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UNRAVELLING THE KIZZUWATNA RITUALS: THE REDACTIONAL HISTORY OF MASTIGGA'S RITUAL FOR DOMESTIC QUARREL

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Introduction

Among the ritual practitioners designated with the Sumerogram ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI, 'old woman', in the Hittite texts, it is perhaps Mastigga, along with Tunnawiya,¹ to whom the scribes of Hattusa attributed the greatest number of compositions, and their rituals are also among the best known to modern scholars.²

To Mastigga of Kizzuwatna or Kummanni were attributed at least 4 compositions (see Table 1): (1) The best known of the group, commonly called Mastigga's Ritual for Domestic Quarrel, is a single-tablet ritual preserved in at least 12 MH and NH

¹ To Tunnawiya were ascribed at least five compositions. i.e.: (1) A one-tablet ritual of uncleanness and the river (CTH 409; Goetze. *Tunnawi*); (2) Tablets 1, 2 and 4 of a ritual of unknown length for taking the king and queen out of the earth (CTH 448.3 and 760.I.1; Taracha. *AoF* 12 (1985) 278ff.; idem.. *Hethitica* 10:171ff.; Hutter. *Behexung*); (3) One tablet from a ritual of unknown length for when a woman gives birth. in which [Tunn]awiya functions as a ^{MUNUS}ŠĀ.ZU rather than a ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI (CTH 478; Beckman. *StBoT* 29:32ff.); (4) A ritual of the ox. of unknown length. only the second and fifth tablets of which have been recognised (CTH 760.I; Beckman. *OrNS* 59:34ff.); (5) The first tablet of a ritual for invoking the dead. known only from a catalogue entry in which it is further noted that the scribes could not find the last tablet of the series (KUB 30.59 i 5'-7'; CTH 276.3). See Starke. *StBoT* 30:135ff. for clarification regarding the attribution of the CTH 760 texts.

² Treatments of Mastigga's compositions and of CTH 481, the ill-designated *Umsiedelung der schwarzen Gottheit*, form the primary basis of my doctoral dissertation, tentatively entitled 'Studies in the Origin, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatnean Ritual Texts', which I am preparing under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Gernot Wilhelm. in Würzburg. (See now *StBoT* 46.) It should be noted that CTH 481 is neither an *Umsiedelung* nor for a *schwarzen Gottheit*, as has been current since Kronasser. H. 1963. *Die Umsiedelung der schwarzen Gottheit. Das hethitische Ritual KUB XXIX 4 (des Ulippi)*. (SÖAW 241, 3). Wien. As the composition lists the paraphernalia and prescribes the rituals for an expansion, not a relocation, of the cult of the Deity of the Night (i.e. a Kizzuwatnean deity closely related to Ištar), not a black/dark deity, a more appropriate title would be 'The Expansion of the Cult of the Goddess of the Night'.

mss. that yield quite nearly 100% of the original text.³ Its colophon reads, with slight variations, 'If a father and son or a husband and his wife or a brother and sister quarrel, when I reconcile them, I treat them together, and I treat them as such.' A further large MH fragment might be grouped with this composition, although it shows significant variation.⁴ (2) A second composition was originally recorded on two tablets, but is only fragmentarily preserved in at least 3 NH mss.⁵ Its colophon reads, 'When someone commits bloodshed, I treat him/her thus.' (3) The third composition was a one-tablet text, extant in only one apparently early NH fragment⁶ preserving only the prologue, a few lines of the inventory list and the colophon, which designates the ritual, 'When a man strikes his fellow on the head, I do the following.' (4) Finally, Mastigga is attributed with a *taknaz da-* ritual, which can be further divided into a composition of more than one tablet, rather poorly preserved in at least 3 fragmentary NH mss.,⁷ entitled simply, 'When I take a woman or a man out of the earth'. Alongside this composition is a small MH fragment⁸ apparently recording a *taknaz da-* ritual for the event that a father and son or a husband and his wife or a brother and sister quarrel, which of course recalls the well-known ritual for domestic quarrel.

Mastigga's ritual for domestic quarrel, i.e. the first of the four compositions just mentioned, exists in some 11 versions for two ritual patrons and 2 versions for a single ritual patron. This has been known at least since 1957, with the publication of KBo 9.⁹

³ Edited by Rost, L. Ein hethitisches Ritual gegen Familienzwist. MIO 1 (1953) 345-379. Since Rost's treatment, 5 fragments have been joined to her Text A (now KBo 39.8. with 486/b, 730/b, 736/b, 1744/c and 1994/c), while 6 fragments constituting 3 further MH duplicates have been found or identified (KBo 44.17; KBo 44.18; KBo 39.10). Two fragments have been joined to her Text B (i.e. KBo 2.3, now with Bo 1530 and 709/t), while 3 fragments unknown to her have been joined to her Text C (i.e. KUB 12.34+ -, now with 20.r, KBo 12.105 and IBoT 4.12), as has one fragment known to her (IBoT 2.110). One fragment known to her has been joined with one unknown to her (VBoT 18-288/v), and 13 other fragments unknown to her represent at least 4 further NH mss.: VS (NF) 12.59, 896/z(+)-Bo 68/11-KBo 42.15; KUB 58.98, KBo 44.19, Bo 3267; Bo 69/1262; and KBo 9.106(+)-KBo 8.75+KBo 42.87.

