

PALAEOGRAPHY AND SCRIBAL PRACTICES
IN SYRO-PALESTINE AND ANATOLIA
IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

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ELENA DEVECCHI



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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament (Wiesbaden)
AAVV	Various Authors
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	W. von Soden. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden 1965-1981.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AkkSyll	W. von Soden – W. Röllig. <i>Das akkadische Syllabar</i> (AnOr 42 ⁴). Roma 1991.
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens (Münster)
AIT	D.J. Wiseman. <i>The Alalakh Tablets</i> (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 2). London 1953.
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies (Leuven)
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia (Roma)
AO	Antiquités orientales (inventory number of the Louvre Museum)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Münster)
ARU	M. David – E. Ebeling. <i>Assyrische Rechtsurkunden</i> . Stuttgart 1929.
AS	Ain Shems/Beth Shemesh tablets
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
ATmB	Alalah-Texte, mittelbabylonisch – new numbering used in C. Niedorf. <i>Die mittelbabylonischen Rechtsurkunden aus Alalah (Schicht IV)</i> (AOAT 352). Münster 2008.
BAM	F. Köcher et al. <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i> . Berlin 1963ff.
BaM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BATSH	Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu (Berlin)
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica (Malibu)
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
Bk	Büyükkale
BLMJ	Bible Land Museum Jerusalem
BM	British Museum
Bo	Boğazköy tablets (excavations 1906-1912)
BoḤa	Boğazköy-Ḥattuša (Berlin, Mainz am Rhein)
BoSt	Boghazköi-Studien (Leipzig)
BPOA	Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo (Madrid)
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago (Chicago –

	Glückstadt)
CAT	M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín. <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and other places (= KTU: second enlarged edition)</i> (ALASP 8). Münster 1995.
CDA	J. Black et al. <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> (SANTAG 5). Wiesbaden 2000.
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden, Boston, Köln)
CHD	The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago)
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler (Roma)
CM	Cuneiform Monographs (Groningen)
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CTA	A. Herdner. <i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i> (MRS 10 - Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 79). Paris 1963.
CTH	E. Laroche. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> (2 nd edition). Paris 1971.
CTMMA	Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
CTMMA I	I. Spar (ed.). <i>Tablets, Cones and Bricks of the Third and Second Millennia B.C.</i> New York 1988.
EA	El-Amarna tablets
HANE/M	History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs (Padova)
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden)
HED	J. Puhvel. <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Berlin 1984ff.
HSOA	Heidelberg Studien zum Alten Orient (Wiesbaden, Heidelberg)
HSS	Harvard Semitic Museum Series (Atlanta)
HW ²	J. Friedrich – A. Kammenhuber. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite völlig neuarbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte</i> . Heidelberg 1974ff.
HZI	C. Rüster – E. Neu. <i>Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon</i> (StBoT Beiheft 2). Wiesbaden 1989.
IBoT	İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri(nden Secme Metinler) (Istanbul, Ankara)
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
KAI	H. Donner – W. Röllig. <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften. Zweite, durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage</i> . Wiesbaden 1966-1969.
KAJ	E. Ebeling. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts</i> (WVDOG 50), Leipzig 1927.
KAV	O. Schroeder. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts</i> (WVDOG 35), Leipzig 1920.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Leipzig – Berlin)
KL	Kāmid el-Lōz tablets

KTU	M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín. <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit einschließlich der keilalphabetischen Texte außerhalb Ugarits. Teil I Transkription</i> (AOAT 24/1). Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin)
LANE	Languages of the Ancient Near East (Winona Lake)
LAPO	Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient (Paris)
LBA	Late Bronze Age
MARV 1	H. Freydank. <i>Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte</i> (VS 19). Berlin 1976.
MARV 5	H. Freydank – B. Feller. <i>Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte V</i> (WVDOG 106). Saarbrücken 2004.
MARV 8	H. Freydank. <i>Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte VIII</i> (WVDOG 119). Wiesbaden 2007.
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations (Winona Lake)
MesZl	R. Borger. <i>Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon</i> (AOAT 305). Münster 2004.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra (Paris)
Msk	Meskéné tablets
MSL	Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon (Roma)
MSL III	R.T. Hallock et al. <i>Das Syllabar A. Das Vokabular Sa. Das Vokabular Sb. Berichtigungen und Nachträge zu MSL II. Indices zu MSL II</i> . Roma 1955.
MSL XIV	M. Civil. <i>Ea A = nâqu, Aa A = nâqu with their Forerunners and Related Texts</i> . Roma 1979.
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
OAC	Oriens Antiquus Collectio (Roma)
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Göttingen)
obv.	obverse
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Or NS	<i>Orientalia Nova Series</i>
PAM	Palestine Archaeological Museum
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)
PdP	<i>La Parola del Passato</i>
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul (Leiden)
PN	Personal Name
PRU	Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit (Paris)
PRU II	C. Virolleaud. <i>Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit II. Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives est, ouest et centrales</i> (MRS 7). Paris 1957.
PRU III	J. Nougayrol. <i>Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit III. Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales</i> (MRS 6). Paris 1955.
PRU V	C. Virolleaud. <i>Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit V. Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives sud, sud-ouest et du petit palais</i> (MRS 11). Paris 1965.

PRU VI	J. Nougayrol. <i>Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit VI. Textes en cunéiformes babyloniens des archives du grand palais et du palais sud d'Ugarit</i> (MRS 12). Paris 1970.
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
rev.	reverse
RIH	Ras Ibn-Hani tablets
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie (Berlin – Leipzig)
RS	Ras Shamra tablets
RSO	Ras Shamra-Ougarit (Paris)
RSO VII	P. Bordreuil (ed.). <i>Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville</i> . Paris 1991.
RSO XIV	M. Yon. – D. Arnaud (eds.). <i>Études ougaritiques. I. Travaux 1985-1995</i> . Paris 2001.
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Supplement (Helsinki)
SÄK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago)
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians (Bethesda)
SEL	<i>Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico</i>
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten (Wiesbaden)
StMed	Studia Mediterranea (Pavia)
TB	Tell Brak tablets
THeth	Texte der Hethiter (Heidelberg)
TNM	Tell Nebi Mend tablets
TR	Tell ar-Rimah tablets
TS	Tell Soukas tablets
TT	Tell Ta'annak tablets
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts (London)
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VAT	Inventory Numbers of the Texts in the 'Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin'
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin (Leipzig)
VSNF	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Neue Folge (Berlin, Mainz)
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World (Atlanta)
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Leipzig, Berlin)
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

THE PALAEOGRAPHY AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF SIX RITUALS ‘REDACTED’ IN THE MANNER OF ARUSNA

*Jared L. Miller*¹

At the 7th International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum in 2008 I presented an initial description of a group of tablets and fragments belonging to a series of heavily Luwian influenced Hittite rituals relating to the ‘great deity’ of Arusna.² Since these Boğazköy tablets show a number of palaeographic and orthographic features of interest for the present volume, this paper treats further elements of the text group.

