

On the Manuscripts of the Rituals for the Royal Couple *CTH 416*

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Summary

Although certain similarities of KBo 17.2 with *CTH 416* are undeniable, the theory that KBo 17.2 joins KBo 17.3+ (*CTH 416.B*) is problematic for a number of reasons. This study focuses first on the physical evidence, namely the size and shape of the relevant fragments and the text distribution on the tablets. Allowing for different join positions of KBo 17.2 and possible scribal lapses, potential text reconstructions are presented in order to evaluate the likelihood of a join of KBo 17.2 with KBo 17.3+. The second half of the study compares the terminology and ritual practices described in KBo 17.2 with the particular ritual to which this fragment should belong if the alleged join is correct as well as with the other rituals of *CTH 416* as a whole. The possibility of a join must presently remain an open question.

1. Introduction

In 1969 H. Otten and V. Souček¹ published a reconstruction of a ritual text (or group of texts). *Ein althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar* (StBoT 8) would become one of the most cited editions of a Hittite text in all sub-fields of Hittitology as well as in other related disciplines. Ritual practice, magic, medicine, and history of religion were some of the most obvious fields of interest, but the book also made significant observations on epigraphy, dating, paleography, text reconstruction, language, grammar, morphology, vocabulary, and syntax. *CTH 416* is one of the foundational texts for the linguistic analysis of Old Hittite.

Today we can speak of this group of fragments as copies of a *Sammeltafel* containing four rituals (see under §3), the general aim of which is a magical-medical treatment of the royal couple.²

The epigraphical analysis of the various fragments allowed Otten and Souček to establish the existence of a number of surviving copies of the same text. They identified 7 manuscripts, but were fully aware that this number could be re-

* §§1–2. A. Rizza, §3. Ch. Steitler. Abbreviations follow those of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*. Special thanks are due to G. Holland and S. Košak for reading earlier drafts of this article.

1 Otten/Souček 1969.

2 A new online edition in the Hethitologie Portal Mainz is in preparation by C. Montuori.

duced to 3.³ This hypothesis was accepted and corroborated in Neu 1980 and 1983, the edition of the original Old Hittite manuscripts of ritual texts.

The history of the research of *CTH* 416 is conveniently summarized in Otten/Souček 1969, pp. 1–2. We will only mention some points concerning the total number of surviving copies to be recognized.

E. Laroche's original catalog published in RHA 14–16 (1956–1958) placed our texts under number 324.⁴ The far more consistent 1971 edition thereof, the *Catalogue des textes hittites* (*CTH*) already gave improved information about this ritual, since then cited as *CTH* 416, but did not include the conclusions of Otten/Souček 1969.

Originally in Laroche's *CTH* 416:

1. A. KBo 17.1
B. KBo 17.3 + 17.4 + 17.5 + 17.6
2. Fragments analogues: IBoT 3.135; KBo 12.101; KBo 17.2; 2758/c⁵

Otten/Souček 1969, however, presented the situation quite differently. Even if the mss. are listed from 1 to 7, corresponding to the first seven texts in KBo 17, the authors explicitly admitted a possible reduction to three copies (leaving some ambiguities regarding KBo 17.2):

- A. KBo 17.1
- B. KBo 17.3 (+) 4 +³ 7
- C. KBo 17.5 (+) 6.
- ?. KBo 17.2⁶

There is no mention, in Otten/Souček 1969, of KBo 12.101 and KBo 41.40, two of the “fragments analogues” originally considered in *CTH* 416, due to the fact that they are not written in Old Script.

Starke 1977, p. 10, lists the original Old Script Hittite fragments of *CTH* 416, in a scheme that differs from both Otten/Souček 1969 and Laroche's *CTH*. The author introduces KBo 17.2 as indirectly joined to KBo 17.3+. KBo 17.5 and 17.6, however, are still presented as independent manuscripts and are not even considered certain duplicates of KBo 17.1+ and 17.3+. KBo 17.7 + IBoT 3.135 are unproblematically joined to one another, but they are not indirectly joined to KBo 17.3+, as suggested in Otten/Souček 1969:

3 “Das hier in Bearbeitung vorgelegte Ritual ist in mindestens drei Abschriften auf uns gekommen” (Otten/Souček 1969, p. 3).

4 Laroche made an important contribution in the reconstruction of the text. Cf. Laroche 1948, p. 216; 1951, pp. 184–188.

5 Later published as KBo 41.40.

6 On the relations of KBo 17.2 with the other fragments in Otten/Souček 1969, cf. *infra*.

- 1.A. KBo 17.1 + 1417/c + 1444/c⁷
- 1.B. KBo 17.3 + 4 + 20.15 + KUB 43.32 (+) KBo 17.2
2. KBo 17.5
3. KBo 17.6
4. KBo 17.7 + IBoT 3.135

It is important to notice that in Starke 1977 there is no explicit discussion of the reasons that should allow us to add KBo 17.2 as an indirect join to KBo 17.3+.

Later on, in 1980, E. Neu's *Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift* (StBoT 25), p. 4, lapidarily states about KBo 17.2 that "Zugehörigkeit (ohne direkten Anschluß) zu KBo XVII 3+ [...] wird von F. Starke (StBoT 2[3], 1977, 10) erwogen". He adds immediately after: "Die unter den Nummern 2–8 aufgeführten Texte dürften insgesamt drei Exemplaren zuzuordnen sein (s. Einleitung, S. XXII)". Now the arguments that Neu 1980 puts forward in his general introduction (pp. xxi-xxii) are based on the analysis of "Duktus und Zeichenformen". This analysis, E. Neu writes on pp. xxi-xxii, *suggests* that the 7 fragments listed in Otten/Souček 1969 belong to a total of three manuscripts ("[...] eine Analyse dieser Fragmente (Nr. 2–8) bezüglich Duktus und Zeichenformen [...] legt deren Zugehörigkeit zu insgesamt drei althethitischen Tafeln nahe"). As far as I can understand it, this only affirms the suggestion already made in Otten/Souček 1969, pp. 3, 9; however, no actual proof is given, nor are other arguments presented that would eliminate all reasonable doubts.