⁴ KBo 24.1+KUB 32.113-KBo 8.76.

⁵ KUB 17.26, 2083/g; KUB 17.25, KBo 43.319; Bo 3485, KBo 12.107.

⁶ KBo 22.109.

⁷ KUB 58.79; KUB 55.67; Bo 7230, 749/z.

⁸ KBo 39.9.

⁹ The earliest reference I have found to this fact is the Inhaltsübersicht of KBo 9, sub No. 106. KBo 9.106 is comprised of /m, /n and /o fragments, excavated in 1954, 1955 and 1956.

Table 1: The Compositions Attributed to Mastigga

	Composition 1	Composition 2	Composition 3	Composition 4
'Title'	Ritual for Domestic Quarrel	Ritual for , Bloodshed	When a man strikes his fellow on the head	When I take a woman or a man out of the earth <i>taknaz</i> <i>da-</i> in the case of Domestic Quarrel
Length	1 tablet	2 tablets	1 tablet	1 -x tablets ?
Mss.	12+ MH & NH; <i>ca.</i> 11 mss. for two ritual patrons, 2 for a single patron	3 NH	1 early NH	3 NH 1 MH

The Derivation of the Mss. for Two Patrons from a Text for a Single Patron

Among the more interesting results of my recent work with the Mastigga corpus is the revelation that apparently all the versions for two ritual patrons are dependent upon a ms. or mss. for a single ritual patron. In other words, a ms. for a single patron existed before any version for two patrons did, and the versions for two ritual patrons were derived from it. Significantly, the evidence which leads to this conclusion is to be found in several mss. representing all chronological stages and redactional branches of the composition, and thus, that this derivation had already taken place by the earliest stage of the existence of the Mastigga corpus in the archives of Hattusa, i.e. the middle of the MH period.

Four passages in several different mss. provide clear testimony that the mss. for two ritual patrons are derived from a ms. for a single patron. The first indication is found in KBo 43.7 i 5 and in KUB 12.34++ i 8, both rituals for two patrons, the former a MH ms., the latter a NH ms. KUB 12.34++ i 7-10 reads:

⁽⁷⁾ ... *nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i KA×U-it*

⁽⁸⁾ *EME-it ku-it me-mi-iš-ke-eš*

⁽⁹⁾ *ki-nu-na ka-a-ša ti-iš-ša-at-wa [nu-wa-aš-ma-aš-kán] tuḥ-ša-an e-eš-tu*

⁽¹⁰⁾ *NÍ.TE-aš a-pé-e-da-aš UD^{KAM}-aš EME^{III.A} ...*

‘...and she (i.e. the old woman) speaks thus: “That which **you**^(sg.) (i.e. the ritual patrons) repeatedly spoke with mouth (and) tongue, behold now. (here is) *tīššatwa*; let the tongues of those days be removed from your persons!”’

The 2 sg. pret. is preserved in both mss., and the *-eš* is clear in photos of both tablets, so one would hardly want to emend to *me-mi-iš-ke-<et>-tén*’. Thus, at least this passage is clearly dependant on a ms., or a passage therein, which was construed for a single ritual patron.

The second clue is found in a third ms. for two patrons, KBo 39.8 iv 5-6,¹⁰ the most completely preserved ms., and showing a classic MH ductus. It reads:

⁽⁵⁾ *nu-kán 2 BE-EL SÍSKUR* ^{NA4}h[(u-w)]a-[(š)]i^{III}r^A GÌR^{III.A}-az¹ [š_u-_ven_J-(zi)^(?)]

⁽⁶⁾ *na-aš-kán pa-a]j-l]ur iš-tar-na a[r-l]a pa-iz-zi ...*

‘Then the two ritual patrons *topple* the *h_uvāši*-stones with (their) feet, and **s/he walks** out through the fire.’

Significantly, two NH duplicates¹¹ both show the expected ‘they walk’, while the duplicate ritual for a single patron¹² shows the expected ‘s/he walks’ at this point. One could conceivably try to explain the passage by suggesting that it is Mastigga here who goes out through the fire, but the duplicates speak strongly against such, as does the fact that the ritual patrons are clearly the agents in the paragraph, and that such a change in agency would surely demand that the antecedent, i.e. ^{MUNUS}SU.GI, be specified. Further, if the author’s intention were, ‘... and he (i.e. each ritual patron) goes out through the fire’, as Rost, MIO 1 (1953) 365, suggested, one would expect an iterative form of the verb, often used in this composition to express distributive action (e.g. in KBo 39.8 iii 29-37).

