



McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

# Fierce lions, angry mice and fat-tailed sheep

Animal encounters  
in the ancient Near East

Edited by Laerke Recht & Christina Tsouparopoulou



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*with contributions from*

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## Abbreviations and sigla

ABL	Harper, R.F., 1892–1914. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum</i> , 14 volumes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.	ARM 30	Durand, J.-M., 2009. <i>La nomenclature des habits et des textiles dans les textes de Mari</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 30.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.
AHw	von Soden, W., 1959-1981. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden.	AUCT 1	Sigrist, M., 1984. <i>Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum</i> . (Andrews University Cuneiform Texts 1.) Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press.
AKA I	Wallis Budge, E.A. & L.W. King, 1902. <i>Annals of the Kings of Assyria: The Cuneiform Texts with Translations and Transliterations from the Original Documents in the British Museum</i> . Vol. I. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.	BabMed	Babylonian Medicine online [no year]: ‘Corpora’, <a href="https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/babmed/Corpora/index.html">https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/babmed/Corpora/index.html</a>
AMT	Campbell Thompson, R., 1923. <i>Assyrian Medical Texts</i> . Milford, Oxford: Oxford University Press.	BAM	Köcher, F., 1963–1980. <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i> , 6 Vols. Berlin: De Gruyter.
AnOr 8	Pohl, A., 1933. <i>Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner staatlichen Museen</i> . (Analecta Orientalia 8.) Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.	BCT 1	Watson, P.J., 1986. <i>Neo-Sumerian Texts from Drehem</i> . (Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets in Birmingham City Museum I.) Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
AO	Siglum of objects in the Louvre Museum, Paris (Archéologie Orientale).	BIN 1	Keiser, C.E., 1917. <i>Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period</i> . (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, vol. 1.) New Haven: Yale University Press.
ARM 2	Jean, Ch.-F., 1950. <i>Lettres diverses</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 2.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.	BIN 3	Keiser, C.E., 1971. <i>Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem</i> . (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of B.J. Nies, vol. 3.) New Haven: Yale University Press.
ARM 9	Biro, M., 1958. <i>Textes administratifs de la Salle 5 du Palais</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 9.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.	BM	Siglum for objects in the British Museum, London.
ARM 10	Dossin, G., 1978. <i>Correspondance feminine</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 10.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.	BPOA	Biblioteca del Proximo Oriente Antiguo (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2006ff.)
ARM 14	Biro, M., 1974. <i>Lettres de Yaqqim-Addu, gouverneur de Sagarâtum</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 14.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.	BPOA 6	Sigrist, M., & T. Ozaki, 2009a. <i>Neo-Sumerian Administrative Tablets from the Yale Babylonian Collection. Part One</i> (Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 6.) Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
ARM 15	Bottero, J. & A. Finet, 1954. <i>Repertoire analytique des tomes I à V</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 15.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.	BPOA 7	Sigrist, M., & T. Ozaki, 2009b. <i>Neo-Sumerian Administrative Tablets from the Yale Babylonian Collection. Part Two</i> (Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 7.) Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
ARM 26	Durand, J.-M. et al., 1988. <i>Archives épistolaires de Mari</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 26.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.	BRM 1	Clay, A.T., 1912. <i>Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium B.C.</i> (Babylonian Records
ARM 27	Biro, M., 1993. <i>Correspondance des gouverneurs de Qatṭunân</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 27.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.		
ARM 28	Kupper, J.-R., 1998. <i>Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 28.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.		



	in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, Part 1.) New York: Privately printed.	HSS 14	Lacheman, E.R., 1950. <i>Excavations at Nuzi V. Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi, Part 2, The Palace and Temple Archives.</i> (Harvard Semitic Studies 14.) Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard Univ. Press.
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.</i> Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956–2010.	HW <sup>2</sup>	Friedrich, J. & A. Kammenhuber (eds.), 1975–. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte.</i> Heidelberg: Winter.
CBS	Siglum for objects in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section).	IB	Siglum for finds from Isin (Isan Bahriyat).
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, <a href="https://cdli.ucla.edu">https://cdli.ucla.edu</a>	IM	Siglum for objects in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
CHD	Goedegebuure, P.M., H.G. Güterbock, H.A. Hoffner & T.P.J. van den Hout (eds.), 1980–. <i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.</i> Chicago: The Oriental Institute.	ITT 5	de Genouillac, H., 1921. <i>Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Imperial Ottoman. Tome V. Époque présargonique, Époque d'Agadé, Époque d'Ur III.</i> Paris: Édition Ernest Leroux.
CM 26	Sharlach, T.M., 2004. <i>Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State.</i> (Cuneiform Monographs 26.) Leiden: Brill.	KAH 2	Schroeder, O. 1922. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts, Heft II.</i> (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 37.) Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
CT 22	Campbell Thompson, R., 1906. <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in British Museum</i> , vol. 22. London: British Museum.	KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> (Bd. 1-22 in Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft) Leipzig/Berlin, 1916 ff.
CT 32	King, L.W., 1912. <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in British Museum</i> , vol. 32. London: British Museum.	KRI	Kitchen, K.A., 1969–1990. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical</i> , 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.
CT 55	Pinches, T.G. 1982. <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum Part 55. Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts.</i> London: British Museum Publications.	KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin 1921 ff.
CTH	Laroche, E. 1971. <i>Catalogue des Textes Hittites.</i> Paris: Klincksieck.	LAPO 16	Durand, J.-M., 1997. <i>Les Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome I.</i> (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 16.) Paris: Éditions du cerf.
DAS	Lafont, B., 1985. <i>Documents Administratifs Sumériens, provenant du site de Tello et conservés au Musée du Louvre.</i> Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.	LAPO 18	Durand, J.-M., 2000. <i>Les Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome III.</i> (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 18.) Paris: Éditions du cerf.
DMMA	Siglum for objects in the Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France.	LD	Lepsius, C.R., 1849–59. <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> (plates), 6 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung.
DUL	Del Olmo Lete, G. & J. Sanmartín, 2015. <i>A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition.</i> Translated and edited by W.G.E. Watson. Third revised edition. 2 vols. (Handbuch der Orientalistik 112.) Leiden: Brill.	LKU	Falkenstein, A., 1931. <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk.</i> Berlin: Berlin Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Vorderasiatische Abteilung.
EA	Siglum for the Tell El-Amarna Letters, following the edition of Knudtzon, J. A., 1915. <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln.</i> Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.	M	Siglum for texts from Mari.
ePSD	Electronic version of <i>The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary</i> , <a href="http://psd.museum.upenn.edu">http://psd.museum.upenn.edu</a>	Moore, Mich. Coll.	Moore, E., 1939. <i>Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection.</i> Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
ETCSL	Black, J.A., G. Cunningham, J. Ebeling, E. Flückiger-Hawker, E. Robson, J. Taylor & G. Zólyomi (eds.), 1998–2006. <i>The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature.</i> Oxford, <a href="http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/">http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/</a>	MSL VIII/I	Landsberger, B., 1960. <i>The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia. First Part: Tablet XIII.</i> (Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon VIII/1.) Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. [with the assistance of A. Draffkorn Kilmer & E.I. Gordon].
FM 2	Charpin, D. & J.-M. Durand (ed.), 1994. <i>Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot.</i> (Florilegium Marianum II.) Paris: Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient ancien.	MVN 8	Calvot, D., G. Pettinato, S.A. Picchioni & F. Reschid, 1979. <i>Textes économiques du Selluš-Dagan du Musée du Louvre et du Collège de France (D. Calvot). Testi economici dell'Iraq Museum Baghdad.</i> (Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 8.) Rome: Multigrafica Editrice.
Hh	<i>The Series HAR-ra='hubullu'</i> , Materials for the Sumerian lexicon (MSL), 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 & 11. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1957–.	MVN 11	Owen, D.I., 1982. <i>Selected Ur III Texts from the Harvard Semitic Museum.</i> (Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 11.) Rome: Multigrafica Editrice.
		MZ	Siglum for finds from Tell Mozan.
		NBC	Siglum for tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection of the Yale Babylonian Collection.

NCBT	Siglum for tablets in the Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets, now Yale University, New Haven.	SAA 11	Fales, F.M. & J.N. Postgate, 1995. <i>Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 11.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
OIP 99	Biggs, R.D., 1974. <i>Inscriptions from Tell Abu Salabikh</i> . (Oriental Institute Publications 99.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.	SAA 12	Kataja, K. & R. Whiting, 1995. <i>Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 12.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
OIP 115	Hilgert, M., 1998. <i>Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute, Vol. 1: Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Šulgi</i> . (Oriental Institute Publications 115.) Chicago: The Oriental Institute.	SAA 13	Cole, S.W. & P. Machinist, 1998. <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Priests to Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 13.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
OIP 121	Hilgert, M., 1998. <i>Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute, Volume 2: Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Amar-Suena</i> . (Oriental Institute Publications 121.) Chicago: The Oriental Institute.	SAA 17	Dietrich, M., 2003. <i>The Neo-Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 17.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
P	CDLI (Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative) number.	SAA 19	Luukko, M. 2012. <i>The Correspondence of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 19.) Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
PDT 1	Çig, M., H. Kizilyay & A. Salonen, 1956. <i>Die Puzris-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen Teil 1: Texts Nrr. 1-725</i> . (Academia Scientiarum Fennica Annales, série B, tome 92.) Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.	SAA 20	Parpola, S. 2017. <i>Assyrian Royal Rituals and Cultic Texts</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 20.) Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
PKG 18	Orthmann, W., 1985. <i>Der alte Orient</i> . (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 18.) Berlin: Propyläen Verlag.	SAT 2	Sigrist, M., 2000. <i>Sumerian Archival Texts. Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection 2</i> . Bethesda: CDL Press.
PTS	Siglum for unpublished texts in the Princeton Theological Seminary.	SF	Deimel, A., 1923. <i>Schultexte aus Fara</i> . (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 43.) Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
RGTC	<i>Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes</i> . (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B.) Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1974–.	SP	Alster, B., 1997. <i>Proverbs of Ancient Sumer</i> . Bethesda: CDL Press.
RIMA 2	Grayson, A.K., 1991. <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)</i> . (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods Vol. 2.) Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press.	TCL 12	Conteneau, G., 1927. <i>Contrats Néo-Babyloniens I, de Téglaṭh-Phalasar III à Nabonide</i> . (Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre 12.) Paris: P. Geuthner.
RIME 1	Frayne, D., 2008. <i>Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC)</i> . (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods Vol. 1.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.	TCL 13	Contenau, G., 1929. <i>Contrats néo-babyloniens II. Achéménides et Séleucides</i> . (Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre 13.) Paris: P. Geuthner.
RIME 4	Frayne, D., 1990. <i>Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)</i> . (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods Vol. 4.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.	TRU	Legrain, L., 1912. <i>Le temps des rois d'Ur: recherches sur la société antique d'après des textes nouveaux</i> . (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 199.) Paris: H. Champion.
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period; Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus, available at <a href="http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/index.html">http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/index.html</a>	TU	Thureau-Dangin, F., 1922. <i>Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du Temple d'Anu au temps des Séleucides</i> . (Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités orientales. Textes cunéiformes.) Paris: P. Geuthner.
RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> .	U.	Siglum for finds from Ur.
RS	Siglum for documents from Ras Shamra (Ugarit).	UCP 9/1,I	Lutz, H.F., 1927. <i>Neo-Babylonian Administrative Documents from Erech: Part I</i> . (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology Vol. 9 no. 1/I.) Berkeley (CA): University of California Press.
SAA 2	Parpola, S. & K. Watanabe, 1988. <i>Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 2.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.	UCP 9/1,II	Lutz, H.F., 1927. <i>Neo-Babylonian Administrative Documents from Erech: Part II</i> . (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology Vol. 9 no. 1/II.) Berkeley (CA): University of California Press.
SAA 7	Fales, F.M. & J.N. Postgate, 1992. <i>Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 7.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.	UDT	Nies, J.B., 1920. <i>Ur Dynasty Tablets: Texts Chiefly from Tello and Drehem Written during the Reigns of Dungi, Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin and Ibi-Sin</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
SAA 10	Parpola, S. 1993. <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 10.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.		