In any case, Neu 1980 confirmed a number of hypotheses of Otten/Souček 1969. In particular KBo 17.3 and 17.4 were proven to be fragments of the same tablet thanks to the join reported in Otten 1971, p. 30. Bo 8060, (later published as KUB 43.32) joins on the reverse Bo 4431 + Bo 3046 (KBo 17.4) and Bo 69/331 (KBo 20.15), which, in turn, joins Bo 2416 (KBo 17.3). Neu 1980 also adds Bo 8931 (KUB 43.39) that joins KBo 17.3. The join KBo 17.7 + IBoT 3.135 (Text 7 in Otten/Souček 1969, p. 8) was also confirmed in Neu 1980 thanks to the new bridging fragment KBo 25.7 (Bo 69/157).

With respect to Otten/Souček 1969 and Starke 1977, Neu 1980 thus marks an important advance on two points: first we find undoubtable confirmations of two possible joins (i.e., KBo 17.3 + 4; KBo 17.7 + IBoT 3.135), and second, the idea already implicit in Otten/Souček 1969 that the fragments should be further reduced to three tablets due to the indications given by the paleographic relations among them is undergirded. It is important to stress at this point in our paper that Otten and Souček explicitly stated that KBo 17.7+ could join 17.3 (+) 4,⁸ but the same cannot be said of KBo 17.2 joining 17.3+. On the contrary, they claim that KBo 17.2 is isolated, but, due to its content, it should

7 1417/c + 1444/c was later published as KBo 25.3.

8 "[...] Demnach – und nach den graphischen Eigenheiten – könnte dieses Fragment ohne direkten Anschluß zu Text 3 (+) 4 gehören", Otten/Souček 1969, p. 9; "[...] auch bei Nr. 7 war keine Textüberschneidung nachzuweisen, immerhin gibt aber die Breite des Kolummentren-

represent a portion of the original first column (not of KBo 17.3+, but in general of the ‘composite’ text).⁹ In the opinion of the present author, however, Starke 1977 and Neu 1980 accepted KBo 17.2 as indirectly joining KBo 17.3+ without sufficient evidence. We will return to this question in the next two sections (§§2–3).

This is the scheme implicit in Neu 1980, 1983, which is also the basis for the scheme that one can find in the online Konkordanz:¹⁰

A. KBo 17.1 + KBo 25.3 (+)[?] 1562/c¹¹

B. KBo 17.2 (+) KBo 17.3 + 4 + KBo 20.15 + KUB 43.32 + 39

C. KBo 17.5 (+) 6 (+) KBo 25.8

The join sketch of ms. A was first updated in Košak 1995, sub 717/b. Groddek 1996, pp. 298–299 was later able to add two more fragments to ms. A: 1839/c (KBo 25.148) and 158/q (KBo 17.26). The first directly joins MAH 16866 (KBo 17.1), the second, instead, is first identified as a duplicate of KBo 17.3+ iii 47–51 and consequently as an indirect join to the third column of KBo 17.1+, a possibility corroborated by the clay color, ductus, and find spot. An up-to-date join sketch by Košak is now available online.¹²

Regarding ms. B, Košak 2005, p. 158 accepted the scheme of Neu 1980, including both KBo 17.2 and KBo 17.7+ under a single entry as joins of KBo 17.3+. This scheme can be seen in the online join sketch provided by Košak.¹³ Recently, F. Fuscagni was able to identify a new join to ms. B, namely, Bo 8063. A new edition of *CTH 416* will soon be published by C. Montuori in the Hethitologie-Portal Mainz.

In the following section of this paper we will discuss again the status of KBo 17.2, showing why the join with KBo 17.3+ remains uncertain.

2. Open Problems of ms. B: Does KBo 17.2 Join KBo 17.3+?

2.1 The Problem

Manuscript B is physically composed of the following fragments:

ners den Hinweis, daß das Stück nicht zur Tafel 1 gehören kann, wohl dagegen evtl. o. A. zu Text 3 (+) 4 zu stellen ist”, Otten/Souček 1969, p. 11.

9 “Einseitig erhaltenes Bruchstück von 12 Zeilen aus der I. oder IV. Kolumne. Aus inhaltlichen Gründen hier als Vs. Kol. I angesetzt”, Otten/Souček 1969, p. 5; “Somit ist der Versuch berechtigt, alle bekannten Tafelstücke in den Gesamttext der einen Tafel einzuordnen. Unter dieser Voraussetzung wird Nr. 2 mit seinen 12 Zeilenresten ziemlich an den Anfang der Vs. I gestellt”, Otten/Souček 1969, p. 9; “Von den hier besprochenen Texten steht lediglich Nr. 2 für sich allein”, Otten/Souček 1969, p. 11.

10 S. Košak, hethiter.net/hetkonk [May 2013].

11 Cf. Neu 1983, p. 370. Later published as KBo 30.33.

12 <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetskiz/sk.php?f=1562/c> [May, 2013].

13 <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetskiz/sk.php?f=417/u> [May, 2013].

Table 1: Fragments composing ms. B

Bo 2416	KBo 17.3
Bo 3046+Bo 4431+Bo 4194	KBo 17.4
417/u	KBo 17.7
Bo 3596	IBoT 3.135
Bo 8060	KUB 43.32
Bo 69/157	KBo 25.7
Bo 69/331	KBo 20.15
Bo 8931	KUB 43.39
Bo 8063	unpublished
? Bo 2743	KBo 17.2

The most up to date join sketch is that found online in the Hethitologie Portal, the current version of which is reproduced below (Illustrations 1 and 2).¹⁴

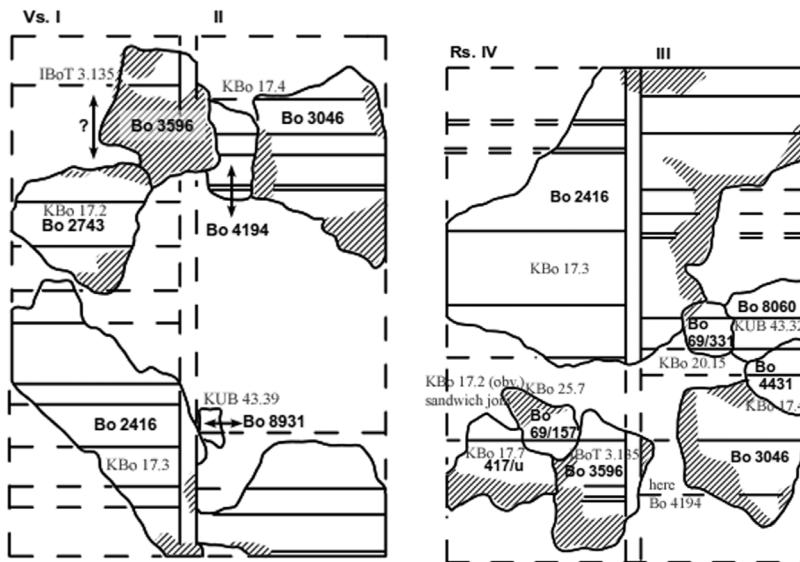


Illustration 1: Join sketch of ms. B obv.

