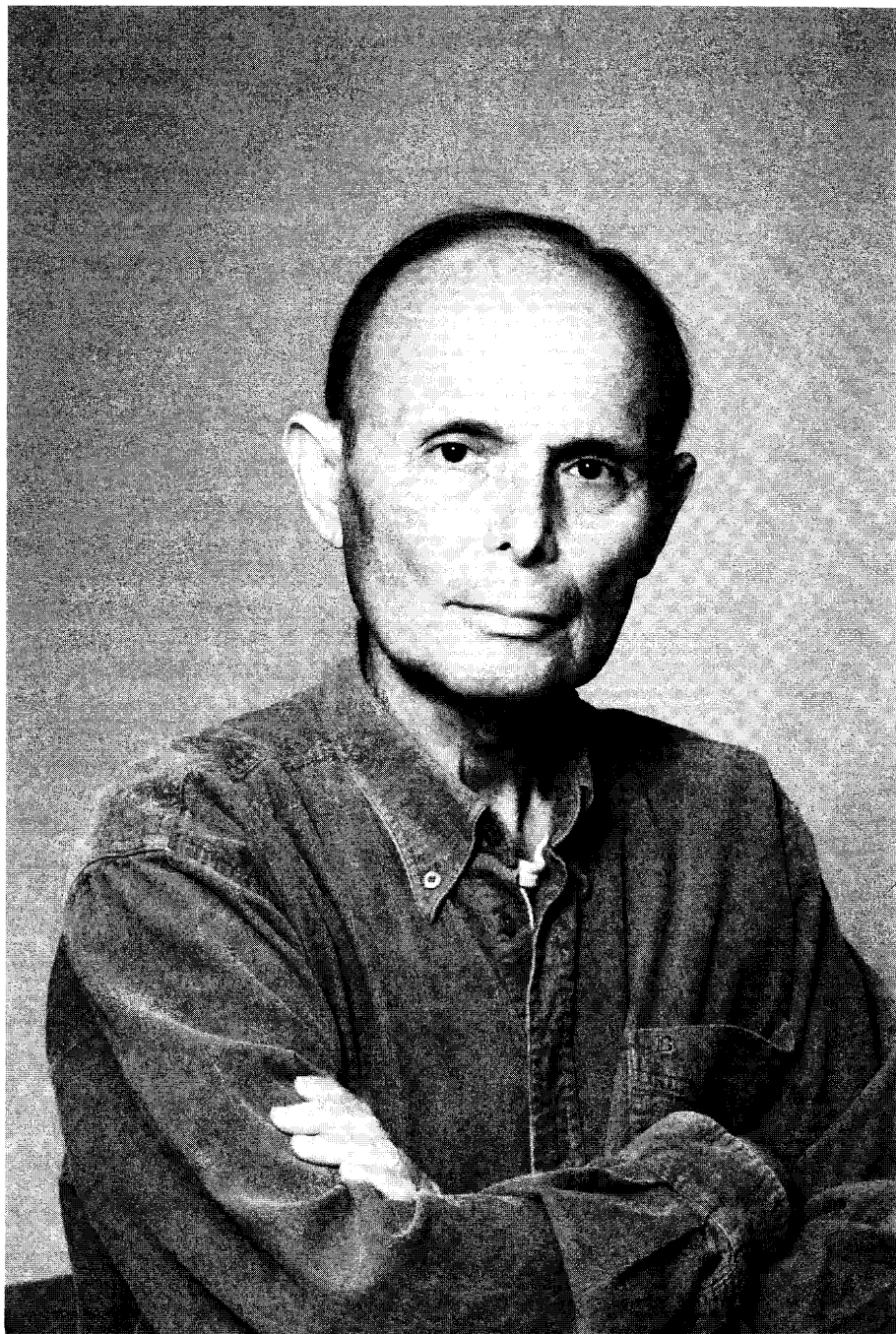


PAX HETHITICA
STUDIES ON THE HITTITES AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS
IN HONOUR OF ITAMAR SINGER



Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

Herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Alten Orient
der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz
Band 51

Pax Hethitica

Studies on the Hittites and their Neighbours
in Honour of Itamar Singer

Edited by
Yoram Cohen, Amir Gilan,
and Jared L. Miller

2010

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet
über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the internet
at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our
website <http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

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Printed on permanent/durable paper.
Printing and binding: Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Printed in Germany
ISSN 0585-5853
ISBN 978-3-447-06119-3

Contents

List of Abbreviations.....	ix
Introduction.....	1
Bibliography of Itamar Singer.....	5
How Many Treaty Traditions Existed in the Ancient Near East? <i>Amnon Altman</i>	17
When Did the Hittites Begin to Write in Hittite? <i>Alfonso Archi</i>	37
The Hittite Deal with the Hiyawa-Men <i>Trevor Bryce</i>	47
Hittite Religion and the West <i>Billie Jean Collins</i>	54
‘Servant of the king, son of Ugarit, and servant of the servant of the king’: RS 17.238 and the Hittites <i>Lorenzo d’Alfonso</i>	67
Symbols of Power in the Late Hittite Kingdom <i>Stefano de Martino</i>	87
Ein neues hethitisches Hieroglyphensiegel aus Westanatolien in der Perk-Sammlung <i>Ali Dinçol & Belkis Dinçol</i>	99
A Levantine Tradition: The Kizzuwatnean Blood Rite and the Biblical Sin Offering <i>Yitzhaq Feder</i>	101
An Attempt at Reconstructing the Branches of the Hittite Royal Family of the Early Kingdom Period <i>Massimo Forlanini</i>	115
Kingship in Hatti during the 13th Century: Forms of Rule and Struggles for Power before the Fall of the Empire <i>Mauro Giorgieri & Clelia Mora</i>	136

<i>Scriptoria</i> in Late Empire Period Hattusa: The Case of the É GIŠ.KIN.TI <i>Shai Gordin</i>	158
Ein jatro-magisches Ritual gegen einen Fluchzwang <i>Volkert Haas</i>	178
A Unique Hieroglyphic Luwian Document <i>John David Hawkins</i>	183
Zur Datierungsgeschichte des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ und zur problematischen Rolle des Fragments KBo 16.35 als Datierungshilfe <i>Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer</i>	191
The Institutional ‘Poverty’ of Hurrian Diviners and <i>entanni</i> -Women <i>Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.</i>	214
Hittite <i>talliye/a-</i> ‘to draw, allure’ <i>H. Craig Melchert</i>	226
Seevölker und Etrusker <i>Norbert Oettinger</i>	233
‘ <i>Amore, more, ore, re...</i> ’: Sexual Terminology and Hittite Law <i>Ilan Peled</i>	247
Connections between KILAM and the Tetešhapi Festival: The Expressions <i>halukan tarnanzi</i> and <i>heun tarnanzi</i> <i>Franca Pecchioli Daddi</i>	261
Nuovi sigilli in luvio geroglifico VII (Per il valore di <i>á</i> in alcune occorrenze) <i>Massimo Poetto</i>	271
The God Bunene <i>Anna Maria Polvani</i>	278
Hethiter und Ahhijawa: Feinde? <i>Maciej Popko</i>	284
P ^a -Hurru, Commissioner of ōpa (Including a New Edition of EA 131) <i>Anson F. Rainey</i>	290
Das Zeichen < <i>tá</i> > im Hieroglyphen-Luwischen <i>Elisabeth Rieken</i>	301

Empowering the Patient: The Opening Section of the Ritual <i>Maqlû</i> <i>Daniel Schwemer</i>	311
Philological Contributions to Hattian–Hittite Religion (II): 3. On the Origin and the Name of the <i>hazkarai</i> -women <i>Oğuz Soysal</i>	340
Local Cults in the Zuliya Basin <i>Piotr Taracha</i>	351
Some Remarks on a Passage of the Apology of Hattusili III <i>Irene Tatišvili</i>	356
A ‘New’ Prayer from the ‘House on the Slope’ <i>Giulia Torri</i>	362
A Note on Hittite Envelopes and HKM 86 <i>Theo van den Hout & Cem Karasu</i>	372
Patahuli – Die Tochter des Priesters? <i>Gernot Wilhelm</i>	378
The West Semitic God El in Anatolian Hieroglyphic Transmission <i>Ilya Yakubovich</i>	385
On Birds and Dragons: A Note on the Sea Peoples and Mycenaean Ships <i>Assaf Yasur-Landau</i>	399
Anatolians in Neo-Assyrian Documents <i>Ran Zadok</i>	411

List of Abbreviations

A	Tablets in the collections of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
AbhDOG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ABL	Harper, R. F. 1892–1914. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press
ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri / Boğazköy-Tafeln im Archäologischen Museum zu Ankara. Istanbul 1948
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AHw	von Soden, W. 1959–1981. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
ALASPM	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies (formerly Abr-nahrain)
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
AOAT	Alter Orient und Alter Testament
AÖAW	Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
AOS	American Oriental Series
AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla, Testi
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari, Textes
ArOr	Archiv Orientální
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica
Ass.	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Assur
AT	Wiseman, D. J. 1953. <i>The Alalakh Tablets</i> (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 2). Liverpool
ATT	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Tel Açana (Alalakh)
AuOr	Aula Orientalis
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BAM	Köcher, F. 1963–. <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i> . Berlin
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BASS	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft
BATSH	Berichte der Ausgrabung Tell Šēḥ Ḥamad

BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, École Française d'Athènes
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BM	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
BMECCJ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan
BNF NF	Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Neue Folge
Bo	Inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets excavated 1906–1912
BoHa	Boğazköy-Hattuša, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. Berlin
Bog. V	Bittel K., Güterbock H.G., Neumann G., Neve P., Otten H., Seidl U. 1975. <i>Boğazköy V. Funde aus den Grabungen 1970 und 1971</i> (AbhDOG 18) Berlin: G. Mann
BSA	Annual of the British School of Athens
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CCT	Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum. London
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHD	The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CHLI	Hawkins, J. D. 2000. <i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions</i> (Studies in Indo-European Language and Culture. New Series 8, 1–2). Berlin: de Gruyter
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CRRAI	Compte rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTH	Laroche, E. 1966. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
DdA	Dialoghi di Archeologia
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
EA	Knudtson, J. A. 1915. <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln</i> . Leipzig
Emar VI	Arnaud, D. 1985–1987. <i>Recherches au pays d'Aštata: Emar VI: Les textes sumériens et accadiens</i> . Paris: ERC
ETBLM	Westenholz, J. G. 2000. <i>Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem: The Emar Tablets</i> . Groningen: Styx
FAOS	Freiburger altorientalische Studien
FGrH	Jacoby, F. 1957. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden: Brill
GAG ³	von Soden, W. 1995. <i>Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik</i> . 3 rd edition (Analecta Orientalia 33). Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
GrHL	Hoffner, H. A. & Melchert, H. C. 2008. <i>A Grammar of the Hittite Language</i> . Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns
HANE	History of the Ancient Near East

HANES	History of the Ancient Near East Studies
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HDT ²	Beckman, G. M. 1999. <i>Hittite Diplomatic Texts</i> . 2 nd edition (WAW 7). Atlanta: Scholars Press
HED	Puhvel, J. 1984–. <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Berlin – New York: Mouton
HEG	Tischler, J. & Neumann, G. 1983–. <i>Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar</i> . Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck
HKM	Alp, S. 1991. <i>Maşat-Höyük'te Bulunan çivi yazılı Hitit Tabletleri / Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük</i> . Ankara: TTK
HS	Historische Sprachforschung = Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung ("Kuhns Zeitschrift")
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HT	King, L. 1920. <i>Hittite Texts in Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum</i> . London. Oxford University Press
HW	Friedrich, J. 1952–1954. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . Heidelberg: C. Winter
HW ²	Friedrich, J. & Kammenhuber, A. 1975–. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . 2 nd edition. Heidelberg: C. Winter
HZL	Rüster, C. & Neu, E. 1989. <i>Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten</i> (StBoT Beiheft 2). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
IBoT	İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JAC	Journal of Ancient Civilizations
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JIES	Journal of Indo-European Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
K	Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum
KAR	Ebeling, E. 1919–1923. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts I/II</i> (WVDOG 28; 34). Leipzig: C. Hinrichs
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
Ki	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
KlF	Sommer, F. & Ehelolf, H. eds. 1927–1930. <i>Kleinasiatische Forschungen</i>

Konkordanz	Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln (on-line), Silvan Košak (http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/)
Kt	Inventory numbers of Kültepe texts
KTU	Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. & Sanmartín, J. 1976. <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> (AOAT 24). Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
KuT	Inventory numbers of Kuşaklı texts
L	Laroche, E. 1960. <i>Les hiéroglyphes hittites</i> . Paris.
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LKA	Ebeling, L. 1953. <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur</i> . Berlin
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
Mst	Inventory numbers of Maşat Texts
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
N	Tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
ND	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud
O	Tablets in the collections of the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Or	Orientalia
Or.	Inventory numbers of Ortaköy texts
OrAn	Oriens Antiquus
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
PAT	Hillers, D.R. & Cussini, E. 1995. <i>Palmyrene Aramaic Texts</i> . Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press
PdP	La parola del passato. Rivista di studi antichi
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PNA	Radner, K. & Baker, H.D. 1998—. <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press
PRU	Le Palais royal d'Ugarit (Mission de Ras Shamra). Paris
PSD	The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes

RHA	Revue hittite et asianique
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RIDA	Revue internationale du droit de l'antiquité
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian periods
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
RS	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Ras Shamra
RSO	Ras Shamra–Ougarit
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBo	Güterbock, H. G. 1940, 1942. <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy</i> . (AfO Beiheft 5, 7). Berlin
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians
SEL	Studi epigrafici e linguistici
Sm	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici
SpTU	Hunger, H. 1976–1988. <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk</i> (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 9, 10, 12). Berlin: G. Mann
StAT	Studien zu den Assur-Texten
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
StMed	Studia Mediterranea
StOr	Studia Orientalia
STT	Gurney, O. R. & Finkelstein, J. J. 1957–1964. <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i> (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 3, 7). London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara
T	Tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin
Ta	Tarquiniia find numbers (in Rix, E. & Meiser, G. eds. 1991. <i>Etruskische Texte. Editio Minor</i> . Tübingen: Narr)
TA	Tel Aviv. Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University
Th	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum
TLE	Pallottino, M. 1968. <i>Testimonia Linguae Etruscae</i> (2 nd ed.), Firenze: Nuova Italia
TPAK	Michel, C. & Garelli, P. 1991. <i>Tablettes paléo-assyriennes de Kültepe, 1 (Kt 90/k)</i> . Paris
TSBR	Arnaud, D. 1991. <i>Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze Récent</i> (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 1)
TTKY	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları
TÜBA-AR	Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi / Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Archaeology

TuM	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
VAT	Tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin
VBoT	Götte, A. 1930. <i>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte</i> . Marburg a.d. Lahn: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZABR	Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZVS	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen

Introduction

Itamar Singer was born on the 26th of November 1946 in Dej, Rumania. His parents, both Holocaust survivors, met in Rumania after the War. His mother Gertrude came from a German-speaking family from Tchernovitz, Bukowina, his father Zoltán from a Hungarian-speaking family from Dej, Transylvania. Itamar’s upbringing in this multilingual Austro-Hungarian milieu (studying in a Rumanian school but speaking Hungarian at home) surely played a role in his knack for acquiring new languages, both ancient and modern. His penchant for history he inherited from his father, who had written a scholarly work on the history of the Jewish community of Dej and its district. When Itamar was five the family moved to Cluj/Kolozsvár, the capital of Transylvania. His father, a community leader, was repeatedly imprisoned by the communist regime for his Zionist activities, until emigration visas, after years of denial, were finally granted in 1958.

The family then embarked on their exodus to Israel with a train journey from Bucharest to Napoli. While awaiting a ship to take them to their new home, Itamar’s mother took him to see the ruins of Pompeii, a visit which left an indelible impression upon him. Upon their arrival in Israel, the family settled down in Holon, a city recently founded upon sand dunes not far from Tel Aviv in order to accommodate the influx of immigrants. There Itamar attended primary and secondary school, and this is where he has made his home ever since. During one summer vacation from high school Itamar participated as a volunteer in the Arad excavations conducted by Yohanan Aharoni, his first exciting experience in field archaeology.

From 1965 to 1968 Itamar studied at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, obtaining his B.A. in the departments of Archaeology and Geography. During these and the following years he participated in excavations at Megiddo, Beersheva, Tel Malhata, Tel Masos and Hanita. From 1969 to 1973 he fulfilled his military duty as an officer in the Air Force, serving as an aerial-photograph interpreter. Simultaneously, he completed his M.A. studies at Tel Aviv University in the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures. His M.A. thesis ‘Geographical Aspects of the Proto-Hattian Problem’ (1973), written under the supervision of Aharon Kempinski, anticipated his future research into the ties between history, geography and theology.

From 1973 to 1975 Itamar continued his Hittite studies with Heinrich Otten in Marburg, supported by a Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst stipend. His initial goal was to conduct a historical and geographical study of the distribution system of the Hittite ‘cult administrators’ (AGRIG). However, it soon became evident that such an endeavour required an in-depth study of the ‘Gate-house (KI.LAM) Festival’, which contains most of the relevant passages. His resulting dissertation, ‘The KI.LAM Festival’, completed in 1978, was published in the same series in which the present volume has appeared, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (1983–1984). It was the first complete edition of a major Hittite festival, and it quickly became a highly influential study of Hittite religion.

Upon returning to Israel, Itamar joined the staff of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures, where he became a full professor in 1996 and where he continued teaching until his early retirement in 2006. Between 1984 and 1995 he also taught in the Department of Jewish History, and periodically also at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Bar Ilan University in Ramat-Gan, Haifa University and Ben-Gurion University in Beersheva. Teaching concurrently at several university departments and other educational institutions enabled him to pursue parallel research paths, Hittitology, in the broadest sense of the word, on the one hand and the history and cultures of Canaan and the Sea Peoples on the other.

Itamar's primary interests in the historical domain lay in the international affairs of the 13th century BC, the Golden Age of what he has termed the *pax hethitica*. Many of his studies dealt with the diplomatic relations between Hatti and the other great powers as well as with the Hittite domination of Syria, and especially the kingdoms of Amurru and Ugarit. At the same time, his continued interest in Anatolian religions led to an edition and in-depth study of Muwatalli's Prayer (1996). His ground-breaking conclusion concerning the theological reasons for Muwatalli's transfer of the Hittite capital from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa induced further investigations of the political schism in the Hittite Empire, which played a major role in its decline and final disintegration. His interest in the prayer genre culminated in his English translations of the best-preserved Hittite Prayers in the *Writings from the Ancient World* series (2002).

His latest book to date, *Ha-hittim ve tarbutam* (The Hittites and their Culture; Jerusalem 2009), is the first full-length treatment of Hittite history and culture to appear in Hebrew. Its publication was the realization of a long-standing desire to present Hebrew readers with a more accessible route to a distant culture from long ago, one that nonetheless maintains much relevance for those interested in the history of Israel and the whole region in antiquity.

During his long tenure at Tel Aviv Itamar carried almost single-handedly the banner of Hittite studies in Israel, and his classes and seminars on Hittite language and culture were regularly attended by students from numerous universities. Though specializing in Hittite studies, he insisted on offering students the broadest possible initiation into the study of the Ancient Near East, assuring that their curriculum included courses on the history of writing and on ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean religions and mythologies. In so doing he was able to convey his conviction that the archaeology and history of the Ancient Near East, and with it that of ancient Israel, should be contextualized and appreciated along the widest possible spectrum. Itamar's commitment to his research and teaching was certainly contagious, and despite the relative obscurity and humble resources of the field, he supervised over the years a large number of MA and PhD theses. His belief in and personal concern for his students led him to involve many graduate and undergraduate students in his research projects.

Itamar travelled and contributed to many conferences and lectured during sabbatical leaves at various academic institutions in Germany, England, Italy, France, Turkey, the United States, Japan, Australia and Argentina. During one of these trips he met Graciela Noemi Gestoso, an Argentine Egyptologist, who he later married. They now live in Holon, together with their dog Shuppi and countless cats. Alongside his academic duties and interests, Itamar has been involved in various philanthropic and political activities, notably the Israeli Peace Movement.

In 2008 Itamar was forced into retirement by poor health. He very reluctantly gave up teaching and active supervision of students after more than 30 years at Tel Aviv University. Nonetheless, in recent years he has carried on with his research and, as his bibliography provided in this volume testifies, his output continues to grow with each passing year.

It is upon the occasion of Itamar's retirement that we present him with this honorary volume—a collection of studies from his long-standing friends and colleagues, some of which are former students. It is presented as a tribute to and in appreciation of his scholarly achievements as well as a sign of gratitude to a dedicated teacher and mentor. We hope that this volume will find his favour and reflect his interests and broad intellectual predilections. Collected in these pages are studies concerned with Hittite history and historiography—from the earliest formative periods of the Hittite Kingdom, through its apogee and fall to the survival of the Hittite dynasties of the Iron Age as well as the history and archaeology of the Sea Peoples and Philistines—touching on Hittite mythology, prayers, rituals, religious personnel and magic. All these topics have been a focus of Itamar's attention, and over the years, as one can see in his publications, he has returned to them again and again.

The name of this honorary volume, *Pax Hethitica*, acknowledges Itamar's significant contributions to the study of the long era of Hittite diplomacy and supremacy in the Ancient Near East in the 13th century. It also echoes his belief in and steadfast commitment to the investigation of what one might call the international spirit of the period. The receptiveness of Hittite society, especially in this age, with regard to the political ideologies and religious customs of neighbouring cultures, as well as the influence of Hittite culture on the surrounding areas, are key themes which permeate Itamar's scholarly output, be it in detailed studies or general overviews.

There are not many occasions upon which students are able to repay a former mentor for the time, attention and concern he has devoted to them over the years, not only during their studies but also long after having graduated and embarked on their professional careers. We, the editors, have therefore seen the task of organizing and editing this volume as a labour of love dedicated to our teacher, a man of integrity, honesty and loyalty. We extend Itamar our wishes for many fruitful years to come and eagerly await further publications.

In our efforts to complete the volume in a timely fashion, we have benefitted from the support of the following persons, who deserve our appreciation and acknowledgements. We are indebted to Gernot Wilhelm for his assistance throughout the process of editing the volume and for accepting the manuscript for publication in the prestigious series *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*, published by Harrassowitz Verlag. He felt, as we did, that it would be a fitting tribute to Itamar to have this volume published in the same venue in which his dissertation appeared almost 30 years ago. We also wish to thank Sivan Kedar and Shirley Bell for their assistance in compiling the bibliographies and the list of abbreviations, as well as Ofer Sheinberg for formatting the volume and providing us with a camera-ready manuscript. We are also grateful to Guido Kryszat and especially to Erika Fischer for their careful editing of the German manuscripts. Sincere thanks are due also to Reinhard Friedrich and Andrea Stolz of Harrassowitz Verlag, who oversaw the printing of the volume.

Yoram Cohen
Amir Gilan
Jared Miller

Tel Aviv and Munich, December 2009

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How Many Treaty Traditions Existed in the Ancient Near East?*

Amnon Altman (Ramat-Gan)

The purpose of this paper is to trace the development of and, where possible, to identify a lineage among the various treaty-making traditions in the Ancient Near East and to explore the differences in their legal conceptions. This attempt is, of course, not the first,¹ but since the corpus of available interstate agreements is steadily growing this question should be reconsidered from time to time.

This goal, however, is not as simple as it may seem. Rarely is an intact exemplar extant; in most cases, the available copies have lacunae of varied sizes, or their opening or concluding sections are missing. It is not always clear, therefore, if one is dealing with a treaty, an edict, a loyalty oath or some other kind of document. Further, not all documents classified as treaties can be further defined either as parity or subordination ('vassal') treaties, the two main categories of treaties in the Ancient Near East. This inability is due either to their lacunae or to a treaty tradition attested in the Old Babylonian period that required a parity treaty to be drafted in two parallel documents, each formulated as a unilateral undertaking. In this latter case, unless one has the parallel document of the other party, no definite conclusion can be reached. No less problematic is the uneven geographical and chronological distribution of the available documents. Available to date are two treaties from the 25th–23rd centuries (one from Elam, the other from northern Syria); 14 from the 19th–17th centuries (10 from northern Mesopotamia, three from Anatolia and one from northern Syria); almost 40 Hittite treaties as well as four from Syria from the 15th–13th centuries; and barely five quite damaged treaties from the 9th–7th centuries. Finally, also the available treaties that can with certainty be regarded as parity treaties present a problem. Whereas the majority of the extant treaties are subordination treaties of more or less one type, although of different traditions, the 17 available parity treaties,² in contrast,

* After having submitted this paper for publication I received the book of Witte et al. (2006), but it unfortunately reached me too late to be used here; see there articles by Beckman (279–301), d'Alfonso (303–329), Steymans (331–349), Radner (351–377) and Koch (379–406).

1 E.g., Korošec (1961; 1975) and McCarthy (1978: 29–153).

2 The known parity treaties are between: (1) the cities Šadlaš and Nērebtum (19th cent.) (Greengus 1979: no. 326); (2) Zimri-Lim of Mari and Hammurabi of Babylon (18th cent.) (Durand 1986); (3) Till-Abnū of Apum and the city of Aššur (18th cent.) (Eidem 1991); (4) Telipinu of Ḫatti and Išputaḫšu of Kizzuwatna (16th cent.) CTH 21 (del Monte 1981: 210); (5) Zidanta of Ḫatti and Piliya of Kizzuwatna (15th cent.) CTH 25 (Otten 1951); (6) Idrimi of Alalah and Piliya of Kizzuwatna³ (15th cent.) (Wiseman 1953: no. 3; Hess 2000: 331ff.); (7) Niqmepa of Alalah and IR-^dISKUR of Tunip (15th cent.) (Wiseman 1953: no. 2; Hess 2000: 330ff.); (8) a Hittite king and Paddatiššu of Kizzuwatna (15th cent.) CTH 26 (Meyer 1953; HDT² no. 1); (9) Taḫurwaili of Ḫatti and Eḫeya of Kizzuwatna (15th cent.) (Otten 1971: 66–68); (10) three succeeding versions of a treaty between Tudḫaliya I/II (or III) of Ḫatti with Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna (15th cent.), i.e.: (10.I) CTH 131 (del Monte 1981: 214–216, 218–219; HDT² no. 2, §§11–14); (10.II) CTH 41.II (del Monte 1981: 216–217; HDT² no. 2, §§1–10); and (10.III) CTH 41.I: i 49–iii 36 (Weidner 1923: 88–111; HDT² no. 2; cf. Korošec 1982); (11) Niqmaddu II of Ugarit and Aziru of Amurru (14th cent.) RS 19.68 (Nougayrol 1956: 284ff.); (12) Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti and Ramses II of Egypt (13th cent.), preserved in two versions: in Akkadian, found at Ḫattuša, and in Egyptian, found inscribed on the walls of the temple of Amon at Karnak and of the Ramesseum; for both, see Edel (1997); (13) a limited parity treaty between Carchemish and Ugarit

range from ad hoc agreements (see n. 2, no. 2) through commercial (nos. 3, 13 and 15–17) and limited treaties devoted to settling and regulating specific issues (nos. 1, 6, 10 and 11), to fully elaborated peace treaties of which there are only two certain examples (nos. 9 and 12; perhaps also 4, 5, 7, 8 and 14). With such a relatively small number of examples of each type exhibiting different formats or features, one cannot be certain whether they reflect different traditions or just characteristics of a certain type of parity treaty. In view of the problematic state of the corpus it is quite obvious that whatever conclusions are reached should be taken with due reservations.

The Earliest Recorded Phase: The Late Third Millennium

The earliest available record of an interstate agreement is that inscribed on the so-called *Stele of the Vultures* of Eanatum, king of Lagaš.³ The document is not a treaty per se, but rather a monumental royal building inscription, written on the occasion of the recovery of disputed territory from the city-state of Umma to commemorate the oath with which Eanatum swore in the defeated ruler of Umma. Nevertheless, it may serve as a starting point for the present discussion since it reflects the utmost importance that was attached at the time (24th cent.) to curses accompanied by ritual acts as elements of concluding an interstate agreement. The administration of the oath is described in great detail. The oath, including the undertakings of the ruler of Umma, is quoted in the first person singular coupled with a self-cursing and a certain magic ritual, and repeated six times, each time by evoking a different great god. To each oath and self-curse uttered by the ruler of Umma is attached a complementary curse in the third person. The king of Umma promises to exploit a certain area (the ‘field of Ningirsu’) as an interest-bearing loan, not to transgress that territory, not to shift the course of its irrigation canals and not to smash its monuments. The details of the agreement, including the interest rate, are omitted, however, suggesting that what mattered to the scribes who composed it were not the particulars, but the oath, the curse and the ritual.

drawn up by Ini-Teššub, king of Carchemish (13th cent.) RS 17.146(+)18.115 (Nougayrol 1956: 154–160); see also RS 17.230 and 18.19 (Nougayrol 1956: 153ff. and 169); and (14) Šamši-Adad V of Assyria and Marduk-zakir-šumi I of Babylon (9th cent.) (Parpola & Watanabe 1988: xxvi–xxvii, 4–5). To these parity treaties one should add (15–17) three recently published Old Assyrian treaties found at Kültepe, which, although unilaterally formulated, in view of the contracting parties should in all probability be regarded as parity: Kt n/k 794, Kt 00/k 6 and 10 (Günbatı 2004). Apart from these, there are some other treaties of uncertain nature: (a) between Naram-Sin with an Elamite king of Awan (23rd cent.) (Koch 2005); (b) the ruler of Ebla and the ruler of A-bar-QA? (24th–23rd centuries) (Edzard 1992); (c) Zimri-Lim of Mari and Ibāl-pi-El II of Ešnunna (18th cent.) (Charpin 1991); (d) a Hittite king and Huḫazalma, an Anatolian king (15th cent.) CTH 28 (Otten 1967); (e) a Hittite king and Lab’u of Tunip (14th cent.?) CTH 135 (Weidner 1923: 136–147); and (f) the Aramaic treaty from Sefire (8th cent.) (Fitzmyer 1995). To this list one should perhaps add some recently discovered, but not yet published, treaties from Tell Leilan (18th cent.); see Eidem (1991: 185, n. 2). Not included here are some treaties of the early Old Babylonian period that are too fragmentary to yield meaningful information.

3 Steible 1982: I, 120–145 (Ean. 1); Cooper 1986: 33–39 (La 3.1).

The same importance is ascribed to the oath in the treaty concluded by Naram-Sin with an Elamite king of Awan.⁴ The treaty is formulated as a declaration made by the Elamite king in the first person and consists of (1) an appeal to the gods to listen to the words of the treaty followed by an oath formula (cols. i–ii); (2) the Elamite king’s unilateral promise made to Naram-Sin (cols. iii–vii); and (3) further declarations of the Elamite king (cols. viii–xii). The appeal to the gods enumerates more than 35 deities, almost the entire Elamite pantheon, including four Akkadian deities.⁵ Naram-Sin seems therefore to have been satisfied with the Elamite king swearing by the Elamite deities, who would thus have been responsible for punishing him should he violate his oath and promises. The oath formula itself, repeated five more times throughout the text, is not well understood. The treaty, found in the temple of Inšušinak, the chief deity of Susa, is the earliest evidence of the well-attested practice of keeping copies in the sanctuaries of the main gods, so that they could ensure the fulfilment of its terms by the party under their jurisdiction.⁶

There is no consensus as to whether this text is a parity or a subordination treaty.⁷ It is, however, the earliest known document written in the (Old) Elamite language, while all other known Elamite documents of the Sargonic Period up to the days of Naram-Sin are written in Akkadian (Hinz 1971: 651). This may suggest that it is a translation made for the Elamite court from an original Akkadian text. Moreover, it was recently pointed out that ‘the superb writing and the careful spelling of the Elamite mark the tablet as a product of the royal chancellery at Akkade, and no doubt an Akkadian version is waiting to be excavated there’ (Westenholz 1999: 92). If so, it would seem to be similar to the customary practice from the first half of the second millennium, whereby the parties exchanged tablets recording a unilateral undertaking, on which the addressee was supposed to take an oath (see below). If this comparison holds true, the Elamite treaty might have been part of a parity or near-parity agreement, whereby the parties exchanged unilateral vows.

For the period between ca. 2400 and about 2250, and very likely preceding the Elamite treaty, another treaty is known, found in the rich archives of Ebla.⁸ The treaty is written in the Semitic language dubbed ‘Eblaite’ in cuneiform script employing many Sumerograms and perhaps also Akkadograms. Since the language is only partially understood and the correct

4 See Hinz (1967) and Koch (2005), with previous literature. For discussion, see Hinz (1971: 651–653, 663–670) and Korošec (1983). For Elam in this period, see Stolper (1984: 10–16). The treaty is written in Old Elamite, which is unfortunately poorly understood. It is also very poorly preserved, further hindering its decipherment. Two passages have led to its identification as a treaty: its call for a series of Elamite and Akkadian gods to ‘listen’ to its words (cols. i–ii) and a repeated phrase that can be translated, ‘the enemy of Naram-Sin is my enemy, the friend of Naram-Sin is my friend’ (cols. iii–iv), a typical subordination formula known from the second millennium.

5 That the latter were mixed among the Elamite deities rather than listed as a distinct group and that, with the exception of Ninurta, they do not belong to the senior deities of the Sumerian–Akkadian pantheon raises the possibility that these four deities had been adopted by the Elamites, so that the Elamite king in effect took his oath before Elamite deities only.

6 According to Hinz (1971: 667), Inšušinak was the god of oaths for all Elam, which may account for the fact that the treaty was deposited in his temple.

7 For those in favour of the former, see Hinz (1967: 85), followed by Korošec (1983: 66ff.); for the latter, see Stolper (1984: 14) and Westenholz (1999: 93).

8 For Ebla and its archives, see Pettinato (1991). I am indebted to the late Prof. Artzi for comments he sent to me on this treaty.

reading of many Sumerograms is not entirely clear, there are various, sometimes strongly differing, translations of the treaty, and not even the name of the city or country with which it was concluded is agreed.⁹ Some of its stipulations, formulated as laws legislated by the state for its citizens, even evoke the question whether it is a treaty at all, though it is now generally accepted that it is indeed a treaty, whatever the explanations given to these formulations may be. The extant copy of the treaty is formulated unilaterally, reflecting Ebla's interests, and was most likely composed in Ebla. Nevertheless, it is in all probability a parity treaty, and it must be assumed that a parallel text was written for the other party to safeguard its interests.

The treaty has three parts: introduction, stipulations and malediction formula. The introduction, divided into two sections, provides a detailed list of Ebla's cities and their forts. Each of the two sections ends with the clarification that all the localities that are in the hands of the king of Ebla belong to him, and that all the localities in the hands of the second party belong to him. Eblaite citizens staying there are under the jurisdiction of the king of Ebla, whereas the citizens of the other party are under their sovereign's jurisdiction. If this is indeed the meaning of the text, then it seems to grant extraterritorial rights to foreign merchants staying in Eblaite territory. Following this, there are 21 clauses concerning questions such as taxing foreign citizens, the movement of emissaries, interstate trade, corporeal damages, theft, damage to commodities, adultery, enticement, etc. The treaty ends with a curse on anyone who would violate it, invoking the sun-goddess, the storm-god (Adda, spelled 'Ā-da) and the deity 'star' (MUL = Ištar?) in their capacities as gods rendering judgement.

Two further points pertaining to this treaty should be noted. First, the parties are identified not by personal names but by those of their city-states. Moreover, the city-states appear occasionally as active agents,¹⁰ which would seem to indicate that the city-states themselves were the actual parties to the treaty, their rulers acting only as executives. Second, many passages open with the word *su-ma* (Akk. *šumma*, 'if'),¹¹ which introduces a conditional clause, a feature characteristic of later treaties as well as law collections, thus seemingly indicating the beginning of a tradition in treaty formulation.

The Elamite and Eblaite treaties thus seem to represent two different treaty traditions, one (southern Mesopotamian?) that ascribed utmost importance to the oath taken by the parties and that opened with a detailed list of the divinities evoked to witness the pledges of the parties, recounted in the first person; and a second (northern Syrian?) tradition, in which a malediction at the end of the document sufficed as a safeguard for ensuring proper fulfilment of the treaty. The agreement of this latter tradition was formulated in the third person, changing in certain sections to the second singular, only very rarely in the first singular.

9 For translations, see Sollberger (1980); Lambert (1987); Kienast (1988); Pettinato (1991: 148–152); and Edzard (1992).

10 Lambert (1987: 360): 'If a man opposes *ab-ar-QA*^{ki} [= the other city], Ebla shall/may arrest him. If a man opposed *ab-ar-QA*^{ki}, *ab-ar-QA*^{ki} [shall/may kill him]. [If a man opposes Ebla], *ab-ar-QA*^{ki} shall/may arrest him. If a man opposed Ebla, Ebla shall/may kill him' (ll. 112–132 [=obv. vi 6–vii 12]). See further rev. vi 4–vii 7 (Edzard 1992: 203).

11 For the writing *su-ma* for *šumma*, see Gelb (1957: 255) and Artzi (1988: 14).

The Second Phase: The First Half of the Second Millennium

Currently only one treaty from the 19th century is extant,¹² twelve from the 18th. The latter group consists of four treaties from Mari,¹³ five from Tell Leilan,¹⁴ three from Kültepe¹⁵ and one from late 18th-century Alalah.¹⁶ The earliest, concluded between the city-states of Šadlaš and Nērebtum in the wake of a war between them,¹⁷ is a parity agreement devoted mainly to addressing the issue of citizens who, due to the war or for other reasons, had been cut off from their homeland and stranded in the other country. It also deals with a few other problems typical for two neighbouring cities, such as murder, cattle robbery and poor treatment of merchants. It concludes with a note regarding when the provisions would come into effect and the date (month, day and year formula) it was concluded.¹⁸ In order to safeguard the interests of the respective rulers, the treaty prohibited enlisting soldiers who had deserted the other party (ll. 47–50).¹⁹ As such, it can hardly be regarded as the peace treaty terminating a state of war, which may well have been concluded earlier. Instead, it seems to be a less formal protocol annexed to a peace treaty, intended to supplement it by resolving remaining issues. This might explain its exceptional features, the most conspicuous of which are its opening (ll. 4–8), where tariffs for different categories of people are listed as a basis for calculating indemnities, a clause referring to when it would come into effect (ll. 51–54),²⁰ and a date when it was concluded (l. 55). Also exceptional is that the agreement is presented as having been concluded between two cities rather than between their kings, who are first mentioned in ll. 47–49, and only in ll. 52–54 is the document ascribed to them. Other uncommon features are the absence of divine witnesses and the want of any curse, which was customarily included in treaties of this period.²¹ The agreement is not signed by the parties, although two empty spaces (between ll. 50–51 and 54–55) were left open, very likely for the signatures. Their

12 From the Diyala region; see n. 17. Apart from this treaty there are two very small fragments from the 20th–19th centuries that are of no help for the issue under discussion.

13 (1) The treaty between Zimri-Lim of Mari and Hammurabi of Babylon (Durand 1986); (2) the treaty between Zimri-Lim and Ibāl-pī-El II of Ešnunna (Charpin 1991); (3) a vassal treaty drawn up by Zimri-Lim for Atamrum of Andarig (Joannès 1991); and (4) a small fragment of a treaty between Zimri-Lim and the king of Kurda (Joannès 1991: 176ff.).

14 Of which only one, between the king of Apum and the city of Aššur, is fully published (Eidem 1991), while another, between the kings of Apum and Razamā, has appeared in translation only (Eidem 2008: 316–321).

15 These are parity treaties concluded by the city of Aššur with the kings of Kaniš, Haḥḥum and one additional city, the name of which is not preserved (Çeçen & Hecker 1995; Günbatti 2004).

16 AT 456 (Wiseman 1958a; Draffkorn 1959: 94–97).

17 Greengus (1979: 74–77, no. 326); cf. Kraus (1984: 91, n. 204) and Greengus (1988: 154ff.); for discussion, see Yuhong (1994).

18 Such a date in an Ancient Near Eastern treaty is a unique feature as far as I am aware.

19 Pace Yuhong (1994), who understands the provision as prohibiting the detention of captured soldiers. A similar provision appears in the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattušili III; Akkadian, obv. 46–48; cf. 52–53; Egyptian §12; cf. §14 (Edel 1997: 42–49).

20 Such a clause is found also in the parity treaty between Idrimi of Alalah and Pilliya of Kizzuwatna' (AT 3: 40–43), while the subordination treaty drawn up by Muršili II for Manapa-Tarḥunta of the Šeḫa River Land (CTH 69: A i 49–62) contains a conditional proviso regarding its coming into effect.

21 Note that the document is designated as *šimdatu*, which, although unusual, nevertheless could serve in this period to designate 'treaty'; cf. Kraus (1984: 10–12).

absence might be interpreted as suggesting that this is merely a first draft (Greengus 1979: 77), but in fact, none of the treaties extant from the Old Babylonian period is sealed, an issue that will be discussed presently.

The bilateral agreement between the city-states of Šadlaš and Nērebtum contains the obligations of *both* parties. In this respect it stands alone, since all other treaties of this period were drawn up unilaterally, so that the obligations to be fulfilled by one party were drafted by the other. In the last 20 years or so it has become clear that at least in Mesopotamia there also existed during the 18th century two other treaty-making practices.²² The simpler custom brought together the concerned heads of political entities to a summit where they discussed the terms of the treaty. When an agreement was reached a ritual took place in which an animal (usually a donkey) was slaughtered and the parties smeared themselves with its(?) blood. The participants then uttered oaths in front of divine statues or symbols brought for the purpose, and festive drinking (of the blood?) and an exchange of gifts concluded the ceremony. Such agreements were usually concluded orally, and letters describing the ceremony are now the only preserved traces.²³

The other practice is more germane to the present discussion, since it concerns written agreements. It took place when a meeting of the leaders involved was out of the question, which would have been more common when powerful rulers were concerned. The parties first exchanged a ‘small tablet’ (*tuppum šeḫrum*)²⁴ conveying a proposed agreement sent by one party and including a limited list of obligations. The addressee, having assented to the proposal, returned it with his comments and terms. This could be followed by further discussion of stipulations and the exchange of messages, in which emissaries of the parties involved played an important role. Having reached agreement, each party sent the other a ‘large tablet’²⁵ containing the full list of obligations concerning which the other party was to make its promise.²⁶ This text, even if it detailed a parity treaty, was formulated unilaterally, so that each party would take an oath to fulfil the obligations specified in the version drafted by the other. The oath was taken before statues (or symbols) of the gods of one party and those brought to the ceremony by the emissaries of the other, and in the presence of these emissaries, who were entrusted with ensuring the proper execution of the rites. The same was repeated by the other party either simultaneously or subsequently.²⁷

Yet, such a procedure might have been potentially problematic, for it could allow one party to renege on the agreement while the other was assenting to its obligations under oath.²⁸

22 Durand (1986; 1997: 429–458); Charpin (1988: 144ff., 179–182, no. 372); Eidem (1991; 2003: 747–749; and 2008: 311–315); and Lafont (2001: 262–293).

23 See particularly ARMT 26/2: 404 and Lafont (2001: 263–271).

24 Also called *tuppī lipit napištim*, ‘tablets of touching the throat’, referring to a ritual symbolizing the sanction of death that would befall the one who might violate the oath.

25 A *tuppum rabūm*, also called *nīš ilim*, ‘(an oath by) the life of the deity’.

26 See particularly ARMT 26/2: 372, and p. 144f. for discussion.

27 See Eidem (2003: 750): ‘In principle we must therefore assume a system with two parallel documents. ... It must be emphasized, however, that extant evidence does not support entirely clear patterns for the use of treaty documents. No parallel set of documents relating to the same treaty has yet been found. ... Similarly, the exact nature of the “small” tablet, used in the *lipit napištim* ceremony, remains to be elucidated.’

28 Cf. the instructive letter ARMT 26/2: 469 and p. 395, n. h and Durand (1997: 448ff., no. 287). The letter was addressed to Zimrī-Lim by two officials that he had sent to Hammurabi to witness the oaths. They warn their king not to take his final oath before they ensure him that Hammurabi had taken his.

Moreover the parallel versions may not have referred to the same rights and obligations; the rights that one party includes in the version it submits might not appear as acknowledged in the text drafted by the other. In such a system each party was likely to carefully formulate for the other only the rights and obligations that were in its own interest. In any event, whether or not the two parallel versions contained exactly the same stipulations, the very fact that they were formulated unilaterally meant that the actions of one party were not conditioned by the fulfillment of the other party’s obligations. The failure of one party to fulfil its commitments or to acknowledge the other party’s rights very likely, at least theoretically, did not entitle the other party to consider itself absolved of its own obligations. Since such a system could potentially lead to such problems, it is little wonder that the bilateral format of agreements, such as the treaty between Šadlaš and Nērebtum, was preferred later in the Late Bronze Age (1600–1200).

Regarding the structure of the unilateral agreements, the ‘small tablet’ might have contained no more than a version of the oath, consisting of the name of one or two gods by which the oath was taken and of the promise made in the first person singular, in very general terms.²⁹ A ‘large tablet’, on the other hand, opened with a much longer enumeration of gods, followed by a detailed list of the obligations to be fulfilled by the one taking the oath. The obligations were formulated either as a demand in the second person singular³⁰ or as a declaration in the first person singular, and were followed in turn by a rather detailed curse that was to befall the oath taker should he fail to fulfil the obligations.³¹

A fourth treaty tradition seems to be reflected in the subordination and grant-treaty AT 456 dated to the latter part of the 18th century (see n. 16). It records the terms under which Abba-AN(El/Il), king of Yamḥad/Ḥalab, granted his brother, Yarīm-Lim, the city of Alalaḥ, capital of the province of Mukiš, along with some other settlements, when Abba-AN reorganized his kingdom following a revolt by his (other) brothers. The document opens with a list of towns that changed hands as part of the transaction (ll. 1–18), followed by a rather long explanation of the reasons why Yarīm-Lim had to surrender the city of Irride, his former domain, in exchange for the cities of Alalaḥ and Murar (ll. 19–39). There is then a reference to an oath and some ritual performed by Abba-AN, followed by a promise not to take back the cities (ll. 39–42). This promise is followed, however, by some reservations, stipulated in the third person in ll. 43–67, concerning circumstances in which Yarīm-Lim or his descendents might forfeit their new principedom. The document ends with a list of human witnesses before whom Yarīm-Lim took the oath of loyalty to Abba-AN and his descendents.

Hardly anything is known about the status of the principedom of Alalaḥ at this stage, so whether the document should be regarded as a treaty or merely a contract is uncertain. Nevertheless, it certainly differs from the other treaties of the period. It is formulated unilaterally, in accordance with its having been drawn up by a suzerain for a subordinate, yet it contains obligations for both parties. Abba-AN pledged under oath not to rescind the grant (ll. 39–42), while Yarīm-

29 An example of a ‘small tablet’, of an ad hoc agreement between two kings of equal standing, is the treaty between Hammurabi and Zimrī-Lim (Durand 1986: 112; 1997: no. 290). Another is the loyalty oath taken by Atamrum, king of Andarig (A.96), likely part of an oral or written agreement through which Atamrum was subordinated to Zimrī-Lim (Joannès 1991).

30 E.g., the treaty between the king of Apum and the city of Aššur (see n. 14).

31 See the treaty between Ibāl-pī-El of Ešnunna and Zimrī-Lim of Mari (see n. 13), worded as a declaration in the first person and containing all three components.

Lim agreed to observe the terms of the grant and to be loyal to Abba-AN (II. 74–76). Further, instead of divine witnesses, only human witnesses are listed at the end of the document. In all these features this agreement deviates from the format of the treaties from Mari and Tell Leilan; it is closer to that between Šadlaš and Nērebtum and in some points foreshadows the structure of the Hittite subordination treaties.³²

The most striking innovation of this document, however, is the suzerain's justification of his takeover of Irride from Yarīm-Lîm (II. 19–39). The only immediately apparent reason for including the apology in this written *legal* document would seem to be the fact that Yarīm-Lîm was supposed to acquiesce to it under oath, thereby confirming his acceptance of the apology. His acceptance, in turn, was in all probability intended to undermine in advance any allegation by Yarīm-Lîm to the effect that Irride had been taken from him illegally, which would have entitled him to abrogate the treaty. Similar sensitivity to the need, in certain cases, of including an explanation and/or justification in the prologue of a treaty is one of the most pronounced features of the Hittite subordination treaties of the 15th–13th centuries.³³ The apology of the present document may therefore very likely be taken as a forerunner to the so-called 'historical prologue' section of these later Hittite treaties.

Finally, the question of sealing the treaties of this period should be considered. As with the treaty between Šadlaš and Nērebtum, none of the treaties of this period are sealed. This may be interpreted as suggesting that they were only drafts or secondary copies. Another possibility is that they were encased in sealed envelopes (Eidem 2008: 319). Alternatively, it might be understood as reflecting a conception according to which such a tablet did not have to be sealed in order to be authenticated. The Ancient Near Eastern contract, having been drafted as a protocol from the viewpoint of the witnesses, merely attested to the fact that agreement to the transaction had been reached by the parties (Renger 1977). Sealing such a document only acknowledged its accuracy and its authenticity as evidence. Yet, according to Mesopotamian law, while the presence of witnesses was a prerequisite to the validation of the transaction, sealing a legal document was not necessary to establish its authenticity (San Nicolò 1931: 138).

The Third Phase: The Second Half of the Second Millennium

The treaties of the Late Bronze Age evince some significant changes. Structurally, the most conspicuous and meaningful features distinguishing the treaties of this period from those of 18th-century Mari and Tell Leilan are the reappearance of the preamble presenting the contracting parties and a shift of the list of gods from the opening of the treaty to toward its end. The Old Babylonian treaties from Mari and Tell Leilan, by pre-positioning the adjuration clause, composed of a repeated formula enjoining the partner to take an oath by the enumerated

32 For human witnesses as a feature characteristic of these treaties concluded with members of the suzerain's family, see that drawn up by Muwattalli II for Talmi-Šarrumma of Aleppo (CTH 75; HDT², no. 14); by Hattušili III for Ulmi-Teššub of Tarhuntašša (CTH 106; HDT², no. 18B); and by Tudhaliya IV for Kurunta of Tarhuntašša (Otten 1988; HDT², no. 18C).

33 For prologues including apology, see e.g., the treaties of Šunaššura (HDT², no. 2, §§2–8), Niqmaddu (HDT², no. 4, §§1–2) and Šattiwaza (HDT², no. 6A, §1).

gods, appear to be oath documents, which accords with their designation as 'oath tablets'. The oath thus becomes the most crucial act in creating a contractual commitment between the parties. The Late Bronze Age treaties, in contrast, place the list of gods at the end of the treaty, just before the curses and blessings section, and omit any adjuration formula. This is not to imply that the parties swore no oath; the oath they would have taken is mentioned in various ways in the stipulatory section.³⁴ Moreover, the gods invoked as witnesses are referred to as 'the gods of the oath'³⁵ and were explicitly summoned 'to the assembly for this oath', where they were to 'stand, observe and listen. And they shall be witnesses.'³⁶ The crucial act that established the contractual relations between the parties, however, was their agreement to enter into these legal relations as stipulated in the document. The oath was only intended to place the relationship under divine sanction, which would allow the curses and blessings to be potentially operative. Accordingly, the treaties of the Late Bronze Age are designated as *tuppi rikši* 'tablet of treaty ("bond")', *išhiul* in Hittite.³⁷

The structure of the Late Bronze Age documents, in contrast to those of the Old Babylonian period, also allows one for the first time to easily distinguish between parity and subordination ('vassal') treaties. Of at least ten parity treaties from this period,³⁸ only five preserve all their main parts, of which only one may be regarded as a comprehensive peace treaty.³⁹ The following suggested structure should therefore be taken with due reservation: (1) preamble, which presents the parties of the treaty;⁴⁰ (2) stipulatory section; (3) curses on the party that would fail to adhere to its obligations.⁴¹ If necessary, the time when the agreement would come into force⁴² or an escape clause⁴³ was inserted before the curses section. The Hittite-Egyptian treaty presents yet three additional sections: (i) following the preamble and before the stipulatory section there is a short reference to past relations, followed by the parties' declarations indicating their intention to create 'great peace and great brotherhood between them forever'; (ii) a list of divine witnesses, followed by (iii) a blessings formula in addition

34 E.g., in Niqmepa's treaty (CTH 66; HDT², no. 9) he is warned, 'if you do not fight [wholeheartedly], you will transgress the oath' (end of §2); and *passim* in the subordination treaties. For references to the oath in parity treaties, see e.g., AT 2: 74–75; AT 3: 40–42; CTH 25: 10; and RS 19.68: 4, 12, 42 and 46 (PRU IV: 284ff.).

35 E.g., in the curse of Niqmepa's treaty (CTH 66; HDT², no. 9, §20) he is warned, 'if Niqmepa does not observe these words [of] the treaty and of the oath, then these oath [gods] shall destroy Niqmepa...'

36 The Manapa-Tarhunta treaty (CTH 69; HDT², no. 12, §13, A iii 48'–51').

37 It may be noted that AT 2 is designated as a *tuppu ša nīs ilāni*, while the slightly earlier treaty AT 3 is designated as a *tuppi rikši*, although it refers in its opening to the fact that both partners swore an oath 'by the life of the gods'. For another deviation of AT 2, see n. 54. It seems that these two treaties reflect a transitional stage.

38 For the list of these treaties, see n. 2, nos. 4–13. Since many treaties are very poorly preserved, the exact number of parity treaties is uncertain. Two very fragmentary treaties that might be added to the list are CTH 134, between a king of Hatti and a king of Egypt (Singer 2004), and CTH 28, between a Hittite king and Huḫazalma of an unknown polity (Otten 1967).

39 See n. 2, nos. 6–7, 11–13, no. 12 being the exception.

40 Surviving in nos. 5, 6–7, 10 (version III), 11–13.

41 Surviving in nos. 6–7, 11, 12 (Egyptian version), 13.

42 E.g., in the treaty between Idrimi of Alalah and Pilliya of Kizzuwatna²; AT 3, 40–43.

43 E.g., in the treaty between Niqmepa of Alalah and IR-⁴ISKUR of Tunip; AT 2, 73–75.

to the curses.⁴⁴ Since the closing section (or sections) of the other five Hittite parity treaties is (are) lost, one cannot be sure whether or not they also might have contained a list of divine witnesses and a blessings section. Still, the fact that the four treaties from northern Syria certainly did not have these two sections raises the possibility that two distinct traditions may have been extant, i.e., a Syrian, which did not include a list of divine witnesses and a blessings section,⁴⁵ and a Hittite, which did. That said, it does seem more likely that these differences stem from the fact that the four 'Syrian' documents are limited treaties or protocols, whereas the Hittite-Egyptian treaty is a much expanded peace treaty including a general regulation of the relations between the two parties, a suggestion supported by the fact that some Hittite subordination limited treaties also lack divine witnesses and a blessings section.⁴⁶ Judging from the parity sections of the Sunaššura treaty (CTH 41.1 i 1–4, 49–iii 36), an expanded peace treaty might not always have included the reference to past relations and the declarations of the parties. Accordingly, the normal structure for an ordinary peace treaty might have been: (1) a preamble; (2) an optional section containing a statement of intent on concluding the treaty, with or without reference to previous relations; (3) stipulations; (4) a list of divine witnesses; (5) a curse and blessings section.

To date at least 19 subordination treaties drawn up by Hittite kings are extant, either comprehensive or limited subordination treaties (or protocols).⁴⁷ Their structure is as follows: (1) a preamble presenting the suzerain as the one who dictated the document;⁴⁸ (2) a prologue

44 The two latter sections are preserved only in the hieroglyphic version. The curses and blessings section, which in nos. 6–7, 11 and 13 closes the treaty (as in the Hittite subordination treaties), is followed in the hieroglyphic version by two more paragraphs concerning the extradition of runaways, which clearly belong to the previous stipulatory section. This seems to be an error of the Egyptian scribes who translated the text into Egyptian and copied it onto the walls of the temples (Spalinger 1981: 348ff.).

45 Note, however, that also these treaties refer in their curse sections to a limited number of divinities as those who would implement the curse upon the party that might violate the agreement.

46 RS 17.340 and RS 17.227 (HDT², nos. 4 and 28A). Neither has a blessing section, and the list of divine witnesses is combined with the curse.

47 These are the treaties for (1) Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna (CTH 41.1; HDT², no. 2); (2) Hukkana of Hayaša (CTH 42; HDT², no. 3); (3–4) the limited treaty and protocol of Niqmaddu II of Ugarit (RS 17.227 and RS 17.340+; HDT², nos. 28A and 4); (5) Aziru of Amurru (CTH 49; HDT², no. 5); (6–7) Šattiwaza of Mittani (CTH 51 and 52; HDT², nos. 6A & 6B); (8) Tette of Nuḫašše (CTH 53; HDT², no. 7); (9) Duppi-Teššub of Amurru (CTH 62; HDT², no. 8); (10) Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66; HDT², no. 9); (11) Targašnalli of Hapalla (CTH 67; HDT², no. 10); (12) Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya (CTH 68; HDT², no. 11); (13) Manapa-Tarḫunta of the Šeḫa-River Land (CTH 69; HDT², no. 12); (14) Alakšandu of Wiluša (CTH 76; HDT², no. 13); (15) Talmi-Šarrumma of Aleppo (CTH 75; HDT², no. 14); (16) Bentešina of Amurru (CTH 92; HDT², no. 16); (17) Šaušgamuwa of Amurru (CTH 105; HDT², no. 17); (18) Ulmi-Teššub of Tarḫuntašša (CTH 106; HDT², no. 18B); and (19) Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša (Otten 1988; HDT², no. 18C). Further, there are documents that are too fragmentary to ascertain whether they are parity or subordination treaties (e.g., that with Huḫazalma [CTH 28] and that with Lab'u of Tunip [CTH 135]), treaties or mere edicts (e.g., those issued by Šuppiluliuma I for Šarri-kuḫ [CTH 50]) or treaties rather than loyalty oaths (e.g., those issued by Arnuwanda I for the men of Išmerika [CTH 133; HDT², no. 1A and the Kaška people [CTH 138–140]; von Schuler 1965: 109–140). For a current list of all documents regarded as Hittite treaties (many of which are, however, mere fragments, therefore their designation doubtful), see *Konkordanz*.

48 Exceptions are the Šattiwaza treaty, which omits the conventional preamble, and the Sunaššura treaty, the preamble of which is a remnant of an earlier parity version (Korošec 1982). Note that the so-called 'Šattiwaza-Šuppiluliuma treaty' (CTH 52; HDT², no. 6B) is not actually a treaty but a declaration made by Šattiwaza presenting him, the vassal king, as the one who proclaims it; see n. 59.

reviewing the historical and legal background of the treaty;⁴⁹ (3) a stipulatory section; (4) a 'tablet clause' establishing the place where the treaty tablet was to be kept and (occasionally) that it was to be read periodically to the subordinate king and his court;⁵⁰ (5) a list of gods invoked to witness and sanction the treaty;⁵¹ (6) curses or blessings invoked upon the subordinate king for violating or observing the treaty.

The two components that distinguish the Hittite subordinate treaties from the parity treaties of the period are the 'tablet clause' and the 'historical prologue'. While the 'tablet clause' is attested in only four documents belonging to three treaties, and the public reading requirement appears in only three texts belonging to two treaties (see n. 50), the 'historical prologue' seems to be an indispensable element. In a recent study devoted to this component and its function it was concluded that it is characteristic of the so-called 'vassal treaties' and related legal documents drawn up by a suzerain for his subordinate kings or communities. Its function is to present an argument or a set of arguments with legal significance, justifying the imposition of obligations on the subordinate party and depriving it of the chance to contest the validity or legality of the treaty. The prologue is likely to appear not only in subordination treaties but also in any Hittite state document imposing obligations or restrictions involving infringement of enshrined or traditional rights (Altman 2004: 473–481). It is thus also found in edicts issued to subordinate rulers⁵² and to local communities within the kingdom.⁵³

A second conspicuous change in Late Bronze Age practice is the wording of the parity treaties. They are formulated as a bilateral document containing the reciprocal obligations of both parties, and the provisions are generally worded in the third person, in an impersonal and objective manner.⁵⁴

The Hittite-Egyptian treaty, the only parity treaty of which both versions have survived, contributes further important information. Each partner drew up his own version, sealed it, took

49 An exception is the Aziru treaty, where the prologue follows the general loyalty obligations and the setting of yearly tribute.

50 Reference to where treaty copies are to be kept is found in the Šattiwaza treaty, rev. 35–37; Šattiwaza's declaration, rev. 8–10; and the Ulmi-Teššub treaty, 38. In the Kurunta treaty it appears at the end of the text. The requirement that the document should be publicly read is seen in the Šattiwaza treaty, rev. 36–37; Šattiwaza's declaration, rev. 7–8; and the Alakšandu treaty, §19, 73–75. While many treaties are too fragmentary to determine whether they might have included such a requirement, the treaties of Aziru, Duppi-Teššub, Manapa-Tarḫunta and Kurunta definitely did not. The criteria for including or omitting these requirements have not yet been determined.

51 An exceptional case is presented by the Hukkana treaty, where this list, followed by the curses and blessings section, divides the stipulatory section into two.

52 E.g., the edict issued by Muršili II to Abiradda of Barga, A i 3–ii 5 (CTH 63A; HDT², no. 30).

53 E.g., the edict issued by Hattušili III to the city of Tiliura (CTH 89; von Schuler 1965: 145–148). For differing opinions of the role of the 'historical prologues' in the treaties, see more recently de Martino (2005) and Devecchi (2008).

54 Two treaties do not entirely accord with this format, i.e., that between Niqmepa of Alalah and IR.⁴IŠKUR of Tunip (AT 2) and that between Hattušili III and Ramesses II. AT 2 is formulated unilaterally in the first person, employing pairs such as 'I'—'you' and 'my land'—'your land', which may relate to each party, eliminating the need to repeat each provision. The opening section of the two versions of the treaty between Hattušili III and Ramesses II deviates in that the clauses of the stipulatory section are formulated reciprocally in the third person, while following the preamble and preceding the stipulatory section is found a unilateral declaration addressing the partner in the first person, presenting thereby the document as the unilateral undertaking of the party that drew up the version.

an oath upon it and sent it to his partner to be placed in the latter's main temple before the image of his principal deity.⁵⁵ Further, even apart from deviations in the hieroglyphic version resulting from the proclivity of the Egyptian scribes for internal propaganda⁵⁶ or from their failure to correctly read the original cuneiform tablet (see n. 44), it is clear that the provisions are not entirely identical in the two versions and that not all are reciprocal. Both versions stipulate that upon the death of Hattušili, Ramesses would send troops to help his legitimate heir regain the throne should his subjects commit an offense (Edel 1997: §10). Nothing, however, is said about any obligation of Hattušili's to guarantee the royal succession in Egypt (Edel 1997: 38–41, 85). Further, the version sent by Hattušili includes an escape clause allowing Ramesses not to personally take part in fighting an enemy attack on Hatti (Edel 1997: §§6–9). The version sent by Ramesses has no such escape clause. The two versions thus did not necessarily need to be fully identical or fully reciprocal.

The Egyptian royal correspondence that followed the conclusion of the treaty yields yet another piece of information. In a letter sent to Hattušili (KBo 28.1 obv. 5'–12'; Edel 1994: no. 4), Ramesses relates that he had disseminated the treaty throughout Egypt, so that all Egypt, dignitaries as well as commoners, would have heard of the agreement and its details, and he urges Hattušili to do the same, thus far the only such case known.⁵⁷ In Egypt its fulfilment is reflected in copies of the treaty inscribed on the walls of the temple of Amon at Karnak and the Ramesseum. Only in the 8th century does one again find a comparable reflection of such a requirement for publicizing, i.e., in three stelae from Sefire in northern Syria presenting the treaty between Bar-Ga'yah of KTK and Mati'el of Arpad.

Unlike the parity treaties, subordination treaties were drafted in only one version by the suzerain as a dictated agreement, and a copy of it sealed by the suzerain was handed to the subordinate party.⁵⁸ In some cases, a supplementary document was added, phrased as a declaration by the subordinate party in the first person.⁵⁹

Sealing practices are not entirely clear. The treaties found at Hattuša lack seals, with one exception,⁶⁰ while three further texts indicate that some version thereof had been sealed.⁶¹ In contrast, all Hittite treaties found outside of the Hittite homeland,⁶² as well as non-Hittite

55 Echoed in Ramesses II's letter to Kupanta-Kurunta (CTH 166: rev. 14'–16'; Edel 1994 no. 28; HDT², no. 22D) and in two of his letters to Hattušili III (KUB 3.51 and KBo 28.1; Edel 1994 nos. 2 and 4), where the exchange of copies is discussed.

56 Including the description of how the Hittite emissaries arrived to beg for peace and the titles 'Great Prince of Hatti' (*p3-wr- '3 n Hti*) for Hattušili vis-à-vis 'Great King of Egypt' (*p3-hq3- '3 n Kmt*) for Ramesses, a distinction which surely did not appear in the original.

57 Yet, in the case of subordination treaties, there is a reflection of this requirement to publicize in the demand that the treaty should be read periodically; see n. 50.

58 E.g., the limited treaties or protocols RS 17.227 and RS 17.340 (Schaeffer 1956: 1–6, figs. 2–6).

59 E.g., the so-called Šattiwaza—Šuppiluliuma treaty (CTH 52; HDT², no. 6B), actually a supplementary text attached to the subordination treaty drawn up by Šuppiluliuma I for Šattiwaza (CTH 51; HDT², no. 6A); see Altman (2005; 2004: 296–323).

60 The parity treaty between Tahurwaili and Eḫeya (KBo 28.108++), for which see Otten (1971).

61 The treaties for Sunaššura, A i 1 (CTH 41.1; HDT², no. 2), Talmi-Šarrumma, A obv. 5 (CTH 75; HDT², no. 14) and Kurunta, iv 44–45 (Otten 1988; HDT², no. 18C).

62 I.e., the Hittite-Egyptian treaty and the two limited treaties or protocols drawn up for Niqmaddu II of Ugarit, RS 17.227 and RS 17.340+17.369A.

treaties found at Alalah and Ugarit,⁶³ are sealed, and Šuppiluliuma I promises in a letter to grant Niqmaddu II 'a sealed treaty tablet' (RS 17.132: 51–52; PRU IV: 37). These facts suggest that treaty-documents of the age, if not mere drafts or chancellery copies, were to be sealed. Subordination treaties, edicts and verdicts, especially the copy for the subordinate party, were sealed only by the suzerain.⁶⁴ Parity treaties could be sealed by both partners on the same copy (e.g., AT 2), or, as in the case of the Hittite-Egyptian treaty, each party sealed the copy sent to his partner.⁶⁵ If the treaty was inscribed on a metal tablet, the seal was stamped on a bulla attached to it by a cord threaded through a hole in the tablet, as suggested by the holes in the bronze tablet of the Kurunta treaty (Otten 1988).

The Fourth Phase: The Treaties of the First Millennium

In sharp contrast to the Late Bronze Age, only four or five quite fragmentary treaties are available from the 9th–7th centuries:⁶⁶ a parity treaty of the 9th century;⁶⁷ two or three Neo-Assyrian vassal treaties;⁶⁸ and one 8th-century Aramaic text from northern Syria, the nature of which, parity or vassal, is not entirely clear.⁶⁹ While one could perhaps supplement this small corpus with a few additional documents,⁷⁰ their fragmentary condition precludes any attempt to define them conclusively or glean from them any substantial information.⁷¹

63 I.e., the parity treaty between Aziru and Niqmaddu II (RS 19.68; PRU IV: 284); the parity treaties between Carchemish and Ugarit (RS 17.230, RS 17.146, RS 17.115, RS 18.19; PRU IV: 153–160); and the parity treaties found at Alalah (AT 2 and 3).

64 Hittite edicts and verdicts were also sealed, e.g., RS 17.237 and RS 17.62 (PRU IV: 63–67); RS 17.335+ (PRU IV: 71–75); RS 17.382+ (PRU IV: 80–83); and RS 17.130, RS 17.137, RS 17.229, RS 17.238 and RS 17.28 (PRU IV: 103–110). Note the clarification at the end of the so-called 'Arbitration of Syrian Disputes by Muršili II' (CTH 63: A iv 2–13; HDT², no. 30): 'The fact that this tablet of legal disputes has not now been sealed is because the king of the land of Carchemish, Tudḫaliya, and Ḫalpahi were not in the presence of My Majesty. For this reason this tablet has not been sealed. When the king of the land of Carchemish, Tudḫaliya, Ḫalpahi, and Tuppi-Teššup come into the presence of My Majesty, ... at that time they will seal this tablet of legal disputes.'

65 A conclusion based on the version on the walls of the Egyptian temples, at the end of which is a description of two seals, one of Hattušili, the other of Puduḫepa (Edel 1997: 82–83, §29). Also in exemplar A (rev. 10'–11') of the version sent by Ramesses to Hattušili are found damaged references to two sealings, one surely belonging to Ramesses, the other likely to Nefertari (Edel 1997: 12, 78 and 80, §30).

66 Cf. the significantly differing treatments of Parpola & Watanabe (1988: xv–xliii) and Parpola (2003: 1054–1059).

67 Between the Babylonian king Marduk-zakir-šumi and the Assyrian king Šamši-Adad V (Parpola & Watanabe 1988: no. 1).

68 The vassal treaties of Aššur-nerari V with Mati'ilu of Arpad and of Esarḫaddon with Baal of Tyre (Parpola & Watanabe 1988: nos. 2 and 5), to which Aššurbanipal's 'treaty' with the Qedar tribe (Parpola & Watanabe 1988: no. 10, xxxiii, 64–65) should likely be added.

69 For a recent edition and discussion, with references to previous literature, see Fitzmyer (1995).

70 Parpola & Watanabe (1988), nos. 11–13; however, nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9 are very likely loyalty oaths.

71 Not included for present purposes are Esarḫaddon's so-called 'vassal treaties' (Wiseman 1958b; Parpola & Watanabe 1988: no. 6). Although too often regarded as such, many scholars have argued since their publication in 1958 that they represent nothing but loyalty oaths imposed by Esarḫaddon on various elements of the Assyrian population (Labat 1960: 294 and Liverani 1995 with references to previous literature on p. 58). They lack components essential to a vassal treaty, i.e., a demand for commitment and loyalty to the

The earliest is the much damaged treaty between the Babylonian king Marduk-zakir-šumi and the Assyrian king Šamši-Adad V. While there are clear indications that Babylonia was the stronger party (Brinkman 1968: 204ff.; 1990: 96ff.), nothing necessarily suggests that the document is a vassal treaty. It seems rather to be a parity treaty that allowed the Babylonian party some advantages. There are also some indications that it was composed in Babylonia: the curses formulae invoked first (if not only) the principal Babylonian gods; most of the surviving curses are very similar to the epilogue of the laws of Hammurabi; and the text is written in the Neo-Babylonian dialect and script (Brinkman 1990: 97 and 107). If it was indeed written in Babylonia, it likely followed a Middle/Neo-Babylonian treaty tradition, of which next to nothing is known. Since the opening and closing sections are missing, it is hardly possible to define any significant features of the treaty. All that can be said is that it seems to be worded bilaterally, citing the obligations of both parties. The transition from the stipulatory to the curses section is not interrupted by a list of divine witnesses, as is the case in the Hittite-Egyptian treaty. The curses section is not accompanied by any ritual acts, nor are the curses interwoven with individual stipulations, as is the case with the Neo-Assyrian treaty drawn up by Aššur-nerari V for Matī'ilu.

One feature of this treaty, found in the library of Aššurbanipal, deserves special attention, i.e., that it is written on a small black stone fragment, the only such case known from Mesopotamia (Brinkman 1990: 97). It has been suggested that it may be the Babylonian exemplar of the treaty sent officially to Assyria, presumably paralleling an Assyrian document sent to Babylon (Noth 1961: 143, n. 73). However, assuming that the version sent to Assyria would probably have been written on clay, it seems likely that the stone fragment belonged to a copy that was originally kept in Babylon, from where it was taken as booty by some later Assyrian king. At any rate, that it was written on stone indicates that it was intended to be durable and publicly exhibited, resuming a practice first attested in 13th-century Egypt, where the treaty between Hattušili III and Ramesses II was copied onto the walls of the Amon temple at Karnak and the Ramesseum, and as such it constitutes a forerunner to the Sefire stelae.

The three stelae found at Sefire in northern Syria present a version (or rather subsequent versions) of a treaty concluded between Bar-Ga'yah, king of KTK, and Matī'el, king of Arpad. Its structure is far from clear. Only in Stele I do all the main components seem to be more or less preserved. Of its four faces, only three preserve the inscription, Faces A and B opening with a preamble. In Face A this is followed by a list of gods and curses, in Face B by stipulations. There is no way to be sure which face constitutes the beginning of the treaty.⁷² What is certain is that it did not include a historical prologue.

Whether it is a parity or a vassal treaty remains uncertain. A few brief notes on the issue, based on Altman (2008), are offered here. Some facts seem to favour the conclusion that it is a vassal treaty. First, its provisions are formulated unilaterally, while no corresponding

current suzerain; a set of provisions regulating proper behaviour toward him; demands for periodic visits to pay him homage, for yearly tribute and for military support in case of war against a foreign enemy. Parpola & Watanabe (1988: xxx-xxxi) suggest that they 'could also secondarily be put to use as treaties concluded with vassals.' Even so one cannot rely on them in reconstructing the structure and characteristic features of the actual Neo-Assyrian vassal treaties.

72 For contrasting opinions, see McCarthy (1978: 99–100) and Rooy (1989).

version for Bar-Ga'yah is known.⁷³ Second, there is no evidence that the Old Babylonian practice of formulating parity treaties in two unilateral documents was also current in the first millennium. Third, if it were indeed a parity treaty, composed in two unilateral versions, each presenting the obligations of the other party, one would expect that the authorities of Arpad would have publicized the obligations of the king of KTK or those of both parties. The fact that they advertised only their own obligations may hint that they were imposed on them by KTK, i.e., that it was a vassal treaty.

Still, nothing in the Sefire inscriptions necessarily implies Matī'el's subordination. In fact, some features exclusive to parity treaties can be found: (1) the military obligation is required only in case of defence; (2) the declaration (Stele I, Face C: 1) 'thus have we spoken [and thus have we wr]itten' suggests that the agreement was reached mutually; and, perhaps, (3) the absence of a 'historical prologue'.⁷⁴ These points, along with the fact that a different practice of formulating parity treaties existed at least in the Old Babylonian period, suggest that it might have been a parity treaty. For the moment, its status remains uncertain.

While the Sefire treaty shows some similarities, particularly in its curses, with the Neo-Assyrian treaties and some with the Hittite, it also has unique features that do not accord with either: (1) the preamble presenting the partners to the treaty is repeated twice (Stele I, A 1–6; B 1–6); (2) the presentation of the gods of KTK and Arpad as parties to the treaty;⁷⁵ (3) the concluding formula, 'thus have we spoken [and thus have we wr]itten' (Stele I, Face C, 1). Also remarkable is the public presentation indicated by its being copied onto the stelae, a practice otherwise known only from ancient Greece and Rome,⁷⁶ and hinted at in the Old Testament.⁷⁷

In the Neo-Assyrian vassal treaties one immediately notes a sharp deviation from the form and structure of the Hittite texts. This is apparent already in the preamble, the Hittite version of which presents the document as the dictate of the Hittite king alone, while the Neo-Assyrian preamble introduces it as a treaty (*adē*) concluded by the two parties.⁷⁸ On the other hand, the very appearance of the preamble sets the Neo-Assyrian treaties apart from the tradition of

73 In Stele I, Face A: 3–4 and Face B: 4–5, however, it is presented as 'the treaty of KTK with the treaty of Arpad, and the treaty of the lords of KTK with the treaty of the lords of Arpad'. As noted by Fitzmyer (1995: 64), this peculiar wording raises the question of whether a similar 'treaty' stele might have been set up in the territory of Bar-Ga'yah.

