



# HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW



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HUNGARIAN  
ASSYRIOLOGICAL  
REVIEW





**ON THE COVER:**

The citadel of Van, Türkiye.  
Photo: Zsolt Simon.

# HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW



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# HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Múzeum krt. 4/B., 1088 Budapest, Hungary

### **Email address:**

[info@harjournal.com](mailto:info@harjournal.com)

### **Design and typesetting:**

Attila Király ([attila@litikum.hu](mailto:attila@litikum.hu))

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# Some new Hattian-Hittite correspondences from the quasi-bilingual text of CTH 733


Andreas M. Bischoff\*

\* – Independent scholar. Email: [andreas.martin.bischoff@gmail.com](mailto:andreas.martin.bischoff@gmail.com)

**Abstract:** This investigation undertakes a comparative analysis of Hattian and Hittite fragments found within the text group of CTH 733, with the primary objective of discerning previously unrecognized bilingual text segments and conducting an in-depth examination of the syntactic and morphological structures inherent in the Hattian texts. Accordingly, the following lexical additions are proposed as new contributions to the Hattian lexicon: *a=X ... ma=X* ‘the one X there ... the other X here’, *an* ‘sea’ (instead of <sup>h</sup>*han*), *il* ‘to prosper’ (instead of <sup>h</sup>*hil*), *e* ‘to eat’ (instead of <sup>t</sup>*tu*), *pe/iš* or *ue<sub>6</sub>š/ūi<sub>6</sub>š* ‘to drink’, and, possibly, *u<sub>4</sub>a<sub>4</sub>ēl* ‘bread’.

**Keywords:** Hattian, CTH 733, quasi-bilingual, Hittite translation

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Number 733 within the “Catalogue des Textes Hittites” (CTH) houses clay tablet fragments that contain descriptions of one or more rituals commonly referred to as the “Invocations à des divinités hatties: langue des dieux, langue des hommes”. These fragments collectively provide insight into a ceremonial journey ritual in which the *DUMU* (i.e., presumably, the prince) plays a supportive role, while the invocations to the deities occur at various locations. Notably, Forlanini situates the Zalpa region as the presumed location for the implementation of these rituals.<sup>1</sup> Depending on the priests mentioned in each instance, he proposes a bifurcating classification of the fragments, distinguishing between a version pertaining to the <sup>u</sup>*GUDU*<sub>12</sub> (the “anointed one”) and one associated with the <sup>u</sup>*NAR* (the “singer”).<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that these invocations can be recited in both Hittite and Hattian languages. CTH 733.I comprises the <sup>u</sup>*GUDU*<sub>12</sub> version with Hattian recitations, while CTH 733.II presents the same content translated into Hittite. Meanwhile, CTH 733.III contains fragments corresponding to the <sup>u</sup>*NAR* version.<sup>3</sup> The Hattian text in CTH 733.I, at least in a substantial portion, aligns with the Hittite text of CTH 733.II and thereby qualifies as a quasi-bilingual section. CTH 733.III comprises texts containing both Hattian and Hittite fragments, although their preserved contents do not entirely overlap. For a comprehensive examination of the sub-groups within CTH 733, one may refer to the work of Corti.<sup>4</sup>

A distinctive formula runs through the texts and recurs with variations in the names of deities. This formula can be delineated with the following constituent elements:

<sup>1</sup> Forlanini 1984, 250–252.

<sup>2</sup> Forlanini 1984, 246–247.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Forlanini 1984, 247.

<sup>4</sup> Corti 2010, 147–149.

(1) Cultic instruction or introduction (always in Hittite)

(2) Invocation of the deity X: “Be gracious X, for mankind you are X, for the deities you are Y, the god (and) king / goddess (and) queen”

(3) Invocation supplement in the <sup>LÜ</sup>NAR version

(4) Subsequent action instruction (optional)

In the <sup>LÜ</sup>NAR version, the invocation of the deity is followed by references to further invocations directed towards the weather god (after male deities) or Inara (after goddesses), along with cultic directives.<sup>5</sup> An illustrative example of such an invocation formula, presented in both Hittite and Hattian, is found in the <sup>LÜ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> version with the invocation of the sun goddess in KBo 25.112 ([1a]) and KUB 28.75 ([1b]), respectively:

[1a] KBo 25.112 ii 10’–14’<sup>6</sup>

- 10’ *ma-a-an* DUMU-aš KASKAL-ši *ma-ḫar* <sup>A.SĀ</sup>A.GĀR GE[ŠTIN]-aṇ [ši-p]a-a[n-ti]  
 ‘When the son [lib]ate[s] wi[n]e on the road in front of the idle<sup>7</sup> field
- 11’ <sup>LÜ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub>-ša *me-e-ma-i tu-ua-a-at-tu* <sup>D</sup>[UT]U-i d[a-an-du-ki-iš-ni]  
 ‘the <sup>LÜ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> priest speaks: Be merciful, [su]n goddess! For m[ankind]’
- 12’ <sup>D</sup>UTU-uš *zi-i-ik* DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-na-ša *iš-tar-na la-lu-u[k-ki-ma-aš]*  
 ‘you (are) the sun goddess, but among the gods you (are) the sour[ce of light]’
- 13’ DINGIR-uš SAL.LUGAL *zi-i-ik*  
 ‘goddess (and) queen’
- 
- 14’ LUGAL-uš-za *šu-up-pi-a-ḫ-ḫa-ti* (...)  
 ‘the king purifies himself’

[1b] KUB 28.75 ii 20–23<sup>7</sup>

- 20 *m[a-a-an]* DUMU-aš [i-n]a *ma-ḫar* <sup>A.SĀ</sup>A.GĀR GEŠTIN *ši-pa-an-ti* <sup>LÜ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub>-ša
- 21 x x *mę-ma-i ut-ḫu-ru-u le-e*-<sup>D</sup>UTU *ḫa-ḫi-ḫu-na-a-an le-e*-<sup>D</sup>UTU
- 22 *ḫa-ḫa-a-aš-ḫa-ḫi-i* *ka-aš-ba-ru-u-ia-ḫ* DINGIR-ap *ka-a-at-taḫ*
- 23 *ka-a-at-te eš-tu-u-pé-en-tu-u u-ḫ-kán-ti-i-u*

The introductory phrase shows when to start the invocation. The subsequent sentences comprise the actual invocation, wherein the names of the deity among humans and the name of the deity among the gods are explicitly mentioned.

In addition to the Hattian words for *tuwattu* ‘be merciful’ and *dandukišni* ‘for mankind’, as well as the commonly encountered terms denoting ‘god’ and ‘king/queen’, the invocation section provided the Hattologists with a comprehensive array of divine epithets. Out of the 30 distinct Hattian-Hittite word correspondences derived from CTH 733 and described in the *Hattischer Wortschatz in Hethitischer Textüberlieferung* (hereafter HWHT), nearly half of these expressions form names or epithets associated with divine entities. Scholars such as Laroche and Forlanini have discussed these names in detail.<sup>8</sup> A comprehensive overview of these

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Forlanini 1984, 249.

<sup>6</sup> The transliteration is based on the text edition of Neu 1980, 191. For the arguments of the new reading <sup>A.SĀ</sup>A.GĀR, see Weeden 2011, 160–161. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for his valuable suggestions, which have improved the translation of the cited text.

<sup>7</sup> The transliteration is based on the text edition of Neu 1980, 194.

<sup>8</sup> Laroche 1947; Forlanini 1984.