Illustration 2: Join sketch of ms. B rev.

As it appears in the join sketch, the fragment Bo 3596 (IBoT 3.135) joins Bo 4194+ (KBo 17.4). IBoT 3.135 should be close to the beginning of the column. IBoT 3.135 is not sketched as directly joined to KBo 17.4 on the reverse though,

¹⁴ <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetskiz/sk.php?f=417/u> [May, 2013].

but we have to consider the presence of the fragment Bo 4194 that should fill the gap.¹⁵

The join sketch also attempts to locate KBo 17.2 adjoining KBo 17.3+. The tentative position of KBo 17.2 (indicated by a vertical double arrow with a question mark in the join sketch) becomes highly problematic, if one considers its textual relationship to the other manuscripts.

If the proposed position is accepted, the last lines of KBo 17.2 should belong to the same paragraph whose very last line is only partially preserved in KBo 17.3. Now the beginning of KBo 17.3, i.e. the sparsely preserved line before the first paragraph marker, duplicates lines i 5'–6' of KBo 17.1+ (ms. A). It would therefore follow that the last paragraph of KBo 17.2 (9'–12') should duplicate the second paragraph of KBo 17.1+ (i 3'–6'). However, this does not seem to be possible since none of the remaining strings of signs in KBo 17.2: 9'–12' correspond to the virtually complete lines of KBo 17.1+ i 3'–6', so that either KBo 17.2 witnesses lines that precede KBo 17.1+ i 3'–6' or KBo 17.2 does not join here (if at all). As we will see, the settlement of the matter by means of collating the fragments is far more complicated, since Bo 3596 (IBoT 3.135) is stored in Istanbul, while Bo 2743 (KBo 17.2) lies in Ankara. Therefore a direct proof of the join is, at the moment, impossible.

There are three possible paths to follow when assessing this situation:

1. Both the join and the position are correct.
2. The join is correct, but not in the position seen in the join sketch above.
3. The join is false.

We can describe the ramifications of each of these possible explanations. None of the possible solutions can be proven or falsified beyond any reasonable doubt, despite the consultation of the 3-D models of both IBoT 3.135 and KBo 17.2.¹⁶ Therefore, we will describe here the pros and cons of all three.

2.2 The Join and Its Relative Position Are Correct

The only reasonable explanation for the resulting disagreement between ms. B and ms. A would go back to a mistake in the transmission of the text during the redaction process of B. The copyist of B might have left out a paragraph or a significant portion of the text as a consequence of a *saut du même au même*. Following the join sketch, this is the comparative table of the two manuscripts for the relevant lines.

¹⁵ Cf. etiam Neu 1980, pp. XXII, 12, 21.

¹⁶ Provided by G. G. W. Müller and M. Cammarosano within the project Hethitische Forschungen (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, and Würzburg University).

Table 2: Comparison of the relevant §§ of ms. A and ms. B with KBo 17.2 in the position accepted at present

KBo 17.1+ i 1'-10' (A)	KBo 17.2: 9'-12' + KBo 17.3 i 1'-5' (B)
2' [al-la-a]p-pa-aḫ-ḫa-an- -z[i]	(KBo 17.2)
3' [3-i]š LUGAL-un MUNUS.LUGAL-an-na ḫu-ia-an-zi 3-ki-ša-aš-ma-aš šī-ṛi ¹⁷ [-na]-ṛan ¹	9' []ṛu ¹ -uk an-da pa-i-mi ḫa-a-ra-x[
4' [pa]-ra-a e-ep-zi GUD-na-aš-ma-aš 3-iš pa-ra-a e-ep-zi LUGAL-uš	10' šī-]i-na-an-na ú-il-n[a-
5' [3]-iš GUD-un 1 šī-i-na-an-na al-la-ap-pa-aḫ-ḫi MUNUS.LUGAL-aš-ša-an 3-iš	11' ME ₃ š ka-an-kán[-
6' [al-]la-ap-pa-aḫ-ḫi pár-ta-ú-ni-tu-uš LUGAL-un MUNUS.LUGAL-an-na a-ša-aš-ki-iz-zi	12' w]a-a-i[t (B) 1']x x x [¹⁷
7' [ú-g]a ar-ḫa-ri nu ḫu-ur-ti-ia-al-l-an-ḫar-mi ḫu-ur-ti-ia-li-ma	2' [ú-g]a ar-ḫa-ri[
8' [AN.B]AR-aš ne-e-pí-iš 1-EN ki-it-ta URUDU-aš-ša 1-EN ki-it-ta	3' [AN.BA]R-aš ne-pí-iš[
9' [tar-m]a-aš-ša-an 9-an an-da-an ki-it-ta ta LUGAL-i MUNUS.LUGAL-ia	4' ṛtar ¹ -ma-aš-ša-an 9-a[n
10' [ki-i]š-ša-an me-e-ma-aḫ-ḫi	5' ki-iš-ša-an [

From this evidence, we must conclude that KBo 17.2 does not witness the same portion of text in the same position. Let us imagine that KBo 17.2: 9'–12' + KBo 17.3 i 1' show a paragraph originally preceding KBo 17.1+ i 3'–6'. The text would be reconstructed as in Table 3.

In Table 3 below, two strings of cuneiform signs are emboldened, both immediately preceding the paragraph line in the tablets. Let's suppose the *Vorlage* of ms. B had the same layout of ms. A, the copyist's eyes might have jumped from the *al-la-ap-pa-aḫ-* corresponding to A i 2' to the *al-la-ap-pa-aḫ-* corresponding to A i 6'.¹⁸ Parallel examples of text omitted due to a *saut du même au même* can be seen in the myth of moon that fell from heaven (CTH 727),¹⁹ and,

17 Possible restoration: [3-i]š ṛaṛ-ṛla²-a[p (Ch. Steitler).

18 The traces still visible in KBo 17.3+ i 1' do not allow any confirmation and a restoration [3-i]š ṛal-la²-a[p is of little help, as long as the mistake depends on a *deperditus* original text.