Because these texts do not belong to those generally well known to researchers of the Ancient Near East, or even to Hittitologists, since some of the material remains unpublished and that which has been published in cuneiform copies has never enjoyed a philological treatment, it is appropriate to begin with some preliminary remarks. A proper edition of these rituals is in the works, but progress with the texts is still at a rather early stage, so that many of the comments here must be considered initial observations and hypotheses rather than conclusions. The group consists of some 43 fragments, which can be attributed to perhaps as few as four tablets. They are booked in S. Košak’s online *Konkordanz* under CTH 495.³

The first and most striking characteristic of these pieces is their miniscule script – most conspicuous in Bo 3288++ and a number of smaller fragments that may belong to it⁴ – as can be seen, for instance, by comparison with that of the historical fragment KBo 22.10 (Fig. 1). The largest block of fragments, Bo 3288++, will have had very nearly 100 signs per line, as compared to an average of some 30-50 signs per line for other Boğazköy tablets of comparable format. It would have run to at least some 120 lines, compared to around 80 at the most for other Hittite texts.

¹ Jared.Miller@lmu.de; Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München.

² Miller 2010.

³ At http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php; CTH 495.I and II as well as KBo 17.32+KBo 41.21 belong to other compositions.

⁴ I.e. KUB 57.15+Bo 7221+Bo 8825, KUB 46.41, Bo 7693, Bo 7694, Bo 8819, Bo 8820 (and perhaps Bo 8827), 1017/u and 1018/u. Of the remaining pieces, KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 would seem to be the most similar to these. In fact, some of these smaller fragments might belong to KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 rather than Bo 3288++.

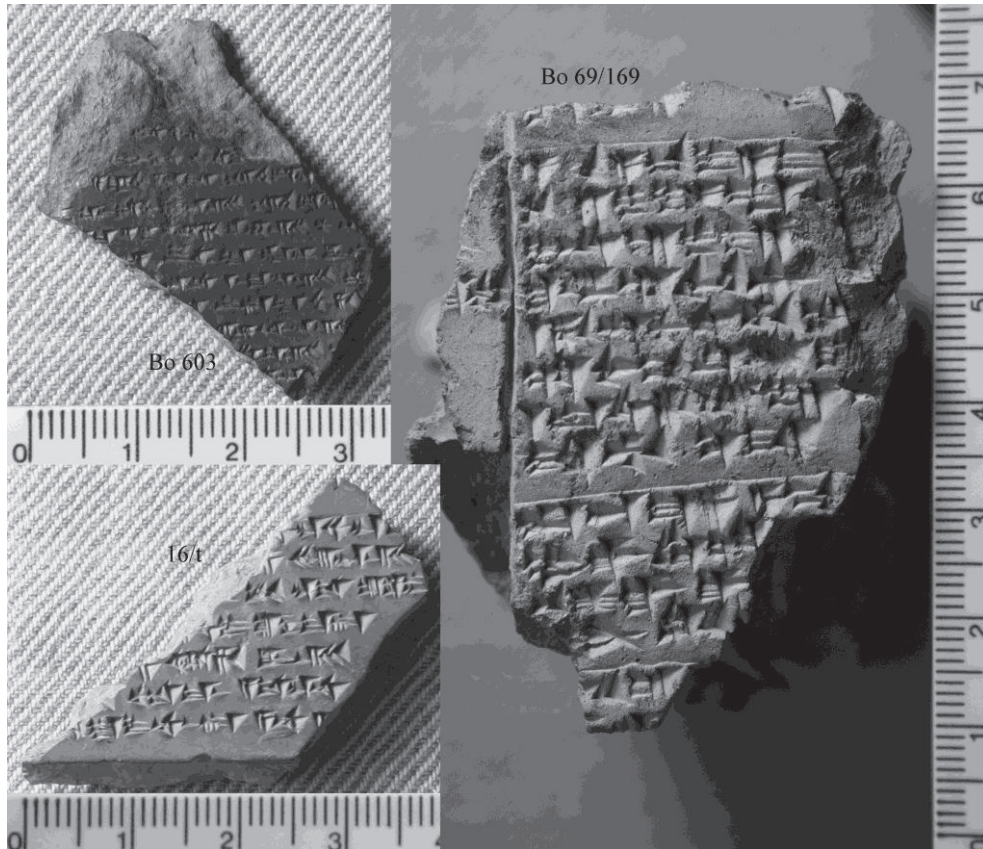


Fig. 1. Comparison of KUB 46.41 (Bo 603), KBo 45.242 (16/t) and KBo 22.10 (Bo 69/169).

Bo 3288++, though its obverse is entirely lost and its reverse is badly damaged, is one of the few pieces providing a significant amount of preserved text.⁵ Its broken edges reach almost to the original extent of the tablet. It was not divided into columns. The join with 126/u to the lower right demonstrates that this tablet originates from the Haus am Hang, from where, in fact, all fragments come that can be confidently attributed to this composition and for which a find spot is available, including KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40,⁶ which shows the same tiny script.

A further feature which all these tablets and fragments share is a very late New Hittite script as well as very late graphic features, such as the writing *pé-tan_x(DIN)-zi*, so common in the cult inventory texts from the reign of Tudḫaliya IV, as well as late grammatical features, such as the use of the local particle *-kan* throughout, except for a single occurrence of *-san* in a colophon (VSNF 12.58+KUB 46.39++ iv 2'). They thus date roughly to the second half of the 13th century.

⁵ See S. Košak's sketch at <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetskiz/sk.php?f=126/u>.

⁶ For the join see Miller 2010: 505 fig. 2.

Further formal features of interest include a *Randleiste* on the sides of the tablets, preserved by Bo 3288++ and the further primary manuscripts KUB 46.42++ (Fig. 2), KUB 46.38 and KUB 46.39++. This is a rather uncommon feature among the Boğazköy texts, where a *Randleiste* is standard only at the bottom of each side and at the top of the reverse. A *Randleiste* on the left of the tablet is found only rarely. On KUB 46.42++ it can even be seen that such a *Randleiste* is present on the upper, lower, left and right edges on both the obverse and the reverse, which is, it seems, unique at Hattusa.⁷

