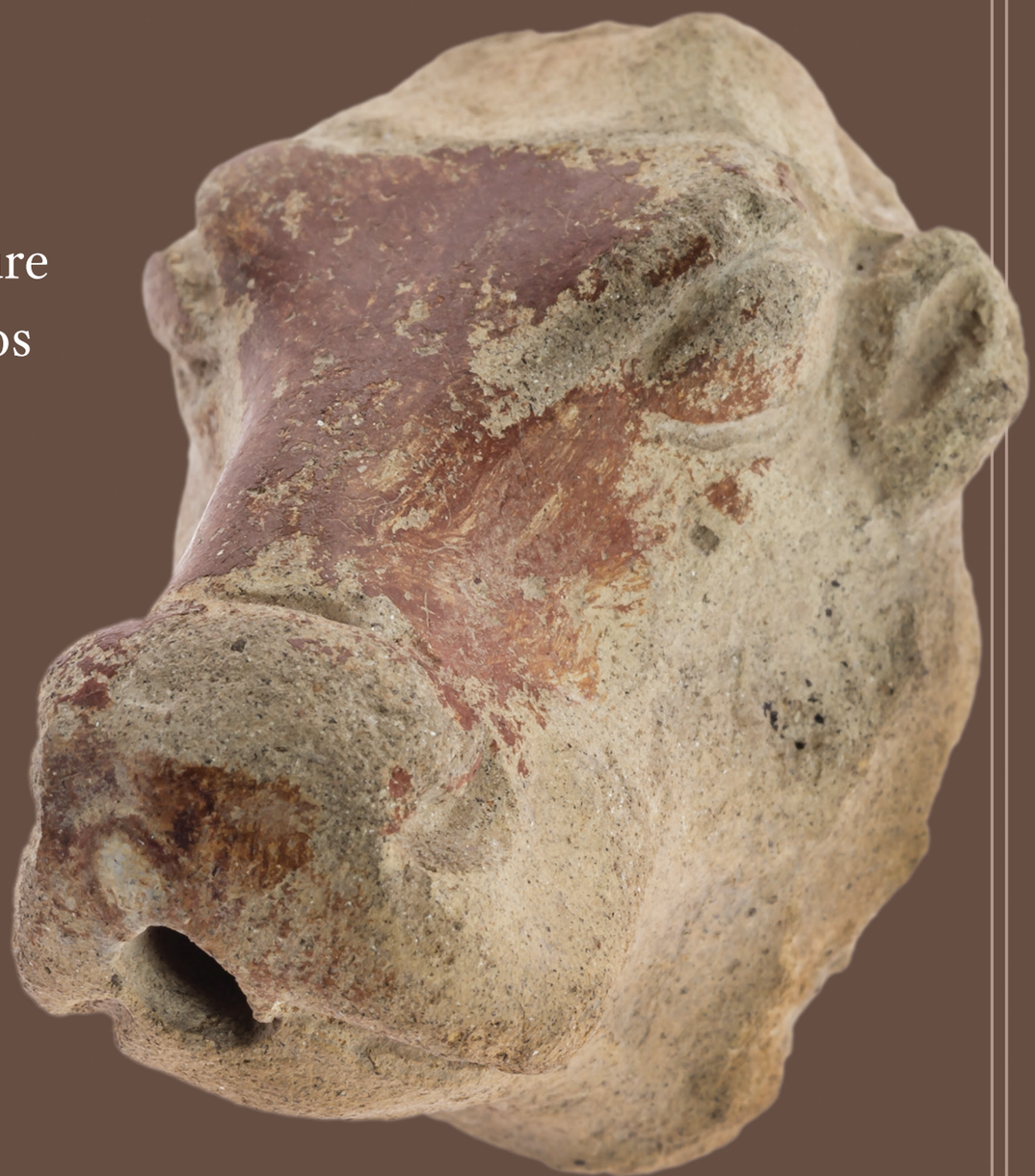
ḪATTANNAŠ

A Festschrift in Honor of Theo van den Hout

Edited by
Petra Goedegebuure
and Joost Hazenbos
with the assistance of
Emily Smith



INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN ANCIENT CULTURES • NUMBER 5

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Theo van den Hout
Photograph by Lidwina van den Hout

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Baked-clay spout in the shape of a bovine head from the Late Bronze Age I (1600–1400 BCE), excavated at Alishar Höyük in 1931 by ISAC's Anatolian-Hittite Expedition.

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INTRODUCTION

This volume celebrates the sixty-fifth birthday of Theo van den Hout on October 12, 2018. On that day, the Festschrift was presented to Theo during a surprise celebration attended by his family, friends, colleagues, students, and former students, some of whom traveled to Chicago from abroad. There can be no doubt at all that a very large number of people would have been willing to contribute to this celebratory volume. To keep its size within reasonable limits, however, we decided to make the Festschrift a personal gift and to invite contributions from those colleagues with whom Theo has been in closest contact during his study period in Amsterdam, Bochum, and Leiden and during his professional years as Hittitologist and lexicographer in Amsterdam and Chicago. We are deeply grateful to Emily Smith, who gave us invaluable support by beautifully editing and designing the mock version we offered to Theo during his birthday celebration.

Through its broad variety of themes, the volume aptly reflects Theo's expansive competence and range of interests. It includes text editions and lexical studies that reflect Theo's work as executive editor of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary; linguistic studies on Hittite and Luwian grammatical phenomena for Theo the linguist; studies on various religious practices and notions, such as oracles and rituals, as well as several essays on the soul, matching Theo's interests in Hittite society at large; and finally, studies on writing, seals, tablets, and archives, all of which topics address Theo's long-term interest in Hittite literacy—an interest that recently culminated in his latest monograph, *A History of Hittite Literacy: Writing and Reading in Late Bronze-Age Anatolia (1650–1200 BC)* (Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Besides being an amazing scholar, Theo is also a wonderful teacher—a career that started at a Dutch *gymnasium*, where he taught classical languages before receiving his *doctoraat* (PhD) in 1989 from the University of Amsterdam after defending his dissertation, "Studien zum Spätjunghethitischen: Texte der Zeit Tudhaliyas IV. KBo IV 10+ (CTH 106)." Theo's wide-ranging interests and competencies are evident in his classroom, where he has taught Hurrian and all Anatolian languages. Some of us may remember the wildly successful course on Carian he taught in Amsterdam that attracted faculty and students from several Dutch universities. Theo also taught a great variety of thematic courses until his retirement in 2023—courses covering Hittite history, literature, religion, economy, administration, and art.

Theo's academic career was quite meteoric after his graduation in 1989. It started in Chicago, where he was a research associate at the Chicago Hittite Dictionary from 1988 to 1990. Upon his return to the Netherlands, he joined the faculty of the University of Amsterdam's Department of West Asian Languages and Cultures (*Westaziatische Talen en Culturen*), first as a Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences postdoctoral fellow and then, in 1992, as a faculty member. Only a year later, Theo was promoted to special professor (*bijzonder hoogleraar*) in "Hittite and related Anatolian languages as well as the history of Anatolia in the preclassical period" (*Hettitisch en verwante Anatolische talen en culturen alsmede de geschiedenis van Anatolië in de preklassieke periode*). In 2000, he returned to Chicago as professor in Hittite and Anatolian languages and editor of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary. In acknowledgment of his impact on the field, Theo was awarded a named professorship in 2015, as the Arthur and Joann Rasmussen Professor of Western Civilization and Hittite and Anatolian Languages.

We should also mention several of Theo's other accolades: he is a corresponding member of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences and a senior fellow of the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University, and he was awarded a prestigious Guggenheim Fellowship in 2016. Theo's administrative positions have included chairing the University of Chicago's Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations (now the Department of Middle Eastern Studies) and serving as interim director of the Oriental Institute (now the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures), which he led with his

typical kindness and fairness from 2021 to 2023. As a colleague once said, using a Yiddish term, Theo is a real "Mensch."

We are grateful that many colleagues and former students submitted articles after being invited to contribute to this volume. The Festschrift appears far later than originally planned, and we offer our sincere and deepest apologies to all the contributors and to Theo for this delay. Most of the essays were submitted in 2017 and 2018, and the long period between their submission and publication may be reflected in some contributions that do not reference recent relevant publications. We mourn the death of two of the authors, who passed away since submitting their contributions. Wilfred van Soldt died in May 2021; though Wilfred worked as an Assyriologist at Leiden University from 1986 to 2016, when he retired as professor in Assyriology, Wilfred and Theo first met as students of Philo Houwink ten Cate, Theo's then-future *Doktorvater*, at the University of Amsterdam. David Hawkins passed away in December 2023; Theo and David were old friends who engaged in many discussions about Bronze Age Luwian texts, especially the Emirgazi text, which David offers here again in a new edition. We are very grateful that we could include the contributions of Theo's departed friends and colleagues.

Together with the authors, we offer this gift to Theo van den Hout. We hope that he will enjoy its contents and wish him many happy years to come!

Petra Goedegebuure and Joost Hazenbos

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1995 *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag: Eine prosopographische Untersuchung*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 38. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

1998 *The Purity of Kingship: An Edition of CTH 569 and Related Hittite Oracle Inquiries of Tutḫaliya IV*. Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 25. Leiden: Brill.

2010 *Texte aus dem Bezirk des Großen Tempels X*. Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi 59. Berlin: Mann.

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1991 *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*, with Hans G. Güterbock. Assyriological Studies 24. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

1999 *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches*, by Horst Klengel with Fiorella Imparati, Volkert Haas, and Theo P. J. van den Hout. Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1: Near and Middle East 34. Leiden: Brill.

2002–19 *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Vol. *Š*, fascicles 1 (*ša-* to *šaptamenzu*), 2 (*šaptamenzu* to *-ši-*), 3 (*še* to ^{LÚ}*šizišalla-*), and 4 (*-šmaš* to *šūu-, šū-*), with Hans G. Güterbock, Harry A. Hoffner Jr., and Petra M. Goedegebuure. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

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1986 *Alpha-beter: Nieuwe cultuurvakken in het VWO—A Symposium Organized on the Occasion of the 90th Anniversary of the Sint-Ignatiusgymnasium in Amsterdam*, with S. C. Bakhuizen and H. de Vries.

1994 *Hidden Futures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World*, with J. M. Bremer and R. Peters. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

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2019 *Discovering New Pasts: The OI at 100*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

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1984 "Kurunta und die Datierung einiger hethitischen Texte." *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 78: 89–92.

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1 DEEP STRUCTURES IN THE AN.TAḪ.ŠUM AND *NUNTARRIYAŠḪA-* FESTIVALS

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the Deeds of Suppiluliuma (KUB 19.22; dupl. KBo 14.42), Mursili II attests that his father Suppiluliuma celebrated the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM spring festival despite being under attack from both the north and the south. The Kaska people had "attacked" (*walḫ-*) the country of Hakpis, and only a few towns were not occupied. While Suppiluliuma, having already reached Hattusa, was engaged in celebrating the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, the Lower Land rebelled. Lines 1–2 of the text have [*nu-kan ku*]*it ABU-YA ANA* DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{URU}*Ḫatti Ù ANA* ^{D}UTU ^{URU}[*Arin*]*na* AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} *daiš* [*nu k*]^{r}*ā*$^{\urcorner}$*š-pat memiaš nakkiš*. . . . "[Bec]ause my father was lay(ing) down the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant for the Gods of Hatti and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and this act was weighty for the gods, (and the enemy . . . then my father sent Hannutti, the chief of the charioteers, to the Lower Land and gave him chariots)."[1]

The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival lasted thirty-five days and was extended to thirty-eight and even forty days in the time of Tuthaliya IV.[2] It also included several Hurrian gods, some of whose cults were introduced in Hattusa not later than Suppiluliuma I, such as those of Teššub of Ḫalab (whose city was conquered by this king), Šauška of Hattarina, and Ea.[3] The *nuntarriyašḫa-* autumn festival was roughly of the same length and contained similar celebrations, although in a different sequence.

The area defined by the cultic journeys prescribed for the king and queen, as well as for the god Zithariya, coincided with the nucleus of the Old Hittite state and was characterized by Hattian cults. It extended about 80 km northwest–southeast as the crow flies, from Arinna (Alaca Höyük) to Zippalanda (Uşaklı Höyük), with Hattusa between them. The long spring festival ended in Ankuwa (Alişar Höyük),

1 The fragments KBo 14.42 and KUB 19.22 have been identified by Houwink ten Cate (1966) as belonging to the Deeds of Suppiluliuma. Del Monte (2008, 65) translates: "poiché mio padre deponeva il finocchio agli dèi di Hattusa e al Sole di Arinna," understanding that Suppiluliuma performed this cultic act. The translation "established (festsetzte) the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival," proposed by Haas and Wegner (1992, 247), does not seem correct. In favor of del Monte's interpretation is the passage KBo 10.20 II 5–6 (outline of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival) for the ninth day: *lukkatti-ma-kan* LUGAL-*uš INA* ^{URU}*Arinna* AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} *dāi* MUNUS.LUGAL-*ma-šši̯an* ^{URU}KUBABBAR-*ši INA* É.MUNUS.LUGAL AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} *dāi nu INA* É.MUNUS.LUGAL *šalli ašeššar* "The next morning, the king places the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant in Arinna; in Hattusa the queen places the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant in the house of the queen. Great Assembly in the house of the queen." Güterbock (1960, 85 = 1997, 96) translates: "The king/the queen takes the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant. . . ." The verb for "performing, celebrating" a festival is *iya-* (see Goetze 1933a, 20; KBo 3.4 line 22). The verb *dāi-* in the quoted passage could mean only "to place the fennel (in the temples) for the gods," fennel being the plant that gave the festival its name.

2 KUB 30.39 rev. 5: 35 days; KBo 10.20 IV 21: 38$^{?}$ days; VSNF 12.1 rev. 31: 38[+2] days.

3 On the celebration for Teššub of Ḫalab in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (twenty-first day), see Souček and Siegelová 1974. On that of Šauška of Hattarina (days twenty-two to twenty-six), see Haas and Wegner 1992, 250–57; the texts concerning this goddess have been collected by Wegner (1995, 109–45). The day for the cult of É.A was the twenty-ninth. In the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival, Teššub of Ḫalab was celebrated in his temple on the thirty-fourth day (see Nakamura 2002, 70, lines 2–4).

