

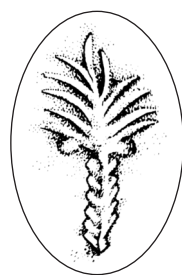
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SHAPINUWA, THE HURRIANS, HURRIAN  
AND HITTITE RITUALS

(Torino, July 3, 2017 - University of Torino)

STEFANO DE MARTINO\*  
THE COMPOSITION AND TRANSMISSION  
OF THE *ITKALZI* RITUAL

ABSTRACT

This essay deals with the transmission of the *itkalzi* ritual, its original recension and the derived “fill in the blanks” editions. We assume that said ritual was performed for the first time, when Tuḫaliya II married Tadu-Ḫeba, with the aim of assuring the well being of the royal couple and the fertility of the queen.

KEYWORDS

*itkalzi*-ritual; Hurrian; Ancient Anatolia; Šapinuwa.

1. Introduction

The project devoted to the publication of the Hurrian texts found at Ortaköy/Šapinuwa has given rise to a new impulse also in the research study of the *itkalzi* ritual. The archives at Building A in Šapinuwa preserved many tablets and fragments belonging to this ritual and some of them duplicate texts found in Ḫattuša and already published by V. Haas in the first volume of the Hurrian Corpus.<sup>1</sup>

V. Haas argued that there were two recensions of this ritual, namely a 22 tablet recension, which was quoted in the colophon of texts ChS I/1 7 and 8, but was not surely documented in any Boğazköy document, and a ten tablet version. According to V. Haas, tablets ChS I/1 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 belonged to the latter version, and ChS I/1 9 was the tenth and last tablet of said recension, as stated in the colophon.<sup>2</sup>

The discovery of a tablet at Ortaköy, whose colophon labels it as the eleventh tablet of the *itkalzi*, confirmed that a recension longer than the ten tablet edition actually existed.<sup>3</sup>

Upon re-examination of all the *itkalzi* tablets, striking is the division into two different groups:

1) some tablets explicitly mention Tuḫaliya II/Tašmi-Šarri and Tadu-Ḫeba as the ritual patrons; the incantations and also those portions of text describing the performed ritual actions and offerings are in Hurrian.

2) Other tablets contain long descriptive portions in Hittite, whereas only the incantations are in Hurrian. All the texts of this second group do not refer to Tuḫaliya II/Tašmi-Šarri and Tadu-Ḫeba, but to an anonymous ritual patron.<sup>4</sup>

2. The Recensions of the *itkalzi* Ritual

A cross-analysis of the best preserved tablets and colophons of the *itkalzi* supports the assumption that there were other recensions aside from the two editions recognized by V. Haas.<sup>5</sup>

Two aspects are common to all the colophons of this ritual: a) the lack of the name of the scribe who wrote the tablet; b) the sequence number of the tablet and the information whether or not the series is complete.<sup>6</sup> A part the two aforementioned elements, the preserved colophons of the *itkalzi* do not follow a standard pattern, but among them, however, a few differences can be recognized.

2.1) The 22 Tablet Recension: the Ritual performed for Tašmi-Šarri and Tadu-Ḫeba.

Since the 22 tablet recension is the longest, it is presumably the original and most complete edition of the *itkalzi*. If we acknowledge this assumption, the 22 tablet recension should be the Hurrian text that records the ritual performed for King Tašmi-Šarri and Queen Tadu-Ḫeba.

The 11<sup>th</sup> tablet, which was found at Ortaköy and, clearly, does not belong to the 10 tablet recension, supports this assumption, in that it is written in Hurrian and refers to the aforementioned king and queen as the ritual patrons.<sup>7</sup>

If we consider these two aspects as markers of the original 22 tablet recension, one might identify other tablets as belonging to the same recension, namely, the 3<sup>rd</sup> tablet (Or 90/1494 and its duplicates), ChS I/1 20, ChS I/1 6 and the 11<sup>th</sup> tablet, although the sequence of the tablets that is presented here remains hypothetical.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> HAAS 1984.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> See DE MARTINO, MURAT, SÜEL 2013.

<sup>4</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015, 15-17; DE MARTINO 2016.

<sup>5</sup> See HAAS 1984.

<sup>6</sup> See WAAL 2015, 525-528); the colophon of KUB 32 19 (ChS I/1 41), which W. Waal includes in her overview of the *itkalzi* colophons, in my opinion does not belong to this ritual, see also CAMPBELL 2016, 341 n. 17.

<sup>7</sup> See DE MARTINO, MURAT, SÜEL 2013.

<sup>8</sup> See DE MARTINO 2016.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Tablet<sup>9</sup>

Manuscripts	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
Or 90/1494 +	preserved	Ortaköy Bd. A	MS
ABoT 37 + = ChS I/1 19	not preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	MS
KBo 20 124 = ChS I/1 23	not preserved	Bog. Bk r/16	NS
KBo 14 136 = ChS I/1 21 + KBo 43 60 = ChS I/1 8 242	not preserved	Bog. Bk area of Bd. A	MS
KBo 27 102 = ChS I/1 25	not preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	MS

The colophon:

Or 90/1494

iv

28' DUB 3<sup>KAM</sup> Ú-UL QA-TI ŠA SISKUR.SISKUR  
it-kal-zi-ya-aš]

29' a-iš [š]u-up-pí-ya[-aḫ-ḫu-wa-aš A-NA <sup>PUTU</sup>ŠT  
-at-kán]