Hittian-Hittite word correspondences can be found in the paper of Forlanini.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, Klinger<sup>10</sup> and Steitler<sup>11</sup> provided an extensive examination of the pantheon delineated therein. Regrettably, the fragmentary nature of CTH 733 makes it impossible to assign the unknown epithets definitively, and this paper thus does not explore this endeavor in greater detail. A paper by Corti on CTH 733 focuses on the invocation supplements.<sup>12</sup>

The principal objective of this study is to contribute to a better understanding of the Hattian lexicon. This is done by identifying bilingual passages among the fragments of CTH 733 and by analyzing the structural components of the Hattian sentences. This examination is limited to various formulas originating from the <sup>L0</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> version that occur between invocations and that are not directly addressed to a specific deity.

Unless explicitly specified otherwise, all clay tablets cited have already been attributed to the text group CTH 733.<sup>13</sup>

### The borders may reach the seas

The <sup>L0</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> version includes many diverse formulas, primarily of blessing nature. Among these, the most familiar is a blessing formula for the king, and it is known for its recurring presence and consistent form across various ritual contexts. It is extant in KBo 25.112 in Hittite<sup>14</sup> ([2a]) and in KUB 28.75 in Hattian<sup>15</sup> ([2b]), where a noteworthy divergence exists in the omission of ‘grandson’ (DUMU.DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>) in the Hittite rendition.

[2a] KBo 25.112 ii 4’–6’ (with restorations from KBo 25.114 obv. 3’)<sup>16</sup>

- 4’ [LU]GAL-*uš ḫu-šu-ua-an-za e-eš-tu* <sup>1</sup>MUNUS<sup>1</sup>.L[UGAL KI.II DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-šu KI.III]  
 ‘May the [ki]ng live, the qu[een as well, his children as well]’  
 5’ [É]RIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-šu KI.IV KUR-sú *e-di a-ru-na-aš* [(ke-e)-et-ta]  
 ‘his [tr]oops as well. His land [shall be] the border of the sea there’  
 6’ *a-ru-na-aš ZAG-aš* [e-eš-tu]  
 ‘[and] the sea [(he)re].’

[2b] KUB 28.75 ii 14–16<sup>17</sup> (with restorations from KUB 28.77+ ii 10’)

- 14 *ka-a-at-te te-ku-un-ku-uḫ-ḫu-u-a* SAL.LUGAL KI.MIN DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-šu KI.III  
 15 DUMU.DUMU<sup>M</sup>[<sup>EŠ</sup>-š]u KI.IV [ERÍ]N<sup>MEŠ</sup>-šu KI.V KUR-sú *ta-ia-a-an*  
 16 *k[a-(zi-in)-ua]<sub>a</sub> x te-ek-za-šu-u-la pa-la ta-i-ma-a-an* KI.MIN

<sup>9</sup> Forlanini 1984, 262–265.

<sup>10</sup> Klinger 1996, 169–179.

<sup>11</sup> Steitler 2017, 271–278.

<sup>12</sup> Corti 2010, 141.

<sup>13</sup> This work follows the assignment of the clay tablets according to S. Košak, [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): [hetkonk \(2.plus\)](http://hethiter.net/), last retrieved in August 2023.

<sup>14</sup> Additionally, the Hittite formulation can be found in KBo 25.114 obv. 2’–3’ onwards.

<sup>15</sup> The Hattian text is also extant in KUB 28.75 i 4’–5’, iv 3’–5’; KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77 i 16–18, KUB 48.12+ i 2’–4’’, ii 8’–10’ and KBo 64.173: 2’–3’.

<sup>16</sup> Transliteration and restorations according to Dardano 2012, 623. The translation of the last sentence follows that of Starke 1985, 109. Dardano 2012, 623 provides the translation “Sein Land [möge] auf dieser Seite das Meer [und auf (jener) Seite] das Meer als Grenze [haben.]” and Girbal 2002, 276 “Die Grenze seines Landes soll dort das Meer, hier das Meer sein!”.

<sup>17</sup> The transliteration is based on Neu 1980, 193–194. The restoration of *ka-zi-in-ua*<sub>a</sub> is derived from the parallel passage found in KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77 i 18 and ii 10’ (cf. Laroche 1947, 197). The sign preceding *te-* seems not to be *ua*<sub>a</sub>; there is still some space for one or two additional signs.

Laroche and Girbal have long since recognized the Hattian counterpart of this formula.<sup>18</sup> It is used multiple times in CTH 733 and entails a plea for the longevity of the king as well as his wife, children, grandchildren, and military troops.

In contrast to blessing formulas in other ritual texts, it includes an additional component stipulating that the dominion of the Labarna should encompass the seas as its boundaries. The equation between the Hittite and Hattian variants of the addendum has already been established,<sup>19</sup> although a comprehensive analysis of all constituent elements remains elusive. The certainty of this correspondence is made clear through the presence of the term *KUR-sú* in both versions and the congruity of their contextual elements.<sup>20</sup>

From the Hattian sentence, only the meanings of *KUR-sú* and *pala* are known. Analogically to the Hittite sentence, the Hattian phrases must refer to the same object “here and there”, so in the second phrase (*pala taimān* KL.MIN), everything remains the same (KL.MIN) except the location (the sea). Therefore, *taimān* cannot render the verb and must instead refer to the sea. Drawing from the optative circumfix *te=...=a*,<sup>21</sup> it is determined that *te=k=za=šul=a* functions as the predicate in the Hattian sentence. The verb form points to a root *sūl*, which has been translated in other bilingual texts as *tarna-* ‘let (go)’,<sup>22</sup> where the emphasis on directional movement – that is, ‘let go’ – is prominent.

[3a] KUB 2.2+KUB 48.1 iii 54–55<sup>23</sup> (CTH 413.1.B)

54 *na-aš-ta a-aš-šu an-da tar-ni-eš-ki-<sup>1</sup>id<sup>24</sup>-du<sup>1</sup>*

55 *i-da-lu-ma-kán an-da le-e tar-na-a-i*

‘It shall let the good (into the building), but it shall not let the evil in.’

[3b] KUB 2.2+KUB 48.1 iii 51–52<sup>25</sup> (CTH 413.1.B)

51 *ma<sup>1</sup>-al-ḫi-ip[-ḫ]u te-e-ta-<sup>1</sup>aḫ-šū-ú<sup>1</sup>-ul a-ša-aḫ-pí*

52 *<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-aš-tu-u-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> šū-u-la (...)*

[4a] KUB 28.4 ii 19’–20’<sup>26</sup> (CTH 727.A)

19’ ... *nu-uš-ši* EGIR-an *ḫé-ḫ-uš tar-na-aš ḫé-e-ú-uš-ša-aš-ši*

20’ EGIR-an-da tar-na-aš ḫu-u-ḫa-ta-aš[-š]a-aš-ši EGIR-an-da tar-na-aš

‘... and he let rain(showers) after him. He sent his rain after him (and) he sent his wind after him.’

[4b] KUB 28.4 i 17<sup>27</sup> (CTH 727.A, with restorations from KUB 28.5(+) i 22’)

17 [*t*]u-*uḫ-ta-šū-ul tu-u-mi-il tu-uḫ-za-šū-ul* [*ḫi-pi*]-*zi-il*

<sup>18</sup> Laroche 1947, 197–200; Girbal 1986, 127–133.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Klingler 2000, 164.

