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The Predecessors of Ḫattušili I

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When, in the early 1980s, I was writing my dissertation under the supervision of the honoree, I generated a genealogy of Hittite rulers to serve as a chronological framework for the discussion.¹ I intended to write an article justifying the section containing the predecessors of Ḫattušili I, but I have not had the opportunity to write this article until now. In the meantime, a number of authors have reexamined this period, often reaching conclusions similar to mine. However, there is still room for a summation that brings all of the evidence to bear on all of the troublesome points of early Hittite chronology.

There are no preserved texts provably dating to the period between Ḫattušili I's reign and the period of the Old Assyrian *kārum* a century or so earlier; there are, however, a number of references to this period in later texts. First, from the Telipinu proclamation we know that before Ḫattušili there reigned a Labarna, the first king worthy of Telipinu's note—or well enough remembered to be included. This Labarna, according to Telipinu, ruled much of central Anatolia and represented the “good old days” for Telipinu, who ruled at least six generations later.²

It has long been known that Ḫattušili I in his bilingual annals calls himself “son of the brother of Tawananna.”³ Since this is his primary claim to

1. *THeth* 20, 560.

2. KBo 3.1 i-ii 16, esp. i 2–12, w. dupl. KUB 11.1 + KBo 19.96 i-ii, esp. i 1–12; ed. *THeth* 11, 12–29. The cruciform seal, ed. A. Dinçol, B. Dinçol, D. Hawkins, and G. Wilhelm, *FsNeve*, 104, is the final nail in the coffin of the theory of H. Otten, *FWgesch.* 3, 113f.; *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie* (Mainz, 1968), 104, that since Telipinu says much the same about Labarna as he does about Ḫattušili—who also calls himself Labarna—Telipinu's Labarna did not exist and was simply a misinterpretation of the Ḫattušili/Labarna double name. Note also, differently and cautiously, O. R. Gurney, *CAH*², fasc. 11 (1962), 10f., *CAH*³ 2/1, 237f.; *The Hittites*^{2.2} (1990), 17 (Labarna existed but Telipinu's scribes may have been confused about his deeds).

3. KBo 10.2 i 3, ed. F. Imparati, *SCO* 14 (1965): 44f. O. Carruba, *FsAlp*, 82–84, claims that this titlature is not original to Ḫattušili I, but was added when the NH copy was made. Carruba's

dynastic legitimacy, the only one made in the opening lines of the text, K. Riemschneider and others⁴ have claimed that this is a remnant of “matriarchy.” However, as has been shown by G. Beckman,⁵ there is nothing “matriarchal” or even “matrilineal” about Hittite succession throughout the rest of Hittite history. Succession passes through women to their husbands only when male descendants are lacking, through chance or murder.

The bilingual testament states that Ḫattušili’s paternal grandfather was king and that his sons would have been his heirs but for their disloyalty: “did my grandfather’s sons not subvert his words? My grandfather recognized(?) his son T/Labarna as heir in Šanaḫuita⁶ (or: My grandfather adopted(?) T/Labarna (as) his son in Šanaḫuita).⁷ His subjects and the great men ignored his words. They put Papaḫdilmah on the throne. How many years have passed and how many have escaped? Where are the houses of the great men? Did they not perish?”⁸

Since Tawananna and T/Labarna were used as titles of the later Hittite kings and queens, whereas in the time of Ḫattušili and his predecessors these

argument that Hittite kings before Arnuwanda I do not employ titulatures is undercut by his having to dismiss Anitta as not of the same dynasty. That Ḫattušili did not use this titlature elsewhere is irrelevant—we have so few Ḫattušili texts anyway. That the phrase is situated one clause later than a genealogy would be expected argues rather that it is original, since, had a Ḫattušili III (or other NH) scribe inserted it, he would have known to put it where Carruba would have expected it. That it was dishonorable (“nicht ehrenvoll”) is the opinion of someone far separated from the events that generated this text. That the use of the name Tawananna was cursed by Ḫattušili (see below) and so would not have been mentioned is also irrelevant, since speaking the name of a specific person named Tawananna is all that was banned. Furthermore, we argue below that the banning happened only at the very end of Ḫattušili’s reign, in all probability years after the composition of the bilingual annals. Having spent a long paragraph casting doubt on the historicity of the phrase, Carruba (p. 84) nevertheless considers the annals passage to be clear proof of the existence of an important Old Hittite person bearing the personal name Tawananna, whose genealogical relationship could be used to define this text as belonging to Labarna II/Ḫattušili I rather than Labarna I.

4. See references given by G. Beckman, *FsGüterbock*², 13f. note 3.

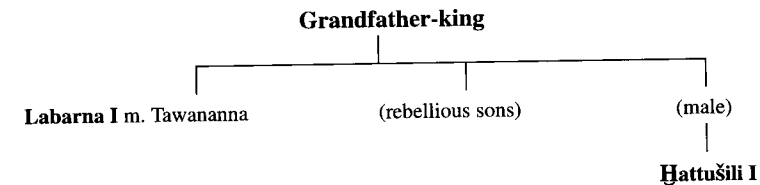
5. G. Beckman, *FsGüterbock*², 13–31; cf. also O. Carruba, *FsAlp*, 73–89.

6. KUB 1.16 iii 41–42. The verb *iškunahhiš* is a hapax. Tr. after F. Sommer, *HAB*, 14f.; for bibliography see F. Pecchioli Daddi, *SEL* 9 (1992): 14f. with note 14; most recently tr. “désigné” by I. Klock-Fontanille, *AnAn* 4 (1996): 64.

7. Following T. Bryce, *MHT*, 106, 118; *AnSt* 31 (1981): 12. Differently, J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 120, who cannot understand why a crown prince should be named in what he says is a provincial city. Therefore he translates: “banished his son Labarna to Šanaḫuita.” However, what follows in the text, KUB 1.16 iii 41–44, is not the revolt of this supposedly banished son, but the subversion of the grandfather’s words by the nobles and the seating of Papaḫdilmah on the throne. Since we have no idea whether or not Šanaḫuita, clearly an important city from the Old Assyrian period on, was a royal residence in the reign of Ḫattušili’s grandfather, Klinger’s translation should probably be discarded.

8. KUB 1.16 iii 41–45, ed. *HAB*, 12–15; I. Klock-Fontanille, *AnAn* 4 (1996): 64; tr. T. Bryce, *MHT*, 106.

appear to have been personal names,⁹ it has long been suggested that originally Labarna and Tawananna were the personal names of a royal couple.¹⁰ This has now been supported by the cruciform seal, which in the section before Ḫattušili and his wife(!) Kadduši lists Labarna and Tawannana as the previous royal couple.¹¹ We already knew that Ḫattušili related himself to his aunt Tawananna. T. Bryce¹² suggests that Ḫattušili’s grandfather skipped over his rebellious sons in order to place on the throne his daughter Tawananna and her husband Labarna, whom he had adopted. Ḫattušili identified himself in relationship to his aunt because she was a member of the royal family, whereas her husband Labarna was merely an adopted-in son-in-law (Hittite *antiyant-*). This would yield the following schematized genealogy:



Another text with possible bearing on this problem is an offering list to deceased Great Kings and Hittite rulers.¹³ In the section preceding entries giving one sheep each to Pimpira (brother of Ḫattušili, Prince of Nenašša, and regent(?) for Muršili I),¹⁴ Ammuna, and Ḫuzziya (other brothers of Ḫattušili)¹⁵

9. See *CHD* L–N, 43. The Old Script copy of the Zalpa text uses a masculine personal name marker before the name Tabarna. New script copies of Old Hittite texts seem to assume that Tabarna is a title and omit the marker. See J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 119.

10. See for example, O. R. Gurney, *CAH*³ II/1, 237. For a more circuitous reconstruction, see R. Stefanini, *JNES* 42 (1983): 149f.

11. A. Dinçol, B. Dinçol, D. Hawkins, and G. Wilhelm, *FsNeve*, 96, 104f.

12. *AnSt* 31 (1981): 12f.; *MHT*, 56–58, 117–19. Followed by D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 25 (1998): 82 with note 34; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 36f.

13. KUB 36.121 + KUB 11.7 + KUB 36.122, translit. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 64–66.

14. KBo 3.34 iii 15–16, ed. P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 58f.; O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 16, 86. That Pimpira was regent for Muršili is shown by an edict issued by Pimpira in which, among other things, he says that he “protected the king” (KBo 3.23, esp. rev. 11, ed. O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 5f., 80f.). So E. Forrer, *BoTU* 2, 4*–6*; F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, *HAB*, 211; O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 130f., but doubted by O. R. Gurney, *CAH*³ 2/1, 249 with note 3, since no edict of Pimpira’s appointment has been found and since the verb “protect” (*paḫš-*), need not imply any sort of regency, but only “readiness to defend one’s interests.” Subordinate kings must swear to *paḫš-* the Great King (see *CHD* P, 4). In favor of Forrer’s view, the fact that a first-person edict of Pimpira was preserved in the archives is the best evidence of a regency.

