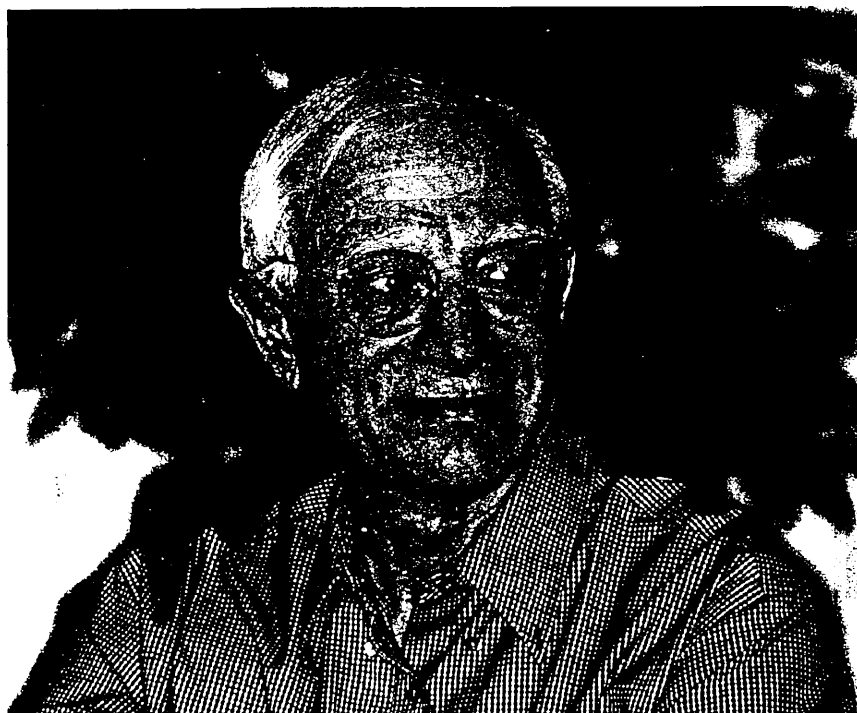




Harry A. Hoffner Jr.

*Hittite Studies in Honor of
Harry A. Hoffner Jr.
on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*

Edited by

GARY BECKMAN
RICHARD BEAL
and
GREGORY McMAHON

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Dedication

Each of the editors of this tribute volume was privileged to study with Harry—at Yale or at the Oriental Institute—and to work under him in the production of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*. We are all grateful for the instruction he afforded us as students and for the attention he has devoted to our subsequent Hittitological undertakings. We hope that he will receive this *Festschrift* as a token of our esteem. We join with our colleagues whose essays have been collected here in wishing Harry many further years of health and rewarding research.

R. H. B.
G. M. B.
G. McM.

Abbreviations

In addition to abbreviations listed in the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, vol. L–N (Chicago, 1989), xv–xxviii; vol. P (Chicago, 1994), ix–xi; and the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. 14. R (Chicago, 1999), ix–xxvii, the following bibliographic abbreviations have been employed in this collection:

AnAn	<i>Anatolia Antiqua</i> —Paris
AnAraşt	<i>Anadolu Araştırmaları</i> —Istanbul
ArAn	<i>Archivum Anatolicum</i> ; <i>Anadolu Arşivleri</i> —Ankara
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i> —Hiroshima
Astour, <i>History and Chronology</i>	Michael C. Astour, <i>Hittite History and Absolute Chronology of the Bronze Age</i> (Partille, 1989)
BCSMS	<i>Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies</i> —Quebec
Beckman, <i>HDT</i>	Gary Beckman, <i>Hittite Diplomatic Texts</i> (Atlanta, 1996; second edition, 1999)
BM 26	<i>Urkish and the Hurrians. Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 26</i> , ed. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati (Malibu, 1998)
Bryce, <i>Kingdom</i>	T. Bryce, <i>The Kingdom of the Hittites</i> (Oxford, 1998)
BSA	<i>Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture</i> —Cambridge
CANE	<i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> , ed. Jack Sasson et al. (New York, 1995)
CoS	<i>The Context of Scripture</i> , ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger. Vol. I: <i>Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World</i> (Leiden, 1997); Vol. II: <i>Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World</i> (Leiden, 2000)
Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani, <i>La mitologia</i>	Franca Pecchioli Daddi and Anna Maria Polvani, <i>La mitologia ittita</i> (Brescia, 1990)
Dardano, <i>L'aneddoto</i>	Paola Dardano, <i>L'aneddoto e il racconto in età antico-ittita: La cosiddetta "Cronaca di Palazzo"</i> (Rome, 1997)
Edel, <i>ÄHK</i>	Elmar Edel, <i>Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache</i> (Opladen, 1994)
FsHouwinktenCate	<i>Studio historiae ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday</i> , ed. Theo P. J. van den Hout and Johan de Roos (Istanbul, 1995)
FsPuhvel	<i>Studies in Ancient Languages & Philology in Honor of Juan Puhvel</i> , ed. D. Disterheft et al. (Washington, D.C., 1997)

<i>FsRenger</i>	<i>Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger</i> , ed. B. Böck et al. (Münster, 1999)
<i>FsWatkins</i>	<i>Mír curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins</i> , ed. J. Jasanoff et al. (Innsbruck, 1998)
<i>FsWPSchmid</i>	<i>Florilegium Linguisticum. Festschrift für Wolfgang P. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag</i> , ed. E. Eggers et al. (Frankfurt/Main, 1999)
van Gessel, <i>Onomasticon</i>	Ben H. L. van Gessel, <i>Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon</i> (Leiden, 1998)
Glocker, <i>Kuliwišna</i>	Jürgen Glocker, <i>Das Ritual für den Wettergott von Kuliwišna</i> (Florence, 1997)
Haas, <i>GHR</i>	Volkert Haas, <i>Geschichte der hethitischen Religion</i> (Leiden, 1994)
Haase, <i>Beobachtungen</i>	Richard Haase, <i>Beobachtungen zur hethitischen Rechtssatzung</i> (Leonberg, 1995)
Harrak, <i>A&H</i> <i>2ndHitt.Cong.</i>	Amir Harrak, <i>Assyria and Hanigalbat</i> (Hildesheim, 1987) <i>Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia, Pavia 28 giugno—2 luglio 1993</i> , ed. Onofrio Carruba et al. (Pavia, 1995)
<i>3rdHitt.Cong.</i>	<i>III. Uluslararası Hittitoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, Çorum 16–22 Eylül 1996</i> (Ankara, 1998)
<i>4thHitt.Cong.</i>	<i>Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie Würzburg, 4.–8. Oktober 1999. StBoT 45</i> (Wiesbaden, 2001)
Hoffner, <i>Laws</i> <i>IOS</i> <i>JANES</i> <i>JEOL</i>	H. A. Hoffner, <i>The Laws of the Hittites</i> (Leiden 1997) <i>Israel Oriental Studies</i> —Winona Lake, Indiana <i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i> —New York <i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Orient Lux"</i> —Leiden
Kapantsian, <i>ILR</i>	Grigor Karpantsian, <i>Istoriko-Lingvisticheskiye raboti</i> (Yerevan, 1956)
Klengel, <i>Geschichte</i>	Horst Klengel, <i>Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches</i> (Leiden, 1999)
Luraghi, <i>Hittite</i> <i>Natural Phenomena</i>	Sylvia Luraghi, <i>Hittite</i> (Munich, 1997) <i>Natural Phenomena: Their Meaning, Depiction, and Description in the Ancient Near East</i> , ed. D. J. W. Meijer (Amsterdam, 1992)
OAM Otten, <i>Königssiegel</i>	<i>Orientis Antiqui Miscellanea</i> —Rome Heinrich Otten, <i>Die hethitischen Königssiegel der frühen Großreichszeit</i> (Stuttgart, 1995)
PSD RIME RSO	<i>Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary</i> —Philadelphia Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods—Toronto <i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i> —Rome
Tjerkstra, <i>Principles</i>	F. A. Tjerkstra, <i>Principles of the Relation between Local Adverb, Verb and Sentence Particle in Hittite</i> (Groningen, 1999)
VS VT	<i>Vorderasiatische Sprachdenkmäler</i> —Berlin <i>Vetus Testamentum</i> —Leiden
Wilhelm, <i>Grundzüge</i>	Gernot Wilhelm, <i>Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter</i> (Darmstadt, 1982)
Wilhelm, <i>Hurrians</i>	Gernot Wilhelm, <i>The Hurrians</i> (Warminster, 1989)

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compiled by
HRIPSIME HAROUTUNIAN

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Middle Hittite—"Middle Kingdom"

ALFONSO ARCHI

Rome

Only eleven years after the decipherment of the Hittite language, Albrecht Götze was able to offer the first political history of the Hittite state.¹ The historical documents of the Old Kingdom were few, fragmentary, and partially unpublished. Moreover, they were kept in two different museums, in Istanbul and Berlin. The Telepinu Proclamation—immediately recognized as being of "inestimable value"—did, however, make it possible to reconstruct the sequence of kings. It also recorded a few events relating to that confused period following the reign of Muršili I when the dagger replaced regular succession to the throne.² Even concerning the deeds of a hero such as Muršili we knew only

1. *Das Hethiter-Reich. Seine Stellung zwischen Ost und West. Der Alte Orient* 27/2 (Leipzig, 1928). Götze could already make use of the important "Bemerkungen" of E. Forrer in *BoTU* 2, 13*-29*.

2. See *Hethiter-Reich*, 16: "Durch diese Periode ist uns der sog. Telepinusch-Text ein Führer von ganz unschätzbarem Wert. Ein späterer König, Telepinusch, schildert darin die gute alte Zeit, wie Einigkeit und Gerechtigkeit die besten Bürgschaften für eine gedeihliche Entwicklung waren. Ihr gegenüber stellt er die nähere Vergangenheit, wie Zwistigkeiten in der königlichen Familie und zwischen ihr und den Großen einen Verfall der Macht und einen Zustand der Anarchie zur Folge hatten. Er begründet damit innere Reformen. Die Tendenz ist nicht zu verkennen, aber trotzdem dürfen wir seiner Darstellung, die sicher auf guten alten Quellen aufbaut, vertrauen."

E. Forrer, who in 1926 had collected the larger fragments of the Proclamation in transcription as *BoTU* 2, 23, also noted the tendentious nature of the document: "Daß die Prinzen zur Zeit mindestens des Labarnaš keineswegs so einig waren, wie Telebinuš hervorhebt, sondern daß zu seiner Zeit Empörungen von Prinzen stattfanden, haben wir schon . . . gesehen. Mit Hantiliš beginnen dann—nach der Inschrift des Telebinuš—die Streitigkeiten um den Thron und mit den Prinzen, und die Kette von Mord und Rache—erinnernd an die ersten Jahrhunderte der Frankenherrschaft—reißt nicht mehr ab." Fascinated by the pathos with which the profound crisis of the Hittite state was expressed as the work of *nemesis*, he went on: "Der Wert dieser Inschrift kann nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt werden. Nicht nur, weil wir ihr einen Überblick über fast 300 (sic) Jahre Geschichte des Alten Hatti-Reiches verdanken, sondern auch weil sie durch den hohen und bewußt menschlichen Geist und durch ihre philosophische Einstellung ein Markstein in der Geschichte des menschlichen Geistes und ein einzigartiges Literaturdenkmal ist, dem die Literaturen des Alten Orients nichts Ähnliches an die Seite zu stellen haben" (quotations from pp. 12*-13*).

The criticism of these early authors by M. Liverani, *VO* 16 (1977): 105-8 does not appear to me to be justified.

the very little that Telepinu reported. That he, like a forerunner to Alexander, conquered Babylon is still today confirmed only by an Old Babylonian chronicle as laconic as the Hittite document (cf. KBo 3.45 and KBo 22.7). Nor is it even certain that an extremely fragmentary text—originally rather long and elaborate—narrating the wars in Syrian lands can be attributed to this king.³

For Götze, the Hittite New Kingdom started with Tuthaliya II around 1450 B.C. (The points at which the Hittite dynasty could be linked to the chronology of the ancient Near East were provided by the battle of Qadeš and by the Assyrian kings.) Between Telepinu and the New Kingdom there was a "Lücke," a period about which nothing was known ("in vollständigem Dunkel"), estimated to have lasted roughly 200 years according to the over-long chronologies of the time. Between his chapter III ("Das Ältere Chatti-Reich") and chapter V ("Das Jüngere Chatti-Reich") Götze therefore inserted an extremely brief chapter IV, "Die Lücke zwischen den beiden Reichen."⁴ Today we still know little more than the names of the successors of Telepinu. The primary sources are the seals stamped on some land-deeds, to which have been added some fragments of treaties with Kizzuwatna. The sequence of the kings of this period is provided by so-called "king lists," compiled for offering sacrifices to former rulers and other members of the royal family.

Beginning the New Kingdom with Tuthaliya II (now I), Götze rejected the threefold division presented by Emil Forrer two years previously, which ended the "Altes Hatti-Reich" with Telepinu. Forrer's "Mittleres Hatti-Reich" stretched from Alluwamna to Arnuwanda II—the sequence of kings differs only slightly from that established in more recent studies—while his "Neues Hatti-Reich" began with Šuppiluliuma.⁵

Some scholars, including Kurt Bittel, Emmanuel Laroche, Friedrich Cornelius,⁶ and Oliver R. Gurney,⁷ have considered the obscure period following Telepinu (soon reduced to roughly 60–80 years) to be the final part of the "Altes Reich," and have had the "Großreich" begin with Tuthaliya II (I) in agreement with Götze.

Heinrich Otten, however, employed the term "Mittleres Reich" in a paper on the king lists.⁸ He saw this Middle Kingdom as beginning around the

3. See H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 61–62, texts A8–A11.

4. *Hethiter-Reich*, 21–23.

5. *BoTU* 2, vi.

6. K. Bittel, *Hethiter*, 306; E. Laroche, "Chronologie hittite: État des questions," *Anadolu* 2 (1955): 1–22; Fr. Cornelius, *Geschichte der Hethiter* (Darmstadt, 1979), *passim*. Götze maintained his Old–New Kingdom partition, e.g., in *NHF*, 25–33. In his studies of the last two centuries of the Hittite state he used the term "Empire Period": A. Goetze, "The Struggle for the Domination of Syria (1400–1300 B.C.); "Anatolia from Shuppiluliumash to the Egyptian War of Muwatallish," and "The Hittites and Syria (1300–1200 B.C.)," *CAH* II/2, 1–20, 117–29, 252–73.

7. O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Harmondsworth, 1952; reprinted with revisions 1990).

8. "Die hethitischen 'Königslisten' und die altorientalische Chronologie," *MDOG* 83 (1951): 47–71, esp. 53, 55.

reign of Telepinu and lasting until the time of the predecessors of Šuppiluliuma. He later clarified this in a study on Hittite culture noteworthy for introducing a great deal of new data, largely the fruit of his first-hand work on the documents.⁹

A few years later, in an essay on the Old Hittite Kingdom for the third edition of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Gurney stated that "Hittite history, as revealed by the archives, falls into two distinct periods, usually termed the Old Kingdom and the Empire."¹⁰ In a further essay for the same volume, however, although not entirely convinced, he adopted the division into three periods: "this section of the [king] lists thus forms the bridge between the Old Kingdom and the Empire. . . . The period has come to be known, for no very adequate reason, as the Middle Kingdom."¹¹

Otten took a similar stance in the well-known *Fischer Weltgeschichte*. His historical discussion is organized in two chapters: "Das althethitische Reich" and "Das hethitische Großreich," but in the final part of the first chapter he identifies "das sog. 'Mittlere Reich'" as a separate period.¹²

Otten's division of Hittite history into three periods, which went back to Forrer and had been developed by Gurney, soon called forth a resolute reaction by Paul Garelli in a work not closely connected with the field of Hittitology. Garelli's reasoning is crystal clear and merits a lengthy quotation:

On distingue d'ordinaire deux phases dans l'histoire hittite: un ancienne royaume, de 1650 à 1430, et une période "impériale," de 1430 à la disparition de l'État, vers 1200. Ce sont là naturellement de pures conventions, qui cherchent à traduire cette réalité apparente que la royauté hittite dut subir de longues vicissitudes avant de pouvoir s'affirmer comme l'un des facteurs dominants de l'ancien monde orientale. Adopter une répartition tripartite en un "Ancien Royaume" (1650–1500), un "Moyen Royaume" (1500–1400) et un "Empire" (à partir de 1400–1380) comme on a souvent tendance à le faire actuellement, c'est se conformer trop étroitement au modèle égyptien et à la nature des sources. Il n'existe pas, en effet, de "période transitoire"; toute période est transitoire fatalement. Ce qui existe, c'est un "trou" dans notre documentation, pendant environ un siècle, au point que les noms et l'ordre de succession des souverains du XV^e siècle ne sont même pas établis avec certitude. Le peu qu'on sait sur cette époque ne semble pas la distinguer de celle qui l'a précédée, et c'est pourquoi on conservera ici la nomenclature traditionnelle.¹³

9. In *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients*, ed. H. Schmökel (Stuttgart, 1961), 347. See further *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 104; *StBoT* 11, 3: "... die Texte der mittel-hethitischen Periode—womit durch einen einfachen Begriff das Jahrhundert zwischen Telepinu und Šuppiluliuma I. benannt sei. . . ."

10. "Anatolia ca. 1750–1600 B.C.," in *CAH* I/2, 228–55, esp. 235.

11. "Anatolia ca. 1600–1380 B.C.," *CAH* II/2, 659–83, quotation from p. 670.

12. *FWGesch.* 3, 102–76; for the "sog. 'Mittlere Reich,'" see p. 126.

13. *Le Proche-Orient Asiatique* I (Paris, 1960), 140.

Gurney's study, however, was the first to deal in detail with an obscure period for which the sequence of the kings itself was and remains subject to debate. It appeared in an important work at an opportune moment. Convincing linguistic and graphic elements that compel the attribution to Šuppiluliuma I's immediate predecessors of documents which had previously been dated to some of the latest kings of Hittite history, such as Tuthaliya IV and Arnuwanda III, had only just been identified. Most scholars have, therefore, adhered to this periodization.¹⁴ Moreover, it has received a "seal of approval" from the recent exhaustive study of Hittite history by Horst Klengel.¹⁵ This writer, however, is as cautious as Gurney: "Die Zeit zwischen den Regierungen des Telepinu sowie des Šuppiluliuma I. wird im folgenden—einer wissenschaftlichen Konvention folgend—als 'mittleres' Reich bezeichnet."¹⁶

It is possible that Otten, writing in 1951,¹⁷ had not yet taken into consideration certain linguistic criteria. It is certain, however, that the linguistic concept of "Middle Hittite" proved a determining factor for this historical periodization. Klengel, for example, writes as follows: "Aus diesem Grunde hat die Herausarbeitung sprachlicher und paläographischer Eigenheiten während der letzten Jahrzehnte besondere Bedeutung gewonnen. Es war mittels dieser Methode möglich, für eine Reihe von Texten eine Datierung in die Periode des 'mittleren' Reiches zu bestätigen oder Umdatierungen von Überlieferungen, die bisher dem jüngeren/Neuen Reich zugewiesen wurden, in das 'mittlere' Reich (d.h. vor Šuppiluliuma I.) vorzunehmen."¹⁸

Thus (a) authors of historical works find themselves in difficulty when delineating a period sufficiently distinct or homogenous to be called the "Middle Kingdom"; (b) philological and linguistic analysis has identified certain elements that characterize a linguistic phase called "Middle Hittite"; (c) philologists, many of whom act as historians in detailed studies, commonly use the term "Middle Kingdom" in their writings.¹⁹

14. See, e.g., E. von Schuler, *Kaškar*, 18 (the "Mittleres Reich" begins with Alluwanma, the "Neues Reich" with Tuthaliya I [II]); O. Carruba, "Beiträge zur mittelhethitischen Geschichte I, II," *SMEA* 18 (1977): 137–95; "Stato e società nel Medio Regno ittita," in *Stato Economia Lavoro nel Vicino Oriente antico* (Milan, 1988), 195–224; V. Haas, "Betrachtungen zur Dynastie von Hattuša im Mittleren Reich," *AoF* 12 (1985): 269–77; M. Liverani, *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia* (Bari, 1988), 495–503; G. F. del Monte, *L'annalistica ittita* (Brescia, 1993), 11; St. de Martino, *L'Anatolia occidentale nel Medio Regno ittita* (Florence, 1996).

15. *Geschichte*, 85–134.

16. *Geschichte*, 85. The writing "'mittleres' Reich" is used throughout the volume.

17. See n. 8.

18. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 85.

19. Symptomatic of this attitude is J. Klinger, *ZA* 85 (1995): 75 n. 2, when, concerning P. Neve, *Hattuša, Stadt der Götter und Tempel* (Mainz, 1992), he writes: "wo jedoch die Bildunterschrift zu Abb. 83: 'Althethitische Landschenkungsurkunden' [in Mittelhethitische] zu korrigieren ist." Neve, instead, intentionally uses the following periodization: Althethitische Zeit, Ältere Großreichzeit, Jüngere Großreichzeit, in agreement with Bittel and Güterbock; see p. 86.

Linguistic periodization and, above all, graphic customs do not necessarily go hand in hand with historical periods. Even less do they contribute to defining an historical period. For Hans Gustav Güterbock, a scholar who for decades made decisive contributions in many sectors of Anatolian studies, this is very clear: "Zwischen dem Alten und Neuen Reich blieb eine Lücke, deren Dauer nur aufgrund der noch immer umstrittenen allgemeinen vorderasiatischen Chronologie bestimmt werden kann. Texte liegen aus dieser Zwischenzeit nicht vor, abgesehen von einigen dürftigen und eben in ihrer historischen Zuweisung umstrittenen Fragmenten. Der seinerzeit für diese Zwischenzeit eingeführte Name 'Mittleres Reich' entspricht keiner greifbaren Realität und sollte . . . vermieden werden. . . . Aufgrund dieses vermehrten althethitischen Materials wurde dann weiter beobachtet, daß manche der orthographischen und morphologischen Eigentümlichkeiten des Althethitischen noch bis in die ersten Generationen des Neuen Reiches fortlebten, d.h. bis zu den Vorgängern des großen Šuppiluliuma. Für diese Sprachstufe verwenden manche Forscher den Ausdruck 'mittelhethitisch.' Es muß dabei aber betont werden, daß dieser sprachgeschichtliche Ausdruck nichts mit dem oben erwähnten hypothetischen 'Mittleren Reich' zu tun hat, sich vielmehr auf den frühen Teil des Neuen Reiches bezieht."²⁰

There is no need to go over in detail here the studies that led to the identification of that phase of the language known as Middle Hittite. It is sufficient to recall the very first contributions made by O. Carruba²¹ and the volume by Philo Houwink ten Cate, still today the most comprehensive work on the subject, which lists the linguistic and philological evidence and also includes some historical considerations. This work, carried out at the Oriental Institute in Chicago in association with Güterbock, already demonstrates by its title, *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire*, a correct historiographic perspective.

20. "Hethitische Literatur," in *Altorientalische Literaturen*, ed. W. Röllig, *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft* I (Wiesbaden, 1978), 211–53; quotations from pp. 215–16.

21. O. Carruba, "Die Verbalendungen auf -wani und -tani und das relative Alter der heth. Texte," *Die Sprache* 12 (1966): 79–89; "Die Chronologie der heth. Texte und die heth. Geschichte der Grossreichzeit," *ZDMG* Suppl. I (1969): 226–49. See further E. Neu, review of E. von Schuler, *Kaškar*, *IF* 73 (1968): 169–77, and H. Otten, *StBoT* 11. A. Kammenhuber never accepted the dating of several texts to the predecessors of Šuppiluliuma: "Konsequenzen aus neueren Datierungen hethitischer Texte: Pferdetrainingsanweisungen eine Erfindung der Hethiter," *Or* 38 (1969): 168–72; "Die Sprachstufen des Hethitischen," *KZ* 83 (1969): 256–89; "Die Vorgänger Šuppiluliumas I.—Untersuchungen zu einer neuen Geschichtsdarstellung H. Ottens," *Or* 39 (1970): 278–301; "Die erste Computer-Analyse des Hethitischen," *MSS* 28 (1970): 51–69; "Das Verhältnis von Schriftduktus zu Sprachstufe im Hethitischen," *MSS* 29 (1971): 75–109. Carruba answered her criticisms in the following articles: "Über historiographische und philologische Methoden in der Hethitologie," *Or* 40 (1971): 208–23; "Über die Sprachstufen des Hethitischen. Eine Wiederlegung," *KZ* 85 (1971): 226–41.

For an outline of the contributions on this topic, see S. Heinhold-Krahmer, I. Hoffmann, A. Kammenhuber, and G. Mauer, *Probleme der Textdatierungen in der Hethitologie. THeth* 9 (Heidelberg, 1979), 1–50.

In his "Introduction," the author clarifies: "This period represents the early beginning of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1450–1380 B.C.), while from a linguistic point of view the texts have aptly been characterized as 'Middle Hittite.'" ²²

Erich Neu, one of the scholars who made the greatest contribution to determining the features of Old and Middle Hittite, ²³ recognized the same threefold linguistic division of the Hittite textual corpus: "Dafür erweist es sich als fruchtbar, das überlieferte Sprachmaterial zunächst nach den Sprachstufen Althethitisch (ca. 1570–1450 v.Chr.), Mittelhethitisch (1450–1380 v.Chr.) und Junghethitisch (1380–1220 v.Chr.) aufzuteilen, wobei die jeweilige Nahtstelle, insbesondere aber die Frage nach der zeitlichen und sprachlichen Abgrenzung des Mittelhethitischen gegenüber dem Junghethitischen noch mancher Detailuntersuchung bedarf, wie überhaupt das Mittelhethitische von den drei Sprachstufen noch am wenigsten analysiert ist." ²⁴ The dates given here (following the so-called Low Chronology) are only conventional: for Neu also Middle Hittite is the linguistic phase represented by the documents of Tuthaliya I (II) and his successors down to Šuppiluliuma.

The discovery of a fragmentary historical text (KBo 7.14) in an Old Hittite archaeological stratum made possible the identification of the elements which characterize the "old ductus": above all the form of some signs, but also the width of column dividers, the point where the writing begins on the tablet, the spacing of signs and words. Certain sign-forms are also used in the documents of the Early Empire (in Middle Hittite), later replaced by different shapes in the following decades. ²⁵ This represents an objective ("absolute") criterion for attributing a manuscript (tablet) to the Early rather than the Late Empire. ²⁶ Documents which, according to internal criteria (historical or linguistic) are to be dated to an early period, but which do not contain the archaic sign-forms

22. Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire (ca. 1450–1380 B.C.)* (Leiden, 1970); quotation from p. 1. He gave also a first list of "Undoubtedly and Possibly Middle Hittite texts," pp. 4–6.

For a more recent list of Middle Hittite texts, see H. C. Melchert, *Diss.*, 89–128.

23. E. Neu, "Zum sprachlichen Alter des Hukkana-Vertrages," *KZ* 93 (1979): 64–84; "Überlieferung und Datierung der Kaškaer-Verträge," in *FsBittel*, 391–99; "Zur Alter der Pleneschreibung *ma-a-ah-ḫa-an* in hethitischen Texten," *Hethitica* 6 (1985): 139–59; "Zur Datierung der Hethitischen Pferdetexte," in *FsGüterbock* 2, 151–63; "Zum mittelhethitischen Alter der Tuthaliya-Annalen (CTH 142)," in *FsOberhuber*, 181–92.

24. In E. Neu and Ch. Rüster, *StBoT* 21, vii. Melchert, *Diss.*, 137 n. 2, writes in the same vein: "These three periods [defined as by Neu], including Middle Hittite, refer to stages of the language, and their use implies no claims concerning historico-political developments."

25. H. Otten and V. Souček, *StBoT* 8, 42–43; Ch. Rüster, *StBoT* 20; E. Neu and Ch. Rüster, *StBoT* 21. In general, S. Heinhold-Krahmer, I. Hoffmann, A. Kammenhuber, and G. Mauer, *Theth* 9, 50–62.

26. J. Klinger and E. Neu, "War die erste Computer-Analyse des Hethitischen verfehlt?" *Hethitica* 10 (1990): 135–60.

which characterize the old writing (or preserve only a very few), are to be understood as copies of a later period. ²⁷ Later documents copied—not dictated—from ancient manuscripts may preserve a fair number of forms of signs characteristic of the old writing. Late original documents do not contain early forms of signs, or do so only sporadically. The period in which a text was originally drawn up, in cases where the manuscript does not contain either the old ductus or a substantial number of characteristic sign-forms, can be determined through comprehensive (that is to say, cumulative) analysis of orthography, morphology, and syntax. ²⁸

Old Hittite texts preserved in old manuscripts are few, and we therefore lack the solid criteria necessary for a more precise dating. Only the strongly characteristic ductus ("typisch alt") enables us to attribute a manuscript (tablet) to a limited chronological period. If the manuscript is rather fragmentary, there is the risk of making a subjective evaluation. H. Otten, the scholar who has examined and copied the largest number of Hittite texts, wrote in 1969 in the first text volume in which Old Hittite texts were classified by ductus: "Die Kennzeichnung der Schrift als 'typisch alt' meint den Duktus, wie er etwa in KBo VI 2 und KBo VII 14 vorliegt. Bei weniger charakteristischer Schrift (oder kleineren Fragmenten) wird die Bezeichnung 'alt' gebraucht. Allerdings sind die objektiven Kriterien für das relative Alter der Schrift weitgehend erst noch zu erarbeiten. . . ." ²⁹ The "typisch alt" ductus is, therefore, that of the documents of Hattušili I (KBo 7.14) and Muršili I (KBo 6.2). It is not possible to establish exactly when the "alt" ductus replaced the "typisch alt," since there are very few original tablets that can be attributed to the later kings. The "älter" ductus is that of the Middle Hittite documents ("mittel-hethitische Schrift" according to most recent text volumes). The passage from one type of ductus to another is not sudden but progressive. ³⁰ The "alt" ductus (according to E. Neu) is used by Telepinu

27. See, e.g., H. Otten, "Die Schenkungsurkunde KUB XIII 8, eine junge Kopie," in *FsGüterbock*, 245–51.

28. A. Kammenhuber, *MSS* 28 (1970): 53: "mehrere Datierungskriterien, die miteinander vorkommen"; see also E. Neu, *Hethitica* 6 (1985): 139–59.

29. KBo 17, iv n. 1.

30. E. Neu, *StBoT* 25, xvi, writes: "Wie die althethitische Sprache kein statisches Gebilde darstellt, sondern in ihr bereits Entwicklungen angebahnt sind, die erst in Mittelhethitischen voll zur Ausbildung gelangen und dort normhaft werden, so kündigen sich auch schon im Duktus der Keilschrift althethitischer Originaltafeln gelegentlich Entwicklungen an, die erst in der darauf folgenden Periode zum Durchbruch gelangen." Neu also stresses the difficulty of dating every fragment with certainty, a difficulty well known to anyone who has come into direct contact with cuneiform tablets: "Es soll nicht verschwiegen werden, daß trotz aller neuen Erkenntnisse im Bereich von Duktus und Zeichenformen auch noch jetzt, gerade bezüglich detaillierterer Duktusbestimmungen, der subjektive Eindruck des an Tafeloriginalen geübten Forschers eine gewisse Rolle spielt" (xvii).

and certainly lasts until Zidanta II (treaty with Pillija of Kizzuwatna), which means that the change in the writing would have occurred in about the reign of Tuthalija I (II).³¹

A writing practice with distinctive features is an expression of a cultural age that may itself further correspond to a period characterized by distinct political-administrative aspects. This is the case of the Old Akkadian writing, of that of the Ur III Dynasty,³² or let us say, of the Carolingian Minuscule. It also holds true for the "typisch alter Duktus," the writing adopted by the scribal school of Hattuša with the rise of the Hittite state, while Hattušili I, campaigning in northern Syria, instead employed local scribes.³³ There then followed a slow evolution. None of the successive phases of writing, not even the so-called "elegant" writing of the documents of the Early Empire period,³⁴ may be considered an innovation introduced through any cultural or administrative program.

Similarly, a linguistic phase may be one of the elements characterizing an historical phase, but we cannot define an historical phase as such on a purely linguistic basis. Any periodization of this kind is intrinsically problematic insofar as linguistic change is a continuous process.³⁵ We can, therefore, identify linguistic periods only from a very wide chronological perspective.³⁶ The few and linguistically poor texts that document the period stretching from Telepinu to Tuthalija I do not enable us to trace the passage

31. E. Neu, *StBoT* 25, xviii: "Von dem sehr umfangreichen Text der Thronfolgeordnung des Königs Telepinu sind nur junge Abschriften auf uns gekommen. . . . Immerhin zeigt aber das kleine Fragment eines Vertrages von Telepinu mit Išputahšu von Kizzuwatna (KUB XXXI 81; CTH 21) sowohl in Zeichenformen als auch im sprachlich-'ortho'graphischen Bereich deutliche Alterskriterien. Den Duktus dieses Vertrags-fragmentes möchte ich den Duktustyp II (2.1) zuordnen."

For the treaty of Zidanz/ta with Pillija (KUB 36.108; CTH 25), see Ch. Rüster, *StBoT* 20, passim; Neu, *StBoT* 25, xviii: "im alten Duktus." Neu recognizes the "alter Duktus" in the Inandik Tablet, *StBoT* 21, 1-2 n. 3.

32. The same applies for the glyptic of these two periods.

33. See the letter from Hattušili I to Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani, edited by M. Salvini, *The Hattiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani* (Rome, 1996), 107-16.

34. E. Neu, *StBoT* 25, xvi, speaks of the "Eleganz" des mittelhethitischen Duktus."

35. F. Starke, *StBoT* 30, 23 n. 52, raises a theoretical problem that does not, however, appear relevant to the case of Hittite Anatolia: "die sprachliche Entwicklung, die sich zuerst und vor allem in der Umgangssprache vollzieht, braucht sich keineswegs in der Schriftsprache wiederzuspiegeln, zumal in einer Zeit, wo nur wenige die Kunst des Schreibens beherrschten. In der Schriftsprache kann sich ein solcher Übergang sehr abrupt, sozusagen von einem Tag zum anderen vollziehen, indem die Umgangssprache aufgrund äußerer Umstände zur Schriftsprache erhoben wird. Ein instruktives Beispiel dafür ist z.B. der Übergang vom Mittel- zum Neuägyptischen unter der Regierung Amenophis' IV."

36. The labeling of the "Sprachstufen" proposed by A. Kammenhuber fits with a correct historical periodization but is less practical than the current one. See S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *THeth* 9, 34-35, 48.

from Old Hittite to Middle Hittite. What we call Middle Hittite is the language of the documents of the Early Empire period, up to the first years of Suppiluliuma.³⁷ This is not denoted by radical phonetic, morphological, or syntactic changes. Instead, this language preserves many elements from the previous period, but in a discontinuous way.

What makes a periodization which posits a Middle Kingdom unacceptable is not the uncertainty in establishing where the junction between the linguistic phases called Old and Middle Hittite lies, or in drawing a line between the "alter" and the "mittlerer Duktus."³⁸ It is certainly correct, and indeed useful,

A. Kammenhuber	H. Otten, E. Neu, and others
Althethitisch	Althethitisch
Archaisch-Junghethitisch	Mittelhethitisch
(oder: Frühes Junghethitisch)	
Klass. Junghethitisch	Junghethitisch
Spätes Junghethitisch	

37. E. Neu, *StBoT* 25, xix: "So läßt sich die Sprache des in die Frühzeit seiner Regierung zu datierenden Hukkana-Vertrages unbedenklich noch als mittelhethitisch bezeichnen."

38. The few original manuscripts from this period, the poor condition of some of these, and the variability observable in the hands of different scribes are factors that leave space for subjective appraisals. Starke, *StBoT* 30, 26-27, distinguishes between a ductus Ib (up to Telepinu) and a (mittelhethitische) ductus IIa (for the later kings), while Ib and IIc are the ductuses of Tuthalija I and Arnuwanda. E. Neu instead had the so-called "Alter Duktus" end a few decades later. In *StBoT* 25, xv, he writes: "Die Autopsie der Originale hat zwar im großen und ganzen eine gewisse Einheitlichkeit des alten Duktustyps erkennen lassen, doch sind innerhalb dessen Differenzierungen zu beobachten (z.B. unterschiedlich große Schriftgröße, leichte Abweichungen bezüglich Zeichenformen, unterschiedliche Schwere der Handschriften), die nahelegen, zumindest in einem heuristischen Verfahren innerhalb des Rahmens 'Alter Duktus' zwischen einem älteren Duktustyp I und einem jüngeren Duktustyp II zu unterscheiden. Der Übergang von Typ I in Typ II ist fließend. . . ." The following table of concordances is given by Starke in *StBoT* 30, 27:

Heth. Sprachstufen	Jahrhundertzählung	Fr. Starke	E. Neu	H. Otten
Altheth.	16. Jh.	Ia	I	"typisch alt"
	E. 16. Jh.	Ib	I/II, II	"alt"
Mittelheth.	A. 15. Jh.	IIa	II	"alt-elegant"
	E. 15. Jh.	IIb	III	"ältere"
Jungheth.	A. 14. Jh.	IIc		"ältlich"
	E. 14. Jh.	IIIa		"jung"
	13. Jh.	IIIb		"(typisch) jung"

It is inevitable that, in this appraisal of ductus, rendered so difficult by the paucity of original documents, one has to proceed from approximation to approximation. F. Starke, some years earlier, *StBoT* 23, 10 (ad CTH 25), had classified the treaty between Zidanta II and Pillija as "althethitisch."

The names of the kings who had issued the land donations led H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* 1, 53-55, to date these documents "vor Beginn des Neuen Reiches"; more precisely "unmittelbar vor und nach Telepinu." K. Balkan, however, attributed the Inandik Tablet to Hattušili I, also based on prosopographic considerations; see *Inandik*. This led some authors to date certain land donations

to define the period preceding Šuppiluliuma I from a linguistic point of view—but starting when?—as a period of transition, when certain “archaic” elements of the language and of writing were gradually disappearing. It is a different matter entirely to identify a Middle Kingdom beginning with the immediate successors of Telepinu and lasting until the beginning of Šuppiluliuma’s reign and to attribute distinctive historical characteristics to this period. This would mean missing totally the significance of Tuḫalija I’s reign (precisely halfway thorough this period), with its clear changes in both the political and the cultural spheres, when military successes gave birth to the ideas and aspirations that were to lay the foundations of the Empire.³⁹ This went hand in hand with the massive assimilation of Syro-Hurrian cultic elements introduced from Kizzuwatna, while great epics of a highly literary nature—translated directly from the Hurrian—codified the related theology.

The instability provoked by so many dynastic successions marked by violence, and the retreat on the eastern front which left to diplomacy the task of maintaining an outlet to the Mediterranean, are the characteristic elements of that period which stretches from Ḫantili I to Muwattalli I.⁴⁰ The conquest of Aštata and Karkemiš by Muṣili I was an ephemeral victory. Already under Ḫantili I the Hittites were incapable of responding to the Hurrian offensive and had to abandon the Euphrates valley. Notwithstanding the severe internal crisis, however, Ḫattuša managed to retain its domination over central Anatolia and never renounced some form of control over Cilicia. At the time of Ammuna, Adanija rebelled. It was probably at this point that Kizzuwatna became independent. Telepinu recognized this separation from Ḫatti in the treaty with Išputaḫšu, where, at least in the versions from his own archives, the Hittite king attributes the title of “Great King” only to himself. A bilingual bulla from Tarsus, however, shows that Išputaḫšu nonetheless aspired to the same rank. In this period there is a revival of expansionist aims. Telepinu fights against Ḫaššuwa, which controlled the valley of the Afrin. In order to reach this town he had to go around Kizzuwatna, across the plain of

to the first kings of the Old Kingdom; see D. F. Easton, *JCS* 33 (1981): 3–43; O. Carruba, *FsNeve*, 71–85; contra J. Klinger, *ZA* 85 (1995): 74–78. The shapes of the signs in Bo 90/758 listed by Ch. Rüster, *FsNeve*, 69 n. 19, appear to be pertinent more to the identification of an individual’s handwriting than of the ductus itself.

39. T. Bryce, *Kingdom*, in his periodization into Old and New Kingdom, grasps this point fully. He dedicates chapter 5 to “The Struggles for the Royal Succession: From Muṣili I to Muwattalli I (ca. 1620–1400)” (pp. 101–30) and calls chapter 6 (pp. 131–67) “A New Era Begins: From Tuḫalija I/II to Tuḫalija III (ca. 1400–1344).” A. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East ca. 3000–330 BC*, I (London, 1995), 231, also clearly identifies the reasons for denying the existence of a definable “Middle Kingdom” period as a meaningful historical phase. According to J. Freu, “La ‘révolution dynastique’ du Grand Roi de Hatti Tuḫaliya I,” *Hethitica* 13 (1996): 17–38, the succession to the throne by Tuḫalija I marks the end of the Old Kingdom dynasty.

40. For textual references and the relevant literature, see H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 67–134.

Elbistan, and then follow the road which goes down to Fevzipaşa from Gölbaşı. For a few decades the political situation remained that established by Telepinu. Taḫurwaili renewed the treaty with Kizzuwatna, where Eḫeja had since come to the throne. He was succeeded by Pillija, who would appear to have come under greater pressure from Zidanta II and who guaranteed his independence by making a treaty with Idrimi of Alalah. The latter, in turn, was supported by Mittanni, which was now claiming supremacy over the Syrian region.

With Tuḫalija I, the Hittite state enters a period of expansion throughout Anatolia. The attribution to this king not only of the “Tuḫalija Annals” but also of the treaty with Šunaššura, forces us to review completely our historical picture of this period. To the east, Kizzuwatna, now definitively freed from the influence of Mittanni, had to accept Hittite dominion. Tuḫalija proudly evokes the glorious kings of former times: “Formerly, in the days of my grandfather, the land of Kizzuwatna had become part of Ḫatti. But afterward Kizzuwatna seceded from Ḫatti and shifted allegiance to the land of Hurri.” With an expression that today sounds somewhat contemptuous but which then merely conveyed precisely the exact sense of subjugation, Tuḫalija defines the relationship between the two countries as follows: “Now the people of Kizzuwatna are Hittite cattle and have chosen their stable!” Tuḫalija then descended into Syria, attempting to remove the entire area west of the Euphrates from Mittannian influence. Uršu (perhaps Tell Bashir) was given to Kizzuwatna and treaties were concluded with Aleppo (which, however, soon returned to the Mittannian sphere) and even with the Egyptians (Kuruštama treaty). To the west, Tuḫalija fought successfully in Arzawa, reached the valley of the Meander, extended his influence as far as the Aegean, and came into contact with Aḫḫijawa. His conquests included Aššuwa, along with the regions of Wilušiya and Taruiša. The invasion of the Kaška people during the reign of Tuḫalija II (III) and perhaps the destruction of Ḫattuša (unwisely left undefended) represented only a temporary crisis. Although it took many years to recover the lands overrun by the Kaška people, Tuḫalija II (III) himself and his son Šuppiluliuma reacted immediately. The Empire began to form, consolidating and expanding the conquests of Tuḫalija I in Syria. This period, therefore, should be called the *Early Empire Period*.

Although the genealogy of Tuḫalija I is still uncertain, his policy toward Kizzuwatna, the tone he uses in the treaty with Šunaššura, and the fact that the theatre of his actions is the entirety of Anatolia (amplifying the program of the great Ḫattušili), indicates his Hittite origin.⁴¹ If Nikalmati, the bride of

41. KBo 1.5 i 5–6 (Šunaššura treaty): *pānānum pān[i a]bi abija māt Kizzuwatni ša māt Ḫatti[i] iḫbaši*, is, however, just a formula, and cannot be used as a proof of Tuḫalija’s direct lineage from the old dynasty. The following expressions which refer to a dynastic line are open to varying evaluation, because they occur in extremely fragmentary documents: *ḫuḫḫi-mi* “to my grandfather”

Tuthaliya I, came from Kizzuwatna, this marriage could have established inter-dynastic relations. This would explain why in the royal family Hurrian personal names suddenly came into use, and also why the Syro-Hurrian cults of Kizzuwatna spread to Hattuša.⁴² The prestige of the Hurrian cult was extraordinary at that time. This situation brings to mind—insofar as comparisons of this nature may be deemed valid—the fascination exercised by Greece over ancient Rome. In that exceptional period of cultural renaissance that began under Tuthaliya, alongside external acquisitions, we also see the Anatolian tradition flourishing anew. At this time many Hittite rituals were written down for the first time. Nor were Luwian rituals ignored, and festivals of the Hattian-Hittite tradition were copied again, possibly to repair damage caused to the archives by the Kaškean raid.

(KUB 23.49, 6; l. 2: [l]ḫa]ntiliš; see P. Meriggi, *WZKM* 58 [1962]: 78–79; O. Carruba, *SMEA* 18 [1977]: 173–74; *attaš-miš* “my father” (KUB 23.14 ii 7; Carruba, *SMEA* 18 [1977]: 172). St. de Martino, *Eothen* 4 (1991): 19, argues for the lineal descent of Tuthaliya I from Huzzija II. On this subject, see also J. Freu’s study cited in n. 39. H. G. Güterbock suggested the possibility that the dynasty of Tuthaliya I was of Hurrian origin: “The Hurrian Element in the Hittite Empire,” *CHM* 2 (1954–1955): 386–88 = *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of H. G. Güterbock* (Chicago, 1997), 180–82. In favor of a Kizzuwatnean origin, we have, among others: E. Laroche, *NH*, 360–61; A. Kammenhuber, *THeth* 7, 181; V. Haas, *AoF* 12 (1985): 274; and G. F. del Monte, *L’annalistica ittita*, 11.

42. The Hurrian ritual *itkalzi*, “washing of the mouth,” which was destined for members of the royal family, demonstrates the importance of Hurrian religious beliefs in the private cult at court. Manuscripts containing this lengthy ritual were kept in the palace of Šapinuwa, from which the series for the Hattuša archives was copied; see V. Haas, *ChS* 1, 10–11. The archives of Ortaköy, now identified with Šapinuwa, have in fact yielded tablets belonging to this ritual.

The Predecessors of Hattušili I

RICHARD H. BEAL

Chicago

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 Hattušili 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 Hattušili 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 Hattušili 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 Hattušili 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 Hattušili—who also calls himself Labarna—Telipinu’s Labarna did not exist and was simply a misinterpretation of the Hattušili/Labarna double name. Note also, differently and cautiously, O. R. Gurney, *CAH*², fasc. 11 (1962), 10f., *CAH*³ 2/1, 237f.; *The Hittites*²² (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 Hattušili 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 "matrilinal" 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 Hattušili'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 Hattušili 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 Hattušili did not use this titlature elsewhere is irrelevant—we have so few Hattušili 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 Hattušili 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 Hattušili (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 Hattušili'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/Hattušili I rather than Labarna I.

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

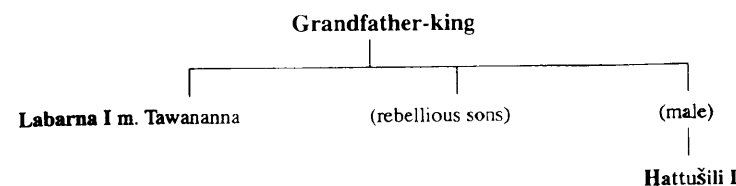
5. G. Beckman, *FsGüterbock*², 13–31; cf. also O. Carruba, *FsAlp*, 73–89.

6. KUB 1.16 iii 41–42. The verb *iškunahḫiḫ* 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 Hattušili'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 Hattušili and his wife(!) Kadduši lists Labarna and Tawananna as the previous royal couple.¹¹ We already knew that Hattušili related himself to his aunt Tawananna. T. Bryce¹² suggests that Hattušili'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. Hattušili 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 Hattušili, Prince of Nenašša, and regent(?) for Muršili I),¹⁴ Ammuna, and Huzziya (other brothers of Hattušili)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. Sürénhagen, *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" (*paḫḫ-*), need not imply any sort of regency, but only "readiness to defend one's interests." Subordinate kings must swear to *paḫḫ-* 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 Huzziya, 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 Tudhaliya, [fath]er¹⁶ of Papaḫdimaḫ (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 Hattušili I. In this case there are two possibilities, depending on the interpretation of the last entry. One possibility is that Hattušili's father was the usurper Papaḫdimaḫ,²⁰ his grandfather PU-Šarruma,²¹ and his great grandfather Tudhaliya:

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 Papaḫdimaḫ and the father of Labarna I. In *BoTU* 2, 25 he had rejected A-NA as requiring too much space.

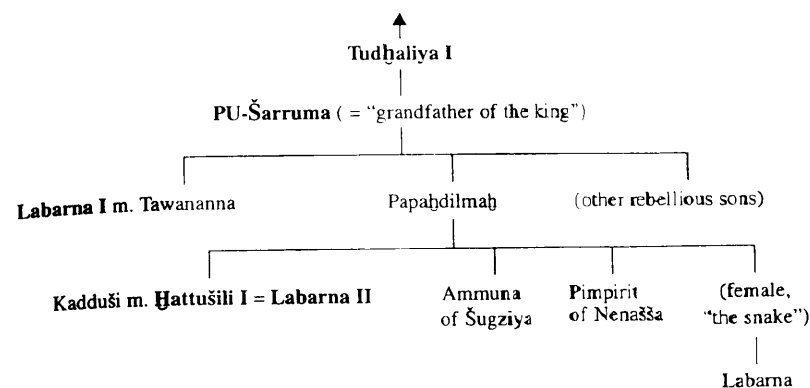
17. So F. Sommer, *HAB*, 162 note 2; H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 52; O. Soysal, *Diss.*, 105; M. Forlanini, *2ndHitt. Cong.*, 130.

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

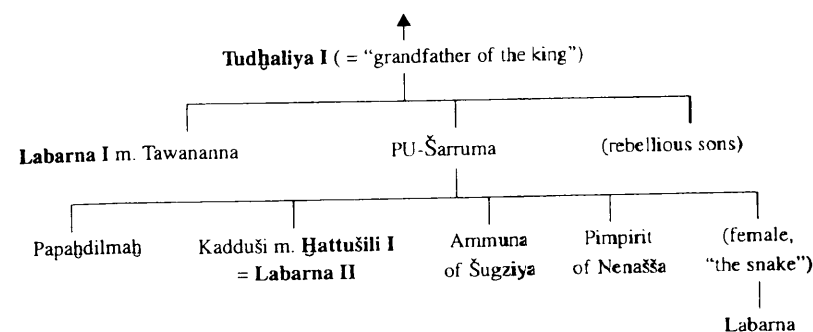
19. That this text presents Hattušili's I ancestors was assumed by E. Forrer, *BoTU* 2, 21*-23*, and accepted by H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 52.

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 "Papaḫdimaḫan ašešer," (The rebellious nobles) installed my [father] Papaḫdimaḫ." 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 Hattušili 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 Papaḫdimaḫ'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 Papaḫdimaḫ, his father was PU-Šarruma, and his grandfather was Tudhaliya:



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 Hatti 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 Tudhaliya in the late period, and two

22. KBo 4.14 iii 40.

23. R. Hardy, *AJSL* 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 Hattušili 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. Camuba, *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] "Pawatelmaḥ 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 Muwattalli 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 Hakiš, 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 Hurma 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. Cl. Saporetti, *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-Tešub 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, Ehli-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 Piṭṭana 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 Hattušili 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 undistruptive to the *kārum*.

36. M. Forlanini, *2ndHitt. Cong.*, 128f. The same formation is found in a Hurrian name from Old Akkadian Nippur: Šehrin-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 Hattušili’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 Hattušili 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. Sürenhagen, *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 Qidā.

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 Hattušili I 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. ŠUGI, “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] I LUGAL=ma URUḪurman ANA ABI LUGAL ŠUGI [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 ŠUGI, 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 ŠUGI? 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 ŠU.GI 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-principship,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.

Ḫattušili 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 Ḫattušili's testament makes no mention of a revolt of the nephew Labarna. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that Ḫattušili would already have deposed two crown princes—his son Ḫuzziya 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 Ḫattušili's annals make no mention of his predecessor. It is, of course, possible, since the Zalpa campaign in Ḫattušili'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 Ḫattušili 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 Ḫattušili's annals.

A corollary to this proposed redating of the Zalpa text involves the date of the refounding of the city of Ḫattuša after its destruction and cursing by Anitta. It has been stated as fact since the time of E. Forrer⁶⁵ that the reason Ḫattušili was also known as Labarna is that this was his name when he was king in Kuššara.⁶⁶ He then subsequently refounded Ḫattuša, 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 Ḫattušili I's bilingual testament (ed. *HAB*) gives considerable background to the decision to appoint Muršili 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. Ḫattušili's testament was dictated in Kuššara (*HAB*, 200), but F. Sommer's suggestion that the relationship of Ḫattuša 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 Ḫattušili 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 Ḫattušili.⁶⁷ However, as Kempinski and Košak—and more recently Sørenhagen—have noted,⁶⁸ since Ḫattuša is mentioned as the place of the treaty signing and the Hittites are called "[men] of Ḫattuša" in parallel with the elders of Zalpa, Ḫattuša was probably the capital in the time of the grandfather of the king,⁶⁹ here argued to be Ḫattušili's grandfather⁷⁰ (or father as Sørenhagen 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 Ḫattušili, but was already thriving much earlier and was already a capital under Ḫattušili's grandfather. One could just as well argue that Ḫattušili 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 Ḫattušili, that came to be a title taken by various later kings.⁷³

If Ḫattušili'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 Ḫattušili 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 Muršili became king in Ḫattuša. However, it does not say that Ḫattušili moved the capital. Telipinu does not mention that either Labarna or Ḫattusili or indeed anyone else became king elsewhere, nor does he say that Muršili was the first to be crowned in Ḫattuša. Why exactly Telipinu includes this phrase is unclear. Perhaps due to the revolts and confusion in the period between Ḫattušili's grandfather's reign and that of Ḫattušili himself, Ḫattušili had indeed been crowned outside Ḫattuša. But this would not have been because Ḫattuša was not in existence, but because it was not in the hands of Ḫattušili's partisans.

68. *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982): 99 with note 2; *AoF* 25 (1998): 83 note 39. That Ḫattuša was already rebuilt before Ḫattušili 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 Ḫattušili after the place of his (presumed) birth to differentiate him from his uncle.

74. Contra D. Sørenhagen, *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 Puruḫanda, 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 Tudḫiya 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 Puruḫanda'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. *aš* MUNUS.LUGAL URU Huruma 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 Puruḫanda 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, Haššu 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 Puruḫanda could have taken place in Muršili's reign,

81. 'n'=[aš]=¹ta' MUNUS.LUGAL-aš DUMUMUNUS É-TIM kuwatan pitatteni n[=an(?)] lē / HUL-a]' hr'eni kuin LUGAL-aš G¹⁸ŠÜ.A-mi ašašhi 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]iškut<<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 *Heithitica* 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, *Heithitica* 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, *Geschichte*, 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 Purušhanda finally fell into the king's hands.¹¹³

Who was this prince of Purušhanda? 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 Purušhanda, 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.Cong.*, 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 Purušhanda'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 Purušhanda. Thus, what little evidence we have suggests that the prince of Purušhanda 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 "0" is such a special paragraph directed. This suggests that the scribes of the Empire Period considered this Huzziya "0" 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 Tudḫaliya 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 Tudḫaliya, PU-Šarruma’s father, might have been the Tudḫaliya, 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, Tudḫaliya, 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 Tudḫaliya. Huzziya

“0” could then have been succeeded by his son/brother as Tudḫaliya 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 Tudḫaliya of the offering list was the son of Huzziya and grandson of Tudḫaliya 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).

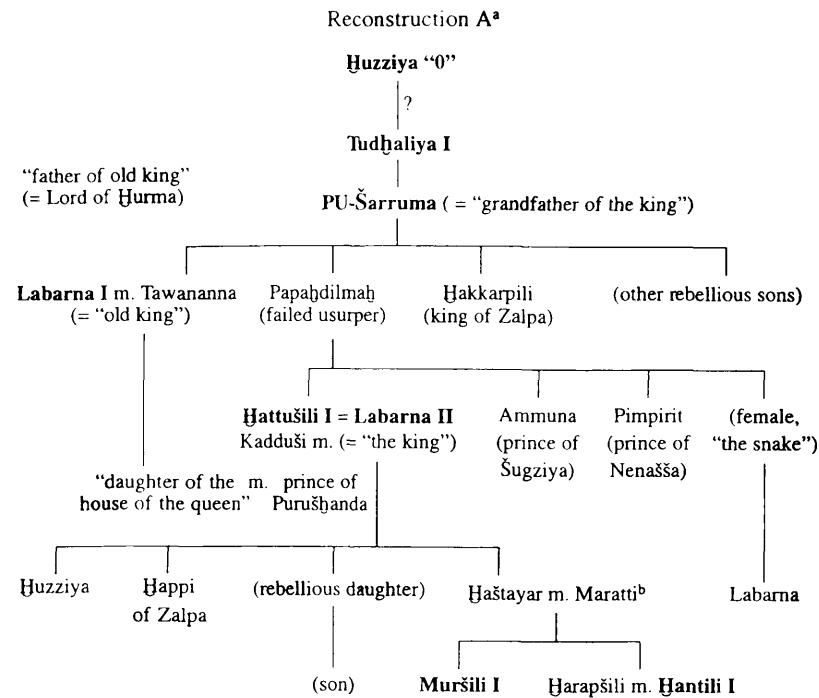
117. H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951): 65 lines 17–18 = KUB 11.7 obv. 8–9.

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.

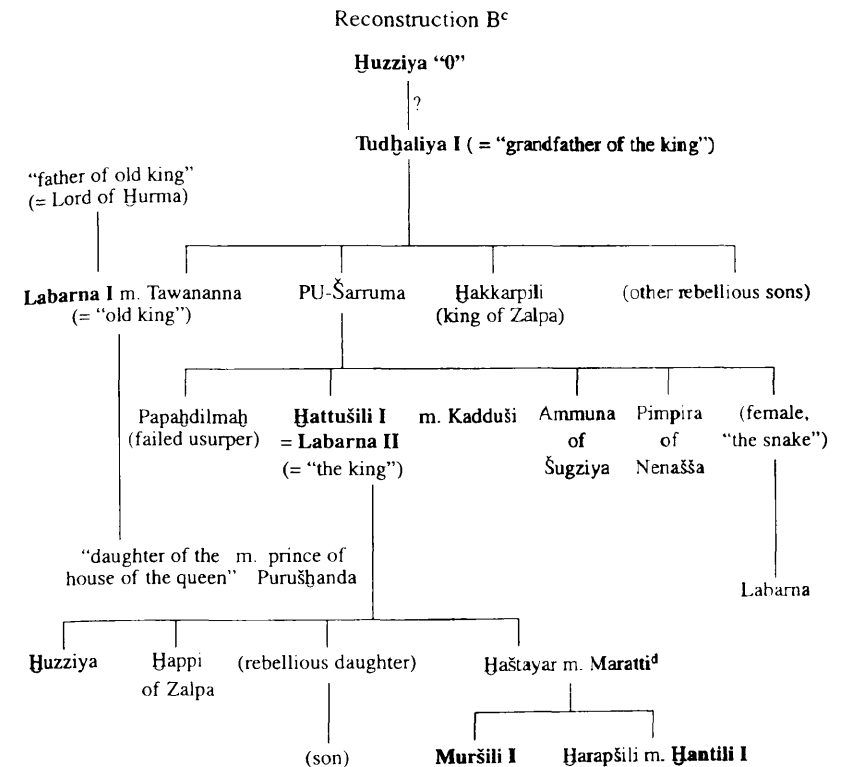
120. *JCS* 11 (1957): 54.

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 Haštayar 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 Haštayar, 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 (Harapšili, Ištapariya) queens. Texts mentioning Haštayar concern either Muršili's adoption as heir or were written by Muršili I. By my reconstruction, Haštayar 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 Haštayar 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.

Gilgamesh in Hatti

GARY BECKMAN

Ann Arbor

Benno Landsberger exaggerated only a little when he referred to the story of Gilgamesh as Mesopotamia's "Nationalepos,"¹ for it cannot be denied that the cycle of tales surrounding this Sumerian ruler was well known in Babylonia and Assyria. Terra cotta plaques and seal designs depicting the killing of the monstrous Huwawa by Gilgamesh and his comrade Enkidu are attested from the Old Babylonian period through Achaemenid times.² Knowledge of Gilgamesh also reached the Hittite capital of Hattuša, as demonstrated by the recovery at Boğazköy of two Akkadian versions of his adventures. Hurrian and Hittite translations have also turned up. But there is absolutely no evidence that the hero of Uruk was familiar to the Hittite in the street. No representations of Gilgamesh are to be found in the corpus of Hittite art,³ nor are there allusions to him or his exploits in texts outside of the literary products just mentioned.⁴

It seems, therefore, that the Gilgamesh tradition was imported to Hattuša solely for use in scribal instruction,⁵ although it cannot be absolutely excluded that the Hittite-language text was read aloud at court for the entertainment of

1. "Einleitung in das Gilgameš-Epos," in *Gilgameš et sa légende*, ed. P. Garelli (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1960), 31.

2. For details see W. G. Lambert, "Gilgamesh in Literature and Art: The Second and First Millennia," in *Monsters and Demons*, ed. A. Farkas et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), 37–52; and A. Green, "Myths in Mesopotamian Art," in *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations*, ed. I. L. Finkel et al. (Groningen: Styx, 1997), 137–39.

3. Note only a bas relief from Tell Halaf illustrating the attack on Huwawa (pictured by Lambert, "Gilgamesh in Literature," figure 15), which is, of course, a product of the "Neo-Hittite" period.

4. The mention of an "(omen) of Gilgamesh" (Š[A 4GI]Š.GIM.MAŠ) in KBo 13.34 iii? 13' (CTH 540; ed. K. K. Riemschneider, *StBoT* 9, 26–27) is no exception, since this text is a translation of a Mesopotamian birth omen collection.

5. See A. Kammenhuber, "Gilgameš-Epos. Die hethitischen und hurritischen (hurrischen) Gilgameš-Überlieferungen," *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon* 3 (Zürich: Kindler, 1967), 816; and cf. my "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Hattuša," *JCS* 35 (1983): 97–114.

the king and his associates.⁶ Nonetheless, as has long been recognized,⁷ the material from Boğazköy is of particular importance to modern scholars in reconstructing the epic and analyzing its development, since it documents a period in the history of the narrative's progressive restructuring and elaboration for which very few textual witnesses have yet been recovered from Mesopotamia itself.⁸ And it is this very Middle Babylonian or Kassite period to which scholarly consensus assigns the composition of the final, "canonical,"⁹ version of the epic.¹⁰

I have re-edited all of the Gilgamesh material from Boğazköy in the Akkadian, Hittite, and Hurrian languages, an undertaking which grew out of a collaborative project with Benjamin Foster and Douglas Frayne to produce a new and comprehensive translation of all Gilgamesh texts.¹¹ I have succeeded in bringing further order to the chaos presented by the Hittite-language fragments,¹² having identified several new joins and duplicates, and having placed all but nine or ten pieces in their proper position within the narrative.¹³

As is well known, the tradition surrounding the figure of Gilgamesh¹⁴ goes back to the Early Dynastic II period (ca. 2700–2500 B.C.E.), when a man of this name may actually have ruled as the fifth king of the Sumerian King

6. Harry Hoffner points out to me that the heroic activities carried out by the hero would be most appropriate thematically to an audience made up of a warrior monarch and his military entourage. Cf. notes 54 and 84 below.

7. Text from the Hittite version has traditionally been used to fill a gap in Tablet V of the Twelve-Tablet-Version. See A. Schott, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, ergänzt und teilweise neu gestaltet von Wolfram von Soden (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1958), 46–47, and the translations by E. A. Speiser in ANET², 82, and M. Gallery Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 40–47.

8. This is not an uncommon situation. See J. S. Cooper, "Bilinguals from Boghazköi. I," ZA 61 (1972): 1–2.

9. I use this term loosely here. On the question of applying this concept to Mesopotamian literary texts, see W. W. Hallo, "Assyriology and the Canon," *The American Scholar* 59 (1990): 105–8. Cf. F. Rochberg-Halton, "Canonicity in Cuneiform Texts," JCS 36 (1984): 133–50.

10. W. von Soden, "Das Problem der zeitlichen Einordnung akkadischer Literaturwerke," MDOG 85 (1953): 23.

11. *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, translated and edited by Benjamin R. Foster. Norton Critical Editions (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001). Foster has translated all Akkadian-language material and Frayne the Sumerian poems.

12. See the pioneering works of J. Friedrich, "Die hethitischen Bruckstücke des Gilgameš-Epos," ZA 39 (1930): 1–82, and H. Otten, "Die erste Tafel des hethitischen Gilgameš-Epos," IM 8 (1958): 93–125. I have also consulted with profit the transliteration by E. Laroche, "Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription. II. Mythologie étrangère," RHA 82 (1968): 121–38.

13. For details, see my forthcoming edition, *The Hittite Gilgamesh*.

14. In general see J. H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

List's first dynasty of Uruk.¹⁵ Already in the middle of the third millennium (Fara period) Gilgamesh makes his appearance in a list of gods,¹⁶ and he received offerings in pre-Sargonic Lagash¹⁷ and under the Ur III state.¹⁸

Tales featuring Gilgamesh are first known from early in the second millennium, the so-called Isin-Larsa period. These Sumerian texts—found for the most part at the old religious center of Nippur—are almost certainly copies of compositions created at the court of the Ur III kings (twenty-first century B.C.E.), monarchs who claimed Gilgamesh as their semi-divine forbear. At this stage, the tradition—so far as known to us—consisted of five independent poems centering on the deeds of our hero.¹⁹ Some of the events presented here were to become the building blocks of the later unified epic, while others would simply disappear.

The earliest Akkadian texts telling Gilgamesh's story were composed in Old Babylonian times, perhaps by scribes in the service of Rim-Sin I of Larsa, or in that of Hammurapi and Samsuiluna of Babylon. (See the key to Chart 1 for a list of the six known relevant manuscripts dating to this period.²⁰) Unfortunately, most of these tablets are in very poor condition indeed, but the best-preserved witness (that of the "Pennsylvania" and "Yale" Tablets) makes it clear enough that the process of integrating the story elements into a single coherent narrative had already begun in this period.

The published Middle Babylonian sources from sites other than Boğazköy are in even worse condition than the Old Babylonian texts. (See the key to Chart 1,²¹ and note that while the discovery of the bracketed text from Ugarit

15. T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1939), 88–89, iii 17–18.

16. See W. G. Lambert, "Gilgameš in Religious, Historical and Omen Texts and the Historicity of Gilgameš," in *Gilgameš et sa légende*, 48.

17. A. Falkenstein, "Gilgameš," RIA 3 (1957–71): 359.

18. W. G. Lambert, "Gilgameš in Religious, Historical and Omen Texts," 47–48.

19. See the translations by A. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1999), 141–208.

20. Particular information on the place of publication of these Old Babylonian sources is given by J. Tigay, *Evolution*, 305–6. Nos. 5 and 6 are presented by A. George, *Gilgamesh*, 115–18, and No. 6 has now received a full edition by A. Cavigneaux and J. Renger, "Ein althabylonischer Gilgameš-Text aus Nippur," in *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*, ed. A. R. George and I. L. Finkel (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 91–103. In the same anniversary volume, A. Westenholz provides new copies of the Pennsylvania Tablet and UM 29-13-570, as well as of the MB sources 2N-T79, UET 6, 394, and the Megiddo tablet. See A. Westenholz and U. Koch-Westenholz, "Enkidu—the Noble Savage?" 445–51.

21. See once again J. Tigay, *Evolution*, 305–6. N. Veldhuis has treated the Nippur school texts in a review of S. Parpola, *The Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh*, SAACT 1, *BiOr* 46 (1999): 389–90 (2N-T79 and 2N-T75), and in "Kassite Exercises: Literary and Lexical Extracts," JCS 52 (2000): 72 (CBS 14167 and UM 29-16-606, both of which are too fragmentary to be placed

has been reported by its excavator,²² it has not yet been made available for study. Its state of preservation is said to be very good.) All but one of these Middle Babylonian pieces deal with the portion of the cycle stretching from Gilgamesh's encounter with Ishtar to the death of Enkidu.

The ancient development of the Gilgamesh Epic culminated in the Twelve-Tablet Edition traditionally attributed to Sin-leqe-unninni.²³ In this work we have a magnificent *Bildungsroman* in which the hero, following Herculean efforts and abject failure, comes to accept the limitations of human existence as well as the consolations that it offers.²⁴ It is this crystallization of the tradition that forms the basis for the translations and retellings of the epic²⁵ encountered today in introductory world literature courses. It has also provided the stuff for modern literary-critical studies,²⁶ psychological interpretations,²⁷ and novelistic allusions and reworkings.²⁸ This Twelve-Tablet Edition, small

within the narrative). Two of the Emar fragments (*Emar* VI, 781–82) have been edited by D. Arnaud, *Emar* VI.4, *Textes de la bibliothèque* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987), 383–86, while the fragmentary third piece (*Emar* VI, 760) is discussed by Cl. Wilcke, "Ein weiteres Gilgameš-Fragment aus Emar?" *NABU* 1989/5. On the Akkadian-language sources in general, see now A. George, "What's New in the Gilgamesh Epic?" *BCSMS* 34 (1999): 57f.

22. See A. George, *Gilgamesh*, 139–40.

23. W. G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors and Canonicity," *JCS* 11 (1957): 4–5. See now P.-A. Beaulieu, "The Descendants of Sin-lēqi-unninni," in *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner*, ed. J. Marzahn and H. Neumann (Münster, 2000), 2–5.

24. Two of the most thought-provoking interpretations of the Twelve-Tablet Version are those of T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 195–219, and W. L. Moran, "The Gilgamesh Epic: A Masterpiece from Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Sasson et al. (New York: Scribners, 1995), 2227–2336. Both essays have been reprinted in B. R. Foster, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 171–207. See now also T. Abusch, "The Development and Meaning of the Epic of Gilgamesh: An Interpretive Essay," *JAOS* 121 (2001): 614–22.

25. Popular translations include M. G. Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (see note 7 above), and J. Gardner and J. Maier, *Gilgamesh* (New York: Knopf, 1984). N. K. Sandars, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1960), is a rather free "English version" based not on the ancient texts but on earlier renderings into modern European languages (see p. 48).

26. Many of these have been collected in *Gilgamesh. A Reader*, ed. J. Maier (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1997).

27. T. Abusch, "Gilgamesh's Request and Siduri's Denial," in *The Tablet and the Scroll, Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. W. Hallo*, ed. M. E. Cohen et al. (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993), 1–14; "Gilgamesh's Request and Siduri's Denial. Part II: An Analysis and Interpretation of an Old Babylonian Fragment about Mourning and Celebration," *JANES* 22 (1993): 3–17; R. Scharf Kluger, *The Archetypal Significance of Gilgamesh: A Modern Ancient Hero* (Einsiedeln, Switzerland: Daimon, 1991). V. Schneider's exegesis of the symbols of the epic in *Gilgamesh* (Zurich: Origo Verlag, 1967) is truly in a class of its own.

28. Robert Silverberg's novel *Gilgamesh the King* (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1985) is described on its cover as "[t]he towering saga of power, passion, and the quest for immortality." And who could forget Gil Gamesh, anti-hero of Philip Roth's *The Great American Novel* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973)?

portions of which are still lost,²⁹ is known from multiple copies held in the tablet collection of the seventh-century Assyrian king Assurbanipal at Nineveh (Küyunjik).³⁰ Additional, partial, manuscripts have come from Nimrud³¹ and Assur³² in the north, and from Uruk and another, unknown, site in Babylonia.³³ The earliest witness to this recension seems to be a tablet from Assur,³⁴ to be dated to the eighth or ninth century.³⁵

Such, in a nutshell, was the evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic. We are left with a number of unanswered questions concerning the details of this process. Here I wish to consider but one: When during the second half of the second millennium B.C.E.³⁶ was something approximating the standard, or "canonical," form of the narrative achieved? Consideration³⁶ of cast of characters³⁷ and onomastics,³⁸ as well as general cultural-historical factors,³⁹ point to a date sometime in the Kassite era, which came to an end ca. 1150 B.C.E. Greater precision is difficult to achieve because we have only two Kassite-period Gilgamesh manuscripts from Babylonia (from Ur and Nippur), and both are tiny. Can the material from Boğazköy contribute to the resolution of this question?

Almost a century of excavation at the Hittite capital has yielded more textual sources for Gilgamesh than are known from all other Late Bronze Age sites combined. These have been assigned to Number 341 in E. Laroche's *CTH*.⁴⁰ (See the column headings at the top right of Chart 1.)

29. A. George, *Gilgamesh*, xxviii, estimates that around 575 lines of an original complement of 3000 are still lacking.

30. On the "library," see O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1998), 158–65.

31. For publication details see J. Tigay, *Evolution*, 306.

32. See note 34. A later manuscript from Assur is VAT 11000 (+) 11087—see S. Maul, "Wer baute die babylonische Arche? Ein neues Fragment der mesopotamischen Sintflut Erzählung aus Assur," *MDOG* 131 (1999): 155–62.

33. See note 31 and A. Heidel, "A Neo-Babylonian Gilgamesh Fragment," *JNES* 11 (1952): 140–43.

34. KAR 115; cf. also KAR 319 and 320.

35. So A. Falkenstein, "Gilgameš," *RIA* 3 (1957–71): 367.

36. See W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 13–14.

37. Neither Marduk nor Assur, paramount gods of the first millennium, appear here.

38. The personal designation Ur-shanabi may reflect a revived interest for things Sumerian in the later second millennium (see note 105 below), and this period of Hurrian prosperity and influence is also a most reasonable time to place the borrowing of the alewife's name Shiduri (see note 104). Finally, "Gebetsnamen" (see J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung* [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1939], 167) like Sin-leqe-unninni are also characteristic of Kassite times.

39. See W. von Soden, "Das Problem der zeitlichen Einordnung akkadischer Literatur," *MDOG* 85 (1953): 14–26.

40. *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1971), 58–59. Information on publication of the relevant fragments is given here.

Fragments of two separate Akkadian-language recensions have come to light at Boğazköy. One was composed in the local variety of peripheral Akkadian and is to be dated to the empire period, probably to the thirteenth century.⁴¹ The second, only recently discovered,⁴² is written in a Boğazköy hand dated by its editor to around 1400 B.C.E.⁴³ In this version the text was apparently distributed over three tablets. Although it was seemingly inscribed in Hattuşa, the language of this earlier Akkadian edition does not display the characteristics of Hittite Akkadian. It appears in Chart 1 under Boğazköy simply as "Akkadian."

The Hurrian-language texts present considerable difficulties. Not only is the Hurrian tongue still poorly understood, but each of the four recovered tablets is broken precisely down the middle of a column. Thus my recognition of story elements here is based upon the presence of personal names and of particular lexemes—a weak reed indeed! Two of the Hurrian texts may belong to the fourteenth century,⁴⁴ and one is definitely of thirteenth-century date.⁴⁵ A final piece is too small to allow a judgement.⁴⁶ Perhaps the most interesting feature of this group is the colophon: "Tablet 4 of Huwawa; unfinished."⁴⁷

We come at last to the Hittite-language texts. All of these fragments show New Hittite script, indicating a date in the mid-fourteenth century or later, and a fair number were inscribed in the Late Hittite hand of the thirteenth century. Based on the preservation of the upper left corners of the obverse of three tablets, I have reconstructed an edition in three tablets, although it is clear from the placement of text on duplicates that the material was not distributed in a standardized manner in all manuscripts. (In contrast, each copy of a tablet of the Twelve-Tablet Edition begins and ends with the same line of text.⁴⁸) Heinrich Otten has shown that at least four exemplars of Tablet 1 have been preserved.⁴⁹ I am unable to add anything definite in this regard. Although I have identified further duplicates of portions of Tablet 1, and the text of my "Tablet 3" has been reconstructed from eight manuscripts, most of these fragments are small and non-contiguous, and show no distinctive orthography. Identification

41. We must always be careful, however, when applying paleographic criteria identified for Hittite-language texts when considering Akkadian materials. Cf. my remarks in *JCS* 35 (1983): 99 n. 11, and see now J. Klinger, "Zur Paläographie akkadischsprachiger Texte aus Hattuşa," in this volume (pp. 237–48).

42. See G. Wilhelm, "Neue akkadische Gilgames-Fragmente aus Hattuşa," *ZA* 78 (1988): 99–121.

43. G. Wilhelm, "Neue akkadische Gilgames-Fragmente," 116–21.

44. KUB 8.60 + KUB 47.9 and KBo 19.124.

45. KUB 8.61 + KBo 8.144.

46. KBo 33.10.

47. KUB 8.61 + KBo 8.144 left edge: DUB 4.KAM ŠA ^aHu-wa-wa NU.TIL.

48. J. Tigay, *Evolution*, 138 with n. 37.

49. *IM* 8 (1958): 94.

of pieces originally belonging to the same tablet might be done only through inspection of the fragments themselves.

In the left-hand column of Chart 1 are listed the basic elements of the Gilgamesh Epic as recounted in the Twelve-Tablet Edition, although a couple of episodes absent from that version have also been included. Motifs in bold are those found only in the late rendition; those bracketed are present solely in the Hittite-language recension. "X" indicates the presence of a motif in a particular source. For the Hittite-language edition, which alone is sufficiently well preserved to permit such a determination, "O" denotes the definite absence of a story element, while a question mark means that the motif has perhaps been lost in a break.

The Hittite author or adapter has made several major changes to the narrative as known from the Old Babylonian and contemporary (MB) Akkadian sources. First, in the Mesopotamian texts the hero is said to be of mixed parentage, fruit of the union of Lugalbanda, King of Uruk, and the goddess Ninsun.⁵⁰ But the Hittite Gilgamesh is not born at all, but created—and then by a committee! His semi-divine nature has been translated into extraordinary physical proportions:

The heroic [Ea(?) fashioned] the frame of the creature Gilgamesh. [The great gods] fashioned the frame of Gilgamesh. The Sun-god of Heaven lent him [manliness]. The Storm-god lent him heroic qualities. The great gods [created] Gilgamesh: His body was eleven yards [in height]; his breast was nine [spans] in breadth; his . . . was three [. . .] in length.⁵¹

We cannot help but note the participation here of the Sun-god and the Storm-god, not deities usually concerned with creation in Sumer or Babylonia. This must be a reflection of the importance of these particular gods in the Hittite pantheon. Yet later on in the saga, when Enkidu dreams of the divine assembly,⁵² he mentions the presence there of Anu, Enlil, Ea, and the Sun-god. This is the group we would expect to find at an early Mesopotamian divine meeting.⁵³ In this instance the source material has not been modified to accommodate Hittite conceptions.⁵⁴

50. "Nin-sún, 'the Lady Cow'—see G. J. Selz, "The Holy Drum, the Spear, and the Harp," in *Sumerian Gods*, ed. I. L. Finkel et al., 172.

51. Tablet 1, §2. For details, see my forthcoming edition.

52. Tablet 3, §1.

53. See the texts excerpted by T. Jacobsen in "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, ed. W. L. Moran (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 163–69.

54. One might ask, however, whether the epithet UR.SAG, "Hero," employed for deities here has been borrowed from the Hittite royal titulary, on which see H. Gonnert, "La titulaire royale hittite au II^e millénaire avant J.-C.," *Hehthica* 3 (1979): 25.

Another difference is that for the Hittite writer Uruk is not Gilgamesh's hometown. Rather, the hero takes up residence—and rule—in the city only after a period of aimless roving: "He wandered around all the lands. He came to the city of Uruk and he [settled] down. Then every day he overpowered the [young] men of Uruk."⁵⁵ Furthermore, in sharp contrast to the great attention paid to the walls of Uruk in the Twelve-Tablet Edition, the Hittite recension does not even mention the city's fortifications.

On the other hand, note the interest shown by the Hittite author in the Cedar Forest, scene of the struggle between the protagonist and the forest's guardian, a location to which he refers elsewhere as the "Mountain of Huwawa":

[And when] they arrived [...] in the heart of the mountains, they [looked at(?) the mountains and stared at the cedars. . . . [Then Enkidu] and Gilgamesh said (to one another), "[The deity . . . has . . .] (these) inhospitable mountains and has made the mountains thick [with cedars]. [They] are covered in brambles(?), [so that it is not possible for a mortal] to cross. [...] hold the [...] limbs of the cedars, and [they are] within the mountains."⁵⁶

This shift in geographic focus from southern Mesopotamia to the Amanus or Taurus Mountains is undoubtedly due to the fact that the latter were located in the later Hittite sphere of influence.⁵⁷ Similarly, the Mala River, which is to be identified as the middle to upper Euphrates or one of its tributaries,⁵⁸ twice appears as a landmark in the Hittite text.⁵⁹ Needless to add, this body of water is not mentioned in any of the Mesopotamian Gilgamesh sources.

Hittite incomprehension of an alien culture seems to account for slightly divergent depictions of Gilgamesh's attentions toward the virgins of Uruk. The Pennsylvania Tablet (Old Babylonian source 1) relates, "He will couple with the wife-to-be, / he first of all, the bridegroom after. / By divine consent it is so ordained: / when his navel-cord was cut, for him she was destined."⁶⁰ This deflowering is hardly illicit; it is divinely sanctioned. But the Hittite text says, "[When a woman] is given in marriage to a young man, before [her hus-

55. Tablet 1, §3.

56. Tablet 1, §16. Compare Nūr-Daggal's description of the road to Puruṣhanda in *šar tamḫāri* (EA 359 rev. 4'–5'): "Until no[w, Sargo]n has not come to us. Let the bank hold him, the height(s), the huge [mountain]. Let the reed thicket form a forest, a copse, a wood: knots will be bound." Translation by S. Izre'el, *The Amarna Scholarly Tablets* (Groningen: Styx, 1997), 70.

57. The Cedar Forest itself was originally conceived of as lying to the east of Sumer. See J. Hansman, "Gilgamesh, Humbaba, and the Land of the ERIN-Trees," *Iraq* 38 (1976): 23–35; G. Steiner, "Huwawa und sein 'Bergland' in der sumerischen Tradition," *ASJ* 18 (1996): 198; and J. Klein and K. Abraham, "Problems of Geography in the Gilgameš Epics: The Journey to the 'Cedar Forest,'" in *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East*, ed. L. Milano et al., Part III (Padua: Sargon srl, 2000), 63–73.

58. See G. del Monte and J. Tischler, *RGTC* 6, 537, for attestations and suggestions for localization.

59. Tablet 1, §14; Tablet 2, §1.

60. A. George, *Gilgamesh*, 106, ll. 159–62.

band] has yet drawn near to her, [they] *discretely*⁶¹ [take that woman] to Gilgamesh."⁶² The Anatolian writer here displays his ignorance of the putative *droit de seigneur* exercised by the Sumerian king—possibly itself a relic of the practice of sacred marriage(?)⁶³—and assumes that the actions of Gilgamesh were illegitimate and called for concealment.

Let us now compare the structure of the Hittite-language Gilgamesh text with that of the Twelve-Tablet Edition by considering the story elements absent from one or the other source. I begin with the plusses of the Late version over against the Hittite.⁶⁴

Element No. 1: Strictly speaking, the Prologue is present only in the Late text, although the incipit "Surpassing all [kings]" included in the colophon of the Old Babylonian Pennsylvania Tablet implies that the composition of which it forms a part also began with a hymnic introduction.⁶⁵ And indeed one might argue that the Hittite recension does contain a prologue, albeit a very short one. It begins: "[Of Gilgamesh], the hero, [I will sing his praises . . .]" (Tablet 1, §1), while one manuscript of "Tablet 3" bears the colophon "Tablet 1 of the Song of Gilgamesh" (A iv 1'–2'). Although the text is in fact written in prose,⁶⁶ the Hittite Gilgamesh thus joins several constituents of the Hittite-language Kumarbi cycle in being termed a "song" or "lay."⁶⁷

Element No. 4: The Hittite version lacks a complaint by Uruk's populace about their suffering under Gilgamesh's tyranny, but such an appeal is implied by the citation of the king's continual overpowering of the young men as the motivation for the Mother-goddess in fashioning Enkidu.

61. *appa arḫa*. See L. Zuntz, *Ortsadv.*, 42–43. Cf. also H. C. Melchert, "On §§56, 162, and 171 of the Hittite Laws," *JCS* 31 (1979): 60, for EGIR-izziaz/n (*apezziyaz/n*) as "secretly, stealthily."

62. Tablet 1, §10.

63. It remains uncertain whether this had ever been a genuine human religious practice. Perhaps it was rather a metaphorical description of the relationship between a king and a patron goddess, or simply a mythical activity attributed to early rulers—see W. Sallaberger, *Mesopotamien. Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1999), 155–56, and cf. W. von Soden, "Gab es in Babylonien die Inanspruchnahme des *ius primae noctis*?" *ZA* 71 (1981): 103–6. See A. Boureau, *The Lord's First Night. The Myth of the Droit de Cuissage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) for a demonstration that the *droit de seigneur* was never an actual institution in medieval France.

64. See already H. Otten, "Gilgameš (C. Nach hethitischen Texten)," *RIA* 3 (1957–71): 372.

65. This was first recognized by A. Schaffer *apud* D. J. Wiseman, "A Gilgameš Epic Fragment from Nimrud," *Iraq* 37 (1975): 158 n. 22.

66. On the problems involved in recognizing Hittite poetry, see O. Carruba, "Hethitische und anatolische Dichtung," in *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Prosecky (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1988), 67–70.

67. See H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "The Song of Silver. A Member of the Kumarbi Cycle of 'Songs,'" *FsOtten*², 143 n. 2, 146–47.

Element No. 10: The Hittite text ignores Gilgamesh's dreams anticipating the imminent arrival of Enkidu in Uruk. This may be due to the complete absence from the Boğazköy material of his mother Ninsun, to whom he relates these visions in the Twelve-Tablet Edition. But since the dreams are also present in the Old Babylonian Pennsylvania Tablet, it is more likely that the Hittite redactor eliminated them from his composition.

Element No. 13: Since a consultation with the elders of Uruk is found in the older Akkadian text from Boğazköy, this element was also probably excised by the Hittite-language editor, who streamlined the preliminaries to Gilgamesh's expedition by including only one discussion with local authorities, that with the fighting men. This is consonant with his general abridgement of events in the Sumerian city.

Element No. 14: The adoption of Enkidu by Ninsun is found only in the Late version, the sole text to feature the mother of Gilgamesh as an active character.

Element No. 17: The omission from the Hittite-language text of Gilgamesh's dreams foretelling the conflict with Huwawa and the aid of the Sun-god is puzzling, since this story element is found in both Akkadian versions from Boğazköy.

Element No. 20: The encouragement of a disheartened Enkidu by Gilgamesh is most likely to be recognized in mutilated passages in both Old Babylonian source 5⁶⁸ and the Hittite recension.

Element No. 32: A return to Uruk should probably be restored in the Hittite text, since story elements 33 and 35, included in this recension, are seemingly set in that town.⁶⁹

Element No. 34: It is uncertain whether Enkidu's curses and blessings of the hunter and harlot were originally present in the Hittite edition. My reconstruction of the text includes a gap which might accommodate them.⁷⁰

Elements Nos. 36 and 38: The funeral of Enkidu and Gilgamesh's encounter with the Scorpion-people are definitely included only in the Twelve-Tablet Edition.

68. A. George, *Gilgamesh*, 115–16.

69. Either between §§1 and 2 of Tablet 2, or before Tablet 3, §1.

70. Tablet 2, between §§5 and 6.

Element No. 45: While it is clear in both Old Babylonian source 2 and the Hittite edition that Gilgamesh travels to visit the primeval hero Uta-napishtim (Ullū in the Hittite text), there is no indication that the latter is a survivor of the great flood. The bestowal of eternal life upon Ullū is also featured in another Boğazköy piece,⁷¹ but here he seems to have escaped the ravages of plague, not flood. The name of the protagonist in the fragmentary account of the deluge recovered at Boğazköy (CTH 347⁷²) is Atra-ḫasis as in the Old Babylonian version.⁷³

Elements Nos. 44 and 46–48: These units, which treat Gilgamesh's confrontation with the only human being ever to be granted immortality, his own challenge of death in the form of sleep,⁷⁴ his failure in this contest, and his second return to Uruk, are found only in the Late version. The same holds true for *Element No. 49*, Enkidu's visit to the netherworld, a literal translation of part of one of the Sumerian Gilgamesh tales. Of course, this twelfth tablet is generally regarded as a very late and awkward addition to the first-millennium text.⁷⁵

I turn now to the plusses of the Hittite version compared to the Twelve-Tablet Edition:

Element No. 21: This is found solely in the Hittite and presents a formal challenge of Gilgamesh and Enkidu by Huwawa before their battle:

[Huwawa] said to them, "[I will . . .] you up, and I will carry you up to heaven! I will smash you on the skull, and I will bring you [down] to the dark [earth]!"⁷⁶

Such saber rattling is a familiar topos in Hittite myths of the empire period. Compare, for example, the taunting of the Storm-god by the stone monster Ullikummi:⁷⁷

"What can I say to you Teššub? I held [counsel(?)], and before my mind I lined up wisdom like (a string of) bead(s) as follows: 'I will go up to heaven to kingship. I will take to myself Kummiya, [the gods'] holy temples, and the kuntarras-shrines. I will scatter the gods down from the sky like flour."⁷⁸

71. Fragment B.1 = KUB 8.62.

72. This is true for both the Akkadian and the Hittite texts.

73. W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

74. See Tigay, *Evolution*, 5 n. 2.

75. Tigay, *Evolution*, 105–7; Jacobsen, *Treasures*, 214–15. But cf. Abusch, *JAOS* 121 (2001): 620–21.

76. Tablet I, §20.

77. As already recognized by H. Otten, *IM* 8 (1958): 123.

78. Tablet 3, §69. Translated by H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990), 60.

Element No. 39: This element again is found only in the Hittite version and recounts Gilgamesh's visit to the personified Sea in the course of his wanderings:

But [when] Gilgamesh [arrived] at the Sea, he bowed down to the Sea, [and said to the Sea], "Long may you live, Oh Great [Sea, and long may] the minions who belong [to you] live!" The Sea cursed Gilgamesh, [...], and the Fate-deities.⁷⁹

And the vizier of the Sea, the Hurrian god Impaluri, is attested in an unplaced fragment.⁸⁰ These additions may be explained by the greater importance which the Anatolians, as compared to the people of Mesopotamia, attached to the sea, both as a body of water and as a mythological character.⁸¹

Finally, there is another plus in the Hittite edition—*Element No. 40*, the encounter of Gilgamesh with the Moon-god in the steppe:

[...] the heroic Moon-god [said to Gilgamesh], "Go and [make] these two [lions] which you slew into two images for me! Transport them into the city! Go and take them to the temple of the Moon-god!"⁸²

According to the Hittite text, the lions alluded to here had been dispatched by Gilgamesh during his earlier travels in the wilderness.⁸³ This episode may have some connection to the mention of a lion in an obscure context in the Twelve-Tablet Edition.⁸⁴

In sum, the Hittite-language recension bears many similarities to the Late edition, the sole Mesopotamian text full enough to allow a meaningful consideration of its structure. Only a few story elements found in the latter are certainly absent from the former: Nos. 10, 13, 14, 17, 36, 38, and 45–49. Where the respective states of preservation permit assessment, the episodes follow one another in the same order in the two recensions. Plusses in the Hittite may easily be explained as nods to local Anatolian tastes and interests, much like

79. Tablet 3, §§8–10.

80. Fragment A.2 = KBo 19.120 iii 1'.

81. J. Puhvel, "The Sea in Hittite Texts," in *Studies Presented to Joshua Whatmough on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. E. Pulgram (Gravenhage: Mouton, 1957), 225–37. See also J. Klinger, "'So weit und breit wie das Meer . . .'"—Das Meer in Texten hattischer Provenienz," in *The Asia Minor Connexion: Studies on the Pre-Greek Languages in Memory of Charles Carter*, ed. Y. Arbeitman (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 151–72.

82. Tablet 3, §11.

83. Tablet 3, §7.

84. Tablet X, 34; A. George, *Gilgamesh*, 77. Presumably his slaying of lions underscores the regal character of Gilgamesh. See S. Maul, "Das 'dreifache Königtum'—Überlegungen zu einer Sonderform des neuassyrischen Königssiegels," in *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, ed. U. Finkbeiner et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), 399, who observes that the dispatching of lions was the "vornehmste Aufgabe des König als 'guter Hirte.'"

the shift of geographic emphasis from Uruk to the Cedar Forest considered earlier.⁸⁵

It is just not credible that the concise Hittite-language edition⁸⁶ represents either a direct reflection of oral tradition⁸⁷ or an independent composition based on the Old Babylonian materials. Rather, the Hittite editor/translator must have begun with an Akkadian *Vorlage* very much like the work generally credited to Sin-leqe-unninni, but lacking elements No. 14, 36, 38, and 45–49. I believe that the final redactor of the Twelve-Tablet Edition was responsible for: (1) allotting an active role to the goddess Ninsun, (2) composing the description of Enkidu's lavish funeral, (3) adapting the flood story for its place in the epic, (4) inventing the scorpion-men and the fabulous passage to the sea, and possibly (5) appending the translation of the Sumerian *Märchen* "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World" as the concluding tablet.

Precisely when this redactor worked is difficult to say with any confidence. Perhaps the Late version did not yet exist in the closing decades of the fourteenth or the early thirteenth century to serve as a model for our Hittite writer. On the other hand, we might well imagine that there was a certain lag between literary developments in Mesopotamia and those in Hatti. Indeed, it is even possible that the Anatolian adapter worked with an antiquated text from some Syrian backwater.⁸⁸ But given the demonstrated presence and literary activity of Babylonian and Assyrian scribes at Hattuša,⁸⁹ that is, of men whose familiarity with the standard Mesopotamian curriculum may be fairly assumed, I feel it likely that the Twelve-Tablet Edition had not yet been assembled before the middle of the thirteenth century, or at least that it had not yet attained its later "canonical" status.

85. H. Otten, "Zur Überlieferung des Gilgameš-Epos nach den Boğazköy-Texten," in *Gilgameš et sa légende*, 143, is certainly correct when he writes "Damit ist die hethitische Version entschieden kürzer, indem anscheinend alle Episoden mit stärkerem [mesopotamischen] Lokalkolorit fortgelassen sind."

86. J. Tigay, *Evolution*, 112 calls the Hittite version a "drastic abridgement."

87. See in general J. Cooper, "Babbling on: Recovering Mesopotamian Orality," in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature. Oral or Aural?*, ed. M. E. Vogelzang and H. L. J. Vanstiphout (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 103–22.

88. Emar and Ugarit spring immediately to mind. For the Mesopotamian literary repertoires of these sites, see Th. R. Kämmerer, *šimā milka. Induktion und Reception der mittelbabylonischen Dichtung von Ugarit, Emār und Tell el-'Amārna* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 9–14.

89. See my Figure 4, *JCS* 35 (1983): 108, to which add Ilim-abi (KUB 56.55 iv 3), and NĪG.BA-^dU (KUB 29.4 i 39 = 29.5 i 23; cf. H. M. Kümmel, review of KUB 39, *ZA* 59 [1969]: 324). Several Mesopotamian scribes, including Adad-bēli, Ili-kakkabi, Ili-tukultī, Ilum-bēli, and Šumi-^dA.A., are now attested at Maşat Höyük/Tapikka—see the personal name index to S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), xxiii–xxviii.

I would like now to consider the orthography of the names of the characters in the epic, and particularly their manifestations in the sources from Boğazköy (see Chart 2).⁹⁰

No. 1: The name of Gilgamesh himself shows a variety of spellings in third-millennium documents,⁹¹ quite possibly representing divergent pronunciations, but the normal manner of rendering his name in the Sumerian-language texts is ^dBil (^{GIŠ}BÍL)⁹²-ga-mes/meš. The standard form in Old Babylonian versions of the cycle is ^dGIŠ, an abbreviation of the initial grapheme in the older literary writing. This sign group is retained at the beginning of most later spellings, perhaps indicating a restricted value bil_x or even gil_x⁹³ for the sequence DINGIR.GIŠ. I have yet to arrive at an explanation for the Middle Babylonian writing ^mGIM.MAŠ: How is the syllable /gil/ represented here? But note that this spelling is paralleled by ^dGÍN.MAŠ in the older Akkadian text at Boğazköy. This latter writing, as well as ^dGIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ of first-millennium orthography, should probably be transcribed with the reading GÍM for the third sign,⁹⁴ thus *B/Gil_x-gím-maš*. Compare here the Boğazköy Hurrian, Akkadian, and Hittite spelling ^dGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ. Perhaps the choice of GÍN reflects a clever play on its alternate value TÛN = *pāšum*, in allusion to the axe of which Gilgamesh dreams.⁹⁵

No. 2: For Enkidu,⁹⁶ a standardized Sumerian spelling—without divine determinative—En-ki-du₁₀, which might be understood as “Lord of the Favored Place⁹⁷/ Good Earth,”⁹⁸ is continued in Old Babylonian Akkadian, where, befitting the character’s promotion from servant to companion of Gilgamesh,⁹⁹ he is awarded the DINGIR diacritic. This opened the way for

90. For textual citations, see my edition and, for the divine characters, B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998).

91. These have been collected by S. Parpola, “The Esoteric Meaning of the Name of Gilgamesh,” in *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*, 316.

92. T. Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, 89–90.

93. The earliest certain evidence for a velar pronunciation of the initial consonant is from the Old Babylonian omen text YOS 10, 42 i 2 and 3(!): ^dGe-el-ga.

94. So already A. Heidel, *JNES* 11 (1952): 140–41.

95. Tablet I, 278, 289. As explicated by Ninsun, this implement is a harbinger of Enkidu.

96. ⁹⁵ See G. Dossin, “Enkidou dans l’*Épopée de Gilgameš*,” *Bulletin de l’Académie royale de Belgique* 42 (1956): 580–93.

97. H. Limet, *L’anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3^e dynastie d’Ur* (Paris: Société d’Édition «Les Belles Lettres», 1968), 262.

98. Since this name is never written with -ga(-), which would clearly indicate a genitive construction, D. O. Edzard has remarked to me that it is more probably an abbreviated form of a longer designation, *En-ki-du₁₀. . . . “the en-priest who . . . the ‘favored place.’” Cf. H. Limet, *L’anthroponymie*, 239.

99. J. Tigay, *Evolution*, 29, identifies this change as a crucial element in the development of the Gilgamesh materials into a unified epic.

the later reinterpretation of the name as theophoric, “Enki is Good,” and its subsequent recasting as ^dEN.KI.DÛ, “Enki Has Created.”¹⁰⁰ At Boğazköy, however, the scribes usually¹⁰¹ employed phonetic spellings: ^dEn-ki-du and ^dEn-ki-du₄¹⁰² in Akkadian and Hittite, and ^dEn-ki-ta in Hurrian. The Hurrian desinence also appears once or twice in a Hittite-language manuscript.

No. 3: For Hūwawa, the labialized, voiced, and dissimilated form Hūmbaba is unknown before the first millennium. Hittite declension of this name as an *ai*-stem has been taken over from Hurrian.

Nos. 4 and 5: Note that the Akkadian common nouns for “hunter” and “whore” have been transformed by the Hittite redactor into the proper names Shangashu (literally, “Murderer”) and Shanḫatu, respectively.

No. 6: At Boğazköy the barmaid is designated in two ways: by the Hurrian personal name Naḫmazulel or Naḫmizulen,¹⁰³ or by *šidurri* (in the Hurrian texts) and *ziduri* (in the Hittite). I believe that at this stage the latter term is an epithet, “maid; young woman”—an ordinary Hurrian noun,¹⁰⁴ and that it only later became the proper name Shiduri attested in the Twelve-Table Edition.

No. 7: The ferryman Ur-Shanabi is represented only phonetically at Boğazköy. The single instance of the divine rather than the personal determinative with this name is surely a scribal error. I cannot give a convincing interpretation of this name. Neither “Servant of Two-Thirds” nor “Servant of Forty” makes much sense, while substitution for the numerical component yields “Servant of Nabû,” which seems extraneous to the epic.¹⁰⁵

No. 8: The mutations in the name of the survivor of humankind’s primeval dangers are somewhat complicated.¹⁰⁶ Sumerian Zi-u₄-sud-rá, “Life of Long Days,” was apparently metathesized as *U₄-zi-sud-rá and rendered into

100. Cf. S. Parpola, “Esoteric Meaning,” 318.

101. Except in the older Akkadian version where we find ^dEN.KI.DÛ.

102. This spelling of course simply reflects the frequent practice by which Hittite scribes writing Akkadian texts or proper names retained CVm signs in final position despite the general loss of mimation.

103. Cf. A. Kammenhuber, *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon* 3, 816.

104. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 229.

105. W. G. Lambert, *JCS* 11 (1957): 6, suggests that this personal name was borrowed from an actual person living in the Kassite era, a time when various Sumerian traditions were revived. However, the second element of this name, where we expect a theonym or perhaps a numinous object or location, remains peculiar.

106. Cf. J. H. Tigay, *Evolution*, 229–30.

[illegible]

Chart 1: Distribution of Motifs in Gilgamesh Sources

Story element	Late XII TbIt	OB						MB			Boğazköy					
		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	[5]	Akk	Bogh Akk	Hurr	Hitt.
20. Encouragement by G.	x					x ¹				x						?
[21. Challenge by Huwawa]																x
22. Awe at Cedar Forest	x															x
23. Encouragement by Enkidu	x			x	x											x
24. Combat with Huwawa	x														x	x
25. Aid of Sun-god	x								x							x
26. Huwawa's plea	x												x			x
27. Enkidu's rejoinder	x												x			x
28. Killing of Huwawa	x			x												x
29. Gift for Enlil	x															x
30. Encounter with Ishtar	x									x				x	x	x
31. Bull of Heaven	x									x				x	x ¹	x
32. Return to Uruk, I	x															x ¹
33. Enkidu's dream	x									x			x			x
34. Enkidu's curses & blessings	x							x								?
35. Death of Enkidu	x									x						x
36. Funeral of Enkidu	x															o
37. Grief of Gilgamesh	x															x
38. Scorpion-men; passage	x															o
[39. Visit to the Sea]																x

Chart 1: Distribution of Motifs in Gilgamesh Sources

Story element	Late XII TbIt	OB						MB			Boğazköy					
		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	[5]	Akk	Bogh Akk	Hurr	Hitt.
[40. Meeting with Moon-god]																x
41. Siduri the barmaid	x		x												x	x
42. Ur-shanabi the boatman	x		x													x
43. Crossing the sea	x															x
44. Uta-napish-tim "the distant"	x														x	x
45. Deluge narrative	x															o
46. Gilgamesh's trial	x															o
47. Plant of life	x															o
48. Return to Uruk, II	x															o
49. Enkidu in netherworld	x															o

Key Sources

OB

1. Larsa² (Penn-Yale tablets)
2. Sippar² (Meissner+Millard frag.)
3. Harmal (*TIM* 9, 45)
4. Ischali (Greengus, No. 277)
5. Nippur² (UM 29-13-570)
6. Nippur (IM 58451)

MB

1. Ur (*UET* 6, 394)
2. Nippur exercises (2N-T79, 2N-T75, CBS 14167, UM 29-16-606)
3. Megiddo (*Atiqot* 2, 121-28)
4. Emar (*Emar* VI, 760, 781-82)
- [5. Ugarit]

Story Element

bold = present only in late version

bracketed = present only in Hittite version

X = present

O = definitely absent (Hittite version only)

? = perhaps lost in break (Hittite version only)

Chart 2A: Orthography of Character Names in Gilgamesh Sources

Sumerian	OB	MB	Late
1. ^d Bil(^G ŠBÍL)-ga-mes	^d GIŠ	^d Bil-ga-mes (2), [...-g]a-mes (4), ^m GIM.MAŠ (3)	^d GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ
2. En-ki-du ₁₀	^d En-ki-du ₁₀	^d En-ki-du ₁₀ (1, 2), ^m En-ki-du (3)	^d En-ki-du ₃
3. (^d)Hu-wa-wa	^d Hu-wa-wa, Hu-wa-wa (4)	—	^d Hu-m-ba-ba
4. —	—	šayyādu	šayyādu
5. —	ḫarimtum, šamkat	KAR.KID (1), šam-ḫatu (1)	^f Šamḫat
6. —	sabītum (2)	—	^f Siduri
7. —	Sursunabu	—	^m Ur-40
8. Zi-u ₄ -sud-rá	—	—	^m UD.ZI(-tim), Atra-ḫasis
9. ^d Inanna	—	[^d]Iš ₈ -tár (4)	^d Iš-tar, ^d Iš ₈ -tár
10. ^d Utu	^d UTU	—	^d UTU, ^d Šá-maš

Chart 2B: Boğazköy

	Akkadian	Boğazköy Akk.	Hurrian	Hittite
1.	^d GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ, ^d GÍN.MAŠ	^d GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ	^d GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ, ^d Gal-ga-mi-iš, ^d Bil-ga-mes	^d GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ(-uš/-un)
2.	^d En-ki-du ₃ , ^d En-ki-du	^d En-ki-du ₄	^d En-ki-ta(-)	^d En-ki-du(-), ^d En-ki-du ₄ (-), ^d En-ki-ta(-)
3.	^d Hu-wa-wa	^d H[u-...]	^d Hu-wa-wa(-in)	^d Hu-wa-wa(-iš/-in)
4.	—	—	—	^m Ša-an-ga-šu(-)
5.	—	—	—	MUNUS.KAR.KID, ^f Ša-an-ḫa-ia(-)
6.	—	—	^f Ši-du-ur-ri(-), ^d Na-aḫ-ma-zu ¹ -le-el	^f Zi-du-ri-iš, ^f Na-aḫ-mi-zu-le-en
7.	—	—	—	^m (U)-ur-ša-na-bi(-iš), ^d Ur-ša-na-bi (1x)
8.	—	—	^f U-lu-uš, ^m U-lu-u ² -[...]	^d U-lu(-uš), ^d U-lu-ya
9.	—	^d Iš ₈ -tár	^d Iš ₈ -TÁR-ga	^d Iš ₈ -TÁR(-iš)
10.	—	—	—	^d UTU ŠA-ME-E/AN-E

Note: Numerals following names refer to sources as listed in key to Chart 1.

Relations between Hatti and Ahhiyawa in the Last Decades of the Bronze Age

TREVOR BRYCE

University of Queensland

In recent years scholars have increasingly come to accept the conclusion, first enunciated in the 1920s by the Swiss scholar Emil Forrer, that the name Ahhiyawa in Hittite texts is used to identify the Mycenaean world, and in some contexts a specific Mycenaean kingdom. On the basis of this identification, Hittite awareness of Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean activities extends back at least to the late 15th or early 14th century B.C., when the Hittite king Arnuwanda I referred in a well-known document to the military enterprises of Atarsiya, a "Man of Ahhiya,"¹ in western Anatolia and Cyprus.² Subsequently Ahhiyawans, or Mycenaean Greeks, became increasingly involved in political and military activities in western Anatolia, and on occasions diplomatic communications of one kind or another passed between the court of the Hittite king and that of his Ahhiyawan counterpart.

One might also expect there to have been more broadly based commercial and cultural exchanges between the Hittite and Mycenaean worlds, given the textually attested contacts between them, the proximity of their territorial spheres of influence, and more generally the Mycenaean's extensive commercial operations throughout the Mediterranean world. In the eastern Mediterranean in particular, Mycenaean traders and Mycenaean products were well known, as indicated by the substantial material evidence for such trade in many parts of the region—Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, the western and southern coastlands of Anatolia, and Syro-Palestine (which also provided the means for indirect Mycenaean trade as far east as Mesopotamia).

In such a context, there should also have been a lively and flourishing trade between Anatolia and the Late Bronze Age Aegean, according to E. H. Cline.³

1. The older form of the name Ahhiyawa.

2. The so-called Madduwatta text (KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.38 [CTH 147]), ed. A. Goetze, *Maed. Alasiya* is the Bronze Age name for Cyprus (or part of Cyprus).

3. *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea* (Oxford, 1994), 74.

Yet as Cline points out, neither textual nor artifactual remains provide evidence of this. In contrast to trading enterprises in other parts of the Near Eastern world, there is virtually no evidence of trade between Hittites and Mycenaeans. Of the 942 artifacts identified as imports into the Late Bronze Age Aegean (including mainland Greece, Crete, Rhodes, and the Cyclades) and found in LH/LM I–III contexts, by far the fewest—only 12—were of Anatolian origin.⁴ Evidence for Aegean imports into Anatolia is admittedly more plentiful. But this evidence is confined almost entirely to Anatolia's western and southern coasts. Extremely few objects of Aegean origin have been found inland, particularly within the actual heartland of the Hittite kingdom.⁵

How do we account for this? Cline believes that the lack of evidence for Hittite-Mycenaean trade can best be explained by postulating a Hittite-imposed embargo on Mycenaean commercial activity; this might originally have been implemented as a reaction to simple economic advances by Mycenaean traders, and then continuously upheld for over 200 years as a reaction to constant political intrigues and unrest, fomented by Mycenaeans throughout the period.⁶

If correct, this proposal would imply (1) that the Mycenaean world was seen as posing a significant and longstanding threat to Hittite interests in the Near East—a threat with political as well as commercial dimensions; and (2) that the relationship between Hatti and Ahhiyawa was marked by constant hostility throughout the period the latter is referred to in Hittite texts. More generally, it would indicate the important role economic factors could assume in the power-play between the major Late Bronze Age kingdoms, and the way in which attempts were made to manipulate these factors for political purposes.

Trade embargoes were not unknown in the Late Bronze Age, probably imposed at least as much for political as for commercial reasons (see below). But before accepting that this best explains the lack of evidence for Hittite-Mycenaean trade, we must bear in mind two important *caveats*, which Cline also remarks upon. We cannot be sure that chance survival reliably reflects, in any proportional way, the actual extent of trading activity between the regions where the surviving objects have been found. Nor can we assume that

4. *Wine-Dark Sea*, xvi.

5. Finds within this region are limited to some ceramic ware (though none at the Hittite capital) and a couple of weapons of possible Aegean manufacture.

6. "A Possible Hittite Embargo against the Mycenaeans," *Historia* 40 (1991): 9. Cf. D. H. French, "Mycenaean Greece and the Mediterranean World in LH III," in *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo: Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica* (Taranto, 1986), 118 (cited by Cline, *Wine-Dark Sea*, 72), who sees "a deliberate, politically motivated exclusion which had emerged . . . as a function of social and economic states."

lack of material evidence implies lack of trading activity. The absence of Aegean pottery at central Anatolian sites⁷ may simply indicate that Mycenaean ceramic vessels *per se* or as containers for perishable consumables were not regularly imported into the Hittite world. This may be because such vessels were considered unsuitable for overland transport. It does not preclude the importation of other items which have left no trace, few of which would have required ceramic containers—items such as oil, perfume, grain, leather, and textiles⁸—as well perhaps as items made of precious and semiprecious materials. With regard to the last category of items, the thorough devastation of Hattusa at the end of the Bronze Age and the subsequent reoccupation of the site in the Phrygian period may well have accounted for their total disappearance. But already before this, many prized objects acquired by the palace, through trade or plunder or gift exchange and presumably kept in the royal treasury, may have been destroyed, or looted, during the destruction of part of the city in the late 13th century in the reign of Tudhaliya IV.⁹

These factors may help explain the lack of material evidence for commercial contacts between the Hittite and Aegean worlds. Was there in fact more commercial interaction between the two regions than is evident from the material remains? That possibility cannot be altogether dismissed. But there are, I believe, quite cogent reasons for concluding that Hittites and Mycenaean Greeks did not in fact have, nor ever saw the need to have, direct trade relations with each other—without assuming that this was due to a longstanding, Hittite-imposed trade embargo.

Two fundamental prerequisites are necessary for regular, direct trade between two regions to occur: (1) There must be suitable routes between the two regions which can be used for the regular conveyance of large quantities of merchandise, and which present no major logistical problems or security risks. (2) Each trading partner must be able to provide in substantial quantities goods which are in demand in the region with which he is trading, and which that region cannot obtain locally or from more accessible sources of supply. The Middle Bronze Age trading enterprises between Assyria and eastern and central Anatolia provide a classic example of these two prerequisites being met. But neither of them seems to have applied in the context of potential trade in the Late Bronze Age between central Anatolia and the Aegean world.

With regard to the first, we must remember that there was one important characteristic which distinguished Hatti from almost all the Mycenaean world's known or assumed trading partners. In contrast to Cyprus, Egypt, and

7. With the exception of Maşat, as noted by Cline, *Wine-Dark Sea*, 68, citing T. Özgüç's 1978, 1980, and 1982 reports of excavations at Maşat Höyük.

8. Thus Cline, *Wine-Dark Sea*, 71.

9. See T. R. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1999), 354.

the states of the Syro-Palestine littoral, the Hittite homeland was landlocked. The Hittites had no sea-going capacity of their own, for either military or commercial purposes. This was obviously a major obstacle to direct commercial relations with regions accessible only by sea. Any sea-going activities in which they wished to engage—and those attested are very rare¹⁰—would have required the use of ships from one of their maritime vassal states, such as Ugarit. And in any case, the conveyance of merchandise between central Anatolia and the Aegean world would have first involved extensive overland travel through the Anatolian peninsula to a suitable seaport, for conveyance to its final destination by sea.¹¹

Were suitable land routes available for this purpose? Cline refers to possible routes west of the Hittite homeland which merchants travelling between central Anatolia and the Aegean world might have taken, either by way of Arzawan territory to and from ports such as Miletos, Ephesos, or Smyrna, or north along the Black Sea coast.¹² In the latter case, Troy might have served as a dispatch point for merchandise to its final destination. Yet the difficulties and risks involved in travel between the Hittite homeland in central Anatolia and the Aegean coast should not be underestimated. Given the chronic political volatility of the Hittites' subject territories in western Anatolia, and their proneness to sudden rebellion against Hittite rule, no Hittite merchant enterprises could be assured of regular safe passage through this region to the Aegean coast, even if they managed to keep within the boundaries of the vassal states, avoiding areas outside Hittite control.

With the possible exception of the reign of Mursili II, who arguably did more than any other Hittite king to bring about peace and stability in western Anatolia, the ever-present threat of rebellion and anti-Hittite uprisings in this region would have entailed unacceptable risks for merchants travelling through the region to or from Hatti.¹³ And any travel further to the north along the Black Sea coast would have involved even greater risks. In periods of relative tranquility in the western vassal states a local ruler might have been able to provide reasonably safe passage to merchants travelling through his territory. But a Black Sea route would have taken merchants, for a considerable portion of their journey, well outside the region where the Hittites exercised any influence or authority at all.

10. The most notable were their seaborne assault on Cyprus during Tudhaliya IV's reign, and their engagements with enemy ships off the coast of Cyprus in the reign of Tudhaliya's son Suppiluliuma II (late 13th and early 12th centuries).

11. An overland route from Anatolia to Greece via Thrace is not a serious possibility.

12. *Wine-Dark Sea*, 71.

13. Merchants in the Hittite period may have been no less wary than their counterparts in the Assyrian Colony period, who to judge from a number of contemporary texts were very sensitive to the risks of travelling through politically unstable areas, and avoided doing so when trouble flared in particular regions.

Undoubtedly one or more overland routes leading west from the Hittite capital were used by royal messenger services and diplomatic missions, presumably under armed escort. And we cannot altogether rule out the possibility that merchant enterprises occasionally operated along the same routes. But for the most part, merchants originating from or returning to the Hittite homeland and seeking to export or import goods via a seaport would have travelled along routes leading south to the Mediterranean coast, either to a port like Ura in the region of Classical Cilicia, or further afield to one of the ports on the Levantine coast. Such routes were much safer for commercial enterprises, passing as they did through regions like Kizzuwadna, which (at least from the 14th century onwards) were much more stable than the Hittites' westernmost territories, and much more firmly under Hittite control.

Suppiluliuma I's campaigns in northern Syria in the 14th century and the establishment of a network of Hittite vassal kingdoms throughout the region in the wake of these campaigns must have greatly facilitated merchant travel between the ports of the Levantine coast, most notably those of the kingdom of Ugarit, and the Hittite homeland. Ugarit's relatively extensive coastline contained four or more seaports, making it an important link between the Mediterranean world and the lands stretching to the Euphrates and beyond. But already in the Hittite Old Kingdom the Syrian campaigns of Hattusili I may have been partly intended to give the Hittites access to the international merchandise which found its way into Syrian markets. Products from the Aegean world were no doubt included amongst this merchandise. But they were just one component of a multiplicity of goods coming from all parts of the Near Eastern world and Egypt as well as from regions further to the west. By gaining access to these markets, purveyors of merchandise for the Hittite world had a wide range of international goods from which to choose.

If there had been a high demand in the Hittite world for large quantities of specific Aegean products or raw materials, this might well have provided an incentive for regular direct Hittite-Mycenaean trade. But as far as we know, no such incentive existed. Moreover, the Hittite economy was primarily an agriculturally based one. The Hittites were not, like a number of their contemporaries, a great trading people. And much of the merchandise which they imported from the Mediterranean coastlands was probably in the hands not of Hittite merchants but of local merchants at the port of entry. We hear, for example, of merchants of Ura acting as agents of the Hittite king in organising the shipping of goods from Ugarit to Ura, and the subsequent transport of these goods into the Hittite homeland.¹⁴

In sum, the Hittites could well have acquired such Aegean products as appealed to them through the ports of southeastern Anatolia and the interna-

14. RS 17.130 and dupl., 17.461 and 18.03 = PRU IV 102ff. Cf. H. Klengel, "Die Hethiter und Syrien: Aspekte einer politischen Auseinandersetzung," in *FsAlp*, 138.

tional markets of the Levant without the need for establishing direct trading links with the Aegean world. Indeed as a landlocked state without a sea-going capacity, Hatti could not have established links with an overseas country of the kind that existed between sea-going states. While the volume of Aegean products reaching the Hittite world may have been greater than the archaeological record presently suggests, it is most unlikely that Aegean products attracted sufficient interest amongst the Hittites, given the wide range of other goods available on the international market, to encourage them to engage in significant, regular trade with the Aegean world, whether through their own merchants or through intermediaries.

It is also difficult to identify any specific incentives for Mycenaeans to seek regular trading contacts with the heartland of the Hittite kingdom, in the absence of any known products or materials from this region for which there might have been a regular demand in the Mycenaean world. Undoubtedly Mycenaeans traded with the coastal areas of Anatolia, particularly the Aegean coast. But such products and materials as western Anatolia had to offer could be acquired without Hittite involvement (discussed further below).

The above considerations may help explain the lack of evidence for trade between the Hittite and Aegean worlds. They do not of course exclude the possibility that the Hittites did on occasions attempt to impose embargoes on Mycenaean trading activity in order to limit, if not prevent absolutely, Mycenaean contacts with the wider Near Eastern world. But such embargoes were likely to have been *ad hoc* in nature, imposed in reaction to specific situations, rather than general sanctions of indefinite duration. In any case, the notion of a 200-year Hittite embargo on Mycenaean commercial activity would, in my view, not be consistent with what else we know of Hittite-Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean relations during this period.

What in fact do we know of these relations? Our information is dependent on a relatively small number of often-fragmentary texts from the archives at Hattusa which make reference to Ahhiyawa. With the notable exception of the so-called Tawagalawa letter (to which we shall return), this information is sparse, frustratingly incomplete, and often capable of more than one interpretation. The texts include references to a possible gift exchange, to a possible agreement on territorial boundaries, and to the dispatch by the Ahhiyawan king of a cult idol to help heal the Hittite king Mursili II. Other texts refer to hostile or potentially hostile relations between the two kingdoms, dating back at least to the early 15th century (as noted above).¹⁵

Yet meagre though these references are, they represent almost the entire body of information relating to Ahhiyawa in our Bronze Age texts. With the

15. For a recent summary of the texts dealing with Ahhiyawa, see Cline, *Wine-Dark Sea*, 121–25.

exception of a possible reference to Ahhiyawans amongst the “Sea Peoples” in the Karnak inscription of the pharaoh Merneptah,¹⁶ there are no unequivocal references to these people outside Hittite sources. They occur nowhere in the inscriptions of other contemporary major Near Eastern powers, nor do Hittite kings ever make reference to them in their correspondence or in other diplomatic dealings with their peers in the Near Eastern world. Further, we have no evidence that Ahhiyawan kings ever initiated diplomatic communications with the Near Eastern Great Kings. We have no identifiable text written by an Ahhiyawan king to a Hittite king, or to any other Near Eastern ruler.

The conclusion seems clear. Mycenaean traders may have been well known in many parts of the Near Eastern world. But the kings of the region or regions from which they came had neither military nor political involvement in this world, except in the far west, in territories peripheral to or within the Hittites’ western vassal states. From the point of view of the kings of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, Ahhiyawa was a region of traders and merchantmen which lay well beyond their own territorial boundaries, and outside their political and military spheres of interest.

None the less, in the well-known Tawagalawa letter,¹⁷ the king of Ahhiyawa is called a “Great King” by his Hittite correspondent, a title which ranks him with the four most important Near Eastern monarchs of the 13th century—the Great Kings of Hatti, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon. And Hattusili III, the author of the letter, goes further. A ruler’s military achievements might lead another king to acknowledge him as a “Great King,” sometimes grudgingly so, as in the case of Urhi-Tesub’s acknowledgment of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari.¹⁸ But Hattusili also addresses his Ahhiyawan counterpart as “My Brother” and “My Equal,” terms which imply full diplomatic equality between two rulers, often accompanied by a commitment to friendship and mutual support and cooperation.

These terms along with the title “Great King” thus confer upon the Ahhiyawan king a diplomatic status which seems far in excess of his actual standing and importance—at least in the Near Eastern world. He may well have been a powerful ruler in his own land. But whatever power he exercised outside the Near Eastern world was quite irrelevant, from the point of view of the Great Kings within it. Ahhiyawa did in fact have control over some Near Eastern territory. But this was apparently confined to the Land of Millawanda

16. The list of invaders of Egyptian territory at this time (J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* III [Chicago, 1906], sec. 579) includes a group whose name is to be vocalised as Ekweš or Akaiwasha or the like, and who are commonly identified with the Ahhiyawans.

17. KUB 14.3 (CTH 181).

18. See most recently Bryce, *Kingdom*, 283–84.

(Milawata), in the region of Classical Miletos.¹⁹ In other words, the Mycenaean king could in a formal sense claim to have no more than a toe-hold in the Near East, in a small area on its westernmost fringes, well outside the interests or concerns of Hattusili's royal Near Eastern counterparts—the kings of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria. As we have noted, Ahhiyawa does not rate even a single passing mention in the diplomatic literature of any of the Near Eastern powers except Hatti.

How then do we account for the status which Hattusili apparently accords the Ahhiyawan king—"My Brother, the Great King, My Equal," forms of address which may well have provoked an incredulous if not derisory reaction among his genuine Near Eastern counterparts, if they ever came to hear about it? In considering this question, we should begin by reviewing the political and diplomatic context in which Hattusili's letter was written.

In the first place, there was a pressing need for Hattusili to bring about a peaceful and lasting settlement of affairs in his western subject states. His expedition against rebel forces in the region—rebels who were acting with the support or at least the connivance of the Ahhiyawan king—had been largely unsuccessful. And he was now attempting to resolve by diplomatic means what he had been unable to achieve by force.²⁰ His letter sought the Ahhiyawan king's cooperation in ending anti-Hittite insurrection activities and restoring peace and stability to the region where the rebels had been operating. Hence the largely conciliatory tone of his letter.

In other regions where Hittite and other Great Kings had adjoining subject territories or spheres of influence, pacts of mutual support and cooperation were often used as a means of achieving and maintaining stability and political equilibrium within these regions. A feature of such pacts was the explicit acknowledgment that the partners were equal in status and enjoyed, allegedly, close personal bonds, as represented in the diplomatic phraseology by the term "Brotherhood." It was this which provided the diplomatic underpinning of Hattusili's treaty with the pharaoh Ramesses II, a treaty which amongst other things helped to achieve and maintain political stability in Syria, where Hatti and Egypt shared a common boundary. And it was on the basis of equality of status and an expressed desire for close personal ties that Hattusili sought to resolve with the Assyrian king Adad-nirari tensions that had arisen in the border zone between Hittite and Assyrian subject territory. The tensions had been caused by the activities of the people of Turira, Assyrian subjects who were constantly raiding Hittite territory.²¹

19. Ahhiyawan control over this region may have dated back no earlier than to the reign of Muwatalli II in the early 13th century; see Bryce, *Kingdom*, 244.

20. See Bryce, *Kingdom*, 322–23.

21. KBo 1.14:6–19.

The latter episode parallels in part the situation in western Anatolia as described in the Tawagalawa letter. In attempting to resolve this situation by peaceful means, Hattusili used what amounted to a standard diplomatic ploy: To gain the support of a foreign ruler whose subject territory adjoins your own, you acknowledge him as a Great King, and thus your equal, and you call him "Brother" to emphasise your bond of friendship with him. The goodwill which this supposedly engenders is designed to persuade him to cooperate with you in stabilizing a politically volatile region on the fringes of your subject territory. What seemed to work with reasonable success in the east, as reflected in Hattusili's dealings with Egypt and perhaps Assyria, might also be tried in the west.

Thus we have what may well have been the first and perhaps the only instance of an Ahhiyawan king being accorded the status of a Great King of the Near Eastern world, and "Brother" of another of the Great Kings. Hattusili's initiative in conferring this status may well have been no more than a piece of unprecedented, *ad hoc* diplomacy. In this particular context, it is understandable why he should refer to the Ahhiyawan king as "Great King" and "My Brother." But it would be unwise to conclude from this single reference that the Ahhiyawan king was generally accepted among his Near Eastern counterparts, either now or at any other time, as a politically or militarily significant figure in the Near Eastern world, or as a legitimate member of the elite group of Great Kings.

Hattusili may also have had a strong personal motive for addressing the Ahhiyawan king as he did. Let us consider the general political context in which the address was made. Hattusili had usurped the Hittite throne from its rightful occupant, his nephew Urhi-Tešub, and sent him into exile. But Urhi-Tešub had escaped his place of exile, had engaged in surreptitious dealings with foreign kings, to build up support for himself in his attempt to regain his throne, and had eventually sought and been granted refuge in Egypt by the pharaoh Ramesses II. So long as Urhi-Tešub remained active, and had significant support on which he could call, Hattusili's position on the throne of Hatti could never be secure. His letters to the Great Kings of Babylon, Egypt, and Assyria reveal his sense of insecurity and his earnest desire to gain from his "Brother-rulers" formal acknowledgment of his status as the legitimate king of Hatti. Such acknowledgment may have been of no small assistance to him in his bid to secure the undivided loyalty of his own subjects, especially in the vassal states.

This was a matter of particular importance in the Hittite world, given that vassal treaties regularly specified that a local ruler was bound by treaty in unconditional allegiance to his treaty-partner, the Hittite Great King, and his legitimate successors. If his treaty-partner were removed from the throne by a usurper, the vassal was absolved of his obligations. As a usurper, Hattusili

was fully aware of the legal precariousness of his position. And he might well have seen endorsement of his position by his royal counterparts as an important factor in winning over the allegiance of all his vassal rulers, men bound by treaty to the person whom he had unseated and who was now seeking support from both foreign kings and vassal rulers in his bid to regain his throne.

From his own personal point of view, the situation he faced in his western vassal states must have been of particular concern. Here as well as in the homeland, Urhi-Tešub had commanded considerable support in his conflict with Hattusili. Although Masturi, ruler of the Seha River Land, had declared his opposition to Urhi-Tešub, he may have been one of the few western rulers to do so.²² The kings of other Arzawan states, including an unnamed Arzawan king,²³ and most notably Kupanta-Kurunta, king of Mira, apparently remained loyal to Urhi-Tešub. Appointed by Mursili II to the throne of the vassal kingdom after the disgrace of his adoptive father Mashuiliwa, and emphatically reminded by Mursili of the particular grace and favour this appointment entailed, Kupanta-Kurunta throughout his relatively long reign seems to have remained faithful to the oath he swore to Mursili, to support him and his legitimate successors. By the terms of this oath, he was obliged to oppose the usurper Hattusili, and he may have been a significant force in the uprisings which confronted Hattusili in the west.

