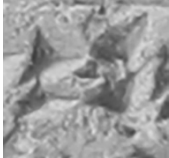
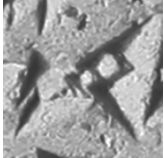

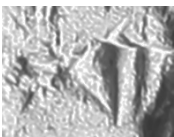

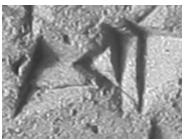
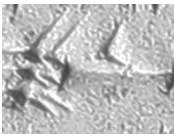
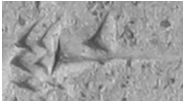
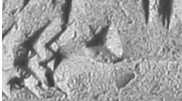
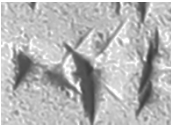
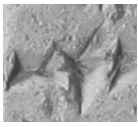
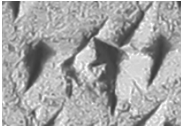

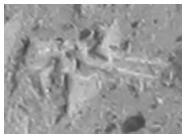
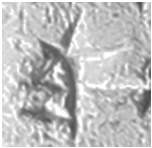
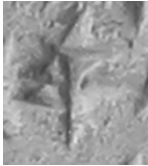
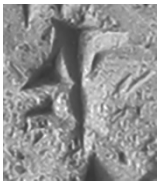
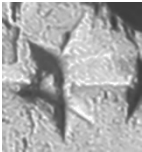
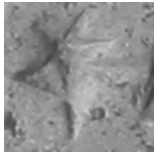
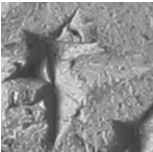
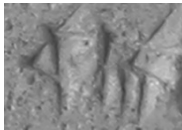
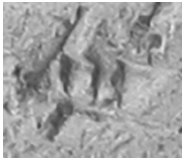
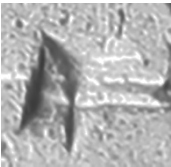

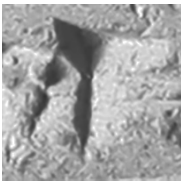

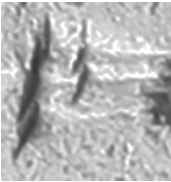

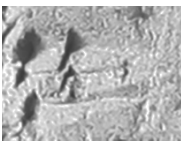

	KUB 35.3	KBo 29.24	KUB 35.67
ZA	N/A	N/A	
UN	N/A	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A
NU	N/A	N/A	
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A	N/A
HI	N/A	N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR	N/A	N/A	N/A
MEŠ	N/A		N/A

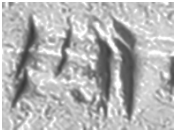


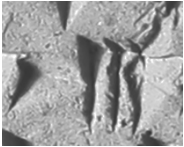

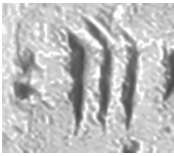
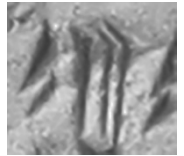

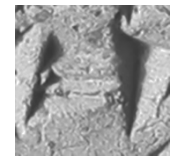


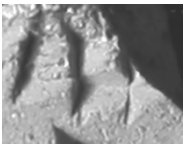
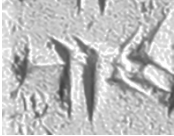







Fig. 2.12: Paleography KBo 8.129 and related fragments

	KBo 8.129	KUB 32.8	KUB 32.5	KUB 35.85
EN		N/A		N/A
DA				N/A
IT			N/A	N/A
A				
ḪA	N/A		N/A	
KI			N/A	
ŠA/TA				

	KBo 8.129	KUB 32.8	KUB 32.5	KUB 35.85
AN				
LI			N/A	N/A
TAR				N/A
TI	N/A			
DU				
AL	N/A		N/A	N/A
AD	N/A			N/A

	KBo 8.129	KUB 32.8	KUB 32.5	KUB 35.85
LA				N/A
KU	N/A		N/A	
E	N/A		N/A	
BI	N/A		N/A	
AM	N/A			N/A
GI	N/A		N/A	N/A
IŠ/UŠ				N/A
NI/IN				N/A

	KBo 8.129	KUB 32.8	KUB 32.5	KUB 35.85
NA(+)				
UK/AZ	N/A		N/A	N/A
WA				N/A
ŠI				N/A
AR	N/A		N/A	N/A
RU	N/A		N/A	N/A
PA				
I				

	KBo 8.129	KUB 32.8	KUB 32.5	KUB 35.85
IA			N/A	N/A
RI	N/A			
Ú			N/A	N/A
MA	N/A			
RA	N/A			N/A
ZI				N/A
GAD	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A		N/A	N/A
ZA				

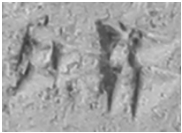
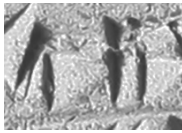
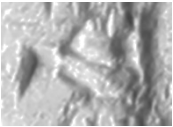
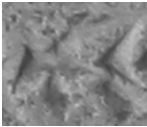
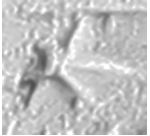
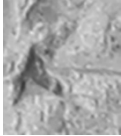




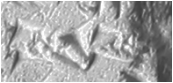
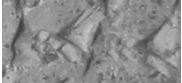
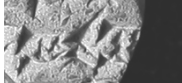
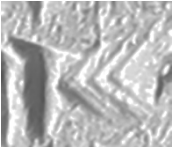
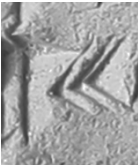
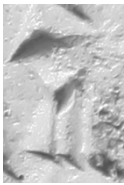
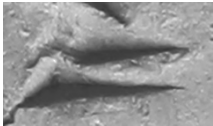
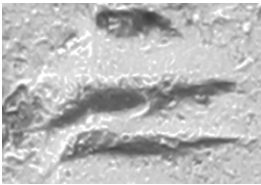
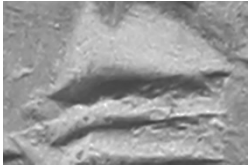
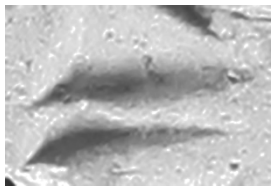
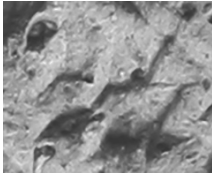
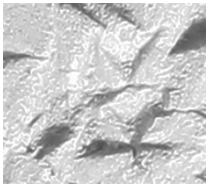
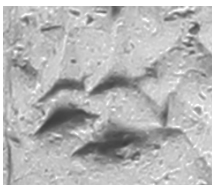
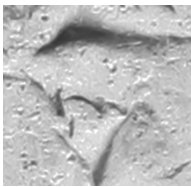
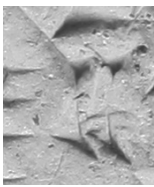
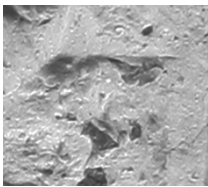
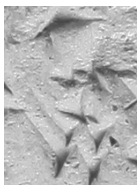



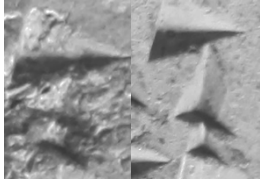
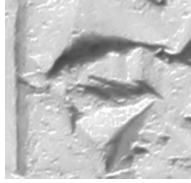
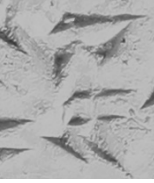


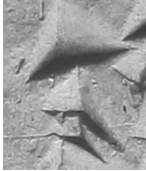
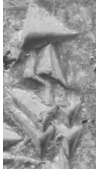
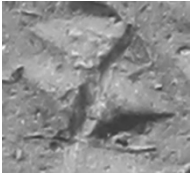
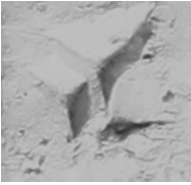

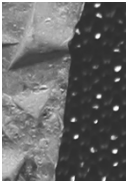

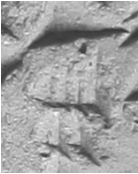
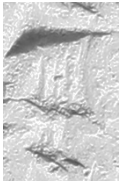

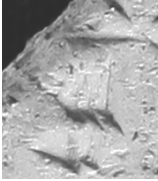

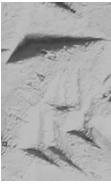
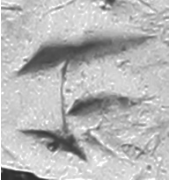
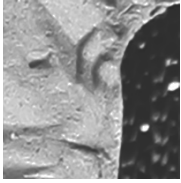








	KBo 8.129	KUB 32.8	KUB 32.5	KUB 35.85
UN	N/A			N/A
MU			N/A	N/A
NU			N/A	
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A		N/A	N/A
TE	N/A		N/A	N/A
ĤI	N/A		N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ ŚISKUR				N/A
MEŠ		N/A		N/A

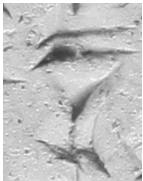

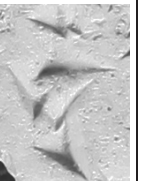
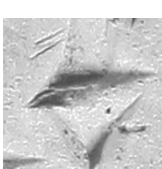
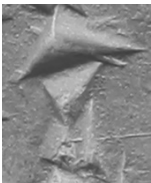
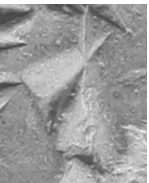
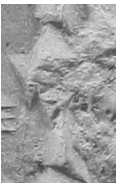
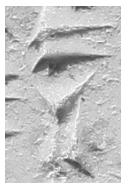
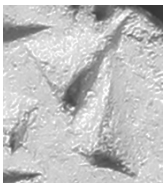
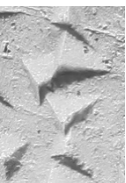
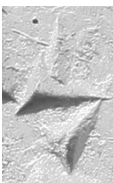

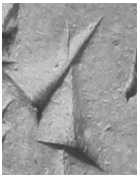
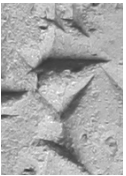
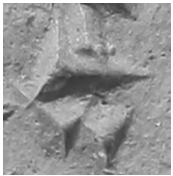

Fig. 2.13: Paleography of KUB 35.18 and related fragments



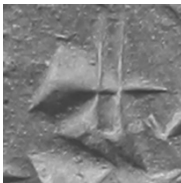

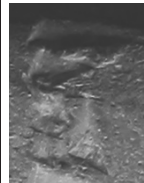


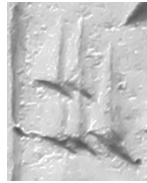


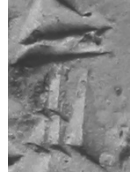
	KUB 35.18	KUB 35.66	KBo 29.11	KBo 29.10	KBo 58.225
EN	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
DA	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
IT	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
A			N/A		
HA			N/A	N/A	

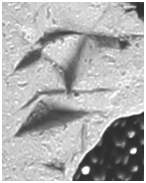
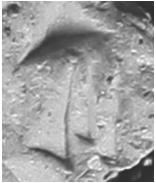


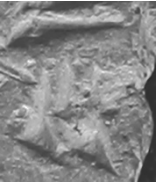

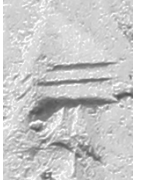

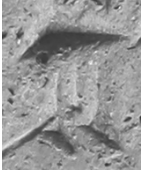


KBo 58.225				
KBo 29.10	N/A			
KBo 29.11	N/A	N/A		N/A
KUB 35.66			N/A	N/A
KUB 35.18				
	KI	ŠA/TA	AN	LI

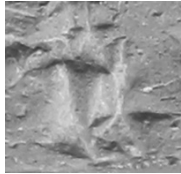
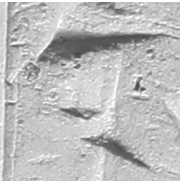


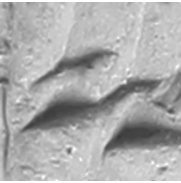
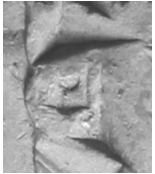
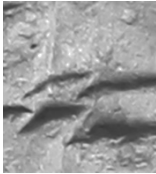
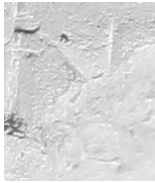

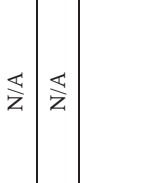
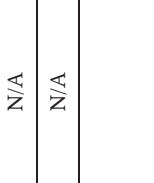
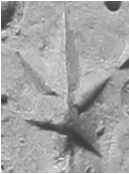
	KUB 35.18	KUB 35.66	KBo 29.11	KBo 29.10	KBo 58.225
TAR			N/A	N/A	N/A
TI	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
DU		N/A	N/A		N/A
AL		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
AD			N/A		
LA			N/A	N/A	N/A

	KBo 58.225	N/A		N/A		N/A
	KBo 29.10	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
	KBo 29.11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	KUB 35.66	N/A			N/A	
	KUB 35.18				N/A	
KU	E	BI	AM	GI		

	KBo 58.225				N/A	N/A	
	KBo 29.10				N/A	N/A	N/A
	KBo 29.11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	KUB 35.66				N/A	N/A	
	KUB 35.18				N/A		
IŠ/UŠ	NI/IN	NA(+)	UK/AZ	WA	ŠI		

	KBo 58.225		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	KBo 29.10	N/A				
	KBo 29.11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	KUB 35.66	N/A	N/A			N/A
	KUB 35.18	N/A	N/A			
AR	RU	PA	I	IA		

KBo 58.225		N/A		N/A	N/A
KBo 29.10				N/A	N/A
KBo 29.11		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 35.66	N/A		N/A		N/A
KUB 35.18	N/A	N/A			
	RI	Ú	MA	RA	ZI

	KUB 35.18	KUB 35.66	KBo 29.11	KBo 29.10	KBo 58.225
GAD					
					
ZA					
NU					




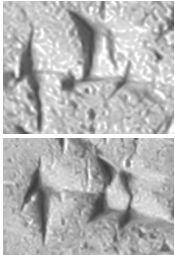
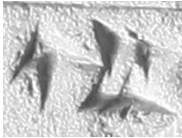
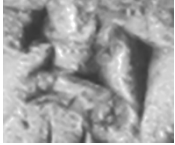
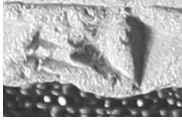

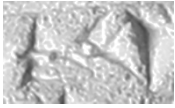
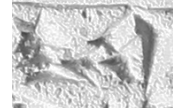
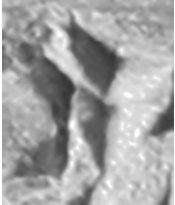


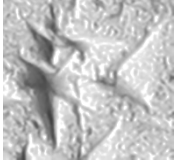
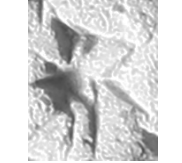
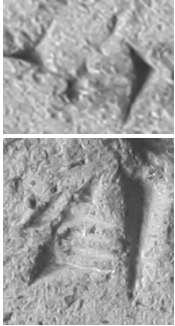

	KUB 35.18	KUB 35.66	KBo 29.11	KBo 29.10	KBo 58.225
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
HI		N/A	N/A		N/A
SISKUR/ SISKUR	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MEŠ		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

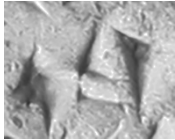
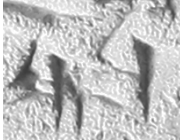

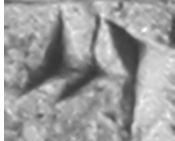
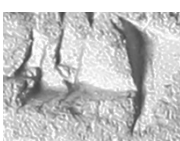

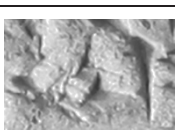
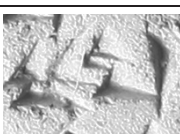
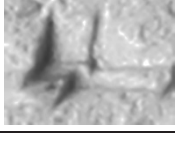
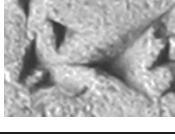
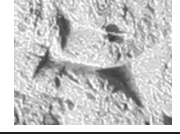
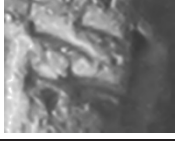

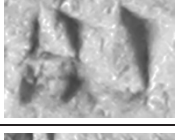
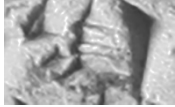

Fig. 2.14: Paleography of KBo 29.3+, KUB 35.46 and KUB 9.36

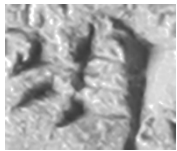
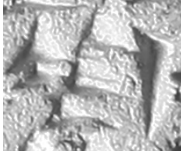
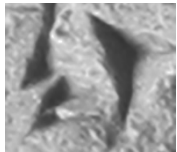

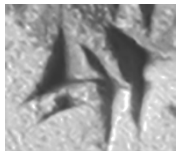
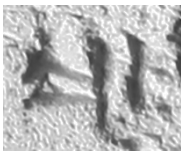
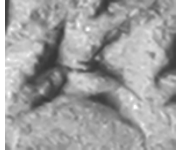
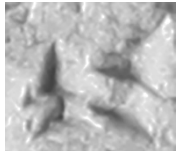
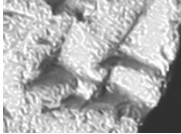
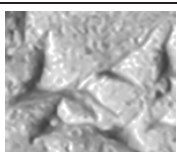
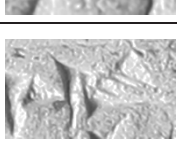




	KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45	KUB 35.46	KUB 9.36 (different hand)
EN			N/A
DA			
IT			N/A
A			
HA			N/A
KI			N/A

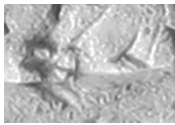
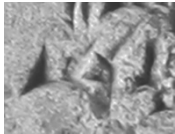
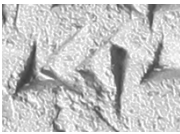

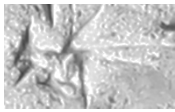
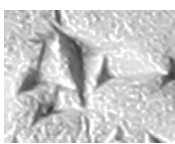
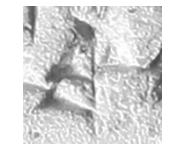

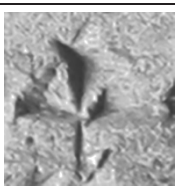
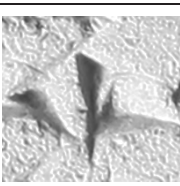


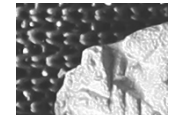
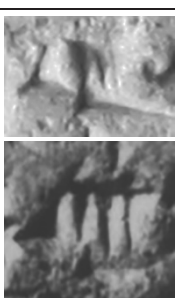


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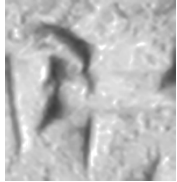
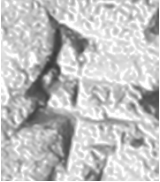

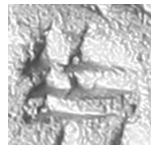

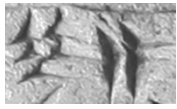
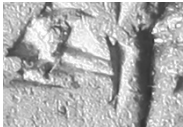
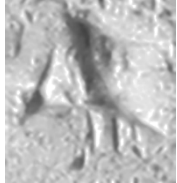

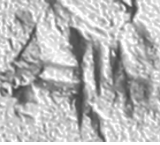
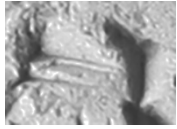





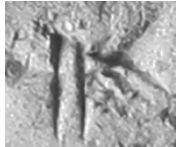
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	KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45	KUB 35.46	KUB 9.36 (different hand)
ŠA/TA			
AN			
LI			N/A
TAR		N/A	N/A
TI			N/A
DU			N/A
AL		N/A	N/A
AD			N/A

	KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45	KUB 35.46	KUB 9.36 (different hand)
LA			N/A
KU		N/A	
E			N/A
BI	 		N/A
AM		N/A	N/A
GI			
IŠ/UŠ			N/A


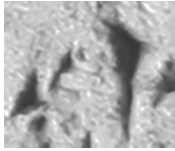


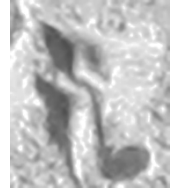


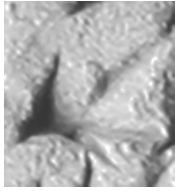
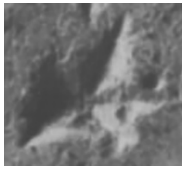

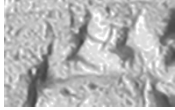
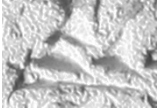
	KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45	KUB 35.46	KUB 9.36 (different hand)
NI/IN		N/A	N/A
NA(+)			
UK/AZ		N/A	N/A
WA			
ŠI			
AR			N/A
RU			

	KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45	KUB 35.46	KUB 9.36 (different hand)
PA			N/A
I			
IA			N/A
RI		N/A	N/A
Ú			N/A
MA			
RA			
ZI		N/A	N/A

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	KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45	KUB 35.46	KUB 9.36 (different hand)
GAD		N/A	N/A
ŠU			
ZA		N/A	N/A
UN		N/A	
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A
NU		N/A	
DUMU	N/A	N/A	
LÚ			N/A


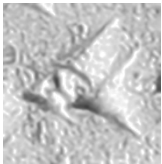
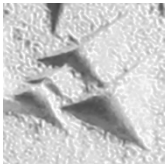

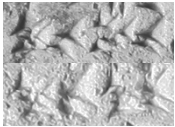
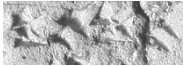
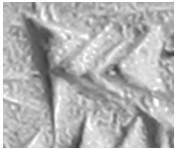

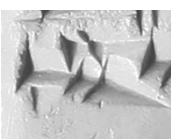
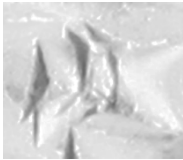


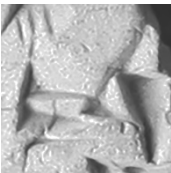
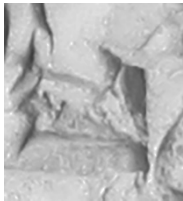


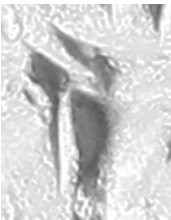
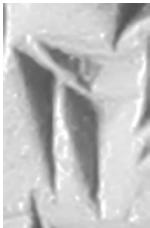
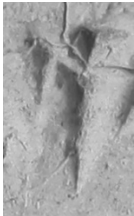

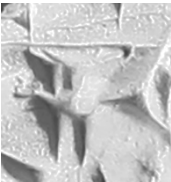
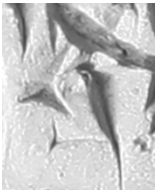

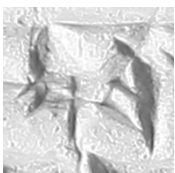




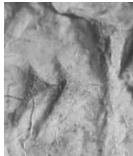


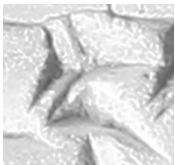



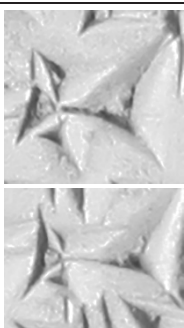


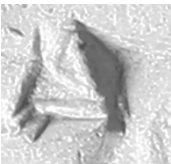
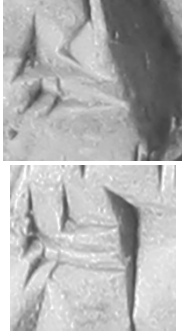
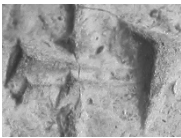
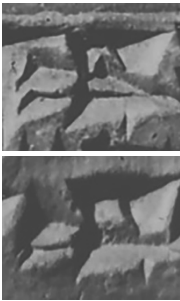
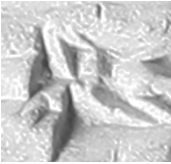
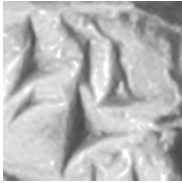

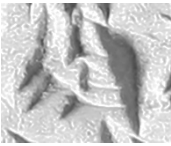
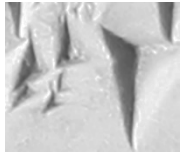



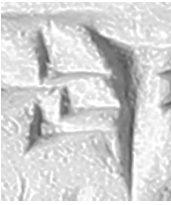
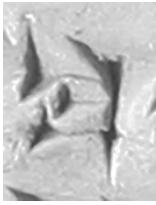

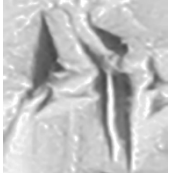
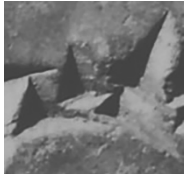
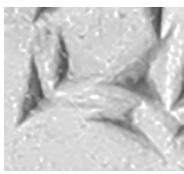

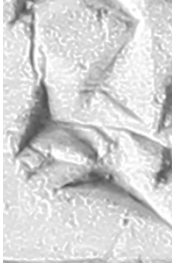
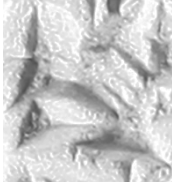
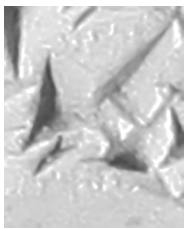
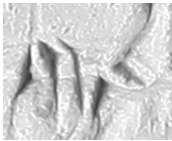





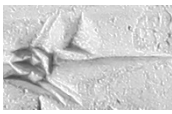
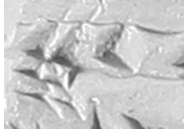
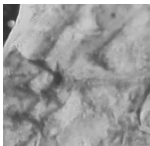
	KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45	KUB 35.46	KUB 9.36 (different hand)
TE		N/A	N/A
HI			
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR			N/A
MEŠ		N/A	N/A

Fig. 2.15: Paleography of KUB 35.51 and other fragments

	KUB 35.51	KUB 35.16	KUB 35.14	KUB 35.117 (different hand)
EN				
DA				N/A
IT		N/A	N/A	N/A
A				
ḪA			N/A	N/A
KI	N/A		N/A	N/A

	KUB 35.51	KUB 35.16	KUB 35.14	KUB 35.117 (different hand)
ŠA/TA				N/A
AN				
LI			N/A	N/A
TAR	N/A			N/A
TI				


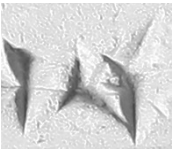
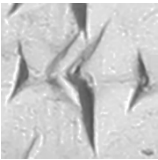

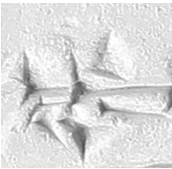

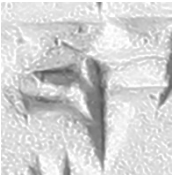
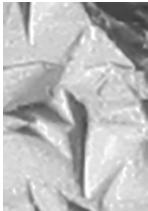


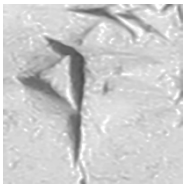



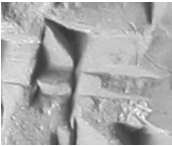
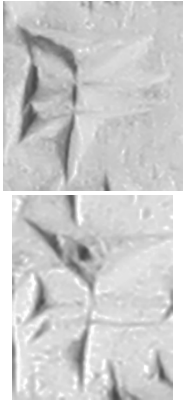
	KUB 35.51	KUB 35.16	KUB 35.14	KUB 35.117 (different hand)
DU				
AL				N/A
AD				N/A
LA		N/A		N/A
KU				N/A

	KUB 35.51	KUB 35.16	KUB 35.14	KUB 35.117 (different hand)
E		N/A		N/A
BI		N/A		N/A
AM		 		N/A
GI	N/A			N/A
IŠ/UŠ				N/A
NI/IN				

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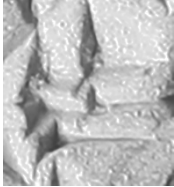
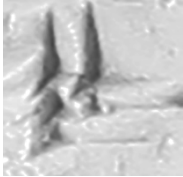


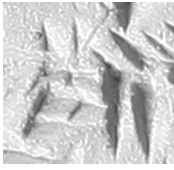



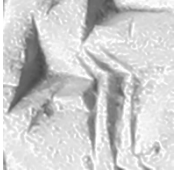
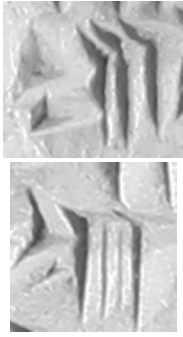

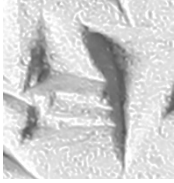


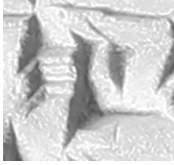

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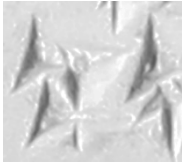






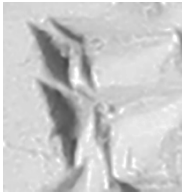
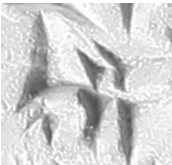
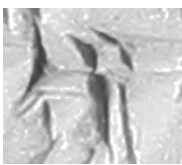
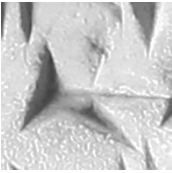
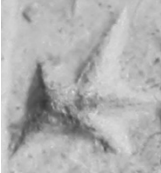
	KUB 35.51	KUB 35.16	KUB 35.14	KUB 35.117 (different hand)
NA(+)				N/A
UK/AZ			N/A	N/A
WA				
ŠI		N/A		N/A
AR		N/A		N/A
RU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
PA				N/A

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	KUB 35.51	KUB 35.16	KUB 35.14	KUB 35.117 (different hand)
I				
IA			N/A	N/A
RI			N/A	N/A
Ú				N/A
MA				N/A
RA				N/A

	KUB 35.51	KUB 35.16	KUB 35.14	KUB 35.117 (different hand)
ZI			N/A	
GAD	N/A			
ŠU				N/A
ZA				N/A
UN	N/A			N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
NU	N/A		N/A	
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A


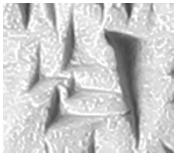



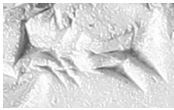


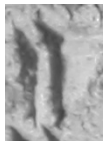
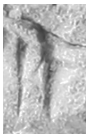


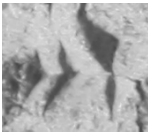
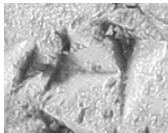
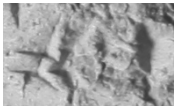
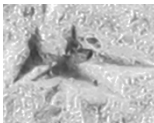
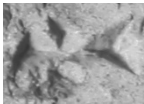
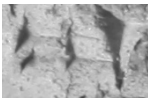
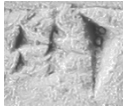
	KUB 35.51	KUB 35.16	KUB 35.14	KUB 35.117 (different hand)
TE			N/A	N/A
HI			N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SISKUR			N/A	N/A
MEŠ		N/A	N/A	N/A

Fig. 2.16: Paleography of KBo 29.22+ and KBo 29.19

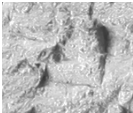
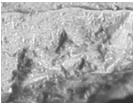
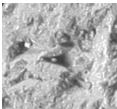
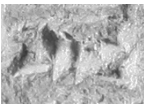

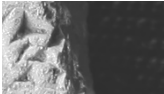
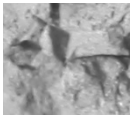

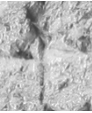
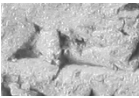
	KBo 29.22 + KBo 57.226	KBo 29.19
EN		N/A
DA	N/A	N/A
IT	N/A	N/A
A		
ḪA	N/A	N/A
KI	N/A	N/A
ŠA/TA		
AN		
LI		N/A
TAR	N/A	
TI		N/A
DU	N/A	N/A
AL	N/A	N/A
AD		

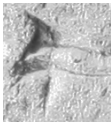
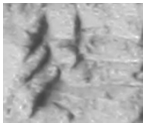

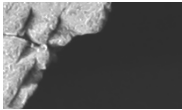
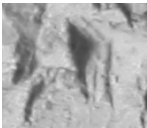

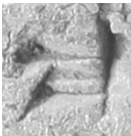
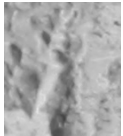
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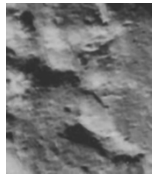

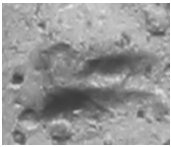

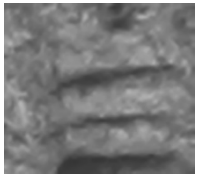
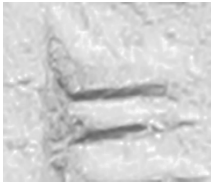
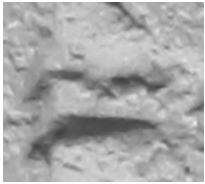
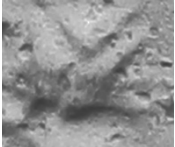

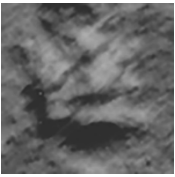
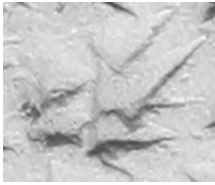
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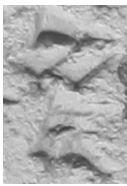
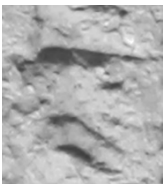
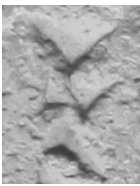
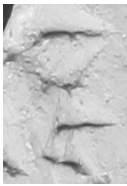


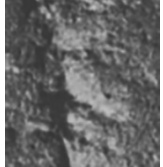
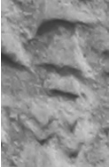
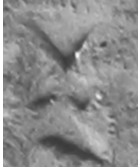
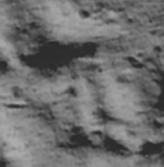
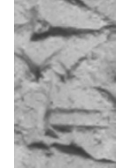
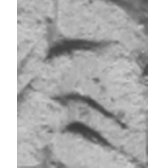
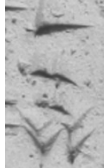
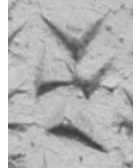

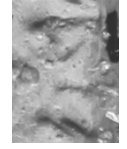

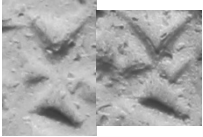
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KU	N/A	N/A
E	N/A	N/A
BI	N/A	
AM	N/A	
GI	N/A	
IŠ/UŠ		N/A
NI/IN	N/A	N/A
NA(+)	N/A	N/A
UK/AZ	N/A	
WA		N/A
ŠI		
AR	N/A	N/A
RU	N/A	

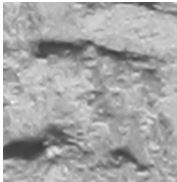
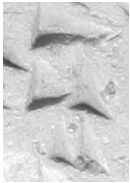
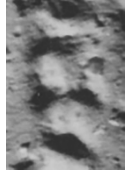
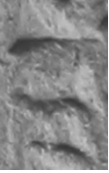

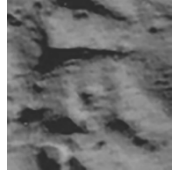
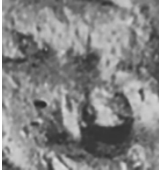
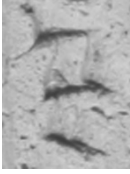
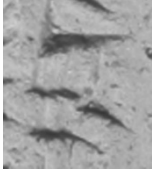

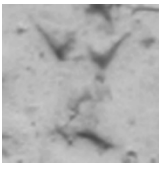
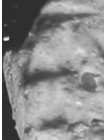
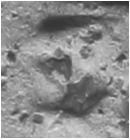
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PA	N/A	
I		N/A
IA		
RI	N/A	N/A
Ú		N/A
MA		
RA	N/A	N/A
ZI	N/A	N/A
GAD	N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A	N/A
ZA		N/A
UN	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A
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LÚ	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A
ḪI	N/A	N/A




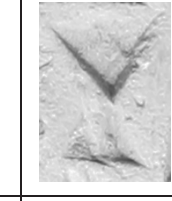

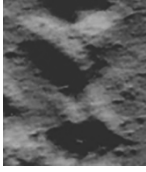
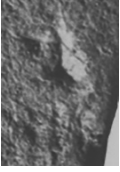

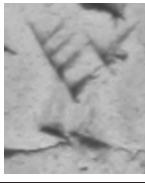
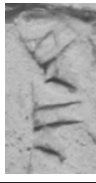
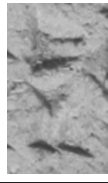
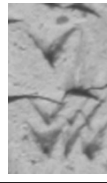
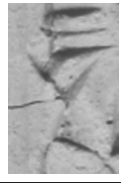


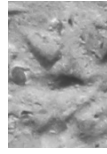
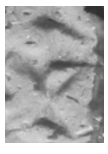
	KBo 29.22 + KBo 57.226	KBo 29.19
SISKUR/ SĪSKUR	N/A	N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A

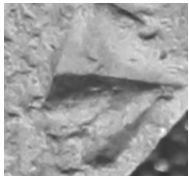
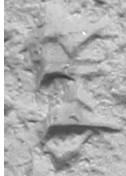
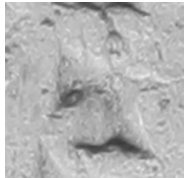
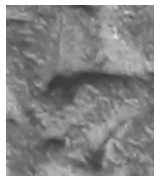

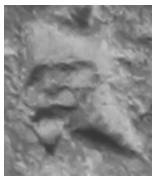
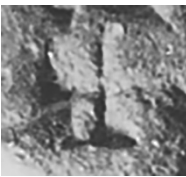
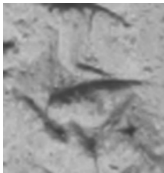
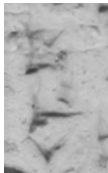
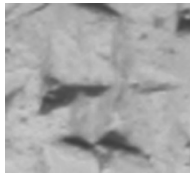
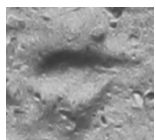
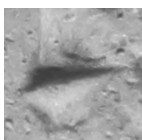
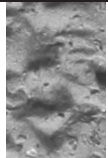
Fig. 2.17: Paleography of KUB 35.23 and related fragments

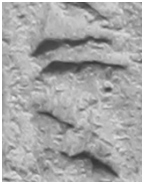
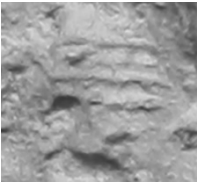
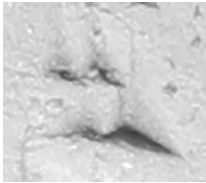

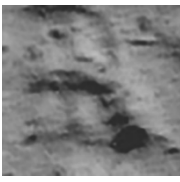
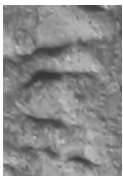
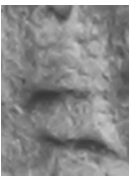
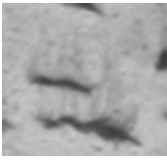
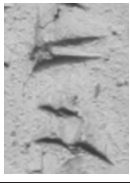

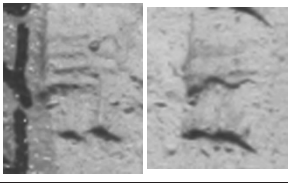
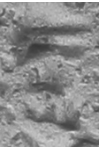
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EN	N/A			N/A	N/A
DA	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A
IT	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
A					
HA					N/A
KI	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

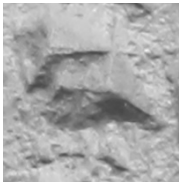

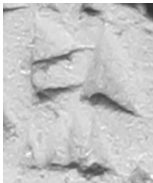
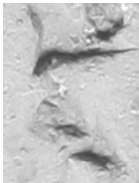

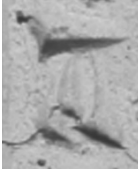
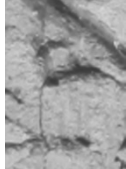

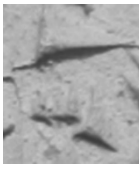
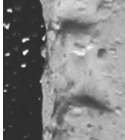
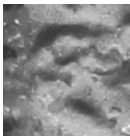
KUB 35.22			N/A	N/A		N/A
KUB 32.12			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 35.24 + KUB 35.20				N/A		
KUB 32.81+				N/A		
KUB 35.23			N/A	N/A		N/A
	ŠA/TA	AN	LI	TAR	TI	DU

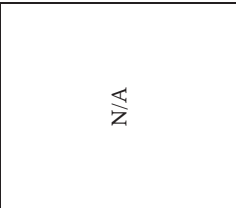
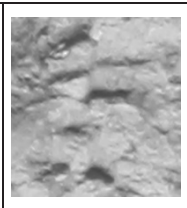
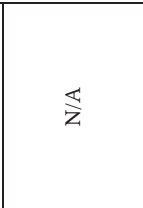
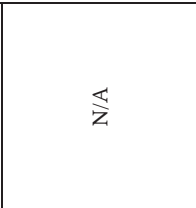



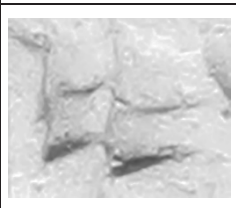
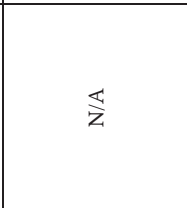
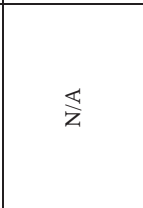




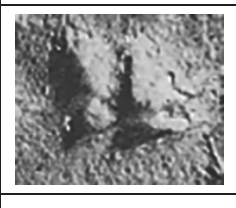

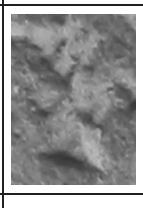
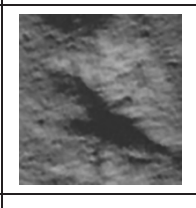




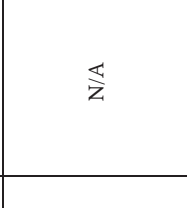
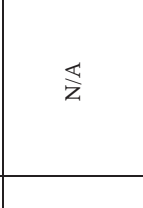
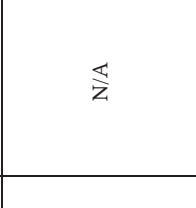
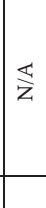


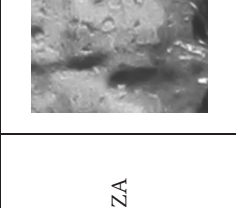
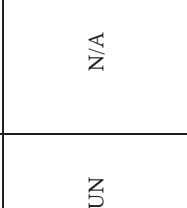

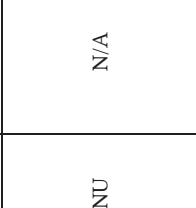
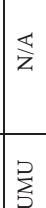


KUB 35.22	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A
KUB 32.12		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 35.24 + KUB 35.20					N/A	
KUB 32.81+		N/A			N/A	
KUB 35.23		N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
	AL	AD	LA	KU	E	BI

KUB 35.22		N/A		N/A		N/A
KUB 32.12		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
KUB 35.24 + KUB 35.20		N/A	N/A			N/A
KUB 32.81+						N/A
KUB 35.23		N/A				N/A
	AM	GI	IŠ/UŠ	NI/N	NA(+)	UK/AZ

KUB 35.22		N/A		N/A	N/A
KUB 32.12	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
KUB 35.24 + KUB 35.20					
KUB 32.81+		N/A		N/A	
KUB 35.23				N/A	N/A
WA		ŠI	AR	RU	PA

KUB 35.22	N/A		N/A	
KUB 32.12		N/A	N/A	
KUB 35.24 + KUB 35.20			N/A	
KUB 32.81+				
KUB 35.23	N/A		N/A	N/A
	I	IA	RI	Ú

KUB 35.22	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 32.12			N/A	N/A	
KUB 35.24 + KUB 35.20		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 32.81+				N/A	
KUB 35.23		N/A	N/A	N/A	
MA	RA	ZI	GAD	ŠU	

KUB 35.22							
KUB 32.12							
KUB 35.24 + KUB 35.20							
KUB 32.81+							
KUB 35.23							
ZA	UN	MU	NU	DUMU	LÚ	TE	

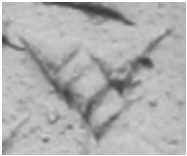
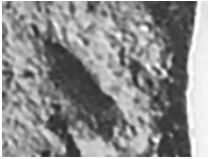
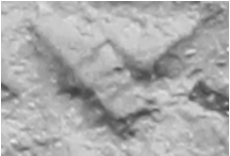

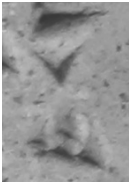
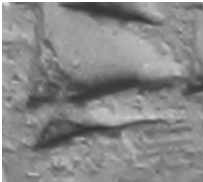

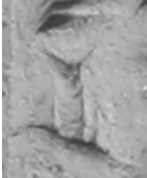
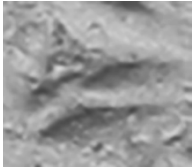
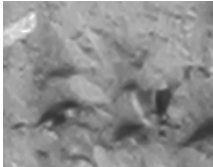
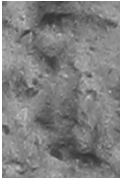
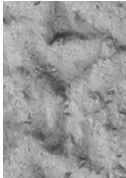
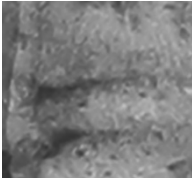
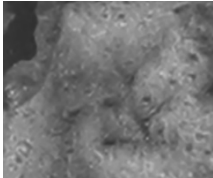

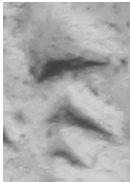
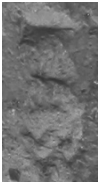
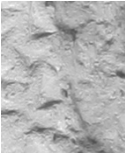
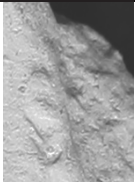
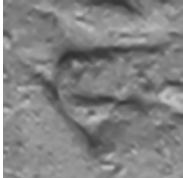

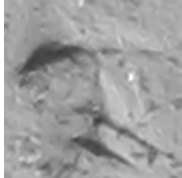
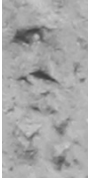
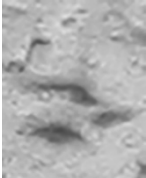
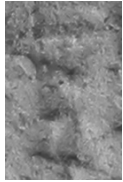
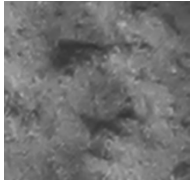
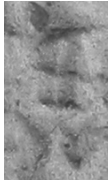
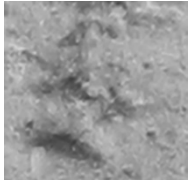
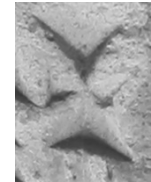

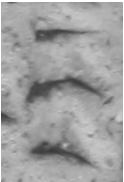

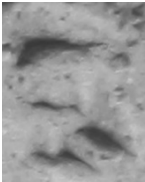

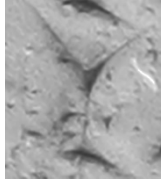
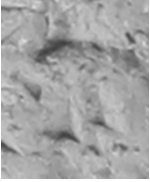

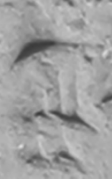
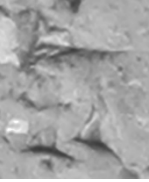
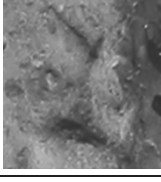

	KUB 35.23	KUB 32.81+	KUB 35.24 + KUB 35.20	KUB 32.12	KUB 35.22
Ң	N/A			N/A	
SIŠKUR/ SIŠKUR	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MEŠ	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A



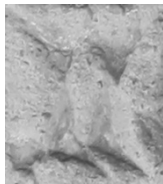
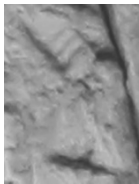

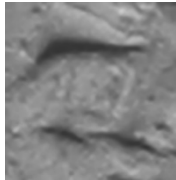

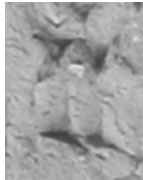

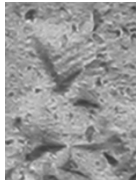

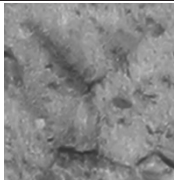
Fig. 2.17: Paleography of KUB 35.23 and related fragments (continued)

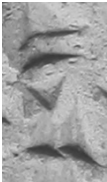
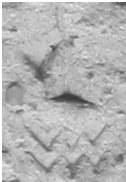
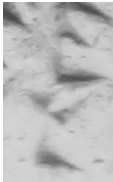
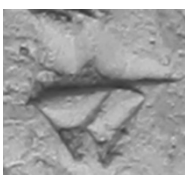
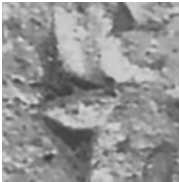
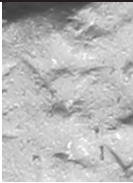
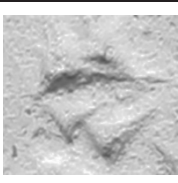

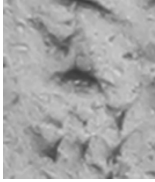
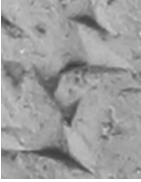
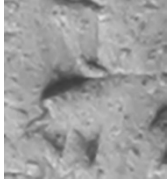
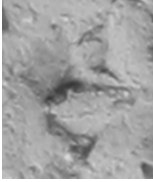
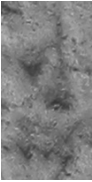

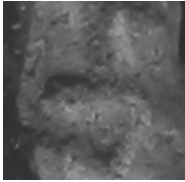
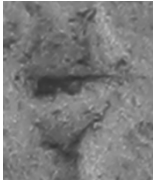
	KUB 35.25	KUB 35.21	KBo 29.15	KUB 32.9 (+) KUB 32.11
EN	N/A		N/A	



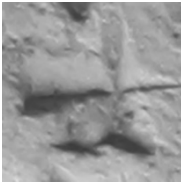
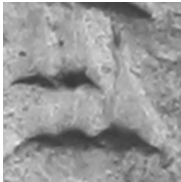

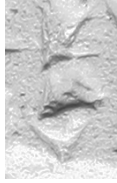



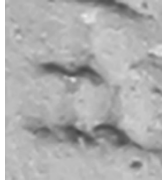
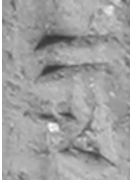
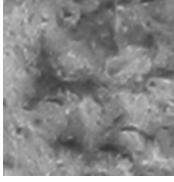

KUB 32.9 (+) KUB 32.11		N/A		
KBo 29.15	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 35.21		N/A		
KUB 35.25				
	DA	IT	A	HA

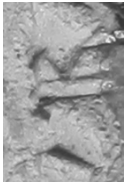



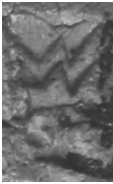
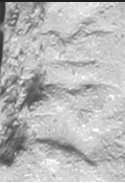
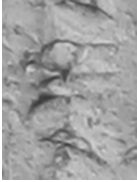
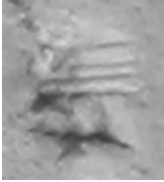
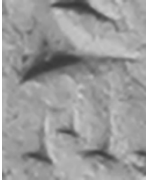

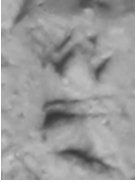
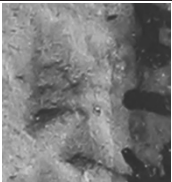
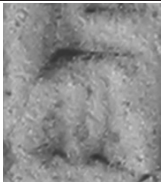
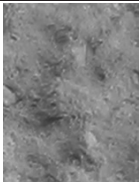
KUB 32.9 (+) KUB 32.11	N/A				N/A
KBo 29.15	N/A		N/A		N/A
KUB 35.21					
KUB 35.25	N/A				
	KI	ŠA/TA	AN	LI	TAR

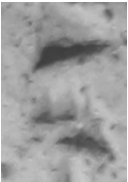
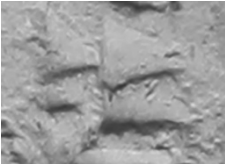


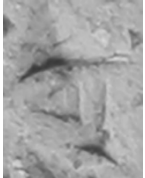
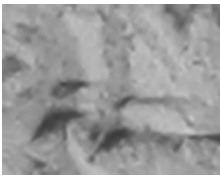
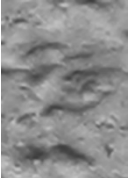
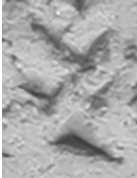
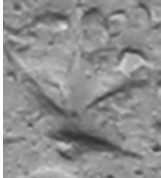
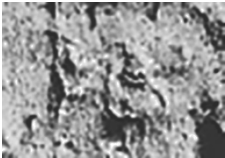
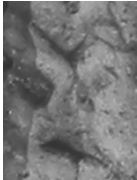
	KUB 32.9 (+) KUB 32.11					
	KBo 29.15	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A
	KUB 35.21					
	KUB 35.25			N/A	N/A	N/A
TI			DU	AL	AD	LA

KUB 32.9 (+) KUB 32.11					
KBo 29.15	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 35.21					
KUB 35.25	N/A	N/A			N/A
KU	E	BI	AM	GI	

KUB 32.9 (+) KUB 32.11				N/A		
KBo 29.15	N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A
KUB 35.21				N/A		
KUB 35.25	N/A			N/A		
	IŠ/UŠ	NI/IN	NA(+)	UK/AZ	WA	ŠI

KUB 32.9 (+) KUB 32.11					
KBo 29.15		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 35.21					
KUB 35.25		N/A		N/A	
	AR	RU	PA	I	IA

KUB 32.9 (+) KUB 32.11						
KBo 29.15		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 35.21						N/A
KUB 35.25		N/A		N/A		N/A
	RI	Ú	MA	RA	ZI	GAD

KUB 32.9 (+) KUB 32.11				N/A	
KBo 29.15	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
KUB 35.21					
KUB 35.25	N/A		N/A		N/A
ŠU		ZA	UN	MU	NU

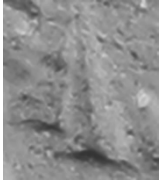
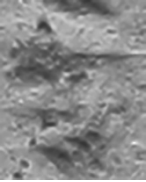

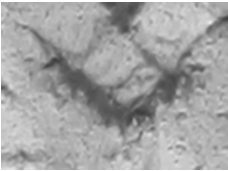
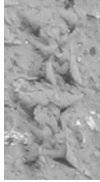
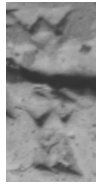
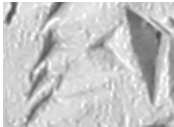
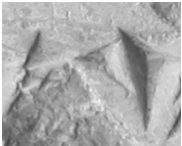
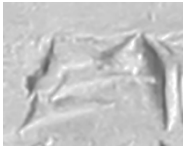

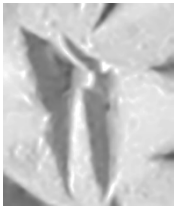
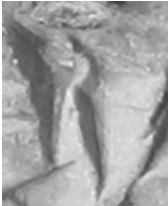
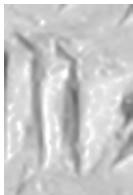

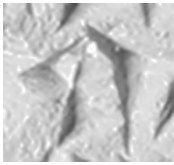


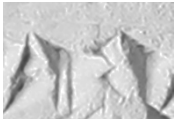




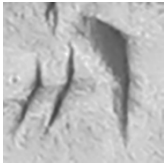
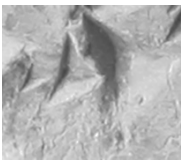


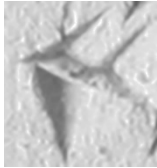
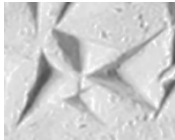
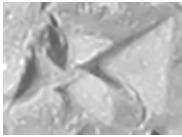
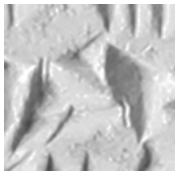
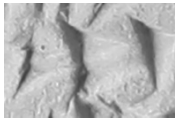

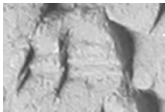
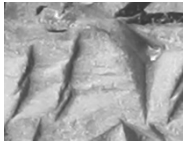
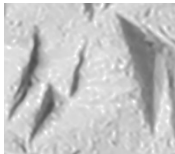
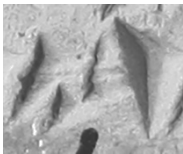
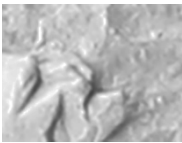


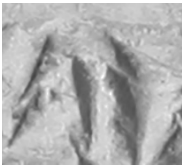
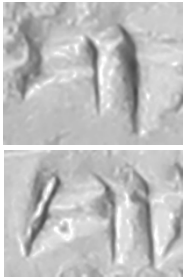
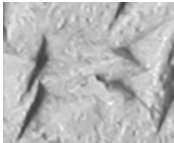
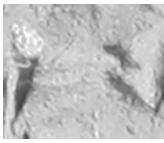
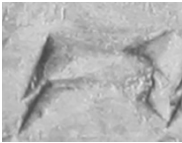
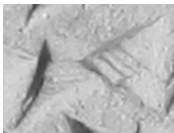


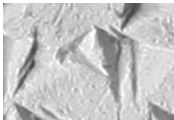
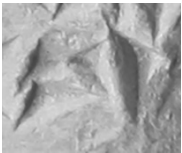
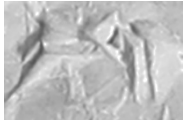
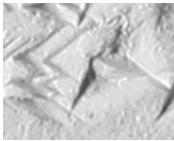
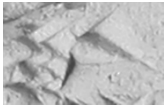



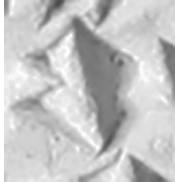
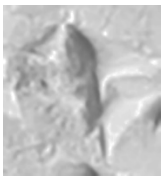
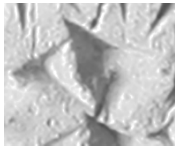
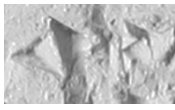

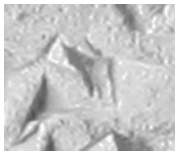

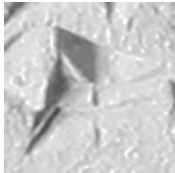

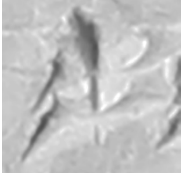
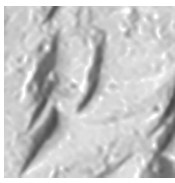

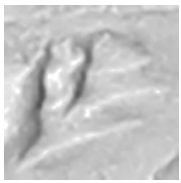





	KUB 35.25	KUB 35.21	KBo 29.15	KUB 32.9 (+) KUB 32.11
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A		N/A	N/A
TE	N/A		N/A	N/A
ĦI	N/A		N/A	
SISKUR/ SISKUR	N/A		N/A	
MEŠ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A










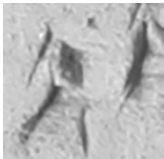




Fig. 2.18: Paleography of KUB 35.49 and related fragments

	KUB 35.49	KBo 9.147	KUB 32.6	DBH 46/2.33
EN	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
DA		N/A		
IT		N/A	N/A	N/A
A		N/A		
ḪA		N/A	N/A	N/A
KI			N/A	
ŠA/TA				
AN				

	KUB 35.49	KBo 9.147	KUB 32.6	DBH 46/2.33
LI		N/A	N/A	N/A
TAR		N/A	N/A	N/A
TI		N/A	N/A	
DU		N/A	N/A	N/A
AL		N/A	N/A	N/A
AD				N/A
LA		N/A		
KU	N/A	N/A	N/A	

	KUB 35.49	KBo 9.147	KUB 32.6	DBH 46/2.33
E		N/A		
BI				N/A
AM		N/A	N/A	N/A
GI	N/A		N/A	
IŠ/UŠ		N/A		
NI/IN			N/A	N/A
NA(+)			N/A	N/A
UK/AZ	N/A	N/A	N/A	

	KUB 35.49	KBo 9.147	KUB 32.6	DBH 46/2.33
WA		N/A	N/A	
ŠI		N/A	N/A	N/A
AR			N/A	N/A
RU		N/A		N/A
PA		N/A		
I		N/A		
IA			N/A	
RI			N/A	N/A

	KUB 35.49	KBo 9.147	KUB 32.6	DBH 46/2.33
Ú		N/A	N/A	N/A
MA		N/A	N/A	
RA				
ZI		N/A	N/A	
GAD	N/A		N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A		N/A	
ZA		N/A	N/A	
UN	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

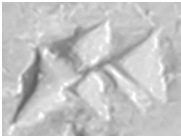
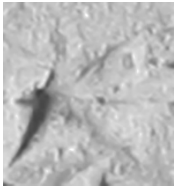

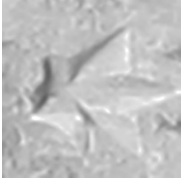
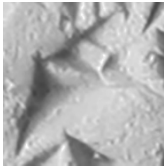

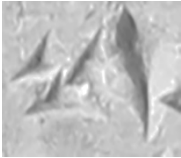
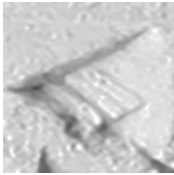
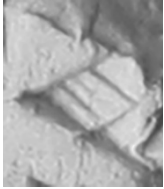
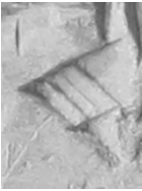
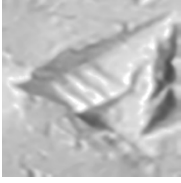
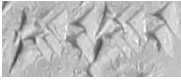
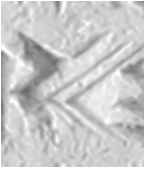
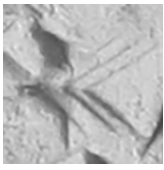

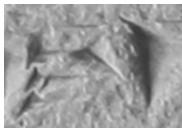






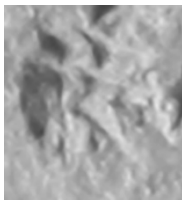
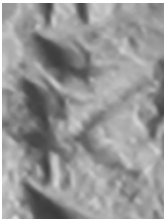
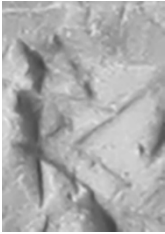
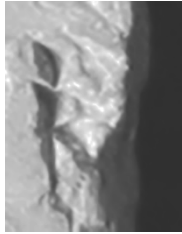
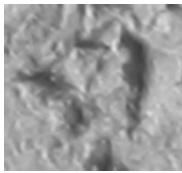
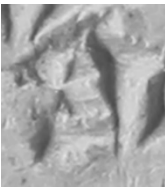



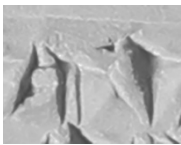
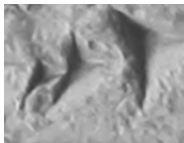


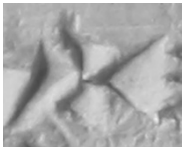
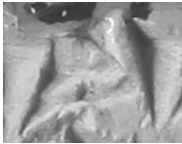
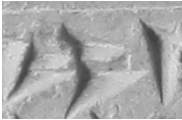
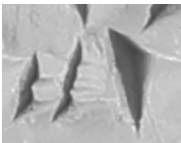
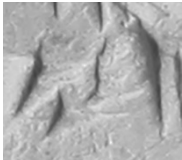
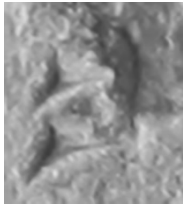
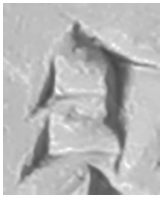
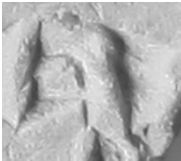
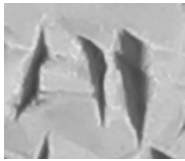
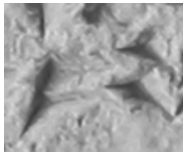
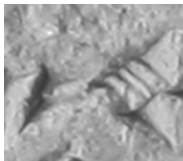
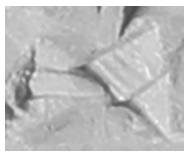




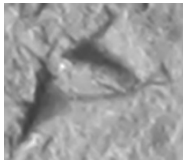
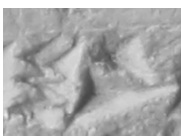



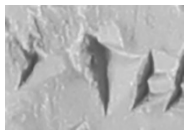
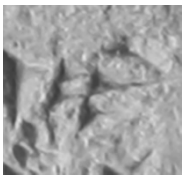
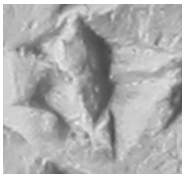
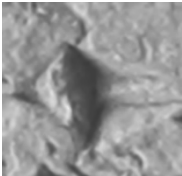
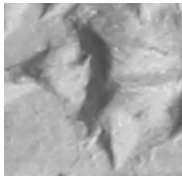
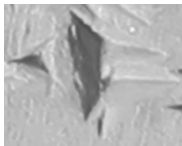


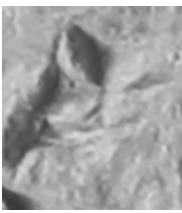
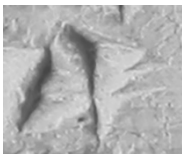
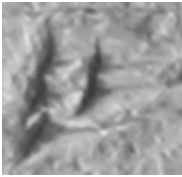
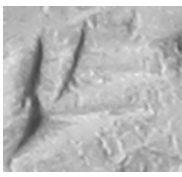
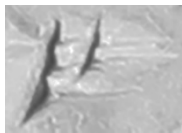


	KUB 35.49	KBo 9.147	KUB 32.6	DBH 46/2.33
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A	
NU			N/A	
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ		N/A	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A		N/A	
HI				
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR	N/A	N/A	N/A	
MEŠ			N/A	N/A

Fig. 2.18: Paleography of KUB 35.49 and related fragments (continued)

	KUB 35.34	KUB 35.69	KUB 35.82
EN	N/A		N/A
DA			
IT	N/A	N/A	
A			
HA	 		
KI			

	KUB 35.34	KUB 35.69	KUB 35.82
ŠA/TA			
AN			
LI	N/A	N/A	N/A
TAR	N/A	N/A	N/A
TI	N/A		N/A
DU	N/A		N/A
AL	N/A		N/A
AD	N/A	N/A	
LA	N/A		N/A




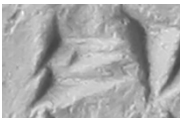
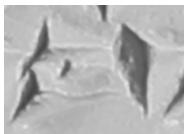

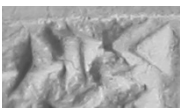

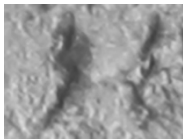

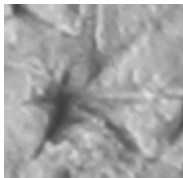

	KUB 35.34	KUB 35.69	KUB 35.82
KU		N/A	
E	N/A		
BI		N/A	N/A
AM		N/A	
GI		N/A	
IŠ/UŠ			N/A
NI/IN			
NA(+)			

	KUB 35.34	KUB 35.69	KUB 35.82
UK/AZ		N/A	N/A
WA	N/A		N/A
ŠI			
AR	N/A	N/A	
RU	N/A		N/A
PA			N/A
I			
IA		N/A	

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	KUB 35.34	KUB 35.69	KUB 35.82
RI	N/A	N/A	
Ú		N/A	N/A
MA			
RA	N/A	N/A	N/A
ZI			
GAD		N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A	N/A	
ZA	N/A	N/A	N/A
UN	N/A	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A
NU		N/A	

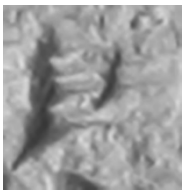
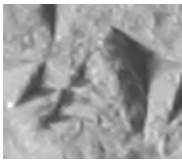

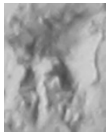
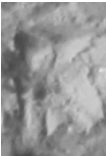
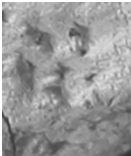
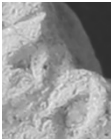

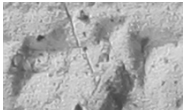

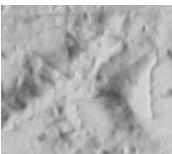
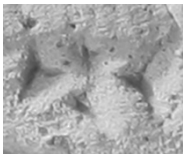

	KUB 35.34	KUB 35.69	KUB 35.82
DUMU		N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE		N/A	N/A
ĤI	N/A	N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR		N/A	N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A	N/A

Fig. 2.19: Paleography of KBo 29.7 and KBo 47.290

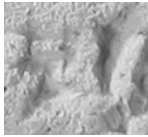
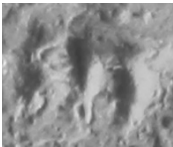
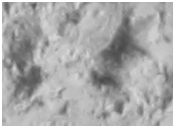

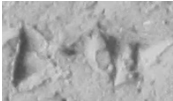


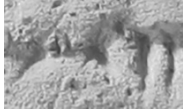
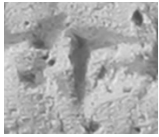
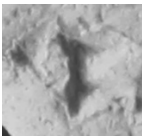
	KBo 29.7	KBo 47.290
EN	N/A	N/A
DA	N/A	N/A
IT	N/A	N/A
A		N/A
HA		
KI	N/A	
ŠA/TA		
AN	N/A	N/A
LI		N/A
TAR	N/A	N/A
TI		
DU	N/A	N/A
AL		N/A
AD	N/A	N/A

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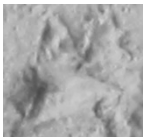

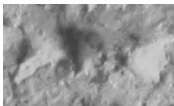
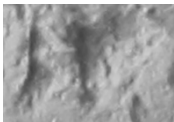

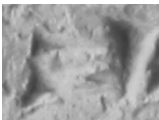

	KBo 29.7	KBo 47.290
LA	N/A	
KU	N/A	N/A
E		N/A
BI		
AM	N/A	N/A
GI	N/A	N/A
IŠ/UŠ		
NI/IN		N/A
NA(+)	N/A	
UK/AZ	N/A	N/A
WA	N/A	
ŠI		N/A
AR	N/A	N/A

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	KBo 29.7	KBo 47.290
RU	N/A	N/A
PA	N/A	N/A
I		N/A
IA	N/A	
RI		N/A
Ú		
MA		N/A
RA	N/A	N/A
ZI	N/A	N/A
GAD	N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A	N/A
ZA	N/A	N/A
UN	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A
NU	N/A	N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A
ḪI	N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR		N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A

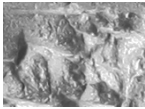
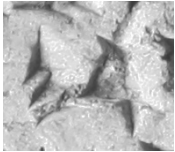
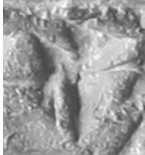

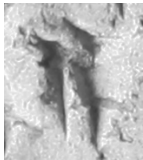

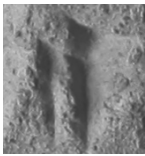
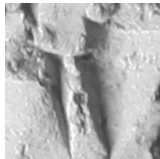
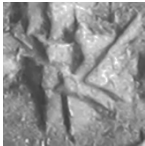

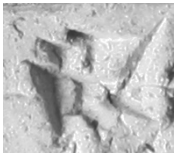
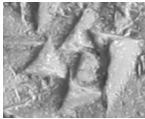
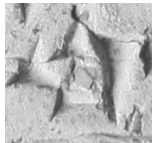
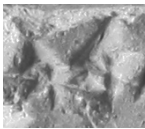


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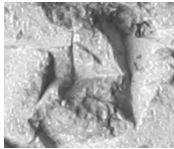
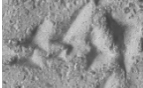
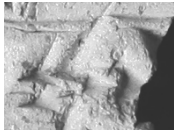
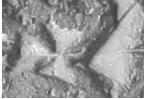
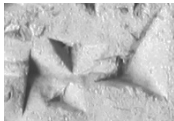



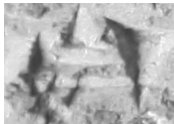

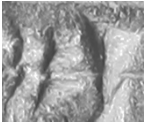

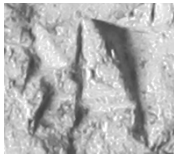


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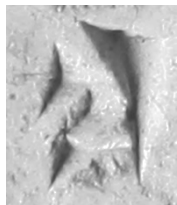



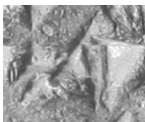


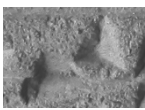
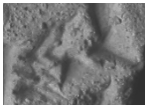
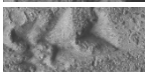
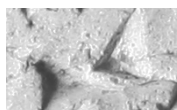
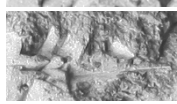
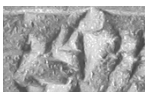
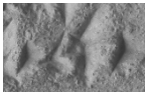
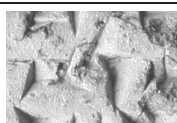
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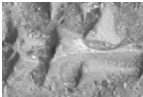
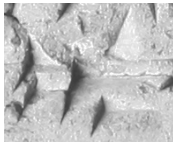
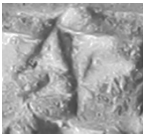
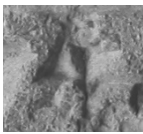
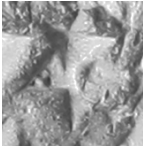
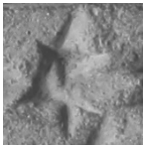

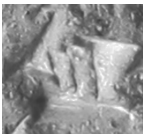



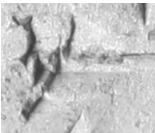
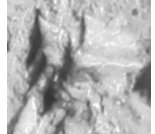

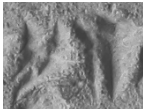
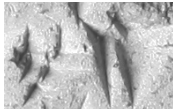
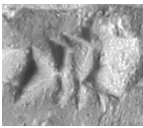
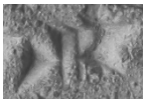

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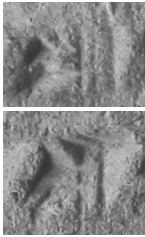
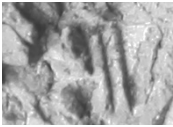

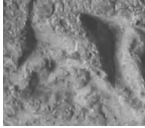
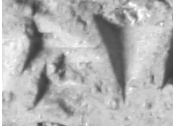
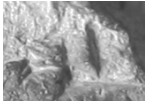
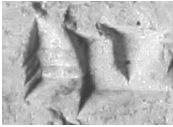



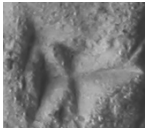
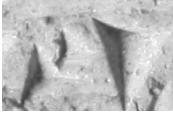


Fig. 2.20: Paleography of KBo 30.190, KUB 35.28 and KBo 22.143

	KBo 30.190	KUB 35.28	KBo 22.143
EN		N/A	N/A
DA	N/A	N/A	
IT	N/A	N/A	N/A
A			
			
HA			
KI		N/A	
ŠA/TA			

	KBo 30.190	KUB 35.28	KBo 22.143
AN			
LI	N/A		
TAR	N/A	N/A	N/A
TI		N/A	
DU		 	
AL	N/A		N/A
AD			
LA	N/A		

	KBo 30.190	KUB 35.28	KBo 22.143
KU	N/A	N/A	
E	N/A		N/A
BI	N/A		N/A
AM	N/A		N/A
GI	N/A	N/A	N/A
IŠ/UŠ			
NI/IN	N/A	  	 
NA(+)			

	KBo 30.190	KUB 35.28	KBo 22.143
UK/AZ		N/A	
WA			N/A
ŠI			
AR	N/A	N/A	N/A
RU			N/A
PA	N/A	N/A	N/A
I	N/A	 	 
IA			
RI			

	KBo 30.190	KUB 35.28	KBo 22.143
Ú			
MA			
RA		N/A	
ZI			
GAD	N/A		N/A
ŠU	N/A	N/A	
ZA		N/A	
UN	N/A	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A
NU	N/A	N/A	N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A	N/A

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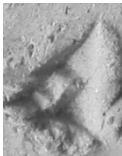
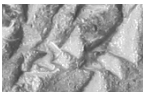
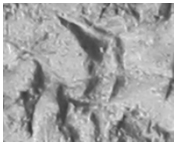
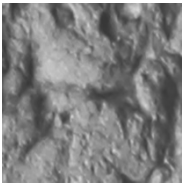

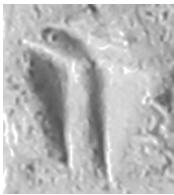
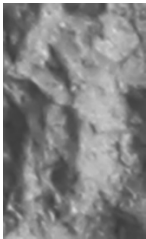

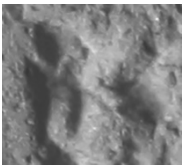
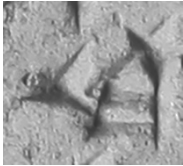



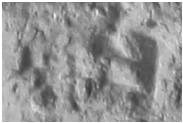
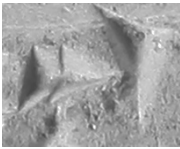
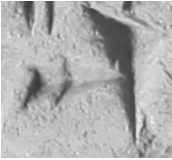



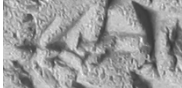
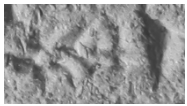
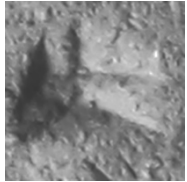
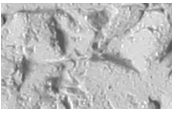
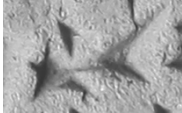
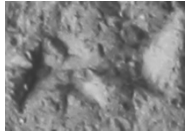
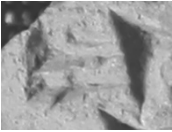
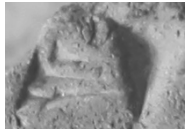
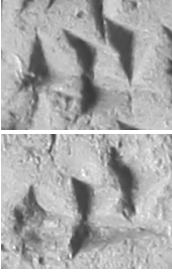

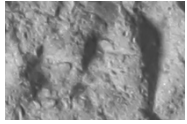
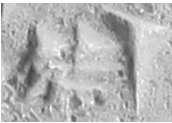
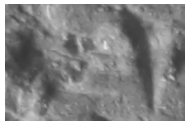
	KBo 30.190	KUB 35.28	KBo 22.143
HI	N/A		N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR		N/A	N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A	N/A

Fig. 2.21: Paleography of KBo 51.220 and related fragments

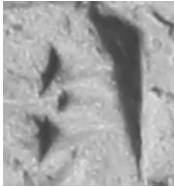
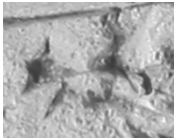


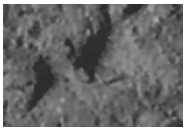
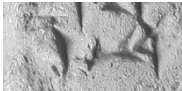
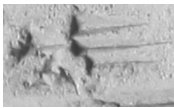
	KBo 51.220	KUB 35.29 + KBo 52.231	KUB 35.112	KBo 29.16
EN	N/A		N/A	N/A
DA	N/A	N/A	N/A	
IT	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
A			N/A	
ḪA	N/A		N/A	
KI	N/A	N/A		N/A
ŠA/TA				



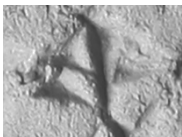

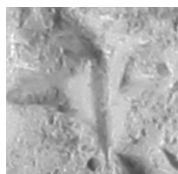
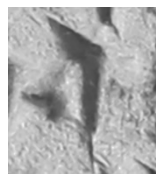


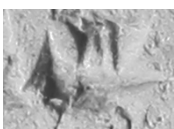
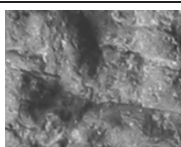
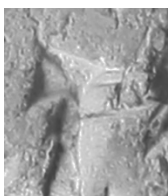
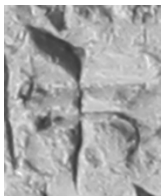


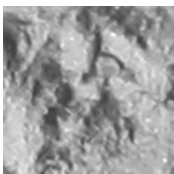

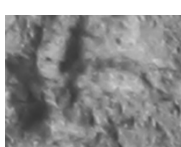
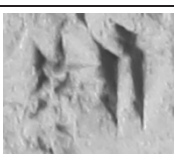


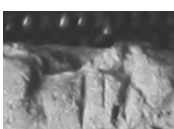

	KBo 51.220	KUB 35.29 + KBo 52.231	KUB 35.112	KBo 29.16
AN				
LI	N/A			
TAR	N/A	N/A	N/A	
TI	N/A			
DU	N/A		N/A	
AL	N/A		N/A	
AD	N/A	N/A	N/A	
LA	N/A		N/A	

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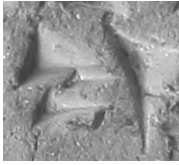
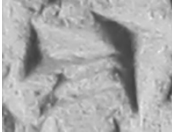

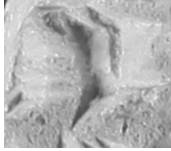


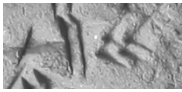
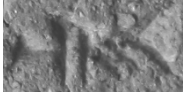
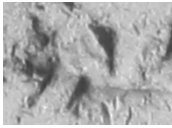
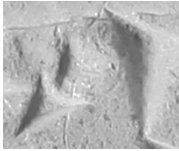


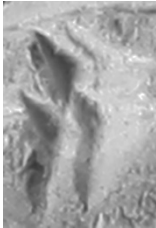
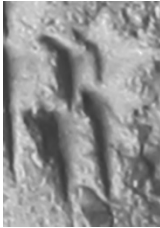

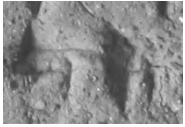
	KBo 51.220	KUB 35.29 + KBo 52.231	KUB 35.112	KBo 29.16
KU	N/A		N/A	
E	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
BI	N/A		N/A	N/A
AM	N/A		N/A	
GI		N/A	N/A	
IŠ/UŠ				
NI/IN	N/A			
NA(+)				
UK/AZ	N/A		N/A	N/A

	KBo 51.220	KUB 35.29 + KBo 52.231	KUB 35.112	KBo 29.16
WA				
ŠI			N/A	
AR	N/A		N/A	N/A
RU	N/A		N/A	
PA				
I	N/A			
IA	N/A		N/A	
RI			N/A	

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	KBo 51.220	KUB 35.29 + KBo 52.231	KUB 35.112	KBo 29.16
Ú			N/A	
MA			N/A	
RA		N/A	N/A	
ZI	N/A			
GAD	N/A		N/A	N/A
ŠU			N/A	
ZA		N/A		N/A
UN	N/A		N/A	
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

DOI: 10.13173/9783447119955.2.029

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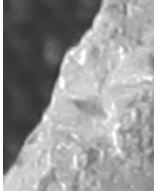

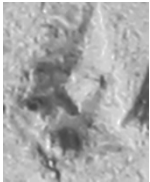

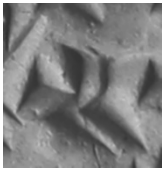
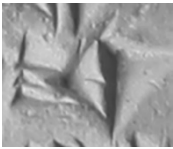
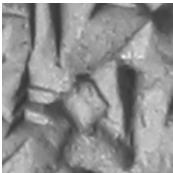



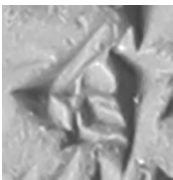



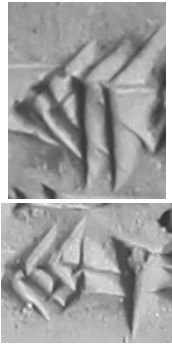


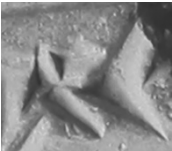

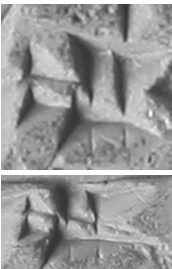

	KBo 51.220	KUB 35.29 + KBo 52.231	KUB 35.112	KBo 29.16
NU		N/A	N/A	
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
HI	N/A		N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR	N/A		N/A	N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A


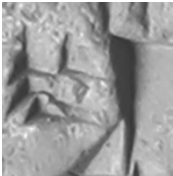
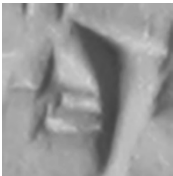

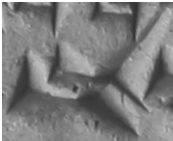
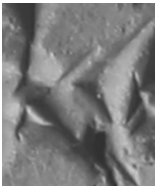


Fig. 2.22: Paleography of KBo 29.55+ and KUB 35.56




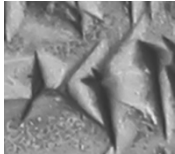

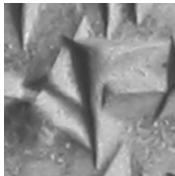



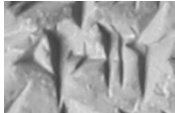

	KBo 29.55 + KUB 35.43	KUB 35.56
EN		N/A
DA		N/A
IT		N/A
A		N/A
ḪA		
KI		N/A
ŠA/TA		

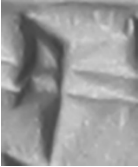





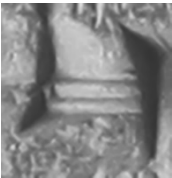

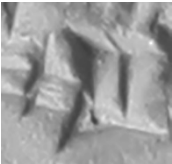
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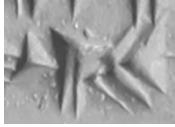



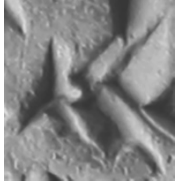

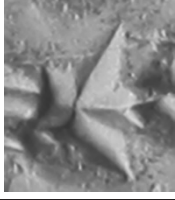
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	KBo 29.55 + KUB 35.43	KUB 35.56
AN		N/A
LI		N/A
TAR		
TI		N/A
DU		N/A
AL		

	KBo 29.55 + KUB 35.43	KUB 35.56
AD		N/A
LA		N/A
KU		N/A
E		N/A
BI		N/A
AM		
GI		N/A

	KBo 29.55 + KUB 35.43	KUB 35.56
IŠ/UŠ		
NI/IN		N/A
NA(+)		N/A
UK/AZ		N/A
WA		
ŠI		
AR		N/A
RU		N/A

	KBo 29.55 + KUB 35.43	KUB 35.56
PA		N/A
I		
IA		N/A
RI		N/A
Ú		N/A
MA		
RA		N/A

	KBo 29.55 + KUB 35.43	KUB 35.56
ZI		N/A
GAD	N/A	N/A
ŠU		N/A
ZA		N/A
UN		N/A
MU		
NU		N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A


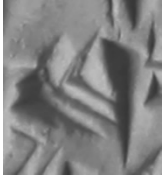

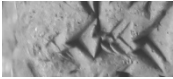
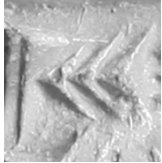







































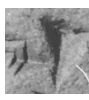












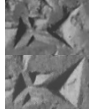










	KBo 29.55 + KUB 35.43	KUB 35.56
LÚ		N/A
TE		N/A
HI		N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR		N/A
MEŠ		N/A

Fig. 2.23: Paleography of fragments attributed to Pariziti















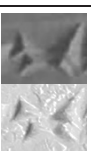

































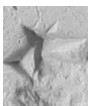




	KBo 40.276+ Pariziti, scribe	KUB 35.12	KUB 35.74	KUB 32.7	KUB 32.79	KUB 32.4	KUB 35.33 (+) KBo 29.20	KBo 29.6
EN	N/A		N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	
DA			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
IT	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	
A								
ḪA	N/A			N/A		N/A		
KI	N/A			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
ŠA/TA								
AN								
LI				N/A	N/A	N/A		
TAR	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	
TI		N/A	N/A					
DU		N/A	N/A				N/A	
AL	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A			

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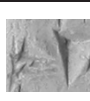



















	KBo 40.276+ Pariziti, scribe	KUB 35.12	KUB 35.74	KUB 32.7	KUB 32.79	KUB 32.4	KUB 35.33 (+) KBo 29.20	KBo 29.6
AD		N/A	N/A		N/A			
LA			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
KU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
E		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
BI	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
AM	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A			N/A	
GI		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
IŠ/UŠ						N/A		
NI/IN								
NA(+)	N/A				N/A	N/A		
UK/AZ	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
WA		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A		
ŠI	N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A		
AR	N/A		N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	

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	KBo 40.276+ Pariziti, scribe	KUB 35.12	KUB 35.74	KUB 32.7	KUB 32.79	KUB 32.4	KUB 35.33 (+) KBo 29.20	KBo 29.6
RU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	
PA		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
I	N/A				N/A	N/A		
IA		N/A	N/A	N/A				
RI		N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Ú				N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
MA			N/A					
RA		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
ZI	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A				
GAD	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
ŠU		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	
ZA	N/A					N/A		
UN	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	

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

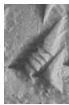
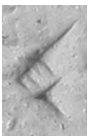
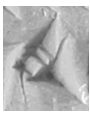





























































	KBo 40.276+ Pariziti, scribe	KUB 35.12	KUB 35.74	KUB 32.7	KUB 32.79	KUB 32.4	KUB 35.33 (+) KBo 29.20	KBo 29.6
NU		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
LÚ		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
HI			N/A			N/A		
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
MEŠ		N/A	N/A	N/A				N/A

















































Fig. 2.23: Paleography of fragments attributed to Pariziti (continued)

	KUB 35.70	KBo 29.63	KUB 35.17	KBo 29.5	KBo 29.45	KBo 44.241	KUB 32.70
EN			N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A
DA				N/A	N/A		
IT	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
A				N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

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	KUB 35.70	KBo 29.63	KUB 35.17	KBo 29.5	KBo 29.45	KBo 44.241	KUB 32.70
ḪA			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
KI			N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
ŠA/TA							
AN				N/A			
LI			N/A			N/A	N/A
TAR			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TI		N/A		N/A	N/A		
DU		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
AL			N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A
AD	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A
LA		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
KU		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
E	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
BI			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
AM	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
GI			N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A

	KUB 35.70	KBo 29.63	KUB 35.17	KBo 29.5	KBo 29.45	KBo 44.241	KUB 32.70
IŠ/UŠ			N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
NI/IN						N/A	N/A
NA(+)				N/A	N/A	N/A	
UK/AZ			N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
WA			N/A				
ŠI			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
AR			N/A		N/A		
RU		N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A
PA			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
I				N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
IA			N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
RI		N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A
Ú		N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MA				N/A			























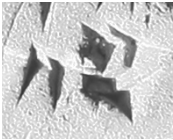
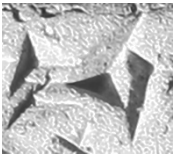
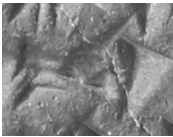
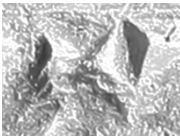
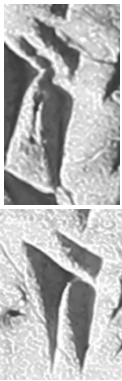
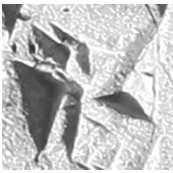
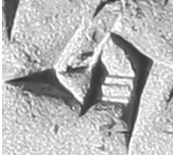
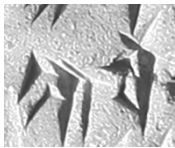

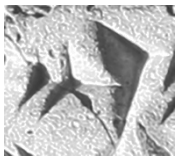
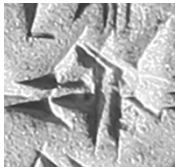
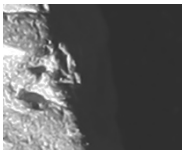

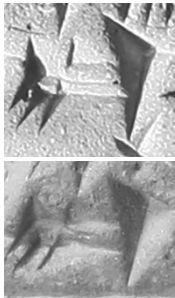
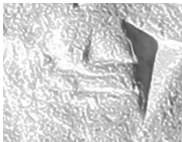
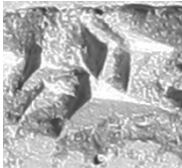
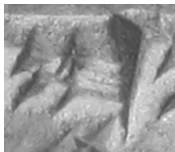
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RA			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
ZI		N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A
GAD			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
ŠU			N/A		N/A	N/A	
ZA		N/A		N/A	N/A		N/A
UN		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
NU		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
HI				N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A

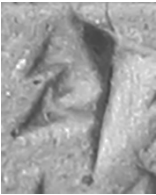
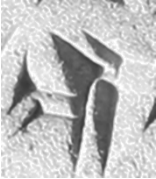
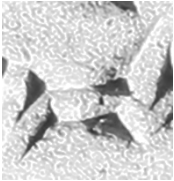
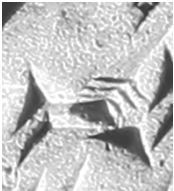
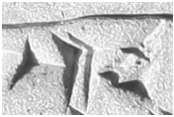
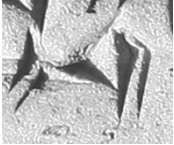
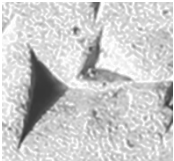
Fig. 2.24: Paleography of KBo 22.254 and KBo 29.18


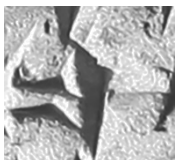
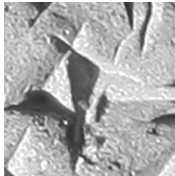


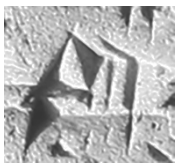

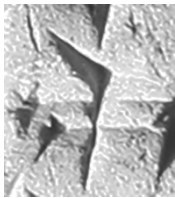
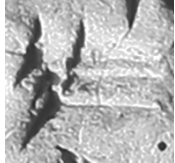
	KBo 22.254	KBo 29.18
EN		N/A
DA		N/A
IT		
A		N/A
HA		N/A
KI		N/A


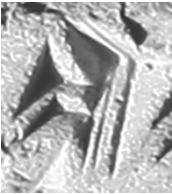
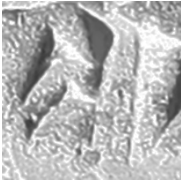
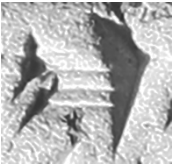
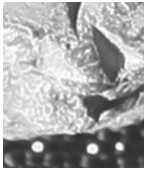
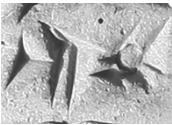
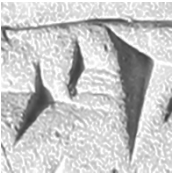
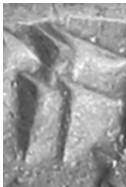
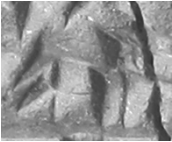
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ŠA/TA		
AN		N/A
LI		
TAR	N/A	N/A
TI		N/A
DU		
AL	N/A	
AD		N/A

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 and text extracts may require further permission for use from the respective rights holder.

