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# A HITTITE *mandattu*-TEXT

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The tablet here published is No. 3842 of the Nies Babylonian Collection at Yale University. It is of red-brown clay and measures 110 × 70 mm. The lower edge is missing. Professor A. Goetze has kindly turned over to me his copy of the tablet for the present publication.

## I

### Transliteration

Obv.

[1 TÚG(?) W]a-aš-ḫa-ni-ia ZA.GÍN ŠI-  
zi-a[š×]  
[x túg]maš-ši-aš ḪA-ḪI-TI 1 túgGÚ Hur-ri[×]  
[x +]1 MA.NA SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TUM 4 KUŠ  
UDU ḪA-ḪI-TI  
MA-AN-DA-DU 'Ḫe-el-la-<sup>d</sup>KAL LÚ<sup>uru</sup>[...]

5 8 MA.NA SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TI MA-TA-DU  
'[...]ti-wa

[x MA.NA] 10 GÍN SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TI  
[.....].

[x MA.NA x GÍ]N SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TI  
10 [.....]

8(?)[MA.NA] 4(?) GÍN SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TI  
'[...]pi

20 MA.NA SÍG ZA.GÍN 64 MA.NA 20  
GÍN SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TUM

6 TÚG LÌB-BA 1 KA-BI-TA-ZÉ 1 ḪUR  
1 KI-ŠA-ME 3 túgmaš-ši 5 túgGÚ Hur-ri

15 'Ku-wa-at-na-<sup>d</sup>KAL LÚ<sup>uru</sup>Al-ḫi-ša

14 MA.NA SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TI 1 túgmaš-ši.  
1 túgGÚ Hur-ri

'Wa-ar-pa-LÚ LÚ<sup>uru</sup>Šar-ma-na

[x +]8 MA.NA SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TUM

20 [x TÚG] LÌB-BA 1 TÚG GAL ŠI-zi-aš 6  
MA.(NA) 20 GÍN 3 túgmaš-š(ši) 6 MA.(NA)  
20 [GÍN ×]

(three or four lines lost)

rev.

[..... MA.NA] 20 GÍN [.....]  
[.....]

[x MA.NA] 20 GÍN [S]ÍG [Ḫ]A-[Ḫ]I-TI

[x túgmaš]-ši-aš 2 MA.NA (rest of line  
erased)

5 'At-ta-ni-ia

10 MA.NA SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TUM

1 TÚG GAL 1 TÚG GAB 2 túgBAR.DUL<sub>5</sub> 2  
túgGAD.DAM

'A-gal-lu-ú-uš É dup-pa-aš

10 MA.NA SIG ḪA-ḪI-TUM 2 túgmaš-ši-aš

10 LÌB-BA 1 1 MA.NA 20 GÍN 1 1 MA.NA 13  
GÍN

'Ma-kar-du-wa-aš É Gaz-zi-ma-ra

[x +]1 [M]A.NA 30 GÍN SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TUM

[x tú]gmaš-ši 2 MA.NA

'Pi-ḫa-aš-du-uš LÚ (rest of line blank)

15 ŠU.NIGIN 1 TÚG KA-BI-TA-ZÉ-na

1 TÚG ḪUR 1 Wa-aš-ḫa-ni-ia 2 TÚG GAL

[x +]3 [túg]maš-ši 1 TÚG KI-ŠA-ME

[x túgG]Ú Hur-ri 2 ME da(?)[-×]

[x MA.NA] SÍG ḪA-ḪI-TUM 20 MA.NA  
[SÍG ZA.GÍN]

20 [1 TÚ]G GAB 2 túgBAR.DUL<sub>5</sub> 2 tú[gGAD.-  
DAM]