After Urhi-Tešub's flight to Egypt, Kupanta-Kurunta wrote to Ramesses asking him to state whom he supported as the rightful king of Hatti—Urhi-Tešub or Hattusili? His letter has not survived, but we do have the pharaoh's response:²⁴

Now I, Great King, King of Egypt, have heard all the matters which [you wrote] me about. No, concerning the affair of Urhi-Tešub, I [have] not [done] that which you wrote me about. The good relationship which I, Great King, King of Egypt, established with the Great King, [King of Hatti], my brother, consists of good brotherhood and good peace. The affair of Urhi-Tešub which you [wrote] me about—the Great King, the King of Hatti, has dealt with it in accordance with [my wishes].²⁵

Ramesses had thus explicitly endorsed Hattusili, calling him a "Great King" and referring to him as "My Brother." That is precisely the endorsement sought by Hattusili from all the Late Bronze Age Great Kings. If, despite the

22. See Bryce, *Kingdom*, 287 note 53.

23. KUB 31.69 obv. 7 = KUB 15.6 ii 12 (CTH 590).

24. We cannot be certain whether Kupanta-Kurunta was attempting to intervene on Urhi-Tešub's behalf at the Egyptian court, as is sometimes assumed (e.g. I. Singer, "Western Anatolia in the Thirteenth Century B.C. according to the Hittite Sources," *AnSt* 33 [1983]: 206), or whether he kept his request totally neutral.

25. KBo 1.24 + KUE 3.84 (CTH 166.1) (transl. G. Beckman, *HDT*, 124).

rejection of his approach to the pharaoh, Kupanta-Kurunta was determined to maintain his opposition to Hattusili, he may well have played a leading role in the uprisings against Hattusili in the west. And if Hattusili's seizure of the Hittite throne was a key issue in the uprisings against him, then this issue was unlikely to be resolved unless prominent figures in the west could be persuaded to accept him as the legitimate king. No doubt this was one of his main objectives in his diplomatic overtures to Piyamaradu, as outlined in the Tawagalawa letter. Initially he had attempted to come to terms with Piyamaradu, offering to confer upon him the status of a vassal ruler in the west. This in spite of his long record of anti-Hittite activity in the region. The king's diplomatic initiative probably had at least as much to do with trying to gain Piyamaradu's personal allegiance to him—an acknowledgement of him as the rightful king—as it did with seeking to avoid a protracted campaign in the west.

I suggest that this was also one of his main objectives in writing to the king of Ahhiyawa. Perhaps the missing portions of the Tawagalawa letter would have made this clear. At all events it is likely that in this letter, if not already in earlier communications, Hattusili had sought the Ahhiyawan king's endorsement of his occupancy of the Hittite throne, as he had also sought that of the kings of Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt. A response from the Ahhiyawan king in the same diplomatic terms used by Hattusili would in effect mean that he recognised Hattusili as the legitimate Great King of Hatti. Given the influence which the Ahhiyawan king clearly exercised in the region, such recognition might have provided a major step towards reconciling disaffected Hittite subjects to Hattusili's overlordship, and perhaps also some sort of assurance that the Ahhiyawan would not seek to exploit the fragility of Hattusili's power in the region by extending his sovereignty over Hittite subject territory.

To bolster his personal position in the west, Hattusili needed to demonstrate that his occupancy of the throne was endorsed by the two foreign kings who had direct dealings with prominent Hittite subjects in the region—the pharaoh Ramesses, who was evidently on close terms with the western vassal Kupanta-Kurunta, and the king of Ahhiyawa, who was overlord of part of the region and apparently enjoyed considerable influence beyond the immediate confines of his own territory. Ramesses had given Hattusili this endorsement, and had notified Kupanta-Kurunta that he had done so. And Hattusili almost certainly was seeking similar endorsement from the Ahhiyawan king. From the point of view of the countries of western Anatolia, the Ahhiyawan king might well have been thought of as a "Great King," ruler of a powerful overseas kingdom which lay just to their west and which was now overlord of territory within their own shores.

For reasons such as these, Hattusili must have set great store on cultivating good relations with his Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean counterpart. And with

little else to rely on but the Ahhiyawan king's goodwill in acceding to his requests, he must have seen to it that there were no possible obstacles to obtaining this goodwill. In such a context, it is inconceivable that any form of Hittite embargo on Mycenaean commercial activity could have been imposed or in place at this time. The likelihood is that Mycenaean Greeks freely traded with the peoples of Anatolia, at least those located on or near the coast, for at least as long as Hittite texts make reference to Ahhiyawa. The distribution of Mycenaean ware through many Anatolian coastal sites gives no indication of any form of interruption to this activity, which appears to reach its peak during the first half of the 13th century. It was in this period that Mycenaean political influence on the Anatolian mainland was at its strongest, with the establishment of Mycenaean overlordship over the Land of Millawanda.

Almost certainly there were commercial incentives for Mycenaean involvement in the region—incentives primarily to do with the acquisition of valuable raw materials, not obtainable, or obtainable only in small quantities in the Greek world. Bronze Age Anatolia was rich in raw materials which were undoubtedly in high demand in the Aegean world. Timber, gold, silver, and copper may well have figured prominently amongst these. All were obtainable in western Anatolia²⁶ without the need for extensive trading links with the Anatolian interior, and may well have provided one of the main incentives for the Mycenaeans' political and military involvement in the west. Through their occupation of part of this region, and the spread of their influence through local agents beyond territories which lay directly under their control, Mycenaean Greeks could access the metal sources directly, or through trading with local rulers. They had no need of trading links with the Hittites themselves for this purpose.

Hattusili's son and successor Tudhaliya IV did much to restore Hatti's greatly diminished authority and standing in the west, in the process occupying the Land of Millawanda and removing it permanently from Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean control. It is likely that his father's attempts to come to terms with the Ahhiyawan king and establish bonds of peace and friendship with him had proved unsuccessful, and that Ahhiyawa had continued to support anti-Hittite activities in western Anatolia. Ahhiyawa's relations with Hatti had now irretrievably broken down.

Very likely Tudhaliya responded by effectively eliminating any further political influence on the Ahhiyawan king's part in Near Eastern affairs. This can be inferred from the so-called Milawata Letter, in its augmented form,²⁷

26. For a discussion of the distribution of metal deposits in Anatolia, see P. de Jesus, "Metal Resources in Ancient Anatolia," *AnSt* 28 (1978): 97–102.

27. Published by H. Hoffner, "The Milawata Letter Augmented and Reinterpreted," *Afo* Beiheft 19, 130–37.

which almost certainly indicates that Millawanda had once more reverted to Hittite overlordship. The loss, by implication, of Ahhiyawan sovereignty over Millawanda must have seriously curtailed further military and political activity by Ahhiyawans in the region. There was no longer any need or justification for addressing the Ahhiyawan king as a Great King. What was probably little more than a diplomatic fiction in the first place had now served its purpose.

This may be reflected in the well-known erasure of the Ahhiyawan king from the list of Great Kings in the draft of Tudhaliya's treaty with his Amurrite vassal Šaušgamuwa.²⁸ The scribe responsible for drafting the treaty may have simply lifted the list of Great Kings from an earlier document of Hattusili's reign, subsequently deleting the Ahhiyawan king from the list as an obsolete item—as it would have been once the Ahhiyawan king no longer played any significant role in the Hittites' sphere of interest and influence.

In another well-known passage from the Šaušgamuwa treaty, Tudhaliya apparently directs his vassal to ban any traffic between Ahhiyawa and Assyria via the harbours of Amurru.²⁹ Do we have here, finally, evidence for a Hittite embargo on Mycenaean trade? It should be noted that [*Ahh*]iyawa is a restored reading, and an alternative reading has been proposed which would eliminate any reference in this context to Ahhiyawa.³⁰ But even if we go along with the generally accepted reading, we should note that the ban is directed specifically against Assyria, with whom the Hittites were then at war, and with whom the royal vassal himself is forbidden to deal. The text does not *per se* indicate a general ban imposed on Mycenaean trading enterprises in the region. Indeed at this time more than at any previous time, it is difficult to see why the Hittites should seek to impose a general embargo, if such an embargo was politically motivated, given that Ahhiyawa no longer posed a significant threat to Hittite political and military interests in the Near East.

Thus with one possible but very doubtful exception, we have no evidence of a trade embargo being imposed by the Hittites on Mycenaean commercial enterprise at any time during the 200 years or so of contact between the Hittite and Mycenaean worlds. In fact for most of this period, such an embargo would have been unenforceable, unnecessary and, during a period of perhaps several decades or so in the first half of the 13th century when there *may* have been a temporary warming in relations between Hatti and Ahhiyawa, quite contrary to Hittite political interests.

To judge from the surviving textual evidence, Hatti was the only Near Eastern kingdom to have any political dealings with an Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean royal court. That was obviously due to the Mycenaean world's proximity to

28. KUB 23.1 (CTH 105) iv 1–7.

29. KUB 23.1 iv 23.

30. See G. Steiner, "'Schiffe von Ahhiyawa' oder 'Kriegsschiffe' von Amurru im Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag?," *UF* 21 (1989): 393–411.

Hatti's western subject territories and the susceptibility of these territories to Mycenaean influence and encroachment. Yet these political dealings were apparently quite sporadic, and did little to pave the way for more broadly based cultural and commercial interaction. However we try to explain this—the logistical obstacles to direct trade, the lack of any incentive for direct trade on a regular basis, the possibility that the nature of any goods traded was such as to leave no trace in the material record, or indeed a Hittite-imposed trade embargo—there is some irony in the fact that the kingdom which had the closest political dealings with the Mycenaean world has in comparison with a number of its contemporaries, left so little trace in the archaeological record of any form of contact with this world.

On the Trail of the Deer: Hittite kūrāla-

BILLIE JEAN COLLINS

Emory University

In a recent *Festschrift*,¹ Professor Hoffner has published a translation of a letter from Mašat (*HKM* 48) describing a hunting expedition sanctioned by the Hittite king. Among the animals to be sought is the *kūrāla-*, which I propose here belongs to the growing Hittite lexicon of deer terms. In the course of pursuing an identification for this animal, I examine the artistic and linguistic evidence for the various deer species in Anatolia. It is with gratitude that I dedicate this article to Professor Hoffner, whose own work, as has so often been the case, provided the inspiration.

The Artistic Evidence

The prevalence of the deer in the cultural remains from Anatolia has long been recognized.² Deer are among the favorite subjects of artists in Anatolia from the Neolithic at Çatal Höyük through the Classical period representations of Artemis of Ephesos. The most eloquent testimony to the deer's importance is the standards from the Early Bronze Age tombs at Alaca Höyük, which seem to glorify the red deer and particularly their prominent antlers.³ The deer-shaped Schimmel rhyton, which is decorated with a frieze depicting a ritual celebration of a deer hunt or sacrifice, emphasizes the reverence with which the Hittites of the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia also regarded deer.

The abundant evidence has spawned discussion of a deer cult of Anatolian origin.⁴ However, there is evidence of a similar status for the deer in the Indo-

1. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "On Safari in Hittite Anatolia: Remarks on a Middle Hittite Letter from Mašat," *FsPuhvel*, 5–21.

2. S. Przeworski, "Notes d'archéologie syrienne et hittite: IV. Le culte du cerf en anatolie," *Syria* 21 (1940): 64; A. Goetze, *KI²*, 40; P. Crepon, "Le thème du cerf dans l'iconographie anatolienne des origines à l'époque hittite," *Hethitica* 4 (1981): 145.

3. See K. Bittel, *Hethiter*, fig. 22.

4. S. Przeworski, *Syria* 21 (1940); P. Crepon, *Hethitica* 4 (1981): 145.



Fig. 1. Deer "standard." Alaca Höyük. Early Bronze Age.

Although three species of deer are native to Anatolia—red (*C. elaphus maral*), roe (*C. capreolus capreolus*), and fallow (*C. dama dama*), the pre-Hittite inhabitants of Anatolia shared the Indo-European predilection for red deer, as the faunal remains from numerous sites throughout Anatolia attest. The red deer's status among the Indo-European language groups contributed to its continued importance in Hittite society despite the presence of another equally impressive deer, *C. dama dama*, or European fallow deer, whose original range seems to have been the Anatolian peninsula.⁸ (It was introduced to Europe by the Romans.) The fallow deer, although not as large as the

European community of languages. Of the three species of deer—red, roe, and elk—that J. P. Mallory has identified in the archaeology as being common to the Indo-European homeland (which he presumes to correspond with the region hosting the Kurgan tradition of the Pontic-Caspian area), the red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) was the most common, and formed the main meat staple of the Indo-European diet.⁵ As noted by Douglas Adams,⁶ it was the wild animal for many Indo-European groups. The special status of this animal is evident in the overlapping lexical items between cattle and deer in the IE languages.⁷ "Bull" and "cow" appear in English usage, for example, alongside "hart" and "doe" in referring to red deer, and the young are always "calves." (Cf. NHG *Hirschkuh* and *Hirschkalb* and other examples cited by Adams.)

5. J. P. Mallory, "Indo-European and Kurgan Fauna I: Wild Mammals," *JIES* 10 (1982): 193–222.

6. D. Q. Adams, "Designations of the *Cervidae* in Proto-Indo-European," *JIES* 13 (1985): 274.

7. D. Q. Adams, *JIES* 13 (1985): 274–75.

8. "The main population of autochthonous fallow deer lived in western and southern Anatolia, which must be considered as the original homeland of this species. The common name 'European' fallow deer should rather be changed to 'Anatolian' fallow deer . . ." H.-P. Uerpmann, *The Ancient Distribution of Ungulate Mammals in the Middle East* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 57.



Fig. 2. Scene of a deer hunt. Orthostat relief. Alaca Höyük. Late Bronze Age.

red deer, was notable for its distinctive palmate antlers.

Rare in Anatolian art prior to the Hittite period, the fallow deer may be represented in the Hittite and Neo-Hittite periods, but perhaps not as frequently as has been suggested.⁹ The difficulty lies in identifying what the artists have rendered, and it is possible that many representations that have been interpreted as fallow deer are in fact red deer. In those cases where the points of the antlers are clearly delineated and there is no evidence of palmation, most would agree that red deer are the intended subject. This group includes the Early Bronze Age deer standards from Alaca Höyük and, in the Hittite period, the orthostat relief from Malatya showing a hunter in pursuit of a red deer. But other examples are more problematic. For example, the deer hunt reliefs from Hittite period Alaca Höyük, rather than depicting fallow deer, may instead be



Fig. 3. Relief showing the "God on the Stag." Yeniköy. Late Bronze Age.

9. Contra K. Bittel, *Beitrag zur Kenntnis hethitischer Bildkunst* (Heidelberg, 1976), 12.

heavy-handed renderings of the unpalmated antlers of the red deer with tines and points still, but not as cleanly, delineated.¹⁰

Most notable among the representations of deer in the Hittite and Neo-Hittite periods are the reliefs depicting a Protective Deity standing on a stag. The relief from Yeniköy is a Hittite example of this deity.¹¹ This stag has been identified as a fallow deer,¹² but again the identification is problematic. What we see on the Yeniköy stag may also be not palmation, but a two-dimensional rendering of the points of a red deer's antlers.

The name of the God on the Stag, Runta (with variations), is written with the *rú*-glyph, which is drawn as an antler, usually taken to be palmated. Because of this writing, the God on the Stag has been understood to have a special relationship with the fallow species of deer. But already in 1942 Güterbock expressed frustration over whether there is a real distinction between antler shapes on the Hittite seals depicting the God on the Stag, where the same god can be found simultaneously in the company of both antler shapes.¹³ The artist's concern for biologically accurate representations should not be assumed. At least there is sufficient room for doubt to be cautious when relying on artistic representations for species identification. The significance of this possible re-identification will become evident below.

Hittite Terms for Deer

Given this ambiguity in the iconography, it is all the more frustrating that the Hittite texts, while containing a significant number of references to deer, do not provide the kind of documentation necessary for proper matching of species with the terms used. Three designations for deer have long been known: Sum. DĀRA.MAŠ and LULIM, and Akk. AYALU. All three terms have been borrowed from Mesopotamian orthography. This confuses the issue since, except for the roe, no deer species has a range that includes both Mesopotamia and Anatolia. The ranges of the red deer and European fallow deer do not extend into the Mesopotamian lowlands, and Mesopotamian fallow deer are not found in Anatolia. So it is far from clear to what animal(s) the Hittite scribes matched the terms borrowed from Mesopotamia.

There is nothing conclusive in the Hittite texts to demonstrate that these terms are anything but interchangeable,¹⁴ although the fact that multiple terms were in use makes it difficult to accept that no lexical distinction was

10. See Bittel, *Hethiter*, fig. 224.

11. See Bittel, *Hethiter*, fig. 227.

12. H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 15; Collins, *Diss.*, 155.

13. *SBo* II, 17.

14. Despite Mesopotamian lexical lists, where both *lu.lim* and *dāra.maš* are glossed with *a-a-lu* (see *CAD* A/I sub *ajalu* A), *lulimnu* and *ayalu* appear together on occasion in Akkadian (e.g., Gilg. VIII obv. 10), suggesting that they are not interchangeable.

made at the species level. Nevertheless, all three terms are attested as kept animals in the texts; all three are represented in faunal assemblages from Anatolia; all three appear in ritual uses, often associated with deities; and all three are attested in the texts as objects of art. Thus context fails us in establishing solid real-world identifications for these terms.

Red deer dominate the remains of wild fauna from Boğazköy, representing well over half of the wild animal remains from the Hittite capital.¹⁵ The quantity of red deer remains means that this species was almost certainly farmed or maintained by the Hittites. Fallow deer are also farmable, and may have been kept, but are less docile than the larger red deer, which may help to explain the preference for the latter at Boğazköy and other sites. The red deer was highly suited to the varied uses—sport hunting, supply of venison, and antler products—that the Hittites put it to. We would therefore expect the red deer to be mentioned in the texts more often than the other varieties. This being the case, DĀRA.MAŠ would be the likeliest candidate, as it is the term found most often in Hittite texts. However, the more closely one looks at the evidence, the more elusive a solid identification becomes.

Only recently has the publication of the Hurro-Hittite bilingual wisdom text¹⁶ brought forward a candidate for “deer” from the Hittite lexicon itself. The text consists of a series of parables, the first two of which have as their subject an *aliya(n)*-animal, which has been translated “deer”:

Parable One:

A mountain expelled a deer from its body. The deer went over to another mountain. It grew fat, became discontented and began to curse the new mountain: “If only fire would burn up the mountain on which I am grazing! If only Teššub would strike it (with his lightning), and fire burn up the mountain!” Now when the mountain heard (this), his heart became sick within him, and he cursed the deer in return: “<Why> does the deer which I have fattened now curse me in return? Let the hunters bring down the deer! Let the fowlers capture him! Let hunters take its meat, and let fowlers take its hide!”¹⁷

Parable Two:

There is a deer. It grazes those pastures which are on the (near) side of a river. And it constantly sets its eyes also on those pastures on the far side. It did not care for the pastures on the (near) side (which it already had), and it did not achieve the one (on the far side).¹⁸

15. A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, *Reste von Haus- und Jagdtieren aus der Unterstadt von Boğazköy-Hattuša* (Berlin, 1981), 21–22. There were two bones of the roe and none of the fallow deer, although both, like the red deer, are attested outside Boğazköy as well.

16. E. Neu, *StBoT* 32, 56–218; trans. G. Beckman, *CoS* 1, 216, and H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 69–70.

17. Trans. H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 69.

18. Trans. H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 70.

Hoffner follows Neu¹⁹ in understanding *aliya(n)-* as roe deer based on the second parable in which the animal cannot or will not swim to the other side of the river because roe deer do not like water. If this interpretation is correct, as Melchert points out in a personal communication, this would apply only to the original Hurrian story. The Hittite translator did not necessarily understand or render this nuance, and may simply have chosen his most common word for "deer."

To *aliya-* we can now add another Hittite word for deer. A Mašat letter describes the efforts of Habiri, an official of the Hittite king, to collect wild animals for the royal game park. Among the animals Habiri was having difficulty capturing were the *kūrala-* and *šarmiya-* animals,²⁰ together with lions and leopards.

Regarding (the matter) that you, Your Majesty, my lord, have instructed me, Habiri, as follows: "On this trip take birds captive." They willingly collected birds for us, (but) a lion, a leopard, a *šarmiya-* and a *kūrala-* animal have not been captured for us. And because Your Majesty, our lord, didn't instruct us separately, from the towns of Tiwalya and Palhišna, Your Majesty, our lord, please write us back immediately (and tell us) on which trip we should seek these birds. Please [write us [immediately if] we should seek a *kūrala-* animal [not] in the *šekkuni-* but in the forest.²¹

kūrala- is a hapax, but this status is challenged by one problematic text, a list of items for the cult where *kūrala-* may be the proper restoration of a word preceding TI₈.MUŠEN "eagle,"²² a juxtaposition that led Hoffner²³ to support S. Alp's conclusion that *kūrala-* must be a bird of prey.²⁴ Without a real context this interpretation is uncertain, and I suggest instead that *kūrala-* refers to red deer, and specifically to the hart, the male (horned) member of the species.

There are contextual reasons for such an identification in the Mašat letter. The deer is frequently listed with lions, leopards, and other big game animals in Hittite texts,²⁵ and the need for such animals to fill the game parks of the Hittite kings would have been continuing. Deer are certainly at home in for-

19. StBoT 32, 68 n. 28.

20. *šarmiya-* is attested in Hittite texts as a professional designation for a festival attendant. Many such professional designations are based on animal words (lion-men, bear-men, dog-men, wolf-men), and it is therefore likely that it is among the big game animals that we should seek the *šarmiya-* animal. See also H. A. Hoffner, *FsPuhvel*, 12.

21. HKM 48:4-27, trans. H. A. Hoffner, *FsPuhvel*, 6-7.

22. Cf. CHD L-N sub *lahma-*.

23. *FsPuhvel*, 21.

24. HBM, 333. KBo 35.246 obv. 4-5 (CTH 781): [o o o o o] x KUŠE.ÍB 2 TUG BAR.SI 1-NU-TIM GIŠKÀ.SUM.ÍI.A la-aḫ-ma-aš TUGKI.ŠU.DA [. . .] / [o o o o] «ku»-ú-ra-a-la ŠA TI₈.MUŠEN nu-uš-ša-an la-aḫ-ma-aš KÜ.GI-ya an-da [. . .].

25. B. J. Collins, *Diss.*, 298-99.

ests as well, where Habiri wondered if he would have more success hunting them. There is also archaeological evidence in the presence of red deer bones in the faunal remains and the near certainty that they were kept in zoological parks in the vicinity of Hattuša. Most compelling for identifying *kūrala-* with red deer in particular, though, is the evidence from Indo-European linguistics.

The Linguistic Evidence²⁶

The confusion over species identification is paralleled in the PIE lexicon of animals (see Table 1). Mallory notes that "the IE languages show a considerable number of cognates built on the roots **el-* and **ker-* that pertain to cervids, it is not always clear which species should underlie a given term."²⁷ His attempt to clarify the situation through an examination of the archaeological evidence results in the identification of the three species mentioned above: elk, red, and roe.

Adams²⁸ picks up where Mallory leaves off in attempting to reconstruct a "plausible set of Indo-European terms" for deer (Table 2). Elk, for which Adams proposes a PIE root **olki*, were not present in Anatolia in antiquity and so we should not expect to find cognates in the Anatolian lexicon, unless the etymon was transferred to another species. Roe deer are sufficiently distinct in appearance from the other species of deer that Mallory and Adams agree that a separate etymon is a reasonable possibility. Both support a PIE root **york* based on Greek ζόρξ "roe; antelope," Cornish *york*, "roe," etc.²⁹ Adams goes further, however, and suggests that the roe, because it is small, with small antlers having no more than three points, more closely resembles the ovicaprids than any of the other cervids (hence the zoological genus classification *Capreolus* "goat-like"). Thus it shares terminology with the ovicaprids (see Table 1), as in Greek ζόρξ (and Slavic *sbrna* "roe; antelope; wild goat").

According to Adams then, both roots **el* and **ker* apply to the red deer (Table 1). Adams understands the derivative of the root **el* as pertaining to the red deer generally (note both masculine and feminine forms among the derivatives in Table 1), and derivatives of **ker* as "hart" or, more generally, stag ("the horned one"). That there are two etyma for red deer is a reflection, according to Adams, of the unique status of this animal among the Indo-European speakers.

26. I am indebted to Craig Melchert for much of the linguistic information presented in this section. Any errors in fact or interpretation are nevertheless my responsibility.

27. *JIES* 10 (1982): 211.

28. *JIES* 13 (1985): 269-81.

29. J. P. Mallory, *JIES* 10 (1982): 217; D. Q. Adams, *JIES* 13 (1985): 278.

The relevant Anatolian lexicon includes Hitt. *kara=war/kara=un-* "horn," clearly from the same root as PIE **ker*,³⁰ and CLuv. *zarwaniya-* "of/pertaining to horn,"³¹ for which we may postulate a derivation from **kerwo+* or **krwo+*.³² HLuv. *zú-ra/i-ni-* "horn," CLuv. *zarwaniya-* "pertaining to horn" as well as the name of the stag god, Runt(iy)a, and the personal name Kurunta, also belong to this etymon.³³ In his edition of the Mapat letter from Habiri to the king, Alp suggests that *kūrala-* may be connected with *kuera-* "a parcel (of land)."³⁴ But I suggest instead that *kūrala-* belongs among the Anatolian derivatives of PIE **ker*.

In response to this suggestion, Melchert (personal communication) has offered a tentative reconstruction of this form. He suggests that *kūrala-* is derived from **krwo-lo-* with metathesis to **kuro-lo-* > *kūrala-*. A PIE root **ker-h₂-* "horn; head" is evident here. That this root had suffixes including **u/w* is indisputable as, for example, in Latin *cervus*. The metathesis from **krwo-lo-* to **kuro-lo-* is of a type that occurs frequently in many Indo-European languages.³⁵ The presence of so many other reflexes of "horn" in Anatolian with a "*u/w*" element seems to make a good case for *kūrala-* "horned one."

The other PIE root, **elEen*, is evident in the other term for deer, the animate n-stem *aliya(n)-*.³⁶ Thus, following the pattern of its Indo-European cognates as established by Adams, *aliya-* in the bilingual could be "red deer," with *kūrala-* referring specifically to the male animal, or hart.

But the picture is complicated by yet a third term for deer, *aliyanzena-*, understood by Melchert³⁷ as a possessive compound (with second element *-šina-*) with the proposed meaning "having the form/shape of a deer/deer-like."³⁸ *aliyanzena-* and *aliyan-* occur together in a ritual context in KUB 30.36 ii 11–12 and are therefore not the same animal. The former also occurs with the modifier *karkidant-* "horned"³⁹ in the KILAM Festival proces-

30. A. J. Nussbaum, *Head and Horn in Indo-European* (Berlin, 1986), 31.

31. Per H. C. Melchert, *Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon* (Chapel Hill, 1993), 281.

32. H. C. Melchert, personal communication.

33. For the reconstruction of these forms, see H. C. Melchert, *Anatolian Historical Phonology* (Amsterdam, 1994), 256–60; C. Watkins, "A Celtic Miscellany," *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, Los Angeles May 21–23, 1998*, ed. K. Jones-Bley et al. (Washington, D.C., 1999), 15–19; H. C. Melchert, "Covert Possessive Compounds in Hittite and Luwian," *Festschrift for Alexis Manaster Ramer*, ed. F. Cavoto (forthcoming), n. 7.

34. *HBM*, 332–33.

35. For an example from Lydian with parallels, see N. Oettinger, "Anatolische Etymologien," *Historische Sprachforschung* 108 (1995): 48–49.

36. E. Neu, "Zum Wortschatz des Hethitischen aus synchroner und diachroner Sicht," *Studien zum Indogermanischen Wortschatz*, ed. W. Meid (Innsbruck, 1987), 177.

37. See note 33.

38. I am grateful to Craig Melchert for sharing this information with me.

39. **karkid-* "horn" itself derives (with HLuv. *zú-ra/i-ni*) from a preform **krng-id-*; see H. C. Melchert, *Festschrift for Alexis Manaster Ramer*, n. 7.

sion following a series of deer (DĀRA.MAŠ) images, some with and some without antlers. Since both terms are listed with contrasting horned and unhorned varieties, *aliyanzena-* could be the syllabic spelling of DĀRA.MAŠ, thus displacing *aliya(n)-*, or it could indicate a species other than red deer. Recall that the goat-like appearance of roe deer led to the sharing of terminology with the ovicaprids in the Indo-European lexicon. It is possible that the inhabitants of Anatolia, responding to its ambiguous appearance, applied the designation "deer-like" to this goat-like creature. But it is also not out of the question that *aliyanzena-* refers to the fallow deer.

Conclusions

We are now able to identify tentatively two Hittite words for the most important of the three species of deer familiar to the inhabitants of Anatolia. Hitt. *aliya-*, deriving from PIE **el*, refers to the "red deer," and is the likely reading of Sum. DĀRA.MAŠ = Akk. *AYALU* (but cf. Ugar. *ʾayyāl*, identified as roe deer by H. L. Ginsberg).⁴⁰ It probably doubled as the common designation for deer generally. Hitt. *kūrala-* derives from PIE **ker*, and refers to the hart, or male red deer. For Habiri and other hunters in Anatolia, the distinction between the horned and unhorned members of the species would have been significant enough to warrant a separate word. The iconography certainly testifies to the great importance of the antlers in the hunt and in religious symbolism. The proposed etymological link between *kūrala-* "hart" and the name of the God on the Stag, Runta, along with that of his royal namesake, Kurunta, strengthens the link between the two in the iconography at the expense of the fallow deer, who—as we have seen—may also be over-identified in artistic renderings. In addition, the fact that Runta and Kurunta are both written with CERVUS, a picture of an antler, supports understanding *kūrala-* specifically as "hart" in Anatolian rather than as "red deer" generally.

Less clear is where the term LULIM / LULIMMU belongs in the paradigm of deer terms. Hh. XIV 145ff. makes the equations *lu.lim = lu-lim-mu* and *dāra.maš = a-a-lu*. Since the *lulimmu* and *ayalu* appear together in at least one Mesopotamian text, it is unlikely that they refer to the same species. Thus *lulimmu* is perhaps to be understood in Mesopotamian contexts as the *D. mesopotamica* or Persian fallow deer. Did the Hittites borrow this term for their own variety of fallow deer? LULIM are identified in the texts as supporting the God on the Stag, but the animal that supports this god in the reliefs is most often, if not always (as I have argued), the red deer.

40. H. L. Ginsberg, "Ugaritic-Phoenicia," *JANES* 5 (1973): 13 n. 3.

The reconstruction supported here is but one of many possible scenarios. The etymologies of *aliya(n)-* and *kūrala-*, if correct, do not ultimately determine how these terms were used by the Hittites. The discovery and publication of new texts will no doubt one day reveal the answer to the riddle.

Table 1: Designations for the *Cervidae* among Various Indo-European Groups^a

	elk <i>Alces alces</i>	red deer <i>Cervus elaphus capreolus</i>	roe deer <i>Capreolus</i>	antelopes + ovicaprids
Germanic	*olki-	*kerudo-		
Slavic	*olki-	*elEni- *olEni(e)A-	*kŕneA-	*kŕneA-
Baltic		*elE(e)ni- *olEnieA-	*kŕneA-	
Latin		*kerwo- *kerweA-		
Celtic		*elEnti- *elEnnieA-	*kŕwo-	
Tocharian		*krAso-		*elEni-
Greek		*elEnbho- *elE(e)no-	*york-	*york-
Armenian		*elEen-		

a. From D. Q. Adams, *JIES* 13 (1985): 270, Table I.

Table 2: Proto-Indo-European Terms for Deer^a

	generic	male	female
<i>Alces alces</i> (elk)	*olki-	*kŕyo-	
<i>Cervus elaphus</i> (red)	*elEen-	*kŕ(e)rwo-	*e/olEni(e)A-
<i>C. capreolus capreolus</i> (roe)	*york-	*yorko-	

a. From D. Q. Adams, *JIES* 13 (1985): 277, Table II.

Le cariche d'oro

FRANCA PECCHIOLI DADDI

Firenze

Fra le molte titolature, espresse in forma ideografica, impiegate nei testi cuneiformi ittiti per la designazione di funzionari regi si registrano solo due casi in cui gli scribi utilizzano accanto all'ideogramma base una forma ampliata con la specificazione "d'oro": LÚKUŠ₇ e LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN, LÚGIŠŠUKUR e LÚGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN.

Si rileva che i termini base, LÚKUŠ₇ e LÚGIŠŠUKUR, designano appartenenti a categorie o contingenti di dipendenti organizzati secondo una struttura gerarchica che distingue i diversi livelli di responsabilità—semplici,¹ UGULA (UGULA 1 LI),² GAL³ (di destra e di sinistra⁴); per quanto riguarda invece le due titolature ampliate non sembra attestato il livello gerarchico più elevato.⁵

Pur avendo questi elementi in comune, le due designazioni non appaiono però assimilabili: mentre infatti nel caso del LÚGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN la specificazione "d'oro" si riferisce all'arma di cui è detentore il funzionario in questione e l'ideogramma nel suo complesso presenta anche un significato

1. LÚKUŠ₇ (precedente lettura LÚJŠ): v. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 123–25; R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 162–72 (LÚŠÜŠ). LÚ(GIŠ)ŠUKUR: v. *Mestieri*, 198–200; *THeth* 20, 229–30.

2. UGULA 1 LI LÚMESKUŠ₇: v. R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 375–78 (equivalente a GAL LÚMESKUŠ₇); cfr. anche F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*; incerta la lettura di KUB 52.92 iv 3': {x-p}a LÚ-iš(-)š[a- oppure {x UG]ULA LÚKUŠ₇ š[A. Un UGULA LÚMES(GIŠ)ŠUKUR non è per il momento attestato; ma vedi nota successiva.

3. GAL (LÚMES)KUŠ₇ (ZAG-az, GÜB-laš): v. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 538–39; R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 368–75. GAL LÚMES(GIŠ)ŠUKUR: v. *Mestieri*, 545 (il riferimento al testo di Telipinu è qui dovuto alla lettura ŠJUKUR dei segni dopo la lacuna al centro del frammento in KBo 12.4 iii 8', che I. Hoffmann, *THeth* 11, 38, legge invece p[ár-ni; per le motivazioni si veda *Mestieri*, 447); R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 481–82; si veda anche LÚMES DUGUD (ša) LÚMESGIŠŠUKUR: *Mestieri*, 200, 447; *THeth* 20, 227 n. 861.

4. Per le cariche "di destra" e "di sinistra," cfr., di recente, F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OLZ* 92 (1997): 177 nn. 28 e 29.

5. Cfr. per questo R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 412 n. 1549; diversamente F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 539 (attestazione incerta).

letterale,⁶ nel caso del LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN una spiegazione analoga non è individuabile.

Le attestazioni relative alle due titolature⁷ sono già state trattate in modo dettagliato da R. H. Beal⁸ nel suo volume sull'organizzazione dell'esercito ittita: secondo questo autore infatti esse si riferiscono, analogamente alle titolature base, ad appartenenti all'ambito militare. Si deve notare però che per un tale inserimento mancano esplicite evidenze testuali.⁹

Particolarmente complesso risulta inoltre individuare una chiara differenziazione di funzione fra coloro che sono designati col termine ampliato e quelli designati col termine base, ammesso naturalmente che fra essi—in particolare fra LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN e LÚKUŠ₇—vi sia una effettiva relazione: R. H. Beal,¹⁰ evidentemente supponendo, in modo assai ragionevole, che la titolatura ampliata si riferisca a funzionari che si collocano ad un livello di responsabilità più elevato rispetto a quelli designati con il termine base, definisce il LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN "Elite Chariot Fighter" e, per quanto riguarda il LÚGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN, si limita ad una traduzione letterale dell'ideogramma, "Golden-Spear Man," osservando che esso era "another type of palace guard" e "apparently an elite type of guardsman."

A mio avviso però una valutazione attenta della documentazione relativa a questi funzionari consente alcune osservazioni interessanti.

LÚGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN

Le testimonianze disponibili mostrano che i detentori di questa carica sono sempre strettamente connessi con i LÚMEŠMEŠEDI, le guardie del corpo del re, e sono persone di fiducia del sovrano o dei loro superiori.

6. Sono attestati anche LÚMEŠ ŠUKUR.ZABAR "uomini della lancia di bronzo" (e LÚMEŠ DUGUD LÚMEŠ ŠUKUR.ZABAR): v. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 201; R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 228–29; e LÚMEŠ ŠUKUR.DUGUD, che R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 227–28, interpreta come "Heavy-Spear Men"; diversamente invece L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11 (1965): 211, "Hauptleute der Lanzen-träger"; *Mestieri*, 200; H. G. Güterbock e Th. P. J. van den Hout, *AS* 24, 17, 93, "high ranking spear-men."

7. Per LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN, v. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 125–27; alle attestazioni lì riportate si aggiungono ora KBo 40.16 r. 16'; KUB 51.23 Ro 11'; Bo 86/299 i 44, 72; HKM 26 Ro 7; 100 Vo 22'; 107 Ro 7; 111 Vo 26. Per LÚGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN, v. *Mestieri*, 200–201; alle attestazioni lì riportate si aggiunge ora VS 12.28 Vo iv' 3'.

8. R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 173–78 (LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN) e 224–27 (LÚGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN).

9. Si vedano le osservazioni a questo proposito dello stesso R. H. Beal (n. 8). Anche G. Del Monte, *OAMisc* 2 (1995): 117, sembra condividere l'opinione che LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN, e altri titoli menzionati nei testi amministrativi di Mašat, appartengano all'ambito militare, pur osservando che essi mal si adattano a funzionari con competenze di controllo sulla distribuzione di beni.

10. Cfr., in particolare, R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 173 e n. 629.

La connessione con le guardie del corpo deriva, in primo luogo, dal testo di epoca medio-ittita di istruzione per i LÚMEŠMEŠEDI,¹¹ che fornisce il maggior numero di attestazioni relative a questi funzionari, ed è confermata dagli altri documenti in cui uomini LÚGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN sono menzionati.¹²

A mio avviso però dall'esame dei passi relativi emergono indizi che inducono a ritenere che gli uomini definiti come LÚMEŠGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN non costituiscano una categoria a sé stante, ma siano in realtà uno specifico contingente di LÚMEŠMEŠEDI, e precisamente quei LÚMEŠMEŠEDI che, recando l'insegna della "lancia d'oro," possono essere definiti appunto come "uomini della lancia d'oro."

I LÚMEŠMEŠEDI,¹³ come è noto, sono le guardie del corpo che, per motivi soprattutto di sicurezza, ma anche di protocollo, scortano sempre il sovrano nelle sue uscite dalla residenza; essi possono essere armati di lancia (GIŠŠUKUR)¹⁴ e/o di bastone (GIŠPA)¹⁵ (si distinguono appunto in quelli con la lancia e quelli col bastone). La lancia che recano è sicuramente un'arma di offesa e di difesa, di cui essi però non dispongono liberamente (non ne sono evidentemente i proprietari): essa viene fornita dal palazzo¹⁶ e chi ne è dotato deve depositarla, quando non è in servizio attivo, presso il portiere della città-della¹⁷ o rimandarla al palazzo sul carro cerimoniale (GIŠhuluganni), quando il servizio di scorta al sovrano è esaurito.¹⁸

Anche se le guardie del corpo, come si è detto, possono essere dotate di vari tipi di arma, la lancia risulta essere la loro arma distintiva¹⁹: la divinità protettrice della categoria è infatti LAMMA GIŠŠUKUR²⁰ e il simbolo geroglifico che individua i LÚMEŠMEŠEDI è proprio la lancia²¹ (si vedano, per questo, il sigillo Bo 91/940, pubblicato di recente,²² di proprietà di Tuthaliya e il sigillo,

11. Per IBoT 1.36 (= Meš) si rimanda alla recente e accurata edizione di H. G. Güterbock e Th. P. J. van den Hout, citata in n. 6.

12. Per i vari passi si veda l'esposizione di R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 224–27.

13. Per questi funzionari, v., di recente, R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 212–24.

14. Si veda Meš i 11, 51, ii 30–31, 32–33, iii 37–39, 60, 63, iv 31–33; per altri testi (per es., KUB 2.3 ii 9; KUB 20.19 iv 17'; ecc.) e per tipi particolari di lance, v. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 141; R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 217 n. 816.

15. Si veda Meš i 27–28 (cfr. anche i 22–26), iii 41–46, 56–58; per testi di feste, cfr., per es., KBo 4.9 iv 51–v 3 (CTH 612); KBo 10.23 (+) 22 + KBo 11.67 ii 15–16 (= KI.LAM 1.a).

16. Cfr. Meš i 11–15.

17. Meš i 51–52, 53–59.

18. Meš iii 60–62.

19. Cfr. Meš iii 35–40, 47–50.

20. Cfr. Meš i 22–26. Per questa divinità, v. G. McMahon, *AS* 25, 42; per le attestazioni, v. B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon*, 698. Da notare che secondo KUB 38.19 + IBoT 2.102 Ro 9'–14' (CTH 521) al suo culto provvedono gli "uomini della lancia."

21. Questo può risolvere la questione del significato del termine accadico su cui riferisce R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 220–24, con bibliografia; v. nota successiva.

22. Cfr. S. Herbordt, *3rd Mitt. Cong.*, 313, 318 (fig. 5).

presentato da Ali Dinçol al IV Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia di Würzburg [ottobre 1999; v. A. Dinçol, *4th Hitt. Cong.*, 89–97], di proprietà di Kantuzzili [e di Tuḫaliya], i cui nomi sono accompagnati dall'ideogramma MAGNUS.HASTARIUS che è l'equivalente geroglifico del cuneiforme GAL MEŠEDI).

La “lancia d'oro” invece non è una semplice arma, ma un'insegna che segnala la presenza del sovrano (viene esposta infatti quando il re esce dalla residenza²³ e depositata nel cortile all'ingresso del *tunnakešsar* quando egli si ritira²⁴) e lo accompagna nei suoi spostamenti,²⁵ nel corso dei quali egli è sempre scortato dalle sue guardie del corpo; tale insegna è introdotta anche nelle cerimonie rituali e ad essa è connesso (appoggiato, annodato?) un panno (GAD ŠA GIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN) che la coppia reale usa nel rito del lavaggio delle mani.²⁶

Tale insegna è portata da uno o più addetti, specificati talvolta come DUMU.É.GAL²⁷ o LÚMEŠMEŠEDI²⁸; ciò spiega probabilmente le pochissime menzioni di LÚMEŠGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN in testi di celebrazioni di feste limitate a due soli documenti di tradizione antica, KBo 17.74 iv 22' (= CTH 631)²⁹ e VS 12.28 iv 3' (= CTH 591).³⁰

La “lancia d'oro” sembra, di norma, prerogativa del GAL MEŠEDI,³¹ mentre il “panno della lancia d'oro” può essere gestito dal GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL.³² Questa prerogativa del GAL MEŠEDI induce a ritenere che l'anello o maniglia sull'asta della lancia nel simbolo geroglifico che designa tale dignitario possa rappresentare il supporto per il “panno della lancia d'oro” usato nelle cerimonie festive.

Che gli uomini della lancia d'oro siano in realtà una squadra particolare e non molto numerosa di guardie del corpo, a cui spettano funzioni più di rappresentanza che di difesa, trova a mio avviso una conferma nel fatto che essi sono schierati nella parte esterna del cortile³³—quasi a preannunciare agli

23. Cfr. *Meš* ii 9–10.

24. Cfr. *Meš* iv 29–30.

25. Cfr. *Meš* ii 17–19, 44.

26. Cfr., per es., KBo 4.9 ii 23, 34, iii 27, 29, 45.

27. Cfr., per es., KBo 4.9 iii 34, iv 7; KBo 27.42 i 4, 6, 29 (= KI.LAM 1.j.B); KBo 38.6 i 8' (ŠA GIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN-*ma ku-iš* DUMU.É.GAL) più specifico rispetto al duplicato KUB 10.17 ii 22' (ŠA GIŠŠUKUR-*ma ku-iš* DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL).

28. Cfr., per es., KBo 4.9 iv 28–30; KUB 2.3 i 23 (= KI.LAM 1.k); KBo 27.42 ii 8; 53/s i 5 (trascrizione e traduzione in S. Alp, *Tempel*, 314–15).

29. Cfr. E. Neu, *StBoT* 12, 32.

30. Cfr. J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 610, che però non dà l'integrazione e legge } x GUŠKIN-ya.

31. Cfr., per es., KBo 27.42 ii 11–12; KBo 4.9 iii 36–37, v 5–6. Questo dignitario porta anche GIŠ^{suruhhas} GIŠPA (*ibid.* iii 38) e GIŠŠUKUR (*ibid.* iv 21).

32. Cfr., per es., KBo 4.9 ii 23–25, 34–36 (in iii 27–30 DUMU.É.GAL, come in KBo 27.42 i 7); KBo 20.99 + KBo 21.52 ii 1' (= KI.LAM 1.c.B); KUB 10.1 ii 22' (= KI.LAM 1.c).

33. *Meš* i 16–19.

spettatori l'imminente uscita del re—e sono agli ordini di un caposquadra, UGULA 10 ŠUKUR.GUŠKIN,³⁴ a cui è affidato il comando nel cortile dei LÚMEŠMEŠEDI.³⁵ Va ricordato a questo proposito che, a parte il LÚUGULA 10 senza ulteriori specificazioni e il *hapax* LÚUGULA 10 ŠA KARAŠ,³⁶ il grado di caposquadra di dieci uomini nella gerarchia delle varie categorie di dipendenti regi è riservato agli uomini della lancia d'oro (UGULA 10 ŠUKUR.GUŠKIN) e alle guardie del corpo del re (UGULA 10 MEŠEDI).³⁷

Come si è detto, gli altri documenti che menzionano LÚGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN—tutti di tradizione antico-ittita—ne confermano la connessione con il contingente dei LÚMEŠMEŠEDI e mostrano che i detentori di tale carica sono persone di rilievo, che godono della fiducia dei loro superiori e assolvono compiti per cui è richiesta particolare riservatezza e competenza.

Secondo la così detta “cronaca di palazzo,”³⁸ Hattušili I³⁹ affidò a un LÚGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN—di cui non è riportato il nome—l'incarico di provvedere alla punizione di due suoi amministratori colpevoli l'uno di appropriazione indebita, l'altro di scarsa efficienza; l'inviato del re fece poi eseguire materialmente tale punizione da uomini LÚMEŠMEŠEDI, che erano evidentemente alle sue dipendenze (Testo A i 11–23⁴⁰). In un'altra occasione lo stesso sovrano si servì di un LÚGIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN, il cui nome cade in lacuna, per un'operazione di controllo e di ispezione di un contingente militare titubante di fronte al nemico (A ii 36–42).

Alla morte del sovrano Ammuna, un altro più famoso “uomo della lancia d'oro,” Tahurwaili, appartenente alla famiglia del GAL MEŠEDI Zuru, fu da questi incaricato dell'eliminazione di un possibile pretendente al trono (*Tel* §21, ii 4–7)⁴¹ e, secondo alcuni, divenne più tardi egli stesso “gran re.”⁴² Pur non essendo molto chiari né il reale rapporto di parentela esistente fra Tahurwaili e Zuru (la locuzione di ii 6, *haššannaš-šaš* DUMU/TUR-ŠU, in cui il possessivo -ŠU richiama e sottolinea, a mio avviso, il genitivo precedente, può essere intesa sia come “un figlio della sua famiglia,” sia come “un giovane

34. V. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 201; R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 506–7.

35. *Meš* B-C 1, D-E 2.

36. V. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 471–72; R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 409–10, 504–9.

37. V. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 141; R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 505–7. Oltre che nelle istruzioni per i LÚMEŠMEŠEDI, l'UGULA 10 LÚMEŠMEŠEDI è presente nelle tavolette appartenenti alla festa del mese VS 12.29 Ro i 8' = 30 Ro iii 13'' (per trascrizione e traduzione, v. J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 376–78, dove Ro e Vo sono invertiti rispetto all'edizione in autografia).

38. V. in ultimo, l'edizione di P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto* (con bibliografia precedente).

39. Per l'identità del sovrano protagonista degli eventi narrati, v., di recente, F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Studia Mediterranea* 9 (1995): 322–23, con bibliografia precedente.

40. = KBo 3.34; duplicati: D = KUB 36.104 Ro 9'–19'; F = KBo 13.44 + 44a + KBo 12.10 i 11–22; I = KUB 48.77 r. 7'.

41. V. I. Hoffmann, *THeth* 11, 26–27.

42. V., in ultimo, H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 76–77, 87–88, con bibliografia precedente.

della sua famiglia”), né la successiva sorte del giovane, possiamo comunque notare che la designazione LÚ^{GIŠ}SUKUR.GUŠKIN è attribuita in questo caso ad un rampollo della famiglia reale,⁴³ che è alle dipendenze e gode della fiducia del GAL MEŠEDI.

In conclusione, sembra quindi plausibile affermare che gli “uomini della lancia d’oro” costituiscono probabilmente non un corpo autonomo, ma un contingente scelto di LÚ.MEŠ MEŠEDI, a cui per capacità, rango e origine familiare vengono attribuiti compiti di rappresentanza e assegnati incarichi di fiducia.

LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN

A differenza del termine precedente, che, come abbiamo visto, è utilizzato solo in documenti del periodo antico e medio-ittita, questo ideogramma ha un ventaglio più ampio di attestazioni, che vanno dal tempo di Telipinu fino al tardo periodo imperiale.

Gli “scudieri d’oro”⁴⁴ si presentano come funzionari statali dislocati sia nella capitale, dove costituiscono una delle categorie in cui è strutturato il personale di palazzo (v. *Tel.* §33, ii 66–69⁴⁵; KBo 40.16 rr. 14’–19’⁴⁶), sia nelle province (Taḥurpa,⁴⁷ Tapikka, Tarḫuntašša, KUR^{ID}Ḫulaya: v. più avanti), e ad essi sono attribuite responsabilità amministrative e di gestione del territorio. Molti di loro sono infatti menzionati per nome⁴⁸ e luogo⁴⁹ di origine e/o di residenza; detengono proprietà⁵⁰ e sono responsabili di GİŠTUKUL⁵¹ in

43. Si ricorda che la dignità di GAL MEŠEDI è di norma attribuita a un figlio o a un fratello del sovrano regnante e costituisce la seconda carica istituzionale dello stato dopo quella dell’erede designato, LÚ^{uh}(u)kanti.

44. Per le considerazioni ribadite, di recente, in *BiOr* 53 (1996): 139–40 n. 1 (a cui si rimanda per la bibliografia precedente), ritengo opportuno mantenere per il termine LÚKUŠ₇ la traduzione “scudiero.”

45. V. I. Hoffmann, *Theth* 11, 36–37.

46. Frammento medio-ittita appartenente ai così detti “protocolli di successione dinastica,” CTH 271, rivolto probabilmente dalla coppia reale (v. in r. 5’ la menzione di LUGAL MUNUS. LUGAL; e in r. 9’ il verbo alla prima persona plurale *aš-ša-nu-ma-ni*) ad un importante dignitario (v. r. 8’ LÚ^{IMES}GAL.GAL *iš-tar-ni*); r. 10’ il pronome enclitico *-še*; r. 11’ ÉŠU), in cui sono coinvolte varie categorie di dipendenti regi (rr. 15’–17’: rimangono, oltre LÚ^{IMES}KUŠ₇.GUŠKIN, LÚ^{IMES}DUGUD, LÚ^{IMES}ḪA-A-I-DU₄, LÚ^{IMES}ša-l[a-ašheš e pa-a]n³-ku-uš^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-š[a].

47. HT 2 iv 14.

48. Da KBo 10.10 conosciamo i nomi di Ankuwaziti (iv 25), Pallanza (iv 11) e Talmiya (ii 16’); da HT 2, Ḫašamili (iv 4) e Taup[- (iv 2); da KUB 13.35 iii 15, Yarrazalma; da HKM 100 Vo 22’, Tarpa-Kurunta; HKM 107 Ro 7, Zuwa; HKM 111 Vo 26, Tiwaziti.

49. KBo 10.10: Ḫaliputta (ii 19’), Ulušna (iv 12), Antaliya (iv 26); KBo 22.216 r. 8: Kik-kizzinna; Bo 86/299 i 72: Walištašša.

50. Cfr. KBo 10.10 ii 16’. Rientrano fra i loro oneri forniture di donne: v. KBo 10.10 *passim* e HT 2 iv 2–4.

51. KBo 4.10(+) Ro 27’, Bo 36/299 i 44: GİŠTUKUL (ŠA) LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN: proprietà nel

varie parti del regno, cioè di terre (campi e boschi) gravate da imposte.⁵²

Particolarmente significativi a questo proposito i testi amministrativi di Mašat, l’apologia di Ḫattušili III e la tavoletta di bronzo.

A Tapikka “scudieri d’oro” controllano le operazioni di semina nei villaggi periferici (HKM 111 Vo 26),⁵³ sono responsabili nei confronti del palazzo di lavoratori all’interno del distretto (HKM 100 Vo 22’)⁵⁴ e di oggetti inventariati (HKM 107 Ro 7)⁵⁵ e controllano le forniture di cavalli per l’esercito (HKM 26 Ro 7).⁵⁶ Se è corretta l’integrazione e interpretazione di HKM 26 Ro 7–8 data da CHD P, 134, fra i compiti di questo funzionario rientravano probabilmente ispezioni rapide e non preannunciate eseguite allo scopo di accertare la regolarità delle forniture (così, se i due genitivi *parannaš* e *waḫannaš* “dell’ apparire” e “del girarsi,” di r. 8 si riferiscono a LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN).⁵⁷ Poiché, sempre secondo HKM 26 Ro 7–10, il governatore della provincia ha scritto al sovrano per rendere conto della morte di uno di loro, è molto probabile che sia l’amministrazione centrale a dover provvedere alla nomina e alla eventuale sostituzione dei LÚ^{IMES}KUŠ₇.GUŠKIN.

Anche il trattato fra Tuthaliya IV e Kurunta conferma che i LÚ^{IMES}KUŠ₇.GUŠKIN dislocati nelle province dipendevano dall’amministrazione centrale: secondo infatti Bo 86/299 i 68–77⁵⁸ gli “scudieri d’oro” di Walištašša (i 72), che erano insediati in Tarḫuntašša ed erano rimasti sotto il controllo del re di Ḫatti, sono assegnati da Tuthaliya a Kurunta.

paese del fiume Ḫulaya appartenente al sovrano ittita. Cfr. anche KBo 5.7 Vo 10: GİŠTIR ŠA LÚ GİŠTUKUL LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN.

52. Per questo motivo un LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN può quindi essere designato anche come LÚ GİŠTUKUL: v. nota precedente. Anche un LÚKUŠ₇ può ricevere assegnazioni di beni fondiari (si veda Piḫana LÚKUŠ₇, beneficiario della donazione di Muwatalli I Bo 90/671; cfr. anche Ta, forse LÚKUŠ₇ nel villaggio di Kuluppa, in KBo 22.1 r. 7’—diversamente A. Archi, *FsLaroche*, 45), ma secondo il §54 delle Leggi i semplici LÚ^{IMES}KUŠ₇ (e i loro LÚ^{IMES}*karuḫaleš*) erano esentati dalle prestazioni *šahḫan* e *luzzi*.

53. Per questo testo, v. G. Del Monte, *OAMisc* 2 (1995): 123ss.; il LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN Tiwaziti (v. S. Alp, *HBM*, 101) è responsabile insieme al governatore della provincia di Tapikka, Ḫimuili (v. *HBM*, 59–62), e a Maruwa (v. *HBM*, 79–80) della semina del frumento nel villaggio di Ḫariya.

54. Per questo testo, v. G. Del Monte, *OAMisc* 2 (1995): 98 ss. Secondo Del Monte, è possibile che il LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN Tarpakurunta (v. S. Alp, *HBM*, 99) e il personaggio di nome Duwa (v. *HBM*, 101, che però legge il nome come Duša), menzionato alla r. 23’, siano “responsabili di un gruppo di lavoratori forniti da istituzioni di Tapika per lavori agricoli.” Tarpakurunta, senza titolo, è presente anche nella lista analoga HKM 101 Ro 5 (G. Del Monte, *OAMisc* 2 [1995]: 102–3).

55. Per questo testo, v. G. Del Monte, *OAMisc* 2 (1995): 113 ss.: il LÚKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN Zuwa (per l’antroponimo presente anche in altre liste, cfr. S. Alp, *HBM*, 108) è responsabile insieme a Maraša (*HBM*, 78) di una certa quantità ([x+]28) di oggetti di cuoio inventariati nel villaggio di Inzili.

56. V. S. Alp, *HBM*, 164–67. La fornitura proviene dal villaggio di Panata (r. 6).

57. Per una diversa interpretazione, v. S. Alp, *HBM*, 166–67, 316.

58. V. H. Otten, *StBoT Beiheft* 1, 14–15.

Hattušili III afferma che, in quanto governatore del paese superiore, controllava vari distretti ed erano alle sue dipendenze i combattenti su carro e i ^{LÚ}MEŠKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN (KUB 1.1 ii 54–63)⁵⁹: gestiva quindi un potere analogo a quello del sovrano con responsabilità in campo militare ed amministrativo.

Le altre ricorrenze del termine (per cui vedi l'esposizione di Beal) confermano l'appartenenza ai ruoli amministrativi dello stato dei personaggi designati come "scudiero d'oro," probabilmente in quanto responsabili di piccole comunità locali: indicativa in questo senso anche l'attestazione fornita da KBo 22.216 rr. 8–9 con dupl. KBo 22.217 rr. 4–6, secondo cui nel villaggio di Kikkizzinna spettano agli "uomini della città" e al ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇.GUŠKIN locale le forniture necessarie per la celebrazione delle festività.

Quindi, come nel caso del ^{LÚ}GIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN nei confronti del ^{LÚ}GIŠŠUKUR, dall'esame delle attestazioni risulta che il ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇.GUŠKIN svolgeva funzioni diverse e di maggiore importanza e responsabilità rispetto al semplice ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇ lo "scudiero," che apparteneva al corpo dei combattenti su carro ed era incaricato della cura dei cavalli del suo reparto. Supporre però, come R. H. Beal, che i ^{LÚ}MEŠKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN costituissero l'unità di carriera che proteggeva il re in battaglia appare una eccessiva forzatura della documentazione: tutte le attestazioni a nostra disposizione mostrano infatti gli appartenenti a questa categoria impegnati in attività di tipo "civile," per quanto una definizione di questo tipo sia applicabile ad una società come quella ittita in cui le distinzioni di funzioni e di ambito di competenze non sono mai nette e precise. I ^{LÚ}MEŠKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN si presentano chiaramente come funzionari di corte⁶⁰ a cui possono essere affidati compiti di controllo e di supervisione nei distretti provinciali, soprattutto come collettori delle imposte a carico delle comunità locali; nelle province in cui sono dislocati gestiscono direttamente proprietà fondiarie di tipo ^{GIŠ}TUKUL per cui ricevono anche assegnazioni di personale.⁶¹

L'importanza dei membri di questa categoria risulta anche dal fatto che il loro capo, UGULA ^{LÚ}MEŠKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN,⁶² è uno dei dignitari di rango più elevato dello stato e appartiene alla famiglia reale: infatti i due perso-

59. V. H. Otten, *StBoT* 24, 14–15.

60. Cfr. anche il verbale di processo per appropriazione indebita KUB 13.35+ (R. Werner, *StBoT* 4, 3–20) in cui i ^{LÚ}MEŠKUŠ₇.GUŠKIN (i 6; iii 15: Yarrazalma) sono chiamati a testimoniare su beni della regina.

61. Si vedano, fra gli altri, l'inventario cultuale KUB 51.23 Ro² 11, secondo il quale un ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇.GUŠKIN dispone di 46 NAM.RA, e l'indagine oracolare IBoT 2.129 Ro 12–15, che riferisce che gli abitanti di alcuni villaggi hanno interrotto le forniture per la divinità e sono andati a lavorare per il ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇.GUŠKIN (trascrizione in F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 88; trascrizione e traduzione in R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 177 con n. 652).

62. Cfr. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 127; R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 410–13.

naggi noti come detentori di tale carica, Kantuzzili (*senior*)⁶³ all'epoca di Muwatalli I e Upparamuwa nel periodo di Tuthaliya IV, sono inseriti nelle liste dei dignitari testimoni di importanti documenti di stato e sono principi. Upparamuwa, che in Bo 86/299 iv 33 porta il titolo di ^{LÚ}anduwašalli, è esplicitamente designato come DUMU.LUGAL (KBo 4.10+ Vo 30 e KUB 26.43 Vo 30) in quanto figlio, secondo Th. van den Hout (*StBoT* 38, 115–16), del re di Kargamiš.⁶⁴

Kantuzzili, testimone del testo di donazione KBo 32.185 Vo 14 e probabile uccisore, insieme a Himuili, del sovrano Muwatalli I,⁶⁵ non è indicato come DUMU.LUGAL (cfr. nota 63), ma la sua appartenenza alla famiglia reale appare indubbia: egli è probabilmente il padre del sovrano Tuthaliya I/II, insieme al quale (prima che questi divenga re?) combatte come capo dell'esercito (vedi gli Annali di questo sovrano, KUB 23.16 iii 4–9⁶⁶). Se questa identificazione è corretta, il sigillo congiunto di Kantuzzili GAL MEŠEDI a questi due personaggi e di Tuthaliya GAL ^{LÚ}MEŠ^{GIŠ}PA, presentato da Ali Dinçol (v. sopra), potrebbe essere attribuito proprio ai due fratelli e riferirsi ad una fase avanzata del *cursus honorum* di Kantuzzili, successiva comunque alla rimozione di Muwa, il GAL MEŠEDI di Muwatalli.⁶⁷

Per quanto riguarda il problema del rapporto fra il titolo in questione e il titolo ^{LÚ}antuwašalli, che è una delle cariche più elevate nella gerarchia del potere ittita,⁶⁸ mi sembra assai ragionevole pensare ad una identità, per le argomentazioni già espresse, in relazione a Upparamuwa, in *OLZ* 92 (1997): 176–77, a cui si rimanda per la bibliografia relativa.

In tal caso conosceremmo altri personaggi detentori della carica: Kariyaziti al tempo di Arnuwanda I (KBo 5.7 = *LSU* 1 Vo 52), ⁴LAMMA-SUM al tempo di Muwatalli II (KBo 1.6 Vo 22' = *CTH* 75), Maraššanta al tempo di Hattušili

63. A mio avviso, nei documenti storico-politici e religiosi, redatti nel periodo medio-ittita compreso fra i regni di Muwatalli I e di Šuppiluliuma I o che si riferiscono a questo, sono probabilmente menzionati due diversi Kantuzzili: un Kantuzzili *senior*, contemporaneo di Muwatalli I e padre di Tuthaliya I/II (v. il sigillo Bo 99/69, pubblicato da H. Otten, *AA* [2000]: 375–76), e un Kantuzzili *junior*, più giovane di due generazioni, principe (DUMU.LUGAL, DUMU.NITA) e sacerdote (^{LÚ}SANGA, [GAL ^{LÚ}MEŠ]SANGA), fratello o cognato(?) di Tuthaliya II/III, attivo già durante il regno di Arnuwanda I; cfr., di recente, per i problemi relativi, Ph. Houwink Ten Cate, *JEOL* 34 (1995–96): 51–72, in particolare 65–69, con riferimenti testuali e bibliografia precedente.

64. V., in ultimo, I. Singer, "Political History of Ugarit," in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, ed. W. G. E. Watson e Nicolas Wyatt (Leiden, 1999), 654: figlio di Ini-Tešub.

65. KUB 34.40 (+ 41) rr. 9'–10'.

66. V. O. Carruba, *SMEA* 18 (1977): 162–63.

67. V. Bo 90/671 Vo 7 (foto pubblicata da P. Neve, *Hattuša*, 61, Abb 164a.b); KBo 32.185 Vo 12 (cfr. H. Otten, *Königshaus*, 29 con n. 30).

68. La corrispondenza fra ^{LÚ}antuwašalli dei testi ittiti e ^{LÚ}andubšalli del tributo di Niqmadu di Ugarit a Šuppiluliuma I, RS 17.227, 37 (per questo documento v., di recente, G. Beckman, *HDT*, 151–53, Testo No. 28A), appare certa.

III (KUB 60.97 +² 31.71 i 10-11 = CTH 297)⁶⁹ e ^dAMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA sempre nel XIII sec. (KUB 40.1 Vo¹ 33 = CTH 203).⁷⁰

Quanto sappiamo degli ultimi due—responsabili di territori in aree periferiche del regno⁷¹—ben si adatta a capi della categoria dei ^{LÜ}.MEŠKUŠ₇. GUŠKIN, molti membri della quale erano attivi in distretti provinciali.

Lungi da essere una designazione occasionale, UGULA ^{LÜ}.MEŠKUŠ₇. GUŠKIN / ^{LÜ}antuwašalli costituirebbe quindi una delle istituzioni fondamentali nella struttura di governo dello stato ittita in tutto l'arco della sua storia.⁷²

In conclusione, possiamo affermare che entrambi i detentori delle cariche d'oro, ^{LÜ}GIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN e ^{LÜ}KUŠ₇.GUŠKIN, sono funzionari di rango elevato: addestrati a corte sotto la supervisione di un UGULA, sono assegnati al servizio del sovrano ed eseguono incarichi di fiducia per conto dei loro superiori, distinguendosi in questo dai loro "colleghi" designati col titolo base.

Il loro campo di attività è nel caso degli "uomini della lancia d'oro" essenzialmente di rappresentanza, mentre gli "scudieri d'oro" appartengono ai ranghi dell'amministrazione statale e sono rappresentanti regi nelle province.

I primi non costituiscono però una categoria, ma formano una squadra scelta, per motivi soprattutto di origine familiare, all'interno del contingente delle guardie del corpo; gli "scudieri d'oro" invece si presentano come titolari di una professione e sono probabilmente arruolati nelle province dove poi espletano la propria attività per conto dello stato.

69. Edizione di Th. van den Hout, *AoF* 21 (1994): 305-27.

70. Si veda, per questi personaggi, Th. van den Hout, *AoF* 21 (1994): 324-27.

71. Per Maraššanta, si veda di recente, in particolare, Th. van den Hout, *AoF* 21 (1994): 321-27.

72. Così, se è corretta l'integrazione del titolo ^{LÜ}antuwašalli in KBo 3.33 ii 13', 15'[(?) (= CTH 9. 4); diversamente, la carica in questione sarebbe documentata a partire dal Medio Regno.

Enkel des Königs, aber kein Prinz!

ALI M. DINÇOL AND BELKIS DINÇOL

Istanbul

In der Grabungskampagne 1986 wurde in Boğazköy aus dem alten Gebäudeschutt über Fußbodenausfüllung im Raum 8 des Tempels 3 in der Oberstadt mit einem Intervall von zwei Tagen zwei Tonbullen ans Tageslicht gefördert, die fünfmal mit demselben und einmal mit einem anderen Siegel gestempelt sind. Eine von diesen Bullen (Bo 86/602), die kegelförmig ist und ein Schnurloch an der Spitze hat, weist unten (Abb. 1) und seitlich (Abb. 2) denselben langrechteckigen, konkaven Abdruck auf. Die zweite (Bo 86/610) ist ein Tonklumpen, auf dessen Oberfläche dreimal der erwähnte und einmal ein runder Abdruck zu finden sind (Abb. 3). Obwohl die rechteckigen Abdrücke auf dem Tonklumpen fast zu Hälfte abgebrochen sind (Abb. 4), fällt ihre Identität mit denen der konischen Bulla sofort auf. Durch die nähere Untersuchung der Bullen konnte festgestellt werden, daß die Abdrücke nicht von einem rechteckigen Stempel, sondern von einem Zylindersiegel stammen, das auf Ton nicht abgerollt, aber abgedrückt wurde. Die Benutzung der Rollsiegel als Stempel scheint bei den Hethitern, die eine Vorliebe für die traditionellen anatolischen Stempelformen haben, zwar rar, aber nicht unmöglich zu sein.¹ Da der Zylindermantel von verschiedenen Winkeln abgedrückt war, kann bis auf wenigen Partien eine zuverlässige Rekonstruktion des gesamten Siegelbildes gemacht werden (Abb. 5).

Die Höhe des rekonstruierten Siegelbildes beträgt ca. 2, 25 cm und die Länge ist etwa 3, 25 cm. Daraus kann errechnet werden, daß es um einen ziemlich kleinen Zylinder mit einem Durchmesser von ca. 1 cm und mit der Höhe von ca. 2, 25 cm handelt.

Die Hieroglyphenzeichen auf diesem Siegel bieten bei der Bestimmung ihrer phonetischen Werte mehrere Probleme. Entlang der linken und der rechten Kante nehmen die Zeichen untereinander in symmetrischer Ordnung platz, die den Namen des Siegelinhabers und wahrscheinlich seine Verwand-

1. Siehe R. M. Boehmer und H. G. Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy* (Berlin, 1987), 106-7.



Abb. 1 (links). Der Abdruck des Rollsiegels am Boden der konischen Bulla.

Abb. 2 (rechts). Der Abdruck desselben Siegels auf der Mantelfläche des Kegels.

schaftsverhältnis zur königlichen Sippe widerspiegeln. Der Name besteht aus den Zeichen L 130–134 (AVIS) und L 103 (CERVUS₂) + L 383 (SPINA). Die erste Silbe ist *ar* oder *ara/i* zu lesen.² Das zweite Zeichen ohne den Dorn darf wie das Zeichen CERVUS (L 102) mit oder ohne das Zeichen PES (L 90) entweder *Kurunta/Kurunti(ya)* oder in einigen Fällen *runti(ya)* gelesen werden, obwohl für diese alternative Lesung die Hieroglyphen selber keine Besonderheit aufweisen.³ Bei der Lesung *Halpa-runti(ya)* z. B. scheint der schon bekannte Name den Wert der Zeichenkombination (CERVUS/CERVUS₂-ti)⁴ zu bestimmen.⁵ Auch im Falle des Namens *Šaušga-Ru(n)ti(ya)* in der Köylütulu Inschrift wird zugunsten der zweiten Alternative entschieden.⁶ In den beiden Beispielen spielt die Ethnizität der ersten Komponente des Namens in der Bestimmung des Wertes des zweiten Teiles die größte Rolle. Das Zeichen

2. M. Marazzi, *Il Geroglifico*, Nr. 130ff.

3. Für eine gute Zusammenstellung der Sachlage zu dieser Frage, s. Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 82ff.; vgl. auch H. G. Güterbock, "Notes on Some Luwian Hieroglyphs," in *Mir Curad: Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, hrsg. von J. Jasanoff et al. (Innsbruck, 1998), 203f., über den eventuellen Wert *ta* des Zeichens L 90.

4. Daß es zwischen den Zeichen L 102 und L 103 keinen Bedeutungsunterschied gibt, wird auch dadurch bestätigt, daß auf Siegelabdruck Nr. 4 in S. Herbordt, "Seals and Sealings of Hittite Officials from the Nişantepe Archive, Boğazköy," *3rdHitt. Cong.*, 306–18, für die Schreibung desselben Namens beide Formen gleichzeitig benutzt worden sind.

5. S. Herbordt, "Seals and Sealings," 313.

6. J. Börker-Klähn, "Neues zur Geschichte Lykiens," *Athenaeum* 82 (1994): 327. D. J. Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira, 'Tarkondemos,' Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel," *AnSt* 48 (1998): 9 Fnt. 23, zieht vor, diese fragliche Zeichenkombination ungedeutet zu lassen.

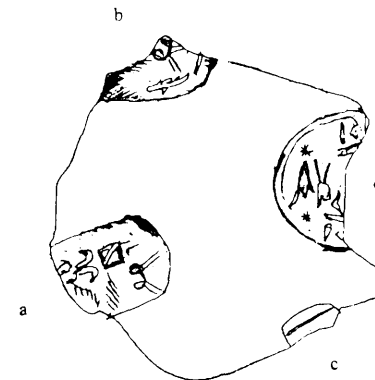


Abb. 3. Die Gesamtansicht des Tonklumpens mit den Abdrücken des Roll- (a, b, c) und des Knopfsiegels (d).

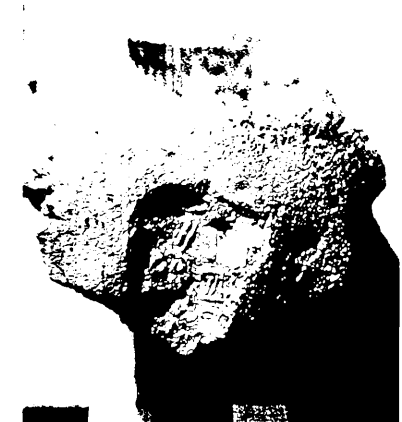


Abb. 4. Der Rollsiegelabdruck auf dem Tonklumpen.

CERVUS₂ + SPINA ist u. W. nur einmal auf einem althethitischen Siegel aus Boğazköy belegt.⁷ Da der sog. Dorn (= SPINA) dem angeschlossenen Zeichen die Silbe *ra/ri* verleihen soll, glaubt Güterbock, daß die Ligatur den Namen des Schutzgottes *Inara* widerspiegelt, der durch Hirsch und Hirschgeweih symbolisiert wird.⁸ Diese Lesung paßt den Zeichen auf unserem Siegel nicht, weil die erste Silbe wohl nur mit den hurritischen Götternamen theophore Personennamen bildet, wie z. B. *Ari-Tešup* und *Ari-Šarruma*.

An der Reihenfolge der Zeichen, mit denen der Name geschrieben ist, besteht unserer Meinung nach kein Zweifel, wie es bei der Lesung der Siegel der oben erwähnten *Šaušga-Ru(n)ti(ya)* der Fall ist. Auf jenen Siegelabdrücken bezweifelt man die Schreibrichtung, weil das Gesicht des Bergschafkopfes dem Hirschgeweih gerichtet ist, was auf den Steininschriften üblicherweise den Zeilenanfang zeigen würde. Deswegen könnten diese Siegel in der entgegengesetzten Richtung wie *Ruwa-Šaušga-ti* oder *KAL-Šaušga-ti* gelesen werden.⁹ Auf unseren Erfahrungen beruhend, sind wir davon überzeugt, daß auf den Siegeln wegen Platzmangels auf den Zeichenrichtungen nicht immer geachtet werden, und halten *Šaušga* für den ersten Teil des Namens.

Wie können wir nun die Ligatur auf unserem Siegelabdruck lesen? Könnte das sog. Dorn den Hieroglyphen, wie in den älteren Studien vorgeschlagen wurde, neben *ra/ri* auch den Laut *ta/ti* verleihen, so daß die

7. R. M. Boehmer und H. G. Güterbock, *Glyptik*, Nr. 123.

8. *Glyptik*, 46.

9. R. M. Boehmer und H. G. Güterbock, *Glyptik*, 75, Nr. 241.

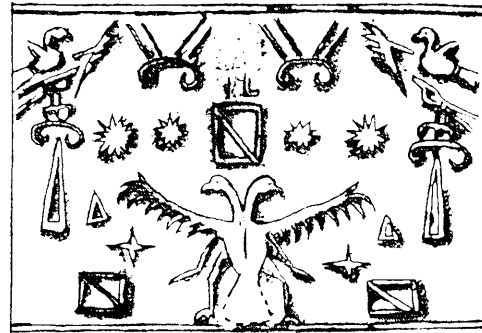


Abb. 5. Die Rekonstruktion des Rollsiegels.

Zusammensetzung von CERVUS₂ + SPINA *Kurunta/ti* oder *runta/ti* gelesen werden könnten? Diese Erklärung hätte es ermöglicht, den Namen auf dem oben genannten Siegel (R. M. Boehmer und H. G. Güterbock, *Glyptik*, Nr. 123)—anstatt der Schreibweise CERVUS + PES—auch *Kurunta* zu lesen. Weil die erste Silbe auf unserem Siegel *Ar-* zu phonetisieren ist, möchten wir den zweiten Teil des Namens als *-runti* auffassen und den aus beiden Elementen bestehenden Namen *Arrunti* lesen. Dieser churritische Name ist aus den keilschriftlichen Urkunden von Nuzi in mehreren Versionen wie *Ar-rumti*, *Arnumti*, *Arilumti*, *Arilluti* bekannt.¹⁰ Sowohl der Name als auch der Typ des Siegels deuten auf einen südöstlichen Ursprung hin. Deshalb könnte als Herkunftsort des Siegels das churritische Milieu Kizzuwatnas oder Nordsyriens geeignet sein.

An den beiden Kanten der rechteckigen Siegelfläche und unter den schon besprochenen Namenselementen nehmen die Hieroglyphenkombination INFANS + L 300 = NEPOS wieder in antithetischer Anordnung platz. Unter diesen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnung sind die Zeichen MAGNUS.REX zu finden, welche zusammen "Enkel des Großkönigs" bedeuten, obwohl die Reihenfolge der Zeichen normalerweise wie im Falle des Zeichens für FILIUS.REX umgekehrt sein sollte. Wir sind der Meinung, daß hier durch die Voranstellung des Zeichens NEPOS die Bedeutung nicht beeinträchtigt wird. An der oberen Kante der Siegelfläche, rechts und links der Mittelachse ist ein Zeichen wiederholt, das aus der Ligatur von einem übertrieben langem L 391 und MAGNUS besteht. Da die über das Zeichen für MAGNUS angehängten schrägen Striche wegen deren unüblichen Form L 391 nicht darstellen können, müsste hier eine andere Hieroglyphe in Frage kommen. Die Variante von L 300 scheint deshalb u. E. dafür der beste Kandidat zu

10. I. J. Gelb et al., *Nuzi Personal Names* (Chicago, 1943), 204.



Abb. 6. Der Abdruck des Knopfsiegels auf dem Tonklumpen.



2 : 1

Abb. 7. Die Zeichnung desselben Siegels.

sein. Jedoch wird dieses Zeichen sehr selten allein belegt.¹¹ Auf der Inschrift *Sheizar* wird es vermutlich mit einem phonetischen Wert *ha_x* gebraucht.¹² Es ist auf einem Siegel im Ashmolean Museum als ein Namenselement zu finden, das in der Erstpublikation für ein kopfstehendes L 334 *pa/ba* gehalten wird.¹³ Ob dasselbe Zeichen auf dem 14. Block der Yalburt Inschrift vorkommt, ist fraglich. Die zwei Bearbeiter dieser Inschrift sind über die Identifizierung eines Zeichens in den Zeilen 2 und 3 auf dem genannten Block nicht einig; in einer Edition wird es als M 264 = L 300, "discendenza"¹⁴ und in der anderen als L 294 THRONUS¹⁵ aufgefaßt. Trotz der Gegenargumente¹⁶ kann es sich—nach den äusseren Charakteristika des in Frage kommenden Zeichens—doch um L 294 handeln. Außerdem ist es zu erwarten, daß auf derselben Inschrift die Zeichen mehr oder weniger ihre Formen aufbewahren; deshalb scheint die völlig verschiedenen Erscheinungen des Zeichens L 300 auf Block 16 der Yalburt Inschrift in der Zeichenkombination NEPOS-ka-li und—wie behauptet—auf Block 14 ein anderer

11. M. Marazzi, *Il Geroglifico*, 204, Nr. 300.

12. J. D. Hawkins, "The Hieroglyphic Stelae of Meharde Sheizar," *FsLaroche*, 153–54.

13. D. A. Kennedy, "The Inscribed Hittite Seals in the Ashmolean Museum," *RHA* 63 (1958): 65–84, Nr. 14.

14. M. Poetto, *L'iscrizione Luvio-Geroglifica di Yalburt* (Pavia, 1993), 65, 66, 89.

15. J. D. Hawkins, *StBoT Beiheft* 3, 82.

16. M. Poetto, Besprechung von J. D. Hawkins, *StBoT Beiheft* 3, *Kratylos* 43 (1998): 114.

Indiz zu sein, daß das zweimal wiederholte und von dem vorigen vollkommen abweichende Zeichen auf Block 14 für eine andere Hieroglyphe gehalten werden sollte. Auf der anderen Seite weist das Zeichen auf unserem Siegel eine auffallende Ähnlichkeit mit der Form des Zeichens L 300 auf Block 16 der Yalburt Inschrift und kann parallel zur Bedeutung des sich unter dem Namen befindenden Zeichenkomplexes als "(Angehöriger) der Sippe (des Großkönigs)" interpretiert werden.

In der Mitte der Siegelfläche, über dem Doppeladler und an der unteren Kante, rechts und links der Füße des Doppeladlers ist das Zeichen L 254 zu treffen, das den Titel des Siegelinhabers *Arrunti* darstellt. Zuletzt wurde es, auf dem Siegelbefund aus Nişantepe beruhend, mit dem Sumerogram ^LUSAG identifiziert,¹⁷ dem mehrere Bedeutungen zugeschrieben wurden,¹⁸ und das jetzt mit der keilschriftluwischen *hantili* gleichgesetzt und als "Vorrangiger" übersetzt wird.¹⁹

Die Zusammenbewertung der Namenselemente, des Titels und der Verwandtschaftsbezeichnung ergibt die folgende Lesung der hieroglyphischen Legende:

"*Arrunti*, Enkel des Großkönigs, (aus der königlichen) Sippe, Vorrangiger." Über die historische Persönlichkeit des Siegelinhabers sind wir leider völlig im Dunkeln. Jedoch sind Manches von seiner eigenen Vorstellung in der Inschrift herauszuholen. *Arrunti* soll ein Prinz sein, da die Personen, die den Titel ^LUSAG führen, alle Prinzen zu sein scheinen.²⁰ Ob er seinen Titel in Hattuša oder in einem Vassallenstaat erworben hat, kann nicht mit Sicherheit bestimmt werden. Sowohl sein churritischer Name, als auch der Typus seines Siegels deuten als seine Herkunft auf Südosten hin. Es ist auffallend, daß er sich keinen Prinzen nennt, aber seine Beziehung zum hethitischen Herrscher in einer außergewöhnlichen Weise betont. Deshalb ist es anzunehmen, daß er Sohn einer hethitischen Prinzessin sein könnte, die für eine politische Heirat mit einem Vassallenkönig vermutlich nach Nordsyrien, vielleicht nach Amurru, gesandt worden war. Für Auslandsbeziehungen ist die Angehörigkeit zur königlichen Dynastie in Hattuša ohne Zweifel viel wichtiger als seine Titel im eigenen einheimischen Regentenhaus. Eine andere Möglichkeit, seine Lage zu erklären wäre, *Arrunti* als Sohn eines hethitischen Prinzen aufzufassen, der kein Thronbesteigerecht hatte, so daß er als Beamter in einem südöstlichen Reichsgebiet, vielleicht in Kizzuwatna, Beziehungen zur Hauptstadt ausübte und in solchen Angelegenheiten ein Sie-

17. Mündliche Mitteilung von Frau Dr. S. Herboldt.

18. F. Pecchioli Daddi, "Il ^LUSAG nel regno ittita," *SCO* 27 (1977): 180 Fnt. 54.

19. F. Starke, "Zur Regierung des hethitischen Staates," *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 2 (1996): 161f.; s. für die Diskussion der Deutung des Zeichens, B. Dinçol, *4th Mitt. Cong.*, 101f.

20. F. Starke, "Regierung," 163f.

gel benutzte, worauf er sich seiner nahen Verwandtschaft zum hethitischen Großkönig rühmte.

Dieses Rollsiegel ist in das 13. Jh. zu datieren. Diese Datierung wird auch von dem anderen runden Abdruck (Abb. 6) auf demselben Tonklumpen bestätigt, der von einem bikonvexen Knopfsiegel erzeugt worden ist. Die auf der Achse des mit einem einfachen Kreis umrahmten Mittelfeldes geordneten (Abb. 7) vier Hieroglyphen, L 434—L 39—L 415—L 278, geben den Namen *K/Ga-ta-sa-li*. Dieser Name ähnelt sich den churritischen Frauennamen, die auf -*šal(l)i* enden, wie *Ammiššal(l)i*, *Qanzuššalli*, *Šiniš(š)al(l)i*, *Tehupšal(l)i*.²¹ Es ist aus der Legende nicht zu entnehmen, ob das Siegel tatsächlich einer Frau gehört. Andererseits sind in den Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköy ein churritischer Männername *Taḫišalli* aus dem Region von *Işuwa* zu finden.²² Der sichere ethnische Ursprung des Namens *Marašalli*²³ ist aus dem Text, wo er belegt wird, nicht herauszubekommen. Die an den beiden Seiten des Namens gestellte Zeichen, wo sie üblicherweise den Titel des Siegelinhabers widerspiegeln, sind schwer zu deuten, obwohl zwei davon, nämlich L 66, *pi*, und L 312, *VIR*, gut erhalten sind. Da das dritte Zeichen beiderfalls unlesbar ist, kann der Titel nicht bestimmt werden. Die Leserichtung, sogar, ist nicht sicher. Ein zweiter, doppelt geschriebener Personennamen ist hier wohl nicht zu erwarten, aber, wenn es sich tatsächlich um einen Personennamen handeln würde, könnte er entweder *Pi-ZITI-x* oder weniger wahrscheinlich, *Pi-x-ZITI* gelesen werden.

Diese kurze Notiz über ein Siegel, das beweist, daß die Menschen seit eh und je von ihren Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen profitieren wollen, möge Harry als eine bescheidene Gabe von seinen alten Freunden annehmen!

Addendum

Nach dem Abschluß des Manuskripts hat uns Frau Dr. S. Herboldt-von Wickedel liebenswürdigerweise ihre Habilitationsschrift zugesandt,²⁴ worin noch zwei Exempel der Ligatur CERVUS+SPINA als das erste Element der Personennamen zu finden sind, die dem Vorschlag von J. D. Hawkins zufolge als *Inara-* gedeutet werden. Dieser Vorschlag beruht sich anscheinend auf die frühere Lesung von Güterbock, worüber wir auch hingewiesen haben und von der Existenz eines anderen Siegelringabdrucks bekräftigt wird (Nr. 137), worauf der schon bekannte Name *Inara-wa* (NH, Nr. 456) in Keilschrift

21. I. J. Gelb et al., *Nuzi Personal Names*, 250.

22. E. Laroche, *NH*, Nr. 1203.

23. *NH*, Nr. 757.

24. Jetzt veröffentlicht als *Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattuša*. *BoHa* 19 (Berlin, 2002).

geschrieben ist. Die in Frage kommenden Abdrücke (Nr. 138–40) beinhalten diese Ligatur in der Schreibung L 102/103 + L 383 (CERVUS_{2/3} + SPINA)—L 165 “wà/i.” Ist danach der Name auf unserem Rollsiegelabdruck *Ari-Inara* zu lesen? In diesem Falle erhalten wir einen Namen, dessen erstes Element hurritisch ist. In Kaman Kalehöyük wurden eine Gruppe von Bullen gefunden, worauf diesmal der Name *Kuruntawa/i* mit der Schreibung L 103 CERVUS₃—L 90 PES—L 439 “wa/i” / L 157/160 “wi” zu treffen sind.²⁵

25. “Hieroglyphische Siegel aus Kaman Kalehöyük,” in *Essays on Ancient Anatolia*, ed. H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa (Wiesbaden, 1999), 183–97, Nr. 5, dort abweichend gelesen.

De la confrontation à l'entente cordiale: Les relations assyro-hittites à la fin de l'âge du Bronze (ca. 1250–1180 av. J.C.)

J. FREU

La Turbie

L'étude des relations assyro-hittites à la fin de l'âge du bronze se heurte à de graves difficultés dues à la nature très particulière des sources disponibles. Celles-ci sont constituées presque exclusivement par des textes épistolaires, en général fragmentaires, provenant en grande majorité des ruines de Hattuša (Boğazköy), la capitale hittite.¹ Il s'agit souvent des “brouillons hittites” de lettres rédigées en akkadien que les rois de Hatti avaient adressées aux souverains assyriens. Pas une seule n'a été retrouvée à Aššur.²

Cependant les fouilles archéologiques menées dans les centres administratifs assyriens implantés dans le pays de Hanigalbat, du haut-Tigre au haut-Euphrate, ont mis à jour d'importants lots de tablettes datés des rois Salmanasar (1263–1234 av. J. C.) et Tukulti-Ninurta (1233–1197). Leur publication, en particulier celle des archives trouvées à Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad (Dūr Katlimmu) et Tall Huwēra (Harbē), a modifié notre appréciation des événements et renouvelé la question.³

Les “grands rois” de Hatti, alliés traditionnels des Kassites de Babylone,⁴ n'ont eu longtemps que mépris pour les “petits rois” d'Aššur. Les victoires du

1. A. Hagenbüchner, *THeth* 15/16, I, 158–68; II, 281–90, 321, 327–31, 337–38; A. Harrak, *A&H* (Hildesheim, 1987), passim.

2. Ex. *THeth* 16, 241–67, nos. 188–94, etc.

3. C. Kühne, “Ein mittelassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv und andere Keilschrifttexte,” in *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuēra in Nordost-Syrien*, ed. W. Orthmann et al. (Saarbrücken, 1995), 203–25; E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad* (Berlin, 1996), passim.

4. H. Klengel, “Die Hethiter und Babylonien,” *ArOr* 47 (1979): 83–90; cf. *THeth* 16, 281–300, no. 204 (KBo 1.10), lettre de Hattušili III à Kadašman-Elil II; *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.: A Handbook of Political History* (Berlin, 1992), 125–26; M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca 1600–1100 B.C.* (Padua, 1990), 102, 133; Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, “The Dynastic Marriages of the Period between ca. 1258 and 1244 B.C.,” *AoF* 23 (1996): 43–45, 56–72.

grand conquérant hittite, Šuppiluliuma (ca. 1350–1319 av. J. C.) ont contraint ces derniers de renoncer pour un temps à leurs visées sur le Ḫanigalbat (ex Ḫurri/Mitanni), devenu un état-tampon entre le Ḫatti et l'Assyrie.⁵ Malgré les succès remportés en pays hourrite par le roi d'Aššur, Adadnirari (1295–1264 av. J. C.),⁶ les monarques hittites ont maintenu leur refus de lui reconnaître formellement le titre de "grand roi" (LUGAL.GAL), qu'ils se contentaient de lui accorder "de facto." Urḫi-Tešub/Muršili III (ca. 1272–1267 av. J. C.), le roi de Ḫatti qui a été le témoin probable de la défaite de son allié, le "mitannien" Wasašatta, a répliqué à cet échec en "maltraitant" les envoyés assyriens venus à Ḫattuša à cette occasion et en adressant une réponse irritée au message d'Adadnirari lui faisant part de son triomphe.⁷

Il est vrai que Ḫattušili III (ca. 1267–1240 av. J. C.), après avoir renversé son neveu Urḫi-Tešub et usurpé le trône de Ḫatti, a rétabli des rapports "courtois" avec Adadnirari. Ce dernier, vieilli, acceptait à nouveau la présence d'un roi de Ḫanigalbat (sans doute Šattuara II) dans une partie au moins des pays conquis.⁸

C'est la destruction par son fils Salmanasar, vers 1260 av. J. C.,⁹ de ce Ḫanigalbat résiduel, repassé dans le camp hittite,¹⁰ qui a entraîné la rupture complète des relations diplomatiques et épistolaires entre les deux cours. Dans des lettres adressées à Salmanasar, Tuthaliya IV, le fils de Ḫattušili (ca.

5. M. B. Rowton, "The Background of the Treaty between Ramesses II and Ḫattušili III," *JCS* 13 (1959): 1–11; A. Goetze, *CAH* II/2, 13–20; G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge*, 48–54; *Hurrians*, 35–37; A. Harak, *A&H*, 42–60; T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 199–201; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 164–65.

6. A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* (Wiesbaden, 1972; = *ARI*), 60–61 (§§392–93 = *RIMA* 1.A.O.76.1 et 76.3); J. M. Munn-Rankin, *CAH* 2/2, 274–84; G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge*, 54–56; *Hurrians*, 39–40; A. Harak, *A&H*, 61–205; T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 280–84.

7. KUB 23.102, *THeth* 16, 260–64, no. 192; G. Beckman, *HDT*, 138–39, no. 24A; cf. E. Forrer, *Forsch.*, 246–47; E. Weidner, "Wasašatta, König von Ḫanigalbat," *Afo* 6 (1930–31): 21–22; A. Harak, *A&H*, 75–77; H. Otten, "Neue Entdeckungen in Boğazköy," *Afo* 22 (1968–69): 112–13, propose de réunir en un seul texte KUB 23.102 et KBo 18.24, une lettre adressée à Salmanasar, ce que Harak a réfuté; Otten a été suivi par C. Zaccagnini, "The Form of Alliance and Subjugation in the Near East of the Late Bronze Age," in *I Trattati nel Mondo Antico. Forma, ideologia, funzione*, ed. L. Canfora, M. Liverani, and C. Zaccagnini (Rome, 1990), 40–42 et n. 11.

8. Cf. KBo 1.14 (*THeth* 16, 267–69, no. 195); A. Goetze, *Kizz.*, 26–33; M. B. Rowton, *JCS* 13 (1959): 1–7; H. Klengel, *Gesch.Syr.* I, 81; *Geschichte*, 268–69; A. Harak, *A&H*, 68–75; M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 30–31; G. Beckman, *HDT*, 139–40, no. 24B; T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 302–3. Goetze, Klengel (*Gesch.Syr.* I) et Liverani font de Salmanasar le destinataire de la lettre, à tort; il faut lire, avec Beckman, "ŠEŠ, frère," KBo 1.14 vo 5 (et non "père").

9. A. K. Grayson, *ARI*, 82 (§§530–31 = *RIMA* 1.A.O.77.1); A. Harak, *A&H*, 132–205; J. M. Munn-Rankin, *CAH* 2/2, 279–84; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, "Zu Salmanasars I. Eroberungen im Hurritergebiet," *Afo* 35 (1988): 79–104; H. Klengel, *Syria*, 125; T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 303–4.

10. Cf. IBoT 1.34 (*THeth* 16, 313–15, no. 213); G. Beckman, *HDT*, 142–43, no. 25; H. Klengel, "Zum Briefe eines Königs von Ḫanigalbat (IBoT 1.34)," *Or* 32 (1963): 280–92—(lettre probablement écrite par Šattuara II, chassé du Ḫanigalbat par Salmanasar); A. Skaist, "The Chronology of the Legal Texts from Emar," *ZA* 88 (1998): 62 (la date de "1258 B.C.").

1240–1212 av. J. C.), reconnaissait que son père était l'ennemi (LÚ¹¹ *nakru*) du roi d'Aššur et avait interrompu tout échange de correspondance avec lui.¹¹

La paix et l'alliance conclues par Ḫattušili et le pharaon Ramsès II en 1258 av. J. C.,¹² ainsi que le resserrement des liens unissant les rois hittite et kassite (Kadašman-Turgu),¹³ ont été des réponses à la menace qui pesait maintenant sur la frontière orientale du Ḫatti. Salmanasar a néanmoins poursuivi son avance jusqu'à l'Euphrate. Le roi de Karkemiš, cousin et vassal du grand roi hittite, chargé de "surveiller" les princes syriens placés sous la suzeraineté de celui-ci, en Amurru, à Emar, Ugarit, Qadeš, etc., s'est trouvé placé en première ligne.¹⁴ Les positions hittites implantées sur la rive orientale du fleuve, comme Tell Fray (Iyahrissa¹⁵) ont dû être abandonnées,¹⁶ et Salmanasar a pénétré, semble-t-il, dans Malatiya, une ville du haut-Euphrate.¹⁷ Il menaçait ainsi de couper les voies de communication entre le Ḫatti et l'İšūwa, un pays vassal situé à l'est de l'Euphrate (la Sophène classique), dont les princes, bien qu'alliés à la famille royale hittite, ont manifesté des velléités d'indépendance à cette époque.¹⁸

La situation a radicalement changé avec l'avènement de Tuthaliya IV (ca. 1240 av. J. C.). Les lettres qu'il a adressées rapidement à Salmanasar montrent qu'il existait une vive tension entre les deux pays mais que les deux rois avaient la volonté de rétablir une bonne entente entre eux. Certains fragments ne font que confirmer ces bonnes intentions.¹⁸ Mais d'autres messages, mieux conservés, sont beaucoup plus significatifs. Dans le "brouillon" hittite d'une

11. Cf. KUB 3.73 vo 10' (*THeth* 16, 275–76, no. 202) et KUB 23.103 vo 16 (*THeth* 16, 250–55, no. 191).

12. J. A. Wilson, *ANET*, 199–201; A. Goetze *ANET*, 201–3; G. Beckman, *HDT*, 90–95, no. 25; E. Edel, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Ḫattušili III. von Hatti* (Berlin, 1997), passim; cf. M. B. Rowton, *JCS* 13 (1959): 1–11; H. Klengel, *Syria*, 118–20; T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 328–31 (doute du rapport entre la signature du traité et les conquêtes de Salmanasar).

13. P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *Aof* 23 (1996): 56–72 (les relations hittito-kassites).

14. M. Liverani, "Karkemiš nei testi di Ugarit," *RSO* 35 (1960): 135–47; H. Klengel, *Gesch.Syr.* I, 51–101; G. Beckman, "Hittite Administration in Syria in the Light of the Texts from Ḫattuša, Ugarit, and Emar," in *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria*, ed. M. Chavalas and J. L. Hayes (Malibu, 1992), 41–50; M. Yamada, "Reconsidering the Letters from the 'King' in the Ugaritic Texts: Royal Correspondance of Carchemish?" *UF* 24 (1992): 431–46.

15. A. Archi, "Materiale epigrafico itita da Tell Fray," *SMEA* 22 (1980): 31–34; P. Matthiae, *SMEA* 22 (1980): 35–51; A. Harak, *A&H*, 175–78.

16. Cf. n. 9; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Afo* 35 (1988): 79–104 (KBo 18.24: pp. 99–101).

17. H. Klengel, "Nochmals zu Išūwa," *OA* 15 (1976): 85–89; I. Singer, "The Battle of Nihiriya and the End of the Hittite Empire," *ZA* 75 (1985): 116–18 (KBo 16.42).

18. KUB 23.99 (*THeth* 16, 327–28, no. 223), à "AN.SILIM.UR.MAH/SAG ŠEŠ.YA: H. Otten, "Korrespondenz mit Tukulti-Ninurta I. aus Boğazköy," in E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger* (Graz, 1959), 65–66; A. Harak, *A&H*, 158–59. KUB 23.88: H. Otten, "Korrespondenz," 66–67. A. Hagenbüchler doute qu'il s'agisse d'une lettre royale (*THeth* 16, 440–42, no. 331).

lettre adressée à ^mSILIM-*ma-nu*-SAG, KBo 18.24,¹⁹ Tuthaliya (dont le nom est cassé) reconnaissait, pour la première fois formellement, que son "frère" avait un rang égal au sien: "Ne t'ai-je pas écrit que tu étais un grand roi et non un roi de second rang" (ro i 9-10); et surtout il n'hésitait pas à entériner les conquêtes faites par Salmanasar en pays hurrite: "Cependant toi (tu vas) comme le dieu de l'Orage. Vers le levant tu as marché et tu as fait du mont . . .²⁰ ta frontière. Vers le couchant tu as marché et tu as conquis les cités que Šuppiluliuma avait soumises par les armes au tribut du dieu" (vo iv 4'-9'). Cette bonne volonté de Tuthaliya n'allait pas cependant jusqu'à reconnaître les prétentions de l'Assyrien sur Malatiya: "Tu m'as écrit ceci: 'Envoie-moi un de tes hommes de confiance pour inspecter la ville de Malatiya (afin de savoir) si elle est l'une de mes cités . . .'" (vo iv 11'-13').²¹

A la suite d'incidents de frontière, sans doute provoqués par un vassal, le roi hittite précisait: "Aux jours de ma royauté aucune faute n'a été commise contre mon frère. Aucun (des nôtres) n'a commis de crime [contre toi. D'autres] l'ont fait. Mon père fut ton ennemi (*abuya* EN KÜR-*ka*); moi je suis le partenaire (*bēl sulumme*) de mon frère." Bien que les noms des correspondants soient cassés sur cette tablette (KUB 3.73) et que le texte akkadien contienne des assyrianismes, il est certain qu'il a été rédigé par les "scribes assyrianisants" de la chancellerie hittite qui avaient auparavant "traduit" la lettre de Hattušili III destinée à Adadnirari, KBo 1.14. Seul Tuthaliya pouvait écrire à Salmanasar: "mon père fut ton ennemi." KUB 3.73, pas plus que KBo 1.14, dont personne ne conteste l'origine, ne peuvent, malgré leur langue et leur "style," être l'oeuvre des scribes d'Aššur.²²

Si l'on en croit la rédaction hittite d'un message de Tuthaliya à un dignitaire assyrien, de peu postérieur à la mort de Salmanasar, le réchauffement des relations entre les deux rois n'avait cessé de se renforcer au cours des années: "Ils partageaient le pain" quand ils se rendaient visite dans le pays de l'un ou de l'autre, déclare le roi de Hatti.²³ Il est donc impossible de supposer que la "bataille de Niḫiriya," connue par un texte d'Ugarit,²⁴ ait eu pour protagonistes Tuthaliya et Salmanasar.

19. KBo 18.24 (*THeth* 16, 241-45, no. 188); H. Otten, *Afo* 22 (1968/1969): 112-13; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Afo* 35 (1988): 99-101; A. Harak, *A&H*, 139-40; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 269-70. T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 303 n.37, l'attribue, à tort, à Hattušili III.

20. Il ne peut s'agir du "mont Amana," comme le propose Hagenbüchner, *THeth* 16, 243-44; contra R. Beal, *JAOS* 113 (1993): 249.

21. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Afo* 35 (1988): 74-104; A. Harak, *A&H*, 139-40. H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 245, hésite, pour l'expéditeur, entre Hattušili III et Tuthaliya IV.

22. KUB 3.73 (*THeth* 16, 275-78, no. 202); E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I.*, 40, no. 36; I. Singer, *ZA* 75 (1985): 103 et n.17; A. Harak, *A&H*, 144-45; T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 348-49; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 280. Harak l'attribue à Salmanasar.

23. KUB 23.103 vo 4'-5' (*THeth* 16, 256, no. 191).

24. S. Lackenbacher, "Nouveaux documents d'Ugarit: une lettre royale (RS 34.165)," *RA* 76 (1982): 141-56; "Lettres et fragments," in *Ras Shamra Ougarit* (Paris, 1991), 90-100, no. 46.

En fait il semble certain que, profitant de la vieillesse de ce dernier et d'un certain relâchement de l'emprise assyrienne sur une partie du "Subartu," que reconnaît un texte de Tukulti-Ninurta,²⁵ le roi hittite ait réglé à son profit l'affaire de Malatiya, dont on n'entendra plus parler, rétabli les relations avec le roi vassal d'Išua et étendu son influence dans les pays hurrites. Il faut cependant remarquer que les grands centres assyriens du Hanigalbat n'ont subi alors aucune destruction et que la continuité administrative y a été assurée.²⁶

A l'avènement de Tukulti-Ninurta à Aššur (1233 av. J.C.) le roi hittite a renouvelé ses protestations d'amitié dans une série de lettres (dont on a conservé les "brouillons hittites") destinées au nouveau roi (KUB 23.92 ro 1'-12'; vo 1'-8' + KUB 23.103 ro 1'-28'), à un dignitaire (KUB 23.103 vo 1'-7') et au "grand vizir" Baba-aḫa-iddin (KUB 23.103 vo 8'-28').²⁷ Tuthaliya prenait un ton condescendant pour s'adresser au jeune souverain, lui conseillant de "garder les frontières" acquises par son père afin de ne pas ruiner la réputation de celui-ci. Il lui rappelait les liens d'amitié qui l'avaient uni au défunt et précisait: "Mon père n'avait pas écrit à ton père," alors que ce dernier "de petit roi était devenu un grand roi" (KUB 23.103 ro 16'-17'; 27'-28').

L'envoyé hittite, Mašamuwa, avait emporté avec lui les deux autres missives qui ont été jointes à la lettre royale dans le "portefeuille" en langue nésite conservé à Boğazköy. La première, destinée à un dignitaire, insistait sur la volonté de Tuthaliya de garder au nouveau roi les sentiments d'amitié qui l'avaient animé envers son père.²⁸ La seconde était adressée au grand vizir, frère de Salmanasar, dont la longue carrière avait débuté sous le règne d'Adadnirari. Tuthaliya, citant les paroles des envoyés assyriens, Šilli-Aššur et Amurru-ašared, laissait percer ses inquiétudes concernant les projets aventureux du jeune et fougueux roi d'Aššur. Il mettait en garde son "premier ministre" contre les dangers de l'expédition projetée par le nouveau souverain vers les "montagnes traîtresses" du pays de Paphi (Papanḫi), campagne que Tukulti-Ninurta entreprendra en effet au début de son règne.²⁹ Le roi d'Aššur a sans doute répondu aux avances de Tuthaliya par quelques gestes de bonne volonté. C'est peut-être vers cette époque qu'il a renvoyé à Hattuša la lettre

25. A. K. Grayson, *ARI*, 103-4 (§693 = RIMA 1:A.O 78 I, III 31ss). Tukulti-Ninurta parle de: "tous les monts du Subaru, tout le mont Kašiyari, aussi loin que le pays d'Alzi, qui, durant le règne de Salmanasar, s'étaient révoltés et avaient refusé le tribut . . ."

26. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 28: "die administrativen Urkunden hier keinen wirklichen Hiatus aufweisen."

27. *THeth* 16, 249-60, no. 191; H. Otten, *Afo* 19 (1959/1960): 34-46; A. Harak, *A&H*, 147-49; T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 348; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 281.

28. KUB 23.103 vo 1'-7'; H. Otten, *Afo* 19 (1959/1960): 42-43.

29. KUB 23.03 vo 8'-28'; H. Otten, *Afo* 19 (1959/1960): 42-43; G. Beckman, *HDT*, 141-42, no. 24C; cf. M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 133-34.

qu'Urḫi-Tešub exilé avait écrite à son père, KUB 26.70.³⁰ Tuṭḫaliya espérait probablement que le status quo serait maintenu dans les pays hourrites mais le souverain assyrien a refusé d'accepter la situation qui s'était instaurée dans le "Subartu" à la fin du règne de son père. Il a répondu aux initiatives du roi de Ḫatti, qui avait placé une garnison à Niḫiriya, en l'affrontant durement entre cette ville et Sura (sans doute la moderne Savur), au nord-ouest des pays hourrites.³¹ La rencontre, désastreuse pour les Hittites, a eu lieu dans les premières années du règne de Tukulti-Ninurta, vers 1230 avant notre ère.³²

On peut s'étonner du "silence diplomatique" observé par le vainqueur dans ses inscriptions commémoratives. C'est tardivement, à la fin de son règne, que le roi d'Aššur s'est vanté d'avoir capturé "28,800 Hittites d'au-delà de l'Euphrate" l'année de son accession au trône (*rēš šarrūti*). Il ne semble pas y avoir de rapport entre ce raid, dont la réalité est douteuse, et la bataille de Niḫiriya-Sura.³³ Il est par ailleurs impossible de confondre celle-ci avec l'expédition lancée par Tukulti-Ninurta contre le lointain pays de Naīri, vaste et gouverné par 40 rois(!), en l'an II de son règne.³⁴

L'affrontement entre Hittites et Assyriens, qui a été suivi par une véritable guerre, est bien documenté:

1. par des textes retrouvés à Ugarit (Ras Shamra), la riche principauté côtière de Syrie du nord, vassale du Ḫatti;
2. par le traité conclu par Tuṭḫaliya avec son beau-frère et vassal, le roi d'Amurru, Šaušgamuwa (CTH 105);
3. par un édit de Tuṭḫaliya lui-même, KBo 4.14 (CTH 123).

La tablette RS 34.165, lettre du roi d'Aššur à un roi d'Ugarit, dont le nom est mutilé ou absent, fournit de précieux renseignements sur le déroulement de la rencontre et sur les négociations qui l'avaient précédée. Des exemplaires de ce message, qui était un habile texte de propagande,

30. KUB 26.70; H. Otten, *Afo* 22 (1968/1969): 67-68; *THeth* 16, 265-67, no. 194. La lettre a peut-être été adressée par un fils de Tuṭḫaliya à Tukulti-Ninurta.

31. *RGTC* 6, 281; *RGTC* 6/2, 111; *RGTC* 4, 88; E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 31, carte (Abb. 6) où il faut préférer la position occidentale de Niḫiriya.

32. I. Singer, *ZA* 75 (1985): 100-23; E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 36-37 et n. 43 attribue une date tardive à la bataille, ce qui est injustifié.

33. A. K. Grayson, *ARI*, 117-19 (§§773-83); A. Hararak, *A&H*, 237-38; H. D. Galter, "28.000 Hethiter," *JCS* 40 (1988): 217-35; H. Klengel, *Syria*, 127; E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 36. Il est impossible de supposer, comme le propose M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops at the Siege of Emar?" in *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, ed. M. Chavalas (Bethesda, 1996), que le "rēš šarrūti" du roi Tukulti-Ninurta renvoie à son avènement en tant que roi de Babylone.

34. I. Singer, *ZA* 75 (1985): 106-7, identifie Niḫiriya et Naīri; de même T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 350.

avaient certainement été expédiés aux autres princes de la région.³⁵ Les cassures de l'intitulé laissent planer un doute sur l'identité du roi d'Aššur qui en a été l'expéditeur, alors que le nom du vaincu, Tuṭḫaliya (sic!) figure à deux reprises dans le texte (ro 12, fragmentaire, ro 21). Le contexte historique impose de faire de Tukulti-Ninurta l'auteur de RS 34.165 et de restaurer les premières lignes de la lettre soit: *um-ma^m Tukulti-^dIB DUMU^{md}SILIM-ma-na-]* SAG LUGAL [KUR A-aš-šur a-na^m I-bi-ra-]na LUGAL KUR U[-ga-ri-it; soit: idem, . . . a-]na LUGAL KUR U[-ga-ri-it, sans le nom du destinataire.

La présence du patronyme, rare dans les textes épistolaires, s'explique bien ici par le fait que la lettre était certainement la première expédiée par le roi d'Aššur au roi d'Ugarit.³⁶ Les autres textes de Ras Shamra faisant allusion à la guerre assyro-hittite semblent dater presque exclusivement du règne d'Ibiranu (ca. 1230-1220 av. J.C.). Le roi de Karkemiš, Ini-Tešub, chargé de mobiliser les armées des vassaux syriens à Ugarit et Qadeš, entre autres, avait ordonné au roi d'Ugarit de concentrer ses forces dans le pays de Mukiš. Dans un message à celui-ci, RS 34.143, il se plaint amèrement que son correspondant ait laissé ses troupes en arrière et ne lui ait fourni que des contingents médiocres, gardant auprès de lui "les *maryannu* de valeur."³⁷ D'autres textes montrent que le roi d'Ugarit avait adopté une attitude "attentiste" face à la guerre.³⁸ Il est donc possible de faire de lui, plutôt que de son père Ammištamru (II) le bénéficiaire de l'édit de Tuṭḫaliya et d'Ini-Tešub libérant le roi d'Ugarit de ses obligations militaires "tant que durerait la guerre d'Aššur," contre une lourde compensation financière—"50 mines d'or (provenant) de 10 caravanes du *bîd-dupašši*."³⁹ Les rois hittites ont sans doute préféré disposer des moyens nécessaires pour équiper de meilleures troupes que celles que leur fournissait un vassal réticent à s'engager dans le conflit.

Le traité conclu par Tuṭḫaliya IV avec son beau-frère, le roi d'Amurru, date de la même époque. Succédant à un père, Bentešina, qui avait régné, sauf une brève interruption, pendant une soixantaine d'années, Šaušgamuwa a dû

35. S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 76 (1982): 141-56; *RSO* 7, 90-100, no. 46; I. Singer, *ZA* 75 (1985): 100-102, 107-9. A. Hararak, *A&H*, 140-42, attribue le message à Salmanasar; de même M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 169-71; et C. Zaccagnini, "Form of Alliance," 41-44; cf. T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 350-52; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 281-82.

36. S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 76 (1982): 154-55; *RSO* 7, 99; I. Singer, *ZA* 75 (1985): 108.

37. F. Malbran-Labat, *RSO* 7, 27-29, no. 6 (RS 34.143); F. Zeeb, "Die Truppen sind unfähig. Überlegungen zu RS 34.143," *UF* 24 (1992): 481-98; M. Yamada, *UF* 24 (1992): 445.

38. M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit* (Rome, 1962), 126-28; H. Klengel, *Syria*, 144-47; M. Yamada, *UF* 24 (1992): 431-44 et n. 42; RS 17.247 et 17.289 in J. Nougayrol, *PRU* IV, 191-92; RS 34.150 in F. Malbran-Labat, *RSO* 7, 35-36; cf. A. Hararak, *A&H*, 217.

39. RS 17.59: *PRU* IV, 149-51. Cf. M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit*, 109-11; H. Klengel, *Gesch.Syr.* II, 380; *Geschichte*, 278.

accéder au pouvoir avant 1230 av. J. C.⁴⁰ Parmi les clauses de l'accord, ratifié probablement peu après la défaite de Niḫiriya-Sura, figurait l'obligation pour l'Amurru d'imposer un strict embargo aux échanges commerciaux avec l'Assyrie et d'interdire aux "navires d'Aḫḫiyawa"⁴¹ de continuer leur trafic à destination de ce pays.⁴²

Il existe enfin un texte retrouvé à Boğazköy, édit ou protocole plutôt que traité,⁴³ qui a été longtemps attribué à Šuppiluliyama (II), second fils de Tuthaliya IV, ou à son frère aîné Arnuwanda III.⁴⁴ On admettait que l'un d'eux avait mené campagne contre les Assyriens en haute-Mésopotamie, idée reprise sous une nouvelle forme par M. C. Astour.⁴⁵ Mais les allusions précises au désastre de Niḫiriya obligent, comme l'a montré I. Singer,⁴⁶ à rendre KBo 4.14 à Tuthaliya IV bien que les cassures de la tablette laissent celle-ci dans un anonymat apparent. Quelle que soit sa nature exacte ce protocole prouve que la défaite a été sévère et qu'elle a plongé le roi de Ḫatti dans une profonde détresse. S'adressant à un dignitaire auquel il reprochait de l'avoir abandonné lors de sa retraite, il déclarait: "Toi, quand ma situation fut critique tu n'en souffris d'aucune façon et ne fus pas à mes côtés. De Niḫiriya n'ai-je pas forcé seul mon chemin?" (KBo 4.14 ii 9).

Tuthaliya insistait à la fois sur la menace assyrienne: "Celui qui est mon ennemi, l'orgueilleux homme d'Aššur, persévère (à me faire la guerre) depuis de nombreuses années" (KBo 4.14 ii 66-69), et sur l'atmosphère de trahison et de complots qui l'entourait.⁴⁷

40. C. Kühne et H. Otten, *StBoT* 16 (CTH 135), vo iv 14-18, iv 20 où la lecture "navires d'Aḫḫiyawa" est assurée; contra, à tort, G. Steiner, "'Schiffe von Aḫḫiyawa' oder 'Kriegsschiffe' von Amurru im Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag?" *UF* 21 (1989): 393-411; cf. I. Singer, "A Concise History of Amurru," in S. Izre'el, *Amurru Akkadian II* (Atlanta, 1991): 172-76; H. Klengel, *Syria*, 173; "Historischer Kommentar zum Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag," *FsHouwinktenCate*, 170-71.

41. F. Sommer, *AU*, passim; J. Freu, "La tablette RS 88.2230 et la phase finale du royaume d'Ugarit," *Syria* 65 (1990): 395-98.

42. E. Cline, "A Possible Hittite Embargo against the Mycenaeans," *Historia* 40 (1991): 1-9.
43. R. Stefanini, "KBo IV 14 = VAT 13029," *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Ser. VIII, 20 (1965): 39-79 (KBo 4.14); P. Meriggi, "Über einige hethitische Fragmente historischen Inhalts," *WZKM* 58 (1962): 84-90; H. Otten, "Neue Quellen zum Ausklang des hethitischen Reiches," *MDOG* 94 (1963): 5-6; I. Singer, *ZA* 75 (1985): 109-16. M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 191, le date d'Arnuwanda comme Stefanini en seconde hypothèse. Stefanini pense à un protocole destiné à un "prince"; Singer à un traité avec l'Isuwa; de même H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 276-77 et 296.

44. CTH 153: R. Stefanini, "KBo 4.14," 78 n. 159. A. Harrak, *A&H*, 217-18, distingue deux batailles, celle de "Sura" gagnée par Salmanasar, et celle de Niḫiriya, plus tardive. M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 191 (sous Arnuwanda III); T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 351 n. 96, hésite; de même H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 276-77, 296 (Tuthaliya IV oder Šuppiluliyama als Prinz).

45. M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops?"

46. I. Singer, *ZA* 75 (1985): 100-123.

47. KBo 4.14 ii 9 et 66-69; R. Stefanini, "KBo IV 14," 40; I. Singer, *ZA* 75 (1985): 109-19.

On pourrait utiliser ce texte pour dater le coup d'état supposé du cousin du grand roi, Kurunta, roi de Tarḫuntašša. Les allusions de KBo 4.14, les conclusions tirées par P. Neve de l'étude archéologique du site du Büyükkale,⁴⁸ et le traitement infligé à la "tablette de Bronze" sur laquelle était inscrit le texte du traité conclu par Tuthaliya et Kurunta,⁴⁹ autorisent l'hypothèse d'une tentative d'usurpation. Mais si le "Staatsstreich" a bien eu lieu, ce qui n'est pas certain, il a échoué.⁵⁰ Tuthaliya et Šuppiluliyama ont entrepris de grands travaux d'urbanisme dont il est difficile de savoir s'ils ont été menés à bien pour effacer les destructions dues à une guerre civile.⁵¹

Que s'est-il passé ensuite? Pour de nombreux commentateurs les Assyriens, "ennemis héréditaires" des Hittites, auraient joué un grand rôle dans la chute du Ḫatti et la destruction d'Ugarit vers 1185/1180 avant notre ère. F. Zeeb, après étude de la tablette RS 34.143, concluait que le Ḫatti avait dû faire face avant son effondrement à une "alliance de revers" unissant Assyriens, gens d'Aḫḫiyawa (les Grecs mycéniens), et Peuples de la Mer.⁵² E. Zangger est allé plus loin en supposant qu'une "grande guerre" avait opposé deux coalitions, l'une regroupant Ḫatti, Amurru et Egypte, l'autre les Assyriens, les Gasgas des montagnes pontiques, vieux ennemis des Hittites, les gens de l'Arzawa,⁵³ les Peuples de la Mer et les Aḫḫiyawa, identifiés cette fois, non aux Mycéniens mais aux Anatoliens de la Troade.⁵⁴ Après la disparition de l'empire hittite, les Mycéniens auraient vengé leurs alliés

48. P. Neve, "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Ḫattuša, 1986," *AA* (1987): 381-408, esp. 404 (tableau) (Staatsstreich um 1230?); contra J. Börker-Klähn, "Der hethitische Areopag: Yerkapi, die Bronzetafel und das Staatsstreich," *AoF* 21 (1994): 131-60, qui suppose l'existence de deux Kurunta, le roi de Tarḫuntašša et un successeur de Šuppiluliyama (tableaux pp.159-60); H. Klengel, *FsHouwinktenCate*, 168-69 et n. 43 est dubitatif.

49. H. Otten, *Bronzetafel*, passim; G. Beckman, *HDT*, 108-18, no. 18C; Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, passim.

50. H. Otten, *Bronzetafel*, 3-6; P. Neve, *AA* (1987): 403-10; J. Börker-Klähn, *AoF* 21 (1994): 131-60; M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops?" 49-53; T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 354-55; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 289-91.

51. P. Neve, *AA* (1987): 404 (tableau); J. Börker-Klähn, *AoF* 21 (1994): 159 (tableau).

52. F. Zeeb, *UF* 24 (1992): 481-98 (le texte aurait une "weltpolitische Dimension"); F. Malbran-Labat, *RSO* 7, 27-29, no. 6.

53. E. Zangger, "Ein neuer Kampf um Troja," in *Archäologie in Krise* (Munich, 1994); "Who Were the Sea Peoples?" *Aramco World* 46 (1995): 21-31; contra W. D. Niemeier, "The Mycenaeans in Western Anatolia and the Problem of the Origins of the Sea Peoples," in *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, ed. S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern (Jerusalem, 1998), 17-65, en particulier 17-19.

54. Cf. J. G. Macqueen, "Geography and History in Western Asia Minor in the Second Millennium B. C.," *AnSt* 18 (1968): 169-85, carte p. 176; J. Mellaart, "Anatolian Trade with Europe and Anatolian Geography and Cultural Provinces in the Late Bronze Age," *AnSt* 18 (1968): 187-202, carte p. 197 (le pays de Lukka est situé au sud de la Propontide).

égyptiens en saccageant Ilion, ce qui correspondrait à la "guerre de Troie" homérique.⁵⁵

Selon J. C. de Moor, reprenant en partie les thèses de C. F. A. Schaeffer,⁵⁶ Assyriens, Égyptiens du pharaon Sethnakht et Peuples de la Mer auraient uni leurs efforts pour régler leur compte au Hatti et à ses vassaux, Ugarit en particulier: "All Canaan lived in fearful anticipation of Sethnakht's punitive campaign. The Assyrians and especially the Sea Peoples profited from the weakness of the Hittite confederacy and overthrew it with astounding ease."⁵⁷ L'auteur, qui cherche à déterminer la date de l'exode biblique et à identifier Moïse au chancelier égyptien Bay/Beya(!), utilise pour ce faire un texte d'époque amarnienne, la "lettre du général,"⁵⁸ antérieur de plus d'un siècle aux événements qu'il est censé éclairer!

La tendance fréquente à surestimer le rôle d'une Assyrie pourtant affaiblie dès la fin du règne de Tukulti-Ninurta et plus encore sous celui de ses successeurs, aux prises avec un retour en force des Kassites de Babylone et d'autres menaces (Subriu/Hourrites et Ahlamu/Araméens), s'explique par une erreur de perspective. On a voulu transposer la situation des années 1230-1225 av. J. C. au début du 12^{ème} siècle pour expliquer la genèse des "Crisis Years," la chute de Hattuša et celle d'Ugarit. En fait près d'un demi-siècle s'est écoulé entre l'affrontement armé des rois de Hatti et d'Assyrie et les événements tragiques survenus en Anatolie et en Syrie vers 1185/1180 avant notre ère.⁵⁹ Tout montre que Hittites et Assyriens avaient eu largement le temps de se réconcilier entre ces deux époques.

Un texte de Dūr-Kurigalzu, résidence des rois kassites, a été mis en rapport avec la guerre assyro-hittite. On peut, en modifiant les perspectives et la chronologie, reprendre partiellement l'hypothèse avancée par M. C. Astour⁶⁰ et dater IM 51.928 des débuts du règne de Tukulti-Ninurta. Par l'envoi de cette

55. Cf. note 53; H. G. Güterbock, "Troy in Hittite Texts? Wilusa, Ahhiyawa, and Hittite History," in *Troy and the Trojan War*, ed. M. J. Mellink (Bryn Mawr, 1986), 33-44; J. Freu, "Hittites et Achéens. Données nouvelles concernant le pays d'Ahhiyawa," *LAMA* 11 (1990): 18-28.

56. C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Commentaires sur les lettres et documents trouvés dans les bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit," *Ugaritica* 5 (1968): 661-91; contra S. Izre'el et I. Singer, *The General's Letter from Ugarit. A Linguistic and Historical Reevaluation of RS 20.33 (Ugaritica V, No. 203)* (Tel Aviv, 1990), passim, en particulier 122-24.

57. J. C. de Moor, "Egypt, Ugarit and the Exodus," in *Ugarit. Religion and Culture*, ed. N. Wyatt et al. (Münster, 1996), 213-47.

58. J. Nougayrol, "Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit," *Ugaritica* 5 (1968): 69-79, no. 20 (RS 20.33).

59. Cf. S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 76 (1982) et *RSO* 7; R. Lebrun, "Ougarit et le Hatti à la fin du XIII^e S. av. J.-C.," in *Le Pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.*, ed. M. Yon, M. Sznycer et P. Bordreuil (Paris, 1995), 85-88, où il faut lire Hešni et non Tagi-Šarruma (p. 88); M. Liverani, "Le royaume d'Ougarit," *RSO* 11 (1995): 113-17.

60. M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops?" 25-56, en particulier 25-26.

lettre, Zikir-ilišu, un "diplomate" babylonien résidant en Assyrie, informait son maître, sans doute le roi Šagarakti-Šuriaš (1234-1223), des opérations menées, avec une centaine de chars, par un dénommé Kipī-Aššur contre la tribu des Hiranu dont certains éléments opéraient en Subartu, "dans les villes que le roi d'Aššur avait conquises," et d'autres dans les pays de Mari et de Suhi proches du Karduniaš, le royaume kassite.⁶¹ Il mentionnait aussi le fait qu'un envoyé assyrien était rentré au pays après avoir été retenu trois ans dans le pays de Hatti. Un "diplomate" hittite l'accompagnait.

Kipī-Aššur se confond certainement avec Qibi-Aššur, le (vice)-roi assyrien du Hanigalbat (*šar māt Hanigalbat*), neveu de Salmanasar et grand-vizir (*sukallu rabiū*) pendant une dizaine d'années.⁶² Contrairement à la reconstruction proposée par M. C. Astour, on ne peut identifier la rupture des relations diplomatiques évoquée par le texte avec celle qui s'était produite au cours des règnes de Hattušili III et de Salmanasar, qui avait duré plus de trois ans, de ca. 1260 à ca. 1240 av. J. C. environ et n'avait pas été suivie par un traité de paix laissant au roi d'Aššur les conquêtes qu'il avait réalisées à l'est de l'Euphrate en échange de la restitution des provinces du Hatti qu'il avait occupées.⁶³ Il faut d'ailleurs insister sur le fait que l'action de Qibi-Aššur n'est pas sûrement datée et que d'autres hypothèses peuvent être avancées concernant la tablette IM 51.928. L'allusion aux cités que le roi d'Aššur avait conquises pourrait renvoyer au règne de Salmanasar.

Le conflit déclaré entre Tutḫaliya et Tukulti-Ninurta a suivi et non précédé la bataille de Niḫiriya-Sura, au témoignage de RS 34.165. Il peut n'avoir duré que trois ans, entre ca. 1230 et ca. 1225 av. J. C., si l'on en croit un fragment d'Aššur qui signale la présence d'un "interprète" hittite l'année du *limu* Libur-zanin-Aššur qui se situe vers la même époque.⁶⁴ Cela confirme que la bonne entente avait été rétablie très tôt entre les deux cours. On s'explique ainsi que Tutḫaliya et son fils Šuppiluliyama (ca. 1210-1185 av. J. C.), débarrassés de la menace assyrienne, aient pu entreprendre de grandes expéditions maritimes et terrestres à Alašiya (Chypre) et dans l'ouest anatolien,

61. O. R. Gurney, "Texts from Dur-Kurigalzu," *Iraq* 11 (1949): 139-41, no. 10; M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops?" 26 et nn. 1-3; cf. J. R. Kupper, *Le nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris, 1957), 114-15 et n. 1.

62. H. Freydank, *Beiträge zur mittelas-syrischen Chronologie und Geschichte* (Berlin, 1994), 52-53 et n. 136, 59-60 (tableau), 162-64; E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittelas-syrischen Briefe*, 20-22; M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops?" 27-31 ("Qibi-Aššur and the kingship of Hanigalbat").