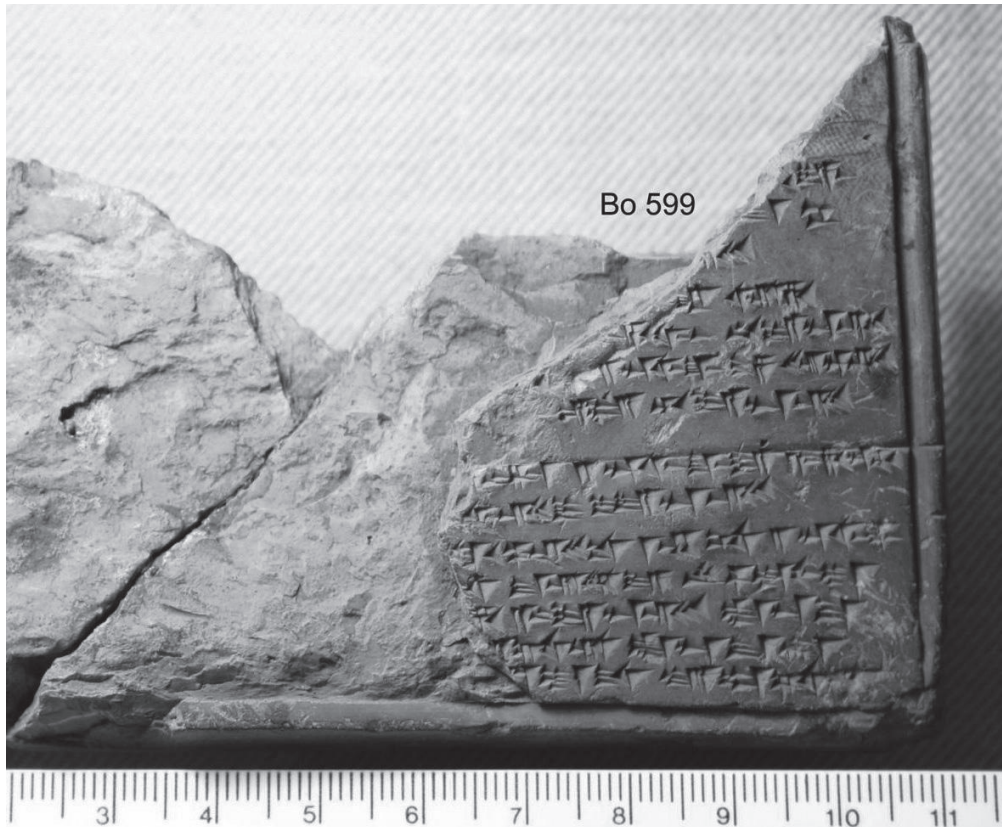


Fig. 2. KUB 46.42 col. ii, with *Randleiste*.

A further characteristic of Bo 3288++ is apparently unique in the archives of Hattusa.⁸ As is well known, the normal method of creating a paragraph divider is to draw

⁷ Willemijn Waal, who has recently completed her PhD on the formal aspects of the tablets from Boğazköy (Waal 2010), relates that she knows of only one other piece that certainly shows a *Randleiste* on the right side of the tablet, also a ritual fragment (KUB 46.65), while a second (KBo 2.25), pending collation, may perhaps have one.

⁸ As far as I can judge from the available photos and drawings, the examples listed by Hagenbuchner-Dresel (1999: 61 n. 40, sub ‘Paragraphenstrich und Keilschrift in einer Zeile’) are all fundamentally different features.

a line across the entire column or tablet after the last line of a block of text, then to begin the following paragraph after this line. The scribe of Bo 3288++, in contrast, begins drawing his divider immediately after the last sign of the paragraph (Fig. 3), pulling it to the edge of the tablet, no matter how far from the left edge his line of text had progressed. He then begins the following section beneath the preceding paragraph's last line of text, so that the two lines have no paragraph divider between them at the beginning of the line. This necessitates, among other things, that each paragraph divider be counted as a line of text, even if the beginning of the line is not preserved.

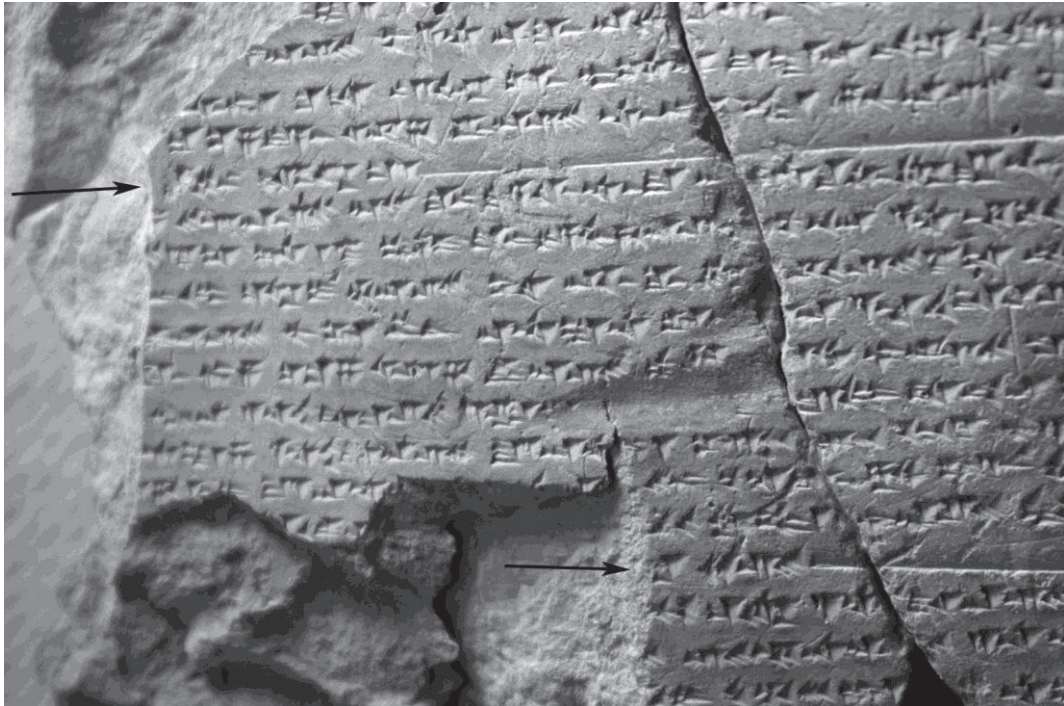


Fig. 3. Cut out from the lower right of Bo 3288++ rev. showing aberrant paragraph dividers.

Yet another graphic feature seemingly otherwise unattested is the use of two large verticals apparently to indicate a section or paragraph break (Fig. 4), employed only toward the bottom of the reverse of Bo 3288++, perhaps because the scribe felt he was running out of space. W. Waal informs me that she knows of only one other case that might perhaps be interpreted similarly, a single wedge in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma (KBo 5.6 i 37) that would seem to indicate a paragraph division.



Fig. 4. Cut out from the lower middle of Bo 3288++ rev.
showing verticals used as paragraph dividers.

The recent join of VSNF 12.58 to KUB 46.39++ yields a complete colophon (Fig. 5), which is of invaluable aid in understanding the structure, content and possible origins of the composition. For it reveals that on this tablet are six rituals inscribed ‘in the manner of the city of Arusna’ (iv 1’), and thereafter are listed the six individual rituals of the complex. In fact, at least some of these six rituals can be identified among the fragmentary remains of the text, where a double paragraph line separates one ritual section from the next (Bo 3288++ rev. 26’-27’; KUB 46.42++ iii 4’-5’; KUB 46.38 i 1’; KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 rev. 2’-3’, 5’’-6’’). In two of these cases the text of the new section can be correlated with some likelihood with one of the six rituals as labelled in the colophon (KUB 46.38 i 1’ with Ritual 5 and Bo 3288++ rev. 27’ ff. with Ritual 6).