19 Technically a case of *homeoarchon*, cf. Kammenhuber 1955; Schuster 2002, pp. 337–377, 388; Rizza 2007, pp. 42–50 (for a reconsideration of the variants among the mss.).

lost, but must have been identical with the first paragraph of the second column of ms. C (KBo 17.5).²¹ Col. ii of both A and B ends with the same text, save one line, namely B ii 15', that corresponds to A iii 1. Minor discrepancies in the layout of A and B throughout the columns cause a different paragraph to open column iv: the first paragraph in A iv is not represented in B iv, which starts with the text of the second paragraph of A iv.²²

It is clear that the layout, the text density, and the ratio between written lines and column length must have been almost identical in A and B. Now, if B lacks a four-line paragraph (i.e. A i 3'–6'), we could expect the first column of B to show either some spare space, or some text belonging to the second column of A, but neither occurs. As a matter of fact we can observe (see Illustrations 3 and 4 in appendix) that, towards the end of col. i, B has longer written lines that extend into the column divider (see B i 21'–27') and compresses two paragraphs (B i 21'–24' and i 25'–27') into 4 and 3 lines respectively, while the corresponding paragraphs in A (i 26'–30' and i 31'–34'), instead, show 5 and 4 lines with spare space at the end of both paragraphs. It is evident that this speaks against the possibility of a missing paragraph in B, even considering the rest of the tablet. Therefore, KBo 17.2 does not join IBoT 3.135 in the position shown by the join sketch. However, perhaps KBo 17.2 joins KBo 17.3+ in a different position. This possibility will be addressed in the following section.

2.3 The Relative Position of the Join Is Incorrect

An alternative solution (number 2 above) could be that KBo 17.2 indeed joins the fragments of B, but not in the position indicated in the join sketch. This hypothesis presents a number of difficulties. First of all KBo 17.2 must be replaced without altering the position of IBoT 3.135. Should the adjoining fragments KBo 17.2 + IBoT 3.135 be moved upwards in relation to the rest of the tablet in the obverse, the entire join complex of IBoT 3.135 + KBo 25.7 + KBo 17.7 + KBo 17.4 should move downwards in the reverse. However, the impossibility of this is obvious, since KBo 17.4 is directly connected to 17.3 as visible in the join sketch (given the presence of Bo 4194 between Bo 3046 and Bo 3596 in rev. iii, which the join sketch indicates for the obv. but not for the rev.). The position of Bo 3596 (IBoT 3.135) and its adjoining fragments in relation to KBo 17.3 is therefore fixed and does not allow for more space between the two.

It is also impossible to move KBo 17.2 upwards to the side of Bo 3596, since this would result in an incoherent column width. It is extremely improbable that it preceded Bo 3596 entirely. The surfaces of the obverse and the reverse of

21 Cf. in the appendix, Tables 6–9, the distribution of text throughout the columns in the different manuscripts.

22 Cf. appendix, Table 9.

Bo 3596 are already converging to the edge of the tablet. The maximal thickness of Bo 3596 is 31 mm. Closer to the edge (20 mm higher) the thickness (from surface to surface) cannot exceed 27 mm, as far as this can be reconstructed.²³ The maximal thickness of Bo 2743 is 25 mm.²⁴ Bo 2743 does not preserve traces of the surface of the (supposed) reverse and right at the top it is roughly as thick as at its maximum.

The total number of lines, also, would be incoherent with what one can reconstruct for the other columns. Col. ii is the one that we can reconstruct most accurately, and the total lines, summing the preserved parts in A, B and C is ca. little more than 55 but less than 60 lines. The same number is expected for col. iii. Now, if we look again at col. i,²⁵ we can count 35 lines, from the end of the column up to §3' in A, corresponding to ca. 32 lines up to §5' in B. As long as the central sections A §§ 3'–6' and B §§ 5'–8' have each the same amount of lines, we will assume that the missing sections in B corresponding to A, §§1'–2' also shared the same number of lines. This adds to the 32 lines in B another assured 6 lines plus some more lines that we cannot reconstruct, so ca. 40, to take a low estimation. Then we add the 7 preserved lines in IBoT 3.135, for a provisional total of 47 and finally the 12 lines of KBo 17.2, giving a total of 59. We would also want to add some more lines as KBo 17.2 evidently does not immediately begin the column.

There is also a third alternative position for KBo 17.2 sliding it upwards over the damaged surface of IBoT 3.135 as a sandwich join. Remember that KBo 17.2 must also be a sandwich join in the position proposed in the online join sketch, namely with the group 417/u (KBo 17.7)+Bo 69/157 (KBo 25.7)+Bo 3596 (IBoT 3.135) of the reverse (fourth column).²⁶ This solution was independently put forward by C. Montuori in her PhD dissertation at the University of Pavia.²⁷ This solution would both confirm the physical connection of Bo 2743 to ms. B and remove the problem of the non-corresponding textual sections. Unfortunately, under the present conditions, this proposal cannot be collated, as long as Bo 2743 (KBo 17.2) lies in Ankara, Bo 3596 (IBoT 3.135), however, in Istanbul. The 3-D reconstructions and the software developed to date to handle them do not allow to test this hypothesis exactly, but in the future this will probably be possible. In the meantime we can only observe that the upper edge of Bo 2743 is possibly too thick to fit.²⁸ Therefore we cannot at present be completely satisfied by the solutions proposed.

23 D. Schwemer provided me with the measurements and a sketch of Bo 3596 taken in Istanbul.

24 Measurements provided by M. Cammarosano and C. Corti.

25 Cf. appendix, Table 6.

26 This situation was also considered as legitimate by the autoptical analysis of M. Cammarosano and C. Corti.

27 (May 2013). We thank C. Montuori for having shared her ideas about this point.

28 Cf. the screenshot of the 3-D scan of the fragment Bo 2743 (KBo 17.2), Illustration 5 in appendix (the upper edge of the fragment on the right).

2.4 The Join Is Incorrect

We believe that there are also reasons to seriously consider Bo 2743 as an independent fragment. Contextual reasons will be described in §3 by Ch. Steitler. Here I only would like to point out a few possible markers of the independence of KBo 17.2 found in few orthographic peculiarities.

The lemma *kānk-* shows a spelling alternation with either initial KA or GA, but never in the same fragment: KA is used only in KBo 17.2 (17.2: 3', 7', 11'), while both A and B show GA (KBo 17.1+ iii 26, 27, iv 17; KBo 17.3+ [iii 26?], iii 27, iv 13). Worth considering also the spelling of the lemma *pēda-*: KBo 17.2: i 5' *pé-e-ta-i* shows the spelling with TA of the dental. The same form of the verb is attested in A i 32' 34' using the same spelling for the dental (*pé-e-ta-i*), while in B i 27' (sole attestation and duplicate of A i 34') the spelling with DA is found (*pe-e-da-i*).