40 km farther southeast, on the main road leading to the eastern regions and bordering the Erciyas Dağ, a volcano whose summit is covered by perpetual snow (Archi 2015, 17–23) and which can be seen from Mount Daha, by Zippalanda (Kerkenes Dağ).[4] Mursili II spent winters in Ankuwa. Nerik (Oymaağaç), downstream from the bend in the Marassanta River (Kızılırmak), north of Hakpis, was not included in these festivals because the area was at that time under the control of the Kaska people. Even Tuthaliya IV did not add a religious journey to Nerik (when it was restored as a holy city), although it was the third great sanctuary (beside Hattusa) the Hittites received from the Hattians. Not only do §§50–51 of the Laws (Old Script manuscript) mention "Nerik . . . Arinna . . . Ziplanta," but three Hattian manuscripts (New Script) also list the priests (^{LÚ}SANGA) of Arinna, Hattusa, Zippalanda, and Neri/ak (Soysal 2007). Introducing some changes in the festivals, Tuthaliya IV contented himself with a celebration of the Storm-god of Nerik in a temple built in Hattusa.[5] On the sixteenth day of the *nuntarriyašha-* festival, the ceremony called EZEN$_4$ *ŠA* KASKAL ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik* "The Festival of the Nerik Road" was established and celebrated by the king, moving from Tahurpa to Hattusa.[6]

It is possible that this process of unifying several festivals could already have been started by Tuthaliya I, who succeeded in establishing a period of relative stability at least to the core of the kingdom. Arnuwanda I had to face a great political crisis, and Tuthaliya II(/III) (son of Queen Nikkalmadi, of the Hurrianized royal family of Kizzuwatna) introduced from his new and magnificent residence in Sapinuwa a Hurrian dynastic cult, in whose rituals he appears with the Hurrian name Tašmi-šarri—a cult accepted by his successors, in particular Tuthaliya IV.[7] It was probably Suppiluliuma who gave these two festivals the format we know by incorporating several ceremonies into a great festival in the spring, when the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} plant was in bloom, and another one in autumn.[8]

The plant from which the spring festival takes its name was picked and presented to the Sun-goddess of Arinna on the ninth day; with it was prepared a *ḫurutel-*dish, offered to the gods, together with several kinds of bread on the thirty-second and thirty-third days (Haas 1994, 773). This plant has been identified with fennel, whose seed is an important spice in cooking and whose bulb-like base is used as a vegetable (Farber 1991). Its blooming, therefore, coincided with the right time for starting the celebrations.[9] The au-

4 In the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival, the celebration in Zippalanda fell instead on the thirteenth day.

5 VSNF 12.1 obv. 15: *ANA* ^{d}[U] ^{URU}*Nerikka* EZEN$_4$ [AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} UD.12.KAM]. This text specifies that "in Arinna, the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} plant (was placed) in the house of the town of Purushanda" (eighth day) and that the king visited the house of the town of Gazzimara in Hattusa (eleventh day; obv. 2–3, 7); see Houwink ten Cate 2003, 207, 211–12, where he notes also that, according to a passage of the Bronze Tablet (III 61–63), "Nerik had not regained its former status." Gazzimara has to be located beyond Ankuwa. According to KUB 54.78, 3, the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} also had to be "placed" for ^{D}KAL [^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*(?)]. The DUMU.LUGAL "Prince" offered the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant in the temples of Telepinu, Kattahha, and Hasamili in an unidentified city, perhaps Durmitta, not far from the region of Nerik and Kastama (KUB 20.45+ [CTH 647.I] obv. 8–9, 15–16, rev. 21–22). A MH version of this festival does not mention the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant. See Taracha 2017, 3–4, 80–85, 95–99.

6 According to two outlines of the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival, the king visited the temple of the Storm-god of Nerik on the seventh day (on the third day according to another version of the outline); see Nakamura 2002, 18, lines 36–37 (seventh day), 36 II B 1–3 (third day). For the festival of "the Nerik road (KASKAL)," see KBo 48.35 (132/s), 4–5, and Bo 4097, 10–11, in Nakamura 2002, 260, and the commentary on p. 112. Based on these data, Güterbock (1964, 69) suggested that these versions of the festival should be dated to the time of Mursili I; his thesis is supported by Houwink ten Cate (1988, 185–86) with further arguments.

7 On the state pantheon of the Hattian-Hittite tradition and the dynastic pantheon of the Hurrian tradition (which, about two centuries later, found its visual representation in the mausoleum of Yazılıkaya for Tuthaliya IV), see, in general, Taracha 2009, 84–95.

8 Already Taracha (2009, 139) favored attributing to Suppiluliuma I the fact that "ceremonies formerly celebrated independently for particular gods of Hattusa and the nearby towns were incorporated into the program of the great state festival celebrated for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the gods of Hatti"; compare also Haas 1994, 772. Meanwhile, Houwink ten Cate (1986, 109–10; 1988, 185–86) is more cautious and makes references to several additions by Mursili II. Manuscripts *A* and *B* stress in the colophon that their version was the one used *maḫḫan ḫantezzi*(*li*) *aniyanteš* "when the festival was first performed" (Güterbock 1960, 84–85, 87).

9 The most complete transliteration of the outline of this festival is in Alp 1983, 136–49, to which one must add the important text VSNF 12.1 (see Houwink ten Cate 2003). The version KBo 10.20 was first transcribed and commented on by Güterbock (1960 [= 1997, 91–98]; 1964). A detailed analysis of the festival appears in Haas 1994, 772–826.

tumn festival, the Festival of Haste (*nuntarriyašḫa-*), probably takes its name from the haste with which the king had to close his usual annual military campaigns and return to Hattusa for its celebration.[10]

It has been remarked that some manuscripts referring to the celebrations of these two festivals must be classified as Middle Hittite (MH) in date. This classification does not mean that certain texts must be dated to the so-called Middle Kingdom, a notion now no longer accepted and largely abandoned (Archi 2003); nor does it mean that they contain probative evidence for attribution to the MH stage of the Hittite language, since festival texts are not suited to such linguistic analysis (Melchert 2008). The classification of some manuscripts as MH is based only on the form of some signs, for example in KBo 9.140, one of the many admirable copies by Heinrich Otten.[11] The idea is now widely accepted that the language of the texts of Suppiluliuma (Neu 1979) and also the form of the signs in some manuscripts of his time may be classified as MH and display MH Script.

It is difficult to detect which single festivals going back to the Hattian period were included in these new programs—the *purulli* festival, for example, celebrated in Hattusa for the Storm-gods of Hatti and Zippalanda, as well as for Lelwani in the *ḫešta*-house.[12] The KI.LAM festival was included in the twenty-fourth to twenty-sixth days of the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival.[13] Moreover, following so many detailed descriptions of so many celebrations in two such demanding programs, one risks missing some elements of the religious seasonal cycle and need for an annual renewal that went back to the Hattian period and provided the *raison d'être* of the spring and autumn festivals.

2. THE GOD ZITHARIYA AND HIS HUNTING BAG (^{KUŠ}*KURŠA-*)

2.1. THE JOURNEY OF THE HUNTING BAG IN THE AN.TAḪ.ŠUM FESTIVAL

The colophon of KUB 30.39(+) (*B*) and its duplicate KBo 48.30 (*G*, without variants) states how many days were needed to celebrate all "the festivals" included in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM (presumably at the time of Mursili II) and notes that this outline is "complete." It was also deemed necessary to add this unusual notation: "To remember (ŠÀ-*ta šiyannaš*): for the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival of Zithariya one goes to his temple, (that is) to his own temple (in Hattusa)"—moreover, that "it was established through oracles: the question that was (particularly) complex (*ariyan-ma-at* DINGIR^{LIM}*-it kuit uttar-kan šūwattat*)," in this way stressing the importance of the role of Zithariya, a god who might be represented by a ^{KUŠ}*kurša-* "hunting bag" (Güterbock 1989 = 1997, 137–41). Zithariya's journey was parallel to that of the king, a fact already duly emphasized by Hans Güterbock (1964, 67–68 = 1997, 106–7).

At the beginning of the festival it is prescribed that the king and queen must enter Hattusa to take possession of the capital for the inauguration of the new yearly cycle; therefore, they had to go to Tahurpa, from where the royal train moved to Hattusa. Similarly so for the ^{KUŠ}*kurša-*: it was brought to Arinna by the supreme deity of the Hattian-Hittite pantheon, then left from there on the third day to reach Tawiniya (fourth day). From Tawiniya it went to Hiyasna, where it remained overnight (fifth day); the next day it went to Hattusa, to the temple of the (Hattian) Grain-goddess, Halki (KUB 23.80+, *B*; KBo 10.20+, *A*:

10 This festival, first commented on by Güterbock (1961, 90–92), was reconstructed in part by Houwink ten Cate (1988) and edited by Nakamura (2002). A detailed description of it appears in Haas 1994, 827–47. In KUB 9.16 IV 4, Mursili II says that he introduced/restored festivals that had been kept *kar*(*a*)*š-* "separate" (Nakamura 2002, 23).

11 On this manuscript, see Popko and Taracha 1988, 96–100: twenty-ninth day, cult of Ea. For a list of MH manuscripts, see Schwemer 2004, 397–98 n14—in particular KBo 20.44(+), whose colophon proves that the text belongs to "the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival, in the temple of the Sun-goddess in Hat[tusa . . .]," then at Mattila and to Arinna, on the seventh and eighth day, respectively. The colophon of KBo 40.61(+) also refers to Matilla; see Yoshida 1992, 134.

12 So according to the Annals of Mursili II (Goetze 1933a, 188–89, III 38–43; cf. Haas and Wegner 1992, 247). This celebration had to be, of course, an adaptation of the Old Hittite festival. On the transmission of the Lelwani festival, see Torri 2015, with previous literature.

13 This suggestion was made by Houwink ten Cate (1988, 191–93 with n53); cf. Nakamura 2002, 80–81, 127–30.

^{D}NISABA),[14] where on the sixth day a celebration was held. These two sources (*A*, *B*), as well as the parallel KUB 25.27 I 5, 12, 20 (a SAG.UŠ "regular" festival), have ^{KUŠ}*kurša-*,[15] while in the very late VSNF 12.1 (*F*) obv. 6 (cf. KUB 23.28+ II 18) the name ^{D}*Zitḫariya* takes the place of ^{KUŠ}*kurša-*. The celebration of the hunting bag is one of the so-called "'secondary festivals' or subsidiary ceremonies" celebrated during both the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and *nuntarriyašḫa-* festivals (Houwink ten Cate 1986, 100).

2.2. THE JOURNEY OF THE HUNTING BAG IN THE *NUNTARRIYAŠḪA-* FESTIVAL

The incipit of Outline 1 has: "When the king returns from a military campaign, he celebrates the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival for the gods. On the 1st day: the Great Assembly in Katapa; 1st day. Next day, Zithariya goes to the house of the grandfather (in Katapa); the prince follows him; his (the god's) festival. At the Palace purification bath; 2nd day.[16] The next day the king celebrates the Storm-god NIR.GÁL; he turns back. Zithariya goes to Hakkura, then goes to Tatasuna; 3rd day" (Nakamura 2002, 17, I 3–11). In addition, 5.T.1(1.)1.C: IV 18 refers to this celebration (Nakamura 2002, 176). A tablet concerning this particular celebration was originally kept in the archives, according to the inventory KBo 47.6 (2011/u) rev. 1–3: [. .] ^{KUŠ}*kuršan INA* É *ABI ABI* ^{D}UT[U^{ŠI} *uda*]*i n-ašta apiya maḫḫan* [. . *A*]*NA PANI* ^{KUŠ}*kurši* EZEN$_4$ *aššanuzzi* (Dardano 2006, 188–89).[17]

The journey of the king "when he comes from Arinna and goes to the palace of the intendants (*ABUBITI*)" to celebrate the autumn festivals there—that is, "when His Majesty comes from the military campaign (*laḫḫaz*), and when one leaves Zithariya in his temple"—was the object of an oracular inquiry, CTH 586. So was the journey of the hunting bag to Tatasūna and Hakkura, as Philo Houwink ten Cate has shown (1986, 101–4).[18]

Outline 2 mentions the king in the *ḫešta*-house for the tenth day, and a "Great Assembly in the temple of KAL, (and) his festival, (that is:) in the temple of ^{KUŠ}*kurša-* they celebrate a festival for Zithariya, (its) 1st day" (Nakamura 2002, 37, III 1–4). Outlines 4, I 13, and 5, II 24, are similar (Nakamura 2002, 63, 66). Outline 7 rev.$^{?}$ 12 has *INA* É ^{D}*Ziṯḫ*]*ariya-ma AN*[*A* ^{D}*Zitḫariya*: 31st day].[19]

2.3. THE ROLE OF ZITHARIYA AND HIS HUNTING BAG

Since in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival Zithariya left the holy city of Arinna and reached Hattusa, where he joined the king at the start of the celebration, we must deduce that the god had to inaugurate the festival together with the king, whom he then accompanied on his military expedition. In fact, in the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival, "when the king returns from a military campaign," the god is already mentioned on the second day, when he was brought to Katapa. The ^{KUŠ}*kurša-* of Zithariya was therefore a kind of talisman that protected the king while he achieved his "deeds" (Haas 1994, 454–56).[20]

Johannes Friedrich (1930, 30–31) was able to determine that ^{KUŠ}*kurša-* was a "Vlies (mit einem gewissen Hohlraum)" and to exclude "Schild," a meaning suggested by Sommer (1932, 181–82, followed by others),

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14 The Hittite scribes used the Sumerogram NISABA for the Hattian goddess Halki, as well as for Kumarpi and Dagan (Archi 2004, 330–36). The following lists of Hurrian gods related to Ea require that NISABA be interpreted as Kumarpi: ^{D}É.A ^{D}DAM.KI.NA ^{D}AG ^{D}NISABA ^{D}*Māti* ^{D}*Ḫazzizzi* (see KBo 9.140 I 3, 5, 8, 14, 18, and passim) (twenty-ninth day; Popko and Taracha 1988, 96).

15 See further KUB 25.27 II 18: ^{D}*Zitḫariya*; IV 4–6:]É ^{D}KAL-*ma* / [. . . . . ^{D}*Z*]*itḫariya* / [. . . . .] *iyanzi*. This text has been commented on by Houwink ten Cate (1986, 99–100).

16 According to KBo 11.43 V 19–20, the ^{KUŠ}*kurša-* could have received a first celebration at Arinna; see Nakamura 2002, 177.

17 The registration in another catalog of tablets, KUB 30.60 + KBo 14.70 I 21–22, has "Second tablet. Complete. Of the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag. The first tablet is not present. When the king himself celebrates the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag" (Dardano 2006, 75–76).