74 The fact that the Qedar treaty—though very likely not an ordinary vassal treaty but a protocol preceding or supplementing an existing subordinate treaty—has what seems to be a 'historical prologue' (obv. 4'–11') suggests that Neo-Assyrian vassal treaties might have included such a prologue, which in turn would imply a continuation of the Hittite tradition. If so, then the absence of this component in the Sefire inscriptions, a component characteristic only of a vassal treaty (Altman 2004: 473–481), would suggest their parity nature.

75 Note that in the Hittite-Egyptian treaty, the closest parallel to such a presentation, the Egyptian Sun-god and the Hittite Storm-god are only mentioned as having collaborated in bringing about that treaty, not as real parties to it.

76 Greece: Phillipson (1911: 398) and Adcock & Mosely (1975: 177ff.); Rome: Cicero, *pro Balbo* 53; Livy 2.33.9.

77 Deuteronomy 27: 2–8. Note also the connection between standing stones and covenant in Genesis 31: 48, 52; Exodus 24: 4; and Joshua 24: 26–27.

78 Surviving in the treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal of Tyre and to be restored in the treaty(?) drawn up for the Qedar tribe; see Parpola & Watanabe (1988), no. 11 and the preamble of the loyalty oaths in nos. 6 and 8.

the Old Babylonian treaties from Mari and Tell Leilan and suggests continuation of the Late Bronze Age tradition.

The treaty drawn up by Aššur-nerari V for Maṭi'ilu of Arpad is preserved in three separate fragments, its greater part being lost, including its preamble and the following section or sections. In contrast to the Sefire treaty, which has a list of divine witnesses but no adjuration, it includes an adjuration section resembling that of the Old Babylonian treaties from Mari and Tell Leilan. The section is, however, placed at the end of the document, recalling the Hittite practice of listing the gods toward the end. The first two sections of the extant part of the treaty call for a curse upon Maṭi'ilu, his family and his people should he violate the agreement, and this is followed by an elaborate ritual resembling the curses and rituals in the Sefire treaty, Stele I Face A.⁷⁹ The stipulatory sections present a new style, as each is followed by an elaborate curse. Though this style is found later in Esarhaddon's 'vassal-treaties', it does not appear in his vassal treaty for Baal of Tyre or in that for the Qedar tribe.

Regarding the treaty drawn up by Esarhaddon for Baal of Tyre, the sections that would have immediately followed the preamble have not survived, and it therefore cannot be established whether it might have included a historical prologue or an adjuration section. These badly damaged passages are followed by a stipulatory section, the style of which generally resembles that of the Hittite vassal treaties, differing greatly from that of the Maṭi'ilu treaty.

Finally, Aššurbanipal's 'treaty' with the Qedar tribe makes very restricted demands, requesting only that the tribe 'shall not strive for peace with Yauta' and 'shall make every effort to kill him' (obv. 12'-13'; rev. 5'-7'). Since these demands open and close the stipulatory section, it would seem that they were the only concern of the document. This, along with the fact that no demand for loyalty to the Assyrian king is expressed, suggests that it should be classified rather as a protocol preceding or supplementing an existing subordination treaty. In either case, it is a limited agreement that could not take the place of a regular subordination treaty like that drawn up for Baal of Tyre.⁸⁰ While it still may be regarded as a treaty, to what degree its structure can be considered typical of a Neo-Assyrian vassal treaty is questionable. Its second section, immediately following the preamble, seems to present a shortened form of adjuration (Parpola & Watanabe 1988: xxxvii). This would clearly set its structure apart from that of the Hittite vassal treaties and place it closer to that of the Old Babylonian treaties from Mari and Tell Leilan. The next section, however, presents a historical prologue, as do the Hittite vassal treaties and the 17th-century treaty from Alalah, but not the older Old Babylonian treaties.⁸¹ These two sections, together with the preamble, make this treaty with the Qedar tribe a sort of hybrid tradition.

The picture that emerges from the few treaties available from the first half of the first millennium is confusing. Rather than yielding answers they raise further questions, leaving open this inquiry into how many treaty traditions existed in the Ancient Near East.

79 A combination of curses and rituals is found in some Hittite loyalty oaths, such as the 'First and Second Soldiers Oaths' (CTH 427; Oettinger 1976), but not in treaties, and its appearance in the treaty of Maṭi'ilu seems to be either a new development or to stem from an older, yet unattested, tradition.

80 It thus cannot represent the treaty whose conclusion is referred to in Piepkorn 1933: 85, as suggested by Parpola & Watanabe (1988: xxxiii).

81 I fail to see in Esarhaddon's 'vassal treaties' what Parpola & Watanabe (1988: xxxviii) call a 'historical introduction' similar to that in the treaty with the Qedar or those of the Hittite vassal treaties.

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When Did the Hittites Begin to Write in Hittite?

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1. Recent Criticism of Conventional Opinion

Study of the ductus (begun by H. Otten) and analysis of the sign forms (according to the classification established by E. Neu and Ch. Rüster) have resulted in great progress being made in dating Hittite texts. A number of diagnostic signs enable one to date manuscripts with a fair degree of certainty to an early period (up to Šuppiluliuma I), to Muršili II, Muwatalli or to the last sovereigns. For some decades now it has been the custom to begin new textual editions with a palaeographic chart.

More precise chronological subdivisions are likely to be less convincing, since (a) scribes active in the same period could belong to different generations, and (b) a scribe could be influenced by the sign forms employed in the manuscript he was copying. (Certain mistakes suggest that a text could either be copied as opposed to taken down from dictation; see Rüster 1988 and Archi 2005–2006: 350).

Popko (2007: 576) recently examined the validity of such criteria in dating texts from the earliest period and noted that:

In seinen bahnbrechenden Veröffentlichungen unterscheidet H. Otten den Schriftduktus und die Zeichenformen als Kriterien der alten Graphik, später jedoch sind diese Benennungen ziemlich oft unter dem Begriff 'Duktus', gegen seine Definition, zusammengefaßt worden. Es wäre wohl besser, den Duktus, d.h. das äußerliche Aussehen einer Schriftart, und die Zeichenformen, auch aus praktischen Gründen, gesondert anzusehen, da sie ja nicht gleichwertig als Datierungskriterien sind. Im Fall vom Althethitischen erscheint das Duktuskriterium sehr überzeugend, wie es jedoch mehrere Beispiele aus der hethitologischen Literatur bestätigen, führt eine Altersbestimmung der Texte mit seiner Hilfe manchmal zu subjektiven Schlüssen.

Identification of the old ductus is based on the Zukraši-text, KBo 7.14+KUB 36.100, a document that mentions this military commander of Alalah, who is found also in AT 6, 27 (Alalah VII period). KBo 7.14+ is from Schicht IVc of Büyükkale, but 'die einst vorgeschlagene Datierung dieser Schicht in die althethitische Zeit ist [jedoch] umstritten' (Popko 2007: 578 with n. 13; see already Klinger 2006: 10–11). Popko (2007) observes that the shapes of some diagnostic signs such as DA and IT also occur in two Akkadian *Landschenkungsurkunden* (LSU) 'in älterem Duktus mit anonymen Tabarna-Siegeln' to be dated to the period of Telepinu. There are, therefore, no archaeological or written factors enabling us to date the Zukraši-tablet with any certainty to Hattušili I or Muršili I. Thus, because we have no Hittite manuscript that can be dated to the first part of the O(ld) H(ittite) period,

darf man die Frage, ab wann die Hethiter in hethitischer Sprache schrieben, auf verschiedene Weise beantworten...Höchstwahrscheinlich schrieb man in Hattusa zuerst akkadisch, wie fast überall im Alten Orient in altbabylonischer Zeit und später...Hierher gehört auch die

damalige Sitte, die Schenkungsurkunden akkadisch abzufassen. Wahrscheinlich sind die Anfänge des hethitischen Schrifttums erst in die Regierungszeit des Telepinu bzw. eines seiner Nachfolger zu datieren. Die hethitischsprachigen, nur in Abschriften erhaltenen, innenpolitischen Urkunden aus althethitischer Zeit sind Übersetzungen aus dem Akkadischen (Popko 2007: 579).

Van den Hout (2009) agrees with all of Popko's arguments and formulates yet others in a complex study which is impossible to summarize in any detail here. In his opinion, the archival system does not pre-date Tudḫaliya I, and the rise of writing must have been a gradual process:

When Hattušili I needed to communicate with Tunip-Teššub in the Syro-Mesopotamian area he secured the services of a foreign scribe while the Uršu-text may be an example of his use of the same cuneiform script and language for internal purposes. If the Uršu-text is old indeed, it may also offer one of the earliest glimpses at attempting to write Hittite. As far as datable records go, however, the typical Hittite variant of cuneiform does not seem to be attested until the late 16th century. It may have been Telepinu who with his renewed international policies towards Kizzuwatna, as well as his reforms on various internal levels, set in motion a process whereby a gradually increasing and more complex administration could no longer exist without the existence of a more or less permanent 'writing office'. Initially, Akkadian was still the language of written communication that had come with the script but the shift of writing in Hittite was made in the 15th century. The first stages can be seen in the early *Landschenkungsurkunden* with the occasional Hittite technical term in them but by the time of Arnuwanda I such charters were reduced to a formulaic framework in Akkadian with all the details filled out in Hittite...our corpus of non-datable OS and MS religious texts would have to have been written down in the 15th and earlier 14th century and our distinctions between the two corpora may have been influenced by subject matter rather than real palaeographic differences. For some Old Hittite compositions with historical narrative like the Anitta and Zukraši-texts, the Zalpa-tale, and the Palace Chronicles we may have to assume original Akkadian versions that were later translated into Hittite. There may also have existed a certain oral tradition (van den Hout 2009: 94–95).

Many years ago, Kammenhuber observed on a number of occasions that the ductus alone is too subjective a criterion with which to date a text, a fact recognized also by Neu (1980: XVI).

Now that one can no longer be certain that the Zukraši-text comes from a 'Schicht der althethischen Zeit', and appears, instead, to contain 'mittelhethitische Zeichenformen' (Popko 2007: 578), these particular sign forms (also the 'typisch Alter Duktus'?) would seem to be characteristic of texts from around the period of Telepinu (after 1550 B.C.),¹ not necessarily manuscripts dating to the first sovereigns of the Old Kingdom. Generally speaking, the sign forms of the Zukraši-text are very similar to those found in the Treaty of Zidanza II with Pilliya (KUB 36.108, CTH 25; Rüster 1972).

¹ The manuscript KBo 28.108(+) of the Treaty with Eḫeya shows a Middle Hittite ductus, while KBo 28.107 has a 'Syrian ductus' (Klinger 2003: 238–239). Thus far it has not been possible to establish to which manuscript the seal impression of Taḫurwaili belonged.

Hattušili's letter to Tunip-Teššub of Tikunani and the Uršu-text, KBo 1.11 (possibly from the same period), both in Akkadian, generally differ in the sign forms used. Some forms, however, resemble those of Alalaḫ VII.² 'Only by the time of the earliest charters [LSUs] does the typical Hittite cuneiform seem to become more firmly established. ...Not coincidentally, the charters are also the first direct expressions of administrative activity' (van den Hout 2009: 92). These are the earliest originals that can be dated with certainty, since they are authenticated with seals. According to Wilhelm (2005), the oldest LSUs can be ascribed to Telepinu or, at best, to his immediate predecessors Huzziya I or Ammuna in the late 16th century. They are in Akkadian (with some Hittite words), like the Treaty of Taḫurwaili with Eḫeya of Kizzuwatna. 'With his administrative reforms and renewal of international diplomacy Telepinu is an excellent candidate for a king who may have given the decisive push in getting the cuneiform script definitively established in the Hittite kingdom' (van den Hout 2009: 93).

2. Some Counterarguments

There is no conclusive documentary evidence that would either support the traditional opinion or disprove the new theory. One must, instead, judge which of the two scenarios is the more probable.

1. It is certain that the earliest *original* documents which have reached us are written in Akkadian. However, the table in van den Hout (2009: 91) is misleading. First, the letter for Tunip-Teššub comes from Tikunani, this king's residence. It is clear that Hattušili I, when campaigning in Northern Syria, had to entrust a local scribe with the task of drawing up this message in the language of written communication for the regions east of Central Anatolia. Second, the fact that the sword of Tudḫaliya I bears an inscription in Akkadian does not by any means signify that this was the main language in use in the scriptoria of the capital from the very beginning of the Empire. It only means that certain objects deposited in the temples and dedicated to the gods were inscribed in Akkadian, probably following the model of objects pillaged from Syrian cities. The inscription on the axe of Ammuna should also be interpreted in this way. Third, the treaties with Kizzuwatna, including that with Sunaššura, were written in Akkadian as a result of Syrian influence in the region. In Syria, the tradition of drawing up treaties in Akkadian pre-dated the Mitanni period.

2. Of all the different textual typologies, that of the LSUs is the least suited for determining the written language in use at Hattuša. These documents in Akkadian reproduce a single, extremely simple model designed in Hattuša and based on Syrian models with the following elements: the *našû-nadānu* formula; the clause containing the 'claim' (*ragāmu*); the formula 'The words of the Tabarna, the Great King, are of iron. They are not to be thrust aside, not to be broken. He who changes (them), his head will be cut off', attested only at Hattuša (Riemschneider 1958: 330–338). Within this typology, tradition is so strongly rooted that the formulaic sections (in Akkadian) remain intact also in LS 1 (KBo 5.7), dated to Arnuwanda I.

² A table with the signs of the Tikunani letter, together with those of KBo 1.11, is found in Klinger (1998: 375).

As was the custom, occupational titles are written with Sumerian logograms.³ Only the anthroponyms and toponyms, as well as the surface measurement *kapanu*, are written phonetically. Other Hittite lexical elements occur only very rarely. A few isolated cases of phonetic writing show, however, that LSU 4, 6 and 28 were conceived (and in some less technical sections read) in Hittite. An overall evaluation and dating of the more complete texts will only be possible after publication of the edition of the new documents, which Wilhelm is currently preparing for StBoT Beiheft 4.

3. The Uršu-text, KBo 1.11, is probably the earliest extant original text from Ḫattuša. It is dated on the basis of some sign forms that it shares with north-Syrian writing. According to Kempinski (1983: 33), the text is ‘in einem altbabylonischen Dialekt geschrieben, der dem von Mari sehr nahe steht. Duktus und Syllabar entsprechen den in Mari und den Archiven von Alalah VII gebräuchlichen’ (see also Klinger 1998: 370, 372).

The scribe of the Uršu-text must either have been of Syrian origin or have trained in a Syrian school, since he had a good command of Akkadian. The text, however, has a number of sign forms that in Ḫattuša underwent a separate development than the Syrian variants, becoming unique in the Hittite capital, at least since the time of Telepinu. The numerous ‘Hittiticisms’ in the Akkadian of this text, collected by Beckman (1995: 27 n. 12), are best explained by Kempinski’s hypothesis (1983: 34): ‘Es scheint, daß der Verfasser das Dokument während des Diktats aus dem Hethitischen ins Akkadische übersetzte, ...ein hethitisches Original oder auch nur eine frühe hethitische Übersetzung haben nie bestanden.’

According to van den Hout (2009: 92), ‘the few Hittite words and phrases in the Uršu-text may be regarded as early experiments with writing in Hittite and consequently might be the oldest written Hittite words preserved.’ He refers to the exemplum in rev. 14–18, which relates the ineptitude of the Hittite general, Šanta. It begins thus (l. 14): DUMU^{MEŠ} La-ri-ya ^mLa-ri-ya-aš<-ša> ḫu-uš-ki-wa-an-te-eš⁴ ⁴za-ma-ra ⁴Za-ba₄-ba₄ iz-mu-ru KISLAḪ la-aḫ-ni-it še-ḫu-we(PI)-en UR.TUR kur-zi-wa-ni-eš; ‘The sons of Lariya <and> Lariya (himself), while inactive, sang the song (of the War-god) Zababa: “We have *clogged* the threshing-floor with *lahni*! The puppies were wearing *helmets*.”’ In ll. 17–18 the scribe, not knowing how to render the Hittite concept, creates an *ad hoc* Akkadian term: ku-le-e-eš-šar...*i-pu-uš...te-pu-uš ku-la-ú-tum*; ‘Last year Tuthaliya engaged in hesitation; now you have engaged in hesitation!’⁵ The scribe appears to have had difficulty finding an adequate Akkadian term for the Hittite, rather than difficulty writing the Hittite word in the correct grammatical form.⁶

3 Some Hittitologists have for several decades been transliterating proper names as Akkadograms if preceded by an Akkadian or Sumerian logogram, although they are, in fact, names written phonetically in Hittite but not declined. Normalization seems also to have introduced arbitrariness into transliterating Akkadian. In relation to the treatment of the sign pairs containing the consonants B and P; S, Š and Z; G, K and Q, Westenholz (2006: 252) warns: ‘Do not trust the Assyriologists!’

4 According to Košak (personal communication): ‘Keine Plene-Schreibung!’

5 The function of this passage was understood already by Güterbock (1938: 129), who deemed it ‘wohl eine zur Illustration eingeschobene Anekdote’. A new transliteration, analysis and commentary of this passage were provided by Kempinski (1983: 40). See also Beckman (1995: 29–30), whose translation is used here.

6 KUB 30.71, a library protocol in Middle Script with the entry ‘Army report (of) Šanta’ could refer to the Uršu-text, as van den Hout (2009: 78) has noted.

In early Medieval documents, where the vernacular is mixed in with Latin, this is generally due to the writer’s uncertainty or inability to write in Latin rather than an attempt to write in the vernacular! In some public documents, instead, it may have been necessary to reproduce sworn acts precisely as they had been spoken. The earliest and most famous case is that of the Oaths of Strasburg, during the Carolingian period (Gärtner & Holtus 1995). The entire relation of the event is in Latin, but the all-important oaths are reproduced with the original formulae. First, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, the two younger sons of Louis the Pious, each make a speech to their respective followers in the language which these could understand: *alter teudisca* and *alter romana lingua*. The two sovereigns then swear an oath, exchanging languages so that the oath-taking can be understood by their counterpart’s followers. ‘Ludhuvicus...“Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament...”; Karolus teudisca lingua... “In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gehaltnissi...”’ (Gärtner & Holtus 1995:56). Lastly, the followers of the two kings also swear their oaths in their respective tongues.

The person entrusted with drawing up the formulas for the oaths must have encountered various problems, given the absence of a written tradition in the vernacular, i.e., doubts about how to represent the phonemes, the grammaticalization of the vernacular language, etc. For the ‘French’, i.e., the Gallic-Romance, Latin phonological, graphic and grammatical habits weighed heavily.

In the case of the Hittite language, the scribes must first have decided to use a chancery language, then to solve numerous difficulties in rendering phonemes by employing a less than precise writing and harmonizing the grammatical forms. Thus a scribal tradition was established that regularized all of these different aspects.

3. General Considerations

In suggesting that the earliest documents of the Hittite court up to the time of Telepinu were written down in Akkadian, van den Hout (2009: 93) does not believe that this ‘necessarily means...that an entire audience was kept in the dark’. He refers to the situation in England in the 12th and 13th centuries, as described by M. Clanchy:

A statement made in court in English or French, for example, might be written down in Latin, or conversely a Latin charter might be read out in English or French. Men like Abbot Samson evidently interchanged languages effortlessly, using whichever one was appropriate for the occasion...A royal message to a sheriff in the thirteenth century might have been spoken by the king in French, written out in Latin, and then read to the recipient in English.

England was never completely Romanized. It was the monks of the British Isles, however, who dictated the more rigid Latin rules, adopted by the school reform promoted by Charlemagne. Thus Latin was definitively distanced from the Romance languages. In Britain, as elsewhere, Latin was the language of the Church and the public administration, while the Norman court loved to express itself in French, and the general population knew only English.

In early Hittite Anatolia, Akkadian was seen as the expression of a superior culture (as was the case in Europe with Latin). The court, however, only used Hittite. The Annals of Ḫattušili I (CTH 4) was a monumental inscription for a ‘gold statue of myself’, most probably in Akkadian, composed along the lines of the Syrian model (the extant Akkadian and Hittite versions are more recent and have been reworked).⁷ That the Testament of Ḫattušili I (CTH 6) and the Edict of Telepinu (CTH 19) also have an Akkadian version (the manuscripts are late) has always been explained by the fact that such important state documents also required a second version in the ‘language of culture’. There may be no other document anywhere in the literature of the Ancient Near East so rich in pathos as the Testament (together with the Edict, CTH 5), and they were no less important for the dynastic succession than the Edict of Telepinu itself. It is very unlikely that Ḫattušili, who addressed all of Ḫattuša in his edicts, failed to make provision also for a Hittite version.

It is known for certain that, from Ḫattušili I onwards, the Hittites had scribes capable of writing, in Akkadian, texts that required mastery of the literary language. One may therefore presume that the Testament of Ḫattušili, written in Akkadian, was read out to Muršili I in Hittite (as van den Hout suggests): ‘I have given you my advice, and this [tab]et they shall read before you every month’ (II. 56–57). However, the fact that other historical documents of the Old Kingdom in Akkadian have not been found can be explained more easily if such versions simply never existed. It is, then, difficult to explain the extraordinary interest that developed (during the reign of Telepinu when political treaties and edicts were still written in Akkadian) for Hittite translations of documents such as the Edict of Ḫattušili I (CTH 5), which had by then been entirely superseded, or the Palace Chronicle, relating to the court at the time of this same king (CTH 8–9).

The Zalpa-text (CTH 3), and possibly also the Puḫanu Chronicle (CTH 16), could have been transmitted orally. This cannot have been the case, however, for the Deeds of Ḫattušili I (CTH 14–15) or those of Muršili I(?) (CTH 13; 12), which are lengthy texts describing (not in a recitative style) events that occurred in distant places, with unusual geographical and personal names.

Written versions of juridical norms do not normally date to the earliest periods. In Hittite Anatolia legal cases were administered by customary law even in later times. In the Old Hittite period, however, a collection of 200 ‘laws’ was drawn up at Ḫattuša, undoubtedly in Hittite. Some scholars have attributed this collection to Telepinu since, being the author of an edict, he would seem to personify a great reformer. There is, however, no evidence for this, and only Korošec has provided any justification for such a date.⁸ The ‘father of the king’, *A-BI LUGAL*, in §55 is, however, quite surely Ḫattušili I. The colophon of manuscript D (which

7 The four manuscripts with the Hittite version present different recensions, while the Akkadian version is known from only one manuscript (de Martino 2003: 24–28). The reference to a ‘gold statue of myself’ is attested only in the Hittite text (de Martino 2003: 68–69).

8 Korošec (1957–1971: 291b): ‘(Telepinu, der) berühmte Gesetzgeber...erwähnte (in seinem Edikt)...unter seinen Maßregeln, daß in Mordsachen „der Blutsherr“ darüber entscheiden sollte, ob der Mörder „sterben“ oder Schadenersatz leisten (*šarnikdu*) sollte, daß aber „dem König nichts (zustehen sollte)“ (*LUGAL-i-ma-pa li-e ku-it-ki*). Dieser Satz könnte den Sinn gehabt haben, daß der heth. König künftighin auf seinen Anteil an Strafen verzichtete. Jedenfalls geht auf Telepinu die Betrauung des Königsgerichts mit der Verfolgung der Zauberei zurück. Somit werden die Rechtssätze, die die Zuständigkeit des Königsgerichts unter Hinweis auf Zauberei vorschreiben, bald nach Telepinu entstanden sein.’

is late) attributes the collection to ‘the father of His Majesty’ *ŠA A-BI* ⁴UTU-*ŠI*. If these two figures are the same person, then it was Ḫattušili I who issued these laws and Muršili I who collected them in the written version.⁹

The Old Hittite prescriptive documents concerning the Hattian-Hittite cult are extremely detailed (Neu 1980). There is a marked continuity with Middle and Late Hittite documents of the same cultic tradition. It is quite possible that the Hattian cults, transmitted for centuries without ever being recorded in writing, were, once assimilated by the Hittites, celebrated for a further century until the time of Telepinu without any *aide-mémoire*. We know very little of what may have been the outcome of this kind of oral tradition. The Myth of Illuyanka (CTH 321) was dictated by the priest Kella to the scribe Piḫa-ziti at the time of Ḫattušili III when this king restored the cults of the Nerik region. Kella transmitted two different versions of the myth, both with some archaic features. It is not unusual for ‘oral’ (and ‘written’) cultures to use an archaic language for their liturgy. It could be that also the Hattian and Hittite versions of The Moon that Fell from Heaven (CTH 727), preserved in late manuscripts, like other Hattian(-Hittite) texts, were dictated directly in the later periods. It is difficult to judge the quality of the Hattian language of these texts.

The extant documentation is not sufficient to allow one to divide the Old Hittite language into different chronological periods. Old Hittite texts such as KBo 22.1 (an instruction) and KBo 17.1(+) (a ritual), however, appear to employ a more archaic syntax than that found in the Edict of Telepinu, which is extant in late manuscripts that preserve beyond any reasonable doubt the original text.

Works of great cultural and artistic merit existed before the introduction of writing, as is the case with compositions in many Indo-European languages. In order to draw up non-economic documents (or lexical lists of logograms) a system of writing that has phonetic signs is required. Together with a certain degree of familiarity with writing, there also had to be a perceived need to preserve fixed redactions of certain texts. In the case of Sumerian, these conditions were established in the 21st century, while older literary texts make it clear that an extensive oral literature had already existed for a long time.

In the Old Babylonian period young scribes spent years learning the Sumerian literary language within a well-established school tradition (Tinney 1999; Veldhuis 2004: 39–80). Requirements differed for other kinds of documents. The earliest documents from Ebla¹⁰ are administrative texts that use a limited number of Sumerograms, while only personal and geographical names, prepositions and a very few nouns are written phonetically. Thus, lengthy schooling was not necessary, and the first generation of Eblaite scribes probably trained in the scribal school of Mari. The next phases involved (a) acquiring a syllabary that rendered the complex phonological system of a Semitic language with greater precision; (b) mastering a sufficiently extensive range of Sumerograms; and (c) formulating fairly complex phrases for rituals and letters. All of this was achieved in the span of roughly ten years (Archi 2006).

9 See Archi (1968: 58–59). The ‘king (who) waived the palace share’ (§9), and therefore the author of the reform represented by the *karū...kinuna* clauses should be Ḫattušili I. On the problem of the dating of the law collection, see the recent discussion by Singer (2001).

10 Possibly among the first texts to be composed in this scriptorium are ARET II 4 and XIV 1, dating to the years that witnessed the deaths of Igrīš-Ḫalab of Ebla and Iplu(š)-il of Mari in the first half of the 24th century.

In the Old Assyrian period, Assyrian merchants residing in Anatolia as well as native Anatolians learned to write letters and administrative documents in Assyrian.¹¹ When the Assyrians abandoned their settlements in Anatolia, the conditions that required the use of this language and ductus ceased to exist (and had, by then, also fallen into disuse at Aššur).

The scriptorium of Hattuša could easily have availed itself of Syrian scribes, a depository of Babylonian literary tradition. Would it really have been so difficult to train the local scribes to use their language in line with the literary models already established for Akkadian? Few of the sign forms of the Uršu-text differ from those used in the Hittite texts. The Hittites simplified (even more than the Assyrian merchants) the Babylonian syllabary and in the earlier period made limited use of Sumerian logograms (as did the Assyrian merchants). The fact that there was at first only one active scribal school must have simplified the adoption of a chancellery language and the standardization of the writing system, a process which may have taken a relatively short time. If the LSUs were truly the first products of Syrian and Hittite scribes coexisting for at least a hundred years, they would represent a miserable result indeed.¹² Consequently, it is difficult to accept such a theory.

Certain states with complex structures used para-writing systems in keeping their accounts. The Hittite kings, from Hattušili down to and including at least Hantili I, however, had direct experience of some of the manifestations of power that had been established in Syria. Among these, the use of writing was absolutely indispensable. Hattušili realized this while campaigning in northern Syria, if not earlier. Commemorative inscriptions in Akkadian were the most highly valued means of leaving a record of oneself. At this point, it must have been obvious that written documents were also the best means of clearly expressing the king's wishes and establishing rites *ne varietur*. These same deeds of the kings, as well as models of behaviour for life at court and instructions for officials, could thereby attain a precise and definite format. The question is: Was it perhaps easier and more effective to dictate these to a scribe who would then translate them into a foreign language or to train native scribes so that such documents were more readily accessible to the elite that governed the Hittite state?

11 According to Kryszat (2008: 232), '(t)here are about 120 signs for syllabic writing for approximately 275 syllables. A few of these, signs as well as syllables, are rarely used. Some of these are even not used at all after a certain point in the course of the history of the level II settlement of Kārum Kaneš... KÜ.BABBAR for *kaspum* "silver" and AN.NA for *annukum* "tin" together represent nearly half of all the references for logographical writings in the Old Assyrian material.'

12 Van den Hout (2009: 83) notes that 'Hanikuili, scribe, son of Anu-šar-ilāni [a Babylonian!], scribe, interpreter?', who wrote a prism (KBo 19.99) containing the legend of Narām-Sin, could be the scribe of the same name who appears also in three LSUs of the Hantili II period.

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The Hittite Deal with the Ḫiyawa-Men

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The recently discovered tablet-finds from the 'house of Urtenu' in Ras Shamra contain two parallel letters whose contents include references to a 'man of Ḫiyawa' and 'men of Ḫiyawa' who were in the land of Lukka (RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523). Both letters are addressed to 'Ammurāpī, the last king of Ugarit. The first was written by a Hittite king, the second by a high official in the Hittite court called Benti-Šarruma. Though unnamed in his letter, the Hittite king must have been Suppiluliuma II (ca. 1207–), the last ruler of Ḫatti before the fall of the kingdom (Singer 2006: 243). Hence the letters refer to events which belong at the very end of the Hittite Empire and are among the few fragmentary pieces of information available about the empire's final years. They also contain the first (and last) Akkadian attestation of the name Aḫḫiyawa, here written in the aphaeresized form Ḫiyawa.

The letters have been published by Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat (2005) and subsequently discussed by Singer (2006). Following the rendering provided by Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat, Singer (2006: 250) translates the relevant passages thus:

1. From Suppiluliuma's letter: 'This time, didn't I send you Šatalli? Now, I've been told (that) "the Hiyawa-man is in the [land] of Lukka and there are no *rations* for him." Concerning this matter, don't tell me that there is nothing to do. Provide ships to Šatalli and let them take the *rations* for the Hiyawa-men.'
2. From Benti-Šarruma's letter: 'This time you have prevented (*vel sim.*?) Šatalli from taking *rations* to the Hiyawa-man in Lukka.'

The italicised word *rations* in Singer's translation represents Lackenbacher's and Malbran-Labat's 'rations alimentaires', which is their translation of PAD.MEŠ, the term that designates the cargo to be dispatched to the Ḫiyawa-men in Lukka; according to their interpretation, the Ḫiyawa-men were being sent food-rations in their capacity as some sort of Hittite workforce or mercenaries of Aḫḫiyawan origin. Contra this interpretation, Singer proposes that PAD.MEŠ in fact referred to a consignment of metal ingots intended for trade with merchants and/or representatives from Aḫḫiyawa, who were at that time awaiting the consignment at some port in Lukka.¹ Two important points made by Singer in his discussion are worth emphasising here: (1) In the final years of the Hittite empire, Ḫatti almost certainly suffered a series of shortfalls in its food production and became increasingly dependent on imports of grain from as far afield as Egypt to feed its population. The pharaoh Merneptah's claim that grain consignments from Egypt were needed 'to keep alive the land of Ḫatti' (Breasted 1906: iii §580) may not have

¹ Where precisely on the Lukka coast the Ugaritic fleet was stationed is a matter for speculation. Singer suggests the port of Limyra, perhaps to be identified with Bronze Age Zumarri. But there are several other suitable anchorages for a fleet along the Lycian coast, including Antiphellus (modern Kaş), off the coast of which the Uluburun wreck was found. Phaselis on the eastern coast of Lycia would have provided the closest anchorage in Lukka for ships coming from Levantine ports and has three excellent harbours. But as yet there is no evidence of settlement at Phaselis before the early 7th century.

been unduly exaggerated. In such circumstances, it seems far-fetched, as Singer observes, that the Hittite king would authorise grain shipments to mercenaries in the far west of Anatolia. (2) Despite claims of military victories in Lukka by both Suppiluliuma and his father and predecessor Tudḫaliya IV, this part of south-western Anatolia probably remained largely if not completely independent of Hittite control and was at times regarded as enemy territory. This would make it very unlikely that a Hittite workforce of any kind was located in the country. These considerations lead Singer to the alternative conclusion that the letters in question refer to a trade deal between the Hittite king and the Ḫiyawa-men. Singer (2006: 252–257) interprets PAD.MEŠ as ‘metal ingots’ and proposes that it was a consignment of such ingots that was to be dispatched to the Ḫiyawa-men in exchange for (unknown) Aegean products.

The passages dealing with (Aḫ)ḫiyawa in the Urtenu archive take on a particular importance because of the additional information they provide about the poorly attested period to which they belong, and also because they add to the very small corpus of texts which refer to Aḫḫiyawa. For these reasons, and because of differences of opinion about how the passages should be interpreted, I would like to offer some further thoughts on their possible meaning and significance. Before doing so, it should be emphasised that the term ‘Aḫḫiyawa’ varied in its connotations from one context to another. While few scholars now doubt that it was the name used by the Hittites and apparently other Near Eastern peoples in reference to the Mycenaean world, the name refers in some texts to a specific Mycenaean kingdom, with whose king the Hittite Great King corresponded on occasions, while in other texts it appears to be used as a generic term which encompassed much of the world inhabited by Mycenaean Greeks. This world extended from mainland Greece through parts of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean regions. Without more specific information, one cannot be sure whether a text reference to a ‘man of Aḫḫiyawa’ or ‘a man of Ḫiyawa’ indicates a representative of a particular Mycenaean king or other Mycenaean authority, or, more generically, a Mycenaean acting as a free agent, independent of any higher authority.

Singer’s interpretation of the Ḫiyawa passages in the Urtenu letters raises again the question of possible commercial links between Hatti and the Mycenaean world. In a comprehensive study Cline (1994) demonstrated, primarily on the basis of the extreme paucity of finds of Mycenaean artefacts in Hittite contexts and Hittite artefacts in Mycenaean contexts, that there is virtually no evidence for trade between Hittites and Mycenaeans. Since Cline’s study, a few additional Mycenaean pieces have come to light in the Hittite world, and vice versa, but the overall conclusions to be drawn from his study remain unchanged. There is no period in Hittite history for which there is evidence of regular, direct commercial contacts between Hittites and Mycenaeans. Cline (1991) sought to explain this by postulating a Hittite-imposed embargo on Mycenaean commercial activity, continuously upheld for over 200 years. But it seems more likely that the Hittites never traded with the Mycenaean world on a direct or regular basis, and that any access which they had to the products of this world was via intermediaries, like seagoing merchants from the Syro-Palestinian coastal states (Bryce 2003). More generally, the Hittites were not a great trading people and seem to have left almost all international commercial activities in which they were involved in the hands of others. If in more stable periods they did not participate directly in such activities, it would be extraordinary to find them suddenly engaging in a commercial transaction with Mycenaean Greeks, if that is how the Urtenu letters are to be interpreted, not only at a time when the empire was in crisis, but

also in a region that was remote from their homeland and normally regarded as enemy territory. Such a scenario would only seem feasible if they were seeking from their supposed Mycenaean trading-partner products or materials which had suddenly become of critical importance to them and were not obtainable from closer or more secure sources. I can think of no such items.

If the Hittites themselves were not great international traders, can more be said of the Mycenaeans? The Late Helladic III period has long been seen as a time when the Mycenaean world, through colonising and trading enterprises, greatly expanded its contacts with the coastlands of the Mediterranean and the regions lying beyond. Around 1400 BC, Mycenaeans occupied Knossos in Crete and established settlements in Rhodes and other islands of the Dodecanese. By 1300, Miletos on Anatolia’s western seaboard had become strongly Mycenaean in character (Niemeier 2005). Troy allegedly provided the gateway for Mycenaean commercial enterprises in the Black Sea region, and Mycenaean products were found in many locations along Anatolia’s Aegean coast, at some 20 sites in Egypt and at more than 60 sites in the Syro-Palestinian region. Along the trade routes passing through Syria from the seaports of the eastern Mediterranean, Mycenaean merchandise reached the cities and kingdoms of Mesopotamia. The image is a dynamic one, one of Mycenaean colonial outreach and commercial enterprise on a grand international scale. But how closely does this image reflect reality?

Once one starts applying basic criteria for determining who a settlement’s occupants were—domestic architecture, burial practices and the like—clear evidence for overseas Mycenaean settlement becomes very sparse. Knossos and Miletos appear to provide outstanding examples of such settlement. But they are almost alone in this respect. Müskebi on Anatolia’s south-western coast is the only site in the whole of Anatolia, other than Miletos, where one can be fairly sure that Mycenaean occupation took place. One can also be confident that Mycenaeans settled on Rhodes, at places like Trianda and Ialysos, as well as on other islands of the Dodecanese. But these settlements were probably no more than Mycenaean enclaves, perhaps of merchants, within a native population. There is no evidence that Mycenaeans themselves were ever present in the Syro-Palestinian region, let alone settled there. Nor is there evidence that Mycenaean immigrants established settlements on Cyprus, the land called Alasiya in Late Bronze Age texts. Throughout the Late Bronze Age, Cyprus was much more closely linked, politically and culturally, to the Near Eastern world than it was to the Aegean.

With regard to commercial activity, the actual evidence for *direct* Mycenaean participation in international trading operations is surprisingly meagre.² The mere accumulation of Mycenaean objects at a certain site is not in itself proof that Mycenaeans traded, let alone settled, there. For example, we have no proof that Mycenaean traders themselves ever visited the land of the pharaohs, though trade items of Mycenaean manufacture have been found at many sites in Egypt. By contrast, the presence of Minoan merchants in Egypt is evident from their appearance in Egyptian tomb paintings of the 18th dynasty (Vermeule 1972: 148–151; Rehak 1998). Nor is there any proof that Mycenaeans were ever present in the trading emporia of the Syro-Palestinian region, despite the 60 or more sites in this region where Mycenaean pottery has been found. It may be suggested that export and import traffic between the Mycenaean kingdoms and other parts of the Late Bronze Age world was very largely in the hands of others, like Syrian merchants, acting as agents for the distribution of Mycenaean products as well as

² For papers on many aspects of the contacts referred to here between the Mycenaean and Minoan worlds and the Egyptian and Near Eastern worlds, see Cline and Harris-Cline (1998).

for imports into the Mycenaean world. The ill-fated merchant vessels that sank off the coast of Lycia, south-western Turkey (the so-called Gelidonya and Uluburun wrecks), very likely provide examples of this (Bass 1997: 414–416; Pulak & Bass 1997: 266–268).

Mycenaean outreach and participation in the international affairs of the Late Bronze Age appear to have been much less prevalent than has often been supposed. If so, the Mycenaean settlement at Miletos assumes all the greater significance. For Miletos may well have become the most important Mycenaean centre outside the Greek mainland; indeed the only important Mycenaean centre outside mainland Greece, except perhaps for Knossos. Textually, the Mycenaean presence at Miletos is reflected in the sovereignty that a king or kings of Ahhiyawa exercised over the land of Milawata, of which Miletos was the focal point. In the well-known but inappropriately named ‘Tawagalawa letter’, attributed by most scholars to Hattusili III, the Hittite king addresses his Ahhiyawan counterpart as his ‘brother’ and equal, and seeks his cooperation in restoring stability to western Anatolia after the disruptive activities of anti-Hittite elements in the region. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the Ahhiyawan king continued to support anti-Hittite movements, and that finally, in the reign of Hattusili’s son and successor Tudḫaliya IV, the Hittites seized back Milawata from Ahhiyawan sovereignty. Deprived of his only major base in western Anatolia, the Ahhiyawan king lost his ‘Great King’ status in the Near Eastern world, at least as far as the King of Hatti was concerned. (As far as other Great Kings of the Near East were concerned, he may never have had such a status.) This, it has been suggested (Bryce 2005: 308–309), may explain the erasure of Ahhiyawa from the list of Great Kings in the draft of the treaty that Tudḫaliya drew up with his vassal Šaušgamuwa, ruler of the Syrian state of Amurru, most recently translated by Singer (2003: 98–100).

The draft ends a few lines after the list with the prohibition, ‘[Let no] ship of [Ahhiyawa] go to him (i.e., to the king of Assyria).’ Since it was literally impossible for a ship of Ahhiyawa to travel to Assyria, the passage is generally interpreted to mean that Tudḫaliya was imposing a ban on trade between Ahhiyawa and Assyria, presumably involving merchandise brought by ship to the Levantine coast before being transported overland into Mesopotamia. This interpretation, which would of course accord well with Cline’s theory of a Hittite embargo on Mycenaean commercial activity, is clearly influenced by a passage a few lines earlier in the treaty which makes quite explicit a Hittite embargo on merchant traffic between Amurru and Assyria. Tudḫaliya spells out the terms of the embargo and requires his vassal to swear to uphold them. But discussion of trade matters concludes at this point in the treaty, and the following clause, separated from its predecessor by a paragraph divider, turns to military matters and the mustering of an army and a chariot contingent. Then, after a further paragraph divider, comes the apparent reference to a ship of Ahhiyawa. Whether the correct reading here is ‘ship of Ahhiyawa’ or (far less likely) ‘warship’, as proposed by Steiner (1989), it is most probable that the reference belongs to the same context as the military matters discussed immediately before it. There could well have been shiploads of freebooting Mycenaeans trawling the Mediterranean in search of either plunder or military service in the hire of a foreign king. It may be suggested that it is against the prospect of Mycenaeans such as these entering the forces of the Assyrian king that Tudḫaliya’s ban is imposed. In other words, it is Mycenaean mercenaries rather than Mycenaean merchandise that Tudḫaliya is attempting to prevent from reaching Assyria via the ports of the Syro-Palestinian coastlands. This suggestion would seem to be reinforced by the lack of any significant evidence that the Mycenaeans ever traded with the Hittite or Hittite-

controlled world, and indeed by the lack of any significant evidence for *direct* Mycenaean trading activity in the eastern Mediterranean and the countries beyond.

This leads back to the Hiyawa-men in the letters from the Urtenu archive. These people are probably to be regarded as mercenaries after all—a possibility not ruled out by Singer (2006: 252, n. 40)—whose services are being sought by the Hittite king Suppiluliuma in exchange for the consignment of PAD.MEŠ that is to be transported to them by ship. The loss of Ahhiyawan sovereignty over Milawata/Miletos may well have left in its wake a number of stateless Ahhiyawans/Mycenaeans who formed groups of their own, in some cases hiring out their services as mercenaries or engaging in raiding and plundering expeditions. The rugged terrain of the Lukka region, especially Lycia, offered many convenient bases from which they could launch attacks on neighbouring territories, or to which they could retreat if threatened or pursued by Hittite expeditionary forces. Also, the harbours of Lycia provided suitable bases for Ahhiyawan seagoing enterprises. Already in the 14th century, and probably earlier, the coastal cities of both Cyprus and Egypt had been harassed by pirate raids emanating from Lukka.

It is not unlikely that Ahhiyawans swelled the ranks of anti-Hittite forces in western Anatolia, where uprisings necessitated military campaigns by both Tudḫaliya IV and Suppiluliuma II, campaigns which may well have been less successful than the records of these kings claim (Hawkins 1995: 23–24, 68–71). So too the enemy forces which Suppiluliuma confronted both on the island of Alasiya and in the seas off its coast (Bryce 2005: 332–333) may have included Ahhiyawan forces. This may perhaps provide part of the background for the Hittite mission to the Hiyawa-men in Lukka. It is clear from the ‘Urtenu letters’ that their recipient, ‘Ammurāpī, had been reluctant to provide ships for this mission and had been rebuked for his reluctance, both by the Hittite king and by the latter’s official, Benti-Šarruma, and ordered once more to carry out his instructions. Singer (2006: 250) plausibly suggests that these instructions can be linked with the well-known letter written by a king of Ugarit, almost certainly ‘Ammurāpī, to the king of Alasiya. The former declares that he cannot give the Alasiyan king the assistance he requests, since all his infantry is in Hatti and all his ships are stationed in Lukka. What purpose was there in sending the Ugaritic fleet to the south-western coast of Anatolia, particularly when it might otherwise have been used to help protect vital grain-shipment routes to Anatolia from Egypt and through the waters off the Syro-Palestinian coast, particularly when its absence left Ugarit’s own cities highly vulnerable to enemy attack? The Urtenu letters may now provide the answer to this question. The Ugaritic fleet was to be used for a mission of vital importance to the Hittite world, even at the risk of exposing Ugarit itself to attack during its absence and seriously depleting the Hittites’ defence capabilities in the waters around Alasiya.

I suggest that the fleet was used essentially for escort duty, initially to convey the PAD.MEŠ to the Hiyawa-men who were in Lukka. The importance, the value and probably also the size of the cargo would have required a large fleet (at least by Late Bronze Age standards) to transport it to its destination and to protect it on the journey. All this must have happened in the wake of successful negotiations between a representative of the Hittite king and the ‘man of Hiyawa’ referred to in his letter. There is nothing in the letter to indicate that this man was acting as a representative of an Ahhiyawan king or anyone else. More likely, he was the leader of an Ahhiyawan mercenary force whose services could be bought. It may well be that he and his forces had originally fought against the Hittites, perhaps in the uprisings in Lukka, perhaps in the battles in and around Alasiya, but had been persuaded by the promise of a substantial

reward to change sides. There seems to be little doubt that the Hittites were now not only suffering from food shortages, but also from serious shortfalls in the number of troops they needed to defend their increasingly fragile realm. It is known from Ramesses II's account of the battle of Qadesh that the Hittite king Muwattalli II made extensive use of mercenaries to swell his forces at Qadesh. The last Hittite kings may have come to rely increasingly on mercenaries, probably in some cases bolstering their defence forces by negotiating deals with warrior groups who had previously fought against them. It may well be that Ahhiyawans were now employed by the last Hittite king in this manner, even if Ahhiyawans had never before served in the Hittite army.

There can hardly be any doubt that the PAD.MEŠ to be dispatched to Lukka constituted a cargo of significant value. Singer's suggestion that the term refers to metal ingots still awaits consideration by other philologists, but if he is right, it may be that the ingots were made of precious metals, silver and/or gold, to be used as payment for the Hiyawa-man and his forces. Alternatively, it is possible that the ingots were of tin and copper, like the main cargo found in the Uluburun wreck. In this case, the PAD.MEŠ would have constituted the materials used in the manufacture of bronze, sent to the Hiyawa-men for making their own weapons. (This calls to mind the bronze long-sword discovered in 1991 near the Lion Gate at Hattusa, which was probably fashioned in an Aegean/western Anatolian workshop; see Cline 1996; cf. Taracha 2003). In either case, the recipients of the cargo had likely agreed to enter the service of the Hittite king. The dispatch of the Ugaritic fleet to Lukka may then have had a double purpose, first to convey the cargo of PAD.MEŠ to the Hiyawa-men, and second, perhaps, to convey these men back to Hittite territory for service in the Hittite army. Alternatively, the Hiyawa-men may have had their own ships and may have been paid to join the naval forces assembled by Suppiluliuma for the defence of Hittite coastal territories and grain-routes in the eastern corner of the Mediterranean. The Hittites must have believed that there were substantial benefits to be gained from the successful completion of the Lukka mission, great enough to justify the costs and risks which such a mission would have entailed. Not the least of these costs and risks was, very likely, the commitment of the entire Ugaritic fleet to the enterprise and the consequent increased exposure of the region which it normally helped defend to enemy attack while the mission was in progress.

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Hittite Religion and the West

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When tracing the transmission of ideas between cultures, it has become fashionable in classical scholarship in recent years to replace the old geopolitical paradigm, with its focus on centre and periphery (and the temporal and spatial hierarchy implied therein), with one that understands human space as a series of networks (Malkin 2003: 56–57).¹ Human encounters along these networks of exchange—which include, among others, trade, religious cults, identity (for a Hittite example of which see Gilan 2008) and myth (Malkin 2004: 358)—are reciprocal, accumulative and dynamic (Malkin 2004: 363). For ancient Anatolia, evidence of such networks is especially plentiful in the religious arena (Rutherford 2006: 3). Recent studies have been able to match certain Anatolian deities with their Greek equivalents, for example, the Sungoddess of the Earth with Demeter (Collins 2002), the *piḫassassi* Storm God with Pegasos (Hutter 1995) and Telipinu with Dionysus (Tassignon 2001). Ritual practices have hinted at the depth and range of cultural exchange in Anatolia, in particular necromantic rites (Steiner 1971), certain forms of pig sacrifice (Collins 2006), choral song (Rutherford 2008) and the scapegoat ritual (Bremmer 2001). On the mythic level, the *kursa*, a hunting bag made of goatskin, has been connected with the golden fleece, Athena's aegis and the 'breasts' of Artemis of Ephesus;² the Illuyanka myth, involving a battle with a dragon, is also incorporated into the myth of the golden fleece (Haas 1975, 1978; Bremmer 2006); and the Telipinu myth provides an antecedent for the Hesiodic Hymn to Demeter (Burkert 1979: 123–142). Finally, numerous correspondences between Hurro-Hittite poetry and Hittite prayer and Greek epic and prayer have been identified (West 1997; Bachvarova 2002, 2005, 2009).

The concept of networks and the related idea of a 'middle ground'—the common and mutually comprehensible world that emerges from cultural interactions along the networks of exchange (Malkin 2004: 356–359)—are potentially useful tools for understanding such trafficking in ideas, not only between Anatolians and Greeks, but also between the Hittite kingdom and its subject peoples within Anatolia. With these tools in hand, I will revisit the much-discussed group of rituals from the western Anatolian kingdom of Arzawa known as the scapegoat rituals in an effort to reconstruct the circumstances under which they may have been adopted into the Hittite ritual repertory. From there, I will move to the question of Mycenaean and Greek interactions with Anatolians in western Anatolia and offer a possible paradigm for understanding the transmission of the Anatolian scapegoat tradition to the Greeks. I am honoured to dedicate this study to my dear friend and colleague, Itamar Singer, who has contributed so much to our understanding of Hittite and Greek interactions—as he has to all things Hittite.

1 I am grateful to both Sandra Blakely and Mary Bachvarova for making their very interesting and helpful articles available to me in advance of publication. I am further grateful to Prof. Blakely for drawing my attention to the work of Irad Malkin.

2 See Haas (1975); Watkins (1998); Morris (2001b); also Bremmer (2006).

Of Goats and Gods: The Rituals of Western Anatolia

The kingdom of Arzawa in western Anatolia appears in written records for the first time during the reign of Hattusili I (mid 17th century; Bryce 2005: 73–74). Tudḫaliya I/II (late 15th–early 14th century) launched a successful campaign in western Anatolia. During the turbulent reign of Tudḫaliya II/III, Arzawa achieved autonomy from its Hittite overlord, its king Tarḫuntaradu even seeking a marriage alliance with the Egyptian pharaoh. Mursili II (ca. 1321–1294) fought a major war in the region, in his third year destroying the city of Millawanda (Miletos) and the following year breaking Arzawa up into three smaller political units, the Seḫa River Land, Mira-Kupaliya with its capital at Apasa (Ephesus), and Ḫapalla. Hattusili III later had cause to return to the region, in fact, entered Millawanda in pursuit of his prey, although with no intent to conquer it. Under Tarkasnawa, the kingdom of Mira once again established a level of autonomy from its Hittite overlord, Tudḫaliya IV, which it apparently retained under Tarkasnawa's successor, Parḫutta (Hawkins 1998: 20).

This, in brief outline, is the history of Arzawa. What is known of the religion of this kingdom comes entirely courtesy of the Hittite libraries and the scribes who maintained them. Thanks to the work of Daliah Bawanypeck as well as Manfred Hutter one is now able to connect a number of ritual texts with these territories in western Anatolia. Among these are the rituals of the augurs Ḫuwarlu, Anniwiyani and her son Armati, Maddunani and Dandanku as well as the Middle Hittite rituals of the Wise Women Paskuwatti and Alli. In addition are two groups of rituals that have received considerable attention for their parallels in the Greek world, namely, those involving a scapegoat and those performed for the Protective Deity of the *kursa* (CTH 433.1–3).

Morris (2001b: 140–148) has emphasized the tutelary aspect of Artemis, the 'lady of Ephesus', by tracing the origins of her so-called breasts to the *kursa*. In response, Hutter (2003: 269) has pointed out the western Anatolian background for the *kursa* on the basis of the rituals addressed to the Protective Deity of the *kursa*.³ This deity was a god of wildlife, animals and birds. The category of specialist responsible for performing the rituals for the Protective Deity of the *kursa* is the augur, and in these rituals the deity is addressed in connection with bird oracles (Hutter 2003: 229–230, 237). But the Protective Deity of the *kursa* was also closely connected with the hunt and with warfare, a fact that gives the rituals for the deity something in common with the scapegoat rituals.

The rituals attributed to Aṣḫella, Uḫḫamuwa and Pulisa are the better-preserved examples of the Arzawan scapegoat genre. Also belonging to this group are the rituals of Tapalazunawali, Tarḫuntapaddu, Adda and an unknown specialist. The rituals of Tarḫuntapaddu and Adda are as yet unpublished. Notably, none of the specialists connected with the rituals is identified as an augur or indeed given any professional title, which is not unique among rituals performed by men, but at minimum indicates that these rituals were not the purview of augurs or other trained professionals.

The rituals of the augurs Dandanku and Maddunani, also counted among those originating in Arzawa, although designed to address plague, like the scapegoat rituals, belong to separate ritual types. Their distinctiveness appears to have been recognized by their Hittite redactors, who

3 Although Hutter (2003: 268–269) also warns that the interpretation of Ephesian Artemis as a holdover from a tutelary deity of the citadel of Apasa/Ephesus, as suggested by Morris (2001b), remains uncertain.

collected them on their own *Sammeltafel* separate from the scapegoat rituals. Maddunani's is identified as a *muranza*-ritual, performed in order to ascertain which deity is causing a plague in the army. Dandanku's ritual involves a *Tordurchschreitungszauber* (KUB 7.54 iii 9–12)—a purification procedure involving passing through a gate constructed for the purpose—and a blood sacrifice (KUB 7.54 ii 20–24) in addition to the scapegoat rite; the 'scapegoating' itself involves directing a donkey's eyes into enemy territory in order to direct divine anger there (KUB 7.54 iii 32–38). Although the ritual is to be performed in case of a plague in the army (caused by the deity Iyarri in this case), it appears to have been performed by individuals looking for relief from plague rather than by the troops as a whole, evident from the stipulation that 'If the lord of the offering is poor, they use a donkey figurine of clay.' In fact, the presence of these rituals in the corpus hints at a much wider pool of scapegoat rites that simply were not preserved.

There is a considerable degree of cross-fertilization among the Arzawan ritual types, as Bawanyeck (2005a: 14) notes. The *kursa*, for example, turns up in other Arzawan rituals apart from those for the Protective Deity of the *kursa*. In the ritual of Alli, the four human male-shaped figurines to be used to counter sorcery each holds a *kursa* in its hand, and Maddunani's ritual (CTH 425.1) includes an offering to Zithariya, a deity closely associated with the Protective Deity of the *kursa*; originally a Hattic deity, his symbol was the *kursa*. Other elements typical of the Arzawan corpus may be found in the scapegoat rituals as well. For example, the disposal of the impurity generated by the rites in the form of fodder for the horses and dogs of the deity in Tapalazunawali's and Uḫamuwa's (horses only) rituals is shared with Dandanku's and Huwarlu's (Bawanyeck 2004: 42). In addition, a variant rite, which Bawanyeck includes among the *Tordurchschreitungszauber* rituals (often involving cutting animals, especially puppies, in half and placing them on either side of the gate; Bawanyeck 2004: 40) and which is found in many of the Arzawan compositions, is also used in Ašhella's ritual, where two fires are set for the troops to pass through, although no gate is present.

Such shared elements indicate that the scapegoat rituals clearly belong to this western Anatolian tradition, yet they are distinct enough to form a separate genre within it. The scapegoat rituals, all of which date to the empire period, have in common that they were to be performed in the event of a plague in the army caused by a deity of an enemy land, although each takes a different approach to solving the problem. In terms of the scapegoat itself, whereas Ašhella uses a woman along with as many rams as there are officers in the camp, Pulisa uses a woman, a prisoner, a bull and an ewe, and Uḫamuwa uses only a wether (castrated ram). In each case, the adorned scapegoats are sent into the enemy camp with the goal of conveying the anger of the deity and the resulting impurities to the adversary. Their unity of theme and purpose may be sufficient to argue that they were created at more or less the same time. If so, the question is, by what processes and under whose patronage might this have occurred?

Anatolian Cultures in Contact: The Transmission of the Scapegoat Rituals

Ašhella's may be seen as a Hittite ritual insofar as it was written in Hittite and preserved in the Hittite state libraries, but as has most recently been emphasized by Hutter (2003: 234) and Bawanyeck (2005b: 299–300), Arzawa had its own ritual tradition, one that the Hittites understood to be distinct from their own. The Hittite kings adopted the rituals of Arzawa

from their original homeland apparently to address specific needs. Though the capital clearly influenced the various regions within the empire in many ways, the libraries at Hattusa are in this case, and very often, the end point in this network of exchange.

In light of this, a number of questions present themselves: Where were the rituals first recorded on clay, in Arzawa or in Hattusa? Are the scribes who wrote them down also responsible for their content or were they relying on the information provided to them by ritual specialists?⁴ In other words, are the composer and the scribe one person or two? Is there evidence of pseudonymic authorship? That is, did the persons to whom the rituals were attributed really compose them? And if the texts are prescriptive rather than descriptive, then how close to the original, orally performed rituals are they really? That is, how much alteration did they undergo in the transition from the oral to the written tradition and during subsequent processes of redaction? Unfortunately, none of these questions can at present be answered definitively, but what can be said toward that aim?

First, scribal interference is evident in the selective transmission of certain rituals over others. As noted by Bawanyeck (2005a: 2–3), current knowledge of Arzawan rituals is limited to what the Hittites chose to appropriate for their own purposes. Because so many of the rituals reflect a military interest, it may perhaps be assumed that it was felt that the Arzawa specialists were especially effective in this area; but it may also be a reflection of the circumstances under which the rituals were transferred (see below).

Second, the scapegoat rituals are clearly prescriptive rather than descriptive. This is evident, *inter alia*, in the use of 'if...then' clauses, e.g., Pulisa's specification that a male prisoner is to be used in case a male deity has caused the pestilence, a woman in case it was a female deity. Other signs of scribal interference appear to be lacking: there is no sign of dependence on other tablets, i.e., no internal references to additional texts containing, for example, the incantations; the fill-in-the-blank element when naming the ritual patron is not attested; and there are no obvious mismatches between the lists of paraphernalia and the performance (Miller 2004: 240, 512, etc.). In fact, in the scapegoat rituals the paraphernalia used is minimal and is mentioned in the text only at the point at which it is to be used, which may or may not be an indication of a relatively short redactional history. Be that as it may, they are instructions for rituals whose form was set, which removes them one step further from the actual performed ritual.

Third, at least three of the scapegoat rituals involve the participation of the king: Tarhun-tapaddu's, Pulisa's and Ašhella's. This can be interpreted in at least one of two ways; either the scribes or authors responsible for creating the compositions shaped existing rituals (or created new ones) to suit the needs of the Hittite king, or the rituals were originally intended for the kings of Arzawa and were taken over more-or-less intact for the Hittite king. Were the rituals compiled first under the patronage of the Arzawan royal house, as Miller (2004: 530–531) proposes for the Kizzuwatnean rituals?

From the evidence few conclusions are possible about the authorship and origins of the compositions. The texts clearly underwent an editorial process at the hands of their authors and/or scribes, whether Arzawan, Hittite or a combination of the two, but if further examination bears out a relatively short redactional history for these rituals, it might mean that their useful life fell into a relatively short span of time. If so, that period may have been the reign of Mursili II.

4 See Miller's (2004: 471) scribal employment model.

In the twelfth year of Mursili II's reign, his vassal in Mira, Maṣḥuiluwa, joined in a rebellion against him. Without local support, though, Maṣḥuiluwa was ultimately forced to flee to Masa, whose leaders turned him over to their Hittite overlord rather than face a military confrontation. Against this historical backdrop probably belongs an oracle report (KUB 5.6+KUB 18.54; CTH 570), which purports to have established that Maṣḥuiluwa had uttered curses against a statue of a *zawalli*-deity representing the king (Mursili II) that he kept in his palace in Arzawa (van den Hout 1998: 3). It was also determined that a *mantalli*-ritual was needed to counter the effects of the curses. The ritual had to be performed in the town of Kuwalana by Maṣḥuiluwa or his representative before further rituals could be carried out on behalf of the Great King in Hattusa. The report also stipulates that the ritual had to be performed in both Hittite and Arzawan fashion,⁵ and it makes mention of a woman, NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN (the Hittite reading of her name is not known), who has a role to play in the performance of the *mantalli*-ritual.

By the time of Mursili II's reign, the Hittite ritual repertory already included the methods of at least two female practitioners of Arzawa for dealing with the problems of sexual impotence (Paskuwatti) and sorcery (Alli). NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN apparently represents a third. Two catalogue entries (KBo 31.6 iii' 11'–13'; 14'–15') list NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN as a ritual expert from Arzawa, once in connection with a ritual to counter sorcery and once with a *mantalli*-ritual to be carried out on behalf of the queen. If one may assume that the NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN in the catalogue is the same woman as the one named in the oracle report, it allows one to date the point of transmission of at least one group of Arzawan rituals to the reign of Mursili II (see discussions in Bawanypeck 2005a: 12–14 and Hutter 2001: 230, 237).

Mursili's overwhelming concern for alleviating the plague in Hatti points temptingly to him as the instigator of the transmission of the rituals against plague as well. The establishment of a garrison in Mira following his successful two-year campaign in the region, a move that was unusual for the Hittite kings (Bryce 2003: 65), not only testifies to the unstable situation, but also provides a possible point of transmission.⁶ Mursili II's respect for the efficacy of Arzawan rituals may have grown as he campaigned in the region. Perhaps it was after his conquest of Arzawa, while the Hittite armies fortified, garrisoned and refurbished four Arzawan cities (Hawkins 1998: 14–15), that Hittite scribes were assigned the task of recording the rituals of the people of Arzawa with their focus on plague within the ranks of the army.

The fact that NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN is a historically attested person who lived at the time when her rituals were most likely transported to the Hittite capital makes it more likely that the rituals attributed to her were actually composed by her, even if the assistance of a scribe

5 Part of the rite involved carrying the deity (or just its apparel?) between a he-goat and fire, recalling other Arzawan rituals, as discussed above.

6 Notably, in his treaty with Maṣḥuiluwa's successor, Maṣḥuiluwa's sacred city is exempted from the stipulations of the treaty: 'A single sacred city belonging to Maṣḥuiluwa himself is situated on the Siyanta River, and it shall be exempted from the oath' (Beckman 1999: 76, §10). The Siyanta River runs through Pedassa, so Maṣḥuiluwa's cultic centre lay outside the territory of Mira as defined by Mursili II. The positioning of an Arzawan cult centre in the region of Pedassa itself raises interesting possibilities for illuminating networks of exchange in Bronze Age Anatolia. One ritual presumably from Arzawa and assumed to be of pseudonymic authorship is listed in the catalogue KBo 31.6 iii 8ff.: 'Words of Maṣḥuiluwa: When the tongue of [...] or blood(shed) or...the (sun-god's) curses reach a person, I treat him as follows'; translated by Hutter (2003: 226); see also Hutter (2001: 228–229). Could the ritual have been attributed to the Lord of Mira because he himself had been guilty of uttering curses? Does it belong to the same events as described in the oracle report KUB 5.6+? See Hutter (2003: 226) and Klengel (1999: 194–195).

may have played a role, although other explanations are possible. If the scapegoat rituals date to the same period, might this observation be extended to them? The fact that the individuals to whom the scapegoat rituals are attributed are given no professional title must bear on this question in some way, but exactly how is unclear. If the attribution to the Arzawan ritualists is genuine, then Hittite scribes would have taken down the rituals as created, described and/or performed by the Arzawan specialist; but even if the rituals are pseudonymic, one has to assume that they nevertheless reflect practices and oral traditions that were believable and recognizable in an Arzawan context.

In sum, circumstantial evidence places the appropriation of the scapegoat rites in the reign of Mursili II. That this king was no stranger to scapegoat practices is apparent from the rituals performed by and for him to treat his aphasia or 'Sprachlähmung'. Still, although the appropriation of the rites may have been motivated by a real need, namely plague, one should not leave unexamined the additional possibility that these rituals were adopted as an intentional strategy of accommodation and mediation in the new political reality in the West.

Shifting the Paradigm

Mythical narratives and cultic practices provided useful media for coping with 'a range of historical needs and circumstances' (Blakely, forthcoming). Malkin (2005: 238) writes that 'myths and cults in particular could be used to facilitate coexistence or peacefully mediate among ethnic groups and their territorial claims.' Malkin's focus is the Archaic period, when Greek colonists were encountering native populations and creating colonial 'middle grounds' that greatly facilitated cultural exchange. Relevant for the present discourse concerning the Hittite world is the intentionality of ritual appropriations, not only as a practical concern (the wellbeing of the king) or a claim of hegemony ('your god is in our hands'), but also as a productive fiction of cooperation and community; the appropriation of rituals opened the door to dialogue with subject states, facilitating peaceful coexistence.

A handful of examples from Hittite history may serve to illustrate this point. At one point Mursili II became ill, and in the ensuing search by oracular inquiry into the cause of the illness it is mentioned that the god of Aḫḫiyawa and the god of Lazpa/Lesbos had been sent for in the hope that they could provide a cure. The deities were on record as indicating that they would like to be worshipped in the style of the personal god of the king (Bachvarova 2009: 36). According to Bachvarova, their statues would have been accompanied by performers of invocations and spells who were responsible for ensuring that the deities were worshiped according to the appropriate customs. It is unusual for the Hittites to import a deity of an enemy state, and this may only have been possible in the context of Mursili's temporary successes over Miletus, Aḫḫiyawa's mainland outpost, in the course of his Arzawa campaigns. Be that as it may, the appropriation of these deities served as a form of mediation and negotiation with neighbouring peoples, in this case, those of the most contested regions at the furthest ends of Mursili's empire. Aside from providing evidence for cultural exchange or for Hittite recognition of local differences in styles of worship, such examples should be understood as an intentional negotiation between the Hittites and their neighbours.

In another example, an oracle report refers to ‘the deity of a certain woman named Mezzulla, probably the goddess Ishara, who wished to be worshipped in the manner of Aštata’ (Emar), and indeed men came from Aštata to advise regarding the deity’s worship (KUB 5.6+18.54 i 9–21, 39–40; see Bachvarova 2009: 36). That such exchanges were a two-way street is evident in the Hittite-style festivals imported by Aštata for gods with Hittite, Luwian and Hurrian names. Bachvarova (2009: 36–37) writes: ‘Again, there was a connection between newly forged diplomatic ties and the transfer of religious practices (necessarily with personnel) that strengthened a political alliance.’

A much earlier example is Ḫattusili I’s taking of the Storm God of Aleppo as booty from his campaigns in northern Syria. At first worshiped as a foreign deity, he eventually became syncretised with the Anatolian god most like him, Teššub/Tarḫunt, becoming fully integrated into the Hittite pantheon by the early empire (or Middle Hittite period). Given the political significance of Aleppo and its changing allegiances until it became a vice-regal kingdom of the Hittites in the early empire, Bachvarova (2009: 34) states that ‘the possibility of diplomatic ramifications to the introduction and subsequent elevation of its god, although not recorded in the texts, should not be ignored.’ Bachvarova further summarizes the evidence for cultic personnel who may have accompanied this god to his new home.⁷

Finally, the *ḫiyara*-festival, which was celebrated for the Storm God, was also imported to Ḫattusa along with the deity (Hutter 2002: 194–195),⁸ and other festivals were celebrated for him as well. Again, this example was not merely politically driven, that is, a move to strengthen the central authority; the sharing of ritual elements provided something that both sides could recognize and lay claim to, thus creating a forum for dialog and mediation.⁹

It may be suggested that the scapegoat rituals represent a similar phenomenon, although on a more modest scale. The incorporation of the rituals into the Hittite repertory and their execution within the military, perhaps by Arzawan specialists, heralded Arzawa’s further incorporation into the empire, serving as a form of peaceful mediation during a sensitive time of political transition.¹⁰ The rituals would have created community. The reciprocal character of some of the Hittite treaties in dealing with their vassals is thus evident in the cultic sphere as well. In other words, political dominance and legitimacy may be an incomplete way of looking at the role of ritual in defining the relationship between the various elements within the Hittite Empire. The local community is not merely a newly subject body, but a ‘willing’ participant in the new order, with a claim to and expectation of reciprocity.

7 Cf. now Schwemer (2008), which arrived too late to be incorporated into the present paper.

8 I am not convinced by Hutter’s (2002: 194–195; 2003: 254–256, n. 35) interpretation of this as an ethnic festival performed only by people from Aleppo at the capital or his extension of this idea to Luwian rituals being used by a Luwian ethnic group in Ḫattusa. Note Miller’s (2004: 522–553) alternative theory, according to which the people mentioned in the *ḫiyara*-festival might have to do with the festival’s performance in their original northern Syrian context.

9 An example of ritual employed to express political dominance (proper order and hierarchy) is the mock battle staged between the men of Ḫatti, who were given sticks, and the men of Masa, who were given reeds, who then fought to a predetermined victory of the ‘men of Ḫatti’ (KUB 17.35 iii 9–15); see Bachvarova (2009: 40 n. 84) and Gilan (2001).

10 The stipulation that the ritual in connection with Maṣḫuiluwa’s curses was to be performed in the fashion of both Arzawa and Ḫatti in the oracle report mentioned above may well be an example of such accommodation.

Greeks and Anatolians at the Interface

The first attested occurrence of a scapegoat ritual in the Greek world comes from the works of Hipponax (sixth century). During such rituals, the human scapegoat—a marginal person, such as a criminal, slave or pauper—is beaten and chased from the community (or killed)¹¹ to end famine, plague or drought. The rite is also, however, enacted in the context of the Thargelia, a two-day Ionian festival of first-fruit offering and seasonal renewal (Bremmer 2006: 18).

Recently, Bremmer (2006) has revisited the scapegoat motif in relation to the myth of the golden fleece. In the first part of the myth, as told by Ps.-Apollodorus, Athamas, the ruler of Boeotia, is forced to sacrifice his son Phryxus to bring an end to a perceived agricultural crisis in the land. At the last moment, however, Phryxus’ mother rescues him and gives him a ram with a golden fleece, which she had received from Hermes, who bears him (along with his sister Helle) through the sky across land and sea. Once safe among the Colchians, Phryxus sacrifices the ram with the golden fleece to Zeus Phyxios (of escape, flight, banishment), but its skin he gives to Aietes, king of the Colchians, who nails it to an oak in a grove of Ares (Bremmer 2006: 13). In this story, the child Phryxus is the scapegoat, in accordance with the Greek predilection for human scapegoats, but the ram with the golden fleece is offered as his substitute.¹² As noted above, the connection between the golden fleece and the Hittite *kursa*—divine symbol, protector in battle, and symbolically representative of all good things—is by now well established.

The second part of the story of the golden fleece relates Jason’s recovery of it from the sacred grove (or palace in alternative traditions) of King Aietes in Colchis. The fleece had been guarded by a dragon, but with the help of Medea, Jason was able to retrieve it. Haas (1978) long ago pointed out the parallel between this part of the myth and the Hittite myth of the dragon Illuyanka, whom a mortal, Hupasiya, defeats after having been recruited to the task by the goddess Inara (see also Bremmer 2006: 28–29). Bremmer (2006: 29–30) attributes the incorporation of both the fleece and the dragon into the myth to their mutual attachment to the Hittite *purulli*-festival. Moreover, it may be no coincidence that in the two parts of the myth of the golden fleece¹³ one finds significant elements that have special associations with western Anatolia, namely, scapegoats and *kursa*-hunting bags. The fact that both the *kursa* and the scapegoat were connected to war and the military in their western Anatolian context raises the question of whether they could have been incorporated into the myth of the golden fleece at the same time. But exactly when and how did these motifs make their way from western Anatolian myth and practice into the Greek world?

The period of interaction along the Greek–Anatolian interface is a 1000-year interval between the mid-second and the mid-first millennia, which is divided up between the Late Bronze Age, the so-called Dark Age (Iron I and II) and the Orientalizing Epoch or Archaic Age (Iron III). Deciding where along this timeline to place a particular influence is a difficult task.

11 See Westbrook and Lewis (2008: 419 n. 5), who cite Hughes (1991: 139–164) as arguing that the element of killing was a late addition to the motif; the original rite involved only expulsion.

12 See Bremmer (2006: 16) and Burkert (1996: 117) for the influence of the scapegoat ritual on Greek myth.

13 Regardless of whether the two halves are connected only artificially or not; see Bremmer (2006: 29–30).

During the Late Bronze Age, the main Mycenaean Greek foothold on the mainland was Miletus (Hittite Millawanda), at the mouth of the Gulf of Latmos. Difficult to access by land, its harbour provided the perfect entry point for a sea-based kingdom like Ahhiyawa looking to take advantage of trade (Mee 1998: 141; Mountjoy 1998: 50). The exact nature of the Mycenaean presence in Asia Minor is debated. Mee suggests that Anatolia's western coast was not colonized by Mycenaeans in the Late Bronze Age, as very few sites were actually Mycenaean settlements, Miletos being one of them, and further (1998: 147), that most sites were native communities interacting with Mycenaeans to produce 'in some cases a sort of cultural fusion', although it is unclear what such a cultural fusion would have entailed. Mountjoy also attributes the spread of Mycenaean culture along the interface not to colonists but to an increase in acculturation, with local inhabitants absorbing Mycenaean customs and thus creating a hybrid culture.

Niemeier (2005a: 203), on the other hand, views Mycenaean Millawanda as having controlled a territory that extended as far as the peninsula of Halikarnassos/Bodrum in the south. The Mycenaean material culture found along the southern coast would thus be evidence of Mycenaean settlement, not of assimilation by locals; that is, there would have been no 'hybrid' culture (Niemeier 2005a: 203; 2005b: 16). Despite a long history of Hittite military involvement in the West, there is no evidence that the Hittites ever retained control of Miletos for any significant length of time. Mursili II's conquest of the city in his third year did not result in long-term control, and conquest alone does not create a matrix conducive to cultural exchange.

Yet, despite the hostilities endemic to the region at this time, networks were in place and exchanges were occurring. Material exchange is evident in architecture and engineering (Niemeier 2002: 298–299). Dynastic marriages were not uncommon; one need only think of Mashuiluwa and Muwatti (Morris 2001a: 432), Masturi and 'Massanauzzi' of the Seha River Land and the marriage alliance that is the topic of a letter from the king of Ahhiyawa to the Hittite king.¹⁴ Moreover, the trade in luxury commodities within the palace-based gift-exchange networks of the Late Bronze Age involved a range of trained and educated personnel, including artisans, doctors, soldiers, servants, scribes, musicians, singer-poets, priests and ritual specialists.

Correspondences between Hurro-Hittite poetry and Hittite prayer on the one hand and Greek epic and prayer on the other are one indication of transmission during the Mycenaean period; such exchanges must have occurred primarily through the vehicle of texts carried from place to place by wordsmiths (Bachvarova 2009: 28–29). Bachvarova (2009: 29) envisions a situation in which texts (or traditional formulae) accompanied cult realia such as the *kursa* when they were imported, translated, adapted to new uses and modified as needed. She argues for the spread of traditions within supra-regional festivals by audiences and performers drawn to them. These participants would then have returned home and incorporated elements of the festivals into their own. In sum, Bronze Age transmission of literary forms and motifs is difficult to deny, even if hard to trace.