15. Ammuna, Prince (DUMU) of Šugziya, and Pimpirit, Prince (DUMU) of Nenašša, are mentioned as favorites of the “father” of the king in the anecdote text KBo 3.34 iii 15–17. Offering lists A (KUB 36.120 i 4–8) and B (KUB 11.4:6–8) mention Pimpira and a Ḫuzziya, man of Ḫakmiš, after Muršili I (and Kāli) (see H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 [1951]: 64).

and one ox and one sheep each to [Telipinu] and Alluwamna, the following entries are found (starting with the oldest recipient):

Huzziya and his queen get one ox and one sheep, plus special treatment (see below).

[Three people get one ox and one sheep each.]

[One person gets one sheep.]

[One person gets one ox and one sheep.]

[One person gets one sheep.]

One woman [gets one sheep.]

Kantuzzili and [PN get] one sheep each.

PU-Šarruma, son of Tudḫaliya, [father]¹⁶ of Papaḫdilmah (and¹⁷/the¹⁸) father of La[barna], gets one sheep.

Assuming that this restoration is correct, as is very likely, who is Labarna? Labarna, the husband of Tawananna, was Otten's suggestion.¹⁹ However, as we saw above, this Labarna is likely to have been non-royal, and it would be rather strange if the equally non-royal ancestors of this Labarna were still receiving offerings in the New Hittite period.

The Labarna in question is more likely Labarna II, the second name used by Ḫattušili I. In this case there are two possibilities, depending on the interpretation of the last entry. One possibility is that Ḫattušili's father was the usurper Papaḫdilmah,²⁰ his grandfather PU-Šarruma,²¹ and his great grandfather Tudḫaliya:

16. Restoration of KUB 11.7 i 11 suggested by F. Sommer, *HAB*, 162 note 2. The tail of the BU of *ABU* can be seen on a photo, according to H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 64 note 2; it was not copied by E. Forrer, *BoTU* 2, 25, or by H. Figulla, KUB 11.7. Forrer, *BoTU* 2, 21*-23*, had previously restored ŠEŠ, making PU-Šarruma the brother of Papaḫdilmah and the father of Labarna I. In *BoTU* 2, 25 he had rejected A-NA as requiring too much space.

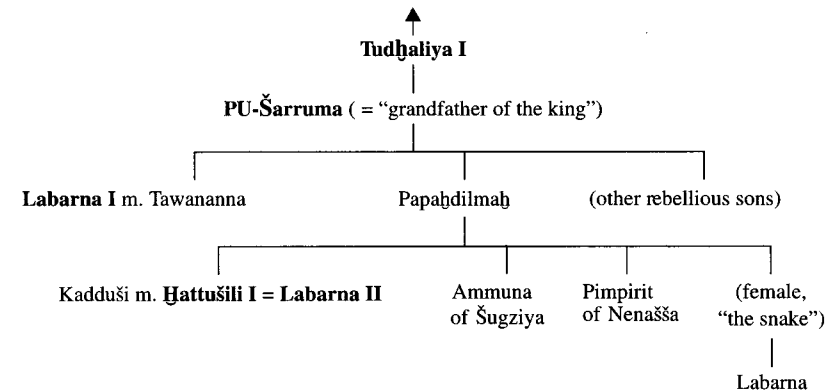
17. So F. Sommer, *HAB*, 162 note 2; H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 52; O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 105; M. Forlanini, *2ndHitt. Cong.*, 130.

18. So F. Pecchioli Daddi, *SEL* 9 (1992): 15; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 25 (1998): 82f.

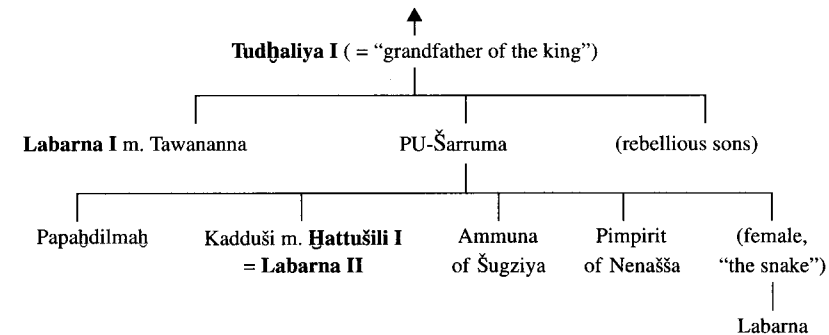
19. That this text presents Ḫattušili's I ancestors was assumed by E. Forrer, *BoTU* 2, 21*-23*, and accepted by H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 52.

20. S. Bin-Nun, *THeth* 5, 8-9, 55, supports this possibility based on her restoration of KUB 1.16 iii 44: [nu at-ta-m]a-an "Papaḫdilmah an ašešer," ("The rebellious nobles) installed my [father] Papaḫdilmah." F. Sommer, *HAB*, 14, had restored a simple [nu-uš-š]a-an, followed by I. Klock-Fontanille, *AnAn* 4 (1996): 64. F. Josephson, *Part.*, 301f., records OH ašeš- with and without the particle -šan, but the only other example of the verb used with installing a king, from the same text (ii 37), does employ -šan. T. Bryce, *AnSt* 31 (1981): 13, suggests that Ḫattušili suppressed mention of this relationship due to his father's usurpation/rebellion. Cf. D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 25 (1998): 83. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *SEL* 9 (1992): 17-19, suggests that Papaḫdilmah's capital was Arinna.

21. Already E. Forrer, *BoTU* 2, vi and 22* (but with Labarna I in the second generation); F. Sommer, *HAB*, 162 with note 2; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 25 (1998): 81-83. T. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 71f., however, considers him also to have been named Labarna, and to have been "the Labarna," "founder of the dynasty," that is, the successful Labarna of the Telipinu edict.



Or, assuming (and?) to be a correct emendation, he was the brother of the usurper Papaḫdilmah, his father was PU-Šarruma, and his grandfather was Tudḫaliya:



The problem with both scenarios is the name PU-Šarruma. Since these are offering lists, not king lists, it is possible that sections of the list are not in chronological order. PU-Šarruma is clearly a Hurrian name, but Hurrians are not supposed to be in evidence in Ḫatti until the beginning of the New Kingdom. The death of a PU-Šarruma is mentioned in a text dating to near the end of the Hittite empire²² and it may be presumed that this PU-Šarruma is the one mentioned here.²³ There is also a Tudḫaliya in the late period, and two

22. KBo 4.14 iii 40.

23. R. Hardy, *AJS* 58 (1941): 186 note 27; H. G. Güterbock, *CHM* 2 (1954/55): 386 note 26; *JCS* 10 (1956): 121 with note 14 (PU-Šarruma in the offering list is not the prince of the reign of Ḫattušili III, but a namesake in the reign of Šuppiluliuma I); followed by Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *BiOr* 20 (1963): 276; E. Laroche, *NH*, 356; O. R. Gurney, *CAH* 3 2/1, 237; M. Astour, *History and Chronology*, 85f. note 73; H. Hoffner, *BM* 26, 170. O. Carruba, *3rdHitt. Cong.*, 102-3, also cannot cope with an OH PU-Šarruma, and so places our PU-Šarruma in the MH period, where no person

Kantuzzilis (a name occurring in the preceding entry) in the MH period.²⁴ However, there are also Hattušilis in both the MH and LH periods, which doesn't invalidate the existence of Hattušili I. Additionally, in this late period, there would be no reason to identify PU-Šarruma so carefully; since the generation after Tudhaliya is the last known before the fall of Hattuša, the list would have been composed not long after this PU-Šarruma's death. "PU-Šarruma, son of Tudhaliya" would have been sufficient. On the other hand, the question remains why PU-Šarruma should have been defined by such a full genealogy when most other kings and princes are just given a name and in a few cases their father's name,²⁵ an epithet,²⁶ or their geographical purview.²⁷

of this name has yet been identified. (KUB 7.61 obv. 7–8, where PU-Šarruma appears, is called "ein nicht jüngerer Text" by O. Carruba, *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 103 [incorrectly cited as KUB VI 61], and MH by M. Hutter, *AOF* 18 [1991]: 39–40, but NH by *CHD* L–N, 34b, and NS and indeterminate in date of origin by Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 128). Carruba's argument that a man named PU-Šarruma cannot have existed in the OH period since the god Šarruma was not introduced into Hatti from Kizzuwatna until the MH period is irrelevant. The introduction of the cult into Hatti is not in question, only the presence of a bearer of a name honoring this god, and we have no texts attesting the onomastics of Kizzuwatna for this period. The same can be said for his argument that Hišmi is not found in OH names, doubly so since it is far from certain that PU is to be read Hišmi (Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 127–32, 135f.). See further note 24 below.

Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 128, has recently argued that the reference to PU-Šarruma in the offering list, while puzzling ("rätselhaft"), should be dated earlier than the thirteenth century.