[ki(?)i-?)] MA-AN-DA-DU da-a-ir

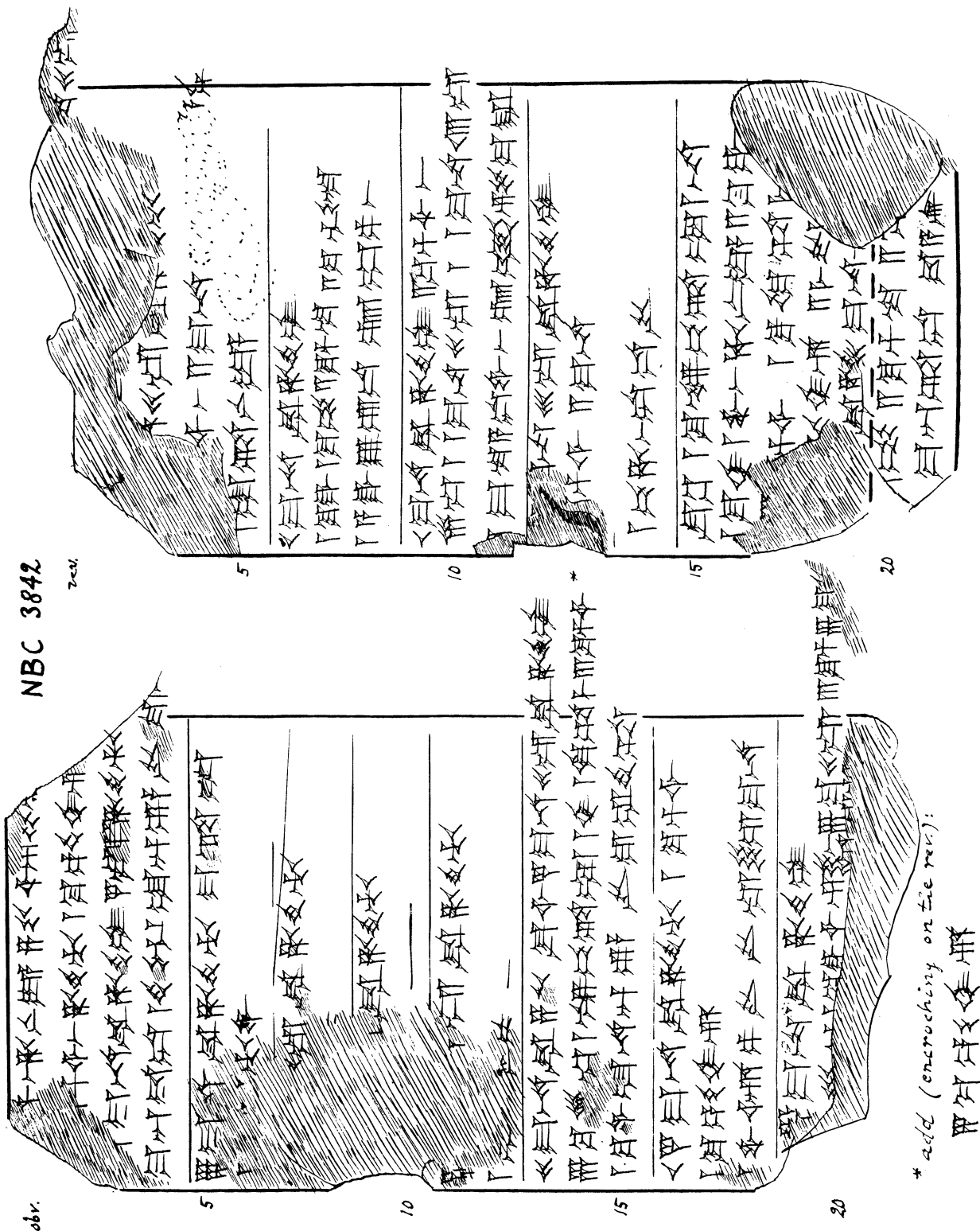
## II

### General Remarks

The color of the tablet as well as its paleography clearly point to Boğazköy as its provenience. The only previously known Boğazköy text of the same general type is IBoT I 31<sup>1</sup> in which at least some of the enumerated objects are listed as tribute (line 12: MA-AN-TA-AT<sup>uru</sup>An-ku-wa). A number of other Hittite texts such as lists of gifts for gods, e.g. XVII 21 ii 14ff., and inventories, e.g. XII 1, contain sections which in part parallel the contents of our text, but differ in purpose.

