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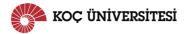
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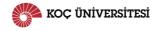
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New Tablet Fragments on Dreams from the Boğazkale Archive

GÜLGÜNEY MASALCI ŞAHİN - ÖZLEM SİR GAVAZ*

Abstract

The tablets introduced in this study are fragments brought to the Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum from Berlin to Türkiye in 1987. These Hittite tablet fragments contain dream-oath content, and we provide the transliteration and translation of the Bo 7832 and Bo 7863 fragments. Moreover, we interpret these tablets philologically and determine their place in the series. Over a hundred texts providing information on dreams or containing dream reports have been identified in the Hittite cuneiform archives. We believe that the two unpublished fragments examined in this study will contribute to the existing literature on dreams.

Keywords: Hittites, Boğazkale, cuneiform tablets, dream

Öz

Çalışmada tanıtılacak tabletler, 1987 yılında Berlin'den Türkiye'ye, Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi'ne geri getirilen fragmanlardandır. Hititçe tablet fragmanları rüya-yemin içerikli olup, çalışmada, Bo 7832 Bo 7863 nolu tablet fragmanlarının transliterasyonu ve tercümesi verilecek, filolojik yorumu yapılacak ve seri içindeki yeri belirlenecektir. Hitit çivi yazılı arşivinde, rüyalar hakkında bilgi veren ya da rüya raporlarını içeren yüzün üzerinde metin tespit edilmiştir. Bizim bu çalışmada inceleyeceğimiz şimdiye kadar yayınlanmamış bu iki yeni fragmanın da rüya literatürüne katkı sağlayacağı kanısındayız.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hititler, Boğazkale, çivi yazılı tabletler, rüya

Introduction

The Hittite tablet fragments under consideration are dream-oath tablets. Dreams are the most special and valuable tools of the subconscious and were routinely interpreted and recorded in ancient societies with the aim of communicating with the gods. Sleep is explained as a state of rest in which the reactivity of the consciousness to external stimuli is completely lost or weakened, and activity is greatly reduced. Until a few centuries ago, dreams were associated with magic, prophecy, and mysterious events. More recently, they have begun to be interpreted physiologically and psychologically. The first scientific explanations of dreams were based on neurophysiologic studies in the 1800s. Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) was the first to suggest that dreams be interpreted psychologically. According to Freud, dreams

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¹ Güven 2015, 16.

are transferences of our thoughts while awake to a sleep state, and often focus on one's conflicts. Within dreams, repressed desires are satisfied and what lays hidden can be revealed.² Moreover, Freud described dreams with the following: "Dreams encounter resistance as they try to make their way to the unconscious material that replaces them, hidden behind them. So we can conclude that there must be something important hidden behind the replacement."³

In ancient times, it was believed that dreams were sent by external sources, most often the gods. It was also thought that dreams, being inner guides, were gifts from the divine to humanity, and their main function was to help people. Even without adhering to this view, it could well be argued that dreams are important tools with which to decipher the spirit world, as well as to reveal the fears, sociological and psychological problems, concerns, wishes, and desires of both individuals and society. In fact, we could generally say that dreams are a kind of reflection of reality, and thus believed to have oracular or healing powers in ancient times.

Dreams among the Hittites

There is a body of work in academic literature that focuses on dream perception in the ancient Near East.⁶ There is also research on the dream phenomenon of the Hittites, which is the subject of our study.⁷ Dreams were extremely important for the Hittites. Indeed, they believed that they were guided by the gods regarding the present and the future. Hittites planned their whole lives based on the messages they received from the gods, whether orders, advice, or requests. Or they resolved certain questions that they could not answer through their revelatory dreams. In cuneiform texts, the Hittite words *tešba-, zašbai-, duntarriyašba-*, and Sumerian Ù, MA.MÚ, Ù.NUN, Ù^{TUM} mean "dream, sleep."

The identity of the god seen in a dream was sometimes uncertain. In these cases, oracles were used to clarify the messages. In particular, the KIN oracle was used. Apart from communicating with the gods, the dream was interpreted as a window to the world of the dead. Two different categories of dreams were mentioned, namely good dreams and bad dreams. Sanezzi *tešba* were defined as dreams that bring positive or uplifting news.

² Freud 1972; Ökse 2021, 157.

Freud 2016, 128. Carl Jung, a Swiss psychoanalyst and contemporary of Freud, stated that dreams occur when the will and consciousness disappear (Jung 1993, 40-41). Contrary to Freud who sees suppressed emotions and forbidden wishes as the source of dreams, Jung associates dreams with the ego and the subconscious (Sambur 2005, 113). He emphasizes that every dream should be understood as an expression of the subconscious (Fordham 1983, 126). According to Austrian physician and psychiatrist Alfred Adler, dreams are a universal activity of the human mind, and like any spiritual manifestation, they arise through innate forces in every individual. They are a phenomenon that is difficult to understand (Adler 2005, 276). While Freud sees dreams as a person's attempt to make sense of past events, Adler states that dreams are intended to help people to evaluate their future and to find solutions to their problems (Adler 1984, 111). They are not, however, prophetic, and it would be incorrect to believe that dreams foretell the future (Adler 2003, 82-83).