A provisional transliteration and translation of the colophon read as follows (VSNF 12.58+KUB 46.39++ iv 1’-9’):

- (1’) [DU]B.1.KAM QA-TI EGIR-an tar-nu-ma-aš i-wa-ar [U]^{RU} A-ru-uš-na
- (2’) ke-e-da-ni-eš-ša-an A-NA ṬUP-PÍ 6 a-ni-ur a-ni-ia-an
- (3’) 1-EN ma-a-an UN-ši DINGIR-LÌ URU-LU₄ e-eš-ek-zi
- (4’) 1-EN ma-a-an UN-ši me-ek-ka₄-uš UN^{HIA}-uš ú-e-ek-zi
- (5’) 1-EN ma-a-an 1 LÚ ú-e-ek-zi
- (6’) 1-EN ma-a-an LÚ GAL ú-e-ek-zi
- (7’) 1-EN ma-a-an-kán UN-ši wa-ka₄-uš dam-m[e-en-k]a₄-ta-ri

- (8') 1-EN ma-a-an-za UN-*aš* É LÚ KÚR DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ KÚR-i-[a d]a-a-i
 (9') EME^m A-at-ta-na-[[i-iš^{LÚ} DU]B.SAR

‘Tablet 1, finished, of “re-editing/excerpting” (*appan tarnumas*) in the manner of the [c]ity of Arusna (*iwar Arusna*). On this tablet six rituals are inscribed (lit. ‘done’): One (for) when a city performs (it) for a person or a deity; One (for) when many people request (it) of/for a person; One (for) when (only) one man requests (it); One (for) when a nobleman requests (it); One (for) when *waka*-pests *in[fe]st* a person(’s home); (and) one (for) when a person [ta]kes the house of an enemy a[nd] the deities of an enemy. Word (lit. ‘tongue’) of Attanal[i, the sc]ribe.’

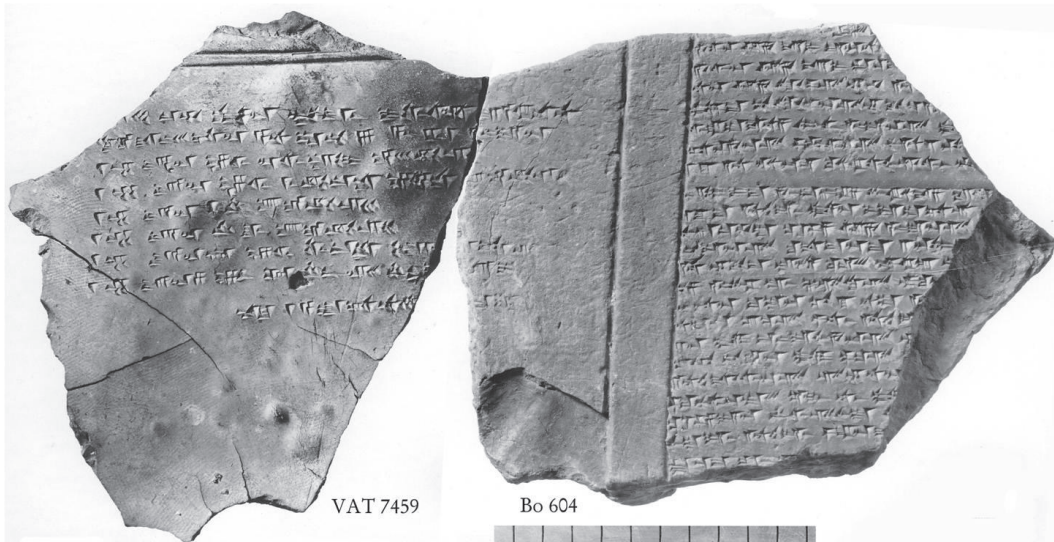


Fig. 5. VSNF 12.58 (VAT 7459) + KUB 46.39 (Bo 604).

If in fact the first line of the colophon refers to the tablet having been edited in the manner in which tablets were redacted in Arusna, this would point to a further centre, in addition to that well known from Kummanni in Kizzuwatna,⁹ at which scribal activity is textually attested and where one therefore might expect to find tablet archives. The city of Arusna should be sought in south-central Anatolia, most likely in or near the Cilician plain, as it is repeatedly associated with Kummanni, Adaniya, Tarḫuntassa and other southern and south-eastern Anatolian toponyms.¹⁰ This interpretation of the colophon might in turn explain, at least in part, some of the many variant writings, the unique script

⁹ See e.g. Miller 2004: 511-530.

¹⁰ Miller 2010, 510-511; Trémouille 2001: 62, 65 n. 56, 77-78.

and the odd formal features of the tablets themselves, suggesting these characteristics should be attributed to a scribal school of Arusnaean origin.

Fortunately, the colophon also reveals who the scribe of at least one of the manuscripts of this composition was, a certain Attanali. In fact, the writing on the tablet now assured by the colophon to have been written by Attanali is quite similar to that on the other tablets of this group, so that this same scribe might even have been responsible for all the manuscripts of the composition.¹¹ Attanali is further attested as the scribe of the Hittite-Hattic text KUB 28.7 (iv 5': ^m*A-at-ta-na-al-li-iš*), a tablet of CTH 736, Recitations of the Goddess Zintuḫi in the Temple of the Sun-goddess, which in fact shows a very similar late New Hittite script.

The palaeography of the texts seems to be essentially that of late New Hittite Hattusa. None of the few signs that initially catch the eye seem to be unique to these texts, and they are likely to be explained rather with reference to the idiosyncrasies or personal style of the individual scribe(s). Still, one might mention a few of these (Fig. 6), such as GIM, with wedges set below and to the right of two horizontals that barely pass the first vertical; an AR with verticals that often do not proceed below the horizontals; LU with its short horizontals and verticals that hardly intersect; UD with its wedges occasionally up above the vertical; the older variant of GI despite the otherwise very late ductus; KÜ, written sometimes with the older, sometimes with the younger form; the ligature-like *-ra+a* and RA^{MES} writings; RU sometimes with a horizontal pulled far to the right; and UN with the inset initial vertical set below the lower horizontal. Again, these striking forms do not blatantly contradict the late Boğazköy ductus, and any peculiarities probably reflect no more than individual scribal idiosyncrasies.