24. This is the evidence specifically used by M. Astour, *History and Chronology*, 85f. note 73, to impugn the chronological sequence of the offering list. Similarly, O. Carruba, *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 102–3, considers the entries for Kantuzzili and PU-Šarruma, son of Tudhaliya, to have been accidentally removed by the scribe from the Middle Hittite section of the text and inserted into the much earlier Old Hittite section. If one removes lines 17–19 as Carruba wishes, lines 20–21 would read: [ANA] ^mPawatelmaḥ ABU L[abarna] QĀTAM]MA šipanti, "They offer in the same way to Pawatelmaḥ, father of Labarna." However, in every other entry ANA, "to," is preceded by either "1 ox and 1 sheep" or "1 sheep" (and perhaps even more verbiage). There is no room in the lacuna to restore this and ANA, both of which need to be there to make sense of what was supposedly present before the scribe allegedly inserted text from elsewhere. Furthermore, while moving sections of a text around is rather easy with a modern word processor, it is not so simple with stylus and clay. In the unlikely event that a scribe absentmindedly copied a bit of MH history from his original tablet into the OH section of the new tablet, why would he not have copied it again when he came to the MH period? He was, after all, not cutting and pasting from the old tablet to the new. Carruba gives no other examples of Hittite scribes moving two full lines of text from widely separated parts of a text as would be required here.

E. Laroche, *NH*, no. 503, does not discriminate among (1) the OH Kantuzzili of this offering list, (2) the references to the MH murderer of and successor to Muwatalli I and father of Tudhaliya II, (3) the MH Priest of Kizzuwatna, and (4) the NH general of Muṣili I (*THeth* 20, 468).

25. Ašmi-Šarruma, son of Arnuwanda, KUB 11.7 + KUB 36.122 rev. 6, translit. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 66 (Text C).

26. Ammuna DUMU, "Ammuna the child," i.e., the son and heir of Telipinu who predeceased his father, KUB 11.7 + KUB 36.122 rev. 1, translit. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 66 (Text C).

27. Huzziya, man of Ḫakmiš, KUB 36.120 obv. 7, translit. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 64 (Text A).

Since there was a PU-Šarruma in the late period who may also have been a son of Tudhaliya (IV), it was necessary in this offering list to differentiate him not just by his father, but also by his son or sons. It also seems unlikely that in the late period any specific king or other person would be referred to simply as "Tabarna." Finally, Papaḫdilmah, clearly a relative of both Tudhaliya and PU-Šarruma, is a name thus far attested only in the OH period.

What then of the Hurrian PU-Šarruma? Hurrians had been resident at Urkiš and elsewhere in northern Mesopotamia since at least the Old Akkadian Period.²⁸ Although by the Old Babylonian period, Amorites had come to dominate much of northern Mesopotamia,²⁹ there were still plenty of Hurrians.³⁰ There was a Hurrian invasion of the Hittite homeland during Hattušili I's reign,³¹ and this king fought Hurrian-led states in Syria.³² In one of these wars, he was allied with the state of Tikunani led by a ruler with the good Hurrian name of Tunip-Tešub.³³ Furthermore, if Singer is correct,³⁴ both Kuššara, the apparent hometown of the dynasty, and Ḫurma were located in a region with a mixed Hittite and Hurrian population of long standing. Perhaps most importantly, it has now been shown that Anitta himself was succeeded (perhaps directly, perhaps after a short reign of Perwa, his crown prince) by a king Zuzu, a name also attested at Nuzi and so probably Hurrian.³⁵ Zuzu's crown

28. G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge*, 9–22; *Hurrians*, 7–16; P. Steinkeller, *BM* 26, 75–98; M. Salvini, *BM* 26, 99–111.

29. P. Steinkeller, *BM* 26, 97.

30. M. Salvini, *BM* 26, 111–15.

31. KBo 10.2 i 24–26 (Hitt.), ed. F. Imparati, *SCO* 14 (1965): 46f. = KBo 10.1 obv. 11–12 (Akk.), ed. C. Saporetto, *SCO* 14 (1965): 77, 80; tr. Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Anatolica* 11 (1984): 48.

32. See discussion by H. Hoffner, *BM* 26, 170–73.

33. M. Salvini, "Una lettera di Hattušili I relativa all' spedizione contro Ḫaḫḫum," *SMEA* 34 (1994): 61–80; *The Hapiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani* (Rome, 1996), esp. 35 line 4. These texts also weaken M. Astour's argument, *History and Chronology*, 85f. note 73, that such theophoric names do not occur until the fifteenth century. A man with a Hurrian theophoric name, Eḫli-Addu, writes in a Syrian ductus to another man with a Hurrian name, Unapše, during the *kārum* Kaneš level Ib period (kt k/k 4, ed. K. Hecker, *SCCNH* 8 [1996]: 294; G. Wilhelm, *SCCNH* 8 [1996]: 335–43; and M. Salvini, *BM* 26, 112f.). A witness from Ḫaššu in the same text also has the Hurrian theophoric name Ammi-Ḫepa.

34. *JIES* 9 (1981): 124, 128f.

35. M. Forlanini, "The Kings of Kaniš," *2ndHitt.Cong.*, 128f. Since the same two people appear in a document certified by Anitta with his *rabi simmilti* Perwa-kammaliya (Kt 89/k 371) and another certified by Zuzu (Kt j/k 625), not much time must have elapsed between the two reigns (V. Donbaz, *FsNöZgüç*, 139–40 with note 40; Forlanini, *2ndHitt.Cong.*, 129). However, there is no reason to assume with Forlanini that *rabi simmilti* means something other than crown prince. Pirwa(-kammaliya) could have succeeded Anitta and had only a short reign, could have predeceased Anitta, or could have been deposed by Anitta. Curiously, Zuzu is called Great King (of) Alaḫzina in Kt 89/k 369. If this is a geographical name as Donbaz (132–33) suggests, perhaps it is the name of the realm established by Piḫana and Anitta based first at Kuššara and then Kaniš (like Yamḫad, based at Aleppo, and many northern Mesopotamian countries). Alternatively, perhaps

prince had a name that is also apparently Hurrian—Ištar-ebri, “Ištar is lord.”³⁶

Thus Kaniš itself was apparently ruled by kings with Hurrian names, perhaps members of the Anitta dynasty, perhaps usurpers. Why couldn’t a Hittite king (or prince), Tudḫaliya I,³⁷ have married a Hurrian princess and produced a prince named PU-Šarruma? A Hurrian name in the Hittite royal family should not surprise us at all.³⁸ It should also be pointed out that Tudḫaliya is a well-known name at Kaniš in the time of Anitta and Zuzu. One bearer of this name is a *rab šaqê* (in Hittite texts GAL SAGI),³⁹ a title which in the time of Ḫattušili I denoted one of the highest military offices, perhaps superseded by the later GAL GEŠTIN.⁴⁰

That PU-Šarruma gets only one sheep in this offering list whereas [Telipinu], Arnuwanda I, Šuppiluliuma, Muṣili II, Muwatalli II and even Alluwamna get one ox and one sheep does give one pause. However, it should be noted that one sheep is not just the offering for queens and princes, but is also the offering for [Ḫantili II],⁴¹ Zitanta II, and [Ḫuzziya II],⁴² legitimate, if not

Zuzu, of the otherwise unknown country of Alahzina, ousted the elderly Anitta or his successor Pirwa and seized power in a way undistinctive to the *kārum*.

36. M. Forlanini, *2ndHitt. Cong.*, 128f. The same formation is found in a Hurrian name from Old Akkadian Nippur: Šeḫrin-ibri; see M. Salvini, *BM* 26, 103. For “Ištar,” whether actually the Mesopotamian goddess or standing for Šaušga, worshipped by early Hurrians, see the Akkadian language dedicatory inscription by Hurrian rulers contemporary with the Ur III period quoted by Salvini, *BM* 26, 106. Ištar-ebri could also be analyzed as Akkadian “Ištar is my companion/colleague.” However, such an understanding seems theologically suspect since the Akkadian word *ibru* means “a person of the same status or profession,” “equal” (*CAD* I, 5–7). One doubts that anyone would claim this relationship for their child and the goddess Ištar.

37. E. Forrer, *BoTU* 2, 22*–24* with note 1, and H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938): 135–36, consider this Tudḫaliya of the offering list to be the same person as a Tudḫaliya who appears as a general in the “Siege of Uršu” text (KBo 1.11 obv¹ 17–18). Forrer (*BoTU* 2, 22* note 1), noting the chronological problems, suggests that the siege text may mention Tudḫaliya in connection with much earlier events. Accepting the connection between the two attestations of a Tudḫaliya leads Güterbock to doubt that this Tudḫaliya was a king, since “die Art der Erwähnung in der Opferliste zwingt nicht dazu, und der Ton, in dem unser Text [‘Siege of Uršu’] von Tudḫaliya erzählt, paßt schlecht zu königlichen Rang.” However, the equation of the Tudḫaliya of the offering lists, who seems likely to have been Ḫattušili’s great-grandfather or grandfather and assuredly king, and the Tudḫaliya at the Siege of Uršu is impossible, unless the latter text refers to events far earlier than the time of Ḫattušili I, which seems unlikely. One must admit that the offering list does not indicate that Tudḫaliya was king, only that his son was royal. However, there is also nothing in the offering list to indicate that Tudḫaliya was *not* king (see D. Stenroos, *AoF* 25 [1998]: 83).