⁴ Covitz 2000, 13; Çetin 2010, 259.

⁵ Ünal 2013, 476.

⁶ Oppenheim 1956; Zgoll 2006; Noegel 2007; Hamori and Stökl 2018; Kahya 2019.

⁷ Mouton 2007; Beckman 2010; Ünal 2013.

⁸ Friedrich 1952, 297; Tischler 1994, 335-41; Beckman 2010, 26; Ünal 2013, 479.

⁹ KUB 5.11 i 44, 56, vi 49; Mouton 2007, 193-99.

¹⁰ KUB 52.72 obv. 5-12; Mouton 2007, 186-91.

¹¹ Mouton 2007, 317.

¹² Ünal 2013, 483.

It was believed that bad dreams (HUL Ù) were caused by magic, and, in turn, magic was necessary to eliminate them. ¹³ It was also stated that bad dreams could be caused by psychological disorders. ¹⁴ For example, Mursili II suffered facial paralysis after a traumatic event in the Anatolian campaign, and he saw the issue many times in his dreams. ¹⁵ Dreams with sexual themes were also considered bad dreams. ¹⁶

People who interpret dreams were often seen as MUNUSENSI, "fortune tellers, seers" in Hittite texts. 17 However, the texts also contain the names of specific dream interpreters. In KUB 48.118 (lines 6-7), dated between the periods of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV, "Gazzuwala's wife was the Queen's dream interpreter," and by extension served as the dream interpreter for the king as well. 18

People called ^{LÚ}DINGIR^{LIM}-*niyanza* (*šiuniyanza*), literally "god man," were thought to be the messengers of the gods. Other translations include "man of god, ecstatic." ¹⁹ "spokesperson of God," ²⁰ and "prophet." ²¹ Precise interpretation, however, remains a challenge as references in the texts are scant.

There were more than one hundred dream records in the Hittite archives, most of which belonged to the king, queen, and royal class. The absence of public records was due to the fact that the Hittite archives were written by the royal circles. As such, it was essentially a royal archive. Nearly all of the cuneiform documents left by the Hittites were recorded to facilitate the activities of the king, who was the high priest of the gods, the commander-in-chief of the military forces, and the chief judge.²²

For these reasons, it was understood that dreams were sometimes used as a tool to legitimize or justify the actions of kings and queens. However, the unconscious feelings, wishes and psychological states of the royal members were also revealed, to a certain extent, by the dream records.

Dreams were primarily used to identify, absolve and atone for sin.²³ Kantuzili's prayer illustrates this point: "[Now] may My God open his innermost soul to me with all his heart and may he tell me my sins, so that I may acknowledge them. Either let My God speak to me in a dream and may My God open his innermost to me."²⁴

Mursili II wanted to learn the causes of the disease through dreams in his plague prayers: "[Or] if people have been dying because of some other reason, then let me either see it in a dream, or let it be established through an oracle, or let a man of god declare it, or, according to what I instructed all the priests, they shall regularly sleep holy."²⁵