30' KAxU-az pa-ra-a [I-NA <sup>URU</sup>Zi-it-ḫa-ra]

31' I-N[A] BURU<sub>14</sub> a-<sub>1</sub>[ni-ya-u-en ]

The 3<sup>rd</sup> tablet, which is written in Hurrian, contains a long incantation aimed at purifying Tadu-Ḫeba's body. The Queen is explicitly mentioned as the ritual patron. King Tuḫaliya/Tašmi-Šarri's name does not occur in this tablet, but we cannot exclude that it might have been present in the lost portions of the text. The ritualist, who declaimed said incantations, spoke of Tadu-Ḫeba using the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular. The preserved portions of the third tablet contain only incantations, and there are no descriptions of any actions performed.<sup>10</sup>

Diagnostic signs recognizable in the manuscripts Or 90/1494 +, ChS I/1 19, ChS I/1 21 + and ChS I/1 25 show MH forms, whereas only ChS I/1 23 can be dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>11</sup> Hence, the latter clearly belongs to a more recent set of tablets.

There are very few differences that can be recognized among the five manuscripts:

a) Only the most recent manuscript, KBo 20 124 + (= ChS I/1 23) shows the name of Queen Tadu-Ḫeba, spelled as Dadu-Ḫeba.<sup>12</sup> The same spelling of this queen's name also occurs in the so-called Offering Lists,<sup>13</sup> whereas, to my knowledge, it is not found in any other text or fragment of the *itkal-zi* ritual. This might mean that the 13<sup>th</sup> century scribe who wrote the tablet ChS I/1 23 ignored that the Hurrian obstruent /T/ was voiceless in a word-initial position.

b) Text ABoT 37 +<sup>14</sup> documents the expression *za-ap-ku-u-šu*, whereas KBo 14 136 + I 7' has the form *za-ap-k]u-lu-u-ša* (*sapk=ol=o=š(še)=a*). The latter, presumably, is the right one (< a verbal root *sapk* + *ol* + the derivational suffix *šše* + the essive suffix); this passage is fragmentary and a full comprehension of this part of the text is unfortunately not possible,<sup>15</sup>

c) Manuscript ABoT 37 + diverges in another passage too; the verbal form *šeg=al=o=l=ae=ž* occurs in KBo 20 124 + I 14', whereas ABoT 37 + preserves the expression *šeg=al=o=l=ae=ž=anna*.<sup>16</sup> Said verbal expression does not appear with the enclitic pronoun *-anna* in any other analogous sentences of the text, where it usually occurs with two other verbs, namely, *kažl=o=ež/kažl=o=ae=ž*, *eg(i)=o=šš(e)=o=l=ež/eg(i)=o=šš(e)=o=l=ae=ž*.<sup>17</sup>

ChS I/1 20<sup>18</sup>

Manuscript	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
KUB 32 24 + KUB 23 40 (+) KBo 20 133 = ChS I/1 20	not preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	MS

The colophon of this fragmentary tablet written in Hurrian is not preserved; despite this, the discovery of the third tablet among the Hurrian texts found at Ortaköy supports the assumption that text ChS I/1 20 and the third tablet, as well, are part of the same recension of the *itkalzi* ritual. As a matter of fact, ChS I/1 20 contains an incantation aimed at purifying Tuḫaliya's body, which is almost identical to the one recorded in the third tablet. The same sentences and words occur in the incantations documented in both of the aforementioned texts. The third tablet and ChS I/1 20 can be considered twin texts, with the only difference that the third tablet refers to the queen, whereas ChS I/1 20 refers to the king.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015.

<sup>10</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, 9-12.

<sup>12</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015, 89.

<sup>13</sup> See CARRUBA 2008, 140.

<sup>14</sup> Text A1 I 9', DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015, 38.

<sup>15</sup> See DE MARTINO – SÜEL 2015, 38.

<sup>16</sup> Text A 1 + 2 I 41'/I 2', DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015, 44.

<sup>17</sup> See CAMPBELL 2015a, 192-193 for these verbal forms.

<sup>18</sup> See DE MARTINO 2016.

<sup>19</sup> See DE MARTINO 2016.

ChS I/1 6.<sup>20</sup>

Manuscript	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
KUB 32 25 + KBo 20 126 = ChS I/1 6	preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	MS

The colophon:

- iv  
 34' [DUB x<sup>KAM</sup> Ú-]UL QA-TI ŠA SISKUR.SISKUR  
 it-kal-zi-ya-aš  
 35' [a-iš šu-u]p-pí-ya-aḫ-ḫ[u-w]a-aš A-NA <sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>Šr</sup>  
 -at-kán  
 36' [KAXA-a]z pa-ra-a [I-N]A <sup>URU</sup>Zi-it-ḫa-ra I-[N]A  
 BURU<sub>14</sub>  
 37' [a-ni-ya-u]en nu-uš-ša-an ke-e-da-ni tup-pí-ya  
 ú<-i>-te-na-aš  
 38' [ḫé-u-]wa-aš-ša<sub>21</sub> ud-da-a-ar zi-in-na-an

ChS I/1 6, written in Hurrian, is the last tablet, where rainwater is used as the magic substance, as stated in the colophon.<sup>22</sup> The ritual patron is Queen Tadu-Ḫeba, whose name often occurs in this text. The mention of Tadu-Ḫeba as the ritual patron, the long incantations and the fact that the text is in Hurrian, with the only exception of the colophon, all support the assumption that this tablet might belong to the original 22 tablet recension of the *itkalzi*. The first column of ChS I/1 6 preserves an evocation of springs and rivers similar to the one documented in ChS I/1 5 and Or 90/1473.<sup>23</sup> Mountains and rivers also play a role in the incantations occurring in the second column of ChS I/1 6. Three passages (iii 17'-22', iv 13'-16', 31'-34') contain incantations similar to those documented in the 3<sup>rd</sup> tablet and devoted to the purification of the queen's body.