The Telipinu Myth, by far the single richest Hittite source for parallels, must have reached the West at this time, while its popularity in the empire was at its height. The motif of the angry deity who removes himself from his place in the cosmos, bringing the natural world to a standstill, the *kursa* containing desirable things and the god Telipinu himself are among the elements of this myth that were exported to the Greeks. Its journey within the Hittite world

¹⁴ KUB 26.91 (CTH 183).

is no less interesting. The festival for the Storm God of Kuliwisna (a town perhaps in south-eastern Anatolia), which embeds the most characteristic elements of the Telipinu Myth in a local ritual/festival celebration, testifies to the canonical nature of the original composition within the empire. Similarly, the rich and varied textual and performed tradition relating to the *kursa* in the Hittite world, Arzawa included, likely helped to ensure its survival. It was a key component in most major Hittite festivals, including the KILAM festival, the *purulli*-festival, as well as in fall and spring festivals (*nuntarrišas* and AN.TAḪ.ŠUM, respectively).

But what about the scapegoat? Ephesus seems an obvious place to begin looking, since it was the capital of Mira as well as hometown to Hipponax, who in the sixth century records the earliest example of a Greek scapegoat. As far as is known, in its original western Anatolian context the scapegoat was essentially a military ritual, and it was taken over by the Hittites for use in, and on behalf of, the military. It stands to reason, then, that this is the context in which the Greek world first encountered the rite; yet the Greeks did not use scapegoats to purify armies, but cities, and they did not use animals in combination with people, but people alone. Is it possible to account for this shift?

To answer these questions, one might again consider the mediating function of myth and ritual as explored by Malkin. Building on his work, Blakely (forthcoming) examines how, as a myth, the Argonautica reinvents the experiences of Greek colonists of the Archaic Age in encountering native populations. It represents their first long-distance voyage, and Jason embodies first contact; but more than this, legends such as the Argonautica served as an 'arena for dialog, integration, and reinvention' by reaching 'across the cultural divide, helping the Greeks incorporate their new neighbors into their own narratological traditions, and providing great interest for local non-Greek aristocrats.' In this way the goddess Inara becomes the indigenous and divine princess Medea, the mortal Hupasiya becomes the equally mortal hero Jason, and Illuyanka becomes a snake guarding the object of desire, the golden fleece, itself an echo of the Hittite *kursa*.

This insight offers an attractive paradigm for the relationship between Greek and Hittite scapegoat rituals, one in which their differences index thoughtful mediation rather than independent invention.¹⁵ Viewed as a locus for mediation, the rite offered a middle ground, the term Malkin uses to refer to the common and mutually comprehensible world that emerges from interactions between colonists and native populations. This paradigm would place the transmission of the scapegoat into Greek myth and ritual in the Archaic Age (seventh century) about a hundred years before its first appearance in Hipponax.¹⁶

¹⁵ On the problem of determining whether a shared phenomenon is to be attributed to transmission as opposed to being merely a structural parallel, see Miller (2004: 458–461). Miller points out the importance of noting the differences as well as the similarities between seemingly parallel phenomena in order to help make this determination.

¹⁶ Bremmer (2001: 177), citing Burkert (1992) and West (1997), also places the transmission of the scapegoat rite in the early Archaic Age (seventh century), but points to this as a period of intensive contacts with northern Syria and the Neo-Hittite states, and therefore suggests that the scapegoat ritual was an instance of religious influence from that area. More recently, Bremmer (2006: 30–32) has offered several additional possible points of transmission, including the towns of Ionia. He (2006: 30) attributes to the Phrygians an important role in the transmission process of the *kursa*, based on their long contacts with the Greeks and Phrygian wealth in sheep. However, I see no reason to attribute to the Phrygians something that was so pervasive in the Late Bronze Age.

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‘Servant of the king, son of Ugarit, and servant of the servant of the king’:

RS 17.238 and the Hittites

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Late in his reign, the Great King of Hatti, Ḫattusili III, issued an edict (RS 17.238) concerning fugitives from Ugarit who had joined the *ḫābirū* living in Hittite territory. The significance of the edict for the complex topic of fugitives and refugees in the Late Bronze Age can hardly be underestimated. However, the edict has also attracted, and still deserves, the utmost attention for the information it contains on the social structure of Ugarit. The present contribution examines this text and the scholarly discussion on it once again, this time from the perspective of the Hittites who issued it. It is a pleasure to contribute these few thoughts to this volume in honour of Itamar Singer, who has invested much effort in reconstructing the relationship between Late Bronze Age Syria and Hittite Anatolia.

1. The Edict RS 17.238

The first paragraph of Ḫattusili’s edict RS 17.238 regarding the fugitives from Ugarit reads as follows:

- 1 ^{NA4}KIŠIB *ta-ba-ar-na*
- 2 ^m*ḫa-at-tu-ši-li* LUGAL.GAL
- 3 *šum-ma* İR.LUGAL KUR *ú-ga-ri-it*
- 4 *ú lu-ú* DUMU KUR *ú-ga-ri-it*
- 5 *lu-ú* İR.İR.LUGAL KUR *ú-ga-ri-it*
- 6 *ma-am-ma i-te-eb-bi-ma*
- 7 *a-na* ŠĀ-bi A.ŠĀ ^{LÜ}SA.GAZ ^dUTU-ši *ir-ru-ub*
- 8 LUGAL.GAL *ú-ul a-la-aq-qí-šu*
- 9 *a-na* LUGAL KUR *ú-ga-ri-it*
- 10 *ú-ta-ar-šu*¹

Seal of Tabarna Ḫattusili, the Great King:

If either a servant of the king of the Land of Ugarit
or an inhabitant (lit. son) of the Land of Ugarit,
or even a servant of a servant of the king of the Land of Ugarit
rises up and enters the territory of the *ḫābirū* of My Majesty,

* For the paragraph division of the Hittite law collection, see Hoffner (1997). I would like to thank Clelia Mora and Giuseppe del Monte for reading earlier versions of this manuscript and for their remarks.

¹ The extradition of fugitives is a crucial issue in most Hittite treaties. The *termini technici* employed in this edict are consistent with those found in the treaties. For *turru* in particular, see del Monte (1983: 41–46).

I, the Great King, will not accept him,
(rather) I will return him to the king of the Land of Ugarit.

Ever since their publication these lines have been considered a principal source for reconstructing the social order at Ugarit. In Nougayrol's words (1956: 107) in his introduction to the edition, 'nous avons sans doute dans cette énumération un schéma fidèle de la société ougaritienne.' However, how this passage should be interpreted has been much debated, a debate summarized a few years ago by Zamora (1997: 135–144) and more recently by Lackenbacher (2002: 85–86). Here just the most relevant positions will be recounted.

1.1 First Impressions

Nougayrol (1956: 107), the first to deal with the text, concluded that the three appellations, or 'headings' as they are often called in the secondary literature, in ll. 3–5 correspond to three social groupings of free persons in Ugarit, while a fourth group of non-free persons, slaves, is mentioned in ll. 11–13.²

Rainey (1962: 6, and *passim*), leaving aside the second part of the text, proposed that Ugaritic society could be subsumed under the three designations in ll. 3–5, corresponding to the 'government officials', the 'citizens' and the officials' slaves, respectively. In his view the social structure of Ugarit was a feudal one.

A substantial change in interpretation of the social structure at Ugarit came with the studies of Heltzer (1969; 1976; 1982; 1999) and Liverani (1975; 1979a; 1979b; 1989: 546–552; 2005). They reasoned that the society of Ugarit was divided into two main sectors, the palace dependents and the villagers. The divide between the two groups was not only physical, but rather economical in their view. Basing their discussions on the Marxist concept of the Asiatic mode of production, both maintained that the villagers controlled the means of production, were not specialized and practiced a subsistence farm economy. The palace dependents were at least partially specialized, did not own the means of production, and were therefore economically dependent on the process of redistribution of goods received from the palace. The subsistence of the palace dependents was provided by royal farms (Ug. *gt*, Akk. *dimtu*, Sum. AN.ZA.GAR), where manual labourers of different degrees of specialisation worked. They suggested that the designation ÌR.LUGAL KUR *Ugarit* corresponded to the *bnš mlk* of the Ugaritic texts, referring to the sector dependent on the palace, while the appellation DUMU KUR *Ugarit* indicated the members of the village communities. The third designation received less attention, but it was assumed to refer either to slaves owned by palace dependents (Heltzer 1965: 36; Liverani 1979b: 1334) or to palace dependents of low rank (Heltzer 1999: 424); in any case, it comprised a sub-group of the ÌR.LUGAL KUR *Ugarit*. The model outlined by these two scholars has been widely accepted among researchers of the Ancient Near East. In fact, it has gained such a paradigmatic status that it has been adopted for other periods and contexts of the Ancient Near East as well.

1.2 Critical Opinions

Voices critical of Heltzer's and Liverani's model were heard already in the eighties, but the greatest critical effort is Schloen's (2001) recent monograph, which aims at deconstructing

the model in its theoretic premises as well as in its analyses of the textual and archaeological sources. In Schloen's view (2001: 221–254) the division of Ugaritic society into two sectors has solely ideological grounds and depends entirely on the imposition of the Marxist model upon the textual sources from Ugarit, sources which, *per se*, would refer to no such division. Schloen (2001: 230ff.) assumes, as do others, that the king of Ugarit owned all the land of a patrimonial state, and that all inhabitants of Ugarit were therefore dependents of the king, in the sense that they were 'granted land by the king in return for regular service and/or an in-kind rental payment' (ibid.: 226). Schloen's analysis of the Bronze Age, in particular that of Ugaritic society, touches on many further crucial issues, but those are far beyond the scope of this paper.

In general, the monograph has been well received among scholars of the Ancient Near East (e.g., by Fleming 2002), eliciting much interest in its theoretical background and the model's internal consistency. The major criticism, however, centres on the resulting oversimplification of the societies of the Ancient Near East before the Axial Age into a single-sector model, the Patrimonial Household, almost a sort of primitivism (Monroe 2002: 906). This *reductio ad unum* naturally has consequences for Schloen's interpretation (2001: 221ff. and 252) of ll. 3–5 of RS 17.238, according to which the three designations thus refer to differences in wealth and scale rather than social status.

The denial of the existence of different social groups in Schloen's model, however, contradicts not only the 'Feudalists' and 'Marxists', but also the views of all other scholars who have worked and work on the Ugarit material. To mention just two primary examples, Vargyas (1988), clearly a catalyst for Schloen's model, and Zamora (1997), who criticized the model of Heltzer and Liverani, still recognized that the sources, above all the Ugaritic language texts, reveal the existence of two administrative procedures for two distinct social groups, i.e., village communities and corporations (Zamora 1997: 142 and Vargyas 1988: 122–123, who uses the terms *les paysans* and *les hommes du roi*). In fact, their criticism of Heltzer and Liverani relate to the correlation of the bipartite society as gleaned from the administrative texts from Ugarit with the tripartite society eked from the three appellations of RS 17.238 ll. 3–5. Vargyas (1988: 112–115) points out that one is hard pressed to find good parallels in the Akkadian and Ugaritic texts from Ugarit for the three designations of the Hittite edict. Not only is the correspondence of ÌR.LUGAL with *bnš mlk*, suggested by Heltzer and Liverani, problematic, also the expression DUMU KUR *Ugarit* can hardly refer to the inhabitants of the village communities. It should designate the whole population of free men, equivalent to Ug. *bnšm*, including village communities and corporations, corresponding to the *bnšm mlk* and all the different groups such as *mrynnm*, *m²m*, etc. Vargyas concludes that the society of Ugarit was not characterized by a dichotomy between rural community and palace servants, but rather between rich high officials and a free population distinguished by deep social differences between the various corporations (similarly Vita 1999: 455, 484 and *passim*).³ Nonetheless, he (1988: 123) finally came to a synthesis between the bipartite society emerging from the local texts and the tripartite society suggested by the edict of Ḫattusili. Understanding the ÌR ÌR.LUGAL once again as slaves, he suggested that the society at Ugarit was quite similar to that outlined by the Codex of Ḫammurabi.

2 See also the remarks in Bottéro (1954: 127–128).

3 Márquez-Rowe (2002) suggests that *bnšm mlk* were not state dependents, but rather antichretic debts slaves, exactly like those owned by other rich individuals.

Zamora (1997: 144–148) was the first to suggest that ll. 3–5 of Hattusili's edict should not be used to define the social structure of Ugarit, and his approach deserves a more detailed treatment.⁴ In his view (1997: 144–145) the nature of the text, which deals with politics and international law rather than with society and local law, requires that an interpretation of the three designations be based on the language of Late Bronze Age diplomacy. Starting from these premises, he refers to Kestemont's interpretation (1974) of the three designations in RS 17.238 in his major study on international law and diplomacy in the Late Bronze Age. Thus the locution *İR.LUGAL KUR Ugarit* would refer to all the subjects of the king of Ugarit, followed by a subdivision of these subjects into two groups: the inhabitants of the Land of Ugarit *strictu sensu*, *DUMU KUR Ugarit*, and the subjects of a vassal of the king of Ugarit, *İR İR.LUGAL KUR Ugarit* (Zamora 1997: 146–147). This interpretation introduces two relevant changes in respect to previous ones: first, the edict does not make reference to any social structure; second, it refers to a bipartite division and not a tripartite. The latter, however, is problematic.

As to the grammar of the passage, Zamora and Kestemont maintain that the conjunction *u lū...lū...* (either..., or...) would define an opposition between the group of the *DUMU KUR Ugarit* and the group of the *İR İR.LUGAL KUR Ugarit*, while the first designation, *İR.LUGAL KUR Ugarit*, would refer to all subjects of the king of Ugarit. However, the use of the designation *İR.LUGAL KUR GN* referring to all the subjects of a kingdom finds no comparison in the contemporary corpus of Hittite normative and legal documents, which refer to all subjects of a given king with the expression *DUMU(.MEŠ) KUR/URUGN*⁵ or *LÚ(.MEŠ) KUR/URUGN*,⁶ not with *İR(.MEŠ) LUGAL KUR GN*. Furthermore, a Hittite verdict pronounced by Ini-Teššub shows that the expression *DUMU.MEŠ KUR/URUGN* was juxtaposed with *İR.MEŠ ša LUGAL KUR/URUGN*.⁷ From this text it is clear that the *İR.MEŠ ša LUGAL KUR/URUGN* were either a different social group than the *DUMU.MEŠ KUR/URUGN* or a subgroup thereof, not the opposite.

Furthermore, the translation of *İR İR.LUGAL KUR Ugarit* as 'subject of a vassal (land) of the King of Ugarit' is far from strictly literal, because no reference to a subjugated foreign land or to its ruler is present in the expression. Neither are there parallels for an expression referring to a subject of a vassal land. Finally, Zamora (1997: 147) himself notes that there is no evidence for any vassal of the king of Ugarit during the reign of Hattusili.

4 Also Sanmartín (1995: 136) and Schloen (2001: 221) have called attention to the fact that the text exposes the Hittite point of view rather than the local one. However, they did not pursue this consideration further.

5 CTH 51.1 (KBo 1.1) obv. 53, 64, 68, rev. 36', 66'; CTH 52.1 (KBo 1.3) obv. 36, 39; CTH 53 (KBo 1.4+) iii 33–35; CTH 65 (RS 17.380+) 7, 11; CTH 92 (KBo 1.8+) obv. 32–36; CTH 93 (RS 17.130) 6, 9, 11, 16, 25, 26, 30, 35, 36; CTH 100.1 (RS 17.230) 2, 4; CTH 100.2 (RS 17.146) 9, 13–15, 17, 21, 26, 32, 35, 37, 42; and CTH 100.3 (RS 18.115) 5, 11, 18, 22, 24, 27.

6 CTH 49.11 (KBo 10.12+) iii 35', iv 6'; CTH 51.1 (KBo 1.1) rev. 62'; CTH 51.11 (KUB 21.18+) iv 17'; CTH 52.1 (KBo 1.3) obv. 12, 14, 37, 38; and CTH 100.4 (RS 18.19) 7'.

7 RS 17.341 (PRU IV: 161–163). Recurrence of *DUMU.MEŠ KUR/URUGN*: ll. 2', 4'–8', 10', 11', 13'–15', 16', 17', 22', 28'; recurrence of *İR.MEŠ ša LUGAL KUR/URUGN*: 21', 26'. Note that in two cases the PN of the king is found instead of the more general *LUGAL KUR/URUGN*. On this text see d'Alfonso 2005a: 155–158.

His interpretation is therefore difficult to maintain, and one can hardly escape the conclusion that the incipit of RS 17.238 indeed refers to three distinct groups of people.⁸ Nonetheless, the methodological premises adopted by Zamora must be taken seriously. Since the edict belongs among the Hittite normative texts, comparisons for the social structure intimated in ll. 3–5 must be sought in the data concerning social groups contained in other Hittite normative texts, and more specifically, in the group of sources dealing with the Hittite 'periphery' of the 13th century.

2. Out-group and In-group Definitions in Hittite Texts

Cultural anthropology has shown that a definition of a foreign society results from the balance of power between the two groups and consists mostly of a negative counter-identity.⁹ Such a negative identity of the 'other' was defined as an *out-group identity*, as opposed to the *in-group identity* developed by the group for itself.¹⁰ However, as Liverani (1990) has pointed out, a negative out-group definition of a foreign land will not be used in all contexts of communication, particularly when the addressee itself is the foreign group. In contrast to the process as it occurs within the context of contemporary cultural relativism (Fabietti 1998: 36–38), the construction or definition of foreign identity in the period under consideration amounted largely to reproducing or projecting cultural features peculiar to the defining group. This means that a Hittite in-group social definition, as conceived and reflected by the Hittites themselves, is needed in order to correctly understand the out-group social definition imagined by the Hittites for the Land of Ugarit in RS 17.238.

Unfortunately, attaining a Hittite social definition is a very difficult task due to the nature of the available sources. Documents regarding legal and administrative practices, like those found e.g., at Ugarit and Alalakh, are very rare in the Hittite archives, and social definitions are thus generally reconstructed by analyzing information from normative texts, above all from the collection of Hittite laws. Such a definition must therefore be defined as an in-group *normative* definition of society. Since information on society from these texts is not univocal, scholars have generated a variety of reconstructions.

A first group of scholars (Güterbock 1954: 20–21; 1972; Giordagze 1974; Souček 1988) referred to evidence for a bipartite society divided among freemen (^{LÚ}*ELLU*, *arawanni-*) and slaves (*İR*, *WARDU*), and in fact, both groups are well defined and juxtaposed in the law collection. Beside these two groups, the law collection and the other normative sources

8 Schloen (2001: 252) writes: 'This text refers to "any servant of a servant of the king of Ugarit", revealing a social hierarchy consisting of the king, his immediate servants, and their servants.' Here Schloen fails to refer to the group of the 'sons of Ugarit', probably because he considers this group to be one and the same with the 'servant of the king of Ugarit'. In a previous passage, however, Schloen (2001: 221–222) rather seems to follow Vargyas (1988), who clearly refers to a tripartite society.

9 See in general Fabietti (1998: 13–16 and *passim*); for the Ancient Near East, consider among others Liverani (1990: 33–43); for Hittite 'ethnography' see von Schuler (1965: 1–10); Klinger (1992); and Cohen (2001).

10 First outlined by Sumner (1906) referring to 'primitive' cultures, afterwards widely accepted and applied to complex societies as well.

mention groups such as the LÚ^{GIŠ}TUKUL, LÚ^{ILKU}, and LÚ^{hippara-},¹¹ but the social rank of these groups is not easy to define. Some consider them to be subgroups of freemen (Giorgadze 1974: 303; Beal 1988), some to be subgroups of slaves (Güterbock 1972: 93–94; Souček 1988: 332), while a third interpretation lends them a social status somewhere between freemen and slaves (Goetze 1957: 105; Korošec 1972: 106; Haase 2003: 634).

Not only the paucity of sources for legal and administrative practice, but also the diachronic nature of the textual material has led to such different views of Hittite social structures. The law collection itself illustrates this problem. Its compilation dates back to the origins of Hittite history (17th–16th centuries). In the following centuries, in the Early and Late Empire, deep changes in the political and administrative organization of the state took place (Goetze 1957: 88 and *passim*; Giorgieri & Mora 1996), changes that no doubt affected Hittite social structure, too. As an example, one may refer to the formation of a bureaucracy during the reigns of Tuthaliya I and Arnuwanda I (Pecchioli Daddi 2005),¹² which can only be observed *in nuce* in the previous age (Klengel 1988). The text of the laws preserves traces of subsequent compilations and reforms, and a reduced Late Empire collection known as the ‘Parallel Text’ dates to the reign of Tuthaliya IV (Korošec 1963; Hoffner 1997: 5–6; Archi 2008: 278–281). Still, the legal categories and *termini technici* of the laws remained those coined in the Old Hittite kingdom, which hardly reflected the diachronic development of law as a whole.¹³ This issue concerns also the structure of Hittite society.

It is not the aim of the present contribution to deal with all these questions concerning Hittite society, but only those issues crucial for the interpretation of RS 17.238.

2.1 In-group Definitions in Hittite Texts: The Village Community¹⁴

The law collection devotes sparse attention to the village communities and their political representatives, the elders. One could even get the impression that village communities constitute a sort of limit to the scope of the normativity of the collection. Klengel (1965: 236) notes that ‘die Gesetze billigen den Ältesten nur noch auf dem flachen Lande juristische Kompetenzen zu.’ This assertion refers specifically to §71, but other paragraphs likewise

11 Another recurrent term is NAM.RA/*arnuwala-* ‘deportee’; see most recently Haase (2003: 633–634). As Klinger (1992: 195–196) has shown, the NAM.RA are not a social group. Their rights were defined only when they had been resettled by the Hittite royal court and depended on the new situation. They did not have rights as a group *per se*.

12 As is well known, these two kings issued normative texts for the functioning of the administration, addressed to different classes of officials, e.g., the Province Governor, the Mayor (*hazannu*), the Royal Bodyguard, etc. Recent studies on Hittite administration (Starke 1996; Mora 2006; Gilan 2007) tend to underline the importance of personal and familial ties and the consequent relevance of personal interests in the public sphere. In fact, there is very good evidence for this phenomenon, which seems to increase during the Late Empire, when grants of impressive amounts of land issued to single individuals and the administration of loyalty oaths became typical normative acts of the Great King (Starke 1995; Giorgieri & Mora 1996). Nonetheless, whatever familial ties lay behind the appointment of an official in the state administration, the clear attempt to form a bureaucracy as evidenced in these ‘instructions’ should not be underestimated.

13 See, e.g., on *sahhan* and *luzzi-* service, Archi (1973: 18); Imparati (1982: 244ff.); Alp (1990); and Haase (2003: 638).

14 This expression is commonly used in the literature as referring to all local communities of peripheral centres of the Hittite kingdom, whatever their effective dimensions (cities or villages) and distance from the capital Hattusa. It merely translates the cuneiform LÚ/DUMU.MEŠ URU/URU-LI/URUGN or similar expressions.

mention village communities and the elders only in situations corresponding to the limits of the normative capacity of the collection (i.e., §§IV, 40, XXXVIII, XXXIX). Paragraph 40 is a good example (following Hoffner 1997: 48):

If a man who has a TUKUL-obligation disappears, and a man owing *ILKU*-service is assigned (in his place), the man owing *ILKU*-service shall say: ‘This is my TUKUL-obligation, and this other is my *sahhan*-service’. He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the land of the man having a TUKUL-obligation; he shall both hold the TUKUL-obligation and perform the *sahhan*-service. But if he refuses a TUKUL-obligation, they shall declare that (land) of the man owing the TUKUL-obligation as land of a disappeared/perished (man), and the men of the village will work it. If the king gives an *arnuwala*-man, they will give him the land, and he will become a TUKUL-man.

This paragraph defines procedures and law concerning plots of land and men connected to the *ILKU/sahhan* and TUKUL-obligations.¹⁵ The village community plays a secondary role and is considered relevant only for the period when neither TUKUL- nor *ILKU*-men could work state land plots, in which case people of the village could work the land until the king would provide a new person to hold the land and the obligation. In other words, the people of the village appear merely to fill a temporary vacuum in the organisation of state land plots, which are the real concern of the paragraph. While information on the social status of men owing the *ILKU/sahhan* and/or the TUKUL-obligation is provided here and in a good number of paragraphs of the law collection, neither here nor elsewhere is one informed of the social status of the men of the village and whether they had to perform any obligation while working these plots; it seems that it was not the interest (or the competence?) of the law collection to define these aspects. The only obtainable information on the men of the village must be derived from the logic of the paragraph: since members of the village neither became TUKUL-men nor acquired permanently the land of the TUKUL-men, they were considered a different social group than the *ILKU*- and TUKUL-men, though living in the same place (Beal 1988: 270–271, n. 10, and 278).

Paragraph 46 and its later version, §XXXVIII, define who among the villagers must perform the *luzzi*-service in cases of inheritance of land parcels. The incipit of §46 in KBo 6.2 ii 38, the oldest manuscript, reads as follows:

ták-ku URU-ri A.ŠA^{H1A}-an i-wa-a-ru ku-iš-ki ḫar-zi

If in a village someone holds land (lit. fields) as an inheritance share, ...

Judging from this manuscript alone, §46 would seem to deal with the legal status of simple members of the village community (URU-ri...*kuiski*). Indeed, on the basis of the ensuing lines, it has been argued that all the members of the local community who held a plot of land had to perform the *luzzi*-service for the state (Sommer & Falkenstein 1938: 121–122; Diakonoff 1967: 326–327, 332, 353, 360; Imparati 1982: 230). However, both later manuscripts of §46 (KBo 6.3 ii 59; KBo 6.5 iv 24) and the revised version (KBo 6.4 iv 21) clearly indicate that

15 This paragraph has been dealt with by many scholars, e.g., Goetze (1957: 104); Diakonoff (1967: 323–325); Güterbock (1972: 95); Beal (1988: 274–278); and Hoffner (1997: 187–188).

the norm does not refer to the legal status of the members of the village community, but to the status of whoever in the village held fields and owed *sahhan*-service:

[*ták-ku URU-ri*]i A.Š[^{HLA}-an *ša-a*]h-*ha-na-na* i-wa-a-ru ku-iš-ki *har-zi* (KBo 6.3 ii 59)

ták-ku URU-ri *ša-aḥ-ḥa-na-aš* A.Š^{HLA}-an i-wa-a-[ru ku-iš-ki *har-zi*] (KBo 6.5 iv 24)

ták-ku URU-ri A.Š^{HLA}-an *ša-aḥ-ḥa-na-na* i-wa-a-ru ku-iš-ki *har-zi* (KBo 6.3 ii 59)

One could interpret these variants as traces of the evolution of the law concerning the *luzzi*- and *sahhan* services, as has been suggested (see n. 13). Another possibility could be that the omission of *sahhan* in KBo 6.2 ii 38 is due to a copying mistake, a possibility worth taking into account. If §46 would then deal with people installed by the royal court in a village rather than with the members of the village community (LÚ.MEŠ URU-*ri*), it would accord with the other paragraphs of the collection, i.e., the legal status of the members of the village community would remain completely untouched.

The lack of information on the social status of village communities in the law collection can be interpreted in at least two ways. Either the collection was not conceived to encompass local and peripheral communities, and therefore dealt with these communities only when officials and dependents of the state were directly concerned; or the village community was not treated as a social group, so that one must apply one or both of the categories *ELLU/arawanni*- and *IR/WARDU* to its single members. In any case, it is clear from §40 that the LÚ.MEŠ URU-*Lì* are divided from the men owing service, be it *sahhan/ILKU* or TUKUL service (see Beal 1988: 278, with discussion on the alternative views).

The LÚ.MEŠ URU-*Lì* were responsible for allotting state land plots to those who owed service and came to live in the village.¹⁶ The elders, representatives of the community, held judicial power and in some cases also headed local military divisions (Klengel 1965). This requires that at least part of the village community had a high degree of independence, which better fits the social category of the *ELLU/arawanni*- of the law collection (Goetze 1957: 104). In this sense, the translation ‘noble’ for *ELLU/arawanni*- seems misleading.¹⁷

On the other hand, §146a/*35a foresees the selling of a village, in which case either the village was abandoned or its inhabitants suffered enslavement. In the latter case villages would therefore have consisted of *WARDU/IR* and *GÊME*. If one relates the preceding brief discussion on village communities (LÚ.MEŠ URU-*Lì*) to the scholarly discussion on the designations found in RS 17.238, the opposition between state dependents and members of the local communities seems to be valid, while the idea that these two groups were settled and lived in different places should be revised, as has already been pointed out (Vita 1999: 484–486).

16 This is not explicitly stated in §40 (see above), but is clear from a parallel clause attested in §47B and §XXXIX.

17 One can find some occurrences where freemen can be understood as ‘noble’ or aristocratic; e.g., CTH 65 (RS 17.380+) rev. 10–11, where the designations DUMU.LUGAL and ^{LÚ}*el-lu* describe the (head of a) diplomatic delegation. However, if the aristocracy consisted of freemen, it is very unlikely that all freemen were noble. See in this sense already Yamada (1995: 313ff.), although his foisting of the social categories of 13th-century Emar onto Anatolian society should be supplemented by a more varied approach, on which see below §5.

2.2 In-group Definitions in Hittite Texts: The TUKUL-men

As mentioned, the social status of the TUKUL-men is controversial. Beal (1988), who gathered and discussed all attestations relating to the TUKUL obligation,¹⁸ was mainly concerned with the nature of this obligation and its relation to state land plots and devoted little attention to the social status of the TUKUL-men. Beal notes (1988: 283), based on a passage of CTH 138 (KUB 23.77, 52–56), that TUKUL-men are considered parallel with Kaskian free men. Regarding the LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIS}TUKUL.GÍD.DA, he (1988: 295) writes that ‘like the ^{GIS}TUKUL-man, the ^{GIS}TUKUL.GÍD.DA-man is in some way like a freeman/noble (^{LÚ}*ELLU*).’ He does not, however, provide a clear and articulated statement concerning the status of the TUKUL-men. In fact, Beal’s main concern was to gather evidence against the old translation ‘Handwerker’, ‘craftsman’, for the term LÚ ^{GIS}TUKUL, a commonly accepted translation proposed by Sommer (in Sommer & Falkenstein 1938: 120–134). According to Beal (1988: 304), ‘^{GIS}TUKUL-men appear to have been men who worked for the government or others and received their pay in the form of land whose produce supported them. This type of pay seems to have been originally introduced to pay for army troops, hence the title “weapon-man” for those paid in this way.’ For him (1988: 299) therefore, ‘only a translation such as “someone who does something professionally” (i.e., specialist) will fit this diverse group of people’ attested as ^{GIS}TUKUL-men: tailors, fullers, leatherworkers, waiters, chamberlains, exorcists, scribes, etc.

The interpretation offered by Imparati is remote from if not opposite to that of Beal. She (1999: 350) maintains that members of the village (and district) communities were also “Leute des Werkzeugs” (LÚ ^{MEŠ} ^{GIS}TUKUL), die sich insbesondere aus freien Arbeitern zusammensetzten, welche außerhalb der staatlichen Organisation tätig waren.’ As noted (§2.1), TUKUL-men were settled in the villages, but they were clearly distinguished from the village community, at least in the law collection. Furthermore, Imparati fails to produce any evidence that the work of the TUKUL-men was not performed for the state, while Beal does so in support of his opposing view.

Haase’s (2003: 633–634) recent treatment counts the TUKUL-men among the social classes that he defines as ‘semi-free’. As to their tasks, which he lists as ‘maintenance of public installations, such as shrines and fortresses’, Haase suggests a rather different picture than Beal’s, though he also neglects to provide any reference to the sources.

One of the most interesting points emphasized by Beal (1988: 299–301) concerns the economic status of the TUKUL-men. There is evidence that they could sell the land plot which they had received from the state and that they could assign associated persons (LÚ *ḤA.LA*, LÚ *TAPPU*) to farm their plots. It thus seems that their economic status could vary substantially from case to case.

18 A recent occurrence is found in HKM 100 referring to a number of people belonging to an institution named É [x]-*x-la²-ia-li* ŠA LÚ ^{GIS}TUKUL; see del Monte (1995: 98–102).

2.3 In-group Definitions in Hittite Texts: The TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men

As Beal (1988: 292–296) points out, a particular group of TUKUL-men are found only in texts from the 13th century,¹⁹ i.e., the LÚ.MEŠ GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA, concerning which he gathered and discussed all attestations. The most significant occurrence is found in the treaty between Mursili II and Targasnalli of Ḫapalla, in which the same legal treatment is adopted for TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men and freemen (LÚ *EL-LU*). In the same passage, to be discussed presently, these two groups are juxtaposed against the common craftsmen (EN *QĀTI*), such as farmers, weavers and leatherworkers. Beal offers decisive arguments against the translation ‘farmer’ for LÚ GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA, which had been proposed by Sommer (in Sommer & Falkenstein 1938: 131ff.) and was commonly accepted (e.g., Tischler 2001: 261). Furthermore, while Beal (1988: 302–303) demonstrates that in the 13th century TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men and TUKUL-men were two different groups, he sheds no light on any particular task, rank or office which might differentiate one from the other.

In fact, there are specific tasks which distinguish the TUKUL-men from the TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men, and a major one has already been pointed out by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 33). While the TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men are responsible for the festivals and cult offerings of some village and city communities,²⁰ no such important role is attested for the TUKUL-men. Moreover, a passage from the royal decree issued by Tuthaliya IV for the general Šahurunuwa implies that during the Late Hittite Empire the prominent role played by the TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men in some local communities was not limited to the cult, but was concerned with other important administrative duties as well (CTH 225; KUB 26.43 obv. 15–17; see Imparati 1974: 24–25; Beal 1988: 294).

A further difference is that the TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men seem to have a dominant position over other individuals in one group of sources. A woman named Ḫuwattanza (KBo 10.10 iv 15) and an unnamed female singer (HT 2, 15–16) are ascribed to TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men,²¹ and in other cases NAM.RA, ‘deportees’, are assigned or belong to TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men.²²

KUB 26.54 (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 34; Beal 1988: 293) is a fragmentary text, whose first paragraph lists deportees, oxen and sheep belonging to officials, institutions and villages/towns. Lines 1'–6' read:

- 1' 10 NAM.RA Š[*A*
2' 10 NAM.RA Š*A* GÍŠTUKUL.[GÍD.DA
3' [1]0 NAM.RA LÚSIPAD Š*A* É [

19 Beal (1988: 292–293) mentions two texts from the Old Hittite period which might perhaps provide further attestations of the LÚ.MEŠ GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA, but he shows convincingly that both must be ignored. The first (CTH 662.7; KUB 43.29, mh. acc. to the *Konkordanz*) is very fragmentary and the shape of some signs are unusual. He writes that ‘the copy shows a TUKUL sign that is not quite a TUKUL.’ As for the second text (CTH 3.1; KBo 3.38), Beal maintains that GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA without LÚ must refer in this passage to a long weapon, a mace, and should not be interpreted as a case of metonymy, as in other passages in which GÍŠTUKUL is used instead of LÚ GÍŠTUKUL. Beal’s interpretation is now commonly accepted; see most recently Holland & Zorman (2007: 42).

20 See e.g., KBo 13.231 (Hazenbos 2003: 85–88) and KBo 14.142.

21 In this text and elsewhere one finds GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA instead of LÚ GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA. The use is well known and the metonymy is recognized and accepted; see (Beal 1988).

22 The commonly employed translation for NAM.RA/*armuwalā*- is adopted here; see most recently Kloekhorst (2008: 208). For a more detailed semantic discussion, see HW² A: 336 and Hoffner (1997: 187–188).

- 4' 10 NAM.RA Š*A* URU*ha-ta-a*[*r*-²³
5' 10 NAM.RA Š*A* GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA [
6' 10 NAM.RA Š*A* URU*iš-me-ri*-[*ik-ka*

1' 10 deportees belonging to [...]
2' 10 deportees belonging to the TUKUL.[GÍD.DA(-man/men)²⁴ ...]
3' [1]0 deportees (active as) shepherds, belonging to the House [...]
4' 10 deportees belonging to the city of Ḫata[r-...]
5' 10 deportees belonging to the TUKUL.[GÍD.DA(-man/men) ...]
6' 10 deportees belonging to the city of Išmeri[kka ...]

Though very fragmentary, this passage shows that deportees belonged to TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men and were not TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men themselves.

More difficult is the interpretation of the passages dealing with the TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men in KUB 48.105+KBo 12.53 (CTH 530), a text dealing with the reorganization of the cult in some regions of central Anatolia (Archi & Klengel 1980). Two passages in this text refer to TUKUL.GÍD.DA-man/men:

Obv.

- 31' [*I-NA* UR]*ú-wa-al-ma A-NA* DINGIR.MEŠ *ḏUTU-ŠI ki-i ME-iš* 1 É-TU₄ Š*A* 10
NAM.RA^{MEŠ}
32' [x x] GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA 1 É-TU₄ Š*A* 16 NAM.RA^{MEŠ} Š*A* LÚ.MEŠ ḪUR.SAG
1 É-TU₄ Š*A* 10 NAM.RA^{MEŠ}

Rev.

- 3 [*I-NA* URU... *ḏUTU-ŠI ki-i da-a-iš* 3 É Š*A* 20 NAM.RA GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA x[

Unlike in the previous text, here both attestations of GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA can be interpreted either as a genitive construction or as an apposition to NAM.RA. Archi & Klengel (1980: 148), followed by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 33) and Beal (1988: 293), integrate LÚ.MEŠ in the gap at obv. 32' and translate both as appositions: ‘10/20 deportees (active as) TUKUL.GÍD.DA-man.’ However, it is also possible to understand the passage as a genitive construction and translate: ‘10/20 deportees assigned/belonging to the TUKUL.GÍD.DA(-men)’. In fact, such a genitive construction finds a parallel in this same text: 1 É-TU₄ Š*A* 10 NAM.RA LÚSANGA, ‘1 house of 10 deportees belonging to the priest’ (obv. 40', rev. 17). The comparison with the list of deportees KUB 26.54, presented above, where the genitive construction is ensured by the presence of the Akkadogram Š*A*, makes the latter translation of the above passages from KUB 48.105+ more likely.

In general, the translation of these passages depends on the status and rank that one assigns to the TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men. If one assumes that they were low-ranking dependents, then the translation offered by Archi & Klengel (1980) should be preferred.²⁵ However, if one counts the TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men among the officials of a certain importance, then the translation

23 Possibly Ḫatarsa; see del Monte & Tischler (1978: 99).

24 See above n. 19.

25 Following Sommer, Archi & Klengel (1980: 148) translate LÚ GÍŠTUKUL.GÍD.DA as ‘Bauer’, i.e., ‘farmer’, but their article was published eight years before Beal’s (1988) contribution, in which the term was redefined.

proposed above makes good sense. A further clue supporting the latter view can be found in KBo 22.218 obv. 2'–9' (Groddek 2008: 212). This text is very fragmentary, but one clearly sees that the TUKUL.GÍD.DA-man held an office parallel to those of a *KARTAPPU*, an [UGULA L]I-IM and a ^{LÚ}*henkuwas*. They seem to be responsible for (lit. 'hold', *harzi*) some workers (a gardener and a smith are mentioned) in specific cities. Even if these officials were not the highest-ranking office-holders in the Hittite state, neither were they the lowest-ranking palace dependents.

In conclusion, TUKUL.GÍD.DA in the Late Empire seems to be a rather generic term for high-ranking state dependents. Unlike the TUKUL-men, the TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men had a prominent role in the cultic and administrative spheres and held other state dependents under their control. One might speculate that the title ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.GÍD.DA could refer to the highest rank of ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-men, i.e., those who controlled and directed other ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-men.

3. Out-group Definitions in Hittite Texts

The discussion presented in the previous paragraphs deals with *in-group* normative and administrative definitions. Since the social definition in RS 17.238, ll. 3–5, is an *out-group* definition, it is worth looking for other out-group social definitions in the Hittite texts. As a matter of fact three further attestations of out-group social definitions are found in Hittite sources, all in normative texts, all in subjugation treaties: CTH 67, 68 and 138. Significantly, the context in which these definitions are found is one and the same in all four cases: extradition of fugitives. This is, in my opinion, the core issue. As is well known, the clauses regarding the extradition of fugitives were one of the most important sections of the Hittite political treaties. Those issued by the Hittite kings during the Empire Period generally require the extradition of Hittite fugitives in foreign lands, but refuse the extradition of foreign fugitives in Hatti (Cohen 2002: 98ff. with literature). A closer look, however, reveals a variety of situations regarding fugitives and their treatment in the Hittite treaties (Kestemont 1974: 414–422, and *passim*; del Monte 1983: 31–34). In particular, there are cases in which the Great King agreed to return some or all fugitives to their homeland. A thorough study of the conditions which led to this sort of concession by the Hittite king is still wanting, and they will not be dealt with here, but no doubt these conditions were deeply linked to the balance of power between the two parties.²⁶ What is relevant for the present analysis is that for the Hittite culture *this and only this topic* (extradition), *in and only in an out-group normative communication context* (a treaty), produces a definition of the 'other' in the form of a *non-contrastive social definition*.

Now that the exact context of the creation of the social definition in RS 17.238 has been defined, it is appropriate to analyze the passage of the treaty between Mursili II and Targasnalli of Hapalla mentioned above (CTH 67; KBo 5.4 obv. 36–40; Cohen 2002: 103).²⁷

If from the Land of Ha[palla someone] of the men of the 'long weapon' (LÚ ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.GÍD.DA) or a free man (LÚ *EL-LU*) comes to the Land of Hatti in flight, I shall not give

²⁶ For the significance of the balance of power in building group identities, see Fabietti (1998).

²⁷ The same passage is also found in another Arzawa treaty, i.e., that between Mursili II and Kupanta-Kurunta, king of the Land of Mira (CTH 68); see most recently Cohen (2002: 106, with literature). Since none of its manuscripts is well preserved at this point, the text of CTH 67 is followed here.

[him] back to you. From the [Land] of Hatti it is not allowed to give back a fugitive. But [if] he is a cultivator, or a [weaver], a carpenter, or a leatherworker—whatever sort of craftsman he is (*ku-iš-aš im-ma ku-iš EN QA-TI*), and he does not de[liver] his assigned work, [and he] flees and comes to the Land of Hatti, I shall arrest him and give him back to you.

Cohen (2002: 102–107) recently discussed this passage in its historical context. As other scholars had done, he shows that social categories play a decisive role in determining the status of the fugitives. As to the 'menial workers', Cohen (2002: 105) calls attention to the fulfilment of labour explicitly expressed at l. 39: 'Should the fugitive belong to a group that potentially could have been under the duty of an assigned work, he will be promptly arrested and returned to his own country... (p)resumably, at least according to the treaty, the free men and the men of the "long weapon" are free from such obligations.' The 'menial workers' referred to in this passage therefore should not be private land owners and craftsmen, but state dependents.

The circumstances that led Mursili to agree to extradition clauses regarding only specific groups of fugitives deserve a detailed discussion, but they are not the object of the present contribution. Rather, it seems relevant now to compare this passage with RS 17.238, the edict of Hattusili.²⁸ In fact, the edict and the extradition clauses of the two treaties have much in common. Both date to the 13th century, both deal with the extradition of fugitives, and both grant extradition on the basis of social categories.²⁹ It is also telling that each text refers to a tripartite social structure.³⁰

3.1 The Arzawa Treaties and RS 17.238 (Edict of Hattusili)

If one compares the social designations mentioned in the three texts, carefully maintaining their original order, the following sets are obtained:

CTH 67 and 68 (Arzawa Treaties)	RS 17.238 (Edict of Hattusili)
1. Man of the 'long weapon' (LÚ ^{GIŠ} TUKUL.GÍD.DA)	1. Servant of the King of Ugarit (İR.LUGAL KUR <i>ú-ga-ri-it</i>)
2. Freeman (LÚ <i>EL-LU</i>)	2. Inhabitant of Ugarit (DUMU KUR <i>ú-ga-ri-it</i>)
3. Whatever craftsman (<i>ku-iš-aš im-ma ku-iš EN QA-TI</i>)	3. Servant of the servant of the King of Ugarit (İR İR.LUGAL KUR <i>ú-ga-ri-it</i>)

Although at first glance the two sets of designations appear quite different, it is worth considering each single pair with the aim of identifying a common underlying social structure. In light of the above considerations (§§2.2, 2.3, 3), it may be seen that designations 1) and 3) in the Arzawa treaties refer to groups of individuals whose defining characteristic is their status as

²⁸ The suggestion of comparing the edict of Hattusili with the Arzawa treaties was made some years ago by the honouree of this volume (see Singer 1999: 682).

²⁹ CTH 138 (KUB 23.77 obv. 52–56) also grants the extradition of fugitives on the basis of social categories. This text is not discussed here because the relevant passage is quite fragmentary, and above all, because it dates to the Early Empire (MH/MS), a phase in which the title LÚ ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.GÍD.DA was not yet in use. For a comparison with the social titles of CTH 67 and 68, see Giordagze (1974: 301–302) and most recently Cohen (2002: 104–105).

³⁰ The edict RS 17.238 deals in its last paragraph with a fourth category, people from Ugarit who lived abroad. This is, however, a geo-political definition, not a social one, thus explaining, in my view, why it is dealt with in a different and specific section.

state dependents, and in fact, this is exactly what designations 1) and 3) of RS 17.238 explicitly refer to. Moreover, if the above considerations on the TUKUL.GÍD.DA-men are accepted (§2.3), one of their main features was control over the activities of other people owing a service to the state, referred to in the Arzawa treaties as ‘whatever craftsman’ (see §3). A hierarchy of state dependents thus emerges in both sets, implicit in the Arzawa treaties, explicit in RS 17.238. The position of the designations in both sets also corroborates the existence of this hierarchy among state dependents.

The correspondence between the designations LÚ *EL-LU* in the Arzawa treaties and DUMU KUR *ú-ga-ri-it* in RS 17.238 also makes good sense. It requires that, along with the general meaning ‘inhabitant of the Land GN’, the designation DUMU/LÚ KUR GN had the specific meaning ‘inhabitant of GN who is not state dependent’, when explicitly contrasted with the designation ÌR.LUGAL GN (and similar). This usage is not unknown to the Hittite normative texts, and one might compare it with the use of the designation LÚ.MEŠ URU-*LÍ* and related terms in the law collection in contrast to LÚ ^{GÍD}TUKUL and LÚ *ILKU* (see §2.1). If this comparison is indeed valid, then the resemblance between the two sets is striking. It seems that in the 13th century the representation of foreign societies assumed by the Hittite court in the matter of extradition of fugitives consisted of 1) high-ranking dependents of the king, who had control over given tasks and works, 2) middle-ranking inhabitants of the land, who were not bound to any obligation to the king, and 3) low-ranking state dependents, who were assigned by the king to a high-ranking royal dependent and fulfilled a given task under his control.³¹

Since all four texts containing information on out-group social definitions concern fugitives, one could suggest as a working hypothesis that they better fit the Hittite picture of foreign periphery and countryside, where people can more easily escape the control of local rulers, than the whole population of a foreign land. A clue in this sense is the adoption of the designation LÚ ^{GÍD}TUKUL.GÍD.DA in CTH 67 and 68, which could well refer to high-ranking state officials active in local communities (see §2.3), but would hardly be used to refer to out-group elite officials such as DUMU.LUGAL, LÚSAG and the like.

A major question remains. Why do these Arzawa treaties and the edict RS 17.238 employ different designations? Although the Hittite and Syrian archives do not provide enough data to answer this question, one should note that 1) there is a short but relevant gap of some 50 years between the Arzawa treaties and the edict regarding Ugarit (a very dense period of Hittite political history); and that 2) there is a geo-political distance between (Western) Anatolia and Northern Syria; more concretely, technical legislative terms in Northern Syria were conceived, at least partially, by Karkamiš, which conserved strong influence from the preceding Mittanian legal tradition.

31 This outline is quite similar to that drawn by Diakonoff (1967: 365–366) in his seminal article on Hittite society. This is because he also concentrated on the evidence of dependents that had other dependents under their control (see in particular his analysis of KBo 5.7 on pp. 342–346, which he relates to the structure found in RS 17.238). Nonetheless, substantial differences emerge in other details, such as the social position of the *ILKU*-men and the TUKUL-men (Diakonoff 1967: 360–361 and *passim*).

4. In-group Administrative Definitions versus Out-group Normative Definitions

The present treatment has confirmed that RS 17.238 indeed describes Ugaritic society as tripartite, but that the description is an out-group normative definition drawn by the Hittite royal court rather than a precise, in-group description of social classes effectively existent at Ugarit. This consideration nicely explains the contrast between the bipartite social definition emerging from the local legal and administrative texts on the one hand and the three designations of RS 17.238 on the other. They display two different definitions of society: one an in-group administrative, the other an out-group normative, which depends on the specific topic of extradition. These two definitions need not, and in all likelihood did not, correspond to one another.

A concrete case in which a Hittite out-group social definition came in direct contact with the in-group social rules of a subjugated land is found at Emar. The case is particularly interesting for the present discussion, because the geo-political context (Hittite Syria) and the period (13th century) are the same as those of RS 17.238.

After the initial conquest and a period of reorganization, the Hittite court at Karkamiš established an administration at Emar that had to coexist with local institutions, primarily the elders of the city and the local family clans.³² As it seems, this administration was in many cases considerate of local laws, but conflict arose when its interests and basic institutions were not accepted by the local community (d’Alfonso 2005a: 181–191; 2005b). The clearest case concerns the title ÌR.LUGAL, ‘Servant of the King (of Karkamiš)’. A dozen occurrences of this designation are found in the texts from Emar.³³ From one of these texts (Tsukimoto 1992: no. 46) it is clear that the Servants of the King had to carry out an obligation named ^{GÍD}TUKUL ša LUGAL, that is ‘the TUKUL obligation for the king’ (Yamada 1995: 301–306; Bellotto 2002: 133–136; d’Alfonso 2005b: 31–33). This obligation was lifelong and hereditary, but from the Hittite point of view the social status of the ‘Servant of the King’ was not affected by the obligation, and a ‘Servant of the King’ was not considered unfree. To the contrary, it is clearly stated that he had the status of freeman, *arawannu*,³⁴ and his status was thus different than that of the ÌR PN, who was in fact a slave.³⁵ This is how the Hittite administration depicted the social group of the ‘Servants of the King’. It seems, however, that the Emar community did not consider becoming a ‘Servant of the King’ very prestigious. In some cases it is evident that individuals who were ‘Servants of the King’ were not well off economically, but had

32 See d’Alfonso (2005a: 24–26) and Démare-Lafont (2008), with literature; on the interaction of Hittite and local institutions, see Cohen & d’Alfonso (2008: 16–22).

33 Emar VI 5: 32; Huehnergard 1983: no. 3: 13 (ÌÌR É.GAL after Tsukimoto 1991: no. 24: 13); Emar VI 117: 8; Emar VI 121: 14; TSBP 40: 21; TSBP 78: 5; Tsukimoto 1990: no. 3: 4, 12; Tsukimoto 1992: no. 46: 22; and ETBLM 18: 8. Beside these occurrences, further passages likely refer to Servants of the King, where the TUKUL obligation for the king is mentioned (Bellotto 2002) and servants of members of the royal family are concerned. Note, however, that the designation ÌR.LUGAL is used only a few times in the texts from Hattusa, where it is never used as a title, as is the case in the texts drafted at Karkamiš and Emar. Consider CTH 265; KUB 13.3 ii 17’ (Pecchioli Daddi 2004: 460, 465) and CTH 271; KUB 36.114 i. 17’ (Giorgieri 1995: 119).

34 Again, this concept of freeman was Hittite, not local, as seen also in the adoption of the Hittite word. On the free status of the TUKUL-men at Emar with comparison to Hatti, see Yamada (1995).

35 See e.g., Emar VI 121 and Yamada 1995: 304–305; *contra* Márquez Rowe (2002: 16–17), who briefly analyzes some antichretic texts from Emar but ignores the formula ÌR.LUGAL *riāhu* in texts such as Emar VI 117 and VI 121.

debts and may have become 'Servants of the King' in order to avoid enslavement.³⁶ Far from considering these persons as part of the elite of their society, the old members of the Emar families could hardly accept that descendants of a family who had 'never had a debt with anybody, neither a branch nor a blade of straw' (Emar VI 33: 3–4), would have had to enter the eternal servitude of someone else, be it the king of Karkamiš or other members of his family. The Hittites could well consider the ʾR.LUGAL a free person, but this freedom did not correspond to the local expectations concerning a freeman. Interestingly enough, these two different social conceptions are contested in three different lawsuits, and one gains the impression that judicature favoured a synthesis of both positions in a new structure, which tried to gain the acceptance of both parties.

The Emarite view of the social group 'Servants of the King' not only constitutes one of the few cases of social self-consciousness in pre-classical antiquity, but also sheds light on the distance between two deeply different but coeval social models, as well as on the strategies to overcome it by means of a redefinition and negotiation of the norms which define a society (d'Alfonso 2005b). This all brings to light the strong differences regarding the respective concepts of society between the conquerors and the local community and between the out-group and the in-group at Emar.

5. Conclusions

RS 17.238 ll. 3–5 indeed offer a definition of the social structure of Ugarit. This definition, however, corresponds to an abstract concept of a foreign society as conceived by the Hittite royal court. The societal structure of RS 17.238 can be usefully compared with that intimated in the two Arzawa treaties, CTH 67 and CTH 68, in passages where the extradition of fugitives was also dealt with. These societal definitions consist of three social groups: 1) high-ranking state dependents directing activities for the state, 2) private entrepreneurs, land owners and craftsmen, and 3) state craftsmen owing service to be performed directly under the control of the high-ranking state dependents. It is unlikely that these three social groups were thought to cover the entire foreign society, nor do they correspond to an absolute model of society. Rather, they represented those categories relevant for the issue of the extradition of fugitives dealt with by the head of two territorial states. Since the definition is a product of the Hittite court, it must have found some correspondence in the social structure of the Late Hittite Empire.

Outside of the Land of Ḫatti and Hittite Anatolia, in-group models of society, which will hardly have been mirrored in these out-group definitions, were in existence. For example, there is good evidence for a specific in-group social definition in 13th-century Emar, and it seems unlikely that the society of Ugarit closely adhered to the definition sketched in RS 17.238.

³⁶ E.g., Emar VI 33; VI 117; VI 121; and Tsukimoto 1992: no. 46. Bellotto (2002: 131, 133) concludes that some of these individuals had a prominent position in Emar society because the royal court of Karkamiš directly managed their cases. This matter, however, can be seen differently. Since these individuals were obliged to the royal court, the Hittite administration had direct contact with them and was directly concerned with them because of its own interests.

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Symbols of Power in the Late Hittite Kingdom

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1. The first Hittite sovereign who left a monumental representation of himself on a rock relief (Sirkeli)¹ was Muwatalli II.² The employment of this new means of communication was probably part of a broader plan that Muwatalli II undertook in order to aggrandize both himself and the Hittite monarchy. The use and function of royal images in the Hittite Kingdom were thoroughly investigated by Bonatz (2007: 111–136) in a recent essay in which he collected Hittite visual documentation and presented the different iconographies of royal portraits in connection with their religious and political meanings. My intent in this paper is to consider the Hittite documentation in chronological and political perspective. Of course, this topic is intimately connected with the problem of the divine nature of Hittite kingship and the divinization of the Hittite king at the end of the 13th century (see below).

In the royal seals one can follow a process of development that begins with the ‘*tabarna-seals*’, continues with the seals of Suppiluliuma I and culminates with those of the sovereigns of the 13th century. The seals of Suppiluliuma I represent a significant innovation in this process. In their centre appear the name of the sovereign and his royal titles written in hieroglyphics,³ and above the king’s name there is an image of a winged sun-disk.⁴ The same symbol⁵ can appear above the head of the sun-goddess, as seen in the ‘Chamber 2’ relief in the Upper City of Hattusa or at Yazılıkaya (relief no. 34).⁶ The winged sun-disk on the royal seals refers to the title ⁴UTU-ŠI, ‘My (also Your/His) Sun-God’, i.e., ‘My (Your/His) Majesty’,⁷ adopted by the Hittite kings during the 15th century.⁸ This is a first yet important step emphasizing the very close ties between the king and the deity. The next step is represented by the seal of Muwatalli II in which the king and the deity appear together (see below).

In contrast to this perceptible development, the relief of Muwatalli II at Sirkeli has no known precedents and appears to be something completely new. Not only reliefs in rock faces are

1 See most recently Ehringhaus (2005: 95–99), whose hypothesis (2005: 100–101) that Sirkeli 2 might represent Kurunta is convincing; see also below.

2 See most recently Emre (2002: 226); Aro (2003: 288); Ehringhaus (2005: 97).

3 See most recently Bawanyeck (2006: 111–112).

4 See Gonnet (1979: 19) and Bawanyeck (2006: 111–112).

5 The appearance of the winged sun-disk as an emblem of royal office on Hittite seals has been attributed by some to Egyptian influence; see Fauth (1979: 235) and Haas (1999: 179).

6 See Güterbock (1993a: 225–226); for the problem of the identification of the figure beneath a winged sun-disk in Syrian seals, see Mora (2004: 446–447), with literature.

7 See Gonnet (1979: 19–20).

8 This title is documented for the first time in the treaty of Zidanza II, King of Hatti, with Pilliya, King of Kizzuwatna (Haas 1999: 178–180; Beckman 2002: 37; Carruba 2002: 145). It appears sporadically in the texts of the subsequent period and becomes a constant element of the royal titles beginning with Arnuwanda I. The adoption of the title ⁴UTU-ŠI by the Hittite Kings has been explained in different ways, some seeing in it an aspect of the Anatolian tradition. For the use of the title ‘Sun’ referring to the king in documents from Kültepe, see Fauth (1979: 233–234). Others have suspected Egyptian influence, while others still have hypothesized a Mesopotamian derivation; see the literature quoted by Beckman (2002: 37–43 and nn. 6–7).

unknown prior to the 13th century, only very few reliefs carved on blocks of stone have been identified. Two fragmentary reliefs were found in the Hittite capital on the Büyükkale. Since one of the two had been reused in a building of the 14th century they were obviously older. They preserve scenes depicting fighting between deities.⁹ At Ortaköy/Sapinuwa, in Building B, a fragmentary relief has been found which A. Süel and M. Süel date to the Middle Kingdom.¹⁰

Attempting to reconstruct the development of Hittite monumental reliefs is also hindered by difficulty in dating the reliefs of the blocks of the Sphinx Gate at Alaca Hüyük with certainty,¹¹ as the different dates in various studies demonstrate. Some scholars believe that they are to be dated to the 14th or even the 15th century,¹² while others suggest dating them to the 13th century.¹³ Obviously, if these reliefs were in fact to be dated to the 14th century, they would represent a significant precedent for the late Imperial Age reliefs.

Aro (2003: 288), with reference to the Sirkeli relief and the probable origin of Anatolian rock monuments, has forwarded the hypothesis that they may have originated in the Luwian regions.¹⁴ I wonder if Muwatalli might have had his image carved in the rock at Sirkeli in the spirit of emulation of the Egyptian monarchy and Egyptian royal visual propaganda.

2. The Sirkeli relief and the seals of Muwatalli II include a series of elements yielding a host of new information. Particularly interesting is one of his seals showing him being embraced by a god. This *Umarmungsszene* is known also for later kings, as will be seen presently. The identity of the king and seal owner along with that of his patron deity is found in hieroglyphic captions. The god who embraces the king is the Great Storm-god of Heaven.¹⁵ In this seal Muwatalli II wears a long robe and a round skull cap and carries a *lituus* (^{Gi}*skalmus*), i.e., he wears the same garments as the Sun-god. In the Sirkeli relief Muwatalli is represented wearing this same garb.¹⁶

This iconography seeks to emphasize the king's special role in the worship of the deities. In order to approach the deity, Muwatalli is, in fact, shown wearing ceremonial garments like those of the deity.¹⁷ The embracing scene and the garments worn by the king are used to show that a strict and exclusive relationship had been established between the king and the deities. As Bonatz (2007: 113) writes concerning the Firaktin relief, 'what we see in the visual representations, then, is a privilege exclusively ascribed to the king and the queen.'

The strengthening of the relationship between the king and the deities during the reign of Muwatalli was comprehensive. Finding himself in a conflict with Egypt that concluded with the battle of Qadeš, he was also forced to counter Egyptian royal ideology.¹⁸

9 See Bittel (2005: 170) and Emre (2002: 218).

10 As they related during a visit to Sapinuwa during the VII International Congress of Hittitology, August 2008.

11 See most recently Özyar (2006: 143).

12 See the literature quoted by Kohlmeyer (1983: 104, n. 975); Alexander (1986: 146, n. 1); Mora (1992: 243–244); and Neve (1995: 295–297). See now also Ehringhaus (2005: 10).

13 See most recently Neve (1995: 297–301).

14 Ünal (1998: 595) suggests that the reliefs at Alaca might be the work of foreign artisans from the Aegean area.

15 See Neve (1991: 327, 329); Hawkins (2001: 169 and n. 11); and Singer (2006: 39–41).

16 See Kohlmeyer (1983: 95–101) and Ehringhaus (2005: 95–99); also Fauth (1979: 237).

17 On royalty and divine garments, see Taggar-Cohen (2006: 426–428) and Torri (2008: 179).

18 See Klengel (2002: 207–208).

Moreover, Muwatalli was most intimately involved in religious questions. He was the author of a 'religious reform', through which he sought to promote the cult of his patron deity, the Storm-god of Lightning, at the expense of other long-established deities. At the same time, Muwatalli moved the Hittite capital from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa in south-eastern Anatolia. These changes, which defied tradition and were deeply innovative, could only have been enacted by a sovereign with great charisma and a clearly recognizable divine investiture.¹⁹ Seals and reliefs were employed to disseminate clear images of this divine sanction.

3. The new elements introduced by Muwatalli II in visual representations of the king were taken up once more by his son Mursili III/Urhi-Teššub and by his successors in turn. From the sealed bullae from Nišantepe it is known that Muwatalli designated his son Urhi-Teššub as his heir. This is seen in Urhi-Teššub's seals, which show his name accompanied by the title of hereditary prince, *tuhkanti*.²⁰ Both his *tuhkanti* seals show him being embraced by his patron deity Šarruma.²¹ The god's greater size clearly shows the hierarchical relationship between the prince and his patron deity. Šarruma wears the horned tiara, while Urhi-Teššub wears a pointed hat of the same shape, but with only one frontal horn.²² For the first time a person from the Hittite royal family is seen with the horned hat. One might suppose that Mursili III/Urhi-Teššub, perhaps conscious of the weakness of his position and aware that his legitimacy was being questioned by a part of the royal court, reacted by emphasizing the strong link between himself and the divinity.

Once Urhi-Teššub became king he began to use new seals. In the central field of one of them is a very complex scene:²³ the Storm-god of Aleppo is represented standing on his eagle-chariot drawn by bulls;²⁴ to his left Mursili III is depicted with a bow on his shoulder, wearing the horned pointed hat. On another seal Mursili is shown in the *Umarmungsszene*, embraced by the Storm-god.²⁵ The king wears a long robe and a round skull cap, the same garments as the Sun-god, which were already worn by his father Muwatalli II in his seal and in the Sirkeli relief.

Mursili III thus follows the paternal model in having a divinity portrayed beside himself on his seals, but introduces the important novelty of the horned hat. It is not known how his contemporaries viewed this new mode of representation. It seems unlikely, though, that Mursili was attempting to claim divinity,²⁶ and indeed no source from the following era attributes the intention to him. If Mursili III had really intended to declare his divinity, Hattusili III presumably would not have let such a challenge to the gods go uncontested, especially in light of the inglorious end which Mursili suffered. Hattusili could easily have made his predecessor appear as a sort of 13th-century Narām-Sîn of Akkade.

19 On the 'reform' of Muwatalli and the transfer of the capital to Tarhuntassa, see Singer (2006: 37–58).

20 See Hawkins (2001: 167–179).

21 Van den Hout (2007: 345) supposes that Muwatalli II might have been responsible for the choice of iconography of the seals of the *tuhkanti*.

22 See Hawkins (2001: 167–179, pls. VI–IX).

23 See Hawkins (2003: 169–175).

24 For this iconography of the Storm-god of Aleppo, see now Seeher (2007: 707–720).

25 See Otten (1993: 22–25).

26 So Bonatz (2007: 126).

On the contrary, not only did Hattusili III refrain from condemning this substantial change in the imagery of the sovereign introduced by his predecessor, he is seen to have emulated it in the Firaktin relief.²⁷ As is well known, this relief displays a complex iconography articulated in two scenes: On the left Hattusili is pictured libating before an offering table, behind which stands the Storm-god. Both the king and the god wear the same short kilt and horned pointed hat; the deity holds the *lituus*, while the king shoulders a bow. In the other scene, Queen Puduheba libates in front of an offering table, behind which the goddess Hebat is sitting on a throne. The goddess and the queen wear the same long robe and the same hat.

Once again, the king's horned headdress should not be taken as a symbol of his divinization. Other elements necessary for such a reading are missing, e.g., the determinative DEUS; in fact, Hattusili's name never receives the divine determinative DINGIR in Hittite cuneiform texts. On the contrary, it is clear that Hattusili and Puduheba are presented in the Firaktin relief not as divinities but in their 'royal "priestly" outfit'.²⁸ In his texts, Hattusili often emphasizes his role as priest of the goddess Ištar, a role which allows him to be her privileged interlocutor and to enjoy her protection, guidance and endorsement.²⁹ Divine vestments worn by the king serve to highlight the difference between a normal priest and the king and to imply that the king is the only one who enjoys intimate communication with and is welcomed by the gods almost as an equal.³⁰

An analysis of the images of Tuthaliya IV, Hattusili III's son and successor, as depicted on seals and reliefs has been undertaken by van den Hout.³¹ In these images Tuthaliya IV does not venture beyond the model adopted by his predecessors. He does, however, appear to have taken the process of identification of the king with the divinity, which up to this point had been limited to exterior features such as clothing, to its limits in the hieroglyphic inscription on Altar B at Emirgazi (§§33–37),³² in which he is offered a libation. In the Hittite world it is only divinities that are offered libations. Van den Hout (1995a: 571) has therefore suggested on the basis of the Emirgazi altar inscription that Tuthaliya had been elevated to divine status.

27 See Kohlmeyer (1983: 67–74); Ehringhaus (2005: 59–69); and Bonatz (2007: 113); also van den Hout (1995a: 555). Mayer-Opificius' proposal (1989: 361–362) to date the relief to after the death of Hattusili III is no longer tenable.

28 For the expression 'royal "priestly" outfit', see Beckman (2002: 40).

29 See Hattusili's 'Apology' *passim*; Otten (1981).

30 See Bonatz (2007: 131).

31 Van den Hout (1995a: 556–558). Two seals depict an *Umarmungsszene*: (1) the seal impression on the tablet RS 17.159 shows Tuthaliya IV held in the embrace of the Storm-god in a complex scene in which the Sun-god also appears (van den Hout 1995a: 558; Heinhold-Krahmer 2001: 180–181); (2) seal impressions on *bullae* from the Nişantepe archive show Tuthaliya IV with a bow on his shoulder and being embraced by a divinity (van den Hout 1995a: 558; Herboldt 2005: 69). In both the king wears the horned pointed hat. The relief found in the Hittite capital near Temple 5 shows a male figure dressed as a warrior with the horned pointed hat. Its hieroglyphic inscription indicates that the figure is a King Tuthaliya, and van den Hout's hypothesis (1995a: 556–557, with previous literature) that the king represented is Tuthaliya IV seems likely. Other scholars prefer an identification with Tuthaliya I as a deified ancestor of Tuthaliya IV (see the literature quoted by van den Hout 1995a: 556, and now also Bonatz 2007: 119 and Torri 2008: 176). Finally, Tuthaliya IV appears in an *Umarmungsszene* in the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya, Room B, relief no. 81. In this case it is the god Šarruma who holds the king in his embrace. Tuthaliya IV does not wear the horned hat but is clothed in garments of the Sun-god, just as Muwatalli II was in his seals and in the Sirkeli relief (Alexander 1986: 118); Tuthaliya wears the same garments in relief no. 64.

32 See Hawkins (1995: 86–102 and 2006: 54–58) and van den Hout (1995a: 561–564).

4. One might wonder why Tuthaliya IV, for the first time in Hittite history, seems to have claimed to be a god and why he did not limit himself, as his predecessors had done, to the ambiguous messages (the king as a man, but in divine garb) diffused by seals and reliefs. This transformation seems to have come about because of the need to reinforce the monarchy in a period in which the dynasty and the state were weak.³³ As Bonatz (2007: 123) has shown, in the 13th century several rulers subordinate to Hatti began to have themselves represented in rock reliefs and seals with the same iconographies employed by the Hittite kings.

4.1 Kurunta, King of Tarhuntašša, son of Muwatalli II and contemporary of Tuthaliya IV, is represented in the recently discovered Hatip relief with the divine horned pointed hat.³⁴ The nature of the relief's male figure, man or god, is notoriously difficult to ascertain (as is the case with Karabel).³⁵ The divine attributes of the figure, however, represent no obstacle to identifying him as Kurunta. In fact, in the hieroglyphic inscription to the left of the image, he is referred to as 'Great King'; moreover, on seal impressions found in the Hittite capital, Kurunta holds the titles 'My Sun, Great King, Labarna', i.e., the titles of the King of Hatti.³⁶ Since Kurunta at some point decided to assume a rank equivalent to that of the Hittite king, it comes as no surprise that he might have also adopted royal Hittite modes of communication and iconographic styles.

In this context, it seems quite likely that the Sirkeli 2 relief, found not far from that of Muwatalli II, actually depicts Kurunta himself, as Ehringhaus has suggested.³⁷ As Singer has proposed,³⁸ Tuthaliya IV may well have tolerated his cousin Kurunta referring to himself as Great King within his own realm, since there is no evidence of Kurunta leading a coup or conquering the capital.³⁹ Tuthaliya's tolerance may have had its limits, however. The defacing of the Sirkeli 2 image might suggest that Tuthaliya (or one of his successors) felt that Kurunta had gone too far. In fact, if this relief indeed represents Kurunta, its proximity to Muwatalli's depiction may have been intended to vividly affirm not only his rank, but above all his direct affiliation with Muwatalli and thus the illegitimacy of Tuthaliya IV.

4.2 Similarly, the Karabel relief depicts Targasnawa, King of Mira, who probably ascended the throne in the latter part of the reign of Tuthaliya IV, with divine attributes.⁴⁰ This development might be connected with the increased importance of the kingdom of Mira between the end of the 13th and the start of the 12th centuries. Hawkins (1998: 21) has recently proposed identifying the 'Great King' Mashuitta/Parhuitta, the recipient of the letter KBo 18.18, as a further king of Mira. This Mashuitta/Parhuitta was probably a contemporary of Suppiluliuma II,⁴¹ so that the kings of Mira would also seem to have borne some of the same titles and symbols of power as the kings of Hatti during this period.

33 Van den Hout (1995a: 571–572).

34 See most recently Ehringhaus (2005: 101–107).

35 Bonatz (2007: 123).

36 Hawkins (1995: 62, n. 250, with literature).

37 Ehringhaus (2005: 107).

38 Singer (1996: 63–71).

39 See the literature quoted by Singer (1996: 64, nn. 3–4).

40 See Kohlmeyer (1983: 12–28); Ehringhaus (2005: 87–91); and Hawkins (1998, especially p. 18).

41 Hawkins (1998: 21).

4.3 The rulers of Karkamiš, in contrast, while imitating Hittite royal iconography, did not hold imperial titles before the dissolution of the Hittite Empire. For example, a cylinder seal of Ini-Teššub, King of Karkamiš⁴² and contemporary of the Hittite kings Ḫattusili III and Tuthaliya IV, displays a complex scene with the Storm-god at the centre, the winged Sun-god behind him and a praying male figure in front. Identified as Ini-Teššub by Schaeffer (1956: 27), this figure wears a round skull cap with a frontal horn.⁴³ According to d'Alfonso (2001: 267ff.) the seal would have been used in the latter part of the reign of Ini-Teššub, in the same period of Hittite imperial decay that witnessed the sculpting of the Hatip and Karabel reliefs.

One might wonder why the kings of Karkamiš, who, as noted, adopted Hittite royal iconography, did not take the title 'Great King' until the Kingdom of Ḫatti had disappeared. Mora (2008: 85–86) writes that the local Syrian tradition was not acquainted with the notion of a 'Great King', as the title was not used for Syrian rulers of the Late Bronze Age. Though this is a possibility, it is known that Kuzi-Teššub, King of Karkamiš in the first decades of the 12th century, holds the title 'Great King' in the Gūrūn inscription.⁴⁴ It seems therefore likely that since the kings of Karkamiš already enjoyed a consolidated position within their kingdom and within the Empire of Ḫatti in the 13th century, they had no need, unlike Kurunta of Tarḫuntassa, for such explicit manifestations of power, which might have been seen as a challenge to the imperial power of Ḫattusa. In contrast, after the collapse of the kingdom of Ḫatti, and in view of the expansion of the area controlled by Karkamiš, Kuzi-Teššub could unthreateningly claim 'the vacant titles... of Šuppiluliuma II.'⁴⁵

5. Several Hittite dignitaries also imitated the symbols of power originally reserved for the sovereign, as witnessed in the Hanyeri,⁴⁶ İmamkulu⁴⁷ and Hamide/Hemite reliefs.⁴⁸ Both the Hanyeri and the İmamkulu reliefs show complex scenes, which are still open to interpretation. In both, however, a standing male figure shouldering a bow can be seen. The hieroglyphs accompanying this figure reveal the name of the person represented, the Hittite official Kuwalanamuwa. In these reliefs prince Kuwalanamuwa is wearing a cap with a curving feature on its front that could be either a stylised horn or a curl;⁴⁹ it closely resembles what the cult attendants wear in the relief on the silver vessel in the form of a fist kept in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.⁵⁰ In the Hamide/Hemite relief one finds a male figure shouldering a bow and wearing a round skull cap (apparently without any horn),⁵¹ like the one worn by the Sun-god and the king in the time of Muwatalli II.⁵² A damaged hieroglyphic caption once contained the name

42 See Dezzi Bardeschi (2001: 246–266) and Mora (2004: 429, C 3), both with previous literature; see also van den Hout (1995a: 567–568, n. 115).

43 Schaeffer (1956: 27) writes that it is an *uraeus*.

44 Hawkins (1988: 99–108).

45 So Hawkins (1988: 104).

46 Kohlmeyer (1983: 86–90) and Ehringhaus (2005: 76–80).

47 Kohlmeyer (1983: 80–86) and Ehringhaus (2005: 70–76).

48 Kohlmeyer (1983: 90–95) and Ehringhaus (2005: 107–111).

49 Herboldt (2005: 57–58).

50 Güterbock & Kendall (1995: 45–60).

51 Kohlmeyer (1983: 93).

52 Herboldt (2005: 58).

of the person depicted, a prince and the son of 'prince' Tarḫuntapiyami.⁵³ This Tarḫuntapiyami is presumably the same person who appears in an inscription later superimposed by a figure of Kuwalanamuwa in the Hanyeri relief.⁵⁴ Bonatz (2007: 121) writes that the 'supernatural status' of these dignitaries 'is underlined on the one hand by their closeness to the images of the gods, and on the other hand by the proximity of the Storm-god, who is portrayed in front of the princes in the rock reliefs at İmamkulu and Hanyeri.'

