



VII. ULUSLARARASI  
HİTİTOLOJİ KONGRESİ  
BİLDİRİLERİ

Çorum 25-31 Ağustos 2008

*Acts of the VII<sup>th</sup> International  
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Yayına Hazırlayan  
Aygül SÜEL

**1. CİLT**

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## SIX RITUALS ‘EDITED’ IN THE MANNER OF ARUSNA

*Jared L. MILLER\**

In his *Catalogue des texts hittites* Emmanuel Laroche left number 495 vacant. S. Košak in his online *Konkordanz*,<sup>1</sup> following a suggestion by D. Groddek, AoF, 1994, 332, n. 24, employed it for a composition which he termed an ‘Entsühnungsritual’. This Luwian and Hurrian influenced Hittite composition has two manuscripts,<sup>2</sup> KBo 24.12 and KBo 30.102+KBo 23.93, labelled CTH 495.I and II. The number 495 thereafter seems to have become a repository of sorts for various rituals, and a second composition, labelled simply ‘495’, comprises the Middle Hittite evocation ritual KBo 17.32+KBo 41.21 and its New Hittite duplicate or parallel KBo 54.73.

The present paper will ignore these texts and focus on a third composition placed under the rubric of CTH 495 in the *Konkordanz*. It will be a kind of progress report on my work on these texts and fragments, which I plan to publish as a full edition in the foreseeable future, and it will highlight a number of rare or unique features that exemplify this composition and its various manuscripts.

When I began my work on these texts, 14 fragments belonging to this composition could be found in Košak’s *Konkordanz* under No. 495,<sup>3</sup> some of which had already been recognized as parallel or related to some of the others. Since then I have been able to find 27 further fragments that can confidently be said to belong to one of the known tablets of

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1 At [www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/](http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/).

2 See KBo 23, p. VI and n. 2.

3 These were 747/t (KBo 45.200), 126/u, Bo 68/14 (KBo 22.147), Bo 599 (KUB 46.42) + Bo 7243, Bo 600 (KUB 46.38), Bo 601 (KUB 46.40), Bo 603 (KUB 46.41), Bo 604 (KUB 46.39), Bo 3288, Bo 6730+7699, Bo 7221, Bo 7238, Bo 7698 and Bo 7697.

the composition, including more than a dozen direct joins. Two further fragments were brought to my attention by Giulia Torri, who is publishing the last of the material from the Haus am Hang, and by Silvin Košak, for a total of 43 fragments. It may be that all these pieces can be attributed to as few as four tablets, but this remains a tentative hypothesis.

The first striking characteristic of these texts and fragments, which originally piqued my interest, is their miniscule script, as can be seen, for example, by comparison with a fragment from the rituals of Alli of Arzawa (Fig. 1). Obviously, this feature is of great help in finding fragments belonging to these texts.