Since the rites performed using water end with text ChS I/1 6 and the eleventh tablet refers to the *tugalzi* ritual (see *ultra*), one can assume that ChS I/1 6 precedes the 11<sup>th</sup> tablet in the original set of the Hurrian recension of the *itkalzi*.

The wording and content of the colophon are the same in ChS I/1 6 and the third tablet, as well, but they are presumed to belong to two different sets of tablets, unless we suppose that they were part of the same set of tablets that would eventually end up in Ḫattuša and Šapinuwa.

The 11<sup>th</sup> Tablet<sup>24</sup>

Manuscript	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
Or 90/393 +	Preserved	Ortaköy Bd. A	MS

The colophon:

- iv  
 29 [ ] DUB 11<sup>KAM</sup> šu-up-pa-y[a-aš] it-kal-[-zi-ya-aš]  
 30 [ ] ú-i-te-na-aš Ú-[-UL QA-TI]  
 31 [ ] nu-uš-ša-an ke-e[-da-ni tup-pí-ya]  
 32 [ ] tu-u-ḫal-zi-iš A[  
 33 [nu-uš-]ša-an ú-[-Ú-UL

The 11<sup>th</sup> tablet, written in Hurrian<sup>25</sup>, documents the *tugalzi* ritual.<sup>26</sup> Said word refers to a purifying *materia magica* and to the rites performed using it, as well. Queen Tadu-Ḫeba is the ritual patron, but the name of her husband Tašmi-Šarri also occurs in this tablet. The purification of the queen's body seems to be the main topic of this text too.<sup>27</sup>

The colophon differs from the one documented in the two aforementioned documents, namely, the third tablet and ChS I/1 6; thus, Or 90/393 + might belong to a different set of tablets.

2.2) The Recension of the "Great *itkalzi* Ritual" for an Anonymous Ritual Patron:

The 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> (??) Tablet<sup>28</sup>

Manuscripts	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
Or 90/1473	Preserved	Ortaköy Bd. A	MS
ChS I/1 5	Preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	MS

The colophon:

- iv 33 [DU]B <sup>x</sup>(= 2, 3 ??)<sup>KAM</sup> Ú-UL QA-TI it-kal-  
 -zi-ya-aš GAL  
 iv 34 [A-NA] <sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>Šr</sup>-ya-at-kán KAXU-az <sup>URU</sup>Zi-it-  
 -ḫa-ra/Zitparḫa<sup>29</sup>  
 iv 35 [I-NA BU]RU<sub>14</sub> pa-ra-a a-ni-ya-u-en nu-uš-  
 -ša-an  
 iv 36 [ke-e-da-ni t]up-pí-ya ú-i-te-na-aš ud-da-ar  
 iv 37 [Ú-UL z]i-in-na-an

The Šapinuwa tablet Or 90/1473 and its duplicate ChS I/1 5 are labelled as belonging to the "Great *itkalzi* (Ritual)". The expression "... tablet, not finished, of the «Great *itkalzi* (Ritual)»" occurs only in the colophons of the two aforementioned texts. V. Haas (1984) gave a different reading of the first line of the colophon of ChS I/1 5: [DUB 2.KAM Ú-UL Q]A-TI it-kal-zi-ya-aš-ma-aš and translated this passage as: "[Die 2. Tafel. Nicht be]endet (ist die Serie) des (Rituals) itkalzi". However, I share W. Waal's assumption (2015, 526) that the last visible sign on

<sup>20</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2017.

<sup>21</sup> So HAAS 2003, 145 and. 15. Rain water is a magic substance mentioned also in the Allaiturahḫi ritual (see HAAS 2003, 145).

<sup>22</sup> See HAAS 2003, 145.

<sup>23</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2017.

<sup>24</sup> See DE MARTINO, MURAT, SÜEL 2013.

<sup>25</sup> Only a short fragmentary passage is in Hittite (see ii 8).

<sup>26</sup> See DE MARTINO, MURAT, SÜEL 2013.

<sup>27</sup> See DE MARTINO, MURAT, SÜEL 2013.

<sup>28</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Or 90/1473 iv 30': Zithara; ChS I/1 5 (= KBo 23 6 + FHG 20 = A 7 iv 9' + A 12 iv 2'): <sup>URU</sup>Zi-it-pár-ḫa.

this line should be read as the logogram GAL. The colophon is fragmentary and the sequence number of the tablet is also partially damaged; it might be read as either “2” or “3”.<sup>30</sup>

Or 90/1473 and ChS I/1 5 are part of a “fill in the blanks” ritual, which could be performed for any ritual patron. The described rites are related to the pure water of the *itkalzi* of some deities. The tablet contains descriptive portions written in Hittite and recitations in Hurrian.<sup>31</sup> A large Hurrian portion of this text (i 43-67) preserves an evocation of springs and rivers. Another long passage written in Hurrian contains an incantation aimed to summon all the gods, called to purify the ritual water (iii 31 – iv 17). The label “Great *itkalzi*” might refer to the fact that said recension was more detailed than the other shortened recensions, which had been adapted for an anonymous ritual patron.<sup>32</sup>