VA	Siglum for objects in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung).		<i>et d'Histoire in Genf</i> . Naples: Istituto orientale di Napoli.
VAT	Siglum for objects/tablets in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Tontafeln).	YBC	Siglum for tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection.
VS 1	Ungnad, A. & L. Messerschmidt, 1907. <i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> . Vol. 1, Texts 1–115, Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Sammlung der Vorderasiatischen Altertümer. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.	YOS 7	Tremayne, A., 1925. <i>Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses (538-521 B.C.)</i> . (Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. 7.) New Haven: Yale University Press.
VS 16	Schröder, O., 1917. <i>Altbabylonische Briefe</i> . (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 16.) Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.	YOS 8	Faust, D.E., 1941. <i>Contracts from Larsa, dated in the Reign of Rim-Sin</i> . (Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. 8.) New Haven: Yale University Press & London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press.
VS 17	van Dijk, J. 1971. <i>Nicht-kanonische Beschwörungen und sonstige literarische Texte</i> . (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 17.) Berlin: Akademie Verlag.	YOS 11	van Dijk, J., A. Goetze & M.I. Hussey, 1985. <i>Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals</i> . (Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. 11.) New Haven: Yale University Press.
WB	Erman, A. & H. Grapow (eds.), 1971. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 5 vols. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.	YOS 17	Weisberg, D.B., 1980. <i>Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar</i> . (Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. 17.) New Haven: Yale University Press.
WMAH	Sauren, H., 1969. <i>Wirtschaftsurkunden aus der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur im Besitz des Musée d'Art</i>	YOS 19	Beaulieu, P.-A., 2000. <i>Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus</i> . (Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. 19.) New Haven: Yale University Press.

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# Preface

Augusta McMahon

The chapters in this volume invert traditional approaches to past human-animal relationships, placing animals at the forefront of these interactions and celebrating the many ways in which animals enriched or complicated the lives of the inhabitants of the ancient Near East. The authors embrace insights from text, archaeology, art and landscape studies. The volume offers rich evidence for the concept that ‘animals are good to think’ (Levi-Strauss 1963), enabling humans in categorizing the world around us, evaluating our own behaviours, and providing analogies for supernatural powers that are beyond humans’ control. However, totemism has never fit the ancient Near East well, because most animals had varied and endlessly complicated relationships with their human associates, as these chapters vividly describe. Taboos on eating or handling animals ebbed and flowed, and the same animal could have both positive and negative associations in omen texts. Animals were good (or bad) to eat, good (or bad) to think, good (or bad) to live with (Kirksey & Helmreich 2010) and good (or bad) to be. Through detailed, theoretically informed and well-supported case studies, this volume moves the study of human-animal-environment interactions forward, presenting animals as embedded actors in culture rather than simply objectified as human resources or symbols.

The chapters in the first section emphasize the agency of animals via their abilities to resolve crises for humans and deities and to shift between animal and human worlds. Animals have paradoxical affects: as metaphors for wilderness and chaos, or as valued companions, helpers, or votive sacrifices. The variety of interactions and assumptions cautions us to treat animals, as we do humans, as individuals. Reconstruction of animals in past rituals has a long history, usually focused on animals associated with the gods and/or animals used in formal religious sacrifice. But the chapters in the second section also examine

the impact of lesser-known animals and less formal encounters, e.g., in the landscape or in funeral contexts within the home. The value and meanings of animals could vary with context.

The fascination engendered by hybrid or composite figures is also well represented. The persistence of composite figures in the Near East, from fourth millennium BC human-ibex ‘shamans’ on northern Mesopotamian Late Chalcolithic seals to *lamassu* and *mušhuššu* of the first millennium BC, suggests that the division and recombination of animal body elements fulfilled a human need to categorize powerful forces and create a cosmological structure. The anthropomorphizing of animals is another facet of the flexibility of animal identifications in the past. The authors here also grapple with the question of whether composite images represent ideas or costumed ritual participants.

The chapters also cover the most basic of animal-human relations, that of herd management, use in labour, and consumption, digging deeply into details of mobility, breeding and emic classifications. Economic aspects of the human-animal relationship are currently being rejuvenated through archaeological science techniques (e.g., isotopes, ZooMS), which give us unparalleled levels of detail on diet, mobility, herd management, and species. Matching these insights from science, the issues raised here include the value of individual animals versus that assigned to species, the challenges of pests, the status ascribed to and reflected by different meat cuts, animals as status and religious symbols, and animals’ tertiary products or uses (e.g., transport versus traction, bile). These studies allow a more detailed reconstruction of Near Eastern economy and society, as well as emphasizing the flexibility of the relationships between animals, as well as between human and animal.

The authors implicitly advocate for a posthumanist multispecies ethnography, which incorporates



nonhumans and argues for equal care to be given to nonhumans in the realms of shared landscapes, violence, labour and especially ecology (Kirksey & Helmreich 2010; Kopnina 2017; Parathian *et al.* 2018). This approach advocates for nonhumans' agency in creating shared worlds, in contrast to the traditional approach to animals as symbols or resources in the service of humans. Going forward, the challenge will be to convert the acknowledgement of equal cultural contribution into support for nonhuman species to speak for themselves; this shift from passive subject of research inquiry to genuine active agency in academic writing does not have an easy or obvious path, and many nonhuman animals may be overlooked. Indeed, multispecies ethnography ideally seeks to incorporate plants, microbes, stones and more (Ogden *et al.* 2013; Smart 2014), many of which are ephemeral in the archaeological record and all but omitted in ancient texts. However, ancient texts do support a new approach which questions our modern boundaries between species. Our perpetual struggle to translate terms for different species of equids, to distinguish whether a word refers to rats or mice, or to link zooarchaeological remains to lexical lists, reinforces the complexity and flexibility of these concepts, and the futility of attempts at absolute categorization.

The chapters in this volume should inspire colleagues to grapple with animals, nonhumans and contexts that could not be included here. For instance, the snake has as lengthy a history of human engagement in the Near East as does the lion and had similarly unusual powers. While the lion was an icon of strength, the perfect symbol for the proximity of the emotions of awe and fear, the snake has the sneaky ability to slither

between worlds, to avoid capture, and to deliver an almost imperceptible lethal injury. Fear of the snake conquers awe. Like the fox, the presence or actions of the snake, as listed in *Šumma ālu*, may be positive or negative omens. The snake was present at key moments in both Mesopotamian and Biblical literature; its actions (stealing the plant of immortality, offering the fruit of the tree of knowledge) changed the fate of humans forever. Whether represented coiled and copulating on Late Chalcolithic seals, grasped by Late Uruk 'Masters of Animals' or first millennium BC *lamaštu*, snakes and their paradoxical nature deserve deep scrutiny. There are many other nonhuman animals deserving of similar problematization and integration, and the eclectic and exciting research stream represented by this volume shows us the way.

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## Chapter 8

# Dog-men, bear-men, and the others: men acting as animals in Hittite festival texts

Alice Mouton

Hittite cuneiform tablets (of the seventeenth–twelfth centuries BC) are an important source of information about rituals and cultic festivals. In this chapter, I deal with special characters who intervene in a cultic context, namely the dog-, wolf-, bear-, leopard- and lion-men.<sup>1</sup> In 1966, Jakob-Rost (Jakob-Rost 1966) published the only study specifically devoted to these hybrids. Although she addressed several crucial questions, such as ‘what did these hybrids do during cultic festivals and with whom did they interact?’, her overview unfortunately does not quote the relevant Hittite texts.

### What did the animal-men look like?

The Hittite cuneiform texts only very seldom describe the animal-men. The allusive character of the texts engenders doubts, especially concerning the dog-men (Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 376–8). In Hittitological literature, there is indeed a debate on the meaning or meanings of this logogram. In some ritual and non-religious texts, <sup>LU</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub> designates a hunter. For this reason, some authors, such as Güterbock (Güterbock 1989, 118) and McMahon (1991, 269) after him, argued that all occurrences of this logogram designated hunters in charge of hunting dogs, thus rejecting the concept of ‘dog-men’. However, Melchert showed that, in the context of cultic festivals, these characters behaved like dogs, being stripped naked and barking (Melchert 1983, 143; Melchert 1989, 98).

A first illustration of this phenomenon is the text of a festival of Hattian background celebrating the renewal of the hunting bag of two tutelary deities, namely Zithariya and the tutelary deity of the city of Hatenzuwa. A passage from this composition states (Extract 1):

Afterwards, he (i.e. the king?) drinks (in honour) of the tutelary deity of the city

of Hattuša while standing. [The singers sing]; the dog-men bark. He bre[aks] one loaf of *takarmu*-bread. Then they place it for <the deity> upon the lined-up ones. They sweep (it) off. They drink (in honour of) Zithariya while sta[nding]. The singers sing; the dog-men bark. He breaks one loaf of *takarmu*-bread. Then they place it for the deity upon the lined-up ones.<sup>2</sup>

The sequence is repeated for other deities. In this first extract, we can see that the barking of the dog-men goes together with the singer’s song each time it occurs. We will see analogous examples below. The theatrical character of the scene is striking, but other texts give further detail. This is the case of a sequence of the *witaššiya*-festival, a cultic event relating to the cult of the great goddess of the Luwian Lower Land, Huwaššanna. This other extract states (Extract 2):

He/she breaks one loaf of *takarmu*-bread and p[uts] it on the altar. [The dog-men] (are) [b]arking. They let (them go) naked.<sup>3</sup>

The following can be read in a sequence of a festival from the Hattian cultural sphere (Extract 3):

She (i.e. the NIN.DINGIR-priestess) drinks while seated (in honour of) the [deity] Zithariya. The [assem]bly is standing; they (i.e., the members of the assembly) bark. [...] comes. The *hapiya*-men discard (their) [š]eknu-garments. § They give (them) in the hand. A palace official holds a cup towards the NIN.DINGIR-priestess; the NIN.DINGIR-priestess puts (her) hand (on it). The palace official gives (it) to the assembly, and, (away) from the assembly, he bows

to the NIN.DINGIR-priestess. The NIN.DINGIR-priestess extends the hand towards (it; i.e. the cup). § They give (her) [wi]ne (to drink) from a golde[n] rhyton while seated (in honour) of the deity Zaiu. The assembly is standing. They (i.e., the members of the assembly) discard (their) *šeknu*-garments (and) bark.<sup>4</sup>

This sequence should be compared with the previous one: as already suggested by Melchert (1983, 143), it seems very plausible that people were naked under their *šeknu*-garment. Thus, in both extracts, people bark and go naked. Note that, in this last extract, the dog-men are not explicitly mentioned. However, it is most likely that they form the assembly at that stage of the ceremony, since the action of barking is always attributed to the dog-men in the festival texts. Although the last sentence of this extract shows that the members of the assembly discard their *šeknu*-garments and bark, it should be noted that someone else is also naked in the sequence, namely the *hapiya*-men. We do not know much about these men, only that they take part in many cultic ceremonies.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in the context of the cultic festivals, only dog-men are described, no hunters. Another argument in favour of this interpretation is the fact that one festival text attests also the existence of a ‘puppy-man’.<sup>6</sup>

If my interpretation is correct, the dog-men wear a *šeknu*-garment. A fragment of a festival text relating to the Hattian sphere states (Extract 4):

The *ittalwant*- dog-man holds his spear of bronze and he holds the staff of the *hatwaya*-man.<sup>7</sup>

The meaning of the adjective *ittalwant*- is unknown, since it occurs only in this composition. In this extract, only one dog-man is mentioned, contrary to the other extracts we have examined so far. This man holds both his own spear and the staff of another cultic actor, the *hatwaya*-man.<sup>8</sup> The fact that the text specifies ‘his spear of bronze’ might indicate that such spears are part of the usual equipment of the dog-men. Note, however, that this is the only clear mention of it in the festival texts.

As in the case of dog-men, wolf-men are never described in the Hittite festival texts. However, a detail concerning their appearance occurs in the following passage relating to the Hatto-hittite KILAM festival (Extract 5):

Ten [...], bronze belt(s) of the wolf-men (of) [the city of ...].<sup>9</sup>

A bronze belt is definitely a prestigious item, thus illustrating the fact that the wolf-men are not very low on the social scale. The other noteworthy piece of information in this short extract is the association of the wolf-men with a city name. This shows that these men actually represent a city during a cultic ceremony.