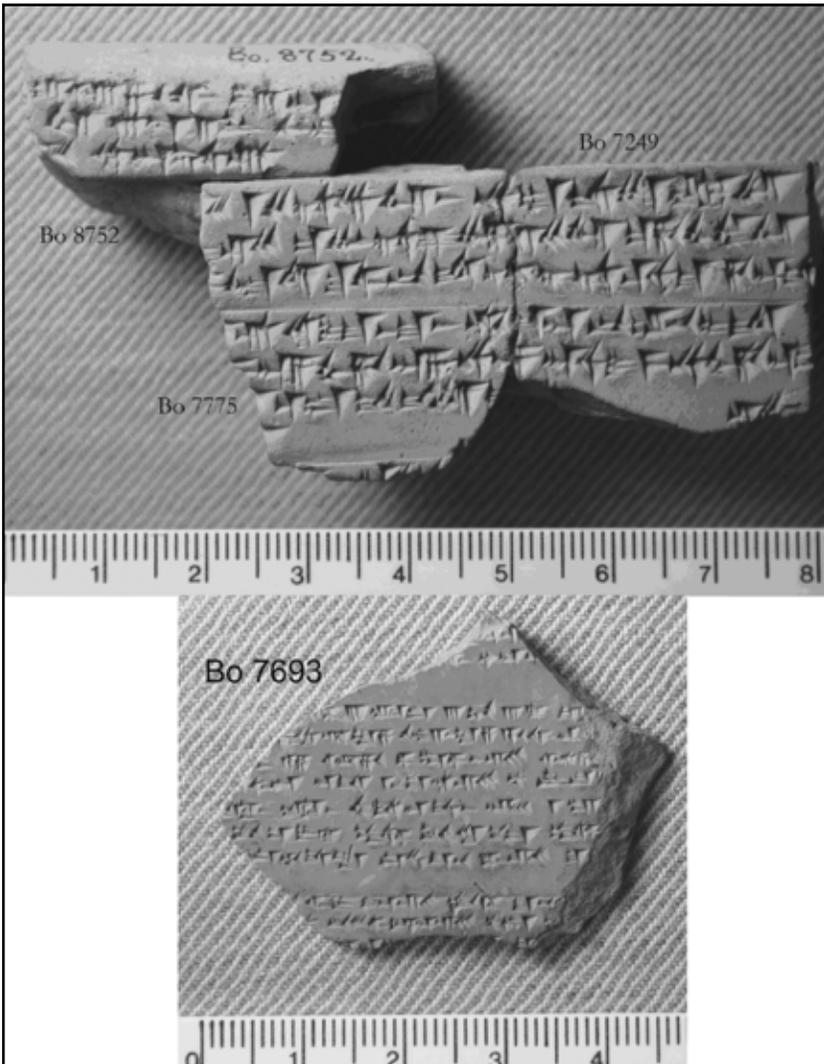


Fig. 1: Comparison of Bo 8752++ from Alli's Ritual with Bo 7693.

One of the first joins that I found was between Bo 3288 and 126/u (Fig. 4). The former is one of the few pieces which provide a significant amount of preserved text, although its obverse is entirely lost and its reverse is badly damaged. Still, its edges reach almost to the original extent of the tablet, and show that it was of a single-columned format. The join demonstrates that this main tablet originates from the Haus am Hang, and in fact, all fragments which can confidently be attributed to this composition and which have a findspot come from the Haus am Hang. This holds true also of KUB 46.40, which I was able to join to KUB 39.54, and which shows the same tiny script (Fig. 2). A further feature which all these tablets and fragments share is a very late New Hittite script and very late graphic features, such as the writing *pé-tan<sub>x</sub>*(DIN)-zi, so common in the cult inventory texts from the reign of Tudḫaliya IV.

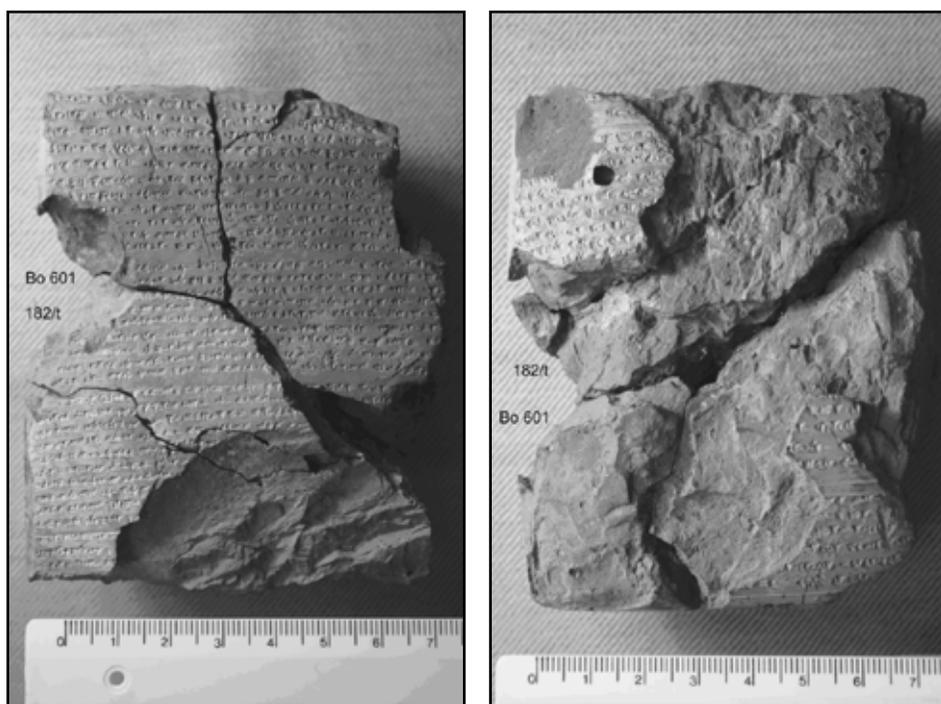


Fig. 2: The obv. (left) and rev. (right) of KUB 46.40 (Bo 601) + KUB 39.54 (182/t).