Both manuscripts (Or 90/1473 and ChS I/1 5) date to the 14<sup>th</sup> century; only one discrepancy can be found in comparing them: the colophon of Or 90/1473 mentions the town Zithara, whereas the place name Zitparḫa is preserved in ChS I/1 5. Zitparḫa might be a variant of Zidaparḫa, a town mentioned in two passages of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I.<sup>33</sup> However, since the former name Zithara occurs in many other colophons of the *itkalzi*, Zitparḫa might be a mistake, due to the fact that the scribe, writing down from dictation, misunderstood the right place name.<sup>34</sup>

### 2.3) The Ten Tablet Recension for Either a Male or a Female Anonymous Ritual Patron.

#### The Tenth and Last Tablet

Manuscript	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
KUB 29 8 = ChS I/1 9 + KBo 33 43 + KBo 33 113 = ChS I/8 264	preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	MS

The colophon:

iv

36 DUB 10<sup>KAM</sup> QA-TI ŠA SISKUR.SISKUR *it-kal-zi-aš*

37 a-iš šu-up-pí-ya-aḫ-ḫu-wa-aš

38 A-NA <sup>URU</sup>UTU<sup>ŠT</sup>-ya-at-kán I-NA <sup>URU</sup>Zi-it-ḫa-ra

39 I-NA BURU<sub>14</sub> KAXU-az pa-ra-a a-ni-ya-u-en

ChS I/1 9 is a long, well preserved tablet written in Hittite and Hurrian.<sup>35</sup> It contains a ritual for an anonymous ritual patron. The expression “he/she pronounces the name of the ritual patron in a loud voice” occurs in three passages (iv 10, 18, 23), when the ritualist recites an incantation.

Said tablet has a one distinctive and unusual feature in that it differs from all the other *itkalzi* texts; in fact, only this text provides the option to have either a man or a woman as the ritual patron (i 3, 6; 50, 51; ii 8,9; see also i 31, 59). As J. Miller<sup>36</sup> also observed,

ChS I/1 9 is “one of the most blatantly prescriptive texts”; in fact, every rite can be performed for either a man or a woman and adapted according to the gender of the ritual patron.

The rites described in the tenth and last tablet of this recension of the *itkalzi* start when the ritualist finishes reciting in Hurrian the words of the vessels of the *warši*. The meaning of this word is, unfortunately, unknown.<sup>37</sup>

The rites mentioned in the first column are performed near the fireplaces of some deities. Said fireplaces are aligned along, respectively, the right and the left side of the building hosting the ritualist, the patron and the whole ceremony. The right side is for the male deities and a male ritual patron, whereas the left side is for female deities and for a female ritual patron.<sup>38</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> column describes also the rite of beating, or striking the *kupti*-object; the word *kupti* might be of Hurrian origin<sup>39</sup> and could refer either to a part of the fireplace or an accessory of same.<sup>40</sup> The *kupti*-object occurs in Kizzuwatnean rituals and plays a significant role in the Ammiḫatna ritual.<sup>41</sup>

The presence of the *kupti*-rite in both rituals, namely ChS I/9 and the Ammiḫatna text, led R. Strauss<sup>42</sup> to assume that the former ritual might have derived from the latter one. Since the colophon of ChS I/1 9 labels this text as part of the *itkalzi* and the Hurrian portions of it recall passages of said ritual, we can safely assume that the composition to which it belongs indeed derived from the *itkalzi* ritual and not from the Ammiḫatna ritual. Despite this, we can assume that both of these texts “derived from the common

<sup>30</sup> DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2017.

<sup>31</sup> Obv. i 1-42 in Hittite; i 43-67 in Hurrian; ii 1-67: in Hurrian; Rev. iii 1-60: in Hurrian; iv 1-22: in Hurrian; iv 23-24: in Hittite; iv 24-27: in Hurrian; iv 28-32: in Hittite; iv 33-37: colophon, in Hittite.

<sup>32</sup> DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2017.

<sup>33</sup> See DEL MONTE 1993, 116, 139; 2008, 133, 159.

<sup>34</sup> See HAAS 1984, 65.

<sup>35</sup> Obv. i 1-60: in Hittite; i 1-28: in Hittite; ii 29-31: in Hurrian; ii 32-33: in Hittite; ii 34-52: in Hurrian; ii 53-59: in Hittite; ii 60-61 (very damaged): in Hurrian; rev. iii 4-55: in Hurrian; iii 56-58: in Hittite; iii 59-6: in Hurrian; iv 1-28: in Hurrian; iv 29: in Hittite; iv 30-35: in Hurrian; iv 36-39: colophon in Hittite.

<sup>36</sup> MILLER 2004, 504.

<sup>37</sup> See HAAS 2003, 780.

<sup>38</sup> See HAAS 2010, 166-167; A. ARCHI (2013, 9-10), commenting on this passage, argued that a division of the deities by gender seems to be innovation introduced by western Syrian Hurrians.

<sup>39</sup> See PUHVEL 1997, 259-260; RICHTER 2012, 226.

<sup>40</sup> See STRAUSS 2006, 91-92.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, 79-92; MURAT 2008.