¹⁰ Restored after KBo 2.3++ iii 23-27.

¹¹ KBo 2.3++ iii 25 and KUB 12.34++ iii 22’-23’, the latter partly restored, but assured by the *-ut-* of the enclitic chain.

¹² KBo 9.106++ iii 21’. The lines in the third paragraph of KBo 9.106++ iii are misnumbered in the edition. There are actually six lines in the paragraph (i.e. 10-15), though only five (10-14) are numbered.

The third indication is found in yet another ms. for two patrons, Bo 69/1262 iv 14'-15'.¹³ It reads:

^(14') [(*nam-ma-kán wa-a-tar A-NA* SI.GU₄ *an-d*)]a *la-a-lju-wa-a-i*

^(15') [(*na-at* 2) EN (SÍSKUR *še-er ši-ia-a*)]*n-zi* ...

(... and the two ritual patrons pour the water over their heads, and they wash (their) hands and eyes.) 'And further **s/he pours** the water into the horn of a bull, and the two ritual patrons cover it over.'

The unexpected sg. pres. *la-a-lju-wa-a-i* in Bo 69/1262 iv 14' parallels the expected *la-a-lju-i* of KBo 9.106++ iii 40', the ritual for a single patron. In these two paragraphs (§§ 44-45 of KBo 39.8) it is the two ritual patrons who perform the actions of pouring the water over their heads, washing their hands and eyes, pouring the water into the bull's horn, then sealing it, while the old woman incants. It would thus seem rather unlikely, though not impossible, that it is the old woman who unexpectedly carries out the action. Once again, the oversight points to clear dependence on a ms. containing a ritual for a single patron.

A fourth indication is the NÍ.TE-*ši* in KUB 12.34++ ii 20,¹⁴ again, otherwise a ms. for two ritual patrons. Lines 19-20 read:

⁽¹⁹⁾ ... *ke-e-da-ša-wa-kán A-NA* 2 EN SÍSKUR

⁽²⁰⁾ *i-da-a-lu-uš* EME-aš NÍ.TE-*ši* QA-TAM-M[A] *le-e pa-iz-zi*

(The old woman speaks: 'Just as this clay will not return to the riverbank, and the cumin will not become white, will not become another seed, and this dough does not go into the thick bread of the gods, likewise), let not the evil tongue go to **his/her** person, to these ritual patrons!')

The *-si* can only be the 3 sg. enclitic poss. pron., as *-LIM* would hardly be expected as a phonetic complement to Akkadian *ramānu*, and since *úekka-* is a common noun, rather than a neuter, which could be taken as a plural tantum. The scribe may have been copying from a tablet which showed *tu-e-ek-ki-iš-ši*, and while concentrating on 'updating' the syllabic writing to a Sumerogram neglected to also update *-si* to *-smas*.

¹³ Restored after KBo 39.8 iv 26-27: ⁽²⁶⁾*nam-ma-kán wa-a-tar A-NA* SI.GU₄ *an-da la-lju-wa-an-zi*
⁽²⁷⁾*na-at* 2 BE-EL SÍSKUR *še-er ši-ia-an-zi*.

¹⁴ And apparently in KBo 9.106++ ii 20, the ms. for a single patron, though only the trailing horizontal of *-ši* is preserved following the break. The only other ms. to preserve the word in question is KBo 39.8 iii 7, and it shows simply *tu-e-ek-ki*, omitting the enclitic pronoun altogether.

In addition to these four rather clear indications of the dependence of the mss. for two ritual patrons on a ms. for a single patron, there are a number of passages which lend further credence to the hypothesis, though alone they would not constitute sufficient evidence. There are several places, for example, where *BĒL/EN SISKUR* is not marked in any way for plurality.¹⁵ While these occurrences might reasonably be chalked up to mere carelessness on the part of the scribes, examination of their distribution and context in light of the fact that *BĒL/EN SISKUR* is otherwise pedantically marked for plurality in all mss.—either with a preposed 2 (*passim*), by a plural pronoun¹⁶ or with ^{MEŠ}¹⁷—would suggest that at least some of the omissions could well point to dependence on a ms. for a single patron. The occurrence in KBo 2.3++ i 6 and its parallel in KUB 12.34++ i 6, for example, is not only unmarked for plurality, it is also followed in the latter by a 2 sg. pret. verb form, *memiskes* (not preserved in KBo 2.3++). As mentioned above, KBo 43.7 i 5 shares with KUB 12.34++ the form *memiskes*, and it may well be that it also originally had an EN SISKUR not marked for plurality. Thus, while this case of EN SISKUR alone would hardly be conclusive, the fact that it is found in further context of a singular patron suggests that it too indicates dependence on a ms. for a single patron.