To illustrate further how small this script is and how much text the scribe fit onto a single tablet, comparison can also be made with the number of signs per line. Bo 3288++ rev. 67' preserves some 73 signs, and if one adds approximately five signs for the beginning of the line and about 10-15 for the end, then it reaches very nearly 100 signs. The main recension of the Samuḫa ritual (KUB 29.7+KBo 21.41), in comparison, another single-columned, fairly wide tablet, has only some 30-40 signs per line. And KBo 1.1, a copy of the treaty between Suppiluliuma and Šattiwaza, has some 40-50 signs per line.

Bo 3288++ also preserves 99 lines of text, whereby it is difficult to estimate how many lines are lost at the top and bottom edges; a reasonable guess would be that the reverse alone originally ran to some 120 lines. The Samuḥa ritual in contrast, preserves 74 lines on one side, 75 on the other, while KBo 1.1 preserves 78 lines on one side, 75 on the other, whereby only some few lines are lost.

The texts' unique or rare graphic features do not stop with their tiny script. Both Bo 3288++ and the further primary manuscripts KUB 46.42++, KUB 46.38 and KUB 46.39++ also preserve a *Randleiste*, while KUB 39.54+46.40 does not. On KUB 46.42++ it can even be seen that a *Randleiste* is present on the upper, lower, left and right edges on both the obverse and the reverse.

While this feature is rare, a further characteristic of Bo 3288++ would seem to be unique in the archives from Hattusa. Whereas the normal method of creating a paragraph divider is to draw a line across the entire column or tablet after the last line of the paragraph, then to begin the ensuing paragraph thereafter, the scribe of Bo 3288++, begins drawing his paragraph divider immediately after the last sign of the paragraph, pulling it to the edge of the tablet, no matter how far from the left edge of the tablet he has progressed. He then begins the following paragraph beneath the last line of text of the preceding paragraph, so that the two lines have no paragraph divider between them at the beginning of the line (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3: Lower portion of Bo 3288 rev.

Another graphic feature apparently not attested elsewhere is the usage of two large verticals, seemingly to indicate a section or paragraph break, employed only toward the bottom of the reverse of Bo 3288++ (Fig. 4), perhaps because the scribe felt he was running out of space.



Fig. 4: Lower portion of Bo 3288+126/u.

Fortunately, due to some recent joins, it is now known who the scribe of one of the manuscripts was, and the writing on this tablet would seem to be the same as that of the other tablets of this group, so that this single scribe would have been responsible for all the manuscripts of the composition. This new datum comes from the recent join of KUB 46.39 to seven smaller fragments (Fig. 5a), and thereafter, the join of KUB 46.39 to VSNF 12.58 (Fig. 5b).<sup>4</sup> These joins reveal that it was the scribe Attanali who was responsible for this tablet. And it was surely the same scribe, Attanali, who wrote KUB 28.7, a tablet belonging to CTH 736, Sayings of the Goddess Zintuḫi in the Temple of the Sun-goddess, which in fact shows, as would be expected, a very similar late New Hittite script.

<sup>4</sup> See already Miller, ZA 98, 2008, 236.