Still concerning the wolf-men, the bronze belt is not the only item associated with them. Another element of unknown nature is designated by the Hittite noun *warašhuwar*. This is the case in the following passage of a text also describing a phase of the Hatto-hittite KILAM festival (Extract 6):

They put the *wara[šhūwa]r*. § When the king takes the [cu]p back, the wolf-men let the *warašhūwar* go and they [s]quat. § When they carry the cups, <they give> bread allotments to the wolf-men.<sup>10</sup>

This extract shows that the *warašhūwar* is something the wolf-men carry. However, at least two other fragments of festival texts also associate this item with the ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub>-men, i.e. the entertainers or acrobats.<sup>11</sup>

As already noted by Itamar Singer, the editor of the KILAM festival (Singer 1983, 84 fn. 70), the noun *warašhūwar* is also to be compared with the verb *warašh*- which occurs in the passage of another festival text of Hattian background (Extract 7):

The [...] calls ‘hatwaya-!’. [...] The dog-man [...] back. The [...] (pl.) *warašh*- with the door-bolt the feet of the *hatwaya*-man (and) of the dog-man, the dog-man.<sup>12</sup> § The *hatwaya*-man takes his place, he stands and calls ‘awaya awaya!’.<sup>13</sup>

A second attestation of a shape of *warašh*- most probably occurs in a tablet fragment that I edited for the first time in 2012 (Mouton 2012, 14). In this fragment, this root is also associated with the wolf-men. It is possible that this fragment belongs to the same composition as the first one.

In all these extracts, the meaning of the root *warašh*- cannot be determined from the context. What is noteworthy is its connection not only with wolf- and dog-men, but also with entertainers/acrobats and *hatwaya*-men. Like Kloekhorst (2008, 960), I do not think that this root should be considered a variant of *warš*- ‘to wipe’, because the contexts shown here do not justify such a translation.

Just like the root *warašh*- is linked to the wolf- and dog-men, another term is, in its turn, specifically connected to the outfit of the bear-man. This term occurs several times in fragmentary contexts, the

best-preserved passage being a sequence of the Hattian festival of the city of Zippalanda and Mount Dahi. It states (Extract 8):

On the fourth day, when it is the morn[ing], they open [the *halentu*-building. They] lift the curtain ... Sheep] are tied up and they are placed [over] the po[nd]. Two AMA.DINGIR-priestesses sit [over the po]nd. Wherever the king [sits], the cups of the deity l[ie] with him. § When the men in charge of the table [bring] loaves of thick bread, the two AMA.DINGIR-priestesses are done. They stand before [the table] and the bear-man is [also] standing. [He wears] a tunic (decorated with?) *šapra*-. [...] an *ištepa*- (decorated with?) *šapra*-. These (are) se[t] over the pond.<sup>14</sup>

The same enigmatic *šapra*-ornament(?) also occurs once with a leopard-man.<sup>15</sup> Difficult to say anything about this object, except that it seems exclusive to these animal-men and could, therefore, belong to their outfit.

Since the very beginning of Hittitology, several scholars have suggested that the animal-men were men wearing animal masks (Bossert 1959, 15–16; Jakob-Rost 1966, 420–1). Following the same line of thought, the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* has suggested interpreting the adverb *paršanili* as ‘in the manner of a leopard (i.e. dressed in leopard skins or representing leopards)’ (CHD P, 186). This adverb occurs very seldom. The best-preserved passage in which it occurs belongs to the KILAM festival corpus. It reads (Extract 9):

They (i.e. the entertainers) whirl on the spot and they dance *paršanili*. They hold their hands up and shout.<sup>16</sup>

The *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* actually hesitates about the meaning of the adverb *paršanili*, mentioning two possibilities (CHD P, 186): it could either come from the noun *paršana*- ‘leopard’ or from the verb *paršnai*- ‘to squat, to crouch’, thus following Güterbock’s suggestion (*apud* Singer 1983, 59 fn. 21). However, the first interpretation is probably preferable and *paršanili* should be translated as ‘in the manner of a leopard’, since there seems to be no attestation of an adverb in *-ili* built from a verb. All the examples known to me clearly come from adjectives or nouns. We should note, however, that ‘dancing in the manner of a leopard’ is not particularly clear either. The *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (CHD P, 186), summarizing Goetze’s idea (1962, 29), indicates that ‘leopards do not dance’. However, what is a dance is a question of interpretation. Natural movements of an animal can easily be interpreted as a dance. Furthermore, several

‘dances of the leopard men’ are attested in traditional societies of Africa, such as among the Senufo people of the Ivory Coast (Sheehan & Ong 2000, 66), for instance.<sup>17</sup> The other possibility favoured by the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, namely the entertainers wearing leopard skins or masks, presents a problem, in my view. If the Hittite texts meant to allude to this, they would have used a verb meaning ‘to wear’, as they do in many other cases. Therefore, I am inclined to think that ‘to dance in the manner of a leopard’ means precisely that, and nothing more. This adverb cannot be used as a piece of evidence for men wearing animal skins or masks. Here, for the sake of completeness, I shall mention, as did Haas (1981, 104–11; 1994, 63–4) and the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (CHD P, 186), the wall painting found at Çatal Höyük, in which men wearing leopard skins are dancing among gigantic deer with their hands raised upwards (Mellaart 1967, pl. 61–2, pl. XIII). Some of them carry a bow. This has been compared by Haas and the CHD with the leopard-men of our texts, especially because of the mention of the ‘dancing in the manner of a leopard’ we have just seen. I would like to point out, however, that the chronological gap between this painting and our Hittite texts is huge: the painting has been dated to the seventh millennium BC (Braun 1997, 73), whereas our cuneiform texts date to the middle of the second millennium BC at the earliest. So, one should be particularly cautious while comparing the two types of evidence.

### The social status of the animal-men

As we have seen, the Hittite festival texts are not descriptive in nature, hence the paucity of information concerning the animal-men’s appearance. If we now try to determine their social status, some hints provided by the texts could be observed.

#### *Hierarchy amongst the animal-men*

First, some texts do mention the existence of leaders amongst the animal-men. Several fragmentary texts explicitly mention the ‘chief of the dog-men’ (GAL or UGULA <sup>LÚ.(MEŠ)</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub>). This is the case of KBo 53.214 Obv.? 22’ (GAL <sup>LÚ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub>) and probably KBo 56.76:11’ ([GAL] <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub>), Bo 4919 iii 6 and KBo 8.124+ Rev.? 9’ (UGULA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub>). The only well-preserved passage in which a leader of the dog-men occurs is a tablet fragment of the KILAM festival (Extract 10):

Afterwards, the hunting bags (made of) copper go to the mountain. The [an]imals of the gods come, (namely) a silver leopard, a golden lion, a silver [wi]ld boar, a wild boar of lapis-lazuli (and) a silver bear. They take



their place with the stags. § They give an *adupli*-garment to the important dog-men; they offer (it) to the king and they make (them) sit. § Afterwards, the musician(s) (of) the tutelary deity play the lyre. The men of the city of Anunuwa walk with them. They strike the *māri*-spears and [si]ng. § Afterwards, the entertainers come. They [...] and dance. § Afterwards, [...] comes. He goes before the chief of the dog-men.<sup>18</sup>

This extract emphasizes several important aspects of the ceremony. First, we see that the chief of the dog-men walks behind someone else in procession (other examples of processions are discussed below). Secondly, the visual correspondence should be noted between the objects which are being brought, namely the ‘animals of the gods’, rhyta in the shape of animals, and some of the animal-men attested by the Hittite festival texts, namely leopards, lions and bears. Third, the expression ‘important dog-men’ (LÚ.MEŠUR.GI, DUGUD) should be highlighted, which only occurs in the KILAM festival texts, as far as I am aware. This expression seems to refer to a hierarchy among the dog-men. The dog-men are the only animal-men for which such a hierarchy is mentioned.

#### *Protagonists associated with the animal-men*

Besides the mention of actual leaders, another way to try to determine the social rank of the animal-men is to examine with whom they interact. When we compile a list of characters interacting with the animal-men, we realize that the list is quite large, with a broad social spectrum. One of the possibly lowest-ranked persons interacting with animal-men is the barber (Jasink 1978–1979), whose mention occurs in a sequence of a Hattian festival in honour of tutelary deities. The text states (Extract 11):

They give the ... which the barbers bring from the temple of the tutelary deity in a [silver/gold] *tapišana*-vessel to the dog-men to drink three times. They give that [...] which they hold out before the deity to the barbers to drink [*three times*] and then the barbers turn around. They give one loaf of thick bread of the temple of the tutelary deity to the crier and then, that one also turns around. § He sets out. The entertainers follow him. He arrives at Tauriša and drinks (in honour of) the tutelary deity of Tauriša and Kalimma. Then he sets out. The grove of Tauriša comes first.<sup>19</sup> The man of the grove holds loaves of *wīta*-bread

and *ūnganant*-bread and he shout[s]. The *šankunni*-priest takes it (i.e. the bread) from him and he breaks it. He drinks (in honour of) the Stormgod of the grove and the dog-men eat it [i.e. the bread that has been broken by the *šankunni*-priest] on the return trip.<sup>20</sup>

In this extract, the dog-men first drink three times, most probably in honour of the tutelary deity, just like the barbers. These two groups are associated by the similarity of the act they perform. However, at the end of this extract, the dog-men acquire a higher status due to their eating the bread that is broken by the *šankunni*-priest.

An even closer association between animal-men and a *šankunni*-priest, i.e. the highest member of the temple personnel, can be observed in other texts. For instance, in a passage describing the KILAM festival, the chief of the dog-men is associated with a *šankunni*-priest of the deity Zithariya,<sup>21</sup> whereas in a sequence of a festival of Arinna, wolf-men are mentioned together with three female and three male *šankunni*-.<sup>22</sup>

Animal-men also appear together with cooks,<sup>23</sup> *hatwaya*-men,<sup>24</sup> *hapiya*-men,<sup>25</sup> *hamina*-men,<sup>26</sup> *kalaha*-men,<sup>27</sup> *zinhuri*-men,<sup>28</sup> male singers,<sup>29</sup> and male entertainers.<sup>30</sup> Animal-men also interact with women, such as *iwant*-women,<sup>31</sup> a female archer,<sup>32</sup> a young girl,<sup>33</sup> *zintuhi*-women,<sup>34</sup> *hazqara*-women,<sup>35</sup> and KAR. KID-women.<sup>36</sup>

From Table 8.1, we observe that the *happiya*-men are the only protagonists who occur with more than two types of animal-men, namely dog-, bear- and wolf-men and as is the case for the other members of the temple personnel, their exact function is unknown (Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 227–33). During the festivals, they behave like many other characters: giving and receiving gifts, dancing, shouting in Hattic, and so on.

Returning to the social status of the animal-men, it should be noted that, at least for the time being, only the dog-men and the wolf-men are associated with high ranking characters, namely *šankunni*-priests and priestesses. This seems to suggest a higher status for these two types of animal-man. Besides, several characters seem associated with only one type of animal-men: male entertainers and wolf-men, male singers and dog-men, *hazqara*-women and lion-men, for example. However, these data might evolve according to new epigraphic discoveries.

#### *The animal-men's proximity to the king or/and the deity*

A third criterion might help us better circumscribe the animal-men's social status, namely their possible proximity to the king and/or the deity in ceremonial contexts. Sifting through the texts, I found very little

**Table 8.1.** Chart summarizing the textual data about these characters interacting with animal-men.

with	dog-men	wolf-men	bear-men	lion-men	leopard-men
šankunni-priest/priestess	✓	✓			
male entertainers		✓			
male singers	✓				
zinhuri-men		✓			
kalaha-men		✓			
hamina-men		✓			
hapiya-men	✓	✓	✓		
hatwaya-men	✓				
cooks	✓	✓			
barbers	✓				
iwant-women		✓			
female archer		✓	✓		
young girl		✓			
zintuhi-women			✓		✓
hazqara-women				✓	
KAR.KID-women		✓			

evidence of such proximity. We have already seen, in Extract 10, a sequence of the KI.LAM festival during which the ‘important dog-men’ offer a garment to the king. This is one of the rare sequences in which animal-men approach the king. However, two texts describe wolf-men getting close to the divine. The first extract describes a sequence of a festival in honour of the Hattian deity Titiwatti (Extract 12):

As a wolf-man [*brings*] the *hulhuli*-body part of a pig, he gives it to the šankunni-priest of the deity Titiwatti, so that the šankunni-priest of Titiwatti puts it on the altar, before the deity. § [Th]en, two wolf-men dance before the deity [and] KAR.K[ID]-women dance before (the deity). The chief of the KAR.KID-women goes before the šankunni-priestess of T[itiwatti] and they dance. As they finish dancing, § a consecrated girl of Titiwatti carries a red garment with [...] and [...] is put on top of the red garment. She (i.e. the consecrated girl) goes before them, [whereas] the šankunni-priestess of Titiwatti, the chief of the KAR.KID-women and the KAR.KID-women walk behind. The two wolf-men g[o] before them. They (i.e. the KAR.KID-women) chase them (i.e. the wolf-men) before them. They arrive at the gatehouse.<sup>37</sup>

The wolf-men dance in front of the deity at the same time as the KAR.KID-women. This proximity with

the divine image illustrates that they are fit to be in the presence of the divine. Note also the procession described at the end of this extract. We will see other examples of this below. A second extract states (Extract 13):

The [ki]ng goes [and] arrives before the temple of the sacred hunting bag. The wolf-men enter the temple of the sacred hunting bag.<sup>38</sup>

Here, the wolf-men are both physically close to the king – they go to the same place at the same time – and to the divine – they enter a temple. These two extracts are sufficient to deduce that at least the wolf-men can acquire a consecrated status and approach the most sacred spheres.