The dating of these reliefs is uncertain. The name of the person portrayed in the Hanyeri and İmamkulu reliefs, Kuwalanamuwa, is also mentioned in the Annals of Mursili II,⁵⁵ in the Akpmar hieroglyphic inscription and in two seal impressions from the Nişantepe archives.⁵⁶ Identifying him with the individual in the Annals,⁵⁷ and thus dating him to the time of Mursili II,⁵⁸ would seem to conflict with the apparently late date of the Hanyeri relief, which Güterbock deemed from the stylistic point of view to be a product of the late 13th century,⁵⁹ while Mora has reached the same conclusion with regard to the İmamkulu relief.⁶⁰ Concerning Tarḫuntapiya(mi) little is known for certain. A high dignitary Tarḫuntapiya who was a 'prince' (DUMU.LUGAL) and a 'scribe' is attested from the last decades of the 13th century.⁶¹ He might be the same person, which would yield a chronological anchor for the date of the reliefs. In any case, since these noblemen's practice of engraving their names and images on rock reliefs might be explained as a form of emulation of royal conventions that were initially the sole prerogative of the king, it is unlikely that the Hanyeri and İmamkulu reliefs can be dated prior to the monumental representations of Muwatalli II and Ḫattusili III.

A progressive appropriation of symbols of royal power on the part of some Hittite state officials seems to have occurred with the use of titles as well.⁶² The Nişantepe archives contained a bulla with the seal impression of a certain Kassu,⁶³ who bears the title of 'king' of a region, the name of which cannot be deciphered.⁶⁴ No king by the name of Kassu is known to have ruled a country subordinate to the Hittites, but several officials bearing the name are attested from various periods.⁶⁵ It may well be that 'king' Kassu was in fact no more than a state official from the late imperial age who had been placed in charge of some peripheral region and had assumed a royal title.

6. A precedent for the reliefs portraying state officials might be seen in a relief on an orthostat found at Tell Aḫana/Alalaḫ. The orthostat was reused as a paving stone in a staircase of the

53 Hawkins (2000: 39, n. 16).

54 Ehringhaus (2005: 80) and Hawkins (2000: 39, n. 16).

55 Hawkins (1983: 398).

56 Herboldt (2005: 147, nos. 192–193); in seal nos. 192–193 Kuwalanamuwa bears the title REGIO.DOMINUS, for which see Herboldt (2005: 100).

57 Hawkins (1983: 398).

58 So, even if very cautiously, Kohlmeyer (1983: 89–90).

59 Güterbock (1993b: 114).

60 Mora (1992: 244) and similarly Ehringhaus (2005: 73).

61 Van den Hout (1995b: 211–215).

62 For the seals of dignitaries that copy the iconographies of deities used for the kings, see most recently van den Hout (2007: 344–345).

63 Herboldt (2005: 141, no. 158).

64 Hawkins (2005: 258).

65 Van den Hout (1995b: 226–232).

reconstructed temple (Level IB).⁶⁶ It shows two figures, a man on the right and a woman on the left, both in an attitude of adoration. It is not known whether it originally stood isolated or whether it formed part of a more complex ensemble. To the right of the figures is an inscription in Hieroglyphic Luwian⁶⁷ that provides the name and titles of the male figure: 'Tuthaliya, Chief of the Chariot Drivers (MAGNUS.AURIGA₂), Son of the King'.⁶⁸ No attempt at interpreting the hieroglyphic inscription to the right of the female figure has yet succeeded.⁶⁹

Woolley dated the orthostat to Level III, but since this level seems to date to the period of Mittanian domination of Alalah, it must date later, to either Level II or I.⁷⁰ Bonatz (2007: 130–132) observes that the relief cannot portray Tuthaliya IV. One must recall, moreover, that Tuthaliya, before becoming king of Hatti, bore the title GAL *MEŠEDI*, 'Chief of the Royal Bodyguard',⁷¹ which corresponds to hieroglyphic MAGNUS.HASTARIUS.⁷² The dignitary portrayed on the relief of Alalah, however, bears the title 'Chief of the Chariot Drivers (MAGNUS.AURIGA₂)'.⁷³

Niedorf (2002: 517–526) has recently suggested the identification of this Tuthaliya with the person who received the letter ATT 35,⁷⁴ with the Tuthaliya mentioned in 'Mursili's Dictate to Tuppi-Teššub's Syrian Antagonists' (CTH 63, ii 41, iv 3', 6')⁷⁵ and with the sender of the letter KBo 9.83.⁷⁶ Since Tuthaliya was a Hittite state official active in Syria at the time of Mursili II, the Alalah relief might therefore be dated to approximately the same period. A further problem stems from the poor state of the relief's preservation, since, as mentioned, it was reused in later rebuilding.⁷⁷ If one grants for the sake of argument Niedorf's hypothesis, it might be imagined that Tuthaliya had committed some crime and had fallen into disgrace (as CTH 63 might suggest); perhaps the king of Hatti might not have appreciated the self-adulation of this state official by means of the relief and might have ordered its removal. If this, admittedly very hypothetical, reconstruction of events were to prove correct, it would result in a very different situation compared with the Hittite king's toleration of the self-promotion of Kuwalanamuwa, Tarhüntapiyami and the latter's son.

7. In conclusion, the Hittite king Muwatalli II strove to create an intimate relationship between king and divinity, which entailed the inauguration of a new iconographic language employed on reliefs and seals. This language was also adopted by his successors, who emphasized the association of king and god even more vividly. It may be hypothesised that the origins of this process are to be sought in a desire to emulate the Egyptian monarchy during the reign of Muwatalli II along with a need to reinforce royal power in a moment of radical change such as

66 This relief has not been studied recently; for a picture, see Bittel (1976: fig. 231).

67 Meriggi (1975: 330, no. 305).

68 For the reading AURIGA₂, see Hawkins (2005: 301–302).

69 See Meriggi (1975: 330): 'tutta la leggenda B è un groviglio di segni quasi inestricabile.'

70 Bonatz (2007: 130).

71 Beal (1992: 336–337).

72 Hawkins (2005: 304).

73 That is: GAL ^{LÜ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ (IŠ); see Hawkins (2005: 301–302).

74 See also von Dassow (2008: 64, n. 156).

75 See now Miller (2007: 121–152). See also Beckman (1996: 158) and Klengel (1965: 58, 91–92, n. 37).

76 Hagenbuchner (1989: 48–49).

77 See recently von Dassow (2008: 63–64).

the dislocation of the capital. Mursili III and Hattusili III largely followed suit, but for different reasons; the former because he did not have the full backing of the court, the latter because he was a usurper. This new iconographic language was also adopted by the last kings of the Hittite dynasty. In the later imperial period this same language also became popular among subordinate sovereigns and state officials who employed it to aggrandize themselves thereby weakening its force and meaning.

The transformation from the earlier forms of association of king and god (from Muwatalli II to Hattusili III) toward the divinization of the king in the time of Tuthaliya IV (if Emirgazi Altar B, §§33–37, are to be taken literally) can perhaps be explained in this context. The state was weakening, and subordinate sovereigns and dignitaries were by this time openly challenging the Hittite monarchy to the point where they had appropriated its symbols of power, symbols that up until a short time before had been used only by the monarchy in Hattusa.

Finally, it should be remembered that much of this iconographic language survived the collapse of the Hittite Empire, as attested, e.g., by images of sovereigns with horned caps on the Ispekkür and Darende stele and in the Malatya reliefs.⁷⁸

78 See Herbordt (2005: 68, n. 520) with literature.

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Ein neues hethitisches Hieroglyphensiegel aus Westanatolien in der Perk-Sammlung

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Ein halbkugelförmiges Siegel aus Bronzeblech wurde neulich vom privaten Haluk Perk-Museum erworben. Der Zustand des Objektes ist recht gut (Abb. 1); nur an der Nahtzone der flachen Bodenplatte mit der Kuppel sind teilweise Abtrennungen zu beobachten. Die Existenz eines verlorenen, ösenförmigen Griffes bezeugen die Löcher an den beiden Seiten der Kappe, durch die ursprünglich der Schaft der Öse lief und somit an die hohle Kalotte befestigt wurde. Obwohl sich der Händler weigert, Näheres über den Fundort zu äußern, ist der Sammler Herr Perk davon überzeugt, dass als Herkunftsort des Siegels nur Westanatolien (eher das Innere als das Küstengebiet) in Frage kommen kann, da der Händler nur dort tätig sei und zusammen mit diesem Siegel typische „Yortan-Gefäße“ feilgeboten hat.



Abb. 1

Das Siegel trägt die Inventarnummer M. 2241. Die Bodenplatte hat einen Durchmesser von 2,35 cm und die Höhe beträgt 1,3 cm.

Seite A (Abb. 2–3), flacher Boden: Das Mittelfeld ist recht klein (D: 1,1 cm) und wird von einem 0,5 cm breiten Zierband mit floralen Mustern, Strahlenscheiben und einem Granatapfel umrahmt. Die Namenselemente sind auf der senkrechten Mittelachse angeordnet: L.370–L.434–L.391. Sie geben den bisher unbelegten Namen (A)su-k/ga-mi wieder. Ähnliche Namen finden sich in NH: 187–192. Außerdem sind auf Siegeln folgende Namen bezeugt: (A)suhali (Dinçol 1983: Nr. 5; Dinçol & Dinçol 2008: Kat. 291); (A)sumuwa (Dinçol 1983: Nr. 6); (A)su-Šarruma/Sarma (Dinçol 1990: Nr. 1); (A)suta (Dinçol & Dinçol 2008: Kat. 97); (A)sutiya (Dinçol & Dinçol 2008: Kat. 288, A, B). In der rechten Nebengruppe ist oben das Heilssymbol (L.370) und darunter ein vierstrahliger Stern (L.186) zu sehen. Links der Hauptgruppe steht nur das Heilssymbol.



Abb. 2



Abb. 3



Abb. 4



Abb. 5

Seite B (Abb. 4–5), Kuppel: Das Mittelfeld (D: 1,4 cm), das von einer mit gekreuzten Winkeln, floralen Mustern und Kreuzschleifen dekorierten Randzone umgeben ist, enthält die folgenden Hieroglyphenzeichen: L.13 (*pari*)-L.391 (*ma/i*)-L.209 (*i(a)*)-L.35 (*na*). Die ersten drei Zeichen sind auf der Mittelachse und das letzte rechts davon platziert. Sie geben zusammen den bislang unbezeugten Namen *Parimijana* wieder. Es sind mehrere Personennamen mit dem Anfangselement *pari*- bekannt (NH: 939–942). Das Siegel trägt leider keinen Titel. Die links der Hauptgruppe stehenden Zeichen L.370 (BONUS₂) und L.155 (= Granatapfel) sind als Symbole für Wohlergehen und Prosperität benutzt.

Dieses Siegel, wahrscheinlich aus Yortan, das wir ins 13. Jahrhundert datieren, bildet nach den Siegeln aus Troja (Hawkins & Easton 1996) und Metropolis (Meriç & Schachner 2000: 85–102) ein weiteres Beispiel solcher Funde, die die verbreitete Verwendung der luwischen Hieroglyphen im 2. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend in Westanatolien in steigender Zahl bezeugen.

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A Levantine Tradition: The Kizzuwatnean Blood Rite and the Biblical Sin Offering

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In his recent examination of the relationship between the Hittites and the Bible, Singer (2006), has masterfully summarized and analyzed the relevant archaeological and textual data, laying the foundation for further research on this topic.¹ In this treatment, he demonstrates the difficulties in accepting the historicity of the Biblical accounts of ‘Hittites’ as indigenous residents of Canaan. At the same time, he does not reject the evidence for some sort of cultural contacts between the Hittites and the Israelites, perhaps mediated by another cultural group of the Levant. In connection with the latter possibility, it is a pleasure and privilege to dedicate this article to Prof. Singer as a tribute to his boundless dedication as a teacher and mentor.

Over the course of the 20th century, several scholars identified a striking parallel between Hittite and Biblical texts pertaining to the use of blood to eliminate sin and impurity.² However, this comparison only received serious attention in 1990 in Haas’ important lecture in Hamburg (1993: 67–77), in which he presented much of the relevant Hittite evidence and argued for a common tradition linking the Hurro-Hittite blood rite to the use of blood in the Bible. In my investigation of this topic within the context of my doctoral research,³ it has become clear that the similarities between the two rites are much broader and their significance much greater than even Haas realized.

The Kizzuwatnean Blood Rite

The blood rite which will be discussed here is most frequently attested in ritual traditions originating from Kizzuwatna in southern Anatolia, bordering on northern Syria (classical Cilicia). One of the most detailed descriptions of the Hurro-Hittite rite is found in the birth ritual of Papanikri.⁴ This ritual addresses a situation in which the birth stool, consisting of two pegs and a basin, breaks in the period immediately preceding birth. This situation was interpreted as a portentous omen indicating divine anger towards the parturient.

The first day of the ritual focuses on the removal of the defective birth stool and the construction of two new birth stools, the function of which seems to be primarily symbolic.

¹ See also Hoffner (2004).

² Some Biblical parallels to the Hittite blood rite were already noted in cursory form by Sommer & Ehelolf (1924: 18) and Kronasser (1963: 56–58). See also Laroche (1973: 99), who attributes a Canaanite-Syrian origin to the rites due to the Kizzuwatnean provenance of the Hittite evidence.

³ Feder (2008). I would like also to express my gratitude to Prof. Rimmon Kasher of the Department of Bible of Bar-Ilan University for his dedicated and insightful supervision of the dissertation, together with Prof. Singer.

⁴ KBo 5.1 (CTH 476) = Strauß (2006: 284–309). Unless otherwise stated, all translations from Hittite or Hebrew are my own.

These birth stools are placed on two separate tables inside a *šinapši* house, apparently dedicated to the divine couple Hebat and Teššub. Then the blood rite is performed:

Obv. i

25 *nam-ma IŠ-TU 2 MUŠEN ḥar-na-a-ú-i* ^{GIŠ}GAG^{HLA}-ia ku-i-uš-ša
 26 *ar-ḥa-ia-an iš-ḥar-nu-ma-iz-zi u-uz-zi-ia-ia ḥar-na-a-ú*
 27 *pé-ra-an 2-ŠU IŠ-TU 2 UDU 4 MUŠEN-ia ši-pa-an-ti*

Then he smears each birth stool and (its) pegs separately with the blood of two birds. And before the birth stool he offers a flesh offering twice of two sheep and four birds.

28 *na-aš-ta UDU^{HLA}* (erased MUNUS²) *mar-kán-zi ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma* ^{UZU}
 29 *zé-e-a-ri nu zé-e-ia-an-ti-it ši-pa-an-ti*
 30 *nu DINGIR^{MEŠ} 2 TÁ.ÀM ka-lu-te-ez-zi*

Then they cut up the sheep. And as soon as the fat is cooked, he offers the cooked (fat). He performs the sacrificial routine twice for the gods.

As depicted in this passage, this ritual consists of a blood-smearing rite, signified by the denominative Hittite verb *išḥarnuma-*, literally ‘to bloody’. Other texts refer to this rite using the Hurrian term for ‘blood’, *zurki* (Laroche 1973: 95–99).

This rite is followed by an *uzi*-offering in which the fat is cooked as a gift to the gods. The lexicographical text from Ugarit RS 20.149 = (Nougayrol 1968: 232f.) establishes the sense of *uzi* as ‘flesh’: [S]U (Sumerian) = *ŠIRU* (Akkadian) = *uzi* (Hurrian) = *širu* (Ugaritic).⁵ As recognized by Strauß (2006: 95), the Papanikri Ritual provides the key to understanding the procedure of the flesh offering. In the *uzi*-rite, the priests cut up the animal (in this case, a sheep), and then present the cooked fat to the gods. The flesh offering appears in association with the blood rite in numerous Kizzuwatnean rituals, usually in the formula *uzia zurkia šipanti*, ‘he offers the flesh and blood’.⁶

These two rites were conceived as a unified whole. Such an inference can be made based on the statement in l. 27 that the flesh offering consists of two sheep and four birds. Although one could interpret this statement as meaning that the fat was taken from the four birds which had just provided the blood for the *zurki*, this interpretation is unlikely. Besides the practical consideration that the amount of fat contained in a bird is meagre, the subsequent instructions in ll. 28–29 refer only to the fat of the sheep. Accordingly, it appears that the scribe is referring to the animals used for the separate *uzi* (sheep) and *zurki* (birds) rites together as a functional unity.

5 See also Haas (1998: 252) and Wegner (2000: 154–155). For an etymological derivation from Sumerian UZU, see Laroche (1973: 96, n. 30) and Lebrun (1977: 111). Although the Sumerian lemma was originally published as [Z]U (= SÚ), it is better interpreted as the nearly identical SU sign.

6 See also Otten (1971: 12ff.); Haas (1998: 252, 254); and Strauß (2006: 92–98).

The unity of these two rites is further demonstrated by the Šamuḥa Ritual.⁷ In this text, a fish and a lamb are used for the blood rite (*zurki*) on the evening of the 15th day (rev. 21–23).⁸ The *zurki* is mentioned again in the description of the following day’s rites in the following passage: EGIR-*anda*=*ma zurkiaš* UZU *zēyantit šipanti* (l. 72). By taking the ritual as a whole, one may arrive at a confident translation: ‘Then he offers the cooked meat of the *zurki* offering.’⁹ According to this interpretation, *zurkiaš* is a genitival form referring to the sheep and fish whose blood was used in the blood rite. The current passage describes the corresponding *uzi*-rite in which the fat of these offerings is presented to the gods. This understanding finds support in the reference to blood and flesh rites from the first day of the Papanikri Ritual (i 25–35), which explicitly states that the *uzi*-rite is ‘performed by means of the cooked (fat)’ (*nu zeyantit šipanti* [29]).

In the Papanikri Ritual one also finds explicit reference to the purpose of the blood rite. At the beginning of the ritual, a priest interrogates the parturient and does not hesitate to assume that she has committed a transgression to anger a god. She must then perform an oracle inquiry in order to determine the identity of the god so that she can appease him/her by means of sacrifice (i 14–17).

The awareness of sin emerges just as clearly from the priest’s speech after the execution of the blood-smearing and flesh-offering rites. He declares (i 41–47):

41 *ma-a-an-wa AMA-KA na-aš-ma A-BU-KA ap-pé-ez-zi-az*
 42 *ku-it-ki wa-aš-ta-nu-wa-an ḥar-kán-zi na-aš-ma-wa zi-ik*
 43 *ka-a pa-ra-a ḥa-an-da-an-ni na-aš-ma za-aš-ḥi-it ku-it-ki*
 44 *wa-aš-ta-nu-wa-an ḥar-ta nu ḥar-na-a-uš ḥu-u-ni-ik-ta-at*
 45 ^{GIŠ}GAG^{HLA}-ma-wa *du-wa-ar-na-ad-da-at ki-nu-na-wa*
 46 *ka-a-ša DINGIR-LU₄ 2 TÁ.ÀM šar-ni-ik-ta*
 47 *nu BE-EL SISKUR pár-ku-iš nam-ma e-eš-du*

‘If your mother or father have sinned *of late*¹⁰, or you have just committed some sin as a consequence of divine intervention or through a dream, and the birth stool was damaged or the pegs were broken, O divinity, she has for her part made atonement two times.’¹¹ Then the ritual patron shall be pure again.

The priest expresses two possible causes for the divine anger towards the parturient. Either the woman herself has committed a sin, or she is suffering for the transgression committed by her parents. Interestingly, this text ascribes the sin to an act committed ‘through a dream’ or as a consequence of *para ḥandatar*, a term which usually refers to ‘divine guidance’ or ‘divine power’.¹²

7 KUB 29.7+ (CTH 480) = Lebrun (1976: 117–143).

8 Fish are used for the *zurki*-rite also in the following texts: KBo 32.176 obv. 5–7 and KUB 29.4 ii 32–34; see Miller (2004: 282, n. 435).

9 For other attempts at interpretation, see Otten (1971: 12); Laroche (1973: 96); and Lebrun (1976: 132).

10 The usage of *appezziaz* here seems to be adverbial (cf. HW² A: 188) and could alternatively be glossed ‘finally’, i.e., that their state of sinfulness exists after their passing. Cf. HED A: 93 and Strauß 2006: 296.

11 For this understanding of *kāša*, see Rieken (2009).

12 The locution *para ḥandatar* seems to be an abbreviated form of *para ḥandandatar*; see CHD P: 130–133.

Before attempting to interpret this strange statement, it is worth noting that a parallel formulation is found in the Walkui Ritual, also in relation to the *zurki*-rite:¹³

Rev.

- 1 *UM-MA* ^m*Wa-al-ku-i* ^{LU}*SANGA ŠA DINGIR-LI MU-ŠI* *ma-a-an an-du-wa-aḥ-ḥ[a-aš]*
- 2 *za-aš-ḥi-ia u-ru-ra-a-an* ^{SAR}*na-aš-ma UZU.ŠAH e-ez-za-zi na-aš-ma-aš-[ša-an]*
- 3 *pa-ra-a ḥa-an-da-a-an-ni-ma A-NA UZU.ŠAH an-da tar-na-at-ta-ri*
- 4 *na-aš-ma-kán I-NA É.DINGIR-LI an-da pa-ra-a ḥa-an-da-a-an-ni A-NA SAR* ^H*[L.A]*
- 5 *u-ru-ra-a-[a]* ⁿ*SA* ^R*an-da ú-e-mi-i-e-ez-zi nu zu-ur-ki-ia IŠ-TU K* ^U*[6]*
- 6 *ši-pa-an-[ti a]* ^r*na-mi-it-ti-ma-za IŠ-TU BA.BA.ZA*

Thus speaks Walkui, the SANGA priest of the Night goddess: When a person in a dream eats an *urura*-plant or pork, or by divine providence is exposed to pork, or, in the temple by divine intervention he finds an *urura*-plant among the plants, he performs a blood rite with a *f*[ish]. Then he *arnamittis* with porridge.

This ritual presents the procedure for purification from the defilement caused by various forms of contact with taboo substances. The opening passage presents several situations which would require the performance of the ritual. The first of these is the eating of pork or an *urura*-plant in a dream. The subsequent statements refer to situations which take place in waking experience through *para handatar*, specifically cases of being exposed/introduced (*anda tarnā-*) to the pork or finding the *urura*-plant in the temple.¹⁴

Like the passage from the Papanikri Ritual, this text focuses on two situations in which the perpetrator has minimal volition: in a dream or by *para handatar*. Regarding the first of these, Mouton (2004: 90, 101, and n. 18) has argued that the ritual reflects the belief that the eating of pork, even in a dream, can render a person impure. As for *para handatar*, Mouton (2007: 529–530) draws the conclusion that these texts reflect a belief among the Hittites that even if a man's actions stem from his own volition, misdeeds can only take place if he is abandoned, temporarily or permanently, by his protective deity.¹⁵ According to this understanding, the sense of *para handatar* in these contexts is the opposite of its usual sense of 'divine protection' and refers to a situation whereby the gods abandon man to his fate. Alternatively, one might understand these passages as referring to violations which occur as a result of divine orchestration. A suggestive Biblical parallel to such an idea can be found in Ex. 21, 13–14: 'The one who fatally strikes a man shall be put to death. But if he did not plan, and God caused it to happen by his (i.e., the accidental murderer's) hand, I will appoint for you a place to which he can flee.' According to this latter interpretation, *para handatar* might be best translated 'divine compulsion'.

13 KBo 32.176 (CTH 496) = Lebrun (1999: 602–603); cf. Mouton (2004: 86).

14 Cf. similarly in the colophon: 'Or through divine intervention he finds an *urura*-plant among the plants in the temple, or by divine intervention he encounters pork' (*na-aš-ma-k[ān] pa-ra-a ḥa-an-da-an-ni u-ru-ra-a-an SAR* ^H*[L.A]* *an-da I-NA É.DINGIR-LI an-da ú-e-mi-i-e-ez-zi na-aš-ma-aš-ša-an pa-ra-a ḥa-an-da-a-a[n-ni] A-NA SU.ŠAH an-da wa-al-aḥ-ta-ri...*).

15 See Kammenhuber (1989: 140–152).

However one may understand the underlying beliefs, it is clear that these passages focus on involuntary acts. For this reason, we might compare this usage of *para handatar* in this text with the Western legal concept of an 'act of God', which refers to an uncontrollable event that can exempt a litigant from legal responsibility. The fact that the Hittite rituals focus on such cases of marginal liability is noteworthy.

In summary, the relevant passages of the Papanikri Ritual and related texts provide a basic understanding of the procedure and purpose of the Kizzuwatnean blood rite. This rite consists of an act of blood-smearing accompanied by an offering of fat, which were conceived as a functional unity. Though additional functions for this ritual are attested, these texts focus on the expiation of inadvertent transgressions which have aroused divine anger.

The Biblical Sin Offering

Blood serves several functions in Biblical ritual, but the use of blood in the sin offering bears the closest similarities to the Hurro-Hittite blood rite. One of the most detailed descriptions of this ritual is found in Lev. 4:

²⁷If any person among the populace sins unintentionally by violating one of the negative commandments of YHWH and incurs guilt, or he is informed of his sin that he committed, ²⁸he shall bring his offering, an unblemished she-goat for the sin he has committed. ²⁹He shall lean his hand on the head of the sin offering and slaughter the sin offering in the place of the burnt offering. ³⁰The priest shall take (some of) its blood with his finger and put it on the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and he shall pour out the remainder of the blood on the base of the altar. ³¹He shall remove the fat just as he removed the fat from the offering of well-being, and the priest shall turn it into smoke on the altar as a pleasant fragrance for YHWH. Thus shall the priest make expiation on his behalf, that he will be forgiven.

In this ritual, the priest takes the blood of the slaughtered animal and smears it on the altar of the burnt offering. The fat of the animal is then separated and burnt on the altar as an offering. From this passage, one can identify the basic components of this ritual as (a) the smearing of blood on the horns of the altar and (b) the burning of fat 'as a pleasing aroma for YHWH'. Clearly, these two components are also parts of a unified whole, since both the blood and fat are derived from the same animal.

Several texts dealing with the sin offering focus on cases of unintentional sin. In fact, the incipit of Lev. 4, 1–2 requires the performance of the prescribed rituals in cases 'when an individual transgresses inadvertently any of the prohibitive commandments of YHWH by violating one of them.' Similar statements introduce each of the sub-sections of the chapter (vv. 13, 22, 27), creating the impression that this ritual would not be valid in cases of intentional sin. This assumption finds corroboration in Num. 15:

²⁷If an individual does wrong inadvertently, he shall offer a she-goat in its first year as a sin offering. ²⁸The priest shall make expiation on behalf of the person who erred by doing wrong inadvertently before YHWH, to make expiation on his behalf that he may be forgiven. ²⁹For the citizen among the Israelites and the stranger that resides among them—you shall have one ritual for anyone who acts inadvertently. ³⁰But the individual, be he a citizen or a

stranger, who acts brazenly (*b^eyād rāmā*) reviles YHWH; that person shall be cut off from his people.³¹ For he has despised his word and violated his commandment, that person will surely be cut off—he bears his guilt.

This passage employs the expression *b^eyād rāmā*, literally ‘with an upraised hand’, to express the notion of a sin committed shamelessly and in the open.¹⁶ This text explicitly contrasts the inadvertent sinner who may expiate his sin by means of a sin offering with the flagrant transgressor whose punishment is unavoidable.

The stress of these Biblical texts on unintentional transgressions is reminiscent of the formulas in the Hittite texts which depict a sin which occurs ‘in a dream’ or through ‘divine intervention’ discussed above. In other texts, Hittite and Biblical, one finds additional purposes for these blood rites, namely purification and consecration. Thus, the similarity between these rituals involves not only their form, but also their function.

The Birth Ritual KUB 9.22+ and the Purification Ritual of Lev. 14

Another provocative parallel can be identified between another Kizzuwatnean birth ritual KUB 9.22+ (CTH 477.H)¹⁷ and the ritual in Lev. 14 for the purification of a skin disease called *šārāat*, conventionally translated as ‘leprosy’.

The relevant part of the birth ritual depicts the activity which takes place inside the inner chamber of the parturient’s house:

KUB 9.22 ii

- 18 *nu* 1 MUŠEN.[(GAL *ḥa-a-ri-ia* *ši-pa-an-ti*)]i 1 MUŠEN.GAL-*ma*
 19 *ḥa-a-pi*-[*(ia it-kal-zi-ia k)*]*u-la-mu-ši-ia*
 20 *ši-pa-a*[*(n-ti nu ḥar)*]-*na-a-i-in* ^{GIŠ}GAG^{HLA}-*ia*
 21 *iš-ḥa*[*r-nu-ma-a*]*n-zi*¹⁸

She offers one large bird to the path, and one large bird she offers to *ḥabi*, *itkalzi* and *kulamu(r)ši*. Then [t]hey [smear] bloo[d]¹⁷ on the birth stool and the pegs.

- 22 *nu* ^{GIŠ}ERIN ^{GIŠ}*pa-i-ni* ^{GIŠ}SE₂₀-ER-TU₄ *IŠ-TU* SÍG SA₅
 23 *an-da* *iš-ḥi-ia-an* *na-at* ^{LÚ}*pa-ti-li-iš*

¹⁶ This expression is used to describe the Israelites departure from Egypt before the eyes of their former Egyptian overlords (Ex. 14, 8; Num. 33, 3). Labuschagne (1982: 146) describes this idiom as ‘a military, or semi-military, expression, signifying readiness to fight and the will to prevail. The origin of the expression is without any doubt the physical gesture of the raised hand, with or without a weapon in it, which indicates that one is triumphantly determined to fight and to win.’

¹⁷ Beckman (1983: 86–115).

¹⁸ Haas’ reconstruction (1993: 73) *iš-ḥ[ar-nu-ma-a]n-zi*, ‘they smear blood’, should be adopted in place of Beckman’s *iš-ḥ[i-ya-a]n-zi*, ‘they bind’, since traces of the horizontals of the *ḤAR* sign can be clearly discerned in the photo of KUB 9.22. Furthermore, a comparison with the bloodying of the birth stool and pegs in the Papanikri ritual makes this reconstruction very secure.

- 24 *da-a-i na-at-kán* A-NA MUNUS *i-pu-ul-li-ia-aš*
 25 *an-da da-a-i* Ì.DÜG.GA-*ia-aš-ši-iš-ša-an*
 26 SAG.DU-ŠU *la-ḥu-i* A-NA QA-TI-ŠU-*ia-aš-ši-iš-ša-an*
 27 SÍG SA₅ *ḥa-ma-an-ki*

Then cedar, tamarisk and olive wood are tied together with red wool. The *patili*-priest takes them. He places them on the *wrap* of the woman. Then he pours fine oil on her head, and he binds red wool to her hand.

- 28 *nam-ma-kán* ^{LÚ}*pa-ti-li-iš* *ḥar-na-a-i-in* *IŠ-TU* ^{DUG}DÍL.GAL
 29 *IŠ-TU* «GIŠ» ^{GIŠ}ERIN ^{GIŠ}*pa-i-ni* ^{GIŠ}SE₂₀-ER-TU₄ *da-a-i*
 30 *nu* MUNUS KA×U-ŠU *šu-up-pi-ia-aḥ-ḥi*

Then the *patili*-priest takes *ḥarnai* from the bowl with the cedar, tamarisk and olive wood, and he purifies the woman’s mouth.

This passage opens with a rite involving two ‘big birds’ (MUŠEN.GAL), perhaps ducks or geese (Haas 2003: 487–488). The first of these is consecrated to ‘the path’. From duplicates of the text,¹⁹ it may be inferred that it is destined to be slaughtered the following night at a crossroads to the ‘male deities’,²⁰ apparently serving as an offering to chthonic deities.²¹ The second bird is sacrificed next to the birth stool, providing the blood for the subsequent smearing of the birth apparatus. Although the ritual terms *ḥabi* and *kulamu(r)ši* remain obscure,²² the presence of the term *itkalzi*, ‘purity’, seems to indicate that the rite is intended to be purificatory.²³ In the fragmentary lines 20–21, the smearing of the birth stool and pegs is described. Thus, the function of the two birds can be seen as complementary; the one serves to uproot the evil from the birth stool, the other to transport it to the underworld where its threat will be neutralized.

¹⁹ ABoT 17 iii 13’–15’ and KBo 17.64, 7’–11’. Although these are duplicates of the end of KUB 9.22 and not parallel to the present section, the similarity of content seems to justify the inference advocated here.

²⁰ KBo 17.64, 7’–10’ reads: [(*na-aš-ta* ^{LÚ}*pa*-)]*a-ti-li-iš* MUŠEN.GAL KASKAL-*ši* [(*ḥa-at-ta-r*)]*i-ša-na-aš pa-ra-a pé-e*-[*a-i*] [(*na-an*)] A-NA DINGIR.LÚ^{MES} *ši-pa-an*-[*ti*]; ‘And the *patili*-priest tak[es] forth a ‘big bird’ to the path, at the cross-roads. And he offer[s] it to the male deities’ (Beckman 1983: 115). The continuation of KUB 9.22 itself refers to the offering at a crossroads of two young goats, one for the male gods of the *šinapši* and the other to the male gods of the city (iii 20–23; *ibid.*: 94–95), but makes no further reference to the bird. On the equivalence of the Hurrian term *hari* and the Sumerian logogram KASKAL, see Haas & Wilhelm (1974: 117–118).

²¹ Based on the fact that the crossroad sacrifice takes place at night, Beckman (1983: 113) suggests that these gods are chthonic deities. In the Ritual of Ammiḥatna (CTH 471), the male and female deities are the recipients of a *nakušši*-goat bearing the impurities (KBo 5.2 iii 30–31); see Strauß (2006: 228).

²² Cf. Laroche (1978–79: 88, 151ff.); Haas & Wilhelm (1974: 88); and Haas (1998: 217).

²³ Laroche (1978–79: 128ff.) relates it to the root *itki*, ‘sacré’, and translates *itkalzi* as ‘sanctification’, noting that the expression *itkalziaš wedar*, ‘holy/pure water’, appears in KBo 20.129+ i 1. Moreover, in the colophons of a few tablets SÍSKUR *itkalziaš* appears as a gloss on *aiš šuppiaḥḥuaš*, ‘mouth washing’. See KUB 29.8 iv 36–37 and KBo 20.126+ iv 34–35; cf. also KBo 11.44, 7 and KBo 23.6, 8. Subsequently, many scholars have translated *itkalzi* as ‘purity’; see Haas & Wilhelm (1974: 83ff.); Beckman (1983: 104); HEG 3: 447; Haas (1998: 225); and Giorgieri (2000: 196).

After the parturient purifies the birth stool from contamination, the priest executes a series of rites to purify the woman herself. First, he touches the woman with the bundle of cedar, tamarisk and olive wood wrapped in red wool. Then he purifies the woman by pouring oil on her head. After tying a string of red wool to her hand, the priest performs a ‘mouth-cleaning’ rite on the woman,²⁴ using the bundle of sticks to apply the *ḥarnai*-substance.

This ritual finds a striking parallel in the purification ritual of Lev. 14, especially the following passage:

⁴The priest shall order that two pure live birds, cedar wood, crimson yarn and hyssop be brought to the person being purified. ⁵The priest shall order one bird to be slaughtered into an earthenware vessel over spring water. ⁶He shall take the live bird, the cedar wood, the crimson yarn and the hyssop, and he shall dip them and the live bird in the blood of the bird that had been slaughtered over spring water. ⁷He shall sprinkle seven times onto the one being purified from ‘leprosy’, thus cleansing him, and he shall release the live bird in the open country.

In this rite, the priest slaughters one bird into a basin with spring water. He then ties together a cedar stick (*ʿerez*) with hyssop using crimson yarn and uses this bundle to sprinkle the mixture of blood and water on the ‘leper’. At this point, he dips a second bird in the remaining blood and frees it to fly away.

Haas (1993: 68–69) already noted the similarity between KUB 9.22+ and Lev. 14 regarding the use of bundles of cedar and red string as an instrument for purification. It is worth adding to this point that cedar is not indigenous to the Land of Israel and grows only to the north of its border. In fact, certain experts on Biblical botany, such as Moldenke & Moldenke (1952: 68, 209–210) and Zohary (1982: 104–105, 115), were driven to the rather forced solution that the use of *ʿerez* in this passage does not refer to cedar as elsewhere in the Bible, but rather to a species of juniper or tamarisk. In my opinion, it is more likely to suppose that the Israelite priests would have imported cedar than to assume that *ʿerez* refers here to an entirely different species. By assuming that the Israelite practice originated in a Syrian milieu, one can avoid *ad hoc* solutions such as that of Moldenke and Moldenke and Zohary.

An additional similarity pertains to the use of two birds. As noted above, the birth ritual employs two birds, one for a blood rite and the second as an offering to chthonic deities. This pair seems to function as a unit, whereby they serve to uproot the impurity from the birth stool and cast it down to the underworld. Similarly, the first bird of the Biblical ritual serves to purify the ‘leper’, so that the second bird can carry off the impurity to a distant place. A similar ritual employing two goats is preserved in Lev. 16. For YHWH one goat is slaughtered, the blood of which is used for a series of purificatory smearing and sprinkling rites inside the tabernacle. The second goat, designated for Azazel, a demon of the desert, is sent into the wilderness, carrying off the sins of the Israelites.²⁵ Although the underlying themes of removal and elimination can

24 On ‘mouth-washing’ rites in the Hittite literature and their possible connection to the Mesopotamian *m̄s pi* ritual, see Strauß (2006: 181–188). A similar rite appears in the birth ritual KBo 17.65 obv. 10–13; rev. 32–34 (Text K); see Beckman (1983: 132–133 and 142–143).

25 For possible Syrian predecessors to this rite and the term/name Azazel, see Janowski & Wilhelm (1993).

be rightfully viewed as typological and hence universal,²⁶ the use of ‘twin’ animals, connected by a blood rite, in the Hittite and Biblical ritual is, to my knowledge, unique.

In subsequent stages of the Biblical ritual, one finds additional points of comparison with KUB 9.22+. For example, the eighth day of the ritual involves an anointment rite in which oil is poured onto the head of the ‘leper’ to effect his purification. As noted above, a similar act is performed on the parturient in the Kizzuwatnean birth ritual. In addition, the ritual of Lev. 14 involves a sin offering in which blood is smeared on the horns of the altar. This blood rite is thus reminiscent of the smearing of blood on the birth stool in the Hittite ritual.

The Kizzuwatnean Birth Rituals and Lev. 12

In light of the recognition that the *zurki*-rite is a regular component of the Kizzuwatnean birth ritual corpus, one must not ignore the ritual for the purification of the parturient in Lev. 12 in which the sin offering plays a central role. In the latter source, the parturient is required to bring a sin offering of a bird along with a burnt offering of a sheep to effect her purification.²⁷

The blood rite appears in five distinct birth rituals of the Kizzuwatna corpus, appearing either with the Hurrian term *zurki* or with the Hittite verb *išḥarnuma-*. This high propensity within this limited group of texts indicates clearly that this rite was very common in the South Anatolian-North Syrian milieu. In most cases, the blood rite seems to have taken place before birth,²⁸ but there are cases in which it took place afterwards.²⁹ In all of these cases, the birth stool and pegs are the locus of the blood-smearing. Strikingly, the source of blood in all cases, like in the Biblical rite, comes from a bird.

Regarding the sacrificial animals involved, the closest parallel to the Biblical ritual is that of Papanikri. In comparison to the Biblical rite which involves the slaughter of one bird for the blood rite and the burning of a sheep as a burnt offering, the Papanikri ritual involves the slaughtering of two birds for the blood rite and the cooking of a sheep as a sacrificial offering.³⁰

The comparison of Lev. 12 to the corpus of Kizzuwatnean birth rituals (as opposed to a single specific text) bears a distinct advantage in that it gives the proper weight to the dominant traditions without overemphasizing any isolated example. Furthermore, it gives expression to the fact that the dominant ritual techniques could be combined in a variety of forms and with variations among the details. As a result, the discovery of a ‘perfect match’ between rituals of the two cultures, though hypothetically possible, is not the only criterion for identifying a continuum of ritual traditions spanning from Anatolia to Israel.

26 For examples, see Wright (1987). Regarding the problem of typological parallels, see Malul (1990: 93–97) and Miller (2004: 458–461).

27 A provocative yet problematic parallel exists between Lev. 12 and KBo 17.65, but this comparison cannot be treated here. Cf. Weinfeld (1993: 456), who draws a parallel between a different Hittite birth ritual and the Biblical rite, and Hoffner’s critique (2004: 185–187).

28 Papanikri: KBo 5.1 i 25–27; KUB 9.22+ ii 15–20 (Text H); KBo 17.65+ obv. 8, rev. 32 (Text K).

29 Papanikri: KBo 5.1 iii 41; Bo 4951 rev. 10’–12’ (Text J). The place of the blood rite in the sequence of KBo 21.45 (Text O) is not clear due to its fragmentary condition (see ii 2’).

30 This rite is performed twice for the divine couple Teššub and Hebat. KBo 21.45 i 10’–11’ (Text O) mentions a bird and a sheep as *uzi*-offerings. It is not clear which animal is used for the blood rite (ii 2’), but based on the other examples, one must assume that it was a bird.

The Sharing of Ritual Traditions in Late Bronze Age Syria

In order to evaluate the viability of a proposed parallel between two cultures, one must first corroborate the existence of the right conditions which would enable the flow of ideas between the cultures (Malul 1990: 93–112). Despite the paucity of evidence for direct contacts between the Hittites and the Israelites (Singer 2006), several plausible channels of transmission can be suggested that might have facilitated the exchange of ideas between the two cultures. One of the more compelling of these will be described presently.

By recognizing the Kizzuwatnean provenance of the relevant Hittite rituals, there remains little doubt that the tradition of the blood rite was introduced to the Hittites by the Hurrian priests of southern Anatolia or northern Syria (Hoffner 1992: 104). A Syrian provenance for this tradition could solve the additional problem of finding a plausible cultural context for the exchange of ritual traditions between the diverse ethnic groups of the region. The textual discoveries from Ugarit reflect a cultural milieu in which ritual traditions were exchanged between the Semitic inhabitants and the Hurrians, facilitated by varying degrees of bilingualism among the ritual practitioners (Pardee 1996). This synthesis of religious traditions is manifested in the Ugaritic texts by the proliferation of Hurrian gods, offering terms and incantations (Dietrich & Mayer 1995; Mayer 1996: 205–211). The impression conveyed by this high level of integration is that ritual knowledge was a ‘technology’ that was sought after and shared.

This depiction of Syria as a hub for the exchange of ritual traditions finds further support in the *zukru*-festival from Emar. This festival text describes a blood rite which is very different from other Mesopotamian rituals, where blood is used either to repel demonic entities in apotropaic rites or to exorcize them in healing rites.³¹ In contrast, the Emar ritual resembles the Kizzuwatnean and Biblical rites where blood is applied to an object, often cultic, for the sake of purification. After a festive meal by the ‘gate of the upright stones (*sikkānu*)’, they anoint these stones with oil and blood:

ki-i-me-e KÚ NAG NA₄MEŠ gáb-bá iš-tu ÌMEŠ ù ÚŠMEŠ i-ṭar-ru-u

After eating and drinking, they rub all of the stones with oil and blood.³²

In light of the fact that these stelae were of great cultic significance and were associated with the presence of a particular god, one can hardly overlook the external resemblance between this rite and the sin-offering rites which appear in conjunction with the initiation of the altar in Ex. 29 and Lev. 8. In each of these rites, a central cult object is anointed with oil and daubed with blood, an action which seemingly endows the object with a level of sanctity. Similarly, in the Hittite ritual for constructing a new temple for the Night goddess, the smearing of blood on the goddess’ statue and the temple appurtenances is explicitly described as being for the purpose of sanctifying them.³³

The fact that the closest parallel from all the Mesopotamian evidence appears in a Late Bronze Age source from Emar further supports the impression that the blood rite reflects a

31 For references to and discussion of the use of blood in Mesopotamian rituals, see Moraldi (1956: 227–228); McCarthy (1969: 166–168); Janowski (1982: 60, n. 166); Stol (1993: 105–106); and Abusch (2003).

32 Emar VI 373, 34 = Fleming (2000: 238–239). This rite is repeated in ll. 60 and 167.

33 KUB 29.4+ iv 40 (CTH 481; Miller 2004: 272–297): DINGIR [GIBI]L É DINGIR-LI=ia šuppešzi; ‘He sanctifies the new deity and the temple.’

unique South Anatolian/North Syrian phenomenon. Although one could hypothetically view this similarity as an effect of Hittite political hegemony in Emar during this period, it seems just as likely that the blood rite of the *zukru*-festival represents one of the many indigenous Syrian traditions preserved by the ritual corpus of Emar.³⁴

Thus, the textual evidence from Late Bronze Age Syria demonstrates the existence of a context in which ritual traditions were actively exchanged between Semites and Hurrians. The latter were responsible for transferring these traditions to Anatolia. Regarding the transmission of these traditions to Israel, several historical scenarios must be taken into consideration in accordance with the diversity of opinion as to the origins of the Israelites. One of the most likely of these would involve direct contact with the Semitic population of Syria or Canaan either in the Late Bronze Age or slightly afterwards.

Conclusion

The remarkably high level of congruence in both form and function between the Kizzuwatnean blood rite and the Biblical sin offering supports the conclusion that these practices are different cultural expressions of a common body of tradition which stretched across the Levantine Crescent (Singer 1997). The significance of such a shared tradition is not trivial. First of all, it may have relevance for the much-disputed dating of the cultic materials in the Bible. In particular, the Hittite ritual texts may provide a useful model for the literary development of these sources from priestly instructions to canonical literature, spanning a much greater period of time than is generally assumed. Second, and equally important, the existence of a shared tradition provides a unique opportunity to trace the diachronic development of this ritual practice, and the cumulative evidence might even enable a reconstruction of its underlying rationale and origin.

34 Cf. Fleming (1992: 59). It is worth noting that the only other sources for the term *zukru(m)* are found in letters from Mari which employ the idiom *zukuram...nadānum*, ‘to give/offer...the *zukru*’, in the context of offerings which need to be performed (AHw: 1536; CAD Z: 153). Since this formula appears also in the Emar texts, one may infer that the latter is a continuation of the same ritual tradition; see Fleming (2000: 113–121). It is important to note that the *zukru(m)* is mentioned here as a demand of the Amorite leadership of Yamḥad, relating it to the cult of Addu of Aleppo, which would indicate a provenance in western Syria. These earlier references to *zukru(m)* raise the possibility of a much earlier Syrian provenance for the blood rite. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the meaning of this term remains enigmatic, even in the more detailed texts from Emar, and does not necessarily refer specifically to the blood rite.

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An Attempt at Reconstructing the Branches of the Hittite Royal Family of the Early Kingdom Period

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1. Telebinu's Proclamation and the 'Cruciform Seal'

The early phase of Hittite history could not be reconstructed without reference to the historical introduction of Telebinu's Proclamation (CTH 19), in which the history of some four to six generations of the royal family during no more than 120 to 130 years is related.¹ Since Telebinu's historical knowledge would have drawn not only from oral tradition but also from archives dating back at least to Hattusili I, there is little reason to doubt the more basic information in his retelling of events. Moreover, since he must have wished to pacify opposing factions within the nobility after a series of destructive feuds, he was presumably forced to be conciliatory, and thus would have tried to relate the most balanced history possible.² His reform and its solemn proclamation establishing patrilinear succession suggest that the previous succession rules were different and that he implicitly held them responsible for the murders and feuds within the royal family. The previous principle may be inferred from actual examples, suggesting that the succession was established by the adoption of a nephew or a son-in-law, who became a sort of co-regent of the ruling king.³ This phenomenon has been explained with reference to ethnological parallels, but it was more likely the result of political agreements among royal branches of different origins.⁴ The artificial nature of the agreements is shown by their continuous interference with the patrilinear succession, leading each generation into a conflict between the son(s) of the former king and in-laws claiming to be legitimate heirs, probably by right of an original agreement that was renewed each generation through marriage and adoption.⁵ Telebinu provides a key to understanding this dynamic when he writes that in the beginning 'in-laws (*kaenasses*) and direct relatives (men of the same *hassatar*) were united', which may be interpreted as indicating that the rule of cross-marriages and adoptions was then recognized. The so-called Palace Chronicles (CTH 8–9: A iii 15'ff.; Dardano 1997: 58–61) also points out this difference among princes ('sons', city lords), i.e., between biological sons and *kaenasses*. Since biological sons of the ruling king soon began to oppose this rule

1 Telebinu is placed in the fifth generation after Labarna I by Beckman (2000: 26) and Wilhelm (2004: 76), and in the sixth by Beal (2003: 13). The number of generations depends on the relationships between Mursili I and Hattusili I (grandson or son) and between Zidanta I and Hantili I (brother-in-law or son-in-law), which allow a minimum of four (as in the present article) or a maximum of six generations. See also Klengel (1999).

2 Of course, a historical document cannot be completely objective, as it will always be influenced by political goals and cannot entirely avoid propaganda; see Hoffner (1975: 51–56).

3 Sørenhagen 1998; cf. Forlanini (2004a; 2004b) for the double mythical/historical origins of the Hittite kingship, i.e., Hatti and Zalpuwa in the north, Kanis in the south.

4 Riemschneider (1971: 80 and 91); Bin Nun (1975); Beckman (1986: 21); and Finkelberg (2005: 65–108).

5 Riemschneider (1971: 85).

of succession, blood began to flow, and the entire elite (*salli hassatar*) was about to fragment and disrupt the state. The reform of Telebinu lowered the position of the *antiyant-* from the first rank to the last in the order of succession.⁶

The succession of the first Hittite kings as related by Telebinu should likely be considered historically reliable. He does not, however, reveal the heritage of the first three kings and of Huzziya, the successor of Ammuna. In his so-called Testament (CTH 6) Hattusili I used the title *tabarna* without his personal name, while in his 'Annals' (CTH 4) he adds that he was the brother's son of Tawananna, the wife of Labarna I.⁷ The Royal Ancestors Lists (CTH 661) record him as Labarna (II) along with a queen Kaddusi, who is otherwise unattested. At the beginning of his reign Labarna II overlooked his own son, Huzziya, and chose someone else as heir (probably a son-in-law, the husband of his rebellious daughter). This heir apparent was later replaced by another Labarna (TUR, 'the younger'), a son of his sister. At the end of his reign, because of the alleged poor character of the latter, he nominated yet another heir, a certain Mursili, probably a late-born son of a secondary wife rather than a grandson (see below and n. 46).

The 'cruciform seal' confirms Telebinu's narrative. It provides the names of Mursili II's predecessors on the one hand and the 'first' Hittite kings on the other, who are, according to the editors,⁸ Huzziya and his queen [X]-zi, Labarna I and Tawananna, Labarna II and Kaddusi, Mursili I and Kali, the latter two occurring with the same queens as in the 'Royal Ancestors Lists'. Since Labarna II/Hattusili I wrote of a grandfather who had adopted Labarna (I) and proclaimed him as his successor in Sanahuitta,⁹ Huzziya has been reasonably identified with the grandfather of Labarna II;¹⁰ he should preferably be designated Huzziya I. Consequently, the rebel Pawahtelmah, who according to the Testament of Hattusili I rejected Huzziya's decision and according to the 'Royal Ancestors Lists' was the father of a Labarna, may well have been a biological son of Huzziya and the father of Hattusili I.¹¹ It can therefore be seen that

6 For the rights of the *antiyant-*, an adopted son-in-law, see Beal (1983: 117–119) and Beckman (1986: 17).

7 The heading preserved in the Akkadian version is presumably the original. The words 'Hattusili, great king, king of Hatti, man of Kussar', occurring only in the Hittite version, are generally considered 'glosses', probably added in the time of Hattusili III; see de Martino (2003: 30, n. 75), with references. Hattusili I is the 'man of Kussar' also in CTH 10.1 = KUB 26.74 obv. 2, a historical fragment post-dated to Hantili I (NH in *Konkordanz*); see de Martino (2003: 203–209).

8 Dinçol et al. (1993: 104–106). One side of the seal names the founders of the kingdom, confirming the existence of Labarna I, but yielding the unexpected name of the first king, Huzziya, assumed to be the 'grandfather' mentioned by Hattusili. Of his wife's name only the second sign *-zi(ya)* is clear; Carruba (1998a: 106) suggests Wazziya.

9 According to the accepted interpretation of this passage, Labarna was recognized as heir/son in Sanahuitta (Bryce 1981: 12; Pecchioli Daddi 1992: 14, n. 4; Beal 2003; Forlanini 2008: 156–157).

10 Beal (2003: 31) correctly infers from the 'cruciform seal' that late scribes considered Huzziya as the founder of the Hittite kingdom, but he places a Tuthaliya I (or 0)–or even a Tuthaliya I together with PU-Šarruma–between Huzziya and Labarna, which would antedate him by two generations (about 40 to 60 years), so that an identification with Huzziya of Zalpa would be practically inevitable. This conclusion is based solely on the royal ancestors' lists, which are interpreted differently here; see below.

11 Pawahtelmah is generally considered Hattusili's father (Bin Nun 1975: 55; Helck 1983: 150; Pecchioli Daddi 1992: 19; Carruba 1998a: 101–107; Beal 2003: 25–26, 34; Forlanini 2004b: 381). The Akkadian fragment KBo 28.137 (Otten 1951: 52, n. 2; Carruba 1998a: 105, n. 35; Forlanini 2004a: n. 47) may be a copy of a text from the first phase of the Hittite chancellery; on the 'civil war' won by Labarna, see Beal (2003: 25–26, 31) and Forlanini (2007: 274).

Pawahtelmah too, being the direct successor of the king and opposed to an adopted successor, rebelled. Since Hattusili I was adopted by Labarna I, whose name he took,¹² and since his father had fought against Huzziya, he never names him in his genealogy, employing instead the unusual formula, 'the son of Tawananna's brother'. His father by adoption, Labarna I, would have been dubbed the 'father of the king'. The discovery of Huzziya I also throws light on the Tale of Zalpa (CTH 3.1), revealing who the 'grandfather of the king', the 'father of the old king' and the 'old king' were, assuming the 'king' is Hattusili I (Beal 2003: 22–23).

2. The Cult Lists of the Royal Ancestors (CTH 661)¹³

Nakamura (2002: 137–139, 268–275) has shown that one of these lists may well refer to the cult performance of the 32nd day of the *nuntarriyasha*-festival, while Archi (2007: 50–52) has demonstrated that they are connected with the 'Stone House' and the *hesta*-house complex, where the bones of members of the royal family were kept. Archi (2007: 50–51)¹⁴ also points out that the Hittite king of Karkamiš, Piyassili, occurs in the lists because his bones had been transported to Hattusa. The lists therefore include kings, queens and princes who had died in the capital or whose remains had been brought to Hattusa. This may explain the omission of the first Labarna,¹⁵ whose main residences were Hurma and Kussar. His wife, Tawananna, who may have survived him to live at the court of Hattusili I,¹⁶ as well as Hattusili's father, Pawahtelmah, who may have been lord of Hattusa before the proclamation of Sanahuitta,¹⁷ do occur in the lists. Thus, though the official kings and queens seem to be arranged in the lists in chronological order, other individuals, mainly royal princes, sometimes occur near the names of contemporary kings, sometimes in no apparently logical order. The paragraph mentioning PU-LUGAL-ma, son of Tuthaliya, and Pawahtelmah, father of L[abarna], is a good example. No other king occurs with a patronymic, and it thus seems that the names of these two princes are 'glossed', apparently to aid a reader ignorant of their history. Despite being mentioned

12 Beal (2003: 16 and 25) and Forlanini (2004b: 386–387).

13 Carruba (2007; 2008; 1988: 198ff. and 221ff.).

14 Referring to Mursili II's Annals and to KUB 30.27 obv. 7.

15 In Text A.1.2 Labarna (II/Hattusili I) is preceded by what seems to be the name Huzziya. In Text B the first name is Tawananna, followed immediately by Labarna (Hattusili); because queens always follow the kings, it may be inferred that Labarna I would have preceded her. In Text C (Otten 1951: 64–66; Haas & Wäfler 1977: 108–109; Cammarosano 2006: 61) the names following Huzziya are lost; Carruba's (2008: 77) restoration is only an assumption.

16 The 'banishment' of 'a' Tawananna may relate to Tawananna (I), who may have gone to the court of her nephew and adopted son Hattusili I at Hattusa; see below. The Tawananna (in KBo 3.27) was the aunt, not the sister, of Hattusili I (Carruba 1992: 88); see Beal (2003: 29–30).

17 Hattusa was probably rebuilt long before Hattusili I; see Beal (2003: 25). The Tale of Zalpa shows that Hattusa was an important city already in the time of Huzziya I (CTH 3.B obv. 18ff.; Helck 1983: 277–278). Holland and Zorman (2007: 42) cautiously avoid filling the gaps, but the text can hardly be interpreted differently: Huzziya appointed the father of Labarna as lord of Hurma, his son, Hakkarpili, as lord of Zalpa and probably his son, Pawahtelmah, as lord of Hattusa (though not mentioned because the focus of CTH 3 is on Zalpa). The latter, in turn, named his own son Hattusili. All these appointments probably took place before the rebellion of Pawahtelmah, which was sparked by Huzziya's nomination of Labarna, the son of the lord of Hurma, as his successor instead of his own son Pawahtelmah.

together, they are not connected historically, and one cannot place a Tuḫaliya I and son PU-LUGAL-ma at the head of the dynasty.¹⁸

As Wilhelm (2005) has shown, the Inandik tablet can no longer be attributed to Ḫattusili I, and it must be realized that the dating of the earliest documents of the Hittite chancellery, such as KBo 7.14, and with them the ‘old ductus’ itself, are to be reconsidered. Indeed, a new theory proposes that only Akkadian was employed during this Old Kingdom period, and that Hittite versions of originally Akkadian documents came only later.¹⁹ The Inandik tablet, of course, has frequently been used to date other texts prosopographically, such as the Palace Chronicles, where the ‘father of the king’ is generally identified with Ḫattusili I. Other indices for the dating of the Chronicles are the presence of the ‘father of the king’ in Kussar and, again through prosopographical means, a connection with the so-called Siege of Uršu text, a composition attributed to Ḫattusili I due to his raid on the city in his second year.²⁰ These arguments, however, are problematic. First, Kussar may have been a royal residence ‘as late as’, not only ‘of’, Ḫattusili I. Second, the description of the campaign through the land of Uršu in Ḫattusili’s Annals has nothing to do with the Siege of CTH 7.²¹ One should not assume that such an important town would have been mentioned only in the context of one and the same event. Further, names of functionaries must not necessarily refer to the same person. A major consequence of this alternative appraisal is the dating of the Palace Chronicles to the time of Labarna I (the ‘father of the king’), whose sons became lords of several south-western cities according to Telebinu.²² The Palace Chronicles, although written during the reign of Ḫattusili I,

18 Cf. Carruba (1998a: 102–103) *contra* Beal (2002: 65; 2003: 15–20). PU-Šarruma is a typical Hurrian princely name of a type regularly used since Tuḫaliya I in the last decades of the 15th century; it has no parallel in earlier periods. This does not rule out a link between Tuḫaliya *rab šaqē* at the court of king Zuzzu of Kanis and a branch of the later Hittite dynasty; see Forlanini (1995: 130); cf. Forlanini (2004b), where I reject the existence of a first Tuḫaliya before Labarna I, which, however, was subsequently reasserted by Beal (2003: 16ff., 34–35).

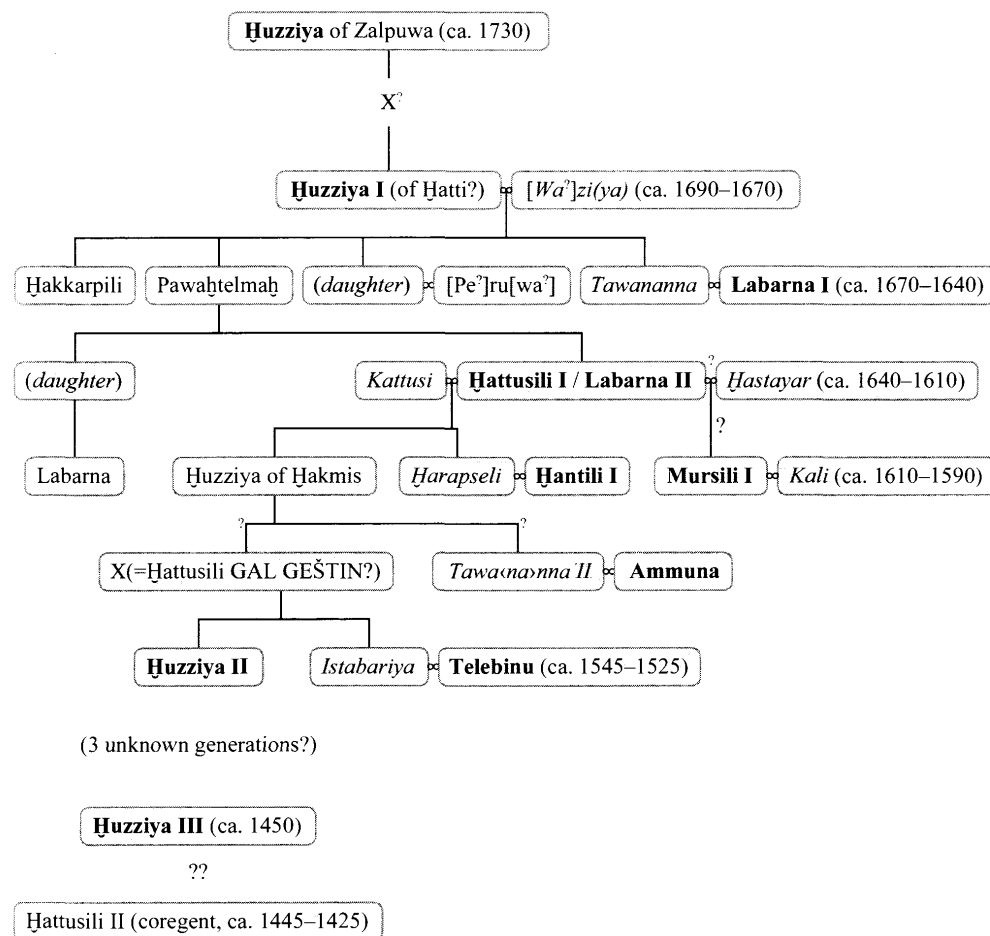
19 Popko (2007; 2005; 2006); van den Hout (at the 54th RAI, Würzburg 2008); and Forlanini (2004b: 383–384; 2007: 278–279).

20 The Siege of Uršu, in turn, is commonly used to date other texts. Beal (2003: 27–28) attributes KBo 3.28 to Mursili because of the name Kizzu there and in the Palace Chronicles, assumed to be connected to the Siege of Uršu because of the mention of a certain Sanda. The loop is then closed by placing the siege in the second year of Ḫattusili, who thus becomes the ‘father of the king’ in a range of other documents; see also Pecchioli Daddi (1994: 78–79). This, however, would require that some OH texts would have been written during the reign of Mursili I, who was murdered upon his return from Babylon, so that his reign was likely short. Ḫantili, his brother-in-law, who was surely older than Mursili, enjoyed in contrast a long reign according to Telebinu’s Proclamation I 35ff. and I 63.

21 Klengel (1999: 48, n. 70). The siege occurred when Ḫaššum was under the control of Ḫatti, but this does not mean that it is to be dated late in Ḫattusili’s reign, since Ḫaššum rebelled (KBo 3.27: 45–46) and had to be reconquered. In his second year Ḫattusili was able to destroy Alalah and raid the country of Uršu only because he controlled Ḫaššum. In his third year, while campaigning in the west, all the countries rebelled (KBo 10.1 obv. 12), and he had to reconquer even central towns like Nenassa, Ullama and Sallaḫsuwa. Only in his sixth year was he able to face the king of Ḫaššum. It is thus clear that in Labarna I’s later years Ḫaššum was subject to Ḫatti, a situation inherited by Ḫattusili, and this is the period in which the siege of KUB 1.11 should be placed.

22 In the Testament of Ḫattusili (CTH 6) one reads of only one son, Ḫuzziya; the succession is claimed by a sister’s son or by a daughter for her sons. In contrast, Telebinu states that Labarna I established his sons as lords in seven western towns, including Pimpira/it in Nenassa and Ammuna in Sugziya (though not mentioned here), located not far from Ḫurma, the seat of Labarna I (see below). These two brothers are

would thus refer, as would the Siege of Uršu and the so-called Tale of the Cannibals (KBo 3.60), to the time of Labarna I.²³



(3 unknown generations?)

Huzziya III (ca. 1450)

??

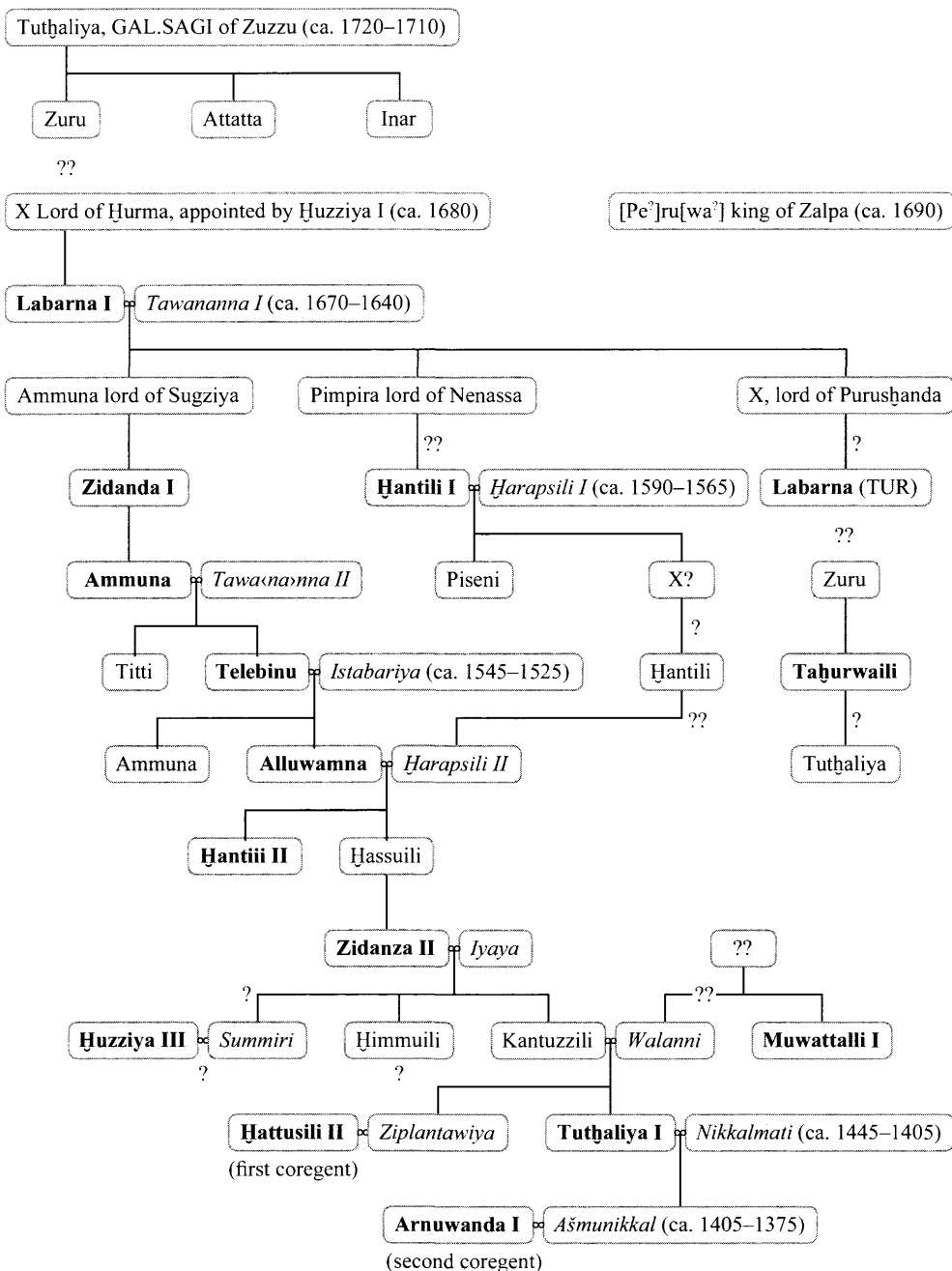
Hattusili II (coregent, ca. 1445–1425)

Fig. 1: Reconstruction of the genealogical tree of the ‘northern’ branch of the royal family²⁴

praised by the Palace Chronicles, probably because they were loyal to Ḫattusili, which cannot be said of another brother, the lord of Puruḫanda (see below). Another prince, the lord of Ḫubisna, is mentioned in the same passage of the Chronicles (CTH 8.A iii 23'; Dardano 1997: 60–61, 113–115) as *aḫu=šu* (of the king, not of the king’s father, and thus a son, natural or adopted, of Labarna I); Ḫubisna is one of the seven towns mentioned by Telebinu. Cf. de Martino (1991a: 64–66) and Pecchioli Daddi (1994: 78–81).

23 See Forlanini (2009); it will be shown that these two narratives, commonly attributed to the reign of Ḫattusili I, by Miller (2001: 426) for example, refer to the period when Ḫalab turned hostile to Ḫatti, before the beginning of Ḫattusili’s sole reign; he began his activity as sole king with his campaign against Ḫalab (and Alalah and Uršu).

24 Names in bold designate ruling kings; women’s names are in italics.



25 Names in bold designate ruling kings; women's names are in italics.

These conclusions are based on the assumption that name-giving practices followed patrilinear traditions in each dynastic line (see figs. 1–2) and that further insight into the history of the early empire may be gleaned from the geographical origins of these names.²⁶ Such research raises questions of the ethnic and linguistic divisions of ancient Anatolia, problems of Hittite geography, the meaning of the terms 'land of Hatti' and 'land of Kanis', as well as the relations between speakers of Nesite/Hittite, Luwian and Hattian.²⁷

3. The Elite of the Late Ib Period at Kültepe and the Hittite Royal Family

Tremendous improvement in understanding the late Assyrian Colony period was recently made possible by publication of the *iqqāti* documents, which provide a basis for the reconstruction of the sequence of the kings of Kanis, and of the late Old Assyrian Eponym List G (KEL G).²⁸ According to Kryszat (2008), the destruction of Hattusa by Anitta should be dated to 1729 BCE (KEL G 132), that of Kārum II by Uḫna of Zalpuwa to 1833 (KEL G 28).²⁹

The names of the kings of Kanis are not found among those of the Hittite kings (though some Hittite functionaries bear such names, i.e., Inar, Piṭhana, Zuzzu), but some later imperial names are found already in Kültepe documents from the end of the 18th century. A Labarna,³⁰ son of Masiyet, witnessed the sale of the slave Tuthaliya (Donbaz 1993: 145–146); a Tuthaliya was *rab šaqê* of the 'great prince (king)' Zuzzu;³¹ and he might be the Tuthaliya found with wife Annanna and son Zuru in an *iqqāti* document dated to the time of Zuzzu,³² probably the last king of Kanis. Thus, in this family one finds the namesake of the organizer of Huzziya II(I)'s accession to power, as well as that of the later founder of the 'new' Hittite empire. These may constitute ancestors of a Kanisite line of the Hittite royal family. The name Tuthaliya is also found in a list of functionaries or members of the local nobility.³³ Was Labarna, son of Masiyet, a member of the same family? Other telling names appear in the Kültepe texts, e.g., the typically northern name Huzziya. Perhaps after Anitta's defeat of Huzziya of Zalpa, Zalpuwan prisoners

26 Riemschneider (1971); Beal (2003); and Forlanini (2004a; 2004b; 2007).

27 Forlanini (2007: 266–270, 280); Singer (1981: 128–129); Melchert (2003: 15–23); Gilan (2008); and Yakubovich (2008: 125–126).

28 Günbattı (2008) relates the *limu* of Šamši-Addu to KEL G 83, Kryszat (2008) to KEL G 85. Günbattı thus dates the end of Kārum II to 1831, Kryszat to 1833; cf. Veenhof (2003: 46). Günbattı relates the last eponym of the list to KEL G 143 (1716), Kryszat to KEL G 146 (1715). The last eponym of KEL G is not necessarily the last of Period Ib, and one may date the end of Kanis to around 1710–1705; cf. Forlanini (2004b: 371–372, n. 29).

29 See Kryszat (2008: 210) and Forlanini (2004b: 371).

30 For the name, see Beal (2003: 15) and Melchert (2003: 19); cf. Soysal (2005) and Carruba (1986).

31 Kt j/k 625: 2 (Donbaz 1989: 84–85); Kt 89/k 379 (Donbaz 1993: 137–138); cf. Kryszat (2008: 185).

32 Kt 89/k 370 (Donbaz 1993: 140–143); Tuthaliya's three sons are Zuru, Attatta and Inar (a typical Kanisite name; cf. king Inar, father of Warsama); Zuzzu is still 'prince', unlike in Kt j/k 625, where Zuzzu is 'great prince', Tuthaliya is his chief cup-bearer.

33 Kt s/t 92 (Donbaz 1993: 131–132 and n. 9). Cf. the 'Luwian' name Tiwadiya or 'Kanisite' Zanaḫsu (cf. Zannanza, son of Suppiluliuma I) and a *bēl* Haruwasiya, administrator of the royal property of (the palace) Hariyasa/ Haruwasa/ Harwasiya, a town west of Kanis (Forlanini 2009).

were distributed among the nobility of Kanis or sold to merchants.³⁴ Ammuna occurs too, apparently referring to members of Assyrian families, while an Amunaḥsu shows that the name is in fact Kanisite.³⁵ Ḫattus occurs in the above-mentioned Kt 88/k 713, but the name Ḫattusili is also known, e.g., as the father of XXX-SIG₅ (Armassu?), who certified, together with other Anatolian and Assyrian witnesses, the redaction of the official eponym list Kt 01/k 287 (KEL G) in ca. 1716–1715.

Since Ḫattusa would have been destroyed by Anitta in ‘the year after the year after’ (*ša qāt qātim*) the eponym Pilaḥ-Suen, i.e., 1729 (see above), it is possible to date Anitta’s reign to ca. 1745–1720, that of Zuzzu to ca. 1720–1710. If one dates Mursili I’s accession to ca. 1610, Ḫattusili I’s to ca. 1640, Labarna I’s to ca. 1670, Ḫuzziya I of Ḫatti could have been king shortly after the end of Kanis Level Ib.

If the origin of at least one branch of the Hittite royal family can be traced back to families of the Kanisite elite, it must be granted that, even if later Hittite kings maintained traditions about Anitta and considered Kussar their ancestral residence, no name from Anitta’s family was given to any Hittite king.³⁶ One may therefore suppose that the forefathers of Labarna were members of a high-ranking family of Kanis during the reigns of Anitta and Zuzzu. One might even suggest that because these names are not attested in Kanis in older periods, the family could have come from Kussar along with Anitta. This would explain why Kussar remained a royal residence at least as late as the death of Ḫattusili I, when Kanis had long been abandoned.

Completely different is the situation with Ḫuzziya I and his direct descendants, as his name is connected with Zalpa in the north.³⁷ The traditions concerning Zalpa are better attested than those relating to Kanis, and in many ways the Hittite kings are connected more closely with the Hattian traditions of the north than with those of the Assyrian merchant centre. The suggested agreement between a Zalpuwan and a Kanisite family, which established the rules of royal succession and led to the unification of central Anatolia, was probably justified in part by the myth of the queen of Kanis, which suggests a common origin for the two branches.

34 Cf. Ḫuzziya *ša É Ikbatanim* (Kt a/k 906); the name does not seem to be productive in the Kanisite onomasticon; *Hu-zi-ū-ma-an* (Kt d/k 28 A) may be a different spelling for *Hu-ši-ū-ma-an* (Kt d/k 28 a). I am indebted to Prof. K. Hecker for permission to access his Old Assyrian personal names database.

35 Amunaḥsu is father of Itur-ili in Kt 87/k 382: 20 (courtesy K. Hecker), an Assyrian name.

36 The name Pithana appears among the nobility, though, as the name of a ^{LÜ}KUŠ₇, beneficiary of a land grant from Muwattalli I (Otten 1991: 346; Forlanini 2005).