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<sup>13</sup> Mouton 2010, 2:517; 2007, 54-55.
```

¹⁴ Ünal 2013, 485.

¹⁵ Ünal 2003, 2:27-28.

¹⁶ Oppenheim 1956, 227.

¹⁷ Friedrich 1952, 271; Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 413-14; Rüster and Neu 1989, 316; Ünal 2016, 115.

¹⁸ de Roos 2007, 123; Mouton 2007, 270.

¹⁹ Goetze 1957, 147.

²⁰ Prechel 2008, 219.

²¹ Beckman 2010, 27.

²² Beckman 2010, 26.

²³ Ünal 1983, 39-40.

²⁴ KUB 30. 10 obv. 24'-25'; Rieken et al., eds., hethiter.net/: CTH 373 (Expl. A, 11.12.2017).

²⁵ KUB 14.8 rev 41'-44; Singer 2002, 60.

Dream records and contexts changed during the period of King Hattusili III and Queen Puduhepa. In this period, dreams often became a tool for legitimizing political goals.²⁶ During the reign of King Hattusili III, divine justification of the ruler and his actions was the primary function of dreams. They served to identify future rulers, royal marriages, cures for diseases, gifts demanded by the gods for a god or temple, or the rites required to be performed.²⁷

There were more realistic and psychologically reflective dream records in this period as well. In particular, dreams describing Queen Puduhepa's longing for her hometown and her deceased father are examples of this. 28

Mouton stated that the types of documents in which dreams were transferred were votive texts, oracle texts, prayers, religious ceremonies, legends, historical texts, and letters.²⁹ As has been widely established, important meanings have been attributed to dreams of virtually every type, many of which have been recorded. For instance, fortune texts seek to divine the results of a dream, and votive texts are written as a result of the dream. Dreams were routinely recorded in order to strengthen political power, present glimpses into the past in historical texts, or to give parts from life. Messages from the gods through dreams have been classified as supportive, stimulating, or conveying needs.³⁰

Hittite texts contain examples of "sacred sleep" known as *istibare*, that is, the religious practice of sleeping with the intention of experiencing a divinely inspired dream. Here people would sleep in order to receive information about a given subject or gain insights into the future by making inferences about certain upcoming events. In the texts, the expressions *šuppa šeš* ("clean, holy sleep"), *tešḫaš šuppuwar* ("sanctity of sleep"), and *šuppa šešuwar* ("sacred sleep") were equivalent to *istibare*. For example, in lines 17-18 of the KBo 17.65 (reverse), during a birth ritual, the dream was intended to answer whether the birth would be easy: *nu-za-kán kuit kuit ŠA ^Éšinapši uddar tešḫit uwanna paizzi*. This means: "he goes through the dream to see about the birth house."³¹

Hittite texts recorded that vows to the gods were confirmed by dreams beforehand. In Puduhepa's dream, a dedication was made to the goddess Hepat, and the dream mentioned that this was the goddess of the city of $Uda.^{32}$

Bo 7832 (figs. 1-4)

Museum number: Bo 7832 Measures: 73 x 62 x 40mm

Color: Light Brown

Obverse: The last lines of the left margin are partially preserved. The lines on the left side of the right side are broken. There are three paragraph lines on both sides. The upper and lower parts of the tablet are broken.

Back side: There are three paragraph lines on each side. The middle part of the tablet - the beginning of the right side and the last part of the left - is preserved.

²⁶ Ünal 1983, 40.

²⁷ Beckman 2010, 28-29.

²⁸ KUB 31.77 i; Ünal 2014, 450.

²⁹ Mouton 2007, 315.

³⁰ Mouton 2004, 4.

³¹ Beckman 1983, 132; Ünal 2013, 480.

³² Mouton 2007, 44, 261.

Transliteration

Obv I x+1] QA-TAM-MA ^DluTU*ŠI* 2' 3' m]a-ni-ah-zi 4']x-bu-wa-ar 5' 6' DIUTU *ŠI* |x-zi|8'] NAM.RA] É.LUGAL 9' 10'] x x x x UDU Obv. II x+1 [.... A-N]A DUTU URUPÚ-[naŠ \mathring{A} EZEN⁴ ša-at-l[a-aš-ša³³ *I-NA* ^{URU}PÚ-*na* ^{UR[U} 3' 4' ŠA ^DUTU ^{URU}PÚ-n[a 5' pí-eš-kán GAM-ma-[A-NA ^DUTU ^{URU}P[Ú-*na* ŠÀ ^{EZEN4} ša-at [-la-aš- ša 8' URUGIDRU-*aš i-wa-ar*[*i-an-zi*? 9' ŠA ^DUTU ^{URU}PÚ-n[a 10' GAM-*ma a-ri-ia i-*x [11' A-NA ^DUTU ^{URU}PÚ-n[a 12' 2 UDU-aš ^{URU}PÚ-na ^{URU}[13' Ù TUM ŠA GAL LÚ[.MEŠ 14' A-NA KUR ^{URU}Ḥat-ti-wa[15' nu x [..] x x x Rev. I 1']x-x-x [.....] 2' 3' a-pí-iz-wa-at-ta

^{4&#}x27; GAM-an ar-ba

^{5&#}x27; da-az

^{6&#}x27;

 $^{^{33}\;}$ KUB 13.4 i 41; KUB 46.57 obv 26; KUB 31.92 9; KBo 22.246 iii 22; KBo 26.156 rev 3; Bo 6251 obv 16.