	KBo 22.254	KBo 29.18
LA	N/A	N/A
KU		N/A
E		N/A
BI		N/A
AM		N/A
GI		N/A
IŠ/UŠ		N/A
NI/IN		N/A

	KBo 22.254	KBo 29.18
NA(+)		N/A
UK/AZ	N/A	N/A
WA		N/A
ŠI		N/A
AR		
RU		
PA		N/A
I		N/A

	KBo 22.254	KBo 29.18
IA		N/A
RI	N/A	N/A
Ú		
MA		
RA	N/A	N/A
ZI		N/A
GAD	N/A	N/A
ŠU		N/A
ZA		N/A
UN		N/A
MU	N/A	N/A

DOI: 10.13173/9783447119955.2.029

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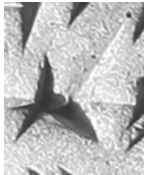
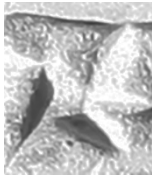
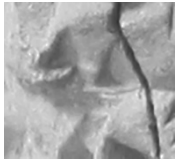

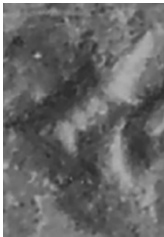

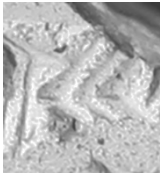
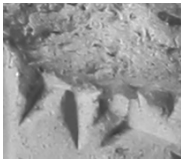
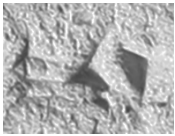
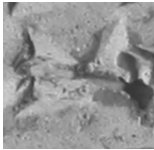
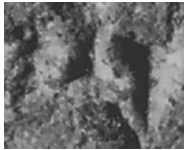
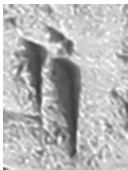

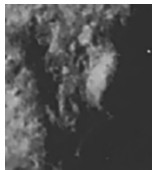
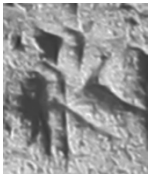
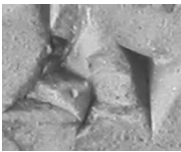


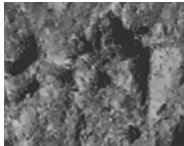
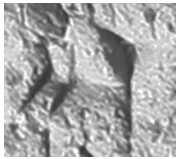
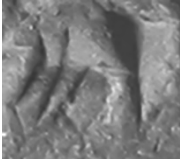



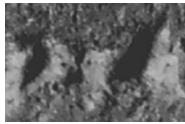
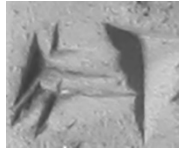
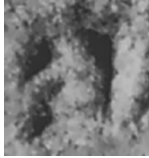
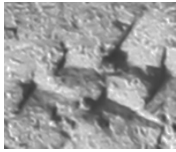
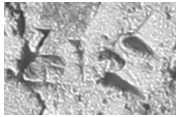
	KBo 22.254	KBo 29.18
NU		
DUMU	N/A	N/A
LÚ		N/A
TE	N/A	N/A
HI		
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR		N/A
MEŠ		N/A

Fig. 2.25: Paleography of KUB 60.36, KBo 29.58 and KBo 29.60

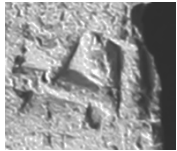

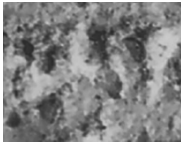
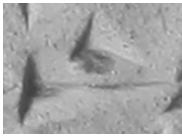

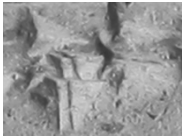

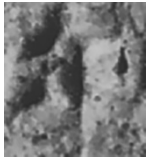
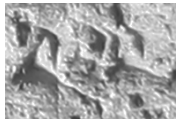

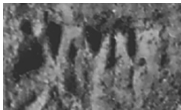

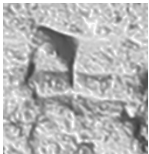
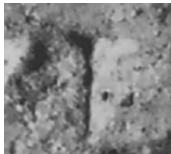
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EN	N/A		N/A
DA			
IT	N/A	N/A	N/A
A			
HA		N/A	N/A
KI	N/A		N/A
ŠA/TA			

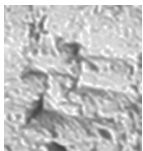
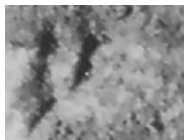
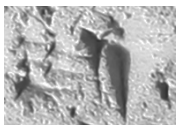


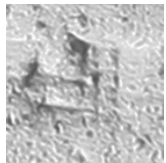

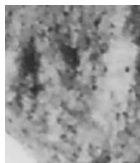
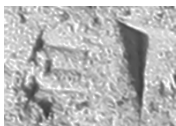

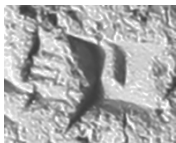
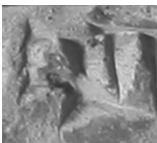

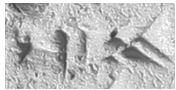
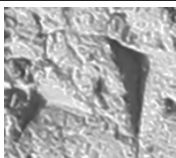
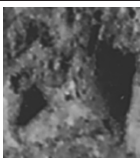
	KUB 60.36	KBo 29.58	KBo 29.60
AN			
LI		N/A	
TAR	N/A	N/A	N/A
TI	N/A	N/A	
DU	N/A		N/A
AL	N/A	N/A	N/A
AD	N/A	N/A	N/A
LA	N/A	N/A	N/A
KU	N/A	N/A	
E	N/A	N/A	N/A
BI		N/A	N/A
AM	N/A	N/A	N/A
GI		N/A	N/A

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	KUB 60.36	KBo 29.58	KBo 29.60
IŠ/UŠ			
NI/IN	N/A		N/A
NA(+)		N/A	N/A
UK/AZ	N/A		N/A
WA	N/A		
ŠI	N/A	N/A	N/A
AR			
RU	N/A		N/A
PA		N/A	

	KUB 60.36	KBo 29.58	KBo 29.60
I		N/A	
IA			N/A
RI		N/A	N/A
Ů			
MA		N/A	
RA			
ZI		N/A	N/A
GAD	N/A	N/A	N/A
ŠU		N/A	


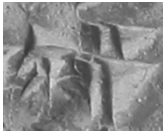
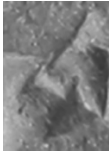
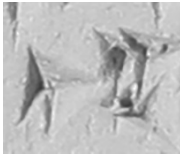
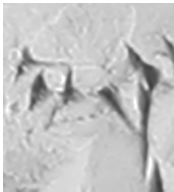




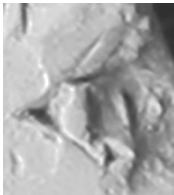




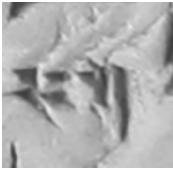
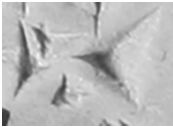

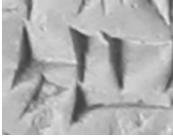

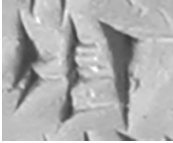




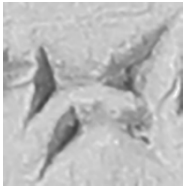



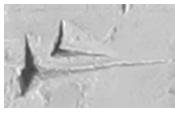
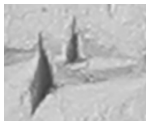


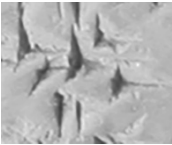
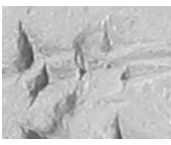
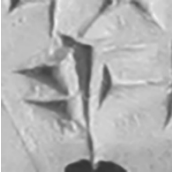
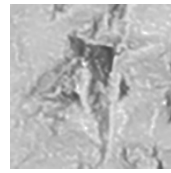




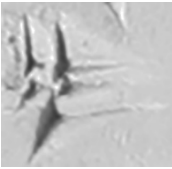
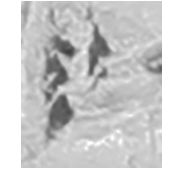


	KUB 60.36	KBo 29.58	KBo 29.60
ZA	N/A		N/A
UN	N/A		N/A
MU	N/A	N/A	N/A
NU	N/A	N/A	N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	N/A	N/A
HI			
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR	N/A	N/A	N/A
MEŠ	N/A	N/A	N/A

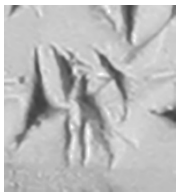







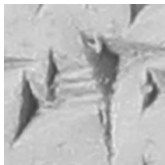
Fig. 2.26: Paleography of KUB 35.68 and KUB 32.124

	KUB 35.68	KUB 32.124
EN	N/A	
DA		
IT	N/A	N/A
A		
ḪA		N/A
KI		N/A
ŠA/TA		

	KUB 35.68	KUB 32.124
AN		
LI		N/A
TAR	N/A	N/A
TI		N/A
DU		N/A
AL		N/A
AD		N/A
LA		N/A

	KUB 35.68	KUB 32.124
KU		
E	N/A	
BI		
AM		N/A
GI	N/A	N/A
IŠ/UŠ		
NI/IN		
NA(+)		

	KUB 35.68	KUB 32.124
UK/AZ		
WA		
ŠI	N/A	N/A
AR		N/A
RU		
PA		N/A
I		
IA		

	KUB 35.68	KUB 32.124
RI		N/A
Ū		N/A
MA		
RA	N/A	
ZI		
GAD	N/A	
ŠU	N/A	

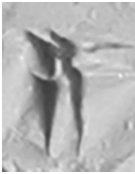

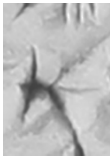

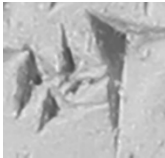
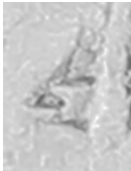

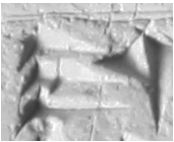



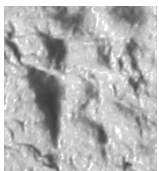


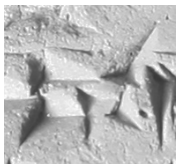

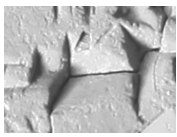
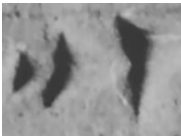
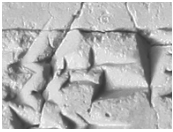
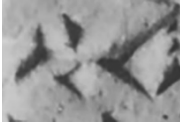
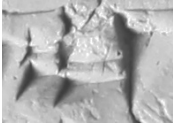
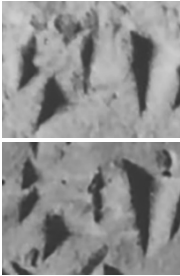
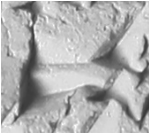
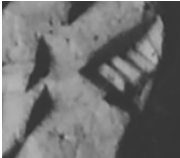

	KUB 35.68	KUB 32.124
ZA		N/A
UN		N/A
MU	N/A	N/A
NU		
DUMU	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A
TE	N/A	
HI	N/A	
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR	N/A	
MEŠ	N/A	N/A



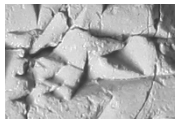
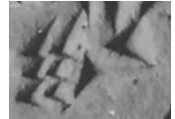
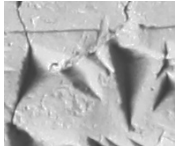
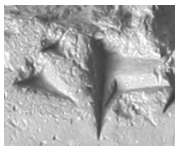



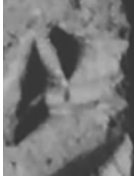
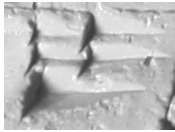
Fig. 2.27: Paleography of KBo 29.42 and KBo 61.31

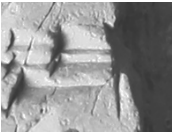


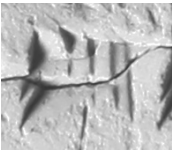
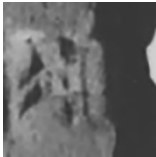
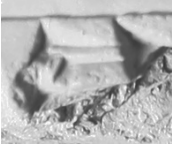

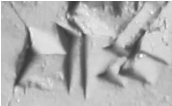

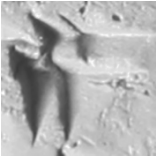

	KBo 29.42	KBo 61.31
EN	N/A	N/A
DA		N/A
IT	N/A	
A		
HA		
KI		N/A
ŠA/TA		
AN		



	KBo 29.42	KBo 61.31
LI		N/A
TAR	N/A	N/A
TI	N/A	
DU	N/A	N/A
AL	N/A	N/A
AD		N/A
LA	N/A	
KU	N/A	N/A
E	N/A	N/A
BI		N/A
AM	N/A	
GI		N/A

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	KBo 29.42	KBo 61.31
IŠ/UŠ		
NI/IN		
NA(+)		N/A
UK/AZ	N/A	N/A
WA		
ŠI	N/A	
AR		N/A
RU	N/A	N/A
PA	N/A	
I		N/A

	KBo 29.42	KBo 61.31
IA		
RI	N/A	
Ú		
MA		N/A
RA		N/A
ZI		
GAD	N/A	N/A
ŠU	N/A	N/A
ZA		
UN	N/A	N/A
MU	N/A	N/A
NU	N/A	N/A
DUMU	N/A	N/A
LÚ	N/A	N/A

	KBo 29.42	KBo 61.31
TE	N/A	
HI	N/A	N/A
SISKUR/ SÍSKUR	N/A	N/A
MEŠ		N/A

DOI: 10.13173/9783447119955.2.029

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3. STRUCTURE OF THE KUWATTALLA TRADITION

3.1 PREVIOUS CLASSIFICATIONS

The fragments collected under CTH 759–763 have for a long time been considered as a group. It was clear that they belong to the tradition of the SISKUR-rituals and feature Luwian incantations and the Old Woman (^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI) as the main ritual specialist, and—if their colophons contain an attribution to a specific ritual practitioner—this is female attendant Kuwattalla, Old Woman Šilalluḫi, or the tandem of both. Since the version naming Kuwattalla as the sole author emerges as the oldest one on paleographic grounds, it is convenient to refer to the whole group as the Kuwattalla tradition.

None of the similarities stated above, however, are sufficient to argue that the Kuwattalla tradition encompasses variations of the same basic text. On the one hand, the rituals of the Old Woman are not limited to the texts with Luwian insertions: many more of them render the incantations in Hittite, and these are attributed to a broad variety of practitioners (see Marcuson 2016, 520–59).³³ On the other hand, even the ritual texts attributed to the same practitioner frequently have different structure and address different situations. This can be illustrated with the study of the Maštigga tradition. In addition to the best-preserved Ritual for Domestic quarrel (CTH 404.1) and the text CTH 404.2 representing its structural permutation, one also finds the texts CTH 404.3 and CTH 404.5.II likewise attributed to Maštigga but otherwise having little in common with CTH 404.1 (see Miller 2004, 251–53).

There is, however, no scholarly consensus about how the relevant corpus should be subdivided into rituals. One attempt to segment it is reflected in the initial version of *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Laroche 1971), which predated the publication of many relevant fragments (in particular, those available now in KBo 29). Emmanuel Laroche adopted heterogeneous principles of classification. The groups CTH 759 and CTH 761 were initially assembled based on the colophons that mention the *dupa-duparša*-ritual and the Great Ritual (*šalli aniur*) respectively, while the content of CTH 761 was extended with the fragments thought to represent the duplicates or parallel versions of the core group. Fragments showing similarities to those of the Great Ritual but not qualified as parallel versions were set apart as CTH 762. As for segmenting CTH 760, Emmanuel Laroche drew here on his earlier study of parallel Hittite and Luwian incantations (see Laroche 1959, 146–51), assuming that the relevant fragments reflect two versions of a single ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI ritual. The texts with Hittite

33 At the dawn of Luwian Studies, this state of affairs led Otten (1953, 60) to a skeptical conclusion with regard to the attribution of Hittite-Luwian fragments mentioning the Old Woman to the same tradition: “Auch ihre Nennung in kultischen Texten mit luwischen Beschwörungen ist kaum geeignet, diese Texte als enger zusammengehörig zu erweisen”. Otten’s skepticism was certainly justified at the time.

incantations classified under CTH 760 in Laroche 1971 are now commonly assigned to the Tunnawiya tradition (Beckman 1990, 34–35; Mouton 2015a, 81), but those with matching Luwian incantations remained under CTH 760 in the subsequent versions of the CTH.³⁴ Finally, the ritual fragments with Luwian insertions that do not display obvious similarities to any of the above (nor with the texts attributed to Zarpiya and Puriyanni—i.e. CTH 757–758) were assigned to CTH 763. In practice, most of these fragments can still be considered as part of the Kuwattalla tradition, which remains a default assignment for Hittite-Luwian ritual fragments, if only for statistical reasons.

Somewhat different classification principles were adopted in Starke 1985, where the bulk of Luwian cuneiform texts were published in transliteration. Frank Starke agreed with Laroche that the Great Ritual and the *dupaduparša*-ritual must be treated as two separate compositions belonging to one tradition; in his book they are called “First Ritual” and “Second Ritual” respectively. The corpus of the “Second Ritual”, however, was fleshed out with numerous fragments without colophons. Starke’s hypothesis behind such a decision was the alignment of certain peculiarities, such as references to oil and honey or the verb ‘to nail down’, with the *dupaduparša*-ritual, contrasted with the alleged absence of such features in the fragments of the Great Ritual. Furthermore, Starke postulated the “Third ritual” of the Kuwattalla tradition, which, according to him, is characterized by the performance in the open country. From the methodological perspective, Starke’s classification is more uniform than Laroche’s, since the analysis of the colophons is given there a consistent priority.

On top of segmenting CTH 759–763 into three rituals, Starke introduces the partially overlapping distinction between their adaptations (*Redaktionen*), which was again based on the colophons. There is one tablet series within this group attributed to the attendant woman Kuwattalla, several more mention the Old Woman Šilalluḫi, and the largest group features the joint attribution to both ritual practitioners. All three types of colophons are attested among the fragments of the “First Ritual”; the joint attribution alone is found in those of the “Second Ritual”, while the authors of the “Third Ritual” are lost in the lacunae of the respective colophons and Starke did not attempt to reconstruct them. Although Starke’s monograph does not attempt to define or discuss at any length the notion of ritual adaptation, variation among versions is not rigidly linked there to their authorship; thus, the joint adaptation of the “First Ritual” is said to feature at least two distinct versions (Starke 1985, 75). This implies three levels of distinction among the specimens of the Kuwattalla tradition: one associated with the subject matter of the ritual, one triggered by its authorship, and one independent from both factors but presumably reflecting the copyists’ interference.

Although Starke’s classification scheme of CTH 759–763 has never been implemented in any version of the CTH, it is fair to say that it defined the subsequent discussion of the Kuwattalla tradition for several decades. In particular, it was adopted in the only existing reference work on Luwian religion (Hutter 2003, 253–54). Never-

34 We shall see below in Chapter 4 that the parallels with the Tunnawiya tradition are found very frequently in those texts that can be assigned to CTH 761 (the Great Ritual) on the basis of their colophons. Therefore, whatever one thinks about the origin of the similarities between the two traditions, using them for internal classification purposes of CTH 759–763 clearly did not pay off.

theless, the postulated direct link between the adaptations of the rituals and the activities of their performers elicited some skeptical remarks in Christiansen 2006. One problem in such an explanation is the lack of consistent textual cues associated with single vs. joint performance. Indeed, if both the Hittite and Luwian parts of the Great Ritual had been recorded three times via intervening performers, it would have been logical to find two versions with verbs of performance in 1sg. ('I libate', 'I conjure') and one version with the matching verbs in 1pl. ('we libate', 'we conjure'). The matching incipits KBo 29.3 and KUB 35.18 indeed reflect the contrast between the first singular and first plural verbal forms, but it cannot be observed anywhere else in the text of the respective versions.³⁵ Even the oldest preserved tablet series of the tradition contains the performative verbs in 3sg. despite the fact that its colophon features a 1sg. verb (Christiansen 2006, 10). This is rather in accord with the hypothesis that the attributions are mere labels introduced for the purpose of distinguishing individual versions from each other (Christiansen 2006, 11, fn. 33).

Christiansen's brief observations on CTH 759–763 anticipate her research on the Ambazzi tradition, which constitutes the bulk of her monograph, and which contributed to a paradigmatic change in the study of Hittite ritual texts. In the footsteps of Miller 2004, she succeeded in demonstrating that the Ḫattuša scribes played an active role in the modification of the existing ritual texts, adapting them to the ever-changing needs of the potential or actual patrons. We submit that the approach of Miller and Christiansen is also fully applicable to textual variation in CTH 759–763. The default hypothesis in the study of the parallel versions should be the modification of the original text in the scribal milieu, not the examination of different ritual practitioners. In other words, there is no need to assume the radical difference between level two and level three of Starke's taxonomy. This does not mean that the Old Woman Šilalluḫi never existed, that the scholar-scribes never observed her performance, or that they never had a chance to record her incantations. We shall see that the existence of Šilalluḫi is intrinsically likely, and her interaction with the scribes remains a viable option, but the final decision on how to modify the written texts must have rested with the scholar-scribes, not with Šilalluḫi or even Kuwattalla.

It seems possible, however, to go a step further. In what follows we would like to extend our enquiry to level one of Starke's taxonomy and attempt to assess whether the division of the Kuwattalla tradition into three rituals, which reflect three separate performances, withstands close scrutiny. As we have seen above, this was a common assumption of Laroche and Starke, and in two of the three cases it had the common motivation—namely, the difference between the colophons mentioning the *dupa-duparša*-ritual and the Great Ritual. Yet, recent studies of related ritual texts do not

35 One can compare here a related problem pertaining to the transmission of the Puriyanni tradition (CTH 758). As suggested by Starke, its available fragments reflect a "first person version" and "third person version", but there is no paleographic indication that the fragments of the second group date back to a later period. Even if one assumes that the "first person version" is the original one, the transition to the "third person version" must have reflected a scribal initiative. It seems, however, equally likely that the ritual was recorded in the third person, while later a scholar-scribe adapted the Hittite part as a first-person discourse in order to increase its perceived authenticity.

preclude the possibility of altering the name of a composition in the course of its scribal adaptation. Thus, the Hurrian version of the Gilgameš Epic was known in Hattuša as the Epic of Hūwawa (Beckman 2019, 4). More to the point, Beckman writes in connection with two rituals attributed to Tunnawiya, which are known as the *taknaz da*-ritual (CTH 409.II) and the Ritual of the Ox (CTH 409.IV): “I believe that we are dealing with a single composition of Tunnawiya presented under two different titles. The former designation gives the purpose of the ritual, while the latter names one of its primary material prerequisites” (Beckman 1990, 35). In a similar fashion, it seems perfectly logical that the performance known under the generic name Great Ritual could also acquire a more specific name */tubadubarsa/* “(ritual of) prolonged striking”, presumably with reference to the patient’s bewitchment, which he strives to overcome.³⁶

Therefore, the question is essentially empirical: are there enough data to advance a claim that the bulk of the fragments assembled under CTH 759–763 reflect variations of a single ritual? A consideration that provides the starting point for further enquiry is the triad of abstract terms with negative connotations: */tabaru-/* tentatively translated as ‘ruling, judgment’; */tadarijamman-/* ‘curse’; and */xirun/d-/* ‘perjury’. The corpus-based study of this group in Kammenhuber 1985, 763–72 revealed that it occurs in texts classified as CTH 759–761—in other words, in all three rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition according to Laroche. Nothing changes if we assume instead Starke’s tripartite division: KUB 32.9(+) (“First Ritual”), KUB 9.6 (“Second Ritual”), and KBo 29.55+ (“Third Ritual”) all feature the same triad of juxtaposed miasma.³⁷ In contrast, none of the Luwian incantations assuredly situated outside the Kuwattalla tradition features the same triad. For example, the central miasma of the Puriyanni tradition (CTH 758), otherwise featuring many similarities to CTH 759–763, are */attuwaltsa udarsa/* ‘evil matter’, */xallissa/* ‘defilement’, and */parattantsa/* ‘impurity’. If three different rituals were performed by the same group of specialists, the logical expectation is that they should provide relief in three different situations. Since none of the proposed tripartite divisions yields separate sets of miasma, the hypothesis of one underlying ritual must be considered seriously.

In what follows we shall try to demonstrate how the philological discoveries of the last several years, including those made within the framework of the Luwili Project, undermine the attempts to dissect the Kuwattalla tradition into thematically unrelated units. The structure of this chapter roughly follows the order of observations

36 For the use of */tsanta tub(a)i-(di)/* as a bewitching gesture directed at the patient, see Section 3.5 below. As a formal parallel for naming a ritual after a condition affecting the patient, one can consider, for example, KUB 7.53+ i 8 *paprannaš* ŠISKUR ‘ritual of impurity’, the name given to CTH 409.I or the First Ritual of Tunnawiya (see Goetze and Sturtevant 1938, 4–5). Since hammering a peg into the earth could be used for bewitching someone in ancient Anatolia, it is likely that the verb */tarm(a)i-(di)/*, which is conversely directed at the evildoers in the Kuwattalla tradition, echoes the bewitching gesture designated by the verbal phrase */tsanta tub(a)i-(di)/* (see already Starke 1985, 104).

37 Certainly, this is not the only group of negative concepts targeted by the rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition, simply the one that occurs most frequently. See Section 3.6 and Section 5.4 for the discussion of the paired concepts */xaradar-/* + */waskulimm(a)-/*. For our present purposes, it is only important to state that they frequently occur in the same tablet series as the main triad.

that led us to the proposed conclusions. The reasons for such a “mystery story” presentation is twofold: on the one hand, it is conducive to properly paying homage to our predecessors in the restoration of the Kuwattalla tradition; on the other hand, it highlights the limitations of our approach: other scholars can critically evaluate our advances step by step, see more precisely where we have paused, and we hope go beyond us.

In Section 3.2, we will address links between the fragments traditionally grouped under CTH 760 and CTH 761, with the purpose of tracing different versions of *šalli aniur* ‘Great Ritual’ across this continuum. This part of the argument is largely based on the published discoveries, notably those of Annelies Kammenhuber, Petra Goedegebuure, Manfred Hutter, and David Sasseville. In Section 3.3, we will attempt to integrate the data of CTH 759, arguing that the versions of the *dupaduparša*-ritual display a considerable overlap with those traditionally assigned to the Great Ritual. The argumentation of this section is largely based on the joins and interpretations reached in the course of the Luwili Project. In Section 3.4, we will dwell on the structure of yet another version, combining the Great Ritual with the *ḫalliyattanza* sub-ritual and assigned the number CTH 762 in this book. Its core consists of the tablets written by the scribe Pariziti, which were also assembled in the course of the Luwili Project. The analysis of the above-mentioned similarities will be conducive to fleshing out the scenario of the development of the Kuwattalla tradition as an ongoing scribal effort in Section 3.5. In Section 3.6, our previous conclusions will be completed with the case studies suggesting that the scribes could add and remove rites in the process of preparing new adaptations. In the concluding Section 3.7, we will address the implications of our conclusion for the new classification of the Kuwattalla tradition. While we do not pretend that it is exhaustive, we deem it unlikely to require major modifications in the foreseeable future.

3.2 DECONSTRUCTING THE “THIRD RITUAL”

The Hittite-Luwian fragments grouped under CTH 760 in Laroche 1971 lack incipits, colophons, or other explicit indications of their attribution. They are subdivided into two main groups: (1) fragments featuring animal substitution rites and (2) fragments featuring manipulations with anthropomorphic figurines and/or hand and tongue made of clay. The best-preserved specimens of the first and second groups are KUB 35.43 and KUB 35.45 respectively. Laroche apparently doubted that these Hittite-Luwian fragments have anything to do with Kuwattalla or Šilalluḫi, and rather sought to connect them with Hittite fragments, which are now attributed to the Tunnaviya tradition (CTH 409). The parallels between the Hittite incantations of CTH 760 and their Luwian counterparts in CTH 409 are both real and non-trivial; they will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

What Laroche failed to take into consideration is that essentially the same parallels are also attested between the assured incantations of the Great Ritual (CTH 761 according to Laroche) and those of CTH 409. Furthermore, if one considers the relevant incantations in CTH 760 and CTH 761, one arrives at a more ostensive parallel-

ism, simply because they are rendered in Luwian in both cases. For example, the formula KUB 35.43+ ii 16–18 (assigned by Laroche to CTH 760) ‘I made it (*animal*) run to his left, so that it took his (the patient’s) sinisterness. I made it run to his right, so that it took his evil terror’ finds a precise counterpart in KUB 35.20+ obv. 17’–18’ (CTH 761). In contrast, in the Tunnawiya tradition we find only the imperfect Hittite translation of the same formula ‘I made it run to your left, so that it took his(!) sinisterness. I made it run to your right, so that it took your evil terror’ (KUB 9.4+ ii 18–21, CTH 409.IV).³⁸

The inconsistency of Laroche’s approach was noted in Starke 1985, 136, where additional close parallels between KUB 35.43 and KUB 35.24+ were also cited. This prompted Starke to affirm the link between the Hittite-Luwian fragments of CTH 760 and the Kuwattalla tradition. Nevertheless, he found new arguments that allowed him to treat KUB 35.43 as “Tablet X” of a separate “Third Ritual”. This was the fragmentary colophon of KBo 10.42, where Kuwattalla is said to conduct the ritual in the open country, while a hut (^{GI}ZA.LAM.GAR) and a gatehouse (*hīlammār*) are mentioned as ritual paraphernalia. Starke (1985, 135–36) compared this passage with substitution rites involving a sheep and a piglet, which unfold in the vicinity of a hut and a gatehouse in KUB 35.43. Neither hut nor gatehouse, however, are mentioned in connection with the substitution rites in KUB 35.24+, KUB 35.21, or KUB 32.9(+). belonging to the same tablet series (called CTH 761.1 in our edition). Neither are they mentioned in the preserved colophons of the respective tablets, which establish their attribution to the Great Ritual (Starke 1985, 86–90). This prompted Starke to assume a contrast between the Great Ritual = “First Ritual” (CTH 761) and the “Third Ritual”, which is conducted in the specific setting of the open country (CTH 760 according to his classification).

Yet, the similarities between KUB 35.43+ and KUB 35.24+ / KUB 35.21 / KUB 32.9(+) are not limited to the formulaic repertoire. As discussed at some length in Marcuson 2016, 290–395, the matching incantations are embedded in parallel substitution rites, even though the specific animals involved in these rites cannot always be determined from the contexts. More parallels between the two texts, such as the invocation to the Storm-god of the Weapon and the reference to “the divine path”, are addressed in Hutter 2019a, 345–53. The piling up of similarities prompted Hutter to conclude that KUB 35.43 belongs to the Great Ritual rather than to the “Third Ritual”, although he stopped short of denying the latter’s existence.

Finally, the hypothesis of “Tablet X” became no longer tenable after Sasseville (2020b, 116) demonstrated that the ritual conducted by Kuwattalla and/or Šilalluḫi in the open country was also known as the Great Ritual. Thus, the key passage in KBo 10.42 iv 6’–8’ can be read as [ma]-a-an ^fKu-wa-at-tal-[l]a-aš ^{MUNUS}SUḪUR.LÁ [fŠi-la-al-lu-ḫi-iš-ša ^{MUNUS}SU.GI a-r]a-aḫ-za gi-im-ri [š]a-l-li [a-ni-u-ur a-ni-ia-an-zī]

38 The reasons for the original grouping of CTH 760 presumably have to do with the interpretation history of Luwian cuneiform texts. Since significant advances in the understanding of the better-preserved Luwian incantations, such as those in KUB 35.43(+), came from their comparison with the parallel incantations of the Tunnawiya tradition, it was natural to juxtapose the relevant texts at a time when the restoration of the more fragmentary Luwian parallels had not yet been accomplished.

‘[W]hen Kuwatal[li]a, the female attendant [and Šilalluḫi, the Old Woman perform the Gr]eat [Ritual ou]tside, in the open country’, and this reconstruction is now supported through the new fragment KBo 70.54 rev. 1’–3’ [ma-a-an] ^rfŠi-la’-[al-lu-ḫi-iš MUNUSŠU.GI a-ra-aḫ-za gi-im-r]i GAL-li ‘a-ni’-[u-ur a-ni-ia-az-zi] ‘[When] Šila[lluḫi], the Old Woman, [performs] the Great Ritu[al outside in the open count]ry.’, which was not available to Starke. The *tertium comparationis* is KBo 29.12:6’–8’ [ma-a-an ^rfŠi-la-al-lu-ḫi-iš MUNUSŠU.GI a-ra]-aḫ-za gi-im-[ri pa-iz-zi nu GAL-li a-ni-u-ur a-ni-i]a-az-z[i] ‘[When Šilalluḫi, the Old Woman, goes out]side into the open count[ry and perfor]ms [the Great Ritual]’. Thus, the main argument advanced for the existence of the Third Ritual can simply be refuted through the application of the combinatorial analysis. Instead, one has to reckon with the co-existence of versions of the Great Ritual with and without a reference to the open country.

In theory, the adaptation of an existing ritual to an open country setting can either reflect an innovation in the performance or represent a product of scribal ingenuity. Under the first scenario, one of the two practitioners transferred the ritual setting, possibly at her own initiative, while the scribes faithfully recorded the new version. The second scenario removes the direct agency of the ritual specialists and suggests that the scholar-scribes adapted the written text at their disposal. A number of considerations are in favor of the second scenario. First, as noted by Starke, Marcuson, and Hutter, the embedded Luwian incantations of KUB 35.24+ and KUB 35.43+ are strikingly similar: in the instance of a separate new performance one would arguably expect more difference, matching the degree of variation in the Hittite matrix text. Second, the colophon of KBo 10.42 must be restored as referring to the tandem of Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi, while KBo 70.54 apparently refers to Šilalluḫi alone, so it seems impossible to connect the new setting with a particular ritualist. Third, the reference to the performance, in the open country included in the colophon reveals the scribal awareness of the main distinction between the relevant versions of the Great Ritual and their predecessor(s). Fourth, the use of a hut and gate in the open country is independently attested in CTH 409.I (§§ 27–32; Goetze and Sturtevant 1938, 16–21). Thus, the scholar-scribes may have availed of the concept known to them from the Tunnawiya tradition.³⁹ At the very least, the texts of the Kuwattalla tradition mentioning the open country do not offer probative evidence for the actual performance of the Great Ritual in the countryside.

It remains to address the second group of Hittite-Luwian texts classified by Laroche and Starke under CTH 760—namely, KUB 35.45 and the related fragments, which feature manipulations with figurines of clay or dough. There is no obvious overlap between this group and the first one in terms of subject matter or style, beyond the fact that both use the set of formulae that characterizes the Kuwattalla tradition in general. Neither is the link between “Tablet X” (the group of KUB 35.43) and “Tab-

39 The adaptation of this concept may have been somewhat artificial. The gate (KÁ.GAL), made of various sorts of locally available vegetation, in CTH 409.I is contrasted with *ḫilammar* ‘gatehouse, portico’ in the Kuwattalla tradition, although the latter is usually taken to represent an element of monumental architecture, and therefore its erection in the open country in the context of an ad hoc ritual appears to be less realistic.

let Y” (the group of KUB 35.45) explicated in Starke 1985, 135–41, although the possible duplicates and parallel versions of “Tablet X” and “Tablet Y” are discussed there in considerable detail. The only guess one can make about the reasons that prompted Starke to consider “Tablet Y” as part of the “Third Ritual”, beyond adherence to Laroche’s legacy, is the occurrence of [*hi-la*]*m-na pa-ra-a pé-e-da-i* ‘carries to the [gat]ehouse’ in KUB 35.48 iii 32’, while KUB 35.45 and KUB 35.48 are treated as duplicates. There is, however, no evidence that the noun *hilammar* refers in this context to a portico constructed in the open country. Indeed, the form *hi-lam-ni* is also found in KUB 9.6 ii 18 (CTH 759), but in this text it clearly refers to the gatehouse of the residential building where the ritual takes place. The same analysis is also possible for KUB 35.48 and, by extension, to all the other possible occurrences of *hilammar* in “Tablet Y”.

Fortunately, in addition to the negative evidence adduced above, we also have a positive argument for the connection between “Tablet Y” and the Great Ritual. This is the direct join KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45, first proposed in Kammenhuber 1986, 86.⁴⁰ The incipit KBo 29.3 i 1–4, restored on the basis of the parallel version KUB 35.18 i 2–7, states: *ma-a-an an-tu-uḫ-ši* [*kat-ta wa-al-ḫu-wa-aš* SISKUR] ‘*ši*’-*pa-an-ta-aḫ-ḫi na-aš-ta ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* [I-NA U₄.3.KAM *kat-ta wa*]-*al-ḫu-wa-aš* SISKUR *aš-nu-mi nu-za-an* I-NA U₄.3.KAM [*pa-ra-a GAL-li-pât a-ni-u-u*]r *e-ep-mi* ‘When I perform the sacrificial [ritual of striking down] for a person, once I complete the ritual of [st]riking [down on the third day], I [under]take [further the Great Ritua]l [itself] on the third day.’ This implies on face value that KUB 35.45, the largest available fragment of the alleged “Tablet Y”, belongs to the version that combines the Great Ritual with another performance.

Now, the parallel version KUB 35.18, which, according to its incipit, contains the same double performance celebrated by two ritual specialists, also preserves the colophon. Its key sentence KUB 35.18 iv 3’–6” can be restored as follows: *ma-a-an* ^f*K[u-wa-at-tal-la-aš* MUNUSU^hHUR.LÁ] ^f*Ši-la-al-lu-u-ḫi*’-*[iš-ša* MUNUS^hŠU.GI ...] *ma-a-an an-tu-uḫ-ša-a[n* GAL-li *a-ni-u-ur a-[ni-ia-an]-ḫi*’ *zi*’ ‘When K[uwattalla, the female attendant and] Šilalluḫi, [the Old Woman ...]. When th[ey] pe[rform] the Great Ritual for a person’. Its second clause finds a direct parallel in KUB 32.9 rev. 13’ [*m*]-*a-a-an an-tu-uḫ-ša-a[n* GAL-li *a-ni-u-ur a-ni-ia-mi* ‘when I perform the Great Ritual for a person’, a clause that assuredly belongs to the colophon of the Great Ritual. This confirms the impression that both KBo 29.3 + KUB 35.45 and KUB 35.18 contain texts related to CTH 761. Since the other fragments of the alleged “Tablet Y” represent parallel versions or duplicates of KUB 35.45, these observations effectively destroy the evidence for “Tablet Y” of the independent “Third Ritual”.⁴¹

40 This join was rejected in Starke 1990, 595 on paleographic grounds and failed to gain general acceptance at the time. Kammenhuber’s discovery, however, was recently replicated by David Sasseville, who also succeeded in demonstrating that Starke’s paleographic arguments had been based on false premises (Sasseville 2020b, 112).

41 In addition to “Tablet X” and “Tablet Y”, Starke (1985, 137) also lists a number of other fragments tentatively assigned to the “Third Ritual” (*Fragmente unsicherer Einordnung*). It is clear, however, from Starke’s exposition that none of them is used as an argument for a separate “Third Ritual”. These fragments merely display similarities to their counterparts assigned to “Tablet X”, “Tablet Y”, or both (Starke 1985, 141).

At the same time, there has been progress in contextualizing the “ritual of striking down”. The suggestion of Goedegebuure (2010a, 304) that this is merely another name of the *dupaduparša*-ritual was recently endorsed in Hutter 2019a, 337 and Sas-seville 2020b, 111, fn. 1. Indeed, a number of fragments belonging to the Kuwattalla tradition feature the Luwian phrasal verb /tsanta tub(a)i-(di)/ ‘to strike down’, the equivalent of Hitt. *katta walh-* and the cognate of *dupaduparša/dupiduparša*, a Luwian foreign word in Hittite context. Presumably, both the Hittite and Luwian prefixed verbs intensify the meaning of the plain verbs /tub(a)i-(di)/ and *walh-* ‘to strike’, while the Luwian abstract noun /tubadubar-/ is derived from the stem with full reduplication **tubatuba-* ‘to strike’, which probably also has the intensive meaning.⁴² But if the Hittite equivalent of the name of the *dupaduparša*-ritual is mentioned in KBo 29.3+ and KUB 35.18, this implies that both incipits refer to the combined performance of a predecessor of the *dupaduparša*-ritual and the Great Ritual. While there is nothing a priori implausible about combining two rituals belonging to the same tradition, such a far-reaching hypothesis requires independent corroboration. This task will be accomplished in the following two sections.

3.3 THE GREAT RITUAL AND THE DUPADUPARŠA-RITUAL

While Laroche (1971) merely listed the fragments with colophons that mention the *dupaduparša*-ritual under CTH 759, the real attempt to flesh out this ritual was undertaken in Starke 1985. The basic assumption of Starke’s approach is that the rites mentioned in the *dupaduparša*-ritual do not occur in the Great Ritual. Therefore, if a specific rite is attested in a fragment assigned to the *dupaduparša*-ritual by its colophon, then all the other Kuwattalla tradition fragments that feature the relevant rite can also be assigned to CTH 759. This methodology led to treating the manipulations with oil and honey and the rite of nailing down as the exclusive features of CTH 759 on the strength of their occurrence in KUB 9.6+ and KUB 35.37 respectively. Furthermore, the occurrences of the Luwian phrasal verb /tsanta tub(a)i-(di)/ were seen as indicators that the relevant fragments belong to the *dupaduparša*-ritual. In fact, the Luwian verbs /tarm(a)i-(di)/ ‘to nail (down)’ and /tsanta tub(a)i-(di)/ ‘to strike down’ are tentatively analyzed as referring to the same ritual act in Starke 1985, 104.⁴³

42 For other examples of Luwian deverbal abstract nouns in *-ar*, see /wassar/ ‘favor’ (Melchert 1993, 262; Yakubovich 2002, 200) and possibly **xudar* ‘haste’ underlying Luw. /xudar(i)-/ ‘servant’.

43 Anticipating the discussion to follow, we regret to say that none of these classification criteria could be fully confirmed by our research. The purification with oil and honey is mentioned in the Hittite-Luwian fragment KUB 35.69, whose precise attribution can be debated, but CTH 759 appears to be precluded by the Middle Script ductus of the relevant fragment, contrasting with the New Script features of all the assured species of CTH 759. The rite of nailing down the *nakkiu*-spirits finds a counterpart in CTH 762 (see Section 3.4). The combination /tsanta tub(a)i-(di)/ can now be reconstructed in KUB 35.25 rev. 10” (CTH 761). The verb /tsanta tub(a)i-(di)/ invariably takes the ritual patron as the implied direct object, while evildoers (more precisely, their body parts) or evil spirits function as direct objects of the verb /tarm(a)i-(di)/.

The consequences of such an approach were far-reaching. The fragment KUB 32.8 (+) KUB 32.5, where the verb /tsanta tub(a)i-(di)/ occurs particularly frequently, features not only a rite involving oil and honey (column three) but also the *šarlatt*-sacrifice (column four). The search for other fragments featuring the *šarlatt*-sacrifice was conducive to assigning more fragments to CTH 759, which in turn yielded more rites belonging to the same complex—for example, the scapegoat rite (*nakkušši*-rite) and the rite of throwing silver and gold into a pitcher (^{DUG}KU-KU-UB) filled with porridge (BA.BA.ZA). The third iteration of the same search for exclusive features yielded more fragments and more rites. The final result of this procedure is presented in Starke 1985, 105, where eighteen fragments are assigned to the *dupaduparša*-ritual, as opposed to the mere five fragments listed in Laroche 1971, 135.

At the same time, the complementary distribution between the ritual acts of the *dupaduparša*-ritual and the Great Ritual was never addressed in detail, despite the fact that the rest of the analysis logically depends on this premise. Perhaps this hypothesis was pursued as self-evident, something which naturally follows from the co-existence of several rituals belonging to the same tradition (as opposed to different versions of the same ritual). Yet, there is also a practical consideration that could have led Starke to the same conclusion. The largest fragment attributed to the *dupaduparša*-ritual—namely, KUB 9.6+—belongs to the third tablet of the ritual according to Starke 1985, 116, while another alleged large fragment, KUB 32.9(+), is assigned to the third tablet of the Great Ritual in Starke 1985, 90. The two fragments do not appear to show any thematic overlap: the former contains a rite featuring manipulations with oil and honey, purification with the *gangati*-plant, and the beginning of the *ikkunawar*-rite, while the latter features repeated purifications with water and the *taluppi*-lump.⁴⁴ This contrast between the two tablets assigned the same number but belonging to two different rituals would indeed confirm the impression that these two tablets have little in common.

This contrast, however, turns out to be based on false premises. According to Laroche 1971, 135, the tablet number in the colophon of KUB 9.6 + KUB 35.39 is either the third or the sixth tablet, while Otten favors the reading ‘sixth tablet’ in his description of KUB 35.39 in the foreword to KUB 35. Our inspection of the photograph of KUB 9.6+ iv 25’ confirms Otten’s impression and yields the reading ‘DUB.6.KAM ŠA’ S[ISKUR] *du-ú-pa-du-pa-ar-ša* ‘Sixth tablet of the *dūpaduparša*-r[itual]’, although the restoration of the numeral ‘5’ does not seem impossible either (see Figure 3.1). Whether we are dealing with either the fifth or the sixth tablet (we favor the latter reading), the alleged contrast between the matching tablets of the two rituals simply disappears. This in turn opens an alternative possibility that the *dupaduparša*-ritual

44 The indirect join between KUB 32.9(+) and KUB 35.21, offered by Otten in his edition of KUB 35 and taken for granted by Starke, was refuted through the examination of the relevant tablets in the Ankara museum in the course of the Luwili Project (see the edition of CTH 761.1 in this book). Consequently, the reconstruction of the third tablet of the earliest available version of the Great Ritual, as presented in Starke 1985, cannot be any longer maintained. We do not dwell on this issue here, since there is another way to refute the purported contrast between the two tablets with the identical number, to be addressed immediately below.



Figure 3.1: ‘5’ or, rather, ‘6’ in KUB 9.6+ iv 25’

and the Great Ritual represent different adaptations of the same performance, the solution advocated earlier with reference to the Great Ritual vs. “Third Ritual”.

The positive evidence for the alternative scenario is derived from new joins and parallel versions, which have come to light in the course of the Luwili Project. It is appropriate to begin with an analysis of KUB 35.16, traditionally assigned to the Great Ritual (CTH 761) on the basis of its colophon (Starke 1985, 94).⁴⁵ The fragment contains the Luwian verbal form *i-ik-ku-na-a-ú-un-ta* (i 6’), which suggests that it may feature the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, mentioned in the list of the ritual implements in KUB 35.18 i 10. This hypothesis finds confirmation in the restoration KUB 35.16 i 14’ [*i-ik-ku*]-‘*u*’-*na-at-ta-aš-ši-in* ‘of the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice’. Furthermore, the Luwian incantation in KUB 35.16 i 7’–13’ finds a unique counterpart in KUB 32.8(+) iv 12’–16’ (Starke 1985, 119, fn. 20), which is consistent with the restoration [*ik-ku-na-a*]-*t-ta-aš-ši-in* in KUB 32.8(+) iv 3’.⁴⁶ The assumed *ikkunatt*-sacrifice is followed by the *šarlatt*-sacrifice in KUB 32.8(+) iv (beginning with line 29’), which is in agreement with the mention of these two rites one after another in KUB 35.18 i 10–11. Nevertheless, KUB 32.8(+), unlike KUB 35.16, is assigned to CTH 759 in Starke 1985.

Now, the putative *ikkunatt*-sacrifice features the second Luwian incantation in KUB 32.8(+) iv 21’–27’. Goedegebuure (2010a, 305–6) has demonstrated that it finds a counterpart in KUB 35.14 i 7’–15’ (see also Melchert 2016a, 209–10). The last fragment was classified in Starke 1985 as a specimen of CTH 759. The paleographic analysis suggests, however, that KUB 35.14 and KUB 35.16 are written in the same hand, a conclusion anticipated by Otten in his foreword to KUB 35. Given that KUB 35.16 i and KUB 35.14 i contain the description of the same rite, one can go a step further and suggest an indirect join between the two fragments, with the implication that KUB 35.14 also belongs to a tablet series containing the text of the Great Ritual. The proposed join gains further in plausibility through the identification of the *šarlatt*-sacrifice immediately following the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice in KUB 35.14 (see KUB 35.14 i 18’ [*šar-l*]-*a-a-at-t[a-aš-ši-in]*, already restored in Starke 1985, 120). It is thus possible to demonstrate the same sequence of two rites in KUB 32.8(+) and KUB 35.16(+), although these two tablets are classified under two different CTH numbers.

45 For the reassignment of this fragment to CTH 760, see Section 3.6 below.

46 Starke reconstructed [*šar-la-at*]-*ta-aš-ši-in* instead of [*ik-ku-na-a*]-*t-ta-aš-ši-in* in KUB 32.8(+) iv 3’, with the implication that the whole preserved part of column four reflects the *šarlatt*-sacrifice. This would imply, however, that the unique matching incantations in KUB 35.16 and KUB 32.8(+) belong to two different rites.

Since KUB 32.8(+) lacks the colophon, one could attempt to obviate this difficulty by arguing that it must likewise be re-classified as a part of the Great Ritual. Such a solution, however, would break the link between KUB 32.8(+) and KUB 9.6+, an assured specimen of CTH 759 according to its colophon. While the parallels between KUB 32.8(+) and KUB 35.16(+) are closer than those between KUB 32.8(+) and KUB 9.6(+), in the second instance one can also reconstruct the sequence of two rites in common. On the one hand, the purification with oil and honey addressed in KUB 9.6+ i–iii finds a counterpart in KUB 32.8(+) iii. The incantations for the transformation of the miasma into oil and honey represent a particularly close parallel between the two versions.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the recent progress in understanding the derivatives of Luw. /ikk^war/n-/ ‘liver’ leaves no doubt that the *ikkunawar*-sacrifice at the end of KUB 9.6+ corresponds to the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice in KUB 32.8(+) iv.⁴⁸ While the description of the ritual acts in KUB 9.6+ is overall more detailed than in KUB 32.8(+), this is in line with the general tendency of CTH 759 toward expansion (only here one finds a tablet series consisting of at least nine tablets) and in no way contradicts the comparison between the two fragments. Summing up, the fragments KUB 35.16(+), KUB 32.8(+), and KUB 9.6+ form a triad that links the text of the Great Ritual to that of the *dupaduparša*-ritual.⁴⁹

Another overlap became apparent as a result of assigning the fragments KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94, KUB 35.78, and KUB 35.37 to the same tablet, a conjecture that was initially made on paleographic grounds (see Chapter 2). The last of these fragments features a colophon that assigns it to the first tablet of the *dupaduparša*-ritual, but it also contains a reference to the rite of nailing down the *nakkiu*-spirits. The same rite is otherwise attested in KUB 35.13 and, crucially, in KBo 29.6(+) iv 1’–10’. Now, the beginning of KBo 29.6(+) i contains the description of the *šarlatt*-sacrifice, which, as we

47 See KUB 32.8(+) iii 26’–29’ *ta-a-in-ti-ia-aš a-a-ia-ru ma-al<-li>-i-ti-ia<-aš> a-a-ia-ru za-a[n-da] du-ú-pa-im-mi-i-iš iš-ša’-[ri-iš] ‘za-an’-[d]a du-ú-pa-i[m-mi-iš EME-iš] ‘May they become oil, may they become honey, the downstriking ha[nd] (and) the downstrik[ing tongue]!’* vs. KUB 9.6+ ii 12–13 *ta-a-i-in-ti-ia’-ta ma-al-li a-i-ia-ru ta-pa-a-ru-wa hi-i-ru-ú-ta ta-ta-ar-ri-ia-am-na* ‘May they become oil and honey: judgments, perjuries, curses!’

48 The discovery of the Luwian heteroclitic stem /ikk^war/n-/ ‘liver’, reported in Sasseville 2020c, 562, can be further confirmed with the analysis of its derivatives. The denominative verb /ikkuna-/ in KUB 35.16(+) i 6’ has the literal meaning ‘to treat with liver’, while /ikkunatt(a)-/ and /ikkunawar/n-/ , the designations of the same rite, function as secondary derivatives, literally meaning ‘treating with liver’. The technical term *ikkunatt*- attested in the Hittite passages of the corpus under study represents a loanword from Luwian. Treating the deity, probably the Sun-god, with liver and heart indeed constituted the essence of the *ikkunatt*-rite, and the Sumerograms for both ‘heart’ and ‘liver’ are attested in the relevant part of KUB 32.8(+). The hypothesis of Hutter 2019a, linking Luwian /ikkunatt(a)-/ with Hurrian *egunni* ‘pure’, is less likely on either formal and functional grounds. On the one hand, the fortis -kk- and the base form /ikk^war/ remain unexplained under such an analysis; on the other hand there are no indications that the *ikkunatt*-rite represents a purification rite.

49 The conclusion that the *ikkunawar/ikkunatt*-rite is shared between the Great Ritual and the *dupaduparša*-ritual was already offered in Hutter 2019a, 339, but on different grounds. Hutter compares the mention of *ikkunawar* rite in KUB 9.6+ (CTH 759) to the mention of the *ikkunatt*-rite in the incipit of KUB 35.18+ (CTH 760).

have seen above, is also attested in KUB 35.16(+).⁵⁰ No less important for the present discussion is the placement of KBo 29.6(+): it cannot belong to the initial tablet of the ritual. As one can see from Table 3.1 below, the presence of the *šarlatt*-sacrifice suggests its alignment with KUB 35.16(+) and KUB 32.8(+), which are in turn juxtaposed with KUB 9.6(+), definitely not the first tablet of the respective adaptation (see the discussion earlier in this section).

	KUB 35.16(+)	KUB 32.8(+)	KUB 9.6+
oil and honey rite	?	iii 1'–28'	i 1–iii 11'
<i>ikkunatt</i> -sacrifice	i 1'–17"	iv 1'–29'	iv 13'–24'
<i>šarlatt</i> -sacrifice	i 17"–27"	iv 29'–36'	?
attribution	CTH 761 > CTH 760	?	CTH 759

Table 3.1: Overlap between the *dupaduparša*-ritual and the Great Ritual (case study)

How then can one account for the rite of nailing down the *nakkiu*-spirits, co-occurring in KUB 35.37 and KBo 29.6(+)? Part of the answer comes from the fragments sharing the scribal hand with KUB 35.37—namely, KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94 and KUB 35.78. Their content suggests that they belong to the abbreviated version of a Hittite-Luwian ritual. The Hittite instructions there normally consist of just one clause, while the Luwian incantations do not even represent well-formed clauses, being usually cut off after two or three phonetic words. As a result, the overall text must have become several times shorter than the text of other rituals of the Kuwat-talla tradition; perhaps it consisted merely of two tablets, or even one and a half. Under such conditions, nailing down the *nakkiu*-spirits at the end of the first tablet of this text is fully compatible with the mention of the same rite further on in KBo 29.6(+). Thus, one can even say that the content of the three fragments provides the much-needed independent confirmation that they belong to the same tablet.

This does not, however, sever the link between KUB 35.37 and the Great Ritual via KBo 29.6(+). Quite to the contrary, the other fragments belonging to the abbreviated version of CTH 759 can only confirm it. The reference to the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, reconstructed in KUB 35.78 iv 8', links this fragment to another version of the *dupaduparša*-ritual as well as the Great Ritual (see Table 3.1 above). The new indirect join KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94 is no less telling: here we find a mention of breaking the tongue of clay, accompanied by a characteristic Luwian incantation. The relevant passage can be restored as follows: KUB 35.81(+) i 6'–8' 'He [br]eaks [off] the tongue of dough together wit[h the hand (figurine) and (she) say]: "He is breaking the [e]vil [tong]ue!"'. While there are several Hittite-Luwian fragments mentioning the same rite, arguably the best preserved one is KBo 29.3+ iii 13'–19' '[The ritual patron] starts [b]rea[k]ing [the tongues] of do[ugh] and the hands of [d]ough and then places

50 For additional links between KBo 29.6 and the Great Ritual, see Section 3.4.

them one by one in the hand [of the O]ld Woman. [The Old] Woman conjures thus: “The ritual patron is b[re]aking the evil tongue, (the tongue) of curse, perjury, misery, the tongue of the multitudes”. We have seen in Section 3.2 that the incipit of KBo 29.3+ defines this fragment as the combined version of the “ritual of striking down” (presumably a precursor of the *dupaduparša*-ritual) and the Great Ritual.

Thus, the abridged version of CTH 759 contains three separate links to the tablets mentioning the Great Ritual in their colophons. Rather than treating these instances as isolated coincidences, it seems reasonable to acknowledge the connection between the rites of CTH 759 and CTH 761 within the Kuwattalla tradition. This conclusion, as such, is not new. Hutter 2019a, 352 wrote: “But the SISKUR *dūpaduparša* is no ritual of its own, but the sub-ritual performed at the beginning of *šalli aniur*.” Previously, however, it was advanced mainly based on the analysis of the incipits, colophons, and formulaic language; now we can flesh it out with structural overlaps. Before we return to the evaluation of this claim, it is appropriate to address additional overlaps that are derived from an analysis of one more version of the Kuwattalla tradition.

3.4 INTEGRATING PARIZITI’S VERSION

The colophon found in the New Script fragment KUB 35.33 iv contains the following sentence: ‘[W]hen Šilalluḫi, [the Old Woman], and Kuwattalla, the female attendant, perform [the Great R]itual, [when] they [perfo]rm the [sacrifi]cial [ri]tual *ḫaliyattanza*’. According to Starke (1985, 76) the sub-ritual *ḫaliyattanza* represents a part of the Great Ritual, just as is the case of the sub-ritual *katta walḫuwaš*. Therefore, Starke lists KUB 35.33 as one of the fragments of the “First Ritual”, and the same conclusion was later endorsed in Hutter 2003, 253. This hypothesis deserves re-assessment in the light of a plausible language-internal etymological connection between /xallijattantsa/ and /xallina-⁽ⁱ⁾/, offered in Hutter 2019a, 351–52. The Luwian verb /xallina-⁽ⁱ⁾/, which we translate as ‘to absorb impurity (of)’, appears in several fragments, invariably in substitution rites. One of these fragments, KUB 35.24+, can be securely assigned to the earliest attested version of the Great Ritual, and no sub-ritual *ḫaliyattanza* is mentioned in the colophon of the relevant text. Therefore, one can conjecture that the colophon of KUB 35.33 does not reflect the addition of a new sub-ritual but emphasizes one of the pre-existing parts of the Great Ritual.⁵¹

The initial confirmation of this hypothesis comes from the recent join KUB 35.33 (+) KBo 29.20, made by David Sasseville. The restored fragment of column three yields a new list of body parts linked by the verb /xallina-⁽ⁱ⁾/, which structurally resembles the list in KUB 35.24+ obv. 11’–13’ and certainly belongs to a substitution rite. The list of body parts, however, is different—for example, KUB 35.33(+) features ‘bones’ and ‘joints’, which otherwise never appear in the *ḫallinai*-clauses, although

51 A possibility of identifying the sub-ritual *ḫaliyattanza* with a part of Starke’s “Third Ritual” is mentioned in Hutter 2019a, 352, even though the grounds for such a hypothesis are not spelled out in this paper.

they standardly occur in another Luwian formula, also typical of substitution rites. In other words, the relevant passage produces the impression of a recycled incantation and could easily belong to a late adaptation of the Great Ritual. Naturally, conclusions made on a basis of a single incantation require independent corroboration.

Luckily, the fragment KUB 35.33 (+) KBo 29.20 is written in a very distinct hand, and the paleographic analysis was conducive to identifying more than ten Hittite-Luwian fragments reflecting the same hand (see Chapter 2). One of them revealed the name of the scribe: this is Pariziti, who worked under the supervision of Walwaziti in the mid-13th century BCE. Since there are no other mentions of /xallijattantsa/ in the colophons of the Kuwattalla tradition, the connection between this innovation and Pariziti emerges as the default solution. There are, however, no chances that Pariziti collaborated with either Kuwattalla or Šilalluḫi: both ritual practitioners must have lived in the 14th century BCE.⁵² It is more likely that the addition of the sub-ritual *ḫalliyattanza* and the related modifications in the text of the ritual reflected Pariziti's personal ingenuity, the advice of his superior Walwaziti, or perhaps the preferences of specific clients who were in contact with Walwaziti's scribal circle.

The analysis of the physical features of the fragments attributed to Pariziti suggests that they belong to two separate tablet series. The better-preserved fragment KBo 29.6(+) KUB 35.70 is characterized by much smaller characters than the remaining pieces reflecting Pariziti's hand. The comparison between KBo 29.63 and KBo 29.6(+) ii 18–28 indicates, however, that these two tablet series are either duplicates or very closely parallel versions. The word-by-word parallelism in rendering the manipulations with an empty pot in these two fragments contrasts with a divergent treatment of the same topic revealed by the new join KUB 35.71 + KUB 35.31 (+) KUB 35.30, which belongs to a tablet written in a different hand.⁵³ Therefore, although only one of Pariziti's fragments contains the colophon, we will be using both of them as evidence for a distinct adaptation of the Great Ritual. In order to separate it from the other adaptations treated thus far, we are assigning to it the catalogue number CTH 762, which has previously been reserved for unspecified fragments resembling the Great Ritual. The same number will also be assigned to fragments showing a different hand but displaying a particularly close resemblance to Pariziti's adaptation.

After these preparatory remarks, it is time to assess the place of CTH 762 in the Kuwattalla tradition. The comparison between Pariziti's fragments and other texts grouped under CTH 759–763 militates against attributing them to one of the three “rituals” postulated in Starke 1985 to the exclusion of the others. Thus, a specific parallel with the “First Ritual” is the rite of throwing precious metals into a pot with porridge (KBo 29.6(+) i 14'–31', CTH 762), which can also be restored in KUB 35.16(+) ii. The rite of nailing down the nakkiu-spirits (KBo 29.6(+) iv 1'–10') reveals a parallel

52 This conclusion is supported, among other things, by the Middle Script tablet KUB 35.18(+), the text of which is attributed to both practitioners.

53 We tentatively assign the fragment KUB 35.71+ to the *dupaduparša*-ritual (CTH 759). The principal reason for such a hypothesis is the presence of Hurrian divine names Šawoška and Ḫešue. At the same time, the attribution of this Middle Script fragment to CTH 760 cannot be absolutely ruled out.

with KUB 35.37, which was attributed to the “Second Ritual”, while the šarlatt-sacrifice (KBo 29.6(+) i 14’–31’) finds parallels in both the “First Ritual” and “Second Ritual” (compare Section 3.3). The mention of the white sheep in KUB 35.74:5’ potentially links Pariziti’s version with “Tablet X” of the “Third Ritual” (KUB 35.43 ii 19),⁵⁴ while the ḫallinai-clauses in KUB 35.33 (+) KBo 29.20 iii (CTH 762) connect it to both the “First Ritual” (KUB 35.24+ obv. 11’–13’) and “Tablet X” of the “Third Ritual” (KUB 35.43 iii 14’–15’). The fragment KBo 29.5 (CTH 762) features the rite of breaking the effigies of hand and tongue, which connects Pariziti’s version with both the “Second Ritual” (KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94 i 5’–10’) and the alleged “Tablet Y” of the “Third Ritual” (KUB 35.45 iii 13’–19’).

Only the most striking parallels have been listed above, and their list can easily be continued. If the hypothesis of three distinct rituals were to be believed, one would have to make an uncomfortable assumption that Pariziti or his colleagues compiled together all three.⁵⁵ The independent evidence for the overlap of rites within the Kuwattalla tradition significantly simplifies the matter. It is now possible to wonder whether one particular ritual of this group provided inspiration for Pariziti’s adaptation. In order to narrow down the circle of possible prototypes, it is appropriate to consider the incantation KUB 32.4 l.col. 3’–7’ (CTH 762), which can be restored as follows: ‘[Then may these g]ods [not bin]d [bewitchment, judgment, cur]se, [perjury to his body! § May the bond and bl]ow [not be experienced by him (as) a heavy burden (or) th]rashing!’ This formula finds a counterpart in a number of passages that belong to the alleged “Tablet Y” of the “Third Ritual” –for example, KUB 35.48 iii 10’–12’ ‘[In the future], may the gods not b[ind] to his body bewitchment, judgment, [c]ur[s]e, perjury! [May] they [not (be experienced)] again by him as a heavy burden! May they n[o]t be experienced [again by him] (as) [th]rashing!’ In contrast, the fragments of CTH 761 feature a rather different recurrent incantation against binding, with the miasma in the nominative. This can be illustrated with the help of the Great Ritual’s most archaic version: KUB 32.9(+) obv. 7–10 ‘May the e[vil tongue], the evil ha[nd, the tongue of judgment, curse], the tongu[e] of perjury, [bad year, bad month], the int[eriors] of the shro[u]ds, [the tongue of the multitudes] not bind the ri[tual] patron!’⁵⁶

Another non-trivial parallel between CTH 762 and “Tablet Y” concerns the constructions with the Luwian noun /assiwantattar/ ‘misery’. In KUB 35.11 ii? 1’–3’ one finds the standard list of miasma extended by this lexeme: ‘the (evil) ha[nd, the evil tongue, (the tongue) of judgment], (that) [of] cu[rse, (that) of perjury], (that) [of]

54 Note, however, that the white sheep in KUB 35.74 is probably made of fat and see the mention of a possible closer parallel in CTH 404.1 (§ 25”).

55 Alternatively, one could theoretically argue for multiple rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition written in the hand of Pariziti. Such a solution, however, would have little to recommend itself, since we have seen that the two assuredly distinct tablet series written by Pariziti show a clear textual overlap.

56 It is important to observe that the two types of incantation against binding are not in a complementary distribution with regard to the tablet of the ritual. The crucial evidence comes from the fragment KBo 13.262, which contains the incantation typical of CTH 761 before the description of the destruction of the head and tongue figurines, which must belong to the first tablet of the ritual. See the discussion below in this section.

mise[ry, the tongue of the multitudes]’. Although the fragment KUB 35.11 is not written by Pariziti, it displays a very close overlap with KUB 35.12, which shows Pariziti’s ductus; therefore both fragments can be assigned to CTH 762. Now, the noun ‘misery’ is also added to the standard list in the same syntactic position before ‘the tongue of the multitudes’ in KBo 29.3+ iii 17’–19’: ‘The ritual patron is b[re]aking the evil tongue, (the tongue) of curse, perjury, misery, the tongue of the multitudes.’ In contrast, in those instances where ‘misery’ appears in the list of the miasma in CTH 761, the relevant construction is followed by merisms—see for example KUB 35.49(+) iv 11–13 ‘[the tongue] of [judgm]ent, curs[e, perjury], miser[y, of the dead (or) the li]ving ...’.

We have seen in Section 3.2 that the group of fragments assigned by Starke to “Tablet Y” of the “Third Ritual” belongs in reality to Tablet One of the combined version of the *dupaduparša*-ritual and the Great Ritual. Despite the fact that they are obviously related to CTH 761, the mention of two different sub-rituals warrants their separate treatment, and so does the divergent incantation against binding. We suggest assigning the catalogue number CTH 760 to this group, which is in conformity with their previous allocation as part of the “Third Ritual”. The hypothesis that CTH 762 is particularly close to CTH 760 is not only supported by the common innovations in the incantation repertoire but also compatible with the similar structure of names assigned to the respective compositions (the combination of the Great Ritual and a sub-ritual).

3.5 DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITION (STATIC APPROACH)

Now that the main versions of the Kuwattalla tradition have provisionally been defined, it is time to turn to their relative chronology. On the one hand, the oldest available tablet series of the Kuwattalla tradition, namely KUB 32.9(+) and the related fragments—belongs to the Great Ritual (CTH 761). On the other hand, all the tablets that can be assuredly attributed to CTH 762 and the great majority of tablets attributed to CTH 759 show the paleographic features of the New Script.⁵⁷ The tablets of CTH 760 occupy an intermediate position: while KUB 35.18(+) is definitely Middle Script, and KBo 29.3+ represents a borderline case, both tablets are clearly younger than the oldest version of the Great Ritual, as was already acknowledged in Starke 1985.

A different consideration that confirms the same relative dating, or at least is compatible with it, is the attribution of different versions to specific ritualists. In the case of CTH 761, we find three different attributions: to Kuwattalla alone (KUB 32.9(+)), to Šilalluḫi alone (KUB 35.28), and to a tandem of the two practitioners. In contrast, all the preserved colophons of CTH 759 attribute the ritual to the cooperation of Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi (or vice versa), and so does the only preserved colophon of CTH 762. In this case, too, CTH 760 occupies a position in between: KUB 35.18 attrib-

57 The only clear exception is KBo 44.194 (CTH 759.5), if the reference to the *dupaduparša*-ritual is completely restored there. The case of the Middle Script fragment KUB 35.71+ (CTH 759.12) is more complicated, since the arguments for the attribution of this piece to CTH 759 are rather indirect.

utes the performance to the tandem of both practitioners, while KBo 29.3+ mentions a performer from Ziluna, presumably to be identified with Šilalluḫi (Sasseville 2020b, 113), but no attributions to Kuwattalla alone are found in this group. The distribution outlined above speaks for the gradual stabilization of the tradition: at the beginning the scribes felt free to emphasize the individual performers, perhaps on the basis of their personal contacts, while in the 13th century BCE the tradition came to be universally associated with both specialists, already hallowed by time.

In contrast, it turns out that the names of rituals could be subject to renewal up to the 13th century BCE. The recurrent innovations in this domain would then reflect the impact of scholar-scribes, eager to leave personal imprints on the venerable tradition. Of course, the original name *šalli aniur* ‘Great Ritual’, found in CTH 761, may be due to the author (Kuwattalla?), who emphasized the length of the ritual or perhaps its royal patients (see *šalliš waštaiš* ‘the great anomaly’ for designating a royal death). But already its modification yielding CTH 760 with its label *katta walḫuwaš* *sīskur* ‘the ritual of striking down’, had possibly come into being in scholarly circles. The advantage of appending the term “ritual of striking down” could be to specify a condition—namely, being “downstricken” by a bewitching act—which the ritual was meant to remove. Regrettably, the lack of information precludes any speculations about the specific individuals responsible for the adaptation in this case.

We are on firmer ground in the case of CTH 759 and CTH 762. The former can be linked to the scribal circle of Anuwanza through the colophons of KUB 9.6+ and KUB 35.41, while the colophon of KBo 34.245+ connects the latter to the scribal circle of Walwaziti (see Chapter 2). The careers of senior scribes Walwaziti and Anuwanza overlapped in time in mid-13th century BCE, although Anuwanza’s circle took over certain projects from Walwaziti’s circle (Gordin 2015, 169–71). In the case of the Kuwattalla tradition, one can propose that both circles availed themselves of the previous tradition, going back to the sub-ritual *katta walḫuwaš* followed by the Great Ritual (CTH 760), but either inherited or implemented different adaptations. The version of Pariziti, who worked under Walwaziti’s supervision, retained the inherited reference to the Great Ritual but replaced *katta walḫuwaš* with *ḫalliyattanza* (lit. ‘absorption of defilement’). The name of the new sub-ritual no longer emphasized the patient’s condition but focused instead on the prescribed treatment. In the versions of Duwa and Ziti II, who belonged to the circle of Anuwanza, the reference to the Great Ritual is removed altogether, while the term *katta walḫuwaš* is translated into Luwian as *dupaduparša*.⁵⁸

As noted above, the proposed scenario brings together the structure of the incipits/colophons and paleographic datings. Both the names of the rituals and the paleography place CTH 760 halfway between CTH 761, on the one hand, and CTH 759 / CTH 762, on the other hand. If we are correct in our conclusions, the “named” versions of the Kuwattalla tradition evolved according to the following basic stemma:

58 The last change almost certainly predates Anuwanza, since we find a restored reference to the *dupaduparša*-ritual in the Middle Script fragment KBo 44.194. But the elaboration of the extended and abridged versions of the *dupaduparša*-ritual, exemplified by CTH 759.1–2 and CTH 759.3 respectively, may well reflect the activity of Anuwanza’s circle.

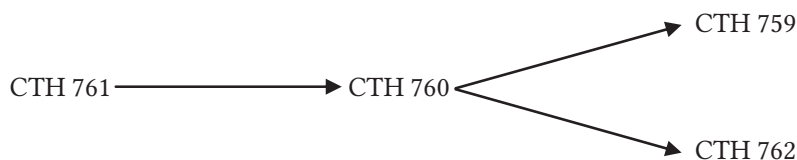


Figure 3.2: Filiation of the Kuwattalla tradition

The tree adduced above serves the important practical purpose of helping to assign CTH numbers to the fragments of the Kuwattalla tradition on the basis of their archaic and innovative features. In order to flesh it out, it is instructive to see whether it can also apply to the internal structure of the rituals. The weakest spot here would seem to be CTH 760: according to its working definition offered in Section 3.4, all its fragments belong to the first tablet of the respective ritual (former “Tablet Y”). Yet, the incipits in KBo 29.3(+) and KUB 35.18(+) preserve information about the rites to follow by way of listing the functions of animals assigned to the ritual. In particular, we learn that this version includes the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, the *šarlatt*-sacrifice, the scapegoat rite, the rite of smearing feet with blood, and the *keldi*-rite. The majority of these rites are also attested as such in the Kuwattalla tradition, where they were traditionally assigned to the “second ritual”. Yet, the incipits also mention one white and one black sheep provided with the epithet *aniuraš* ‘of the ritual’ (KBo 29.3(+) i 5), which in this context presumably implies that they are slaughtered at the time of the Great Ritual.⁵⁹ This supports the association of the sub-ritual of striking down and the Great Ritual proper in the incipit of CTH 760 with different parts of the performance.

It was proposed in the preceding section that the sub-ritual *ḫaliyattanza* was not appended to CTH 762 but rather carved out of the Great Ritual. This claim logically depends on the continuity of the *ḫallinai*-clauses within the Kuwattalla tradition. A contribution to the empirical verification of this claim comes from CTH 760. The fragment KBo 29.19, assigned to this version based on the construction with /*assiwantattar*/ ‘misery’, turns out to share the scribal hand with the fragment KBo 29.22 + KBo 57.226, which contains the verbal form *ḫal-[li-na-i]* ‘absorbs impurity’. Despite the fact that most of the signs are broken off, the context leaves no doubt that we are dealing with a substitution rite, where a special object absorbs the patient’s defilement.⁶⁰ Therefore, the joined fragment under discussion draws a bridge between the attestations of the *ḫallinai*-clauses in CTH 761 and CTH 762, thus supporting the hypothesis that the relevant part of the tradition was transmitted all the way through, naturally with some adaptations.

59 The noun *aniur* is always used for the Great Ritual in the incipits and colophons of the Kuwattalla tradition, while the Sumerogram SISKUR is reserved for the other rituals. On the differences between the use of SISKUR and *aniur* in Hittite texts, see Appendix II.

60 It is important to distinguish between live ritual carriers and animal figurines, which can also function as substitutes. Although the *ḫallinai*-clauses are compatible with both types of substitutes, the fragment KBo 29.22(+) refers to an inanimate object called /*tissadu*-. While the animal substitution rites cluster in the Great Ritual (CTH 761), this rite may well have belonged to a *katta walḫuwaš* sub-ritual.

It is now appropriate to enquire whether the same scenario is applicable to the sub-ritual *katta walḥuwaš* ‘of striking down’ in CTH 760. Since the incipits of KUB 35.18(+) and KBo 29.3(+) state clearly that this sub-ritual is to be performed before the (rest of the) Great Ritual, one must assume that the initial tablets of the respective tablet series address the sub-ritual *katta walḥuwaš*. In other words, it must include the rites that we previously assigned to “Tablet Y” of the “Third Ritual”. If this material were fully or partially recycled from the previous versions of the Great Ritual, the parallel rites should be available in the tablets classified under CTH 761. There are indeed arguments for such a scenario. On the one hand, KUB 32.10+ refers to untying objects made of dough, which is reminiscent of manipulations with the effigies of hand and tongue (see Section 5.3 for more details). It seems likely on paleographic grounds that this tablet belongs to the oldest available version of the Great Ritual. On the other hand, KBo 13.262 contains a fragmentary reference to the destruction of the evil hand and tongue, and the accompanying incantation. What precedes this rite is the incantation for untying the miasma, which does not show the innovative features of CTH 760 and can therefore be assigned to CTH 761. In the previous sections of this chapter, we saw that the destruction of the evil tongue is also attested in the fragments of CTH 759 and CTH 762, thus representing a ubiquitous feature of the Kuwattalla tradition.

If a portion of the Great Ritual were segmented as the sub-ritual *katta walḥuwaš* ‘of striking down’, one may wonder what could prompt such segmentation. We agree with Goedegebuure (2010a, 302–4) that the Luwian prefixed verb /tsanta tub(a)i-(di)/ represents the functional equivalent of Hittite *katta walḥ-*. Now, the prefixed participle /tsanta tubaim-m(a/i)-/ is normally used with reference to the evil hand and tongue in our texts. Furthermore, this epithet alternates with /attuwal(i)-/ ‘evil’ in the same formula, as suggested by the contrast between KUB 35.50:3’–6’ ‘the [dow]nstriking [hand, downstriking tongue, the tongue of judgment]t, curs[e, misery, perjury], bad year, [bad month, the i]nterior [of shrouds, the tongue of] the multitud[es]’ and, for example, KUB 32.9(+) obv. 7–10 ‘the e[vil tongue], the evil ha[nd, the tongue of judgment, curse], the tongu[e] of perjury, [bad year, bad month], the int[eriors] of the shro[u]ds, [the tongue of the multitudes].’⁶¹ The references to the evil hand and tongue permeate the rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition, but the manipulations with the actual effigies of hand and tongue are concentrated in the first tablets of the respective rituals, while the majority of occurrences of /tsanta tubaimm(a/i)-/ are found in the description of the rite involving the vessel filled with oil and honey in KUB 32.8(+). Although KUB 35.50 and KUB 32.8(+) are tentatively assigned to CTH 759, it is entirely possible that /tsanta tubaimm(a/i)-/ was also used in the matching rites of CTH 760. Therefore, one can suggest that the respective sections, which foreground the “downstriking” symbols of witchcraft, were ultimately responsible for the name of the sub-ritual *katta walḥuwaš*.

61 This alternation represents one of the reasons why Luw. /tsanta tubaimm(a/i)-/ is translated here as ‘downstriking’ and not ‘downstricken’, contra Goedegebuure 2010a. For another reason, see the comments to KUB 32.8(+).

Yet, if the conclusions of Section 3.2 are valid, the Hittite epithet *katta walḫuwaš* ‘of striking down’ is notionally related to *dupaduparša*, the term of Luwian origin deployed as the holistic designation of CTH 759. Crucially, this need not involve the shortening of the ritual; on the contrary, the extended versions of CTH 759 appear to be longer than any other ritual of the Kuwattalla tradition, consisting of no less than nine tablets. Therefore, the *dupaduparša*-ritual may also have included some of the ritual acts that are attributed to the Great Ritual outside CTH 759. For example, this may be the case of the purification with the *taluppi*-lump if the fragment KUB 35.71+ is correctly assigned. Thus, our conjecture about this paragraph comes close to the hypothesis of Hutter 2019a, according to which the *dupaduparša*-ritual never existed separately from the Great Ritual.

CTH 759	<i>dupaduparša</i> -ritual →	
CTH 760	Sub-ritual <i>katta walḫuwaš</i>	Great Ritual
CTH 761	Great Ritual	
CTH 762	Sub-ritual <i>ḫaliyattanza</i>	Great Ritual

Table 3.2: Rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition (first approximation)

Pursuing the same analysis to its extreme, one arrives at a scenario, according to which different names given to the rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition corresponded to an identical set of rites, merely reflecting changing emphasis on different facets of the same basic performance. This hypothetical scenario can be illustrated by Table 3.2. We hasten to add that such a radical solution is primarily meant to serve rhetorical purposes, representing an antithesis to Starke’s 1985 hypothesis of multiple distinct rituals. We will try to provide adjustments to our previous arguments and reach the middle ground between these two extremes in the section to follow.

3.6 DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITION (DYNAMIC APPROACH)

Much of the previous discussion in this chapter was devoted to the overlap among rites attributed to different rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition. Now we shall attempt to balance it with a different set of arguments, arguing for the possibility of adding and removing rites in the course of the development of the tradition.

The most straightforward piece of evidence for the removal of rites comes from the fragmentary incipit Bo 4388, identified as part of the Kuwattalla tradition in Hutter 2019a, 350. The comparison of this fragment with the better-known incipits of KBo 29.3+ and KUB 35.18(+) shows a number of overlaps in the list of animals: the sheep of the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, the sheep with whose blood one smears feet, and the scapegoat. The first similarity is particularly important, since the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice is unattested outside the Kuwattalla tradition. Yet, only four sheep are required for this ritual, as opposed to eight sheep mentioned in KUB 35.18(+) and restored in KBo 29.3+. This inevitably implies that the ritual to which Bo 4388 once belonged featured

a smaller number of rites involving sheep than the standard versions of CTH 760. In fact, the text of the fragment gives a hint that this number was somehow considered non-standard: in Bo 4388:3' we literally find 4 UDU^{HA}-*pât* 'only four sheep', which implies a contrast with the text of the standard version, perhaps placed immediately above in the same tablet series. The shorter version was either used for a special purpose (e.g. in the instance of a repeated treatment) or targeted a different type of patient(s) (e.g. one of modest means). As such, it is not particularly helpful for reconstructing the evolution of this tradition, except by way of creating a transparent precedent.⁶²

The best argument for the addition of rites within the tradition is a group of incantations mentioning /*xaradar*-/ 'offense' and /*waskulimm(a)*-/ 'fault' instead of the usual set of miasma (/tabaru-/ 'judgment', /*tadarijamman*-/ 'curse', and /*xirun/d*-/ 'perjury'). It turns out that the pair of /*xaradar*-/ and /*waskulimm(a)*-/ is associated with a specific set of rites—namely, the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, *šarlatt*-sacrifice, and a rite of filling a pitcher with porridge and precious metals (KBo 29.6(+) i 14'–31', restored after KUB 35.16(+) ii). It is logical to conjecture that this pair represents a secondary insertion. A confirmation of this hypothesis comes from chronological stratification: the oldest tablets of the Kuwattalla tradition, characterized by the Middle Script sign shapes and using the spelling *BE-EL SISKUR* for 'ritual patron', do not feature the formula 'offense (and) fault' or any rites associated with it.⁶³ Furthermore, this is also the case of all the tablets attributed to CTH 761. Going somewhat ahead, a further argument for the secondary insertion is derived from the comparison with Maštigga's ritual CTH 404.1, where the relevant passages lack structural counterparts, whereas most other rites of the Kuwattalla tradition do not (see Section 5.3).

A separate question is the correlation between the changing content and names of the rituals. On the assumption that the oldest attested version of the Kuwattalla tradition was known as the Great Ritual (CTH 761), while later the sub-ritual *katta walhuwaš* was added to its name, one may wonder whether this change coincided with the addition of new rites. At first glance, the answer is straightforwardly negative: we have seen in Section 3.3 that the *ikkunatt*- and *šarlatt*-sacrifices appear in the text of KUB 35.16 (+) KUB 35.14, which mentions the Great Ritual in its colophon. Yet, there is an option that previously seems not to have been considered: KUB 35.16 (+) KUB 35.14 may belong to the text of the combined version of the sub-ritual *katta walhuwaš* and the Great Ritual (CTH 760). Indeed, the colophon in KUB 35.16(+) iv 2"–4" can be restored as [*ma-a-an* ^f*Ku-wa-at-tal-la-aš* [^{MUNUS}SUHUR.LÁ ^f*Ši-la-al-lu-u-ḫi-iš-ša* ^MUNUS^{GI}]

62 A likely common feature of this text and the abridged version of the *dupaduparša*-ritual is the absence of the *šarlatt*-sacrifice. There seems to be no space to reconstruct a reference to this rite after the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice in Bo 4388:4', while the fragment KUB 35.78 likewise lacks the expected reference to the *šarlatt*-sacrifice after the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice. Needless to say, the hypothesis that the colophon under discussion belongs to CTH 759 remains speculative.

63 For the archaic character of the heterogram *BE-EL SISKUR*, see Appendix II. Of particular interest is the Middle Script *BE-EL SISKUR* tablet series consisting of the fragments KUB 35.49(+), DBH 46/2.33, KUB 35.82, KUB 35.69, and KUB 35.34, which reflects fairly different parts of the Great Ritual but not any rites associated with the phrase 'offense (and) fault'.

[...*ma-a-an an-tu-uḫ-ša-an* GAL-*l*i *a-ni-u-ur* [*a-ni-ia-an-zi*], which would yield an identical result to the restored colophon in KUB 35.18(+) iv 3''–6'' *ma-a-an* ^f*K[u-wa-at-tal-la-aš* ^{MUNUS}*SUHUR.LÁ*] ^f*Ši-la-al-lu-u-*^r*ḫi*^r–[*iš-ša* ^{MUNUS}*ŠU.GI* ...] *ma-a-an an-tu-uḫ-ša-a*[*n*] GAL-*li a-ni-u-ur a-[ni-ia-an]-'zi'*. Both colophons can be translated: 'When Kuwattalla, the female attendant and Šilalluḫi, the Old Woman, [...]. When they perform the Great Ritual for a person'. While the lacuna in both cases can fit only one, maximum two short words and is definitely not sufficient to accommodate a performance of the sub-ritual *katta walḫuwaš*, it may contain a paraphrase of this action. In any event, since KUB 35.18(+) definitely belongs to CTH 760, it would be perverse to deny the same attribution to KUB 35.16(+) as long as the two tablets feature identical colophons.

Thus, the hypothesis that the available versions of CTH 760 contained more ritual acts than those of CTH 761 emerges as the most plausible solution. This prompts an enquiry into the origin of the additional rites. If they were borrowed from another ritual in a scribal setting, it is logical to look for a text featuring /*xaradar-*/ and /*waskulimm(a)-*/ as the main set of miasma. There is indeed a group of Hittite-Luwian fragments, consisting of KUB 35.65, KBo 29.36, and KUB 32.124 (showing the same ductus as KUB 35.68), which contain the requisite pair, while displaying another common peculiarity—namely, the reference to a bull and a ram.⁶⁴ Since the bull is not otherwise mentioned in CTH 759–763, the attribution of these fragments to the Kuwattalla tradition need not be taken for granted. Yet, there are several considerations in favor of such a solution. First, KUB 35.65 iii 20' features the form *ḫi-i-ru-ú-ta-ti*, derived from /*xirun/d-*/ 'perjury'. Second, the ritual offering of furniture in KUB 35.68:8'–11' finds a parallel in KBo 8.129 i 17'–21' (CTH 759), although a more distant parallel is also found in the Puriyanni tradition (KUB 35.54 ii 20'–22'). Third, the list of body parts associated with the ritual carrier in KBo 29.36 resembles its counterpart in the Great Ritual (see for example KUB 35.43+ ii 12–15). Since KUB 35.65 is a Middle Script text, this ritual cannot be treated as a late innovation.

While the fragments addressed in the previous paragraph were not separated from the Kuwattalla tradition in previous scholarship, the case of KUB 35.8 is rather different. Here we also find a reference to a bovine and an ovid (UDU-*iš* GU₄-*iš*), but also a fragmentary incipit assigning the ritual to a performer from Kizzuwadna. Accordingly, the fragment was assigned to a special "Kizzuwadna Ritual" in Starke 1985, 42–43. Yet, as long as one identifies the Old Woman Šilalluḫi with the "performer from Ziluna" in KBo 29.3+ i 1, it becomes possible to assign the same identity to the "performer from Kizzuwadna" in KUB 35.8 i 1, since the town of Ziluna was situated on a road from Ḫattuša to Carchemish—that is, within or near the borders of Kizzuwadna (see Sasseville 2020b, 113). While the references to the identical animal pair unites KUB 35.8 with KUB 35.65 and the related fragments, the prominence of /*xaradar-*/ 'offense' and /*waskulimm(a)-*/ 'fault' supports the attribution of the whole

64 More precisely, the specific mention of the male breeding animals is found in only one passage (KUB 35.65 ii 7'), while their counterparts in other texts contain more generic references to 'bovine and ovid'.

group to Šilalluḫi. There is, in fact, a possibility that it reflects the original ritual associated with the historical Old Woman Šilalluḫi, just as the Great Ritual was originally associated with the historical female attendant Kuwattalla. The merger between the two texts, presumably accomplished in scribal circles and yielding CTH 760, complemented the Great Ritual, targeting the standard triad of the miasma, with portions of a different ritual, treating the effects of ‘offense and fault’.

Indirect support for the proposed hypothesis comes from KBo 9.143. The divine epithet ‘Father Sun-god’⁶⁵ occurring in this fragment (ii! 10’) is otherwise found in our corpus only in KUB 35.68:16’. The fragment KUB 35.68 shows the same hand as KUB 32.124 and thus can be assigned on paleographic grounds to the group addressed in the previous two paragraphs, which in turn prompts the attribution of KBo 9.143 to the same group. It is, therefore, remarkable that KBo 9.143 ii! contains the description of the *šarlatt*-sacrifice, which finds a close parallel in KUB 32.8(+) iv (CTH 759) and a less articulated parallel in KUB 35.16(+) i (CTH 760). Furthermore, KBo 9.143 features both /xaradar-/ ‘offense’ and /waskulimm(a)-/ ‘fault’ but no triad of /tabaru-/ ‘judgment’, /tadarijamman-/ ‘curse’, and /xirun/d-/ ‘perjury’, which conforms to the diction of the *šarlatt*-sacrifice in its other manifestations. This confirms the assumption that the group of KUB 35.8 represents a missing link responsible for the transformation of the Great Ritual (CTH 761) into CTH 760. Nonetheless, the loss of the performer’s name in KUB 35.8 invites caution. For the time being, we will classify the fragments of the “Kizzuwadna Ritual” as a special subgroup of CTH 763, in accordance with the traditional assignment of KUB 35.8.

What is more secure is the generalization of the standard triad at the expense of the ‘offense and fault’ in CTH 759. These two terms are demonstrably eliminated from the *ikkunatt*-rite in KUB 32.8(+) iii 25’–26’, while the concise presentation of the same rite in KUB 35.78 features invocations to the Sun-god of /xirun/d-/ ‘oath’, which provides indirect evidence for the introduction of the standard triad. The negative evidence consists in the complete absence of ‘offense and fault’ in the fragments classified under CTH 759, contrasted with several attestations of the pair in both CTH 760 and CTH 762. This development may appear to defy logic: the versions of the Kuwattalla tradition that do not make a reference to the Great Ritual appear to have generalized the miasma originally deployed as the dedicated targets of the Great Ritual. Yet, the hypothesis of scribal interference helps to resolve this paradox: the scholarscribes that brought CTH 759 into being presumably had access to a limited number of versions of the Kuwattalla tradition (or perhaps to just one version) and strove to unify the references to miasma in the simplest fashion possible rather than to restore the original state of affairs.

Evidence for the evolution of the Great Ritual in the terminal period of Hittite literacy is arguably found in CTH 762. The preserved part of KBo 29.6(+) iv ends with a double paragraph and likely represents the final part of the ritual. Only the leftmost part of the relevant passage is preserved, but its fifth paragraph contains the heterographic phrase *I-NA U₄.’3’[.KAM]* ‘on the third day’ and then the Hittite adjective *šal-*

65 For a Hittite calque in the Maštigga ritual tradition, see commentary to KBo 9.143.

li-i[š] ‘great’ (iv 21–22’). According to the incipits of CTH 760, the Great Ritual is celebrated on the third day of the combined performance. The subsequent text of KBo 29.6(+) iv contains a reference to two sheep and a scapegoat. The former of the two sheep can be shown to be the one ‘with whose blood they smear their feet’, while the latter may be the sheep of the *keldi*-rite (the rite is not mentioned as such in the preserved part of the fragmentary passage, but the sheep seems to belong there, by method of exclusion, since the description of the relevant rite does not seem to match any other sheep known from the Kuwattalla tradition). The list of sacrificial animals in CTH 760.2 likewise concludes with the sheep ‘with whose blood they smear their feet’, the sheep of the *keldi*-rite, and the scapegoat (KBo 29.3+ i 7-9).

The resemblance between the coda of CTH 762 and the final part of the list of animals in CTH 760.2 is too strong to be ignored, but the paragraphs under discussion obviously contain fewer rites and less information than any of the previous versions of the Great Ritual. The conspicuously missing ritual acts are the sacrifice of white and black sheep, which are defined as *aniuraš* ‘of the (Great) Ritual’ in KUB 35.18(+) i 10 and KBo 29.3+ i 5. Other missing rites commonly attributed to the Great Ritual include the manipulation with the *taluppi*-lump, ablution with water, and a rite involving vegetable soup. The presence of these rites is not limited to CTH 760: they are all mentioned in the free-standing version of the Great Ritual (CTH 761). Therefore, if the final part of KBo 29.6(+) indeed represents the rump of the Great ritual, the distinct innovation of CTH 762 consisted in its radical shortening. A distinct feature of the three rites reconstructed in the paragraphs under discussion (smearing feet with blood, *keldi*-rite, and *nakkušši*-rite) is their distinct Hurrian flavor. One wonders whether this was the actual guiding principle for grouping together certain rites in the final part of CTH 762, separating them from the rest of the Great Ritual.

The observations of this section are summarized in the table below. The length of individual rows is obviously not aligned with the number of signs or tablets in individual versions (in this respect, the extended version of CTH 759 remains by far the longest text), but rather reflects the perceived differences in the quantity of rites. Their number presumably increased in the transition from CTH 761 to CTH 760, and then shrank again in CTH 762.⁶⁶ Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that each group of fragments collected under CTH 759–762 demonstrably contains two or more versions of the respective rituals. It is entirely possible that individual versions introduced rites that were not replicated in other versions. As an example, one can consider the versions of the Great Ritual conducted in the open country, which likely contained the description of constructing the gatehouse and setting up the hut, the two implements routinely mentioned in the relevant texts but seemingly not occurring in the other versions. In this sense, the search for rites serving as markers of in-

⁶⁶ The manipulation with rites in the transition from CTH 760 to CTH 759 is more difficult to assess, in part because its different versions are so distinct from each other. One generalization that can be made is the lack of attested animal substitution rites within this corpus. This may be significant, because such rites arguably constituted the core of the Great Ritual, but the probative value of such negative evidence is limited.

dividual rituals or their groups remains a worthwhile enterprise, on a par with the quest for overlapping passages.

CTH 759	dupaduparša-ritual		
CTH 760	Sub-ritual <i>katta walḥuwaš</i>	Great Ritual	
CTH 761	Great Ritual		
CTH 762	Great Ritual?	Sub-ritual <i>ḥaliyattanza</i>	Great Ritual
CTH 763	“Kizzuwadna-ritual”		

Table 3.3: Rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition (refined approach)

3.7 SUMMARY AND NEW CLASSIFICATION

In the preceding sections of this chapter we outlined a number of parallels among the available rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition, which prompted us to treat them as structure-preserving adaptations of one or two proto-texts, accomplished in scribal circles. In the table below, the parallels are summarized and their list is further expanded. For the discussion of the parallels not treated elsewhere in this chapter, the readers are referred to the editions of the respective fragments. The table does not pretend to be exhaustive: in the instance of multiple attestations of particular rites in tablets corresponding to a specific CTH number, only one passage has been selected. The more secure parallels are set in a bold script; those that are not are either suspected of being accidental or involve potentially problematic assignments of CTH numbers.⁶⁷

Despite the uneven value of the comparisons, the sheer number of overlaps plainly contradicts the hypothesis that CTH 759, CTH 760, CTH 761, and CTH 762 represent four rites composed on different occasions. If we add to this the restricted circle of their assumed authors (Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi), the same performer (MUNUSŠU.GI), and the same triad of the targeted miasma (/tabaru-/ , /tadarijamman-/ , and /xirun/d-/), the assumption of one or two basic text(s) further modified in scribal circles becomes a default hypothesis. Given the fragmentary state of all the texts under discussion, many of the rites attested only once or outwardly limited to particular adaptations can be regarded as belonging to the Kuwattalla tradition as a whole but lost in the majority of versions.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The order of rites listed in the table is only partially based on the considerations addressed in this chapter but will be more explicitly motivated through the comparison between the Kuwattalla and Maštigga traditions in Chapter 5. The purification rites involving the *taluppi*-lump and ablution with water are exceptional in that their place can vary across rituals, and they can also take place multiple times during a single performance, usually one after the other. Therefore, their order in the table merely reflects one of several options.

⁶⁸ Within the discourse of the present chapter, this statement may seem purely probabilistic. Compare, however, Section 5.2, where a number of rites attested only once in our corpus, including those identified as its part in the course of the Luwili Project, are assigned their approximate places within the ritual based on compelling external parallels in the Maštigga tradition.

	CTH 759	CTH 760	CTH 761	CTH 762
Relocating evil to distant lands		KUB 35.45 ii 1–10	KUB 45.49 i	
Manipulations with figurines		KUB 35.45 ii 15–30		KUB 34.245+: 7'–15'
Tying color threads		KUB 35.45 ii 31–34	KBo 9.147 ii 1'–6'	
Cutting threads		KUB 35.48 iii 14'–22'		KUB 32.70
Breaking hand and tongue	KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94:5'–10'	KUB 35.45 iii 13'–25'	KBo 13.262: 10'–12'	KBo 29.5:1'–5'
White sheep as substitute		KBo 29.3 i 5	KUB 35.43 ii	
<i>taluppi</i> -rite	KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94:11'–13'	KUB 35.51 ii? 3'–11'	KUB 32.9(+) Obv. 3–14	
Ablution rite		KUB 35.51 ii? 12'–18'	KUB 32.9(+) Obv. 14–16	
Vegetable soup rite		KUB 35.51 ii? 19'–29'	KUB 35.21 Obv.? 6'–21'	
Cleansing with oil and honey	KUB 9.6+ i–iii 11		KUB 35.69	
<i>ikkunatt</i> -sacrifice	KUB 35.78 iv 3'–11'	KUB 35.16(+) i 1'–17"		
<i>šarlatt</i> -sacrifice	KUB 32.8(+) iv 29'–37'	KUB 35.16(+) i 18"–27"		KBo 29.6(+) i 1'–6'
Throwing gold into a pot		KUB 35.16(+) ii		KBo 29.6(+) i 14'–31'
Empty pot as substitute	KUB 35.71+ ii 1–11			KBo 29.6(+) ii 18–29
Scapegoat rite		KUB 35.16(+) iv 1'–7'	KBo 10.42 iv 4'	KBo 29.6(+) iv 34'
Nailing down the <i>nakkiu</i> -spirits	KUB 35.78(+) iv 19"–5"			KBo 29.6(+) iv 1'–10'
Smearing feet with blood		KUB 35.18 i 13		KBo 29.6(+) iv 16'–19'

Table 3.4: Overlaps of rites in the rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition

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This does not imply, however, that all the rites must overlap: the scribes demonstrably added, removed, or relocated individual building blocks of the rituals as part of their adaptations. Even more common must have been modifications in the description of individual rites, as well as holistic changes adapting the ritual to new settings (e.g. altering the number of the ritual patrons). All such innovations can be used as classification parameters, in order both to flesh out the four basic groups corresponding to the CTH 759–762 and to outline finer distinctions among them. Those Hittite-Luwian fragments that display the features of the Kuwattalla tradition but cannot be assigned to any of the four basic groups are classified under CTH 763, in accordance with the convention adopted de facto in Laroche 1971 and the subsequent versions of the CTH. In what follows, we shall address the criteria for assigning individual Hittite-Luwian tablets or tablet series to CTH 759–763, some of which can be applied even in the absence of the colophons. Many of the observations made below repeat and summarize the findings of the preceding sections of Chapter 3. Naturally, this general discussion cannot exhaust all the individual cases, and therefore the editions of individual fragments should be consulted for finer points.

CTH 759 is the free-standing version of the *dupaduparša*-ritual, always performed by the tandem of Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi according to the preserved colophons. One can assuredly distinguish between its long version, consisting of at least nine tablets, and its abridged version, probably consisting of one and a half tablets (see Section 3.3). The abridged version is meant for multiple ritual patrons, while the long version contains a mention of such a possibility (KUB 9.6+ iv 23'–24') but normally refers to a single ritual patron. In addition, we tentatively assume the existence of the intermediate version, to which we primarily assign KUB 32.8(+). As summarized in Table 3.1, this fragment plays a crucial role in the comparison between KUB 9.6+ (CTH 759) and KUB 35.16(+) (CTH 761), although it does not closely follow either of the two elements of comparison. Our preference for assigning it to CTH 759 is based in part on its paleographic features and in part on its lexical innovations (see the edition). This text probably reflects a more archaic stage in the development of the ritual than both its long and its abridged versions do.

The ritual implements that appear to be attested only in CTH 759 include the *gan-gati*-plant, cedar wood, and wine as purification means, as well as raw sacrificial meat (*ḫu-i-šu-*), sacrificed alongside heart and liver in the course of the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice. No animal substitution rites are attested in the tablets of CTH 759, which may be linked to eliminating the most salient parts of the Great Ritual. The pantheon of the *dupaduparša*-ritual includes several gods of Hurrian origin. The shared feature of CTH 759 and CTH 762 is the presence of the Sun-god of the Oath, and the related incantation 'whoever perjured himself, whoever enraged the Sun-god'. Among the likely negative innovations are the elimination of the negative concepts 'offense and fault' in favor of the ubiquitous triad 'judgment, curse, and perjury' and the absence of the *šarlatt*-sacrifice in the abridged version. The long and abridged versions consistently use the short heterogram EN SISKUR for 'ritual patron' and favor *memai* 'says' as the Hittite verbal form introducing Luwian incantations.

The two versions of CTH 760 are defined on the basis of their incipits, attributing them to the tandem of Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi and to the performer from Ziluna, probably to be identified with Šilalluḫi. The common feature of the two versions is the reference to the start of the Great Ritual on the third day of the performance, after the end of the sub-ritual *katta walḫuwaš*. The new rites added in the transition from CTH 761 to CTH 760 probably include the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, the *šarlatt*-sacrifice, and the rite of throwing silver and gold into a pot with porridge. On the formulaic level, the texts of this group feature a pair ‘offense and fault’ and a specific incantation for untying the miasma, which is quite distinct from its counterpart in CTH 761 but finds a parallel in CTH 762. Another shared feature of CTH 761 and CTH 762 is the identical construction featuring /*assiwantattar*/ ‘misery’ in the list of the miasma. A large part of the fragments attributed to CTH 760 belongs to the first tablets of the respective series; in the past many of them were identified as belonging to “Tablet X” of the “Third Ritual”. The main Hittite verbal forms introducing Luvian incantations are *ḫūkzi/ḫukkiškezzi*.

The colophons of CTH 761 describe it as the free-standing version of the Great Ritual, with no sub-rituals added. The three basic versions of CTH 761 are attributed to Kuwattalla, Šilalluḫi, and the tandem of both ritualists respectively. Judging by the paleographic features, the oldest attribution is to Kuwattalla alone; it is possible that only one tablet series with such an attribution has been preserved. The other two versions both feature references to the performance in the open country, in the main text as well as in the colophons. The two objects that are linked to the outdoor performance are the gatehouse and the hut, to be erected in the open country. One more version arguably belonging to CTH 761 can be set apart owing to the mention of the “ritual patroness” (DBH 46/2.33:10') alongside the “ritual patron” in KUB 35.34:8', 13', with a likely implication that it was designed for a family of patients.

The salient feature of CTH 761 as a whole is the recurrent purification rite involving the *taluppi*-lump and ablution with water (contrast a different set of purification rites prominent in the fragments of CTH 759). A special formula for untying the miasma and a particular position of /*assiwantattar*/ ‘misery’ in their list set apart the fragments of CTH 761 from those of CTH 760 and CTH 762 (see the previous paragraph). Otherwise, CTH 761 must be treated as a default group, which can be negatively defined as lacking the distinct innovations of CTH 759, CTH 760, or CTH 762, but displays a great deal of variation within itself. In particular, it is impossible to generalize about the common paleographic, orthographic, or lexical features of CTH 761, since the free-standing version of the Great Ritual probably continued being copied and adapted for as long as the Kuwattalla tradition retained its relevance.

The new definition of CTH 762 is extracted from the colophon of KUB 35.33; this is the Great Ritual combined with the sub-ritual *ḫalliyattanza*. The core of this group consists of the fragments attributable to Pariziti on the basis of their ductus. It can be extended through a number of other fragments on the basis of their close overlap with Pariziti's corpus. For the common formulaic features of CTH 762 and CTH 760, see the discussion of the latter group; on the whole, it seems that CTH 762 represents a closer adaptation of CTH 760 than of the long and abridged versions of CTH 759.