37 Forlanini (2004a: 274ff.).

4. The Family of Ḫuzziya

According to the Anitta Text, the capture of Ḫuzziya of Zalpuwa could directly antedate the destruction of Ḫattusa by Anitta (ca. 1729).³⁸ Ḫuzziya I of Ḫatti, as suggested above, should have reigned before 1670. The gap between them seems too long to allow an equation. Thus it is more likely that Ḫuzziya I was a descendent, perhaps grandson, of Ḫuzziya of Zalpuwa.³⁹ Such a relationship between the two Ḫuzziyas need not surprise if one recalls the importance of Zalpa/Zalpuwa in Hittite tradition and royal ideology.⁴⁰ The ties between the dynasty of Zalpuwa and a family of Anitta’s court may have been created, perhaps through marriage, during the presence in Nesa of the deposed king of Zalpuwa. Such an alliance could have been strengthened by the necessity to fight against a common enemy, perhaps Zuzzu, assuming his reign would have followed Anitta’s.⁴¹ The *rabi simmiltim* of Anitta was Peruwa (Kammaliya), and, although he was not necessarily the designated successor of Anitta, his Kanisite name could have been used again among the descendants of Anitta or the Kanisite nobility.⁴²

Three of Ḫuzziya I’s children are known: Ḫakkarpili, lord of Zalpa, Tawananna, the princess who married Labarna I, and Pawaḫtelmaḥ, the father of Labarna II (Ḫattusili I), all of whom bear Hattian names. Pawaḫtelmaḥ is easily analysed.⁴³ The name Tawananna likely comes from the Hattian place name Tawana, probably the Hattian name of Arinna.⁴⁴ Ḫattusili I also had a son named Ḫuzziya, the same as his grandfather. This son was governor of Tappasanda

38 The wars against Zalpuwa and Ḫatti/Ḫattusa are narrated twice in the Anitta Text (CTH 1), and the defeat of Zalpa precedes that of Ḫatti in both. Since Anitta controlled the upper Zuliya valley (Forlanini 2008; 2009), he could from there invade Zalpuwa before Ḫattusa. See Steiner (1984) and Carruba (2001).

39 Forlanini (2004b: 374–376). Among the adversaries of Anitta only Ḫuzziya, king of Zalpa, Uḫna, his predecessor, and Piusti of Ḫatti are mentioned by name, of which only the name Ḫuzziya appears among Hittite kings. The special attention (though negative) given by the author(s) of the Anitta Text to the dynasty of Zalpa can be easily explained if that dynasty was involved in the origin of the Hittite kings’ line.

40 Otten (1973); Haas & Wäfler (1977); and Forlanini (1984).

41 The reigns of Anitta and Zuzzu were contiguous. The only act certified by Anitta, Kt 89/k 371, shares two witnesses with Kt j/k 625, endorsed by Zuzzu (Forlanini 1995: 129). The sequence Anitta-Zuzzu was recently questioned by Kryszat (at the 54th RAI, Würzburg 2008), but Zuzzu can only be placed before Anitta if Pithana’s reign was very short. There are, however, more documents from Pithana than from Anitta, and even more from Zuzzu (Kryszat 2008: 164–165), who may have been the last king of Kārum Ib. Moreover, after the suggested year of the destruction of Ḫattus, KEL G lists 14 further eponyms, yielding a *terminus post quem* for the end of Period Ib; how many eponyms of this period postdate KEL G is not known.

42 Helck (1983: 278) has suggested that the name of the king of Zalpa, who married a daughter of Ḫuzziya, might be restored as Peruwa; cf. Holland and Zorman 2008. If so, the first Hittite king would have had a typical Zalpa name, whereas the contemporary king of Zalpa would have had a Kanisite name. Such a situation would have been possible if Ḫuzziya’s son-in-law was already, as Labarna was later, his adopted successor coming from a Kanisite family (the text mentions a binding agreement between them). His function as adopted heir would have been stressed by appointing him king of the old capital Zalpuwa, which surely would not have been welcomed by the established nobility of the city. It would also provide a possible explanation for the murder of the royal couple. Cf. Forlanini (2004b: 379).

43 Forlanini (2004b: 381 and n. 49): Hattian **pawaḫ-te-l/n(i)maḥ*, ‘eagle her-eye’.

44 Forlanini (1987: 114–115 and n. 16); cf. Soysal (2004: 153 and 772). Tawana=Tawiniya; but cf. PN. Ta’wanaili (KBo 8.42 rev. 5) and Tauniyail (VBoT 68 ii 17); for other etymologies, see Puhvel (1989: 360–361); Carruba (1998b: 219); Melchert (2003: 19–20); and Kimball (2002: 192–193).

and later, probably, of Ḫakmis.⁴⁵ Ḫattusili also had a daughter, Ḫarapsili,⁴⁶ and it is probable that Mursili I was his son, too.⁴⁷ All these names are likely to be of northern origin. Only the young Labarna, son of the sister of the king, bore a southern name, while the name of his father, perhaps a member of Labarna I's family, is not known. Mursili I's mother may have been Ḫastayar, since the aging Ḫattusili, after the proclamation of Mursili as his heir, entrusts her with his own burial.⁴⁸ Ḫattusili anticipated opposition against Mursili by members of the southern branch, the 'sons of Tawananna', and perhaps by the old Tawananna herself, and he therefore threatened with death anyone who would speak her or her sons' names, i.e., support one of them as heir.⁴⁹

If this reconstruction is correct, Ḫuzziya of Ḫakmis would have continued the patrilinear line of Ḫuzziya I and Ḫattusili, and he would likely have been the grandfather of Ḫuzziya II (I), whose sister, Istabariya, bears a Hattian name.⁵⁰ Ḫuzziya II was handed the throne by Zuru, who organized the murder of Titti, son of Ammuna. As mentioned (above and n. 32), a Zuru, son of a Tutḫaliya, is found in documents from Kanis about two centuries earlier, and the family may have used these names later, too. A Tutḫaliya *rab šaqê* appears at the court of

45 In CTH 6 ii 63–69, Ḫattusili writes about his son Ḫuzziya, whom he appointed lord of Tappasanda; he was involved in the town's rebellion and consequently deposed. As his successor, Ḫattusili appointed his sister's son, also named Labarna. Ḫuzziya and the sons of Ḫattusili's daughter were supported by local nobility, and it is possible that Ḫuzziya later (after the death of Ḫattusili?) received the city of Ḫakmis as compensation. This may explain why he is titled 'man of Ḫakmessa' in the royal ancestor's lists (A and B) (Otten 1951: 64) after Mursili I, his queen Kali and Pimpira. Is it possible that he was at some point, like Pimpira (see below), a co-regent with Mursili? Moreover, in the list KBo 11.36 iii 9'–12' Ḫuzziya is mentioned as a king together with Ḫattusili, a Labarna and Pimpirit. This order suggests that this Labarna is the first designated heir of Ḫattusili I, not his adoptive father Labarna I; see Soysal in Cammarosano (2006: 61), who, however, understands LUGAL-RI as 'local prince'. (In Text A Ḫuzziya and Pimpira are designed as LÚ of their towns.) Since Ḫattusili is included, though, it would seem to be a proper royal designation. Pimpira, Ammuna and Ḫuzziya in List C (obv. 22–24) may refer again to Pimpira of Nenassa, Ammuna of Sugziya and Ḫuzziya of Ḫakmis (Cammarosano 2006: 61). The fact that in KBo 11.36 Ḫuzziya receives more bread portions than the others might be interpreted as a political preference by the clergy or his descendant, if not simply a copyist's mistake.

46 See Soysal (2005: 205); the original form should have been Ḫarapsedi, with the Hattian feminine suffix *-it*; cf. the writing Ḫarapseki (KBo 36.120 obv. 10; KUB 26.77 i 2), witnessing an older, misunderstood writing with final *-di*. From a northern PN: Ḫarpisa or Ḫarabasa; see Forlanini (2009).

47 Following Steiner (1996); cf. Yiğit (2007).

48 See de Martino (1989: 15ff.). Ḫastayar was probably the princess of the court at Ḫurma (CTH 9.6 = KBo 3.28 ii 20ff.) and the (young) princess during the reign of the 'father of the king' in the Palace Chronicles (CTH 8.A ii 1–7; Dardano 1997: 45; Beal 2003: 30ff.). She probably became (a) wife of Ḫattusili (KBo 3.28 ii 24') with the agreement of Labarna (KBo 3.28 ii 22'). At the end of Labarna's reign, because Ḫattusili was no longer a young man, he may have married Ḫastayar when she was still a young girl; she bore him a son perhaps 15 years later; see Forlanini (2004b: 388); cf. Yiğit (2007) and Beal (1983: 122–124). For Ḫattusili's burial request, see Bin Nun (1975: 123) and de Martino (1989: 22).

49 So KBo 3.27. Ḫattusili, the 'son of Tawananna's brother', did not banish Tawananna or his cousins (adoptive brothers, like Pimpira or Ammuna), but punished anyone supporting their bid to kingship; cf. Bin Nun (1975: 112–113) and Bryce (1981: 15–16). KBo 3.27 and 3.28 may be fragments of the same composition (cf. [f]D-an in KBo 3.27 obv. 2 and KBo 3.28 ii 10–19). If so, following the rebellion of the 'son' of Puruḫanda (probably the husband of Ḫattusili's sister, son of Labarna I and father of the young Labarna) and the opposition of the old Tawananna, Ḫattusili was compelled to threaten the supporters of any other candidate.

50 Cf. Hattian forms like *eš-ta-pár-wa_n* or *eštapartilš* (Soysal 2004: 416–418).

Kanis (above and n. 31), and a Tutḫaliya is mentioned retrospectively in the Siege of Uršu.⁵¹ The name was still in use among the Hittite nobility in the time of Labarna and appears again two centuries later as a royal name.

If Ḫuzziya II (I) was a grandson of Ḫuzziya of Ḫakmis, who might his father have been? One should look for a name in his family's tradition, and the best option is Ḫattusili. A Ḫattusili GAL.GEŠTIN is found in military context in the Old Hittite annals partially preserved in KUB 26.71 iv. Both Ammuna and Telebinu have been proposed as the text's author, the former because the beginning of his Annals is preserved in the first column of the same tablet after the Anitta Text, the latter because of the mention of Lelli, whose name otherwise occurs only in the time of Telebinu.⁵² A third Ḫuzziya ('II') appears in the Hittite kings' list four generations after the second. Was he a descendant of the same lineage, placed exactly where, according to the tradition of papyonymy, one might expect? His relationship to his predecessor is not known, but, as will be seen presently, such an assumption might explain how he was killed by Muwattalli I without provoking an immediate response from the brothers Ḫimmi and Kantuzzili. In this case, too, one would have a king with a northern name associated with a queen, Summiri, with a southern one.⁵³

5. The Branch of Ammuna

According to this reconstruction, prince Ammuna of Sug(a)ziya would have been a favourite son of Labarna I and an (adoptive) brother of Ḫattusili I. His name is southern, probably connected with that of a mountain, located near present-day Niğde at the southern border of the territory of Kanis.⁵⁴ A prince of Sugziya, whose name is not preserved, occurs also in a royal offering lists fragment.⁵⁵ Sugziya, capital of a kingdom in the Upper Land and ruled by a king's son, was quite important at that time. Later, according to an annalistic fragment (Ḫattusili I or Mursili I),⁵⁶ Sugziya defected during a prolonged war against the Hurrians, and only the

51 KBo 1.11 rev. 17–18; see Beal (1988) and Beckman (1995: 30).

52 Cf. de Martino (2003: 81–83). It is not likely that Ammuna's Annals took up nearly the entire tablet, leaving only part of the first column for the Anitta Text. Moreover, the military operations (col. iv) seem to have been successful, a situation which contradicts the disastrous picture of Ammuna's reign painted by Telebinu. On the other hand, Lelli could have been an old man in the time of Telebinu and thus active already during Ammuna's reign. Only based on the (very weak) assumption that Ḫattusili GAL.GEŠTIN was a general under Ammuna would he be the best candidate for the father of Ḫuzziya II (I).

53 Summiri can likely be related to Mt. Summiyara, and the GNs in *-iyara* are mainly located in the south; see Forlanini (1988: 133, n. 17).

54 In KUB 19.18 i 12'–14' (Güterbock 1956: 76, Frag. 15) Arzawan troops are found at Tubaziya and Mt. Ammuna, and were defeated before Suppiluliuma reached Tuwanuwa. The question is whether these were on Suppiluliuma's path (then near Niğde) or on another front against Arzawa. The town Ammuna in the *teliburi*-officials list in VBoT 68 ii 15'–19' should be near Ḫattusa. The mountain, more likely than the town, is to be connected with the dynastic name, as is the case with Tutḫaliya and Arnuwanda.

55 KBo 13.42, 10', probably followed by a prince of Ankuwa (12').

56 KBo 3.36 obv. 14'–16', 32–36 (CTH 13.A; de Martino 2003: 134–137).

ancient capital Hurma was saved. This episode recalls the history of the ‘queen of Sugziya’ from the reign of Hantili, to which Telebinu devotes a long excursus, as Soysal argues.⁵⁷

If the events described in these Annals (CTH 13) refer to the reign of Hantili I rather than that of his predecessors (see below), and if one accepts Soysal’s interpretation, the following reconstruction of the period may be suggested. Zidanda (a ‘southern’, Luwian name),⁵⁸ perhaps a son of Ammuna of Sugziya, encouraged Hantili to plot against Mursili I in order that the latter be king. Zidanda was perhaps promised that his own son, Ammuna, would be king after Hantili’s death.⁵⁹ When it became clear that Hantili would not respect the terms of the agreement and that he favoured his own son, Piseni, as successor, members of Zidanda’s family decided not to oppose the Hurrians, letting them enter Sugziya. The murder of the queen of Sugziya and her sons might have been an excess attributable to Ilaliumma, but could also have had the goal of ensuring Piseni’s succession. Ammuna, however, was not killed. Upon the death of Hantili, Zidanda took power by killing Piseni, but he was in turn killed (immediately?) by Ammuna, who did not want to wait until the end of his father’s reign to become king.

Ammuna is generally considered the father of Telebinu.⁶⁰ Though Ammuna’s reign is described in the Proclamation as a disastrous period, Telebinu relates that his first-born son bore the name Ammuna, a name he would not have chosen had it not belonged to his family’s tradition. Since Telebinu is the name of a Hattian god, though, why was it borne by a member of the southern branch? While the focus of Telebinu’s cult was in western Hatti (Hanhana, Tawiniya, Turmitta), the god was also worshipped in Karahna (Carana/Sebastopolis/Sulusaray), a town in the upper Zuliya valley in the Nesite Upper Land,⁶¹ hence in an area connected with Sugziya.

According to Telebinu, upon the death of Ammuna, Zuru, the commander of the bodyguard, sent his son Taḥurwaili to kill Titti, the first-born son of Ammuna, and placed Huzziya on the throne. Since Telebinu was Huzziya’s brother-in-law, Taḥurwaili perhaps hesitated to kill him, although he was a son of Ammuna, giving Telebinu time to react and seize power. Simultaneously Zuru ordered Tarḥsu to eliminate another member of the royal family, a certain Hantili, who may have been a descendant of king Hantili (see below).

57 Soysal (1990), referring to KUB 3.89 i 10’–20 / KBo 1.27 ii 1–10. Queen Harapsili was captured and brought to Sugziya, where she died, and a ‘queen of Sugziya’, who sided with the Hurrians, was captured by Ilaliumma and murdered together with her sons near Taga[laḥa] (or Taga[ramma]), the Hittite stronghold in the region.

58 Though, as far as I know, only Zida occurs in the Kültepe texts (TPAK 1, 205: 18), the Luwian word *zidi-*, ‘vir’, and its derivative *Zidand/za* are attested in early Hittite texts, including a Zidi (see above). Zidanda and Hantili were relatives, and the former was probably a brother-in-law of the latter.

59 Such an agreement might explain why Ammuna is mentioned in the ancestors’ lists instead of Zidanda. A *damnatio memoriae* against Ammuna would be understandable, as he murdered his own father, while Zidanda would have killed only the son of king Hantili. If Ammuna, rather than his father, was the rightful successor, then the lists become clearer still (Riemschneider 1971: 91). Another reason could be that Zidanda may not have had time to reign. Ammuna may also have gained legitimacy through his wife, a second Tawananna (cf. A i 12 reading Tawanna, perhaps a scribal mistake), who may have come from the ‘northern’ branch and may thus have been a daughter of Huzziya of Ḫakmis.

60 Telebinu states that he succeeded his father; cf. Riemschneider (1971: 94–97). For Telebinu as a son-in-law of Ammuna, see Beckman (1986: 22).

61 E.g., KUB 25.32 i 12 (Darga & Dinçol 1970); KUB 38.12 iii 7 (Darga 1973). The pantheon of Karahna is connected with that of Samuḥa, Kanis and local rivers and mountains (Ḫabittuini and Saktunuwa).

About 1530 the city of Sarissa (= Kuşaklı) was founded,⁶² perhaps as part of Telebinu’s policies, whose ancestral town Sugziya was nearby and whose military strategy was oriented toward the Antitaurus region. From a seal found at Kuşaklı⁶³ it is known that Sarissa was the seat of a local kingdom, perhaps replacing Sugziya because it was less exposed to Hurrian pressure.⁶⁴

As seen above, Telebinu’s first son was given the traditional family name Ammuna, the second a ‘southern’ name, Alluwamna.⁶⁵ During his reign Telebinu fought against Laḥḥa and reconquered Ḫaššum, which was probably the reason for naming Alluwamna’s second son Ḫassuili. The commander of the bodyguard during the reign of his brother Hantili, Ḫassuili was the father of king Zidanza II,⁶⁶ a typical name of his family branch. Why, though, did the first son of Alluwamna bear the name Hantili? Perhaps because of his mother, Ḫarapsili, who shared her name with the wife of Hantili I and was thus probably a descendant of her namesake and Hantili I.

6. Hantili I and his Family

No evidence concerning the origins of Hantili I, the son-in-law of Ḫattusili, has come to light so far. His name is of the southern type,⁶⁷ and he may have been a member of Labarna’s family, perhaps a grandson of the great king. Hantili’s elder son, Piseni, bore a typical Nesite name, confirming the origin of his branch. Who was Hantili’s father? Among the sons of Labarna I, one immediately notices Pimpira, prince of Nenassa and probably the tutor and protector of the young Mursili I.⁶⁸ Pimpira occurs alongside kings in the royal ancestors’ lists and once as a king among other kings.⁶⁹

62 See Mielke (2006: 266–268). Another Seris(s)a was located in the northern part of Hatti (CTH 375: A ii 21’; C iii 8’; KUB 22.25 obv. 7’); mentioned in a Kültepe text, it preceded Sarissa/Kuşakh (*i-Ṣi-ri-is*, TuM 1 23; Nashef 1991: 107; Forlanini 1987: 111; and Soysal 2004: 701). Surprising is the Old Assyrian PN (or *nisbe*) *Ṣa-ri-ṣa-a-a* (Kt 87/k 386: 22; Nashef 1991: 104), perhaps derived from the GN Sarissa, but seemingly before its foundation.

63 KuT 93/67: ‘king (of) *Ṣa-ra/i-sa*’ (Müller-Karpe 1995: 22, 24). As the inscription lacks the sign URBS, it is difficult to decide if the name is a GN or a PN.

64 Forlanini (2007).

65 Consider *A-lu-wa*, the father of a Peruwa (TPAK 1.160: 6, 10, 25), a priest of Ana (Kt 89/k 376: 4) (Donbaz 1993: 136–138), as well as *A-lu-wa-a-aš* (KBo 2.1 iii 25), *A-lu-wa-zi* (=Alluwanzil; CCT 1, 10b: 1; FAOS 1 11: *passim*; Hecker 1980: 68) and *ālūwa* in a Luwian context (KUB 36.102 ii 5).

66 Pecchioli Daddi (2005: 288). On Ḫassuili, see Rüster (1993) and Wilhelm (2005: 278–279).

67 Note *hantili*, ‘first’ (Luwian) = *ḫantezzi* (Hittite); see Starke (1990: 129). Hantili may have been a first-born son; see Carruba (1995: 69).

68 On Pimpira, see Cammarosano (2006: 47). For Pipira, a local Luwian deity of Ussa, see Forlanini (1988: 35) and Singer (1996: 166); cf. Pimpir[a] in KUB 54.1 ii 41. The PN Pimpira is found in a list of names from Maṣat (Mṣt 75/114 = HKM 99; del Monte 1995: 96–97; Cammarosano 2006: 47, n. 114), that, in spite of the northern position of their towns, are mainly of southern or Luwian types. The ending *-it* in Pimpirit (KBo 11.36 iii 16’; KBo 3.34 iii 16) is difficult to explain; Laroche (1966: 309) thought it might be a Kanisite suffix; Soysal (2004: 149) suggested Pimpira/it might be a Hattian name, but the Hattian suffix *-it* is a feminine one.

69 In KBo 11.36 iii 9’–12’ (Riemschneider 1971: 81, n. 10), Pimpirit occurs as king after Ḫattusili I and Labarna (his nephew and first designated heir) and before Huzziya (king of Ḫakmis, probably son of Ḫattusili), all of whom must have held official positions as coregents or designated heirs before or during the reign of Mursili I; see n. 49.

A text containing Pimpira's instructions regarding proper administration survives in several copies (Cammarosano 2006). He was perhaps an elder viceroy of Mursili I, acting as the 'old king' by overseeing the administration during the campaigns of the young king. His first-born son might have been eager to take power, particularly if he had married a princess of Hattusili's family. Much of the history of this epoch can be explained by suggesting that Hantili I was the son of Pimpira.

As noted, the 'Annals' CTH 13 share some elements with Telebinu's narrative on the reign of Hantili. Both texts include a prolonged Hurrian invasion involving, among others, the city of Sugziya, now on the Hurrian side.⁷⁰ This invasion must be kept distinct from that which occurred at the beginning of Hattusili's reign, which was no more than a short foray made to help rebels in the southern half of the empire.⁷¹ Nevertheless, partly due to exactly such an association, CTH 13 is generally attributed to Mursili I, because of the mention of the king's father (A rev. iii 9"), since it is known that Hantili did not succeed his father. However, if one accepts Pimpira's coregency with Mursili I, as well as the suggestion that Hantili I was a son of Pimpira, one might be able to attribute CTH 13 to Hantili.⁷² As Hattusili I's *antiyant*- (see n. 6), Hantili may have been able to claim legitimacy.⁷³ By attributing some 'sin' to Mursili I in the context of his Babylonian expedition, he may have delegitimized his predecessor.⁷⁴

As noted (above and n. 32), Zuru, the commander of the bodyguard under Ammuna, shared his name with a member of a Kanisite family, a son of a Tuthaliya. He is thus likely to have been a member of the southern branch of the Hittite royal clan, but probably not of Ammuna's line. Zuru was likely not a descendant of Hantili avenging the blood of Piseni, since he also ordered the killing of Hantili, probably a member of that branch. His son Tahurwaili received this name perhaps because he was born in Tahurpa.⁷⁵ Telebinu does not mention, however, that Tahurwaili's other hired assassin, Taruhsu,⁷⁶ was also his son. Moreover, one could restore 'Tu[t]haliya[a DUMU Tahurw]aili' in KUB 26.77 i 27–28, thus placing the names Zuru and Tuthaliya in the same family tree once again. A third, southern, branch may thus be suggested, perhaps connected with the anonymous prince of Purushanda, who was exiled in the time of

Hattusili I.⁷⁷ Might he have been a Tuthaliya as well (e.g., that of the Siege of Uršu)? This, of course, is only speculation.

In spite of the death of Piseni, continuity in Hantili's line can be deduced from Alluwamna and Hantili I's wives having the same name, Harapsili, and from the name of the later king, Hantili II. Upon the death of Telebinu, Tahurwaili seized power bloodlessly, exiling Alluwamna and his wife Harapsili to Mallidaskuriya, to the northwest of the Salt Lake.⁷⁸ Perhaps Tahurwaili had made a deal with Huzziya II, securing his aid for the power grab in exchange for the right to the throne following Tahurwaili. In any case, once Telebinu was dead, Tahurwaili claimed the throne, and after his death, Alluwamna became king.⁷⁹

The name of Alluwamna's son, Hantili (II),⁸⁰ may be explained as suggested above (n. 67). Hantili's and Ammuna's branches were no longer enemies, and the series of inter-dynastic marriages, murders and coup d'états had probably strongly mixed the two lines (and even that of Huzziya).

What position in the genealogical tree did the usurper Muwattalli, the commander of the bodyguard and murderer of Huzziya III, occupy? One might propose that he was either a descendant of Tahurwaili or of Hantili II and a secondary wife. In either case, he would have held some claim to the throne, but there is a third possibility. The conspiracy of the two brothers, Himmuli and Kantuzzili, who brought the reign of Muwattalli I to an end, seems to have re-established the line of Telebinu. Since Tuthaliya I states that his grandfather was a successful king, his father, Kantuzzili, must have been a son of Zidanza II.⁸¹ When Muwattalli I killed Huzziya III, assumedly a descendant of Huzziya II, Himmuli and Kantuzzili did not oppose him, and they were able to maintain their positions in the Hittite hierarchy.⁸² Only later did they eventually decide to assassinate Muwattalli. One cannot exclude at this point that Muwattalli was actually a son of Zidanza, too, but that he did not accept his father's choice of the *antiyant*- (see n. 6) as successor. Though Himmuli was probably older, since he is mentioned before Kantuzzili, it was Kantuzzili who installed his son Tuthaliya as king, who perhaps served for a time as coregent. Himmuli may have died before Kantuzzili, and the latter's descendents certainly prevailed.

70 For CTH 19 i 43–46, see Hoffmann (1984: 20–21); for CTH 13, de Martino (2003: 127–149).

71 Hattusili I campaigned to Arzawa in his third year, from which he returned in reaction to the 'Hurrian invasion'; he had to reconquer the rebel towns of Ullama, Nenassa and Sallaḫsuwa. Only in the following year was he able to crush the rebellion of Sanaḫuita, which had begun already in his first year. In his sixth year he marched on Ḫaššuwa, which must have rebelled in the third year, since the raid against Alalah and Uršu of his second year implies the control of Ḫaššuwa. In CTH 5 (obv. 44–47), Hattusili I mentions those who had rejected the 'father's word', raising the question of who this father was. Was Hattusili referring to his adoptive father Labarna I or even to himself, from the perspective of his son Mursili?

72 The Annals of CTH 12 are perhaps to be attributed to Hantili I; see Soysal (1998).

73 Hantili thus restored the previous line of succession, disrupted by Hattusili I's opting for Mursili; see Finkelberg (2005: 181).

74 For KBo 3.45, see Hoffner (1975: 56–58); de Martino (1991a: 60); and Soysal (1998: 30–31).

75 Carruba's (1974: 81) restoration of KUB 26.77 i 18 implies that Tahurwaili was the son of a prostitute. The Anatolian suffix *-ili* does not render the name Hattian (cf. Hantili or Ḫurmeli).

76 The name demonstrates a cultural syncretism among the nobility; it is formed from Taru, the Hattian Storm God, and the Kanisite 'suffix' *-hsu*; see Carruba (1974: 90).

77 This king of Purushanda was probably one of the sons of Labarna, who were installed as lords of the towns conquered in the southwest according to Telebinu (see above). A later(?) Purushanda rebellion is described in the Annals CTH 13, which I tentatively attribute to Hantili I; cf. Beal (2003: 28ff.).

78 According to KUB 26.77; see Carruba (1974: 80ff.) and Forlanini (2008: 72, n. 74).

79 See de Martino (1993: 226). Since Hantili II was a son of Alluwamna, and since it is more likely that he succeeded his father, Alluwamna probably reigned after Tahurwaili.

80 For the sequence of kings, see Otten (1987); Carruba (1988); de Martino (1991b: 5; 1993: 225ff.); and Wilhelm (2005).

81 The Tuthaliya-Šunaššura Treaty (KBo 1.5 i 5–6) mentions a 'grandfather' of the Hittite king, who 'in the past' was (over)lord of Kizzuwatna; he may thus be equated with Zidanza II, who concluded a treaty with Pilliya, king of Kizzuwatna (CTH 25); cf. Archi (2003: 11, n. 41). The fragment KUB 23.49 mentions Hantili and a 'grandfather' (Carruba 2008: 22–23), but one cannot conclude that Hantili II was the grandfather of Tuthaliya, because the author of the text is not known.

82 Cf. de Martino (1991b). In the land donation sealed by Muwattalli I, Himmuli and Kantuzzili are listed as witnesses, so they could not have been allied with the murdered Huzziya III.

As recently proposed,⁸³ however, if an agreement between the two branches had been concluded, compensation for Himmuli's family might have been agreed upon, e.g., by granting the position of coregent and successor of Tuḫaliya I to a son of Himmuli. Such a hypothetical son of Himmuli could hardly be anyone other than Hattusili II, who married Ziplantawiya, sister of Tuḫaliya. However, in light of his name, the possibility that he was a son of Huzziya III cannot be ruled out. The death or the removal from office of Hattusili (II) was probably correlated with a major shift in Hittite history, i.e., with the reunification of Hatti and Kizzuwatna under Tuḫaliya I (II) and his new Kizzuwatnean wife Nikkalmati. This was followed by a new equilibrium with the coregency of Arnuwanda I, husband of Ašmunikkal, daughter of Nikkalmati.

7. Conclusions

Since a reassessment of early Hittite history is inevitably based on early Hittite 'literature', and since it is well known that these compositions were produced largely for political reasons, they must be studied with an aim to discovering the motivations of the authors. The Anitta Text is likely a composition commissioned by a member of the southern branch seeking to glorify the southern house of Kussar and vilify the northern house of Zalpa, and thereby to denounce Hattusili, who elevated Hattusa to the capital of a kingdom, violating Anitta's proscription.⁸⁴ The Tale of Zalpa had two purposes: (1) to legitimize the hegemony of the house of Zalpa over the lands of Kanis by means of the mythical tale of the queen of Kanis and the return of her 'sons' from Zalpa to their ancestral city, and (2) to deflect any accusation of having destroyed the city by way of suggesting that the 'old king' (Labarna) had done it, not the king (Hattusili). Hattusili inherited the throne from his adoptive father, Labarna, who had ousted Hattusili's real father, Pawahtelmaḫ, as heir to Huzziya I. This presumably bred a mixture of esteem and antipathy within Hattusili. Compositions such as the Palace Chronicles and the Siege of Uršu belittle the entourage of Labarna I, who himself is depicted as a merciless ruler in KBo 3.27 and 3.28, while the reductions of some fines in the Hittite Laws demonstrate Hattusili's allegedly more clement attitude. Hattusili's Testament, as frequently noted, seeks to justify his infringement of the traditional succession rules. Hattusili also authored a document that places Mursili I in bad light and justifies his murder.

In this paper an attempt has been made to reconstruct the early history of the Hittite royal family on the basis of very fragmentary evidence. Naturally, some of the gaps must be filled by assumptions. The results seem to be consistent and to present an acceptable elucidation of early Hittite history, but they are to remain open to criticism and to the challenge of new evidence.

⁸³ Forlanini (2005). If one assumes that the Hattusili mentioned as 'king' (not 'great king') after Tuḫaliya in the Aleppo treaty should not be confused with Hattusili I, and that he is apparently not mentioned elsewhere, where might one place him in the succession of Hittite kings if there was only one Tuḫaliya before Arnuwanda I? Why was Ziplantawiya, sister of Tuḫaliya, titled queen, and why did she plot against her brother and his wife Nikkalmati? Why, if one can consider certain fragments as remnants of a dynastic agreement between the sons of Himmuli and those of Kantuzzili, did the former immediately disappear from history?

⁸⁴ It is not necessarily problematic that this text was written on a *Sammeltafel* together with the Annals of Ammuna or Telebinu; see de Martino (1999; 2003: 81–87).

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Kingship in Hatti during the 13th Century: Forms of Rule and Struggles for Power before the Fall of the Empire

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1. Introductory Remarks

In 1996 we published *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII sec. a.C.* (Giorgieri & Mora 1996; henceforth *Aspetti*) which illustrates and discusses the events, conflicts and troubles of the final period of the Hittite empire. It is now time, after 13 years, to update some of these discussions, as a number of important discoveries have been made in recent years, related studies have appeared, and much further research, published in or after 1996, has investigated the organization of the Hittite empire, the struggles for power and the actors involved. We are pleased to dedicate this article to Itamar, our friend and colleague, whose excellent research has contributed so much to a better understanding of this complex period of Hittite history.

The 13th century was a crucial period in Hittite history. On the basis of the military and political successes of Suppiluliuma I and Mursili II in the previous century, the Hittite kingdom became one of the most powerful empires of the era. At the same time the 13th century, with the well-known internal and external problems and conflicts the Hittite Empire experienced in its late phase, can be considered a precursor to the subsequent period, marked by crises, collapse and the regrouping of some areas of the state. A principle aim of *Aspetti*, as described in the 'Premessa' (pp. 9ff.), was to analyse aspects of the ideology of kingship in the final phase of the Hittite empire. Although many previous studies had dealt with this topic, they did so in a more general way, rather than focusing on the diachronic aspect or characteristics of the institution of kingship at its various stages. In fact, in the final part of the so-called Empire Period (13th century), the Hittite monarchy and the concept of kingship seem to have differed from those of previous periods, probably because of changes on the international scene. Links with the gods are stronger, for example, and theocratic characteristics are more accentuated. These transformations constituted an important aspect of a specific political programme. Change can also be seen in artwork, glyptic and the widespread use of hieroglyphics.

Aspetti begins with a short summary of the main historical events and problems, such as Hatti's relationships with Assyria and Egypt, as well as with Karkamiš and Tarḫuntassa, dynastic conflicts, Hattusili III's accession and the decline and fall of the empire (pp. 13–24). The relevant documentation is then analysed, starting from the moment Hattusili III took power, undoubtedly a crucial moment in Hittite history, which had an effect on many subsequent events (pp. 37ff.). The new dynasty, which began with Hattusili and continued with his successors Tuthaliya IV, Arnuwanda III and Suppiluliuma II, ruled for about 70–80 years in a very complicated international context. On the one hand, the Hittite kings had to contend with two powerful states (Egypt and Assyria) that impinged on the borders of the empire. On the other, they had to manage relationships with the politically important appanage kingdoms of Karkamiš and Tarḫuntassa, which were constantly seeking to increase their stature. Written documents, not only of a political nature, but also epistolary and religious texts, provide overt information

on the policies of the kings of Hatti and on the ideologies on which they were based. The most important text, yielding a great deal of information on the reign of Hattusili III and background to subsequent events, is the so-called Apology or Autobiography of Hattusili,¹ which takes the form of a royal decree establishing an endowment for the goddess Ištar of Samuḫa, the personal deity of the king. In this decree Hattusili's son, prince Tuthaliya, is designated the goddess' priest, and it is therefore possible, as suggested by Imparati (1995 and 2002: 239ff.), that the Apology was actually written to celebrate the designation of Tuthaliya as heir to the throne in place of an elder brother previously designated *tuhkanti*, as reported in the so-called 'Bronze Tablet', a treaty between Tuthaliya and his cousin Kurunta of Tarḫuntassa.² The recurring theme of Hattusili's unabashedly self-exalting text is the close relationship between him and his personal goddess Ištar; it thus obliquely justifies his toppling of his nephew and his usurpation of the throne. *Aspetti* focuses on the frequently mentioned importance of Ištar's support, an element that had not been emphasized as such in documents of former Hittite kings (p. 43), and on the fact that Hattusili represents himself in the Apology as the divinity's instrument, predestined to realize her system of justice and order (*para ḫandandatar*).³ All the events mentioned in the text are therefore explained and justified as part of this divine plan. Even Hattusili's negative characteristics are portrayed within this political-religious framework.⁴ Hattusili employs familiar, traditional Hittite techniques to exalt the figure of the sovereign, but new is the recurring theme of predestination, the idea that a deity had chosen him. In this way Hattusili was able to justify, even celebrate, his usurpation of the throne.

In *Aspetti* various types of documentation are analysed from a political perspective: cuneiform texts referring to Hattusili and his successors,⁵ hieroglyphic inscriptions (pp. 35, 68–72; see below §2.2), monumental and minor architectural and other artistic remains (pp. 30–35, 72–82; see below §2.3) and the royal titles borne by the Hittite kings in the late 13th century (pp. 82–89). The aim of these analyses was to highlight more or less explicit references to the political conduct of the last Hittite kings, as well as concerns about the weakness and crises of the ruling dynasty, which perceived itself as subject to attacks and conspiracies by adversaries and was in constant fear of losing its divine favour. After Hattusili's usurpation Hittite kingship was legally not very stable, so the ruling clique sought to shore up its legitimacy by developing a closer relationship with the gods on the one hand and by demonstrating strength and cohesion to the outside world on the other.

1 Text edition: Otten (1981); for discussion and further bibliography, see *Aspetti*, 38ff.

2 Otten (1988: ii 35f., 43f.); on the identification of this elder brother cf. *Aspetti*, 16ff. with references.

3 On *para ḫandandatar*, see recently Mouton (2007).

4 E.g., the mention of a disease that affected Hattusili during his youth (Otten 1981: i 43–45) and the ensuing divine deliverance. Diseases were conceived as divine punishment by the Hittites, and it would normally be very difficult to link the idea of a sick person with that of a predestined king. For discussion of this interesting topic, see Ardesi (2001: 251ff.).

5 On those relating to the reign of Hattusili III, see *Aspetti*, pp. 44–51; Tuthaliya IV: pp. 51–61; Suppiluliuma II: pp. 61–66; on KBo 4.14, of uncertain date: pp. 66ff. For an updated bibliography, see below §2.1.

2. New Documents, Inscriptions and Studies

In recent years numerous studies, many based on new documentary material, have been published on these topics, two of which appeared in the same year as *Aspetti*: Starke's (1996) 'Zur "Regierung" des hethitischen Staates', concerning the power structures on which the administration of the Hittite state was based, particularly during the last phase of the 13th century,⁶ and Singer's (1996) 'Great Kings of Tarḫuntašša', which proposed a novel and intriguing hypothesis on the problem of Kurunta of Tarḫuntassa bearing the title 'Great King' (cf. §2.5). This section reviews some of the most significant contributions and presents an overview of the new documents relating to the last phase of the 13th century.⁷ For various reasons, including lack of space, we have chosen to cover internal Hittite politics only.⁸

2.1 Cuneiform Sources

A number of important new studies have dealt with some of the principal cuneiform sources relating to 13th-century Hittite politics, i.e., loyalty oaths (§2.1.1), treaties with the appanage state of Karkamiš (§2.1.2), religious texts, such as oracle inquiries and cult inventories (§2.1.3), and the very intriguing text KBo 4.14 (§2.1.4).

2.1.1 Among the texts that characterize the late Empire Period are several loyalty oaths that clearly reflect the insecure climate and the unstable position the kings of this period found themselves in.⁹ One of the most interesting loyalty oaths dates to Ḫattusili III. KUB 21.37 (CTH 85.2; see *Aspetti*, 45ff.) describes how he made 'all the Land of Ḫattusa' swear allegiance to him and his descendants after having ousted his nephew, Urḫi-Teššup. Singer (2001a: 399ff. and n. 20) has recently argued convincingly that a fragmentary, puzzling section of the text relates to the coronation of and loyalty oath to Ulmi-Teššup in Tarḫuntassa. The oath was thus sworn not only to Ḫattusili and his descendants, but also to his nephew and adopted son, Ulmi-Teššup, alias Kurunta.¹⁰

6 Starke (1996) thoroughly examines the role of the LÚ^{MES} SAG, as well as that of the LÚ^{MES} GAL ('grantees'), and the relationships among powerful figures in general, and indeed reassesses the principles on which a Near Eastern state of the second millennium was founded. Not all the hypotheses he puts forward seem plausible; e.g., his suggestion that in the 13th century the LÚ^{MES} SAG performed some of the tasks that the LÚ^{MES} GAL had previously performed, even though the latter still existed; cf. Imparati (1999: 336ff.) and below, n. 12. Nevertheless, he must be credited with opening a new line of research.

7 For an overview on similar topics see also Sürenhagen (1996; 2001) and Haas (1999).

8 On relations with Assyria, see Mora & Giorgieri (2004); Mora (2005); Singer (2008a); Cancik-Kirschbaum (2008); and Giorgieri (forthcoming, a); on relations with Babylon: Houwink ten Cate (1996) and Singer (2008b); on relations with Egypt: Klengel (2002a); Roth (2005); and Singer (2006a; 2006b).

9 Giorgieri (forthcoming, b); Starke (1995); and Pecchioli Daddi (2006: 119ff.).

10 Singer (2001a: 401) assumes, of course, that Ulmi-Teššup and Kurunta are one and the same person, though this is not accepted by all scholars. For previous bibliography, see *Aspetti*, p. 19. See now Singer (1996: 68); Gurney (2002); Bryce (2005: 271); and Collins (2007: 66 with n. 101); cf. van den Hout (1995a: 11ff., 326) and Mora (2003). On double names of Hittite kings, see Heinhold-Krahmer (2001). Houwink ten Cate (1992; 2006) identifies Kurunta with the 'elder brother' of Tuḫaliya, who had been designated *tuḫkanti* but was then removed from his position according to the Bronze Tablet; cf. above and n. 2. Another unanswered question is why Muwatalli II chose Urḫi-Teššup as his successor instead of Kurunta. Singer (2002) suggested that the reason may have been that Kurunta was Danu-Ḫepa's son. Some new seal impressions found in the 'Westbau' of Nišantepe, however, now provide conclusive evidence that she

The loyalty oaths imposed by Tuḫaliya IV upon the LÚ^{MES} SAG (CTH 255.2 and 255.1 §§22ff.) and the 'Princes' (DUMU^{MES}.LUGAL) and 'Lords' (*BĒLŪ*; CTH 255.1 §§1–21), which best illustrate the insecure atmosphere that prevailed at the court due to the internal conflicts of the royal family, have also received renewed attention of late.¹¹ They are also the main sources for the reconstruction of the roles played by the important dignitaries LÚ^{MES} SAG. Regardless of the question about the nature and origin of the LÚ^{MES} SAG (perhaps 'eunuchs'?),¹² the category is important due to the roles assigned to them and their proximity to the king. They were to inform him of any hostile action they were aware of, keep all relevant information secret and oppose any potential revolt. They were the king's most direct advisers and the people he trusted most, and as such their total and utter loyalty became one of the state's highest priorities.¹³

A loyalty oath of a 'Chief Scribe on Wood' (GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ) can be dated to the reign of Suppiluliuma II (KUB 26.32+, CTH 124; *Aspetti*, 62ff.). The scribe's name is not completely preserved ([x]-Šarruma), but Singer (2003: 346ff.) suggests that he might be identified with the high official Taki-Šarruma.¹⁴ Recently, on the basis of a new text from Ugarit (RS 94.2523) and *cretulae* from the Nišantepe archive, Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat (2005a; 2005b; Malbran-Labat & Lackenbacher 2005) have pointed out that this 'Chief Scribe on Wood' was actually Penti-Šarruma, who they assume was the successor of Taki-Šarruma, a suggestion now accepted by Singer (2006c: 244) as well.

2.1.2 The fragment KUB 26.33 (CTH 125; *Aspetti*, 63) was traditionally presumed to belong to a loyalty oath of a high official. In it a high-ranking figure, whose name is lost, takes an oath before Suppiluliuma II, recalling how he had supported him in becoming king. A join with KBo 13.225, however, allowed Singer (2001b) to establish that the text is actually part of a treaty with Karkamiš. He suggests that the person declaring his loyalty is actually the king of Karkamiš, Talmi-Teššup.¹⁵ A further join, with KBo 12.41, discovered by d'Alfonso (2007), enables a clearer reconstruction of the beginning of the text and in fact shows that it is undoubtedly part of a treaty between Talmi-Teššup and Suppiluliuma II.¹⁶

2.1.3 Religious texts such as oracle inquiries and cult inventories have also proven useful for reconstructing the historical-political context of the Hittite kingdom, especially during the reign of Tuḫaliya IV.

was Mursili II's, not Muwatalli's queen; see Bawanypeck (2006: 121) and Giorgieri (2008: 361ff., n. 62). More likely is that Kurunta was too young to take his father's place on the throne, as assumed by Singer (2001a; 2002). On Urḫi-Teššup as *tuḫkanti*, see Hawkins (2001).

11 See particularly Starke (1996); Hawkins (2002); and Pecchioli Daddi (2006). For the term 'loyalty oaths' rather than 'instructions', see Giorgieri (1995: 274ff.); *Aspetti*, 57ff.; and Starke (1995).

12 Starke (1996); Imparati (1999: 336ff.); Hawkins (2002); Herbordt (2005: 95); Pecchioli Daddi (2006: 122ff.); Giorgieri (2008: 355ff.); and Dinçol & Dinçol (2008: 69); see also Miller (2004: 318f.) and above n. 6.

13 Starke (1996: 165ff.); Pecchioli Daddi (2006: 124); and Giorgieri (2008: 356).

14 Singer (2003) proposed that Taki-Šarruma was perhaps a high dignitary from Ḫattusa and active at the court of Karkamiš; Mora (2004), in contrast, suggested that Taki-Šarruma may have been a prince of Karkamiš.

15 Concerning KBo 12.30+KUB 26.25, which Singer (2001b) also interprets as a treaty between Ḫatti and Karkamiš, see Giorgieri (2002); d'Alfonso (2007: 204, n. 7); and Mora (2008a: 86).

16 For further discussion of the political role of Karkamiš and the relationships between the kings of Ḫatti and Karkamiš, see below §2.4.

2.1.3.1 In *The Purity of Kingship*, van den Hout (1998) edited and analysed some of the most important oracle inquiries from the time of Tuthaliya IV.¹⁷ They seem to have been written at two different junctures of his reign: the first group, relating to his official inauguration, written during a period of coregency with his father, Hattusili III; and a second probably written some twenty years later, apparently on the occasion of Tuthaliya's reinstatement on the throne. According to van den Hout, Tuthaliya's second enthronement put an end to Kurunta's interregnum in Hattusa (see below §2.5).¹⁸ Van den Hout (1998: 85ff., 92–157) also analyzes the accession oracles concerning Tuthaliya's delay in ascending to the throne after an illness,¹⁹ which are to some extent connected to the later CTH 569 group.

Another important oracle inquiry, KUB 5.24+ (CTH 577),²⁰ has recently been re-examined by Houwink ten Cate (2006: 110, 112 and 114), who dates it to the reign of Hattusili III. He proposes that it would have led to the removal of Kurunta from his position as *tuhkanti* and to his replacement by Tuthaliya.²¹

2.1.3.2 Hazenbos (2003: 11–51) recently edited a collection of cult inventories from the reign of Tuthaliya IV,²² concerning which Archi (2006) and Pecchioli Daddi (2006) have since published further important contributions. Hazenbos (2003) and Archi (2006: 151) rightly emphasize that Tuthaliya did not carry out an actual religious reform, as Laroche (1975) had conceived it, but that his efforts are better described as a 'cult reorganisation', intended to establish central control of the cults and the regular upkeep and organization of the temples.²³ Pecchioli Daddi's (2006: 125ff.) analysis of KUB 56.56,²⁴ which describes the cult of the city of Hurma, suggests that Tuthaliya introduced the worship of deities that were symbols of royalty and the personal guardians of the king (^dLAMMA.LUGAL, ^dDAG and ^dZithariya). If so, it would provide further evidence of Tuthaliya's tendency to reinforce the religious legitimacy of royalty and the sacralisation of the king (cf. also §2.2).

2.1.4 KBo 4.14 is an enigmatic text that is difficult to classify. Thus far it has not been possible to date it precisely, but it is surely from the second half of the 13th century.²⁵ Bemporad (2001) has recently revived the suggestion that the text dates to the time of Suppiluliuma II, who would thus have been a prince and military commander in the battle of Nihriya, mentioned in the text. Though the lack of decisive evidence prevents us from taking a firm stance on the issue, it may be useful to recall some formal characteristics, such as themes recurring in

17 Grouped under CTH 569, for which see recently also Haas (2008: 100ff.). For findspots, see van den Hout (2006: 90ff.).

18 See also van den Hout (2001: 217). Cf. Houwink ten Cate (2006: 107ff. and 114), who proposes on the basis of the letter KBo 18.48 that Hešni temporarily occupied the throne of Hattusa after Kurunta's capitulation and before the return of Tuthaliya; cf. below §2.5, and regarding Hešni, see Tani (2001) and Mora & Giorgieri (2004: 100, n. 10).

19 See already van den Hout (1993); cf. *Aspetti*, 60ff. and Haas (2008: 68ff. and 77ff.).

20 Edited by van den Hout (1995a: 245ff.); according to the *Konkordanz*, KBo 57.130 also belongs to this text.

21 This interpretation depends on the hypothesis, mentioned above in n. 10, that the brother of Tuthaliya, who according to the Bronze Tablet was removed from his position as *tuhkanti*, should be identified with Kurunta.

22 For the findspots of these documents, see van den Hout (2006: 88ff.).

23 Cf. also van den Hout (2006: 88).

24 Previously edited by Pecchioli Daddi & Baldi (2004).

25 See *Aspetti*, 66ff. for a description of this text and previous bibliography.

Hittite mythological and magical texts (cf. *Aspetti*, 67–68), and to emphasize the text's demand for loyalty 'until death'. While classifying the text remains difficult (because some elements resemble loyalty oaths, others the so-called 'instructions'), it clearly contains a serious warning against betrayal and desertion (see below §3).

2.2 Monuments, Rock Reliefs and Hieroglyphic Inscriptions

The following monuments, inscriptions and studies published or discussed after 1996 are of particular relevance for the issue of 13th-century kingship:²⁶ The Hatip relief which includes an inscription of the 'Great King' Kurunta (Dinçol 1998a; Dinçol 1998b; Ehringhaus 2005: 101ff.) (§2.2.1); the new reading CERVUS₄.IACULUM for the signs previously read VITELLUS.*285 (Hawkins 2006: 59ff.) (§2.2.2); and the *cretulae* from the Upper City of Hattusa with seals of Hittite kings, queens, princes and officials (§2.2.3). Also noteworthy is Yakubovich's (2009) recent argumentation that the Luwian lexeme L 416–*wa/i-ni-* represents the word for 'enemy (force)', on the basis of which he offers new interpretations of many passages of the YALBURT and SÜDBURG inscriptions.

2.2.1 Dinçol (1998a; 1998b) published a Hittite rock monument newly discovered in a resort called 'Hatip sources', 17 km. south of Konya.²⁷ The relief shows a figure with a typical conical cap and a short tunic and carrying a bow and a spear, which Dinçol interprets as the representation of a god (cf. §2.3). Behind the figure is a hieroglyphic inscription reading 'Kurunta, Great King'. This was immediately connected to the well-known seal impressions,²⁸ on which Kurunta bears the same title, and it provides important new evidence regarding the role of the king of Tarhuntassa and his relationship with the king of Hatti (cf. §2.5).

2.2.2 The publication of the YALBURT inscription led Hawkins (2006: 59) to propose that the sign previously read as VITELLUS (L.109) in a parallel passage of the EMİRGAZİ inscription represents a cervid head without antlers, 'so (that) it would best be listed after CERVUS₁₋₃ (L.102–103) as L.103A and transcribed CERVUS₄.' The second sign (*285) associated with CERVUS₄ could then represent an arrow or spear, hence IACULUM. The combination CERVUS₄.IACULUM would render the noun 'hunter'. Hawkins (2006: 59) further suggests that two other signs (*463.*398) in the same passages might be read 'field-master(?)', thus giving Tuthaliya IV two new royal titles.

26 Further important monuments, rock reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions from the 13th century found after 1996 are: ALTINYAYLA: a stele with the relief of a god standing on a stag (Müller-Karpe 2003; Hawkins 2006); DELİHASANLI: a stele with the name and royal titles of Tuthaliya IV near Boğazköy (Seeher 1996; Hawkins 2006: 63); EFLATUN PINAR: a monument known since the 19th century, of which new parts, including inscribed blocks, were recently unearthed (Özenir 1998; 2001; Emre 2002; Bachmann & Özenir 2004); KOCAGÜZ: a stele with a hieroglyphic inscription (Ünal 2003; Hawkins 2006: 61); Suratkaya (Latmos): a hieroglyphic inscription on a rock, found in 2000 (Peschlow-Bindokat 2002; Ehringhaus 2005: 91ff.); and a stele in the Afyon Archaeological Museum with a hieroglyphic inscription dating to the 13th or 12th century (Şahin & Tekoğlu 2003; Ehringhaus 2005: 48ff.). For an important new analysis of the monuments and inscriptions of the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group, see Singer (2006a: 42).

27 See also Bahar (1996) and Ehringhaus (2005: 101ff.).

28 Neve (1993).

2.2.3 During excavations at Boğazköy in 1990 and 1991 a deposit of about 3400 *cretulae* (and a number of sealed royal land grants) bearing seal impressions of kings, queens, princes and officials were discovered in the so-called ‘Westbau’ of the Upper City. Herbordt (2005) published those of the princes and officials, and more recently Dinçol & Dinçol (2008) published the ‘Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel’ from other areas of the Upper City (cf. §3.2).

2.3 King or God? Regarding Some Figures on Reliefs and Seals

Many Hittite reliefs and seals from the 13th century depict figures with clothing and posture reserved for the divine image: either with a horned cap, a short kilt and a dagger on the belt or with a long robe and lituus.²⁹ These figures can be associated with the warrior-like Storm god or the Sun god, respectively. Scholars have interpreted the images as living kings,³⁰ as gods or as deceased deified kings when accompanied by a royal name.³¹ That they represent living kings seems the most likely option, since, among other reasons, it corresponds with the way the concept of kingship evolved in the 13th century. Drawing on the rich iconographic documentation from the Nişantepe seals, van den Hout (2007: 344ff.) has recently revived this hypothesis, writing that the iconography ‘expresses a hierarchy that reflects the status of kings according to traditional Hittite royal ideology. First come the gods, then the king as their representative on earth, and then his subjects. Along with this, one might posit a kind of continuum ranging from divine to non-divine in which the king is not a real god (...) during his lifetime but is as close to the gods as a mortal can come.’³² In some finds that seem to point to an actual cult of the royal image during the reign of Tuḫaliya IV, however, van den Hout (1995b: 561ff.; 2007: 345, n. 24) would like to see a change in this traditional idea of kingship.³³

Related to this issue is the figure wearing a long robe with a winged sun-disk over its head so frequent in the Syro-Hittite glyptic. Laroche (1956: 124)³⁴ interpreted the figure as the ‘matérialisation’ of the title ‘My Sun’ (‘UTU-ŠI’) used by the Hittite kings,³⁵ whereas Güterbock (1993) interpreted it as a representation of the Sun god. The figure is very frequent on seals, usually belonging to princes and officials from Karkamiš, found at Ugarit and Emar, but is all but absent among the seals of princes and officials found at Ḫattusa. If the figure should be identified as the Sun god, its absence from the Anatolian glyptic of the period would be difficult to explain, and further, one would have to suppose that this deity occupied a prominent position in the pantheon of Karkamiš, which appears not to have been the case. On the other hand, if interpreted as the representation of the royal title ‘My Sun’, its frequent reproduction in peripheral areas could be explained as a reference to the supreme sovereignty of the Hittite Great King, of which the king of Karkamiš was the local representative.

29 See *Aspetti*, 77ff., with bibliography; cf. more recently Ehringhaus (2005) and Bonatz (2007).

30 Particularly van den Hout (1993; 1995b).

31 Mayer-Opificius (1989); Neve (1993: 36); and Hawkins (1995); see *Aspetti*, 78 for further bibliography.

32 The same problem concerns the images of men as bow-carrying warriors. For a recent discussion related to the figures on clay *cretulae* from Nişantepe, see Herbordt (2005: 57ff.) and Bonatz (2007: 121, 123).

33 Cf. for different opinions Hawkins (2006) and Bonatz (2007: 119ff.).

34 Cf. Mora (2004: 446, n. 99).

35 Followed, e.g., by Beyer (2001: 341ff.). Cf. also Mora (2004: 447) with further literature.

2.4 The Relationship with Karkamiš and the Control of Northern Syria

Towards the end of the 14th century an agreement (lit. ‘bond’) was forged between the Hittite Great King³⁶ and his brother Piyassili, king of Karkamiš, in which the viceroy was placed at the third rank in the hierarchy of the empire, after the Great King and his heir apparent.³⁷ This concession was not only formal, as it probably amounted to a reorganisation of an overstretched empire. As numerous 13th-century sources, such as records from Ugarit and Emar, demonstrate, the king of Karkamiš in fact enjoyed a high degree of independence and autonomy on the political, economic, legal and administrative levels.³⁸ He acted in the name of the Great King until the collapse of the empire at the beginning of the 12th century, when he inherited the role and the traditions of the Great Kings of Ḫatti as the most important ruler among the kings of the Neo-Hittite states.³⁹

A number of recent studies draw analogies between Hittite and Assyrian strategies of controlling the territories they conquered.⁴⁰ An interesting example concerns the Hittite ‘King’ of Karkamiš and the Assyrian ‘King’ of Ḫanigalbat. The holders of these offices, who were members of collateral branches of their respective royal families, occupied not only the role of head of government in their own territories, but also very high positions within the imperial structure.

2.5 The Relationship between Ḫatti and Tarḫuntassa

The political links and the hierarchy of the late 13th-century empire experienced the dramatic ascent of the king of Tarḫuntassa,⁴¹ which had been the temporary capital of Ḫatti during the reign of Muwatalli II.⁴² Many aspects of the history of Tarḫuntassa are still debated, especially the relationships between its kings and the Great Kings of Ḫatti.⁴³

The first controversial point is whether the treaty with Ulmi-Teššup (KBo 4.10+) should be dated to before or after the Bronze Tablet treaty between Tuḫaliya IV and Kurunta.⁴⁴ Most recently Gurney (2002) and Melchert (2007: 509ff.) have argued for dating the Bronze Tablet to after KBo 4.10+ and for attributing the ‘Ulmi-Teššup Treaty’ to Ḫattusili. In contrast, Houwink

36 The name of this Hittite king is not preserved on the tablet, but it was almost certainly Mursili II.

37 KBo 1.28 obv. 17ff. See Mora (1993); Beckman (1996: 154); and Imparati (1999: 168, n. 131).

38 Klengel (2001a; 2001b; 2002b) and Mora (2008a). On the administrative and legal aspects, see Faist (2002) and d’Alfonso (2005); for cultural themes, see Mora (1998; on Luwian hieroglyphics) and Faist (2002); on the princes and officials, see Mora (2004; 2008b).

39 Documents from Tell Sabi Abyad provide glimpses of the history of Karkamiš in the early 12th century, shortly after the end of the Hittite Empire, when Karkamiš was in conflict with Emar and on good terms with the Assyrian lord of the region, Ili-padā; see Wiggermann (forthcoming).

40 Dalley (2000: 83); Cancik-Kirschbaum (1999); and Mora & Giorgieri (2004: 20ff.).

41 See Otten (1988: ii 79ff.).

42 On the transfer of the capital from Ḫattusa to Tarḫuntassa by Muwatalli II and its possible religious implications, see Singer (2006a) and Taracha (2007). The localization of the town is still uncertain; see Singer (2006a) and Klengel (1999: 210) with further bibliography.

43 For an overview of the history of Tarḫuntassa in the late 13th century, see Jasink (2003); Bryce (2003: 91ff.); and Freu (2005). On the problems regarding the borders of the kingdom of Tarḫuntassa, see the various views expressed by Hawkins (1995: 49ff.); Giorgieri (1998: 178ff.); de Martino (1999); Dinçol et al. (2000); Yakar et al. (2001); Bahar (2005); and Melchert (2007).

44 *Aspetti*, 19ff., 96ff., 98; Beckman (1996: 102); de Martino (1999: 291, n. 2); and Imparati (1999: 274, n. 561, 275ff.).

ten Cate (2006: 112) would date it to before KBo 4.10+ and disassociate the ‘Ulmi-Teššup Treaty’ from the reign of Ḫattusili III.

One of the most heavily debated issues revolves around the seal impressions on which Kurunta is referred to as ‘Great King’. This discussion has recently received renewed impetus by the discovery of the Hatip relief and its hieroglyphic inscription of the ‘Great King’ Kurunta (see above §2.2.1).⁴⁵ Some scholars have assumed that Kurunta temporarily became Great King of Ḫatti by means of a coup d’état,⁴⁶ most of whom have supposed Kurunta would have wrested the throne from Tuthaliya IV, some time after which Tuthaliya was able to overthrow his cousin and regain power.⁴⁷ Dinçol & Dinçol (2005), in contrast, proposed that Kurunta came to power as Great King of Ḫatti following the reign of Tuthaliya.

In *Aspetti* (p. 18) it was hypothesised that the title may have been permitted to Kurunta, possibly from the perspective of a tripartite empire, both for political reasons and with an aim to improved management of the unwieldy territory. In our opinion there is still no evidence or rationale strong enough either to support Kurunta’s coup d’état or to prove that he ruled over the entire Hittite state.⁴⁸ Similarly, in his paper highlighted above, Singer (1996: 64) suggested that the title ‘Great King’ used by Kurunta need not be related to a violent occupation of the Hittite capital and the usurpation of the Great Kingship, but rather that the kings of Ḫatti and Tarḫuntassa may have tolerated one another: ‘Each of the protagonists may have refused to recognize the supremacy of his rival, but at the same time maintained a cautious *modus vivendi*, including military and economic cooperation when it suited their common interests.’ Thus, more than one Great King would have peacefully shared power over the Hittite state during the last years of the 13th century, and this would appear to be supported by contemporary Ugarit texts, as they reveal no mention of tension between Ḫatti and Tarḫuntassa (Singer 1999: 661ff.).

Similarly, relationships between the king of Ḫatti and Tarḫuntassa during the reign of Suppiluliuma II are all but transparent. A military campaign undertaken by Suppiluliuma II in Tarḫuntassa, referred to in the hieroglyphic inscription SÜDBURG, is still under discussion. According to Hawkins’ (1995: 62) interpretation, the campaign was an expedition organised by Suppiluliuma II in order to punish Tarḫuntassa for abandoning Ḫatti during the reign

45 See Dinçol (1998a; 1998b); cf. Singer (1996) and Klengel (2002b: 107).

46 This theory was based chiefly on the assumption that Ḫattusa suffered a violent destruction during the reign of Tuthaliya IV, but this has now been shown not to have been the case; see Seeher (2001; 2006b: 143ff.); Klinger (2007: 114); and below §2.6. For previous literature, see *Aspetti*, 18 and Klengel (1999: 290). More recently Yakubovich (2009: 5ff.) has suggested a new interpretation of §2 of the hieroglyphic inscription YALBURT 2, which he claims provides ‘the first piece of evidence that Tuthaliya IV had to fight for power in Ḫattusa at a certain point in his career.’ It is, however, not certain that this enemy is to be identified as Kurunta.

47 E.g., van den Hout (1998) on the basis of oracle texts (see above §2.1.3.1); Bryce (2005: 319–321); Collins (2007: 70ff.) with further references; and Klinger (2007: 114); cf. Hoffner (1997: 193, n. 193) on the use of *asant-* as ‘legitimate’ in KBo 12.38, from which he argues that ‘there is probably an intended contrast of Tudḫaliya IV with Kurunta of Tarḫuntassa who usurped the Hittite throne for a time in the middle of Tudḫaliya’s reign.’ On this text, see Mora (1999: 36f.); Bolatti Guzzo & Marazzi (2004); Gilan (2005); and de Martino (2007b). Quite different scenarios are suggested by Houwink ten Cate (2006) (see above n. 18) and Bryce (2007), who imagines a secession of Tarḫuntassa from Ḫatti.

48 Similarly de Martino (1999) and Mora (2003). See also de Martino (2006: 218ff.).

of Tuthaliya IV. Others have challenged this theory, though, for example, Singer (1996),⁴⁹ or Melchert (2002), who suggested that the passage in the SÜDBURG inscription about Tarḫuntassa does not refer to a military situation at all.⁵⁰ Yakubovich (2009: 7ff.) recently argued that the passage indeed refers to military operations, but that they were directed against local ‘chieftain(s)’.

Also yet to find a definitive solution is the figure of a ‘Great King’ Ḫartapu, son of a ‘Great King’ Mursili, in the hieroglyphic inscriptions KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ and BURUNKAYA. Singer (1996: 68ff.) demonstrated that these inscriptions should be dated on chronological and stylistic grounds to the last period of the Hittite Empire, before the fall of Ḫattusa, and suggested that Ḫartapu could thus have been a son/descendant of Urḫi-Teššup/Mursili III or Mursili II.⁵¹ Even if little doubt remains concerning the dating of Ḫartapu to the late Empire, who the last ‘Great King’ of Tarḫuntassa was⁵² and what the nature of his relationship with the Great Kings of Ḫatti was remain unclear.⁵³

2.6 The Chronology of Ḫattusa

In recent years the traditional schema for the chronology of the architectural structures in the Hittite capital has been radically upset.⁵⁴ Earlier studies suggested that the Upper City had been founded in the late 13th century, probably by Tuthaliya IV.⁵⁵ Important findings, such as a hieroglyphic stele with Tuthaliya’s name and genealogy,⁵⁶ appeared to support the theory. Now, this paradigm has collapsed. As recent contributions have demonstrated, the first occupation of the Upper City must be dated back to the (late?) 16th or early 15th century.⁵⁷ Many arguments, based on evidence such as architectural and pottery remains, radiocarbon dates, comparison with the temple structures from Kuşakh and Middle Hittite text finds, have led to this new chronological hypothesis. The consequences of this re-dating on many fields of Hittite history, archaeology and art history will need to be carefully determined in the coming years.

Another important contribution by Seeher (2001) discusses the collapse of the city.⁵⁸ On the basis of recent discoveries and studies, he convincingly demonstrates that the traditional assumption that Ḫattusa was invaded and suffered a violent defeat is no longer plausible. The city actually suffered a gradual disintegration. It was progressively abandoned by the royal court and its institutions, until it eventually fell into ruin. The demise of Ḫattusa brought about the end of Hittite domination in Central Anatolia, so that when foreign enemies arrived, they probably found an empty city that was no longer the capital of a Hittite state. The inhabitants and the court had probably already moved elsewhere, perhaps to Karkamiš.

49 Cf. Hoffner (1992: 49ff.) and Giorgieri (1998: 181) for different scenarios.

50 For a different position, see Jasink (2001).

51 Cf. also Singer (2006a: 45).

52 As Singer (1996: 68) has pointed out, a letter from a king of Tarḫuntassa to Ammurapi of Ugarit (RS 34.139 = RSO VII n. 14) shows that there was still a king of Tarḫuntassa in the last part of the 13th century, and he could conceivably be identified as Ḫartapu.

53 On Ḫartapu see also Jasink (2001; 2003); Bryce (2003: 93ff.; 2007); Freu (2005); and Sørensen (2008), who dates Ḫartapu to the reign of Ḫattusili III.

54 Müller-Karpe (2003); Seeher (2006a; 2006b); and de Martino (2007a); cf. Klinger (2006).

55 See references to Bittel’s and Neve’s hypotheses in Müller-Karpe (2003) and Seeher (2006a; 2006b).

56 See Seeher (1996) and Hawkins (2006).

57 Seeher (2006a: 208; 2006b: 136ff. and 140ff.).

58 See also Bryce (2005: 345); de Martino (2006: 224); and Klinger (2007: 118).

3. Blood Ties, Loyalty Pretension and the Power of Life and Death

The aim of the previous section was to provide a brief overview of the current state of research on Hittite monarchy, politics and state and administrative organisation during the final part of the Empire Period, space considerations allowing reference to only the most significant studies. Despite important new findings, documentation available on these subjects is still far from complete. There is still, for example, a dearth of information on economic matters, and the sources regarding relationships with other states is sparse or intermittent. To conclude this contribution, we would like to mention some interesting themes concerning the system and management of political power in the crucial phase of the 13th century on which our current research is focused.

Throughout the political history of the Hittites⁵⁹ some features seem to be fairly constant or to reappear at regular intervals, such as the importance of family ties, ever-present court intrigues and continuous betrayals,⁶⁰ kings fighting back when threatened and clamping down on the recurrent crimes committed by members of the royal entourage. Two terms, frequently used in the so-called ‘Testament of Hattusili I’, can be considered key in this context, i.e., *eshar* ‘blood(shed)’, and *uttar* (the king’s) ‘word’, which was to be obeyed and respected.⁶¹ A reorganisation of the Hittite state structure took place in the period traditionally referred to as the Middle Kingdom or the Early Empire. With this reorganisation ‘the “family” management of the state’ (Pecchioli Daddi 2002: 261) that had characterised the preceding period is thought to have been replaced.⁶² In the Empire Period, following Suppiluliuma I’s conquests in the 14th century, the dynasty (or, more precisely, the faction) in power in the second part of the 13th century found itself in a very precarious political environment, both internally and externally. As is well known, a principal reason for this unstable situation was the power struggle following Muwatalli’s death. On the one hand, the state was able to maintain control of foreign affairs to a large extent, relying on its competence and experience in concluding treaties, as well as nourishing relationships with both powerful states, such as Egypt, and the emerging appanage kingdoms of Karkamiš and Tarhuntaša. On the other hand, the problems in the heart of the country and at court seem to have increased exponentially. For example:⁶³

- the struggle between Urhi-Teššup and Hattusili over sovereignty, which led to:
- the noble families taking sides with one faction or the other;
- Hattusili’s victory and attempts to eliminate opponents;
- further dynastic problems, resulting partly from this conflict;

59 On the geographical characteristics of Anatolia and the influence they may have had on Hittite economics and politics, see Klengel (2001c; 2003; 2005).

60 See now the recent overview by Giorgieri (2008: 351ff.).

61 Cf. Mora (2008c: 302ff.), with references and an overview of the documents in which the ‘king’s word’ motif frequently recurs, e.g., the land grants or the decrees of Hattusili III (CTH 85.1; 86.1.A-B; 87; 88; 224; and 225).

62 Pecchioli Daddi (2005: 289); cf. Klengel (2005: 16, n. 83) and the critical remarks by Giorgieri (2008: 352, with n. 11).

63 On some of these aspects, see above §2.

- fears regarding other pretenders to the throne, resulting in:
- repeated urgent requests from individuals and categories of officials for ‘total loyalty’ as well as (more or less explicit) death threats in case of defection or betrayal;
- concession of privileges and benefits to individuals, families and institutions of supporters vs. confiscation of goods belonging to advocates of the opposition;
- famines and demographic crises.

An analysis of the politics of the Hittite kings in this dire situation, in particular the tools they used to prevent or ameliorate the crisis, can lead to an improved understanding of the structure of the state and the principles it was built on. To illustrate this approach, a few examples can be considered.

3.1 The Role of the Family

Family ties clearly played a major role in the formation of the cohesive group of loyal adherents that the leading elite attempted to construct, with the dual aim of guaranteeing the security of the king and controlling the main power centres. The management of the state changed from the Middle Kingdom onwards and diverged from the possibly simpler ‘domestic’ model that had been in place in the previous period (see above §3). Despite the complexity of this newly organised structure, family ties definitely still played an important role. This is demonstrated by the interrelationships revealed by prosopographical analyses.⁶⁴ Probably the idea of family had evolved to refer more to an extended family system,⁶⁵ i.e., it was no longer the royal family alone that ruled using ‘family management’;⁶⁶ rather it was the more important families, usually related to the ruling dynasty either by blood or marriage, that coalesced and worked out agreements regarding managing and exploiting recently acquired territories,⁶⁷ the distribution of land and imported goods⁶⁸ and taking political decisions. Marriage politics was a means by which these ties could be strengthened, but this extension of the family sphere inevitably created other problems.⁶⁹

Research toward a reconstruction of the interconnections among leading families and with the royal dynasty could shed valuable light on such issues.⁷⁰ The data from the Nišantepe *cretulae* might be useful in this regard, though most of the names attested in the seals are not found in the cuneiform documentation.⁷¹

64 E.g., van den Hout (1995a); Mora (2004; 2008b); and Doğan-Alparslan (2007).

65 On this concept, see Starke (1996) and Giorgieri (2008: 353ff.).

66 See above §3 and Pecchioli Daddi (2002: 261).

67 See Mora & Giorgieri (2004: 19ff.) with further references, on the very important position of the kings of Karkamiš; and above §2.4.

68 Mora (2007) and Giorgieri & Mora (forthcoming).

69 Giorgieri (2008: 358).

70 See references in n. 64 and Cancik-Kirschbaum (1999) on the family ties within the Middle Assyrian dynasty.

71 See Herbordt (2005: 75). Still, the evidence from the Nišantepe archive is of great interest for the new data concerning the titles borne by dignitaries and officials, e.g., the large number of individuals with the title LÚ^{MEŠ} SAG vs. this title’s rarity in the cuneiform sources, for which see Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 513ff.).

3.2 Large Number of Dignitaries

It would be useful to study the chronological distribution of the great number of princes, dignitaries and officials documented from the 13th century, and if possible, their distribution within a specific reign. How many were in office at any given time? What roles were assigned to them? The *cretulae* from the Nişantepe depot and other parts of the Upper City could perhaps be used to determine which officials were active during a given period by observing, *inter alia*, which seals appear together on the same *cretula*.⁷²

3.3 Power Centres

Seizure, occupation, and usurpation of power. In modern terms this means taking possession of the places that represent power centres from a political and economic point of view. What was the situation like then? Where were the power centres? Along with the palace,⁷³ other places can be considered important, e.g., the Seal Houses (É^{NA4}KIŠIB), which seem to have been depots independent of those in the palace and temples, or religious institutions/establishments such as the ‘mausolea’, the ^{NA4}hegur and É.NA₄ (DINGIR-Ĺ).⁷⁴ It is surely no coincidence that several principal political texts mention the benefits these institutions were afforded. A member of the royal family may even have been assigned to these institutions in order to look after their interests and assets.⁷⁵ The temples were also important economic and administrative centres,⁷⁶ with access to means of production, land assets and the right to grant privileges and exemptions. Moreover, these religious institutions played an important redistributive role during the ceremonies and festivals that took place throughout the year.⁷⁷

We hope that new archaeological evidence and thorough studies can shed further light on the political role of these institutions and their increasing importance in the exercise of power during the last phase of Hittite history.

72 Mora (forthcoming).

73 On the Hittite palace(s), see Imparati (1999: 342ff.; 2002); Siegelová (2001); and van den Hout (2004).

74 On these institutions, see Haas (1999: 190ff.); Imparati (1999: 343ff.); Groddek (2001); van den Hout (2002); and Archi (2007: 50ff.).

75 Van den Hout (2002).

76 Güterbock (1975); Klengel (1975); Archi (1989–1990); and Imparati (1999: 343ff.).

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Scriptoria in Late Empire Period Hattusa: The Case of the É GIŠ.KIN.TI*

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In the colophon of a late 13th-century copy of an edict originally issued by a Hittite king Tudḫaliya (likely the Tudḫaliya who was the father of Suppiluliuma I) the scribe Aliḫḫini traces his lineage back to other well-known scribes, adding that he is the GÁB.ZU.ZU of Zuwa, the EN GIŠ.KIN.TI.¹ The ideographic term or title GÁB.ZU.ZU, attested only eight more times in colophons from Hattusa,² is usually translated ‘trainee, assistant’ and describes the relationship between the copyist and his teacher, a higher ranking and experienced scribe.³ The latter title, EN GIŠ.KIN.TI, which relates to the teacher Zuwa, is translated as ‘master of craftsmen’ (lit. ‘master of the work-tool’), relating *inter alia* to a building called É GIŠ.KIN.TI, ‘House of Craftsmen’ (lit. ‘work-tool building’). This colophon suggested to Güterbock (1975a: 132) that a scribal school may once have occupied the ‘House of Craftsmen’.⁴ In the present article, it is attempted first to establish a connection between scribes and craftsmen in Empire Period Hattusa, and then to trace the scribes who may have been employed in the ‘House of Craftsmen’ during the latter half of the 13th century. It is dedicated to Itamar Singer, a true master of the craft, Hittite and otherwise, to whom I myself have been and still am a GÁB.ZU.ZU. His teaching and guidance will always occupy a central part of me as a scholar and as a person. I hope the present undertaking will contribute to and continue the path he has taken in the study of Hittite administration.