```
še-er a]r-ku-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-ar [ú-wa-nu-un<sup>34</sup>
   7'
        [.....ar-za ka-ru-ú da-a-iš
   8'
        [.....]x NAM.RA-ia
   10' [..... ka-ru-]ú DÙ-an
   11' KU]R <sup>URU</sup>Hat-ti
   12' DING]IRUTU URUPÚ-na
   13' ]nu-wa-kán
   14' ]x-x-x-x
Rev. II
   x+1 ar-ha \mathring{U}^{\dagger}[TUM]?
        ŠA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> x[
   2'
   3'
        UGU na-a-[ú-i
   4'
       ka-ru-ú [
      A-NA <sup>D</sup>U[TU <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-na
   5'
       I-NA KUR[
   6'
       e-eš-du [
   8'
        A-NA I x[
        ŠA GA[M
   10' ŠA? [
   11' t[i
Translation
Obv. I
   x+1] Thus
        H]is Majesty
   3'
        aldministers
   4'
   5'
   6'
        ] His Majesty
   7'
        and
       ] deportee(s)
   8'
        ] house of the king
   10' ] sheep
Obv. II
   x+1 [...]to Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna
        ] on šatlašša festival
```

in the city of Arinna

3'

³⁴ KUB 24.5 obv.8'. See Kümmel 1967, 8.

| | 4' | of the Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna | | | |
|----|--------------|--|--|--|--|
| | 5' | given below | | | |
| | 6' | to Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna | | | |
| | 7' | on šatlašša festival | | | |
| | 8' | They make it according to the city of Ḥattuša. | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | 9' | of the Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna [| | | |
| | 10' | he/she investigates [| | | |
| | 11' | , - | | | |
| | 12' | two sheep (for) the Sun Goddess of Arinnacity of | | | |
| | 13' | the dream of the chief of men | | | |
| | 1 <i>3</i> ' | | | | |
| | | and [| | | |
| _ | | | | | |
| Re | v. I | 1 | | | |
| | 1' |]x-x-x | | | |
| | 2' | [] | | | |
| | 3' | from there to you | | | |
| | 4' | down away | | | |
| | 5' | | | | |
| | 6' | | | | |
| | 7' | prayer of presenting | | | |
| | 8' | [] he/she formerly put | | | |
| | 9' | [] NAM.RA | | | |
| | 10' | [former]ly did | | | |
| | 11' | Lan]d of Ḥatti | | | |
| | 12' | of the Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna | | | |
| | 13' | and | | | |
| | 14' | X | | | |
| Re | v. II | | | | |
| | x+1 | out of? sleep/dream? | | | |
| | 2' | of the god | | | |
| | 3' | Above yet | | | |
| | 4' | Formerly | | | |
| | | to the Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna | | | |
| | 6' | in the country | | | |
| | 7' | to be [| | | |

to... one

9' below

10' of ...?

11' ...

Philological Comment

Obv. I 3'

maniabzi Sg. Prs. 3. maniyab- "to administer, govern, handover, deliver." 35

The text of KUB 5.12 rev. 8-10 (CTH 582) belonging to an oracle fragment is related to the dream and the verb *maniyab*-, and reads as follows³⁶:

- 8 DUTU^{ŠI}-za-kán ku-it Ù-an a-uš-ta za-aš-hi-[ya-wa
- 9 nu-wa-mu me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi ŠA ^DIŠTAR URU[
- 10 ud-da-ni-ya da-ma-a-in UN-an ku-wa-at-[qa?
- 11 DUTUŠI-ma an-ni-ša-an ku-it A-NA TUP-[PÍ?
- 12 $\lceil ku \rceil$ -u-un me-mi-an EGIR-an $\lceil ar \rceil$ -nu-nu-un x [
- 13 ku-iš ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫe-eš-ki-iz-zi A-N[A
- 8 Of the fact that my Sun saw a dream 'In (my) dream [
- 9 and said to me: '[. . .] from Šaušga from the city of [NV
- 10 and for the matter another person maybe[re
- 11 but because previously my Sun for the tablet
- 12 I transmitted this word [
- 13 who ruled fold

Obv. II 2'

EZEN4*šatlašša*: Name of a festival.³⁷ Celebrations were held in Hattuša for the Hurrian and Luwian gods. The festival of *šatlašša* was also mentioned, together with eighteen festivals, in CTH 264, which contains instructions for the temple staff.³⁸ The festivals of thunder - *biyarra*,³⁹ *pudaba*,⁴⁰ and šatlašša - were celebrated for Tešup of Aleppo and the related gods,⁴¹ some of which belonged to a more ancient tradition.⁴²

Obv. II 13'

Ù^{TUM} ŠA GAL LÚ[.MEŠ

Similarly, in the line numbered KUB 48.122 +KUB 15.5 obv ii 24', ' $\dot{U}^{TUM} \check{S}A$ 「GAL¬' is mentioned. This word refers to the dreams of a high-ranking official. Also among the dream records