An interesting fact about the preserved fragments of CTH 762 is the complete absence of some of the purification rites otherwise attested in the Kuwattalla tradition (but see the incantation arguably accompanying such a rite in KUB 32.4). Some rites attributed to the Great Ritual proper are probably listed at the very end of the text. Furthermore, the group under discussion features several rites with no identified parallels within the Kuwattalla tradition, such as the rite of moving to and fro the objects strung on a thread (KUB 60.36). The tablets of CTH 762 consistently use the short heterogram EN SISKUR for ‘ritual patron’; a common phrase used to introduce the Luwian incantations is *uttār memiškezzi*.

The texts listed under CTH 763 do not form a homogeneous group. On the one hand, one finds here a large group of fragments (CTH 763.2), which assuredly belong to the Kuwattalla tradition but do not yield any cues for their further classification. Two additional fragments (CTH 763.3) display ambiguity between the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla tradition. On the other hand, CTH 763.1 shows a higher degree of coherence. The common feature of this group is the use of a bull as animal substitute, which does not find parallels elsewhere in our corpus. One of the fragments of this group (KUB 35.8) features a fragmentary incipit, which identifies the performer as a person from Kizzuwadna, a toponym that is not attested anywhere in CTH 759–762. While the noun ‘perjury’ appears in this group twice, the group’s default designation of the miasma is ‘offense’ and ‘fault’. The last peculiarity is conducive to suspecting here a precursor of the *katta walḫuwaš* ritual, which predates its merger with the Great Ritual and was originally attributed to Šilalluḫi (Section 3.6). Additional arguments in favor of this hypothesis will be adduced in Chapter 5.

4. KUWATTALLA TRADITION AND TUNNAWIYA TRADITION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The ritual texts of Tunnawiya (CTH 409) and those of Kuwattalla (CTH 759–762) have been compared for their closely similar incantations at least since Laroche 1955, 78–81, and these similarities played an important part in the interpretation of Luwian cuneiform texts. The classification of certain texts belonging to the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla tradition as CTH 760.I “*Rituel de la ‘Vieille’. Versions hittites*” and CTH 760.II “*Rituel de la ‘Vieille’. Versions contenant des parties louvites*” respectively, found in Laroche 1971, illustrates better than anything else how close the two traditions were perceived by the French scholar. Despite the arguments for separating the two traditions more strictly, which were put forward in Starke 1985 (see Section 3.2), scholars continue to address their close formulaic similarities (see recently Marcuson 2016, 290–308). While Tunnawiya’s incantations, unlike those of Kuwattalla, are mostly transmitted in Hittite, there is compelling philological evidence for their earlier Luwian versions (see the next section).

An important methodological problem, however, is involved in this comparison. As argued in Miller 2004, 452–58 and reaffirmed with more argumentation in Mouton 2015, the rituals of the Tunnawiya tradition stem from the area of the Lower Land, southern part of the Central Anatolian Plateau, situated just south and southwest of the southern bend of the Halys river (modern Kızılırmak). If Tunnawiya’s name etymologically means ‘sent by Tunna (deities)’, this would provide a key confirmation of the proposed localization, since the town of Tunna was demonstrably situated in the Lower Land.⁶⁹ If one treats the parallels between the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions seriously, this is an argument for assigning the latter to the Lower Land, too. Yet, the Kuwattalla tradition was anchored in Kizzuwadna, a region roughly identified with classical Cilicia, in much of the recent scholarship (see Section 1.3). The arguments in favor of such an approach were recently summarized in Kaynar 2017, 190–191 and Kaynar 2019, 108 with reference to the earlier work of other scholars (Hutter 2003, Yakubovich 2010a, Beckman 2011, Melchert 2013b). Most of these arguments have to do with the Hurrian influence on the Kuwattalla tradition, which manifests itself either in the form of loanwords (including theonyms), or through rites of Hurrian inspiration. It is unlikely, however, that the characteristic

69 For the structure of the Luwian names in *-wiya*, see Yakubovich 2013; for the relevance of Tunna’s geographic location for determining the origin of Tunnawiya, see Mouton 2015, 86. Note that Tunnawiya is characterized as ‘the Old Woman of Ḫattuša’ in KBo 21.1+ i 1, which probably refers to the town where she performed.

features of the Lower Land and Kizzuwadna rituals co-existed in the Kuwattalla tradition from the very beginning, especially if one treats Kuwattalla as a historical person with native ties to a particular region.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. In Section 4.2, we intend to compile the most relevant ritual features shared by the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions, with the intention to examine in context each of them and determine how far the similarity goes. Since the incantations definitely constitute the main domain of parallels between the two corpora, they will represent an important part of this inquiry. In Section 4.3, we intend to contrast these similarities with the Kizzuwadna features of the Kuwattalla tradition in order to argue that the latter are less systematic and therefore can be more easily explained in the context of the secondary adaptation of the tradition. Our investigation is conducive to a conclusion that Kuwattalla's ritual texts share inherited incantations with those attributed to Tunnawiya but reflect more influence from Kizzuwadna, which manifests itself, among other things, in numerous loanwords from Hurrian.

4.2 EVALUATING THE SIMILARITIES

The analysis undertaken in this section is organized as a series of small case studies devoted to parallels between specific patterns. One of the clearest similarities observed between the Tunnawiya and the Kuwattalla ritual texts is the incantation concerning an animal substitute (henceforth Pattern 1). It is illustrated below with the help of a Luwian passage from the Great Ritual (CTH 761) and its Hittite counterpart from the so-called Ritual of the Ox (CTH 409.IV).

- (4.1) KUB 35.43+ ii 16–18, CTH 761.3.8
 i-pa-la-a-ti-du-wa-an ḫu-¹i-[n]u-wa-aḫ-ḫa a-du-ut-ta i-pa-la-a-ti-en la-at-ta
 i-šar-ú-i-la-t[i-p]a-du-wa-an ḫu-u-i-nu-wa-aḫ-ḫa a-du-ut-ta at-tu-wa-li-in
 ḫ[a-a]t-ta-aš-ta-ri-in la-at-ta
 'I have made it run to his left, so that it took his sinisterness. I have made it run to his right, so that it took his evil t[error].'
- (4.2) KUB 9.4+ ii 18–21, CTH 409.IV.Tf02
 GÜB-laz=(z)an=ta ḫūninun nu=(š)ši=kan GÜB-latar dāš ZAG-na=ma=an=da
 ḫūninun nu=(t)ta=(k)kan idālu ḫatugatar dāš
 'I have made it run to your left, so that it took his(!) sinisterness. I have made it run to your right, so that he took your evil terror.'

Clearly, Kuwattalla's version of the incantation is more coherent than Tunnawiya's version. Indeed, the alternation of the second and third person singular in Tunnawiya's version is inconsistent and could even be explained by a misinterpretation of the Luwian enclitic pronoun /=du/, which designates both second and third person singular (Mouton and Yakubovich 2021, 30–31). The scholar-scribe responsible for translating the relevant incantation from Luwian into Hittite in CTH 409.IV was apparently confused by this Luwian pronoun. Nevertheless, the incantation under dis-

cussion is better integrated in context in the Tunnawiya tradition: immediately before (4.2) we read (in Hittite):

- (4.3) KUB 9.4+ ii 15–17, CTH 409.IV.Tf02
 š[arā]=an *huiittyānūn nu=(š)ši=kan* ^{UZU}[...] *ēpta <<kattan=ma>> katta=ma=an*
hui[tt]iyanun nu=(š)ši=kan katta *İSBAT*
 ‘I have drawn it up[ward], so that it seized its [...]. I have drawn it downward, so that it seized its <...> downward.’

The structure of this passage is clearly reminiscent of the incantation we have just examined, with two groups of clauses including a verb in the first person singular in the first clauses, the verb ‘to seize’ (vs. ‘to take’ in our incantation) in the third person singular in the second clauses, and the opposite movement of the direct object in the first clauses (up and down in (4.3) vs. left and right in (4.2)). We believe that this passage might very well constitute a Hittite translation of the original version of Pattern 1. Kuwattalla’s version would then represent its abridged counterpart. This identification can probably go a step further: in CTH 409.IV, the incantations we have just quoted are matched with the following narrative:

- (4.4) KUB 9.4+ ii 10–14, CTH 409.IV.Tf02
 [nu] *anniškezzi kuin antuḥšan* [n=aš=ka]n *tapuša neyari* [n=aš=ši?] *tārāuwar*
šer ḥūinuzi {x x} [nu=(š)ši=ka]n ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI UDU-un *šer ēpzi* [nu kišša]n *tezzi*
 ‘The person whom she is treating turns to the side [and she] makes a *tarawar*-vase run over [him]. The Old Woman holds a sheep over [him] and speaks [thu]s.’

Note the act of ‘running the vase over’ the patient (*šer ḥuīnu-*), which can only be compared to ‘I have made it run’ of Pattern 1. Finally, it should be emphasized that in Tunnawiya’s *taknaz da*-ritual (CTH 409.II), we find a parallel passage:

- (4.5) KUB 9.34 iii 3’–8’, CTH 409.II.Tf02
 [... šar]ā *huiitti*[anun nu=(š)ši=kan ^{UZU}... *ēpta katta=a*]n *huiittyānu*[n nu=(š)ši=kan
katta ēp]ta § [ZAG]-*naza=ma=(š)ši huiittinu*[n n]u=(š)ši=kan ^{HUL} [ḥat]ugatar *dāš*
nu=za namma [kī] *ḥukmai* [ē]pzi *nu ḥukkiškiu*[wa]n *dāi* [nu 12] ^{UZU}UR^{HÁ} *QĀTAMMA*
irḥaiz[z]i
 ‘“[I have] drawn [...] upward, [so that it took its ...]. I have draw[n i]t [downward, so that] it [to]ok [its <...> downward]. § I have drawn it to his [right, so t]hat it took its evil [ter]ror.” Then again she [ta]kes up [this] conjuration and starts conjuring. She treats [the twelve] body parts one by one in the same way.’

Several elements should be noted here. First, we find here an abridged version of Pattern 1, since only the right side is mentioned, thus creating an asymmetry with the preceding passage mentioning up and down. Second, the verb that is used in this version of Pattern 1 is *huiittinun* ‘I have drawn’ instead of *ḥūinunun* ‘I have made (it) run’,⁷⁰ thus harmonizing the verb with the preceding passage mentioning up and down. This change definitely separates this version of Pattern 1 from the preceding ritual act as described in the Ritual of the Ox—namely, ‘running’ the vase ‘over’ the patient.

70 On this phenomenon, see also Beckman 1990, 51 and Marcuson 2016, 280.

Finally, the continuation of the text shows that, in the Tunnawiya tradition, Pattern 1 serves as a conjuration to treat the twelve limbs of one of the protagonists. We will come back to this point below.

In the Kuwattalla tradition, Pattern 1 is best attested in KUB 35.43+, the modified version of the Great Ritual (CTH 761.3), which is performed in the open country and presumably reflects the impact of the Old Woman Šilalluḫi (or the texts associated with this performer). However, Pattern 1 also occurs with exactly the same words in the earliest available version of the Great Ritual (CTH 761.1),⁷¹ which shows that it was already part of Kuwattalla's Great Ritual at its earliest stage. In this text, Pattern 1 is preceded by an incantation that perhaps mentions the '[substitute] of the body (and) head' and is immediately followed by another that describes an animal substitute functioning as a ritual carrier. Reversely, this same incantation mentioning the ritual carrier precedes Pattern 1 in KUB 35.43+ (the open country version). In the latter, Pattern 1 is immediately followed by the matching Hittite narrative:

(4.6) KUB 35.43+ ii 16–23, CTH 761.3.8

i-pa-la-a-ti-du-wa-an ḫu-¹-[n]u-wa-aḫ-ḫa a-du-ut-ta i-pa-la-a-ti-en la-at-ta i-
 šar-ú-i-la-t[i-p]a-du-wa-an ḫu-u-i-nu-wa-aḫ-ḫa a-du-ut-ta at-tu-wa-li-in ḫ[a-
 a]t-ta-aš-ta-ri-in la-at-ta § *nu=ššan* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI UDU BABBAR ANA E[N SISKU]R *anda*
appānna 4=ŠU *irḫāizzi hantezzi p[alši Z]AG-az EGIR-anda GÜB-laz EGIR-anda*
^{UZU}GABA-az EGIR-an[da] *iškišaz ḫukkiškezzi=ma QĀTAMMA=pat ŠA UDU* [^{UZU}UR^{HÁ}]
ḫūman QĀTAMMA irḫānzi

“I have ma[d]e it run to his left, so that it took his sinisterness. I have made it run to his right, so that it took his evil t[e]rror.” § The Old Woman holds the white sheep toward the [ritua]l pa[tron] four times in turn, first to the [r]ight, afterward to the left, afterward in front, afterwar[d] behind, and (each time) she conjures exactly in the same way. They treat every [limb] of the sheep one by one in the same way.’

Thus, we can see that the open country version of the Great Ritual treats Pattern 1 closer to its counterpart of the Tunnawiya tradition than CTH 761.1 does, since in both contexts Pattern 1 is explicitly designated as a conjuration of the twelve limbs to be treated one by one. In contrast, the preserved part of KUB 35.24+ (CTH 761.1) does not possess this particular description, and therefore, the ritual function of Pattern 1 in this text is not clearly specified. Although the Tunnawiya tradition does not contain an indication of whose body parts are being treated, the rite preserved in KUB 35.43+ explicitly assigns them to the sheep—that is, to the animal substitute of the patient. This does not make a huge difference in any case, since ‘ritually treating’ the twelve body parts most probably implies an identification between the patient’s limbs and those of his animal substitute.

71 KUB 35.24+ obv. 17’–18’ (CTH 761.1.c): *i-pa-la-ti-du-wa-an ḫu-i-nu-wa-a[ḫ-ḫa a-du-ut-ta i-pa-la-a-ti-en la-at-ta] i-šar-ú-i-la-ti ḫu-i-nu-wa-aḫ-ḫ[a a-du-ut-ta ad-du-wa-li-in ḫa-at-ta-aš-ta-ri-in la-at-ta]* ‘I have ma[de] it run to his left, [so that it took his sinisterness]. I have mad[e] (it) run to (his) right, [so that it took his evil terror].’ For the sake of caution, only the well-preserved occurrences of Pattern 1 are considered in this section, as will be the case for all the studied patterns.

Pattern 2 features the notion of ‘overcoming’ impurity. It appears in both Kuwat-talla’s version of the Great Ritual and Tunnawiya’s *taknaz da*-ritual and can be illustrated by the examples below:

- (4.7) KUB 35.24+ obv. 5’–10’ (CTH 761.1.c)
 [na-a]-ú-wa-ti-ia-ta ḫar-m[a-ḫa-a-ti] mu-u-wa-i na-ú-wa-ti-[ia-ta a-a-la-la-ta-ti mu-u-wa-i] [na]-a-ú-wa-ti-ia-ta ma-an-[n]a-ḫu-un-na-ti mu-u-wa-i n[a-a-ú-wa-ti-ia-ta da-a-u-wa-aš-ša-an-za-ti] [ti]-ti-ta-a-ti mu-u-wa-i ^{UZU}ŠĀ-ti ^{UZU}NĪG.GIG-ti 12-ta-a-[ti ḫa-ap-pí-ša-a-ti mu-u-wa-i] § [ḫar]-ma-ḫa-a-ti-ti-ia-ta za-aš mu-u-wa-i a-a-la-la-at-ta-ti-ti-[ia-ta za-aš mu-u-wa-i] [m]a-an-na-ḫu-un-na-ti-ti-ia-ta za-aš mu-u-wa-i da-a-u-wa-aš-ša-[an-za-ti-ti-ia-ta ti-ti-ta-a-ti] ^{UZU}ŠĀ-ti ^{UZU}NĪG.GIG-ti 12-ta-a-ti ḫa-ap-pí-ša-a-ti
 ‘He [n]o (longer) overcomes it with his hea[d]. He no (longer) [overcomes it with his *alalatt*-body part]. He [n]o (longer) overcomes it with his nose. He n[o] (longer) overcomes [it] with the [p]upils [of (his) eyes]. [He (no longer) overcomes (it)] with (his) heart, liver, twelv[e limbs]. § This one overcomes it with its [h]ead. [This one overcomes it] with its *alalatt*-body part. This one overcomes it with its [s]nout. (It overcomes) [it with the pupils] of (its) eyes, with (its) heart, liver, twelve limbs.’
- (4.8) KUB 9.34 i 21’–24’, CTH 409.II.Tf02
 UL=war=a=za taruḫta SAG.DU-aš [ḫūltaramman ta]rnaššan āḫraman ZI-aš i[mpan NĪ.TE-aš t]aššiyaman ḫaštiyaš melu[liyaš uitrišša ū]L=ma=za taruḫta MU-aš ITI-aš wa[lḫeššar]
 ‘He did not overcome (it), (namely) the [ḫūltaramman-disease] of the head, the pain of the [th]roat, the w[eight] of the spirit, the [h]eaviness [of the body, the *wetrišša*-disease] of the bones and of the *fle[sh]*. He did [n]ot overcome (it), the strike of the year (and) of the month (etc.).’

From these two quotations, we see that, this time, the parallel is incomplete. The Luwian verb /muwa-⁽ⁱ⁾/ seems to be the strict equivalent of the Hittite verb *taruḫ*-^{mi} ‘to overcome’ here, with a temporal difference: the Luwian verb is in the present tense whereas the Hittite verb is in the past tense.⁷² Kuwatalla’s version is also more complete, featuring the positive counterpart of Pattern 2. Kuwatalla’s version focuses on the body parts that either can or cannot overcome impurity, whereas Tunnawiya’s version enumerates different kinds of miasma, each of them being associated with a particular body part.

In Kuwatalla’s tradition, Pattern 2 occurs in the two versions of the Great Ritual (CTH 761.1 and CTH 761.3.8 respectively). In the more archaic version KUB 35.24+ (CTH 761.1.c), Pattern 2 is preceded by an incantation appealing for the patient’s purification and is followed by a conjuration of the patient’s body parts along the lines ‘the head absorbs the head(s) defilement’. In KUB 35.43+ (a version of the Great Ritual performed in the open country), Pattern 2 is introduced by the partly restored

72 For the interpretation *taruḫ*- as opposed to *tarḫ*-, see Kloekhorst 2008, 835–39.

Hittite sentence ‘[She treats] all the [bod]y parts [and conjures *thus*].’⁷³ As in the earlier version, Pattern 2 is followed by the conjuration of the patient’s limbs in the model ‘the head absorbs the head(’s) defilement’ in KUB 35.43+ (CTH 761.3.8).⁷⁴

Turning to the Tunnawiya tradition, Pattern 2 is attested in the second tablet of the *taknaz da*-ritual (KUB 9.34, already quoted above) and in a separate fragment KBo 20.73+, which is now considered as part of the same tradition (Pisaniello 2015, 26 with ref.). The version belonging to the latter fragment is worth quoting at some length:

(4.9) KBo 20.73+ iv 1–9, CTH 458.1.1

kinun=a=war=at kara[pdu² nu² ŠA DUMU.LÚ].U₁₉.LU inan SAG.DU-aš ħuwaltaraman [anni]škemi² taraššanaš daškupiman KLMIN IGI^{HÁ}-aš [...] inan KLMIN ħuwarnapištaš auliyaš inan KLMIN § [na]tta=at=za taruhta kās antuwahhaš 2 GİR^{MES}=ŠU [n]=at=za ANŠE-aš 4 GİR^{MES}=ŠU taruḫzi 12 UZU^{UR}^{HÁ}=at=za taruḫzi arha=ma=at tarnandu kēl DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU 12 UZU^{UR}^{HÁ} kuiēš šiwannīēš kuiēš ḫatištantiyaš n=at EGIR-an ŠA ANŠE-aš 12 UZU^{UR}^{HÁ} pāndu

‘Now, [may it] carry it! I am [treating] [the mort]al[’s] disease, the *ħuwtaramman*-disease of the head, the cry (of pain) of the throat, ditto. The disease of [...] of the eyes, ditto. The disease of the *ħuwarnapišta*-limb (and) of the *auli*-, ditto. § He did [n]ot overcome it, this person (with) his two legs. The donkey overcomes it (with) its four legs. It overcomes it (with) its twelve body parts. May they let it go away (from) the twelve body parts of this mortal, those who (are) *šiwarni*-, those who (are) *enchanted*! Afterward, may it go to the twelve body parts of the donkey!’⁷⁵

In this version, Pattern 2 is both abridged and more explicit, with the specification of who does not overcome impurity (i.e. the patient) and who does (i.e. the donkey, his ritual substitute). The correspondence between the patient’s legs and those of the donkey reminds us of the Kuwattalla version of Pattern 2, where ‘overcoming’ or not was also an act performed by body parts. As is also the case in the Great Ritual, Pattern 2 is surrounded by other incantations in the Tunnawiya tradition, in both the *taknaz da*-ritual and the fragment we have just quoted.

Furthermore, as already noted by Marcuson 2016, 295, the mention of the four legs and twelve limbs of the donkey in the last quoted passage of the Tunnawiya tradition reminds us of an incantation designating an animal ritual carrier in the Kuwattalla tradition. Such a passage is attested in the fragment KUB 35.43+ (CTH 761.3.8) and KUB 34.62+ (CTH 761.2.3), both belonging to the Great Ritual. The better-preserved passage is in the former fragment, where it immediately precedes Pattern 1: KUB 35.43+ ii 12–15 ‘May it [take] it (and) carry it away with (its) four legs, (its) [head], (its) horned forehead, (its) [snout], pupils of (its) eyes, [head]rt, liver, twelve limbs!’

73 KUB 35.43+ iii 5’: [... UZU^{UR}^{HÁ} ħūmanda ann[iškezzi ħukzi=ma kišan?].

74 For the discussion of this formula (*ħallinai*-clauses) and its approximate parallel in the Tunnawiya tradition, see Section 1.4.

75 The fact that the last verbal form is in the plural shows that ‘it’ designates all sorts of impurities that can be considered individually or as a group.

In KUB 9.34, Pattern 2 is followed by a long list of ‘evil tongues’, among which one will notice the ‘tongue of the mountain- (or) desert-dwellers’, a pattern that also occurs in the Kuwattalla tradition and therefore constitutes Pattern 3. In both the Tunnawiya and the Kuwattalla traditions, the ‘tongue of the mountain- (or) desert-dwellers’ appears in a list of miasma.

In the extended description of the *dupaduparša*-ritual (CTH 759.1), Pattern 3 is mentioned in the following list: KUB 9.6+ i 26–31 ‘judgments, [perj]uries, [curses] of the dead (or) the living, [of the mother (or) fat]her, of the brother (or) sister, § of the mountain-dwellers (or) desert-dwellers, of the [ar]my (or) assembly, [past (or) pres]ent!’ The wish in this incantation, which is associated with the Old Woman’s pouring of wine, oil, and honey into reed pipes, is that all the aforementioned miasma become oil and honey—in other words, become harmless. This is clearly not the case in the archaic version of the Great Ritual (CTH 761.1). In this text, Pattern 3 is also associated with the tongue ‘of the mother (or) father, of the brother (or) sister’ and ‘of the army (or) assembly’ but, this time, it is enunciated while something is poured into a black pot of vegetable soup. In this context, the beginning of the incantation is unclear and there is no indication that an association with wine, oil, and honey is present.⁷⁶ Clearly, the incantation is being used in a different ritual sequence. In the outdoor version of the Great Ritual, Pattern 3 is closely associated with an incantation wishing for the ritual carrier to carry away the miasma.⁷⁷ Pattern 3 is also present in yet another version of the Great Ritual, where it appears after various sorts of malevolent agents (e.g. the evil tongue, the evil hand, the evil eye, the bad year) and a wish to see impurity burn or be turned into wood.⁷⁸ The ritual acts accompanied by this incantation are not preserved, but Pattern 3 clearly appears in a new context.

Finally, a fragment that probably belongs to the combination of the Great Ritual and the *halliyattanza*-ritual (CTH 762) features Pattern 3 in the following list: ‘[judgm]ent, perj[ur]y, curse of the mother (or) f[ath]er, [of the brother (or) sister, of the male (or) female servant, of the mountain-dwelle]rs (or) desert-dwe[llers, of the army (or) [ass]embly, [...]’—a list that is very close to that of the *dupaduparša*-ritual we have already seen.⁷⁹ However, the verb associated with this list is different and most probably refers to the ritual act that is being performed while this incantation is being uttered—namely, moving back and forth items (perhaps figurines) strung on a thread. All in all, we see that although Pattern 3 might be associated with similar patterns in the incantations, each of these incantations where it appears accompanies a different rite.

In the Tunnawiya tradition, Pattern 3 occurs three times: once in the *taknaz da*-ritual (CTH 409.II) and twice in the Ritual of the Ox (CTH 409.IV). In the *taknaz da*-ritual, Pattern 3 appears among the miasma that the ritual patron ‘did not overcome’ (see

76 KUB 35.21 obv.? 6’–10’, CTH 761.1.

77 KUB 35.43+ iii 28’–32’, CTH 761.3.8. Exactly the same association is also present in KUB 34.62+ iii 13’, which also belongs to the Great Ritual (CTH 761.2.3).

78 KUB 35.49 iv, CTH 761.2.1.

79 KUB 60.36 r.col. 8’–12’, restored after KBo 29.58 r.col. 6’–9’.

Pattern 2).⁸⁰ In the Ritual of the Ox, Pattern 3 appears once among the miasma to be ‘uprooted’ (*mūdaiddu*)⁸¹ and once in a fragmentary context.⁸²

Thus, Pattern 3 is characterized by its great variability of contexts in both corpora. The miasma with which it is associated vary, and so do the ritual acts.

Pattern 4 concerns another collocation involving the miasma. In both the Tunlawiya and the Kuwattalla traditions, a spitting rite is accompanied by an incantation that describes the function of this rite. It refers to spitting ‘woe and pain’, followed by a list of other negative phenomena. We shall refer to such a collocation as Pattern 4. In the Kuwattalla tradition, such a sequence occurs in KUB 32.9+, a fragment of the archaic version of the Great Ritual, in the following way:

- (4.10) KUB 32.9+ obv. 11–13, CTH 761.1
nu ^{MUNUS}SU.GI *park[uin taluppin ANA BĒL SISKUR parā ēpzi] n=an alla[pahhi nu*
^{MUNUS}SU.GI *kiššan tezzi a-aḥ-ra-an wa-aḥ-ra-an ta-ap-pa-a-at-ta] ta-pa-ru da-a-*
ta-ri-ia-a[m-ma-an ḥi-ru-ú-un ma-a-ia-aš-ši-in EME-in] t[a-ap-pa-a-at-ta]
 ‘The Old Woman holds the pur[e *taluppi*-lump toward the ritual patron].
 [He] spi[ts] (on) it [and the Old Woman says thus: “He spat (out) woe (and)
 pain, he] s[pat] (out) judgment, curs[e, perjury, the tongue of the multitudes].”

While in the text we have just seen, the ritual patron spits on a lump of dough, the same gesture, accompanied by Pattern 4, can also occur in different rites. This is illustrated in the fragment KUB 35.43+, belonging to the outdoor version of the Great Ritual:

- (4.11) KUB 35.43+ ii 26–30, CTH 761.3.8
[namma]=kan ^{MUNUS}SU.GI UDU ANA EN SISKUR *šer a[rha] 3=šU waḥnuzzi*
[namma]=an=ši parā ēpzi n=ašta EN SISKUR [ša U]DU KAXU-i allappaḥhi
^{MUNUS}SU.GI *ma lūli kišan ḥūkz[i š a-aḥ-ra-a]n wa-aḥ-ra-an tap-pa-a-at-ta ta-*
a-pa-ru [t]a-ta-ar-ri-ia-am-ma-an ḥi-i-ru-ú-un ma-a-ia(-aš)-ši-in EME-in
 ‘[Then], the Old Woman waves the sheep three times over the ritual patron.
 [Then], she holds it toward him, so that the ritual patron spits into the [sh]eep’s
 mouth. [The Old Woma]n conjure[s] thus in Luwian: “He spat (out) [wo]e
 (and) pain, (namely) judgment, [c]urse, perjury, the tongue of the multitudes.”’

This time, the ritual patron spits directly into the mouth of a living animal substitute. Later in the same version, we find the following occurrence of Pattern 4:

- (4.12) KUB 35.43+ iii 32’–37’, CTH 761.3.8
n=ašta šAḤ.TUR [AN]A E[N SÍS]KUR šer arha waḥnuwanzi [namma=an t]ūwaza
allappaḥhi ^{MUNUS}SU.GI *ma [kiššan] ḥukzi š [a-aḥ-ra-an w]a-aḥ-ra-an tap-pa-a-*
at-ta ta-a-pa-ru ḥi-i-ru-ú-un [ta-ta-ar-r]i-ia-am-ma-an ma-a-ia-aš-ši-in EME-in
 ‘They wave the piglet over the [rit]ual patr[on]. [Then], he spits (on) [it
 f]rom afar. The Old Woman conjures [thus]: “He spat (out) [woe (and)
 p]ain, (namely) judgment, perjury, [cur]se, the tongue of the multitudes.”’

80 KUB 9.34 i 34’, CTH 409.II.Tf02. The other two passages of the same text in which Pattern 3 occurs are fragmentary: ii 7 and iv 13’–14’.

81 KUB 9.4+ iv 10’, CTH 409.IV.Tf02.

82 HT 6+ i 18’, CTH 409.IV.Tf05.

The ritual patron remains at a distance from the piglet and spits on it from afar, as if to avoid further pollution from contact with an impure animal. Since the pig is considered impure in Kizzuwadna (Mouton 2004a) but not in the Lower Land (Mouton 2006, 260), this precaution, which is not attested in the earliest version of the Great Ritual, might reflect Kizzuwadna influence. A close parallel is attested in the Maštigga ritual tradition (see Section 5.2 for a close parallel in the Maštigga ritual tradition).

In the Tunnawiya tradition, the spitting rite, again accompanied by Pattern 4, occurs in the *taknaz da*-ritual and is described as follows:

- (4.13) KUB 9.34 iii 20'–23', CTH 409.II.Tf02
namma=an=ši parā appanzi nu=(š)ši=kan KAXU-i anda 2=šU allapaḥḥi
 MUNUSŠU.GI *kišan memai āḥra waḥran allapaḥ DINGIR^{MEŠ} karpin pangauwaš EME-an*
3=šU 4=šU allapaḥ
 'Then they hold it (i.e., the sheep) toward him, so that he spits twice into its mouth; the Old Woman says: "Spit woe (and) pain, spit three times, four times divine wrath, the tongue of the multitudes!"'

This passage, which also occurs in the same way in the Ritual of the Ox,⁸³ is very similar to the one we have examined in the Kuwattalla tradition, with small variations. First, the ritual patron is supposed to spit several times into the mouth of the living animal substitute. Second, the accompanying incantation associates woe and pain with divine wrath rather than judgment, perjury, and curse, contrary to the Kuwattalla's tradition. The other remarkable passage, which refers to the spitting rite, occurs in the fragment CTH 458.1.1, a recently identified fragment of the Tunnawiya tradition (see earlier in this section):

- (4.14) KBo 40.25+ iv 12–15, CTH 458.1.1
n=an=kan arahzanda 3=šU waḥnuwanzi INA 4 KASKAL=ma=an parā appanzi
n=an 3=šU allapaḥḥi n=an=kan parā pennianzi MUNUSŠU.GI=ma memai āḥran
waḥran allapaḥ DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš karpin pangauwaš EME-an 3=šU 4=šU allapaḥ
 'They wave it around three times, but the fourth time they hold it forth, so that he spits (on) it three times. (Then) they drive it out and the Old Woman says: "Spit woe (and) pain, spit three times, four times divine wrath, the tongue of the multitudes!"'

In the passage below, which belongs to Tunnawiya's Ritual of the Watercouse, ALAM, *ḥaštai*, and *mīlūli* designate the three main components of a person's body: his shape (i.e. probably his silhouette), his bones, and his flesh. We will refer to this collocation as Pattern 5.

- (4.15) KUB 7.53+ ii 8–13, CTH 409.I
EGIR=šU=ma=(š)ši=kan 2 TIYĀDU šer ēpzi nu kišan memai kuiēš=šan ALAM=šU
ḥaštai mīe(lu)li kēz paprannaz tiyanieškir elanieškir kinun=a paprannaš al-
wazenaš ALAM=šU ḥaštai mīlūli kāša EGIR-pa tiyanieššui elanieškemi
nu=(š)šan TIYĀDU paddani dāi

⁸³ KUB 9.4+ ii 34–43, CTH 409.IV.

‘Then she holds two *TIYĀDU*-items over him and says: “Those who filled, loaded his shape, (his) bones, (his) flesh with this impurity, now I am filling,⁸⁴ loading the bewitcher’s shape, bones, flesh back with impurity.” Then she places the *TIYĀDU*-items in the basket.’

Pattern 5 also occurs in the Kuwattalla tradition, this time in a Luwian incantation. It is easy to see that the order of the elements is different here, and the triad is followed by other body parts and personal attributes.⁸⁵ Still, behind Pattern 5, there hides a particular way of conceptualizing the human body, which seems exclusive to the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla ritual traditions. Instead of describing the person’s body as a combination of nine or twelve main limbs, Pattern 5 seems to focus on the soft tissues vs. the bones, the two concepts that would be somehow summarized by the logogram *ALAM* rendered by the Luwian /tarud-/ ‘silhouette, bodily shape’.

(4.16) KUB 35.45+ ii 21–27, CTH 760.2

ku-i-ša-an ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni-iš-ša-at-ta ku-i-ša-an ip-pa-tar-ri(-iṣ)-ša-at-ta EN
 SISKUR-aš-ši-in ALAM-ša mi-i-ša-an-za ḫa-aš-ša ḫal-ḫal-za-ni-in ú-wa-ra-an-
 na-ḫi-ša i-ú-na-ḫi-ša ḫa-aš-ša ḫal-ḫal-za-ni-in ú-wa-ra-an-na-ḫi-ša i-ú-na-
 ḫi-ša la-al-pi-in ku-wa-an-na-ni-in ma-aš-ša-na-al-li-in KASKAL-an § ma-a-
 na-aš ḫu-i-du-wa-li-iš šar-ri-ia-an ^DUTU-za da-ra-u-id-du ma-a-na-aš ú-la-an-
 ti-iš a-an ti-ia-am-ma-aš-ši-iš ^DUTU-za da-ra-ú-id-du ‘ta-ta-ri’-ia-am-ma-na-
 aš-ši-in ḫi-ru-ta-aš-ši-in EN-an

‘Whoever restrained it, whoever distrained it, (namely) the ritual patron’s shape, flesh, bone(s), joint(s), speech, mobility, eyelash, eyebrow(-hair), divine path! § If he (is) a living being, may the Sun-god above deliver him (to the ritual patron)! If he (is) a dead (spirit), may the Sun-goddess of the earth deliver him (to the ritual patron), (namely) the lord of curses (or) perjuries!’

The formulaic parallels adduced above can be contrasted with three instances of a convergence between the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla tradition, which need not illustrate the reconstruction of exclusive inherited similarities. Pattern 6 concerns purification with wine. Sprinkling with wine can be observed in the Kuwattalla tradition, in a context that clearly refers to purification.

(4.17) KUB 9.6+ ii 19–29, CTH 759.1

n=ašta GIM-an ^{MUNUS}SU.GI [É-ri] *andan ari nu IŠTU GANGATI* GEŠ[TIN] *ištanani*
 EGIR-*pa* ANA DINGIR^{MEŠ} *menaḫ[ḫanda] papparaškiuwan dāi memiškezz[i=ma*
kiššan] § ḫa-la-la-an-nu-uš-ša-an-da-am-ma-aš a-a[d-du-wa-a-al] na-a-nu-
 um-pa-am-ma-aš wa-a-šu-wa-aš-ša-an-z[a] ḫa-la-la-an-nu-uš-ša-an-du pu-
 u-na-ti-[in-zi DINGIR^{MEŠ}-in-zi] a-a-aš-ša-am-ma-aš e-li-el-ḫa-a-an-du ta-a-i-

84 Note the use of the Luwian verbal ending *-wi*, possibly a vestige of the original Luwian formula, which accidentally escaped the translation into Hittite.

85 While the passage cited below belongs to a combined version of the Great Ritual and the ritual of ‘striking down’ (CTH 760), it is worth mentioning that the same list also occurs in KUB 35.43 iii 2’–4’ (CTH 761.3.8), albeit in a less-preserved passage, and is restored in KUB 35.20 rev. 9’ (CTH 761.1). For a possible link between this list of body parts and a specific set of miasma, see the discussion in Section 5.3.

na-ti ma-al-li-ta-a-¹ti¹ § ta-a-i-in-ti-ia-ta ¹a-i¹-ia-ru m[a-al-li-ti-ia-ta] a-i-ia-ru ta-pa-a-ru-w[a ḥi-r]u-ú-[ta ta-ta-ar-ri-ia-am-na]

‘As the Old Woman arrives inside [the house], she starts again sprinkling wi[ne] with a *gangati*-plant at the altar, befo[re] the deities, [and she] speaks [thus]: § “They have purified themselves (from) ev[il]. Now, may all the [gods] purify their goods! May they wash their mouths with oil (and) honey! § May they become oil, may they become h[oney]: judgments, [per]juri[es, curses]!”

As was already noted in Mouton 2015a, the use of wine for purification is also attested in the Tunnawiya tradition—namely, in the Ritual of the Watercourse⁸⁶—and correlates with the general importance of viticulture in the Lower Land. Nevertheless, it turns out that the use of wine for a lustration is also attested in the *azūri* ritual from Kizzuwadna:⁸⁷

(4.18) KUB 43.58+ ii 34’–44’ and dupl. KUB 15.42 ii 23–33, CTH 491

EGIR=ŠU=ma=za ^{DUG}GAL GEŠTIN d[(āi) g]angati=kan anda [(kitta)] nu ^{GIŠ}ERIN-yaz Ī.GIŠ LĀ[L (Ī.DÜ)]G.GA tepu dāi n=at=kan ANA ^{DUG}GAL GEŠTIN an[(d)]a zap-panuzi namma gangatiaz GEŠTIN š[(ar)]ā DINGIR^{MES}-aš menaḥḥand[(a)] 9=ŠU papparašzi § n=ašta anda kiššan memai DINGIR^{MES}=za=kan ANA KAXU=KUNU [(parā)] idālawaz uddānaz linkiaz ḥūrd[(iyaz)] ēšhanaz išḥaḥruaz ārranteš ēšten nu=za KAXU^{HĀ}=KUNU RĀMA[NI=K]UNU=ya parkuwaēš [(ēšten)]

‘Afterward, he (i.e. the AZU-practitioner) takes a cup of wine. A [g]angati-plant is placed in (it). He also takes a little bit of vegetal oil, hone[y] (and) fine oil with (a branch of) cedar and he makes it drip in the cup of wine. Then, with the *gangati*-plant, he sprinkles wine nine times before the deities. § At the same time, he says: “Gods, may your mouths be washed off from bad words, perjury, curse, blood(shed), tears! May your mouths and bodies be pure (again)! May your temples be pure (again)! May the ritual patron be pure (again) in your presence!”

This passage shows that it may be premature to take the purification with wine in the Kuwattalla and Tunnawiya traditions as a significant parallel. Alternatively, it may be taken as an independent development, prompted by the importance of wine-making in the regions where the respective traditions came into being.

Pattern 7 concerns collaboration between an Old Woman and a female attendant. This is one of the main characteristics of several versions of the Kuwattalla tradition: Kuwattalla herself is described as an attendant, whereas her partner Šilalluḥi is an Old Woman. Although the Kuwattalla tradition does not link this distinction to specific functions of the practitioners within the performance, the same type of collaboration is explicated in the passage below, which belongs to Tunnawiya’s Ritual of the Watercourse. Although the female attendant is the one performing the ritual act of combing the patient’s body, the Old Woman claims to be the author of this ritual act in the accompanying incantation that she utters.

86 KUB 7.53+ ii 21, CTH 409.I, nu=za=kan ŠU^[H]Ā GESTIN-it ārri ‘She washes her hands with wine’.

87 For the edition, see Strauß 2006, 336.

(4.19) KUB 12.58+ ii 61–iii 11, CTH 409.I

n=aš[t]a EN SISKUR *warpūwanzi paizzi n=ašta* ^{MUNUS}SU.GI 9 ^{GIS}GA.ZUM ŠA ^{GIS}TÚG
 [a]nda uppāi 1 šēnan IM-aš anda uppāi nu=za šēnan IM-[aš] *warpūwanzi kat-*
tan ^{GIR}MEŠ-aš dāi nu=za šer warapzi ^{GIS}GA.ZUM^{HÁ}=ma ^{MUNUS}SUHUR.LÁ <dāi> n=an
^{MUNUS}SUHUR.LÁ *kuēzziya* ^{IŠTU}GISGA.ZUM : katta 1=ŠU kišāizzi § *n=ašta* ^{MUNUS}SU.GI
 anda kiššan memai kāša=kan NÍ.TE *hūmanda šahhiškemi nu=(š)ši=kan katta*
kišān ēšdu idalu papratar alwazatar āštayaratar ^{DINGIR}MEŠ-aš karpīš : aggan-
 taš *hatugatar* § *kāša* ^{GIS}šarran *ħarmi nu=za kuiš* 12 ^{UZU}ÚR idalauwaz papran-
 naz arħa šarri[š]ket kinun=a=(t)ta ^{IŠTU}12 ^{UZU}ÚR idalu papratar alwazatar
 āštayaratar ^{DINGIR}MEŠ-aš karpin aggandaš *hatugatar awan arħa šarriškemi*
 [n=a]t=ši awan arħa šarran ēšdu

‘The ritual patron goes to bathe. The Old Woman fetches nine combs of boxwood; she fetches one clay figurine. He (i.e. the ritual patron) places the clay figurine at his own feet for bathing and then he bathes over (it). The female attendant <takes> the combs. The female attendant combs him (i.e. the ritual patron) once with each comb. § At the same time, the Old Woman says: “Hereby, I am cleansing all (his) body parts. May (it) be combed down from him, (namely) evil impurity, bewitchment, *āštayaratar*, divine anger, terror of the dead! § Hereby, I hold the *scraper*. Whoever was separating (i.e. disabling) each of (his) twelve body parts through evil impurity, now, I am separating off from each of your twelve body parts evil impurity, bewitchment, *āšta-yaratar*, divine anger, terror of the dead. May it be separated off from him!”

Several aspects should be emphasized in connection with the Luwian background of this rite. In the Hittite incantation, we observe reversed word order, since the direct objects of the verb ‘to be combed’ are placed after the verb. This should, therefore, be considered as an example of Pattern 8 (for which see below). Furthermore, this incantation mixes the 2sg. and the 3sg., as was also the case in another incantation of the Tunnawiya tradition, which we examined in connection with Pattern 1. Both considerations speak for Luwian being the original language of the incantation under discussion. Furthermore, the combination of nine combs and a *šarra*-item, perhaps a scraper, finds a counterpart in a Luwian fragment belonging to the Tauriša tradition—namely, KUB 35.88:

(4.20) KUB 35.88 iii 9’–17’ w. dupl. KUB 35.89:10’–14’, CTH 765

^DKam-ru-ši-pa-aš a-aš-ša-at-ta wa-na-an-za l[(a-la-a)-at-ta ... 2=ŠU] 9-za
^{GIS}GA.ZUM-za ħa-la-ta-pa ^DZu-li-ia-ia-a[n ...] ú-pa-at-ta-pa-wa-du ša-ar-ri-ia-
 ni-in 2=ŠU 9-u[(n)-za ^{GIS}GA.ZUM-za] an-ta-wa-aš-ta wa-al-lu-na<aš>-ša-an
 wa-a-ni up-pa-an-ta ša-ar-ri-wa-tar DUMU-in wa-al-li-it-ta la-la-a-i-wa [(9-
 un-za)] ^{GIS}GA.ZUM-za ^DKam-ru-ši-pa-aš za-an-ta-wa-tar mi-el-ta-an-za ki-ša-
 am-ma-an a-aš-du SAG.DU-za GIG-za IGI^{HÁ}-za GIG-z[(a)] ^{UZU}GEŠTU-za GIG-za
^{UZU}KAXU-za GIG-za ^{UZU}ħu-ħur-ta-a[š-ša-an-za] GIG-za ŠU^{HÁ}-az GIG-za nu ÚR^{HÁ}
hūmanta irh[(āizz)i]

“The goddess Kamrušēpa talked to the women. She took [... twice] nine combs and *ħala*-ed the god Zuliya [...]. He brought her a scraper (and) twice

nine [combs]. They carried them to the “woman of lifting”. She lifted up the child. Kamrušepa takes nine combs. May the disease be combed down (from him), the disease of (his) head, the disease of (his) eyes, the disease of (his) ears, the disease of (his) mouth, the disease of (his) throa[t], the disease of (his) hands.” She treats all the body parts one by one.’

Nevertheless, the very fact that this fragment is attributed to the Tauriša tradition, localized in the northern part of Anatolia, and not to the Kuwattalla tradition speaks against the specific character of the observed similarities.⁸⁸ Apparently, the image of the nine combs and the scraper(?) and that of combing or scraping impurities off the patient’s body were a recurrent topic in Luwian incantations regardless of their origin. In contrast, the role division between the Old Woman and her female attendant in Tunnawiya’s Ritual of the Watercourse lacks parallels in Hittite ritual texts known to us and requires explanation.

The non-trivial parallels between the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions observed above add plausibility to the hypothesis that the female attendant (^{MUNUS}SUḪUR.LÁ) in CTH 409.I has something to do with Kuwattalla’s title ^{MUNUS}SUḪUR.LÁ. At the same time, the identity of these Sumerographic expressions need not obfuscate the functional difference between the two titles. The attendant woman Kuwattalla was definitely not a servant of the Old Woman Šilalluḫi, who is not even mentioned in the earliest available version of the Kuwattalla tradition (CTH 761.1).⁸⁹ According to the conclusions of Chapter 3, the rites associated with Šilalluḫi were probably mechanically merged with those associated with Kuwattalla; if so, the two performers may not even have been acquainted with one another in real life. This said, the later versions of the Kuwattalla tradition, where the attendant Kuwattalla is mentioned next to the Old Woman Šilalluḫi, are indeed conducive to misinterpreting Kuwattalla as Šilalluḫi’s female attendant. Furthermore, the prominence of an Old Woman in the ritual procedure is already observable in CTH 761.1, so the omission of Šilalluḫi’s name from this text may have seemed accidental to the later scribes.

The tablet KUB 12.58+ is written in the New Hittite ductus, and such appears to be the case of all the fragments classified as CTH 409.I (Ritual of the Watercourse attributed to Tunnawiya). This contrasts with the preservation of other specimens of the Tunnawiya tradition (CTH 409.II–IV), for which assured or likely Middle Script copies are available. Therefore, one can advance the hypothesis that at least certain narrative aspects of CTH 409.I reflect elaborations undertaken in scribal circles. Their author(s) may have taken the perceived tandem of the Kuwattalla tradition as the starting point to provide Tunnawiya with her own ^{MUNUS}SUḪUR.LÁ.⁹⁰ Needless to say,

88 For the concept of the Tauriša tradition and its localization, see Mouton and Yakubovich 2021, 38–46.

89 As argued in Section 5.4. below, the lavish land grant bestowed upon Kuwattalla by Arnuwanda I and his wife Ašmu-Nikkal is compatible with the assumption that she occupied a high position as a ceremonial attendant in the royal palace.

90 For a possible example of a transfer in the opposite direction, compare Section 3.2 for the discussion of a secondary outdoor version of the Great Ritual featuring the construction of a hut and a gate, which is also accomplished in Tunnawiya’s Ritual of the Watercourse (CTH 409.I). This argument, however, is to be taken with a grain of salt, given that CTH 409.I may likewise represent a late version of the Tunnawiya tradition.

such a secondary transfer of Pattern 7 must be kept apart from the matches between the incantations illustrated by Patterns 1–5, but the presence of such inherited similarities may have prompted the scribes to consider the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions together.

Pattern 8 concerns a syntactic feature common to the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions, which obtains a detailed treatment in Appendix I. Several incantations of the Tunnawiya tradition present a reversed word order, where the verb is placed before its syntactic arguments. This can be illustrated by a clause from example (4.19): ‘May (it) be combed down from him, (namely) evil impurity, bewitchment, *āštayaratar*, divine anger, terror of the dead!’ Sometimes, such constructions feature the actual clitic doubling of the subject or direct object, as in the related clause (KUB 12.58+ ii 57–60): ‘Let it go, evil impurity, bewitchment, *āštayaratar*, divine wrath, terror of the dead, *cruelty* of the progeny, let it go!’ (*n=at arha tarna idalu papratar alwazātār āštayaratar* DINGIR^{MES}-a[(š)] *karpin aggantaš hatugatar* DUMU-lannaš *huipayatan n=at arha tarna*). The same pattern is abundantly attested in the Luwian incantations of the Kuwattalla tradition, and there are reasons to think that it does not represent a deviation from the norm in the respective Luwian dialect but rather reflects its genuine propensity for scrambling (discourse-driven syntactic permutations). In the instance of Hittite compositions, however, the reversed word order correlates with translated texts, and therefore such a feature of the Tunnawiya tradition can be attributed to its Luwian background. Yet, CTH 409 is not the only Hittite corpus of Luwian inspiration with syntactic inversion in the incantations: the parallel feature is attested in the Maštigga tradition (Rieken 2011, 501). Therefore, once again, Pattern 8 need not be treated on the same level as the exclusive similarities illustrated by Patterns 1–5.

The list of rare but not exclusive parallels identified in the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions can be easily carried forward. One could mention, for example, the reference to the *nakkiu*-spirits (Mouton 2020b) or to the deity Andaliya (Miller 2004, 257, fn. 390). A feature that unites these parallels with Patterns 6–7 and separates them from Patterns 1–5 is that the comparison is made at the level of motives, driven by the structure of the rituals. The methodological stance that derives support from this observation is the reliance on linguistic formulae embedded in the incantations as a particularly stable component of a ritual tradition. Such an approach can hardly be called surprising: the formulaic language represents a salient characteristic of the ritual speech, called to enhance its illocutionary force but also boost the performer’s credentials. Less trivial are its empirical implications: if the Tunnawiya and Kuwattalla traditions share an exclusive set of formulaic expressions, then they must be treated as a cluster of a higher order. Since we can argue on independent grounds that the incantations of the Tunnawiya tradition were translated or adapted from Luwian, the origins of this cluster are probably to be traced to a particular regional variety of Luwian ritual speech. So far as we can see, the formulaic parallels exemplified by Patterns 1–5 do not display any traces of Hurrian influence; therefore, we advance a working hypothesis that they reflect a shared stock of Luwian formulae typical of the ritualists from the Lower Land. It remains to be seen whether this assumption can be reconciled with the observed foreign features of the Kuwattalla tradition.

4.3 EVALUATING THE DIFFICULTIES⁹¹

Now it is time to go back to the foreign features of the Kuwattalla tradition adduced in support of its Kizzuwadna origin, which are summarized in Kaynar 2017 and Kaynar 2019. This list includes the appearance of several Hurrian theonyms, such as Hebat, Šawoška, and Ninatta; the use of the West Semitic loanword /xalal(i)-/ ‘pure’; a reference to purification by blood; and the Hittite technical terms *keldi*- and *nakkušši*-, both of Hurrian origin. We accept the claim that the relevant loans came to central Anatolia from or via Kizzuwadna but submit that they could penetrate the Kuwattalla tradition in the course of its adaptation in Ḫattuša.

The hypothesis of secondary interference is compatible with what we know on extralinguistic grounds. The incipits or colophons of several texts belonging to the group under discussion attribute them not to the attendant woman Kuwattalla but to the Old Woman Šilalluḫi, or to the tandem of both ritual practitioners. No Hurrian loanwords have been identified within the earliest version of the Great Ritual attributed to Kuwattalla (CTH 761.1), which, of course, does not mean that they could not exist in the lost portions of the relevant tablet series but suggests that they were infrequent. Šilalluḫi’s name certainly has a Hurrian origin; see the Hurrian professional title *šilalluḫi* (Richter 2012, 375). Furthermore, as argued in Section 3.6, the incipits of KBo 29.3 (CTH 760.2) and KUB 35.8 (CTH 763.1.1) offer suggestive evidence for the Kizzuwadna provenance of Šilalluḫi. Accordingly, it is tempting to hypothesize that certain Hurrian elements were introduced into the Kuwattalla tradition when it was merged with what can be called the Šilalluḫi tradition.

This assumption is indeed sufficient for explaining certain Kizzuwadna features of the Kuwattalla tradition. Thus, the explicit reference to the *keldi*-rite is limited to the incipits of CTH 760.1 (attributed to Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi) and CTH 760.2 (attributed to a performer from Ziluna, probably Šilalluḫi). The reference to the rite of smearing people with blood appears in the same two incipits, in a fragmentary incipit CTH 763.2.1 (which mentions the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice and thus shows awareness of the Šilalluḫi tradition), and in the final part of CTH 762.2 (see the attribution to Šilalluḫi and Kuwattalla in the colophon of CTH 762.1 written by the same scribe Pariziti). The Hurrian goddess Ninatta (KUB 35.71+ iii 3’), Ištar of Nineveh (KUB 35.71+ ii 7–8), and unspecified *IŠTAR*/Šawoška (KUB 35.71+ iii 2’) all appear in one and the same New Script fragment belonging to the free-standing version of the *dupaduparša*-ritual (CTH 759). The preserved colophons of CTH 759 invariably attribute this text to the collaboration of Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi (or vice versa), while all the fragments of this group exhibit the innovations of New Script. What is no less important, the formula in KUB 35.71+ ii 6’–9’ exhibits close similarity to the one in KBo 29.6(+) i 20’–21’ (CTH 762.2), but no reference to the Hurrian gods is found in the latter passage, which supports the hypothesis of their secondary insertion.

Several more items of foreign origin are attested in the late *dupaduparša*-ritual. Thus, the best-preserved tablet of this composition contains a mention of the Syro-

91 Much of the discussion in this section is based on Mouton and Yakubovich 2021, Section 2.2, but the emphasis in the treatment of some issues has been shifted.

Hurrian goddess Hepat (KUB 9.6+ ii 6') and the verb /xalalanussa-/ 'to purify', a derivative of /xalal(i)-/ 'pure', on which see below in this section. The fragment KUB 35.83(+) can be attributed to the same ritual, based among other things on the characteristic purification rite involving the *gangati*-plant. This fragment contains the possessive adjective [h]a-am-ri-ta-aš-ši-en-zi (ii 6'), which is derived from Hurr. *hamri* 'type of sanctuary' and possibly even from the adverb [hur-]i-li 'in Hurrian' (iii 18'). The paleographic analysis suggests that KUB 35.83(+) belongs to the same tablet series as the small fragments KUB 35.40+ and KUB 35.41, which contain colophons attributing the *dupaduparša*-ritual to the tandem of Šilalluḫi and Kuwattalla.

Nevertheless, there are also fragments of CTH 759–763 where forms of Hurrian origin cannot be as easily accounted for in terms of later additions. This is primarily the case of the Middle Script fragments KBo 9.141 and KUB 35.15 (CTH 761.2), both characterized by the archaic spelling *BE-EL SISKUR* for 'ritual patron' (see Appendix II). They contain the description of a *nakkušši*-rite and Luwian incantations featuring the forms /nakkussaunta/ 'we released a scapegoat' and /nakkussaxidi/ 'with the release of the scapegoat', both ultimately derived from Hurr. **nakkošše* 'release'. There are independent reasons to believe that the scapegoat rite was present in the original version of the Great Ritual, which predated the incorporation of the rites associated with Šilalluḫi (see the discussion in Chapter 5). Although the scapegoat rite is not attested in the preserved part of CTH 761.1, this is highly likely to be an accidental loss.

A significant ramification of this case is that the description of the scapegoat rite does not necessarily trigger the use of forms derived from Hurr. **nakkošše* in Hittite-Luwian contexts. The scapegoat is prominent in the Puriyanni tradition (KUB 35.54 ii 46 – iii 11, CTH 758.1), but there it is simply called *MAŠ.GAL* 'goat'. Therefore, it remains possible that the Hittite term *nakkušši*- and the Luwian forms /nakkussaunta/ and /nakkussaxidi/ were secondarily introduced in the text of the scapegoat as a result of scribal elaboration. An argument in favor of this suggestion, which shows that it is not an idle speculation, is the parallelism between the formulae KBo 9.141 iv 14', 17' *a-a-ri-in wa-ar-[ma-a-ú-un-ta] (...) na-a-nu-um-pa na-ak-ku-u[š-ša-a-ú-un-ta]* 'For a while [we have been performing] conjurations (...). Now, [we] perform[ed] the scapegoat rite.' and KUB 35.16(+) i 5', 6' *[a-ri-in wa-ar-ma-a-un-t]a (...) [n]a-a-nu-ú-un-pa i-ik-ku-na-a-ú-un-ta* '[For a while we] have been [performing conjurations] (...). [N]ow, we have performed the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice.' The *ikkunatt*-sacrifice belongs to the stratum of the Kuwattalla tradition that reflects Šilalluḫi's impact (see the discussion in Section 3.6), and therefore the formula may have been transferred to the scapegoat rite in connection with the merger between the Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi traditions. Another fragment supporting the transfer hypothesis is KBo 10.42 iv 4' (CTH 761.3.1), where the Hittite form *nakkuššit* 'with the scapegoat' occurs at the very end of the tablet, almost immediately before the colophon. The colophon's restoration suggests that this version of the Great Ritual is attributed to both Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi.

Another potential complication concerns /xalal(i)-/ 'pure', a West Semitic loanword in Luwian (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 354–55). This adjective is common to the texts of the Kuwattalla and Puriyanni traditions, including their oldest

versions. It is possible, however, to question the relevance of this lexeme for determining the geographic background of the respective rituals. In KBo 11.2 i 10, we also find *ha-la-li-en-zi* as a foreign word in a Hittite text, endowed with the characteristic Empire Luwian ending acc.sg /-ntsi/ (Yakubovich 2010a, 30). Therefore, in the second millennium BCE this Luwian lexeme probably functioned as the standard (pan-dialectal) equivalent of Hittite *parkui-* ‘pure’. The way the West Semitic adjective *hl* found its way into the Luwian language remains to be investigated, but this problem should be kept apart from the assumed Hurrian borrowings into a specific Luwian dialect.

Finally, there are formulaic isoglosses between the Kizzuwadna rituals and the Kuwattalla tradition, which were not treated by Kaynar, because her research did not focus on phraseology. We will dwell here on those of them that directly concern CTH 761.1 and thus cannot be explained through later scribal adaptations. For example, the notion of a ‘divine path’, securely restored in KUB 32.10+ obv. 10’, finds parallels in the Hurrian-inspired Šalašu ritual (CTH 788) and an oracle question concerning Šawoška of Šamuha (Hutter 2019a, 350), which prompts Hutter to conclude that “here we find an element of Hurrian tradition taken up by Kuwattalla in her Kizzuwadnaean surroundings”. The presentation of a pot with vegetable soup in CTH 761.1 is accompanied by the statement that the seeds contained there ‘will not become seed’ (KUB 35.21 obv.⁹² 11’); the same statement is made in connection with the presentation of a pot with dough and black cumin in the Maštigga ritual against the domestic quarrel (CTH 404.1; Miller 2004, 80–81, § 27). The frequent manipulations with the *taluppi*-lump, common to the Kuwattalla tradition (including its oldest version) and the Puriyanni tradition, feature a mention of the ‘pure *taluppi*’, which finds a counterpart in the so-called Ritual of Kizzuwadna (CTH 479.1; Ünal 2017, § 4’–5’).

The isoglosses of the last group arguably constitute the strongest evidence for the original Kizzuwadna affinities of the Kuwattalla tradition, in view of their formulaic character. These parallels deserve to be contrasted with those involving the Tunawiya tradition and treated in the previous section. One distinction involves the precision of comparison: the formulae of CTH 761.1 cannot be matched with a specific tradition emanating from Kizzuwadna, but rather display a generic “Kizzuwadna flavor”. A sufficient assumption for tackling such cases would be the continuity between the rituals of the Lower Land and Kizzuwadna, which is the logical hypothesis to begin with, given that these two regions of Ancient Anatolia were geographically adjacent, being separated only by the Anti-Taurus mountain range. But there is also a different explanation available: we know that the Kizzuwadna culture was held in high prestige in Hattuša in the early 14th century BCE, during the lifetime of the historical Kuwattalla (see Section 5.4 below). While the systematic transfer of formulae from a different tradition is implausible (see the discussion in the previous section), their eclectic appropriation from the traditions of prestige cannot be ruled out a priori.⁹²

92 A comparison here can be made with the genetic classification of world languages. While the rationale behind the practice of lexicostatistics is the assumption that the basic lexicon represents the reliable indicators of the genetic relationship between languages, there are no basic word lists consisting of the lexemes that can never be borrowed.

It seems appropriate to conclude this section by candidly stating the implications of the two conflicting hypotheses. If we assume that Kuwattalla hails from Kizzuwadna, she must have had particular reasons to adjust her formulaic repertoire to that of the Old Woman Tunnawiya, a Lower Land ritual specialist who probably performed in Ḫattuša. If Kuwattalla, like Tunnawiya, came to Ḫattuša from the Lower Land and relied on the same basic stock of formulaic incantations, she must have adopted certain eclectic Kizzuwadna features into her ritual, presumably bowing to the vogue of time. While the first scenario is not impossible, it requires far-reaching assumptions that are not warranted by the available historical evidence and therefore can be acceptable only as the last resort solution. In contrast, the second scenario agrees well with what is otherwise known about the cultural trends in Ḫattuša in the relevant time period and therefore must be evaluated as the default solution. Luckily, its additional confirmation is derived from the Kizzuwadna influence on the structure of the Kuwattalla tradition, which will be addressed in the following chapter.

5. KUWATTALLA TRADITION AND MAŠTIGGA TRADITION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the main problems in studying the Kuwattalla tradition (CTH 759–763), which is arguably responsible for the lack of its comprehensive treatment in the previous literature, is the fragmentary character of its preservation. No version is comprehensive enough to qualify as a “pivot” of its philological edition, around which smaller fragments could be arranged as duplicates or parallel versions. Therefore, our abilities to establish the sequence of rites within CTH 759–763 through internal reconstruction are severely limited. Such a state of affairs correlates with the length of the relevant compositions: the earliest available version of the Great Ritual (CTH 761.1) features no less than four tablets, while one of the versions of the *dupaduparša*-ritual (CTH 759.2) was divided into no less than nine. Given the state of preservation of the archives of Ḫattuša, it would be naïve to expect to find a tablet series all nine tablets of which are reasonably well preserved.⁹³

On top of the scarcity of data, there are problems of structural variation and repetition. On the one hand, the density of the narrative and the division of individual rites across tablets is not uniform in different versions of the Kuwattalla tradition. For example, KUB 9.6+ (CTH 759.1, sixth tablet) features the beginning of the description of the *ikkunawar*-sacrifice at the very end of its column four, which apparently runs over into the next tablet. In contrast, the patently related *ikkunatt*-sacrifice is followed by the *šarlatt*-sacrifice in the same column four of KUB 32.8(+) (CTH 759.10.b), while the tablet number in this case is not preserved. Finally, the fragment KUB 35.78, also featuring a reference to the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, can now be assigned to column four of the first tablet of CTH 759.3 on the basis of our indirect join with KUB 35.37. On the other hand, one may strongly doubt that all the versions of the Kuwattalla tradition preserve the same set of rites. For example, the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice is followed by the *šarlatt*-sacrifice in both KUB 32.8(+) (CTH 759.10.b) and KUB 35.16(+) (CTH 760.3.b), but no reference to the *šarlatt*-sacrifice is found in KUB 35.78 (CTH 759.3), where the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice is followed by a set of purification rites and then a rite dealing with the *nakkiu*-spirits. Finally, there are ritual gestures that can occur more than once: the purification with the *taluppi*-object (a lump of dough) is mentioned at least three times in the preserved part of CTH 761.1, while ablution with water occurs there twice. This means in practice that an isolated fragment fea-

⁹³ It is instructive to compare the state of preservation of the Puriyanni tradition. Here we also observe a great deal of variation among versions, but because the text of the ritual fits on just one tablet, it is possible to use its best-preserved fragment KUB 35.54, which is not larger than the best-preserved fragments of the Kuwattalla tradition, as a template for the majority of the remaining fragments.

turing either of these acts cannot be assigned any particular place within the larger composition.

Finally, the Kuwattalla tradition fails to yield abundant numerical clues for establishing the sequence of its rites. Contrary to the descriptions of festivals, another genre of notoriously long Hittite texts, the fragments of CTH 759–763 rarely align ritual acts with specific days for their performance. In the instance of a completely preserved tablet, its colophon is expected to convey its sequence number within the series, yet only six colophons with readable tablet numbers belonging to five different tablet series of the Kuwattalla tradition are available to date. This is like an equation with too many variables for an algorithmic solution, especially given the aforementioned lack of consistency in the distribution of rites across tablets. The challenges addressed here impacted the pioneering work of Frank Starke, who attempted to reconstruct the rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition on internal grounds but succeeded in ordering the relevant fragments with respect to each other only in a limited number of cases (see Starke 1985, 107–8, 138, 140).

Under such conditions, the best chance to reconstruct the structure of the Kuwattalla tradition would be to find an external anchor elsewhere. This could be a better-preserved text, which is attributed to a different ritualist but displays a congruous rite sequence. It is vital, however, to keep in mind that preconceived ideas about the structure of the Kuwattalla tradition would lead nowhere. A probative demonstration of structural parallelism must be based on finding isomorphic comparisons for those fragments that feature micro-sequences of rites, as well as identifying matches for the relative order of the few available pieces endowed with tablet numbers. But even such a procedure cannot guarantee success, because the availability of external structural parallels can never be taken for granted.

In our case, identifying a requisite Hittite text was a matter of sheer luck. Early on in the course of the work of the Luwili Project, we began to accumulate parallels between the Hittite-Luwian passages resembling those of the Kuwattalla tradition, which stemmed in part from newly identified fragments, and those of Maštigga's ritual for domestic quarrels (CTH 404.1).⁹⁴ Initially we entertained several competing hypotheses about the origin of such similarities, including the preservation of a Luwian version of CTH 404.1. Yet, the systematic study of Maštigga's ritual for treating a domestic quarrel led us to a different conclusion: the core of this text shows non-trivial structural similarities to the core of the Kuwattalla tradition, despite differences in substance. Therefore, its template can be used for ordering the fragments of the Kuwattalla tradition vis-à-vis each other. Furthermore, we can entertain the hypothesis that the rites of CTH 759–763, which lack parallels in CTH 404.1, represent later additions to the Kuwattalla tradition.

Certainly, CTH 404.1 is a short ritual, fitting on a single tablet, and it does not contain Luwian insertions. Its brevity, however, largely correlates with that of its in-

94 It is appropriate to single out here the contribution of David Sasseville, who identified the Luwian passages in the fragments KBo 47.136 and KBo 55.99 and promptly alerted the members of the Luwili Project about his discovery. For revealing parallels between these fragments and the specific rites of CTH 404.1, see the discussion in Section 5.2.

cantations: they usually consist of one sentence and share the paragraphs with the descriptions of the relevant rites, which frequently yields the alignment between paragraph division and rite segmentation. Since we know on linguistic grounds that the performance underlying CTH 404.1 originally featured Luwian incantations (see Appendix I), the simplest hypothesis is to assume that they were most likely shortened at the point when their text was summarized in the Hittite language. In contrast, the Kuwattalla tradition generally preserves the Luwian incantations, and therefore the texts associated with it span several tablets.⁹⁵ As for the Hittite matrix texts of the fragments attributed to Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi, they vary in length to a considerable extent. Yet, in the instance of its older versions, the Hittite passages are approximately as concise as those of Maštigga's ritual for domestic quarrels, which facilitates the comparison between the two traditions.

5.2 IDENTIFYING PARALLELS

The presumed purposeful abbreviation of the text of CTH 404.1 in the history of its transmission has favorable consequences for our project. Its oldest tablet has been reasonably well preserved, and its missing parts can usually be restored on the basis of its later copies. This enabled production of the synoptic edition, accomplished in Miller 2004, 61–108 and featuring the restoration and separate treatment of all the paragraphs of the text. Below we will use these as structural units in our search for parallels in the Kuwattalla tradition. Our comparison draws, whenever possible, upon the oldest preserved tablet of the relevant ritual (KBo 39.8, CTH 404.1.I.A).

§ 1 represents the incipit of the ritual, which defines its special purpose. In the instance of CTH 404.1 it is the ritual treatment of quarrelling family members. In contrast, the purpose of the Great Ritual and other rituals of the Kuwattalla tradition is never explicitly stated, although there are no reasons to think that it was the same. For inferential arguments regarding the purpose of the Kuwattalla tradition, see Section 5.5.

§§ 2–5 contains the list of ritual implements. While several items listed here are also deployed in the Kuwattalla tradition, it is appropriate to discuss them under the rites that require their use. As for the structure of the list, it does not resemble that of KBo 29.3+ i 5–16 (CTH 760.2), KUB 35.18(+) i 8–18 (CTH 760.1), or Bo 4388:2'–9' (CTH 763.2.1), which all begin with sacrificial sheep.

§§ 6–7 introduce the first libation to the Sun-god, accompanied by an incantation. The preparation of the ritual patrons for the first offering to the Sun-god finds a parallel in KBo 29.3+ ii 11–14 (CTH 760.2, first tablet). In CTH 404.1, the offering consists of bread, wine, and cheese, while in the parallel passage it is merely bread and wine. The gesture common to both passages is laying the patient's hand on the items to be offered. It is to be observed, however, that the preceding context of KBo 29.3+ ii con-

95 A partial exception is the text CTH 759.3, likewise containing the abridged versions of the incantations, which are not, however, translated into Hittite.

tains an incantation that has no match in CTH 404.1, although it finds a close parallel in the Ambazzi tradition (see Christiansen 2006, 38–41, § 9). The incantation as such finds a parallel in KBo 29.3+ ii 11–27, but its content is different: in CTH 404.1 it focuses on the harmful tongues, while in CTH 760 it concerns the patient's enemies, personalized by means of human figurines. Yet, these discrepancies can be offset by a more general similarity: both CTH 404.1 and CTH 759–763 contain several invocations to the Sun-deities, which clearly represent the primary divine addressees of both these performances.⁹⁶ One can contrast here, for example, the Puriyanni ritual, where the divine counteragent is the Storm-god of the Open Country, or Maštigga's ritual for bloodshed (CTH 404.3), where the goddess Apritta appears to play the crucial role. This prompts us to regard the parallels under discussion as significant, although not structural (see the discussion under § 38 below).

§ 8 prescribes setting up anthropomorphic figurines, as well as hands and tongues of dough, at the feet of the two ritual patrons. Although there is no counterpart to these gestures in the available fragments of CTH 759–763, in this case one can reasonably surmise their original presence in the performance of the Kuwattalla tradition. KBo 29.3+ (CTH 760.2, first tablet) refers first to the manipulations with human figurines, symbolizing the patient's enemies (column two), and then to the destruction of the evil hand and tongue (column three). Since the two sets of rites are connected, it is inherently likely that the evil hand and tongue had been linked beforehand to the evildoers' figurines. The place of this rite within the sequence of the Kuwattalla tradition may, however, have been different; perhaps it preceded the first offering to the Sun-god.

§ 9 mentions the blue wool and red wool being placed on the ritual patrons. The red wool, yellow wool, and possibly blue wool are also mentioned in a fragmentary passage that immediately follows the first prayer to the Sun-god (KBo 29.3+ ii 31, restored after the parallel version KBo 9.147 ii 7'). In both traditions, the wool strands of different colors are made into one thread. In the Kuwattalla tradition, this thread was apparently tied to the ritual patron, but the purpose of this gesture might have been analogous to placing it on the ritual patron in CTH 404.1.

§ 10 features a rite of cutting the wool thread with a knife and an incantation, which attributes this act to the goddess Andaliya and specifies that it stands for the removal of the evil tongues. Both the rite and the incantation find close parallels in KUB 35.48 iii 14'–22' (CTH 760.4), where cutting the wool with a bronze knife is likewise attributed to Andaliya and linked to the separation of the miasma. The fragment KUB 35.48 represents a close parallel version of KBo 29.3+ (CTH 760.2); therefore we are assuredly dealing with the first tablet of CTH 760. At the same time, the rite under discussion does not immediately follow the rite of tying the wool

96 A systemic exception concerns the animal substitution rites in CTH 761, where repeated invocations are made to /warpall(i)- Tarxunt-/ 'warlike Tarḫunt' (see Hutter 2019a, 342–45). This deviation correlates with several other intrusive elements in the phraseology of animal substitution rites, as discussed in Section 5.3. There is no mention of the Storm-god in the preserved Hittite parts of the respective incantations.

thread to the ritual patron on this tablet; KUB 35.48 iii 5'–13' apparently features an incantation accompanying a purification rite.⁹⁷

§ 11 contains the ritual waving of a fish over the heads of the ritual patrons. The fish is removed from the sea as a metaphor for the detached evil tongues. Although the Sumerogram for 'fish' is never attested in the Kuwattalla tradition, a likely parallel to this rite is the fragment KUB 35.23 (CTH 761.1), which features the presentation of a live animal endowed with the epithet *a-la-^ra'-[aš-ša-am-mi-iš]* 'maritime'. Among all the rites of CTH 404.1, only the fish rite is compatible with such a specification. Presumably, the reference to a live fish emphasizes the necessity to resist the temptation of using a dead fish, despite the logistic difficulties of transporting fish alive to Ḫattuša.

§ 12 features the ritual practitioner's holding an object symbolizing evil speech above the heads of the ritual patrons. The *tiššatwa*-object consists of tallow wrapped around with white wool and black wool. Since it is put in physical correspondence with the patients, most likely it functions as an inanimate substitute absorbing their curses. This passage can be compared to KBo 29.22+ (CTH 760.7), where *tiššatwa* is likewise introduced in the context of a substitution rite. We regard this parallel as significant, because the *tiššatwa*-objects do not seem to be attested otherwise in Hittite rituals.

§§ 13–14 must be considered together. They introduce the rite of (un)twisting tongues made of salt, tallow, sinew, coriander, and wax along with the matching incantation inviting the Sun-god to untwist curses. Now, the tongues are mentioned in the immediate vicinity of the Sun-god in the fragmentary passage KUB 35.48 iii 33'–34' (CTH 760.4), immediately following the disposal of the bronze knife that was used for cutting the wool (see the parallel version KBo 29.13+ ii 10'–11'). In this case, there is no indication that the tongues are prepared from multiple ingredients; it is possible that they were simply made of dough or paste. Nonetheless, given what precedes and follows, this passage from CTH 760.4 can likewise be interpreted as an invocation to the Sun-god with a request to neutralize evil speech.

§§ 15–17 contain the rites of breaking and then waving the hands and tongues over the patients' heads, with the accompanying incantation. This passage has several close parallels in the Kuwattalla tradition, but the one of primary interest here is KBo 29.3+ iii 13'–19' (CTH 760.2, first tablet). This parallel brings us back to the best-preserved fragment of CTH 760 after the lacuna has been partially filled in through its close parallel version KUB 35.48. Summing up the previous observations, the first part of CTH 760, which involves figurines and evil tongues and approximately corresponds to §§ 6–18 of CTH 404.1, seems to have all fitted on the first tablet of the rit-

97 An additional parallel beyond the Kuwattalla tradition in the reference to Andaliya's cutting away the miasma is the Festival of the Storm-god of Kuliwišna (CTH 330, Glocker 1997, 30–31). This passage sides with the Kuwattalla tradition in the specific mention of a knife made of bronze (GIR ZABAR), but the object cut is firewood, which renders the parallel less precise. On the other hand, the Ritual of the Ox belonging to the Tunnawiya tradition (CTH 409.IV) mentions cutting a piece of red wool with a knife as a way of removing the negative miasma but does not mention the goddess Andaliya (Beckman 1990, 43 and 49). All these parallels have already been noted in Miller 2004, 257, fn. 390.

ual. The pace of the ritual in CTH 760, however, is slower than that in CTH 404.1: thus, the rite of breaking the hands and tongues must have been preceded there by yet another purification rite, the incantation for which has partially been preserved (KBo 29.3+ iii 1'–12').

§ 18 contains the rite of nailing seven tongues to the ground. While nailing objects is mentioned several times in Hittite-Luwian rituals, only one parallel can be regarded as suggestive. This is KBo 13.264 (CTH 763.2.8), a very badly preserved fragment, which does not have an obvious parallel version elsewhere in the Kuwattalla tradition. Its long Luwian incantation refers to the hostile tongues (EME^{HA}) a number of times, and on one occasion prescribes their treatment with a copper peg (KBo 13.264 r.col. URUDU-ia-ti [tar-ma-ti], the noun phrase restored after KUB 32.8(+) iv 23'–24'). The verb is lost in a lacuna, but the contextual meaning is either nailing or piercing. While the status of this fragment as part of the Kuwattalla tradition is not assured, there are no obvious alternatives for its attribution.

§ 19 introduces for the first time a lustration involving water and dough. The patients are sprinkled with water, while dough is waved over them. In the earliest available version of the Kuwattalla tradition (CTH 761.1), pressing the *taluppi*-lump made of dough onto the patient's body is followed by ablution with water. The parallel is not precise, because both water and dough are applied to the ritual patrons in two different ways, but still there are sufficient reasons to regard the similarity as significant. On the one hand, the combination of water with objects of dough as purification agents may seem trivial: one can contrast the Puriyanni tradition, where water is combined with salt for the purification rite, while the *taluppi*-lump is not used there as the purification agent. On the other hand, both rites under scrutiny are used periodically. In CTH 404.1 the purification rites in § 19 and § 31 divide the ritual into three approximately equal parts, the first two of which display structural uniformity, while in CTH 761.1 they are apparently used after every single rite. Thus, although the precise spots where the respective rites occur in both traditions do not match, they share the common purpose of delimiting different segments of the ritual.

§§ 20–21 inaugurates the central part of the ritual, which largely consists of animal substitution rites, with the ritual slaughter of a white sheep. The most straightforward counterpart of this rite within the Kuwattalla tradition is KUB 35.43 ii (CTH 761.3.8), where the white sheep is explicitly mentioned. A gesture shared by both rites is spitting into the sheep's mouth for the purpose of transferring the miasma to the substitute (this is also a feature of the black sheep and puppy rites in CTH 404.1). One can further compare a substitution rite involving spitting into a sheep's mouth in KBo 51.220 (CTH 761.3.5.a). Although the sheep is not mentioned as such in the preserved part of KUB 35.21 rev. 1'–14' (CTH 761.1.d), the parallelism of constructions with KUB 35.43 ii, including spitting into the mouth of the sacrificial animal, opens the possibility that this rite represents a further element of comparison. This is, however, uncertain, since the rite under discussion may have involved another animal that was considered ritually pure (e.g. black sheep or puppy).

§§ 22–23 are devoted to the description of the substitution rite involving a black sheep. Its distinct structural feature is dismembering and burning the slaughtered

animal, as opposed to burying the slaughtered white sheep. Its distinct phraseological trait is the epithet ‘substitute of the head and the whole body’ attached to the black sheep (§ 22). The contrast between the black sheep and the white sheep, both used for the “main” ritual, is explicitly mentioned in the lists of ritual implements belonging to CTH 760 (KBo 29.3+ i 5, KUB 35.18(+) i 9–10), but no rite where a black sheep is mentioned as such has been preserved among the available fragments of the Kuwattalla tradition. The epithet ‘substitute of the head and the body’ is used there with reference to a piglet (KUB 35.43+ iii 19’, CTH 761.3.8).

§§ 24–25 feature a substitution rite involving a piglet, which resembles in many respects the one involving a white sheep. Its most transparent counterpart in the Kuwattalla tradition is found in KUB 35.43 iii and follows there the white sheep rite in KUB 35.43 ii (with a lacuna between the two). Thus, the order of these two rites in KUB 35.43 matches the pattern of CTH 404.1. A distinct feature of the piglet rite vis-à-vis the white sheep rite in KUB 35.43 is spitting at the substitute from afar, not directly into its mouth, presumably because the piglet was considered less pure. Therefore, the animal substitution rite in KUB 34.62+ iii (CTH 761.2.3.b), which likewise resorts to spitting from a distance, probably also features a piglet as its protagonist. Another passage mentioning the piglet—namely, KUB 35.34 iii? 1’–6’ (CTH 761.2.1.c)—refers to its disposal into a pit at the end of the rite, which finds a parallel in § 25 of CTH 404.1. Although the piglet is not mentioned as such in the preserved part of KUB 35.24+ obv. 1’–5” (CTH 761.1.c), the parallelism of formulae with KUB 35.43, including the *hallinai*-clauses, supports the assumption that this rite likewise involves a piglet.

§§ 26–27 interrupt the chain of substitution rites involving animals with the waving of a *hupuwai*-vessel filled with dough and black cumin. The incantation specifies that the black cumin will not become seed again and compares this state of affairs to the irreversible character of removing evil tongues. The counterpart of this rite in the Kuwattalla tradition is the presentation of a pot filled with a vegetable soup, where the Luwian incantation likewise states that one of its ingredients ‘will not become seed’ (KUB 35.21 obv. 6’–21’, CTH 761.1.d). The reverse of the same features an animal substitution rite. The placement of a rite involving “a pot with seeds” among the animal substitute rites represents a non-trivial similarity between CTH 404.1 and CTH 761.1.

§§ 28–29 feature a rite involving a *harziyalla*-animal, which is expected to act as a scapegoat, carrying away the blue wool and red wool. In general, the *harziyalla*-animal does not appear frequently in Hittite rituals: for the list of its four relevant attestations, see Haas 2003, 473–74. It is, therefore, remarkable that a small fragment mentioning this animal, KBo 55.99 (CTH 763.2.12), has recently been identified as a part of the Kuwattalla tradition (Sasseville 2021). The size of the fragment is not conducive to any definite conclusions about the function of the animal in it, but the use of the verbal form *ar-ḫa túḫ-ša-a-an-n[a-i]* ‘cuts off’ (rev. 3’) is at least compatible with the assumption that the detached thread of wool may play there a role.

§ 30 contains a substitution rite involving a puppy, which in many respects resembles the one involving a white sheep. In particular, one transfers the curse onto the puppy by spitting into its mouth. The puppy (or dog) is explicitly mentioned in

Bo 4388 obv. 7 (CTH 763.2.1), as part of an abridged list of ritual implements, which nonetheless clearly resembles the larger lists in KBo 29.3+ i and KUB 35.18(+) i (CTH 760). Furthermore, Luwian /tsuwanis/ ‘dog’ appears to be mentioned in KUB 35.28 i 7’ (CTH 761.3.2) and KUB 35.29 i 5’ (CTH 761.3.5.b), the parallel versions of the same fragmentary incantation. An additional candidate for a puppy rite, to be considered alongside several others, is KUB 35.21 rev. 1’–14’ (CTH 761.1.d). The advantage of such a solution is that the sequence §§ 26–27 > § 30 obtains a counterpart in CTH 761.1.d. See the discussion under §§ 20–21 above in this section.

§ 31 prescribes the second round of double purification with water and dough, of the kind that was introduced in § 19. Here the purification rite is likely to punctuate the boundary between animal sacrifices and the final part of the ritual. Although the rite in KUB 35.21 rev. 1’–14’, a possible counterpart of § 30, is likewise followed by the purification with the *taluppi*-lump, this similarity may be regarded as accidental, because the purification rites generally occur more frequently in the Kuwattalla tradition (see the discussion under § 19).

§§ 32–33 introduces the rite of the *išnuri*-vessel filled with oil, where the Old Woman throws the red wool (variant: blue wool, CTH 404.1.I.C, 404.1.II.A, 404.1.II.C₂) and barley. This gesture finds a parallel in KUB 32.8 iii 1’–5’ (CTH 759.10.b), where the Old Woman throws a strand of blue wool into a clay vessel filled with oil and honey. In both instances, we are ostensibly dealing with ways of dispensing with the remaining wool (see the *harziyalla*-rite in §§ 28–29). The manipulations described in KUB 32.8(+) iii 1’–5’ are sequenced shortly before the *ikkunatt*- and *šarlatt*-sacrifices in KUB 32.8(+) iv. This suggests the position within the ritual after the block of animal substitution rites, which matches the location of the paragraph under discussion in CTH 404.1.⁹⁸ The continuation of the rite, however, is different in both traditions, and in agreement with the basic goals of the respective rituals. In CTH 404.1 the vessel is hidden under the *šeknu*-garments of the two ritual patrons and contributes to their reconciliation, while in CTH 759.10 it serves as a container for the contaminated hair and nail clippings collected from the patient.

§§ 34–35 are devoted to the rite of smashing the *hupuwai*-vessels filled with food and throwing bread loaves into the fire. Its counterpart is the small fragment KBo 47.136 (CTH 763.2.13), which only recently has been added to the corpus of the Kuwattalla tradition (Sasseville 2019, 120). Its text mentions both the *hupuwai*-vessels and throwing a variety of items, including seeds, into the fire. It is impossible, unfortunately, to show by philological means how this fragment was ordered vis-à-vis other fragments of the Kuwattalla tradition. The only other reference to the *hupuwai*-vessels in our corpus is found in KUB 35.65 (CTH 763.1.2).

98 The *ikkunatt*-sacrifice of KUB 32.8(+) corresponds to the *ikkunawar*-sacrifice, the description of which begins in KUB 9.6 iv, while the colophon of KUB 9.6 (CTH 759.1) informs us that this is the sixth tablet (or perhaps the fifth tablet) of the *dupaduparša*-ritual. It does not seem likely, however, that KUB 32.8(+) also represents the sixth tablet of the respective tablet series, since the style of presentation here appears to be more succinct. In the absence of a preserved colophon, we are inevitably reduced to speculations about its number, but the fourth tablet would be a fair guess, with the implication that the animal substitution rites were recorded on the second and third tablets.

§ 36 features the *nakkušši*-rite, where a sheep is designated as scapegoat and subsequently taken by the Old Woman as a service fee. The *nakkušši*-rite of the Kuwat-talla tradition is preserved in the parallel versions in KBo 9.141 iv (CTH 761.2.4), KUB 35.15 ii–iii (CTH 761.2.5), and KUB 35.14 iv (CTH 760.3.b). Typologically, it is not very similar to the *nakkušši*-rite of CTH 404.1: in this instance, the animal designated as a scapegoat is a real goat and not a sheep. Yet, the join KUB 35.16 (+) KUB 35.14 is conducive to establishing a sequence of rites that begins with the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice and ends with the *nakkušši*-rite, while we know from KUB 32.8(+) that the rite involving a strand of blue wool thrown into a pot comes shortly before the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice. This provides a link between the counterparts of §§ 32–33 and § 36 in the Kuwattalla tradition, while the intervening rites, in as much as we can reconstruct them, appear to represent later additions (see Section 5.3).⁹⁹

§ 37 contains a rite of seven copper pegs being pounded into the ground, by means of which the curses, symbolized by the mouth and tongue, are metaphorically pegged below the Sun-god (*UTU-i kattan*).¹⁰⁰ A counterpart of this rite in the Kuwat-talla tradition is partially preserved in KUB 35.13+ (CTH 762.3.4). Here twenty bronze pegs, twenty wooden pegs, and twenty more pegs of unclear substance are deployed for the purpose of pegging down the evil *nakkiu*-spirits, an action that is followed by a fragmentary Luwian incantation mentioning the Sun-god. The references to *nakkiu*-spirits, not mentioned at all in CTH 404.1, represents a characteristic feature of the Kuwattalla tradition; these spirits also appear in its several other passages, from which we learn that they can be both good and evil (Mouton 2020b). In contrast, the rite of pegging down the evil with multiple pegs accompanied by the mention of the Sun-god appears to represent an inherited feature of both traditions. A parallel version of the same rite can be identified in KBo 29.6 iv 1'–10' (CTH 762.2), whereas KBo 29.6 i 1'–14' features the description of the *šarlatt*-sacrifice. Since the *šarlatt*-sacrifice immediately follows the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, the rite of copper pegs is also likely to be a neighbor of the *nakkušši*-rite in the sequence of the Kuwattalla tradition (see the preceding paragraph).

§ 38 introduces the second offering to the Sun-god, resembling the one described in §§ 6–7 above but accompanied by a different incantation. While we have seen that § 6 of CTH 404.1 corresponds to KBo 29.3+ ii 11–14 (CTH 760.2), the offering does not find a counterpart in this case among the available versions of the Kuwattalla tradition. Conversely, the offering attested in KBo 22.254 iii, shortly after the destruction of the evil hand and tongue in KBo 22.243 ii (CTH 762.3.2), does not find any counterpart in CTH 404.1. It stands to reason that repeated offerings to the Sun-god could easily be inserted into the ritual in the course of the development of the tradition, in a similar fashion to that of the repeated purification rites.

99 See also the fragment KBo 10.42 (CTH 761.3.1), which apparently contains the permission for the Old Woman to take the live animals for herself after the ritual, which should logically include the scapegoat. CTH 404.1 and this fragment represent the only Hittite texts known to us where the scapegoat is used as a reward for the services of the ritual practitioner.

100 For the interpretation of this expression, see Steitler 2017, 340–41 fn. 1092.

§§ 39–41 contain the rite involving the *huwaši*-stones. A matching rite involving the *tanid*-stones is accompanied by a Luwian incantation in KUB 35.70 ii 9–17 (CTH 762.2). The Luwian word /tanid-/ represents the equivalent of Hitt. *huwaši*- and is used as its gloss in § 40 (Melchert *apud* Yakubovich 2010a, 279). The details of the two passages diverge to a considerable extent: the stones are placed between fires in CTH 404.1 and before the gates in CTH 762.2, while the miasma are to be toppled like the stones in CTH 404.1 and turned into stones in CTH 762.2. What enhances the significance of this parallel, besides the very unusual use of *huwaši*-/tanid-stones, is the position of the rite under discussion immediately before the substitution rite in both texts.

§ 42 features waving a pot introduced as “the substitute of the head” and subsequently destroyed by the Old Woman. This rite finds a parallel in KUB 35.70 ii 18–29, where the embedded Luwian incantation also features the epithet “the substitute of the head”. Unfortunately, the end of the rite is not preserved either in KBo 29.6(+) (CTH 762.2) or in its close parallel version KBo 29.63 (CTH 762.1.k), so it is not possible to confirm through these fragments that the pot is broken, although the logic of the rite certainly requires it. The confirmation comes from the deviant version of the same rite KUB 35.71+ (CTH 759.12), where the pot undergoes destruction after an additional set of Luwian incantations. It stands to reason that §§ 39–42 must be compared as a block to the relevant passage of KUB 35.70.

§ 43 prescribes purification by means of wiping the bodies of the ritual patrons with “the plant of the Sun-god”. This purification rite can be compared approximately to one involving the *gangati*-plant, which occurs in several fragments assigned to CTH 759. The passage KUB 35.67:10’–11’ (CTH 759.8.c), if correctly restored, implies the consecration of the *gangati*-plant by the Sun-god. Even more interesting is the likely mention of the *gangati*-plant in KUB 35.83(+) iii 15’, which occurs shortly after the mention of a pot in KUB 35.83(+) iii 8’ (CTH 759.2.a). This may be an argument for a sequence that represents a counterpart of §§ 42–43 within the Kuwattalla tradition, although one should also keep in mind that the purification with the *gangati*-plant must have been iterated within the *dupaduparša*-ritual, arguably taking the place there of purification with water and dough.

§ 44 prescribes yet another purification rite involving water and natron. There is no counterpart to this ceremony in the preserved part of the Kuwattalla tradition, where the use of natron is not at all attested.

§ 45 mandates sealing the polluted water remaining from the previous rite into the horn of a bull. Although such a gesture is not attested in the Kuwattalla tradition, the bull horn made of stone is mentioned in the list of *materia magica* in KUB 35.18(+) i 6’ (CTH 760.1). The use of this artefact for sealing up the miasma, as in CTH 404.1, remains the default hypothesis, although we have no way of knowing when exactly this action takes place in the course of CTH 760. There is a possibility that a drinking horn (^{sl}*ša*[*watar*]) is also mentioned in KBo 29.15:6’ (CTH 761.1.e), but the form is too fragmentary for any firm conclusions.

§ 46 represents the colophon, which essentially repeats the content of the incipit and therefore lacks parallels in the Kuwattalla tradition.

The structural resemblances between Maštigga's ritual for domestic quarrels and the Kuwattalla tradition are summarized in Table 5.1. The left-hand column lists the paragraphs of CTH 404.1 or their combinations corresponding to individual rites. The white rows in the right-hand column indicate the lack of parallels, the light gray rows suggest parallels with CTH 758–763 involving specific rites, and the dark gray rows comprise the ordered sequences of two or more rites that find counterparts in CTH 759–763.

§ 1	Incipit
§§ 2–5	List of implements
§§ 6–7	First offering to the Sun-god
§ 8	Setting up the figurines, hands, and tongues of dough/paste
§ 9	Placing blue and red wool threads on the ritual patrons
§ 10	Andaliya cuts threads
§ 11	Fish rite
§ 12	Holding up the <i>tiššatwa</i>
§§ 13–14	Twisting wax tongues to the left; incantation to the Sun-god
§§ 15–17	Waving and dispensing with the hands and tongues of dough/paste
§ 18	Nailing down seven tongues of clay
§ 19	Purification with water and dough
§§ 20–21	White sheep substitution rite
§§ 22–23	Black sheep substitution rite
§§ 24–25	Piglet substitution rite
§§ 26–27	Waving a <i>hupuwai</i> -vessel filled with cumin
§§ 28–29	<i>harziyalla</i> -rite
§ 30	Puppy rite
§ 31	Purification with water and dough
§§ 32–33	Rite of the <i>išnuri</i> -vessel
§§ 34–35	Dispensing with the <i>hupuwai</i> -vessels
§ 36	Scapegoat rite
§ 37	Rite of seven copper pegs
§ 38	Second offering to the Sun-god
§§ 39–41	Rite of the <i>huwaši</i> -stones
§ 42	Pot substitution rite
§ 43	Purification with the “plant of the Sun-god”
§ 44	Purification with water and natron
§ 45	Sealing the bull horn
(§ 46)	Colophon

Table 5.1: Synopsis of CTH 404.1

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If we exclude the introductory passage and the colophon, only one rite of Maštigga's ritual remains isolated, in fifteen contain atomic resemblances, and twelve belong to ordered sequences with counterparts in the Kuwattalla tradition. These are: § 9 > § 10 > §§ 15–17, §§ 20–21 > §§ 24–25, (possibly) §§ 26–27 > § 30, §§ 32–33 > §§ 36, §§ 32–33 > §§ 37, and §§ 39–41 > § 42. Conversely, there is not a single case where the order of rites in the Kuwattalla tradition conflicts with the order of their established counterparts in CTH 404.1. Furthermore, the scarce information about tablet numbers at our disposal is compatible with the hypothesis that all the counterparts of “dark-gray” rites occupy approximately the same spot in the earliest version of the Kuwattalla tradition as they do in CTH 404.1, being roughly divided into the same three main blocks as those illustrated by Table 5.1: (a) manipulations with the symbols of impurity, (b) animal substitution rites, and (c) assorted rites. Summing up, the similarities between the two traditions appear to be strong enough to warrant using the structural template of the well-preserved ritual CTH 404.1 for the purpose of reconstructing the family of rituals that are attributed to Kuwattalla and/or Šilalluhi.

5.3 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Below we will attempt to demonstrate how the structural similarities between the Kuwattalla and Maštigga traditions contribute to the editorial work involving the fragmentary versions of CTH 759–763. We will also attempt to show that discriminating between the rites and passages with and without parallels in CTH 404.1 is conducive to advancing meaningful hypotheses about the development of the Kuwattalla tradition. While some observations in this section necessarily duplicate the commentary to the respective tablet series, it is useful to summarize them here in order to avoid the impression of adopting ad hoc solutions later on.

One can begin to illustrate the practical implications of the analysis undertaken in the previous Section 5.2 using the example of CTH 761.1, the group of one-column tablets, which probably constitutes the oldest preserved version of the Great Ritual and is attributed to Kuwattalla alone. Starke (1985, 74) considered KUB 35.24+, KUB 32.9(+), and KUB 35.23 to be parts of this tablet series. Our research was conducive to assigning KUB 32.10+ and KBo 29.15 to the same group, establishing at the same time that KUB 32.9(+) and KUB 35.21 cannot be regarded as elements of the same join, because their physical dimensions do not match. Thus, we end up with six fragments, only one of which—namely, KUB 32.9(+)—can be ordered according to its colophon (third tablet). Proposing the relative order of the remaining fragments of CTH 761.1 is possible only on the basis of their content.

The fragment KUB 32.10+ contains the Hittite clause featuring the verb *arḫa laizz[i]* ‘unties’ and the object(s) made of clay or dough or paste (line 11’). It is followed by the invocation to the Sun-deities, who are requested to take something, presumably the detached objects. A later ritual of the Kuwattalla tradition supplies the crucial lexical parallel: a manipulation with the detached tongues of paste/dough is accompanied by an invocation to the Sun-god (KUB 35.48 iii 33’–34’). A likely counterpart

of this passage in CTH 404.1 is §§ 13–14, which is preceded by holding up an inanimate substitute called *tiššatwa* (§ 12). Now, the Luwian incantation at the beginning of KUB 32.10+ also apparently features an inanimate substitute (‘that of striking, that of binding, that of smiting’), which gods are expected to deploy for removing defilement from the patient. This double match is conducive to the hypothesis that KUB 32.10+ corresponds to the end of § 12 and the beginning of §§ 13–14 in the template of Maštigga’s ritual.¹⁰¹

The hypothesis that KUB 35.23 contains a fragment of the fish rite has already been advanced in Section 5.2. The fish rite (§ 11) directly follows the manipulations with the thread of wool (§§ 9–10) in the text of CTH 404.1. In contrast, we find the incantation accompanying ablution positioned before the beginning of the fish rite in KUB 35.23. This discrepancy is hardly surprising: purification rites punctuate all the other rites in CTH 761.1. Therefore, if the identification of KUB 35.23 holds, nothing stands in the way of the hypothesis that this fragment came shortly before KUB 32.10+ in the reconstructed text of CTH 761.1.

KUB 35.24+ and KUB 35.21 belong to the middle portion of the text, which features animal substitution rites. The sequence of substitution rites in CTH 404.1 is as follows: white sheep > black sheep > piglet > puppy. We have argued in Section 5.2 that the substitution rite partially preserved in KUB 35.21 rev. 1’–14’ is likely to be either a sheep rite or a puppy rite, because the ritual patron spits into the animal’s mouth. The obverse of the same tablet features the rite involving vegetable soup, which represents a structural counterpart of §§ 26–27 in the Maštigga tradition. If we assume that KUB 35.21 rev. 1’–14’ is a sheep rite (see §§ 20–23 in the Maštigga tradition), then one would expect to find the piglet rite on the same tablet, since it represents a structural counterpart of §§ 24–25 in the Maštigga tradition.¹⁰² In fact, the text of the piglet rite belonging to the same tablet series is likely attested in KUB 35.24+ obv. 1’–5”, which apparently belongs to the lower part of the tablet. Yet, an attempt to treat KUB 35.21 and KUB 35.24+ as a vertical indirect join would yield a reconstruction of an implausible sequence of at least some eighty lines on the obverse of the tablet. Therefore, it seems more plausible to interpret KUB 35.21 rev. 1’–14’ as reflecting a puppy rite, the structural counterpart of § 30 in the Maštigga tradition.

A consequence of this interpretation would be the assignment of KUB 35.24+, likely containing the text of a piglet rite, to before KUB 35.21 in the sequence of CTH 761.1. As for the reverse side of KUB 35.24+, the interpretation of this text on

101 An interesting discrepancy between KUB 32.10+ and KUB 35.48 is worth observing: in the latter text, the counterpart of §§ 13–14 follows directly after the manipulations with the bronze dagger, the counterpart of § 10. The omission or reordering of the intervening rites (the fish rite and the *tiššatwa*-rite) may represent an innovative feature of CTH 760 or some of its versions.