É GIŠ.KIN.TI: Centre of Scribes and Craftsmen

In the Lower City of Hattusa, in the area to the south-west of Temple I (henceforth T.I), also known as the *Süddareal*, 16 large multi-roomed complexes built around an inner courtyard were unearthed in squares J/18 and J/19 during the 1967–1968 excavations.⁵ The structure was in use during strata 2 and 3 of the Hittite Empire Period. It was identified by Bittel (1976a: 69; 1976b: 131–134) as the É GIŠ.KIN.TI, Akkadian *bīt kiškattī*, ‘House of Craftsmen/Labour’,⁶ where the temple’s cult and maintenance personnel would have performed various activities and may even have lived. Key to the identification of the structure was KBo 19.28 (CTH 237), a late 13th-century list of personnel, ‘sons of the É GIŠ.KIN.TI’, found in 1968 in Room 12 of Complex XIV.⁷ It lists 205 officials divided into professional groups, only 144 of which are still preserved: 18 priests, 29 *katra*-women, 19 scribes,⁸ 33 ‘scribes-on-wood’,⁹ 35 incantation priests and 10 singers of Hurrian (Güterbock 1975a: 131–132; Klinger 2002: 102ff.). Neve (1975: 77–79; 1995–1996: 51ff.) was reluctant to suppose that the administrative É GIŠ.KIN.TI institution referred to the entire *Süddareal*, which, according to the design of several rooms and other small finds, included also storehouses and cultic areas. He was followed by Pierallini (2000: 335–337), who suggested that several rooms that Neve had identified as cellae were in fact to be understood as areas of worship for certain deities connected with the scribes of the building. The most prominent deities were probably Ea, the god of wisdom, and Nabu and Nisaba, the patrons of the scribal profession.¹⁰

Whether it actually occupied the entire *Süddareal* or not, the É GIŠ.KIN.TI housed a large number of scribes, as indicated by the personnel list and by tablet colophons naming two scribal instructors entitled EN GIŠ.KIN.TI, ‘master of craftsmen’, i.e., the above-mentioned Zuwa and a certain Miramuwa, who is attested in a colophon from the ‘House on the Slope’.¹¹ This led Güterbock (1975a: 132) to suggest that the Hittite use of the term GIŠ.KIN.TI was broadened from its Mesopotamian usage to include the literate professions. Indeed, in Mesopotamia,

* This article is a revised version of a lecture given at the VII International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, 25–31, August 2008. It is partly based on my MA thesis written under the guidance of Prof. Itamar Singer, as part of his project on Hittite prosopography and demography funded by the Israeli Science Foundation. Some stages of the writing were conducted in Berlin while studying as a part of the Graduiertenkolleg 1458 ‘Schriftbildlichkeit’ of the DFG. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Yoram Cohen, Sebastian Fischer, Dr. Amir Gilan, Sivan Kedar, Prof. Dr. Jörg Klinger, Prof. Dr. Jared Miller, Dr. Giulia Torri, Dr. Mark Weeden and Prof. Dr. Horst Wenzel for their helpful remarks, and to Dr. Joachim Marzahn for allowing me use of the tablet collection in the Vorderasiatisches Museum.

1 KUB 13.9+ iv 10–11 (CTH 258.1). The genealogy in the colophon is treated in more detail below; see also Westbrook & Woodard (1990), and on the dating of the original to Tudḫaliya II/III, Otten (1979).

2 A recent collection of the instances is given in Torri (2008: 776, n. 31).

3 See Güterbock (1946: 40ff.); CAD K: 29; Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 168); Mauer (1988: 190–194); Rüster & Neu (1989: 115, no. 49); CAD T: 103 sub *talmīdu*; Cohen (2009); and Weeden (2007: 88–90).

4 In Hattusa itself there is evidence for two other possible locations of scribal schools: the long halls of Building A situated on the Büyükkale (Neve 1982: 107) and the ‘House on the Slope’ in the Lower City south-east of Temple I (Bryce 2002: 65; Torri 2008: 780).

5 See Neve in Bittel et al. (1969); for a recent plan of T.I and related buildings, see Neve (1995–1996: Abb. 6).

6 See, however, the doubts raised by Klengel (1996: 272) as to its function as a building in which artisans were employed. Note that his rendering of the logogram as ^{GIŠ}KIN^{TI} is based on Akkadian *kiškattī*; cf. Klinger (2002: 102), who differs from what is adopted here. The Hittite term, though rendered with a similar logogram, probably covers a different semantic range than its Mesopotamian counterpart, taking into account cult personnel and scribes (see below). As for how to read the Hittite logogram, there are at least two possibilities, both somehow connected with an errant Hittite assumption that Sumerian *giš.kin.ti* revolves around the verbal root KIN (Weeden 2007: 92, n. 329). This would suggest either a reading based on KIN-*ti*, Hittite nom. acc. pl. *aniyatti*, ‘work, task, ritual gear or garment’, (see HED A: 69 and Tischler 2001: 238), or a reading of KIN-*ti*, derived from the Hittite Akkadogram *UNŪTI*, ‘tools, equipment, household utensils’ (AHw: 1422ff.; *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*: 423).

7 The tablet was found above floor level (Bittel 1976a: 69); on its late ductus, see Klinger (2002: 103, n. 25).

8 Out of which 10 are present, 9 not yet ‘given’ (assigned work?).

9 On the distinction between two basic types of scribes, DUB.SAR ‘scribe’, and DUB.SAR.GIŠ ‘scribe-on-wood’, see Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 161–168); Symington (1991); Karasu (1995); Herboldt (2005: 98); Doğan-Alparslan (2007: 247ff.); see also below.

10 The scribal communities of the Ancient Near East shared a religious world that manifested itself in the cult of their patron deities (Oppenheim 1965: 256). Though this cult was more evident in Ugarit and Emar (Vita 1999: 473; Cohen 2009), it seems to have been introduced into the Hittite world via Hurrian mediation, as witnessed in a number of festivals from Hattusa (Lebrun 1983: 56; Haas 1994: 813ff.; Archi 2006: 154, 156).

11 KBo 12.41 rev. (CTH 122), for which see now Torri (2008: 774ff.); see below.

especially during the Ur III period, the GIŠ.KIN.TI or *kiškattû* was not usually associated with the scribal profession, but with the crafts, particularly those which involved the use of a furnace or kiln, such as metal working, armouring and pottery production, or with a type of military profession (CAD K: 453ff.; Renger 1996: 214–219, 223ff.). But the view of the scribal profession as craftsmanship did at least exist in Mesopotamian thought. Renger (1996: 216) points out that in the Sumerian myth of Inanna and Enki one of the important crafts listed is *nam.dub.sar*, ‘Schreibkunst’.¹² It may, therefore, be worthwhile to consider briefly the relationship between scribes and craftsmen in 13th-century Hittite sources.

As several inventory texts (Siegelová 1986: 121) inform us, scribes collaborated with or oversaw craftsmen and metal workers in order to document the outcome of their work and later to bear witness to ensuing transactions (Mora 2007: 537–541). Furthermore, the work of some scribes can itself be defined as a handicraft, as they wrote not only on clay but also on stone or metal, as shown by several attested signatures. Two scribes signed the colophons of Empire Period Hieroglyphic Luwian stone inscriptions: Aki-Teššub, the father or teacher of the scribe Lurma(ziti),¹³ signed his name to the ALEPPO 1 inscription of Talmi-Šarruma (Güterbock 1942: 22ff.; Bossert 1954; Laroche 1956a); Šauškaruntiya, chief scribe (MAGNUS. SCRIBA) and the person behind multiple seal impressions from Hattusa,¹⁴ signed his name and titles (prince, chief of palace attendants, army lord) to the KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA inscription of Tudhaliya IV situated on the Hatti-Tarhüntassa border (Masson 1980; Hawkins 2005a: 271; 2006: 62).

One also finds scribal signatures on metal, the best known example being that of the scribe of the Bronze Tablet, Halwaziti, man of the city Ukkiya and son of Lupakki (Ottén 1988: 3; van den Hout 1995: 186–193).¹⁵ It has been suggested that he incised the cuneiform signs using a draft arranged on a wooden writing board or clay tablet (Klengel 1996: 275ff.). Pendi-[...], the scribe who signed the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the ANKARA silver bowl (Hawkins 2005b), may even have been a silver smith. In addition to these two examples, one finds metal workers who concurrently acted as scribes: Palla, scribe, ^{LU}SAG and lord of Hurma under Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV was identified by van den Hout (1995: 223) with his namesake, a goldsmith; and Pupuli, the metal worker who collaborated with the well-attested chief scribe

¹² Writing can be a laborious task and was even more so in antiquity when the technology, materials and writing techniques demanded much more from the average scribe, like keeping his hand from moving while writing in order not to smear the clay tablet or smudge the ink on the parchment. It is therefore not surprising to find in the Middle Ages a relation between writing and scribal work on the one hand and handiwork and similar crafts on the other. These scribes sometimes relate to their own work with terms such as ‘cultivating’, ‘ploughing’, ‘building’ or ‘weaving’, viewing the writing process as strenuous labour (Wenzel & Lutter 2006: 440–446).

¹³ Lurma(ziti) copied KBo 11.1 (CTH 382); see Houwink ten Cate & Josephson (1967); Lebrun (1980: 256–293); and Singer (2002: 81–85). On Aki-Teššub and Lurma(ziti), see Mascheroni (1984: 153, n. 14); van den Hout (1995: 243); and Singer (1996: 162).

¹⁴ SBo II nos. 8, 30 and 67 (Güterbock 1942: 12, n. 38; Boehmer & Güterbock 1987: 75, no. 241; Herbordt 2005: 180–182, nos. 373–380).

¹⁵ It may well be that Halwaziti was chosen to inscribe the Bronze Tablet because of his experience. He was a teacher of two other scribes, Pihami the junior scribe (KBo 45.69 vi 6) and [...-Šarruma] (KUB 57.110 iii 5), as well as a supervisor, together with Maḥḥuzi, of Duda (KUB 13.7 iv 5').

Walwaziti, was probably a scribe (Siegelová 1986: 121), as indicated by the title BONUS₂ SCRIBA he bears on a seal impression, found in the north storerooms of T.I (fig. 1).¹⁶



Fig. 1: Seal impression Bog. V 12 of Pupuli found on a bulla from the north storerooms of T.I (Güterbock 1975b: 56ff.)

What might be the Hieroglyphic Luwian signature of Pupuli on a tablet, previously not recognized, can constitute further evidence for his scribal education. On the fragment VBoT 87 iv (CTH 503), the colophon of an inventory of a certain Arnuwand[a] listing items of a ‘seal-house’ (É^{NA4}KIŠIB),¹⁷ three Hieroglyphic Luwian signs are evident. Ünal (1989: 506) noted that the sign on the right resembles an animal head but did not identify the pair of identical hieroglyphs on the left. After close examination of Goetze’s hand copy of the tablet, it would seem that the signs on the left should be identified as two Hieroglyphic Luwian *pu* (L. 328) turned 90 degrees counter clockwise. They compare quite nicely with the double *pu* used in Pupuli’s seal impression Bog. V 12 shown above (fig. 1). The interpretation of the remaining animal head, which resembles a caprid head in the drawing, Hieroglyphic Luwian *sà* (L. 104), remains problematic, but perhaps it should be identified as a peculiar form of *li* (L. 278) turned 90 degrees counter clockwise. Inspection of a photograph or the original, which was not possible for purposes of the present paper, might yield further results. Thus, the present reading of the signature on VBoT 87 reads either *pu-pu-sà* or perhaps *pu-pu-li*, likely the metalworker mentioned above. Since the hieroglyphic signature follows the colophon, Pupuli might even be the scribe who copied the inventory. Interestingly enough, this list of items which belongs to the ‘seal-house’ can be compared to the inventory KBo 18.153, which deals with the removal of objects from the ‘seal-house’, an undertaking in which Pupuli and Walwaziti collaborate.

Scribal Personnel: A Prosopographical Study

The second part of this paper deals with the identification of the scribal personnel working in the Late Empire Period ‘House of Craftsmen’. Apart from the personnel list (KBo 19.28) of the É GIŠ.KIN.TI found in the *SüdaREAL*, there is other evidence indicating that this building may have been the Late Empire Period ‘House of Craftsmen’.¹⁸ This evidence includes the

¹⁶ This seal impression was found next to that of another known metal worker called Zuzuli (Güterbock 1975b: 55–57); on the attestations of Zuzuli and Pupuli, see Siegelová (1986: 118ff.).

¹⁷ See Siegelová (1986: 453).

¹⁸ See Bittel (1976b: 70) and Pierallini (2000: 333, 335).

discovery of 12 styli of bronze and bone in fill of complex XIII in the *Süddareal*,¹⁹ lexical texts from the nearby T.I archive,²⁰ and the graffiti consisting of names with scribal titles in Hieroglyphic Luwian found on nearby stone blocks.²¹

The shape of the styli from the *Süddareal* with one end pointed and the other flat may indicate that they were used to incise rather than impress, perhaps in order to write in the Hieroglyphic Luwian script, either on wax inside wooden writing boards,²² or on lead strips such as the Neo-Hittite Aššur Letters (Payne 2008: 118).²³ This evidence, which points to the use of writing boards, can be related to the large group of ‘scribes-on-wood’ listed in KBo 19.28. It is therefore puzzling why only three such scribes from 13th-century Hattusa are known to us by name,²⁴ as opposed to 83 DUB.SAR identified in the clay tablet colophons. At least part of the explanation surely lies in the Hieroglyphic Luwian title for scribe, SCRIBA,²⁵ which does not distinguish, as the cuneiform titles do, between scribe and ‘scribe-on-wood’ (Laroche 1956b: 28ff.; Herbordt 2005: 98; Singer 2006: 243ff.). A quantitative analysis of 13th-century seal holders reveals that the title SCRIBA appears on the seals of 141 different officials. Out of this number, however, only 25 names (17.7%) appear in the cuneiform material as DUB.SAR or related to one (father, grandfather, etc.). Thus, it is possible that a percentage of the SCRIBA officials are to be equated with the DUB.SAR.GIŠ who handled the wooden writing boards, while the large group of DUB.SAR identified in cuneiform sources are the professional scribes mainly engaged in the copying,

19 See Boehmer (1972: 133ff. and 196ff., nos. 1206, 1208–1214, 1216–1218, 2047, pls. XLI and LXXIII).

He also interprets the styli as evidence for a scribal school in the building. For more styli from the Lower City, see Boehmer (1979: 31, 50ff.). GI É.DUB.BA(A) and GI É *TUP-PI*, ‘Schreibrohr, Griffel’, are found in Hittite texts (Rüster & Neu 1989: 104, no. 30; Schwemer 2005–2006: 227, n. 71).

20 See van den Hout (2005: 288). In the *Konkordanz*, 44 lexical fragments are listed as coming from the area of T.I, including one *izi=išātu* vocabulary found in the *Süddareal* itself (KBo 26.49; CTH 303). This also implies a connection between the archive in the storerooms of T.I and the suggested scribal school in the nearby *Süddareal*; cf. van den Hout (2006: 97) and Torri (2008: 780ff.) on the connection between T.I and the archive/scribal school in the nearby ‘House on the Slope’.

21 These blocks most likely indicate the presence of scribal bureaus in the area or open-air stalls in the street (Neve 1995–1996: 50; Dinçol & Dinçol 2002: 207).

22 See Boehmer (1972: 133ff.) and Bittel (1976b: 69ff). However, as already suggested by Marazzi (2000), there is also good evidence that cuneiform was written on the wax of the wooden writing boards (or incised on the wood itself); see also van den Hout (2007: 113).

23 At the VII International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, 25–31 August, 2008, R. Akdoğan demonstrated the existence of such documents already in the 13th century on the basis of a lead strip recovered in the 1930s in Boğazköy, now in the Ankara museum.

24 (1) Huzzia: KUB 13.35+ iv 28 (CTH 293); (2) Piḫawalwi (appears together with Palluwaraziti): AN.TAḫ.ŠUM: KBo 45.34 rev., KBo 46.102 iv, KUB 2.8 vi; KILAM: KUB 55.13, Izmir 1274, KBo 30.15; other festivals: KBo 45.11 rev. (CTH 597), KUB 20.29+ iv (CTH 750.2), KBo 23.62 rev. (CTH 670), KUB 60.28 (CTH 670), KBo 35.144 iv (CTH 705); with other scribes: KUB 44.24 vi (CTH 685, with Hulla), Bo 6780 rev. (CTH 825, with Ulmi-Šarruma); (3) Tarḫuntapiḫanu (‘10-piḫanu’): KUB 31.73+ 6’ (CTH 585.M).

25 The SCRIBA sign is one of the earliest HL signs used on seals as a profession or title marker quite frequently already in the OH period, sometimes accompanied by the blessings BONUS, ‘good’, ‘wellbeing’, and VITA, ‘life’ (Boehmer & Güterbock 1987: 43–46; Hawkins 2003: 167; Bolatti Guzzo 2004: 233). BONUS₂ is sometimes added to SCRIBA as part of the logographic title on seals. Thus, BONUS₂ SCRIBA on the Late Period MEHARDE stele was interpreted by Hawkins (1979: 153) as ‘noble scribe’. Hawkins (2005a: 311), however, has since abandoned this translation, and follows Güterbock (1975b: 73ff.), taking BONUS₂ merely as a wish for the good fortune of the bearer of the title (cf. BONUS₂ VIR₂, ‘good (to) the man’). Note that there is no such hierarchy between ‘noble scribe’ and any other type of scribe in the cuneiform sources; see also Herbordt (2005: 91).

editing and archiving of the clay tablets. Van den Hout (2007: 118), on the other hand, prefers to see the majority of SCRIBA title holders as the literate upper class of Hittite society. Though it is true that many of these seal holders were probably literate officials, since one finds them bearing the scribal title next to other official designations,²⁶ it seems more reasonable to assume that in the scribal society of Hattusa there existed a division into three main groups of officials: (1) professional cuneiform scribes, (2) professional ‘scribes-on-wood’, and (3) literate/educated officials. The scribes known only from seals could have belonged to any combination of these three groups, but, in most cases to group (2) alone.

‘Scribes-on-Wood’?

With this proposed division of the scribal personnel in mind, one may seek traces of ‘scribes-on-wood’ and professional scribes in the ‘House of Craftsmen’, as listed in KBo 19.28. Tentatively, the first group can be identified in part as the nine scribes appearing on the nearby graffiti²⁷ and a bulla²⁸ from the *Süddareal*, mainly because none of them is known from among the signatories in the colophons, even as a DUB.SAR, and because they appear primarily in Hieroglyphic Luwian documents. Therefore, these nine scribes cannot denote the professional scribes who copied the cuneiform texts. Considering the aforementioned connection between certain scribes and craftsmen, their presence in and around the building of the *Süddareal* may reflect their collaboration with other officials inside the ‘House of Craftsmen’, as well as their involvement with the recording of economic activities that took place outside in the street. Perhaps these activities were taken down on wooden writing boards or even clay tablets, as suggested above regarding VBoT 87.

Professional Cuneiform Scribes

The second group, that of professional cuneiform scribes, can be partly reconstructed by a prosopographical study of copyists and their teachers and supervisors mentioned in tablet colophons from Hattusa. The following scribes seem to have either a direct or a possible relation to the ‘House of Craftsmen’ during the Late Empire Period:

26 See B. Dinçol (2001); Herbordt (2005: 98–100); Doğan-Alparslan (2007: 248ff.) and Marizza (2007: 169).

27 These include: Patisina (Pende-šena), Samituili and Ar[...] on BOĞAZKÖY 14 (Bittel 1970: 9ff.; Poetto 1987; Dinçol & Dinçol 2002: 208) and a chief scribe (MAGNUS.SCRIBA) whose name is not preserved, Tarḫuntami, Taniza/i and Zali on BOĞAZKÖY 15 (Bittel 1957: 19; Dinçol & Dinçol 2002: 208ff.).

28 Kummīyaziti (Bog. V 26) and a scribe whose name is difficult to understand (Bog. V 25) together on the bulla Bo 68/93 (Güterbock 1975b: 63ff.; Boehmer & Güterbock 1987: 64). Kummīyaziti seems to be the higher ranking scribe, as he bears the title SCRIBA III. Such markers of scribal status or specialisation often occur in Hieroglyphic Luwian documents. Starting from the Early Empire Period one finds combinations of SCRIBA with number signs, such as II, III or IV line strokes, or a less frequent ‘*Haken*’-like sign (Herbordt 2005: 98ff.). These may designate scribal ranking as suggested by Boehmer and Güterbock (1987: 61, 76); cf. Dinçol (1993: 129). However, the relationship between these SCRIBA ranks and the sporadically attested cuneiform ranks, such as ‘trainee’ (GÁB.ZU.ZU) and ‘junior/apprentice scribe’ (DUB.SAR.TUR), has thus far eluded explanation.

1. Angulli and his supervisor Anuwanza

Angulli²⁹ was the son of Palla, scribe, ^{LÚ}SAG and lord of Hurma. Since Palla was active during the reigns of Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV,³⁰ Angulli should belong to the generation of Tudhaliya IV. He copied at least three rituals: a fragment of a DUMU.LUGAL festival ritual,³¹ the Hurrian medical ritual of Zelliya, and a Kizzuwatnean ritual for the goddess of the night. The two rituals were copied under the supervision of Anuwanza,³² the well-attested scribe, ^{LÚ}SAG and lord of Nerik active under Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV.³³

A closer examination of the colophon of KUB 30.26 (CTH 783.1; ritual of Zelliya) reveals that Anuwanza is titled ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR ŠA É x[...] (Torri 2008: 777). KBo 22.114 (CTH 783), a further fragment belonging to the same Hurrian ritual, was found in the *Süddareal*.³⁴ This might suggest that copies of the text were inscribed in the ‘House of Craftsmen’. In this light, it might be suggested that Anuwanza’s title in KUB 30.26, previously restored by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 165) as ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR ŠA É.G[AL],³⁵ ‘scribe of the p[alace]’, should be restored as ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR ŠA É G[IŠ.KIN.TI], ‘scribe of the “House of C[raftsmen]”’. A collation of the original in the Vorderasiatisches Museum shows there is room in the lacuna for at least four signs up to the column divider, and an upper horizontal is barely visible in the break quite close to the É, which could belong either to a GAL or a GIŠ. If my restoration of KUB 30.26 is accepted, Angulli can be placed in a *scriptorium* in the ‘House of Craftsmen’ at least during the first half of Tudhaliya IV’s reign.

Later in the reign of Tudhaliya IV, after gaining more experience, Angulli inspected the works of three other scribes: Sakkapi’s copy of the MH instructions for the gate watchmen (KBo 5.11+), Zuwa’s version of the MH festival for the Hittian goddess Tetewatti (KBo 23.97), and that of a third scribe whose name survives only in a tiny colophon fragment as [...]–ni (KBo 57.224).

2. Sakkapi

According to the genealogy in the colophon of KBo 5.11+ (CTH 263.A) Sakkapi was the son of Uza and the grandson of Mauiri.³⁶ Uza appears also as the father of Zuwa in the colophon

29 Although GUL and *IŠTAR* are similar, the name is based on the geographical name Angulliya and is not to be read as ^d*IŠTAR*–li (Laroche 1966: no. 268; Neu & Rüster 1975: 8, n. 19).

30 See van den Hout (1995: 216–225) and Torri (2008: 776).

31 The colophon of KUB 56.35 (CTH 647) is quite fragmentary, but *kī ṬUPPU* ^m*Angu[lli]* is still visible; see Neu & Rüster (1975: 8 n. 19) and Košak (1988: 147).

32 KUB 30.26 (CTH 783.1) and KUB 32.133 (CTH 482); see Laroche (1949: 11) and Neu & Rüster (1975: 8).

33 See van den Hout (1995: 238–242); Starke (1996: 160ff.); Miller (2004: 38ff.); and Torri (2008: 777; forthcoming).

34 See *Konkordanz*; note the context: ‘Grosser Tempel, Süddareal, Yoklama II/Süd, über heth. Mauer’.

35 Torri (forthcoming) suggests emending and restoring ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR ŠA <^{LÚ}SAG> É.G[AL–LLM].

36 The colophon reads: ŠJU ^m*Sakkapi* DUMU ^m*Uza* DUMU.DUMU–ŠU ŠA ^m*Mauiri* PANI ^m*Angulli* *IŠTUR* (KBo 5.11+ iv 26–28). For the reading of the patronym as Uza, previously read Nuza or U–ZA (Laroche 1949: 11; 1981: 55), see Tischler (1982: 452). The reading U/10–ZA would of course imply a reading Tarhüntaziti (Laroche 1981: 30), against which speak the appearance of Uza with the same spelling in KBo 23.97 rev. 21’ (see n. 37) and the existence of a different scribe named Tarhüntaziti, son of Pidda, who spells his name ^d10–LÚ (KUB 2.13 vi 35–36).

of KBo 23.97 (CTH 639),³⁷ positively identifying Sakkapi and Zuwa as brothers. Notably, another NH manuscript of the instructions for the gate watchmen (KUB 26.28; CTH 263.B) was copied by a certain GIŠ.GI.PIRIG–i under A[nuwanza] at least one generation before Sakkapi,³⁸ since Anuwanza supervised Sakkapi’s overseer Angulli. This might suggest that it was Anuwanza who initiated the recopying of this MH instruction text. Thus, Sakkapi’s term is perhaps to be dated to the latter half of Tudhaliya IV’s reign.

A closer inspection of Sakkapi’s copy of the instruction text reveals, apart from the use of Hattic terms,³⁹ that it was inscribed in a peculiar manner. The lines on the obverse show an upward inclination that continued and became rather extreme on the reverse.⁴⁰ This phenomenon even led to the lines of the colophon being written in a stepped fashion. Furthermore, the signs on the reverse are packed more tightly than those on the obverse. These traits might hint at Sakkapi’s lack of scribal experience when he copied KBo 5.11, suggesting that it may have been copied during the initial stage of his career.

Zuwa and his Student Aliḫḫini

Turning again to Zuwa’s career,⁴¹ one finds that he was promoted at some stage to the rank of a teacher, as he bears the title ‘master of craftsmen’ in the colophon of KUB 13.9+ (CTH 258.1), a NH copy of a MH edict of Tudhaliya II/III (Westbrook & Woodard 1990).⁴²

The text was copied by a trainee named Aliḫḫini, son of Šaušgaziti and grandson of GIŠ.SAR.NU.⁴³ Since the latter is likely a writing of the name NU.GIŠ.SAR with the logograms interchanged,⁴⁴ Beckman (1992: 176), following Laroche (1949: 12), suggests that they belong

37 See Pecchioli Daddi (1992: 102ff.); the colophon reads: [ŠU] ^m*Zuwa* DUMU ^m*Uza* [PANI] ^m*Angulli* *IŠTUR* (KBo 23.97 rev. 21’–22’).

38 For the Late Empire Period script of KBo 5.11 and KUB 26.28, see *Konkordanz*, CTH 263 (‘jh.’).

39 Noteworthy are the Hattic titles among the palace personnel to which the gate watchmen call out; see Beal (1988: 284) and Klinger (1996: 201ff.).

40 For the photo, see *Konkordanz*, Bo 2089.

41 In the Empire Period, the name Zuwa usually refers to a messenger or emissary from the reign of Hattusili III. He is the addressee of a letter sent by the Hittite king (KBo 8.21, CTH 185; Hagenbuchner 1989: 36) and a messenger sent to Ramses II by Hattusili (KBo 7.11; Edel 1994: 94ff.). He appears in two other fragmentary letters: ABoT 64 from Alaca Höyük, in which he is reported to be in Ha[kmis] (Hagenbuchner 1989: 236); and KUB 3.61 (CTH 208.3; Hagenbuchner 1989: 455ff.), where the writer complains that Zuwa has disappeared and needs to be found. The writer also refers to some old mules(?) that Zuwa had (rev. 5). It seems most reasonable that this Zuwa is also the owner of some AURIGA seals from Nişantepe (see n. 45), in which case he must have been a *KARTAPPU*, a title held by royal messengers (Singer 1983: 21–23). The same messenger might be identical to one of, or both, the Zuwa who handle equestrian equipment in KUB 13.35+ iii 41, 44 (CTH 293, T.1; Werner 1967: 3–20), a lawsuit of Puduḫepa during the reign of Hattusili III. A different Zuwa appears in KUB 38.37 (CTH 295.7.A; Werner 1967: 56ff.), a proceeding dealing with the whereabouts of personal cult objects. Since most of the persons giving statements in the text are entitled ^{LÚ}SANGA, ‘priest’, it is reasonable to assume that this Zuwa would have held such a title as well. The anthroponym Zuwa is also amply attested in the MH period; see Klinger (1995: 105).

42 On the dating of CTH 258, see Otten (1979).

43 KUB 13.9+ iv 10–11: ŠU ^m*Aliḫḫini* DUMU ^mAN.ŠUR–LÚ DUMU.DUMU–ŠU ŠA ^mGIŠ.SAR.NU GÁB. ZU.ZU [Š]A ^m*Zuwa* EN GIŠ.KIN.TI.

44 This name appears frequently in different spellings, a phenomenon which further suggests that the order of the signs is irrelevant; the Hittite reading of the logographic writing is not clear.

to one and the same scribe. If so, Aliḫḫini would also be a great-grandson of NU.GIŠ.SAR's father Ziti (LÚ), the chief scribe, and his last known descendant (van den Hout 1995: 148). This would date his term at least to the reign of Arnuwanda III, if not to that of Suppiluliuma II.

Zuwa was also the owner of two rather similar signet rings, both bearing the name L. 285-*wa/i-á*,⁴⁵ and the title SCRIBA, with which several bullae found at Nişantepe were stamped (fig. 2). A third signet impression from Nişantepe (fig. 3), quite similar in style, is even more interesting, because it bears the name of Zuwa together with a certain Armaziti (Herbordt 2005: 125).⁴⁶ While this provides a synchronism between the two officials, it sheds no light on the nature of their relationship. Since the impression is incomplete, it is hard to determine Armaziti's exact title. As will be seen presently, however, Armaziti was a scribe and arguably older than Zuwa, since he was a contemporary of Angulli, Zuwa's supervisor. He may therefore have been Zuwa's supervisor and/or teacher.

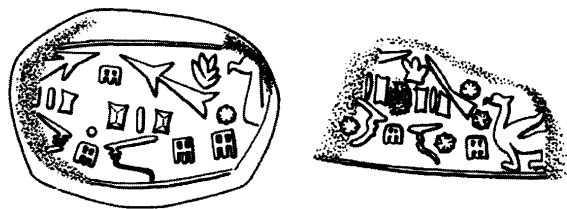


Fig. 2: Seal impression nos. 539 (left) and 540 (right) of Zuwa from Nişantepe (Herbordt 2005: 210, nos. 539 and 540, pl. 43)



Fig. 3: Signet ring impression no. 68 of Zuwa and Armaziti from Nişantepe (Herbordt 2005: 125, no. 68, pl. 5)

45 The reading of the name L. 285-*wa/i-á* as *Zuwa* was established on the basis of the identification of L. 285 as *zu(wa)* in the title of Puduḫepa in the FRAKTİN inscription: *ká-L. 285-na REGIO FILIA*, 'daughter of (the Land of) Kizzuwatna' (and other attestations) (Hawkins 2005a: 298). In the Nişantepe archive the name *Zuwa* is quite common; in addition to the scribe in question an AURIGA (no. 536), a BONUS₂ CRUX₂ (no. 537) and a PITHOS and BONUS₂ VIR₂ (no. 538) are attested (Hawkins 2005a: 279ff.; Herbordt 2005: 209ff.). The *Zuwa* with the title AURIGA may also be attested in cuneiform (see n. 41) and on a Berlin biconvex stamp seal (Mora 1987: XIIb 1.74), the title of which was read by Herbordt (2005: 209) as BONUS₂ ASINUS-x BONUS₂ AURIGA(?). Recently published seal impressions of a *Zuwa* BONUS₂ VIR₂ and L. 402 were found on ceramic shards from in and around Temple 30 of the Upper City in Ḫattusa (Dinçol 2007: 227ff., Abb. 1–6). He may be the same as *Zuwa* BONUS₂ VIR₂ and PITHOS from Nişantepe, since their seal designs are very similar. Another seal, now in Paris, bearing the name *Zuwa* has no title (Masson 1975: 215, no. 2, and 231, fig. 2).

46 For the function of two name seals, see Güterbock (1980: 62ff.) and Mora (1988); for a list of two name seals in Nişantepe, see Hawkins (2005a: 250).

3. Armaziti

Armaziti was treated extensively by Imparati (1987: 197–199; 1988), who identified him as scribe, augur and supervisor of temple construction in Ḫattusa in the days of Ḫattusili III and Tudḫaliya IV, as well as a prince attested in Ugarit in the days of Ibiranu,⁴⁷ contemporary of Tudḫaliya IV (Singer 1999: 685ff.; Hazenbos 2003: 54ff.; Malbran-Labat 2004: 78; d'Alfonso 2005: 66ff.). Mora (2004: 434) further assumes the prince had strong connections with the court of Karkamiš.

As scribe Armaziti copied three rituals: KUB 4.1 (CTH 422), KUB 7.1+ (CTH 390.A) and KBo 19.128 (CTH 625.2.A), the last two written under the supervision of Anuwanza. This would date his scribal activities mainly to the generation of Tudḫaliya IV. Noteworthy is the fact that both KUB 7.1+ and KUB 4.1 (CTH 422) are *Sammeltafeln* (Otten 1971: 50). It is also of interest that all three texts are NH versions of MH originals. KUB 7.1+ is a copy of five MH Luwian rituals and invocations of the women Susumanniga, Ayatarsa and Wattiti.⁴⁸ KUB 4.1 includes a MH invocation ritual of Arnuwanda I against the Kaska enemy at the border⁴⁹ and an Akkadian-Hittite bilingual liver omen.⁵⁰ KBo 19.128 is the second tablet of a festival-ritual, perhaps part of AN.TAH.ŠUM,⁵¹ copied according to a wooden tablet.⁵² Since KBo 19.128 was found in T.I, it may be suggested that the process of transferring the text of the wooden tablet to the clay 'hard copy' by Armaziti took place at a location nearby. A possible venue would then be the 'House of Craftsmen' in which activity of many 'scribes-on-wood' is attested (see above).

Armaziti's involvement with wooden writing boards does not end with KBo 19.128, as he is further connected in a tablet catalogue to the house of Saḫurunuwa,⁵³ likely the chief 'scribe-on-wood' under Ḫattusili III and at least the first quarter of the reign of Tudḫaliya IV (Dardano 2006: 121, 123ff.). In another catalogue he is indicated as the author of a ritual (ibid.: 153, 155),⁵⁴ a task most likely connected with his function as augur (Imparati 1988: 90ff.).⁵⁵

4. Miramuwa and his Student

The last scribes connected with the school in the 'House of Craftsmen' are Miramuwa, the teacher titled 'master of craftsmen', and his trainee, whose name is not preserved. The

47 Contra Imparati, van den Hout (1998: 70ff.) would not identify the scribe with the augur.

48 See Kronasser (1961) and Oettinger (2004: 348–352).

49 For this part of the text, see von Schuler (1965: 168–174) and Trémouille (2004: 174).

50 Riemschneider (2004: 43–46).

51 The first part of the colophon reads: 'Second tablet finished. Regarding the Great House of the spring. With it finished the second day. Copied following the wooden text. The tablet of Ḫattusa' (Taggar-Cohen 2006: 416).

52 For ANA GIŠ.HUR-*kan ḫandan*, see Mascheroni (1983); Singer (1983–84: 41ff.); and Torri (2008: 778ff.). Otten (1971: 52) suggested that the language of KBo 19.128 indicates it is based on an older forerunner. This might be corroborated by a duplicate fragment recently published as KBo 57.145, dated as 'mh.?' in the *Konkordanz*.

53 KUB 30.54 ii 7'–8' (CTH 277.3).

54 KBo 31.27++ ii 19'–20' (CTH 277.4.B, Bk. A). Note that Imparati's restoration (1988: 80, n. 7) of LÚD[UB].SAR is not accepted by van den Hout (1998: 70).

55 On scribes as augurs, see the evidence in Imparati (1985) and Hazenbos (2007).

latter copied KBo 12.41 (CTH 122), the Treaty between Suppiluliuma II and Talmi-Teššub of Karkamiš, found in the ‘House on the Slope’ (Torri 2008: 774ff.). Miramuwa was also the person behind Nišantepe seal impression no. 240 (fig. 4) with the titles SCRIBA and fragmentary DOMINUS[...]. D’Alfonso (2007: 219) suggests that the latter fragmentary title is somehow connected with Miramuwa’s title ‘master of craftsmen’, but there is no real evidence to support this.⁵⁶ Since nothing else is known about these scribes, one can only suggest that their terms of office corresponded roughly to the reign of Suppiluliuma II, to whom the Karkamiš treaty in which they are mentioned is dated.



Fig. 4: Seal impression of Miramuwa no. 240 from Nišantepe (Herbordt 2005: 246, pl.19)

A Scribal School and Scriptorium?

Admittedly, evidence of the professional cuneiform scribes from the ‘House of Craftsmen’ is only clear during the reign of Arnuwanda III at the earliest, when one finds scribes training under ‘masters of craftsmen’. However, through the reconstruction of the earlier career of Zuwa, one of these later ‘masters of craftsmen’, it became possible to find his earlier scribal office. Clearly, Zuwa was part of a family of scribes who worked in the same *scriptorium* under the supervisor Angulli. A further seal impression finds Zuwa and an older scribe named Armaziti as colleagues, suggesting that Armaziti was also part of that *scriptorium*. Both Angulli and Armaziti previously worked under the supervisor Anuwanza. One could therefore recreate a scribal tradition of at least four generations, starting with a *scriptorium* and later only a scribal school beginning with Anuwanza and continuing through Angulli to Zuwa and Aliḫḫini, corresponding to the latter half of the reign of Ḫattusili III to the end of Suppiluliuma II (fig. 5).⁵⁷ My albeit tentative reconstruction of the title of Anuwanza in one colophon as ‘scribe of the “House of C[raftsmen]”’ leads me to believe that not only the later scribal school was located there, but also the earlier *scriptorium*.

56 SCRIBA is usually found in combination with another title containing DOMINUS (the equivalent of cuneiform EN): L. 414-DOMINUS(+M) (B. Dincol 2001: 101; Hawkins 2005a: 312).
57 Alternatively, though less convincingly, one might suppose that there was a contemporary hierarchy of Anuwanza (top) → Angulli (middle) → Sakkapi, Zuwa and [...]ni (bottom).

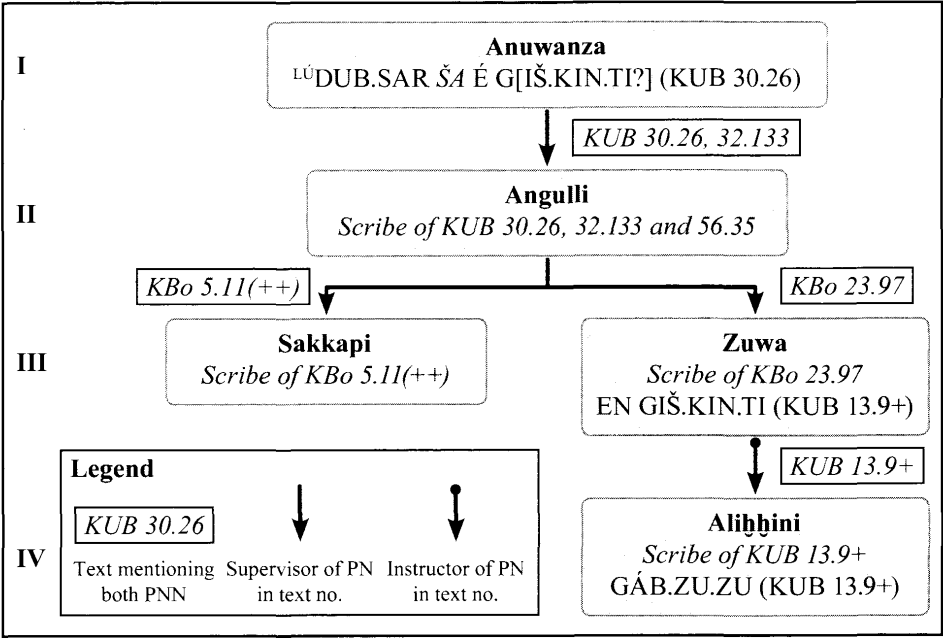


Fig. 5: The reconstructed four generations of scribes working in the same *scriptorium*

It is interesting to note that the *scriptorium* scribes Sakkapi and Zuwa copied NH versions of MH originals,⁵⁸ which was also the case with regard to the texts copied by Armaziti. If one adds to this the evidence of the seal connecting Armaziti and Zuwa, it might be suggested that Armaziti also worked on such texts in the ‘House of Craftsmen’.

As for the school, the find-spots of the texts copied by the trainees of the ‘masters of craftsmen’ seem to be the ‘House on the Slope’,⁵⁹ who might hinder the reconstruction suggested in this paper. Actually, these trainees and others who appear in texts from the ‘House on the Slope’ have led Torri (2008: 780) to suggest that the main scribal school in the Lower City was located there. Tempting as Torri’s solution may be, there is a clear chronological gap between the two groups of trainees attested in the ‘House on the Slope’; in addition, a different title relates to the teacher. On the one hand there are a few teacher-trainee pairs from the reign of Ḫattusili III or that of Tudḫaliya IV,⁶⁰ and on the other hand there are the trainees of the ‘masters of craftsmen’, who, at the earliest, date to the reign of Arnuwanda III. As alternatives, one might consider the possibility that the texts may have been moved to the

58 In Zuwa’s case, KBo 23.97 is a duplicate of KUB 54.73, the MH original of the Tetewatti festival (see Konkordanz, CTH 639).
59 KBo 12.41 was found in the ‘House on the Slope’, while three duplicates of KUB 13.9+ originated in the Lower City (99/p and Bo 77/165), one specifically in the ‘House on the Slope’ (1/u); for remarks on their find-spots, see Otten (1979: 274) and Konkordanz, CTH 258.
60 These are Piḫami, trainee of Ḫalwaziti (KBo 45.69 rev.; CTH 647), and Palla, student of [...]nzi (KBo 13.27+ rev. 12’–14’; CTH 560); the latter is restored as [Anuwa]nzi by Torri (forthcoming), which does not fit well with the scribal generations as reconstructed here.

‘House on the Slope’, or that some scribal trainees may have written texts or fulfilled various scribal tasks under different instructors and/or in different institutions.

It is nevertheless clear that even if the texts were copied by trainees in the ‘House of Craftsmen’, they were moved somewhere nearby, because only a few tablets were found in the *Sūdareal* itself (Pierallini 2000: 333, n. 28). The most probable venue toward the end of the 13th century would have been the ‘House on the Slope’. This building must have been the central *scriptorium* and archive in the Lower City during the reign of Suppiluliuma II, judging from the high percentage of texts dated to this king found there (Singer 2001: 640; Torri 2008: 780ff.; van den Hout 2008: 218). Torri (2008), following van den Hout (2006: 96ff.), suggests that these texts were stored there to be recopied or recomplied before being moved to the archive in the storerooms of T.I. At least in the case of texts pertaining to political and cultic administration, van den Hout (2008: 218) has recently shown that the most recent were stored in the ‘House on the Slope’, while those no longer current were moved to the storerooms of T.I.

Taking into consideration the points discussed thus far, the following scenario can thus be envisioned. During the reign of Suppiluliuma II (perhaps already during that of Arnuwanda III) texts produced in the *scriptorium* in the ‘House on the Slope’ were used as a basis to train the temple scribes (and perhaps also other officials) studying the art of writing in the school of the ‘House of Craftsmen’. Their products were later moved back to the archive in the ‘House on the Slope’, perhaps to be scrutinized by supervisors.

Conclusions

The first part of this study attempts to illustrate in which contexts Hittite scribes came to be seen as part of a GIŠ.KIN.TI, the Mesopotamian term for a structure or institution and its associated craftsmen engaged mainly in artisanry. Apart from the obvious connection between the scribal art and craftsmanship in antiquity, it was observed that Hittite scribes (1) collaborated with other craftsmen such as metal workers, (2) engaged in what seems to have been literal artisanry by inscribing on stone, metal tablets and other artefacts, and (3) in some cases even bore a title associated with some craft next to their scribal title. In line with the latter observation it was suggested that the Hieroglyphic Luwian signs on the inventory text VBoT 87 may be read so as to identify them with a certain Pupuli, also known as a metal worker, indicating that some artisans were literate and could even inscribe economic reports.

The second part of the study concentrated on the scribes in the ‘House of Craftsmen’ during the latter half of the 13th century. First, it was suggested that the SCRIBA whose graffiti and seals were found in and around the *Sūdareal* were likely the ‘scribes-on-wood’ who collaborated with craftsmen in the area. This was followed by a prosopographical study of the professional cuneiform scribes from the building, resulting in a chronological division between *scriptorium* scribes (second half of Ḫattusili III–Tudḫaliya IV) and school scribes (Arnuwanda III–Suppiluliuma II). This chronological division seems to agree with Otten’s (1971: IXff.) dating of the area south of T.I to the period after Anuwanza, based on the find-spot of KBo 19.128 under the floor of room 70, a tablet which was in fact copied by Armaziti.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that the *Sūdareal* in its excavated form is a very late series of structures from the very end of Tudḫaliya IV’s reign or afterwards.

Ultimately, a meticulous study of the texts produced by the earlier *scriptorium* scribes as compared to those copied by the later school trainees might well yield further interesting results. At first glance, it seems that the majority of texts produced in the *scriptorium* (by Armaziti, Angulli and Zuwa) were more cult oriented, as compared to those produced by the school (such as those by a trainee of Miramuwa and by Aliḫḫini), which seem to show more political/administrative aims, perhaps related to the needs of Suppiluliuma II.⁶¹ Nevertheless, a thorough review of these texts will have to be the subject of further research.

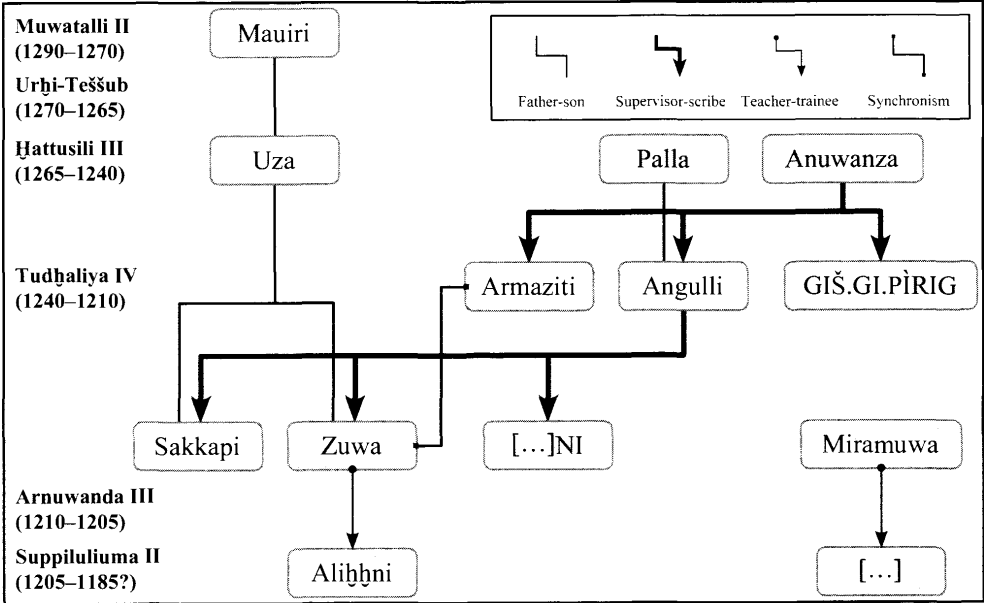


Fig. 6: Reconstructed generations and work relations of the treated scribes

61 Torri (personal communication) suggested, alternatively, that this choice might have something to do with the text typology, i.e., that it may be a matter of texts that could be written on a surface other than clay.

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Ein jat-ro-magisches Ritual gegen einen Fluchzwang

Volkert Haas (Berlin)

Das bislang kaum beachtete Ritual „Beschwörung der Zungen“ ist Teil der Sammeltafel KUB 7.1+KBo 3.8,¹ deren Duplikattafeln in 350/z+KBo 22.145+KBo 22.128+IBoT 3.107+KUB 43.52+KUB 60.17+IBoT 4.11 (Fundort: Tempel I) sowie in KBo 43.320 (Fundort: Büyükkale n-o/7) vorliegen. KUB 7.1+KBo 3.8 und die Duplikattafel 350/z++ sind Abschriften einer mittelhethitischen Vorlage; mittelhethitisch ist auch das Fragment KBo 43.320 zu datieren.

Einige der aufgeführten Rituale sind von Luwismen geprägt und stehen auch inhaltlich dem luwischen Milieu nahe. Vereinzelte grammatikalische Fehler sprechen dafür, daß die Muttersprache des Schreibers bzw. des Verfassers nicht hethitisch, sondern luwisch gewesen ist.²

Bezeichnend für die auf Sammeltafeln überlieferten Heilungsrituale ist ihr geringer Aufwand an Ritualmaterien, so daß sie (auch) für jedermann, also für die breitere Bevölkerung, vorgesehen waren.

Die Sammeltafel enthält fünf magisch-medizinische bzw. jat-ro-magische Rituale,³ nämlich:

1. Das Ritual der Ayatarsa, der Dienerin der Nawila, gegen eine Erkrankung: „Wenn ein Kind *aufgebläht* (*alpant-*) ist oder ihm seine Eingeweide *zerstört* (wörtlich gegessen, angefressen: *karates adantes*) sind.“
2. Das Ritual der Heilerin Wattiti aus der Ortschaft Kunassarwa: „Wenn einem (erwachsenen) Menschen [oder einem Kin]d irgendein (Krankheitsverursacher) die Eingeweide zerfrisst (*arḫa karap-*).“
3. Die „Beschwörung der Zungen“⁴ einer namentlich nicht genannten ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI: „Wenn Zung[en über jemanden kommen]“ (ergänzt nach dem Kolophon).
4. Die „Beschwörung gegen das Gebundensein“ ohne Nennung einer Verfasserin enthält nur die Rezitation ohne rituelle Manipulationen.
5. Das Ritual der Frau Susumanniga: „Wenn sie für ein Kind dem (Gott) Hasamili des Monats beopfert.“

1 Bearbeitet von Kronasser (1961: 141–167). Eine Neubearbeitung ist vorgesehen von Francesco Fuscagni.

2 Siehe Neu (1968: 5, 38, Anm. 2) sowie Oettinger (1980: 49–51, mit Beispielen).

3 Der Kolophon führt von den fünf auf der Tafel niedergeschriebenen Ritualen nur vier derselben in abweichernder Reihenfolge auf, nämlich 1. das Ritual der Susumanniga, 2. das Ritual der Ayatarsa, 3. das Ritual der Wattiti und 4. „die Beschwörung gegen Zungen“. Im Kolophon nicht vermerkt sind das Ritual gegen das Gebundensein (Rs. iii 1–62) sowie das letzte Ritual auf der kaum erhaltenen Rs. iv. In der gleichen Reihenfolge wie der Kolophon verzeichnet der Bibliothekskatalog KBo 31.4++ Rs. iv 12–28 diese Tafeln, nämlich Susumanniga, Ayatarsa, Wattiti, Ritual gegen Zungen, []. Der Schreiber des Bibliothekskataloges hat seinen Eintrag nach dem Kolophon der Tafel KUB 7.1+KBo 3.8 gemacht. Das Bibliotheksetikett KUB 30.48 hält sich in der Reihenfolge an KUB 7.1+, nämlich Ayatarsa, Wattiti, Zungen und Susumanniga, wobei die Beschwörung gegen das Gebundensein und das Ritual auf Rs. iv nicht genannt sind.

4 Mit dem Begriff „Zungen“ bzw. „böse Zungen“ sind Verfluchungen, Verleumdungen, Beschimpfungen und unflätige Äußerungen aller Art bezeichnet. „Böse Zungen“ gelten als eine der vielen Varianten der Behexung.

Die fünf Texte sind mit dem akkadischen Terminus *šiptu* „Beschwörung“ bezeichnet. Begleitet werden die meisten der *šiptu*-Rezitationen von rituellen Handlungen. Ausgeführt werden sie von einer Heilerin (^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI bzw. ^{MUNUS} *ḫasawas* „Frau des Gebärens“).

Da die Gemeinsamkeit der Rituale darin besteht, daß sie zur Heilung erkrankter Kinder – davon zwei Texte gegen Darmerkrankungen⁵ – bestimmt sind, ist vermutlich der Patient in unserem Ritual auch als Kind vorzustellen.

Über die Intention der Heilung eines Kindes hinaus, finden sich in den Ritualen der Sammeltafel eine Reihe weiterer Gemeinsamkeiten: Zwei Rituale haben die Verfluchung zum Thema. Die Rezeptur eines Medikaments und die Applikation enthalten die Rituale der Ayatarsa und der Wattiti. Die Rezitation in Form einer Historiola mit der Formel von der Überbringung des Heilverfahrens über verschiedene göttliche Instanzen findet sich sowohl in der „Beschwörung gegen das Gebundensein“ – hier sind es Ištar, Maliya, Pirwa und Kamrusipa – als auch in dem Ritual „Beschwörung der Zungen“ – mit Kamrusipa, [], Nintu (d.i. die Schicksalsgöttin DINGIR.MAH) und „den Söhnen des Sonnengottes“. In beiden Ritualen soll auf göttlichen Befehl eine Heilerin herbeigeholt werden. Das Ritual der Ayatarsa, das Ritual der Wattiti und das Fluchritual gegen einen verfeindeten Gefährten wenden sich an den Sonnengott; in dem Ritual gegen Fluchzwang erscheinen die „Söhne des Sonnengottes“ als Helfer.

KBo 3.8 Vs. ii 18–36

§ 1

- | | | | | |
|----|------|-------------------------------------|---|--------|
| 62 | (18) | <i>ma-a-an-kán</i> | EM[E ^{H1.A} <i>ku-e-da-ni ú-wa-an-zi na-an</i>]- <i>kán</i> | EME-ŠU |
| 63 | (19) | <i>BAPPIR-it ša[r-ta-a-mi na-an</i> | EME-ŠU IŠ-TU Ì.NUJN | |
| 64 | (20) | <i>iš-ga-a-mi x[</i> | <i>]-ša-an</i> | |
| 65 | (21) | <i>nam-ma ḫu-u-u[k-ki-iš-ke-mi</i> | <i>]-x-kán 'A-NA LÚ.U₁₉.LU</i> | |
| 66 | (22) | <i>ú-e-ir nu-za [</i> | <i>]-zi Ú-UL</i> | |
| 67 | (23) | <i>nu e-ku-uz-zi [</i> | <i>]</i> | |

5 In dem Ritual der Ayatarsa bezeichnen *alpanza* und *karates adantes* die Erkrankung eines Kindes: Vs. i 1 *ma-a-an DUMU-la-aš* (2) *al-pa-an-za na-aš-ma-aš-ši-kán ga-ra-a-ti-eš a-da-an-te-eš*. Der Plural von *karat-* „Leibesinnere, Leib“ hat wohl die Bedeutung „Eingeweide, Innereien“. In dem Partizip *alpant-* sieht HW² A: 60, 63 und dem folgend HEG K: 14 einen Schreiberfehler statt **alwanza* „behext“. Da aber der Satz mit „oder gegessene / angefressene Eingeweide“ fortfährt, bezeichnet *alpanza* als Attribut zu DUMU eher einen konkreten Krankheitszustand, der dem Syntagma *karates adantes* entspricht, wie das Verbum *suwai-* in KBo 6.34 Rs. iii 21–22 mit *karap-* / *karip-* korrespondiert. Geht man von einem verbalen Stamm **alp-* aus (Weitenberg 1984: §173), so ließe sich *alpant-* an *alpa-* „Wolke“ anschließen. Dann wäre eine Bedeutung „aufgebläht, gebläht“ zu erwägen, die auch zu der Käsesorte G]A.K[(IN.AG *al-pa-a-an*) (siehe KBo 23, Inhaltsübersicht, Nr. 85) passen könnte. Den „gegessenen / angefressenen Eingeweiden“ entspricht in dem Ritual der Wattiti die Beschreibung: Vs. ii (6) *[m]a-a-an UN-ši* (7) *[na-aš-ma DUMU]-li ka-ra-a-du-’uš’ ku-iš-ki ar-ḫa ga-ra-a-p[’i]* „[w]enn einem (erwachsenen) Menschen [oder] einem [Kin]d irgendein (Krankheitserreger) die Eingeweide frisst“. Der Verfluchung in KBo 6.34+ Rs. iii 12–23 zufolge sind diese Krankheitserreger „die Kinder der Išhara“, die den Leib anschwellen lassen und wie in den zitierten Belegen die Eingeweide fressen: „sein Bauch soll anschwellen; in seinem Bauch sollen [ihn] die Kinder (Text: Kind) der Išhara [pack]en und ihn fressen“ *na-[a]š-ša-an ŠA-ŠU šu-ut-ta-ru ’an-dur-za-ma’-[an]-kán I-NA ŠA-ŠU DUMU^{MES} d[iš-ḫa-a-ra [ap-pa-an-d]u na-an ka-ri-pa-an-du* (Haas 2003: 586–587). Um welche Darmerkrankung es sich dabei handeln könnte, ist letztlich nicht zu sagen. In Frage aber kämen die weit verbreiteten und überaus häufigen Wurmerkrankungen, d.h. ein Parasitenbefall, z.B. eine Lungen-, Leber- oder Darm-Distomatose, die durch Trematoden, den Lungen-, Darm- und Leberegel hervorgerufen werden.

68 (24) *nu i-ia-u-wa-ni* [*na-at* ^d*ma-li-ia A-NA* ^d*kam-ru-ši*]-*pa*
69 (25) *ḥa-lu-ga-aš pa-i*[*t*]

§ 2

70 (26) *UM-MA* ^d*kam-ru-ši-pa* []
71 (27) *nu A-NA* ^d*NIN.TU* *ḥa-lu-ga-aš pa-it* []-*EN-ma*
72 (28) *a-pa-a-at-ta ku-e-da-n*[*i*]*x-wa-aš-ma-aš*
73 (29) ^{MUNUS}*ḥa-ša-wa-an pé-e-ḥu-te-e*[*ḥ-ḥi na-aš pa-id-du na-an-kán E*]*ME-ŠU*
74 (30) *ša-aḥ-du nu* ^{MUNUS}*ḥa-a-ša-u-wa-aš pa-[it nu-uš-ši]* *EME-ŠU* *ša-aḥ-ta*⁶

§ 3

75 (31) *nu ŠA* ^d*UTU DUMU.NITA*^{MEŠ} *nu-za* ^{MUNUS}*ḥa-a-ša-u-wa-aš* [*BAPP*]*IR da-a-ú*
76 (32) *na-an-kán EME-ŠU* *šar-ta-a-id-du* *ÚR-uš-ma-an*
77 (33) *IŠ-TU* *Ì.NUN iš-ki-id-du nam-ma-an IŠ-TU LÀL-it*
78 (34) *EME-ŠU ar-ḥa a-an-aš-du nu DUMU.LÚ.U*₁₉.*LU SIG*₅-*ru*
79 (35) *nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an I-NA EME-ŠU an-da 2-ŠU al-la-pa-[aḥ-du]*
80 (36) *ŠI-PAT EME*^{HI.A}

Tafelende

Vs. ii

§ 1

62 (18) Wenn Zung[en über jemanden kommen, da]nn bestr[eiche ich] seine Zunge
63 (19) mit Bierwürze [und] ich schmiere [seine Zunge mit Butterschm]alz
64 (20) ein. []
65 (21) Fernerhin beschw[öre ich: „....] zu dem Menschen
66 (22) kamen sie; und sich [] nicht.“
67 (23) Und er trinkt []
68 (24) Und wir machen. [Und die Göttin Maliya] ga[b der Göttin Kamrusi]pa
69 (25) die Botschaft. []

§ 2

70 (26) Folgendermaßen Kamrusipa: []
71 (27) Und [sie brachte] die B[otschaft] der Göttin Nintu []
72 (28) „Jenes eine[m]

6 Zeilen 73–74 nach Beckman (1983: 51) und CHD Š: 170a.
7 Zu Beispielen aus anderen rituellen Texten siehe Haas (2003: 499–502).

73 (29) [Ich] bring[e] eine Heilerin, [sie soll gehen und] seine Zunge
74 (30) soll sie abwischen.“ Da gi[ng] die Heilerin [und] wischte [ihn] an seiner Zunge ab.

Bezeichnet ist die gewöhnlich als ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI (wörtlich „alte Frau“) geschriebene Heilerin hier in ihrer hethitischen Lesung *MUNUS ḥasawas*. Dies spricht dafür, daß die ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI ursprünglich für Geburten und Schwangerschaftsstörungen zuständig gewesen ist.⁸

§ 3

75 (31) Und die Söhne des Sonnengottes (gaben den Rat): „Die Heilerin soll sich [die Bierwür]ze nehmen;
76 (32) und seine Zunge soll sie bestreichen; und die Glieder
77 (33) soll sie mit dem Butterschmalz einschmieren; ferner soll sie mit Honig
78 (34) seine Zunge abwischen. Dann wird der Mensch gesund werden.
79 (35) Auch [soll sie] ihm zweimal auf seine Zunge spucken.“
80 (36) Beschwörung der Zungen.

Die Söhne des Sonnengottes verkünden nun die Art der Behandlung des Patienten. Das Motiv von den Söhnen des Sonnengottes als Helfergottheiten ist mir sonst nicht bekannt, wohl aber die ebenfalls den Menschen freundlich gesinnten acht Söhne des Wettergottes in dem Heilungsritual KBo 23.4+KUB 33.66+KBo 40.333 Rs. iii 7–11.⁹

Das Besondere an dem Ritual „Beschwörung der Zungen“ ist, daß es nicht gegen Verfluchungen gerichtet ist, sondern für die Heilung eines Individuums bestimmt ist, das unter dem Zwang steht, seine Mitmenschen zu verfluchen und zu beleidigen. Da der Fall als behandlungsbedürftig erachtet wurde, kann man von einer neurotischen oder psychotischen Erkrankung ausgehen. Da auch der Körper des Patienten behandelt wird (§3) ist insofern ein Hinweis auf die Symptome gegeben, als Fluchen und Lästern von körperlichen Erscheinungen wie Muskelzuckungen,¹⁰ begleitet gewesen sein könnten. Ein solches Krankheitsbild entspräche z.B. der Koprolalie – dem mit Zuckungen verbundenen zwanghaften Ausstoßen sinnloser oder beleidigender Worte.¹¹

8 Zuletzt Haas (2003: 16).
9 Bearbeitet von Groddek (1999: 36–49).
10 Erinnert sei an die babylonische mantische Serie der sogenannten Zuckungsliteratur, vgl. Diels (1907).
11 Der Versuch, Krankheiten in den altorientalischen Texten zu diagnostizieren ist schon deshalb zumeist hypothetisch, da bei solchen Zuweisungen stets die Frage offen bleibt, ob damals bereits diese oder jene Krankheit überhaupt existiert hat.

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A Unique Hieroglyphic Luwian Document

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The depots and archives of the British Museum yield a regular harvest of new discoveries. One such, of an unusual character, recently came my way. Two years ago (2007) Dr. Dominique Collon showed me a small blue cardboard box found in a drawer in the Museum. On the top of the box a hand written note reads: ‘Potoroo skull Tasmanian rat-kangaroo Potorous Tridactylus (Kerr)’.

The contents, however, as Dr. Collon rightly judged, were more appropriate to my interests: eight small gypsum plaques, each approximately 45×25×8 mm. and bearing on one face an impression of a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription. No information whatsoever (beyond the unhelpful Potoroo note) is available on this box and its contents, though one may suppose that these are casts made from an object or objects brought to the Museum at an unrecorded date.¹

I have pleasure in dedicating the publication of this unusual find to my old friend Itamar Singer, whose life’s writings have contributed so much to our knowledge of the ancient world, particularly in relation to Hatti and Israel.

In spite of the lack of any extended information relating to the find, a detailed examination of the plaques, together with the content of the inscription, does permit the reconstruction of an object from which the casts were made and the recognition of its character. The signs of the inscription are in linear relief, and thus were incised on the original matrix. Each plaque bears a faint number inked onto its narrow left edge, numbering them 1–8. The inscriptions on the odd-numbered plaques are dextroverse, on the even-numbered sinistroverse, implying a continuous text read as usual boustrophedon. Each inscribed face shows traces of other hieroglyphs at its top and bottom on remains of faces at angles to its own plane, and examination of the traces shows that these belong to the hieroglyphs of each face’s numerical predecessor and successor. Thus impression 2 shows, above, traces of impression 1 and, below, of impression 3; impression 3 shows, above, traces of impression 2; impression 4 shows, above, traces of impression 3, and, below, of impression 5; impression 5 shows, below, traces of impression 6; impression 6 shows, below, traces of impression 7; impression 7 shows, above, traces of impression 6; and most important, impression 8 shows, below, traces of impression 1, which itself shows, above, traces of impression 8. From this observation we see that a continuous text was inscribed along the horizontal axis of an octagonal prism, each impression representing one facet of this.

Turning to the content, we find that facet 1 appears to be close to the beginning of the text and facet 8 to the end, but they do not preserve the actual beginning/end, which shows that the left end of the prism was broken away, an inference supported by the apparent lack of continuity of text between facets 2 and 3, 4 and 5, 6 and 7.

¹ I am extremely grateful to Dr. Collon for all the help with this article, which she has given. She has also provided the following observation: The box in which the casts with the inscription were kept must date back to the 19th century before the Natural History collections moved from the British Museum to the new Natural History Museum in South Kensington in 1880. See fig. 2.

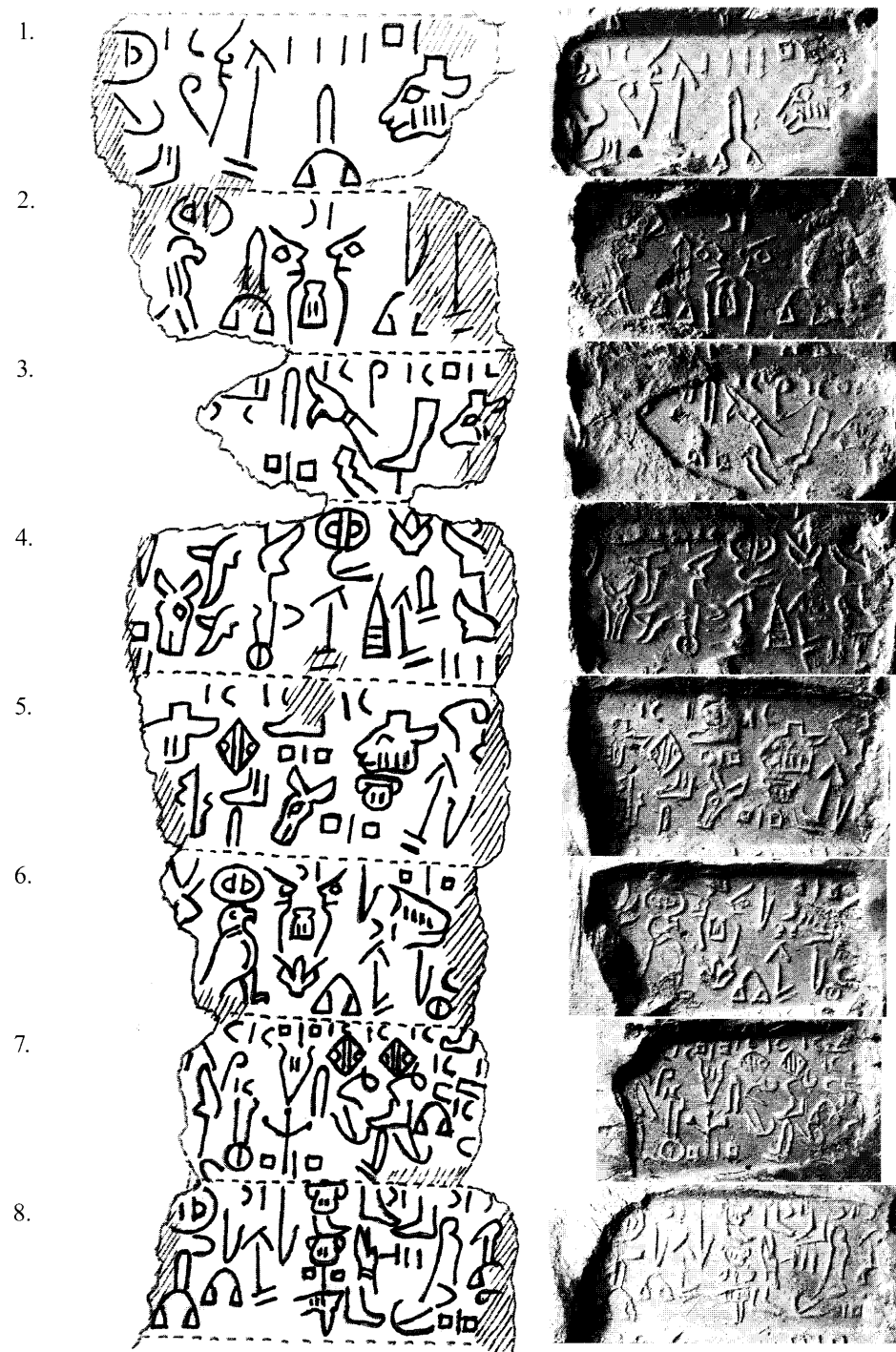


Fig. 1: Handcopy and Photographs of the POTOROO inscription

On the right-hand end, on the other hand, the text suggests near continuity between lines 1–2, 3–4, 5–6 and 7–8, so we may suppose that the prism's right end was more or less preserved apart from some superficial damage, and this is supported by the apparent right side of each facet visible on the impressions. For a detailed argument of these points, see below, under Commentary.

From the content too it would seem that the original object which left these impressions was a seal-like artefact intended as a votive offering to the goddess Kubaba 'of the Law-Suit', an epithet not otherwise attested for the deity. The devotion to this goddess and the mention of the gods of Karkamiš might point to this city as the place of origin of the piece, and this might be supported by the style of the sign-forms. Conversely the writing of Kubaba's name (DEUS) AVIS as against (DEUS) *ku*+AVIS, and the apparent association with the Stag-god, could argue against this. As material of manufacture of the original either stone or metal could be envisaged; the chipping damage as appears from the impressions might point rather to the former. As to the present whereabouts of the original nothing can be said. We can only hope that some day it may re-emerge from some private ownership.

Since it is useful to have a name by which to designate Hier. Luwian inscriptions and since there is no other point of reference for this one, we may perhaps utilize the distinctive word on its cardboard box and refer to it as POTOROO.

POTOROO

- Location:** Unknown; this inscription is known only from the eight gypsum casts found in a box in the British Museum.
- Description:** Examination of these casts permits the reconstruction of an original octagonal prism inscribed horizontally on its eight facets with a continuous text. This can be seen to have lost its left-hand end taking with it the ends + beginnings of facets 2+3, 4+5, 6+7 and 8+1 (the end and beginning of the text itself). The extent of the loss can be estimated only from a consideration of the content, especially facet 1, beginning and facet 8, end.
- Dimensions:** Prism, preserved length, ca. 4 cm.; height of facets, ca. 2 cm.
- Condition:** As preserved, good; some chipped areas.
- Script:** Incised. Sign-forms: Generally monumental *mu*, *ta*; cursive *ma*, also one *mu*; CUM monumental and cursive.
- Word-dividers:** Frequent. Peculiarities: Initial-*a*-final regular.
- Discovery:** As noted, preserved on casts found in the British Museum in 2007.
- Publication, edition:** Here for the first time.
- Content:** Votive inscription, dedicated to Kubaba of the Law-Suit.
- Date:** To judge from sign-forms (monumental, with cursive intruding) late 9th century B.C.
- Photographs:** Taken by Dr. Dominique Collon. See fig. 1.
- Text:** Traced from enlarged photographs. See fig. 1.

Transliteration and Translation²

Facet

- 1a. ...D]EUS-*na-ti* | (LITUUS) *á-za-mi-i-sa*
 b. *wa/i-mu-[*a...?]* ||
- 2a. '*za-a*'-*sa* | LIS-*i-sa* (DEUS) AVIS [...] ||
 ...
- 3a. ...] "'X'" -*i-wa/i* | CUM-*ní* | CRUS+*RA/I*
 b. *wa/i-mu-*a* [...?] ||
- 4a. [...?] *ka+ra/i-ka-mi-si-ia-za* (URBS) DEUS-*na-za* CUM-*ni* ARHA *77. *77-*ta*
 b. '*a-wa/i*'-*m*[*i*?...] ||
 ...
- 5a. ...]-*mu* *273 | *ku-ti-i* | PES-*wa/i-ta*
 b. *mu-pa-wa/i-ma-za-*a* [...?] ||
- 6a. [...?] *x-x-ha*
 b. *wa/i-mu-*a* | *za-a-sa* | LIS-*si* (DEUS) AVIS CE[RVUS?...] ||
 ...
- 7a. ...] *x* | CUM-*ni* | ARHA | *wa/i-*336-nu-wa/i-i*
 b. | *ku-ma-na* | *ku-ma-ti-ia(-)na* | *ti*? | *ni-sa* | INF[ANS]-*ni* [...] ||
- 8a. [...?] | NEG₃?-*s[a-p]a²-wa/i* | AVIS-*ni-na* | (PES₂.PES) *tara/i-pi-ti*
 b. *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-tá-*a* | *za-a-sa* DEUS-*ni-i-sa* [...] ||

Commentary

Facet 1a. The writing on this facet is bigger and more spaced out than on the others, which would fit with its being the beginning of the text as suggested by the content. DEUS-*na-ti* (LITUUS) *á-za-mi-i-sa* may well be recognized as an epithet attached to the name of the owner/author. A minimal restoration here would be ['I (am) So-and-so], *amu-wa-mi* PN'. This would seem more probable than ['This *object* So-and-so *dedicated*], the beloved by the gods'. The minimal loss suggested would be extended if patronym and/or title(s) had been included. See also the consideration of the extent of the loss concluding facet 8b, the other most suitable point for estimating the length of the lost left end. The losses at facets 2+3a, 4b+5a, 6b+7a would have to be estimated with reference to the estimates for facets 1a and 8b.

1b. *wa/i-mu-[*a]*: initial-*a*-final should be restored here following the observation of its regular occurrence on facets 3b, 5b, 6b and 8b. Although no trace of -**a* is visible, it should have stood on the chipped/worn lower right corner of the facet. It seems likely that this was the last word on the facet, where the text would have descended to facet 2a, continuing boustrophedon.

2 Because of the loss, it is difficult to determine, thus to number the clauses, so numbering is given by the 8 facets. Since almost all the facets contain the beginning of a new clause (facets 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8), they are divided for numbering purposes into *a*, *b*.

Facet

- 1a. ...], loved by the gods,
 b. and me
- 2a. this Kubaba of the Lawsuit [...]
 ...
- 3a. ...] ... stood with,
 b. and me
- 4a. with the Karkamisean gods he/she/they ... ed.
 b. And I myself? [...]
 ...
- 5a. ...] for me(?) he/she/they came ...
 b. But I to them [...?]
- 6a. [...] I ... ed.
 b. And me this Kubaba of the Lawsuit ... [...]
 ...
- 7a. ...] with [...] I will cause to ... away.
 b. When [...]
- 8a. or? will *damage* ...,
 b. for him this god [...]

This supposition is supported by the appearance on the impression of the upper right corner of the facet which looks as if it could well have been the right edge of the prism.