63. M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops?" 25-26, à comparer avec KUB 3.73 vo 10' et KUB 23.103 vo 16: la première guerre assyro-hittite entre Tutḫaliya et Salmanasar évoquée par l'auteur renvoie implicitement à la bataille de Niḫiriya.

64. H. Freydank, "Gewänder für einen Dolmetscher," *AoF* 21 (1994): 31-33; *Beiträge*, 42, 53, 148 (*limu* Libur-zanin-Aššur).

poussant plus loin que leurs prédécesseurs, jusqu'à Telmessos et Patara dans le pays de Lukka (Lycie-Carie).⁶⁵

Une preuve éclatante des bons rapports existant entre Assyriens et Hittites dans le dernier quart du treizième siècle avant notre ère a été fournie par la publication des textes retrouvés à Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šeḥ Hamad) et Harbē (Tall Huwēra). Les lettres de Dūr-Katlimmu adressées à Aššur-iddin, le fils de Qibi-Aššur, lui aussi vraisemblablement "roi de Hanigalbat," dont une de son cousin Tukulti-Ninurta, sont toutes datées du *limu* Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat,⁶⁶ qui a été l'année de la victoire remportée par le roi d'Aššur contre les Kassites et de la capture du roi de Babylone, Kastiliaš IV, en ca. 1215/1214 av. J. C.⁶⁷ L'une d'elles signale le passage du vainqueur accompagné de ses illustres captifs, Kastiliaš, la reine de Babylone et les "grands" de leur suite.⁶⁸ L'idée, avancée par M. C. Astour, qu'une guerre de revanche, datée de 1227 av. J. C., aurait été menée à cette occasion par le fils aîné de Tuthaliya IV, Arnuwanda III, est réfutée par ce texte, et d'autres de la même archive, qui prouvent que les relations assyro-hittites étaient alors au beau fixe.

Les rois de Hatti, bien que parents par alliance des rois kassites,⁶⁹ ont accepté la mainmise du roi d'Aššur sur le pays de leur ancien allié. Une autre lettre contemporaine de la capture du souverain kassite s'inquiète des arrivages de lin provenant de Karkemiš, dont la régularité revêtait une grande importance aux yeux des responsables assyriens. La tablette retrace l'itinéraire d'une caravane organisée par les marchands du roi de Karkemiš et de son "préfet," Tagi-Šarruma, depuis Kumahu (Kemah), sur le haut-Euphrate jusqu'à Harbē, au coeur du Hanigalbat, en passant par Huzirānu, Ajjānu et Harrānu.⁷⁰ Elle avait été attaquée par des irréguliers, sans doute des "Subriu," et avait essuyé des pertes avant d'atteindre Harbē.⁷¹ Une autre tablette

65. H. G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," *JNES* 26 (1967): 73-81; M. Poetto, *L'Iscrizione Luvio-Geroglifica di Yalburt* (Pavia, 1992), passim; J. D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa* (SÜDBURG). *StBoT Beiheft* 3 (Wiesbaden, 1994), passim; F. C. Woudhuizen, "The Late Hittite Empire in the Light of Recently Discovered Luwian Hieroglyphic Finds," *JIES* 22 (1994): 53-81.

66. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 19-25 et 91-186; C. Saporetti, compte rendu *Or* 66 (1997): 455-58; cf. H. Freydank, *Beiträge*, 60.

67. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 14-19, 140-47, lettre no. 9 (DeZ 3836+4036), du roi à Aššur-iddin; H. Freydank, *Beiträge*, 47-48 et 142.

68. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 147-53, no. 10 (DeZ 3490), lignes 30-35.

69. P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *AoF* 23 (1996): 56-72.

70. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 117-22, no. 6, 31 (Abb. 6—carte); Tagi-Šarruma apparaît auprès de Hešni et du roi d'Ugarit en RS 17.403; cf. F. Malbran-Labat, *RSO* 7 (1995): 37-38, et la remarque de I. Singer, compte rendu de *StBoT* 38, *BiOr* 54 (1997): 420: on ne peut faire de Hešni un nouveau roi de Karkemiš.

71. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 118-19, no. 6 (DeZ 3818), lignes 16'-39'.

signale la présence de marchands d'Emar, le port du "coude de l'Euphrate," vassal du Hatti et en relations étroites avec Ugarit, à Aššur.⁷² L'archive de Dūr-Katlimmu nous renseigne donc à la fois sur la nature pacifique des relations existant entre Aššur, Karkemiš et le Hatti (l'Isuwa est cité deux fois) l'année de la conquête de Babylone par Tukulti-Ninurta (ca. 1215/1214 av. J. C.) et sur le caractère précaire de la domination assyrienne dans le Hanigalbat et en Subartu—deux notions géographiques se recouvrant en partie. Des bandes de Subriu (Hourrites) retranchés dans les monts Hasumu, des sources du Hābūr à celles du Baliḥ, et dans les monts Kašiyari (le Tur Abdin), ne cessent de harceler les districts de Niḫiriya, de Hānu, de Subnat, de Sarua et les "rives du Hābūr," attaquant les caravanes, pillant et brûlant les récoltes alors qu'un envoyé (*ubru*) hittite séjourne chez Aššur-iddin.⁷³

Il est impossible dans ces conditions de supposer, comme le propose M. C. Astour, que l'attaque dont a été victime Emar sous le règne de Pilsu-Dagan ait eu pour auteur le "roi" assyrien du Hanigalbat, Qibi-Aššur. Ce dernier aurait répondu ainsi à l'offensive anti-assyrienne menée par le roi hittite Arnuwanda III l'année de la capture de Kastiliaš ou de la prise de Babylone, datée par lui de 1228/1227 av. J. C.⁷⁴ Les textes de Dūr-Katlimmu démentent sans appel une telle hypothèse. Il est par ailleurs exclu que Qibi-Aššur ait, à cette occasion, repris le titre de "roi des guerriers hourrites" qu'utilisaient les anciens rois de Mitanni.⁷⁵ Il est certain que c'est un chef de bande ayant regroupé des montagnards Subriu qui a cherché à faire revivre la glorieuse appellation des souverains du "Hurri." La date de l'événement, lié à la chronologie controversée des rois d'Emar est difficile à fixer en l'absence de synchronismes sûrs.⁷⁶

72. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 162-65, no. 13 (DeZ 311+3848/9).

73. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 106-11, no. 3 (DeZ 3818); 123-28, no. 7 (DeZ 3835); 129-39, no. 8 (DeZ 32 93); ce dernier texte signale les ravages commis par les ERÍN.MEŠ *šu-ub-ri-u* (traduit "hurritische Soldaten") vers Niḫiriya (l. 54') et la présence de l'envoyé (*ubru*) hittite (l. 58').

74. D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata—Emar VI.3* (Paris, 1986), 57-58, no. 46; *Textes syriens de l'Age du Bronze Récent* (Barcelone, 1991), 33-35, no. 9; 83-84, no. 44; A. Tsukimoto, "Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (I)," *ASJ* 12 (1990): 191-92; C. Zaccagnini, "War and Famine at Emar," *Or* 64 (1995): 92-109; M. R. Adamthwaite, "Ethnic Movements in the Thirteenth Century B.C. as Discernible from the Emar Texts," *Abr Nahrain Suppl.* 5 (1995): 98-106; A. Skaist, *ZA* 88 (1998): 45-71; M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops?" passim.

75. M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops?" 31-35. La guerre menée par Arnuwanda et la riposte assyrienne sont datées de ca. 1227 (p. 48) et racontées (pp. 64-67). Šup-piluliyama aurait repoussé les Assyriens.

76. A. Skaist, *ZA* 88 (1998): 64-67, date l'attaque contre Emar très tôt, avant "1258 B.C.," et la met en rapport avec "l'affaire de Turira" connue par KBo 4.14; ce qui semble incompatible avec ce que l'on sait des relations entre le dernier roi "hourrite," Šattuara II et Hattušili III: cf. la lettre IBoT 1.34 (*THeth* 16, no. 213).

Les textes épistolaires mis à jour à Ḥarbē (Tall Ḥuwēra/Chuera) complètent les indications fournies par ceux de Dūr-Katlimmu.⁷⁷ Il s'agit d'instructions adressées aux gouverneurs de districts (*bēl pāhete*), leur précisant la nature et la quantité des approvisionnements qu'ils étaient chargés de fournir aux envoyés étrangers, à leurs serviteurs et à leurs animaux. Ces "diplomates" qui rentraient dans leurs pays respectifs étaient porteurs de la réponse du roi d'Aššur aux messages de leurs maîtres. Les ordres reçus par les gouverneurs assyriens en ces occasions sont tous datés du *limu* Ninu'aju.⁷⁸ Celui de Ḥarbē devait ainsi prendre en charge un envoyé de Sidon, Milku-rammu, qui, lors du voyage d'aller, avait apporté à Tukulti-Ninurta la "tablette du roi d'Égypte," peut-être envoyée par le fils de Ramsès II, Merneptah, à l'occasion de son avènement (en 1213 av. J. C.).⁷⁹

Si 92 G 208 évoque indirectement un tel événement il est possible de rapprocher ce texte du message RS 88.2158 adressé à la même occasion au roi d'Ugarit (probablement Niqmaddu III) par la chancellerie de Merneptah.⁸⁰ Trois exemplaires de recommandations du même type et de la même date (1213/1212 av. J. C.) avaient été envoyés par les scribes d'Aššur aux gouverneurs d'Aminu, de Saḥlaḥu et de Ḥarbē, sommés de subvenir aux besoins de "l'ambassadeur" (*ubru*) hittite, Tili-Šarruma, rentré d'Aššur après avoir rempli une importante mission à l'occasion d'un possible changement de règne à Ḥattuša.⁸¹ Enfin la tablette 92 G 212, adressée au seul *bēl pāhete* de Ḥarbē réglait de façon identique les problèmes matériels soulevés par le retour de l'envoyé de l'Amurru, un pays vassal du Ḥatti, Yabna-ilu.⁸²

On peut poser la question de savoir s'il s'agit ici de témoignages concernant des activités de routine? Devons-nous croire à des échanges diplomatiques réguliers et fréquents entre les pouvoirs constitués de cette époque? Ou bien l'année du *limu* Ninu'aju n'a-t-elle pas été une année exceptionnelle au cours de laquelle des "envoyés extraordinaires" sont venus chez Tukulti-Ninurta annoncer la mort de Ramsès II, celle d'un roi hittite et l'avènement de leurs successeurs?

Tuthaliya IV a vraisemblablement disparu vers cette époque, après la conquête de Babylone par le roi d'Assyrie. Son fils aîné, Arnuwanda III a dû

77. C. Kühne, "Ein mittellassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv," 203–25.

78. H. Freydank, *Beiträge*, 60 (tableau), 156 (*limu* Ninu'aju).

79. C. Kühne, "Ein mittellassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv," 216 (92.G.208) et 211 (envoi de "Merneptah oder Sethos II").

80. S. Lackenbacher, "Une correspondance entre l'administration du pharaon Merneptah et le roi d'Ugarit," *RSO* 11 (1995): 77–83; "Les relations entre Ugarit et l'Égypte, à propos d'un texte inédit," in *Les relations internationales*, ed. J. Frézouls (Strasbourg, 1995), 107–18.

81. C. Kühne, "Ein mittellassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv," 92 (G.209/211/222) 217–18 et 211, à propos de Tili-Šarruma; cf. H. Klengel, *Gesch.Syr.* I, 81; II, 363–65.

82. C. Kühne, "Ein mittellassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv," 92 (C.212), 218–19.

faire face à de graves difficultés. M. C. Astour a proposé de dater de son court règne la tentative d'usurpation de Kurunta, ce qui ne peut être exclu, et aussi une attaque contre l'Assyrie que démentent les tablettes de Dūr-Katlimmu et de Ḥarbē.⁸³ Il est certain, en tout cas, que son frère Šuppiluliyama II (ca. 1210–1185 av. J. C.) a maintenu la bonne entente rétablie par son père avec Tukulti-Ninurta, ce que montre la persistance des échanges épistolaires entre les deux cours tout au long de son règne.⁸⁴

Une tablette, malheureusement très mutilée,⁸⁵ nous a conservé les fragments d'une lettre de Tukulti-Ninurta à Šuppiluliyama (dont les noms ont disparu), datée du *limu* Ili-ipadda dont on sait qu'il a été "roi du Ḥanigalbat," comme son père Aššur-iddin et son grand-père Qibi-Aššur.⁸⁶ L'année de son éponymat se situe à la fin du règne, vers 1205 avant notre ère.⁸⁷ Dans une "introduction historique" le roi d'Aššur retraçait les vicissitudes de la dynastie kassite depuis les règnes de Kurigalzu (II), Kudur-Ellil et Šagarakti-Šuriaš, certainement pour justifier son usurpation du trône de Babylone.⁸⁸ Tuthaliya était nommé ensuite, avant une cassure du texte, mais la date tardive du message et le fait que le prédicat *qalatunu* ("vous avez gardé le silence") est à la deuxième personne du pluriel montrent que ses fils lui étaient associés dans ce passage. Tuthaliya et ses héritiers avaient eu une attitude de passivité lors d'un événement dramatique au cours duquel la famille de Šagarakti-Šuriaš avait été décimée.⁸⁹ Malgré les lacunes du texte on peut comprendre que ce souverain kassite et les siens, sans doute chassés de Babylone et réfugiés dans le pays de Suḫi, sur le moyen-Euphrate, étaient restés longtemps en bonne relation avec les Hittites. Ceux-ci avaient gardé une "neutralité bienveillante" lors de la prise de Babylone par le roi d'Aššur. Les fils de Šagarakti-Šuriaš avaient, semble-t-il, été assassinés par "l'esclave de Suḫi," personnage redoutable contre lequel Tukulti-Ninurta, après la perte de Babylone, mobilisait ses forces et faisait appel à son "frère," le roi de Ḥatti.⁹⁰ L'envoi de cette longue lettre, remarquable par son ton personnel et son contenu, dont les cassures de la tablette rendent la compréhension difficile, montre que Tukulti-Ninurta faisait alors

83. H. Otten, *MDOG* 94 (1963): 3–4 (règne de Arnuwanda III); M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops?" 49–56.

84. Cf. *THeth* 16, nos. 189, 198–201, 224 et 229.

85. KBo 28.61–64 (*THeth* 16, nos. 198–201); W. von Soden, "Weitere mittellassyrischen Briefbruchstücke aus Hattusas," *FsOtten*², 45–71; H. Freydank, *AoF* 18 (1991): 23–31; E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 39–40.

86. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 20–22 (tableau).

87. H. Freydank, *Beiträge*, 59–61 (tableau) et 141.

88. KBo 28.61–62 ro 12'–29'; KBo 28.64 ro 2'–8'; H. Freydank, *AoF* 18 (1991): 24–25, 28–31; W. von Soden, *FsOtten*², 344–45.

89. KBo 28.61–62 ro 12'–13'; H. Freydank, *AJo* 18 (1991): 24, 29; W. von Soden, *FsOtten*², 338, 340.

90. KBo 28.64 ro 2'–8'; H. Freydank, *AoF* 18 (1991): 30–31.

toute confiance à la confraternité du roi hittite, évoquant même l'attitude de ce dernier dans l'éventualité d'une usurpation qui surviendrait à Aššur ou lors de sa mort.⁹¹

Un texte d'Emar, à peu près contemporain, signale que le "préfet de Suhi" avait pillé Qatna, une ville de la vallée de l'Oronte, vassale du Hatti.⁹² Centre de dispersion des Ahlamu-Araméens, le pays de Suhi a été à cette époque un facteur de déstabilisation des grands états de la région, rôle que les Subriu/Hourrites, les Sutu et d'autres jouaient de la même façon dans la zone stepique et montagneuse située plus au nord.⁹³

D'autres fragments, mal conservés, attestent aussi que l'échange de correspondance entre Hattuša et Aššur a continué à la fin du règne de Tukulti-Ninurta et au-delà. La lettre KUB 3.123 (*THeth* 16, no. 229) a été adressée par le roi d'Aššur *ana mŠu-up-pi-l]u-li-ya-(ma)* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR *Ha-at-ti* ŠEŠ-YA.⁹⁴

Le message KUB 57.8 (*THeth* 16, no. 224) est le "brouillon" hittite d'une lettre de *mKÛ.TÛL-(ma)* LUGAL KUR KÛ.BABBAR, c'est à dire de "Šuppiluliyama, roi de Hatti," à Tukulti-Ninurta vraisemblablement. Le roi hittite parle de son père et de la situation des pays d'Amadana et de Lulluwa dans lesquels le roi assyrien avait opéré.⁹⁵ Après la mort tragique de celui-ci, assassiné par l'un de ses fils en 1197 av. J. C., les relations assyro-hittites n'ont pas été interrompues et ont gardé jusqu'au bout le même caractère de cordialité, comme le montre la dernière missive bien datée, KUB 18.25 (*THeth* 16, no. 189). Bien que les noms des deux correspondants aient disparu, les premières lignes du texte ne laissent planer aucun doute sur leur identité: "Tukulti-Ninurta les a rendues au [roi de Karke]miš (alors) qu'il était venu dans la ville de Waššukanna... Ton père a donné ces localités au roi de Karkemiš (URU.DIDLI.ĤI.A A-NA LUGAL KUR URU.Kar-ga-maš SUM-tà, ro 2'-7'). Moi, j'ai... Que mon frère (le sache)."⁹⁶ Le destinataire de l'original, rédigé en akkadien, était donc un fils de Tukulti-Ninurta,⁹⁷ soit Aššur-nadin-apli (1196-1194 av. J. C.), soit, moins probablement, Enlil-kudur-ušur (1187-1183

91. KBo 28.64 ro 10'-17'; H. Freydank, *AoF* 18 (1991): 25, 31; W. von Soden, *FsOttens*², 345.

92. D. Arnaud, *Emar VI.3*, 259-60, no. 263 ll. 17-19; M. R. Adamthwaite, *Abr Nahrain Suppl.* 5 (1995): 94-97 ("an attack by Aramaeans on Qatna").

93. Cf. H. Sader, "The 12th Century in Syria: The Problem of the Rise of the Arameans," *Crisis Years*, 157-63; T. L. McClellan, "12th Century Syria B.C. Comments on Sader's Paper," *Crisis Years*, 170; G. M. Schwartz, "The Origins of the Arameans in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia: Research Problems and Potential Strategies," in *To the Euphrates and Beyond: Assyriological Studies in Honor of M. N. van Loon*, ed. O. M. C. Haex et al. (Rotterdam, 1989), 275-91.

94. KUB 3.123 (*THeth* 16, 337-38, no. 229).

95. KUB 57.8 (*THeth* 16, 328-30, no. 224).

96. KUB 18.25 (*THeth* 16, 245-47, no. 189).

97. A. Hagenbüchler, *THeth* 16, 247, a prouvé que le texte a été écrit par un fils de Tuthaliya IV, certainement Šuppiluliyama; contra, à tort: A. Harak, *A&H*, 215; M. C. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops?" 43 n. 68; et H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 281.

av. J. C.). A la veille de la catastrophe qui a frappé l'Anatolie et la Syrie, vers 1185/1180 avant notre ère, la bonne entente entre les rois d'Aššur et de Hatti, restaurée vers 1225 av. J. C., se maintenait donc imperturbablement au témoignage de la correspondance échangée entre eux.

L'Assyrie, repliée sur le "vieux pays," n'a pas succombé à la tourmente qui a frappé Hattuša, Ugarit et bien d'autres cités.⁹⁸ Elle n'a eu aucune responsabilité dans la crise qui a emporté le Hatti. Les "Peuples de la Mer" n'ont guère opéré au-delà des régions côtières et leur objectif ultime était l'Égypte.⁹⁹ D'autres ennemis, Gašgas et Muški en Hatti,¹⁰⁰ Subriu et Ahlamu-Araméens à Emar et en Hanigalbat ont été les fauteurs de destructions aussi étendues que celles occasionnées par les "Peuples du nord, sortis de la mer" que dénoncent les inscriptions des pharaons Merneptah (1213-1203 av. J. C.) et Ramsès III (1192-1181).¹⁰¹ Mais c'est la concentration des forces du grand roi hittite et de ses vassaux contre ces derniers, sur les côtes du sud anatolien et en Syrie, qui a permis aux Gašgas et autres de frapper au cœur le Hatti et de détruire Hattuša.¹⁰²

Les fouilles archéologiques menées en haute-Mésopotamie ont montré que les centres administratifs et militaires assyriens du Hanigalbat avaient été abandonnés après la mort de Tukulti-Ninurta.¹⁰³ Lui-même et ses successeurs ont dû faire face au retour en force des Kassites de Babylone. C'est le restaurateur de la puissance kassite, Adad-šuma-ušur, qui, après avoir vaincu le second fils de Tukulti-Ninurta, a favorisé l'usurpation du trône d'Aššur par Ninurta-apil-ekur, le fils du "roi de Hanigalbat," Ili-ipadda, le petit-fils d'Aššur-iddin et l'arrière petit-fils de Qibi-Aššur.¹⁰⁴

98. M. G. Masetti-Rouault, "Syriens et Assyriens dans le Djéziré, XIV^e-IV^e siècle av. J. C.," *Subartu* 6 (1998): 223-42, étudie l'organisation du Hanigalbat assyrien et son abandon au début du 12^e siècle avant notre ère.

99. Vue générale in R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age. Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* (Princeton, 1993), passim; N. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean* (Londres, 1978, 1985), passim; J. Weinstein, "The Collapse of the Egyptian Empire in the Southern Levant," *Crisis Years*, 142-50.

100. E. von Schuler, *Kaškaer*, passim; R. D. Barnett, *CAH* 2/2, 420-21; J. Yakar, "Anatolian Civilization following the Disintegration of the Hittite Empire," *TeI Aviv* 20 (1993): 3-28.

101. J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1927 [3^e éd.]), IV §§ 59-82; W. F. Edgerton and J. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramesses III. The Texts of Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 1936); N. Sandars, *Sea Peoples*, 105-15 (Merneptah), 132-37 (Ramsès III); C. Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil II. De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1995), 569-71 (Merneptah), 597-604 (Ramsès III).

102. Seuls les textes de Ras Shamra parlent de l'intervention des Hittites contre les Peuples de la Mer; cf. M. C. Astour, *AJA* 69 (1965): 253-58; J. Nougayrol, *Ugarit* 5 (1968): 87-89, no. 24; F. Malbran-Labat, *RSO* 7 (1991): 38-39, no. 12 (RS 34.129).

103. Cf. M. G. Masetti-Rouault, *Subartu* 6 (1998): 223-42.

104. C. B. F. Walker, "Babylonian Chronicle 25: A Chronicle of the Kassite and Isin II Dynasties," in *zikir šumim. Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus*, ed. G. van Driel et al. (Leiden, 1982), 398-417.

Dans le sud de l'Anatolie et sur le haut-Euphrate deux grands centres hittites, Tarḫuntašša et Karkemiš, où régnaient des branches cadettes de la famille impériale, ont maintenu les traditions de l'Age du Bronze.¹⁰⁵ Des hiéroglyphes monumentaux ont servi à transcrire les dialectes néo-louvites parlés dans ces régions et les princes des deux cités ont repris le titre de "grand roi."¹⁰⁶ C'est plus tard, du neuvième au septième siècle avant notre ère, si l'on excepte l'intermède de Tiglat-Pileser I (1114–1076 av. J. C.), que les souverains assyriens entreprendront de soumettre et d'annexer les principautés néo-hittites (ou néo-louvites) du sud-est de l'Asie mineure et de la Syrie du nord.¹⁰⁷

EGYPTE	ḪATTI	AŠŠUR	BABYLONE	UGARIT	KARKEMIŠ
Ramsès I (1292–1290)	Muwatalli II (ca. 1292–1272)	Adadnirari (1295–1264)	Nazimaruttaš (1294–1269)	Niqmepa (ca. 1310–1260)	Šarri-Kušuḫ (1325–1310)
Sethi I (1290–1278)	Muršili III = Urḫi-Tešub (ca. 1272–1267)	Salmanasar I (1263–1234)	Kadašman-Turgu (1268–1251)		Šaḫurunuwā (1310–ca. 1255)
Ramsès II (1279–1213)	Ḫattušili III (ca. 1267–1240)		Kadašman-Enlil II (1250–1244)	Ammištamru II (ca. 1260–1230)	Inu-Tešub (ca. 1255–1220)
	Tutḫaliya IV (ca. 1240–1212)	Tukulti-Ninurta (1233–1197)	Kudur-Enlil (1243–1234)	Ibiranu (ca. 1230–1220)	
			Šagarakti-Šuriaš (1233–1221)		
	Arnuwanda III (ca. 1212–1210)			Niqmaddu III (ca. 1220–1210)	Talmi-Tešub (ca. 1220–1190)
Merneptah (1213–1203)			Kaštiliaš IV (1220–1214)		
				'Ammurapi (ca. 1210–1185)	
Amenmesse (1203–1198)	Šuppiluliyama II (ca. 1210–1185)		Enlil-nadin-šumi		
			Kadašman-Ḫarbe II		
Sethi II (1198–1193)		Aššur-nadin-apli (1196–1194)	Adad-šum-iddin		
Siptah (1193–1186)		Aššurnirari III (1193–1188)			Kuzi-Tešub (ca. 1190–1170)
Tausert (1186–1185)		Enlil-kudur-ušur (1187–1183)			
Sethnakht (1186–1182)		Ninurta-apil-ekur (1182–1170)	Adad-šum-ušur (?–1181)		
Ramsès III (1182–1151)		Aššur-dan I (1169–1134)	Melišipak (1180–1166)		

105. H. G. Güterbock, "Survival of the Hittite Dynasty," *Crisis Years*, 53–55; J. D. Hawkins, "Kuzi-Tešub and the 'Great Kings' of Karkamiš," *AnSt* 38 (1988): 99–108; H. Otten, *Die 1986 in Boğazköy gefundene Bronzetafel* (Innsbruck, 1989), 3–35; J. Yakar, *Tel Aviv* 20 (1993): 3–28; I. Singer, "Great Kings of Tarḫuntašša," *SMEA* 38 (1996): 63–71.

106. J. D. Hawkins, *StBoT* Beiheft 3, 73–85.

107. J. D. Hawkins, "The Neo-Hittite States in Syria and Anatolia," *CAH* 3/1, 372–441.

The Upper Land, mātum elītum

O. R. GURNEY†

Oxford

The ancient people of Mesopotamia divided their world into **upper** and lower, *mātum elītum*, *mātum šaplītum*. The two correlative terms with their Sumerian equivalents were enshrined in their geographical lists (cf. *CAD* s.v. *šaplû* 1 (e) 2'). Such a view is natural for dwellers in river valleys: it was the same for the Egyptians (e.g., EA 369). There was an Upper Sea and a Lower Sea (in this context a variant form *šapiltum* is attested), and kings who claimed to rule the world were said to rule "from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea."¹

The earliest occurrence of "Upper Land" as a specific geographical area is in the Old Akkadian account of Sargon of Akkad's expedition to the west: "Sargon the King prostrated himself in prayer before Dagan in Tutul, and he gave him the Upper Land, Mari, Yarmuti and Ibla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountain."² The Upper Land (here *mātum alitum*) is probably intended to subsume the three North Syrian localities Mari, Yarmuti and Ibla.³ These were not "highlands" as sometimes translated: the term surely indicated simply that they were up-river. Similarly Naram-Sin conquered Armanum and Ibla as far as the "Upper Sea" and the Amanus. The "Silver Mountain" must be the Taurus, but to what extent Sargon penetrated into these mountains

1. From the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I, as it became necessary to specify particular seas in historical records, this was done by additional attributes, such as "eastern" (*ša šit šamsi*), "western" (*ša šalām šamsi* etc.), "of Amurru," "of the Nairi Lands," and later the old terms "Upper" and "Lower" were dropped, but in some instances (especially with the "Upper Sea" in the prism of Tiglathpileser, iv 50), the scribes seem to have been uncertain which was the right attribute to use, and the uncertainty persists to this day: cf. H. F. Russell, *AnSt* 34 (1984): 192 with n. 86, and J. D. Hawkins, *RLA* 8, 36.

2. Translation by A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*, 268; revised by A. K. Grayson, *RIME* 2, no. 11.

3. E. Ebeling, B. Meissner, E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* (Leipzig, 1926), 24 n. 4; A. Götzke, *KI*, 61 n. 11. Others have taken them as distinct items (e.g., H. Lewy, *Or* 27 [1958]: 15 n. 1); the Upper Land would then denote Upper Mesopotamia, as it did later.

is uncertain.⁴ For Shamshi-Adad and the kings of Mari *mātum elitum* meant simply upper Mesopotamia.⁵

E. Forrer suggested that the Hittite terms Lower Land (*mātum šaplītum*) and Upper Land (*mātum elitum*) for parts of Anatolia must have been inherited from the Old Assyrian colonists.⁶ But the colonists did not use the term *mātum elitum*. Their well-known terms for their territory in Anatolia were *Hattum* and *libbi mātim*. Until recently the phrase *ša ma-at ša-pé-el-tim* "that of the lower land" was known from a single instance where the context is broken and the meaning uncertain. But two more occurrences have now come to light, from which it has become clear that this is an abbreviated allusion to a consignment of tin from Mesopotamia which the writer was expecting shortly,⁷ comparable to the use of phrases like "going down" from Anatolia to Assur and "going up" to Kaniš and other places.⁸ Their "Lower Land" was a term for Mesopotamia. Though the Hittite city of Purushanda or Parsuhanda was in the Hittite Lower Land, the term does not occur in the context of the countless references to the Assyrian colony of Burushatum.

The Hittites took over from Mesopotamia the concept of the Sun God who brings light to "all the upper and lower countries" (*šarazziyaš utneāš katterašša utneāš humandaš*),⁹ i.e. the whole world, but their use of the Akkadian equivalents of the same terms for parts of Anatolia would seem to have been an innovation, based on altitude as seen from their capital, Hattusa. The *mātum elitum* attracted the attention of Hittitologists first as the province assigned to Hattusili III by his brother, Muwatalli II, on his accession to the kingship. It was fully discussed by A. Goetze in his monograph *Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit* (1924), 5ff., and though that work is otherwise largely obsolete, there is little to add to his masterly treatment of this name. A modern summary is given in *RGTC* 6, 293f. by G. del Monte and J. Tischler (1978), and there is a discussion by M. Forlanini and M. Marazzi in their *Atlante Storico* of 1986 (2nd ed. 1992). In the "concentric invasions" of *KBo* 6.28 it was the province struck by Azzi-Hayasa in the time prior to the

4. Doubts arise because of the allusion by Hattusili I to a crossing of the river Euphrates by Sargon—apparently at Hahhum which was certainly north of Carchemish—and the legend "King of Battle." Cf. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 18 (1964): 1–6; A. Malamat, *FsLandsberger*, 366 n. 6a.

5. *KAH* 1 2 iv 7; F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 33 (1936): 177; G. Dossin, *RA* 35 (1938): 184 n. 1; *ARM* 15.256.

6. E. Forrer, *Forsch.* I, 40f.

7. *KTS* 41 a 7, noted by A. Götz, *KP*, 72 n. 7; I am grateful to Prof. M. T. Larsen for informing me of two recently published examples of similar phrases in E. Bilgiç and K. Hecker, *Ankaraner Kültepe Texte* III (Ankara, 1995), nos. 73 and 74.

8. See *CAD* s.v. *arādu* and *elū*.

9. H. G. Güterbock, *JAOS* 78 (1958): 240, 40–41. In *KUB* 26.9 i 6 the reading *KUR kat-te-iri-ia* proposed by A. Goetze *Kizz.*, 23; and S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *THeth* 8, 367, cannot mean "the Lower [Land]" in the context; see F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OA* 14 (1975): 100ff.

revival under Suppiluliuma. As Goetze showed, the same text makes it clear that it lay to the north of Isuwa and Tegarama.¹⁰ Azzi-Hayasa was an eastern country situated by a "sea," which was probably Lake Van rather than the Black Sea as we formerly argued.¹¹ Other places "in the direction of the Upper Land" (ablative) later invaded by Azzi-Hayasa were Istitina and Kannuwara, which had previously been raided by "Pihhuniyas the Kaska-man of Tipiya."¹² Thus there is no doubt that to the west of Azzi-Hayasa the Upper Land adjoined the area troubled by the Kaska folk. A. Ünal, summarizing the Upper Land, described it as bounded on the north and north-east by the Kaska country, on the south-east by Azzi-Hayasa, though its southern limits remained unclear.¹³ Del Monte and Tischler described it as bounded on the northeast by Istitina and Azzi and the Kaskan Tipiya. R. Lebrun took from E. Laroche the definition "the quadrilateral Sivas-Kayseri-Malatya-Erzincan."¹⁴ Its capital and the residence of the governor was Samuha, the city of the goddess Ištar-Šaušga (Apology iii 19). This city had been the base from which Suppiluliuma and his father Tudhaliya III had set out to restore the kingdom.¹⁵

When Muwatalli moved his government from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa in the Lower Land he increased his brother's territory by the following "empty" (i.e. devastated) lands: Marista, Ishupitta, Hissashapa, Katapa, Hanhana, Tarahna, Hattena, Turmitta, Pala, Tumanna, Kassiya, Sappa, and the Hulana River, together with Hakmis and Istahara¹⁶ for "service." The parallel text *KBo* 6.29 mentions only Hakmis, Istahara, Tarahna, Hattena, and Hanhana, apparently summarising the whole province, but adds Kurustama "as boundary"; it states that he ruled all these lands under his brother, but does not use

10. Text *apud* A. Goetze, *Kizz.*, 21–22. This is not the same territory as claimed by Sargon of Akkad.

11. Already suggested by V. Haas in *AoF* 12 (1985): 276f. n. 86. Furthermore, in *KUB* 34.23 i 24 (H. G. Güterbock, *DŠ*, frag. 25) deportees are said to have escaped from Zuhhapa into Hayasa; Suppiluliuma pursued them in the winter and brought them back. The same incident is apparently told in *KUB* 19.20 obv. 1–3 (E. Forrer, *Forsch.* II 28; A. Hagenbüchler, *THeth* 16, no. 208; Th. van den Hout, *ZA* 84 [1994]: 60ff.), where the deportees are brought back from Alziya. The latter country is frequently linked with Assur and was located near the headwaters of the Tigris. Zuhma (surely the same as Zuhhapa) was further east on the north bank (or both banks) of the Arsianias. On this expedition Suppiluliuma clearly remained south of the Pontic mountains. On the location of Alzi(ya) and Z/Suhma, see H. F. Russell, *AnŠr* 34 (1984): 180ff.; and most recently J. D. Hawkins, "The Land of Isuwa: the Hieroglyphic Evidence," *3rdHitt. Cong.*, 281–95.

12. *KBo* 4.4 ii 16ff.

13. *THeth* 3, 224f.

14. R. Lebrun, *Samuha*, 5.

15. H. G. Güterbock, *DŠ*, 63ff., fragments 10, 11, 12, where the enemy was Hayasa. After this he "came down from the Upper Country."

16. In iii 32 the partially preserved name Zip[lanta] is added.

the term Upper Land. Many of these are garrison towns from which campaigns started. A. Goetze assumed, perhaps rightly, that Kurustama was then his boundary against the homeland of Hatti, Hattusa itself being still controlled by the elderly Mitannamuwa who had been appointed by Muwatalli.¹⁷ Hattusili became "King of Hakmis," a title which, one would think, might have replaced that of Governor of the Upper Land. However, there is a seal of Hattusili "King of the Upper Land" which probably represents this stage of his career, implying that the Upper Land was itself increased by these territories.¹⁸ After the death of Muwatalli, Urhi-Teshub moved the capital back to Hattusa, and in the civil war that ensued we are told that he moved from the city of Marassantiya to the Upper Land, for which the older text substitutes the name of its capital, Samuha. The city of Marassantiya, where Mursili II once spent the winter, must have been somewhere on the Marassantiya (Halys) River. It was clearly here regarded as outside the Upper Land.

The recently published Maşat archive now provides a glimpse from an earlier century. Sedat Alp assigned these letters to the reign of Tudhaliya III, the father of Suppiluliuma; but J. Klinger has found reasons to believe that they are somewhat earlier than this.¹⁹ The military situation reflected in the letters does not suggest an imminent catastrophe such as is described in the "concentric invasions" of KBo 6.28. Plans are made and troops are mobilized for the prosecution of the war against the Kaska on several fronts. Kizzuwadna is an advance post (*hantezziš auriš*). A campaign against Arzawa seems to be contemplated. Prominent officials, such as Himmuiili, Armaziti and Piseni, have the same names as persons otherwise known from the time of Tudhaliya I/II,²⁰ the last-named from the Madduwatta text. Another striking suggestion of a very early date, not mentioned by Klinger, is contained in letter 96. The name of the addressee is lost, but the letter is written by the king to a subordinate official or general who is addressed in the imperative. He is ordered to go first to the Upper Land, then to the country Hayasa and set it in order. "The troops of the countries, the Upper Land, Ishupitta, Mt. Sakattunuwa, Sanahuitta, Tuppazziya, Lahuwazantiya, Isuwa and [. . .], whatever troops there be of the Upper Land, mobilize all of them." The form of expression is not very clear, but it can surely only mean that all these places were part of the Hittite Upper

Land at this time. Isuwa had first been conquered by Tudhaliya I/II (KUB 23.11). In the "concentric invasions" it is an enemy country invading Tegarima. It was reconquered by Suppiluliuma.

This seems to show that the Maşat tablets date from a time between these events when Isuwa was still part of Hatti. Ishupitta is among the places listed in Hattusili III's command; it appears again with Mt. Sakaddunuwa and Karahna as part of the Upper Land in letter no. 71. Sanahuitta also appears in a context closely associated with Tasmaha and Kammama in the same area.²¹ Lahuwazantiya was in the Taurus area near Hurama (Elbistan?), according to G. Eisser and J. Lewy, *MVAG* 33, no. 252,²² and Tuppazziya appears in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma in a context that seems to show proximity to Tuwanuwa and points towards the same region, though Tuwanuwa itself was in the Lower Land. It is noteworthy that Samuha is not listed in Maşat 96, but it could have been the missing last name. Thus *mātum elitum* already seems to have covered the whole territory from Isuwa beyond the Euphrates to the vicinity of Hattusa in the north and included the whole of the Anti-Taurus, bounded only to the south by Kizzuwadna and presumably the Lower Land. This would indeed be the "Highlands," and the name "Lower Land" for the Konya plain would need no further explanation. If it was restricted to the northern quadrilateral by the time of Hattusili III, this would have resulted from the troubled history of the period. The reference to Hayasa as if it was part of the kingdom also shows that in the Mita text (*CTH* 146, to which KUB 31.103 appears to be closely related),²³ and the Hukkana treaty (*CTH* 42) we have indications of successive stages in the development of local authorities with which Suppiluliuma was eventually forced to negotiate.

For the location of Samuha scholars are to this day divided between the Euphrates and the Halys rivers, as recorded in *RGTC* 6. The arguments were presented clearly in *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 33ff., and there is no need to repeat them here.²⁴ Supporters of both locations have found navigable stretches of river which are compatible with the description of river transport

17. KBo 4.12. So *RGTC* 6, 294.

18. The bulla is published in K. Bittel *et al.*, *Boğazköy* III, no. 9; see Laroche, *RHA* XVI (1958): 116f., *HH*, no. 197.1. I am grateful to J. D. Hawkins for drawing my attention to this seal.

19. J. Klinger, *ZA* 85 (1995): 74–108.

20. Whether these were two different kings or one and the same is still a matter of controversy. J. Klinger holds that only one king is involved. He therefore calls the father of Suppiluliuma Tudhaliya II. For the problem of the sequence of events at this time, cf. R. Beal, *Or* 55 (1986): 433ff.; G. Wilhelm, *FsOttens*², 365ff.; J. Freu, *Hethitica* 13 (1996): 27ff. and *Studia Mediterranea* 9 (1995): 133ff.; Klinger, *ZA* 85 (1995): 241ff.

21. KUB 40.99 (quoted under Iskamahasa in *RGTC* 6) and KUB 26.62. S. Alp in *HBM* 36 supports a similar location. The identification with Old Assyrian Sinahutum and Neo-Assyrian Sinuhtum has been disputed by M. Forlanini, *Hethitica* 6 (1985): 47.

22. There seems to have been another La(hu)wazantiya in Cilicia, to judge from the campaign of Shalmaneser III (J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *Geogr.* 53). This Lawazantiya, with the seven springs of KUB 7.20, was located by E. I. Gordon at Tatarlı Hüyük, Keçebey (M. V. Seton-Williams, *AnSt* 4 [1954]: 170 no. 39). See B. Alkım, *Anatolica* 1 (1967): 18.

23. Cf. Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Records*, 4.

24. The statement on p. 36 that Kussara cannot have been far from Hattusas was an error rightly criticised by J. Lewy in *HUCA* 33 (1962): 47 n. 10. It is known to have been in the Taurus area, near Hurma and Luhazatiya.

between Pittiyariga, Arziya and Samuha in KUB 31.79.²⁵ However, I am indebted to N. P. Sköt Jörgensen of Trige, Denmark, for drawing my attention to a report of a lively river traffic actually observed on the Murad Su by a traveller in 1866.²⁶ This, though not conclusive, must undoubtedly carry some weight in the debate.

The first to consider the problem of Pittiyariga was E. Forrer in 1929, who did not know of the navigation text.²⁷ It is noteworthy that operating with earlier maps he found no less than three places named "Petscheritsch" or "Pe-kerik": one "near the upper Euphrates," a second "northwest of Kemakh," and a third "16 km north of Kemakh." He distinguished two Hittite places: the second would be the city besieged by the Kaska folk (Hatt. ii 20), the first the place concerned in CTH 146 with Pahhuwa and Isuwa, territories certainly east of the Euphrates (see above).

J. Garstang, in JNES 1 (1942), investigated this question explicitly, with preliminary knowledge of the navigation text. He placed Samuha at Malatya, but since his starting point was the purely phonetic identification of Pahhuwa with Pingan and Hahhum with Kangal, his argument did not carry conviction.

Hamit Koşay actually found a site still named Samuka beside the Euphrates opposite Arapkir, and this was adopted by R. Lebrun in his monograph on Samuha, but as Garstang had vividly described, on this stretch the river flowed in a turbulent gorge and has generally been thought unsuitable for navigation.

Sedat Alp equated Pittiyariga with Pertek on the north bank of the Murad Su, Samuha being lower down the river on the same bank before the junction with the Euphrates.²⁸ The resemblance of names is attractive, and this is the very stretch of river where navigation was observed in 1866. Pittiyariga at Pertek would also have been within easy reach of Pahhuwa and Isuwa with which it is associated in the Pahhuwa text CTH 146. But Pittiyariga was the cult-centre of a venerated storm-god, included in the Prayer of Muwatalli II (CTH 381) in one paragraph with the Hurrian deities of Uda (in Kizzuwadna or the Taurus area) but widely separated from the deities of Isuwa, Sullama and Hatra. It is also a place that is said to have been besieged by the Kaska

25. Modern translations are available in R. Lebrun, *Samuha*, text no. 51, and A. Hagenbühner, *THeth* 16, no. 90. It should be noted that in ll. 19–20, as restored by Hagenbühner, the boats are said to return to Pittiyariga for a new load. I am indebted to Dr. David French for pointing out that this operation would have been easier on the Kızıl Irmak than on the Euphrates, though in the broader and slower stretches of the Euphrates it might still have been feasible.

26. J. G. Taylor, "Journal of a tour in Armenia, Kurdistan, and Upper Mesopotamia, with Note of Researches in the Deyrsim Dag, in 1866," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 38 (1868): 281ff.

27. *Forsch.* 1, 243; *Caucasica* 9 (1931): 7.

28. *Anatolia* 1 (1956): 77–80: confused in *RGTC* 6 with Koşay's location

folk who had occupied Sattupa and Dankuwa, places certainly in the far north, and there is nothing else in the Hittite texts to suggest that these tribes had reached so far to the south-east. Not till more than a century later do we hear that Tiglathpileser I encountered 4000 Kaska men, soldiers from Hatti, who had seized the cities of the land of Subartu; they are generally thought to be immigrants following the downfall of the Hittite kingdom.²⁹ A further argument against the position for Samuha near Malatya is that though P. Garelli opted for this location for the Old Assyrian *kārum* Samuha, the references in the texts are very few: had it been there they would surely have been more numerous. The only Old Assyrian text with any indication of location is still TC 10, quoted in our *Geography* and by J. Lewy (n. 24). In fact Garelli admitted that Samuha lies outside the (normal) "limit for the geography of these regions."³⁰

Since that time M. Forlanini has reinforced the case for the Halys by reference to KUB 25.32, where in a ritual lasting several days at Karahna one day is said to have taken place at Sapuha—acknowledged to be a variant form of Samuha.³¹ Karahna is certainly a city in Kaska country and the classical Carana provides a satisfactory equation. The apparent proximity of Sattupa and Dankuwa to Pittiyariga (see above) is in favour of this location. The fact that the excavators of Kuşaklı Hüyük near Sivas believe their site to be the city Sarissa is also significant, since the names Sarissa and Samuha appear together on the fragment KBo 1.58, possibly an itinerary.³²

The third river port, Arziya, has not yet been considered by commentators. A place of this name appears frequently in treaties as the cult-centre of Zababa, and in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma the broken name has been restored by E. Forrer and H. G. Güterbock in KBo 5.6 ii 6, so that the countries of Arziya and Karkamis together are said to have made peace with Telipinu.³³ However, though the traces of the second sign as copied by Forrer seem certain, the last sign as seen by B. Hrozný ends in an unbroken vertical. If this were the river

29. Prism ii 100. Twenty thousand Muski, who were certainly recent immigrants, are reported by Tiglathpileser to have been encountered at roughly the same time in Katmuhi slightly to the north-east (ibid. i 62). See H. Tadmor in *Symposia Celebrating the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, ed. F. M. Cross (Chico, CA, 1979), 11–14; D. J. Wiseman, *CAH* 2/2, 457. For the same reason the identification of "Hahha," the site of the first victory of Hattusili III over the Kaska-folk, with Hahhum, the kingdom by the Euphrates conquered by Hattusili I, is surely unacceptable.—see *FsAlp*, 214, 217.

30. *AC*, 118.

31. *FsMeriggi*², 181 n. 84.

32. Cited *RGTC* 6 s.v. Nenisanukuwa. Against this is the fragment KUB 40.98, where Samuha is followed by Hurma, Urikina, Urauna, Uda, Ellaia, and Hupisna, all places in the Taurus area; cf. H. Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975): 52 n. 57; M. Forlanini, *Hethitica* 10 (1990): 114f. There is no reference to Samuha in connexion with Isuwa.

33. Güterbock, *DŠ*, 92; cf. Forrer, *Forsch.* II, 43f.

port, we should apparently have proof that the river was the Euphrates. But it is difficult to see how the Arziya of the river text could have been so close to Karkamis, since the "small boat" would have had to take its cargo upstream, and it is in fact generally agreed that a position south of Malatya for the river-transport text is impossible. Thus a misreading here seems probable. The name of Armatana comes to mind, though this would not correspond to the traces.³⁴ The reference to Arziya in *DŠ* fragment 3 (KUB 19.22) is in a small fragment without any satisfactory context.

Thus the evidence is still inconclusive for Samuha. But if it was on the Halys, with Pittiyariga and Arziya, as the evidence seems to require, another Pittiyariga seems to be required for the Mita affair, as already suggested by Forrer in 1929, especially as the two other names in -riga, Ismeriga and Murmuriga, are both in the Euphrates area.

This article is offered to Harry Hoffner in the hope that it may make a small contribution on this happy occasion to the vexed subject of Hittite historical geography.

34. On the strength of this reading A. Goetze tentatively restored the name again in connexion with Nuhassi in KBo 4.4 i 12 (AM 108).

Bull Jumping in a Hittite Text?

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK[†]

Chicago

I of course wish to contribute to the festschrift of my colleague. Unfortunately, this is at a time when I can no longer see to read. I have heavily depended on the help of Richard Beal and on discussions with Oğuz Soysal and Aslıhan Yener and on an observation of my wife, Frances. I want to express my sincere thanks to all of them.

I would like to comment on a recent set of articles in *Anatolian Studies*, vol. 44 by Ahmet Ünal and Oliver Gurney, concerning Hittite texts.¹ Most of these texts are transliterated by Ünal. Actually, sometime before these articles appeared, Harry Hoffner read to me KBo 27.39 (now transliterated by Ünal, as no. 4 on p. 215) and its parallel KUB 60.56 (no. 1), which mention a man who swallows a GÍR, "sword/dagger/knife," and "men of the ladder" (LÚ.MEŠ GÍŠKUN₃). I agree with Ünal that these passages mention what is described on the relief from Alaca Höyük.² This relief was explained to me by Henri Frankfort when I met him in Ankara about 1953, namely that the man on the left is a sword-swallower and the two men with the ladder are somehow equilibrists. Ünal cites Edouard Meyer³ as speaking of a free-standing ladder. I do not know whether mounting a free-standing ladder is technically possible without at least holding it with one hand. It might still lean against a wall. My wife, Frances, tells me that the man on the ground behind the ladder sticks up his two thumbs, while the man on the ladder holds up his right index finger behind his head and holds an undetermined object in the palm of his left hand, but clearly not a chisel as John Garstang believed.⁴ Garstang's theory that this man was chiseling an inscription or a

1. Ahmet Ünal, "The Textual Illustration of the 'Jester Scene' on the Sculptures of Alaca Höyük," *AnSt* 44 (1994): 207–18. O. R. Gurney, "The Ladder-men at Alaca Höyük," *AnSt* 44 (1994): 219–20.

2. Kurt Bittel, *Hethiter*, 193 fig. 218.

3. *Reich und Kultur der Chethiter* (1914), 79.

4. J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (1929), 139.

relief into the very wall on which the ladder was leaning never appealed to me. I don't think a Hittite artist would have made such a representation. And Beal adds that such a motif would not fit into the context of a religious ceremony.

Another acrobatic feat might be mentioned in the following text. When I prepared my article on the musical instruments *arkammi*, *galgalturi* and *huhupal*,⁵ I had Beal prepare for me a transliteration of the entire ritual text KUB 25.37 + KUB 35.132+. At the time I omitted the first two lines of col. iii in the fragment KUB 35.132, after the Luwian recitation that ends col. ii,⁶ because the sequence [. . .] *watkuzi nu ANA GUD MAḪ* [. . . *ḫal*] *ziššanzi* "[. . .] jumps and they call [. . .] to the bull" struck me as opening problems unrelated to my subject matter. Since then the news reached us of the discovery of fragments of a relief vase actually depicting acrobats jumping over a bull. The official publication by the Turkish archaeologists is still pending, but a preliminary notice by C. S. Lightfoot has appeared.⁷ The vase is said to belong to the same style as the İnandık Vase⁸ of the Old Hittite Period. Ashhan Yener reminds me of a seal found in the palace of Alalah VII (Old Babylonian, i.e., more or less contemporary with the Old Hittite period) published by Dominique Collon⁹ which shows bull jumping. Beal found through the computer of the Research Archives another article by Collon describing Syrian seals from the same period portraying bull jumping.¹⁰ The tablet KUB 25.37++ with its Luwian recitations is dated by Starke to the late 14th century and would point to an area where Luwian was spoken, either western Anatolia or Kizzuwatna (Cilicia).

Beal has looked up *watku*-in the CHD files. He found that it usually takes *-kan* and that it is not attested with an accusative of the way, but is attested with dative-locative and occasionally with *šer* or *šarā*. He found several examples of a bull jumping (sexually) on a man—happenings which were considered possible reasons for divine anger.¹¹ However, such a happening is precluded in the context of the festival under discussion. Since the space available for the clause ending with the verb *watkuzi*, based on the number of

signs in complete lines later in column iii, allows for approximately seven signs, it is tempting to propose a restoration like:

1. [1 LÚ.GURUŠ-*kán* A-NA GUD.MAḪ w]a-«at»-ku-zi nu A-NA GUD.MAḪ
2. [o o o o o o *ḫal*]-zi-iš-ša-an-zi
3. [LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} La-al-lu-]pi-ya-ya A-NA LÚSAGI.A
4. [o o o o o o] *ḫal*-zi-iš-ša-an-zi
5. [LÚSAGI.A] *ša-ra-a ti-ya-zi*
6. [nu(?) ma-a-an(?) LÚS]AGI.A *ša-ra-a ti-ya-zi*

"[One young man] leaps [on a bull]. They call out [. . .] to the bull. And the Lallupiya-men call out [. . .] to the cupbearer. [The cupbearer] gets up. § [When(?) the cupbearer gets up, . . .]"

Unfortunately, the Hittite passage just quoted does not prove that the text speaks of bull jumping, but the sequence of words is highly suggestive and the archaeological finds show that it would not be impossible. Assuming that my tentative restoration is correct, the question arises whether the LÚ.MEŠHUB.BI "acrobats"¹² mentioned in some festival texts might include bull jumpers along with other performers.

I wish Harry Hoffner many more years of Hittitology and I hope that he will see the appearance of a text confirming or disproving my proposal.

12. HZL, s.v.; F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 317–19 ("Tänzer"); CAD H s.v. *ḫuppā*

5. "Reflections on the Musical Instruments *arkammi*, *galgalturi*, and *huhupal* in Hittite," *FsHouwink tenCate*, 57–72.

6. Transliterated by Frank Starke, *StBoT* 30, 346.

7. "Hittite Vases with Minoan Links Excite Archaeologists," *Minerva* 9/1 (Jan./Feb. 1998): 3–4. Reference courtesy of A. Yener.

8. Tahsin Özgüç, *İnandıktepe: Eski Hitit Çağında Önemli bir Kült Merkezi* (Ankara, 1988), 83–106, figs. 64–65, Pl. F–L, pl. 36–59.

9. *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (London, 1975), 60, seal impression no. 111, found in room 11.

10. "Bull-Leaping in Syria," *Ägypten und Levante* 4 (1994): 81–88.

11. KBo 6.26 iv 19–20 (Laws §199); KUB 5.9 obv. 12–13 (oracle question); cf. similarly in broken context KUB 18.9 iv 3–8; and cf. similarly involving a pig: KUB 18.9 ii 23, iii 7–8 (oracle questions).

*Betrachtungen zur Traditionsgeschichte
hethitischer Rituale am Beispiel des
"Sündenbock"-Motivs*

VOLKERT HAAS

Berlin

*And here is Cornelia, with her sandy little row of curls,
and her bright spectacles, still working like a sexton
in the graves of languages.*

—Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son*, Chapter XLI,
siehe auch XI

Bei eingehender Betrachtung der hethitischen **Ritualliteratur** wird deutlich, daß ihr bereits eine lange Tradition vorangegangen sein muß. Dies zeigt sich in ihrem Umfang, ihrer vollendeten Gestaltung, im strengen, in sich logischen Aufbau, der stets ähnlichen Aufeinanderfolge spezifischer Ritualhandlungen, der nahezu gleichförmigen Verwendung der *materia magica*, sowie der Ritualsprache mit ihren spezifischen Fachtermini und syntaktischen Wendungen.

Die ältesten aus Anatolien überlieferten Riten finden sich in den Texten der altassyrischen Handelskolonie vom Kültepe: So berichtet etwa ein altassyrischer Brief von einem Schwur- oder Vereidigungsritus eines anatolischen Fürsten, bei dem das Ausschütten von Wein in Analogie zum vergossenen Blut gesetzt ist: "Zu Aššur, Adad, der Erde und den Totengeistern seines Vaters hob er seine Hand. Seinen Tisch und Stuhl überschritt er. Eine Schale und seinen Becher füllte und goß er aus. Der Fürst (sprach dabei) folgendermaßen: '... soll mich zerstreuen!' Sie antworteten folgendermaßen: 'Wenn wir den Eid verwerfen, sei unser Blut wie (dieser) Becher ausgegossen!'"¹

1. kt n/k 794, Rs. 29–42; der Text ist bearbeitet von S. Çeçen und K. Hecker, "ina mātika eblum. Zu einem neuen Text zum Wegerecht in der Kültepe-Zeit," in *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament. Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*, ed. M. Dietrich und O. Loretz (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995), 31–41.

Die frühest im hethitischen Schrifttum belegten rituellen Elemente und Bausteine der Rituale führen in die Zeit Hattušilis I. KBo 22.6, die Erzählung vom Zug Sargons gegen Purušhanda, deren Entstehung in diese Epoche zu führen scheint, enthält ein Opferritual, bestehend aus einem Stier und sieben Schafen, an den Tigris: "Šarrukinaš machte sich auf nach Purušhanda. Sein Heer war ängstlich ringsum. Und er opferte dem reinen Fluß Tigris einen Stier und sieben Schafe."²

Von einem Ritus zur Steigerung der Kampfkraft des Heeres berichtet ein auf Narām-Sîn bezogener Text: "[Das gan]ze Heer stellte ich gegen den Hurriter auf, und darüber liebier[te] ich Wein. [Da leisteten dem (Zahl)] Mann, [meinen] Krieg[ern, (so und soviel) tausend] feindliche Soldaten keinen Wi[derstand]."³

CTH 16⁴ ist der nur bedingt verständliche Bericht des Puḫanu, eines Dieners des Šarmaššu. Der erste Paragraph dieses Berichtes ist im Ritualstil verfasst; darin heißt es: "[...] ein Mensch ihm [...]. Er ist mit einem bunten Gewand bekleidet. Auf seinem Kopf liegt ein Korb. [...] Er hält seinen Bogen und 'zu Hilfe' ruft er. Was, ja was habe ich getan?"⁵ Die folgenden Paragraphen führen die Klage fort: "Warum handeltet ihr so an mir und bandet mir dieses Joch auf? Ich komme, und mit diesem Korb bringe ich Eis; ich werde kämpfen und das Land zugrunde richten, und zwar mit diesem Pfeil. Ihn (den Pfeil) wirst du in ihr Herz stoßen!"⁶ Mit dem letzten Satz ist offenbar der König (Hattušili I.) direkt angesprochen, der dann auch anschließend (§10) spricht. Es scheint wahrscheinlich, daß Puḫanu hier von einem Ritual bzw. von einer Ritualstrafe berichtet. Das bunte Gewand begegnet sonst noch als Bekleidung der ALAN.ZÜ-Komödianten im Festritual.⁷ Einen entehrenden Strafritus beschreibt auch CTH 7, der Bericht über die Belagerung von Uršu. Der Ritus soll offenbar die Feigheit der Soldaten bzw. deren Effeminierung brandmarken: "Eine Spindel brachten sie, Pfeile trugen sie weg; einen Schminkspachtel(?) brachten sie, eine

2. LUGAL.GI-na-aš^{URU}pu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-da i-ia-an-ni-eš ta-az-kán tu-uz-z[i x] a-ra-aḫ-za-anda la-aḫ-la-aḫ-ḫi-ia-at-ta nu A-NA¹⁷a-ra-an-za-ḫi šu-up-pí 1 GUD.MAH 7 UDU^{11A} ḫu-u-e-ek-ta, Vs. i 14'-17'.

3. KBo 3.13 1'-18', bearbeitet von H. G. Güterbock, ZA 44 (1938): 70-75.

4. Eine erste vollständige Bearbeitung liegt von O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 173ff. vor.

5. KBo 3.40 Vs. 1-3: [(x-aš an-tu-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ši)] [TÚG.G]Ú.È.A GÚ.NA ú-e-eš-«ta» ḫar'-ša-ni-i-š-š[i pa-at-tar ki-i-š-] ta [] [(G¹⁵)]«BAN»-ZU ḫar-zi nu-ú-wa-a-ar-ra ḫal-za-«iš» ku-it i-ia-nu-un ku-it (§-Strich).

6. KBo 3.40 Vs. 7-9: [k(u-wa-a)]t ša-ra-am-mu ki-iš-ša-an i-ia-at-te-en nu-mu-uš-ša-an ki-i-ú-kán «iš»-ḫ[(a-i)]š-[(te-en)] [(ú-w)]a-mi ki-i-da-an-da pá-ta-ni-it e-ka-an ú-ti-iš-ki-mi ta za-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ki-m[(i)] [(ta-a')] ut-ne-e ḫar-ni-ik-mi ki-i-da-an-da na-ti-i-da ta-an kar-da-aš-ma ša-l[(i-ik-ti)] (§-Strich).

7. KBo 4.9 Vs. i 45-46; vgl. S. de Martino, *La Danza*, 63.

Keule trugen sie weg."⁸ Vergleichbar ist die Erzählung in einem altassyrischen, ebenfalls der Überlieferung Sargons von Akkade zuzuweisenden Text vom Kültepe.⁹ Sie berichtet von verschiedenen Strafaktionen, die an besiegten Königen verhängt wurden, worunter das Aufsetzen einer weiblichen Kopfbedeckung genannt ist—eine rituelle Prozedur, durch die, wie aus späteren hethitischen und akkadischen Ritualen bekannt, der Betroffene seine Männlichkeit und vor allem seine sexuelle Potenz verliert.

Da die nächste Parallele zu CTH 7 die militärischen Eide bieten,¹⁰ stellt sich die Frage, ob solche entehrenden Strafriten und Schwüre bzw. Eide älter sind als die später überlieferten ausgefeilten Rituale, in denen sich diese Elemente zum Teil wiederfinden.

Was nun die inneranatolischen Ritualtraditionen betrifft, so ist es bemerkenswert, daß verschiedene Rituale luwische und palaische Rezitationen enthalten, welche wiederum eine offensichtliche Ähnlichkeit mit einem althethitischen Ritual zeigen.¹¹ Darüberhinaus besteht eine Beziehung luwischer bzw. südanatolischer Rituale mit der althethitischen zentralanatolisch-hattischen¹² Überlieferung, so daß der Schluß einer bereits recht frühen Beziehung dieser beiden geographischen Bereiche nahe liegt¹³—ein Phänomen, das eigentlich nur so erklärt werden kann, daß zu Beginn der hethitischen Geschichte Zentralanatolien, ja selbst die pontische Küstenregion einem intensiven luwischen Einfluß ausgesetzt war.

Daß die hethitische Ritualliteratur auf den verschiedensten Ritualtraditionen basiert und nicht aus einer ausschließlich inneranatolischen Entwicklung hervorgegangen ist, kann kaum bezweifelt werden. Den wohl stärksten Einfluß mögen dabei sumerische und vor allem babylonische Rituale, von denen sich ja auch eine Anzahl von Importstücken in Hattuša gefunden haben, ausgeübt haben.

Daß es seit dem Mittleren Reich auch eine starke mittanisch-ninivitishe Tradition gegeben hat, zeigen mittelhethitische Opferlisten, in denen zuerst "die Gottheiten der Stadt," danach "die Gottheiten von Hatti" und dann "die Gottheiten des Landes" erscheinen; daß mit "die Gottheiten der Stadt" Ninive gemeint ist, zeigt eine Opferliste für den Kult der Hebat, welche statt

8. KBo 1.11 Rs. 16'-17', siehe N. Oettinger, *StBoT* 22, 75.

9. Bearbeitet von C. Günbattu, "Kültepe'den akadlı Sargon'a ait bir tablet," *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997): 131-55.

10. Siehe N. Oettinger, *StBoT* 22, 75f.

11. Vgl. F. Starke, *StBoT* 30, 38.

12. Zum Beispiel das Auftreten hattischer Gottheiten wie Šulinkatte in luwischen Ritualen, vgl. F. Starke, *StBoT* 30, 217.

13. Vgl. die Beschwörung in luwischer Sprache im Ritual der Zuwi aus Angulla-Turmitta (KUB 35.148 Rs. iv 11'-13') mit den für luwische Rituale typischen Dialogen.

„der Gottheiten der Stadt Ninive“ nur „die Gottheiten der Stadt“ bietet.¹⁴ Dieser Befund, daß nämlich die Begriffe—„die Gottheiten der Stadt Ninive“ und „die Gottheiten der Stadt“—austauschbar sind, spricht für die hohe sakrale Bedeutung von Ninive im Kult von Hattuša.¹⁵ Die große Opferliste der Ištar oder Šawuška von Ninive führt mit der Göttin ihren gesamten Götterkreis auf, zu dem auch die babylonischen Dämonen Utukku gehören;¹⁶ ihre Unheil bringende Hierodule Ali könnte mit dem babylonischen Alu-Dämon identisch sein.¹⁷ So spielt denn auch die Šawuška von Ninive¹⁸ in den hethitisch-hurritischen Ritualen der Beschwörerinnen Allaiturahi und Šalašu eine zentrale Rolle. Diese Rituale haben sicherlich ninivitische Überlieferungen aus dem 2. Jahrtausend bewahrt, ohne daß es auf Grund der Quellenlage allerdings gelänge, solche Traditionen auch deutlich herauszuarbeiten.

Immerhin scheint sich eines der in das Ritual der Allaiturahi integrierten *Hieroi logoi* auf den Aufenthalt der Ištar in der Unterwelt bei ihrer Schwester Allani-Ereškigal zu beziehen.¹⁹ In dem mittelhethitischen Ritual CTH 446²⁰ begibt sich die Göttin von ihrer Stadt Ninive zum Schauplatz des Ritualgeschehens (nach Hattuša). Sie wird begleitet von ihrem Falken, der die Beschwörungsworte und die Wasser der Reinheit mit sich führt. In einer Beschwörung eines solchen Rituals ist von der bekannten *materia magica* „erhitzte Steine“ die Rede, welche von einem Gebirge bei Ninive herabgefallen sind und der Ištar, ihrer Herrin, Rede und Antwort stehen.²¹

14. KBo 22.180 Rs. iv:

11. EGIR-an-da-ma DINGIRMES-na ar-te-ni-wi-na

12. DINGIRMES-na URUḫa-at-te-ni-we-na DINGIRMES-na ú-um-mi-ni-[we-na]

13. aš-du-uḫ-ḫi-na TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi . . .

Danach trinkt er sitzend die Gottheiten der Stadt, die Gottheiten von Hatti (und) die weiblichen Gottheiten [des] Landes.

Die Opferliste KUB 25.44 Vs. ii⁷ bietet stattdessen:

7'. EGIR-ŠU-ma DINGIRMES-na URUḫi-nu-wa-wi-na DINGIRMES-na

8'. URUḫa-at-ti-ni-wi-na DINGIRMES-na KUR-mi-wi-na

9'. aš-du-uḫ-ḫi-na TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi . . .

Danach trinkt er sitzend die Gottheiten von Ninive, die Gottheiten von Hatti (und) die weiblichen Gottheiten des Landes.

15. V. Haas, „Remarks on the Hurrian Ištar-Šawuška of Nineveh in the Second Millennium B.C.,” *Sumer* 35 (1979): 397–401.

16. KUB 27.1 (= ChS I/3–1 Nr. 1) Rs. iii 46 (= KUB 26.6 [= ChS I/3–1 Nr. 6] Vs. i 15); vgl. I. Wegner, *AOAT* 36, 87.

17. KUB 24.7 Vs. i 23 und KBo 1.44+ Rs. iv 35 mit dem Duplikat 1651/u 4; vgl. I. Wegner, *AOAT* 36, 83, siehe auch 51 und 76.

18. Zuletzt G. Beckman, „Ištar of Nineveh Reconsidered,” *JCS* 50 (1998): 1–10.

19. KUB 12.85++, bearbeitet von V. Haas und H. J. Thiel, *AOAT* 31, 129–99, Vs. ii 19–27.

20. Bearbeitet von H. Otten, „Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Boğazköy,” *ZA* 54 (1961): 114–57.

21. KBo 19.145, bearbeitet von V. Haas und H. J. Thiel, *AOAT* 31, 295–311, Rs. 30–40

Neben diesen beiden Überlieferungssträngen ist des weiteren eine nord-west-syrische Komponente anzunehmen, die bis in die Mitte des 3. Jahrtausends zurückzufolgen ist, wie z.B. der Bestattungsritus des alten Jahres, welcher in Texten aus Ebla belegt ist und der sich während des hethitischen Neujahrsfestes im Totentempel wiederfindet.²² Schließlich zeigen die Herkunftsangaben hethitischer Ritualkundiger, wie „Giziya, der Mann aus Alalah,”²³ oder der Beschwörerin Allaiturahi, „der Frau aus Mukiš,” die traditionelle Bindung zu einer syrischen Ritualtradition an.

Wie aus noch einfachen Ritualvorschriften umfangreiche Rituale entstehen, zeigt ein Vereidigungsritual aus Alalah VII (AT *126, 1–40), dessen Kern mittelhethitischen Ritualen zugrunde liegt, die nun aber zu einem komplizierten Ritualverlauf ausgestaltet worden sind.²⁴

In zwei Ritualen aus Ebla, die um 2350 v. Chr. datiert werden, ist der Ritus, die Verunreinigungen auf eine Ziege zu übertragen, und diese, nun zum Träger und Vehikel der Unreinheit gewordene Substitut, in die unbewohnte Steppe zu jagen, belegt.²⁵ Das erste Ritual:

Und wir reinigen das Totenhaus (é ma-tim). Eine Ziege, einen Ring (gú-li-lum) aus Silber (für) den Nacken [der Ziege] vor dem Eintritt (der Götter) Kura und Barama, zur Steppe (kur) von (der Ortschaft) Alini lassen wir sie gehen.

Das zweite Ritual:

Und wir reinigen das Totenhaus (é ma-tim). Eine Ziege, einen Ring (gú-li-lum) aus Silber (für) den Nacken [der Ziege] vor dem Eintritt (der Götter) Kura und Barama, zur Steppe (kur) von (der Ortschaft) Alini sperren wir (sie) ein.

Ein Ritual der gleichen Intention, dessen Niederschrift um 730 v. Chr. erfolgt ist, liegt aus Sam'al vor.²⁶ Auch hier geht es um die Tilgung der Verunreinigungen des gerade im Heerlager verstorbenen Königs Panamuwa durch dessen Sohn und Nachfolger. Das Ritual lautet:

Und ich habe diese Statue [für] meinen [Va]ter aufgestellt, für Panamuwa, den Sohn des Baršur, und . . . und ein Lamm in gebratenem Zustand(?).

22. Siehe dazu V. Haas, *GHR*, 722.

23. KUB 45.3(+) (= ChS I/2 Nr.40) Rs. iv 26'.

24. Siehe dazu B. Janowski und G. Wilhelm, „Der Bock, der die Sünden hinausträgt. Zur Religionsgeschichte des Azazel-Ritus Lev 16.10.21f.,” in: *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament. Internationales Symposium Hamburg 17.–21. März 1990*, ed. B. Janowski, K. Koch und G. Wilhelm (Freiburg, 1993), 109–69, und V. Haas, *ChS* I/9, 1–3.

25. Bearbeitet von I. Zatelli, „The Origin of the Biblical Scapegoat Ritual: The Evidence of Two Eblaite Texts,” *VT* 48 (1998): 254–63.

26. Bearbeitet von J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli* (Münster, 1993), 128ff.

Und auf einen zuverlässigen(?) Widder soll der König [seine Hände] stützen, und den Widder soll er hinausschicken, vor dem Grab meines Vaters Panamu[wa]. . . . und dieses Denkmal/Andenken.

Siehe(?), so [mögen] den Hadad und El und Rāḫib-El, der Herr der Dynastie, und Šamaš sowie alle Götter von Y²DY [Gefallen haben an mir(?), dem Sohn des Panamuwa(?)].

[Und es möge Rāḫib-El mich [Gnade finden lassen] vor den Göttern und vor der Menschheit.

Der Ritus, den Verstorbenen mit einem Ziegenbock von seinen Verfehlungen zu befreien, also wie in den beiden Ritualen aus Ebla und Sam'al, ist auch in das 14-tägige hethitische Totenritual übernommen worden:²⁷ Am Abend des ersten Tages wird über den toten König ein Ziegenbock geschwenkt:

Wenn es aber Nacht wird, dann
schwenken sie über dem Toten einen Ziegenbock hin und her.²⁸

Auch bei dem Sonderfall des Todes durch Blitzschlag wird dieses Verfahren von dem Priester "Wettergottmann" angewendet:

[Wen]n der Wettergott schrecklich donnert, und er einen Menschen
—[entwed]er im Tore drinnen oder aber an einem unbewohnten Ort, oder im
Hause
[drinn]en—schlägt und er stirbt—und was er dann an seinem Körper
findet, das reinigt er (der Wettergottmann);
und niemand nimmt ihm (dem Erschlagenen) auch nur etwas weg.

[Und der Wettergott]mann handelt folgendermaßen: Falls jenen der
Wettergottmann an einem unbewohnten Ort aufnimmt, so
bringt er ihn hinaus, und er geht, um ihn zu begraben. Hinterher führt er
einen Ritus aus mit' einem [tot]en? Ziegenbock.²⁹

Der kathartische Ritus des Schwenkens eines Ziegenbockes gehört zum Repertoire des "Wettergottmannes." Er führt in dem Ritual der Magierin Hu-tuši (CTH 732) über dem in einem Bett liegenden Patienten eben diesen Ritus dreimal hintereinander aus, wobei er die hattische Beschwörung der Kataḫ-zipuri rezitiert,³⁰ und wendet ihn zur Reinigung eines Hauses in dem Ritualfragment KUB 17.13 Vs. 22–31 an.

27. Bearbeitet von H. Otten, *HTR*. Wie dieses Ritual aus Riten verschiedenster Provenience kompiliert worden ist, versuchte ich in meinem Aufsatz, "Hethitische Bestattungssitten," *AoF* 27 (2000): 52–67, zu zeigen.

28. KUB 30.16 + KUB 39.1 Vs. i 16–17, bearbeitet von H. Otten, *HTR*, 18–19.

29. KBo 17.78, bearbeitet von A. Ünal, *Hittite and Hurrian Cuneiform Tablets from Ortaköy (Çorum), Central Turkey* (Istanbul, 1998); zu den Zeilen Vs. i 7–9 vgl. auch H. Otten, *ZA* 51 (1955): 127, ders., *HTR*, 9, und V. Haas, *CHR*, 217.

30. Text nach A. KBo 13.106 i 1–8 (Ergänzungen nach B. KUB 28.82+ i 1–8): [] x Hu-tu-ši-
i x [] gi-im-ra-aš SISKUR DÜ-a[n-zi (B i 1': (i-e-ez-zi)] ša-aš-ta-an iš-pár-ra-an-zi x x

Das gleiche Motiv, nämlich die Verunreinigungen auf eine Ziege oder einen Ziegenbock zu übertragen und diesen—wie in den beiden Ritualen aus Ebla—in unbewohntes Land, d.h. in die Steppe, zu jagen, begegnet auch in Ugarit: Das Ritual, niedergeschrieben um etwa 1200 v. Chr., schreibt Maßnahmen in einer Notsituation vor, nämlich bei der Belagerung der Stadt.³¹ Der Schriftträger—eine Tonlunge—legt nahe, daß es sich um rituelle Maßnahmen zur Abwehr eines bösen Omens handelt. Schwierigkeiten bereitet die Anordnung der Zeilen, die in zehn Felder aufgeteilt sind. Als erstes Feld würde ich (nach der Zählung von Dietrich und Loretz) Zeile 29 betrachten:

29. Wenn die Stadt gerade im Begriff ist, erobert zu werden,
wenn der Tod mutwillig mit den Menschen verfährt,
30. dann wird in der Steppe ein Mensch eine Ziege nehmen
31. und sie in die Ferne treiben!³²

Die übrigen acht Felder enthalten rituelle Maßnahmen, die sich auf Anomalien derjenigen Stellen der Lunge zu beziehen scheinen, auf die sie niedergeschrieben sind.³³

Die hier besprochenen Rituale aus Ebla, Sam'al und Ugarit stammen aus einem geographisch eng begrenzten Raum—nämlich aus der Gegend um die Bucht von Iskenderun, dem Ceyhan und dem Tell Mardih (Ebla), 65 km südöstlich von Aleppo. Hier dürfte der Ursprung dieses Ritus zu suchen sein.

Hethitische "Sündenbock"-Rituale gegen Epidemien wurden ihrer Herkunftangabe zufolge in der hethitischen Provinz Arzawa, einer Landschaft im Westen Anatoliens, kompiliert. Eine eigene Ritualschule von Arzawa belegt ein Orakelprotokoll, in dem es heißt, daß der *mantalli*-Ritus "nach der Art von Arzawa" im Gegensatz zu "der Art von Hattuša" auszuführen sei.³⁴

Angehörige dieser Schule sind *MUNUSŠU.GI*-Beschwörerinnen, wie z.B. die Frau Allī mit ihrem umfangreichen Ritual CTH 402,³⁵ "Speer männer," wie Banibbi mit dem Ritual KUB 30.36 und Maddunani, welcher als LÚ.IGI.DUG auch der Zunft der Vogelkundigen angehört, mit dem Ritual CTH 425.1 und ferner Vogelkundige oder Auguren, wie Dandanku mit dem Ritual KUB 7.54

[(x TA-PAL KUŠNIG.BAR)] IŠ-TU 4 ta-a-an ŠA-PU-Ú [iš-pár-(ra-an-zi)] še-er-ra-aš-ša-an 2
TÚG x iš-[pá(r-ra-an-zi)] ta-aš-za-kán ša-aš-ti ḫa-le-e-[B i 6: ḫa-a-li-ia-ri)] 'na'-an LÚ^aU-aš
MAŠ.GAL-za 3-ŠU [(wa-aḫ-nu-uz-zi)] nu LÚ^aU-aš ŠA^aKa-taḫ-zi-pu-ri [(ud-da-a-ar)]

31. KTU 1.127, *Ugarit*, 6, 166–72; zuletzt bearbeitet von M. Dietrich und O. Loretz, *Mantik in Ugarit* (Münster, 1990), 17ff.

32. Die Übersetzung verdanke ich Herrn Dr. J. Tropper.

33. Auf diese Weise könnte ein Ritual entstanden sein, d.h. der Schriftträger würde ignoriert und die rituellen Maßnahmen würden abgeschrieben werden.

34. KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54, Teilbearbeitung von Th. van den Hout, *The Purity of Kingship. An Edition of CTH 569 and Related Hittite Oracle Inquiries of Tuḫaliya IV* (Leiden, 1998), 3–6, Rs. iii 36.

35. Bearbeitet von L. Jakob-Rost, *Theth* 2 Die Tafel ist neu ediert in KBo 39.8.

Vs. ii 7ff. (CTH 425). Nicht angegeben sind die Berufsklassen der Ritualkundigen Ašhella "vom Land der Stadt Hapalla" in Arzawa mit dem Ritual CTH 394,³⁶ Uḫamuwa mit dem Ritual CTH 410, Tarḫunta-paddu (^mdIŠK]UR-ta-pa-ad-du) mit dem Ritual 516/z, Addā, "der Mann von Arzawa" (Bo 3483) sowie die ritualkundigen Frauen Paškuwatti oder Piškuwatti mit dem Ritual CTH 406,³⁷ die Frau NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN (deren Ritual nur in dem Bibliothekskatalog KBo 31.6:14'–15' aufgeführt ist) und Tapalazunawili mit dem Ritual KUB 41.17 Vs. i–Vs. ii 17 (Duplikate: KBo 22.121 und KUB 34.74).³⁸

Einen Schwerpunkt dieser Ritualschule bilden die Rituale gegen Epidemien,³⁹ das sind die Rituale des Ašhella, das Ritual des Uḫamuwa, das Ritual des Maddunani und das Ritual der Frau Tapalazunawili. Diesen Ritualen dürfte ein konkreter Anlaß zugrunde liegen, nämlich eine Seuche, deren schreckliche Wirkung die "Pestgebete" Muršilis II. beschreiben.⁴⁰

Während die Rituale aus Ebla, Ugarit und Sam'al sehr einfach gestaltet sind, sind die hethitischen Rituale weitaus komplexer und komplizierter. So ist der mit Ziegenböcken vorgenommene Eliminationsritus in dem hethitischen, vier Tage währenden Ritual des Ašhella gegen eine Seuche im Heerlager weit aus umfangreicher. Ašhella hat sein Ritual mit Riten und magischen Details aus Ritualen verschiedenster Herkunft ausgestaltet, wobei der Verdacht entsteht, daß dem Ritualkundigen der Sinn einzelner Riten nicht immer klar gewesen ist.

Daß sich älteste Ritualtraditionen in der hethitischen Überlieferung erhalten haben, zeigt das Detail des Eisenringes, mit welchem in den Ritualen aus Ebla die Substituts-Ziege versehen wird: In dem Ritual des Ašhella stellen die Offiziere für ihre Substituts-Widder einen Zwirn aus weißer, roter und gelber Wolle her. An den Zwirn befestigt der Beschwörungspriester "eine Perle (und) einen Ring aus Eisen und aus Blei"; und er bindet diesen magischen Gegenstand "den Widdern um Nacken und Hörner." Der Sinn dieser Handlung beruht auf einer zwingenden Analogie: Wie nämlich die Wollfäden zu einem Zwirn ineinandergefügt sind und wie Eisen und Blei nun untrennbar zu einem Ring

36. Zuletzt übersetzt von H. M. Kümmel in *TUAT* II.2, 285–88.

37. Bearbeitet von H. A. Hoffner, *AuOr* 5 (1987): 271–87.

38. Bearbeitet von V. Souček, *MIO* 9 (1963): 163–74. G. F. del Monte, *EVO* 18 (1995): 173–82, geht davon aus, das es sich bei Vs. i–ii 17 der Sammeltafel um zwei Rituale handelt: Auf Vs. i zuerst das Ritual der Tapalazunawili gegen den Ausbruch einer Seuche im Heer (mit dem Duplikat KUB 34.74), daran schließt sich ein Ritual gegen den Ausbruch der Seuche in einer Festung an (mit dem Duplikat KBo 22.121).

39. Vgl. O. R. Gurney, *Schweich*, 51f., sowie B. Janowski und G. Wilhelm, "Der Bock, der die Sünden hinaus trägt," 135.

40. Vgl. H. Klengel, "Epidemien im spätbronzezeitlichen Syrien-Palästina," in: *Michael. Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer*, ed. Yitzhak Avishur und Robert Deutsch (Tel Aviv-Jaffa, 1999), 187–93.

vereinigt sind, ebenso soll die Unreinheit nun untrennbar mit den Widdern verbunden sein. In dem Ritual des Uḫamuwa erscheint zwar der Zwirn aus buntfarbigen Wollsorten, nicht aber der Ring. Der bunte Zwirn, der den Kopf des Widders umkränzt, ist zum bloßen Schmuck herabgesunken.⁴¹

In dem Ritual des Ašhella werden der König und die Offiziere von der Seuche mittels Substituten gereinigt. Den Kern des Rituals bilden zwei ursprünglich getrennt zu betrachtende Eliminationsriten: Der Eliminationsritus für die Offiziere, als deren Substitute Widder dienen, und der Eliminationsritus für den König, als dessen Substitut eine Frau verwendet wird:

1. Der Eliminationsritus für die Offiziere: Am Abend vor dem ersten Ritualtag bindet jeder der Offiziere einen Widder vor sein Zelt, um so einen Kontakt zwischen sich und seinem Substitut herzustellen. Es handelt sich also um einen Kontakt- oder Übertragungsritus. In einer Anrufung übereignen sie ihre Widder jener Gottheit, welche die Epidemie hervorgerufen hat.
2. Der Eliminationsritus für den König: Das Substitut für den König ist eine "geschmückte Frau," welche vor dem königlichen Zelt—wahrscheinlich ebenfalls über Nacht—sitzt. Am nächsten Morgen führt man die Widder und die Frau durch das Heerlager, damit sie die dort grassierenden Unheilstoffe auf sich ziehen. Zur Intensivierung führt man in diesem Zug Brot mit sich, weil das Brot ein Absorbens ersten Ranges ist.

Die Offiziere legen ihre Hände auf ihre Widder und preisen sie der Gottheit an, damit sie von ihnen abläßt und sich mit den Widdern zufrieden gibt. Sodann führt man die Widder und die Frau in die Steppe.

Daß für den König eine Frau und kein Mann als Substitut fungiert, widerspricht den Vorstellungen eines Substituts insofern, als es seinem Vorbild weitgehend ähnlich zu sein hat. Das ursprüngliche Ritual, das dem Ritus mit der Frau zugrunde gelegen haben muß, erhellt sich aus babylonischen Ritualen: In babylonischer Tradition steht der Gedanke, daß sich der Krankheitsdämon den Erkrankten zu seinem Ehepartner erwählt hat und durch die Ehe die Krankheitsstoffe auf diesen übertrug. Der Zaubrer konnte den zu Schädigenden rituell zur Braut für einen Toten erwählen.⁴² Für den Beschwörungspriester gilt es nun, die Ehe zwischen dem Dämon und seinem Patienten zu lösen. Ein solcher eliminatorischer Substitutsritus ist in dem babylonischen Beschwörungsskizzen KAR 66 beschrieben: Eine Figur des Krankheitsdämons wird hergestellt und als Bräutigam ausgestattet, indem man ihm Öl auf den Kopf schüttet, um mit einem Ferkel verheiratet zu werden. "Die Worte des

41. HT 1 Vs. ii 20–22.

42. Siehe die von D. Schwemer, *THeth* 23, 60 mit Anm. 170 zitierten Textstellen.

Freiens" aber spricht der Patient, wodurch sich dieser, partiell mit der Figur des Krankheitsdämons identifizierend, für einen Moment der Ehepartner des Ferkels ist. Anschließend vollzieht der Beschwörungspriester die Scheidung zwischen dem Patienten und dem Krankheitsdämon. Wenn sich der Patient partiell mit dem Dämon identifiziert, indem er die "Worte des Freiens spricht," also selbst das Ferkel heiratet, so überträgt er durch diese Eheschließung seine Krankheit auf das Ferkel, das offenbar erst durch diese Hochzeit zu seinem Substitut geworden ist. Demnach ist in magischer Sicht die Ehe, die den Beischlaf impliziert, eine Art Identifikationsritus. Erst jetzt, im Zustand der wieder erlangten Reinheit oder Gesundheit, wird er von dem Dämon geschieden, der nun mit dem Ferkel, das wie eine Braut mit einer Mitgift ausgestattet worden ist, verheiratet wird.⁴³

In dem akkadischen Ritual KBo 36.29 folgt auf die Anweisung zur Herstellung der Figur die Beschreibung der Übertragung mittels eines Hochzeitsritus: Die Figur liegt drei Tage lang bei dem Patienten im Bett. Dann folgt ein gemeinsames Mahl mit der Figur. Nach dem Mahl wird die Figur mit einer Mitgift und Proviant versehen, und fortgeschickt, um den Krankheitsverursacher zu ehelichen.

Auf diesem rituellen Hintergrund ist anzunehmen, daß zwischen dem König und der Frau eine Hochzeit oder ein Beischlaf als Übertragungsritus stattgefunden hat. Auf den Hochzeitsakt müßte eine Scheidung und eine neuerliche Verheiratung der Frau mit dem Krankheitsverursacher erfolgt sein.⁴⁴

Daß eine solche Hochzeit auch in hethitische Rituale Eingang gefunden zu haben scheint, machen zwei, vielleicht zu einer Tafel gehörende Fragmente wahrscheinlich, nämlich 1/r (unpubl.) und KBo 19.134. In letzterem nimmt die Beschwörerin Lehm des *mutmutalli*, vielleicht in der Bedeutung "Tongrube" wie akkadisch *kullatu*; in 1/r "[macht man] Hände aus Lehm, Zungen aus Teig, [], eine Figur [aus Lehm des?] *mutmutalli* [], und man setzt (sie) an das Bett (des Patienten)."⁴⁵

Mit dem Hochzeitsritus vergleichbar könnte das gemeinsame Mahl des Königs mit seinem Substitut in dem auf babylonische Vorbilder zurückgehenden Ersatzkönigsritual⁴⁶ CTH 421⁴⁷ sein: Auf zwei Tischen sind jeweils sieben/neun Gebäcke zugerüstet. Der eine Tisch ist für die Holzfigur, der andere Tisch ist für den König bestimmt. Die Speisezeremonie dauert mehrere Tage lang; täglich werden die Tische mit zweimal sieben Speisen gedeckt. Daß die Speisen für die Holzfigur bestimmt sind, läßt die Ritualvorschrift

43. Siehe D. Schwemer, *THeth* 23, 59–67.

44. Vgl. auch KAR 66, dazu D. Schwemer, *THeth* 23, 60–62.

45. [Š]U^{BI} A iš-na-aš EME^{BI} A [iš-na-aš . . .] [A]LAM mu-ut-mu-ta-a-li-[aš? . . . i-ia-an-zi] [n]u^{GI} NÁ ti-ia-an-zi, 7'–9'.

46. Siehe V. Haas, *GHR*, 208–11.

47. Bearbeitet von H. M. Kümmel, *StBoT* 3, 50–110.

vermuten: "Wenn man sie (die Speisen) hinhält, so soll es niemand sehen, man deckt sie dabei jeweils zu und stellt sie (so) vor das Substitut." Nach einer bestimmten Zeit schickt der König sein Substitut fort. Später kommt es dann wieder zurück und fordert nun seinerseits den König auf zu verschwinden. Nachdem der König gegangen ist, setzt sich das Substitut auf den Thron.

Wegen der in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur verschiedentlich behandelten engen Parallelen zu dem im Buch Leviticus 16,10.20–22 überlieferten "Sündenbock"-Rituals des Priesters Aaron gehört das Ritual des Ašhella zu den wohl bekanntesten hethitischen Texten.⁴⁸ Die zentralen Themen des alttestamentlichen, eisenzeitlichen Rituals sind das Aufstemmen der Hände Aarons auf den Kopf des "lebendigen Bockes," das Bekennen der Sünden der Israeliten, die Übertragung der Verschuldungen und das Hinaustreiben des Bockes in die Wüste zu Azazel durch einen dafür ausgesuchten Mann. Diese Details—die Übertragung der Verunreinigungen auf den Widder, das Die-Hand-Auflegen und das In-die-Steppe-Treiben—enthält das Ritual des Ašhella. Die im Kontext von Lev 16 auftauchende Bezeichnung *la^{ca}zēl* haben B. Janowski und G. Wilhelm mit dem Ritualterminus *azazhi* bzw. *az-zuzhi* verbunden und zu akkadisch *ezēzu* "zürnen" gestellt. Da jedoch diese Bedeutung der Wurzel 'zz im Westsemitischen fraglich ist, dürfte die Etymologie aus *ēz* ("Ziege") und *zēl* ("weggehen"), also etwa "das Weggehen der Ziege," plausibler erscheinen.⁴⁹ Damit läge ein Ritualterminus vor, der sich, wie auch hethitische und hurritische Ritualtermini, auf die Ritualhandlung bezieht, wie etwa hethitisch "das Ritual der Ziege."⁵⁰

48. Zuletzt diskutiert von B. Janowski und G. Wilhelm, "Der Bock, der die Sünden hinausträgt," und B. Janowski, "Azazel und der Sündenbock—zur Religionsgeschichte von Leviticus 16,10.21f.," in: *Gottes Gegenwart in Israel. Beiträge zur Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1993), 285–302.

49. Entsprechend übersetzt die Septuaginta mit ἀποπομπή (V.8.10a), ἀποπομπή (V.10b), ὁ διασταλμένος εἰς ἄφεσιν (V.26) und die Vulgata mit *caper emissarius* (V.8.10.26); vgl. B. Janowski, "Azazel," 226.

50. KUB 43.55 Vs. iii 2: ŠA MĀŠ.TUR ŠÍSKUR; vgl. z.B. auch den hurritischen Ritualterminus *zurge* "Blut" und heth. ŠÍSKUR *zurkiyaš* "Ritual des Blutes" und andere mehr.

Zur sachlichen Zuständigkeit des Königsgerichts (DI.KUD LUGAL) in der hethitischen Rechtssatzung

RICHARD HAASE

Leonberg

Die hethitische Rechtssatzung befaßt sich in einigen Paragraphen mit der Richterschaft des Gerichtswesen: Die Ältesten erscheinen in den §§75 und XXXV, die Würdenträger in §173 S.2 und der König in den nachfolgend erörterten Vorschriften, nämlich den §§44b, 49, 102, 111, 173, 187, 189, 196, 198, und 199.¹ Diese werden in der gegebenen Reihenfolge behandelt. Anschließend erwähne ich zweifelhafte Fälle. Zum Schluß versuche ich, den Grund für die Einschaltung des Königs in das Gerichtsverfahren zu ergründen.

A. Die einzelnen Paragraphen

I. §44b

Die Vorschrift befaßt sich mit *fehlerhaftem* Verhalten anläßlich der kultischen Reinigung eines Menschen.

Wer einen Menschen kultisch reinigt, muß die Reste der *instrumenta magica* auf die vorgesehenen Verbrennungsplätze werfen; die unrein gewordenen "Rückstände" dürfen nicht dritte Personen mit der Unreinheit infizieren. Die Feststellung, daß der Magier die Rückstände auf den Verbrennungsplatz "schaffe/bringe" (*pedai*), fasse ich als Befehl auf. Verstößt der Magier gegen dieses gesetzliche Gebot und bringt er die "Rückstände" einfach auf ein fremdes Grundstück, so wird das Verhalten als "Zauberei" (*alwanzatar*) gewertet. Die Sache ist "ein Entscheid des Königs" (DI.KUD LUGAL).

1. Diese Paragraphen sprechen *prima facie* für unser Thema. Ob diese Annahme richtig ist, wird sich zeigen. Die §§9 und 25 werden jedenfalls nicht berücksichtigt, da es sich bei ihnen um den Ausschluß des Palastes vom Einzug einer Geldbüße handeln dürfte, nicht um eine Zuständigkeit des Königsgerichts.

Die subjektive Seite der Tat wird nicht näher bezeichnet. Man wird eher an Vorsatz als an Fahrlässigkeit zu denken haben. Die Betonung des Umstandes, daß die "Rückstände" auf ein fremdes Grundstück geworfen werden, läßt auf eine schädigende Absicht des Magiers schließen. Andernfalls hätte er sie einfach liegenlassen können, wie es wohl in §163 vorausgesetzt wird.

II. §49

Die Stellung des hier behandelten *LÜhippara*- ist bis heute nicht eindeutig geklärt. Hoffners Kommentar² schweigt dazu. Zu dieser Unsicherheit kommt noch eine weitere: Die Tafel KUB 29.14 iv 7 hat, ebenso wie die Tafel KBo 6. 2 ii 57, nach dem Sumerogramm *GIŠ* eine Lücke, so daß nicht zu erkennen ist, um welchen Gegenstand es sich handelt. Damit wird die Zugehörigkeit des Paragraphen zu unserem Thema zweifelhaft. Selbst wenn sie richtig wäre, bliebe die Bedeutung des Rades unklar—und streitig. Die Konjekturen *GIŠDUB-BIN* lehnt Hoffner³ ab; er denkt an "an agricultural implement of some type," welches "perhaps as a symbol of royal authority" diene. Das hilft für die hier behandelte Fragestellung auch nicht weiter.

III. §102

Der Diebstahl von Holz, das an einem Teich wächst, ist Gegenstand des §102. Je nach der gestohlenen Menge Holz ist die Sanktion verschieden. Handelt es sich um 1 oder 2 GUN Holz, sind 3 oder 6 Schekel Silber zu zahlen. Werden 3⁷ GUN (oder mehr??) gestohlen, ist ein *DĪN LUGAL*, ein Königsentscheid, erforderlich.

Das GUN ist ein Raummaß. Hoffner⁴ denkt an 30,87 kg. Das kann sich mit der "Traglast" der früheren Interpreten decken. Damit ist sachlich nicht viel gewonnen, denn es ist nach wie vor nicht einleuchtend, warum der Sprung von 61,56 kg auf 92,34 kg von einer Geldbuße von 6 Schekel zur Entscheidung der Tat durch den König führen soll. War es die im Laufe der Zeit eingetretene Holzarmut?

Unklar ist auch die Betonung des Tatortes.

IV. §111

Wenn jemand mittels Lehms durch eine (unklare) Handlung sympathetische Magie betreibt, ist das "Zauberei" (*alwanzatar*) und eine Sache für das Gericht des Königs (*DĪN LUGAL*). Gedacht ist wohl an einen Bildzauber, bei dem im Wege der Analogie eine malträtierte menschliche Lehmfigur bei einem anderen körperlichen Schaden bewirken soll.

2. Harry A. Hoffner Jr., *Laws*.

3. *Laws*, 60, Anm. 197.

4. *Laws*, 100, Anm. 320.

V. §173

Bei Auflehnung gegen eine Entscheidung des Königs (*DĪN LUGAL*) "wird sein Haus ein Trümmerhaufen" (*É-ŠU pupulli kiša*). Das bezieht sich auf die ganze Sippe des Täters,⁵ die ausgelöscht werden soll.⁶

VI. §187

Der Sodomit darf, *flagrante delicto* ertappt, an Ort und Stelle von den empörten Nachbarn getötet werden. Andernfalls bringt man ihn "zum Tor des Königs." Letzteres steht zwar in keinem der bisher überlieferten Fragmente. Es dürfen aber die Wörter *LUGAL-an kuiški* ergänzt werden wie §193 zeigt. Dort heißt es nämlich *ANA KÁ É.GAL^{LIM}* "zum Tor des Königs."⁷ Der König hat dann ein Begnadigungsrecht, sofern er nicht die Tötung anordnet.

VII. §198

Die §§197 und 198 befassen sich mit der strafrechtlichen Seite außerehelichen Geschlechtsverkehrs. Von Interesse ist hier der §198. Er bestimmt, daß die Ehebrecher zum Palast (*ANA KÁ É.GAL*) gebracht werden. Hier entscheidet der König, ob das Paar getötet wird oder am Leben bleibt, sofern der Hahnrei beider Tötung fordert.

Die viel behandelte Wendung *hurkin halienzi* deutet Puhvel⁸ als Beginn eines Gerichtsverfahrens. Er leitet *halienzi* nicht von *haliyan*- "knien," sondern von *halai*- "in Bewegung setzen" ab, nämlich "they crank up the legal machinery of the king's court." Das könnte man so verstehen: Wenn der getrogene Ehemann das ehebrecherische Paar nicht *in actu* ertappt und getötet hat, sondern erst später vom Ehebruch erfährt, wird zunächst auf seine Anklage hin zwar vor dem Tor des Palastes, aber ohne das Königsggericht über die Folgen der Tat entschieden. Sobald der Ehemann aber die Tötung der beiden Delinquenten verlangt, entscheidet der Herrscher im Königsggericht.

VIII. §199

Auch dieser Paragraph befaßt sich mit dem Sodomiten, so daß er eigentlich zu §188 hätte gestellt werden müssen.⁹

Die Regelung erinnert an die des §198: Der Ankläger, vermutlich ein Zeuge, bringt die Sache vor den Palast, wo der König über Leben und Tod des

5. Richard Haase, *Anatolica* 22 (1996): 222 mit Anm. 6.

6. Hoffner, *Laws*, 218.

7. *HW* s.v. *aška*.

8. *HED* 3, 399f.

9. Es zeigt sich hier, daß die Verfasser der Rechtssatzung (über sie Richard Haase: *Beobachtungen*, 4f.; Fiorella Imparati apud Horst Klengel, *Geschichte*, 330, Anm. 36) jedenfalls bei der Abfassung der Zweiten Tafel auf Systematik im heutigen Sinne nicht immer geachtet haben.

Die subjektive Seite der Tat wird nicht näher bezeichnet. Man wird eher an Vorsatz als an Fahrlässigkeit zu denken haben. Die Betonung des Umstandes, daß die "Rückstände" auf ein fremdes Grundstück geworfen werden, läßt auf eine schädigende Absicht des Magiers schließen. Andernfalls hätte er sie einfach liegenlassen können, wie es wohl in §163 vorausgesetzt wird.

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Sodomiten entscheidet. Hoffner¹⁰ denkt mit Recht an "naively analogical thinking."

B. Zweifelhafte Fälle

In einigen Vorschriften ist zwar vom Königsgericht nicht die Rede, es könnte aber sein, daß dennoch die Sanktion von dieser Institution verhängt worden war.

I. §126

Die Bestimmung enthält drei Diebstahlsfälle, von denen zwei den Diebstahl "am Tor des Palastes" (*INA KÁ É.GAL*) betreffen. Ist das Tatobjekt ein ^{GL}*zahrai* (Bedeutung zweifelhaft¹¹), sind 6 Schekel Silber zu zahlen, handelt es sich um einen Bronzespeer, wird der Täter getötet (*aki=aš*). Über das Verfahren schweigt der Text.

II. §166

Das Übersäen eines bereits eingesäten Feldes kann teuer zu stehen kommen. Der Pflüger wird getötet (*aki*), genauer: vermutlich gevierteilt. Das ist eine Strafe, welche aus der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte und nicht nur aus ihr gut bekannt ist.¹² Auch die *boves aratores* sterben. Die Form der Exekution scheint mir im keilschriftrechtlichen Bereich einmalig zu sein. Der §4 der Tafel B des mittellassyrischen Rechtsbuches hat eine andere Sanktion.

Trotz den bedeutenden Folgen der Tat wird einfach von der Tötung gesprochen, obwohl der sakrale Einschlag unverkennbar ist.¹³

III. §170 Satz 2

Das Delikt besteht darin, daß jemand eine Schlange tötet und dabei den Namen eines anderen ausspricht: Analogie-Bildzauber (sympathetische Magie). Das erinnert an §111. Die Folge ist die Tötung des Delinquenten (*aki*). Das Verfahren, das zur Tötung führt, erfährt man nicht.

C. Warum soll das Königsgericht zuständig sein?

I. Betrachtet man die unter A. genannten Vorschriften nach rechtlichen Gesichtspunkten, so handelt es sich um folgende Delikte:

10. *Laws*, 227.

11. Einar von Schuler übersetzt mit "Stößel" (*TUAT* I, 118), Hoffner bietet "a wooden chair(?)" (*Laws*, 116). Letzteres scheint mir von der Sanktion her richtiger zu sein, wobei ich immer noch an einen sakralen Einschlag (Palast!) denke.

12. Hans von Hentig: *Die Strafe I. Frühformen und kulturgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge* (Berlin, 1954), 38ff.

13. Ebenso Hoffner, *Laws*, 215: "ancient taboo."

- Diebstahl von Objekten bestimmten Wertes (§102) oder bestimmter Bedeutung im Zusammenhang mit dem *Palast* (§126).
- Ehebruch (§198).
- Insubordination gegenüber dem König (§173).
- Sodomie (§§187, 199).
- "Zauberei" (§44b, 111).

Fragt man, warum gerade diese Delikte vor das Königsgericht kommen sollen, so erwartet man als Antwort einen bestimmten Grundgedanken, welcher der Regelung zugrundeliegt.

Die heute noch in der Volksmeinung anzutreffende Vermengung von Magie und Religion ist umso stärker bei den Hethitern anzutreffen. Daher gehört die "Zauberei" in diesen Bereich, d. h. die §§44b und 111 befassen sich mit sakralen Delikten. Hierher gehört auch der §173. Der König, auch oberster Priester, steht, zwar zu Lebzeiten noch nicht vergottet, außerhalb der profanen Sphäre des Gemeinwesens. Das zeigen z. B. die Reinheitsvorschriften.¹⁴

Sodomie und Ehebruch verstoßen gegen Tabuvorschriften, welche auf das sittliche Verhalten gerichtet sind. Dieses ist seinerseits Bestandteil der Religion, so daß dem König als oberstem Priester die Entscheidung über schwerwiegende Verstöße gegen die Sitte zusteht.

II. Die unter B. genannten zweifelhaften Fälle sprechen davon, daß der Täter getötet wird (*aki*). Hier stellt sich die Frage, wer ihn tötet. Ist in den genannten Fällen der Tötung eine Gerichtsverhandlung vorausgegangen? Oder ist an eine zulässige Tötung außerhalb eines Verfahrens gedacht?

Die Tötung könnte auf eine Todesstrafe hindeuten. Dann möchte man aber den Hinweis auf *DI.KUD LUGAL* oder *DIN LUGAL* erwarten. Beide fehlen. Das erinnert an einige Sexualdelikte, bei denen einerseits von der Tötung schlechthin (§§188 Satz 1, 197 Satz 1 und 2 sowie 199 Satz 1), andererseits aber von einem Verfahren vor dem König die Rede ist. In diesen Bestimmungen denke ich an eine Tötung ohne Verfahren, wenn der Täter *in flagranti* ertappt wird, da die Gegenüberstellung mit dem Königsgericht sonst unverständlich wäre. Auf die unter B. genannten Vorschriften angewandt, könnte das Fehlen eines Hinweises auf ein Verfahren bedeuten: In §§166 und 172 sind es die in Aussicht genommenen Geschädigten oder Nachbarn, in §126 die Palastwächter(?), welche den Täter ergreifen.

D. Ergebnis

Die Zuständigkeit des Königsgerichts ist, soweit es die Rechtssatzung betrifft, auf Vergehen gegen den König oder seinen Palast und Verstöße gegen sexuelle Tabuvorschriften beschränkt.

14. Einar von Schuler, *TUAT* I, 124ff.

The Hittite Ritual against a Curse (CTH 429)

HRIPSIME S. HAROUTUNIAN

Chicago

The present work is primarily an edition of the Hittite ritual against a curse (CTH 429),¹ making it available in both transliteration and English translation to Hittitologists, as well as to a wider range of scholars for comparison with rites of other cultures.

The ritual against a curse is known from the main text KBo 10.37 (A), which is the best preserved among several duplicates. The first column on the obverse of the tablet is partially broken, but it has been possible to restore some portions of the lost text from the duplicates 572/t (F) and 389/u (C), as well as from the pattern of parallel passages in the main text itself.

The second column on the obverse is better preserved. Small portions, however, have been partially destroyed at the very beginning and at the end of the column. I have made some restorations after the unpublished fragment 424/z (D). The third column on the reverse appears to be the most well preserved part of the text. Two duplicate fragments, KBo 13.121 (B) and 514/u (E), were used to restore it. Finally, the fourth column is partially broken, especially at the beginning. Some parts, however, could be restored after the duplicate 389/u (C).

A = KBo 10.37 D = 424/z = A ii 9-14 F = 572/t = A i 22-48
B = KBo 13.121 = A iii 4-15 E = 514/u² = A iii 49-58 G = Bo 4275³
C = 389/u = A i 39-62, iv 26-45

1. In preparation of the present work, as a research associate on the Chicago Hittite Dictionary Project at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, I made use of its extensive files, for which I would like to convey my deepest gratitude and appreciation to Professor Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. I am also grateful for his indispensable assistance and advice. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Heinrich Otten, who generously allowed me to utilize unpublished duplicate texts in my research.

2. According to Professor Otten (personal communication), fragments C, D, and E might belong to the same tablet, but without join. All were found in the eastern storage rooms of Temple I.

3. Currently unavailable to me. It has been returned from Berlin to the Turkish authorities.

Although KBo 13.156 is listed in CTH 429 as a duplicate, it is only a parallel to KBo 10.37 (iii 2–15 and 46–57). Of interest is the fact that KBo 13.156 rev. 2 mentions DUMU.MEŠ (here to be understood as “members of the royal family”) as the clients of the ritual, while the main text is performed for DUMU-aš (“the Prince,” iii 48). This leads us to assume that KBo 13.156 may in fact present another ritual against a curse, similar to the one discussed here.

A few words on dating: the main text KBo 10.37 is Old Hittite, although it seems to have been modernized in New Hittite times. However, a number of traces of its archaic forerunner are present, as listed in CHD L–N, 186.

Transliteration

obv. i

- x+1. [] an-[d]a x []
 2'. [] x nu EME-an 'kiš-an a-ni'-y[a-mi]
 [] x [] -y)a²-an da-aḫ-ḫi nu 3-ŠU 9 EME.M[EŠ]
 4'. [] n)a²-aš-t[a² -a]z² iš-pár-ra-an te-eḫ-ḫi
 [] x-x na-ak-k[i-ya² pa²-a]š²-šu²-u²-ya-aš-pát⁴ nu-uš-ša-an
 6'. [] t)e-eh-ḫi kat-ti-eš-[] -m)a²-aš šal-ú-e-na-an
 [da²-a²]-[] i¹ nu GİŠPAN GİŠG[] x.HI.A ez-za-ya-aš-pát
 8'. [] n)a-aš-ma-aš e-eš-ša-n[a²-aš² pu]r²-[] pu¹-re-e-eš
 [] x-eš GİŠma-ri¹HI.A DUMU-a[n²] x-x-aš l x []
 10'. [] -)na-aš na-at IŠ-TU¹UZU¹Ú[R.HI.A²] x []
 [] x 'ŠA² NINDA.İ.E.DÉ.A l mu-ú-l[a-ti
 12'. [] -z[i² kar-aš ku-it-ta x []
 [] GİŠm)a-ri² e-eš-ša-na¹(-)[a[š²(-)]
 14'. [] ki-ya-an-¹ta¹ x-ma(-)[]
 [] še-er-ra-kán e-eš-š[a-na(-)]
 16'. [] -pa []
 [] I-NA² Gİ[špá]d-du-ni-i te-eḫ-ḫi []
 18'. [] Gİ[špád-dur nu-uš [] -y)a
 [] e-eš-ša-na-aš ḫ[i²-] x
 20'. [] x-x-x 'ku-e¹-da-ni [ki-y)a-an-ta
 [] x 'LÁL² [] i[š²-ḫu-[wa²]-an
 22'. [(nu IT-TI²)⁵] 10 NINDA.GUR₄.RA gul-¹la¹-a[n-ti-i²]-e-eš
 [(10 NINDA.GUR₄.RA x) -u]n²⁶ a-aš-šu GİŠpád-du-ur [da]-a-i

4. The restoration is very uncertain.

5. From here on (i 22'–48') the text has been restored after F 1'–34'

6. C

- 24'. [(nu DUMU-an ku-in)⁷ an-n]i²-eš-ki-iz-zi na-an ti-i[]-ta-nu-uz-zi
 [] pé-ra-an-ši-it⁸ da-ga-an⁹ da-a-i
 26'. [] x-¹du²¹-il NINDA iš-ga-ra-a[n]-ta DIB-ki-iz-zi¹⁰
 [] -za še-er SAG.KI-ši pé-ra-[a]n DIB-zi
 28'. [(kat-ta-an-ma-at GİR.MEŠ¹¹-a)]z² ar-nu-uz-zi na-at [KA]R²-zi
 [(kat)]-ta¹² túḫ-ša-ri na-at-š[a-a]n GİŠpád-du-ni-i
 30'. [] ti²-an²-] -zi
 [(EGIR-an-na-a)]š-š[(i)¹³] iš-ki-ša-az QA-TAM-MA DÜ-z[i Z]AG-na-
 az-zi-ya
 32'. [GÜB-la-az²] QA-TAM-MA DÜ-zi¹⁴ nu te-ez-zi k[a-a]-ša-wa-at-ta
 [i-da-a-l]a-mu-uš EME.MEŠ ḪUL-¹lu¹ ut-tar DUMU-li ar-ḫa
 34'. [túḫ]-¹ša¹-an-na-aḫ-ḫi ma-¹a¹-[an-wa-]at-ši-pa k[ar²-d]i²-i an-da
 [(ma-a-a)n-wa-at-ši-pa¹⁵ [S]AG(.KI)-ši¹⁶ an¹-da ma-a-an-[wa-a]t-
 ši-pa ge-e-nu-wa-aš¹⁷
 36'. [an-d]a ma-a-an-wa-at-ši-pa¹⁸ ŠU.MEŠ-aš¹⁹ an-da [(ma)]-a-an-wa-
 at-ši-pa
 [GİR.MEŠ-aš² a]n-da na-at-ši-kán IŠ-TU 10[(+2 UZ)]²⁰ÚR.HI.A²⁰
 38'. [ar-ḫa ḫ]u-it-ti-ya-an-na-aḫ -ḫi
 [(na-aš-t)]a²¹ a-ša-ra-an²² a-aš-tág-ga-a[(š-ša-an)] GIM-an ḫa-an-za-
 na-aš
 40'. [] TU]G²-az ar-ḫa túḫ-ša-an-z[i²³ (na-a)]š-ta TÚG-an
 da-an-zi
 [nu-ut-tá]k-kán ḪUL-lu-uš²⁴ EM[E-aš²⁵ (t)úḫ]-ša-an-za e-eš-du

7. Cf. F 4'.

8. F 5': pí-ra-aš-ši-it.

9. F 5': ta-[ga-an].

10. F 5': [a]p-pí-iš-ki-iz-zi.

11. Cf. F 7'.

12. F 8': ka-ta-an.

13. Cf. F 9'.

14. F 10': i-ya-iz-zi.

15. F 12': ma-a-na-at-ši-pa.

16. F 13':] x-uš-ši or x-¹KI¹-ši.

17. Paragraph divider follows F 13'.

18. F 14': [m]a-a-na-at-ši-pa.

19. F 14': ŠU.MEŠ-ŠU.

20. F 15': 12 UZUÚR.MEŠ.

21. Cf. F 16' and C obv. 2'. From here on (i 39'–62') C obv. 2'–25' has also been used to restore the text.

22. F 16': a-ša-a-ra-an.

23. F 17': ar-ḫa túḫ-ša-an-za C obv. 3' ar-ḫa túḫ-ša-an-l

- 42'. [nu-ut-ták]-kán ar-ḥa da-an-za [] x²⁶ [] e-eš-du
 [(EGIR-an-da)-k]án²⁷ iš-tág-ga-aš-za-an QA-TAM-¹MA¹ DÜ-zi
 44'. [nu QA-TAM-MA] me-ma-i E[(GIR-a)]n-da-ma²⁸ ŠA [(GA)]D šu-ú-
 i-il²⁹ [] x x []-zi
 [] x x []-zi ki-i GAD-a(n) G]IM-an³⁰ GE₆-i e-eš-ta
 46'. [na-at GIM-an ka-a-aš] ḥa-aš-ša-aš³¹ pár-ku-nu-[ut (n)]a-at ḥar-ga-
 nu-ut
 [(x)³² DU]MU[?]-an QA-TAM-MA pár-ku-[nu-u]d-du
 48'. [n(a²-aš)³³]-ša-an kat-ta TUKU.T[UKU]-aš³⁴ pád-[(d)]u-ni-i
 [ti²-an²]-[] z³⁵
 50'. [(x-un-x)³⁴ GAD² š]u-ú-i-li-it [] x-a-an ir-ḥa-[a-i]z-zi
 [nu-(uš-š)a³⁵-an GAD² šu-ú]-i-il QA-T[AM-MA²] SIG₅-u-i³⁶ pád-
 'du¹-[ni]-i
 52'. [(zi-ik-)³⁶ki-iz-zi² n]u-za TUKU.TUKU-a[š³⁷ pád-]d]ur da-a-i
 [(na-at)³⁷] x-x [wa-a]ḥ-nu-uz-zi nu kiš-an me-ma-i
 54'. [ka-a-ša-wa² (DINGIR.MEŠ da)³⁸-pí-an-te]-eš ḤUL-lu UN-aš
 [(pé-ra-a)]n³⁹ ku-u-un UN-an 'ḤUL¹
 56'. [] TUKU.TUKU-aš⁴⁰ pád-dur⁴⁰
 [] x-aš DINGIR.MEŠ da-pí-an-¹te-eš⁴¹
 58'. [(nu da-pí-a)n²-⁴¹] x-tén ka-a-aš-ma¹ DUMU-RU
 [U-UL DÜ-at (ku-it-ki)⁴²] Ú-UL-ma wa-aš-ta-aš ku-it-ki
 60'. [Ú-UL da-a-aš ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ku-i]t-ki ka-a-aš ka-¹li¹-li-ya-an-za
 [DUMU-aš a-iš-mi-it⁴³ tar-aš-g]a-ni-ya-(u-wa)-an-za ar-ri-iš-ša
 62'. [še-e-ḥu-ga-ni-ya-u-wa-an-za⁴⁴] nu-uš-ši DINGIR.MEŠ ge-en-zu

26. F 19' omits.

27. F 20': EGIR-an-da-ma; C obv. 5': EGIR-a[n].

28. Cf. F 21' and C obv. 6'.

29. F 21': GAD šu-¹ú-¹i[l].

30. F 22': ma-aḥ-ḥa-an.

31. C obv. 8': ḥa-a-aš-š[a-a]š.

32. Cf. F 23'.

33. Cf. F 24'.

34. Cf. C obv. 11'.

35. Cf. C obv. 12'.

36. Cf. C obv. 13'.

37. Cf. C obv. 14'.

38. Cf. C obv. 15'.

39. Cf. C obv. 16'.

40. C obv. 17': G¹špád-du-u[r].

41. Cf. C obv. 18'.

42. Cf. C obv. 19'.

43. Restored after iii 48. Cf. ii 23'f.

44. Restored after iii 49. Cf. ii 25'.

- (22'.) ta-at-tén x []
 nu-za ku-u-uš k[u-
 (24'.) x-ya EME[-
 [] x⁴⁵
 obv. ii
 x+1. nu-za GAD-a[n
 2'. na-¹at¹ x []
 na-a[t] pár-k[u-nu-ut
 4'. ḤUL-lu-¹un EME¹-a[n
 ḤUL-la-mu-uš EME.MEŠ[-uš
 6'. ki-iš-ta-nu-me [-en] []
 nu⁴⁶UTU-uš⁴⁷U-aš⁴⁸LAMMA-aš DINGIR.MEŠ da-pí-an-te-eš⁴⁹
 8'. nu⁵⁰PAN-it GI-it ši-i-e[-eš-ki-tén ḤUL-lu-un EME-an]
 a-wa-an ar-ḥa pár-aḥ-tén EME.MEŠ ḤUL-lu-uš⁴⁶ (A-NA
 DIN)GIR.MEŠ²⁴⁷
 10'. ša-am-me-na-an-du-uš nu-u[š] A.ŠÀ ma-r[(i-ya)-ni-i]
 pé-e-tum-me-e-ni nu-uš a-pí-ya ḥa-r[(i-ya-u-e)-ni]
 12'. na-at-kán A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ar-ḥa me-er-ra-an-t[a-r]u⁴⁸
⁴⁶UTU-i⁴⁷U-ni⁴⁸LA[MM]A-i A-NA LI-IM DINGIR.MEŠ[-y]a-at-kán
 14'. ar-ḥa me-er-ra-a-an-ta- ru⁴⁹
 A-NA ANŠE.KUR.RA ḥal-ki-iš im-mi-i-ú-ul A-NA GU₄.MEŠ-ya
 16'. ŠÀ.GAL A-NA UR.[G]I₇.ḤI.A ŠAH.ḤI.A-ma mu-ú-da-na
 e-et-re-eš-mi-it na-at ka-a-ša ú-x-x-¹an²¹
 18'. nu⁴⁶UTU⁴⁷U⁴⁸LAMMA ḤUL-lu-un EME A-NA DUMU-RU a[-wa-an]
 ar-ḥa pár-aḥ-tén na-at im-mi-ú-la-aš e-e[t-ri²²-ya-aš]
 20'. EGIR-an i-ya-an-ni-ya-an-du DUMU-RU-ma []
 ar-ḥa tar-na-an-du Ú-UL DÜ-at ku-i[t-ki
 22'. Ú-UL-ma wa-aš-ta-aš ku-it-¹ki¹ Ú-UL-ma []
 da-a-aš ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ku-it-ki i[š-ši-it]
 24'. tar-aš-ga-ni-ya-u-wa-an-za ar-ri-iš-me-e[t
 še-e-ḥu-ga-ni-¹ya¹-u-wa-an-za ša-ak-ki-[ya Ú-UL ku-it-ki⁵⁰]
 26'. ú-e-mi-ya-[a]z-(zi)-ya-kán Ú-UL ku-i[t-ki]
 nu-uš-ši DINGIR.MEŠ a-aš-šu TI-tar MU.ḤI.A GÍD[.DA

45. Cf. C obv. 22'-25'.

46. From here on (ii 9'-14') the text has been restored after D 2'-7'.

47. Or [A-NA DU]MU-RU? Cf. ii 18'.

48. D 5': ma-ra-an-du.

49. D 7': [m]a-ra-an-[du].

50. For restoration see CHD sub šakk- "to 'now' 1b3'a1'. A. Goetze's suggestion šakk[ya-ni-yawant-, "dirty, filthy, defiled with faeces," JCS 16 [1962]: 30; JCS 22 [1968]: 20] is incorrect. Cf. also J. Puhvel, *FsLaroche*, 297 with n. 3 ("their(?) anus dirty with urine and excrement").