18 The texts are ABoT 1.14 + KBo 24.118, *A*, V; KUB 22.27, *B*, III 40–44, IV 1–20; see Lebrun 1994, 54–56.

19 On KBo 13.257, included in Outline 7, see Houwink ten Cate 1988, 192–93.

20 Its protection was extended to the queen, too, according to KBo 49.189, 13: "Zithariya of the queen" (Alp 1983, 230–31); it was introduced also in the Hurrian ritual for Šawuška of Samuha (KUB 27.1 I 64): "Zithariya of the king . . . Zithariya of the queen" (Wegner 1995, 34). On Zithariya and the ^{KUŠ}*kurša-* see, in general, Popko 1978, 108–15.

considering that this object in leather represented Zithariya, a ^{D}KAL "Schutzgott." In the Prayer to the Assembly of Gods by Muwatalli II, Zithariya is the god of the city of Zithara, as well as the Storm-god of the Army, son of the Storm-god, and the Tutelary-god of the ^{KUŠ}*kurša-*[21] (Singer 1996, 11, lines 59–60, and 24–25)—therefore apparently a war-god.

The chapel of the god in Hattusa (É ^{KUŠ}*kurša-*, line 7) hosted two ^{KUŠ}*kurša-*: one of Zithariya and another of "the Tutelary-god of Hatenzuwa," according to KUB 55.43 (Bo 2393 + Bo 5138) I 1–32, (Otten 1959; McMahon 1991, 144–47).[22] Because of the perishable material employed (leather), these hunting bags had to be "renewed . . . whether in the ninth year, or whenever they renew them, the time is not prescribed" (lines 3–4). "The place is prescribed: the pegs are (already) driven in directly below (*awan katta*) the place of the image of the god (DINGIR^{LIM}). They hang them there. But (at) the place of the image of the god (*AŠAR* DINGIR^{LIM}*-ma*) they hang the two new ^{KUŠ}*kurša-*" (lines 9–11). The two old hunting bags were sent to the provinces—that of Zithariya to Tahuppiya ("they call it 'the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag'") and that of Hatenzuwa to Durmitta (this one receiving the new name "Tutelary-god of the town of Zapatiskuwa").

It is uncertain whether the god was represented in Hattusa by only the hunting bag, as in Hatenzuwa and Nerik.[23] In any case, Güterbock defined the iconography and iconology of ^{D}KAL ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* "Inar of the hunting bag" by analyzing the stag rhyton of the Schimmel Collection together with several stamp seals on which this god is denoted by the horns of a stag and a bag with a handle. In particular, on the rhyton the male god is represented as standing on a stag while holding a bird of prey in his left hand and a lituus in his right (see also the Yeniköy stele in the Ankara Museum). The field behind has his seated *paredra* Ala, who holds a bird of prey in her left hand and a cup in her right, and is delimited by two upright spears. In the field is also represented a quiver filled with arrows and a bag hanging from an *eya*-tree, under which lies a slain stag. It is therefore possible that in the temple of the ^{KUŠ}*kurša-*, the god (at least from a certain period onward) was represented in the form of an image, below which the bag had to hang, together with the horns of a stag.

These attributes indicate that the Tutelary-god of the king in war was a hunting-god. Hunting was successful only if the proper rules were followed, so that even the sacred animal of the god could be slain. It was in hunting that the king demonstrated his warlike behavior, which allowed him to be heroic in battle. Hunting and war belonged to the ideology of kingship. In the reliefs that decorated their palaces, the Assyrian kings were depicted as performing both of these activities. For the Hittites, hunting came first, probably because of its religious aspects. The reliefs of the holy city of Arinna (Alaca Höyük) show both cultic and hunting representations, the latter with a lion, a boar, and a stag.[24] The Hunting-god is clearly of Hattian origin, as are Kantipuitti and Kapparaiyamu, also represented by a hunting bag (McMahon 1991, 17–18, 237). The standards of Alaca, whose round form represented the Sun-goddess, have bulls and stags, the animals of the Storm-god and the god of the wilderness. The Luwians had Kuruntiya as the god of the wilderness, a legacy of the role played by hunting in the ideology of the Neolithic period in Anatolia.

21 One manuscript added LÍL "of the fields"; the corrected copy omitted the addition.

22 According to the Annals of Mursili II, Hatenzuwa was "the town of Zithariya"; see Goetze 1933a, 164, II 7.

23 KUB 38.35 I 1–5: "Town of Halinzuwa. . . . His Majesty Tuthaliya rebuilt the town. The divine representations they restored as follows. Zithariya: 1 hunting bag, [. . .] 1 solar disc of gold, 10 shekels, they drove in" (Hazenbos 2003, 49–50). KUB 27.68+ III 41–42: "The Tutelary-god: before, in Nerik, the Hunting bag [. . . .] was crushed inside" (Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 250, 257).

24 The molds found recently at Ortaköy-Sapinuwa date the "Fist Rhyton" (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) to the time of Tuthaliya II/III. One of these molds represents a bicephalous eagle similar to the relief of Alaca Höyük. (Some of the molds from Ortaköy have been published; see Süel 2020; Gerçek and Perçin-Gerçek 2024). This find might favor dating the Alaca reliefs to the Early Empire period. Taracha 2011 is the last study in favor of dating the Alaca Höyük sculptures to the later phase of the Empire period. These depictions are similar to the small relief figurines in lapis lazuli set in gold belonging to a necklace found at Karkamiš (see Seidel 1972).

3. CYCLICAL RITES: THE YEAR AND THE PITHOS

For the eleventh day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, the outline states: "the chief of the palace attendants carries the Year (MU^{KAM}-*an*) to the *hešta*/*i*-house, and the king follows him."[25] KUB 54.38 II 5–11 (Groddek 2002, 9) preserves a few lines in which it is described how the "Year" was hung on the wall: "The chief administrator gives back the Year to the men of the ^{É}*ḫeštā*. One places it on a bed, and unfastens it (from its frame). The chief of the cooks and the men of the ^{É}*ḫeštā* drive a small peg with [a hammer]. . . ." Several fragmentary documents show that a plurality of Years, MU$^{ḪI.A}$, were kept in the ^{É}*ḫeštā* and received offerings together with deified parts of the house, such as the window, the bolt of the gate, ^{D}*Zuppa* (a divinized object?), and the hearth.[26] Güterbock (1964, 67) suggested that these Years had the form of a hieroglyphic symbol: "Wird das abgelaufene Jahr dort beigesetzt, etwa in Gestalt eines (hieroglyphischen) Symbols?" The hieroglyphic sign for ANNUS is PITHOS, PITHOS.SCUTELLA (actually, a lid!), which in this particular case could have been of precious metal. The Year was symbolized by the pithos (^{DUG}*ḫaršalli*-).[27]

A first analysis of this rite was given by Volkert Haas and Ilse Wegner (1992, 245–48), who also thought that the "former years" were deposited in the temple of "the goddess of death," Lelwani. Giulia Torri (1999, 25–27) countered this thesis by noting that petitioners made requests to Lelwani, usually with accompanying vows, that the goddess bestow "long years, months, days," "years, months, days not to be counted"; for each granted request, Lelwani would have received the images of "years, months, days in gold and silver." It was Lelwani who decided the fate of humans; consequently, they invoked the goddess to obtain her favor. In the Hattian-Hittite ritual KBo 37.1, Lelwani, together with the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess, was asked to build a new palace for the king and thereby ensure a solid foundation for the kingship (Klinger 1996, 638–39, obv. 3–6).

The name ^{É}*ḫeštā*/*ī* has been connected with *ḫaštiyas per* "house of bones," mentioned in the Apology of Hattusili III (Goetze 1925, 104, ad IV 75) and therefore interpreted as "ossuary, mausoleum"—that is, "a focus for mortuary worship, ancestor cult, and chthonic ritual centered around the infernal goddess Lelwanis" (HED 3, 321–22, with bibliography).[28]

This "house," however, was the temple of the goddess Lelwani (Torri 1999, 10–20) and must distinguished from the É.NA$_4$ "Stone-house," which was the mausoleum.[29] The (Old Hittite?) manuscript KBo 17.15 of the festival celebrated in the ^{É}*ḫeštā*/*ī* lists the nine Hattian deities of its pantheon, among whom are the Sun-goddess (of the underworld), together with the Hattian Isdustaya and Papaya (Neu 1980, 72, obv.$^{?}$ 8–17).[30] These beings were the two Fate-goddesses, who had the task of establishing the length of mortals' lives (Archi 2013, 1–6). The mention of the goddesses who presided over fate, together with the custom of invoking "long years" from Lelwani, makes it quite probable that the rite of delivering the Year to the ^{É}*ḫeštā* had the aim of placing under the protection of the Fate-goddesses the year the king was entering.

While the presentation of the Year to the Fate-goddess Lelwani concerned the request to exercise kingship for another year, another cyclical rite was bound to the succession of the seasons and the primary requirements for the survival of the human race: agricultural production. A pithos ($^{DUG/GIŠ}$*ḫaršiyalli*-) placed in the temples of the major local gods was filled (*šuḫḫa*-) with grain in the autumn and kept sealed until the

25 KBo 20.10 II 11–12, restored with KBo 55.230 II 2; VSNF 12.1 obv. 10–11 (see Houwink ten Cate 2003, 208). This cultic act gives the name to the celebration of the day according to the colophon in IBoT 2.1 VI 8–11: DUB III^{KAM} *mān* MU-*an INA* ^{É}*ḫeštā ḫamešḫi INA* EZEN$_4$ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM$^{S[AR]}$ *pēdanzi QATI*.

26 The passages with MU$^{ḪI.A}$ are KBo 17.40+ I 7; KUB 41.27 IV 3; KUB 58.28 IV 8; and IBoT 2.1 VI 4; 3.1, 49, while KBo 25.171 I 9 has the phonetic writing *uittaš piran*; see Torri 1999, 22–23.

27 Melchert (1988, 228) writes: "The HLuwian sign for 'year' represents a just opened pithos, showing the jar itself and its round lid above it. Sign 402 is certainly a reasonable representation of a round lid with a small knob in the middle (again viewed from above)."

28 Against this thesis, see n32.

29 Cf. Archi 2007, 50–52; Singer 2009, 170–71. On the É.NA$_4$, see van den Hout 2002, 80–86. The mausoleum of Tuthaliya IV was at Yazılikaya, that of Suppiluliuma II at the Südburg in Hattusa.

30 The texts concerning the festival in the *ḫešta*-house have been edited by Haas and Wäfler (1976, 1977).

spring, when it was opened (*kinu-*) to use that grain for making bread, in this way establishing continuity from one harvest to the next. This agrarian rite was deeply rooted in central Anatolia, going back at least to the Hattian period, and documented by a great number of texts, in particular those relating to the restoration of cults in minor places.[31]

"When spring comes [and] it thunders, they open the pithos" (KBo 2.7 rev. 16) is the usual formula that opens the spring festivals. The rite of opening the pithos must therefore be performed also in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, an expanded spring festival, for the two major lords of the thunder of Hattusa: the Storm-god of Hatti and the Storm-god of Zippalanda. "The intendants of the right ($^{LÚ<.MEŠ>}$*ABUBIDU*/*TI* ZAG-*naš*) bring [the pithos of the Storm-god] of Zippalanda (5th day) . . . The intendants of the Storm-god of Zippalanda open the pithos of the Storm-god of Zippalanda in that day (6th day)." "The king goes in the temple of Ziparwa. His festival (takes place). They open the pithos of *šeppit-*grain of the Storm-god of Ḫatti on that day (12th day)." This rite was attributed also to the Storm-god of Aleppo, Teššup, who was the Syrian counterpart of the Hittite Tarhun(t), and to the southeast Syrian gods [X and Š]anda(?) on the twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth days of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, when these deities were included in the Hittite pantheon (VSNF 12.1 rev. 10–11, 13–14: ^{DUG}*ḫaršiyalli ginuwanzi*; see Houwink ten Cate 2003, 209, 213–14).

4. THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

On the fifth day of the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival, while the king goes to Arinna, the queen celebrates six former queens—Walanni, Nikkalmadi, Ašmunikal, Da/Duduhepa, Henti, and Tawananna, the wives of Tuthaliya I, Arnuwanda I, Tuthaliya II, and Suppiluliuma I. This rite was introduced, therefore, in the time of Mursili II. "The diviner brings eight Sun-goddesses of Arinna in the *ḫalentuwa-*house: three statues (and) 5 sun(-discs)," those of the abovementioned former queens, which are washed and anointed. At this point, the queen offers to them lambs and breads (Nakamura 2002, 89–90, 188, 192–95). These statues and discs represented the Sun-goddess and were dedicated by the former queens. The duplicate KBo 2.15 V 10–16 prescribes, in fact, that the queen offer to the Sun-goddess together with (her daughter) Mezzulla (Nakamura

31 This rite has been highlighted in Archi 1973, 16–18; many texts have been edited recently by both Joost Hazenbos (2003) and Michele Cammarosano (2018). The opening of the *ḫaršiyalli-* is also mentioned in rituals of the Lower Land; see, e.g., ABoT 1.1 I 11–12 and KUB 9.27+ 12–13 (Popko 1978, 85–86). Popko (1996, 99–100) has produced evidence for the use of these pithoi also as containers of bread; for wine, see the edict of Hattusili III concerning the property of Arma-Tarhunta, where the king declares that he has not neglected the cults of Ištar of Samuha but has placed for her one pithos for grain and another one for wine (KUB 21.17 II 11–14). According to a later manuscript of a festival for the Storm-god (KUB 10.11+ IV 25–V 13), a pithos with the wine for offerings was kept in a particular room (*tunnakeššar*).

In the study mentioned above, I tried to show that these rites of the spring and autumn festivals must go back to time immemorial, being an expression of local agrarian rites. Also deeply rooted in folk traditions must have been the processions of the images of the gods to the stelae placed in deified mountains (male) and near deified sources (female), which they represented in the temples, to reintegrate their numinous power. I stated that "les textes sont en grande partie attribuable au règne de Tutḫalija IV qui dut entreprendre, surtout au nord, une œuvre de restauration des cultes, après que son père, Ḫattušili III, eut refoulé le Kaška de la région du fleuve Halys" (Archi 1973, 8). "Restoration" is the opposite of "reform." Concerning these so-called cult inventories, Cammarosano (2015, 207) believes there was "a broader view of the alleged 'cult reform' of Tuthaliya (which) reached its climax in the 1970s," when in an "influential article" Emmanuel Laroche (1975) attributed to Tuthaliya IV a "réforme réligieuse." Cammarosano even referred to Hazenbos (2003, 11–13), who had defined this process as "reorganization," adopting the same terminology used already by Goetze (1933b, 159–60): "Kultreorganisation," a term quite different from "reform." A clear statement on these different theses appeared in Archi 2006, 150–53, where it was further suggested that, in some cases, Tuthaliya IV introduced some gods according to the religious feelings of his time. As a case in support, I cited the group of texts CTH 510, where besides the Luwian Storm-gods ^{D}*Pihami* and ^{D}*Pihaim*(*m*)*i* are listed the deified Syrian river Baliḫ with its Luwianized name ^{ID}*Baluḫašša*, together with the Storm-god of Ḫarran and the Syrian god ^{D}*Milku*. The Storm-god *piḫaimmi* and the Syrian god Milku are included in the Late Hittite ritual of Emar (Archi 2002, 49–51). This explanation seems to me still the most reasonable one for the presence of these gods (together with the Storm-god of "the land of Assur") in CTH 510, while Cammarosano agrees with the thesis of Schwemer (2008, 151–52) that in the area west of Kaneš/Nesa along the middle Kızılırmak there persisted the memory of gods introduced by the Assyrian merchants five hundred years earlier.