Facet 2a. Though the surface of the right side looks damaged, traces of the signs *za-a*- look reliably recognizable and fit the context well. Also the right edge of the impression looks as if it was the right edge of the prism itself. The text looks likely to have run on, facets 1b+2a without loss. Compare the observations on facets 3b+4a, 5b+6a.

| LIS-*i-sa*: cf. | LIS-*si*, same context, facet 6b. The first may be identified as genitive in -*is*, the second as genitive in -(*i*)*si*. As a divine epithet this occurs applied to the [Sun?]-God on MARAŞ 1, §6 (see *CHLI* 1/1, commentary *ad loc.*), but not elsewhere to the goddess Kubaba.

(DEUS) AVIS: the goddess Kubaba is elsewhere always written (DEUS) *ku*+AVIS, particularly at Karkamiš, her main seat, except in the Commagenian inscriptions where (DEUS) *ku*+AVIS (*CHLI* 1/1, BOYBEYPINARI 2, §20; ANCOZ 1, §2) alternates with (DEUS) AVIS (*CHLI* 1/1, BOYBEYPINARI 1, §10; 2, §§1, 8, 10; ANCOZ 5 §1; 7, §§4, 9) in contexts which assure that the same deity is intended. This could be grounds for associating the present piece with Commagene, as also the possible appearance of the Stag-god (facet 6b).

Facet 3a. “X”-*i-wa/i*: not enough of the logogram is preserved for recognition, nor do the phonetic elements assist here or even suggest the part of speech.

| CUM-*ni* | CRUS+*RA/I*: on KARKAMIŠ A11a, §20; *arha* CRUS+*RA/I* was interpreted as ‘step away, secede, revolt’ in spite of uncertainty on the reading of the verb (see *CHLI* 1/1: 97, commentary). The present attestation should mean the opposite, ‘stand with, support’, which could be appropriate to what can be seen of the context. Lost is perhaps only the end of the clause facet 2b, subject Kubaba, and beginning of clause facet 3a, subject perhaps still Kubaba, object [me²].

3b. *wa/i-mu-^r*a*: initial-*a*-final probable here, and a small trace suggests its presence. The right edge of the facet here and below facet 4a shows surface damage, but it remains both epigraphically and contextually probable that nothing is missing and that the sense runs directly on.

Facet 4a. *ka+ra/i-ka-mi-si-ia-za* (URBS): ‘Karkamiš’ in the KARKAMIŠ inscriptions is always written with initial *KAR-* (L. 315) except on the archaic *CHLI* 1/1, KARKAMIŠ A4b, §1 (*ka+ra/i-*, as here). The form here must be taken as a dat. plur. of the ethnicon *Karkamisi(ya)-*, in place of the usual *Karkamisiza-*.

CUM-*ni* *ARHA*: either double preverb modifying the meaning of the verb, or postposition DEUS-*na-za* CUM-*ni*, (‘with the gods’) followed by preverb *ARHA*.

*77.*77-*ta*: the logogram *77, known as a verb (*CHLI* 1/2, ASSUR letters e, §30; f+g, §§16, 52; *CHLI* 1/1, TILSEVET, §3), appears to represent a downward-pointing hand with crossed fingers. Though of unknown reading, its context may suggest a meaning ‘promise, pledge’ (perhaps symbolized by a hand gesture). The present doubled attestation (signifying a reduplicated form?) probably has as a direct object the *-mu* of facet 3b, subject perhaps still Kubaba. The context here is hardly sufficient to suggest an interpretation.

4b. *‘a-wa/i’-m*[*i*... : *-mi*, if correctly read, would indicate that the verb of this largely lost clause was 1 sing.

Facet 5a. [...]-*mu* *273 | *ku-ti-i*: apparent though not certain order of reading. The sign *273 is normally used as a logogram determining the words *warpi-*, ‘virtue, skill’, *tupi-*, ‘smite’, *hutailli-*, ‘?’, also (early) *muwa-*, ‘conquer’. Occasionally it seems to function as a syllabogram, notably in the verbal form *wa/i+ra/i-^r*273-na* (TELL AHMAR 6, §34; see Hawkins 2006: 31), which must be an infinitive, suggesting a syllabic value *Cu*. Here it is quite unclear whether it could be read following the word divider as a logogram determining *ku-ti-i* or as a syllabogram following *-mu*.

ku-ti-i: otherwise unknown, perhaps adverb (or dat. sing. of a noun?), modifying verb *awi-*, as in ‘come well (*wasu*)/ fatally (*wala*)/ with goodness/badness etc.’

PES-*wa/i-ta* (*awi(n)ta*), ‘he/she/they came’: subject perhaps the ‘Karkamisean gods’, who could also be the ‘to them’ (*-manza*) of facet 5b.

5b. *mu-pa-wa/i-ma-za-^r*a* (*amu-pa-wa-manza*) ‘but I to them’: perhaps last word of facet, clause running directly on to facet 6a with verb 1 sing. pret.

Facet 6a. *x-x-ha*: unidentifiable traces of verb, only ending *-ha* preserved. There may well have been nothing further lost.

6b. *wa/i-mu-^r*a* (*awa-mu*): note cursive form of *-mu* in contrast with monumental forms, facets 1b, 3b, 5b.

CE[RVUS²... : reading probable, not certain. In the KARKAMIŠ inscriptions, Kubaba when linked to other gods normally follows Karhuha, the Karkamiš form of the Stag-God Runtiya: see MALATYA 13 (commentary *CHLI* 1/1: 328f.); cf. TELL AHMAR 6, §2 (commentary Hawkins 2006: 19). In the Commagenian inscriptions of ANCOZ (1, 5 and 7) *ala* Kubaba follows *imr(asi)* Runtiya, paired with him seemingly as consort.

Facet 7a. CUM-*ni* | *ARHA* | *wa/i-^r*336-nu-wa/i-i*: verb with some preverbs already attested on the unclear AFRIN §1, see commentary, *CHLI* 1/2: 387, and probably read there *wa/i-^r*336-nu¹-tá* (3 sing./plur. pret.). The present form, still of unknown reading and meaning, appears to be 1 sing. pres.

7b(?). *ku-ma-na* (*kuman*), ‘when’: presumably introduces a new clause in spite of the absence of other connective particles.

ku-ma-ti-ia(-)na | *tī²* | *ni-sa* | INF[ANS]-*ni* [... : seems to be only possible order of reading, but it is all very uncertain, and no obvious sense can be obtained.

ku-ma-ti-ia(-)na: unknown word, uncertain form.

tī²: only known as orthotonic pronoun 2 sing. nom. (as against dat.-acc. *tu*); see *CHLI* 1/2, ASSUR letters f+g, §52, sole attestation.

ni-sa: possibly *nis*, prohib. (but hardly in a subordinate clause introduced by *kuman*) or disjunctive.

INF[ANS]-*ni* [... : if correctly read, may require at least one further column of signs lost from right end of facet.

Facet 8a. may require comparable loss at the beginning to that of the end of facet 7 above.

| NEG₃²-*s[a-p]a²-wa/i*: reading uncertain, but looks probable, would represent a disjunctive *nispa*. Disjunctives recognized in my study of the negatives (1975: 145–148, citations 53–56) were NEG₂-(*a*)-*pa* alternating with *ni-pa*. These have been joined by *ni-i...ni-pa-wa/i*, ‘whether...or’, and NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i*...NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i*, ‘or (who)...or (who)’ (see *CHLI* 1/2, KULULU 5, §7 a-f; *CHLI* 1/1, BOROWSKI 3, §§9, 10, and commentaries there). The present proposed reading thus already had parallels on BOROWSKI 3. An alternative but seemingly less likely reading would be REL-*s[a-p]a²-wa/i*, ‘But (he) who...’.

AVIS-*ni-na*: first sign logogram or syllabogram? The word is in any case unknown, presumably acc. sing. masc.-fem.

(PES₂.PES) *tara/i-pi-ti*: frequently attested verb signifying some kind of damage to monuments has not been more precisely elucidated since Morpurgo-Davis (1986).

8b. *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-tá-^r*a* (*apati-pa-wa-ta*), ‘for him+*ta* (*Ortspartikel*)’: normal apodosis in curse formulae, usually introduced by ‘But (he) who...’, often followed by ‘or...or...or’.

Facets 7b+8a–b together. To combine facet 7b with 8a–b is not easy, whether 8a begins NEG₃-*sa-[p]a-wa/i* or REL-*sa-[p]a-wa/i*. Such sequences normally begin ‘(he) who...’ or ‘if...’. The word *kuman*, ‘when’, in such a context is unparalleled. This, combined with the uncertainties of reading in this clause, renders it quite obscure.

8b. A minimal restoration to complete this clause and thus to estimate the extent of possible loss from the left end of the prism would be a verb, perhaps with preverb and/or direct object, so two or three words. It would be possible, but probably unlikely, that a further clause might have stood here.

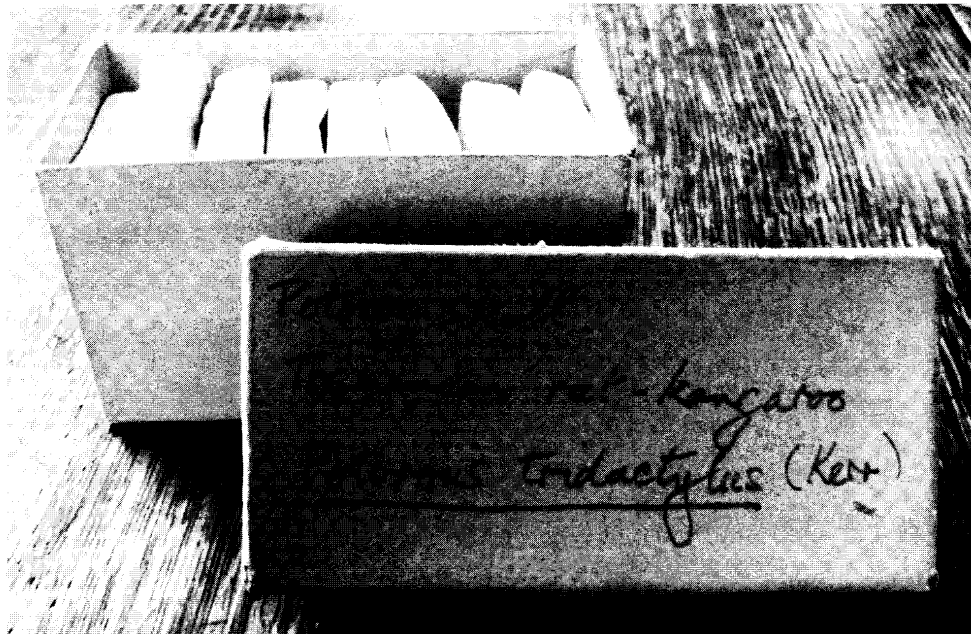


Fig. 2: The POTOROO inscription as found

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Zur Datierungsgeschichte des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ und zur problematischen Rolle des Fragments KBo 16.35 als Datierungshilfe

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I. Einige Vorbemerkungen

Über die Datierung eines sehr berühmten und viel diskutierten Keilschrifttextes in hethitischer Sprache, der das inhaltlich wohl aufschlussreichste und daher bedeutendste Dokument¹ unter den 25 bis maximal 28 durchwegs nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen Ahhiyawa-Urkunden² darstellt, besteht noch immer keine völlige Einigkeit. Es handelt sich um den sog. Tawagalawa-Brief (VAT 6692 / KUB 14.3),³ einen Text, der bekanntlich Hethitologen und Vertreter der althistorischen Disziplin, unter letzteren vor allem Mykenologen, gleichermaßen interessiert. Auf ihn hatte der Pionierforscher Emil Forrer (1924a: 113–114; 1924b: 7–10, 21) bereits während der Frühphase der Hethitologie in Verbindung mit der Ankündigung seiner Griechenhypothese hingewiesen.

Da der Beginn des briefartigen Dokuments nicht erhalten ist⁴ – es handelt sich bei VAT 6692⁵ nach gängiger Auffassung um die dritte und vielleicht letzte Tafel eines ursprünglich sehr umfangreichen Schriftstückes – ist bekanntlich weder der Name des Autors, eines hethitischen Großkönigs, überliefert noch der der mehrfach von diesem mit „mein Bruder“ (ŠEŠ-IA) angesprochenen Person. Bei letzterer handelte es sich jedenfalls um einen König von Ahhiyawa. Dieser tritt zumindest im genannten Schriftstück als ein dem Hethiter gleichrangiger Großkönig in Erscheinung. Obgleich sich nach einschlägigen Untersuchungen der 1980er Jahre mehr und mehr die Auffassung durchsetzen konnte, dass der Text unter Hattušili III. (ca. 2. Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.) entstanden sei (unten S. 195 mit Anm. 20), traten einige Forscher erneut vehement für eine Datierung in die Regierung von dessen älterem Bruder Muwatalli II. ein (s. unten S. 198–199).

In diesem Zusammenhang ist außerdem festzustellen, dass nach wie vor noch Uneinigkeit in der Frage herrscht, ob es sich bei der Tafel VAT 6692 um einen Teil der ursprünglichen Niederschrift oder nur eine Kopie derselben handelt. Da sie aufgrund von in jüngster Zeit

1 S. z.B. Güterbock (1984: 119); Popko (1984: 199); Hawkins (1998: 17); und Alparslan (2005: 34).

2 Zur Anzahl der hethitischen Dokumente, die Ahhiya(wa)-Belege aufweisen zuletzt Heinhold-Krahmer (2007: 195, Anm. 48 mit Literatur).

3 Nach den ersten – schon in der Frühphase der Hethitologie erfolgten – ausführlichen Bearbeitungen durch Forrer (1929: 95–232) und Sommer (1932: 2–194) erschien eine große Anzahl von vollständigen oder partiellen Übersetzungen, von Inhaltsangaben und dabei auch von inhaltlichen und historischen Auswertungen des Textes. Eine gute, dem wissenschaftlichen Fortschritt entsprechende Übersetzung hat Miller (2006: 242–247) in jüngster Zeit vorgelegt. An einer grundlegenden Neuedition des Textes arbeiten zurzeit gemeinsam J. D. Hawkins, J. Hazenbos, S. Heinhold-Krahmer, J. L. Miller, E. Rieken und M. Weeden.

4 Hierzu Heinhold-Krahmer (2002: 360) mit Literatur.

5 Der Kürze halber wird im Folgenden häufig die Museumsnummer der Tafel angegeben anstelle der Bezeichnung „Tawagalawa-Brief“ oder sog. Tawagalawa-Brief.

vorgenommenen petrographischen Untersuchungen und Lehmanalysen nicht in Hattuša und Umgebung, sondern in Westkleinasien erstellt worden zu sein scheint,⁶ wird jedenfalls eine von Popko (1984: 199–203) vor gut 25 Jahren geäußerte und damals durchaus nicht abwegige Auffassung sehr unwahrscheinlich. Er (1984: 199) hatte vor allem aufgrund von „paläographischen, orthographischen und sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten“ angenommen, es läge hier nicht ein auf Hattušili III. zurückgehender Briefentwurf im Original vor, sondern die spätere Kopie eines solchen aus der Endphase des hethitischen Großreiches. Sie müsse somit unter einem der drei letzten in Hattuša bezeugten Großkönige etwa im letzten Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein.

Nicht ganz auszuschließen bei der erst vor kurzem festgestellten westkleinasiatischen Herkunft der Tontafel wäre immerhin die schon von Forrer (1929: 150) geäußerte Vermutung, dass das Schriftstück eine „an der Grenze von Miellavanda“ angefertigte Abschrift eines Briefkonzepts darstellte. Eher ist aber wohl davon auszugehen, dass hier ein originäres Dokument vorliegt, das während der im Text selbst bezeugten und bis in die Küstenstadt Millawanda führenden Westkampagne angefertigt wurde.⁷ Dabei ist freilich noch nicht geklärt, ob es sich tatsächlich um den Entwurf eines Schreibens an den König von Ahhiyawa (Sommer 1932: 190–191) gehandelt hat oder um ein Argumentationskonzept für einen Gesandten (Heinhold-Krahmer 2002: 360) oder gar um eine für die Archivierung bestimmte, ursprünglich drei Tafeln enthaltende Aufzeichnung.⁸ Letztere wäre dann vielleicht als die Zusammenfassung der diplomatischen Aktivitäten und Absprachen zu bewerten, die im Rahmen der Auseinandersetzung mit dem König von Ahhiyawa bezüglich der vom hethitischen Herrscher beanspruchten Auslieferung des flüchtigen Piyamaradu⁹ stattgefunden hatten. Allerdings sind ansonsten bislang derartige, durchgängig die Briefform beibehaltende Aufzeichnungen nicht bekannt.¹⁰

6 So nach freundlicher Mitteilung von Professor Yuval Goren (Tel Aviv) in einem Schreiben vom 8.11.2008, wonach die Resultate der von ihm und Professor Hans Mommsen (Bonn) vorgenommenen Untersuchungen in naher Zukunft publiziert werden sollen.

7 Miller (2006: 242) vermutet aufgrund des Wortes *kā* „hier“ (VAT 6692 i 73) wohl zu Recht, dass der Text in Millawanda geschrieben wurde.

8 Auf diese Möglichkeit wies mich Prof. Th. van den Hout (Chicago) freundlicherweise hin, als wir über die ungewöhnliche Tafelunterschrift von VAT 6692 iv: „3 DUB“, sprachen.

9 Zur zentralen Bedeutung der Piyamaradu-Affäre in VAT 6692 s. schon Sommer (1932: 113, 192 und *passim*), ferner z.B. Singer (1983: 210–213) und Heinhold-Krahmer (1983: 82; 1986: 47, 56–57 und *passim*).

10 Wenig sinnvoll scheint ein Vergleich, zu dem zwei Texte einladen könnten: Es existiert einerseits eine drei Briefe enthaltende Tafel aus der hethitischen Korrespondenz mit Assyrien, KUB 23.103, die vermutlich der Zeit von Tuthaliya IV. und Tukuliti-Ninurta entstammt. Auch sie wurde kaum in der vorliegenden Form, zudem abgefasst in hethitischer und nicht in assyrischer Sprache, an die Adressaten gesandt. Da ihr Inhalt partiell noch in zwei weiteren Exemplaren, KUB 23.92, das nur zwei Briefe enthält (Mora & Giorgieri 2004: 157–158), und KUB 40.77, überliefert ist, ist das jeweilige Verhältnis von Entwurf (Kladde) und Kopien schwer zu klären. Nach Hagenbuchner (1989: 257) handelt es sich möglicherweise dabei um „zwei Briefentwürfe und eine Abschrift fürs Archiv oder den Dolmetscher“; vgl. zuletzt Mora & Giorgieri (2004: 155–174) mit Neubearbeitung und ausführlichem Kommentar. Andererseits liegt im sog. Madduwatta-Text (Götze 1928) eine Art Anklageschrift vor, die verschiedene Beschuldigungen im Bezug auf zeitlich auseinander liegende Freveltaten des Madduwatta (zur Zeit des anklagenden Königs von Hatti und seines Vaters) enthält. Dies erinnert ein wenig an die diversen Vorwürfe gegenüber Piyamaradu in VAT 6692, die sich ebenfalls auf verschiedene Vergehen beziehen, die jedoch nicht diesem selbst, sondern dem König von Ahhiyawa in Briefform mitgeteilt werden.

Jedenfalls ist anzunehmen, dass es sich bei VAT 6692 kaum um einen in der vorliegenden Form nach Ahhiyawa abgesandten Brief gehandelt hat (Heinhold-Krahmer 2002: 360).

Professor Singer hat sich schon vor Jahren (1983: 209–214) mit dem „Tawagalawa-Brief“ intensiv befasst. Er fand nicht nur Anhaltspunkte für eine Neuinterpretation, insbesondere von Kolumne i, sondern beschäftigte sich auch mit der Frage der Datierung des Dokuments und entschied sich mit gewichtigen Gründen für eine zeitliche Einordnung in die Regierung Hattušilis III. Gleichzeitig ließ er auch das kleine Fragment KBo 16.35 (unten sub IV) nicht unerwähnt. Ihm ist daher dieser Beitrag zu seiner Festschrift mit allen guten Wünschen gewidmet.

Es scheint sinnvoll, zunächst in einem forschungsgeschichtlichen Rückblick die wichtigsten der bislang erfolgten Versuche einer zeitlichen Einordnung des sog. Tawagalawa-Briefes zu rekapitulieren und dabei die jeweils angeführten wesentlichen Begründungen zumindest kurz zu nennen (sub II), ehe anschließend auf Hauptargumente, die gegen Hattušili III. als Autor des sog. Tawagalawa-Briefes zuletzt ins Feld geführt wurden, eingegangen wird (sub III und IV). Im Blickpunkt wird insbesondere die nicht unbedeutende Rolle stehen, die das Fragment KBo 16.35 in den letzten 25 Jahren bei der Diskussion um die Datierung dieses berühmten Textes gespielt hat, wobei natürlich überprüft werden soll, ob und inwieweit die in Verbindung damit vorgebrachten Begründungen überhaupt tragfähig sind (sub IV).

II. Bisherige Datierungen von VAT 6692 (in chronologischer Abfolge)

Gleich bei seinen ersten Hinweisen auf die Tafel VAT 6692, die er zunächst als Annalentext bezeichnete (Forrer 1924b: 7), behauptete Forrer (1924a: 113–114; 1924b: 7–11), dass der Autor der hethitische Großkönig Muršili II. gewesen sei. Bei seiner späteren Begründung dieser Datierung im Rahmen seiner Erstbearbeitung des Textes versuchte er sich hauptsächlich auf dort bezeugte Personennamen, wie ⁴KAL (i 73), Šahurunuwa (iii 41, 47), vor allem aber Piyamaradu (i 51, 56, 59, 61; ii 62; iv 16) und Atpa (i 55, 63; ii 21, 29), zu stützen (Forrer 1929: 97–103),¹¹ deren Träger seiner Meinung nach allesamt zur Zeit jenes Königs aktiv waren.

Eine zentrale Rolle bei der zeitlichen Einordnung von VAT 6692 spielte schon damals wie auch noch heute ein weiterer Brief, nämlich das Schreiben des Manapa-Tarḫunta (frühere Lesung: Manapa-Datta) von Šeḫa an seinen hethitischen Oberherrn (KUB 19.5+KBo 19.79).¹² Zum einen traten darin ebenfalls Piyamaradu und Atpa auf, zum anderen glaubte er, diesen Text aufgrund einiger Anhaltspunkte zeitlich wenigstens ungefähr fixieren zu können (Forrer 1929: 98),¹³ nämlich irgendwann innerhalb einer Phase, die vom 12. Jahr Muršilis II. bis etwa in die Mitte der Regierung Muwatallis [II.] reichte (vgl. unten Anm. 21–22).

Da Forrer (1926: 91–92) aufgrund der aus weiteren Quellen erschlossenen verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen dieses Manapa-Tarḫunta und daran anknüpfender, in vieler Hinsicht fragwürdiger Überlegungen und zeitlicher Berechnungen für eine Datierung von dessen Brief in die Ära Muršilis II. plädiert hatte, und er (1929: 98) zudem von der Prämisse ausging, dass der Verfasser des Tawagalawa-Briefes „bereits eine längere Regierungszeit hinter sich hatte“

11 Hierzu z.B. Heinhold-Krahmer (1983: 86–87); zuletzt Gurney (2002: 133).

12 Die jüngste Bearbeitung findet sich bei Houwink ten Cate (1983–1984: 38–64).

13 Die wichtigste Literatur zu Datierungen von KUB 19.5+ bot zuletzt Singer (2008: 21, mit Anm. 3).

(hierzu noch unten S. 199 und 204), stand für ihn Muršili auch als Autor des letztgenannten Dokumentes so gut wie fest.

Gleichzeitig bemühte Forrer sich, Verbindungen zwischen ähnlich wirkenden Ereignissen und Sachverhalten herzustellen, die in VAT 6692 und in Muršilis Annalen geschildert wurden, wie z.B. die Kombination der Hinweise, dass Zivilgefangene geflohen seien (VAT 6692 iii 9–21 und KBo 16.1 ii 35–41), ein Problem freilich, das sich im Hethiterreich ständig wiederholte, ähnlich wie das auch z.B. bei den oben erwähnten Personenamen Šahurunuwa und ⁴KAL/Kurunt(y)a der Fall war.

Forrers Datierung in die Regierungszeit Muršilis II. hatten neben zahlreichen Anhängern zunächst auch zwei heftige Kritiker seiner Griechenhypothese, Friedrich (1926: 129; 1927: 97; 1931: 223) und Götze (1928: 35), recht unkritisch übernommen.

Wohl erstmals im Jahr 1928 wurde Skepsis gegenüber dieser zeitlichen Einordnung vorgebracht, und zwar in einer kurzen Bemerkung von Sturtevant (1928: 218): „...and I do not find in the text any evidence that Muršiliš is the author.“

Sommer (1932: 33–36) konnte im Rahmen seiner umfassenden Bearbeitung von VAT 6692 dann zumindest zeigen, dass Forrers Argumente nicht ausreichten, um sich auf eine Datierung in die Zeit Muršilis II. festzulegen. Aufgrund der dafür herangezogenen Texte schien ihm auch eine Datierung in die Regierung von Muwatalli II., dem Sohn und direkten Nachfolger Muršilis II., möglich, ja die Erwähnung von Šahurunuwa (VAT 6692 iii 41 u. 47) sprach seiner Meinung nach sogar eher für diese Zeit. Ferner wies er als erster – allerdings nur in einer Anmerkung – darauf hin, dass eine Entstehung des Dokuments auch unter Ḫattušili III. nicht auszuschließen sei. Sein Argument (1932: 36, Anm. 1) lautete:

An und für sich könnte man, da es auf alle Fälle sowohl einen ¹DLAMA als auch einen Šahurunuwa unter Ḫattušili gegeben hat...auch an ihn als Briefschreiber denken unter der Voraussetzung, daß die Tätigkeit des Pijamaradu und Atpä die letzten Jahre des Muwatalli und die kurze Herrschaft des Urḫi-Tešup überdauert hat.

Ein Jahr später sprach sich Cavaignac (1933: 100–104) sehr entschieden für eine Autorenschaft Muwatallis (II.) aus. Ausschlaggebend für diese zeitliche Fixierung war für den französischen Historiker, dass in VAT 6692 iv 7–10 von einer Feindschaft zwischen Ḫatti und Ahḫiyawa die Rede war, die bereits beigelegt war. Für Cavaignac bestand im Gegensatz zu Sommer (1932: 16, 169) offensichtlich keinerlei Zweifel darüber, dass der Name der Stadt in iv 8, um die der Streit gegangen war, mit Forrer (1929: 116, 185) Wil[uš]a zu lesen sei. Den Zwischenfall, eine kriegerische Auseinandersetzung vielleicht (iv 19; Sommer 1932: 16–17, 169), brachte er mit der im Manapa-Tarḫunta-Brief erwähnten Militäraktion der Hethiter gegen Wiluša (KUB 19.5+ Z. 3–4) in Verbindung, wodurch für ihn feststand, dass dieses Schreiben zeitlich vor dem „Tawagalawa-Brief“ anzusetzen sei. Zu dieser Kombination veranlasste ihn zweifellos auch das schon von Forrer (1929: 98) und Sommer (1932: 35–36) konstatierte Auftreten von Pijamaradu und Atpa in beiden Dokumenten gleichzeitig. Da jedoch im historischen Rückblick des Vertrags, den Muwatalli (II.) mit Alakšandu von Wiluša geschlossen hatte, von alledem noch nichts berichtet worden sei, zog Cavaignac den Schluss, dass dieser Vertrag Muwatallis der älteste unter den drei genannten Texten sei. Für den Brief des Manapa-Tarḫunta schied nach dieser Überlegung eine Datierung in die Ära Muršilis II. aus.

Sein Adressat musste somit Muwatalli gewesen sein,¹⁴ der dann aufgrund der erwähnten, jedoch nicht unproblematischen Kombination von VAT 6692 iv 7–10 mit KUB 19.5+ Z. 3–4¹⁵ auch der Autor des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ gewesen wäre.

1936 schließlich fand Güterbock (1936: 322, 326–27) in dem bis dato noch unveröffentlichten kleinen Fragment Bo 6447 (KUB 48.80) einen ersten ernst zu nehmenden Hinweis darauf, dass Pijamaradus Aktivitäten wahrscheinlich noch bis in die Regierung des Usurpators Ḫattušili III. reichten und folglich die Ära Muwatallis (II.) und die wohl kurze Regierung von dessen Sohn Urḫi-Tešup überdauert hatten. Dieser annalenartige, in der 1. Person Singular verfasste Text nennt Pijamaradu (Z. 2') und berichtet von einem kriegerischen Ereignis (Z. 10'), bei dem anscheinend der Berichtersteller, wohl der hethitische König, die Unterstützung der Ištar von Šamuḫa fand (Z. 11'). Diese aber war, wie Güterbock (1936: 326) zu Recht betonte, die besondere Beschützerin von Ḫattušili III. Auch wenn er (1936: 327) nicht ganz ausschließen wollte, dass die im sog. Tawagalawa-Brief behandelte Pijamaradu-Affäre sich bereits unter Muwatalli abgespielt haben könnte, so lag für ihn doch die Annahme näher, dass Ḫattušili III. der Verfasser war.

Abgesehen von einem zustimmenden und für die weitere Forschung wegweisenden Artikel des holländischen Forschers Houwink ten Cate (1974: 149–151) stieß diese Datierung bis in die früheren 1980er Jahre bei Hethitologen und Historikern offenbar auf wenig Interesse.¹⁶ Nach wie vor wurde einer zeitlichen Einordnung in die Zeit Muršilis II.¹⁷ oder Muwatallis II.¹⁸ der Vorzug gegeben, oder man verwies auf beide Möglichkeiten.¹⁹

Eine entscheidende Wende bei der Diskussion um die Datierung des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ brachten dann jedoch die 1980er Jahre. 1983 erschienen zwei Arbeiten, die sich unabhängig voneinander mit neuen Argumenten auf Ḫattušili III. als Autor des Dokuments festlegten (Singer 1983: 208–210, 214; Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 86–97). Diese Datierung, die auch in zwei weiteren Publikationen aus dem Jahr 1984 (Popko 1984: 199–203; van den Hout 1984: 91–92) vertreten wurde, schien weitgehend Zustimmung in der Fachwelt zu finden.²⁰ Nicht ohne Bedeutung war, dass Güterbock (1983: 135; 1984: 119) etwa zur gleichen Zeit das Ahḫiyawa-Problem erneut aufgriff, dabei selbstverständlich auch auf den „Tawagalawa-Brief“ einging und an seinem fast ein halbes Jahrhundert zuvor geäußerten Standpunkt im Hinblick auf dessen zeitlichen Ansatz in die Ära Ḫattušilis III. mit noch viel größerer Entschiedenheit

14 Die Regierung des Manapa-Tarḫunta in Šeḫa endete jedenfalls noch während der Herrschaft Muwatallis II. Als Nachfolger setzte letzterer seinen Schwager Mašduri (vielleicht Sohn des Manapa-Tarḫunta) ein (unten Anm. 22), der noch zu Beginn der Regierung von Tuthaliya IV. als hethitischer Vasall dort an der Macht war (Bo 86/299 iv 32; Otten 1988: 26–27); demnächst noch Heinhold-Krahmer (im Druck) in *RIA* 11, sub Šeḫa.

15 Schon Sommer (1932: 170, Anm. 1) hatte davor gewarnt, aus den vagen Andeutungen an beiden Stellen weit reichende Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen.

16 Eine Ausnahme stellte allerdings die historisch und archäologisch ausgerichtete Dissertation von Jewell (1974: 328–337) dar.

17 S. z.B. Schachermeyr (1935: 30, 45); Völkl (1952: 332–333).

18 S. z.B. Cavaignac (1946–47: 58; 1950: 37–38); Ünal (1974: 52); und Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 224).

19 S. z.B. Page (1959: 10); Huxley (1960: 2); und Gurney (1961: 50).

20 S. z.B. Alparslan (2005: 38); Bryce (1998: 321, mit Anm. 89); Forlanini (1988: 157–159); Gurney (1997: 138); Hawkins (1998: 17, mit Anm. 73); Houwink ten Cate (1983–1984: 34, 56); Klengel (1999: 247, 264–265); Parker (1999: 61); Starke (1997: 453); Steiner (2007: 597); Taracha (2006: 145); und van den Hout (1995: 82).

festhielt. Hinzu kam, dass Forscher, die diese Datierung positiv aufnahmen, in der Folge noch weitere Anhaltspunkte beisteuern konnten.

Die Argumente, die zugunsten von Hattušili III. als Autor des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ vorgebracht wurden, basierten nun hauptsächlich auf folgenden drei Aspekten:

1. Auf der Erkenntnis, dass der bis dato angeführte Hauptgrund für eine Datierung des „Tawagalawa“-Textes in die Zeit Muršilis II. oder Muwatallis (II.) entfallen konnte (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 88–93; Singer 1983: 210).

Es handelt sich bei diesem Hauptgrund um die von den meisten Forschern vertretene Auffassung, dass der „Tawagalawa-Brief“ und das Schreiben des Manapa-Tarhunta wegen des dort jeweils bezeugten gemeinsamen Auftretens von Piyamaradu und Atpa zeitlich nahe beieinander gelegen haben müssten. Deshalb hatte der für die Datierung von KUB 19.5+ veranschlagte Zeitrahmen (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 83, 87) vom 12. Regierungsjahr Muršilis II.²¹ bis spätestens in die Endphase der Regierung Muwatallis II.²² auch für den zeitlichen Ansatz des Tawagalawa-Textes Anwendung gefunden. Die Regierungszeit Hattušilis III., der ja auch noch die wenige Jahre umfassende Herrschaft des Muwatalli-Nachfolgers Urhi-Teššup vorausgegangen waren, war somit für die Datierung des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ von den meisten Verfechtern einer zeitlich engen Zusammengehörigkeit beider Dokumente (mit Datierung entweder in die Zeit Muršilis oder Muwatallis) a priori ausgeschlossen worden. Zu Recht stellte nun aber Singer (1983: 210) fest:

The insurrectionist activities of Piyamaradu must have stretched over quite a long period to leave such a vivid memory in Hittite documentation. One need merely recall another western freebooter, Madduwatta, who was active throughout the reigns of two Hittite kings.

Unabhängig davon revidierte gleichzeitig die Verfasserin dieser Zeilen ihre frühere Auffassung, dass beide Dokumente zeitlich unmittelbar nacheinander abgefasst worden seien (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 176) und bemerkte im Hinblick auf eine zeitliche Nähe beider Schriftstücke, dass sie innerhalb des uns unbekannten Zeitraums anzusetzen seien, in dem Piyamaradu und Atpa gemeinsam agiert hätten. Dieser Zeitraum müsse aber nicht auf wenige Jahre beschränkt gewesen sein, sondern könne durchaus 20–30 Jahre umfasst haben (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 89).

2. Auf einigen den Piyamaradu nennenden Textfragmenten, die teils erst in den damals neueren Editionsbanden KBo 16 (1968), KBo 19 (1970) und KBo 27 (1982) publiziert worden waren, teils jedoch schon länger bekannt waren.

So erlaubte insbesondere das Fragment KBo 19.78 trotz seiner Winzigkeit die Annahme, dass nach Muwatalli auch noch Hattušili mit der Piyamaradu-Affäre befasst

²¹ Wegen des in KUB 19.5+ Z. 25, (29) u. 34 bezeugten Kupanta-^dKAL, der frühestens ab dem 12. Regierungsjahr Muršilis II. die Nachfolge seines Adoptivvaters Mašhuiluwa in Mira antrat (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 87, Anm. 35 mit Literatur).

²² Wegen der Einsetzung von Mašduri zum König von Šeḫa noch während der Regierung Muwatallis (II.), s. KUB 23.1 ii 15–30 (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 87, Anm. 36 mit Literatur); Forrer (1929: 98) hatte von einem Regierungswechsel spätestens in der Mitte von Muwatallis Regierung gesprochen (s. oben S. 193), doch der genaue Zeitpunkt ist nicht überliefert.

war (Singer 1983: 209; Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 90–92; Popko 1984: 201). Im Vergleich damit betrachtet wurde Gleiches auch aus KBo 16.35 erschlossen (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 90–93; Popko 1984: 201). Singer (1983: 209; s. auch Popko 1984: 201) konnte vor Drucklegung seines Aufsatzes auch noch das Bruchstück KBo 27.4 berücksichtigen, das ihn wegen der Nennung der Stadt Nerik (Z. 3') zu Recht an Hattušili III. denken ließ. Da darin unmittelbar neben [Piyama]radu (Z. 7') auch mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit von Iya[landa] (Z. 7') die Rede ist, war für ihn der inhaltliche und zeitliche Bezug zu den im „Tawagalawa-Brief“ (i 16–39) geschilderten kriegesischen Auseinandersetzungen im Bereich von Iyalanda nahe liegend.²³

Unter den schon lange bekannten Fragmenten wurde besonders das bereits von Güterbock 1936 (s. oben) auf Hattušili III. datierte und in zeitliche Nähe zum „Tawagalawa-Brief“ gebrachte Fragment Bo 6447 (KUB 48.80) hervorgehoben (Singer 1983: 208–209; Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 94; Popko 1984: 201, mit Anm. 6).

Ebenso schien eine inhaltliche Beziehung zwischen Annalenfragmenten, die eindeutig aus der Zeit Hattušilis III. (KUB 21.6 und 21.6a) stammten, und dem sog. Tawagalawa-Brief erkennbar zu sein. Zum einen war in den drei Texten entweder von „Lukka-Ländern“ oder „Lukka-Leuten“ und deren „Ländern“ die Rede, so dass im Gegensatz zu den übrigen bekannten Lukka-Belegen im Singular hier jeweils eine auffällige geographische Bezeichnung im Plural vorlag (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 96–97; Popko 1984: 202).²⁴ Zum anderen schien das Annalenfragment KUB 21.6, insbesondere wegen des Namensrestes ^mP[i- in Z. 4', darauf hinzudeuten, dass Piyamaradu auch hier wie im „Tawagalawa-Brief“ in Unruhen im Bereich der Lukka-Länder involviert war (Singer 1983: 209; Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 97).²⁵ Hinzu kam, dass es einige auffällige Stellen in beiden Texten gab, die sich inhaltlich zu entsprechen schienen (Forlanini 1988: 157–158).

3. Auf sprachlichen, insbesondere stilistischen Merkmalen innerhalb des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“, die für die Zeit Hattušilis charakteristisch waren, sowie auf darin enthaltenen Hinweisen, die sich mit bekannten Fakten aus seinem Leben zu decken schienen.

Hierzu seien nur folgende vier Beispiele genannt:

- a. Singers Hinweis (1983: 210, Anm. 24), dass die Aussage des Autors des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ (VAT 6692 ii 60–61), er sei von Jugend an mit dem Wagenlenker Dabala-Tarhunta auf den Wagen gestiegen, sich gut mit dem Vermerk in Hattušilis Apologie (i 12),²⁶ dass er als Junge Zügelhalter gewesen sei, kombinieren lasse;
- b. die Feststellung von Popko (1984: 202), dass die stilistischen Merkmale des „Briefes“, insbesondere die häufigen rhetorischen Fragen, für Hattušili sprächen, da sie für

²³ Hierzu auch Smit (1990–1991: 94–96); Klengel (1999: 247).

²⁴ Beide unter Berufung auf Houwink ten Cate (1970: 72–73; 1974: 151). Weitere Belege im Plural könnten allerdings noch in den Fragmenten KUB 57.19 Z. 11': KUR.KUR^{MES URU}Lu-[uk-ka₁-a] und KUB 21.31 Z. 3': [KUR.]KUR^{HA URU}Lu-[uk-ka₁-a] vermutet werden.

²⁵ Hierzu Gurney (1997: 134–136, 138) mit weiteren Literaturhinweisen bezüglich der These, dass die von Piyamaradu verursachten Unruhen im Lukka-Bereich in beiden Texten geschildert wurden und somit in die Ära Hattušilis fielen.

²⁶ Otten (1981: 4).

dessen Briefe und sonstige Texte charakteristisch seien; s. ferner die von Heinhold-Krahmer (1983: 95) vertretene Auffassung, dass sich der „Tawagalawa-Brief“ als ein Meisterwerk hethitischer Diplomatie recht gut in die relativ zahlreich überlieferte politische Korrespondenz dieses Herrschers einreihen ließe, und Singers Hinweis (1983: 209), dass – ebenso wie Paläographie und Orthographie²⁷ – das Vokabular späte Eigenschaften aufzeige, welche ihre besten Entsprechungen in einem Brief von Hattušilis Gemahlin Puduhepa an Ramses II. (KUB 21.38) fänden;

- c. Güterbocks Erklärung (1983: 136) bezüglich seiner auf Forrer zurückgehenden Deutung von VAT 6692 ii 61, dass in Texten Hattušilis entgegen der sog. Sommerschen Regel doch inzwischen gute Beispiele dafür vorliegen, dass eine in Verbindung mit einem Nomen auftretende Präposition bei dessen Apposition wiederholt werden könne;
- d. Hawkins' Beobachtung (1998: 17, Anm. 73), dass die Stelle VAT 6692 ii 56 (*nu nam-ma-pát A-NA ŠEŠ-IA ḫa-an-da-aš Ú-UL ma-a[n-ka, i-ya-nu-un...]*) einer häufiger vorkommenden Wendung in der Apologie Hattušilis (iii 38'–39', 61–62; iv 29–30 u. 61)²⁸ gleiche.

Dieser zunächst weitgehend ungetrübt erscheinende Datierungskonsens²⁹ der 1980er Jahre hatte nicht allzu lange Bestand. Gleich zu Beginn der 90er Jahre meldeten sich drei Wissenschaftler, Freu (1990: 32–38), Smit (1990–1991) und Ünal (1991: 33–36) zu Wort, die wieder für eine Datierung des „Tawagalawa“-Textes in die Ära Muwatallis plädierten. Ihnen schloss sich kurz vor seinem Tode Gurney (2002) an, der sich wenige Jahre zuvor noch für eine Zuweisung des Textes an Hattušili III. ausgesprochen hatte (Gurney 1997: 138).

Ünal (1974: 52, mit Anm. 24), der seiner auch schon 1974 vertretenen Datierung in die Ära Muwatallis zunächst treu blieb, brachte nun ein weiteres Argument vor: Kurunta sei als Sohn des Muwatalli dessen *tuhkanti* („Kronprinz“) gewesen und wegen seines Auftritts im „Tawagalawa-Brief“, wo er auch mit diesem Titel erscheine,³⁰ könne der Autor mit Muwatalli identifiziert werden (Ünal 1991: 33).³¹ Dieses Argument ist inzwischen wohl hinfällig geworden

27 Hierzu sei auf die kurzen und vorläufigen Ausführungen von Singer (1983: 209) und Popko (1984: 199–200) hingewiesen. Eine neue Untersuchung der paläographischen und orthographischen Merkmale des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ wird demnächst M. Weeden im Rahmen der oben (Anm. 3) angekündigte Neuedition vorlegen.

28 Otten (1981: 20, 22, 24, und 28).

29 Unter den Fachleuten, die sich damals mit VAT 6692 befassten, legte sich wohl nur Easton (1985: 189, 194) nicht auf Hattušili als Autor von VAT 6692 fest.

30 Ünal schloss sich hier offensichtlich – ohne darauf expressis verbis hinzuweisen – der auf Forrers Überlegungen (1929: 98–102) Bezug nehmenden Auffassung von Houwink ten Cate (1983–1984: 37, mit Anm. 17), der van den Hout (1995: 88–89), Güterbock (1990: 162) und andere folgten, dahingehend an, dass der in VAT 6692 erwähnte *tuhkanti* (i 7), der *TARTENU* (i 9, 11, 67; ii 4), *DUMU-IA* („mein Sohn“; ii 4) und ^{md}KAL/Kurunt(y)a (i 73) ein und dieselbe Person seien; s. jedoch zuletzt Miller (2006: 241, 244, mit Anm. 31), der zwar eine Identität des Kurunta mit dem gleichnamigen König von Tarhuntašša für wahrscheinlich hält, jedoch eine solche mit dem in VAT 6692 bezeugten Sohn des Absenders und dem *TARTENU* ablehnt; ähnlich Heinhold-Krahmer (1991–92: 143a); vgl. auch Bryce (1998: 299–301, 321, Anm. 93).

31 Diesen Schluss zog auch Freu (1990: 34) für den Fall, dass der in VAT 6692 i 73 bezeugte ^dKAL/Kurunt(y)a tatsächlich mit dem *TARTENU* (i 9, 11, 67; ii 4), der einmal als Sohn des Verfassers bezeichnet wurde (ii 4), identisch gewesen sei. Freu (1990: 34–35) hielt sich damals jedoch noch andere Möglichkeiten offen.

(Hawkins 1998: 17, Anm. 73), und zwar durch die Tatsache, dass diesen Titel zur Zeit des Muwatalli Kuruntas älterer (Halb-?) Bruder Urhi-Teššup trug, wie nun durch Siegelabdrücke belegt ist (Gurney 2002: 137, Anm. 18; Hawkins 2001: 171–175). Dass Ünal zuvor selbst ein gewichtiges Kriterium zugunsten einer Datierung des Tawagalawa-Textes in die Zeit Hattušilis erarbeitet hatte,³² wurde von ihm nicht mehr erwähnt.³³

Von allen Gründen, die Freu, Smit und Gurney gegen Hattušili III. und zugunsten von Muwatalli II. als Autor von VAT 6692 ab 1990 anführten, scheinen die folgenden vier von zentraler Bedeutung zu sein:

- a. Nach wie vor empfanden die genannten Forscher die Zeitspanne von möglicherweise drei bis zu maximal vier Jahrzehnten, die für die unter Muwatalli II. beginnenden gemeinsamen Aktionen des Piyamaradu und des Atpa im Falle einer Datierung von VAT 6692 in die Ära Hattušilis zu veranschlagen wären, als unwahrscheinlich und plädierten nun erneut für eine zeitliche Nähe zum vorausgehenden Manapa-Tarhunta-Brief (Freu 1990: 36; 2004: 319; Freu & Mazoyer 2008: 109–118; Smit 1990–1991: 86–87, 91–92, 108; Gurney 2002: 135).
- b. Da Hattušili bei seiner Usurpation des großköniglichen Thrones bereits in reiferem Alter gestanden habe, könne, so in etwa die Argumentation (Smit 1990–1991: 86; Gurney 2002: 136; Freu 2004: 303, Anm. 90), die in VAT 6692 iv 7ff. erwähnte Auseinandersetzung mit Ahḫiyawa wegen Wiluša, wegen der sich der hethitische König bei seinem Briefpartner mit seiner damaligen Jugend entschuldigt habe (iv 34), nicht mit Hattušili III. in Verbindung gebracht werden, sondern müsse Muwatalli zugeordnet werden.
- c. Der in VAT 6692 i 73 erwähnte Kurunta, zweifellos eine hochrangige Person, sei nicht (Gurney 2002: 138–140)³⁴ oder nicht sicher (Freu 1990: 34; 2004: 318–319; Smit 1990–1991: 88) mit dem erst von Hattušili III. zum König von Tarhuntašša ernannten jüngeren Sohn Muwatallis II. identisch gewesen.
- d. Das Fragment KBo 16.35 könne nicht als ein Zeugnis dafür dienen, dass die im „Tawagalawa-Brief“ geschilderten antihethitischen Aktivitäten Piyamaradus in der Regierungszeit Hattušilis III. stattfanden. Vielmehr gehe daraus hervor, dass dieser Mann bereits von Muwatalli II. gefangen gesetzt worden sei (Freu 2004: 320; Freu & Mazoyer 2008: 117; Smit 1990–1991: 93–96, 100–101 und 109; Gurney 2002: 136).

32 Bei seiner Untersuchung der verba delendi (Ünal 1984: 71–78) hatte sich ergeben, dass früher gebräuchliche Formen in der Bedeutung „zerstören“ ab Hattušili III. durch (*arḫa*) *ḫarganu*- weitgehend verdrängt wurden. Mit Hilfe einer diachronischen Übersichtstafel zeigte er sein Ergebnis auf und schrieb (ibid.: 77–78): „Anhand dieser Erkenntnisse könnte man einige umstrittene Texte, wie den Tawagalawa-Brief und die Orakeltexte KUB V 1; XXII 25, die ausschließlich (*arḫa*) *ḫarganu*- gebrauchen, in das 13. Jahrhundert, genauer in die Regierung Hattušilis III., datieren.“

33 Etwas später brachte Ünal (*RIA* 8: 436) den „Tawagalawa-Brief“ erstaunlicherweise ohne Angabe von Gründen mit Muršili II., Muwatallis II. Vorgänger und Vater, in Verbindung; s. hierzu auch die Bemerkungen von Klengel (1999: 247, Anm. 468) und Miller (2006: 241, Anm. 23); die zwischenzeitlich als sehr unwahrscheinlich herausgestellte Datierung auf Muršili II. (z.B. Singer 1983: 209–210; Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 86–90; Popko 1984: 199–203) findet sich auch noch bei Macqueen (1986: 48, Anm. 39) und zwar ebenfalls ohne nähere Begründung.

34 Gurneys Hypothese scheint inzwischen auch Freu (2008: 114–115) völlig überzeugt zu haben.

Vor allem mit diesen, aber auch noch weiteren Argumenten haben sich nun diejenigen, die Hattušili III. als Autor des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ betrachten, gegenwärtig erneut auseinanderzusetzen.

Vernachlässigt werden dürfen hingegen zwei weitere Datierungsversuche aus neuerer Zeit, die bislang wohl zu Recht kaum ein Echo in der Fachwelt gefunden haben. Es handelt sich dabei um Bestrebungen, den sog. Tawagalawa-Brief und ihm zeitlich nahe stehende Fragmente inhaltlich entweder mit Quellen aus Ortaköy (Tuthaliya III.³⁵) zu verknüpfen und den Text dann Tuthaliyas III. Sohn, dem Großreichsbegründer Šuppiluliuma I., zuzuordnen (Süel 2001: 673–674, 677–678)³⁶ oder aber ihn in zeitliche Nähe zur Hieroglypheninschrift von Yalburt³⁷ aus der Ära Tuthaliyas IV., der Spätphase des hethitischen Großreiches also, zu bringen (Carruba 1996: 30).³⁸

III. Bemerkungen zu Hauptargumenten für eine Datierung zu Muwatalli II.

Da ein intensives Eingehen auf alle Argumente, die für eine Autorenschaft Muwatallis in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten ins Feld geführt wurden, den Rahmen dieses Beitrags sprengen würde, seien hier nur einige Bemerkungen zu den oben aufgeführten Punkten a. und b. angefügt, ehe Punkt d. ausführlicher in Abschnitt IV behandelt wird.

Mit der nicht unkomplizierten Diskussion um die Frage, ob Kurunta in VAT 6692 i 73 mit dem von Hattušili III. in der neu geschaffenen Sekundogenitur Tarhuntašša zum König eingesetzten gleichnamigen Sohn Muwatallis II. identisch sei oder nicht (s. oben Punkt c.), befasst sich de Martino in einem bereits im Druck befindlichen Artikel intensiv.³⁹ Deshalb kann hier auf eine Auseinandersetzung mit Argument c. verzichtet werden, und dies umso mehr, als de Martinos Schlussfolgerungen und erzielten Ergebnisse den im folgenden dargelegten Resultaten bezüglich der Punkte a., b. und d. in keiner Weise widersprechen. Sie stützen vielmehr die den vorliegenden Ausführungen zugrunde liegende Auffassung, dass aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach Hattušili der Autor von VAT 6692 gewesen sein dürfte.

35 So die Datierung der Textfunde nach Süel (2001: 670).

36 Süels Versuch (2001: 671–672) stützte sich vor allem auf einen Brief aus der Reihe der noch immer unpublizierten Ortaköy-Texte, indem sie auf die Homonymität von darin erwähnten Personen und von solchen, die im Tawagalawa-Text oder weiteren inhaltlich verwandten Fragmenten auftreten, insbesondere Piyamaradu und Kupanta-Kurunt(y)a, hinwies. Da sie sich in ihrem Plädoyer zugunsten einer Umdatierung aller Piyamaradu-Texte (inklusive VAT 6692) teils in die Zeit von Šuppiluliuma I., teils noch von dessen Vorgänger einerseits auf bis heute noch immer unediertes Textmaterial berief, andererseits jedoch vor allem bezüglich des sog. Tawagalawa-Briefes keinerlei sprachliche und paläographische Kriterien anführte, die einen so frühen zeitlichen Ansatz rechtfertigen könnten, mussten ihre Ausführungen in der fachlichen Diskussion um die Datierung von VAT 6692 unberücksichtigt bleiben.

37 S. die Edition von Poetto (1993).

38 Nach Carrubas (1996: 30) Auffassung ließen sich die im „Tawagalawa-Brief“ überlieferten Ereignisse mit denen der durch die Yalburt-Inschrift belegten Kampagnen Tuthaliyas IV. im Westen vereinbaren. So gelangte er zur Einschätzung, dass eine Datierung des erstgenannten Dokumentes auf Tuthaliya IV. immer wahrscheinlicher werde (Carruba 1996: 36, mit Anm. 50). Leider fehlt auch hier eine überzeugende Gegenüberstellung und Auswertung der „überlieferten Ereignisse“ in beiden Textquellen, die eine solche Datierung von VAT 6692 als Möglichkeit in Betracht kommen lassen könnten.

39 Professor de Martino sei hier sehr herzlich dafür gedankt, dass er mir vorab schon Einblick in diese Arbeit gewährt hat.

Zu a): Mit der Ablehnung einer allzu langen Dauer des gemeinsamen Agierens von Piyamaradu und Atpa griffen die Befürworter einer Autorenschaft Muwatallis II. auf jenes alte Argument zurück, das schon längst ad acta gelegt zu sein schien (s. oben II.1.). Gurney bezeichnete jene lange Zeitspanne, die sich angesichts des fast allgemein vertretenen zeitlichen Ansatzes des Manapa-Tarhunta-Briefes (KUB 19.5+) in die Ära Muwatallis II. bis hin zu den im sog. Tawagalawa-Brief geschilderten Ereignissen im Falle ihrer Datierung in die Zeit Hattušilis III. ergeben würde, sogar als Hauptschwierigkeit für eine solche Zuordnung des letztgenannten Schriftstückes (VAT 6692). Er (2002: 135) schrieb hierzu weiter: „When two individuals such as Piyamaradu and Atpa occur together in only two documents it is natural to assume that they are more or less contemporary.“ Auch für Smit (1990–1991: 91) schien die Tatsache der Bezeugung beider Männer in beiden Dokumenten und das Fehlen des Atpa in weiteren Piyamaradu-Texten von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung für sein Plädoyer zugunsten einer kurzen Phase des gemeinsamen Agierens beider Personen in Westkleinasien und somit einer nicht zu langen Zeitspanne zwischen der Abfassung beider Texte zu sein. Zu dieser Einschätzung trug natürlich auch die Tatsache bei, dass in beiden Dokumenten Probleme wegen des Landes Wiluša zur Sprache kamen, das erst zur Zeit Muwatallis II. unter hethitischer Botmäßigkeit gelangt war, wie dessen Vertrag mit Alakšandu von Wiluša⁴⁰ zeigt. Im Manapa-Tarhunta-Brief findet sich zu Beginn eine kurze Erwähnung einer Kampagne des hethitischen Feldherrn Gaššu dorthin,⁴¹ und aus einer stark zerstörten Stelle im Tawagalawa-Text (VAT 6692 iv 8–10) wird eine vorausgehende Streitigkeit oder sogar kriegerische Auseinandersetzung zwischen beiden Briefpartnern wegen Wil[uš]a erschlossen. Doch lässt sich dieses Zerwürfnis oder diese Feindschaft zwischen dem König von Hatti und dem von Aḫḫiyawa wegen Wiluša, vorausgesetzt, wir lesen und interpretieren diese zerstörte Stelle (VAT 6692 iv 8–10) überhaupt korrekt, nicht mit solcher Entschiedenheit auf die im Manapa-Tarhunta-Brief erwähnte Kampagne eines Gaššu beziehen, wie dies Freu (z.B. 2004: 299–303), Smit (1990–1991: 86–87, 89)⁴² und Gurney (2002: 136) versucht haben (s. unten Anm. 44). Es handelt sich hier zwar um eine durchaus mögliche Schlussfolgerung, jedoch keineswegs um eine sichere.

So lässt sich dann auch bei diesen Verfechtern einer Datierung aller drei genannten Dokumente in die Ära Muwatallis II. hinsichtlich ihrer einzelnen Begründungen und Beurteilungen nicht in allen Punkten Übereinstimmung konstatieren. Sie gelangen beispielsweise bezüglich des unter den drei Texten am spätesten eingestuften „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ zu recht unterschiedlichen zeitlichen Ansätzen. Während Freu (1990: 38; 2008: 112) für einen zeitlichen Ansatz vor Muwatallis Residenzverlegung von Hattuša nach Tarhuntašša plädiert, die er etwa in die Mitte der Regierung Muwatallis setzen möchte, Smit (1990–1991: 107, 109) jedoch die Zeit vor der kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung Muwatallis mit Ägypten bei Qadeš (1274 v. Chr.) als terminus ante quem betrachtet, bekannte sich Gurney (2002: 140) zu einer Datierung des Textes in die Spätphase von Muwatallis Regierung, und zwar wegen der schon altbekannten Interpretation von VAT 6692 iv 33–34, wonach die Probleme mit dem Adressaten, dem König

40 Bearbeitet von Friedrich (1930: 42–102); s. ferner Beckman (1999: 87–93).

41 KUB 19.5+ Z. 3–4; s. Houwink ten Cate (1983–1984: 38, 41–43).

42 Smit (1990–1991: 89) bringt die im Brief KUB 19.5+ Z. 3–4 erwähnte Kampagne des Gaššu auch mit Muwatallis Feldzug gegen Alakšandus Feinde (Friedrich 1930: 54, §6 A Z. 46'–52'; Beckman 1999: 87–88, §4) in Verbindung. Auch Freu (2004: 318) spricht von zeitlicher Nähe beider Dokumente zueinander.

von Ahhiyawa, wegen Wil[uš]a (iv 8) in der Jugend des Autors dieses Schreibens, des Königs von Hatti (Gurney 2002: 136), stattgefunden hätten (s. jedoch unten S. 204 sub b).

Es ist uns eben leider vieles unbekannt. So wissen wir z.B. nicht, wie lange Manapa-Tarhunta, der Verfasser des Briefes KUB 19.5+, das Šeja-Flußland während der Ära Muwatallis regierte bzw. wann jener Hethiterkönig dort Mašduri in die Herrschaft einsetzte (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 227). Auch können wir über den genaueren Zeitpunkt der Residenzverlegung Muwatallis – jedenfalls vor dem Krieg mit Ägypten – nur Vermutungen anstellen. Daher lässt sich der Entstehungszeitpunkt des Schreibens innerhalb der Regierung Muwatallis keinesfalls genau bestimmen.

Dass Piyamaradu zumindest noch einige Zeit nach Hattušilis Machtergreifung am Leben war und möglicherweise erneut Unruhen verursachte, wurde weder von Freu (1990: 38) noch von Smit (1990–1991: 94–96) in Abrede gestellt. Gurney (2002: 136) hingegen betonte, dass das Ende der Piyamaradu-Affäre in der Regierung Muwatallis stattgefunden habe und die Ergänzung *Pi-[ya-ma-ra-du]* in den Annalen Hattušilis (KUB 21.6 iii 4'), der er zunächst zugestimmt hatte (Gurney 1997: 130), aufgegeben werden müsse. Weitere Fragmente, die auf erneute Aktivitäten Piyamaradus nach Hattušilis Thronbesteigung hinzudeuten scheinen, ließ er – abgesehen von KBo 16.35 (s. unten sub IV) – bei seiner Argumentation völlig außer Acht, ganz im Gegensatz zu Freu und Smit. Doch auch die beiden letztgenannten Forscher waren sich offensichtlich im Hinblick auf die den Piyamaradu bezeugenden Fragmente, die partiell oder ganz auf die Ära Hattušilis III. bezogen werden konnten, nicht völlig einig. Freu (1990: 37) wies auf vier Bruchstücke hin: KBo 19.78, KBo 19.80, KUB 48.80 und KBo 16.35. Smit (1990–1991: 94–97) richtete sein Augenmerk zunächst auf drei, da in ihnen ebenso wie im Manapa-Tarhunta-Brief der König von Mira namens Kupanta-^dKAL oder dessen Land Erwähnung fand. Er berücksichtigte ebenfalls wie Freu KBo 19.78 und KBo 16.35, jedoch zusätzlich KBo 27.4, wohingegen er das Fragment KUB 48.80, das 1936 (s. oben 195) Güterbock erstmals zu einer Datierung von VAT 6692 in die Ära Hattušilis III. angeregt hatte, erst später erwähnte (Smit 1990–1991: 101) und KBo 19.80 kaum beachtete.

Die oben aufgeführten Fragmente schienen den genannten Forschern jedenfalls zu dürftig, um ihnen Hinweise auf Piyamaradus Aktivitäten entnehmen zu dürfen, die den im „Tawagalawa-Brief“ geschilderten Ereignissen entsprechen konnten (Freu 1990: 37; Smit 1990–1991: 95). Diese Skepsis scheint zwar gegenüber den meisten der spärlichen Piyamaradu-Fragmente berechtigt, wenn man davon absieht, dass ein Teil von ihnen zumindest auf antihethitische Aktionen Piyamaradus zur Zeit des Usurpators Bezug nehmen dürfte (KBo 19.78, KUB 48.80 u. KBo 16.35). Doch zu wenig berücksichtigt wurden m. E. die folgenden Gesichtspunkte:

— dass in KBo 27.4 Z. 7' die Erwähnung Piyamaradus in Verbindung mit dem aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zu ergänzenden Land *Iy[alanda]*, eines Landes also, das auch im Tawagalawa-Brief in Verbindung mit dem durch Piyamaradus Aktivitäten provozierten Eingreifen des Hethiters einige Male (VAT 6692 i 29, 35)⁴³ genannt wird, kaum ein Zufall sein dürfte und sich sehr wohl auf die dort geschilderten kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen beziehen könnte.⁴⁴

43 In diesem Zusammenhang ist neben dem gleichnamigen Land auch die Stadt Iyalanda (VAT 6692 i 18, 22, 30, 31 u. 39) bezeugt.

44 Viel weniger Wahrscheinlichkeit dürfte dagegen die von den Befürwortern der Muwatalli-Datierung verfochtene These beanspruchen, dass die in VAT 6692 iv 7–9 bezeugte Feindschaft zwischen dem König

Die ebenfalls aus KBo 27.4 Z. 3' zu ersiehende Angelegenheit bezüglich der Kultstadt Nerik lässt natürlich sofort an Hattušili III. denken. Daher wirkt auch der Einwand von Smit, dass Nerik nicht unbedingt mit Hattušili in Zusammenhang gebracht werden müsse, da in einem anderen – freilich nicht Piyamaradu bezeugenden und ebenfalls fragmentarischen – Text (KUB 21.20) auch Muwatalli (Z. 1') einmal fast unmittelbar vor Nerik (Z. 2') genannt sei, recht unwahrscheinlich, wenngleich nicht absolut unmöglich. Zum einen steht fest, dass es eben Hattušili war, der erst während der kurzen Regierung des Muwatalli-Nachfolgers Urhi-Teššup das seit langem verlorene Nerik zurückerobert hatte⁴⁵ und dann auch nach seiner Machtergreifung das dortige Priestertum für den Wettergott ausübte. Zum anderen ist zu bedenken, dass ein weiteres Fragment (KBo 22.10; s. unten), das von den Verfechtern der Muwatalli-Datierung (von VAT 6692) nicht berücksichtigt wurde, obwohl es Kampfhandlungen in Iyalanda bezeugt, ebenfalls in die Regierung Hattušilis weist.

— dass KBo 22.10 den Bericht eines Hethiterkönigs über seinen Großvater (iii' 2') enthält, der an KBo 16.35 (s. unten sub IV) erinnert (Heinhold-Krahmer 1986: 60–61). Mit dem Großvater des Berichterstatters dürfte ebenfalls Hattušili gemeint sein. Dies ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, dass dort innerhalb desselben Abschnittes gleich drei seiner Kinder namentlich genannt werden (iii 6'–8'). Jedenfalls geht es hier um kriegerische Ereignisse, wobei in Verbindung damit ähnlich wie im Tawagalawa-Text sowohl von Iyalanda als Land (iii' 3') als auch als Stadt (iii' 4') die Rede ist. Zudem könnte man bei dem auf der zugehörigen Vorderseite (ii' 8') erhaltenen Namensrest ähnlich wie im Falle von KUB 21.6 iii 4' durchaus an ^mP[*i-ia-ma-ra-du*] denken.

— dass zudem nicht der Gelübde-Text KUB 56.15 berücksichtigt wurde, der Puduhepa, der Gemahlin des Hattušili, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zuzuordnen ist.⁴⁶ Diese befand sich während des Gelübdes in ihrer Heimat Kizzuwatna,⁴⁷ und zwar an der Küste. In Kolumne ii (15–19; s. noch 25–29) dieses Schriftstücks fleht die Königin das große Meer an, den Piyamaradu herauszugeben und verspricht dafür wertvolle Opfergaben. Damit wäre jedenfalls ein Bezug zu VAT 6692 (i 61–62; ii 69–70; iv 53–61) hergestellt (Heinhold-Krahmer 2007: 195), wonach sich der aus Millawanda zu Schiff geflohene Piyamaradu in Ahhiyawa aufhielt, das sich aus hethitischer Sicht im Meer befand, auf einer außerhalb Kleinasien gelegenen Insel oder, was mehr und mehr als wahrscheinlich gilt, auf dem griechischen Festland.

von Hatti und dem von Ahhiyawa wegen Wil[uš]a in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit der im Manapa-Tarhunta-Brief (KUB 19.5+ Z. 3–4) erwähnten Kampagne des Gaššu gegen dieses Land zu betrachten sei. Zum einen sind dort die Erwähnung der Wiluša-Kampagne und der Hinweis des Autors auf seine Erkrankung eindeutig durch einen Paragraphenstrich von dem nachfolgenden Bericht über die Aktivitäten Piyamaradus, Atpas und weiterer Personen getrennt. Zum anderen bietet der Text, wie Houwink ten Cate (1983–1984: 46) zu Recht festgestellt hat, keinen klaren Hinweis darauf, dass bereits zu dieser Zeit Piyamaradu und dessen vielleicht erst künftiger Schwiegersohn Atpa unter der Ägide des Königs von Ahhiyawa ihre Aktivitäten ausübten, und dass Atpa bereits als Repräsentant des Königs von Ahhiyawa in Millawanda residierte.

45 So nach Apologie iii 46'–48' (Otten 1981: 20; Ünal 1974: 123).

46 So nach Mitteilung von de Roos (Brief vom 29.7.1997); der Text liegt inzwischen in Transliteration und Übersetzung vor (de Roos 2007: 240–243).

47 Nennung der Ortsnamen Izziya (ii 15) und [Ku]mmanni (ii 25).

Was nun aber die für unmöglich erachtete lange Zeitspanne von zwei bis drei Jahrzehnten (oder sogar etwas mehr) anbelangt, in der Piyamaradu und Atpa im Falle einer Datierung des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ auf Hattušili III. gemeinsam agiert hätten, so kann Singers (1983: 210) Hinweis, dass sich die antihethitischen Umtriebe des westkleinasiatischen Madduwatta ebenfalls über längere Zeit erstreckt hätten, nämlich über die Regierung von zwei Herrschern, nicht ohne weiteres wegdiskutiert werden.⁴⁸ Bei diesem Beispiel Singers wäre noch zu beachten, dass zwei Zeitgenossen dieses Madduwatta, Attaršiya, der Mann von Ahhiya, sowie Kupanta-^dKAL(Kurunt(y)a) von Arzawa ebenfalls als Gegner beider Hethiterkönige bezeugt sind. Es sind aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum auch Personen bekannt, die die Regierung von drei oder sogar vier Königen als aktive Amts- und Würdenträger erlebten, wie z.B. der Oberschreiber Mitannamuwa (zeitgenössische Hethiterkönige: Muršili II., Muwatalli II., Urhi-Teššup, vielleicht noch Hattušili III. zu Beginn seiner Regierung)⁴⁹ oder Kupanta-^dKAL(Kurunt(y)a), König von Mira (zeitgenössische Hethiterkönige: Muršili II. [ab 12. Regierungsjahr], Muwatalli II., Urhi-Teššup und Hattušili III.).⁵⁰

Zu b): Die Argumentation von Smit (1990–1991: 86), Gurney (2002: 136) und Freu (2004: 303, Anm. 90) gegen eine Autorenschaft Hattušilis, die auf der Annahme basiert, der Verfasser von VAT 6692 hätte sein früheres Fehlverhalten gegenüber dem König von Ahhiyawa (im Streit wegen Wiluša) mit seiner damaligen Jugend entschuldigt (iv 34), steht auf schwachen Füßen. Nicht genau beachtet wurde leider bis vor kurzem die betreffende Stelle selbst. Miller (2006: 246, Anm. 40) jedoch hat jüngst zu Recht festgestellt, dass gar nicht sicher sei, ob die Aussage „war ich (noch) jung“ (iv 34) als Teil einer Entschuldigung des hethitischen Großkönigs zu verstehen ist oder noch zum unmittelbar davor zitierten Brief des Königs von Ahhiyawa (iv 32–33) gehörte und somit auf diesen bezogen werden muss.⁵¹

Da sich die Vermutung mehr und mehr zu bestätigen scheint, dass Tawagalawa, der Bruder des Adressaten von VAT 6692, ebenfalls Großkönig war und wohl dessen Vorgänger auf dem Thron von Ahhiyawa,⁵² wäre sogar der zweiten der beiden genannten Interpretationsmöglichkeiten von iv 34 der Vorzug zu geben, und zwar aus folgenden Gründen:

Der Autor des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“, der hethitische Großkönig, war ein Zeitgenosse des Tawagalawa, wie sich aus VAT 6692 i 3–5 und ii 59–62 schließen lässt. Vermutlich war er bereits an der Regierung, als in Ahhiyawa der Adressat die Nachfolge seines Bruders Tawagalawa antrat. Dass der Regierungsbeginn des Adressaten zum Zeitpunkt der Abfassung von VAT 6692 noch nicht allzu lange, vermutlich erst wenige Jahre, zurücklag, könnte allein schon die Tatsache vermuten lassen, dass der Hethiter in diesem Text wiederholt auf die Zeit von dessen Vorgänger Tawagalawa Bezug nahm, um seine eigenen Handlungsweisen und

48 Dies hatte Smit (1990–1991: 91–92) versucht.

49 Götze (1925: 40–45); hierzu Ünal (1974: 60–61).

50 Wie der Brief KBo 1.24 von Ramses II. an diesen König von Mira zeigt, dürfte Kupanta-^dKAL(Kurunt(y)a) zumindest die Zeit kurz nach Abschluss des Friedensvertrags zwischen Ägypten und Hatti, auf den im Brief Bezug genommen wird (Vs. 10–12; Rs. 10'–11', 22'–24') und der ins Jahr 1258 datiert wird, erlebt haben (Edel 1994a: 74–77; 1994b: 125–131).

51 Schon Forrer (1929: 117–119) hatte überdies TUR-aš e-šū-un (VAT 6692 iv 34) in den zuvor zitierten Brief des Königs von Ahhiyawa einbezogen.

52 Heinhold-Krahmer (1986: 53–55); Güterbock (1990: 164–165); Alparslan (2005: 35–38); und Miller (2006: 244, Anm. 31); s. demnächst auch die diesbezüglichen Ergebnisse in der oben (Anm. 3) angekündigten Neubearbeitung von VAT 6692.

Maßnahmen verständlich zu machen oder sogar zu rechtfertigen. Er dürfte folglich kaum ein vorausgehendes Fehlverhalten seinerseits, das bereits in die Ära seines Adressaten fiel, damit entschuldigt haben, dass er noch jung gewesen sei. Eher ist anzunehmen, dass der Nachfolger des Tawagalawa im zitierten Schreiben den Vorwurf erhob, der Hethiter habe sich ihm (bzw. seinem Land) gegenüber gewalttätig/gewaltbereit verhalten, als er jung gewesen sei.

IV. Zur problematischen Rolle KBo 16.35 als Datierungshilfe für VAT 6692

Der im Jahr 1968 erschienene, gemeinsam von Otten und Güterbock erstellte Editionsband KBo 16 enthält unter der Nr. 35 ein nur 14 fragmentarische Zeilen umfassendes Tafelbruchstück, das in der Forschung alsbald große Aufmerksamkeit fand, obgleich der für die Autographen der Textnummern 24 bis 87 zuständige Editor Otten (s. KBo 16, S. iii: Vorwort) dem Fragment in der Inhaltsübersicht des Bandes keinerlei erläuternde Anmerkung widmete. In ihrer Rezension zu KBo 16 wies Kammenhuber (1970: 553) zu Recht aufgrund der Nennung von ^mH]a-at-tu-ši-li-iš A-BI A-BI-^mA „Hattušili, me[in] Großvater“ in Z. 11' darauf hin, dass dieser Text von einem Enkel Hattušilis III. verfasst worden sein müsse. Dies bedeutete also: von Arnuwanda III. oder Šuppiluliuma II. Carruba (1971: 80–84) dagegen, der das Fragment in einem wenig später erschienenen Artikel ausführlicher behandelte, indem er auch die erste Transliteration vorlegte, hielt Muršili II., den Sohn des Großreichsbegründers Šuppiluliuma I., für den Autor, da die Bezeugung von Piyamaradu (Z. 3') und dessen gemeinsames Auftreten mit Atpa und Kupanta-^dKAL und/oder Manapa-Tarḫunta in anderen Texten (KUB 19.5+, KBo 19.79)⁵³ seiner (damaligen) Meinung nach dafür sprach. Carruba (1971: 82) betrachtete Hattušili als Vorgänger der beiden Herrscher, somit als zweiten König dieses Namens und als Vater Šuppiluliumas I. Nachdem inzwischen Tuḫaliya III. als Vater des Großreichsbegründers und Großvater Muršilis feststeht, kann KBo 16.35 endgültig aus der sehr ruhig gewordenen Diskussion um die Existenz eines Hattušili II. wegfallen. Kammenhubers Datierung von KBo 16.35 in die Endphase des hethitischen Großreiches wirkte dagegen von Anfang an bis heute überzeugend.⁵⁴

Dem spärlichen Fragment versuchte man – ähnlich wie beim Manapa-Tarḫunta-Brief – schon bald Hinweise auf die Zeit zu entnehmen, in der Piyamaradu agierte, und diese dann auch für die Datierung des Tawagalawa-Briefes nutzbar zu machen. Ehe auf die wichtigsten Bemühungen dieser Art eingegangen wird, scheint es sinnvoll, den Text im Folgenden nochmals in Transliteration und mit einem kurzen Kommentar versehen vorzulegen.

53 Dieses Fragment gehört zu KUB 19.5+; s. Houwink ten Cate (1983–1984: 38–39).

54 S. z.B. Ünal (1974: 52); Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 253; 1983: 83, 90–93); Singer (1983: 214); Popko (1984: 201); Easton (1985: 194); und Freu (1990: 35–36).

KBo 16.35 (2207/c)⁵⁵

x+1]x[]x[
2']x x x [n]u-uš-ši[
3']x ^mPi-i-ya-ma-ra-d[u
4' -i]a²-at nu-za MÈ š[a-ra-a²
5' -a]t-tal-li še-er ki-i-ša-^rat^r
6' -z/y]a-u-wa ar-ḫa ti-i-ya-ir
7'] ^mPi-ya-ma-ra-du-un ar-ḫa ú-wa-te-^ret^r
8' I]Š-TU KUR ^{URU}Me-ra-a UL ku-it-ki da-a-aš
9'] pé-eš-ta a-pé-el-ši pu-ru-ut
10']-ta

11' ^mH]a-at-tu-ši-li-iš A-BI A-BI-I[A
12' ^{UR}]U Pa-šu-u-na KUR ^{URU}K[a-
13' ^U]RU Ḫa-li-un-za-an x[
14' ...]^rid^rŠe-e-ḫ[a

56

x+1 Auf dem älteren Foto sind noch die Spuren von zwei Zeichen zu sehen. In Ottens Edition ist nur der Rest eines senkrechten Keiles sichtbar.