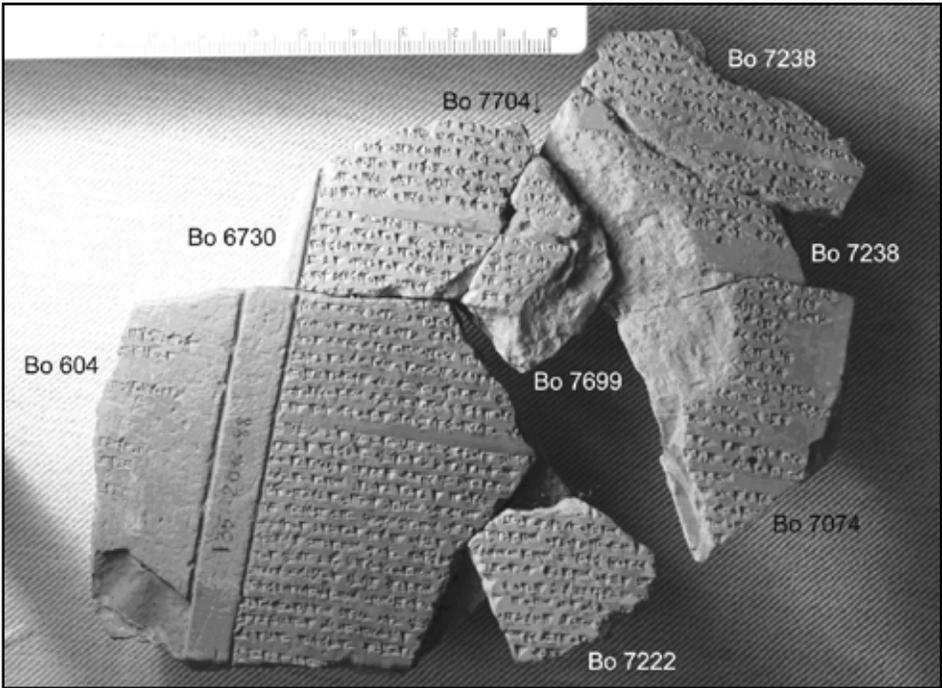


Fig. 5a: The join Bo 604+6730+7074+7222+7238+7699+7704.

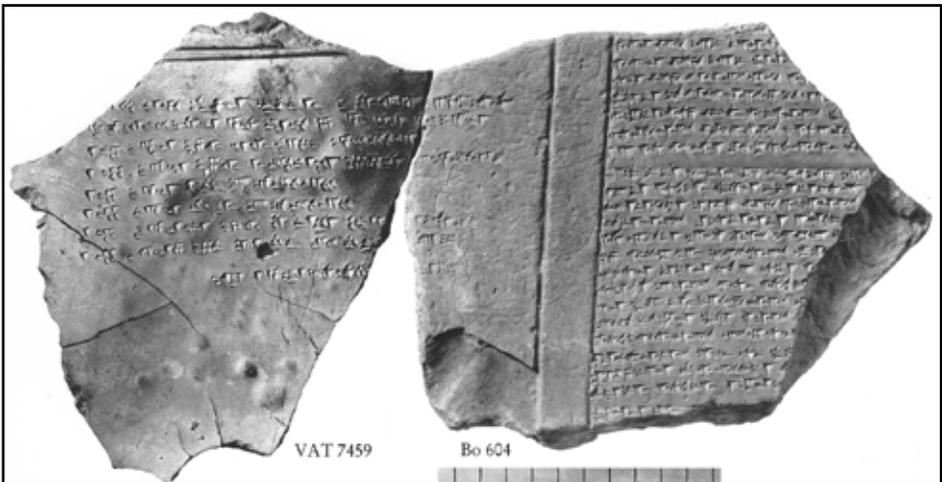


Fig. 5b: Electronic photo montage of VSNF 12.58 (VAT 7459) and (KUB 46.39) Bo 604.

The discovery that the colophon of VSNF 12.58 belongs to this tablet is of invaluable aid in understanding the structure and content of the composition in general; for it reveals, despite some questions of interpretation, that on this tablet are six rituals inscribed ‘in the manner of the city of Arusna’, and thereafter are listed the six individual rituals within the complex. Here a provisional transliteration and translation of the colophon:

- 1’ [DU]B.1.KAM *QA-TI EGIR-an tar-nu-ma-aš i-wa-ar* [U]<sup>RU</sup>*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-LÍ URU-LU<sub>4</sub> e-eš-ek-zi*  
 4’ 1-EN *ma-a-an UN-ši me-ek-ka<sub>4</sub>-uš UN<sup>HLA</sup>-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-ka<sub>4</sub>-uš dam-m[e-en-k]a<sub>4</sub>-ta-ri*  
 8’ 1-EN *ma-a-an-za UN-\*aš\* É<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>LÚKÚR-i[a d]a-a-i*  
 9’ EME<sup>m</sup>*A-at-ta-na-l[i-iš<sup>LÚ</sup>DU]B.SAR*

(1’) Tablet 1, finished, of ‘re-editing/excerpting’ in the manner of the [c]ity of Arusna.