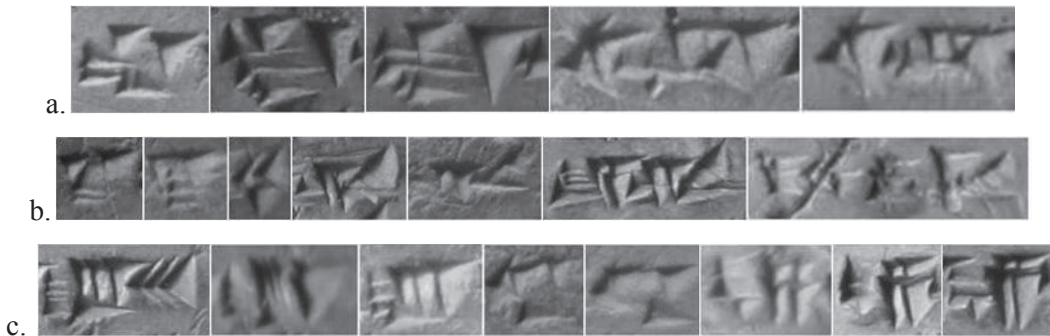


Fig. 6. The signs (a) GIM, AR, (b) LU, UD, GI, KÜ, (c) RA+A, RU and UN from various fragments.

¹¹ If not, I suspect that Attanali, certainly the scribe of VSNF 12.58+KUB 46.39++, probably would have been the scribe of KUB 46.42+Bo 7243+Bo 7698, KUB 44.50, KUB 46.38, KUB 17.32, Bo 7203, Bo 7226, Bo 7695, Bo 7696, Bo 7697, Bo 7701, KBo 45.242, KBo 12.125, 361/t and KBo 45.200, too, while some other scribe would have been responsible for Bo 3288++, KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 and the further fragments mentioned in n. 4.

One sign variant that does not seem to be represented in other texts from Boğazköy is that found in KUB 46.42++ iv 3, 5, apparently GIR₄ (Fig. 7), ‘ceramic ware’, if read correctly. The sign actually makes a perfect Boğazköy DUL, Û or IŠTAR (U.DAR), none of which would seem to yield much sense in the context, so that graphically similar GIR₄ suggests itself. The presumably Akkadian complementation in the first occurrence (GIR₄-*ti*) is obviously of little help, since it could reflect any fem. noun and since the Hittite usage of the Sumerogram, generally for ‘ceramic ware’, does not precisely parallel that in Akkadian texts, generally *kīru*, ‘oven’. No such variant for GIR₄ with the inset wedge appears in HZl, or, for that matter, in MesZl or Labat’s *Manuel*.



Fig. 7. The sign GIR₄ in KUB 46.42++ iv 3, 5.

Perhaps of more interest and more significance, then, are a number of largely orthographic phenomena of various types. There are, for example, some cases of sign values otherwise unattested in Hittite texts. The word *lalḫa(n)ti*, for instance, is written *la-al-ḫa-ti* four times (KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 obv. 7; Bo 3288++ 9', 36', 37'), but once *lál-ḫa-ti* (KUB 44.50 ii' 16'') and once *lál-ḫa-an-ti* (KUB 46.42++ ii 16'). While the phonetic value *lál* is booked in HZl for Hattic texts, the present attestations show that it could also be used in late Luwoid Hittite texts, if one can characterize these fragments as such.¹²

¹² For Hittite-Luwian language contact, see Rieken 2006.

Also rare at Boğazköy is the use of LIM with the value *li* in phonetically written Hittite or Luwian words, such as ^{MUNUS}*kán-ka₄-ti-da-li-eš* (Bo 3288++ 40’) and ^{MUNUS}*kán-ka₄-ti-da^{di?}-li[?]-eš* (Bo 8819, 4’). Most interesting in the latter is perhaps the usage of AŠ, if not simply a scribal error, with the value *dil*, otherwise found only in Akkadian language texts at Boğazköy. It appears, however, not in a phonetic writing *per se*, but as a so-called phonetic indicator between the signs *da* and *li*.

Also of note is the predilection, matched in the late Hittite corpus as a whole, for abbreviations of certain words, i.e. *pé-an* for *peran* (*passim*) and various abbreviated writings of ^{LÚ/MUNUS}*kankatitalla*.¹³

The text also uses some Sumerograms in ways that are otherwise rare or unique in the Hattusa archives. BABBAR, Hittite *harki-*, normally means ‘white’ at Hattusa, while *parkui-*, ‘pure’ is generally written syllabically, though occasionally represented by KÙ.GA. In this composition, however, *parkui-* is clearly represented at least sporadically by BABBAR, which also designates a ritual, the SISKUR or *aniur* BABBAR. This is shown by the parallel passages [*lu*]-*kat-ma* SISKUR BABBAR *a-ni-ur nu hu-u-da-ak*, 2 DINGIR^{MES}... (Bo 3288++ rev. 40’) and [*lu-kat-m*]*a pá-r-ku-i a-ni-ur nu hu-u-da-ak* 2 DINGIR^{MES}[(KUB 46.38 ii 6’), ‘In the morning, then, the pure ritual (is performed), and ... the two deities immediately’.

The text also employs the Sumerogram IR for Hittite *hurtai-*, ‘curse’, instead of *wek-*, ‘to request’, or *ariya-*, ‘investigate through oracle’, for which it can stand at Hattusa. Perhaps one might want to speak of an Akkadogram, if it is to be related to Akkadian *erretu(m)*. That IR is used for *hurtai-* is demonstrated by the following parallel passages: [*GAM-r*]*a-za KA_xU-za EME-za IR-za* ^{LÚ}IGI-*eš GIM-an* ... (Bo 3288++ rev. 41’); *GAM-ra-za* ^{KA_xU}-*za EME-za hur-ti-ia-za* ^{LÚ}IGI-*zi-aš-ši-iš* ^{GIM-an}[(KUB 46.38 ii 9’); and also by the phonetic complementation *IR-da* in Bo 3288++ rev. 63’.

It also seems quite likely that the scribe was aware of the usage of the Sumerogram DIŠ for Akkadian *ANA*, although this occurs only once in the entire corpus (Bo 3288++ rev. 70’), which otherwise always uses *A-NA*. Here the scribe seems to have mistakenly omitted *ANA*, and instead of writing *A-NA* above the line, he opted for the more compact DIŠ (Fig. 8): *A-NA* DINGIR^{MES}-*ma* ^Ú *ANA* ^dUTU SISKUR *ku-ut-ru-wa-ni(-)x*[. This is of course an interesting case, since it shows that the scribe was perfectly aware of the possibility of writing *ANA* by means of DIŠ, but that he never chose to do so until quasi coerced into it by a lack of space for *A-NA*. In fact, this appears perhaps to have been the case at Hattusa in general. Jürgen Lorenz was kind enough to share the results of his search for *ANA* written with DIŠ in the Boğazköy texts, which has revealed that some 5 texts show the usage of this sign.¹⁴ It was thus known at Hattusa, at least by some scribes, but rarely used.

¹³ Miller 2010: 513 n. 12.

¹⁴ KUB 24.5+ obv. 25’; KUB 24.10 iii 16’ (Dupl. KUB 24.9+ iii 23’: *A-NA*); KUB 22.51 obv. 17’; KUB 7.10 ii 1; KUB 7.24+ iv 1’, 9’, 13’.