38. This point has already been made by M. Forlanini, *2ndHitt. Cong.*, 130. For a similar linguistic name change in a royal family, note Niqmaddu (a West Semitic name), son of Aitakama (a Mittannian name), both kings of Qidš.

39. Kt j/k 625, 2–3; V. Donbaz, *FsTÖzgüç*, 84f.; M. Forlanini, *2ndHitt. Cong.*, 129–30.

40. R. Beal, *THeth* 20, 357–59.

41. KUB 11.7 + KUB 36.122, end of rev. 1.

42. End of rev. 2.

wildly successful, kings. This may have been the case with PU-Šarruma, considering the revolts by his sons or brothers.⁴³

One of the most important texts concerning the predecessors of Ḫattušili is often ignored or not fully utilized. This is the Zalpa text, which describes relations between the Hittite king and various kings or princes ruling Zalpa.⁴⁴ According to this text, the grandfather of the king made a treaty with Perwa, king of Zalpa, and sealed it by giving his daughter to Perwa. However, Aluwa, the Zalpan king’s chamberlain, revolted, murdered Perwa and the Hittite princess and seized power. The grandfather of the king declared war. The Zalpans fled to the mountains and Aluwa was killed in battle. The Hittites then coaxed the Zalpans down from the mountains and a treaty was made in Ḫattuša.

The text then notes that the [grand]father⁴⁵ of the king [gave] the city of Ḫurma to the father of the old king. Then the Hittites and elders of Zalpa asked him for a son to rule over Zalpa. Grammatically, the person of whom the elders of Zalpa make their request could be the father of the old king, but it is more likely to be the grandfather of the king. If so, the fact that the city of Ḫurma had been given to the father of the old king could have provided the inspiration for asking for a Hittite prince to govern Zalpa. In any event, a man named Ḫakkarpili was duly installed as king of Zalpa. Ḫakkarpili quickly proved disloyal to his own relatives, and started hostilities with them. Unfortunately the text breaks off, and the remainder of this part of the story is lost.

When the story picks up, a Hittite prince named Ḫappi was in revolt in Zalpa. The king defeated Ḫappi in battle, but Ḫappi escaped and took refuge in the city. The king settled in for a siege of Zalpa. He demanded that the Zalpans hand over Ḫappi and a man named Tabarna. As the siege dragged on, the king returned to Ḫattuša, leaving someone called the “old king” to continue the siege. The “old king” eventually took the city.

This text thus mentions a number of distinct individuals. In the first section the “grandfather of the king” is clearly differentiated from the “father of the old king.”⁴⁶ The “grandfather of the king” is clearly running Hittite affairs,

43. Noted in KUB 1.16 iii 40–45, ed. *HAB*, 12–15; I. Klock-Fontanille, *AnAn* 4 (1996): 64, and in the Zalpa text. See below.

44. KBo 22.2 (OS), with dupls. KBo 3.38, KUB 48.79, KUB 23.23, KBo 26.126, ed. H. Otten, *StBoT* 17, with D. Groddek, *AoF* 25 (1998): 228f.; tr. H. Hoffner, *CoS* 1, 181f.

45. Restoration after H. Otten, *StBoT* 17, 8f., followed by H. Hoffner, *CoS* 1, 181; J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 118.

46. ŠU.GI, “old,” of KBo 3.38 obv. 20, is ignored by H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938): 101 note 3, and by H. Otten, *StBoT* 17, 9. O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 140, understands this as “der Vater, der ehemahliger König.” However, in a sentence such as [ABI AB] LUGAL=ma^{URU} Ḫurman ANA ABI LUGAL ŠU.GI [I pešta] it seems unlikely that ABI LUGAL in ABI ABI LUGAL should be translated “(grand)father of the king,” while in ANA ABI LUGAL ŠU.GI, ABI LUGAL should be translated “the father, the (old) king.” If a Hittite had wanted to express this, would he not have written *ANA ABI LUGAL LUGAL ŠU.GI? Cf. J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 118.

while the “father of the old king” appears to have been made Lord of Hurma. In the second section we meet the “king” and the “old king,” who jointly conduct a siege.⁴⁷

Thus we must identify a “king” who was preceded on the throne by an “old king,” who is never called “the father of the king,”⁴⁸ although other people are called by such kinship terms. We also need an “old king’s father” who was not king but “Lord of Hurma.” Finally, preceding the “old king” on the throne we need a “grandfather of the king” who certainly was king but apparently was not the father of the “old king.”⁴⁹ Can we assign names to these people? W. Helck⁵⁰ replied in the negative and set the whole series of episodes into the dark ages after Anitta. Is this necessary? The fathers of both Huzziya I and Ammuna were kings, so neither of these can be the “king” of the Zalpa text. Zidanta I and Hantili I did not have royal fathers, but neither, as far as we know, did they have royal grandfathers, and they may therefore probably also be eliminated as possibilities for the “king.”

Many scholars⁵¹ have assumed that Muršili I was the “king.” However, the “old king” would then have been his grandfather (and adoptive father) Hattušili I. Hattušili did disown a prince, (his nephew) T/Labarna, who could therefore be the Tabarna demanded from besieged Zalpa.⁵² Also, Hattušili did conduct a campaign against Zalpa, as did the “old king” of our

47. These four personages have already been pointed out by F. Pecchioli Daddi, “Il re, il padre del re, il nonno del re,” *OAM* 1 (1994): 85, and by W. Helck, *FsBittel*, 279.

48. Contra J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 118, who sees this text proving that a coregency existed between the (current) king and his father.

49. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OAM* 1 (1994): 86, is certainly correct that those people referred to as ŠUGI are different from the “king” and “the grandfather of the king,” but her suggestion that they are Zalpan proponents of the Hittites is surely incorrect. The “father of the old king” is made Lord of Hurma, as Pecchioli Daddi notes elsewhere. If the father of the old (= ex-)king of Zalpa were a Hittite protégé, wouldn’t he have been the one installed in Zalpa? Both kings of Zalpa appear to have been named Perwa(?)—reading from W. Helck, *FsBittel*, 277f.—and the usurping chamberlain Alluwa. It is the Hittite rulers, not the Zalpans, who are referred to by genealogical terms.

J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 117f., 121, considers the “grandfather of the king” to be the father of the “father of the old king,” which is an unwarranted assumption and thus, against the literal reading of the text. Why should the term the “grandfather of the king” be understood as the great-grandfather of the king?

50. *FsBittel*, 277–80.

51. H. Otten, *StBoT* 17, 62; H. Hoffner, *Or NS* 49 (1980): 291 with note 29; O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 139f.; J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 118f. E. Forrer, *BoTU* 2, 7*, had originally assigned the text to Labarna, “der Vorgänger und gewiß Vater des Hattušiliš,” based on the mention of this personal name, but this argument was refuted by H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938): 104. It now seems that Forrer was correct at least in taking the “Tabarnas” as personal names. This is shown by the personal wedge before the “Tabarna” in the recently recovered OS duplicate KBo 22.2 rev. 11. But Güterbock was correct in observing that more than one individual named Tabarna is mentioned.

52. J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 121.

text. But one gets the impression that Muršili was just a child when Hattušili died,⁵³ needing the guidance of a regent, and not a man capable of operating on near equality with the “old king” at a siege.⁵⁴ Moreover, the “old king” cannot be the same person as the “grandfather of the king.” Nor can one assume that the “old king” is Hattušili, that the “father of the old king” is his disgraced father, and that the “grandfather of the king” is Muršili’s paternal grandfather, since as far as we can tell Muršili’s paternal grandfather was not a Hittite king. Furthermore, in texts securely dated to the time of Muršili, this king quite consistently refers to his grandfather and adoptive father Hattušili as the “father of the king,” “my father,” or the “father,” never the “old king.”⁵⁵ If one assumes that Muršili was adopted, then one is left with the “king’s (adoptive) grandfather” (i.e. Hattušili’s father) as an important and powerful king. But as we have seen, Hattušili didn’t refer to his father in his own claim to the throne. Furthermore, he cannot be the same person as the “father of the old king.” Therefore Muršili I can also be ruled out as the “king” of the text.

Could, then, Hattušili have been the “king”?⁵⁶ Since his father was not someone about whom he wished to brag, but he rather wished to trace his ancestry through his aunt, perhaps he was associated on the throne with his uncle, Labarna. This would account for this gentleman not being called the “father of the king,” but rather the “old king.” This is in agreement with the fact that Hattušili’s grandfather was king. If Labarna was an *antiyant-*, that would mean that his father was non-royal. Thus the “father of the old king” who became Lord of Hurma could have been Labarna’s father. Although we know that Hattušili I campaigned against Zalpa,⁵⁷ and also deposed a nephew named Labarna from the crown-princship,⁵⁸ there is no reason to believe that these are necessarily the events described in the Zalpa text.