102 Note that under this hypothesis one would have to assume that the obverse of KUB 35.21 is the reverse and vice versa. This is in itself not impossible, since the traditional assignment of the obverse and reverse of KUB 35.21 is solely based on the assumed join with KUB 32.9(+), which proved to be incorrect. We argue immediately below, however, that the comparison with the Maštigga tradition supports rather than contradicts the conventional assignment of obverse and reverse in this case.

the basis of the standard version of CTH 404.1 appears to be impossible: the piglet substitution rite is directly followed there by the rite of a *hupuwai*-vessel filled with cumin, representing a counterpart of the vegetable soup rite. A possible answer comes from the parallel version CTH 404.1.III. Immediately before the presentation of a *hupuwai*-vessel filled with cumin (§§ 26–27), this text includes the paragraph numbered § 25” in Miller 2004, 79 and resembles the *tiššatwa*-rite in § 12. The crucial difference between the two is that the *tiššatwa*-objects are said to stand in for the white sheep and black sheep in § 25”, and therefore this version of the rite presumably features two such objects. This is the only occurrence of plural substitutes in CTH 404.1, and it agrees remarkably well with the plural *tar-pa-a-aš-ša-a-an-zi* in KUB 35.24+ rev. 3”. If we accept this parallel, we may suggest that the second *tiššatwa*-rite occupied the space to the end of KUB 35.24+ rev. and was followed by the vegetable soup rite in KUB 35.21 obv. after the expected interjection of purification rites.

The foregoing conclusions impact our options with regard to the placement of one more fragment of CTH 761.1—namely, KBo 29.15. Here we find an incantation that is expected to accompany an animal substitution rite, which cannot, however, belong either to the piglet rite (KUB 35.24+ obv.) or to the puppy rite (KUB 35.21 rev.), because the pertinent incantations beginning with the sequence /lalai=du=tta paprai=du=tta/ have been preserved in the respective passages. In contrast, the same incantation is lost in a lacuna in the instance of the supposed *tiššatwa*-rite (KUB 35.24+ rev.), which renders possible the addition of KBo 29.15 at the end of the same rite. Alternatively, we may consider the possibility that KBo 29.15 belongs to the substitution rites featuring a live sheep (black or white?). Yet, no traces of such passages have otherwise been found in CTH 761.1, and the hypothesis that the relevant rite coexisted with the *tiššatwa*-rites involving sheep of the same colors in CTH 761.1 need not be taken for granted.¹⁰³ Summing up, the use of Maštigga’s ritual as the external parallel is conducive to proposing the following tentative sequence for CTH 761.1: KUB 35.23 > KUB 32.10+ > KUB 35.24+ > KUB 35.21 > KBo 29.15. The placement of its first and last elements is particularly hypothetical due to the small size of the relevant fragments.

The final fragment of CTH 761.1—namely, KUB 32.9(+)—unfortunately yields no clue as to its relative placement, since the tablet collation at the Anatolian museum in Ankara demonstrated that its traditional join to KUB 35.21 is no longer tenable. The remaining part describes the repeated purification rites involving the *taluppi*-lump and water, which occur several times in the oldest available version of the Kuwattalla tradition and are therefore not helpful for determining its location vis-à-vis the other rites. This is the only fragment of CTH 761.1 that preserves a fully readable tablet number in the colophon (third tablet). Yet, the alignment of this indication with the

103 It will be argued below in this section that the white sheep and black sheep rites bridge the Kuwattalla and Maštigga traditions and therefore must have been present in the Kuwattalla “archetype”, but equating such an “archetype” with CTH 761.1 would be methodologically incorrect. Just as the Maštigga tradition implies the optional substitution of live sheep with their cheaper models made of tallow (§§ 20–23 vs. § 25”), so a similar optional variation may have been inherited by the early versions of the Kuwattalla tradition.

relative sequence proposed above does not appear to be possible for the time being, both because we are unsure how many rites in addition to those with counterparts in the Maštigga sequence were incorporated into CTH 761.1 and because the number of rites per tablet may have varied across the sequence.

Another example of a reconstruction anchored in the sequencing of Maštigga's ritual is the newly identified abridged version of a text belonging to the Kuwattalla tradition (CTH 759.3), consisting of the fragments KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94, KUB 35.78, and KUB 35.37. According to the colophon of the latter fragment, this is the first tablet of the dupaduparša-ritual. The same fragment KUB 35.37 mentions a rite of nailing down the nakkiu-spirits, which, as we know now, represents a structural counterpart of § 37 in CTH 404.1. The fragment KUB 35.78 refers to the ikkunatt-sacrifice, which precedes dealing with the nakkiu-spirits, according to the overlapping sequence of KUB 35.16(+) and KBo 29.6(+). Therefore, it can be reconstructed as part of column four of the same first tablet. As for the recent join KUB 35.81 (+) KBo 71.94, its text addresses the destruction of the evil tongues, matching §§ 15–17 in CTH 404.1. Therefore, it can tentatively be assigned to column two of the same tablet. One can easily see that the change of settings is much quicker in CTH 759.3 than in CTH 761.1, which is expected, given that the incantations there are truncated even more strongly than in CTH 404.1. Despite this difference, the assumption that the relative order of rites remains essentially the same in the abridged version is conducive to a meaningful reconstruction.

It goes without saying that a mere reference to the parallel rites in Maštigga's ritual does not automatically lead to establishing or even conjecturing complete sequences of fragments in each and every tablet series under discussion. Thus, out of the twelve fragments of CTH 762.1, a combined version of the Great Ritual and ḥalliyattanza-ritual written by the scribe Pariziti, only four can be directly matched with the rites of CTH 404.1. This is KUB 32.70, mentioning cutting away the miasma (see § 10); KBo 29.5, reconstructed as referring to the destruction of the evil hand and tongue (see §§ 15–17); KUB 35.74, presenting the “white sheep” made of fat (see § 25’); and KBo 29.62, featuring a pot acting as a substitute for the head (see § 42). Nevertheless, using the sequence of these four fragments as a starting point, it is frequently possible to assemble other fragments written by Pariziti around them on the basis of internal parallels within the Kuwattalla tradition or of general thematic similarities. The practical applications of the comparison with the Maštigga template are not exhausted by the examples given above and are discussed further in the commentary to the relevant fragments. They need not, however, be taken as confirming the validity of the proposed methodology; indeed, such a claim would amount to circular reasoning.

A truly independent confirmation of the relevance of CTH 404.1 for reconstructing the Kuwattalla tradition paradoxically comes from a group of rites that have no counterparts in CTH 404.1. This is the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, the *šarlatt*-sacrifice, and a rite of filling a pitcher with barley soup and precious metals (KBo 29.6(+) i 14’–31’, restored after KUB 35.16(+) ii). The three rites form a coherent block, which is inserted at some point between the counterparts of §§ 32–33 (placing a strand of wool

into a vessel filled with oil and honey) and § 36 (the *nakkušši*-rite).¹⁰⁴ Now, the intrusive character of this block has been demonstrated in Section 3.6 through an unusual reference to the malign influences in the respective incantations: the ubiquitous triad of /tabaru-/ , /tadarijamman-/ , and /xirun/d-/ is consistently replaced here with the pair consisting of /xaradar-/ ‘offense’ and /wasku(wa)limm(a)-/ ‘fault’. The last two terms find a correspondence in the common Hittite pair *waštul ḫarrātar* ‘fault (and) offense’ (Starke 1990, 445), which is even attested in the ritual for bloodshed attributed to Maštigga (KBo 43.319 i 6’; CTH 404.3; Miller 2004, 136), but not in CTH 404.1. It was argued in the same Section 3.6 above that the intrusive rites may have originally constituted a separate Kizzuwadna ritual attributed to the Old Woman Šilalluḫi.

A different way of arguing that the *ikkunatt*- and *šarlatt*-sacrifices do not belong to the core of the Kuwattalla tradition is the analysis of the Hittite incipits of KBo 29.3+ and KUB 35.18(+). Both versions of the performance require eight sacrificial sheep, of which two are defined as *aniuraš* (lit. ‘of the ritual’). It is specified further that one of these two sheep is white, while the other is black. Now, Maštigga’s domestic quarrel ritual features a matching offering of two sheep, one white and one black (§§ 20–23). In view of this match, it is tempting to assume that the epithet *aniuraš* refers to the original version of *šalli aniur* Great Ritual, which at a later point was enriched by supplementary rites featuring sacrificial offerings of six more sheep. We learn from the rest of both lists that two from among these six were meant for the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, while one more was meant for the *šarlatt*-sacrifice.¹⁰⁵ This confirms the secondary character of both items.¹⁰⁶ Two more supplementary sheep were assigned to the *keldi*-rite, along with the ceremony of smearing feet with blood, which both have a distinctly Hurrian flavor and therefore are compatible with the extension of the tradition attributable to Šilalluḫi. It is difficult to say anything about the lactating ewe added to the same list, except that it does not participate in any rite of CTH 404.1.¹⁰⁷

104 For the sequencing of the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice after the counterpart of §§ 32–33, see KUB 32.8(+) ii vs. iii; for the position of the whole block before the *nakkušši*-rite, see KUB 35.16(+) i, ii vs. iv. Unfortunately, it seems to be impossible to determine the position of this block vis-à-vis the rite of the *ḫupuwai*-vessels (the counterpart of §§ 34–35).

105 The counterpart of the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, involving treating the Sun-god with heart and liver, appears to have been appended to CTH 404.2, a text that is analogous in many respects to CTH 404.1, as §§ 6’–7’ (Miller 2004, 128–29). It is impossible, however, to claim that CTH 404.2 represents a closer parallel to the Kuwattalla tradition than CTH 404.1 does, because the order of rites in this composition underwent numerous transpositions. In particular, the rites involving human figurines and the tongue of dough/paste follow there the putative counterpart of the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice, while the scapegoat rite precedes it.

106 Note that the Middle Script fragment KBo 9.141 (CTH 761.2.4), which uses the archaic spelling BE-EL SISKUR for ‘ritual patron’, does not contain any overlaps with the *ikkunatt*- and *šarlatt*-sacrifices in its column one, even though it features the *nakkušši*-rite in its column four. Contrast KUB 35.16(+), where column four likewise contains the description of the *nakkušši*-rite, whereas column one is devoted to the *ikkunatt*- and *šarlatt*-sacrifices.

107 Independent direct evidence for the variation in the number of sacrificial ovids within the Kuwattalla tradition comes from the fragment Bo 4388, where four sheep are mentioned instead of eight. One can surmise that two of them are the white and black sheep of the “main ritual”, but unfortunately the relevant passage is lost in a lacuna.

If the portions of the tradition featuring the combination ‘offense (and) fault’ can be argued to represent secondary insertions associated with Šilalluḫi, this raises the question of how to process the Luwian incantations that mention yet another pair of the malign phenomena functioning as miasma—namely, /saḡwīdant(a)-/ ‘bond’ and /widatt(a)-/ ‘blow’, and their cognates. Here the situation is quite different: the relevant pair shows up in substitution rites with demonstrable parallels in CTH 404.1 and can even share a rite with the triad of /tabaru-/ , /tadarijamman-/ , and /xirun/d-/ . Nonetheless, the contexts featuring different sets of the miasma illustrate their complementary distribution. Thus, the pair consisting of ‘bond’ and ‘blow’ is directed at a particular set of body parts and human attributes beginning with ‘body’, ‘flesh’, ‘bones’, and ‘joints’ (KUB 35.20, KBo 29.37, KUB 35.73). Furthermore, the same pair can apparently be acquired by means of seeing with eyes, doing with hands, or hearing with ears (KUB 32.10+ obv. 2’–6’, KUB 35.43+ ii 7–11). In contrast, a different set of body parts, beginning with ‘four limbs’ and ‘head’, is susceptible to the malign influence of /tabaru-/ , /tadarijamman-/ , and /xirun/d-/ (KUB 35.24+ obv. 17’–23’, KUB 35.43+ ii 12–18 etc.). Furthermore, the same triad can be transferred to the substitute by means of spitting from the patient’s mouth (KUB 35.43+ iii 36’–37’, KBo 29.3+ iii 24’–25’ etc.). “Pumping up” the Great Ritual with Luwian formulae of different origin, sometimes featuring contrastive sets of malign influences, helps both to explain this situation and to account for the length of the respective incantations. We submit that substitution rites served as focal points for Kuwattalla’s improvisation, which drew upon a variety of Luwian formulae serving the same basic goal. In this case the comparison to CTH 404.1 has limited value, since the incantations of this ritual must have undergone the opposite process of abbreviation in the scribal milieu.

Given the arguments for the evolution of the Kuwattalla tradition presented in Chapter 3, the divergence among its versions with respect to adding new rites to the core or appending new incantations to the pre-existing ones no longer appears surprising. It need not, however, undermine our increasing ability to order fragments of the Kuwattalla tradition vis-à-vis each other, based on the established sequence of core rites.

5.4 INTERPRETING THE SIMILARITIES

Quite apart from the practical value of the similarities between the Kuwattalla and Maštigga traditions for sorting the rites of the former, one may wonder how they can be interpreted in historical terms. We have seen in Chapter 4 that the incantations of the Kuwattalla tradition display a non-trivial resemblance to those attributed to Tun-nawiya, which represents an argument for tracing the origins of Kuwattalla to the Lower Land. In contrast, the structural resemblances of a sort addressed in this chapter create a bridge between the Kuwattalla tradition and the area of Kizzuwadna in Southeastern Anatolia, Maštigga’s self-professed land of origin (Miller 2004, 11, fn. 16). As argued in Chapter 4, the formulaic repertoire of a ritual is more resistant to external influence than its setting or structure. Therefore, the observations of the present chapter need not alter the classification of CTH 761.1 as a text reflecting the

religious practices of the Lower Land. Nevertheless, the question of its secondary syncretization with a ritual tradition emanating from Kizzuwadna remains intrinsically interesting and deserves to be approached in earnest. The hypothesis presented below reiterates in part the conjectures of Mouton and Yakubovich 2021. Certainly, it is constrained by the dearth of the relevant historical information at our disposal but, speculative as it is, we hope that it can be considered as a worthwhile speculation.

The obvious starting point for the discussion of the historical Kuwattalla is the land grant Bo 2004 (Rüster and Wilhelm 2012, 231–44). According to this text, King Arnuwanda I and Queen Ašmu-Nikkal bestowed large land holdings with several hundred laborers attached to them upon Kuwattalla. Her title (^{MUNUS}SUḪUR.LÁ ‘female attendant’) is the same as in our corpus, which strongly speaks for the Kuwattalla of the land grant and the Kuwattalla of the Hittite-Luwian rituals being the same individual. But the grant size contributes to the interpretation of the title: the royal couple was unlikely to bestow such a lavish reward on a female servant that did not belong to the palatial hierarchy. It stands to reason that in this case ^{MUNUS}SUḪUR.LÁ denoted a court title, roughly equivalent to the ‘lady in waiting’ of European royal courts. While we do not know whether Kuwattalla performed any rituals in person while serving at the court of Ḫattuša, one detail is worth noticing: even the version of the Great Ritual attributed to Kuwattalla alone (CTH 761.1) uses ^{MUNUS}SU.GI ‘Old Woman’ as the designation of the celebrant, although the title ‘female attendant’ appears in the colophon of the same text. Apparently, Kuwattalla as the assumed author of the ritual did not wish to identify herself as its sole performer.

In contrast, there is no indication that Maštigga ever practiced in Ḫattuša: all the texts attributed to this practitioner identify her as a woman of Kizzuwadna. Furthermore, there is a linguistic argument in favor of the indirect transmission of the Maštigga tradition in Ḫattuša. Although the earliest available version of the Hittite ritual against domestic quarrels (CTH 404.1.IA) undeniably displays Luwian interference features, the dialect causing interference is not Kizzuwadna Luwian but rather the Luwian dialect of Ḫattuša (Yakubovich 2010a, 33–36). Finally, as already mentioned in Section 5.1, Maštigga’s incantations are not cited in full but rather summarized in Hittite in the texts of the rituals. All these observations are consistent with the hypothesis that the transmission of the Maštigga tradition to Ḫattuša was the work of bilingual Ḫattuša literati interested in Kizzuwadna ritual practices. We are not taking a stance on whether they actually interviewed Maštigga, availed themselves of some Kizzuwadna records of her rituals, or reconstructed them relying on hearsay and their own imagination.¹⁰⁸ The only important point, from our perspective, is that Maštigga was unlikely to be familiar with Kuwattalla’s ritual, while Kuwattalla could easily have been familiar with the Maštigga tradition.

The interest for the Maštigga tradition at the court of Ḫattuša can possibly be explained against the background of a general interest for Kizzuwadna religion and culture among the Ḫattuša elites in the late 15th – early 14th centuries BCE. A likely trig-

108 See Miller 2004, 530–32 for the outline of various scenarios for the transmission of Kizzuwadna rituals in Ḫattuša.

ger (or corollary) of this attitude was the marriage of Tudḫaliya I of Ḫattuša and Nikkal-Madi, whom many scholars believe to have been a Kizzuwadna princess (de Martino 2011, 9 with ref.). Its most tangible linguistic manifestation is the accumulation of Hurrian compositions in the archives of Ḫattuša in the relevant period, some of which were subsequently translated into Hittite. The same attitude manifested itself, for example, in the installation of the Deity of the Night from Kizzuwadna to Šamuḫa, which also must have taken place at the time of Tudḫaliya I (Miller 2004, 350–56).¹⁰⁹ This general interest naturally does not preclude the existence of particular historical circumstances that were conducive to appropriating the Maštigga ritual—for example, a rift in the royal family that required urgent treatment.¹¹⁰

Be that as it may, the popularity of the Maštigga ritual against domestic quarrels (CTH 404.1) at the court manifests itself through numerous copies of this text found in the archives of Ḫattuša (Miller 2004, 34–37).¹¹¹ Yet, the similarities between the Maštigga and Kuwattalla tradition discussed in Section 5.2 are not conducive to reconstructing scribal adaptation, in which case one would expect more interference of language formulae. It is therefore licit to assume that Maštigga's ritual was not only studied but actually performed in Ḫattuša on the appropriate occasions. If so, Kuwattalla could avail herself of certain visual aspects of this ritual, such as the sequence of rites, for crafting her own performance. One can reiterate the hypothesis of Mouton and Yakubovich 2021, 37:

“Kuwattalla's Great Ritual was tailor-made in Ḫattusa to satisfy the taste of her royal patrons and perhaps other members of the local elites. This implied minimal interference with the subject matter of the incantations, especially given the fact that the Luwian language may not have been commonly understood at the time. The main focus must have been on the adjustment of the ritual's ... performative aspects. Therefore, if our hypothesis holds, the Luwian insertions reflecting the best practices of the Lower Land could coexist with Kizzuwadna templates within the Kuwattalla tradition from the beginning of its written attestation.”

As follows from the above quotation, the incantations of the Great Ritual probably reflect Kuwattalla's own background and were minimally affected by the Maštigga tradition. In addition, Kuwattalla's agency may have manifested itself in commissioning the full record of her Luwian direct speech, as opposed to its Hittite summary of translation. The written transmission of Luwian incantations was not a complete

109 Although the Maštigga tradition stands apart from the texts of Kizzuwadna inspiration pertaining to state cult, in that it explicitly addresses private religious needs, private rituals could be easily adapted for royal consumption in the Ḫattuša setting (see Appendix II, especially II.3), while the whole corpus of written texts stored in the archives of Ḫattuša was primarily meant for the needs of the state elites in any case.

110 For the paradigm of investigating the accumulation of provincial rituals in connection with their practical use at a given time period in Ḫattuša, see Collins 2019.

111 The last observation is prompted by the lapidary style of rendering incantations in the text of the ritual (see the next paragraph). On a different level, the popularity of this ritual may have triggered the secondary scribal compilation of several other compositions attributed to the Maštigga tradition, as conjectured in Miller 2004, 453. This epigonic creative activity would be distinct from the evolution of the Kuwattalla tradition sketched in Chapter 3 in that the secondary rituals could be linked to separate occasions for their performance.

novelty for the Ḫattuša chancery: already in the Old Kingdom period, isolated Luwian passages could be embedded in Hittite texts, sometimes next to their Palaic counterparts (Yakubovich 2010a, 254–60). But the rendering of extensive Luwian incantations in the texts of the Kuwattalla tradition contrast not only with the lapidary style of reflecting the Old Woman's speech in CTH 404.1 but also with the practice of recording the Tunnawiya tradition, where the incantations, although extensive, are mostly translated into Hittite. From Kuwattalla's perspective, the advantage of transmitting her direct speech verbatim must have contributed to the preservation of its illocutionary force. In fact, this decision turned the conventional aide-memoire into a full-fledged prescriptive text, which any Old Woman with an adequate knowledge of Luwian could use for her performance without a need for improvisation or further guidance. This luxury was not available to the performers of the rituals attributed to Maštigga.

Yet, this attitude was ostensibly in conflict with the traditional scribal perception of Luwian as a language poorly suited for written transmission.¹¹² In the Old Kingdom period, the only language to be systematically embedded into Hittite religious compositions was Hattic. This monopoly was broken, however, in the late 15th – early 14th centuries BCE. The first Hurrian compositions were arguably imported from Kizzuwadna during the reign of Tudḫaliya I, while the bulk of Hurro-Hittite rituals, such as the abridged version of the *itkalzi*-ritual, were probably compiled by the reign of his grandson Tudḫaliya II.¹¹³ The attendant woman Kuwattalla served Arnuwanda I, who reigned between these two kings. Could she have availed herself of the changing scribal attitudes, besides her status as a high-ranked courtier, to insist on the literal rendering of her ritual speech? If so, this would be another example of Kizzuwadna influence on the text of the Great Ritual, this time rather indirect.

Yet another likely facet of Kizzuwadna influence on the Kuwattalla tradition was addressed in Chapter 3 and Section 5.3 above. Under unclear circumstances, Kuwattalla's Great Ritual was merged in writing with a different composition probably attributed to the Old Woman Šilalluḫi, mentioning different miasma ('offense and fault') and replete with Hurrian loanwords and borrowed concepts. One can hypothesize that this happened when Kuwattalla had already passed away or out of office, as she would hardly have approved of such an eclectic practice. The possible motivation for this decision is addressed in the next section, but its practical result was quite different: the tradition failed to stabilize. For as long as the scriptoria of Ḫattuša continued to function, the scribes kept adjusting the text of this hybrid composition, sometimes removing Kuwattalla's name from it, sometimes restoring it, sometimes emphasizing particular sub-rituals, sometimes lengthening or shortening the ritual to a considerable extent. One may legitimately doubt that these modifications were rooted in actual performance. What survived, despite all the changes, was the consistent use of Luwian for rendering the embedded speech of the ritual practitioners.

112 This is particularly clear from the direct speech passages in contemporary Hittite instructions, which were introduced using the adverb *luwili* 'in Luwian' but rendered in Hittite (Yakubovich 2010a, 264–66).

113 For the status of Hurrian in Ḫattuša in the relevant period, see de Martino 2017, 153–56.

Summing up, the scenario sketched in this section draws a distinction between the initial formative influence of the Maštigga tradition on the earliest preserved text of the Great Ritual and the subsequent Hurrianization of the Kuwattalla tradition. The former type of interference represented a one-time event, primarily concerned the structure of the ritual, and was arguably rooted in performance. The latter type represented an ongoing process, concerned both structural and lexical features, and largely represented a fruit of scribal ingenuity. A common denominator of both phenomena consists in the repeated cultural impulses that came to Ḫattuša from the southeast and affected the Kuwattalla tradition.

5.5 PRAGMATICS OF THE KUWATTALLA TRADITION

The structural comparison between the Maštigga and Kuwattalla traditions need not obfuscate the fact that the rituals included there must have served different purposes. Thus, CTH 404.1, the best-known specimen of the former tradition, is prescribed as a remedy against quarrels among close family members (Miller 2004, 62), while one more ritual attributed to Maštigga could be used as atonement for murder.¹¹⁴ In contrast, the purpose of the Kuwattalla tradition appears never to have been fully explicated in previous scholarship.¹¹⁵ One reason for this is certainly the absence of the relevant information in the incipits and colophons: they contain the names of the performers and the rituals, sometimes also those of the sub-rituals, but one is left in the dark as to why these rituals should have been performed. Such a state of affairs is generally atypical for the texts of Hittite rituals, which normally address the performance to specific inauspicious occasions (see Appendix II). The reason for this discrepancy must remain a matter of speculation.¹¹⁶ We submit, however, that some information about the pragmatics of the Kuwattalla tradition can be nonetheless gleaned from its Luwian incantations, while the Maštigga tradition provides a convenient starting point for elucidating our methodology.

114 The text CTH 404.3, labelled “ritual for bloodshed” in Miller 2004, contains the following description: “And they place the person behind the sheep: if a man is killed, they place a man there, but if a woman is killed, they place a woman there” (§ 3, Muller 2004, 134–35).

115 According to Hutter 2003, 253, *ḫalliyattanza* is a sub-ritual against sickness, while *dupaduparša* is a ritual against punishment. The former interpretation is based on an interpretation of *ḫalliš-*, a cognate of *ḫalliyattanza*, as ‘sickness, pain’, which is not accepted in this edition (see already Mouton and Yakubovich 2019, 214). The latter interpretation, again reached on etymological grounds, is no doubt notionally correct but does not go to the heart of the matter, since almost every ritual can be described as ritual against divine punishment. Hutter 2021 generically defines the Kuwattalla tradition as purification rituals.

116 As a hypothesis, one can propose that the lack of an overt reference to the pragmatics of the Great Ritual reflects Kuwattalla’s personal agency in designing this text. The initiative of compiling the majority of ritual texts must have belonged to the scribes, who were naturally interested in the purposes of the respective rituals. In contrast, Kuwattalla may have taken for granted that the potential clients in Ḫattuša were universally aware of her Great Ritual and needed only the details of its performance.

The incantations of Maštigga's ritual against domestic quarrels routinely mention KA×U 'mouth' and EME 'tongue', sometimes accompanied by the qualification 'evil', as targets of her manipulations. For example, the presentation of a salamander is accompanied by the utterance: "Let its tooth carry away the evil mouth and evil tongue" (§ 29, see Miller 2004, 82–83). While the reference to the evil tongue is ubiquitous in Hittite ritualistic literature, the combination of mouth and tongue can be considered a distinct property of CTH 404.1. On face value, it matches the stated purpose of the ritual, since domestic quarrels are likely to trigger verbal abuse, for which 'evil mouth and tongue' is a suitable metaphor. In contrast, CTH 404.3, a fragmentary ritual text likewise attributed to Maštigga but addressing the consequences of a murder, includes a more ominous set of negative concepts (miasma) in its Hittite incantations. Here we encounter the triad [*ēšhananza išh*] *ahruwanza ḥaratnanza* 'blood(shed), tears, and offense' (variant *ēšhananza išhahruwanza ḥaratnanza* 'blood(shed), tears, and illness', which are enjoined not to afflict the ritual patron any longer (§ 7', see Miller 2004, 136). It seems logical to treat these phrases as combinations of cause and effect: bloodshed and offense are likely to haunt the perpetrator and trigger his/her tears (misfortunes) and illness, unless ritually treated. It is remarkable that the same text also features the pair *waštul ḥarrātar* 'fault and offense' (§ 6', see Miller 2004, 136), which is directly comparable to the pair of /*xaradarsa*/ 'offense' and /*waskulimmantsa*/ 'fault' used in the Kuwattalla tradition (see Section 5.3).

The Maštigga tradition is by no means unique in encoding the purpose of the ritual in the list of the miasma affecting the ritual patron. Thus, the Puriyanni tradition (CTH 758), which addresses the purification of a house according to the incipits and colophons of the respective texts, uses the triad of /*attuwaltsa uttarsa*/ 'evil matter', /*xallissa*/ 'defilement', and /*parattantsa*/ 'impurity' (see Section 3.1). This triad appears again to collapse cause and effect: evil matter is to be understood as supernatural substance whose presence triggers defilement and impurity. Certainly, the list of the miasma can hardly substitute all the information contained in the colophon—for example, we cannot infer from the triad above that the purification concerns a house and not a person. It seems possible, however to use the list as a logical starting point for approaching the pragmatics of a ritual if its purpose is not explicitly mentioned.

Turning to the Kuwattalla tradition, we must begin with the triad of /*tabaru*-, /*tadarijamman*-, and /*xirun*/d-/, attested in its oldest version CTH 761.1 and in all its subsequent versions (sometimes with certain permutations). While the precise meaning of the first noun is a matter of debate,¹¹⁷ the second and third are routinely translated as 'curse' and 'oath' respectively. The meaning 'oath' was offered in Laroche 1955 as a result of establishing a combinatorial equivalence between Luw. /*xirun*/d-/ and Hitt. *lingai*-. It is important, however, to keep in mind that Hitt. *lingai*- can mean not only 'oath' but also 'perjury' (CHD L, 69a); the same polysemy is likely to be present in Luwian. Since the triad under discussion clearly denotes the miasma in the

117 For a tentative translation of /*tabaru*-/ as 'judgment', see the commentary to CTH 761.1.d. For our present purposes, it is no less important that /*tabaru*-/ and /*tadarijamman*-/ form an assonance. For the alliterating formulaic expressions in Luwian incantations, see in general Rieken 2022.

Kuwattalla tradition, the translation ‘perjury, broken oath’ appears to be contextually more appropriate. The relationship between /xirun/d-/ and /tadarijamman-/ can again be conceptualized as cause and effect: the broken oaths turn into curses and haunt the oath-breakers. If one accepts this interpretation of the miasma, it is conducive to a hypothesis that the Great Ritual was designed as a way of neutralizing negative effects of oath-breaking.

A corroboration of the proposed analysis comes from those passages of CTH 759–763 where /xirun/d-/ and its derivatives are not flanked by /tabaru-/ and /tadarijamman-/. The clause KBo 9.143 i 20’ [x-x] *hi-i-[ru-ú]-^run’ a-a-ia-an-ta* ‘They made an oath’ (CTH 761.2.4) is particularly interesting because it occurs in a Middle Script fragment and is thus close in time to the beginning of the Kuwattalla tradition. It may well belong to the narrative revealing the background of the respective ritual, but the fragmentary character of the passage restricts our interpretation capacity in this case. More telling are the passages where the verb /xirudanija-/ ‘to commit perjury’ is juxtaposed with /tiwadanija-/ ‘to enrage the Sun-god’ (vel sim.), or where the derived nouns /xirutanijamma-/ and /tiwadanijamman-/ occur next to one another.¹¹⁸ A good illustration here is KBo 22.254 iii 9’–12’ (CTH 762.3.2): ‘[Whoever per]jured [himself], (whoever) enra[ged] the Sun-god, [be it] (be) a man [o]r woman, the gods who are in Heaven (and) [Ear]th, they did [not l]isten [to him]’. These collocations are admittedly restricted to CTH 759/762, late specimens of the Kuwattalla tradition. They are to be considered together with the divine name /xirudallis tiwats/ ‘Storm-god of the Oath’, which apparently replaces the other Storm-gods in CTH 759/762. As the Kuwattalla tradition underwent modifications in scribal circles, efforts were apparently made to emphasize oath-breaking as the transgression involved.

The reverse test confirms the proposed scenario: there are plainly no contexts in the tradition that would feature /tabaru-/ and /tadarijamman-/ but not /xirun/d-/. This is all compatible with the scenario that /xirun/d-/ represented the key member of the triad, also capable of occurring outside the list of the miasma, while /tabaru-/ and /tadarijamman-/ functioned as its pendants in a standard formula. Crucially, this scenario sheds light on a possible motivation for merging the Kuwattalla and Šilalluḫi traditions. The possibility of identifying the latter with the rites mentioning /xaradar-/ ‘offense’ and /waskulimm(a)-/ ‘fault’ instead of with those mentioning the standard triad has been raised in Section 3.6 and fleshed out in Section 5.3. Now, we find *hi-i-ru-ú-ta-ti* in KUB 35.65 i 20’ (CTH 763.1.2), *hi-i-ru-[ta-aš-ša-an-za]* is attested in KUB 32.124 iv 5’ (CTH 763.1.3b), and *[hi-i-ru-t]a-^rša-an-za* is restored in a parallel passage in KBo 29.36 l.col 8’ (CTH 763.1.4). All three contexts are admittedly fragmentary, but in all three the Luwian term for ‘oath, perjury’ is found in the proximity of the Luwian terms for ‘offense’ and ‘fault’. In fact, KBo 29.36 l.col 7’–8’ can be restored as *[ha-ra-tar-ša w]a-^raš¹-ku-[wa-al]-li-im-ma-an-za [... hi-i-ru-t]a-^rša-an-za* ‘[offense

118 See Rieken 2017b, 242 (with ref.) for a somewhat different and more traditional interpretation of /tiwadanija-/ as ‘to swear by the Sun-god; curse’. Our preferred interpretation is driven by the possibility of taking ‘perjuring’ and ‘enraging the Sun-god’ as yet one example of a “cause and effect” interpretation of asyndetic collocations involving the negative phenomena functioning as miasma in the Kuwattalla tradition.

and] and f[au]lt [... of per]jury’. Furthermore, all three contexts belong to the group CTH 763.1, which was tentatively treated as the core of the Šilalluhi tradition on independent grounds in Section 3.7. One can only conclude that the Kizzuwadna ritual of Šilalluhi was likewise devoted to neutralizing the effects of a broken oath, even though its key formula was different from that of the Great Ritual. The pragmatic similarity of both performances may have prompted the scribes to combine their texts into a single composition, presumably at the point when neither Kuwattalla nor Šilalluhi were any longer in control of the situation.

There are sufficient grounds to believe that oath violations were taken very seriously at the court of Ḫattuša. The Hittite text CTH 427, known as “military oaths” and edited in Oettinger 1976, largely revolves around the retributions to be faced by turncoat soldiers. The agents of punishment in this text are not the deities but the personified Oaths (*linkiyanteš*), described as capable of seizing a turncoat and bringing about his painful death in a bewildering variety of ways. Nor were the kings of Ḫattuša exempt from punishment for breaking the oath; thus, Muršili II investigated the possibility that the violation of the Kuruštama treaty by his father Šuppiluliuma I triggered the plague that decimated the land of Ḫattuša at the time of his own reign (Singer 2004, 595). As should be clear from the last example, the retribution for a broken oath could reach not only the perpetrator but also his descendants, which implies that even a person with no knowledge of such an offense could scarcely feel safe. Such a state of affairs could generate a public demand for rituals neutralizing the effects of a broken oath, and therefore the pragmatic interpretation of the Kuwattalla tradition proposed in this section appears to be historically justified. But even if the meaning assigned to Luw. /xirun/d-/ undergoes modifications as a result of future research, one must still insist, on combinatorial grounds, that this term represents a key to understanding the purpose of the rituals collected under CTH 758–763.

APPENDIX I

THE LUWIAN PROLEPTIC CONSTRUCTION

I.1 INTRODUCTION

The topic of this essay is the synchronic and historical analysis of a particular Luwian syntactic pattern involving cataphoric clitics, which we shall call the proleptic construction. The rationale for including it in our book consists in the close alignment of this construction with the corpora of Puriyanni and Kuwattalla and related texts (CTH 758–763).

The Luwian proleptic construction may be illustrated by the annotated clauses (I.1–I.3) below, where the cataphoric clitics are marked in boldface. Typical of this construction is the placement of the predicate before the syntactic arguments, which we will call V_1 . This does not necessarily entail the clause-initial placement of the finite verbal form: see the cases of complex predicates, as in (I.1), or verbs with negation, as in (I.3). The cataphoric clitics invariably appear in Wackernagel position (after the first stressed word within a clause). In accordance with the general principle known in Anatolian Studies as the Watkins-Garrett Rule, they are deployed for doubling the subjects of intransitive clauses, as in (I.1–I.2), and the objects of transitive clauses, as in (I.3).¹¹⁹ The indirect objects do not undergo clitic doubling.¹²⁰

(I.1) KUB 35.54 iii 34–36 (CTH 758.1)

la-a-ú-na-i-mi-ša-aš	a-aš-du	[ta]-ru-uš-ša	ti-ia-am-mi-iš
launaimmis= as	astu	tarussa	tijammis
wash.PTCP-NOM.SG.C=he.NOM.C	be.3SG.IMPV	wood.NOM.C	earth.NOM.C
[DINGIR ^{MES} -e]n-zi [hu]-u-uḫ-ḫur-ša-an-ti-in-zi GUNN[I-ti-iš]			
massanintsi	xuxxursantintsi	xassanittis	
god.POSS-NOM.PL.C	x.NOM.PL	hearth.NOM.SG	

119 The only possible exception to this rule is (I.29). Although one can formally analyze /=as/ in this example as either a singular subject clitic of the common gender or a plural object clitic of the common gender, the second interpretation is semantically more likely (see already Yakubovich 2012, 332–33)—not that this exception is only apparent, because the accusative nouns probably function as an indirect object in this clause (i.e. the function of the accusative can be defined as *accusativus relationis*); see the translation of the relevant clause in Section I.4.

120 This formulation simplifies the problem to an extent, since many indirect objects are effectively doubled in Luwian with the help of the particle /(t)ta/. It is, however, to be noted that, first, /(t)ta/ is not a pronoun and, second, the placement of this clitic does not depend on the position of the arguments vis-à-vis the predicate. Therefore, the syntax of the particle /(t)ta/ must represent a subject of a separate study.

^{GIS}kat-ta-lu-uz-zi-ša
kattalutsisa
threshold.NOM.N

‘May **they**, the [fr]ame, ground, (household) [deiti]es, [h]uwah^hhursant-s, heart[h, and threshold] be washed!’¹²¹

(I.2) KBo 29.6(+) i 23’–24’ (CTH 762.2)

a-ú-i-du-pa-aš-ta	ma-[a]l-ḫa-aš<-ša-aš>-ši-iš	EN-aš
awidu=ba=as=ta	malxassassis	nijas
come.3SG.IMPV=but=he.NOM.C=PTCL	ritual.POSS-NOM.SG.C	lord.NOM.SG
ḫ[a-ra-at-na-a-ti]	wa-aš-ku-li-im-ma-a-[ti]	
haratnadi	waskulimmadi	
offense.ABL	fault.ABL	

‘May **he**, the ritual patron come (out) of of[fense] (and) fault!’

(I.3) KUB 32.9(+) obv. 7–8 (CTH 761.1)

ni-i-ša-an	ḫa-pí-ti	ma-a[l-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-in]	EN-an
nis= an	xabidi	malxassassin	nijan
PROHIB=he.ACC.C	bind.3SG.PRS	ritual.POSS-ACC.SG.C	lord.ACC.SG
a[d-du-wa-li-iš	EME-iš]	ad-du-wa-li-iš	i-iš-[ša-ri-iš]
attuwalis	lalis	attuwalis	issaris
evil.NOM.SG.C	tongue.NOM.C	evil.NOM.SG.C	hand.NOM.C

‘May the e[vil tongue], the evil ha[nd] (...) not bind **him**, the ri[tual] patron!’

The examples adduced above display an apparent contrast with the clauses that are taken from a Late Luwian text in hieroglyphic transmission, the ritual of Zarpiya (CTH 757), and an incantation belonging to the Tauriša tradition (I.4–I.6). In all these examples the V₁ clauses are not accompanied by clitic doubling. It is also to be noted that the V₁ clauses are generally less frequent in these texts than in the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions. The clause-final position of verbal predicates is here the most common one.¹²²

(I.4) KARATEPE 1 (Hu.) § 7, see Hawkins 2000, I, 49

(<“MANUS<”>)su-wá/i-ha-ha-wá/í	pa-há+ra/i-wa/i-ní-zi (URBS)
suwaxxa=ya=wa	paxrawannintsi
fill.1SG.PRT=and=PTCL	Pahrean.ACC.PL.C
(<“>HORREUM”)ka-ru-na-zi	
karunantsi	
granary.ACC.PL.C	

‘And I filled up the granaries of Pahra’.

121 Here and below, the Luwian singular pronominal clitics are frequently translated into English as plural pronouns. This reflects the peculiarities of syntactic agreement in Luwian, where both cataphoric and anaphoric clitics are commonly used in the singular, being co-referential with a chain of coordinated singular objects.

122 The relatively more frequent occurrence of V₁ in Late Luwian versions of KARATEPE and ÇİNEKÖY bilinguals is arguably driven by the influence of their Phoenician originals; see Yakubovich 2015b, 44–45.

(I.5) KUB 9.31 ii 26–27 (CTH 757), see Starke 1985, 53

a-az-za-aš-ta-an UDU-in-za GU₄-in-za
 atstan xawinz(a) wawinz(a)
 eat.2PL.IMPV sheep.ACC.PL cow.ACC.PL
 ‘Eat cattle (and) sheep!’

(I.6) KUB 35.88 iii 11’ (CTH 765), see Starke 1985, 227

ú-pa-at-ta-pa-wa-du ša-ar-ri-ia-ni-in 2-ŠU 9-u[n-za ...]
 uppatta=ba=wa=du sarrijanin twisu nuntsa
 bring.3SG.PRT=but=PTCL=he.DAT scraper.ACC.SG twice nine
 ‘She brought him ni[ne] scrapers twice’.

The synchronic description of the Luwian proleptic construction is dependent to a great extent on the syntactic theory one chooses. For our present purposes, the most important opposition among syntactic theories is derivational vs. non-derivational. The derivational paradigms, of which the Chomskian theories arguably represent the best-known ones, operate with syntactic movements, such as left and right dislocation. Non-derivational theories calculate surface syntax as a function of various clause input parameters, such as argument structure, communicative organization, and prosodic marking. As for historical syntax, here the derivational approach represents the norm. In particular, if one assumes that the S(O)V/O(S)V clauses were standard for Proto-Luwian or Common Luwian, deviations from this pattern in the later language must be described in terms of syntactic movements. Since word order variation across Luwian texts must have a historical explanation, we will predominantly use derivational terminology in the present essay. At the same time, we will extensively refer to the correspondences between the communicative parameters and surface syntax of Luwian clauses in its final Section I.5.

I.2 RESEARCH HISTORY AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

All the preceding studies of the Luwian proleptic construction unfolded under a strong influence of Hittitological research. This is hardly a surprise, given the presence of a notionally similar construction in Hittite, as well as the fact that the majority of Luwian specialists also happen to be Hittitologists. At the same time, it is to be noted that the *consensus majorum* accepts the contact-induced, if not calqued, character of the Hittite proleptic construction. In particular, it is disproportionally frequent in the Hittite ritual translated from Hattian (Rizza 2007) and the Hittite-Hurrian bilingual known as the Song of Release (see e.g. Sideltsev 2002, 167–71). Furthermore, the systematic use of clitic doubling just in a particular segment of Maštigga’s ritual against domestic quarrels (CTH 404.1) was shown to reflect an editorial decision (Rieken 2011, 500–502), which in turn implies an ambiguous attitude toward the same construction in the underlying Luwian version of the ritual. Perhaps the Hittite scribe accepted this calque only at the point when he became tired of rephrasing the Luwian

proleptic construction. Clitic doubling is directly linked to “translationese” in Melchert 2015b. Although Sideltsev (2011) argues for the presence of the proleptic construction in original Hittite texts, the small number of tokens (less than 10) adduced in defense of this claim suggests, at the very least, its peripheral character within this corpus.

The Luwian incantations embedded in the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions show a completely different picture. The V_1 clauses make up 20–30% of the Luwian clauses in CTH 758–763, and in the majority of cases they are accompanied by clitic doubling. There are no reasons to think that they were translated from another language: the very preservation of the Luwian incantations inside Hittite rituals bears witness to the reluctance of scribes to translate them into Hittite for fear of losing their illocutionary force (Yakubovich 2010a, 280–81). Although the hypothesis of proleptic constructions being particularly common in the Luwian ritual jargon remains possible, the ritualists must have originally targeted the Luwian native speakers and therefore must have used the grammatical patterns of their language.

Nevertheless, the scholars who addressed Luwian syntax in the past explicitly or implicitly based their conclusions on the formal identity of proleptic constructions in Hittite and Luwian. In particular, Rizza (2007, 67) treats the Luwian examples together with those taken from texts translated into Hittite in order to argue for the correlation of the proleptic construction with the presence of long noun phrases or coordinated nouns in the respective clauses. The Luwian proleptic construction is interpreted as a result of right dislocation in Melchert 2003a, 201 and Melchert 2006, 296, while a parallel interpretation is accepted for the Hittite proleptic construction in Melchert 2015b. Melchert’s views on this issue are shared by Sideltsev; see Sideltsev 2011 for Hittite and Sideltsev 2012 for Luwian.¹²³ Finally, the inconsistency of clitic doubling in Hittite V_1 clauses in the Maštigga tradition is compared to the parallel Luwian phenomenon in Rieken 2011, 502–3 (with fn. 10).

At this point, however, it is appropriate to remember that Hittite is not the closest known relative of the Luwian language. Even closer are the other languages of the Luwic subgroup, of which Lycian A is the best attested one (Yakubovich 2010a, 6). It is therefore important to observe that the proleptic construction must be reconstructed as a core feature of the ancestor language of Lycian A. Such an approach appears unavoidable in order to account for the phenomenon of Lycian nasalized preterits, the forms that regularly appear in transitive clauses after the particles $m(e)=$ and $s(e)=$, in contrast with preterits without nasalization deployed in the other contexts (Adiego 2015, 8). An important correlate of the same distribution is the tendency to

123 At the same time, one must stress the key difference between Melchert’s and Sideltsev’s conclusions regarding the sociolinguistic status of the respective constructions. Melchert doubted their linguistic reality, treating the Hittite proleptic construction as an element of “translationese” (see above) and its Luwian formal match as a poetic figure of speech, with no counterpart in the colloquial language (Melchert 2006). Sideltsev, on the contrary, defended the linguistic reality of the Luwian proleptic construction in the only specialized paper that has ever been devoted to this topic thus far (Sideltsev 2012), extending the same conclusion to the Hittite proleptic construction (see above). The authors of this essay lean toward Melchert’s sociolinguistic conclusions with regard to Hittite but support Sideltsev’s stance on Luwian.

place the verb before the subject in sentences with the nasalized preterit (“Imbert-Garrett’s Rule”). Both the synchronic rule proposed by Adiego and its syntactic correlate may be illustrated through the contrastive pair (I.7) vs. (I.8), where the nasalized and non-nasalized endings are set in boldface. Although the construction exemplified by (I.8) is less frequent in the available Lycian corpus, it is clearly morphosyntactically simpler and therefore must be treated as the starting point of the derivation.

(I.7) TL 103.1.

ebēñnē : xupā : m=ene : prñnawatē : tebursseli
 this.here.ACC.SG.C tomb.ACC.SG PTCL=it.ACC.SG.C build.3SG.PRT T.NOM.SG
 ‘Tebursseli built this tomb’.

(I.8) TL 40a.1

[p]ajawa : manax[in]e : prñn[a]wate : prñn[aw]ā : ebēñnē
 P.NOM.SG M.NOM.SG built.3SG.PRT building.ACC.SG this.here.ACC.SG.C
 ‘Payawa the Manakhine (*title or epithet*) built this building’.

Adiego (2015, 26) persuasively argued that “at a certain point in the prehistory of Lycian ... verb-‘fronting’ implied a clitic doubling”. At that point, sentence (7) would have the shape **prñnawat(e)=ē tebursseli ebēñnē xupā*, and what eventually emerged as the marker of the nasalized preterit must still have been an object clitic in its expected second position. But the syntax of this reconstructed sentence is essentially identical to that of sentences (I.1–I.3), which exemplify the Kuwattalla and Puriyanni traditions.¹²⁴ The use of the demarcation particles *s(e)=* and *m(e)=* and the dislocation of the topic in front of *m(e)=*, exemplified by *ebēñnē xupā* in (7), must both be regarded as subsequent innovations of the Lycian A language. This secondary process was likewise accompanied by clitic doubling; see the secondary pronominal clitic *=ene* added to *m(e)=* in (7). It is worth noting that the earlier reconstruction of Lycian A nasalized preterits (Garrett 1991 and 1994), while differing from Adiego’s scenario in several important details, likewise operates with the historical sequence of fronting and left dislocation.

Thus, we end up with the contrast between the tendency to postulate right dislocation in the history of both Hittite and Luwian within the framework of Hittitological research,¹²⁵ and the opposite approach operating with verbal fronting and left dislocation in the history of Lycian A. Given the close genetic ties between Luwian and Lycian A, it seems appropriate to double-check the claims regarding the Luwian pro-

124 The Luwian clitic */=as/*, unlike */=an/*, could not have a counterpart affecting the form of the preterit in Lycian A: since word-final *-s* disappears in this language, its phonetic shape there could only be *=e*, which would merge with the 3sg.prt ending *-te* without a trace. Occam’s razor suggests, however, that if the construction with clitic doubling of the direct object in transitive clauses existed once in pre-Lycian, the same construction would also extend itself to redundant subject marking in intransitive clauses, as was the case in Luwian.

125 The only exception known to us is Giusfredi 2020, 155, where clitic doubling is linked to the fronting of the predicate in (I.3), with the reservation that this is the sole instance of a co-occurrence between these two phenomena known to us.

leptic construction that are based on the extrapolation of the Hittite state of affairs. The goal of this essay is to perform this task, based on the comprehensive corpus of Luwian incantations in CTH 758–763.

I.3 PRAGMATICS OF CLITIC DOUBLING

In this section we will consider the relationship between the two basic elements of the Anatolian proleptic construction—namely, V_1 and clitic doubling. Up to now we have been assuming that the second phenomenon must be treated as the function of the first one in the history of both Luwian and Lycian. Indeed, the V_1 clauses were said to either deploy the cataphoric pronouns or omit them depending on a Luwian dialect, while the Lycian clauses with the particles $m(e)=$ and $s(e)=$ display obligatory nasalization in certain grammatical forms of transitive verbs. Nevertheless, a refined, corpus-based analysis suggests that the correlation between the two parameters in Luwian is less straightforward.

Some exceptions appear to be trivial or phonologically driven. On the one hand, clitic doubling naturally does not occur in those V_1 clauses where clitics are used in anaphoric functions; see for example (I.18) and (I.20) below. On the other hand, there are cases where the cataphoric pronoun $/=ada/$ can be reconstructed on the morphological level but is lost in the surface representation of the respective clauses before the locative particle $/=tta/$ for morphophonemic reasons. The sandhi under discussion was first described for Late Luwian in Rieken 2008, 640–41, while its application to the data of Luwian cuneiform texts represents a topic of Rieken and Yakubovich forthcoming. The instances where the contraction $/ada=tta/ \rightarrow [atta]$ affects the transparency of clitic doubling include (I.19), (I.26), and (I.36) below.

More interesting is the distributional argument derived from the analysis of the Luwian construction with the particle $/tsawi/$ ‘here’ used for the presentation of new ritual items (*materia magica*) in the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions. The clitic doubling after *zawi* appears to be optional: it is absent in examples (I.9–I.10) but present in (I.11–I.12).

(I.9) KUB 35.54 ii 31' (CTH 758.1)

za-a-ú-i	zi-ia-ar	NUMUN ^{HA} -na	[p]u-u-na-a-ta
tsawi	tsijar	warwalana	punada
here	lie.3SG.PRS	seed.NOM.PL	all.NOM.PL

‘Here lie [a]ll (kinds of) seeds’.

(I.10) KUB 35.54 ii 41' (CTH 758.1)

za-a-ú-i-pa	t[ap-paš-š]a	‘ti’-ia-am-mi-iš
tsawi=ba	tappassa	tijammis
here=but	sky.NOM.SG	earth.NOM.SG

‘Here (are) h[eav]en (and) earth!’

(I.11) KUB 35.54 ii 8' (CTH 758.1)

za-a-ú-i-ia-aš ta-lu-up-pí-[iš]

tsawi=**as** taluppis

here=it.NOM.C t.NOM.SG

'Here **it** (is), the *taluppi*-lump'.

(I.12) KUB 32.9(+) obv. 3 (CTH 761.1)

z[a-ú-i-n]a-aš ú-i-ši-ta ḥa-la-a-[li-iš] 'ta'-lu-up-pí-i[š]

tsawin=**as** wisida xalalis taluppis

here=it.NOM.C appear.3SG.PRT pure.NOM.SG.C t.NOM.SG

'H[ere] **it** (has) appeared, the pur[e] *taluppi*-lump'.

According to the distribution stated above, the *zawi*-clauses must trigger clitic doubling: the verb, where it is present, is placed before the subject, and where it is absent, the particle /tsawi/ functions as a predicate on its own (see the English translations). What is then the source of the observed variation? One can hypothesize that the appearance or absence of a cataphoric clitic depends on the assumed familiarity of the doubled referent.¹²⁶ In particular, the models of heaven and earth and “seeds” (perhaps likewise the models of certain ritual items) represent non-trivial species of *materia magica* that are deployed only one time each in the Puriyanni ritual and therefore can be regarded as unused referents at the moment of their demonstration. In contrast, the *taluppi*-lump of dough represents a purification device common to both Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions; therefore, it can be regarded as a pragmatically accessive referent.¹²⁷ In particular, the context cited below probably precedes the exhibition of this object in the *dupadudarša*-ritual:

(I.13) KUB 35.58 ii? 6'–7' (CTH 759.6)

ḥa-la-li-ša-an ta-lu-up-pí-iš [ḥa-la-la-an-nu-wa-at-tu]

xalalis=**an** taluppis xalalanuwattu

pure.NOM.SG.C=he.ACC.C t.NOM.SG purify.3SG.IMPV

126 The assumed familiarity hierarchy is summarized in Lambrecht 1994, 109 with reference to Prince 1981. The main scales of this hierarchy are identifiability (known ↔ unknown) and activation (expected ↔ unexpected). One must stress the difference between this perceptually based hierarchy and the communicative organization of the clause, which reflects the speaker's intentions and is commonly described with the help of categories such as topic, comment, and focus. The communicative organization of clauses (I.9–I.12) is presumed to be identical.

127 See further an isolated case of clitic doubling in Late Luwian: ASSUR letter f+g § 9 /k^wis=wa=as antsīs hatturas/ ‘What is it, our *hattura*-?’ (Giusfredi 2020, 153). The noun /xattura-/, whose semantic discussion lies beyond the scope of this contribution, occurs multiple times at the beginning of ASSUR letter f+g and therefore can certainly be regarded as an accessive referent. The pragmatic correlates of clitic doubling are not typologically rare: see for example their discussion with reference to the Macedonian language (Kalluli and Tasmowski 2008, 10–13) and the possible relevance of pragmatic parameters for clitic doubling in other languages of the Balkan linguistic area (Kalluli and Tasmowski 2008, 9). The uniqueness of the referent was invoked in the discussion of Lycian nasalized preterits in Goldstein 2014; for their connection with clitic doubling, see Section I.2 above.

[pa]-^ra'-aš ḥa-la-li-iš a-aš-du
 pa=as xalalis astu
 then=he.NOM.C pure.NOM.SG.C be.3SG.IMPV

‘[May] the pure *taluppi*-lump [purify] him! [Th]en may he be pure!’

Another likely constraint on clitic doubling has syntactic character. Example (I.14) contrasts with KBo 29.3+ iii 17' *m[a-am]-ma-al-wa-ia-an* EN SISKUR-iš *ad-du-wa-li-in* EME-in ‘The ritual patron is b[re]aking **it**, the evil tongue’ (see (I.27) below). In (I.14) the accusative complement directly follows the clause-initial verb, while the Wackernagel clitic is absent. In contrast, the presence of the cataphoric object clitic in (I.27) correlates with the placement of the subject between the verb and its direct object. The analysis of the Luwian corpus confirms the absence of cataphoric object pronouns directly in front of the doubled direct objects. Interestingly enough, there is no parallel constraint on subject pronouns; see (I.11) above as well as (I.28) and (I.30) below.¹²⁸

(I.14) KBo 22.254(+) ii 6–7 (CTH 762.3.2)

ma-am-ma-lu-wa-i	[a]d-du-wa-li-in	{zi}	š[U-in]
mammalwai	attuwalin		issarin
break.3SG.PRS	evil.ACC.SG.C		hand.ACC.SG
[ad-du-w]a-li-in	EME-e[n]		
attuwalin	lalin		
evil.ACC.SG.C	tongue.ACC.SG		

‘He is breaking the evil ha[nd], the [ev]il tongue’.

The hypotheses outlined above shed new light on the distribution between clauses (I.1–I.3) and (I.4–I.6), which was provisionally accounted for in dialectological terms. It turns out that the referents of these clauses are distributed in terms of assumed familiarity: the referents doubled in (I.1–I.3) are all known and expected in the context of the ritual, whereas those that are not doubled in (I.4–I.6) are either new or at least unused in the available contexts. Furthermore, the direct object immediately follows the Wackernagel position in (I.4–I.6).

These facts admit two interpretations. On the one hand, it is possible to claim that that the dialectal distribution between clause (I.1–I.3) and (I.4–I.6) is an illusion; on the other hand, the blocking of clitic doubling in (I.4–I.6) may have had multiple causation. What speaks in favor of the second interpretation is the presence of clauses with V₁ but without clitic doubling in Late Luwian, which cannot be explained by any of the constraints outlined above (KARATEPE §§ 37, 72). Furthermore, at least for Late Luwian we have sufficient examples of V₁ clauses without clitic doubling to claim that this category was absent there altogether or had a marginal status. One cannot rule out the possibility that multiple constraints on Luwian clitic doubling in some Luwian dialects conspired to marginalize it in the variety of Luwian spoken in the first millennium BCE.

128 The last two examples, however, are less probative, since the pronominal clitics and subject are separated there by the locative clitic particle /(t)ta/.

Returning to the corpus that is the focus of this discussion (CTH 758–763), one can mention two special cases displaying deviations from the prototypical proleptic construction. The one exemplified by (I.15) lacks precise parallels in our corpus, so the account for it is necessarily speculative. In all probability, we are dealing here with a colloquial turn of phrase, where a pronoun ‘this’ was separated from the nominal group it modifies and fronted to the position after the first clause constituent. The likely function of this operation was stressing the referent in focus. As a result, the sentence is technically not V_1 , and therefore clitic doubling is impossible, despite the fact that the direct object /say^widantan widattan/ represents a pragmatically accessive referent.

(I.15) KUB 35.43+ ii 10–11 (CTH 761.3.8)

[na-nu-um-p]a	za-aš	pa-ra-ad-du	a-ar-ra-az-za<-aš>
nanum=pa	tsas	parattu	arratsas
now=but	this.NOM.SG.C	carry.3SG.IMPV	white.NOM.SG.

ḥa-a-ú-i-iš	[ša-hu-i-t]a-an-ta-an	ú-i-ta-at-ta-an
xawis	say ^w idantan	widattan
sheep.NOM.C	bond.ACC.SG	blow.ACC.SG

‘[Now], may this white sheep carry away the [bo]nd (and) blow!’

Another deviation is illustrated by example (I.16), one that likewise misses a cataphoric pronoun doubling the direct object. This clause, used in Rieken 2011 as an argument for the optional character of clitic doubling in Luwian, must be treated in the context of parallel incantations accompanying the ablation rite, where the triggers of ritual impurity appear in the ablative instead of the accusative. These are KUB 27.26 r.col. 6’–7’ *il-ḥa-ti-ti* [*ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš* EN-aš] *ta-pa-ru-wa-ti* [*ta-ta-ri-ia-am-na-ti ḥi-ru-ú-ta-ti*] and KUB 35.62 l.col. 2’–3’ [*e-l*] *e-el-ḥa-a-i-t*[*i ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš* EN-aš] *ta-pa-ru-wa-ti ta-ta-ri-ia-am-na-ti ḥi-r*] *u-ú-ta-ti*, which can be both approximately translated: ‘The ritual patron is washing himself from judgment, curse, perjury!’—although clause (I.16) belongs to a more archaic version of the Great Ritual than these parallels. Together they bear witness to the syntactic instability of the argument denoting the miasma in the construction under discussion, which can hardly be regarded as containing a prototypical direct object.

(I.16) KUB 32.9(+) rev. 6’–8’ (CTH 761.1)

i-li-il-ḥa-a-i-ti	m[a-al]-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš	[EN-aš
ililxai=di	malxassassis	nijas
wash.3SG.PRS=REFL.3SG	ritual.POSS-NOM.SG.C	lord.NOM.SG

t]a-pa-ru	da-a-ta-[ri-ia-am-ma-an]	ḥi-ru-ú-un
tabaru	tadarijamman	xirun
judgment.ACC.SG	curse.ACC.SG	perjury.ACC.SG

‘The r[itu]al [patron] washing himself away (from) [ju]dgment, cur[se], perjury’.

Despite the exceptions cited above, the data of CTH 758–763 are compatible with the existence of a robust proleptic construction combining V_1 with clitic doubling, which

will be confirmed by the more detailed presentation of the data in Section I.4. The purpose of this section was to demonstrate the existence of additional non-trivial synchronic parameters governing the presence or absence of clitic doubling in verb-initial clauses. Its status as an independent phenomenon suggests in turn that it should not impact the discussion about the origin of V_1 in Luwian.

I.4 FRONTING OR RIGHT DISLOCATION?

The historical account of word order variation in Luwian incantations logically falls into two parts. On the one hand, one must determine formal mechanisms responsible for the rise of innovative word order patterns; on the other hand, one must provide functional motivation behind the existence of such patterns. In this section we shall concentrate on the formal aspect of the problem, while its functional dimension will be addressed in Section I.5.

For the ancestor language of Luwian, we assume the basic word order $S(O)V/O(S)V$, which directly corresponds to the state of affairs in Hittite and conforms with the standard reconstruction of verb-final syntax in both Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Indo-European. As for the relative placement of subject and object, it must have been determined by the pragmatic configurations of individual clauses and, therefore, did not represent a typologically meaningful parameter. This assumption is again extrapolated from analysis of the Hittite data: calculations on the basis of sub-corpora reflecting various genres of Hittite texts show an average ratio of 3:1 between the SOV and OSV clauses (Molina 2019, 77–78). These figures reflect a cross-linguistic tendency for the alignment between the topic and the subject, showing at the same time that Hittite, unlike English or French, did not impose additional language-specific restrictions in this domain. Both Hittite and Luwian feature morphological case-marking, which ensures the identification of a clause subject regardless of word order, and the same state of affairs is commonly reconstructed for Proto-Anatolian. Therefore, there are no grounds to postulate a rigid SOV syntax for Proto-Anatolian or for any intermediate stage between Proto-Anatolian and Luwian.

Looking for the most plausible scenario for the rise of innovative syntactic patterns in the history of Luwian, we follow the principle of diachronic parsimony. The fewer syntactic movements one has to assume, the more this contributes to the plausibility of the reconstruction. The practical implication of this maxim is that the predicate followed by two or more arguments (e.g. VSO, VOS, and VSII, where II stands for the sequence of two indirect objects) supports the assumption of a leftward movement, which extracts the predicate from its historical clause-final position and places it to the left of its arguments. The separate rightward movement of two or more arguments would naturally represent a less economical solution. In contrast, if a clause features an argument to the left and right of the predicate (e.g. SVO, OVI), then rightward movement of an argument remains a preferable alternative to the insertion of the predicate in the middle of the clause, because the target of the movement would be difficult to constrain in the latter case. Only when a single argument

follows the predicate (i.e. VO, VS) does the principle of diachronic parsimony fail to provide a choice between the two alternatives. It is obvious that the methodology outlined above merely yields the most economical scenario for each particular case, while syntactic changes in the real world may sometimes follow redundant pathways. Yet, given a sufficient number of examples on both sides, the adopted procedure can justify the existence of different movement types as the default solution.

The examples illustrating the leftward movement of Luwian predicates (verbal fronting) are listed below. They are based on the case-to-case study of all the Luwian clauses in CTH 758–763, but comprise only those tokens where the restoration of the lacunae has been deemed reliable. Furthermore, we have not included clauses that are identical or almost identical to those already listed. For the sake of brevity, the examples are listed only in syllabic transliteration and are not annotated. The constituents corresponding to the predicate and its arguments are divided by || in both transliteration and translation, while the constituent structure of each example is summarized in its heading. The clitic pronouns, including the cataphoric ones, are translated into English but not counted for segmentation purposes, because their syntactic position is determined by Wackernagel's Law.

(I.17) KUB 35.54 ii 49'–iii 5 (CTH 758.1, VSO)

[š]a-a-an-du-wa-ta || pá-r-na-an-ti-in-zi [h]u-u-um-ma-ti-iš ḥa-aš-ša-ni-it-ti-iš ḥu-wa-aḥ-ḥur-ša-an-ti-in-zi ti-ia-am-mi-iš § ta-ru-ša-an-ti-iš || ad-[du-wa-al-za ú-tar-ša] ḥal-li-iš-ša 'pa'-ra-at-'ta-an'-[za] pu-wa-ti-il-za [n]a-nu-un-tar-ri-š[a] ir-ḥu-u-wa-aš-ša 'pa'-[r]i-it-tar-u-wa-a-aš-š[a] u-la-an-ta-al-li-ia-an ḥu-it-w[a-li-ia-an]

'May (they) [l]et it go, || (namely) the household (deities), the [p]odium, the hearth, the *ḥuwaḥḥursant*-, the ground § (and) the frame (of the house): || the ev[il matter], defilement, impuri[ty], past (or) [p]resen[t], internal (or) e[x]terna[l], of the dead (or) the livi[ng]!'

(I.18) KUB 35.54 iii 9–11 (CTH 758.1, VSI)

a-ta-at-ta pa-'ri' pát-za-du || MÁŠ.GAL-iš || ma-a-u-wa-a-ti pa-[a-a]r-ta-a-ti ma-an-na-ku-na-ti SI-na-ti

'May (it) carry it away, || the billy goat, || with (its) four legs, with (its) snout, with (its) horns!'

(I.19) KUB 35.55 iii? 8'–10' (CTH 758.3.2, VSO)

[ka]r-aš-⟨wa⟩-du-wa-at-ta {x} 'a'-[ap-pa || EN SISKUR || a-ad-d]u-wa-al-za ú-tar-š[a ḥal-li-iš-ša pa-ra-at-ta-an-za]

'May (he) se[par]ate it a[gain, || the ritual patron, || the ev]il matter, [defilement (and) impurity]!'

(I.20) KUB 32.10+ obv. 7'–8' (CTH 761.1, VSI)

[la²-a²-l]a²-an-du-wa-ta || DINGIR^{MEŠ}-zi || du-'ú'-[pa]-'ni-ia'-ti š[a-ḥu-i-da-an-tal-li-ia-ti ú-i-t]a-'an'-tal-li-ia-ti

'May (they) [ta]ke it, || the gods, || through the one for str[ik]ing, the one for b[ind]ing, the one for sm[iti]ng!'

- (I.21) KUB 32.10+ obv. 9'–10' (CTH 761.1, VSO)
 [la-a-la-ad]-du-pa-aš || ma-al-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš EN-aš || d[a-a-ru-uš-ša mi-i-ša-an-za ḫa-a-aš-ša ḫal-ḫal-za-ni-in wa-ra-an-na]-^ra'-ḫi-ša i-ú-na-ḫi-ša ^rla'-al-pí-in [ku-wa-an-na-ni-in ma-aš-ša-na-al-li-in KASKAL-an]
 'May (he) [tak]e them (back), || the ritual patron, || (his) s[hape, flesh, bone(s), joint(s), [spee]ch, mobility, eyelash, [eyebrow(-hair), divine path]!'
- (I.22= I.3) KUB 32.9(+) obv. 7–10 (CTH 761.1, VOS)
 ni-i-ša-an ḫa-pí-ti || ma-a[l-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-in] EN-an || a[d-du-wa-li-iš EME-iš] ad-du-wa-li-iš i-iš-[ša-ri-iš ta-pa-ru-wa-aš-ši-iš da-a-ta-ri-ia-am-na-aš-ši-iš EME-iš] ḫi-ru-ta-aš-š[i]-iš EME-i[š MU.KAM-iš ad-du-wa-li-iš ITI.KAM-aš ad-du-wa-li-iš] wa-aš-pa-an-ta-aš-š[i]-i-in-zi e-[er-ḫu-wa-an-zi ma-ia-aš-ši-iš EME-iš]
 'May (it) not bind him, || the ri[tual] patron, || the evil ha[nd, the tongue of judgment, curse], the tongu[e] of perjury, [bad year, bad month], the int[eriors] of the shro[u]ds, [the tongue of the multitudes]!'
- (I.23= I.16) KUB 32.9(+) rev. 6'–7' (CTH 761.1, VSO)
 i-li-il-ḫa-a-i-ti || m[a-al]-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš [EN-aš || t]a-pa-ru da-a-ta-[ri-ia-am-ma-an] ḫi-ru-ú-un ma-a-ia-a[š-ši-i]n EME-in
 '(He) is washing himself, || the r[i]tual [patron], || (from) [ju]dgment, cur[se], perjury, the tongue of the multi[tu]des'.
- (I.24) KUB 32.9(+) rev. 8'–11' (CTH 761.1, VSII)
 pa-[aš ḫa-la-l]i-iš a-aš-du || ma-a[l-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš EN-aš] || ma-a-aš-ša-na-an-za pâr-ra-a[n || a]d-du-wa-la-ti EM[E-ti ad]-du-wa-la-ti i-iš-š[a-ra-ti] ta-pa-ru-wa-aš-ša-an-za-t[i d]a-a-ta-ri-ia-am-[na-aš-ša-a]n-za-ti ḫi-ru-ta-aš-ša-a[n-za-ti] ma-a-ia-aš-ša-an-za-ti EME-ti
 'So may [he] be [pur]e, || the ri[tual] patron], || from the [e]vil tong[ue, the e]vil han[d], from (the tongue) of judgment, cur[s]e, from (the tongue) of perjur[y], from the tongue of the multitudes || in the presenc[e] of the deities!'
- (I.25= I.15) KUB 35.43+ ii 9–11 (CTH 761.3.8, VSO)
 [na-nu-um-p]a za-aš pa-ra-ad-du || a-ar-ra-az-za<-aš> ḫa-a-ú-i-iš || [ša-ḫu-i-t]a-an-ta-an ú-i-ta-at-ta-an
 '[Now], may this one carry (it) away, || the white sheep, || the [bo]nd (and) blow!'
- (I.26) KBo 29.3+ ii 7–10 (CTH 760.2, VII)
^ra'-an-ta-pa-at-ta a-ar-la-nu-wa-at-ta || SÍSKUR-aš-ša-an-za<-an> EN-ia || ḫu-i-it-wa-la-ḫi-^rti' a-an-na-ru-um-ma-ḫi-ti MU.KAM^{HÁ} GÍD.DA EGIR.U₄-M^{HÁ}-ti DINGIR^{MES}-aš-ša-za-ti wa-aš-ša-ra-ḫi-ta-ti ḫu-i-tum-ma-na-ḫi-ta-ti
 'He has replaced them || for the ritual patron, || with life, virility, long years, future time, favor (and) enlivenment of the deities'.
- (I.27) KBo 29.3+ iii 17'–19' (CTH 760.2, VSO)
 m[a-am]-ma-al-wa-ia-an || EN SÍSKUR-iš || ad-du-wa-li-in EME-in ta-^ra'-ta-ri-ia-am-ma-na-aš-ši-in ḫi-i-ru-ta-aš-ši-in a-aš-ši-wa-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši-in {x} ma-a-i-ia-aš-ši-in EME-in

‘(He) is b[re]aking it, || the ritual patron, || the evil tongue, (the tongue) of curse, perjury, misery, the tongue of the multitudes’.

- (v28) KUB 35.71+ ii 6–9 (CTH 759.12, VSI)
 a-ú-i-du-wa-a[š-ta] || ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-š[i-iš EN-aš || ^URU^UNi-nu-wa-wa-an-na-aš-
 ša-ti ^DIŠ^{TAR}-aš-ša-a-an-za-[ti ^DḤi-š]u-ú-i-ia-aš-ša-a-za-ti ḥa-at-ta-aš-‘tar’-r[a-ti]
 ‘May h[e] come (out) || the ritu[al patron], || from the terror of Šawoška of
 Niniveh (and) [He]šue!’
- (I.29) KUB 35.11 ii 8’–11’ (CTH 760.6, VSI)
 ni-iš-pa-aš a-aḥ-ḥa-ša-[am-mi-iš || SÍSKUR-iš EN-aš || da-a-ru-uš-ša] mi-ša-an-za
 ḥa-aš-ša ḥ[al-ḥal-za-ni-in ú-wa-ra-an-na-a-ḥi-ša] i-ú-na-a-ḥi-ša la-[al-pí-in ku-
 wa-an-na-ni-in] DINGIR^{MES}-li-in [KASKAL-an]
 ‘May he not be separat[ed, || the ritual patron, || with respect to (his) shape],
 flesh, bone(s), j[oints, speech], mobility, ey[elash, eyebrow(-hair)], divine [path]!’
- (I.30) KBo 29.6(+) i 21’ (CTH 762.2, VSI)
 a-ú-i-du-wa-aš-ta || ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-š[i-iš EN-aš || ḥa-ra-at-na-[a-ti wa-aš-ku-
 li-im-ma-a-ti]
 ‘May he come, || the ritual patron, || (out) of offens[e (and) fault]!’

The data adduced above can be contrasted with a small group of cases where our formal test supports the historical analysis in terms of right dislocation. It is to be immediately noted that the noun phrases dislodged in (I.31–I.33) all consist of three or more word-forms. This agrees well with the observations of Rizza 2007 about the influence of the length of nominal constituents on their syntactic position in the languages of Ancient Anatolia. In more general terms, one can invoke here the so-called Behagel’s Fourth Law, which mandates that, given two phrases, when possible, the shorter precedes the longer. Within a derivational framework, this can be reformulated as the right dislocation of heavy noun phrases. In contrast, if one attempted to account for clauses (17–30) in terms of double rightward movement, one would have to assume that nouns and short noun phrases such as ‘gods’, ‘ritual patron’, ‘white sheep’, and ‘billy goat’ can likewise be moved in the rightward direction.¹²⁹

- (I.31) KUB 35.54 iii 6–8 (CTH 758, IVS)
 a-ta a-ap-pa za-aš-ta-an-za DINGIR^{MES}-an-za pá-r-ra-an || ni-iš || im-ma-ra-aš-ša
^DIM- aš-ša-an-za ḥal-li-iš-ša
 ‘Afterward, in the presence of these deities || may (it) not (be) || the defilement
 of the Storm-god of the Open Country!’
- (I.32) KBo 29.3+ ii 26–27 (CTH 760.2, SVO)
 a-an ti-ia-am-ma-aš-š[i-iš ^DUTU-za || da-ra-ú-id-du || ‘ta-ta-ri’-ia-am-ma-na-aš-
 š[i-in ḥi-ru-ta-aš-š[i-in EN-an
 ‘Him, may || the Sun-goddess of the earth || deliver, || (namely) the lord of curses
 (or) perjuries!’

129 A point relevant to this discussion is that the term ‘ritual patron’ primarily characterizes Hattuša’s scribal jargon, while the same person was probably called by name in the oral performance of the respective ritual. See Appendix II.

(I.33) KUB 32.8(+) iii 11'–14' (CTH 759.10, IIVO)

ḫar-ma-a-ḫa-ti-ti-ia-an-ta || tap-pa-a-ni-in || la-a-at-ta || za-an-da du-ú-pa-i-mi-in iṣ-ša-ri-in za-an-da du-ú-pa-i-mi-in EME-in

'It, from his head, || (as) a hair || (he) took, || (as) the downstriking hand (and) the downstriking tongue'.

Another small group of examples that support the historical scenario of right dislocation feature the phenomenon known as *Right Node Raising* in generative linguistics. This yields a construction where the identical and co-referential elements of two or more parallel clauses are placed on their right periphery. The prototypical examples illustrating the *Right Node Raising* in our corpus are (I.34–I.35), where the peripheral position is occupied by the subject phrase and direct object phrase respectively. It is to be noted that all the noun phrases placed on the rightmost periphery in (I.34–I.35) are metrically heavy and structurally complex, as was also the case in (I.31–I.33).¹³⁰

(I.34) KUB 32.8(+) iii 26'–29' (CTH 759.10)

ta-a-in-ti-ia-aš a-a-ia-ru || ma-al<-li>-i-ti-ia<-aš> a-a-ia-ru || za-a[n-da] du-ú-pa-im-mi-i-iš 'iṣ-ša'-[ri-iš] 'za-an'-[d]a du-ú-pa-i[m-mi-iš EME-iš]

'May they become oil, || may they become honey, || the downstriking han[d] (and) downstriki[ng tongue]!'

(I.35) KBo 29.3+ ii 21–24 (CTH 760.2)

ku-i-ša-an ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni-iš-ša-at-ta || ku-i-ša-an ip-pa-tar-ri<-iṣ>-ša-at-ta || EN SISKUR-aš-ši-in ALAM-ša mi-i-ša-an-za ḫa-aš-ša ḫal-ḫal-za-ni-in ú-wa-ra-an-na-ḫi-ša i-ú-na-ḫi-ša la-al-pí-in ku-wa-an-na-ni-in ma-aš-ša-na-al-li-in KASKAL-an
'Whoever restrained it, || whoever distrained it, || (namely) the ritual patron's shape, flesh, bone(s), joint(s), speech, mobility, eyelash, eyebrow(-hair), divine path!'

Summing up the findings of this section, one may state that the innovative Luwian constructions accounted for in terms of verbal fronting are more than twice as frequent as their counterparts for which the analysis in terms of right dislocation is more economical. Given this distribution, it is truly remarkable that the right dislocation of long constituents in Luwian has already been addressed in scholarly literature (see Section I.2), while verbal fronting accompanied by clitic doubling has thus far escaped scholarly treatment (with the exception of one example in Giusfredi 2020, 155). It stands to reason that the functional interpretation of the proleptic construction should now pay particular attention to the instances of left dislocation (verbal fronting).

I.5 PRAGMATICS OF VERBAL FRONTING

A brief look at the data collected in Section I.4 should suffice to demonstrate the predominance of the modal (imperative and prohibitive) forms of the predicate, which are present in thirteen out of eighteen tokens. Since the Luwian corpus of CTH 758–

130 See Sideltsev 2012, 773: 'The dislocation of structurally heavy NPs is sufficiently distinct from the dislocation of light NPs to constitute a separate taxonomic category' [translated from Russian].

763 entirely consists of incantations, a large number of modal sentences is in itself not surprising. Nonetheless, corpus analysis shows their uneven distribution across different Luwian insertions. As an example of a Luwian passage featuring twenty indicative clauses in a row, one can cite KUB 35.24+ obv. 5'–23' (CTH 761.1.c).

Another peculiarity of the same data, this time directly connected with the subject matter of the preceding section, is the absence of verb-final clauses, while in thirteen out of eighteen clauses the predicate is placed before all its arguments. In contrast, the control “indicative” passage KUB 35.24+ obv. 5'–23' features all its predicates, except for the last three, in final position. Furthermore, the last three verbs, placed clause-initially (KUB 35.24+ obv. 19'–23'), were re-interpreted in a later version of the same incantation (KUB 35.43+ iii 24'–32', CTH 761.3.8) as imperative forms!

The propensity of Luwian imperative clauses toward V₁ can be ostensibly illustrated with the passages (I.36–I.37), the last one partially overlapping with (I.30). We find here chiasms with a morphological distribution: the participial forms are in clause-final position, while the imperatives are placed clause-initially.¹³¹ The relevant forms are set in boldface below.

(I.36) KUB 35.54 ii 8'–13' (CTH 758.1)

za-a-ú-i-ia-aš ta-lu-up-pí-[iš a-aš-ta] ku-ra-ma-ti ḫa-ar-ta-t[i **kar-ša-am-mi-iš**]
ku-lu-uš-ta-na-ti **ta-a**[**l-ku-um-mi-iš**] § a-at-ta **ta-al-ku-du** 'a'-[at-ta **kar-**
aš-du] EN SISKUR

'Here (is) the *taluppi*-lump. [It has been [**separated**] by cutting (and) crushin[g]
(and) **flat**[**tened**] by the rolling tool. § (Likewise), may he **flatten them!**
[May] he [**separate** them], the ritual patron!'

(I.37) KBo 29.6(+) i 22'–24' (CTH 762.2)

za-aš-pa-at-ta ku-wa-ti-in za-am-mi-ta-'a-ti'-iš ^{NA4}ḫar-ra-a-ti [...] **a-ú-i-im-**
mi-iš a-ú-i-du-pa-aš-ta ma-[a]l-ḫa-aš<-ša-aš>-ši-iš EN-aš ḫ[a-ra-at-na-a-ti] wa-
aš-ku-li-im-ma-a-[ti]

'As this flour is **coming** from the millstone [(and) ...], (likewise), may he
come, the ritual patron, (out) of of[fense] (and) fault!'

The correlation between the proleptic construction and modal clauses (*Götteranrufungen*) has been independently observed in the ritual traditions associated with the names of Tunnawiya and Maštigga (Rieken 2011, 500–502). One of the conclusions of the same paper is the translated character of incantations in both traditions, which manifests itself, among other things, in the distribution of clauses with clitic doubling. As argued elsewhere in the present book, both the Tunnawiya and Maštigga traditions feature incantations that are ultimately translated from Luwian, while the data in the present essay support the correlation between the proleptic construction and modal clauses within the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla tradition. This supports Rieken's conclusions about the Tunnawiya and Maštigga traditions, indicating at the same time that the proleptic construction was aligned with modal clauses in a whole group of Hittite-Luwian rituals.

131 These are not the only examples of chiasms in Luwian incantations; see Melchert 2006, 297. The same figure of speech is also attested in Lycian B (Shevoroshkin 2012) but with no connection to modal clauses.

Furthermore, one can state that the Luwian language does not stand alone in its propensity toward VS(O)/VO(S) word order in imperative clauses. The same tendency is patent in a number of European languages and was recently studied within the generative paradigm in Wratil 2010. For example, the verb-initial imperative clauses such as *Love ye youre enemys* or *Do thou have mercy on us* were typical in Early Modern English, otherwise an SOV language (Wratil 2010, 175). The parallels of such a kind suggest that the Luwian proleptic construction is not a typological unicum and can thus be studied with the application of discourse-functional categories that were elaborated on the basis of other languages.

It goes without saying that not all the Luwian contexts can yield satisfactory interpretation in terms of communicative structure. The study of ancient languages, where phrasal intonations usually remain unknown, lacks the most efficient tool for determining pragmatic configurations. In some cases, however, the discourse syntax is conducive to formulating meaningful hypotheses even in the absence of prosodic information. This is most clearly the case of chiasms in (I.36–I.37): the imperative predicates function there as established topics. Thus, in (I.36) both flattening and severing belong to the comments in the first clause, which ensures the status of pragmatic presupposition for the same concept in the next clause, where the comment is aligned there with syntactic arguments. In both clauses the topic precedes the comment, which is the normal pragmatic configuration in clauses without a marked focus. The only peculiarity of this passage consists in the alignment of the topic with the predicate in the second clause.

The chiasms addressed above are to be distinguished from pseudo-chiasms, when an SOV clause in a Hittite frame contrasts with the parallel VSO clause in a Luwian insertion. This is the state of affairs in (I.38) and (I.39), which supply broader contexts for examples (I.16) and (I.27) respectively. After the ritual patron performs a particular gesture, the Old Woman interprets it in supernatural terms. From her viewpoint, the action of the ritual patron must have constituted the focus of the situation, while the ritual patron and the miasma affected by his action (e.g. ‘curse’ or ‘evil tongue’) represent familiar entities lying outside the focus. The marked focus is frequently situated in clause-initial position; see the English sentences with focus particles such as *even* or *only*. Once again, the peculiarity of these constructions consists in the unusual alignment between the predicate and the narrow focus.

(I.38) KUB 32.9(+) rev. 5'–8' (CTH 761.1)

nu=za=kán BEL SÍS[KUR QATI=šU] ārri n[u] M[UNUSŠU.GI k] išša[n tezzi] i-li-il-ḫa-a-i-ti m[a-al]-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš [EN-aš t]a-pa-ru da-a-ta-[ri-ia-am-ma-an] ḫi-ru-ú-un
 ‘The rit[ual] patron **washes** [his hands] an[d the] O[ld Woman says]: “(He) **is washing** himself, the r[i]tual [patron], (from) [ju]dgment, cur[se], perjury, [the tongue of the multi[tu]des)”’.

(I.39) KBo 29.3+ iii 13'–14', 16'–17' (CTH 760.2)

[nu EN SISKUR] iš[naš EME-uš iš]našš=a kiššaruš [arḫa d]uwarn[iš]kiuwan dāi
 (...) MUNUSŠU.GI=ma kišan ḫukkiškezzi m[a-am]-ma-al-wa-ia-an EN SISKUR-iš
 ad-du-wa-li-in EME-in

‘[The ritual patron] starts [b]rea[ki]ng [the tongues] of do[ugh] and the hands of [d]ough (...). [The Old] Woman conjures thus: “(He) is **breaking** it, the ritual patron, the evil tongue (...)”’.

A different type of interaction between the Hittite frame and the Luwian insertion is exemplified by the situation when the ritual specialist comments on the desirable result of the ritual patron’s gesture. In this case the Luwian incantation begins with the imperative clause, where the predicate is likewise placed clause-initially. Thus, clause (I.1), ‘May they be washed, the [fr]ame, ground, (household) [deiti]es, [h]uwaḥḥuršant-s, heart[h, and threshold]!’, is uttered after the ritual patron receives a vessel filled with water. The relevant pragmatic configuration can arguably be analyzed in terms of sentence focus, which implies the absence of presupposed constituents (see Lambrecht and Polinsky 1997). One of the common strategies of encoding sentence focus is verb-initial word order (Lambrecht 2000, 634–35). The proposed analysis in terms of sentence focus appears plausible not only for (I.1) but also for several other verb-initial imperative clauses at the beginning of Luwian incantations.¹³²

Yet, the most ostensive illustrations of the sentence-focus construction in Luwian are examples (I.9–I.12), which also start Luwian incantations but, unlike the passages discussed above, feature the particle /tsawi/ ‘here’. These clauses are used for the presentation of various ritual objects, which agrees well with the basic presentation function of sentence focus (Lambrecht 2000, 623; see in particular the construction introduced by *there is* in English). We are also dealing here with consistent V₁ word order, with the caveat that the predicate is not always expressed by verbal phrases. These examples are not included in Section I.4, because their analysis in terms of verbal fronting cannot be formally proven, but the short noun phrases on the right periphery do not support their analysis in terms of right dislocation. Furthermore, as we saw in Section I.3, not all of these examples feature clitic doubling, which implies that sentence focus does not automatically trigger proleptic constructions in Luwian.

We must stress that the presence of several pragmatic configurations correlating with verbal fronting in Luwian does not in itself verify the proposed formal analysis, just as the presence of long constituents on the right periphery does not constitute an absolute proof of the analysis in terms of right dislocation. We rather suggest that our approach, implying multiple motivations for different syntactic movements in the history of Luwian, has a better explanatory force than the previous accounts. Those who wish to refute or refine our conclusions must present additional formal or functional parameters that will display even better correlations with the observed empirical data.

132 In the discussion of constructions with sentence focus, one must keep in mind that the clause-initial predicate may be expressed by a complex verbal form, as in example (I.1), or a verbal phrase headed by a light verb. The last interpretation is possible in the instance of passage (I.34), which follows the act of burning a symbol of hostile witchcraft over a vessel filled with oil and honey. The alternative interpretation of the same clause involving the right dislocation was proposed in Section I.4. One cannot exclude the possibility that two different triggers conspired to yield the proleptic construction in this case.

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APPENDIX II

SISKUR AND EN SISKUR IN HITTITE AND LUWIAN

II.1 INTRODUCING THE PROBLEM

A number of ritual texts preserved in the archives of Hattuša are classified as SISKUR (with the variant SÍSKUR), which is usually translated as ‘ritual’ or ‘offering’, and deploy the heterogram EN SISKUR (with the common variants *BE-EL* SÍSKUR and EN SÍSKUR) as the generic designation of the ‘ritual patron’.¹³³ The appearance of these terms is not limited to compositions with Luwian insertions, and indeed in what follows we will be referring to their use in a variety of texts belonging to different genres. Yet the meaning and distribution of SISKUR and EN SISKUR in Hittite-Luwian texts are peculiar enough to potentially shed light on their semantic evolution in Anatolia. Furthermore, within the Luwian corpus, their appearance is closely aligned with the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions (CTH 758–763),¹³⁴ while the study of graphic variation in the rendering of EN SISKUR contributes to the relative dating of the relevant tablets. This constitutes the rationale for treating these two heterograms in some detail as one of the appendices to the present book.

The origin of both terms predictably lies in Mesopotamia. The Sumerogram SISKUR normally corresponds to *niqû* ‘offering, sacrifice’ in Akkadian texts, even though Sumerian texts of the late third millennium BCE use *sizkur* in a broader sense, with reference to rituals that include sacrifice (Limet 1993). The Sumerogram SISKUR.SISKUR = SÍSKUR, historically a collective form of SISKUR, appears to have been used interchangeably with SISKUR in the second millennium BCE. The Akkadian reading of the Sumerogram EN is *bēlu* ‘lord, owner’; within the Akkadian corpus, the phrases headed by the form *bēl* in the construct state can refer to individuals related in a whole variety of ways to the concept expressed by the dependent noun (CAD B, 198b). For example, *bēl dami* (lit. ‘the lord of blood’) means ‘slayer’, while *bēl dīni* (lit. ‘the lord of judgment’) means ‘adversary in court’ (CAD D, 80a, 155b–56a). The meaning of the phrase *bēl siskur* is more compositional: beginning at least in the Old Babylonian period it is usually to be understood as *bēl niqê* (or perhaps *bēl niqâti*) ‘owner of the sacrificial animal, beneficiary of the sacrifice’. Sometimes, the kind of sacrificial animal is spelled out: *bēl udu.siskur*(2) refers to the owner of a sacrificial sheep (CAD N₂, 253b).

133 For the notion of heterogram, see Kudrinski and Yakubovich 2016, 55. The generic term is used in this context because the spelling variant *BE-EL* SÍSKUR combines Sumerographic and Akkadographic elements.

134 The heterograms under discussion are also common in the Hittite text of the Tunnawiya tradition, where the Luwian incantations are attested to a limited extent (see Chapter 4).

Within Hittite, the Sumerogram SISKUR (also SISKUR) can also be frequently translated as ‘ritual offering, sacrifice’.¹³⁵ Yet, more widely attested, or at least more widely known, is its use with reference to the Hittite rituals performed on specific occasions, usually in connection with disasters and misfortunes attributed to supernatural causes. Many of these rituals are associated with specific specialists, such as Puriyanni, Kuwattalla, and Šilalluḫi in the instance of the texts treated in this book. EN SISKUR ‘ritual patron’ designates the commissioner of such an *ad hoc* ritual, who pays for it, takes part in it alongside a religious professional, and expects to be positively affected by its performance.¹³⁶ Certainly, the Anatolian rituals normally involved offerings to the gods, but this is not their defining property. In the nomenclature of genres of Hittite written texts, they are distinguished from festivals (EZEN₄), which likewise involve ritual offerings, including animal sacrifices. The festivals tend to represent periodic celebrations, typically occurring once a year or once a month, although they could also be organized on the occasion of an auspicious event, such as a prince’s installation ritual EZEN₄ *ḥaššumaš* (Mouton 2011). The Anatolian dichotomy between EZEN₄ ‘festival’ and SISKUR ‘ritual’ does not follow in any way from the Mesopotamian use of SISKUR ‘offering’.

An important asymmetry between the two genres merits notice. The Sumerographic combination EN SISKUR ‘ritual patron’ does not have a counterpart ‘festival patron’. The reason for this discrepancy has to do with the dominant purpose of the festivals in the Kingdom of Ḫattuša: the whole community, commonly represented by the king, invests in a cultic festival and, therefore, expects to benefit from it. In contrast, the commissioner of a ritual can be either a king or a private individual. For the alternation between EN SISKUR and LUGAL in parallel versions of the same rituals, see Section II.3 below.

Although the explicit contrast between festivals and rituals is usually taken for granted in Hittitological research, it has emerged only gradually within the history of Hittite textual tradition. The records of the supposedly oldest religious performances from this region, which are preserved on the so-called Old Hittite Script tablets and published in transliteration in Neu 1980, do not use the terms EZEN₄ or EN SISKUR at all, while the only attestation of SISKUR in this corpus (KUB 43.27 i 2’; Neu 1980, 199) can be translated as ‘offering’. One way of approaching this problem is to take into consideration the prominence of the royal family in the oldest recorded performances. Since the Hittite religious texts under discussion constantly mention the king, and sometimes the queen, as their main actors (see Neu 1983, 253–57, 265–67), the

135 This meaning is particularly clear in some context featuring the verb *šipand-* ‘to sacrifice, dedicate’—e.g. KBo 33.20 i 1: *mān=za ANA DU kuiš SISKUR šarraš šipanti* ‘If one sacrifices the *šarra*-offering to the Storm-god on his own behalf’ (see CHD Š, 394b). It likely motivates the exceptional use of SISKUR for the rendering of *šipand-*, as opposed to the usual Sumerogram BAL; see CHD Š, 395a.

136 See the collocation KUB 30.36 iii 6–7 EN SISKUR UḪ₇-*anza* UN-aš ‘the ritual patron, the bewitched person’. Other common English translations of EN SISKUR in Hittite texts as ‘patient’ or ‘ritual client’ emphasize the role of the ritual patron as the beneficiary of privately sponsored rituals. In contrast, the translation ‘sacrificer’ (see also German ‘Opfermandant’) harks back to the inherited meaning of EN SISKUR.

distinction between the performances serving the king or the royal couple in their private capacity or as representatives of the Ḫattuša religious community is somewhat blurred.¹³⁷

Thus, one can formulate a hypothesis that the Sumerogram SISKUR/ŠISKUR acquired the secondary meaning ‘ritual’ at some point in early 14th century BCE, which reflected the formation of the new genre, or the growing familiarity with such a genre on the part of state bureaucracy. Naturally, the Ḫattuša scribes could develop interest in privately sponsored rituals, as a result of internal factors or of external influence or of both. The choice among these options must be empirically grounded.

The rest of this appendix will be organized as follows. In Section II.2 we will review the proposed Hittite readings of SISKUR/ŠISKUR with the conclusion that the respective heterograms largely remained artefacts of written texts and failed to find stable counterparts in Hittite. Section II.3 will address the use of EN SISKUR in Hittite texts and question the availability of the term for ‘ritual patron’ in the spoken register of the Hittite language. In Section II.4 we will contrast this state of affairs with the situation in Luwian, where both heterograms have unambiguous phonetic readings, while SISKUR primarily means ‘offering’. The topic of Section II.5 is the distribution between the graphic variants SISKUR/ŠISKUR and *BE-EL* ŠISKUR / EN ŠISKUR / EN SISKUR in the compositions treated in this book and, secondarily, in other Hittite texts. In the concluding Section II.6 we will offer a hypothesis on how a word for ‘offering’ may have evolved into a designation for a privately sponsored ritual in the Hittite milieu.

II.2 POSSIBLE READINGS OF SISKUR IN HITTITE

One approach to arriving at the phonetic interpretation(s) of SISKUR is to scrutinize Hittite nouns with similar meanings. The main Hittite word for ‘ritual’ is *aniur* (n.), which is also attested several times in the texts belonging to the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions. The similarity between its use and that of SISKUR is remarkable: we commonly translate SISKUR *dupaduparša* as ‘*dupaduparša*-ritual’ and *šalli aniur* as ‘Great Ritual’. Several sources, notably HED A, 70, assume without further ado that SISKUR can be equated with *aniur*.

Yet, there is no formal support for such an equation. The only partial heterographic representation established for *aniur* is KIN-ur (HW² A, 95a). There are, to the best of our knowledge, no cases when SISKUR and *aniur* can be shown to alternate in the same text with reference to the same entity. For example, Kuwattalla’s Great Ritual is never called SISKUR.GAL, although the combination SISKUR^{MES} GAL is attested in the generic meaning ‘great rituals/sacrifices’ (CHD Š, 98b). An interesting case is the alternation between Bo 3288+ rev. 40’ SISKUR.BABBAR *aniur* (or rather ^{SISKUR}BABBAR

137 The title of Erich Neu’s book *Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift* need not be taken as an indication that he treated the respective texts as rituals rather than festivals. The German Hittitological tradition distinguishes between *Festrituale* (festivals) and *Beschwörungsrituale* (rituals), while Neu strove to avoid prejudging the attribution of the published texts to one of these genres and therefore opted for a neutral term.

aniur?) and KUB 46.38 ii 6' *parkui aniur* in the parallel versions of the same text (Miller 2012, 103; CTH 495). At face value, this suggests that the same religious performance can either be described as 'Pure Ritual' or assigned the Sumerographic name SISKUR.BABBAR, but the co-occurrence of SISKUR and *aniur* in the same phrase militates against their formal equivalence.¹³⁸

Next, one must factor in the lack of attestations of the phrase ***aniuraš* EN / *aniuraš išḫa*- 'lord of the ritual', a putative equivalent of EN SISKUR, despite the fact that the Akkadian idiom 'lord of X' was widely calqued or imitated in Hittite.¹³⁹ The instances of the calques and further phrases built on the same model are collected in Dardano 2012, 399 (see also Yoshida 1987, 47–50) and include *awariyaš/auriyaš išḫa*- 'fort commander', *ḥannešnaš išḫa*- 'lord of judgment' = 'opponent at court', *mukišnaš išḫa*- 'lord of the invocation' = 'performer of invocation', *uddanaš išḫa*- 'lord of word(s)' = 'conjurer', *wastulaš išḫa*- 'lord of transgression' = 'culprit', and several other expressions. Against this background, one would expect that if the counterpart of EN SISKUR were common in spoken Hittite, it would be phonetically or semi-phonetically written, at least on some occasions.

Finally, it was observed that the meaning of *aniur* is narrower than that of SISKUR (HW² A, 94b). The Hittite noun *aniur* refers either to a ritual or to implements necessary for such an event.¹⁴⁰ It does not have the meaning 'ritual offering, sacrifice', which is typical of SISKUR in Akkadian texts and is also attested in some Hittite compositions. Nor does the etymology of this noun support its connection to 'offering': Hittite *aniur* is derived from *aniya*- 'to do, make, perform', just as Akkadian *nēpešu* 'ritual' is derived from *epēšu* 'to do, make, perform'. Therefore, even if the functional identity between *aniur* and SISKUR happened to be established in some contexts, it could not serve as a trigger for the semantic extension of SISKUR in Anatolia and must have postdated such an extension.¹⁴¹

A different Hittite word sometimes translated as 'ritual' is *ḥazziu-/ḥazziwi(t)-* (n.). The *-it-* suffix, typical of borrowed nouns, suggests that this term does not belong to the inherited stratum of the Hittite lexicon, even though the source of borrowing

138 See further KUB 59.62 i' 3' SISKUR *parnaš aniūr* 'house ritual', attested in a fragmentary context (CHD P, 168b).

139 The phraseological calques are to be distinguished from the language-internal imitation of the established contact-driven pattern 'lord of X'. For a general discussion of Akkadian influence on Hittite, see Schwemer 2006 and Dardano 2012.

140 Of particular interest is the use of gen.sg. *aniuraš* in KBo 29.3+ i 5 and KUB 35.18(+) i 9 (CTH 760.1.a). At face value, it refers to a specific rite associated with the offering of two sheep, one white and one black, while the other six sheep mentioned in the incipits of the same tablets are associated with different rites, such as *ikkunatt-* and *šarlatta-*. It seems probable, however, that *aniur* in this context is merely an abbreviation of *šalli aniur* 'Great Ritual' (see the commentary to the respective texts).

141 HW² A, 94b indicates the Hittite-Luwian rituals as the starting point for the spread of the term *aniur*. Going somewhat ahead, one cannot rule out that this Hittite term, like the Sumerogram SISKUR, reflects the perceived difference between state-sponsored religious performances typical of the Ḫattuša court and private rituals practiced in the Luwian milieu. Yet, if this is case, we are dealing here with a token of linguistic awareness on the part of Hittite speakers, not an introduced formal classifier or an element of scribal jargon.

(Hattic, Hurrian, or something different?) has not been identified thus far. At any rate, it is hardly the Luwian language, since, unlike *aniur* ‘ritual’, *ḥazziu-/ḥazziwi(t)-* is not attested even once in the corpus of Hittite-Luwian rituals studied in this monograph. More significant for the present discussion is that the use of *ḥazziu-/ḥazziwi(t)-* generally does not appear to be aligned with the corpus of SISKUR-rituals: a mere glance at its attestations collected in HW² H, 543–46 suggests that it is used at least as frequently in the scripts of periodic festivals. Therefore, it seems better to accept the translation ‘ceremony, rite’ for this religious term, on the understanding that rites can constitute building blocks of both rituals and festivals.