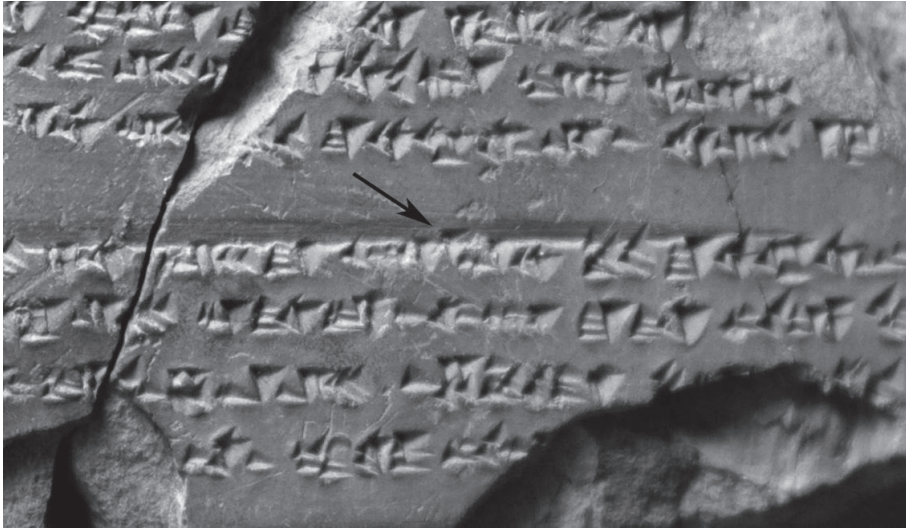


Fig. 8. Use of DIŠ for ANA in Bo 3288++ rev. 70'.

This phenomenon of signs appearing unexpectedly and/or in tablets of the ‘wrong’ date as well as the possibility of the general suppression of signs that a scribe may actually know recalls the situation in KUB 21.15+KBo 50.59. In this tablet, which clearly dates to the middle of the 13th century or later, as it relates the struggle between Ḫattusili III and Mursili III, there are a number of older sign variants in column iv, but only in column iv. Examples, among others, are AH in iv 6' and HA in iv 9'. In columns i-iii, however, appear exclusively the usual mid-13th-century sign forms.¹⁵ This naturally raises again a number of issues pertaining to the topic of the present volume, as well as the question of how conscious some scribes might have been of the status of the variants available to them. It is in fact difficult to interpret this evidence as anything other than the conscious usage of older as opposed to younger signs in an intentional manner.

Unsurprisingly one finds the usage of the sign DU as GUB, ‘to stand’, in various forms, such as in ‘but 1 sheep stands behind the *anaḫi*.’ (Bo 3288++ rev. 70': 1 UDU-*ma a-na-ḫi-ia-aš* EGIR-*an* GUB-*ri*) or ‘and the ritual patron stands beneath/by the two deities’ (Bo 3288++ rev. 79': *nu* E[N.SI]SKUR *A-NA* 2 DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAM-*an* GUB-*ri*). DU also appears to represent Hittite *ar-*, ‘arrive, reach’ or *tīya-*, ‘to step, to step up,’ in the sentence ‘they bring [...] to an uncultivated place, and they step next (to it). But when the deities ... in ...’ (KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 obv. 14: *d*]am-*me-li pé-di' pé-tan_x-zi' na-at* GAM DU-*an-zi* GIM-*an-ma* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *an-d[a]*).

However, there are some rather odd usages of the sign DU for which no convincing explanation is immediately apparent. For the first example one thinks of *arandas*, ‘standing’, but the syntax would seem to speak against this possibility: *n]u A-NA* DINGIR-*LU₄* GAL SISKUR *šar-ni-ik-zi-la-aš ar-ḫa* DU-*aš* SUM-*zi* (Bo 3288++ rev. 77'). Is simply

¹⁵ See already KBo 50: VII, sub Nr. 59.

‘[An]d s/he presents to the great deity the ritual of reconciliation (while) standing back/retreating’ to be understood?¹⁶ For the following example it is difficult to see how a meaning other than ‘s/he puts/places’ would fit the context:] *A-NA* GUD.MAH *wa-aš-ša-an-ti iš-ki-ša-aš*² DU²-zi₁ x[(KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 obv. 25). Güterbock has discussed the possibility of the meaning ‘establish, fix’ for the Sumerogram GIN written with DU, and this might be an option.¹⁷ For the following attestation I can suggest no promising considerations yet: [IGI-*a*]n-*da ma-tal-li-ia* LÚ¹*kán.-la aḥ-ia-la* an₁-*da* DU-*ia* KIN-an-₁zi₁ [(Bo 3288++ rev. 42’).

One also finds the Sumerogram GUR representing ‘(an)other’ (Hittite *tamai-*), which is only rarely found in the (late) Boğazköy material, not at all in the Mesopotamian; cf.]x EGIR-*pa* GUR-*za* TA DUR SA₅ *an-da ú-e²-da²*,-[(Bo 3288++ rev. 14’) and [lu-*kat-m*]a 2 DINGIR^{MES} *an-da IB-NI an-da-ma-aš ku-e-ez-za* TA DUR SA₅ *IB-[NI* (Bo 3288++ rev. 45’), as well as]-*ši-kán ku-it* GUR-*el É-aš tar-ša-an ma-la-an pé-e ḥar-ke-er* (Bo 3288++ rev. 57’).

A compound Sumerogram, or so it would initially seem, that is apparently not found anywhere apart from this text group can be provisionally read GIŠ.LAGAB.BAR. Perhaps it should be read as (otherwise unattested) Hittite ^{GIŠ}*hap-par* (Fig. 9):

- [EG]IR-*šÚ* URU-LU₄ KA_xU-*aš* EME-*aš ḥur-ti-ia-za* GIŠ.LAGAB.BAR-*za a[r-ḥa a-ni-ia-an-zi*^(?)] (VSNF 12.58+KUB 46.39++ iii 13’)
-]x-*za* LÚ¹*pár-la-šal-l[a]* MUNUS¹*kán-ka₄-ti-<tal>-la* GIŠ.LAGAB.BAR-*za ar-ḥa a-ni-ia-an-zi* [(VSNF 12.58+KUB 46.39++ iii 29’-30’)
- GIŠ.LAGAB.BAR-*za-ia-an* LÚ¹IGI-*zi-šal-la* MU¹[^{NUS}*kán-ka₄-ti-tal-l]*a *ar-ḥa* [(VSNF 12.58+KUB 46.39++ iii 40’)
- UR]U-LU₄ GIŠ.LAGAB.BAR-*za* LÚ¹IGI-*zi-šal-la* MUNUS¹*kán-ka₄-ti-tal-la* (KUB 46.42++ iv 12)
- a]^r*a^r-pí-ti še-er* MUNUS¹*kán-ka₄-ti-da^{di?}-li²-eš* GIŠ.LAGAB.BAR-*za a[r-ḥa* (Bo 8819, 4’)

It represents a substantive that – assuming the following *-za* is to be read phonetically as a Hittite complement – is always found in the ablative case, which could also function as an instrumental. It occurs only with the preverb-verb combination *arḥa aniya-*, ‘to finish’ or ‘to purify’. This would seem to provide sensible interpretations of the first four passages here, in which the participants appear to purify a city or some other object with this GIŠ.LAGAB.BAR. How exactly the fifth example should be understood is not clear; presumably the participant purifies something with the GIŠ.LAGAB.BAR over an offering pit.