Outside of Boğazköy the clearest parallels are the lists of clothing and wool sent by the king

1. See now Goetze, JCS 10 32ff.



of Ugarit to the Hittite court.<sup>2</sup> These are plainly called tribute, for we must read with Friedrich<sup>3</sup> in line 1 of the Akkadian version of the list [*tup-pu* . . .] *ša ma-an-da* [at <sup>d</sup>] *Šamši*. Two tablets from Tell el-Amarna may also be compared with our text, but these are memoranda of gifts rather than tribute.<sup>4</sup>

### III

#### The Objects

TÚG *Wašhaniya* ZA.GÌN ŠI-zi-aš (obv. 1, rev. 16). Literally 'a blue-purple *Wašhaniya* garment of premier quality'. For the city *Wašhaniya* see below. For the exact color represented by ZA.GÌN and its Hittite equivalent *andara*, *andarant*- cf. JCS 10 34 and footnote 17. ŠI-zi-aš is the usual writing for *hantezziaš* 'first, foremost, etc.', and is common in the Hittite texts. In association with garments note especially X 13 iii 4ff. A-NA <sup>14</sup>SANGA 1 TÚG *ha-an-te-ez*-[zi] (5) *pi-an-zi* <sup>14</sup>ta-az-ze-e[l-li] (6) 1 TÚG *da-a-an pe-e-da-an pí*[-an-zi] 'to the priest they give a first-quality garment; to the *t*. they give a second-quality garment'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>14</sup>maššiaš *Haḫiti* 'a m. garment of *Haḫḫum*'. For the city of *Haḫḫum* see below. The reading of *mašši*- as Hittite is established by <sup>14</sup>ma-aš-ši-ia-aš in the enumeration of garments in XXII 70 rev. 10ff. An examination of its position in a number of Hittite clothing lists suggested that *mašši*- is the reading for <sup>14</sup>ŠĀ.GA.DŪ, <sup>14</sup>ŠĀ.GA.-AN.DŪ, etc.<sup>6</sup> The evidence indicated that it was worn around the middle of the body, and was considered as an accessory to the main dress. From the various weights of the *mašši*- given in our text — three totalling six minas and twenty shekels (obv. 20), one of two minas (rev. 4, 13), one of one mina and twenty shekels, and one of one mina and thirteen shekels (rev. 9f.) — it is

2. RŠ 11.732 (Syria 21 257ff; Mission de Ras Shamra VI p. 181), the Akkadian version; the alphabetic parallel, RŠ 11.772 780 782 802 (Syria 21 260ff.).

3. ZDMG 96 494.

4. El-Amarna Tafeln, Nos. 22 (esp. ii 23ff.), 25.

5. Note also Alalah 416 1ff.: 5 TÚG 1 *ta-a-an* (2) 5 TÚG *ši-na-te-na* (!) (cf. 362 7) 'five garments of premier quality, five garments of second quality'.

6. Goetze, *Corolla Linguistica* (Festschrift Ferdinand Sommer) 54f. We must assume the existence of the stems *mašši*- and *maššia*- side by side, cf. obv 2, rev. 4, 9 vs. obv. 14, 16, rev. 13. That we are dealing with the same item in both cases is indicated by the summary, where only *mašši*- is listed (rev. 17).

clear that it was a comparatively large item, weighing about one-third the amount of the main dress. It could therefore not have been a simple waist-band or belt,<sup>7</sup> but some wide length of cloth which could be wrapped around the body more than once, and within which large objects could be carried.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>14</sup>GŪ *Hurri* (obv. 2, 6, 17, rev. 18). The 'Hurrian shirt' is well-known in Hittite and other sources and has already been fully discussed.<sup>9</sup> The complete ideographic form is of course <sup>14</sup>GŪ.Ē.A *Hur-ri*, but the abbreviated form is always found in Amarna,<sup>10</sup> and occasionally in the Hittite sources.<sup>11</sup>