Certainly one cannot take this kind of evidence as conclusive, but I think it is necessary to take proper notice of it, especially when other considerations point to the unlikelihood of the textual integration of KBo 17.2 with the other assured manuscripts (cf. infra. §3).

Although conclusive evidence – whether in favor of or against the proposed join – has yet to be found, it is nevertheless important to stress that a considerable amount of evidence against a join does indeed exist.

3. KBo 17.2: Textual Relationship to the Other Fragments

Since the evidence for a physical join of KBo 17.2 with KBo 17.3+ is inconclusive, the following section will consider whether at least the contents of KBo 17.2 can be connected with the rituals of KBo 17.1+, KBo 17.3+ and KBo 17.5+. We will first offer an analysis of the composition of the entire tablet of *CTH* 416, describing the common structure of all four of its rituals.²⁹ Then the contents of the first ritual will be compared with KBo 17.2.

3.1 General Structure of *CTH* 416

Previous studies of *CTH* 416 have either concluded or assumed that this tablet represents a cohesive sequence of rituals carried out in connection with or in succession to one another. Thus Otten/Souček 1969, p. 103, compare *CTH* 416 with the festival rituals performed over the course of several days in various locations. In his brief discussion of *CTH* 416, Taracha 2000, p. 207, implies that

²⁹ The four rituals referred to in the present study are distributed on the tablet as follows (line numbering of the composite text as presented by Otten/Souček 1969, pp. 18–41): Ritual 1: beginning of the tablet(?)–ii 18; Ritual 2: ii 19–iii 18; Ritual 3: iii 19–iv 13; Ritual iv 14–end of the tablet(?).

this text is a single cohesive ritual composed of four purification rites.³⁰ However, several factors contradict the assumption that *CTH* 416 is a performative unity. The end of the first ritual (performed in *Katapa*) states that the ritualist goes to *Ḫattuša*, while the king goes to *Arinna* (KBo 17.3+ ii 10'). However, the beginning of the second ritual (ii 14'ff.) assumes the presence of the ritualist as well as the king and the queen all at one and the same location. This is surprising, since the text gives no further indication of the movement of the ritualist or of the royal couple to a different location in the transition between the two rituals.

The stipulations for going to the “house of the princes” at the end of each of the four rituals³¹ also speaks against their coherence. The end of the first ritual implies that the ritualist proceeds with the palace servant to the house of the princes,³² but the beginning of the second ritual makes no mention of this activity. Although the trip to the house of the princes was theoretically possible at the end of each ritual, in reality the third ritual excludes it with the remark, “I do not go; however, earlier I regularly went [to] the house of the children, but now I did not go at all.”³³ This might indicate that the texts of the rituals of *CTH* 416 were not composed contemporaneously. The trip to the house of the princes, customary or at least possible when rituals one, two, and four were written down, had fallen into disfavor or was no longer feasible by the time the text of the third ritual was composed. Other deviations among the rituals include the locations at which they are performed as well as the personnel involved in them.

In light of these formal attributes, we can conclude that *CTH* 416 was probably a *Sammeltafel*.³⁴ In all three duplicates a double paragraph marker separates the rituals from one another,³⁵ marking the end of one composition and the beginning of the next. Two of the rituals also begin with an incipit com-

30 “... das althethitische Beschwörungsritual *CTH* 416, das sich aus vier Reinigungsriten zusammensetzt.” On the other hand, del Monte 2003, p. 160, writes that *CTH* 416 contains “quattro rituali diversi contro impurità di varia natura che hanno colpito la coppia reale ittita.”

31 The end of the fourth ritual is only sparsely preserved. Nevertheless, the final remains in KBo 17.3+ iv 56'–57' (following a double paragraph marker) closely resemble the stipulations concerning the “house of the princes” and are preceded in iv 55' by the fragmentary context, “[...] I come to the city.” The lower section of KBo 17.3+ iv is quite close to the edge of the tablet.

32 This can be assumed, unless the final statement, “and what the king says, that I do” (*nu ku-it / [L]UGAL-uš te-ez-zi nu a-pa-a-at i-ia-mi*, KBo 17.3+ ii 12'–13'), is understood to mean that the king does not consent to going to the “house of the princes”.

33 KBo 17.1+ iv 12–13 (= KBo 17.3+ iv 8–9): *nu na-at-ta pa-i-mi ka-ru-ú-ma / [A-NA(?)] É DUMU^{MES}-an pa-iš-ga-ḫa-at ki-nu-na na-at-ta ku-wa-a-pi-ik-ki pa-a-un*.

34 Independent of the present author's deliberations, C. Montuori has also reached the conclusion that *CTH* 416 is a *Sammeltafel*, as she presented in a paper at the IXth International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum (September 2014), as well as in her (presently) unpublished dissertation (Montuori 2012/2013, especially pp. 201–3).

35 The stipulation concerning the possibility of going to the “house of the princes” at the end of the third ritual is preceded and followed by a double paragraph marker, which seems to emphasize this information was supplementary to the ritual.

menced by the conjunction *mān*³⁶ stating the occasion of the ritual. The four rituals comprising *CTH* 416 were collected on one tablet due to their similar content and purpose,³⁷ but not because they were performed in conjunction with each other. The rituals all share a similar structure, summarized as follows: the ritual materials are prepared and arranged, the magical rites effecting the removal of evil are performed, the ritual equipment onto which evil from the king and queen has been transferred is buried, a recitation bans the evil to the netherworld, and finally the ritual participants eat and drink.

3.2 Comparison of KBo 17.2 and the First Ritual of *CTH* 416

Having established the character of *CTH* 416 as a *Sammeltafel*, good methodology prevents us from relating the contents of KBo 17.2 to the entire text of *CTH* 416 in general. Instead, one should attempt to connect this fragment with but one single ritual of *CTH* 416.