At the same time, the morphological structure of the expression *ḥazziwiyaš* EN / *ḥazziwiyaš išḥa-* (HW² H, 544b–45a) is identical to that of EN SISKUR. Alp (1983, 330, fn. 296) assumed on this basis that *ḥazziu-/ḥazziwi(t)-* is one of the readings of SISKUR. Both relevant contexts belong to festivals rather than rituals, but this is not a fatal objection: we will see in Section II.6 that some Hittite texts called ‘festivals’ are substantially similar to rituals. It is, however, clear from one of the two passages (KUB 51.129a) that ^{LÜ.MES}*ḥazziwiyaš išḥeš* are functionaries who are mentioned alongside royal cooks and receive payments for their services (Haas and Jakob-Rost 1984, 71–72). Thus, they are ‘masters of ceremonies’ rather than ritual patrons in the conventional sense. This professional title is probably related to LÜ *ḥazziwiyaš* and MUNUS *ḥazziwiyaš*, which likewise function as designations of religious officials (HW² H, 544b, 545a).

A different way of arriving at the Hittite reading of SISKUR is the analysis of its attested phonetic complements, but this is likewise fraught with difficulties. One relevant form is KBo 27.60:4’ *SISKUR-in* (acc.sg.comm.), attested in a fragmentary context (de Roos 2007, 146–47). It is tempting to see here a form of Hitt. *šaklai-* (comm.), which means, among other things, ‘rite, ceremony’, although the attribution of the fragment to a votive text calls rather for the meaning ‘offering’. Be that as it may, this is not the only instance of a common gender noun hidden behind SISKUR: the same state of affairs is reconstructed on syntactic grounds in KUB 22.35 ii 2’–6’ (CHD Š, 60a).

Another semi-phonetic spelling is *SISKUR-eššar* (n.), found in a Hittite literary text from Ugarit (RS 25.421 rev. 54), which has variously been equated with *mukeššar* ‘invocation (ritual)’ and *malteššar* ‘recitation, votive offering’ (CHD L-N, 137a, 326b). The first equation is based on the juxtaposition of the apparently parallel phrases KUB 32.130:7’ *mukeššar ... pāi* ‘he will give an invocation ritual’ and KUB 32.130:14’, 22’ *SISKUR piškanzi* ‘they will be giving invocation rituals’ on the same tablet devoted to the cult of Šawoška of Šamuḥa (CTH 712). The second one is derived from the alternation between KUB 17.21 i 19’ *SISKUR^{HA} parkuyannaš uddanī* ‘in the matter of the purity of rituals’ and KBo 51.17 i 5’ *maltešnaš parkuyannaš uddanī* ‘in the matter of the purity of votive offerings’ in a prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (CTH 375.1).

At the same time, it is possible to show that neither *mukeššar* nor *malteššar* represent stable equivalents of SISKUR in Hittite. The first identification is precluded by the phrase KBo 15.34 ii 23’ *mukišnaš SISKUR* ‘ritual/offering of invocation’, while the second is incompatible with, for example, KUB 27.1 i 10–11 *SISKUR ambaššin keldian=(n)a malteššar=(r)a* ‘the *ambašši* and *keldi*-rituals, as well as the votive offering’. Further-

more, since neither *mukeššar* nor *malteššar* represents the main word for ‘ritual’ in Hittite, so regardless of the equation one prefers, the use of SISKUR-*eššar* in Ugarit can reflect only an archaic or specialized meaning of SISKUR. It is also to be noted that the professional title ¹⁰*mukišnaš išhāš* (lit. ‘lord of the invocation’) denotes a religious specialist rather than the commissioner of the performance in the Ritual of the Storm-god of Kuliwišna (see Section II.6 below).

Summing up, there are at least five Hittite nouns that can be proposed as equivalents for SISKUR, but in none of the five instances can the equation be generalized to align with the bulk of its attestations. In practice, this probably means that the scribes were free to deploy *ad sensum* a variety of its Hittite near-synonyms in the oral recitation of the respective texts and perhaps even resorted to pronouncing the Sumerian word in their own jargon.¹⁴² This correlates with the predominant use of SISKUR/SISKUR without phonetic complements in Hittite texts: exceptions such as peripheral Hittite spelling SISKUR-*eššar* and the *hapax legomenon* SISKUR-*in*, important as they are for the present discussion, must still be taken as exceptions.

Finally, it is now accepted that SISKUR can function as a determinative, notably to the name of the *šarlatta*-rite, with the variants ^{SISKUR}*šarlatta*-, ^{SISKUR}*šarlatta*-, and *šarlatta*-^{SISKUR} (CHD Š, 275b). Therefore, the possibility that SISKUR also behaves as a determinative in some of the instances where it was traditionally transliterated as a logogram is worth considering. Thus, the variation between ^{SISKUR}*zurkiyaš* and <SISKUR> *zurkiyaš* ‘the ritual of blood’ (CHD Š, 394a) can be reinterpreted as ^{SISKUR}*zurkiyaš* vs. *zurkiyaš*—that is, the name of the ritual may have been expressed by a free-standing genitive with an optional determinative (without a space between the two). Following the same logic, one can offer a new interpretation of SISKUR.BABBAR *aniur* alternating with *parkui aniur* as ^{SISKUR}BABBAR *aniur* ‘white ritual’ (see the discussion earlier in this section). Moving closer to the main topic of this book, we would like to mention a possible reading ^{SISKUR}*dupiduparša* for what is commonly transliterated as ^{SISKUR}*dupiduparša* ‘*dupiduparša*-ritual’, the solution that is favored by the lack of space after ^{SISKUR} in KUB 35.40 iv 6’ and KUB 35.41 iv 2’. If any evidence cited in this paragraph holds, then the zero reading must be added to possible phonetic interpretations of the Sumerogram SISKUR in Hittite.

II.3 ‘RITUAL PATRON’ IN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN HITTITE

The lack of combinatorial evidence for the word-by-word translation of EN SISKUR ‘ritual patron’ into Hittite has already been addressed in the preceding section. Naturally, one could speculate that a variety of Hittite readings for SISKUR could be combined with *išha*- ‘lord’ on a case-to-case basis, yielding all the desirable semantic nuances of EN SISKUR. It is not clear, however, whether the abstract term for ‘ritual patron’ had to be mentioned in the course of the actual religious performances at all,

142 For the evidence that heterograms could occasionally be pronounced as such in the scribal jargon, as opposed to being translated into Hittite, see Weeden 2011, 333–34 and Kudrinski 2016.

as opposed to the client’s personal name. This issue must be addressed in more detail in connection with the so-called rite of naming.

The clause *n=ašta* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI EN SISKUR *ŠUM=ŠU* *ḫalzai* ‘The Old Woman calls the ritual patron by name’ occurs twice in the *Aštu* ritual (CTH 490), interrupting Hurrian incantations (Görke 2010, 126–27). As noted in the same monograph (pp. 287–88), parallels to this construction are attested in several other texts of the same genre—namely, CTH 412 (Zuwi tradition), CTH 413.1 (New Hittite ritual for the construction of a new house or temple), and CTH 458.1.1. Görke contends that all these attestations refer to a special rite, comparing them to KUB 30.55:10’ UN-*aš* *ŠUM=ŠU* *ḫalziyawa[r]* ‘calling a man’s name’, the explicit mention of such a rite on a catalogue tablet (p. 286). On the strength of this additional evidence, Görke concludes that the “rite of naming” was fairly common (p. 289).¹⁴³

The phrase in KUB 30.55 does seem to refer to a special rite, but there is no evidence that it was embedded within a larger ritual. Therefore, we prefer different interpretations for its alleged parallels. We submit that calling a patient by name in the context of a ritual was not an exceptional procedure but the expected state of affairs. Indeed, if uttering the patient’s name occasionally could increase the efficacy of the ritual, what was the gain for the Old Woman or another ritualist in resorting to the generalizing paraphrase ‘ritual patron’ on the remaining occasions? In contrast, there was every sense to introduce such a paraphrase into the written version of the ritual, which was not tied to any particular instantiation, but had prescriptive goals. In this case, future performers only needed occasional reminders not to slavishly imitate the tablet’s bureaucratic parlance. The instruction ‘The Old Woman calls the ritual patron by name’ could have served such a purpose.

The general point made above derives formal support from the contrastive examples (II.1) and (II.2), which are both taken from the Luwian conjurations (*ḫukmai-/šipat*) belonging to the Tauriša tradition (CTH 764–766), where the designation reserved for the patient is not EN SISKUR but DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU (lit. “child of mortality”). It is always recorded as a Sumerogram, but normally accompanied by phonetic complementation, as is the case of most other Sumerograms in Luwian texts (see Kudrinski 2017a, 247 and the discussion in the next section).

(II.1) KBo 13.260 ii 30–31 (CTH 765), see Starke 1985, 261
 za-aš-pa DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU-iš AMA-i-in e-er-wa-an e-eḫ-ḫu-id-du
 ‘May this child exit (his/her) mother’s interior!’

(II.2) KBo 13.260 iii 16’–20’ (CTH 765), see Starke 1985, 262
 zi-i-la-pa-at-ta za-‘am-ma-ti’ DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU-ni *ŠUM=ŠU* *ḫal-za-a-i* ḫu-i-du-mar-ša u-up-pa-an-na-an-du wa-ia-ḫi-ša ḫa-ad-du-la-ḫi-ša an-na-ru-ma-a-ḫi-ša
 ‘In the future, may they carry to this bewitched mortal—**he/she calls his name**—life, vitality, health (and) virility!’

143 There are three attestations of the “naming construction” in our corpus: in KUB 9.6+ i 39 (CTH 759.1) it is used in connection with the ritual patron; in KUB 35.13+ r.col. 13’ (CTH 762.3.4) it follows a curse formula against the *nakkiu*-spirits; its attribution in KUB 32.124 i 4’ (CTH 763.1.3.b) remains unclear.

As should be clear from the translation of (II.1), this example is taken from a birth conjuration.¹⁴⁴ Here the name of the “child of mortality” is yet unknown, as is his/her gender. In contrast, example (II.2) belongs to an anti-witchcraft incantation, where the patient is presumed to have a name. The Hittite syntactic fragment ‘he/she calls his name’ (marked here in boldface) is embedded in a Luwian blessing formula, splitting it in turn into two fragments. In other words, we are dealing with a parenthetical note rather than a sequence of well-formed clauses in (II.2), which formally precludes the interpretation of *ŠUM-ŠU ḫal-za-a-i* as referring to some kind of separate gesture. Its ostensive purpose is to indicate that *DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU-* is not to be translated into Luwian in the oral performance but rather replaced with the patient’s personal name. There are no reasons to assume that the use of *ŠUM-ŠU ḫal-za-a-i* with reference to EN SISKUR was pragmatically different.

Another way of demonstrating the connection between the abstraction of ‘ritual patron’ and the Hittite written register is through its frequent alternations with different descriptive terms in the parallel versions of the same composition. Thus, the essential difference between the fragments grouped under CTH 448.2.1 and CTH 448.2.2, both reflecting a ritual for the Sun-goddess of the Earth, consists in their featuring EN SISKUR and the royal couple respectively (Görke 2016). A similar distinction defines the difference between two variants of the Ambazzi ritual: CTH 391.1 mentions a ritual patron or their group, while CTH 391.1 refers to a king in the same function (Christiansen 2006, 165). The variation between one vs. two ritual patrons is observed, for example, in the Maštigga tradition (CTH 404; Miller 2004, 232–38). Finally, one can compare KBo 24.9 rev. iii 8’ [*k*]*u-u-un UN-an U[ZU^{HA}]* ‘this person’s limbs’ vs. KUB 41.1 rev. iii 17’ *ku-u-un EN SISKUR UZU^{UR}-niⁱ-eš* ‘this ritual patron’s limbs’ in the parallel versions of the Alli ritual (CTH 402; Weeden 2011, 280, fn. 1280).

Further examples of a comparable type can be readily found, and they represent just one manifestation of adapting Hittite ritual texts in scribal circles, a common practice studied in detail in Miller 2004 and Christiansen 2006. Its particular frequency, however, has to do with the nature of the alternating elements. If the generic designation of the ritual patron reflected, first and foremost, the chancery jargon, it could easily be replaced with a different generic term without a perceived risk of damaging the ritual’s illocutionary force. Naturally, even an adaptation of a ritual to the needs of the royal court need not imply that the royal patients would be called just ‘king’ or ‘queen’ in oral performance: most likely their personal names would be added to the titles.¹⁴⁵ But not all the patients were royals: one of the ways of referring to them in the religious texts from Kizzuwadna and the Lower Land was ‘master of the house, head of the household’ (Akkadian *bēl bītim*, Hittite *parnaš išḫāš*). The respective heterogram

144 The translation of (II.1) adopted here is different from the one proposed in Mouton and Yakubovich 2019, 217 (‘Let this human (child) regain his mother’s intimacy’) and follows a personal communication of Craig Melchert (see now Melchert 2022 sub *iḫḫwi-* ‘to exit’). The principal reason for our change of opinion is the meaning ‘may he come out’, which imposes itself as the simplest translation of Luw. *e-ēḫ-ḫu-id-du*, the cognate of Hitt. *arḫa uiddu* ‘may he come out’.

145 Sometimes this practice percolated into the written texts; see for example CTH 778, the fragments of the *itkalzi*-ritual mentioning Tašmišarri (= Tudḫaliya II) and his wife Taduḫeba.

is attested, for example, in the Zarpiya ritual (CTH 757, EN É-*TIM*) and the “festival” of the Storm-god of Kuliwišna (CTH 330, ¹⁰EN É-*TIM*). On face value, its use conveys the low-key character of a religious performance: a head of the household can be contrasted with a king as head of state. In contrast, the use of EN SISKUR leaves open the question about the patient’s social status and therefore represents its most neutral written designation. In the oral performance of a Hittite ritual, the patient’s personal name without any title was the most likely standard equivalent of both EN SISKUR and EN É-*TIM*.

II.4 THE LUWIAN READINGS OF SISKUR AND EN SISKUR

The Hittite-Luwian rituals published in this book bear witness to the extensive use of the combination EN SISKUR (with orthographic variants) in Luwian incantations. It has the same reference as EN SISKUR in the Hittite matrix texts of the same compositions. Yet, in contrast with Hittite, the Luwian term has a transparent structure. The possessive adjective /malxassass(a/i)-/, optionally associated with the Sumerographic spellings SÍSKUR/SISKUR, as in (II.3–II.5), modifies the head noun with the basic meaning ‘master, lord’, obligatorily associated with either the Sumerographic logogram EN or its Akkadographic equivalent *BE-EL* (Starke 1990, 55).¹⁴⁶ In (II.3–II.4) and similar examples, where the head noun lacks phonetic complements, it precedes the modifier in conformity with the Sumero-Akkadian syntactic rules. If, however, it features phonetic complements, as in (II.5–II.6), it follows the modifier in accordance with the Luwian syntactic preferences. This distribution is in line with the general tendency to avoid phonetic insertions in sequences with marked heterographic syntax (see Kudrinski 2016, 164). We can be sure that the graphic sequences with /malxassass(a/i)-/ preceding and following its head noun ‘master, lord’ correspond to the same phonetic phrase, because they directly alternate in (II.3) vs. (II.4) and several other examples taken from the parallel versions of the same text.

(II.3) KUB 35.54 ii 12’–14’ (CTH 758.1)

a-ap-pa a-ad-d[u-wa-al-za] ú-tar-ša EN SÍSKUR DINGIR^{MES}-za [pár-ra-an ni-iš]
im-ra-aš-ša ¹⁰IM-aš-ša-an-za [ḫal-li-iš-ša]
‘[May] the ev[il] matter [not (be)] again [in the presence] of the deities of the
EN SÍSKUR [(and turn into) the defilement] of the Storm-god of the Open Country!’

(II.4) KBo 29.3+ ii 21–22 (CTH 760.2)

ku-i-ša-an ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni-iš-ša-at-ta ku-i-ša-an ip-pa-tar-ri<-iš>-ša-at-ta EN
SÍSKUR-aš-ši-in ALAM-ša
‘Whoever restrained it, whoever distrained it, (namely) the EN SÍSKUR’s shape (...)’

146 The word for ‘lord’ in Luwian cuneiform texts has the phonetic complement *-ya-* in the dative case, and based on hieroglyphic evidence its likely reading is /nija-/ (Yakubovich 2019, 554, fn. 67). Nevertheless, since it is never spelled fully phonetically in our corpus and therefore its reading cannot be demonstrated based on the data under discussion, we are not focusing on it here. This is one reason why we did not attempt to cite the numbered examples in transcription in this appendix, another reason being the awkwardness of transcribing phrases with graphic transposition (see immediately below).

(II.5) KUB 35.48 ii 14'–15' (CTH 760.4)

ku-i-ša-an ša<-aḥ>-ḥa-ni-eš-ša<-at>-ta [ku-i-ša-a]n i-ip-pa-tar-ri-eš-ša<-at>-ta
SISKUR^{HA}-**ši-in EN-an** [ta-a-ru-u]š-ša
 'Whoever restrained it, whoever distrained [i]t, (namely) the EN SISKUR's
 [shap]e (...)'

(II.6) KUB 35.51 ii? 15', (CTH 760.3.a)

[e-le-el-ḥa-i-ti] **ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš EN-aš** ta-p[a-r]u [ḥi-ru-ú-un ta-ta-r]i-
 ia-am-ma-an
 'The EN SISKUR [is washing himself] (from) jud[g]ment, [perjury, cur]se.'

Rather more problematic is the base noun /malxass(a)-/, which is attested only twice in our corpus. According to Laroche 1959, 65–66, Starke 1990, 108, and Melchert 1993, 131, this Luwian word means 'ritual', but this is no more than the extrapolation of the meaning assigned to SISKUR in Hittite texts. As all three authors duly notice, both attestations of this noun are plural: in (II.7) and (II.8) below we find the forms of acc. pl. n. and nom. pl. n. respectively. This might surely be a coincidence, but as demonstrated in Melchert 2000a, the declension of the phrase 'ritual patron' suggests that /malxassass(a/i)-/ functions there as the adjective with plural possessor. One cannot see it based on the nominative and accusative forms cited in (II.3–II.6), where the relevant opposition is neutralized, but KUB 9.6+ iii 25' *ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-an EN-ia* (dat.sg.) or KUB 35.78(+) iv 7' [*ma-al*]-*ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-an-za EN-an-z[a]* (dat.pl.) show the suffix /-ants-/, which marks the plurality of the possessor, inserted between the /malxassass(a/i)-/ and the inflectional endings. In order to render faithfully the grammatical structure of such dative phrases, Melchert (2000a, 175) chose to translate them not as 'to the ritual patron(s)' but rather 'to the lord(s) of the sacrifices'.

Our analysis suggests that the interpretation of /malxass(a)-/ as a set of concrete objects can be extended to its nominative-accusative occurrences. Both examples (II.7) and (II.8) belong to the key part of the Puriyanni ritual, where the ritual patron transfers the "seeds" (presumably, the contaminated items), together with silver and gold, to the Storm-god of the Open Country. The operation requires the help of the patron's substitute, a wooden figure, the subject of (II.7). Its apparent purpose is placating the god, who should in exchange safeguard the contaminated items and ensure that they do not affect the other deities. Immediately after this act of transfer, the ritual specialist presents objects functioning as symbols of heaven and earth and utters the incantation (II.8). We interpret this as underscoring the irreversible character of the deposition: the offerings will not come back to the patient and will not become again a source of contamination for him or his household gods.

(II.7) KBo 29.2 + KUB 35.52 ii 4'–5' (CTH 758.2.1, restored after parallel KUB 35.54 ii 25'–26')

[za-am-ma-an-t]a ma-al-ḥa-ša an-da za-a-aš pu-na-^rta' [a-a-ri-ia-ad]-du
 'May this one [pick up] all the [bewitch]d offerings.'

(II.8) KUB 35.54 ii 42'–45' (CTH 758.1)

pa-a-ti ku-wa-a-ti-in [tap-pa]š-ša ti-ia-am-mi-iš na-a-wa a-a-ia-ri [ti-i]a-am-mi-iš-pa-ti [t]ap-paš-ša na-a-w[a a-a]-ia-ri za-a-ḥa SISKUR-aš-ša [...]x a-'pa-ti-i' ni-iš a-a-ia-ri

'So, as [heav]en does not become earth and (as) [e]arth does no[t b]ecome [h]eaven, may these offerings likewise not become [...]'

The translation given above is contextually superior to one built upon the abstract notion of a ritual. Indeed, the wooden substitute figurine of the ritual patron is not expected to carry out (i.e. officiate over) the ritual, as this is rather the purview of the ritual specialist. If the adjective [*za-am-ma-an-t*]a 'bewitched' is correctly restored in (II.7), this is hardly an appropriate modifier for 'ritual' in view of its negative connotations. Furthermore, 'heaven' and 'earth', as *nomina concreta*, hardly constitute felicitous similes for rituals, and in any case it is not obvious what kind of undesirable transformation the ritual can undergo in that context. On the positive side, one can now justify the use of /malxass(a)-/ as *plurale tantum* (or its predominant plural use): since the offerings normally consist of multiple items, their use in the plural is semantically natural.

Apart from these contexts, there is additional evidence for /malxass(a)-/ 'offering', which is derived from the attestations of this noun in Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions predating the fall of Ḫattuša. The sequence *137-*ha-sà* (SÜDBURG) and its counterpart *137-*ha-sa*₅ (EMİRGAZİ) were interpreted as spellings of /malxass(a)-/ in van den Hout 1995b, 562–64. This confirmed the tentative identification of hieroglyph *137 as a logogram for 'offering, libation' (Marazzi 1990, 149), which had originally been proposed on a purely contextual basis. Indeed, the EMİRGAZİ altars feature the matching clauses 'whoever does not grant me offerings ...' and 'whoever grants me offerings ...', followed by the curse and blessing formulae respectively (the better-preserved negative clause is analyzed as (II.9) below). The similar passage (II.10) in the SÜDBURG inscription mentions offerings to the gods in three different locations after a victorious campaign.

(II.9) EMİRGAZİ 1b § 34, see Hawkins 1995, 88–89, 101

kwa/i-i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i-mu	*137- <i>ha-sa</i> ₅	NEG-wa/i	DARE
k ^w is=ba=wa=mu	malxassa	nawa	pijai
who.NOM.SG.C=but=PTCL=I.DAT	offering.ACC.PL	NEG	give.3SG.PRS

'Whoever does not grant me offerings ...'.

(II.10) SÜDBURG § 13, see Hawkins 1995, 22–23, 43

*137- <i>ha-sà</i>	DEUS-zi/a	DARE
malxassa	massannantsa	pijaxxa
offering.ACC.PL	god.DAT.PL	gave.1SG.PRT

'(In the towns X, Y, and Z) I gave offerings to the gods'.

As a result of van den Hout's identification, the hieroglyphic sign *137 came to be transliterated as LIBATIO, but another consequence of the same discovery appears to have been less appreciated thus far. This is the functional similarity of Luw.

/malxass(a)-/ between cuneiform ritual texts and hieroglyphic royal inscriptions: both have concrete meanings ‘offerings’ or ‘ritual items.’ Furthermore, at least in the instance of the SÜDBURG inscription, one can affirm that this is a royal offering of thanksgiving and thus has nothing to do with typical SISKUR-rituals, performed as they are in the event of crises. This supports the interpretation of Melchert 2000a, initially adopted on purely grammatical grounds: the compositional meaning of EN SISKUR in Luwian incantations is “lord of the offerings”, just as it is in Akkadian.¹⁴⁷

II.5 ORTHOGRAPHIC VARIANTS OF EN SISKUR

This section addresses varying heterographic spellings of the term translated above as ‘ritual patron’ in Hittite texts and ‘lord of the offerings’ in Luwian incantations. The Hittite corpus features four orthographic variants: EN SÍSKUR, EN SISKUR, BE-EL SÍSKUR, and BE-EL SISKUR, but only the first three are attested in the texts of the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions. Of primary interest here is the chronological distribution of these three variants, which emerges from the paleographic datings of the tablets published in the present book. We focus on the variation in EN SISKUR, because the choice between its allographs SÍSKUR/SISKUR used for ‘offering(s) / ritual’ can generally be predicted on the following basis: EN SISKUR → SISKUR; EN SÍSKUR → SÍSKUR; BE-EL SÍSKUR → SÍSKUR.¹⁴⁸

The table below lists three independent sets of paleographic datings: those offered in Starke 1985, those available online at the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* (accessed in summer 2019), and those that are based on our collation of the original tablets at the Ankara museum. On the basis of Starke’s results one can distinguish between (1) early 14th-century and earlier tablets, (2) late 14th-century tablets, and (3) 13th-century tablets. Starke’s absolute chronology is debatable (it reflects the archaizing end of the spectrum), but his relative datings display a good correlation with those published at the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* and indeed often refine the Mainz datings.¹⁴⁹ In addition, the same table reflects the variation in the spelling of three common Hittite forms: (1) *ki-iš-ša-an* vs. (2) *kiš-an* ‘thus’; (1) *ši-(ip)-pa-an-ti* vs. (2) *BAL-ti* ‘offers, dedicates’; and (1) *ḫu-u-uk-zi* vs. (2) *ḫu-uk-zi* ‘conjures’.

Based on table II.1 below, one can propose the orthographic change in progress: BE-EL SÍSKUR > EN SÍSKUR > EN SISKUR.¹⁵⁰ On the one hand, all the assured Middle Script fragments, except for KBo 9.143 and IBoT 3.96+ (which show EN SÍSKUR) and KUB 35.54

147 See the recent treatment of *malḫašša-* ‘ritual offering, sacrifice’ in Melchert 2022.

148 The opposite is patently not true: the texts featuring SÍSKUR can use both the Sumerogram EN and Akkadogram BE-EL for ‘lord, master’. Furthermore, one can observe the following distribution: even the tablets featuring BE-EL SÍSKUR use *malḫaššaššiš* EN-*aš* in Luwian incantations, which reflects the constraint on Akkadograms with phonetic complementation.

149 The notation through slash—for example, 1/3 or MS²/NS—is used in those cases where the two fragments with different paleographic datings have recently been joined. This naturally refutes one of the two; in practice, it is the later dating that tends to be correct.

150 For BE-EL SÍSKUR as the most archaic variant, see already Starke 1985, 81.

Texts	‘ritual patron’ etc. ¹⁵¹	‘thus’	‘offers’	‘conjures’	Ductus (Starke)	Ductus (portal)	Ductus (Luwili)
KUB 35.15	^{LÜ} BE-EL SÍSKUR 4x	1	1		1	MS	MS
KUB 32.14(+)	^{LÜ} BE-EL SÍSKUR 1× BE-EL SÍSKUR 1x	1			2	NS	NS
KUB 35.24(+)	BE-EL SÍSKUR 1x	1	1		1	MS	MS
KBo 9.141	BE-EL SÍSKUR 2x	1	1	1	1	MS	MS
KUB 35.34	BE-EL SÍSKUR 3x	1			1	MS	MS
KBo 29.62	BE-EL SÍSKUR 1x				?	?	?
KBo 29.7(+)	BE-EL SÍSKUR 1x				2	NS	MS
KUB 35.20(+)	BE-E[L SÍSKUR] 1x	1, 2 (1x)			3	NS	MS
KUB 35.54	BE-EL SÍSKUR 2× EN SÍSKUR 3x	1			1	MS	MS
KUB 32.8(+), KBo 8.129	BE-EL SÍSKUR 1× EN SÍSKUR 1x	1		1	3	NS	NS
KBo 9.143	EN SÍSKUR 1x				1	MS	MS
KUB 35.83 (+)	EN SÍSKUR 1x				3	NS	NS
KUB 7.14(+)	EN SÍSKUR 5x	1 (1x), 2	1, 2		1/3	NS	NS
IBoT 3.96+	EN SÍSKUR 1x				2	MS?/NS	MS
KBo 22.137(+)	EN SÍSKUR 3x				1/3	MS?/NS	NS
KUB 35.29+	EN SÍSKUR 1x	1		1	2	NS	NS
KBo 29.3+	EN SÍSKUR 7x	1 (1x), 2	1	2	1/3	MS?	NS
KUB 35.46	EN SÍSKUR 1x	1			2	NS	NS
KBo 29.13+	EN SÍSKUR 2x	1			?	NS	NS
KUB 32.124	EN SÍSKUR 1x				?	NS	NS
KUB 9.6+	EN SISKUR 8× EN SÍSKUR 1x	1, 2 (1x)	1		3	LNS	NS
KBo 29.55+	EN SISKUR 3× EN SÍSKUR 1x	2	2	2, 1 (1x)	3	NS	NS
KUB 35.81(+)	EN SISKUR 2x		1		3	NS	NS
KUB 27.26	EN SISKUR 1x				?	NS	?
KBo 30.190	EN SISKUR 2x	1		1	2	NS	NS
KBo 10.42	EN SISKUR 1x		1		3	NS	NS
KUB 35.48	EN SISKUR 1x	1(1x), 2	1	2	3	NS	NS
KUB 35.16(+), KUB 35.51	EN SISKUR 4x	1	2	2	2/3	NS	NS
KBo 29.9	EN SISKUR 2x	1	1	1	2	NS	NS
KBo 29.6(+)	EN SISKUR 5x	1	2	1	3	NS	NS
KUB 35.73	EN SISKUR 1x	2			?	NS	NS

Table II.1: Variation in the rendering of EN SISKUR in CTH 758–763

¹⁵¹ Excluding restored passages.

(which shows both *BE-EL* SÍSKUR and EN SÍSKUR), show the spelling *BE-EL* SÍSKUR; on the other hand, all the fragments featuring the variant EN SISKUR are written in New Script. The complications of this distribution reflect, above all, the archaic or archaizing spellings. A likely example of a faithful copy with archaic spellings is KUB 32.14(+) (NS), which, besides *BE-EL* SÍSKUR, uses the PAP sign for word parts damaged in the original, as opposed to omitting or paraphrasing the respective forms. A likely tablet featuring archaizing creative adaptation is KUB 32.8(+), where the variation between the conservative spellings *BE-EL* SÍSKUR and EN SÍSKUR appears side by side with the innovative clitic complex *nu-kán*. In addition, one suspects that the spelling EN SISKUR was more typical of draft copies. Thus, KUB 35.48 and KBo 30.190 feature EN SISKUR and are ruled (*vorliniert*), which is a typical feature of draft tablets, whereas their copies or close parallel versions, KBo 29.3+ and KUB 35.29+ respectively, feature EN SÍSKUR and are not ruled.¹⁵²

These and other complications taken aside, the development *BE-EL* SÍSKUR > EN SÍSKUR > EN SISKUR can be analyzed in terms of ongoing orthographic simplification. The variant *BE-EL* SÍSKUR, dominant in Middle Script fragments, consists of four signs, the rarer Middle Script variant ¹⁰*BE-EL* SÍSKUR even contains five, while the innovative EN SISKUR represents a combination of just two signs. This process must be considered together with the other instances of orthographic simplification emerging from Table II.1: *ki-iš-ša-an* > *kiš-an*; *ši-pa-an-ti* > *BAL-ti* and *ḫu-u-uk-zi* > *ḫu-uk-zi*. The impact of economy of effort on the development of Hittite orthography is well known among Hittitologists (see e.g. Neu and Rüster 1973, 227), although the heterogram for ‘ritual patron’ seems not to have been invoked thus far in connection with this tendency.

The prediction of the above explanation is that the directionality of the orthographic change *BE-EL* SÍSKUR > EN SÍSKUR > EN SISKUR is not limited to Hittite texts with Luwian insertions. This can be empirically confirmed through an analysis of other traditions featuring a large number of related versions. Thus, the parallel versions of Maštigga’s ritual against domestic quarrels (CTH 404.1) display a rather straightforward distribution: the older versions dated II b–c show the consistent spelling *BE-EL* SÍSKUR, the later versions dated III a–c show variants EN SÍSKUR or EN SISKUR, while the tablet I.B with the intermediate dating IIb–IIIa shows both *BE-EL* SÍSKUR and EN SISKUR (Miller 2004, 52–53, 198, 205; see Miller 2004, 9–10 for the proposed chronology). Dating of the numerous fragments of CTH 701 (offering to the throne of Ḫebat) on the basis of the Mainz system yields a fuzzier picture, which reflects the frequent preservation of archaic variants in later copies. One thing, however, is clear: all the fragments featuring EN SISKUR (numbers 16, 17, 23, 26, 35, 68, 36, 82 in Salvini and Wegner 1986) are classified as New Script. In both groups of texts one finds the expected correlations within fragments: EN SISKUR ↔ SISKUR AND *BE-EL* SÍSKUR / EN SÍSKUR ↔ SÍSKUR.

At this point it is appropriate to remember that the Akkadian texts of the second millennium BCE featured both orthographic variants—namely, SISKUR and SÍSKUR =

152 For the PAP signs and ruled tablets, see in general Waal 2015, 82 and 116–17 respectively. For New Hittite *nu=kan* vs. Middle Hittite *n=ašta*, see Oettinger 1976, 67–70.

SISKUR.SISKUR. What then prompted the preference for the variants SÍSKUR and *BE-EL* SÍSKUR in the earliest records of the Kuwattalla and Maštigga traditions, especially in contrast with SISKUR ‘offering’ attested in an Old Script text from Ḫattuša (KUB 43.27 i 2’, CTH 733)? We submit that the reduplicated spelling SÍSKUR = SISKUR.SISKUR can be taken as iconic of the plurality of Luw. /malxass(a)-/ ‘offerings’. We have seen that this plural noun does not have a singular counterpart in the attested corpus, while *BE-EL* SÍSKUR stands for the phrase “lord of the offerings” in Luwian.¹⁵³ In fact, the spelling SISKUR^{HÁ}-ši-in EN-an “lord of the offerings” in example (II.5) above suggests the plurality of the dependent noun was felt even in the absence of its overt morphological expression. In contrast, the available phonetic complements of SISKUR/SÍSKUR in Hittite imply the association of this Sumerogram with a variety of singular nouns (see Section II.2 above). Therefore, once SÍSKUR was reinterpreted in the Hittite milieu, it was no longer felt to be an iconic spelling, which launched the mechanism for its progressive replacement with the shorter alternative SISKUR.

The proposed scenario has far-reaching consequences. One must assume that the heterographic pair SÍSKUR and *BE-EL* SÍSKUR had already become established in Luwian before it was adapted for Hittite. Another established reading of *BE-EL* SÍSKUR is Hurrian *ašḫušikkunni*, a derivative of *ašḫ-* ‘to sacrifice’ (Richter 2012, 55–56) and a cognate of Hurrian *āṭḫlm* (also *āšḫlm*) ‘offering’ or ‘ritual’, attested in Ugaritic transmission (Richter 2012, 520).¹⁵⁴ While the Hurrian noun does not justify the use of the variant SÍSKUR as opposed to SISKUR, it has transparent ties to the concept of ritual offering. Therefore, it seems likely that the functional equivalence between *malḫaššaššiš* EN-aš and *ašḫušikkunni* was established somewhere in Kizzuwadna, in the bilingual Luwian and Hurrian milieu, which means that *BE-EL* SÍSKUR was also equated with *ašḫušikkunni*. Finally, the combined pressure of Hittite-Luwian and Hittite-Hurrian rituals must have eventually contributed to the proliferation of *BE-EL* SÍSKUR and SÍSKUR within Hittite, first in the matrix texts of the Hittite-Luwian and Hittite-Hurrian compositions, and then elsewhere.¹⁵⁵

153 Compare also the spelling KBo 39.8 i 20 *BE-EL* SÍSKUR-TIM in the oldest available tablet of Maštigga’s ritual against domestic quarrels (Miller 2004, 64), which was likely written by a Luwian native speaker. According to Mark Weeden (pers. comm.), the Akkadographic complement of the Sumerogram SISKUR ultimately reflects the Akkadian phrase *bēl niqāti* ‘lord of the offerings’. Alternatively, one can hypothesize that *BE-EL* SÍSKUR-TIM represents a cross between *BE-EL* SÍSKUR and *BE-EL* Ê-TIM ‘master of the house’.

154 For the morphological structure of *ašḫušikkunni*, see Campbell 2012. See also *ašḫiašše*, a synonym of *ašḫušikkunni* derived from the same root (Richter 2012, 55).

155 This appendix does not take a stance on the mechanisms responsible for the literization (*Ver-schriftlichung*) of Hittite-Luwian and Hittite-Hurrian rituals found in Ḫattuša. For the history of the debate, see Yakubovich 2010a, 272–85, Melchert 2013b, 168–70, and Gilan 2019, 182–85. One must acknowledge, however, that the new data presented here support the view that at least some Luwian texts, possibly not those copied in Ḫattuša and available to us today, had been recorded in writing in Kizzuwadna.

II.6 FUNCTIONAL ASPECTS

We have seen that the use of SISKUR and EN SISKUR in Luwian vs. Hittite differs in accordance with three parameters. First, the Luwian texts reveal unambiguous readings of both heterograms, whereas in Hittite SISKUR has multiple readings, while the reading of EN SISKUR is, strictly speaking, unknown there. Second, the concrete meanings of SISKUR in Luwian are close or identical to those in Akkadian, whereas in Hittite it acquired the abstract meaning ‘ritual’. Third, the archaic orthographic variants SISKUR and BE-EL SISKUR reflect the morphological structure of the respective Luwian expressions, but not that of their Hittite counterparts.

This cluster of converging data is conducive to formulating a hypothesis about the role played by Luwian and Hittite speakers in the functional adaptation of both Mesopotamian terms. We have seen that the Luwian phrase *malḥaššaššiš* EN-aš “lord of the offerings” was used with reference to the private commissioners of religious performances, including those associated with the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions.¹⁵⁶ This term, illustrated by examples (II.3–II.6) above, must ultimately represent a calque from Akkadian *bēl niqê*, *bēl niqâti*, but the plural possessor in *ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-* ‘of the offerings’ presumably reflects the ritual practice of Kizzuwadna and the Lower Land: the texts treated in our book invariably refer to multiple animal sacrifices, as well as other offering types. The Hurrian term *ašḥušikkunni* ‘commissioner of a sacrifice, ritual patron’ is likely to represent a less close calque from Akkadian. Whether /malxass(a)-/ ‘offerings’ could be metaphorically extended to the whole religious performance commissioned by a “lord of the offerings” cannot be ascertained, but this is likely, particularly if Hurrian *ātḥlm* shared the same polysemy (see Richter 2012, 520).

Now, the cultural setting in Ḫattuša was very different from that which we can reconstruct for the Luwian or Hurrian milieu. Judging by the available texts, privately sponsored religious performances were common and enjoyed high prestige in both Kizzuwadna and the Lower Land. In contrast, the state cult was at the center of religious life in Ḫattuša, or at least of primary interest for the chancery of Ḫattuša up to a certain point. In this tradition, the chief performer was the king, while the term “lord of the offerings” was probably not in use. Once the Ḫattuša scholar-scribes began to record private performances, probably in answer to specific challenges of perceived supernatural origin, they showed particular interest in the ceremonies from Kizzuwadna and the Lower Land.¹⁵⁷ When their written versions were classified in

156 This does not, of course, imply that the Luwian ritual specialists pronounced this phrase each time we see it in the written versions of the respective compositions. Most likely, they used personal names in oral performances, as was also the case of Hittite rituals (see Section II.3). The data at our disposal suggest, however, that the term “lord of the offerings” was commonly known in the Luwian milieu of southeastern Anatolia.

157 According to a plausible hypothesis of Collins (2019, 195–96), the interest in anti-witchcraft lore in Ḫattuša at the time of Tudḫaliya I (early 14th century BCE) had to do with the frequent accusations of witchcraft at Tudḫaliya’s court. This mood is reflected in CTH 443, the ritual commissioned by Tudḫaliya and his wife Nikkalmati in order to combat the witchcraft of his sister Ziplantawiya.

Ḫattuša, the performances commissioned by *BE-EL SISKUR* mostly came to be known as *SISKUR*^{HA} ‘rituals’.¹⁵⁸ In contrast, the religious celebrations that did not require a ‘ritual patron’, because they served the needs of the whole community, were labeled *EZEN*₄^{HA} ‘festivals’.¹⁵⁹

If the proposed reconstruction holds, the contrastive Sumerographic marking of festivals and rituals, which is so important for Hittite philology, emerges as a construct of Ḫattuša intellectuals prompted by contacts with foreign religious traditions. If *SISKUR* was conscientiously deployed in Ḫattuša to classify those religious performances accompanied by offerings that did not fit within the mold of *EZEN*₄, this explains why it could be associated with multiple Hittite interpretations. *EN SISKUR* ‘ritual patron’ likewise had no fixed counterpart in spoken Hittite but merely served as a place holder, to be replaced with a patient’s name in oral performance.

Complications in the proposed scenario comes from the mismatches in some Hittite texts from the Luwian milieu (the Lower Land). Thus, the festivals of the goddess Ḫuwaššanna (CTH 691–694), with her cult center in Ḫubišna, frequently refer to an *EN SISKUR*, prescribing different offerings depending on whether the *EN SISKUR* is rich or poor (Güterbock 1970, 177; Hutter 2010, 403–5). Furthermore, the celebration of the Storm-god of Kuliwišna (CTH 330) is variously called *mukišnaš EZEN*₄ ‘festival of invocation’ (KBo 15.34(+) ii 15’) and *mukišnaš SISKUR* ‘ritual/offering of invocation’ (KBo 15.34(+) ii 23’). Its commissioner is called ^{LÜ}*EN É-TIM* ‘master of the house’ (KBo 15.34(+) ii 14’), although he can apparently delegate a part of his duties to a professional called ^{LÜ}*mukišnaš išhāš* ‘lord of the invocation’ (KBo 15.34(+) ii 15’; see Glocker 1997, 135–36).¹⁶⁰ One may suspect that the label *EZEN*₄ was secondarily attached to these texts in Hittite transmission. Among the factors that could move the Ḫattuša officials to such a taxonomic choice, one can name the focus of these texts on celebrating a particular deity as well as the fact that they had not been attributed to any ritualist of repute. In spite of these complications, CTH 691–694 and CTH 330 side with the compositions treated in the present book in stressing private access to the religious performances they refer to.¹⁶¹

Collins compares this situation to the later adaptation of Arzawa anti-plague rituals at the time of Muṣili II, which was ostensibly prompted by the spread of a plague epidemic to Ḫattuša.

- 158 Given the lingering presence of *SISKUR* ‘offering’ in Hittite texts, it is likely that the Hittite scribes understood the derived meaning of *SISKUR* as ‘sacrificial rituals’. Although, as above, animal sacrifices and other offerings were common to rituals and festivals, they were arguably less salient in festival settings, because the court officials usually acted there as consumers rather than as sponsors.
- 159 While the Hittite reading of *EZEN*₄ is unknown, it can denote both ‘cult festival’ and ‘feast, party’ (Güterbock 1970, 175). Only the second meaning is attested in Luwian (KUB 35.107+ i 11’ ^{DUTU}*-wa-ti EZEN*₄ *a-a-ta* ‘the Sun-god made a feast’), but Hurrian *eli* represents a stable equivalent of *EZEN*₄ ‘festival’ (Richter 2012, 82).
- 160 Craig Melchert (pers. comm.) offers the possibility that the ‘festival of the invocation’ is the version of the celebration that is performed without the participation of the ‘master of the house’. This hypothesis represents a distinct possibility and would certainly simplify our account, but it requires more attestations of *SISKUR* and *EZEN*₄ in CTH 330 for its confirmation.
- 161 Michele Cammarosano (pers. comm.) turns our attention to the opposite state of affairs in two recently published texts from Kayalıpınar (Şamuha), which refer to periodical cult offerings per-

We conclude that the scholar-scribes of Ḫattuša perceived the difference between, on the one hand, privately sponsored religious performances originating from Kizzuwadna and the Lower Land, and, on the other hand, Ḫattuša state cult. The conceptualization of this distinction might be responsible for the evolved Hittite meanings of SISKUR and EN SISKUR, which are conventionally rendered as ‘ritual’ and ‘ritual patron’ respectively.

formed by specific individuals or groups of individuals by means of the Sumerogram SISKUR. These are KpT 1.39 § 14 (SISKUR MU.KAM), § 15, § 16, § 17, § 18, § 21, § 22, § 23 (SISKUR *šuppiyahḫuwaš*), § 26, and KpT 1.41 § 2, § 3 (SISKUR MU.KAM), § 6; see Cammarosano 2019, 72–74, 84. Cammarosano offers the following explanation for these data: “The use of SISKUR, here in the sense of ‘offering’, instead of the usual EZEN₄ might represent a peculiarity of a local scribal circle or may have been triggered by the seemingly small extent of the offerings and by the fact that the ceremony arguably did not entail the participation of any congregation.”

APPENDIX III

DEITIES AND IMPURITY

IN THE PURIYANNI AND KUWATTALLA

TRADITIONS

Laura Puértolas Rubio

III.1 INTRODUCTION

In the ritual texts belonging to the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions, the neutralization of impurity plays a central role. This impurity not only affects the patient and his household, but can also touch the deities. The aim of this appendix is to examine how deities and impurity can interact, focusing on two particular examples from the Puriyanni and Kuwattalla traditions. Through the contextual study of these examples, two different ways in which deities can be polluted will be highlighted, which will be conducive to analyzing in depth the role played by the deities in the ritual process, as well as their relationship with the patient and with the source(s) of impurity.

In the first substantial part of this appendix (Sections III.2.1–4), the defilement of the Storm-god of the Open Country will be addressed. This god plays a central role in the text of the ritual of Puriyanni against impurity in a house (CTH 758). First, the characteristics of the Storm-god of the Open Country and his connection with impurity will be examined to explain the importance of this god in the ritual. Then, we shall turn to the analysis of the expression ‘defilement of the Storm-god of the Open Country’ in this context and its possible connotations concerning a hypothetical pollution of this god during the ritual.

The second substantial part of this appendix (Sections III.3.1–4) will focus on the purification of the deities’ mouths mentioned in the incantations of the *dupaduparša*-ritual (CTH 759). These incantations deal with the neutralization of various evils affecting the patient and cursing the evil person. In some of them, the Old Woman exhorts the deities to wash their mouths with oil and honey. Through the examination of this group of incantations, the connotations of mouth-washing in this context will be highlighted, with the emphasis first placed on the role played by the mouth in the ritual and then on the nature of the perceived divine involvement in the ritual process. Finally, the ritual gestures associated with the purification of the mouth will also be discussed in some detail.

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III.2 THE DEFILEMENT OF THE STORM-GOD OF THE OPEN COUNTRY

III.2.1 *The Storm-god of the Open Country in the Puriyanni tradition*

In the Puriyanni tradition, the Storm-god of the Open Country plays a central role in the ritual against impurity in a house. This ritual is recorded as a one-tablet text in different versions, reflecting both a Middle Script and New Script ductus. Unfortunately, some sections of the text are lost and, therefore, its complete reconstruction is thus far not possible. The importance of the Storm-god of the Open Country for the ritual can already be inferred from the incipit and the colophon of the text. The first one appears in the version classified under CTH 758.2.1 and states:

Thus (speaks) Puriyanni: If there is some impurity in a person's house, I perform the following sacrifice to the Storm-god of the Open Country, (i.e.) '(that) of impurity'. I take this:¹⁶²

The matching colophon, preserved in a fragmentary state, is classified under CTH 758.2.3:

[If there is some] impu[rity] in a person's house, I celebrate thus [the Storm-god] of the Open Country. I take this]. [First tablet. W]ords of Puriyanni [...].¹⁶³

The next mention of the Storm-god of the Open Country after the incipit appears in a Luwian incantation associated with the ritual waving of the *taluppi*-lump over the patient. The passage states:

[He waves] the dough figuri[ne over] him and, at the same time, [he says] t[hus]: § "Here (is) the *taluppi*-lump. [It has been separated] by cutting (and) crushi[ng] (and) flatt[ened] by the rolling tool. § (Likewise), may he flatten them! May the ritual patron [separate] them! [May] the ev[il] matter [not (be)] again [in the presence] of the deities of the ritual patron [(and turn into) the defilement] of the Storm-god of the Open Country! So may this [*taluppi*-lump] take all (of those)!"¹⁶⁴

A similar incantation mentioning the Storm-god of the Open Country is associated with a ritual gesture involving a rope and the cutting of something, perhaps a figurine, unfortunately lost in the gap.¹⁶⁵ After the ritual waving of the *taluppi*-lump, a substitution rite follows.¹⁶⁶ Then the text describes a sequence mentioning seeds and precious metals handed over to the Storm-god of the Open Country.¹⁶⁷

162 KUB 7.14(+) i 1–4; CTH 758.2.1; NS.

163 KBo 29.1 iv 1'–3'; CTH 758.2.3; NS.

164 KUB 35.54 ii 6'–16'; CTH 758.1; MS. A similar sequence appears in KBo 53.228(+): 4"–10"; CTH 758.3.3; NS.

165 KBo 22.137+ ii 10–18; CTH 758.2.2; NS.

166 KUB 35.54 ii 17'–26' (CTH 758.1; MS) and KUB 7.14(+) ii 1'–5' (CTH 758.2.1; NS).

167 KUB 35.54 ii 27'–41'; CTH 758.1; MS. The first part of this sequence can also be found in KUB 7.14(+) ii 6'–11' (CTH 758.2.1; NS).

The defilement of the Storm-god of the Open Country is mentioned later in an incantation accompanying the ritual waving of an animal substitute.¹⁶⁸

Finally, the fragment classified under CTH 758.2.2 records an offering to the Sun-god and the Storm-god of the Open Country.¹⁶⁹

III.2.2 The Storm-god of the Open Country outside the Puriyanni Tradition

In the Hittite-Luwian corpus of the Puriyanni tradition, the name of the Storm-god of the Open Country is written *im(ma)rašša* ^{DIM},¹⁷⁰ *im(ma)rašša* ^{DU},¹⁷¹ *LÍL-aš* ^{DU}¹⁷² or *gimraš* ^{DU}.¹⁷³ In addition, the writing ^{DU} *ŠĒRI* is also found in other Hittite texts (van Gessel 1998, 785). In the incipit of Puriyanni's ritual against impurity in a house, the Storm-god of the Open Country is accompanied by the epithet ^D*Parattašši*.¹⁷⁴ This epithet is translated here as '(that) of impurity',¹⁷⁵ which may refer to one of the functions of this god, indicating that he is a specialist in purification.¹⁷⁶ Hittite texts show different examples of a divine epithet used to describe the deity's field of action. This is the case, for instance, of the 'Sun-god of illness' (*inanaš* ^{DU}TU), who can be called during a ritual to treat an ill person (Mouton 2020b, 226). The divine epithet ^D*Parattašši* appears only here and in a passage of a text of a festival in honor of ̕uwaššanna recording a drinking rite:

He/she drinks with wine. He/she drinks *IŠTAR* [...], Wašali of the Storm-god, '(that) of impuri[t]y'. Māliya, Waššiya, the Tarway[a]t- deities, Mimiya, Tūriyanta *hurranna*, the male [go]ds, Māliya, Wanama, Kuršali, deities of the grandmothers¹⁷⁷ (and) *allinienza* (and) the Good Day. He/she crum[b]les a loaf.¹⁷⁸

The presence of the Storm-god of Impurity in a festival for ̕uwaššanna could indicate that this god is associated with the circle of the Lower Land goddess ̕uwaššanna. Nevertheless, Lombardi (1999) and Hutter (2013, 182) have noted that this festival text seems to have been a special case within the genre. Most of the deities listed there

168 KUB 35.54 ii 46'–iii 11; CTH 758.1; MS. A similar sequence can be found in KUB 7.14(+) iii 6'–15' (CTH 758.2.1; NS).

169 KBo 22.137+ iii 1"–9"; CTH 758.2.2; NS.

170 KUB 35.54 ii 14', 35', 37', iii 7 (CTH 758.1; MS), KBo 22.137+ ii 16 (CTH 758.2.2; NS).

171 KBo 53.228(+): 9" (CTH 758.3.3; NS).

172 KUB.7.14(+) i 2 (CTH 758.2.1; NS).

173 KBo 22.137+ iii 6" (CTH 758.2.2; NS).

174 KUB 7.14(+) i 3 (CTH 758.2.1; NS).

175 See the commentary on the edition of this passage.

176 I would like to thank Alice Mouton for pointing this out to me.

177 For this translation, see the commentary to KBo 9.141 i 16'–17' (CTH 761.2.4).

178 *IŠTU* GEŠTIN *ekuzi* ^D*IŠTAR=ma*[...] ^D*Wašaliyan* ŠA ^{DIM} *paratta*[šš]iš ^D*Māliyaš* ^D*Waššiyaš* ^D*Tarway[a]tinzi* ^D*Mimiya*taš ^D*Tūriyantaš* *hurrannan*[a] [DINGI]R' ^{LU} ^{MES} *Māliyaš* ^D*Wanamaš* ^D*Kuršališ* DINGIR^{MES} *uranninza* *allini*{in}enza {x} ^{DU}U₄.SIG₅ *ekuzi* NINDA.GUR₄.RA *par*[š]iya (KBo 29.33+ r.col. 5'–11'; CTH 694.1.A; MS; for an edition of this passage, see Lombardi 1999, 237 and 240). All the transcriptions and translations quoted in this appendix, which are not included in the corpus of the Luwili Project, come from my personal collation of the tablets' photographs (available in the Hethitologie Portal Mainz; www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php) and, thus, may differ from other authors' editions.

(including the Storm-god of Impurity) do not appear in other sources, not even in other texts related to the goddess *Ħuwaššanna*, which makes it impossible to attribute them to a specific Luwian cultic center. In contrast, the Storm-god of the Open Country is also attested in other Hittite texts. For instance, he is listed, together with other deities, in another drinking rite in a text of a festival of *Lallupiya*:

Afterward, [they drink ...] of the house. [Afterward, ditto] the Tutelary deity of the inner chamber. § Afterward, [ditto the Sun]-deity of the gatehouse. [Afterward], ditt[o *Šuwašš*]unna. § Afterward, [ditto] *Iyarri*. [Afterward], ditto [*Šiuri*]. § Afterward, [ditto] *Iyaššalašši*. [Afterward, d]itto [*Wandu*]. § Afterward, [...] the Storm-god of the Open Country [...].¹⁷⁹

He also appears in a cult inventory text associated with different towns—namely, *Iššanašši*, *Šapagurwanta*, *Mallitta*, and *Tabbaruta*.¹⁸⁰ Thanks to their location along an Old Assyrian route between *Wašhaniya* and *Waḥšušana*, Cammarosano (2018, 436) has suggested the area west of *Kaneš/Neša*, which probably corresponds to the Lower Land, as the most probable geographical setting of this inventory. The paragraph on the town *Tabbaruta* provides the description of the cult image attributed to this god:

One wooden ram: Storm-god of the Open Country, in the house of the priest.¹⁸¹

Finally, the Storm-god of the Open Country is present in a text containing invocations to Hattian deities. The text states:

When the prince (lit. child) conjures for the vizier of the Storm-god, the singer say[s]: “For humankind, you (are) the Storm-god’s vizier, [but among] the deities you (are) the Storm-god of the Open Country. [You hold] heaven [and] earth.” This (is) establish[ed] in the recitation of the Storm-god.¹⁸²

To my knowledge, this is not only one of the most ancient attestations of the Storm-god of the Open Country, but also the only one belonging to a Hattian milieu. This could indicate a Hattian origin of the Storm-god of the Open Country. Nevertheless,

179 EGIR-*anda=ma* ŠA É x[... *akuwanzi* EGIR-*anda=m*]a ^DLAMMA É ŠA [KL.MIN] § EGIR-*anda=ma* *ḫilamnaš* ^D[UTU-un KL.MIN EGIR-*anda=ma* ^DŠuwašš]unna KL.M[IN] § EGIR-*anda=ma* ^DYarrin [KL.MIN EGIR-*anda=ma* ^DŠiurin] KL.MIN § EGIR=ŠU=ma ^DIyaššalašši[n KL.MIN EGIR=ŠU=ma ^DWandun K]I.LMIN § EGIR=ŠU=ma ^DU ŠĒRI ueši-[...]x (KUB 25.37+ iv 12–16; CTH 771.1; NS; for a transliteration of this passage, see Starke 1985, 348–49).

180 KUB 38.6+ (with dupl. KBo 70.109+; CTH 527.40; NS/LNS) i 37’ (*Iššanašši*), iv 14’ (*Šapagurwanta*) and iv 24’ (*Mallitta*). For an edition of this text, see Cammarosano 2018, 433–70. The Storm-god of the Open Country is also mentioned in other fragments of cult inventories (KUB 51.7 obv. 12; CTH 528.111; NS; KBo 26.154: 5; CTH 527.13; NS). Unfortunately, these fragments’ poor state of preservation makes it impossible to associate the mentions contained therein to a specific town.

181 1 UDU.ŠIR GIŠ ^DU LİL ŠA É ^LUSANGA (KBo 70.109+ iii 40”; CTH 527.40.A; NS; for an edition of this passage, see Cammarosano 2018, 454–55).

182 *mān* DUMU-*aš* ANA SUKKAL=ŠU ŠA ^DIM *ḫukzi* ^LUNAR *mem*[*ai*] *dandukišni* ^DIM-naš ^LUSUKKAL=ŠU *zik* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*naš*=*[a ištarna]* *gimraš* ^DIM-aš *zik nu nepiš tēkan*=*[(n)a ḫarši]* *kē=ma=ašta* ^DIM-aš *maltešna*(š) *ḫan*[*tan*] (KUB 8.41(+) ii 10–13; CTH 733.III.b.1.A; OS; for another edition of this passage, see La-roche 2016, 331–32).

it is also possible that this deity was included in central Anatolian pantheons very early on, as seems also to be the case for the Luwian goddess Maliya (Taracha 2009, 115) and the Luwian Sun-deity of the *hīlammār* (Mouton and Rutherford, 2010, 278). In view of the above attestations of this god, its presence in the Luwian local traditions is beyond doubt. Nevertheless, except for the epithet *parattašši-* and the mention of the Storm-god of the Open Country in the ritual of Puriyanni, the available texts do not highlight other relevant connections between this god and impurity. Thus, to understand why the Storm-god of the Open Country is also '(that) of impurity', we shall examine the link between impurity and the open country.

III.2.3 Impurity and the open country

HED K, 175 defines Hittite *gimra-* as 'the outdoors, countryside, steppe, wilderness; rangeland, ranch, field; field action, military campaign',¹⁸³ while Luwian /*immar(i)-* is rendered as 'open country' in CLL, 89. In a broader sense, these words can designate any location outside the town, and therefore their exact meaning can only be inferred from context. Thus, as G. Beckman has shown, when *gimra-* refers to the surroundings of a city, it evokes the idea of a 'cultivated place' and can be translated as 'field'. However, when it refers to more distant and uninhabited areas, it is better translated as 'wilderness' or 'territory' (Beckman 1999, 162–65). This second meaning of *gimra-* refers to the place where its connection with impurity should be sought. The contagious nature of impurity and its danger to society¹⁸⁴ mean that activities likely to produce impurity—for instance, polluting rituals—are carried out in the open country (Beckman 1999, 162). One example of this attitude can be found in the text of Allaiturahhi's ritual, where the patient goes into the open country to wash himself before coming back to his house:

That one washes off in the open country itself, then he goes into his house.¹⁸⁵

The open country is not only the place where certain polluting ritual actions take place, but it may also be the right setting to get rid of polluted things. The following paragraph from the Hittite Laws shows the dangers of disposing of polluted residues in an inhabited area without doing so properly:

If the cattle of a person *are stricken by the deity*¹⁸⁶ and he cleanses¹⁸⁷ them and drives them (home), but he places the salt¹⁸⁸ on the *salt's container*¹⁸⁹ without

183 On the etymology of this word, see Vanséveren 2008 (with bibliography).

184 On this topic, see in more detail Mouton 2012.

185 *apāš=ma=za arḫa gimri=pat ārri n=aš=za arḫa* INA É=ŠU *paizzi* (KUB 27.29+ i 37'–38'; CTH 780.II.Tf06.A; NS; for an edition of this text, see Haas and Wegner 1988, 122–43).

186 For this translation, see Hoffner 1997, 131 fn. 429. CHD Š, 506a suggests the uncertain translation 'to go crazy (?)'.

187 I follow here the translation suggested to me by Alice Mouton (pers. comm.).

188 For this translation (based on the duplicate KBo 67.269: 3'), see HW² IV, 280b–81b. Certainly, it is the salt that has been in contact with the cattle.

189 For this uncertain word, see HW² IV, 281b–82a. This translation was suggested to me by Alice Mouton (pers. comm.).

telling it to his colleague, (so that) the colleague, without knowing (it), drives his cattle (there) and (the cattle) die, (there will be) compensation.¹⁹⁰

In addition, *gimra-* can also be translated as ‘battlefield’ and, secondarily, as ‘military campaign’ (Beckman 1999, 162–63). Therefore, it is not surprising that several rituals associated with the army take place in the *gimra-*,¹⁹¹ as shown through the following example, which comes from the text of a ritual for purifying a defeated army:

Afterward, they perform the ritual of the open country as they (normally) perform the ritual of the open country.¹⁹²

At this point, we can wonder whether the connection between impurity and the open country is specifically associated with the Storm-god of the Open Country or whether it also appears with other deities related to this location. According to van Gessel 1998, only four deities are named with the epithet ‘of the Open Country’: the Storm-god of the Open Country, the Tutelary deity of the Open Country, the deity Ala of the Open Country, and *IŠTAR* of the Open Country (also translated as *IŠTAR* of the Battlefield). The last goddess is associated in many rituals with military contexts and, thus, seems to be related to the military activity that takes place in the open country.¹⁹³ The next passage, from the text of a festival for *IŠTAR* of Šamuḥa, shows this connection:

(If) the king, in some year, does not go on a military campaign, there is no *ambašši*-rite, *keldi*-rite and votive offering of ‘going on the campaign’ for *IŠTAR* of the Open Country of Šamuḥa, because the king does not go on a military campaign.¹⁹⁴

As for the Tutelary deity of the Open Country, he is related to the hunt. A cult inventory text describes his cult image as follows:

Town of Wiyanauwanta: Tutelary deity of the Open Co[untry: the divine] (image is) one statuette of gold, of a man, [stan]ding; he wea[rs] a horned helmet; in (his) right hand he holds a golden bow; [in] (his) left [hand] he holds a golden

190 takku šuppalaš=šet kuēlqa šieuniahta (dupl. šiuniahta; šiuniyahta; šiu[niahta?]) t=at (dupl. n=at) parkunuzi (dupl. parkunuzzi) n=at arḥa pennāi išuwanalli=ma=kan (dupl. <i>išuwanalli=ma=kan</i>) išuwan (dupl. MUN-an) dāi (dupl. dā<at>) ari=(š)ši=ma=at UL tezzi ^{LU}araš=(š)a (dupl. a[raš=(š)a]; [^{LU}a]rāš=(š)a) UL šakki šuppalaš=šet pennāi n=at aki šarnikzil (KBo 6.26 i 22–27; CTH 292.II.a.B; with dupl. KBo 6.10 iv 10’–12’; CTH 292.II.b.A; KBo 6.18 iv 1–6; CTH 292.II.b.C; KBo 6.15 iv² 13’–16’; CTH 292.II.b.D; HFAC 4 1–5; CTH 292; KBo 67.269: 1’–6’; CTH 292; NS; for another edition of this passage, see Hoffner 1997, 130–31).

191 For this kind of rituals, see Beal 1995 and Mouton 2016b.

192 EGIR-anda=ma=za gimra(š) SISKUR ienzi gimraš GIM-an SISKUR iššanzi (KUB 17.28 iv 55–56; CTH 426.2; NS; for an edition of this text, see Fuscagni 2016b).

193 For some examples, see Mouton 2016b, 11 fn. 30. See also Beckman 1999, 163 (with bibliography).

194 LUGAL-uš=ma kuedani MU-ti LİL-ri UL panza nu=šmaš LİL-ri pauwaš ANA ^DIŠTAR LİL ^{URU}Šamuḥa SISKUR ambašši keldi=ya maldeššar=a UL ešzi LUGAL-uš kuit gimri UL paizzi (KUB 27.1 i 31–34; CTH 712.A; NS; for an edition of this text, see Haas 1998, 182–84).

eagle (and) a golden hare. (He has?) one golden knife with golden fruits attached. He stands on a stag of gold, (standing) on four (legs). Silv[er ...].¹⁹⁵

This god appears in several festival texts and is associated with the goddess Ala, the other Tutelary deity that carries the epithet ‘of the Open Country’.¹⁹⁶ The association of these two deities with the open country can easily be related to its understanding as ‘wilderness’. However, neither *IŠTAR* of the Open Country nor these tutelary deities appear to have a specific connection with the impurity attributed to the *gimra*-. Only the Storm-god of the Open Country is provided with an additional epithet *parattašši*- ‘(that) of impurity’. As a hypothesis, we can suggest that the neutralization of the impurity associated with the *gimra*- falls within the scope of action of this god.

III.2.4 The role of the Storm-god of the Open Country in the ritual of Puriyanni

If the Storm-god of the Open Country is in charge of neutralizing impurity, then it seems logical that a ritual against impurity was dedicated to this god. That would explain his central role and his importance in the ritual of Puriyanni. The active participation of the Storm-god of the Open Country in the neutralization of impurity is explicitly mentioned in the following excerpt of the text:

He presents silver, gold, all the see[ds], the [ra]ke, *mūila*-tool, shovel, [spa]de (and) *tiddutri*-tool and, at the same time, he says thus: § “Here lie [a]ll (kinds of) seeds, (and) underground treasures. The ritual [p]atron has han[d]led them with the *hattara*-tool. He has han[d]led them with the *turi*-tool. He handed them over to the Storm-g[o]d of the Open Country. § He gave them to the Storm-god of the Open C[o]untry, so that he (i.e. the Storm-god) treated (ritually) the e[v]il matter (and) [defile]ment. May they no[t] come b[ac]k into the presence of the deities of the ritual patron! § Here (are) h[eav]en (and) earth! So, as [heav]en does not become earth and (as) [e]arth does no[t] b[ec]ome [h]eaven, may those offerings likewise not become [...]!”¹⁹⁷

In this passage, the seeds and precious metals may represent the evil matter that is destroyed by the ritual patron, possibly using the tools mentioned immediately after the seeds. Then, the whole is handed over to the Storm-god of the Open Country, who seems to be responsible for taking care of impurity. It is likely that these objects have a double function: on the one hand they represent the evil matter, and on the other hand they serve as offerings for the god (as the last sentence of the excerpt appears to indicate). Although the Storm-god of the Open Country is the main addressee of the ritual, it is worth noting that, in the only passage recording an offering

195 ^{uru}Wiyanauwanta ^{ql}lamma li[l dingir-*lim-tar*] 1 alam kù.gi lú [gu]b-an kurutāuwa[nza] zag-naza šu-za ^{giš}pan kù.gi harzi gùb-la[za šu-za] tiš^{mušen} kù.gi arnabu kù.gi harzi 1 gir kù.gi gurun kù.gi=ši=kan anda ana lu.lim kù.gi=kan 4 ki.gub gub-ri kù.ba[bbar ...] (KUB 38.1+ ii 1’-6’; CTH 527.46; LNS; for another edition of this passage, see Cammarosano 2018, 310–11).

196 On these deities, see McMahon 1991, 44–46 and 11–14 respectively.

197 KUB 35.54 ii 27’–45’; CTH 758.1; MS. The first part of this sequence can also be found in KUB 7.14(+) ii 6’–11’ (CTH 758.2.1; NS).

explicitly mentioning the Storm-god of the Open Country, a Sun-god is also included and seems to participate in the destruction of the impurity:

[...] (and) [I] brea[k] down the jug of wine. [*I sprinkle*] the ritual patron with water and (then) I break down the ceramic cup of water. I take [the ...-breads]. I crumble one to the Sun-god [and] I crumble on[e] to the Storm-god of the Open Country. [Then] I cast [...] into the hearth and [I] s[ay]: “Sun-god! Through running [...], you treated (ritually) the bewitched matter [...].”¹⁹⁸

This is the only attestation of a Sun-god in the text of Puriyanni’s ritual against impurity in a house. It is not surprising that a Sun-god received offerings and was asked to handle impurity, probably in collaboration with the Storm-god, who could also have been addressed in the fragmentary continuation of the incantation. Any ritual validated by different deities makes it even more efficient. Furthermore, the association of the Storm-god of the Open Country with a Sun-deity may reinforce the hypothesis of a Storm-god in charge of the treatment of impurity, as this is often the role played by solar deities addressed in ritual contexts.¹⁹⁹

In this context, how should we interpret the expression ‘defilement of the Storm-god of the Open Country’, mentioned several times in the text of Puriyanni’s ritual? Hutter has suggested that the Storm-god of the Open Country is affected by the same impurity the ritual tries to remove.²⁰⁰ This interpretation will be only partially followed here. If the Storm-god of the Open Country is already polluted, it may not seem logical that he is in charge of his own purification. Besides, the rites described in the preserved parts of the text do not focus on the purification of the Storm-god. The only deities explicitly asked to be washed and purified are those of the ritual patron’s house—that is, his personal deities, as the following passage shows:

(Regarding) the water [w]hich (is) poured into a ceramic cup, salt (is) also poured into (it) and he [s]prinkles it in the house. He also sprinkles (it) on the ritual patron and he [s]ays thu[s]: § “[W]ater (is) [bro]ught from the watercourse, and [s]alt (is) brought from the remote (salt-lick) rock-f[ace]. In the futur[e, w]ater will [n]ot go (back) to the [watercourse], and [in] the future, salt will no[t g]o (back) to the [rem]ote (salt-lick) rock-face. § (Likewise), may the [e]vil m[atter, def]ilement, [im]purity not com[e] back to th[is] house [in the f]uture! § As [w]ater (is) pu[r]e, may this [h]ouse, (its) [de]ities, *huwahhūrša(nt-)*, [c]arcass, ground, p[o]dium, [he]arth, and thresho[l]d be pure! Ma[y] it be pure!” § He takes the [ceramic c]up, he holds (it) [towa]rd [the ritual patron,

198 KBo 22.137+ iii 1”–9”; CTH 758.2.2; NS.

199 This is the case, for instance, in the text of the ritual of Allī against witchcraft (CTH 402), where the main deity addressed is the Sun-deity of the hand. Another example comes from the text of the ritual of Hantitaššu prescribed to treat a person “[if] his years (are) [distur]bed” ([*mān*] (...) *nu=(š)ši MU.KAM^{HA}=ŠU [nininka]nteš*; KBo 11.14 i 1–2; CTH 395; NS). An edition of these texts can be found in Mouton 2016a, 192–229 and 144–67 respectively.

200 “Another Luwian practitioner (from Kizzuwatna) was the man Puriyanni, who composed a ritual against impurity within the house. To remove this impurity, he sacrifices to the Storm-god of the open country who was affected by this impurity (see KUB 7.1 i 3).” (Hutter 2003, 252).

and] he [say]s: “May the podium [b]e wash[ed]!” He takes [the ceramic cup a]gain, he holds (it) towa[rd] (the ritual patron), [and] he [sa]ys: “May the [ca]rcass, ground, [deiti]es, [h]uwahhursant-s, heart[h], and threshold] be washed! Here, I have washed off the e[vil m]atter. [May] it [not come] back [into the presence of] the deities!”²⁰¹

Therefore, a slightly different interpretation seems to be more plausible: the Storm-god of the Open Country is not polluted at first but might be affected by the impurity during the performance of the ritual. One of the incantations mentioning the defilement of the Storm-god of the Open Country states:

I take the rope for the second time, I cut [o]ff [the figurine], [and, at the same time], I speak [thu]s [in Luwian]: § “[It has been] separated by [crushing (and) cutti]ng, [it has been] separated by the [millstone (and) roll]ing tool. (Like-wise), [may] the ritual patron [separate] the evi[l matter. May it not] (become) the de[filement] of the Storm-god of [the Open Country]! May [all these deities] of the ritual [patron also] be [pur]e!” § He takes [...], he cuts it [... with] his [...]. [...] in the same way [...].²⁰²

Apparently, the rite associated with this incantation aims to separate the ‘evil matter’ (i.e. impurity) from the patient and, simultaneously, from his personal deities. However, in separating it from the patient, it is necessary to prevent defilement by pollution of the god, the main interlocutor of the ritual.²⁰³ The following excerpt describing the ritual waving of an animal substitute also seems to point in this direction:

He waves the billy goat at the corners of the house, and, at the same time, he says [t]hus: § “May they [l]et it go, (namely) the household (deities), the [p]odium, the hearth, the *huwahhursant*-, the ground § (and) the frame (of the house): the ev[il matter], defilement, impuri[ty], past (or) [p]resen[t], internal (or) e[x]terna[l], of the dead (or) the livi[ng]! § Afterward, may it not (be) in the presence of these deities (and turn into) the defilement of the Storm-god of the Open Country! § May the billy goat carry it away, with (its) four legs, with (its) snout, with (its) horns! May it carry it away!”²⁰⁴

If this interpretation is correct, this text highlights the risks that the participation of a god in a purificatory ritual could entail for him. These risks would be directly related to the contagious nature of impurity. It is worth noting that the Storm-god of the Open Country is not only present during the ritual, but also in direct contact with impurity, as shown in the passage commented on above, where the impure ritual items are handed over to him. Thus, it is possible that Puriyanni’s second ritual²⁰⁵

201 KUB 35.54 iii 12–38; CTH 758.1; MS.

202 KBo 29.4+ ii 10–21; CTH 758.2.2; NS.

203 I would like to thank Alice Mouton for discussing this aspect at length with me.

204 KUB 35.54 ii 46’–iii 11; CTH 758.1; MS. A similar sequence can be found in KUB 7.14(+) iii 6’–15’ (CTH 758.2.1; NS).

205 KUB 35.57 (CTH 758.4; NS).

was prescribed to purify this god in case he would be affected by impurity during the first ritual—although this is merely hypothetical.

Besides their participation in a ritual of purification, there are other ways in which deities can be defiled by impurity. The next section will explore an example from the text of the *dupaduparša*-ritual, where the deities are exhorted to wash their mouths with oil and honey.

III.3 THE PURIFICATION OF THE DEITIES' MOUTHS IN THE KUWATTALLA TRADITION

III.3.1 The *dupaduparša*-ritual

The text of the *dupaduparša*-ritual (CTH 759) belongs to the Kuwattalla tradition, and its long version is recorded on at least nine tablets. Unfortunately, most of the text has been lost and only some tablets are preserved, in a fragmentary state. The name of the ritual, SISKUR *dūpaduparša*,²⁰⁶ is a cognate of the Luwian verb /tub(a)i-(di)/ 'to strike' and seems to have its equivalent in the Hittite designation *katta walḫuwaš* SISKUR.²⁰⁷ The aim of this ritual is to treat a patient afflicted by different evils, including perjury and curse.

The incantations that mention the washing of the deities' mouths appear in the second column of the sixth²⁰⁸ tablet of the ritual (KUB 9.6+), which is only partially preserved. The first ritual sequence involving two of these incantations appears at the beginning of column two, where the text states as follows:

"They have purifi[ed themselves] (from) evi[l ...]. May the gods wash [(their) mouths] with oil (and) [h]oney!" § The deities who (are) dear to the ritual patron, (namely) the solar deity, the Storm-god (and) Ḫepat, she (i.e. the Old Woman) calls all of them with her mouth. As she treats those deities one by one afterward, she says thus: "May they wash their mouths with oil (and) honey! § May they become oil (and) honey: judgments, perjuries, curses! § May Heaven (and) Earth wash their mouth(s)! May they become oil; may they [b]ecome honey!"²⁰⁹

As the end of column one is lost, the ritual gestures preceding the first incantation of this passage remain unknown, but we will return to this point below. Then, the text explains that the Old Woman goes into the house, where she sprinkles wine toward the altar, in front of the deities, with a *gangati*-plant.²¹⁰ At the same time, she says:

206 This name is attested in the colophons of various fragments; see e.g. KUB 9.6+ iv 25 (CTH 759.1; NS).

207 For the attestation of this Hittite term, see KUB 35.18(+) i 3, 5 (CTH 760.1.a; MS). On its interpretation, see Goedegebuure 2010a, 304, Hutter 2019a, 337, and Sasseville 2020c, 559.

208 According to KUB 35, *Inhaltsübersicht*, contra Starke 1985, 116.

209 KUB 9.6+ ii 1–16; CTH 759.1; NS.

210 "The Old Woma[n takes] (her) pl[ace i]nside the house, but the ritual patron keeps his place there, (namely) befor[e] the portico. As the Old Woman arrives inside [the house], she starts again sprinkling wi[ne] with a *gangati*-plant at the altar, befo[re] the deities." (KUB 9.6+ ii 17–22; CTH 759.1; NS).

They (i.e. the deities) have purified themselves (from) e[vil]. Now, may all the [gods] purify their goods! May they wash their mouths with oil (and) honey! § May they become oil, may they become h[oney]: judgment[s, pe]rju[ries, curses]!²¹¹

After this sequence, only three fragmentary lines of the column are preserved, mentioning the patient and the Old Woman. Unfortunately, the rest is lost and we do not know the following ritual sequences. The washing of the mouth is addressed again in an incantation at the beginning of the preserved part of column three:

And if also the evil *māran*-[...] to you (pl.) again, you (pl.) will a- [...]. [You (pl.)] will wash your mou[ths] with [oil (and) hone]y.²¹²

Nevertheless, the poor state of preservation of this incantation and its broken context make it difficult to analyze.

III.3.2 The 'mouth-washing'

In these incantations, the washing of the mouth is clearly associated with various forms of evil speech, specifically judgments, perjuries, and curses. The connection between mouth and speech is self-evident. Hittite texts explicitly refer to the mouth, together with the tongue, as the body parts used to articulate words. One example of this comes from the text of Maštigga's ritual against family quarrels, when the Old Woman refers to the curses that the patients have cast on each other as follows:

That which you were saying with mouth (and) tongue (...) ²¹³

Later in the same text, the mouth appears again, playing an important role in a substitution rite: the patients transfer the curses to their animal substitute by spitting in its mouth,²¹⁴ while the Old Woman says:

"Here (is) your substitute. Let it be a substitute for your persons! (Let) the curses (be) in (its) mouth (and) tongue(!)" They spit into its mouth and she (i.e. the Old Woman) speaks as follows: "You have spat out the evil curses."²¹⁵

Therefore, in the text of Maštigga's ritual, the mouth seems to represent not only the origin of the curses, but also the place in which they can be located, working as a kind of container for the evil speech. In both cases, the mouth appears to be the body

211 KUB 9.6+ ii 23–29; CTH 759.1; NS.

212 KUB 9.6+ iii 8'–11'; CTH 759.1; NS.

213 KA×U-it EME-it [(kui)] *memišketten* (dupl. *memiškeš*) (...) (KBo 39.8 i 46–47; CTH 404.1.IA; MS; with dupl. KBo 43.7 i 5; CTH 404.1.I.C₁; MS; for an edition of this passage, see Miller 2004, 66–68 and Mouton 2016a, 384–85).

214 H. Marcuson (2016, 367) has already pointed out the connection between spitting, the mouth, and the 'evil tongues'. For the gesture of spitting in the mouth of an animal substitute, see Mouton 2020a, 128.

215 *kāša=wa=šmaš tarpalliš nu=wa=šmaš tueggaš tarpalliš ēštu* KA×U-i EME-i *hūrtāuš nu=(š)ši=kan išši anda allapaḥḥanzi nu kiššan memai § idālauēš=wa=kan hūrtāuš parā allapaḥten* (KBo 39.8 ii 27–31; CTH 404.1.IA; MS; for an edition of this passage, see Miller 2004, 73–74 and Mouton 2016a, 390–393).

part in closest contact with the evil words. One explanation for the emphasis placed on the purification of the mouth in contexts involving evil speech would therefore be its direct contact with the source of impurity. The ritual of Ammiḥatna also seems to point in this direction. This time, however, no evil speech is involved. This ritual is prescribed for purifying a consecrated person, who has been defiled by an ingested substance. The ritual includes a purification of the patient's mouth, which is described as follows:

The AZU-practitioner takes a thin bread and a *gangāti*-plant and he reconciles you (i.e. the ritual patron) to the angry deities using the *gangāti*-plant. He puts silver into the ritual patron's mouth. The AZU-practitioner speaks as follows: "In the presence of the deities, (i.e.) the male deities (and) the female deities, be pure as silver!"²¹⁶

In this case, instead of washing the mouth, the purification is accomplished with a rite of analogical magic, where the patient is identified with the silver in his mouth. The direct contact of the silver with the mouth serves to transfer purity from the silver to the patient.²¹⁷

In other cases, however, the context in which the purification of the mouth is required remains less clear. An example of this situation is recorded in the text of a ritual for the royal couple. In this ritual, two iron tongues materialize the harmful speech called 'the tongues of the lands'. The king and the queen put these iron tongues in their mouths and undergo several purification rites, including a washing of their mouths. The text states:

"Here, [I] have remove[d] (from) you (pl.) the tongues of the lands. I have removed (from) you the illness. [I] have remove[d] them (from) your hearts. I have removed them (from) your heads." I hold forth the *ḥurtiya*[*lla*]-vessel to them. The palace official holds forth consecrated water, to the king and the queen. The king washes his mouth three times and he pours it (i.e. the water) in the *ḥurtiyala*-vessel. The queen also washes her mouth three times and she pours it (i.e. water) in the *ḥurtiyala*-vessel. § The [pa]lace official removes the tongue of iron from the mouth of the king and of the queen.²¹⁸

216 *nu=za* ^{L0}AZU NINDA.SIG *gangāti=ya dāi nu=(t)ta* DINGIR^{MES} *šāndaš menaḥḥanda gangadāizzi nu=kan* ANA EN SISKUR KÜ.BABBAR *išši anda dāi nu* ^{L0}AZU *kiššan tezzi* KÜ.BABBAR-*aš=wa=az iwar* PANI DINGIR-^{MES} DINGIR.LÜ^{MES} DINGIR^{MES} MUNUS^{MES} *parkuiš eš* (KBo 5.2 iv 58–62; CTH 471.A; NS; for an edition of this passage, see Strauß 2008, §77 and Mouton 2016a, 316–19).

217 Strauß 2006, 180. Concerning the use of silver in ritual context, see Haas 2003, 214–17; for the use of silver in the purification of the mouth, see Strauß 2006, 179–80.

218 [(k)]*āšata=šmaš=kan utniyandan lāluš dāḥḥu[n (ir)]ma=šmaš=kan dāḥḥun kardi=šmi=ya=at=kan dāḥḥu[n (ḥarš)]ani=šmi=ya=at=kan dāḥḥun ta=šmaš ḥurtiya[llan (par)]ā ēpmi* DUMU.É.[(GA)]L *šuppi watar parā ēpzi* [(LUGAL)]-i MUNUS.LUGAL=*ya* LUGAL-*uš* 3=*ŠU aiš=šet ārri* [(*ta=a*)]*t ḥ[(u)]rt[(i)yalī]=ya lāhui* MUNUS.LUGAL-*š=a* 3=*ŠU aiš=šet* [(*ā*)]*rri n=at ḥurtiyali=ya lāhui* § [DU(MU)].É.GAL LUGAL-*aš* (dupl. LUGAL-*waš*) MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš=(š)a* (dupl. MUNUS.LUGAL-*š=a*) *iššaz=(š)mit lālan* AN.BAR-*aš dāi* (KBo 17.1+ i 11'–19'; CTH 416.A; OS; with dupl. KBo 17.3+ i 6'–14'; CTH 416.B; OS; for an edition of this passage, see Montuori 2015, §9–10 and Mouton 2016a, 56–59).

The expression 'tongues of the lands' has traditionally been interpreted as referring to evil words pronounced against the Hittite royal couple.²¹⁹ Therefore, the royal couple would not be responsible for the problem but merely represent the victims of the evil speech. However, if this interpretation is correct, it would be difficult to explain why the mouths of the royal couple are those that need to be cleansed, as they have not been in contact with the evil words.²²⁰ Recently, Mouton (2022, 283) has suggested that the king and the queen are being purified from evil words they have pronounced themselves. On her part, Marcuson (2016, 379) considers two different explanations for the iron tongues representing the evil speech: "whether they symbolize sorcery from outside or misguided speech from the king and queen themselves". This second possibility would be more consistent with the associated washing of the mouth. Nevertheless, one must agree with Marcuson that the context and the exact meaning of the expression 'tongues of the lands' still remain obscure.²²¹

Another example where the origin of the evil words is not completely clear comes from an incantation against tongues, which also includes a purification of the mouth. The incipit of the incantation says:

When the ton[gues] come to [someone]e, [I] *sm[ear]* his tongue with beer-bread.²²²

The expression *-kan* EME^{HA} *kuedani uwanzi* 'the tongues come to someone' could suggest an external origin of the evil words.²²³ However, no other clues pointing in this direction appear in the preserved part of the text. On the contrary, the purification of the patient's mouth would rather support the idea of the patient pronouncing the evil words himself. In the absence of more contextual evidence to fully understand the meaning of the expression 'tongues coming to someone', it seems wiser to remain cautious regarding the origin of the evil words.

In the case of the *dupaduparša*-ritual, both an external and an internal origin of the problem are taken into account.²²⁴ In the case of perjury, the patient would be the source of the evil word that has defiled his self. However, the ritual also envisages witchcraft, represented by both judgments and curses, where the origin of the evil

219 In the first edition of the text, Otten and Souček 1969, 19 translated this expression as "Nachrede der Bevölkerung", understanding the word 'tongues' in the sense of 'slander, calumny' (see also fn. 6). This interpretation has been mainly followed in the subsequent research (see e.g. Bin-Nun 1975, 130, Starke 1977, 99, HW² III/1, 350a, HEG II, 1106, Haas 2003, 598, Strauß 2006, 183, Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 258 and 324, Montuori 2015, §9).

220 I would like to thank Alice Mouton for discussing this aspect at length with me.

221 This expression is also attested in the text of the ritual of Banippi (KUB 30.36 i 14; CTH 401.1; NS; an edition of this text can be found in Melzer and Görke 2017). Unfortunately, it appears in a broken context and no conclusion about its meaning can be drawn.

222 *mān=kan* EM[E^{HA} *kueda(ni uwanzi n=a)n*]=*kan* EME=*ŠU BAPPIR-it ša[rtāmi]* (KBo 3.8+ ii 52–53; CTH 390.A; NS; with dupl. Bo 4010(+) 11'; CTH 390.C; NS; for an edition of this passage, see Fuscagni 2017, §33).

223 This expression is also attested with some variations in two catalogue tablets referring to the same incantation recorded in KBo 3.8+ (CTH 390.A; NS): *-kan* EME^{HA} *kuedani<k>ki uwanteš* (KUB 30.48, 12–13; CTH 390.D; MS) and *-ka)n* EME^{HA} *kuedanikki [uwanz]i* (KUB 30.49+ iv 26–28; CTH 277.2; NS). For an edition of these passages, see Dardano 2006, 113 and 102–3 respectively.

224 About the opposition between the internal and external defilement sources in the Kuwattalla tradition, see Mouton and Yakubovich 2019, 225–27.

speech would be the bewitcher instead of the patient. Nevertheless, in the Luwian incantations of the *dupaduparša*-ritual, the mouth to be washed is not that of the patient, contrary to what one would expect, but that of the deities. This leads us to questioning their role in the ritual and the reasons their mouths had to be purified.

III.3.3 The role of the deities in the *dupaduparša*-ritual

Hittite parallels describing the purification of the deities' mouths in relation to evil words can offer a clue to interpreting these passages from the *dupaduparša*-ritual. The following Hittite parallel comes from the text of a ritual for the tutelary deity:

The Old Woman takes a small sweet bread, she crumbles it in her own hand and mixes it with sheep fat. She makes it into a fat bread. The Old Woman takes a bit of fat bread with her own hand and places (it) back (in front of) the tutelary deity of the *kurša*-bag. She places fat bread into the augurs' mouths too and speaks as follows: "Tutelary deity of the *kurša*-bag and divine Seven, § throw away again the evil anger (and) rage! Let the fat bread be placed again in your mouths! Let the fat flow out of your mouths! If some augur has said an evil word in the presence of the deity or (if) someone has made you angry, § let your mouths and (those of) the augurs be entirely wiped with the fat bread!" The Old Woman takes the fat bread that is laid in front of the tutelary deity of the *kurša*-bag and she throws it into the hearth. They (i.e. the augurs) also take out the fat bread that is placed in the augurs' mouths and they throw it into the hearth.²²⁵

According to this passage, the evil words pronounced by the augurs in front of the deity could be at the origin of the problem of the divine anger. The nature of these evil words is not described in the text, and the expression itself is sufficiently vague to cover any kind of negative speech. Nevertheless, in view of the context, some scholars have suggested that these evil words are actually bad omens.²²⁶ Therefore, a bad omen would be, at the same time, the cause of the deity's defilement and the expression of his anger. It could be conceived as coming directly from the deity's mouth, which would explain the need to purify it in addition to the augurs' mouths.

225 nu 1 NINDA.KU7 TUR MUNUSŠU.GI dāi n=an=za=kan kiššarī paršaizzi n=an iŠTU i.UDU šalkezzi n=an NINDA.Ī.E.DĒ.A iēzzi n=an=za=kan MUNUSŠU.GI NINDA.Ī.E.DĒ.A kiššaraz tepu dāi nu=(š)šan ANA ^{PLAMMA} KUŠkuršaš EGIR-pa dāi ANA ^{LÜ.MEŠ}MUŠEN.DÜ=ya=kan NINDA.Ī.E.DĒ.A PÜ-ī=šmi dāi nu kiššan memai ^{PLAMMA} KUŠkuršaš ^{DIMIN.IMIN.BI}-aš=(š)a § idālun kardimiyattan šauwar arḫa namma peššiyanen nu=šmaš=kan PÜ-īya=šmi NINDA.Ī.E.DĒ.A namma kittaru n=ašmaš=kan KA×U-az parā ī-an arašdu mān ^{LÜ}MUŠEN.DÜ kuiški PANI DINGIR-LIM idālu uttar memian ḫarzi našma=du=kan kardimanuwan kuiški ḫarzi § n=ašta ^{LÜ.MEŠ}MUŠEN.DÜ=ya ^{UZU}KA×U=ŠUNU iŠTU NINDA.Ī.E.DĒ.A arḫa ānšanteš ašandu nu NINDA.Ī.E.DĒ.A kuiš ANA ^{PLAMMA} KUŠkuršaš peran kitta n=an MUNUSŠU.GI šarā dāi n=an=kan anda ḫašši peššiēzzi ANA ^{LÜ.MEŠ}MUŠEN.DÜ=ya=kan kuiš NINDA.Ī.E.DĒ.A KA×U-i=šmi kitta n=an=za parā danzi n=an=kan anda ḫašši peššiyanzi (KBo 17.105+ ii 26'–42'; CTH 433.2; MS; for an edition of this passage, see Bawanypeck 2008, § 14–16).

226 Haas 2003, 92 and 2008, 49, Strauß 2006, 183. This interpretation was endorsed by Elisabeth Rieken during my presentation of an earlier version of this research at the "Luwian in Cuneiform" workshop, organized by the Luwili Project at the 65th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, which took place in Paris, 8–12 July 2019.

The ritual sequence described in this passage has recently been studied in Mouton 2020a, 123–24, where the bread is interpreted as a kind of substitute with absorbing power. More specifically, the fat bread placed in front of the tutelary deity would replace his anger in the divine mouth, while the fat bread placed in the augurs' mouths would act as a substitute for their evil words. Haas (2003, 387–88; 2008, 49), for his part, considers that the fat bread is also used to transform the negative speech into positive speech—that is, into good omens or blessings.²²⁷ To support his idea, he quotes an incantation pronounced by the Old Woman, later on in the same text, during a purificatory rite that involves waving roasted *karaš*-grain over the tutelary deity and the augurs.²²⁸ The text states:

May the words that (are) evil (and) terrifying go out! May (the) good, soft (and) wise (ones) co[m]e in!²²⁹

In the same way, Haas (2003, 501–2) states that the use of sweet and pleasant *materia magica* to turn the negative divine speech into positive speech also occurs in ritual contexts related to curses.²³⁰ One example of this appears in the text of the ritual against Ziplantawiya's witchcraft, where models of tongues representing the curses pronounced by Ziplantawiya against the king and his family are placed into baskets with fat and honey. The incantation that accompanies this gesture asks the Sun-deity and the Storm-god to be appeased and to bless the king and his family:

In a *kurtali*- container together with the tongues, [he/she] pour[s] fat (and) honey and s[p]eaks thus: “Here, we placed them in honey, the evil (and) bewitchin[g ton]gues [th]at Zi(plantawiya) made here. Sun-deity of blood and Storm-god b[e] appeased! May these evil (and) bewitching tong[ues lea]ve (him, that is) the lor[d] together with his wife, his children (and) his household! May they (=the tongues) [hol]d (captive) Zi(plantawiya) togeth[er with her children]! May they (=the deities) give to the lord, his wife (and) his children life, bra[very] (and) vigor! May the deities give him the weapon battle-ready! May he (=Tudḥaliya) ra[i]se the new generations! [M]ay he satiate the country!”²³¹

227 This interpretation is followed in Strauß 2006, 183.

228 “The next morning, on the third day, at day break, the Old Woman goes in front of the tutelary deity of the *kurša*-bag. She takes a little bit of *karaš*-grain (and) barley. She roasts it with fire and pours flour on it. She waves (it) over the tutelary deity of the *kurša*-bag. She waves (it) over all the augurs too.” *lukkatta=ma* INA U.4.3.KAM *karūwariwari* MUNUSŠU.GI PANI DLAMMA KUS*kuršaš* paizzi nu *karaš* ŠE-AM *tepu dāi n=at=kan paḥḥunit šanḥuzzi n=an=šan QĒMANNAM išḥūwāi n=ašta ANA DLAMMA KUS*kuršaš* šer arḥa waḥnuzi ANA LÚ.MEŠMUŠEN.DÜHÁ=ya=kan ḥūmandāš šer arḥa waḥnuzi* (KBo 17.105+ iii 1–5; CTH 433.2; MS; for an edition of this passage, see Bawanypeck 2008, § 17).

229 *idālauwa ḥaduga kue uddār n=at=kan parā paiddu anda=ma=kan aššauwa miyauwa ḥattanta ui[dd]u* (KBo 17.105+ iii 6–8; CTH 433.2; MS; for an edition of this passage, see Bawanypeck 2008, § 18).

230 This idea is followed in Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2010, 160 n. 49. Note that this connotation seems to be absent from other kinds of *materia magica* used for the purification of the mouth, such as consecrated water (CTH 471.A §76; CTH 416.A §9) and silver (CTH 471.A §77).

231 *ANA 1 kurtali=ma=(š)šan QADU EME^{HA} nu=(š)šan šer ĩ LĀL laḥ[ui] nu kiššan m[e]mai kāša idālamuš alwanzinu[š EM]E^{HA} fZi.-aš [ku]iuš iššišta nu=uš=šan kāša an[d]a LĀL-t[i] dāiuen nu išḥanāš DU^{TU}-uš*

A comparison between honey and positive speech appears as well in the text of Allai-turrahji's ritual against witchcraft, where the Old Woman states:

Let the words which go forward from the mouth be sweet as honey!²³²

I think that the association between honey and positive speech is clear. Yet, although the interpretation by Haas could work in those contexts where divine speech is involved, the relevant texts do not explicitly mention this transformative quality of honey and other pleasant *materia magica*. Moreover, this feature of transforming curses into blessings, if correct, cannot be systematically applied to the use of honey or fat in rituals against evil words. For instance, in a fragmentary text of an incantation against tongues, honey is used, together with beer-bread and butter, just in order to purify the patient's tongue.

May the Old Woman take beer-bread and *smear* his (i.e. the patient's) tongue! Afterwards, may she anoint it with butter! Then, may she wipe off his (i.e. the patient's) tongue with honey!²³³

In a similar way, in the text of the ritual of Maštigga against family quarrels, the Old Woman fills seven vessels representing the curses pronounced by the patients with oil, wine, and honey, as well as with other kinds of pleasant *materia magica*:

Afterward, she (=the Old Woman) takes seven *hupuwai*- vessels, and she fills them with wine, virgin olive oil (and) honey. She puts in dates, raisins, sinew, salt (and) tallow. The Old Woman pours the *hupuwai*- vessels into the hearth one by one, then she smashes the *hupuwai*- vessels one by one. § Each time she speaks thus: "May it be smashed, the *hupuwai*- vessel, with mouth (and) tongue!" As she smashes each *hupuwai*- vessel, she also breaks seven flat breads, and she [t]hrows them one by one int[o] the hearth.²³⁴

The content of the *hupuwai*-vessels seems to take part in the neutralization of the evil on the one hand and to serve as a food offering for the deities on the other hand.

^DIM-aš=(š)a galankanteš ēšt[en nu] kē idālauēš alwanzinnieš EM[^EH^A tarn]andu? BĒL[ī] QADU DAM=ŠU DUMU^{MES}=ŠU É=SU nu ⁱZi. QAD[U DUMU^{MES}=ŠU ḥarkan]du NA BĒLī=ma DAM=ŠU DUMU^{MES}=ŠU TI-tar ḥašt[īliytar] mayandatar piškandu nu=(š)ši DINGIR^{MES}.H^A GIŠTUKUL parā nieantan piandu [nu]=za ḥāššuš ḥanzaššuš k[a]rapdu nu=za=kan KUR-e ḥāššikd[u] (KBo 15.10+ i 29–37; CTH 443.1; MS; for an edition of this passage, see Görke 2013, §5).

232 uddar=ma=ašt[a] kue KA×U-az parā iyattari n=at LĀL-it iwar šanizzi ēšdu (KUB 27.29+ ii 56–58; CTH 780.II.Tf06.A; NS; for an edition of this passage, see Haas and Wegner 1988, 136).

233 nu=za ^{MUNUS}ḥāšauwaš BAPPIR dāu n=an=kan EME=ŠU šartāiddu EGIR=ŠU=ma=an IŠTU Ī.NUN iškiddu namma=an IŠTU LĀL-it EME=ŠU arḥa ānašdu (KBo 3.8+ ii 65–68; CTH 390.A; NS; for an edition of this passage, see Fuscagni 2017, §35).

234 EGIR-anda=ma 7 ^{DUG}hupuwai dāi n=at=kan GEŠTIN-it ī SERTUM pittalwanit LĀL šunnai GIŠPĒŠ GIŠGEŠTIN ḤĀD.DU.A ^{UZU}SA MUN appuzzi anda dāi nu=kan ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI ^{DUG}hupuwaya ḥašši anda laḥuškezzi ^{DUG}hupuwaya=ma tuwarniškezzi § nu kiššan memiškezzi tuwarnattaru=war=at ^{DUG}hupuwaya KA×U-it EME-it nu māḥḥan ^{DUG}hupuwaya tuwarniškezzi 7 NINDA.SIG=ya paršiyannai n=aš=kan ḥašši and[a p]eššiškezzi (KBo 39.8 iii 29–37; CTH 404.1.IA; MS; with dupl. KBo 44.17 iii 8'–16'; CTH 404.1.IB; MS; for an edition of this passage, see Miller 2004, 88–90 and Mouton 2016a, 404–7).