(2’) On this tablet six rituals are inscribed (lit. ‘done’): (3’) One (for) when a city performs (it) for a person or a deity; (4’) One (for) when many people request (it) of/for a person; (5’) One (for) when (only) one man requests (it); (6’) One (for) when a nobleman requests (it); (7’) One (for) when *waka*-pests *in[fe]st* a person(’s home); (8’) one (for) when a person [*ta*]kes the house of an enemy a[nd] the deities of an enemy. (9’) ‘Tongue’ of Attanal[i, the sc]ribe.

Among the many interesting points from this colophon that could be discussed, I should like to mention just two. First, some of the titles of these six rituals found in the colophon can in fact be correlated with their counterparts within the text itself. The sixth ritual heading in the colophon, for example (l. 8’), can be connected to the last section on the reverse of tablet Bo 3288++, following a double paragraph divider indicating the beginning of a new ritual section, which reads in line 27’, *ma-a-an-za UN-aš É<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR [...]*‘ME’-i.

Second, the first line of the colophon seems to be intended as one unit, referring to the redaction of the present tablet. It is described as ‘finished’ (*QĀTI*) and as ‘re-edited’ or ‘excerpted’ (*appan tarnumas*) ‘in the manner of the city of Arusna’ (*iwar Arusna*). The next line clearly begins a new clause, as indicated by the enclitic particle =*san*. One might therefore suggest that this line of the colophon refers to the composition having been edited in the manner in which tablets were edited in the city of Arusna. This would yield a further Kizzuwatnean centre, in addition to that in Kummanni, at which one might expect to find the products of scribal activity. This interpretation of the colophon also suggests itself as a possible explanation for the many variant writings, the unique script and the odd features of the tablets themselves.

Due to its repeated association with Kummanni, Adaniya, Tarḫuntassa and other southern and south-eastern Anatolian toponyms, it is clear that Arusna must be located in this region, perhaps in the Cilician plain. This fits well the strongly Luwian as well as Hurrian flavour of many of the texts in which it appears. It was certainly an important cult centre, at least during the later Empire Period, since the ‘deity of Arusna’ and the ‘great deity of Arusna’ feature prominently in a number of late texts, and this deity is called ‘deity of Arusna, my Lady’ in a prayer fragment (Bo 5827, 13’) attributed in the *Konkorkanz* to CTH 383, a prayer of Ḫattusili III and Puduḫepa to the Sun-goddess of Arinna. And one of the best-preserved and well-known oracle texts, published by A. Ünal, TdH 6, 1978, and recently translated anew by G. Beckman, CoS I, 2003, 204-206, concerns an illness of the king which was determined to have been brought about by the displeasure of the deity of Arusna. Apparently the deity was upset about a number of cult failings and above all about the actions of the queen. This queen had made a golden crown for the tutelary deity, and although the deity of Arusna asked to have the crown in a dream experienced by the queen, she sent the deity two crowns of silver instead.

While Ünal TdH 6, 1978, 45-48, cited an appearance of Arusna in Muwattalli’s Prayer to the Storm-god of Kummanni as the earliest occurrence of the city, it can in all probability be read in a fragment that is generally attributed to the compositions relating Mursili I’s struggles with the Hurrians (KUB 48.81), where <sup>URU</sup>*A-ru-u-u[š-na* can be read and restored (l. 3’), a restoration suggested also by the occurrence of Ataniy[a two lines before it and Kummanni three lines after it. The fragment’s attribution to Mursili’s era, however, must be seen as tentative at best, since only six lines are partially preserved. That it indeed likely represents a copy of an older text, whatever its exact date, is suggested by the older conjunction *su=* (Il. 1’, 3’, 4’), and if this conclusion is permissible, then the city of Arusna would thus have been of some importance already in or soon after the Old Kingdom Period.