¹⁶ For *arḥa ar-*, see HW² A: 201f.; HED A: 104.

¹⁷ Güterbock 1986: 38 n. 17. If this turns out to be the case, one might translate the example give above as ‘they bring [...] to an uncultivated place, and they set it down. But when the deities ... in ...’ (KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 obv. 14).

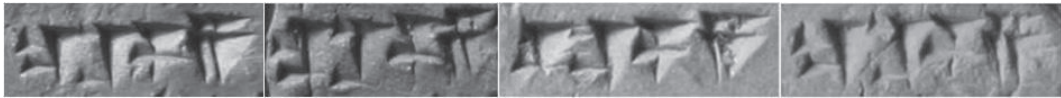


Fig. 9. The writing GIŠ.LAGAB.BAR.ZA from various fragments.

Potentially productive considerations on an interpretation might include reference to $GI\check{S}_{HAB}$, Akk. *hûratu(m)*, ‘madder’, used as a drug or for dyeing wool or leather.¹⁸ If so, however, it would leave the following two signs, which are not separated from the first two by a space, unexplained. One might think of Akk. *PÁR-SA*, ‘cut off’, but this suffers from numerous drawbacks, including the unexpected choice of signs for an Akkadogram, the lack of gender congruence and the fact that the *-za* seems rather to indicate an ablative. A quantity (BÁN or MAŠ, i.e. ½) would hardly be expected to follow the item without a space, but presumably nothing can be ruled out until a satisfactory solution is found. Perhaps slightly more likely would be a reading BAR for Akk. *ahû(m)* in its meaning ‘foreign’, thus maybe ‘imported’.

Also the Sumerogram SAG.DU is used in a hitherto unattested way:

- *nu-za* NINDA.GUR₄^{HI.A} SAG.DU-*uš* [(Bo 3288++ rev. 43’)
- *-z*[*i*] NINDA.GUR₄^{HI.A} SAG₄.DU-*uš pár-ši-ia* (Bo 3288++ rev. 49’)
- *a-n*[*a*-*hi*]-*da-iz-zi* 3 SAG.D[U] 3 GUD 3 UDU 3 TÚG[?]-TU₄ 3 Ú-NU-U[T] *ta*[?]-x[(Bo 3288++ rev. 54’)
-]x *da-a-i* 1 SAG₄.DU 1 GU₄ 1 UDU 1 TÚG-TU₄ 1 Ú-NU-UTURUDU (KUB 46.42++ iv 14)
- *nu-za* NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{MEŠ} SAG.D[U-*I*]*i-uš pár-ši-ia nu A-NA* DINGIR^{MEŠ} (KUB 46.38 ii 16’)
- [*nu* NINDA.G]UR₄.RA^{MEŠ} SAG.DU-*li-uš pár-ši-ia nu A-NA* DINGIR^{MEŠ} SISKUR DI-*aš pa-a*-*i*’ (KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 obv. 21)

In the first three examples it follows ‘thick bread’, which is broken. In the second two instances SAG.DU is listed among other paraphernalia to be used in the rituals. And in the final two examples it again follows ‘thick bread’, which is broken. The latter two attestations also provide the stem, ending in *-li*, which suggests a Sumerographic writing for *harsanili-*, some kind of grain, here in the pl. acc. comm. congruent with NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{HI.A}, *harsius*. Whether the word was in fact built from the oblique form of the Hittite *r/n*-stem *harsar/harsan-*, ‘head’, is of course another question, as the writing could conceivably express a folk etymology (cf. HED H̄: 187) or simply reflect phonetic similarity.

The use of the Sumerogram GIM presents an enigma. In the first two examples is seen its customary usage as GIM-*an* for *mahhan*, likely also in the third as a comparative.

-]x-*za-an-kán* GIM-*an dam-me-la aš-š*[*a-* (Bo 3288++ rev. 24’)

¹⁸ CDA 121; CAD H̄: 247b-248a; AHw I 358a; AHw III 1562b. Of particular interest is *ina GIŠ.LAGAB u NA₄.KUR.RA! ša Hatti tašarrapu*, ‘you dye (the hide) with h̄. and alum from Hatti’ (CAD H̄: 247b), and the statement there according to which *hûratum* was ‘imported from Asia Minor where it was grown in gardens’.

- -z]i na-an GE₆-^rza², GIM-an LÚIGI-eš LÚkán.-^reš², x EN x[(Bo 3288++ rev. 12’)
- [GAM-r]a-za KAXU-za EME-za IR-za LÚIGI-eš GIM-an KIN-at LÚkán.-ia-aš QA-TA[M-MA (Bo 3288++ rev. 41’)
- [IGI-an]-da GIM-RÙ TA 2 UDU pa-a-i UZUš^u-up-pa da-a-i N[INDA.G]UR₄.RA pár-š[i-ia (Bo 3288++ rev. 46’)
- IG]i²-an-^rda² GIM-RÙ kiš-an SUM-an-zi (KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 obv. 17)
- -z]i nu-kán 2 DINGIR-LU₄ GAL GIM-za ar-ḥa tar-na-i DUR-ma TÚGku-re-eš-šar ‘kat-te-ra²-an ar-ḥa t[u²-(u)-pa-ze-(in)-ti (Bo 3288++ rev. 76’)

The following three examples, however, seem to show GIM functioning as a substantive. For the first two a reading *GIM-RÙ*, ‘totality’, seems the most likely solution, though the fragmentary context makes it difficult to be certain. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this writing is not otherwise attested at Boğazköy.¹⁹ For the final example, *GIM-za*, I am currently unable to suggest any promising leads.

Another Sumerogram employed in a unique manner is DUGUD, normally ‘heavy, strong, important’, Hittite *nakki-*, ‘heavy’, and *nakkes-*, ‘to become heavy/oppressive’. Here DUGUD would seem to represent another word entirely, one probably derived from *dassu-*, with roughly the same meaning as *nakki-*.²⁰ In this case a form **dassuwa*, ‘strongly’, from *dassu-*, ‘strong’, would seem likely, which would appear to parallel *arumma*, ‘highly’ (< **aruwa*), from *aru-*, ‘high’ (cf. HED A: 177f.).

