

The Context of Scripture

The Context of Scripture, 1

When a message is sent from the sky, it is heard in Heliopolis, and repeated in Memphis to (Prah) of good disposition,³⁸ put in a report, in Thoth's writing, for the town of Amun, bearing their concerns, and the matter is answered in Thebes by an Oracle emerging,³⁹ intended for the En-nead.⁴⁰

³⁸ See n. 2 to Coffin Texts Spell 647, p. 18.
³⁹ The word translated as "Oracle" here is the phrase *hr-nw* "one says" with divine determinative.
⁴⁰ All divine decisions reflect the original process of creation: the creator's spoken word activates Amun's evolution ("heard in Heliopolis"), via the mediation of Prah ("repeated in Memphis"), and results in physical reality ("intended for the Ennead").
⁴¹ The expression used here (*prt m r* "what emerges from the mouth") is also an idiom for "utterance".
⁴² All creation is affected by the creator's word except for the creator himself; this includes the sun and Prah, who are merely aspects of Amun.

REFERENCES

Gardiner 1905; Emun 1923; Zandee 1947; Fecht 1964:46-52; Assmann 1973b:312-21; Allen 1988a:48-55.

FROM COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 1130 (1.17)

James P. Allen

Egyptian cosmogonies were concerned primarily with explaining the origin of the world and its elements. The creation of human beings was considered part of this process, and as such was not given special attention in and of itself; if noted at all, it is usually explained by a simple "etymological" metaphor, which derives people (*nm*) from the "tears" (*nmw*) of the creator's eye. By the same token, the establishment of social and moral norms is generally absent from the creation accounts, since these were considered part of the natural order governing the operation of the world as a whole. Spell 1130 of the Coffin Texts is perhaps the major exception to this tradition. Like all Egyptian cosmogonies, it equates the creation with the establishment of order and the attendant quelling of chaos; but unlike most, it describes this process in largely human terms — the relationship of people to nature and to one another. The spell is also unusual in its reference to the end of the world, which is conceived essentially as a return to chaos, a reversal of the process of creation itself.

Introduction (CT VII 461c-462a)
RECITATION BY INACCESSIBLE-OF-IDENTITIES, the Lord to the Limit, speaking before those who still the storm during the sailing of the enclosure:¹
Please proceed in calm, and I will repeat to you the four deeds² that my own heart did for me inside the Coil³ for the sake of stilling disorder.⁴
The establishment of order (CT VII 462a-464f)
I have done four good deeds inside the portal of the Akhet.⁵
I have made the four winds,⁶ so that every person might breathe in his area.⁶
That is one of the deeds.
I have made the great inundation, so that the poor might have control like the rich.⁷
That is one of the deeds.
I have made every person like his fellow.⁸

¹ The "enclosure" are the gods that accompany the sun in his voyage by boat across the waters of the Duat, by night, and remove the danger of the Duat from his path ("who sull the storm"). This introduction sets the scene of the spell at night, which is equivalent to the situation before creation.
² The translation "deeds" is somewhat misleading. The term (*gp*) is closer to the English concepts "occasion, event, happening."
³ The "Coil" (*nmw*) is a metaphor for the primeval singularity from which the world evolved, envisioned as a coiled serpent.
⁴ The act of creation involved both the establishment of order and the consequent stilling of disorder.
⁵ I.e., within the space between the Duat and the visible horizon: thus, before the first sunrise at the dawn of creation.
⁶ Air is one of the two prime requisites of life: as all living things have life in common, so too do they benefit from the universal presence of air.
⁷ Flood, the second necessity of life, derives in Egypt from the Nile, either directly or, through its irrigation of the land, indirectly. Like air, the river's inundation exists without regard to social distinctions — here, between poor (*hnmw*) and rich (*hst*). I.e., "powerless."

The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World

Canonical Compositions (Egyptian 1.17-18)

I did not decree that they do disorder: it is their hearts that break what I said.⁸
That is one of the deeds.
I have made their hearts not forget the West, for the sake of making offerings to the nome gods.⁹
That is one of the deeds.
The operation of order in the world (CT VII 461g-467d)
I made the gods evolve from my sweat,
while people are from the tears of my Eye,¹⁰
I shine anew every day in this my rank of Lord to the Limit.
I made night for Weary-hearted,¹¹
while I am bound for sailing aright in my boat.
I am lord of the Flood¹² in crossing the sky.
I do not have to show respect for any of my parts:¹³
Annunciation and Magic are felling for me that evil-charactered one!¹⁴
head,
that I might separate the needy from the rich,¹⁵
and do likewise to the disorderly.
Life is for me, I am its lord:
the scepter will not be taken from my hand.
The end of creation (CT VII 467e-468b)
And when I have spent millions of years between myself and that Weary-hearted one, the son of Geb,¹⁶
I will come to sit with him in one place,
and mounds will become towns, and towns mounds:¹⁷
one enclosure will destroy the other.¹⁷

⁸ Since creation involved the establishment of order, subsequent disorder in the world derives not from the creator but from human failings. The phrase "what I said" here refers not to a code of divine law, but to the order of creation itself, which arose with the creation from the creator's fiat (cf. n. 21 to Coffin Texts Spell 75, p. 9). Social inequality is a prime source of disorder in the world; thus, the natural order must necessarily involve no such distinctions: "I have made every person like his fellow."
⁹ All people are conscious of their mortality and the fact that they will have to find acceptance in the company of the gods after death. Thus, offerings are presented to the gods in this life in that anticipation: see n. 25 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 13.
¹⁰ Although both people and the gods derive from the creator, the latter evolved directly from the creator's substance ("sweat": cf. n. 2 to Coffin Texts Spell 76, p. 10), whereas people are a secondary creation, here explained "etymologically" (see n. 14 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 12).
¹¹ An epithet of Osiris, denoting both his inert state and his potentiality for life: cf. n. 17 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 12.
¹² Variant "lord of Eternal Recurrence" (*hnh*). Either suits the context: the sky is the surface of the "Flood" (*hnh*), and the sun's daily cycle defines the eternal repetition of life.
¹³ All of creation is the creator's "parts," derived from him: he is therefore prior to and greater than any of them.
¹⁴ "Evil-charactered" (*gsw qd*) is an epithet of Aporhis, the serpent that opposes the sun's journey through the Duat. "Annunciation" and "Magic" are two of the gods in the sun's "enclosure" (see n. 1 above): for these gods, see n. 28 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 13, and n. 16 to Coffin Texts Spell 75, p. 9, respectively.
¹⁵ Like the dawn of creation, sunrise from the Akhet each morning reestablishes the order of the created world — here exemplified in its social component. "Separation" (*nmw*) is a term deriving from Eg. jurisprudence: *nmw* "judgement" is lit., "separating the matter." Note the repeated theme of social inequality, here involving the needy (*nmw*) vs. the rich (*hst*): see n. 7 above.
¹⁶ See n. 11 above. The line refers to the daily cycle of the sun, which travels from daylight ("myself") to the Duat, where it joins with the body of Osiris and receives the power of rebirth. This cycle is the determinant of "Eternal Recurrence": see n. 18 to Coffin Texts Spell 335, p. 17.
¹⁷ I.e., all things will return to their original state of oneness. Amun's unification with Osiris reflects the state fastest removed from that of life, but also contains, through Osiris, the hope of rebirth once again (see the preceding note).

REFERENCES

CT VII 461c-468b; ANET 7-8; Lichtneim 1973:131-33; Faulkner 1978:167-169; Hornum 1991:227-234.

BOOK OF THE DEAD 175 (1.18)
"Rebellion, Death and Apocalypse"

Robert K. Ritner

Through a series of dialogues between divine speakers, this famous theological treatise details the corruption of the original creation with the introduction of death and concomitant anxiety regarding an afterlife, as well as apocalyptic pronouncements of the world's ultimate dissolution and recreation. A final section relates an ontological myth describing the origin of ritual, deities and names. Thought to have been composed as early as the First Intermediate Period (Kees 1956:207), the six surviving manuscripts range in date from the 18th Dynasty to the Roman Period. In addition to the basic manuscript in Naville (1886, vol. 1, pls. cxviii-cxxix), primary bibliography may be found in Hornum (1979:517-518), adding the published translations in Allen (1974:183-185), Bargelet (1967:260-263), Faulkner (1985:175), Hornum (1979:365-371), and Wilson (ANET 9-10). No previous translation has included detailed critical analysis of the differing versions.

SPELL FOR NOT DYING AGAIN.² WORDS SAID BY THE

OSIRIS NN:

"O, Thoth, what is it that has happened through the children of Nut? They have made war. They have raised disturbance. When they committed evil, then they created rebellion. When they committed slaughter, then they created imprisonment. Indeed, they have converted what was great into what is small in all that I have done."

Hail(?),³ O great one Thoth! - so says Atum.

"You shall not see evil. You shall not suffer. Curtail their years, hasten their months, since they have betrayed secrets⁴ in all that you have done."

"Mine is your palette, O Thoth. To you I have brought your ink pot, I am not among those who betray their secrets. No injury shall be done through me."

WORDS SAID BY THE OSIRIS NN:

"O, Atum,⁵ what does it mean that I go to the desert, the Land of Silence, which has no water, has no air, and which is greatly deep, dark, and lacking?"⁶

"Live in it in contentment!"⁷

"But there is no sexual pleasure in it."

"It is in exchange for water and air and sexual pleasure that I have given spiritual blessedness, contentment in exchange for bread and beer!" - so

¹ Sources labeled following Szczudloska 1963 and Kees 1930, adding Lute 1977 as Ks.

² Lb adds "to the Necropolis." Kd substitutes, "Spell for Revivifying in the Necropolis, giving love to the blessed spirit before the great god who is in the underworld." The term *nn* is the deceased individual, equated with Osiris, whose name is inserted here.

³ Cf. (?) Coptic *mnk* "hail."

⁴ Lk, "unfitted damage to secrets."

⁵ Later variants Lb and Sp add "(my) lord" before Atum. The early text J1 reads instead "That which Osiris said to Atum."

⁶ Or "unfathomable/boundless." Lk, "of seeking."

⁷ Possibly conclusion of preceding sentence (as Allen): "while one lives in it in contentment." Negated in late editions Sp and Kd: "(h)uddled), one does not live in it in contentment." J1 and Eb add signs suggesting "contentment of the Land of Silence."

⁸ So J1, reduced in Eb and Kc to "See your face." Sp: "It is too painful for me, lord Atum, not to see your face;" similarly Kd, but moving "lord Atum" to the end of the sentence.

⁹ Sp adds: "You are for millions of millions (of years)!"