<sup>20</sup> HWHT, 961, 730, 525 lists some Hattic-Hittite word correspondences in the surrounding paragraphs, including *KUR-tu* (KUB 28.75 ii 12) = *utniya*[...] (KBo 25.112 ii 3’), *taḫata*[...] (KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77 ii 11’) = <sup>A.ŠA</sup><sub>A.GAR</sub> *taḫatauššaš* (KBo 25.112 ii 7’, KBo 25.114 obv. 4’) and [<sup>URU</sup>]<sup>U</sup>*Kaku*[...] (KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77 ii 12’) = <sup>URU</sup>*Kakumahi=ma* (KBo 25.112 ii 8’, KBo 25.114 obv. 5’).

<sup>21</sup> HWHT, 195.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. HWHT, 309.

<sup>23</sup> Transliteration according to Groddek 2009, 21.

<sup>24</sup> Sign DA.

<sup>25</sup> Transliteration according to Groddek 2009, 21.

<sup>26</sup> Transliteration and translation according to Schuster 2002, 389.

<sup>27</sup> The transliteration is based on Schuster 2002, 388.

The verb does not appear to offer a literal translation of the restored word *ēštu*. Instead, the Hattian construction relies on the following structure: “May his country let the border go to the sea there and to the sea here as well.” From this, it is plausible to deduce the correspondence of *taiān ... taimān* and *edi arunaš ... [(kē)t=ta] arunaš*, signifying ‘the sea there and the sea here’. Two main factors require this assumption. First, the Hattian term *pala* in the sentence links the two seas, and only *taimān* follows it. Second, *ān* parallels *arunaš* as the sole repeated word in the sentence. Girbal, however, interprets *taiān* and *taimān* as pure local adverbs (‘there’ and ‘here’);<sup>28</sup> this interpretation is possible but not optimal due to the missing word for ‘sea’. I propose the morphological analysis *tai=a=an ... tai=ma=an*. This analysis entails a prefix *tai*<sup>29</sup> or *ta=i*, the noun *an* for ‘sea’, and the prefixes **a=X ... ma=X**, denoting the deictic contrast ‘the one X there ... the other X here’. The initial prefix of this phrase, *a-*, is most likely the deictic affix *a*<sup>1,30</sup>. Alternatively, an analysis as *ta=i=an ... ta=i=ma=an*, with the “demonstrative” *i*<sup>1,31</sup> on both forms, appears plausible. Similar constructions incorporating *ma-* are more frequently encountered in Hattian songs, which largely remain unintelligible. Nonetheless, phrases structured as ‘the X [and] the X here’ are quite conceivable within this context. In these texts, *ma-* frequently alternates with a “prefixless” form, e.g.:

[5a] KBo 23.103 i 32<sup>32</sup> (CTH 741.2)

32 [... ]*x-a-i lu-u-ua-i-u ma-ia-lu-u-ua-i-u*

[5b] KBo 21.109+ iii 17<sup>33</sup> (CTH 741.1.B)

17 *a-lu-ú-ua-i-u ma-ia-lu-ú-ua-i-u*

[5c] KUB 48.26 obv. 9–10<sup>34</sup> (CTH 159)

9 *x-na-a-ap-pé-el<sup>1</sup>-lu-u<sup>1</sup> la<sup>1</sup>-ši-im(-)x[...]*

10 *ma-la(-)ši-mu-ú-el<sup>1</sup> Ta-li-ue<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup> x[...]*

[5d] KBo 42.9 rev.<sup>?</sup> right column 9’–10’<sup>35</sup> (CTH 627.4.C)

9’ *ki-i-ma-aš-ši le-e-lu-ua-a*

10’ *ma-le-e-lu-ua-a ha-ap-pé-eš-šar*

A notable observation is the correspondence of **an** and *arunaš* ‘sea’. Previous literature has proposed that the Hattian term for ‘sea’ is *han* or *ha*.<sup>36</sup> The sole evidence for this contention is the tablet KBo 37.49 ([6b]), where *ha-a-an-ua<sub>a</sub>* is equated with *arunaš* (KBo 37.48(+)KUB 28.8 ii 9’; [6a]). It is typically assumed that a local suffix *-ua<sub>a</sub>* is associated with the word, as in *ziš=pa ‘ina<sub>HUR.SAG</sub> (= in the mountains)’* (KUB 2.2 ii 57).<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, considering CTH 733, the word form in KBo 37.49 might be analyzed as *ha=an=ua<sub>a</sub>*. A local prefix *ha-* ‘to(wards), against’<sup>38</sup> appears to be particularly fitting here.

<sup>28</sup> Girbal 2002, 276–277.

<sup>29</sup> The existence of a prefix *tai*<sup>1</sup>- is uncertain; see HWHT, 247.

<sup>30</sup> HWHT, 205.

<sup>31</sup> HWHT, 220.

<sup>32</sup> Transliteration according to Schuster 1974, 22 (listed as 400/d).

<sup>33</sup> Transliteration according to Klinger 1996, 698.

<sup>34</sup> Transliteration according to TLH<sup>dig</sup>, hethiter.net/: TLH<sup>dig</sup> KUB 48.26 (2021-12-31).

<sup>35</sup> Transliteration according to Groddek 2004, 336.

<sup>36</sup> HWHT, 277; Girbal 2002, 261. The idea of *ha* ‘sea’ is based, among other things, on the divine name *Hatepuna*, which is interpreted as ‘daughter of the sea’ (cf. Haas 2006, 116).

<sup>37</sup> Klinger 2000, 162.

<sup>38</sup> Soysal 2010, 1043; the prefix *ha-* ‘to(wards)’ does not require a suffix, as shown by Simon 2012, 97.

[6a] KUB 28.8 iii 9'–10' (CTH 736.1.B; with restorations from KBo 17.22 iii 10–11)<sup>39</sup>

- 9' *la-ba-ar-na-a*[(š šu-ur-ki-iš-š)e-eš] *a-ru-na-aš te-e-ga-aš-še-et*  
 10' *ú-e-mi-ia-a*[*n*-zi *la-ba-ar-na-aš* (*la-aḥ-ḥu-ur-n*)]*u-zi-ia-an-te-ša*  
 11' *ne-pí-iš*[-še-et ... *ú-e-mi-ia-a*]*n*-zi

'The roots of the *labarna* rea[ch] his bottom of the sea and the leaves [of the *labarna* reac]h [his] heaven.'

[6b] KBo 37.49 rev. 18'–19'<sup>40</sup> (CTH 736.2.C; with restorations from KUB 28.8+ iv 7')

- 18' [*ta-ba-a*]*r-na-an le-eš-tu-up ḥa-a-an-ua<sub>a</sub> ḥa-š*[(*a-a-ah-ḥu*)]  
 19' [*pu-u-lu-ku-p*]*é-e'* *zi-ia-aḥ-du an-za-aš-nu-u* [...]

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that none of the Hattian passages discussed here necessarily contain the word 'sea' – note that *ḥānu<sub>a</sub> ḥaš*[*āḥḥu*] does not seem to be a genitive phrase. The Hittite texts use nominal phrases such as 'border' (of the sea) or 'bottom of the sea'. The Hattian version may render these as 'shore, coast' or 'underground' without the need for the term 'sea'.