- 28'. pé-eš-kat-tén nu-uš-ši in-na-ra-a-wa-tar
 ḥa-aš-ta-li-ya-tar pé-eš-ka[t-tén]
- 30'. na-aš šal-li-e-eš-¹du¹ pár-ku-e-eš-d[u nu-uš-ši
 ḥu-u-wa-an-da-aš pé-eš-kat-tén nu-uš-ši ḥa-aš-ta-l[i²-y]a-[tar]
- 32'. pé-eš-tén nu-uš-ši ¹iš¹-ḥu-na-u-wa-a[r] ši-ya-u-wa-¹ar¹
 pé-eš-tén nu-uš-ši šu-uḥ-mi-li-[i]n ge-e-¹nu¹ pé-¹eš¹-tén
- 34'. nu TUKU.TUKU-aš ḤUL-lu ^{GIŠ}pád-d[ur] kat-ta da-a-i
 nu-za a-aš-šu ^{GIŠ}pád-dur [d]a-a-i na-at DUMU-[l]i še-er
- 36'. ar-ḥa wa-aḥ-nu-uz-z[i] nu te-ez-zi ^d[UT]U ^dU
^d[LAMMA] [] x-x-uš² x[k]a-a-ša a-aš-ša-¹u-e-¹eš EME.MEŠ
- 38'. x [] x [-]li-it-ta-a[t²
 [] .MEŠ² NI-I[š²] x
- 40'. [] x n[a- ^{GIŠ}pád-[dur²
 [ni²-in²]-kán-te-eš a-š[a-an-du²] x [
- 42'. []-ši nu-za AMAR-ŠU ti-d[a²-
 [a²]-pé-e-pát INIM.MEŠ ar-k[u-wa-ar
- 44'. [D]Ü-zi ^{GIŠ}pát-tu-ni-i [
 a-pí-ya-ya QA-TAM-MA [-du²]
- 46'. nu a-aš-šu ^{GIŠ}pád-dur [
 iš-ga-ra-a-an-ta [
- 48'. pé-e-da-an-zi [
 nu te-kán pád-da-a-¹i¹ [
- 50'. kar-aš TU₇ ma-a-ri [
 da-a-i na-at x[
- 52'. da-a-¹i¹ me-¹ma¹-i[-ma²

rev. iii

- ¹šū¹¹-uḥ-mi-¹li¹-iš [
2. tág-ga-ni-ya-mu-uš NÍ.T[¹E](-)¹mu²-uš²¹ [
 EME.MEŠ an-da e-ep-tén ḤUL-lu-un UD.KAM[-an
4. nu⁵¹ še-er an-da DIB-zi ⁵²še-er-ra-aš-ša-an [
 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA GÍD.¹DA¹ ták-na-aš DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ
 1 NINDA.GU[R₄.RA GÍD.DA]
6. ták-na-aš A-NA DINGIR.MAḥ pár-ši-ya 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA
 [GÍD.DA]
 šu-uḥ-mi-li GE₆-i KI-pí pár-ši-ya nu-u[š- pát-te-eš-ni²]
8. ta-pu-uš-za iš-ga-a-ri nu BAL-an-ti [DINGIR.ME]Š LÚ.ME[Š

51. From here on (iii 4-15) the text has been restored after B 1'-11'.

52. B 1': e-ep-zi.

- [a]z-zi-ik-ki-it-tén ak-ku-¹uš¹-ki-i[(t)]-tén ták-n[a-aš^dUTU-uš]
10. [z]i-ig-qa az-zi-ik-ki ak-ku-¹uš¹-ki an-da[(-y)a²
¹e¹-ep-tén ḤUL-lu-un EME -an [
12. [ḤU]L-lu-un UD.KAM-an ⁵³ḤUL-lu-¹un¹ GE₆-an ku-iš A-NA
 D[UMU-RI ḤUL-lu]
 me-[mi]-iš-ta na-at-ša-an [(EG)]IR-pa a-pé-e-da-ni pé-¹e¹-[di pa-id-du]
14. A-NA DUMU-¹RI¹-ma EGIR-pa a-[(aš-šu)]-¹u² ⁵⁴T¹-tar ḥa-¹ad¹-du-
 la-tar MU.K[AM.ḤI.A GÍD.DA]
 E[G]IR.¹UD¹-MI ma-ya-an-t[(a-t)]ar UR.SAG-tar ḥa-aš-ta-li-ya-ta[r]
16. [i]n-na-[r]a-u-wa-a-[tar pé-eš-k]at-tén ^{GIŠ}pád-dur-ma-kán a-pí-i-[ya]
 [A-NA] A.Š[À] ma-r[i-ya-n]i-i šu-uḥ-ḥa-i
18. [1 NIN]DA.GUR₄.RA GÍD.DA ták-na-a]š DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ
¹pár¹-ši-ya 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA gu[l]-la-an-ti-in
^dUTU-i pár-[ši-ya 1 NINDA.GU]R₄.RA A-NA ^dMa-am-ma pár-ši-ya
20. [n]a-an [] ¹da¹-a-i nu te-ez -zi
¹ka¹-[a-ša-wa ḤUL-la]-mu-uš EME.MEŠ A ŠÀ ma-ri-¹ya¹-ni-i šu-uḥ-
 ḥ[a-a]-i
22. nu-mu [ḤUL-lu INIM/ut-tar] A-NA PA-NI DINGIR-LIM ḤUL-uš
 UN-aš me-mi-eš-ki-i[t]
 ma-a-an [^dUTU-i m]a-a-an ^dU-ni ma-a-an A-NA ^dLAMMA
24. ki-nu-na-[] x ¹ḤUL-lu¹-uš EME.MEŠ-uš I-NA A.ŠÀ ¹ma¹-ri-[ya]-
 ni-i
 šu-uḥ-ḥa-u-¹e²¹-[en² A-NA PA-NI DINGIR.MEŠ²]-¹ya¹-kán ḤUL-lu-uš
 EME-aš
26. QA-TAM-MA [ar²-ḥa²] me-er-du
 nu ar-ḥa-ya-an x[pé]-¹e¹-di ^{GIŠ}la-aḥ-ḥur-nu-uz-zi
28. da-ga-a-an iš-p[ár-ra-an-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA.]ḤI.A iš-ga-¹a¹-ri
 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA GÍD.DA ^dI[M² pár-ši-ya² NINDA.GUR₄.
 RA.ḤI.]A¹ gul-l[a²-a]n²-[
30. A-NA ^dUTU 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA GÍ[D.DA] x-eš-x [
 A-NA ^dLAMMA DINGIR.MEŠ ¹LÚ¹.MEŠ [
32. A-NA ^dMa-am-ma 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA GÍD.DA pár-ši-ya]
 nu-uš A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ QA-TAM-MA p[ár-ši-ya]
34. ki-i-ma nam-ma-pát ar-ḥa-ya-an x[
^{GIŠ}la-aḥ-ḥur-nu-uz-zi da-ga-a-an i[š-pár-ra-an-zi
36. 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA KA xU-i 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA EME 1 NINDA.
 GUR₄.RA [12 ZU₉.MEŠ² 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA²]

53. B 8': UD-an.

54. B 10' omits -u, but the traces in the main text resemble -u.

- A-NA hu-ur-li da-a-i nu-uš QA-TAM-MA-pát pár-š[i-ya]
 38. nu ši-ip-pa-an-ti nu ki-iš-ša-an te-e[z]-z[i]
 dUTU-uš dU-aš dLAMMA DINGIR.MEŠ da-pí-an-te-eš ka-a-ša-[aš-
 ma-aš]
 40. le-e-ma dUTU-uš da-ra-an-za le-e-ma dU-aš da-r[a-an-za]
 le-e-¹ma¹ dLAMMA-aš da-ra-an-za le-e-ma ta-ma-i-iš DINGIR[-LUM]
 42. ku-iš-ki da-¹ra¹-an-za zi-ik-(za) dUTU-uš dU-ni dLAMMA-ri A-NA[A]
 DIN[GI]R.MEŠ-ya
 ha-an-te-ez-zi-iš nu a-aš-šu hu-u-ma-an šu-meš DÙ-at-tén
 44. na-aš-ta HUL-lu wa-aḥ-nu-ut-tén na-at a-aš-šu DÙ-at-tén
 nu-kán A-NA DUMU-RI EME HUL-lu-na an-da le-e tar-na-a[t-t]e-ni
 46. Ú-UL i-ya-at ku-it-ki Ú-UL-ma wa-aš-ta-aš ku-it-k[i]
 Ú-UL-ma-¹kán da¹-a-aš ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ku-it-¹ki¹
 48. ¹ka¹-li-li-ya-an-za DUMU-aš a-iš-mi-it tar-aš-ga-ni-ya-[u-wa-an-z]a
 [a]r-ri-iš-ša⁵⁵ še-e-hu-ga-ni-ya-u-wa-an-za nu-uš-ši-¹kán¹ [
 50. [DINGIR.]MEŠ pé-ra-an ar-tén nu-uš-ši-kán HUL-lu an-da ¹le¹-[(e)]
 ta[(r)]-na-at-te-e -ni⁵⁶
 52. nu G[¹š]a-aḥ-hur-nu-uz-zi-aš pé-ra-an pa-aḥ-hur iš-hu-[u-wa-i]
 nu UZU[¹] ZÍZ LÀL ša-me-ši-ya-zi nu GEŠTIN ši-ip-pa-an-[ti]⁵⁷
 54. nu 1 ga-¹pár¹-[r]a-an dUTU-ni 1 ga-pár-ta-an dU-ni 1 ga-[(p)á(r)-ta-an
 dLAMMA-ri]
 [ši-i]p-[p]a-a[n]-ti nu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ ŠUM-an lam-ni-ya-az-z[i]⁵⁸
 56. [] x PA-NI DINGIR.MEŠ ha-at-ta-an-zi x[
 [] -y]a še-er za-ap-pa-nu-wa-an-[(z)i]
 58. [] x 1 LI UZU[] UDU U[] ZU
 [] ši-ip-pa²-a[n]-ti ¹e¹-eš-ḥa[r(-)]
 60. [] n]a-aš-kán [
 [] E]ME [
 62. [] x [
 rev. iv
 [] x A-NA u-
 2. [] -ša-aš še-er ḥa-x-
 [] x ar-kán-zi U[] ZU
 4. [] UZU NÍG.]GIG SILA₄ SAG.DU da-a-[i]

55. From here on (iii 49–57) the text has been restored after E 1'–9'.

56. E 3': tar-na-at-ti[(-)].

57. E 5': ši-pa-a[n-ti].

58. E 7':] x-a-ni-ya-zi [.

- [] z]a-nu-¹uz¹-z[i n]a-an A-NA EME 12
 Z[U₉.MEŠ²]
 6. [] x še-er ar-ḥa ku-[e]r-zi GEŠTIN BAL-an-¹ti¹
 [] x ¹UZU¹ŠĀ UZU¹ELLAG.GÜN.A I[Z]I-i za-nu-uz-zi
 8. [] da]-a-i E[GI]R-an-da-ma A-NA [A]N-E da-a-i
 [] EGIR-an-d]a-ma Š[A²] DUGÚTUL UZU¹ A-NA [DI]NGIR.M[E]Š
 ši-¹ip¹-pa-an-ti
 10. [] DINGIR.M]EŠ LÚ.MEŠ ¹d¹LAMMA-ya da-a-i E[GI]R-ŠU-¹ma¹
 UZU¹GABA
 [] UZU¹U]DU A-NA ¹d¹LAMMA da-a-i
 12. [EGIR]-¹an-da-ma¹ [] x ŠĀ²(...) DUGÚTUL A-NA dUTU] dU
 dLAMMA da-a-¹i¹
 [nu U]Š-GI-EN d[UT]U dU dLAMMA [DINGIR.MEŠ da-p]í-an-te-eš
 14. [ka]-a-ša-aš-ma-aš x x aš-šu[- nam-m]a-aš
 [] -pí-ya-u-e-e[n] DINGIR.MEŠ tág-[na-aš] e-ep-tén
 16. [EGIR-p]a-ma-kán x [] x x [] pé]-¹e¹-da-an-
 z[i]
 [] x x x [] -ya
 18. [] x x [] -p]a² x [] x-nu-l[i]²
 [] ¹wa-ar¹-nu-wa-an-[(z)i]
 20. [] -l]am-ni
 [] x da-a-i
 22. [] ši-ip-pa-an-ti
 [] dUT]U ¹dU ¹d¹[LAMMA ka-a-š]a-aš-ma-aš
 24. [] x-mi nu A-NA DUMU-R[] a-ra-aḥ-za]-an-da
 ŠU.MEŠ-uš
 [aš-šu-li ḥa]r²-tén nu-uš-ši-kán a[n-da] x HUL le-e
 26. [tar-na-a]t-te-ni nu ku-iš H[UL-lu me]-ma-i na-aš-ma ḥur-ta-a-in
 [A-NA DUM]U-RI te-ez-zi na⁵⁹ [at E]GIR-pa a-pé-e-da-ni-pát
 28. [UN-ši ú]-¹e¹-eḥ-¹ta¹ -ru
 [(nu)] x-x [š]i-ši-ya-az-zi [nu SIL]A₄ ḥa-ad-da-an-zi
 30. [nu-uš-ša-a]n² za-nu-wa-a-an-zi nam-ma [(e-e)]š-ḥar-nu-uz-zi
 [NINDA.GUR₄.R]A.ḪI.A KA×[U] EME 12 ZU₉.M[EŠ A-NA hu-u]r-li
 pár-ši-ya
 32. [] x ŠAḪ.TUR BAL-an -ti
 [(nu x)] x [] DINGIR.MEŠ šu-meš az-zi-i[k²-ki-tén]-iš a-
 aš-šu

59. From here on (iv 27–44) the text has been restored after C rev. 1'–15'.

34. [] x 'šū-um¹-me-eš-ša-aš-ši a-aš-šu []-aš
[]-a-u-e-en aš-ša-nu-um-me-en x [] A-NA
DUM]U-RI
36. [an-da] x HUL-lu le-e tar-na-at-'te¹-[ni nu ku-iš HUL-lu na-aš-m]a
[hur-ta-a-in² A-N]A DUMU-RI me-ma-i nu HUL-lu a-pé-'e¹-[da-ni
UN-ši²]
38. [EGIR-pa² ú]-'e¹-eh¹-ta-ru na-aš-ta pé-ra-un []
[(nu x)] x-wa ma-aḫ-ḫa-an A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ši-pa-[an-ti]i ŠA
'ŠAH¹.TUR-ya
40. [] x-aš QA¹-TAM-MA BAL-ti EG[I]R-'ŠU¹-ma 2 UZU^x
QA-TAM-MA BAL-an-ti
[] x DUG¹UTUL-ya QA-TAM-MA BAL-an-ti ŠA [(Š)A]H.TUR
UZU¹]
42. [(QA-TAM)]-MA ši-pa-an-ti GEŠTIN-ya ši-pa-an-[ti]
[]-iš-[k]i-iz-zi-ma [QA-TA]M-MA
44. [(a-aš-x)] x ku-it UZU¹] nu a-da-a[n-z]i
[] ša-ra-a da-an-zi na-x [] a)r-ḫa
46. [] HUL-lu-u]š EME-ma ku-it ut-tar me-m[i-i]š-ki-m[i]
[]-ul-lu-ra-an-za e-eš-du nu [] x []
48. [] x-ta-'ru¹ HUL-lu-uš EME-aš x []
[a²-aš-šu²]-uš e-eš-'du¹ nu-uš a-aš-ša-u-i []
50. [i-da-a]-la¹-u-i-ma-aš pí-di [š]a-ra-a 'kar¹-pa-[]

- DUB.1.K[AM] QA-'T¹ ma-a-an-'kán¹ UN-[aš
52. ku-iš-ki A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ pá-r-ra-an-d[a HUL-lu-un me-mi-an]
me-mi-eš-'ki¹-iz-zi na-aš-ma-an x []
54. nu EME-an kiš-an a-ni-y[a-mi]

Translation

- §1 (A i 1–2) ... in² ... And [I] treat the tongue as follows.
§2 (A i 3–10) ... I take the ... And three times ... the nine tongues.
[And] them² I lay spread out ... [And t]he migh[ty² ped]estal². And I
put them ... Together with [th]em he/she [tak]es² mud plaster of ... A
bow, an arr[ow²] ... of chaff⁶⁰ ... [A]nd the [b]alls of dough[h] were
... the spears [to the] Pri[nce²] ... And ... it from the bo[dy
parts²] ...
- §3 (A i 11–16) ... a loaf of *mulati*-bread made from oil-cake ... each of
karaš-grain ... [the spe]ar, ... of dough ... are lying ... on the top
... of dough ...

60. For the translation of *ezza-lizza*-, cf. *HED* 2, 321–23; *HW*² 2, 141.

- §4 (A i 17–23) ... I put ... [in] the [ba]sket. ... the basket. And them
... of dough ... in which they were [ly]ing ... honey² ... that (was)
[p]our[e]d out. [And with] ... ten loaves of thick *gulla[nti]*-bread [ten
loaves of thick bread²] he/she [tak]es the good basket.
- §5 (A i 24–30) [And the Prince whom] he/she [trea]ts² he/she st[a]nds him
up. ... he/she places ... in front of him, on the ground. ... he/she
presses the loaf of *išgara[n]*-bread. Above he/she holds ... befo[r]e his
forehead. [And below, in front of the feet] he/she brings it. And he
[reach]es² them. ... He/she separates [on the bott]om². And in the bas-
ket they [place²] it.
- §6 (A i 31–38) [Again from hi]s back he/she doe[s] the same. On the
[r]ight side, [on the left side], he/she does the same. And he/she says:
“L[o]ok here, I am [sep]arating the [ev]il tongues, the evil word away
from you, O Prince: whet[her it (is)] in his he[ar]t², [or] it (is) on his
[f]orehead², or [it (is) i]n the knees, or it (is) on the hands, [o]r it (is) o[n
the feet²]. And from the tw[elve pa]rts of the body I am [p]ulling them
[out].
- §7 (A i 39–42) [And] as th[ey] separat[e] the ... black² band ... from the
[clot]h², [then] they take the cloth, [like]wise let the evil tong[ue] be
[se]parated (from you), [like]wise let [it] be taken away [...]!”
- §8 (A i 43–49) [Afterwards] he/she does the same with the bowstring.
[And] he/she speaks [likewise]: “A[ft]erwards] the thread of [lin]en ...
[a]s ... thi[s] linen was black, [as this] soap mad[e] (it) clean [a]nd
made it white, ... let it make the [Pri]nce likewise clea[n]!” [And] onto
the bas[k]et of anger he/she put[s] it².
- §9 (A i 50–62) ... He/she demarcates [the] ... with the help of the [linen
t]hread. [And the linen thr]ead like[w]ise he/she places] into the good
basket. [A]nd he/she takes the [b]asket of [f] anger. [And he/she sw]ings²
[it] ... and says the following: [“Look here! O, all gods], the evil of
mankind ... [befo]re ... the evil ... this person (acc.) ... the basket
of anger ... O, al[l] gods, ... [And all²] ... But this Prince [has done
nothing], and he has not sinned by any means. [He hasn't taken
any]thing [from anyone]. This one is bound. [In his mouth the Prince is]
defiled by [sali]va. On his anus [he is defiled by urine]. And you, O
gods, have pity on him!”
- §10 (C obv. 22–25) You take! ... And whoever ... tongue ...
- §11 (A ii 1–6) And ... the linen. And ... it. And he/she clea[ned] it ... the
evil tongu[e] ... the evil tongues (acc.) ... we have extingui[sh]ed.
- §12 (A ii 7–14) “And you, O Sun-god, O Storm-god, O Patron-god, O [all]
go[ds], with bow (and) arrow sho[ot] the evil tongue], drive away the
ev[il] tongues made [before the gods²]! And to the *mar[iyani]*-field we
will take th[e]m, and bur[y] them there. And [let] them disappear from

the sight of the gods: away from the Sun-god, the Storm-god, the Pa[tr]o[n]-god, [a]nd from the Thousand Gods let them disappear.

- §13 (A ii 15–29) For the horses, barley (is) their fodder mix, and for cattle (it is) the cattle fodder, for do[g]s and pigs garbage (is) their food. Behold it [is . . .] And you, O Sun-god, O Storm-god, O Patron-god, drive the evil tongue a[w]ay from the Prince! And after the fodder mix and fo[od] let them go! And the Prince . . . let them set (him) free! He did not do any[th]ing . . . He did not sin in any way. And he did not take anything from anyone. (Yet) [in his] m[outh] (he is) defiled by saliva. On hi[s]⁶¹ anus (he is) defiled by urine. But (he) know[s] nothing (as to the cause of his defilement)) and he finds noth[ing] (in himself).⁶² Therefore, O gods, give him a good life, longev[ity], and give him strength and courage!
- §14 (A ii 30–33) And let him grow up (and) become ta[ll]. And to him] . . . give [swift]ness of the wind! Give hi[m] c[ou]r[a]ge. Give him the ability to use forc[e] and shoot. Give him a fir[m] knee.”⁶³
- §15 (A ii 34–45) And he/she puts down the evil bask[et] of anger. And he/she [t]akes the good basket and swing[s] it above the Prin[c]e. And he/she speaks thus: “O [Sun-g]od, O Storm-god, O Patron-god . . . [B]ehold! The good tongues . . . vo[w?] . . .” [The b]ask[et] . . . Let [them] b[e] drunk? . . . And . . . its calf . . . [th]ose words [into] a pr[ayer?] . . . he/she [m]akes, . . . in the basket . . . And likewise . . . them, too.
- §16 (A ii 46–52) And . . . the good basket . . . išgaranta-(bread?) . . . they take away. . . . And he/she digs the ground . . . karaš-grain, mari-stew . . . he/she takes . . . And . . . he/she takes . . . [And] he/she speaks [thus]: “. . .
- §17 (A iii 1–3) firm . . . my? breast, bod[y] . . . Seize the tongues within. (Thereupon) [keep the] evil day . . .”
- §18 (A iii 4–11) And above (them) he/she holds . . . On top of them . . . he/she crumbles a loaf of long thick bread for the male deities of the Earth, a loaf of [long] thi[ck] bread for the Mother-goddess of the Earth. He/she crumbles a loaf of [long] thick bread for the firm Dark Earth. And . . . he/she lines th[em] up beside [the hole?]. And he/she makes an offering: “O you male [deities], [e]at (and) dri[n]k! O [y]ou, [Sun-god] of the Ear[th], eat (and) drink! [And there]in seize the evil tongue,

61. Text: “on their anus.”

62. For *Ú-UL-ma ku-it ú-e-mi-ya-mi* in the sense of “I find out nothing (as to the cause of divine anger),” see KBo 11.1 obv. 41, ed. Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *RHA* 81 (1967) 108, 117; R. Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 297, 302. See also *CHD* sub *šakk-* “to know” 1b3’a’.

63. Cf. translation by H. G. Güterbock, *FsAlp*, 239f. with nn. 18–20.

- §19 (A iii 12–17) the [ev]il day, the evil night. Whoever pro[nou]nced a [blasphemy] on the Pr[in]ce—let it go ba[ck] to that pla[ce]! Give to the Prince again a g[ood] life, health, [long] ye[ars], a f[u]ture, youthful vi[go]r, heroism, coura[ge], [s]treng[th]!” He/she pours (the contents of) the basket there, [o]n the *mar[iyan]i-fie[l]d*.
- §20 (A iii 18–20) He/she crumbles [a] loaf of l[ong] thick [bre]ad for the male deities of the [Eart]h. He/she cru[m]bles a loaf of thick *gu[l]lanti*-bread for the Sun-god. He/she crumbles [a loaf of th]ick [bread] for the deity Mamma. [A]nd he/she takes it [. . .] and speaks (thus):
- §21 (A iii 21–26) “Lo[ok]! He/she pou[r]s the [evi]l tongues on the *mariyani*-field. The evil person ha[s] spoken [evil] of me before a god: whether before [the Sun-god, o]r the Storm-god, or the Patron-god. Now w[e] have poured out the evil tongues on the *mari[ya]ni*-field. So let the evil tongues [from the sight of the gods?] likewise vanish [away?]!”
- §22 (A iii 27–33) Separately in the . . . [pla]ce [they] spr[ead out] the foliage on the ground and line up [with the loaves] [of thick bread. He/she crumbles] a loaf of long thick bread for the St[orm?]-god, . . . [loaves] of *gull[anti]*-bread? for the Sun-god, a loaf of lo[ng] thick bread [he/she crumbles?] . . . for the Patron-god, for the male deities . . . for the deity Mamma [he/she crumbles] a loaf of [long] thi[ck] bread. And for the gods likewise he/she cr[umbles] them.
- §23 (A iii 34–38) Then again separately . . . [they] s[pread out] foliage on the ground. He/she puts (thereupon) a loaf of thick bread for the mouth, a loaf of thick bread for the tongue, a loaf of thick bread [for the twelve teeth, a loaf of thick bread] for the *hurli*-part. And he/she crum[bles] them in the same way. He/she makes an offering and spea[ks] thus:
- §24 (A iii 39–45) “O Sun-god, O Storm-god, O Patron-god, O all gods! Look here, [to you] let the Sun-god not be mentioned, nor let the Storm-god be men[tioned], nor let the Patron-god be mentioned, let no other god be mentioned! O Sun-god, you are superior to the Storm-god, the Patron-god, and the (other) go[d]s! You (pl.) must make everything good, and change the evil and make it good! And do not let the evil tongue g[e]t to the Prince!
- §25 (A iii 46–51) He did not do anything. He did not sin in any wa[y]. He did not take anything from anyone. The Prince is bound. In his mouth (the Prince) is defiled by sali[va]. On his [a]nus (he) is defiled by urine. O, you, [god]s! Appear before him. Thus do not let the evil get to him!”
- §26 (A iii 52–57) He/she scat[ters] embers before the f[oliage] and burns f[at], wheat, (and) honey and libat[es] wine. And [he/she sacr]i[fi]ces a *gapar[ta]*-animal to the Sun-god, a *gaparta*-animal to the Storm-god, a

ga[*parta*-animal to the Patron-god]. And he/she call[s] the gods by name . . . they cut off . . . before the gods . . . they let the [blood?] drip on top.

- §27 (A iii 58–62) . . . one measure of sheep fat, . . . he/she [off]ers the blo[od?] . . . And . . . tongue . . .
- §28 (A iv 1–11) . . . to . . . above . . . they carve up . . . he/she tak[es] the lamb's [liv]er (and) head . . . [c]ook[s]. And on top of the tongue, the twelve t[ee]th . . . he/she cuts up and libates wine. . . . he/she braises/cooks the heart (and) the kidney with f[i]re. . . . [he/she p]uts . . . Then he/she puts it b[ac]k in the [sk]y?. [Afterward]s he/she libates the bowl of fat for the [g]ods. He/she puts . . . [for] the male [god]s and the Patron-[god]. Af[ter]wards he/she places the brisket, . . . the [s]heep [fat] for the Patron-god.
- §29 (A iv 12–15) [Afterwar]ds he/she puts the bowl of(. . .)befo[re] the Sun-god], the Storm-god, the Patron-god. [And he/she b]ows (saying): "O [Su]n-god, O Storm-god, O Patron-god, O [a]ll [gods]! [Be]hold to/for you (pl.) . . . goo[d?] . . . we have . . . -ed them. O, you, gods of the Ear[th] seize . . . !"
- §30 (A iv 16–19) [Afterwar]ds they [c]arry . . . And they bur[n] . . .
- §31 (A iv 20–28) . . . he/she puts . . . he/she [ma]kes an offering: "[O Su]n-[god], O Storm-god, [O Patron]-god. [Be]hold, I have . . . ed. [H]old your hands [arou]nd the Prince [in favor]! And to him . . . do not [le]t evil [go]! And whoever [sp]eaks e[vil] or speaks a curse [against the Prin]ce, . . . [b]ack to that [person] let [it] be turned!"
- §32 (A iv 29–32) [And] he/she . . . -s. [And] they cut up [the lam]b. [Then] they braise/cook [i]t. Thereafter he/she sprinkles the [bloo]d. He/she breaks loaves of [th]ick [bread] for the mou[th], the tongue, the twelve teet[h], and for the *hur*li-part . . . he/she sacrifices a piglet.
- §33 (A iv 33–38) "[And] . . . e[at,] O you gods . . . good . . . you good for him . . . we . . . -ed, we arranged . . . [to the Pri]nce . . . don't le[t] the evil go! [And whoever] speaks [evil or a curse a]gainst the Prince, let the evil [t]urn [back] to tha[t person]! And before . . ."
- §34 (A iv 39–43) [And] . . . when he/she m[akes] an offering to the gods, he sacrifices the pig's . . . in the same way. Aft[er]wards they likewise sacrifice two . . . He/she offers likewise . . . and a bowl, and the fat of the [pig]let he/she [likewise] sacrifices. And he liba[tes] wine. And he/she [. . .]s [likewi]se.
- §35 (A iv 44–50) " . . . whatever fat . . . And they e[at] (it). . . . they take . . . up. And . . . away . . . [whatever evi]l tongue, what word I spe[a]k, . . . let him be . . . And . . . let th[em] . . . The evil tongue . . . let it become g[lood?]. And them in the good . . . in the [evi]l place . . . lif[t] up."

- §36 (A iv 51–54) The first tablet is complete: When a person repeatedly speaks [an evil word] in the presence of gods or . . . [I tre]at the tongue this way.

Commentary

i 22: *gul-la-a[n-ti²-i]-e-eš* (pl. nom.²). *gullant(i)-* adj.; "hollow?, with a hole in it?, having the form of a ring?". Sg. acc. *gu[l-]la-an-ti-in* KBo 10.37 iii 18; d.-l. *gul-la-an-ti* KUB 7.1 i 40; *gul-l[a²-a]n²-[* KBo 10.37 iii 29; *gul-l[a²-KUB 8.75 i 53; gul-la-an-¹te¹-[?]-eš* ibid i 63. In the text studied here, *gullant(i)-* modifies NINDA.GUR₄.RA, "thick bread," a kind of bread commonly used in Hittite ceremonies and rituals.

gullant(i)- also occurs in the ritual of Ayatarša (KUB 7.1 i 40f.): *a-ša-aš-ḫi-ma-aš-ša-an gul-la-an-ti* ^{GIS}ŠÚ.A "She places him (the child) on a *gullant(i)*-chair." In this passage the sick child is first administered a purgative, both orally and anally, then placed on a *gullant(i)*-chair, apparently one with a hole in it. Based on this assumption, H. C. Melchert, *JCS* 35 (1983): 138f., suggests that *gullant(i)-* means "hollow, with a hole," while NINDA *gullant(i)* perhaps denotes "ring-cake" or "doughnut." He also raises the possibility that this term is related to the hapax *gulli*ya in KUB 27.67 iv 33: *I-NA KUR LÚK[ÚR . . .] x gul-li-ya na-an-ni* "Drive into the enemy land, into the/a *gulli*," with the latter meaning "pit" or "ravine"—basically a "hole."

gullant(i)- is also attested in field lists: KUB 8.75 i 53, 63, ed. V. Souček, *ArOr* 27 (1959): 8–11, with an obscure meaning. In addition, the word is found in the funerary ritual fragment KBo 39.17 iii 11f.: *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-aš-ši I-NA 3 KASKAL-NI A-NA DUG KA.GAG gul-an-ti a-ku-wa-an-[na² pa-a-i²]*, perhaps meaning "a container of cheap beer (mixed with water) with a hole in it." As noted by Melchert, *JCS* 35 (1983): 139 n. 7, the stem here could be either a participle or an *-ant*-extension of an unattested adjective **gulla-*. Both the shape and the meaning suggest a connection with the root **kul-* seen in Old Norse *holr*, Old Engl. *hol*, "hollow." Cf. also H. Hoffner, *AlHeth.*, 169.

i 26: NINDA *iš-ga-ra-a[n-ta* (pl. nom.-acc. neut.²). *išgarant-* part.; "stuffed?, lined up?, attached?, set with something?, etc.," from the verb *išgar-* (KBo 10.37 iii 28) "to stuff; to line up; stick on (an object of personal adornment); to attach; to pierce; to fasten, fix, etc."

This word is found modifying NINDA, meaning literally "stuffed bread," apparently denoting a kind of bread, pie, or pastry. According to the text, the practitioner presses the *išgarant*-bread on the various body parts of the client with the purpose of transferring the evil and various impurities from his body to the *išgarant*-bread, i.e., he "stuffs" the bread with the "evil tongues" in order to dispose of them later.

išgarant- is also attested in a broken context (ii 47) in the beginning of a line: *iš-ga-ra-a-an-ta*. Cf. H. Kronasser, *Schw.Goth.*, 41f.; H. Otten and V. Souček, *StBoT* 8, 68; H. Otten, *Or* 52 (1983): 141; J. Puhvel, *HED* 1–2, 416–19 (with bibliography).

i 29: *túh-ša-ri* (mid. prs. sg. 3). *tuhš(a)-*, *tuhhuš-* v. “to cut, pluck; to break off (cheese); to tear off; to separate something from something else.” The verb occurs here with or without preverb: *ar-ḥa [túh]-[ša¹]-an-na-aḥ-ḥi* (i 33f.), *ar-ḥa túh-ša-an-z[i[?]]* (i 40), *[túh]-ša-an-za e-eš-du* (i 41), *ar-ḥa túh-ša-an-za* (F 17). It is found in a context where the practitioner removes various evils from the twelve body parts of the Prince and discards them in the so-called “basket of anger.”

The word also means “to purify oneself with the substance *tuhhueššar*,” although at this time there is no unanimity among Hittitologists as to this special meaning of the word. Moreover, the notion of cleansing oneself with the help of *tuhhueššar*, i.e., removing impurities from one’s body parts, is not dissimilar from the general notion of separating something from someone (or something).

Cf. A. Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947): 85; J. Friedrich *JCS* 1 (1947): 288f.; *HW¹*, 226f.; *HW¹* 3. *Erg.*, 34; A. Kammenhuber, *MSS* 1 (1952): 63–70; H. G. Güterbock, *RHA* 74 (1964): 106f.; *AnArašt* 10 (1986): 211f. n. 10; H. Kronasser, *EHS*, 519f.; E. Neu, *StBoT* 5, 175–77; *GsKronasser*, 127; S. Alp, *Or* 52 (1983): 18; S. Zeilfelder, “Heth. *tuhhueššar* und der Thymian,” in *125 Jahre Indo-Germanistik in Graz*, ed. M. Ofitsch and Ch. Zinko (Graz, 2000), 498–500.

i 39: *a-ša-ra-an* (sg. acc.). *ašara-*, *ešara-* n. com.; “band, string, tie, noose?”, usually ^{SlG}*ašara-*; adj.; “bright?”, white?”. Sg. nom. *a-ša-ra-aš* KBo 4.2 i 63; sg. acc. *a-ša-ra-an* KBo 4.2 i 28; *a-ša-a-ra-an* F 16; cf. also KBo 4.2 i 31. Sometimes it occurs as *e-ša-ra-an*, e.g., KUB 24.9 ii 46, KUB 24.11 ii 25, etc.

Cf. A. Goetze, *Tunn.*, 85 n. 325; G. Kapantsian, *ILR*, 350f. (connects with similar Armenian root *asr* “wool”); K. Riemschneider, *MIO* 5 (1957): 145 n. 26; H. Kronasser, *EHS* 1, 186, 506; H. M. Kümmel, *WO* 7 (1974): 293; J. Tischler, *HEG* 1, 79; *HW²* I, 384; E. Neu, *IF* 82 (1977): 273; J. Puhvel, *GSKronasser*, 182 (matches *ašara-/ešara-* “white, bright” < **esra-* < **ays(k)no-* with OCS *jasnŭ* “clear” < *(j)ěsnŭ < **ays(k)no-*); *HED* 1–2, 206f.; A. J. van Windekens, *IF* 90 (1985): 97f. (connects with *ešri-* “image, forme, stature”).

i 39: *a-aš-tág-ga-a[š-ša-an]* (sg. acc.). *aštaga-* n. Perhaps a variant of *ištagga-* “bowstring.” It is mentioned in this text following the word *ašara-*. Another attestation of *aštaga-* is found in a fragment of a Hurrian conjuration with obscure meaning, KBo 27.134 i 11f.: *nu ki-iš-ša-a[n] ‘hu¹-u-uk-mi aš-tág-ga-a-ar-ši-en[?] hu-li-il-ši-i-en*.

i 43: *iš-tág-ga-aš-za-an* (sg. acc.?). *ištagga-*, *ištaggai-* n. com. “bowstring,” usually with the determinative ^{SlG}. Sg. nom. ^{SlG}*iš-tág-ga-aš* KUB 27.67 ii

10; sg. acc. ^{SlG}*iš-tág-ga-an* ibid i 24; ^{SlG}*iš-tág-ga-an* ibid. ii 24; ^{SlG}*iš-tág-ga-in* ibid iii 29; d.l. ^{SlG}*iš-tág-ga-i* ibid. i 34, ii 34, iii 15, **IBoT** 2.122:5.

In this ritual *ištagga-* undergoes the same treatment as the *ašara*-string: “[Afterwards] he/she does the same with the bowstring” KBo 10.37 i 43. It is also attested several times in the ritual of Tarpattašši (KUB 27.67). In three instances the same expression is found: ^{SlG}*iš-tág-ga-an-na QA-TAM-MA i-ya-zi* iii 29; also i 24, ii 24. The practitioner draws the *ašara*-string from the client’s feet up to his head and, after speaking a formula requesting health, he does the same with the *ištagga-*. Elsewhere *ištagga-* is listed alongside bow (^{GlS}PAN) and arrows (^{Gl}ḪI.A) with the determinative ^{GlS}: ^{GlS}PAN *na-at-kán IŠ-TU* ^{GlS}*iš-tág-ga-i hu-it-ti-ya-an-(za)* iii 15; cf. also ii 10f. Cf. *HW¹*, 90; J. Puhvel, *HED* 1–2, 451.

i 46: *ḥar-ga-nu-ut* (act. pret. sg. 3). *ḥarganu-* v. “make white, whiten.” The intransitive of the verb *ḥark(i)eš-* means “to be or become white; to be cleaned with soap (or cloth).” It is attested in the ritual of Malli of Arzawa: *[nu kiš-a]n te-e-ez-zi ku-iš-wa-ra-an ḥar-ga-nu-uš-ki-it [. . . -ḥi-eš-]ki-it ki-nu-un-na-aš-ši-kán ḪUL- u-wa da-a[š-ki-mi]* “[Then] she (the old woman) speaks [s]o: ‘Whoever made him white . . . [and] whoever made him . . . now [I] take the evil away from him (the client)’” KUB 41.1 i 12f. w. dupls. Cf. L. Jakob-Rost, *Theth* 2, 30f., 99; J. Puhvel, *HED* 3, 170f.

i 60: *ka¹-li-li-ya-an-za*, iii 48: *ka¹-li-li-ya-an-za* (part.). *kaleliya-* v. “to bind, tie, fetter.” The word is mentioned in the Hittite myth of the combat of the Storm-god against the dragon Illuyanka, where a man named Ḫupašiya ties up the dragon with a cord: *nu il-lu-ya-an-ka-an iš-ḥi-ma-an-[ta] ka-le-e-le-e-et* KUB 17.5 i 15f. w. dupl. KUB 17.6 i 10f. It is also attested in several other texts: *k[a]-li-li-ya-[* KBo 23.69 + KBo 24.111 i 12; *ka-li-li-i-* ibid. 15; *ka-li-li-e¹-et* KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 i 32; *ka-li-li-an-te-eš* KBo 17.100 i 3. Unfortunately all of these occurrences are in rather fragmentary contexts. As noted by Hoffner, *JNES* 31 (1972): 32, *kaleliya-* is attested in OH, but yields in later periods to the verbs with similar meaning *ḥamenk-* and *išḫiya-*. Cf. J. Puhvel, *HED* 4, 22.

i 61: *[tar-aš-g]a-ni-ya-(u-wa)-an-za*, ii 24 *tar-aš-ga-ni-ya-u-wa-an-zi*, iii 48 *tar-aš-ga-ni-ya-[-u-wa-an-z]a* (part.). *tar(a)ššaniyawant-* “defiled with saliva/mucus (from the throat).” This is an adjective derived from *tarašna-* “throat.” Discussed by A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962): 30; H. Hoffner, *Finkelstein Mem.*, 111; and H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 25 (1979): 202.

i 61: *ar-ri-iš-ša*, ii 24 *ar-ri-iš-me-e[t]*, iii 49 *[a]r-ri-iš-ša*. ^{UzU}*arra-* n. “anus, arse.” Cf. E. Neu, *Lok.*, 31f. n. 68; H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 26 (1980): 212; M. Poetto, *Die Sprache* 29 (1983): 39; A. Goetze *JCS* 22 (1968): 18; J. Puhvel, *HED* 1–2, 122. For the (Luwian?) variant *arri-*, which occurs as the opposite of *aiš-* “mouth,” see A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962): 30.

ii 25: *še-e-ḥu-ga-ni-¹ya¹-u-wa-an-za*, iii 49 *še-e-ḥu-ga-ni-ya-u-wa-an-za. šeḥuganiyawant-* “spattered, defiled with urine (*šeḥur/šeḥun-*).” This word occurs in conjunction with *tarašganiyawant-* “defiled with saliva.” Cf. A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962): 30; H. Hoffner, *Finkelstein Mem.*, 111.

ii 32: *‘iṣ¹-ḥu-na-u-wa-ar. iṣḥunauwar*, the verbal subst. of *iṣḥuna(i)-/iṣḥu(wai)-* “to toss, throw,” may denote “the ability to throw (spears) or to use force.” The verb might be derived from the body part *iṣḥunau-* located between shoulder and hand and thus a metonym for physical strength. Cf. J. J. S. Weitenberg, *U-Stämme*, 224; H. G. Güterbock, *FsAlp*, 239f.

iii 37: *ḥu-ur-li* (sg. loc.). *hurli-* n. an obscure part of body?⁷⁷ (uvula?, larynx?). Not registered in Puhvel *HED*, 3, it occurs in KBo 30.36 i 5: *hur-li-in*, 15: *hur-li-iṣ*, and KBo 22.147 iii 3, 6: *hur-li-in* in conjunction with EME. It is also mentioned in KUB 5.6 iv 14: *NI.TE-ŠU-NU ḥu[r]-li-uš-ša*; KBo 20.26:5: *hur-la-aš* SAG.D[U . . .], in the company of other body parts. Cf. *CHD* L-N, sub *lala-*.

iii 54: *ga-pār-ta-an* (sg. acc.). (^{PEŠ})*gapart-* n. com. (a small rodent). According to A. Archi, *ZDMG* 125 (1975): 372, this word should be interpreted as *gapirt-* and denotes a “mouse.” Cf. G. Szabó, *Theth* 1, 70f.; G. del Monte, *OrAn* 12 (1973): 176f.; E. Neu, *Lok.*, 32; G. Neumann, *KZ* 98 (1985): 20–23; J. Puhvel, *HED* 4, 58–60.

Summary and Interpretation

The ritual studied here pertains to purification rites and was conducted for the purpose of setting the cursed person (the Prince) free from the “bonds” of the impurities: various evils, curses, and execrations. The practitioner of the ceremony, whose particular title is not mentioned in the text, goes through a series of symbolic acts of cleansing the defiled body parts of the Prince (attested in the text as *DUMU-RU*, literally “son”), accompanying these activities with various incantations and offerings to Hittite gods. The following episodes or stages make up this ritual:

- a. Preparation
- b. Purification ceremony
- c. Killing and sacrifice

Preparation: The practitioner places certain items, i.e., mud plaster, a bow, an arrow, something made of straw, balls of dough, lances, a loaf of *mulati*-bread made from oil-cake, ten loaves of thick *gullanti*-bread, etc. in the “good basket” or “basket of goodness” (i 23, 51). He also puts the *assaweš* EME^{MEŠ} “good tongues” in it (ii 37).

He places other items, whose character is not so clear due to textual breaks, in the “basket of wrath” or “anger” (i 48, 52, 56, ii 34). However, the *idalaweš* EME^{MEŠ} “evil tongues” were definitely among these things (i 33, 41).

Purification ceremony: The practitioner has the Prince stand up. He places something in front of him on the ground, apparently the “basket of wrath.” He presses the *išgarant*-bread on the client’s various body parts. At first he holds it above, before his forehead, then below, in front of his feet. Then the practitioner makes the same gestures from the Prince’s rear, right, and left sides. Thereafter he places the bread into the “basket of wrath.”

Thus the practitioner removes various evils from the twelve body parts of the Prince and discards them in the “basket of wrath.” Apparently the *išgarant*-bread was thought to function like a sponge that could soak up evil spells, diseases, or impurities from the client’s body.⁶⁴ Concurrently the exorcist speaks charms over the Prince, so that he might be cleansed in the same way as soap makes black cloths white and clean (i 32–47).

Afterwards, the practitioner swings the “basket of wrath” over the sacrificer while reciting an incantation to the effect that the Prince is not guilty, but rather bound and defiled by saliva and urine (i 58–ii 5). But the victim does not know the cause of his sickness. Then the practitioner prays to the gods, invoking them to drive away the evils from the Prince and to grant him longevity, health, courage, abundant offspring, and a comfortable life (ii 7–33).⁶⁵

Then the practitioner puts down the “basket of wrath,” picks up the “good basket” and swings it over the Prince, pronouncing to the gods further incantations, the text of which, unfortunately, is not well preserved (ii 36ff.).

Afterwards, other participants in the ceremony—not clearly identified in the text, but merely referred to as “they”—carry the “basket of wrath” to the *mariyani*-field, dig a pit, pour out the contents of the basket into the pit and bury it. Meanwhile the practitioner recites an incantation to the gods beseeching them to restrain the evil tongues in the ground away from the Prince and invoking them once more to grant health, longevity, valor, etc. to the Prince (iii 8–16).

The ritual incantations are accompanied by offerings of crumbled loaves of long thick bread: one to the male deities of the Earth, one to the Mother-Goddess of the Earth, one each to the Dark Earth, to the Storm-god, to the Sun-god, and to the deity Mamma (iii 18–33). Furthermore, they spread out

64. Thus, it served as a vehicle, a kind of scapegoat to which the evil was transferred according to the principle of contagion. The performer of the ceremony merely functioned as a mediator.

65. Now the “basket of wrath” performs the role of scapegoat. By swinging it over the defiled person, the officiant removes the impurity and execration from which the patient has been suffering.

foliage on the ground and again offer crumbled loaves of thick bread to the deities, repeating the previous incantations (iii 39–51).

Killing and Sacrifice: The practitioner starts a fire before the foliage and burns fat, wheat, and honey. He libates wine and sacrifices *gaparta*-animals (presumably small rodents) to various gods, one to each, calling out the gods by name (iii 52–55). Afterwards the performers of the ritual slaughter a lamb before the gods, making cuts on its mouth, tongue, twelve teeth, and on the *hurli*-part of the body. They accompany their activities with wine libations and bread offerings (iii 56–iv 3).

Then the practitioner sacrifices a bowl of sheep fat to all the above-mentioned gods. The liver, the head, the heart, and the kidney of the sacrificial animal he braises with fire, while he sprinkles the blood on the ground (iv 4–11). All these ritual actions are accompanied by further incantations and prayers beseeching the gods to embrace the Prince and to protect him from all kinds of evil (iv 23–28).

Thereafter the practitioner breaks loaves of thick bread for the mouth, the tongue, the twelve teeth, and for the *hurli*- (iv 30–31). The twelve body parts of the patient are symbolically identified with their substitutes, namely the twelve body parts of the sacrificial animals. The latter are offered to the demons thought to be attacking the patient. Later the exorcist offers a piglet in the same way (iv 39–44).

At the end of the tablet the colophon states the reasons for performing this particular ritual: "When a person repeatedly speaks an evil word in the presence of gods," i.e., utters a curse or casts a spell on someone.

The Storm-God Seal of Mursili III

J. D. HAWKINS

London

One of the jewels of the collection of bullae excavated on Nişantepe, Boğazköy, in the years 1990–91 is undoubtedly the seal impression of Mursili III (Urḫi-Tešub) showing the Storm-God in his eagle-chariot drawn by bulls.¹ The god, bearded and with a long pigtail, wears his usual accoutrements of horned helmet, short belted tunic with crescent-pommel sword at waist, and boots with upturned toes. He brandishes a mace in his right hand raised behind him, and in his left the looped rein-ends. He is supported by a similarly equipped god holding bow and spear. This masterpiece of the Hittite seal-cutter was chosen by the excavator to appear, much magnified, on the cover of his richly illustrated book *Ḫattuša—Stadt der Götter und Tempel* (fig. 1).²

Güterbock commented on the striking iconography of the piece in the volume honouring Peter Neve's 65th birthday.³ He noted comparable scenes which are known from the time of the Hittite Kingdom: relief vase, seal, and the rock relief, Imamkulu; and its recurrence in the Neo-Hittite period at Malatya (relief K), and at Karkamiš on a poorly preserved orthostat from the Watergate (*Carchemish* II, pl. B30a). He further discussed the respective dates of the recurrences of the scene, as well as the iconography of the eagle-chariot.

It is the purpose of this note, which I have much pleasure in dedicating to Harry Hoffner, to consider the reading of the epigraph identifying the Storm-God on the seal of Mursili III, and its further implications. I hope that it may find its place with Hoffner's observations on "Syrian cultural influence in Ḫatti."

1. First published by Peter Neve in his archaeological report for 1990, *AA* (1991): 339 Abb. 29c.

2. *Antike Welt*, 1992 Sondernummer, front cover, here reproduced by kind permission.

3. *IM* 43 (1993): 113–16, Taf. 8. Güterbock revived the view of Woolley that the Watergate relief belonged with the Hittite Empire ("Middle Hittite") construction of the gate and had been reused in a later re-building (*Carchemish* II, 109f.). Without going into detail, we may note that the sculpture seems to belong closely with the Neo-Hittite style of Suhi-Katuwa: so also Orthmann, *USK*, 498 (*Karkemis* Aa/4, style Karkemis III, period Sph.II). *i*



Fig. 1. Seal impression of Mursili III (Urhi-Tešub). Photograph: P. Neve.

The 4-sign epigraph, placed as is usual over the outstretched left hand of the deity (fig. 2), contains the Hieroglyphs for Storm-God, DEUS.TONITRUS (HH nos. 360, 199), followed by the "kneeling leg" (HH no. 85)⁴ and the sign MI (HH no. 391). Now that this epigraph has appeared in this form, we should turn again to the corresponding one on the rock relief Imamkulu,

4. The previously known Empire Period form of this sign on seals and a monumental inscription (see below, nn. 8–10) was less obviously recognizable as a pictogram of a kneeling leg than Late forms from Karkamiš and Maraš. Some recent seals in the Nišantepe archive show forms closer to the present one: see S. Herbordt, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbulln aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattuša*. *BoHa* 19 (Berlin, 2003), nos. 110–12. There now seems less reason to distinguish it from the "horizontal leg" (CRUS₂, HH no. 84). At the Procida Colloquium on transcription of Hieroglyphic it was agreed to adopt the Latin GENUFLECTERE for the former sign: see M. Marazzi et al., *Il Geroglifico Anatolico. Atti del Colloquio e della Tavola rotonda, Napoli-Procida, 5–9 giugno 1995* (Naples, 1998), 42.



Fig. 2. Storm-God epigraph on fig. 1.

which in its worn and lichen-covered state, has occasioned much doubt in the past.⁵ I now consider that this epigraph is the same as that of the Mursili III seal. The first two signs were identified by Sedat Alp as DEUS.TONITRUS (present transcription), which was agreed by all subsequent commentators except Meriggi.⁶ Alp identified the third sign plausibly as "heaven" (CAELUM, HH no. 182), and Wäfler, the first to recognize a fourth sign, wondered very tentatively whether it could be a repeat of the TONITRUS sign, which has since gained acceptance.⁷

Now however, comparison with the Mursili III seal epigraph permits the identification of the third and fourth signs of IMAMKULU with those of the former, namely GENUFLECTERE. MI. A visit to Imamkulu in September 2001 to check this proposal was not entirely conclusive. The relief seems to have been completely cleaned recently as there is no trace of lichen still on it. A ladder would have been necessary to get close to the epigraph itself, but photographs taken from below at about mid-day show it thrown usefully into relief by the sun (see fig. 3a). There is no difficulty in identifying the fourth sign, the supposed TONITRUS, as MI, and indeed good photographs kindly made available to me by Professor Kay Kohlmeyer also support this preferable reading (see fig. 3b). The third sign is certainly a long, horizontal shape, like a somewhat upcurving sausage, and in other circumstances the CAELUM identification would have been quite acceptable. Kohlmeyer's photographs however show two small dark holes on the sign's left hand lower edge, more or less where the foot of the "kneeling leg" might have been visible. We may safely conclude, on the basis of the Mursili III seal comparisons, that we do have here a rough and damaged version of the "kneeling leg," GENUFLECTERE.

Assuming then that we are correct in identifying the two epigraphs of this repeated scene of the Storm-God in his chariot, we turn to the possible reading, and transcribe (see fig. 4):

DEUS.TONITRUS. GENUFLECTERE. MI

5. See most recently K. Kohlmeyer, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983): 80–86, 141–42, Taf. 29–30, with reference particularly to the contributions of Alp, 1950 (n. 752), Wäfler, 1975 (n. 744), Börker-Klähn, 1977 (n. 744), and Güterbock, 1979 (n. 756).

6. *Manuale* II/3, 312f., no. 75, Tav. XIII, with addendum, *Tavole fuori testo*, Tav. IV fig. 7–8. New photographs by Forlanini led Meriggi to an erroneous reading.

7. Wäfler, *MDOG* 107 (1975): 21, followed by Güterbock and Kohlmeyer, who however regarded the repetition as inexplicable.

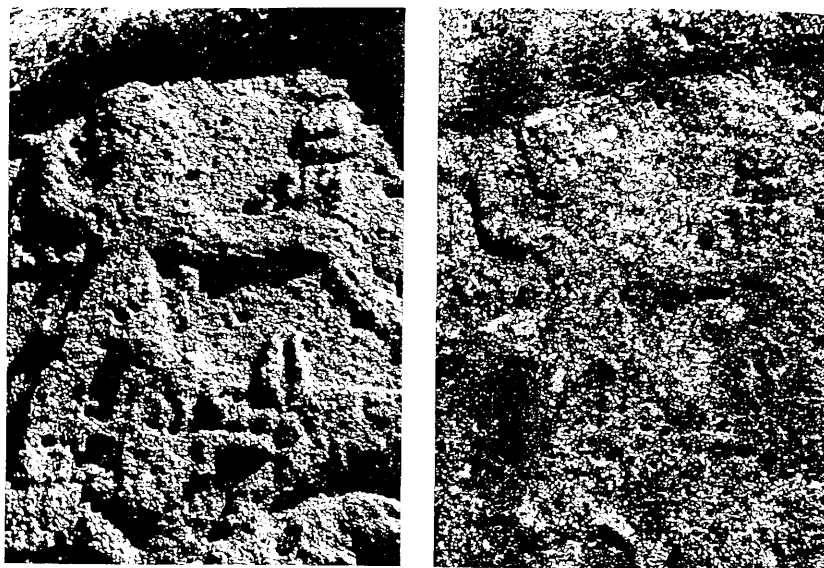


Fig. 3. Storm-God in chariot on Imankulu rock-relief. Photographs: (a) J. D. Hawkins; (b) K. Kohlmeyer.

Clearly this describes a specific manifestation of the Storm-God, and indeed probably a prominent one, given the elaboration of the representation.

We begin by noting that TONITRUS.GENUFLECTERE is the normal Hieroglyphic writing on Empire Period seals for the onomastic element *Halpa*,⁸ and that as early as the monumental inscription ALEPPO 1,⁹ the element *-pa* and the determinative URBS are added to write the city-name *Halpa* itself. The actual explanation of this writing is somewhat complicated. Laroche attributed phonetic values to TONITRUS and GENUFLECTERE, *ha-l(a)*, and on the seals, where *-pa* does not appear, he felt obliged to restore *<-pa>*.¹⁰ I pointed out the difficulty of attributing phonetic values and preferred to follow Meriggi in regarding TONITRUS.GENUFLECTERE as logograms, though

8. SBo II, 56–58; now supplemented from the Nişantepe archive, Herboldt, *Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel*, nos. 108–12.

9. Güterbock, SBo II, 26(e), 81(b); Laroche, *Syria* 33 (1956): 131–41. Güterbock's observation is very pertinent to our present consideration: "... dann wäre diese Kombination [HH nos. 199 + 85] die Schreibung für den Wettergott von Halap, und die Stadt würde dann mit dem Ideogramm ihres Gottes geschrieben."

10. HH no. 85, 1–2.



Fig. 4. Storm-God epigraph on fig. 3.

observing an example of the omission of TONITRUS, I suggested that the logogram proper was GENUFLECTERE, thus to be transcribed *HALPA*.¹¹ Seen from this view-point, *-pa* is a phonetic complement, and the writing of the toponym finds a close comparison in "Malatya," written *MA_x* (VITELLUS, HH no. 109) *-LI_x* (UNGULA, HH no. 125) *-zi* (phonetic complement).¹² The presence of TONITRUS in the writing is probably to be explained by the city's character as cult centre of the god. We may further note that a phonetic writing of the name is attested in the Late Period, *i-la-pa* (URBS).¹³

The proposal then is to identify DEUS. TONITRUS.GENUFLECTERE as the Storm-God of Aleppo, and in support of this, the following observations may be noted. I have argued that DEUS.TONITRUS TONITRUS. URBS should be read as the Storm-God of Tarhuntassa,¹⁴ and a new seal in the Nişantepe archive shows a deity holding his name written simply DEUS.TONITRUS. URBS,¹⁵ which is likely to be a shorter writing of the same. Similarly I have argued that DEUS.SOL. SOL(+RA/I) held by a goddess on the Ugarit seal of Tudhaliya IV,¹⁶ and also found on monumental inscriptions,¹⁷ is a writing of "Sun-Goddess of Arinna."¹⁸ These examples show that when the name of a deity and his/her cult centre are intimately connected, the sign for deity and centre may—but need not—be written twice, also that the determinative URBS may or may not occur. The present epigraph seems analogous: the Storm-God (DEUS.TONITRUS) of Halab (TONITRUS.GENUFLECTERE) does not require the double writing of TONITRUS or the presence of the determinative URBS.

What of the *MI* final sign? In the writing TONITRUS.GENUFLECTERE-*pa*, "Halpa," we take the last sign as phonetic complement. The only attestation of the ethnicon "Halabean" written phonetically in Hittite gives the form (LÚ)

11. In *Natural Phenomena*, ed. D. J. W. Meijer (Amsterdam, 1992), 70.

12. For a consideration of the Hier. writing of the toponym Malatya, see my remarks in *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions I* (Berlin, 2000) (abbr. *CHLI*), 284, 298. For the transcription VITELLUS.UNGULA agreed at the Procida Colloquium, see Marazzi *et al.*, *Il Geroglifico Anatolico*, 45f.

13. KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3, §§6, 11: see Hawkins, *CHLI*, 135f.

14. ÇAĞDIN stele: see in Meijer, *Natural Phenomena*, 67, 82 pl. IVa.

15. Herboldt, *Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel*, no. 124.

16. C. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Ugar.* III, 14–21, 111–19 (Laroche). Fragmentary impressions of the same seal were found in the Nişantepe archive: Otten, *Königssiegel*, 35–37, Nr. 13.

17. EMİRGAZI altars, §§26, 29; EMİRGAZI block, A 1.1, B 1.2, A 1.3, B 1.5; BOĞAZKOY-SÜDBURG, §3. See Hawkins, *StBoT Beiheft* 3, 22f., 88f.

18. *StBoT Beiheft* 3, 32.

URU_{hal-pu-ma-aš}.¹⁹ I thus propose to recognize in *MI* a phonetic complement indicating the ethnicon.

I have always rejected a *ma*- value for the sign *mi* (HH no. 391), since the latter is not normally equated with *ma* in a Cun./Hier. digraphic writing, nor does it alternate with it.²⁰ The only apparent exceptions, "Suppiluliuma," written PURUS. FONS. *MI* and "Sarruma," written SARMA+*MI*, are best explained not by the attribution of a *ma*- value to *mi*, but by the observation that these are writings from epigraphs and seals, where graphic considerations led to the selection of a symmetrical sign lending itself to writings in ligature. The writings of *Suppiluliuma* and *Sarruma* with *MI* are continued into the Late Period, where they are joined by (DEUS)LUNA+*MI*, the Moon-God *Arma*.²¹ A writing of the latter as LUNA+ *MI-ma*- confirms that *MI* was regarded as part of the logogram and -*ma*- as phonetic complement.²² Thus we may conclude that *mi* alternates with *ma* only in these very restricted and special circumstances, where *mi* is used in preference to *ma* for graphic not phonetic reasons. Our writing TONITRUS. GENUFLECTERE. *MI* may be identified as another such, and *MI* as proposed may be understood as a phonetic complement indicating the reading of the ethnicon *Halpuma*-, "Halabean."

I hope to have shown that the Storm-God in his eagle-chariot drawn by bulls is identified by the epigraphs on the Mursili III seal and Imamkulu as the Storm-God of Aleppo.²³ For the Late Period, the Malatya relief K identifies him simply as "Storm-God," while the Karkamiš Watergate relief probably had no epigraph—certainly none is visible. It is remarkable that at this very juncture, Kohlmeyer, excavating on the citadel of Aleppo itself into what might actually be the temple of the Storm-God of Aleppo or one of its associated buildings, has found a wall of relief orthostats, one of which is a further fine example of our scene: the Storm-God in his bull-drawn chariot, supported by a god with bow and spear.²⁴ On this relief too the deities are identified by

19. In the Old Hittite text KBo 3.27 rev. 30' (CTH 5).

20. There are now a very large number of digraphic equations Cun. *ma* = Hier. *ma* and Cun. *mi* = Hier. *mi*: see especially the digraphic seals of Ugarit (Ugar. III) and Meskene (cf. Gonnet *apud* Arnaud, *Textes Syriens de l'Age du Bronze Recent* [Barcelona, 1991], 198–214, 1*–17*, and pls. I–VII; there are however many more examples published and partially published or unpublished. The only counter-example I can find of Cun. *ma* = Hier. *mi* is Gonnet, *Textes Syriens*, no. 24a: Cun. *hi-ma-ši-^dKUR* = Hier. *hi-mi-sa₅-ta-ka*.

21. In the Empire Period the Moon-God is written simply (DEUS)LUNA, YAZILIKAYA no. 35, and in names on seals. The Late Period normally writes (DEUS)LUNA+*MI* (Laroche: +*má*-).

22. KAYSERİ, §16: CHLI, 473. This practice is found also with a number of other writings: see CHLI, 28, s.v. *mi*.

23. The reading of the ethnicon as *Halpuma* would seem to imply a reading of the whole name + epithet in Hittite, presumably *Tarhuna Halpuma*.

24. Wahid Khayyata and Kay Kohlmeyer, *Damascener Mitteilungen* 10 (1998): 69–96, Taf. 12–23: for the reliefs as then excavated, 92–94, Taf. 21–23.

epigraphs: the supporting god as the Stag-God (DEUS. CERVUS_{2-ti}), and the Storm-God, extraordinarily and uniquely, with the signs "God.Mace."²⁵ The style of execution of the sculpture looks close to the Malatya and Ain Dara styles, which is likely to establish an early post-Empire date.

Urhi-Tešub, under his own name and later throne name, is showing a tendency towards theological promiscuity which is hardly paralleled in the dynasty of Hattusa. I have recently reconstructed the inscription of his seal as Crown Prince (*tuhkanti*), an *Umarmungssiegel*, on which he is shown in the embrace of the god Sarruma.²⁶ On his present seal which we have been considering he offers the image of the Storm-God of Aleppo. On his earliest recognized seal, where he calls himself Mursili in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic, and traces his ancestry back through three ascending generations to Suppiluliuma I, he ends his titles with "beloved of the Storm-God and Sun-Goddess of Arinna,"²⁷ and the same title appears in the Cuneiform of his recently discovered *Umarmungssiegel* from the Nišantepe archive.²⁸ The central scene of the latter seals show him in the embrace of the Storm-God whose name is written in a somewhat problematic way.²⁹

To summarize: it is the contention of this paper that the iconic presentation of the Storm-God in his eagle chariot drawn by bulls specifically represents the Storm-God of Aleppo, as the epigraphs of the Mursili III seal and IMAM-KULU show. The icon reappears in the post-Empire period in Malatya and Karkamiš not so specifically labelled, and most gratifyingly a new example has actually emerged from the centre of Aleppo itself, though this bears a different and unique epigraph.

25. I am most grateful to Professor Kohlmeyer for sending me a drawing of the Storm-God and Supporting God with their identifying Hieroglyphic epigraphs as found in 1997; also for a photograph of the whole block as cleared in 1998. Curiously in this representation the chariot's eagle form is no longer unambiguously rendered.

26. Paper read at the Fourth International Congress of Hittitology in Würzburg, October 1999. My paper is now published in the Acts of the Congress, G. Wilhelm (ed.), *StBoT* 45 (Wiesbaden, 2001), 167–79. Dr. Suzanne Herbordt in a companion paper examined the iconography of the seal.

27. Seal known since 1933: (Bittel and) Güterbock, *Boğazköy* I, 64f., Taf. 26.4, 5; *SBo* I, no. 13; Beran, *BoHa* V, 36, no. 180, Taf. 12 and VII. Some complete new impressions have appeared in the Nišantepe archive: Neve, *AA* (1991): 328 Abb. 29a; *Antike Welt*, Sondernummer 1992, 57 Abb. 151; Otten, *Königssiegel*, 26f., Nr. 13. These recent finds give the Cun. readings "beloved of the Storm-God and the Sun-Goddess of Arinna" (Otten).

28. Otten, *Königssiegel*, 22–25.

29. Otten, *Königssiegel*, 27 and n. 37, observes cautiously: "Es scheint sich um eine Form des Wettergottes des Himmels zu handeln, ... (n. 37) Die Lesung muss im Augenblick leider offen bleiben; ein Vergleich der Einzelabdrücke lässt aber einer spätere genaue Angabe erwarten." After working in detail on these impressions in September 2002, I have a reading to propose for this epigraph. Being somewhat complicated it requires a detailed argument inappropriate here. Suffice it to say that it does not substantially alter the identification of the deity as the Storm-God of Heaven.

Studies in the Hittite Phraseological Construction I: Its Syntactic and Semantic Properties

THEO VAN DEN HOUT

Chicago

1. General Description and Introduction

In Hittite we encounter two verbs that can be used in a construction commonly known as the "phraseological" construction.¹ The verbs in question are the two verbs of movement *pai-* "to go" and *uua-* "to come." In the phraseological construction they are embedded in one and the same clause with another verb, the form of *pai-luua-* having the same person, number, tense, and mode as the second verb. This clause can be either a main clause or any kind of subordinate clause. In its shortest form it consists of two verbs only. According to predominant word order in Hittite the second verb is almost always in final position in the clause but follows at any rate the form of *pai-/uua-*. While agreeing with the main verb, only finite forms of *pai-luua-*, that is indicative or imperative, are attested in this construction. All kinds of constituents can separate the form of *pai-luua-* and the second verb, but any form of conjunction or connective is lacking. The verbs *pai-* and *uua-* never occur with the various local adverbs with which they are so often combined when used as full motion verbs.² Although the exact semantics of the phraseological construction are not yet fully elucidated, in general two kinds of translation have been used up to now. The phraseological verb is either literally translated as a very short clause by itself, which is linked to the main verb through an inserted "(and)" or it is rendered by means of an impersonal expression like "it happened" with the main verb in a dependent "that"-clause.

The above description summarizes what seems to be generally known about the phraseological construction. After a brief survey of the *Forschungsgeschichte* (§2), several of the above descriptive elements will be commented upon and illustrated with examples (§§3–6). Initially, the translation will be as

1. The siglum KUB has been omitted in textual references. Part two of this study will appear in the memorial volume for Erich Neu, which will be published as *Hethitica* 16.

2. For the syntax of *pai-* and *uua-* as full motion verbs, see F. A. Tjerckstra, *Principles*.

literal as possible, putting the form of *pai-luya-* directly in front of the main verb separated by a dash. The phraseologically used verb will be underlined in the transcription.

Previous treatments of this construction (see §2) are not numerous. George Dunkel mentions a collection of 132 examples, "of which about one-third (41) involved a second person imperative"³ but quotes only a few. The corpus for the present study amounts to over 160 passages with the phraseologically used form of *pai-luya-* in the indicative.

Important questions still remain to be answered. First of all, what is the exact meaning of the phraseological construction (§7)—that is, what do the forms of *pai-luya-* add to the meaning of the clause as compared with similar or identical clauses without them? Other questions concerning the difference between the two verbs, i.e., the function and meaning of the prefixes *pe-* and *u-* and to what extent they determined the choice of each of them in the phraseological construction, how the rise and development of the construction can be described, and whether it is specifically Hittite or also to be encountered in other Anatolian languages, will be dealt with in later installments.

It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this study to Harry Hoffner, to whom we owe not only important contributions on the culture, history, and literature of the Hittites, but also some of the finest linguistic studies on the Hittite language.

2. Forschungsgeschichte

One of the first to comment on the phraseological construction was Albrecht Götze, *Hatt.*, 109, who in 1925 briefly commented on the words *pāiṭeni=ṣar=an=kan kuennumēni* "Shall we go kill him?" in KBo 6.29 ii 25 and referred to other similar passages as having a "proleptic object." The first real discussion and the term "phraseological" we owe to Johannes Friedrich. In SV 1, 162–64 (1926), he described it as an asyndetic combination of *pai-luya-* with another verb and characterized their role as "fast wie eine Art Hilfsverb." He suggested that it might have been perceived synchronically as an adverb; the original meaning as a motion verb had at any rate been weakened. He also recognized the impersonal construction.⁴ In his grammar (1940, 1st ed.; 1960, 2d ed.), however, Friedrich refrained from explicit remarks on the semantics of the phraseological construction.⁵ In the translation of the

3. MSS 46 (1985): 57 with n. 57.

4. SV 1, 162 n. 2, referring to but not following Sommer-Eholf, *Pap.*, 72.

5. HE, 159–60 (§312). In a description of this construction on a synchronic level the terms asyndeton and asyndetic are fully justified and do not necessarily imply that "the initial motion verb and the final verb are separate, asyndetic clauses." D. Disterheft, KZ 97 (1984): 224, unduly criticizes Friedrich on this point.

examples that he gave he rendered both verb forms literally with an inserted "(and)," the translation most widely used since. Friedrich did not mention the impersonal interpretation again, however.

In her discussion of the phraseological use of *pai-luya-*, Dorothy Disterheft (1984) opts for an adverbial function indicating "that the action of the following verb is performed immediately after the preceding one in the text." She reduces the motion verb in her translations to a mere "then" and uses the term "consecutive adverbial" for this construction.⁶

Several scholars interpret this use of motion verbs as aspectual. George Dunkel (1985 and 1998) focuses on the observation that the phraseological expression as a whole "is used only with a future value" and therefore suggests a perfective, i.e., non-durative aspect.⁷ He wants to restrict the impersonal rendering to those cases where "no subject at all is expressed" and prefers "go/come (and) . . ." in all other cases, although it is not clear whether this brings out the perfective aspect any more than would a clause without a phraseological construction. Silvia Luraghi (1989) proposes a punctual or aoristic aspect viewing "an action in its globality," which in spite of its somewhat different terminology may come very close to Dunkel's thoughts.⁸ Most recently (1997), however, she seems to have modified her view and discusses this construction under the heading of auxiliaries like *ḫar(k)-* and *eš-/aš-* + part. and *dai-* + supinum, although retaining the aspectual value.⁹ According to her, there is a difference between the use of *pai-luya-* in the present-future, which always has a future and exhortative value, whereas the same verbs in the preterite "underline a certain event as a point in time from where other events develop . . . 'it happened then.'" Andrew Garrett (1990) has only in a more general sense hinted at a possible aspectual value for this construction.¹⁰

Erich Neu (1995) compared the phraseological constructions in the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual with the corresponding forms in the Hurrian original and described the character of the Hittite construction as basically emphatic.¹¹ In present forms of *pai-luya-* this results in an analytical or affirmative future which is more outspoken than the usual praesens pro futuro.¹² The construction in the preterite seems to be emphatically used as well, according to Neu.

6. KZ 97 (1984): 226.

7. MSS 46 (1985): 63 and MSS 58 (1998): 51–53.

8. In *Historical Linguistics 1989. Papers from the 9th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, ed. H. Aertsen and R. J. Jeffers (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1993), 272. Unfortunately, this hypothesis has not been further substantiated, and the article promised to do so in the earlier publication has to my knowledge never appeared.

9. *Hittite*, 42–44.

10. JCS 42 (1990): 231.

11. *FsStrunk*, 195–202, and most recently *FsWPSchmid*, 334–35.

12. *FsStrunk*, 199–200; another possible term Neu proposes is *asseverative future*. For a similar view, see already H. A. Hoffner, *AuOr* 5 (1987): 285.

In addition several individual authors have commented in text editions on specific passages containing a phraseological construction; their remarks will be discussed where necessary.

3. The Phraseological Construction as a Single Clause

3.1. That we are dealing with a single clause involving two fully inflected verbs and—at least from a synchronic point of view—not with a frequent form of asyndeton is clearly shown by the characteristic Anatolian phenomenon of the chain of enclitic elements attached to a connective or to the first accented word of the sentence. A Hittite clause usually starts with the connective *nu* or one of its older variants *šu* and *ta*. To this connective one or more enclitic elements can be attached, thus forming the first accented unit of a clause according to Wackernagel's Law. Often such enclitic elements in a phraseological construction demonstrably belong to the second verb and not to *uua-/pai-*. Compare:

- (1) *n=at uuami INA É.GAL-lim memahhi*¹³
I will come—tell it to the palace.

The enclitic anaphoric pronoun *-at* “it” (nom.-acc.sg.n.) cannot belong to the first person sg. of the intransitive *uuami* (“I come/will come”), but can only function as the object to the second verb *memahhi* “I will tell.”

The same can be argued for the following clause with the enclitic indirect object *-šmaš* “you” (pl.) followed by the enclitic direct object *-an* (here referring to Hitt. *ḫalki-* c. “grain”):

- (2) *nu=šmaš=an uuatteni EGIR-zian arḫa šarratteni*¹⁴
Afterwards you come—split it up amongst yourselves.

In the following example where the clause is introduced by an adverb, the enclitic reflexive particle *-za* belongs to the second verb and not to *uit*:

- (3) *namma=uit ABI ʔUTU-ŠI tuk ʔMadduattan linkiiaš=šaš iēt*¹⁵
Then the father of His Majesty came—made you, Madduwatta,
his (=za) sworn (vassal).

Similarly the “local” particle *-kan* goes with the verb *kuen-* “to kill, destroy” and not with the simplex *pai-*:

- (4) *nu=kan pāir ŠA KUR URU Kummāḫa URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A kuenir*¹⁶
And the towns of (the land of) Kummāḫa they went—destroyed.

13. HKM 52:17–18 (MH/MS), ed. S. Alp, *HBM*, 216–17.

14. 13.4 iv 20 w. dupls. (MH/NS), ed. A. Süel, *Direktif Metni*, 76–77; for an English translation, see G. McMahon, *CoS* 1, 220.

15. *Madd.*, obv. 13.

16. 23.72+ obv. 31 (MH/MS), transl. O. R. Gurney, *AAA* 27 (1948): 34.

Finally, if the phraseological construction is part of direct speech, both *pai-/uua-* and the second verb share a single quotative particle *-ua(r)(-)*:

- (5) *nu=ua pāir URU Taggašt[an] URU Ukuduipunann=ša šapašijaua[n dāir]*¹⁷
And they went—[began t]o spy on the towns of Taggašt[a] and
Ukuduipuna.

These enclitic elements as well as the lack of any connective after the form of *pai-/uua-* show beyond any doubt the syntactic unity of this phraseological construction. This is well known and can be found in every discussion of this construction.

3.2. This is not to say, however, that asyndeton is unknown in Hittite and that at times there cannot be uncertainty whether or not we are dealing with a phraseological construction. Especially in the older language and in text genres like festivals or rituals the use of connectives seems to be relatively restricted. Compare from the Old Hittite Festival of Thunder (with a separate line here for each clause):

- (6) i [LU(GAL ʔ MUNUS.LUGAL šarā tienzi
ii ar)]*uuanzi*
iii LUGAL-uš ḫuppari šī[pānti]
iv [(MUNUS.LUGAL-š=a natta
v GAL ʔIM ʔ)]*ašēzzili akuanzi*
vi [(GIŠ ʔINANNA GAL.GAL LU MEŠ ḫallir)]*eš SİR-ru*
vii LU SAGI GAL-AM ē[pzi]¹⁸

The [k]ing and queen rise. They bow. The king li[bates] in a *ḫuppar*-vase
but (=a) the queen (does) not. They drink the cup of the Storm-god (and)
Wašēzzili. The *ḫalliri*-men sing (accompanied by) the great
Inanna-instrument. The cupbearer ta[kes] the cup.

The only connective used in this passage is the underlined adversative particle *-a* in iv. As a consequence, in a clause from the same composition

- (7) *t=aš paizzi DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ.[LUGAL]*
*pēran tiēzzi*¹⁹
He goes. He steps in front of the princes (and) [prin]cesses.

it is hard to decide whether this is a case of asyndeton or of a phraseological construction, since the subject clitic nom.sg.c. *aš* may go with either *paizzi* “he goes” or *tiēzzi* “he steps.”²⁰ Because of the relatively scarce use Old Hittite scribes made of connectives and enclitics, we therefore can rarely be certain

17. HKM 7:5–6 (MH/MS), ed. S. Alp, *HBM*, 128–29.

18. KBo 17.11+ iv 7–9' (OS), ed. E. Neu, *StBoT* 25, 67, and cf. *StBoT* 12, 32–33.

19. KBo 20.12+ i 7–8 (sim. i 2–3, OS), ed. E. Neu, *StBoT* 25, 63; cf. also *StBoT* 12, 10–11.

20. According to the Watkins-Garrett rule, for which see A. Garrett, *JCS* 42 (1990): 227–42.

about the phraseological status of *pai-/uua-* in the indicative in Old Hittite script.²¹ The only certain example I know of in Old Script is²²

- (8) *ta=kan paizzi* ^{LÜ}[UL- (dupl. ^{LÜ}*tarašijan*)] *šipanti* ²³
(The GUDU-priest from Dauniya takes a libation vessel) and he goes—
dedicates the *tarašija*-man. (The *tarašija*-man then, however, rises and
dances in a squatting position.)

First of all, the particle *=kan* is not to be expected with the simplex *pai-* without further complements.²⁴ Secondly, if one could nonetheless take the particle as belonging to *pai-* and suppose an asyndetic construction, we would be left with the verb *šipant-* without *=kan* meaning “to offer” in the sense of slaughtering the *tarašija*-man, which already in view of the sequel is impossible.²⁵

In later phases of the Hittite language asyndeton remains a not uncommon phenomenon. But in general some form of connective (*nu, šu, ta, =ia, =ma*) between clauses is the rule, and their absence seems to be restricted to specific circumstances.²⁶ One of those circumstances being “when the second clause is a (...) explanation or elaboration of the first,” there is room for some arbitrariness, so that if there are no elements like the ones just mentioned (§3.1) to mark any clause boundary, analysis may become difficult. Sometimes comparable cases that do have such boundary markers may help out. Compare frequent questions in oracles such as:

- (9) *pāimi* ^m*Kur* ANA URU-LIM *aṣan arḫa tittanumi*²⁷

where one could translate:

Should I go, that is, depose Kur in/for the city?

21. Note that at this point E. Neu, *FsStrunk*, 200 n. 24, speaks of phraseological constructions in Old Hittite *compositions* and only refers to examples in later copies. The Old Script example from the Zalpa-text KBo 22.2 rev. 10' (ed. H. Otten, *StBoT* 17, 12–13) *INA* MU.3.KAM LUGAL-*uš pai* ^{URU}*Zalpa arahzanda uetet* “in the third year the king went (and) fortified Zalpa all around” contains no phraseological construction (so Otten, *StBoT* 17, 48; Dunkel, *MSS* 46 (1985): 75 n. 88) but only two clauses in asyndeton. For this, see below §4 on word order in phraseological constructions.

22. I owe this example to Petra Goedegebuure, whom I would like to thank here for sharing it with me.

23. KBo 17.43 i 8–9 (OS), ed. E. Neu, *StBoT* 25, 104; for dupl. cf. Neu, *StBoT* 26, 257.

24. On this see F. A. Tjerckstra, *Principles*, 50–51.

25. For (*=kan*) *šipant-*, see A. Goetze, *JCS* 23 (1970): 85–92. The unlikelihood of the particle *=kan* with the simplex *pai-* virtually excludes the possibility of a carryover of this particle to the second part with *šipanti* (see immediately below ad (11)).

26. Cf. J. Friedrich, *HE*, 157–59 (§310), and *CHD* L–N, 466b–68a; for statistics on the use of the different connectives vis-à-vis one other, see *CHD* L–N, 468b, and J. Weitenberg, *StMed* 7, 307–53.

27. 5.24+ iv 21 (NH), ed. Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 264–65.

Comparable oracle questions, however, show that we are indeed dealing with the phraseological construction:

- (10) *pāimi=kan* ^dUTU-*šI anduḫšan INA* ^{URU}*Šamuḫa parā nehḫi*²⁸
Should I, My Majesty, go—send forth a man to the city of Šamuḫa?

The syntagma *para nai-* “to send forth/out” always takes the particle *=kan*, and as a consequence there is no case of asyndeton here.

Asyndeton frequently occurs in the juxtaposition of two or more verbs expressing closely related or simultaneous actions. In these cases, moreover, a single particle can be shared by the series of verbs used. Compare the single particle *=za* carrying over to all four imperatives in:

- (11) [*nu*] *=za kēdani* EZEN-*ni ezatten* [*e*] *kutten išpiyatten* [*n*] *inkatten*²⁹
At this feast eat, [d]rink, satiate, (and) [s]atisfy yourselves!

The same asyndetic relation is also often found with the same verbs in the indicative.³⁰ To a certain extent the same could be argued in some cases with *pai-/uua-* in connection with another verb. Compare the following passage from the Myth of the Disappearing Sun-deity:

- (12) ^dIM-*aš* ^dUTU-*i piēt itten=ua* ^dUTU-*un uṣatet* [*ten*] *pāir* ^dUTU-*un*
*šanḫeškanzi*³¹
The Storm-god sent to (find) the Sun-deity (saying): “Go, brin[g] the
Sun-deity!” They went (and) start(ed)³² looking for the Sun-deity.

The going and searching might very well be viewed as two closely related and simultaneous actions. The verb *šanḫ-* in the sense “to look for, search for” does not require the presence of a local particle,³³ so that the lack of it cannot help us here in determining whether we are dealing with two sentences in asyndeton or with a phraseological construction. Moreover, the composition stems from the older language period so that the possibility of an asyndeton is to be reckoned with. The disagreement in tense between *pāir* (pret.) and *šanḫeškanzi* (pres.), on which see below §5 (36), adds to the uncertainties.

A special case is the short letter HKM 35:

- (13a) *zig=a=kan* ^m*Pipappaš* ÉRIN.MEŠ UKU.UŠ *pariian liliṣahḫūyanzi uṣate*
n=an=kan tuzziia anda uṣate

28. 32.130 obv. 4 (MH/MS, cf. S. Košak, *StBoT* 39, 41 n. 2), ed. R. Lebrun, *Samuha*, 168–69.
29. 36.97 iv 4–6 (NS).

30. Cf. for instance *HW*² II, 130b–31a, for *adanzi akuṣanzi* “they eat (and) drink.”

31. VBoT 58 i 21–22 (pre-NH/NS), ed. E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 23; G. C. Moore, *Diss.*, 167 (“They went (and) searched”); H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 27 (“They went. They search . . .”).

32. For this translation of the *-ške-* suffix, see H. C. Melchert, *3rdHitt. Cong.*, 415.

33. Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *StMed* 7, 140–45.

You, Pipappa, bring over quickly the heavily armed troops and bring them to the army!

The message then ends:

(13b) *mān UL=ma uyaši harakši*

These words contain two clauses but can be analyzed in two different ways: either

(13c) *mān UL=ma uyaši / harakši*
If you won't come however, you'll die!

or

(13d) *mān UL=ma / uyaši harakši*
If not however, you'll come—die!

From a grammatical point of view both analyses seem possible. However, because *mān UL=ma* "if not however" is a frequently attested "fixed idiom,"³⁴ it is attractive to explain the following two verbs as another—extremely short—phraseological construction. The more so perhaps, since one would strictly taken expect **mān UL=ma uyašē* "If you will not bring" instead of *mān UL=ma uyaši* "If you will not come." For more on this passage see below, §6.

In conclusion, we can say that the phraseological construction is established from the Old Hittite period onwards, although theoretically in many older cases doubt is possible.

4. The Position of Phraseological *pai-luqa-* in the Clause

The unmarked position of the phraseologically used form of *pai-luqa-* is that immediately following the connectives *nu*, *ta* or *šu* with or without enclitics, or following some other constituent in initial position taking possible enclitics. This position can be referred to as the first position. Under specific circumstances the phraseological verb itself moves into initial position or can take up second position. Only rarely does it move further back in the clause.

For the first position after *nu*, *ta*, or *šu* we have already seen several examples: compare (1–5) and (7–8). Instead of these connectives we can find adverbs like *namma* "then" in (3)³⁵ or temporal and/or conditional conjunctions such as *mān*, *maḥḥan*/GIM-an or *kuitman* in initial position, almost always followed by one of the enclitic conjunctions *=ma* or *=ja*. For various reasons we may find some other constituent in initial position instead of a connective like *nu* as in (14):

34. So CHD L–N, 156b; compare within the corpus of the Maṣat-letters, for instance, HKM 52, 17–18.

35. Compare also 29.8 ii 20–22 (see CHD L–N, 386b); for EGIR-anta "afterwards," cf. 14.1+ rev. 55 (ed. Madd. 32–33).

- (14) *[nu=ja]a uizzi šumenzan* ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.HI.A=KUNU *[ḥarpa]nalliuš*
ḥullaniyan dāi ^{A.ŠA}*ḥaršāuar=ma=ya=šmaš uizzi* *[u]allianni māi*³⁶
[And] your weapons will come—begin to fight the [enem]ies, while
(your) fields will come—grow to your [f]ame.

Here we have two phraseological constructions, the first one (*nu=ja uizzi ... dāi*) with the phraseological verb in unmarked first position, but the use of the enclitic conjunction *=ma* in the second clause—normally excluding *nu*—forces the subject into initial position. Although a word order **uizzi=ma* followed by the subject would have been possible, the subject was probably preferred because "fields" is the main contrasting element in the two clauses bound by *=ma*. In all such cases the phraseological verb can still be said to occupy the first position.

If a clause is introduced by the subordinate conjunctions *mān*, *maḥḥan*/GIM-an, or *kuitman* not followed by an enclitic conjunction but preceded by *nu*, the phraseological verb regularly follows the subordinate conjunction. Compare (15–16):

- (15) *nu mān uizzi* ^ÉUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na *parā* *[ḥa]ppinešzi*³⁷
And if the temple of the Sungoddess of Arinna comes—becomes richer, ...

- (16) *nu=ja=kan mān uīt namma kuitki āššan nu=yar=a* *namma arḥa*
*tarnandu*³⁸
And if anything else came—(is) remaining, they must further let it go.

There is, however, also one example of non-initial *mān* following the form of *pai-luqa-*:

- (17) ^m*Maraššantaš=ma kuit* ^{TUPPU} *ḥarzi n-at uizzi mān udai n-at*
*lē dattari*³⁹
And if Maraššanta comes—brings the tablet which he has in his possession, it must not be taken into account!

Similarly, the need for an indeterminate relative pronoun in (18), which according to Hittite grammar should be in first or initial position, causes *uizzi* to move into second position:⁴⁰

- (18) *n[u]ʔ kuis uizzi* DUMU=IA DUMU.DUMU=IA ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-ši
LUGAL-uš *kiša*⁴¹

36. KBo 32.19 iii 43'–44' (MH/MS), ed. E. Neu, *StBoT* 32, 392–93.

37. 26.43(+) obv. 56 (NH), ed. F. Imparati, *RHA* 32 (1974): 30–31.

38. HKM 66:16–19 (MH/MS), ed. S. Alp, *HBM*, 246–47.

39. *Brit.* ii 2–3 (NH), ed. H. Otten, *StBoT* Bb. 1, 14–15.

40. For the close relationship between conditional and indeterminate relative clauses explaining their identical position, see A. Garrett, *Sprache* 36 (1994): 44–45.

41. KBo 6.28+ rev. 18–19 (NH), ed. F. Imparati, *SMEA* 18 (1977): 39.

A]nd whatever son (or) grandson of mine will come—become king
in Ḫattuša, . . .

The combination of a topicalized constituent in initial position and the conjunction *mān* can be seen in (19):

- (19) *z(ig)]a=šši mān pāiši apūn [(memi]an EGIR)-pa mema(iti)]⁴²*
But if [you] go—re[pea]t that matter to him . . .

The need to stress the subject by way of an explicit personal pronoun *zig=* in initial position as well as the presence of the conjunction *mān* “if” pushes *pāiši* “you go/will go” even further back. This same phrase with minor variations but with the same position for the phraseological verb is repeated twice over in the immediately following context.

More than half of those cases where *pai-/uṣa-* itself takes up initial position concern questions, imperatives, or adhortations. Compare the following examples:

- (20) *uiddu=ṣa DUMU mšaparta anda u[e]miṣaddu⁴³*
Let the son of Šaparta come—a[r]rive!
- (21) *pāiṣuni=ṣar=an šanḫeškiuēni iṣandan kinun uṣandan IGI.ḪI.A-in⁴⁴*
Let us go—search for it, the going knee, the seeing eye!

In the case of some imperatives, however, one wonders whether they are part of a true phraseological construction or a mere interjection: for this see below §5. For questions see above (9–10) and (22), where the phraseological verb even takes precedence over the interrogative pronoun *kuit*:

- (22) *pāiši kuit iṣaši⁴⁵*
What will you go—do?

The following example nicely illustrates the unmarked first position of a normal statement as opposed to the initial position in a question:

- (23) *nu dUTU-ŠI kiššan ariṣanun paimi=kan dUTU-ŠI antuḫšan INA*
URUŠamūḫa parā neḫḫi § nu=ššan paizzi INA URUŠamūḫa ANA dIŠTAR
ŠERI mukeššar pedi=pat pāi⁴⁶
I, My Majesty, conducted the following oracle investigation: Should I, My Majesty, go—send forth a man to Šamuḫa?

42. KBo 19.44+ rev. 2–3 (= *Ḫuqq.* iii 12–13; MH/MS), ed. J. Friedrich, *SV* 2, 122–23.

43. HKM 66:22–23 (MH/MS), ed. S. Alp, *HBM*, 246–47.

44. 9.34 iii 33' (MH/NS), ed. M. Hutter, *Behexung*, 38–39.

45. 28.4 ii 25 (NS), ed. E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 16; H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 34.

46. 32.130 obv. 3–7 (cf. (10) above); in spite of the verb *arija-* “to inquire into (through oracle)” and the initial position of *paimi* both R. Lebrun, *Samuḫa*, 168–69, and I. Wegner, *AOATs* 36, 135, translate the first phraseological clause as a declarative sentence.

§ So, he will go—give in Šamuḫa to Ištar of the Steppe an invocation ritual right there on the spot.

In the remaining examples of the phraseological verb in initial position *=ma* or *=ia* are the connecting elements forcing the form of *pai-/uṣa-* or another part of the sentence into first position. The choice of the former may be explained by assuming that putting any other constituent in initial position might have given the latter too prominent a place as we saw in (14); compare, e.g.:

- (24) *nepišan=mu=kan kuṣapi daganzipann=a š[e]r ueter nu UL kuitki*
šaggahḫun uēr=ma AN-iš kuṣapi tekann=a URUDUkuruzzit arḫa kuerer⁴⁷
(Upelluri began to speak to Ea:) “When they built heaven and earth u[po]n me, I was completely unaware and when they came—cut heaven and earth apart with the *kuruzzi*, (I was completely unaware of that as well).”

In the first clause there was no alternative to putting the first of the two objects in initial position: quoted speech never starts with *nu*⁴⁸ and the conjunction *kuṣapi* usually does not stand in initial position.⁴⁹ In the last clause, however, the phraseological *uēr* offered itself as a suitable clause opening, since putting the instrumental *URUDUkuruzzit* in initial position would have topicalized it, which was not called for. Similar reasons explain in a satisfactory way most such cases and are a sign that the phraseological verb was not felt to have the same status as the main verb or the other constituents and did not have the full lexical meaning of a motion verb either.

We may conclude that the position of the phraseological verb was subject to specific rules, which in some cases make it possible to distinguish whether we are dealing with such a construction or not. Whether clauses of the structure *nu* (or another constituent in initial position⁵⁰) + non-clitic subject + *pai-/uṣa-* followed asyndetically by at least another verb form should according to the above rules not be considered phraseological constructions but as two asyndetic clauses sharing the same subject, remains to be seen. Compare, for instance, (25) and (26):

- (25) *nu LÚ GIGIDRU paizzi NINDA purpuruš LUGAL-i kattan šuḫḫai⁵¹*
The staff-bearer goes—pours *p.*-breads down before the king.
(or: The staff-bearer goes (and) he pours *p.*-breads down before the king.)

47. *Ullik.* 3rd tabl. iii 40'–43' (NS), ed. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 6 (1952): 28–29.

48. Cf. *CHD* L–N, 466b (*nu* A h 2').

49. Cf. R. Sternemann, *MIO* 11 (1965): 390–92. A similar example can be found in 43.55 v 6'–10'.

50. For this, see already above n. 21 (§3.2) on the alleged example of an Old Script phraseological construction in the Zalpa-text.

51. KBo 10.24 iv 26–28 (OH/NS), ed. I. Singer, *StBoT* 28, 20, this example is taken as phraseological by *CHD* P, 23a–b.

- (26) *nu* MUNUS *paizzi* *ḥarnāui* UŠKEN⁵²

The woman goes—bows to the birth-stool. (or: The woman goes (and) she bows to the birth-stool.)

We may end this section with two difficult cases. Difficult to account for is the sequel to (15):

- (27) *nu mān uizzi* É UTU URUPÚ-na *parā ḥappinešzi* . . . *mānn-a* É UTU URUPÚ-na *uizzi parā ašiya[ntešzi]*⁵³

And if the temple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna comes—becomes richer, . . . and if the temple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna comes—[becomes im]poverished, . . .

The obvious parallelism of the two clauses and the impersonally used *uizzi* (on this see below §8) make it unlikely that we are dealing with the combination of a phraseological construction and two asyndetic clauses. It remains unclear, however, why the scribe inserted É UTU URUPÚ-na “the temple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna” between the conjunction *mān*, now opening the subordinate clause, and *uizzi*.

Suspicious is the passage from the prayer of Gaššuliyawiya, with one of the rare examples of a present form of *pai-/uua-* in initial position that is neither an imperative nor a question:

- (28) *n-aš ḥattulešdu namma uizzi* ¹Gaššuliyawijaš *zilatija tuk* DINGIR-LAM *ualliškizzi*⁵⁴

May she be healthy again (and) Gaššuliyawiya will come—start praising you, o deity, in the future!

That *namma* belongs to the first sentence with *ḥattulešdu* rather than introducing the next one seems to follow from the almost identical passage earlier in the prayer:

- (29) *n-aš ḥaddulešdu namma nu uizzi* DUMU.MUNUS.GAL *zilatija tuk* DINGIR-LAM *ualliškizzi*⁵⁵

The fact that the text has *nu* here as opposed to rev. 24' may point to a scribal mistake in the latter passage.

5. Agreement between *pai-/uua-* and the Second Verb

As a rule, the form of *pai-/uua-* agrees with the main verb in the clause as to person, number, tense, and mode. There are only a few exceptions to

52. 9.22 ii 33–34 (NH), ed. G. Beckman, *StBoT* 29, 92–93.

53. 26.43(+) obv. 56–57 (NH), ed. F. Imparati, *RHA* 32 (1974): 30–31.

54. KBo 4.6 rev. 23'–25' (NH), ed. J. Tischler, *Gass.*, 16–17.

55. KBo 4.6 obv. 18'–19' (NH), ed. J. Tischler, *Gass.*, 12–13.

this rule and even fewer that can be considered obvious mistakes. Lack of agreement can be observed in number, person, and tense. First of all, however, *pai-/uua-* can occur in so-called nominal sentences, where the copula or existential verb *eš-/aš-* “to be” is left unexpressed, thus resulting in a phraseological construction without a main verb:

- (30) *nu-ua uizzi zilatija* ANA KUR-TI [*apāš* (EN-*aš*)]⁵⁶
In future [that] one will come—(be) lord to the country!

- (31) *nu-ua u[(izzi)] tuēl-p[(at Ékarimmi)] nakkijahḥan*⁵⁷
And your temple especially will come—(be) revered.

and compare (16) above.

In (32) the 3.sg. imperative *paiddu* “he/she shall go!” and the second verb do not show number agreement:

- (32) *paiddu-ua innarauanteš innarauanteš pahḥašnuanteš ašandu*⁵⁸
Let the strong ones go (sing.)—be strong (and) protected(?).

There is room for some uncertainty as to whether we are dealing with a real phraseological construction here. The imperative *paiddu* might as well be an adhortatory interjection not specifically linked with the following verb.⁵⁹ This is probably even more true for

- (33) *uūatten* URU *Nēša paiyani*⁶⁰
Come, let us go to Neša!

where there is incongruence of person: *uūatten* 2.pl. versus *paiyani* 1.pl. The fact that *paiddu* in (32) takes the enclitic quotative particle *-ua* is nothing to be surprised at in the case of such interjections, compare:

- (34) *eḥu-ua pāiueni adumin*[i]⁶¹
Come, let us go eat!

and compare (11) above.

Interesting is the lack of agreement in number between the second 3.sg. *uizzi* and the 3.pl. *mallanzi* “they mill/grind” in

56. *Kup.* §4 D 27 (NS), ed. J. Friedrich, *SV* 1, 110–11.

57. 30.19+ iv 4–5 (w. dupl., NS), ed. H. Otten, *HTR*, 44–45.

58. KBo 17.88+ iii 23'–24' (MS), ed. J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 320–21; for the repeated *innarauanteš* see *ibid.* 351; cf. also *CHD* P, 10a. Both Klinger and *CHD* translate the passage as a phraseological construction, but *CHD* duly notices the disagreement.

59. In [(*paid*)*du-ua* *n-aš* *n* *ŠUM-an ḥalzeššandu* (*StBoT* 14 A iii 20, ed. J. Siegelová, *StBoT* 14) “Let them go (sing.)—name him ‘The Just One!’” it cannot be excluded that the main manuscript had regular *pāndu* while the duplicate 36.59 ii 13'f. had a different construction in which *paiddu* was correct.

60. *StBoT* 17 A obv. 15 (OS), ed. H. Otten, *StBoT* 17, 6–7; another example of this kind can be found in 14.15+ iii 37–38 (NH, ed. A. Götz, *AM*, 54–55).

61. 33.115 iii 10' (pre-NH/NS), ed. H. A. Hoffner, *FsOtten*², 155–56.

- (35) [nu] *uizzi* ^dU-aš ^{URU}Kummišaš UR.SAG-uš LUGAL-uš ^{GIŠ}APIN-an
[apaši]la *ēpzi* nu *uizzi*=ma ^dIŠTAR-iš ^dHepatušša=ma [^{NA4A}]RA₅ apāšila
mallanzi⁶²

The Storm-god [hims]elf, the heroic king of Kummiya, will come—take the plough while Ištar and Hepat themselves will come—handle the [m]ill.

The parallelism with *uizzi* of the preceding clause may have led the scribe to start here with the 3.sg. as well,⁶³ but to speak of a mistake would not be justified since the scribe can be said to have combined both possibilities which Hittite agreement rules offered him.⁶⁴

A case of disagreement in tense might be (compare already above (12)):

- (36) *pāir* ^dUTU-un *šanheškanzi* n=an UL *uemijanzi*⁶⁵
They went—start searching for the Sun-god but do not find him.

The present tense of both *šanheškanzi* (as opposed to the preterite *pāir*) and *uemijanzi* is probably “used to indicate unbounded or open-ended states and activities.”⁶⁶ This may be taken as an indication of the “secondary” character of *pāir* vis-à-vis the main verb. On the other hand, we already (§3.2) had reason to doubt the true phraseological character of this passage and *pāir* may also be punctual (“They set out. They started searching but . . .”) and an independent sentence. So in view of the fact that other clear examples of disagreement in tense seem to be lacking, it might be better to leave it out of consideration.

A real mistake may be found in the following passage from Muršili’s prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna:

- (37) nu *uizzi* ANA DINGIR.MEŠ NINDA.GU[(R₄.RA.ḪI.A ^{DUG}išpanduzzi)]
^{UDU}auliušša=ma karš[(antari)]⁶⁷
Thick breads, wine rations, and sheep offerings to the gods they will comes(!)—neglect.

The plural of the main verb *karšantari* in manuscript A (as opposed to the singular *uizzi*) is not only confirmed by both duplicates, but the spelling *kar-š[a-* allows only the restoration of a plural.⁶⁸

62. 33.103 ii 6–8, ed. J. Siegelová, *StBoT* 14, 46–47 (lines 13–15).

63. Cf. D. Disterheft, *KZ* 97 (1984): 223–24.

64. For verbal agreement with two separate subjects, see W. Drophla, *Kongruenz*, 85–86. There is no need to take the disagreement as a possible indication of the impersonal use of the phraseological construction as suggested by G. Dunkel, *MSS* 46 (1985): 78.

65. See above (12).

66. So H. C. Melchert, *3rdHitt. Cong.*, 416.

67. 24.3+ ii 14’–15’ (w. dupls, pre-NH/NS), ed. O. R. Gurney, *AAA* 27 (1940): 26–27; R. Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 160, 169.

68. Compare the spellings and forms in E. Neu, *StBoT* 5, 82. According to G. Dunkel, *MSS* 46 (1985): 78, the incongruence might suggest an impersonal use of *uizzi* (see §6).

6. *pai-* and *uua-* as Motion Verbs in the Phraseological Construction

It has often been noted that *pai-/uua-* have lost most of their true function of motion verbs in the phraseological construction. The “secondary” character of the phraseological verb as compared to the main verb was already hinted at in some cases where the phraseological verb occupied clause initial position (cf. §4). That also from a semantic point of view *pai-/uua-* are not independent and full motion verbs is clear for a number of reasons. First of all, the verbs with which they are combined sometimes preclude any idea of motion. Compare, e.g.

- (38) nu *Ištaparijaš* MUNUS.LUGAL BA.ÚŠ EGIR-pa=ma *uii* ^mAmmunaš
DUMU.LUGAL BA.ÚŠ⁶⁹
Ištapariya, the queen, died, and later Ammuna, the prince, came—died.
- (39) GI[M-a]n=ma=za *uii* ŠEŠ-IA [^mArnuwandaš DINGIR-LIM *kišar*]⁷⁰
W[he]n my brother [Arnuwanda] came—[became a god], (I, My Majesty, sat down on my father’s throne).

In neither of these cases is it meant that the person who died came to a certain spot and subsequently died there. In (38) it is the sole event of dying which is important, and in (39) the temporal clause serves to indicate the exact moment and situation in which the new king came to power. In both cases a translation “he came (and) died” is impossible, and contrary to Dunkel’s assertion an impersonal interpretation (“it happens/happened that . . .”) seems the only one justifiable so far.⁷¹

The same is true for

- (40) [*kuiš*]š=an UL=ma *uuatezzi* nu *uizzi* [(*apēdani* U)]N-ši=pa
*idalauēšzi*⁷²
[Whoever]er does not bring him, for that same person it will come—turn out badly.

With *apēdani* UN-ši “that person” referring back to the relative pronoun *kuiš*, which is the subject of *uuatezzi*, the main verb *idalauēšzi* “it will turn out

69. KBo 3.1+ ii 31–32 (OH/NS), ed. I. Hoffmann, *THeth* 11, 30–31.

70. 19.49+ i 19 (NH), ed. J. Friedrich, *SV* 2, 6–7.

71. Cf. G. Dunkel, *MSS* 46 (1985): 59: “The impersonal translation is still sometimes used, though lacking all justification. I suggest using it only when no subject at all is expressed; where any overt subject is present, the personal “go/come (and) . . .” translation is preferable. At no time is hypotaxis involved.” The fact that a modern rendering by way of hypotaxis (“it happens that . . .”) often gives good results in these cases by no means implies that the modern translator interprets the Hittite construction as such.

72. 11.1+ iv (33/) 25’–26’ (OH/NS), ed. I. Hoffmann, *THeth* 11, 54–55.

badly" cannot but be impersonal, as is even acknowledged by Dunkel,⁷³ and this thus rules out the literal meaning "to come" for *uizzi*. The latter can only be taken in a more metaphorical sense of "it will come to pass that." This so-called impersonal use is not restricted to 3.sg. forms as shown by, e.g.

(13b) *mān UL=ma uyaši ḫarakši*

Here too a literal interpretation of *uyaši* "you will come (and die)" is impossible: this would lead to the contradictory message "If you do not come with the troops, you will come (and) die." The essential message is that the person in question will die if he does *not* show up with his troops. The form *uyaši* can only be taken in the impersonal sense "it will happen that you'll die" > "you will end up dead." It may at this point be remarked that in the truly impersonal examples only *uya-* seems to be attested.

Sometimes a translation "to come/go (and) do something" seems possible but is highly unlikely in the wider context. Compare for *pai-* "to go":

- (41) *n=aš URUAlmina andan pait nu=šši LÚKUR zahḫija menaḫḫanda namma*
UL kuiški mazzašta
*§ nu=za pait URUAlminan uetummanzi IŠBAT*⁷⁴
 He went into (the town of) Almina and no further enemy resisted him in battle.
 § So he went—started to fortify Almina.

Since in lines 6–7 the king is already explicitly said to have reached and entered Almina, a translation of *pait* as "He went (and) . . ." is not only redundant but also illogical. A similar situation is found in

- (42) [*n=aš ap*]ija *paizzi n=aš za=kan paizzi ēp[zi]*⁷⁵
 [At that] moment she goes and goes—take[s] it.

and other examples.⁷⁶ For *uya-* compare:

- (43) *nu=war=an=kan IŠTU É.GAL-LIM katta uēr uit=ma=ua*
*MUNUS¹.LUGAL URUUtruliaz ANA dUTU-ŠI EGIR-pa IŠPUR*⁷⁷
 They sent her (i.e. the queen) down from the palace, but the queen came—
 sent back (a message) from (the town of) Utruli to His Majesty.

Because of cultic irregularities the queen had been temporarily banned from the court and the only way of communicating with her husband was by writing a letter. Translating "the queen came (and) . . ." would be in contradiction to the preceding clause and the indication of direction *ANA dUTU-ŠI*.

73. *MSS* 46 (1985): 59 and 74 n. 77.

74. *DŠ* 28 A i 6–9 (NH), ed. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956): 90.

75. KUB 7.53 + 12.58 iv 16–17 (NH), ed. A. Goetze, *Tunn.*, 22–23.

76. A similar case is KBo 2.5 ii 5–6 (NH, ed. A. Goetze, *AM*, 182).

77. 22.70 obv. 16–17, ed. A. Ünal, *Theth* 6, 58–59.

For phraseologically used *uya-* another interesting indication is provided by those instances where it is combined with *pai-* in the full meaning "to go":

- (44) *mān UL=ma n=ašta uyaṭṭeni IŠTU SAG.DU.ḪI.A=KUNU paittani*⁷⁸

If not, however, you will come—"go with your heads" (i.e. pay with your life).

- (45) *GIM-an=ma uit ŠEŠ-IA kuṣapi INA KUR Mizri pait*⁷⁹

When then my brother came—went to Egypt. . .

In neither passage is it possible to take *uya-* literally as first coming somewhere and subsequently going from that place to anywhere else. In (42) Ḫattušili's brother Muwatalli is last (ibid. ii 53) explicitly said to be staying in the city of Tarḫuntašša and is thus not coming anywhere. A likely third example is:

- (46) [(*maḫḫan-m*)]a *uēr MU.ḪI.A-uš EGIR-anda pāir*⁸⁰

But as the years came—went by, . . .

The editors of this famous text, known as *Muršilis Sprachlähmung*, A. Götze and H. Pedersen, translated "Als aber die Jahre kamen (und) hintereinander vergehen, . . ." taking this as two asyndetic clauses.⁸¹ The word order characteristic for the phraseological construction, however, makes it more likely to interpret it with *CHD* as done here.⁸² I know of no examples where phraseologically used *pai-* is combined with *uya-* "to come," or where the same verb is used both phraseologically and as a main verb within one clause. I know of only one passage where *pai-* is attested with the deponent verb *ija-* "to march, walk, go," which is indifferent as to direction:

- (47) *n=aš paizzi GiŠUMBIN-laz ijaṭṭa*⁸³

He goes—walks on the left of the wheel.

To what extent the notion of direction inherent in the prefix *u-* was still felt in examples (44–46) is something we will have to get back to below (§8).

Finally, a comparison of virtually identical or parallel passages with a single clause containing a phraseological construction on the one hand, and two clauses on the other—of which the first has a form of *pai-/uya-* as its main

78. 31.101 rev. 24'–25' (MS), ed. E. Neu, *Kadmos* 21 (1982): 170–72 with literature.

79. *StBoT* 24 ii 69 (NH), ed. H. Otten, *StBoT* 24, 16–17.

80. 43.50+ obv. 6 (with dupls., NH), ed. A. Götze-H. Pedersen, *MSpr.*, 4–5.

81. Similarly H. M. Kümmel, *TUAT* II/2, 289 ("Als aber die Jahre kamen und vorbeigingen, . . ."); a free rendering is given by G. Beckman apud G. Frantz-Szabó in J. Sasson et al., *CANE*, 2010 (" . . . when years later . . .").

82. So with the *CHD* P, 38a ("But as the years proceeded to pass"). Uncertain is the passage HKM 96:12'–16' (*uyaši INA KUR URUḪājaša [pāiši] . . . nu=za uyaši ÉRIN.MEŠ.ḪI.A nininkuṣanzi [pāiši]i* "and you will come[—go] to Ḫājaša . . . and you will come[—go] to mobilize troops," MH/MS, ed. S. Alp, *HBM*, 300–1), where *pai-* is twice broken away.

83. *IBoT* 1.36 iv 11–12 (MH/MS), ed. H. G. Güterbock and Th. van den Hout, *AS* 24, 32–33.

verb, followed by a second clause introduced by a conjunction and another verb in the same person, number, tense, and mode as the preceding form of *pai-luqa*—shows that the difference between the two must have been slight. Compare the following two pairs of passages, each from the same text:

(48a) *n=aš paizzi Gišhuluganni GÜB-za GišUMBIN kattan tijazzi*⁸⁴
He goes—takes a stand to the left of the cart next to the wheel.

(48b) *n=aš paizzi ta Gišhuluganni GišUMBIN GÜB-laz tijazzi*⁸⁵
He goes and takes a stand at the left wheel of the cart.

(49a) *nu pāir KUR URUAmka GUL-aḥḥir*⁸⁶
They went—attacked Amka.

(49b) *nu=ur=at uēr nu=ua šumel [irḥ]an KUR URUAmga ualahḥir*⁸⁷
They came and attacked your [territory], the land Amga.

The number of such pairs can easily be augmented.⁸⁸ In general it can be observed that sentences of the type (48b) and (49b) as well as their asyndetic counterparts (25–26) occur very frequently in Hittite, a point we will have to come back to shortly. One can also juxtapose passages from the same text with (a) and (b) without a phraseological construction but otherwise fully parallel:

(50a) *nu ABI ABI=IA apēdaš ualahḥūyanzi iḡattat ABU=IA ANA ABI ABI=IA lahḥi GAM-an-pat iḡa[ttat] nu ANA ABI ABI=IA DINGIR.MEŠ piran hūiēr nu pait KUR URUMāšša URUKammala=ia ḥarnik[ta]*⁸⁹
And my grandfather went to attack those (countries). My father went [right next to my grandfather on campaign. The gods marched before my grandfather and he went—destroy[ed] the countries Māšša and Kammala.

(50b) *nu ABI ABI=IA apēdaš [ANA UR]U.DIDLI.ḪI.A ualḥūyanzi pait [nu] ANA ABI [ABI=IA] DINGIR.MEŠ piran hūiēr nu URUKaḥari[an] URUGa[zza]pann=a ḥarnik[ta]*⁹⁰

84. IBoT 1.36 ii 13–14 (MH/MS), ed. H. G. Güterbock and Th. van den Hout, *AS* 24, 14–15.

85. IBoT 1.36 ii 42–43 (MH/MS), ed. H. G. Güterbock and Th. van den Hout, *AS* 24, 18–19 (where *n=aš paizzi* was inadvertently left untranslated).

86. *DŠ* 28 A iii 3–4 (NH), ed. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956): 94.

87. *DŠ* 28 A iv 7–8 (NH), ed. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956): 97.

88. Compare also *Kup.* §6 C8–9 and §9 C35, and see the passages adduced by Dunkel, *MSS* 46 (1985): 75 n. 88, although his example from *CTH* 376 (24.3+ ii 15'–17' w. dupls.) contrasted with *CTH* 378 III (14.12 rev. 10'–11') is doubtful since the *a* may not be a conjunction but adverbial "too"; in the alleged substitution of the main verb for an infinitive in Laws §55 (*uēr* ... *aruḡā[nzi]*) the second verb form is better taken as a regular 3.pl.pres. with Hoffner, *Laws*, 67.

89. *DŠ* 13 E i 10–14 (NH), ed. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956): 65.

90. *DŠ* 13 D iv 33–35 (NH), ed. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956): 66.

And my grandfather went to attack those [tow]ns. The gods marched before m[y grand]father and he destroy[ed] the towns Kaḥariya and Ga[zza]pa.

The impression these passages leave is almost one of conflicting evidence. Examples (50a–b) suggest that the force of the phraseological construction was relatively weak and that with the additional evidence of (38–47) the original value of motion verbs was only weakly felt. Examples (48–49), however, suggest that the latter could still be felt clearly.

7. The Semantics of the Phraseological Construction

In the introduction we referred to the two basic ways of translating a phraseological construction: either by rendering *pai-* and *uqa-* literally and inserting "(and)," or by using the impersonal translation "it happens/happened that . . ." Dorothy Disterheft seems to have been one of the first to tackle the problem of the semantics of this construction.⁹¹ Starting from such sentences as

(51) *LÜMEŠEDI ḥaššan āppan dāi t=aš paizzi DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ.[(LUGAL)] pēran tiēzzi*⁹²

The guard puts the hearth behind and goes—takes a stand in front of the princes (and) princesses.

she writes: "In these passages there are two separate sentences where the action of the second sentence follows consecutively from the previous one. In such cases the second action is contained in the *pai-uqa-* construction, which only seems to indicate that the action of that particular sentence temporally follows the preceding one. Thus, a more accurate translation for the motion verbs in these sentences would be something like adverbial 'then.'"⁹³ In (51) this results in a translation

The guard puts the hearth behind and *then* takes a stand in front of the princes (and) princesses.

Although in a general sense this is certainly correct, we may legitimately ask whether the "temporal consecutiveness" is not already often present in a normal sequence of two clauses with the same tense and without any adverbs or conjunctions explicitly expressing the opposite. A translation with a simple "then" may be too "colorless" and, moreover, overlaps with the adverb *namma* (i.e. *namma* 1 in *CHD* s.v.) in the sense of "then, next, after that."⁹⁴

91. *KZ* 97 (1984): 221–27.

92. KBo 20.12+ i 7–8 (*StBoT* 12, 10–11) OS.

93. *KZ* 97 (1984): 226.

94. See *CHD* L–N, 379–80.

As opposed to *namma*, the phraseological verb anticipates the categories of person and tense of the main verb. Especially the former category seems to be important here: The phraseological verb brings out the subject's initial reaction to the action contained in the preceding context. We already briefly saw (§4 with (25–26) and §6 with (48b–49b)) that clause sequences of a structure:

conjunction (+/-subject) *pai-/uua-* (+/-conjunction and constituents) verb

are frequently attested in Hittite texts. To our modern mind the first clause with the motion verb often sounds redundant and could be left out without any loss of meaning in the overall context. Compare, for instance

(52) *nu=za ÉRIN.MEŠ [(NARĀRU ŠA KUR-TI tepauuaza GAM-an ēppūn)]*
nu pāūn nu=kan ¹[(^UKÚR INA ^{URU}Ḫaḫḫa damaššun)]

I took along the country's auxiliary troops in small numbers; I went and I oppressed the enemy in Ḫaḫḫa.⁹⁵

The short clause with the motion verb (*pāūn*) literally marks the transition from the preceding action ("I took along troops") to the one contained in the third clause ("I oppressed"), and the whole sequence seems to be mainly temporal. The phraseological construction is basically a shortened or syntactically reduced form of this.⁹⁶ The relationship between the purely temporally consecutive *namma* 1 and the phraseological construction can best be studied in the occasional passages where they occur next to one another, either in the same clause or in immediately adjacent clauses. It then seems that *in addition* to the temporal consecutiveness, the clause with the phraseological verb can indicate an action that also follows logically or expectedly from the preceding action. In this sense the phraseological construction can be said to mark a relation that is causal in a general way. For *uua-* in direct context with *namma* 1, compare from the Prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal:

(53) *LÚ.MEŠ* ^{UR}[(^UG)]*ašga=ma ḫalziḡani nu=šmaš NÍG.BA.ḪI.A piueni*
namma=aš langanumani . . . § nu=za uuanzi NÍG.BA.MEŠ danzi namma
*linkanzi*⁹⁷

We will invite the Gašga-people and give them gifts. Then we will put them under oath: ("You must respect the offerings we send to the Storm-god of Nerik and let no one attack them while under way!")
 § *Thereupon* they will take the gifts (and) then swear the oath.

The second part of the quotation starting the new paragraph with the verbs *dā-* "to take" and *link-* "to swear an oath" runs parallel to the first part with

95. *StBoT* 24 ii 22–23, ed. *StBoT* 24, 10–11.

96. How this reduction came about will be shown later.

97. *CTH* 375.A iv 14–15 MH/MS, ed. E. von Schuler, *Kaššäer*, 160–61; R. Lebrun, *Hynnes*, 140, 147; cf. H.A. Hoffner, *EHG*, 72 n. 146, and *Laws*, 214–15.

the verbs *pai-/piia-* "to give" and *linganu-* "to put under oath." The adverb *namma* twice gives the temporal sequence: first the giving/taking of the gifts and *then* the oath. The new element in the second part is the phraseological *uuanzi*. This describes the expected behavior of the Gašgaeans. Such a relationship between clauses that is both temporal and causal seems appropriately expressed by English "thereupon," German "darauf, daraufhin," and Turkish "bunun üzerine."⁹⁸ Another example involving *namma* and the phraseological construction—this time in the same clause—is (3):

(3) The father of My Majesty saved you from Attaršija and you would have died without his help. § *namma=uit* *ABI* ^{UTU}.ŠI *tuk* ^m*Madduqattan linkijaš=šaš iēt*⁹⁹ *Thereupon* the father of His Majesty subsequently made you, Madduwatta, his sworn (vassal).

Whereas *namma* expresses merely the temporal sequence of events, the phraseological *uit* indicates in addition that the father of His Majesty took the next logical step arising from the preceding situation. The translations of *namma* (1. "then, next," 2. "once more, again," 3. "in addition, further(more)") all derive from its basic temporal meaning. Of course, *namma* will be found in contexts where an interpretation as proposed here for the phraseological construction fits as well, but then any temporal consecutive order of clauses—whether expressly marked as such (*namma*, *appa*/EGIR-*pa* etc.) or not—may by itself imply such a relation. It is the phraseological construction that makes it explicit.

For examples without *namma* or a similar adverb compare:

(5) *kāša=ua* ^{LÚ}.MEŠ *šapašallēš pienun nu=ua pāir* ^{URU}*Taggašt[an]*
^{URU}*Ukuduipunann=a šapašijaua[n dair]*¹⁰⁰
 (Kaššu says:) "Just now I have sent spies and they have *thereupon*
 [started to] spy on (the towns of) Taggašt[a] and Ukuduipuna."

(54) "The Hittite army just went for battle to (the town of) Hinduwa, so block the road ahead of them and attack them!" So they brought forth troops on the road to (the town of) Dalauwa, *nu uēr anzel*
ÉRIN.MEŠ-TI KASKAL-an ēppir n=uš nininkir and *thereupon* blocked the road for our army and routed them.¹⁰¹

(55) I, the Great King, marched concealed with my troops and chariots. The mighty Storm-god, My Lord, had called for me Ḫašammili, My Lord, and

98. Compare *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, which gives for *thereupon* the following meanings: "on that being done or said; (directly) after that," "in consequence of that," and "with reference to that."

99. *Madd.* obv. 13 (MH/MS), ed. A. Götze, *Madd.*, 4–5.

100. HKM 7:4–6 (MH/MS), ed. S. Alp, *HBM*, 128–29. Note the same sequence of "sending" and "spying" without phraseological *pai-*, *ibid.* 10f.

101. *Madd.* obv. 70–71 (MH/MS), ed. A. Götze, *Madd.*, 18–19.

he kept me concealed so that no one saw me. *nu=ššan pāun* KUR
Piggainarešša šašti uralahhun Thereupon I attacked (the country)
Piggainarešša in its sleep.¹⁰²

- (56) A priestess Iya reports an oracle investigation concerning a certain person and asks for further investigations. § *nu uyaūēn IŠTU*
MUŠEN.ĤI.A namma arḥa kiššan ariūaen Thereupon we conducted
 further (*namma* 3) investigations through augury as follows: . . .¹⁰³

Here too there is a causal relation between the clause with the phraseological verb and the immediately preceding context: somebody sends spies, so they spy; troops are ordered to block the road, so they block the road; the king marches unseen, so he takes the enemy land unawares; an oracle is requested, so an oracle is conducted. This interpretation also makes excellent sense in those passages where a literal translation seems illogical:

- (41) He went into (the town of) Almina and no further enemies resisted him in battle. § *nu=za pait* ^{URU}*Alminan uetummanzi IŠBAT* He thereupon started to fortify Almina.

Šuppiluliuma had been fortifying cities in the nearby region of Almina, but the enemy had boasted that the latter city would never fall into his hands, so after having taken the city in spite of the enemies' words the expected or logical next action in the present situation was its fortification.

As already said earlier, such a relation between clauses does not necessarily have to be made explicit at all times, but the phraseological construction emphasizes it. This explains the emphatic interpretation as proposed by Neu: for instance, the prophecy of Teššub in (14) presents what will happen as a consequence of the release of certain persons.

- (14) And if you put the release into effect, I will praise your weapons . . .
[nu=ū]a uizzi šumenzan ^{GIŠ}*TUKUL.ĤI.A-KUNU* [*ḥarpa*]nalliuš
ḥullanniyan dāi [^Δ]^Δ*ḥaršāuar=ma=ūa=šmaš uizzi* [*ū*]allijanni māi [And]
 thereupon your weapons will start defeating the [ene]mies, while your
 fields will thereupon grow to your [f]ame!

It appears particularly well suited for those passages where any idea of movement seems out of order. In an example like

- (13d) *mān UL=ma / uyaši ḥarakši*
 If not however, you will come—die!

the addition of phraseological *uyaši* cannot be anything but emphatic: "You'll end up dead!" A simple **mān UL=ma / ḥarakši* "If not, however, you will die"

102. KBo 4.4+ iii 32–37 (NH), ed. AM, 126–29.

103. KuT 49:11–12 (MH/MS), ed. G. Wilhelm; *MDOG* 130 (1998): 178–79.

would have been enough to express the causal relationship between the two clauses, but the use of phraseological *uyaši* lends it the required emphasis. In a similar manner we can translate:

- (40) [*kuiš*]^Δ*an UL=ma uyatezzi nu uizzi apēdani UN-ši=pat idalauēšzi*
 But [who]ever does not bring him, for that person it will thereupon turn
 out badly!

The temporal-causal relationship likewise explains the perfective aspect as suggested by Dunkel: in many of the passages just quoted, the clause with the phraseological construction describes an action resulting from a preceding action.

8. The Impersonal Phraseological *uya-*

In the preceding paragraphs we have come across several passages (13, 27, 38–40, 43–45) where the idea of motion seems to be improbable or even ruled out. In some of them (38–40, 43–45) the traditional translation by way of the expression "it happens/happened that . . ." fits well. It is striking that in these cases only the verb *uya-* is found. To account for this it is useful to compare the verbs with which *pai-* and *uya-* are combined within the phraseological construction (see Appendix below).

First of all it becomes apparent that *uya-* occurs with many more verbs than *pai-*. This observation matches the significantly higher frequency overall of *uya-* as a phraseological verb: approximately 60% *uya-* to 40% *pai-*.¹⁰⁴ Secondly, only *uya-* occurs with verbs indicating a state or change of state (*akk-*, *āšš-*, *āšiyantešš-*, *ḥappinešš-*, *idalayešš-*, *kiš-*, *kururijahḥ-*, *mai-*, *nakkijahḥ-*, *naḥšarreške-*, *šeš-*). Thus it appears that *uya-* had a wider range of usage than *pai-*. Both could be used to mark the transition from one action to another in the way described above (§7), with the choice between them ultimately depending on the point of view required by the context and regulated by the prefixes *pe-* or *u-*. But only *uya-* could be combined with statives and fientives where the notion of real motion was absent.

This probably derives from the fact that the verb *uya-* "to come" in the sense of "to reach" is inherently perfective—as opposed to *pai-*, which is either global or imperfective ("to go" in the sense of generally "being under way") or inchoative ("to go" in the sense of "to leave"). Its perfective aspect (or perhaps rather *Aktionsart*) enables the verb *uya-* to indicate also the more metaphorical reaching of a point in time or in a chain of events (compare

104. Only indicative forms were counted. The pattern is already discernible in Dunkel's statistics. *MSS* 46 (1985): 72.

phrases with the verb "to come" in German: "es kam dazu, daß . . ." or English "it came about that . . ."). Passage (13) might be rephrased as

(13) You will come to the point where you will die!

In the 3.sg. this could lead to more impersonal cases such as:

(38) The blood of the whole royal family spread: *nu 1Ištaparijaš*
MUNUS.LUGAL BA.ÚŠ EGIR-*pa=ma uit* ^m*Ammunaš* DUMU.LUGAL
BA.ÚŠ Ištaparija, the queen, died and later it happened that Ammuna, the
prince, died. (The "Men of the Gods," too, each said: "Behold, bloodshed
is widespread in Hattuša.")

(39) GI[M-a]n=ma=za *uit* ŠEŠ-IA [^m*Arnuwandaš* DINGIR-LIM *kišat*]
When it happened that my brother Arnuwanda became a god, (I, My
Majesty, sat down on my father's throne).

(45) GIM-an=ma *uit* ŠEŠ-IA *kuyapi* INA KUR Mizri *pait*
When it happened that my brother went to Egypt, . . .

or the rare truly impersonal construction of (40)

(40) [*kuiš*]š=an UL=ma *uuatezzi* nu *uizzi* *apēdani* UN-ši=pat *idalauēšzi*
But [who] does not bring him, for that same person it will happen that it
will turn out badly.

In the latter passage the phraseological clause again contains the result, so to speak ("it will thereupon turn out badly"), of the previously described action. This makes it likely that the impersonal use derives from the normal usage outlined above. In the other examples the temporal posteriority seems to be prominent. A translation with "thereupon" is nevertheless possible in these passages as well and may be taken to mark the described event as explicitly embedded in a series of events. Moreover, the adverb EGIR-*pa* "later, afterwards" of (38) makes it clear that here too the function of the phraseological construction cannot have been to mark a temporal relation only. It may well be that the death of Ammuna was felt to have been bound up with the death of his mother as in a chain of events ("and thereupon, Ammuna, the prince, afterwards died"), so it may also mark the climax of such a chain.

9. Conclusions

The verbs *pai-/uua-* within the phraseological construction indicate the transition between two actions that are closely and often causally related. The insertion of a motion verb into the context marks the transition or movement from one action to the other: by going or coming the subject's reaction or response to the previous action is introduced. Such an insertion is very typical of Hittite texts and can take different forms of decreasing syntactic autonomy,

compare the separate clauses of (25–26), (48b–49b), and (52) above. The next stage is represented by the phraseological construction.

Prerequisite is a preceding action that through a phraseologically construed clause is bound to the following action. A clause with a phraseological construction thus describes an action that stands in a general temporal-causal relationship to the action contained in the immediately preceding context. This relation can be aptly translated by way of English "thereupon" (German "darauf(hin)"), also in the impersonal use restricted to *uua-*. The translation using an inserted "(and)" is best reserved for true asyndeton as in (25–26).

Addendum

Only recently, I found a remark by Harry Hoffner himself suggesting a rendering for certain usages of the imperative 3.sg. *paiddu* "let him/her go (and do something)" similar to the one proposed here more generally for the phraseological construction. In JNES 27 (1968): 202 with n. 42 he translated this *paiddu* as "henceforth" in the name-giving passage in the Ullikummi story (cf. CHD L–N, 32b) and wrote: "I see no reason to translate *paiddu* in these instances as "let him go!" Instead, the form seems to be a rather specialized manner indicating futurity for the verb forms which follow it in sequence."

Appendix

<i>uua-</i> +	<i>pai-</i> +
<i>ak-</i> to die	
	<i>anija-</i> to do, make
<i>ar-</i> (act.) to reach, arrive	
<i>arija-</i> to investigate (per oracle)	
<i>āšš-</i> to remain, be left over	
<i>ašiuantešš-</i> to become poor	
<i>auš-</i> to see	
<i>epp-/app-</i> to take	<i>epp-/app-</i> to take
<i>eš-/aš-</i> to be	<i>eš-/aš-</i> to be (?) ^a
<i>eš-</i> (dep.) to sit down	<i>eš-</i> (dep.) to sit down
	<i>ešša-</i> to do, make
	<i>ed-/ad-</i> to eat

a. See above (32).

<i>uṣa-</i> +	<i>pai-</i> +
<i>ḫaliṣa-</i> to kneel down	<i>ḫaliṣa-</i> to kneel down
	<i>ḫalṣai-</i> to call
	<i>ḫanna-</i> to judge
<i>ḫappinešš-</i> to become rich	
<i>ḫar(k)-</i> to have, hold	
	<i>ḫarnink-</i> to destroy
<i>ḫatkešnu-</i> to close	
<i>ḫatrai-</i> to write, send	
<i>ḫuinu-</i> to make run	
<i>ḫuittiṣa-</i> to pull	
<i>ḫulaliṣa-</i> to wrap around	
<i>ḫullanniṣa-</i> to fight	
<i>iṣa-</i> (act.) to do, make	<i>iṣa-</i> (act.) to do, make
	<i>iṣa-</i> (dep.) to go, walk
<i>immiṣa-</i> to mix	
	<i>išḫiulahḫ-</i> to regulate
<i>išḫuṣai-</i> to pour	
<i>išparre-</i> to spread	
<i>ištamaš-</i> to hear, listen	
<i>idalaešš-</i> to become evil	
<i>kiš-</i> to become, happen	
<i>kuen-</i> to kill, batter	<i>kuen-</i> to kill, batter
<i>kuer-</i> to cut	
<i>kururiḫahḫ-</i> to take up enmity	
<i>mai-</i> to grow	
<i>malle-</i> to grind	
<i>maniḫah-</i> to govern, show	
<i>mema-</i> to speak, say	<i>mema-</i> to speak, say
<i>naḫšarreške-</i> to become frightened	
<i>(parā) nai-</i> to send out	<i>(parā) nai-</i> to send out
<i>nakkīḫahḫ-</i> to become difficult	
<i>pai-</i> to go	

<i>uṣa-</i> +	<i>pai-</i> +
<i>pai-/piṣa-</i> to give	<i>pai-/piṣa-</i> to give
	<i>parḫ-</i> to chase
	<i>peḫute-</i> to lead
	<i>piddaeške-</i> to bring, carry
<i>punuš-</i> to question, ask	
<i>šanḫ-</i> to seek, search	<i>šanḫ-</i> to seek, search
	<i>šapašīṣa-</i> to spy
<i>šarra-</i> to split, break	
<i>šeš-</i> to be lying down	
<i>dā-</i> to take, seize	<i>dā-</i> to take, seize
<i>dai-</i> to put, place	<i>dai-</i> to put, place
<i>dammešḫai-</i> to harm	
<i>taninu-</i> to bring into order	
<i>tarḫ-</i> to conquer	
	<i>tarna-</i> to let go
<i>taštašīṣa-</i> to whisper	
<i>tašṣuḫahḫ-</i> to blind	
<i>te-/tar-</i> to say, speak	<i>te-/tar-</i> to say, speak
<i>tešḫaniške-</i> to appear in a dream	
<i>tiṣa-</i> to step	<i>tiṣa-</i> to step
	<i>tittanu-</i> to put, place
<i>uda-</i> to bring	
<i>uḫnu-</i> to turn	<i>uḫnu-</i> to turn
	<i>uḫalleške-</i> to praise (repeatedly)
<i>uḫḫ-</i> to attack	<i>uḫḫ-</i> to attack
<i>uḫriṣa-</i> to come to rescue, help	
	<i>uḫnu-</i> to burn down
<i>uḫštai-</i> to sin	
<i>uḫemīṣa-</i> to find	
<i>uḫete-</i> to build	<i>uḫete-</i> to build
<i>zinna-</i> to stop, finish	

*A New Look at the Outline Tablets of
the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival:
The Text-Copy VS NF 12.1*

PHILO H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE

Amsterdam

1. On numerous occasions Professor Harry A. Hoffner has made major contributions to our knowledge of the state seasonal festivals of the spring and autumn. He did so already in his admirable study *Alimenta Hethaeorum: Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor* (1974) with its excellent chapter on the agricultural year, in which he mentioned in passing that the predicate of the stock expression characterizing the Spring Festival consisted of the third person singular of the verb *tai-* and not of the verb *da-*.¹ In one of his very valuable reviews of KUB and KBo volumes, Professor Hoffner noted an additional copy of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} outline tablets (copy E = KUB 44.39),² and often directed our attention to certain or likely direct or indirect "joins" and duplicates of "daily outlines," a new and highly appropriate term introduced by Professor Hoffner himself. H. A. Hoffner and G. M. Beckman, through comparing HFAC 51 with CTH 604 B = KUB 30.39 +, as it were laid the foundation for a future CTH number devoted to the festival outline tablets. In his Introductory Catalogue to IBoT 4 (1988) Professor Hoffner classified numerous fragments as belonging to the festival genre (nos. 50 through 95).

2. My choice of this subject³ was triggered by the unexpected appearance of a new outline tablet, copy F = VS NF 12.1, published in text-copy in

1. *AlHeth*, 49 n. 237.

2. *JCS* 28 (1976): 248.

3. See my earlier treatments in *FsGüterbock*², 95–110, and in "The Hittite Storm God," in *Natural Phenomena*, 91–99, 106–7 and notes 18–32 and 54. The second reference deals once more with the prayer of Tudḫaliyaš IV, KBo 12.58 + KBo 13.162, on the reverse of which the making of [a (new?) statue for] Mount Piškuruwa (ll. 7'–8') would seem to be promised, and a temple in Arinna is mentioned (ll. 12'–13'). For this prayer and its likely background, see also J. Hazenbos, "The Organization of the Anatolian Cults During the 13th Century B.C.," diss. Amsterdam, 1998, 10–11, with improvements regarding the interpretation of obv. 11'–12'. For this passage see also CHD P, 39b.