³⁵ Friedrich, 1952, 135; Tischler 1990, 119-21; Puhvel 2004, 44-52; Ünal 2016, 336.

³⁶ Mouton 2007, 230.

³⁷ Souček and Siegelová 1974, 51, n. 32; Haas 1994, 556; Tischler 2004, 956; Ünal 2007, 2:622; for other texts cited, see KUB 13.4 i 41; KUB 46.57 obv. 26; KUB 31.92 9; KBo 22.246 iii 22; KBo 26.156 rev. 3; Bo 6251 obv. 16.; KBo 8.82 rev.13.

³⁸ KUB 13.4 i 39-45; KBo 50.276b I 3'-8'; Sturtevant 1934, 368; Süel 1985, 26-29; Groddek 2008b, 183.

³⁹ EZEN*biyara-/biyarra-/bierra-* "name of a festival," KUB 13.4 i 40; KUB 18.18, 17; Souček and Siegelová 1974, 51, n. 31; Tischler 1983, 241; Puhvel 1991, 304; Ünal 2007, 1:217.

⁴⁰ pudaba-/puteba- "name of a festival"; Souček and Siegelová 1974, 51, n. 30; Güterbock and Hoffner 1997, 400-1; Tischler 2001, 673; Ünal 2007, 2:557.

⁴¹ KBo 22.246 iii 22'-23'; Groddek 2008a, 236.

⁴² Souček and Siegelová 1974, 51; Taracha 2009, 137.

of the officials were the dreams of $^{\text{L\'U}}$ UGULA.10 "leader of the 10" 43 or GAL $^{\text{L\'U}}$ MEŠEDI "chief guards." 44

Rev. I 7'

arkuwar tiyauwar (from *dai-*) "prayer of presenting/setting,"⁴⁵ a ritual performance describing "presentation of pleading."⁴⁶ This ritual was recorded many times in the texts. Muwatalli's prayer to the assembly of the gods through the god of the lightning storm, described in the rituals performed for the gods, is quoted as follows:

KUB 6.45+ 1111/v+ KUB 30.14⁴⁷

A iv

- 46 nu-kán ku-e A-WA-TE^{MEŠ} A-NA ^DUTU^{ŠI}ŠÀ-ta.
- 47 na-at-za A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ} ar-ku-wa-ar DÙ-zi GIM-an-ma-kán.
- 48 ar-ku-wa-ar ti-ya-u-wa-at kar-ap-ta-ri.
- 46-48 The words/things which are in His Majesty's heart invokes them to the gods. When the presentation of the plea is finished.

KBo 11.1^{48}

Obv.

- 24' DUB.1.KAM ŠA ^DU ar-ku-wa-ar ti-ya-u-wa-aš A-NA ^DUTU^{ŠI} at- kán K[AxU-az]
- 25' 「pa¬-ra-a a-ni-ya-an QA-TI
- 24-25' First tablet of the presentation of pleading to the god of the storm, as dictated [by] His Majesty (is) finished.

KUB 52.14⁴⁹

ii

- 20' $-t/\check{s}$] a A-NA ^DU ^{URU}Ne-ri-[i]k.
- 21' ku]- $\lceil e^{\rceil}$ -da-ni GE₆-an-ti Ù-an a- $\lceil u \rceil \check{s}$ -ta.
- 22' kel-^re¹-ez ke-e-ez-ya ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR^{ŬI.Á}.
- 23' n]a-at Ú-UL ku-it-{ki?} i-e-er.
- 24'] ar-ku-u-wa-ar ti-ya-u-wa-aš-ša.
- 25'] *zi-la-a*š SIG⁵.
- 20'] . . . for the storm god of Ner[i]k
- 21'] during which night he/she saw a dream
- 22'] . . . on this side and on (the other) side of the tables
- 23'] we didn't do anything
- 24'] and presenting of pleading
- 25' I the oracle (is) favorable.

⁴³ KUB 48.124 13'-20'.

⁴⁴ KUB 22.66 8'-15'.

⁴⁵ Friedrich 1952, 31; Puhvel 1984, 1:149; Ünal 2016, 542.

⁴⁶ Singer 1996, 49.

⁴⁷ Singer 1996, 28.

⁴⁸ CTH 382, Prayer of Muwatalli II to the weather god of Kummanni; Mouton 2007, 126.

⁴⁹ Mouton 2007, 238.

arkuwar tiyauwaš might be considered to be related to prophecy. Since dreams were also considered to be signs from the gods, this type of prayer is likely to have been associated with dreams. However, Bo 7832 reverse i line 7', just after arkuwar tiyauwaš in line 8'. ka-ru-ú da-a-iš ("he/she used to put") and the word "NAM.RA" in line 9' indicates the existence of a substitution ritual.

Bo 7863 (fig. 5-6)

Museum number: Bo 7863 Measures: 45 x 55 x 22 mm

Color: Brick red

Description: The lower right and left parts of the tablet are broken. The lines on the left margin are

also broken. The back of the tablet is completely destroyed and is without writing.

Transliteration

- 1 DU URU Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da [
- 2 še-er Ù-at nu A-NA ^D]U
- 3 É-ir ar-ba pa-ra-ši-pí[
- 4 nu A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} É-ir an-da [
- 5]x -it < ha-aš-pa-an nu-kán [
- 6] Γú[¬]-e-ri-ia-an-zi nu šu-[
- 7]x*-a-ḫa-an-na ^{PÚ}Za-a*[*l-*
- 8 $\check{s}u$ -up- $p]\acute{i}$ -ia-ab-ba-an-z[i]
- 9]x *ti-an-z*[*i*
- 10 ...-] ir nu [...]
- 1' Storm god of the city of Zippalanda
- 2' On the dream to the [Storm] God
- 3' the house is completely destroye[d
- 4' and to the god in the house [