The Hattian word *ka-zi-in-ua<sub>a</sub>* corresponds to *ZAG-aš* 'border', as Klinger<sup>41</sup> previously suspected. This word is attested outside CTH 733 in KBo 37.93 (cited as [13]), a text with content closely related to this text group, although the specific details differ. In this version, the addition concerning the boundaries of the empire contains the term *kazinu<sub>a</sub>* twice: once after *taiān* and once after *taimān*. This difference is noteworthy because a similar formula in which the word 'border' is repeated is also found in KUB 11.23. Instead of *edi ... kett=a* 'that side ... this side', it uses *kezz=ija* 'one side ... another side'.

[7] KUB 11.23 rev. vi 8–11<sup>42</sup> (CTH 618.4)

- 8 (...) *nu ki-iz-za a-ru-na-aš*  
 9 [*i*]*r-ḥa-an ú-e-mi-iš-ki-id-du*  
 10 [*k*]*i-iz-z*[*i-i*]*a a-ru-na-aš*  
 11 [*i*]*r-ḥa-a*[*n*] *ú-e-mi-iš-ki-id-du*

'(...) and he shall keep on reaching the border of the sea on the one side and he shall keep on reaching the border of the sea on the other side.'

## May the fields and meadows prosper

In the corresponding tablets, the blessing formula and the associated addition concerning the boundaries are followed by a request for the prosperity of fields and meadows so that they will yield bread and wine for the deities. Comparable expressions of prosperity are encountered, for instance, in the supplication to the sun goddess of the earth (CTH 371.1, KBo 7.28 obv. 15'–16'). Among the terms drawn from this formula in CTH 733, the HWHT provides the correspondences: *tepkahḥila* 'māu (= shall prosper)', *upḥāpuluptā* <sup>NINDA</sup>*ḥarša(š)=šmaš* (= for your thick breads)', [*upḥatewu<sub>u</sub>*]*nen* 'išpantuzzia(š)=šmaš (= for your ration, libation)', *taḥata*[...] 'A.ŠA A.GAR<sup>43</sup> *taḥataūššaš* (= fields, meadows and t.?)', and [<sup>URU</sup>]<sub>L</sub>*K<sub>1</sub>aku*[...] <sup>URU</sup>*Kākumaḥi*'.<sup>44</sup> The Hittite section is

<sup>39</sup> The transliteration and the translation are based on Klinger 2000, 158. Restorations according to Kloekhorst 2008, 793.

<sup>40</sup> The transliteration is based on Klinger 2000, 159. The sign *e'*- in line 19' is restored from KUB 28.8+ iv 7'.

<sup>41</sup> Klinger 2000, 164 n. 61.

<sup>42</sup> The transliteration and the translation are based on Klinger 2000, 165–166.

<sup>43</sup> Nowadays, the reading <sup>A.ŠA</sup>A.GAR is usually preferred, see Weeden 2011, 160–161.

<sup>44</sup> HWHT, 525, 730, 791, 860, and 861.

quoted below based on KBo 25.112+KBo 25.114 [8a], while the Hattian equivalent is presented once according to KUB 28.75 [8b] and once in accordance with KUB 48.12+KUB 28.77 [8c]:

[8a] KBo 25.114 i<sup>2</sup> 4<sup>1</sup>–6<sup>1</sup>+KBo 25.112 ii 7<sup>1</sup>–9<sup>1</sup><sup>45</sup>

i<sup>2</sup> 4<sup>1</sup> [... *ta-ḥa-a-ta-u-u*]š-ša-aš *ma-a-ú* DIN[GIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>]

i<sup>2</sup> 5<sup>1</sup> [... <sup>URU</sup>*Ka-a-ku*]-*ma-ḥi-ma* <sup>GIŠ</sup>KIR<sub>6</sub> GEŠTIN

i<sup>2</sup> 6<sup>1</sup> [...]*tu-ya-a-at-t*[*u* ...]

(...)

ii 7<sup>1</sup> <sup>A.ŠA</sup>A.GAR *ta-ḥa-a-ta-u-uš-ša-aš ma-a-ú* [DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>]<sup>46</sup>

‘Let the field(s) and *t*. prosper, for your, [the gods]’

ii 8<sup>1</sup> <sup>NINDA</sup>*ḥar-ša-aš-ma-aš* <sup>URU</sup>*Ka-a-ku-ma-ḥi-ma ma-a-*[*ú* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>]

‘thick breads! In the city of *K.*, let (the vineyard?) prosp[er, for your, the gods]’

ii 9<sup>1</sup> *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-aš-ma-aš tu-ya-a-a*[*t-tu*]

‘libations! Have mercy!’

[8b] KUB 28.75 i 9<sup>1</sup>–12<sup>1</sup>,<sup>47</sup> ii 17–19 and iv 6<sup>1</sup>–8<sup>1</sup>

i 9<sup>1</sup> [...*ya-a-aš-ḥa-ya-ú*]-<sup>URU</sup>*ú*<sup>1</sup>-*un-pí*

i 10<sup>1</sup> [... <sup>GIŠ</sup>KIR<sub>6</sub> GEŠTIN

i 11<sup>1</sup> [... *t*]e-*ya-ú*-*uš-ne*[(-)...]

i 12<sup>1</sup> [...(-)]*r-zi-in*<sup>1</sup>

(...)

ii 17 x x[...] *-il-la* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*pí up-ḥa-a-pu-lu-up-ta-a*

ii 18 [... *t*]e-*ep-ka-aḥ-ḥi-la* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*pí*

ii 19 [... *te-ya-ú*-*uš-n*]e-*en ut-ḥu-ru-u tap-pé-e-er*

(...)

iv 6<sup>1</sup> [...]x<sup>48</sup> *u-up-pu-lu-up-ta-a-an*

iv 7<sup>1</sup> [...] (*erasure*) DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*pí*

iv 8<sup>1</sup> [... *tap-p*]é-*e-er*

[8c] KUB 48.12+KUB 28.77<sup>49</sup> i 5<sup>1</sup>–7<sup>1</sup> and ii 11<sup>1</sup>–12<sup>1</sup>

i 5<sup>1</sup> [... DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*u*]n-*pí*

i 6<sup>1</sup> [... *t*]e-*ep-ka-aḥ-ḥi-il-la*

i 7<sup>1</sup> [...] *tap-p*é-*e<sup>1</sup>-er*

...

ii 11<sup>1</sup> *ta-ḥa-ta*-[...]

ii 12<sup>1</sup> [<sup>UR</sup>]*u*[*K*]a-*a-ku*-[...]

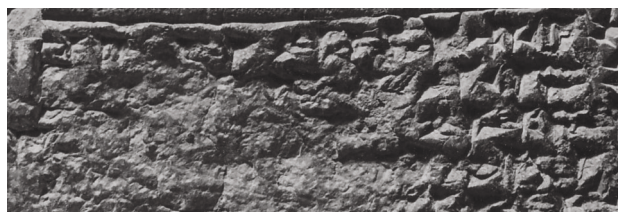
<sup>45</sup> Cf. Corti 2010, 143 (with A.ŠA A.QAR instead of A.ŠA A.GAR).

<sup>46</sup> The restoration is based on the Hattic paragraph.

<sup>47</sup> Transliteration according to Corti (2010, 144) and TLH<sup>dig</sup>, [hethiter.net/](https://hethiter.net/): TLHdig KUB 28.75 (2021-12-31). Corti (2010, 144) first recognized KUB 28.75 i as part of this section, and the citation adheres to his interpretation. Line 6<sup>1</sup> contains [*ya-a-aš-ḥa-ya-ú*]-*u<sup>1</sup>-un-pí*, suggesting the presence of an *n*-case. Therefore, it appears that the Hattian sentence contains a genitive phrase referring to the second person (‘the thick bread of you, O gods’), a construction that lacks other known attestations.