The existence of three duplicates of *CTH* 416 enables us to reconstruct almost all of this tablet. Furthermore, the similar – in many instances, virtually identical – distribution of the text in all three of the duplicate tablets allows for a reliable estimation of the amount of text lost where the top or bottom edge of the tablet is not preserved. There are a handful of relatively small gaps in the preserved text of *CTH* 416, but only the space between IBoT 1.35 and KBo 17.3 in col. i is of sufficient size to accommodate the contents of KBo 17.2. Ca. 20 lines are missing here at the beginning of the first ritual. If KBo 17.2 is at all connected with the collection of rituals known from KBo 17.1+, KBo 17.3+ and KBo 17.5+, then it can only belong to the beginning of the first ritual. We must therefore consider whether there is indeed any likelihood of such a connection. First, we must compare the preserved portions of *CTH* 416 with KBo 17.2, after which we can consider whether the contents of KBo 17.2 make sense as a restoration of its missing section. The following table gives an overview of the lexemes which are attested in KBo 17.2 as well as in the texts of *CTH* 416:³⁸

The most convincing evidence for the affiliation KBo 17.2 and the first ritual is the occurrence of two iron tongues which are placed in the mouth of the king

36 On the occurrence of *mān* in incipits, cf. CHD L-N, 159–160. The beginning of the first ritual is not preserved. The third ritual begins with *an-da-ma(-)[...]* (B iii 19), the rest of the line is broken off.

37 For an analysis of the motivation behind the collections of texts preserved on *Sammeltafeln*, cf. Hutter 2011. *CTH* 416 would thus belong to his category “thematisch eng zusammengehörige Rituale mit einer gemeinsamen *CTH*-Nummer”. One identifying factor of this category is that duplicate tablets each contain the same group of texts, which is precisely the case with *CTH* 416.

38 The text of *CTH* 416 is cited according to the composite line numbering of Otten/Souček 1969 pp. 18–41

Table 4: Comparison between KBo 17.2 and the other rituals of CTH 416

	KBo 17.2	Ritual 1	Ritual 2	Ritual 3	Ritual 4
Ritual materials					
^(MUSEN) <i>hara(na)-</i>	9'		ii 19, 25, 30, 34, 37, 42, 45, 47, 51, iii 3		
<i>šina-</i>	10'	i 3', 5'			iv 18, 27, 29
<i>lala- AN.BAR- aš</i>	4'	i 18', ii 11			
<i>kalulupa-</i>	1'-2', 7'	i 19'			iv 26, 31, 33
SÍG ZA.GÌN	[1'ff.]??			iii 21	iv 16
Verbs					
<i>kānk-</i>	1', 3', 7'			iii 26-27	iv 17

and the queen. KBo 17.2: 4'–8' specifies that this is performed when (threads) are hung on their fingers (on this, see below). In the first ritual of CTH 416, the king and queen spit upon various objects while the tongues are in their mouths, then the tongues are removed. The fact that the tongues in both cases consist of iron does indeed speak for a connection of KBo 17.2 with ritual one of CTH 416, however, other aspects of KBo 17.2 are not so easily aligned with it.

In KBo 17.2: 1' and 7' the direct object of *kalulupi=šmi kānk-* is most likely a thread/threads hung on the fingers of the king and queen.³⁹ Wool threads do occur in the third and fourth rituals of CTH 416, but are not mentioned in the first. One might attempt to understand the object called *išgarant-* in KBo 17.1+i 18'–20' to refer to a thread:

[DU(MU)].É.GAL LUGAL-*aš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš-ša iš-ša-^raz^r-mi-it la-a-la-an AN.BAR-*aš*/ [d]a-a-i ka-lu-u-lu-pi-iš-mi-ta-*aš-ta iš-g[(a-ra)]-an-ta da-a-i* / [n]e²-en ki-iš-ša-ri-iš-mi da-a-i na-*aš-t[(a pa-r)]a-a pa-i-wa-ni**

“The palace servant takes the tongue of iron out of their, the king’s and the queen’s mouth. He takes the ‘fastenings’² with² their finger, and he lays them in²/takes them from² their hand. Then we go out.”

³⁹ The direct object probably stood in the missing line preceding KBo 17.2: 1'.

The interpretative crux of this passage is the instrumental⁴⁰ noun *kalulupi(t)=šmit=ašta*. Otten/Souček 1969, p. 21 translate this in the usual sense of the instrumental case as an expression of means, “und (zwar) nimmt er mit ihren Fingern das ‘Festgesteckte’ (weg).” Haas 2003, p. 599, on the other hand, translates the term (incorrectly) as an ablative, “und [er] nimmt von ihren Fingern das ‘Festgesteckte’ (weg).” Both of these options are rejected by Melchert 1977, p. 166, who translates, “and he takes (away) the things fastened to their fingers.”⁴¹

Even if Melchert’s interpretation of the instrumental here is correct, this still would not prove that this rite involved threads wrapped around the fingers. Threads are not normally used as the object of the verb *iškar-* (cf. Engelhard 1970, pp. 136–140; HED 1–2, pp. 416–419; Haas 2003, pp. 662–665). From an etymological point of view, the basic meaning of *iškar-* “sting, prick” would make no sense with an object such as thread, (although its derived sense, “af-fix, fasten,” might, cf. HED 1–2, pp. 418–419). The occurrence of *išgarant-* in the third ritual (KBo 17.1+ iii 28 and duplicates) is translated in *CHD* L-N, 333b, as “perforated,” allegedly referring to nine breads strung on a line (against HED 1–2, p. 417, which translates *išgarant-* here with “attached”). Although this would also have involved some kind of string, the bread and not the string would have been the object of the verb *iškar-*. The unlikely connection between *kalulupi=šmi kânk-* of KBo 17.2 and *kalulupi(t)=šmit=ašta išgaranta* can hardly serve as a basis for identifying the former as part of the first ritual of *CTH* 416.

Another point which might evidence the connection of KBo 17.2 with the first ritual is in fact inconclusive. In KBo 17.2: 9', *ḥa-a-ra-n[a-...]*, can hardly be interpreted as anything else but “eagle.”⁴² The context is fragmentary, thus the eagle’s function in the ritual is unclear. While the first ritual of *CTH* 416 makes no reference to an eagle, it does refer to a feather or wing (*partawar*) with which the king and queen are made to sit down (KBo 17.1+ i 6'). This feather/wing might have been taken from an eagle, and in KBo 17.2: 9' it would be conceivable to reconstruct *ḥaran[aš partawar]*. However, this is purely conjectural. The eagle could just as well have had some other function in the rit-

40 According to Otten/Souček 1969, p. 14, the case of *ka-lu-u-lu-pi-iš-mi-ta-aš-ta* (KBo 17.1+ i 19'), is assured by the duplicate text, *ka-lu-u-lu-pi-iz-mi-da-aš-ta* (KBo 17.3+ i 14'), to be instrumental (-z- < -t=š-), cf. also Melchert 1977, p. 166; HED 1–2, p. 31.