¹⁰ So J1, Eb and Kc, all others: "ceased himself."

¹¹ J1 drops "so says Atum;" Kd consistently misunderstands "so says" as "to be good." Sp reads "... your son Horus as the sun disk on earth."

¹² Sp and Kd: "those elder than him."

¹³ Eb reads "your throne," while Kc has "his throne."

¹⁴ J1: "He will be my heir of my throne;" Sp and Kd: "he being (your) heir of (your) throne."

¹⁵ So J1 and Sp; Lb inserts "me" after "command;" Eb and Kc read "Then command that I see his equal." Kd is garbled: "while there is no god, his second or his third."

¹⁶ Late versions Lb, Sp, and Kd read "your sacred face."

¹⁷ Dropped in Kc.

¹⁸ Late versions add "there" (i.e., in the underworld).

¹⁹ Lb inserts "... so says Atum."

²⁰ Lb and Kc read "a great lifetime of millions." Eb and Kc insert "I have caused that he dispatch the elders," wrongly displaced from below. Sp contains a long and broken interpolation.

²¹ Eb and Kc read "worms."

²² Eb and Kc read "I have given to him the desert," and Eb confuses "Land of Silence" with "while then."

²³ J1 reads "my heir of my throne."

²⁴ Eb and Kc insert "provision for" his seat.

²⁵ Displaced above by Eb and Kc. Kd reads "those elder than him."

²⁶ Eb and Kc simplify "Horus is secure in his palace" to "Horus is secure in his palace..." All other variants favor the translation "be distant" and not the homophonous "Horus (the falcon)."

his palace through the desire of founding his monuments.²⁷ I have sent²⁸ the soul of Seth²⁹ distinct from all³⁰ the gods. I have caused that his soul be under guard in the bark³¹ through the desire that he not frighten the god's limbs."

"O, my father Osiris, may you do for me what your father Re did for you. May I endure upon earth.³² may I found my throne, may my heir be healthy, may my tomb stand firm. They are my servants upon earth.³³ May my enemies be as split sycamore figs,³⁴ with Selket over their bounds."

I am your son, O my father Re. May you make for me this life, prosperity, and health,³⁵ while the falcon is distant,³⁶ secure in his palace. May one go forth to this lifetime of one who seeks for reverence among these revered ones.³⁷

The sound of praise is in Heracleopolis, joy in Naef, since Osiris has appeared as Re, having inherited his throne, ruling the two banks completely.³⁸ The Ennead is satisfied concerning it; Seth is as a great split sycamore fig.

"O³⁹ my lord Atum," so says Osiris,⁴⁰ "May Seth be afraid of me when he sees that my form is as your form. May all people come to me - all participants, all commoners, all sunfolk, gods, blessed spirits and the dead - in bowing when they see me, since you have placed fear of me and created respect for me."

Then Re (acted) in accordance with all that he said.⁴¹ Then Seth came with his head downcast, touching the earth, since he had seen what Re had

²⁷ Kd substitutes "this land."

²⁸ So J1, garbled elsewhere.

²⁹ Lb, Sp and Kd all add "to the West."

³⁰ Dropped only by J1.

³¹ Eb alone omits "in the bark."

³² Late versions all in third person.

³³ Sp reads "that which Ptahhotep desires." Kd substitutes "since he loves Osiris on earth."

³⁴ Sp specifies "great" split figs.

³⁵ Sp adds "on earth."

³⁶ Eb and Kc again simplify "Horus is secure in his palace."

³⁷ Eb and Kc substitute "May you cause that this my lifetime attain to that of one who seeks ..."

³⁸ Variants of "How happy is (your) heart."

³⁹ Texts for this final section in Kees 1930.

⁴⁰ Garbled in Sp.

⁴¹ Sp adds "to Re."

⁴² So J1, Sp: "Good is that which Re did for Osiris when he acted in accordance with all that he said"

⁴³ So J1, Lb and Sp substitute "Osiris."

⁴⁴ J1 omits "in Heracleopolis."

⁴⁵ Only in Sp.

⁴⁶ J1 ends clause here.

⁴⁷ Only in Sp.

⁴⁸ So J1, Lb has "swollen;" Sp reads "weighted down."

⁴⁹ Final phrase in Sp.

⁵⁰ J1 reads "this noble swamp."

⁵¹ So J1, Lb seemingly corrupt: "My front is uplifted. Command the chief of craftsmen since ..."

⁵² Lb reads "name."

⁵³ So Lb and Sp.

⁵⁴ Lb adds "tens of thousands and thousands."

had done for Osiris. Blood then descended from his nose. Then Re⁴² hacked the blood that came forth from his nose. That is how there came to be the ritual hacking of the earth in Heracleopolis.⁴³

Then Osiris became ill in his head, through the heat of the *Atef*-crown that was on his head - on the first day when he put it on his head - ⁴⁴ through the desire that the gods might fear him. Then Re returned in peace to Heracleopolis⁴⁵ to see his son⁴⁶ Osiris, and he found him sitting in his house, his head fallen into swelling⁴⁷ through the heat of the *Atef*-crown that was on his head.⁴⁸ Then Re emptied out these swellings, extracting the blood, pus and corruption, so that they ended up in a swamp. Then Re said to Osiris: "From the blood and pus descended from your head you have made a swamp." Thus came to be the great⁴⁹ swamp that is in Heracleopolis.

Then Osiris said to Re: "How healthy and how relieved is my face! How uplifted I am regarding what you commanded for my face regarding the ornament."⁵⁰

Then Re (said) to Osiris: "Let your face be secure, your front be uplifted! How great is fear of you, how vast your respect! Behold the beautiful name come forth to you from my mouth! Behold your name remains for millions of many millions (of years)! That is how there came to be the name of Harsaphes, foremost of his place⁵¹ in Heracleopolis, while the great⁵² *Atef*-crown is on his head, with millions and hundreds of thousands⁵³ of bread, beer, bulls for slaughter,

"The falcon is established."

J1 and Sp conclude the section with

birds for wringing, everything good and pure ⁵⁴ greater than the fluid of his spirit, while his spirit is before him, the spirit of sexual pleasure elevating to him all offerings.⁵⁵

Then Re said to him: "How beautiful is this that has been done⁵⁶ for you. Never has the like been done."⁵⁷

Then Osiris said: "It is by the authoritative power of my speech that I did it. How good is the king with authoritative utterance in his mouth!"

Then Re said to Osiris: "Behold, goodness has come forth to you from my mouth. By means of it your primal state has come into being. Then your name is fixed through it for millions of millions (of years)."⁵⁸ That is how the name of

Heracleopolis came to be.⁵⁹

"How great is fear of you, how vast your respect! So long as there exists Horus, son of Osiris, born of Isis the goddess, may I exist as he exists, may I endure as he endures, my years like his years, his years like my years on earth for millions of many millions (of years)."⁶⁰

Words to be said over an image of NN made of lapis lazuli, given to a man at his neck. It is a great protection on earth and enhances a man in the necropolis. It gives love of him to people, gods, blessed spirits and the dead. It protects him from the assault of a god and protects a man from everything evil.⁶¹ Truly effective, (proved) millions of times.

⁵⁴ So Lb and Sp.
⁵⁵ So J1. Lb and Sp have instead: "greater than the flood waters on the river to count, the recurrence of his offerings by the millions fixed before him, while drunkenness by the thousands elevates to him his offerings of all good things."

⁵⁶ J1 reads "that I have done."

⁵⁷ J1 adds "for me."

⁵⁸ So Sp. Lb is corrupt, and J1 reads "Its name thereby is for millions of millions (of years)."

⁵⁹ So J1. Lb reads "That is how it became very great in Heracleopolis."

⁶⁰ Further fragmentary passages in Sp only.

⁶¹ So J1. Lb reads "It is effective for the one who recites it in the necropolis. May you not be silent about it."

REFERENCES

Naville 1886 1:xxviii-xxix; Allen 1974:183-185; Barguet 1967:260-263; Faulkner 1985:175; Hornung 1979:365-371, 517-518; Kees 1950; 1956; ANET 9-10.

COFFIN TEXT 157 (1.19)
"Cultic Abomination of the Pig"⁵⁴

Robert K. Ritner

This spell for "Knowing the Souls of Pe" (with its descendant Book of the Dead 112) provides a theological explanation for the Egyptian pork taboo, a prohibition never uniformly accepted (Darby et al. 1977:171-209; Miller 1990). The conclusion to the companion Coffin Text spell 158 is instructive: "Not to be said while eating pork." No less interesting is the medical aspect of spell 157, since it details the first recorded ophthalmological exam, perhaps including reference to a type of eye chart with "strokes." The form of the myth is aetiological, explaining the origin of animals and customs.

BEING ORDAINED FOR FOODSTUFFS IN THE NECROPOLIS, PRAISE AND LOVE ON EARTH, AND EXISTENCE AMONG THE FOLLOWING OF HORUS AND HIS ATTENDANTS. A MYSTERY KNOWN IN THE ESTATE (ON PE). KNOWING THE SOULS OF PE.

O female souls of night, female marsh dwellers, Mendesian women, women of the Mendesian nome, dwellers in the Mansion of Iapui, shadow ones ignorant of praise, brewers of Nubian beer, do you know the reason for which Pe was given to Horus? You do not know it, but I know it. It was Re who gave it in recompense for the mutilation in his eye. I know it. It was the case that Re

said to Horus: "Let me see your eye since this has happened to it." He then saw it and he said: "Look, pray, at that stroke while your hand covers the healthy eye which is there." Then Horus looked at that stroke. Horus then said: "Behold, I see it completely white." THAT IS HOW THE ORYX ("See-white") CAME TO BE.

Re then said: "Look at that black pig." Then Horus looked at that black pig. Then Horus cried out over the condition of his throbbing ("raging") eye, saying: "Behold, my eye feels as at that first wound which Seth inflicted against my eye."

Then Horus lost consciousness. ("swallowed his heart") before him. Re then said: "Place him on his bed until he is well." It was the case that Seth made transformations against him as that black pig. Then he cast a wound into his eye. Re then said: "Abominate the pig for Horus." "Would that he be well." SO SAID THE GODS. THAT IS HOW THE ABOMINATION OF THE PIG CAME TO BE FOR HORUS BY THE GODS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

NOW when Horus was in his childhood, his sacrificial animal came to be a pig though his eye

¹ An image commonly found on healing stelae known as "Horus cippi," used to avert and cure the wounds of scorpions and snakes.

REFERENCES

Textual edition: de Buck 1938:326-348. Further discussion and translations: ANET 9-10; Faulkner 1973:135-136.