### The animal-men’s actions

Let us now examine the main actions of the animal-men during the festivals.

#### Processions

The textual evidence provides many examples of wolf-men taking part in processions together with other characters. Sometimes, they walk towards a hearth, as is the case in the following sequence of a Hattian festival (Extract 14):

The entertainers [c]all out ‘ahā’; they *br[ing]* the lyres. They [...] and go. The wolf-men

go before the hearth; they take their place  
(and) [*the*]n they crouch.<sup>39</sup>

The hearth is also mentioned as the destination of a procession in the passage of a text describing a winter festival for the Sun goddess of Arinna (Extract 15):

The chief of the cooks goes before the wolf-men. They go once to the hearth and then they leave. They take their place in the right gate of the gatehouse.<sup>40</sup>

Sometimes the procession is described in more detail, as is the case in a Hattian festival text passage, which states (Extract 16):

The cooks (and) the sheep go down. Fifteen wolf-men (and) fifteen KAR.KID-women. One wolf-man, one KAR.KID-woman, then one wolf-man, [one KA]R.KID-woman. All (of them) are lined up in this way. § [The chief] of the cooks go in front. [*a*]rkami- and galgalturi-musical instruments.<sup>41</sup>

In a sequence of the KILAM festival, the wolf-men are in a royal procession (Extract 17):

When the king (and) [queen] arrive at the gate of the spear, § [the king] is in (his) wagon. [*ha*]piya-men, wolf-men, [*zi*]nhuri-men take [their place] on the left of the wagon of [*nanankalta*], in the passageway (of the gate).<sup>42</sup>

Another procession occurs during a Hattian winter festival in honour of the Sun goddess of Arinna, a composition already discussed above (Extract 15). This other passage in the text states (Extract 18):

The sheep of the goddess Mezzulla go; the entertainer calls out 'ahā'. The sheep of the deity Hulla go; the entertainer calls out 'ahā'. § When the sheep are gathered, afterwards the chief of the cooks libates *kattakurant*-vessels of wine. § The chief of the cooks goes before the wolf-men; the chief of the scribes on wooden writing-boards and the chief of the smiths hold a sun-disk. The palace officials hold stands. (All of them) walk.<sup>43</sup>

This association between the wolf-men and scribes or smiths is quite unique within the corpus of festival texts.

A passage in the KILAM festival, which was briefly referred (KBo 56.76:11'–17'), also describes dog-men in procession. Lion-men also appear in similar contexts, as in a cult inventory, which states (Extract 19):

When they celebrate the festival of the sickle for the goddess of the night, the men of the mountain give x-measure of emmer wheat. The *šankunni*-priest gives five loaves of thick bread (and) one bowl [of beer] from his house. The men of the city have given [*fifty*] loaves of bread (and) five jugs of beer. They place the raw (and) the cooked consecrated meat. The female crier (gives) a *šuruhha*-object, one body part (of a sacrificial animal), three loaves of thick bread (and) one bowl of beer. The men of the ceremony walk in front. The lion-men [*carry*] the deities of the city. The *hazqara*-women walk behind. They move the goddess to the *agitated pond*. They place the goddess before the *huwaši*-stone. The men of the city have given three loaves of thick bread (and) one bowl of beer. The female crier shouts three times. They place the *šuruhha*-object before the *huwaši*-stone. The female crier places three loaves of thick bread, one body part (of a sacrificial animal) and a *spear*. She goes ... She breaks one loaf of thick bread. They break it into the beer. She lets them go. As soon as the female crier comes back, the lion-men (and) the *hazqara*-women go to (pick up) fruit(s). The female crier comes back and steps before the *huwaši*-stone. She shouts three times. The lion-men (and) the *hazqara*-women bring the fruit(s) and [pl]ace them before the goddess. They eat (and) drink. The young men lift the stone, (but) the goddess, the female crier takes (her) up. The fruit(s), the women take (them).<sup>44</sup>

#### *Singing or barking*

Almost all types of animal-men take part, at least once, in a procession. Singing, however, seems to be attested only in association to the dog-men.<sup>45</sup> A passage of the Hattian festival of the AN.TAH.ŠUM is as follows (Extract 20):

[The king (and) que]en drink (in honour of) the tutelary deity while seated outside. The [d]og-[men] sing behind the window. He (i.e. the king?) breaks one loaf of thick bread.<sup>46</sup>

We can compare with another fragment belonging to the same composition (Extract 21):

While seated outside, the king (and) queen drink (in honour) of the tutelary deity from a deer-rhyton. § The *halliyari*-singers [pl]ay great lyres. The cupbearer gives one loaf of sweet bread outside. The dog-men <sing> behind the window.<sup>47</sup>

In Extracts 1–3, discussed above, we have already seen that the dog-men bark on certain occasions. The fact that this barking may be interpreted as a kind of music is illustrated by its association with more conventional music, as is the case in the following extract of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival (Extract 22):

While standing, the king (and) queen drink (in honour of) ‘the deity Zithariya of the NIN.DINGIR-priestess’ indoor. The king drinks (*while smelling*) the fragrance. The great lyre(s) play; the dog-men bark. He breaks one loaf of thick bread.<sup>48</sup>

Extract 1 illustrates also an example of a combination of the barking of the dog-men and the singing of musicians.

#### *Dealing with gifts and offerings*

Similar to the singing, only dog-men seem to receive and give gifts in the ceremonial context. Extract 10 contains a relevant passage of the KILAM festival, where the so-called ‘important dog-men’ appeared receiving and offering a garment from or to the king.<sup>49</sup> Another such example, also coming from the KILAM festival, is the below (Extract 23):

The king and queen drink (in honour of) two (deities) while seated, (namely) Inar (and) [Hapant]ali. The *halliyari*-singers play great lyres. The *attachments* (for the rhytons) come [from the temple] of Inar. The (images of) [an]imals pass by. The *pēri*- comes. On the second day, there are no *pēri*- and no animals. The chief of the entertainers is on the *marāu*-. The deities come from the house of the hunting bag; they ask the king about the present for the important dog-men. On the second day, there is no present. The men in charge of the table place a fruit.<sup>50</sup>

During the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival, the following sequence also occurs (Extract 24):

The chief of the royal bodyguards goes in and announces to the king the gift of the dog-men, (namely something) to wear, a

loaf of bread to bite, silver (and) gold to give.<sup>51</sup>

A section of a text describing a Hatto-hittite month festival states in its turn (Extract 25):

If the gift of the dog-men is made ready, (i.e.) [*if*] the bread of the thunder is made ready, they offer it. However, if it is not made ready, they do not offer it.<sup>52</sup>

From time to time, animal-men deal out offerings, as is the case in the following sequence of the Hattian festival of the city of Zippalanda and Mount Daha (Extract 26):

When the *hapiya*-men (and) the wolf-men slau[ghter] pigs, the *hapiya*-men (and) the wolf-men of the city of Šalampa give one pig to the *hamina*-man; the *hapiya*-men (and) the wolf-men of the city of Katapa give one pig to the *hamina*-man; the *hapiya*-men (and) the wolf-men of the city of Kartapaha one pig to the *hamina*-man. § The *hapiya*-men (and) the wolf-men give to the *hamina*-man one body part of (each) of the oxen which they slaughter above the pond.<sup>53</sup>

The following extract from an oracular report describing a Hattian festival is also relevant (Extract 27):

Afterwards, the deity Zithariy[a] goes [with] My Sun (i.e. the Great King). As soon as My Sun comes up to Hattuša, on whatever day My Sun goes to the city, (there is) a festival in the temple of the hunting bag. The dog-men drive four [fatted] oxen (and) *four* she[ep]. (It is) a tribute (from) the whol[e] land. From the temple of the hunting bag, they also [dr]ive one fattened ox (and) three sh[ee]p. (They are) the offering materials of the temple of the hunting bag itself. They celebrate (this festival) for three days.<sup>54</sup>

This extract shows that the dog-men are in charge of the ‘tribute of the whole land’. A similar link between other animal-men, namely wolf-men and a city, can also be observed in Extract 26, discussed above.

In a sequence of the Hattian festival for the renewal of the hunting bag, the dog-men are in charge of the killing of the sacrificial animal (Extract 28):

They drive in one billy goat, then they wash it. They sweep (the floor) and then they



sprinkle the buildings of the palace in which they drive it. § The dog-men kill the billy goat in the same way. Th[ey do] not [give] the [hid]e [of the billy goat] to anybody. [They give] the hide to the leatherworkers, so that [the leatherworkers mak]e [new] hunting bags (out of it).<sup>55</sup>

#### *Ritual hunts*

Several festival texts seem to connect the animal-men with ritual hunt. Some passages are mere allusions, whereas at least one other extract explicitly describes a ritual hunt.

In a Hattian festival in honour of the deity Tetešhapi, we observe the following scene (Extract 29):

The NIN.DINGIR-priestess [goes] to the *arzana*-building. (There is) a call: ‘To the inner chamber!’ The NIN.DINGIR-priestess comes out [of the *arzana*-building] and she [...] the deity Ān- [...] *Thirteen hapiya*-men of Hattuša] are lined up behind her. When she [...] them, they cha[se] the leopard-man up into the mountain. [While] he did not arrive yet [...], the leopard-man [...].<sup>56</sup>

The verb *parh-*, whose restoration is almost certain, means ‘to chase, to hunt’, and this meaning fits well this sequence, during which the leopard-man is sent away from the city into the mountain. The same verb *parh-* was used in Extract 12 regarding wolf-men.

The following sequence of a Hattian festival can also be understood in a similar way (Extract 30):

The bear-man wipes the feet of the entertainers with a *šērha*-cloth. Then he dances. Then again he does the same. He reaches into the pot.<sup>57</sup> He takes out a body part (i.e. a bit of the sacrificial meat) and drops it back into the pot. Then he runs off. One *hapiya*-man and (another) bear-man go after him.<sup>58</sup>

Note the verb *pittai* ‘he runs off’, which is different from the verb ‘to go’ in the other extracts. This, in my view, connects this scene to a hunt.

A more explicit scene occurs during a Hattian festival, where several animal-men intervene in several ways. Here is a translation of the whole series of sequences (Extract 31):

[The wolf-me]n and the *hamina*-man [bre]ak loaves of thick brea[d. A *šankunni*-pries]t breaks a loaf of *tunik*-bread before them, (i.e.) he breaks [six loaves of

*tun]ik*-bread. He ... them and in addition he breaks six loaves of *tunik*-bread. He gives them back to the wolf-men. § While they (i.e. the wolf-men and the *hamina*-man) break loaves of thick bread, the cooks slaughter sheep and they throw them into the pond. They slaughter oxen and they (i.e. the oxen) lie above the pond. § The bear-man goes to the pond. He carries two sheep and stands in the pond. The cupbearer [gives] a *iškaruh*-vessel of ‘beer-wine’ [... to the *hamina*-man] and the *hamina*-man [holds] (it) forth to the king. [The king] places (his) hand (towards it) from afar [and the *hamina*-man] l[ibates] three times. He libates once [...] in the pond. [...] § The [*ha*]mina-man [gives] the *iškaruh*-vessel b[ack]. The wolf-men [*drive*] (extra) sh[ee]p to the pond] and [they give] the s[heep] to the bear-man. The [be]ar-man drives [*the sheep*] to the water [of the pond] and he strikes their eyes. They take the sheep away from the bear-man [and] all the wolf-men [g]o to the pond. They drag the sheep up from the pond. A female archer shoots once at the bear-man with an arrow [and] misses him, (and then) she shoots also a second time [and] hits him. He shouts: ‘[aw]āiya awāiya!’ The *hamina*-man takes the *zāu*-container away from the *šankunni*-priest. [Wh]en he (i.e. the *šankunni*-priest) goes to the pond, the bear-man [go]es [back] and the *hamina*-man [gives] the *zāu*-container bac[k] (to him), so that he (i.e. the bear-man) gives it to the *šankunni*-priest. The [wolf]-men drag [the sheep] up from the pond.<sup>59</sup>

This is the second time we find the Hattian utterance ‘awaya awaya’ in our texts (see Extract 7). This time, it clearly expresses the pain of the bear-man who has just been struck by an arrow (Klinger 1996, 228 fn. 401). This extract is very valuable for the purposes of this chapter, since it illustrates the hybrid character of both the wolf-men and the bear-men. They are humans: the wolf-men break bread, the bear-man carries the sheep inside the pond; but they are also animals: the wolf-men drive sheep like a shepherd dog would do, whereas the bear-man is literally shot at by the female archer.