ŠĪG *HA-ḪI-TUM*, KUŠ UDU *HA-ḪI-TI* (obv. 3; passim), wool of *Haḫḫum* (-sheep), skin(s) of *Haḫḫum*-sheep'. The wool of *Haḫḫum* sheep was apparently held in special esteem already in the Ur III period, for a text of that date speaks of a TÚG.BŪR *Ha-ḫu-um*<sup>12</sup> 'a B. garment of *Haḫḫum* (-wool)'.<sup>12</sup> A Cappadocian tablet mentions TÚG.ḪI.A *ša HA-ḫi-im*,<sup>13</sup> and a tablet from Alishar plainly mentions *šaptam ša Haḫ(h)im* 'wool of *Haḫḫum*'.<sup>14</sup>

*KA-BI-TA-ZĒ(-na)* (obv. 14, rev. 15). The word appears to be Hurrian. The *-na* which is added to it in the summary may represent the Hurrian plural suffix.<sup>15</sup> The word, in that event, would represent a plurale tantum, as only one such item is listed. ZĒ may represent the Hurrian formative *-zi*, in the sense of 'pertaining to, appropriate to'.<sup>16</sup> We are then left with the basic form *kapit(a)*- for which we may refer to *ka-wa/we-du-um-ma i-te-ep-šu*, AASOR 16 7:45, may be cited, where Speiser translates "they stripped" (a

7. A belt or waist-band would require no more than about one-sixth of a mina of wool, cf. S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* I 136f.

8. A modern parallel would be the cummerbund, as suggested to us by Mrs. C. Schweitzer, the secretary of our department. Long wide shawls still serve a similar purpose in the Near East.

9. *Corolla Linguistica* 52ff.

10. EA 22 ii 36, 39, 41, iii 24.

11. KBo VII 23 2, 3

12. RTC 232 5.

13. Eisser-Lewy 332 20.

14. I. J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* (OIP XXVII) 7 6.

15. E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* 101f.

16. *ibid.* 116. It may be of some significance that the reference is to a TÚG *aš-du-uz-zi* in SMN 2671, cf. AASOR XVI p. 134.

house of its reed-matting). The same element might be seen in *ka-pi-it-ta-aš-ša-am-na*[X] (XII 1 iii 29), an item for which the determinative appears to be KUŠ. The term would in this case have to be viewed as descriptive, and not as the name of a kind of garment. The meaning, however, remains obscure.

HUR (obv. 14, rev. 16). Perhaps to be read as *gur*<sub>14</sub> = *kab-ru* (ŠL 401:39) 'thick'. The Nuzi texts mention TÚG *kabru* in inventories of clothing. HSS XIII 123:4 has 4 *túg.meš kab-ru*, 225:18 lists 1 *túg.mes kab-ba-ru-tum*.

KI-ŠA-ME (obv. 14, rev. 17). Completely obscure; not even the language is apparent.

TÚG GAL (obv. 20, rev. 7, 16). It is not clear whether the meaning is simply 'large, great garment' or if the ideogram implies a particular type of garment. It might be pointed out in this connection that the weight of the item in our text, given as six minas and twenty shekels, is somewhat larger than the average for the normal TÚG, which is from four to six minas.<sup>17</sup> The difference is not large enough to warrant the conclusion that GAL has reference only to the size or weight of the garment. The only other known occurrence of the TÚG GAL is in the Kirkuk text, Gadd, RA 23 No. 39:9.

TÚG GAB (rev. 7, 20). It is probably to be read thus and not TÚG.DU<sub>8</sub> which means 'upholsterer'. It is probably identical with TÚG GAB.GAB for which V R 15 c-d 13 gives the Akkadian equivalent *tab-šu-ú* 'cover'(?).<sup>18</sup> In Zimmern, Ritualtafeln No. 70:6 we find TÚG GAB.GAB *ina qaqqadi*[...], which suggests that an article of headwear is involved.