1997. Professor V. Haas already used copy F extensively in his long chapter devoted to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival, *GHR*, 772–826. The general structure of the preserved parts of the obverse and the reverse (like copy B [= KUB 30.39 + KBo 24.112 + KBo 23.80], F shows no division into columns) resembles that of copies A (= KBo 10.20), B, and C (= KUB 10.94), but not that of the so-called “abridged” parallel version represented by copies D (= 438/s) and E (= KUB 44.39). F’s sign forms are very late indeed (III C, oral communication from Dr. Th. P. J. van den Hout). However, I find it rather surprising that, in the Introduction to the volume, F is characterized as a slightly deviating version with respect to copy A. It is true that the two royal journeys to destinations outside of the capital, the journey to Arinna (together with the return to the capital and the consequent “burial” of the past year) and the trip to Zippalanda, are both also attested for F, but the number of days involved in the proceedings may have exceeded those in A.

Quite a number of details differ, and some rather typical characteristics of copy A are either lacking or have not yet been introduced. The choice between these two alternatives depends on whether F, being a descendant of a later(?) contemporary of B, had recently been revised, or whether F simply dates from an early phase of the process of reorganization of the Hittite cults during the reign of Tudḫaliyaš IV. Because there is a fair chance that F may constitute a single representative of a different parallel version which may have been in use during an earlier phase of the Empire period, I have been cautious with respect to text restorations, limiting these to proposals for readings and to text restorations based on internal evidence. On account of this caution I have also abstained from a full translation of the text.

More points stand out. The paragraphs presenting the major events of each day are often fairly short, using the simple—and in its repetition tedious—technical terminology EZEN₄ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} ANA (or ŠA) followed by a divine name and the predicate *iya-*. It goes without saying that there will have been reciprocal influence between colophons of daily outlines on the one hand and the outline tablet of the festival in question on the other. This likelihood might thus plead for the alternative solution: F might have been composed during the reign of Tudḫaliyaš IV on the basis of a collection of AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} daily tablets from an older period still on hand. However, it may be of some significance that the replica of the rather dull device just mentioned, EZEN₄ *nuntarriyašḫaš* ANA (or ŠA) DN *iya-*, is rather typical of the now almost fully known duplicates or parallel versions of the outline of the *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival so perfectly edited by M. Nakamura in his dissertation.⁴

4. “Das hethitische *nuntarriyašḫaš*-Fest,” diss. Würzburg, 1993, 7–73. See now Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2002 (= PIHANS XCIV), 15–81.

Other formal characteristics are the absence of the Hittite queen in the preserved parts of parallel version F, unless one should restore ^{URU}Ḫa[-at-tu-ši-ma MUNUS.LUGAL-aš] at the end of obv. 2'. In all likelihood F does not reflect the oracle inquiry CTH 568, this in rather sharp contrast to copy A, which offers four quotations and a fifth indirect reference through the mention of a *ḫad/tauri* Festival, following a ruling set by the oracle inquiry (see, too, the parallel version represented by the copies D and E). The days in question, 12, 16, 17, 20, and 21, are not all present in F, but if we make the minimalist assumption that F would not yet have added days before the highlight of the proceedings in Arinna (day [9]), days 9 through 17 should have been present on the preserved part of the obverse. Days 12, 16, and 17 offer insufficient space. In view of the fact that at the top of the obverse, for all practical purposes eight days are totally lacking, the missing part of the lower reverse may have consisted of more days of text material followed by a colophon. Because the preserved part of the reverse would seem to begin with the final line of the description of day [23], a total of seven days is lacking at the end of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse. It is, I think, of some importance to note that from day [24] onward Hurrian deities are worshipped, since at approximately the same point in copy A (KBo 10.20 iii 24), the continuation of day 22 in A's numbering, the first assuredly Hurrian deity, *IŠTAR* of Ḫattarina, is mentioned for the first time.⁵

VS NF 12.1

Obv.

- 1'. [] x x [] -al-ti-i kal-l[a- . . .]
 2'. [lu-u]k-k[at-t]i-ma I-NA ^{URU}A-ri-in-na EZEN₄ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}
^{URU}Ḫ[a-]
 3'. I-NA É Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-da AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} da-a-i [UD.9.KAM]
 4'. lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-kán LUGAL-uš ^{URU}A-ri-in-na-za ar-ḫa ú-iz-z[i]
 5'. LUGAL-uš-kán ^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ši ša-ra-a ^{GIŠ}ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni-it []
 6'. a-ri [nu-k]án ^dZi-it-ḫa-ri-ja-an pa-ra-a ú-da-an-z[i]
 7'. LUGAL-[u]š I'-NA' É Gaz-zi-mar a-ri LUGAL-uš-kán IŠ-T[U]
 8'. x x x pa-a-an-zi ŠA EZEN₄ ^Éḫa-le-en-tu-u-ua-aš⁶ []

5. Excepting the Storm God of Aleppo (day [21] of A), who had already chosen the Hittite side during the reign of Ḫattušili I.

6. The right half of this line constitutes a *crux* which in my opinion can only be solved by assuming that the text was written under dictation and that the scribe heard the sequence “ŠA ^Éḫa-le-en-tu-u-ua-aš EZEN₄ [. . .]”; see *HW*² I, 105a, and III, 23a, for prepositional ŠA instead of postpositional *anda*.

- 9'. x [x] x pí-[i]a-an-zi MU.KAM-an-na šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫa-an-z[i]
UD.10.KAM]
- 10'. [l]u-uk-kat-[t]i-ma GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL MU.KAM-an I-NA
Éḫe-eš[-ti(-i) pé-e-da-i]
- 11'. [x x] x i-ia-an-ni-ia-zi LUGAL-uš-kán EGIR-pa x []
- 12'. [x x] x A-NA dUr-za'-ma-aš-ša-ni⁷ dPal-la-nu-la-ia L[UGAL-uš]
- 13'. [š-i-i]p-pa-an-du-u-ya-ar x x.ḪI.A-ia pa-a-an-zi ta []
- 14'. [dUTU UR]A-ri-in-na x-[x-p]a i-ia-an-zi [UD.11.KAM]
- 15'. [lu-uk]-kat-ti-ma A-NA d[U] URUNe-ri-ik-ka₄ EZEN₄ [AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}
UD.12.KAM]
- 16'. [lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-z]a² A-N[A² dU U]RUḪA-AT-TI A-
NA []
- 17'. lu-uk-kat-[t]i[-ma] x x []
- 18'. pa-iz-z[i]
- 19'. lu-uk-k[at-ti-ma]
- 20'. lu-uk-kat[-ti-ma]
- 21'. EZEN₄ AN.T[AḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}]
- 22'. lu-uk[-kat-ti-ma]
- 23'. [lu]-u[k-kat-ti-ma]

Rev.

- 1'. [] ku-lu-mur-ši-ḫ[a UD.23.KAM]
- 2'. [lu-uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL]-uš I-NA É-TIM GAL EZEN₄
[AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} A-NA d...]
- 3'. [Ü A-NA dIŠTAR UR]UNe-nu-ya EZEN₄ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}
x []
- 4'. [SISKUR ku-lu-mur]-ši-ia x [... UD.24.KAM]
- 5'. [lu-uk]-kat-ti-ma A-NA dLAMMA URUTa-a-u-ri-iš-ša [d...]
- 6'. A-NA dÉ.A-ia I-NA GIŠKIRI₆ ḫar-ya-ši-ia-aš EZ[EN₄ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}
ŠA²]⁸

7. Cf. B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon*, 543, for dUr-za-ma-aš-ša-ni in KUB 46.17 iii 1, to which he compares this passage. However, Dr. Th. P. J. van den Hout has brought to my attention that one might prefer the value šá of the sign (HZL no. 369) for this divine name; cf. J. Catsanicos, *IF* 99 (1994): 320.

8. [ŠA] at the end of a line (as I have restored here) is a very rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, I have also restored it for rev. 25', although I can only point to its occurrence towards the end of

- 7'. dIŠTAR^{URU}Ḫa-at-ta-ri-na i-ia-zi UD.25'[.KAM]
- 8'. lu-uk-kat-ti-ma dLAMMA^{URU}Ta-a-ú-ri-ša PÜAMA K[a²-li-im-ma PÜKa-
li-im-ma²...]
- 9'. I-NA É dU URUḪal-pa-ia SISKUR ku-lu-mur-ši-i-ia UD.26.KAM]
- 10'. lu-uk-kat-ti-ma A-NA dU URUḪal-pa EZEN₄ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}
[i-ia-an-zi]
- 11'. DUGḫar-ši-ia-al-li gi-nu-ya-an-zi [UD.27.KAM]
- 12'. [lu]-u[k-ka]t-ti-ma-za LUGAL-uš I-NA É dLAMMA KUSgur-ši-a-an
i-ia-zi⁹ UD.28.KAM]
- 13'. [lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-z]a¹ LUGAL-uš A-NA dSIN dUTU dḪal-ki E[ZEN₄
AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} i-ia-zi]
- 14'. [ŠA dU URU...-š]a-an-da-ia¹⁰ DUGḫar-ši-ia-al-li gi[-nu-ya-an-zi
UD.29.KAM]
- 15'. [lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-za] LUGAL-uš dKar-ma-ḫi-li HUR^{SAG}Ta-ba-la
HUR.SAG_x [... EZEN₄]
- 16'. [AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} i-ia-zi UD.30.KAM]
- 17'. [lu-u]k-[k]at-ti-ma-za LUGAL-uš A-NA GIŠKIRI₆ Aš-ka-ši-pa¹¹ EZEN₄
AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} i-ia[-zi]
- 18'. [Š]A²-ta ši-ia-an-na UD.31.KAM]
- 19'. lu-uk-kat-ti-ma A-NA [DINGIR]IR.MAḪ EZEN₄ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} i-ia-
zi I-NA É dLA[MMA-ma...]
- 20'. UD.32.KAM]

rev. 24'. Is it conceivable that the following dIŠTAR^{URU}Ḫanarina/HATTARINA possibly being totally Akkadographic, renders [ŠA] superfluous, and that this also applies to [URU]Ḫarranašal/HARRANAŠŠA at the beginning of l. 26'?

9. If one continues with KUSgur-ši-a-an i-ia-zi..., this results in a rather close parallel to the wording used in the shelf list quoted below sub g in translation: [lu]-u[k-ka]t-ti-ma-za LUGAL-uš would seem to be possible at the beginning of the line, cf. obv. 16; rev. 13', 15', 17', 23, 27', and 29', this passage showing the second example.

10. Jin Jie, *A Complete Retrograde Glossary of the Hittite Language* (Istanbul, 1994), 94, offers the following choice of possible place names here: Iyašanda, Tappašanda, Maraššanta, and Uššanda. I have opted for a Storm God, since the general evidence of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} outline tablets mentions only the Storm Gods in connection with this ceremony.

11. B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon*, 51, offers three more examples where the divine determinative is lacking. Of the other deities showing this final component (cf. E. Laroche, *Rech.*, 67-68) Taganzipa also demonstrates the same phenomenon, in this case even displaying a total absence of the DINGIR-determinative (*Onomasticon*, 431). In both examples the absence may have been conditioned by the highly concrete meaning of the first component, aška- "gate (door)" and tekan, tagnaš, "earth."

- 21'. *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma I-NA É^dLAMMA MÁŠ.GAL a-ki HUR.SAG-ja ta¹-a-it-ti-an[-zi]*¹²
- 22'. *ŠA É^dLAMMA.LÍL URUHa-[i]t-ta MÁŠ.GAL pi-an-zi* UD.33.KAM
- 23'. *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-za LUGAL-uš URUHa-it-ta A-NA É^dLAMMA.LÍL EZEN₄ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} [i-ja-zi]*
- 24'. *I-NA HUR.SAGPiš-ku-ru-nu¹-u^a MÁŠ.GAL-ja A-NA É^dIMIN.IMIN.BI ŠA HUR.SAGPiš-ku-ru-nu-u^a*¹³ UD.34.KAM]
- 25'. *[lu]-uk-kat-ti-ma A-NA HU[R.SAGPiš-ku-ru-nu-u^a LU-LI-IM.MEŠ¹⁴ MÁŠ.GAL-ja A-NA É^dIMIN.[IMIN.BI ŠA²]*¹⁵
- 26'. *[UR]^UHar-ra-na-aš-ša [pi]-ja-an-zi* UD.35.KAM
- 27'. *[lu]-uk-kat-ti-ma-za LUGAL-uš [É^dUT]U URUA-ri-in-na URUHar-ra-na-aš-ša i-ja[-zi]*
- 28'. *[GIŠ]e-ja-ni URUZ[i-ip]-pa-la-an-da* UD.36.KAM
- 29'. *[lu]-uk-kat-ti-ma-za LUGAL-uš A-NA É^dU URUZi-ip-pa-la-an-da I-NA É^d[DINGIR-LIM-ŠU EZEN₄ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}]*
- 30'. *[i]-ja-zi É^dUTU URUA-ri-[i]n-na-ja É^dU URUHA-AT-TI-ja GIŠe-ja[-ni URUZi-ip-pa-la-an-da* UD.37.KAM]
- 31'. *[lu-u]k-kat-ti-ma I-NA HUR.SAG[D]a-a-ḥa EZEN₄ ḥal-zi-ja-u-u-a-aš U*[D.38.KAM]

With respect to the contents of F's components, which consist of a short description of the days and locations of the festival, the following provisional remarks can be made:

a. In my opinion V. Haas¹⁶ rightly compares the phrase "in the House of Puruṣḥanda" (obv. 3') with the ceremony of the LUGALAGRIG's in the KI.LAM Festival,¹⁷ but in this late copy the determinative "town" (URU) in front of the

12. Hörfehlér for *ta-a-iš-ti-an-zi*?

13. In the first part of rev. 24' both the nominal subject and the verbal predicate are lacking in this highly lapidary text: "On Mount Piškurunuwa (his festival) (takes place)," or similar, while in the second clause of the line only the predicate is lacking: "[They shall give = is given by them]," cf. rev. 26'.

14. Apparently Mount Piškurunuwa receives deer on this day; cf. V. Haas, *KN*, 65–66 with n. 4, for the religiously motivated presence of deer in a deer-park or forest near or on Mount Piškurunuwa, for which he refers to the daily outline KUB 25.18 ii 6–10. See too, *GHR*, 818 (although some of the details of his interpretation are rather uncertain).

15. See note 8 above.

16. *GHR*, 631 n. 68, 753 n. 19, and 775 n. 27.

17. Cf. I. Singer, *StBoT* 27, 62–63, and *StBoT* 28, 22–23, 26–27, and 29–31.

place-name has been disregarded. This also applies to the "House of Gazzimar" (obv. 7'). It is also noteworthy that the older form *Puruṣḥanda* is preferred here to the later forms *Parṣuḥanda* and *Paraṣḥanda*. Gazzimar(a) is also known to be written in slightly varying renditions, but this place-name seems to be restricted to thirteenth-century texts, often occurring in both palace and cult inventories.

b. Contrary to the outline tablets A, B, and D(?), *Zithariyaš* (obv. 8') is said to be brought "out" or "forward" at the occasion of the king's return from Arinna to Hattuša. Does this mean "out" or "forward" from the "cortège" to his temple, or from his temple to the "cortège"? It is a well-established fact that on the occasion of the earlier return of the king from Taḥurpa to the capital¹⁸ this deity had accompanied the king. Thus the first option should be preferred. In view of the addendum to the colophons of both B and A: "to remember: *Zithariyaš* regularly goes (*paiškatta*) to his house in Hattuša (viz. to his Temple) for the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival. It was (thus) determined by the god; the wording was too long,"¹⁹ it would now seem that he did so on at least two occasions.

c. In l. 15' (day [12] of the obverse, the day count of which was modelled after copies A and B), I restored É^d[U] in parallelism with day [7] or [8] of the outline tablets of the *nuntarriyašḥaš* Festival; see in first instance KBo 14.76 i 3'–4'. In view of the following place-name Nerik, this restoration is practically inescapable for both passages, but it also holds good for both outline tablets that other copies or parallel versions do not refer to a celebration of this Storm God in the capital (A and B of the Spring Festival) and do not seem to mention a temple of the Storm God of Nerik in Hattuša (the Festival of the Autumn).²⁰ At some point during the thirteenth century Nerik's cults were reformed. This arguably took place as late in that century as the time in the reign of Tudḫaliyaš IV when he promised the Sun Goddess of Arinna that, after a victory over an unnamed enemy, he would certainly turn his attention to the state seasonal festivals and would restore the local cults wherever necessary.²¹ The argumentation is as follows: It is enticing to identify the unnamed enemy of Tudḫaliyaš's prayer with the Assyrian king

18. Day 2 on the basis of both *CTH* 594 and *CTH* 606. For this practically invariable combination, see the Introduction to KUB 30, iv; H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 19 (1960): 88 (regarding the day entry), and 89 (concerning the colophon). See too, *FsGüterbock*², 100 n. 16 (where KUB 10.18 ii 7–9 should read ii 10–12); and J. Puhvel *HED* 2, 358 (for KUB 10.17 ii 2–4).

19. Cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19 (1960): 87; and S. Alp, *Tempel*, 147.

20. Concerning the *nuntarriyašḥaš* Festival, this was already pointed out by H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 20 (1961): 90 n. 27, and *NHF*, 68 n. 67, but see too, Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *FsOtten*², 171–72, and the recently published dissertation of M. Nakamura (see n. 4), 61–63.

21. Prayer KBo 12.58 + KBo 13.162.

Tukulti-Ninurta I, who claimed in his later inscriptions to have deported 28,800 Hittites in the initial phase of his reign. It follows from the cult inventory KUB 42.100 (CTH 525.7) that the restoration of Nerik to its former glory was finally accomplished in the course of the reorganization of the cults undertaken by Tudḫaliyaš after the campaign mentioned in this prayer.²² Fortunately a passage in the Bronze Tablet clearly indicates that in the initial phase of the reign of Tudḫaliyaš IV Nerik could not yet be mentioned in a listing of the major "cities of the gods" in the country to which Arinna and Zippalanda belonged²³: "Welche Regelung im kultischen Bereich der König von Tarḫuntašša in der Stadt Tarḫuntašša durchführt, entspricht der Regelung der Städte Ḫattuša, Arinna und Zippalanda" (iii 61–63). Nerik had not yet regained its former status, as described, for example, in §§50–51 of the first series of the Laws.²⁴

d. Reckoning backwards from the preserved "day 30" in rev. 16, and the likely day number 25 at the end of the third paragraph in rev. 7', the preserved beginning of the reverse constitutes the final line of [day 23], for which only the Hurrian technical term [(SISKUR)] *kulumuršiya* has been preserved. The longer form was used in l. 9' and may be restored for both this passage and rev. 4' at the beginning of that line.²⁵ A iii 13 uses the short form *kulumuršiya*, while iii 33 has *nekuz meḫur-ma kulumuršiya šipand[anzi]*. I would now restore the beginning of A iii 1 on analogy with iii 33, continuing with the readings acquired by R. Werner through collation:²⁶ [ne-ku-uz me-ḫur-ma ku-lu-mur-ši-ya A-NA dU pi-ḫa]-aš-ša-aš-ši / Ū A-NA dUTU URU A-ri-[i]n-[n]a dU URU Ša-mu-ḫa-ja ši-pa-an-da-an-zi. This text restoration would render superfluous my suggestion concerning the change in the day-numbers of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival days 8–10 to days 7–9 (with ramifications for the days up to and including 17).²⁷ The rite or ritual would seem to have served to prepare the deities concerned for their celebration on the next morning or the following days.

e. The location of the next morning's activity, "the large building,"²⁸ was possibly the designation of the large Temple I before it became a double

22. This follows from the cult inventory KUB 42.100, edited by G. F. del Monte, *OA* 17 (1978): 181–88, and treated again by J. Hazenbos, *Diss.*, 13–22.

23. Note that both of these cities are alluded to in this prayer.

24. Cf. n. 49 below.

25. Cf. for its variant *kulamuršiya* and its usage, H. Otten, Introduction to KBo 21, v n. 12; V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, *AOATS* 3, 88; E. Laroche *GLH*, 151–52; and V. Haas, *FsAlp*, 252 n. 62 (..."Das *kula/umuršia*-Opfer fand anscheinend vorwiegend in den Abend- bzw. Nachtstunden statt..."); and *GHR*, 691, 808 n. 185, and 809.

26. Cf. H. G. Güterbock, *NHF*, 65 n. 53.

27. *FsGüterbock*², 105–6 sub 6.

28. I owe this reading to Dr. Th. P. J. van den Hout; rev. 2'.

temple for the Sun Goddess of Arinna and the Storm God of ḪATTI. I interpret "In the garden of secrecy" (l. 6')—a poetic touch in the otherwise monotonous regularity of the text—as introducing the beginning of a new clause requiring LUGAL-uš as implied subject. Even though the temple of dLAMMA of Taurišša (l. 6') in Ḫattuša is not explicitly mentioned, I think that this expression refers to an enclosed garden belonging to that institution. From a historical point of view it is highly gratifying that in the description of days [24] and 25(?), [IŠTAR of] Nineveh (l. 3') would seem to be mentioned before her namesake IŠTAR of Ḫattarina (l. 7'). Both goddesses are attested in Hittite sources from the early Empire period onwards, but it is striking that already from an early time in the reign of Šuppiluliumaš I, IŠTAR of Ḫattarina was included in the god lists of Hittite state treaties, having thus already been integrated into the official state pantheon.²⁹ As far as I know, there have been no more recent proposals for the identification of Ḫattarina since E. Cavaignac suggested orally to J. Danmanville that the town might have been located in the vicinity of the border between Kizzuwatna and northern Syria.³⁰ Below sub 3 I shall argue that since F reserves an additional day [26] for dLAMMA of Taurišša, only then treating the performance of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival for the Storm God of Aleppo on day [27], F's days 25 through [27] should be compared with days [20] through 22 of the parallel versions exemplified by copies A and D.³¹ This in turn implies that besides the additional day [12] of F (obv. 15') devoted to the veneration of the Storm God of Nerik, four more extra days were introduced between day [13] of obv. 13' and day [24] of rev. 2'–4'. The likely presence of P^UAMA K[alimma] in F rev. 8', on the second day of celebrations for dLAMMA URU Taurišša (day [26]), which led to this digression, logically requires in the continuation of this line the presence of the daughter P^UKalimma, who is attested for day [20] of the "abridged" version (copy D iii 5'), while it can be restored for copy E iii' 4'; cf. again below sub. 3.

f. The well-known initial act of "breaking open" or "opening" the storage vessel which had been filled the preceding autumn, as depicted in numerous festival descriptions regarding the local cults in smaller communities for which the cult inventories of the late thirteenth century set the rules,³² connects

29. Cf. I. Wegner, *AOAT* 36, 168–69.

30. Cf. J. Danmanville, *RHA* 70 (1962): 56 and 60 n. 2. In the early fifties of the twentieth century Dutch Orientalists working on the ancient Near East were convinced that Akhterin(e), 46 kms to the north of Aleppo on the Aleppo-Carchemish Railway, might be equated with Hittite Ḫattarina; cf. *JEOL* 12 (1951–52): 182 and 192–93. The results of three soundings in 1951 were published in the same volume, pp. 193–207. Since E. Cavaignac had Dutch relatives and knew the language, his formulation may have been a cautious manner of distancing himself from this identification which is attributed in the volume to F. Hrozný.

31. To which H. G. Güterbock, *NHF*, 65, applied the day numbering of copy A.

32. Cf. J. Hazenbos, *Diss.*, 136, for the general outline of a cult inventory.

days [27] and [29] of F (rev. 11' and 14') with days [6] and [12] of copy A, in respect to the Storm God of Zippalanda and the Storm God of *ḪATTI*, respectively; cf. A i 37–39 and ii 15–16. However, contrary to what I thought previously, the presumably older copy B shows no example of a “breaking open” in the preserved portion of the obverse, even where we might have expected it, viz., concerning the Storm God of Zippalanda (obv. 23).³³

g. The intermediate day [28] between the first and the second application of the rite of “breaking open the pithos” is devoted to the celebration of the Tutelary God of the *KUŠgurša-*, i.e., “the hunting bag.”³⁴ KUB 54.78 is a perfect example of a fragment that on account of its general contents should be ascribed to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival.³⁵ G. McMahon’s treatment of the shelf list KUB 30.60 + KBo 14.70 i 21'–22' (*CTH*, p. 154) is also very helpful, since it might describe the daily outlines of this entry. He translates: “Second tablet, finished, of the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag. The first tablet [is] not [there]. (Titled) ‘When the King himself worships the Tutelary Deity, the Hunting Bag.’” The first component of day [29] is devoted to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival for a triad of deities: the Moon, the Sun,³⁶ and the Grain Goddess. Neither of the two specific Festivals returns in the other parallel versions, thus raising the number of variant day entries to seven.

h. As a group, days 30 through 32 are comparable to A’s days [27] through [31], but not in details or regarding ordering within the group. At this point in the proceedings, copy A spends two days ([30] and [31]) on celebrations in honor of the Mother Goddess (DINGIR.MAḪ), with the result that in this section F already falls one day behind A, as far as DINGIR.MAḪ is concerned, thus reducing the number of variant day entries once more to six. In mainly chronological order, copy A devotes the entire day [28] to a celebration for Mount Tabala, while according to copy F, on day 30 the king first worships Karmahili, secondly Mount Tabala, and finally yet another mountain

33. Cf. H. G. Güterbock apud Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, “The Hittite Storm God,” 138 n. 30.

34. Cf. B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon*, 692–93, 702–3, as well as the exhaustive treatment of this deity by G. McMahon, *AS* 25, 39–41, who already before the publication of F elaborated on his likely AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} connections.

35. McMahon mentions this fragment because, like KBo 19.128 v 50', it refers to *ḪLAMMA KUŠgurša-an*; cf. *AS* 25, 40 n. 248 (rev. 5'), but it also shows the combination of *NINDAḫuniki-* (obv. 5) and *TU7ḫurutel* (obv. 4, 6), in this case presumably through the use of numbers of specified quantities of AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} (obv. 3, 6, and 9). Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth*, 177–78; see, too, H. Ertem, *Flora*, 34–39, esp. 36–37, but without specific reference to *NINDAḫuniki-*. See W. Farber, *ZA* 81 (1991): 234–42, for a recent exhaustive study of the options for identification of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}-plant. The author adds a new proposal, namely “fennel,” to those considered earlier. For a specific type of AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}-bread, see V. Haas, *GHR*, 773 n. 11, and 870–71.

36. Note the Mesopotamian genealogical order of father and son, also applied in *CTH* 372 and 373, the MH prayers to the male Sun God which have Akkadian forerunners.

the name of which has been lost. Here it must be added that even in A the veneration of Karmahili on day [27] did not constitute the sole event of the day. Rather, it functioned as a “secondary” activity; see below for what happened first. For day [31] copy F prescribes an AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival for the garden of the deity Ašgašepa (or, possibly, in her (Temple) garden for the Deity?), and for day [32] the making of a replica of the Mother Goddess, also mentioning in an unclear context the temple of either a male or female Tutelary Deity. For day [29] copy A attests to a celebration for the God Ea under a Luwian form of his name.³⁷ The various rites for DINGIR.MAḪ to which I have already alluded above took up days [31] and [32]. The inclusion of a separate day for the celebration of the Luwian Ea on the part of A within this group is, as it were, counterbalanced by F’s day devoted to Ašgašepa (day 31), but it should be added that Ašgašepa had already been worshipped on A’s day 22 as the “first event” of that day. Nonetheless, it still holds true that F’s advantage over A, as far as its number of day entries is concerned, diminishes from seven to five.

At this point in my comments I must touch on the most salient difference between the two parallel versions exemplified by A and F. While in copy F (see above sub e) the veneration of *IŠTAR* of Ḫattarina appeared as the “secondary” activity for day 25(?), copy A started its celebration of this warlike goddess as the “secondary” event of day 22, with an initial invocation ritual for *IŠTAR* of Ḫattarina. But its celebration of the goddess lasted for four full days, days [23] through [26], finishing this impressive series on day [27] with an ultimate “first event” devoted to her servants Ninatta and Kulitta. One of the highlights, on either day [25] or [26], was the performance by the Hittite queen of a weapon dance, after which she is joined by “the Lords”!³⁸ One detail needs to be added to the earlier treatments by I. Wegner and V. Haas. In accordance with H. G. Güterbock,³⁹ the “first event” of day [24] was devoted to a celebration of the god Ninurta (*d[IB]*), for which we can now avail ourselves of at least three texts or fragments.⁴⁰ In this manner the “redactor”(?) who worked on copy A managed to create a strong segment of festival days with considerable political overtones, which would seem to confirm the contents of Tudḫaliyaš’s prayer KBo 12.58 + KBo 13.162 with its unnamed enemy, as

37. This is usually rendered as *ḪA-a*, but it may in fact rather represent *ḪIya*, adopted from Hurrian *ḪEya*; cf. B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon*, 1–3, but see too, F. Starke, *StBoT* 31, 34 n. 31.

38. Cf. V. Haas and I. Wegner, *FsAlp*, 250–57; and Haas, *GHR*, 808–12, for the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} ceremonies during the days 22–27. For the “weapon dance,” see I. Wegner, *AOAT* 36, 53–54, esp. n. 200; and especially St. de Martino, *Eothen* 2 (1989): 58–62; as well as Haas, *GHR*, 686 and 810.

39. *NHF*, 65 n. 54.

40. IBoT 1.3 and KBo 30.77 and the latter’s unpublished duplicate Bo 6570; cf. the Introduction to the volume, iv and the Preface, iii.

well as the evidence of his vow KBo 33.216.⁴¹ Regarding my comparison of the number of days involved in both parallel versions F and A, this salient difference between them entails that F loses another four days to A, at this point reducing the number of F's additional days to one. I postponed my treatment of this important question to this group because it is only here that F deals with the deities Ašgašepa (day 31) and Karmahili (day 30), admittedly in the reverse order to copy A.

i. At first sight one might think that F reserves an additional day [38] for the "Festival of Appeal" on Mount Daḥa(ya), that is, for the appeal to the Storm God of Zippalanda, a festival for which M. Popko has discovered a Middle Hittite forerunner, KUB 34.118 + KBo 20.58.⁴² However, the day tablet KUB 20.96 iii 9'–24', which unmistakably belongs to the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival, clearly indicates that, after his departure from Zippalanda, the Hittite king passes by Mount Daḥa, performing a religious rite near or on the mountain, and then proceeds from here to Ankuwa.⁴³ A short list will suffice to indicate the relationship between F and A, which differ by merely a single day; I add the older copy B because it seems to be more consistent than A as far as its day total is concerned, cf. below sub 3:

F 33 = A [32] = B [29], departure from Ḫattuša;

F [34] = A [33] = B [30], journey to Ḫaitta, after which the statue(tte) is brought up to Mount Piškurunuwa;

F [35] = A [34] = B [31], Festival of Mount Piškurunuwa, after which the night is spent in Ḫarranašša/i;

F 36 = A [35] = B [32], day spent in Ḫarranašša/i for religious rites in honor of the Sun Goddess of Arinna (and [the Storm God of ḪATTI]),⁴⁴

F [37] = A [36] = B [33], day spent in Zippalanda, for which F, although terse, gives some details;

F [38] = A [37] = B [34], the king travels by way of Mount Daḥa to Ankuwa, where according to B and A a *šalli ašeššar* takes place in the *ḫalentuwa*-house, while F concentrates on the "Festival of Appeal" taking place at or on Mount Daḥa in the king's absence, but about the results of which he is informed in Ankuwa according to the day tablets.⁴⁵

41. Edited by Dr. J. de Roos, *JAC* 4 (1989): 39–48; cf. obv. 5' with the sequence ⁴NIN.URTA ⁴Ku-mar-bi-i[š], possibly followed by a third deity and mentioning in l. 6' "the king of the country of Aššur," undoubtedly Tukulti-Ninurta I.

42. *THeth* 21, 27; cf. 252–57.

43. See M. Popko, *THeth* 21, 192–96, esp. 190–93. Cf. O. R. Gurney, *AnSt* 45 (1995): 71, but see too Popko, *THeth* 21, 54, for a more detailed evaluation of this text.

44. The latter might need to be restored for A iv 12'; cf. F rev. 30' for its day [37].

45. See again M. Popko, *THeth* 21, 53–54, but see too KUB 53.57 + IBoT 3.35 rev. v 8'–9 (*THeth* 21, 186–87), Bo 5045 (*THeth* 21, 202–5) as text material which is likely to be relevant for

It would seem that only the final "highlight" of the proceedings, "The Festival of the Rain," is lacking from F's reverse as well as from its colophon. Both are preserved for copies B and A, while a copy of a day tablet (KUB 59.1) has survived and was published in text-copy not long ago.⁴⁶ Two further points stand out:

The introductory clause of F's day 33 (rev. 21') is the exact equivalent of day 22 of two of the outline tablets of the *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival.⁴⁷

In the description of F's days 36 and [37], the two passages rev. 28' and 30' mention the ^{GI}Še(y)a(n)-, either a "pole" or a particular type of tree, and in the latter case clearly an evergreen. Three identifications have been proposed: "silver fir" (*abies alba*), "yew" or "yew-tree" (a variety of *taxus*), and "stone oak" (presumably the Turkish variant of this type of oak, *quercus calliprinos*),⁴⁸ which in eastern Mediterranean regions corresponds to the stone oak (*quercus ilex*) of the western Mediterranean territories.⁴⁹ The ^{GI}Še(y)a(n)- plays a major role in Hittite legal, mythological, and other religious texts, rituals, and festival descriptions, presumably having done so from early Old Hittite times.

this day of the festival. The decisive passage is again to be found in KUB 20.96 v 5–10 (*THeth* 21, 194–97).

46. For the most recent literature on the "Festival of the Rain," see V. Haas, *GHR*, 822 n. 284–85; J. Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 263, 266–69 n. 36–40; and D. Yoshida, *THeth* 22, 165–66 (B.1 u-II-25) and 309.

47. For M. Nakamura's classification of the outline tablets of the *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival, see V. Haas, *GHR*, 828 n. 12. The clause is fairly well preserved for copy 2A = KUB 59.2 iii 13, which describes day 11 of the second series and thus day 22 of the combined numbering, while copy 3, consisting of the joined pieces KUB 55.5 iii to the left and IBoT 4.70 iii to the right, KUB 51.5 iii 13' + IBoT 4.70 (iii) 7' can be restored after the other copy. See now M. Nakamura, *PIHANS* XCIV, 37, 39, 41, 50.

48. Oral information received from Professor S. Bottema.

49. In the past four decades the following proposals have either been simply mentioned (a) or (more) strongly argued (b): H. G. Güterbock, *RHA* 74 (1964): 100 (a: "a fir or the like"); S. Alp, *Tempel*, 98–100 (b: "Tanne"); A. Kammenhuber, *HW²* 2, 22a–27b (b: "Tannenbaum," but also citing W. Hutteroth for specific identification); V. Haas, *AoF* 7 (1977): 269–70 (b: "Eiche"); *GHR*, 947 (lemma "Eiche"); J. Puhvel, *HED* 2, 253–57 (b: "yew"). General treatments not focused on the identification problem are: V. Haas, *KN*, 66–67; H. Klengel, *FsCarratelli*, 101–10; J. Glocker, *Kuliwišna*, 131, 133–34, and 166 (index); H. A. Hoffner, *Laws*, 61–63 and 192 (b: "pole" or a type of tree). On the grounds of comparative evidence—both the Greeks and the Romans perceived a specific connection between the leader of their pantheon, Zeus and Jupiter, respectively, with the oak—I favor V. Haas's proposal and especially E. Neu's reaction. He narrowed the choice down to the "Steineiche": "Der Alte Orient: Mythen der Hethiter," in *Erzählende Weldeutung in Spannungsfeld von Ritual, Geschichte und Rationalität*. Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 2, ed. G. Binder and B. Elfe (Trier, 1990) (unavailable to me). In W. D. Hutteroth, *Türkei* (Darmstadt, 1982), 140, I merely added a likely further specification on account of a passage that I paraphrased in the text in an adaptation proposed by Professor S. Bottema, paleo-ecologist at the University of Groningen.

3. At various points of my comments I have tried to establish F's relationship to the parallel versions, mainly concentrating my efforts on copy A and possibly paying too little attention to copy D as the best copy of the "abridged version."⁵⁰ I hasten to add here that F's two days (25' and [26]) devoted to ^dLAMMA ^{URU}Taurišša, followed by day [27] reserved for the AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival of the Storm God of Aleppo, show a remarkable correspondence to D iii 4'–16', in which two days ([20] and [22]) are assigned to the veneration of either the spring or the goddess Kalimma and the celebration of the very same ^dLAMMA ^{URU}Taurišša, while the intermediate day [21] is devoted to the Storm God of Aleppo. D continues with three more lines, each broken at the beginning and thus unintelligible, after which l. 17', preceded by a paragraph-divider, preserves the likely starting-point of the colophon. This may very well indicate that the "abridged version" of D and E did not include the journey in a southerly direction that finally led to Zip-palanda and Ankuwa, but then D (and E) must also have lacked days [23] through [31] of A. However, in that case it can no longer be excluded that the "abridged version" actually represents the situation before—rather than after—Tudḫaliyaš IV's reorganization. And, as a final remark regarding D, G. F. del Monte⁵¹ has rightly remarked concerning the day tablet KUB 2.8 (= CTH 617.1) that the text (devoted to the celebration of ^dLAMMA ^{URU}Taurišša) refers to both the spring Kalimma (i 29') and the mother of the goddess Kalimma (ii 38). This fact gives support to the text restorations that I have proposed for F rev. 8' (see above sub 2e), but it also raises the question why Kalimma became separated from the temple to which, according to the daily outline, she belonged. F's ordering is preferable and thus presumably more original, while D and E suggest that Kalimma first received personal veneration on day [20], to be worshipped again on day [22] amidst her divine partners mentioned in the day tablet.

Copy B, preserved for the days [1]–[9] and [29]–[35] and lately characterized as MH,⁵² in all likelihood constituted the main source for the "redactor" (?) and the scribe of A. Here my tentative argument is that the "redactor" may have wanted to elaborate upon B, especially in the section devoted to IŠTAR of Ḫattarina and Ninurta (see sub 2e and h). But I am fully aware that the available day tablets, as identified by I. Wegner and V. Haas on the one hand and H. G. Güterbock on the other, fully support this elaboration, and that cultic measures regarding the worship of Ninurta had already been taken by Ḫattušili III, as is evidenced by one of the fragmentary day tablets.⁵³ Further-

50. See S. Alp, *Tempel*, 146–49.

51. *RGTC* 6/1, 415.

52. See S. Košak, *StBoT* 39, 50 n. 3.

53. Cf. KBo 30.77 iv 24' and see the Introduction to the volume, iv, for the required text-restoration at the end of the line preserved in the unpublished duplicate Bo 6570.

more, if I have rightly argued on an earlier occasion that copy B seems to be more consistent than copy A as far as its day total (35) is concerned—after a first Festival of the Month mentioned for days 4–6, the day tablet for its day [35] (= day [38] for A) mentions a second⁵⁴—and depending on the acceptance of my suggestion that religious considerations, and sometimes even political motives, influenced redactorial adaptation, it would not be unreasonable to attribute at least a religious motivation to the colleague who modernized F. Thus I would argue here that copy F constitutes a revised edition of an older text as well. This would explain why seemingly old elements (cf. sub 2. a, b, e, g, h, and i) alternate with other characteristics which would seem to be late. Indeed, they can be compared with late traits of one of the other two parallel versions or with the cult inventories of the local cults modified during the reign of Tudḫaliyaš IV (c, d, and f).

It is, I think, of major importance that copy F contains no evidence whatsoever concerning any oracle inquiry, either regarding Zithariyaš (alluded to in the colophons of both B and A and referred to in duplicates of a daily outline) or about CTH 568, now largely reconstructable since all the recognized pieces have been published in copies. But this is not all: the numerous references to a *šalli ašeššar* in the *ḫalentuwa*-house and to a *ḫad/tauri* Festival, so typical of B-A-C and D-E, but also now well known from the late copies or parallel versions of the *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival, are so far totally lacking from F.

54. Cf. my earlier treatment in "The Hittite Storm God," 96–97 and 138 n. 26–27.

Why Did the Hittites Have a Thousand Deities?

CEM KARASU

Ankara

The Hittites who lived in Asia Minor during the second millennium B.C. established a great civilisation through combining a diversity of cultural elements. In their archive-library at Boğazköy-Hattuša,¹ their long-time capital, texts with religious contents constitute quite a large part of the thousands of clay tablets in cuneiform character of very diverse subject matter and language. Hittite kings assumed the roles of commander-in-chief and chief judge, and in their capacity as chief religious authority also held their theocratic state together. Hittite religion was made up of elements of very different cultural origin. The Indo-European groups who came to Anatolia, instead of making the local people accept their characteristic cultural elements, adopted every element of these cultures that they found suitable. Therefore, the religious views of the Hittites became increasingly complex.

As far as we know from the Hittite Old Kingdom cuneiform sources, the divine communities consisted of a modest number of deities, while in the New Kingdom this number naturally increased continuously and began to include deities of diverse ethnic origins.² However, we must point out that the characteristics of many deities mentioned in the texts are not known. The Hittites were extremely concerned about their deities and their temples, which were sacred places. They gave great importance to the ceremonies held for their deities and made great efforts to hold them at the right time, for failure in this regard was believed to have been the cause of disasters.

Author's note: It is a great honour for me to contribute an essay for the *Festschrift* of Professor Harry Hoffner. I wish Professor Hoffner lifetime health and success in his Hittitological studies.

1. For further information see E. Laroche, "La bibliothèque de Hattuša," *ArOr* 17 (1949): 7-13; H. Otten, "Bibliotheken im Alten Orient," *Das Altertum* 1 (1955): 67-81; "Archive und Bibliotheken in Hattuša," *30thCRRAI*, 184-90; C. Karasu, "Some Remarks on Archive-Library Systems of Hattuša-Boğazköy," *ArAn* 2 (1996): 39-59.

2. See H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Religion," in *Forgotten Religions*, ed. V. Ferm (New York, 1949), 84; A. Dinçol, "Hititler," *Anadolu Uygarlıkları Ansiklopedisi* 1 (İstanbul, 1982), 77.

The Hittites were serious about religion. For that reason, the upkeep of temples and the administration of religious affairs required a vast number of officials. The remains of temples have been found at various sites, especially Hattuša; the economic management of these temples required a large group of priests and priestesses, in addition to agricultural workers and craftsmen. Food and drink for the deities were taken care of separately by a great number of kitchen workers. The information presented by CTH 264, the "Instructions for Temple Officials," lines 14–38 of KUB 13.4 obv. i,³ explicitly describes such duties.

14. Furthermore let those who prepare the daily thick loaves of bread⁴ be clean.
15. Let them be washed (and their body hair) be shaved. Let their (head⁵ and beard) hair
16. and fingernails be taken (away), and let them have on clean clothes.
17. If (they) are not (like this), (the daily thick loaf of bread) may not be prepared by them. Those who [soo]the the spirit and the body of the deities,
18. they prepare them (i.e., the daily thick loaves of bread). The baker's house in which they prepare,
19. let it be swept and sprinkled.
20. Furthermore let not a pig and a dog approach the door of the (bread-) breaking place.
21. (Is there) a difference (between) men and deities in spirit? (There is) never such a (difference).
22. But (their) spirit (is) one. When a servant stands before his master,
23. he is washed and wears clean clothes,
24. and either he gives him (something) to eat or he gives him (something) to drink.
25. And he, his master, eats and drinks something,
26. and he is relaxed in spirit and favourably inclined⁶ to him.
27. If, he (i.e., the servant) is continuously being cared for, he does not blame his servant.
28. (Is also) the spirit of the deity different (in any way)?⁵ And if ever a servant

3. This text was first edited by E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, "Instructions for Temple Officials," in *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (Philadelphia, 1935), 148–49, and was translated by A. Goetze, *ANET*, 207–9. See also the later edition by A. Süel, *Hitit Kaynaklarında Tapınak Görevlileri ile ilgili bir Direktif Metni* (Ankara, 1985), 22–25. For lines 21–38, which describe the position of the Hittite servant, see O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*² (London, 1990), 57.

4. Cf. E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *Chrest.*, 149, "bread"; A. Süel, *Direktif Metni*, 22, "kurban ekmekleri."

5. For the interrogative sentence, see A. Süel, *Direktif Metni*, 110–11.

29. vexes his master, either they kill him or they injure his nose, his eyes,
30. (or) his ears. Or [they are arrested: he (himself), his wife, his sons,
31. his brother, his sister, (his) relatives by marriage, (and) his family, whether it (be) a male servant or a female servant.
32. Then they, the aforementioned, are called to the other side (to trial?), and do they do nothing to him?⁶
33. And if ever he dies, he does not die alone, but his family is included with him.
34. If then [anyon]e vexes the spirit of a deity,
35. does the deity p[unish] him alone for it?
36. Does he not [punish] his wife, his [children], his [de]scendants, his family, his male slaves, his female slaves, his cattle,
37. his sheep, together with (his) harvest, and ruin him in all ways?
38. Be very respectful (to) the word of a deity!⁷

The following statements occur in the same text (KUB 13.4 obv. ii 57–77)⁸ relative to the celebration of festivals:

57. Besides, you who are temple officials, if you do not celebrate the festivals
58. at the (proper) time for the festivals, (if) you perform the festival of the spring
59. in the autumn (and) celebrate the festival of the autumn in
60. the spring, and if the proper time for performing the festival
61. (has) approached, and he who is to perform it comes to you,
62. the priests, anointed priests, "mothers of deities"-priestesses, and to you, the temple officials,
63. he supplicates by holding your knees (saying): "The harvest (is) before me,
64. or a wedding, or a journey, or some other
65. affair—stand by me in support! The aforementioned affair before me,
66. let it be drawn away.
67. But when this affair draws away,
68. I shall perform the festival in the same manner." Thereupon, you shall not behave according to (that) man's wish.
69. Let him (that man) not do evil to you.
70. And you shall not bargain (with) the wish(es) of deities.
71. (If that) man does evil to you (and) you bargain,
72. the deities will take revenge continuously on you in the future.

6. For the interrogative sentence, see A. Süel, *Direktif Metni*, 111.

7. Cf. *CHD L–N*, 185b: "Be extremely mindful (lit. afraid) in a matter pertaining to a god."

8. For the numbering of the lines, see A. Süel, *Direktif Metni*, 34 n. 74.

73. For that (reason), to you, to your lives, to your wives, to your children, to your servants
74. they will do evil. Thereupon, behave according to the wish of deities.
75. (Only then) eat bread and drink water,
76. and establish a home. Therefore, do not behave according to that man's wish.
77. Do not sell death and do not buy a capital (punishment) death either.
(That is: do not cause the death of another person or yourself.)

In the text of instructions for the *BĒLMADGALTI*, the military governor of border cities far from the center of administration (*CTH* 261), we also find interesting points concerning their religious duties. KUB 13.2 obv. ii 26–46:⁹

26. Besides, the watch commander—to whichever town he goes again—
27. let him check the elders, the priests, the anointed priests, and the priestesses himself.
28. And let him tell them this: "In this town,
29. whether the temple of the Storm God or the temple of another god,
30. (if) it is neglected at this moment,
31. and (if) it is completely ruined,
32. (and if) the priests, priestesses, anointed (priests) are not counted beforehand,
33. now count them again, and let them build them (the temples) anew.
34. And how they were being built before,
35. let them rebuild them (the temples) in the same way."
36. Then let respect for the gods be established, but
37. let the great(est) respect be established for the Storm God. If the (roof of) whatever temple
38. leaks, let the watch commander and city commissioner
39. make it good again. Whether one of the rhytons of the Storm God
40. or the (cultic) equipment of another god is ruined,
41. let the priests, anointed (priests), and priestesses make them again.
42. Then let the watch commander put the (cultic) equipment of the god on record,
43. and let him bring it into the presence of My Majesty. Later, let them worship the gods at the proper time.
44. Whichever god's time (it is), let them worship him on time.
45. Whichever god's priest, priestess, (and) anointed (priest is) missing,
46. let them appoint him/her immediately.

9. See E. von Schuler, *Dienstanw.*, 45–46; and A. Goetze, *ANET*, 210–11.

The principal god of the Hittites was the Storm God (Weather God). The Hittite name of this god is unknown. It appears under the ideogram ^dU or ^dIM, sometimes with the Hittite phonetic complement *-(u)na-*. In Akkadian the name was Adad, in Hattic Taru, in Hurrian Tešub, and in Luwian cuneiform and hieroglyphic Tarhun(t).¹⁰ It is not easy to describe the nature of this god. The concept of a great deity who administers rain and storm seems inevitable in regions such as Anatolia, northern Syria, and northern Mesopotamia, where life depends on rain. In the Hittite version of the Kumarbi Myth the Storm God Tešub is identified as the chief deity in the religious system of the Hurrians, holding a position like that of Zeus among the Greeks.¹¹ For the Hittites, Tešub was the equivalent of the Storm God of the land of Hatti or the Storm God of Heaven, the most prominent god. The Storm God was the real king of the land of Hatti and the owner of the country, but had entrusted the land to the mortal king.

The Storm God appears in various forms in the texts. For example, he is associated with various aspects of nature under the following guises: the Storm God of Thunder, the Storm God of Lightning, the Storm God of Clouds, the Storm God of Rain, the Storm God of the Meadow, the Storm God of the Countryside. In relation to political functions, he appears as the Storm God of the Head (i.e., of the king), the Storm God of the Sceptre, the Storm God of the Encampment/Army, the Storm God of Peace, etc. Along with these Storm Gods, those of hundreds of settlements (cities or towns) appear in the texts. Is each of them a god in his own right, or are they different manifestations of the same god? According to H. G. Güterbock, the first alternative is more likely. For the epithets enumerated above are the various forms of the god of rain who protects the king. These special Storm Gods and "the Storm God of Heaven" are mentioned side by side. Therefore he draws the conclusion that each of the Storm Gods is a distinct divine personality.¹²

The sacred animal of the Storm God is the bull. The existence of bull statuettes and other representations among the cultural remains of the communities who had lived in Anatolia before the Hittites is evidence that the holiness of the bull goes far back in Anatolia. For the link between the Storm God and the bull, Güterbock has stated that this is easily understood from the power of the bull, his loud voice, and his powers of fertility.¹³

10. For details see, V. Haas, *GHR*, 308–9 n. 102; Y. Arkan, "Hitit Dualarında Geçen Bazı Tanrı Adları," *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 47–48. For Hieroglyphic Luwian, see S. Ö. Savaş "Divine, Personal and Geographic Names in Anatolian (Hittite–Luwian) Hieroglyphic Inscriptions," in *Ege Yayınları* (Istanbul, 1998), 47–63; and "Hititler'de 'Fırtına Tanrısı' ile 'Boğa Kültü' Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler ve Yorumlar," *ArAn* 5 (2002): 108ff.

11. See H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Religion," 88.

12. See H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Religion," 88–89.

13. See H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Religion," 89.

The Annals of Muršili II (CTH 61), in describing an expedition to Arzawa in inner southwestern Anatolia, demonstrate how important the "Storm God" was to the Hittites. KBo 3.4 obv. ii 8–27:¹⁴

8. I mobilised the foot soldiers and the chariotry. Then (again) within the same year to the Arzawa land
9. I advanced. To the aforementioned (king of Arzawa) Uḫḫa-ziti I sent a messenger
10. and wrote to him: "My slaves who came to you
11. and whom I wanted back from you—you
12. did not give them back to me, and you called me a child,
13. and you constantly humiliated me. Now, come, we will fight!
14. Let my master, the Storm God, decide our case!"
15. However, when I advanced and reached Mount Lawaša,
16. my powerful master, the Storm God, showed his divine justice,
17. and he threw his lightning bolt (G^{is}*kalmišana*). My troops also witnessed the lightning bolt.
18. The land of Arzawa also saw it, and the lightning bolt went
18. and struck the land of Arzawa and also struck Apaša (Ephesus), the town of Uḫḫa-ziti.
19. And Uḫḫa-ziti sat on his knees (i.e., he became paralysed) and he fell ill.
21. Because Uḫḫa-ziti became ill, he did not come to fight
22. against me later. Piyama-Kurunta, his son,
23. he sent against me with (his) foot soldiers and chariotry.
24. He started to fight me at the Aštapa River (and) in the town of Walwa.
25. I, My Majesty, fought (against) him. My mistress, the Sun Goddess of Arinna,
26. my powerful master, the Storm God, Mezzula, the goddess, all the deities walked in front of me (i.e., they helped me).
27. I defeated Piyama-Kurunta, son of Uḫḫa-ziti, with his foot soldiers and chariotry.

Another example that points to the power of the Storm God is found among the rituals of Kizzuwatna commissioned by Muršili II. The relevant text (CTH 486) was published by A. Goetze and H. Pedersen in 1934 under the title of "The Aphasia of Muršili (II)."¹⁵ The relevant lines read:

14. The publication of the text is by A. Goetze, *AM*, 44–50.

15. IBoT 2.112 + KUB 48.100 + KUB 43.51 + KUB 12.31. See *MSpr*, 4–5. A duplicate was published by H. Otten and C. Rüster, *ZA* 63 (1973): 90–91. See for the duplicates *CHD* L–N. 392a.

1. [My Majesty], Muršili, the gr[eat] king, thus (speaks): I [was advancing] into the ruined town of Kunnu[...].¹⁶
2. (All of a sudden) a storm broke out. Then the Storm God
3. [was thunder]ing (very) [fiercely]. I was (very) afraid. I was nearly
4. [struck du]mb and I could utter (only) a few word(s).
5. (Later on) I forgot this event completely. [However], whe[n]
6. the years passed, it ca[me] to me (again like this):
7. the matter in question began to appear in (my) dream(s), and
8. in (my) [dre]am the hand of the God reached me. (Following this) my mouth
9. went (completely) aside. (Thereupon), [I pos]ed [an oracle question].
10. The Storm God of the town of Manu[ziya] was indicated (by the oracle question), and I inqu[ired] fully (by oracle question) of the Storm God of Manuzziya,
- 11–12. and it was indicated to give to him (i.e., the Storm God) as expiation a cow and birds through burning with fire.

In the continuation of this text are described the religious ceremonies performed in connection with this expiation.

In the religious hierarchy of the Hittites, the Mother Goddess came before her spouse, the Storm God. Whether this situation reflects a matriarchal system has not yet been settled, but certain scholars accept this idea. In any event, from the early civilisations of Anatolia—that is, from the polytheistic periods to the beginning of the monotheistic period—there existed the concept of a Mother Goddess. It is our opinion that this certainly influenced the religious ideas of the Hittites.

Although, as mentioned above, the Hurrian god Tešub was equated with the Storm God of the Hittites, the same relationship does not exist for the Hurrian and Hittite Mother Goddesses. The Sun Goddess of Arinna in the land of Ḫatti and these two goddesses, together with Hebat in the Land of Cedars (i.e., the land of Ḫurri), display different characteristics. The Hittite Sun Goddess of Arinna was actually related to the sun. This situation is encountered in the hymns chanted for the Akkadian Sun God Šamaš in another text, addressed to the male Sun God.¹⁷ These literary texts admittedly reveal strong Mesopotamian influence, but the use of sun discs in the cult of the Sun Goddess in Ḫatti can be considered as supporting evidence. On the other hand, Hebat, the chief goddess of the Hurrians, does not show any evidence of a relationship to the sun. However, following the marriage of Hattušili III to the Hurrian queen Puduḫepa a change occurred and Hepat was equated with the Sun Goddess of

16. Cf. *CHD* L–N, 392a: "I was driving to the ruined city of Kunnu [...]."

17. O. R. Gurney, *AAA* 27 (1940): 10–11; H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Religion," 90.

Arinna. A text dictated by the queen, "Puduḫepa's Prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna" (CTH 384), testifies to this situation:¹⁸

1. O my lady, Sun Goddess of Arinna, lady of the Ḫatti lands,
2. queen of the heaven and the earth!
3. Sun Goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of all the lands!
4. In the Ḫatti land you take (for yourself) the name of the Sun Goddess of Arinna,
5. but besides (in the land) that you made the Cedar Land (Ḫurri),
6. you take (for yourself) the name of Ḫebat.
7. However I, Puduḫepa, (am) your maid from the outset.¹⁹

In addition, there were also some local Sun Goddesses. In the Hattic language Wuruṣemu is another name of this goddess.²⁰ Yet another designation in the same language is Arinitu,²¹ derived from the city Arinna. The Sun Goddess of Arinna, queen of heaven and the land of Ḫatti and chief goddess of the state, protects the Hittite king during wartime and otherwise gives him support. A section of the Short Annals of Muṣili II (CTH 61) shows the importance that the Hittites lent to this deity:²²

16. However, my father, because he stayed away a long time in the land of Mitanni,
17. was late to garrison (Ḫattuša). Of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, my lady, (her)
18. festivals were constantly delayed.
19. However, when I, My Majesty, sat on the throne of my father, the enemy countries around (Ḫatti)
20. made war on me, and while I was not yet going to any enemy country,
21. I gave support to the regular festivals of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, my lady,

18. KUB 21.27+ obv. i 1–7. Cf. translations: A. Goetze, *KL*², 137, *ANET*, 393; I. Singer, "'The Thousand Gods of Hatti.' The Limits of an Expanding Pantheon," *IOS* 14 (1994): 90; H. Otten, *Puduḫepa*, 20; M. Darga, *Eski Anadolu'da Kadın*, Istanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, No. 2033 (Istanbul, 1976), 50; R. Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 336–37; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8 (1981): 109; S. Erkut, *FsAlp*, 160; V. Haas, *GHR*, 386.

19. Cf. J. Puhvel, *HED* 1, 52: "but I, P., [am] your servant from way back." For new proposals that Taşçı and Fraktin are marriage and funerary monuments of Puduḫepa, see S. Ö. Savaş, "Kiz-zuwatnalı Büyük Hitit Kraliçesi Puduḫepa'nın Evlilik Anıtı ile Ölüm Anıtı," in *La Cilicie: Espaces et pouvoirs locaux* (Istanbul, 2001), 95–114.

20. See also M. Popko, *Religions of Asia Minor* (Warsaw, 1995), 70.

21. For Arinitti(ya)/Ariniddu, see also E. Laroche, *Rech.*, 106; H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Religion," 90; E. von Schuler, *Wb.Myth.*, 197; G. del Monte, *RGTC* 6, 35; V. Haas, *GHR*, 423 and n. 33; B. N. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon*, 46.

22. KBo 3.4 obv. i 16–29, ed. A. Goetze, *AM*, 20–23.

22. and I celebrated them (the festivals), and I raised my hand²³ to my lady,
23. and I said as follows: "O my lady, Sun Goddess of Arinna! The enemy countries around (Ḫatti)
- 24–25. called me a child and they insulted/looked down on me, and began to attack in order to take your borders, those of my lady, the Sun Goddess of Arinna. My lady, Sun Goddess of Arinna,
26. come down to me and kill these aforementioned enemy countries in my presence!
27. The Sun Goddess of Arinna heard my word and came down to me.
28. And when I succeeded²⁴ to my father's throne, these enemy countries around (Ḫatti)—
29. I defeated and killed them in ten years.

Apart from the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Hittites had both gods and goddesses related to the sun. The Hittite name of the Sun God of Heaven is *Iṣtanu*, which seems to be of Hattic origin.²⁵ According to Güterbock, the great hymn addressed to this god shows Akkadian literary influence; in fact, the Sun God here is exactly like the Babylonian god Šamaš. He sees everything, and as the great lord of all human beings and animals is also able to lead them. He has the appearance of a shepherd. The Hurrian Sun God Šimegi is also male.²⁶

Furthermore, the Sun Goddess of the Earth represents the sun during the night. As demonstrated by her gender, this goddess is separate from the Sun God of Heaven. In the funeral rituals, she is shown to be an underworld (chthonic) goddess, who is entreated to lend assistance. The Sun God of Water represents the sun as it is reflected from the surface of the sea. Apart from this, there are also Sun Gods characterized by their different personalities, rather than by their various aspects. There are also special Sun Gods of illness (*inanaš*), the watch(tower) (*auriyaš*), and the portico (*ḫilammaš*).²⁷

The second great goddess of the Hittites was *IŠTAR*. In Babylonia she was known as the great goddess of love and war. Her most important places of worship were Nineveh in Mesopotamia, Lawazantiya (Elbistan Karahöyük) in Kizzuwatna (Cilicia), and Šamuḫa (in eastern or southeastern Anatolia). Her Hurrian name was Šaušga. As *IŠTAR* of the Field (*IŠTAR* .*LİL* or *IŠTAR* *ŠERI*) she dominated the battlefield with her warlike characteristics. Her sacred animal, the lion, and her weapon, the mace, were her symbols. However,

23. Text: "I held my hand up."

24. Text: "sat upon."

25. Cf. V. Haas, *GHR*, 420ff.; M. Popko, *Religions*, 70; B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon*, 205–6 (with lit.).

26. H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Religion," 91.

27. For *ḫilammar*, see H. G. Güterbock and Th. P. J. van den Hout, *AS* 24, 60: "pillared hall/portico."

another Hittite name, which ends with the phonetic complement *-li* is also found in the texts.²⁸ The goddess Šaušga, sister of the Hurrian Tešub, had two maidservants named Ninatta and Kulitta. In his "Apology" or "Autobiography," King Hattušili III gives great importance to the Goddess *Ištar*, and allots her a special place among the deities:²⁹

5. I will speak of the divine justice of *IŠTAR*; let mankind hear it.
6. And in the future, let the son, grandson, (and) the descendants of My Majesty
7. be respectful to *IŠTAR* among the gods of My Majesty.

After these words of praise to the goddess *IŠTAR*, Hattušili narrates his marriage to Puduḫepa, the daughter of the Hurrian priest Bentip-šarri:³⁰

58. However, when I w[(ent)] back from the land of Egypt, I w[(nt to the city of Lawazantiya)]
59. to pour libations to the Goddess, [(and I (also) blessed the goddess)].
60. And I took [(Puduḫepa as (my) wif)]e, the daughter of Bentip-šarri, the p[(riest, at the word of the Goddess)].
61. And [(we)] esta[(blished order)], and [(the Goddess)] bestowed upon u[(s the love of husband and wife)].
62. And [(we produced male and female children. Later on I dreamed of my lady, the Goddess)], (and she told me as follows):
63. [(("Come into my service together wit)]h (your) househo[(ld!)] I began to serve the Goddess together with my household,
64. and we set up a house/family)].

War Gods included ^dNĒ.ERİ₁₁.GAL from Babylonia—more often indicated by the logogram ^dU.GUR—who was equivalent to Hattic Šulinkatte and Hurrian Šuwaliyatti. The Babylonian god ^dZA.BA₄.BA₄, Hattic Wurunkatte, and Hurrian Aštabi are also mentioned in Hittite texts. The sacred animal of the War Gods was the lion. In addition, Iyarri, "Lord of the Bow," was the chief Luwian war god.

The deity known as Tutelary God appears under the ideogram ^dLAMMA, a writing that indicates the goddess Lamaštu in Akkadian texts. However, this ideogram is used in Hittite texts to designate various male deities. Many cities possess their own Tutelary Gods, and a great number of other ^dLAMMAS

28. H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Religion," 92: "the Babylonian ideogram is used for a number of local goddesses who must have had their own names in one of the native languages of Anatolia."

29. KBo 3.6 obv. i 5–7 (CTH 81), ed. H. Otten, *StBoT* 24, 4 (here lines i 5–8).

30. CTH 81, lines 58–64, ed. H. Otten, *StBoT* 24, 16 (according to the edition, the lines are ii 78–82 and iii 1–6).

existed as well. The sacred animal of the "Tutelary God of the Fields" (^dLAMMA.LİL) was the stag. Karš/zi, Ḫapantal(ya), and Zit(ta)ḫariya were other Hattic Tutelary Deities.

The Babylonian Moon God appears in later Hittite texts under the logogram ^d30 and the Sumerogram ^dEN.ZU.³¹ His sacred animal was the lion. In Hattic the Moon God is called Kušku, in Hurrian Kuša/uḫ, and in Hittite and Luwian Arma.

There were also deities concerned with the Underworld. According to M. Popko,³² these deities are mentioned in an Old Hittite text³³ in connection with the ^Ḫhe/išta (charnel house). The god *Liluwani*, who appears in later texts as the goddess *Lelwani*,³⁴ leads them, followed by Šiwat, "Day," the pair Tašammat(t)a and Tašimmet(i), the goddesses Ištuštaya and Papaya,³⁵ and finally the Sun (of the Underworld?), Ḫašammili, and Zilipuri.³⁶ The Sun Goddess of the Earth (*tagnaš* ^dUTU-uš), already mentioned above, is a very well-known underworld deity. Allani, "Lady (of the Underworld)," is probably Hurrian in origin and was worshiped in Mesopotamia under the Akkadian name Allatum and the Sumerian name EREŠ.KI.GAL. In Hittite texts this Sumerogram sometimes stands for "the Sun Goddess of the Earth."³⁷ Although somewhat different in character, the goddess Iṣhara is also connected with the underworld. ^dNĒ.ERİ₁₁.GAL and his equivalents discussed earlier should also be mentioned here.

Thus foreign deities—Hattic, Palaic, Luwian, Hurrian, and Mesopotamian (Sumerian, Assyrian, and Babylonian) occur in Hittite texts. Perhaps most surprising are the Indo-Aryan gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nāsatya twins mentioned in the treaty between Hatti and Mitanni.³⁸

In the well-known open air temple Yazılıkaya at Boğazköy, there is a procession of gods and goddesses on the walls of Chamber A, carved in bas-relief into the natural rock. The gods proceed from left to right, and the goddesses from right to left, while in the middle or central scene there are the chief god

31. See HZL 40: "^dZUEN."

32. M. Popko, *Religions*, 72; also O. R. Gurney, *Schweich*, 38.

33. KBo XVII 15 obv. i 8'–17'; E. Neu, *StBoT* 25 (1980), 72 no. 27.

34. H. Otten, "Die Gottheit Lelwani der Boğazköy-Texte," *JCS* 4 (1950): 129; A. Kammenhuber, Review of KBo XVII, *Or* 41 (1972): 299; O. R. Gurney, *Schweich*, 12.

35. Ištuštaya and Papaya are goddesses of fate; M. Popko, *Religions*, 72.

36. Ḫašamila/i and Zilipura/i appear also in different contexts; M. Popko, *Religions*, 72.

37. O. R. Gurney, *Schweich*, 5; M. Popko, *Religions*, 99 n. 278; Y. Ankan, *3rdHitt. Cong.*, 49.

38. Treaty between with Šattiwaza of Mittani and Šuppiluliuma I: KBo 1.1 (CTH 51), ed. E. Weidner, *PD*, 2–37. See for details A. Lil, "Sanskrit Kılavuzu," *Anıyayın* 140 (1963): 12; A. M. Dinçol, "Hititler," *Anadolu Uygarlıkları Ansiklopedisi* 1, (İstanbul, 1982), 79; G. Wilhelm, *Hurrians*, 18–19, 57; W. D. O'Flaherty, *Hindu Mitolojisi* (Ankara, 1996), 295 (Indra), 299 (Mitra), 300 (Nāsatyas); K. Kaya, *Hint Mitoloji Sözlüğü* (Ankara, 1997), 75–80, 104–5, 162–64; *Hintlilerde Tanrı* (İstanbul, 1998), sub Dizin.

Tešub and the chief goddess Hebat. The total number of gods in the procession is seventy-one.

This procession represents the official pantheon of the Hittite Empire in the second half of the thirteenth century. This pantheon has been completely Hurrianised, as far as was possible. The identification of Hittite and Luwian deities with their Hurrian counterparts has made possible a considerable reduction in the number of deities. Furthermore, the god names cited in many cuneiform inscriptions have only literary significance; their bearers did not enjoy a cult. Others had their cult sites far from the capital city and were not accepted within the official state cult.³⁹

The Hittites often speak of their thousand gods and goddesses, but in reality more than this number of deities appear in the texts, for Hittite religion was extremely complicated. If we add unpublished tablets and those newly discovered (such as those from Ortaköy/Šapinuwa), it is not even possible to give an exact number at this time. It may never be possible to do so, but the total number of deities so far known from cuneiform tablets and hieroglyphic inscriptions seem to be a little more than six hundred. The number of gods and goddesses worshipped in any particular Hittite city or town would have been fewer.

A good source of information in this regard are the lists of deities summoned to be witnesses to treaties. For instance, the treaty between Duppi-Tešub, king of Amurru (located between Arwad and the Lebanon), and king Muṣili II includes the following partial listing:⁴⁰

1. The Goddess Kulitta, the War God of Ḫatti,
2. the War God of Ellaya, the War God of Arzi[y]a,
3. Iyarri, Zampana,
4. Ḫantidašu of Ḫurma, Aparā
5. of Šamuḫa, Kataḫḫa (Queen) of Ankuwa, [the Queen]
6. of Katapa, Ammamma of Taḫurpa,
7. Ḫallara of Dunna, Ḫuwašan[a] of Ḫupišna,
8. Tapišuna of I[š]upitt[a],
9. the Lady of Landa, Kunniyawan[ni]
10. of Landa, the Goddess NIN.ŠEN.ŠEN of Ki[nza],
11. [Mount] Lablana, Mount Šariyana (and)
12. [Mount P]iṣaiša, the gods of Lulāḫḫi (and) Ḫabiri,
13. [EREŠ.K]I.GAL, the gods and goddesses of Ḫatti,

39. See H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Hittite Religion," in *Religions of Antiquity*, ed. R. M. Seltzer (New York, 1989), 71.

40. KBo 5.9 rev. iv 1–20 (CTH 62), ed. J. Friedrich, SV 1, 22–24. For the beginning of the god list, see now G. Beckman, *HDT*², 63.

14. [the gods] and goddesses of Amurru, all the primeval deities—
15. Nara, Napšara,
16. [Mink]i, Tuḫuši, Ammunki, Ammizzadu,
17. Alalu, Anu, Antu, Apantu, EN.LÍL (= Kumarbi),
18. NIN.LÍL—mountains, rivers, springs, the Great Sea, Heaven and Earth,
19. [winds], clouds. They shall be the witnesses to this treaty
20. [and] oath.

Another example is from the treaty between king Ḫukkana, king of the land of Ḫayaša-Azzi (in eastern Anatolia), and king Šuppiluliuma I:⁴¹

35. If you (Ḫukkana) behave well and you protect My Majesty with goodness,
 36. I, My Majesty, will act towards your children in the same way,
 37. and my son will also protect your sons with goodness. I, My Majesty,
 38. will also protect you. I have placed these words under the oath of God for you.
 39. For this matter we have called the thousand deities
 40. to assembly.
-
41. The Sun God of Heaven, the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Storm God of Heaven, the Storm God of Ḫatti,
 42. the Storm God of Ḫalap (Aleppo), the Storm God of Arinna, the Storm God of Zi[ppalanda],
 43. the Storm God of Šapinuwa, the Storm God of Nerik, the Storm God of [Ḫi]ššašḫapa, the Storm God of Šaḫpina,
 44. the Storm God of the Encampment/Army, the Storm God of the Market Place (KI.LAM), the Storm God of Uda, the Storm God of [Kizz]uwatna,
 45. the storm God of Patteyarik, the Storm God of Ša[muḫa], the Storm God of Ša[ri]šša, the Storm God of Ḫurma,
 46. the Storm God of Liḫzina, the Storm God of Ruin, the Storm God of [...-n]a, the Storm God of Ḫullašša,
 47. Hebat of Uda, Hebat of Kizzu[wat]na,
-
48. the Tutelary God, the Tutelary God of Ḫatti, Zithariya, Karzi,
 49. Ḫapandaliya, the Storm God of Karaḫna, the Tutelary God of the Fields,
 50. Aa, IŠTAR, IŠTAR of the Fields, IŠTAR of Nineveh, [IŠTAR] of Ḫattarina,
 51. IŠTAR, Queen of Heaven, Ninatta, [Kuli]tta, the War God,
 52. the War God of Ellaya, the War God of A[rziya], all [the deities] of the Encampment/Army,

41. KBo 5.3+ obv. i 35–59 (CTH 42), ed. J. Friedrich, SV 2, 110–13.

53. Marduk, Allatum, the Sun Goddess of the Earth,
54. Huwaššana of Hupišna, A[bara] of Šamuha, Hantitaššu of [Hurma],
55. Katahha, (Queen) of Ankuwa, [Mamma] of Taḥur[pa], the Queen of Katapa,
56. Hallara of Dunna, the Gods of Lu[laḥḥi (and) Habi]ri,
57. all the deities of Hatti, the dei[ties . . .] of the lands,
58. the deities of Heaven, the deities of the Earth, mountains, rivers, springs, the clouds, Heaven
59. and Earth, (and) the Great Sea [shall stand witness].

The Telipinu Myth explicitly mentions the thousand deities:⁴²

16. The mountains went dry, the trees become so dry that their shoots did not
17. come out any longer. The pastures and the springs become dry. And in the land
18. famine broke out. Humans and deities are perishing from starvation.
19. The Great Sun God made a festival and invited the thousand deities. They ate
20. (but) they did not become satiated. They drank but they did not quench their thirst.

Finally, we turn to a private letter unearthed at Maṣat Höyük.⁴³ The letter was sent by the scribe Tarḥunmiya in Hattuša to Pallanna, whom he addresses as "father" and also to his mother, who live in Tapigga (Maṣat Höyük). According to Alp, Tarḥunmiya dispatched the letter to his colleague Uzzu, a scribe at Maṣat Höyük, so that he should read it to his wife Manni and to his parents.⁴⁴

1. To (my) lord, my dear father, and to my lady, my dear mother,
- 2–3. speak! Your son Tarḥu[unmi]ya (says) as follows:

4. Let everything be goo[d] in the presence of my lord (my father)!
5. Let the thousand deities keep you in life!
6. And let them hold (their) hands (arms) around you (firmly);
7. let them hold you well and
8. let them protect you.

9. Let them bless you with life (and) health,

42. KUB 17.10 obv. i 16–20 (CTH 324), ed. H. Otten, *Tel.*, 5. See also E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 90; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths*, 15; F. Pecchioli Daddi and A. M. Polvani, *La mitologia*, 79.

43. HKM 81 (Mst. 75/64), published by my tutor Professor Alp, *HBM*, 272–74; cf. F. Imparati, "Observations on a Letter from Maṣat-Höyük," *ArAn* 3 (1997): 203 n. 26.

44. S. Alp, *HBM*, 78, 83.

10. soundness, long life,
11. love of the deiti[es],
12. sympathy of the deities,
13. (and) joy for your he[a]rt!
- 14–15. Let them bestow upon you whatever you wi[sh].

- 16–17. My dear father, write to me always your goodness/greetings.

After this the tablet is broken. Following line 24, the scribe goes on to the second part of the letter, a note to his colleague:

25. Tarḥunm[iya] (says) [as follo]ws:
26. [Sp]eak! [T]o my [de]ar brot[her] Uzzu,
- 27–28. let the deities prote[c]t you in goodness.
- 29–30. Read this tablet/letter in the presence of my lord, (my father) Pal-lanna, (and) my lady (my mother) in a good way.
- 31–32. Later, let them write their goodness/greetings to me again!

Zur Paläographie akkadischsprachiger Texte aus Hattuša

J. KLINGER

Würzburg

In einer ersten Untersuchung¹ zur Paläographie akkadischsprachiger Texte aus den Archiven der hethitischen Hauptstadt Hattuša² hatte ich den Versuch unternommen zu zeigen, daß auch diese Überlieferung durchaus zum Gegenstandsbereich schriftkundlicher Untersuchungen gemacht werden kann. An sich ist das eine Selbstverständlichkeit, denn dies gilt freilich für jegliche schriftliche Überlieferung; vielmehr war der entscheidende Punkt, daß gezeigt werden konnte, daß auch auf solche Texte die am hethitischsprachigen Textmaterial gewonnenen Kriterien anwend- und übertragbar sind. Gleichzeitig ergab sich dabei als Konsequenz, daß ein sogenannter *chancellery*-Duktus oder Kanzleistil, der speziell für akkadischsprachige Dokumente diplomatischen Charakters, also Korrespondenz oder Verträge u.a.m., gedient habe, gleichsam "jüngeren" Charakters sei und dabei mehr oder weniger der Form des generell von hethitischen Schreibern verwendeten Schrifttyps der späteren Großreichszeit entsprechen sollte,³ in dieser Form nicht existierte.

Die Folge ist zunächst eine nicht einfachere, sondern vielmehr kompliziertere Ausgangslage, denn es gilt nicht einfach der Umkehrschluß, daß aus der Tatsache, es habe keine einheitliche, eigenständige Tradition Boğazköy-akkadischer Texte existiert, folgt, daß diese sich deshalb automatisch in ihrer Gesamtheit in die sonstige Schreibertradition in Hattuša einfügen lassen müssen.

1. Vgl. hierzu Verf., "Wer lehrte die Hethiter das Schreiben?" *3rd Hitt. Cong.*, 365–75.

2. Dabei kann es ausschließlich um solche Texte gehen, die nicht der sogenannten mesopotamischen Traditionsliteratur angehören oder von dieser abhängig bzw. beeinflußt sind, da hier keine eigenständige Entwicklung angenommen werden kann.

3. Die an sich naheliegende Idee war, daß dieser für hethitische Texte aus dem Ende der Großreichszeit typische Schriftduktus sich unter dem Einfluß des parallel verwendeten "chancellery"-Typs erst herausgebildet habe.

Dem umfangmäßig größeren Teil der akkadischsprachigen Überlieferung, d.h. vor allem den Verträgen aus der Großreichszeit, konnte im oben genannten Artikel nur abschließend einige knappe Bemerkungen gewidmet werden; deshalb soll eben der nun vorgelegte Beitrag primär das Ziel verfolgen, das Thema weiter auszuführen und in einigen Details zu präzisieren. Auch wenn ich hier nur einige weitere Detailbeobachtungen, aber noch keine abschließende Klärung des gesamten Problemkomplexes bieten kann, verbindet sich damit die Hoffnung, das Interesse des verehrten Jubilars an schriftgeschichtlichen Fragestellungen zu finden, das besonders in der Anwendung der paläographischen Methode im Rahmen des *CHD* dokumentiert ist.

Bereits für ältere Verträge in akkadischer Sprache, wie sie seit dem Beginn der mittelhethitischen Zeit überliefert sind, gilt, daß sie durchaus nach paläographischen Kriterien datierbar sind, doch auch hier sind im einzelnen Unterschiede festzustellen, die hier aber nur kurz erwähnt, nicht aber ausführlicher diskutiert werden können.⁴ So finden sich unter den Kizzuātna-Verträgen solche, deren Schriftduktus offensichtlich nicht dem zeitgenössischen Schrifttyp der Hattuša-Kanzlei(en) entspricht, die aber auch keine jüngeren Abschriften darstellen. Einer der ältesten Vertragstexte in akkadischer Sprache aus den Archiven von Hattuša, *CTH* 26 (KUB 34.1 + KBo 28.105a+b),⁵ zeigt einen solchen abweichenden Schrifttyp, den ich aufgrund seiner (nicht nur zeitlichen) Nähe zu den Texten z. B. aus Alalah IV als "syrisch"⁶ bezeichnen möchte. Anders stellt sich die Situation bei den verschiedenen Fassungen des Vertrages, den Taḫurūaili mit Eḫeja von Kizzuātna geschlossen hat und der am Anfang der Tradition hethitisch-kizzuwatnaischer Vertragsabschlüsse steht,⁷ dar. Während KBo 28.107 syrischen Duktus zeigt, liegt KBo 28.108 in gewohnter mittelhethitischer Schreibertradition vor, was auch für KBo 28.109 + KUB 3.13 gilt.⁸ KBo 28.107 steht damit in auffallendem Gegensatz zu Fragmenten wie KBo 28.110 (u.a.m.), die eindeutig mittelhethitischen

4. Vgl. dazu auch meinen in Anm. 1 genannten Beitrag.

5. Siehe auch die einleitenden Bemerkungen und die Übersetzung bei G. Beckman, *HDT*, 11 ff. und H. Klengel, *GHR*, 98 c. n. 58 mit weiterer Literatur zur Frage der Datierung des Vertrages auf einen König der frühen mittelhethitischen Zeit.

6. Dieser Begriff wird hier lediglich als Etikett verwendet, ohne damit einer näheren inhaltlichen Bestimmung vorgreifen zu wollen; intendiert ist nur, damit solche Texte zu bezeichnen, für die nicht plausibel eine Herkunft aus einer Hattuša-Kanzlei namhaft gemacht werden kann. Die Bezeichnung wurde gewählt, um damit auf den Bereich einer Schrifttradition zu verweisen, die den angesprochenen Texten erkennbar näher stehen, im einzelnen aber noch genauer zu erarbeiten sind.

7. Für eine Position von Taḫurūaili nach Muḫatalli I. in der Reihenfolge der hethitischen Könige, wie sie P. Neve, *Hattuša*, 86 bietet, sehe ich keine Notwendigkeit.

8. Zu korrigieren ist nach Kollation am Foto die vermeintlich junge Form eines KI in KBo 28.109, 3'. Außerdem hatte bereits H. M. Kümmel, KBo 28, *Inh. ver.*, S. vii darauf hingewiesen, daß Nr. 107 und 108f. "nach Ton und Schrift nicht zum selben Tafel Exemplar" gehören.

Duktus aufweisen, und belegt damit das zeitliche Nebeneinander zweier deutlich verschiedener Schrifttraditionen.⁹ Das bekannteste Exemplar eines mittelhethitischen Vertrages in akkadischer Sprache, der Šunaššura-Vertrag KBo 1.5, gehört ganz ohne Zweifel ebenfalls hierher. Noch reichhaltiger wird schließlich das Material mit den Vertragswerken Šuppiluliumas I. aus der beginnenden Großreichszeit mit gleich mehreren Exemplaren in akkadischer Sprache, die wieder zumeist den typischen zeitgenössischen Duktus zeigen, wie er aus den Texten in hethitischer Sprache bekannt ist.

Dennoch waren es gerade ein Vertrag Šuppiluliumas I. mit Niqmaddu von Ugarit und der bekannte akkadischsprachige Brief Šuppiluliumas I. EA 41 (*CTH* 153), die die Vermutung nahelegten, daß die akkadischsprachigen Texte, für die die Kanzleien der hethitischen Hauptstadt verantwortlich sind, in bezug auf die verwendete Schriftform generell einen anderen Weg gehen als die in hethitischer Sprache, was sich in dieser allgemeingültigen Weise aber gerade nicht bestätigt hat.¹⁰ Vielmehr zeigen gerade auch Texte aus dem umfangreichen Korpus der akkadischsprachigen Verträge aus der Regierungszeit Šuppiluliumas I. eben keine erkennbaren Unterschiede zur sonstigen zeitgenössischen Schreiberpraxis. Dies gilt es umso mehr zu betonen, gerade weil ein Brief desselben Königs aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz mit dem ägyptischen Pharao ein hierzu völlig konträres Bild bietet.¹¹ Dabei wurde aber eigentlich nie die Frage gestellt, ob tatsächlich Kanzleien in Hattuša für diese Texte verantwortlich waren. Dasselbe Problem stellt sich m.E. noch in

9. Zu KBo 28.110 vgl. auch bereits die Angabe von S. Košak, *StBoT* 34, 22 n. 2 als in "mh. Schrift." Zu den Parallelen zu KBo 1.5 sowie einem möglichen Zusammenschluß mit KBo 28.75, das ebenfalls typisch mittelhethitischen Duktus zeigt, vgl. Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *AoF* 25 (1998): 38, 53 n. 37.

KUB 4.76 bzw. 31.82 dürften ebenfalls zeitgenössische Niederschriften hethitischer Kanzleien sein. Die abweichende Schrift von KUB 34.1+ hatte im übrigen schon G. R. Meyer, *MIO* 1 (1953): 113 registriert.

10. Im Kern hatte G. Beckman, *JCS* 35 (1983): 98 ff. den späthethitischen Duktus mit einer "chancery script" gleichgesetzt, wobei letztere zunächst "appear in the hand utilized for Akkadian-language diplomatic materials, and only later gradually find their way into the script employed for Hittite texts" (ebd. 99 f.). Aus der Zeit Šuppiluliumas I. wird dann aber nur auf das in Ugarit gefunden Exemplar des Vertrages mit Niqmaddu verwiesen und auf einen Brief des Šuppiluliuma, der in Amarna gefunden wurde (ebd., 100 n. 13). In der Tat sind es eben diese beiden Texte, die nicht den typischen Boğazköy-Duktus der Zeit zeigen, während dies für die übrigen Verträge eben nicht der Fall ist. Offenbar wurde G. Beckmans These aber in einer viel umfassenderen Weise rezipiert, als sie wohl gemeint war; vgl. dazu etwa J. Goodnick Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade* (Winona Lake, 1997), 105: "However, Akkadian texts from Boğazköy are known to be written in a different ductus from that of contemporary Hittite texts," wobei sie sich auf eben die hier herangezogene Arbeit von G. Beckman bezieht. Dies gilt aber in dieser Allgemeinheit weder für die diplomatischen noch für die literarischen Texte!

11. Der in hethitischer Sprache überlieferte Brief an den Pharao KUB 19.20+ (*CTH* 154) zeigt demgegenüber den zu erwartenden Duktus der zeitgenössischen Šuppiluliuma I.-Texte.

viel weitergehender Weise besonders für die aus Ugarit überlieferten Texte, die man als genuin "hethitisch" ansprechen kann, also die aus den dortigen Archiven überlieferten Erlasse, Verträge usw., die auf hethitische Könige von der Zeit des Šuppiluliuma I. an zurückgehen. So weit ich sehe, wurde bisher nicht dezidiert untersucht, wieweit sich diese Texte von solchen der einheimischen Kanzleien in Ugarit unterscheiden,¹² wobei schon allein die Tatsache, daß von einzelnen Texten mehrere Fassungen überliefert sind, dafür spricht, daß sie zumindest z.T. "vor Ort" (ab)geschrieben wurden.¹³

Ein weiteres Beispiel, das die Verwendung eines anderen Schrifttyps für das Akkadisch belegt, wurde in jüngerer Zeit bereits für die Anfänge der hethitischen Geschichte bekannt, nämlich der ebenfalls akkadischsprachige Brief Ḫattušili I. an Tunip-Teššup von Tikunani.¹⁴ Auch dieser Brief wurde in einem Schrifttyp abgefaßt, der ganz offensichtlich nicht in direkte Verbindung mit dem zu bringen ist, was wir heute als typisch althethitischen Duktus bzw., in der Terminologie von E. Neu, als Duktustyp I bzw. II kennen und bietet somit eine gute Parallele zum oben erwähnten Brief Šuppiluliumas I.¹⁵

Es läßt sich damit konstatieren, daß die Hethiter Kenntnis von anderen, fremden "Schreibweisen" hatten bzw. hätten haben können, wobei wir freilich nicht wissen, wieweit diese Unterschiede auch ins Bewußtsein der Akteure drangen; jedenfalls wurde fallweise nachweisbar auf solche Traditionen zurückgegriffen. Über die Gründe kann nur spekuliert werden, aber am naheliegendsten ist, diese in der Sprache zu suchen. So scheint es einleuchtend, daß gerade die sehr frühen Kizzuwatna-Verträge es sind, die sich vom Schrifttyp nicht in die hethitische Schriftentwicklung einordnen lassen, zu einer Zeit also, als man sich bei der Abfassung der Landschenkungsurkunden ebenfalls weitgehend an das Akkadische anlehnte.¹⁶ Deshalb läge hier immerhin die Vermutung nahe, diese Tafeln seien als eine Art Belegexemplar von außer-

12. So ist das Fehlen einer verwertbaren Paläographie der Ugarittexte immer noch sehr schmerzlich; W. H. van Soldt hat seinen ursprünglichen Plan einer von den Ugarittexten ausgehenden vergleichenden paläographischen Studie leider nicht ausgeführt; vgl. ders., *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar*, AOAT 40 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1991), xxii.

13. Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch die aufschlußreichen, wenn auch sehr knappen Bemerkungen zu einigen, vorwiegend orthographischen Details solcher Texte der hethitischen Könige bei W. H. van Soldt, AOAT 40, 381f. (Allerdings teile ich die ebd. 382 formulierte Ansicht zur Frage der Datierbarkeit der Texte etwa Šuppiluliumas I. nicht.)

14. Der Brief wurde veröffentlicht von M. Salvini, *SMEA* 34 (1994): 61ff.

15. Vgl. dazu auch die Tabelle der Zeichenvarianten bei M. Salvini, *SMEA* 34 (1994): 70ff. Bei den zum Vergleich herangezogenen Texten der Inandik-Urkunde und des mantischen Textfragments hurritischer Provenienz, KUB 47.93, handelt es sich freilich eindeutig um mittel-hethitische Niederschriften. Zur Datierung s. noch St. de Martino, *ChS* I/7, 61 n. 1.

16. Nur quasi en passant sei angedeutet, daß gerade die frühe Überlieferung akkadischsprachiger Texte noch reichlich Fragen aufwirft; dies gilt etwa für KBo 1.11 ebenso wie für die akkadischsprachige Überlieferung zum Telipinu-Erlaß, die m.E. zumindest z.T. vor-großreichs-zeitlich zu datieren ist.

halb nach Ḫattuša verbracht worden, genauso wie die Fassung des Šuppiluliuma-Šattiya-Vertrages, die einen Mittani-Duktus zeigt und die ihren Ausgang von Ḫattuša nahm, in Mittani kopiert wurde und dann den Weg zurückfand.¹⁷

Bereits bei seiner Diskussion der verschiedenen Fassungen des Vertrages hat G. Beckman darauf hingewiesen, daß die akkadischsprachigen Tafel-exemplare der hethitischen Kanzleien nicht den von ihm so bezeichneten, sich von der in Ḫatti für zeitgleiche hethitische Texte verwendeten Schriftform unterscheidenden *chancellery*-Duktus aufweisen, wie es eigentlich zu erwarten gewesen wäre.¹⁸ Dabei ist noch weiter zu unterscheiden zwischen den Vertragsfassungen, die ohne weiteres als Produkt einer hethitischen Kanzlei angesprochen werden können, und allein dem Exemplar KBo 1.2 (= CTH 51.B), das einen davon völlig abweichenden Schrifttyp zeigt.¹⁹ Wir haben es also mit der etwas überraschenden Situation zu tun, daß von der Vertragsversion der hethitischen Seite, neben Fassungen der eigenen Kanzlei und solcher in hethitischer Sprache, auch eine Abschrift eines Mittani-Schreibers und von der Version der Mittani-Seite mit KBo 1.3 (+) KUB 3.17 die Kopie überliefert ist, die von einem Mitglied der einheimischen Kanzlei angefertigt worden sein muß.²⁰

17. Auf dem Hintergrund des bisher Skizzierten ist es weiter nicht erstaunlich, daß der Brief IBoT 1.34 eben denselben Duktus zeigt und als Beleg für den Schrifttyp der "Mittani-Schule" mit herangezogen werden könnte; bei D. Schwemer, *THeth* 23, 15 n. 49f. nicht berücksichtigt, wohl da der Brief nicht direkt auf eine Mittani-Kanzlei zurückgeht, sondern auf eine (davon abzuleitende?) Kanzlei in Karkemiš.

18. Dazu G. Beckman, *FsHalla*, 56 ("showing the usual sign forms of the fourteenth century, and not what I have termed the 'chancellery hand' employed for Akkadian-language diplomatic texts and international correspondence under the Empire").

19. Ebd. Anm. 16, wird ergänzend auf die Entsprechungen im Duktus der Mittani-Fassung des Vertrages mit anderen Urkunden der hurritischen Kanzleien dieser Zeit, nämlich der Tušratta-Briefe, hingewiesen, allerdings mit der einschränkenden Bemerkung, die charakteristischsten Zeichenformen (genannt werden IN, ŠA, ḪUR, AH) würden auch, allerdings selten, in hethitischsprachigen Texten aus Boğazköy auftreten, jedoch ohne auf konkrete Belege zu verweisen.

20. Vgl. dazu auch die abschließende Tabelle ebd., 57. Bemerkenswerterweise erlaubt vor allem das Studium der Schrifttypen die Entschlüsselung der komplizierten Überlieferungssituation. Daß es sich bei KBo 1.3 (+) um eine Abschrift handelt, stützt sich dabei auf das Faktum, daß die inhaltlich als Mittani-Version erkennbare Fassung in hethitischer Handschrift vorliegt. Wichtig wäre auch, der Frage nachzugehen, ob sich eben dieser Charakter der Abschrift an der Niederschrift selbst aufweisen läßt. Denn wie alle Erfahrung mit der Kopiertätigkeit hethitischer Schreiber zeigt, gelingt in der Regel keine identische Kopie, sondern es finden sich immer Veränderungen gegenüber der Kopiervorlage. Ebenso wäre umgekehrt zu fragen, ob KBo 1.2, das ja ebenfalls eine Abschrift darstellt, in diesem Falle aber die einer Vorlage aus einer hethitischen Kanzlei, Hinweise auf das Vorliegen eines "Mischdukts" zeigt, um hier einen Begriff von D. Schwemer, vgl. ders. *THeth* 23, 14ff., aufzugreifen, der ebd., 15 diesen Text uneingeschränkt auf eine Stufe mit weiteren Mittani-Texten stellt.

Auf dem Hintergrund dieses Befundes lassen sich nun auch die entsprechenden Überlieferungen der erhaltenen akkadischsprachigen Texte, die alle auf die Regierung Šuppiluliumas I. zurückgehen, genauer beurteilen. Für den Aziru-Vertrag CTH 49 können wir feststellen, daß das Hauptexemplar der akkadischen Fassung, KUB 3.7+, sich gut in das Schriftbild der sonstigen Überlieferung einfügt, während die erhaltene Tafel einer hethitischen Fassung, KBo 10.12 (+), nur in einer Abschrift aus der späteren Großreichszeit vorliegt. Typisch hierfür ist das Nebeneinander von jüngeren (z.B. AK und LI) und älteren Zeichenvarianten (z.B. IK), neben graphischen und orthographischen Gepflogenheiten (GIM-an oder kiš-an u.a.m.), wie sie erst in der Zeit nach Šuppiluliuma I. üblich wurden. Schwieriger zu beurteilen ist der Fall des Hauptexemplars des Vertrages mit Tette von Nuḥašše, KBo 1.4+, das weder den zeitgenössischen Bo-Duktus noch die typischen Charakteristika einer darauf zurückgehenden späteren Abschrift aufweist. Besonders die Verwendung von Zeichenformen, die so eigentlich nie zum typischen Bestand des Bo-Duktus gehört haben, wie ŠA oder vor allem die ältere, aber nicht-hethitische Variante von LI (Rs. iii 57), sprechen dafür, daß der Tafel zumindest eine Fassung zugrunde gelegen haben muß, die ursprünglich nicht im Bo-Duktus geschrieben war. Es setzt sich also fort, was bereits bei den frühesten Texten zu beobachten war: Von Fall zu Fall scheinen sich die hethitischen Könige nicht-einheimischer Spezialisten bedient zu haben, um fremdsprachige Texte verfassen zu lassen, oder es wurden von eigenen Schreibern Kopien der Vertragsfassungen der Vertragspartner angefertigt, wobei diese abweichenden Schreibertraditionen naheliegenderweise nicht ohne Einfluß auf die Kopien geblieben sind.

Es gilt also, sich vor Augen zu halten, daß die uns erhaltenen akkadischsprachigen Vertragsfassungen oft eine durchaus komplexe Überlieferungsgeschichte haben und keinesfalls schon vorab für jedes Exemplar gelten kann, daß es sich dabei lediglich um eine Art Archivkopie durch hethitische Schreiber von ebenfalls von hethitischen Schreibern angefertigten Originalen, die in der Regel nicht erhalten sind, handelt. Vielmehr muß in jedem einzelnen Falle diese spezielle Überlieferungsgeschichte erst geklärt werden, bevor die Texte selbst als Material zur Beantwortung weiterführender Fragen herangezogen werden können.

Freilich müssen alle Annahmen über Sinn und Zweck der erhaltenen Vertragsabschriften letztlich als Plausibilitätsannahmen gelten, bis es gelingt, einen konkreteren Nachweis zu führen. Selbst in dem einzigen Falle, in dem ein wirkliches Vertragsoriginal erhalten geblieben ist, nämlich bei der sogenannten Bronzetafel, also dem Vertrag, den Tuthaliya IV. mit Kurunta von Tarḫuntašša schloß, sind wir nicht in der Lage zu einer Überprüfung, da von diesem Vertrag (bisher) keine Abschriften bekannt sind. Demgegenüber han-

delt es sich bei allen anderen auf uns gekommenen Textzeugen der Verträge mit hethitischen Nachbarstaaten oder Vasallen in der Regel um Kopien, die aus verschiedenen Gründen für die eigenen Archive oder Bibliotheken angefertigt wurden. Die Originale, meist Metall- und keine simplen Tontafeln, wurden in den Tempeln aufbewahrt und sind bis auf die erwähnte Ausnahme verloren.

An diesem Punkt sollte nunmehr deutlich geworden sein, daß es nicht vertretbar ist, schlicht die gesamte erhaltene Überlieferung zu akkadischsprachigen Verträgen, die sich bisher unter dem Textmaterial aus Boğazköy hat identifizieren lassen, undifferenziert gleich zu behandeln, was zwangsläufig zu unbefriedigenden Ergebnissen führen muß. Dies gilt mit gleichem Recht für die Überlieferung aus der Zeit nach Šuppiluliuma I. Ist doch ebenso unbestritten, daß auch für die Überlieferung zum Vertrag zwischen Hattušili III. und Ramses II. in dessen 21. Regierungsjahr²¹ eine ähnliche Situation angenommen werden muß, wie sie inzwischen für das Šattigaza-Exemplar des Vertrages mit Šuppiluliuma I. nachgewiesen wurde. Auch wenn dies in der Literatur gelegentlich übersehen wird,²² so ist doch aufgrund zahlreicher inhaltlicher Indizien sowie des Briefwechsels zwischen Hattuša und Ägypten sicher, daß die erhaltene Fassung aus Hattuša nicht die der hethitischen Seite repräsentiert, sondern die des ägyptischen Vertragspartners, die in Form einer Silbertafel an den hethitischen Hof gebracht wurde, während die ägyptischen Hieroglyphentexte auf der Version aus Hattuša beruhen.²³ Daraus ist aber zu schließen, daß die Vorlage für die beiden erhaltenen Vertragsfassungen nicht das Produkt einer hethitischen Schreiberkanzlei war, sondern die von einschlägigen Spezialisten am ägyptischen Hof. Ob es sich dabei um Muttersprachler des Akkadischen oder um lediglich des Akkadischen und der

21. Vgl. dazu die zusammenfassenden Bemerkungen bei E. Edel, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Hattušili III. von Hatti*, WVD OG 95 (Berlin, 1997), 1. Für Fragen der Datierung, insbesondere für das Jahr 1279 als Regierungsantritt Ramses II., sei hier lediglich auf die Darstellung bei J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz, 1997), bes. 50f. verwiesen, ohne auf die umfängliche Diskussion hier näher eingehen zu können. J. Assmann, *Ägypten. Eine Sinngeschichte* (München, 1996), 301 spricht im Zusammenhang mit diesem Vertragsschluß von der Grundlegung einer "pax Ramessidica".

22. F. Imparati ("Kopien der ägyptischen Version in Hieroglyphenschrift") in H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 359.

23. Vgl. dazu die Bemerkungen von E. Edel, WVD OG 95, 85f. ("die Abschrift, die davon [= dem Original der Silbertafel] wieder in Hatti angefertigt wurde"), 109. Im Detail bleiben m.E. aber noch immer Fragen offen, so insbesondere was die Frage der "Unstetigkeit" der hieroglyphischen Kopie der hethitischen Fassung betrifft, da eine Vertauschung der Kolumnenreihenfolge als Erklärung mit der Annahme einer kürzeren Fassung nicht vereinbar ist (für die Kol. iii stünde dann m.E. nicht mehr ausreichend Text zur Verfügung, um diese zu füllen), als auch die Frage nach der Position des Siegels auf dem Original der Silbertafel der hethitischen Fassung—wie sollte das Siegel im Metall der Tafel angebracht worden sein (vgl. ebd., 88)?

Keilschrift mächtige ägyptische Schreiber gehandelt hat, ist eine wichtige Frage, der wir hier nicht weiter nachgehen können. Für unsere Fragestellung ist allein wichtig, daß für die Kopien eine Vorlage zur Verfügung stand, die definitiv nicht der hethitischen Schreibertradition angehört hat. Es kann kein Zweifel bestehen, daß dies nicht ohne Rückwirkung auf eben diese Abschriften geblieben sein kann.

Zwei Abschriften stehen zur Verfügung, die beide nicht vollständig sind:²⁴ Exemplar A: KBo 1.7 + KUB 3.121 + KBo 28.115 und Exemplar B: KBo 1.25 + KUB 48.73 + KUB 3.11 + VBoT 6 + KUB 3.120.²⁵ Vergleicht man die in beiden Fassungen erhaltenen Passagen, so zeigt sich, daß wenige Varianten zu verzeichnen sind,²⁶ für die zudem kaum das übliche Inventar hethitischer Schreiber exklusiv verantwortlich gemacht werden kann. Die nur einmal vorkommende Schreibung *Ḥat-ti* (B Vs. 24) gegenüber im Text sonst gebräuchlichen *Ḥa-at-ti* entspricht vielleicht eher hethitischen Gepflogenheiten der Zeit Hattušilis III., ist aber so auch in den Ägypten-Briefen belegt. Dasselbe gilt für verschiedene, in Hattuša ungebräuchliche Varianten des Syllabars, etwa *bīl*, *dá*, *gār*, *gar*₁₄, *qā*, *šūm*, *tū* usw. Besonders zu erwähnen wäre noch das Zeichen ZUM = *šu*, das für das mittelbabylonische Syllabar charakteristisch ist, gegenüber der älteren Schreibung mit ZU = *šú*, wobei auffällt, daß beide Text-

24. Die folgenden Angaben nach E. Edel, *WVDOG* 95, 5. Das Tafelfoto zur Version B (KBo 1.25+) ebd., Tafel 70* (vgl. auch V. Donbaz, *FsNeve* = *IM* 43 [1993]: 27ff.) hilft, ein Problem der Edition der Zusatzstücke von KBo 1.25 unter der Nummer KUB 3.11 aufzuklären. Wie am Foto deutlich zu erkennen ist, besteht KUB 3.11 nicht (nur) aus dem Fragment VAT 6207 (so noch bei E. Edel, ebd., 5), das z.T. auch schon als KBo 1.25 ediert wurde, sondern es kommen die bisher m.W. nicht gebuchten Fragmente Bo 6503, Bo 9143 und Bo 9153 hinzu. Diese Bo-Fragmente sind weder in der Übersicht in KUB 3.11 erwähnt worden, noch sind sie in der Konkordanz von E. Laroche's *CTH* gebucht. Das Fragment VAT 13572 auf dem Foto ist das Zusatzstück KUB 48.73.

25. Wie auch die Joinskizze ebd., *68 deutlich zeigt, schließen die Fragmente KBo 1.25 und KUB 3.120 nicht direkt an, wären also nach Konvention mit "(+)" anzugeben.

26. Dabei gilt es zu beachten, daß es auf den ersten Blick in der Partitur-Umschrift von E. Edel deutlich mehr zu sein scheinen, aber naheliegender Weise sind nur die relevant, die tatsächlich erhalten sind und sich nicht durch eine Ergänzung in Anlehnung an andere im jeweiligen Text erhaltene Stellen ergeben. Es ist nämlich keineswegs so, daß in eckigen Klammern das ergänzt wurde, was in der anderen Fassung eventuell konkret erhalten ist, sondern offenbar das, was E. Edel aufgrund der sonstigen Fassung als wahrscheinliche Ergänzung vermutet hat. Dies ist aber keineswegs immer eindeutig nachvollziehbar. Deutlich wird das etwa bei der Schreibung *qā-du*, die nur in A Vs. 9 und 27 belegt ist, aber auch z.B. in A Vs. 2 gleich zweimal (und ebenso in B Vs. 2) ergänzt wird. Die Variante *qā-du* gegen *qā-du* in A/B Vs. 15 stammt dagegen nicht aus dem Text selbst, sondern wurde von E. Edel als Ergänzung gewählt, obwohl sie von der erhaltenen Schreibung abweicht und der Text B ebenfalls (z.B. Vs. 28, Rs. 4) durchaus *qā-du* bevorzugt. Ebenso beruht die scheinbare Variante *na-da-ni* zu *na-dá-ni* in A/B Vs. 3 lediglich auf der Ergänzung, wo auch das *da-* in B Vs. 3 nicht erhalten ist, wo A Vs. 3 immerhin noch *d[á-]* erkennen läßt. In B Rs. 6 ist die Verbalform *in-na[-bi-ni]* erhalten, die E. Edel auch so für die parallele Stelle in A Vs. 71 ergänzt, in A Vs. 73 und B Rs. 7 findet sich dieselbe Verbalform dann aber als *in-na-bi-tu*, eine Schreibung, die der Text nicht belegt.

fassungen genau parallel in der Verwendung schwanken.²⁷ Wieweit textliche (z.B. A Vs. 16, 22, 43) oder sprachliche Fehler (z.B. A Vs. 12, B Vs. 42) bereits auf das aus Ägypten kommende Original zurückgehen oder erst der Abschrift anzulasten sind, läßt sich nicht entscheiden.²⁸ Wir haben es immerhin mit qualitativ recht guten Kopien zu tun, und es spricht von dieser Seite nichts gegen die Annahme, daß die erhaltenen Textzeugen weitestgehend die Schreibertraditionen der ägyptischen Kanzleien repräsentieren.²⁹ Dies muß bei der Beurteilung des paläographischen Befundes der beiden Tafeln berücksichtigt werden, der sich—nicht unerwartet—nicht in die zeitgenössische Boğazköy-Tradition einfügt. Dafür zu nennen sind vor allem die folgenden Zeichenvarianten: DA, DI, HUR, KI, KU, LA, (älteres) LI, SAL, ŠA, ŠUM, UP, UŠ.

Wenden wir uns nun der weiteren Überlieferung der akkadischsprachigen Vertragswerke des 13. Jahrhunderts zu, so ist unübersehbar, daß auch diese Texte, wenn auch in verschiedenem Grade, keine Produkte der gängigen hethitischen Schreiberschule(n) repräsentieren, die, wie sich ja noch anhand des Materials aus mittelhethitischer Zeit oder aus der Zeit Šuppiluliumas I. zeigen ließ, durchaus auch existierte. Ein gutes Beispiel liefert hierfür ein Text aus der Regierungszeit Muwatallis II., bei dem vor allem die Frage naheliegt, wie sich die Niederschrift der Neufassung des akkadischsprachigen Talmi-Šarruma-Vertrages aus der Regierungszeit Muwatallis II. zur Schreibweise der junghethitischen Texte der Großreichszeit verhält. Generell ist das Material für die Zeit nach Šuppiluliuma I. aus den hethitischen Archive rein quantitativ weniger umfangreich,³⁰ da der Großteil der Verträge aus der Zeit Muršilis II. mit Partnern im Westen abgeschlossen wurde, für die keine akkadischsprachige Fassung nötig war. Lediglich der Vertrag mit Duppi-Teššup von Amurru liegt auch in akkadischer Sprache, wenn auch nur in

27. Vgl. dazu A Vs. 24 und B Vs. 25 gegenüber A Vs. 29 und B Vs. 30, wobei für die letztere Textstelle die Umschrift E. Edels in beiden Fällen (auch A Vs. 35) zu *-šú-* zu korrigieren ist. Abweichend von der Autographie wird auch A Vs. 15 *su-lu-ma* statt *sú-* und B Vs. 16 *sú-lum-ma* statt *su-* gelesen; nach Photo scheint mir aber in beiden Fällen das Zeichen ZU vorzuliegen.

28. Die Ergänzung der Stelle B Vs. 13 durch E. Edel analog zur korrigierten Stelle des Textes A könnte dafür sprechen, daß er den Fehler im Original vermutete, allerdings ist er an anderen Stellen nicht so verfahren.

29. Die offensichtliche Verschreibung im ägyptischen Thronnamen Ramses I. in A Vs. 5 ("HI-RI" statt eines zu erwartenden AH) ließe sich gut als Verlesung eines hethitischen Schreibers der für ihn ungewohnten Zeichenform erklären, zumal innerhalb eines ihm doch wohl weitgehend unbekannten Eigennamens.

30. Urkunden, die Angelegenheiten mit Ugarit betreffen, sollen hier ausgenommen bleiben, da hier nicht von vorneherein ausgeschlossen werden kann, daß sie von der Kanzlei in Ugarit angefertigt wurden, was allein nach einer intensiven paläographischen Untersuchung des Duktus der Ugaritschreiber ausgeschlossen werden könnte. Es soll hier nur erwähnt werden, daß bereits W. von Soden festgestellt hat, daß auch unter den aus Ugarit stammenden Texten durchaus unterschiedliche Schrifttypen auffallen.

einem Exemplar vor (CTH 62.I = KUB 3.14). Aus der jüngeren Zeit kommt dann allein CTH 75 (mit einer breiteren Überlieferung) aus der Zeit des Muḡatalli II. in Frage; und von Ḫattušili III. stammt, neben dem bereits erwähnten Ramses-Vertrag CTH 91, nur noch der Vertrag mit Bentešina von Amurru (CTH 92), während der Amurru-Vertrag Tuḫalijas IV. mit Bentešinas Nachfolger Šaušgamuša in einer hethitischen Fassung vorliegt.

Die folgende Tabelle gibt Aufschluß über den paläographischen Befund:

Muršili II.	CTH 62: 1.	KUB 3.14	syrisch
Muḡatalli II.	CTH 75 A.	KBo 1.6	syrisch
		B. KUB 3.6	syrisch
		C. KUB 3.5	syrisch
		D. KBo 28.120	syrisch
Ḫattušili III.	CTH 92	KBo 1.8 + KUB 3.8 + KBo 28.116 + KBo 28.117	Bo-Duktus(?) ^a

a. Weitgehend zeigt das Exemplar zeitgenössischen Bo-Duktus, allerdings lassen sich gelegentlich Zeichenvarianten belegen, die—die Korrektheit der Edition vorausgesetzt—auf eine Abschrift eines hethitischen Schreibers einer in syrischem Duktus verfaßten Vorlage hinweisen könnten; wir hätten es also mit einem sogenannten Mischduktus zu tun. Immerhin zeigt der Text dialektale Eigenheiten, die ihn in die Nähe des Amurru-Akkadischen rücken (etwa die typisch mittelassyrischen Pronominalformen *šū/šit*).

Das Ergebnis ist überraschend und bedarf der Kommentierung: Soweit dies feststellbar ist,³¹ zeigen alle Exemplare der Verträge CTH 62 und 75 einen Zeichentyp, der im Vergleich mit dem jeweilig gleichzeitig verwendeten Duktus und Zeicheninventar der hethitischen Kanzleien nicht kompatibel ist. Was ganz offensichtlich nicht stattgefunden hat, das ist eine generelle Hinentwicklung oder gar Angleichung an den Schrifttypus der umliegenden Koine—gänzlich andere Zeichentraktionen, von denen sich die hethitische Seite aufgrund der lange isolierten einheimischen Tradition, die Sonderwege beschritt, unterscheidet, werden nicht übernommen, liegen aber in diesen akkadischsprachigen Texten vor: So bei ŠA oder TA, LA, RU, TI, UŠ oder gar der Grundform von SAL und analog dazu bei EL, RA oder gar AH, HAR, LU u.a.m.—alle diese Elemente sind dem eigentlichen Boğazköy-Duktus letztlich fremd,³² woran auch Einzelfälle isolierter aberranter Zeichenvarianten nichts ändern.

31. Aufgrund der teilweise geringen Größe der erhaltenen Fragmente kann eine gewisse Unsicherheit bestehen, die jedoch nicht grundsätzlich-methodischer Natur ist.

32. So ist in KUB 3.14 (z.B. Vs. 17) bereits die jüngere, von AH unterschiedene Zeichenform AOAT 33, Nr. 397 belegt, die speziell für die Lautwerte *a/e/i/u* verwendet wird.

Es handelt sich dabei auch nicht um einen Schrifttyp, der—wie man bisher angenommen hat—sich zum gängigen Material so verhält, daß man ihn als "moderner" in dem Sinne ansprechend könnte, als hier bestimmte Zeichen nur früher auftauchen gegenüber Texten in hethitischer Sprache. Vielmehr gehen die Unterschiede deutlich weiter insofern, als sie auch Zeichenvarianten aufweisen, die bis zum Ende der hethitischen Archive keinen Eingang in das allgemeine Inventar der Schreiber gefunden haben. Es ist offensichtlich, daß etwa bei dem besonders charakteristischen Zeichen LI die oben angeführten Texte nicht nur die junge, eben erst ab Ḫattušili III. geläufig Variante zeigen, sondern auch die in mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Texten geläufige Variante, die dieser vorherging, also eigentlich der älteren hethitischen LI-Variante entspricht, die in dieser Form mit dem eingeschriebenen Senkrechten und den Waagerechten mit Winkelhaken statt doppelt hintereinandergesetzten Waagerechten von den Hethitern nie gebraucht wurde.

Stellt man weiter in Rechnung, daß es für diese nicht-hethitische Tradition nicht nur eine einzelne Quelle gibt, sondern neben den zum hethitischen Einflußgebiet gehörenden Schultraditionen, wie sie in Ugarit oder Karkemiš³³ vorherrschten, um nur diese hier zu nennen, auch durch die Konstellation der Umstände bedingt sogar die Schreiberschule des ägyptischen Hofes oder Vertreter des mittani-assyrischen Duktus einwirkten, so wird die Heterogenität dessen, was man unter *chancellery*-Duktus zusammengefaßt hat, deutlich. Es gibt also nicht den einen Schrifttyp mit einer zu identifizierenden Herkunft aus dem außerhethitischen Bereich, was die Vermutung nahelegt, daß für die diversen Texte mit unterschiedlichen Schrifttypen auch ganz bestimmte Spezialisten verantwortlich waren, von denen man wird annehmen dürfen, daß sie mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit keine Hethiter waren, ja vielleicht nicht einmal in Ḫattuša arbeiteten.³⁴ Ein Eindruck, der sich noch verstärkt, wenn man, was

33. Ein paläographisch bemerkenswertes Tafelbeispiel stellt auch KBo 1.28 dar, das sich inhaltlich auf die Anerkennung von Piḡaššili als König von Karkemiš bezieht und weitestgehend in hethitischer Sprache formuliert wurde. Es läßt sich bisher nicht eindeutig sagen, ob der Text der Regierungszeit Arnuḡandas II. oder seines jüngeren Bruders Muršili II. zuzuordnen ist (vgl. zuletzt H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 168 n. 131 mit weiterer Lit.). Selbst für eine späte Abschrift aus dem Ende der Großreichszeit sind einige Zeichenformen ungewöhnlich (DI, EN, LA, KI, SAR u.a.m.), vor allem auch in dieser Häufung; daneben steht aber wieder älteres neben jüngerem LI. Der Name des Schreibers Tattija sowie vielleicht auch die Schreibung *na-di-ja-am* (Rs. 6') könnten auf eine in Ḫattuša angefertigte Kopie einer ursprünglich aus den Kanzleien von Karkemiš stammenden Vorlage hinweisen.

34. Man könnte an dieser Stelle auf die Prismen-Fragmente eines Narām-Sin-Textes aus Ḫattuša verweisen (KBo 19.98 und 99), deren Schreiber sich als "Sohn" eines Anu-šar-ilāni bezeichnet. Während der Text selbst als in gutem Babylonisch verfaßt gilt (vgl. J. Goodnick Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, 282), zeigt die Schrift typisch mittelhethitischen Duktus, womit es sich also nicht um Importe handeln kann.

hier nicht geschehen kann, auch noch die akkadischsprachige Korrespondenz miteinbezieht.³⁵

Entscheidend für die Beurteilung der fremden Zeichen- und Schrifttypen der akkadischsprachigen Verträge ist die Homogenität der Zeichenformen—und zwar sowohl innerhalb der Texte selbst als auch im Vergleich mit anderen. Unproblematisch ist das Nebeneinander von älteren und jüngeren Zeichenformen, soweit diese innerhalb einer bekannten Tradition stehen, wofür wieder auf das besonders typische LI verwiesen sei. Problematischer wird es dagegen, wenn daneben z.B. älteres LI auftaucht, wie es für den Boğazköy-Duktus charakteristisch ist, oder—um ein weiteres häufiges Zeichen zu nennen—das hethitische ŠA. Für die Beurteilung des paläographischen Befundes folgt daraus, daß die Ausgangslage diffiziler ist, als bei den allein aus den hethitischen Kanzleien stammenden hethitischsprachigen Texten: Wir haben für die akkadischsprachigen Texte zu unterscheiden zwischen solchen in gut bekanntem, zeitgenössischen Boğazköy-Duktus sowie jüngeren Abschriften davon, solchen im Duktus einer nicht-hethitischen Schreiberschule unterschiedlicher Herkunft und schließlich solchen, die als Kopien hethitischer Schreiber einen Mischduktus aufweisen. Bis das bisher bekannte Material in allen Feinheiten analysiert und die jeweilige Quelle ausgemacht ist, bleibt freilich noch einiges an Arbeit zu leisten.

35. Es kann hier freilich ebenso nur angedeutet werden, daß, wie eigentlich auch zu erwarten, die offensichtliche Heterogenität im Bereich der Schrifttraditionen auch in den Sprachformen nachweisbar ist, wodurch dieser Befund wiederum bestätigt wird. Dazu ausführlicher an anderer Stelle; erinnert sei aber daran, daß z.B. bereits A. Götze, *Kizz.*, 32 n. 128 festgestellt hatte, daß der Brief KBo 1.14 auffällige Assyriasmen zeige, weshalb er es für denkbar hielt, "that the Hittite chancellery employed a special scribe for the correspondence with Assyria who either had had his training in Assyria or imitated, to the best of his ability, the style and language of the Assyrian letters he had to answer." Der Unterschied dieses Briefes zu KBo 1.10+, um nur diesen hier zu nennen, ist offensichtlich.

A Note on "The Tale of the Merchants"

SILVIN KOŠAK

Mainz

It is now more than three decades since our esteemed colleague and friend published his detailed edition of the short and fragmentary text KBo 12.42 with its duplicate ABoT 49.¹ Because of its unique nature, E. Laroche assigned a special number to this composition in his *Catalogue des textes hittites*, viz. CTH 822, and adopted the title *Récit de marchands*.

A few years later, ABoT 49 was augmented by the fragment 2007/u, found in the debris of Building A on Büyükkale² and now published as KBo 41.128. A further join is KBo 24.34, already mentioned by K. Balkan in the introduction to his ABoT but later disregarded.³

Whereas Hoffner used KBo 12.42 as the main text and listed the variants from ABoT 49 (NS) in the footnotes, we will take KBo 24.34 + KBo 41.128 + ABoT 49 (MS) as the main text. The restorations and translation follow Hoffner's original edition.

Transliteration

- A. KBo 24.34 + KBo 41.128 + ABoT 49 obv.
- B. KBo 12.42 rev.

obv.

- x+1. [o o A-N]A BE-E[L É-TÌ]
- 2'. [o o o L]SAGI-ma[(-)]
- 3'. [o o B]E-EL É-TÌ DUM[U]
- 4'. [GU]B²-aš IŠ-TU GAL a-ku-wa-an[-]
- 5'. nu BE-EL É-TÌ NINDA^{ta}-kar-m[u-

1. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "A Hittite Text in Epic Style About Merchants," *JCS* 22 (1968): 34–45; *JNES* 31 (1972): 34f.

2. H. Otten and Ch. Rüster, *ZA* 62 (1972): 235, Nr. 20.

3. S. Košak, *SiBoT* 42, 81 sub 1160/c with n. 2.

The first nine lines have the appearance of a festival performed for a "master of the house" (obv. 1', 3', 5')¹² and perhaps his children (obv. 3'). The LÚSAGI officiates. Consequently, this may be a ritual of the type "blessing on the house (of a merchant?),"¹³ "purification,"¹⁴ or "foundation of a house."¹⁵

obv. 14'' contains the particle of direct speech *arḫ|a=wa*, which probably belongs to the beginning of the recital. We may expect a dividing paragraph line after the lines obv. 9'–11'.

obv. 15''–23'' was dealt with and discussed in detail by Hoffner in his original discussion of this text (see above, n. 1).

B rev. 15: The entire text employs very clear word spacing. After *BĒL É-TĪ-ya-* there is no space, the next sign following closely on *ya-*. As in the handcopy, there are traces of a *Winkelhaken* on the photograph, followed by a vertical wedge and after a short spatium another vertical. The most likely reading is *-w[a-] x [*.

The join with KBo 24.34 adds an essential new dimension to the "Tale of Merchants": it seems to be a dramatic interlude embedded in a ritual activity, a device reminiscent of the "Tale of Tiššaruliya" in the KILAM Festival.¹⁶ It seems that during the ritual, some of the participants are told to leave the house while another group remains inside and assumes the part of the merchants. We do not know whether the recital itself was created specifically for this particular ritual or whether it was a quotation from some epic tale. Our hopes rest on finding further joins and duplicates.

12. Cf. H. G. Güterbock, *FsLaroche*, 140f.

13. Cf. KBo 34.45 + KBo 38.185; see S. Košak, *StBoT* 42, sub 25/c; cf. also V. Haas, *GHR*, 724.

14. V. Haas, *GHR*, 282ff.

15. V. Haas, *GHR*, 250ff.

16. Th. P. J. van den Hout, *JNES* 50 (1991): 193–202.

More on the So-Called "Puḫanu Chronicle"

STEFANO DE MARTINO AND FIORELLA IMPARATI†

Trieste and Florence

This text (CTH 16.a) has been the object of a number of studies by Hittitologists. O. Soysal¹ has published a transliteration with translation and an ample philological and historico-literary commentary. Among other scholars who have analyzed the document from a variety of viewpoints, H. A. Hoffner has himself made a significant contribution.² It is to him that we dedicate this short article, with our admiration and acknowledgements for his important contribution to Hittitological studies and with our warmest wishes.

As is well known, the text has survived as a series of fragments,³ each of which is referred to in this paper.

KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.4I

The first line of the text introduces Puḫanu as the author of the document and describes him as a "servant" (ARAD) of Šarmaššu. First of all we are confronted by the problem of the identity of Puḫanu.⁴ Although up until now this anthroponym has been documented only here, the name Šarmaššu also appears in §§3 and 4 of the "Palace Chronicle,"⁵ a text that can be dated to the time of Muršili I, but in which reference is made to events from the time of Ḫattušili I.⁶ Since in this latter text there is mention too of Zidi, who also appears in the document presently under examination, it would seem reasonable

1. *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 172–253; *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 109–37, to which one may refer for previous literature.

2. *JCS* 24 (1971): 34–35; *CoS* I, 184–85.

3. On the reconstruction of the text and the manuscripts that have tradited it, see O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 184–85.

4. On the name Puḫanu, see H. Otten, *ZA* 55 (1963): 161; O. Soysal, *VO* 7 (1988): 121 with n. 50, with earlier bibliography. See also *AHW*, 877, to which we shall return later. M. Forlani, *VO* 7 (1988): 129, believes that Puḫanu was a Syrian scribe in the service of Šarmaššu.

5. See most recently P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 32–35.

6. See most recently P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 10–11 with previous literature.

to assume that we are dealing with the same persons and that our text too can be dated to the reign of Hattušili I.⁷

Puḫanu, the author of the document, seems in the course of the narration (see below) to have an important function in introducing the events and in pressing their protagonists with questions.⁸

After the heading of the document (l. 1), unfortunately in a fragmentary context, there is introduced a person described—on the basis of what remains in the text—simply by the term *antuwaḫḫa*;⁹ the fragmentary nature of l. 1 makes it difficult to establish the identity and role of this figure within the narration. O. Soysal¹⁰ believes that this person is responsible here for the investiture of the sovereign, and that reference to the king is made with the following pronominal enclitic *-ši*. If we were to accept this hypothesis, we would then have to restore at least the title of the king, if not his name, in the break before *antuwaḫḫaš=ši*. Otherwise it would be strange that the first reference to the sovereign in the text is made in such a vague way by means of the pronoun alone.

We agree with E. Neu,¹¹ who claims that *-ši* here has a reflexive value, linked to the verb *waš-*, and who translates the phrase: “ein Mann zieht sich ein buntes Hemd an,” evidently assuming that no other words follow *antuwaḫḫaš=ši* at the end of l. 1. There remains the problem, however, of what the lacuna in the middle of l. 1 after the mention of the name of Šarmaššu might contain, and whether there was in fact some reference here to the Hittite sovereign, who otherwise would never be explicitly cited in KUB 31.4+.

In ll. 2–3 there is a description of the clothing of the person mentioned in l. 1, whose identity in the document, as we have seen, is not specified. On the basis of what follows in the text, this person seems to represent the Hittite sovereign¹²—or rather a “substitute” for him (see below). This second possibility may be supported by the fact that there is no mention of the sovereign even in the following paragraphs, and also by the justificatory tone that we find in the speech of the person in question.

O. Soysal¹³ has already drawn attention to the analogy in formulation between the passage in question and the substitution ritual KBo 15.2+ rev.

7. See H. Otten, *ZA* 55 (1963): 162, and most recently O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 196–99; *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 128.

8. According to O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 130–32, Puḫanu was a priest of the Weather-god, present in the retinue of the Hittite army during the course of military enterprises.

9. This term is followed by the enclitic pronoun *-ši*. Due to the fragmentary nature of the text, it is uncertain to whom it refers.

10. *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 110–11 with n. 4a.

11. *StBoT* 5, 123 with n. 6.

12. Thus O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 183; A. Archi, *CANE*, 2370–2371.

13. *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 110–11.

11'–15'¹⁴ and has advanced the hypothesis that the reference here is to a military ritual. We also accept the idea that the first part of the text contains the description of a ritual action. It is precisely the justificatory tone that suggests that by means of a kind of substitution ritual the sovereign was redeeming himself of some crime or offence he had committed, but that, as sovereign, he was unable to admit openly.

In support of this hypothesis we should bear in mind that some scholars have associated the name Puḫanu with the Akkadian term *pūḫu(m)*, which also designates a substitute in ritual actions.¹⁵ Furthermore, Hittite “substitution rituals” were derived precisely from the Mesopotamian tradition. Admittedly, we have records of these documents in Hatti only from the beginning of the imperial age,¹⁶ but this is not to say that they were unknown in earlier periods.¹⁷

In this context the word *antuwaḫḫaš* (l. 1) might indicate the “substitute” in the ritual action. We are aware of the differences both in formulation and in the structure of the text between the substitution rituals hitherto known and the document under examination. This may be due to the particular situation considered here. It is certainly also significant that the document as a whole is not presented as a ritual, but seems to refer to a ritual operation only in the first part.