A further passage of interest is KBo 39.8 ii 50: *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán ŠAH*.[(TUR *še-er ar*)]-*ḥa wa-<(aḥ)>-nu-{wa-an}-zi* (c. *wa-nu-wa-an-zi*); ‘Then she waves the piglet over them.’ Again, one might see in the error no more than an unexplained scribal slip for the oft-occurring *wa-aḥ-nu-zi*, but when one searches for an explanation for it against the background of the present discussion, one might be led to suggest that the scribe’s aim of changing the appropriate sg. verb forms to pl. forms bled over into this passage describing the old woman’s actions here, which should have remained in the sg. Needless to say, such a suggestion can be neither proven nor disproven, but consideration of the obvious error within the context of the manuscripts’ redactional history is certainly of interest.

Of course it is quite fortunate that two mss. with versions for a single ritual patron are preserved. Otherwise, one would probably never consider interpreting the indices just discussed as evidence that the mss. for two ritual patrons are dependent on a ms. for a single patron.

The Relationship of the Main Recension for Two Patrons to KBo 24.1++

At this point the relationship between the main recension of Mastigga’s Ritual for Domestic Quarrel and KBo 24.1++ shall be very briefly discussed. KBo 24.1++

¹⁵ I.e.: KBo 39.8 i 20; KBo 44.17 i 20; KBo 2.3++ i 6, 20³; KUB 12.34++ i 6.

¹⁶ I.e.: KBo 39.8 ii 47; KBo 44.18 ii 6.

¹⁷ Especially KBo 44.19, *passim*.

constitutes a large portion of a MH manuscript for a single patron that is clearly analogous to the main version, but which shows at the same time significant variation. The tablet preserves no colophon, and so cannot with final certainty be ascribed to Mastigga or to her Ritual for Domestic Quarrel, but the parallels are so striking that it is inconceivable that they do not stem from the same source, and thus, in any case, may serve as valuable material for comparison. The main version for two patrons (KBo 39.8) shall be referred to in this discussion as Text 1, while KBo 24.1++, the large fragment for a single patron, will be referred to as Text 2.

In §42 of Text 1 and in §§2'-3' of Text 2, where the latter first becomes legible, are passages which are clearly dependent on a single source, but at the same time vary significantly. Text 1, §42 reads:¹⁸

And she waves a pot over them, but she places a bowl down at their feet, and she speaks thus: 'Behold, the pot is a substitute for your heads. Behold, (here is) a bowl. You will *crack*¹⁹ the entire matter with your feet.' And the old woman smashes the pot, but the two ritual patrons break the bowl with (their) foot. And she speaks thus: 'May all the words and curses shatter!'

While Text 2, §§2'-3' read:²⁰

... Then she waves them (i.e. some objects) over the pot. Further, the ritual patron spits into the pot, and she smashes it to the ground.

Then the old woman takes yet another pot, and she holds it over the head of the ritual patron, and she speaks thus: 'It is a substitute for your head.' And she waves it over him, and she smashes that one, too.

¹⁸ KBo 39.8 iv 9-16: ⁽⁹⁾[(*nu-u*)]š-*ma-aš-kán* ^{DUG}ÚTUL *še-er ar-ḥa wa-aḥ-nu-zi* ^{DUG}DÍLIM.GAL-[(*ma-aš-ma-aš*)] ⁽¹⁰⁾[(*GÍR*)^{H1}]-*aš kat-ta-an da-a-i nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i* ⁽¹¹⁾[(*ka-a-š*)]*a-ḥwa* ^{DUG}ÚTUL SAG.DU-KU-NU *tar-pa-al-li-iš k[(a-a-ša-wa)]* ⁽¹²⁾[(^{DUG})^G[(*DÍLIM.G*)]*AL nu-wa-aš-ma-aš ḥu-u-ma-an-da ud-da-a-ar IŠ-TU* ⁽¹³⁾*rGIR*^{H1.A7}-*KU-NU ar-[(te-ni)] nu* ^{DUG}ÚTUL ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *tu-wa-ar-ni-i-z-zi* ⁽¹⁴⁾^{DUG}DÍLIM.GAL-*ma 2 BE-EL* [(*SÍŠ*)]*KUR GÍR-it tu-wa-ar-na-an-zi* ⁽¹⁵⁾*nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ḥma-ḥi tu-wa-ar-na-at-ta-ru-wa-ra-at* ⁽¹⁶⁾*ḥu-u-ma-an-da ud-ḥda-a-ar ḥu-ur-ta-a-uš-ša*. Restored from KBo 2.3: + iii 28-38 and 896/z++ iii 38-47.