BOOK OF THE DEAD 112 (1.20)
(Variant of CT 157)

Robert K. Ritner

The primary manuscript (18th Dynasty) appears in Naville (1886: pl. cxxiv), with translations in Barguet (1967:148-150), Allen (1974:91) and Faulkner (1985:108-109). A vignette depicts the seated gods Horus, Imsety and Hapy.

Spell for Knowing the Souls of Pe.
It is NN who shall say: "O marsh dwellers, those among the marsh dwellers, Mendesian women, those of the Mendesian nome, lady trappers³ who are in Pe, shadowy ones who know no return, brewers of beer who knead bread, do you know the reason for which Pe was given to Horus? I know it, but you do not know it. It was Re who gave it in recompense for the mutilation in his eye by this which Re said to Horus: 'Let me see this which happened in your eye.' When Re investigated, then he saw. Re then said to Horus: 'Look, pray, at that black boar.' Then he looked. And then his throbbing ("raging") eye suffered greatly. Horus then said to Re: 'Behold, my eye feels as at that wound which Seth inflicted against my eye.' The he lost consciousness ("swallowed his heart"). Re then said to the gods: 'Place him on his bed. Let him recover.' It was the case that Seth had made his transformations into a black boar. Then that one cast a wound into his eye. Re then said to the gods:

Let the pig be abominated for Horus. Let him recover.⁴ That is how the pig came to be the abomination of Horus by the Ennead that is in his following.⁵

When Horus was in his youth, his sacrificial animal came to be as his cattle and his pigs, though his followers abominate (them). Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, and Qebhsenuf, (he is) their father, and Isis is their mother. Horus then said to Re: 'May you give to me two brothers in Pe, and the remaining two in Hierakonpolis from this corpus together with me, to be in eternal assignment so that the earth might flourish, and disturbance be extinguished. That is how his name came to be as 'Horus upon his Papyrus Column.' I know the souls of Pe. One is Horus. One is Imsety. One is Hapy.

Lift up your heads, O gods who are in the underworld. It is so that you might see him having become as a great god that I have come before you."

¹ Translation conflated with Coffin Text 157 version.
² Or "weavers."

REFERENCES

Naville 1886: pl. cxxiv; Barguet 1967:148-150; Allen 1974:91; Faulkner 1985:108-109.

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in footnote

Few texts illustrate so clearly the ritual significance of the personal name. Felt to be an intrinsic element and source of power, the name did not simply identify but defined an individual.¹ For hostile purposes, the destruction of a name could effect the death or misfortune of its owner, and this belief underlies both the prominent role of naming in execration texts (see text 1.32 below) and the well attested expunging of royal names in dynastic feuds. Divinities were often said to have secret names guarded from devotees and other deities alike. The inherent power of such divine names is stated directly in the late Papyrus BM 10188, in which Re-Atum declares: "Magic is my name."² In similar fashion, bodily "relics" are repositories of personal energy and equally subject to manipulation. In this spell, it is the spittle of the creator that serves to animate lifeless clay, in conformity with traditional Egyptian accounts of the creation.

SPELL of the divine god, who came into being by himself, who made heaven, earth, water, the breath of life, fire, gods, men, flocks, herds, reptiles, birds, and fish, the kingship of gods and men altogether,³ with limits beyond numerous years, [...] and with numerous names. One did not know that (name); one did not know this (name).

Now, Isis was a wise woman. Her heart was more devious than millions among men; she was more selective than millions among the gods; she was more exacting than millions among the blessed dead. There was nothing that she did not know in heaven or earth, like Re, who made the substance of the earth. The goddess planned in her heart to learn the name of the noble god.

Now, Re entered every day in front of the crew (of the solar bark), being established on the throne of the two horizons. A divine old age had weakened his mouth so that he cast his spittle to the earth. He spat out, it lying fallen upon the ground. Isis kneaded it for herself with her hand, together with the earth that was on it. She formed it into a noble serpent; she made (it) in the form of a sharp point. It could not move, though it lived before her. She left it at the crossroads by which the great god passed in accordance with his heart's desire through his Two Lands.⁴ The noble god appeared outside, with the gods from the palace in his following, so that he might stroll just like every day. The noble serpent bit him, with a living fire coming forth from his own self.⁵ It raged(?) among the pines. The divine god worked his mouth; the voice of his majesty reached up to heaven. His Ennead said: "What is it? What is it?" His gods said: "What? What?" He

a Gen 3:19-20

could not find his speech to answer concerning it. His lips were quivering, and all his limbs were trembling. The poison seized upon his flesh as the inundation seizes what is behind it. The great god regained his composure⁶ and cried out to his followers: "Come to me, you who have come to be from my body, gods who came forth from me, so that I might let you know its development. Something painful has stabbed me. My heart does not know it. My eyes did not see it. My hand did not make it. I cannot recognize it among any of the things that I have made. I have not tasted a suffering like it. There is nothing more painful than it."

"I am a noble, son of a noble, the fluid of a god come forth from a god. I am a great one, son of a great one. My father thought out my name. I am one who has numerous names and numerous forms. My form exists as every god. I am called Atum and Horus of Praise. My father and mother told me my name. I have hidden it in my body from my children⁷ so as to prevent the power of a male or female magician from coming into existence against me. I went outside to see what I had made, to stroll in the Two Lands that I created, and something stung me. I do not know it. It is not really fire; it is not really water, though my heart is on fire and my body is trembling, all my members giving birth to a chill."

"Let the children of the gods be brought to me, whose words are magically effective, who know their spells, whose wisdom reaches up to heaven!"

The children of the god then came, each man of them bearing his boasting.⁸ Isis came bearing her

¹ Cf. Gen 3:19-20, where the naming of creatures by Adam signifies man's control over them.
² See Ritner 1993:26.

³ Lit., "as a single thing."

⁴ Egypt.

⁵ The serpent's fiery venom derives ultimately from the god's own fluids.

⁶ Lit., "established his heart."

⁷ Or "at my birth."

⁸ Following P. Chester Beatty XI, 2/8 (*ib*^c < *c*^b*c*); Turin 1993 has *ikb* "mourning."

effective magic, her speech being the breath of life, her utterance dispelling suffering, her words revivifying one whose throat is constricted. She said: "What is it, what is it, my divine father? What, a serpent has inflicted weakness upon you? One of your children has raised his head against you? Then I shall overthrow it by efficacious magic, causing him to retreat at the sight of your rays."

The holy god opened his mouth: "It was the case that I was going on the road, strolling in the Two Lands and the deserts. My heart desired to see what I had created. I was bitten by a serpent without seeing it. It is not really fire; it is not really water, though I am colder than water and hotter than fire, my entire body with sweat. I am trembling, my eye unstable; I cannot see. Heaven beats down rain upon my face in the time of summer!"⁹

THEN SAID Isis to Re: "Say to me your name, my divine father, for a man lives when one recites in his name."¹⁰

(Re said:) "I am¹¹ the one who made heaven and earth, who knit together the mountains, who created that which exists upon it. I am the one who made the water, so that the Great Swimming One¹² came into being. I made the bull for the cow,¹³ so that sexual pleasure came into being. I am the one who made heaven and the mysteries¹⁴ of the horizons; I placed the *ba*-spirits of the gods inside it. I am the one who opens his two eyes so that brightness comes into being, who closes his two eyes so that darkness comes into being, according to whose command the inundation surges, whose name the gods do not know. I am the one who made the hours so that the days came into being. I am the one who divided the year, who created the river.¹⁵ I am the one who made living fire, in order to create the craft of the palace. I am Khepri in the morning, Re at

b Gen 32:27,
29; Exod
20:7

c Exod 3:13-
14

noon, and Atum who is in the evening."

The poison was not repelled in its course; the great god was not comforted.

Then Isis said to Re: "Your name is not really among those that you have said to me. Say it to me so that the poison might go out, for a man lives when one pronounces his name."

The poison burned with a burning; it was more powerful than flame or fire.

Then the majesty of Re said: "May you give to me your two ears, my daughter Isis, so that my name might go forth from my body to your body. The most divine one among the gods had hidden it, so that my status might be broadened within the Bark of Millions.¹⁶ If there occurs a similar occasion when a heart goes out to you, say it to your son Horus after you have bound him by a divine oath, placing god in his eyes."¹⁷ The great god announced his name to Isis, the Great One of Magic.

"Flow out, scorpions! Come forth from Re, Eye of Horus! Come forth from the god, flame of the mouth.¹⁸ I am the one who made you; I am the one who sent you. Come out upon the ground, powerful poison! Behold, the great god has announced his name. Re lives; the poison is dead. NN, born of NN, lives; the poison is dead, through the speech of Isis the Great, the Mistress of the Gods, who knows Re by his own name."

Words to be recited over an image of Atum and of Horus-of-Praise, a figure of Isis, and an image of Horus,¹⁹ DRAWN (ON) THE HAND OF THE SUFFERER AND LICKED OFF BY THE MAN; DO LIKEWISE ON A STRIP OF FINE LINEN, PLACED ON THE SUFFERER AT HIS THROAT. THE PLANT IS SCORPION PLANT. GROUND UP WITH BEER OR WINE, IT IS DRUNK BY THE MAN WHO HAS A SCORPION STING. IT IS WHAT KILLS THE POISON — TRULY EFFECTIVE, (PROVED) MILLIONS OF TIMES.¹⁹

⁹ A reference to his fevered sweat, contrasted with the typically cooling water of the Nile.

¹⁰ Cf. Exod 3:13-14.

¹¹ A name of the heavens, symbolized by a celestial cow bearing the bark of the sun.

¹² Common Eg. euphemisms for penis and vagina, see Ritner 1987 col. 645.

¹³ Not a verb, contra Borghouts "(I made) the horizon inaccessible."

¹⁴ The connection is logical in Egypt, where the fluctuation of the Nile determined the seasons.

¹⁵ The solar bark.

¹⁶ A reference to the injured eye of Horus, cured by Isis after an attack by Seth. Cf. text 1.20 above.

¹⁷ Venom.

¹⁸ Shown in a vignette on the Turin papyrus.

¹⁹ For discussion, see Ritner 1993:95.

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Primary manuscript: P. Turin 1993 (19th Dyn.): Pleyte and Rossi 1869-76 pls. cxxxi:12 - cxxxiii:14; and lxxvii + xxi:1-5; excerpted in Möller 1927:29-32. Other contemporary exemplars: HO 2 and HO 3, 2; O. Deir el-Medineh 1263; and Papyrus Chester Beatty 11. Bibliography and translations: ANET 12-14; Borghouts 1978:51-55; Ritner 1993:76, n. 337. For methodological commentary, see Ritner (*ibid.*, 76, 83, 95-96, and 164).

their subordinates.