Returning to the clothing of the person identified by us as the king’s “substitute,” we may note that it is characterized by three particular elements: a colored robe, a basket placed on the head, and a bow. As regards the colored robe—[TÚG.G]Ú.È.A GÜN.A—we recall that the term TÚG.GÚ.È.A often recurs in Hittite sources and is understood as a kind of tunic or shirt.¹⁸

The object which this “person” wears on his head is a “basket (made of wicker or reed)” (*pattar*).¹⁹ O. Soysal believes this to be a quiver, an object which in his view would be in keeping with the mention of a bow in l. 3.²⁰ We concur, however, with the objections of H. A. Hoffner²¹ regarding both the meaning that *pattar* generally has in Hittite sources and also the unusual fact that a quiver is worn on the head. The comparison made by H. A. Hoffner²² with the Mesopotamian iconography of sovereigns bearing a basket on their

14. See H. M. Kümmel, *StBoT* 3, 62–63.

15. See *AHw*, 877.

16. See H. M. Kümmel, *StBoT* 3, 188–89.

17. See Th. van den Hout, “Death as a Privilege. The Hittite Royal Funerary Ritual,” in *Hid-den Futures*, ed. J. M. Bremer, Th. van den Hout, and R. Petersen (Amsterdam, 1994), 40–41.

18. See the literature quoted by O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 183, and for the Mesopotamian area, H. Watzoldt, *RIA* 6 (1980–83): 22; see now also O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 11.

19. See *CHD* P, 241–42.

20. *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 183f.; *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 111; thus also A. Archi, *CANE*, 2371.

21. *CoS* I, 184 n. 1.

22. *CoS* I, 184 n. 1.

heads to indicate their building activity could be associated with the mention of this royal attribute.

The bow, as is well known, is a royal attribute and is frequently documented in the iconography of the imperial age.²³ Thus, the colored robe, the basket, and the bow could serve here as symbols of royalty to indicate whom the "substitute" represented. Moreover, one must bear in mind the important role played by the ceremony of dressing the substitute with the clothes of kingship in "substitution-rituals."²⁴

We must draw attention to the tone of the following ll. 3–11. Here, in fact, the king's "substitute" begins to speak. As previously mentioned, we feel it to be significant that his words do not have a triumphant and celebratory tone. To the contrary, beginning already in l. 3 he asks for help—we do not know from whom or in what circumstances—and exculpates himself from misdeeds he claims he has never committed, specifying in particular that he has not taken possession of livestock or slaves.

In §3 the king's "substitute" complains of having been treated badly and of suffering the imposition of the yoke: "Why do you treat me like this and why have you boun[d] me with this yoke?" (l. 7). We do not know the reasons for these expressions of self-justification, nor to whom they are directed, or exactly who has set the yoke upon the sovereign, who addresses himself to his interlocutors using the second person plural. If one interprets this part of the document as referring to a ritual action, then the "substitute" might be addressing the gods, although these are not specifically mentioned, as they are in the passage of the above-mentioned substitution ritual (see below).

In ll. 8–9 it seems that the character of this yoke is explained. What is striking here is the reference to two attributes mentioned in the preceding ll. 2–3, the basket and the bow. Nonetheless, the images used in ll. 8–9 are difficult to interpret. In the first image, the king's "substitute" seems to complain of being forced to continue to carry ice (*eka-*) in the basket. According to H. A. Hoffner²⁵ this must be a reference to a kind of forced labor, something we have evidence about from other Hittite sources. It is strange, however, that service of this kind is requested of the king. O. Soysal,²⁶ on the other hand, interprets the passage differently, claiming that it indicates metaphorically the destruction and death caused by the king's military enterprises.

In our view, the basket, because of its material,²⁷ seems to be a singularly inappropriate container for transporting ice, considering both its poor capacity

23. See most recently R. L. Alexander, *3rdHitt. Cong.*, 16.

24. See H. M. Kümmel, *StBoT* 3, 10–15, ll. 20'–22'; 136–37, ll. 3'–7'.

25. *JCS* 24 (1971): 34; *CoSI* 1, 184 n. 3.

26. *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 179, 185–86; *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 112–13.

27. See n. 19.

for retention and its scanty thermal insulation.²⁸ We might therefore attribute a metaphorical meaning to this passage, that is, it indicates an action that is difficult to perform, one that would be unlikely to lead to a satisfactory result. We wonder why this metaphor was used in this context. It is possible that the "substitute" wanted to justify before the gods the fact that some action carried out by the sovereign had failed to achieve a positive result. Through the ritual action described in the text the latter would have sought to win back the favor of the gods (see below).

In the same way, mention of the basket in l. 2 can be linked to the appearance of the same object in l. 8; thus we see a relationship between the bow mentioned in l. 3 and the arrows with which the "substitute" says that he will continue to fight (l. 9). It should be pointed out also that in §3 the military activity of the king is presented as a "yoke" (*iuka-*) borne by him and not as a source of pride, as is usually the case. In this context we feel that it is particularly significant that in §2 the king's "substitute" justifies himself by claiming that he has taken neither livestock nor goods from anyone. In light of §3 ll. 8–9, such materials might have come precisely from booty of war.²⁹

In §4 the character of the narration seems to change. In fact, it seems that at this point reference to the ritual action ends and the king begins to speak, although even here there is no explicit mention of him. We may notice that he now abandons the humble attitude with which he justified himself previously and instead assumes another, almost brazen, tone.

In l. 10 the king addresses himself to interlocutors, calling them with the second person plural and asking for news about an element of "subversion,"³⁰ presumably to be interpreted here as a reference to an adversary of the sovereign³¹ whom they have taken to Arinna. Neither the identity of these interlocutors nor their role in the matter is clear. It is also uncertain whether they had taken this unnamed adversary to Arinna to support him in opposition to the Hittite sovereign. In ll. 10–11 the king denigrates his adversary, calling him an "ass" and saying that he will sit upon him.³² His interlocutors themselves must escort him there, almost as if the sovereign wanted to reassert his authority over them in this way.

28. In this context we may recall the attestation in Hittite documentation of a container for ice, *DUK^hariulli*; see *HW²* II, 27; J. Puhvel, *HED* 3, 142–43.

29. There may be a reference here to the Syrian campaigns of Hattušili I, which will be discussed below.

30. See J. Puhvel, *HED* 3, 438: "what is this subversion you have brought to Arinna?"

31. See most recently O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 113.

32. Thus H. A. Hoffner, *CoSI* 1, 184 with n. 5; E. Neu, in *Man and the Animal World*, ed P. Anzietter, L. Bartosiewicz, E. Jerem, and W. Meid (Budapest, 1998), 644; otherwise O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 179; J. Puhvel, *HED* 1–2, 296; A. Archi, *CANE*, 2371.

The passage appears, therefore, to refer to an antagonist who was contending for kingship with the Hittite monarch, and who had been installed at Arinna. Despite the claims of O. Soysal³³ to the contrary, we do not think there is sufficient evidence to justify the identification of this city with the Arinna situated in south-western Anatolia. Although the area was frequently in a state of rebellion against Hittite power, it was peripheral to the heart of the kingdom of Hatti and not particularly significant from either a political or religious point of view. It therefore seems highly unlikely that an aspirant to Hittite royal power would have chosen to settle there. We prefer to recognize in this passage the important cult center already well known in sources of the Old Kingdom³⁴ in relation to the exercise of royal power.³⁵ Such a city would appear more likely as the headquarters of an adversary feared by the Hittite king.

As observed in relation to §4, in the following §5 the king appears to continue to boast of his own importance, emphasizing his role in the defence and literal conservation of the country, as the one who keeps the rivers, mountains, and seas in their places.³⁶

In §6 the exposition by Puḫanu resumes. The interpretation of l. 15 is particularly problematic. An initial difficulty arises from the restoration of the initial break. On the basis of the interpretation of H. Otten,³⁷ the restoration [EGIR-*p*]a / [app]a=ma=šmaš³⁸=aš³⁹ has been proposed: "but behind them he." However, it is still unclear to whom the two enclitic personal pronouns might refer. As regards the pronoun -šmaš, one might think that it alluded to Hittite troops; as for the particle =aš, it seems to be the subject of the verbal form *kišati*, which is usually translated as "he became."⁴⁰ Some scholars⁴¹ believe that the subject is a divinity. A. Archi⁴² thinks, instead, that the king himself has assumed the likeness of a bull here. O. Soysal, lastly, hypothesizes that the whole passage alludes to a military machine, a kind of ram,⁴³ or perhaps a cult standard carried at the head of the Hittite army.⁴⁴

33. *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 195–96; *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 128–30.

34. See V. Haas, *GHR*, 585.

35. See A. Archi, *FsOtten*², 8 n. 15.

36. See A. Archi, *FsOtten*², 8 n. 15; and A. Bernabé, *AuOr* 6 (1988): 9.

37. *ZA* 55 (1963): 160.

38. For the haplography -maš instead of -ma-šmaš, see *HW*¹, 138.

39. See H. A. Hoffner, *CoS* I, 184. O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 114–15, believes that there could be a divine name in the genitive case in the lacuna.

40. See H. Otten, *ZA* 55 (1963): 161; O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 179; A. Archi, *CANE*, 2371; H. A. Hoffner, *CoS* I, 184.

41. See the literature quoted by O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 233 n. 135.

42. *CANE*, 2371.

43. *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 187.

44. *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 116–18.

We prefer the first hypothesis, considering a divinity to be the subject of the phrase. Perhaps this was the Weather-god himself, represented by his sacred animal, the bull.⁴⁵ In fact, the presence of the verb *kišati* would suggest a sort of divine metamorphosis, although the absence of an explicit indication of the divinity transformed into a bull is surprising.⁴⁶

It is difficult, however, to accept the restoration proposed above for the break at the beginning of l. 15, since the divine bull should be at the head of the Hittite troops and not behind them. With regard to the above-mentioned proposal considering the king as the subject of the phrases, this seems to conflict with ll. 16–19, where Puḫanu interrogates a person whom it seems reasonable to recognize as the king. He describes the role played by the bull in the course of the military campaign and explains how the animal's horn has been damaged. The king seems to attribute to this animal the responsibility for the extraordinary event of the crossing of the Taurus mountain range. The beast had lifted up the mountains, allowing the Hittite army to reach the sea.

We should note the role of Puḫanu not only as the author of the document, but also as the one who, with his questions, offers the king the opportunity to free himself from the responsibility for this enterprise by attributing it to the divinity. In fact, as we shall seek to demonstrate, this action may have caused the king problems of a religious sort. In the following §7 we find the expression ^dUTU-uš, which has usually been interpreted as referring to the Sun-goddess.⁴⁷ O. Soysal,⁴⁸ on the other hand, believes that the expression alludes to the Hittite king, because ^dUTU-uš seems to be the logical subject of the phrase *piššen[uš ḫa]treškizzi* and, in his view, the context of the passage as a whole "spricht . . . für einen menschlichen Charakter." In this regard we must point out, however, that in KBo 3.40 rev. 9'–10' it is divinities who send a message to the king. We should also underline the anomaly of the expression ^dUTU-uš, with the phonetic complement -uš, to indicate the king's title. Accepting instead the hypothesis that we are dealing with the Sun-goddess here, one might presume that it is this divinity who authorizes the undertaking against Aleppo, thus conferring legitimacy upon the Hittite action. In that area there are already two Hittites, Šuppiaḫšu and Zidi, mentioned previously. Together with them the divinity Inara⁴⁹ of Hattuša is mentioned in an

45. See most recently, H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 47. On the bull in Hittite religion, see most recently V. Haas, *GHR*, 315ff.

46. Unless the name is to be sought in the break at the beginning of l. 15.

47. For the interpretation of the expression ^dUTU-uš, see the literature quoted by O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 189, to which we must now add A. Archi, *CANE*, 2371; H. A. Hoffner, *CoS* I, 185; J. Freu, *Ollodagos* 10 (1997): 282; O. Carruba, *Anatolia Antica (GSImparati)*, 150.

48. *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 188–89; *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 119–20.

49. The determinative is damaged. For the interpretation of this noun as a theonym, see H. Otten, *ZA* 55 (1963): 160; O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 227 n. 62; B. H. L. van Gessel,

unfortunately fragmentary context. The presence of this divinity, who was of great importance in the Hittite Old Kingdom, may also have had the purpose of legitimizing the actions of the king. An invitation to go to Zalpa follows, although we do not know who formulates it. The invitation appears to be addressed to Hittite troops.

Note the use of two different verbs of movement in relation to the two cities: l. 20, ^{URU}*Halpa itte[n]* "go to Halpa!"; l. 23, *uwatte[n* ^{URU}*Za]lpa uitten* "com[e] to [Za]lpa, come!"⁵⁰; l. 24, [^{URU}*Za]lpa uwatten* "come to [Za]lpa!" If it is true that in the first case it is the Sun-goddess who speaks, it is clear that she, as goddess of Hatti, gives the order to the Hittite troops to go from Hatti to Aleppo in Syrian territory, using the verb "to go." The second case is more complex, since the context prevents us from determining who imparts the order to "come" to Zalpa. The analogy in formulation between ll. 20–21 and l. 23 ("go!" and "say!") suggests that in this second case it is again a divinity who gives the order. Perhaps it is the same Sun-goddess mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph who is the *deus ex machina* of all the actions requested, or perhaps it is the goddess Inara.

It is also difficult to establish exactly which city of Zalpa is mentioned in this paragraph,⁵¹ that is, whether it is the Syrian Zalpa, which according to KBo 3.27:28–31 and possibly also the "Annals" of Hattušili I,⁵² had been conquered by this sovereign,⁵³ or the city of the same name situated on the Black Sea, an important cult center. Since we are dealing here with events that took place in the Syrian area, the first alternative would seem preferable. The use of the verb *uwa-* "to come" in relation to Zalpa would suggest that the city was already in Hittite hands.

The lines remaining at the end of this text are extremely fragmentary.

KBo 3.40

The first two paragraphs are full of breaks. In the first we note in ll. 1–2 the presence of the verb form *karšikanzi*, which also appears in l. 6, where it has the ideogram *HUR.SAG-an* "mountain" as object. We agree with

Onomasticon, 187, 189. On the goddess Inara of Hattuša, see most recently V. Haas, *GHR*, 436 n. 127.

50. Note here the repetition of this verb, in keeping with the literary character of the whole text.

51. See H. Otten, *StBoT* 17, 59 n. 11.

52. KBo 10.2 obv. 9–11; KBo 10.1 obv. 4–7, see F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *SCO* 14 (1965): 44–45, 77, 80.

53. See most recently H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 45–46, 53. For the location of this city, see M. Astour, *UF* 29 (1997): 18 n. 84, who nonetheless believes that the Zalpa mentioned in the "Annals" is the one situated on the Black Sea.

Ph. Houwink ten Cate⁵⁴ that the verb *karš-* "to cut" refers here to the opening of a pass through the range of the Taurus mountains to allow the Hittite army to reach Syria.⁵⁵ The repetition of the verb in question and the presence of the verb *išhamai-* "to sing" at the end of l. 2 emphasize the poetic-literary character of the text.⁵⁶

In §2 there arises the problem of the identification of the person to whom the first-person pronoun *uk* refers, and also of the identity of those referred to simply as ^{LÜ.MEŠ}*maiyaḫuš* "young men."⁵⁷ In the first case it would seem reasonable to recognize Puḫanu,⁵⁸ whose authorial interventions also guarantee the continuation of the narration. It is more difficult, on the other hand, to establish the identity of the "young men," since due to the lacunae we do not know about what matter they are questioned. Their response has also been lost.

Scholars have debated at length about §3, which has been variously interpreted as regards the identification of the divinities present and their role.⁵⁹ We share the opinion expressed by I. Singer⁶⁰ that the purpose of the paragraph is to demonstrate that the Weather-god of Aleppo had by now accepted the Hittite presence in northwestern Syria, even though Aleppo itself had not yet been conquered. Puḫanu, as seems to emerge from the context, must have acted as an intermediary between the divinity and the Hittite sovereign and his high dignitaries (^{LÜ.MEŠ}*GAL.GAL*). The divinity, through Puḫanu, announces that he does not attribute any blame to the Hittite sovereign, who has honored him and thereby earned his benevolence.⁶¹ In this passage we would emphasize the important role played by the magnates in the Hittite Old Kingdom.⁶² In the context of the document, this paragraph seems specifically to have the function of justifying the king's actions, a theme in keeping with the whole text.

Paragraph 4, l. 12', begins with a reference to a possible Hurrian attack, presumably in support of the Syrian centers assaulted by the Hittites. This attack had been expected for four years.⁶³ In anticipation, in ll. 12'ff. there is

54. *Anatolica* 11 (1984): 81 n. 72.

55. See O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 180–81, 230 n. 114; *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 121.

56. See O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 216ff.

57. See most recently CHD L–N, 117.

58. See O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 217.

59. See most recently O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 121–23, with previous literature.

60. *IOS* 14 (1994): 86–87.

61. O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 218, believes that reference is made here to the results of an oracular consultation.

62. See F. Imparati in H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 331f.

63. See most recently O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 123 with n. 27. See also S. de Martino, *Seminari dell'Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* (Rome, 1991), 73.

reference to two wrestlers,⁶⁴ who strike up a song. This is in all probability a ritual action connected with the battle that the Hittites are preparing to wage against the Hurrians.⁶⁵

This passage also confirms the literary character of the text, despite the fact that it also contains ritual aspects and references to past events. Similarly to what has been observed in relation to §2' and §4' (l. 15'), Puḫanu seems to intervene once more. Speaking in the first person, he interrogates the two wrestlers about the possible arrival of the "horde"⁶⁶ of enemies. Their reply is very fragmentary, but it seems that the Hurrians are about to arrive in the country. Ferocity, presumably of the latter,⁶⁷ is emphasized by the simile in l. 17': "it (= the Hurrian army) bi[tes] the country like a dog." This is in keeping with the definition "horde" applied to the army of the Hurrians. The remaining portion of the text is badly damaged. We would point out the mention of the name Inara in ll. 25' and 26'; this could be a theonym or part of a theophoric anthroponym.⁶⁸

KBo 3.43

This document is extremely fragmentary. Note that the mention of the "sea" and of the "horn" (ll. 6' and 7', respectively) recalls what we read in §6 of KUB 31.4+. Paragraphs 3' and 4' seem to allude to cultic matters. This is indicated by the verb *mugai-* "to invoke"⁶⁹ in l. 9', the mention of cedar in l. 11', the *tapišani-*⁷⁰ vessels in l. 12', and the Weather-god in l. 15'.

KBo 3.42

Very little remains of this fragment. In l. 6 we note the verb form *maḫḫu[n]* "I have said," whose subject could be Puḫanu, addressing the *šalašḫa-man*⁷¹ of the city of Uššu.⁷²

64. See J. Puhvel, *HED* 3, 363; O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 123–24.

65. On the interpretation of this song and on its significance in the text see the literature quoted by O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 124–25, to which add now O. Carruba, *Studia classica Iohanni Tarditi oblata* (Milan, 1995), 576–77; *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*, *CRRAI* 43, 69–70; H. C. Melchert, in *Mir Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, ed. J. Jasanoff et al. (Innsbruck, 1998), 492–93; H. A. Hoffner, *BM* 26, 172.

66. For the interpretation of the term *walkuwa(n)*, see most recently O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 14 (1999): 126–27; H. A. Hoffner, *BiOr* 53 (1996): 758.

67. See O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 217.

68. See O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 230 n. 103.

69. *CHD* L–N, 319–22.

70. For this form see J. Tischler, *HEG* 3, 8, 131.

71. See most recently O. Soysal, *Hethitica* 7 (1987): 194.

72. See *RGTC* 6, 464–65; 6/2, 181.

In conclusion, we believe that we have here a composite text in which we can recognize a ritual portion that refers to events that actually happened. In the first part, the text might refer to a rite performed through a king's "substitute" in order to purify the sovereign of an action that had provoked the wrath of the gods. That this action was associated with an enterprise of Hattušili I in Syria can be deduced from the second part of the text, which deals with the crossing of the Taurus mountains by the Hittite army.

The fact that the entire episode is not presented in a triumphant tone⁷³ suggests that the enterprise did not have the desired result. And as we know, Hattušili did not succeed in conquering the great Syrian center of Aleppo. In accordance with the ideological conception of war that existed in the ancient Near East, the unachieved or incomplete success of a military enterprise demonstrated that divine support for it was lacking. In our opinion, this would be the reason for the rite discussed in the first part of the text, a rite performed precisely in order to win back the favor of the gods. That this favor has in fact been regained is shown by the second part of the text, in which the king assumes a more self-confident tone. Here too emphasis is placed on the fact that the most important Hittite deities had promoted the enterprise and that even the Weather-god of Aleppo himself had accepted it.

As regards the stylistic aspects of the text, we have drawn attention to its poetic-literary tone. The narration *post eventum* does not follow chronological order, but the guiding principle is rather provided by the interventions and questions of Puḫanu.

73. This stands in contrast to what emerges from the "Annals" of the same king Hattušili I regarding the Syrian campaigns and the crossing of the Euphrates, an undertaking which only the great Sargon of Akkad had carried out previously.

Cultural Boundaries in Hittite Ritual

GREGORY McMAHON

Durham, New Hampshire

As a former student of Harry Hoffner, it is a special privilege to dedicate this essay to him. It was he who suggested a dissertation topic focusing on state cultic practice, thereby encouraging my interest in ritual practices. Since I left his direct tutelage, his scholarly work has continued to guide me and point the way for my own study. I am deeply grateful to Harry for his untiring efforts to bring the Hittites into the place of prominence that they deserve, and for his consistent encouragement in my own exploration of their culture.

Ritual in general, and animal sacrifice in particular, are so common a feature of antiquity that we might posit them as the most significant phenomenon distinguishing the modern world from the ancient. Attempts to explain the ubiquity of ritual and sacrifice abound, not just for the world of the ancient Mediterranean, but for all pre-modern societies. Many of the detailed or comparative investigations into the origins of ritual sacrifice have focused on Greek culture or on ethnographic data gathered by anthropologists; rarely do comprehensive theories completely incorporate evidence from the ancient Near East. While discussions of the origins of sacrifice by scholars such as Burkert and Girard¹ may be quite convincing, their conclusions are dependent on the nature and limits of the evidence available primarily from the Greek world, which includes very few of the actual ritual prescriptions in which the Hittite textual corpus is so rich.

Because Girard presents his theory of the origins of sacrifice² as a comprehensive explanation, without utilizing the kinds of evidence for antiquity available only from the detailed documentary sources for ancient Near Eastern ritual, this essay will examine his ideas about the beginnings and role of sacrifice in light of the more fully illuminating Hittite sources concerning ritual and sacrifice.

1. For example, Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berkeley, 1983); and René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* (Baltimore, 1977).

2. As articulated in *Violence and the Sacred*.

Girard has argued that sacrifice, in its original manifestations at the dawn of human culture, was the result of spontaneous violence, of a shift from individual or reciprocal conflict, caused by mutually competing desires, to a single, (almost) unanimous act of generative violence against an innocent victim perceived as the cause of crisis in the community. He sees in this act the genesis of all human culture, including perhaps language, and certainly religion, mythology, and politics. For Girard, ritual sacrifice in the observable historical period is then a re-creation of that initial spontaneous sacrifice, invariably for the identical purpose—to direct the community's aggression toward a single object and thereby to restore peaceful relations and social stability within the community.

Thus Girard defines ritual, in its original form, specifically as a ceremony involving the entire community and necessarily focused on violence, the killing of a substitute victim in an experience similar to—if less intense than—the catharsis that followed the original sacrifice/murder. Essential to Girard's thesis is the hidden nature of this true meaning of the ritual; the violence that created the community is hidden by the ritual, with the original victim typically becoming a hero or deity, complete with a mythology developed to disguise the true origins of the deity's apotheosis. Additionally, Girard's description of the genesis of all early culture, and his explanation for the consistent existence of ritual sacrifice in all pre-modern cultures, hinges on his argument that the crisis that precipitates the unanimous or generative violence is caused by a collapse of differentiation, by the community's increasing inability to make distinctions among its members. This in turn leads to mimetic desires within the group that focus too closely on the same objects. In Girard's view, ritual originally is public, requires participation by the entire community, and has as its purpose the re-creation of the original generative sacrifice of an innocent victim through the killing of a substitute victim.

Such a theory can be useful in positing an explanation of the ubiquitous nature of ritual sacrifice throughout the pre-modern world, partly because it implies a number of questions. Some of the questions specifically applicable to or brought to mind by the Hittite evidence include:

- What happens to the sacrificial victim after it is killed? Does it matter how the group treats the corpse of the victim? This posed significant issues as long as human sacrifice was continued. In other words, was a cultic meal (which is viewed by some scholars as providing meaning and function to the sacrifice) a later development?³

3. E. Graf, "Prayer in Magical and Religious Ritual," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, ed. C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (New York, 1991): 195, notes as a primary marker of distinction between magical and religious ritual the necessity of a sacrifice.

- Why does sacrifice typically become the province of specialized officiants in developed societies, thereby losing its aspect of complete communal participation?
- What is the origin of private ritual, performed not by the community, or for the community by official representatives, but performed rather by individual specialists for private clients?
- Why does ritual often lose its violent nature in developed societies? In Hittite ritual practice, non-violent ritual includes both offerings to the god that do not require animal sacrifice (wine, bread, meal) as well as practices of analogous magic which are incorporated in ritual, often accompanying sacrifice, but apparently unrelated to an initial act of violence.

If the primary role of ritual and/or sacrifice is the establishment of community identity and the easing of social tensions, does then ritual in the Hittite tradition primarily promote unity or diversity? Does it *create* boundaries and differences, or seek to eradicate them? Girard recognizes the dual nature/role of sacrificial ritual; it is meant both to preserve or reassert differentiation within the community *and* to reunite the group. These questions address the issue of the development of the very early system proposed by Girard; his attempt at a comprehensive explanation of origins precludes detailed discussion of the different possible ways such a system might evolve. Nonetheless his thesis depends on that evolution, on that diversity of observable forms produced by a universally identical event. We must then consider the ways in which magical ritual practice may create or acknowledge boundaries or divisions within a culture. This is really to pose the question of the goal of culture: is it unity or diversity? Is ritual meant to confirm the unity of the group, or carefully to preserve distinctions, what Girard calls differentiation? We begin the investigation with a consideration of the boundaries discernible in the Hittite ritual tradition.

Perhaps the most impenetrable boundary in attempting to identify and understand ritual and its power is that between the ancient world and ours. We may perceive the locus of difference between ancient and modern differently, but most people in the modern world accept its fundamental difference from that of the ancients in worldview and practice. Girard locates the difference in a single phenomenon: the absence of sacrifice as an essential component of our society. Unlike pre-modern societies, we no longer depend upon ritual

sacrifice, and its absence from magical practice. In his view the essential aspect of the sacrifice seems to be the meal, from which the group performing the sacrifice draws its identity and sense of community. B. J. Collins, "Ritual Meals in the Hittite Cult," in *Ancient Magic*, 72–79, however, notes that for the Hittites a cultic meal often also accompanies the performance of sacrifice in pri-

sacrifice to transform individual or reciprocal violence into unanimous violence, necessary according to him to sustain the stability and peace of any pre-modern human community. In his view we are able to survive and create stable social systems without sacrifice only because we have substituted for the sacrificial system an authoritative, recognized, legal or judicial system that can control individual violence without the fear of reprisal that eventually leads pre-judicial ancient communities into catastrophe. His argument that much of very ancient human society, with its much more careful rules about allowable human interaction, is conditioned by the need for regular sacrifice in the absence of a developed legal system, indicates his understanding of the essential boundary that separates us from ancient humanity.

In my view equally as important is the revolution in our understanding of the functioning of the cosmos, or at least of our solar system. Our heliocentric description of the mechanism for the seasons and the regular recurrence of days and years, based as it is upon predictable laws of physics, and assuring us that the basic cycles (day and year) upon which we so utterly depend are the product of forces far beyond our control, brings the luxury of a peace of mind and relaxation of vigilance which is uniquely modern. This recognition of our powerlessness to affect the largest forces of the cosmos also helps explain our ability to survive without regular sacrifice as an essential foundation of our social system.

The possible boundary between magic and religion is partially a product of the boundary discussed above, that between antiquity and the modern world. This question of definition has essentially become a field of study of its own. Without reviewing the entire discussion, I will simply note that many scholars going back at least to Frazer have proposed different ways of drawing, or effacing, those boundaries. It has been proposed that at least the structural distinction between magic defined as manipulation and religion defined as supplication begins with the Christian period, and is confirmed in the Protestant Reformation.⁴ Fritz Graf, in his article "Prayer in Magic and Religious Ritual," claims that for anthropologists the Frazerian dichotomy is long dead and buried.⁵ However, there is clearly some tendency to distinguish between magic and religion in some way, as is evident, almost ironically, in the title of his article.

Other proposed criteria for drawing a boundary between magic and religion include: distinguishing legal versus illicit practices, or public versus se-

4. S. Ricks, "The Magician as Outsider in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (Leiden, 1996), 133; and K. Thomas apud F. Graf, "Excluding the Charming: The Development of the Greek Concept of Magic," in *Ancient Magic*, 35. However, Graf himself, 38–40, argues convincingly that this distinction goes back to Plato.

5. "Prayer," 188.

cret, or utilizing ancient/native divisions, such as that of text genres. The Hittite use of the Sumerian terms EZEN ("festival") and SISKUR ("ritual") confirms their own distinction between at least two major types of ritualized performance. This ancient distinction may convince us that the work of categorizing has already been done, although we can still ask what the *essential* difference between these two kinds of procedures is.

Another excellent example of ancient distinctions among approaches to ritual behaviors is that drawn between different kinds of practitioners or experts. Edith Ritter discusses the Babylonian distinction between magical experts (*ĀŠIPU*) and physicians (*ASŪ*)—her translations—who employ different *modi operandi* and materials in treating the same sorts of problems.⁶ The Hittite records also reveal a variety of different practitioners of ritual. However, this diversity of practitioners is not universal; David Frankfurter has argued convincingly that in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt ritual power seems to be the province of only one kind of specialist, the lector priest (*hry-tp*), who is literate and whose original context is the state temples.⁷ In Egypt at least there seems to have been little or no distinction *by profession* between practitioners of magic and religion. Like many distinctions, these categories can be arbitrary and ethnocentric, but very convenient, if used specifically, for discussing a particular ritual tradition.

The "Hittite" tradition is of course not a closed system, but in fact represents an especially graphic example of the borrowing of ritual and mythology that typifies most of the cultures of the ancient Near East and the eastern Mediterranean. Girard's explanation might lead us to expect ritual to create rigid boundaries between cultures, that is, between communities with different formative original sacrifices and consequent mythology and ritual. The eclectic nature of the Hittite ritual tradition may thus provide a point of critique for Girard's theory; if each specific sacrificial ritual was meant to re-create—without the participants' knowing it—an initial act of spontaneous violence, that is, if it originally had meaning only for the community which experienced the original sacrifice and created the consequent ritual, how can it be appropriated by another group? To some extent, Girard's theory provides for this possibility through his allowance for significant changes in a ritual over time, and even for the original meaning of a ritual to be forgotten. He does not, however, discuss in detail the phenomenon of borrowing ritual, which to my mind remains to be convincingly explained. Even the question of the authority

6. "Magical-Expert (= *ĀŠIPU*) and Physician (= *ASŪ*). Notes on Two Complementary Professions in Babylonian Medicine," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His 75th Birthday*, ed. H. G. Güterbock et al. (Chicago, 1965), 299–321.

7. D. Frankfurter, "Ritual Expertise in Roman Egypt and the Problem of the Category 'Magician,'" in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, ed. P. Schäfer and H. G. Kippenberg (Leiden, 1997), 116, 119–21.

of anthropologists to discern common characteristics of ritual in all early societies and to study the phenomenon in a general way, is one of boundaries, or lack thereof.

The answer to the problem of borrowing may lie in the power of the mythologies that accompany ritual. These stories travel well among cultures; we can imagine early mythologies capturing the imagination of people hearing them for the first time, and providing points of recognition with the borrowers' own sacrificial traditions. Scholars of Hittite culture have long known that early "Hittite" mythologies, borrowed from the Hattian culture, are integral parts of rituals, typically those of attraction magic. Certainly the Hattian/early Hittite conjunction of myth and ritual bears out Girard's theory of the origins of all myth in initial spontaneous group sacrifice, and the inextricable link between myth and ritual.

If the Hattian myths and accompanying rituals of attraction do fit Girard's theory of ritual and myth, then we would expect to find in the myths some indication of their origins in group sacrifice. Although the observable ritual traditions of the historical period are far removed from Girard's postulated original act of violence, they are less distantly removed than the Greek evidence in which he himself discerns traces of the original sacrifice. In Hattian mythology such as the Telepinu myth⁸ one would expect to see some remnant of the sacrifice of an innocent victim echoed in the accompanying ritual. The myth does in fact describe a violent situation, but the violence is *caused* by the disappearance of the god. In Girard's view the god is typically the original victim, deified in the mythologizing of the sacrificial event. So in Girard's system the expulsion (or voluntary departure) of the god should *stabilize* the community and restore order.

The "sacrificial crisis" (Girard's term) which precipitates the removal of the perceived problem may be reflected in Telepinu's agitation at the beginning of the myth, but his disappearance, if that reflects an original sacrifice, does not bring the order which Girard tells us should result from the sacrifice of the victim. Possibly the sacrifice is recalled rather in the men, sheep, and cattle who perish during Telepinu's second stage of destruction. They, like Girard's hypothetical surrogate victim, are apparently innocent. Still, their sacrifice, if such it is, does not restore order to the community, and it is in fact the *return* of the deity which brings order; this is contrary to Girard's suggestions about order being restored by the sacrifice (removal?) of the victim, who is then deified. In addition, the accompanying ritual, meant according to Girard to re-create the violence of the initial sacrifice, does not emphasize violence, i.e., animal sacrifice. Such may be implied in the eagle's wing used to move Telepinu, or in the fleece which flies from the pole placed before Telepinu, but

8. See H. Hoffner's translation in *Hittite Myths*, 14–20.

it is not the central point of the ritual, which involves non-violent offerings. If the Hattian ritual tradition fits Girard's theory, it is only in the very effective hiding of the original event.

Part of Girard's description of the process of original sacrifice in *Violence and the Sacred* may prompt thoughts of the Vanishing Deity myths:

In some cases the mythological characters are said to grant men whatever they need to live in society; in other cases they deny them these same benefits. In either case men manage to obtain what they require, sometimes by theft or trickery, but not before one of the mythological characters has been isolated from the others and subjected to some unusual accident or misfortune. This accident may be fatal; sometimes it is merely ludicrous. We must recognize in it a mask for the collective violence that terminates the crisis. Sometimes the central figure breaks away from the group and flees, taking with him the object in dispute. Generally he is overtaken and put to death; occasionally he is merely wounded or beaten. Sometimes it is he who demands to be beaten, and at each blow extraordinary benefits accrue, giving rise to a fertility and an abundance that assures the harmonious functioning of the cultural order.⁹

This description is consistent with Girard's overall theoretical construct for the origins of sacrifice, and it recalls the Vanishing Deity motif without quite fitting that Hattian pattern. The god is isolated, as Girard suggests must occur, but he is not really subjected to an accident. The isolation initiated by the vanishing deity leads to his disappearance into a comfortable life far from his cares in supervising human society. He is overtaken, as Girard suggests, but he is certainly not put to death. Even if the bee stings of the Telepinu myth were to be seen as Girard's motif of beating, it is not the beating, but the return, which brings the fertility so lacking during the god's absence. In Girard's theory the generative act is the disappearance/isolation of the surrogate victim, who must never return.

In addition to boundaries between cultures, within a society in which the application of ritual power is an essential characteristic or social foundation, certain boundaries are created or recognized. There are of course physical boundaries, upon which most ancient traditions of public ritual depend. It is essential in most public ritual to provide spatial boundaries, be they architectural, topographical, or botanical. But what of private ritual: does it depend on physical boundaries, on sacrality of place? This is a question difficult to answer for the Hittites. Hittite private rituals do not depend completely on physical isolation; they were often performed outside, because of the need to dispose of contaminated materials. These outdoor *loci* were admittedly often in isolated areas, and we may assume that black magic rituals, inferred from laws and magical diagnoses, were performed in hidden places. For other

9. *Violence and the Sacred*, 93.

cultures in which the mechanisms of private ritual are well documented, we note a great need for physical boundaries. Jonathan Smith discusses at length the relocation of ritual practice in the late Graeco-Roman period because of a decline in sacrifice at the major temples.¹⁰ The *Papyri Graecae Magicae* reveal few outdoor locations suitable for ritual; almost invariably the locus for a private ritual was the house of the practitioner, where a miniature replica of the temple was set up in a clean room. Private ritual, like public, can depend on physical boundaries.

Another boundary is that between the ritual expert and the uninitiated. This boundary is very clear for Hittite society. The "Instructions for Temple Personnel"¹¹ depict an institution with definite boundaries between actual priests and everyone else. Although the types of specialists in state cult and private ritual are richly varied, they are clearly separate from those not part of this group. Even within the religious professions there is a hierarchy. However, this boundary is not so sharply defined for another contemporary culture, that of the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean Greeks as described by Homer, in which anyone—or at least anyone sufficiently noble to be noticed by Homer—may apparently offer sacrifice to the divine in a ritualized way. This may also have been true of the Hittites, the apparent discrepancies being due to the very different nature of our sources for these two cultures. What the preserved Hittite evidence indicates is ritual's creation of boundaries, or differentiation, within the culture. However, the Hittite system seems to have created a less strict boundary between priests and magicians, between official ritual specialists and private ones; several professional designations appear in descriptions of both private and public ritual. This is apparently the case also in the later Egyptian ritual tradition. In Roman Egypt, for which an abundance of documentation is available, it is clear that it was the lector priest who was the ritual specialist, heir to the earlier temple tradition of Egypt and set apart because of his esoteric knowledge.

Ritual specialists in some cultures move between public and private ritual, blurring a boundary which is perhaps of our own creation anyway. However, the dividing line between private ritual specialists and the common population was carefully preserved. The lector priest of late Egyptian culture was separated from the people around him by highly specialized knowledge. Fritz Graf describes the situation in a post-Hittite Anatolian environment (sixth-century Ionia) thus: "a *magos* was not so much a wizard as a ritual specialist at the margins of society, with wide-ranging functions, ridiculed by some, secretly dreaded by many others."¹² S. Walters notes the deep ambivalence with which

10. J. Smith, "Trading Places," in *Ancient Magic*, 13–27.

11. I have translated this text in *CoS* 1, 217–21.

12. "Excluding the Charming," 31.

sorcerers are viewed in any society.¹³ This boundary is discernible in the tendency of ritual power to become the province of outsiders, of people who come from the margins of the society or are of genuinely foreign origin. This was commented on already by Tylor in 1871: "In any country an isolated or outlying race, the lingering survivor of an older nationality, is liable to the reputation of sorcery."¹⁴ Jonathan Smith, in discussing later Greek magic, describes the "magician" as a "mobile religious specialist."¹⁵ He is mobile specifically because part of his professional qualification is his extrinsic nature in relation to the group in which he is working. This is probably not only because the outsider brings in exotic language, names for superhuman forces, and rites, but also because as a foreigner he or she is already suspect in motivations and intentions.

Because of the ambivalence or suspicion any community feels toward one with special powers, it is easier for an outsider to fill the role of ritual practitioner without greatly adding to the suspicion already directed towards him. If magical practitioners are by the nature of their profession suspected or feared by the community, then it is more difficult for a member of the community to become one. The Greek example of *magos*, borrowed from a Persian priestly designation, illustrates this principle; the most basic word for "magic" in Greek derives from a loan word and reflects the Greek association of ritual power with foreign practitioners.¹⁶ Fritz Graf, in an essay assessing the usefulness of a distinction between magic and religion, notes a different manifestation of this phenomenon: the rituals typical of magic tend to set up "magicians" in opposition to official priests, and therefore to isolate them from ordinary people.¹⁷ As he points out, if the practice of magic by its nature separates one from normal human intercourse (see above), it helps explain the ubiquitous phenomenon of magicians as social or ethnic outsiders. He notes the example of Apuleius, who was charged with sorcery in the small town of Oia, partly because he was a foreigner—and because he had managed to marry a rich widow.

The evidence of the Hittite ritual texts deposited in the state archives fits the pattern of foreign origins for magical practitioners, if not Graf's model of the clear distinction of magicians from priests. Typically the ritual practitioners come from outer regions of the Hittite Empire, from culturally distinct

13. S. Walters, "The Sorceress and Her Apprentice," *JCS* 23 (1970): 27.

14. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (London, 1871), vol. 1, 113.

15. "Trading Places," 21.

16. "Excluding the Charming," 36: "Thus, the term *magos* originated not so much from real observation of Persian religion or from the presence of Persian priests on Greek soil, but from the desire to designate certain ritual and ideological attachments as foreign, unwanted, and dangerous. . . ."

17. "Prayer," 196.

regions joined to the empire. The Ritual of Uhhamuwa,¹⁸ for example, is performed by a "man of Arzawa." Paskuwatti, whose ritual of incubation is meant to cure a man of impotence,¹⁹ is a "woman of Arzawa." Arzawa, on the western edge of Anatolia, typifies a border area providing the perfect combination of cultural similarity and foreignness. Zarpiya, whose ritual provides relief from catastrophes of national proportions,²⁰ is from the region of Kizuwatna, also a border area with recognizably similar ritual traditions but also the requisite linguistic and cultural differences. Magical ritual is probably an even more potent agent of cultural diffusion than cult practice, since individual ritual practitioners seem to depend for their livelihood on moving to new locations where their foreignness, their difference, gives them an advantage in their work.

Girard comments as well on the role of marginal people in ritual and sacrifice; in his conception people on the edges of society, either ethnically, legally, or socially, are those most likely to be chosen as substitute sacrificial victims. He does not argue that people from outside the society are likely to become practitioners of magical ritual, but rather that they are likely to become victims in re-enactments of the original generative violence. His most telling examples from antiquity are the *lithobolia* at Troezen, commemorating the original sacrifice by stoning of two foreign goddesses, and the Athenian *pharmakos*, a victim prepared ahead of time and expelled or killed in times of crisis, in Girard's view in a ceremony which replicates the original spontaneous victimization.²¹

While his description of the propensity for marginalized victims as the obvious choice for re-enactment of the original sacrifice may be convincing, his theory does not include any consistent explanations for the rise of ritual specialists in the historical cultures of antiquity. We must posit this development, since most cultures of the ancient world developed a varied group of specialists in ritual, whether that ritual specifically included animal sacrifice or not. The two seemingly disparate roles typical of people on the margins of society are striking: that of potential substitute victim and that of magical ritual expert. The suspicion with which magical practitioners are typically viewed, when combined with their ethnic or cultural marginality, might be supposed to make them excellent candidates for service to the community on whose margins they exist, as sacrificial victims. That this does not happen in the observable historical period may simply be a function of the almost complete substitution of animals for sacrifice, but it is remarkable how limited is that probable conjunction of the two aspects of foreign origin.

18. Translated by A. Goetze, *ANET*, 347.

19. Edited by H. Hoffner, "Paskuwatti's Ritual against Sexual Impotence (CTH 406)," *AuOr* 5 (1987): 271.

20. Translated by B. J. Collias, *CoS* I, 162-63.

21. *Violence and the Sacred*, 94-95.

A function of the frequently foreign origins of ritual practitioners, dear to philologists, is the clear traces they leave of that exotic origin in the form of litanies or incantations in foreign (to the home culture) languages. The Hittite evidence indicates that such foreign-language texts may become embedded in both public and private ritual. Ritual texts from the Hittite archives provide a number of examples of liturgy, borrowed from other traditions, in the original language—Hattic or Luwian, etc.—meant to be pronounced during a cultic ritual. This would have created a boundary between those who understood it and those who could not. This is of course a widespread phenomenon in the Greek world, in which spells recorded in a multicultural environment like Hellenistic Egypt often incorporate words from earlier traditions in Demotic or Old Coptic whose meaning would have been inaccessible even to many magical practitioners.²² Graf also notes that prayers preserved in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* contain words derived from Near Eastern languages which were no longer understood by the general populace.²³ Again the magical practitioner's special knowledge separates him or her from the community, and a foreign origin complete with a different native language can provide an advantage in convincing prospective clients of the power available to the magician.

Four elements of the Hittite ritual tradition represent distinct departures from Girard's portrayal of the classic ritual sacrifice:

- Ritual in the Hittite tradition is performed apart from the community by specialists, who act for it.
- Many of the offerings are not animals and require no violence.
- Rituals may be performed for private clients instead of for the community.
- Many rituals utilize not only violent sacrifice and offerings devoid of violence, but also involve analogous or sympathetic magic.

Girard does note that the original pattern diverges dramatically in different cultures; it is an essential element of his argument that this divergent complexity of observable ritual behavior is precisely what has obscured the true origins of the phenomenon.

Of all these divergences, the most problematic is the development of analogous magic. Many of the procedures, such as peeling an onion or untwisting wool yarns, seem very far from a hypothetical generative murder. Can this ritual practice also stem from an initial sacrifice, or do the acts of ritual have more than one origin?

Perhaps sympathetic magical ritual's origins are to be found in some other mechanism. However, it seems possible that even this approach to ritual

22. D. Frankfurter, "Ritual Expertise," 117-19.

23. "Prayer," 191.

might be derived from the same postulated original sacrifice, if we look at the example of oath and curse magic. In Faraone's synthesis of the patterns of early Greek oath magic²⁴ one is struck by the frequency of the mutilation or destruction of animals or human and animal figures to provide the analogies which form the basis of these oaths. Faraone calls attention specifically to the use of wax images which are burned up while swearing the oath, likening the fate of any transgressors of the oath to the dissolving effigies. This use of wax figurines is common in the Mediterranean, as he demonstrates. Such a procedure is of course part of the Hittite military oath.²⁵ But it is not only melting wax that provides the analogy for oath magic; often it is also a mutilated or slaughtered animal. Again this is common throughout the Mediterranean. The animal is typically killed on the spot, and the oath sworn while touching it or slaughtering on it. Here the Hittite Ritual for a Defeated Army comes to mind.

The analogous principle of such oath magic does fit very well with Girard's suggestions about the original rite; it involves violence directed toward real animals or models of them, and its purpose is quite specifically to banish disorder and establish unity within the group. This oath magic often involves a newly forming group, and its union is commemorated with a sacrifice, much as Girard describes for the original creation of human societies. Obviously it is very hypothetical to suggest that all analogous magical practice stems from the use and modification of sacrifice in curses. It is not impossible, however, that even the sympathetic practices so characteristic of Hittite magical ritual have their origins in violent sacrifice, adapted for oaths and curses, modified by rendering the victims in wax or wood, and finally extending the analogy.

Related to the development of analogous magic is the problem of Girard's failure to explain a kind of ritual ubiquitous in Mediterranean antiquity: private rituals, *not* performed by the entire community, or even by designated representatives of the community for the purpose of confirming group identity and unity. In Girard's usage, the word "ritual" refers only to public, community ritual, which in his view in all cases originally involved violence, that is, human or animal sacrifice, since it always re-enacted an original spontaneous sacrifice of a member of the community. Ritual in this sense is religious and magical, made sacred by the community and functioning automatically—invariably effectively—by a mechanism opaque to the sacrificing group.

Perhaps this is why we now divide, using categories formed through our own perception of this phenomenon, descendants of this initial ritual into the categories "religion" and "magic." If this distinction is still at all useful, where should we draw the line? For Girard's reconstruction, it would be best to draw

it at one of the two most obvious points of difference from his foundational ritual: between private ritual performed for groups smaller than the whole, and group ritual performed by the commonality or its representatives; or between those ritual practices which involve violence and those which do not.

Girard would not divide Hittite ritual practices as they themselves did, since some SISKUR, as well as the EZEN, are performed publicly and officially. It would be tidy—and better for Girard's theory—if the public official rituals always emphasized animal sacrifice and the privately performed rituals did not. However, the Hittite sources do not allow such a clear-cut distinction. The Ritual of Ambazzi, performed for a private client, involves the sacrifice of a buck, with part of the animal offered on the gods' altars and part cooked and eaten by the client.²⁶ Likewise the Paskuwatti Ritual includes the sacrifice of a sheep.²⁷ Ritual practitioners, often like Paskuwatti from outside the community, were in the historical period performing animal sacrifices, whose origin according to Girard was in ritual originally specific to the community.

Ritual is discernible in perhaps every culture; certainly it is everywhere in the ancient world, inscribed so deeply in the social system that it is still obvious even to us at such a great remove in time, despite the loss of much of its functional apparatus. If then we ask whether ritual is an index of the universality of some features of human culture, we must consider whether rituals in different cultures are more alike or more dissimilar. Most anthropologists insist that ritual has the same basic forms and functions everywhere. Girard's arguments about ritual as a re-creation of an original violent act, present in every culture because violence is inherent in every culture, indicate his position on this question. For him, culture itself is a consequence of some original sacrifice, spontaneously committed by the mob, that produced a powerful unanimity, making possible the cooperation necessary to the functioning of a culture. While he acknowledges the diversity that has subsequently come to characterize different ritual traditions, he maintains that in every culture the origins of ritual (sacrifice) are the same.

The very fact that modern scholars debate how to define or identify magic and religion demonstrates our perspective outside a system in which ritual is the essential element. Magic is often defined negatively, by what it is not, as being something other than religion, or medicine, or science.²⁸ Implicit in definitions of magic are boundaries. Despite my conviction that the most insurmountable boundary in the study of magic is the divide that separates the modern world, with its increasing lack of emphasis on or understanding of

24. C. Faraone, "Molten Wax, Spilt Wine, and Mutilated Animals: Sympathetic Magic in Early Greek and Near Eastern Oath Ceremonies," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 113 (1993): 60–80.

25. R. Beal, "Hittite Military Rituals," in *Ancient Magic*, 63–64.

26. KUB 9.25 + 27.67.

27. KUB 7.5+ iii 1–12; see H. Hoffner, *AuOr* 5 (1987): 275, 278.

28. See basic discussions on definition by F. Graf, "Prayer," 188f., and J. Smith, "Trading Places," 13 f.

ritual, from the ancient, where ritual was built into essentially all social structures, the problem is not wholly of our own devising. Graf, in his discussion of the Greek development of the concept of magic, notes both the complex of words used by the Greeks to denote different types of ritual practice, and Plato's discussion in the *Laws* of the different terms for magic.²⁹

In other traditions there is much evidence of magic's secret nature. Jonathan Smith's description of late Greek ritual performance in the magician's house, as a replacement for the public sacrifices offered in the great temples, demonstrates this.³⁰ David Frankfurter argues very cogently for the unique power of individual practitioners in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt as collectors of secret knowledge preserved in *grimoires* and brought to bear on the problems of individual or unofficial clients.³¹ Stephen Ricks notes a strong tendency among scholars to suggest that the distinction between religion and magic is ours, not that of antiquity.³² However, he then assumes some validity for these categories by suggesting that what we now call magic was in fact simply religion which "deviated sharply from the norms of the dominant social group" and was for that reason seen by the official cultures as "antisocial, illegal, or unacceptable." In his view, magic in the world of the Hebrews was illicit and therefore secret.

Despite disagreements over where to draw the distinction, the categories of religion and magic help us make some distinctions in the continuum of ritual practice. However, neither the Frazerian dichotomy of manipulation vs. supplication, nor the distinction proposed by the scholars cited above between legal/official/public versus illicit/secret ritual practice fits the Hittite evidence very well. It is true that Hittite sources are incomplete in the area of secret curse magic. Reasons for this are obvious; since our understanding of Hittite magical ritual is derived from official records excavated in state archives, we naturally do not have direct evidence of secret/illicit magical practice.³³ The contrast between Hittite evidence for magical ritual, preserved in official state archives, and much of the classical evidence, which is in the form of curses and binding spells, obviously secret, and often discovered in the form of voodoo dolls or *katadesmoi*, is striking. We do not have direct Hittite examples of "black magic," or magic as individualized violence, as Girard might put it. With that caveat in mind, the Hittite ritual texts' existence in official state archives reminds us both that much of Hittite ritual is meant

29. "Excluding the Charming," 30–35.

30. "Trading Places," 23–27.

31. D. Frankfurter, "Ritual Expertise," 115–35.

32. In "The Magician as Outsider in the Hebrew Bible and New Testament," in *Ancient Magic*, 131–43.

33. See the comments by S. Walters, *JCS* 23 (1970): 27 on "good magic" as a "mirror image" of sorcery.

to be officially recognized and performed, and that the state was apparently quite concerned with keeping track of all ritual practices.

So what might the Hittites contribute as a criterion for classification of the ritual spectrum? The two kinds of texts describing ritual procedure, which display significant differences, provide a clue. EZEN typically are regular celebrations, prescribed in a cult calendar, involving members of the state cult (including the king and queen) and taking place in officially sanctioned sacred *loci* (temples, outdoor altars/totems, groves, springs, etc.). SISKUR are rituals typically performed by private magical practitioners, as needed, to address problems. They may involve mechanical, analogous practices, violent sacrifice, and offerings; they may include specific supplications of a deity. Often they are all mixed together. They may be performed for private clients or for the state. They may be remedial or preventive.

This brings us to the question of ritual's potential for unifying or dividing a community. Girard's characterization of the role of ritual is nuanced by his own understanding of the paradox of what he calls the "sacrificial crisis." He sees the reduction of differentiation within the community as a threat, and suggests that the sacrificial victim is one who is seized upon as the cause of a threatening loss of differentiation, of "mimetic desire" (his term) out of control. Paradoxically, the sacrifice of the victim, who is perceived as threatening essential differentiation within the group, (re)unites the group. His theory is of course meant to apply to very early human history, to the moments when communities became societies. He is using the term "ritual" really to mean animal sacrifice (violence) performed by or for the group as a whole. It seems clear that in the Hittite case his basic theory, that sacrifice arises originally out of a sacrificial crisis and a moment of unanimous violence could be useful as an explanation of Hittite cult offerings.

Most scholars would agree that a primary purpose of religious rituals is the renewal and confirmation of the stability and identity of the community sponsoring the ritual. In the historical period this is in my view its most important aspect. This approach correctly assigns priority in Girard's hypothetical original sacrifice to function (group stability) over form (ritual killing). Thus in the historical period I believe the most important distinction, the most useful categorization, is that between public and private ritual. Each may include violent sacrifice; they may be performed by some of the same specialists; but they differ in their fulfillment of the original function of ritual sacrifice.

Having suggested this, we may well ask why private ritual was tolerated in a society like that of the Hittites. Most ancient Mediterranean societies present a picture like that we observe among the Hittites—"good" magic was encouraged, "bad" magic forbidden. Thus part of the reason private ritual was allowed in Hittite society was because of the need for it—to counteract black magic. However, I would like to suggest that the practice of *private* ritual

procedure is somewhat more complex in its function. If magical rituals to a certain extent depend on practitioners who are outsiders, then they must have the effect of preserving boundaries within the society. The black magic, presumably ritualistic in nature, implicit in legal prohibitions against it and in preserved magical diagnoses, is certainly an example of Girard's reciprocal or individual violence, taken underground as it were, but equally destructive in the Hittite mind. These secret rituals, although feared by the Hittites, did provide an outlet for reciprocal violence perhaps less destructive than the open display of mimetic desire to which Girard attributes serious crisis in a community. And many of the preserved rituals are meant to deflect anger or attack, specifically slander, which makes them look like Girard's concept of sacrifice used to control unanimous violence.

Hittite private ritual seems to me to function more like the Greek *pharmakon*, working as both disease and cure, providing both the unity created by group ritual—although not necessarily through sacrifice as Girard insists—but also evincing the presence of individual or reciprocal violence in the (implied) existence of illicit magic. Officially approved ritual, public and private, does apparently channel that violence, bringing the Hittite evidence into a modified conformity with Girard's theory of sacrifice as *the* unifying force in human society.

Hittite antaka- "loins" and an Overlooked Myth about Fire

H. CRAIG MELCHERT

Chapel Hill

One of the hallmarks of Harry Hoffner's scholarship is the breadth of his interests and expertise, which encompass philology, language, history, and culture (including religion and myth). I hope that the following modest contribution to several of these areas will serve as a worthy token of friendship and esteem.

Hittite *antaka-* is attested scarcely half a dozen times, including the longer variant stem *antakitti-*.¹ The standard interpretation of the word is "room, chamber," apparently first suggested in 1955 by Goetze, *ANET*, 349, for the example in the Ritual of Paskuwatti discussed below.² This seems to fit the occurrence in the myth of the disappearance of the Sun-god (KUB 36.44 i 12; OH/NS): [] ^dUTU-uš *aruni antaga-šša pait* . . . "The Sun God went to the

Author's note: I am indebted to Norbert Oettinger and Joshua Katz for valuable suggestions and references. The standard disclaimer applies regarding responsibility for the contents of what follows.

1. We can say nothing about the example *antaki-šš[i]* in KUB 45.3 iv 17—see the note by Laroche, *RHA* XXXIII (1975): 65—except that the antecedent of the possessive is likely the deity of the preceding line. I follow others in giving the longer stem as *antakitti-*, an *i*-stem. However, since both occurrences are in the dat.-loc. singular, a stem in *-it-* or in *-ita-* is equally possible. The base stem is *antaka-*. Pace Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HW*², 97, there is no reason to take the allative *antaga-šša* as a "false archaism," and all dat.-loc. singulars in *-i* may be to *antaka-*. See for the same analysis already Hoffner, *BiOr* 37 (1980): 200. Friedrich, *RHA* VIII/47 (1947–48): 14, assumed *antaki-* because at that time he reasonably took the extended *antakitti* as a Hurrianism. We now know that stems in *-it-* (NB single *-t-*!) are in the first instance Luvianisms: see Starke, *StBoT* 31, 151ff. and 210ff. Our stem in *-it(V)-* is probably something else. In any case, the word's appearance in a clearly Hattic myth dating from Old Hittite makes a Hurrian source highly unlikely.

2. Accepted by Laroche, *OLZ* 51 (1956): 421, who found this meaning also appropriate for KUB 36.44 i 12, and subsequently by all others: Puhvel, *HED* 1/2, 77; Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HW*², 97; Hoffner, *AuOr* 5 (1987): 227 and *Hittite Myths*, 27; Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani, *La mitologia*, 64. As happens all too frequently, the very tentative nature of Goetze's original suggestion, indicated by his use of italics in his translation, has been forgotten in the further transmission

Sea, to his *a*." However, there is no positive evidence in this very fragmentary text nor anywhere else to my knowledge that the Sea was conceived as having a palace, much less a chamber. Furthermore, since virtually all other examples of "partitive apposition" in Hittite involve body parts or at least personal attributes, it is questionable whether the syntax of this example is compatible with the meaning "room" for *antaka*-.

There was in fact an earlier alternative interpretation, now apparently totally forgotten. Friedrich, *HW*¹ (1952), 23, gives "Bauch, Taille (??)." He credits this very tentative idea to Sturtevant, *Lg.* 12 (1936): 182. However, what the latter actually said was that the word might mean "intestines," analyzing it as possibly a derivative of *anda+ki*-, thus "that which lies inside." The shift to an external referent "belly, waist" seems to have been a conscious or unconscious modification by Friedrich himself. Having arrived independently at essentially the same solution, I now wish to show that Friedrich's intuition was in fact correct.

Other examples of the word confirm that it must refer to a body part, and indeed in the region suggested by Sturtevant and Friedrich. The first is KUB 11.20 i 5–21 (with its duplicate 11.25 iii 2–14, both OH/NS): GAL DUMU. MEŠ.É.GAL ^{SIG}kunzan dāi ta GIŠ-i ḥamanki § ta GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-az ganki § GAL LÚ.MEŠUŠ.BAR ^{SIG}BABBAR ^{SIG}SA₅ *anda immiyazi ta išḫuzzin ANA GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL pāi n=an=za=an=kan a.uaki=šši dāi* (dupl. *antakitti*!) § GAL LÚ.MEŠUŠ.BAR *ašta parā [(p)]ēḫutezzi* "The chief of the palace officials takes a (wool) *kunza*- and ties it onto a (piece of) wood. The chief of the table-men hangs (it) from a table. The chief of the weavers mingles white and red wool and gives the belt to the chief of the palace officials. He puts it on/in his *antaka*. One escorts out the chief of the weavers."

To suppose that the palace official puts the belt (just produced with great ritual fanfare) in his own room is not remotely credible, given all that we know about Hittite ritual practice and the phraseology used to describe it. First of all, this is a state ritual, involving the king and queen. It would be quite unheard of and make no sense that suddenly in the midst of the ritual action the chief palace official takes an important ritual object and carries it off to his living quarters. Second, as is typical, the rest of this passage describes the comings and goings of the participants in the public ritual very explicitly. If by some remote chance the official *were* carrying off the belt to his room, his departure from the scene would surely be carefully noted with a motion verb, as it is for every other participant.

The context suggests rather that the official puts the belt on his body. Where does one put a belt?—usually around one's waist, middle. I therefore propose that *antaka*- (and *antakitti*-) is the equivalent of archaic English "loins": i.e., the part of the body from the lowest ribs to the hips, including crucially the seat of the sexual organs.³ I will soon discuss the sexual sym-

bolism of this entire passage in detail elsewhere, but the relevance of intertwined white and red wool and *antaka*- to sexual potency is made clear by their appearance in the Ritual of Paskuwatti against impotence (KUB 9.27 + 7.5; MH/NS).

In this ritual (ably edited by Hoffner, *AuOr* 5 [1987]: 271–87), a man suffering from impotence undergoes a series of treatments to cure his problem. These include early on passing through a specially constructed gate *wrapped with red and white wool* while exchanging stereotypically feminine objects for masculine ones (KUB 9.27 i 18–19). We know that passage through a gate frequently is used in Hittite rituals to effect transition from a negative to a positive condition (see the references given by Hoffner, *AuOr* 5 [1987]: 283).

Somewhat later (KUB 9.27 + 7.5 i 31–37), Uliliyassi, the patron deity of the ritual, is addressed in a passage describing the patient's problem in quite blunt language: *našma=wa=za DUMU.MUNUS šuppeššaraš [ki?]šar⁴ nu=wa=šši=kan andakitti=šši kattanta pait nu=wa kāš tantukešnaš DUMU-aš šaknaš šēḫunaš nu=ddu=ššan ŪL wemiyat* "Or [you beca]me² a virgin young woman. He went down to her *a*. (But) this mortal (was only) one of feces and urine. He did not find you there." (cf. Hoffner, *AuOr* 5 [1987]: 277: "He went down to her bedchamber, but this mortal (was just) one of faeces and urine. He did not find you."). Hoffner, following Goetze, tries to fit *antaka*- to the context by specifying it as "*bed*-chamber," but given the other evidence for *antaka*- as a body part, and indeed in the area of the waist, I assert that the text is being far more explicit: the man descended to the young woman's "loins," but failed miserably to perform.

I believe that there is one more example of *antaka*-, previously overlooked, that confirms its meaning as a body part. The fragmentary text in which it occurs is of considerable interest for its contents, and its true nature does not seem to have been appreciated, so I cite here the passage in full (KUB 43.62 ii 1–11, iii 2'–12'; ?/NS): *n=an=[z]a=an=kan x[]x-na-an-za(-)x-it ne-y[a-zi?]/n=at=šši(e)=ššan a[nta]ki tameškezzi [--]/mahḫan=ma=šši=kan alpaš tepu paizzi [nu=šši?]/tuegganza mazzazi n=at=šši(e)=ššan[arḫa?] § ḫukkeškezzi=ma=an kišan pahḫur šā[iṭ]/ŠA ^dUTU DUMU=ŠU *n=at wet* GE₆-anti pait n[=at]/GE₆-anti uleštat MUŠ iwar [--]/taruptat kunkuliyatiyaš i[war] § partaitat ŠA NIM.LĀL watkuta[iṭ]/ŠA TI₈^{MUSEN} iwar ANA TI₈^{MUSEN} *ma ḫalu[gaš**

3. This new interpretation is still compatible with the popular derivation from *anda* "in(to)." A shift from "inner part" to "middle, center" to "middle part of the body" is quite in order. Cf. Latvian *vidus* "(the) inside" but also "middle" and "belly."

4. My restoration and interpretation here are tentative, but they do fit the traces and the presence of *-za*. My idea is that the goddess herself is said to have turned herself into a desirable young woman in an attempt to cure the man, but even this failed to arouse him, requiring further and more elaborate treatment. Such direct intervention by the goddess is at least consistent with the later mention (iv 2ff.) of the goddess appearing to the patient in a dream and sleeping with him.

pait] / KASKAL-ši ikunimaš NUGÁL § [. . . (rest of column two and most of column three lost) . . .] n=an x x-x-x x-zi [. . .] / ^{GIŠ}kapanu=ma=za=kan MUŠ ḫarzi [-] / ištarna pedi=ma=at=za=kan NIM.LĀL ḫarzi § ^{GIŠ}lahḫurnuzziaš=šan šer TI₈^{MUSEN} tiya[r] / katta=ma=an=za=an ^{GIŠ}gapanu=šši(r) MUŠ / neyat ištarna pedi=ma=kan NIM.LĀL ney[at] § nu=ššan ^dGulzanzipaš ŠA ^dU x[] / ḫuittiyannai nu=šši EGIR-anda [-] / IM-an paddanzi dankuiš taga[nzipaš] / x[]-at n=ašta šarā tarpiš(-)[] / [^dGu]lzazipan GUL-tat DUMU.NAM.LÚ [] / (free space to end of column). "He wraps⁷ him with a []. He presses it on his a. But when the weakness/faintness passes from him a little, and his body can resist, he [removes⁷] it from him. § (Meanwhile) he is reciting over him as follows: 'Fire became enraged, (did) the son of the Sun-god. He proceeded to go (in)to the night and blended with the night like a snake. He gathered himself like a k. He . . . ed like a bee. He sprang up like an eagle, and to the eagle he [went as] messenger. On the way there was no cold.' (long lacuna) It (acc.) [. . .]. The snake holds (its) base, while the bee holds it in the middle. § (Above) on its branches the eagle has perched, while below the snake has *encircled* its base,⁵ and in the middle the bee has turned (around it?). § Gulzanzipa pulls the [] of the Storm-god. And behind him/her they dig up clay. The Dark Earth has (been) . . . ed. The tarpi [] has struck upward at⁷ Gulzanzipa. Human [. . .]."

Riemschneider, KUB 43, vii, labels the text "episch,"⁷ but CHD P, 198, correctly calls it an incantation (so also Ardzinba—see note 11 below). I contend that this text is specifically a "medical" ritual, part of whose treatment is being described in lines 1–4 of column ii. I infer that the symptoms of the illness include a burning sensation, leading to inclusion of a mythical narrative concerning Fire. A mixture of practical treatment and verbal magic (including contextually relevant mythical passages) is a well-known characteristic of Hittite rituals against illness.⁶

I cannot fully restore the first line of column ii. My restoration and interpretation of *ne-y[a-zi]* are based on a possible parallel with this expression in the myth in column iii—something is being wrapped around the trunk of the patient in the same way that the snake and bee encircle the trunk of the tree—but this is far from certain.⁷ I am confident that we should read *a[n-ta]-ki* in

5. ^{GIŠ}gapanu- may instead mean "trunk." See CHD L–N, 16. Compare Weitenberg, *U-Stämme*, 256f. with copious references.

6. Compare among others the "Ritual for the Infernal Deities," as edited by Otten, ZA 54 (1961): 114–57 (see especially lines ii 22ff. on pp. 122ff.). Support for this interpretation of our text comes from the fragmentary ends of lines from column i, which crucially represent the beginning of the text: we find [*a*]nuḫša[n] "person" (acc. sg.) in line 1 (also line 6), and *daruš=ša=ma* "figure, body; statue" in line 3. These terms fit well the typical opening of such medical texts: "When/if such-and-such happens to a person . . . , and his body is. . . ." Or *daruš* could refer to a figure used in the course of treatment.

7. For *neya-* as "wind around, wrap," see CHD L–N, 359ff.

line 2. The broken horizontal before the break can hardly belong to any sign except HAL or AN, and there is barely space for one more sign in the break.⁸ I know of no suitable Hittite words of a shape ḫal[]ki that would fit the context. The verb *tameškezzi* "presses" argues that we are dealing with some kind of compress. The reference to Fire in the following mythical passage and the likelihood that a burning sensation is a symptom lead me to suppose a cold compress, but I would not insist on this. Note that the word *alpaš* in the following sentence can hardly be "cloud," but must rather represent the missing base noun *alpa-* "faintness, weakness" to the adjective *alpānt-* "faint, weak, ill" (for which see Puhvel, *HED* 1/2, 38–39).

I do not have space to discuss fully the very interesting but difficult mythical passage, but a few remarks are in order. One thing that is clear (and new to my knowledge) is the statement that Fire (*paḫḫur*) is a son of the Sun-god (contra Haas, *GHR*, 297, who erroneously cites this passage as saying that Fire is a son of the Fire-god!).⁹ Whether one restores a preterite *ša-a-[ir]* or some other form of *šā(i)-*, the unmistakable parallels to the opening of the myth of Telipinu (especially the verb *ulešta*) make it certain that we have yet another variant on the myth of the deity who retires in anger, with disastrous consequences.

The description of those consequences is obscured by the terms *kunkuliyati-* and *partāi-*, but it is at least clear that Fire went as a messenger to the eagle and that on his journey he brought heat everywhere he went, presumably an unnatural, unbearable heat.¹⁰ This condition furnishes the tie-in with our medical ritual: the burning sensation of the patient is to be treated with, among other things, the same steps that were taken against the unnatural heat that spread due to Fire's wrath. When the narrative resumes after a very long lacuna, we find the snake, bee, and eagle occupying respectively the bottom, middle, and top of what must be some kind of tree. Given the mention of the fate-goddess Gulzanzipa in the next paragraph, I am tempted to think that the tree in question is the "tree of life" or "world-tree" that is nearly universal

8. One could conceivably read *p[al-]ki*, but I know of no appropriate Hittite word that would yield a dat.-loc. singular of this form.

9. The filiation is given correctly in Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, 363 n. 214, but neither this nor the rest of the myth seems to have attracted further notice.

10. For various attempts to interpret *partā(i)-* see CHD P, 198. Oettinger (pers. comm.) now suggests that *partaintat* is a reflexive middle meaning "disengaged itself." There seems to be a clear contrast between the first two actions of Fire that involve entanglement and the last two that express separation. Against the editors (and with Oettinger) I prefer the alternative analysis of our passage whereby the phrases with *iwar* go respectively with the verbs that precede them. My main reason for doing so is ANA TI₈^{MUSEN}=ma, where the position of =ma argues that "to the eagle" begins a new clause. I take –ma as an enclitic despite the space that precedes it, because I find the restoration and reading ḫa-lu-[ga-aš (*pa-i*)] virtually certain in the context.

in cosmologies of various peoples around the world.¹¹ I can make no coherent sense, however, of the following action and must leave further interpretation of this fascinating mythical episode to others. The mention of a human at the very end of column iii does suggest that we are near the end of the mythical narrative/incantation and about to return to the ritual treatment.

Returning to our main topic, the word *antaka-*, I close with a brief account of its use in the first passage cited, the myth of the disappearance of the Sun-god. I believe I have made a convincing case for *antaka-* referring to a body part, specifically the loins, including as the seat of sexuality. As noted earlier, the partitive apposition *aruni antaga=šša* also supports such an interpretation. But what are we to make of the idea that the Sun-god went to the Sea's "loins"? Let us reexamine the context. In lines i 7–8 of the text we find *nu=za arunaš* DUGHAB.HAB-x [/] *halhaldāni=šši daiš* "The sea placed a vessel/vessels [/] on his (own) *h*."¹² A few lines later (i 12–13), the Sun-god goes to the Sea's *antaga*, and then: *n=aš* DUGHAB.[HAB . . . IŠTU?] GAB.LĀL *gariēt* "and he covered them", the vessels [. . . with] wax."¹³

Puhvel, *HED* 3, 22, reasonably takes *halhaldāni* as a variant of the better attested *halhalzāna/i-* that appears in lists of the vital attributes of a (strong) man in both Hittite and Cuneiform Luvian contexts. For Hittite note KUB 24.12 ii 31–32: *ŠA LUGURUŠ haštariyatar haštāi [halh]anzanan innaren laplappipan* "bravery, bones, *h*., eyebrow and eyelash of a man" (sim. iii 5–6).¹⁴ The most complete version of the much longer list of CLuvian is found in KUB 35.45 ii 22–24: *ALAM=ša mišan=za haš=ša halhalzanin uwarannaḫi=*

11. This comparison was already made independently by V. G. Ardzinba, *Vestnik Drevnej Is-toriji* (1977): 119–20, and *Ritually i mifi drevnej Anatoliji* (Moscow, 1982), 92, cited by Émilie Masson, *Le combat pour l'immortalité* (Paris, 1991), 202f. with notes, and by Billie Collins, *Diss.*, 118. In addition to the references cited by Collins, see V. Ivanov and V. Toporov, "Le mythe indo-européen du dieu de l'orage poursuivant le serpent: reconstruction du schéma," in *Échanges et communications. Mélanges C. Lévi-Strauss*, ed. J. Pouillon and P. Maranda (The Hague/Paris, 1970), vol. II, 1180–1206. See especially pp. 1184ff. and 1189f. for citations of parallels from Bal-tic and Slavic myth for the eagle in the top of the cosmic tree and the snake at its base. For Slavic parallels for the bee as the middle figure, see Ardzinba and Masson. On the mythic role of the bee and its healing powers see Haas, *GHR*, 435f. and 712ff. with references, and Masson, *Le combat*, 253–57 and passim.

12. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 27, gives "on his/its . . .," but the reflexive particle *=za* argues that the reference is to the Sea's own *h*., as per Puhvel.

13. As intimated by Hoffner, the enclitic *=aš* is problematic. It cannot be the subject, since we have a transitive verb with direct object. I follow him in very tentatively taking it as acc. pl. ani-mate, proleptic with the direct object "vessels." One wonders if the transmitted text is in order at this point.

14. As stressed by Puhvel, *haštāi* in this context may convey "steadfastness, sturdiness" as much as "bone." Likewise in this context "eyebrow" and "eyelash" surely refer to the strong, with-ering gaze of a deity or king. Note in fact the copyist's alteration of *inira-* "eyebrow" to *innari-*, which is a word for "strength."

ša iunaḫi=ša lalpin kuwannanin maššanallin KASKAL-an "(his) body, flesh, bone, *h*., w., the ability to walk, eyelash, eyebrow, divine path." For the mean-ing of *mišan=za* and an excellent discussion of the entire list see Poetto, *HS* 108 (1995): 30–38.¹⁵

For *halhaltāna-* and variants Puhvel suggests a meaning "shoulder,"¹⁶ an-other body part that certainly is often used to stand for strength (cf. Hittite *kut-tar*, as discussed by Puhvel, *HED* 4, 313f.). Obviously, a shoulder would also be an appropriate place to put a vessel. Puhvel is also surely right in seeing a connection with *halhaldāmar(i)-* "corner" and ultimately with the root of *haliye-* "genuflect" < *"bend oneself." However, a bewildering variety of body parts may be named for the fact that they bend or visually appear as a bend or curve. Note that the cognates of Latin *coxa* "hip" mean "armpit," "foot, leg" and "back of the knee."¹⁷ The names for body parts also notoriously shift their referents: in late Latin *coxa* comes to be used for "thigh," whence French *cuisse*.¹⁸

I therefore do not believe we can exclude that *halhaltana-* etc. refers to "thigh," "hip," or some other part of the body in the same general region as *an-taka-*, symbolizing physical strength and/or virility. Sexual power was also central to the Hittites' notion of being a man. The Sea may have put the vessel(s) in question in his lap. I certainly do not insist on this idea. A defini-tive answer to the meaning of *halhaltana-* depends on our figuring out why the Sea put the vessel(s) on himself in the first place, and what the intended ef-fect was of the Sun-god's covering the vessel(s) with wax. Given what we know of other ancient Anatolian myths, a power struggle with sexual over-tones does not seem to me out of the question.

Be that as it may, even if *halhaltana-* does mean "shoulder," the Sun-god could easily have reached the vessel(s) and covered it/them with wax from a position at/on the Sea's loins. The fact that *halhaltana-* clearly is a body part supports my claim that *antaka-* is as well, and the other instances of the latter argue that it refers to the middle of the body, especially as the seat of sexuality, a range covered by the now obsolete English "loins."

15. The "divine path" may well be the path that the soul travels through life, thus life-force itself. See C. Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon* (New York, 1995), 288, and J. D. Hawkins, *FsTÖzgüç*, 190.

16. Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani, *La mitologia*, 64, offer "testa" or "spalla," citing Carruba. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 27, prudently leaves *h* untranslated.

17. Sanskrit *kākṣā*, Old Irish *coss*, and OHG *hāhsina* respectively.

18. Sanskrit *kākṣā* must also in some cases mean "groin, crotch," not "armpit": see Stephanie Jamison, "Linguistic and Philological Remarks on Some Vedic Body Parts," in *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill*, ed. Calvert Watkins (Berlin, 1987), 66–91 (esp. 81–91).

*On Some Clauses in the Kurunta Treaty
and the Political Scenery at the
End of the Hittite Empire*

CLELIA MORA

Pavia

It is a difficult task to reconstruct power relations within the Hittite empire in its late period (second half of the thirteenth century B.C.), and the task is made even harder by the remarkable documents which have recently come to light regarding Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša. The greatest problems lie in establishing the chronology of the kings of Tarḫuntašša (and deciding the question of the possible identification of Kurunta with Ulmiteššup) and also in identifying the exact political role of the king of Tarḫuntašša, to whom the title of "Great King" is given on some rock and seal inscriptions. This last problem is discussed in this paper.

In a recent study I. Singer¹ has contributed to the discussion, suggesting that the title of "Great King" used by Kurunta should not be related to a violent and destructive occupation of the Hittite capital and a usurpation of imperial power, even if for only a brief period of time.² Singer offers an alternative hypothesis whereby the two great Anatolian kings of Hatti and Tarḫuntašša tolerated one another rather than opening hostilities, the outcome of which was felt to be too uncertain.³

1. I. Singer, "Great Kings of Tarḫuntašša," *SMEA* 38 (1996): 63–71.

2. The hypothesis of a coup d'état by Kurunta is often used to explain the presence of the title "Great King" on some seal impressions found at Hattuša. For a more detailed account and for bibliographical references, see P. Neve, *Hattuša. Stadt der Götter und Tempel* (Mainz, 1992), 19; M. Giorgieri and C. Mora, *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII sec. a.C.* (Como, 1996), 18; T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 354; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 290. This title also accompanies the rock relief in Hatip—cf. A. Dinçol, "The Rock Monument of the Great King *Kurunta* and its Hieroglyphic Inscription," *3rd Mitt. Cong.*, 159–65.

3. Cf. I. Singer, *SMEA* 38 (1996): 65.

Singer's idea that Kurunta's use of the title Great King need not necessarily be connected with particularly dramatic events is well founded:⁴ there is indeed no written record of a violent seizure of power by the king of Tarḫuntašša or of a violent interruption of the Hittite dynasty that extends from Ḫattušili III to his grandson Šuppiluliuma II.⁵ As Singer opportunely reminds us, however, there is Ugaritic evidence from quite late in the period recording the continued use of the port of Ura—and therefore the crossing of the territory of Tarḫuntašša—by the merchants of Ḫatti.⁶ Singer also correctly points out that this would not have been possible if the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša had been openly hostile to the last Hittite kings.

In describing this alternative hypothesis, Singer refers to relations between Ḫatti and Tarḫuntašša as being rather conflict ridden.⁷ There is no doubt that the relationship was a complicated and uneasy one. It also seems clear that Tuthaliya was somewhat afraid of his cousin Kurunta and that he tried to appease him with numerous and quite substantial benefits and privileges. All this evidence, however, may lead us to the different conclusion that Kurunta was not merely a self-styled "Great King," reluctantly tolerated by the Great King of Ḫatti, but that his title was entirely legitimate, or even conferred upon him by the imperial authority.⁸

Both the treaty with Kurunta and that with Ulmiteššup, king of Tarḫuntašša,⁹ contain a clause enshrining equality of status between the kings of Tarḫuntašša and Karkamiš.¹⁰ This clause also stipulates that in the impe-

4. For a largely analogous hypothesis, see also M. Giorgieri and C. Mora, *Aspetti* (see above, n. 2), 18.

5. As the descendants of Ḫattušili subsequently regained power, even if the hypothesis of a coup d'état were true, the absence of any mention of this in existing texts would seem to be very strange.

6. Cf. I. Singer, *SMEA* 38 (1996): 65–66 and nn. 8–9, with bibliographical references.

7. Cf. I. Singer, *SMEA* 38 (1996): 64: "Each of the protagonists may have refused to recognize the supremacy of his rival"; 65: "The rivalry is between two distinct geo-political entities, each claiming legitimacy and political supremacy."

8. This hypothesis was briefly advanced by M. Giorgieri and C. Mora, *Aspetti*, 18; this possibility has also been suggested by H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 290, who stresses that Kurunta not only uses the title "Great King," which was probably his by right as it was for the king of Karkamiš, but also the title "Labarna" (IUDEX+la). Despite the prevalent opinion, Klengel also is doubtful about the hypothesis of a coup d'état.

9. For the dating of the two texts and the sequence of the kings of Tarḫuntašša, see the final part of this paper.

10. For the treaty with Kurunta, see H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy* (Wiesbaden, 1988). The passage in question is in ii 79ff. For the treaty with Ulmiteššup, cf. Th. van den Hout, *SiBoT* 38. The relevant clause is referred to in obv. 37'. In quoting both passages we use the translation by G. Beckman, *HDT*, Treaty with Ulmiteššup (p. 105): "[Whatever] royal protocol is allowed to the king of the land of Carchemish shall also be allowed to the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša." Treaty with Kurunta (p. 113): "Concerning the Great Throne (of Ḫatti), his protocol shall be the same as that of the king of the land of Carchemish. Only the crown prince shall be greater than the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša; no one else shall be greater than he. Whatever

rial hierarchy only the heir to the throne of Ḫattuša, besides the Great King, stood above the king of Karkamiš and the king of Tarḫuntašša.¹¹ Thus this aspect of the history of Tarḫuntašša can better be understood by examining and comparing it with the contemporary situation in Karkamiš; by examining, in particular, the titles and the increasing power of the kings and the autonomy they attained from the regionally dominant power of the Hittite kingdom.

All available documents and records suggest that from the period of conquest during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, the Hittite Great Kings maintained good relations with the kings of Karkamiš, to whom they delegated an increasing share of the management of Syrian affairs.¹² As only very fragmentary traces remain of treaties between the kings of Ḫatti and of Karkamiš, it is much harder to know the sequence and details of privileges accorded them by the Hittite kings than is the case for the kings of Tarḫuntašša. But all the evidence regarding this matter—in particular that coming from Ugarit—bears witness to the importance given by the Hittite kings to the kings of Karkamiš, whose power thereby considerably increased in the Syrian area. Differently from the case of Tarḫuntašša, it seems that these concessions and privileges were bestowed by the Anatolian kings not out of fear but as part of a particular political strategy.

The role of the kings of Karkamiš in Syria and their relations with the Great Kings of Ḫatti are well known and have been thoroughly studied.¹³ The current paper briefly discusses the concession to the kings of Karkamiš—or at least the permission of use—of important titles and privileges within the context of the imperial organisation.

The first important document in regard to this, KBo 1.28,¹⁴ comes from the archives of Ḫattuša/Boğazköy. In it a Hittite king, who can almost certainly be identified as Muṣili II, concedes to his elder brother Piyaššili, king of Karkamiš, and to his heirs, a very high position within the imperial hierarchy, immediately below the Great King himself and the crown prince. Thus three levels

royal ceremonial is allowed to the king of the land of Carchemish shall also be allowed to the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša." These clauses most probably refer to a preceding agreement between the king of Ḫatti and the king of Karkamiš, for which cf. KBo 1.28—for a recent discussion and for bibliographical references see C. Mora, "Lo 'status' del re di Karkamiš," *Or* 62 (1993): 67–70.

11. F. Imparati and F. Pecchioli Daddi, "Le relazioni politiche fra Ḫatti e Tarḫuntašša all'epoca di Ḫattušili III e Tuthaliya IV," in *Quattro studi ittiti*, ed. F. Imparati (Florence, 1991), 23–68, believe that the parity between the sovereign of Tarḫuntašša and that of Karkamiš was limited only to rank, in that the king of Tarḫuntašša performed an essentially different role in Anatolia than did the king of Karkamiš in Syria.

12. For recent summaries of the question, with bibliographical references, see: H. Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.* (Berlin, 1992), 120ff.; M. Giorgieri and C. Mora, *Aspetti*, 20ff.; T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom*, 202ff.; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 276ff. (reign of Tuthaliya IV).

13. See the studies quoted in the previous note, each with ample bibliography.

14. See n. 10 above for bibliographical references.

of imperial power were established: (1) Great King and crown prince, (2) king of Karkamiš, (3) other vassal kings.¹⁵

Among the many texts from Ugarit that refer to the special relationship between the kings of Karkamiš and the Hittite monarchs, RS 18.06+17.365 and 17.59 have been most frequently examined. The first document, almost certainly issued by king Tuthaliya (although the beginning has been lost), contains in lines 20 and 21 the unfortunately incomplete formula: "[... before the ki]ng of Ḫatti and/or befo[re the] king of Karkamiš [... G]reat Kings";¹⁶ while the second text, a decision taken by king Tuthaliya regarding the military obligations of the king of Ugarit, was written "in the presence of Initeššup, king of Karkamiš," and also bears the impression of the royal cylinder seal. In many other texts by Initeššup found at Ugarit and Emar¹⁷ the king of Karkamiš is given the title "hero," which was otherwise reserved only for Hittite kings.¹⁸

The decidedly fragmentary documentation of the treaty between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma II and Talmiteššup king of Karkamiš dates from the last phase of relations between Ḫatti and Karkamiš.¹⁹ The sparse remaining portion of the text testifies to the equality of status of the signatories, with the names of both kings being placed on the same level of the agreement.

We mention only briefly, since they do not date to the period under discussion, the hieroglyphic texts from Karkamiš and from other parts of eastern Anatolia in which the king of Karkamiš is given the title of "Great King."²⁰

15. Cf. C. Mora, *Or* 62 (1993): 70.

16. See in particular M. Liverani, "Karkemiš nei testi di Ugarit," *RSO* 35 (1960): 135–47; "Ras Shamra. II: Histoire," *Suppl. au dictionnaire de la Bible* 53 (1979): 1311; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.*, Teil I. (Berlin, 1965), 64–65; *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 124–25; "Die Hethiter und Syrien: Aspekte einer politischen Auseinandersetzung," *Fs Alp*, 352; P. Artzi and A. Malamat, "The Great King. A Preeminent Royal Title in Cuneiform Sources and the Bible," *Fs Hallo*, 31. For a different interpretation see Th. van den Hout, *4thHitt. Cong.*, 213–23, with further bibliography.

17. See, e.g., RS 17.59, 17.146, 17.352, 17.396; Msk 731026(+), Msk 731017.

18. One notices, as M.-J. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967), 230, correctly points out, that in these texts the title "hero" can always and only be found at the end of the king's genealogy, after the name of his grandfather, Šarri-Kušuh, or in one case (a cylinder seal) after that of his great-grandfather, Šuppiluliuma. One therefore wonders, with Seux, if Initeššup intended the title for himself or for his ancestors. Other scholars (e.g., H. Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 125 and n. 197: "Ini-Teshup calls himself a 'hero' as was done by the Great Kings of Ḫatti") see it as a title of the reigning monarch.

19. Cf. *CTH* 122. For presentation of the text and discussion, see H. Otten, "Neue Quellen zum Ausklang des hethitischen Reiches," *MDOG* 94 (1963): 6–7; G. Del Monte, "Note sui trattati fra Ḫattuša e Kizzuwatna," *OA* 20 (1981): 207. On the treaties between Karkamiš and Ḫatti, see now I. Singer, *4thHitt. Cong.*, 635–41.

20. For these documents see in particular M. Liverani, *RSO* 35 (1960): 135–47; and some recent contributions by J. D. Hawkins: "Kuzi-Tešub and the 'Great Kings' of Kargamiš," *AnSt* 38 (1983): 99–108; "'Great Kings' and 'Country-Lords' at Malatya and Karkamiš," *FsHouwink ten Cate*, 73–85.

The documents described above illustrate quite well the process whereby the king of Karkamiš rose to a position of equality with the Hittite Great King,²¹ to the point of assuming his responsibilities and official functions after the collapse of the empire. In the case of Tarḫuntašša there is not as much evidence for placing the local king on the same level as the Hittite Great Kings, but another passage of the treaty with Kurunta, apart from the one mentioned above that establishes equality with the king of Karkamiš, would appear to be of great significance. The passage in question, obv. 71ff., states that "The Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god of Ḫatti shall take away the kingship of the land of Ḫatti from whoever takes the kingship of the land of Tarḫuntašša away from the progeny of Kurunta..."²² It is interesting that the passage precedes the paragraph dealing with curses and blessings, with the mention of the deities guaranteeing the treaty. In those paragraphs, 25 and 26, the curses and blessings apply exclusively to the "subordinate" Kurunta, following the norms of treaties of subordination, in which curses are not directed at the Hittite Great Kings²³; only in parity treaties are the curses relevant to both signatories.²⁴ The presence of provisions so punitive towards the kings of Ḫattuša in a text that has the form of a "vassal" treaty clearly indicates that Kurunta was considered an equal by the Hittite ruler.

In a well-known paper M. Liverani has shown that the treaty with Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna is only in appearance an agreement between two equal parties. The truth revealed by a careful reading of its many passages is that it is more a treaty of subordination, political opportunism being the motive for this intended ambiguity.²⁵ The treaty with Kurunta, signed nearly two centuries

21. Cf. M. Liverani, *Suppl. au dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1311: "Cfr. [...] pour les principales interventions normatives et judiciaires qui assignent à Ini-tessup la fonction de véritable 'Grand Roi,' qui en théorie ne revient qu'au seul roi de Ḫatti."

22. Cf. G. Beckman, *HDT*, 115.

23. Cf. V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge* (Leipzig, 1931), 96; see also some of the more recent observations relating to the above passage in the treaty with Kurunta: F. Imparati and F. Pecchioli Daddi, "Le relazioni politiche," 39: "Si nota la previsione nelle rr. 76–77 di una punizione divina nei riguardi dei sovrani ittiti, verosimilmente successivi, che non terranno fede agli accordi, previsione piuttosto insolita nei trattati internazionali"; D. Sørensen, "Untersuchungen zur Bronzetafel und weiteren Verträgen mit der Sekundogenitur in Tarḫuntašša," *OLZ* 87 (1992): 344, writes regarding this of the presence of "Elemente paritätischer Staatsverträge" in the treaty with Kurunta.

24. See the reciprocal and equal curses contained in the treaty between Ḫattušili III and Ramses II; cf. E. Edel, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Ḫattušili III. von Ḫatti* (Berlin, 1997), 74ff.

25. Cf. M. Liverani, "Storiografia politica hittita—I. Šunaššura, ovvero: della reciprocità," *OA* 12 (1973): 267–97. On the treaty with Paddatiššu of Kizzuwatna, which has the structure of a "vassal treaty," even if it contains "more parity clauses than others," cf. recently A. Archi, *BiOr* 55 (1998): 218. For an analysis of the refined techniques and procedures used by the Hittite chancellery in drawing up treaties, see also C. Zaccagnini, "The Form of Alliance and Subjugation

later, would appear to represent an inversion of the situation: in the treaty with Šunaššura the signatory parties seem to be equal, but the real intention was to codify Hittite supremacy, both political and military. At the time of the treaty with Kurunta, after the empire's period of greatest power and splendour, Hatti showed signs of decline even in its relations with an erstwhile weaker power with which in practice it must now deal on terms of parity.

It is therefore not surprising, in view of this recognition of the power of the king of Tarḫuntašša and his parity with the king of Karkamiš—who in turn was, or was about to be, recognised as an equal to the Great King of Hatti—that the king of Tarḫuntašša used by right the title of "Great King," if only under certain circumstances.²⁶

In concluding this attempt to reconstruct power relations between the most important kingdoms in the Hittite sphere of influence at the end of the imperial period, some observations should be added about two further questions: (1) Why did the kings of Karkamiš of the thirteenth century B.C. not use the title "Great King" as did the king of Tarḫuntašša? (2) What was the character of relations between Tarḫuntašša and Hatti immediately after the reign of Kurunta?

As for the first problem, it is strange that while Initeššup is called "Great King" by the Hittite monarch, there is no trace of the title in the many documents attributed to him. This may have had something to do with the Syrian tradition which did not know—or knew only for very limited periods—the existence of Great Kings within its territory. This can be seen, for example, in the difference between the use of the title "King of the country GN . . ." in Anatolia and Syria. In hieroglyphic documentation the kings of Hatti in the imperial period hardly ever use this form, while the kings of Karkamiš use it almost constantly. This is also the case in inscriptions—probably later than the period covered by this paper—in which the title "Great King" appears.²⁷ This seems to indicate that the name of the place was fundamental, and that the title of "Great King" could be omitted, perhaps because of political considerations.²⁸ It is worth remembering that there is no documentation avail-

in the Near East of the Late Bronze Age," in *I trattati nel mondo antico*, ed. L. Canfora, M. Liverani, and C. Zaccagnini (Rome, 1990), 37–79.

26. For use of the title "Great King" in diplomatic relations between states in the late Bronze Age and the conditions which determined the rank of sovereigns, see M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest* (Padua, 1990), 66ff.

27. Cf. C. Mora, "Il titolo 'Re del paese di . . .' tra II e I millennio a.C. in Anatolia e Siria," in *Landscapes. Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East. Papers presented to the XLIV R.A.I.*, ed. L. Milano et al. (Padua, 1997), 57–64. The inscriptions referred to are discussed in section 3 (they are A4b and A16c). For this and other similar later documents see also the bibliography mentioned above in n. 20.

28. On this see the observations of B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'dunkles Zeitalter,'" *JCS* 8 (1954): 53 n. 90, regarding the king of Aleppo, Great King in the age of Mari, as he is called in the texts of Alalakh, though in his own texts he identifies himself simply as "LUGAL

able describing the domestic affairs of Karkamiš, which might have shed some interesting light on this matter.

The question of the political situation in Tarḫuntašša after the reign of Kurunta gives rise to three main points of discussion: the chronology of the treaty with Ulmiteššup, the attribution and dating of the inscriptions of the Kızıldağ-Karadağ group, and the interpretation of the passage relating to Tarḫuntašša in the Südburg inscription in Hattuša. Let us consider them in the light of the above observations.

The first point, though keenly debated,²⁹ is nevertheless of limited importance to our hypothesis. Independently of the existence and the identity of a successor to Kurunta, it remains important that we have clear evidence of the persistence of the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša into the late period, as Singer points out in drawing attention to the letter RS 34.139.³⁰ As the treaty with Ulmiteššup contains fewer concessions on the part of the king of Hattuša than does the treaty with Kurunta, according to our view of events it would perhaps be more logical to date his reign before that of Kurunta, but that would necessarily imply the identification of Ulmiteššup with Kurunta.³¹ I do not believe this to be a plausible identification, as I have written elsewhere,³² and this leaves us with two possibilities: first, that the treaty with Ulmiteššup is in fact a copy of a treaty drawn up by Urḫiteššup,³³ or second, that Ulmiteššup was the successor to Kurunta on the throne of Tarḫuntašša, and that for reasons unknown to us the Great Kings of Hattuša reduced the power which his predecessor had enjoyed.

There is general agreement in dating the Kızıldağ-Karadağ group of inscriptions to the period shortly following the fall of the Hittite empire.³⁴ Singer, however, in accordance with his hypothesis on the "Great Kings of Tarḫuntašša," holds the view that they belong to the imperial period and that their author Hartapus succeeded Kurunta and assumed his title. Singer's

Yamḥad." For the definition of the kings of Aleppo as "Great Kings," see also the historical introduction of the Hittite treaty with Talmi-Šarruma, in which it is written that these kings once "held the position of Great Kings." For a discussion see M. Liverani, *Prestige*, 75.

29. For a summary of the question and for recent contributions, see M. Giorgieri and C. Mora, *Aspetti*, 19f.; C. Mora, "Kurunta, Prince," in *Studi e Testi* I (Florence, 1998), 85–91; S. Alp, "Zur Datierung des Ulmitešup-Vertrags," *AoF* 25 (1998): 54–60.

30. Cf. I. Singer, *SMEA* 38 (1996): 68.

31. See the works cited in note 29 (and the others cited therein) for details on this subject.

32. Cf. C. Mora, "Kurunta, Prince."

33. This hypothesis is generally overlooked for various reasons, none of which seems valid enough for it to be entirely refuted: cf. G. Del Monte, "Ulmitešub re di Tarḫuntašša," *EVO* 14–15 (1991–92): 141; Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 11–12.

34. According to J. D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattuša SÜDBURG*, *StBoT Beih.* 3 (Wiesbaden, 1995), 61ff., after the fall of Tarḫuntašša (which may be referred to in the Südburg inscription—see below), a new state was formed in the same area that was to survive the collapse of the empire.

view, which is very well argued, is convincing, especially because of the clear similarities between these inscriptions and those of the last Hittite kings.³⁵

Concerning the hypothesis advanced in this paper, it is far more important and also problematic to interpret certain passages (§§12 and 15) in the Südburg inscription with reference to Tarḫuntašša. Hawkins has suggested the following translation: §12 "The land of the city Tarḫuntašša the *Sun*(?) subject(ed), PUGNUS.PUGNUS(-ed)"; §15 "'Prince-Man' the land of the city Tarḫuntašša subject(ed), took away."³⁶ In Hawkins' opinion, Tarḫuntašša was overrun and occupied by Šuppiluliuma II, probably as a consequence of Kurunta's hostile behavior.³⁷

It is evident that if this were true it would mean that peaceful coexistence on Anatolian soil between the two Great Kings and the continuation of the dynasty after the reign of Kurunta becomes much less probable. Singer thus prefers a different interpretation of the passages relating to Tarḫuntašša in the Südburg inscription. During the reign of Šuppiluliuma II Tarḫuntašša may already have been under the control of the "Sea Peoples," and the military action of the Hittite king was directed not against the king of Tarḫuntašša but against the advancing invaders.³⁸

It is an interesting hypothesis but, as Güterbock has observed, we do not know the exact meaning of the terms used in this inscription.³⁹ Hawkins has put forward many good arguments to support his interpretation of this passage,⁴⁰ but the scarcity of attestations from the imperial period—and thus of possible points of comparison—makes it unrealistic to confirm them at present.⁴¹ It therefore seems premature to use the mention of Tarḫuntašša in the Südburg inscription as an argument either in favor of or against the hypothesis advanced above.

35. Obviously, if Ulmiteššup was the immediate successor of Kurunta (see above), Hartapus was one of his successors. For detailed studies of the inscriptions, see the contributions of J. D. Hawkins, "The Inscriptions of the Kizıldag and the Karadağ in the Light of the Yalburt Inscription," *FsAlp*, 259–75, and *StBoT Beih.* 3.

36. *StBoT Beih.* 3, 23.

37. Cf. *StBoT Beih.* 3, 61ff.

38. Cf. I. Singer, *SMEA* 38 (1996): 66ff., which recalls H. Hoffner, "The Last Days of Khatusha," *Crisis Years*, 49ff., who first suggested this possibility but immediately dismissed it.

39. Cf. H. G. Güterbock, "Survival of the Hittite Dynasty," *Crisis Years*, 54.

40. Cf. *StBoT Beih.* 3, 24ff., in particular 28: verb(?) INFRA á-ka ("to subject"); 40: verb(?) PUGNUS.PUGNUS ("beat(?), defeat(?)"); 118ff., Appendix 6, "The sign PUGNUS.PUGNUS," in which one can see that the meaning proposed for SÜDBURG is unsuitable for later attestations of the sign.

41. See also the different translation by F. C. Woudhuizen, "The Late Hittite Empire in the Light of Recently Discovered Hieroglyphic Texts," *JIES* 22 (1994): 53–81.

Die hurritischen Pronomina der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Ḫattuša

ERICH NEU†

Bochum

0. Nachdem Du, lieber Harry, die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue in die Neuauflage Deiner *Hittite Myths* einbezogen hast und Du diese zweisprachige Textgruppe auch in Deinem sehr informativen Beitrag "Hurrian Civilization from a Hittite Perspective"¹ behandelst, möchte ich Dir für diesen Festschriftband zusammen mit meiner herzlichen Gratulation und den besten Wünschen eine kleine hurritologische Abhandlung widmen, von der ich hoffe, daß diese Dein Interesse findet.

Selbständige Personalpronomina

1.1. Der Absolutiv der 1. Pers. Sing. *ište* "ich" ist innerhalb der Bilingue nur in bruchstückhaftem Kontext ohne hethitische (heth.) Entsprechung, die gewiß *ug* wäre, belegt: *iš-te* 11 iv 6'; *iš-te-en* = *ište-n* 210 lk. Kol. 3'.²

1.2. Günstiger ist hingegen die Überlieferungssituation für den Ergativ *iša-š* "ich":

(1) *i-ša-aš a-ru-u-la(-)ú-un-na* 15 iv 15

iša-š ar=ol=av=anna

"ich werde sie (die Gefangenenschar) wegschaffen"

In fragmentarischem Kontext findet sich *i-ša-aš* in 31 + 208 i 5.³

1. *BM* 26, 167ff.

2. In diesem Beitrag werden die herangezogenen hurritischen Texte bzw. Textstellen der Bilingue ohne Nennung des Editionsbandes KBo 32 zitiert. So meint 11 iv 6' genauer: KBo 32.11 iv 6'. Den Zitationen in bound transcription (scriptio continua) liegt eine graphie-nahe Umschrift zugrunde.

3. Unsere Ergänzungen *i-š[a-aš]* und *[i-š]a-aš* 11 i 4, iv 15' werden von V. Haas und I. Wegner, "Literarische und grammatikalische Betrachtungen zu einer hurritischen Dichtung," *OLZ* 92 (1997): 441 angezweifelt; ihr Lesungsvorschlag *-w[a-aš]* iv 15' jedoch ist mit Blick auf den Keilschrifttext mit Sicherheit auszuschließen.

1.3. Als Absolutiv der 1. Pers. Plur. wird von I. Wegner, "Die selbstständige Personalpronomina des Hurritischen," *SMEA* 29 (1992): 235 (mit Anm. 17) eine Form *satti(=)l(la)* angeführt. In der Bilingue ist nur *ša-a-at-ti* bezeugt, das vielleicht das vorausgehende enklitische Absolutiv-Pronomen *-dilla* (1. Pers. Plur.) ausdrucksmäßig verstärken soll:

- (2) *a-bé-e-di-il-la ša-a-at-ti sà-su-li-li-ta* 15 i 26'-27'
ave(=š)=dilla šatti sas=ol=il=ed=a
 "wer wird uns verköstigen?"

Das Pronomen *-dilla* ist an das Fragepronomen *ave* "wer?" angehängt. Als Subjekt des transitiven Satzes sollte dieses im Ergativ *ave=š* stehen, doch schwindet das Kasussuffix vor dem darauf folgenden enklitischen Pronomen.

1.4. Vom Personalpronomen der 2. Pers. Sing. *fe-* sind Genitiv (*fe=ve*) und Dativ (*fe=va*) Sing. bezeugt:

- (3) *Me-e-ki bé-e-bi (fe=ve) ti-ša-ab (tiša=v) a-na-aš-ti-ik-ki* 15 i 20'f.
 "Mēgi, dein Herz wird sich nicht freuen"

Der hurritische (hurr.) Genitiv *fe=ve* hat possessivische Funktion und verstärkt somit das enklitische Possessivum *-v*.

- (4) *Me-e-ki ūe-ūa (fe=va) a-bi-ūa* 19 i 10
 "Mēgi, vor dir ..."

1.5. Die Bilingue bezeugt auch den Dativ des Pronomens der 2. Pers. Plur. *ūe-e-ša = fe=š(v)a* 19 i 23 (heth. *šu-ma-a-aš* "euch"), dem der gleiche Stamm *fe-* wie im Singular der 2. Pers. zugrundeliegt. Das Morphem *-š-* bzw. *-z-* hat als Pluralisator zu gelten.⁴

1.6. Das selbständige Pronomen der 3. Pers. Sing. tritt innerhalb der Bilingue in der Graphie *ma-a-an-ni* (mit Doppelschreibung *-nn-*)⁵ auf und unterscheidet sich äußerlich nicht von der Verbalform *ma-a-an-ni* "ist" auf der gleichen Tafel. Auch das 1994 in Ugarit gefundene dreisprachige Vokabular überliefert die betreffende Pronominalform mit *-nn-*⁶ und entspricht damit der konsequenten Doppelschreibung (*-nn-*) de Mittani-Briefes. Wegner, *SMEA* 29 (1992): 234 führt das Pronomen phonologisch als *man=e* an, was für die Bilingue die Translitterierung *ma-a-an-né* nahelegt.

4. Vgl. auch Wegner, *SMEA* 29 (1992): 233; Neu, *StBoT* 32, 418.

5. Vgl. Haas und Wegner, Rezension von H. Otten und Ch. Rüster, *KBo* 32, *OLZ* 86 (1991): 389. Die Pronominalform *ma-a-an-né* liegt wohl auch in 12 iv 19' vor: "Er [wurde] der Mutter (Genitiv) Feind."

6. B. André-Salvini und M. Salvini, "Un nouveau vocabulaire trilingue sumérien-akkadien-hourite de Ras Shamra," *SCCNH* 9 (1998): 13f.

An den drei sich ähnelnden Belegstellen (14 i 32; Rs. iv 14, Rs. 25) wird *ma-a-an-né* als Objekt ("ihn") eines transitiv konstruierten Satzes gebraucht, was durch folgendes Textbeispiel veranschaulicht werden möge:

- (5) *a-mu-ū-mi-ne-e-ūa* (Dativ) *ma-a-an-né e-eb-re-eš na-aḫ-ḫi-la-a-i*
 14 Rs. iv 14-15
 "zum Verwalter hat ihn sein Herr eingesetzt"

An den beiden anderen Belegstellen steht die hurr. Berufsbezeichnung nicht im Dativ, sondern im Essiv. Als Satzprädikat fungiert dort aber die gleiche infinite Gerundialform *naḫḫ-i-lāi*.

1.7. Schließlich ist noch der Komitativ Plur. des Pronomens der 3. Pers. zu erwähnen, dessen heth. Entsprechung jedoch weggebrochen ist: *ma-an-zu-u-ra-a(-ma)* 11 i 4 = *man-zu-o-ra*.⁷ Der Pluralisator ist ursprünglich *-š-*, der jedoch hinter *-n-* lautgesetzlich zu *-z-* wurde. In der Graphie *ma-an-šu-ra* (Mari) unterblieb diese lautliche Veränderung.⁸

Die enklitischen Personalpronomina

2.0. Die enklitischen Personalpronomina, die syntaktisch als Absolutive fungieren, sind jetzt vollständig bezeugt: Sing. 1. *-tta*, 2. *-mma*, 3. *-nna*, Plur. 1. *-dilla*, 2. *-ffa*, 3. *-lla*. Sie können bekanntlich auch in gekürzter Form auftreten (wie *-t*, *-m*, *-n*, *-f*, *-l*; s. auch unten). Innerhalb der Bilingue finden sich folgende enklitische Pronomina:

2.1. Das Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. *-tta* begegnet auch in der Kurzform *-t(-)*.

- (6) *ū-ni-ūa-at-ta = un=iva=tta* 19 i 23 "ich werde kommen"⁹
 (7) *ū-ni-ūa-ta-a-an = un=iva=t=ān* (mit Redepartikel *-ān*) ibid. iv 48
 (8) *i-ja-a-at (ija-t)*¹⁰ *še-e-du-i-li-ja-ni-iš ši-ta-a-ra na-a-al-li-iš* 14 i 10-11
 "warum verflucht mich der fett gewordene Rehbock?"

In bruchstückhaftem Kontext findet sich *a-bé-e-et* (50 lk. Kol. 10') = *ave(=š)-t*¹¹ "wer . . . mich . . . ?"

7. Vgl. Wegner, *SMEA* 29 (1992): 235.

8. S. schon Neu, *StBoT* 32, 37.

9. Zum Modalformans *-iva* vgl. Neu, *StBoT* 32, 417; Haas und Wegner, *OLZ* 92 (1997): 451.

10. Das Frageadverb *ija* "warum?" könnte auch auf *ije* beruhen, das vor dem Enklitikon hätte zu *ija(=)* werden müssen.

11. Zu der in ihrer Deutung umstrittenen Textstelle 19 i 22 (bzw. iv 47') s. demnächst Neu, "Skizze einer Beschreibung der Wurzelstruktur hurritischer Nomina und Verben. Ein Näherungsversuch," in *Festschrift für Norbert Boretzky*, Anm. 34. Im Gegensatz zu Haas/Wegner setzen wir das hurr. Wort für "Tag" als *i*-Stamm *šūvi* an.

2.2. Fraglich bleibt die Bestimmung von *-mma* als enklitisches Pronomen der 2. Pers. Sing.:

- (9) *a-an-za-am-ma* (*anz=a=mma*) *i-te-ya_a-aš-ke-eš*
I-ib-la-pa še-er-še-ni ^m*Me-e-ki* 15 Rs. iv 6–7
 "bleibe du, Mēgi, bei uns in Ebla auf dem Thron!"¹²

2.3. Das enklitische Pronomen der 3. Pers. Sing. *-nna* wird nach vorausgehendem *-š* zu *-šša* assimiliert.

- (10) [*ú-r*]*u-uk-ku-un-na* = *ur=u/o=kku/o=nna* 107 Ik. Kol. 1' (vgl. 214 i 8')
 "es ist nicht vorhanden" (mit proleptischem Pronomen)
 (11) *ki-ru-un-na* (*kir=u=nna*) *pu-ra-am-mi-ib* 15 iv 2
 "freigelassen soll er, dein Sklave, werden!"

Assimiliertes *-nna* begegnet mehrfach:

- (12) *a-ar-ti-ú-ú-uš-ša* = *ard(i)=if(f)u=šša* (*-š=nna*) 15 iv 15
 "meine Stadt (Ergativ) ihn . . ."
 (13) *na-ak-ki-ú-ú-uš-ša* = *nakk=i=uvu=šša* 15 i 19
 "wir werden ihn nicht freilassen"
 (14) *at-ta-i-bi-né-eš-ša*¹³ *e-né-eš šī-ti-la-a-i* 14 Rs. iv 4–5
atta(i)=j=ve=ne=šša ene=š šīd=i=lāi
 "seines Vaters Gottheit hält ihn (für immer) verflucht"

2.4. In der Bilingue bezeugt ist ein Mal auch das enklitische Pronomen der 1. Pers. Plur. *-dilla*, zusätzlich verstärkt durch das selbständige Pronomen *šatti*; s. oben Textbeispiel (2).

2.5. Das enklitische Pronomen der 2. Pers. Plur. *-ffa* (Kurzform *-f*) ist erstmals in der Bilingue bezeugt. Ein vorausgehendes *-i/e-* wird bei Antreten von *-f(fa)* erwartungsgemäß zu *-a-*. Die Graphien sind nicht einheitlich, wie folgende Belege zeigen: *ma-a-ta-ap-pa* = *mād(i)=a=ffa* 14 Rs. 33; *u-la-ap-pa* = *ol(i)=a=ffa* 14 iv 6; *ma-a-ta-ap-ya_a* = *mād(i)=a=ffa* 14 iv 7; *u-la-ap-ya_a* = *ol(i)=a=ffa* 14 i 39; *a-mu-u-ma-a-ap* = *amom(i)=a=f* 14 Rs. 53; *a-mu-ma-a-am* = *amom(i)=a=f*¹ 14 i 40. Die syntaktische Verwendung ist jedoch nicht ganz unproblematisch, was an dem folgenden Satz veranschaulicht werden soll:

12. Vgl. zu dieser Textstelle Neu, *StBoT* 32, 348ff.

13. Mit Suffixaufnahme (*e*)*ne-š* des übergeordneten Substantivs. Genau genommen ist aber *-n-* kein Suffix, sondern Teil des Lexems: *en-i* "Gott(heit)." Haas und Wegner, *OLZ* 92 (1997): 450 merken zu Recht an, daß der Genitiv "seiner Mutter" nicht **ne-ra-i-ūi*, sondern richtig *ne-ri-i-ūi* = *ner(a)=i=ve* heißen sollte. Durch Assoziation mit *at-ta-i-bi* "seines Vaters" (Stamm *attai*) war uns eher versehentlich die falsche Bildungsweise in die Feder geflossen. Die betreffende Textstelle (12 iv 19f.) ergänzen wir jetzt als *ne-r[a-ūi-né-eš-ša e-né-eš šī-ti-la-a-i*, vielleicht auch *ne-r[a-bi-né-eš-ša]*: "Der Mutter Gottheit hält ihn (für immer) verflucht."

- (15) *a-mu-u-ma-a-ap šal-ḫu-u-la* 14 Rs. iv 7 (et passim)
 "die Botschaft hört!"

Nach unserem vorläufigen Verständnis hat das Pronomen *-f(fa)* hier nicht Subjektfunktion, sondern verleiht dem Imperativ *šal/ḫ=ol=a* "höre!" der 2. Pers. Sing. wie ein Pluralisator entsprechende Pluralbedeutung "hört!" Der Imperativ der 2. Pers. verfügt wie z.B. auch im Indogermanischen syntaktisch über kein Subjekt.¹⁴ Betrachten wir ein anders geartetes Textbeispiel mit *-f(fa)*:

- (16) *u-la-ap-pa ka₄-túl-li* 14 Rs. iv 6f.
 "eine andere (Geschichte) will ich euch erzählen"

Das Pronominaladjektiv *oli* bildet unzweifelhaft das Objekt zur transitiven Voluntativform. Dem hurr. Text entspricht heth. *nu=šmaš* ("euch") *tamai ut-tar memiškimi*. Zu konstatieren hat man hier *-ffa* in Dativfunktion ("euch"), auch wenn vorerst gewisse Bedenken bleiben. Dennoch besteht kein Zweifel, daß *-f(fa)* zu den enklitischen Pronomina gehört.

2.6. Wir kommen nun zu dem innerhalb der Bilingue am häufigsten bezeugten Pronomen *-lla* (3. Pers. Plur.) und erwähnen zunächst dessen Gebrauch als Objekt im Sinne von lat. "*eos, eas, ea*" (Akkus. Plur.):

- (17) *nakk=i=lla=ā[n]* 19 iv 26' "Laß sie frei!" (mit Redepartikel *-ān*)
 (18) *mallad(i)=ae=l(la) un=i=b* 13 i 23
 "(zusammen) mit einem *malladi* brachten sie sie (die Fleischstücke) herein"¹⁵

In der heth. Übersetzung hat man das Pronomen *-aš* als Objekt aufzufassen, während ^{DUG}*DÍLM.GAL* wie das darauf folgende *kuškuššullaz* als komitativer Ablativ zu verstehen sind. Beide Begriffe geben inhaltlich den hurr. Instrumental *mallad(i)=ae* wieder. Die Interpretation von *-aš* als Nom. Plur. hat man wegen der bekannten Syntaxregel von Watkins-Garrett auszuschließen.

Subjektfunktion von *-lla* in einem Nominalsatz liegt in 15 i 28' vor.

Es folgt ein weiteres Satzbeispiel:

- (19) *ammatte=na en(i)=na* ^{IM}*=va=lla nahḫ=oš=o fardi=n* 13 i 23–24
 "die uralten Götter—sie (*-lla*) ließ sie (Allani) Teššob sich eben zur Rechten setzen"

14. Vgl. Neu, "Betrachtungen zum indogermanischen Imperativ," in *Wort-Text-Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift für Hans Schmela zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. Peter Anreiter und Hermann M. Ölberg (Innsbruck, 1998), 120. Haas und Wegner, *OLZ* 92 (1997): 440f., 454 hingegen sehen in diesem Satz das Phänomen der "gespaltenen Ergativität," eine Annahme, die wir beim gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand für verfrüht halten.

15. Dazu s. auch Haas und Wegner, *OLZ* 92 (1997): 445. Besser geht man jedoch von einer Antipassiv-Konstruktion aus und betrachtet *-lla* als Pluralisator zu *un=i=b*.

Das Pronomen *-lla* hat oft auch die Funktion eines Pluralisators beim Nomen wie auch beim Pronomen, wie folgende Beispiele zeigen: *elgi=lla* "glänzende Applikationen" 14 i 58; *-lla . . . ulmišši* "Waffen" 19 i 14–15; *arni=l* 14 Rs. 57¹⁶; *šakare=lla* 14 Rs. 62 (= heth. *parštueš*¹⁷) *-l(la) . . . enzāri* "(die) Götter" 14 i 35f. 18; *andi=lla(=m)* "jene."

Enklitische Possessivpronomina

3.1. Am häufigsten belegt im hurr. Text der Bilingue ist das Possessivpronomen der 3. Pers. Sing. Beginnen wir jedoch mit der 1. Pers. Sing. *-iffu=* (mit *-u=* als Bindevokal vor Kasusendungen):

- (20) *a-ar-ti-ūu_u-uš-ša ki-re-en-zé a-ri-ja-am-ma* 15 Rs. iv 15–16
ard(i)=iffu=šša (< -š=nna) kirenze ar=i=a=mma
 "meine Stadt wird sie, die Freilassung, nicht gewähren"

In bruchstückhaftem Kontext findet sich der Ergativ *ú-ul-me-ni-ūu_u-u[š = ulmen(i)=iffu=š* 209 lk. Kol. 2' "meine Lanze, mein Speer"; vgl. *-n[e-ūu_u-uš* ibid. 4'. Hierher dürfte auch der Ergativ ^{URU}*Kum-mi-ni-ūu_u-uš*¹⁹ = ^{URU}*Kum=m(i)=iffu=š* gehören, auch wenn "mein Kummi"²⁰ in Verbindung mit nachfolgendem ^d*Teššobaš evri[š* 20 i 10' inhaltlich ungewöhnlich ist.

3.2. Für die 2. Pers. Sing. gehen wir unter Vorbehalt von einer Pronominalform *-(i)v=* aus und veranschaulichen dies an folgenden Beispielen: *tiša=v* (verstärkt durch vorangestelltes *fe=ve* "deiner") 15 i 20' "dein Herz"²¹; *futk(i)=iv* 15 Rs. iv 5' "dein(en) Sohn"; *puramm(i)=iv* ibid. iv 2' "dein Sklave"; *ulm(i)=iv* ibid. iv 3' "deine Sklavin"; *a-aš-ti-ip-pa = ašt(i)=iv=ma'* "deine Gattin aber" ibid. iv 5'.

3.3. Das zahlreich bezeugte Possessivpronomen der 3. Pers. Sing. *-i* bzw. *-j*.²² ist bei *i*-Stämmen oft schwer zu erkennen. Wir beschränken uns hier auf wenige Beispiele: *ard(i)=j=dan* (*a-ar-ti-i-ta-an*) 14 iv 16, Rs. 25 "aus seiner Stadt"; *evr(i)=j=da* (*e-eb-ri-i-ta* Direktiv) 20 iv 7' "zu seinem Herrn," auch *e-eb-ri-ta* 14 iv 18; *ib-ri-ta* 26 lk. Kol. 5'; *e-eb-re-e-ta* 14 Rs. 27; *abi evr(i)=j=*

va (*a-a-bi e-eb-ri-ūa_a* Dativ) 14 iv 18, Rs. 27 "vor seinem Herrn"; *ištan(i)=j=da* (*iš-ta-ni-i-ta* Direktiv) 14 i 51, 53, Rs. 59; 50 lk. Kol. 7' "in sein Inneres," auch *iš-ta-ni-ta* 14 Rs. 38, *i-iš-ta-ni-ta* 14 Rs. 60; *atta(i)=j=ve toruvi* (*at-ta-i-ūi tu=u-ru-ūi*) 14 Rs. 48 "seines Vaters Feind"; *nav_n(i)=j=ē* (*na-ū-ni-i-e ē* Kasus²³) 14 i 5 "seiner Weide."

Der Direktiv *id(i)=j=da* (*i-ti-i-ta*) 14 i 36 "zu seinem Körper / zu seiner Person" ist bereits so weit entlexikalisiert, daß dieser die Bedeutung "für" (vgl. im Hethitischen Dativ + *šer*) annehmen konnte: *tahe=i=va id(i)=j=da* 14 i 35–36 "dem Mann / für den Mann" (vgl. *fe=va ed(i)=j=va* Dativ "für dich," Mitt. iii 55). In seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung liegt *idi* in dem Ablativ *id(i)=j=ne(=š)*, graphisch *i-te[-e]-né-eš*, 14 i 1 "von seinem Körper" vor.

3.4. Schwierig zu beurteilen ist der Ausdruck *i-te-ūa_a-aš-ke-eš* 15 iv 7, der entsprechend dem Kontext etwa "bei uns" bedeuten sollte. Geht man von der Dativform *e-ti-ū-ūa-ša* Mitt. ii 80, iv 126 mit ihrer Analyse *id(i)=iff=aš=a*²⁴ "für uns" aus, ergibt sich für die obige Wortform *id(i)=iff=aš=keš* (mit einem vielleicht adverbialen Formans *-keš*) "bei uns" (wörtlich "bei unserem Körper / unserer Person"). Folglich wird für das Possessivum "unser" der bisherige Ansatz *-iff=aš*²⁵ bestätigt. Bildungsmäßig handelt es sich dabei um die Pluralisierung (*-aš-*) des Possessivums der 1. Pers. Sing.

3.5. Für das Possessivum der 2. Pers. Plur. weist der Direktiv *edi=šū=da* (*e-te-šū-ū-ta*) 19 i 23 (vgl. iv 48') "zu eurem Körper hin = zu euch" auf *šū*.²⁶ In der heth. Übersetzung entspricht der hurr. Ausdruck der Wortform *tuekkaš=š(a)maš* (Dativ Plur.). Das betreffende Pronomen ist wohl identisch mit dem Ausgang von Verbalformen der 2. Pers. Plur. wie z.B. *nakk=ed=aš=šū* 19 i 13 "ihr werdet freilassen" oder *nakk=i=u=ššū* ibid. i 20 "ihr laßt nicht frei."

3.6. In bruchstückhaftem *-b[i-ja-ša* 109 lk. Kol. 6' dürfte das Possessivpronomen *-i=aš(=v)a* (Dativ), mit Gleitlaut *-i-* hinter *-i-*, der 3. Pers. Plur. vorliegen, bildungsmäßig als Pluralisierung des Possessivums *-i-* zu verstehen.

Die Pronominalform pu-ú-i / ūu_u-ú-i

4. Die in den obigen Graphien auftretende Pronominalform wurde von Catsanicos²⁷ unter Annahme einer defektiven Schreibung als Genitiv des enklitischen Possessivpronomens der 1. Pers. Sing. (*-iffu=ve*) interpretiert; andere schlossen sich dieser Auffassung an. Wir selbst haben dagegen Bedenken angemeldet. Was für die drei syntaktisch übereinstimmenden Belegstellen

16. Vgl. Neu, *StBoT* 32, 203.

17. Vgl. Neu, "Zur Bedeutung von hethitisch ^{GIS}*pár-aš-tu-e-eš* in der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue," *NABU* 1997/145.

18. Hurr. *enzāri* ist bereits ein Kollektivum.

19. Nicht *-ūu_u-uš* wie in Neu, *StBoT* 32, 446 versehentlich vermerkt.

20. Vgl. Haas und Wegner, "Stadtverfluchungen in den Texten aus Boğazköy sowie die hurritischen Termini für 'Oberstadt,' 'Unterstadt' und 'Herd,'" in *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, hrsg. U. Finkbeiner (Mainz, 1995), 193.

21. Vgl. Haas und Wegner, *OLZ* 86 (1991): 391.

22. Ein Possessivum *-ja-* "sein, ihr" oder die bisher auf ein Vokabular aus Ugarit beschränkte Form *-a* wie in *ašta* "seine Gemahlin" (Neu, *StBoT* 32, 551) sind im hurr. Text der Bilingue nicht bezeugt.

23. Neu, *StBoT* 32, 105/106.

24. Vgl. Haas und Wegner, *OLZ* 92 (1997): 450.

25. Vgl. z.B. J. Friedrich, "Churritisch," *HbOr* Abt. I, Bd. II, Abschn. 1/2, Lfg. 2, 15 (§31).

26. Oder etwa *-išū-*: *ed(i)=išū=da*?

27. J. Catsanicos, "L'apport de la bilingue de Hattuša à la lexicologie hurrite," *Amurru* 1 (1996): 203. Vgl. Haas und Wegner, "Stadtverfluchungen," 192f.

(14 i 17, Rs. 37, 58) vielleicht noch zutreffen mag, ergibt sich für die (in bruchstückhaftem Kontext bezeugte) Belegstelle 19 i 35 in ganz anderem syntaktischen Zusammenhang ein vorerst wohl kaum zu bewältigendes Übersetzungsproblem. Unter Vorbehalt betrachten wir diese Pronominalform als Genitiv eines bisher nicht bezeugten Demonstrativpronomens *fu=ve* in possessivischer Funktion und verweisen für weitere Einzelheiten auf Neu, *SCCNH* 10 (1999): 289f.

andi "jener"

5. Das Demonstrativpronomen *andi*²⁸ hat als heth. Entsprechung das Pronomen *apa-* "jener":

- (21) hurr. *an-ti ta-a-ḫi* 14 i/ii 18
heth. *a-pa-a-aš LÚ-aš* "jener Mann"
- (22) hurr. *an-ti pu-ú-ut-ki* 14 Rs. iv/iii 2
heth. *a-pa-a-aš DUMU-ŠU* "jener sein Sohn"
- (23) hurr. *an-ti ti-i-ib-ša-a-ri* 14 i/ii 23
heth. *a-pa-a-at ut-tar* "jene Geschichte"
- (24) hurr. *an-ti-il-la-am (andi=lla=m)* 15 i/ii 26'
heth. *a-pu-u-uš* (Akk. Plur.) "jene"

Das Pronomen akki

6. Die Pronominalform *akki* 14 i 37 wird man schwerlich von *[a-ag-]ga=an-ni* 14 i 33 trennen wollen. Im ersten Fall stellt das heth. Pronomen *apa-* "jener" (*apedani*) die lexikalische Entsprechung dar, im anderen Fall entspricht heth. *šja-* (*šiedani*).²⁹ Daher scheinen sich heth. *apa-* und *šja-* hinsichtlich ihrer Deixis recht nahe zu stehen. Hurr. *akki* und *[akk]anni* alternieren mit dem Ordinale *šinzi* "zweiter," was jeweils eine Übersetzung "der eine . . . der andere" nahelegt.

- (25) *akki ḫalze am=ud=o=m šinzi=ma fur=ud=o=m* 14 i 37–38
"den einen Distrikt betrat er nicht (mehr?), den anderen aber sah er nicht"
- (26) *[akk]anni ḫalze=ni ḫalz=uḫl=a [naḫ]=edo* 14 i 33–34
"in den einen Distrikt hat man (ihn) zum Distriktverwalter eingesetzt"

28. Daß *andi* nicht "dieser," sondern "jener" bedeutet, hat bereits G. Wilhelm, "Die Inschrift auf der Statue der Tatu-ḫepa und die hurritischen deiktischen Pronomina," *SMEA* 24 (1984): 215ff. noch ohne Kenntnis der Bilingue festgestellt.

29. Dazu Neu, "Zu einigen Pronominalformen des Hethitischen," *FsPuhvel*, 145ff.

Mit Bezug auf die beiden verschiedenen Bezirke läßt sich *akki . . . akki* (bzw. *akkanni*) als "der eine . . . der andere" verstehen, vergleichbar *akku . . . agu*,³⁰ oder auch als *agu* in der Bedeutung "einer von beiden."³¹

Die Pronomina agave . . . išave "diesseitiger . . . jenseitiger"

7. Diese beiden Pronomina, die auch in Nuzi bezeugt sind,³² treten innerhalb der Bilingue in folgenden Formen bzw. syntaktischen Zusammenhängen auf, wobei die unterschiedlichen Schreibungen in gemeinsamer Nähe bemerkenswert sind:

<i>agave</i> "diesseitiger"	<i>išave</i> "jenseitiger"
<i>agave</i> "diesseitiger"	<i>e-ša-a-bé-e(-ma)</i> 14 i 29
<i>agave</i> Absolutiv	<i>ešave</i> Absolutiv
<i>a-ga-bé-e-na-a-ša</i> ibid. i 26	<i>i-ša-a-ḫe-na na-i-ḫé-e-na</i> ibid. i 27
<i>agave=na=aš(v)a</i> Dat. Plur.	<i>išave=na naiḫe=na</i>
	"die jenseitigen Weiden"

Das Fragepronomen ave "wer?"