<sup>42</sup> STRAUSS 2006, 187.



ritual tradition of Hurrian-North Syrian origin”, as P. Taracha argued.<sup>43</sup>

When the *kupti*-rite ends, a billy-goat, a goat and a calf are released as “scape-goats” in order to cast off the evil.<sup>44</sup> The following part of the text (i 48-60) describes more ritual actions performed near the fire-places. This portion of the ritual distinguishes between a male ritual patron and a female one: the male ritual patron takes place on the throne of Tešob, whereas a female ritual patron sits on the footstool of Hebat. Ritual actions, which differ according to the gender of the ritual patron, are even mentioned in the ll. ii 6-11. The ritualist waves an eagle and other birds over the ritual patron, and then, if the latter is a man, he shoots an arrow, whereas a female ritual patron only puts her hand on the bow and the ritualist shoots the arrow.

The ritualist pours the water of purity onto the ritual patron and recites in Hurrian: “The water of purity shall purify you, that is, your body! Furthermore, the waters of Hebat shall purify you, namely, your body (ii 29-31)”.<sup>45</sup>

Later on, the ritualist pronounces “(the words) of the water of Hebat” in the same way, but the text does not preserve said incantation (ii 32). It might have been omitted because it was very similar to the previous one, however, if this is the case, we cannot understand why the words of the water of Šaušga and Nabarbi occur in the following paragraph (ii 33-35), repeating exactly the same invocation as the one already mentioned in the ll. 29-31: “Furthermore, the waters of Šaušga and Nabarbi shall purify you, namely, your body”.<sup>46</sup>

After a long recitation in Hurrian that is preserved on the first lines of the third column, silver becomes the employed purifying substance and its cathartic power is invoked.<sup>47</sup> The text explicitly says that the name of the ritual patron is pronounced, but no name is specified here, and this shows that the ritual was not performed for one specific ritual patron, but possibly for any patient. The invocation recited stresses the analogy between the natural purity of silver and the purification of the ritual patron: “as silver is pure/clear (and) strong ..... so/now you, the ritual patron” (*inume ušhuni šeg=al=a kažl=a ..... henni=mma ašh=ož=i=kk=onni* iv 8-10).

Passages of the 22 tablet recension of the *itkalzi* might have been learnt and memorized by the ritual expert or scribe to whom the text of the reduced recension can be attributed. Said ritual expert or scribe might have freely inserted them into parts of the newly adapted versions of the ritual, in spite of the context in which the quoted passages occurred in the original edition of the *itkalzi*.

This is the case, for example, of a passage preserved in ChS I/1 9 iv 23-26. When the name of the ritual patron is pronounced, an invocation in Hurrian is recited: *paži irdi karži hapsuri paği idi*

*šummi šeg=al=o=l=ež en(i)=n(a)=až ab(i)=da* “may the mouth, the tongue, the lip, the spittle, the head, the whole body become pure/clear, before the gods”. Said sentence echoes the aforementioned incantation that occurs in the third tablet and aims at purifying Tadu-Heba’s body. Despite this, there are significant differences between the incantation documented in ChS I/1 9 and that preserved in the third tablet. First of all, the latter text, which is much longer, always specifies that the listed body parts are those of Queen Tadu-Heba and the order in which said body parts are mentioned is not the same as the one we find in ChS I/1 9 iv 24-26. Hence, the ritual practitioner or scribe just might have recalled –perhaps not perfectly– a passage from the third tablet, and “used” it to prepare his version of the ritual.

An invocation, which is documented in two passages of text ChS I/1 9 (ii 29-31, 34-35<sup>48</sup>), also occurs in a passage of ChS I/1 10<sup>49</sup>. This text preserves a ritual for an anonymous ritual patron, which shows similarities with the *itkalzi*. The verbal expression *itk=id=anni=m(ma)*, a desiderative form in the plural<sup>50</sup>, occurs in the aforementioned invocations documented from ChS I/1 9 (ii 29-31, 34-35), whereas in ChS I/1 10 (i 46’-54’) it appears wrongly written as *it-ka-an-ni-nim-ma* (i 46’) and *it-ga-an-nim* (i 53’). In both cases the plural marker *-id-* is omitted, although the agent is in the plural (*šie=n(a)=až=ož*). The two aforementioned Hurrian verbal forms, namely *it-ka-an-ni-nim-ma* and *it-ga-an-nim*, might be explained as “simply the result of a scribe with a poor grasp of the language”, as D. Campbell<sup>51</sup> argued. This example supports the assumption that the recensions of the *itkalzi* that derived from the Hurrian original one might have been written by scribes, who did not have a perfect knowledge of the Hurrian language.

#### 2.4) The Recension Reduced from the 22 Tablet Edition.

Three tablets might be considered as belonging to said recension according to their colophons, namely, ChS I/1 7, 8 and KBo 53 226.

<sup>43</sup> See TARACHA 2011, 281.

<sup>44</sup> See MOUTON 2014.

<sup>45</sup> See CAMPBELL 2015a, 213.

<sup>46</sup> See CAMPBELL 2015a, 213.

<sup>47</sup> See HAAS 2003, 214-215.

<sup>48</sup> See HAAS, WEGNER 2010.

<sup>49</sup> KUB 32 51 + KBo 27 92 (+) KBo 21 24 (+) KBo 20 142 (+) KBo 27 177 (= ChS I/8 265); this text shows a MH script.

<sup>50</sup> See GIORGIERI 2000, 227; CAMPBELL 2015a, 214-215; 260-261.

<sup>51</sup> CAMPBELL 2015a, 214-215.