¹⁹ The verb (*ar-te-ni*; fully preserved only in 896/z++ iii 43) seems to be *ard(a)*-, 'to split, crack', but surely one would expect the declination *ardatteni*, after the pattern of *tarna-*, etc. (Friedrich's II 2c). If one were to judge by the fact that the 1 pl. pres. declines as *ardumeni* (HW² A. 347a). On the other hand, it might decline after the pattern of *walḥ-* in this instance (I 1d), i.e. *ard teni* > *ard(teni)*, in which case it would have to be labelled a *Mischverb*. For 'to split, crack' rather than 'to saw', see Hoffner, BiOr 40 (1983) 415. If the verb in the present context is indeed the same as discussed by Hoffner, it would of course cinch the meaning suggested by him.

²⁰ KBo 24.1++ i 2'-12': ⁽⁶⁾... *nu-uš-kán* ^{DUG}ÚTUL *še-er a[r-ḥa]* ⁽⁷⁾[*w*]-*a-aḥ-nu-zi nam-ma-kán BE-EL SÍSKU*[*R J-N*]*A* ^{DUG}ÚTUL *an-da al-pa-aḥ-ḥi* ⁽⁸⁾*na-an ar-ḥa da-ga-an tu-wa-ar-na-i //* ⁽⁹⁾*nu-za* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *nam-ma da'-a-an* ^{DUG}ÚTUL *da-a-i na-an A-NA BE-EL SÍSK*[*UR*] ⁽¹⁰⁾*A-NA* SAG.DU-ŠU *še-er e-ep-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i* ⁽¹¹⁾ŠA SAG.DU-KA-*wa tar-pa-al-li-iš *na*-an-ši-kán* *še-er ar-ḥa* ⁽¹²⁾*wa-aḥ-nu-uz-zi nu a-pu-u-un-na ar-ḥa* {**x**} *tu-wa-ar-na-i*.

In both, the old woman begins by waving the pot over the ritual patrons or patron. While Text 1 describes the action carried out with this pot and with a bowl together, Text 2 describes the complete action with the pot before moving to the action with a second pot, separating the descriptions with a paragraph divider. Text 2 has the ritual patron spitting into the pot, and the pot is immediately smashed. In Text 1 they do not spit into the pot at all, while earlier in the ritual they do spit into the mouth of a sheep (KBo 39.8 ii 26-30, 35-39) or a puppy (iii 14-19). In Text 2, only when the old woman takes a second pot does she hold, then wave it specifically over the head of the ritual patron and state that it is a substitute for his head before smashing it, which parallels nearly exactly the performance in Text 1. In Text 1, however, the second pot of Text 2 is paralleled by a bowl placed before the ritual patrons' feet, which they then crack, as instructed, actions completely lacking in Text 1.

In such an analogous but varying manner, nearly every paragraph of Text 2 finds its analogue in Text 1 (see Fig. 1). Very briefly, then, the following performance in the first half of §4' of Text 2 compresses into three lines what fills three paragraphs in Text 1. The second part of §4' of Text 2 then closely parallels Text 1, §43, with only some variation in word choice and a slightly expanded incantation in Text 2. Text 2, §5' then parallels Text 1, §36 closely, again with only some variation in details. Text 2 §6', though only partly preserved, clearly finds no parallel in Text 1, while §7', even more poorly preserved, seems to find no direct parallel in Text 1. Column I then breaks off completely.