- 5']which was destroyed and [
- 6' ...] they called and [
- 7']Mount Daḥa (?) Za[l-? spring
- 8']they were [pur]ified.
- 9']x they put
- 10' lx and [

Philological Comment

1

^DU ^{URU} Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da "Storm god of the city of Zippalanda."

During the reign of Hattusili III, the state pantheon considered the local storm god to be the son of Zippalanda, and the main deities were chiefly associated with humidity. Their festivals were celebrated in autumn and spring.⁵⁰ In local tradition, Zippalanda was the son of the "Sun Goddess of the Earth," although the official state pantheon declared him to be the son of the

⁵⁰ Popko 1994, 33.

Sun Goddess of Arinna. Zippalanda also had the characteristics and attributes of a plant god. At the request of the "man of the storm god," the weather god of Zippalanda would awaken from his "sweet sleep" atop Mount D/Taha.⁵¹

IBoT 4.92 52

- x+1 [(ta LÚ)] ^DU te-ez-zi a-ra-a-i ^DU ^{URU}Zi-ip-l[a-an-da]
- 2' [š]a-ni-iz-zi-ya-az te-eš-ha-az
- 3' ka-a-ša-wa-at-ta ta-ba-ar-na-aš LUGAL-u[š]
- 4' ŠA AMA-KA ŠA ^DUTU ^{URU}A-ri-in-na</sup>
- 5' LÚSANGA *I-NA* HUR.SAG *Da-a-ha tu-e-el*
- 6' a-aš-ši-ya-an-ti pé-e-da-i
- x+1 Storm god's man says: "Get up, the Storm God of Zippa[landa]
- 2' from sweet sleep!
- 3' Look, you Tabarna, the king
- 4' of your mother, the Sun Goddess of Arinna.
- 5-6' Her priest is taking you to the beloved mountain of Daha".

5

< bašp-/bašpa- "to destroy, handle, come to grips with, dispose of." 53

KUB 13.4. I.⁵⁴

- 40' e-šu-un nu-kán KUR- TU_4 hu-u-ma-a[n...]
- 41' ba-aš-pa-ba A-NA NAM.RA[.MEŠ-ma EGIR -an-da Ú-UL pa-a-u-un]

40-41' I had destroyed... the entire land, [I did not go] after the civilian captives.

The word we read as "ha-aš-pa-an" in Bo 7863 line 555, likewise obv. I 5 . . . : ha-aš-pa-an. . . 56

7

ÜUR.SAGD]ahanna, Daha Mountain⁵⁷

D/Taha Mountain, located near to the city of Zippalanda (and becoming its holy mountain), was an important religious center. In the texts, Daḥa Mountain is specified in reference to the Guardian God of Daha Mountain (DIAMMA), the Pleiades of Daḥa Mountain (DIMIN.IMIN.BI), and Guardian God of Prairies (DLAMMA.LÍL).⁵⁸

PÚZa-a[l-

 $P\acute{U}/T\acute{U}L = luli-/luliya$ - "lake, pond, well, spring, basin." The text in question was referred to as $^{4}P\acute{U}Za-x'$ by del Monte and Tischler, and discussed under the title "Zarimma." However, it seems

⁵¹ Haas 1994, 446, 738.

⁵² Dupl. KUB 41.29; Archi 1979, 1:29.

⁵³ Tischler 1983, 201; Puhvel 1991, 232; Ünal 2016, 174; 2007, 1:194.

⁵⁴ Hoffner 2009, 304.

⁵⁵ Oettinger 1979, 194.

⁵⁶ Fuscagni 2007, 167.

⁵⁷ del Monte and Tischler 1978, 374.

⁵⁸ Popko 1994, 38.

⁵⁹ Ünal 2007, 1:411.

⁶⁰ del Monte and Tischler 1978, 558; Fuscagni 2007, 167.

clear that the syllable after $^{P\dot{U}}Za$ in Bo 7863 i line 7 is not $-r\dot{i}$, although it is broken halfway through. Accordingly, we read it as $-a]\dot{l}$.

Discussion

There were key terms that came to the fore in both dream fragments. One of them is the "substitution ritual." This ritual, as described in Hittite texts, involved appointing a proxy or a bodyguard for the king as a means of preventing his death or, at least, minimizing his fear of death.

Substitution rituals involving appointing a proxy or bodyguard - examples of which can be found in Hittite texts - were essentially applied to prevent the death of a king or to appease a king afraid of death. If a king's death was prophesied or seen by the king himself in a dream (i.e., if his death was reported through insight or fortune telling), then the ritual to be performed was clear. First, a person was determined from among the prisoners of war (NAM.RA) to replace the Hittite king. In Hittite texts, this person is referred to as Hittite *tarpašsa*-, Luwian *tarpalli-/tarpanalli-/tarpaššaḫit*-, or Akkadian *PŪHU*. This means "deputy of animate or inanimate beings who take the place of a person or thing and undertake his sins."