41 Melchert 1977, pp. 167–168, justifies this by connecting the instrumental case of *kalulupa-* with the participle *išgarant-* and not with the main verb *dai*, thus expressing the “conjoining or juxtaposition” of something with their fingers, as is also the case with the verbs *immiya-* “to mix (with)” and *takš-* “to put together (with),” both occurring together with nouns in the dative-locative or the instrumental case.

42 The writing of the verb *ḥarra-* consistently indicates a geminate consonant, either with *ḥar-ra-* or *ḥa-r^a-ra-*, cf. HW² III, pp. 263–265. The noun, *ḥarant-* (attested only once in KUB 12.1 iii 20, cf. HW² III, p. 272) is written with simple rather than the plene vowel, *ḥa-ra-an-za*, and the ending of *ḥaran[a-...]* in KBo 17.2: 9' excludes the *-ant-* ending.

ual to which KBo 17.2 belongs, in which case this fragment would not have anything to do with the first ritual of *CTH* 416 where no eagle occurs. The remaining contents of KBo 17.2 are too ubiquitous to speak for its connection with the first ritual of *CTH* 416.

We can now turn our attention to the missing section of the first ritual (excluding KBo 17.2), the contents of which might in part be deduced from the remaining text of the ritual itself and from a comparison with the other three rituals of *CTH* 416. The structure of the first ritual can be outlined according to the scheme presented in Table 5:

Table 5: Structure of Ritual 1

preparatory activity	IBoT 3.135 obv. 1'-7'
magical rites	KBo 17.1+ i 1'-41' (= KBo 17.3+ i 1''-30'')
burial of equipment	KBo 17.5+ ii 1-2
recitation banning evil	KBo 17.1+ ii 2'-6' (= KBo 17.3+ ii 1'-7' = KBo 17.5+ ii 3-12)
ritual meal	KBo 17.3+ ii 8'-9' (= KBo 17.5+ ii 13)

The bulk of the ritual consists of the magical rites performed in order to rid the king and queen of “terrible tongues” and “that which is blood-stained”, according to the recitation spoken to the gods (KBo 17.1+ ii 2'-6'). The preparatory activity which preceded is sparsely preserved in IBoT 3.135, which must be very close to the upper edge of the tablet. The following contents can be identified from this fragment: [...A-N]A MUNUS.LUGAL (IBoT 3.135 obv. 1') implies something given to the queen; *har-mi* (obv. 6') refers to the ritual official holding an object; ...-*ga-ni-ši* (obv. 7') can be understood as a dative-locative noun with a 3rd sg. possessive pron., thus “on his ...”, probably referring to some material or item placed in a particular position in relation to the king and/or queen. The online photo of IBoT 3.135⁴³ allows for a reading [*tá*]g-*ga-ni-ši*, “on his chest”, but this remains uncertain.

The descriptions of the preparation of materials for the other rituals of *CTH* 416 take up an average of 10 lines of text (KBo 17.1+ ii 13'-23'; iv 14-22; iii 19-28). IBoT 3.135 (7 lines) and presumably a few lines immediately preceding and following would offer a comparable amount of text. The beginning of the ritual proper would have followed, in what is now the gap between IBoT 3.135 and KBo 17.3. Excluding the contents of KBo 17.1+ i 1'-5' which must be restored just before the text of KBo 17.3 begins, we can estimate about

43 Cf. hethiter.net/: PhotArch BoFN09847a. Before the sign GA, the head of a vertical wedge is visible, which could belong to the sign DAG [October, 2013].

15 further lines in this gap; we will now propose a reconstruction of the contents of this gap.

In the missing lines just before KBo 17.1+ i 1', we can reconstruct a situation parallel to that of 3'-6', where perhaps the king and queen spit on the "troops". At some point before this, the tongues of iron would have been placed in the king's and queen's mouths (cf. KBo 17.1+ i 18'-20'). The further content of the missing portion of the ritual is a matter of speculation. However, the other three rituals of *CTH* 416 all possess one further aspect which is missing in the preserved portions of the first ritual. In the second and fourth rituals, items are laid at the heads of the king and queen while they are sleeping, and the ritual is resumed on the next day. The third ritual may have been exclusively nocturnal, since the term *išpanti*, "in the night," is used twice (KBo 17.1+ iii 20, KBo 17.3+ iii 45) and the dawn of the next day is not mentioned until the end of the ritual. Given the numerous other commonalities of the rituals of *CTH* 416, it seems very probable that the first ritual would also have involved some activity performed overnight. This content might have stood in the gap between IBoT 3.135 and KBo 17.3. As a result, the preserved portions of the first ritual in KBo 17.1+ and KBo 17.3+ would have been carried out on the next day.

3.3 Conclusions

The deliberations above are not final and are only intended to elucidate the probability or improbability of a potential connection between KBo 17.2 and the first ritual of *CTH* 416. In any case it is quite clear that, if at all related to *CTH* 416, the contents of KBo 17.2 should only be connected with the section of the first ritual of *CTH* 416 specified above. There is no incontrovertible evidence for or against such a connection, but in our opinion the sum of the evidence tends to exclude it. The iron tongues support a connection, but by no means do they necessitate one. If *išgarant-* is not connected with *kalulipi=šmi kānk-*, this would seem to exclude the contents of KBo 17.2 from *CTH* 416; if these terms are connected, KBo 17.2 would indeed appear to belong to the ritual. Similarly, if the feather in *CTH* 416 is indeed that of an eagle, and the reconstruction of *haran[aš partawar]* in KBo 17.2 is correct, this would also strongly support a connection. The hypothesis that, like the other rituals of *CTH* 416, the first one should also include nocturnal activity can neither be proven nor disproven. Numerous aspects of the four rituals do differ from one another, and nothing demands that all four rituals must possess nocturnal rites. In short, we are forced to admit that the evidence for the relationship of the contents of KBo 17.2 with *CTH* 416 is inconclusive. At the same time, however, this inconclusiveness should serve as a warning against all too quickly endorsing a join of KBo 17.2 with KBo 17.3+, especially when the physical evidence at present is also ambiguous.