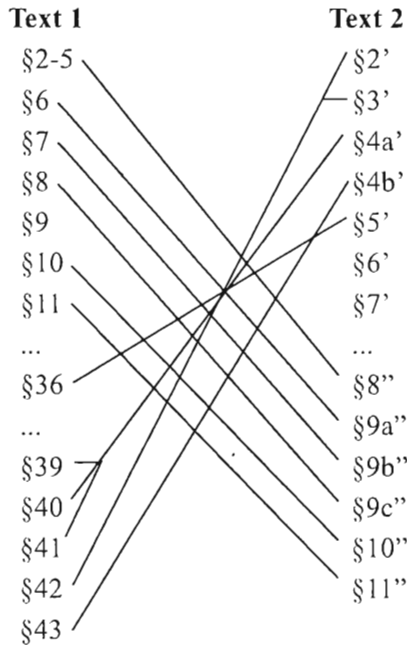


Fig. 1: Juxtaposition of passages in Text 2 and their analogues in Text 1

Table 2: Comparison of Text 1, §§6-8²¹ and Text 2, §9²²

Text 1, §§6-8 ²¹	Text 2, §9 ²²
Then the old woman has the two ritual patrons take (their places) for the rituals,	Then the old woman has the ritual patron take (his place) for the ritual.
and the old woman takes one thick sourdough bread loaf of an <i>upnu</i> -measure, one cheese (and) one pitcher of wine,	
and she holds them out to the ritual patron'. and they lay a hand thereon.	
Then she breaks the one thick-bread loaf and the cheese,	the old woman breaks one thick bread and one cheese
	for the Sun-god,
and she libates the wine, and she speaks thus:	and she libates wine, and she speaks thus:
'O Sun-god, my lord,	
behold; I have set out <i>venomous</i> tongues for you ²³ ':	'Behold, I have set forth the lord (of) the tongue for you.'
and behold, they, together with the Sun-god, will treat the tongues today.'	
Then the old woman <takes>	And the old woman takes
figurines of dough	
(and) the two wooden figurines	two figurines of wood:
—they are clothed and their heads are covered- -	they are clothed, and further, they are covered.
	And she places the hand and tongue of dough on his head.
	and she places the red wool and the <i>welku</i> -plant on (his) shoulder.
and she places them down before the feet of the two ritual patrons,	And she places the wooden figurine down before him.
(and) she places the two hands and the two tongues of dough on their heads.	

Significantly, when Text 2 resumes in Column II, one does not encounter a continuation of the ritual performance as would be expected, but rather the listing

²¹ KBo 39,8 i 18-30.

²² KBo 24,1++ ii 7'-13'.

of the ritual paraphernalia, which of course usually comes after the prologue, before the ritual performance, as it does in Text 1. This partially preserved inventory in Text 2, §8” is clearly related to the list found in Text 1, Column I. Indeed, with one exception, every item preserved in Text 2 finds its parallel in the inventory in Text 1. Of special interest is the fact that the chair, table, bed and blanket found in the inventories of both these versions (KBo 39.8 i 11, partially restored from KBo 44.17 i 10’; KBo 24.1++ ii 5’) are nowhere used in the fully preserved Text 1 or in the preserved portion of Text 2. They are, however, found in the ritual performance recorded in Composition 3, §1 (see Table 1).

The actions in Text 2, §9”—the sense of which is clearly ascertainable despite only about half the column width being preserved—are elaborated and spread out over three paragraphs (§§6-8) of Text 1. When each element of the performance is placed in juxtaposition to its parallel in the other text (see Table 2), it becomes clear that the two versions rely on a single original source, but that at least one is the product of significant scribal cutting and pasting (see Fig. 1). It should also be noted that the performances preserved here in Text 2, Column II and the parallel §§6-8 of Text 1 are precisely those paragraphs which are omitted from the neo-Hittite copie of the ritual for two patrons, a curious fact indeed.

Summary and Implications

To summarise, then, two main phenomena have been observed in the various manuscripts of Mastigga’s Ritual against Domestic Quarrel: First, there is evidence in all sufficiently preserved manuscripts for two ritual patrons, including the earliest Middle Hittite manuscripts, that they were derived from a manuscript for a single patron; Second, a comparison of the large Middle Hittite manuscript for a single patron, KBo 24.1++, with the main recension for two patrons reveals that they are indeed closely analagous, stemming from a common source, but at the same time are characterised by striking variation. It may also be noted that within the version for two ritual patrons, there are two distinct recensions, both of which were extant already in the Middle Hittite period. The present format, however, does not allow a full exposition of this phenomenon.

The central question one is forced to ask upon noting these features is: What were the processes by which these clearly genetically related, yet significantly diverse set of texts came into being? They are obviously descendant from a single common source, whatever the nature of that source and the processes by which they diverged may have been. One might postulate at least two alternative explanations: One, that the texts record several different performances of a single ritual practitioner who

drew from a common source, in this case, the ritual practices stored in his/her mental repertoire; Two, that the texts represent a scribal phenomenon, in which a scribe or scribes have drawn (ultimately) from a common text,²³ and that it is these scribes who are creating different versions from a common textual source.

The next question would then be: What criteria found in the manuscripts might help one to decide between the two possibilities? It seems at first glance that any of the phenomena of variation found—one vs. two patrons, word or passage order, word choice, expansion or abbreviation of a given passage—any of these features could equally reasonably be ascribed to either one of the possible models, that is, to variant oral traditions or to scribal manipulation. For example, Mastigga might just as well have performed a ritual on Tuesday in which she places a pot on two patrons' heads and a bowl at their feet before smashing them, and on Thursday could have had a single ritual patron spit in a pot, then smashed the pot, then have taken another pot, called it a substitute, then smashed it. Equally reasonably, a scribe could have cut and pasted the parts of the performance as he saw fit. Thus, initially at least, there seem to be no criteria according to which one might begin to answer the questions.