<sup>48</sup> Possibly [... DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*p*]í.

<sup>49</sup> Transliteration according to TLH<sup>dig</sup>, [hethiter.net/](https://hethiter.net/): TLHdig KBo 63.126 (2021-12-31). The restoration [... DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*u*]n is based on KUB 28.75 ii 17.



**Figure 1.** A photo of the gap of KUB 28.75 ii 17 (last line). (Photo: [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): [hetkonk \[2.plus\]](http://hetkonk.com/)).

From KUB 28.75, it can be ascertained that the formula appears in at least three columns. As Corti has observed, there are differences between the fragments KBo 25.112 and KBo 25.114.<sup>50</sup> In KBo 25.114, after <sup>URU</sup>*Ka-a-ku-ma-ḫi-ma*, there is <sup>GIS</sup><sub>KIR</sub>[I<sub>6</sub> GEŠTIN] ‘vineyard’ instead of *māu*. Corti concludes that these are not duplicates but rather two passages from the same tablet with slight variations in wording.<sup>51</sup>

Additionally, KBo 64.173 is added to the fragments of tablet KUB 48.12+ (listed as 69/358 by Corti)<sup>52</sup> and serves as another source for this passage. In terms of content, this fragment aligns well with KUB 48.12 i 2’–7’’. Therefore, I propose the following join:

[8d] KBo 64.173 1’–6’ and KUB 48.12 i 2’–7’’

- 1’ [ka-at-te te-ku-un-ku]-<sup>1</sup>uh<sup>1</sup>-[ḫu-a MUNUS.LUGAL KI].II DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-šU KI.III  
 2’ [DUMU.DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-šU KI.IV ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-šU] KI.V KU[R-SÚ t]a-ḫa-a-an  
 3’ [ka-zi-in-<sub>a</sub>... t]e-ek-za-š[u-la pa-l]a ta-i-ma-a-an KI.II  
 4’ [ta-ḫa-ta-u-uš-ša(?) te<sup>2</sup>]-<sub>a</sub>(-i-il-la DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-u)n-pí  
 5’ [up-ḫa-pu-lu-up-ta<sup>UR</sup>]U Ka-a-ku<sub>1</sub>-[ma-ḫi <sup>GIS</sup><sub>KIR</sub>I<sub>6</sub> GEŠTIN t]e-ep-ka-aḫ-ḫi-il-la  
 6’ [DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-un-pí te-<sub>u</sub>-uš]-<sub>1</sub>ne<sup>2</sup> [ut]-<sub>1</sub>ḫu<sup>2</sup>-<sub>1</sub>[ru-u] tap-<sup>1</sup>pé-e<sup>1</sup>-er

According to KBo 64.173: 4’ ([8d]), KUB 28.75 ii 17 must be restored with [...]<sub>a</sub>ī[...]: [...<sub>a</sub>(-i)-il-la DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-pí up-ḫa-a-pu-lu-up-ta-a. In this passage, the Hittite word *māu* corresponds once to the Hattian *te(=p)<sup>2</sup>=<sub>a</sub>il=a* (or *te(=p)<sup>2</sup>=<sub>a</sub>il=a*) and once to *te=p=ka=ḫ=il=a* (or *te=p=ka=ḫil=a*). Since both forms are translated as *māu*, it is reasonable to assume a verb stem *il* with different prefixes. The former could be a misspelling, but the gap in KUB 28.75 ii 17 ([8b]) argues against this interpretation. This gap allows for approximately eight or nine signs, based on my estimation (compare Fig. 1), but if the word *tepkahḫilla* is missing here, at least ten signs in the gap of KUB 28.75 ii 17 [8b] need to be restored: [ta-ḫa-ta-uš-ša(?) te<sup>2</sup>-<sub>a</sub>]-il-la is unproblematic.

The different prefixes pose an open question. The prefix chain *ka=ḫ=* is also attested for other verbs, and the occurrence of *(-<sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup>-)* in its place is already known (see *-ḫ<sup>2</sup>-*<sup>53</sup>). However, the function cannot be determined at this point.

## You eat...

Before the blessing formula in KBo 25.112, two lines can be read: [...] x-za-aš-<sup>1</sup>te-e<sup>1</sup> [...] (ii 2’) and [...]t]’a<sup>1</sup> ut-ni-ḫa-x [...] (ii 3’). They correspond – as may be inferred from the context – to lines 10–13 of the Hattian text in KUB 28.75 ii. These lines belong to a section that also appears in a similar form

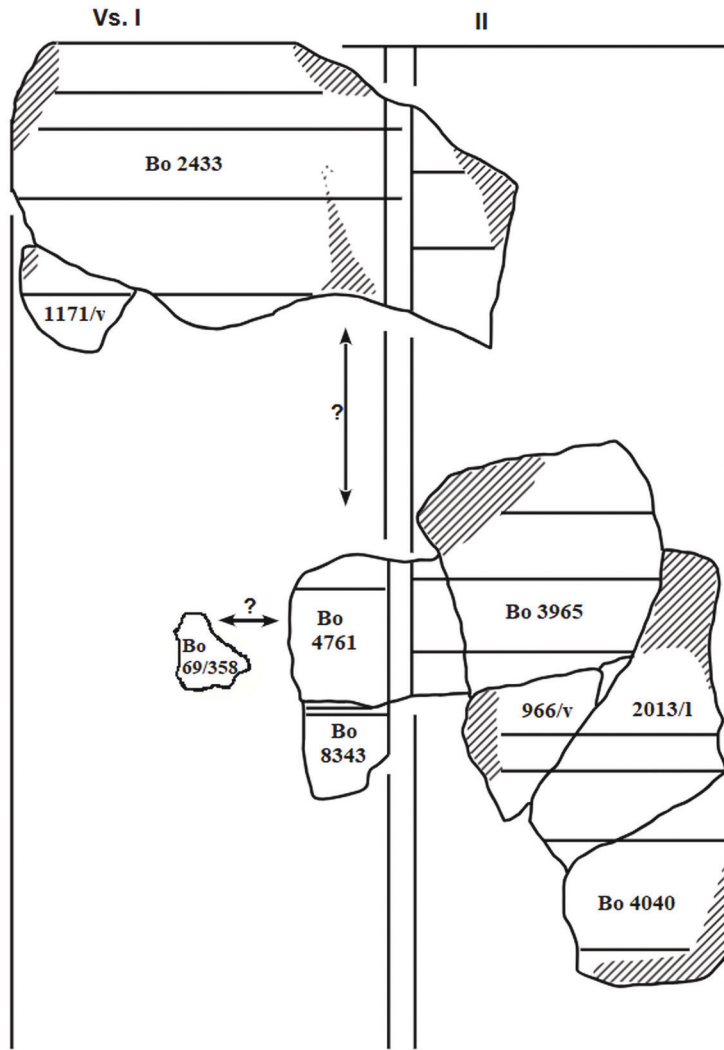
<sup>50</sup> Corti 2010, 143.

<sup>51</sup> Corti 2010, 144.

<sup>52</sup> Corti 2010, 147.

<sup>53</sup> HWHT, 216.