ChS I/1 7 = the 4<sup>th</sup> Tablet

Manuscript	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
KBo 21 43 = ChS I/1 7	Preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	MS

The colophon:

- iv  
 1' DUB <sub>4</sub> <sup>KIAM</sup> [ ŠA SISKUR.SIS]K[UR it-kal-zi-ya-aš]  
 2' A-NA <sup>DUTU</sup>ŠL-ya-at-kán KAxU-az [ ]  
 3' I-NA <sup>URU</sup>Zi-it-ḥa-ra I-N[A BURU<sub>14</sub> pa-ra-a]  
 4' a-ni-ya-u-en Ū-UL QA-TI  
 5' DUB 22.KAM ku-it <sup>URU</sup>Ša[-pí-nu-wa-az ú-te-er]  
 6' na-aš-ta ke-e TUP-PA<sup>III</sup>[<sup>A</sup>a-pí-z-za ar-ḥa]  
 7' ḥa-an-te-u-ra-u[-en]

ChS I/1 7 is a very badly damaged tablet that preserves only nine lines (in Hurrian) on the first column and the colophon (in Hittite) at the end of the fourth column.

## ChS I/1 8

Manuscript	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
KBo 21 97 (+) 91 + KBo 21 44 = ChS I/1 8	preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	NS

The colophon:

- iv  
 7' [DUB]<sub>x</sub> <sup>KAM</sup> Ū-UL QA-TI ŠA SISKUR.SISKUR it<-kal>-zi-y[a-aš]  
 8' [A-NA] <sup>DUTU</sup>ŠL-ya-at-kán KAxU-az <sup>URU</sup>Zi-i[t-ḥa-ra]  
 9' [I-N]A BURU<sub>14</sub> pa-ra-a a-ni-ya-u-en nu-uš-ša-an [ke-e-da-ni]  
 10' [tu-]p-pí-ya <sup>GIŠ\*</sup>ERIN\* <sup>GIŠ</sup>pa-a-i-in-na-aš-ša  
 11' [me-]mi-ya-nu-uš zi-in<-na>-an-te-eš  
 (one line blank)  
 12' [D]UB 22.KAM ku-it <sup>URU</sup>Ša-pí-nu-wa-az ú-te-e-e[r]  
 13' [n]a-aš-ta ke-e \*TUP-PA<sup>III.A-TIM\*</sup> a-pí-iz-za  
 14' [ar-]ḥa ḥa-an-te-u-ra-u-en

Only part of the third column (in Hurrian) and the colophon on the fourth column are preserved in ChS I/1 8. V. Haas<sup>52</sup> argued that the sign, which is almost totally damaged at the beginning of l. 7', might be read as "5" and his opinion is shared by W. Waal.<sup>53</sup> There are visible traces only of the head of a vertical wedge. Hence, it is not certain whether the sequence number is indeed "5". Cedar and tamarisk are the magic substances mentioned in this colophon.

## KBo 53 226

Manuscript	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
KBo 53 226	Preserved	Bog. Area of Temple 1, L/19 Grabungsschutt	NS (??)

The colophon is the only portion of the text that is preserved:

- 1' SÍSKUR it-]kal-]z[i-ya-aš  
 2' A-WA-AT KÙ.G]I ŠA x[  
 3' A-]NA <sup>DUTU</sup>ŠL  
 4' I-N]A <sup>URU</sup>Zi-i[t-ḥa-ra  
 5' ] DUB 22.KA[M  
 6' ] ú-t[e-er  
 7' ] x [

ChS I/1 7 and 8 belong to the same recension of the *itkalzi*, but manuscript ChS I/1 7 can be dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, whereas ChS I/1 8 dates to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Hence, they are part of two different sets of tablets. The two aforementioned texts are very fragmentary and we are unable to understand whether ChS I/1 7 and 8 belong either to a Hurrian reduced recension of the original ritual to be performed for Tašmi-Šarri and Tadu-Ḥeba, or to a Hurro-Hittite recension of the "fill in the blanks" ritual<sup>54</sup>. The Hurrian word *ašḥ=ož=i=kk=onni* "ritual patron" appears in ChS I/1 8 iii 9', but in a fragmentary context, and the restoration of the name of Tadu-Ḥeba in the gap after said word, which was proposed by V. Haas,<sup>55</sup> remains hypothetical.

2.5) To sum up, I am of the opinion that different types of colophons did, indeed, correspond to different recensions of the *itkalzi* ritual. The "22 Tablet Recension" might record the ritual performed for Tuthaliya II and Tadu-Ḥeba, and four tablets could be attributed to said series. The "Ten Tablet Recension" is documented in ChS I/1 9, which is the last tablet of this series. As was mentioned above, since said text has one distinctive feature, it makes me think that it may be part of a different version of the *itkalzi*. The "Great *itkalzi* Recension" is presumably another composition reduced from the original one and adapted for an anonymous ritual patron. In my opinion, the label "Great *itkalzi*" might even refer to a recension that, although derived from the complete edition of the ritual, might have been a more detailed version compared to the "Ten Tablet Recension".<sup>56</sup>

As was already said, Or 90/1473 and ChS I/1 5 are two manuscripts of the "Great *itkalzi* Recension"; in these texts there are portions that derive from similar passages documented in ChS I/1 6, which might have been part of the original 22 tablet edition. This is true of the long invocation of springs and rivers, which is

<sup>52</sup> HAAS 1984, 84.

<sup>53</sup> WAAL 2015, 526.

<sup>54</sup> See DE MARTINO 2016.

<sup>55</sup> HAAS 1984, 82.