However, there are at least three points which seem to point clearly to the scribal hypothesis as that responsible for at least a significant portion of the observed features. First, as mentioned, §§2'-5' of Text 2, Column I, correspond to §§36-43 of Text 1, Columns III-IV, while Text 2, Column II corresponds to §§4-11 of Text 1, Col. I, that is, they are inverted in relation to one another (see Fig. 1). Second, the inventory list in Text 2 and the passages in Text 2 §§9"-11", and thus, all of the preserved portion of Text 2, Column II, are precisely those paragraphs included in the two MH copies of the text, but omitted from all the extant NH versions. Third, a chair, table, bed and blanket are listed in the inventories of the Text 1 and 2 manuscripts, but are never used in the fully preserved Text 1 or the preserved portion of Text 2. They are, however, used in the ritual of Composition 3, suggesting that the inventory lists were tacked onto the paragraphs recording the ritual performances without precise attention paid to their suitability. These three points demonstrate clearly that either one or the other of the manuscripts (or more likely, both) does not relate a serial representation of some organic, real-life performance, but is rather very much a product of egregious scribal cutting, pasting and manipulating. That is to say, if the common source for the two versions were two varying performances of a single ritualist (or two well acquainted colleagues),²⁴ it would not be reflected

²³ Which, in turn, surely reflects to some degree ritual practices ultimately gleaned from the performative tradition.

²⁴ The relationship, for example, between Mastigga's Ritual for Domestic Quarrel and Tunawiya's ritual of uncleanness and the river resembles far more what one might expect if similar texts indeed stemmed from, in this case, two colleagues from the same cultural milieu.

in the way we have just observed in the preserved textual material, but rather as two more or less organic ritual performances, linked perhaps by a number of similarities in concept and practice. The present material looks far more like typical redactional products; and this at the very earliest stage of the existence of the Kizzuwatnean ritual material at Hattusa, that is, the middle of the Middle Hittite period.

The implications of these observations are of particular interest. If manuscripts from the very earliest stages of the Kizzuwatnean ritual material from Hattusa show clear indications of redactional history, one is forced to ask when and where this redactional process may have taken place. Once the question is formulated in this way, the answer becomes immediately self-evident: in the city of Kummanni²⁵ in Kizzuwatna, during the decades preceding the introduction of the Kizzuwatnean ritual material at Hattusa.²⁶

If correct, this hypothesis would seem to call for a revision of what has been suggested by a number of scholars. Volkert Haas and Ilse Wegner, for example (ChS I.5.I, pg. 1), have suggested that the evidence from the ^{MUNU}ŠU.GI compositions ‘... gibt der Vermutung Raum, daß die Beschwörerinnen (ursprünglich) ihre Rituale den hethitischen Schreibern diktiert haben.’ While this may indeed be true in at least some cases, it seems that there is ample evidence suggesting that at least a significant portion of the Kizzuwatnean ritual literature at Hattusa was taken over from a previous scribal tradition in Kummanni. Perhaps much of this ‘ethnographic recording’ of ritual tradition, as one might label the hypothesis as framed by Haas and Wegner, took place, then, not at Hattusa, but in Kizzuwatna, and the material was recorded not by Hittite scribes, but by scribes associated with the state archives of Kizzuwatna. However, it may well be that even in Kummanni the texts may have been created not purely ‘ethnographically’, solely by way of observing and recording local ritual performances, but may have been largely a scribal synthesis of local tradition and Mesopotamian, presumably Mittannian, and especially north Syrian cultural material.

The earliest Kizzuwatnean ritual manuscripts extant at Hattusa, then, were not original works of the scribes employed there. Rather, the scribes of Hattusa, undoubtedly on assignment from the Hittite royal court, seemed to have made a concerted effort to provide the archives there with textual material which must have been found in the archives at Kummanni. These compositions must have been created, and must already have undergone some redactional history, in Kummanni

²⁵ I.e. as the religious, if not necessarily always the political, capital of the region. The point here is not to emphasise Kummanni as the source of the material to the exclusion of other important centres, such as Lawazantiya, for example. Rather it is singled out as one of the most important cult centres for the sake of the argument.

²⁶ The other possibility, i.e. that these redactional processes took place at Hattusa itself, seems to be all but ruled out by the complete absence of ritual (or any other) textual material at Hattusa showing what may be designated Kizzuwatnean, including Hurrian, influence before about the middle of the Middle Hittite period.

before the appearance of its reflection in Ḫattusa during the middle part of the Middle Hittite period.

This cannot be terribly surprising in the light of the fact that state treaties had been drawn up between Hatti and Kizzuwatna at least since the time of Telipinu and Ispuḫḫsu, some 4 to 5 generations before Tudḫaliya I. Further, in the so-called Kizzuwatna Ritual (CTH 479) and other compositions from the Kizzuwatnean ritual corpus, tablets from Kizzuwatna are called for or mentioned during the performance. Moreover, Palliya, King of Kizzuwatna, is accredited with a ritual detailing the procedure for erecting the Storm-god of Kizzuwatna. Surely Palliya's ritual was not dictated by Palliya to Hittite scribes who filed their tablets in the archives at Ḫattusa, but rather was recorded by the scribes of Palliya's court, who stored the composition in their archives, where they may well have undergone some redactional history before being copied, and perhaps further manipulated, by the Hittite scribes for the archives at Ḫattusa. Since Palliya can be dated by his treaty with Zidanta II and the dispute with Idrimi of Alalah presided over by Barrattama,²⁷ such textual material must have existed in Kizzuwatna at least a couple generations before Tudḫaliya I (I/II).