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Further Tables and Illustrations

Table 6: Text distribution col. i

Col. i								
A					B			
§	text	lines	lines per §		§	text	lines	lines per §
					§ x+1'	IBoT 3.135	... i 1'-5'	5
					§ 2'		... i 6'-7'	
							vacat	
						KBo 17.2	... i 1'-3'	5*
§ x+1'	KBo 17.1	i 1'-2'	2*	≠	§ 3'		i 4'-8'	5
§ 2'		i 3'-6'	4	≠	§ 4'		i 9'-12'	4*
						KBo 17.3	i 1'	
§ 3'		i 7'-10'	4	=	§ 5'		i 2'-5'	4
§ 4'		i 11'-17'	7	=	§ 6'		i 6'-12'	7
§ 5'		i 18'-20'	3	=	§ 7'		i 13'-15'	3
§ 6'		i 21'-25'	5	=	§ 8'		i 16'-20'	5
§ 7'		i 26'-30'	5	=	§ 9'		i 21'-24'	4
§ 8'		i 31'-34'	4	=	§ 10'		i 25'-27'	3
§ 9'		i 35'-39'	5	=	§ 11'		i 28'-30'	3*
§ 10'		i 40'-41'	2	?			[...]	
end of col.					[end of col.]			

Table 7: Text distribution col. ii

Col. ii													
A				B				C					
§	text	lines	lines per §	§	text	lines	lines per §	§	text	lines	lines per §		
...				...				§ 1	KBo 17.5	ii 1-3	3		
§ 1'	KBo 30.33	...ii 1'		=	§ 1'	KBo 17.4	...ii 1'-3'	=	§ 2	ii 4-8	5		
§ 2'		ii 2'-6'	5	=	§ 2'		ii 4'-7'	=	§ 3	ii 9-13	5		
...					§ 3'		ii 8'-9'	=	§ 4	ii 14...			
§ 3''	KBo 17.1	ii 1'-4'	4	=	§ 4'		ii 10'-13'	4	...				
§§				=	§§				...				
§ 4''		ii 5'-10'	6	=	§ 5'		ii 14'-18'	5	=	§ 5' KBo 17.6	...ii 1'-4'	4	
§ 5''		ii 11'-15'	6		...				=	§ 6'	ii 5'-9'	5	
§ 6''		ii 16'-22'	7		...				=	§ 7'	ii 10'-17'	7	
§ 7''+KBo 25.3		ii 23'-29'	7	=	§ 6'' KUB 43.39	ii 1'-4'	5*	=	§ 8a'	ii 18'-21'	4		
									8b'	ii 22'...			
§ 8''		ii 30'-36'	7	=	§ 7'' KUB 43.39	ii 5'+			...				
					KBo 17.3	ii 1'-7'	7						
§ 9''		ii 37'-39'	3	=	§ 8''	ii 8'-10'	3						
§ 10''		ii 40'-44'	5	≈	§ 9''	ii 11'-15'	5						
end of col.					end of col.								

Table 8: Text distribution col. iii

Col. iii													
A				B				C					
§	text	lines	lines per §		§	text	lines	lines per §		§	text	lines	lines per §
§ 1	KBo 17.1	iii 1-2	2	≈	§ 1	KBo 17.3	iii 1-2	2		...			
§ 2		iii 3-7	5	=	§ 2		iii 3-7	5		...			
§ 3		iii 8-13	6	=	§ 3		iii 8-13	6	=	§ 1' KBo 17.6	iii ...1'-5'		
§ 4		iii 14-16	3	=	§ 4		iii 14-16	3	=	§ 2'	iii 6'-8'	3	
§ 5		iii 17-18	2	=	§ 5		iii 17-18	2	=	§ 3'	iii 9'-10'	2	
§§				=	§§				=	§§			
§ 6				=	§ 6	+KBo 20.15+KBo 43.32			=	§ 4'	iii 11'-17'	7	
		iii 19-28	10				iii 19-28	10		§ 5'	iii 18'-20'	3	
§ 7		iii 29-33	5	=	§ 7	+KBo 17.4	iii 29-32	4	=	§ 6'	iii 21'-24'	4	
§ 8		iii 34...		=	§ 8		iii 33-35	3					
...					§ 9		iii 36-43	8					
§ 10	KBo 17.26	iii ...1'-3'		=	§ 10		iii 44-49	6					
§ 11		iii 4'-5'...		=	§ 11		iii 50-52...		?	...			
										§ 7'' KBo 17.5	iii ...1'-3'		
										end of col.			

Table 9: Text distribution col. iv

Col. iv								
A					B			
§	text	lines	lines per §		§	text	lines	lines per §
§ 1	KBo 17.1	iv 1-4	4	?	in col. iii ?			
§ 2		iv 5-10	6	=	§ 1	KBo 17.3	iv 1-6	6
§§				=	§§			
§ 3		iv 11-13	3	=	§ 2		iv 7-9	3
§§				=	§§			
§ 4		iv 14-22	9	=	§ 3		iv 10-19	10
§ 5		iv 23-29	7	=	§ 4		iv 20-29	10
§ 6	+KBo 25.148	iv 30-33	4					
§ 7		iv 34-40	7	=	§ 5		iv 30-36	7
§ 8		iv 41...		?	§ 6		iv 37-38...	
						(+)IBoT 3.135+KBo 25.7+KBo 17.7		
							iv 1'-4'	
					§		iv 5'-10'	
					§		iv 11'	
					§§			
					§		iv 12'-13'...	



Illustration 3: Layout of ms. A, end of col. i
 hethiter.net/: PhotoArch PhB 00342b

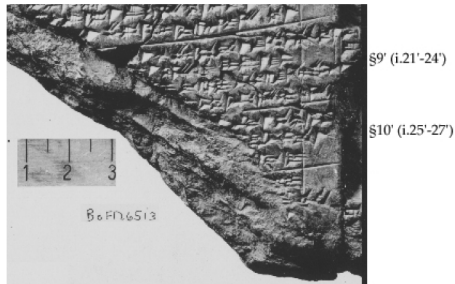


Illustration 4: Layout of ms. B, end of col. i
 hethiter.net/: PhotoArch BoFn06513

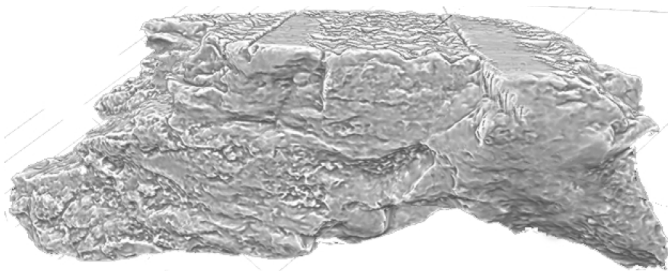


Illustration 5: 3-D profile of Bo 2743 (KBo 17.2)
 3-D scan M. Cammarosano – G.G.W. Müller