Nevertheless, no request for divine blessings is directly associated with this gesture. Finally, in the text of the *dupaduparša*-ritual itself, some ritual sequences include the use of oil and honey in contexts where, *a priori*, divine speech is not directly involved. This seems to be the case in the following passage:

Honey (and) [olive oil] (are) poured into a ceramic cup. He places it in there. The Old Woman removes the blue (strand of) wool from his head and places it in the ceramic cup. While the ritual patron pulls a hair, an eyelash[h] and an eyebrow(-hair) from his own head, the Old Woman conjures thus in Luwian: § “He has taken a hair from his head, (as) the downstriking hand (and) downstriking tongue. He has taken his eyelash. He has taken his eyebrow(-hair). He has taken the nails of his hands (and) feet, (as) the downstriking hand (and) downstriking tongue.” § He lightens *straw* over the ceramic cup in which honey (and) olive oil (have been) poured and it burns up, and the Old Woman conjures thus in Luwian: § “May they become oil, may they become honey, the downstriking han[d] (and) downstrikin[g tongue]!”²³⁵

In this passage, oil and honey may take part in the neutralization of the bewitchment and the purification of the patient.²³⁶ In regard to the washing of the deities' mouths in the *dupaduparša*-ritual, Haas (2003, 501) suggests that the use of oil and honey here could carry the connotation of transforming the divine speech into positive speech.²³⁷ In view of the parallel with the text of the ritual for the tutelary deity of the *kurša*-bag, this possibility should be considered. If correct, this interpretation would entail that the deities had previously said evil words, which would also explain the origin of their impurity. The reason a deity might pronounce an evil word in the context of perjury or a curse was analyzed in Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2010, 160, with the suggestion that a curse could be addressed to the deities as a petition, which they could accept or reject. The approval of the deities could also be formulated verbally—that is, in the form of a curse against the victim. As noted in the same source, the following passage from the text of an invocation against evil words seems to point in this direction:

From now on, whoever brings evil (against) the king to the lips of the deities (...) ²³⁸

In the *dupaduparša*-ritual, the deities who have to wash their mouths are very likely identical with the personal deities of the ritual patron.²³⁹ Therefore, following the explanation of Hagenbuchner-Dresel, two different scenarios seem possible:

235 KUB 32.8(+) iii 1'–29'; CTH 759.10.b; NS.

236 For an analysis of this ritual sequence, see Mouton 2019a, 93–97.

237 Contrast with Hutter 2003, 263, where oil and honey are assumed to express recovery and well-being.

238 [(*nu k*)]*uiš kitpanta[la]z* LUGAL-w[(*aš id*)]*ālu=(š)šit* DINGIR^{MES}-*aš* [(*p*)]*ūriyaš=šmaš uda[i]* (...) (KUB 36.91+ rev. 14–15; with dupl. KUB 60.156 rev. 6'–7' and KBo 59.5 rev. 5'; CTH 389.2; NS; Steitler 2015, 206, 209).

239 Note the expression 'the deities who (are) dear to the ritual patron' (KUB 9.6+ ii 5–6; CTH 759.1; NS) and the fact that the altar of those deities is inside the patient's house.

1. In the case of perjury, the deities may act as witnesses of the patient's oath. The breaking of the oath would unleash the curse of the patient by these deities, as well as their anger and defilement.²⁴⁰
2. In the case of witchcraft, someone most probably curses the patient through his personal deities—that is, via their help, convincing them to turn against the patient and provoking their anger. One example of this situation is provided by the text of the ritual against Ziplantawiya's witchcraft, which has been previously examined.

Although the fragmentary state of the text of the *dupaduparša*-ritual prevents us from ascertaining the proposed hypothesis, at least the hypothesis has the advantage of explaining the washing of the deities' mouths and their involvement in the ritual process.

III.3.4 Gestures used to purify the mouth in the *dupaduparša*-ritual

The only ritual gesture clearly associated with the mouth-washing in the *dupaduparša*-ritual is the rite involving the *gangati*-plant.²⁴¹ As we have previously seen, first the Old Woman calls the deities and treats them. Then she pronounces the incantation related to the washing of the deities' mouths (KUB 9.6+ ii 5–16). This action seems to take place outside the house, before the gatehouse, given that afterward the Old Woman will go inside the house and the patient will stay at his place at the gatehouse. The way in which the Old Woman treats the deities at this point is not described in the text. However, we can assume that she makes offerings. In my opinion, it is also likely that she sprinkles wine with a *gangati*-plant to treat the deities, perhaps represented in the form of their effigies. This would explain the use of EGIR-*pa* 'again' in the description of the next ritual sequence involving the sprinkling of wine with the *gangati*-plant at KUB 9.6+ ii 20–22.

Then, once the deities have been treated, the Old Woman goes inside the house and sprinkles wine toward the altar, in front of the deities, with the *gangati*-plant (KUB 9.6+ ii 17–22). The associated incantation explains that the deities have been purified and that, now, they are asked to purify their goods (KUB 9.6+ ii 23–29). After the incantation, the text becomes very fragmentary and the following ritual actions are lost (KUB 9.6+ ii 30–32). Some other fragments belonging to the *dupaduparša*-ritual describe the rite with the *gangati*-plant.²⁴² Most of these are too fragmentary to provide more information about the rite. Nevertheless, KUB 35.67 adds some details; the text says:

“May the *pillar* be *nai*-[ed] for him! M[ay] the thron[e] be purified by the *gangati*-plant [for him! May] the domestic alt[ars], *harši*-bread, (and) *tataršuliš* be purified by the *gangati*-plant!” § The Old Woman also holds that (very) *gang[ati]*-

240 About oaths and conditional curses unleashed by perjury, see Reichardt 1998, 21–101, Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2010, 164–68, and Christiansen 2012.

241 For the use of the *gangati*-plant in ritual context, see Haas 2003, 328–35 and Strauß 2006, 101–8.

242 KUB 35.94+ (CTH 759.2.a; NS), KUB 35.81+ (CTH 759.3; NS), KBo 29.24 (CTH 759.8.b; NS), KUB 35.67 (CTH 759.8.c; NS), KUB 35.118 (CTH 759.9; NS).

plant [toward (the ritual patron)]. (He) also [...] that [...]. Then, The Old Woman [...] on it. § Afterward, the Old Woman h[olds] the *gang[ati-plant be]fore* [the Sun-god].²⁴³

The Luwian incantation embedded in the first paragraph of this passage apparently describes the purification of the part of the house where the divine effigies would be situated with the *gangati*-plant. A similar scenario can be contemplated for KUB 9.6+. It is possible that the sentence 'may they purify their goods!' pronounced by the Old Woman refers to the purification of the domestic altars, which is lost in the gap or just alluded to in the incantation. The text of a Hittite purification ritual from Kizzuwatna provides more details about a *gangati*-rite in a similar context. A passage from this text states:

Afterward, he (i.e. the AZU-practitioner) takes a cup of wine. A [*g*] *angati*-plant is placed inside. He takes a little bit of cedar (resin), vegetal oil, honey (dupl. adds and) fine oil and he drips them into the cup of wine. Then, he sprinkles (dupl. holds) the wine nine times (dupl. 'nine times' omitted) upward toward the deities with the *gangati*-plant. § At the same time, he speaks as follows: "Deities, be washed, with respect to your mouths (dupl. [your] temple), from the evil words, the perjury, the curse, the blood(shed or) the tears! Be pure with respect to your mouths and your bodies! May your temples be pure too! May the ritual patron be pure bef[ore] you too!"²⁴⁴

As in this example, in the *dupaduparša*-ritual, the oil and the honey may also have been mixed with wine. Indeed, in the first column of the tablet, wine, oil, and honey are mixed in a vessel to accomplish a rite of analogical magic.²⁴⁵ Later, the text of the purification ritual says:

[*Afterward*], he (i.e. the AZU-practitioner) takes [*the cup of win*]e. Fine oil, vegetal oil, honey and [ceda]r (resin) are [p]laced [into *the cup of wine*]. He [*take*]s [*the gangati-plant*] with which he washes the deities and he holds it forth to the ritual patron. [*The ritual patron*] takes the *gangati*-plant, he [*plung*]es it into the wine and he washes out his own mouth. § [...] speaks as follows: "May the

243 KUB 35.67: 1'-11'; CTH 759.8.c; NS.

244 EGIR=ŠU=ma=za (dupl. EGIR-anda=ma=az) DUGAL GĒSTIN d[(āi) g]angati=kan (dupl. kangati=ya=kan) anda [(kitta)] nu (dupl. omitted) GĒSERIN-yaz (dupl. GĒSERIN-az) Ī.GIŠ LĀ[(L Ī.DÜG)].GA (dupl. LĀL Ī.GIŠ Ī.DÜG.GA=ya) tepu dāi n=at=kan ANA DUGAL GĒSTIN a[(nd)]a zappanuzi namma gangatiaz (dupl. gangatiyaz) GĒSTIN š[(a)]rā DINGIRMES=aš menaḥḥanda 9-ŠU (dupl. 9-ŠU omitted) papparašzi (dupl. ap-pišekezi) § n=ašta anda kiššan memai DINGIRMES=za=kan KA×U=KUNU (dupl. Ê=[KUNU...]) [(parā)] idā-lauwaz uddānaz (dupl. uddanaz) linkiaz ḥürd[(iyaz)] (dupl. ḥurtiyaz) ēšhanaz (dupl. išhanaz) iṣḥaḥruaz ārranteš (dupl. ārranza) ēšten nu=za KA×U=KUNU RĀMA[NI=K]UNU=ya parkuwaēš [(ēšten)] ÊĤĀ=KUNU=ya=šmaš (dupl. ÊĤĀ DINGIRMES=KUNU=y[a=šmaš]) park[(uwaē)] ēšdu EN SISKUR=ya=šmaš (dupl. EN SISKUR=a=šm[aš]) per[an] parkuiš ēšdu (KUB 43.58+ ii 34'-44'; CTH 491.1.A; MS; with dupl. KUB 15.42(+) ii 23-33; CTH 491.1.B; NS; for an edition of this passage, see Strauß 2006, 336, 345-46).

245 "Afterward, the Old Woman mixes together wine, honey and vegetal oil and she pours it down into a ceramic cup" (KUB 9.6+ i 6-8; CTH 759.1; NS).

mouth be [wa]shed out! May [...] be [...] from the evil word, the [per]jury, the cur[se, the blood(shed)] (or) the tears!”²⁴⁶

According to the text, the purification of the patient’s mouth is accomplished with the same *materia magica* that is used to purify the deities’ mouths. A third passage from the same text goes further and shows that the patient approaches bread to his mouth, as well as a small piece of the *gangati*-plant, that has previously been consecrated and offered to the deities:

Then, [he] (i.e. the AZU-practitioner) se[vers] a little bit from this very thin bread. He also severs a little bit of the *kangati*-plant and he gives them to the [ritual patron]. The ritual patron [draws] them near to his own mouth.²⁴⁷

The sharing of the divine food corresponds to what is described in the text of the ritual for the tutelary deity, where the consecrated bread is also shared between the deity and the augurs. As Mouton (2020a, 124) has pointed out, the physical contact between the patient’s mouth and the divine food might be a way to drive him closer to the divine participant. In the preserved part of the *dupaduparša*-ritual, neither the purification of the patient’s mouth nor the sharing of the divine food is described. However, as the Hittite parallels show, the purification of the deities’ mouths in the context of evil words appears to be associated with the purification of the patient’s mouth. Therefore, there is a good chance that the rite of purification of the patient’s mouth was described in one of the broken parts of the tablet. In this connection, it is worth re-examining the first incantation preserved in column two:

They have purifi[ed themselves] (from) evi[l ...]. May the gods wash [(their) mouths] with oil (and) honey!²⁴⁸

As the purification of the deities follows this incantation, the most reasonable option is to assume that those already purified are the patient and his family. Furthermore,

246 [EGIR-*anda=ma=az*? DUGAL? GEŠTIN]N *dāi* Ì.DÜG.GA=*kan* Ì.GIŠ LĀL [GIŠERI]N=*ya* [DUGAL? GEŠTIN? *anda* k]ittari DINGIR^{MES}-*aš* kuēz *ārri* [*n=at*? *gangati*? *dā*]? *n=an* ANA EN SISKUR *parā* *ēpzi* [*nu*? EN SISKUR?] *gangati* *dāi* *n=at=kan* ANA GEŠTIN *anda* [šunišk]ezzi? *nu=za=kan* KA×U=ŠU *parā* *ārri* § [...] -*uš* kiššan *memai* *aiš=a=kan* *parā* [*arra*]nza *ēštu* idalauwaz *uddanaz* [linki]yaz *hur*[tiyaz *išhanaz*] *išahruwaz* [...]x x *ēštu* (KUB 59.50(+) ii 12’-20’; CTH 491.1.B; NS; for an edition of this passage, see Strauß 2006, 336, 357–58).

247 *namma=ya=kan* *apēz=pat* İSTU NINDA.SIG *tepu* t[uhšai] *kangati=ya=kan* *tepu* *tuḫšai* *n=at* ANA [EN SISKUR?] *pāi* *n=at=za* EN SISKUR *išši* *maninkuw*[ahhi] (KUB 15.42(+) iii 30”–32”; CTH 491.1.B; NS; for an edition of this passage, see Strauß 2006, 336, 340, 349). The text of the ritual of Ammiḫatna mentions a reconciliation between the patient and the deities, using a rite involving bread and a *gangati*-plant immediately before the purification of the patient’s mouth. Although the text does not describe this rite, the parallels with this passage are considerable: “The AZU-practitioner takes a thin bread and he puts a *gangati*-plant on (it). (...) § The AZU-practitioner takes the thin bread and the *gangati*-plant and he reconciles you (i.e. the ritual patron) to the angry deities using the *gangati*-plant.” *nu=za* ^{LU}AZU 1 NINDA.SIG *dāi* *šer=(r)a=(š)šan* GANGĀTIFAR *dāi* (...) § *nu=za* ^{LU}AZU NINDA.SIG GANGĀTI=*ya* *dāi* *nu=(t)ta* DINGIR^{MES} *šandas* *menahḫanda* *gangadāizzi* (KBo 5.2 iv 54–55, 58–59; CTH 471.A; NS; for an edition of this passage, see Strauß 2008, §§ 76–77 and Mouton 2016a, 316–17).

248 KUB 9.6+ ii 1–4; CTH 759.1; NS.

the fragmentary end of the preserved part of column one could record the beginning of the ritual sequence involving the patient's purification. The text states:

The vegetal oil that [*lies*] separatel[*y* ...], the vegetal oil [...] it w[ith ...]. The vegetal oil that [*comes from*] the sieve, [...] flows [...]. [She] makes the [vegetal] oil [...] drip into wine [...]. § [*She calls*] the ritual patron (by) name [*and speaks thus*]: (*An incantation begins*).²⁴⁹

Although the whole passage remains rather obscure, it seems to describe the preparation of the *materia magica* consisting of vegetal oil mixed with at least wine. The calling of the patient's name customizes the incantation and could indicate that the focus of the action will be on him (although this last part cannot be ascertained). It also offers a parallel to the beginning of the ritual sequence to purify the deities, which started with the calling of the deities by the Old Woman.

III.4 CONCLUSION

In this appendix, the connection between deities and impurity was studied based on two paradigmatic examples belonging to the Hittite-Luwian texts. In its first part, the contextual analysis of the Storm-god of the Open Country has shown the importance of this god in Luwian local cults as well as in the pantheons of central Anatolia. His association with impurity seems to be related to the idea of the open country as a place where polluting activities take place and where the impure remains are disposed of for their neutralization. This idea would explain the role of this god in the ritual of Puriyanni (CTH 758), as it is this god who validates the destruction of impurity. However, the participation of the god in the ritual seems not to be without risk. Thus, it has been suggested that the expression 'the defilement of the Storm-god of the Open Country' could refer to the impurity engendered by the ritual itself, which may affect the god.

A different way in which deities can be polluted by impurity has been addressed in the second part of this appendix, where the importance of mouth-washing in the context of dealing with evil words—namely, perjury and curses—has been examined. The mouth, as a place of articulation of the language, was perceived to constitute the origin of the evil words and, in this way, is the body part in most direct contact with the source of impurity and is the physical link between ritual speech and ritual action. This perception of the mouth explains its central role within the sequence of purification rituals.

In those cases where the purification of the mouth also involves the deities, other aspects of the ritual process become apparent—namely, the involvement of the deities in curses. The analysis of these examples highlights the relationship between the patient and the deities, which has been damaged by either the patient's offence or the action of someone else who has spoken evil of him before the deities. Hittite texts de-

249 KUB 9.6+ i 34–39; CTH 759.1; NS.

scribe different methods that can be used to appease the deities and restore their purity in such cases. In the instance of the *dupaduparša*-ritual (CTH 759), the rite associated with mouth-washing also involves the *gangati*-plant. Despite the lacunae, this rite can be better understood and the choice of the *materia magica* can be motivated in light of Hittite parallels. In particular, it seems clear that the washing of the mouth aims not only at purifying and appeasing the deities but, most importantly, at repairing their relationship with the patient.

GLOSSARY

The glossary covers all of the text editions included in this book. The *CTH* numbers (where applicable, with suffixes) rather than the text publications are cited before the column and line numbers. In citation sequences reflecting a single *CTH* number, it is not repeated. Italic is used for Hittite but not Luwian forms in transliteration and transcription: this is important for distinguishing between Hittite and Luwian phonetic complements after Sumerograms.

The square brackets appear directly in the cited word-form whenever there is only one occurrence of such a spelling. In contrast, they appear after their text number if a particular spelling occurs several times in our corpus. Damaged or partly reconstructed words are indicated as follows: beginning broken: 7' ([); end broken: 7' ([); middle part broken: 7' ([]); beginning and end broken: 7' ([]), etc. Neither fully reconstructed words nor hypothetical reconstructions are included in the glossary. Damaged but legible signs are not indicated in the glossary, when a particular form is attested more than once in the texts: e.g. *a¹-ra-aḫ-za* is found under *a-ra-aḫ-za*. An uncertain identification of a particular lexeme is indicated by a question mark without parentheses following the line number: 7'?. Individual grammatical parameters that are uncertain are indicated with a question mark without parentheses immediately following the respective grammatical meanings or instead of such meanings, for example: sg.? gen. (uncertain whether singular or plural), sg.? (case uncertain), etc. An entirely uncertain grammatical analysis is followed by a space and question mark in parentheses: sg. gen. (?).

The abbreviations of grammatical categories are generally standard for the StBoT volumes. The Luwian possessive adjectives in *-ašš(a/i)-* (abbreviated as poss. adj.) are listed under their base nouns. The abbreviation poss. adj. pl. indicates a special type of possessive adjective (with the suffix *-aššan-*), marking the plurality of the possessor.

HITTITE

-a- 'he, she, it' (enclitic sentential pron.)

sg. nom. comm. -aš

sg. acc. comm. -an

759.1 iii 31'; 759.13 i 11'; 760.2 ii 16; 761.3.1 iv 2'; 762.2 ii 10, iv 35'; 762.3.2 ii 1
758.2.2 ii 9; 758.4 i 7, 8; 759.2.c i 2 ([); 759.3 i 12' ([); 759.12 ii 13 ([); 760.1.a i 11, 16; 760.3.a iii² 6'; 760.3.b iii 6'; 761.1.c obv. 6"; 761.1.d obv. 17', rev. 15'; 761.1.f obv. 12; 761.2.1.c r.col. 6', 8', 11', 13'; 761.2.3.b ii² 16'; 761.2.4 i 10', iv 21'; 761.2.5 ii¹ 11', 12', iii¹ 6, 8; 761.3.2.c i 2;

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sg. nom.-acc. n.	-at	<p>761.3.5.b l.col. 10'; 761.3.8 ii 27; 761.3.9:5'; 762.1.l r.col. 2' (□); 762.2 i 6', ii 25; 763.2.14 l.col. 6'</p> <p>758.1 iii 14, 42 (□), 48; 758.2.2 ii 7, 19; 759.1 i 4, 7, 15, 35, ii 30, iv 8'; 758.4 i 3, 4; 758.5 r.col. 12'; 759.4 i 6'; 759.8:9'; 759.10.b iii 2', 5', 23', iv 8', 28'; 760.2 ii 12; 760.2 i 11, 14, ii 14; 760.3.a ii² 9', 10', 16'; 760.3.b i 2" (□), 3", ii 6'; 760.5 ii 3'; 760.9 obv. 6'; 761.2.1.a ii 8'; 761.2.1.e:2'; 761.3.2.a iii 4'; 761.3.5.c ii² 13'; 762.2 i 15', 17' (□), 18', 35', iv 28'; 763.2.4.a obv.² 6'; 763.2.12 obv.² 1'</p> <p>758.1 ii 6'; 758.6 ii 6'; 759.1 iii 21', 31'; 759.10.b iii 3'; 759.13 i 9'; 760.2 iii 20'; 760.6 ii² 4'; 760.9 obv. 4'; 761.1.d rev. 9'; 761.3.5.b l.col. 10'; 761.3.8 ii 27</p> <p>759.1 ii 31, iii 22', 23'; 759.3 i 8'</p> <p>758.3.1 ii 11; 758.3.3:3'; 759.1 ii 7, iii 18', 21', iv 18'; 759.13 i 3', 16'; 760.2 ii 16, iii 14', 20', 21'; 762.2 iv 5'</p> <p>759.1 i 2</p> <p>762.3.4 r.col. 8'</p>
sg. dat.	-ši	
pl. acc. comm.	-uš	
pl. acc. comm.	-aš	
pl. nom.-acc. n.	-at	
pl. dat.	-šmaš	
-a enclitic connective		
(-C)a		<p>759.1 iv 7'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 10'; 761.3.5.c ii² 6', 12'; 763.2.13:6'</p>
see also -ma		
-a/-ya enclitic connective		
(-C)a		<p>758.1 iii 47 (□); 759.1 iv 23'; 759.8.c:7', 8'; 759.10.b iii 8', iv 30'; 759.13 i 13', 14'; 760.2 iii 13'; 760.8:5'; 761.2.1.a iii 8'; 761.3.2.c i 2; 761.4.3 r.col. 5'; 762.1.m iv 2'; 762.3.5 r.col. 5'; 763.2.4.a obv.² 7'; 763.2.4.b i 10' (□), 11', 12'; 763.2.15 r.col. 8'</p> <p>758.1 ii 5', iii 13, 15; 758.2.1 iv 18'; 758.3.2 iii² 13'; 758.6 ii 8'; 759.1 i 6, 10; 759.10.b iii 3'; 760.2 i 5, ii 11, 31; 760.3.a ii² 5'; 760.3.b ii 4'; 761.1.d rev. 9'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 5'; 761.2.5 iii¹ 9; 761.3.2.c i 3; 761.3.8 ii 31; 762.1.j r.col. 8' (□); 762.1.k ii² 8'; 762.2 ii 12, 25, iv 33', 36'; 762.3.2 ii 4; 762.3.4 r.col. 5'; 762.3.5 r.col. 5'; 763.1.2 ii 8'; 763.2.1:8'</p>
-ia(-)		
<i>aiš-/išš-</i> 'mouth'		
sg. dat.	<i>iš-ši-iš<-ši> (= išši=š<ši>)</i>	761.3.5.a:2' (□)
see also ^(UZU) KA×U		
<i>allap(p)ahh-</i> 'to spit'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>al-la-ap-pa-ah-ḫi</i>	<p>760.5 ii 3' (□); 760.7.b:2' (□); 761.2.1.a iii 3' (□); 761.3.8 ii 27, iii 34'; 763.2.17:4' (□)</p>
pres. sg. 3	<i>al-la-pa-ah-ḫi</i>	<p>759.3 i 9' (□); 760.2 iii 22'; 760.3.a ii² 3'; 761.1.d obv. 17' (□), rev. 25'; 761.1.d rev. 6'; 761.1.f obv.</p>

		12 (⌈); 761.2.1.a iv 17 (⌈); 761.3.5.b l.col. 11'; 761.4.2 iv 10' (⌈) 763.2.4.b iv 1 (⌈⌈)
pres. pl. 3	<i>al-la-pa-aḥ-ḥa-an-zi</i>	
NINDA <i>ān</i> 'warm bread'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	NINDA <i>a-a-an</i>	760.2 ii 11, 13; 760.4 ii 5'; 763.2.1:9'
<i>aniya-</i> 'to perform (a ritual), to treat (ritually), to celebrate'		
pres. sg. 1	<i>a-ni-ia-mi</i>	758.2.3 iv 2' (⌈); 761.1.f rev. 12'
pres. sg. 3	<i>a-ni-i-e-ez-zi</i> <i>a-ni-ia-az-zi</i> <i>a-ni-ia-zi</i>	761.3.2.b iv 3' (⌈) 761.3.3:8' (⌈⌈) 759.5:8'
pres. pl. 3	<i>a-ni-ia-an-zi</i>	760.1.a iv 6" (⌈⌈); 762.1.m iv 3'
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>a-ni-iš-ke-ez-zi</i> <i>an-ni-iš-ke-ez-zi</i>	760.1.b:3' (⌈) 761.3.8 iii 5' (⌈)
imperf. pres. pl. 3	<i>an-ni-iš-kān-zi</i>	759.1 iv 10' (⌈), 23'
<i>aniur-</i> 'ritual'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>a-ni-u-ur</i>	760.1.a i 6 (⌈), iv 6"; 760.3.b iv 4"; 761.1.f rev. 12'; 761.3.2.b iv 3'; 761.3.4 rev. 2' (⌈); 762.1.m iv 3' (⌈); 762.3.1 iv 2' (⌈)
sg. gen.	<i>a-ni-u-ra-aš</i>	760.1.a i 9; 760.2 i 5
sg. dat.	<i>a-ni-u-ri</i>	758.1 iii 45
<i>anda</i> 'in, inside, also, at the same time' (prev./adv.)	<i>an-da</i>	758.1 ii 7', 30', 47', iii 13, 14; 758.2.1 i 2, ii 8', iii 6' 5"; 758.6 ii 8', 12'; 759.1 i 6, iii 17', 22', iv 13' (⌈); 759.2.a iii 4', 18', 19'; 759.3 iv 6"; 759.10.b iii 2', 5', iv 9'; 759.12 ii 14 (⌈⌈); 759.14 iii 3; 760.2 i 10, ii 31; 760.3.a iii? 7'; 760.3.b ii 5'; 760.9 obv. 18'; 760.9 obv. 18'; 761.1.d rev. 6'; 761.1.f obv. 2; 761.2.1.b:7', 11' (⌈); 761.2.1.e:4'; 761.3.1 iv 9'; 761.3.8 ii 19; 762.1.c iv 8' (⌈); 762.1.1 r.col. 7'; 762.2 i 16', 17'; 762.3.2 ii 5, iii 4', 5', iv 4' (⌈); 762.3.3:4', 5'; 762.3.5 r.col. 7' (⌈); 763.2.13:7' 761.3.4 obv. 5
	<i>an²-da</i>	
<i>andan</i> 'in, inside' (adv./postpos.)	<i>an-da-an</i>	759.1 ii 17 (⌈), 20
<i>antuḥša-</i> 'human, person'		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>an-tu-uḥ-ša-an</i>	760.1.a iv 5" (⌈); 761.1.f rev. 12'
sg. dat.	<i>an-tu-uḥ-ši</i> <i>an-tu-uḥ- [...]</i>	760.1.a i 2 (⌈); 760.2 i 1 762.2 iv 38'
see also UN		
<i>apā-</i> 'that (one)/he, she, it' (demons./pers. pron.)		
sg. nom. comm.	<i>a-pa-a-ša-</i> (= <i>apāš=a</i>)	759.1 iv 7'
sg. acc. comm.	<i>a-pu-u-un</i>	759.10.b iv 30'; 760.3.b iv 8'; 760.5 ii 2' (⌈); 760.8:3', 5' (⌈); 761.2.4 iv 10', 20' (⌈); 761.2.5 iii 7; 762.2 iv 39' (⌈)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>a-pa-a-at</i>	759.1 iii 15' (⌈); 759.6 iii? 6'; 759.8.c:7', 8'; 760.3.a ii? 5'; 763.2.15 r.col. 8' (⌈)

sg. dat.	<i>a-pé-e-da-ni</i>	759.2.c i 3'; 763.1.3.b i 9'
pl. acc. comm.	<i>a-pu-u-uš</i>	759.1 ii 8; 759.13 i 14'; 761.2.1.a iii 8'; 762.1.h:4'; 763.1.3.b i 8' (□)
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>a-pé-e</i>	762.3.2 ii 3; 763.2.2 obv. 7'
pl. dat.	<i>a-pé-e-da-aš</i>	758.2.2 ii 7 (□); 760.1.a i 10' (□); 760.3.b iv 9' (□); 761.2.5 iii ¹ 8; 762.2 i 35'; 763.1.3.b i 3'
	<i>a-pé-e-[...]</i>	758.2.2 ii 1; 762.2 iv 22'
<i>apatta</i> 'there'		
	<i>a-pât-ta-aš-ša-an</i> (= <i>apatta</i> =(š)š <i>an</i>)	759.13 i 3'
<i>apeniššuwant-</i> 'so many' (adj.)		
pl. nom. comm.	<i>a-pé-ni-iš-šu-wa-an-te-eš</i>	759.13 i 10' (□)
<i>āpi-</i> 'ritual pit'		
sg. dat.	<i>a-a-pí-ia</i>	759.5:5'
<i>apiya</i> 'there' (adv.)		
	<i>a-pí-ia</i>	759.10.b iii 2'; 760.3.a ii ² 10'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 6'
<i>āppa</i> 'back, again' (prev.)		
	<i>a-ap-pa</i>	760.3.b iii 5'; 762.1.l r.col. 1' (□); 763.2.9:14' (□)
see also EGIR- <i>pa</i>		
<i>appezzi-</i> 'last, hind' (adj.)		
sg. dat.	<i>ap-pé-ez-zi</i>	760.2 i 11
abl.	<i>ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-az</i>	759.1 iii 20' (□)
<i>ar-</i> 'to arrive'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>a-ri</i>	759.1 ii 20
<i>ar-</i> 'to stand' (mid.)		
pres. pl. 3	<i>a-ra-an-ṛta'(-)[...]</i>	763.2.1:2'
<i>arahza</i> 'outside' (adv.)		
	<i>a-ra-aḥ-za</i>	760.1.a i 11' (□); 761.3.1 iv 7' (□); 761.3.3:7' (□)
<i>arāi-</i> 'to raise, to lift'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>a-ra-a-iz-zi</i>	763.1.6 ii ¹ 6'
<i>arḥa</i> 'off, away' (prev.)		
	<i>ar-ḥa</i>	758.1 iii 44; 758.2.2 ii 8, 11 (□), iii 2" (□), 3", 4"; 758.3.1 ii 10; 758.3.2 iii ² 4'; 758.4 i 2; 758.5 r.col. 12' (□); 759.1 i 2, 32, iii 23', iv 8', 17'; 759.3 i 5', 12', iv 17'; 759.6 iii ² 8'; 759.10.b iii 4', 23'; 759.12 ii 11 (□); 760.2 iii 20'; 760.3.b iv 6'; 760.4 iii 15'; 761.1.a:7'; 761.1.b obv. 11'; 761.1.d obv. 1'; 761.2.1.a iii 1' (□); 761.2.1.e:2'; 761.2.4 iv 19'; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 6, 7, 9; 761.3.1 iv 3'; 761.3.8 iii 33'; 761.4.1:10'; 761.4.3 l.col. 1'; 762.1.f ii 4'; 762.2 ii 19; 762.3.2 ii 2 (□), 4; 763.2.5 ii 1' (□); 763.2.12 obv. ² 3'; 763.2.15 r.col. 12' (□); 763.2.2 obv. 2'; 763.2.24 l.col. 5'; 763.2.9:14'

<i>arḥayan</i> ‘separately’ (adv.)		
	<i>ar-ḥa-ia-an</i>	758.2.1 i 7; 758.4 i 4; 759.1 i 34 (I), iv 11’ (I); 759.13 i 3’ (I), 4’, 14’ (I)
<i>arnu-</i> ‘to transport’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>ar-nu-uz-zi</i>	760.3.a ii ² 17’
<i>arra-</i> ‘arse, bottom’		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>a-ra-an</i>	762.3.3:2’
<i>arra-</i> ‘to wash’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>a-ar-ri</i>	759.1 i 2; 760.3.a ii ² 13’; 761.1.d obv. 2’ (I); 761.1.f rev. 5’; 763.2.2 obv. 9’ (I)
<i>arš-/araš-</i> ‘to flow’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>ar-aš-zi</i>	759.1 i 19, 21, 22, 37
<i>āš-</i> ‘to remain’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>a-aš-zi</i>	762.2 iv 19’
<i>ašnu-</i> ‘to take care of’		
pres. sg. 1	<i>aš-nu-mi</i>	760.2 i 3
pres. sg. 3	<i>aš-nu-uz-zi</i>	761.3.9:3’
pres. pl. 1	<i>aš-nu-me-ni</i>	760.1.a i 5
<i>aššu-</i> ‘good’ (adj.)		
pl. nom. comm.	<i>a-aš-ša-u-e-eš</i>	
-(a)šta enclitic local particle		
	<i>...-aš-ta</i>	758.1 ii 7’, 18’ (I), 30’, 47’; 758.2.1 ii 8’; 758.3.1 ii 9; 759.1 i 37, ii 5, 17, 19, iv 11’; 759.3 iv 18’; 759.3 iv 9’, 18’; 759.10.a iv 15’ (I), 21’; 759.10.b iv 29’, 30’ (I); 760.1.a i 4, 8; 760.2 i 2; 760.3.a ii ² 5’ (I); 760.3.b i 16’’ (I), ii 3’; 760.4 iii 14’ (I); 760.8:3’ (I); 761.3.8 ii 27, iii 32’; 762.2 i 14’, 16’; 762.2 9’ (I), i 16’ (I), 34’, ii 6 (I), iv 16’; 763.2.2 rev. 8’; 763.2.5 ii 3’, 6’
<i>au-/auš-/u-</i> ‘to see, to look’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>a-uš-zi</i>	758.2.1 iv 8’
<i>awan</i> intensifying preverb		
	<i>a-wa-an</i>	761.2.4 iv 11’
<i>enera-</i> ‘eyebrow’		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>e-ni-e-ra-an-na</i> (= <i>enieran</i> =(n)a)	759.10.b iii 8’
<i>ēp-/āp-</i> ‘to seize, to hold’		
pres. sg. 1	<i>e-ep-mi</i>	760.2 i 4
pres. sg. 3	<i>e-ep-zi</i>	758.1 iii 31, 33; 758.3.1 ii 11; 759.1 i 9, 12, 16, iii 19’, 22’, iv 19’; 759.2.a iii 16’; 759.3 iv 4’; 759.8.b ii ² 9’; 759.8.c:8’; 759.14 ii 10’; 760.2 ii 12, 16 (I), iii 21’; 760.3.a iii ² 7’; 760.4 ii 4’, 9’; 761.1.d obv. 17’; 761.2.1.b:9’ (I); 761.3.6:3’; 761.3.7:6’ (I); 761.3.8 ii 27, 34; 762.2 i 18’; 762.3.5 r.col. 2’ (I)

pres. pl. 1	<i>ap-pu-ú-e-ni</i>	760.1.a i 7 (I)
pres. pl. 3	<i>ap-pa-an-zi</i>	763.2.15 r.col. 4'
inf.	<i>ap-pa-a-an-na</i>	761.3.8 ii 19
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>ap-pí-iš-ke-ez-zi</i>	761.2.1.c r.col. 9'; 761.2.2.b obv. 1' (I)
<i>ēš-/āš-</i> 'to be'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>e-eš-zi</i>	758.2.1 i 2
pres. pl. 3	<i>a-ša-an-zi</i>	762.2 i 33'
opt. pl. 3	<i>a-ša-an-du</i>	758.2.1 iv 11' (I)
<i>ed-/ad-</i> 'to eat'		
imperf.	<i>az-zi-[ik...]</i>	762.2 iv 26'
<i>ewan-</i> a type of grain		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>e-wa-an</i>	758.3.1 i 17'
^{GIS} <i>ḥaḥran-/ḥaḥḥaran-</i> 'rake'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIS} <i>ḥa-aḥ-ra-an</i>	758.1 ii 28' (I); 758.2.1 i 14 (I)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIS} <i>ḥa-aḥ-ḥa-ra-an</i>	758.2.1 ii 6'
<i>ḥalḥaltumar-</i> 'corner'		
pl. dat.	<i>ḥal-ḥal-tu-ma-ra-aš</i>	758.1 ii 46'; 758.2.1 iii 6' (I)
<i>ḥalẓai-/ḥalẓiya-</i> 'to call'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>ḥal-za-a-i</i>	762.3.4 r.col. 14'
imperf. pres. pl. 3	<i>ḥal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi</i>	758.4 i 5 (I); 760.1.a i 12 (I)
imperf. pres. pl. 3	<i>ḥal-ze-eš-ša-an-zi</i>	762.2 ii 1
<i>ḥamank-/ḥamenk-</i> 'to hang, to tie'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>ḥa-ma-an-ki</i>	758.6 ii 8' (I), 10', 12'; 760.2 ii 33 (I); 761.2.1.a ii 10' (I)
<i>ḥandai-</i> 'to arrange, to prepare'		
ptc.		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ḥa-an-da-an-ta</i>	758.2.2 ii 6 (I)
<i>ḥantezzi-</i> 'first' (adj.)		
sg. dat.	<i>ḥa-an-te-ez-zi</i>	761.2.1.c r.col. 10' (I), 15' (I); 761.3.8 ii 20; 763.2.15 r.col. 9' (I)
see also 1.KAM		
<i>ḥanzašša-</i> 'descendant'		
pl. acc. comm.	<i>ḥa-an-za-aš-šu-uš</i>	758.2.1 iv 14' (I)
<i>ḥappuriya-</i> 'greenery'		
sg.	<i>[ḥa-ap-p]u-ri-ia-aš</i>	763.2.18:5'
<i>ḥar-/ḥark-</i> 'to have, to hold'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>ḥar-zi</i>	759.1 ii 19, iii 21'; 760.2 ii 11, 14; 760.4 ii 3', 7' (I); 761.3.8 iii 39'; 762.3.5 r.col. 3'; 763.2.2 obv. 4'
pres. pl. 3	<i>ḥar-kán-zi</i>	761.2.1.c r.col. 6'
pret. sg. 3	<i>ḥar-ta</i>	758.1 iii 45
<i>ḥaršawar-</i> 'plowed field'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ḥar-ša-u-wa-ar-r[a]</i> (= <i>ḥaršauwar</i> =(<i>r</i>) <i>a</i>)	758.1 iii 47

<i>harziyalla-</i> ‘salamander(?)’		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>har-zi-ia-al-la-a-[an]</i>	763.2.12 obv. [?] 5’
<i>hašša-</i> ‘descendant’		
pl. acc. comm.	<i>ha-aš-šu-uš</i>	758.2.1 iv 14’ (J)
<i>hašša-</i> ‘hearth’		
sg. dat.	<i>ha-aš-ši-i</i>	758.2.2 iii 7’; 763.2.13:7’ (J), 8’
<i>haštai-</i> ‘bone’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ha-aš-ta-i</i>	758.2.1 iv 17’ (J); 761.3.5.c ii [?] 7’ (J)
^(E) <i>hīla-</i>	‘courtyard’	
sg. dat.	^E <i>hi-i-li</i>	758.6 ii 3’ (J)
<i>hilammar</i> ‘gatehouse’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>hi-lam-mar</i>	761.3.7:4’ (J); 761.3.8 ii 33, iii 39’
sg. dat.	<i>hi-lam-ni</i>	759.1 ii 18; 759.2.a iii 3’ (J); 761.3.1 iv 9’; 761.3.8 ii 32, iii 38’
<i>hink-</i> ‘to present, to hand over’		
pres. sg. 1	<i>hi-in-ga-mi</i>	758.2.1 ii 8’ (J)
pres. sg. 3	<i>hi-ik-zi</i>	758.1 ii 29’; 759.6 iii [?] 5’
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>hi-in-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi</i>	758.1 ii 18’
<i>huek-/huk-</i> ‘to conjure’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>hu-u-uk-zi</i>	760.7.b:3’ (J); 761.2.1.a iv 18 (J); 761.2.4 i 13’ (J); 761.3.2.a iii 6’; 761.3.5.b l.col. 12’; 761.3.8 ii 28 (J); 762.2 ii 2, 14 (J); 763.3.2 l.col. 5’ 759.2.c iv 2’
	<i>hu-u-uk-[...]</i>	
pres. sg. 3	<i>hu-uk-zi</i>	759.12 ii 15 (J); 759.14 ii 6’ (J), 11’ (J); 760.3.a ii [?] 4’ (J), 14’; 760.3.b i 4’, iii 7’ (J); 760.4 ii 10’, iii 27’ (J); 761.3.8 ii 35, iii 35’ 763.1.1 i 3 (J)
imperf. pres. sg. 1	<i>hu-uk-ki-iš-ke-mi</i>	
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>hu-u-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi</i>	759.10.b iii 10’, 25’, iv 11’ (J), 20’ (J); 760.9 obv. 9’ (J); 762.1.f ii 5’ (J); 763.2.12 obv. [?] 6’ (J)
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>hu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi</i>	760.2 ii 17, iii 16’, 23’; 761.3.2.c i 4 (J); 761.3.6:5’ (J); 761.3.8 ii 22; 763.2.9:3’ (J)
<i>huišu-</i> ‘raw meat’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>hu-u-i-šu</i>	759.3 iv 3’ (J), 10’
<i>huišwant-</i> ‘alive’ (adj.)		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>hu-iš-šu-wa-an-ta-an</i>	761.1.a:6’ (J)
see also TI- <i>ant-</i>		
<i>huitant-</i> mng unkn.		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>hu-i-ta-an-da-an-na</i> (<i>huitandan=na</i>)	761.2.4 i 12’
<i>huittiyanna-</i> ‘to pull’ (imperf.)		
pres. sg. 3	<i>hu-u-i-it-ti-ia-an-na-i</i>	759.10.b iii 8’
<i>humant-</i> ‘all, every’ (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>hu-u-ma-an</i>	758.1 ii 27’; 758.2.1 i 10; 760.1.a i 9’ (J); 760.3.a ii [?] 6’; 760.8:4’; 761.3.8 ii 23; 763.2.14 l.col. 4’ 761.3.2.c i 3 (J)
sg. dat.	<i>hu-u-ma-an-ti</i>	

pl. acc. comm.	<i>ḥu-u-ma-an-du-uš</i>	759.1 ii 7; 761.2.1.d:4'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ḥu-u-ma-an-da</i>	758.1 ii 17' (I), iii 39 (I), 43 (I); 761.3.8 ii 25, iii 5'; 763.1.2 ii 24' (I)
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ḥu-u-ma-an-ta</i>	761.1.c obv. 13' (I)
pl.	<i>ḥu-u-ma-an-[...]</i>	762.2 iv 35' (I)
<i>ḥuppar</i> 'bowl'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ḥu-u-up-pār</i>	762.2 iii 6' (I)
<i>ḥuppara-/ḥupra-</i> 'sash'		
sg. nom. comm.?	<i>ḥu-up-ra-aš</i>	759.5:10'
^{DUG} <i>ḥupuwai-</i> 'kitchen pot'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{DUG} <i>ḥu-pu-wa-i</i>	758.2.1 i 13 (I)
pl. nom.-acc. n.	^{DUG} <i>ḥu-pu-wa-a-ia</i>	763.1.2 iii 17' (I)
pl. nom.-acc. n.	^{DUG} <i>ḥu-pu-u-wa-a-i-ia</i>	763.2.13:4' (II)
<i>ḥurlili</i> 'in Hurrian' (adv.)		
	<i>ḥur-li-li</i>	759.2.a iii 18' (I)
^{NA4} <i>ḥūwaši-</i> 'stele, monument'		
sg. dat.	^{NA4} <i>ḥu-u-wa-ši-ia</i>	758.2.2 ii 4 (I)
<i>iya-</i> 'to do, to make'		
pres. pl. 3	<i>i-ia-an-zi</i>	762.2 iv 32' (I)
ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	<i>i-ia-an-za</i>	760.3.a ii? 19'
<i>ikkunatt-</i> a type of sacrifice		
sg. gen.	<i>i-ik-ku-na-at-ta-aš</i>	759.3 iv 8' (I); 760.1.a i 10; 763.2.1:4'
<i>imma</i> 'indeed' (adv.)		
	<i>im-ma</i>	762.2 iv 37' (I); 762.3.2 iv? 5'
<i>immiya-</i> 'to mix'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>im-mi-ia-az-zi</i>	759.1 i 7
^(GIŠ) <i>intaluzzi-</i> 'shovel'		
sg. nom. comm.	^{GIŠ} <i>in-ta-lu-zi-iš</i>	758.2.1 i 13
sg. nom. comm.	<i>in-ta-l[u-uz-zi-iš²]</i>	758.4 i 13
sg. acc. comm.	^{GIŠ} <i>in-ta-lu-zi-in</i>	758.2.1 ii 7'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIŠ} <i>in-ta-lu-zi</i>	758.1 ii 28'
<i>irḥaššan</i> 'in order' (adv.)		
	<i>ir-ha-aš-ša-an</i>	760.3.a ii? 6', 17' (I)
<i>irḥai-</i> 'to treat one by one'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>ir-ḥa-a-iz-zi</i>	759.1 ii 9; 761.1.c obv. 13' (I); 761.3.8 ii 20; 762.1.h:3' (I)
pres. sg. 3	<i>ir-ḥa-iz-zi</i>	761.3.8 ii 25 (II)
pres. pl. 3	<i>ir-ḥa-a-an-zi</i>	761.3.8 ii 23, 24
<i>išḥaḥru-</i> 'tear'		
abl.	<i>iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-wa-az</i>	763.2.6 iii? 2' (I)
<i>išḥāi-/išḥiya-</i> 'to bind'		
ptc.		
pl. nom. comm.	<i>iš-ḥi-ia-a-an-te-eš</i>	761.2.1.b:8' (I)

<i>išharnu-</i> ‘to smear with blood’		
pres. pl. 3	<i>iš-ḥar-nu-ma-an-zi</i>	760.2 i 7; 763.2.1:5’
<i>išḥuwa-</i> ‘to scatter’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>iš-ḥu-wa-a-i</i>	758.1 iii 44; 759.13 i 3’
ptc.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>iš-ḥu-wa-a-an</i>	758.1 iii 13; 761.1.d obv. 6’
<i>iškar-</i> ‘to string’		
ptc.		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>iš-ga-ra-an-da</i>	762.3.5 r.col. 4’ (I)
<i>iškiša-</i> ‘back’		
sg. gen.	<i>iš-ki-ša-aš</i>	758.2.1 iv 17’ (I)
abl.	<i>iš-ki-ša-az</i>	760.6 ii ² 5’; 761.3.8 ii 21; 762.1.f ii 2’ (I)
<i>išna-</i> ‘dough’		
sg. acc.	<i>iš-na-an</i>	763.2.2 rev. 10’
sg. gen.	<i>e-eš-ša-na-aš</i>	760.3.a ii ² 7’
sg. gen.	<i>i-iš-na-a-aš</i>	761.1.b obv. 11’
sg. gen.	<i>iš-na-a-aš</i>	761.1.d rev. 15’ (I); 761.1.f obv. 1, 14
sg. gen.	<i>iš-na-aš</i>	758.1 ii 6’; 759.3 i 6’ (I); 760.1.a iv 7’ (I); 760.2 ii 15, 28, iii 13’ (I); 760.4 ii 8’ (I), iii 33’ (I); 760.5 ii 11’ (I); 762.3.2 ii 4 (I)
<i>ištanana-</i> ‘altar’		
sg. dat.	<i>iš-ta-na-ni</i>	759.1 ii 21
<i>ištarna</i> ‘among, in the middle’ (adv.)		
	<i>iš-tar-na</i>	760.1.a i 9 (I)
<i>idalu-</i> ‘evil’ (adj.)		
pl. acc. comm.	<i>i-da-a-la-mu-uš</i>	759.3 iv 3” (I); 762.3.4 r.col. 8’
pl. dat.	<i>i-da-la-wa-aš-ša</i> (= <i>idalawaš</i> =(š)a)	759.13 i 4’ (I)
see also	ḪUL	
<i>kā-</i> ‘this’ (demons. pron.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ki-i</i>	758.2.1 i 4; 760.1.a i 7, 9’; 760.2 iv 1’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ke-e</i>	760.2 i 4
abl.	<i>ke-e-ez</i>	758.6 ii 8’ (I); 761.2.1.e:3’
(GIS) <i>galamma-</i> ‘broom’		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ga-la-a-am-ma</i>	758.3.1 i 15’
<i>kalulupa-</i> ‘finger’		
pl. dat.	<i>ka-lu-lu-pa¹-aš</i>	760.2 ii 33 (I)
<i>-kan</i> sentence particle		
	<i>-kán</i>	758.1 ii 46’, iii 13, 14; 758.2.1 i 1, iii 6’; 758.2.2 ii 19; 758.3.2 iii ² 12’, 13’; 758.4 i 2; 759.1 i 32, 35, 39, ii 7, 18 (I), 30, iv 7’, 13’, 16’, 20’; 759.3 i 12’; 759.10.b iii 2’, 5’, 20’, iv 4’, 9’, 28’; 760.1.a i 10’; 760.2 ii 16, iii 20’; 760.3.a ii ² 7’, 9’, 16’; 760.3.b i 2”, ii 4’ (I); 760.6 ii ² 4’ (I); 760.9 obv. 4’; 761.1.d rev. 9’, 28’; 761.2.1.e:4’; 761.2.5 ii ¹ 12’, iii ¹ 9’

		761.3.1 iv 2', 9'; 761.3.5.a:7'; 761.3.8 ii 26; 762.1.c iv 7', 16' (I); 762.1.e r.col. 4'; 762.2 i 6', iv 5'; 762.3.2 ii 1, 5; 762.3.4 r.col. 2' (I), 13'; 762.3.5 r.col. 6'; 763.1.3.b i 3' (I); 763.2.7 ii ² 4' (I); 763.2.14 l.col. 1' (I), 5'; 763.2.15 r.col. 10' (I)
<i>gangati-</i> a plant		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ga-an-ga-ti</i>	759.2.a iii 15' (I); 759.3 iv 14' (I); 759.8.c:7' (I), 10' (I)
abl.	<i>IŠ-TU GA-AN-GA-TI</i>	759.1 ii 20
<i>karš-</i> a type of grain		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>kar-aš</i>	758.1 i 12' (I); 758.3.1 i 17'; 761.3.2.c i 2; 761.4.3 r.col. 5'
<i>kāša</i> 'hereby, herewith'		
	<i>ka-a-ša</i>	759.1 i 40
^{NINDA} <i>katai-</i> a type of bread		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{NINDA} <i>ka-a-ta-i</i>	761.2.1.e:1', 9' (I)
<i>katta</i> 'down' (prev.)		
	<i>kat-ta</i>	758.1 ii 29' (I); 759.1 i 3, 7, 19, 20, 21, iii 18', iv 19' (I); 759.2.a iii 17' (I); 759.3 i 2', 8' (I), iv 6'; 759.10.b iv 18' (I); 760.1.a i 3, 5; 760.2 ii 14, iii 15', 22'; 760.3.b i 3''; 760.4 ii 6'; 760.10 iii ² 3' (I); 761.2.1.a ii 6'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 11'; 761.2.4 iv 11', 12' (I); 761.2.5 iii ¹ 10; 761.3.2.b ii 3' (I); 761.3.4 obv. 3 (I); 761.3.5.b l.col. 11'; 761.3.6:3' (I); 761.3.7:6' (I); 762.1.k ii ² 7' (I); 762.2 i 15', 36' (I), ii 10 (I); 762.3.4 r.col. 9'; 763.1.3.b i 10' (I), 11'
<i>kattan</i> 'under, with' (postpos./adv.)		
	<i>kat-ta-an</i>	758.2.2 ii 5 (I); 759.1 i 4, 12, 13, 16(I); 760.2 i 9 (I); 762.1.k ii ² 8'; 762.2 ii 25 (I)
<i>keldi</i> a type of sacrifice		
sg. gen.	<i>ke-el-di-ia-aš</i>	760.1.a i 14; 760.2 i 8 (I)
<i>genu-</i> 'knee'		
abl.	<i>ge-nu-wa-az</i>	760.6 ii ² 6'
<i>keššar</i> 'hand'		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>ki-iš-ši-ra-an</i>	761.3.2.a iii 5'; 761.3.5.c ii ² 13' (I)
sg. dat.	<i>ki-iš-ri</i>	761.2.5 ii ¹ 9' (I)
sg. dat.	<i>ki-iš-ša-ri-i</i>	760.2 iii 15'
sg. dat.	<i>ki-iš-ša-ri-iš-ši</i> (= <i>kiššari</i> =(š)šī)	759.1 iv 12'
abl.	<i>ki-iš-ša-ra-az</i>	762.2 ii 24 (I)
instr.	<i>ki-iš-ri-it</i>	759.13 i 16'
pl. acc. comm.	<i>ki-iš-ša-ru-uš</i>	760.2 iii 13'
see also <i>iš(ša)ri-</i> , <i>šU</i> , <i>QĀTU</i>		
<i>ki-</i> 'to lie'		
mid. pres. sg. 3	<i>ki-it-ta-ri</i>	758.3.2 iii ² 13' (I); 759.1 i 13, 14; 761.2.4 iv 11' (I)

mid. pres. pl. 3	<i>ki-an-[ta(-)...]</i>	763.2.2 rev. 3'
<i>gimra-</i> 'field, open country'		
sg. gen.	<i>gi-im-ra-aš</i>	758.2.2 iii 6"; 758.5 r.col. 4' (I)
sg. dat.	<i>gi-im-ri</i>	761.3.1 iv 7'; 761.3.3 iv 7' (I)
see also LIL		
<i>kinun</i> 'now' (adv.)		
	<i>ki-nu-na (= kinun=a)</i>	761.2.1.c r.col. 10'
<i>kiššan</i> 'thus' (adv.)		
	<i>ki-iš-ša-an</i>	758.1 ii 7' (I), 19' (I), 30', 48' (I), iii 16 (I); 758.2.1 i 3; 758.2.2 ii 12 (I); 758.2.3 iv 2'; 758.6 ii 15' (I); 759.1 i 22 (I), iii 7', 24'; 759.6 iii? 9' (I); 759.10.b iii 9', 24', iv 20' (I); 759.12 ii 15 (I); 760.1.b:5'; 760.2 ii 17 (I); 760.3.b i 4' (I), ii 7'; 760.4 ii 10'; 760.5 i 3'; 760.7.b:3' (I); 760.9 obv. 9' (I); 761.1.b obv. 1' (I); 761.1.d rev. 25' (I); 761.1.f rev. 5' (I); 761.2.1.b:11'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 2'; 761.2.1.d:5'; 761.2.1.e:4' (I); 761.2.3.b ii? 17' (I); 761.2.4 i 13'; 761.2.5 iii? 10 (I); 761.3.2.a iii 6' (I); 761.3.5.b l.col. 12' (I); 761.4.2 iv 10' (I); 762.1.a:2' (I); 762.1.f ii 5' (I); 762.1.h:10' (I); 762.1.i:4' (I); 762.1.k ii? 2' (I), 9'; 762.2 i 12' (I), ii 2, 26 (I); 762.3.2 ii 5 (I); 762.3.4 r.col. 10'; 763.1.2 iii 18'; 763.2.7 ii? 5' (I); 763.2.13:9' (I); 763.2.21:2' (I); 763.2.24 l.col. 6' (I); 763.3.2 l.col. 5' (I)
	<i>kiš-an</i>	758.2.1 ii 8', iii 7'; 759.1 ii 9; 760.2 iii 16', 22'; 760.4 iii 16', 27'; 760.6 ii? 7' (I); 761.3.8 ii 28, 35; 762.3.3:5' (I); 762.3.5 r.col. 7'; 763.2.9:3'
	<i>kiš-ša-an</i>	759.14 ii 6'
<i>kitkarza</i> 'on top' (adv.)		
	<i>ki-it-kar-az</i>	758.6 ii 6'
<i>kuen-/kun-</i> 'to strike, to kill'		
ptc.		
pl. nom. comm.	<i>ku-na-an-te-eš</i>	762.3.4 r.col. 2'
<i>kuer-/kur-</i> 'to cut'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>ku-er-zi</i>	758.2.2 ii 20
imperf. pres. sg. 1	<i>kur-aš-ke-mi</i>	758.2.2 ii 11
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>ku-re-eš-ke-ez-zi</i>	760.4 iii 15' (I)
<i>kui-</i> 'who' (relative/interrogative pron.)		
sg. nom. comm.	<i>ku-iš</i>	761.3.8 iii 39'; 762.2 iv 33', 36' (I)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ku-it</i>	758.1 iii 12 (I), iii 40 (2 x); 759.1 i 34, 36, iii 4'; 760.2 ii 11; 760.3.a ii? 8'; 760.6 ii? 12'; 761.2.1.e:1'; 761.3.1 iv 10'; 761.3.7:4' (I); 761.3.8 ii 33, iii 39'; 762.2 iv 37'; 762.3.2 iii 3'
sg. dat.	<i>ku-e-da-ni</i>	759.1 i 10, 12; 759.10.b iii 20'
abl.	<i>ku-e-ez</i>	760.2 i 7
pl. nom. comm.	<i>ku-i-e-eš</i>	759.1 ii 5, iv 17' (I); 762.3.4 r.col. 1'

pl. acc. comm.	<i>ku-i-uš</i>	763.1.3.b i 5'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ku-e</i>	758.2.2 ii 6
pl. dat.	<i>ku-e-da-aš</i>	759.2.c i 1
<i>kuiški</i> 'whoever, whatever' (indefinite pron.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ku-it-ki</i>	758.2.1 i 2
<i>kuišša</i> 'each, every' (distributive pron.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ku-it-ta</i>	758.1 i 5' (I); 758.2.1 i 10 (I); 762.2 i 17'
sg. dat.	<i>ku-e-da-ni-ia</i>	759.1 iv 11' (I); 763.1.3.b i 7'
<i>kuit</i> 'because' (conj.)		
	<i>ku-it</i>	759.1 i 3
<i>kuitman</i> 'while' (conj.)		
	<i>ku-it-ma-an</i>	759.10.b iii 6'
^{GI} <i>kurtal</i> 'basket'		
sg. dat.	^{GI} <i>kur-ta-a-li</i>	759.13 i 11'
<i>kutt-</i> 'wall'		
	<i>ku-ut-t[a-...]</i>	759.1 iii 16'
<i>kuwapi</i> 'where, when' (conj.)		
	<i>ku-wa-pí</i>	758.1 iii 46; 758.4 i 3 (I); 760.2 i 13
<i>kuwaš-</i> 'to kiss'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>ku-wa-aš-zi</i>	762.2 i 10' (I)
^{GIS} <i>lahḥurnuzzi-</i> 'leafy branches'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIS} <i>la-aḥ-ḥur-nu-uz-zi</i>	761.2.1.b:7' (I)
<i>lāḥu-/lāḥuwa-</i> 'to pour'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>la-a-ḥu-i</i>	759.1 i 8, 18
ptc.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>la-a-ḥu-wa-an</i>	759.1 i 10
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>la-a-ḥu-u-wa-an</i>	759.10.b iii 2', 21'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>la-a-ḥu-u-wa-a-an</i>	758.1 iii 13
<i>lāi-</i> 'to untie'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>la-a-iz-zi</i>	761.1.b obv. 11' (I)
<i>lamniya-</i> 'to name, to call by name, to designate'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>lam-ni-ia-az-zi</i>	763.1.3.b i 2' (I)
pres. sg. 3	<i>lam-ni-az-zi</i>	763.1.3.b i 6'
<i>laplepa-</i> 'eyelash'		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>la-ap-li-e-pa-an</i>	759.10.b iii 7' (I)
<i>lukk-</i> 'to light up'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>lu-uk-ke-ez-zi</i>	759.10.b iii 23'
<i>luwili</i> 'in Luwian' (adv.)		
	<i>lu-ú-i-li</i>	758.7:2' (I); 759.8.a:1' (I); 760.1.b:5' (I); 760.3.b i 6" (I); 760.6 ii? 7'; 760.7.a l.col. 2' (I); 760.9 obv. 9' (I); 761.3.8 ii 28; 762.3.3:5' (I); 762.3.4 r.col. 9' (I); 763.2.4.a obv.? 7' (I); 763.2.6 ii? 8

<i>lu-u-i-li</i>	759.10.b iii 9', 24'
<i>lu-ú-wi₅-li</i>	761.3.5.a:3' (I)
<i>lu-i-li</i>	762.3.6 r.col. 4' (I); 763.1.1 i 2
- <i>ma</i> enclitic connective (see also - <i>a</i>)	
- <i>ma</i>	758.1 ii 5', iii 46; 758.2.1 iv 3', 15', 19' (I); 758.3.1 ii 8; 758.3.2 iii ² 3', 11', 12'; 758.4 i 3; 758.6 ii 4'; 759.1 i 1, 3, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20 (I), 22, 32, ii 8, 18, 32, iii 19', 21', iv 13', 16', 20'; 759.3 iv 18'; 759.5:4'; 759.8.c:10'; 759.10.b iii 6', 9', 24', iv 4', 20'; 760.1.a i 10; 760.2 ii 14, 17, 29, iii 16', 22'; 760.3.b iv 8'; 760.4 ii 10'; 760.7.a l.col. 1' (I), 2' (I); 761.2.1.b:5', 7'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 2', 7', 12'; 761.2.1.e:4', 8'; 761.2.4 i 11', iv 8', 20'; 761.2.5 ii ¹ 8', iii ¹ 7, 10; 761.3.2.c i 1; 761.3.5.a:3'; 761.3.5.c ii ² 7', 14'; 761.3.8 ii 22, 24, 28, 35, iii 34'; 761.4.2 iv 10'; 762.1.e r.col. 4'; 762.1.g:1'; 762.1.j r.col. 4' (I); 762.1.k ii ² 9'; 762.1.l r.col. 6'; 762.2 i 12', ii 2, 9, 13, 14, 26, iii 2', iv 3', 11', 31'; 762.3.2 ii 1, 5; 762.3.3:4'; 762.3.5 r.col. 6'; 763.1.2 ii 5'; 763.1.3.b i 3'; 763.2.1:5'; 763.2.5 ii 5'; 763.2.9:3'; 763.2.13:5'; 763.2.14 l.col. 5'; 763.2.15 r.col. 3', 5', 10'
<i>maḥḥan</i> 'as, when' (conj.)	
<i>ma-aḥ-ḥa-an</i>	759.1 i 1; 760.1.a i 4; 760.2 i 2; 761.2.1.c r.col. 10'; 761.2.4 iv 8'; 761.2.5 ii ¹ 8'; 763.2.22 iv 5'
see also GIM- <i>an</i>	
NINDA <i>maḥḥuila-</i> a type of bread	
sg. nom. comm. NINDA <i>ma-aḥ-ḥu-u-i-la-aš</i>	762.2 iii 5' (I)
<i>mān</i> 'when, if' (conj.)	
<i>ma-a-an</i>	758.2.1 i 1; 758.4 i 1; 759.1 iv 10', 23'; 760.1.a i 2, iv 3", 5"; 760.2 i 1; 761.1.c l.e. 1; 761.1.f rev. 12' (I); 761.3.1 iv 6' (I); 762.1.m iv 1' (I); 762.3.1 iv 1'
<i>mantalli-</i> 'mantalli-rite'	
sg. dat. <i>ma-an-ta-al-li-ia</i>	763.1.2 ii 11' (I)
<i>maši-</i> 'how(ever) many' (interrogative/indef. pron.)	
pl. nom. comm. <i>ma-ši-e-eš</i>	759.13 i 9' (I)
<i>mekki-</i> 'many, numerous' (adj.)	
pl. acc. comm. <i>me-eq-qa-a-uš-ša</i> (= <i>meqqāuš</i> =(š)a)	759.1 iv 10' (I), 23'
<i>mema-</i> 'to speak'	
pres. sg. 1 <i>me-ma-aḥ-ḥi</i>	758.2.1 ii 8', iii 7'
pres. sg. 3 <i>me-ma-i</i>	758.1 ii 30', 48', iii 16 (I), 32 (I), 34 (I); 759.1 i 22, iii 7', 24'; 759.2.a ii 14" (I), iii 18'; 759.3 i 4' (I), 7' (I), 11' (I), 13' (I), iv 4', 6' (I), 8' (I), 11', 12', 13', 14', 16', 4"; 759.6 iii ² 9'; 760.3.b iv 1";

		761.2.1.d:5' (I); 761.2.3.b ii ² 17'; 761.3.5.c ii ² 2', 7', 14'; 762.1.j r.col. 4'; 762.3.4 r.col. 10'
pres. sg. 3	<i>me-e-ma-i</i>	761.2.1.b:11' (I); 761.2.5 iii ¹ 10
inf.	<i>me-mi-ia-u-wa-an-zi</i>	760.3.a ii ² 16'; 762.1.g:5' (I); 762.3.2 ii 10 (I)
imperf. pres. sg. 1	<i>me-mi-iš-ke-mi</i>	758.2.2 ii 12
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>me-mi-iš-ke-ez-zi</i>	758.1 ii 19' (I); 759.1 ii 22 (I); 762.3.2 ii 3, 11 (I); 762.3.5 r.col. 7' (I); 763.2.2 obv. 6' (I); 763.2.4.a obv. ² 8' (I)
imperf. pret. sg. 3	<i>me-mi-iš-ke-et</i>	761.2.1.c r.col. 9' (I)
imperf. sup.	<i>me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an</i>	762.3.2 iii 5' (I)
<i>menaḥḥanda</i> 'in front of, opposite, against' (adv.)	<i>me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da</i>	759.1 ii 21 (I), iii 21' (I), iv 9' (I); 759.3 iv 4' (I), 10' (I); 759.8.c:11' (I); 759.10.c:9' (I); 760.2 ii 16; 760.4 ii 9' (I); 762.1.e r.col. 3' (I); 762.1.i:3' (I)
^{UZU} <i>muḥrai-</i> an animal body part		
sg.	^{UZU} <i>mu-uḥ-ra-i</i>	758.2.1 iv 16' (I)
^{GIS} <i>mūila-</i> a type of tool		
sg. nom. comm.	^{GIS} <i>mu-ú-i-la-aš</i>	758.1 i 8'; 758.2.1 i 14 (I)
sg. acc. comm.	^{GIS} <i>mu-ú-i-la-an</i>	758.1 ii 28'; 758.2.1 ii 7' (I)
^{NINDA} <i>mulati-</i> a type of bread		
sg. nom. comm.	^{NINDA} <i>mu-la-ti-iš</i>	758.2.1 i 8
<i>nakkiu-</i> a dead spirit		
pl. nom. comm.	<i>na-ak-ki-u-e-eš</i>	758.1 i 16' (I); 759.2.c i 1
pl. acc. comm.	<i>na-ak-ki-uš</i>	759.13 i 1' (I), 13'; 762.3.4 r.col. 8' (I), 13' (I)
pl. dat.	<i>na-ak-ki-u-aš</i>	759.3 iv 19' (I)
pl. dat.	<i>na-ak-ki-u-wa-aš</i>	762.2 iii 2' (I)
<i>nakku-</i> a dead person		
pl. dat.	<i>na-ak-ku-wa-aš</i>	759.13 i 4'
<i>nakkušši-</i> 'scapegoat'		
instr.	<i>na-ak-ku-uš-ši-it</i>	761.3.1 iv 4'
pl. acc. comm.	<i>na-ak-ku-uš-ši-uš</i>	763.1.3.b i 1' (I); 763.2.1:6'
pl. acc. comm.	<i>na-ak-ku-uš-ši-i-uš</i>	760.2 i 10
	<i>na-ak-ku-uš-š[i-...]</i>	762.2 iv 34'
<i>namma</i> 'again, then' (adv.)	<i>nam-ma</i>	758.1 iii 33 (I); 758.2.1 i 7; 759.1 i 2, 4, ii 9, iii 31'; 759.2.a iii 2'; 759.8.b ii ² 8'; 759.8.c:9'; 759.10.a iv 23' (I); 759.10.c:7'; 760.2 ii 13, 17, iii 21'; 760.3.a ii ² 7' (I); 760.3.b i 3" (I); 760.4 ii 5'; 760.9 obv. 6' (I); 761.2.1.b:6'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 5', 7', 11' (I), 13' (I); 761.2.3.b ii ² 16' (I); 761.2.5 ii ¹ 12'; 761.3.1 iv 2'; 761.3.2.c i 1; 761.3.5.a:7'; 761.3.5.b l.col. 10'; 761.3.5.c ii ² 6' (I), 12'; 761.3.9:3' (I); 762.1.c iv 18' (I); 762.1.h:5'; 762.1.j r.col. 3'; 762.2 i 6', 10' (I), iv 20', 32' (I); 762.3.2 ii 4 (I); 762.3.4 r.col. 3'

<i>našma</i> ‘or’ (conj.)		
	<i>na-aš-ma</i>	763.1.2 ii 6’ (J)
<i>nāi-/neya-</i> ‘to turn’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>na-a-i</i>	759.1 i 4
ptc.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ne-e-a-an</i>	759.2.c iv 4’
<i>nepiš-</i> ‘heaven, a type of vessel’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ne-pí-iš</i>	758.3.1 i 14’; 758.4 i 12
<i>ninink-</i> ‘to move’		
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>ni-ni-in-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi</i>	762.3.5 r.col. 6’ (J); 762.3.6 r.col. 3’ (I)
<i>nu</i> sentence connector		
	<i>nu</i>	758.1 iii 16, 33, 43, 45; 758.2.1 i 2, 4; 758.2.2 ii 1, 4, 5, 9, iii 3’, 4’, 5’, 7’; 758.5 r.col. 2’, 3’, 5’; 758.6 ii 5’; 759.1 i 13, ii 20, iii 6’, 20’, 30’, iv 3’; 759.2.c i 1; 759.3 i 9’, iv 12’, 13’, 14’, 16’, 3’, iv 4’, 6’, 8’, 4”, 6”; 759.3 iv 2”; 759.8.c:7’, 8’; 759.10.a iv 14’, 16’; 759.10.b iv 10’, 30’; 759.12 ii 10; 759.13 i 10’; 760.1.a i 7; 760.2 i 4, ii 11; 760.3.b iii 4’; 760.5 ii 2’, 6’; 760.6 ii ² 7’, 12’; 760.8:4’; 761.1.d rev. 6’, 16’, 25’; 761.1.f obv. 11, 14, rev. 1’, 4’; 761.2.1.a ii 4’, 7’; 761.2.1.e:1’; 761.2.4 i 13’, iv 19’; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 6, 10; 761.3.3:5’; 761.3.5.c ii ² 2’, 7’; 761.3.8 iii 39’; 761.3.9:4’; 762.1.c iv 9’; 762.1.e r.col. 2’; 762.1.j r.col. 2’; 762.2 i 18’, ii 1, iv 19’, 24’, 27’; 763.1.1 i 2; 763.2.1:3’; 763.2.6 ii ² 8; 763.2.7 ii ² 3’, 5’; 763.2.12 obv. ² 2’; 763.2.13:8’ (J); 763.3.4 iii 8’
	<i>nu-</i>	758.1 ii 6’, 17’ (J), iii 12; 759.1 i 9, 18, ii 31, iii 22’, 23’; 759.3 i 8’, 10’, iv 5’; 759.10.a i 22’, iv 9’ (J); 759.10.b iii 1’, 20’, 22’; 760.2 ii 12, iii 21’; 759.12 ii 12 (J); 759.13 i 9’; 760.2 i 3, ii 15; 760.3.b i 5” (J); 760.6 ii ² 4’; 760.9 obv. 4’, 8’ (J); 760.10 iii ² 2’; 761.1.c obv. 6”; 761.1.d rev. 28’; 761.3.5.a:6’; 761.3.8 ii 19; 762.1.c iv 7’, 16’, 19’; 762.1.j r.col. 7’; 762.2 i 10’, 15’, 32’, 33’, ii 18, iv 2’ (J), 39’, 29’; 762.3.4 r.col. 8’, 13’; 763.1.3.b i 8’; 763.2.7 ii ² 4’ (J); 763.2.15 r.col. 4’
	<i>na-</i> (= <i>nu</i> + <i>-a-</i>)	758.1 iii 14, 42, 48; 758.2.2 ii 7, 9, 19; 758.3.1 ii 11; 758.4 i 4, 8; 758.5 r.col. 12’; 759.1 i 7, 15, 35, ii 7, 30, iii 18’, iv 8’, 18’; 759.2.c i 2; 759.10.a iv 8’ (J); 759.10.b iii 2’, 5’, 23’, iv 8’, 28’; 759.13 i 11’ (J), 16’; 760.1.a i 11, 16; 760.2 i 11, 14, ii 12, 14, 16, iii 14’, 20’; 760.3.a ii ² 9’, 10’, 16’; 760.3.b ii 6’, iii 6’; 760.5 ii 3’; 761.1.c obv. 6” (J); 761.1.d obv. 17’, rev. 15’; 761.1.f obv. 12; 761.2.1.a ii 8’; 761.2.1.c r.col. 6’, 8’; 761.2.1.e:2’; 761.2.4 i 9’ (J), 10’, iv 21’; 761.2.5 ii ¹ 11’, iii ¹ 6, 8; 761.3.2.a iii 4’; 761.3.2.c i 2; 761.3.5.c ii ² 13’; 761.3.9:5’; 761.4.3 r.col. 6’; 762.1.l r.col. 2’; 762.2 i 15’, 17’, 18’, 35’

		([]), ii 10 ([]), iv 5', 28', 35'; 763.1.3.b iv 6', 7'; 763.2.4.a obv. ² 6'; 763.2.12 obv. ² 1'
<i>na-aš-ta</i> (= <i>nu</i> + <i>-ašta</i>)		758.1 ii 7', 18', 30', 47'; 758.2.1 ii 8'; 758.3.1 ii 9'; 759.1 i 37, ii 5, 17, 19, iv 11'; 759.3 iv 9'; 759.10.a iv 15', 21'; 759.10.b iv 29'; 760.1.a i 4, 8; 760.2 i 2; 760.3.b ii 3'; 760.4 iii 14' ([]); 760.8:3' ([]); 761.3.8 ii 27, iii 32'; 762.2 i 9', 14', 16', 34', iv 16'; 763.2.2 rev. 8'; 763.2.5 ii 3', 6'
<i>pahḥur</i> 'fire'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥur</i>	758.6 ii 2' ([])
<i>pai-</i> 'to go'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>pa-iz-zi</i>	759.1 iv 6'; 760.3.a ii ² 10'
pres. pl. 3	<i>pa-a-an-zi</i>	763.1.2 ii 15'
imper. pl. 2	<i>i-it-tén</i>	759.3 iv 3"
<i>pāi-/piya-</i> 'to give'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>pa-a-i</i>	759.1 iv 16'; 761.3.8 iii 40'
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>pí-i-iš-ke-e[z-zi]</i>	763.2.12 obv. ² 4'
<i>pakkuššuwant-</i> 'grits(?)'		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>pa-ak-ku-uš-šu-wa-an-da</i>	759.1 i 1, 11, 14
pl. dat.	<i>pa-ak-ku-uš-šu-wa-an-da-aš</i>	759.1 i 19
abl.	<i>pa-ak-ku-uš-šu-w[a]-an-da-a[z]</i>	759.1 i 20
<i>palša-</i> 'way, path, round'		
sg. dat.	<i>pal-ši</i>	761.2.1.c r.col. 10'; 763.2.22 iv 5'
<i>papparaš-</i> 'to sprinkle'		
pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-ap-pár-aš-[mī]</i>	758.2.2 iii 1'
pres. sg. 3	<i>pa-ap-pár-aš-zi</i>	758.1 iii 14 ([]) , 16
imperf. sup.	<i>pa-ap-pár-aš-ki-u-wa-an</i>	759.1 ii 22
<i>paprātar</i> 'impurity'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>pa-ap-ra-tar</i>	758.2.1 i 2; 758.2.3 iv 1' ([])
<i>parā</i> 'forth' (prev.)		
	<i>pa-ra-a</i>	758.1 iii 31 ([]) , 33 ([]) , 41, 42; 758.2.2 iii 7"; 758.3.3:3' ([]) ; 758.4 i 11; 758.6 ii 2'; 759.1 iii 19' ([]) , iv 15'; 759.3 iv 19'; 759.6 iii ² 5'; 759.10.b iv 17', 28'; 760.1.a i 6; 760.2 ii 12, iii 21'; 760.3.a ii ² 2', 9', 12'; 760.3.b i 17" ([]) , ii 1'; 760.4 iii 32'; 760.9 obv. 17' ([]) ; 761.1.d obv. 17'; 761.1.f obv. 15; 761.2.1.a iii 2', 7' ([]) ; 761.2.1.b:9', 10'; 761.3.1 iv 2' ([]) , 8'; 761.3.5.a:1'; 761.3.8 ii 27, 32, iii 38', 40'; 761.4.2 iv 9'; 762.1.l r.col. 6'; 762.2 i 6' ([]) , 11', 17', 18'; 762.3.5 r.col. 5'; 763.1.6 ii ¹ 4'; 763.2.5 ii 4'; 763.2.12 obv. ² 4'; 763.2.17:3' ([])
<i>parkui-</i> 'clean, pure'		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>pár-ku-in</i>	759.12 ii 12; 760.3.a ii ² 7'; 761.1.f obv. 1 ([]) , 11 ([]) , 14 ([]) ; 761.2.1.c r.col. 7' ([]) ; 761.3.2.b i 11' ([]) ; 761.3.2.c i 1; 761.3.5.b l.col. 9'; 763.2.2 rev. 10' ([])
sg. acc. comm.	<i>pár-ku-i-in</i>	761.3.5.b l.col. 15'

sg. acc. comm.	<i>pár-ku-iš-ša-an</i> (= <i>parkui(n)=šan</i>)	761.4.3 r.col. 4'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>pár-ku-i</i>	760.1.a iv 7"; 760.2 iv 1'
abl.	[<i>pá</i>]r-ku-wa-ia-az	759.1 i 2
<i>paršiya-/paršai-</i> 'to crumble'		
pres. sg. 1	<i>pár-ši-ia-mi</i>	758.2.2 iii 5", 6"
pres. sg. 3	[<i>pár-š</i>]a-a-iz-zi	762.3.4 r.col. 3'
pres. sg. 3	<i>pár-ši-ia-az-z[i]</i>	759.1 i 33
mid. pres. sg. 3	<i>pár-ši-ia</i>	758.2.1 iv 10'; 759.3 iv 12'; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 7; 761.3.5.c ii ² 6', 12'
ptc.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>pár-ši-ia-an</i>	759.13 i 6'
<i>partawar</i> 'feather'		
	<i>pár-t[a-...]</i>	759.10.c:10'
<i>-pat</i> emphatic particle		
	<i>-pát</i>	758.2.1 iv 11'; 759.1 ii 18, iv 22', 24'; 760.1.a i 6, 10'; 760.3.a ii ² 6'; 760.4 ii 7'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 9'; 761.3.1 iv 5'; 761.3.8 ii 22; 762.1.i:1'; 762.3.2 ii 3; 763.1.2 ii 8'; 763.1.6 ii ¹ 16'; 763.2.1:3'; 763.2.2 obv. 7'; 763.3.1 r.col. 4'
^{GI} <i>pattar</i> 'basket'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GI} <i>pát-tar</i>	759.1 i 11, 13 ([]), iv 6' ([])
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>pát-tar</i>	759.1 i 3
sg. dat.	^{GI} <i>pád-da-ni</i>	759.1 i 20, iii 18', iv 8'
sg. dat.	^{GI} <i>pát-ta-a-ni</i>	759.1 i 3
sg. dat.	^{GI} <i>pád-da-ni-i-ma</i> (= ^{GI} <i>paddanī=ma</i>)	759.1 i 12
sg. dat.	^{GI} <i>pád-da-ni-i-ma-aš-ša-an</i> (= ^{GI} <i>paddanī=ma=(š)šan</i>)	759.1 i 14
abl.	^{GI} <i>pád-da-n[a-az]</i>	759.1 i 36
abl.	^{GI} <i>pád-da-na-[az-ma-aš]-ša-an</i> (= ^{GI} <i>paddana[z=ma=(š)]šan</i>)	759.1 i 21
see also ^{GI} PISAN		
<i>pēhute-</i> 'to lead'		
pres. pl. 3	[<i>pé-ḥu-da</i>]-an-zi	760.3.b i 15'
<i>pennai-/penniya-</i> 'to drive'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>pé-en-na-i</i>	761.3.7:3' ([]); 761.3.8 ii 32
pres. pl. 3	<i>pé-en-ni-ia-an-zi</i>	761.2.5 iii ¹ 6
pres. pl. 3	[<i>p</i>]é-en-ni-a[n-zi]	763.1.6 ii ¹ 17'
<i>pēr/parna-</i> 'house'		
sg. dat.	<i>pár-ni</i> [<i>p</i>]ár-na-[...]	758.1 ii 46'; 758.2.1 i 1; 758.2.3 iv 1' 759.10.a iv 11'
see also Ê		
<i>peran</i> 'before, in front of' (prev./adv./postpos.)		
	<i>pé-ra-an</i>	758.4 i 2; 759.1 ii 18 ([]); 760.3.b iv 11' ([]); 761.2.1.a ii 6'; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 10; 761.3.8 ii 33, iii

		39'; 762.2 i 36' (]); ii 11, iv 30'; 762.3.5 r.col. 3'; 763.1.3.b i 10'
see also	PANI	
<i>peššiya-</i>	'to throw'	
pres. sg. 1	<i>pé-eš-ši-ia-mi</i>	758.2.2 iii 7"
pres. sg. 3	<i>pé-eš-ši-ez-zi</i>	761.1.d obv. 1' (]), 21' (])
pres. sg. 3	<i>[pé-eš-ši-ia]-az-zi</i>	759.1 iii 18'
pres. sg. 3	<i>pé-eš-ši-ia-zi</i>	762.2 i 16', 17'
<i>pēda-</i>	'place'	
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>pé-e-[da-an]</i>	759.1 ii 17
sg. dat.	<i>pé-e-[di]</i>	759.2.c i 3
see also	AŠRU	
<i>pēda-</i>	'to carry'	
pres. sg. 3	<i>pé-e-da-i</i>	759.1 iv 5'; 759.10.b iv 29' (]); 760.2 ii 13; 760.3.b i 17" (]); 760.4 iii 32'; 760.8:4' (]); 760.9 obv. 17' (]); 761.2.1.a iii 7'; 763.2.5 ii 4' (]); 763.2.9:13' (]); 763.2.12 rev.? 3'
pres. pl. 3	<i>pé-e-da-an-zi</i>	761.3.1 iv 3'; 761.3.8 iii 38'
<i>pippa-</i>	'to overturn'	
pres. sg. 3	<i>pí-ip-pa-i</i>	759.6 iii? 8'
<i>pūri-</i>	'lip, rim'	
sg.	<i>pu-u-[ri-...]</i>	762.3.3:1'
<i>purut-</i>	'mud'	
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>pu-ru-ut</i>	759.13 i 8'
<i>puššai-</i>	'to chop up(?)'	
pres. sg. 3	<i>pu-uš-ša-iz-zi</i>	758.3.1 ii 12 (]); 758.3.3:4' (])
<i>šai-</i> / <i>šiya-</i>	'to shoot'	
pres. pl. 3	<i>ši-ia-an-zi</i>	763.2.6 ii? 4
<i>šakuni-</i>	'spring'	
sg. gen.	<i>ša-ku-ni-ia-aš</i>	759.2.c i 2; 759.13 i 8' (])
<i>šakuwa-</i>	'to soak'	
ptc.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ša-ku-wa-an</i>	758.2.1 i 12 (]); 758.3.1 i 11' (])
<i>šalk-</i>	'to knead'	
pres. sg. 3	<i>ša-la-ak-zi</i>	759.13 i 9'
<i>šalla-</i>	mng unkn.	
sg. nom. comm.	<i>šal-la-aš</i>	758.4 i 6
<i>šalli-</i>	'large, great'	
sg. nom. comm.	<i>šal-li-i[š]</i>	762.2 iv 23'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>šal-li</i>	761.3.1 iv 7' (]); 762.3.1 iv 2'
see also	GAL and RABU	
- <i>šan</i>	sentence particle	
	- <i>ša-an</i>	758.1 ii 17', iii 12, 15 (]); 758.2.1 iv 19'; 758.3.3:11" (]); 758.6 ii 8', 9'; 759.1 i 2, 7, 9, 11,

		13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, iii 18' ([], iv 18'; 759.3 iv 5'; 759.8.c:9'; 759.10.b iii 1', 3', 6', 22', iv 8'; 759.12 ii 13; 759.13 i 3' ([], i 11'; 760.2 i 11, ii 12, 14, iii 14', 21'; 760.3.b i 5" ([]), iv 9' ([]); 760.9 obv. 8'; 761.1.c obv. 6'; 761.1.d rev. 15'; 761.2.1.b:5', 7' ([]; 761.2.1.c r.col. 8', 11'; 761.2.1.e:8'; 762.1.j r.col. 7'; 761.2.4 iv 21'; 761.2.5 ii ¹ 11', iii 8; 761.3.2.c i 2; 761.3.5.b l.col. 10'; 761.3.5.c ii ² 6', 12'; 761.3.8 ii 19; 761.4.3 r.col. 4', 6'; 762.2 i 32', iv 2', 29' ([]; 762.3.3:4'; 762.3.4 r.col. 4'; 763.1.3.b i 8'; 759.10.b iii 6'; 760.1.a i 6 ([]; 760.2 i 3
	-zan (= -za + -šan)	
šarā 'up' (prev.)		
	ša-ra-a	758.1 iii 15; 759.1 i 4, iii 5'; 759.2.a iii 16' ([]; 759.3 iv 2" ([]; 759.8.c:11'; 759.13 i 6'; 762.3.5 r.col. 3'; 763.2.1:2'
	ša-ra-a-ia-an (= šarā=ya=an)	762.1.k ii ² 8' ([]; 762.2 ii 25
šarlatt- a type of sacrifice		
sg. gen.	šar-la-at-ta-aš	760.2 i 6
sg. gen.	šar-la-a-at-ta-aš	760.1.a i 11
NINDA šēna- 'figurine, figurine bread'		
sg. acc. comm.	NINDA šī-i-na-an	758.6 ii 7', 9', 11'
sg. acc. comm.	šī-i-na-an	758.1 ii 6' ([], 23'
sg. acc. comm.	še-e-na-an	763.3.4 iii 8'
pl. nom. comm.	še-e-ne-e[š ₁₇]	763.2.7 ii ² 3'
pl. acc. comm.	NINDA še-e-nu-[uš]	758.6 ii 4'
pl. acc. comm.	še-e-nu-uš	760.4 ii 8'; 762.1.c iv 8'
pl. acc. comm.	šī-e-nu-uš	760.2 ii 15
pl. dat.	[š]e-e-na-aš	760.1.b:4'
šēppit a type of grain		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[še-ep-p]í-it	758.3.1 i 17'
šer 'above, on top'		
	še-er	758.2.2 ii 8; 758.3.1 ii 10; 758.3.2 iii ² 4'; 759.1 i 14, 19; 759.3 i 5' ([]; 760.2 iii 20'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 5'; 761.2.3.b ii ² 15' ([]; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 8; 761.3.8 ii 26, 34, iii 33'; 762.1.k ii ² 7'; 762.2 ii 19; 762.3.4 r.col. 4'
	še-e-er	759.10.b iii 22'
	še-ra-aš-ša-an (= šer=a(š)šan)	761.3.5.c ii ² 6', 12'; 763.2.13:6' ([]
	še-er-ma-aš-ša-an (= šer=ma=(š)šan)	759.1 i 13; 761.2.1.b:5'
šipant- 'to sacrifice, to dedicate, to consecrate with'		
pres. sg. 1	šī-pa-an-ta-aḥ-ḥi	760.2 i 2
pres. sg. 3	šī-pa-an-ti	758.2.1 iv 18' ([]; 758.4 i 2; 759.1 iv 21'; 759.3 iv 8'; 760.2 i 13 ([], ii 17; 760.3.b iii 6' ([]; 760.9

		obv. 3' (I), 6' (I); 761.1.d rev. 9'; 761.2.4 iv 13' (I); 761.2.5 iii' 10 (I); 761.3.1 iv 2'; 761.3.3:2' (I); 761.3.6:4'; 761.3.7:7' (I)
pres. pl. 1	<i>ši-pa-an-du-wa-ni</i>	760.1.a i 3
pres. pl. 3	[<i>ši-pa-an-d</i>] <i>a-an-zi</i>	762.1.m iv 5'
inf.	<i>ši-pa-an-du-wa-an-zi</i>	763.1.2 iii 17'
imperf. pres. sg. 3	[<i>ši-i</i>] <i>p-pa-an-za-ke-ez-zi-ma</i> (= <i>šippanzakezzi=ma</i>)	762.2 iv 31'
see also BAL		
<i>šiššatalla-</i> 'archer(?)'	<i>ši-iš-ša-tal-I[a-...]</i>	763.2.5 ii 7'
<i>šuḥḥa-</i> 'to scatter'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>šu-uḥ-ḥa-a-i</i>	759.1 i 3
ptc.		
nom.-acc. n.	<i>šu-uḥ-ḥa-a-an</i>	759.1 i 12, 15 (I); 763.2.13:6' (I)
^{slg} <i>šūil-</i> 'thread'		
sg. dat.	^{slg} <i>šu-ú-i-li</i>	762.3.5 r.col. 4'
<i>šumanzan</i> 'rope'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>šu-ma-an-za-an</i>	758.2.2 ii 10; 762.1.h:9' (I)
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>šu-ma-an-za</i>	758.1 i 15'; 758.3.1 ii 8
<i>šūwaru-</i> a type of plant		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>šu-u-w[a²-ru]</i>	758.3.2 iii² 12'
<i>da-</i>	'to take'	
pres. sg. 1	<i>da-aḥ-ḥi</i>	758.2.1 i 4; 758.2.2 ii 10, iii 5"; 760.2 i 4
pres. sg. 3	<i>da-a-i</i>	758.1 iii 31, 33; 758.2.2 ii 19; 758.3.2 iii² 12' (I); 758.6 ii 5'; 759.1 i 11, iii 31', iv 8', 9' (I, 12', 17' (I)); 759.2.a iii 15'; 759.3 iv 13', 14', 17', 2"; 759.5: 11' (I); 759.10.b iii 4', iv 28'; 759.12 ii 13; 759.13 i 6', 16'; 760.2 ii 15, iii 14'; 760.4 ii 8'; 761.1.d rev. 15'; 761.2.1.b:4', 7'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 8' (I); 761.2.1.e:3'; 761.2.5 ii' 10', iii' 9 (I); 761.3.1 iv 5'; 761.3.2.c i 2; 761.3.8 ii 31; 762.2 iv 29'; 762.3.2 ii 2; 762.3.3:4' (I); 762.3.4 r.col. 7'; 763.2.4.a obv.² 6'
pres. pl. 3	<i>da-an-zi</i>	758.6 ii 2'; 759.1 iv 24' (I); 760.1.a i 15 (I); 760.2 i 8, 9, 14
ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	<i>da-an-za</i>	759.2.c i 2
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>da-aš-ke-ez-zi</i>	762.1.f ii 4' (I)
<i>dāi-/tiya-</i> 'to put, to place'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>da-a-i</i>	759.1 i 5, ii 22; 759.2.a ii 10", 12", iii 17'; 759.10.b iii 3', 5', iv 18'; 759.14 ii 5' (I); 760.2 ii 12, 14, 29, 30 (I); 760.4 ii 6' (I, iii 14' (I); 761.2.1.b:5'; 761.2.5 iii' 8; 761.3.1 iv 1' (I); 761.3.5.c ii² 7', 13' (2 x); 762.2 i 15'; 762.3.5 r.col. 1'; 763.2.18:6'; 763.2.23 l.col. 5'

pres. pl. 1	<i>tum-me-ni</i>	760.1.a i 7
pres. pl. 3	<i>ti-an-zi</i>	758.6 ii 3'; 760.9 obv. 5' (I)
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>zi-ik-ke-ez-zi</i>	760.2 iii 15'
imperf. pres. pl. 3	<i>zi-ik-ká[n-zi]</i>	763.2.15 r.col. 2'
<i>takšan</i> 'together' (adv.)		
	<i>ták-ša-an</i>	759.1 i 6
<i>taliya-</i> 'to leave'		
	<i>ta-li-i[a-...]</i>	762.2 i 32'
<i>taluppi-</i> 'lump'		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>ta-lu-up-pí-in</i>	759.12 ii 13 (I); 759.3 i 10'; 761.1.d obv. 22' (I), rev. 15', 25' (I); 761.3.2.b i 11'; 761.3.2.c i 1 (I); 761.3.5.b l.col. 9'
<i>damaš-</i> 'to press'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>ta-ma-aš-zi</i>	759.12 ii 14 (I); 761.1.d rev. 16' (I); 761.1.f obv. 2 (I)
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>[t]a-ma-aš-ke-ez-zi</i>	761.3.2.c i 4
imperf. pres. sg. 3	<i>da-a-ma-a-a[š-ke-ez-zi]</i>	761.4.3 r.col. 8'
<i>dān</i> 'for the second time' (adv.)		
	<i>da-a-an</i>	758.2.2 ii 10; 758.4 i 5
<i>dannara-</i> 'empty'		
sg. acc. comm.	<i>da-an-na-r[a-an]</i>	762.2 ii 18
sg. acc. comm.	<i>t[a-an-na]-ra-an</i>	759.12 ii 10
see also <i>RIQQU</i>		
<i>dānit-</i> 'tanid-stone'		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	<i>da-a-ni-i-ta-ia</i> (= <i>dānīta=ya</i>)	762.2 ii 12 (I)
<i>dapiyant-</i> 'all, whole' (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>da-pí-an</i>	758.2.1 ii 6'
<i>tarmai-</i> 'to nail'		
pres. sg. 3	<i>tar-ma-a-iz-zi</i>	759.3 iv 6', 4"; 762.3.4 r.col. 9'
<i>tarna-</i> unit of measure		
sg. gen.	<i>tar-na-aš</i>	758.2.1 i 8, 12; 760.9 obv. 5' (I); 761.3.5.c ii? 12'; 762.2 i 8' (I)
<i>tarna-</i> 'to let go'		
pres. pl. 3	<i>tar-na-an-zi</i>	763.1.2 ii 17'
<i>tarpala-</i> 'strap'		
sg. nom. comm.	<i>tar-pa-a-la-aš</i>	760.1.a i 2', 3'
sg. nom. comm.	<i>tar-pa-la-aš</i>	758.4 i 9
^{GIŠ} <i>tāru-</i> 'tree'		
sg. gen.	^{GIŠ} <i>ta-a-ru-[wa-aš]</i>	762.2 iv 12'
see also ^{GIŠ}		
<i>tarupp-</i> 'to intertwine'		
ptc.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>ta-ru-up-pa-an</i>	760.2 ii 31

<i>tē-/tar-</i> ‘to say’ pres. sg. 3	<i>te-ez-zi</i>	759.1 ii 9; 759.10.b iv 30’; 761.1.d obv. 7’, rev. 16’; 761.3.7:8’ (I); 761.4.3 r.col. 2’ (I); 762.1.c iv 9’ (I); 763.1.6 ii ¹ 7’ (I); 763.2.4.b iv 2 (I), 7 (I); 763.2.24 l.col. 6’
<i>tekan/takna-</i> ‘earth’ sg. dat.	<i>ták-ni-i</i>	759.14 ii 10’
<i>tepu-</i> ‘little’ sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>te-pu</i>	758.1 i 5’, 10’; 758.2.1 i 10; 758.3.1 i 9’ (I), 18’; 758.4 i 10, 11; 759.1 i 33; 760.3.a ii ² 8’; 760.3.b ii 5’; 761.2.1.b:7’; 762.2 i 16’, 17’
<i>tetana-</i> ‘(head) hair’ sg. acc. comm.	<i>te-e-ta<na>-an</i>	759.10.b iii 7’
<i>titant-</i> ‘suckling(?)’ sg. acc. comm.	[<i>ti-i-ta-a</i>] <i>n-da-an</i>	760.1.a i 12
sg. gen.	<i>ti-i-ta-an-ta-[aš]</i>	760.2 i 6
<i>tittanu-</i> ‘to set, to place’ pres. pl. 3	<i>ti-it-[ta-nu-wa-an-zi]</i>	758.2.2 ii 10
^{GIS} <i>tidutri-</i> a tool sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIS} <i>ti-du-ut-ri</i>	758.2.1 i 15 (I), ii 7’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIS} <i>ti-id-du-ut-ri</i>	758.1 ii 29’
<i>tiya-</i> ‘to step’ pres. sg. 3	<i>ti-ia-zi</i>	758.2.2 ii 5
pres. pl. 3	<i>ti-i-ia-an-zi</i>	759.13 i 10’
<i>tuékka-</i> ‘body, body part, person’ pl. acc. comm.	<i>tu-e-ek-ku-uš-šu-uš</i> (= <i>tuēkkuš=šuš</i>)	763.3.2 l.col. 4’
see also <i>RAMĀNU</i>		
<i>tuḥšannai-/tuḥšanniya-</i> ‘to cut off’ (imperf.) pres. sg. 3	<i>túḥ-ša-a-an-n[a-i]</i>	763.2.12 obv. ² 3’
<i>tuppi-</i> ‘tablet’ sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>tup-pi</i>	760.1.a iv 7’’; 761.3.2.b iv 4’ (I); 761.3.4 rev. 3’
<i>duwan ... duwan</i> ‘on this side ... on that side’ du-wa-a-an du-wa-an-na (= <i>duwan=(n)a</i>)		762.3.5 r.col. 5’ (I); 762.3.6 r.col. 2’ (I)
<i>duwarna-</i> ‘to break’ pres. sg. 1	<i>du-wa-ar-na-aḥ-ḥi</i>	758.2.2 iii 2’’ (I), 4’’
pres. sg. 3	<i>du-wa-a-ar-na-a-i</i>	759.3 i 7’ (I)
pres. sg. 3	<i>du-wa-ar-na-i</i>	758.2.1 iv 5’ (II)
pres. sg. 3	<i>du-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi</i>	759.12 ii 11 (I); 761.4.1:10’ (I); 762.3.2 ii 5 (I)
pres. pl. 3	<i>du-wa-ar-na-an-zi</i>	759.1 iii 23’
imperf. sup.	<i>du-wa-ar-ni-iš-ki-u-wa-an</i>	760.2 iii 14’ (I)
<i>tuwaz</i> ‘from afar’ (adv.) <i>tu-u-wa-az</i>		761.2.3.b ii ² 15’, 16’; 761.3.8 iii 40’

	[t]u-u-wa-za	761.3.8 iii 34'
uwa- 'to come'		
pres. sg. 3	ú-ez-zi	762.2 iv 17'; 762.3.2 ii 1
unna- 'to drive in'		
pres. sg. 3	u-un-na-i	758.1 iii 42
pres. pl. 3	u-un-ni-ia-an-zi	759.1 iv 14'
pres. pl. 3	u-un-ni-an-zi	758.2.2 ii 9; 759.10.b iv 29'
uda- 'to bring'		
pres. sg. 3	ú-da-[i]	758.1 iii 41
pres. pl. 3	ú-da-an-zi	759.10.b iv 9'
pres. pl. 3	ú-ta-an-zi	760.9 obv. 4'
uttar 'speech, matter'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[ud-d]a-ar	762.1.a:7'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ud-da-a-ar	762.1.g:1' (I); 762.3.2 ii 2 (I), 5 (I); 762.3.6 r.col. 4'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ud-da-a-ar-ra (= uddār=(r)a)	763.2.4.a obv.? 7'
see also AWĀTU		
-wa(r) quotative particle		
	-wa-	759.1 i 40; 759.4 i 6'
waḥnu- 'to turn' (trans.)		
pres. sg. 3	wa-aḥ-nu-zi	758.1 ii 47'; 758.3.1 ii 10 (I); 758.3.2 iii? 4' (I); 759.3 i 5' (I); 761.1.a:7' (I); 761.3.5.b l.col. 10'
pres. sg. 3	wa-aḥ-nu-uz-zi	760.2 iii 20'; 760.3.a ii? 9' (I), 21'; 761.3.8 ii 26; 762.2 ii 19; 763.2.15 r.col. 12' (I)
pres. pl. 3	wa-aḥ-nu-wa-an-zi	761.3.8 iii 33'
imperf. sup.	wa-aḥ-nu-uš-[k]i-u-wa-an	762.3.2 ii 2
walḥ- 'to strike'		
pres. sg. 3	[wa-a]l-aḥ-zi	759.10.b iv 5'
pres. pl. 3	wa-al-ḥa-a[n-zi]	759.2.a iii 14'
verb. subs. gen.	[wa]-al-ḥu-wa-aš	760.2 i 3
verb. subs. gen.	wa-al-ḥu-u-wa-aš	760.1.a i 3 (I), 5
UZU walla- 'shank'		
sg. gen.	UZU wa-al-la-aš	761.3.5.c ii? 6'
sg.	[UZ]U wa-al-l[a-...]	761.2.1.b:2'
war-/ur- 'to burn' (intrans.)		
mid. pres. sg. 3	ú-ra-a-ni	758.2.2 ii 3; 759.10.b iii 23'
warnu- 'to burn' (trans.)		
pres. sg. 3	wa-ar-nu-zi-ia-an (= warnuzi=ya=an)	758.4 i 7
GIS waršama- 'straw(?)'		
sg. acc. comm.	GIS wa-ar-ša-ma-an	759.10.b iii 22'
waššiya-/wešš- 'to wear'		
pres. sg. 3	wa-aš-š[i-ia-az-zi]	758.2.2 ii 8
verb. subs. gen.	ú-e-eš-šu-wa-aš	758.1 i 2' (I); 758.2.1 i 7