It may be that Arusna is also mentioned in at least one Egyptian text, if Haider, GM 72, 1984, 9-14, is correct. In the toponym lists of Ramesses II in Amarah West one finds

a certain *'arwš3n*, which Haider suggests can easily be reconciled with Arusna. He mentions further the possibility that *'arš3[ ]* in a list of Syrian and North Syrian toponyms from Thutmose III could perhaps represent a further attestation, while *'ar[ ]* in an inscription from Haremhab might be yet another.

Though much more could be said about some of the points mentioned thus far and about related issues, I would like now to briefly discuss some philological details found in these manuscripts.

First, there are a number of Luwian Glossenkeil words that appear only in this composition, such as *zazkitalla*-<sup>5</sup> and *artalliyami*-,<sup>6</sup> as well as a few which are otherwise only rarely attested, such as *sūwaru*-.<sup>7</sup>

There are a number of writings of commonly attested words that are rare or unique, such as *lu-kat-ma* (passim), for the much more common *lu-uk-kat-ti/ta-ma*, found in only a handful of equally late texts apart from these manuscripts.

Also unique to these tablets is the word *lalḫati/lalḫanti*, which, as far as I can see, has not yet been noticed by the editors of the various dictionary projects which have reached the letter L. Its precise meaning cannot be determined, but it is a substantive to which one goes or to which one carries something. It is written *la-al-ḫa-ti* four times,<sup>8</sup> but once *lál-ḫa-ti*<sup>9</sup> and once *lál-ḫa-an-ti*.<sup>10</sup> While the phonetic value *lál* for the sign LÁL is booked in HZL for Hattic texts, the present attestations show that it could also be used in late Luwoid Hittite texts. The variation between *lalḫati* and *lalḫanti* would also seem to strengthen a suggestion in CHD L-N, 211a, to see in *matalliya-* in these texts a variant of *mantalliya-*.

The texts also use some Sumerograms in ways that are rare or unique in the Hattusa archives. BABBAR, Hittite *ḫarki-*, means 'white' at Hattusa, while *parkui-*, 'pure' is occasionally represented by KÙ.GA. In this composition, however, *parkui-* is clearly represented by BABBAR, which also designates a ritual, the SISKUR or *aniur* BABBAR. This is shown by the parallel passages in Bo 3288++ rev. 40' ([*lu*]-*kat-ma* SISKUR BABBAR *a-ni-ur nu ḫu-u-da-ak 2 DINGIR*<sup>MES</sup>...) and KUB 46.38 ii 6' ([*lu-kat-m*]a *pár-ku-i a-ni-ur nu ḫu-u-da-ak 2 DINGIR*<sup>MES</sup>[ ]). The text also employs the sign

5 Bo 3288++ rev. 66'; KUB 46.42++ iii 3, 4; KUB 46.42++ iii 18'; 361/t, 4'; Bo 8820, 3'; Bo 7693, 5''.

6 KUB 44.50 i' 9'.

7 KUB 44.50 i' 10'.

8 KUB 46.40+ Vs. 7; Bo 3288++, 9', 36', 37'.

9 KUB 44.50 ii' 16''.

10 KUB 46.42++ ii 16'.

IR for Hittite *hūrtai-*, ‘curse’, instead of for *wek-*, ‘to request’, as is normally the case at Ḫattusa. Perhaps one might want to speak of an Akkadogram if it is to be related to Akkadian *erretu(m)*. That IR is used for *hūrtai-* is made clear by the parallel passages Bo 3288++ rev. 41’ ([GAM-*r*]a-za KA<sup>x</sup>U-za EME-za IR-za L<sup>U</sup>IGI-*eš* GIM-*an* ...) and KUB 46.38 ii 9’ (GAM-*ra-za* KA<sup>x</sup>U<sup>1</sup>-za EME-za *hūrti-ia-za* L<sup>U</sup>IGI-*zi-aš-ši-iš* GIM-*an*<sup>1</sup> [ ]), as well as by the phonetic complementation IR-*da* in Bo 3288++ rev. 63’. To what extent this point might help in solving occasional problems with complementation in the rest of the Hittite corpus must be addressed with further studies.