**Figure 2.** Updated join sketch of 966/v (S. Košak, [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): [hetkonk \[2.plus\]](https://doi.org/10.1515/hetkonk-2022-0012)).

at the beginning of the ritual in the <sup>10</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> version and is preserved in KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77 i 10–15. A comparison of the texts from both columns is given in [9]:

[9a] KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77<sup>54</sup> i 4–15

- 4 [ut-ḫ]u-ru-u <sup>1</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>-mi-en-te-el ḫa-ḫi-ḫu<sub>ḫ</sub>-na-a-an AMAR-mi-en-te-el  
 5 [ḫa-ḫ]a<sub>a</sub>-aš-ḫa-ḫi-i ḫa-aš-ta-nu-e-el DINGIR-ap ka-at-te
- 
- 6 [k]a-a-at-te eš-tu-u-pé-en-tu(-)u-ḫ-kán-ti-i-u  
 7 [ ] le-e-ḫa-zu-ḫa-a-aḫ am-mi-i-šū-u ḫa-zu-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-ḫé-en-tu  
 8 [t]a-ḫa-a-ak-pí VIII-in am-pu-ú<sup>\*</sup>\*tu <<x>>\*ḫa-pal-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-a-an  
 9 [l]e-e-ki-ḫu<sub>ḫ</sub>-un an-ka-zi-ip-ḫé-en-tu
- 
- 10 [(x)] x-lu-u-up eš-tu-u-pé-e-tu u-te-ḫu<sub>ḫ</sub><sup>1</sup>-uš-ne KI.II  
 11 [(x)] x-l[i-i-ip KI.III ka-a-n[a]-ḫa-ap-zu ka-a-ma-al-ḫi-ip  
 12 [x]-ka-a-za-ra u-up-ta-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ḫu<sub>ḫ</sub>-eš u-ḫa<sub>a</sub>-a ka-li-iš-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>  
 13 [uš-š]u-<sup>1</sup>uk-ka<sup>1</sup>-i-ḫa<sub>a</sub>-a-e uš-šū-uk-ki-ḫi-iš

<sup>54</sup> The transliteration is based on TLH<sup>dig</sup>, [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): TLH<sup>dig</sup> KBo 63.126 (2021-12-3).

- 14 [uš-š]u-uk-ka-u<sub>a</sub>-al-<sup>r</sup>u<sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup>-la-at uš-šu-ú-up-pu u<sub>u</sub> [-x-u]r<sup>(?)</sup>-tu<sup>55</sup>  
 15 [te]-pu-u-ut pa-[l]a kat-te-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> [ ]

[9b] KUB 28.75<sup>56</sup> ii 3–13

- 3 ut-hu-ru-u Ka-hal-u<sub>u</sub>-uz-ze-el ha-u<sub>i</sub>-u<sub>u</sub>-n<sup>a</sup>[a-an]  
 4 Ka-hal-u<sub>u</sub>-uz-ze-el ha-u<sub>a</sub>-aš-ha-u<sub>i</sub>-pí ka-aš-tu-u[a<sup>2</sup> DINGIR-a]p<sup>(?)</sup>  
 5 ha-li-u<sub>a</sub>-a-an-na DINGIR-ap ka-a-at-te  
 6 ka-a-at-te eš-tu-u-pu-un-tu u-u<sub>h</sub>-kán-ti-i-u  


---

 7 ua-la-a-h le-e-ha-zu-u<sub>a</sub>-a-h am-mi-i-š<sup>u</sup>-u ha-zu-u<sub>a</sub>-hé-en-tu  
 8 ta-ha-a-ak-pí VIII-in am-pu-ú-ut-tu ha-pal-ki-an  
 9 le-e-ki-i-u<sub>u</sub>-un an-ka-zi-ip-hé-en-tu  


---

 10 a-re-e-u u-ka-li-i-iš<sup>57</sup> ka-te-e ha-m<sup>a</sup>-zu  
 11 pa-la u-ta-u<sub>e</sub>-eš uš-šu-uk-ki-u<sub>e</sub>-e uš-šu-uk-ki-u<sub>i</sub>-iš  
 12 uš-šu-up-ka-u<sub>a</sub>-al-u<sub>a</sub>-la-at uš-šu-ú-up-pu KUR-tu t<sup>e</sup>-pu-u-ut  
 13 pa-la kat-t<sup>e</sup>[-]e

The two Hattian paragraphs (KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77 i 10–15 and KUB 28.75 ii 10–13) exhibit different opening clauses, a middle clause with only slight syntactic variations, and the same closing clause. The morphological deviations in the middle part primarily involve the use of the plural prefix *p/wa<sub>a</sub>-*. The HWHT<sup>58</sup> equates the Hittite word *ut-ni-ia-x[...]* (KBo 25.112 ii 3') with the Hattian *KUR-tu* in KUB 28.75 ii 12. The Hittite word form may obscure a declension form of *utnē* 'land' or the word *utniyant-* 'population'. In line 2', a bilaterally broken word is attested, usually interpreted as [az<sup>?</sup>]-za-aš-te-e-[ni<sup>?</sup>] 'you eat (pl.)'.<sup>59</sup> The Hattian verbal prefix for the second-person plural is possibly *up-*,<sup>60</sup> which means that one of these four words must be the correspondence of *azzaštēni*: *uš-šu-ú-up-pu*, *uš-šu-up-ka-u<sub>a</sub>-al-u<sub>a</sub>-la-at*, and, with assimilated *-p > -k*,<sup>61</sup> *uš-šu-uk-ki-u<sub>i</sub>-iš* or *uš-šu-<sup>r</sup>uk-ki-u<sub>e</sub>-e*. As the verbs *wa<sub>a</sub>lwa<sub>a</sub>lat* 'mema-<sup>2</sup> (= to speak)<sup>62</sup> and *pu 'i<sub>a</sub>- (= to make)*' are already assigned to other meanings, only the forms *ušš=u(p)=ki<sub>i</sub>iš* and *ušš=u(p)=ki<sub>u</sub>e* can be related to *azzaštēni*.

The Hattian word for 'to eat' is also found in the bilingual text of KBo 37.1 ([10b]). It appears in the Hittite part with the object *NINDA-an* ('bread') and next to the verb *ekueni* ('we drink').

[10a] KBo 37.1 ii 35–37<sup>63</sup> (CTH 726.1.A; Hittite; with restorations from Or. 90/1335+ ii 28–29<sup>64</sup>)

- 35 nu <sup>IM</sup>-aš <sup>p</sup>[(L<sub>i</sub>-il-u<sub>a</sub>-n)i-ša]  
 'And the weather god [and] Lelwan[i] (said):'  
 36 e-hu nu e-ku-e[-ni (e-et-ú-e-ni)]  
 'Come and let us dri[nk]! We eat'

<sup>55</sup> TLH<sup>dig</sup> restores the word as <sup>r</sup>u<sub>u</sub>-u<sup>1</sup>-[u]r<sup>(?)</sup>-tu.

<sup>56</sup> Transliteration according to Neu 1980, 193. The restoration [DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-a]p is based on the structure of KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77 i 5.

<sup>57</sup> Neu 1980, 193 reads UGU-li-i-iš.

<sup>58</sup> HWHT, 961.

<sup>59</sup> E.g., Kloekhorst 2008, 262.

<sup>60</sup> The prefix *up-* is attested only as a possessive prefix. In accordance with the prefixes of the second-person singular, *up-* could also be the verbal second-person plural prefix (cf. HWHT, 187).

<sup>61</sup> Note the assimilated *-p-* in [uš-š]u-uk-ka-u<sub>a</sub>-al-<sup>r</sup>u<sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup>-la-at (KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77 i 14).