TÚG BAR.DUL<sub>5</sub> (rev. 7, 20). The reasons for this reading rather than BAR.TE have now been fully set forth by A. Goetze<sup>19</sup> It probably represents a major article of dress which literally "covers the side". There are some indications that the Akkadian equivalent is *kusītu* 'mantle', which may have found its way into Hittite as *kušiši*.

<sup>túg</sup>GAD.DAM (rev. 7). 'Gaiters' or 'leggings'.<sup>20</sup>

17. D. Cross, Movable Property in the Nuzi Documents 50f. and fn. 124.

18. If related to *šutabšu*, HWB 12.

19. Corolla Linguistica 57.

20. *ibid.* 60.

#### IV

##### Geographic Names

*Wašhaniya* (obv. 1, rev. 16). Occurs frequently in the Cappadocian texts, often written *Ušhaniya*.<sup>21</sup> The location proposed for it has been in the vicinity of Incesu, about fifteen miles southwest of Kayseri.<sup>22</sup> The town was the first stop on the route from Kaniš to Burušhattum.

*Haḫḫum*, which gives its name to the variety of wool and wool-bearing sheep raised in its vicinity, is an important commercial center in the Cappadocian records.<sup>23</sup> Its location, however, is still a matter of dispute. Landsberger<sup>24</sup> suggested modern Divriği as its site, while Garstang<sup>25</sup> would place it at Kangal, about thirty miles to the west of Divriği. Goetze<sup>26</sup> would locate it a good deal further south, around Elbistan, to the west of Malatya. Gelb<sup>27</sup> and Lewy<sup>28</sup> would bring it even closer to Syria, without, however, attempting a more exact location.

*Alḫiša* (obv. 15). The town is not otherwise known. Perhaps it is to be connected with the city *Al-ḫa*, mentioned in the Šuppiliuma-Mattiwaza treaty<sup>29</sup> which is associated geographically with the land of Išuwa in the area of the upper bend of the Euphrates.<sup>30</sup>

*Šarmana* (obv. 18). The city is mentioned in KBo IV 10 34f. among a number of towns granted by the Hittite king to the king of Tattašša, an indication that it lay close to that land, but not included within its original boundaries. The geographic indications for the land of Tattašša, however, are not clear.<sup>31</sup>

É *Gazzimara*. (rev. 11). This place is known from Muwatalli's list of deities of different localities in VI 45 ii 59. For its location a possible clue might be the fact that the gods of Ankuwa are listed immediately after it. Ankuwa has been identified with Alishar in the central Ana-

21. See Bilgiç, AfO 15 37.

22. *ibid.* 21.

23. See esp. Gelb, AJSL 55 75f.; also Bilgiç, *op. cit.* 27f., 33.

24. *Belleten* 3 (1939) 223.

25. JNES 1 453ff.

26. JCS 7 68f.

27. AJSL 55 75f.

28. *Orientalia* 21 273 fn. 3.

29. KBo I 1 obv. 21.

30. See A. Goetze, Kizzuwatna 40.

31. *ibid.* 52 fn. 198.

tolian plateau,<sup>32</sup> and was approximately a three-day journey southeast from Hattušaš. In another text, II 8, the LÜ.MEŠ É.GAL *Gaz-zi-mar* (v 34) supply food and drink at a festival during which singers from Kaniš perform (v 31). It is possible that a relationship between the two cities exists. In any case, Kaniš (Kültepe) is only about sixty miles southeast of Ankuwa. A geographical association of Gazzimara with Kaniš is therefore readily compatible with its association with Ankuwa.<sup>32a</sup>

The place-names in this text can be seen to form no clear geographic pattern. Of the three cities mentioned as the source of the tribute, the position of Šarmana is not certain, but Alhiša may have associations in eastern Anatolia, while É Gazzimara is probably in central Anatolia. The text may be explained simply as a memorandum of tribute arriving in Hattušaš at about the same time, from various sources.