2002, 200–201; cf. Kümmel 1967, 16). This rite remembered the pious veneration demonstrated by former queens toward the supreme goddess.

The thirty-second day of the same festival was devoted, instead, to the cult of the male and female ancestors of the royal family, forty-four in total, including the princes (Nakamura 2002, 137–38, 267–75). The fragment KUB 11.10 + KBo 60.303 lists the "houses" required to deliver these offerings (their names are few and badly preserved). It has been suggested that this rite took place in the ^{É}*ḫešta-*, considered to be the *Totentempel*. As a matter of fact, the connection of that institution with this rite is undocumented, and in any case the ^{É}*ḫešta-* was not a *Totentempel*.[32]

Each ancestor received a wicker table, and we may reasonably presume that at the moment a scribe, reading from a tablet, pronounced the name of an ancestor, offerings were deposited on his or her table (see KUB 11.8+9 III 14–23): "Total: 44 kings they provide on the day of (the burning) with the ^{GIŠ}*warḫuštu-* wood. To each of all these tables inside from the wall [. . .], each wicker table and small tables, meat. . . . Which one [gi]ves to eat to the gods (i.e., the ancestors): bread, fruit [. . . . .] they eat" (Nakamura 2002, 270–71). Mentioning the name of the gods who were receiving an offering was the usual practice (KBo 19.128 III 8–12): "And those gods who are established in the first tablet (of this festival), one calls them all by name for a libation" (Otten 1971, 6–9); see also KUB 20.24 III 9 (and passim): "The scribe calls the god X; (offerings)."

This rite occurred in the late autumn, and it is difficult to avoid thinking that the Hittites, who had received from the Hattians the Sun-goddess of Arinna (linked also to the netherworld) and whose kings were buried alongside the sanctuary of this goddess, might have adopted some elements from them as well as some rites concerning the royal ancestors, although such rites were widespread.[33]

One must distinguish the cult of the ancestors from the cult of the statues of the most glorious kings—statues that were placed in the temple of the Storm-god (of Aleppo): those of Hattusili I, Tuthaliya I, and Suppiluliuma I, as well as that of Mursili II, added later (according to the texts collected under CTH 660). Another statue of Hattusili I was placed in the temple of the War-god ZA.BA$_4$.BA$_4$ (KBo 4.9 II 11), the king who established his capital in Hattusa and waged war both to the west and to the east, reaching Aleppo. These statues received offerings—together with the holy places of the temple to which each belonged: the hearth, Ḫurtalliya, the (cultic) throne, the window, the bolt of the gate—also on the occasion of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (VSNF 12.2 VI 14). The initiative to place the statues of these ancestors was probably taken by Hattusili III, who, having usurped the throne, chose to restore Hattusa as the capital. He traced his genealogy back to his grandfather Suppiluliuma, then directly to "Hattusili, king of Kussar." His son Tuthaliya IV imitated this technique by going back to Tuthaliya I. The data concerning these statues have been aptly tabulated by Torri (2008, 173–75). The texts of CTH 660 probably concern the cult of Teššup, the Storm-god of Aleppo. The celebration of Teššup in his temple in Hattusa fell on the twenty-first day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (the twenty-seventh day in the time of Tuthaliya IV; VSNF 12.1 rev. 10–11). Maciej Popko (2002, 78) has keenly noted that, according to this festival, some attributes of Teššub of Aleppo had been introduced in Hattusa: ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA, his chariot, together with the two divinized bulls, Šeri and Ḫurri, who pulled it, and even ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ}, the (two) mountains on which he stood, therefore Nanni and Ḫazzi (Ṣapuna) in the Syrian tradition.[34] It is in the thirteenth-century manuscripts of this group that the statues of the ancestors are mentioned. Popko (2002, 78–79) has given the correct interpretation of the presence of these statues:

32 See the radical statement by Popko (2007): "Ein Zusammenhang zwischen ^{É}*ḫišta* und den Listen der verstorbenen Könige bleibt also unbewiesen, folglich gibt es kein Grund um in diesem Gebäude einen Totentempel bzw. einen Tempel der Ahnenverehrung der in Hattusa regierenden Dynastie zu sehen." The ^{É}*ḫešta-* appears in KUB 59.29 obv. 3 in connection with ^{GIŠ}*warḫuštu-*, the wood used to make bonfires on the occasion of the offerings to the ancestors; the king, however, goes out from the *ḫalentuwa* (lines 10–11) before starting the offerings to the ancestors (see Nakamura 2002, 267).

33 For some references to such cults in Syria, cf. Archi 2007, 49–50.

34 An oracular text, KUB 18.12+22.15 obv. 4, mentions "Hattusa, the city of Storm-god of Aleppo"; a festival was established for "the Storm-god of Aleppo in Hattusa" (KUB 5.6+ IV 9; see Popko 2002, 74, and 79 for the suggestion that this temple was in Büyükkale). According to Torri 2008, 176, the temple should be identified with Temple 5.

> Die ihren (d.h. der Könige) Bildern dargebrachten Opfer werden meistens als Beweis des Kultes der gestorbenen Könige gedeutet, aber diese Auffassung ist m.E. kaum zutreffend. Jenen Kult beleuchten die Texte, die unter CTH 661 gebucht sind. Hingegen ist in den diskutierten Texten eher von den Königen die Rede, die zum Ruhm der regierenden Dynastie besonders beigetragen haben und deswegen als Helden verehrt wurden. Aus diesem Anlass fanden sich ihre Bilder im Adyton des Tempels von Teššub, des Beschützers der Dynastie. Sie wurden dort als Elemente der Ausstattung betrachtet und in Rahmen des dynastischen Kultes samt Götterbildern und Kultgegenständen beopfert.

The topography described in this festival excludes the possibility that the image of Tuthaliya (I) could be that of the stele in Building A in the temenos of Temple 5.[35]

5. CONCLUSION

There is scholarly consensus in attributing to Suppiluliuma I the reorganization of the religious celebrations at Hattusa after the crisis that compelled Tuthaliya II/III to transfer his capital from Hattusa to Šapinuwa. Most of these festivals date back to the earliest period, when the Hittites first established their seat of power inside the bend of the Kızılırmak River. The festivals, mostly of Hattian origin, were now organized into two cycles of about thirty-five days each, to be celebrated in the spring and autumn, respectively. Arinna, the Hattian holy city, continued to play a central role.

Two Tutelary-gods, Zithariya and one from the city of Ḫatenzuwa, represented by hunting bags, were worshipped in a chapel at Hattusa (É ^{KUŠ}*kurša-*). Other Hattian gods, such as Kappariyamu and Kantiputti, were also represented by this emblem. Zithariya and Ḫatenzuwa accompanied the king on his military campaigns, symbolizing that hunting and war—two royal privileges—were closely connected.

The rite of the pithos, filled with grain in the autumn and opened in the spring to make the bread to be offered to the deities, was, according to the cult inventories, practiced throughout all the cities and villages of central Anatolia. It was the same ritual celebrated during the autumn and spring festivals in Hattusa—a rite that clearly went back to time immemorial.

Annually, the image of a new "Year" (MU), represented by a hieroglyphic symbol, was hung at Hattusa, while the old one was deposited in the *ḫešta-*house, the temple of Lelwani. Because this goddess was the one that bestowed humans with "long years," she was invoked in a Hattian-Hittite ritual celebrated on the occasion of the building of a new royal palace.

The cult of the members of the royal family (both males and females) was celebrated with a solemn ceremony in front of Lelwani's temple during the autumn festival. The cult of some illustrious ancestor, such as Hattusili I (whose statue was placed in the temple of the War-god, perhaps by Suppiluliuma I) or Tuthaliya I, should be kept distinct from the rite performed in the *ḫešta-*house, which may have continued the Hattian tradition celebrated at Arinna.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following one are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

VSNF Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Neue Folge

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35 On the possible attribution of this image to Tuthaliya I, see Klinger 2015, 91–93, and 101–6 for the possible identification of Suppiluliuma I in the relief in Room 2.

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2 HOW ARE UNRELATED VERBS RELATED? *TUḪḪUEŠŠAR* AND ITS FRIENDS AND RELATIONS

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1. INTRODUCTION

There has been considerable discussion over the years with varying results concerning *tuḫš-*, *tuḫḫuš-*, *tuḫḫuiš-*, and the nouns *tuḫḫu*(*wa*)*i-* and *tuḫḫueššar*. The verbs of this complex have been argued to represent a single verb. Other scholars see up to three verbs represented in the examples. *Tuḫš-* and *tuḫḫuš-* were first discussed by Johannes Friedrich (1927, 200), who saw a single verb and gave the translations "schneiden, trennen and beenden." Paul Kretschmer (1929, 299) came across a *tuḫš-* in a different context.[1] Without referring to Friedrich's discussion, he translated *tuḫḫueššar . . . tuḫša* as "Federwisch . . . weiht(?) sich (damit)." When Friedrich wrote his *Handwörterbuch*, he booked one verb "abschneiden, trennen, beendigen" and separated out a second verb (Med. 1) to fit the passage quoted by Kretschmer—but, not accepting Kretschmer's suggestion, instead translated "sich (in nicht genauer bekannter Art) kultisch reinigen" (Friedrich 1952, 226–27). Subsequently, Hans Güterbock (1964, 106–7) argued for there being only one verb "to cut (etc.)," and this suggestion was followed by Erich Neu (1968, 175–77 with nn9 and 11). Ahmet Ünal and Annelies Kammenhuber (1975, 177), revived Friedrich's view of two verbs, and Sedat Alp (1983b, 14–19), more or less following Friedrich, argued for the existence of the second verb, which he translated "sich lotionieren." Norbert Oettinger (1976, 133–34; 1979, 527 with n21) also sees multiple verbs. However, his division is different; he argues for a verb *tuḫḫuš-*^{tta} "aufhören, zu Ende sein, fertig werden" separate from *tuḫš-*^{a} "abschneiden, trennen"; "sich kultisch reinigen" he relegates to a footnote without explicitly rejecting it. Johann Tischler (HEG III 411–14) follows Güterbock in allowing only one verb. On the other hand, Alwin Kloekhorst (2008, 890–91, 893–94) follows Oettinger in separating off a second verb, dividing *tuḫḫuš-*^{zi} "to end" from *tuḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$ "to cut off, separate." He explicitly rejects the existence of a translation "sich kultisch reinigen." This is pretty much where things remain at the moment. With editorial work recently begun on the T volume of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary, it is time to reexamine these words, and what better time to write this article than when celebrating the sixty-fifth birthday of the executive editor of this dictionary?

2. POSSIBLE MEANINGS FOR THE VERB(S)

So how many verbs are there, and what do they mean? We will review the meaning that seems most appropriate in each passage where the verb or verbs occur(s).

1 Friedrich (1952, 226) credits the translation to Emil Forrer, whom Kretschmer thanks for sending him the text. However, Kretschmer does not indicate that the translation is Forrer's, and since the transliteration mistakenly reads DUR-*aš* instead of TUR-*aš*—a mistake certainly not attributable to Forrer, who already in his sign list of 1922 correctly read TUR (Forrer 1922, no. 286)—one can assume the transliteration and translation are Kretschmer's.

MEANING 1

A meaning "to end, finish" is easy to illustrate. It occurs several times as an active verb:

(1.1) *māḫḫan=ma ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM uktūri ŠA* ḪA.LA *ḫukeššar tuḫḫuszi* "But when he finishes the regular slaughter of the portion of the deity."[2]

(1.2) *tuḫḫuszi* also occurs in broken context at the end of a paragraph, with *nekuz* "night" in the previous line and *mān lukkatta* "when it dawns" beginning the new paragraph.[3]

Mostly, however, *tuḫḫuš-* occurs in the middle voice. The subject can be a unit of time:

(1.3) UD-*MU MAḪRÛ tuḫḫušta* § *INA* UD.2.KAM=*ma* . . . "The first day is finished § On the second day. . . ."[4]

(1.4) ("Grand total forty sheep.") UD.3.KAM *tuḫḫušta* "The third day ends. §§ When it dawns, . . ."[5]

The subject can also be a festival:

(1.5) § EZEN ^{d}IM MU-*ti mēneyaš* UD.2.KAM *tuḫḫušta* §§ "The second day of the annual(?) festival of the Storm-god is finished."[6]

(1.6) EZEN ITU.KAM *tuḫḫušta* §§ "The festival of the month is finished. §§"[7]

(1.7) *kuptiš tuḫḫušta* § *lukatta=ma* . . . "The *kupti*-(ritual) is finished. § In the morning, . . ."[8]

At other times, a place (where a portion of a festival is performed) is the subject:

(1.8) ^{É}*ḫalentiu tuḫḫušta* "The (festival in) the palace is finished."[9]

Often, the subject of the verb is not given; rather, the festival or its part is only the implied subject:

(1.9) (The cups are collected, the high officials leave.) *tuḫḫušta* "It is finished."[10]

(1.10) [*n=at=kan INA*] É.DINGIR-*LIM dāi tuḫḫušta* §§ "(S)he places [it in] the temple. It is finished."[11]

It alternates in duplicates with the Akkadogram *QATÛ*:

(1.11) UD.KAM-*MU MAḪ*^{A}[$^{Ḫ?}$*RÛ*] *QATI* (var. *tuḫḫušta*) §[12]

(1.12) §§ UD.2.KAM *tuḫḫušta QATI* "The second day is finished. (The composition) is finished."[13]

The Sumerogram TIL is also employed for *tuḫḫušta*.