#### *Other actions*

Other less frequent actions are attributed to the animal-men. For example, we have already seen that dog-men might hold a spear (Extract 4). In another cultic context, they hold a torch.<sup>60</sup> In Extracts 20–21, the singing of the dog-men was mentioned, as well as the dance of

the wolf-men together with the KAR.KID-women in Extract 12. Sometimes the animal-men simply drink and eat.<sup>61</sup> They might, in this case, take part in the assembly (*aššeššar*), as we have seen in one of the earlier extracts: the assembly was barking (Extract 3). The fact that animal-men can participate in the communal meals, in other words, in the '(great) assembly', is illustrated by the following passage of the Hattian festival for the deity Tetešhapi (Extract 32):

(There is) a call: 'To the inner chamber!'  
<They seat> the palace officials, [the chief]  
of the *hapiya*-men, the *hapiya*-man of second  
rank, [the he]rald, the leopard-man, the  
*šankunni*-priest of Tetešha[pi, the *m*]iniya-  
man (and) the knife-man.<sup>62</sup>

### Men impersonating animals in rituals

Besides the case of the animal-men in cultic contexts, at least two ritual texts describe human beings impersonating animals.

#### *To howl like a wolf*

The first example is the ritual of Zarpiya, a physician of Kizzuwatna. The ritual is supposed to be performed 'if the year (is) bad or if many people die in the land'. At one point of the text, we read the following (Extract 33):

They bring eight boys who are not yet to go  
to a woman and they dress one boy with the  
hide of the billy-goat (they had sacrificed  
earlier). That one walks in front and calls  
out (i.e. howls) like a wolf. They turn the  
tables and they eat up the shoulder (and)  
chest [of the sacrificed billy-goat].<sup>63</sup>

The continuation of the text does not help to determine the function of this wolf-boy; only his presence can be observed. We are no longer in the Hattian sphere, and the religious context is also quite different from the festival texts we have seen so far.

#### *To bleat like a sheep*

The second occurrence of a human being impersonating an animal can be found in a fragment of a ritual text. The text is unfortunately quite fragmentary (Extract 34):

The *tabri*-man [...]. The *kudant*-men [...], they  
call out (i.e. bleat) like a sheep. [...] and they  
give cups of wine.<sup>64</sup>

Since the *tabri*-man is a ritual practitioner who appears in the context of Kizzuwatnian rituals (Trémouille 1991,

80–5), this ritual probably also comes from this region. Once more, we are in a different context compared with the Hattian or Hatto-hittite festivals.

### Conclusions

Table 8.2 emphasizes the fact that the animal-men appear almost exclusively in Hattian or Hatto-hittite festivals, i.e. Hittite festivals with a strong Hattian background. We find only two clear exceptions: the *witaššiya*-festival from the Lower Land and the festival for the Kizzuwatnian goddess of the night. One can also observe that the animal-men are not to be reduced to 'simple' masked characters always pretending to be animals. Sometimes, they behave like humans: they give and receive gifts, they walk in procession, they eat among the 'assembly'. In other circumstances, though, they imitate animals: they bark and go naked, they dance, they are hunted.

This hybridity of their actions confirms my first impression: that they are probably not connected with a supposed totemism. The concept of totemism in connection with these animal-men has been put forward by Jakob-Rost (1966, 421). In order to be able to talk about totemism in Hittite or, more precisely, Hattian Anatolia, one would need to demonstrate the link between these animal-men and kinship. Indeed, according to anthropological discourse, a totemic community is based on the intimate relation a group of blood-related people entertains with one specific animal.<sup>65</sup> Since there is no evidence of this in our texts, the term totemism in connection with the animal-men should probably be avoided. Furthermore, a totem animal is, most of the time, taboo for the related human group and therefore, it can be neither killed nor eaten by that group. The scene we have examined of the female archer shooting arrows at the bear-man seems, therefore, incompatible with the notion of totemism.

As for a possible link between the animal-men and shamanism – a link that Haas made (1994, 64) – its existence depends on what we call shamanism. In a narrow sense, shamanism implies the existence of a shaman, i.e. a person who accesses knowledge and a certain 'magical' power partly through spiritual death and rebirth (Bouchard 2006, 2079). Furthermore, shamanic rites most often imply trance. Needless to say, neither elements are documented in our Hittite texts. Therefore, I would also avoid this term in connection with the animal-men.

As already argued by Jakob-Rost (1966, 421), the animal-men seem to be remnants of an older religious tradition belonging to the Hattian background. Ritual hunting is probably one of the *raison d'être* of these characters. This holds particularly true for the bear-men

Table 8.2. Chart summarizing the textual data presented in the chapter.

Texts	Which animal-man?	Interacts with whom?	Actions	Cultural background	Immediate link with ritual hunt/tutelary deities
Extract 1	dog-men	singers	bark	Hattian fest. of renewal of hunting bag	✓
Extract 2	dog-men		bark; naked	Luwian Lower Land <i>witaššiya</i> -fest.	
Extract 3	(dog-men implied)	<i>hapiya</i> -men	bark; naked	Hattian fest. w. NIN. DINGIR-priestess	✓
Extract 4	<i>ittalwant</i> - dog-man	<i>hatwaya</i> -man	holds spear and staff	Hattian fest. w. dog-men	
Extract 5	wolf-men of the city of [...]			Hattian KILAM	
Extract 6	wolf-men		squat; receive bread	Hattian KILAM	
Extract 7	dog-man	<i>hatwaya</i> -man	[...]	Hattian fest. w. dog-men	
Extract 8	bear-man	2 AMA.DINGIR-priestesses; female archer	standing near divine table – pond mentioned	Hattian fest. of Zippalanda and Mount Daha	
Extract 9	entertainers ‘in the manner of the leopard’		dance; shout	Hattian KILAM	
Extract 10	important dog-men	[...]	receive garment and offer it to king	Hattian KILAM	✓ ‘animals of the gods’
Extract 11	dog-men	barbers; <i>šankunni</i> -priest	drink; eat sacrificial bread	Hattian fest. for tutelary deities	✓
Extract 12	wolf-men	<i>šankunni</i> -priest; KAR.KID-women	give sacrificial meat to š.-priest; dance; procession	Hattian fest. for Titiwatti	✓
Extract 13	wolf-men	king	enter temple	Hattian fest. for tutelary deities	✓
Extract 14	wolf-men	[...]	procession to hearth; squat	Hattian fragment of fest. text w. Hattian	
Extract 15	wolf-men	chief of cooks	procession to hearth	Hattian winter fest. for Sungoddess of Arinna	
Extract 16	wolf-men	KAR.KID-women; chief of cooks	procession	Hattian fragment of fest. text	
Extract 17	wolf-men	<i>hapiya</i> -men; <i>zinhuri</i> -men; king	procession	Hattian KILAM	
Extract 18	wolf-men	chief of cooks	procession	Hattian winter fest. for Sungoddess of Arinna	
Extract 19	lion-men	<i>hazqara</i> -women	carry divine image; pick and place fruits before goddess; eat and drink	Kizzuwatnian fest. of sickle for goddess of the night	
Extract 20	dog-men		sing	Hattian AN.TAH.ŠUM	✓
Extract 21	dog-men		sing	Hattian AN.TAH.ŠUM	✓
Extract 22	dog-men	musicians	bark	Hattian AN.TAH.ŠUM	✓

Table 8.2 (*cont.*).

Texts	Which animal-man?	Interacts with whom?	Actions	Cultural background	Immediate link with ritual hunt/tutelary deities
Extract 23	important dog-men	king	receive gifts	Hattian KILAM	✓ 'animals (of the gods)'
Extract 24	dog-men	king	receive gifts	Hattian AN.TAH.ŠUM	
Extract 25	dog-men		receive gifts	Hattian month fest.	
Extract 26	wolf-men of the city of ...	<i>hapiya</i> -men	slaughter animal – pond mentioned	Hattian fest. of Zippalanda and Mount Daha	
Extract 27	dog-men		bring animals	Hattian fest. of hunting bag	✓
Extract 28	dog-men		slaughter animal	Hattian fest. of renewal of hunting bag	✓
Extract 29	leopard-man	NIN. DINGIR-priestess	driven to the mountain	Hattian fest. for Tetešhapi	✓
Extract 30	bear-man	<i>hapiya</i> -man	wiped feet of entertainers; dances; manipulates sacrificial meat		✓
Extract 31	wolf-men	<i>hamina</i> -man; <i>šankunni</i> -priest	break bread; receives bread from š.-priest; go to pond	Hattian	✓
	bear-man	female archer	goes to pond; carries sheep; strikes their eyes; is shot at; shouts pain		✓
Extract 32	leopard-man	<i>hapiya</i> -men; herald; <i>šankunni</i> -priest	sits	Hattian fest. for Tetešhapi	

and the leopard-men, for whom we have seen textual evidence of ritual hunts. Another key element is probably the mention of 'the animals of the gods' in the KILAM festival. This concept, although exclusively used in the texts for designating rhyta in the shape of animals, could be considered an inanimate equivalent of the animal-men. This would explain why some of the same species are represented both in the shape of rhyta and animal-men, namely leopards, lions, and bears. In the KILAM festival, the concept of 'animals of the gods' is itself related to ritual hunts through its association with divinized hunting bags. Both the dog-men and the wolf-men are also associated with hunting bags and/or tutelary deities – the deities in charge of hunting – and therefore, to the concept of the hunt.

Returning to Table 8.2, we see that half of the 32 extracts associate the animal-men with hunt, be they dog-, wolf-, leopard- or bear-men. Only the lion-men – one of the least attested of the animal-men – are not clearly connected with hunts.<sup>66</sup> However, this might be due to the very short extracts in which the

lion-men occur: they appear only in inventory texts. The lion-men are also the only animal-men appearing together with the *hazqara*-women, who sometimes sing in Hattian. So, contrary to what the chart shows, the lion-men probably also occur in Hattian ceremonies, like all the other animal-men.

Finally, Table 8.2 also highlights another important aspect: I suspect that many fragments of festival texts we have seen, actually belong to the same compositions. I would thus not be surprised to find out that the animal-men intervene in fewer cultic contexts than we first thought. Some of the fragments are already attributed to the same compositions: the renewal of the hunting bag, the winter festival of the Sun goddess of Arinna, the festival for Tetešhapi and, of course, the KILAM and AN.TAH.ŠUM festivals. Further, one can observe recurrent features that might be attributed to a unique festival or to closely related festivals. For instance, the pond as a location for cultic activities is a feature that is shared between several Hattian festivals (Mouton 2018). However, the combination of the pond with both



a female archer and the bear-man might be exclusive to the festival of Zippalanda and Mount Dahi (CTH 635). This leads me to suggest that our Extract 31 with the lively scene of the bear-man's hunt by the female archer should most probably also be attributed to the same festival, thus following Maciej Popko.<sup>67</sup> Only an extensive philological study of all these festival texts will enable us to refine the attribution of each scene, and full editions of all these festival texts are long due.