Administrative and other reforms

§35 (3:4-6) Now, [in the territory of] Hattuša the fortified cities [must be] protected. Do not leave them! The fortified cities I... wlaer, but driven it 10 (to) 20 times to the grain.

§36 (3:7-16) [hardly anything is preserved here; line 7 mentions "Tijlipnu, Great King"⁶⁴]

§37 (3:17-33) [fragmentarily preserved; contains a list of at least 60 (+?) cities (and their) storehouses⁶⁵]

§38 (3:34-42) [fragmentarily preserved; contains a list of 34 cities (and their) storehouses for (foodst) mix⁶⁶]

§39 (3:43-48) I made the grain abundant again [...] the farmers those very fields ... [...] they must [seal. All] those the population ... [...] but(?) let them [not(?)] commit fraud!

Beyond (their) ration(?) they kept binding either one or two carts(?),⁶⁷ so they drank out the country's blood. But do not let them do (it) now! Whoever does it, may they give⁶⁸ him an evil death!

§40 (3:49-54) (You) who in future will be(come) king after me, always seal the grain[ship with your⁶⁹ name. Behold, the administrators of the seal house will leave you and speak to you thus: "... there (is) plot(?)."⁷⁰ Do not seal it, however, for yourself(?), always [seal] [it ...] And, behold, they will lift you up⁷¹ ...

§41-43 (3:55-66) [except for a few traces not preserved]

§44 (3:69-75) [Who from now on [will become king after] me and ...] ... humili[ates and] says thus [to (to)]it: "... Do not listen! [...]

c 1 Ne 9:19;
2 Cr 8:6
d Ead 22:17;
Dm 12:10

If you [have] harness[ed] a deportee, you shall always compensate the equipment. The troops [...] and [...] him to either your wife or [...].

§45-47 (Column 4:1-20) [partly lost, partly too fragmentarily preserved to be translated]

§48 (4:21-26) [When [after] on the *kazpinatit*?⁶⁹ of mortals look to div[iding ...] and [they were], oh, so⁷⁰ disrespectful] and therefore they⁷¹ were struck by the god(s). But now, from now on, ...] if he somehow calls on them, (his) living parents because of (his) share, and whatever he calls on them with (his) mouth to share, they must throw him out of the house, and he must forfeit his own share.

§49 (4:27-29) And the procedure in case of bloodshed (is) as follows: whoever commits bloodshed, only (that) which the "lord of the blood" says (will happen): if he says "He shall die," let him die, but if he says "He shall pay," let him pay. For the king (there will be) nothing, however.

§50 (4:30-34) [The procedure in case of witchcraft in Hattusa (is) as follows: You must clear all matters of (it). Whoever within the family knows witchcraft, you must seize him from the family and bring him to the palace gate. But [whoever] does not bring him, for that man⁷² a bad end will come.⁷³

Colophon (4:35-36) First tablet of Tjlipnu. Finished.

⁶⁴ Singer 1984: 103-104 suspects this paragraph might have contained a list of storehouse towns similar to the two following paragraphs, located in the central Hittite area.

⁶⁵ As far as *as* is used in other texts, the geographical names "point to the northern ranges of the Andians (...), and the region south of the Tuz Gölü." Cf. Singer 1984: 103; Singer (p. 104) also reminds of the "store cities, chariot cities and cities of the horsemen" in 1 Kgs 9:19; 2 Chr 8:6.

⁶⁶ None of the geographical names preserved in this list can be located with certainty.

⁶⁷ The meaning of this sentence remains problematic and unclear; cf. Singer 1984: 104-105.

⁶⁸ The third person plural imperative was almost completely preserved according to Forrer 1926: 45 ("*bi-qi-du*"), although not given in the *Handcopy* by Figula in KBo III p. 5.

⁶⁹ Although the verb is in the singular, the possessive pronoun is plural, possibly referring to the future kings. Hoffmann 1984: 47 takes the possessive as a third person ("he").

⁷⁰ So Singer 1984: 105 (Nu G/L), differently Hoffmann 1984: 47 (G/L).
⁷¹ Singer 1984: 105: "They will further lead you (away)."

⁷² Although a hapax of unknown meaning, may be better so than taken (with Hoffmann 1984: 52) as two words (*karpuu anti*), cf. Storte 1953a: 112.

⁷³ Cf. Beckman 1985: 572.
⁷⁴ Text has singular verb form.
⁷⁵ C adds: "in his very own house."

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 19, Translation: *TLAT* 1/5:464-470; Discussion: Beal 1988; Beckman 1985; Bryce n.d.; Caruba 1964; 1974; Dinkel, Dinkel, Hawkins and Wilhelm 1993; Forrer 1926; Haase 1984; Helck 1984; Hoffmann 1984; Hoffner 1975b; 1982:507-509; Melchert 1977; Singer 1984; Storte 1985a; Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935:182-200.

APOLOGY OF HATTUSILI III (1.77)

Th. P. J. van den Hout

The so-called "Apology" of Hattušili III (1267-ca. 1240 BCE) is one of the major Hittite historical texts that have come down to us. At least eight different manuscripts must have existed among which were one-tablet and two-tablet versions, thus illustrating the relative importance the Hittites must have attached to it. All fragments have been found in the eastern storerooms of the Great Temple (Temple 1) in the Lower City of Hattuša/Bogazköy; this corresponds to the repeated mention of the deposition of historical texts "before the deity" (e.g. cf. below Apology §5 and). Since Göze (1925:113 n. 2), scholars have taken the peace treaty with Ramesses II in 1259 BCE as a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the text, because of §12b ("(Those) who had been enemies in the days of my fathers (and) grandfathers, concluded peace with me"); for a late date towards the end of Hattušili's reign see Tadmor (1983:37-38, 54-57), and Houwink ten Cate (1992:265-267 n. 47).

The composition is notoriously difficult to categorize as to its genre, cf. the discussion in Wolf (1967:12-22); see further Archi (1971:186), Hoffner (1975b:49), Cancik (1976:41-44), Otten (1981:3 with n. 8 and 23 with n. ad IV 1f) Güterbock (1983:30). The designation "Apology" was first used by Sturtevant in 1935 in the heading of the relevant chapter, although he spoke of a "Justification" in the introduction (1935:84). The text may be described as a decree instituting the cult of the goddess Ištar, appointing Hattušili's son Tjupaliya and future descendants as her priests, and granting tax freedom to her temple, all this more than amply justified by Ištar's divine providence which Hattušili claims to have experienced in his rise to power, so that the composition takes on the character of a eulogy to Ištar, but above all an apology as well as a religious legitimization of his usurpation. The text as a whole has often been compared with the story of David and Samuel in 1 Sam 15 - 2 Sam 8; for details see Wolf 1967. For an historical overview of Hattušili's life and times see Ünal 1974 and van den Hout 1995.¹

The following translation is based on the edition by Otten 1981. The main manuscript is *KUB* 1.1 + (A), restored where necessary by its duplicates. Only twice a reading from *KBo* III 6 + (B) is preferred: in ii 32 and 40 as indicated in the footnotes. Variants other than merely orthographic have been noted in the footnotes as well. The division into paragraphs also follows A except for the subdivisions in §§10(a-d) and 12(a-b) according to the manuscripts B and F.

Introduction: Genealogy

§1 (Column 1:1-4) Thus Tabarna Hattušili, Great King, King of Hatti, son of Muwšili, Great King, King of Hatti, grandson of Suppiluliuma, Great King, King of Hatti, descendant of Hattušili, King of Kuššar.²

Proemium

§2 (1:5-8) Ištar's divine providence I will proclaim. Let man³ hear it! And may in future His Majesty's son, his grandson (and further) offspring of His Majesty be respected among the gods towards Ištar!

Hattušili's early youth; Ištar's first intervention

§3 (1:9-21) My father Muwšili begot us four children: Hupāšili, Muwatalli, Hattušili and Maššanuwa, a daughter. Of all these I was the youngest child.⁴ As long as I was still a boy, I was a 'one-of-the-reins'.⁵

Hattušili under Muwatalli; Armatahuma's first lawsuit

§4 (1:22-60) When my father Muwšili became god,⁶ my brother Muwatalli seated himself on the throne of his father, while I became army commander in front of my brother. My brother installed me as Chief of the Royal

¹ I.e., Hattušili I, ca. 1650 BCE.

² Var. "everybody."

³ This sentence is omitted in B.

⁴ Literal translation of the logograms *š4* *KUŠ* *KA* *TA* *ANŠE*, possibly designating a "chariot driver."

⁵ The king being taken by the hand of his personal deity is illustrated on many reliefs and seal impressions. Such representations are known for Muwatalli II, Muwšili III/Tjupaliya and Tjupaliya IV; for Hattušili III we only have the description of such a scene on the seal on the silver tablet containing the peace treaty with Ramesses II, cf. Beal *TLAT* 1/2:152.

⁶ I.e., "died" in 1295 BCE.

b 2 Sam 8:6,
14

Bodyguard⁷ and gave me the Upper Country⁸ to govern. So I was in command of the Upper Country. Prior to me, however, Armatarhunta,⁹ son of Zida, used to govern it. (Now,) since Istar, My Lady, had shown her recognition, and my brother Muwatalli had been benevolent towards me — when people saw the recognition of Istar, My Lady, and my brother's benevolence towards me, they envied me. Armatarhunta, son of Zida, and other people as well began to cause me harm, they were evil to me, and defeat hung over me. My brother, Muwatalli summoned me 'to the wheel'.¹⁰ But Istar, My Lady, appeared to me in a dream, and through the dream she said this to me: "To the deity (of the process)" I will leave you, so do not fear!" and through the deity I was held me by the hand, she never exposed me to an evil deity (nor) to an evil lawsuit, never did she let an enemy weapon sway over me; Istar, My Lady, took me to her in every respect. Whenever illness befell¹¹ me, sick as I was, I looked on (it) as the goddess' providence. The goddess, My Lady, held me by the hand in every respect. But, since I was a man divinely provided for, since I walked before the gods in divine providence, I never did an evil thing against man.¹² You goddess, My Lady, always take me to you in every respect, wasn't it? The goddess, My Lady, never passed me over in time of fear, she never let me down before the enemy, nor did she ever let me down before my opponent in court (or) before (my) envoys: whether it (concerned) an enemy's word, or <the word> of an opponent or some word from the palace, it was Istar, My Lady, who held (her) mantle over me in every respect, took

me to her in every respect. Istar, My Lady, put my enemies and envoys at my mercy,¹³ and I finished them off.¹⁴