The king would remove his clothes, which were then put on the person who would replace him. Once done, the gods were enjoined to take the deputy rather than the king. Bryce stated that a male captive was appointed as a proxy when invoking a god, and a female one for a goddess. On the other hand, the sequencing of the words D]UTU SI ("His Majesty") in obv. i line 2, m] $^{a-ni-ab-zi}$ ("[he] rules") in obv. i line 3, and (LÚ)NAM.RA ("deportee(s)") in obv i line 8 raises the question as to whether the words tarpašša, tarpalli, or $P\bar{U}HU$ are mentioned in the broken parts of the text. Unfortunately, it is not possible to answer this question definitively. In addition to these, the expression GAM ariya- ("to question by divination") in obv. ii line 10 is also important since the imminent death of the king is informed through dreams or divination, such as bird signs or reading portents in animal livers.

This is well illustrated in the text describing when King Mursili II dreamed of the issue that resulted in facial paralysis. He then appointed a proxy to solve the problem. ⁶⁶ It is understood from the text that the king had a dream years after he was rendered speechless by facial paralysis, and he then consulted an oracle to interpret this dream. The oracle identified the Storm God of the City of Manuziya as the cause of illness. The oracle determined that an ox should serve as a substitute for the king. This, in addition to sacrificed birds, would ostensibly appease the Storm God of Manuziya City and remedy the king's facial paralysis.

One of the gods mentioned in the documents and introduced in the study is ^{D}U $^{URU}Zippalanda$ ("Storm God of Zippalanda"), and the other is ^{D}UTU $^{URU}Arinna$ ("Sun Goddess of Arinna").

 $^{^{61}\:}$ See Kümmel 1967; Dinçol 1985; Goedegebuure 2002; Reyhan 2003; Schwemer 2020.

⁶² CAD P, 496-500.

⁶³ Çilingir Cesur 2020, 166.

⁶⁴ Bryce 2003, 224.

⁶⁵ See KBo 15.2 rev. 5-10: Kümmel 1967, 60-63.

⁶⁶ CTH 486 obv. 11-23; Lebrun 1985; Görke, ed., hethiter.net/:CTH 486

In the above-mentioned text, the God of Zippalanda wishes to be awakened from his "sweet sleep." In another text, the king is depicted offering a sacrifice to the god. In the records of Queen Puduhepa's dreams, a dedication is made to the Storm God of Zippalanda. The queen, who saw that the city of Ankuwa was burned to ashes in her dream, offers the city of Zippalanda to the storm god by having a silver model of it made. Here, the model of the city is given as a substitution. As can be seen in previous examples, the dream texts and the "substitution" texts are intertwined and related. The example of Sun Goddess of Arinna was mentioned in a few passages as follows:

KBo 16.98 Obv. ii⁶⁸

- 10 DUTU 「URU¬PÚ-na ku-it e-ni-eš-ša-an te-eš-ha-ni-eš-kit-ta-ri
- 11 nu-kán GIM-an ^DUTU^Š IŠ-T[U] KUR ^{URU}Kum-ma-an-ni UGU a-ar-bi
- 12 nu-za-kán LUGAL-iz-na-an-ni e-[e]š-ha-ha-ri nam-ma-za EZEN₄ ^{MEŠ}
- 13 DÙ-*mi*...
- Because the Sun Goddess of Arinna keeps appearing (to me) dream of it thus,
- 11 if (I), His Majesty, I rise from the land of Kummanni,
- 12-13 I will settle down in royalty and, besides that, I will make feasts ...

KUB 5.24 + KUB 16.31 + KUB 18.57 (CTH 577)⁶⁹

ΙΙ

- 12 Ù TUM MUNUS.LUGAL I-MUR nu-wa-kán ŠÀ Ù TI A-NA DUTUŠI
- 13 me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi ki-i-wa ^DUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na ŠA I kur
- 14 ku-wa-at-ga ut-tar EGIR-pa SUD-at EGIR-an-da-ma-wa-za-kán
- 15 DUTUŠI Ù-an a-uš-ta nu-wa-kán za-aš-hi-ya ŠÀ ^{URU}PÚ-na
- 16 túb-bu-u-wa-iš ma-a-an ku-iš-ki ki-ša-an-za
- 17 nu ma-a-an ka-a-aš Ù^{TUM} ku-it im-ma ku-it
- 18 i-ši-ya-ah-ta na-at GAM-an ar-ha GAR-ru
- 12-13 A dream (of) the queen. She saw (a dream): In the dream, she said to His Majesty: "The Sun Goddess of Arinna
- 13-14 wanted to prolong this, Kur's affair somehow other." But then,
- 15-16 His Majesty saw a dream and in (this) dream something like smoke (has) appeared in Arinna.
- 17-18 If this dream revealed anything, let it be discarded.

As it is understood from the texts above, both the Sun Goddess of Arinna and the Zippalanda City Storm God are two gods often encountered in dream texts. On the other hand, in the prayer text of Puduhepa, which we refer to for the identity of the Hittite Chief Goddess, the Sun Goddess Arinna and Hepat are mentioned as follows:

⁶⁷ KUB 15.1; Ünal 1981, 448; de Roos 2007, 94.

⁶⁸ CTH 577; Mouton 2007, 192.

⁶⁹ van den Hout 1995, 256-57, 262-65.

KUB 21.27 (CTH 384)⁷⁰

obv.I

- 3 DUTU ^{URU}PÚ-*na-za* GAŠAN-*IA* KUR-*e-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš*
- 4 nu-za-kán I-NA KUR ^{URU}Ḥa-at-ti ^DUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na ŠUM-an da-iš-ta
- 5 nam-ma-ma-za ku-it KUR-e ^{GIŠ}ERIN *i-ia-at*
- 6 nu-za-kán Hé-pát ŠUM-an da-iš-ta
- 7 am-mu-uq-ma-za ^fPu-du-bé-pa-aš an-na-al-li-iš GEMÉ-[K]A
- 3 Sun Goddess of Arinna, my dear, you are the queen of all lands.
- 4 You named yourself the Sun Goddess of Arinna in the Land of Hatti.
- 5-6 You also named yourself Hepat in the land of the cedar.
- 7 I, Puduḥepa, have been your servant from time immemorial.

As can be understood from this passage, the Sun Goddess of Arinna is worshiped under the name of Hepat in the Land of Kizzuwatna, which is called the land of Cedar and where many Hurrians live.

Conclusion

For ancient and traditional societies, dreams were the guiding voice of the sacred. Besides their many functions, they were generally accepted as a means of communication with the god(s). The dream fragments introduced in this study are also directly related to the gods, and evidence the fact that dreams had a guiding function in the Hittite belief system. These established a bond between the gods and their believers, and were a way to rectify mistakes or unfavorable situations. In both fragments, there is a bond established with certain gods, and rituals or dedications were made to end negative situations.

In fragment Bo 7832, there is a connection between the *šatlašša*- festival performed in the city of Arinna for the Chief Goddess of the Hittite Country, the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the offerings to the goddess, and dreams. This was likely referring to the prophecy communicated by the goddess through dreams. However, the details and consequences of this prophecy must have been contained in the broken parts of the tablet. Moreover, in this fragment, rev. i on line 7', *arkuwar tiyauwar* ("prayer of presenting / setting") is highly significant. Was the prayer in question made during the sacrificial ceremony to ward off any negative situations reported to the people as a result of an oracle? Or did it refer to a rite of substitution? Furthermore, immediately after line 8', do '*ka-ru-û da-a-iš*' ("he / she had formerly offered") and the word "NAM.RA" in line 9 line indicate the existence of a substitution ritual? Is the Bo 7832 fragment about a king whose death was foretold in a dream, who then appointed a proxy for himself from among his captives, and thus presented himself to (and invoked) the god? Unfortunately, due to the tablet's highly damaged state, these interpretations and evaluations remain open to debate.

In Bo 7863, the second tablet fragment introduced, we see the storm god of Zippalanda one of the most important gods in the Hittite pantheon - along with the purification rites to be performed on Mount *Daḥa* and at the *Za-al*? spring. This may well be related to preventing the negative and destructive effects seen in a dream, and the return of domestic relief and peace.

⁷⁰ Goetze 1957, 137; Erkut 1992, 160; Trémouille 1997, 37; Rieken et al., eds., hethiter.net/: CTH 384.1 (Expl. A, 29.10.2017).

Hittite dream texts are important in terms of emphasizing the special bond between the dreaming king / queen and the gods. They also reveal the dreamer's inner world. We believe that the contents of the two tablet fragments introduced in this study will contribute to the repertoire of Hittite dream texts.

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FIG. 1 Photograph of Bo 7832 obverse.

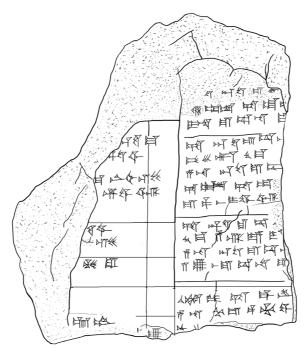


FIG. 2 Copy of Bo 7832 obverse.



FIG. 3 Photograph of Bo 7832 reverse.

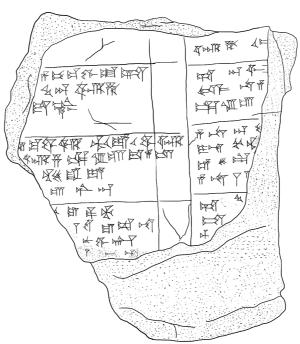


FIG. 4 Copy of Bo 7832 reverse.



FIG. 5 Photograph of Bo 7863 obverse.