53. Hattušili orders that Muršili not be taken on campaign for the next three years. After that, he should be taken on campaign, and be raised (*šallanu-*) as a leader (UR.SAG). During these campaigns he is to be led (*pehuteni*) and he is to be brought back safely (*uwateten*). Thus even after three years he will not be old enough to conduct the campaign himself (KUB 1.16 ii 42–45). J. Klinger’s attempt (*StBoT* 37, 122 note 166) to link the three years of Muršili’s immaturity with a mention in the Zalpa text that in the third year the “king” invested Zalpa (KBo 22.2 rev. 10) is thus impossible. Besides, the “king” had already campaigned successfully against Zalpa in the preceding paragraph (rev. 7–9).

54. KBo 22.2 rev. 10–14.

55. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OAM* 1 (1994): 77.

56. So already F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OAM* 1 (1994): 77; also S. Bin-Nun, *THeth* 5, 56.

57. KBo 10.2 i 9–11 (Hittite), ed. F. Imparati, *SCO* 14 (1965): 44f., = KBo 10.1 obv. 4–6 (Akkadian), ed. Cl. Saporetti, *SCO* 14 (1965): 77, 80, tr. Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Anatolica* 11 (1984): 47.

58. KUB 1.16 i-ii 2–36, ed. *HAB*, 2–7; I. Klock-Fontanille, *AnAn* 4 (1996): 59f.

Hattušili had an uncle named Labarna⁵⁹ and a nephew named Labarna,⁶⁰ and sometimes called himself Labarna,⁶¹ so it is certainly possible that there existed yet another man named Labarna.⁶² Hattušili's testament makes no mention of a revolt of the nephew Labarna. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that Hattušili would already have deposed two crown princes—his son Huzziya and his nephew Labarna—while he himself was crown prince or co-king with his predecessor. Finally, the campaign described in the Zalpa text was fought while the king's predecessor was still an effective leader, while the campaigns (including that against Zalpa) described in Hattušili's annals make no mention of his predecessor. It is, of course, possible, since the Zalpa campaign in Hattušili's annals took place early in his reign, that he simply suppressed the fact that at the time he was only co-king. On the other hand, since wars with Zalpa stretched over three generations of kings,⁶³ there is no reason to expect that relations improved when Hattušili became (sole) king. If, then, these Zalpa campaigns were separate, one wonders if the Zalpa text could not have been composed as a prelude to a new Hittite campaign against Zalpa,⁶⁴ whose record was to find its way into Hattušili's annals.

A corollary to this proposed redating of the Zalpa text involves the date of the refounding of the city of Hattuša after its destruction and cursing by Anitta. It has been stated as fact since the time of E. Forrer⁶⁵ that the reason Hattušili was also known as Labarna is that this was his name when he was king in Kuššara.⁶⁶ He then subsequently refounded Hattuša, moved the capital

59. I.e., Tawananna's husband.

60. KUB 1.16 i 2–13, ii 2–13.

61. KUB 1.16 i 1, ii 1, iii 46, 55, 64, iv 64, colophon 1–2.

62. On Labarna as a personal name, see J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 119, who points out that the OS copy of the Zalpa text uses a masculine name-marker wedge before “Labarna.”

63. There had already been problems between Zalpa and Kaniš before and during the time of Piṭhana and Anitta.

64. Historical preludes to edicts and treaties are common throughout Hittite history; OH Telipinu edict (ed. *THeth* 11) and the Šunaššura treaty (tr. G. Beckman, *HDT*, 13–22 = *HDT*², 17–26) are just two earlier examples. Even Hattušili I's bilingual testament (ed. *HAB*) gives considerable background to the decision to appoint Muṣili as heir. The Zalpa text is complete and so would have to have been composed in anticipation of a further campaign against Zalpa.

65. *BoTU* 2, 6*, 11*, accepted by F. Sommer, *HAB*, 20; O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*^{2.0} (1954), 22f.; *CAH*³ 2/1, 238f. (but removed from *The Hittites*^{2.2} [1990], 16f.); H. Otten, *Das hethitische Königshaus im 15. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1986), 22; T. Bryce, *MHT*, 59; *Kingdom*, 73 (but differently p. 69); F. Pecchioli Daddi, *SEL* 9 (1992): 15; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 35f., 43.

66. Hattušili's testament was dictated in Kuššara (*HAB*, 200), but F. Sommer's suggestion that the relationship of Hattuša to Kuššara was similar to that between Berlin and Potsdam, or between Paris and Versailles is incorrect. Kuššara was the capital of Piṭhana before he moved to Kaniš and probably the family seat of Hattušili as well. A more apt comparison would be late Saxon/early Norman London and Winchester, or Memphis and Thebes under the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.

there, and took the name Hattušili.⁶⁷ However, as Kempinski and Košak—and more recently Sürenhagen—have noted,⁶⁸ since Hattuša is mentioned as the place of the treaty signing and the Hittites are called “[men] of Hattuša” in parallel with the elders of Zalpa, Hattuša was probably the capital in the time of the grandfather of the king,⁶⁹ here argued to be Hattušili's grandfather⁷⁰ (or father as Sürenhagen would have it). Archaeology supports this as well. According to Neve, the city was rebuilt shortly after its destruction by Anitta, continuing *kārum*-level material cultural traditions, with less than a generation intervening.⁷¹ Thus the city was not rebuilt by Hattušili, but was already thriving much earlier and was already a capital under Hattušili's grandfather. One could just as well argue that Hattušili originally bore this name and took the name Labarna when he was named heir of his uncle Labarna.⁷² It is, after all, the name Labarna, not Hattušili, that came to be a title taken by various later kings.⁷³

If Hattušili's father was the usurper Papaḫdilmah, there is no reason to assume that he won the civil war between himself and Labarna, husband of Papaḫdilmah's sister and the rightful heir, and that the Telipinu proclamation's account of Labarna's successful reign is a fantasy.⁷⁴ Rather, with A. Dinçol, B. Dinçol, D. Hawkins, and G. Wilhelm,⁷⁵ it is likely that the civil war was eventually won by Labarna, who by and large had a successful reign. How could it be, as suggested above, that Hattušili was the son of the loser?⁷⁶ A possible scenario could be suggested. Perhaps after a bloody civil war both sides were tired of fighting and reached a compromise by which Papaḫdilmah and his followers agreed to recognize Labarna in return

67. This has been supported by the fact that the Telipinu edict says that Muṣili became king in Hattuša. However, it does not say that Hattušili moved the capital. Telipinu does not mention that either Labarna or Hattusili or indeed anyone else became king elsewhere, nor does he say that Muṣili was the first to be crowned in Hattuša. Why exactly Telipinu includes this phrase is unclear. Perhaps due to the revolts and confusion in the period between Hattušili's grandfather's reign and that of Hattušili himself, Hattušili had indeed been crowned outside Hattuša. But this would not have been because Hattuša was not in existence, but because it was not in the hands of Hattušili's partisans.

68. *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982): 99 with note 2; *AoF* 25 (1998): 83 note 39. That Hattuša was already rebuilt before Hattušili I has also been noticed by J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 122.

69. KBo 3.38 obv. 19.

70. So also Kempinski and Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982): 99.

71. In K. Bittel et al., *Boğazköy VI* (Berlin, 1984), 89, cited by Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 122.

72. So T. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 69 (but differently p. 73).

73. Alternatively, he could have been named Labarna, but was called Hattušili after the place of his (presumed) birth to differentiate him from his uncle.

74. Contra D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 25 (1998): 82.

75. *FsNeve*, 104.

76. Or brother of the loser, if one accepts the emendation “<and>” in the offering list KUB 11.7 i 11.

for the succession passing to Papaḫdilmah's son upon Labarna's death, bypassing any children of Labarna and Tawananna.⁷⁷

Lest this be dismissed out of hand, a parallel from later history can be seen in England's bloody civil war between Matilda and Stephen. Stephen, son of Henry I's sister Adela, had expected to become king, but when Henry I's daughter Matilda was widowed and returned to court, Henry made everyone, including Stephen, swear allegiance to her. Despite this, on Henry's death, Stephen seized the throne and a civil war ensued. After much of England was ruined, a settlement was reached with Matilda's supporters recognizing Stephen as king, but with the succession going not to Stephen's son William, nor to Matilda and her second husband Geoffrey, but to Matilda's son Henry II.

Further Hittite evidence lending support to our reconstruction may perhaps be found in a fragmentary historical text, KBo 3.28 = *BoTU* 10γ.⁷⁸ The preserved portion of the text begins with an apparent description of a revolt against the "king" by the prince (DUMU) of Purušhanda, who was handed over to the king. His wife and his/her sisters were then banished.⁷⁹ The king explains that internal exile is the proper punishment, in contrast to the attitude of the father of the king, who had spared no offender. As an example is cited Kizzu, who failed a water ordeal and suffered the consequences. After a paragraph stroke, the text continues: "I, the king, have seen much evil." Then in a sentence reminiscent of Hattušili's testament: "Do not transgress my royal words. . . . The aforementioned queen was a bride/daughter in-law in Hurma. My father had done right to her, (saying?).⁸⁰ § 'Wherever you carry away the

77. Or, if we assume the emendation mentioned in the previous note, perhaps with Tudḫaliya I's sons ruled out of the succession, the nobles opposed to the choice of Labarna opted for the (presumably) adult son, Papaḫdilmah, of a deceased oldest son, PU-Šarruma. The civil war's peace settlement would then have seen Labarna recognized as king by Papaḫdilmah's partisans, but with the kingship to be settled afterward on Papaḫdilmah's younger brother Hattušili/Labarna.