## Notes

- 1 I greatly benefited from the files of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz, where I had the opportunity to check all the occurrences of these terms in November 2017. I would like to thank Prof. Daniel Schwemer and his whole team for welcoming me to their institute. In what follows, OS means Old Hittite Script, MS means Middle Hittite Script, NS means New Hittite Script and LNS means Late New Hittite Script.
- 2 KUB 55.43 ii 6–12 (CTH 683, MS: McMahon 1991, 146–7): EGIR-*anda=ma* <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>URU</sup>HATTI GUB-aš ekuzi <sup>L</sup>[<sup>U</sup>.MEŠSİR SİR-RU] <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.GI<sub>7</sub> wappianzi 1 <sup>NINDA</sup>takarmun parš[iya] n=*an=kan* EGIR-*pa* ANA <DINGIR-LIM> išgarantaš šer tianzi[i] n=*ašta* šanhanzi nu <sup>D</sup>Zithariyan G[UB-aš] akuwanzi <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠSİR SİR-RU <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.GI<sub>7</sub> wappianzi 1 <sup>NINDA</sup>takarmun paršiya n=*an=kan* EGIR-*pa* ANA DINGIR-LI[M] iškarantaš šer tianzi.
- 3 KUB 46.18(+) Ro ? 10'–11' (CTH 692, NS: de Martino 1985, 259; CHD L–N, 434): [... <sup>NINDA</sup>t]akarmun paršiya n=*an=šan* ištānani d[āi <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.GI<sub>7</sub> wap]piyanda nu nikummanteš tarnanzi.
- 4 KUB 20.90 iv 4'–16' (CTH 649, NS: Groddek 2004a, 157; CHD Š, 362): [<sup>D</sup>Z]ithariyan TUŠ-aš ekuzi [ašeš]šar arta wappianzi [...]-uzzaš uizzi <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠhapiyaš [<sup>TUG</sup>š]iknuš peššianzi š [k]iššari pianzi ta ANA NIN.DINGIR [D]UMU É.GAL GAL parā appiškezzi NIN.DINGIR QĀTAM zikkezzi ta DUMU É.GAL ašešni peškezzi ašešnaz=*a* ANA NIN.DINGIR UŠKĒN NIN.DINGIR menahhanda QĀTAM peške[z]zi š <sup>D</sup>Zaiün TUŠ-aš IŠTU BIBRI KÜ.GI [GEŠT]IN pianzi ašeššar arta <sup>TUG</sup>šiknuš peššianzi wappianzi.
- 5 See, most recently, HW<sup>2</sup> H, 226–9.
- 6 KBo 21.68(+) i 2' (CTH 627, OS?).
- 7 KUB 10.65 iv 4'–6' (CTH 653, MS?): <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš ittalwanza ŠUKUR.ZABAR=ŠU harzi U <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIDRU ŠA <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>hatwaya harzi.
- 8 About the *hatwaya*-man, see most recently, HW<sup>2</sup> H, 537.
- 9 KBo 16.68+ iv 13–14 (CTH 627, MS: Singer 1984, 113): 10 x [...] E.İB ZABAR ŠA <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.BAR.RA [<sup>URU</sup>...]<sup>KI</sup>.
- 10 KBo 10.33+ i 2'–7' (CTH 627, NS: Singer 1984, 84): wara[šhūwa]r tianzi š mān=*za* LUGAL-u[š GA]L-AM EGIR-*pa* dāi <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.BAR.RA warašhūwar dalianzi n=*e* [p]arašnanzi š mān=*ašta* GAL<sup>HÁ</sup> pēdanzi ANA <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.BAR.RA <sup>NINDA</sup>š[ar]amma.
- 11 IBOT 4.112:13' (CTH 670, NS) and KBo 60.218 Obv. 3' (CTH 744, NS).
- 12 The text first uses the logogram <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.UR.GI<sub>7</sub> and then the syllabic writing <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>kuwan-, most probably designating the same character.
- 13 KUB 10.66(+) vi 1–7 and dupl. KBo 7.48:9'–12' (CTH 653, NS: Melchert 1989, 97): [...(x-yaš hatawāya halzā)i ... <sup>L</sup>(<sup>U</sup>kuwaš=(š)a āppa aššiy)a-... ...]-nallēš [<sup>GIŠ</sup>h]attalut <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>hatwayan <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.UR.GI<sub>7</sub> <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>kuwanan=(n)a GİR<sup>MEŠ</sup>=ŠUNU uarašhanzi š <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>hatwayaš pēda=(š)šit ēpzi t=*aš* tiēzzi awaya awaya halzāi.
- 14 KBo 17.100+ i 1–12 (CTH 635, MS: Popko 1994, 140): [I]NA U<sub>4</sub>.KAM mān luk[katta <sup>É</sup>halentūwa] haššanzi <sup>KUŠ</sup>NIG.BĀR-an uš[šianzi ... UD<sup>U</sup>HÁ] kalilienteš n=*e* lū[liyaš šer] kianda 2 <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠAMA.DINGIR-LIM lū[liyaš šer] ašanzi LUGAL-uš kuwapi[t ešari?] katti=(š)ši=*ma* GAL<sup>HÁ</sup> DINGIR-LIM k[ianda] š mān <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠGIŠBANŠUR <sup>NINDA</sup>haršau[š udanzi?] 2 <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠAMA.DINGIR-LIM āppianzi [<sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR?] peran tienzi <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>hartaga[š=(š)a=*kan*] arta šapparaš <sup>TUG</sup>GÜ.É.[A uēšta?] šapparaš ištēpan ši-[...] kē lūliyaš šer hand[anteš].
- 15 KBo 30.26+ Vo 2–3 (CTH 649, MS: Groddek 2002a, 32; CHD Š, 203): <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>PIRIG.TUR uizzi šapraš [...-p]in uē[š]ta 'The leopard-man comes. He wears a [...-p]i- (decorated with?) šapraš-'.
- 16 KBo 10.23 iii 1'–3' (CTH 627, NS: Singer 1984, 12; CHD P, 186): nu=*kan* pēdi[=(š)š]i uehantari nu paršanili taruieškan[zi] ŠU<sup>MEŠ</sup>=ŠUNU=*ya* šarā appiškkanzi paluiškanzi=*ya*.
- 17 By mentioning the existence of such dances, I do not mean to imply that they have anything in common with the dance of the Hittite leopard-men, only that the concept of dance associated with leopards is attested.
- 18 KBo 10.25+ vi 3'–21' with duplicates KBo 30.14 v 6'–8' and KUB 53.32+ Obv. 1'–3' (CTH 627, NS: Singer 1984, 52–3; Miller 2006, 241): [(EGIR=ŠU=*ma* HUR.SA)]G<sup>NA4</sup>kunnanaš [(<sup>KUŠ</sup>kurš)]eš pānzi nu DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-naš [hū]itar PIRIG.TUR KÜ.BABBAR UR.MAH KÜ.GI [ŠA]H.GIŠ.GI KÜ.BABBAR ŠAH.GIŠ.GI<sup>NA4</sup>ZA.GİN AZ KÜ.BABBAR uwanzi nu=*za* ITTI DĀRA<sup>HÁ</sup> AŠAR=ŠUNU appanzi š ANA <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.GI<sub>7</sub> DUGUD <sup>TUG</sup>adupli pianzi LUGAL-i hinkanta n=*e* ašešanzi š EGIR=ŠU=*ma* <sup>L</sup>UNAR <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>GIŠ</sup>.DINANNA hazzikezzi [(<sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠU)]<sup>RU</sup> Anunuwa katti=(e)šmi iyanta [(<sup>GIŠ</sup>m)]āriuš anda walhanianda [ŠI]R-RU š [(EGIR=ŠU)]=*m*a <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> uwanzi [...-ka]nzi taruiškanzi=*ya* š [(EGIR=ŠU) ...] uizzi [per]an=(n)a GAL <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.GI<sub>7</sub> [hu]iyanza.
- 19 Cf. CHD P, 302: peran wahnu- 'to become preeminent'.
- 20 KUB 9.17 i 5'–18' (CTH 685, NS: McMahon 1991, 220–1): x x<sup>HÁ</sup> kuit IŠTU É <sup>D</sup>LAMMA tapišānit K[Ü].BABBAR/GI] <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠtahiyališ udanzi nu ANA <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.GI<sub>7</sub> akuwanna 3=ŠU pianzi ANA PĀNI DINGIR-LIM=*ma* kuit [...] pē harkanzi nu ANA <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠtahiyalaš akuwan[na 3=ŠU] apāt pianzi nu <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠtahiyališ EGIR-p[a] neyantari ANA <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>palwatalliya ŠA É <sup>D</sup>[LAMMA] 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA pianzi nu=*za=kan* apāš=(š)a EGIR-*pa* neya[ri] š n=*aš* iyan-nai n=*an=kan* <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> EGIR-an a[ppanzi?] n=*aš* <sup>URU</sup>Tauriša tiēzzi nu <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>URU</sup>Taur[iša] <sup>D</sup>Kalimman=(n)a ekuzi n=*aš* iyan-nai nu <sup>GIŠ</sup>TIR <sup>URU</sup>Tauriša peran wah-nuzi nu <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>TIR] <sup>NINDA</sup>uītaš NINDA-an ūnganan harzi palui[škezzi=*ya*] n=*an=ši=kan* <sup>L</sup>USANGA arha dāi n=*an* paršiya nu <sup>D</sup>U <sup>GIŠ</sup>TIR ekuzi n=*an* <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.GI<sub>7</sub> EGIR KASKAL=*pat* ada[nzi].
- 21 KBo 56.76:11'–13' and dupl. of KBo 10.24 i 10–14 (CTH 627, NS: Singer 1984, 16): [nu GA]L <sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>.MEŠUR.GI<sub>7</sub>=*m*[a?] <sup>L</sup>USANGA <sup>D</sup>Zithariyaš [EGI]R-*pa* uwanzi.
- 22 KBo 38.13(+) Rev. 4–5 (CTH 666, MS?).