It is also clear that the scribe was aware of the possibility, employed very rarely at Ḫattusa, of using the Sumerogram DIŠ for Akkadian *ANA*, although it occurs only once in the entire corpus, which otherwise uses *A-NA*. In Bo 3288++ rev. 70’ (Fig. 6), the scribe mistakenly omitted *A-NA*, and instead of writing *A-NA* above the line, he opted for the compacter DIŠ: *A-NA* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ma* Û *A-NA* UTU SISKUR *ku-ut-ru-wa-ni(-)x*].



Fig. 6: Close-up of DIŠ in Bo 3288++ rev. 70’.

Also occurring only in these texts, as far as I have been able to determine, are a number of cult personnel, such as the male *hantezzisalla-*, if one can read the designation this way, which is always written with IGI as the first element.<sup>11</sup> Likewise unique to this

11 *hantezzisalla-*: L<sup>U</sup>IGI-*la* (Bo 3288++, 17’, 31’, 35’, 38’, 47’, 55’, 70’, 87’; KUB 46.38 ii 12’; KUB 57.15++, 8’; Bo 8820, 8’); L<sup>U</sup>IGI-*zi-šal-la* (KUB 46.42++ iii 14’, iv 12, 17; KUB 46.39++ iii 40’); L<sup>U</sup>IGI-*zi* (KUB 46.40+ obv. 19); L<sup>U</sup>IGI-*zi-aš-ši-iš* (KUB 46.38 ii 9’); L<sup>U</sup>IGI-*eš* (Bo 3288++, 12’, 33’, 37’, 41’); L<sup>U</sup>IGI- (Bo 7698, 2’).

corpus are the male and female *kankatitalla*- ritual personnel.<sup>12</sup> Both of these designations show a wide variety of spellings, including some with abbreviations, no surprise in such late texts.

A phenomenon for which no explanation immediately suggests itself is the fact that the chain *ma-a-an-na-kán*, i.e. *mānn=a=kán*, appears in this text some half a dozen times. Since this locution would not seem to be at all remarkable, it is surprising that there are only three further attestations in the entire Hittite text corpus. Thus, there was apparently something constraining Hittite scribes from using this chain, a restraint which seemingly did not exist for the scribe of the present composition.

As a final example of the many intriguing exceptional writings and usages, I would like to mention the Luwian word *tu/ūpa(n)zi*.<sup>13</sup> The word appears primarily as a verb, generally with the preverb *arḫa*, in sentences in which it shows a transitive function. The verb is declined in the Luwian 3 pres. sg. and pl. Just once does it seemingly appear as a substantive, unfortunately in broken and not entirely certain context, *t]u-u-pa-zi-uš*. Apart from these texts the only seemingly related word appears to be the name of a stone, *tupanzi*, in gen. *tupanziyas*.<sup>14</sup>

As to the themes and contents of the ritual composition, many similarities with the rituals known from Ḫatti and from Kizzuwatna in particular can be observed. Some of the rituals, for example, are to be enacted in an uninhabited place, so that the impurities dislocated and disposed of by the rites do not run the chance of landing in an unintended place and harming innocent persons. Also similar is the evocation of the deities along the road to where the rituals are performed, as their presence is naturally essential for the success of the rites. While Luwian influence is omnipresent in these texts, there does not seem to be any traces of Hurrian influence.

The deity occurring most often in these texts is the sun-deity, sometimes further defined as the 'sun-deity of the sky'. Several times the sun-deity bears the epithet 'of witnessing' (*kuṛuwanas*)<sup>15</sup> or 'of witness calling' (*kuṛuwahḫuwwas*),<sup>16</sup> but is also sometimes called the