<sup>56</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2017.

documented in the 1<sup>st</sup> column of ChS I/1 6 and in the 1<sup>st</sup> column of text Or 90/1473 = ChS I/1 5.<sup>57</sup>

As to the comparison between the original *itkalzi* composition and the derived ones, I hereby quote an example, which is significant in my opinion. The mountain Lebanon (*Lablahhi*) occurs in ChS I/1 6 ii 1-4,<sup>58</sup> whereas said mountain name is wrongly spelled as *Lahlahhi* in ChS I/1 5 ii 23-25. As D. Campbell<sup>59</sup> argued, “proper nouns represent a class of word forms that ... have less canonical spelling, as they are not emphasised during scribal training”. Hence, mistakes occurring in this place name, as well as in the case of Zithara and Zitparha (see § 2.2), might be a consequence of the fact that the scribe either wrote from dictation, or else inaccurately recalled texts he had learnt.

### 3) *Who, Where, Why?*

As is well known, starting with King Tutḫaliya I, the Hittite court shew a great interest in Hurrian culture. King Arnuwanda I encouraged the diffusion of Hurrian texts among the court circles, and the Hurrian tradition was given great prominence at the time of his follower, Tutḫaliya II.<sup>60</sup>

King Tutḫaliya II/ Tašmi-Šarri and Queen Taduḫeba are the ritual patrons in the tablets belonging to the Hurrian recension. This supports the assumption that said royal couple requested the Hurrian *itkalzi* purification ritual be performed for them for the first time.

It is generally assumed that the *itkalzi* might have derived from the Kizzuwatnean ritual tradition.<sup>61</sup> A passage in a tablet catalogue (KUB 30 47 + KBo 31 25 i 7’)<sup>62</sup> mentions the word *itkalzi*. Said passage is fragmentary and we cannot say in which context it occurred, but the other entries in this catalogue refer to personages, deities and place names all related to Kizzuwatna, such as, King Pilliya of Kizzuwatna (i 12’-13’), Šaušga of the Mount Amanus (i 5’), the Weather God of Kummani (i 13’) and the ritualist Ammiḫatna (i 8’).

The springs and rivers mentioned in the evocation preserved in ChS I/1 6 and in the reduced recension documented in Or 90/1473 and ChS I/1 5<sup>63</sup> refer to a wide geographical area, which comprehends the Tur-‘Abdin region, the more southern region of the Lower Zab and the north-western territories of Syria. Said area corresponds to the whole extension of the Mittanian Kingdom; hence, the aforementioned evocation of springs and rivers presumably goes back to a literary and/or religious Mittanian tradition, which might have been known at the court of Kizzuwatna.

The possible scenario whereby Kizzuwatnean rituals reached the Hittite court has already been the subject of several in-depth analyses. J. Miller<sup>64</sup> offered a comprehensive reconstruction of the processes

of how the rituals of Kizzuwatnean tradition were first recorded at Ḫattuša; he assumed that the textual material, originally kept in the archives of Kummani, was used as the basis for ritual performances. Ritual experts might also have orally transmitted ritual repertoires that had no previous written tradition. The role played by the oral transmission of memorized literary and cult compositions, which P. Delnero<sup>65</sup> assumed for some Sumerian texts, has also recently been argued with regard to Hittite documentation.<sup>66</sup>

An oral transmission of, at least, part of the Kizzuwatnean ritual tradition might explain the fact that no original cuneiform tablet by Kizzuwatnean scribes was found in Ḫattuša.<sup>67</sup> Anyway, Hittite scribes occasionally referred to tablets from Kizzuwatna, such as, KBo 21 37 + demonstrates.<sup>68</sup> In a passage of said text, which records a ritual performed in Šapinuwa, it is stated that the offerings prescribed in an *ancient tablet of Kizzuwatna* (*ŠA*<sup>URU</sup>Kizzuwatna *annalli tuppi*) were considered unsuitable (rev. 25).

The composition of the *itkalzi* ritual is not attributed to any particular expert, such as Maštigga, Ammiḫatna, Allaituraḫhi, Giziya, etc. In the preserved colophons there is no mention of the name of a ritualist to whom the “authorship” of the *itkalzi* may be attributed; hence, one might argue that the rites, offerings and incantations -not yet systematically part of one single ritual- were put together for the first performance of the *itkalzi*.<sup>69</sup>

As was already said, the colophons of the *itkalzi* tablets document the following sentence: *ANA*<sup>DUTU</sup>-*šl*=*ya=at=kán* *KAXU*-*az*<sup>URU</sup>*Zithara* *I-NA* *BAR*<sub>8</sub> *parā aniyauen*. The interpretation of the expression *parā aniyauen* has been an object of debate; in my opinion, it refers to the first performance of the ritual that occurred in Zithara.<sup>70</sup> I argue that the ritual was also written down on that occasion. Reference was also made to the first performance of the ritual in the colophons of the reduced recension tablets. This, in my opinion, had the purpose of “certifying”

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>58</sup> See HAAS 1979, 339.

<sup>59</sup> CAMPBELL 2015b, 82.

<sup>60</sup> See CAMPBELL 2016; DE MARTINO 2017.

<sup>61</sup> See STRAUSS 2006, 149-188.

<sup>62</sup> See DARDANO 2006, 233-235.

<sup>63</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2017.

<sup>64</sup> MILLER 2004, 469-532.

<sup>65</sup> DELNERO 2012.

<sup>66</sup> See CAMPBELL 2015b; MARCUSON, VAN DEN HOUT 2015.

<sup>67</sup> See the literature quoted by DE MARTINO 2017, 154 and n. 12 concerning KUB 47 41.

<sup>68</sup> See TRÉMOUILLE 2002, 841-856; MILLER 2004, 515-516.