- 23 Dog-men: KBo 56.76:16' (CTH 627, NS); wolf-men – in both cases with the chief of the cooks: KUB 10.28 ii 9–10 (CTH 598, NS) and KBo 45.55 Obv. 3' (CTH 666, NS).
- 24 Dog-man: KUB 10.66(+) vi 1–4 (CTH 653, NS), KBo 38.41:4'–6' (CTH 653, NS).
- 25 Dog-men: KUB 20.90 iv 5'–7' (CTH 649, NS); bear-man: KBo 7.35+ i 24'–25' (CTH 649, MS); wolf-men: KBo 16.71+ Obv. 5'–11' (CTH 635, OS), KBo 16.78 iv 8–9 (CTH 635, MS), KUB 2.3+ v 34' (CTH 627, NS) and KUB 7.32:4'–5' (CTH 670, NS).
- 26 Wolf-men: KBo 7.37 Obv. 3'–4' (CTH 650, MS). About these men, see most recently HW<sup>2</sup> H, 130–131.
- 27 Wolf-men: KBo 23.91+ iv 3 (CTH 666, MS) and KBo 23.92+ iii 2' (CTH 666, MS). About these men, see most recently HW<sup>2</sup> K, 18.
- 28 Wolf-men: KUB 2.3+ v 34'–35' (CTH 627, NS). About these men, see Arkan 2002.
- 29 Dog-men: KUB 55.43 ii 6–7 (CTH 683, MS).
- 30 Wolf-men: KBo 60.218 Obv. 3' (CTH 744, NS).
- 31 Wolf-men: KBo 16.78 iv 9–10 (CTH 635, MS) and KBo 40.170(+) Obv. right col. 5 (CTH 635, NS). About these women, see most recently HW<sup>2</sup> I, 310–311.
- 32 Wolf-men: KBo 16.78 iv 9 (CTH 635, MS) and KBo 40.170(+) Obv. right col. 5–6 (CTH 635, NS); bear-man: KBo 7.37 Obv. 24' (CTH 650, MS).
- 33 Wolf-men: KBo 16.78 iv 9–10 (CTH 635, MS). About this term <sup>MUNUS</sup>harwant-, see most recently HW<sup>2</sup> H, 382–384.
- 34 Leopard-man: KBo 30.26+ Rev. 2–4 (CTH 649, MS) and Bo 6594 i 11'–13' (CTH 738, OS); bear-man: Bo 6724 ii 4 (CTH 650, NS). About these women, see Arkan 2002.
- 35 Lion-men: KUB 51.47 i 2' (CTH 530, NS), KUB 44.42 Rev. 19' (CTH 525, NS) and KBo 2.8 iii 11'–12' (CTH 519, NS). About these women, see most recently HW<sup>2</sup> H, 548–549.
- 36 Wolf-men: KUB 57.77:2'–6' (CTH 670, NS), KBo 23.97 i 8–9 (CTH 639, NS), KBo 12.102:1' (CTH 670, NS) and Bo 6859 i 7'–8' (CTH 670, NS). About these women not being prostitutes, see Mouton 2011, 27–9.
- 37 KBo 23.97 i 5–18 with dupl. KUB 54.73+:5'–15' and KUB 7.19+ i 5–17 (CTH 639, NS; Pecchioli Daddi 1992, 103 and Taggar-Cohen 2006, 317–19): mahhan=ma <sup>LÚ</sup>UR.BAR.RA ŠA ŠAH <sup>UZU</sup>hulhuli [uda? n]=at ANA <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA <sup>D</sup>Titiwatti pāi n=at=ša[n <sup>LÚ</sup>]SANGA <sup>D</sup>Tetewatti PĀNI DINGIR-LIM ZAG.GAR.RA dā[i] § [na]mma 2 <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>UR</sup>.BAR.RA PĀNI DINGIR-LIM tarkuwanzi <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠ<sup>KAR</sup>.KID=ya] menahhanda tarkuwanzi GAL <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠ<sup>KAR</sup>.KID <sup>MUNUS</sup>SANGA <sup>D</sup>Tetewatti] peran=pat hūyanteš nu tarkuiškanzi mahha[n=ma] tarkuwanzi zinnan[zi] § nu DUMU. <sup>MUNUS</sup>šuppišaraš ŠA <sup>D</sup>Titiwatti TÚG SA<sub>5</sub> IŠT[U ...] karappan harzi ANA TÚG SA<sub>5</sub>=ma=(š)šan šer wā-[...] kittari nu=šmaš peran hūyanza EGIR-a[n=ma] <sup>MUNUS</sup>SANGA-š=a ŠA <sup>D</sup>Tetewatti GAL <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠ<sup>KAR</sup>.KID <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠ<sup>KAR</sup>.KI[D=ya] iyandari peran=(n)a=šmaš 2 <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>UR</sup>.BAR.RA hūy[antes] nu=šmaš peran arha parahhiškanzi n=at[=kan?] INA KILAM katta aranzi. I could not see the unpublished fragments Bo 6459 and Bo 6048.
- 38 Bo 5583:1'–6' (CTH 685, CTH 685, NS; from transliteration only): [LUG]AL-uš paizzi [t=aš=kan?] É <sup>D</sup>kurša[š p]peran ari t=ašta <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>UR</sup>.BAR.RA INA É <sup>D</sup>kuršaš andan pānzi.
- 39 KUB 28.95 iii 2'–7' (CTH 744, LNS): <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>ALAM</sup>.ZU, ahā [hal]zianzi <sup>GIŠ</sup>.<sup>D</sup>INANNA <sup>HÁ</sup>ār[nuwanzi? ...]-rānzi ta pānzi
- [<sup>LÚ</sup>.M]EŠ<sup>UR</sup>.BAR.RA GUNNI-an peran [hū]yanzi AŠAR=ŠU appanz[i namm]a<sup>2</sup> parašnanzi. Compare with KUB 10.28 i 1–9.
- 40 KUB 10.28 i 4–9 (CTH 598, NS): ta GAL <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>MUHALDIM</sup> ANA <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>UR</sup>.BAR.RA peran hūwāi nu=kan haššan 1=ŠU hūyanzi n=at=kan parā pānzi n=at <sup>É</sup>hilamni KÁ.GAL-aš ZAG-za tianzi.
- 41 KUB 57.77:1'–8' and dupl. KUB 57.78:5'–9' (CTH 670, NS: fest; Tischler 2016, 209): [(<sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>MUHALDIM</sup> UDU)]<sup>HÁ</sup>-an katt[a (i)ya]nta 15 <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>UR</sup>.BAR.RA [15] <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠ<sup>KAR</sup>.KID 1 <sup>LÚ</sup>UR.BAR.RA [(1) <sup>MUNUS</sup>KA]R.KID namma 1 <sup>LÚ</sup>UR.BAR.RA [1 <sup>MUNUS</sup>KA]R.KID hūmanteš [ki]ššan išgaranteš § [UGULA <sup>LÚ</sup>.M]EŠ<sup>MUHALDIM</sup> peran hūanza [<sup>GIŠ</sup>a]rkami galgaltūri.
- 42 KUB 2.3+ v 30'–38' (CTH 627, NS: Groddek 2009, 33): GIM-an=ma=kan LUGAL [<sup>MUNUS</sup>.LUGA]L [<sup>GIŠ</sup>t]ūriyaš <sup>É</sup>hilamni [šar]ā aranzi § [LUGAL-uš] <sup>GIŠ</sup>hūlukanni ēšzi [<sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>hā</sup>]pēš <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>UR</sup>.BAR.RA [<sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>zi</sup>]nhūrēš [nanankalt]aš <sup>GIŠ</sup>MAR.GÍD.DA-aš [<sup>É</sup>arki]ui GÜB-laza [AŠAR=ŠUNU a]ppanzi.
- 43 KUB 10.28 ii 1–14 (CTH 598, NS): ŠA <sup>D</sup>Mezzulla UDU<sup>HÁ</sup> paizzi <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU, ahā halzāi ŠA <sup>D</sup>Hulla UDU<sup>HÁ</sup> paizzi <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU, ahā halzāi § mán UDU<sup>HÁ</sup> taruptari nu UGULA <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>MUHALDIM</sup> kattakuranduš GEŠTIN EGIR-anda šipan[ti] § UGULA <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>MUHALDIM</sup> ANA <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>UR</sup>[R.B]AR.RA peran hūwāi GAL <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>DUB</sup>.SAR<sup>MEŠ</sup>.GIŠ GAL <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>SIMUG</sup>.A=ya šittar harkanzi DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> LUGAL <sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG.SI<sup>HÁ</sup> harkanzi n=at iyantari.
- 44 KBo 2.8 iii 4'–30' (CTH 519, NS: Hazenbos 2003, 135): mán ANA DINGIR-LUM GE<sub>6</sub> EZEN<sub>4</sub> <sup>URUDU</sup>ŠU.KIN DÜ-zi x ZÍZ <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>HUR</sup>.SAG peškezzi 5 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA 1 <sup>DUG</sup>huppar KAŠ<sup>2</sup>] <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA TA É=ŠU peškezzi [5]0<sup>2</sup> NINDA 5 DUG KAŠ <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>URU-LIM</sup> peškir šuppa huešawaza zeyata tiyanzi <sup>MUNUS</sup>palwatallaš <sup>GIŠ</sup>šuruhhan 1 <sup>UZU</sup>hapešša[r] 3 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA 1 <sup>DUG</sup>huppar KAŠ <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>hazziwiyaš</sup> peran iyatari DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> URU-LIM <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>UR</sup>.MAH [...] <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠ<sup>hazqara=ya</sup> EGIR iyatari DINGIR-LUM zarimimma aldanniš arnuwanzi DINGIR-LUM PĀNI <sup>NA4</sup>ZI.KIN tiyanzi 3 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA 1 <sup>DUG</sup>huppar KAŠ <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>URU-LIM</sup> peškir <sup>MUNUS</sup>palwatallaš 3=ŠU palwaizzi <sup>GIŠ</sup>šuruhhaš PĀNI <sup>NA4</sup>ZI.KIN tiya<n>zi <sup>MUNUS</sup>palwatallaš 3 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA 1 <sup>UZU</sup>hapeššar <sup>GIŠ</sup>marin=(n)a dāi n=aš x x x x x-pa paizzi 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA paršiyazi n=an=kana ANA KAŠ anda paršanzi n=at parā tarnuzi kuitma<n> <sup>MUNUS</sup>palwatallaš EGIR uizzi <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>UR</sup>.MAH <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠ<sup>hazqa[r]a</sup> ANA GURUN pānzi <sup>MUNUS</sup>palwatallaš EGIR uizzi n=aš PĀNI <sup>NA4</sup>ZI.KIN tiyazi nu 3=ŠU palwaizzi [L]Ú<sup>MEŠ</sup>UR.MAH <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠ<sup>hazqarai</sup> GURUN udanzi n=at PĀNI DINGIR-LIM [tiy]anzi GU<sub>7</sub>-zi NAG-zi <sup>NA4</sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>GURUŠ karappazi DINGIR-LUM <sup>MUNUS</sup>palwatallaš šarā dāi GURUN <sup>MUNUS</sup>.MEŠ<sup>dānzi</sup>. Note a comparable sequence in the cult inventory KUB 55.15 iii? 4–11 (Groddek 2002b, 27), where the term <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>walwa</sup>[lla] occurs. This term strongly reminds me of Luwian *walwa*- 'lion' and could, in my opinion, be the phonetic reading of <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ<sup>UR</sup>.MAH 'lion-men'.
- 45 Besides the two following extracts, see also KBo 46.90:4' and 7' (CTH 653, NS: Groddek 2015, 66).
- 46 KBo 4.13+ v 39–40 (CTH 625, LNS: McMahon 1991, 264): [LUGAL <sup>MUNUS</sup>.L]UGAL TUŠ-aš <sup>D</sup>LAMMA āšgaza