Hattusili's early military successes

§5 (1:61-74) Now, when my brother Muwatalli looked into the matter, not one evil thing was left against me. So he took me back and put me in charge of all¹⁵ the troops (and) chariots of Hatti Land, and all the troops (and) chariots of Hatti Land I commanded. My brother Muwatalli kept sending me out, and now that Istar, My Lady, had shown me (her) recognition, wherever I cast my glance towards enemy country, no enemy cast a glance back at me and each of the enemy countries I conquered: the recognition of Istar, My Lady, was mine. And whoever was an enemy within the Lands of Hatti, I expelled him right out of the Lands of Hatti. Which enemy countries I conquered one after the other, while still young, these I will describe separately on a tablet and I will lay it down before the goddess.¹⁷

Muwatalli moves the capital to Tarhuntašša; Hattusili suppresses the Kaškaens

§6 (1:75-76) Now, when my brother Muwatalli at the behest of his own deity went down to the Lower Land,¹⁸ he left (the city of) Hattuša behind. (Column 2:1-30) He took up [the gods] of Hatti and the Manes¹⁹ and [carried] them to the land of [Tarhuntašša]. Thereupon, however, (of) all the Kaška Lands Pišurru (and) Dakišpašša revolted. The land of Išuppištal, Maritta and the fortresses they despoiled. The enemy crossed the Marāššanda²⁰ river and began to raid the land of Kanēš.²¹ began to raid the city of ...]. The cities of Hal...]. Kurūšama and Gaziura turned hostile on the spot. They began to raid the cities²² of Hatti,

while the enemy of the land of Durmita began to raid [T]uppiya. [...] the land of Ippašana, however, was uninhabited. [so the enemy troops] penetrated as far as the land of Šuwadara. Both the cities of [Hakpiš] and Iš-tahara,²³ however, escaped [but since the land] was cut off, they did not till their fields for ten years. Further, during the years that my brother Muwatalli was in Hatti, all Kaška Lands became hostile and they destroyed the lands of Šadupa and Dankawa. So he laid siege to the city of Pititiyariša. And my brother Muwatalli sent me, but gave me troops (and) chariots in small numbers. I took along auxiliary troops in small numbers from the country and went: I oppressed the enemy at the city of Halha and fought him. The Lady,²⁴ My Lady, marched ahead of me, I defeated him and erected a monument(?).²⁵ What (population of the city of) Hattuša he held, that I took away and resettled it all. The (enemy) commanders, however, I seized and handed them to my brother. This, now, was my first manly deed²⁶ (and) Istar, My Lady, for the first time proclaimed my name²⁷ on this campaign.

Hattusili's further successes against the Kaškaens

§7 (2:31-47) It so happened, however, that the Pišurru enemy invaded (the country), and Karaija (and) Maritta [were] within the enemy country. On one side the country of Takkašša was its border,²⁸ on the other the city of Talmaliya was its border. Eight hundred teams of horses were (there) whereas the troops were innumerable. My brother Muwatalli sent me and he gave me one hundred and twenty teams of horses, but not even a single military man was with me. There too Istar, My Lady, marched ahead of me, and there too, I personally conquered the enemy. When I killed the man who was in

command,²⁹ the enemy fled. The cities of Hatti Land which had been cut off, they each fought and began to defeat the enemy. A monument(?) in the city of Wikawanda I erected. There, too, the recognition of Istar, My Lady, was mine. The weapon that I held there, I had it inlaid and I deposited³⁰ it in front of the goddess, My Lady.

Hattusili becomes King of Hakpiš

§8 (2:48-68) My brother Muwatalli followed me and fortified the cities Anziya and Tapiqqa,³¹ (then) he went right off, did not come near me at all and he left³² the troops (and) chariots of Hatti-Land march ahead and led them home. Then he gathered the gods of Hatti and the Manes on the spot, carried them down to the city of Tarhuntašša and took (up residence in)³³ Tarhuntašša. To Durmita (and) Kurūšama, however, he did not go. In these countries he left me (behind), and these desolate countries he gave me to govern. The lands³⁴ of Išuppištal, Maritta, Hiššašpa, Kašapa, Hanhana, Darabna, Hatena, Durmita, Pala, Tumama, Gaššiya, Šappa, the Hulana River (and their) chariots and 'golden' chariot fighters I commanded all. The lands of Hakpiš and Išalpara he gave me in vassalship and in Hakpiš he made me king. Concerning these desolate countries, which my brother had put me in charge of³⁵ — because Istar, My Lady, held me by the hand, some enemies I defeated,³⁶ while others concluded peace with me³⁷ Istar, My Lady, sided with me and these desolate lands I resettled on my own and made them Hittite again.

The battle at Kadesh; Armatarhunta's second attempt to bar Hattusili; Hattusili's marriage to Puduhepa
§9 (2:69-82) Now, when it happened, that my brother went to Egypt,³⁸ I led for my brother

²³ All lands mentioned here were probably located in or near the "Upper Country," i.e., immediately east of Hattuša.

²⁴ Mistake for Hatt?

²⁵ Translation suggested by the context; the sunogram + phonetic complement, if correctly identified as such, could be interpreted as the word for "hand," although in a special usage restricted to this text; thus matching one of the usages of the Hebrew word, cf. Wolf 1967:52-53.

²⁶ The Hittite word *peštaru* (to-nawar) translated here by "manly deed" literally means "masculinity, manliness." Thus it matches the Heb. word *šedat* (cf. 1 Kgs 15:23; 16:5 et passim) derived from *geber* "male, man."

²⁷ Manuscript A (KUB 1.1 + ii 32) being corrupt here, the translation follows manuscript B (KBo III 6 + ii 16-17) at this point. Although manuscript A ii 40 is broken at this point, it seems to have had an extra sentence, possibly concerning the enemy commander, which was left out in B ii 23. Manuscript B is followed here. For the parallel with 1 Sam 17, see Hoffner 1968c.

²⁸ Present tense in B: "I (will) deposit;" cf. also the remark in the introduction to this text.

²⁹ B adds "for me."

³⁰ B adds "all."

³¹ Var. "built/fortified." The site of Tarhuntašša has not yet been located with certainty. The land of Tarhuntašša must have comprised classical Cilicia Aspera and territory directly north of it.

³² All the lands mentioned here are located in the northern half of Anatolia encircling Hattuša to its west, north and east.

³³ Lit., "had put in (my) hand."

³⁴ B adds "with the weapon."

³⁵ This sentence has mostly been interpreted to refer to the peace treaty between Rameses II and Hattusili (1259 BCE), thus providing us with an important *terminus post quem* for the composition of the "Apology"; see the remarks above in the introduction to this text.

³⁶ This refers to the battle of Kadesh in 1275 BCE.

⁷ This title, certainly exceeding its literal meaning, designates one of the highest ranking and most influential (military) officials at the Hittite court.

⁸ I.e., the territory (north-east of the capital Hattuša, bordering the northern Pontic area, home of the Kaška tribes.

⁹ He was a cousin of Hattusili's father Muršili II.

¹⁰ Whereas the sunogram for "wheel" is written with the determinative for wooden objects in manuscript A (6th LAMBIN), it is written with the divine determinative in B (LAMBIN). Usually, this is taken to refer to some judicial procedure.

¹¹ It is not exactly clear to what deity is referred to here. Kinnell (TUAT 1/5:483 n.) assumes the deity is a personal, protective deity, although that should be Hatt herself. Some scholars (see Neumann 1985:200) have suggested taking this sentence as a rhetorical question: "Would I leave you to (some other) deity?" The interpretation here follows Gözle (1925:69) who thought of a deity handling Hattusili's cases in court. The variant writing of the "wheel" with the divine determinative may support this view.

¹² Lit., "I became clean."

¹³ Lit., "defiled."

¹⁴ Or "I never did the evil thing of man," thus Otten 1981:7.

¹⁵ Lit., "in the hand."

¹⁶ This word united in B.

¹⁷ For the "saying down" of tablets in the temple see the introductory remarks to this text.

¹⁸ I.e., the area south of the capital Hattuša, in the Konya plain.

¹⁹ Lit., "Dead ones." These are the names and bones of deceased royal ancestors.

²⁰ Formerly thought to be the classical Halys, nowadays Kızıl İrmak, but this equation has now become problematic, cf. CHD L-N 201.

²¹ Nowadays Kültepe.

²² Lit., "ruin mounds."

on campaign down to Egypt the troops (and) chariots of those lands which I had resettled, and I commanded the troops (and) chariots of Hatti-land of which I was in charge in front of my brother. But when Armatapnuma, son of Zida, saw the benevolence of Ištar, My Lady, and of my brother towards me, they (i.e., Armatapnuma) with his wife (and) his son then began to cast spells over me, because they were not successful in any (other) way. Even Šamūša,³⁸ the city of the goddess, he filled with spells. When, however, I returned from Egypt, I marched to the city of Lavazanija³⁹ to bring offerings to the goddess and worshipped the goddess.

(Column 3:1-13) [At the behest of the goddess I took Puḫtepa, the daughter of Penipšarri, the priest, for my wife: we joined (in matrimony) (and) the goddess gave [us] the love of husband (and) wife. We made ourselves sons (and) daughters.⁴⁰ Then the goddess, My Lady, appeared to me in a dream (saying): "Become my servant [with] (your) household!" so the goddess [servant with my household I became, "in the house which we made ourselves, the goddess was there with us and our house thrived: that was the recognition of Ištar, My Lady. [Then] I [twent] and [fortified the cities of Hawarkina and Dilmuna, Ḫakpiš, however, turned hostile. I sent Kaššaeans and on my own I set it straight again. I became King of Ḫakpiš while my wife became [Queen of] Ḫakpiš."

Armatapnuma's downfall: Muwatalli succeeded by Urhištešub. Ḫanušilī declares war on Urhištešub §10a (3:14-30) Now, when it happened, that the lawent⁴¹ was somehow reopened by the palace, Ištar, My Lady, at that moment too showed (her) divine providence. The process resulted again in the verdict: They found witchcraft on Armatapnuma, with his wife (and) his sons, and they charged him with it. He had filled Šamūša, the city of my goddess, with witchcraft, so the goddess, My

³⁸ 1 Sam 24:15.
³⁹ 24:15.