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2 KBo 15.33 iii 14–15 (ritual for the Storm-god of Kuliwišna, MH/MS), ed. Glocker 1997, 70–71. KBo 20.39 left col. 16 (OH/MS) is broken but is probably similar, as the verb *ḫuek-* occurs in the previous line.

3 KUB 55.42:9 (MS). KBo 25.2 ii 10 (OS) also contains *túḫ-ḫu-uš-zi*, unfortunately in unclear context.

4 KUB 41.17 i 24–25 (Tapalzunauli's ritual against plague, NS), ed. Souček 1963, 168, 171; Fuscagni 2016, §§5–6.

5 KUB 27.70 ii 18–19 (festival at Karaḫna, OH/NS), ed. McMahon 1991, 64–65.

6 "§ The second day of the seasonal(?) festival of the Storm-god is finished. §§" KBo 20.72 iii! 13 (cult of Ḫuwaššanna, MS), ed. Lombardi 1999, 237, 240.

7 VS 28.28 iv? 4 (festival of the month, NS), translit. Klinger 1996, 610.

8 KUB 9.2 i 11–12 (ritual of Dākūya, Ašnunigalli, and Māti, NH), ed. Strauß 2006, 274–75.

9 KBo 17.11 i 8 + KBo 30.25 i 24 (festival, OS), ed. Neu 1970, 12–13.

10 KUB 58.11 rev. 11 (cult of Nerik, NH), ed. Haas 1970, 216–17.

11 KUB 33.70 iii 5 (missing deity ritual, OH/NS), ed. Görke 2015a, §4.

12 KUB 56.59 ii 20–21 (Dandu's ritual against plague in the army, NH), w. dupl. KUB 7.54 ii 26 (NH), ed. Bawanypeck 2005, 140–41. Note the comment of Souček 1963, 171n53.

13 KUB 32.129 iv 12–13 (Kuwanni's ritual, NS), ed. Görke 2015b, §Kol.

MEANING 2

Another meaning for verbs in this group is the act of harvesting grapes from a vineyard. This action is typically done by severing the stem of a grape bunch from the grapevine and extracting the grape bunch. So the verb appears to mean "sever and extract," although it seems smoother to translate as "harvest (grapes)." A clear example is in a Middle Hittite letter:

(2.1) *ŠA* ^{URU}*Gašaša=ma=mu kuit ŠA* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN *uttar ḫatrāeš nu* EGIR-*an tiya n=aš tuḫšandu n=at lē dammišḫandari* "Concerning the matter of the grapes of Gašaša, which you wrote to me about: Give support. Let them harvest them. Let them not be damaged."[14]

(2.2) *nu ŠA* É ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-x *tuḫšatt*[*en*] "Harvest the grapes of My Majesty's estate."[15]

This specific meaning occurs only in the active voice. It also occurs in the infinitive in the Old Hittite Laws:

(2.3) *tuḪḪušuanzi* (Old Script), *tuḫšūwanzi* (New Script), *tuḫšuwa*[*nzi*] (New Script)[16]

and in a Middle Hittite letter:

(2.4) *ŠA* ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$.GEŠTIN ^{URU}*Gašaša=ma=mu kuit uttar hatrāeš* [*tu*]*ḫšuwanzi=war=aššan karū ar*[*ant*]*eš mān=wa=kan antuḫšā*[*tar parā ḫ*]*ūdak naitti* § "And concerning the vineyards of Gašaša, which you wrote to me about, saying, 'they are ripe for harvesting, if only you would quickly send workers (lit. 'people').'"[17]

Also attested is a verbal substantive:

(2.5) 1 EZEN ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN *tuḫšūwaš* "One grape harvest festival."[18]

An active iterative-durative form occurs in the New Script version of the Laws:

[*takku mianda*]*n*(?) ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-*an kuiški kar*(*a*)*šzi karš*[(*andan*) ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-*an*] *apāš dāi* SIG$_5$-*ann=a* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN [(*ANA*) *BĒ*]*L* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN *pāi t=an=za tuḫšannai* [*kuitm*(*an apē*)]*l* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN SIG$_5$-*atta* "[If] anyone cuts down a [fruit-bearing(?)] vine, he (the culprit) shall take the cut-down vine and give a good vine to the owner of the vine, and he (the latter) shall harvest it until [hi]s vine recovers."[19]

Closely related is

(2.6) *kangati=ya=kan tepu tuḫšai* "He will pluck a bit of *kangati*-herb."[20]

In another example, we have not plants but body parts, but the meaning still seems to be "cut off and remove":

(2.7) ("Let them drink the blood; let them eat[21] the fat.") ^{UZU}SA *tuḫšanniandu* "Let them pluck out the tendons/blood-vessels; (let them break the bones)."[22]

Somewhat similar to what is happening to the bunch of grapes is a meaning "to remove from its original context":

14 HKM 31:8–12 (letter, MH/MS), ed. Hoffner 2009, 156.

15 HKM 34:8–9 (letter, MH/MS), ed. Hoffner 2009, 161.

16 KBo 6.2 iii 21–22 (OS); KBo 6.3 iii 24–25 (OH/NS); KBo 6.6 i 30–31 (OH/NS), ed. Hoffner 1997, 68–69.

17 HKM 37:13–15 (letter, MH/MS), ed. Hoffner 2009, 163.

18 KUB 38.12 i 23 (NH), ed. Darga 1973, 8, 14.

19 KUB 29.24 i 3–6 (Laws §113), with dupl. KBo 6.10 i 27–30, ed. Hoffner 1997, 108–9.

20 KUB 15.42 iii 31 (purification ritual, MH/NS).

21 Following Fuscagni 2017 in reading *a*!(sign *za*)-*az-za-ku-wa-an-du* > *ed-*.

22 KBo 20.73 iv 10–11 (incantation, OH or MH/MS), ed. Fuscagni 2017, §9 ("abschneiden").

(2.8) *nu=wa=kan kāš* KU$_6$ [*m*]*āḫḫan aruṉa*ᵓ*z tuḫḫuštat* "And just as this fish was plucked out from the sea" (example 2.11 immediately follows).[23]

Pieces of prepared foodstuffs could also be "cut off and removed":

(2.9) (He takes cheese) *n=an* [. . .] *tuḫšanna nāi* "and he turns it [toward . . .] for breaking off."[24]

For whatever reason, unlike the usage with the grape-clusters where a *-wanzi* infinive was employed, in example 2.9 an *-anna* infinitive was used.

(2.10) ("He offers three thick-breads and *tūruppa*-bread to the Storm-god and the male gods. . . . He roasts the *tūruppa*-s with the flame.") *n=uš arḫa tuḫšannai* "He repeatedly breaks (pieces) off them (lit. 'repeatedly breaks them off') and he places (them) before the Storm-god and his male gods and before the Sun-god and his male gods. And he says as follows: 'O Sun-god, male gods of the Sun-god, Storm-god, male gods of the Storm-god'" *kūš tuḫšumen n=at arḫa tuḫšan ēštu ŠA* $^{\text{f}}$*Zi. idālu uttar alwanzatar* "'We have broken (pieces) off these. Let them be broken off (i.e., 'removed'; see below)—(namely) the evil words (and) sorcery of Zippalandawiya.'"[25]

Interestingly, while the participle is the expected stem *tuḫš-*, the first-person plural present active verb uses a stem *tuḫšu-*.

In example 2.10, we see that evils could be the object of this verb, so a meaning "to remove" seems most appropriate:

(2.11) *kinuna tuḫ*^{uḫ}*šandu* [*ap*]*edaš* UD-*aš* EME.[ḪI].A *ḫūrtāuš* "Now let them pluck out slander (lit. 'tongues') (and) curses of those days."[26]

(2.12) *nu=wa=šmaš=kan*[27] *tuḫšan* (vars. *tuḫ*^{uḫ}*šan*) *ēštu* NÍ.TE-*aš apēdaš* UD.KAM-*aš* EME.ḪI.A "Let the slander (lit. 'tongues') of those days be removed from your persons."[28]

In the middle voice, but with similar meaning, compare

(2.13) [*tu*(*ḫ*)^{uḫ}(*š*)]*aru apel* UD-*aš* EME.ḪI.A *tuḫšaruw=a* [(*apel*)] ˹UD˺-*a*[*š ḫ*]*ūrtāš* "Let the tongues of that day be removed. And let the curses of that day be removed."[29]

People could also be "removed":

(2.14) ("If it is not acceptable to [her] father and mother") *n=an=z=*(*š*)*an pitte*[*nuz*]*i kuiš n=an=ši=k*[*an*] *tuḫšan*˹*zi*˺ "they shall separate her from him who caused her to elope."[30]

Note the parallel in the middle voice:

(2.15) ("If her father and mother refuse [to compensate the first man]") *n=an=ši=kan tuḫšan*˹*ta*˺ "they shall separate her from him."[31]

23 KBo 39.8 i 40–41 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/MS), ed. Miller 2004, 66.

24 KUB 9.28 ii 2–3 (ritual, MH/NS).

25 KBo 15.10 ii 23–27 (ritual, MH/MS), ed. Szabó 1971, 22–25 ("schneidet . . .ab, . . . abgeschnitten"); cf. HEG III 462 ("zerteilt").

26 KBo 39.8 i 41–42 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/MS), ed. Miller 2004, 66 ("let . . . detach"). See our example 2.8 for the immediately preceding context with a different usage of *tuḫš-*.

27 Collated by Miller (2004, 67n107).

28 KUB 12.34 i 9–10 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/NS), w. dupls. KBo 39.8 i 48–49 (MH/MS), KBo 43.7 i (6)–8 (MH/MS), ed. Miller 2004, 66–68.

29 KBo 39.8 ii 13–14 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/MS), w. dupl. KUB 12.34 i 27 (MH/NS), ed. Miller 2004, 71.

30 KBo 6.5 iii 4–5 (Laws §28, OH/NS), ed. Hoffner 1997, 38.

31 KBo 6.3 ii 10 (Laws §28, OH/NS), ed. Hoffner 1997, 37–38.

(2.16) ("If a daughter has been betrothed to a man and he pays a bride-price for her, but afterward the father and mother contest it") *n=an=kan ANA* LÚ-*LIM tuḫḫuišša*[*nzi*] (var. *tuḫšanzi*) "they may separate her from the man (but they shall restitute the bride-price double)."[32]

Note the otherwise unique stem *tuḫḫuišš-*, ascertained to be the same verb by the variant with the expected stem *tuḫš-*. The signs *-uš-* and *-iš-* are differentiated only by one wedge.

Yarn and rope can be the object of the verb *tuḫš*:

(2.17) *n=ašta ANA* EN.SÍSKUR *ḫūmandaziya* SÍG *āntaran* SÍG *midann=a arḫa tuḫšanzi* "They remove the blue wool and red wool from everywhere on the patient."[33]

In examples 2.18 and 2.19, unable to write the third-person singular present active **tuhszi* with its consonant cluster, the Hittite scribe wrote the word *tuḫḫušzi-*. Note, however, the longer stem *tuḫḫuišš-* (or perhaps *tuḫḫuš*$^{!}$*š-*) in example 2.16 above.

(2.18) ("He ties on a yarn-band twice, on the middle of the king's and queen's hands and feet, and on their(!) neck)" *arḫa=ya=an=kan* [*UL*] *tuḫḫušzi* . . . "He does not remove it. (Wherever he attaches the yarn-band twice to the four corners of the building, [to the gate], to the threshold, the doorbolt, upper and lower [. . .])" *arḫa=ya=at=kan* [*tuḫḫ*]*ušzi* "He [remo]ves them (and places them down in a basket. § [Wh]at he attaches to the middle of the king's and queen's hands and feet and to their(!) neck once, and attaches once to the four corners of the building, the [gate], the threshhold, the lower and upper doorbolt)" *n=an=kan arḫa UL tuḫḫušzi* GE$_6$*-antaz=šmaš=kan anda=pat šeszi* . . . § *maḫḫann=a lukkatta n=an=kan arḫa tuḫḫušzi* "He does not remove them; he sleeps the night with them. . . . § But when it is morning, he removes them(!) (and places them(!) down in a basket)."[34]

(2.19) ("She places [the red wool and the *welku*-plant] on the shoulder . . ." §) *nu* MUNUS ŠU.GI ^{SÍG}*mitan uelk*[*uya ANA BĒL* SISKUR] *šer arḫa tuḫ*^{uḫ}*ḫušzi* "The 'Old Woman' removes the red wool and the *welk*[*u*-plant from the patient]."[35]

(2.20) "[The Storm-god sa]id [to Ḫannaḫanna]: 'The great gods and the lesser gods searched for him and [they did not find] him. This [bee] will go and [find] him? His wings are small. He himself is small.'" *namma=war=aš ḫanti tuḫšanzi* "Furthermore he is stub-nosed (lit. 'cut off on his face')."[36]

As we saw above in example 2.15, some instances of this usage are in dynamic middle voice, with no apparent difference in meaning from those using the active voice:

(2.21) ("The string of blue wool (and) red wool which lies on the bodies of the two patients . . . the 'Old Woman' . . .) *nu=šmaš=kan* [(*š*)]*ūil arḫa tuḫ*^{uḫ}*šari* (vars. *tuḫšari*) "removes the thread from them."[37]

(2.22) *n=an=kan ANA* EN.SÍSKUR [*arḫa t*]*uḫšari* "She (the 'Old Woman') removes it (the tied-on red wool) from the patient."[38]

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32 KBo 6.5 iii 9 (Laws §29, OH/NS), w. dupl. KBo 6.3 ii 12–13 (OH/NS), ed. Hoffner 1997, 39.

33 VBoT 24 i 22–24 (Anniwiyanni's ritual, MH/NS), ed. Bawanypeck 2005, 54–55 ("schneidet").

34 KBo 4.2 i 28–29, 31–32, 36–39 (Ḫuwarlu's ritual, pre-NH/NS), ed. Bawanypeck 2016, §§6–8.

35 KUB 32.113 ii? 14–15 + KBo 8.76:8–9 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/MS), ed. Miller 2004, 130–31.

36 KUB 17.10 i 39 (Telipinu myth, OH/MS). The understanding follows Melchert 2016, 210–12. Melchert points out that the *-aš* can be only animate nominative singular or accusative plural, and "the gods," the only possible animate plural antecedent, cannot be antecedent for both the plural verb and the plural object. Therefore he argues that *tuḫḫanzi* is a MH copyist's hypercorrection of an OH *tuḫḫanza* participle.