12 *kankatitalla*:- <sup>LÚ</sup>*kán*.-*la* (Bo 3288++, 17', 31', 35', 42', 47', 55', 70', 87'; KUB 46.40+ obv. 19; KUB 46.41, 8'; KUB 57.15++, 8'; Bo 8820, 8'); <sup>LÚ</sup>*kán*.-*reš*<sup>h</sup> (Bo 3288++, 12'); <sup>LÚ</sup>*kán*.-*ia-aš* (Bo 3288++, 41'); <sup>LÚ</sup>*kán*.-*aš-ši-ia-an* (Bo 3288++, 83'); <sup>MUNUS</sup>*kán*.-*ka-ti-tal-la* (KUB 46.42++ ii 6', iii 14', 16', iv 12, 17, 23'; KUB 46.39++ iii 30', 40'; KUB 17.32 obv. 2' i 20'); <sup>MUNUS</sup>*kán*.-*eš* (Bo 3288++, 17'); <sup>MUNUS</sup>*kán*.-*ka-ti-da-li-eš* (Bo 3288++, 40'); <sup>MUNUS</sup>*kán*.-[ (Bo 7203 r. col. 6'); <sup>MUNUS</sup>*kán*.-*ka-ti-da-aš-ši-eš* (Bo 8819, 4').

13 *na-an ar-ha tu-u-pa-ze-t[i]* (Bo 3288++ rev. 67'); EGIR-ŠÚ URU-LU<sub>4</sub> *wa-ka<sub>4</sub>-ia-za ar-ha tu-u-pa-ze-en-ti* (KUB 46.42++ iv 11); *na-aš ar-ha tu-u-pa-ze-en-ti* [ (KUB 46.39++ iii 8'); *na-an ar-ha tu-u-pa-ze-en-ti* (KUB 46.39++ iii 23'); EGIR-ŠÚ-*ma SISKUR tu-u-pa-an-zi-en<-ti?>* (KUB 46.39++ iii 24'); *na-at ar-ha tu-pa-zi-ti* (KUB 46.40+ obv. 5); *t]u-u-pa-zi-uš* (KUB 46.42++ ii 18').

14 KUB 26.83 iii 8'; KUB 42.78 obv. 2' ii 10'; KBo 31.57 ii 5'.

15 Bo 3288++ rev. 21', 56'; KBo 45.200, 5'; KUB 46.40+ rev. 7'.

16 Bo 3288++ rev. 68'; KUB 46.39++ iii 27'.

‘sun-deity of *kunyawanas*’,<sup>17</sup> which presently escapes interpretation. Otherwise the deity invoked is simply called the Great Deity (DINGIR GAL), while often the ‘two deities’ or the ‘two great deities’ are called upon. As Bo 3288++ rev. 56’ makes clear, the Great Deity being referred to is not the sun-deity, as here one reads, ‘for the Great Deity and for the sun-deity of witnessing’ (*A-NA DINGIR GAL* <sup>d</sup>UTU *ku<sup>1</sup>-ut-ru-wa-na-aš-ša*). The deity also bears the divinely determined epithet *sakuwassara-*, ‘right, complete, whole’.<sup>18</sup> Finally, the deities EREŠ.KI.GAL<sup>19</sup> and the otherwise unattested Arinia<sup>20</sup> each appear once in obscure contexts. An ancient deity (DINGIR-LU<sub>4</sub> *annali*; *annali* DINGIR-LI<sub>1</sub>-ni)<sup>21</sup> is attested, and the intriguing *lu-kat-ma-aš A-NA PA-NI* GIDIM DINGIR<sup>M</sup>[EŠ (Bo 8820, 6’) raises a number of questions. Presumably ‘in front of the dead [and] the deities’ is to be understood.

To conclude, this ritual complex booked under CTH 495, thus far never properly edited despite its wealth of useful information for reconstructing ancient Anatolian religion, displays quite a number of unique characteristics in its script, personnel, lexicography and so forth. These features, combined with the tentatively proposed interpretation of the newly reconstructed colophon, would seem to suggest that we are dealing with a small corpus of imported material. Indeed, it may reflect scribal practices current in the city of Arusna in or near Kizzuwatna during the late Empire period.

17 Bo 3288++ rev. 21’, 60’, 91’; KUB 46.39++ iii 6’.

18 Bo 3288++ rev. 61’.

19 KUB 46.40+ rev. 7’.

20 KUB 44.50 ii<sup>2</sup> 19’.

21 KUB 46.42++ iii 13’; KUB 46.38 ii 17’; KUB 46.40+KUB 39.54 obv. 7, 9, 12; KUB 17.32 i<sup>2</sup> 2’.