8. Das folgende Textbeispiel möge das Auftreten von *ave* "wer?" innerhalb eines vollständig erhaltenen Satzes veranschaulichen:³³

- (27) *ave(=š)=dilla šatti*³⁴ *sas=ol=il=ed=a* 15 i 26'
"wer wird u n s verköstigen?"

Ein weiterer Beleg liegt in 50 lk. Kol. 10' ohne engeren Kontext vor: *ave=t* (*a-bé-et*) "wer mich . . . ?" Haas und Wegner, *OLZ* 92 (1997): 448 interpretieren *a-bi-iš-ša-a* 11 iv 19' als *ave=š=na* > *avešša* "wer es / ihn . . . ?"

Das Frageadverb ija "warum?"

9. Das Pronomen *ija* / *iḫe* tritt außerhalb der Bilingue vor allem als Relativpronomen³⁵ auf. Für *ija* "warum?" soll hier ein Textbeispiel genügen:

- (28) *ija=t šeduiliḫaniš šid=ar=a nalliš* 14 i 10; s. schon (8)
"warum verflucht mich der fett gewordene Rehbock?"

Vgl. *ija<ḫ>* 14 i 53, *ija=t* ibid. Rs. 38, 60.

30. Vgl. Wilhelm, *SMEA* 24 (1984): 221.

31. Vgl. Friedrich, "Churritisch," 16 (§36).

32. Neu, *StBoT* 32, 129.

33. S. bereits Textbeispiel (2).

34. Zu diesem pronominalen Ausdruck vgl. Wegner, *SMEA* 29 (1992): 235 Anm. 17.

35. Vgl. Friedrich, "Churritisch," 16 (§35).

Schluß

10. Die hurr. Pronomina sind wortbildungsmäßig teilweise recht unterschiedlicher Struktur. Mitunter verfügt ein Pronomen über drei Stämme wie z.B. das selbständige Personalpronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. mit *iša-*, *ište* und *šū-*. Partikelhafte Elemente stellen die enklitischen Personal- und Possessivpronomina dar. Bei dem Demonstrativpronomen *and=i* "jener" verdrängen die Kasusuffixe den Stammauslaut *-i* (*and=ve* Genitiv, *and=va* Dativ Sing.). Anders als z.B. im Indogermanischen besitzen die hurr. Pronomina keine besonderen Endungen gegenüber der üblichen Nominalflexion. Pronominaladjektive wie *oli* "anderer" oder *šui* "ganz, all" haben wir aus unserer Darstellung ausgeklammert.

Hethitisch *utēzzi* "Nässe" und indogermanisch **wed-*

NORBERT OETTINGER

Augsburg

Summary: The meaning of Hittite *utēzzi* is shown to be "wetness," whereas *arha hapānzi* means "they dry up, they drain" (§§1–4). In a next step the word formation of *utēzzi* is investigated in comparison with **kusēzzi* "marriage" and **hassuezzi* "kingdom" (§§5–6). Finally there follows a discussion of the ending *-zzi* < *PIE *-ti- and of the PIE root **wed-* "be wet, moisten."

1. Hapax legomena haben ihren eigenen Reiz. Unter der Voraussetzung, daß ihr nur einmaliges Auftreten auf tatsächlicher sprachlicher Seltenheit beruht, sind sie nämlich oft interessante Wörter. Der Grund ist, daß ein solches Lexem entweder einen selten vorkommenden Inhalt bezeichnet, was einen realkundlichen Reiz haben kann, oder aber mit einem anderen, häufigeren Wort synonym ist. Im letzteren Fall handelt es sich meist entweder um eine erst in Ausbreitung befindliche Neubildung (bzw. Entlehnung) oder einen bereits im Verschwinden begriffenen Archaismus, kurzum: etwas dem Philologen und Linguisten Willkommenes.

In diesem Sinne soll es heute um das hethitische Wort *ú-te-e-iz-zi* /*udēzzi*/ gehen, das bisher ohne Übersetzung geblieben ist. Betrachten wir dazu zwei hethitische Ritualfragmente, und zwar zunächst KBo 23.87 (Anfang des 14. Jhdts):

2'. [DINGIR^{LIM}-y]a na-an E[GIR-pa pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-i]

3'. [z]i-i-ya-du-ma-kán a[n-da ú-i-te-ni tar-na-i]

4'. nu nam-ma LÚŠÀ.TAM ME-E QA-TI A-N[A MUNUS.LUGAL pa-ra-a e-ip-zi]

5'. nu-za MUNUS.LUGAL ḫa-pa-a-iz-zi¹ DINGIR^{LIM}-ya šu-u[p-pí]

6'. na-aš-ta GEŠTIN-an ḫa-a-ni nu ḏma-na-a-ri-i[n]

7'. LÚNAR ŠÌR^{RU} NINDA ṣi-wa-an-ta-an-na-an-ni-in x []

1. Hervorhebung von mir. Für wertvolle Kritik danke ich H. C. Melchert.

- 8'. *na-an EGIR-pa pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-i zi-i-y[a-du-ma-kán]*
 9'. *an-da ú-i-te-ni tar-na-i*
-
- 10'. *nu LÚŠÀ.TAM ME-E QA-TI A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL pa-r[a-a e-ip-zi]*
 11'. *nu-za MUNUS.LUGAL ha-pa-a-iz-zi DINGIR^{LIM}-ya šu-up-pí []*
 12'. *na-aš-ta GEŠTIN-an ha-a-ni nu šal-li-in x []*
 13'. *LÚNAR ŠIR^{RU} NINDAši-wa-an-r[a-an-ni-in]*
 14'. *DINGIR^{LIM}-ya na-an EG[IR-pa pí-e-di-is-ši da-a-i]*

Übersetzung

- 2'. [... die Gottheit] und [legt] es [an seinen Platz zurück].
 3'. Sie (nämlich die Königin) läßt *ziyadu* [ins Wasser fallen].
-
- 4'. Dann [reicht] der Verwalter der [Königin] Handwasser,
 5'. und die Königin benetzt sich. Sie [räuchert(?)] für die Gottheit
 rei[nes . . .]
-
- 6'. Sie schöpft Wein und [trinkt zu Ehren(?)] der Gottheit Manari.
 7'. Der Sänger singt. Sie [erhebt(?)] ein *Siwantannanni*-Gebäck [für die Gottheit]
 8'. und legt es an seinen Platz zurück. Sie läßt *ziy[adu]*
 9'. ins Wasser fallen.
-
- 10'. Dann [reicht] der Verwalter der Königin Handwasser,
 11'. und die Königin benetzt sich. Sie [räuchert(?)] für die Gottheit reines
 [...]
 12'. Sie schöpft Wein und [trinkt zu Ehren(?)] der großen [Gottheit. . . .]
 13'. Der Sänger singt. Sie [erhebt] ein *Siwant[annanni-]*Gebäck für
 14'. die Gottheit und [legt es an seinen Platz] zu[rück . . .]

Worauf es uns hier ankommt, ist die Verbalform *hapāizzi* (Zeile 5', 11'). Vergegenwärtigen wir uns den Handlungsablauf: Die Königin bringt etwas Reines dar (5'), möglicherweise Räucherwerk. Dann trinkt sie zum Wohl der Gottheit, bringt anschließend ein Teigwarenopfer dar und läßt eine Substanz ins Wasser fallen. Eines der beiden letzteren Dinge ist offenbar fett oder bröselig, denn nun bekommt sie Handwaschwasser und benetzt sich die Hände (*hapāizzi*,² 11'). Das ist auch sinnvoll, weil sie anschließend wieder etwas Reines darbringen muß.

2. Vergleichen wir damit den Text KBo 29.94 Vs. i (ebenfalls Anfang des 14. Jhdts):

2. Übersetzung mit F. Starke, *StBoT* 31, 514 A; vgl. H. Otten, "Ein Beitrag zu den Boğazköy-Tafeln im Archäologischen Museum zu Ankara," *BiOr* 8 (1951): 225 Anm. 4.

- 9'. [] x [] ^{MUNUS}*h*u-wa-aš-ša-an-na-al-li-iš
 10'. [] x [] ^{BE-E}L SISKUR.SISKUR 1 ^{NINDA}*la*¹-kar-mu-un
 11'. x [] *na-an-za-kán I-NA* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-ŠU *da-a-i*
 12'. A-NA [] ^BE-EL DINGIR^{MES} GEŠTIN *a-ku-an-na pí-an-zi*
-
- 13'. ^{1.Ú}SA[GI] ^{MUNUS}*h*u-wa-aš-ša-an-na-al-li GAL.KAŠ *pa-a-i*
 14'. *na-an e[-ip-z]i A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} pa-ra-a e-ip-zi*
 15'. *na-aš ti[-ya-z]i GAL.KAŠ-ya har-zi*
-
- 16'. *na-aš-ta ú[-e-h]a-an-zi wa-a-tar pa-ap-pár-aš-ša-an-zi*
 17'. *nam-ma-az Q[A-TI^M]EŠ-ŠU-NU ú-te-iz-zi ar-ha ha-a-pa-a-an-zi³*
-
- 18'. [^{MUNUS}*h*u-wa-aš-ša-an-na-al-li-iš] V ^{NINDA}*ši-wa-an-da-an-na-an-ni-in*
ú-da-i
 19'. [] ^{IN}^{NINDA}*ši-wa-an-da-an-na-an-ni-in I-NA* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR
 DINGIR^{LIM} *da-a-i*
 20'. [] ^{NINDA}*ši-wa-an-da-an-na-an-ni-in I-NA* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR
^{MUNUS}AL-*HU-IT-RA da-a-i*
 21'. [] ^{NINDA}*ši-wa-an-da-an-na-an-ni-in I-NA* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *BE-EL*
 SISKUR.SISKUR *da-a-i*

Übersetzung

- 9'. [] . . . die Priesterin der (Göttin) Huwassanna
 10'. [reicht(?)] dem Opf[er]herm ein *takarmu*-Gebäck
 11'. [] und er legt es auf seinen Tisch.
 12'. Sie geben [] dem Götterherm(?) Wein zu trinken.
-
- 13'. Der Mundsch[enk] reicht der Priesterin der Huwassanna einen Becher Bier.
 14'. Sie ni[mmt] ihn und bietet ihn der Gottheit dar.
 15'. Sie ste[llt sich] hin und hält den Becher Bier.
-
- 16'. Nun dre[hen sie] sich (um sich selbst) und sprengen Wasser.
 17'. Dann *arha hapānzi* sie sich ihre H[ä]nde hinsichtlich von *utēzzi*.
 18'. [Die Priesterin der Huwassanna] bringt fünf Stück *Siwandannanni*-Gebäck herbei
 19'. [und] legt ein S.-Gebäck auf den Tisch der Gottheit,
 20'. [ein S.-Gebäck] legt sie auf den Tisch der *Alhuitra*-(Priesterin),
 21'. [ein S.-Gebäck] legt sie auf den Tisch des Opferherm. . . .

3. Man hat das Wort *utēzzi* (17') bisher ohne Übersetzung gelassen und *arha hapānzi* als "sie benetzen" wiedergegeben,⁴ also genauso wie bloßes

3. Hervorhebung von mir.

4. F. Starke, *StBoT* 31, 514 Anm. 1896.

hapaizzi "sie benetzt" im vorangehenden Text (s.o. I.) in Zeile 11'. Nun heißt aber *arha* normalerweise "weg, fort," was man hier bisher nicht berücksichtigt hat. Die Übersetzung von *hapāizzi* durch "benetzt" im vorangehenden Text hatte sich ja als sinnvoll erwiesen. Wie ist es nun bei *arha hapānzi*?

Im vorangehenden Textabschnitt, also KBo 29.94 i 13'–15', gibt der Mundschenk der Priesterin einen Becher Bier zu halten. Davon kann sie keine schmutzigen Hände bekommen. Dann sprengen beide rundum Wasser—ganz offensichtlich, um den Staub des Bodens zu binden, so wie das heute noch im Süden üblich ist. Dadurch wird für das folgende Opfer eine reine Atmosphäre geschaffen. Auch davon können die Hände nicht schmutzig werden. Es ist also nicht einzusehen, warum sie sich nun die Hände benetzen, also säubern, sollten. Im Gegenteil, diese sind ja schon naß vom Besprengen. Hätten sie nämlich mit einem Instrument gesprengt, so wäre dieses genannt worden; für solche Beispiele s. CAD P, 99f., wo "the implement(s) used for the sprinkling (e.g., an eagle's wing, a staff, a *gangati*-plant, red wool)" angeführt werden. Daher kann -za *QATI-ŠUNU utēzzi arha hapānzi* (ib. 17') nicht heißen: "sie benetzen sich die Hände."

3.1. Als Lösung sei statt dessen die gegenteilige Übersetzung vorge schlagen, also gewissermaßen "sie ent-netzen sich die Hände" oder in korrektem Deutsch "sie trocknen sich die Hände (wieder)." Dazu paßt auch, daß die Priesterin im folgenden Teigwaren austeilt, wozu sie sicher keine nassen Hände brauchen kann.

Nun könnte man aber einwenden, es sei selbstverständlich, daß man nasse Hände trockne, und müsse daher nicht extra gesagt werden. Das ist richtig, und ich glaube, daß *utēzzi* genau deshalb Hapax legomenon ist. In den Ritualen wird oft (ohne Instrument) Wasser gesprengt, wie auch aus CHD P, 98f., ersichtlich ist, und so wäre oft Gelegenheit gewesen, das anschließende sich wieder Trocknen zu erwähnen. Aber nur an unserer Stelle hat es ein Priester, der vielleicht etwas pedantisch veranlagt war, dem Schreiber auch wirklich diktiert.

4. Wir nähern uns nun der Frage nach dem syntaktischen Aufbau des Satzes. Zu unkomponiertem *hapai*- "benetzen" verhält sich komponiertes *arha hapai*- "ent-netzen, wieder trocknen" semantisch wie zu z.B. zu *uye*- "herschicken" komponiertes *arha uye*- "verjagen" und zu *anye*- "ausführen, behandeln" komponiertes *arha anye*- "beseitigen,"⁵ eigentlich "wegbehandeln." Besonders deutlich ist komponiertes *arha tarranu*- "entmachen" zu unkomponiertem *tarranu*- "mächtig machen."⁶ Man sieht: Das Präverb *arha*, das eigentlich "weg" heißt, kann die Bedeutung des Verbums in sein Gegenteil verkehren, und so auch an unserer Stelle.

5. Zu *arha uye*- und *arha anye*- s. HW², I, 1267 bzw. 86.

6. Siehe F. Sommer und A. Falkenstein, HAB, 192 Anm. 5.

Für typologische Parallelen aus anderen Sprachen vgl. J. Wackernagel, "Über Bedeutungsverschiebung in der Verbalkomposition," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 1902, 747–57 (= *Kleine Schriften* I, 127–47); er nennt z.B. lat. *dēlinō* (gr. ἀπαλείφω "wische ab" als Gegenstück zu *linō* (gr. ἀλείφω) "salbe, beschmiere." Ich verweise auch auf moderne Bildungen wie frz. *deconnecter* "abschalten" gegenüber *connecter* "einschalten." Wackernagel zufolge tritt das Umschlagen der Bedeutung des Verbums in ihr Gegenteil besonders dann ein, wenn "das Verbum eine Tätigkeit ausdrückt, die mit einer anderen von Hause aus so verschwistert ist, daß die eine Tätigkeit die andere ablöst und deren genaues Widerspiel bildet."⁷ So ist es inhaltlich auch in unserem Text: zuerst wird (beim Sprengen) benetzt, dann wieder abgetrocknet.

4.1. Das Eintreten des heth. Präverbs *arha* ändert den syntaktischen Rahmen nicht; die Kasus bleiben gleich. Vgl. unkomponiertes LUGAL-*un* MUNUS.LUGAL-*a[n-na (a-ni-e-m)]i* KBo 17.4 ii 15 (altheth. Niederschrift, StBoT 8) "ich behandle König (Akk.) und Königin (kultisch)" gegenüber komponiertem *[k]i-i-ma-kán TUP-PA^{III}A . . . ar-ḫa a-ni-ya-u-e-en* KUB 43.55 Rs. v 2'f. (jh., Tuth. IV) "diese Tontafeln (Akk.) haben wir . . . beseitigt"⁸ und unkomponiertes *tu-el-pát* (4) *gul-aš-ša tar-ra-nu-ut* "er machte nur deine Bestimmung mächtig" KBo 3.21 ii 4 (ah. in mh. Niederschrift) nach E. Neu bei J. Tischler, HEG 3, 149f., gegenüber komponiertem *nu ut-ne-e ar-ḫa tar-ra-nu-ut* "er entmachtete die Länder" KBo 3.1 i 17, ah. in junger Niederschrift (bei Tischler ibidem). Auch an unserer Stelle bleiben die Kasus gleich. Wir haben auszugehen von unkomponiertem *-z *QATI-ŠUNU hapānzi* "sie benetzen ihre Hände (Akk.)." Soll das Gegenteil ausgedrückt werden, so erhalten wir *-z *QATI-ŠUNU arha hapānzi* "sie ent-netzen (d.h. trocknen) ihre Hände (wieder)." Soll nun noch angegeben werden, wovon die Hände getrocknet werden, so kommt ein zweiter Akkusativ (*utēzzi*) hinzu, nämlich ein "Akkusativ der Beziehung" (Accusativus respectus), und so erklärt sich unser

KBo 29.94 i 17' *namma-z Q[ATI^M]EŠ-ŠUNU utēzzi arha hapānzi*
wörtlich: "sie ent-netzen (trocknen) sich die Hände bezüglich der Nässe."
Freier übersetzt: "sie befreien sich die Hände wieder von der Nässe."

Zum Akkusativ der Beziehung vgl. z.B. *tuk UL kuitki idalawahhun*⁹ "Ich habe dich (*tuk*, Akk.) nicht bezüglich irgendetwas (*kuitki*, Akk.) schlecht behandelt" sowie z.B. den lat. Accusativus graecus *nudus brachia* "nackt in Bezug auf die Arme." Im Hethitischen erscheint er häufig mit dem Partizip (in

7. "Bedeutungsverschiebung," 748.

8. Vgl. zu *arha anye*- "beseitigen" auch E. Neu, StBoT 5, 4 Anm. 4.

9. Von einem "Akkusativ des inneren Objekts" spricht hier J. Friedrich, HE I³, 119f., doch sollte diese Begriff besser auf Fälle wie *einen Gang gehen* beschränkt werden.

der Art eines Partizip Perfekt Passiv) z.B. KUB 13.4 i 26 *nas ZI-an arha lānza* "er ist milde gestimmt hinsichtlich des Gemüts." Vgl. gr. δεδεμένος τῷ χεῖρι (*dedeménos . . . tō cheire*) "gefesselt . . . in Bezug auf die Hände."

5. An dieser Stelle endet die Philologie, und die Indogermanistik beginnt. Wie ist das Neutrum *utēzzi* aufgebaut? Wir können mehrere hethitische Wörter mit demselben Ausgang finden bzw. rekonstruieren, von denen hier zwei¹⁰ genannt seien, nämlich **ku-ši-iz-zi* /*kusēzzi*/ (oder /*kusyezzi*/) und *hassuezzi*. Die Entwicklung der Wortbildung ist so anzusetzen:

5.1. *kusa-* "Verlobte(r)" → **kuse-* (oder **kusye-*) "Bräutigam/Braut sein" → **kusēzzi* (oder **kusyezzi*) "Vermählung" (bezeugt im Denominativ *kusizye-* "vermählen"; s.u. 6).

5.2. *hassu-* "König" → *hassue-* (wahrscheinlich aus **hassuye-*) "König sein" → **hassuezzi* n. (belegt: LUGAL-*u-e-iz-zi* usw.) "Königsherrschaft."¹¹

5.3. Ebenso nun: **ud-* "naß sein, befeuchten, Nässe, Benetzung" oder **ud-a-* "naß" → **ude-* "im Zustand der Nässe sein" → *ludēzzi* n. "Nässe."

6. Die Bedeutung von **kusēzzi* (oder **kusyezzi*) ist deshalb als "Bräutigam/Braut sein" angesetzt, weil die beiden anderen Beispiele zeigen, daß bei den Verbalnomina auf *-ezzi* der Vorgang, den das Verbum angibt, als Ereignis, also in seinem Verlauf,¹² betrachtet wird. Belegt ist das Verbalsubstantiv (Gen. Sg.) in KUB 57.125 Vs. 5¹³:

[*ka-a-ša-at-ta* ^{LÜ}TE₄-MU] *ku-ši-iz-zi-ya-u-aš AŠ-PUR*

"Siehe, ich habe Dir den Gesandten der Vermählung geschickt."

Vgl. auch das Vokabular KBo 1.35 17'ff.:

17'. BI-IB-LU = *ku-ši-iz-za*

18'. ŠU-BU-UL-TU = *up-pí-iš-šar*

19'. TAR-ḪA-A-TÜ = *ku-ša'-ta*¹

Die Nähe zu *kusata* "Brautpreis" (19') und die Glossierung mit akkad. *biblu*, das eine Gabe bezeichnet, die (u.a.) vom Bräutigam ins Haus des Schwiegervaters gebracht wird (letzteres bei AHw, 125), legen es nahe, *kusizza* entweder als Neutrum Plural von **kusizzi* zu betrachten (so Rieken, StBoT 44, 258) oder *°-za* in *°-zi* zu korrigieren und in 17' *ku-ši-iz-zi*¹ zu lesen. Die Bedeutung ist hier konkretisiert: Hochzeitsgeschenk.

10. Weitere Nomina auf **-ezzi* sollen an anderer Stelle besprochen werden.

11. H. Kronasser, EHS, 240, dem J. Tischler, HEG, 209; J. Puhvel, HED 3, 241; und E. Rieken, StBoT 44, 258, gefolgt sind, nahm ein ursprüngliches Adjektiv (*hassuizzi* "königlich") an.

12. Im Gegensatz zu den (morphologisch sehr ähnlichen) Nomina auf *-ima-*, für deren Behandlung auf meinen Aufsatz in 4th Hitt. Cong., 456–77, verwiesen sei, finden sich aber unter den Nomina auf *-ezzi* keine mit affektiver Konnotation.

13. Siehe E. Edel, ÄHK I, 226, und F. Starke bei ÄHK I, 349.

6.1. Da denomineale Verben auf bloßes *-ye-* für das Hethitische nicht wirklich zu sichern sind,¹⁴ ist vermutlich (trotz der kurzen Graphie *ku-ši-iz-°*) das Verbum als **kus-ē-* und das Deverbativum als **kusezzi-* anzusetzen. Noch wahrscheinlicher ist dies bei *utēzzi*, wo allein schon die Graphie *u-ti-e-°* (nicht: **u-ti-i-e-°*) für das Zugrundeliegen eines statisch-fientiven *ē-* Verbums **ud-ē-* spricht. Hier handelt es sich m.E. um einen Fall, der die von Watkins¹⁵ angenommene Herleitung von Nomina auf *°ēzzi* aus Verben auf *°ē-* bestätigt.¹⁶ Für verbal belegtes *-ē-* hat der verehrte Jubilar mit altheth. *arawēzzi* "erklärt sich als frei" < **"wird frei"* ein weiteres Beispiel beigebracht.¹⁷

7. Das Suffix *-zzi-* (in *°ezzi-*) stammt aus idg **-ti-*, das dort feminine Verbalnomina bildet; vgl. lat *sitis* f. "Durst" = gr. φρίσις "Auszehrung, Vertrocknen (von Pflanzen)," ai. *ksíti-* f. "Dahinschwinden, Untergang." Die heth. Verbindung *-asti-*¹⁸ < **-osti-*, die in irgendeiner Epoche zu adjektivischem **-os-to-* rückgebildet worden sein dürfte und insofern nur sekundär zu **-ti-* gehört, ist geschlechtig.¹⁹ Der Ausgang *°uzzi-* stammt meist aus (teilweise schon uranatolischem) **-u-ti-* mit echtem **-ti-*. Bei ihm ist das Genus commune ebenfalls überwiegend erhalten, doch finden sich auch Neutra wie *luzzi* "Frondienst" und ^{Gi}*hariuzzi* "Tisch" (o.a.). Auch unser *utēzzi* ist eindeutig Neutrum. Diese Divergenz erklärt sich vermutlich dadurch, daß es sich bei diesen Neutra um ursprüngliche Kollektiva ("Neutrum Plural") zu geschlechtigen *i*-Stämmen handelt, zu denen dann (wie bei nachhomerischem gr. ἄστρον "Stern" als Rückbildung von ἄστρα "Gestirn") ein Singular neutralen Geschlechts rückgebildet wurde.²⁰

Die Aussage, daß das Suffix **-ti-* im Hethitischen ausschließlich in dem Konglomerat *-uzzi-* produktiv geworden sei,²¹ kann nun dahingehend modifiziert werden, daß eine—allerdings stark begrenzte—Produktivität auch in

14. Vgl. die Diskussion bei H. C. Melchert, *Phon.*, 36f.

15. "Hittite and Indo-European Studies: The Denominative Statives in *-ē-*," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 69 (1973): 78f.

16. Während ich *hassue-* "König sein," das Watkins als *ē-* Verbum angesetzt hat, nach wie vor als *ye-* Verbum betrachte (so bereits *Stammbildung*, 330f., 340), habe ich meine Bedenken gegen den allgemeinen Ansatz von "denominative statives in *-ē-*" durch Watkins zurückgenommen ("Die hethitischen Verbalstämme," *StMed* 7, 225f. mit Anm. 44).

17. H. A. Hoffner, "On the Denominative Verb *arāwe-*," *FsWatkins*, 275–84.

18. In heth. *dalugasti-* "Länge"; vermutlich analog danach sind *pargasti-* "Höhe" und *pal-hasti-* "Breite" gebildet.

19. E. Neu, *Lok.*, 49 Anm. 113. Zur Morphologie von **-osti-* bzw. *-asti-* s. J. Schindler, "Zur Herkunft der altindischen *cvi*-Bildungen," in *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie. Akten der VI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden, 1980), 390 Anm. 18; und H. C. Melchert, "Two Problems of Anatolian Nominal Derivation," in *Compositiones Indogermanicae in memoriam Jochem Schindler*, ed. H. Eichner und H. Ch. Luschützky (Prag, 1999), 365f. Das *i* in *-asti-* ist dissimilatorisch restituiert.

20. So H. C. Melchert, "Two Problems," 367, anhand von Beispielen wie heth. *etri* n. "Speise."

21. E. Rieken, *StBoT* 44, 504.

Ableitungen von Verbalstammen auf *-ye- und *-e- im Voralthethitischen bestand.

8. Die *utēzzi* zugrundeliegende Wurzel ist, wie schon oben gesagt, idg. *wed- "nässen." Zu ihr gehört im Anatolischen nicht nur der Fortsetzer von uridg. *wod-r "Wasser," also heth. *wātar*, Gen. *wetas* "Wasser" samt seiner Ableitung *udnē* "Land,"²² sondern auch heth. *udumeni*- "Westwind," wörtlich "befeuchte das Gesicht!" im Gegensatz zu *tarasmeni*- "Ostwind," wörtlich "trockne das Gesicht!"²³ Dieses Imperativkompositum vom Typ frz. *porte-monnaie* ist sprachgeschichtlich jung und läßt daher auf ein noch im Voralthethitischen lebendiges Wurzelverbum *ud- "benetzen" schließen. Das Anatolische war also diesbezüglich kaum weniger archaisch als das vedische Sanskrit, wo wir ebenfalls noch die lebendige Verbalwurzel *ud-* (Prs. *unatti* "benetzt")²⁴ finden.

22. Mehr zu *udnē* demnächst in einer indogermanistischen Festschrift.

23. N. Oettinger, "Anatolische Etymologien," *HS* 108 (1995): 46f.; vgl. E. Rieken, *StBoT* 44, 57.

24. M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg, 1986ff.) sub *od*; J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern/München, 1959), 78f.; H. Rix, *Lexikon indogermanischer Verben* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 599f.

Zur Topographie von Hattuša: Tempel auf Büyükkale

MACIEJ POPKO

Warsaw

Infolge der langjährigen Tätigkeit der Archäologen ist die ehemalige Bebauung von Hattuša ziemlich gut bekannt, trotzdem sind weitere, diesmal philologische Untersuchungen über die Stadtopographie notwendig. Meine Betrachtungen zu diesem Thema seien dem verehrten Jubilar mit den besten Wünschen gewidmet.

Nach dem Zeugnis schriftlicher Quellen befanden sich in der hethitischen Hauptstadt zahlreiche Tempel, aber ihre Identifizierung bzw. Lokalisierung bietet große Schwierigkeiten. Auf den ersten Blick erscheint die Oberstadt besonders vielversprechend als Gebiet reich an Tempelresten, jedoch datieren die Bauten dieses Stadtteils gemäß P. Neve erst aus der Regierungszeit Tuthalijas IV.¹ Da mehrere Tempelnamen schon in älteren Texten auftreten, muß man annehmen, daß die jeweiligen Tempel älter gewesen sind, also nicht in der Oberstadt, sondern entweder in der Unterstadt oder auf der Burg standen. Von den jüngsten Kultanlagen kann man nur den Tempel I der Unterstadt als É^{TIM} GAL identifizieren,² das wahrscheinlich auch als É^{dU} URU^{URU} HATTI bezeichnet wurde.³

In der Vergangenheit wurde mehrfach die Meinung geäußert, daß sich auf Büyükkale innerhalb der Burg Tempel befanden. Neben allgemeinen Aussagen⁴ sind auch bestimmte Identifizierungs- und Lokalisierungsversuche zu nennen.⁵ Die Rückkehr auf diese Frage ist heute berechtigt dank der

1. P. Neve, *Hattuša. Stadt der Götter und Tempel*. 2. überarbeitete Auflage (Mainz, 1996).

2. Vgl. H. G. Güterbock, *CRRAI* 19, 305 m. Anm. 2.

3. Diese Gleichsetzung folgt aus der im Tempel I gefundenen Šahurunuwa-Urkunde KUB 26.43+ Rs. 35ff.; zum Text s. F. Imparati, *RHA* 32 (1974): 5ff.

4. Vgl. z.B. K. Bittel, *Hattusha. The Capital of the Hittites* (New York, 1970), 70ff., der zwei Bauten der Schicht IVb/2 in dem obersten Teil der Burg als "small chapels" bezeichnet.

5. R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien* (Tübingen, 1971), 475 sah im Gebäude C eine Burgkapelle. Nach P. Neve, *Regenkult-Anlagen in Boğazköy-Hattuša. Ein Deutungsversuch* (Tübingen, 1971), ist das Gebäude C der Ort des Regenkultes gewesen. Zur Deutung des Gebäudes B bzw. des Komplexes BCH als *heštā*-Hauses s. unten.

Klärung einer wichtigen Frage der Hethitologie, nämlich wird jetzt das Wort *Ḫalent(i)u(wa)-* als Benennung einer königlichen Residenz gedeutet, die im Fall von Hattuša eindeutig auf Büyükkale zu suchen ist.⁶ Nach den Festbeschreibungen ist dieser Gebäudekomplex oft ein Ausgangspunkt königlicher Besuche in verschiedenen, offenbar nahe gelegenen Tempeln gewesen. Es liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß jene Tempel zu Baulichkeiten der Burg gehörten. Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Belege stammt aus den junghethitischen Texten, bezieht sich also auf die letzte, relativ gut bekannte Entwicklungsphase der Burg.⁷

Die vorliegende Untersuchung stützt sich vor allem auf die topographischen Kriterien. Mit *Ḫalent(i)u(wa)-* der hethitischen Hauptstadt sind Namen bestimmter Bauten bzw. architektonischer Elemente jenes Gebäudekomplexes verbunden, und diese Objekte dienen hier als Orientierungspunkte, die eine Lokalisierung einzelner Tempel erleichtern. In Betracht kommen die königliche Küche (*É LUMUḪALDIM*) und das "Haus des Weinschalenhalters" (*É LUMZABAR.DAB*), d.h. der königliche Weinkeller, ferner *Ḫatapuzna-* "Aussteigeort(?)" und der Hof bzw. der Torbau der Leibwächter (*ŠA LUMEŠEDI Ḫila-/ḫilammar*), schließlich auch Tore und Torbauten in der Burg. Bemerkenswert ist, daß in den Texten (1) die Begriffe "Tor" und "Torbau" auswechselbar gebraucht wurden⁸ und (2) jene Tore keine feste Benennungen hatten. Auf das letzte hat I. Singer aufmerksam gemacht⁹; gemäß ihm ist das Große Tor (*GAL-jaz KÁ.GAL-az* Abl., IBoT 1.36 i 67) mit dem Großen *Ḫakaštipa-* (*GAL-az Ḫakaštipaz*, Abl., IBoT 1.36 iv 26f.) identisch, während das obere *Ḫakaštipa-* (*šarazzi[jaz] Ḫakaštipaz KÁ.GAL-az*, Abl., KBo 10.24 i 11ff.) dem "oberen Torbau" (*šarazi Ḫilam-ni*, Dat., IBoT 3.1:10', vgl. auch VS NF 12.5 i 13) und zugleich dem "Torbau der Götter" (*DINGIRMEŠ-ašš-a ḫilamni*, Dat., KBo 10.23+ iv 15) entspricht (zum letzten Begriff vgl. auch *DINGIRMEŠ-ašš-a KÁ.GAL* "(und) das Tor der Götter," KUB 11.20 ii 19'). Die Bezeichnung "Großes Tor" bezieht sich wohl auf das gut bekannte Burgtor mit Poternen. Der obere Torbau muß sich natürlich in dem oberen Teil der Burg befunden haben, und sein anderer Name ("Torbau der Götter") scheint zu zeigen, daß er zu einem Tempelviertel führte. Man möchte

6. S. dazu zuletzt H. G. Güterbock und Th. P. J. van den Hout, *AS* 24, 59f., und E. Neu, *StBoT* 32, 228ff. Frau L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11 (1965): 204f., hat als erste *Ḫalent(i)u-* richtig als "Wohnpalast" übersetzt und auf Büyükkale lokalisiert; vgl. auch I. Singer, *ZA* 65 (1975): 84 Anm. 76, und *StBoT* 27, 89 und 111ff.

7. Zur Geschichte dieser Bebauung s. P. Neve, *Büyükkale. Die Bauwerke. Grabungen 1954-1966* (Berlin, 1982). Ein aktueller Übersichtsplan von Büyükkale (nach P. Neve) ist in den letzten KBo-Bänden zu finden.

8. Am deutlichsten scheint es in IBoT 1.36 iv 14ff. zum Ausdruck zu kommen, wo zwei *Ḫil[ammar]* mit *kattera* und *šarazzi KÁ.GAL.TIM* (beide im Dat.) gleichgesetzt werden.

9. *ZA* 65 (1975): 85f., *StBoT* 27, 112, 115f.

ihn gern, obwohl nicht ohne Bedenken (s. unten), mit dem archäologisch nachgewiesenen Tor zwischen dem unteren und dem mittleren Burghof identifizieren. In *StBoT* 27, 90 rekonstruiert I. Singer überzeugend die gegenseitige Lage von *DINGIRMEŠ-ašš-a ḫilammar* und *Ḫatapuzna-*. Wie es auf Grund paläographischer Merkmale leicht beweisbar ist, existierte die Mehrheit der oben erwähnten Bauten schon in mittelhethitischer Periode.

Neben den topographischen Kriterien sind auch Angelegenheiten zu berücksichtigen, die hier allgemein als Sicherheitsgründe bezeichnet werden. Die Instruktion IBoT 1.36 schildert die Ausfahrt des Königs aus der Burg in Begleitung seiner zahlreichen Suite (i 64ff.), wobei ein besonderer Nachdruck auf die Aufgaben der Leibwächter und Soldaten gelegt wird. Man kann vermuten, daß ähnliche Sicherheitsvorkehrungen immer dann getroffen wurden, wenn der König die Burg verließ. Mit jener Beschreibung kontrastiert die Situation, in der der König aus dem *ḫalent(i)u(wa)-* Haus herausgeht und bloß in Begleitung der zwei Pagen und eines Leibwächters zu einem Tempel geht. Offenbar befindet sich der König in diesem Fall stets an einem gut bewachten Ort, nämlich innerhalb der Burg, und diese Tatsache läßt auch dort den gesagten Tempel suchen.

Bevor die Namen der in diesem Beitrag auf der Burg lokalisierten Tempel aufgezählt werden, sei zunächst die Frage des Kultes von Zitharija im königlichen Palast berührt. Daß diese Gottheit dort verehrt wurde, zeigen zahlreiche Urkunden, u.a. die Bronzetafel iv 50: *DUB I^{KAM} INA É.LUGAL PANI^d Zitharija GAR-ri* "(Davon ist) eine Tafel im Königspalast vor Zitharija niedergelegt." In einigen Texten tritt sein Tempel (*É^d Zitharija*) auf, wohl ein Kultraum innerhalb des Palastes. Andererseits ist sein Kult auch im "Haus der Vliese" (*É^(d)KUŠ^{kuršaš}*) belegt, und es gibt Hinweise, daß jener Tempel ebenfalls zum Palastkomplex gehörte.¹⁰

Unter den Tempeln, die auf der Burg zu suchen sind, ist vor allem das *ḫeštilā*-Haus zu nennen. V. Haas und M. Wäfler haben dieser Kultanlage ein umfangreiches Studium gewidmet, um sie schließlich mit dem Gebäude B auf Büyükkale gleichzusetzen.¹¹ J.-W. Meyer sieht das *ḫeštilā*-Haus in dem Baukomplex BCH.¹² Die Schlußfolgerungen dieser Art sind m. E. etwa verfrüht. Daß sich aber dieser Tempel tatsächlich auf Büyükkale befand, geht aus VS NF 12.5 i 1ff. hervor,¹³ und zwar weist dieses Textfragment auf eine enge Nachbarschaft von *Ḫalent(i)uwa-* und *ḫeštilā-* hin. Bemerkenswert ist, daß

10. Zu diesem Thema s. zuletzt G. McMahon, *AS* 25, 19ff. und 264ff., ferner Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *ZA* 82 (1992): 234 m. Anm. 3.

11. "Bemerkungen zu *ḫeštilā*," *UF* 8 (1976): 65-99, und 9 (1977): 87-122; vgl. auch V. Haas und I. Wegner, "Betrachtungen zum hethitischen Festkalender," *FsAlp*, 245 Anm. 6, 249.

12. *AoF* 22 (1995): 125-36.

13. Zu Vs. i 1-3 dieses Textes s. H. Otten, *OLZ* 50 (1955): 392 Anm. 1; Vs. 12-20: H. Otten, a. a. O. 390; Vs. i 10-16: V. Haas und M. Wäfler, *UF* 9 (1977): 104f.

die Teilnehmer einer in diesem Text beschriebenen Kultzeremonie zum (oberen) Torbau hinaufgehen (*šarā* ^É*hīlamni pānzi*, I 8f., vgl. ^É*hīlamni šarā aranzi*, i 10), um dann das *heštā*-Haus zu erreichen. Ähnlich lautet IBoT 3.1 Z. 8'ff., in dem das *heštā*-Haus im Zusammenhang mit dem oberen Torbau (Z. 10', vgl. auch Z. 90') erscheint.¹⁴ Wie oben bemerkt, ist dieser Torbau in dem Burgkomplex zu lokalisieren. Darüber hinaus beteiligten sich die Leute des *heštā*-Hauses mindestens ab mittelhethitischer Periode an Kultzeremonien in anderen Bauten, die zu ^É*halent(i)u(wa)*- gehörten, wie z.B. ^É*arkiu*-,¹⁵ und diese Tatsache spricht für die ständige Anwesenheit dieser Kultfunktionäre in der Burg. Somit scheint auch die Lage des *heštā*-Hauses auf Büyükkale bestätigt zu sein.

In bezug auf die Topographie von Büyükkale ist der Anfang der mh. *HAZANNU*-Instruktion, *CTH* 257 Vs. i vom Interesse.¹⁶ Es werden dort zu bewachende Örtlichkeiten "im oberen und unteren Hattuša" aufgezählt, wobei es logisch ist, daß in dieser königlichen Verordnung zunächst die auf der Burg gelegenen Objekte genannt werden. Leider ist der Text schlecht erhalten; am Anfang der Aufzählung, also—wie gesagt—unter den Örtlichkeiten auf der Burg, findet man (Z. 14) *GIŠ^{III.A} KÜ.BABBAR* [, und in Z. 18 tritt ^É*Hal[kiaš]* in der Nachbarschaft von [*KÁ.GA*]*L hanijaš* (Z. 17) auf.¹⁷ Auch nach dem Zeugnis des mh. Kultrituals *CTH* 621¹⁸ gehört der Tempel von *Halki* (*Halkiaš pir*, B iv 8', 16') deutlich zum Burgkomplex. Der König besucht ihn und das *heštā*-Haus (vgl. A iv 7'), bevor er sich "nach unten" (*katta*) zur Stelenanlage der Sonnengöttin und der Mezzulla begibt (A iv 8'ff.).¹⁹

In IBoT 3.1 Z. 90'ff. lesen wir, daß der König das *heštā*-Haus verläßt, sich in dem (wohl oberen, s. oben) Torbau in die Kutsche setzt und andere Tempel bzw. Kapellen besucht, um verschiedene Gottheiten zu beopfern. Es werden die Tempel von *Parga* (^É*Pargaš āški*, Dat.), ^É*GİR* (^É*GİR-aš āški*, Dat.) und *Halki* (^É*Halkiaš āški*, Dat.) genannt, die vermutlich in dieser Reihenfolge besucht wurden. Daraufhin (Z. 92') kommt der König zum mittleren Torbau (*ištarnija hīlamni*, Dat.), der höchstwahrscheinlich noch zum Burgkomplex gehörte, obgleich er auf dem Übersichtsplan nicht eindeutig zu identifizieren ist. Dieselben Tempelnamen erscheinen in KBo 10.27 Rs. iv 15'–18', d.h. in

14. Umschrift und Übersetzung bei V. Haas und M. Wäfler, *UF* 8 (1976): 88ff.

15. Wie in mh. *CTH* 621 I; zu diesem Text s. D. Yoshida, *BMECCJ* 6 (1992): 124ff., wo auch jh. Parallelen angeführt werden.

16. Bearbeitet von H. Otten, *Or* 52 (1983): 133ff.

17. Der letzte Begriff taucht gelegentlich im Zusammenhang mit dem *heštā*-Haus auf, s. dazu V. Haas und M. Wäfler, *UF* 9 (1977): 104ff., I. Singer, *ZA* 65 (1975): 90 und *StBoT* 27, 113f., 123.

18. Bezeichnungen der Textexemplare nach der Bearbeitung von D. Yoshida (vgl. Anm. 15).

19. S. Pierallini und Verf., *Eothen* 9 (1998): 127f., identifizieren versuchsweise Kızılarkayası als Überrest dieser Stelenanlage.

einer Aufzählung der Kulträume, die von der Gottesherrin (NIN.DINGIR) besucht werden. Dann (Z. 19') ist vom (Tempel des Gottes) ^É.A die Rede, der ebenfalls auf der Burg zu lokalisieren ist (s. unten). In Z. 20' findet man den Namen der Göttin *ALLATU*, die in diesem späten Text erwartungsgemäß als Hauptgöttin des *heštā*-Hauses auftritt. In Z. 21' beopfert die Gottesherrin die Throngöttin,²⁰ und Z. 22'ff. begegnet man den Namen der Tempel, die sich schon in der Unterstadt befanden.²¹ Die Reihenfolge der Tempel in KBo 10.27 Rs. iv 15'–20' weist auf ihre Nachbarschaft, also auf ihre Lokalisierung auf der Burg. Darüber hinaus tritt in der v. Kol. dieses Textes [^É*Ḫá*]*r-ga* (Z. 9') im Zusammenhang mit ^É*halent(i)uwa*- (Z. 8', 11') auf. Es sei noch das Nebeneinander von [^É] ^É*GİR*, [^É] ^É*LAMMA* und ^É*ZABA[BA]* in KUB 20.15:7'f. erwähnt; zur Lage der zwei letztgenannten Tempel auf Büyükkale s. unten.²²

Das in der oben genannten *HAZANNU*-Instruktion, (*CTH* 257) Vs. i 14 belegte Objekt *GIŠ^{III.A} KÜ.BABBAR* taucht ebenfalls im *KI.LAM*-Text *CTH* 627 I.h (ah.) Vs. i 10' auf.²³ In dessen Kol. i werden die königlichen Besuche in verschiedenen Tempeln und Kultanlagen beschrieben. Gehörte *GIŠ^{III.A} KÜ.BABBAR*, wie oben vorgeschlagen, zu den Örtlichkeiten der Burg, so muß man dort auch jene von dem König besuchten Kultanlagen lokalisieren. In Frage kommen vor allem der Tempel der Sonnengöttin (^É*UTU-waš* ^É, Vs. i 4')²⁴ und die Stelenanlage des Wettergottes (Vs. i 11').²⁵ Der weitere Text ist beschädigt und die Tempelnamen (Vs. i y+1ff.) sind nicht erhalten. Was die Lage von ^É*UTU* betrifft, so sind noch zwei Texte von Bedeutung. In KUB 2.6 (*CTH* 598) Vs. i 11ff. erscheint dieser Tempel in Verbindung mit dem "Haus des Weinschalenhalters" (^É*LÜZABAR.DAB*, s. auch unten). In Kol. ii dieses Textes wird eine Kultzeremonie in ^É*UTU* geschildert, und Vs. iii 1ff. kommt der König zum Palast zurück (Z. 12f. wird der Torbau der Leibwächter genannt; vgl. iii 33f., wo von dem Hof der Leibwächter die Rede ist). Die Kultzeremonie in ^É*UTU* wird am zweiten Tage fortgesetzt (iii 20ff.). Aber noch ausdrücklicher weist auf die Lage des Tempels der Sonnengöttin in der Burg das schon erwähnte mh. Ritual *CTH*

20. Vielleicht im Tempel von ^É*ZABABA*, der auch auf Büyükkale zu suchen ist (s. unten).

21. Vgl. dazu den Beitrag von S. Pierallini und Verf. in *Eothen* 9 (1998): 117ff., wobei die dort S. 121ff. vorgelegten Schlüsse entsprechend korrigiert werden müssen.

22. Die Wendung ^É*GİR-aš āški* findet man auch im unv., fragmentarisch erhaltenen Textstück Izmir 1270+ Vs. ii 7' (*CTH* 627 I.k.H., s. I. Singer, *StBoT* 28, 73).

23. Zum Text s. I. Singer, *StBoT* 27, 67ff. und *StBoT* 28, 32ff.

24. Es kann sich hier nur um die Sonnengöttin von Arinna handeln; vgl. auch die Götterlisten in mh. *CTH* 621 B Rs. iii 14', iv [12'], die sich auf dieselbe Kultanlage beziehen.

25. Eine andere Stelenanlage des Wettergottes befand sich außerhalb der Stadt, vgl. z. B. *CTH* 627 I.c i 23'. Zum Text s. I. Singer, *StBoT* 28, 22; für weitere Duplikate s. Th. van den Hout, *JEOL* 32 (1991–92): 102ff.

621 hin: Der Tempelname kommt wohl bereits im Text A Vs. i [33]²⁶ vor, dann findet man ihn im Text B Rs. iii 12', in dem wir lesen, daß der Prinz (DUMU-aš) aus dem É LÚZABAR.DAB kommt und nach oben (*šarā*) zum Tempel der Sonnengöttin geht. Daraus ist zu ersehen, daß sich der Tempel der Sonnengöttin in der Burg oberhalb des zum Palastkomplex gehörigen É LÚZABAR.DAB befand.²⁷

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Tempel der Sonnengöttin und zugleich mit dem Palast erwähnen die Texte *Éparkuwa(ja)-*,²⁸ vgl. entsprechend KBo 11.22 Rs. iv 3'ff. sowie KBo 13.245 Vs. i x+1ff. und Bo 5256:4'ff. Wie es aus KBo 10.20 iii 4f. und KBo 13.245 i folgt, wurde in diesem Raum der Wettergott mit dem Beinamen *piḥaššašši-* verehrt.

Sicher erscheint auch die Lage des Tempels von Inar (É ^dLAMMA der jüngeren Texte) auf Büyükkale. In den KI.LAM-Texten begegnet man diesem Tempel in Verbindung mit dem "Haus der Vliese," vgl. *CTH* 627.1.h (ah.) Vs. 15'ff. und 3.a (ah.) 13ff. (Bezeichnungen nach der Bearbeitung von I. Singer). Der jh. Text KBo 22.189 Vs. ii 2ff. bezeugt dagegen die Nachbarschaft von É ^dLAMMA und *Ékatapuzna-*.²⁹ Der Tempelname ist häufig belegt, er tritt gelegentlich im Zusammenhang mit Namen anderer Tempel auf, die hier in der Burg gesucht werden (s. auch unten).

Auf Büyükkale ist ebenfalls eine Tempelgruppe zu lokalisieren, die jetzt dank der Publikation mancher wichtigen Texte in KBo 39 viel besser bekannt ist. Gemeint sind vor allem KBo 39.86 und KBo 39.91, die eine enge Nachbarschaft von É ^dÉ.A, É ^dU, É ^dKattaḥḥa und É DINGIR.MAḤ nachzuweisen scheinen. In KBo 39.86 Vs. ii werden Götter und Kultgegenstände der Cella eines Tempels beopfert, der leicht als É ^dU zu erkennen ist, und Rs. v 6ff. lesen wir: *n=ašta LUGAL-uš IŠTU* (É) DINGIR.MAḤ *parā uizz[i]* ... (8, nach Par.) *LUGAL-uš INA* É ^dÉ.A *paizzi* "Der König kommt aus dem Tempel der Muttergöttin ... Der König geht zum Tempel von É.A."³⁰ Ähnlich werden in KBo 39.91 Vs. ii Kulthandlungen in É ^dU beschrieben, Rs. v schildert dagegen Opfer und Libationen im Tempel der Muttergöttin. Danach begibt sich der König zum Tempel des Wettergottes: (23') *LUGAL-uš=kan IŠTU* É DINGIR.MAḤ *uizz[i]* (24') *n=aš INA* É ^dU *paizzi* ... (26') [G]AL DUMU.É.GAL-*ma INA* É ^dKatt[ahḥa] (27') *paizzi* ... "Der König kommt

26. Bezeichnungen der Textexemplare wieder nach der Bearbeitung von D. Yoshida (vgl. Anm. 15 und 18).

27. Da die Anwesenheit des "Tisches der Gottheit" (^{GI}BANŠUR DINGIR^{UM}) unter den beopferten Kultgegenständen ein Charakteristikum der Cella jenes Tempels ist (KUB 2.6 iv 29, v 37, KUB 10.28 i 11, vgl. auch *CTH* 612 B ii 6ff.), muß KUB 10.23 (bisher unter *CTH* 612 gebucht) ebenfalls zu *CTH* 598 gehören; vgl. dort Vs. iii 3', Rs. iv 6'. Zu diesem Tempel s. jetzt Verf., *AoF* 30 (2003): 11ff.

28. Zu diesem Begriff s. *CHD* P, 162.

29. Zum Text (Duplikat KUB 44.16+) s. G. McMahon, *AS* 25, 88f.

30. Zu Rs. v dieses Textes läuft KBo 11.46 Vs. i und ii parallel.

aus dem Tempel der Muttergöttin und geht zum Tempel des Wettergottes ... der Oberste der Hofjunker aber geht zum Tempel von Kattaḥḥa. ..."

Wie schon oben bemerkt, ist É ^dÉ.A auf Grund von KBo 10.27 iv 15'ff. auf der Burg zu suchen. Dieser Schluß wird durch KBo 9.140 (mh.) bestätigt, in dem (Vs. ii 11f.) jener Tempel in Verbindung mit *Éhalent(i)u(wa)-* auftaucht.³¹ IBoT 1.29 zeigt die Nachbarschaft des Tempels der Göttin Kattaḥḥa (Vs. 35, Rs. 42'), der königlichen Küche und des *heštā*-Hauses. In 512/s Z. 4'f. (zitiert von H. Otten, *StBoT* 15, 43) ist É ^dHataḥka neben É ^dZABABA im Zusammenhang mit É LÚZABAR.DAB belegt.

Aus dem jh. KUB 11.34 Rs. vi 39ff. ergibt sich die Nachbarschaft von É ^dIM und *Éhalent(i)u(wa)-*, der Text bietet also ein weiteres Argument für die Lokalisierung des erwähnten Tempels auf Büyükkale. Angesichts der in KBo 39.86 Vs. ii beschriebenen Ausstattung der Cella dieses Tempels darf man ihren Hauptgott als Teššub von Ḥalab identifizieren. Man findet ähnliche, wenn auch ausführlichere, Beschreibungen in anderen Texten, die vorläufig unter *CTH* 660 gebucht werden. Hierher gehört auch KUB 10.11+, dem zufolge der König das oben erwähnte *Éparkuwa-* besucht (vgl. Vs. 11') bevor er in den Tempel des Teššub hineingeht. Der völlige Tempelname, É ^dU^{URU} *Ḥalab*, erscheint in KBo 10.20 iii 19, KUB 44.39 iv 7 und VS NF 12.1 9', 10'.³² Alle diesen Texte sind späten Datums, beziehen sich also auf die letzte Bebauungsphase der Burg. Aber ein Tempel eines Wettergottes befand sich dort vermutlich schon ab ah. Periode, und im Laufe der Zeit änderten sich natürlich sowohl seine Gestalt als auch seine Funktion. Die Wandlungen mußten sich u.a. in der Ausstattung seiner Cella widerspiegeln, und in der Tat verfügen wir über abwechselnde Listen von beopferten Göttern und Kultgegenständen, die den aufeinanderfolgenden Daseinsperioden dieses Tempels zuzuordnen sind. Sicherlich verdient die Geschichte dieser Kultanlage weitere Untersuchungen. Ob der (späteste) Tempel mit dem Gebäude C gleichzusetzen ist (Literatur in Anm. 5), ist nach wie vor eine offene Frage.

Der letzte Tempel unserer Aufzählung ist É ^dZABABA. Der Tempelname erscheint wohl schon im ah. KI.LAM-Text *CTH* 627 1.h Vs. ii x+1, leider im beschädigten Kontext, wobei Z. 15'ff. andere Tempel der Burg auftauchen. Trotz der uneinheitlichen Überlieferung in jüngeren Texten³³ scheinen die Belege KBo 4.9 Vs. i–ii, KBo 20.77 Vs. i 1ff. und IBoT 1.4 Rs. i (iv) 16'ff. die Nachbarschaft von É ^dZABABA und *Éhalent(i)uwa-* zu bestätigen. Überdies

31. Zum Text s. Verf. und P. Taracha, *AoF* 15 (1988): 96ff.

32. Zur Lokalisierung des Tempels des Teššub von Ḥalab auf Büyükkale s. Verf. in *Written on Clay and Stone. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Krystyna Szarzynska on the Occasion of Her 80th Birthday*, ed. J. Braun et al. (Warsaw, 1998), 76f. Zu diesem Tempel s. jetzt ausführlicher Verf., *AoF* 29 (2002): 73ff.

33. In Bezug auf jenen Tempel sind zwei unterschiedlichen Listen der beopferten Gegenstände, also der Ausstattung der Cella, vorhanden, die wohl—wie im Fall von É ^dU—verschiedene Etappen in der Geschichte dieses Tempels widerspiegeln.

findet man in VS NF 12.12 Vs. i 1f. den Tempelnamen im Zusammenhang mit dem Namen des Tempels des Wettergottes, und in KUB 56.51 Vs. i 12ff. werden É^dU, É^dLAMMA und É^dZABABA nebeneinander erwähnt. Von der Nachbarschaft von [É] ^dGIR, [É] ^dLAMMA und É^dZABA[BA] in KUB 20.15:7f. war schon die Rede.

Die vorgeschlagene Liste der auf Büyükkale lokalisierten Tempel ist sicherlich nicht komplett. Theoretisch sollte man hier z. B. noch É^dZiparwa bzw. É^dUGUR³⁴ berücksichtigen, aber nähere Angaben für ihre Lage fehlen. Die obige Rekonstruktion ist natürlich eine Arbeitshypothese, deren bestimmte Voraussetzungen zugrunde liegen. Vor allem nimmt man hier mit P. Neve u.a. an, daß die in der Oberstadt entdeckten Tempel erst unter Tut-halija IV. entstanden haben³⁵; entfällt also die Möglichkeit, die diskutierten Tempel dort zu lokalisieren.

Die Mehrheit der genannten Tempel befand sich wohl im obersten Teil der Burg, in einem Tempelviertel, zu dem das "Tor der Götter" führte (s. oben), aber einige Tempel, wie z.B. jene von Parga, ^dGIR und Halki, sind offensichtlich außerhalb dieses Baukomplexes zu suchen. Augenfällig ist die hohe Zahl der auf Büyükkale lokalisierten Tempel, und diese Tatsache zwingt uns die Frage zu stellen, ob es dort für jene Kultanlagen genug Platz gab. Wollen wir sie trotzdem in der Burg lokalisieren, müssen wir annehmen, daß sie klein waren und sich meistens auf eine Cella der Gottheit mit einem bzw. zwei zusätzlichen Räumen beschränkten. Folglich können sie auch wohl zu größeren Baukomplexen gehört haben. Zwar nennen die Texte in einigen Fällen noch einen Hof bzw. einen Torbau, doch ist in der Tat ihre Lage und Zugehörigkeit unbekannt, in Betracht kommt also auch ein Hof bzw. ein Torbau der Burg.

Es fällt auf, daß in den Kultzeremonien, die in jenen Tempeln stattfanden, die Palastleute (Pagen, Köche usw.) eine große Rolle spielen. Hingegen scheint ihr eigenes Kultpersonal sehr knapp zu sein. Wir verzichten hier auf genauere Berechnungen, die übrigens zu interessanten Ergebnissen führen könnten, und begnügen uns mit einigen Bemerkungen. Was die Zahlenstärke des Tempelpersonals betrifft, so steht an erster Stelle das *heštā*-Haus mit seinem (Ober-)Priester (auch als Priester von Lilwani bekannt), dem GUDU-Priester und drei *heštā*-Leuten.³⁶

34. KBo 25.144 Rs. 10'ff. bestätigt das Nebeneinander von É^dUTU, [É] ^dKa[*taḥḥa*] und [É^d]UGUR.

35. Es sei bemerkt, daß S. Pierallini und Verf., *Eothen* 9 (1998): 128f. eine frühere Datierung des Unteren Westtores in der Außenmauer der Oberstadt in Betracht nehmen. Auch die in bestimmten Bauten der Oberstadt gefundenen, zahlreichen mh. Urkunden könnten evtl. für ein früheres Datum jener Anlagen sprechen.

36. Ob auch die Frau des GUDU-Priesters hierher gehörte, bleibt unklar. Zum Kultpersonal des *heštā*-Hauses s. V. Haas und M. Wäfler, *UF* 9 (1977): 92ff.

Bei anderen (nicht allen, s. unten) Tempeln werden meistens nur ihre Priester genannt. In den Vordergrund treten die Priester des Wettergottes, der Göttin Inar, des Kriegsgottes und des Gottes Lilwani, die gelegentlich als "heilig" (*šuppi*-) bezeichnet werden und sicherlich die bedeutendsten Tempel der Burg repräsentieren.³⁷ Aus unklaren Gründen ist der Priester der Göttin Inar im Laufe der Reinigungszeremonie in anderen Tempeln (in Abwesenheit ihrer Priester?) tätig, und zwar in É^dZABABA (vgl. z. B. KBo 4.9 ii 13'ff., KUB 20.7:2'), É^dÉ.A (KBo 39.86 Rs. v 8ff.) und É^dU / ^dIM (z. B. in KUB 10.11 + KBo 24.89 Rs. v 14ff., KBo 39.91 Vs. i 6'ff., Bo 5005 Vs. x+1). Wie oben bemerkt, übten auch die *heštā*-Leute kultische Funktionen außerhalb ihres Tempels aus. Als Priesterin im Tempel von Halki tritt MUNUS AMA. DINGIR^{LIM} *Halkiaš* auf. Priester mancher Tempel sind nicht belegt, und es ist wahrscheinlich, daß jene Tempel in der Tat keine Priester hatten, wobei hierher überraschenderweise auch der alte Tempel der Sonnengöttin von Arinna zu gehören scheint.³⁸

Dies alles informiert uns indirekt über die Größe der diskutierten Tempel, die meistens nur als Kapellen anzusehen sind. Andererseits darf man doch einige grössere Bauten des obersten Teils der Burg als Tempel deuten, wenn auch zwischen ihnen und den anderswo archäologisch nachweisbaren Tempelresten nur geringe Analogien (z.B. die Anwesenheit von Magazinen) ergreifbar sind.

37. Zu vergleichen sind drei "heiligen" Priester von Arinna als Vertreter der drei dortigen Tempel und der "heilige" Priester von Zippalanda, d.h. der Oberpriester des Tempels des lokalen Wettergottes. Zum zahlreichen Kultpersonal des letztgenannten Tempels s. Verf., *THeth* 21, 70ff.

38. Die zwei GUDU-Priester von Arinna, die in diesem Tempel Kulthandlungen ausübten (Beispiele bei D. Yoshida, *BMECCJ* 6 [1992]: 129f. m. Anm. 27 u. 30), sind eher als Gäste zu betrachten.

Of Loons and Legumes

JAAN PUHVEL

Los Angeles

As I sharpen my quill in homage to Harry Hoffner, I recollect being mildly startled by an initial statement in his gratefully received reciprocal effort on my behalf,¹ to the effect that my hittitological lucubrations "often move in the area of the identification of the names for animals." He exemplified "spider" and "mole," and I could think of the "creature" word in general (*huedar*), but had to search my own bibliography for further enlightenment. I discovered pieces of old writing on the Etruscan swan, the Baltic nit, the Tocharian elephant, and the Gothic camel, but nothing more on the Hittite bestiary. Harry's own safari beat out of the bush not just lions and leopards (*walwa-* and *par-sana-*) but also mystery-critters like *sarmiya-* and *kūrala-*, and I myself have recently² tackled a heavyweight, opining that in Old Hittite both *pī-e-ri-* and *lahma-/lahpa-* could denote an actual or iconic elephant, in addition to the later sense of "ivory."

But Harry's trek especially targeted birds, and I take this as my cue here. Of course, us lexicographers (in solidarity with Classical Hittite syntax) have to take on whatever comes down the alphabetic pipeline. My own *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* has reached the point where I must come to terms (in Teutonic terms "mich auseinandersetzen") with the earliest layers of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*. The temptation is great not only to repair the inevitable (though blessedly minor) ravages of time to the exemplary treatments provided there, but to push beyond its austere *ars nesciendi* in matters of word history and comparative linguistics. Up leap from those strata (*CHD* L-N, 6 and 19) both fauna and flora, exemplified by a bird and a plant, *lahhanza* and *lakkarwan*. May they provide the substance of my tribute to Harry Hoffner!

The *CHD* is emphatic: "The *lah(h)anzana-*, like the MUŠEN *ḪURRI*, was a member of the duck family." The latter is represented by the famous

1. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "On Safari in Hittite Anatolia," in *Fs Puhvel* I, 5.

2. "Ivory and Elephant in Hittite," *4thHitt. Cong.*, 561-62.

Tadorna or (shel)duck which Benno Landsberger took pains to find in MUŠEN *HURRI*. In support of the affinity, *CHD* inferred from the dossier the sea- or shore-bird character of *lahhanza* (it can bring things from the sea), its migratory peculiarities (seasonal ["wintry?"] absence when "lookalike[?]" shelducks were caught instead), the occasional varying decoration of wooden (in addition to wool and dough) bird replicas (silver-plating, with half having additionally gold-plated heads, apparently gender-marking drakes vs. ducks).

But if it looked like a duck, was it necessarily just another duck (data on walking and quacking are lacking)? The MUŠEN *HURRI* was an omnipresent surrogate for a seasonally inaccessible *rara avis*. Were there also mallards of a more desirable sort, with differing migration patterns? Could it rather be that *lahhanza* was a reasonably similar but different water bird, for whom the common drake could serve in a pinch as a *pis aller*?

Let us look at the word: the paradigm has nom. sg. *la-(ah-)ha-an-za*, *la-ah-ha-an-za-as*, *la-ha-an-za-na-as*; dat. sg. *la-ha-an-za-ni*; acc. pl. *la-(ah-)ha-an-zu-us* (with an aberrant hapax *la-ha-an-zi-us*), *la-(ah-)ha-an-za-nu-us*; gen. pl. *la-(ah-)ha-an-za-na-as*. This is the well-known mixed declension which results from an analogical interaction of the developing paradigms of e.g., *sumanza(n)-* with *alanza(n)-* or *istanza(n)-*: nom. sg. *sumanza* vs. *alanzas*, *istanzas* (analogically *sumanzas*, but reciprocally also *alanza*, *istanza*), acc. sg. *sumanz(an)an*, *alanz(an)an*, *istanzanan*, with a spread of *n*-declension in the oblique cases which reverberates on the nominative (secondary *istanzanas*, or *alkistanas* beside *alkistas*). The string nom. sg. *lahhanza(s)*, acc. pl. *lahhanz(an)us*, nom. sg. *lahhanzanas* matches *sumanza(s)*, *sumanz(an)an*, **sumanzanas*.

Just as *sumanza* reflects **suman-s* (cf. Gk. ὑμήν) *lahhanza* stands for **lahhan-s* < **laAm-s* (observing "Sturtevant's rule"), the thematic equivalent of which (**laAmos*) yields with precise regularity Old Norse *lōmr*, Swedish *lom*, English *loom*, *loon* "diver, loon." We may thus be dealing not with the genus *Anatina*, but rather *Gavia*, which has enough external resemblance ("loons look somewhat like ducks"—*World Book Encyclopedia*) for the MUŠEN *HURRI* to substitute for its scarcity. The spread and appearance of the common loon in the northern hemisphere (with gray/white body and glossy green head and neck) do not contradict the data on the *lahhanza*. *E silentio* it may be significant that (unlike MUŠEN *HURRI*) there is no reference to *lahhanza* as a shore-bird, but only *arunaz* "from the sea" ("legs [are] placed so far back on the body that walking is virtually impossible"—*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). Here, then, would be another Anatolian-Germanic isogloss from the animal world, on top of the bestiary (Hitt. *huedar*: Old Norse *vitnir*) and the Germanic camel (Goth. *ulbandus*: Hitt. *huwalpant*- "hunchback"), more

cogent and precise than the comparison of *lahhanza* with Gk. λάρος "seagull" by Oettinger.³

Turning from the animate (or artifact) Hittite bird to the inert vegetable, there is little formal variety to contend with, just a nom.-acc. neuter *la-(ak-)kar-wa-an* and a hapax *la-kar-wa*. *CHD* averred that "the stem of this word may be *lakkarwa-* or *lakkarwan-*," but separated *lakkarwa* from *lakkarwan* because of differing determinatives (GIŠ vs. SAR); yet the affinity is blatant (cf. the two soda-plants, GIŠkarassani- and hasuwai^{SAR}). Unless it stands for *la-kar-wa(-an)*, *lakarwa* may be an *o*-stem back-formation from *lakarwan*; in any event it does not point to a hybrid declension like *lahhanza(n)-*. Nor is an *n*-stem (like *laman-*) likely. The best assumption is rather *lakkarwant-*, which in turn can reflect *lakkar-wa-nt-* (unlikely, in view of the rarity of a suffix *-wa-*) or *lakkar-want-* (denominative like *samankur-want-* "bearded") or *lakkarwa-nt-* (participle of a denominative verb *lakkarwai-* from **lakkar-u-*, like *isharwai-* from **isharu-* "bloodiness," as opposed to a denominative *ishanuwant-* "bloody" from *ishar*).

lakkarwant- is distinct from such other garden vegetables as *hazzuwanis* "lettuce," *kalwesna-* "kale," and *kanka(n)ti-* "greens"; juxtapositions such as *gangāti^{SAR} lakkarwan^{SAR}* resemble Lat. *holera et legūmina* and suggest for *lakkarwan* a specific sense of "podded vegetable, legume." Hence one may postulate an *r*-stem **lakkar*, gen. *lakkaras* (type of *kallar-*, *huppar-*), or an *r/n*-stem **lakkar*, gen. *lakkanas* "pod, hull, shuck"; in both cases the derivational result would be *lakkarwant-* "podded" (from *lakkar-want-* and **lakkarway-ant-*, respectively), with a nominalized nom.-acc. neuter *lakkarwan* (viz. *welku* "plant" or *taru* "tree").

The dominant *scriptio difficilior* -*kk-* points to etymological **k* under "Sturtevant's rule" and a reconstruction **lōk̥* (or *lēk̥* with secondary Anatolian *a*-coloration). This suggests a direct comparison with Lat. *legūmen*, originally **lēkm̥* from a root **lek-* (cf. IE **agr-o-/agm̥* [Skt. *ājra-/ājman-*, Lat. *ager/agmen* from **ag-*]). The regular outcome of **lēkm̥* was Lat. **legmen* (cf. *segmen* from *secō*), with anaptyxis **legumen* (like *tegu-men* from *tegō*), whence *legūmen* by tribrach-elimination abetted by assonance (*frūmen et legūmen*). According to Varro (*De re rustica* 1.32.2) *legūmina* included *viciam lentem cicerculam ervilam ceteraque* "vetch, lentil, chickpea, pulse, et al.," and Virgil spoke of *laetum siliqua quassante legumen* "luxuriant legume with rattling pod." Similarly *lakkarwan* tends to occur in long lists of garden produce, including beans and peas. Thus *lakkarwan*: *legūmen* joins *kalwesna-*: *caulis* "kale," *kariant-*: *grāmen* "grass" and

3. N. Oettinger, "'Indo-Hittite'—Hypothese und Wortbildung," in *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft. Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften* 37 (Innsbruck, 1986), 29.

similar vegetal terms in an Anatolian-Italic-(Germanic) isogloss. The "western" component of Hittite vocabulary incrementally asserts itself with the progression of research.

Forcing Morals on Mesopotamian Society?

JACK M. SASSON

Nashville

Until recently the title of Sarah Pomeroy's venerable book, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* just about covered the range of roles we have allotted to women from ancient Mesopotamia.¹ Certainly we have discriminated among women by whether they were humans or deities, queens or commoners, secular or priestly, native or foreigners, sequestered or unfettered, wives or spinsters, mothers or barren, sexually available or not. Occasionally, we have even assigned one personality a mix from among the above roles. (We had a great time with an Inanna, a Nefertiti, or a Jezebel.) Generally, however, we were satisfied that these roles were not shaped by lack of imagination or allegiance to myopic methodologies, but bolstered by our inspection of artifacts and documents, all painstakingly assembled, analyzed, and classified.

Above all, we have relied on a diversity of materials to give moorings to our reconstructions. Mesopotamian narratives and other literary documents (love songs, hymns, wisdom texts, even when authored by a largely male scribal culture) have displayed women as major participants in public spheres. Letters written by and to women have given them distinct voices and personalities. And recovered artifacts have established how extensively women-oriented were the products of ancient economies (clothing, utensils, decorations, etc).

Nevertheless, whenever called on to shape a profile for the Mesopotamian woman—the privileges she enjoyed, the obstacles she met, and the limitations she faced—we have privileged a singularly unrealistic genre of written material, the legal compilations produced by scribes over two millennia of social history. Moreover, we seem to gravitate toward a moral explanation of individual legal stipulations whenever sexual matters are at stake, thus indulging

Author's note: Brief though it may be, this paper allowed me to conduct fruitful discussions with R. Harris, M. Roth, M. Stol, and R. Westbrook, for which I am very grateful.

1. Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*, with a new preface by the author (New York, 1995).

our inclination toward melioristic interpretation of juridical documents.² This brief paper will focus on one text, BM 13912, to explore potential avenues for recreating the contexts behind its composition. I dedicate it to Harry Hoffner, a teacher, a friend, and a sensitive reader of Hittite legal formulations and of the culture that produced them.

Moshe Anbar edited BM 13912, copying, translating, and lightly annotating it in an issue of *RA*.³ The text was featured in a study by R. Westbrook on "The Enforcement of Morals in Mesopotamia" and was cited by Martha Roth in a study of adultery and its consequences in the Neo-Babylonian period.⁴ Westbrook faulted Anbar's reading of the document and offered a revised translation of it. Normalized and displayed in paragraphs, the Akkadian of our document reads as follows:

1. *Šat-Marduk aššum Ahuni mār Ilšu-ibbi niš Samsu-ilunu lugal kiam itma umma šima*
5. *ana Ahuni mār Ilšu-ibbi la kalâkšu la tummakšumma la iturru ša zikarim u sinništīm la iqabbiamma šaptiya la inaššiquma ša zikarim u sinništīm la amaggarušma*
10. *ana utūl sūni liqrianni šibūt ālim u rabiānam lū ušeddi*
13. *ina aḫitim immarūninnima kima niš šarrim uṭappilu lū ipušūninni*
16. *u Ahuni mār Ilšu-ibbi niš Samsu-iluna lugal kiam itma umma šuma*
19. *ana Šat-Marduk la allakuma ša zikarim u sinništīm la aqabbušimma*

Paying some attention to the coordinating distribution of the particle *-ma* suggests the following rendering:

About Ahuni, son of Ilšu-ibbi, Šat-Marduk swore as follows by King Samsu-iluna,

⁵"Pertaining to Ahuni, son of Ilšu-ibbi: (I swear that) I am not detaining him. (I swear that) I am not bound to him by oath, therefore he must not come back. He must not talk to me about sexual intimacy; he must not kiss my lips nor shall I accord him sexual intimacy."

¹⁰"Should he summon me to sleep with him, (I swear that) I will inform the city elders and the 'mayor.' If I am found with him (or: in the countryside), I should be treated as if I broke an oath by the king."

2. See the criticism of Martha Roth on the history of interpreting "The Priestess and the Tavern: LH §110," in *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, ed. Barbara Böck et al. (Münster, 1999), 445–63.

3. Moshé Anbar (Bernstein), "Textes de l'époque babylonienne ancienne," *RA* 69 (1975): 120–25.

4. R. Westbrook, "The Enforcement of Morals in Mesopotamia," *JAOS* 104 (1984): 753–56; M. Roth, "'She Will Die by the Iron Dagger': Adultery and Neo-Babylonian Marriage," *JESHO* 31 (1988): 193 n. 14.

¹⁶Ahuni, son of Ilšu-ibbi, then swore as follows by King Samsu-iluna, "(I swear that) I will not go to Šat-Marduk and (that) I will not talk to her about sexual intimacy."⁵

Westbrook disputes Anbar's opinion that the text records a public declaration by a married couple wishing to separate. He points out that the document says nothing about a marital state and that its stipulations avoid issues regarding marital property, focusing instead exclusively on sexual matters. Moreover, a judicially anointed separation—rather than a complete divorce—is an alien concept in Mesopotamian law. In all this Westbrook is undoubtedly correct, and Roth, who knew his study, agrees that this document is not about an enforced separation.

Yet in reconstructing a context for BM 13912 Westbrook hinged his solutions on information not delivered by the text under inspection.⁶ In his opinion, the text illustrates a prohibition found in paragraph 30 of the Lipit-Ishtar legal compilation (LL). While specialists have offered decidedly different renderings for the initial clause of this law, for argument's sake I quote Westbrook's own version:

If a prostitute from the street holds a young married man (guruš) and the judges forbid him to return to that prostitute, (if) after he divorces his wife, (even) if he has paid divorce money, he shall not marry this prostitute.⁷

5. It might be useful to present the translations of Anbar and Westbrook:

Anbar: "Šat-Marduk à cause d'Aḫūni fils d'Ilšu-ibbi (par) la vie de Samsu-iluna, le roi, ainsi a juré, en disant: 'Quant à Aḫūni fils d'Ilšu-ibbi je ne le retiens pas, je ne suis pas liée à lui par serment, qu'il ne revienne pas, qu'il ne me propose pas de relations conjugales et qu'il n'embrasse pas mes lèvres: je ne lui accorderai pas de relations conjugales, et s'il m'appelle pour coucher dans (mon) sein, aux anciens de la ville et au maire je (le) ferai savoir! Si on me voit dans les environs, comme j'ai méprisé (le serment par) la vie du roi, [qu'on] me traite.' [Et] Aḫūni fils d'Ilšu-ibbi [(par) la vie] de Samsu-iluna, le roi, [ainsi] a juré, en disant: 'Quant à Šat-Marduk je n'irai pas et je ne lui proposerai pas de relations conjugales: . . .'"

Westbrook: "In the matter of Ahuni son of Ilshu-ibbi, Šat-Marduk swore the oath of King Samsu-iluna thus, saying: 'As for Ahuni son of Ilshu-ibbi, I do not hold him, I am not sworn to him; He shall not again propose sexual relations to me, he shall not kiss my lips. I will not accord him sexual relations; If he calls me for lying in the lap, I will verily inform the city elders and the mayor. If I am seen in (his) company, let them treat me as if I had disregarded the oath of the king.' And Ahuni son of Ilshu-ibbi swore the oath of King Samsu-iluna thus, saying, 'I shall indeed not go to Šat-Marduk and propose sexual relations to her.'"

6. Westbrook's conclusions are supported by Sophie Lafont, *Femmes, Droit et Justice dans l'antiquité orientale* (Fribourg, 1999), 29–30, and by D. Charpin, who also offers his own translation of the text, in *Rendre la justice en Mésopotamie*, ed. F. Joannès (Vincennes, 2000), 95–96 (no. 51).

7. M. Roth's rendering of LL 30 reads: "If a young married man has sexual relations with a prostitute from the street, and the judges order him not to go back to the prostitute (and if) afterwards he divorces his first-ranking wife and gives the silver of her divorce settlement to her, (still) he will not marry the prostitute"; *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Atlanta,

However we read LL 30, there is no denying that the law could block a person from marrying a prostitute with whom he had been consorting. It is not clear however, that enforcement of morals was its goal.⁸ Consorting with prostitutes, even during marriage, was not legally censured for an adult male, and at any rate LL 30 does not prevent the man involved with a prostitute from divorcing his wife. What seems crucial here is the youth of the married man, for *guruš* is an exceptional designation for a male in LL. It may well be that this language implies that the parents of the husband are still in control of his fate, possibly inviting the interference of judges to deny any patrimony to children that a prostitute might attribute to the young man. And while we may imagine discomfort in having a prostitute as a wife, because she would not devote herself sexually to a single individual, the fact remains that prostitutes were not legally thwarted from marital life, whether as concubines or even as primary wives.

Returning to BM 13912, we notice that Šat-Marduk is nowhere stated to be a prostitute, even if the town's worthies seem on first inspection to be forcing their will on her. Second, while Šat-Marduk is enjoined not to be seen in Ahuni's company, the oaths they each take agree that Ahuni is the potential initiator of sexual contact. Moreover, unlike the prostitute of LL 30 (in Westbrook's translation), Šat-Marduk can assert under oath that she is not detaining Ahuni.⁹ Most obvious too is that BM 13912 says nothing about Ahuni's marital status, forcing us to keep open the possibility that there might not have been a Mrs. Ahuni to betray sexually or protect. Moreover, nothing about Ahuni's age is revealed, so we cannot know whether LL 30, with its specific reference to the youth of the married man (*guruš*), applies to him. We recall that LL 27 does permit a man to raise a child from a prostitute should his own wife fail to bear.¹⁰

1995), 32. Westbrook gives a rendering that closely matches the above in his *Old Babylonian Marriage Law. AfO Beiheft* 23 (Horn, Austria, 1988), 75 n. 45. However, he recently wrote to me (1/27/2000): "As regards LL 30, in *AfO* [*Beiheft*] I had forgotten my earlier study and was following the consensus. But unless someone can explain the grammar otherwise to me, I still consider my *JAOS* version to be the better one."

8. It is interesting that under the rubric "Moral," the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 8, 377, refers readers to such entries as "Eid," "Eigentum," "Familie," and "Geschlechtsmoral," but decides not to devote an entry to the issue itself.

9. Westbrook reads lines 5–6 as promissory on Ahuni's part to marry a prostitute, unnecessarily complicating a scenario that already is missing a wronged wife. In the same way, his rendering of the protasis of LL 30, which he defends in note 4 of his study, gives the prostitute an active role in a drama that is, by his own admission, "obscure."

10. *ana ittišu* (*MSL* I) VII ii 23–25 speaks of a man marrying a prostitute (*kar.kid*, *ḥarimtu*) from the public square; iii 7–11 refers to a divorced man wishing to marry a *nu.gig* (*qadištu*) from the street (*sī'a* = *sūqum*), who had adopted a child of the street. (See also the lexical notes to the *CAD* entries *ḥarimtu* and *qadištu*.)

Westbrook was of course aware of this last discrepancy.¹¹ But to explain "why the man should be prohibited from consorting with a prostitute if he were not," Westbrook invoked a juridical text from Ur of the Kassite period (*UET* 7/1.8):

Sin-erimanni, son of Sin-rimanni, married the daughter of Gula-eriš, a herdsman for the district governor; but Ilatu, daughter of Arkaya, detained her for . . . [*ana naptarūti*]¹², forcing him to leave his wife. Sin-bēl-tabini, his brother, summoned Ilatu before Sin-šapik-zeri, the judge, saying, "she made (her) abandon my brother Sin-rimanni."

¹⁰The judge posed a question to Ilatu, saying, "why did you make (her) abandon Sin-rimanni, the herdsman?" On hearing the judge's word, she said, "Sin-rimanni, servant of my lord, until just now has been sleeping with me. Since my lord has interrogated me, he won't come by the rim of my bed!"

rev. ³If Sin-rimanni once more enters the house of Ilatu, whether to relax during daytime or to stay overnight, he should be arrested, investigated, and questioned, as per Sin-šapik-zeri's decree.¹³

Here, no less than in BM 19312, to make a prostitute out of Ilatu we must read LL 30 into the text.¹⁴ In fact, there is little to make us suppose Ilatu was a common prostitute: she is identified by a patronymic and can detain a married woman for a purpose that still escapes us. Moreover, the judge is treating this alleged prostitute very gingerly. She is given the opportunity to explain her connection and, upon volunteering to end it, she incurs none of the dreaded punishments diverse Mesopotamian collections of laws predict

11. "The missing element in the above source is the cuckolded wife, which leaves some doubt as to whether the man was in fact married . . ." ("Enforcement of Morals," 755).

12. Westbrook's study suggests a translation "for a visit" or for "temporary accommodation," which does not seem to fit well in this context; "The Old Babylonian Term *naptarum*," *JCS* 46 (1994): 41–46.

13. Oliver Gurney, *The Middle Babylonian Legal and Economic Texts from Ur* (Oxford, 1983), 43–45. Gurney had featured this text in "A Case of Conjugal Desertion," in Zikir Šumim. *Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. G. van Driel et al. (Leiden, 1982), 91–94. See also C. Wilcke, "Jumsulum, 'den Tag verbringen,'" *ZA* 70 (1980): 138–40. In his article, Westbrook reports on their opinions and offers a rendering that differs from mine in ways not immediately crucial to the present discussion.

UET 7/1.8 is witnessed by, among others, the mayor and a diviner. It is dated to *Du'uzu* 22. Adad-shuma-ušur 12 (ca. 1203 B.C.).

14. Quoting Westbrook ("Enforcement of Morals," 756), "It is not stated that the woman is a prostitute, but the fact that [the married man] continued to cohabit with her without marrying her is suggestive of her status, as is perhaps the explicit nature of the woman's statement to the court on her relations with him."

for home-wreckers.¹⁵ It is not even clear that the matter has anything to do with saving a marriage. In fact, the text is altogether unsettling, for the person about whom the case is being brought is not the husband of the nameless woman, a man named Sin-erimanni, but her father-in-law, Sin-rimanni. Moreover, the judge refers to the abandoned man as a "herdsman," the title conferred on the woman's father, Gula-eriš, so neither her husband nor her father-in-law. To make sense of this murky situation, either we must imagine confusions galore on the part of the scribe no less than the judge, or take up the writing of kinky fiction.

We need also to notice that rather than Ilatu bearing the brunt of accountability, the onus instead is placed on Sin-rimanni, requiring him to avoid Ilatu's presence lest he be dragged before the authorities. Nothing is said about Ilatu being forced to release Sin-erimanni's wife. All in all, we get the impression of a messy situation, and we might imagine that no one was particularly grateful to the busybody brother, Sin-bēl-tabini, for dragging so many people to court.

If it cannot be shown that Old Babylonian BM 13912 illustrates a community's enforcement of marital morals, what facet of Mesopotamian social life does it illumine? Certainly we are limited by the lack of details on the circumstances that led to its drafting. The document records two oaths by personalities not easy to identify from other sources, although some of the witnesses are cited in other texts.¹⁶ Ahuni's name does occur in Larsa, attached to an official just after the Babylonian conquest (H36–Si7).¹⁷ But I have not succeeded in locating a homonym whose father was an Ilšu-ibbi. Šat-Marduk's name was comparatively uncommon.¹⁸ To judge from Sommerfeld's listing,

15. As noted by Gurney (Zikir šumim, 93–94), "[Ilatu] is neither thrown in the river and drowned, as in Ai 7 iv 1–7, hurled from a tower, nor sold as a slave . . . ; she is not even brought before the *bābtum* as in CH §142."

16. Anbar, "Textes," 125–26. Marten Stol writes me (1/25/2000): "I have no opinion about the many authorities who are witnesses. The two in lines 28–29 are a 'pair,' also attested in Stol, *JCS* 34 (1982): 177 no. 40:4–6 (with p. 185a Ili-ippalsam, 190a Šamaš-magir). In Riftin 32:12–16 these witnesses: Kalumum, son of Ubar-Šamaš; Nu-x-tum sanga; Šamaš-magir, son of Qulalum; Nur-Ištar, son of Šilli-Šamaš; Ili-ippalsam (last witness, no father's name). Samsu-iluna year 5."

17. D. Arnaud, "Larsa. Catalogue des textes et des objets inscrits trouvés au cours de la sixième campagne," *Syria* 56 (1976): 66–67; *TCL* 11 212:15, coll. Arnaud, *RA* 70 (1976): 91 (ref. courtesy M. Stol). Kutalla has left us a small dossier belonging to an Ahuni son of Ubaya: see D. Charpin, *Archives familiales et propriété privée en Babylonie ancienne. Étude des Documents de 'Tell Sifr'* (Geneva, 1980), 135–37. The name Ahuni does not seem to be common in Sippar, but for its presence in nearby Halhalla, see M. Stol, "Die altbabylonische Stadt Halhalla," in dubsar anta-men. *Studien zur Altorientalistik. Festschrift für Willem H. Ph. Römer zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen*, ed. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (Münster, 1998), 439.

18. Struck by finding a Marduk name at Larsa less than two decades after Hammurabi's conquest of the city, Marten Stol wonders whether its bearer had moved there from Babylon. (Private communication, 1/27/2000.)

the name she bore gives us no clue as to her marital status or her profession, for it was held by married (*AbB* 1 95; *VS* 7 37) as well as unmarried women (likely in *CT* 8 13c, *YOS* 12 469, and *MHET* 2/2 200:7 [transfer of property]; not clear in *VS* 7 315).¹⁹ Was she, for example, a *naditu* of Marduk?²⁰ Yet we notice that the case of Šat-Marduk and Ahuni was not particularly private, for their oaths attracted a whole bevy of elite witnesses.

Of the two opponents, Ahuni alone is given a patronymic and this could suggest that he was still under parental control. Roth is alert to this phenomenon and wonders whether the document implies interference on the part of Ahuni's father (or family) to the issue of forcing the two apart. She also wonders whether Šat-Marduk was a slave, possibly because of the coinage of her name.²¹ I am also struck by the fact that Šat-Marduk is linked to no one, male or female, thus suggesting an independence from male protection. Such a condition for women may not have been that uncommon in real life, even if it is not clearly displayed in legal compilations.²² This is not surprising, for we must keep in mind that while legal compilations can indeed be windows to the world of antiquity, they are not encyclopedic about social relations and certainly not always realistic about the conditions they are said to regulate.²³

Šat-Marduk may well have been a prostitute, as Westbrook suggests. But assigning her this profession will not enlighten us too much as long as we do not know what kind of people became prostitutes, what kind of lives they led, or their status in their local society. Solving such questions has not proven easy—witness the spate of recent articles on prostitution, complicated by the distinctions that are generally proposed between profane and sacred (or sacral)

19. W. Sommerfeld, *Die Aufstieg Marduks* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1982), 141 n. 1.

20. A Šat-Marduk is known as a *naditum* of Marduk and Šarpanitum; see Abdullah Amin Agha, "The Site of Usiyeh," Supplement to *Sumer* 45 (1987–88 [1996]): 52 (English, 120). (Reference courtesy of M. Stol.) Whether a *naditu* was a prostitute (sacred or profane) has been debated in the literature. Most scholars do not think so and some speak of all but those attached to Marduk as "virgins"; Elizabeth C. Stone, "The Social Role of the *naditu* women in Old Babylonian Nippur," *JESHO* 25 (1982): 55–56; Ulla Jeyes, "The *Naditu* Women of Sippar," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (Detroit, 1983), 260–72. But see W. Lambert, "Prostitution," in *Außenseiter und Randgruppen*, ed. V. Haas (Konstanz, 1992), 137–38 and 154–55 n. 18. The hard evidence is given succinctly in M. Stol's richly informative "Women in Mesopotamia," *JESHO* 38 (1995): 138–39.

21. "'She Will Die by the Iron Dagger,'" 193 n. 14.

22. For this reason, I do not think that an Ur-Namma adultery provision is at stake. In Roth's rendering (*Law Collections*, 17–18), LU paragraph 7 reads, "If the wife of a young man, on her own initiative, approaches a man and initiates sexual relations with him, they shall kill that woman [var. The man shall kill that woman]; that male shall be released." We notice too that the punishment is much more categorical in this instance than what obtains in Šat-Marduk's case.

23. In fact, as has been observed by many scholars, the best views these legal formulations provide are not of the workings of Mesopotamian society, but rather of rulers with divinely sanctioned authority to dispense justice, regulate relationships, or establish order. They might also best illustrate the propensity of intellectual scribes to categorize human behavior.

prostitution. Bottéro has written a charming article in which he makes prostitutes free to love if not also lovers of freedom.²⁴ But even if we are not swayed by his argument, we must take seriously recent proposals not to stigmatize the behavior of sexually available women on the basis of failings not evident in their own cultures.²⁵ If we espouse such caution, it follows then that any interpretation of a legal formulation or a juridical document that mentions prostitutes would be more convincing when not guided by our contemporary sense of morality.

Again, Šat-Marduk may have been a prostitute. Yet we should dwell not on the presumed unsavory nature of her life but, with Lambert, imagine that far from belonging to a segment of society managed and controlled by law, she may have achieved a form of independence from male stewardship and been left to her own devices for survival.²⁶ It would be useful to add, however, that this category of autonomous women likely included well-to-do widows,²⁷ divorced women, and unmarried daughters bereft of parents and of mature male siblings. Ignored by legal compilations were other women, such as dancers, performers, and healers, whose livelihood forced them to move among a number of locales, thus weakening their attachment to any one political entity.²⁸

24. J. Bottéro, "Free Love and Its Disadvantages," *Mesopotamia. Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods* (Chicago, 1992), 185–98.

25. See Norman Yoffee, "The Economics of Ritual at Late Old Babylonian Kish," *JESHO* 41 (1998): 312–43 (with excellent bibliography), who studies the Old Babylonian *kezertu* and warns against stigmatizing through shallow acquaintance with institutional contexts. See also the skepticism expressed by Joan Goodnick Westenholz, "Tamar, *qdša*, *qadištu*, and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia," *Harvard Theological Review* 82 (1989): 245–65; "Heilige Hochzeit und kultische Prostitution im alten Mesopotamien. Sexuelle Vereinbarung im sakralen Raum?" *Wort und Dienst. Jahrbuch der Kirchlichen Hochschule Bethel* 23 (1995): 43–62. Julia Assante gives away her position on the matter in the title of her stimulating albeit categorical article, "The *kar.kid* / *harimtu*, Prostitute or Single Woman? A Reconsideration of the Evidence," *UF* 30 (1998): 5–96. She distinguishes between the "sexy" *harimtu* of literature and the unattached and independent woman who is so labeled.

26. Lambert, "Prostitution," 133–34: "The question with prostitutes is whether they could exist as free, independent women, practicing their profession and not even legally under a male relative. In the lack of plain, authoritative answers to this question one may say from a legal standpoint this probably could not happen, but in actual life it often happened with prostitutes." See also G. Wilhelm, "Marginalien zu Herodot Klio 199," in *Lingering over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. Tzvi Abusch et al. (Atlanta, 1990), 505–24.

27. In our sense, whether or not *almattum* refers to their independence, so not necessarily paradigmatic for vulnerability and indigence. On widows, see M. Roth, "The Neo-Babylonian Widow," *JCS* 43–45 (1991–93): 1–26 (bibliography in notes to pp. 1–2). Roth correctly shows how the term needs to be interpreted locally and that the legal status of a particular widow was by no means constant even within a specific culture. See also Stol, "Women," 132–33 (on widows), 130–31 (on divorcees); Th. Kämmerer, "Zur sozialen Stellung der Frau in Emār und Ekaltē als Witwe und Waise," *UF* 26 (1994): 169–208.

28. In her "Independent Woman in Ancient Mesopotamia," Rivkah Harris evaluated and confirmed this possibility of such ways of life, although for her evidence she gravitated toward the world of the prostitute and the *naditu*; in *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and*

Encouraged by the lack of males attached to Šat-Marduk, let me hypothesize that, whatever her profession and for reasons that escape us, Šat-Marduk was on her own. On 25.vi[Elilu].Si3 she went to the Ebabbar temple of Shamash in Larsa and took an oath that consists of assertions, exculpations, and promises. Among those witnessing her testimony were the governor of Larsa, a temple elite, a head seal-cutter, and a host of luminaries, some of whom chose to confirm their presence by rolling inherited seals on the document. Šat-Marduk opened with purgatory oaths, by which she meant to clear herself from assumptions, charges, or suspicions. In using stative verbal forms, she affirmed that at the time of oath-taking Ahuni was not under her control physically (*la kalākšu*). Furthermore, because she did not then have him under commitment (*la tummakšumma*), Ahuni was under no compulsion to return to her. By these oaths, Šat-Marduk clearly sought to shift the onus onto Ahuni. Were he ever in her presence, it would be because he chose to be and not because she had power over him.

The next series of statements looks toward the future. While it may seem incongruent that Šat-Marduk would commit to activities that are Ahuni's to undertake ("He must not talk to me about sexual intimacy, he must not kiss my lips"), in fact by this application of a decisory oath she was referring any decision of the matter to an oath that Ahuni would be made to take.²⁹ Šat-Marduk was thus making certain that Ahuni would be binding himself never to be intimate with her; but she was also declaring her reluctance to listen to any potential advances on his part: she would not be titillated by the promise of love-making, she would not be engaged in foreplay.³⁰ Moreover, she

Western Asia, ed. Barbara S. Lesko (Atlanta, 1989), 145–56. Similar thoughts are expressed by I. M. Diakonoff, "Women in Old Babylonia not under Patriarchal Authority," *JESHO* 29 (1986): 225–38, reformulated in "Old Babylonian Ur," *JESHO* 38 (1995): 92–93.

29. I quote from H. C. Black, *Black's Law Dictionary*, 5th ed. (St. Paul, Minn., 1979), 966: "Decisive or decisory oath. In the civil law, where one of the parties to a suit, not being able to prove his charge, offered to refer the decision of the cause to the oath of his adversary, which the adversary was bound to accept, to tender the same proposal back again, otherwise the whole was taken as confessed by him."

30. Among the MEs Enki handed over to Inanna were those for "love making, kissing, prostitution . . ."; see Gertrud Farber, "Inanna and Enki," *CoS* 1, 523 (col B, VII).

There is deliciously malicious gossip in a letter sent to King Zimri-Lim of Mari that implies that along with manipulating genitals, "kissing the lips" was one step removed from sexual consummation (*ARM* 26 488:29–41; see also the lexical segment of the CAD article *našāqu*): Buqaqum reports on three matters to Zimri-Lim. The first has to do with a meeting between Hammurabi (Babylon) and Ibal-pi-El, head of ZL's military contribution to the war against Larsa. The second deals with the movement of Eshnunna troops near Tuttub. The third is as follows (29–41):

The wife of Sin-iddinam has made the following attestation: "Before Sin-iddinam could marry me, I agreed with father and son, so that whenever Sin-iddinam left his home, the son of Asqudum would notify me, 'I want to have you!' He kissed my lips and touched

herself would never invite his attentions. By this promise, Šat-Marduk documented her readiness not to pursue a relationship with Ahuni.

The heart of Šat-Marduk's case is found in the next set of affirmations, for through them she was empowering a third party to enforce the distancing she was seeking from Ahuni. There cannot be any sexual relations between her and Ahuni, and if he beguiled her ("should he summon me to sleep with him") she would report it to the town's authority (the elders and the *rabi-ānum*). It is crucial to recognize that the appeal to the authorities is not (to quote Westbrook) because Šat-Marduk "is being called upon to police the enforcement of the prohibition," and certainly not because "she is obviously someone with whom the authorities have sufficient leverage to be able to force her to act on matters of utmost intimacy—a position that one can readily ascribe to a public prostitute."³¹ (In fact, in Larsa and its environs, the participation of the *rabi-ānum* and the town's elders seems investigative and constabulary rather than for purposes of enforcement.³²) Rather, it is because by pledging to report Ahuni's sexual propositions to the authorities (who may or may not include those named as witnesses), Šat-Marduk was making certain that the man would be fully investigated for violating his oath. This threat was Šat-Marduk's best hope to thwart Ahuni's unwelcome advances.

It is reasonable, but by no means crucial, to suppose that Šat-Marduk was aware that she was maneuvering Ahuni into taking an oath, even to the extent of suggesting its phrasing. It is also not beyond likelihood, given Šat-Marduk's earlier affirmations, that Ahuni was not a stranger to her. Perhaps she was trying to put to end a relationship gone sour. At any rate, Ahuni's own oath ("I swear that] I will not go to Šat-Marduk and [that] I

my vagina; but his penis did not penetrate my vagina, for I thought, I will not sin so contemptibly against Sin-iddinam. I have not done in my own house what is not done (to?) my husband . . ." They [made her plunge (as ordeal)], and she survived it . . .

Sophie Lafont has many good comments to make about this text, although she (wrongly, in my opinion) assigns the hanky-panky to an interval between engagement and marriage; see *Femmes Droit et Justice*, 56–59, 248, 268–69, 284–86, 498–99 [text citation]. If so, the woman's excuse (if not also the maliciousness of the gossip) loses much of its irony. Note too that the dalliance was taking place when Sin-iddinam (also called *bēlum*) was not at home, hardly an important detail had it occurred before their marriage. It is interesting to note that Y. Sefati finds testimony in a Sumerian love song that an oath of chastity preceded the kissing of the lips and touching of the genitals; see his "An Oath of Chastity in a Sumerian Love Song (SRT 31)?" in *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi*, ed. J. Klein and A. Skaist (Tel-Aviv, 1990), 53 (lines 17–26), 59–60.

In another Mari text (ARM 13 101:19–20) a man kisses the lips of his future son-in-law, to symbolize an agreement. On this text, see the collations and comments of J.-M. Durand, "Relectures d'ARMT XIII, II; La correspondance de Numušda-narāri," *MARI* 2 (1983): 101–2.

31. Westbrook, "Enforcement of Morals," 755.

32. See Charpin, *Archives familiales*, 193–94; Arnaud, "Larsa," 75.

will not talk to her about sexual intimacy," ll. 19–21) repeated only half of the formula Šat-Marduk had wished him to invoke ("He must not talk to me about sexual intimacy, he must not kiss my lips"). Yet, terse though it may have been, his pledge was couched in the first-person, using verbs that exhibit Ahuni's capacity to make choices: He would not go to the woman; he would not speak to her.³³ This language is in marked contrast to Šat-Marduk's longer vows where she displayed her own will only when impelled to react to Ahuni's potential overtures (l. 9), or when she felt forced to expose his crude solicitation (l. 12).

If through her pledge to expose Ahuni, Šat-Marduk had turned the town's officials into defenders of her wish not be harassed, her last statement ("If I am found with him [or: in the countryside], I should be treated as if I broke an oath by the king") brought her back to the spirit of her opening remarks, in which she implied that it would be no fault of hers were Ahuni to approach her. Here, too, she gingerly resisted any implication of willing participation in a potential encounter with Ahuni by turning to verbal constructions in the third-person plural with indefinite subjects. Elusive is the sense of *ina aḫātim* in this context, Anbar translates it "dans les environs," implying that where Šat-Marduk and Ahuni get caught—in this case beyond the town's confines—would be a major reason to suppose that she had contravened an oath. But such a meaning would be more likely had *aḫūm* been in the plural (*ina aḫiātim/aḫātim*). Westbrook has "in (his) company," suggesting that Šat-Marduk had sought out Ahuni. But this rendering would be more certain had a possessive pronoun (*ina aḫātišu*) been suffixed to *aḫātim*.³⁴ The dictionaries give exceptional usages for each of the above, making it difficult to settle the issue philologically. The main intent of the clause, however, remains that of conveying Šat-Marduk's certitude that no circumstance would ever find her a willing participant in a dalliance with Ahuni.

What do we make of all this? I have argued that whatever its exact intent, LL 30 cannot be used to illumine the two juridical documents discussed above. In the case of BM 13192, a reading of its contents has led me to recreate a situation in which an independent woman from Larsa of the Old Babylonian period had found a way to restrain a man from harassing her sexually by legally setting the whole town between them. How Šat-Marduk achieved this independence is lost to us, but our text makes it obvious that she had legal recourse to maintain it. That in our document both parties are eventually

33. Akkadian *ana sinništīm alākum* can mean "to have intercourse with a woman," but given its sequence in this oath, it is best to be literal about the use of the verb.

34. There are exceptions to each of the above, *ina aḫātim* minus a possessive suffix but with the meaning "in (one's) circles" is found in *FM* 2 120:5; *ABB* 9 175:8–9. Not as manifest are examples of singular *ina aḫātim* with the meaning "countryside," see *CAD* A/1, 190 (4a).

deposed may mean that we are not dealing with the partial record of a trial with plaintiffs and defendants, but with that of a hearing in which oaths established potential injury—eventually resulting in an injunction preventing Ahuni from harassing Šat-Marduk.³⁵ I also admit that I cannot establish what in those days constituted sexual harassment, for the rub has always been that cultures maintain different and often contradictory thresholds on how to judge sexual aggression.³⁶ Still, if there is a moral I would like to see enforced at this juncture, it would be that by resisting the urge to interpret juridical documents through the available legal formulations we might achieve a richer vision of complexity and diversity among the populations of ancient Mesopotamia.

35. In tannaitic literature only defendants take oaths. See E. E. Hallelwi, "The Oath (A Chapter in the History of the Halakha)," *Tarbiz* 37 (1967): 24–29.

36. In the classical period, respectable women were unapproachable, their status recognized through the type of dress they wore and (as in Assyria) by the veil that covered their heads. A woman who failed to display a proper appearance deserved blame were she ever accosted; see Thomas A. J. McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (New York, 1998), 331–35.

The Great Scribe Taki-Šarruma

ITAMAR SINGER

Tel Aviv

About a decade ago Professor Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. provided a concise overview of the new discoveries pertaining to "The Last Days of Khattusha" in an international conference dedicated to "The Crisis Years."¹ In the fourth part of his paper he briefly formulated the questions raised by the new evidence, and aptly concluded that "the first step toward finding answers is to frame the questions." Meanwhile, more material has been published pertaining to the last period of the Hittite Empire, both from the capital Hattuša and from two important centers of Hittite Syria, Ugarit on the coast and Emar on the Middle Euphrates.² As is so often the case, the new evidence helps to solve some questions and raises others. A new direction toward which to look for answers is provided by the small Middle Assyrian archives discovered at Tell Chuēra, ancient Ḫa/urbe,³ and Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad, ancient Dūr-Katlimmu.⁴ In these texts we find sporadic references to Hittite diplomats and merchants operating beyond the eastern frontier of the Hittite Empire.⁵ Besides the obvious historical interest concerning the resumption of Hittite-Assyrian diplomatic and economic relations towards the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E. sparked by this new evidence,⁶ the Assyrian documents also provide us,

1. *Crisis Years*, 46–52.

2. I. Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit," in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, ed. W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt (Leiden, 1999), 704ff.; "New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire," in *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*, ed. E. D. Oren (Philadelphia, 2000), 21–33.

3. C. Kühne, "Ein mittelassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv und andere Keilschrifttexte," in W. Orthmann et al., *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien* (Saarbrücken, 1995), 203–25.

4. E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad* (Berlin, 1996).

5. I. Singer, "Political History," 690 with n. 291.

6. For the Hittite-Assyrian correspondence, see A. Hagenbüchler, *THeth* 16 (Heidelberg, 1989), 245ff., no. 189; 328ff., no. 224. See also H. Freydank, "Zum mittelassyrischen Königsbrief KBo XXVIII 61–64," *AoF* 18 (1991): 23–31; "Gewänder für einen Dolmetscher," *AoF* 21 (1994): 21–33.

through their *limu*-datings, much needed chronological anchors for the reconstruction of late Hittite history.

A fragmentary letter from Tell Šeḥ Ḥamad recounts, *inter alia*, the grievous fate of a Hittite trading convoy traveling east of the Euphrates⁷:

The merchants of the King of Kargamiš and of Tagi-Šarruma, the governor of the land, have crossed over below Kumaḥu and they stopped at Huziranu, Ayanu, and Ḥarranu. They traded (lit. they gave and took). The price they took they set according to demand. (Then) they turned back and set out for the rest of their trip. They took off and did not stop by Ḥa/urbe; (rather) they stopped by Penkibe. They rested at sunset(?) and walked a double hour(?) over the field(?). Ten donkeys carried oil (and) bronze vessels. The enemy stole the donkeys, the oil, and the bronze vessels which they carried. Two merchants were wounded and they came to Ḥa/urbe and said: "[...] by the enemy, and they [...] their wounded troops." From Ḥa/urbe one man to (W)aššukani [...] I interrogated him [...] He responded: "The King of Kargamiš [...] of Tagi-Šarruma [...]" (ll. 16'–39').

After a large gap, the left edge provides the dating of the tablet to the 27th day of the month of Allanātu in the *limu* of Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat, which in absolute date would fall between Year 11 and Year 16 of Tukulti-Ninurta, i.e., either between 1222 and 1217 or between 1218 and 1213 B.C.E.⁸

Without delving into the details of this intriguing incident and its implications, the question which concerns us here is the identity of the governor Tagi-Šarruma, whose merchants traveled with those of the King of Kargamiš to Assyrian-held territory in the upper Balikh region. The name is borne by several persons in the Hittite documentation,⁹ but the title of this Tagi-Šarruma and the accurate dating of the tablet may provide the key for the correct identification of this important personage in the Hittite and Ugaritic material.

A "governor of the land"¹⁰ Tagi-Šarruma has so far not been attested, but the title may have been used by the Assyrian scribe, in a manner familiar to him, in order to represent some other Hittite title(s). The fact that the caravan is described as consisting of merchants of the King of Kargamiš and of Tagi-Šarruma indicates that the latter was a renowned person, probably closely related to the administration of Kargamiš, or to that of Hittite Syria in general.

7. E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 117–22, no. 6.

8. See E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 14–18, with references to the reconstructions of Middle Assyrian chronology.

9. E. Laroche, *NH* 170, no. 1209; Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 132–36.

10. For the title *šākin māti* (KUR) at Ugarit, see I. Singer, "Takuḫlinu and Ḥaya: Two Governors in the Ugarit Letter from Tel Aphek," *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983): 15 (with previous literature). The Emar texts frequently mention an "overseer of the land" (UGULA.KALAM.MA), for which see G. Beckman, "Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: The View from Maṣat and Emar," *2ndHitt.Cong.*, 28. Hieroglyphic COUNTRY.LORD (for which see Laroche, *HH*, 210), could be a parallel title.

If so, the first place to search for him is in the rich documentation from Ugarit.¹¹ Indeed, the name Tagi-Šarruma is attested in several thirteenth-century B.C.E. documents:

Prince Tagi-Šarruma, Chief Scribe, is the owner of the stamp seal impressed in the center of RS 17.403 (*Ugar.* 3, 43, figs. 58–60), a tablet which until recently remained illegible. After thorough cleaning, eleven lines containing a donation deed of an area bordering Ugarit (NĠG.BA *ša qanni*) have been almost fully recovered.¹² Mention is made of Muršili (in the unusual spelling *Mu-ur-zi-i-li*) in connection with a division of fields between the King of Ugarit and the king of another country whose name is unfortunately not preserved. As suggested by Malbran-Labat, everything points towards the well-known decree of Muršili II dividing the border territories between Ugarit and Siyannu, a ruling that had to be periodically ratified by the Hittite authorities.¹³ Two Hittite officials are mentioned on the tablet: Ḥišni, Prince of Kargamiš (DUMULUGAL KUR URU Ka[rgamiš]), and Tagi-Šarruma, Chief [Scribe] (GAL L[UMES]DUB.SAR), a restoration which conforms with the Hieroglyphic title MAGNUS.SCRIBA on his seal. Prince Ḥi/ešni is a well-known late thirteenth-century official active at the court of Kargamiš,¹⁴ who was involved, among other things, in the settling of a border dispute between the kings of Kargamiš and Aššur (KBo 18.48). The fact that only Tagi-Šarruma's seal is impressed on RS 17.403 indicates that his position was at least as high as that of Ḥišni. His involvement in such an important state mission as the ratification of Ugarit's borders may well qualify him for the title Governor of the Land (*šākin māti*) borne by Tagi-Šarruma in the document from Tell Šeḥ Ḥamad.

Another document from Ugarit which may belong to this same influential person is RS 17.251 (= *PRU* 4, 236f.), a sale document in which Uzzinu, the governor of Ugarit, purchases a man named Taršazida from Tagi-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma for forty silver shekels.¹⁵ This document is also validated by the seal of Prince Tagi-Šarruma, in this case by means of a ring seal impressed three times on the tablet (*Ugar.* 3, 41–43, figs. 54–57). The six witnesses to the transaction and the scribe Burqanu, who wrote the tablet, provide a general dating of this document to the second half of the thirteenth century B.C.E.¹⁶

11. As far as I can see, the name is not attested in the documents from Emar and the Middle Euphrates region.

12. F. Malbran-Labat, "L'épigraphie akkadienne. Rétrospective et perspectives," in *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.*, ed. M. Yon et al. (Paris, 1995), 37f.

13. I. Singer, "Political History," 640.

14. Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 206–11; I. Singer, review of *StBoT* 38, *BiOr* 54 (1997): 420.

15. Taki-Šarruma, father of Alalimi, a merchant from Ura (RS 17.319 = *PRU* 4, 182), is most probably a different person.

16. W. H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit* (Neukirchen, 1991), 26f.

Tagi-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma are designated in this transaction as DUMU.MEŠ ^mḥaštanuri, a *hapax legomenon* which has elicited much discussion. The editor of the text, J. Nougayrol, has drawn a parallel between this title and the first witness to the ruling, a certain ^mŠaggapuru, a name which he relates to Akkadian *šagapuru(m)*, "le très-puissant."¹⁷ However, the etymology of this personal name, and even more its connection to the title DUMU ḥaštanuri, are dubious. Probably the best proposal for the etymology of ḥaštanuri is still Laroche's analysis of the compound as *hastanuri, the first component reflecting a contracted Hittite gen. pl. *hassantan* of the participle *hassantes*, "royal princes of the first rank." ḥaštanuri would thus be "grand des nobles," a title situating its owner within the highest imperial aristocracy.¹⁸ DUMU.MEŠ need not be taken literally as referring to the "sons" of a certain ḥaštanuri, but rather as an appurtenance marker, as in DUMU.MEŠ ŠIPRI, "messengers," and DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL, "palace attendants." If so, Tagi-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma need not be brothers, as often assumed,¹⁹ but rather two important Hittite princes involved together in this legal procedure. For dating purposes Tulpi-Šarruma is not very helpful, since the name is quite common in the Hittite documentation.²⁰ There is a Tulpi-Šarruma, son of Arnuwanda, perhaps Muṣili II's nephew (KBo 13.42, 6'),²¹ but he is probably too early to be equated with Tagi-Šarruma's partner in this text. A far better candidate would be Tulpi-Šarruma, son of Tudḫaliya, mentioned in a very late text together with Šuppiluliuma II and with [K]uži(?) - Tešub (KUB 21.7 iv 11').

Turning now to the evidence from Ḫattuša,²² reference should first be made to the almost identical seal impression of Prince Taki-Šarruma, Chief Scribe, recently found in the so-called Nišantepe Archive (Bo 91/2261).²³ Prince Taki-Šarruma who appears as a witness in the Bronze Tablet (iv 35) can hardly be our man, unless he was still a boy.²⁴ As for the remaining attestations of the

17. PRU 4, 237.

18. E. Laroche, "Noms de dignitaires," *RHA* XIV/58 (1956): 26f.; *Ugar.* 3, 137, 139; *NH*, 302. Cf. *HEG* 2, 204; *HED* 3, 238.

19. E.g., by Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 133f.

20. E. Laroche, *NH*, 188; *Hethitica* 4 (1981): 45.

21. Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 134.

22. In Hittite texts the name is spelled *T/Da-ki-LUGAL-ma* (Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 132f.). Prince Taki-Šarruma also appears on a small button seal of red serpentine in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (C. Mora, *StMed* 6, 293, no. 2.37).

23. S. Herbordt, "Seals and Sealings of Hittite Officials from the Nišantepe Archive, Boğazköy," *3rdHitt. Cong.*, 311, 316, no. 1.

24. Rather than an old man, as maintained by Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 134, on the basis of his assumption that the "brothers" Taki-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma were the sons of Arnuwanda, Muṣili II's elder brother. For the relative dating of the Tarḫuntašša treaties, see the literature quoted in I. Singer, Review of *StBoT* 38.

name Taki-Šarruma at Boğazköy,²⁵ one should adopt a cautious approach, taking into consideration the possibility of the existence of several homonyms. Perhaps the best chance for identity with our man should be reserved for Prince [Tak]i-Šarruma mentioned in the inventory text KBo 31.50 iii 1'.²⁶ Chief Scribes are often encountered as supervising officials in the economic milieu.²⁷

Returning now to the evidence from Ugarit, it seems that an unnamed Chief Scribe (*tuppa(la)nura*)²⁸ plays a prominent role in the latest correspondence of the Hittite Empire. A new document from the so-called Urtenu Archive is a letter sent by the King (of Kargamiš) to the King of Ugarit, reprimanding him for sending inadequate presents to the Chief Scribe, in defiance of his categorical instructions (RS 34.136 = *RSO* 7, no. 729). The letter contains valuable historical clues that date the letter to the last King of Ugarit, Ammurapi.³⁰

At least two further documents discovered in 1994 in the Urtenu Archive reflect the high position of the Chief Scribe in this period. A long letter was sent by the "*tuppanura ḫuburtinura*, the Great, noble of Ḫatti," to his "good brother" Ammurapi.³¹ It deals with various diplomatic and political matters, and a quasi-duplicate was sent to Ammurapi by the Great King himself. In anticipation of the full publication of this important document, suffice it to call attention to the direct involvement of the Chief Scribe in prominent state affairs, apparently in a capacity second only to the Great King himself. The combined title *tuppanura ḫuburtinura*³² may indicate a considerable increase

25. For references see Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 132–36. His suggestion that the logogram BU has the reading *Taki* needs further corroboration.

26. J. Siegelová, *Verw.*, 274.

27. Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 133. In two other inventories, the title of Taki-Šarruma is either not mentioned (KUB 40.95 ii 4, J. Siegelová, *Verw.*, 268) or not preserved (Bo 6754, 10', *Verw.*, 272).

28. Spelled either *tuppanura* (< *tuppan+ura*) or as *tuppalanura* (< *tuppalan+ura*). For references see D. Arnaud, "Études sur Alalah et Ougarit à l'âge du Bronze Récent," *SMEA* 37 (1996): 59f. It seems that the form *tup-pa-at-nu-ri* is merely a spelling variant of *tup-pa-la-nu-ri*. (For the confusion of the signs LA and AT in Hittite texts, see I. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-God of Lightning [CTH381]* [Atlanta, 1996], 136f. n. 307.) For the composition of this and similar professional terms, see E. Laroche, *RHA* XIV/58 (1956): 27f. The phonetic spelling is not attested in Hittite texts and therefore Arnaud, *SMEA* 37 (1996): 59 n. 67, suggests that the *tuppa(la)nura* officiated in Kargamiš rather than Ḫattuša. However, the logographic equivalent GAL DUB.SAR is well documented at Boğazköy; see F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 525ff.

29. See W. H. van Soldt, *Studies*, 390.

30. I. Singer, "Political History," 694f.

31. F. Malbran-Labat, "Le découverte épigraphique de 1994 à Ougarit (Les textes akkadiennes)," *SMEA* 36 (1995): 106 n. 6.

32. The two terms are juxtaposed and probably refer to the same dignitary (F. Malbran-Labat, *SMEA* 36 [1995]: 106 n. 6). The etymology of *ḫuburtinura/ḫuburtanuri* is still unknown, but the term may perhaps correspond to the office of the ^{L0}KUŠ, or to that of the ^{L0}KARTAPPU. The

in the responsibilities of the Chief Scribe. Another letter mentions the Chief Scribe as the leading authority in matters of customs tolls paid by merchants upon their entrance into Hittite Syria (RS 92.2007³³). Finally, a letter from the Southwest Archive of the palace contains the request of a certain Anani-NIN.GAL to her Lady [. . . -n]uwiya for intercession on her behalf with the Chief Scribe, who was in a position to save her descendants from misery in Ugarit (RS 19.080 = PRU 6, no. 2³⁴).

It is unfortunate that none of these documents from Ugarit seems to mention the respective Chief Scribes by name, but taking into consideration their late date (most, if not all of them falling within the reign of Ammurapi), we may be justified in suggesting that the high official in question is none other than Tagi-Šarruma, who was active in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, according to the Assyrian document from Tell Šeh Hamad. The combined evidence seems to indicate that in the last decades of the Hittite Empire this Chief Scribe accumulated considerable political and economic power. He was seemingly authorized by the Great King of Hatti to intervene in crucial matters of Hittite Syria, apparently with a certain degree of control over the jurisdiction of the King of Kargamiš. Such a dominant role may well explain the title Governor of the Land (*šākin māti*) attributed to Tagi-Šarruma by the Assyrian scribe from Tell Šeh Hamad.

Finally, the question may be raised whether the loyalty oath of the Chief "Scribe on Wood" (GAL DUB.SAR GIŠ) [. . .]-Šarruma to Šuppiluliuma II (KUB 26.32, CTH 124) could also be attributed to our Taki-Šarruma.³⁵ This intriguing document recounts how His Majesty adopted the author from his parents and raised him like a puppy (i 5–8). During the reign of His Majesty's brother (viz. Arnuwanda III), [. . .]-Šarruma was already a "Lord," and he protected the reigning king at the time when the people of Hatti caused him trouble (i 9–17). Finally, [. . .]-Šarruma swears to provide his full loyalty only to the new king, Šuppiluliuma II, and to no other royal offspring of Hatti (iii 10'–15'). At the time of Šuppiluliuma's coronation, [. . .]-Šarruma must have been a promising young nobleman ready to assume whatever responsibilities that his patron might confer upon him. As far as I

latter originally designated a "charioteer," but in time became a leading diplomatic title in the Hittite foreign office (I. Singer, *Tel Aviv* 10 [1983]: 9ff.). For the various attempts to analyze *huburtanuri*, see references in HED 2, 298f.

33. D. Arnaud, *SMEA* 37 (1996): 58ff.

34. D. Arnaud, *SMEA* 37 (1996): 60f.; I. Singer, "Political History," 704.

35. For partial translations and discussions of this text, see E. Laroche, "Šuppiluliuma II," *RA* 47 (1953): 71ff.; H. Otten, "Neue Quellen zum Ausklang des hethitischen Reiches," *MDOG* 94 (1963): 2ff.; C. Mora, "Il paese di Hatti è pieno di discendenti della regalità (KUB 26 1 + I 10). Ipotesi sull'ultimo periodo dell'imperio ittita," *Athenaeum* 66 (1988): 568; M. Giorgeri and C. Mora, *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII secolo a. C.* (Como, 1996), 62f.

can see, the only attested Chief Scribe or Chief "Scribe on Wood" whose name ends with Šarruma is Taki-Šarruma,³⁶ and the chronological data seem to fit as well.

There remains the apparent discrepancy between the titles of Taki-Šarruma and of [. . .]-Šarruma—Chief Scribe and Chief "Scribe on Wood," respectively. Without entering into the much discussed problem of the nature of these "wooden tablets,"³⁷ it is well to recall Laroche's observation that well-trained Hittite scribes were able to master both writing systems, and were thus qualified to bear both titles.³⁸ Hieroglyphic Hittite does not seem to distinguish between the two professions,³⁹ e.g., the Chief Scribe Taki-Šarruma and the Chief "Scribe on Wood" Šaḫurunuwa carry on their seals the same title, MAGNUS.SCRIBA.⁴⁰ In fact, the title Chief "Scribe on Wood" is presently attested only for [. . .]-Šarruma in CTH 124 and for Šaḫurunuwa in the Tarhuntašša treaties.⁴¹ In short, I see no serious obstacle in identifying the Chief "Scribe on Wood" [Taki]-Šarruma in CTH 124 with the influential Chief Scribe Tagi-Šarruma of the Ugaritic and Assyrian sources.

It would thus seem that the last decades of the Hittite Empire witnessed some previously unsuspected political developments. Obsessed with problems of internal security and political legitimacy,⁴² the last King of Hatti sought to tighten his grip on the long-trusted vicereignty of Kargamiš. A good occasion for the introduction of new political measures could have been the transition from the long and able reign of Ini-Tešub to that of his son Talmi-Tešub. On this occasion Šuppiluliuma formulated new state treaties with Kargamiš⁴³ and probably appointed his trusted man, the Chief Scribe (on Wood) Taki-Šarruma, to be some sort of high commissioner in Syria, empowered to supervise and report to his sovereign about the activities of the Viceroy of Kargamiš.

36. There are two scribes named GUR-Šarruma. For references, see L. M. Mascheroni, "Scribi hurriti a Boğazköy," *SMEA* 24 (1984): 166.

37. See M. Marazzi, "Ma gli Hittiti scrivevano veramente su 'legno?'" in *Miscellanea di studi linguistici in onore di Walter Belardi* (Rome, 1994), 131–60.

38. *RHA* XIV/58 (1956): 26–32.

39. S. Herbordt, *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 312.

40. For the seals of Taki-Šarruma see above. A Prince Šaḫurunuwa appears on the seals Tarsus 40, Boğ. III 15, SBo II 9, and on a seal from the Nişantepe Archive. The first of these seals also carries the title MAGNUS.SCRIBA, which identifies its owner with the Chief "Scribe on Wood" of the Tarhuntašša treaties. The other hieroglyphic title appearing on Tarsus 40 and Boğ. III 15 must correspond to one of Šaḫurunuwa's other cuneiform titles, either GAL NA.KAD or GAL. ¹⁰UKU. UŠ. Other Chief Scribes attested on seals are Arnili (Boğ. III 14) and Šaušga-Kurunti (SBo II 30).

41. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 528. In the witness lists of the Kurunta and Ulmi-Tešub treaties, Šaḫurunuwa assumes the post of GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, whereas UR.MAḪ-ziti is the GAL DUB.SAR. See Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 79.

42. See T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom* 362; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 310f.

43. I. Singer, *4thHitt.Cong.*, 635–41.

Addendum

Since this article was submitted (Sept. 1999) several studies have been published which deal with Hittite-Assyrian relations in the late 13th century B.C.E.:

J. Freu, "La fin d'Ugarit et de l'Empire hittite. Données nouvelles et chronologie," *Semitica* 48 (1997): 17–39.

B. Faist, *Der Fernhandel des assyrischen Reiches zwischen dem 14. und 11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Münster, 2001).

B. Faist, "Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Assyrien und Anatolien in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jt. v. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Metallhandels," in *Anatolien im Lichte kultureller Wechselwirkungen*, ed. H. Klinkott (Tübingen, 2001), 53–66.

A Practical Vocabulary from Ortaköy

AYGÜL SÜEL AND OĞUZ SOYSAL

Ankara and Chicago

During the excavations at Ortaköy (Hittite Šapinuwa, situated 55 km south-east of Çorum in north-central Anatolia) between the years 1990 and 1999 more than 3,500 clay tablets written in cuneiform were unearthed.¹ They originated primarily from the archives of two structures, namely "Building A" (a palace or an office) and "Building B" (a storage room). These epigraphic finds constitute the second largest deposit of Hittite tablets next to the archives in the capital Boğazköy-Hattuša. They also indicate that this city was a second capital of the Hittites—or a royal residence for a specific period, namely during the Middle Hittite Kingdom under the reign of Tuthaliya II/III. Most of the tablets were found during the 1990 campaign in "Building A," and they date chiefly to the last phase of the Hittite Middle Kingdom (ca. 1400–1375 B.C.). Although the tablets are primarily written in Hittite, there are also documents in other ancient Near Eastern languages, namely Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian, and Hattian. The genres of the texts vary: vocabularies (Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite), bilinguals (Hurrian-Hittite and Hattian-Hittite), letters, lists of persons, tablet catalogs, oracular texts, prayers, rituals, and festival descriptions. The bilinguals and the vocabulary texts are especially important since they

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1. For preliminary archaeological, epigraphical, and historical information on Ortaköy-Šapinuwa, see A. Süel, *FsAlp*, 487–92; XIV. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* II (1993): 495–508 (with M. Süel); *Belleten* LIX/225 (1995): 271–83; *Archéologia* 334 (1997): 68–74 (with M. Süel); XVIII. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* I (1997): 339–51 (with M. Süel); *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* I (1998): 37–61 (with M. Süel); *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 551–58.

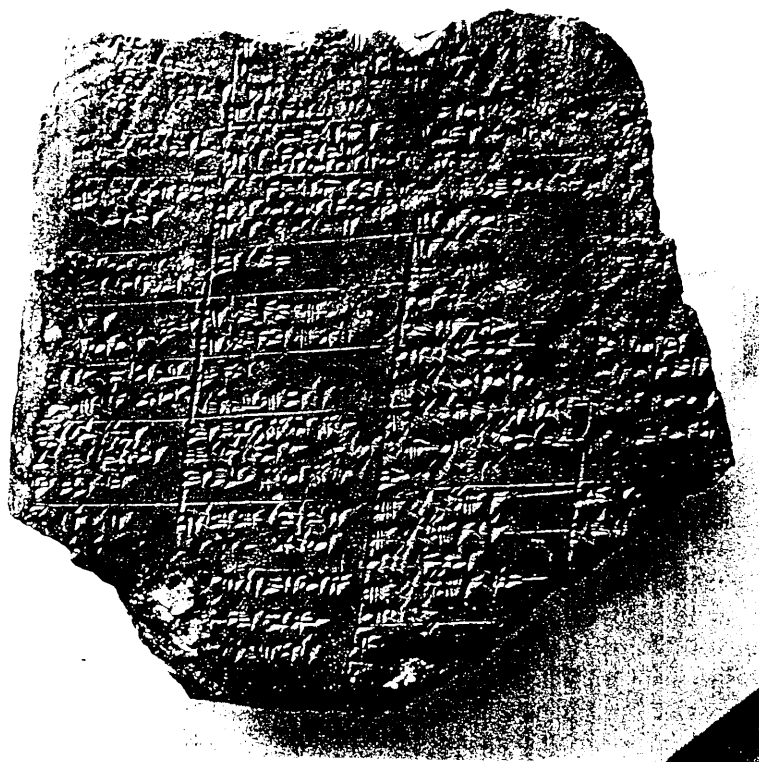


Figure 1. Or. 95/3., Obverse?

also contribute to a better understanding of the above-mentioned ancient Near Eastern languages.