37 KBo 39.8 ii 9–10 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/MS), w. dupls. KBo 2.3 i 24 (MH/NS), KUB 12.34 i 23 (MH/NS), ed. Miller 2004, 70–71; also *šuil tuḫ*^{uḫ}*ša* KUB 41.1 iii 12 (LNS). Similarly *n=ašta* ^{GIŠ}NÁ-*az* ^{SÍG}*ašaran tuḫ*^{uḫ}*ša* KBo 52.26 ii 31 (LNS).

38 KBo 46.38 i 5–6 (ritual, NS); cf. Neu 1968, 176 (as 112/r).

(2.23) (The carpenter climbs the rope twice up to the roof beam.) *INA* 3 ˹KASKAL-*NI*˺=[*ma* ^{SÍ}] ^{G}*piddula*˹*n*˺ *tuḫš*[*ār*]*i*! *maḫḫan=ma=kan* ^{LÚ}NAGAR $^{[SÍ]G}$[*pi*]*ddulan tuḫšāri* "But on the third time he removes the loop. When the carpenter removes the loop (. . . The carpenter comes back down the rope)."[39]

Several obscure references add little to our discussion and need not further detain us.

MEANING 3

In an entirely different context are the following examples. In all of them, the verb immediately follows the mention of *tuḫḫueššar*. These examples are in the middle voice and occur with the particle *-kan*:

(3.1) § UGULA $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫešnit* ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA GU[D UDU] NINDA.GUR$_4$,RA *šuppiyaḫḫi* § UGULA $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫueššar* LUGAL-*i parā ēp*[*zi*] LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫ^{uḫ}ša* § "§ The supervisor of cooks consecrates the altar, cattle, sheep, (and) bread with *tuḫḫueššar*. § The supervisor of cooks holds the *tuḫḫueššar* out to the king. The king *t.*-s (§ The king breaks *danna*-bread to ^{d}IB)."[40]

(3.2) ("The priest of Ea holds (some) *tuḫḫuieššar* substance. The priest of Ea [hold]s out the *tuḫḫuieššar* to the king.") LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫ^{uḫ}ša* "The king *t.*-s."[41]

(3.3) UGULA ^{LÚ}MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫueššar* LUGAL-*i parā ēp*[*zi*] LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫ^{uḫ}ša ta pūriuš=šu*[*š*] *ānši* DUMU.É.GAL GADA-*an* LUGAL-*i parā ēp*[*zi*] *nu=šš*an LUGAL-*uš tuḫḫūeššar* GADA-*i dāi* "The supervisor of the cooks holds out *tuḫḫueššar* to the king. The king *t.*-s. He wipes his lips. A palace servant holds out a cloth to the king. The king puts the *tuḫḫueššar* onto the cloth. (The palace servant carries it out. Then the king sacrifices eight sheep and one grain-fed cow. §)"[42]

(3.4) UGULA ^{LÚ}MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫuēššar* LUGAL-*i parā ēpzi* LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫ^{uḫ}ša pūriuš ānši* § "The supervisor of the cooks holds out *tuḫḫueššar* to the king. The king *t.*-s. The king wipes his lips. § (The chief of the palace servants gives the king the cloth of the golden-spear man; the king wipes his hand.)"[43]

(3.5) ("The palace servant holds out *tuḫḫueššar* to the queen.") MUNUS.LUGAL*=kan tuḫ^{uḫ}ša* "The queen *t.*-s (§ and the palace servant gives the *tuḫḫuēššar* back to the priest of ^{d}LAMMA")."[44]

(3.6) ^{LÚ}SANGA ^{d}*Inar* DUMU-*li tuḫḫueššar parā ēpzi* DUMU-*aš tuḫ^{uḫ}ša* DUMU-*aš anda paizzi* "The priest of Inar holds out *tuḫḫueššar* to the prince. The prince *t.*-s."[45]

Less frequently, the same wording occurs but without *–kan*:

(3.7) [UGULA $^{LÚ.}$]^{MEŠ}MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫeššar* [LUGAL-*i pa*]*rā ēpzi* LUGAL-*uš tuḫ^{uḫ}ša* DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL *ANA* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *MÊ QATI pianzi* [G]AL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL LUGAL-*i* GADA-*an pāi* [LUG]AL-*uš* ŠU.MEŠ*=ŠUNU ānši* "The supervisor of cooks holds out *tuḫḫueššar* [to the king]. The king *t.*-s. Palace servants give hand-washing water to the king and queen. The chief of the palace servants gives the king a cloth and the king wipes their hands. §"[46]

(3.8) ("§ [The chief] of the palace servants h[olds] out [*tuḫḫueššar*] to [the king]") [LUG]AL-*uš tuḫ^{uḫ}*[*ša*] "The [ki]ng *t.*-s. (§ The chief of the palace servants takes away the *tuḫḫueššar* from the king with a cloth. §)"[47]

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39 KUB 55.28 iii 9–11 (building ritual, NS), ed. Ünal 1988, 100–101; cf. CHD P, s.v. $^{(SÍG)}$*pittula-*, "unties(?) (lit. 'separates')."

40 KBo 30.77 iii 12–15 (*Nuntarriyašḫa*-festival, OH/LNS), ed. Nakamura 2002, 261, 264 ("Der König schneidet [sie]").

41 KBo 39.86 v 13 (offerings to royal images, NS).

42 KUB 20.59 i 16–20 (*ANDAḪŠUM*-festival), ed. Popko and Taracha 1988, 88, 92 ("der König reinigt sich").

43 KBo 19.128 i 32–34 (festival, OH?/NS), ed. Otten 1971, 2–5 ("Der König *tuḫša*"); Alp 1983a, 164–67 ("Der König lotioniert sich").

44 KBo 4.9 ii 31 (*ANDAḪŠUM*-festival, OH?/NS), ed. Badali and Zinko 1989, 17, 48 ("schneidet [davon] ab"); tr. Klinger 2008, 199 ("schneidet [etwas] ab").

45 VS 28.12 i 5–7 (*ANDAḪŠUM*-festival, OH?/NS).

46 KUB 11.35 ii 3–8 (Winter festival, OH/NS).

47 KUB 10.4 i 4 (*ANDAHŠUM*-festival, OH?/NS).

In two examples, the identical phrase occurs with *=kan* and the reflexive particle *=za*:

(3.9) *nu* LUGAL-*u*[(*n šu*)]*p*[(*piyaḫ*)*ḫi* (*tuḫḫuišar* LUGAL-*i par*)]ʳ*ā*˺ *ēpzi nu=z=kan tuḫša* "He makes the king ritually pure. He holds *tuḫḫuišar* out to the king. The king *t.*-s himself (or '*t.*-s for himself'). [(A palace servant gives the king a towel)]. §"[48]

(3.10) ("The supervisor of the cooks gives *tuḫḫūēššar* to the king.") LUGAL-*uš=za=kan tuḫ*^{uḫ}*ša* § "The king *t.*-s himself (or '*t.*-s for himself')."[49]

In two other examples, we are presented again with the middle-voice verb with *=kan* and *=za*, but with *tuḫḫueššar* in the nominative-accusative in the sentence:

(3.11) *nu=za=kan* LUGAL[-*uš*(?)] / [*t*]*uḫḫuišar tuḫ*^{uḫ}[*ša*] "The king *t.*-s *tuḫḫuiššar* for himself. (§ The chief of the palace servants holds out a cloth to the king. The king [wipes] his hands.)"[50]

(3.12) [. . .] *tuḫḫuišar tuḫ*^{uḫ}*ša nu* KA×U-*it* x[. . .] "[The king] *t.*-s *tuḫḫuiššar* [for himself(?)] and with the mouth [. . .]."[51]

Since the case ending on LUGAL is not preserved in either example, one could potentially restore LUGAL[-*i*] in these sentences and thus have *tuḫḫueššar* as the subject: "*tuḫḫueššar t.*-s itself for the king."

An active form of the verb supposedly occurs in close association with *tuḫḫueššar*, according to Maciej Popko and Johann Tischler.[52] However, as pointed out by Mitsuo Nakamura (2002, 148–49, with comment 160 §4), the TÚḪ sign is lost, and the form as restored would not be from *tuḫš-* but from *tuḫ*(*ḫ*)-.

3. DISCUSSION

First, one should remember that all the words discussed here (except for those under meaning 3) are written with an initial TÚḪ sign. This sign could equally be read TAḪ. It is only because of modern scholarly tradition that all these words are read as *tuḫ-*. Some of the words discussed here could begin with *taḫ-* and others with *tuḫ*, the Hittite reader easily knowing how to pronounce the word from its context. Since we do not know the vowel quality associated with most of the words, we cannot yet do this. Curiously, the scribes sometimes glossed the TÚḪ/TAḪ sign with another sign to give a clue to the reading of the somewhat unusual TÚḪ/TAḪ sign. Unfortunately and most curiously, their having done so does not help us read the vowel, since the glossing sign is also bivalent UḪ/AḪ. The vocalization for meaning 3 can be ascertained through the passage *tuḫḫueššar . . . tu-uḫ-ša* (KBo 58.185 left col. 6, 8), etc.

Concerning the examples listed under meaning 1, the translation has been clear from the first discussion by Friedrich (1927, 200). However, from then until at least Tischler's *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* (HEG III 411–14), it has usually been considered the same verb as those listed under meaning 2. Oettinger (1979, 527), though, noticed that examples meaning "to end" in the third-person present middle voice were consistently written *tuḫḫušta*, whereas those with meanings we have listed under meaning 2 are written *tuḫšari*. Recently, Kloekhorst (2008, 893–94) has followed Oettinger in listing a *tuḫḫuš-* "to end" separately from the other *tuḫš-*. But he still thinks they are the same verb in origin, a possibility I leave to others to discuss. Kloekhorst also argues that *tuḫḫušta* is not middle third-singular present but active third-singular preterit because there exists the active third-singular present *tuḫḫušzi*. However, I fail to see why. The contexts are ritual or festival texts, which are written in the present tense. So why should we

48 KBo 17.11 i 24 + KBo 30.29:3–4 (Storm-festival, OS), w. dupl. KUB 34.123 i 11–12 + KBo 21.25 i 41–42 (OH/MS), ed. Barsacchi 2017, 32, 41 ("egli lo divide[?]"); Alp 1983a, 210–11 ("[Der Köni]g lotioniert sich"), 218–19 (without join fragment KBo 30.29).

49 KBo 8.112 i 9 (festival, NS); cf. KBo 21.54:20 (NS).

50 KUB 10.11 ii 4–5 (ritual, NH).

51 KUB 58.61 i 7 (festival fragment, NS).

52 KUB 58.22 i 1 + KUB 44.8 i 10 (NS), ed. Popko 1986, 220 ("Er [rein]igt [mit *tuḫḫuiššar*]"); HEG III 414 ("und er schneidet (es) jeweils ab").

then insist on "the third day has finished" when "the third day finishes" makes perfect sense? His active example shows that "to finish" occurs in the present tense in these texts. Since it is active in voice, it should, however, be translated as transitive: *maḫḫan=ma ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM uktūri ŠA* ḪA.LA *ḫukeššar tuḫḫušzi* "But when he finishes the regular slaughter of the portion of the deity" (example 1.1 above). Thus we have an active transitive present, *tuḫḫušzi*, and a middle intransitive present, *tuḫḫušta*. All examples falling under meaning 1 have a root *tuḫḫuš-*.

The passages presented as meaning 2 have yielded general agreement. Examples 2.1–2.13 can all be understood as carrying the meaning "cut off and remove"; examples 2.14–2.16 can also be translated "cut off [in a metaphoric sense] and remove [from the presence of]," although "separate (from)" makes a better translation. The meaning in example 2.17 has sometimes been understood as "to cut," following on from the grape-bunch analogy. This meaning works especially well when the yarn is said to be tied on. Since no cutting implement is mentioned, "to untie" is also possible. But in several cases the yarn was "placed" or "lies," so perhaps simply "to remove" might be the best translation in all cases involving yarn. There are both *-ḫi-* forms *tuḫšai* KUB 15.42 iii 31 (Middle Hittite/New Script) and *-mi-* forms *tuḫḫušzi* (in Middle Script and New Script). The middle present third singular is written *tuḫšari* (5×) or *tuḫšāri* (1×) and *tuḫša* (1×). Examples grouped under meaning 2 show primarily the root *tuḫš-*. However, there is one example of *tuḫšu-* in Middle Hittite/Middle Script (example 2.10), one Old Script *tuḫḫuš-* (example 2.3), one Old Hittite/New Script *tuḫḫuiš-* (or perhaps *tuḫḫuš*^{i}*š-*) (example 2.16), and one *tuḫḫuš-* (example 2.18) (where we might have the unwritable **tuḫšzi*).

In summary, it seems most likely that the examples clustered under meaning 1, which all have the same meaning "to end" and all have the root *tuḫḫuš-*, represent the same verb. The verb represented in the examples under meaning 2 is a different one; there, the meaning is "to separate off and remove" and the root is usually (though not always to all speakers) *tuḫš-*.

What then of passages under meaning 3? All have in common the mention of *tuḫḫueššar* in close proximity. All are in the middle voice. Only the king or queen or prince is the subject of the verb. Sometimes it is made clear by the addition of the reflexive particle *-za* that this action is something the king does to or for himself.[53] In two examples (3.11 and 3.12) *tuḫḫueššar* occurs in the same sentence as *tuḫš-*, but because of a particularly inopportune lacuna in both examples, it is unclear whether the middle-voice verb is dynamic—with "the king" as the subject, as usual, and *tuḫḫueššar* as the object—or whether *tuḫḫueššar* is the subject of an intransitive, with "king" in the dative. In many examples, after the action, the king needs to wash or wipe his hands or lips. The verb sometimes occurs immediately after the king's or someone/something else's being made ritually pure (*šuppi*). The verb in this usage is attested only in the third-person present middle voice. With two exceptions in the same passage (VS 28.10 iv 19, 21, MS), it is always written *tuḫša* (either *túḫ-ša* or *túḫ*^{uḫ}*-ša*)—that is, more than forty times as *tuḫša* and only twice as *tuḫšari*. In principle, a *tuḫša* and *tuḫšari* variation ought to be meaningless, but the >40:2 ratio here, combined with the 2:10 ratio in meaning 2 passages, is interesting nonetheless. Neu (1968, 177n11), who believes that all the verbs displayed in our meanings 1–3 represent the same verb, noticed the preponderance of *tuḫša* in this usage. He compares this spelling to *paršiya* "er zerbricht (es)" as a very early form, which does not get a *-ri* attached as other verbs do in the course of the language's development. Neu seems to be suggesting that *tuḫša* here is a sort of frozen form; but note that the verb *tuḫš-* in our meaning 2 examples generally do have the *-ri* attached. So *tuḫša* in the phrase with *tuḫḫueššar* remained a frozen form, while the verb *tuḫš-* "to separate, break off" developed. Although formally *tuḫša* could belong to the paradigm of the other verb(s), it appears that the Hittites usually kept this action quite distinct. Is then the meaning also distinct, or is this even a separate verb? Also, *tuḫša* never takes *=ašta* or *arḫa* (as one might expect with a translation "break/cut off") even in Old Hittite/Middle Script. Basically, this *tuhš-* is something one does with *tuḫḫueššar*. To understand *tuḫš-* further, one needs to look at *tuḫḫueššar*.