Lady, made him succumb to me. And with his property, his wife (and) his son⁴² my brother turned him over to me and my brother said to me: "Šippaziti (is) not involved." So, because my brother had made me triumph over [Armatapnuma through the process, I did not fall back into further evil against him, and [because Armatapnuma was a blood relative of mine, (and because) moreover, he was an old man,⁴³ he provoked (feelings of) pity in me [and I let him go, Šippaziti, 100], his son], I let go.⁴⁴ I did not harm them in any way.⁴⁵ Armatapnuma's [wife and his (other) son, however, I sent [to Alašiya⁴⁶ (in exile). I took half (this estate) and gave it back to Armatapnuma, §10b (3:31-54) Because my [brother] Muwatalli had [g]iven [me the cities of ... -]a, Durrina, Ziplana, Ḫaḫlena, Ḫakpiš (and) Ištarja [in vassalship], I resettled [the] desolate (territories). [When] my [brother became [gold — because I [co]mmanded [Ḫaḫša and (because) he had [...] me in lordship, I did] not [do] anything (evil) out of regard for (the love) for [my] brother. Therefore, since] my brother did not have a [legitimate son, I took up Urhištešub, son of a concubine, [I put] him into lordship over [Ḫaḫ] Land and laid all of [Ḫanušilī in this] hand,⁴⁷ so that he was Great King over the Hatti Lands, while I was king of Ḫakpiš. With the troops (and) chariots [...]. Because the city of Nerik had been destroyed since the days of (king) Ḫanušilī,⁴⁸ I rebuil[de] it and (of) the countries that surrounded Nerik, [I made] the cities of Nera (and) Ḫašira the border. I [subdued] them completely and [made them my] tributaries. [The mountain of] Ḫaḫarwa and the Maraš-Sanda River [...], whatever they held in oppression towards Nerik (and) Ḫakpiš, I subdued them completely. §10c (3:54-79) However, when Urhištešub thus saw the benevolence [of] the goddess towards me, he became envious of me, he [began] to harm me:

³⁸ Ca. 200 km east of Hamāš.
³⁹ To the south-east of Hamāš in the vicinity of the Andarun.
⁴⁰ For these children, see van den Hou, 1995.
⁴¹ Both Owen (1981:17 and Kinnell 1747:1-5) correctly translate differently: "I became King of Ḫakpiš, you, the woman, however, became [Queen of] Ḫakpiš." For the above translation see Neumann 1985:292.
⁴² I.e., the lawent of Armatapnuma.
⁴³ Var. "sons."
⁴⁴ Armatapnuma was of the generation of Ḫanušilī's father.
⁴⁵ Var. "(And) I let them alone."
⁴⁶ Cyprus.
⁴⁷ Ḫanušilī almost certainly gives himself too much credit here. According to the succession rules laid down by Telipinu, Urhištešub was the sole legitimate heir, whom his father Muwatalli had kept to himself to raise him as his successor. Urhištešub's brother Kurma, however, was according to the Brothers Tablet (cf. Owen 1988:11) already as a boy entrusted by Muwatalli to Ḫanušilī. A recently found bulla with the double sealing of both Muwatalli and Ḫanušilī may point to the same direction.
⁴⁸ I.e., either Ḫanušilī, the Old Hittite king and successor to Muwatalli I, shortly after 1600 BCE or Ḫanušilī II, the 15th century king.

he took away from me all those in my service⁴⁹ and (all) the desolate countries which I had resettled, those too he took away from me. He humiliated me, but at the behest of the goddess he did not take away Ḫakpiš from me. [Because] I was priest to the Storm-god of Nerik, he therefore did not take that [city] away from me (either). Out of regard for the love for my brother I did not react at all and during seven years I complied. He, however, sought my destruction at divine and human behest and he took away from me Ḫakpiš and Nerik. Now I no longer complied and I became hostile to him. But when I became hostile to him, I did not commit a moral offence⁵⁰ by revolting against him on the chariot or by revolting against him within (his) house. (No,) in a manly way I declared to him: "You opposed me. You (are) Great King, whereas I (am) king of the single fortress that you left me. So come! Ištar of Šamūša and the Stormgod of Nerik will judge us."⁵¹ When I wrote thus to Urhištešub — if someone speaks thus: "Why did you at first instigate him in kingship, but why do you now declare war on him in writing?" (I will answer) "If he had in no way opposed me, would they (i.e., the gods) really have made a Great King succumb to a petty king?" Because he has now opposed me, the gods have made him succumb to me by (their) judgement.

§10d (Column 4:1-6) When I declared him these words: "Come!", he, however, hastened away from the city of Maraššaniya and went to the Upper Country, and Šippaziti, son of Armatapnuma, was with him. He summoned him to the troops of the Upper Country. Since Šippaziti, however, was evil towards me, he did not ... towards me.

Downfall of Urhištešub

§11 (4:7-40) Because Ištar, My Lady, had already early (foretold) kingship for me, Ištar, My Lady, appeared at that moment to my wife in a dream (saying): "I will march ahead of your husband and all of Ḫanušilī will turn to

⁴⁹ 1 Sam 24:15.
⁵⁰ 2 Sam 7:8-9
⁵¹ 1 Sam 25:10

(the side) of your husband. Since I elevated him, I never ever exposed him to an evil trial (or) an evil deity. Now, too, I will lift him and install him in priesthood for the Sungod-goddess of Arinna, and you must worship me as Ištar parāšši!"⁵² Ištar, My Lady, backed me, and as she promised me, it happened too.⁵³ Ištar, My Lady, provided for me there as well in abundance. To the generals whom Urhištešub had dismissed to some place, Ištar⁵⁴ appeared in a dream, while she strengthened them, the exhausted ones⁵⁵ (saying): "All Hatti Lands I have turned over to Ḫanušilī." There, too, I experienced the divine providence of Ištar in abundance. When she had left Urhištešub no other way whatsoever, she locked him up in Šamūša like a pig in a sty. The Kaššaeans, meanwhile, who had been hostile to me, backed me and all Ḫanušilī backed me. Out of regard for the love of my brother I did not do anything (evil). I went back down to Urhištešub⁵⁶ and brought him down like a prisoner. I gave him fortified cities in the country of Nuḫaše and there he lived. When he plotted another plot against me, and wanted to ride to Babylon — when I heard the matter, I seized him and sent him alongside the sea. They made Šippaziti cross the border as well, while I took away his property and gave it to Ištar, My Lady. That to Ištar, My Lady, I gave, while Ištar, My Lady, promoted me step by step.

Ḫanušilī's career in retrospect: Kurma King in Tarḫuwašša, transfer of properties to Ištar.

§12a (4:41-48) I was a prince and became Chief of the Royal Bodyguard. As Chief of the Royal Bodyguard I became King of Ḫakpiš. As King of Ḫakpiš I then⁵⁷ became Great King. Finally, Ištar, My Lady, had put (my) enemies, enemies (and) my opponents in court at my mercy.⁵⁸ Some died by the sword, others died on (their appointed) day;⁵⁹ all these I finished off. Ištar, My Lady, had given me kingship over Hatti Land.

⁴⁹ Manuscripts B and E both add: "and he took Šamūša away from me."
⁵⁰ The Hittite word used here refers to religious impurity which normally has to be removed by magic ritual.
⁵¹ Fight of Ištar of uncertain provenance and meaning.
⁵² B adds: "like-wise exactly."
⁵³ B adds: "My Lady."
⁵⁴ The translation of this *crux* follows the solution offered by Nowicki (1985:26-35), although not all difficulties seem to be solved (*unmarzost* as 3rd sing. pretense of a verb **marzore-*; the function of the sentence connective *-nu* in KUR.KUR⁵⁴ *unmarzost-na-wo-ki-na*) introducing the direct speech of the goddess). Alternatively, one might suggest the possible analysis *marzost-na-wo-ki-na* *darpanat* "You (are) strongly urged (to come). (for) I have turned over all Hatti Lands to Ḫanušilī" with *-šmat* replacing the more usual reflexive *-za* in nominal sentences of this kind, and *marzost* as the well known adverb.
⁵⁵ Var. "behind."
⁵⁶ B adds: "in Šamūša."
⁵⁷ This word is omitted in B.
⁵⁸ Lit., "in (my) hand."

12 Sat 8:10-

The property of Armataripunta which I gave to her and whatever settlements were Armataripunta's, behind every single cult monument they will erect her (statue) and they will pour a vessel. (For) Ishtar (is) my goddess and they will worship her as Ishtar the High. The mausoleum which I made myself, I handed it over to the goddess, (and) I handed over to you in subservience my son Tughaliya⁶⁴ as well. Let Tughaliya, my son, administer the house of Ishtar I (am) the servant of the goddess, let him be servant of the goddess as well! The property which I gave the goddess, let everyone strive and strain(?)⁶⁵ for the goddess.

Vindication clause

§13 (4:81-83) Whoever will take away in future the offspring of *Ḥanūṣīlī* (and) *Pudhūpepa* from the service of *Iṣṭar* (or) desires (so much as) a blade of straw from the storehouse (or) a chip of wood from the threshing floor of *Iṣṭar* of *Šamūḫa* ⁶⁵ let him be *Iṣṭar* of *Šamūḫa*'s court opponent! Let no one take them for levy (and) corvée!⁶⁷

Cure

§14 (4:86-89) Whoever in future stands up against the son, grandson (or) offspring of Haruṣiṭi (and) Puduḡepa, may he among the gods be fearful of Istar of Samuḡa!

²⁹ Var. "recognized me in."
³⁰ In a letter to an Assyrian king Hamšili complains that until now he has not yet received any gift from him on the occasion of his enthronement, although this is customary; cf. Goetze 1940:28-29.
³¹ "Recognized me in" (see Neumann 1985:295-294).

although this is customary; cf. Goetze 1940:28-29.

of V_{50} "on that spot."

var. On that spot,

⁶⁴ Hemzili's son and successor, ca. 1240-1210 BCE.

²⁰ The Himite uses two rhyme words *karnat narnan*, for which see Wegner 1989.

On this expression here see von Schuler 1983:161-163 and above, p. 197 n. 38.

^{a7} This sentence is omitted in B and F.

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 81. Translation: TJAT 7/548f–492. Discussion: Arché 1971; Cancik 1976; Götre 1975; 1940; Hofner 1968c; 1973b; van den Hoof 1995; Houwink ten Cate 1992; Neumann 1985; Nowicki 1985; Ormaz 1981a; 1988; von Schuler 1982. Sources/van de Beek 1935; Tadmor 1983; 1991.