78. Ed. O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 31–33, 90–91; lines 6–19 ed. E. Laroche, *FsOtten*, 186f.

79. The antecedent is unclear, but it is more likely the prince of Purušhanda's wife (so O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 91), rather than the king's wife, since the king speaks in the first person, e.g., in the preceding sentence *kišri=mi*, "into my hands."

80. *aši* MUNUS.LUGAL URU Hurma É.GI₄.A *ēšta addaš=miš=a=šše kēdani ara iyan ḫarta*, rev. 20–22. The lack of expected *INA* before Hurma led among others R. Hardy, *AJSL* 58 (1941): 203; G. del Monte and J. Tischler, *RGTC* 6, 125; and O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 91 to translate "This queen of the city of Hurma was a bride." However, no such kingdom is known from this period—see St. de Martino, *OA* 28 (1989): 16 note 65. Hurma appears, rather, to have had a Hittite "lord" (EN) (KBo 3.34 ii 8). Also, the statement that "the aforementioned queen was a bride" is rather nonsensical—virtually every woman would have been a bride. Soysal adds "(im königlichen Haus)," but it is simpler to supply "in." H. Otten, *RIA* 4 (1975): 502, s.v. Hur(a)ma B 1'; and S. de Martino, *OA* 28 (1989): 15f., interpret the text as saying that the Hittite queen was from Hurma. De Martino understands the second sentence as "e con lei mio padre aveva fatto un accordo in questo modo." Although this considerably stretches the literal meaning of the Hittite, the idea is a good one.

daughter of the house of the queen, do [not har]m(?) [her]. '[But] the queen has continually [rejected(?)] the one whom I place on my throne.'⁸¹ Since the place in the text where the queen was first mentioned is now lost, it is possible that she was no longer alive by the time the prince of Purušhanda fell into the king's hands.

This text must date to Muršili I,⁸² since the Kizzu who is disgraced during the reign of the "father" of the king is presumably the same as Kizzu, the GAL *MEŠEDI* mentioned in the main anecdotes text in the reign of the "father" of the king.⁸³ That text in turn, of course, must date to the time of Muršili,⁸⁴ since it records that in the reign of the "father" of the king, Šanda was mutilated for cowardice (or perhaps for unauthorized contact with the enemy) in the face of the Hurrians.⁸⁵ This is presumably the same Šanda who unsuccessfully led Hittite armies against the Hurrians at the siege of Uršu,⁸⁶ an event which happened in Hattušili's second campaign.⁸⁷ More importantly, according to the main anecdotes text, in the time of the "father" of the king, Ḫaššu was in Hittite hands,⁸⁸ and this city was conquered by Hattušili I only in his sixth campaign.⁸⁹ While the statement "My father had done right to her" must have been uttered by Muršili in reference to his (adopted) father Hattušili, the capture of the prince of Purušhanda could have taken place in Muršili's reign,

81. 'n¹=[aš]²=¹ta¹ MUNUS.LUGAL-aš DUMU.MUNUS É-TIM *kuwatan pitatteni n[=an(?) lē / ḪUL-a]¹ḫr¹eni kuin LUGAL-uš GIŠŠU.A-mi ašašḫi MUNUS.LUGAL[=ma=za] / [apūn(?) memmi]škit(?)*, lines 23–25. The transliteration of the first sentence follows CHD P, 349b, s.v. *peda-* B 1 a 2' a' 2" (translated there as a question). The use of the verb *peda-* with those who can normally move themselves is very unusual, and probably does imply "carry," for whatever reason. After the third sentence there is *-e-tu* either erased or written over erasure. O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 33, 91, assumes that these signs belong to the preceding word and reads this as a 3 sg. imperative. If so, the last sentence could be read MUNUS.LUGAL-*[š=an LUGAL-iznani] / [anda kan]iškitt<e->>tu*, "Let the queen always [recognize for kingship]. . . ."

82. Already R. Hardy, *AJSL* 58 (1941): 201 note 87.

83. KBo 3.34 ii 32, ed. O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 14, 85; R. Beal, *THeth* 20, 535f.; P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 52f. The argument is made by St. de Martino, *OA* 28 (1989): 16f.; and *Hethitica* 11 (1992): 27.

84. See A. Archi, *SMEA* 6 (1968): 58f.; D. Easton, *JCS* 33 (1981): 21f.; S. de Martino, *OA* 28 (1989): 4; F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OAM* 1 (1994): 78f.; P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 10f.

85. KBo 3.34 i 24–25, ed. O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 11, 84; St. de Martino, *Hethitica* 11 (1992): 31f.; P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 36f.; cf. R. Beal, *THeth* 20, 454 with note 1688. For *kukkureške-*, "mutilated," not "schlachteten in Stücken ab" (Soysal), or "massacrarono fino a ridurlo in pezzi" (Dardano), see *HED* K, 235, and already Beal and de Martino. For discussion of Šanda's crime, see Beal, *THeth* 20, 454.

86. KBo 1.11, ed. G. Beckman, *JCS* 47 (1995): 23–27.

87. KBo 10.1 obv. 7–10, ed. Cl. Saporetti, *SCO* 14 (1965): 77, 80; tr. Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Anatolica* 11 (1984): 48. KBo 10.2 i 16–17, ed. F. Imparati, *SCO* 14 (1965): 44f.

88. KBo 3.34 i 26, ed. O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 12, 84; P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 36f.

89. KBo 10.1 obv. 32–44, ed. Cl. Saporetti, *SCO* 14 (1965): 78, 81f.; tr. Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Anatolica* 11 (1984): 50. KBo 10.2 ii 12–48, ed. F. Imparati, *SCO* 14 (1965): 48–51.

as the first-person narrative would imply, or in Hattušili's reign as told in a flashback.⁹⁰

Another text (*CTH* 13) refers to the suppression of the revolt by the prince—here called the “man”—of Purušhanda, and the banishment of his wife and children.⁹¹ This text was once dated to Muršili I.⁹² Subsequently Bin-Nun⁹³ and Kempinski and Košak⁹⁴ argued that because the text describes campaigns against Arzawa and Walma (§4) and Šanaḫuitta (§11)—as do Hattušili I's annals⁹⁵ (year 3 and years 1 and 4, respectively)—this text should be considered Hattušili's “extensive annals.”⁹⁶ Most recently Soysal⁹⁷ incorporated its information into his dissertation on Muršili I. Convincing argumentation for a Muršili I dating was then provided by St. de Martino.⁹⁸

Although campaigns encompassing these places might be expected of any Hittite king, this text is in a very different style than that of Hattušili's annals. Hattušili is the prime actor in his texts, whereas in *CTH* 13 enemy leaders more frequently than not simply “die.” There is mention of the “father of the king,” usually understood as a reference by Muršili to Hattušili, in the section on the rebellion of the “man of Purušhanda.” Finally, if the rebellion of the prince of Purušhanda occurred only after Hattušili had named Muršili as his heir, it could have been suppressed by Hattušili's forces. However, Hattušili appears to have been dying when he named Muršili as his heir. From *CTH* 13 we learn that although the wife and children of the prince of Purušhanda were captured and banished and the city of Purušhanda itself destroyed in one campaign,⁹⁹ the prince's rebellion continued, to be suppressed only after several further campaigns.¹⁰⁰ This would hardly have been possible if Hattušili was already dying before the rebellion started.

90. For both alternatives see discussion by F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OAM* 1 (1994): 82–84, whose second alternative is that Muršili only inserts himself in line 20 and that other first-person statements are flashbacks to statements made by Hattušili, as in *CTH* 8. Soysal, *Diss.*, understands the incidents as happening under Muršili.

91. KBo 3.46 + KUB 26.75, with dupl. KBo 3.53 + KBo 19.90 (+) KBo 3.54, ed. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982): 89–93; O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 39–44, 94–97.

92. R. Hardy, *AJSL* 58 (1941): 201 with note 87; E. Laroche, *CTH* 13; H. Hoffner, *Or NS* 49 (1980): 304f. E. Forrer, *BoTU* 2, 8*, had originally dated it to Pimpira, regent for Muršili I.

93. *THeth* 5, 80–82.

94. *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982): 87–88.

95. KBo 10.2 i 22–45, and i 5–8, 46–52 (Hitt.), ed. F. Imparati, *SCO* 14 (1965): 44–47; KBo 10.1 obv. 10–22 and obv. 2–3, 23–26 (Akk.), ed. Cl. Saporetti, *SCO* 14 (1965): 77f., 80f.; tr. Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Anatolica* 11 (1984): 48–50.

96. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OAM* 1 (1994): 84, while convinced that the text dates to Muršili, thinks that the events could still have happened in Hattušili's reign.

97. *Diss.*, 39, and *Or NS* 58 (1989): 189 note 65.

98. *Hethitica* 11 (1992): 24–28; cf. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OAM* 1 (1994): 84. H. Klengel, *Ge-schichte*, 39, text A4, 61, text A8 is noncommittal.

99. KBo 3.46 ii 4–13 (§2).

100. KBo 3.54:11–19 (§7).

If the revolt of the prince of Purušhanda was crushed in Muršili I's reign, who is the queen mentioned in KBo 3.28? While one cannot rule out the possibility that the “queen” refers to Muršili's wife Kali or Hattušili's wife Kadduši, the mention of Hurma reminds us that Labarna's father was Lord of Hurma. Hattušili's aunt Tawananna may well have been a bride/daughter-in-law in the city of her husband's father.

The same incident may be referred to in another text naming Muršili as heir, KBo 3.27 = *BoTU* 10B. In this text, Hattušili bans anyone from speaking the name of Tawananna and her children.¹⁰¹ It has been suggested that the woman in question is either Hattušili's sister referred to as the “snake,” whose son Labarna, once Hattušili's heir, was dispossessed in favor of Muršili.¹⁰² Others have suggested the daughter of Hattušili who was encouraged by the nobility to claim forcefully the succession for her son.¹⁰³ However, neither woman is ever called Tawananna, and—Bin-Nun to the contrary—king's sisters and daughters never otherwise bear the title Tawananna.¹⁰⁴ That this sister or daughter bore the personal name Tawananna and could thus be the woman banished in this text, as Carruba, and de Martino and Imparati argue,¹⁰⁵ cannot be ruled out. However, this text would then have to be decoupled from KBo 3.28 concerning the queen (MUNUS.LUGAL) already discussed, since neither Hattušili's rebellious sister nor his rebellious daughter was ever queen. Hattušili's wife Kadduši, whose position as queen would have given her the title *tawananna*—in later times, at least—is never referred to as such in Hattušili's time. More importantly, any sons she may have borne had been removed from the succession before Hattušili turned to his nephew Labarna.¹⁰⁶ It was Hattušili's lack of sons that had caused the nobles to urge his daughter to revolt. Since the text does not ban (the) Tawannana and her daughters but (the) Tawananna and her children, it seems unlikely that Kadduši is in question here.¹⁰⁷

The only person who is ever clearly called Tawananna is Hattušili's aunt,¹⁰⁸ so it seems likely that all of these texts refer to the same incident,

101. Obv. 1–13, ed. S. de Martino, *AoF* 18 (1991): 55f.; Carruba, *FsAlp*, 77–79; cf. S. de Martino and F. Imparati, *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 392–95.

102. M. Marazzi, *RSO* 54 (1980): 269–78; O. Carruba, *FsAlp*, 80f. (Tawananna was her personal name, not a title); P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 4.

103. See S. de Martino and F. Imparati, *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 392–95; and H. Hoffner, *Or NS* 49 (1980): 302. S. Bin-Nun, *THeth* 5, 70, 72–75, argues for the latter, but see A. Archi, *Or NS* 46 (1977): 483; and O. Carruba, *FsAlp*, 81f. Cf. also T. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 98.

104. See R. Beal, *JCS* 35 (1983): 124–26.

105. O. Carruba, *FsAlp*, 80; St. de Martino and F. Imparati, *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 394f.

106. St. de Martino and F. Imparati, *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 391f.

107. O. Carruba, *FsAlp*, 81, also rules out Hattušili's wife, arguing that had this Tawananna been Hattušili's wife, he would be banning mention of all of his own children.

108. R. Beal, *JCS* 35 (1983): 126; also O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 251 note 258.

namely an effort by the long-widowed and aged Tawananna to take advantage of Hattušili's illness and the absence of an adult heir to overturn the civil war's settlement¹⁰⁹ and reestablish her line on the throne. Since no such revolt is mentioned in Hattušili's bilingual testament,¹¹⁰ while an uprising is mentioned in the other text referring to Muršili as heir,¹¹¹ this revolt most likely took place only after Hattušili had named his still-minor grandson as heir. It appears that it was only some years into Muršili's reign, perhaps after the death of Tawananna (since her capture and banishment are not mentioned),¹¹² that the prince of Puruṣhanda finally fell into the king's hands.¹¹³

Who was this prince of Puruṣhanda? Titles such as "prince of GN" were borne primarily, if not exclusively, by relatives of the king, including those by marriage. Since Tawananna the queen clearly played a role in launching the revolt, the prince's claim to rule presumably passed through her. If she took such an active part, the prince was presumably not simply another nephew, like Hattušili, but her son or son-in-law.

Then there is the woman called the "daughter of the house of the queen," a unique term. She was certainly not simply a palace servant: why would such a person be mentioned in the same breath as the father of the king and the queen in an edict dealing with the revolt of a royal prince? But if she was a daughter of the queen, why was she not called DUMU.MUNUS MUNUS.LUGAL? If she were a daughter-in-law, why was she not called MUNUS.É.GI₄ ŠA É MUNUS.LUGAL? Perhaps she was a more distant relative, a daughter's daughter. More likely, this unusual phrase denotes status within the family, like the English "princess royal," meaning something like "eldest daughter" or "heiress." The phrase is found in a text dealing with the revolt of the prince of Puruṣhanda, and the context features Hattušili's command that when she is carried off, she is not to be harmed. It would therefore seem that "the daughter" played an important part in the revolt. Presumably she was not to be harmed since she was a member of the

109. Differently, O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 222, 251 note 258, who thinks that the banning of Tawananna has to do with Hattušili's "usurpation." But this text clearly dates to the end of Hattušili's reign, not the beginning.

110. St. de Martino and F. Imparati, *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 393, argue that Hattušili's aunt could not have had children able to claim the succession at the time of Hattušili's testament, since they are not mentioned in this text. Therefore, Hattušili's aunt can be excluded from consideration as the queen in KBo 3.27. However, Hattušili's testament only mentions those of Hattušili's family who had actually made a claim to the succession.

111. KBo 3.27 = BoTU 10β. On other grounds, St. de Martino and F. Imparati, *3rdHitt.Congr.*, 392f., argue that this text was written after the testament KUB 1.16 + KUB 40.65.

112. Of course it could have been lost in the lacuna at the beginning.

113. The same incident may be recorded in KBo 3.24, which mentions Tawananna, a father, a daughter, a son, and banishment, but this text is too broken to yield connected sense. See S. Bin-Nun, *THeth* 5, 74–75; O. Carruba, *FsAlp*, 81f.; F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OAM* 1 (1994): 76.

royal family. Since by ordering that she be treated well, Hattušili demonstrates his correct behavior toward the queen—despite her provocation of the revolt, she was presumably most closely related to Tawananna. Earlier in the text Muršili notes that when the prince of Puruṣhanda's wife and her/his sisters had been captured, they had been sent into internal exile. It therefore makes sense that the rebellious princess whose protection Hattušili ordered was the same woman as the rebel's wife who suffered only internal exile. This would fit if she was the queen's heiress and the source of legitimacy behind the revolt of the prince of Puruṣhanda. Thus, what little evidence we have suggests that the prince of Puruṣhanda was married to the heiress daughter or granddaughter of queen Tawananna.

If we are correct that the civil war was settled by an agreement recognizing Labarna as king, but naming Hattušili as his successor to the detriment of Labarna and Tawananna's children, perhaps Labarna was willing to accept this because he had only daughters. Hattušili might then have satisfied their husbands with governorships, as another Hattušili would do centuries later for prince Kurunta. The agreement apparently held until Hattušili's appointment of a mere child as heir. This proved too much for the aged queen, who then caused her son-in-law (or grandson-in-law) to repudiate the old agreement and attempt to seize the throne.

The recently discovered cruciform seal adds another piece to the puzzle. According to the study of this seal by A. Dinçol, B. Dinçol, D. Hawkins, and G. Wilhelm, one side contains the names of the most important kings of the early Old Hittite period and their consorts. Beginning with the more recent, these are Muršili and Kali, Hattušili and Kadduši, Labarna and Tawananna, and Huzziya and [. . .]-zi. The authors¹¹⁴ suggest that the final king here is the same Huzziya listed seven sections before the above-quoted entry for PU-Šarruma in the offering list.¹¹⁵ The paragraph mentioning Huzziya does not present the standard offering of the rest of the text, so they suggest that the preceding standard offering paragraph,¹¹⁶ where the name of the king is broken away, was also directed to Huzziya. In this paragraph the name of the consort, while partially broken, ends in -ziya, thus matching the traces on the cruciform seal for Huzziya's consort. Unremarked upon by Dinçol et al. is the unusual paragraph where "the singer [sings] the name of Huzziya." Although the offering list as far as preserved lists offerings to kings and princes down through Muwattalli II, to no king other than Huzziya "O" is such a special paragraph directed. This suggests that the scribes of the Empire Period considered this Huzziya "O" to be the founder of the kingdom or dynasty, or at

114. *FsNeve*, 104–6.