53 Neu (1968, 177n11) argues against a dative-middle "to cut off for oneself," since in his opinion the frozen form *tuḫša* predates the appearance of the dative-middle in the language.

4. WHAT IS THE MEANING OF *TUḪḪUEŠŠAR*?

As we have seen above, someone—a priest, the supervisor of cooks, a palace servant—holds *tuḫḫueššar* out to the king/queen/prince. The king/queen/prince *tuḫša*—that is, does the action *tuḫs-*. In 1929, Kretschmer came across this phrase.[54] Without referring to Friedrich's discussion of verbs *tuḫš-* (see above), he translated *tuḫḫueššar . . . tuḫša* as "Federwisch . . . weiht(?) sich (damit)." Simultaneously, Albrecht Götze, thinking that *tuḫḫueššar* was *tuḫḫuiš-* "smoke" + *eššar*, suggested translating *tuḫḫueššar* as "censor."[55]

Alp[56] pointed to the following passage:[57]

> (4.1) "I take dough made of barley flour. I mix the dog excrement into (it)" *nu tuḫḫuēššar ŠA* UZ$_6$ *pankur* ^{NA_4}IM.BABBAR *kalwišnan*^{SAR} *tapalkuštanan*^{SAR} *ḫaḫḫašittin*^{SAR} *euwan* ^{GIŠ}*ḫašduēr kuēl imma* GIŠ-*ruwaš ḫaḫḫallaš alil* § *nu kī ḫūman ANA* ZÍD.DA ŠE *išni menaḫḫanda immiyami* "*tuḫḫueššar*, the *pankur*-hair of a nanny-goat, gypsum, . . . (various herbs), brushwood, the flower of some kind of tree or shrub, I mix all of this into the dough made of barley flour."

This, Alp argued, proves *tuḫḫueššar* is a substance, not an instrument. Götze (1947, 85) subsequently accepted this conclusion.

Liane Jakob-Rost (1972, 69) wrote that it designated some sort of liquid, since it is once poured out with water and, on several occasions after the king/queen/prince *tuḫš-*s, (s)he is handed a towel and wipes his/her hands/lips:

> (4.2) [UGULA] $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM GAL-*it wātar ḫarz*[*i*] / [*t*]*a ANA QATI* LUGAL *wātar parā* [*t*]*uḫḫuēšnit* 3-*ŠU laḫūwāi* "[The supervisor] of the cooks hold[s] water with a cup [a]nd he pours the water out onto the king's hands three times with *tuḫḫueššar*."[58]

> (4.3) LUGAL-*uš*=*kan tuḫ^{uḫ}ša* § GAL.DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL *ŠA* ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR.KÙ.SIG$_{17}$ GADA LUGAL-*i parā ēpzi* LUGAL-*uš* ŠU.MEŠ=*ŠU ānši* § "The king *tuḫš-*s. § The chief of the palace servants holds the cloth of the golden spear out to the king, and the king wipes off his hands. §"[59]

> (4.4) [LUGAL-*u*]*š* KÁ-*aš tiyazi nu*=*šš*[*i*] UGULA ^{LÚ}MUḪALDIM [*tuḫ*]*ḫuišar parā ēpzi* [LUG]AL-*uš*=*šan QĀTAM dāi* GAL DUMU.É.GAL LUGAL-*i* GADA-*an pāi* LUGAL-*uš* ŠU.MEŠ=*ŠU ānši* "[The kin]g steps to the gate. The supervisor of cooks holds out [*tuḫ*]*ḫueššar* to him. The king puts his hand on it. The chief of the palace servants gives the king a towel. The king wipes his hands."[60]

In the last of the foregoing examples, the king does not need to *tuḫša* the *tuḫḫueššar* but merely to touch it to receive a towel with which to wipe off his hands.

> (4.5) LUGAL-*uš*=*kan tuḫ^{uḫ}ša ta pūriuš*=*šu*[*š*] *ānši* "The king *tuḫš-*s and wipes hi[s] lips."

However, this passage continues:

> (4.6) DUMU.É.GAL GADA-*an* LUGAL-*i parā ēp*[*zi*] *nu*=*ššan* LUGAL-*uš tuḫḫūeššar* GADA-*i dāi n*=*at*=*kan* DUMU.É.GAL § *parā pēdai* "The palace servant hold[s] out a cloth to the king. The king places *tuḫḫueššar* on a cloth, and the palace servant carries it out."[61]

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54 Kretschmer 1929, 299. See n1 above.

55 Götze 1930, 69n2 ("Räuchergefäß").

56 Alp 1940, 13n1 ("*tuḫḫueššar* ist kein Räuchergefaß, sondern eine Substanz, die zum Zweck der kultischen Reinigung dient").

57 KUB 24.14 i 5–10 (Ḫebattarakki's ritual, NH), ed. Melzer and Görke 2016, §§2–3.

58 KUB 41.40 i 18–20 (festival, OH/NS), ed. Alp 1983b, 16; Zeilfelder 2000, 498.

59 KBo 4.9 ii 22–25 (*ANDAḪŠUM*-festival, OH?/LNS), ed. Badali and Zinko 1989, 17, 48; tr. Klinger 2008, 199; cf. similarly with the queen, KBo 4.9 ii 31–36.

60 KUB 30.41 i 11–14, ed. Poitz 2011, 87, 95 ("[*tuḫ*]*ḫuisar*-Reinigungssubstanz").

61 KUB 20.59 i 16–21 (*ANDAḪŠUM*-festival, OH/LNS), ed. Popko and Taracha 1988, 88, 92.

So this last passage rules out the word denoting a liquid (Güterbock 1986, 211). Two other passages with a different context also rule out *tuḫḫueššar*'s being a liquid of some sort:

(4.7) *peran* KASKAL.SAḪAR-*az* 2-*milaš tuḫḫuēššar* (var. *tuḫḫuišar*) *tiyammanda išḫiyan kitta* "In front, toward the dusty road a second/another(?) *tuḫḫueššar* bound with a cord is placed/lying."[62]

(4.8) [*w*]*ātar* DUG*teššummiya lāḫuan andan tuḫḫuišar išḫiyaˈnˀ* [(*k*)]*itta n=aš=ˈšanˀ ḫaššī PĀNI* dU.GUR *kitta* "Water is poured in a cup in which bound *tuḫḫueššar* is placed, it is placed on the hearth before dU.GUR."[63]

Liquids obviously cannot be bound with a cord (Güterbock 1986, 211).

A number of examples, while not especially helpful in understanding what *tuḫḫueššar* is, are useful in showing what the Hittites used it for. *Tuḫḫueššar* is used to make something ritually pure (*šuppi-*).

(4.9) LÚMUḪALDIM *tuḫḫuīšnit* NA4*ḫuwaši=ya* EGIR-*pa šuppiaḫḫi* "The cook makes a stele ritually pure (*šuppi-*) with *tuḫḫueššar* again."[64]

(4.10) UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM *dannarandan* DUGGAL *ḫarzi nu=ššan wātar lāḫūwan anda=ma=kanˈtuḫˀḫueššar kitta* § UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM NA4*ḫuwaši ˈšuˀppiyaḫḫi* EGIR=*ŠU* UDU.ḪI.A MÁŠ.GAL S[ILA4?] MÁŠ.TUR *šuppiyaḫḫi* "The supervisor of the cooks holds an empty cup into which water has been poured and *t.* placed. § (With it) the supervisor of the cooks ritually purifies a stele, and after that he ritually purifies sheep, goat(s), l[ambs(?)] (and) kid(s)."[65]

(4.11) LÚSANGA dU *U* LÚSANGA dUTU ˈDINGIRˀ.MEŠ *šuwaruwaˈzˀ tuḫḫūešnaz=ˈiyaˀ* [KÙ-*a*]ˈ*nzi*ˀ "The priest of the Storm-god and the priest of the Sun-goddess [ritually puri]fy (*šuppiyaḫḫ-*) the divine(-image)s with *šuwaru* and *tuḫḫeššar*."[66]

(4.11a) ("The man of the Storm-god [stands] on the right. [He holds(?)] a *NAMMANTU*-vessel.") *anda=ya=kan tuḫḫ*[*uiššar*] *kit*[*ta*]*ri ta* [*šuppi*]*aḫḫeškizzi* "*Tuḫḫu*[*eššar*] lies in it. He purifies."[67]

(4.12) UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM *tuḫḫuešnit* GIŠZAG.GAR.RA GU[D UDU] NINDA.GUR4.RA *šuppiyaḫḫi* § UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM *tuḫḫueššar* LUGAL-*i parā ˈēpˀ*[*zi*] LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫuḫša* "The supervisor of cooks makes the altar, catt[le, sheep,] (and) bread ritually pure with *tuḫḫeššar*. § The supervisor of cooks hold[s] the *tuḫḫeššar* out to the king. The king *tuḫš*-s."[68]

(4.13) UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM ZAG.GAR.RA *tuḫḫuešnit* 3-*ŠU šuppiyaḫḫi* UDU.ḪI.A=*ya šuppiyaḫḫi* UGULA LÚ.<MEŠ>MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫēššar* LUGAL-*i parā ēpzi* LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫuḫša pūriuš ānši* "The supervisor of cooks thrice makes the altar ritually pure with *tuḫḫueššar*; he makes the sheep ritually pure as well. The supervisor of cook<s> offers to the king *tuḫḫeššar*. The king *tuḫš*-s and wipes (his) lips."[69]

With the close context in the last two examples between someone's making something ritually pure with *tuḫḫueššar* and the king's *tuḫša*-ing immediately thereafter, one suspects the king is making something (probably himself, given the middle-voice verb) ritually pure. Those examples of *tuḫša* with the reflexive particle *-za* probably simply emphasize the "himself" that is already implicit in those without the *-za*.

62 KUB 9.28 iii 14–16 (ritual for the Heptad, MH/NS), w. dupl. KBo 19.132 rev.? 5 (MH/NS).

63 KBo 17.40 iv 11–12 (festival, OH/MS), w. dupl. KBo 17.15 rev.! 17 (OS), ed. Haas and Wäfler 1976, 88–89, 82–83.

64 KUB 20.99 ii 6–7 (festival at Šarišša, NS), ed. Zeilfelder 2000, 497.

65 KUB 20.85 i 11–17 (Spring-festival at Tapala, LNS), ed. Zeilfelder 2000, 498.

66 KUB 58.60 vi 11–13 (festival, NS), ed. Soysal 2002, 469n10.

67 KUB 58.22 i 1 + KUB 44.8 i 10 (*Nuntarriyašha*-festival, NS), ed. Nakamura 2002, 148–49, with comment 160 §4, reading *ta* [*šu-up-pí-*]*aḫ-ḫe-eš-ki-iz-zi*, correcting the reading *ta*-[*aš tuḫ*]^{ub}-*ḫe-eš-ki-iz-zi* of Popko 1986, 220 ("Er [rein]igt [mit *tuḫḫuiššar*]"), and HEG III 414 ("und er schneidet [es] jeweils ab").

68 KBo 30.77 iii 12–15 (*Nuntarriyašḫa*-festival, OH/LNS), ed. Nakamura 2002, 261, 264.

69 KBo 19.128 i 31–34 (festival, OH?/NS), ed. Otten 1971, 2–5; Zeilfelder 2000, 500.

It should be mentioned that as a parallel the king of Mari anoints himself. However, the substance he uses appears to have been fine oil.[70]

Another example may cast doubt on or confirm this supposition, depending on how one interprets it:

(4.14) GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪ[ALDIM A-]*tar araḫza udai nu ḫaššāz* [(*ḫul*)]*liš dāi nu and*[*a*] *peššiezzi ta āppa šarā* [(*dāi*)] *nu* LUGAL-*un* ˹*šu*˺*ppiya*[*ḫḫi*] *tuḫḫuišar* LUGAL-*i parā ēpzi* [(*nu=z=ka*)]*n tuḫša* DUMU.É.GAL GA[DA-*a*]*n* LUGAL-*i pāi* "The chief of the co[ok]s brings [wat]er from outside, and he takes up a pine cone from the brazier and throws it i[n] (to the water) and takes it back up, and he makes the king ritually pure (*šuppi-*). He holds out *tuḫḫeššar* to the king, and (the king) *tuḫš*-s himself/for himself. A palace servant gives a cloth to the king."[71]

One way of taking this example is to understand that the king has already been made ritually pure by the action of the chief of the cooks using the hot pine cone that was thrown into water. In other words, the king is already ritually pure before he *tuḫša*-s, and this purification was accomplished by the chief of the cooks. Therefore *-za ḫaššuš tuḫša* must mean something other than "the king makes himself ritually pure." A different way of taking the phrase "he makes the king ritually pure (*šuppiyaḫḫ-*)" is to regard it as a statement of what he (the chief of the cooks) is about to do: by giving the king *tuḫḫueššar* and the king *tuḫš*-ing, he (the chief of the cooks) makes the king pure. This understanding would explain the asyndeton between the two sentences, following Harry Hoffner and Craig Melchert (2008) §29.49: "If the subsequent of two or more juxtaposed clauses expresses the same thought in a different form, usually no conjunction is employed." This example shows the only place between sentences in this paragraph where a conjunction is not employed. So the idea of asyndeton here seems highly likely, with a translation "he makes the king ritually pure—that is, he holds out *tuḫḫeššar* to the king and the king *tuḫša*-s."