<sup>62</sup> HWHT, 422.

<sup>63</sup> The transliteration is based on Klinger 1996, 645 (without restorations).

<sup>64</sup> Soysal – Süel 2016, 327.

37 NINDA-*an e-ku-e-ni*[...]  
‘bread (and) drink [...]’

[10b] KBo 37.1 i 35–37<sup>65</sup> (CTH 726.1.A; Hattian)

35 <sup>[p]Ta-ru-u</sup> <sup>[p]Le-el-ua-ni a-ša-a-ḫu</sup>  
36 [...(-)]*ú-pé-eš*<sup>66</sup> *i-tu-ú-e ú-ua<sub>a</sub>-e-el*  
37 [...-i]l <sup>[pa<sup>1</sup>-la ḫa-na-a-a[l<sup>2</sup>]</sup><sup>67</sup>

[10c] Word analysis and translation

[<sup>[p]Tāru</sup>] <sup>[p]Lelwani aš=ā=ḫu</sup>  
[*pala<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2</sup>=tu*]=*peš* *i=tu=e uua<sub>a</sub>ēl* [*i<sup>2</sup>=tu*]=*peš*<sup>2</sup> x]-il *pala ḫanāl*  
‘[the weather god] (and) Lelwan[i] (said): Come [and<sup>2</sup> let us d]rink! We eat bread  
(and) [drink<sup>2</sup> ...]il and *ḫanāl*’

Assuming that the Hittite word order reflects the Hattian word order, this leads to the following word correspondences: *ekuēni* ‘we drink’ = [...]*jupeš*, *etuēni* ‘we eat’ = *itue*, and NINDA-*an* ‘bread’ = *uua<sub>a</sub>ēl*.<sup>68</sup> For the meaning of *ḫanāl*, a beverage is then to be assumed. The same Hattian word combinations (with different verbal prefixes) are also found in a very similar context in the unintelligible text of KBo 37.23 ii 22’–23’, which is cited here as [11a]. It can be inferred from the structure of the context, in which the verbs are repeated with different objects (e.g., *taštuḫma* ii 19’ and 20’; *šēḫku* ii 24’ and 25’), that the word forms *eššē* und *eššēpeš* must be verbs consisting of the prefixes \**e<sup>2</sup>-* or *eš<sup>2</sup>-* and an infix *-še-*, which is presumably also present in the verb of the subsequent clause (*šēḫku*) and has so far only been observed with verbs.<sup>69</sup>

[11a] KBo 37.23 ii 22’–23’<sup>70</sup> (CTH 734.10)

22’ (...) *ú-ua<sub>a</sub>-el*<sup>71</sup>  
23’ *eš-še-e ḫa-na-a-al eš-še-e-pé-eš*

[11b] Word analysis and assumed translation

*uuael* *e(š<sup>2</sup>)=še=e ḫanāl* *e(š<sup>2</sup>)=šē=peš*  
‘we<sup>2</sup> eat bread, we<sup>2</sup> drink *ḫanāl*’

The HWHT analyzes the Hattian equivalent of Hittite *ētūeni* ‘we will eat’ as *i=tu=e* and determines *tu* as the word stem ‘to eat’. However, given the evidence from KBo 37.23 [11a], this analysis is hardly tenable. The verb-object complex *ḫanāl peš* [11b] occurs here with *uuael* and a verbal stem *e* [11b]. It can, therefore, be assumed that this verb *e* also represents the stem of *i=tu=e*, which is used there with the same object.<sup>72</sup> The meaning ‘drink’ for *pe/iš* also fits perfectly into the untranslated sentence *ua<sub>a</sub>-pí-iš<sup>1</sup> kur-ku<sup>1</sup>-ua<sub>a</sub>-na li-ga-ra-an* (KUB 48.9 ii 17) ‘I<sup>2</sup> drink the wine of

<sup>65</sup> Transliteration according to Klinger 1996, 644.

<sup>66</sup> I suggest restoring [*pa<sup>2</sup>-la<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2</sup>-tu<sup>2</sup>]-*ú-pé-eš* to the sentence, though it is, of course, not certain whether *pe/iš* is indeed a *tu*-prefixed verb (HWHT, 191–192).*

<sup>67</sup> Restoration according to HWHT, 440. Klinger 1996, 644 reads *ú*.

<sup>68</sup> The interpretation of *ú-ua<sub>a</sub>-e-el* ‘your house’ (Schuster 2002, 262) cannot be confirmed by the Hittite translation and remains questionable due to space limitations.

<sup>69</sup> HWHT, 240. The meaning of this infix is unknown.

<sup>70</sup> Transliteration according to TLH<sup>dig</sup>, hethiter.net/: TLH<sup>dig</sup> KBo 37.23 (2021-12-31).

<sup>71</sup> I adopt the reading of HWHT, 872. TLH<sup>dig</sup> reads *lu-ua<sub>a</sub>-el*.

<sup>72</sup> HWHT, 316 lists *i=tu=ia* and *ua<sub>a</sub>=tu=ia* (both from KUB 28.40) as further candidates for verbs containing the word stem *tu*. However, the meaning of these words is unknown, and they could belong to another stem.

the *Kurku<sub>a</sub>nna*;<sup>73</sup> Girbal has already attempted to posit the meaning ‘to scoop, to drink, to pour, to libate, or to sprinkle’ based on the context.<sup>74</sup> The other contexts of the *pe/iš* listed in HWHT<sup>75</sup> do not hint at the meaning. Another possible text containing *u<sub>a</sub>ēl* and *hanāl* is KBo 57.214+KUB 28.104 iii 6’: [... *ú<sup>2</sup>-u<sub>a</sub>*]<sub>a</sub><sup>2</sup>-e-el še-e-*h*[a-n]a-a-al.<sup>76</sup>

From the translations of KBo 37.1, not only the correspondence *ušš=u(p<sup>2</sup>)=k(a)i=ū(a<sub>a</sub>)=ē* ‘you eat’ can be derived but also the verb stem *ušš=u(p<sup>2</sup>)=ki=ūi<sub>i</sub>š* can also be linked to the verb *pe/iš* or *ue<sub>e</sub>š/ūi<sub>i</sub>š* ‘to drink’.<sup>77</sup> The prefix *uššu-* is likely the second-person variant of *ušše-*,<sup>78</sup> for which we only know with certainty that *ušše=šalel* (KUB 28.1 iv 35’’) corresponds to a first-person plural verb ([...*u*]eni in KUB 28.1 iv 37’’, CTH 728.A). Since the verbal prefix for the first-person plural is assumed to be *ai-/e-/i-*,<sup>79</sup> the actual prefix would be *ušš-* and *ušš=u(p)* must be the corresponding prefix for the second person. The function of *ušš-* is unclear, but it is worth noting that the prefix frequently occurs in enumerations (e.g., KBo 37.23 i 17’, 19’, 21’ from CTH 734.10; KBo 37.9 obv. 14’ from CTH 728.B; KUB 28.1 iv 35’ from CTH 728.A), which is why Laroche suspected a listing of items in the passage discussed here.<sup>80</sup> The meaning of the following affix, *-ki-*, which occurs once as *-ka-i-*, is unknown.<sup>81</sup> The infix *-wa<sub>a</sub><sup>2</sup>-* is assumed to express verbal plurality with an indirect or missing<sup>2</sup> object,<sup>82</sup> which seems to fit this context.