4. ORACLES

EXCERPT FROM AN ORACLE REPORT (1.78)

Gary Beckman

Since the Hittites believed that divine displeasure was the ultimate source of most evils, they developed a science of divination in order to communicate with their gods, ascertain the reasons for their anger, and bargain about required restitution. The Hittite diviners carefully researched the problems referred to them, making sure both to determine the exact aspect of a situation which had caused a deity's anger and to assure that no additional factors lay behind this or her wrath. Although the responses given by the gods to the questions put to them are characterized as "favorable" or "unfavorable," they are not really answers to the questions, but rather a statement of the deity's attitude toward the situation.

able" or "unfavorable," and indeed were probably originally held to portend in themselves good or ill fortune, they have become arbitrary signs in the later binary system documented in *texts available to us*. That is, in each particular instance the practitioner stipulates whether a "favorable" or an "unfavorable" response will constitute a "yes" answer to the query posed.⁸ For essential bibliography concerning the Hittite practice of divination see *REFERENCES* below. The inquiry documented in the text excerpted here was occasioned by the sickness of the Great King. Since the members of the royal family are referred to only by their titles, and most of the other individuals mentioned are not found elsewhere, the precise period to which this text should be assigned is uncertain. However, various linguistic and historical considerations suggest that it was composed early in the reign of Tudhaliya IV (second half of the thirteenth century BCE).

thirteenth century BCE).

The technical details of the explosives and procedures

(adv. 1-3) In regard to the fact that His Majesty (Tudghata ivth) became ill, [...] have not you, [O deity] of (the town of) Aruṣa, somehow been protected [in connection with the illness of His Majesty? If you, O deity, are angry about this, let the first extispicy be favorable and the lares] unfavorable. First extispicy: favorable ... unfavorable. Later [extispicy ...] Unfavorable.

(obv. 4-5) In regard to the fact that in connection with the illness you, O deity of Arušna, were ascertained to be angry — are you, O god, angry in some way in your temple? (If so), let the ex-

(obv. 6) If you, O god, are angry only (about something) in your temple, but are not in any way angry with His Majesty, let the exispiy be favorable. Unfavorable.

(Job. 7-10) In regard to the fact that you, O deity of Arusha, were ascertained to be angry with His Majesty, is this because the queen (Puduhopa?) cursed Ammatalla before the deity of Arusha? Because Ammatalla began to concern herself with the deity, yet did not go back and forth (in service to the deity)? Because the son of Ammatalla has dressed himself in garments entrusted to his mother and was summoned to the palace? If you, O god, are angry about this, let the extispicy be unfavorable.

(obv., 11) If you, O god, are angry only about this, I will accept the favorable. Unfavorable.

(obv. 12-27) In regard to the fact that it was once

more unfavorable, is this because wata spoke follows: "The queen made for herself a crown of gold in the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity. In a dream the deity of Aruśna demanded it from the queen, but the queen did not give it. She set it aside in the storehouse of the treasurer, and in its place the queen made two other crowns of silver for the deity of Aruśna. And as long as she had not sent it (the crown of gold) to the deity of Aruśna, the matter brought trouble for the queen, and she was expelled from the palace. Then it happened that the queen wrote back to His Majesty from (the name of Uluṃ). The crown of gold which the

deity of *Asina* demanded from me in a dream is now lying in the storehouse of the treasurer. The inlay pieces(?) and the precious stones which were left over (from its manufacture) are now lying in the container for *adulpi*-garments. Send them off to the deity!¹⁰ They found that crown of gold, and with it lay a falcon of gold, a grape cluster (made up of) precious stones, eight rosettes, ten knobs(?), and eyebrow(s) and eyelid(s) of precious stones. Then they took them to the mausoleum of the Tu-lary Deity, to the statue of the queen. But they did not find the inlay pieces(?) which (supposedly) lay in the container for *adulpi*-garments. (Of) the two crowns of silver(!) which the queen made for the deity (in fulfillment of) (her) vow, they found (only) one crown of silver(!), and they sent it off to the deity. But they did not find the (other) crown of silver(!). Is it because they spoke as follows: "Whatever is found among the furnishings of the deity will certainly be given to the deity. It will not be exchanged (for something inferior)." Is it because we did not know about the single falcon of precious gold, the grape cluster (made up of) precious stones, the eight rosettes, the knobs(?), the eyebrow(s) and the eyelid(s), and because they were taken to the mausoleum of the Tu-lary Deity, to the statue of the queen? (And because) they did not find the inlay pieces? If you, O god, are angry about this, let the exstispy be unfavorable ¹¹ Unfavorable.

(obv. 28) If you, O god, are angry only about this, but not in regard to anything else, let the auspicy be favorable. Unfavorable.

(obv. 29-30) In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, (is this) because the great princess (daughter of the king of Babylon and wife of Tudghaliya IV?) secretly [brought] Ammatalla up into the palace? If you, O god, **are** angry about this, let the extispicy be * unfavorable -- unfavorable.

(obv. 31-32) We have not yet investigated what Anmatalla said — whether the testimony is true, or how (it is to be taken). It has not been included in our inquiry. Now if the omen has occurred because of this, let the extispicy be unfavorable ...

Introduction: Identification (line 9)

I am Kulamuwa, son of Hayya.

I sat upon the throne of my father.

Internal Affairs (lines 10-13)

Before the former kings, the *Muškabīm*¹⁴ were living like dogs.¹⁵

But I was to some a father;
and to some I was a mother;
and to some I was a brother.

Now whoever had never possessed a sheep,¹⁶

I made lord of a flock.

And whoever had never possessed an ox,

I made owner of a herd and owner of silver and
lord of gold.

And whoever from his childhood had never seen
linen,

e Ps 59:16

f Ezek 6:4,6;
2 Chr 14:4;
37:4

now in my days wore byssos.

And I took the *Muškabīm* by the hand,
and they showed (me) affection¹⁷ like the affection
of a fatherless child toward (its) mother.

Curse: The Future (lines 14-16)

Now whoever of my sons
who will sit (reign) in my place
and damages this inscription,
may the *Muškabīm* not honor the *Ba^crīrīm*,¹⁸
and may the *Ba^crīrīm* not honor the *Muškabīm*.

And whoever strikes out this inscription,
may Ba^cal Šemed,¹⁹ (the god) of Gabbar, strike his
head;
and may Ba^cal Hammon,²⁰ (the god) of Bamah,²¹
and Rakib-El,²² the lord of the house (i.e.,
dynasty), strike his head.

within Y²dy prior to the Assyrian intervention (O'Connor 1977:226); and 5) a climatic statement concerning the dramatic fall of prices from the Assyrian king's intervention. The inverted word order and the parallel of 2 Kgs 7:1-16 strengthen this interpretation. See Tropper 1993:38; and Liverani 1991:177-184.

¹⁴ Meaning is still uncertain. Perhaps, the poor, indigenous population of Sam'al. See the discussion of Swiggers 1983:142-143; Dion 1997:253-254; 285-286.

¹⁵ Tropper 1993:39-41, plate 8. For other interpretations, Landsberger 1948:52, SSI 3:37; Müller 1985:639; O'Connor 1977:22. Concerning Ps 59:16 see Tropper 1994:87-95.

¹⁶ Lit., "see the face." See Landsberger 1948:52 and O'Connor 1977:22.

¹⁷ See Dion 1974:88-89; Zevit 1990:342, 343; and Tropper 1993:43-44.

¹⁸ Meaning uncertain. This is no doubt a social group at Sam'al and is often seen by commentators as referring to the dominant, nomadic, immigrant Aramaic minority in the land (as opposed to the *mškbm* above). The term may have more ethnic than social connotations; Dion 1997:253-254; 285-286.

¹⁹ See Tropper 1993:45.

²⁰ For this deity see Xella 1991:229-234.

²¹ See note 5 above.

²² Rakib-El occurs also in Kulamuwa's scepter inscription (KAI 25:4-6; see Lemaire 1990:323-327) and in later inscriptions from Zenjirli: Hadad (below, 2.36 = KAI 214:2, 3, 11, 18), Panamuwa (below, 2.37 = KAI 215:22), and Bar-Rakib (below, 2.38 = KAI 216:5; 217:7-8). For recent discussions of this deity see van der Toorn 1995:1296-1297; Teixidor 1987:371; Schmidt 1994:135, n. 135.

REFERENCES

Text: Tropper 1993:27-46; KAI 1:4-5; 2:30-34, 338; SSI 3:30-39; Translations and Studies: Avishur 1976; Dion 1974; 1995; 1997; Fales 1979; Garbini 1977a; Ishida 1985; Krahmalkov 1974; Landsberger 1948; Lemaire 1990; Lipiński 1974:45-61; Liverani 1991; Müller 1985; O'Connor 1977; Parker 1997:76-83; Rosenthal ANET 654; Sperling 1988; Swiggers 1981; 1983; Tropper 1993:27-46; 1994; Xella 1991; Zevit 1990.

cited in RBBG top of page 201

THE AZATIWADA INSCRIPTION (2.31)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

In 1946, a Phoenician-Hieroglyphic Luwian bilingual inscription was discovered on portal orthostats at the Iron Age fortification of Karatepe on the west bank of the Çeyhan River in the ancient region of Cilicia, the modern province of Adana, Turkey. It is the longest extant Phoenician inscription and is preserved at three locations on the site: the Lower (North) Gate, the Upper (South) Gate, and on the skirt of a colossal divine statue which stood just inside the Upper Gate. The Lower Gate was carved on four orthostats in three columns and continues onto the base of a fifth orthostat and onto a stone lion. The text appears to date from the very end of the 8th century, or more likely from the beginning of the 7th century BCE.¹ Azatiwada was an agent of Awariku, the king of the Danunians (= Que^a) and the text narrates his various accomplishments on behalf of the Danunians and his sovereign. For the Hieroglyphic Luwian (HL) inscription see COS 2.21 above.

¹ For the most recent discussion, see Hawkins 1995:1304.

Introduction: Epithets (i.1-2)

I am Azatiwada,
the blessed of Ba^cal,² servant of Ba^cal,
whom Awariku,³ king of the Danunians,
empowered.

*Body: Azatiwada's Mighty Deeds (i.3-iii.2)**General establishment of Azatiwada's reign (i.3-13)*

Ba^cal made me a father and a mother⁴ to the
Danunians.

I caused the Danunians to live.⁵ ^c

I enlarged the land of the plain of Adana from
East⁶ to West.⁷

Now there was in my days all good for the
Danunians and abundance and luxury.

And I filled the granaries⁸ of the city of Pahar.⁹

And I acquired¹⁰ ^d horse upon horse, and shield
upon shield, and army upon army,
by the grace of Ba^cal and the gods.¹¹

And I smashed the rebels;¹²

And I crushed¹³ all evil which was in the land.

And I established the house of my lord in good-
ness;

and I did good to the root ^e of my lord.

And I caused him to reign ^f upon the throne of his
father.