(4.15) [GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$M]UḪALDIM*=kan anda uizzi nu=kan* [GUNNI-*za*] *ḫulliš* UGU!!? *dāi n=at=kan* [*ueten*]*i peššiēzzi* [*uet*]*enaz=at=kan šarā dāi n=at=kan* EGIR-*pa ḫaššī anda peššiēzzi* § [GAL ^{L}]$^{Ú.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *ištanani parā tuḫḫešnit* [*š*]*uppiyaḫḫi* GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫišar* [*AN*]*A* LUGAL-*i parā ēpzi* LUGAL-*uš=kan* [*tuḫ*]*šari nu* GAL LÚ.MEŠ x x [*A*]*NA*? DUMU?.NIT[A]?[72] *parā ēpzi nu=ššan tuḫḫuišnaz*ˡ [*ku*]*it tuḫšari n=at=* [*š*]*a*[*n*] x *kat*ʾ*ta dāi* "The [chief of the c]ooks comes in. He picks up a pine cone [from the hearth]. He throws it i[nto water]. He picks it up from the [wat]er and throws it back into the hearth. § The chief of the cooks ritually purifies with *tuḫḫueššar* toward the altar.[73] The chief of the cooks holds out *tuḫḫeššar* to the king. The king *tuḫš*-s. The chief . . . holds out to(?) the prince(?) (or, with Kloekhorst, 'the chief of the cooks . . .-s. But he holds (it) out to the king'). What he *tuḫš*-s from the *tuḫḫueššar* (or 'What *tuhš*-s from the *tuḫḫueššar*') he puts down [. . .]."[74]

The most recent entry in the hunt for a meaning is by Kloekhorst (2008, 893), who states: "*tuḫḫueššar* is used for cleaning, is especially associated with cooks, can be cut, can be used to pour water with and is used in purification substances. Therefore I want to suggest that it denotes a sponge." He translates LUGAL-*uš tuḫša* as "the king cuts off (from it)"—that is, "from the sponge." "Cutting off" is not the obvious thing one does to a wet sponge. A sponge in central Anatolia would likely have been an expensive import, and cutting it up would seem to have been a wasteful thing to do. Also, sponges come from the depths of the sea. One would think that if sponges were being used in Hittite ritual, some mention would have been recorded: "just as this sponge was plucked from the depth of the sea, so. . . ." Finally, if the verb is "cut off," one

70 CAD P, 248 s.v. *pašāšu* 2 (Gt-stem); reference courtesy of JoAnn Scurlock.

71 KBo 21.25 i 39–42 + KUB 34.123 i 9–12 (Storm-festival, OS?), w. dupl. KBo 17.11 i 23–24 + KBo 30.29:2–4 (OS), ed. Barsacchi 2017, 32, 41.

72 Kloekhorst (2008, 893) reads this as LUG[AL]-*i=ma* and translates "The head of the cooks [. . .] and holds (it) out in front of the king." See next footnote.

73 CHD P, s.v. *parā* 1 rr, translates a single reference to *parā šuppiyaḫḫ-* with *-kan* as "to clean/wash out(?)." It takes a direct object. In our text *ištanani* is a dative-locative, and there is no *-kan*. Kloekhorst understands *ištanani parā* as "in front of the altar," but *parā* is not *peran*. We follow Barsacchi 2017, 116: "purifica in direzione dell'altare."

74 VS 28.10 iv 11–21, ed. Barsacchi 2017, 114, 116; second paragraph ed. Kloekhorst 2008, 892–93; translit. Groddek, Hagenbuchner, and Hoffmann 2002, 20. The latter two transliterations differ from the one in Barsacchi and offered here.

would expect the king to be handed a knife to perform this action, but in no passage is a knife mentioned. Further, if indeed *tuḫḫueššar* means "sponge," one would expect *ḫaššuš tuḫša* to mean "the king squeezes," from an otherwise unknown verb *tuḫš-* "to squeeze," or "the king sponges" (i.e., "rubs himself, or something else, with a wet sponge"), although the connection between the noun and verb could represent only a folk etymology. Could one "pour water" *tuḫḫuešnit* "with a sponge"? Squeezing water out of a wet sponge could conceivably be construed with a verb usually meaning "pour," but it would be a bit of a stretch. It is true that cooks sometimes hold out *tuḫḫueššar* or use it to purify.[75] (Kloekhorst cites only the examples that mention "cooks.") However, also handling *tuḫḫueššar* in the same manner as the cooks are the GAL *MEŠEDI* "chief of the royal bodyguard,"[76] GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL "chief of the palace servants,"[77] DUMU.É.GAL "palace servant,"[78] LÚSANGA ^{d}É.A "priest of Ea,"[79] LÚSANGA ^{d}LAMMA/^{d}Inar "priest of the Protective Deity,"[80] LÚ ^{d}U "man of the Storm-god,"[81] and LÚ*ḫeštumna-* "man of the *ḫešta*-house."[82] A far larger problem is the tacit assumption that cooks are associated with sponges because they use them to clean the kitchen and that sponges will therefore be used in rituals to clean—for example, Kloekhorst translates: "The chief of the cooks cleans in front of the altar with a *t*." (Kloekhorst, 2008, 892–93, from VS 28:10 iv 16–17). The verb is *šuppiyaḫḫ-*. However, *šuppiyaḫḫ-* means "to make *ritually* pure." *Tuḫḫueššar* is never used with the verb *parkunu-*, the ordinary sort of cleaning that would be done in a kitchen by a cook (or, if early modern times are any indication, more likely by a scullery boy/maid). Finally, a sponge seems out of place in the following passage. Would a hot sponge give off a fragrant smell?

> (4.16) [Ú.ḪI.A(?) *z*]*ēantari* [^{d}o-o-o?] *waššiyaš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš* [o-o-o-o] GIŠ*alanzanan* [GIŠ*ḫatalkiš*]*naš* ˹x˺? GIŠ*ša*(!)*maliyaš* [*laḫḫuwa*]*rnuzzi* [*kaluišna*]*n tuḫḫueššar šumanzan*[*a*(-). . . ?] / [. . .] NA$_4$*paššuelaš šer šu*[*ḫḫa*]*i* § [*nu=ššan š*]*uppi wātar papparišš*[*an*] [o o o o o] *n=ašta waršulaš* [o o o o o *n*]*=aš=kan* [*ANA*] DINGIR-*LIM* [*tuēkke*]*=šši*(?) *anda pait*" "[Herbs(?)] are cooking. The goddess [PN] "Queen of the Remedies" pours out [. . .], *alanzana*-wood, [foli]age of [hawtho]rn (and) of *šamaliya-*, [*kalwišna-*], *tuḫḫeššar* [and?] rush [. . .] on the top of the (hot) pebbles. Ritually pure water is sprinkled over them. The smell [went out] and went to the body of the god."[83]

Here *tuḫḫueššar* is listed among woody plants and perhaps plant products. When they are sprinkled on hot coals, they give off a fragrant smell. In examples 4.2, 4.8, and 4.10, *tuḫḫeššar* is placed in water. The text does not say why, but again perhaps it gives off some property into the water—it may give the water a fragrant smell or otherwise make the water more efficacious.

Güterbock (1964, 106) again connected *tuḫḫueššar* to *tuḫḫui-/tuḫḫuwai-* "smoke" and suggested that it was "a substance to produce smoke, 'incense' (or a similar resin used for that purpose)." He understood that while *tuḫḫueššar* might be related to *tuḫḫui-* "smoke," the verb *tuḫš-* cannot then be related (following Kammenhuber 1952, 70). Thus he dismissed a separate verb *tuḫš-* "to purify in some way with *tuḫḫueššar*"[84] and suggested that *ḫaššuš tuḫša* means "the king cuts off (a piece of incense/resin) for himself." He admitted it is odd that if this word denotes incense, the word "burn" is never mentioned in the same context with

75 GAL LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM "chief of the cooks" KUB 58.50 iv 8; UGULA LÚ(MEŠ)MUḪALDIM "supervisor of cooks" IBoT 3.1 obv. 22, lower edge 42, KUB 25.20 iv? 13; LÚMUḪALDIM "cook" KUB 58.50 iv 9, 12.

76 IBoT 4.76 iii 2, 5.

77 KUB 10.4 i 2, 5.

78 KBo 4.9 ii 26, 29, 32.

79 KBo 39.86 v 11–12.

80 IBoT 4.76 iii 2, 5, 7; VS 28.12 i 5.

81 KUB 10.1 ii 19.

82 KUB 58.50 iv 14.

83 HKM 116 ii? 18–28 (ritual in myth, NH), ed. Güterbock 1986, 207–8; restorations are based on the parallel text KUB 7.23:7–9.

84 So Friedrich 1952, 226. Güterbock further argues that *tuḫš-* "to purify with *tuḫḫueššar*" does not exist because "the only form cited by Friedrich, HW under his first verb *tuḫš-, tuḫ^{uḫ}-ša-ru* . . . actually belongs to *tuḫš-* to cut." While he is correct about this *tuḫšaru*, Friedrich does, of course, correctly cite the *tuḫša*, which is the form we are concerned about.

tuḫḫeššar. Indeed, example 4.15 would seem to indicate that it released its aroma by being heated with hot coals, but not burned. Later, Güterbock settled on the translation "resin" (Güterbock 1986, 211).

5. WHAT IS THE RELEVANCE OF *TUḪḪU(WA)I*?

In an effort to understand what *tuḫḫueššar* is, Susanne Zeilfelder (2000, 501–2) argued that *tuḫḫu(wa)i-* was not simply smoke but "offering-smoke, a special type of smoke that was pleasing to the gods."[85] Since *tuḫḫu(wa)i-* is a smell pleasing to the gods in the form of a specific type of smoke, the word derived from it, *tuḫḫueššar*—which, as we have seen, is never associated with burning—must be a smell pleasing to the gods in the form of a more or less solid but volatile substance, probably a concoction made of some combination of resin, fat, alcohol, and lipids. Zeilfelder may well be correct about what *tuḫḫueššar* is, but the argument based on the meaning of *tuḫḫu(wa)i-* cannot be used to support such a translation. The passages containing the noun are the following.

(5.1) (Akkadian) LUGAL.GAL *Tabarna* LUGAL ^{URU}*Ḫaššiš* <^{URU}*Ḫaššiš*> LUGAL ^{URU}*Ḫaḫḫiš* ^{URU}*Ḫaḫḫiš ki uḫalliqqi išātam ittadi u qú-ut-ra ana* ^{d}UTU *šamē u* ^{d}U *ukallim* "The Great King Tabarna vanquished the King of Ḫaššu, <the city of Ḫaššu>, (and) the King of Ḫaḫḫu and city of Ḫaḫḫu. He set a fire and showed smoke to the Sun-deity of Heaven and to the Storm-god" = (Hittite) LUGAL.GAL *Tabarnaš* ^{URU}[*Ḫaššuwan*] ^{URU}*Ḫaḫḫann=a ḫarni*[*nku*(*n*)] *n=aš* IZI-*az kattan* [*warnunun*(?)] *tuḫḫuwain=ma* (var. [*QU*]*TRU*) *nepi*[*šaš* ^{d}UTU ^{d}U-*ni=ya tekkuššanun*(?)] "I, the Great King Tabarna, des[troye]d the towns [Ḫaššuwa] and Ḫaḫḫa. [I burned] them down with fire and [showed] smoke [to the Sun-deity of] Heave[n and to the Storm-god]."[86]

(5.2) *nu=wa=za kāša* GU[D.MAḪ-*an*?] / [^{L}]^{Ú}*tarpa llin teḫḫun* [*nu=wa*] *kēl ŠA* GUD.MAḪ x[. . .] / [*t*]*uḫḫuwain=ma=wa kēl Š*[*A* G]UD.MAḪ ^{d}UTU *AN-E auš*[*du*] "I have just now placed a bu[ll] as a substitute. Of this bull [. . .]. [Let] the Sun-god of Heaven see the [s]moke o[f] this (burned) [b]ull."[87]

(5.3) (The king speaks to the Moon-god:) [*nu=wa mān . . . amme*(*l* ?)] *tuḫḫūwain* (var. *tuḫḫuwa*<<*ši*>>*in*) IGI.ḪI.A-*it uwanna šanaḫt*[*a . . .*] / [*. . .-š*(*at nu=wa=kan kāša*) *u*]*kila* UGU *uwanun nu=wa=tta kūš* [*tarp*]*alliš* / [*. . . k*]*ēl* (var. adds *QUTRU*) *au nu=wa kūš akkan dammuk=ma=w*[*a* (*l*)]*ē akmi* "[If] you (O god) have sough[t] to see [m]y smoke with (your) eyes . . . I have just come up [in p]erson, and these [subs]titutes [stand(?)] for you. You may (rather) see <the smoke> [of t]hese (substitutes). Let these die, but do not let me die."[88]

(5.4) ^{GIŠ}*luttāuš kammarāš IṢBAT* É-*ir tuḫḫuiš* [*IṢBAT*] . . . ^{d}*Telipinuš āppa parna=šša uit nu=za* KUR=*SU kappūēt* ^{GIŠ}*luttai kammaraš tarnaš* É-*ir tuḫḫuiš tarnaš* "Fog seized the windows; smoke [seized] the house. . . . Telipinu returned to his home and cared for his land, so fog released the windows, smoke released the house."[89]

(5.5) EGlR-*anda=ma=wa=za=kan* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* Ù-*an ašta nu=wa=kan zašḫiya* ŠÀ ^{URU}TÚL-*na tuḫḫūwaiš mān kuiški kišanza* "Thereafter His Majesty saw a dream, and in the dream something like smoke was occurring in Arinna."[90]

(5.6) *nu=nnaš tuḫḫuin dandu* "Let them receive the smoke (signals) from us (or 'our smoke signals')."[91]

The bilingual passage (our example 5.1) and the variant reading in the Hittite version clearly establish that *tuḫḫu(wa)i-* is equivalent to the Akkadian *qutru* "smoke." Zeilfelder bases her argument on our examples 5.1, 5.2, and 5.4. Example 5.2 can support her understanding, while example 5.1 might do so when pressed, since its smoke is in fact said to be pleasing to the gods; however, the enemy city is not said to be

85 "Opferrauch . . . angenehmer Duft."

86 Akkadian: KBo 10.1 rev. 22–24; Hittite: KBo 10.2 iii 37–40 (annals of Ḫattušili I, NS), w. dupls. KUB 23.20:14–15, KUB 23.31 rev. 8–10; ed. Imparati and Saporetti 1965, 79–80, 83, 54–55.

87 KBo 15.7 obv. 7–9 (royal substitution ritual, NH), ed. Kümmel 1967, 36–37.

88 KUB 24.5 obv. 14–16 + KUB 9.13:3–4 (royal substitution ritual, NH), w. dupl. KUB 36.93 obv. 6–10, ed. Kümmel 1967, 8–9.

89 KUB 17.10 i 5, iv 20–21 (Telipinu myth, OH/MS), ed. Rieken et al. 2012, §§4, 38; tr. Hoffner 1998, 15, 17.

90 KUB 5.24 ii 14–16 + KUB 16.31 ii 3–5 (dream in oracle question, NH), ed. Mouton 2007, 199–200.

91 KBo 8.35 iii 6 (treaty, MH/MS). On *tuḫḫuin da-*, see Hoffner 1967, 185.