## V

### Personal Names

*Hella*-<sup>d</sup>KAL (obv. 4). The first element of the name is probably identical with that of the name *Hellarizzi*.<sup>33</sup> In our instance it may be assumed that *Hella*- is meant for *Hella(r)*-. The use of <sup>d</sup>KAL as a theophorous element in Hittite names with the almost certain reading <sup>d</sup>*Inara* has been discussed by Laroche<sup>34</sup> and Goetze.<sup>35</sup>

[...] *-tiwa* (obv. 6). Very likely the Luwian

32. Lewy, RHA 5 7 and fn. 30; Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar* 9f.; Bilgiç, AfO 15 30.

32a. There remains the possibility that É *Gazzimara* is identical with *Gazziura*, which maintained its name through Classical times and is to be located at present Turhal, above Zile, about 100 miles Northeast of Hattuša. In that case É *Gazzimara* would have nothing to do with the Alishar-Kültepe area. Against such an identification, however is the fact, that *Gazziura*, in its text occurrences, is never preceded by É (or É.GAL) whereas *Gazzimar(a)* usually is.

33. E. Laroche, *Recueil* (d'Onomastique Hittite) No. 167.

34. *ibid.* p. 78ff.

35. *Language* 29 266 fn. 31.

element meaning 'sun'.<sup>36</sup> Cf. the Cappadocian name *Harpatiwa*,<sup>37</sup> and from the Hittite texts, the names *Tiwa-šarpa*,<sup>38</sup> *Tiwatapara*, and *Tiwata-wiya*.<sup>39</sup>

[...] *-pi* (obv. 12). Probably a Hittite name with the element *pi(ya)*- 'give(n)'.<sup>40</sup>

*Kuwatna*-<sup>d</sup>KAL (obv. 15). Already cited as a probably Luwian name in JCS 8 77, together with such related names as *Kuwatna*-LÜ and *Kuwatnalla*.<sup>41</sup> The first element may even be identical with *kuwanta*-, and *kupanta*-, especially in view of the name *Kupanta*-<sup>d</sup>KAL.<sup>42</sup>

*Warpa*-LÜ (obv. 18). Quoted in JCS 8 80 as Luwian, probably to be read *Warpa-ziti*(š).<sup>43</sup>

*Ataniya* (rev. 5). The name may be compared with *Atani* which is found in the Cappadocian records.<sup>44</sup> It recalls also the name of the country and town of *A-d/ta-ni-ya* of the Hittite sources, which has been identified with modern Adana in Cilicia.<sup>45</sup>

*Agalluš* (rev. 8). Compare the name *A-ga-li-ú-ma-an* in a Cappadocian text (CCT I 7a:3) and which has been taken<sup>46</sup> as a gentile formation based on the place-name *Akaliyaš*.

*Makarduwaš* (rev. 11). The name is otherwise unattested. Names in *-uwaš* have been collected by Götze in *Madduwattaš* 40f.

*Piḫašduš* (rev. 14). Also in XXI 38 obv. 23. The element *piḫ(a)*- is commonly associated with Luwian names.<sup>47</sup> On *-ašdu*, which is also taken as Luwian, cf. JCS 8 76, *Recueil* p. 111.

36. H. Otten, *Zur Grammatikalischen und Lexikalischen Bestimmung des Luvischen* 50f.

37. AfO 15 7.

38. Bo 10197 cited by Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* II 14.

39. *Recueil* Nos. 723, 724.

40. *ibid.* p. 121; JCS 7 110 fn. 4; JCS 8 78.

41. Also *Recueil* Nos. 339, 338.

42. Cf. JCS 8 77.

43. On *warpa(a)*- cf. also *Recueil*, p. 114, and Landsberger, JCS 8 127.

44. BIN IV 208 6, case 11.

45. *Kizzuwatna* 56ff. Is *Atanni* of the Alalah Texts 289 3 the same?

46. Götze, ZA 40 260f; Goetze, *Language* 30 351.

47. *Recueil* Nos. 529-537, 1166-69. Cf. also p. 113; JCS 8 78.