- akuwanzi* [<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR].GI<sub>7</sub> EGIR AB-*ya* ŠÌR-RU 1 NINDA. GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA *paršiya*.
- 47 KBo 19.128 iv 47'–53' (CTH 625, NS: Otten 1971a, 12): LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL TUŠ-aš <sup>D</sup>LAMMA aš<sup>ka</sup>z IŠTU BIBRI DÀRA.MAŠ *akuwanzi* § [GI]<sub>5</sub>.<sup>D</sup>INANNA.GAL <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>halliyareš [ŠÌ]R-RU <sup>LÚ</sup>SAGI.A-aš 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA KU<sub>7</sub> [āšg]az pāi <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub> E[GI]R <sup>GIŠ</sup>AB<sup>HÁ</sup> <ŠÌR-RU>.
- 48 KBo 4.13+ vi 5–8 (CTH 625, LNS: Güterbock 1989, 118): LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL GUB-aš <sup>D</sup>Zithariyan ŠA NIN. DINGIR andurza *akuwanzi* nu LUGAL waršuli ekuzi <sup>GIŠ</sup>INANNA.GAL ŠÌR-RU <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub> wappiyanzi 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA *paršiya*.
- 49 KBo 10.25+ vi 9'–10' (CTH 627, NS).
- 50 ABoT 1.5+ ii 13'–20' with duplicate KBo 22.195 ii' 13'–19' (CTH 627, OS: Singer 1984, 34): [(LUGAL-uš MUNUS.LUGAL-aš=(š))a TUŠ-aš 2 *akuwanzi* <sup>D</sup>Inar [<sup>D</sup>Haband]ali <sup>GIŠ</sup>.<sup>D</sup>INANNA.GAL <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>halireš ŠÌR-RU IŠTU É <sup>D</sup>Inar šuppištuwāreš [(uenzi) huit]ār šemenzi pēreš uizzi [(INA U<sub>4</sub>.2.KAM p)]ēreš huitār=(r)a NU.GÁL UGULA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ALA[(M.ZU<sub>9</sub> <sup>GIŠ</sup>marāu)]ēši kuršaš É-erza DINGIR <sup>MEŠ</sup>uenzi [(ŠA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub> DUGUD)] NÍG. BA=ŠU LUGAL-un pūnuššanzi [(INA U<sub>4</sub>.2.KAM NÍG. BA)] NU.GÁL <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>GIŠBANŠUR INBAM tianz[(i)].
- 51 KUB 25.1 iii 43'–47'' (CTH 612, NS: Badali & Zinko 1994, 74–9): *nu=kan* GAL MEŠEDI *anda* paizzi nu LUGAL-i ŠA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.GI[(I<sub>7</sub> IG)]I.DU<sub>8</sub>.A *tarkummiyaizzi* waššuwanti <sup>NINDA</sup>wagatan KÜ.BABBAR KI[(Ü.G)]I *pianna*. See the parallel text KUB 2.5 ii 20' (CTH 612, LNS: DBH 30, 43).
- 52 KBo 17.88+ ii 21–24 (CTH 591, MS: Klinger 1996, 306–9): [m]ān ŠA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub> IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A *handaittari* [mā]n tethešnaš NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA-iš *handaittari* [n=a]n hinkanzi mān UL=ma *handaittari* [n=a]n UL *hinkanzi*.
- 53 KBo 16.71+ Obv. 5'–11' with dupl. KBo 20.16 Rev. 7', KBo 17.14:3', KBo 20.30+ ii 3 and KBo 2.12 (CTH 635, OS: Popko 1994, 100–3): [(mān <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>hāpeš <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.BAR.RA ŠAH<sup>HÁ</sup> ha[ttanzi] (<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>hāpeš <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.BAR.RA U<sub>1</sub>)<sup>RU</sup>Šalampūmeneš] (1 ŠAH <sup>LÚ</sup>hamini pianzi <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>h)āpeš <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.BAR.RA [(<sup>URU</sup>Kādapūmeneš 1 ŠAH ANA <sup>LÚ</sup>hamini pianzi <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>hāpeš <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR[R].B[AR.RA (<sup>URU</sup>Kardaba)hūmeneš 1 ŠAH ANA <sup>LÚ</sup>hamini pianzi § [(lūliyaš šer kuiuš)] GU<sup>HÁ</sup>-uš hukanzi <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>hāpeš [(<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.BAR.RA 1<sup>AM</sup> UZU<sup>U</sup>)]R GU<sub>4</sub> ANA <sup>LÚ</sup>hamini pianzi.
- 54 KUB 22.27 iv 14–20 (CTH 568, NS: Lebrun 1994, 56; McMahon 1991, 265): EGIR=ŠU=ma <sup>D</sup>Zithariy[aš ITTI] <sup>D</sup>UTU-ŠI paizzi <sup>D</sup>UTU-ŠI=kan *kuwapi* <sup>URU</sup>Hat[tuši šar]ā uizzi *kuedani*=ma U<sub>4</sub>-ti <sup>D</sup>UTU-ŠI I[NA URU-LI]M paizzi INA É <sup>D</sup>kuršaš=ma EZEN<sub>4</sub> nu 4 [GU<sub>4</sub>.ŠE<sup>HÁ</sup> 4? UD]U<sup>HÁ</sup> <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub> ūnniyanzi KUR-eaš hūma[ndaš a]rkammaš IŠTU É <sup>D</sup>kuršaš=(š)a 1 GU<sub>4</sub>.ŠE 3 U[DU<sup>HÁ</sup> ūnni]yanzi *halkuešš[a]*r ŠA É <sup>D</sup>kuršaš=pat nu U<sub>4</sub>.3.KAM ēššanzi.
- 55 KBo 13.179:6'–16' (CTH 683, NS: McMahon 1991, 165): *n=ašta* 1 MĀŠ.GAL *anda* ūnniyan[(zi)] *namma*=an *warpanzi* *n=an*=kan ŠA É.GAL-LIM É<sup>MEŠ</sup> *kuedaš* *anda* *pennanzi* *n=at*=kan *šanhanzi* *namma*=at *hurnuwanzi* § [n=a]šta MĀŠ.GAL <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub> [(apeni)]ššan *kuwaškanzi* [ŠA MĀŠ.GAL KU]Š<sup>2</sup>=kan UL *kuedanikki* [piyanz]i nu KUŠ ANA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>AŠGAB [piyanzi *n=ašt*]a <sup>KUŠ</sup>kuršuš [GIBIL-TIM <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>AŠGAB iyanz]i.
- 56 Bo 6594 i? 7'–12' (CTH 738, OS: Neu 1980, 99; CHD P, 188): *n=ašta* NIN.DINGIR-aš *arzana*[š paizzi] *tunnakišna* *halzi*[ya NIN.DINGIR-aš] *parā* uizzi *n=aš* <sup>D</sup>Ān[... 13' <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>hāpeš <sup>URU</sup>HATTI] EGIR=ŠU išgaranteš mān=uš [...] <sup>LÚ</sup>PÍRIG.TUR-an šarā HUR.SAG-a *par*[hanzi? nu *kuitman*? ...] *nawi* ari <sup>LÚ</sup>parašnaš=(š)t[a ...].
- 57 In which sacrificial meat lies.
- 58 KBo 7.35+ i 21'–25' and duplicates KBo 17.43 i 14'–16', KBo 17.42+ vi 3'–12' and Bo 4869 ii 1'–7' (CTH 649, MS: Neu 1980, 102–5; partially in Hoffner 1997, 105): <sup>LÚ</sup>hartagaš <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub>-an GİR<sup>HÁ</sup>=ŠUNU šerhit šartai] *ta* *namma* taru[(kzi *namma*=pat QĀTAMMA iēzzi)] *t=aš* <sup>DUG</sup>ÚTUL-ša šā[(liga <sup>UZU</sup>ÚR=ašta dāi *t=at*)] āppa <sup>DUG</sup>ÚTUL-ša pe[(šš)]i[(ēz)]zi [(*t=aš* pittai 1 <sup>LÚ</sup>hāpiyaš)] <sup>LÚ</sup>hartakaš=(š)a [(āpp)]a=(š)šit pānz[(i <sup>LÚ</sup>tarašiyaš)] UDUN-niya paizz[(i *t=aš*)]*ta* <sup>NINDA</sup>tunik <sup>NINDA</sup>[(kūittan=(n)a *parā* udai)].
- 59 KBo 7.37 Obv. 3'–14' with duplicate KUB 58.14 v' 2'–33' (CTH 650, MS: de Martino 2001, 75): [<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.BAR.RA] <sup>LÚ</sup>haminaš=(š)a <sup>NINDA</sup>haršau[š *paršiann*]ianzi *menahhanda*=ma=šmaš [<sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA-i]š <sup>NINDA</sup>tunik *paršiannai* [6 <sup>NINDA</sup>tun]ik *paršiya* *t=uš*=zan *atkaš*=(š)a [a nu na]mma=ma 6 <sup>NINDA</sup>tunik *paršiya* [(*t=uš*=za)]-šta āppa (dupl. EGIR-pa) ANA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.BAR.RA [(pešk)]ezzi § (no paragraph line in dupl.) [(*kuitm*)]an <sup>NINDA</sup>haršauš *paršiannai*[(nzi <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>MUHALDIM-uš=(š))a UDU<sup>HÁ</sup>-uš *hattant*[(a *t=uš*=an lūl)]iya *peššianz*[(i GU<sup>HÁ</sup>-š=a *hatt*]anda (dupl. *hattanta*) *n=e* l[(uliyāš šer *kianta*)] § (no paragraph line in dupl.) [(<sup>LÚ</sup>harta)g]aš (dupl. <sup>LÚ</sup>hartakaš) lū[(liya paizzi)]. The text breaks off in KBo 7.37 but continues in KUB 58.14 v' 8'–34': 2 UDU *karapzi* *t=aš* *luliyā arta* <sup>LÚ</sup>SAGI.A-aš x[...] KAŠ.GEŠTIN-aš išqaruh ANA <sup>LÚ</sup>[hamini pāi] <sup>LÚ</sup>haminaš=(š)a LUGAL-i *parā* [ēpzi LUGAL-u]š *tūaz* QĀTAM dāi [ta <sup>LÚ</sup>haminaš *katt*]an *peran* 3=ŠU š[ipanti ... l]ūliya 1=ŠU šipant[i ...] § [<sup>LÚ</sup>ha]minaš išqaruh āppa pāi *ta* lūliya<sup>a</sup> <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.BAR.RA UD[U<sup>HÁ</sup>-uš *unnanzi*? *n=ašt*]a? <sup>LÚ</sup>hartakki U[DU<sup>HÁ</sup>-uš *pianzi*? <sup>LÚ</sup>hart]akaš=(š)a U[DU<sup>HÁ</sup>-uš *lūliyaš*?] *uiteni* *unniškezzi* [*t=aš*? š]ākuuš=(š)mit *zahhišk*[ezzi *ta*? <sup>LÚ</sup>hart]aki UDU<sup>HÁ</sup>-uš *danzi* [ta <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>U]R.BAR.RA *hūmanteš* *luliyā* [p]ānzi *n=ašta* UDU<sup>HÁ</sup>-uš *luliyaz* [š]arā šālianzi MUNUS <sup>GIŠ</sup>PAN [<sup>LÚ</sup>hartagga]n *gi-it* 1=šu šiezzi [*t*]=an *waštai* *tān*=a šiezzi [*t*]=an *hazziazzi* *ta* *halzāi* [aw]āiya awāiya <sup>LÚ</sup>haminaš=(š)ta [AN]A <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA *zāu* dāi [m]ān? *luliyā* paizzi nu <sup>LÚ</sup>hartaga[š EGIR-pa paiz]zi <sup>LÚ</sup>haminaš *zāu* EGIR-p[a pāi *t*]=at <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA-i pāi <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>[UR.BAR.RA UDU<sup>HÁ</sup>-uš l]uliaz šarā šal[ianzi].
- 60 KBo 43.182 i 11'–12' (CTH 670, NS: Otten 1971b, 40).
- 61 KUB 9.17 i 6'–7' and 18' (CTH 685, NS).
- 62 KBo 19.163 i 19–22 (CTH 738, NS: CHD P, 188): [tu]nnakišna *halziya* [DU]MU<sup>MEŠ</sup> É.GAL-TIM [GAL <sup>LÚ</sup>MEŠhapiya <sup>LÚ</sup>hapiyan t[ān] pēd[aš <sup>LÚ</sup>GIŠ]GIDRU-an <sup>LÚ</sup>parašnan <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA <sup>D</sup>Tetešha[pi <sup>LÚ</sup>m]iniyan <sup>LÚ</sup>GÍR <aššanzi>.
- 63 KUB 9.31 ii 9–14 (CTH 757, NS: Görke 2015, § 14): *nu* 8 DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>.NITA *uwadanzi* MUNUS-ni=(š)šan *kuiēš* *nāui* pānzi nu ANA 1 DUMU.NITA KUŠ MĀŠ.GAL *waššianzi* nu *peran* apāš *iatta* nu UR.BAR.RA-ili *halziššai* nu <sup>GIŠ</sup>B[ANŠUR]<sup>HÁ</sup>-uš *wahnuanzi* nu <sup>UZU</sup>ZAG.LU <sup>UZU</sup>GABA *arha* ad[an]zi.
- 64 KUB 59.60 iii 12–15 (CTH 500, LNS: Groddek 2004b, 103): *nu=kan* <sup>LÚ</sup>tabri [...]ezzi *nu=kan* <sup>LÚ</sup>MEŠkudanteš [...w]anzi nu *iwar* UDU *halziškanzi* [...] GEŠTIN=*ya*=aš GAL<sup>HÁ</sup> SUM-anzi.
- 65 See, for instance, Prufer 2006.

- 66 Besides Extract 19, the lion-men are associated with the otherwise unknown deity <sup>D</sup>Kurhazuššara whose cultural origin is unknown (KUB 44.42 Obv. 19': CTH 525, NS), with the city of Lakimišša whose location is unknown (KBo 12.65 ii 3 – CTH 237, NS: del Monte & Tischler 1978, 239), but no clear mention of hunt or tutelary deity occurs in these texts.
- 67 See *Konkordanz sub* KBo 7.37 Anmerkung (Popko made this suggestion in 2009).

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# Fierce lions, angry mice and fat-tailed sheep

Animals have always been an integral part of human existence. In the ancient Near East, this is evident in the record of excavated assemblages of faunal remains, iconography and – for the later historical periods – texts. Animals have predominantly been examined as part of consumption and economy, and while these are important aspects of society in the ancient Near East, the relationships between humans and animals were extremely varied and complex.

Domesticated animals had great impact on social, political and economic structures – for example cattle in agriculture and diet, or donkeys and horses in transport, trade and war. Fantastic mythological beasts such as lion-headed eagles or Anzu-birds in Mesopotamia or Egyptian deities such as the falcon-headed god Horus were part of religious beliefs and myths, while exotic creatures such as lions were part of elite symbolising from the fourth millennium BC onward. In some cases, animals also intruded on human lives in unwanted ways by scavenging or entering the household; this especially applies to small or wild animals. But animals were also attributed agency with the ability to solve problems; the distinction between humans and other animals often blurs in ritual, personal and place names, fables and royal ideology. They were helpers, pets and companions in life and death, peace and war. An association with cult and mortuary practices involves sacrifice and feasting, while some animals held special symbolic significance.

This volume is a tribute to the animals of the ancient Near East (including Mesopotamia, Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt), from the fourth through first millennia BC, and their complex relationship with the environment and other human and nonhuman animals. Offering faunal, textual and iconographic studies, the contributions present a fascinating array of the many ways in which animals influence human life and death, and explore new perspectives in the exciting field of human-animal studies as applied to this part of the world.

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