115. KUB 36.121:3'–5', translit. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 65 (Text C).

116. KUB 36.121:1'–2', translit. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 64 (Text C).

the very least the first important king—in some way more important than any of the others.

How then does this Huzziya relate to Hattušili I and his immediate ancestors discussed earlier? In the paragraph preceding PU-Šarruma, the offering list mentions a Kantuzili and another person whose name is lost.¹¹⁷ As we saw above, there are five paragraphs¹¹⁸ between the Kantuzili paragraph and those of Huzziya, the third of which contains multiple names.¹¹⁹ Goetze¹²⁰ restored Labarna I, Hattušili I, Muršili I, and Hantili I in lacunae in the paragraphs immediately following Huzziya “0.” Here the kings each receive one ox and one sheep, rather than the single sheep of the following paragraph and the Kantuzili paragraph. This, however, would leave the PU-Šarruma paragraph at least three generations out of place, regardless of whether Labarna is Labarna I or Labarna II, and whether either person is the son or grandson of PU-Šarruma. Also, the third of the paragraphs, where Goetze restored Muršili I, gives a second entry: “[one sheep] of the kitchen [for PN].” Since Pimpira is listed five paragraphs further on, who could the lost recipient have been? Because the list apparently omits Tudhaliya II (assuming that the one sheep at the end of rev. 2 goes to Huzziya II), who was certainly the most important king between Muršili I and Šuppiluliuma, it is possible that the major kings from Labarna I to Hantili I were also omitted. The four important entries immediately following Huzziya and the lesser entries would then have recorded offerings to kings and princes between Huzziya “0” and Labarna I.

Forlanini¹²¹ suggests that Tudhaliya, PU-Šarruma’s father, might have been the Tudhaliya, the *rab šaqê* (GAL SAGI), attested in documents of the Old Assyrian merchant colony. Since the GAL SAGI in the time of Hattušili I was one of the top military positions in the state, it is interesting to speculate that he perhaps succeeded Zuzu—either as next of kin or by a coup-d’état. Does this make sense chronologically, and where would Huzziya “0” fit? 155 years passed between the death of Hammurapi of Babylon and the fall of Babylon to Muršili I. Allowing 20 years for Muršili to have grown up, fathered children, and conquered Aleppo and Babylon, and generations averaging 25 years for Hattušili I, Labarna I, PU-Šarruma, Tudhaliya, and Zuzu, we arrive at a total of 145 years. However, as we have seen, the cruciform seal presents Huzziya as the most important king of the period. One might suggest that Huzziya was an even more important—if so far unattested—figure in Zuzu’s court and father or brother of Tudhaliya. Huzziya

“0” could then have been succeeded by his son/brother as Tudhaliya I, who then fathered PU-Šarruma.

However, there are places for four relatively important kings between Huzziya and PU-Šarruma. Perhaps Huzziya was succeeded by each of his three brothers in turn, one of whom fathered PU-Šarruma. Alternatively, perhaps the Tudhaliya of the offering list was the son of Huzziya and grandson of Tudhaliya the *rab šaqê*.

In summary, based on present evidence, one of the following reconstructions of the genealogy of the Hittite royal family seems likely (see pp. 34–35).

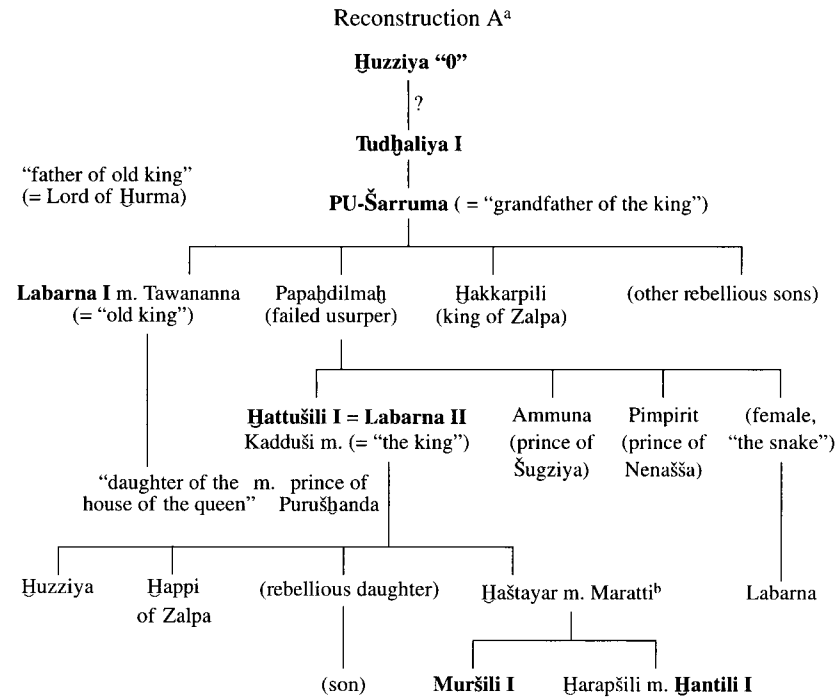
117. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 65 lines 17–18 = KUB 11.7 obv. 8–9.

118. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 65 lines 6–7, 8–9, 10–12, 13–14, 15–16.

119. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 65 lines 10–12 = KUB 11.7 i 1–3.

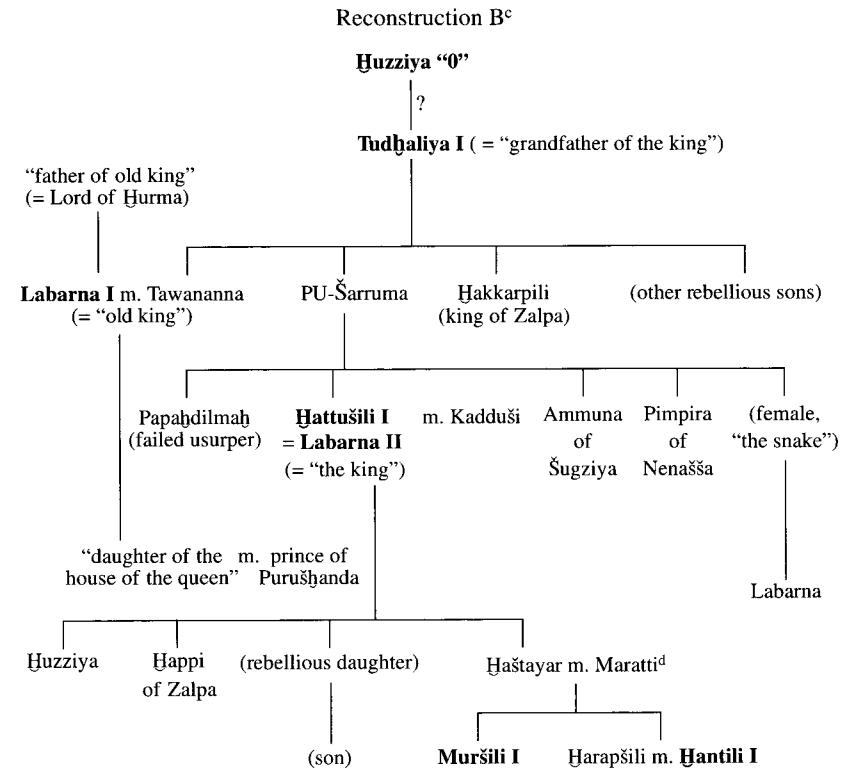
120. *JCS* 11 (1957): 54.

121. *2ndHitt.Cong.*, 130.



a. See note 18 above.

b. See R. Beal, *JCS* 35 (1983): 122–24. More recently St. de Martino, *OA* 28 (1989): 1–24, has tried to resurrect the idea that Ḫaštayar was Hattušili's wife. However, the cruciform seal supports the offering lists which portray Kadduši as his wife. De Martino is correct in pointing out the large number of texts mentioning Ḫaštayar, while Kadduši is absent from Old Hittite texts. However, Old Hittite queens are rarely mentioned outside of offering lists and references detailing claims to the throne through former (Tawananna) or future (Ḫarapšili, Ištapariya) queens. Texts mentioning Ḫaštayar concern either Muršili's adoption as heir or were written by Muršili I. By my reconstruction, Ḫaštayar was Muršili's mother, and so an appropriate subject—and probably source—of these anecdotes. Muršili couldn't call her "mother," since he is at pains to tie his legitimacy to his adoptive father (and actual grandfather) Hattušili, whom he calls the "father of the king." Therefore, although his own parents may be mentioned, his relationship to them cannot. O. Soysal (personal communication) suggests that Ḫaštayar was perhaps a concubine of Hattušili (cf. H. C. Melchert, *FsPolomé*, 185 ["mother, wife or favorite concubine"], and G. Pugliese Carratelli, *La Parola del Passato* 276 [1994]: 403f. ["la regina, almeno una favorita"]). This seems less likely given her association in the anecdotes with another man, Maratti.



c. See note 76 above.

d. See note a above