-]SISKUR GUNNI DÙ-an-zi EGIR-pa URU-LU₄ GAM-ra-za wa-ra-ad-da-na-za DUGUD-^rwa KIN^r-an-[z]i [EGIR-Š]Ú ‘É.BABBAR’ DÙ-an-z[i URU-kán] ša-an-ḥa-an-zi nu A-NA DINGIR^{ME}[Š SI]SKUR ku-ut-ru-wa-ḥu-aš SUM-zi (Bo 3288++ rev. 68’)
- -z]i EGIR-ŠÚ EN.SISKUR G[AM-r]a-za wa-ra-ad-da-na-za DUGUD-wa K[IN-a]n-zi 7 UDU[(Bo 3288++ rev. 80’)
- E]GIR-ŠÚ URU-LU₄ GAM-ra-za wa-ra-ad-da-na-za DUGUD-wa a-ni-ia-an-zi EGI[R-ŠÚ É.BABBAR DÙ-a]n-zi URU-an-kán ša-an-ḥa-an-zi pár-ku-nu-wa-an-zi (VSNF 12.58+KUB 46.39++ iii 24’-26’)

Also of interest are a number of occurrences of É(,)BABBAR, including a ritual of or for the É(,)BABBAR,²¹ and one thinks of course immediately of the É(,)BABBAR temples of

¹⁹ HZI Nr. 355 does list the writing *GÁM-RU* for the adjective, and cf. *GAM-RA-TI* in KUB 21.38 rev. 6, which might perhaps suggest that this solution is not entirely amiss.

²⁰ See discussion in CHD L-N, 367.

²¹ EGIR-ŠÚ-ma-za É(,)BABBAR [D]Ù-zi (Bo 3288++ rev. 36’); EGIR-pa É(,)BABBAR DÙ-₂an₂-zi URU-kán ša-an-ḥa-an-zi (Bo 3288++ rev. 64’); [EGIR-Š]Ú ‘É(,)BABBAR’ DÙ-an-z[i URU-kán] ša-an-ḥa-an-zi (Bo 3288++ rev. 68’); E]GIR-ŠÚ-za! DINGIR-LU₄ EN(,)SISKUR-ia É(,)BABBAR a-ni-ur DÙ-an-zi (Bo 3288++ rev. 81’); nu-uš-ma-aš SISKUR É(,)BABBAR DÙ-an-zi (Bo 3288++ rev. 82’); E]GIR-ŠÚ-ma TUKU.TUKU-aš ká[n-k]a₄-ti DÙ-zi EGIR-ŠÚ-ma-aš É(,)BABBAR DÙ-z[i (KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 obv. 11); [EG]IR-ŠÚ-ma-aš-ma-aš É(,)BABBAR DÙ-zi nu-kán DINGIR^{MEŠ} ar-ḥa pé-ta[n_x-z]i na-aš ‘SUM^r-an-zi (KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 obv. 20);]x-uš-ma-aš-ši É(,)BABBAR-ia DÙ-zi na-an ŠE.NAGA-an-zi (Bo 8819, 5’);]É^r(,)BABBAR-ia-aš-ma-aš DÙ-an-z[i (1017/u, 3’).

Šamaš at Larsa and Sippar. With so few attestations in this text, with so little context, it is naturally impossible, at least at this stage of investigation, to decide if there is some relation to its Mesopotamian namesake or if this is simply the ‘pure’ or ‘white’ house/temple in the city at issue, probably Arusna. Nothing overtly suggests a connection.

A further feature of interest is a single attestation of unusual phonetic complementation. For Hittite *e-ep-ta*, ‘s/he grasped/took’ one finds DIB-*da* (Bo 3288++ rev. 89’), which is a rare or unique writing in that it combines a rather late feature, the Sumerographic writing of *ep-* ‘to grasp, take’, with the phonetic complement rendered with the *-da* sign, which is seen more often in earlier texts.

Yet another interesting feature that strikes one as uncommon is the the imperfective *-ske-* morpheme expressed with *-kán-zi* following a Sumerogram, as seen in two examples with SUD, ‘pull, evoke’ (KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 obv. 24; Bo 7695, 2’).

The final peculiarity to be discussed is the use of EME, literally ‘tongue’, rather than the expected ŠU ‘hand’ in the colophon (VSNF 12.58+KUB 46.39++ iv 9’). Perhaps it is meant to represent ‘word’, normally signalled by INIM or *A-WA-AT* in Hittite texts. It is tempting to speculate about how this might relate to the manner of transmission, copying and attribution of the composition. It seems unlikely that it would indicate that the text was dictated by Attanali and copied down by some other scribe, as such a procedure would not produce the observed graphic aberrations.²² It also does not seem likely to refer to Attanali’s mother tongue. If the tablet was written in Ḫattusa, it would be more than superfluous to note that it was written in Attanali’s tongue, Hittite. If it was written in Kizzuwatna, and Attanali was a Hittite speaker, it would perhaps be slightly more understandable; but would presumably Luwian scribes in Kizzuwatna refer to Hittite as ‘the tongue of Attanali’? This somehow also seems quite unlikely. If one assumes that EME should parallel ŠU of the common locution ŠU PN ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR *IŠTUR*, then presumably the intent with this line would be EME PN ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR *IQBI*, but what exactly would be intended by ‘The tongue of Attanali, the scribe, spoke (it)’? Might EME refer not only to a ‘language’ but also to a ‘dialect’, suggesting that some features of the text were perceived (by whom?) as foreign enough to warrant the designation? I’m afraid I can do little more than speculate.

While the further attestation (KUB 28.7), mentioned above, of Attanali’s work is welcome, it actually deepens the mystery, if one accepts the suggestion that the CTH 495 texts reflect to some degree scribal practices that would have obtained in Arusna. If Attanali himself had come to Ḫattusa to work among the scribes of the city and produce texts from his homeland, why was he copying Hattic texts? Had he become so proficient with the material in the archives of Ḫattusa that he began copying texts from other cultural spheres? Or was Hattic influence already known to him from his native milieu in

²² For considerations on some phrases potentially meaning ‘took from dictation’, see Miller 2004: 474f. n. 797.

Arusna? Or, alternatively, was Attanali in fact a native scribe of Ḫattusa who happened to copy tablets that had come from Arusna? If so, and in light of the comments in notes 4 and 11, might Bo 3288++ and KUB 39.54+KUB 46.40 (and fragments), which show the tiniest script, be an/the actual import from Arusna, with VSNF 12.58+KUB 46.39++, KUB 46.42+Bo 7243+Bo 7698, KUB 44.50, KUB 46.38 (and fragments) representing Attanali's copies of these foreign works? This is a hypothesis that must be examined during further research.

To conclude, this ritual complex displays quite a number of uncommon and unique characteristics in its script and orthography, perhaps also some few features of its palaeography. Combined with the tentatively proposed interpretation of the newly reconstructed colophon as indicating that the composition was 'edited' or 'excerpted' in the manner of the city of Arusna, these features would seem to suggest that these fragments constitute the remains of a small corpus of imported material and/or copies of that material found in the Haus am Hang at Ḫattusa. Indeed, it may reflect to some degree scribal practices current in the city of Arusna in the heart of Kizzuwatna during the late Empire period. It also serves as a reminder of the fact that we are limited to attempting to visualize a picture of the nature, distribution and evolution of ancient Near Eastern palaeography and orthography while looking at a mere handful of pieces from an enormous puzzle.

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