And I made peace with every king.

And indeed every king made me as a father,¹⁴ ^g

on account of my righteousness, my wisdom and
the goodness of my heart.

^a 1 Kgs 10:28;
2 Chr 1:16

^b Deut 32:6;
32:18

^c Gen 50:18-
20

^d 1 Kgs 10:26;
Isa 30:1;
Jer 4:20;
Ps 61:7;
Job 16:14;
Prov 21:6

^e Isa 11:1,
10

^f 1 Kgs 2:24

^g Gen 45:8;
Ps 109:14;
Isa 22:21

^h Josh 10:24;
Pss 8:7;
110:2;
1 Kgs 5:3;
2 Sam 22:39
(= Ps 18:39);
1 Sam 25:24;
Esther 8:3

Building of fortifications and their impact (i.13-ii.9)

I built strong fortifications¹⁵ in all the far regions of
the borders,

in places where there had been evil men,
gang leaders,¹⁶

of whom not one man had ever been a vassal
to the house of Mopsos;¹⁷

But I, Azatiwada, placed them under my feet.¹⁸ ^h

And I built fortifications in those places

so that they,¹⁹ the Danunians, might dwell in
the ease of their hearts.

And I humbled strong lands in the West,
which no king who was before me ever
humbled.

But I, Azatiwada, have humbled²⁰ them.

I brought them down.

I settled them in the far regions of my borders in
the East.

And I settled the Danunians there.

And they were in my days on all the borders of the
Plain of Adana from the East to the West,
even²¹ in places which formerly were feared,
where a man feared to walk the road.

But in my days, (especially) mine, a woman can
walk alone with her spindles,²²
by the grace of Ba^cal and the gods.

Now there was in all my days abundance and
luxury and good living and ease of heart for the
Danunians and for all the Plain of Adana.

² The meaning of *hbrk b^cl* is difficult. Some scholars suggest that *hbrk b^cl* should be translated "chief official (*habarakku*) of Ba^cl," arguing that *hbrk* is a loanword from Akk. *abaraku* (e.g. Lipiński 1974:45-46). Others understand *hbrk b^cl* as a construct "the (one) blessed (by)/of Ba^cal" (e.g. Greenfield 1972:179). The HL seems to support a religious honorific. See now Rölli 1999:58 and Younger 1998:33-35. A further complication for *hbrk* being a loanword from Akk. *abaraku* is the fact that the title *abaraku* in the Neo-Assyrian period had been replaced by *masennu* (*mašennu* in Neo-Babylonian). See Millard 1994:7, n. 14.

³ Awariku is known from the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (*COS* 2.117A, note 4) and Sargon II. He is also mentioned in the Cebel Ires Daği inscription (*COS* 3).

⁴ Cf. the Hittite inscription of Anitta where the phrase "father and mother" are used as a metonymy for "compassion."

⁵ For the phrase *yhw n^k y^t dnym* "I caused the Danunians to live," see Amadasi Guzzo 1984:109-118. Cf. the usage in Egyptian, as well as in the Amarna Letters (EA 94, 65, 69; 136, 43; 147, 9; 169, 7).

⁶ Lit. "the rising of the sun."

⁷ Lit. "its setting."

⁸ The term *qrt* is defined by Luwian *ka-ru-na-zi* "granaries, storehouses." Lipiński has attempted to link *qrt* with Akk. *ekurru/ekurrāt* (1974:47). See Rölli 1999:58.

⁹ Pahar (Pahri in Assyrian sources) is probably to be located at Misis (classical Mopsuestia). See also Rölli 1999:58.

¹⁰ Lit. "made." For the meaning of acquire, see Greenfield 1966:103-105 and *DNWSI* 926.

¹¹ On the term *lm* see Younger 1998:28-31. See also Rölli 1999:59.

¹² Gevirtz understood *wšbrt mlsm* to mean "and the assembly of the (divine) intermediaries" (1990:145-158). But the Luwian text clearly has a verbal clause in the place where *wšbrt mlsm* occurs. Thus, it should be read as a verbal clause: "and I smashed the rebels." See Rölli 1999:59.

¹³ See Younger 1998:15, note 26, and also *DNWSI* 1233-1234.

¹⁴ The meaning is uncertain. See Bron 1979:60-62.

¹⁵ See *DNWSI* 381; Bron 1979:64; and Rölli 1999:59.

¹⁶ See Müller 1985:642.

¹⁷ Ibid. See also Vanschoonwinkel 1990:185-211.

¹⁸ Greenfield points out that the nuance of the figure is "to subjugate," or even closer to the idea "to conquer" (1971:253-268). Cp. Tukulti-Ninurta I's treatment of the captured Babylonian king Kaštiliaš: "I trod with my feet upon his lordly neck as though it were a footstool. Bound I brought him as a captive into the presence of Aššur, my lord" (*RIMA* 1:245).

¹⁹ For the *nm* suffix as prospective, see Pardee 1987:140.

²⁰ Cf. the use of *nh* in the Mesha inscription with reference to Omri's oppression of Moab. See *COS* 2.23.

²¹ The HL seems to support understanding the Phoen. conjunction in the sense of "even." Cf. also Gibson *SSI* 3:59.

²² See Younger 1998:32-33.

Building the city and cultic innovations (ii.9–iii.2)
And I built this city.

And I gave it the name²³ *Azatiwadaya*,²⁴
since Ba^cal²⁵ and Resheph of the stags²⁶ com-
missioned me to build.

So I built it,
by the grace of Ba^cal and by the grace of
Resheph of the stags,
in abundance and in luxury and good living
and in ease of heart,
that it might be a guard (outpost) for the Plain of
Adana and for the house of Mopsos.
since in my days there was for the land of the
Plain of Adana abundance and luxury.²⁷
And there was never any night for the Danunians
in my days.²⁷

And I built this city.
And I gave it the name *Azatiwadaya*.
I settled in it Ba^cal KRNTYŠ.
Now all the river-land²⁸ shall offer a sacrifice to
him:
a yearly sacrifice:²⁹ an ox;
and at the time of plowing: a sheep;
and at the time of reaping/harvesting: a sheep.

Closing: blessings and curses (iii.2–iv.3)

Blessings (iii.2–11)

Now may Ba^cal KRNTYŠ bless³⁰ *Azatiwada*³¹
with life and health,¹
and mighty strength over every king;
may Ba^cal KRNTYŠ and all the gods of the city
give *Azatiwada*
length of days^m and multitude of years and
good prosperity,³²
and mighty strength over every king.

i Judg 8:31;
Neh 9:7

j Ps 103:5

k Ps 29:11

l Mal 2:5;
Prov 3:2

m Deut30:20;
Ps 21:5;
Prov 3:2

n Prov 3:10

o Gen 6:4

p Gen 14:19

q Pss 72:5,
17; 89:37-
38

And may this city be a possessor of grain and
wine;ⁿ

and may this people who dwell in it be possessors
of herds and possessors of flocks and possessors
of grain and wine.

And may they immeasurably bear children;
and may they immeasurably become mighty;
and may they immeasurably serve *Azatiwada* and
the house of Mopsos,
by the grace of Ba^cal and the gods.

Curses (iii.12–iv.1)

Now if a king among kings or a prince among
princes,
if a man, who is a man of renown,³³
who shall erase the name of *Azatiwada* from this
gate,
and shall place (his) name (on it) —

if indeed he shall covet this city,
and shall tear away this gate, which *Azatiwada* has
made,
or shall make for himself a different gate,
and place (his) name on it —
if from covetousness he shall tear (it) away —
if from hate or from evil he shall tear away this
gate —

then shall Ba^cal Shamem and El, creator of the
earth,³⁴ and Shemesh, the eternal, and the whole
group of the children of the gods erase that
kingdom, and that king, and that man who is a
man of renown.^o

Climactic invocation (IV.2-3)

Only may the name of *Azatiwada* be forever like
the name of the sun and the moon!³⁵ *q*

²³ For the idiom "to place a name," see Bron 1979:87.

²⁴ Based on the HL "Azatiwataya." See Rölli 1999:59-60. For a similar episode, cf. Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur (COS 2.115B, lines iii.1'-22a').

²⁵ Ba^cal = Tarhunzas.

²⁶ Phoen. *spr̥m* has been defined either as "he-goats" or "birds." Bron 1979:88, 185 and Müller 1985:643 favor the latter; Hawkins 1995:1300, Weippert 1969:200-210, the former. Garbini 1992:93-94 has proposed: "Rešeph of the talon." Amadasi Guzzo and Archi argue on the basis of the equivalence of *KAL and *r̥sp spr̥m* that the graphical representation in the HL of a deer makes "stag" a superior definition to "bird" (1980:101).

²⁷ DNWSI 577-578, s.v. *ll*₂. For *mtm* see Rölli 1999:60.

²⁸ The Phoen. reads "Now all the river-land shall offer a sacrifice to him." The HL: "And every river-land will begin to honor him." For a full discussion see Younger 1998:36-40 and also Rölli 1995:206-208; 1999:60.

²⁹ See Younger 1998:19.

³⁰ Cf. Yehawmilk (KAI #10.8-10). See COS 2.32 below.

³¹ For the blessings' structure, see Barré 1982:177-194 and Younger 1998:47.

³² Various meanings for the Phoen. *r̥st* have been proposed: (1) "authority," "rule" (Greenfield 1991a:145); (2) "old age" (Bron 1975:545-546; 1979:105-106; Barré 1981:1-3; Rölli 1999:60); (3) "property" (Müller 1985:644, n. 6a). and (4) "abundance, prosperity" (Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins 1987:272-275). see Younger 1998:40-41.

³³ Rölli (1999:60) suggests that the phrase *dm r̥st dm šm* may be understood as "a man who is (just) called a man" i.e. an ordinary human being without title of any sort (cf. DNWSI 1157 sub 3).

³⁴ KAI 1:25 (no. 129. 1): *l̥l qn r̥st*.

³⁵ See Greenfield 1971:266-268; Rölli 1999:61.

REFERENCES

- Text: Text: Phoen.: Rölli 1999:50-57; Bron 1979:8-25; KAI #26, 1:5; SSJ 3:41-64; HL: Hawkins 2000; Meriggi 1967:69-103; Marazzi 1990:365-367. Studies: Amadasi Guzzo and Archi 1980; Amadasi Guzzo 1984; Barré 1981; 1982; Bron 1975:545-546; 1979; Garbini 1992; Gevirtz 1990; Greenfield 1971; 1972; 1991a; Greenstein 1995:2428-2432; Hawkins 1995; Lipiński 1974; Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins 1987;