<i>watar/weten-</i> ‘water’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	<i>wa-a-tar</i>	758.1 iii 12
sg. gen.	<i>ú-i-te-na-aš</i>	758.3.2 iii ² 11’ (I); 761.2.1.c r.col. 12’
abl.	<i>ú-e-te-na-az</i>	759.1 i 2
instr.	<i>ú-e-te-ni-it</i>	758.2.2 iii 3”
<i>weriške-</i> ‘to call’ (imperf.)		
pres. sg. 3	<i>ú-e-ri-iš-ke-ez-zi</i>	759.1 ii 8
<i>wešuriya-</i> ‘to twist’		
pres. pl. 3	<i>ú-e-šu-ri-ia-an-zi</i>	759.1 iii 23’
<i>-z(a)</i> refl. particle		
	<i>-za</i>	758.3.2 iii ² 11’; 758.4 i 8; 759.1 i 9; 759.3 i 10’; 759.12 ii 12; 760.1.a i 11; 760.2 ii 15; 760.10 iii ² 2’ (I); 761.1.c obv. 6”; 761.1.d rev. 28’; 761.2.4 i 10’; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 6; 761.3.2.c i 1; 761.3.5.a:6’; 761.3.9:5’; 762.2 i 10’, 15’, 33’, ii 18, iv 35’, 39’; 763.2.15 r.col. 4’ (I)
	<i>-az</i>	759.1 i 10; 761.2.1.b:6’; 761.2.1.c r.col. 7’, 12’; 762.2 iv 20’ (I)
<i>zanu-</i> ‘to cook’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>za-nu-zi</i>	759.11:6’
<i>zapnu-</i> ‘to make drip’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>za-ap-nu-u[z-zi]</i>	759.1 i 38
^{GIS} <i>zuppari-</i> ‘torch’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIS} <i>zu-pa-ri</i>	758.3.1 i 11’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIS} <i>zu-up-pa-ri</i> ^{HA}	759.13 i 15’

LUWIAN

a sentence connector		
	<i>a-</i>	758.1 ii 4’, 11’, 32’, 35’, 37’, 38’, 39’, iii 6, 9, 11, 30, 37, 38; 758.3.1 ii 5; 759.1 iii 10’, 26’; 759.10.b iv 21’, 23’; 760.2 ii 26; 760.3.b i 8”; 760.9 obv. 10’, 11’; 761.2.3.b ii ² 5’; 761.2.4 i 16’, 18’; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 12; 761.3.8 ii 16, 18; 762.2 iv 8’; 763.1.2 iii 7’; 763.3.2 l.col. 6’; 763.3.3:3’
<i>a-</i> ‘to do, to make’		
pres. sg. 3	<i>a-ti</i>	759.10.b iv 25’
<i>a-</i> mng unkn.		
pres. pl. 2	<i>a-at-ta-ni-i</i>	759.1 iii 10’
<i>-a-</i> ‘he, she, it’ (enclitic sentential pron.)		
sg. nom. comm.	<i>-aš(-)</i>	758.1 ii 8’, iii 34; 758.3.1 ii 17; 758.3.2 iii ² 5’; 759.2.a ii 5”; 759.3 i 6’; 759.6 ii ² 3’, 7’; 759.10.b iii 26’, 27’; 759.12 ii 1, 6 (I); 760.1.a iii 9’; 760.2 ii 25, 26; 760.6 ii ² 8’; 761.1.a:9’; 761.1.c obv. 8”,

		10", rev. 4", 5"; 761.1.d rev. 17', 19'; 761.1.f obv. 3; 761.2.1.a iv 3, 6, 7; 761.2.4 i 14'; 761.3.2.c i 6 (]); 762.1.k ii? 3', 4'; 762.2 i 21', 23', ii 20, 21; 762.3.2 iii 10'
sg. acc. comm.	-an(-)	759.1 iii 26', 28', 29' (]); 759.10.b iii 11', iv 24'; 760.1.a iii 8', iv 3' (]), 5'; 760.2 ii 21, 25, 26, iii 17'; 760.3.b i 12", 14"; 760.4 ii 14', 19'; 760.5 ii 9' (]); 760.7.a l.col. 3'; 760.9 obv. 13'; 761.1.b obv. 13'; 761.1.c obv. 14', 17'; 761.1.f obv. 7; 761.2.2.a obv. 3'; 761.2.3.b ii? 3'; 761.3.8 ii 16, 17; 761.4.1:6'; 762.2 ii 3; 763.1.2 iii 14'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	-a-ta(-)	758.1 iii 9, 11; 759.1 i 24, 26 (]), ii 12, 15, 16, 28; 760.3.b ii 8'; 760.4 iii 12'; 760.7.a l.col. 6', 7', 8', 9', 10'; 761.1.b obv. 2', 7'; 761.1.c obv. 5', 6', 8', 9'; 761.1.d obv. 12'; 761.2.2.b obv. 3', 4'; 761.3.8 iii 7', 11' (]), 12'; 762.1.c iv 10'; 762.2 i 13', 19'; 762.3.2 iii 7' (]), iv 2'; 763.1.4 l.col. 3'; 763.2.7 iii? 1, 2 (]); 763.3.3:3'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	-at-	762.2 i 20'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	-(i)a-ti	761.1.c rev. 7", 8"
sg. dat.	-du(-)	758.1 ii 4'; 758.3.1 ii 5; 759.1 iii 29'; 759.2.a ii 16"; 759.8.c:1'; 759.10.b iv 21'; 759.14 ii 7'; 760.2 iii 11'; 760.3.b i 8"; 760.4 iii 10' (]), 12' (]); 760.9 obv. 10'; 761.1.c obv. 17', 19', 22', rev. 6"; 761.1.d rev. 3'; 761.2.3.b ii? 3' (]), 5', 7', 10'; 761.2.5 ii? 5'; 761.3.8 ii 16, 17, 18; 762.1.m iii 7'; 763.3.2 l.col. 6'; 763.2.11:3' (]); 763.2.23 r.col. 4' (])
pl. nom. comm.	-a-ta	759.3 i 11'; 761.2.1.e:5'; 762.1.h:6'; 762.3.4 r.col. 11' (]); 763.2.8 r.col. 9'
pl. acc. comm.	-aš	760.1.b:6'; 760.2 ii 18; 760.4 ii 11'; 761.1.b obv. 9'; 761.1.c rev. 8'; 763.1.2 iii 3', 5', 7'; 763.1.3.a:12'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	-a-ta	758.1 ii 34'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	-at-	759.9 obv. 11'; 760.2 ii 5, 7, iii 11'
pl. dat.	-ma-aš	758.6 ii 19'; 759.1 ii 23, 24; 762.2 iv 8'
aya-	'to do, to make'	
pres. sg. 2	a-a-ia-ši	761.2.4 i 16'
pres. sg. 3	a-ia-a-[ti]	760.9 obv. 14'
pret. pl. 3	a-a-ia-an-ta	761.2.4 i 20'
imper. sg. 2	a-a-ia-aš (= aya=aš)	763.1.2 iii 5'
mid. pres. sg. 3	a-a-ia-ri	758.1 ii 43', 44' (]), 45'
mid. opt. sg. 3	a-a-ia-ru	759.10.b iii 26', 27'
mid. opt. sg. 3	a-i-ia-ru	759.1 i 26 (]), ii 12, 15, 16 (]), 28, 29
aḥḥa 'away' (prev.)		
	a-aḥ-ḥa	759.1 iii 27'; 762.2 i 13'; 763.2.5 ii 2'
aḥ(ḥa)ša- 'to separate'		
imper. 2 sg.	a-aḥ-ša-a-pa-d[u] (= aḥša=pa=du)	763.2.11:3'

ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	[a-a]ḥ-ḥa-ša-a-mi-iš	762.1.f iii 1
sg. nom. comm.	a-aḥ-ḥa-ša-[am-mi-iš]	760.6 ii' 8'
pl. nom. comm.	a-[aḥ-ḥa-ša-am-m]i-in-zi	762.3.4 r.col. 14'
ahra- 'woe' (vel sim.)		
sg. acc. comm.	a-aḥ-ra-an	759.3 i 9'; 760.2 iii 24'; 760.3.a ii' 4'; 760.5 ii 4'; 760.8:1' ([]); 761.1.f rev. 2' ([); 761.3.5.a:4' ([); 763.2.18:2'
al(a/i)- 'remote' (adj.)		
sg. dat.	a-a-li-i	758.1 iii 21 ([); 758.2.2 iii 5'
instr.-abl.	a-a-la-a-ti	758.1 iii 18
instr.-abl.	a-a-l[a-ti]	758.3.3:13"
alalatt(i)- a body part		
sg. dat.	a-a-la-a-la<-at>-t[i]	760.1.a iv 4'
pl. dat.	[a-l]a-la-a-at-t[a-za]	762.3.4 r.col. 19'
pl. dat.	a-la-la-[at-ta-an-za]	762.2 iv 9'
instr.-abl.	a-a-la-la-at-ta-ti	761.1.c obv. 8'; 761.2.2.b obv. 3' ([)
instr.-abl.	a-la-la<-at>-ta-[ti-ti-ia-t]a (= alalattati=ti=(y)ata)	761.3.8 iii 11'
alaššammi(ya/i)- 'maritime' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	a-la-a-[aš-ša-am-mi-iš]	761.1.a:8'
allat(i)- mng unkn.		
pl. acc. comm.	al-la-ti-in-za	758.6 ii 24'
alunn(i)- 'enemy'		
	a-lu-ú-ni- [...]	760.3.b iii 9'
	a-lu-ú-ni-x[...]	762.1.l r.col. 4'
see also	𐎠𐎫𐎶𐎵	
aniyant(i)- 'treated' (adj.)		
pl. nom. comm.	a-ni-e-ia-an-t[i-in-zi]	761.2.5 iii ¹ 12
pl. nom. comm.	a-ni-ia-a[n-ti-in-zi]	761.3.3:4'
annan 'under' (adv./prev.)		
	an-na-a-an	759.1 iii 29'
annara 'willfully' (adv.)		
	a-an-na-r[a-...]	761.2.4 i 15'
annarummaḥit- 'virility'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	an-na-ru-um-ma-ḥi-[ša]	763.3.4 iii 6'
instr.-abl.	[a-an-na-r]u-um-ma-ḥi-ta-ti	762.2 i 4'
instr.-abl.	a-an-na-ru-um-ma-ḥi-ti	760.2 ii 8
instr.-abl.	an-na-ru-um-ma-ḥi-ta-ti	761.3.5.c ii' 16'; 761.3.8 ii 38
instr.-abl.	[an-na-r]u-um-ma-ḥi-ti	760.3.b i 11'
annaul(a/i)- 'of equal rank' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	an-na-ú-li-iš	761.1.c rev. 5"
annawan(ni)- 'mother-like' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	a-an-na-wa-an-n[i-iš]	761.2.4 i 18'

ann(i)- ‘mother’		
sg. nom. comm.	a-an-ni-iš	761.2.4 i 16’, 18’
sg. acc. comm.	a-an-ni-in	761.2.4 i 17’
anni(ya)- ‘to do, to cause’		
pres. sg. 3	[a]-an-ni-i-ti	760.3.b i 8”
pres. sg. 3	a-an-ni-ti	759.1 iii 26’; 760.9 obv. 10’
anni(ya/i)- ‘maternal’ (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	a-an-ni-ia-an	761.3.8 ii 5 (I); 762.3.6 r.col. 6’ (I)
instr.-abl.	a-an-n[i-ia-ti]	761.2.4 i 2’
see also AMA		
anda ‘in, also’ (adv./prev.)		
	a-an-da	758.1 ii 15’; 760.3.a ii ² 27’; 762.3.2 iii 8’(I); 763.1.1 i 7; 763.1.2 iii 6’
	an-da	758.1 iii 19; 758.2.1 ii 4’; 758.6 ii 19’; 763.3.4 iii 3’
	a-an-ta	758.1 ii 1’ (I); 760.2 ii 7; 760.3.a ii ² 26’, 28’; 761.2.1.d:2’ (I)
	an-ta	758.1 ii 26’ (I); 761.1.c obv. 10” (I); 761.1.d rev. 19’ (I)
annuman- ‘soul’ (vel sim.)		
pl. dat.	a-a-an-nu-un-na-an-za	761.1.c obv. 2” (I); 761.1.d rev. 12’
pl. dat.	a-an-nu-un-na-an-za	760.3.b i 10’ (I); 761.3.6:8’ (I)
anzatil(i)- ‘of the ours’ (adj.)		
pl. nom. comm.	an-za-t[i-li-in-zi]	763.2.8 r.col. 3’
?	an-za-[t]i-li-i[n-...]	763.2.8 r.col. 12’
ap(p)- ‘to seize, to get’		
pres. sg. 3	a-ap-ti	760.7.a l.col. 5’
apa- ‘that (one)/he, she, it’ (demons./pers. pron.)		
sg. dat.	a-pât-ti	761.2.4 i 15’
poss. adj.		
pl. dat.	a-pa-a-aš-ša-an-za	761.3.8 ii 37
pl. dat.	a-pa-a-aš-ša-a-an-za	760.3.b i 9’
poss. adj. pl.		
pl. dat.	[a-pa]-a-aš-ša-an-za-an-za	759.10.b iv 13’
pl. dat.	[a-pa-a-aš-ša-a]n-za-an-za	761.1.d rev. 12’
apar- mng unkn.		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	[a-pa]-a-ar-ḫa	763.1.2 iii 11’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	a-pa-ar-ḫa	763.1.3.a:13’
apati(n) ‘thus’ (adv.)		
	a-pa-ti-i	758.1 ii 45’
	a-pa-ti-i-i[n]	762.2 iv 14’
	a-pa-ti-in	759.10.b iv 27’
appa ‘again, back’ (prev.)		
	a-ap-pa	758.1 ii 12’, 39’ (I), iii 6, 23, 38; 758.3.1 ii 5, 17; 758.3.2 iii ² 8’ (I); 759.1 iii 8’; 759.11:4’; 760.4 iii 12’ (I); 761.1.b obv. 13’ (I); 762.2 iv 15’; 763.1.2 iii 14’
	ap-pa-an (= appa=an)	762.2 ii 3

apparant(i)- ‘future’ (adj.)

instr.-abl.	a-ap-pa-ra-an-t[a-ti]	761.3.6:11’
instr.-abl.	[ap-pa-r]a-an-ta-ti	763.1.6 ii’ 14’
instr.-abl.	[a]-ap-ra-an-da-ti	759.10.b iv 15’
see also EGIR		

ar(i)- ‘time’

sg. acc. comm.	a-a-ri-in	761.2.4 iv 14’
sg. acc. comm.	[a-ri]-in	760.3.b i 20’’
sg. dat.	a-a-ri-i	761.2.4 i 15’
instr.-abl.	[a]-a-ra-a-ti	761.3.8 ii 39
instr.-abl.	a-a-ra-ti	763.1.6 ii’ 14’
instr.-abl.	a-ra-a-ti	760.3.b i 12’

ari(ya)- ‘to raise, to lift’

pret. sg. 3	a-ri-i-it-[ta]	762.2 iv 13’
ptc.		
sg. dat.	a-ri-im-mi	761.1.c obv. 8’’ (I); 761.1.d rev. 17’

ariya- ‘to pick up’

pres. sg. 2	a-a-ri-i[a-aš-ši]	761.2.5 ii’ 5’
opt. sg. 3	a-ri-ia-ad-du	758.1 ii 26’

arlanuwa- ‘to relocate’

pret. sg. 3	a-ar-la-nu-wa-at-ta	760.2 ii 5, 7; 761.2.1.a i 10’ (I)
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arpuwar ‘forehead’

instr.-abl.	ar-pu-wa-na-a-ti	761.2.3.a r.col. 2’ (I); 761.2.3.b ii’ 8’ (I); 761.3.8 ii 13
instr.-abl.	ar-pu-wa-na-ti	761.1.e:2’ (I); 762.1.m iii 8’ (I); 763.1.4 l.col. 4’ (I)

array(a/i)- ‘long’ (adj.)

pl. dat.	a-ar-ra-ia-an-za	763.3.4 iii 7’
instr.-abl.	a-[ar-r]a-a-ia-t[i]	761.3.6:10’
instr.-abl.	a-ar-ra-ia-ti	759.10.b iv 33’ (I); 761.1.b obv. 14’ (I); 761.1.c obv. 3’’; 761.1.d rev. 13’’; 761.3.8 ii 40
instr.	a(-ar)-ra-ia-a-ti	760.3.b i 11’
see also GfD.DA		

arrazza- ‘white’ (adj.)

sg. nom. comm.	a-ar-ra-az-za(-aš)	761.3.8 ii 10
sg. acc. comm.	[a-ar-r]a-az-za-an	763.2.11:5’
see also BABBAR		

arš(i)- ‘arse, bottom’

sg. nom. comm.	a-ar-ši-iš	762.1.k ii’ 10’ (I); 762.2 ii 27 (I); 762.3.3:6’ (I), 7’ (I)
sg. acc. comm.	[a-a]r-ši-i[n]	762.2 ii 28

aršiya- ‘to wash away’

opt. pl. 3	a-ar-ši-ia-an-du	759.1 i 25
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aš- ‘mouth’

sg. nom.-acc. n.	a-a-aš-ša	759.1 ii 10, 14, 26, iii 10’ (I)
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aš- ‘to be’		
pret. sg. 3	a-aš-ta	761.2.4 iv 4’; 761.2.5 ii 4’
opt. sg. 3	a-a-aš-[du]	763.2.23 r.col. 5’
opt. sg. 3	a-aš-du	758.1 iii 26, 30 ([], 32 ([]), 34; 758.2.1 iii 5’; 759.2.a ii 20” ([]; 759.3 i 4’ ([], 6’ ([]; 759.6 ii? 3’ ([]), 7’; 759.8.b ii? 15’ ([]; 759.8.c:2’, 3’ ([], 6’ ([]; 759.10.c:4’; 761.1.f rev. 7’; 761.2.1.d:9’ ([], 12’ ([]; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 5; 761.3.2.a ii 3’; 763.2.8 r.col. 2’
opt. pl. 3	a-ša-a-an-du	762.1.j r.col. 6’
opt. pl. 3	a-ša-an-du	758.2.2 ii 17; 759.3 i 11’ ([], iv 15’; 760.3.b iv 15’ ([]; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 12 ([], 13 ([]; 761.3.3:5’ ([]; 762.1.h:6’; 762.2 iv 6’ ([]; 762.3.4 r.col. 11’; 763.2.8 r.col. 8’
ašḥarnumm(a)i- ‘to smear with blood’		
pres. sg. 3	a-aš-ḥar-nu-um-m[i-ti]	762.2 iv 18’
pres. pl. 3	a-aš-ḥar-nu-um-ma-in-[ti]	760.1.a i 13
ašša- ‘to say’		
opt. sg. 3	a-aš-ša-ad-du	761.3.5.c ii? 9’
aššiwantattar ‘misery’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	a-aš-ši-wa-an-ta-at-tar	759.10.b iv 26’ ([]; 760.7.b:6’ ([]; 760.8:2’
poss. adj.		
sg. nom. comm.		
	a-aš-ši-ú-wa-an-ta-at-t[a-na-aš-ši-iš]	761.2.1.a iv 12
sg. nom. comm.		
	a-aš-ši-wa-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši-[iš]	761.4.2 iv 4’
sg. acc. comm.		
	a-aš-ši-ú-[wa-an-ta-at-na-aš-ši-in]	760.6 ii? 3’
sg. acc. comm.		
	a-aš-ši-wa-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši-in	760.2 iii 19’
^{NA4} aššu- ‘stone’		
sg. nom. comm.	^{NA4} a-aš-šu-u[š]	762.2 i 30’
ad- ‘to eat’		
ptc.		
pl. nom. comm.	a-da-am-mi-in-zi	761.2.1.e:5’; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 11 ([]
pl. nom. comm.	[a-t]a-a[m-mi-in-zi]	760.3.b iv 13’
ad(a)ri(ya)- ‘to feed’		
pret. sg. 3	[a]-da-a-ri-it-ta	761.2.5 ii ¹ 3’
pret. sg. 3	a-ta-ri-i[t-ta]	761.2.4 iv 2’
adduwal- ‘evil’ (noun)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	a<-ad>-du-wa-a[n-za]	759.10.b iv 21’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	a-a[d-du-wa-al]	761.2.1.b:12’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	a-ad-du-wa-a-al	759.1 ii 2 ([], 23 ([]; 760.9 obv. 10’ ([]); 762.1.j r.col. 11’ ([]
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ad-du-wa-a-al	760.5 ii 7’ ([]; 760.10 iv? 1’ ([]
pl. nom.-acc. n.	[ad-du-w]a-al	760.4 iii 28’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	a-ad-du-wa-la	759.1 iii 26’

adduwal(i)- ‘evil’ (adj.)

sg. nom. comm.	ad-du-wa-li-iš	759.1 iii 9’ (□); 761.1.d obv. 13’, 15’ (□), rev. 21’, 23’; 761.1.f obv. 8; 761.2.2.a obv. 4’ (□); 761.3.2.b i 3’ (□), 5’; 761.3.5.b l.col. 2’ (□); 761.4.1:7’; 761.4.2 iv 1’ (□), 2’ (□)
sg. acc. comm.	a-ad-du-wa-li-in	759.3 i 8’ (□); 760.3.b iii 3’ (□); 763.1.1 i 4 (□), 5 (□)
sg. acc. comm.	[ad]-du-wa-a[l-li-in]	761.1.d rev. 2’
sg. acc. comm.	[ad-d]u-wa-a-li-in	761.3.9:2’
sg. acc. comm.	[a]d-du-wa-li-in	762.3.2 ii 6
sg. acc. comm.	at-tu-wa-li-in	761.3.8 ii 18
sg. nom. comm.	a-ad-du-wa-a-li-iš	761.2.1.a iv 4, 8 (□), 9 (□)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	a-ad-du-wa-al-za	758.1 ii 12’ (□); 758.3.1 ii 2 (□), 6 (□); 758.3.2 iii? 9’ (□); 758.3.3:8” (□)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[a]d-du-wa-a-al-za	763.3.1 r.col. 5’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ad-du-wa-al-za	758.1 iii 22 (□); 758.3.3:1’ (□)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	at-tu-[wa]-al-za	758.1 ii 38’
pl. nom. comm.	a-ad-du-[wa-li-in-zi]	762.3.4 r.col. 12’
pl. nom. comm.	[ad]-du-wa-l[i-i]n-zi	763.2.8 r.col. 10’
instr.-abl.	a-ad-du-wa-la-ti	760.3.a iii? 2’ (□); 760.4 iii 6’; 763.2.20 l.col. 9’ (□)
instr.-abl.	ad-du-wa-la-ti	761.1.a:3’ (□); 761.1.d obv. 4’; 761.1.f rev. 8’ (□); 763.2.19:2’ (□)

(a)uwattar- ‘view, eyesight’

sg. nom.-acc. n.	[u-w]a-at-tar-ša	759.10.b iv 31’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	a-u-wa-at-tar-ša	763.1.6 ii! 11’

awan intensifying preverb

a-wa-a[n]	763.2.4.b i 9’
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awi- ‘to come’

pres. sg. 3	a-ú-i-ti	758.1 ii 41’, iii 24 (□); 758.3.3:1’; 759.10.b iv 27’ (□)
opt. sg. 3	a-ú-i-du	759.12 ii 6; 762.2 i 21’, 23’, 25’
ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	a-ú-i-im-mi-iš	759.12 ii 5 (□); 762.2 i 23’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	a-ú-i-im-ma-an	762.2 i 20’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	a-u-i-i[m-ma-an]	760.3.b ii 10’

-ḥa enclitic connective

-ḥa(-)	758.1 ii 44’; 758.6 ii 20’ (□); 759.1 iii 8’ (□), 9’; 761.1.b obv. 12’; 763.1.2 iii 11’; 763.1.3.a:13’
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ḥala- mng unkn.

?	ḥa-la-la- [...]	761.2.1.a iv 7
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ḥalalannušša- ‘to purify’

pret. pl. 3		
	ḥa-la-la-an-nu-uš-ša-an-da-am-ma-aš (= ḥalalannuššanda=(m)maš)	759.1 ii 1 (□), 23
opt. pl. 3	ḥa-la-la-an-nu-uš-ša-an-du	759.1 ii 25

ḥalal(i)- ‘pure’ (adj.)

sg. nom. comm.	ḥa-la-a-li-iš	758.2.1 iii 4’ (□), 5’ (□); 759.12 ii 16 (□); 761.1.d rev. 17’ (□); 761.1.f obv. 3 (□), rev. 7’ (□); 761.3.2.c i 5 (□)
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sg. nom. comm.	ḥa-la-li-iš	759.6 ii ² 7'
sg. nom. comm.	[ḥa-la-l]i-ša-a-aš (= ḥalališ=aš)	759.3 i 6'
sg. nom. comm.	ḥa-la-li-ša-an (= ḥalališ=an)	759.6 ii ² 6'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ḥa-la-a-al	758.1 iii 25 ([]), 26, 30
pl. nom. comm.	[ḥa-la-a-li-i]n-zi	758.2.2 ii 17
pl. nom. comm.	ḥa-la-[li-in-z]i-ia-ta (= ḥalalinz]i=(i)ata)	759.3 i 11'
ḥalḥalzan(i)- 'joint'		
sg. erg.	[ḥal-ḥal-za-na]-an-te-eš	762.1.m iii 6'
sg. acc. comm.	ḥal-ḥal-za-a-ni-in	760.1.a iii 4'; 763.2.9:10' ([])
sg. acc. comm.	ḥal-ḥal-za-ni-in	760.2 ii 23; 760.4 ii 16'; 762.1.f iii 2; 762.1.m iii 6' ([])
ḥallina- 'to decontaminate'		
pres. sg. 3	ḥal-li-i-na-i	761.3.8 iii 14' ([]); 762.1.m iii 2' ([], 5'
pres. sg. 3	ḥal-li-na-i	760.7.a l.col. 3' ([]); 761.1.c obv. 11' ([], 14'; 761.3.5.b r.col. 1' ([], 2' ([], 6' ([], 12' ([], 14'; 762.1.m iii 3' ([], 6'
ḥalliš- 'defilement'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[ḥal-l]e-eš-ša	758.2.1 iii 15'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ḥal-li-iš-ša	758.1 iii 2, 8, 22 ([]); 758.2.1 iii 11'; 758.3.2 iii ² 2' ([])
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[ḥa-al-l]i-iš-ša	758.1 ii 39'
ḥalliyatt(a)- a type of sacrifice		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ḥal-li-ia-at-ta-an-za	762.1.m iv 4'
ḥalmaššuit(i)- 'throne'		
sg. nom. comm.	[ḥal-ma-aš-š]u-it-ti-iš-du (= ḥalmaššuittiš=du)	759.2.a ii 16"
sg. nom. comm.	ḥal-ma-aš-šu-ú-it-[ti-iš-du] (= ḥalmaššūittiš=du)	759.8.c:2'
ḥamrit- a type of temple		
poss. adj.		
pl. nom. comm.	[ḥ]a-am-ri-ta-aš-ši-en-zi	759.2.a ii 6"
ḥamš(i)- 'grand-child'		
instr.-abl.	ḥa-am-ša-a-ti	762.2 i 29'; 763.1.6 ii ¹ 13'
ḥamšukkalla- 'great-grand-child'		
instr.-abl.	ḥa-am-šu-uk-kal-la-a-ti	761.1.b obv. 14'; 762.2 i 29' ([]; 763.1.6 ii ¹ 13'
ḥani(ya/i)- 'bad' (adj.)		
instr.-abl.	ḥa-ni-i-ia-ti	763.1.2 iii 23'
ḥanna- 'to judge'		
imper. sg. 2	ḥa-an-na-a	763.1.2 iii 7'
ḥantawattalli(ya/i)- 'royal' (adj.)		
pl. nom. comm.	[ḥa-a]n-ta-wa-at-ta-al-li-in-zi	762.1.b l.col. 5'

ḥap(a)i- ‘to bind’

pres. sg. 3	ḥa-a-pí-ti	761.4.1:6’
pres. sg. 3	ḥa-pí-ti	760.3.b i 14” (I); 761.1.f obv. 7; 761.2.2.a obv. 3’
pres. pl. 3	ḥa-pa-in-ti	760.2 iii 10’ (I); 762.1.d l.col. 5’ (I)

ḥapa(i)- ‘to moisten’

opt. pl. 3	ḥa-pa-a-in-du	758.6 ii 22’
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^(LÚ)ḥapiri(ya/i)- ‘of the desert-dwellers’ (adj.)

sg. nom. comm.	^{LÚ} ḥa-a-p[i-i-ri-i-iš]	761.2.1.a iv 15
sg. nom. comm.	^{LÚ} ḥa-pí-[ri-iš]	761.4.2 iv 7’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{LÚ} ḥa-pí-ri-ia-an	761.1.d obv. 9’ (I); 760.2 ii 3
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{LÚ} ḥa-a-pí-i-ri-ia-an	761.2.1.a i 8’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ḥa-a-pí-r[i-ia-an]	762.3.5 r.col. 11’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ḥa-ap-pí-ri-ia-an	761.3.8 iii 31’
instr.-abl.	^[LÚ] ḥa-pí-ri-ia-ti	760.4 iii 9’

^(UZU)ḥappiš- ‘limb, body part’

instr.-abl.	^{UZU} ḥa-ap-pí-ša-a-ti	761.3.8 ii 15, iii 27’ (I)
instr.-abl.	[^{UZU} ḥa-ap-p]i-i-ša-a-ti	761.2.3.a r.col. 4’
instr.-abl.	ḥa-ap-pí-ša-a-ti	760.3.a iii? 11’; 761.1.c obv. 10’, 21’ (I, rev. 9” (I)); 762.1.m iii 10’ (II)
instr.-abl.	ḥa-ap-pí-ša-ti	761.2.2.b obv. 5’ (I); 761.2.3.b ii? 9’; 761.3.8 iii 13’ (I)

see also ^{UZU}ḥUR

ḥaratar- ‘offense’

sg. nom.-acc. n.	ḥa-a-ra-tar-ša	760.3.b i 5’; 763.1.6 ii’ 8’ (I)
sg. erg.	ḥa-ra-at-na-an-ti-iš	763.1.2 iii 14’
instr.-abl.	ḥa-ra-at-na-a-ti	760.3.b ii 11’ (I); 762.2 i 21’ (I)
poss. adj.		
sg. nom. comm.	ḥa-ra-at-na-aš-ši-iš	760.9 obv. 15’ (I); 760.3.b i 15” (II)
pl. acc. comm.	ḥa-ra-at-na-aš-ši-in-za	763.1.2 iii 3’

ḥarmah(i)- ‘head’

sg. nom. comm.	[ḥar-ma]-ḥi-iš	761.1.c obv. 11’
sg. acc. comm.	ḥar-ma-ḥi-in	761.1.c obv. 11’
instr.-abl.	ḥar-ma-ḥa-a-ti	761.1.c obv. 5’ (I, 8’ (I), rev. 7”); 761.3.8 ii 13 (I); 763.2.16:4’ (II)
instr.-abl.	ḥar-ma-ḥa-ti	760.7.a l.col. 6’ (I); 761.3.8 iii 6’
poss. adj.		
sg. nom. comm.	ḥar-ma-ḥa-aš-ši-iš	759.12 ii 3; 761.1.c obv. 15’ (I); 762.1.k ii? 6’ (I); 762.2 ii 23 (I)
sg. nom. comm.	[ḥa-ar-ma-ḥa-a]š-ši-iš	761.3.8 iii 19’
see also SAG.DU		

^{NA4}ḥarr(a/i)- ‘millstone’

sg. dat.	[ḥar]-ri	761.3.2.c i 8
instr.-abl.	^{NA4} ḥar-ra-a-ti	762.2 i 22’
see also ^{NA4} ARA ₅		

ḥarš(a)- a type of bread

sg. nom.-acc. n.	ḥa-ar-ša-an-za	759.8.c:5’
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hart(i)- ‘crushing’ instr.-abl.	ha-ar-ta-t[i]	758.1 ii 9’
harwa- ‘way, path’ sg. nom. comm. see also KASKAL	ha-ru-wa-aš-ta (= haruwaš=ta)	761.3.2.a iii 8’
harz(a)šša- ‘to hold back’ pres. pl. 1	ha-ar-za-aš-šu-[un-ni]	760.1.b:6’
haš(a)- ‘ash’ instr.-abl.	ha-a-ša-ti	762.2 i 20’
hašša- ‘altar’ pl. nom. comm.	ha-aš-ša-a[n-zi]	759.8.c:4’
haššanitt(i)- ‘hearth’ sg. nom. comm. sg. acc. comm. see also GUNNI	ha-aš-ša-ni-it-ti-iš ha-aš-ša-ni-it-ti-in	758.1 ii 50’ 759.2.a iii’ 6”
haš(t)- ‘bone’ sg. nom.-acc. n. sg. nom.-acc. n.	ha-a-aš-ša ha-aš-ša	762.1.f iii 2; 762.1.m iii 5’ 760.2 ii 23; 760.6 ii’ 9’
haštai- ‘bone’ sg. nom.-acc. n.	ha-aš-ta-i	761.3.5.c ii’ 8’
hatta-[...] mng unkn. ?	ha-at-t[a-...]	761.2.1.a i 4’
^{GIS} hattar(a)- a tool instr.-abl. instr.-abl.	^{GIS} ha-at-ta-ra-a-ti ^{GIS} ha-ta-ra-ti	758.1 ii 33’ 758.2.1 ii 11’
hattari(ya)- ‘to handle with a hattara-tool’ pret. sg. 3	ha-at-ta-ri-it-ta	758.1 ii 33’; 758.2.1 ii 11’ (I)
hattašta(r)r(i)- ‘terror’ sg. acc. comm. sg. acc. comm. instr.-abl.	h[a-a]t-ta-aš-ta-ri-in ha-at-ta-aš-tar-ri-in ha-at-ta-aš-tar-r[a-ti]	761.3.8 ii 18 761.1.e:1’ (I); 761.2.3.a r.col. 7’ (I); 761.2.3.b ii’ 6’ (I); 761.3.8 iii 23’ (I) 759.12 ii 9
hattulaḫit- ‘health’ instr.-abl. instr.-abl.	ha-at-tu-la-ḫi-ta-ti ha-at-tu-u-la-a-ḫi-ta-ti	761.3.8 ii 39 763.1.6 ii’ 14’
haw(i)- ‘sheep’ sg. nom. comm. see also UDU	ha-a-ú-i-iš	760.3.a iii’ 13’ (I); 761.3.8 ii 10
hinz- ‘to hand over’ pret. sg. 1	ḫi-in-za-ḫa	758.3.1 ii 1
hirun-, ḫirut- ‘perjury’ sg. nom.-acc. n.	ḫi-ru-ú-un	762.3.6 r.col. 6’

sg. nom.-acc. n.	he-e-ru-un	759.10.b iv 26'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	hi-i-ru-u-un	760.8:2'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	hi-i-ru-un	760.4 iii 11'; 760.5 ii 5'; 761.2.3.b ii ² 11' (□)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	hi-i-ru-ú-un	759.6 ii ² 8' (□); 760.2 ii 1, iii 25'; 761.2.1.a iii 6' (□); 761.2.4 i 20' (□); 761.3.8 ii 30, iii 36'; 762.3.2 ii 9 (□)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	hi-ru-ú-un	759.6 iii ² 10'; 760.7.b:5' (□); 761.1.d obv. 19' (□), rev. 7' (□), 26' (□); 761.1.f rev. 7'; 761.3.5.b l.col. 7'; 761.3.8 iii 29' (□); 761.4.1:12' (□); 763.2.6 ii ² 12 (□)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	hi-ru-un	760.4 iii 20'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	hi-i-ru-ú-ta	759.1 ii 13; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 2 (□)
pl. nom.-acc. n.	hi-ru-ú-ta	759.1 i 27 (□), ii 29 (□)
instr.-abl.	hi-i-ru-ú-ta-ti	763.1.2 iii 20'
instr.-abl.	[hi-r]u-ú-ta-ti	763.2.14 l.col. 3'
poss. adj.		
sg. nom. comm.	hi-ru-ta-aš-ši-iš	761.1.f obv. 9; 761.2.2.a obv. 5' (□)
sg. nom. comm.	hi-ru-ú-ta-[aš-ši-iš]	761.1.d obv. 14'
sg. acc. comm.	hi-i-ru-ta-aš-ši-in	760.2 iii 18'; 760.4 ii 23' (□)
sg. acc. comm.	hi-ru-ta-aš-ši-in	760.2 ii 27; 762.3.2 ii 8 (□)
pl. acc. comm.	hi-i-ru-ta-aš-ši-in-za	760.2 ii 20 (□); 760.4 ii 14' (□)
pl. nom.-acc. n.	hi-i-ru-ta-aš-ša-an-za	763.1.3.b iv 5' (□); 763.1.4 l.col. 8' (□)
poss. adj. pl.		
instr.-abl.	[hi-i-ru]-ú-t[a-aš-ša-an-z]a-ti	760.2 iii 6'
instr.-abl.	hi-ru-ta-aš-ša-an-za-ti	760.4 iii 8' (□); 761.1.d obv. 5' (□); 761.1.f rev. 9' (□); 762.1.a:6' (□)
instr.-abl.	[hi-ru-ú]-ta-aš-ša-an-za-t[i]	761.1.c obv. 4'
hirutall(a/i)- 'of the oath' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	hi-i-ru-ta-al-li-iš	759.3 iv 12' (□), 13' (□)
sg. nom. comm.	hi-i-ru-ú-ta-al-li-iš	759.3 iv 11'
sg. dat.	hi-i-ru-ta-al-li	759.1 iv 21'
sg. dat.	[hi-ru-tal-l]i-pa-t[a] (= hirutalli=pa=ta)	762.3.2 iii 7'
?	hi-ru-ta-al-l[i-...]	762.3.2 iv ² 3'
hirutaniya- 'to perjure oneself'		
pret. sg. 3	hi-i-ru-ta-ni-[ia-at-t]a	759.1 i 23
pret. sg. 3	[hi-r]u-t[a-ni]-ia-at-ta	762.3.2 iii 9'
hirutaniyamma- 'committing perjury'		
instr.-abl.	hi-ru-ta-ni-ia-am-ma-ti	759.6 ii ² 4'; 762.1.h:7' (□)
hišalla- mng unkn.		
sg. nom. comm.	hi-ša-[al-la-aš]	762.1.k ii ² 3'
?	hi-i-ša-al-la-[...]	760.3.b iii 8'; 762.1.l r.col. 3'
hišhiš(a/i)- 'trap'		
poss. adj.		
sg. acc. comm.	hi-i[š-hi-ša-aš-ši-in]	761.2.1.a ii 2'
pl. nom. comm.	hi-iš-hi-ša-aš-ši(-in)-zi	760.4 ii 12'
pl. acc. comm.	hi-iš-hi-ša-aš-ši-in-za	760.1.b:7' (□); 760.2 ii 19 (□)

hūḥa(ya/i)- ‘of the grandfather’ (adj.)		
instr.-abl.	hū-u-ḥa-ti(-)[...]	761.2.4 i 3’
hūinu(wa)- ‘to make run’		
pret. sg. 1	hū-i-nu-u-wa-aḥ-ḥa	761.1.c obv. 17’ ([], 18’ ([]; 761.2.3.a r.col. 6’ ([]; 761.2.3.b ii’ 5’ ([]; 761.3.8 ii 16 ([], iii 20’ ([])
pret. sg. 1	hū-u-i-nu-wa-aḥ-ḥa	761.3.8 ii 17
huidumar-	‘life’	
instr.-abl.	[hū-i-du]-un-na-a-ti	761.3.6:9’
huidumnaḥit-	‘enlivenment’	
instr.-abl.	[hū-i-tum-ma-n]a-ḥa-ti	760.4 ii 2’
instr.-abl.	hū-i-tum-ma-na-ḥi-ta-ti	760.2 ii 10
instr.-abl.	hū-i-tum-na-a-ḥi-ta-ti	761.1.c obv. 5” ([]; 761.1.d rev. 14’; 763.1.6 ii’ 15’
instr.-abl.	[h]u-u-<i>-tu</i>-um-na-ḥi-ta-ti	759.10.b iv 16’
huid(u)walaḥit-	‘life’	
instr.-abl.	hū-i-it-wa-la-ḥi-ti	760.2 ii 8
instr.-abl.	hū-it-wa-la-ḥi-ti	759.10.b iv 14’
instr.-abl.	[h]u-u-i-du-wa-la-a-ḥi-ta-ti	761.3.8 ii 38
instr.-abl.	hū-u-it-w[ā-la-ḥi-ti]	759.10.a iv 20’
huid(u)wal(i)- ‘living being’		
sg. nom. comm.	[hū-i-du-wa]-a-li-iš	760.1.a iii 8’
sg. nom. comm.	hū-i-du-wa-li-iš	760.2 ii 25
sg. nom. comm.	[h]u-u-it-wa-li-iš	760.4 ii 19’
huid(u)wali(ya/i)- ‘of the living’ (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	[hū]-i-it-wa-a-li-i-iš	761.2.1.a iv 13
sg. nom. comm.	hū-it-wa-li-iš	761.4.2 iv 5’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[hū-i]-du-wa<<-la>>-li-ia-an	761.3.8 ii 3
sg. nom.-acc. n.	hū-it-wa-li-ia-an	758.1 iii 5 ([]; 758.3.1 ii 16 ([]; 761.1.b obv. 6’ ([])
sg. nom.-acc. n.	hū-u-i-it-wa-a-li-ia-an	761.2.3.b ii’ 12’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	hū-u-i-it-wa-li-ia-an	761.3.8 iii 30’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	hū-u-i-it-wa-[li-e-ia]	759.1 i 28
instr.-abl.	[hū-u-it-wa-a]l-li-ia-ti	761.1.c obv. 3’
instr.-abl.	[hū-u-it-wa]-li-ia-ti	763.1.2 iii 21’
hulmit(i)- an object		
pl. acc. comm.	hū-ul-mi-ti-in-za	763.2.8 r.col. 11’
hum(ma)t(i)- ‘podium’		
sg. nom. comm.	hū-u-um-ma-ti-iš	758.1 ii 50’ ([], iii 28 ([])
sg. nom. comm.	hū-u-um-ti-iš	758.1 iii 32
pl. nom. comm.	hū-um-ti-i[n-zi]	758.2.1 iii 8’
^{DUG} hupuway(a)- ‘kitchen pot’		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	^[DU] hū-pu-wa-a-ia	763.1.2 iii 19’
hutarli(ya/i)- ‘of a servant’ (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	hū-tar-li-i-ia-[an]	761.2.1.a i 7’
see also ṛr-li-		

ḥuwahḥuršant(i)- mng unkn.

pl. nom. comm.	ḥu-u-uḥ-ḥur-ša-an-ti-in-zi	758.1 iii 27 ([]), 36 ([])
pl. nom. comm.	ḥu-wa-aḥ-ḥur-ša-an-ti-in-zi	758.1 ii 51'
pl. nom. comm.	[ḥu]-wa-ḥur-ša-an-ti-in-z[i]	758.2.1 iii 9'

^{UZU}ḥuwahḥuwart(i)- 'throat'

sg. nom. comm.	^{UZU} ḥu-wa-aḥ-ḥu-w[a-ar-'ti'-i[š]]	761.3.5.b r.col. 5'
sg. acc. comm.	^{UZU} ḥu-'wa-aḥ-ḥu'-[wa-ar-ti-in]	761.3.5.b r.col. 5'

ḥu(wa)liya- 'violent one'

pl. nom. comm.	ḥu-li-ia-[an-zi]	761.3.3:3'
pl. nom. comm.	[ḥ]u-u-wa-li-ia-an-zi	761.2.5 iii ¹ 11
pl. acc. comm.	ḥu-u-wa-li-i[a-an-za]	761.2.4 iv 5'
poss. adj.		
pl. nom. comm.	ḥu-u-li-ia-aš-[ši-in-zi]	759.10.a i 7'

ḥuwallar(i)- mng unkn.

sg. acc. comm.	ḥu-u-wa-al-la-ri-in	762.2 ii 16
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ḥuwart(i)- 'curse'

?	[ḥu?]-u-wa-ar-t[i(-)...]	762.1.a:5'
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ḥuwayun(i)- 'running'

instr.-abl.	ḥu-wa-i-ú-na-ti	758.2.2 iii 8"
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i(ya)- 'to go'

pres. sg. 3	i-ti	758.1 iii 20; 758.3.3:16"; 759.10.b iv 24'; 760.10 iv ² 6'; 761.1.d obv. 11', rev. 19'; 761.1.f obv. 5, 6; 761.3.2.c i 8
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ikkuna(i)- 'to perform the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice'

pret. pl. 1	i-ik-ku-na-a-ú-un-ta	760.3.b i 6'
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ikkunant(i)- 'having a (fat) liver' (adj.)

sg. acc. comm.	ik-ku-na-a-an-ti-en	759.11:3'
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ikkunatt(a)- a type of sacrifice

poss. adj.		
sg. acc. comm.	[i-ik-ku]-u-na-at-ta-aš-ši-in	760.3.b i 14'
sg. acc. comm.	[ik-ku-na-a]t-ta-aš-ši-in	759.10.b iv 3'

ikkunaunašš(a/i)- 'of the *ikkunatt*-sacrifice' (adj.)

sg. nom. comm.	i-ik-ku-ú-na-ú-na-aš-ši-iš- <i>ma</i>	759.1 iv 22'
	(= ikkūnaunaššiš= <i>ma</i>)	
sg. acc. comm.	i-ik-ku-ú-na-ú-na-aš-ši-in	759.1 iv 13' ([]), 24' ([])

ikkuwar- 'liver'

sg. nom.-acc. n.	ik-ku-wa-a[r]	758.5 r.col. 8'
see also	^{UZU} NÍG.GIG	

ilḥa(i)- 'to wash'

pres. sg. 3	il-ḥa-ti-ti	763.2.15 r.col. 6'
pres. pl. 2	e-el-ḥa-[ta-ni]	759.1 iii 11'
opt. sg. 3	e-el-ḥa-a-du	759.1 ii 14

ililḥa- 'to wash' (imperf.)

pres. sg. 3	[e-l]e-el-ḥa-a-i-t[i]	763.2.14 l.col. 2'
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pres. sg. 3	i-li-il-ḥa-a-i-ti	761.1.f rev. 6'
pres. sg. 3	[i-li-i]l-ḥ[a]-i-t[i]	761.1.f obv. 16
opt. pl. 3	e-li-el-ḥa-a-an-du	759.1 ii 10, 26
opt. pl. 3	e-li-el-ḥa-an-du	759.1 ii 4
(NINDA)ilwatyat(i)- a type of bread		
sg. nom. comm.	[^{NINDA} e]l-wa-ti-ia-ti-iš	758.2.1 i 12
sg. acc. comm.	^{NINDA} il-wa-ti-ia-ti-in	758.6 ii 7' (J), 9' (J), 13' (J)
pl. nom. comm.	il-wa-ti-ia-[ti-in-zi]	758.6 ii 17'
pl. acc. comm.	^{NINDA} il-wa-ti-ia-ti-in-za	758.6 ii 4' (J), 5' (J)
immar(i)- 'field, open country'		
poss. adj.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	im-ma-ra-aš-ša	758.1 iii 7
sg. nom.-acc. n.	im-ra-aš-ša	758.1 ii 14'
sg. dat.	im-ma-[r]a-aš-ša-an	758.1 ii 37'
sg. dat.	im-ra-aš-ša<-an>	758.1 ii 35'
inta 'below' (adv.)		
	i-in-ta-ḥa (= inta=ḥa)	761.1.b obv. 12'
inzagan- 'precious metal'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	i-in-za-ga-an-za-pa (= inzaganza=pa)	762.2 i 25'
inzagan(i)- 'underground' (adj.)		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	in-za-ga-a-an	758.1 ii 32'
ipalat(i)- 'sinisterness'		
sg. acc. comm.	i-pa-la-a-ti-en	761.3.8 ii 16
sg. acc. comm.	i-pa-la-a-ti-i[n]	761.2.3.a r.col. 5'
ipal(i)- 'left' (adj.)		
instr.-abl.	i-pa-la-a-ti-du-wa-an (= ipalāti=du=(w)an)	761.3.8 ii 16
instr.-abl.	i-pa-la-ti-du-wa-an (= ipalati=du=(w)an)	761.1.c obv. 17'
ippatarrišša- 'to restrain'		
pret. sg. 3	i-ip-pa-tar-ri-eš-ša<-at>-ta	760.4 ii 15'
pret. sg. 3	ip-pa-tar-ri-iš-ša-at-ta	760.1.a iii 2' (J); 760.2 ii 22
ir(ḥu)wa- 'interior'		
pl. nom. comm.	e-er-ḥu-wa-an-zi	761.1.d rev. 24' (J); 761.2.2.a obv. 6' (J)
pl. nom. comm.	e-er-wa-an-zi	761.3.2.b i 6'; 761.3.5.b l.col. 3' (J)
pl. acc. comm.	e-er-ḥu-u-wa-an-z[a]	762.1.c iv 6'
pl. dat.	[ir]-ḥu-u-wa-an-za	759.7:6'
poss. adj.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ir-ḥu-u-wa-aš-ša	758.1 iii 4
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ir-wa-aš-š[a]	758.2.1 iii 12'
ir(ḥu)walli(ya/i)- 'internal' (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	e-er-ḥu-u-wa-al-li-ia-an	761.3.8 iii 29'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	e-er-ḥu-wa-al-li-ia-an	761.1.c obv. 23' (J); 761.1.e:5' (J)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	e-er-wa-al-li-ia-an	761.2.3.b ii? 11'

sg. nom.-acc. n.	[ir-ḥu-wa-al]-li-i-ia-an	760.3.a ii' 28'
instr.-abl.	ir-wa(-al)-li-ia-ti	760.4 iii 8'
išarwaya 'rightly, truly' (adv.)		
	i-šar-ú-a-[i]a	761.3.5.c ii' 9'
	i-šar-wa-ia	761.3.5.c ii' 8'
išarwil(i)- 'right' (adj.)		
instr.-abl.	i-šar-ú-i-la-ti	761.1.c obv. 18'; 761.2.3.b ii' 4' (∅); 761.3.8 ii 17 (∅)
išarwili(ya)- 'justice' (vel sim.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	i-šar-ú-i-li-ia-an	761.3.5.c ii' 10'
iš(ša)r(i)- 'hand'		
sg. nom. comm.	i-iš-ša-ri-iš	761.1.f obv. 8 (∅); 761.2.1.a iv 4; 761.4.1:7' (∅)
sg. nom. comm.	[iš-š]a-ri-i-iš	761.4.2 iv 2'
sg. nom. comm.	iš-ša-ri-iš	758.3.3:6' (∅); 759.10.b iii 28' (∅); 761.3.2.b i 3'; 761.3.5.c ii' 15'; 763.1.2 iii 6' (∅)
sg. nom. comm.	i-iš-ri-iš	761.2.2.a obv. 4'
sg. nom. comm.	iš-ri-i[iš]	761.2.4 iv 3'
sg. acc. comm.	iš-ša-ri-in	759.10.b iii 13', 18'; 760.6 ii' 1' (∅); 762.2 iv 7' (∅); 762.3.4 r.col. 16' (∅)
pl. dat.	iš-ša-ra-z[a]	762.3.4 r.col. 18'
instr.-abl.	i-iš-ša-ra-ti	761.1.f rev. 8' (∅); 761.3.8 ii 7
instr.-abl.	iš-ša-ra-a-ti	761.1.b obv. 5'; 761.3.2.a iii 1'
poss. adj. pl.		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	iš-ša-ra(-aš-ša)-an-za-pa-ti-it-ta (= iššaraššanza=pa=ti=tta)	759.10.b iii 16'
?	iš-ša-r[a-...]	759.8.b ii' 14'
see also <i>keššar</i> , <i>šu</i> , <i>QĀTU</i>		
itwaniti(ya)- 'fertility'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	it-wa-ni-ti-an-za	759.10.b iv 32'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	i-it-wa-ni-ti-ia-an-za	763.1.6 ii' 12'
iunaḥit- 'mobility'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	i-ú-na-a-ḥi-ša	760.6 ii' 10'; 762.1.f iii 3
sg. nom.-acc. n.	i-ú-na-ḥi-ša	760.1.a iii 5' (∅); 760.2 ii 23; 760.4 ii 17'; 761.1.b obv. 10'; 761.1.c rev. 9' (∅); 761.3.8 iii 3'; 763.2.11:1' (∅)
kaldunn(i)- 'shankbone'		
sg. nom. comm.	[kal-d]u-un-ni-iš	761.3.5.c ii' 8'
kaldunni(ya)- 'thrashing'		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	[k]a-al-du-ni-i-ia	760.4 iii 13'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	[k]a-al-du-ni-ia	762.1.d l.col. 6'
gangat(a)i- 'to treat with the <i>gangati</i> -plant'		
ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	ga-an-ga-ta-im-mi-iš	759.8.c:3'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ga-an-ga-ta-a-im-ma-an	759.8.c:6'
pl. nom. comm.	ga-an-ga-ta-im-mi-in-zi	759.3 iv 15' (∅); 759.8.b ii' 4' (∅)

karš-	‘to separate, to sever’	
opt. sg. 3	[ka]r-aš<(-wa)>-du-wa-at-ta (= karašdu=(w)a(ta)=tta)	758.3.2 iii’ 8’
ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	kar-ša-am-mi-iš	758.2.2 ii 13; 758.3.2 iii’ 6’ (□); 761.1.d rev. 18’; 761.1.f obv. 4 (□); 761.3.2.c i 6
sg. nom. comm.	kar-ša-mi-iš	758.2.2 ii 14
karšnay(a/i)-	‘of karaš-grain’ (adj.)	
pl. nom.-acc. n.	kar-aš-na-ia	761.4.3 r.col. 3’
^{GIS} kattaluzzi(t)-	‘threshold’	
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIS} kat-ta-lu-uz-[zi]-ša	758.1 iii 29
kattawatnall(i)-	‘vengeful’ (adj.)	
sg. acc. comm.	kat-ta-wa-a[t-na-al-li-in]	760.3.b iii 2’
pl. acc. comm.	kat-ta-wa-at-na-al-li-in-za	760.2 ii 19
pl. acc. comm.	[kat-ta-wa-at-na-a]l-li-in-zi	760.4 ii 12’
kui-	‘who’ (relative/interrogative pron.)	
sg. nom. comm.	[ku]-i-iš-tar (= kuiš=tar)	760.3.b i 7”
sg. nom. comm.	ku-i-ša-an (= kuiš=an)	760.2 ii 21; 760.4 ii 14’
sg. nom. comm.	ku-iš	759.1 i 23, iii 25’; 759.10.b iv 21’ (□); 760.5 ii 7’ (□); 762.3.2 iii 9’
sg. dat.	ku-wa-at-ti	758.1 ii 2’, 3’; 758.3.1 ii 3
pl. nom. comm.	ku-in-zi	762.3.2 iii 11’
kuišḫa	‘whoever, whatever’ (indefinite pron.)	
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ku-i-ḫa	761.1.b obv. 5’; 761.3.8 ii 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8
(^{GIS})kulluštann(a/i)-	‘rolling tool’	
sg. dat.	[^{GIS}]gul-lu-uš-ta-a-ni	758.3.2 iii’ 7’
sg. dat.	^{GIS} gul-lu-uš-ta-an-ni	761.1.d rev. 18’; 761.3.2.c i 7 (□)
sg. dat.	gul-lu-uš-da-a-an-ni	761.1.d rev. 19’
sg. dat.	gul-lu-uš-ta-an-ni	761.1.f obv. 4 (□), 5 (□)
sg. dat.	[gu]l-lu-uš-ta-n[i]	758.3.3:7”
instr.-abl.	[gul-lu-uš-t]a-an-na-ti	758.2.2 ii 14
instr.-abl.	ku-lu-uš-ta-na-ti	758.1 ii 10’
kumma-	‘sacred’ (adj.)	
sg. nom. comm.	ku-um-ma-aš	762.2 i 30’
kummay(a/i)-	‘sacred’ (adj.)	
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ku-um-ma-ia-at-ta (= kummaya=tta)	762.2 i 31’
pl. nom. comm.	kum-ma-in-zi	759.2.a iii’ 10”
^{GIS} kuppiš-	‘footstool’	
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[^{GIS}]ku-up-pí-iš-ša	758.1 ii 21’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIS} ku-up-pé-eš-ša	763.1.3.a:9’
instr.-abl.	^{GIS} ku-up-pí-[ša-ti]	763.1.3.a:9’
see also ^{GIS} ḠIR.GUB		
kuramman-	‘cutting’	
sg. dat.	[k]u-ú-ra-am-mi	758.3.2 iii’ 6’

sg. dat.	ku-ra-a[m-mi]	761.1.c obv. 8"
instr.-abl.	[ku-ra-am-m]a-ti	758.2.2 ii 13
instr.-abl.	ku-ra-ma-ti	758.1 ii 9'
kurattar- 'cutting'		
sg. dat.	ku-ra-at-ni	761.1.d rev. 17' (I); 761.1.f obv. 6; 761.3.2.c i 6
sg. dat.	ku-ú-ra-[at-ni]	761.3.2.c i 9
kuwannan(i)- 'eyebrow(-hair)'		
sg. acc. comm.	[ku-wa-a]n-na-ni-i-in	760.1.a iii 6'
sg. acc. comm.	ku-wa-an-na-ni-in	759.10.b iii 15'; 760.2 ii 24; 760.4 ii 17'; 762.1.f iii 4 (I); 763.2.10:7' (I)
kuwanzu- 'heavy' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	[ku-wa-a]n-zu-u[š]	763.1.6 iii ¹ 10'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ku-wa-an-zu	759.6 ii ² 10' (I); 760.4 iii 12'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ku-wa-an-z[u-wa]	762.2 i 27'
kuwanzuni(ya)- 'to be gravid, to be affected'		
opt. pl. 3	ku-un-zu-ni-in-du	762.2 i 28'
ptc		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ku-wa-an-zu-ni-im-ma-an	761.2.5 iii ¹ 5
kuwar- 'to cut'		
pres. sg. 2	ku-wa-al-ti	760.4 iii 18'
pres. sg. 2	ku-wa-ar-ti	760.4 iii 19', 20' (I)
pret. sg. 3	ku-wa-ar-ta	762.1.e r.col. 5'
kuwar(i) 'if' (conj.)		
	ku-wa-a-ri	761.3.5.c ii ² 14'
kuwarr(i)- 'field'		
sg. dat.	ku-wa-ar-r[i(-)...]	761.2.4 i 21'
kuwarš(a/i)- 'army'		
poss. adj.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ku-wa-ar-ša-aš-ša-an	759.1 i 30 (I); 761.2.3.b ii ² 14' (I); 762.3.6 r.col. 9' (II)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	kur-ša-aš-ša-an	760.2 ii 4
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ku-wa-ar-ša-aš-ša	761.3.8 iii 32'
instr.-abl.	ku-wa-ar-[ša-aš-ša-ti]	760.4 iii 9'
instr.-abl.	[kur-ša-aš-š]a-ti	762.1.d l.col. 2'
kuwati(n) 'as' (conj.)		
	ku-wa-a-ti-in	758.1 ii 42'
	ku-wa-a-ti-[na-at-ta]	760.3.b ii 9'
	(= kuwātin=at=tta)	
	ku-wa-ti-i-in	758.1 iii 25; 758.2.1 iii 3' (I)
	ku-wa-ti-in	761.3.5.c ii ² 8'; 762.2 i 22', 25', 27', 30'
	ku-wa-ti	762.3.3:6'
la- 'to take'		
pret. sg. 3	la-a-ad-da	759.10.b iii 15', 16'
pret. sg. 3	la-a-at-ta	759.10.b iii 12', 17'; 763.2.16:5' (I)
pret. sg. 3	la-at-ta	761.3.8 ii 17, 18

la(h)un(a)i- ‘to wash’		
pret. sg. 1	la-ḥu-ni-i-ḥa	758.1 iii 37
ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	la-a-ú-na-i-mi-ša-aš (= lāunaimiš=aš)	758.1 iii 34
sg. nom. comm.	la-ú-na-i-[mi-ša-aš] (= lāunaimiš=aš)	758.1 iii 32
lala- ‘to take’ (imperf.)		
pres. sg. 2	la-la-a-at-ti	763.1.3.a:15’
pres. sg. 3	la-a-la-i-du-ut-ta (= lālai=du=tta)	761.1.c obv. 19’ (I), 22’
pres. sg. 3	la-la-a-i	763.2.11:4’
pres. sg. 3	la-la-i-du-ut-ta (= lalai=du=tta)	761.2.3.b ii? 10’ (I); 762.1.m iii 7’ (I)
pret. sg. 3	la-a-la-ad-da	761.3.8 iii 2’
pret. sg. 3	la-a-la-at-ta	761.2.3.a r.col. 7’ (I); 761.2.3.b ii? 4’ (I)
pret. sg. 3	la-al-la-at-ta	761.3.5.c ii? 14’
pret. sg. 3	la-la-at-ta	761.3.8 iii 23’
imper. sg. 2	la-a-la	761.1.b obv. 13’
opt. sg. 3	la-a-la-ad-du	758.1 ii 16’; 761.1.b obv. 9’ (I); 761.1.c rev. 8’ (I)
opt. sg. 3	la-la-ad-du-ut-ta (= laladdu=tta)	761.3.8 ii 12 (I), iii 28’ (I)
lalp(i)- ‘eyelash’		
sg. acc. comm.	la-al-pi-in	760.2 ii 24; 760.6 ii? 10’ (I); 761.1.b obv. 10’; 763.2.9:11’ (I)
sg. acc. comm.	la-al-pi-i-in-ti-it-ta (= lalpīn=ti=tta)	759.10.b iii 14’
(^{L0})lulaḥi(ya/i)- ‘of the mountain-dwellers’ (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	^{L0} lu-la-ḥi-iš	761.4.2 iv 7’
sg. nom. comm.	[^{L0} lu-u-la-ḥi-i-iš	761.2.1.a iv 15
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{L0} lu-ú-la-ḥi-ia-an	761.1.d obv. 9’; 761.2.3.b ii? 13’; 762.1.c iv 3’ (I)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{L0} lu-la-ḥi-ia-an	761.3.8 iii 31’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{L0} lu-u-la-ḥi-ia-an	760.2 ii 3
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[lu-la-ḥi-ia]-an	762.3.5 r.col. 11’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	lu-u-la-ḥi-ia-an	760.3.a ii? 27’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	lu-ú-la-ḥi-e-ia	759.1 i 30
instr.-abl.	^{L0} lu-ú-la-ḥi-ia-ti	760.2 iii 7’ (I); 760.4 iii 9’ (I)
may(a/i)- ‘multitude’		
poss. adj.		
sg. nom. comm.	ma-a-ia-aš-ši-iš	761.1.d rev. 24’; 761.4.1:9’ (I); 763.2.13:3’ (I)
sg. nom. comm.	ma-ia-aš-ši-iš	761.3.2.b i 6’; 761.4.2 iv 8’ (I)
sg. acc. comm.	ma-a-i-ia-aš-ši-in	760.2 iii 19’
sg. acc. comm.	ma-a-ia-aš-ši-in	760.2 iii 25’; 760.5 ii 5’ (I); 760.7.b:6’ (I); 761.1.a:2’ (I); 761.1.c rev. 11” (I); 761.1.f rev. 3’ (I), 7’ (I); 761.3.2.b i 10’; 761.3.5.b l.col. 14’; 761.3.8 ii 30, iii 37’; 761.4.1:12’ (I); 762.1.c iv 15’ (I); 762.2 ii 5 (I); 763.2.4.b iv 5 (I); 763.2.18:3’ (I)
sg. acc. comm.	ma-i-ia-aš-[ši-in]	759.7:6’
sg. acc. comm.	ma-ia-aš-ši-in	762.1.g:4’ (I); 763.2.7 ii? 2’ (I)

poss. adj. pl. instr.-abl. ma-a-ia-aš-ša-an-za-ti	761.1.c obv. 4' (J); 761.1.f rev. 10'; 761.3.2.a iii 3' (J)
malḥašš(a)- 'ritual, offering'	
pl. nom.-acc. n. ma-al-ḥa-ša	758.2.1 ii 4'
poss. adj. sg. nom. comm. ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš	759.12 ii 7 (J); 760.3.a ii? 15'; 760.3.b i 23" (J)*; 760.4 iii 5'; 761.1.a:1' (J); 761.1.b obv. 9', 13' (J); 761.1.c obv. 1' (J), 2" (J), rev. 8' (J), 10' (J); 761.1.f obv. 16 (J), rev. 6' (J), 7' (J); 761.2.1.d:8' (J); 761.3.5.b l.col. 6'; 761.3.6:7' (J); 761.3.8 ii 37; 762.2 i 21', 23', 26' (J), 28'; 763.2.9:8' (J)
sg. acc. comm. ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši-in	761.1.d rev. 21' (J); 761.1.f obv. 7 (J); 761.2.2.a obv. 3' (J); 761.3.2.b i 2' (J); 761.3.8 iii 17' (J); 763.1.2 iii 16' (J)
pl. nom. comm. ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši-in-zi	761.2.1.d:6' (J)
? ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-(aš-ši)-[...]	759.8.b ii? 7'; 763.2.4.a obv.? 9'; 763.2.16:3' (JJ)
poss. adj. pl. sg. dat. ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-an	759.1 iii 25'; 760.3.b i 7" (J); 761.2.1.b:12' (J)
pl. dat. ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-an-za	759.3 iv 7' (J)
see also SISKUR/SISKUR	
malḥuwa- 'to break'	
ptc. sg. nom. comm. ma-al-wa-a-am-mi-i[š]	762.1.k ii? 4'
sg. nom. comm. ma-al-wa-a[m-mi-iš]	762.2 ii 21
? [m]a ² -al-w[a-...]	762.1.j r.col. 13'
mallit- 'honey'	
sg. nom.-acc. n. ma-al-li	759.1 ii 12, 16; 759.10.b iii 27'
instr.-abl. ma-al-li-i-ta-a-ti	759.1 ii 3 (J), 11
instr.-abl. ma-al-li-ta-a-ti	759.1 ii 27, iii 11' (J)
see also LĀL	
malliti(ya/i)- 'of honey' (adj.)	
pl. nom. comm. ma-al-li-ti-in-zi	759.1 i 24
mamḥui(ya)- mng unkn.	
mid. pres. sg. 3 ma-am-ḥu-it-ta-ri	761.1.c rev. 6"
mammalḥuwa- 'to break' (imperf.)	
pres. sg. 3 ma-am-ma-al-w[a]-i	759.3 i 7'
pres. sg. 3 m[a-am]-ma-al-wa-ia-an (= mammalwa(i)=(y)an)	760.2 iii 17'
pres. sg. 3 ma-am-ma-lu-wa-i	762.3.2 ii 6
pres. pl. 1 ma-am-ma-al-ḥu-un-ni	761.3.5.c ii? 3', 5' (J)
pret. sg. 3 [ma-am-ma]-al-wa-at-[t]a	761.4.1:11'
mammanna- 'to see, to look' (imperf.)	
imper. sg. 2 ma-am-ma-an-na	759.10.b iv 12'; 760.3.b i 8'; 761.1.d rev. 11' (J); 761.3.6:6' (J);
imper. sg. 2 ma-am-[m]a-na-tar (= mammana=tar)	761.3.8 ii 36
opt. sg. 3 ma-a-am-ma-an-na-ad-du	760.3.b i 10'; 761.1.c obv. 3" (J)

mān ‘whether, or’ (conj.)

ma-a-an	759.1 iii 8’; 761.3.8 ii 1, 8; 763.1.3.a:12’
ma-a-na-aš (= mān=aš)	760.2 ii 25, 26; 761.1.c rev. 4”, 5”; 762.3.2 iii 10’ (J)
ma-a-am-pa-aš (= mām=pa=aš)	760.1.a iii 9’

mana- ‘to see, to look’

pres. sg. 2	ma-na-a-[ši]	762.1.j r.col. 10’
pres. sg. 3	ma-na-a-ti	763.1.6 ii’ 3’
pret. sg. 1	ma-na-a-ḥa	763.1.1 i 4
pret. sg. 3	ma-a-na-ta	761.3.8 ii 7

manantar(i)- ‘domestic’ (adj.)

pl. nom. comm.	[ma-na-an-d]a-ri-en-zi	759.2.a ii 18”
pl. nom. comm.	ma-a-na-an-ta-ri-in-zi	759.8.c:4’

mannahu(wa)nn(i)- ‘nose, snout’

sg. nom. comm.	[ma-a]n-na-ḥu-un-ni-[iš]	761.1.c obv. 12’
sg. nom. comm.	[m]a-an-na-ḥu-w[a-ni-iš]	761.3.8 iii 15’
sg. erg.	[m]a-an-na-wa-an-na-t[e-eš]	762.1.m iii 4’
sg. acc. comm.	[ma-an-n]a-ḥu-wa-an-ni-in	761.3.8 iii 15’
sg. acc. comm.	ma-an-na-w[a-an-ni-in]	762.1.m iii 4’
instr.-abl.	ma-a-an-na-ḥu-wa-an-na-a-ti	761.3.8 iii 25’
instr.-abl.	ma-an-na-ḥu-un-na-ti	761.1.c obv. 6’ (J), 9’ (J)
instr.-abl.	ma-an-na-ku-na-a-ti	761.1.c obv. 20’ (J); 763.1.4 l.col. 4’
instr.-abl.	ma-an-na-k[u-un-na-a-ti]	761.2.3.b ii’ 8’
instr.-abl.	ma-an-na-ku-na-ti	758.1 iii 10

mannawallaimm(a/i)- ‘strengthened’ (adj.)

sg. nom. comm.	[ma-an-na-u-wa-a]l-la-a-i-im-mi-iš	761.2.1.d:9’
pl. nom. comm.	ma-an-na-u-wa-al-la-a-i-i[m-mi-in-zi]	761.2.1.d:7’

manni(ya)- ‘to multiply, to be fertile’

?	ma-an-n[i-...]	763.3.4 iii 3’
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mannuštarr(i)- ‘fertility’

poss. adj.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ma-an-nu-uš-tar-ra-aš-ša-an-[za]	763.3.4 iii 5’

mantall(a/i)- ‘slandorous’ (adj.)

pl. nom.-acc. n.	ma-a-an-ta-al-la	763.1.3.a:14’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ma-an-ta-a-al-la	763.1.2 iii 12’

mard(a/i)- ‘word’

instr.-abl.	ma-a-ar-da-a-ti	761.1.d rev. 20’; 761.1.f obv. 6 (J)
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maššanall(a/i)- ‘divine’ (adj.)

sg. acc. comm.	ma-aš-ša-na-a-al-l[i-in]	762.1.f iii 4
sg. acc. comm.	[ma-aš-ša-na-al-li]-i-in	760.1.a iii 7’
sg. acc. comm.	ma-aš-ša-na-al-li-in	760.2 ii 24; 760.4 ii 18’ (J); 761.3.8 iii 4’ (J); 763.2.10:7’ (J)

see also DINGIR^{MES}-li-

maššan(i)- ‘deity’

pl. nom. comm.	[m]a-aš-ša-ni-in-zi	761.3.5.c ii’ 11’
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pl. dat.	ma-a-aš-ša-na-an-za	761.1.d obv. 4' (⌋); 761.1.f rev. 8'
pl. dat.	ma-aš-ša-an-n[a-an-za]	761.3.5.c ii' 9'
poss. adj.		
sg. acc. comm.	[ma-aš-š]a-na-aš-ši-in	763.2.11:2'
poss. adj. pl.		
instr.-abl.	ma-aš-ša-na-aš-ša-an-za-ti	760.3.b i 12'; 761.3.8 ii 39
see also DINGIR		
madduwi(ya/i)- 'of wine' (adj.)		
pl. nom. comm.	ma-a[d-du-ú]-in-zi	759.1 i 24
maw(a/i)- 'four'		
instr.-abl.	ma-a-u-wa-a-ti	758.1 iii 10; 763.1.4 l.col. 3'
instr.-abl.	ma-a-u-wa-ti	761.1.d rev. 4'
see also 4		
mi(ya)š(a)- 'flesh'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	mi-i-ša-an-za	760.2 ii 22
sg. nom.-acc. n.	mi-ia-ša-an-za	760.4 ii 16'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	mi-ša-an-za	760.6 ii' 9'; 762.1.f iii 2
-mmaš refl. pron. 2 pers. pl. dat.		
	a-am-ma-aš	759.1 iii 10'
	(= ā=(m)maš)	
mutamut(i)- 'pig'		
sg. dat.	mu-ta-mu-ti-ta'	759.14 ii 12'
muwa- 'to overcome'		
pres. sg. 3	mu-u-wa-i	761.1.c obv. 5', 6', 7', 8', 9', rev. 7"; 761.3.8 iii 6', 11'
opt. pl. 3	mu-u-wa-an-du	759.7:7' (⌋), 9' (⌋)
nai- mng unkn.		
ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	na-a-i[m-mi-iš]	759.8.c:1'
nakkuššahit- 'scapegoat rite'		
sg. dat.	na-ak-ku-uš-ša-a-ḫi-ti	760.3.b iv 5' (⌋⌋); 761.2.4 iv 18' (⌋); 763.1.2 ii 19' (⌋)
sg. dat.	na-ak-ku-uš-ša-ḫi-ti	760.2 i 9
nakkušša(i)- 'to perform a scapegoat rite'		
pret. pl. 1	na-ak-ku-uš-ša-a-ú-un-ta	760.3.b i 21" (⌋⌋); 761.2.4 iv 17' (⌋); 761.2.5 iii' 4
nana- 'to bring'		
pres. sg. 2	na-na-a-at-ti	763.1.2 iii 13'
nanašri(ya/i)- 'of the sister' (adj.)		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	na-a-na-aš-ri-[e-ia]	759.1 i 29
see also NIN		
nani(ya/i)- 'of the brother' (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	na-a-ni-ia-an	760.3.a ii' 26'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	na-a-ni-e-ia	759.1 i 28
instr.-abl.	na-a-ni-ia-t[i]	761.2.4 i 4'
see also ŠEŠ		

nanun ‘now’ (adv.)		
	[n]a-a-nu-ú-un-pa (= nānūn=pa) na-a-nu-um-pa(-) (= nānum=pa)	760.3.b i 6’ 759.1 i 24, ii 24; 761.2.4 iv 17’; 761.2.5 ii ¹ 5’ (J), iii ¹ 4; 763.1.2 iii 13’; 763.1.3.a:15’; 763.1.6 ii ¹ 9’
nanuntarri(ya/i)- ‘present’ (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[n]a-nu-un-tar-ri-š[a]	758.1 iii 3
nanuntarriyal(i)- ‘present’ (adj.)		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	na-a-nu-un-tar-ri-ia-l[a]	761.2.4 iv 16’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	[na-nu-un]-ta-ri-ia-a-al	759.1 i 31
instr.-abl.	na-a-nu-un-tar-ri-i[a-la-ti]	763.2.21:3’
natatt(a)- ‘reed’		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	na-a-ta-at-ta	759.1 iii 27’
see also GI		
nawa ‘not’ (neg.)		
	na-a-ú-wa(-)	760.7.a l.col. 6’ (J), 7’ (J), 8’ (J); 760.9 obv. 14’; 761.1.c obv. 5’ (J), 6’ (J), 11” (JJ), rev. 7” (J), 8” (J); 761.1.d obv. 11’, 12’, rev. 19’, 20’; 761.2.2.a obv. 2’ (J); 761.2.2.b obv. 3’ (J), 4’; 761.3.8 iii 6’ (J), 7’; 761.4.1:4’ (J), 5’ (J); 762.1.k ii ² 4’ (J); 762.2 ii 21 758.1 ii 43’, 44’ (J), iii 20 (J), 21 (J); 758.2.2 iii 4’; 759.10.b iv 24’ (J), 25’; 761.2.4 iv 6’; 761.3.2.c i 8 (J) 761.1.c obv. 5’, 9” (J), 10” (J); 761.1.d rev. 18’ (J)
	na-a-wa(-)	
	na-ú-wa(-)	
nīš ‘not’ (prohib.)		
	ni-i-iš(-)	760.1.a iv 5’; 762.1.j r.col. 10’; 762.3.4 r.col. 17’; 763.2.11:5’ (J)
	ni-i-ša-an (= nīš=an)	760.1.a iv 3’; 760.3.b i 14” (J); 761.1.f obv. 7’; 761.4.1:6’ (J)
	ni-iš(-)	758.1 ii 40’ (J), 45’, iii 7, 24; 758.3.3:10” (J); 758.5 r.col. 10’; 759.6 ii ² 9’ (J); 759.10.b iv 27’; 760.2 iii 11’; 760.4 iii 11’, 12’ (J); 760.6 ii ² 8’; 760.7.a l.col. 5’ (J); 763.1.2 iii 15’
pā- ‘so, then’ (conj.)		
	pa-a(-)	758.1 ii 15’, 42’; 758.2.1 iii 13’ (J); 758.5 r.col. 7’; 759.6 ii ² 7’ (J); 761.2.4 iv 6’, 18’; 761.2.5 ii ¹ 6’, iii ¹ 4; 762.2 iv 7’; 763.1.4 l.col. 3’; 763.2.23 r.col. 4’ 759.1 iii 29’; 761.1.f rev. 7’; 761.2.4 i 20’; 763.1.2 iii 14’
	pa-	
-pa enclitic connective		
	-pa(-)	758.1 ii 34’, 41’, 43’, iii 18, 20, 22; 758.3.3:13”; 759.1 i 24, ii 24, iii 28’; 759.2.a iii ² 7”; 759.10.b iii 16’, iv 24’; 759.12 ii 6; 760.1.a iii 9’, iv 5’; 760.2 ii 7; 760.3.b i 6’, 11”, 12”, 13”, iv 4’; 760.6 ii ² 8’; 760.9 obv. 13’; 761.1.b obv. 9’; 761.1.c obv. 14’, rev. 8’, 6”, 9”; 761.1.d obv. 11’, 12’;

		761.2.1.a iv 7; 761.2.1.d:8'; 761.2.3.b ii ² 4'; 761.2.4 i 17', 19', iv 6', 17'; 761.2.5 ii ¹ 5', iii ¹ 4; 761.3.5.b l.col. 6'; 761.3.8 ii 17 (I), 37; 762.2 i 20', 22', 23', 25', 27', 30'; 762.3.2 iii 7'; 762.3.3:7'; 763.1.2 iii 13'; 763.1.3.a:15'; 763.1.4 l.col. 5'; 763.1.6 ii ¹ 9'; 763.2.11:3'
pah̥hi(ya)- 'to burn'		
mid. opt. sg. 3	pa-aḥ-ḥi-it-ta-ru	761.2.1.a iv 3
papra- 'to carry away'		
pres. sg. 3	pa-ap-ra-i-du-ut-ta (= paprai=du=tta)	761.1.c obv. 19' (I); 761.2.3.b ii ² 7' (I)
opt. sg. 3	pa-ap-ra-ad-du-ut-ta (= papraddu=tta)	761.3.8 ii 12, iii 24' (I)
par(a)- 'to carry'		
opt. sg. 3	pa-ra-ad-du	761.3.8 ii 10; 762.1.c iv 11' (I)
paratt(a)- 'impurity'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	pa-ra-at-ta-an-za	758.1 iii 2 (I), 23 (I); 758.2.1 iii 11'
pari 'forth' (prev.)		
	par-ri(-)	758.1 ii 35', iii 9, 11; 763.2.7 iii ² 2
pariyanall(a/i)- 'future' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	pa-ri-[ia]-na-a[l-li-iš]	758.3.3:8'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	pa-a-ri-ia-na-a-al	761.3.8 ii 4
sg. nom.-acc. n.	pa-ri-ia-na-al-la-an	760.1.a ii 8'' (I); 760.2 ii 1; 761.2.1.a i 6' (I); 761.3.8 iii 31'
parittar(u)wa-	'exterior'	
poss. adj.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	pa-[r]i-it-tar-u-wa-a-aš-š[a]	758.1 iii 4
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[p]a-ri-tar-wa-a[š-ša]	758.3.1 ii 15
parittarwalli(ya/i)- 'external' (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	pa-ri-it-tar-wa-al-li-ia-an	760.3.a ii ² 29' (I); 761.3.8 iii 29'
instr.-abl.	pa-ri-tar-wa-al-li-ia-ti	760.4 iii 8' (I); 763.2.21:4' (I)
parn(a)- 'house'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[p]ár-na-an-za	758.1 iii 26
sg. dat.	pár-ni	758.1 iii 23
pl. nom.-acc. n.	párar-na	763.1.3.a:8'
poss. adj.		
pl. nom. comm.	[p]ár-na-a-aš-ši-in-z[i]	759.8.a:3'
poss. adj. pl.		
pl. dat.	[pá]r-na-aš-ša-an-za-an-za	762.3.2 iii 6'
parnant(i)- 'household (deity)'		
pl. nom. comm.	pár-na-an-ti-in-zi	758.1 ii 49'
parray(a/i)- 'high' (adj.)		
pl. dat.	pár-ra-ia-an-za	760.2 ii 5; 761.2.1.a i 10' (I)
instr.-abl.	pár-ra-i-ia-a-ti	761.2.1.a i 2' (I)
instr.-abl.	[p]á[r-r]a-ia-ti	763.2.6 ii ² 10

parran ‘before, in the presence of’ (postpos.)		
	pár-ra-an	758.1 ii 40’, iii 7; 758.2.1 iii 14’ ({}); 758.3.1 ii 7; 758.3.2 iii’ 10’; 758.3.3:2’ ({}), 10” ({}); 759.11:4’ ({}); 761.1.d obv. 4’; 761.1.f rev. 8’ ({}); 761.3.5.c ii’ 10’ ({}); 763.2.24 l.col. 3’
part(a/i)- ‘leg’		
instr.-abl.	pa-a-ar-ta-a-ti	758.1 iii 10 ({}); 761.3.8 ii 12
instr.-abl.	pa-a-ar-ta-ti	761.3.8 iii 24’
instr.-abl.	pa-ar-ta-ti	761.2.3.b ii’ 7’
pata- ‘foot’		
pl. dat.	pa-a-ta-an-za	759.1 iii 29’
poss. adj. pl.		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	pa-a-ta-aš-ša-an-za	759.10.b iii 17’
pattaliya- ‘to carry off’		
pres. sg. 3	pád-da-li-ia-i	763.1.4 l.col. 4’, 5’
padukilatta- mng unk.		
sg. dat.	pa-du-ú-ki-la-a-at-ta-[aš] (= padūkilātta=[aš])	761.2.1.a iv 5
piya- ‘to give’		
pret. sg. 3	pí-ia-at-ta	758.1 ii 37’
imper. sg. 2	pí-ia-aš (= piya=aš)	760.2 ii 18; 760.4 ii 11’
pu- ‘to lift’		
opt. pl. 3	pu-u-wa-an-du	759.10.b iv 23’ ({}); 760.9 obv. 11’ ({})
opt. pl. 3	pu-wa-an-du	760.10 iv’ 3’
puna- ‘all, totality’		
pl. acc. comm.	pu-u-na	758.1 ii 15’
punat(a/i)- ‘all’ (adj.)		
pl. nom. comm.	pu-u-na-ti-[in-zi]	759.1 ii 25
pl. nom. comm.	[pu]-na-ti-in-zi	761.2.1.d:6’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	[p]u-u-na-a-ta	758.1 ii 31’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	pu-u-na-ta	758.1 ii 26’ ({}); 758.2.1 ii 9’ ({})
pl. nom.-acc. n.	pu-na-ta	758.2.1 ii 4’
pur(i)- ‘lip, rim’		
pl. nom. comm.	pu-u-[r]i-in-z[i]	762.1.k ii’ 10’
puwatil(i)- ‘past’ (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	pu-ú-wa-[ti-li-iš]	761.4.2 iv 5’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	pu-u-wa-ti-i-il	761.3.8 iii 30’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	pu-ú-wa<-ti>-il	760.2 ii 1
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[p]u-wa-ti-il	761.3.8 ii 4
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[p]u-u-wa-ti-[il-za]	758.3.1 ii 14
sg. nom.-acc. n.	pu-wa-ti-il-za	758.1 iii 3
pl. nom. comm.	pu-u-wa-a-t[i-li-in-zi]	762.3.4 r.col. 15’
ša- ‘to release, to let go’		
pres. sg. 3	ša-a-i	761.3.2.b i 8’

opt. pl. 3	[š]a-a-an-du-wa-ta (= šāndu=(w)ata)	758.1 ii 49'
šaḥḥanišša- 'to restrain'		
pret. sg. 3	ša-aḥ-ḥa-ni-iš-ša-at-ta	760.2 ii 21
pret. sg. 3	ša(-aḥ)-ḥa-ni-eš-ša(-at)-ta	760.4 ii 14'
šaḥuita- 'target for binding'		
instr.-abl.	[š]a-a-ḥu-i-ta-la-ti	763.2.9:9'
instr.-abl.	[š]a-ḥu-i-da-a-la-ti	761.1.c rev. 7'
instr.-abl.	ša-ḥu-i-da-la-ti	763.2.9:6'
šaḥuitant(a)- 'bond'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ša-ḥu-i-ta-an-ta-an	761.1.c rev. 7' (I); 761.3.8 ii 11 (I); 762.1.i:7' (I); 763.2.10:3' (I)
šaḥuitantalli(ya/i)- 'of binding' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	[ša-ḥu-i-ta-a]n-tal-li-iš	
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[ša-ḥu-i-da-a]n-ta-al-li-ia-an	761.3.8 ii 1
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[ša-ḥu-i-t]a-an-ta-al-li-ia-an-za	761.3.8 ii 9
šaknuwant(i)- 'fatty' (adj.)		
sg. dat.	[ša-ak-nu]-wa-a-an-ti	761.3.6:7'
sg. dat.	ša-ak-nu-wa-an-[ti]	761.1.d rev. 11'
šapiya- 'cleaning'		
instr.-abl.	ša-pí-ia-ti-pa-a[š-ta] (= šapiyati=pa=aš=ta)	759.12 ii 6
instr.-abl.	ša-p[í]-ia-ti-pa-at-ta (= šapiyati=pa=tta)	762.2 i 20'
poss. adj.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ša-pí-i[a-aš]-ša-an-za	762.2 i 19'
šapiya(i)- 'to clean'		
ptc.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ša-pí-ia-im-ma-an	762.2 i 25'
šaptamimm(a/i)- 'sevenfold'		
instr.-abl.	ša-ap-pa-ta-am-mi-im-ma-ti-t[i]	761.2.1.c r.col. 3'
^{UZU} šarḥuwant(i)- 'belly'		
sg. nom. comm.	^{UZU} šar-ḥ]u-wa-an-ti-iš	761.3.5.b r.col. 9'
sg. acc. comm.	^{UZU} šar-ḥu-wa-an-ti-[in]	761.3.5.b r.col. 9'
^{UZU} šargat(a)- a body part		
pl. erg.	^{UZU} šar-ga]-a-ta-ti-in-zi	761.3.5.b r.col. 10'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	^{UZU} šar-ga-a-t[a]	761.3.5.b r.col. 10'
šarl(a/i)- 'supreme' (adj.)		
sg. acc. comm.	šar-l[i-in]	760.3.b i 22"
?	šar-li[...]	759.10.a iv 12', 13'
šarla(i)- 'to praise, to exalt'		
opt. pl. 1	[šar ² -l]a ² -a-u-un-du	760.3.b i 22"
ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	šar-la-a[m-mi-iš]	759.10.a iv 17'

sg. nom. comm.	šar-la-mi-i[š]	759.10.b iv 31'
šarlatt(a)-	a type of sacrifice	
poss. adj.		
sg. acc. comm.	šar-la-a-at-ta-aš-ši-in	760.3.b i 18" (□); 762.2 i 5' (□)
sg. acc. comm.	šar-la-at-ta-aš-ši-in	759.10.b iv 29' (□); 763.1.6 ii ¹ 5' (□)
šarliya-	'superior'	
poss. adj.		
pl. nom. comm.	[š]ar ² -li-aš-ši-in-zi	761.1.c rev. 3"
šarra	'over' (prev./adv.)	
	šar-ra	759.10.b iv 22'; 760.3.b i 9" (□); 761.2.1.a i 4'; 763.1.2 iii 9'
šarri	'above, up' (prev./adv./postpos.)	
	šar-ri(-)	760.1.a iii 8'; 760.2 ii 25; 760.4 ii 19' (□); 761.3.5.c ii ² 3', 4'
šašla-	mng unkn.	
mid. opt. sg. 3	ša-aš-la-at-ta-ru	761.2.1.a iv 6
šiwann(a/i)-	mng unkn.	
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ši-wa-an-na	763.1.1 i 6
šummant(i)-	'rope'	
?	šum-ma-an-ti-[...]	762.1.g:6'; 762.3.2 ii 3, 11
-(t)ta	sentence particle	
	-ta	758.1 ii 11', 32', 35', 37', 39', 49', iii 6, 26, 30, 37, 38; 758.3.2 iii ² 8'; 758.6 ii 19'; 759.10.b iii 11'; 760.2 ii 5, 7, iii 11'; 760.5 ii 9'; 760.9 obv. 10'; 761.1.c obv. 19', obv. 8", 10"; 761.1.d rev. 3', 17', 19'; 761.2.3.b ii ² 7'; 761.2.5 iii ¹ 12; 761.3.2.a iii 8'; 761.3.2.c i 6; 761.3.8 ii 12, iii 24'; 762.2 i 20', 21', 23', 27' (□); 763.1.2 iii 7'; 763.1.6 ii ¹ 2' (□)
	-at-ta	758.1 ii 11', iii 9, 11 (□), 17, 19, 20 (□), 22, 37 (□); 758.3.2 iii ² 8'; 760.2 ii 7, iii 11'; 759.1 iii 8'; 760.3.a ii ² 26', 27', 28' (□); 761.1.d obv. 11' (□); 762.2 i 20', 22', 27' (□), 31'; 763.3.3:3'
	-ut-ta	759.10.b iv 21'; 760.9 obv. 10'; 761.1.c obv. 19', 22'; 761.1.d rev. 3'; 761.2.3.a r.col. 5' (□); 761.2.3.b ii ² 3' (□), 7', 10'; 761.3.8 ii 12, 16, 18, iii 24', 28'; 762.1.m iii 7'; 763.3.2 l.col. 6'
	-it-ta	759.10.b iii 14', 15', 16'; 762.1.j r.col. 9'
tain-	'oil'	
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-a-i-in-ti-ia-ta (= tāin=ti=(y)ata)	759.1 i 26 (□), ii 12, 15, 28
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-a-in-ti-ia-aš (= tāin=ti=(y)aš)	759.10.b iii 26'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	da-a-im-x[...]	758.6 ii 18'
instr.-abl.	ta-a-i-na-a-ti	759.1 ii 10
instr.-abl.	ta-a-i-na-ti	759.1 ii 27; 761.2.1.d:8' (□)
instr.-abl.	da-a-i-na-ti	759.1 ii 3

taini(ya/i)- ‘oily’ (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	da-a-i-ni-an-za	758.6 ii 20’
pl. nom. comm.	da-a-i-ni-in-zi	759.1 i 25
talku- ‘to flatten’		
opt. sg. 3	ta-al-ku-du	758.1 ii 11’
ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	ta-al-ku-um-mi-iš	758.1 ii 10’ (⌈); 758.3.2 iii ² 7’ (⌈)
taluppi- ‘lump’		
sg. nom. comm.	ta-lu-up-pí-iš	758.1 ii 8’ (⌈); 759.6 ii ² 6’; 761.1.d rev. 17’; 761.1.f obv. 3 (⌈)
sg. nom. comm.	ta-lu-p[í-iš]	758.3.2 iii ² 5’
tammug(a)- ‘nail’		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ta-am-mu-u-ga	759.10.b iii 17’
tanim(a/i)- ‘every, all’ (pron.)		
pl. nom. comm.	[ta]-ni-mi-in-zi	759.10.b iv 22’
tanit- a stone object		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	[d]a-a-ni-ta	762.2 ii 15
tannam(a/i)- ‘bare, unsheathed’ (adj.)		
instr.-abl.	ta-na-ma-t[i]	760.4 iii 17’
tap(a/i)- mng unkn.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[t]a-pa-an	759.10.b iv 25’
taparu- ‘judgment’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-pa-a-ru	759.6 iii ² 10’; 759.10.b iv 25’; 760.2 iii 9’ (⌈); 761.3.5.b l.col. 13’; 761.3.8 iii 28’; 762.2 ii 5 (⌈), 17; 762.3.2 ii 9; 763.2.5 iii 1 (⌈); 763.2.24 l.col. 7’ (⌈)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-a-pa-ru	760.2 iii 24’; 761.2.3.b ii ² 10’; 761.3.2.b i 9’; 761.3.8 ii 29, iii 36’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-pa-ru	760.3.a ii ² 15’ (⌈); 760.4 iii 10’; 761.1.d obv. 3’, rev. 7’ (⌈), 26’ (⌈); 761.1.f obv. 13, rev. 6’ (⌈)
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ta-pa-a-ru-wa	759.1 i 26, ii 13, 29 (⌈)
instr.-abl.	ta-pa-ru-wa-ti	763.2.15 r.col. 7’
poss. adj.		
sg. nom. comm.	[ta-a-pa-ru-w]a-aš-ši-iš	761.3.2.b i 4’
sg. nom. comm.	[ta-pa-ru-wa]-a-aš-ši-i[š]	761.2.1.a iv 11
sg. nom. comm.	ta-pa-ru-wa-aš-ši-iš	761.1.d rev. 22’; 761.4.2 iv 3’ (⌈)
sg. acc. comm.	ta-pa-ru-wa-aš-ši-in	760.4 ii 22’; 762.3.2 ii 7 (⌈)
pl. acc. comm.	ta-pa-ru-wa-aš-ši-in-za	760.1.b:7’ (⌈); 760.2 ii 20; 760.4 ii 13’ (⌈)
instr.-abl.	[ta-pa-r]u-w[a-ša-an-za-t]i	760.4 iii 7’
poss. adj. pl.		
instr.-abl.	ta-pa-ru-wa-aš-ša-an-za-ti	759.6 ii ² 5’ (⌈); 760.3.a iii ² 3’ (⌈); 761.1.c obv. 2’ (⌈); 761.1.f rev. 9’ (⌈); 763.2.19:3’ (⌈); 763.2.20 l.col. 6’ (⌈)
tappa- ‘to spit’		
pret. sg. 3	tap-pa-a-at-ta	761.1.d rev. 27’ (⌈); 761.2.1.a iii 5’; 761.3.8 ii 29, iii 36’

pret. sg. 3	tap-pa-at-ta	759.3 i 3' ([], 10' ()); 760.2 iii 24'; 760.5 ii 4' ([]); 760.7.b:4'
pret. sg. 3	tap-pa-[a]d-da	761.4.2 iv 11'
pret. pl. 3	tap-pa-[an-ta]	763.2.4.b iv 3
opt. sg. 3	[tap-p]a-ad-du	761.3.2.b i 9'
tappaš- 'heaven'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	tap-paš-ša	758.1 ii 41' ([]), 42' ([]), 44' ([])
sg. erg.	tap-pa-ša-an-ti-iš	759.1 ii 14
sg. dat.	tap-pa-ši-i	762.3.2 iii 7'
poss. adj.		
pl. nom. comm.	tap-pa-ša-aš-ši-in-[zi]	762.3.2 iii 10'
-tar superpositional particle		
	-tar	759.1 iii 25'; 759.2.a iii? 1", 2", 11"; 759.10.b iv 23', 24'; 760.3.b i 7', 9', 7"; 760.5 ii 7'; 760.9 obv. 11'; 761.1.d rev. 11'; 761.3.8 ii 36, 37
	-du-ur (= du=tar)	759.10.b iv 21'
	[zi-la-d]u-úr (= zila=du=tar)	760.4 iii 10'
tarawi(ya)- 'to deliver'		
pret. sg. 3	ta-ra-a-u-i-it-ta	758.1 ii 36'
opt. sg. 3	[da]-ra-u-i-id-du	760.4 ii 21'
opt. sg. 3	da-ra-ú-id-du	760.2 ii 26
tarm(a)i- 'to nail'		
opt. pl. 3	tar-ma-in-du	759.10.b iv 23'
ptc.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[tar-m]a-a-i-im-ma-an	760.3.b i 10"
pl. nom. comm.	tar-ma-a-i-im-mi-in-zi-ia-ta (= tarmāimminzi=(y)ata)	762.2 iv 4' ([]); 762.3.4 r.col. 11' ([])
tarm(i)- 'nail, peg'		
sg. nom. comm.	[ta]r-mi-iš-ti-t[a] (= tarmiš=ti=ta)	763.1.6 ii? 2'
instr.-abl.	tar-ma-ti	759.10.b iv 24' ([]); 760.9 obv. 12' ([])
poss. adj.		
pl. nom. comm.	tar-ma-a-aš-ši-in-z[i]	762.1.j r.col. 5'
tarpa- 'to provide as substitute, to give in return'		
opt. pl. 3	tar-pa-an-du	761.3.5.c ii? 10'
tarpašša- 'substitute'		
sg. nom. comm.	tar-pa-a-aš-ša-a-aš	762.1.k ii? 6'
sg. nom. comm.	tar-pa-a-aš-ša-aš	758.2.1 ii 3'; 762.2 ii 23
sg. nom. comm.	tar-pa-aš-ša-aš	761.1.c rev. 5" ([]); 761.3.8 iii 19' ([])
pl. nom. comm.	tar-pa-a-aš-ša-a-an-zi	761.1.c rev. 3"
pl. nom. comm.	tar-pa-a-aš-ša-a[n-zi]	759.10.a i 4'
tarpattarpatta- mng unkn.		
sg. dat.	tar-pa-tar-pa-at-ta-pa-aš (= tarpattarpatta=pa=aš)	761.2.1.a iv 7
taruš- 'shape, frame'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	da-a-ru-u[š-ša]	761.3.8 iii 2'

sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-a-ru-uš-ša	760.1.a iii 3' (⌈); 760.4 ii 16' (⌈)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[d]a-a-ru-ša	758.1 iii 28
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[ta]-ru-uš-ša	758.1 iii 35
sg. erg.	ta-ru-ša-an-ti-iš	758.1 iii 1
pl. erg.	[ta-ru-ša]-an-ti-in-zi	758.2.1 iii 10'
see also ALAM		
tarupinant(i)- mng unkn.		
sg. nom. comm.	ta-ru-pí-na-a[n-ti-iš]	761.1.d obv. 8'
taruwi(ya)- 'to turn to wood'		
mid. opt. sg. 3	[ta]-ru-u-i-it-ta-ru	761.2.1.a iv 5
tatarḥa- 'to tear'		
opt. pl. 3	ta-ta-ar-ḥa-an-du	759.1 iii 27'
tatariyamman- 'curse'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-a-ta-ri-ia-am-ma-an	760.2 iii 9' (⌈); 760.7.b:5' (⌈)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	da-a-ta-ri-ia-am-ma-an	761.1.d obv. 19', rev. 26'; 761.1.f obv. 13 (⌈), rev. 6' (⌈); 763.2.4.b iv 4 (⌈⌈)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	da-a-ta-ri-ia-ma-an	761.1.d obv. 3', rev. 7'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-a-ta-ri-i-am-ma-an	760.2 iii 24'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[ta-ta-ar]-ri-ia-a-am-ma-an	761.2.1.a i 5'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-ta-ar-ri-ia-am-ma-an	761.2.3.b ii? 10'; 761.3.8 ii 30 (⌈), iii 37' (⌈); 762.1.d l.col. 4' (⌈); 763.2.7 ii? 1' (⌈⌈)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-ta-ar-ri-ia-m[a-an]	762.3.5 r.col. 8'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-ta-ri-ia-am-ma-an	760.3.a ii? 16' (⌈); 761.3.5.b l.col. 7' (⌈); 761.3.8 iii 28'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-t[ar-ri-ia-am-ma-an]	762.1.c iv 14'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[t]a-ta-ri-<ia>-ma-an	761.3.5.a:5'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[t]a-ta-ri-am-ma-an	759.10.b iv 26'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ta-ta-ar-ri-ia-a-am-[ma]	761.2.5 iii? 2
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ta-ta-ri-ia-am-m[a]	761.2.4 iv 15'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	[ta-t]a-ar-ia-a[m-m]a	760.4 iii 11'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ta-ta-ar-ri-ya-am-na	759.1 ii 13
instr.-abl.	[ta-ta-ri-i]a-am-ma-na-ti	763.2.22 iv 3'
poss. adj.		
sg. nom. comm.	da-a-ta-ri-ia-am-na-aš-ši-iš	761.1.d obv. 14' (⌈), rev. 22' (⌈)
sg. nom. comm.	[ta-a-t]a-ri-ia-am-ma-na-[aš-ši-iš]	761.4.1:8'
sg. nom. comm.	ta-ta-ar-ri-ia-a-a[m-na-aš-ši-iš]	761.2.1.a iv 11
sg. nom. comm.	ta-ta-ri-ia-am-na-aš-ši-iš	761.3.2.b i 4'; 761.3.5.b l.col. 1' (⌈⌈)
sg. acc. comm.	ta-a-ta-ri-ya-am-ma-na-aš-ši-in	760.2 iii 18'
sg. acc. comm.	[t]a-ta-ar-ri-ia-a-[am-na-aš-ši-in]	761.2.1.a ii 3'
sg. acc. comm.	[t]a-ta-ar-ri-i[a-am-na-aš-ši-in]	762.1.g:3'
sg. acc. comm.	ta-ta-ri-ia-am-ma-na-aš-ši-in	760.2 ii 27
sg. acc. comm.	[ta-ta-ri-i]a-am-na-aš-ši-en	762.3.2 ii 8
sg. acc. comm.	ta-at-ri-ia-am-na-aš-š[i-in]	759.7:4'
sg. acc. comm.	ta-ta-ri-am-na-aš-ši-in	759.14 ii 8' (⌈), iii 2 (⌈)
pl. nom. comm.	[ta-ta-ri-ia-am-m]a-aš-ši-in-zi	759.13 i 18'
pl. acc. comm.	ta-a-ta-ri-ia-am-ma-na-aš-ši-in-za	760.2 ii 20
pl. acc. comm.	[ta-a-t]ar-ri-ia-am-ma-[aš-ši-in-za]	760.1.b:8'
pl. acc. comm.	ta-ta-ri-ia-am-ma-aš-ši-in-za	760.4 ii 13'

instr.-abl.	[ta-ta-ri-ia-a]m-na-aš-ša-a-ti	761.3.2.a iii 2'
poss. adj. pl.		
instr.-abl.	da-a-ta-ri-ia-am-na-aš-ša-an-za-ti	761.1.a:4' (I); 761.1.d obv. 5' (I); 761.1.f rev. 9' (I)
instr.-abl.	[ta-ta-ri-ya-am-n]a-aš-ša-an-za-ti	763.2.20 l.col. 7'
instr.-abl.	ta-ta-ri-ia-am-ma<-aš>-ša-an-za-ti	760.4 iii 7'
instr.-abl.	[ta-t]a-ri-ia-am-ma-na-a[š-ša-an-za-ti]	760.3.a iii? 4'
instr.-abl.	ta-tar-ri-ia-am-na-aš-ša-an-za-ti	759.6 ii? 5'
tataršuliš- mng unkn.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[t]a-tar-šu-[li]-iš	759.2.a ii 19"
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-a-tar-šu-ú-li-i[š]	759.8.c:5'
tatawan(ni)- 'father-like' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	ta-a-ta-wa-an-ni-i[š]	761.2.4 i 19'
tat(i)- 'father'		
sg. nom. comm.	ta-a-ti-iš(-)	761.2.4 i 19' (I); 763.1.3.a:16' (I)
sg. acc. comm.	ta-a-ti-in	763.1.6 ii? 10'
tati(ya/i)- 'paternal' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	ta-a-ti-i-i[š]	761.2.1.a iv 14
sg. nom. comm.	ta-ti-i-i[š]	761.4.2 iv 6'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-a-ti-i-ia-an	761.3.8 ii 5
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ta-a-ti-ia-an	760.1.a ii 9" (I); 760.2 ii 2; 762.3.5 r.col. 9' (I)
pl. nom. comm.	[d]a-a-ti-i-in-zi	761.3.8 i 6'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	[ta-a-t]i-e-ia	759.1 i 28
tawan(i)- 'upright' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	[d]a-a-ú-wa-ni-iš	762.2 ii 22
sg. nom. comm.	[t]a-a-wa-ni-iš	762.1.k ii? 5'
tawan(i)- mng unkn.		
instr.-abl.	ta-wa-na-a-ti	758.4 i 3
tawant(a)- 'eyes' (distrib.)		
pl. dat.	da-a-ú-wa-an-t[a-an-za]	762.2 ii 22
pl. dat.	ta-wa-an-ta-an-za	759.12 ii 2 (I); 762.1.k ii? 5' (I)
tawašš(a/i)- 'ear'		
instr.-abl.	ta-wa-aš-ša-ti	761.3.8 ii 8
taw(i)- 'eye'		
sg. nom. comm.	da-a-u-i-iš	761.2.1.a iv 9
instr.-abl.	[t]a-a-ú-wa-ti	761.3.8 ii 7
poss. adj.		
instr.-abl.	da-a-u-wa-aš-ša-ti	761.2.3.b ii? 8' (I); 761.3.8 iii 25'
instr.-abl.	ta-a-ú-wa-aš-š[a-ti-ti]-ia<-ta> (= tāuwaššati=ti=(y)ata)	761.3.8 iii 12'
poss. adj. pl.		
instr.-abl.	da-a-u-wa-aš-ša-an-za-ti	761.1.c obv. 9' (I), rev. 8" (I); 761.3.8 ii 14
instr.-abl.	[t]a-a-u-wa-aš-ša-an-za<-ti>	761.3.8 iii 8'
instr.-abl.	[da-wa-aš-š]a-an-za-ti	762.1.m iii 9'
tawīyan 'toward' (postpos./adv.)		
	ta-a-u-e-[ia-an]	761.2.1.d:11'

-ti refl. pron. 2/3 pers. sg.