In terms of content, the middle and final part of the passage can be described as ‘you drink, you eat, you speak, you do, (so) may (*te=*) it happen (*put*) to the land’ and to the king.’ According to my interpretation, ‘drink’ and ‘eat’ refer to the previously mentioned offerings at the beginning of the paragraph (cf. [9]). The two versions of columns i (KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77) and ii (KUB 28.75) differ in this part. An enumeration with *ki.x* is missing in column ii, and the following sentence aligns with the other column only in some words. In the following, the sentences of column i ([12a, c, e, g]) are compared with those of column ii ([12b, d, f, h]; words with the same root are marked by encircled numbers):

[12] Comparison of KBo 25.118+KUB 28.77 i 10–15 and KUB 28.75 ii 10–13

[12a] [(x) x]-*lu-u-up eš-tu-u-pé-e-tu u-te-ūu<sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup>-uš-ne* *ki.ii* / [(x) x]-*l-i-i-ip* *ki.iii*

[12b] -

[12c] *ka-a-n[a]-ha-ap-zu ka-a-ma-al-*hi*-ip* / [x]-*ka-a-za-ra u-up-ta-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ūu<sub>a</sub>-eš<sup>1</sup>*  
*u-ūa<sub>a</sub>-a(-)ka-li-iš-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>*<sup>2</sup>

[12d] *a-re-e-u u-ka-li-i-iš<sup>2</sup>* *ka-te-e ha-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-zu / pa-la u-ta-ue<sub>e</sub>-eš<sup>1</sup>*

[12e] [*uš-š*]*u-<sup>1</sup>uk-ka<sup>1</sup>-i-ūa<sub>a</sub>-a-e<sup>4</sup>* *uš-šu-uk-ki-ūi<sub>i</sub>-iš<sup>3</sup>* / [*uš-š*]*u-uk-ka-ūa<sub>a</sub>-al-<sup>1</sup>ūa<sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup>-la-at<sup>5</sup>*

[12f] *uš-šu-<sup>1</sup>uk-ki-ue<sub>e</sub><sup>1</sup>-e<sup>4</sup>* *uš-šu-uk-ki-<sup>1</sup>ūi<sub>i</sub><sup>1</sup>-iš<sup>3</sup>* / *uš-šu-up-ka-ūa<sub>a</sub>-al-ūa<sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup>-la-at<sup>5</sup>*

[12g] *uš-šu-ú-up-pu* *ūu<sub>a</sub>-u<sup>1</sup>-[u]<sup>r(?)</sup>-tu* *[te]-pu-u-ut* *pa-[l]a* *kat-te-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>73</sup> For further details about the context and interpretation of the sentence, see Girbal 2002, 252–254.

<sup>74</sup> Girbal 2002, 252–253.

<sup>75</sup> HWHT, 302.

<sup>76</sup> I acknowledge the assistance of the anonymous reviewer with this point.

<sup>77</sup> This word shows an alternation of *e/i* and *p/ux<sub>x</sub>* (see HWHT, 302). These are well-known alternations (Kammenhuber 1969, 442–443 and HWHT, 75). Simon (2012, 50–60) provides a possible explanation of the alternation *e/i*.

<sup>78</sup> HWHT, 261.

<sup>79</sup> HWHT, 187.

<sup>80</sup> Laroche 1947, 198.

<sup>81</sup> HWHT, 226. Similarly to how *ai-* appears as *i-*, *-kai-* can be the older form of *-ki-* (cf. Simon 2012, 74–76).

<sup>82</sup> HWHT, 265 and – without vowel – 234.

[12h] *uš-šū-ú<sup>1</sup>-up-pu*      *KUR-tu*      *te-pu-u<sup>1</sup>-ut*      *pa-la*      *kat-te<sup>1</sup>-e*

Behind  $u(p)=ta=ue_ēš$  and  $ua_a=ka=liš=tu / u=ka=liš$ , nouns are probably hidden, each with the second-person possessive prefix. Morphologically,  $u(p)=ta=ue_ēš$  seems to consist of the root  $pe/iš$  ‘to drink’ and the prefix  $ta^2-$ , which is already known to form nouns.<sup>83</sup> It can, therefore, be assumed that this is a drink or drinking vessel. The Hittite term <sup>DUG</sup>*tapišana-* is a drinking vessel, possibly of Hattian origin.<sup>84</sup> It may therefore be possible to interpret *kalīš* as a corresponding word (e.g., ‘food’ or ‘bowl, plate’).

In addition to the passages discussed here, CTH 733 certainly offers other bilingual phrases and sentences, but in my judgment, they cannot currently be determined. Forlanini and Corti consider different corresponding textual passages between the Hittite text of KUB 43.27 and the Hattian text of KBo 25.121.<sup>85</sup> However, these texts are too badly damaged to confirm any correspondence. Texts such as KBo 37.93 ([13]), which use similar formulas and presumably have the same geographical origin, are also of interest for future research. KBo 37.93 includes its own variant of the blessing formula for the king (1’–3’), a request for prosperity (10’–11’), and an *uḫurū*-invocation for Taru (14’). It is, therefore, to be expected that future investigations of CTH 733 will also yield new Hittite-Hattian word correspondences.

[13] KBo 37.93<sup>86</sup> (CTH 744)

- 1’ [...(-)p]i<sup>1</sup>-i-in KL.II<sup>1</sup> X[...]  
 2’ [... ta-ia-a<sup>(2)</sup>-a]n ka-zi-in-u[a<sup>2</sup>(-)...]  
 3’ [... t]a-i-ma-a-an ka-zi-i[n-ua<sup>2</sup>(-)...]  
 4’ [...]x x eš-ḫa-uu<sub>y</sub>-ú-un l[i-...]  
 5’ [...-i]p<sup>2</sup>-ḫu iš-te-e-ḫa-zi(-)[...]  
 6’ [...]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-pí i-me-el-li un-x[...]  
 7’ [...]-ue<sub>e</sub>-e-el ku-li-i-ip [...]  
 8’ [...]x-ua-az-zi-in ta-nu-u(-)[...]  
 9’ [...u]a<sub>a</sub>-aḫ-tu-ú-il ka-a-at-[te<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 10’ [...](-)x<sup>87</sup> ua<sub>a</sub>-il i-tu-\*ú\*-up-ḫi-i[l(-)...]  
 11’ [... up<sup>2</sup>-ḫ]a-a-pu-lu-up-ta-a-an eš-z[i-...]  
 12’ [... ma]-a-an <sup>LUGUDU</sup><sub>12</sub> <sup>LUGUDU</sup><sub>12</sub>-aš-ša  
 13’ [... ḫa-a]š-ši-i šu-uḫ-ḫa-an-zi <sup>1</sup>[u...]  
 14’ [... ut]-ḫu-ru-u ta-a-ru ka-a-at-[te<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 15’ [...]x-u-up lu-u-la-ap-tu [...]  
 16’ [... ku-l]i<sup>(2)</sup>-i-ip x[...]

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<sup>83</sup> HWHT, 244.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Girbal 2002, 253. However, Yakubovich 2010, 335 suggests it may be a Luwian loanword.

<sup>85</sup> Forlanini 1984, 250; Corti 2010, 145–146.

<sup>86</sup> The transliteration is based on TLH<sup>dig</sup>, [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): TLH<sup>dig</sup> KBo 37.93 (2021-12-31).

<sup>87</sup> TLH<sup>dig</sup> reads *ú*, cf. HWHT, 881.

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