The fragment Or. 95/3 presented here is one of the few vocabulary texts from Ortaköy, and it is now deposited in the Museum of Çorum with the inventory number 4-3-95. Since the find spot was reported to have been on the surface, Or. 95/3 did not come from the archives of Buildings "A" or "B," but probably from a different collection. It is partially preserved, constituting approximately half of the tablet. The measurements of the fragment are 11.9 × 11.4 × 3.9 cm. Judging from its contents, it does not belong with those vocabulary texts found in the archives of Boğazköy that can be classified under specific series.² Or. 95/3 belongs rather to the genre known as "practical vocabularies." As far as the tablet is preserved, the text contains only plant

2. E. Laroche, *CTH*, nos. 299–305.



Figure 2. Or. 95/3, Reverse?

names. However, this certainly does not mean that the original document was entirely dedicated to flora. The large missing parts of the tablet might originally have dealt with other subjects from different categories.³

The fairly well preserved obverse⁴ of the fragment shows that both sides of the tablet are written in four columns. Columns i and iii contain plant names in Sumerian and Akkadian, while columns ii and iv give translations, or sometimes short interpretations for these, respectively. In the commentary section of this study we will refer to columns ii and iv as "translation portions." The plants are usually designated either by their Sumerian or their Akkadian name, but occasionally the term is given in both languages. In those cases, the Sumerian word (logogram) is written first, followed by the

3. See e.g., B. Landsberger and O. R. Gurney, "Practical Vocabulary of Assur," *AfO* 18 (1957–58): 328–41.

4. The better preserved side of the tablet is flat, and should thus be the obverse. The other side, however, is too small to allow any decision whether it is obverse or reverse.

Akkadian word preceded by an oblique wedge (◌) serving as a gloss-marker.⁵ It would be incorrect to consider the translation words in columns ii and iv as the "Hittite counterparts," because, with a single exception,⁶ they all seem to be loanwords originating in other ancient Anatolian languages, especially Luwian.⁷ We should refrain from labeling these words as "phonetic" writings or readings, since some of them are not written syllabically, but as logograms accompanied by phonetic complements.⁸

The tablet is inscribed in a careful and neat ductus. The sign forms chiefly conform to the (Late) Middle Hittite writing tradition, as is seen in most of the Ortaköy documents. The special characteristics of this script are large-headed verticals and large winkelhakens.⁹ Since the tablet contains just a few Hittite words, there are not enough philological criteria available for text dating. Despite the good quality of the script, misspellings are frequently found in the writings of the Sumerian and especially of the Akkadian words. Some of the lexemes are also written incompletely or in abbreviated forms that we will briefly point out in their respective commentaries. Some Sumerian and Akkadian designations have even been left untranslated. From all of these points, one could conclude that Or. 95/3 is a school tablet.

The botanical species in our text are exclusively useful plants, including both foodstuffs and medicinal herbs. It is obvious that they are listed logically and in a systematic order. In a few cases however, the locations of the plants in their specific sections seem odd to us,¹⁰ but this could be, of course, a result of our lack of knowledge of ancient Anatolian and Mesopotamian flora. What is more, identical designations can sometimes refer to various plants in different languages and cultures. It is to be noted that none of the plant and vegetable names in Or. 95/3 has the determinative SAR. The main plant/herb sections are the following: fenugreek (obv.² i/ii §§1'–3'), rocket (obv.² i/ii §5'), leek (obv.² i/ii §6'), cress/weed (obv.² i/ii §7'), purslane (obv.² i/ii §8'), onion/garlic (obv.² iii/iv §§4'–6'), and cumin (obv.² iii/iv §9'). The order of these sections sometimes corresponds with that in HAR-ra = *hubullu* XVII.¹¹ This Mesopotamian source was a valuable tool for us in this

5. Obv.² i 13', 14', iii 14', 15'; rev.² iii 6'.

6. *galulūpiš* "fingers" (obv.² ii 19'), and perhaps also *haššušš[ara]* (obv.² iv 16'; see commentary).

7. See commentary to the individual words.

8. Obv.² ii 17', 20'.

9. Particularly noteworthy is the GUR-sign in obv.² i 15', rev.² iii 4' and 7', since it shows a unique form (𒄀) not found in the writing tradition of Boğazköy (Chr. Rüster and E. Neu, *HZL*, sub nr. 185).

10. Obv.² i 15' and iii 13'; see commentary for these lines.

11. *MSL* 10, 79–124: II. HAR-ra = *hubullu* XVII. Henceforth, this will be cited as "MSL 10" with page and line numbers. We will refer to the similarities between this Mesopotamian source and the vocabulary text from Ortaköy in the respective commentaries and notes.

study, allowing the restoration and identification of some plant names in the Ortaköy vocabulary.¹²

First we present the text in transliteration, followed by a line-by-line commentary:

Obverse²

	Column i	Column ii
§1'	1'. 𒍪SULLIM 2'. 𒍪SULLIM.TUR	<i>t'a-ū¹[a-t]¹i-iš¹</i> <i>a-mi-[a]n²-[z]a² ta-ūa¹ti¹-</i> <i>i[š]</i>
	3'. 𒍪SULLIM.ŠU.GUB.BA 4'. (blank)	<i>ar-[ta]-ri ku-iš</i> <i>ta-ūa-ti-iš</i>
§2'	5'. 𒍪SULLIM.UDUN.GUB.BA 6'. (blank)	UDUN- <i>ni-it-kán ku-iš</i> <i>ta-ūa-ti-iš</i> (6'a) <i>ša-an-ūu-ūa-an-za</i>
§3'	7'. 𒍪SULLIM.IM.NÍG.RIN.NA 8'. 𒄀GUB.BA 9'. (blank)	<i>har-ši-it-kán ku-iš</i> <i>ša-an-ūu-ūa-an-za</i> <i>ta-ūa-ti-iš</i>
§4'	10'. x-AN-NA-x ² 11'. [S]U ² -A-DU	<i>ku-u-mi</i> (blank)
§5'	12'. [...G]ÁN 13'. x-AN-NA 𒄀I-KI-QA-RU	<i>ga-ak-ku-ú-ša</i> <i>ga-ak-ku-ú-ša</i>
§6'	14'. TÚL.LÁ 𒄀BI-IS-RU 15'. KUD ² KUN KUR-KA ₄ -NA ¹ -AK-KU	(blank) <i>ki-ru-ú-ša</i>
§7'	16'. ZÀ.AḪ.LI 17'. NUMUN ZÀ.AḪ.LI 18'. NÍG.AL.DI	<i>ma-ra-aš-ūa-an-ūa-aš</i> <i>ZÀ.AḪ.LI-aš NUMUN-an</i> <i>ma-ra-aš-ūa-an-ūa-(aš-)pát</i>
§8'	19'. 𒀭PAR ¹ -PAR-ḪI-A 20'. [NUMUN P] ¹ AR-PAR-ḪI-A ¹	<i>ga-lu-lu-u-pi-iš</i> <i>ŠU.SI-aš NUMUN-an</i>
§9'	21'. [] 22'. [] 23'. []	[... ²](²)x-ta-ūa-an-za [... ²](²)x-la-ap-pa-aš <i>[a-a]n-ki-iš-ša</i>

Bottom of the tablet

12. We also had the privilege of consulting the unpublished manuscript of F. Köcher, "Die Drogen-Serie URU.AN.NA : *malakal*." We owe thanks to E. Reiner for recommending and allowing us to see this work.

	Column iii	Column iv
§1'	1'. 'x-x-x'(-)[]	[broken away]
§2'	2'. NULUḪ [?] .ḪA [?] [...?] 3'. MU-x-R[A [?] (-)...?]	
§3'	4'. IZ-ZI-x-x [?] -x [?] -x [?] 5'. UR-NU-Ḫ [?] -UM [?] (-)-x [?]	x [
§4'	6'. ZA.ḪA.TIN 7'. [S]A-ḪA-AT-TI-IN-NU [?] 8'. A-ZA-AN-NU-UM	x [(blank?) x-x [
§5'	9'. A.MU.Š[UM [?]] 10'. I-ZI-[IZ-ZU [?] -U]M [?]	x-x [ku-un-x-[-
§6'	11'. AN.TAḪ.[ŠUM] 12'. KAR.ŠUM	x-x [kar [?] -[
§7'	13'. ZI-BU-UM 14'. ḪUR ṽNA-NA-x(-)[...?]	da-an-ku-i [?] -[iṣ [?] kap-pa-a [?] -ni-iṣ [?]] na-na-ia(-)[
§8'	15'. ḪUR.ḪUR.SAG ṽŠA-DI 16'. ŠE.ER ZI-BU-BI-TUM 17'. ŠUM-MU-TU-U	ḪUR.SAG-aš na-[na [?] -ia [?] (-)...?] ḫa-aš [?] -šu-uš [?] -š[a [?] -ra [?] -...] (blank)
§9'	18'. ḪGAMUN 19'. ḪGAMUN.BABBAR 20'. NAM.IGI.DU 21'. ḪGAMUN.GE ₆ 22'. ZI.BU	kap-p[a-a [?] -ni-iṣ [?]] ḫar-k[i-iṣ [?] kap-pa-a [?] -ni-iṣ [?]] (blank) 'da [?] -[an-ku-i [?] -iṣ [?] kap-pa-a [?] -ni-iṣ [?]] [breaks off]
§10'	23'. 'QÁB-LI BABBAR' [?] 24'. 'ŠÁ' [?] [	

Bottom of the tablet

Reverse?

	Column i	Column ii
§1'	1'. [broken away]	[]-x-x(-)[
§2'	2'. []-MI [?] 3'. []-MI [?]	zu-uk-ki-iš (blank)

§3'	4'. []-I]L [?] 5'. []-T]A [?] 6'. []-x-MU	zi-na-ak-ki-iš (blank) (blank)
§4'	7'. [breaks off] 8'. []-p]a [?] -aš	[ka [?] -a]r-ša-ni-an-za [breaks off]
	Column iii	Column iv [broken away]
§1'	1'. x-[- 2'. A-N[A [?] -	
§2'	3'. ḪAB(.)x(-)[4'. U-GUR BUR-R[A-AK [?] - 5'. UQ-NIM A-x-[-	
§3'	6'. ḪAB.BAR ₈ [?] ṽUQ-NIM 7'. U-GUR 'BUR [?] -RA-A[K [?] - 8'. 'x-x' [	[breaks off]

Commentary

Obverse? Columns i/ii

(§1') i/ii 1': Meanings proposed for ḪSULLIM (Akk. *šam/nbaliltu*)¹³ include "clover, trefoil"¹⁴ and "fenugreek."¹⁵ In this study we prefer the latter designation (see below). The signs and their sequences are the same as in ḪBAR₈, which means both "spring(time)" and "grass." For ḪSULLIM at Boğazköy see Chr. Rüster and E. Neu, *HZL*, 229, sub nr. 274, "Bockshornklee," where no attestation for this logogram is mentioned. Nor are any occurrences of ḪSULLIM among the Hittite documents known to the authors of this study. Nevertheless, the Akkadian equivalent of ḪSULLIM, *šam/nbaliltu*, appears in some medicinal contexts in Boğazköy—see F. Köcher, *Afo* 16 (1952–53): 53; and H. Ertem, *Flora*, 98f.

The phonetic counterpart of ḪSULLIM is given in the translation portion as *ta-ḫa-ti-iš*, which is attested once in Boğazköy. It accompanies ŠE.LU^{SAR} "coriander" in KBo 13.248 i 6'. Although in (Early) New Hittite usage in

13. The ḪSULLIM^{SAR}-category in obv. §§1'–3' of our text appears with slight differences in the following passages of ḪAR-ra = *hubullu* XVII: *MSL* 10, 93f.:292–99; 105:238; 119:89–90; 122:15–16; 123:19–20.

14. *AHW*, 115b; and R. Borger, *Zeichenliste*, 67, sub nr. 54: "Bockshornklee."

15. *CAD* Š/I, 310 f.; J. N. Postgate, *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 3 (1987): 95, 96f.

KBo 13.248 the word is of neuter gender (*ta-ya-ti*^{SA(R)}), it clearly exhibits common gender in our (Late) Middle Hittite text from Ortaköy (shown by the relative pronouns and participles in 3', 5', 6a', 7', 8'; note that the word also appears elsewhere in Ortaköy with the determinative as *ta-ya-ti-iš*^{SAR}). The pairing of *tawati-* with ŠE.LÚ^{SAR} "coriander" in KBo 13.248 i 6'¹⁶ pleads for ^USULLIM as "fenugreek." While both "fenugreek" and "coriander" are of an aromatic-spicy character and can be utilized for alimentary purposes, "clover, trefoil" primarily serves as fodder and as a medicinal herb. For *tawati*^{SAR}, see recently J. Tischler, *HEG* III/9, 289 (with bibl.). This word, whose gender seems not to be well established in Hittite, may be of Luwian origin (cf. the other plant names *tiwali*^{SAR} and *tiwariya-*, and also the bread designation NINDA*tawataimi-*).

(§1') i/ii 2': According to the preserved signs in the translation portion for ^USULLIM.TUR "small fenugreek," the reading *a-mi-[i]a-[z]a* is also possible. However, there is not enough space for the full form *a-am-mi-ia-an-za* "small one."

(§1') i 3'/ii 3'-4': For ^USULLIM.ŠU.GUB.BA (in Mesopotamian sources written (^U)sullim.(šū.)gub.ba^{SAR}), see *MSL* 10, 93:293 (Akk. *ussuhtu*¹⁷; 119:90; 122:16; 123: Section C' [20]).

The translation portion explains this kind of fenugreek in Hittite as "fenugreek that stands" = "standing fenugreek."

(§2') i 5'/ii 5'-6'a: The Hittite translation (or interpretation) of ^USULLIM.UDUN.GUB.BA reads: "fenugreek that is roasted by oven," i.e., "oven-roasted fenugreek."

(§3') i 7'-8'/ii 7'-9': The oblique wedge (x) at the beginning of line 8' does not serve as a gloss, but indicates that the word in the previous line continues here (like today's "hyphen"). Thus, in line 8' a clear indentation is seen.

^USULLIM.IM.NÍG.RIN.NA.GUB.BA refers to another kind of oven-roasted fenugreek, and its Hittite translation is given as "fenugreek that is roasted by pot," i.e., "pot-roasted fenugreek." Although in the writing IM.NÍG.RIN.NA the determinative DUG is missing, this is clearly indicated in the Hittite translation by *harši-*. In the Boğazköy documents forms with this determinative, like ^{DUG}IM.ŠU.(NÍG.)RIN.NA (Akk. *tinūru*), are attested (*HZL*, 260, sub nr. 337), but in contrast to them, our word also omits the sign "ŠU." This designation denotes small, portable earthen ovens; see H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth.*, 137-39; N. Oettinger, *StBoT* 22, 47-48 (with further references).

16. Note also the co-occurrence of (^U)sullim^{SAR} and še.lú^{SAR} in *MSL* 10, 119:87-90; 123: Section C' 17-20.

17. *AHW*, 1438: "Bez. einer Pflanze."

(§4') i/ii 10': We are not able to read exactly and interpret x-AN-NA(-x²) in column i. It may be identical with the first word in i 13'. The word is clearly a logogram (cf. the plant name ^Uuru.an.na), and the first sign appears to be similar to "GÜN" (= Akk. *burumu* "multicolored") in i 13'. Thus, even if we try to read the whole word as GÜN.AN.NA, its meaning cannot be made out satisfactorily.

The word *ku-u-mi* in the translation portion is a hapax, and it does not appear to be a genuine Hittite word. The gender of this noun is neuter.

i/ii 11': Based on our reading x-²-A-DU, M. Civil proposes reading *suādul suādu*.¹⁸ Since the first broken sign ends with only one vertical, it can hardly be ZU = SÚ, but must rather be SU. At Boğazköy, this plant name is known with both initial writings: ^Usú-²-a-dā (KUB 37.1 obv. 29), *sú-²-a-di* (KUB 37.44:2'; KUB 37.55 iv 19'), *su-²-a-di* (KUB 37.46 rt. col. 3'; KUB 37.47:19').

The translation portion for *SU²ĀDU* in Or. 95/3 has been left blank. For this medicinal plant and its occurrences at Boğazköy, see F. Köcher, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): 49, 55; H. Ertem, *Flora*, 149.

(§5') i/ii 12': After a gap of at most two signs, there is a damaged sign ending very similarly to KÁN. Thus, a restoration of the beginning of the line with [NÍG.GÁN².G]ÁN (Akk. *egim/ngiru*) "rocket"¹⁹ is very conceivable. This plant immediately precedes the "leek category" in *MSL* 10, 94:310; and 114:192, just as in our text.

For *ga-ak-ku-ú-ša* in the translation portion see below.

i/ii 13': In *I-KI-QA-RU* we may detect the Akkadian equivalent of [NÍG.GÁN².G]ÁN, since *I-KI-QA-RU* is indicated by a gloss-marker right before it. Due to insufficient space, the scribe seems to have faced writing difficulties in line 13'. Consequently, he first reduced the size of his handwriting, and then wrote the word *I-KI-QA-RU* curving up to the level of line 11'. We may not expect to have a correct Akkadian form here. Thus, the word in our vocabulary text should be emended, and read as *I-GI₅-(IN)-GA₅-RU* in accordance with the original designation *egingiru*. The omitting of the IN-sign can be explained either as a lapse on the part of the scribe, or simply as the assimilation of a nasal. The further non-conformities of the vowels of this word are to be ascribed to the non-standard Akkadian used in Hittite Anatolia.

The translations of the plants in lines 12' and 13' are given with the same substantive *ga-ak-ku-ú-ša*. This is a neuter noun, and appears once in a list in KBo 13.248 i 10' among garden plants with the spelling *ga-ak-ku-uš-ša* [SAR²].

18. *AHW*, 1052: "Holunder?"; *CAD* S, 338f.: "an aromatic plant, probably *Cyperus esculentus*."

19. *AHW*, 189: "Rauke"; *CAD* E, 43: "rocket (*Eruca sativa*)," with many varied spellings of the plant name.

Like many of the names for cultivated vegetables and herbs in KBo 13.248 i 5'ff., *gakkuš(š)a-* is probably not genuine Hittite but of foreign origin. For this plant, see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 156; E. Neu, *IF* 88 (1983): 303.

(§ 6') *i/ii 14'*: TÚL.LÁ is a surprisingly incomplete writing for túl.lá.ga.raš²⁰ and denotes "leek," in accordance with the following Akkadian gloss *^BISRU*.²¹ However, another designation for "leek," KAR.ŠUM, is listed below in the onion-garlic section (*iii/iv 12'*).

The translation portion has been left blank, but cf. below *ii 15'*.

i/ii 15': Although not clearly visible, the first sign appears to be TAR; the following sign is KUN. The question arises as to how these two signs are to be combined in order to reveal a plant name. Nevertheless, the alternative value of the TAR-sign, KUD, means "weeding, cutting of green plants" (= Akk. *kismu*). It also modifies leeks: ga.raš.níg.kud.da²² (= Akk. *kismu*).²² This kind of leek is mentioned in Mesopotamian sources along with ^(u)ga.raš.níg.gíd.(da)²³ (= Akk. *šušrātu, uššurātu*),²³ as in HAR-ra = *hubullu* XVII.²⁴ It is obvious that the two types of leeks are the opposite of one another, namely kud.da "cut (one)" versus gíd.da "long (one)." Perhaps a similar classification is made in Or. 95/3, which mentions KUD "cut (one)"²⁵ versus KUN "tail(ed one)" in regard to the greens of leeks. The fact that the leeks are mentioned here with incomplete names is similar to the writing TÚL.LÁ in line 14'. Furthermore, in comparison to the examples in HAR-ra = *hubullu* XVII (e.g., *MSL* 10, 95:312–22, etc.) the leek-section of the Ortaköy text seems to be extremely abbreviated.

In the writing of *KÜR-KA₄-NA¹-AK-KU* we come once more upon reduced and upward curving script (as in *i 13'*), crossing over into column ii. Since the sign NA abuts on the column divider, its vertical is not quite visible. In explanation of *KURKANAKKU* one might propose Akkadian *kurkânû*,²⁶ which however, does not occur with such an ending. Perhaps a formation like *hašhûru* (= ^ghašhûr) ~ *hašhûrakku* (= ^u ^ghašhûr)²⁷ should be considered. If *kurkânû* "curcuma" were indeed meant here, we would have to wonder why this plant is included in the leek section.²⁸

20. See *MSL* 10, 95: 317–18.

21. *AHw*, 130: "Lauch"; *CAD* B, 268: "a kind of leek."

22. *CAD* K, 425, sub b: "qualifying leeks and turnips . . . referring to the variety used for its greens"; cf. also *AHw*, 487.

23. *CAD* Š/III, 384: "qualifying leeks"; *AHw*, 1289: "eine Art Porree."

24. See *MSL* 10, 95:315–16; 104:204–5; 105:241–42.

25. For "cut leek," see recently M. Stol, *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 3 (1987): 62.

26. *AHw*, 510: "Curcuma, Gilbwarz"; *CAD* K, 560f.: "a medicinal plant."

27. See *MSL* 10, 84:48 (^u ^ghašhûr = *ha-aš-hu-ra-ku*); *AHw*, 333: "Apfelstrauch"; *CAD* H, 139: "a plant, lit.: the *hašhûru*-like plant."

28. See, however, n. 32.

The neuter gender *ki-ru-û-ša* in the translation portion is a *hapax* and probably does not belong to the genuine Hittite vocabulary.²⁹ It is strongly suggestive of ^(u)ga.raš²⁰ (= Akk. *karašu*) "leek," and it may therefore perhaps pertain to "leek" in *i 14'*. In this case, we would be dealing with a loanword. However, one Kassite-language counterpart of *kurkânû* (see above), namely *kuruš*,³⁰ also reminds us phonetically of *kirûša*. On the other hand, it is interesting that a second Kassite equivalent of *kurkânû* is *pirizaḥ* (*MSL* 10, 104:216; 105:247). This word is reminiscent of Latin *porrus*, *porrum*, Greek *πάσσον* (which is also borrowed into Turkish as *pirasa*) "leek,"³¹ although the similarity could simply be a coincidence. The interpretation of §6' thus remains a dilemma.³²

(§7') *i/ii 16'*: The translation portion offers as the syllabic counterpart of ZĀ.AḪ.LI (in Mesopotamian sources written *zā.ḫi.li(a)*²⁹, Akk. *saḫlū*) a common gender *a*-stem noun *ma-ra-aš-ḫa-an-ḫa-aš*,³³ which is a *hapax*. There is no word known from Boğazköy that can be related to *marāšhanḫa*.³⁴ In respect to word structure, *marāšhanḫa*- is good ancient Anatolian, although its Hittite origin cannot be assured. Due to its length it might be a compound noun. Since words with initial **mar(r)a/u(w)-* mostly belong to the Luwian vocabulary,³⁵ the origin of *marāšhanḫa*- should also be traced back to this milieu.

The precise identity of this plant has not yet been determined, either in its Mesopotamian or its Anatolian range. Among the many relevant suggestions, one tends to prefer the meaning "cress, weed" (*AHw*, 1009f.; *CAD* S, 62ff.), especially for the Anatolian region. For the plant and further bibliography, see S. Hutter-Braunsar, "Die Terminologie der Zerstörung eroberten Acker- und

29. The identical spelling *ki-ru-û-ša* in the Hattian text KUB 12.8 + KUB 20.87 ii 12' and iii 5 is simply due to coincidence, and has nothing in common with the plant name here.

30. *AHw*, 514; *CAD* K, 582.

31. The origin of those common words is unknown. For an etymological consideration of Lat. *porrus*, *porrum* compared with Sum. *garaš*, see W. Vycichl, *Die Sprache* 9 (1963): 21–22. His ancient Anatolian evidence, however, is not trustworthy. On "leek"-words, see also H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth.*, 107.

32. Note also *MSL* 10, 122: Section C 11–17, where the ga.raš²⁰, sullim²⁰, and kur.gi.rin.na²⁰ (= *kurkânû*) categories are listed successively, but in a different sequence than in our text. It is probable that the Hittite scribe followed a similar order, but was confused in the translation of the plant names.

33. N. Oettinger, *StBoT* 22, 48, has shown that *za-aḫ-ḫé-li* in KBo 6.34 iii 45, which had long been thought to be the phonetic reading (or the Hittitized form) of ZĀ.AḪ.LI^(SAR), is a ghost-word. The form *za^(sic)-aḫ-ḫé-li* is a scribal error for *ḫa-aḫ-hal-[i]* of the duplicate text 1087/z iii 6' (*StBoT* 22, 138).

34. A number of proper names are at least partially reminiscent of the initial portion of *marāšhanḫa*-, for example: ^mMaraš(š)a, ^mMaraššalli, ^mMaraš(š)anda, ⁱMaraššawiya, ^{URU}Maraš(š)a, ^{URU}Maraššantiya, ⁱMaraššanta, ⁱMaraššantiya.

35. *marahšiwali*-, *marāwišta*-, *marušamma/i*-, *maruwai*-, *marruwamma/i*-, *marruwašha*-, etc.

Siedlungslandes in hethitischen Königsinschriften," in *Der orientalische Mensch und seine Beziehungen zur Umwelt* (Graz, 1989), 211–13.

i/ii 17': The "cress seed" is translated in full conformity with its logographic use.³⁶

i/ii 18': NÍG.AL.DI (= Akk. *erištu*) means "object of desire," but it also serves to designate certain plants (CAD E, 298). In our text, it does not denote a specific plant, but a "desirable" kind of ZÀ.AḪ.LI. Thus, its description in the translation portion is "*marāšhanḫa-* as well (*-pat*)," with no distinction made with the listing in ii 16'.

ZÀ.AḪ.LI is sometimes mentioned in Mesopotamian and Hittite historiography with a negative connotation when it is sown upon the sites of defeated cities in order to mark their desolation.³⁷ On the other hand, this plant and its seed were utilized by the Hittites for medicinal purposes.³⁸ Its name is found in many texts among foodstuffs and as an ingredient in recipes.³⁹ It served alone as a food plant too.⁴⁰ The variety of cress in our text that is indicated as NÍG.AL.DI should then be this kind of useful, domestic ZÀ.AḪ.LI.

(§8') i/ii 19'–20': The initial traces of the partially broken words in these lines consist of a reiterated UD (= tam, pir, par) sign. According to a suggestion of M. Civil, the name of the herb is to be read as *PAR-PAR-ḪI-A*. This is *parpa(r)ḫū* (= babbar.ḫi(.ḫi)^{SAR}) "purslane, portulaca" (AHw, 834), known from Mesopotamian sources. Line 20' mentions the seed of the same herb.⁴¹

ga-lu-lu-u-pí-iš in the translation portion represents one of the very rare genuine Hittite words in our vocabulary text, and it is the plural form of *kalu-lupa-* "finger." Perhaps the shape of the plant accounts for it having been called "fingers." This plurality is also expressed in the Akkadian counterpart with the incorrect spelling *PAR-PAR-ḪI-A*. It seems that the scribe incorrectly finished the word with the Sumerian plural *ḪI.A*, which is contracted as the ending of the Akkadian word. In contrast, the seed of the plant is described in the translation portion with a singular genitive: ŠU.SI-aš NUMUN-an "finger's seed."

36. For *zà.ḫi.li(a)*^{SAR} and its seed (numun), see *MSL* 10, 95:325–26; 114:199–200; 118:69a–b; 124: Section C' 6–7.

37. See most recently S. Hutter-Braunsar, "Terminologie der Zerstörung," 211f.; H. Roszkowska-Mutscher, *JAC* 7 (1992): 1–12.

38. KUB 44.61 obv. 3; KUB 44.65:(7').

39. KBo 12.91 i 11'; KBo 23.42 i (14); KBo 23.46 rev. 8'; KUB 4.47 i 27, 30; KUB 20.84 obv. 8'; KUB 29.4 + KBo 24.86 ii 52, 65, iii (13), iv 19; KUB 29.6 + KBo 34.79 ii 12'; KUB 39.91:5'; KUB 45.5 iii' 6'; KUB 46.28 rev. 13'.

40. The plant is devoured (*ad-*, *azzik-*), e.g., in KBo 17.65 obv. 18; KBo 23.49 iv 7'; cf. G. Beckman, *StBoT* 29, 156.

41. For babbar.ḫi(.ḫi)^{SAR} and its seed (numun), see *MSL* 10, 95:323–24 (similarly to our text, they are listed along with the "ga.raš" and "zà.ḫi.li" categories); 115:210–11; 119:73–74; cf. also B. Landsberger, *Afo* 18 (1957–58): 338.

(§9') [i]/ii 21'–23': In this section, only [*a-a*]*n-ki-iš-ša* in ii 23' is certain. The same plant is listed among other garden plants bearing mostly foreign names in KBo 13.248 i 8' with the spelling *an-ki-ša*^{SAR}. For the writing and other occurrences of this plant name at Boğazköy, see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 34; *HW*² I, 95; J. Puhvel, *HED* 1, 73.

Obverse² Columns iii/iv

The translation portion here is largely lost.

(§2') iii 2': For NULUḪ.ḪA (= Akk. *nuḫurtu*), see AHw, 802: "Asa foetida, Stinkasant"; CAD N/II, 322: "a medicinal plant."⁴² For the occurrences of this plant name in Boğazköy documents, see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 48f.; H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth.*, 110.

iii 3': The reading *MU-¹U¹-R[A- . . .]* is feasible; thus the Akkadian word *murār(t)u* would come into consideration. For this plant, see AHw, 675: "etwa Endivie"; CAD M/II, 218: "bitter lettuce."

(§3') iii 5': For URNŪ, see AHw, 1432: "Minze²." On the attestations of this plant name in Boğazköy documents, see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 105.

(§4') iii 6'–7': For ZA.ḪA.TIN and Akk. *SAḪATINNU*, see AHw, 1261: "ein Zwiebelgewächs"; CAD S, 54: "an onion."

From these lines onward in paragraphs §§4'–6', the members of the onion-garlic family are listed. With the exception of some additional plant names, the same sequence is found in *MSL* 10, 92f.:269–80; 113:155–65 (from *za.ḫa.tin*^{SAR} to *kar.šum*^{SAR}). For the onion-garlic family in Mesopotamian sources, see recently *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 3 (1987): 23–56 (H. Waetzoldt), 57–80 (M. Stol), and 97–98 (J. N. Postgate).

iii 8': For AZANNU, see AHw, 92: "eine Pflanze"; CAD A/II, 526: "bitter garlic." On the use of this plant name in Boğazköy documents, see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 39; H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth.*, 109.

(§5') iii 9': For A.MU.ŠUM (= Akk. *amuššu*), see *PSD* A/I, 116: "a type of onion."

iii/iv 10' offers a defective writing for EZIZZU (AHw, 270: "eine Gemüse"; CAD E, 431: "a bulb vegetable, probably a type of onion").

If the three damaged signs in the translation portion are to be read as *kū-ūn-k[u²- . . .]* (now confirmed by our collation of the tablet), this would make Luwoid botanical designations *kunkumā(n)-* and (^U)*kunkumāti-(SAR)* good candidates for the restoration of the plant name here. These are known from Boğazköy documents, and perhaps indicate one and the same plant. Etymologists have attempted to relate them to the Indo-European "cucumber"-words

42. For (^Ugiš)nu.luḫ.ḫa^{SAR}, see *MSL* 10, 93:285; 113:167–70; 123: Section C' 25–26, Section C' 7–8.

(cf. J. Puhvel, *HED* 4, 250f.; and J. Tischler, *HEG* I, 634f., with earlier bibliography); however, if one of these names is indeed in use here, then it must denote rather an onion/garlic-like vegetable in conformity with its Akkadian counterpart *ezizzum*.

(§6') iii 11': For AN.TAḪ.ŠUM (= Akk. *andaḫšu*), see *AHw*, 50: "eine Pflanze, Linse?"; *CAD* A/II, 112f.: "a bulbous spring vegetable." It appears frequently in the Boğazköy texts; see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 34–39; H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth.*, 16f., 109f.; and most recently, S. Erkut, *3rdHitt.Cong.*, 189–95, *BMECCJ* 11 (1999): 199–205; and F. Ertuğ, "Baharın Müjdecisi: Çiğdem (Crocus) ya da AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}. Hititler Devri Anadolu Florasına Küçük Bir Katkı," *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 3 (2000): 129–36.

It is unfortunate that the Anatolian phonetic reading of this species still remains a mystery, but the translation portion of our vocabulary text is not well-preserved, and the remainders of the two signs are illegible.

iii/iv 12': For KAR.ŠUM (= Akk. *karšu*), see *AHw*, 448: "Porree"; *CAD* K, 212ff.: "leek."

If the initial damaged sign in the translation portion is indeed *kar*-. . .], then the phonetically written word could have sounded similar to the logogram in column iii, and was perhaps a loan-translation from it.

(§7') iii/iv 13': For ZĪBUM, ZIBŪM (= ṼGAMUN.GE₆ and ZI.BU in iii 21'–22'), see *AHw*, 1525: "Schwarzkümmel"; *CAD* Z, 104f.: "black cumin." One would rather expect to find this plant in the cumin-section in paragraph §9'.

For *dankui*[(š) *kappani*(š)] in the translation portion, compare below iii/iv 21'.

iii/iv 14': For ṼKUR (= Akk. *nīnū*, *ninnu*, Assy. *nī/ēniu*), see *AHw*, 791: "Ammi, Zahnstocherdolde"; *CAD* N/II, 241: "a medicinal plant."⁴³ One expects that the following gloss ṼNA-NA-x(-)[. . .] is the Akkadian equivalent of the logogram. However, this word clearly differs from *nīnū/ninnu* in regard to its vocalism.⁴⁴ Hence, ṼNA-NA-x(-)[. . .] may be the equivalent of ṼKUR in another language of the Mesopotamian region (e.g., from either the Hurrian or the Syrian milieu). The name of this plant is also represented in Boğazköy texts as ṼKUR.RA; see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 95 and bibl.

43. For ṽkur.ra^(sar), see *MSL* 10, 88:133; 93:288; 102:6; 114:187–88; 118: 62–63.

44. The broken last sign of the word begins with a horizontal. On the other hand, the only similar plant name to our word in the Mesopotamian range is *nanaḫu*^{sar}. For this and its variations (*naniḫu*, *ananiḫu*), see *AHw*, 50: "eine Pflanze"; *CAD* A/II 111: "a garden plant." Some Mesopotamian (Neo-Babylonian) sources equate this plant with *urnū* ("mint"—in our text obv. iii 5'). Based on the Aramaic designations, B. Landsberger, *Afo* 18 (1957–58): 336, attempts to differentiate *nēniu* (Aramaic *nan'ā*) from *naniḫu* (Aramaic *nanhā*), and he comes to a different conclusion, namely that *nēniu* means "mint," and *naniḫu* "Ammi." See most recently W. Röllig and A. Tsukimoto, *FsRenger*, 435f.

The word *na-na-ia*(-)[. . .] in the translation portion looks very similar to the form with gloss-marker in iii 14', and may simply be a borrowing from it.

(§8') iii/iv 15': ṼKUR.ḪUR.SAG is a "mountain" variety of the previous plant, and this is also signified by the following short Akkadian gloss ṼŠADĪ "of the mountain." This should be an alternative writing for ṼKUR.KUR(RA)⁴⁵ (= Akk. *atā'išu*, *at'išu*, *adiššu*), which is a medicinal plant,⁴⁶ and which occurs in Boğazköy documents; see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 95 and bibl.

The broken word *na*-. . .] after ḪUR.SAG-aš "of the mountain" in the translation portion is probably to be restored after *na-na-ia*(-)[. . .] as it occurs in iv 14', which is the syllabic writing of ṼKUR.

iii/iv 16' seems to exhibit a defective writing for ZIBIBĪTUM (*AHw*, 1524: "eine Gewürzpflanze"; *CAD* Z, 103: "an aromatic seed"). The preceding ŠE.ER possibly corresponds to ŠE.ER(ZI) (= Akk. *šarūru*) "tendrils, shoot (of a plant)"; see *CAD* Š/I 143; *AHw*, 1194.

One may restore the partially preserved word in the translation portion with certainty as *ḫaššušš[ara]*, although there are difficulties with some of the signs.⁴⁷ If this reading is correct, then we have a second possible genuine Hittite plant name⁴⁸ in Or. 95/3 in addition to *galulūpiš*. The Boğazköy documents mention this botanical entity among the garden plants, where its name is spelled as *ḫa-šu-uš-ša(-a)-ra-*; see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 42–43; J. Puhvel, *HEG* 3, 241.

iii 17' presents a defective spelling for ŠUMUTTU (*AHw*, 1276: "eine Gemüsepflanze, Bete?"; *CAD* Š/III, 301f.: "a red plant, possibly beetroot"). Recently, however, W. Röllig and A. Tsukimoto, "Mittelassyrische Texte zum Anbau von Gewürzpflanzen," *FsRenger*, 437, with good reason doubt the meaning "beetroot" for *šumuttu*. On the use of this plant name in Boğazköy documents, see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 31 and bibl.

(§9') iii/iv 18': ṼGAMUN "cumin" (= Akk. *kamūnu*), a very common culture word,⁴⁹ is translated here with *kappani*-, which is possibly borrowed from the same word as well. The identity of ṼGAMUN with *kappani*- has been

45. For "mountain," the Hittite writing tradition preferred ḪUR.SAG over KUR—see *HW*¹, 282.

46. See *CAD* A/II, 480f.; *AHw*, 86: "weiße Nieswurz."

47. The second sign, AŠ, is not quite visible. The fourth sign, UŠ, is written slightly obliquely and is deeply impressed into the clay; thus, it looks somewhat distorted.

48. The Hittite origin of this noun cannot yet be claimed with certainty. It is generally identified with the still unattested Hittite word **ḫaššuššara*-. (c.) "queen"; see J. Tischler, *HEG* I, 211 with bibl.; and J. Puhvel, *HED* 3, 241. Unless the stem and gender of the plant name are ascertained—the available occurrences do not allow this—the possibility of a neuter *ḫaššuššaran* (a Luwian word?) cannot be excluded.

49. For the ṽgamun and zi.bu.u sections, see *MSL* 10, 94:300–303 (same sequence as in our text); 113:177–79; 124: Section C" 9–11.

known for a long time,⁵⁰ and this is now confirmed by the present vocabulary. According to the Boğazköy texts, the noun *kappani-* can be of both common and neuter gender. For the spellings of this word, see H. Ertem, *Flora*, 44; J. Puhvel, *HED* 4, 57; J. Tischler, *HEG* I, 488.

iii/iv 19': ^UGAMUN.BABBAR "white cumin" matches the translation portion which begins with the attribute "white" in Hittite. It is to be restored either as *ḫar-k[i-iš']*, or better, as *ḫar-k[i-ja-aš]*. The phrase *ḫar-ki-ja-aš kap-pa-ni* already appears in Bo 3367 + 7039 obv.² 5' (H. Otten and Chr. Rüster, *ZA* 68 [1978]: 153).

iii 20': The only information about NAM.IGI.DU that we could find is *agē šarrûti* "royal crown, (majestic) tiara," listed by A. Deimel, *ŠL* II/1, 187, sub nr. 134. Therefore, this logogram is not a plant name, but rather indicates a specific kind of cumin (or something similar) to its shape. "Tiara" reminds us of the shape of leaves; compare, e.g., the Turkish botanical term *taç yaprak(lı)* "gamopetalous (plant)." However, M. Civil has called our attention to the fact that the equation of NAM.IGI.DU = *agē šarrûti* is based only on an interpretation from the very late period and is not particularly trustworthy.

The translation portion does not contribute anything to the resolution of this problem since the Hittite scribe provided no interpretation for this line.

iii/iv 21': For the syllabic counterpart of ^UGAMUN.GE₆ "black cumin," one may expect *da[nkui(š) kappani(š)]*, which appears in KBo 22.156 i 16' and 96/p obv. 5 (H. Ertem, *Flora*, 44) as neuter gender *da-an-ku-i kap-pa(-a)-ni*. See also above for the restoration *ZIBŪM* = *dankui(š) kappani(š)* in iii/iv 13'.

iii 22': ZI.BU denotes "black cumin," as do both ^UGAMUN.GE₆ in the previous line and the Akkadogram *ZIBŪM* in iii 13'.

iii 23'–24': The reading and interpretation of these two broken lines are uncertain: *QABLI BABBAR*?, "white? (on its) middle part (i.e. on [its] trunk or stalk)," in iii 23' seems to be an appellation. However, the kind of a plant (or tree?) meant here remains a question. The logogram *ŠA*? in the following line would semantically match *qablu* "middle (part), center," which is also said of date palms (*CAD* Q, 11).

Reverse² Columns i/ii

Column i does not contain a single complete word.

(§2') **ii 2'**: *zu-uk-ki-iš* is a *hapax* and probably not genuine Hittite.

(§3') **ii 4'**: *zi-na-ak-ki-iš*, which is probably not of Hittite origin either, is attested in the following Boğazköy texts: KUB 12.58+ i 23', KUB 35.146 ii 11'; note that both documents display Luwian influence.

50. H. Ertem, *Flora*, 44–46 and bibl.; H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth.*, 103–4.

(§4') **ii 7'**: The restoration [*ka²-a*]r-ša-ni-an-za is made with a certain reserve. If this is correct, the word would be a Luwian neuter sg. nom. form corresponding to Hittite ^{GI}škaršani(ya)- "soda plant, soaproot" (H. Ertem, *Flora*, 131f.; J. Puhvel, *HED* 4, 106f.).

Reverse² Columns iii/iv

(§2', §3') **iii 3', 6'**: For ^UHAB (= Akk. *būšānu*), see *AHw*, 143: "eine Pflanze, Nieswurz?"; *CAD* B, 350f.: "a plant"; R. Borger, *Zeichenliste*, 182–83, sub nr. 483: "wilder Wein"⁵¹ According to the Boğazköy documents, this plant was also used in Hittite Anatolia for medicinal purposes; see F. Köcher, *Afo* 16 (1952–53): 51–52, and H. Ertem, *Flora*, 81.

On the other hand, we cannot maintain with certainty that the plant in iii 3' is really ^UHAB itself, because the broken sign immediately following ^UHAB could also be the second part of the plant name. The sign in question is very likely identical to the sign which follows ^UHAB in line 6'. We read the plant name there as ^UHAB.BAR₈?,⁵² though such an entity remains unknown to us.

(§2', §3') **iii 4', 7'**: Whether the signs "U-GUR" are to be interpreted as Akkadian *U-QUR* (cf. *AHw*, 1427: *uqūru* "Herzblätter der Dattelpalme, Palmkohl") or, less probably, as Sumerian *U+GUR* (= Akk. *namšaru*) "sword," referring to the shape of the plant,⁵³ is uncertain, since the meaning of the following word *BUR-RA-A[K²-...]* remains unknown. If this word has a formation like *kurkānaku* (< *kurkānū*) in our text obv.² i 15', then one can suggest the restoration *BUR-RA-A[K-KU]*; cf. *burru* "a cereal" (*CAD* B, 330), and *burū* "a garden plant" (*CAD* B, 340).

(§2', §3') **iii 5', 6'**: The Akkadian gloss for ^UHAB.BAR₈? begins with ^UQ^NIM (genitive), and its continuation is broken. The latter word suggests ^{NA}uqnū "lapis lazuli," but it does not possess the determinative ^{NA}4. Therefore it may rather mean "(greenish-)blue" (*AHw*, 1426), indicating the plant's color; cf. R. C. Thompson, *DAB*, 171.

Reverse² column iv has been entirely lost.

The vocabulary text from Ortaköy provides the phonetic writings of some useful plants known in ancient Anatolia in the second millennium B.C., e.g., fenugreek, rocket, cress, and purslane, and it thereby enriches our knowledge of the flora and the *alimenta* of Hittite times. We hope that our honored colleague Professor Harry Angier Hoffner, Jr., will enjoy this small contribution, and profitably utilize it for his work in the future on *Alimenta Hethaeorum*.

51. For ^Uhab, see *MSL* 10, 104:197; 105:226.

52. This sign is the same as "SULLIM"—see comments on obv.² i/ii 1'—ir obv.² i 1'–3', 5', and 7'.

53. Compare the plant name ^Ugír (= Akk. *patrānu*); *AHw*, 848: "Schwertpflanze; Gladiolus?"

Is Tuthaliya's Sword Really Aegean?

PIOTR TARACHA

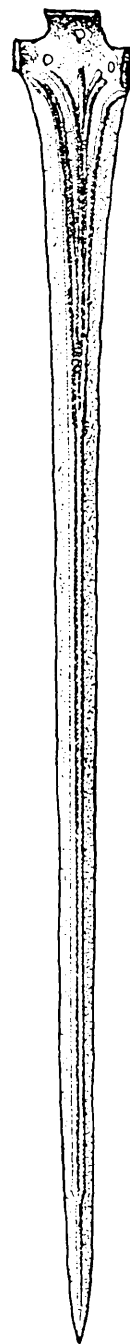
Warsaw

The bronze sword found at Hattuša in 1991 has no immediate parallels in Anatolia (fig. 1).¹ We learn from an Akkadian inscription on the blade that it was among a number of similar weapons inscribed and dedicated at Hattuša by a Middle Hittite king by the name of Tuthaliya after his victory over Aššuwa in western Anatolia: "When Tuthaliya, the Great King, smashed the Aššuwa country, he dedicated these swords to the Storm-God, his Lord." The sword's provenance has been hotly debated, as have the conclusions that may be drawn from it and the ways by which such objects, most likely of western Anatolian manufacture,² reached their find-spots in the Hittite capital. Previous authors are agreed on identifying the king in question as Tuthaliya I/II, and the sword itself as Aegean in origin,³ or—at the very least—as a product of a western

1. I was able to study the sword when visiting the Çorum museum in 1996. Primary publications of this object include A. Ünal, A. Ertekin, and İ. Ediz, "The Hittite Sword from Boğazköy-Hattuša, found in 1991, and its Akkadian Inscription," *Müze-Museum* 4 (1990-91): 46-52; Anonymous, "Ein hethitisches Schwert mit akkadischer Inschrift aus Boğazköy," *Antike Welt* 23/4 (1992): 256-57; A. Ertekin and İ. Ediz, "The Unique Sword from Boğazköy/Hattuša," *FsNÖzgüç*, 719-25; A. Ünal, "Boğazköy Kılıcının Üzerindeki Akadça Adak Yazısı Hakkında Yeni Gözlemler," *FsNÖzgüç*, 727-30; P. Neve, "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1992," *AA* (1993): 648-52.

2. A silver bowl whose Hieroglyphic inscription mentions the name of Taruiša (*Ta+r-wi-za*) might be evidence of the same Tuthaliya's campaign against Aššuwa. The bowl has been published by J. D. Hawkins, "A Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscription on a Silver Bowl in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara," *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1996 Yılı* (Ankara, 1997), 7-24. Cf. also P. Taracha, "Zu den Tuthaliya-Annalen (CTH 142)," *WO* 28 (1997): 83 n. 41.

3. For the identification as Aegean Type B, see M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Anatolia," *AJA* 97 (1993): 106, 112-13; M. Salvini and L. Vagnetti, "Una spada di tipo egeo da Boğazköy," *La Parola del Passato* 276 (1994): 216-26; O. Hansen, "A Mycenaean Sword from Boğazköy-Hattuša found in 1991," *Annual of the British School at Athens (BSA)* 89 (1994): 213-15. Cf. also R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* (Princeton, 1993), 197-98; S. de Martino, *L'Anatolia occidentale nel medio regno ittita* (Florence, 1996), 24-25. Also in agreement with this identification is C. Macdonald, according to correspondence of 15 June 1992 cited by Hansen, 213 n. 1. On the other hand, strenuous objections to such an



Anatolian workshop reflecting Aegean inspiration.⁴ However, I see some problems with both identifications.⁵ It is a real pleasure for me to dedicate my comments on the Hattuša sword to Professor Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., who, in his numerous publications, has also pointed to the originality of Anatolian culture.

The identification of the sword in question as Aegean Type B was based on simple criteria concerning the shape and width of the blade and tang, the flanged shoulders, and the method of riveting. On the other hand, it is clear that the cross-section of the sword with its multiple midribs is not typical for a Type B weapon.⁶ In what follows I will discuss the features of hilt and blade separately, considering contemporary developments in the forms of daggers and swords both in Western Asia and in the Aegean.

To begin with, let us examine the ancestry of tanged weapons with a shoulder flange. In the Aegean, the earliest approxi-

identification have already been raised by experts in Aegean and Near Eastern weaponry, such as N. K. Sandars, R. Maxwell-Hyslop, and I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, whose personal communications are cited by E. H. Cline, "Aššūwa and the Achaeans: The 'Mycenaean' Sword at Hattuša and its Possible Implications," *BSA* 91 (1996): 138 n. 11. Cf. also H.-G. Buchholz, "Eine hethitische Schwertweiheung," *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* 8 (1994): 22, who has identified the Hattuša sword as a variant of Aegean Type E, but this is an unlikely hypothesis.

4. Neve, *AA* (1993): 651; A. Müller-Karpe, "Anatolische Bronzeschwerter und Südosteuropa," in *Festschrift für Otto-Herman Fray zum 65. Geburtstag* (Marburg, 1994), 434–39; E. H. Cline, "Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Sailor: Minoans and Mycenaeans Abroad," in *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. W.-D. Niemeier and R. Laffineur (Liège, 1995), 266, 270–73; *BSA* 91 (1996): 138–40.

5. As I have argued in *Kulturgeschichten: Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Th. Richter et al. (Saarbrücken, 2001), 420 n. 12, Tutḫaliya II/III, Šuppiluliuma's father, also fought against Arzawa and Aššūwa (Maša and Kammala in *CTH* 40). See also *WO* 28 (1997): 74–84. If this was the case, it was Tutḫaliya III who fought against the Aššūwa coalition, as described in KUB 23.11 ii 13'–iii 8. The sword found at Hattuša may then also have belonged to the spoils brought by him from western Anatolia.

6. See, e.g., I. Kilian-Dirlmeier's opinion, as cited by Cline, *BSA* 93 (1996): 139, who points out that "on Aegean swords of all types the midrib usually runs right up, and ends at, the haft; and that in the Aegean multiple midribs are usually a late feature, beginning primarily in Late Helladic IIIA2." Further also Müller-Karpe, "Bronzeschwerter," 437.

Figure 1. Tutḫaliya's sword from Hattuša. After A. Müller-Karpe, *Festschrift für Otto-Herman Fray zum 65. Geburtstag* (Marburg, 1994), 433 fig. 2.2.

mately datable dagger—with the flange around only one shoulder, one rivet in the (broken-off) tang and three in the base of the blade—comes from the annex to the smaller *tholos* at Haghia Triada, Crete (fig. 3:A.7), and is dated to the Middle Minoan I–II period. Because of the distinct thickening of the blade, it may already be regarded as an early forerunner of Type B swords.

Tangs are foreign to the Early Minoan dagger tradition, however, and their Near Eastern connections have been lucidly demonstrated by Branigan.⁷ They occur, sometimes partially flanged, on so-called Byblite daggers of Early and Middle Bronze Age date in the whole Levantine region (fig. 2:A.2–8), in Crete (fig. 3:A.1–2), and on the Greek mainland (fig. 3:A.3). All these daggers feature the three-rivet pattern, or more complex riveting, as on the Middle Minoan II item from Platanos, Crete (fig. 3:A.4), with two rivets in the tang and four in the blade, arranged in a diamond formation. It is likely that the latter method of riveting, which has close parallels from Cilicia⁸ and Syria,⁹ influenced the rivet arrangement on the Haghia Triada dagger mentioned above (fig. 3:A.7), although this piece also displays some affinity to contemporary tangless weapons with a single row of three rivets across the base of the blade. The examples illustrated from Haghia Triada (fig. 3:A.6) and Sesklo (fig. 3:A.5) date to the Middle Minoan I–II and Middle Helladic periods, respectively.

There is no reason to object to Branigan's claim of Syro-Cilician inspiration for Byblite daggers in the Aegean.¹⁰ Further developments in Syria, beginning in the early second millennium B.C. (fig. 2:B.2)¹¹—even though most examples come from the Hyksos period (fig. 2:B.1, 3–6)—led to daggers and dirks with a full-flanged hilt of Maxwell-Hyslop Type 31;¹² yet other features,

7. K. Branigan, "Further Light on Prehistoric Relations between Crete and Byblos," *AJA* 71 (1967): 119.

8. E.g., from Tarsus: H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlu Kule, Tarsus*, vol. II (Princeton, 1950), fig. 428, no. 38,500.

9. Cf. Alalakh, level VII: C. L. Woolley, *Alalakh. An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–1949* (Oxford, 1955), pl. LXXII, kn. 3.

10. K. Branigan, "Byblite Daggers in Cyprus and Crete," *AJA* 70 (1966): 123ff.; *AJA* 71 (1967): 119–20.

11. The dagger fig. 2:B.2 from Gaza, Tomb Group 1551, showing the flange around the shoulders and the lower part of the hilt, is dated to the Twelfth Dynasty, "and not late within that range"—W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Ancient Gaza I* (London, 1931), 8, pl. 17,33; *Ancient Gaza IV* (London, 1934), 9, pl. 21,215; N. K. Sandars, "The First Aegean Swords and Their Ancestry," *AJA* 65 (1961): 22—although at that time the most common types of dagger were still the Levant Types 20–23 and 25. See R. Maxwell-Hyslop, "Daggers and Swords in Western Asia: A Study from Prehistoric Times to 600 B.C.," *Iraq* 8 (1946): 22–26, for these weapons with two or three rivets and either a tang or a rounded butt, but without flanges. See also P. Gerstenblith, *The Levant at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age* (Winona Lake, 1983), 93–94.

12. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Iraq* 8 (1946): 33–36. Cf. also G. Philip, *Metal Weapons of the Early and Middle Bronze Age in Syria-Palestine* (Oxford, 1989), 121–24, Types 19–21.

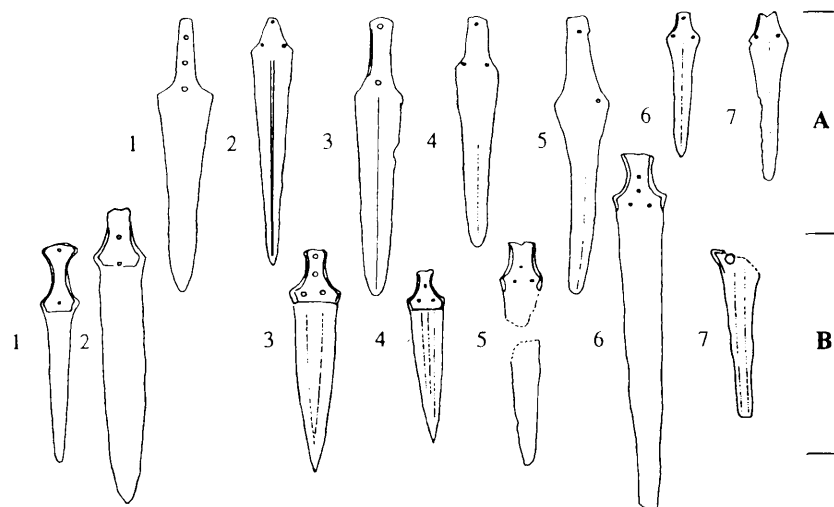


Figure 2. Examples of Near Eastern Bronze Age daggers. A.1–2: Ur, Royal Cemetery, after H. Müller-Karpe, *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte*, vol. III/3 (Munich, 1974), pl. 171.6–7; A.3–4: Byblos, “Champs des Offrandes,” *ibid.*, pl. 258 B.12, 21; A.5: Megiddo, level XIII, *ibid.*, pl. 277 D.6; A.6–7: Byblos, “Temple des Obélisques,” *ibid.*, pl. 258 A.5, 7; B.1: Ras Shamra, Tomb 56, Ugarit Moyen 2, *ibid.*, pl. 253 A.1; B.2: Gaza, Tomb Group 1551, after N. K. Sandars, *AJA* 65 (1961): pl. 18.1; B.3: Jericho, Middle Bronze Age, H. Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.*, pl. 270 B.3; B.4: Gibeon, Tomb 45, Middle Bronze II, after J. B. Pritchard, *The Bronze Age Cemetery at Gibeon* (Philadelphia, 1963), fig. 51.39; B.5: Alalakh, level VII, N. K. Sandars, *op. cit.*, pl. 18.3; B.6: Ras Shamra, “Hyksos tomb 13,” *ibid.*, pl. 18.4; B.7: Alaca Höyük, “*Nachkärumzeit*,” after H. Erkanal, *Die Äxte und Beile des 2. Jahrtausends in Zentralanatolien* (Munich, 1977), pl. 13.34. Drawings not to scale.

such as the three-rivet pattern, did not change. A very similar picture emerges in the Aegean. Type B daggers and swords, which correspond to Syrian items of Type 31, appear in the sixteenth century B.C., the earliest identified found in the shaft graves at Mycenae (fig. 3:B.1–2). The dagger from grave VI (fig. 3:B.1), for instance,¹³ bears a remarkably close resemblance, with its pinched-up, flanged shoulders, to a dagger (fig. 2:B.7) from Alaca Höyük tentatively dated by H. Erkanal to the *Nachkärumzeit*.¹⁴ Other Type B swords are less

13. A close parallel to the Mycenae dagger is found at Kirrha, cist grave 59: L. Dor, J. Jannoray, H. and M. van Effenterre, *Kirrha. Étude de préhistoire Phocidienne* (Paris, 1960), 101–2, 124, 140 no. 4, pls. LVII and LIX. The two daggers appear to be more or less contemporary (Late Helladic I).

14. H. Erkanal, *Die Äxte und Beile des 2. Jahrtausends in Zentralanatolien* (Munich, 1977), 37–38. Erkanal assigns this dagger to Maxwell-Hyslop Type 31A. For a different opinion, see Salvini and Vagnetti, *La Parola del Passato* 276 (1994): 225 with n. 17 (Aegean import).

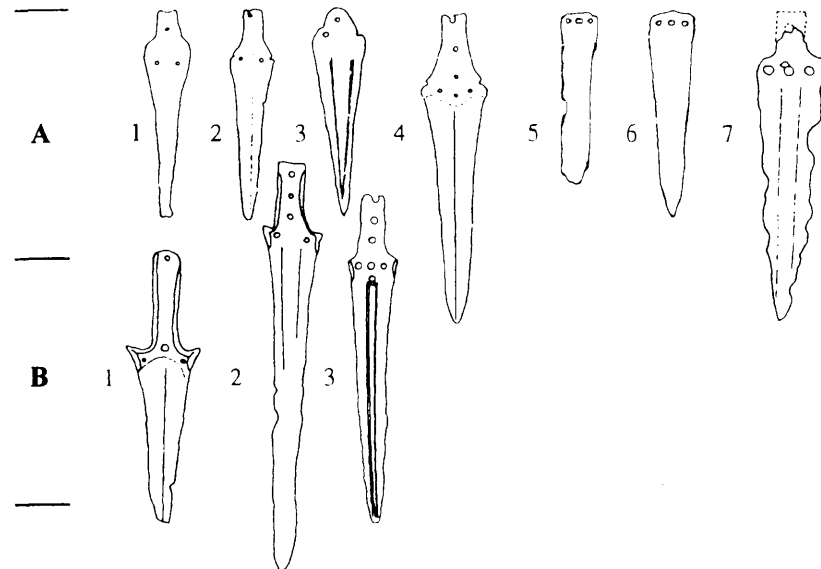


Figure 3. Examples of Aegean Middle and Late Bronze Age daggers and swords. A.1–2: Platanos, Tomb A, Middle Minoan II, after H. Müller-Karpe, *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte*, vol. III/3, pl. 377.25–26; A.3: Lerna, Middle Helladic, after K. Branigan, *Aegean Metalwork of the Early and Middle Bronze Age* (Oxford, 1974), pl. 8.306; A.4: Platanos, Tomb B, Middle Minoan II, after C. Renfrew, *AJA* 71 (1967): 118, fig. 1.3; A.5: Sesklo, Tomb 25, Middle Helladic, H. Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.*, pl. 412 C.11; A.6: Haghia Triada, Middle Minoan I-II, K. Branigan, *op. cit.*, pl. 9.376; A.7: Haghia Triada, Middle Minoan I-II, after N. K. Sandars, *AJA* 65 (1961): pl. 18.2; B.1–2: Mycenae, Shaft Grave VI, *ibid.*, pls. 19.2 and 18.4; B.3: Cameiros, *ibid.*, pl. 19.6. Drawings not to scale.

developed, still showing older features. The Cameiros specimen (fig. 3:B.3) provides us with evidence both for the restriction of the flange to the shoulders and for the diamond-like rivet arrangement as on the Platanos dagger mentioned above (fig. 3:A.4).¹⁵ It is also formally very similar to the Haghia Triada tholos dagger (fig. 3:A.7), notwithstanding the chronological gap between them.

15. Most authors consider a Type B sword found at İzmir—K. Bittel, “Kleinasiatische Studien,” *IM* 5 (1942): 175; Sandars, *AJA* 65 (1961): 27–28, pl. 19.7—“the most similar sword” to that at Hattuša. See Ertekin and Ediz, *FsNÖzgüç*, 722; Salvini and Vagnetti, *La Parola del Passato* 276 (1994): 220, fig. 4a; Cline, *BSA* 91 (1996): 138; Müller-Karpe, “Bronzeschwerter,” 437. I agree that the former weapon is an example of Type B (reflecting Aegean inspiration, if not actual manufacture), but it obviously differs from the Hattuša sword in having large rivets in a diamond-shaped formation and flanges all along the length of the tang, as well as in cross-section.

A fair inference from what was stated above is that early flanged-hilted daggers and swords in Western Asia (Maxwell-Hyslop Type 31) and in the Aegean (Type B) were simultaneous and most likely independent developments, which may have derived from the common metallurgical tradition of the eastern Mediterranean in the first half of the second millennium B.C. Admittedly the Levantine examples of Type 31 appear to antedate the appearance of the flanged hilt in Aegean Type B, but this seems to be due to the hazards of excavation.¹⁶

Two major points emerge from the above discussion: (1) In both Western Asia and in the Aegean the flanged hilt clearly grew out of the hilt of Byblite daggers. Levantine influence on Aegean weaponry was obviously strong, but it mainly concerned the so-called Byblite daggers as far back as the beginning of the second millennium B.C. Similarities between later forms of daggers and swords in both areas demonstrate continuous (trade, cultural, etc.) interaction. (2) As for the Hattuša sword itself, the form of its flanged shoulders and tang is not conclusive proof of Aegean origin.

At this point a few words must be said about the multiple midribs on the blade. I am in agreement with Kilian-Dirlmeier, Müller-Karpe, and others in considering this feature foreign to the early sword tradition in the Aegean.¹⁷ Concerning the cross-section of Tuthaliya's sword, Müller-Karpe writes:

Die formalen Übereinstimmungen zwischen den griechischen Stücken und dem anatolischen Neufund betreffen jedoch nur die Gestaltung der Griffzunge, des Klingenschnitts und die äußere Kontur der Klinge, nicht jedoch den Klingenschnitt und insbesondere die trichterförmig ausschlagenden Rippen. . . . Feine Zierrillen hingegen (seltener Rippen), auch solche, die trichterförmig ausschlagen, sind freilich häufiger auf Schwertern (so dem Stück aus "Pella"

16. Thus, the absence of Type B swords in Crete has generated considerable discussion about their origin. It is commonly accepted that the swords were exclusively made on the Greek mainland, probably in the Argolid region. See, e.g., G. E. Mylonas, *O Tafikos Kyklos B ton Mykenon* (Athens, 1973), 314–17; S. Foltiny, "Schwert, Dolch und Messer," in *Kriegswesen. Archaeologia Homerica I.E.2: Angriffswaffen*, ed. H. G. Buchholz (Göttingen, 1980), 253 with n. 1529. Sandars, *AJA* 65 (1961): 23, suggests that Type B swords evolved from daggers in the shaft grave period, and O. P. T. K. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Mycenaean Civilisation* (Göteborg, 1977), 68 with nn. 6–7, agrees in interpreting them as a Mycenaean invention, albeit seeking their ancestry among Minoan daggers. We should ask, however, what were their chances of surviving in Crete? Up until now we know of no Late Minoan I burials with weapons (contemporaneous with the shaft graves at Mycenae in which most Type B swords have been found). They may have also been in use on the island for a relatively short time, being very soon replaced by improved Types C and D, in which Aegean swordsmiths "attempted to combine the best points of both the earlier (A and B) weapons" (so N. K. Sandars, "Later Aegean Bronze Swords," *AJA* 67 [1963]: 119). Mycenaean origin of Type B was already called into question by S. Hood, "Shaft Grave Swords: Mycenaean or Minoan," in *Acts of the Fourth International Cretological Congress, Iraklion, August 29 through September 3, 1976*, vol. I (Athens, 1980), 240–41.

17. See note 6.

und anderen Funden des Typs Apa) sowie frühen mittel- und westeuropäischen Vollgriffdolchen und Griffplattenschwertern anzutreffen.¹⁸

In this connection a gold sword of Perşinari, Rumania, may be regarded as the best parallel.¹⁹ To supplement the list of parallels, there are also a few blades among an early series of Aegean swords displaying similar (but shallower) ribbing (figs. 4 and 5).²⁰ Significantly, these include specimens from the Cyclades (Amorgos) and northwestern parts of the Greek mainland and adjacent islands (Ithaka), that is, the areas closest to the Balkans and Anatolia.²¹ Hence we have good reasons to assume that they reflect influences from the north.

There still remains one basic methodological problem for the identification of the Hattuša sword as Aegean in origin. It arises when we consider the whole sequence of early Anatolian swords, as newly discussed by Müller-Karpe.²² Despite the limitations and paucity of available archaeological evidence, it is striking that most types of sword hitherto found in Anatolia have Aegean counterparts.²³ Yet we can surely exclude the possibility that they all spread to Anatolia from the Aegean. On the earliest thrusting swords (corresponding to Aegean Type A, but the sequence of which begins in Anatolia much earlier than in the Aegean), Müller-Karpe observes:

Einem bisher unbeachtet gebliebenen Schwert im Museum Eskişehir mit der Fundortangabe "Çorum" (nördliches Zentralanatolien) dürfte nun hier eine gewisse Bedeutung zukommen. . . .

and he continues:

18. "Bronzeschwerter," 437.

19. T. Bader, *Die Schwerter in Rumänien* (Stuttgart, 1991), 30–33, pl. 4.20. For a discussion, see, e.g., Salvini and Vagnetti, *La Parola del Passato* 276 (1994): 220, fig. 4c; Müller-Karpe, "Bronzeschwerter," 437–38, fig. 4.2.

20. Amorgos: K. Branigan, *Aegean Metalwork of the Early and Middle Bronze Age* (Oxford, 1974), 163 no. 491; I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Die Schwerter in Griechenland (ausserhalb der Peloponnes), Bulgarien und Albanien* (Stuttgart, 1993), 17 nos. 17–18, pl. 4. Ithaka: Branigan, 16–17 no. 489; Kilian-Dirlmeier, 19 no. 40, pl. 7. Arkalochori: Kilian-Dirlmeier, 18 nos. 22–25, pls. 4 and 5. Thebes: Kilian-Dirlmeier, 18 no. 31, pl. 5.

21. Archaeological evidence for movements of people into Greece towards the end of the Early Bronze Age, whether from Europe to the north or from Anatolia, was the subject of discussion in S. Hood's article "Evidence for Invasions in the Aegean Area at the End of the Early Bronze Age," in *The End of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean*, ed. G. Cadogan (Leiden, 1986), 31–68, with references.

22. Müller-Karpe, "Bronzeschwerter," 431–44, esp. 432, fig. 1. He ignores, however, one type of sword of Levantine origin; see note 23.

23. As far as I can see, the only exception is a type of "horned" sword of Levantine origin datable to the thirteenth century B.C. From Anatolia there is a complete sword at Şarköy near Eriklice in the Marmara region and a sword hilt at Hattuša. Cf. A. Geiger, "Ein Schwerthft aus dem Tempelviertel der Oberstadt von Boğazköy-Hattuša," *IM* 43 (1993): 213, 17, pl. 20.4

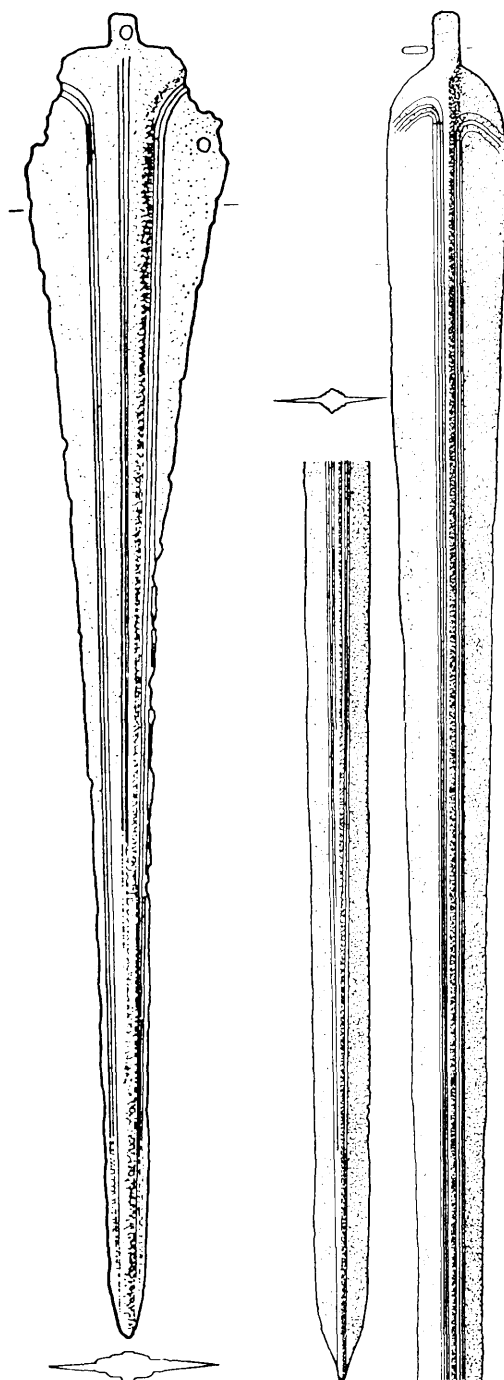


Figure 4. (right) *Amorgos dirk*. After I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Die Schwerter in Griechenland (ausserhalb der Peloponnes), Bulgarien und Albanien* (Stuttgart, 1993), pl. 7.40.

Figure 5. (far right) *Arkalochori Type A sword*. After Kilian-Dirlmeier, *ibid.* pl. 4.23.

Das Drei-Niet-Schema der Griffbefestigung und die Form der Griffplatte mit kurzer Angel bzw. Zunge erinnert stark an die minoisch/frühmykenischen Langschwerter des Typs A nach G. Karo. Enger noch ist die Verwandtschaft mit einem Fund aus Byblos, der aufgrund seines stratigraphischen Zusammenhangs in das 19. Jahrhundert v. Chr. oder sogar etwas früher datiert wird. . . . Das Schwert aus Çorum wie dasjenige aus Byblos haben die extrem hoch sitzenden Niete gemein, mit denen kaum eine stabile Befestigung des Griffes für die über einen halben Meter langen Klingen erzielt werden konnte. Hierin sind sie den jüngst bekannt gegebenen Langschwertern aus der Umgebung von Sakçagözü in Südanatolien ähnlich, die typologisch die Brücke zu den Alacahöyük-Schwertern schlagen. Für die Sakçagözü-Funde wurde eine Datierung "early in the first half of the early Middle Bronze Age" (d.h. frühes 2. Jt.) vorgeschlagen, doch ist ebenso an einen Ansatz im späten 3. Jahrtausend zu denken.

Bei dem Schwert aus Çorum deutet zudem eine flach V-förmig geschwungene Patinagrenze bereits wenig unterhalb der Niete an, daß die Klinge ehemals tatsächlich nur 2,6 cm im Griff steckte . . . , somit die Gefahr eines Ausbrechens der Niete groß war. Demgegenüber finden sich die Niete bei den überwiegend schachtgräberzeitlichen A-Schwertern meist erst etwa 3 cm unterhalb der Heftschultern; die Klingen steckten entsprechend deutlich tiefer im Griff und hatten infolgedessen einen besseren Halt. Sie sind damit im Vergleich zu den genannten anatolischen Stücken technisch entwickelter. Diese Entwicklung setzt aber Erfahrungen mit Langschwertern wie dem Çorum-Exemplar voraus. . . .

Von Bedeutung ist hier auch der Klingenquerschnitt. Die Klinge aus Çorum ist im Mittelteil flach, nur die Schneiden sind deutlich abgesetzt. Damit steht sie den Sakçagözü- und Alacahöyük-Schwertern nahe, unterscheidet sich jedoch von den griechischen A-Schwertern, die stets eine ausgeprägte Mittelrippe aufweisen. Allerdings besteht eine auffällige Übereinstimmung zu einem Fund aus Mallia, der in die Mittelminoisch IB/II-Zeit datiert wird und damit zu den frühesten ägäischen Langschwertern zählt.²⁴

Thus, we have in Anatolia a continuous sequence of evidence for the development of early thrusting swords, evidence which is hitherto lacking in the Aegean. Besides, on the presumption that this type of sword was invented in one area and spread to the other, we may regard the Alaca Höyük weapons as evidence for its Anatolian derivation.²⁵ It is significant that "prototypes" of the fully developed Aegean Type A swords appear first on the Cyclades and in the R graves on Lefkas as early as Early Helladic/Cycladic III, towards the end of the third millennium B.C.²⁶ On the Lefkas finds, Hood comments:

24. Müller-Karpe, "Bronzeschwerter," 431, 432, 434.

25. For a full discussion, see P. Taracha, *History of Warfare in the Aegean Bronze Age*, forthcoming.

26. Amorgos: Branigan, *Aegean Metalwork*, 163 nos. 479–80; see also C. Renfrew, "Cycladic Metallurgy and the Aegean Early Bronze Age," *AJA* 71 (1967): 11–12, 20 (Class VII). R graves: Sandars, *AJA* 65 (1961): pl. 17.5; D. N. Tripathi, *Bronzework of Mainland Greece from c. 2600 B.C. to c. 1450 B.C.* (Göteborg, 1988), 35, 241 nos. 20–1 (Type VI).

An astonishing variety of metalwork was found in the R graves. This metalwork is suggestive of an Anatolian, and therefore possibly of an Early Helladic III connection. It included tanged daggers of an Anatolian type of which many examples were recovered at Troy from the horizon of destruction marking the end of Troy II. . . .

It remains to consider the tumuli associated with the R graves. If the practice of tumulus burial was something introduced into Greece from the North, the R graves on Lefkas might reflect the presence of a mixed population, in which Northern elements were combined with ones of ultimately Anatolian and others of native Early Helladic II derivation.²⁷

To sum up, there is admittedly a formal resemblance between the sword at Hattuša and Aegean Type B weapons. So far the sword is unique in Anatolia, and its similarity in some points to the well-represented Type B has therefore tempted many scholars to identify it as a variant of Aegean Type B.²⁸ I think, however, that the above discussion has clearly shown that there is another possible explanation for the origin of this sword. It may be considered an example of a class of Anatolian swords parallel in development and broad dating to Aegean Type B, but not necessarily created under Aegean influence.

[Addendum: At the time of writing (October 1999) I had not seen A. Ünal's article, "A Hittite Mycenaean Type B Sword from the Vicinity of Kastamonu, Northwest Turkey," *BMECCJ* 11 (1999): 207–26, on a dirk from Pınarbaşı similar in type to the Boğazköy sword discussed above. The dirk provides additional evidence for the Anatolian origin of the Boğazköy sword—see especially Ünal's remarks on pp. 217f.]

27. Hood, "Evidence for Invasions," 54.

28. But what could we say about this type of sword if Schliemann had not discovered the Mycenaean shaft graves where most specimens were found?

Word Play in Hittite Literature?

AHMET ÜNAL

Munich

Hittite literature seems rather devoid of all kinds of sophisticated literary embellishments, eschewing, for instance, puns, puzzles, plays on words,¹ riddles, any sort of poetry, verse, alliteration, paronomasia, and rhyme. Its unadorned character becomes even more conspicuous when it is compared with the extraordinarily developed contemporary Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Egyptian literature. The majority of attested "Hittite" literary achievements have been borrowed from Mesopotamian, Hurrian, Hattic, and unknown foreign sources. This is particularly evident in the area of similes and animal metaphors, which are employed extensively in Hittite historical and magical texts. Unmistakable Mesopotamian influence may be seen in animal metaphors, especially in similes involving the lion: *URUḪaššuwa UR.MAḪ GIM-an GİR^{HLA}-it arḫa šakkuriyanun*² with its Akkadian equivalent *kima UR.MAḪ LUGAL.GAL itetiḡ URUḪaššuwa kima UR.MAḪ ina ritti-šu išša-bak-šu epram ana muḫḫi-šu iššabak-šu*.³ As is evident, the Hittite rendering of this wordy Akkadian expression is much shorter. The Akkadian version also served as the prototype for the Hittite translation of this historical composition as a whole.

It is significant that the attestation of this sort of simile is largely restricted to the period of Hattušili I.⁴ Another simile in his *Annals* runs as follows: *URUḪaḫḫu=ma=za=kán UR.MAḪ maḫḫan arḫa tarkuwališkinun*.⁵ In an enigmatic letter to Tuniya of Tikunani he uses numerous animal metaphors involving dog, wolf, and lion.⁶ The heroic deeds of Hattušili I are remembered

1. Unfortunately I could not make use of an exhaustive study of Sumerian, Akkadian and Biblical word plays posted on the internet by S. B. Noegel, "Puns and Pundits. Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature."

2. *Annals of Hattušili I*, KBo 10.2 ii 18.

3. KBo 10.1 i 34ff.

4. See B. J. Collins, "Hattušili I, the Lion King," *JCS* 50 (1998): 15–20.

5. KBo 10.2 rev. iii 1f.

6. M. Salvini, "Una lettera di Hattušili I relativa alla spedizione contro Ḫaḫḫum," *SMEA* 94 (1994): 61ff. This text, however, may be a modern forgery.

in a fourteenth-century prayer of Muršili II, in which we read that "[He destroyed] the surrounding countries like a lion."⁷ The next occurrence of this motif comes from two fragments of Assyrian letters,⁸ and thus also stands in relationship to Mesopotamia. A fragmentary text⁹ attests a comparable simile constructed with the adverb *iwar* instead of *mān* or *mahhan*.

As the Egyptian simile "The land spins like a potter's wheel" clearly indicates, even Egyptian literary influence reached as far as Hattuša, since in the Boğazköy texts we find the Hittite equivalent of this saying: "My head turns like a potter's wheel."¹⁰ However, this Egyptian influence should not surprise us, because the expression found its way to Hatti through the translation into Hittite of the Hurrian Kumarbi myth,¹¹ whose geographical setting lies somewhere in northern Syria. The most extensive usage of similes is attested in magical rituals, in which natural events and observations thereof are set into relation with human life and suffering.¹² Otherwise we can observe some remnants of rebus writing such as 3-yalli for *teriyalli*, etc.

Although word play as a literary device has not yet been identified in Hittite, the language makes use of other means of expression that replace plays on words and intensify the basic meaning of verbs. Word play is probably the result of a belief in the efficacy and magical power of charged paronymous words in manipulating gods and humans. We know that the ancient Egyptians "considered puns and word-play efficacious in establishing real relations between the objects involved."¹³

The function of word play is in all probability filled in Hittite discourse by analogies in which paronymous words are used in terms of parallelism. In this way of thinking, the employment of equivalent words is thought to result in their interaction with one other and in the intensification of verbal utterances into actions. Thus, for instance, celebrating a festival of "fertility" in honor of a particular deity would not only force that deity to accede to one's yearnings, but would also increase the power and efficacy of the word "to be fertile," which appears in a key position within a given word pattern. Moreover, from a different point of view, it could be regarded as a rhetorical means of barter with divine powers, practiced very extensively and mastered perfectly by the Hittites.

7. KUB 24.4 rev. iv 3.

8. KUB 23.92; 23.102.

9. O. R. Gurney, *FsGüterbock*², no. 3, line 12.

10. KUB 33.103 ii² 5f.

11. See in general A. Ünal, "The Power of Narrative in Hittite Literature," *Biblical Archaeologist* 52 (June/September 1989): 130–43, reprinted in *Across the Anatolian Plateau*, ed. D. C. Hopkins (Boston, 2002), 99–121.

12. A. Ünal, "The Role of Magic in the Ancient Anatolian Religions According to the Cuneiform Texts from Boğazköy-Hattuša," *BMECCJ* 3 (1988): 52–85.

13. H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948, 1978), 124.

The sole example in Hittite that could be viewed as involving analogy is found in the pledges of the thirteenth-century Queen Puduḫepa. Thus we may be justified in assuming a Kizzuwatnean origin for this new kind of literary device at Hattuša. Puduḫepa—and under her influence her husband Hattušili III—claim in texts of the most varied genre to be "righteous sufferers." From this point of departure they always seek to obtain the support, benevolence, and favor of the gods by lavishly employing rhetorical forms and literary means, including analogously used words in their vows. This is one significant reason for the sudden increase and revival of many literary forms in the thirteenth century. Thus we find in a pledge of Puduḫepa to Lelwani a promise to produce simulacra of "years, months, and days of silver and gold," and to dedicate them to her, should the goddess grant her husband "long years, months, and days" of life.¹⁴ Here the equivalence between the years, months, and days as measures of time and life span on the one hand and their symbolic models in precious metals as gifts for the deity on the other is clearly visible. In the same vow text are mentioned additional gold or silver concretizations of abstracts such as the year, the month, day, and night, but their correlatives (analogies) are not adduced.¹⁵

One question remains, however: how did the Hittite smiths cast and form these abstract objects, and what was their form? From one particular text we know that abstract things, among them soul (ZI, *išianzana*-),¹⁶ could be rendered in concrete form, and that deities might carry objects in the shape of a ZI "soul," SIG₅ "well being," and TI "life" in their hands.¹⁷ To judge from the shapes of the relevant hieroglyphic signs, SIG₅ was formed like a triangle, and TI like a "crux ansata" or *ankh*. The shape of ZI remains obscure.¹⁸

We can also find traces of word play in another kind of anecdotal text. We read in the Palace Chronicle that a culprit is punished by means of the very objects with which he has committed his transgressions. Here the exaction of punishment for a crime through the usage of analogous objects certainly underlines the efficacy of the words and correspondingly the preventive effect:

(Once there was) a high functionary named Pappa. He was found to be fraudulently distributing army-bread and *marnuwan*-drink (among the people) in the city of [Tameni]nka.¹⁹ (The authorities) [squashed] the bread (to a sticky mash) and smeared the upper part of his body (with it). (Furthermore) they poured out salt into a [marnuwan]-cup and forced him to drink it. (Moreover)

14. Vow of Puduḫepa obv. i 3ff., ed. H. Otten and V. Souček, *StBoT* 1, 16f.

15. Vow of Puduḫepa obv. i G+I, 2f., cf. also rev. iv 17.

16. KUB 55.54.

17. A. Ünal, *BiOr* 44 (1987): 485.

18. A. Ünal, *BiOr* 44 (1987): 485.

19. Dardano's restoration after Neu's collation as *NINDA₂uninki* does not convince. See P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 28 with n. 168.

they broke the cup on his head. (Because) he was (also illegally) distributing *walhi*-drink to the soldiers in Hattuša, they took a wine jar (*šagga*-) and broke it (too) on his head.²⁰

It is fortunate that KUB 56.19 (= Bo 2469, CTH 590) with its quasi-duplicate Bo 7953²¹ presents further examples of analogies in which verbs and festival names interchange with each other and thus build word plays, such as "If you, o god, put me in the right way, I'll celebrate for you a Festival of the (Right) Way. . . ." Plays on words and quasi-magical relationships also exist between the benefits to be granted by the deity and the festivals that will be celebrated, according to the common principle "*do ut des*." The deities appealed to in this text are Tešub (obv. i 33) and his family, i.e., his wife Hepat (obv. i 45) and their son Šarruma (obv. i 50). The attestation of the Moon God in i 40 is in a broken context and thus not quite certain. Remarkably, the analogies do not occur randomly in various paragraphs, but are limited only to column i of the obverse of the text.

The text takes an unusual form in obverse ii, making it difficult to determine its true nature and text genre. Nonetheless, its context and style show common features with divination texts and depositions: note that it deals with the investigation of scandals at and around the Hittite court during the time of the father of the author of the text. On the basis of its dating to the thirteenth century B.C. (see below), we identify the royal father with Hattušili III and the author himself with his son and successor Tuthaliya IV. In the preserved sections of obv. ii, Tuthaliya IV is concerned with many juridical, religious, and magical affairs and scandals, some of which he inherited from his father. Since the context of column i diverges so greatly from that of column ii, the tablet is probably a *Sammeltafel*. Ever since its assumption of rule in Hattuša, the Hittite royal family had a propensity to produce all kinds of ignominy, and the scandals recounted in this text fit well into this court tradition. The divination texts from the time of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV teem with all sorts of offences and scandals.²² The following synopsis will facilitate the understanding of obv. ii of the text:

1. Lines 1–7 deal with the birth and feeding of a female child.
2. Lines 8–12 deal with the birth of Hilešdu and magical purification of her head by means of a *zazzi(ta)*-fabric immediately following her birth.
3. Lines 13–27 report on the dedication of Daniti, a princess and thus the sister of the inquirer Tuthaliya IV, to a deity by her father. However, the decision of the king was opposed by his adversaries, who claimed that

20. KBo 3.34 i 5–10. See A. Ünal, "Power of Narrative," 135; Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 30.

21. G. Beckman, *StBoT* 29, 102, 217 n. 38; S. Košak, Review of KUB 57, ZA 78 (1988): 146.

22. Compare, for instance, KUB 16.32+. For details see A. Ünal, *THeth* 4 and *THeth* 6.

the princess did not belong to that deity, but should rather be assigned to the Storm God. Others felt that she belonged to Šarruma. The king, at a loss in the face of these contradictory claims, turned to Hurrian erudition for advice. Thus he dispatched his son (Tuthaliya IV) to the elders and the experienced oracle experts of the Hurrian country, who were expected to determine to which deity the girl should be allotted. However, for some reason the Hurrian priests could not help him. Meanwhile, the king (Hattušili III) died, but the scandal continued to threaten Tuthaliya IV.

4. Lines 28–34 deal with a scandal provoked by the official Alalimi and his companion(s). Although the text dealing with this story is fragmentary, we are able to make out that the officials had taken away one cow and two sheep meant for the Storm God and consecrated them instead to the Sun God. We know of at least seven persons with the name Alalimi: a governor of the district of Kaneš, a cupbearer, a chief of the cupbearers, a scribe, a commander of one thousand soldiers, an augur, and other obscure persons. The cultic failure discussed here reminds us of the scandals and embezzlements involving a culprit by the same name in the depositions of Puduhepa.²³ This offender is most probably identical with Alalimi the cupbearer active under Tuthaliya IV and Puduhepa.

The sign shapes and other criteria allow for a dating of this text to the thirteenth century B.C. As H. Klengel, the copyist of the text, has noticed, the mention of Alalimi places the text in close relationship with Kilešhepa and Puduhepa.²⁴ Moreover, the style and ambient mentality of the requests here remind us of Queen Puduhepa's vows, which are full of promises of votive offerings that will be supplied only if the deity fulfills some particular wishes of the oracular inquirer.²⁵ Moreover, we have noted briefly above the nature of the scandals and their possible affinities with those occurring under Hattušili III and his son Tuthaliya IV.

There are approximately 170 known festival names in Hittite cultic texts. Of course, not all of these were major festivals, celebrated regularly and exhaustive in scope, like the chief festivals such as the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}, KI.LAM, *nuntariyašha*-, the Monthly Festival, etc. It is evident that most of the "festivals" mentioned in KUB 56.19 are not actual codified collections of ritual practice, but serve solely as word plays. That is, we are dealing here with some sort of *ad hoc* ceremonies. Thus it does not surprise us that these festivals are absent from the canonical cult calendar. They must rather be conceived as feasts or banquets organized on occasion according to the principle

23. KUB 13.35+; KUB 13.34+, etc.

24. KUB 56, p. v.

25. CTH 585ff., and Vow of Puduhepa, *StBoT* 1.

of “*do ut des*” upon the fulfillment of the request of the supplicant by the deity. A. Goetze’s and E. Sturtevant’s translation of EZEN as “party” fits here very well.²⁶

In the preserved portion of the text are attested the following seven verbs, together with their corresponding festival names:

[muwat]ta<lhita>zza-	EZEN muwattalhitašši- (i 11f.)
ZALÁG.GA-nu-	EZEN ZALÁG-aš (i 13f.)
KASKAL-an hink-	EZEN KASKAL (i 15ff.)
genu ep-	EZEN genuwaš appannaš (i 19f.)
parkunu-	EZEN parkui- (i 21)
para handai-	EZEN para hantantannaš (i 31f.)
[halzai- ²]	EZEN halziyawaš (i 33ff.)

Unfortunately, the text is obscure in many points. Moreover, its state of preservation leaves much to be desired. It seems that each of the four columns of the tablet originally consisted of at least 100 lines, thus totaling around 400 lines. In the following we present a transliteration and translation along with some very brief comments.

KUB 56.19

upper edge preserved

Column i

Lines 1–6 are very fragmentary.

7. [... URU]h]a-at-ti
8. [... ha-an²]-ti-i te-eḫ-ḫi
9. [... ar-]ḫa pí-eš-ši-ya-ši
10. [... A-N]A EZEN-K[A...] i-ya-mi
11. [ma-a-an-mu mu-u-wa-at-]ta-(al-ḫi-ta)-az-za-aš-ši nu-mu ki-e
[ḪU]L-u-wa
12. [a-wa-an ar-ḫa da-at-ti² nu-ut-ta E]ZEN mu-u-wa-at-ta-al-ḫi-ta-aš-ši-in
i-ya-mi
13. [ma-a-an-mu-kán tak-na-až² na-a]n-na-ku-uš-ši-ya-an-ta-az da-at-ti
[nu-m]u ZALÁG.GA-nu-ši
14. [nu-mu MU.KAM^{HLA} GÍD.DA pí-]eš-ti nu-ut-ta EZEN ZALÁG.GA-aš
i-ya-mi

26. A. Goetze and E. H. Sturtevant, *Tunn.*, 38; A. Ünal, *The Hittite Ritual of Hantitaššu from the City of Hurma against Troublesome Years* (Ankara, 1996), 51f.

15. [m]a-a-an-mu SIG₅-an-ta-an KASKAL-an ḫi-in-kat-ti a-aš-ša-u-i-mu-
kán KAS[KAL^N] ti-ya-ši
16. nu-ut-ta EZEN KASKAL^{NI} i-ya-mi
17. ma-a-an-na am-me-e-el-ma ku-e ḪUL-u-wa na-at⁴U EN-YA UKU²-an
[ma-aḫ²-ḫ]a-an
18. [Š]U²-it^a an-da ʿtar-ši-iš-ši nu-ut-ta a-pu-u-un EZEN ḫa-an-ti-i [i]-ya-mi
19. ⁴U-ma-za EN-YA ku-it gi-e-nu e-ip-pu-un nu-mu ma-a-an ⁴U EN-YA
TI-nu-ši
20. nu-ut-ta EZEN gi-e-nu-wa-aš ap-pa-an-na-aš i-ya-mi
21. ma-a-an-na-mu ⁴U EN-YA ḪUL-u-wa-az pá-r-ku-nu-ši nu-ut-ta EZEN
pár-ku-in i-ya-mi
22. ma-a-an-na ⁴U EN-YA am-me-el ḪUL-lu ša[l-l]i-ya DINGIR^{MEŠ}? x
DINGIR x [a]r-ḫa l[a²-a]-ši
23. ki-e-ya-mu ḪUL-u-wa da-pí-an-ta a-wa-an ar-ḫa ti-it-ta-nu-ši
24. [nu-u]t-[t]a a-pu-u-un-na EZEN te-eḫ-ḫi É-ir-ra-za-kán ku-it k[u-it
a-pí-]ya
25. a[r-ḫa ú-wa-t]e-nu-un nu-kán a-pí-e-iz-zi-ya da-aḫ-ḫi na-at-za
[EGIR-pa²] te-eḫ-ḫi
26. ma-a-an-na-mu[-za-kán LÚKÚR^{URU}...]x-x ku-iš [D-x-x-x pí-d-a-a-it
[na-an-m]u [⁴]U E[N-Y]A
27. ar-ḫa im-me-ra[-an^b...]x-x [nu-ut-ta EZ]EN i-ya-mi
28. ŠA MUŠEN-ma-za-kán i-wa-ar DINGIR^L[IM-YA kat-ta-an
GÍŠ²tap-ta-a]p[a-a]n² e-ip-p[u-u]n nu-mu ma-a-an
29. ⁴U EN-YA TI-nu-ši ZAG-n[a-a]ḫ²-k[i-ši...]x-[...]É DINGIR^{LIM}?-ya
GIB[IL] i-ya-mi
30. nu-uš-ši GÍŠ²BANŠUR² iš-ki-nu-na-x EZE[N....y]a-ši-kán te-eḫ-ḫi
31. ma-a-an-na-mu-kán ⁴U EN-YA ki-e-da-aš ud-da-na[-aš pa-ra-a
ḫa-an(-da-an)-t]i-iš-ti^c
32. nu-ut-ta EZEN pa-ra-a ḫa-an-da-an-ta-an-na-aš i-ya-mi
33. ma-a-an-na-mu-kán ⁴U EN-YA ki-e-da-aš A-NA
IM^{MEŠ}.GÍD[.DA...]x-an-na-x-x
34. ki-e-za ku-e INIM A-NA ⁴U EN-YA ar-ku-u-wa-ar i[-ya-mi ma-a-an-mu²]
35. aš-šu-ul ki-ša-ri¹ DINGIR^{MEŠ}-za ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš
ta-pár-ri-ya-a[n-zi²...]
36. [a]m-me-el aš-šu-la-aš me-mi-an EGIR-pa Ú-UL ud-dar-ša-an-zi²
[nu-mu²]
37. ḪUL-u-wa-az ḫu-u-ma-an-da-az da-at-ti nu A-NA ⁴U EN-YA
38. [EZE]N ḫal-zi-ya-u-wa-aš i[š²]-ḫa-ma-an-zi na-at A-NA ⁴U E[N-YA]

39. *m[a-ni-in-k]u-wa-an ti-ya-an-zi nu-za* ^dU EN-YA *ki-e-da[-aš . . .]*
 40. *ḫal-z[i- . . . -]ki-in A-NA* ^dU-*ma-aš* EN-YA ^dSIN[?]-*aš-kán x[- . . .]*
 41. *x-x[- . . .] ti-an-[z]i [- . . .]-an e-eš-du*
 42. *n[a-aš-mu²]-kán ku-it* [EGIR-*pa pí²-y*]*a-an-za na-an-mu ma-a-an* ^dU EN-YA
 43. *x [- . . . -ši nu]-mu-kán a-pí-ya ar-ḫa x-x-x nu* GAR-[- . . .]
 44. *x [- . . .]-x-ši-ya-an-za* ^dU ^d[- . . .]
 45. [*m[a-a-an-mu-kán* ^dHé-pát SAL.LUGAL AN^{E-TI} GAŠAN-YA A-NA
x[- . . .] x[- . . .]]

Lines 46–81 contain very few traces and were therefore not copied.

Column ii

1. *nu wa-aš-ta-nu-e-ir na-an ḫar-na-a-i ú[?][-wa-te-ir[?]]*
 2. *nu DUMU.SAL ku-iš mi-ya-ri nu e-ku²-zi a-pí-e[-ya]*
 3. *SAG.DU-az pa-a-i pa-a-i-ma-at ku-e-da-ni* [pí-di]
 4. *na-at-za a-ri-ya-še-eš-šar i-ya-mi nu ma-a-an*
 5. ^Eši-*nap-ši DÜ-mi na-aš ma-a-an a-pí-ya* SI×SÁ-ri
 6. *ma-a-na-aš I-NA* ^{URU}Qa-ti-*ya-ma* SI×SÁ-ri
 7. *na-an I-NA* ^{URU}Qa-ti-*ya pa-a-i* “
 8. *UM-MA* ^dUTU^{ŠI}-*MA ku-u-un-ma ku-in* INIM [?]Ḫi-li-eš-du [*me-mi-ir[?]*]
 9. *nu-wa AMA-ŠU ku-wa-pí ar-ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-za e-eš-ta nu-za ḫa-aš-ta[?]*
 10. *DUMU.SAL-ya-wa-kán SAG.DU-an za-az-zi-ta-az ša-an-ḫa-an-[zi]*
 11. ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*pu-ra-ap-ši-iš da-pí-an-te-eš an-da a-ra-an-zi*
 12. *ta-pár-ri-ya-u-e-ni* EGIR-*an-da-an ḫa-an-da-an-zi*
 13. *A-BU-YA-ya-za ku-it* DUMU.SAL-ZU A-NA ^dU E[N[?]]-YA
SAL tap-ri-ya¹-a[n[?]]
 14. *ti-ya-an ḫar-ta nam-ma me-mi-[y]a-na-a[n-n]a a-pí-ya-pát* [?]la-[- . . .]
 15. *ku-iš me-ma-a-i A-NA* ^dU-*wa-ra-aš* [?]Da-ni-ti-iš *e-eš-ta*
 16. *ku-iš-ma-wa me-ma-i A-NA* ^dLUGAL-*ma-wa-ra-aš* [?]Da-ni-ti-iš *e-eš-[ta]*
 17. *nam-ma A-BU-YA-mu I-NA* KUR ^{URU}Ḫur-ri *an-na-al-la-aš* UK[?] ^{MEŠ}-*aš*
 18. EGIR-*pa pu-nu-uš-šu-wa-an-zi u-i-ya-at nu me-mi-an a-pu-u-uš-š[a]*
 19. [?]UL BAD-nir^d *nu ku-it A-BU-YA* BA.ÚŠ INIM DUMU.SAL
SAL ^{GIŠ}*tap-ri-ya-aš-m[a]*
 20. *a[r-ḫ]a ki-it-ta-ri kat-ta-ma-aš* [?]UL *ku-it-ki*
 21. *šal-[l]a-kar-ta-aš[?] me-mi-ni a-ri a-pí-e-da-ni me-mi-ni A-NA* INIM
[SAL ^{GIŠ}*tap-ri-ya-aš]*
 22. *š[i[?]]-iš-ki-mi x-x-x-wa-ra-x ku-wa-at-qa a-ši* INIM SAL
^{GIŠ}*tap-ri-[-ya-aš . . .]*
 23. *n[u]-kán* INIM DINGIR^{LIM} *ku-wa-at-qa ku-it-ki za-aḫ-mi*
 24. *nu-za-kán a-pí-e-da-ni* INIM-ni *še-ir na-aḫ-ša-ri-ya-an-za*

25. *nu-mu ma-a-an* ^dU EN-YA ZALÁG.GA-ni-*ši na-at-mu x-x me-ma-at-t[i]*
 26. *a-ri-ya-še-eš-na-za-ma-at-za* [?]UL *a-r[i-y]a-mi nu a-pí-e-da-ni-ya*
 27. A-NA ^dU [?]Da-ni-ti-in *te-eḫ-ḫi*
 28. *ma-a-na-an-za-kán* ^mA-la-li-mi-iš *ku-wa-pí x-x-x-x-wa* [- . . .]
 29. ^mx-*uk-kar-x-an-na[?] A-NA* ^dU 1 GUD.ÁB 2 U[DU[?]] *a-wa²-an*
[ar-ḫa da-a-ir²]
 30. *nam[?]-ma-wa-kán A-NA* ^DUTU AN^E BAL-*an-za-kir nu* ^dUTU^{ŠI}
 31. *ki-e 1-aš A-NA* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *pí-eš-ta nu-z[a-k]án* ^dUTU^{ŠI} A/-NA . . .]
 32. *ma-a-an-wa-mu-za-kán* ^dU *ud-ma-ra-al[?][- . . . -i]š aš-š[u- . . .]*
 33. [?]UL-*lu-wa-m[u-ká]n[?] a-wa-an ar-ḫa ti-it-ta-nu-š[i]*
 34. *nu-kán A-NA* ^dU MU.KAM-*aš me-ya-na-aš x[- . . .]*
 35. *x x [. . .]*
 36. *ma-a-an-wa-mu* ^dU EN-YA [?]UL-*lu a-wa-an* [*ar-ḫa ti-it-ta-nu-ši*]
 37. *nu-kán A-NA* ^dU EN-YA *a-aš-šu-u[l . . .]*
 38. *ma-a-an* ^dU EN-YA [?]UL-*lu* [- . . .]
 39. *m[a]-a-an-za a-pát-ta na-aš-ma* [- . . .]
 40. *ki-nu-wa-kán* [?]la-at-t[a²- . . .]
 41. A-NA DUMU.NAM.LÚ.UL[?] ^{LU}[- . . .]
 42. [- . . .]-*x-x[- . . .]*

Only a few traces preserved on rev. iii and iv.

Notes:

- a. Or [GÌ]R-*ir[?]*.
 b. Cf. KBo 24.64:7 with dupl. KBo 24.65:3.
 c. For this emendation see CHD P, 132.
 d. “Leave, go away.”
 e. Reading uncertain. Emend to SAL ^{GIŠ}*tapriyaš[?]*

Translation

Column i

Lines 1–8 are too fragmentary for translation.

9. [If] you cast aw[ay the evil from me],
 10. [I’ll exalt you[?] and] I’ll make [many offerings[?]] for you[r] festival.
 11. [If] you inspire [me with your power[?]] and
 12. [take] these e[vil things from me], I’ll celebrate for you a festival of
 power-inspiring.
 13. If you take me [from the d]ark [earth,^a and] illuminate [m]e,
 14. [and gr]ant [me long years[?]], I’ll celebrate for you a festival of
 illumination.

15. If you conduct me to the right way (and) put me on the favorable wa[y],
16. I'll celebrate for you a festival of the (favorable) way.

17. If you, O Storm God, my Lord,
18. crush^b by means of (your) [ha]nd[?] (all of) the evil which [a]s a human being[?] I might possess, I'll celebrate for you immediately that festival (i.e., its equivalent festival).

19. O Storm God, my Lord, because I have been seeking your protection—
and if you, O Storm God, my Lord, keep me alive—
20. I'll celebrate for you a festival of protection.

21. If you, O Storm God, my Lord, purify me from pernicious troubles, I'll
celebrate for you a pure festival.

22. If you, O Storm God, my Lord, loose my se[rious[?]] evil, . . .
23. and if you remove all of these pernicious troubles from me,
24. I'll institute for [yo]u that festival (i.e., its equivalent festival).
What[ever]
25. I have re[moved ther]e from (your) estate, I'll take it from there and put
it [back] (in your temple).

26. Storm God, my [Lor]d, if you deliver^{??c} to me [the enemy from
the . . . land] who escaped over (to) the . . . river,
27. I'll celebrate [for you] a festival.

28. Like a bird I to[ok] refuge in the [cag]e of [my] deity. If you,
29. O Storm God, my Lord, keep me alive (and) favor[?] (me), . . . I'll con-
struct a new temple
30. . . . I'll institute a festival [of . . .]

31. If you, O Storm God, my Lord, act as [a divine guid]e for me in these
matters,
32. I'll celebrate for you a festival of divine guidance.

33. If you, O Storm God, my Lord, [help[?]] me in regard to those lo[ng]
tablets,
34. concerning whatsoever matters [they may report, I'll make] a prayer to
the Storm God, my Lord. [If]
35. I shall experience salvation, and all of the gods shall command (me)
36. (and) [not refu]se^{??} the matter of my salvation, [and] if you
37. remove me from all kinds of evil, they will dedicate^{??d} to you, O Storm
God,
38. a [fest]ival of summoning.

Lines 39–45 are too fragmentary for translation.

Column ii^c

1. And they have committed a sin (or crime). (Thus) they b[rought] her on a
birth-stool.
2. And the female child who is born will like to drink[?] (i.e., suckle[?]).
3. She (the mother) will supply he[r] personally^f (with nourishment). But in
which [place[?]] she has to give it (i.e., nourishment)—
4. I will make that (the object of) an oracular inquiry. And if
5. I personally should make (it, i.e., the oracular inquiry) in the *šinapši*-
house,^g (to find out) whether she will be instructed by oracle (to give
it) in that place, (I will accomplish that also).
6. If she is instructed by oracle (to give it) in the town of Qatiya,
7. then she will give it in Qatiya.
8. His Majesty proclaims as follows: "This (is) the information concerning
Hilešdu that [they have given]:
9. 'While her (i.e., the female child's) mother was (still) pregnant, and [then
gave birth to her[?]],
10. they purifi[ed]^h the head of the female child with a *zazzi(ia)*-fabric.ⁱ
11. All of the seers will be present,^j
12. (and) we will rule on (whether[?]) they must set her in order thereafter.'"

13. Although^k my father had installed his daughter as a *tapriya*-woman for
the Storm God, my [Lo]rd,
14. and further re[solved^{??}] there the matter concerned,
15. one person claims (thus): 'She, Daniti, belonged to the Storm God,'
16. while another claims: 'She, Daniti, belong[ed] to Šarruma.'
17. Thereupon my father [dispatched] me to the "venerable people" (i.e.,
elders, priests[?]) in the Hurrian country
18. (so that I might) explore (the precise nature of the matter). (But) they (i.e.,
the Hurrians) were
19. not able to leave (resolve[?]) the matter.^l Because my father (meanwhile)
died, the matter of the *tapriya*-woman
20. has been put aside. But (since) he (i.e., my father) never could
21. (successfully) approach the matter of the *kartaš*-woman,^m I will press^{??}
concerning that matter to the matter [of the *tapriya*-woman].
22. . . . ; somehow that matter of the *tapriya*-woman . . .
23. I will somehow contestⁿ the matter of the divinity.
24. (But) I am fearful on account of that matter.
25. If you, O Storm God, my Lord, enlighten me and tell it to me . . . ,
26. (then) I will not investigate it by means of an oracular inquiry and
27. I will restore Daniti to the Storm God.

Lines 28–42 are too fragmentary for translation.

Notes

- a. *taknaz da-* denotes a particular magical ritual; see M. Hutter, *Behexung*; G. Beckman, Review of Hutter, *Behexung*, *BiOr* 47 (1990): 160: "rescue from the jaws of death"; P. Taracha, "More About the Hittite *taknaz da* Rituals," *Hethitica* 10 (1990): 171–84; A. Ünal, Review of Hutter, *Behexung*, *AfO* 40–41 (1993–94): 123.
- b. For the uncertain meaning of *tarši-*, see the recent discussion by R. H. Beal, *THeth* 20, 188f.; and Th. P. J. van den Hout, "Träume einer hethitischen Königin: KUB LX 97 +² XXXI 71," *AoF* 21 (1994): 315f.
- c. *arḫa immeran* . . . is of unknown meaning; a similar word is attested in KBo 24.65:3 and dupl.
- d. I am unsure about both the reading and the meaning of *i[š]ḫamanzi*; I merely point out that in this context *išḫamai-* "to sing" can hardly be correct.
- e. Lines 1–16 are translated by G. Beckman, *StBoT* 29, 257; my translation and understanding of the text differ in some points from his.
- f. SAG.DU-*az pai-* is attested in the Prayer of Puduḫepa, KUB 21.27 ii 18.
- g. *šinapši-* is a sacred construction in most cases connected with birth. See J. Börker-Klähn, "Auf der Suche nach einer Nekropole: Hattuša," *SMEA* 35 (1995): 81, 84f., who suggests identifying the *šinapši-* with the curious square constructions within the courtyards of Temples I and V and at Yazılıkaya.
- h. The following four verbs are all present tense in form, but it is obvious from the context that they are used as *praesens historicum*.
- i. *zazzita-* is certainly related to ^{GAD/TUG}*zazzi-*, and less probably to ^{NINDA}*zazzita-*. For ^{GAD}*zazzi-* in KUB 22.70 obv. 57, see A. Ünal, *THeth* 6, 117. The word is further attested in KBo 5.116 obv. 9.
- j. The text reads: "enter."
- k. The text reads: "since."
- l. The exact meaning of BAD "to leave, go away" is not clear here.
- m. Reading and interpretation of *šallakartaš* is uncertain; see above the note to this line.
- n. The meaning of *zah-* "fight, strike, smite (a person), disrupt (a festival by means of struggle), hit one another" is not quite clear in this context.

Hittite ku-ku-uš-zi, KUB 10.99 i 29

CALVERT WATKINS

Los Angeles

It is a pleasure to offer these few pages and this verb to Harry Hoffner, who has done so much for Hittite studies. The form *ku-ku-uš-zi* has been known for a long time, and is cited widely in the secondary literature. Like *ku-ú-ku-uš-zi*¹ "he pounds malt [and] barm" (Puhvel) the verb has been universally taken as a miswriting for the common *ku-uš-ku-uš-zi* "pounds, crushes, squashes." So Friedrich, *HW*¹, 115, 120; Oettinger, *Stamm bildung*, 12; Tischler, *HEG*, 602, 619; Puhvel, *HED*, 312–13, and most recently Jörg Klinger in his edition and translation of the passage, *StBoT* 37, 247–48: *na-an ku-ku-uš-zi* "und er zerstö(ß)t es."

The verb *ku(a)šku(a)šzi* "squashes, pounds" is well attested, and not in question. But is it appropriate for KUB 10.99? Let us reexamine the passage, following Klinger, but with a little more context:

Column i

- LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL TUŠ-aš^d *Me-ez-zu-ul-[la]*
 16. *a-ku-wa-an-zi ḫu-up-pa-ri ši-pa-an-* [ti]
iš-qa-ru-ḫi-it an-da e-ep- -z[i]
 18. GIŠ^dINANNA TUR^{LÜ.MEŠ} *ḫal-li-ya-ri-eš* SİR^[U]
^{LÜ}ALAM.ZU⁹ *me-ma-* 'i'
 20. MUNUS^{pal} *wa-tal-la-aš pal-wa-iz-* z[i]

^{LÜ}SAG.IA 1 NINDA.GUR⁴.RA EM-ŠA *a-aš-ka- z[a]*
 22. *ú-da-a-i LUGAL-i pa-a-* 'i'
 LUGAL-uš *pár-ši-* y[a]
 24. ^{LÜ}ALAM.ZU⁹ A-NA NINDA.GUR⁴.RA 1-ŠU
me-ma-i ta-wa-li-ma 2-ŠU me-ma-a-i
 26. LUGAL *ú-e-il-la-la-i ú-e-el-la-* [i]
nu ú-e-il-la-i lu-ú-i
 28. [ki-iš(?)-]ša-an A-NA LUGAL GEŠTIN^{NINDA} *ḫar-za-zu-un-n[a . . .]*

[*pa-ra-a e-e*]p-zi na-an ku-ku-uš-zi

The King and Queen, seated, drink Mezzulla.

16. He libates in a *huppar*-vessel (and) takes (it) in with an *isqaruḥ*-vessel. (Music of) the small
18. Inanna-instrument. The *halliyaries* sing. The reciter (so Klinger, following Güterbock) speaks.
20. The (female) clapper claps.¹

The cupbearer brings a sour leavened

22. loaf from outside (and) gives (it) to the King. The King crumbles (it).
24. The reciter speaks once for the leavened bread and speaks twice for the *tawal*-drink,
26. "(May?) the king *wellalai wellai*, and [if Hittite], *wellai luwi*."
28. As [follows(?)] (an leg. [*nu-uš*]-*ša-an*?) he proffers to the king wine and *ḥarzazu*-pudding.² And he *kukušzi* it.

The passage is stereotypical of the Hattic cultic texts, notably (but hardly only) those edited by Klinger in the body of his work. Note in particular CTH 591 III.A (KUB 10.89) i 22'–26' (StBoT 37, 506–7), 4 II.B v 19'–24' (StBoT 37, 472), and II.C vi 1'–16' (StBoT 37, 478): LÜSAGI 1 NINDA³wageššar GAL / ŠA BA.BA.ZA āšgaz udai LUGAL-i / pāi LUGAL-uš paršiya ta=kkān wāki / GIŠ dINANNA GAL ŠĪR^{RU} LÜALAM.ZU₉ memai / LÜpalwattallaš palwaizzi. "The cupbearer brings a piece of barley mush bread from outside (and) gives (it) to the King. The King breaks (it) and he takes a bite of it. (Music of) the great Inanna-instrument. They sing. The reciter speaks. The (male) clapper claps." Note also CTH 591 III.C. (KUB 27.69) iii 3'–7':] x n=at ANA MUNUS. LUGAL / [parā] epzi / [nu=š]šan MUNUS.LUGAL / [AN]A NINDA⁴ḥarazūti / p[ū]rin dāi "and proffers (it) to the Queen. And the Queen puts her lips to the *ḥarzazu*-pudding."³ Finally, a very frequent ritual sequence (6x in Klinger's

1. The interpretation of this verb and noun is notoriously controversial. For discussion and a different view, see Hoffner and Güterbock, CHD, s.vv. I have preferred the older interpretation to saying "The p. p.'s," with Klinger.

2. To the literature on this word cited by Klinger, StBoT 37, 536 with notes, add Watkins in *Indogermanica et Italica. Festschrift für Helmut Rix* (Innsbruck, 1993), 471–77. Harry Hoffner, the honorand of this volume, in *AIHeth.*, 157–58, defined it as "a dish of soupy consistency whose base was fragmented breads but to which had been added bits of cheese, herbs, or vegetables." For simplicity I just called it "*ḥarzazu*-pudding." Pace Klinger et al. and with Carruba, RHA 81 (1967): 151–56, the noun is nom.-acc. sg. nt. *ḥarazun* / *ḥarzasūn*, stem *ḥarazūt-*.

3. Similarly Klinger: "[Und] die Königin legt an das *ḥarazuta*-Gebäck die Lippe."

text) is the proffering of food or drink to the King, followed by LUGAL-uš=kan QATAM dāi "The King lays his hand on it."

In view of these and other parallels it is clear that the appropriate royal response to the ritual proffering of food or drink is an equally ritual acceptance, expressed either by the laying on of hands, or by token consumption: taking a bite (*wāki*) or a sip (*pūrin dāi*, translated by Friedrich, HW¹ as "nippen"). A response like *kuškušzi* "pounds, crushes, squashes" would be inappropriate. Recall further that in our passage the singular, animate object (*n=an*) of the verb *kukušzi* is a liquid or soupy GEŠTIN NINDA⁴ḥarazunn[a "wine and *ḥarzazu*."⁴ One cannot squash a liquid. We must conclude that *ku-ku-uš-zi* cannot just be an error for *ku-(uš)-ku-uš-zi*. Contextually we expect rather a verb of ritual acceptance by token consumption: taking a bite, or a sip, or a taste.

Etymology is a notoriously unreliable guide to interpretation. But a reduplicated root athematic present in Hittite is far more likely to be an Indo-European inheritance than not. And when context suggests an interpretation which exactly matches an etymological conjecture, then the technique is a legitimate one.

The intervocalic stop in *kukušzi* is written singly and must be voiced -g-; the verb is reduplicated and must be read *k/gugus-zi*. Context suggests a meaning like "takes a taste." I suggest the root is that seen in de-gus-tation: IE **geus-*, zero-grade *gus-* "taste." The reduplication may be an independent Anatolian phenomenon, but it is at least noteworthy that Vedic shows a reduplicated root athematic stem *jujuṣ-* (3x RV family books: *jujuṣtana*, subj. *jujuṣan* [note vocalism]), which alone appears to make an Indo-Iranian equation, with Young Avestan (Pursišniha 43) *ā-zūzuš-te*. The view of these Indic and Iranian forms in H. Rix et al., *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (Wiesbaden, 1997) is in need of correction. Neither has to do with the reduplicated perfect, as the Hittite shows.

I submit that Hittite *n=an kukušzi* KUB 10.99 i 29, from the Hattic layer of Hittite cultic texts, is to be translated "and he tastes it, takes a taste of it," and that the verb *kukušzi* is to be added to the Hittite lexicon. It is an Indo-European inheritance, conceivably even in its stem formation. May it find a home in the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*!

4. Singular and animate agreeing with the head "wine," like *whiskey and soda, gin and tonic*.

König Silber und König Hidam

GERNOT WILHELM

Würzburg

Das hurritisch-hethitische Ritual KUB 27.38 (= *ChS* I/5 Nr. 87) ist insbesondere wegen der Nennung der altakkadischen Könige des öfteren behandelt worden. Zuletzt hat St. de Martino dem Text einen längeren Aufsatz gewidmet.¹ Obwohl der hurritische Wortlaut des Rituals weithin dunkel bleibt, ist doch ein Fortschritt gerade in der Passage mit der Nennung von Königen des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (Rs. iv 8–30) möglich. In dem Abschnitt Rs. iv 19–21, der dem mit der Nennung der altakkadischen Könige unmittelbar vorausgeht, heißt es:

19. [a-u u]š²-*hu-ne e-we_e-er-ne šar-ra uš-ta-e*
20. [x-r]a²-at(-)hur-ri³ a-u ^D*Hi-i-dam e-we_e-er-ne*
21. [w]u_u¹-ut-ti-la-a-e ^m*Ku-mar-we_e-ne-eš šar-ra*

Obwohl der in Z. 20 genannte *Hi-i-dam* anders als die Könige von Akkad (iv 22, 23, 24) und die Könige verschiedener Länder wie Aulaluma von Elam (iv 9, 11), Immašku von Lullue (iv 13) und Kiglib-adalli von Tukriš (iv 14) mit dem Gottesdeterminativ, nicht wie diese mit dem Personenkeil geschrieben ist, wird er nach dem Vorgang von A. Kammenhuber bis heute meist mit dem König Hita von Awan identifiziert.⁴ St. de Martino hat zwar bemerkt, daß die Verbindung eines Königs von Awan mit dem hurritischen Gott Kumarbi "seltsam" ist, hat das Problem aber dadurch zu lösen versucht, daß er hinter dem Namen "Kumarbi" den Gott Enlil vermutete. De Martino bietet die folgende

1. St. de Martino, "KUB XXVII 38: Ein Beispiel kultureller und linguistischer Überlagerung in einem Text aus dem Archiv von Boğazköy," *SMEA* 31 (1993): 121–34.

2. Der Abstand zwischen dem Rand und dem Zeichen UŠ ist geringer als in den Zeilen 8, 13 und 22, wo jeweils a-u ^m . . . zu lesen bzw. zu ergänzen ist. Zur Begründung der Umschrift ohne jedes Determinativ s. unten.

3. Zu der Ergänzung *hur]ad Hurri* s. St. de Martino, *SMEA* 31 (1993): 129 n. 63.

4. "Historisch-geographische Nachrichten aus der althurritischen Überlieferung . . .," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22/1–4 (1974): 167; *THeth* 7, 89 f.; V. Haas, "Hidam," *RIA* 4 (1972–75): 391, *GHR*, 334; St. de Martino, loc. cit.

Übersetzung: "Hida, König; Kumarbi schuf dich zum König," spricht aber gegenüber dieser Interpretation selbst einen Vorbehalt aus (Anm. 64). Das auslautende *-m* deutet er als Pronomen der 2. Ps. Sg. Daß hier eines der Königsfigürchen—auf solche darf der hurritische Wortlaut insbesondere auch in Rücksicht auf Kol. i⁵ wohl bezogen werden—direkt angesprochen wird, hat in der ganzen iv. Kolumne keine Parallele, vielmehr steht durchgehend das Pronomen der 3. Ps. sg. *-n* (8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 22, 24). De Martinos Einwand gegen seine eigene Deutung, die von ihm angenommene Verbalwurzel sei nur mit einfachem Konsonanten (*pud-*) geschrieben, kann aber mit Hinweis auf KUB 47.78 Vs. i 12' entkräftet werden. Dort heißt es:

12'. *at-ta-^ri¹-wu₆-um-ma^DA-ni-eš² wu₆-ú-ud-du-ša*

13'. *... né-ra-wu₆-ú-um-ma*

14'. *^DKu-mar-we₆-né-eš² ú-nu-u-up*

Analytische Umschrift:

attai=v=u=mma Ane=š² fult=ož=a ... nera=v=u=mma Kumarve=ne=š² un=ō=b⁶

Diese Stelle haben bereits H. J. Thiel und I. Wegner⁷ richtig interpretiert; sie ist zu übersetzen: "Dein Vater Ani hat dich gezeugt ... Deine Mutter Kumarbi hat dich zur Welt gebracht." Die Passage nimmt damit auf die im Lied vom "Königtum im Himmel" geschilderten Umstände der Zeugung Teššobs bezug, womit auch die Bedeutung von *p/fult-* "zeugen" gesichert ist. Ob dabei der zweite Dental nach dem Muster von *tan-* vs. *tan=d-* "machen" abzutrennen und die Wurzel, wie allgemein angenommen, mit *pud-* z.B. in dem PN Puduḫeba identisch ist, braucht hier nicht erörtert zu werden. Die Verbalform ist,

5. Kol. i enthält Vorschriften zur Herstellung von Wollfigürchen, die als *šarre-na* "(göttliche) Könige" bezeichnet werden (Vs. i 18–23); s. dazu St. de Martino, *SMEA* 31 (1993): 122–25 mit Lit. Die Zeile Vs. i 4' läßt sich inzwischen deuten: Nach der Erkenntnis von N. Na'aman, *OA* 19 (1980): 109 (s. auch M. Dietrich / W. Mayer, *UF* 28 (1996 [= 1998]): 184–87) kann aus der Alternanz der Schreibungen eines Personennamen aus Alalah (*'A-kap-gi-a-še* // *'A-kap-a.ab.ba* AT 91:17, 24; id.: 5, 14) *kiyaže* als "Meer" bestimmt werden, womit sich übrigens auch eine einleitende Zeile des Mythos vom Meergott KUB 45.63 erschließt: *ši-i-ra-a-ti-le ki-i-ia-ši* "ich will das Meer besingen(?)" KUB 45.63 i 3. KUB 27.38 i 4' ist also zu übersetzen: "[das x] der (göttlichen) Könige des Meer(gott)es." Daß die *šarrena* in anderem Kontext als "königliche Ahnen"(?) zu verstehen sind, scheint aus Belegen der Nuzi-Urkunden hervorzugehen, wo sie neben König und Kronprinz Zerealien und Bier, also doch wohl Opfer, erhalten (z.B. HSS 14.78: *'a¹-[n]a lugal a-na ši-na-hi-la ... ū a-na 'šar¹-ri-na-aš-wa* (Dativ pl.: *šarri-n(a)=aš²-fa*); s. auch dingir.meš *šarre-na* CAD Š/II, 76a und siehe dazu A. Draffkorn Kilmer, "Ilāni/Elohim," *JBL* 76 (1957): 216–24, sowie—insbesondere auch zu neuassyrisch *sarrānu*, pl. *sarrānāte*—B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel*, Bd. II (Rom, 1981), 55*f., Anm. 685. [s. jetzt auch 4thHitt. Cong., 598–609]

6. Das auf *un=ō=b* folgende Wort ist Ḫalba ... Für *-b* (> /p/) vor /h/ statt des bei einer transitiv-ergativischen Form auf *-o-* zu erwartenden *-m* cf. G. Wilhelm, "Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš," *BM* 26, 130f.

7. "Eine Anrufung an den Gott Teššup von Ḫalab in hurritischer Sprache," *SMEA* 24 (1984): 187–213, s. Übersetzung S. 205.

wie de Martino⁸ richtig gesehen hat, mit den erstmals von E. Neu⁹ beschriebenen Formen der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue auf *-ilae* zu verbinden. Die wenigen Beispiele begegnen überwiegend in ähnlicher Konstruktion, z.B. *amūmin(n)ē=va mānni ēvre=š² nahḫi=i=l=āi* "er ist (einer, den) sein Herr zum Verwalter eingesetzt hat" KBo 32.14 iv 14f.

Der den Namen *^DHi-i-dam* enthaltende Satz ist daher zu übersetzen: "Siehe(?), (da ist) der König Hida, (einer, den) Kumarbi als Götterkönig¹⁰ gezeugt hat." In demselben Abschnitt wird Z. 60 Ušḫune als König genannt, der gleichfalls "als (Götter)könig" charakterisiert wird. *ušḫune* ist bekanntlich das hurritische Silberwort (mit Variante *ižuḡni*). "Silber," stets ohne Determinativ und logographisch KÜ.BABBAR- geschrieben, ist aber in einem hethitischsprachig abgefaßten Mythos, dessen Wiedergewinnung dem Jubilar zu verdanken ist,¹¹ auch der Name eines Sohnes des Kumarbi, den dieser ebenso wie das Schlangengeheuer Hedammu und den Felsunhold Ullikummi gezeugt hat, um mit seiner Hilfe das Königtum im Himmel zurückzuerlangen. Die "Könige" Ušḫune "Silber" und der von Kumarbi gezeugte Hida lassen es geraten erscheinen, auf die Identifikation mit Hita von Awan zu verzichten, stattdessen zu einer frühen Deutung von E. Laroche¹² zurückzukehren (die sich freilich noch nicht auf ein genaueres Verständnis des Kontextes stützen konnte) und in Hida eine frühe konsonantstämmige Variante des Namens Hedammu anzuerkennen. In dieser Weise hat auch P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate den Text bereits 1992 in einer kurzen Bemerkung, die auf die "elamische" Interpretation nicht eingeht, verstanden.¹³

8. "Anrufung," 129 n. 64.

9. "Hurritische Verbalformen auf *-ai* aus der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue," in *Studia indogermanica et slavica. Festgabe für Werner Thomas zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Kosta (München 1988), 508–11; s. auch *StBoT* 32, 108f. [Der dort (mit Beleg Anm. 26) eingeführten Kategorie einer infiniten Verbalform auf *-nai* bedarf es nicht; bei dem dafür als Beleg beigebrachten *[ši]-i-na-a-i* KBo 32.4 i 35 handelt es sich um den Instrumental sg. von *šini* "Auge"; s. dazu G. Wilhelm, "hurr. *šinussi* 'Scheuklappe'?" *SCCNH* 9 (1998): 174f. und M. Giorgieri, *SCCNH* 9 (1998): 238f. n. 60]

10. *šarri* bezieht sich im Hurritischen normalerweise auf den Götterkönig; s. D. O. Edzard, *RIA* 4 (1972–75): 338b. Der vorliegende Text bietet mit iv 11 eine Ausnahme. Gleichwohl empfiehlt es sich nicht, mit *ChS* I/5, S. 389 auch in Z. 22, 24, 26, 28 jeweils *[šar-ra]* zu ergänzen (22–24: "Siehe(?), (da ist) der König Mannamištu [= Mannišusu], der ältere ["große"] Sohn des Sargon; siehe(?), (da ist) Šarkapšarri [= Šarkališarri], einer, der sein Land einem anderen gegeben hat"). Die Anwesenheit des enklitischen Pronomens der 3. Ps. Sg. *-n* in den meisten mit *au* eingeleiteten Sätzen stützt die Interpretation als Nominalsatz.

11. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "The Song of Silver—A Member of the Kumarbi Cycle of 'Songs,'" *FsOttens*², 143–66.

12. E. Laroche, "Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites," *RHA* VII/46 (1946–47): 49; s. auch M. Salvini, "Sui testi mitologici in lingua hurrica," *SMEA* 18 (1977): 90.

13. Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "The Hittite Storm-God: His Role and His Rule According to Hittite Sources," *Natural Phenomena*, 110f.

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