-ti(-)

758.1 ii 42', 43'; 759.1 i 26, ii 12, 14, 15, 16, 28;
759.10.b iii 11', 14', 15', 16', 26', 27'; 760.3.b i
11", 13"; 760.7.a l.col. 6', 7', 8', 9' (J), 10' (J);
761.1.c obv. 5', 6', 8', 9', rev. 7", 8"; 761.1.d obv.
12'; 761.1.f rev. 6'; 761.2.2.b obv. 3', 4'; 761.2.4 i
16', 17', 18', 19'; 761.3.8 iii 7'; 762.1.c iv 10';
763.1.6 ii' 2'; 763.2.14 l.col. 2' (J); 763.2.15
r.col. 6'

tiyamm(i)- 'earth'

sg. nom. comm. ti-ia-am-mi-iš
sg. nom. comm. ti-ia-mi-i[š]
sg. erg. ti-ia-am-ma-an-ti-iš
sg. dat. ti-ia-a[m-mi]
sg. dat. ti-ia-mi
poss. adj.
sg. nom. comm. ti-ia-am-ma-aš-ši-iš
pl. nom. comm. [ti-ia-am-m]a-aš-ši-[in-z]i

758.1 ii 41', 42', 43' (J), 51', iii 28, 35
763.2.3 r.col. 5'
759.1 ii 15
762.3.2 iii 7'
759.2.a iii? 11"

760.2 ii 26; 761.2.1.a ii 1' (JJ)
762.3.2 iii 11'

titinant(i)- mng unkn.

sg. nom. comm. ti-in-ti-na-an-ti-iš

761.1.d obv. 8'

titit- '(eye-)pupil'

instr.-abl. ti-i-ti-i-ta-a-ti
instr.-abl. ti-ti-ta-a-ti

761.2.3.a r.col. 3' (J); 761.2.3.b ii? 9' (J)
761.1.c obv. 7' (J); 761.3.8 ii 14, iii 8' (J)

tiwali(ya/i)- 'divine' (adj.)

sg. voc. comm. ti-wa-li-ia
sg. voc. comm. ti-wa-a-li-ia

760.4 ii 11'
760.2 ii 18

tiwataniya- 'to enrage the Sun-god'

pret. sg. 3 ti-wa-ta-ni-ia-at-ta

759.1 i 23; 762.3.2 iii 9' (J)

tiwataniyamma- 'Sun-god's rage'

instr.-abl. ti-wa-ta-ni-ia-am-ma-ti
? ti-wa-ta-n[i-ia-am-ma-...]

759.6 ii? 4'
762.1.e r.col. 6'

-du pron. 2 sg. pers. dative

-du

758.5 r.col. 6' (J)

tuliya- 'assembly'

poss. adj.
sg. nom. comm. [tu-ú-l]i-ia-aš-ši-iš
sg. nom. comm. tu-li-ia-aš-ši-iš
sg. nom.-acc. n. [tu-ú-l]i-i-ia-aš-ša-an
sg. nom.-acc. n. tu-ú-li-ia-aš-ša-an

sg. nom.-acc. n. tu-li-ia-aš-[ša-an]
pl. nom.-acc. n. tu-ú-li-ia-aš-ša
instr.-abl. tu-ú-l[i-ia-aš-ša]-a-ti

761.2.1.a iv 16
761.4.2 iv 8'
761.2.1.a i 9'
759.1 i 31 (J); 760.2 ii 4; 761.2.3.b ii? 14'; 762.3.5
r.col. 12' (JJ)
762.1.c iv 4'
761.3.8 iii 32'
760.2 iii 8'

tumma(n)taimm(a/i)- 'glorified' (adj.)

sg. nom. comm. tu-u-um-ma-a-ta-i-im-mi-iš

761.2.1.c:4'

tummanti(ya)- ‘to hear, to listen’		
pret. sg. 3	tu-um-ma-an-te-et-ta	761.3.8 ii 8
pret. pl. 3	[tu]-u-ma-an-ti-in-ta	762.3.2 iii 12’
?	[t]u-um-ma-[an-ti(-)...]	762.1.a:4’
dup(a)i- ‘to strike’		
pres. sg. 3	du-ú-pí-ti	761.1.d rev. 20’; 761.2.2.a obv. 2’ (I); 761.3.2.b i 1’ (I)
ptc.		
sg. nom. comm.	du-ú-pa-im-mi-i-iš	759.10.b iii 28’
sg. nom. comm.	du-ú-pa-i[m-mi-iš]	759.10.b iii 29’
sg. acc. comm.	du-pa-a-i-im-mi-[in]	759.7:3’
sg. acc. comm.	[du]-pa-a-im-mi-in	761.1.c rev. 10’’
sg. acc. comm.	du-ú-pa-i-mi-in	759.10.b iii 12’, 13’
sg. acc. comm.	du-ú-pa-im-mi-in	759.10.b iii 18’, 19’
dupana- ‘striking’		
sg. dat.	du-ú-pa-na	761.1.c obv. 16’
dupani(ya/i)- ‘of striking’ (adj.)		
instr.-abl.	du-ú-[pa]-ni-ia-ti	761.1.b obv. 7’
dupadupar- ‘striking down’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	du-ú-pa-du-pa-ar-ša	759.1 iv 25’; 759.3 iv 7’’ (I); 759.4 iv 2’ (I)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	du-ú-p[a-du-pár-ša]	759.5:9’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	du-pí-du-pa-ar-ša	759.2.b iv 2’ (I); 759.2.c iv 6’ (I)
tura- ‘to handle (something) with the <i>turi</i> -tool’		
pret. sg. 3	tu-u-r[a-a-a]t-ta	758.1 ii 34’
pret. sg. 3	tu-úr-[r]a-at-ta	758.2.1 ii 10’
(^{GIS})tur(i)- a tool		
instr.-abl.	^{GIS} tu-u-ra-a-ti-pa-ta (= ^{GIS} tūrāti=pa=ta)	758.1 ii 34’
instr.-abl.	tu-u-ra-ti	758.2.1 ii 10’
dušdušša- ‘to place around’		
?	du-uš-du-uš-[...]	763.1.3.a:17’
dudupa- ‘to strike’ (imperf.)		
imper. sg. 2	du-ú-du-pa	763.1.2 iii 8’
tu(wa)- ‘to put’		
pres. pl. 1	du-un-ni	762.3.2 iii 8’
pret. sg. 3	du-ú-wa-at-ta	762.2 i 13’
opt. pl. 1	du-ú-un-du	762.2 ii 15, 16 (I)
opt. pl. 3	du-ú-wa-an-du	759.1 iii 29’
tuwaš- a type of food		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	du-ú-wa-ša	761.1.d obv. 11’
u- ‘to drink’		
ptc.		
pl. nom. comm.	[ú-wa-am]-mi-in-zi	761.3.3:4’

un(a)i- ‘to know’		
ptc.		
pl. nom. comm.	ú-na-i-im-mi-i[n-zi]	759.10.a i 5’
unza pron. 2 pl. pers.		
pl. dat.	u-un-za-ḥ[a-a]t-ta (= ünza=ḥa=tta)	759.1 iii 8’
upa- ‘to bring’		
ptc.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ú-pa-am-ma-an	758.1 iii 18
upnall(a/i)- mng unkn.		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	ú-up-na-al-la	763.1.3.a:14’
urann(i)- ‘grandmother’		
sg. nom. comm.	u-ra-an-ni-iš-pa-ti (= uranniš=pa=ti)	761.2.4 i 17’
sg. acc. comm.	u-r[a-an-ni-in]	761.2.4 i 16’
urannu- ‘to grow’		
opt. pl. 3	u-ra-an-nu-un-du	762.2 i 31’; 763.1.6 iii’ 11’ (I)
?	u-ra-an-n[u-...]	763.3.4 iii 2’
ušš(i)- ‘year’		
instr.-abl.	uš-ša-a-ti	761.3.8 ii 40
see also MU(.KAM)		
utar- ‘word, matter’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ú-tar-ša	758.1 ii 13’, 38’, iii 38 (I); 758.2.2 iii 9’; 758.3.2 iii’ 9’ (I); 761.3.2.a iii 7’
poss. adj.		
sg. acc. comm.	[ú-u]t-na-aš-ši-in	761.2.1.a ii 2’
pl. acc. comm.	ú-ut-na-aš-ši-in-za	760.2 ii 19
pl. acc. comm.	ú-ut-na-aš-ši-in-zi	760.4 ii 12’
utra mng unkn.		
?	ú-ut-ra	763.1.2 iii 9’
u(wa)lantalli(ya/i)- ‘of the dead’ (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	ú-la-an-tal-l[i-iš]	758.3.3:7’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	u-wa-la-an-ta-li-ia-an	761.1.b obv. 6’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ú-la-an-ta-al-li-ia-an	761.3.8 ii 2
sg. nom.-acc. n.	u-la-an-ta-al-li-ia-an	758.1 iii 5; 758.2.1 iii 13’ (I)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	wa<-la-an-ta>-a[l-li]-ia-an	761.3.8 iii 30’
instr.-abl.	[u-la-an-ta]l-li-ia-t[i]	761.1.c obv. 3’
uwaliya- ‘to kill’		
pres. sg. 2	u-wa-li-ia-a[t-ti]	763.1.3.a:15’
uwani(ya)- ‘rock-face’		
sg. dat.	u-wa-a-ni-ia	758.1 iii 21
instr.-abl.	u-wa-a-[ni-ia-ti]	758.1 iii 18
instr.-abl.	u-wa-ni-ia-[ti]	758.2.2 iii 3’

^{UZI}uwašu(wa)- a body part

sg. erg. [^{UZI}u-wa-š]u-wa-an-ti-iš 761.3.5.b r.col. 11'
sg. acc. comm. ^{UZI}u-wa-šu-wa-[an] 761.3.5.b r.col. 11'

wayant(i)- 'animal'

sg. dat. u-wa-ya-an-ti 761.1.c obv. 1" (J); 761.1.d rev. 11' (J)
sg. dat. wa-ya-an-ti 761.3.8 ii 36

wahra- 'pain' (vel sim.)

sg. acc. comm. wa-aḥ-ḥa-[ra-an] 760.8:1'
sg. acc. comm. wa-aḥ-ra-an 759.3 i 3' (J), 9' (J); 760.2 iii 24'; 760.4 iii 19';
760.5 ii 4' (J); 760.7.b:4' (J); 761.3.5.a:4' (J);
761.3.8 ii 29, iii 36' (J); 761.4.2 iv 11' (J); 763.2.4.b
iv 3 (J)

walant(i)- 'dead spirit'

sg. nom. comm. ú-la-an-ti-iš 760.2 ii 26; 760.4 ii 20' (J)

walanti(ya/i)- 'of the dead' (adj.)

sg. nom.-acc. n. [wa-a-la-a]n-ti-an 763.1.4 l.col. 2'
pl. nom. comm. [wa]-a-la-an-ti-in-z[i] 762.3.4 r.col. 12'
pl. nom.-acc. n. [w]a-la-an-te-ia 759.1 i 27
pl. nom.-acc. n. [wa-la-an]-ti-e-ia 761.2.5 iii' 3
instr.-abl. wa-la-an-t[i-ia-ti] 763.2.19:4'

walzamm(i)- mng unkn.

sg. nom. comm. wa-al-za-am-mi-iš 761.1.c obv. 16'; 761.3.8 iii 18' (J)

wanatiyatiya- 'female genitalia'

sg. dat. wa-na-ti-ia-ti-ia 761.3.5.c ii' 3' (J), 4'

wanatt(i)- 'woman'

sg. nom. comm. wa-na-at-ti-iš 763.1.3.a:12'
see also MUNUS

wanit(a)i- 'to petrify'

ptc.
sg. nom. comm. ^{NA4}u-wa-ni-i-ta-im-ma-an 762.2 ii 17

war- 'water'

sg. nom.-acc. n. wa-a-ar-ša 758.1 iii 17 (J), 19 (J), 25 (J); 758.2.2 iii 2' (J)

warannaḥit- 'speech'

sg. nom.-acc. n. [ú-wa-ra-an-n]a-a-ḥi-ša 762.1.f iii 3
sg. nom.-acc. n. ú-wa-ra-an-na-ḥi-ša 760.2 ii 23; 760.4 ii 17' (J); 761.1.c rev. 9' (J)
sg. nom.-acc. n. wa-a-ra-na-[ḥi-ša] 761.3.8 iii 3'
sg. nom.-acc. n. [wa-ra-an-na]-a-ḥi-ša 761.1.b obv. 10'
sg. nom.-acc. n. u-ra-an-ni-ḥi-š[a?] 763.2.10:6'

warann(i)- 'speaker'

sg. nom. comm. wa-ra-an-ni-iš 761.3.5.c ii' 9', 15'

warḥitant(i)- mng unkn.

sg. nom. comm. wa-ar-ḥi-i-ta-ti-iš 761.3.5.b l.col. 5'

wari(ya)- 'liquid'

pl. ? [...(·)w]a-ri-e-a 763.3.2 l.col. 2'

warma(i)- ‘to perform conjurations’		
pret. pl. 1	wa-a-ar-ma-a-ú-u[n-ta]	760.3.b i 20”
pret. pl. 1	[wa-a-ar-ma]-a-un-ta	763.1.6 ii’ 9’
pret. pl. 1	wa-ar-ma-a-ú-un-ta	760.3.b iv 1’ (I); 761.2.4 iv 14’ (I); 761.2.5 iii’ 1 (I)
warpall(a/i)- ‘warlike’ (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	[wa-r]a-pa-a[l-li-iš]	761.1.c obv. 1”
sg. nom. comm.	[wa-ar-pa-al]-li-iš	761.3.8 ii 36
warr(a)- ‘vessel’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	wa-ar-ra-an-[za’]	762.2 i 19’
wašh(a)- ‘treasure’		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	wa-aš-ḥa	758.1 ii 32’
wašḥašaur(a)- a type of tool		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	wa-aš-ḥa-ša-u-ra	762.2 i 27’
wašku(wa)lilm(a)- ‘fault’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	wa-aš-ku-wa-al-li-ma-an-za	760.3.b i 5’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	wa-aš-ku-wa-al-li-im-ma-an-za	763.1.3.b iv 4’ (I); 763.1.4 l.col. 7’ (I); 763.1.6 ii’ 8’ (I)
sg. erg.	[wa-aš-ku-li-im-ma-a]n-ti-iš	763.1.2 iii 15’
instr.-abl.	wa-aš-ku-li-im-ma-a-ti	762.2 i 24’ (I), 26’
poss. adj.		
pl. acc. comm.	[wa-aš-ku-li-im-ma-aš]-ši-in-za	763.1.2 iii 4’
wašpant(i)- ‘dress, shroud’		
poss. adj.		
pl. nom. comm.	wa-aš-pa-an-ta-aš-ši-in-zi	761.1.d obv. 15’; 761.1.f obv. 10 (I); 761.2.2.a:6’ (I)
wašš(a)- ‘table’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[w]a-aš-ša-an-za	763.1.3.a:10’
instr.-abl.	wa-aš-ša-ti	763.1.3.a:10’
waššaraḥit- ‘favor’		
instr.-abl.	[w]a-aš-ša-a-ra-a-[ḥi-ta-ti]	760.9 obv. 2’
instr.-abl.	wa-aš-ša-ra-a-ḥi-ta-ti	763.1.6 ii’ 15’
instr.-abl.	[wa-aš-ša-r]a-ḥi-i-ta-t[i]	763.2.12 rev.? 1’
instr.-abl.	wa-aš-ša-ra-ḥi-ta-ti	760.2 ii 9; 761.1.b obv. 15’ (I); 761.1.c obv. 4” (I); 761.1.d rev. 14’ (I)
waššin(a/i)- ‘body’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	wa-aš-ši-na-an-za	761.3.8 ii 37
sg. dat.	wa-aš-ši-ni	760.4 iii 11’
pl. dat.	wa-aš-ši-na-an-za	761.1.d rev. 12’; 761.3.6:8’ (I)
poss. adj.		
sg. nom. comm.	wa-aš-ši-na-aš-ši-iš	761.1.c obv. 15’
pl. nom. comm.	wa-aš-ši-na-aš-ši-in-zi	758.6 ii 16’ (I); 759.10.a i 3’ (I)
wašu- ‘goodness, goods’		
poss. adj.		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	wa-a-šu-wa-aš-ša-an-z[a]	759.1 ii 24
wi- ‘to appear’		
mid. pres. sg. 3	ú-i-it-ta-ri	759.6 ii’ 11’ (I); 760.2 iii 12’ (I); 760.4 iii 13’ (I)

wid(a/i)- ‘lake’		
pl. dat.	ú-i-da-an-za	760.2 ii 6
wiš(a)i- ‘to appear’		
pret. sg. 3	ú-i-ši-ta	759.12 ii 1 (I); 760.3.b ii 8’ (I); 761.1.a:8’ (I); 761.1.b obv. 2’; 761.1.f obv. 3; 761.2.4 i 14’; 761.3.2.c i 5; 762.1.i:5’; 762.1.k ii’ 3’; 762.2 i 19’, ii 20
wita(i)- ‘to smite’		
opt. pl. 3	ú-i-da-a-in-du	759.1 iii 28’
wital- ‘target for smiting’		
instr.-abl.	ú-i-ta-a-la-ti	763.2.10:4’ (I); 763.2.9:7’
witamman- ‘blow’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ú-i-ta-a[m-ma-an]	763.2.10:4’
witantalli(ya/i)- ‘for smiting’ (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ú-i-ta-an-ta-al-li-[a]n	761.3.8 ii 1
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ú-i-ta-an-tal-li-ia-a[n]	761.1.b obv. 4’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ú-i-ta-an-ta-al-li-ia-an-za	761.3.8 ii 9
instr.-abl.	[ú-i-t]a-an-tal-li-ia-ti	761.1.b obv. 8’
instr.-abl.	[ú]-i-ta-an<-ta>-al-li-[ia]-ti	763.2.20 l.col. 8’
witatt(a)- ‘blow’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[ú-i-ta]-a-at-ta-an	762.1.d l.col. 7’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ú-i-ta-at-ta-an	761.3.8 ii 11; 762.1.i:8’ (I)
witpan(i)- ‘testicles’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ú-i-it-pa-ni-im-pa-an	759.1 iii 28’
za- ‘this’ (demons. pron.)		
sg. nom. comm.	za-aš	760.3.b i 11” (I), ii 12’ (I); 761.1.c obv. 8’, 9’; 761.3.8 ii 10, iii 11’; 762.2 i 22’, 30’
sg. nom. comm.	za-a-aš	758.1 ii 15’, 26’; 758.2.1 ii 4’; 759.10.a i 13’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	za-a	758.1 iii 26; 762.2 i 27’
sg. dat.	za-a-[at-ti]	758.1 iii 23
pl. nom. comm.	zi-i-in-z[i]	759.10.a i 8’
pl. nom. comm.	zi-in-z[i]	759.10.a i 10’
pl. acc. comm.	zi-in-za	758.6 ii 22’ (I); 759.7:7’, 8’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	za-a-ḥa (= zā=ḥa)	758.1 ii 44’
poss. adj.		
sg. acc. comm.	za-ši-i-in	762.3.4 r.col. 20’
zamman- ‘witchcraft, bewitchment’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	za-am-ma-an	759.6 ii’ 8’; 760.4 iii 10’
zammitat(i)- ‘flour’		
sg. nom. comm.	za-am-mi-ta-a-ti-iš	762.2 i 22’
zamnānt(i)- ‘bewitched’ (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	za-am-ma-an-za	758.1 ii 4’; 758.2.2 iii 9”
pl. nom.-acc. n.	za-am-ma-an-ta	758.1 ii 25’ (I); 763.1.3.a:16’
zanda ‘down’ (adv.)		
	za-an-da	759.10.a i 9’; 759.10.b iii 12’, 13’, 18’, 19’, 27’ (I), 29’ (I), iv 23’ (I); 763.1.2 iii 2’
	za-an-ta	759.7:3’ (I); 760.9 obv. 11’; 762.2 ii 3

zappa- ‘to treat (ritually)’

pres. sg. 2	za-ap-pa-aš-ši	761.2.5 ii ¹ 6’
pret. sg. 2	za-ap-pa-at-ta	758.2.2 iii 9”
pret. sg. 3	za-ap-pa-at-ta	758.1 ii 38’; 758.5 r.col. 9’ (I)
pret. pl. 1	za-ap-pu-un-ta	759.10.a i 19’ (I), 20’ (I); 763.1.3.a:10’ (I), 11’
pret. pl. 1	za-ap-pu-un-da!	763.1.3.a:9’ (I)
?	za-a-a[p-...]	759.10.a i 14’

zara(i)- ‘to chop, to pierce’

pres. sg. 3	za-r[i-i]-du-wa-t[a] (= zarīdu=(w)ata)	758.3.1 ii 13
ptc.		
pl. nom. comm.	za-ra-a-i-mi-i[n-zi]	763.2.8 r.col. 9’

zari(ya/i)- mng unkn.

pl. dat.	za-ar-ri-ia-an-za	760.2 ii 6
pl. dat.	za-ri-e-ia-an-za	761.2.1.a i 11’
instr.-abl.	[za [?]]-re-e-ia-ti	761.2.1.a i 3’

zart- ‘heart’

sg. nom.-acc. n.	za-a-ar-za	760.3.b i 7’ (I); 762.1.j r.col. 12’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	za-a[r-za]	758.5 r.col. 7’
see also ^{UZUŠĀ}		

zarwani(ya/i)- ‘horned’ (adj.)

instr.-abl.	za-ar-wa-ni-ia-ti	761.3.8 ii 13
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zašta- mng unkn.

pret. sg. 2	za-a-aš-ta-a-at-ta	763.1.3.a:13’
pret. sg. 2	za-aš-ta-a-at-ta	763.1.2 iii 11’

zašt(i)- ‘this’ (demons. pron.)

sg. dat.	za-a-aš-ti	760.3.b i 7’, 8’; 762.1.j r.col. 9’
pl. dat.	za-aš-ta-an-za	758.1 iii 6
instr.-abl.	za-aš-t[a-ti]	759.12 ii 4

zati ‘thus’ (adv.)

za-a-ti-i	759.10.b iv 22’; 759.10.c:3’ (I); 760.3.b i 9”, iii 10’; 760.9 obv. 11’ (I); 762.1.l r.col. 5’
za-ti-i	760.5 ii 9’
zi-ti-pa-du-...]	761.1.c rev. 6”
(= ziti=pa=du=...])	

zadu- mng unkn.

opt. sg. 3	za-a-du-ud-du	762.2 ii 3
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zawi(n) ‘here’

za-a-ú-i(-)	758.1 ii 8’, 31’, ii 41’, iii 37; 758.3.2 iii ² 5’; 758.5 r.col. 6’; 760.3.b ii 8’; 760.7.a l.col. 3’; 761.1.b obv. 2’ (I); 763.2.12 obv. [?] 7’ (II)
za-a-ú-i-in(-)	761.1.c obv. 14’; 763.2.5 ii 8’
za-a-ú-i-na-aš	761.2.4 i 14’; 762.1.k ii ² 3’ (I); 762.2 ii 20
(= zāuin=aš)	
za-ú-i-na-aš (= zauin=aš)	759.12 ii 1; 760.1.b:6’ (I); 761.1.c rev. 4”; 761.1.f obv. 3 (I); 763.1.3.a:12’ (I)

	za-ú-i-na-ta (= zauin=ata)	763.2.7 iii' 1
	za-ú-i-[ya-aš] (= zaui=(y)aš)	761.1.c obv. 8'
	za-ú-i-ya-ta (= zaui=(y)ata)	762.2 i 19'
zazzara- 'to chop' (imperf.)		
mid. sg. 3	za-az-za-ra-a-ta-r[a-ta]	762.3.6 r.col. 5'
zi- 'to lie'		
mid. pres. sg. 3	zi-i-ia-ri	758.2.1 ii 9' (I); 763.1.3.a:8'
mid. pres. sg. 3	zi-ia-ar	758.1 ii 31'
zila 'in the future' (adv.)		
	zi-i-la(-)	758.1 iii 19 (I); 758.3.3:15" (I); 760.3.b i 25"; 761.1.b obv. 13'; 763.1.2 iii 8' (I); 763.2.7 iii' 3
	zi-la	758.1 iii 20 (I); 758.3.3:14"; 759.10.b iv 24', 27'
zit(i)- 'man'		
sg. acc. comm.	zi-ti-in	763.1.1 i 5
see also LÚ		
zuwan(i)- 'dog'		
sg. nom. comm.	zu-ú-wa-ni-i-iš	761.3.2.b i 7'
sg. nom. comm.	[zu-w]a-a-an-ni-iš	761.3.5.b l.col. 5'

SUMEROGRAMS

Note that Sumerograms are not assigned a case unless one is explicitly marked in the text with a phonetic complement or a preposition.

(GU ⁴)ĀB 'cow'		
sg.	GU ⁴ ĀB	763.1.2 ii 5'
AD.AŠ mng unkn.		
	AD.AŠ	760.1.a i 7'
ALAM 'shape, frame'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	ALAM-ša	760.2 ii 22; 763.2.10:5'
see also taru-		
AMA 'maternal' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	AMA-i-iš	761.4.2 iv 6'
sg. nom. comm.	[A]MA-iš	761.2.1.a iv 14
sg. nom.-acc. n.	AMA-ia-an	760.2 ii 2; 761.2.1.a i 6' (I)
pl. nom. comm.	AMA-in-zi	762.1.b l.col. 4'
see also anni(ya/i)-		
NA ⁴ ARA ₅ 'millstone'		
sg.	NA ⁴ ARA ₅	761.1.f obv. 4 (I), 5 (I)
see also NA ⁴ harr(a/i)-		
BA.BA.ZA 'porridge'		
sg.	BA.BA.ZA	760.3.b ii 3' (I); 762.2 i 16'

BABBAR ‘light, white’ (adj.)

sg.	BABBAR	760.1.a i 10; 760.2 i 5; 761.3.8 ii 19; 762.1.i:5’
see also <i>arrazza-</i>		

BAL ‘to sacrifice, to dedicate, to consecrate with’

pres. sg. 1	BAL- <i>hi</i>	758.2.1 i 3
pres. sg. 3	BAL- <i>ti</i>	759.10.b iv 10’ (]); 760.3.b i 3’
pres. sg. 3	BAL- <i>an-[ti]</i>	762.2 iv 25’
see also <i>šipant-</i>		

G^{IS}BANŠUR ‘table’

sg. dat.	A-NA G ^{IS} BANŠUR	760.4 ii 6’; 762.2 iv 30’
abl.	G ^{IS} BANŠUR- <i>az</i>	759.1 iv 15’ (]), 16’

G^{IS}BANŠUR AD.KID ‘wickerwork table’

sg.	G ^{IS} BANŠUR AD.KID	760.1.a i 5’
sg. dat.	A-NA G ^{IS} BANŠUR AD.KID	759.1 iv 18’ (]); 759.2.a ii 10” (]); 760.2 ii 14, 29

DUGDĪLIM.GAL ‘bowl’

sg.	DUGDĪLIM.GAL	759.1 i 12, 13, iii 12’; 760.1.a i 5’ (])
sg. dat.	A-NA DUGDĪLIM.GAL	759.1 i 21; 761.2.1.c r.col. 11’; 762.3.2 iii 3’

DINGIR ‘deity’

sg.	DINGIR	763.2.4.a rev.? 3’
sg. dat.	A-NA DINGIR-LIM	760.3.a ii? 14’ (]); 760.7.a l.col. 1’ (])
sg. dat.	PA-NI DINGIR-LIM	761.3.5.c ii? 7’, 13’
sg. dat.	DINGIR-LIM-ni	758.1 ii 3’ *; 758.3.1 ii 4
pl.	DINGIR ^{MES}	759.1 ii 5, 9; 762.1.h:4’; 763.2.4.a rev.? 2’
pl. nom. comm.	[DI]NGIR ^{MES} -ni-in-zi	758.1 iii 27
pl. nom. comm.	DINGIR ^{MES} -in-zi	759.1 ii 4, iii 26’; 759.8.b ii? 3’ (]); 760.4 iii 10’, 29’ (]), 36’ (]); 760.5 ii 8’ (]); 760.9 obv. 10’ (]); 760.10 iv? 2’ (]); 761.3.8 i 5’, 7’ (]); 762.1.b l.col. 6’, 7’; 762.1.d l.col. 3’ (]); 762.3.2 iii 11’ (])
pl. nom. comm.	[DINGIR ^{MES} -e]n-zi	758.1 iii 35
pl. nom. comm.	DINGIR ^{MES} -zi	759.10.b iv 22’ (]); 761.1.b obv. 7’; 763.2.3 r.col. 8’ (]), 9’ (])
pl. dat.	A-NA DINGIR ^{MES}	759.1 ii 21
pl. dat.	DINGIR ^{MES} -an-za	758.1 ii 39’, iii 6, 38 (]); 758.2.1 iii 14’ (]); 758.3.2 iii? 10’; 758.3.3:1” (]); 759.8.b ii? 5’ (]); 759.10.a iv 18’ (]); 762.3.2 iii 6’ (])
pl. dat.	DINGIR ^{MES} -za	758.1 ii 13’
poss. adj. pl.		
instr.-abl.	[DINGIR ^{MES} -an-za]-ti	763.1.6 ii! 15’
instr.-abl.	[DINGIR ^{MES} -aš-š]a-an-za-ti	761.1.b obv. 15’
instr.-abl.	DINGIR ^{MES} -aš-ša-za-ti	760.2 ii 9
see also <i>maššan(i)-</i>		

DINGIR^{MES}-li- ‘divine’ (adj.)

sg. acc. comm.	DINGIR ^{MES} -li-in	760.6 ii? 11’
see also <i>maššanall(a/i)-</i>		

DUB.n.KAM ‘nth tablet’

sg.	DUB.n.KAM	759.1 iv 25’; 759.2.b iv 2’ (]); 759.2.c iv 6’; 759.3 iv 7”; 760.1.a iv 2”; 761.1.c l.e. 1 (]); 761.1.f rev. 11’
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DUB.SAR ‘scribe’		
sg.	DUB.SAR	762.1.c l.e. 2 (I)
pl.	DUB.SAR ^{MES}	762.1.c l.e. 1
^{LU} DUGUD ‘a dignitary’		
pl. dat.	[^{LU.M} E ^S DUGUD-la-an-z[a]	763.2.4.b i 8’
DUMU ‘child, son’		
sg.	DUMU	759.2.b iv 5’
pl. instr.-abl.	DUMU ^{MES} -ti	762.2 i 29’
DUMU.LÚ.U ₁₉ .LU ‘human’		
sg. dat.?	[A-N]A [?] DUMU.L[Ú.U ₁₉ .LU]	759.4 i 7’
DUMU.MUNUS ‘daughter’		
pl. instr.-abl.	DUMU.MUNUS ^{MES} -ti	762.2 i 29’
E.ĪB ‘belt’		
sg.	E.ĪB	760.1.a i 4’
^{KUŠ} E.SIR ‘shoe’		
pl.	^{KUŠ} E.SIR ^{HĀ}	758.2.1 i 6; 758.2.2 ii 7
Ē ‘house’		
sg. dat.	Ē-ri	758.1 iii 14; 759.1 ii 17; 759.2.a iii 19’
abl.	Ē-er-za	758.1 iii 41
pl.	Ē ^{HĀ}	759.5:8’
see also <i>pēr</i> / <i>parna-</i>		
EGIR ‘future’ (adj.)		
	EGIR	760.2 ii 9
	EGIR-pa-ra-an-ta-ti	761.1.c obv. 4” (I); 761.1.d rev. 13’ (I)
see also apparant(i)-		
EGIR- <i>anda</i> ‘afterward, behind’ (adv.)		
	EGIR-an-da	758.2.1 iv 9’ (I); 15’ (I); 19’ (I); 758.3.2 iii [?] 3’, 11’ (I); 758.6 ii 4’ (I); 759.1 i 6, ii 9, 32, iv 20’; 759.8.b ii 11’ (I); 759.8.c:10’; 759.12 ii [?] 12 (I); 760.2 ii 15; 761.2.1.b:6’; 761.2.1.c r.col. 7’, 12’ (I); 761.2.1.d:5’ (I); 761.2.1.e:8’ (I); 761.2.5 ii [!] 12’; 761.3.8 ii 20, 21 (2 x); 762.2 iii 2’ (I); iv 11’; 762.3.2 ii 1 (I); 762.3.4 r.col. 6’ (I); 763.2.5 ii 5’; 763.2.13:5’; 763.2.14 l.col. 5’ (I); 763.2.15 r. col. 10’ (I); 763.2.23 r.col. 6’ (I)
EGIR-pa ‘back, again’ (prev.)		
	EGIR-pa	759.1 i 3, ii 21; 759.8.b ii [?] 10’, 13’; 760.2 ii 13; 760.4 ii 5’ (I); 762.3.5 r.col. 5’
EGIR.U ₄ ‘future time’		
sg. dat.	I-NA EGIR.U ₄ -MI	758.2.1 iv 13’ (I)
instr.-abl.	EGIR.U ₄ -MI ^{HĀ} -ti	760.2 ii 9
^{UZU} ĒLLAG.GÜN.A ‘colored kidney’		
sg. acc. comm.	^{UZU} ĒLLAG.GÜN.A-in	761.3.5.b r.col. 8’

EME ‘tongue’

sg.	EME	758.1 ii 5'; 759.3 i 5', 6'; 762.1.a:8'; 762.3.2 ii 4
sg. nom. comm.	EME-iš	758.3.3:6'; 759.14 ii 3'; 760.9 obv. 15' (I), 16' (I); 761.1.d obv. 13', 14', rev. 21' (I), 24'; 761.1.f obv. 9 (I); 761.2.1.a iv 8; 761.2.2.a obv. 5'; 761.3.2.b i 6'; 761.3.5.b l.col. 4' (I)
sg. acc. comm.	EME-in	759.3 i 8' (I); 759.10.b iii 14', 19'; 759.14 iii 1 (I); 760.2 iii 17', 19', 25'; 760.5 ii 5' (I), 8'; 761.1.a:2' (I); 761.1.c rev. 10" (I), 11" (I); 761.1.f rev. 7'; 761.3.2.b i 10'; 761.3.5.b l.col. 8' (I), 14'; 761.3.8 ii 30, iii 37'; 762.1.g:4' (I); 762.2 ii 5; 763.2.4.b iv 5 (I); 763.2.17:2' (I)
sg. acc. comm.	EME-en	762.3.2 ii 7 (I), 9
sg. acc. comm.	[E]ME-an	759.6 iii? 11'
pl.	EME ^{HA}	760.4 iii 33'; 760.5 ii 11' (I); 763.2.8 r.col. 4' (I), 6', 7', 10' (I)
pl.	EME ^{MES} -in-zi	761.2.1.a iv 1, 2
instr.	EME-it	762.3.2 iii 4' (I); 763.2.6 iii? 1'
instr.-abl.	EME-ti	759.6 ii? 6' (I); 760.3.a iii? 5' (I); 760.4 iii 6' (I); 761.1.a:3'; 761.1.c obv. 4' (I); 761.1.d obv. 4' (I); 761.1.f rev. 8' (I), 10'; 761.3.2.a iii 3'; 763.2.19:2'; 763.2.20 l.col. 7'; 763.2.23 l.col. 2'

EN-... ‘lord’

sg. nom. comm.	EN-aš	760.3.a ii? 15'; 760.3.b i 9', 23" (I); 760.4 iii 5'; 761.1.b obv. 9'; 761.1.d obv. 3' (I); 761.2.1.d:8'; 761.3.5.b l.col. 6'; 761.3.8 ii 37'; 762.1.f iii 1; 762.2 i 21', 23'; 763.1.6 iii? 5' (I); 763.2.9:8'; 763.2.10:5' (I)
sg. voc.	EN-ia	760.2 ii 18
sg. acc. comm.	EN-an	760.2 ii 27; 760.3.b iii 3'; 760.4 ii 15'; 760.7.a l.col. 4'; 761.1.d obv. 13', rev. 21'; 761.1.f obv. 7; 761.3.2.b i 2' (I); 763.1.2 iii 16'
sg. dat.	EN-ia	759.1 iii 25'; 760.2 ii 7; 761.2.1.b:12' (I)
pl. nom. comm.	EN-an-zi	762.1.b l.col. 4'
pl. acc. comm.	EN-an-za	763.1.2 iii 4'
pl. acc. comm.	EN ^{MES} -an-za	760.2 ii 21; 760.4 ii 14'
pl. dat.	EN-an-z[a]	759.3 iv 7'

EN SISKUR/SISKUR ‘ritual patron’

sg.	EN SISKUR	759.1 i 39, ii 18, 30, iii 21', iv 9', 20'; 759.6 ii? 3' (I); 760.3.a ii? 13' (I); 760.3.b i 2' (I), 2" (I); 760.4 iii 3' (I); 760.9 obv. 6'; 760.10 iii? 1' (I); 761.3.2.a iii 5'; 761.3.8 ii 27; 762.1.j r.col. 7' (I); 762.1.k ii? 7' (I); 762.2 i 5', 9' (I), 14', ii 1, 24, iv 24' (I); 762.3.6 r.col. 1' (I); 763.2.2 rev. 8'
sg.	EN SISKUR	758.1 ii 12', 13'; 758.2.1 ii 3', iii 2' (I), 4', iv 7' (I); 758.2.2 ii 4 (I), 7 (I), 15, iii 3"; 758.3.1 ii 11 (I); 759.2.a ii 8"; 759.10.a iv 14' (I), 19' (I), 24'; 760.2 iii 22'; 760.5 ii 3' (I); 761.3.5.b l.col. 11'; 763.1.3.b i 5' (I); 763.1.6 ii? 6' (I), 12'; 763.2.2 rev. 1' (I); 763.2.12 obv.? 2'

sg. gen.	ŠA EN SÍSKUR	758.1 ii 40'; 758.2.1 (I); 758.3.1 i 6' (I); 758.3.3:2'
sg. dat.	A-NA EN SISKUR	758.3.3:3'; 759.1 ii 5, iii 19' (I), iv 15'; 759.3 iv 17' (I); 760.3.a ii 2' (I), 8', iii 2' 6' (I); 760.4 ii 24', iii 14' (I); 760.9 obv. 8'; 761.3.1 iv 1'; 761.3.2.a iii 4'; 761.3.8 ii 19 (I), 26; 762.1.k ii 2' 1' (I); 762.2 i 18'; 762.3.2 ii 1 (I); 763.2.9:2'; 763.2.15 r.col. 3' 758.2.1 iv 12'; 758.2.2 iii 6' (I); 758.3.3:4" (I), 11"; 759.1 iii 30'; 760.2 ii 12, 28, 32, iii 21'; 760.5 ii 2' (I); 761.3.8 iii 33' (I); 761.4.2 iv 9'; 763.2.2 obv. 8' (I), rev. 6'; 763.2.17:3' (I)
sg. dat.	A-NA EN SÍSKUR	
see also EN, SISKUR/SÍSKUR and ^(LÚ) BĒL SÍSKUR		
^{GIŠ} ERIN 'cedar'		
sg.	^{GIŠ} ERIN	759.1 iv 11'; 759.3 iv 17', 18' (I)
sg. acc. comm.	^{GIŠ} ERIN-in	759.2.a iii 2' 4"
ÉSAG 'storage pit'		
pl. dat.	ÉSAG ^{HÁ} -aš	761.2.1.c r.col. 5'
GA.KIN.AG 'cheese'		
sg. gen.	ŠA GA.KIN.AG	758.1 i 6'; 758.2.1 i 11; 758.3.1 i 10'
^{UZU} GABA 'chest'		
abl.	^{UZU} GABA-az	761.3.8 ii 21
^{GIŠ} GAG 'peg, nail'		
pl.	^{GIŠ} GAG ^{HÁ}	762.3.4 r.col. 6', 7'
pl. dat.	A-NA ^{GIŠ} GAG ^{HÁ}	762.1.j r.col. 8'
^{GI} GAG.Ú.TAG.GA 'ARROW'		
SG.	^{GI} GAG.Ú.TAG.GA	763.2.4.a obv. 2' 6'
sg. acc. comm.	[G] ^{GI} GAG.Ú.TAG.GA-in	763.2.4.a obv. 2' 5'
GAL 'large, great'		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	GAL-li	760.1.a i 6, iv 6"; 761.1.c l.e. 1 (I); 761.1.f rev. 12'; 761.3.4 rev. 2'
see also šalli- and RABU		
^(DUG) GAL.GIR ₄ 'ceramic cup'		
sg.	^{DUG} GAL.GIR ₄	759.1 i 9; 760.1.a i 6'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 12' (I)
sg.	GAL.GIR ₄	758.1 iii 31 (I); 758.2.2 iii 4"; 758.3.2 iii 2' 11'; 759.8.a:5'; 763.2.2 obv. 5' (I)
sg. dat.	A-NA ^{DUG} GAL.GIR ₄	759.1. i 8
sg. dat.	A-NA GAL.GIR ₄	758.1 iii 12; 759.10.b iii 1', 5', 20'
abl.	IŠ-TU GAL.GIR ₄	759.1 i 17; 760.3.a ii 2' 12'
GE ₆ 'night'		
sg.	GE ₆ -i-[...]	760.4 iii 21'
GE ₆ 'dark, black' (adj.)		
	GE ₆	760.1.a i 9, 10; 760.2 i 5; 761.1.d obv. 6'
GĒME-li(ya/i)- 'of a female servant' (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	[GĒME]-i-iš	761.4.2 iv 7'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[GĒME-L]i-ia-a[n]	762.3.6 r.col. 8'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	GĒME-ia-an	760.1.a ii 10"; 760.2 ii 3

GEŠTIN ‘wine’		
sg.	GEŠTIN	758.1 i 4’; 758.2.1 i 9; 758.2.2 iii 2’; 758.5 r.col. 5’; 759.1 i 6, 9, 17, ii 20 ([], iv 14’, 20’; 759.10.c:6’; 761.2.1.b:5’ ([]); 762.2 iii 6’
sg. dat.	A-NA GEŠTIN	759.1 i 38
GI ‘reed’		
sg. gen.	ŠA GI	759.1 i 5, 16, 18, iii 19’ ([], 20’; 761.3.5.a:8’; 761.3.8 ii 32, iii 38’
pl.	GI ^{HA}	759.1 iii 30’
see also natatt(a)-		
GÍD.DA ‘long’ (adj.)		
	GÍD.DA	758.2.1 iv 13’; 760.2 ii 8
see also array(a/i)-		
GIM- <i>an</i> ‘as, when’ (conj.)		
	GIM- <i>an</i>	759.1 ii 8, 19; 761.3.8 ii 24
see also <i>maḥḥan</i>		
GÍR ‘knife’		
sg.	GÍR	760.4 iii 14’ ([]); 760.5 ii 6’, 10’
GİR ‘foot, leg’		
pl.	GİR ^{MES} -ŠU-NU (= GİR ^{MES} =ŠUNU)	760.1.a i 13; 760.2 i 7 ([])
pl. dat.	ŠA-PAL GİR ^{MES} -ŠU (= GİR ^{MES} =ŠU)	759.1 iii 31’; 760.2 ii 29 ([]); 761.2.1.a ii 5’
GIŠ ⁸ GİR.GUB ‘FOOTSTOOL’		
SG.	GIŠ ⁸ GİR.GUB	758.1 ii 21’
see also GIŠkuppīš-		
UZU ^U GİR.PAD.DU ‘bone’		
sg.	UZU ^U GİR.PAD.DU	760.4 ii 16’
see also ḥaš(t)-		
GIŠ ‘tree’		
sg.	GIŠ	758.1 ii 23’
sg. gen.	GIŠ- <i>ru-wa-aš</i>	762.3.4 r.col. 7’; 763.2.6 ii ² 4 ([])
sg. dat.	GIŠ-i	761.1.d obv. 11’
GÚ.GAL ‘chick pea’		
sg.	GÚ.GAL	758.1 i 12’
GU ₄ ‘bovine’		
sg.	GU ₄	760.1.a i 6’; 763.2.2 rev. 6’
sg. nom. comm.	GU ₄ -iŠ	763.1.1 i 8; 763.1.3.b iv 2’ ([]; 763.1.4 l.col. 5’
?	GU ₄ -t[a-...]	763.1.5 iii ² 3’
GU ₄ .MAḤ ‘bull’		
sg.	GU ₄ .MAḤ	758.2.1 i 5; 758.2.2 ii 9; 763.1.2 ii 7’ ([])
GÜB- <i>la-</i> ‘left’		
abl.	GÜB- <i>la-az</i>	759.1 i 15; 761.3.8 ii 21
abl.	GÜB- <i>la-az-za</i>	759.1 i 10

GUN ‘burden’		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	GUN-an	759.6 ii ² 10’ (I); 760.2 iii 11’ (I); 760.4 iii 12’
GUNNI ‘hearth’		
sg. nom. comm.	GUNNI-ti-iš	758.1 iii 29 (I), 36 (I)
see also ḥaššanitt(i)-		
GIŠ ⁵ HAŠHUR ‘appletree’		
sg.	[GIŠ]HAŠHUR	758.1 i 14’
HUL ‘evil’ (adj.)		
sg. acc. comm.	HUL-lu-un	760.4 iii 21’ (I)
HUR.SAG ‘mountain’		
instr.	HUR.SAG-it-t[a] (= HUR.SAG-it=(t)a)	763.2.4.b i 10’ (I)
pl. dat.	HUR.SAG ^{MES} -za	760.2 ii 5
instr.-abl.	HUR.SAG-ti	763.2.6 ii ² 10, 11 (I)
i ‘oil’		
sg.	i	758.1 i 10’; 759.10.b iii 21’
sg. dat.	i-i	761.2.1.d:10’
see also tain-		
İ.DÜG.GA ‘fine oil’		
sg.	İ.DÜG.GA	758.2.1 i 10; 759.5:6’
İ.GİŠ ‘vegetal oil’		
sg.	İ.GİŠ	759.1 i 6, 10, 17, 34, 35, 36
UZU ³ İ.GU ₄ ‘(cow) fat’		
sg.	UZU ³ İ.GU ₄	762.1.m iii 3’
sg. erg.	[UZU ³ İ.GU ₄ -an-t]e-eš	762.1.m iii 3’
UZU ³ İ.UDU ‘sheep fat’		
sg.	UZU ³ İ.UDU	762.1.i:2’
I ₇ ‘watercourse’		
instr.-abl.	I ₇ -ti	758.1 iii 17
pl. dat.	I ₇ ^{MES} -an-za	760.2 ii 6; 761.2.1.a i 11’ (I)
IGI ‘eye’		
pl. nom.-acc. n.	IGI ^{HA} -wa	759.1 i 4; 762.2 ii 10
IM ‘clay’		
SG. ACC. COMM.	IM-an	759.13 i 2’
sg. gen.	IM-aš	759.2.c i 2; 762.3.3:3’ (I)
instr.	[IM-n]i-it	759.13 i 9’
İR-li- ‘of a servant’ (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	[İR-li-i]a-an	762.3.5 r.col. 10’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	İR-ia-an	760.1.a ii 10’; 760.2 ii 3
see also ḥutarli(ya/i)-		
ITI(.KAM)		
sg. nom. comm.	ITI.KAM-aš	‘month’ 761.1.d rev. 23’; 761.3.2.b i 5’ (I)

sg. acc. comm.	[IT]I- <i>an</i>	760.4 iii 21' (J)
sg. acc. comm.	ITI- <i>an</i>	762.1.c iv 5'
^{GIS} KA * ^{GIS} 'wooden box'		
?	^{GIS} KA *G[IŠ](-)x-x-ti	762.1.c iv 12'
(UZU)KA×U 'MOUTH'		
SG.	KA×U=ŠU	759.14 III 3 (J)
sg. dat.	KA×U-I	761.3.8 II 27
SG. DAT.	[I-NA KA×U-Š]U	761.1.d rev. 6'
ABL.	IŠ-TU ^{UZU} KA×U=ŠU	759.1 II 7; 759.14 II 4'
(GIS)KÁ.GAL 'GATE'		
PL.	^{GIS} KÁ.GAL	762.2 ii 9 (J)
pl. dat.	KÁ.GAL-aš	762.2 ii 11 (J); 763.1.6 iii 14'
KASKAL 'way, path, round'		
sg. acc. comm.	KASKAL- <i>an</i>	760.1.a iii 7'; 760.2 ii 24; 760.4 ii 18'; 761.3.8 iii 4' (J); 763.2.9:12'; 763.2.11:2' (J)
sg. dat.	I-NA KASKAL-NI	761.3.8 ii 24
see also <i>palša-</i> and <i>ḫarwa-</i>		
KAS 'beer'		
sg.	KAS	759.10.c:6'; 760.2 ii 11, 14, 29; 760.3.b i 1', iv 10' (J); 760.4 ii 3'; 760.9 obv. 3'; 761.1.d rev. 9' (J); 761.2.4 iv 9', 22'; 761.2.5 iii' 9; 761.3.6:4'; 761.3.7:7'; 761.3.8 ii 31, 35; 762.2 iii 6'; 763.2.6 ii' 7
KI.MIN 'ditto'		
	KI.MIN	758.1 ii 20', 21'; 759.10.a iv 23'; 761.3.5.b r.col. 7', 8', 9', 10', 13'; 761.3.8 iii 7', 10', 11', 12', 13', 15'; 763.2.8 r.col. 15'
KIN 'work'		
sg. acc. comm.	KIN- <i>an</i>	759.10.b iv 25'
KÛ.BABBAR 'silver'		
sg.	KÛ.BABBAR	758.1 ii 27'; 758.2.1 ii 6' (J); 762.3.2 iii 2'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	KÛ.BABBAR- <i>an</i>	758.2.1 ii 9'
KÛ.GI 'gold'		
sg.	KÛ.GI	758.1 ii 27'; 758.2.1 ii 6'; 760.3.b ii 4'; 762.3.2 iii 2' (J), iv' 4' (J)
sg. nom.-acc. n.	KÛ.GI-a[n]	758.2.1 ii 9'
LÚKÛR 'enemy'		
pl. acc. comm.	LÚKÛR ^{MEŠ} -in-zi	760.2 ii 18
pl. acc. comm.	LÚKÛR-in-zi	760.4 ii 11'
see also <i>alunn(i)-</i>		
LÂL 'HONEY'		
SG.	LÂL	758.2.1 i 11; 758.4 i 10; 759.1 i 6; 759.1 i 10, 17; 759.10.b iii 1', 20'
sg. dat.	LÂL-i	761.2.1.d:10'
see also <i>mallit-</i>		

LĪL ‘FIELD, OPEN COUNTRY’		
SG. GEN.	LĪL- <i>AŠ</i>	758.2.1 i 2
LŪ ‘MAN’		
SG. NOM. COMM.	LŪ- <i>iš</i>	762.1.c iv 10’; 762.3.2 iii 10’ (I)
SG. DAT.	LŪ- <i>LIM</i>	763.1.2 ii 4’
pl.	LŪ ^{MES}	763.1.2 ii 6’
see also zit(i)-		
LŪ-ti(ya/i)- ‘male’ (adj.)		
instr.-abl.	LŪ-[ti-ia-ti]	762.1.c iv 10’
GIŠ ^{MAR} ‘spade’		
sg.	GIŠ ^{MAR}	758.1 i 9’ (I), ii 29’ (I); 758.2.1 i 15, ii 7’
GIŠ ^{MAR} .GĪD.DA ‘wagon’		
sg.	GIŠ ^{MAR} .GĪD.DA	758.1 iii 46 (I)
MÁŠ.GAL ‘billy goat’		
sg.	MÁŠ.GAL	758.1 ii 46’; 758.2.1 i 5; 758.4 i 6; 760.1.a i 8; 760.2 i 11 (I); 760.3.b iv 6’ (I); 761.2.4 iv 19’; 761.2.5 iii’ 6; 763.2.1:3’, 5’; 761.3.1 iv 4’
sg. nom. comm.	MÁŠ.GAL- <i>iš</i>	758.1 iii 9
sg. dat.	A-NA MÁŠ.GAL	761.2.5 ii’ 11’
MU(KAM) ‘year’		
sg. nom. comm.	MU.KAM- <i>iš</i>	761.1.d rev. 23’; 761.2.1.a iv 10; 761.2.2.a obv. 5’ (I)
sg. acc. comm.	MU.KAM- <i>in</i>	759.7:5’
pl.	MU.KAM ^{HA}	760.2 ii 8
instr.-abl.	MU ^{HA} - <i>ti</i>	761.1.d rev. 13’
see also ušš(i)-		
MUN ‘salt’		
sg.	MUN	758.1 iii 13; 758.3.2 iii’ 13’
sg. nom.-acc. n.	MUN-ša-pa	758.1 iii 18 (I), 20
sg. nom.-acc. n.	MUN-pa	758.3.3:13”
MUNUS ‘woman’		
sg. nom. comm.	MUNUS- <i>iš</i>	762.3.2 iii 10’
sg. nom. comm.	MUNUS-ša-ta (= MUNUS-š=ata)	762.3.2 iv’ 2’
sg. dat.	A-NA MUNUS	763.1.2 ii 5’
pl. dat.	A-NA MUNUS ^{MES}	763.1.2 ii 8’
see also wanatt(i)-		
MUNUS-ti(ya/i)- ‘female’ (adj.)		
instr.-abl.	MUNUS-ti-ia-ti	762.1.c iv 11’
MUŠEN ‘bird’		
pl.	MUŠEN ^{HA}	763.2.1:8’ (I)
NA ₄ ‘stone’		
sg.	NA ₄	760.1.a i 6’ (I)
pl.	NA ₄ ^{HA}	762.1.1 r.col. 6’ (I); 761.2.5 ii’ 10’ (I), iii’ 8

^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ‘LIVER’

SG.	^{UZU} NÍG.GIG	758.5 r.col. 3' (I); 759.3 iv 3' (I); 759.10.b iv 19' (I), 28'; 762.2 i 7' (I), 9' (I), 14', iv 29' (II)
sg. erg.	^{UZU} NÍG.GIG-an-ti-iš	761.3.5.b r.col. 7'
instr.-abl.	^{UZU} NÍG.GIG-ti	761.1.c obv. 7', 10'; 761.1.d rev. 5' (I); 761.1.e:3' (I); 761.2.3.b ii ² 9'; 761.3.8 ii 15, iii 9', 13', 26'; 762.1.m iii 10' (I); 763.1.4 l.col. 6'

see also ikkuwar-

NIN ‘of the sister’ (adj.)

sg. nom.-acc. n.	NIN-an	761.1.d obv. 9'; 763.1.4 l.col. 2' (I); 761.3.8 ii 6
sg. nom.-acc. n.	NIN ^{HA} -a[n]	762.3.6 r.col. 7'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	NIN-ia-an	760.1.a ii 9"; 760.2 ii 2; 761.2.1.a i 7' (I)

see also nanašri(ya/i)-

NINDA ‘bread’

abl.	ÍŠ-TU NINDA	759.10.a iv 22'
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NINDA.GÚ.GAL ‘PEA BREAD’

SG.	NINDA.GÚ.GAL	760.3.b i 4" (I)
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NINDA.GUR₄.RA ‘THICK BREAD’

SG.	NINDA.GUR ₄ .RA	758.2.1 i 8; 758.3.1 ii 4 (I); 759.3 iv 13' (I); 759.10.b iv 19' (I), 28' (I); 761.3.5.c ii ² 6', 12'; 762.2 i 11', 14'; 763.1.6 ii ¹ 4' (I)
sg. dat.	A-NA NINDA.GUR ₄ .RA	762.2 i 8' (I)
sg. dat.	QA-DU NINDA.GUR ₄ .RA-ŠU (= NINDA.GUR ₄ .RA=ŠU)	762.2 i 11', 14' (I)

NINDA.GUR₄.RA KU₇ ‘sweet bread’

SG.	NINDA.GUR ₄ .RA KU ₇	761.1.d rev. 9'; 761.3.7:5' (I); 761.3.8 ii 31, 34
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NINDA.GUR₄.RA TUR ‘small bread’

sg.	NINDA.GUR ₄ .RA TUR	758.1 i 6' (I); 758.2.1 i 11; 758.3.1 i 10' (I); 760.8:5'
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NINDA.Î.E.DÉ.A ‘CAKE’

SG.	NINDA.Î.E.DÉ.A	759.13 i 6' (I)
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NINDA.KU₇ ‘sweet bread’

sg.	NINDA.KU ₇	761.3.8 iii 40'; 762.2 iii 3'
pl.	NINDA.KU ₇ ^{HA}	759.1 iv 17' (I)

NINDA.SIG ‘FLAT BREAD’

NINDA.SIG	758.2.1 i 9; 758.5 r.col. 13'; 761.2.1.b:4'
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NU.GÁL ‘there is not’

NU.GÁL	759.2.c iv 3'
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NUMUN ‘seed’

sg.	NUMUN	763.2.13:8'
sg. nom.-acc. n.	NUMUN-an	761.1.d obv. 12'
pl.	NUMUN ^{HA}	758.1 ii 27' (I); 758.2.1 ii 6'
pl. nom.-acc. n.	NUMUN ^{HA} -na	758.1 ii 31'; 758.2.1 ii 9'

^{GIS}PAN ‘bow’

sg. nom.-acc. n.	^{GIS} PAN-an-za	763.2.4.a obv. [?] 4'
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^{GI} PISAN ‘BASKET’		
SG.	^{GI} PISAN	762.2 i 32’
see also <i>pattar</i>		
SA ₅ ‘RED’		
	SA ₅	760.1.a i 2’ (I); 761.2.1.a ii 7’; 761.2.1.b:8’
SAG ‘SAG-OFFICIAL’		
SG.	SAG	759.2.B IV 6’
SAG.DU ‘HEAD’		
SG.	SAG.DU-ŠÚ (= SAG.DU=ŠU)	762.2 II 1 (I)
SG. DAT.	A-NA SAG.DU-ŠU (= ANA SAG.DU=ŠU)	759.1 IV 19’ (I); 760.3.A III ² 6’; 761.2.4 IV 12’; 761.2.5 II ¹ 11’ (I); 761.3.2.C I 3 (I); 761.3.8 II 34; 763.2.2 REV. 4’ (I)
abl.	IŠ-TU SAG.DU-ŠU (= IŠTU SAG.DU=ŠU)	759.10.b iii 4’, 7’; 762.2 ii 8 (I)
see also ḫarmah(i)-		
SI ‘horn’		
sg.	SI	760.1.a i 6’; 763.2.2 rev. 6’
instr.-abl.	SI-na-ti	758.1 iii 11
SÍG ‘wool’		
sg.	SÍG	758.4 i 9; 759.10.b iii 4’; 760.1.a i 2’, 3’; 761.2.1.a ii 7’ (2 x); 761.2.1.b:8’ (2 x)
pl.	SÍG ^{HA}	760.4 iii 15’ (I)
instr.-abl.	SÍG-ti	763.1.4 l.col. 5’
SIG ₅ -ANT- ‘GOOD’ (ADJ.)		
PL. DAT.	SIG ₅ -AN-DA-AŠ	762.2 III 2’
SIG ₇ .SIG ₇ ‘yellow/green’		
	SIG ₇ .SIG ₇	760.1.a i 3’ (I); 760.2 ii 31 (I)
^{LÚ} SIMUG.A ‘smith’		
sg.	^{LÚ} SIMUG.A	760.3.b i 12’; 760.9 obv. 13’
sg.	^{LÚ} SIMUG	759.10.b iv 24’
SISKUR/SÍSKUR ‘ritual, offering’		
sg.	SISKUR	758.4 i 5; 759.4 iv 2’ (I); 759.6 ii ² 3’ (I); 760.1.a ii 2’; 760.2 i 3
sg.	SÍSKUR	758.1 ii 12’, 32’, 40’; 758.2.1 ii 3’, 10’ (I), iii 4’ (I); 758.2.2 ii 15; 758.3.3:2’; 759.5:9’; 759.10.a iv 19’ (I); 760.1.a i 3 (I), 5 (I); 762.1.m iv 4’ (I); 763.1.6 ii ¹ 12’ 759.1 iv 25’ (I); 759.3 iv 7’
sg. gen.	ŠA SISKUR	759.2.b iv 2’; 759.2.c iv 6’
sg. gen.	ŠA SÍSKUR	758.7:3’
sg. dat.	A-NA SISKUR	758.1 iii 40; 760.2 i 8
sg. dat.	A-NA SÍSKUR	758.1 ii 44’
pl. nom.-acc. n.	SÍSKUR-aš-ša	
poss. adj.		
sg. nom. comm.	SÍSKUR-iš	760.2 iii 17’; 762.1.f iii 1
sg. acc. comm.	SÍSKUR-in	761.4.2 iv 1’

sg. acc. comm.	SÍSKUR-aš-ši-in	760.2 ii 22; 761.4.1:6' (I)
sg. acc. comm.	SISKUR ^{HÁ} -ši-in	760.4 ii 15'
pl. nom. comm.	SÍSKUR-aš-ši-in-z[i]	758.2.2 ii 18
poss. adj. pl.		
dat.	SÍSKUR-aš-ša-[an-za]	758.2.1 iii 2'
sg. dat.	SÍSKUR-an-za<-an>	760.5 ii 7'
sg. dat.	SÍSKUR-aš-ša-an-za<-an>	760.2 ii 7
pl. dat.	SISKUR-an-za	759.3 iv 16'
see also malḥašš(a)-		
MUNUS ^U ŠUḤUR.LÁ/MUNUS ^U ŠUḤUR.LA ₅ 'female attendant'		
sg.	MUNUS ^U ŠUḤUR.LÁ	760.1.a i 1; 761.1.f rev. 11'; 761.3.1 iv 6'; 762.1.m iv 2'; 762.3.1 iv 2' (I)
sg.	MUNUS ^U ŠUḤUR.LA ₅	759.2.b iv 4'; 759.2.c iv 8'
UZUŠĀ 'heart'		
sg.	UZUŠĀ	759.3 iv 3', 10' (I); 759.10.b iv 19', 22' (I), 28'; 760.2 i 16; 761.3.5.b r.col. 7'; 762.2 i 7', 9' (I), 14' 761.3.5.b r.col. 7'
sg. erg.	UZUŠĀ-ti-iš	760.7.a l.col. 10' (I); 761.1.c obv. 7', 10'; 761.1.d rev. 5' (I); 761.2.3.b ii ² 9' (I); 761.3.8 ii 15 (I), iii 9' (I), 26' (I); 763.1.3.b iv 3' (I); 763.1.4 l.col.
ŠĀ.BA/ŠĀ.BI 'among which'		
	ŠĀ.BA	760.1.a i 9; 760.2 i 5 (I)
	[I/A]-NA ŠĀ.BI	760.1.a i 8'
ŠAH.TUR 'piglet'		
sg.	ŠAH.TUR	761.2.1.c r.col. 5'; 761.3.8 iii 32', 39'; 763.2.1:7'
GIŠŠEN 'pipe'		
sg. dat.	A-NA GIŠŠEN	759.1 i 4
pl.	GIŠŠEN ^{HÁ}	759.1 iii 19', 20'
pl.	GIŠŠEN ^{MES}	759.1 i 18
pl. dat.	A-NA GIŠŠEN ^{HÁ}	759.1 i 15
pl. abl.	IŠ-TU GIŠŠEN ^{HÁ}	759.1 i 18
ŠEŠ 'of the brother' (adj.)		
SG. NOM.-ACC. N.	ŠEŠ-AN	761.1.d obv. 9'; 761.3.8 ii 6 (I); 763.1.4 l.col. 2'
SG. NOM.-ACC. N.	ŠEŠ-IA-AN	760.1.a ii 9"; 760.2 ii 2; 762.1.c iv 2'
pl.	ŠE[Š] ^{HÁ}	763.2.8 r.col. 5'
see also nani(ya/i)-		
ŠU 'hand'		
sg.	ŠU	759.1 iv 27'; 759.2.b iv 5' (I)
sg. acc. comm.	ŠU-an	759.1 iv 9' (I); 762.3.2 ii 4
sg. acc. comm.	ŠU-i[n]	762.1.g:2'
sg. dat.	ŠU-i	761.3.1 iv 1'
abl.	ŠU-az	759.1 i 9, 11, 15, 17; 762.1.k ii ² 7'
instr.	ŠU-it	762.3.2 iii 4'
instr.	ŠU-ta	758.1 ii 5'
instr.-abl.	ŠU ^{MES} -ti	760.4 iii 6'
pl.	ŠU ^{MES} -ŠU (= ŠU ^{MES} =ŠU)	760.3.a ii ² 13'
see also keššar, iš(ša)ri-, QĀTU		

MUNUSŠU.GI ‘Old Woman’

sg. MUNUSŠU.GI

759.1 i 1, 6, 22, 32 (I), ii 17 (I), 19, 31, iii 6', 21', 24', 30', iv 3' (I), 7', 14' (I), 16' (I); 759.2.c iv 5', 7'; 759.3 iv 5' (I), 9' (I), 6"; 759.8.a:1'; 759.8.c:7', 9', 10'; 759.10.a iv 16' (I); 759.10.b iii 3', 9', 24', iv 4', 10', 30'; 759.12 ii 10, 12; 759.13 i 8', 15'; 760.1.a i 2 (I), iv 6' (I); 760.1.b:1' (I); 760.2 ii 11, 13, 15, iii 16' (I), 20', 22'; 760.3.b i 4" (I), 16" (I), iii 4', iv 7' (I), 8' (I), 3" (I); 760.4 ii 5'; 760.5 ii 2' (I), 6', 10' (I); 760.6 ii² 12'; 760.7.b:7' (I); 760.8:3'; 761.1.b obv. 11'; 761.1.c obv. 6" (I); 761.1.d rev. 16'; 761.1.f obv. 1 (I), 11, 14, rev. 4' (I), 5' (I); 761.2.1.a ii 4', 8' (I); 761.2.1.b:6'; 761.2.1.c r.col. 2' (I), 7'; 761.2.1.e:2'; 761.2.4 i 11', iv 20'; 761.2.5 iii¹ 6 (I), 7; 761.3.1 iv 5'; 761.3.5.a:3' (I), 6'; 761.3.5.c ii² 7', 14', 17'; 761.3.6:2'; 761.3.7:5' (I); 761.3.8 ii 19, 26, 28 (I), 31 (I), 34, iii 34'; 761.3.9:5' (I), 6'; 761.4.2 iv 10'; 761.4.3 r.col. 2'; 762.1.c iv 7'; 762.1.e r.col. 2' (I); 762.1.g:7' (I); 762.1.h:5' (I), 10' (I); 762.1.i:1' (I); 762.1.k ii² 9' (I); 762.2 i 12', 15', 18', 33', 34', ii 6 (I), 7 (I), 13, 18, 26 (I), iv 3', 5' (I); 762.3.2 ii 4, 12 (I), iii 5' (I), iv² 6' (I); 762.3.4 r.col. 9', 13' (I); 762.3.5 r.col. 6'; 763.2.2 rev. 10'; 763.2.5 ii 3' (I); 763.2.12 rev.² 2', 4' (I); 763.2.14 l.col. 6'; 763.2.15 r.col. 5', 11'; 763.2.18:4' (I)
759.1 iv 4' (I); 760.2 iii 15' (I)

sg. dat. A-NA MUNUSŠU.GI

GIŠŠÚ.A ‘stool’

sg. nom. comm. GIŠŠÚ.A-aš
pl. dat. [GI]ŠŠÚ.A-an-za
instr.-abl. GIŠŠÚ.A-ti

758.1 ii 20'
758.1 ii 20'
759.10.a i 11' (I), 18' (I)

TI-ant- ‘alive’ (adj.)

pl. acc. comm. TI-an-du-uš
see also *huišwant-*

761.3.1 iv 5' (I)

TI₈^{MUŠEN} ‘eagle’

sg. TI₈^{MUŠEN}
sg. gen. TI₈^{MUŠEN}-aš

759.14 iii 3
759.10.c:10' (I)

TU₇ ‘soup, stew’

pl. TU₇^{HA}

762.2 iv 32'

TÚG ‘piece of clothing’

sg. TÚG
sg. dat. A-NA TÚG-ša-an
(= TÚG=šan)

758.2.1 i 7; 758.4 i 8
758.6 ii 8', 9'

TÚG.GÚ.Ē.A ‘shirt’

sg. TÚG.GÚ.Ē.A

758.2.1 i 6; 758.2.2 ii 6 (I)

TÚG.NÍG.LÁM ‘fine piece of clothing’

pl. TÚG.NÍG.LÁM^{MES}

758.2.1 i 5 (I); 758.2.2 ii 5 (I); 758.3.1 i 5' (I)

pl. dat.	A-NA TÚG.NÍG.LÁM ^{MES}	758.2.2 ii 8
TÜR ‘sheepfold’		
sg. dat.	[I/A-N]A TÜR	760.1.a i 17
Ú.SAL ‘meadow’		
pl. dat.	Ú.SAL ^{HÁ} -an-za	760.2 ii 6
U ₄ ‘day’		
sg. dat.	U ₄ -ti	760.2 i 13
sg. dat.	I-NA U ₄ .n.KAM	760.1.a i 4 (I), 6, 14 (I); 760.2 i 3; 762.2 iv 21’
UDU ‘sheep’		
sg. nom. comm.	UDU-iš	763.1.1 i 8
sg.	UDU	758.4 i 7; 759.1 iv 13’, 20’, 22’, 24’; 759.3 iv 8’; 760.1.a i 9, 10; 760.2 i 6; 761.3.1 iv 4’; 761.3.5.a:7’; 761.3.8 ii 19, 26, 32; 762.2 iv 24’, 27’; 763.1.3.b iv 10’; 763.2.1:4’
sg. acc. comm.	U[DU-un]	760.1.a i 12
sg. gen.	ŠA UDU	761.3.8 ii 22, 25 (I), 27 (I)
sg. dat.	A-NA UDU	759.1 iv 18’; 761.3.8 ii 34
pl.	UDU ^{HÁ}	760.1.a i 8, 9, 10; 760.2 i 5; 763.2.1:3’
?	UDU-x[...]	763.1.5 iii? 2’
see also ḥaw(i)-		
UDU."SÍG+MUNUS" ‘ewe’		
sg.	UDU."SÍG+MUNUS"	760.1.a i 11 (I); 760.2 i 6; 763.1.2 ii 9’ (I)
pl.	UDU."SÍG+MUNUS" ^{HÁ}	763.1.2 ii 10’
UDU.NÍTA ‘ram’		
sg.	UDU.NÍTA	758.2.1 i 5
UDU.ŠIR ‘breeding ram’		
sg.	UDU.ŠIR	758.2.1 i 5; 763.1.2 ii 7’
UN ‘HUMAN, PERSON’		
SG. DAT.	UN-ši	758.2.1 i 1; 758.2.3 iv 1’
UR.TUR ‘puppy’		
sg.	UR.[TUR]	763.2.1:7’
UZUÚR ‘limb, body part’		
pl.	UZUÚR ^{HÁ}	761.3.8 ii 25, iii 5’ (I), 10’ (I)
see also UZUḥappiša-		
URU ‘city’		
sg.	UR[U ...]	763.2.4.b i 7’
sg. dat.	URU-ri	759.3 iv 6’’
sg. dat.	URU-ri	763.2.4.b i 6’
abl.	URU-ri-az	759.13 i 8’
URUDU		
sg.	URUDU	758.1 i 8’, 9’; 758.2.1 i 14, 15; 758.3.1 i 12’, 13’, 14’ (2 x); 759.10.b iv 24’
sg. gen.	ŠA URUDU	762.3.4 r.col. 4’, 5’ (I)

URUDU-i(ya/i)- ‘of copper’ (adj.)		
sg. nom. comm.	URUDU-iš	760.3.b i 11”
instr.-abl.	URUDU-ia-ti	759.10.b iv 23’; 763.2.8 r.col. 8’
DUG ^U TUL ‘pot’		
sg.	DUG ^U TUL	759.2.a iii 8’; 759.10.c:5’, 8’; 759.12 ii 10; 762.1.k ii ² 7’; 762.2 ii 18, 24
sg. nom. comm.	DUG ^U TUL-iš	759.12 ii 4
sg. dat.	A-NA DUG ^U TUL	761.1.d obv. 6’
UZ ₆ ‘goat’		
sg.	UZ ₆	763.1.2 ii 9’
UZU ‘meat’		
sg.	UZU	758.2.1 iv 15’; 759.11:6’
ZA.GÌN ‘blue’		
	ZA.GÌN	758.4 i 9; 759.10.b iii 4’
GIŠZA.LAM.GAR ‘hut’		
pl.	GIŠZA.LAM.GAR ^{HÁ}	761.3.9:4’
pl. dat.	A-NA GIŠZA.LAM.GAR ^{HÁ}	761.3.1 iv 10’ (I); 761.3.8 ii 33 (I), iii 39’ (I)
ZABAR ‘bronze’		
sg.	ZABAR	760.4 iii 14’ (I); 760.5 ii 6’, 10’ (I); 762.2 iv 36’ (I); 762.3.4 r.col. 6’
ZAG ‘right’		
abl.	ZAG-az	759.1 i 9, 17; 761.3.8 ii 20 (I); 762.2 ii 24
abl.	ZAG-za	762.1.k ii ² 7’
UZU ^U ZAG.LU ‘SHOULDER’		
SG. GEN.	ŠA UZU ^U ZAG.L[U]	758.5 r.col. 11’
abl.	IŠ-TU UZU ^U ZAG.L[U]	762.1.f ii 3’
ZÍZ ‘emmer wheat’		
sg. gen.	ZÍZ-na-aš	759.13 i 11’

AKKADOGRAMS

ANA ‘to, for’ (marker of dat. in Hittite)

A-NA	758.2.2 iii 6’; 758.3.1 ii 9; 758.4 i 1; 759.8.b ii ² 2’ (I); 759.10.c:6’ (I); 760.1.a i 16 (I), 8; 760.8:5’ (I); 761.1.d rev. 9’ (I); 762.1.h:9’ (I); 762.1.i:2’ (I); 762.1.j r.col. 2’ (I); 762.2 i 34’, ii 7 (I); 763.1.3.b i 7’ (I); 763.2.1:5’ (I); 763.2.7 ii ² 4’
A-NA ²	759.1 ii 30 (I)

AŠRU ‘place’

sg. acc.	A-ŠAR-ŠU (= AŠAR=ŠU)	759.1 ii 19
sg. dat.	AŠ-RA	759.13 i 2’
sg. dat.	I-NA AŠ-RI-ŠU (= AŠRI=ŠU)	759.10.b iv 17’ (I); 760.2 ii 13

see also *pēda-*

AWĀTU ‘speech, matter’sg. *A-WA-AT*

758.2.3 iv 3’ (J); 759.2.b iv 3’; 759.2.c iv 7’; 759.3 iv 8” (J)

see also *uttar*^(L)*BĒL SÍSKUR* ‘ritual patron’sg. *BE-EL SÍSKUR*

758.1 ii 32’ (J); 759.10.b iii 6’; 761.1.d obv. 2’, rev. 25’, 28’ (J); 761.2.1.c r.col. 14’; 761.2.2.a obv. 7’ (J); 761.2.3.b ii? 16’; 761.2.4 iv 7’ (J), 13’ (J) 761.2.5 ii! 7’, 12’ (J)

sg. ^L*BE-EL SÍSKUR*sg. dat. *A-NA BE-EL SÍSKUR*

758.1 iii 15; 761.1.b obv. 1’ (J); 761.1.c obv. 6” (J); 761.1.d obv. 17’ (J), rev. 15’ (J); 761.1.f obv. 15; 761.2.1.a iii 2’ (J); 761.2.1.c r.col. 8’, 13’; 761.2.4 iv 9’ (J); 763.3.1 r.col. 3’ (J)

sg. dat. *A-NA* ^L*BE-EL SÍSKUR*

761.2.3.b ii? 15’; 761.2.5 ii! 9’, iii! 9 (J)

BĒLTI SÍSKUR ‘ritual patroness’sg. nom. *BE-EL-TI SÍSKUR*

761.2.1.b:10’ (J)

sg. dat. *A-NA BE-EL-TI SÍSKUR*

761.2.1.b:9’ (J)

INA ‘in’ (marker of dat. in Hittite)*I-NA*

758.2.2 ii 9

^{GIŠ}*INBU* ‘fruit’pl. nom. *IN-BU*

758.2.1 i 10; 758.3.1 i 9’

pl. acc. ^{GIŠ}*IN-BI*

758.2.1 iv 18’ (J)

pl. acc. ^{GIŠ}*IN-BI* ^{HA}

758.4 i 10 (J)

ISTU ‘from, with’ (marker of abl./instr. in Hittite)*IS-TU*

758.6 ii 14’ (J); 759.1 i 35 (J), iii 17’; 759.8.b ii? 12’; 760.3.b iii 5’ (J); 763.2.3 r.col. 2’; 763.2.4.a obv.? 6’ (J)

ISṭUR ‘he/she wrote’*IS-ṭUR*

759.1 iv 28’ (J); 759.2.b iv 6’

^{DUG}*KUKUBU* ‘pitcher’sg. ^{DUG}*KU-KU-UB*

758.1 i 4’ (J); 758.2.1 i 9; 758.2.2 iii 2”; 759.1 iv 14’; 760.2 ii 11, 14, 29; 760.3.b i 1’, ii 2’ (J), iv 10’ (J); 760.4 ii 3’ (J); 761.2.4 iv 9’, 22’ (J); 761.2.5 iii! 9; 761.3.7:2’ (J); 761.3.8 ii 31; 762.2 i 15’, iii 6’ (2 x); 763.2.6 ii? 7

abl. *IS-TU* ^{DUG}*KU-KU-UB*

759.1 iv 20’; 760.9 obv. 3’ (J); 761.3.6:4’ (J); 761.3.7:7’ (J); 761.3.8 ii 35

^{NINDA}*LABKU* ‘soft bread’sg. ^{NINDA}*LA-AB-KU*

761.2.4 iv 10’ (J); 761.2.5 ii! 10’, iii 7

MELQĒTU ‘(offering) material, content’sg. *ME-EL-QĒ-SŪ-ia*
(= *MELQI=SU=ya*)

762.2 iv 33’ (J)

PANI ‘before, in front of’*PA-NI*

759.1 iv 27’; 759.2.b iv 6’ (J); 761.3.5.c ii? 7’, 13’; 762.1.c l.e. 1

<i>QADU</i> ‘together with’	<i>QA-DU</i>	758.2.1 iv 16’ (⌋); 759.3 i 6’ (⌋); 759.10.b iv 28’; 759.10.c:8’; 762.2 i 11’, 14’
<i>QĀTAMMA</i> ‘in the same way’	<i>QA-TAM-MA</i>	758.2.2 ii 2, 21 (⌋); 760.3.a ii ² 6’ (⌋), 12’ (⌋), 14’; 761.2.1.c r.col. 9’, 10’ (⌋); 761.3.8 ii 22, 23, 25; 763.1.2 ii 8’; 763.2.14 l.col. 4’ (⌋); 763.2.15 r.col. 5’ (⌋), 8’ (⌋); 763.3.1 r.col. 4’
<i>QATI</i> ‘finished’	<i>QA-TI</i>	759.1 iv 26’; 759.3 iv 9’; 761.1.c l.e. 1 (⌋); 761.1.f rev. 11’; 761.3.1 iv 11’ (⌋); 761.3.3:6’; 762.1.m iv 1’ (⌋); 762.3.1 iv 1’; 763.2.22 iv 6’ (⌋)
<i>QĀTU</i> ‘hand’	<i>QA-TAM</i>	760.2 ii 12; 761.2.1.b:10’
sg. acc.	<i>IŠ-TU QA-TI-ŠU (= QĀTI=ŠU)</i>	759.1 iii 22’; 762.3.3:3’ (⌋)
abl.	<i>QA-TE^{MES}-ŠU (= QĀTE^{MES}=ŠU)</i>	760.2 ii 32 (⌋); 761.2.1.a ii 9’
pl.	<i>QA-TI-ŠU (= QĀTI=ŠU)</i>	761.1.d obv. 2’
pl. acc.		
see also <i>keššar</i> , <i>iš(ša)ri-</i> , <i>ŠU</i>		
<i>RABU</i> ‘large, great’	<i>RA-BU-Ū</i>	760.1.a i 7’
<i>RAMĀNU</i> ‘body, body part, person’		
sg. dat.	<i>RA-MA-NI-ŠU</i> (= <i>RAMĀNI=ŠU</i>)	761.3.2.c i 3; 761.4.3 r.col. 7’ (⌋); 763.2.2 rev. 4’
sg. dat.	<i>A-NA RA-MA-NI-ŠU</i> (= <i>RAMĀNI=ŠU</i>)	759.12 ii 14; 761.1.c obv. 7” (⌋); 761.1.f obv. 2 (⌋)
see also <i>tuekka-</i>		
<i>RIQQU</i> ‘empty’		
sg.	<i>RI-IQ-QĪ</i>	762.2 i 15’ (⌋); 763.2.2 obv. 5’
<i>GIŠSERDU</i> ‘olive tree’		
sg. gen.	<i>GIŠSE₂₀-ER-DĪ</i>	759.10.b iii 21’
<i>SUTU</i> a measure of weight	<i>ŠA-A-TI</i>	762.2 iii 3’
<i>ŠALMU</i> ‘whole’		
sg.	<i>ŠAL-MU</i>	761.2.1.b:4’
<i>ŠAPAL</i> ‘under’	<i>ŠA-PAL</i>	759.1 iii 31’; 761.2.1.a ii 5’
<i>ŠUMU</i> ‘name’		
sg.	<i>ŠUM-ŠU (= ŠUM-ŠU)</i>	759.1 i 39
pl.	<i>ŠUM-MA-TE-ŠU-NU</i> (= <i>ŠUM-MA-TE-ŠU-NU</i>)	762.3.4 r.col. 13’ (⌋); 763.1.3.b i 4’
<i>TAḤAPŠU</i> ‘felt’		
sg. gen.	<i>TA-ḤA-AP-ŠI</i>	760.1.a i 4’
sg. gen.	<i>TA-ḤAP-ŠI</i>	758.1 i 1’; 758.2.1 i 6; 758.2.2 ii 6 (⌋)

<i>U</i> ‘and’	<i>Ū</i>	759.2.b iv 4’; 760.1.a i 2; 761.4.3 r.col. 7’; 762.3.3:2’
<i>UL</i> ‘not’ (neg.)	<i>Ū-UL</i>	759.1 iv 26’; 759.3 iv 9” (⌈); 760.1.a iv 2” (⌈); 760.2 i 10; 761.1.f rev. 11’; 761.3.3:6’; 762.1.m iv 1’ (⌈); 762.3.1 iv 1’
<i>UMMA</i> ‘thus’ (adv.)	<i>UM-MA</i>	758.2.1 i 1; 761.2.4 iv 7’; 761.2.5 ii ¹ 7’
<i>UNŪTU</i> ‘item’		
sg.	<i>Ū-NU-UT</i>	762.3.2 iii 2’, iv ² 4’
pl.	<i>Ū-NU-TE^{MES}</i>	758.1 ii 17’, iii 39, 43
<i>UPNU</i> ‘handful’		
sg. gen.	<i>UP-NI</i>	758.2.1 i 9; 758.3.1 i 8’; 759.1 iv 16’; 762.2 iii 3’ (⌈), 4’, 5’
<i>UŠKĒN</i> ‘he/she bows’	<i>UŠ-K[E-EN²]</i>	763.2.2 obv. 11’

DIVINE NAMES

^D AMAR.UTU Šanta			
sg. dat.	<i>A-NA</i> ^D AMAR.UTU	759.5:7’	
^D Andaliya- Andaliya			
sg. nom. comm.	^D A-ta-li-ia-aš	760.4 iii 17’	
DINGIR.MAH ‘Great Goddess’			
pl. nom. comm.	DINGIR.MAH ^{HA} -zi	759.2.a ii 7”	
^D GUL-za- Kwanza			
sg. acc. comm.	^D GUL-za-an	763.3.4 iii 4’	
^D Hepat Hepat			
sg. nom. comm.	^D Hé-pa-du-uš	759.1 ii 6	
^D Hišuwī- Hešue			
poss. adj. (pl.); instr.		[^D Hi-š]u-ú-i-ia-aš-ša-a-za-ti	759.12 ii 8
^D IM ‘Storm-god’			
sg.	^D IM	759.1 ii 6; 759.12 iii 6’	
sg. dat.	^D IM-ti	758.1 ii 37’	
sg. dat.	^D IM-u[n-t]i	758.1 ii 35’	
poss. adj.			
sg. nom.-acc. n.	^D IM-aš-ša-an-za	758.1 ii 14’, iii 7; 758.2.2 ii 16	
see also ^D Tarḥunt- and ^D U			
^D IŠTAR Šawoška			
sg. nom. comm.	^D IŠTAR-aš	759.12 iii 2”	
poss. adj. pl.			

instr.-abl. see also ^D Šauška-	^D ISTAR-aš-ša-a-an-za-[ti]	759.12 ii 8
^D Itmari- ‘Itmari-deity’ pl. nom. comm.	^D I-it-ma-ri-in-zi	761.2.1.e:6’
^D Ninatta- Ninatta sg. nom. comm.	^D Ni-na-at-ta-[aš]	759.12 iii 3”
^D Parattašši- ‘(that) of impurity’ sg. acc. comm.	^D Pa-ra-at-ta-aš-ši-in	758.2.1 i 3
^D Šarrumma- Šarrumma sg. nom. comm.	^D Šar-ru-um-ma-aš	762.1.b l.col. 2’ (I), 8’ (I)
^D Šauška- Šawoška poss. adj. pl. nom. comm. see also ^D ISTAR	^D Ša-uš-qa-a-aš-ši-in-z[i]	761.2.1.e:7’
^D Tarḥunt- Tarḥunt sg. nom. comm. see also ^D IM AND ^D U	^D Tar-ḥu-un-za	761.3.6:6’ (I); 761.3.8 ii 36
^D Tiwat- Tiwad sg. nom. comm. sg. nom. comm. sg. voc. comm. sg. voc. comm. poss. adj. ? ? see also ^D UTU	[^D Ti]-wa-za ^D Ti-wa-az ^D Ši-wa-ta Ti-wa-ta ti-i-wa-d[a-aš-ša-an(-)...] [ti]-i-wa-ta-aš-ša-a[n(-)...]	763.1.3.a:13’ 763.1.3.a:16’ 758.2.2 iii 8” 761.1.b obv. 12’ 761.2.4 iv 1’ 761.2.5 ii’ 2’
^D Tuwini- Tuwini sg. nom. comm.	^D Du-ú-[i-ni-iš]	759.12 iii 2”
^D U ‘Storm-god’ sg. acc. comm. sg. dat. sg. dat. poss. adj. sg. nom.-acc. n. see also ^D Tarḥunt- and ^D IM	^D U-an ^D U-ni ^D U-ti ^D U-aš-ša-an-[za]	758.2.1 i 2; 758.2.3 iv 2’ (I) 758.2.2 iii 6” 763.1.2 iii 2’ 758.3.3:9”
^D UTU ‘Sun-deity’ sg. sg. nom. comm. sg. nom. comm. sg. nom. comm. sg. nom. comm. sg. voc. comm. sg. acc. comm. sg. acc. comm. sg. dat.	^D UTU ^D UTU-az ^D UTU-za [^D UTU-w]a-az ^D UTU-wa-za ^D UTU-ta ^D UTU-un ^D UTU-an A-NA ^D UTU	759.1 ii 6 763.2.3 r.col. 6’ 760.2 ii 25, 26; 762.1.i:9’ 762.1.a:3’ 759.3 iv 9’; 760.4 ii 19’ 760.2 ii 18 759.3 iv 5’ 763.1.6 ii’ 10’ 758.2.2 iii 5”

sg. dat.	^D UTU-i	759.1 iv 21'; 759.3 iv 10'; 759.10.c:9' (⌈); 760.2 ii 16; 760.4 iii 34'; 762.1.i:3' (⌈); 763.2.2 obv. 13'
sg. dat. see also ^D Tiwat-	^D UTU-ti	762.3.2 iii 7'; 762.3.4 r.col. 16'

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

^{URU} Kizzuwatna- Kizzuwadna		
sg.	^{KUR} ^{URU} KI-IZ-ZU-WA-AT-NA	763.1.1 i 1 (⌈)
^{URU} Ninuwan(ni)- of Niniveh		
poss. adj.		
instr.-abl.	[^U] ^{RU} Ni-nu-wa-wa-an-na-aš-ša-ti	759.12 ii 7
^{URU} Ziluna- Ziluna		
sg.	^{URU} ZI-LU-NA	760.2 i 1

PERSONAL NAMES

^I Anuwanza-		
sg. dat.	^{PA-NI} ^I A-NU-WA-AN-ZA	759.1 iv 28'; 759.2.b iv 6'
^f Kuwattalla-		
sg.	^f KU-WA-AT-TAL-LA	759.2.b iv 4'; 759.2.c iv 8'; 759.3 iv 8"
sg. nom.	^f Ku-wa-at-tal-la-aš	760.1.a iv 3" (⌈); 760.3.b iv 2"; 761.3.1 iv 6' (⌈)
sg. nom.	^f Ku-at-tal-la-aš	762.1.m iv 2'
sg. gen.	ŠA ^f KU-WA-TAL-LA	761.1.f rev. 11'
^I NU. ^{GIS} KIRI ₆		
sg.	^I NU. ^{GIS} KIRI ₆	759.2.b iv 5'
^I Pariziti-		
sg.	^I Pa-ri-LÚ	762.1.c l.e. 2
^I Puriyanni-		
sg.	^I PU-RI-IA-AN-NI	758.2.1 i 1, iv 9' (⌈); 758.2.3 iv 3'
sg. nom.	^I Pu-ri-ia-an-ni-iš	758.4 i 1
^f Šilalluḫi-		
sg.	^f ŠI-LA-AL-LU-ḪI	759.2.b iv 3'; 759.2.c iv 7'; 762.3.1 iv 1'
sg. nom.	^f Ši-la-al-lu-ḫi-iš	761.3.2.b iv 2' (⌈); 761.3.4 rev. 1' (⌈); 762.1.m iv 1'
sg. nom.	^f Ši-la-al-lu-u-ḫi-[iš-ša]	760.1.a iv 4"
^I Dūwa-		
sg.	^I DU-Ú-WA-A	759.1 iv 27'
^I Walwaziti-		
sg. dat.	^{PA-NI} ^I UR.MAḪ.LÚ	762.1.c l.e. 1
^I Ziti-		
sg.	^I LÚ	759.2.b iv 5'

NUMERALS

1/2 ‘half’		
acc.	1/2-AM	761.2.1.e:3’
gen.	šA 1/2	758.2.1 i 9 (]); 758.3.1 i 8’ (]); 759.1 iv 16’, 17’; 762.2 iii 3’, 4’, 5’
1 ‘one’		
	1	758.2.1 i 5, 7; 758.4 i 6, 7, 8, 9; 758.5 r.col. 13’; 758.6 ii 7’, 9’, 11’; 759.1 iv 13’, 14’, 22’, 24’; 759.3 iv 8’; 760.1.a i 8, 9, 10, 2’, 3’, 5’, 6’; 760.2 i 6, ii 11; 760.3.b ii 2’, iv 8’; 761.2.1.b:4’; 761.2.4 iv 9’, 10’; 761.2.5 ii ¹ 10’, iii 7; 761.3.5.a:6’; 761.3.5.c ii ² 6’, 12’; 761.3.8 ii 31; 762.2 i 33’, iii 6’, iv 24’, 27’; 763.1.2 ii 5’, 7’, 9’; 763.2.1:3’, 4’, 5’, 7’, 9’; 763.2.6 ii ² 7
sg. dat.	1-e-da-ni	759.1 i 7
dat.	A-NA 1	763.1.2 ii 4’
1-EN ‘one’		
	1-EN	758.2.2 iii 5”
1.KAM ‘first’ (adj.)		
	1.KAM	759.3 iv 7”; 760.1.a iv 2”
1-NUTIM ‘one set’		
	1-NU-TIM	758.2.1 i 5; 758.3.1 i 15’
2 ‘two’		
	2	758.2.1 i 5, 11, 13, 14, 15; 758.3.1 i 14’; 758.6 ii 5’; 759.1 iii 19’, 20’; 760.1.a i 9, 10, 1’, 5’; 760.2 i 5, ii 15, 28; 760.4 ii 8’; 761.2.1.a ii 4’; 762.1.c iv 8’ 759.1 i 18; 759.13 i 2’
dat.	A-NA 2	762.1.f ii 3’
abl.	[š]-TU 2	
2-šU ‘twice’ (adv.)		
	2-šU	763.1.3.b i 12’
2-an ‘twofold’ (adj.)		
sg. nom.-acc. n.	2-an	761.3.5.c ii ² 10’
3 ‘three’		
	3	758.2.1 i 5; 762.2 iii 3’; 763.1.2 ii 6’
pl. acc. comm.	3-u[š’]	760.1.a i 4’
dat.	A-NA 3	761.2.5 ii ¹ 10’, iii ¹ 8
3-šU ‘three times’ (adv.)		
	3-šU	761.3.8 ii 26
4 ‘four’		
	4	758.6 ii 4’; 763.2.1:3’
instr.-abl.	4-ti	761.2.3.b ii ² 7’; 761.3.8 ii 12, iii 24’; 762.1.m iii 8’
4-šU ‘four times’ (adv.)		
	4-šU	761.3.8 ii 20

5 ‘five’	5	759.5:3’
7 ‘seven’	7	763.1.3.b i 12’
7-šU ‘seven times’	7-šU	761.2.4 iv 8’ (𒌦); 761.2.5 ii’ 8’
8 ‘eight’	8	760.1.a i 8
9 ‘nine’	9	758.2.1 i 9; 762.2 iii 5’
12 ‘twelve’ instr.-abl.	12-ta-a-ti	761.1.c obv. 7’ (𒌦), 10’, 21’; 761.2.2.b obv. 5’; 761.2.3.b ii’ 9’; 761.3.8 ii 15, iii 9’ (𒌦), 13’ (𒌦), 26’
20 ‘twenty’	20	758.2.1 i 9; 762.3.4 r.col. 6’
22 ‘twenty-two’	22	758.2.1 i 8
30 ‘thirty’	30	762.3.4 r.col. 7’

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Luwian

In the following list, the phonemes /γ/ and /x/ are ordered between /g/ and /i/, to preserve a degree of continuity with their rendering with *ḥ(h)* in Hittitological transcription. The phoneme /ts/, recorded as *z(z)* in Hittitological transcription, is placed at the end of the alphabet for the same practical reason. The labialized phonemes /k^w/, /g^w/, /x^w/, and /γ^w/ are ordered immediately after their non-labialized counterparts. The phonemes /b/, /d/, and /g/ occupy their normal place in the Roman alphabet and are not treated as variants of /p/, /t/, and /k/ respectively.

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