<sup>69</sup> Concerning the question how Hittite rituals were composed, see MILLER 2004; CHRISTIANSEN 2006; GÖRKE 2010; TARACHA 2011; MARCUSON, VAN DEN HOUT 2015; CAMPBELL 2015b.

<sup>70</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015, 32-34; 2017.

that they did, in fact, derive from the original edition of the *itkalzi*.

As J. Miller<sup>71</sup> and D. Campbell<sup>72</sup> correctly argued, the expression KAxU=*az/iššaz* “from the mouth/ by dictation” cannot always be taken literally; in fact, to give an example in the case of the *itkalzi*, how can we assume that it was the king who dictated a composition to be written on 22 tablets? Said expression, instead, refers to the order given by the sovereign, who might have asked his experts to collect both the oral and written evidence that eventually was at the basis for the 22 tablet recension.

The long Hurrian incantations such as those preserved in the 3<sup>rd</sup> tablet, in ChS I/1 20 and 6 are like doggerels, whereby certain words and sentences are repeated several times. The repetition of either same or similar sentences made learning them by heart much easier; said observation corroborates the assumption that at least some portions of the ritual might have derived from an oral tradition.

The purpose for which the *itkalzi* was performed for the first time is not yet surely known, but several clues suggest that it might have been related to the wedding of King Tuthaliya II and Tadu-Ḫeba.<sup>73</sup> D. Campbell<sup>74</sup> recently proposed that the ritual might have been performed in order to increase the fertility of the royal couple. As is known, Tuthaliya II had two wives, namely, Šadandu-Ḫeba and Tadu-Ḫeba; the latter presumably was the mother of Ḫenti, who married Šuppiluliuma I, whereas the former either died or was abandoned and her name was condemned to a kind of *damnatio memoriae*.<sup>75</sup> I had assumed that Šadandu-Ḫeba might have been the mother of Tuthaliya TUR;<sup>76</sup> Šuppiluliuma’s *coup d’état* and the assassination of Tuthaliya TUR might, in my opinion, have been the cause of the Šadandu-Ḫeba oblivion. Despite this, we cannot exclude that Tuthaliya TUR might have been one of the sons of the royal couple Tuthaliya II – Tadu-Ḫeba, born after Ḫenti, as P. Taracha argued.<sup>77</sup>

Accepting Taracha’s hypothesis, Šadandu-Ḫeba might have been unable to have any offspring and for this reason she was possibly repudiated by her husband. Hence, when the king married his second wife, Tadu-Ḫeba, the *itkalzi* might have been performed to give assurance that the royal couple would generate offspring. The *itkalzi* ritual indeed succeeded: Ḫenti was born and, presumably, other children after her.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, said ritual might have gained popularity to some extent.

The success of the performance of the *itkalzi* might explain the reason why it was also changed into a “fill in the blanks” ritual and transformed into a more simply ceremony, easier to perform, as documented in the reduced recensions. However, the purpose of the reduced recensions of the *itkalzi* cannot be determined. They might be prescriptive texts in preparation for the performance of the ritual upon request of a

patron other than the royal couple, but they could also be the result of a scholarly interest in an “exotic” composition such as this one.<sup>79</sup>

As I have tried to demonstrate, there were at least three different recensions of the *itkalzi* but, as already stated, also a fourth one -preserved in texts ChS I/1 7 and 8- might have existed. The “22 Tablet Recension” has arrived to us in at least five sets of tablets.<sup>80</sup> All in all, the tablets belonging to said recension might have been, at least, 110. The “Great *itkalzi* Recension” is preserved in texts found in Ḫattuša and Šapinuwa; hence, they presumably belonged to two different sets of tablets. The ten tablet version is documented by ChS I/1 9, the last tablet of this series.

In consideration of the preserved and identified three/four recensions and the chronologically different sets of tablets, one might assume that about 140 or 150 tablets labelled as *itkalzi* might have been produced between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The archives of Šapinuwa preserve several fragments that belong to the *itkalzi* ritual; the attribution of any small fragment to one particular recension of the *itkalzi* is, indeed, a hard task, especially when very few lines are preserved; in fact, very similar sentences occur in different tablets and portions of the ritual.

Despite the fact that there are many fragments yet to be studied, the texts of the *itkalzi* handed down to us are fewer than we had expected, especially if 140 or 150 tablets were actually produced. Moreover, none of the recensions are complete; hence, I wonder whether some parts of the ritual might have, indeed, been preserved up until the collapse of the Hittite kingdom, whereas other tablets might have been discarded already during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The selection of the tablets to be preserved and also copied might have been carried out according to the interest in certain Hurrian incantations and recitatives still in circulation at the time of Ḫattušili II and Pudu-Ḫeba, although the *itkalzi* ritual, presumably, was no longer known in its complete original form at that time.

<sup>71</sup> MILLER 2004, 476 and n. 797.

<sup>72</sup> CAMPBELL 2015b, 69.

<sup>73</sup> See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015.

<sup>74</sup> CAMPBELL 2016 n. 22.

<sup>75</sup> See TARACHA 2016.

<sup>76</sup> See DE MARTINO 2010, 96.

<sup>77</sup> TARACHA 2016.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem* 2016.

<sup>79</sup> Concerning the scholarly purpose for copying and writing ritual texts see CHRISTIANSEN 2006, 29-30; MARCUSON, VAN DEN HOUT 2016.

<sup>80</sup> The third tablet is documented by five different manuscripts.

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