If this paradigm were to prove to be true, it would naturally raise a number of other questions, among them: 1) If these texts were originally composed in Kummanni/Kizzuwatna, then in what language or languages? 2) Were they translated into the present Hittite from Hurrian, from Luwian, from Akkadian, and if so, are there indications thereof in the Hittite translations? Of course, many of the ^{MUNUS}SU.GI rituals preserve the incantation sections in Hurrian, while the instructions for the performance are in Hittite, whereas in many others both are in Hittite, the incantations having been translated at some point from the former into the latter (see Haas-Wegner, ChS I/5/1; similarly for the *itkaḫi* and *itkalzi* rituals, for which, see Haas, ChS I/1), and the same can be said of the Luwian rituals. 3) What ductus would have been employed by the scribes in Kizzuwatna, and what influence, if any, might it have had on that used at Ḫattusa?²⁸

²⁷ Though this is not the forum in which to discuss the political history of Kizzuwatna, the framework within which this study operates may be briefly summarised: Ispuḫḫsu is the attested Kizzuwatnean contemporary of Telipinu, as is Eḫeya of Taḫurwaili, Piliya of Zidanta II and Sunaššura of Tudḫaliya I (I/II). The position of Taḫurwaili is uncertain (perhaps successor to Alluwamna), and Paddatissu and Talzu of Kizzuwatna remain floating in relation to the Hittite kings. No Piliya II nor Sunaššura II need be postulated, allowing the former to be identified with the Piliya attested alongside Idrimi and Baratarna in AT 3, and the latter with the Sunaššura attested with Niqmepa and Sauštatar in AT 14 and with Sunaššura, treaty partner of Tudḫaliya I (I/II).

²⁸ Preliminary considerations concerning the ductus of the Kizzuwatna treaties found at Boğazköy and their relevance for the transmission of the cuneiform script to Ḫattusa and to Anatolia in general are expressed by Klinger, in *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology*, 373. If the ductus of these treaties, which, according to Klinger, were not prepared by scribes of the Ḫattusan school, represents that current in Kizzuwatna during the late OH, early MH period, then one would have to ask the further question: Why does this ductus apparently not influence the ductus in which the earliest Kizzuwatnean rituals from Ḫattusa are written, i.e. the typical Hittite scribal ductus?

One conceivable paradigm, necessarily somewhat speculative and admittedly extrapolating beyond the scope of the evidence just presented, might run as follows: The first stage of the development of the Kizzuwatnean ritual tradition spanned probably the latter part of the Old Hittite period to the middle part of the Middle Hittite period. During this phase, the textual material was created in Kizzuwatna. The direction of influence at this stage was not from Kizzuwatna to Ḫattusa, but from Ḫattusa (and North Syria) to Kizzuwatna. Thus the scribes of what must have been the state archives of Kizzuwatna, probably in Kummanni, would have learned their craft from a combination of North Syrian and Ḫattusan scribes. They would have produced during this period of time texts in Hurrian and Luwian, probably the spoken languages of the region, and perhaps Akkadian and Hittite, the languages of interregional contact and cultural transmission. During this period of history Kizzuwatna was sometimes a lesser ally of the Hittites, as evidenced by the treaties showing practical parity, sometimes under Mittannian control, as evidenced by the Alalaḫ documents showing that Barrattarna and later Sauštatar decided disputes between the kings of Kizzuwatna and Alalaḫ. One might imagine that scribes from Ḫattusa, and probably northern Syria, were resident at Kummanni for some generations, just as some Mesopotamian scribes were resident in Ḫattusa.²⁹ Then only during the middle part of the Middle Hittite period did this ritual complex, with its genesis in Kummanni, begin to suddenly affect the archives at Ḫattusa, probably at that point in history when Kizzuwatna became a vassal of and was finally annexed to Hatti during and following the reign of Tudḫaliya I. At this point, the Hittite scribes apparently gained access to the archives of Kummanni, some portion of which they copied for the archives of Ḫattusa, resulting in the sudden influx of Kizzuwatnean cultural material reflected in the tablets recovered at Boğazköy. This complex, then, was further reworked by the Hittite scribes during the ensuing 200 years or so until the end of the Empire, during which it received from time to time renewed Kizzuwatnean stimulus, as witnessed, for example, in the ritual for Mursili II's speech loss and Puduḫepa's arrival at the Hittite court.

The present hypothesis, while seemingly likely, must of course remain hypothetical until textual material from Kummanni is recovered and compared with the corpora from Ḫattusa.

²⁹ See, e.g. Beckman, JCS 35 (1983) 97-114.