3' Diese Schreibvariante des Namens – ^mPi-i-ya-ma-ra-du – ist gegenüber der üblichen Schreibung ^mPi-ya-ma-ra-du und seltenerem ^mSUM-ma-ra-du bislang singulär. In Ortaköy scheint noch die Variante ^mPi-ya-ma-a-ra-du-uš bezeugt zu sein (Stiel 2001: 671, Brief Z. 10). Nach Piyamaradu ist noch Platz für zwei bis drei Zeichen bis zum abgebrochenen Rand (s. Z. 6'–8') hin.

4' Hier ist von einer Schlacht, s. MÈ, die Rede.

5' Die von Ünal (1974: 52, Anm. 24) erwogene Ergänzung [...Mu-wa-a]t-tal-li kann in Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass in diesem historischen Rückblick anschließend in Z. 11' nach einem schwach sichtbaren Paragraphenstrich von der Zeit Ḫattušilis, des Großvaters des Berichterstatters, die Rede ist, als recht wahrscheinlich gelten; ob še-er hier als Postposition oder als Präverb zu betrachten ist, lässt sich aufgrund des fragmentarischen Zustandes des Kontexts nicht erkennen.

6' Auf wen die Wendung arḫa tiyair „sie traten weg, fielen ab“ zu beziehen ist, bleibt ebenfalls unklar. Einigkeit besteht darüber, dass es sich bei den vorausgehenden Silben um einen Namensrest handeln dürfte. Carruba (1971: 81) und Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 253) waren sich unsicher, ob hier [Ar-z]a-u-wa oder [Aḫ-ḫi-i]a-u-wa gestanden haben könnte. Links vor dem u ist noch der untere Teil von zwei senkrechten Keilen zu sehen. Zu Recht betonte jedoch

55 Die Transliteration erfolgt anhand der Edition KBo (Otten & Güterbock) sowie zweier Fotos. Für das ältere habe ich Professor Y. Çoskun (Ankara) zu danken, der es mir schon in den 1980er Jahren zugesandt hat, für das neuere Professor J. L. Miller (München), der es mir im vergangenen Herbst (2008) zukommen ließ.

56 Der in Ottens Autographie (Ed. KBo 16.35) deutlich durchgezogene Kolumnenstrich ist auf dem Foto nur sehr vage zu erkennen.

Smit (1990–1991: 95), dass Arzawa als eigenständige politische Macht zu dieser Zeit nicht mehr existiert habe (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 136–147), so dass Aḫḫiyawa als Ergänzung wahrscheinlicher wäre. Nach dem letzten Zeichen -ir erscheint ein Rest des Kolumnenstrichs, der bis Z. 8' erhalten ist. Die scriptio plena des Verbs ti-i-ya-ir (s. noch oben Z. 5 ki-i-ša-at) ist in später Zeit entgegen Stiel (2001: 676) nicht ungewöhnlich, vgl. z. B. KBo 12.38 i 6' ti-i-ya-nu-un, iii 6 ti-i-ya-at oder KBo 12.39 Vs. 8' mi-i-e-eš-du, 13' ḫu-u-ma-an-da, 18' za-a-i-iš, Rs. 17' ša-an-na-at-te-e-ni.

7' Aus den drei erhaltenen Worten ergibt sich, dass Piyamaradu weggebracht wurde. Von wem bleibt unklar; s. unten S. 209. Das letzte Zeichen steht rechts vom Kolumnenrand, befindet sich also bereits im Zwischenraum zwischen Kolumne i bzw. iv und der weggebrochenen Kolumne ii bzw. iii.

8' Hieraus ergibt sich, dass irgendjemand, vielleicht derjenige, der Piyamaradu wegbrachte, aus Mira nichts wegnahm. Die Schreibung Me-ra-a ist die späte Variante zu Mi-(i-)ra-a, wie sich eindeutig aus der Bronzetafel (Bo 86/299 iv 36) aus der Zeit Tuḫaliyas IV. ergibt (s. noch weitere Belege in RIA 8, sub Mira). Ebenso UL statt Ú-UL.

9' Zu purut s. Boysan-Dietrich (1987: 14).

11' Nach dem auf den Fotos nur schwach erkennbaren Paragraphenstrich nimmt der Autor des Textes hier Bezug auf seinen Großvater Ḫattušili. Zweifellos in Verbindung mit dessen Regierung werden anschließend Orte und Länder genannt, darunter das westkleinasiatische Šeḫa (Z. 14').

12' Dieser mit ka- beginnende Ortsname umfasste noch etwa zwei bis drei weitere Zeichen bis zum Rand der Kolumne. Der davor genannte Ort Pašuna ist hapax legomenon.

13' Der im Akkusativ erscheinende Ort Ḫaliunza ist ebenfalls hapax legomenon.

14' Zum zuletzt erhaltenen Ortsnamen, wohl dem Land des Flusses Šeḫa, einem Nachbarland des westkleinasiatischen Landes Mira und wie dieses seit Muršili II. zu den hethitischen Vasallenstaaten im Arzawabereich zählend, s. demnächst RIA 11 sub Šeḫa (im Druck).

Für Ünal (1974: 52, Anm. 24) bildete das Fragment KBo 16.35 neben weiteren historischen Erwägungen den „Ausgangspunkt“ für eine Datierung aller den Piyamaradu nennenden Texte einschließlich des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ in die Zeit Muwatallis (II.).⁵⁷ Wie er jedenfalls feststellte, erweist dieses Bruchstück Piyamaradu eindeutig als Zeitgenossen dieses Königs. Er führte zwei Gründe dafür an. Der erste lautete: da der Verfasser erst nach dem Paragraphenstrich beginne, über Ḫattušili, seinen Großvater, zu berichten, müsse der vorhergehende Abschnitt 1'–10' auf Muwatalli bezogen werden; der zweite: aufgrund der vorhandenen Zeichen in Z. 5' könne man an eine Ergänzung des Namens [Muwa]talli denken.

Die Verfasserin des vorliegenden Artikels zog aus einem Vergleich von KBo 16.35 mit dem noch kleineren Fragment KBo 19.78 den Schluss, dass in beiden Fragmenten zuerst von Piyamaradus Aktivitäten während der Regierung Muwatallis II. berichtet worden sein dürfte (KBo 19.78 Z. 2'–6' u. KBo 16.35 Z. 2'–10') und anschließend dessen Aktionen während der

57 Vgl. auch Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 174–175, 252–254); Easton (1985: 194).

Regierung Hattušilis zur Sprache kamen (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 90–94), wobei – wie meist in historischen Rückblicken – die Lage während der kurzen Regierung des Urhi-Teššup unerwähnt bleibt (Ünal 1974: 52, Anm. 24). Die wesentlichen Vergleichspunkte waren folgende:

In KBo 19.78 wird zunächst der Bruder der Majestät (Z. 5') genannt, was dem von Ünal ergänzten Namen [Muwa]talli in KBo 16.35 Z. 5' entspräche.⁵⁸ In diesem Zusammenhang treten jeweils sowohl Piyamaradu (KBo 19.78 Z. 6'; KBo 16.35 Z. 3' und 7') als auch das Land Mira (KBo 16.35 Z. 8') bzw. dessen König Kupanta-⁴KAL(Kurunt(y)a) (KBo 19.78 Z. 4') in Erscheinung (wie im Manapa-Tarhunta-Brief aus der Zeit Muwatallis). Anschließend wird in beiden Texten auf die Regierung des neuen Herrschers Bezug genommen. In KBo 19.78 Z. 7' nimmt die Majestät, die vorher von einem Ereignis zur Zeit ihres Bruders berichtete (Z. 5') wohl auf die eigene Thronbesteigung Bezug (Z. 7')⁵⁹ und geht gleich anschließend erneut auf Piyamaradu (Z. 8') ein. In KBo 16.35 (Z. 11') bezieht sich der Verfasser des Textes (Arnuwanda III. oder Šuppiluliuma II.) nun auf die Regierung seines Großvaters Hattušili III. Da Šeḫa (KBo 16.35 Z. 14') wieder nach Westkleinasien weist, ist durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass ursprünglich auch hier in dem schlecht erhaltenen Text weiter über die Piyamaradu-Affäre berichtet wurde.⁶⁰

Damit schien sich KBo 16.35 ebenso wie KBo 19.78 in die Reihe der Texte (s. oben S. 196) stellen zu lassen, die auf ein Fortdauern der von Piyamaradu ausgelösten Unruhen bis in die Ära Hattušilis III. hindeuteten und neben weiteren Argumenten auch als Stütze für eine Datierung des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ dienten (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 95–97).⁶¹

Wie schon oben (S. 199) angedeutet, nahm KBo 16.35 in neuerer Zeit eine prominente Stelle in der Argumentation gegen eine Datierung des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ in die Regierung Hattušilis ein. Gurney (2002: 136), Freu (2004: 320; 2008: 117) und Smit (1990–1991: 93–96) ist sicher dahingehend zuzustimmen, dass das Fragment nicht als Beweis dafür dienen kann, dass die im sog. Tawagalawa-Brief überlieferten antihethitischen Aktivitäten dieses Mannes in der Regierung Hattušilis stattgefunden haben (vgl. Anm. 61). Zumindest trifft dies zu, wenn man das Bruchstück allein für sich betrachtet. Die darin erhaltenen Erwähnungen Piyamaradus beziehen sich jedenfalls mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit nur auf die Zeit Muwatallis, und dass die von ihm verursachten Probleme auch die Zeit von Hattušili betrafen, kann man, wie schon gesagt (s. oben) nur aufgrund der anschließenden Nennung dieses Königs (Z. 11'), und zwar in Verbindung mit KBo 19.78 gesehen, annehmen. Hinzu kommen natürlich noch die weiteren, oben abgeführten Fragmente (S. 197), die auf die Zeit Hattušilis hinweisen.

58 Für eine Gleichsetzung des ŠEŠ⁴UTU-ŠI „Bruder der Majestät“ mit Muwatalli in KBo 19.78 Z. 5' sprachen sich unabhängig von Heinhold-Krahmer auch Singer (1983: 209) und Popko (1984: 201) aus.

59 So auch Singer (1983: 209).

60 Auch Popko (1984: 201) ging davon aus, dass ab Z. 11' weiterhin von der Piyamaradu-Affäre berichtet wurde.

61 Singers vorsichtige Äußerung (1983: 214), dass der Hinweis in KBo 16.35 Z. 7', Piyamaradu sei von jemandem weggebracht worden, vielleicht zeige, dass Hattušili sein im „Tawagalawa-Brief“ angestrebtes Ziel, die Auslieferung des Piyamaradu, erreicht habe, steht im Widerspruch zum obigen Ergebnis, wonach Z. 7' zum Abschnitt über die Ära Muwatallis gehört. Parker (1999: 83, mit Anm. 44) bezieht das Wegbringen des Piyamaradu ebenfalls auf die Ära Hattušilis unter Berufung auf Heinhold-Krahmer (1983: 91), wobei er wohl die dortige Argumentation zur Datierung des in 1'–10' Geschilderten in die Zeit Muwatallis missverstanden hat.

Die These allerdings, dass die im „Tawagalawa-Brief“ geschilderten antihethitischen Aktivitäten im westkleinasiatischen Raum schon während der Regierung Muwatallis ihr Ende gefunden hätten und somit das Dokument nur diesem hethitischen König zugeschrieben werden könne, lässt sich durch die als Beweis herangezogene unvollständige Aussage in KBo 16.35 Z. 7' –]^mPiyamaradun arḫa uwatet – schwerlich stützen. Aus dem fragmentarischen Satz geht nur hervor, dass irgendjemand den Piyamaradu weg oder heim bzw. zurück zum Ausgangsort brachte (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 94). Die wahrscheinliche Erwähnung [Muwa]tallis (Z. 5') findet sich zwei Zeilen zuvor, während in der unmittelbar vorausgehenden Zeile nach allgemeiner Auffassung der Rest eines Ortsnamens, sehr wahrscheinlich [Aḫḫi]awa (Z. 6'), steht. Hier könnte sowohl vom Land allein oder, was sehr häufig vorkommt, vom König dieses Landes die Rede gewesen sein.

Nun haben gerade diejenigen Forscher, die davon absahen, aus den winzigen Fragmenten Rückschlüsse auf Aktivitäten des Piyamaradu in Westkleinasien während der Ära Hattušilis zu ziehen (Freu 1990: 36–37; Smit 1990–1991: 95; Gurney 2002: 133, 136) nicht berücksichtigt, dass der in hethitischen Sätzen häufig für die genauere Deutung entscheidende Satzanfang auf der linken Seite von KBo 16.35 Z. 7' abgebrochen ist. Zum einen wissen wir daher nicht, wer den Piyamaradu vom Schauplatz des Geschehens – vielleicht aus dem Bereich von Mira (Z. 8')⁶² – entfernte, denn wir können über das Subjekt des Satzes nur Vermutungen anstellen. Zum anderen ist gar nicht sicher, ob Piyamaradu gefangen genommen oder vielleicht nur an einen anderen, für ihn sicheren Ort weggebracht wurde. Um dies feststellen zu können, wäre es nötig zu wissen, ob vor *arḫa uwatet* in Verbindung mit der Satzeinleitung bzw. dem ersten betonten Wort des Satzes die enklitische Ortspartikel *-kan* gestanden hat oder nicht. Wie längst, z.B. aus Untersuchungen von Götze (1933: 22–25), Zuntz (1936: 12–57) und HW² A: 263–274, bekannt ist, sind Verben der Bewegung und des Transportierens in Verbindung mit *-kan* + *arḫa* im Sinne von „weg, fort“ zu deuten, ohne *-kan* jedoch häufig im Sinne von „heim“. Neben der nicht immer ganz glücklichen Deutung „heim“ erscheinen manchmal auch weitere Nuancierungen möglich, wie „zurück zum Ausgangspunkt/zum Herkunftsort, zum zentralen Ort“.⁶³ Zuntz (1936: 12) stellte heraus, dass unter „heim“ meist das Land Hatti zu verstehen sei, auch an Stellen, wo es sich nicht um die Heimat des Subjekts des betreffenden Satzes handle.

Unter den von Gurney (2002: 136, Anm. 16) angeführten fünf Stellen in den Annalen Muršilis II., auf die er seine These stützte, dass Piyamaradu gefangen genommen worden sei, beziehen sich drei auf die Entsendung von flüchtigen NAM.RA^{MEŠ/HIA} („Zivilgefangenen“) nach Hattuša, die dem Hethiterkönig in die Hände gefallen waren (KBo 3.4 iii 9),⁶⁴ sei es, dass sie ausgeliefert worden waren (KBo 3.4 iii 21) oder dass er sie hatte ergreifen können (KBo 3.4 ii 45). Nur bei einer Stelle handelt es sich um die Festnahme eines Kriegsgegners, des Piḫḫuniya von Tipiya, der ebenfalls nach Hattuša geschafft wurde (KBo 3.4 iii 89–92). All diese Beispiele von *arḫa uwate*- enthalten kein *-kan*.⁶⁵ Das fünfte Beispiel allerdings

62 S. die Argumentation von Smit (1990–1991: 88, 96, 100).

63 Dies scheint sich z.B. für die in HW² A: 263b unter *arḫa pa(i)*- aufgeführten Beispiele ohne *-kan* zu ergeben.

Eine erneute Untersuchung der einschlägigen Belege unter diesem Aspekt könnte sinnvoll sein.

64 Hier ist Hattuša analog zu den beiden nachfolgenden Stellen ziemlich sicher zu ergänzen.

65 S. den Kikkuli-Text Tafel II (KBo 3.5 iii) 25, wonach die Pferde von der Tränke in Richtung Stall geschafft werden (*arḫa uwate*- ohne *-kan*, nebst weiteren Beispielen). Dazu Kammenhuber (1961: 94).

(KBo 3.4 iii 5'), auf das vor Gurney auch schon Parker (1999: 83) in Verbindung mit KBo 16.35 Z. 7' hingewiesen hatte, weist eindeutig ein *-kan* auf. Unter Berufung auf diese Stelle in den Muršili-Annalen, die sich überdies innerhalb eines stark zerstörten Kontextes befindet (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 118–119), hatte Parker behauptet, dass *arḫa uwate-* allgemein „die Formel für die Inempfangnahme eines Ausgelieferten“ darstelle. Dass dies gerade in diesem Falle nicht zutreffend sein kann, es sei denn, *-kan* wäre auf fehlerhafte Weise in den Text geraten, soll an folgendem Beispiel gezeigt werden.

Im sog. Madduwatta-Text (KUB 14.1) Rs. 38 ist zu lesen: EGIR-*pa-ma-kán*⁶⁶ ⁴UTU^{ŠI} IŠ-TU KUR ^{URU}Šal-pa Û IŠ-TU KUR ^{URU}]-ša ÉRIN^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{HLA} ar-ḫa ú-wa-te-nu-un „Danach aber brachte ich, die Majestät, aus dem Land Šalpa und dem [Land?]-ša Fußtruppen und Wagenkämpfer weg.“ Wie aus dem unmittelbar anschließenden Text hervorgeht, nahm Madduwatta den Abzug der hethitischen Streitkräfte zum Anlass, erneute hethiterfeindliche Aktionen zu starten. Es handelte sich in dem zitierten Satz also um das „Wegbringen“ der Truppen – vermutlich von den genannten (Stationierungs-?) Gebieten – in ein anderes Kri-sengebiet und kaum „nach Ḫattuša (heim)“.

Eine Klärung der Stelle KBo 16.35 Z. 7' scheint jedenfalls nicht möglich. Aber selbst wenn wir wüssten, dass im verlorenen einleitenden Teil des Satzes kein *-kan* gestanden hat, und wir davon ausgehen könnten, dass der Unruhestifter Piyamaradu von Muwatalli gefangen und nach Ḫatti bzw. Ḫattuša geschafft wurde,⁶⁷ wäre durchaus nicht auszuschließen, dass er später wieder in Freiheit gelangte und im Westen Kleinasiens weiterhin als gefährlicher Gegner Ḫattušilis agierte, egal, ob er fliehen konnte – z.B. während Muwatallis Feldzug gegen Ramses II. oder in den Wirren des späteren Bürgerkrieges zwischen Urḫi-Teššup und Ḫattušili – oder aber vielleicht sogar von Urḫi-Teššup aus uns unbekannten politischen Erwägungen wieder freigelassen wurde.⁶⁸

Somit muss KBo 16.35 als eines der Hauptargumente für eine Datierung des „Tawagalawa-Briefes“ in die Zeit Muwatallis II. entfallen. Auch wenn zugegebenermaßen die wenigen überlieferten Texte aus der Regierung dieses Königs rein quantitativ keine adäquate Vergleichsbasis zu denen seines jüngeren Bruders bieten, bleiben wir zumindest vorläufig doch im wesentlichen auf Kriterien philologischer, stilistischer und paläographischer Art angewiesen, die wir aus den vorhandenen Texten schöpfen müssen. Diese Kriterien aber scheinen insgesamt eher für Ḫattušili III. als Autor des Dokuments VAT 6692 zu sprechen.⁶⁹

66 Dieses *-kan* wurde von Goetze irrthümlich in seiner Textbearbeitung (1928: 289) weggelassen; s. jedoch seine Korrektur (Götze 1933: 23, Anm. 4) sowie die Edition KUB 14.1. Beides wurde von Boley (1989: 317) nicht berücksichtigt; *-kan* ist jedenfalls auch eindeutig auf einem Foto der Rs. von Tafel VAT 6210 zu erkennen, in das mir Mark Weeden freundlicherweise Einsicht gewährte.

67 Vgl. jedoch die Stelle von der Auslieferung des Mašḫuiluwa von Mira durch die Leute von Maša an Muršili (KBo 5.13 i 10–11), wo der König dessen Transfer nach Ḫattuša folgendermaßen (ohne *-kan*) in Z. 11 ausdrückt: *na-an* ^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ši pé-e-ḫu-te-nu-un.

68 Von Interesse im Hinblick auf derartige Erwägungen wäre vielleicht das Fragment KUB 26.76 (Heinhold-Krahmer 2007: 195, Anm. 49), das vermutlich Piya[maradu] (ii 5'), dann den König von Ahhiyawa (ii 11'; iii 13'), jedoch auch Karkamiš (ii 3') und den König von Ägypten (ii 6'; iii 14') bezeugt.

69 S. oben S. 196–198; diverse zusätzliche Anhaltspunkte hierzu demnächst in der Neubearbeitung von VAT 6692; s. oben Anm. 3.

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The Institutional ‘Poverty’ of Hurrian Diviners and *entanni*-Women

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לאיתמר

In the course of my continuing work of revising drafts of dictionary articles for the CHD, I came across a note I made in 1972 while I was a guest of Prof. Heinrich Otten at the Boğazköy Archiv in Marburg, Germany. It referred to part of an unpublished ritual fragment at that time in Berlin, but now returned to Turkey, where it is conserved in the Eski Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi in Ankara. After its return to Turkey, publication rights to Bo 4952 were assigned to Prof. Sedat Alp. Upon his death, Alp’s share of the unpublished pieces was divided up, and it is not known to me who now possesses the publication rights to Bo 4952. In any event, it is not the intent of the present article to publish the fragment per se. No photo or cuneiform copy accompanies this paper. What I hope to do is merely to transliterate and interpret its contents based upon Otten’s file card, itself based upon an old Ehelolf field transliteration provided to me by Prof. Gernot Wilhelm, and two excellent photos made recently in Ankara by Prof. Jared Miller, which will not be published here but merely used to establish readings.

Although one might think that a mere fragment of a ritual tablet would hold no special interest for our honoree, it will become apparent that this one does. For not only does it give information for the first time about the requirement of entry into the classes of Hittite diviners and *entanni*-women—the latter especially poorly understood—but its interpretation is greatly helped by legal documents from Emar that the honoree himself had a significant role in clarifying. The text also supports the interpretation of the term ^(LÚ/MUNUS)*išhanittar(a)-* as referring to a relative by marriage, but more specifically a parental relative by marriage. In the process a new lexeme in the semantic range of poverty was discovered, a lexeme which could have an Indo-European etymology.

May Professor Singer be pleased with this small token of my deepest admiration for his many important contributions to the field of Hittitology and ancient Near Eastern history.

Bo 4952

- i 1 [.....]x-x¹ na-an LÚA[ZU²...]
 2 [.....]x G¹⁸BANŠUR AD.KID da-a-_i
 3 [.....-i]a² ku-e A-NA MUŠEN
 4 [.....] 1² NINDA.KU₇-ia BA.BA.ZA tar-na-aš
 5 [.....G¹⁸]BANŠUR AD.KID-ia-aš-ša-an da-a-i
-
- 6 [o o o MUŠEN] 1² [NINDA.K]U₇² A-NA EN.SISKUR pa-ra-a da-a-i
 7 [nu²-uš²-ša²-an² ma] aḫ-ḫa-an EN.SISKUR A-NA MUŠEN
 8 [1 NINDA.KU₇-ia] pa-ra₇-a ša-li-ga-ri šal-li-iš-ma-an

1 Traces could be ḪI.A.

- 9 [MUNUS en]-ta²-an₇-ni-iš ŠU-an e-ep-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an
 10 [te-ez] -zi
-
- 11 [o o o (o) -i]š-wa-za nu-wa-kán ma-a-an A-NA^{MUNUS} en-ta-an-ni
 12 [ḫa-aḫ-ḫar-aš]-na-ta i-ia-an ḫar-ši
 13 [na-aš-ma-w]a-kán A-NA^{LÚ} AZU ḫa-aḫ-ḫar-aš-na-ta
 14 i-ya-an³ ḫar-ši az-za-ga-tal-li-iš⁴-wa-ra-at
 15 [ḫa-aḫ-r]i²-ia-tal-li-iš⁵-wa-ra-at
-
- 16 LÚHAL-wa-za É A-BI-ŠU Ú-UL i-ia-zi
 17 nu-wa-kán me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da ŠA DINGIR-LÌ NINDA.GUR₄.RA
 18 uš-ke-ez-zi ḫi-nu-ra-an-za-wa-ra-aš⁶ LÚ^{G¹⁸} TUKUL
-
- 19^{MUNUS} en-ta-an-ni-iš-wa-za^{MUNUS} iš-ḫa-ni-it-ta-ra-aš É-er
 20 [Ú-U]L i-ia-zi nu-wa-za-kán pé-ra-an ḫa-ra-a
 21 [ŠA DINGIR-LÌ] ud-da-a-ar ḫar-zi, nu-wa-ra-aš-kán UN-aš¹ u[d²-⁶da-...]⁷
 22 [o o -]u²⁸-iš-ke-ez-z[i š²-nu²-r]a⁹-an-za-wa-ra-aš⁸ ^rMUNUS É⁷.GE₄[-aš]
 (break)

iv 3' [..... SÍG S]A₅ SÍG ZA.GÌN la-ak-[ku²-ša²-an²-za²-ni²-.....]

- 4' DUB.3.KAM QA-TI
 5' [ma-aḫ-]ḫa²-an²-za² [SIS]KUR² en²-ta-aš-ši-ia-an-za
 6' [o o ḫa-an-t]e-ez-zi pal-ši š²-pa-an-[ti¹⁰]
 7' [EGIR²-ŠU²-ma² o]-x-ŠEŠ-na^{LÚ} AZU
 8' [š²-pa²-an²-ti²]¹¹

- 2 The field transcription (FT) indicates the -ta- was still visible. The photo shows it no longer is.
 3 So the FT. The photo shows now only extremely faint traces in the subsurface which are compatible with i-ia-an, but not definitive. In any event, this is the reading one expects.
 4 This word was incorrectly copied by Jakob-Rost (1972: 60) from the FT as ar-za-ga-tal-li-iš, leading to others repeating the error; cf. HW² H: 10–11 and Fuscagni (2007: 87). Both the photo and the Mainz file card read correctly az-za-ga-tal-li-iš, the nom. pl. of a *nomen agentis* in -(a)t(t)alla- (GrHL §§2.32 and 2.55), based upon the imperfective stem *azzake-*, a permissible variant (see HED E: 318 and GrHL §6.2) of the usual writing *azzik(ke)-*, ‘to eat’ (GrHL §1.81).
 5 The trace is a final vertical, allowing also the readings [o-o-o-ḫ]i-ia-tal-li-iš-, [o-o-o-k]i-ia-tal-li-iš-, [o-o-o(-)ḫ]u-ia-tal-li-iš-, [ú-i-šu-r]i-ia-tal-li-iš-, ‘[opp]ressors’.
 6 Beginning of the intercolumnium.
 7 Or: u[d-da-na-aš Ú-UL], if quite a bit more was written in the intercolumnium.
 8 Or [o o (-)ti²-iš-ke-ez-zi].
 9 There is insufficient room in the lacuna for the single marker wedge which occurs above in line 18.
 10 [-ti] written in the intercolumnium.
 11 A final short line is possible, as there is room in a break, but very likely nothing more was written beyond line 7’.

Translation

(i 1–5) ...and the diviner [...-s] him/her/it [...] places [...] on] a wickerwork table and [the ...-s] which [...] to/for the bird [...] and one sweet cake of BA.BA.ZA (weighing) a *tarnaš* [...] and deposits them on the wickerwork table.

(i 6–10) [...] brings forth [a bird?] and one [swe]et [cake] to/for the sacrificer. [And] when the sacrificer reaches out for the bird [and the one sweet cake?], the chief [*en*]tanni-woman seizes him by the hand and [say]s the following:

(i 11–15) ‘You are [wrong?] if you have [made fu]n of an *entanni*-woman, [or if] you have made fun of a diviner (by saying): “They are freeloaders! They are [*accumula*]tors?”’

(i 16–18) ‘The diviner does not make for himself (i.e., acquire by inheritance) the house (i.e., estate) of his father. He *inspects*? the sacrificial loaves of the deity. <He is> a TUKUL-man *deprived of normal inheritance* (literally, “poor”).’

(i 19–22) ‘The *entanni*-priestess does not make for herself (i.e., acquire) the house of her bride.¹² She is *preoccupied with*?’¹³ the affairs of a deity. She is [*unconcerned*? for the] *af[fairs]*? of humans (literally, of a human). <She is> a [dau]ghter-in-law [*without succession ri*]ghts (literally, “poor”).’ (*Rest of obverse broken away*.)

(iv 3) [...] blue wool, sh[ees?] ...]

(iv 4–8) Tablet three, (text) completed. ‘[Wh]en? [the diviner?] offers the *entašši*-sacrifice for the first time.’ [...] x the diviner [...]

Commentary

Since it is not likely that such a lengthy section in a ritual text should be unrelated to the ritual’s principal objective, we must conclude that the ritual of which this fragment formed a part was for persons whose problems were believed to stem from an occasion when they might have ridiculed a member of the cult personnel of one of the gods. This would quite naturally offend the god as well, and might bring a reprisal in the form of illness or some other calamity. When that happened, the afflicted person would need a ritual to purify him- or herself from the offence.

It is perhaps a little unusual that such a ritual would require three tablets, whereas this tablet is the third and last tablet of its composition (DUB.3.KAM *QA-TI*). Most compositions requiring that many tablets are festivals, i.e., rituals for the royalty, and are not intended to remove divine anger because of a single person’s deed. But a few are so intended. From listings

12 Or: ‘of (her) mother-in-law?’; see commentary.

13 Literally, ‘she holds up in front of herself the matters of the deity’; cf. the English expression ‘she keeps foremost in her thinking’.

in shelf lists (‘catalogues’) one learns of *mān* UN-*aš* U₇-*anza*, ‘If a person is bewitched’ (KUB 8.70+KBo 31.28 ii 12ff.), which required three tablets. Also the ritual *mān antuḫšan* GAL-*li aniur aniyami*, ‘when I perform a long ritual for a person’ (KUB 32.9+KUB 35.21 rev. 35–36), required three tablets. From a fragment of a ritual containing only its colophon we learn of a ritual of a man named Ilima-abi requiring three tablets and titled *mān an[tuḫši DINGIR-LU₄ kuiški]* / [INIM-]az *kuēzga kartimmiyauwanza*, ‘If [some deity] is angry [at] a pe[rson] on account of some [matter/word]’ (KBo 12.116 rev. 2–4). Since this particular colophon is for the third tablet and contains the entire colophon, it is obvious that it cannot be a join piece to Bo 4952; and since the wording differs from what is preserved in Bo 4952, it is not even the same composition. Its subject matter is similar, though, and it required three tablets.

The presence of the term ^{MUNUS}*entanni*- suggests that it belongs to the Kizzuwatnean or North Syrian sphere, an area of significant Hurrian influence. The diviner (^{LU}AZU or ^{LU}HAL) and the ^{MUNUS}*entanni*- co-occur elsewhere, in KBo 7.60, a festival for Teššub and Hebat (CTH 706.11; see Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 297).

The *entanni*- priestess is discussed by von Schuler (1971: 225), Laroche (1978: 82), Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 384ff.) and Taggar-Cohen (2006: 384–422). The word comes via Hurrian from the Akkadian word *entu*, itself a feminine form of an Akkadian loanword from Sumerian, EN, ‘lord’. Taggar-Cohen (2006: 387) in her chapter on the NIN.DINGIR priestess devotes several paragraphs to the *entanni*-women. She distinguishes this class of female cult personnel, which often occurs in the plural, from the (^{MUNUS})ENTU and the NIN.DINGIR, who are not members of a group, whose status is much higher and who perform functions different from those performed by the *entanni*-women. One is reminded of the situation in Mesopotamia, where the Akkadian words *ēntu* and *ugbabbu* both underlie the Sumerogram NIN.DINGIR, but while the former denotes individual high priestesses, the latter denotes members of groups of cult functionaries on a lower level (see CAD E: 173). The Hurrian > Hittite *entanni*-women correspond more to the latter than the former.

i 6: The restoration [MUŠE]N is based entirely on the context, in which the word recurs in line 3.

i 7–8: The verbal complex *parā šalik(i)-* (see CHD P: 114, sub 1 ll., and Š/1: 103–104, sub 4 c) requires either *-kan* or *-šan*.

i 11: The first word in this line would have been important to the interpretation of what follows. The presence of *-za* shows it was a nominal sentence with a second person subject, ‘You are a [...]’. The speaker is the chief of the *entanni*-priestesses, and the addressed person is the sacrificer (EN.SISKUR). Given the overall context, it is likely that she called him a slanderer, but what Hittite word or logogram would fit the space in the break and the traces after it is difficult to imagine.

i 11–15: The two conditional clauses, marked by *mān*, ‘if’, in line 11 and by restored *našma*, ‘or (if)’, in line 13, are not resumed by an expressed apodosis. There are ‘if’ clauses in Hittite without expressed apodoses (see CHD L-N: 155ff. [*mān* 7 e], and GrHL §30.31). These have an implied apodosis, ‘may the gods punish/destroy you’. This would be one explanation for

the apparent absence of an apodosis. Another explanation, suggested by Melchert (personal communication), is to restore line 13 as [*ma-a-an-w*]*a-*, creating a double *mān* construction and construing them with the one-word clause immediately preceding: ‘You are a [...], whether you ... [or] you ...’. Of course, taking the two conditional clauses as dependent on what precedes does not require preferring the restoration [*ma-a-an-...*] to [*na-aš-ma-...*] in line 13, since the force of *mān* ... *našma* is virtually the same (see CHD L-N: 159 sub *mān* 8 d).

i 14–15: The Hittite writing system does not permit marking quotes within quotes. Contextually, it appears that lines 14–15 are such, relating what the sacrificer is to have said in ridicule, thus requiring the present ritual to purify him of the sacrilege (*maršaštarri-*). The subject clitic *-at* is plural, referring to the whole class of individuals holding each office. The first may have been directed to the diviners as a class, the second to the *entanni*-women as a class. It is also possible that both insults were directed to both groups. As one possibility, van den Hout (personal communication) has suggested [*ḥa-aḥ-r*]*i-ia-tal-li-iš*, ‘rakers, accumulators’ (i.e., ‘greedy people’).

i 16: At this point the quote within a quote has ended, and the words of the chief *entanni*-woman herself resume. This is not therefore part of the ridicule, but the chief *entanni*-woman’s defence of these two classes of cult personnel vis-à-vis the two charges of freeloading and [...]. She summarizes what she feels is the diviner’s true relationship to the deity’s sacrificial loaves (*ŠA DINGIR-LĪ NINDA.GUR₄.RA*) and the *entanni*-woman’s vis-à-vis the affairs of the deity (*[ŠA DING]IR-LĪ uddār*). She addresses the two in reverse order compared to their initial occurrence in i 11–14: first the diviner, and then the *entanni*-woman.

The two logograms ^{LÚ}ḪAL and ^{LÚ}AZU (i 13) are interchangeable in Hittite, both denoting the diviner (Akkadian *bārû*).

There is a degree of symmetry in the opening description of the means of support of the two functionaries in i 16 and i 19–20. The expression *-za iya-*, ‘to make for oneself’, seems here to mean something like ‘to acquire, enjoy’. When its object is *É*, ‘house, estate’, it is also the Hittite expression underlying the Akkadian calque *bīta epēšu* in the Emar texts, which means ‘to inherit’ when applied to the cases of Kitta (d’Alfonso 2005a; 2005b; Yamada 2006: 230 n. 28) and Zu-Ba’la (Cohen 2005).

In the case of the diviner (i 16) the family estate which he cannot draw upon or inherit is the ‘house of his father’ (Akkadian *bīt abi-šu*). In the case of the *entanni*-woman (i 19–20) it is ‘the house of (her) mother-in-law’ (^{MUNUS}*išhanittar-*).

The Hittite word *išhanittar-* was first interpreted as ‘blood relative’ and derived from *ēšḫar* (oblique stem *e/išḫan-*). Hrozný’s original translation of *išhanittar(a)-* as ‘blood relative’ (related to *ēšḫar*), based upon VBoT 2, 1–2 ([*k*]*a-a-ša-mu ki-i te-et Kal-ba-ia-a[š]* [*k*]*i-i, me-mi-iš-ta ma-an-wa-an-na-aš* [*i*]*š-ḫa-ni-it-ta-ra-a-tar i-ia-u-e-ni*), was supported by Benveniste (1962: 101–102), Kammenhuber in Oettinger (1981: 388) and Neu in Taillardat et al. (1984: 100), but rejected by Tischler (HEG 1: 381–382), Puhvel (HED A/E-I: 338, 395–396), Košak (1990: 151), Melchert (1994: 111) and Rieken (1999: 284) in favour of a connection with the verb *išḫi(ya)-*, ‘to bind’. Whereas Rieken claimed a similar meaning for the nouns (^{MUNUS}*išhanattalla-* and *išhanalli-*, Groddek (2007) has demonstrated that *išhanattalla-*

means ‘murderer’, and instead of a putative noun *išhanalli-* there is a verb *išhanalliš-* ‘be a murderer’.

It has also been objected that the word *išhanittaratar* in VBoT 2 refers to a tie by marriage, not blood. It was claimed by Yamada (1998), cited by Singer (1999: 68), that the prosopographical evidence from Emar supports the earlier view, since in SMEA 45 1 and ETBLM 32 Zu-Ba’la inherits the estate of A(n)da-mali(k), suggesting to Yamada and Singer that the latter was his father. But subsequent research on the Emar documents has shown that Zu-Ba’la’s real father was a man named Šuršu, and that the A(n)da-malik whose estate he inherited was in fact his father-in-law (^{LÚ}*išhanittar(a)-*); see Cohen (2009).

The essence of the problem in 19–22 is whether ^{MUNUS}*išhanittaraš* (19) and ^{MUNUS}É.GE₄-[*aš*] (22) are the same word or counterparts in a reciprocal relationship (mother-in-law and daughter-in-law). In the former case, there is no mention of a bequeather, but merely the matrimonial status not attainable by the *entanni*-woman. This first interpretation would fit with the claim of Rieken that ^{MUNUS}*išhanittar(a)-* is the Hittite reading of ^{MUNUS}É.GE₄, ‘bride, daughter-in-law’. It would make this clause asymmetrical to É *A-BI-ŠU* in line 16, where ‘his father’ is not the status of the diviner, but his bequeather-benefactor. Even if the ‘bride’ interpretation is adopted, the question remains: Does the characterization of the *entanni*-priestess as a ‘[poo]r’ bride/daughter-in-law’ in line 22 mean that she was allowed to marry but could not enjoy her husband’s property like a full wife, or does it mean that she had to remain single? I am inclined to believe the latter, but both interpretations of lines 18 and 22 are viable.

Both diviner and *entanni*-woman are described as unable to do the same action, *-za...É iya-*. With only minor differences of nuance, this identical verbal expression *ought* to have the same meaning. Literally, ‘to make a house for oneself’ ought to mean to *acquire* one. A young male typically acquired a house by inheritance, whereas a young woman did so by marriage.

But there is another question to be addressed. Did the requirement imposed on these entrants into the cult that they forgo family inheritance and marriage income from the side of the cult administration, or from the side of the entrant’s family? It *could* be that the family inheritance and the provision of a dowry bypassed offspring supported by the temples, it being assumed that these descendants would be taken care of without draining family resources from their siblings.

But if it were left up to the individual families to decide whether or not to deny family resources, the chief *entanni*-woman could not make a statement like this as something that *typically* happened, covering *all* diviners and *entanni*-women. For this reason, I think we must conclude that the rule came from the side of the cult administration. The status which these two classes entered was ‘voluntary poverty’ only in the sense that they could choose *not* to enter the clergy. Once the choice to enter was made, their poverty was no longer elective, but compulsory. Perhaps this is what being ‘poor’ in the sense of *šinurant-* (as opposed to *ašiwant-*, ‘poor’) implies.

The vigilance which operated toward personal possessions of Hittite clergy is illustrated by the hypothetical case mentioned in the Instructions for Priests, in which the king gives a valuable item to a cleric (see below). He must attest its receipt before witnesses. And he may even be required to sell it! This is very similar to the limits on monks in the church, who can receive gifts from outsiders only if the gift is designated as *ad usum* PN ‘for the use of PN’.

Further: Whatever silver, gold, clothing (and) bronze implements of the gods you hold, you are (only) the custodians of them. (You have) no (right) to the silver, gold, clothing (or) implements of the gods. What is in the house of the gods is not (for you). It is for the god. Be very careful. There is to be no silver or gold for the temple official. Let him not carry it on his own body. Let him not make it into an adornment for his wife (or) child. If, however, they give him silver, gold, clothing (or) implements of bronze as gifts from the palace, let them be listed: 'the king gave it to him.' Let it also be set down what its weight is. Further, let it be set down as follows: 'At such-and-such festival they gave it to him.' And at the end (of the document) let the (names of the) witnesses' be set down (thus): 'When they gave it to him, so-and-so and so-and-so were present.' Further, let him not leave it in his house. Let him offer it for sale. When he sells it, he must not sell it in secret (i.e., an undocumented or unwitnessed transaction). Let the lords of Hatti be present and observe. Let them set down on a wooden tablet whatever he buys, and let them seal it. When the king comes up to Hattusa, let him take it (the tablet) into the palace. Let them seal it for him. If he sells it as he wishes (i.e., not following this protocol), it is a capital offence for him. But whoever is not selling the gift of the king on which the king's name is stamped, but is nevertheless selling silver, gold, clothing (or) implements of bronze, whoever apprehends him and hides him and does not bring him to the gate of the king (for trial), it is a capital crime for both of them. Let them both be put to death. There is no [...] from the god. There is to be no pardon for them.¹⁴

i 17–18: The construction *menahḫanda au-* was thoroughly treated in CHD L-N: 286ff. sub 10 a. Its literal meaning, 'look toward, look closely at', were correctly paraphrased as either 'await' or 'scrutinize/inspect'. Although it is possible to assume an extended third meaning, 'look after/care for', there would be no example of this usage outside of the present one.¹⁵ In either case—whether it means 'inspects, scrutinizes' or 'awaits, receives, accepts'—this statement refutes the charge that the diviner is an *azzagatalla-*, 'freeloader', an unworthy or even illegal recipient of free temple food. The well-established meaning 'inspect, scrutinize' would refer to the diviner's role as an inspector (and therefore custodian) of the loaves rather than pilfering them for himself.

i 18: One has to assume, it seems, that the scribe has accidentally omitted the *-ra-aš* signs both here and in i 22, because the nominal sentence requires them.

The diviner is characterized here as a LÚ^{GIŠ}TUKUL, a status held by Zu-Ba'la the diviner (LÚ^{GIŠ}AZU) at Emar (see Yamada 1998; 2006). But the special status, which enabled him to inherit landed property, although he was a diviner, was due to the special circumstances of the Hittite mixed system of direct and indirect control at Emar. After citing the cases of Zu-Ba'la and Kitta, Yamada (2006: 231) summarizes the situation (italics mine):

14 KUB 13.4 ii 25–51, edited in Süel (1985: 40–47); English translation corrected from McMahon 1997: 218–219.

15 It may well be that there is yet another extended meaning 'welcome, receive, admit' to be seen in KUB 32.137 ii 3–6 and 24–26, where the walls are commanded to keep evil from entering, but to welcome/admit/receive (*menahḫanda au-*) the good deity. I would even suggest that this meaning is found in two or three of the examples cited in CHD L-N: 287 sub 10 a 2'. The god is asked there not just to 'examine/scrutinize' the king's substitute, but to receive/accept him in lieu of the king.

Such Emaro-Hittites are found in other Syro-Hittite-type texts as well. In ASJ 6-T (= ASJ 14 47 = SMEA 30 6), Tili-Šarruma, prince of Carchemish, bestows the property of Abi-Rašap upon his nephew Awiru and imposes the GIŠ.TUKUL-duty on him. In ASJ 14-T 46, a certain Ba'la-ummī gives her property to her son-in-law Abdi-šu'u (or Māš'u?); and Kunti-Tešub, prince of Carchemish, promises her that the sons of Abdi-šu'u will perform the GIŠ.TUKUL-duty for the sons of his Subarian wife. In Iraq 54-T 1, a certain Itūr-Dagan adopts a man named Kutamru as his son, establishing that Kutamru will perform his GIŠ.TUKUL-duty and inherit his property. Although there is no reference to any member of the royal family of Carchemish in this text, the fact that this text also is of Syro-Hittite type suggests that his GIŠ.TUKUL-duty was performed for the Hittite authority. In view of these occurrences, it is to be noted that the performance of the Hittite GIŠ.TUKUL-duty is *always linked with the inheritance of family property*. This property must have been given in return for the service.

i 19: See above in comments on i 16.

i 20: What is meant by *nu-wa-za-kán pé-ra-an ša-ra-a* [ŠA DING]IR-LÌ¹⁶ *ud-da-a-ar ḫar-zi*? As the CHD made clear in its *peran* article, there are two ways to interpret the sequence *peran šarā*: (1) taking *peran* as a postposition dependent upon either a noun in the dat.-loc. or the equivalent clitic personal pronoun and *šarā* as a preverb, or (2) taking *peran šarā* as a fixed double preverb/adverb meaning 'in advance, beforehand'. Option (1) seems preferable here, and the use of 'before herself' (*-za...peran*) seems similar in meaning to *-za ZI-ni peran*, 'in the forefront of one's mind'. The sole preoccupation of the *entanni*-woman is concern for the affairs of the deity.

i 21: The clitic pronoun *-aš* cannot be acc. pl. here, since the only antecedent it could have is the neuter pl. collective *uddār*, 'affairs/matters'. It should therefore be understood as a nom. sg. pronoun referring back to the *entanni*-woman. The imperfective form of the verb whose beginning is lost in the break would then have to be intransitive, yielding something like 'she [is unconcerned with] the ma[tters] of a man.'

i 22: See above in comments on i 16 and below on iv 4–8.

iv 3: Perhaps restore *la-ak-[ku²-ša²-an²-za²-ni²-...]*, 'sheet(s)'; or perhaps rather a form of the verb *laknu-*.

iv 4–8: This is a colophon fairly typical of Hittite ritual texts. I owe to van den Hout the suggestion to read the sign before *-ta-aš-ši-ia-an-za* in line 5 as [e]n-. I then read the sign before *en-ta-aš-ši-ia-an-za* as SISKUR (it is completely compatible with HZL no. 156.4). The word before LÚ^{GIŠ}AZU in line 8 appears to be a personal name. He might have been either the scribe and simultaneously a diviner, or the scribe's supervisor. This would require restoring [IŠ-TUR] in the following line; but we know of no scribe at Hattusa—much less a supervisor of scribes—who was a diviner. Furthermore, if he is only the supervisor, where is the name of the real scribe? There is insufficient space to fit it into the left-hand side of line 8. The diviner would have had a Hurrian name ending in *-šina*; cf. ^mZAG.ŠEŠ-na (Bentešina).

A more risky alternative would be to emend the ŠEŠ sign to SISKUR¹, in which case the complement *-na* might be a Hurrian (plural?) ending. Instead of being part of a personal name, this would be part of the characterization of the composition.

Lines 5–6 appear to contain the incipit or name of the ritual. And since incipits usually begin with *mān* or *maḥḥan* (GIM-*an*), ‘when(ever)’, line 5 is tentatively restored accordingly. The word SISKUR *entaššianza* would be an accusative singular Luwian form, the object of the verb *šipant-*.

For the sequence *hantezzi palši...šipanti* in a Hurrian-influenced ritual see KBo 15.52 i 11; but note that here another word intervenes between *hantezzi palši* and its verb *ši-pa-an[-ti]*. Usually *hantezzi palši...šipanti* alludes to the first libating or offering in a sequence of such *within the same* ritual (‘the first time...the second time...the third time’). But why in an incipit, the title of a ritual, would one use this expression? A possible explanation would be that in this case ‘for the first time’ refers to the officiator’s inaugural service in the role.

It is unclear if the broken line 7 and possibly 8 contain a continuation of the incipit or give additional information about the text or its personnel. Much depends on whether or not the reading [o o o o]x-ŠEŠ-*na* is correct, a reading which suggests a personal name. In iv 5 and 7 the colophon contains allusions to the same two cult officials (^{MUNUS}*entanni-* and ^{LÚ}AZU) mentioned in the preserved parts of column one.

Comments on *šinurant-*

Obviously, a key term in this passage is the word *šinurant-*, which twice is used in the conclusion of the justification for the temple support given to the diviner and the *entanni*-priestess. I have translated it ‘without succession rights (literally, “poor”)’, but now must justify that translation.

Were these lines a continuation of the characterizations of the two cult officials by the sacrificer which are called ‘ridicule’ (*ḥaḥḥaršnata*, 12, 13), one would have to assume that this key term which appears at the climax and end of each is pejorative in nature. But since it is suggested here that the quote of the sacrificer was short (i 14–15) and that lines 16–22 are the defence of the two cult offices by the chief *entanni*-woman, they are not pejorative.

How does the term *šinurant-* qualify the terms ^{LÚ}GIS¹TUKUL and [^{MUNUS}É].GE₄[-aš]? It seems to be an unavoidable conclusion that it refers in both cases to lack of access to funds and resources of their families: in the first case the male diviner cannot inherit, and in the second case the female *entanni-*, even if she marries, cannot succeed her mother-in-law as the one in charge of the household affairs. The *entanni*-woman can be called a [^{MUNUS}É].GE₄[-aš?], ‘bride’ (or ‘daughter-in-law’), only in the sense that she is ‘married’ to the god, perhaps in the same way that the *entu*-priestess in Mesopotamia was the bride of the god. The force of the adjective *šinurant-* is therefore that the person lacks the usual rights of the status noun that follows. A TUKUL-man would normally have inheritance rights from his father. A daughter-in-law (^{MUNUS}É].GE₄[-aš?]) would normally have the right to succeed her mother-in-law as *bēlet bīti*, ‘lady of the house’. But in the case of these two cult officials they do not possess these rights: they are ‘poor’ or ‘deprived’.

As it happens, the word *šinūra*[-...] occurs in an entry of the lexical text KBo 1.31 obv. 14–15, the Boğazköy version of the series IZI = *išātu*, which was transcribed without translation in MSL 13:144, ll. 15–16 and referred to in the entry *makû* (fem. *makûtu*) in CAD M/I: 140. As restored by Güterbock for MSL, the lines in question read:

- 14 Sum. [BU.]LU.UḪ.ŠI.LÁ = Akk. *ma-ku-ú* = Hitt. *ši-nu-ú-ra[-aš]*
 15 Sum. [vacat?] = Akk. *ma-ku-ú-tum* = Hitt. MUNUS-*za* [*ši-nu-ú-ra-aš*]

Neither Güterbock nor his successors tackling these entries were confident enough to interpret this rare Hittite word.

A first draft of the CHD article for this word, which I was given to critique, read as follows:

š. is part of and immediately follows a series of entries with Sum. bu-lu-uḫ rendered by Akkad. *gilittu*, *galātu*, *gitallutu*, and Hitt. *weritem[maš]* ‘fear, fright’, *weritenum[ar]* ‘to frighten’ respectively (KBo 1.31 obv. 11–13, ed. MSL 13:143). However, since Akkad. *makû* A ‘poverty, want’, *makû* ‘to be lacking’ (see CAD M s.vv.) are not easily reconcilable with this (but see AHw: 591 s.v. *makû* I, and HEG Š: 1053), following CAD M: 140 and PSD B: 168b, we prefer to keep the Akkad. *makû*, *makûtu* attested here separate and assign Hitt. š. no meaning.

But the understandable caution of the CHD draft author is no longer justified in view of the context of Bo 4952. Regardless of what Akkadian word was intended by the original Akkadian translator of the Sumerian, the scribe who added the Hittite column understood the Akkadian writings *ma-ku-ú* and *ma-ku-ú-tum* as ‘poor, impoverished’. The two classes of cult personnel—diviner and *entanni*-woman—were characterized as having no claim upon their family’s wealth and property and as being dependent upon the perquisites of their cult offices. Although they appeared to the imaginary critic as ‘freeloaders’ (*azzagatalliš*), they were in fact rightfully dependent upon the temples for support, since the rules of entrance into that post appear to have required the candidate to renounce family inheritance rights.

The word *šinura(nt)-* then occupies the same general semantic range as *ašiwant-*, ‘poor’, but must not have been completely synonymous with it. There is insufficient evidence to determine if it differed from ‘poor’ by having a related meaning such as ‘disinherited’ or ‘deprived’. But clearly in the case of the diviner it describes a person without the entitlements that persons outside the cult enjoyed. And since one of the established meanings of Akkadian *makû* is ‘poor’, it may be assumed that *šinurant-* also had that meaning. In Akkadian texts *makû* and its related forms (*akû*, *mekû*) designate persons who are ‘deprived’ in more ways than simply monetarily. Akkadian *akû* can indicate the lack of strength of the powerless (versus the strong) and weaklings (paired with fools and cripples) (CAD A/I: 283–284), while *mākû* can refer to a shortage or lack of soldiers (CAD M/I: 140). And this semantic breadth accords with the extended meaning of *šinurant-* required in our ritual fragment.

It is uncertain if the MSL restoration of the word as *ši-nu-ú-ra[-aš]* is to be preferred to *ši-nu-ú-ra[-an-za]*, which can appeal to the two occurrences in Bo 4952. Both restorations are possible. The meaning in both texts would appear to be the same.

Although Bo 4952 is a Hurrian-influenced (perhaps Kizzuwatnean) ritual text, the occurrence of the same word in the lexical text shows that its usage was not restricted to Hurrian-influenced

cult texts. Nor does its form indicate a loanword from Hurrian. The use of the single-wedge marker preceding *šinuranza* in Bo 4952 i 18 need not indicate the word was a loanword, but merely that there was something unusual that the scribe wished to call attention to. There is even a possibility that it is an inherited word from PIE *sen(H)u-,¹⁶ which might be compared to Latin *sine*, ‘without’, and Sanskrit *sanutár*, ‘far away’, the latter suggested by Melchert (personal communication).

¹⁶ The H is the standard way that Indo-Europeanists indicate a so-called ‘laryngeal’ in the proto-form whose precise identity is indeterminate. It is enclosed in parentheses to mark that the very existence of a laryngeal in this form is uncertain.

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Hittite *talliye/a-* ‘to draw, allure’

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It is an honour and great pleasure to take part in this tribute to Itamar Singer, whose many contributions to Hittitology include a definitive edition of Muwattalli’s prayer and an outstanding volume of translations of the entire corpus of Hittite prayers. In friendship and admiration I offer him the following reconsideration of one of the many Hittite lexemes connected with prayer.

The Hittite transitive verb *talliye/a-* typically takes deities or the spirits of the dead as its direct object and is generally interpreted as a verb of speech meaning ‘to evoke, implore’; see e.g., HW: 206: ‘(Götter) anrufen, anflehen’, Lebrun (1980: 415, 436) ‘évoquer’, Singer (2002: 76) ‘implored’, HED M: 184 ‘summon, elicit’, Kloekhorst (2008: 819) ‘to pray to, to evoke (a deity)’. However, there have been dissenting opinions. Laroche (1964: 27) concludes that *talliye/a-* is a transitive verb of movement (like *huiittiye/a-* and *mūgā(i)-*, with which it is often paired), and Hoffner (1987: 277, 285) follows him in rendering the verb as ‘to draw’. Oettinger (1979: 251) suggests rather ‘milde machen, beruhigen’, an interpretation close to that of Goetze *apud* Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935: 125), ‘propitiate’. I will argue in what follows that only the interpretation of Laroche and Hoffner can be correct.

Deciding between the alternatives that have been suggested is made difficult by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the examples of *talliye/a-* occur in the context of the Hittite evocation (*mugawar*) rituals which seek to induce the return of deities who have ceased to perform their crucial functions or of alienated spirits of the dead. Therefore ‘evoke, implore’, ‘draw, allure’, or ‘propitiate’ are all suitable interpretations, as illustrated by the following:

- (1) KUB 36.89 rev. 10–11 (evocation for the Storm-god of Nerik, NS)

[*n=an?*] *talliyadu* ^d10 ^{URU}Nerik ^{ID}Nakiliyatas...9-za=*an wappuwaza* GAM-*an arḫa*
uwateddu

‘Let the River N. allure [him?], the Storm-god of Nerik...let him bring him away from the nine river-banks.’

Compare Haas (1970: 152–153): ‘rufen soll’.

- (2) KUB 14.4 iii 27–29 (Mursili’s Accusations against the Tawananna, NH)

[*nu=z*]a *ammuk* ^dḪebat ^{URU}Kumman[*ni ANA S*]A[G.D]U=YA...*talliskenun mukiskenun*

‘I repeatedly allured and *incited* Ḫebat of Kummani for myself...’¹

Compare Singer (2002: 76): ‘I constantly implored and invoked...’

- (3) KUB 7.5 i 23 (Ritual of Paskuwatti, pre-NH/NS)

nu=ddu=za kāsa mukiske ^{mi} *tallieskemi*

‘I am hereby *inciting* and alluring you.’

Compare Hoffner (1987: 275): ‘I am just now entreating and drawing you.’

A weak argument can be made for *talliye/a-* as expressing the notion of ‘to draw, allure’ based on its use with *arḫa* and *-kan* to mean ‘to lure away’, thus with Laroche (1964: 27).² The need to induce deities to return is often explicitly said to be due to the fact that someone else has drawn them away:

- (4) KUB 15.32 i 46–54 (evocation ritual, NH)

kissann=a memai man=wa=za sāntes nasma=wa=smas=kan arḫa kuiski huiittian tallian mugān ḫarzi nu=wa=smas apās idālus ḫuwappas ḫarwasiya pedi mukisket kinuna=wa=smas kāsa anzās parā ḫandanni ^dUTU-i *kattan assuli huiittiyanneskeuwani talleskeuwani mukisgaueni* SISKUR=*ya=smas sanizzi parkui pesgaueni*

‘And he also speaks as follows: “Should you be angry, or (if) someone has drawn away, allured and *incited* you, and that evil wicked one has been *inciting* you in a secret place, now we are in providence under the Sun-god drawing, alluring and *inciting* you for well-being. We are also giving you pleasant pure rituals.’

Similar are KUB 15.34 iv 30–31 and 13.29: 4ff. (in the latter ŠAPAL ^d[UTU] for ^dUTU-i *kattan*).

- (5) KUB 10.72 ii 4–15 (evocation ritual, NH)

nu=tta=kkan IŠ[TU...arḫa]talliyat nu=tta=k[an...]tamēda nāis...nu=tta ANA É.DINGIR-LĪ=KA nasma ANA EN SISKUR awan arḫa tittanut kinuna=tta k[ā]sa ḫūmandaza [EG]IR-pa huiittiyanneskemi

‘He has lured you [away] from [...] and has led you [...] elsewhere...He has caused you to step away from your temple or from the ritual client. Now I hereby am drawing you back from every(where).’

- (6) KUB 7.47 obv. 1–2 (ritual fragment, NS)

mān=kan DINGIR.MEŠ *kuedani*[*kki arḫa*] *talliyantes*

‘If the gods have been lured [away] from someone...’

- (7) KUB 30.65 ii 7–8 (tablet catalogue, NH)

mān=kan ^dLAMMA ^{KUS}*kursas* [*kuedani*]*kki arḫa talliyanza n=an mugāmi*

‘If the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag has been lured away from someone, I *incite* him.’³

¹ I also follow Laroche (1964: 20–24) against all others in analyzing *mūgā(i)-* as ‘to incite, rouse, bestir’. I hope soon to justify this interpretation elsewhere.

² The fact that *-kan* occurs with *talliye/a-* only when it is accompanied by *arḫa* assures the restoration of the preverb in (5) and (6) on the basis of (7).

³ The parallels confirm this meaning, against CHD L-N: 321 ‘called away from somewhere’, and HED M: 177 ‘summoned off for something’.

The same expression is used for alienation of the spirits of the dead:

(8) KBo 14.70 i 15–16 (tablet catalogue, NH)

[DUB.x.KAM QĀ]TI mān=kan akkanza kuedanikki [arḫa tal]liyanza mugauwas

‘[xth tablet. (The text) is comp]lete. Of the (ritual of) *incitement* when/if a dead person is lured [away] from someone.’ (i.e., ‘is alienated from’)⁴

(9) KBo 41.1 obv. 1–2 (ritual, MH/MS)

UMMA MUNUSZa[r...]x mān=kan akkanza kuedanikki arḫa talliya[nza n=an EG]IR-pa
mugāmmi uiyammi

‘Thus speaks Za[r-]: ‘If a dead person has been lured away from someone, I *incite* and send [him] back.’

Compare the same text, rev. 30–32 (colophon):

[-s]ali [m]ān=asta / []x arḫa [t]alliyanza / [...m]ugāmi QĀTI.

The crucial evidence for *talliye/a-* as a transitive motion verb and against its being a verb of speech comes from an evocation ritual designed to persuade the gods of an enemy city to vacate and yield it to the Hittite king. As is typical, the ritual combines the use of offerings (including some strewn as paths) and a verbal invocation. The words of the ritual practitioner are preceded by (10) and immediately followed by (11):

(10) KUB 7.60 ii 19–21 (evocation ritual for the gods of an enemy city)

nu DINGIR.MEŠ U[RU-LĪ LÚ KÚR] talliyazi n=asta anda kissan memiskezzi

‘She allures/exhorts the gods of the [enemy cit]y and interjects as follows.’

(11) KUB 7.60 iii 5–6

[nu GI]M-an DINGIR.MEŠ URU-LĪ LÚ KÚR KASKAL-az talliauwanzi zinnai

‘When she finishes alluring the gods of the enemy city on the paths...’ (lit. ‘with the paths’)

As correctly emphasized by Güterbock and Hoffner in CHD L-N: 261, the expression *-asta/-kan...anda mema-* means to speak **concurrently with an action**, typically a ritual action. Here the ritual action consists of enticing the gods of the enemy city with various offerings, including paths covered with coloured cloth, to vacate their country, as stated in the accompanying speech of the practitioner. Since Güterbock and Hoffner cite very few examples, I offer a larger (but by no means exhaustive) selection here, in order to underscore that *-asta/-kan...anda mema-* always refers to inserting words into the course of a non-verbal activity: Cf. *-asta/-kan...anda mema-* after ‘they place their hands on the rams’ (KUB 9.32 i 22); ‘I break (list of various breads) for the Sun-god of Heaven’ (KBo 15.25 obv. 35); ‘they let (their offerings go) across to the male deities’ (KBo 4.11:18); ‘she digs up the ground...puts in copper, then fastens it down all around with nails and strikes (it) with a hammer’ (KBo 4.1 obv. 7; likewise

ibid. obv. 27 after placing multiple *kurakki*’s); ‘I take the spindle and distaff away from him and give him a bow’ (KUB 9.27 i 25); ‘he pours (groats) from above onto the *mulati*-bread’ (KBo 5.2 ii 21, with *-asta*); ‘he treats the deity with the *gangati*-plant...’; ‘pours water from a small silver vessel’ (KUB 29.7 obv. 10 and rev. 53; see also obv. 30 and rev. 27, 34, 59); ‘he carries them (various breads) to a cross-roads and crumbles them and libates beer’ (KUB 17.12 ii 5; similar ii 11 and 25).

One may contrast the usage above with that of a true verb of speech like *ḫalzai-* ‘to call’, where *mema-* takes neither *anda* nor a local particle:

(12) KBo 5.9 rev. 26 (Treaty with Targasnalli, NH)

nasma=an apāsila halziyatti nu kissan mematt[i]

‘or (if) you yourself call him and speak as follows...’

If *talliye/a-* were a verb of speech meaning ‘invoke, pray, implore’, it would make no sense to say that someone performs that action and speaks concurrently with it. Rather *talliye/a-* describes the overall ritual act of attracting the deity, **of which the verbal action is a part**. Since the latter is an integral component, there is no contradiction in the expression ‘words of allurement’: INIM.MEŠ *andan ḫalziyauas talliy[uas]* ‘the words of calling in (and) alluring’ or INIM.MEŠ *talliyauas* ⁴*Zaḫal[iqqa]* ‘the words of alluring (the deity) *Zaḫal[iqqa]*’ (KUB 28.92 i 6, 9, NS).

The following passage again makes very clear that the ‘words of allurement’ are inserted into the overall ritual action described by *talliye/a-*:

(13) KUB 58.11 obv. 5–6 (Cult of Nerik, NS; Haas 1970: 214–215)

INA ^{GIŠ}*daḫanki=ma=at=kan anda nāwi pānzi nu* INIM.ḪI.A *talliyauwas* GIM-an
sekkanzi n=at=kan QATAMMA anda memanzi

‘But before they go into the cult sanctuary, they interject the words of allurement as they know them.’

The following lines then describe the ritual offerings.

There is also undeniably a verbal component in the two instances of *talliye/a-* that refer to other than deities or a dead person, but the contexts show that the sense remains that of rousing to action, thus ‘to exhort’:

(14) KUB 29.3 i 7 (‘*Bauritual*’, OH/OS)

nu anku ^{GIŠ}.HI.A LUGAL-us *tall[iyezzi?]*

‘The king truly exho[rts] the trees.’

(15) KUB 19.49+ i 10–13 (Treaty of Mursili with Manapa-Tarḫunta, NH)

ANA LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Kar[kisa...A-BU=YA/ŠEŠ=YA=ya* ANA]
LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Kark[isa upp]essar uppe[sket n=as=ta]*
ser tal[l]isket nu=tta LÚ.M[^{EŠ} ^{URU}*Karkisa]*
anzed[a]z memiyanaz PAB-nu[er]

⁴ Quite impossible is the translation of HED M: 179 ‘if a revenant has been revoked by someone’.

‘[I, My Majesty, commended you, Manapa-Tarhunta], to the men of Karkisa. [My father/brother also repeatedly se]nt gifts [to] the men of Karkisa and repeatedly exhorted [them] on [your] behalf. Because of our words the men [of Karkisa] protected you.’

The sentence cited as (14) is followed by direct speech, but this in no way requires that *talliye/a-* be a verb of speech, since such usage is well attested after various action verbs (see GrHL: 355, §28.8). In the following speech the Hittite king summarily informs the trees that the Sun-god and Storm-god have allocated them to him to cut down and use to build a temple. There can be no question here of a sense ‘implore’, contra e.g., Neu (1983: 187). The king exhorts the trees to move: *kinun=a=kan kēz KUR-eaz sarā itten* ^d10-as=smas LUGAL-i *maniyahta* ‘Now go up from this country! The Storm-god has allocated you to the king!’ (KUB 29.1 i 39–40).

Even the incomplete context of example (15) is enough to assure that the action described by *talliye/a-* includes both the sending of gifts and a verbal representation. Once again, however, I cannot follow Beckman (1996: 78), who renders *tallisket* as ‘pleaded with’. The subject is either the brother or father of the Hittite king Mursili II.⁵ It is quite unthinkable that he would describe either of those individuals as having **pleaded** with the men of a minor western Anatolian country. The men of Karkisa were (successfully) exhorted to the action desired by both the words and deeds of Mursili and his brother or father. I certainly do not exclude that in these two instances Hittite *talliye/a-* has like English ‘to exhort’ come effectively to mean ‘to induce to action with words’, but examples like (11) and (13) cited above show that this is, as in the case of the English verb, a secondary development.

The fundamental sense of *talliye/a-*, as already seen by Laroche, is ‘to draw, allure, lure, attract’. There is thus no basis for the popular derivation of the verb from a PIE root **del-* that is the source of Old English *talian* and Old Icelandic *telja* ‘to tell’ in, e.g., Tischler (1979: 265) and HED M: 184. The latter verb is in any case itself not a primary verb of speech, since its original sense clearly is ‘to count’: compare German *zählen* ‘to count’ and English expressions such as ‘all told’ and ‘tell one’s beads (i.e., rosary)’. One may compare for the shift from ‘to count’ to ‘to tell’ French *conter* ‘to tell’ beside *compter* ‘count’, both from Latin *computāre* ‘to calculate’.

The derivation of *talliye/a-* by Oettinger (1979: 346) < as **‘ruhig machen’* < PIE **t_h₁-ye/o-* is excluded by the usage of *-kan/-asta* with *arḫa talliya-* plus the ‘dative of disadvantage’. By his account the *arḫa* of *arḫa talliya-* would need to show the ‘privative’ use of *arḫa* that reverses the sense of the base verb: in effect ‘dis-quiet’ (like *arḫa hapāi-* ‘un-wet, dry off’ and *arḫa tarranu-* ‘un-strengthen, weaken’), but *arḫa* in this usage never takes a local particle. The consistent co-occurrence with *-kan/-asta* shows that *arḫa* in *arḫa talliya-* must have the sense of ‘away from’. We are again led with Laroche to a transitive motion verb ‘to draw, lure’.⁶

English and Old Icelandic do provide genuine cognates of the Hittite verb as properly defined, although these have been hopelessly muddled together with the family of ‘to tell’ in

most handbooks.⁷ Old English attests a verb *-tyllan* in the compounds *for-tyllan* ‘seduce’ (*Dona us se swearta gaest forteāh and fortylde* ‘Whence the dark spirit drew away and seduced us’) and *be-tyllan* ‘lure, decoy’ (*Þā geliccetton hi fleām for him and hine betyldon on nearo fasten* ‘Then they feigned flight before him and lured him into a narrow fastness’). See respectively Bosworth & Toller (1898: 325) and Toller & Campbell (1921: 87). The simple verb appears in Middle English as *tillen*, usually with the pejorative sense ‘lure, entice’: ‘What arte þou, Andrew..þat has..drawen men to þi fals Godde & tilled my wyfe away?’ or ‘With gold and silver thow schal thaym tyllle’. However, it also means merely ‘to draw’: ‘Þus doiþ Ihesu Crist...to till us to his loue’. See Kurath (1952) under *tillen* v. (3). The neutral sense ‘to draw, pull’ survives in the Modern English noun ‘till’ = ‘cash drawer’.

In Middle English there also appears a verb *tollen/tullen*, likewise meaning ‘to draw, attract’: ‘Hou many virgins shal she tolle and drawe to þe Lord’, ‘It may nat drawn or tollen [L allicere] swiche hertes as ben ibrought to the ful perfeccioun of vertue’. See Kurath (1952) under *tollen* v. (1). The verb continued to be used in this meaning and in the special use of luring fish and game until 1900 in the United States (see the *Oxford English Dictionary* under the verb *toll/tole*). A reflex of the neutral sense ‘to pull’ survives in Modern English ‘to toll a bell’. The verb is also attested in an intransitive sense ‘to move’: ‘ha tolliþ togederes’ = ‘they draw together’; see Bosworth & Toller (1898) under *tyllan*.

Given the frequent though by no means obligatory negative sense of the English reflexes and the use for luring animals, Old Icelandic *tál* ‘trap, deceit, allurement’ (NB *draga á talar* ‘draw into a trap’) and its derivatives surely are also cognate. We may likely also add Greek *δόλος* ‘deceit, guile’ (used also of ‘bait’ for fish in Odyssey 12, 252) and Latin *dolus* and Oscan *dolom*, *dolud*. I must again stress that there is no basis whatsoever for relating either the English or the Icelandic words, which clearly refer to a physical action of attracting, to the family of ‘to tell’, either in the sense ‘to count’ or ‘to relate, speak about’.

The geminate *-ll-* of Hittite *talliye/a-* and English *-tyllan* and *tollen/tullen* are each susceptible to multiple explanations, and since they belong to highly productive formations they are more likely to be independent derivatives than reflexes of a common PIE verbal stem. Old Icelandic *tál* ‘trap, deceit’ is one of a set of Germanic feminine nouns with prehistoric long **ē* in the root whose origins are quite unclear; see on the problem Darms (1978: 91–102). I forgo any discussion of these formal problems here. I am confident that Hittite *talliye/a-* and the English verbs meaning ‘to draw, allure’ are derived from a PIE root **del(H)-* of the same meaning.

5 My restoration of II. i 10–11 differs from Beckman’s in that I assume due to the limited space in I. 11 a third-person subject for the sentence ‘repeatedly sent gifts’, but the subject of the verb *tallisket* is the king’s brother or father in any case.

6 On Hittite *talliye(ss)-* ‘be(come) calm, quiescent’, cf. Oettinger (1979: 251) and see Melchert (forthcoming).

7 Partridge (1958: 720, 725) does keep the source of the English verbs distinct from that of ‘to tell’, but his own comparisons within Germanic are both phonologically and semantically unacceptable.

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Seevölker und Etrusker

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English Abstract

Neither to the problem of the origin of the Sea Peoples nor to the question of the original homeland of the Etruscans (Tyrsenians) can generally agreed upon answers be found. As for the Etruscans, the standard view is that the Lemnos inscriptions, which exhibit a language closely related to Etruscan, are testimonies of the Tyrsenians in their original homeland from which a part migrated to Etruria. Some scholars believe these Tyrsenians to be of Proto-Indo-European origin (Steinbauer 1999), some do not (Beekes 2002). On the other hand, de Simone (1996) defends the thesis that the Tyrsenians of Lemnos were Etruscans who came from Italy. The present contribution tries to combine both riddles, the origin of the Etruscans and of the Sea Peoples. The argumentation, partly historical and partly linguistic, runs as follows:

The languages of the northern Greek isle of Lemnos, Etruria and Raetia belong to the same family. An attempt is made to show that, among them, Raetic is the most independent one. It seems to have developed quite far away from Etruscan. Processes of this kind generally need a lot of time. Therefore, before the date of the first Etruscan texts (around 700 B.C.), the Etruscans are expected to have lived in Italy for a long time already. In addition, Etruscan and Lemnian are linguistically close together, which means that they must have separated from each other much later than Raetic from them. As a consequence, the ancestors of the Lemnians probably lived in Italy and not in the Eastern Mediterranean area. Only later did when they migrate from Italy to the East.

On the other hand, it has to be taken into account that the alphabet of the Lemnian inscriptions is of Aegean and not of Italian type (Malzahn 1997). Therefore, migration should have taken place at some date before the alphabet spread in Italy. Under these circumstances the following hypothesis is presented. The Lemnians are a relic of the Sea Peoples, the ill-famed invaders that destroyed the Mycenaean world and most settlements along the coast of Syria and Palestine in the early twelfth century B.C. The supposition that the Sea Peoples started their enterprise from Italy is supported by Egyptian names of at least two of these peoples, Šrdn = Šerdani and Škl = Šikila, names which have been connected with the isles of Sardinia and Sicily by some scholars. The name of the Tyrsenians (= Etruscans), Trš, adds to this Italian panorama. Later on, in the Aegean, Achaeans joined the movement and probably even superseded the Tyrsenians as the most important group of the Sea Peoples. Archaeological arguments confirm that these peoples invaded the Levant from the direction of Greece and not from Anatolia (Niemeier 1998), and possibly also from Italy (Jung 2006). The results of this hypothesis are that the Etruscans are 'indigenous' in Italy. Their language is not of Indo-European origin. The Sea Peoples, consisting partly of Etruscans, started their voyage in Italy. In my opinion, this hypothesis and that of Beekes (2002) are the two most probable.

Der hoch geschätzte Jubilar und Freund aus Marburger Studienzeiten hat sich schon dreieinhalb Jahrzehnte lang immer wieder mit den Seevölkern beschäftigt.¹ Wenn ich das Thema hier aufgreife, so geschieht es in der Hoffnung, dass ihm meine bescheidenen Ausführungen nicht unwillkommen sein mögen.

1. Die Herkunft der Seevölker, denen um die Wende zum 12. Jahrhundert herum die meisten Staaten des östlichen Mittelmeers zum Opfer gefallen sind, ist ein viel diskutiertes Problem. Eine ebenfalls offene Streitfrage ist seit der Antike die Herkunft der Etrusker. Von manchen Forschern wurde und wird angenommen, dass ihre Heimat von Anfang an Italien gewesen sei.² De Simone (1996) rechnet damit, dass sie von dort aus um das Jahr 700 v. Chr. herum eine Handelskolonie in Lemnos gegründet hätten. Andere vermuten umgekehrt eine Herkunft der Etrusker aus dem ägäischen Raum oder Anatolien.³ So hat sich in neuerer Zeit Steinbauer (1999: 389) für einen anatolischen Ursprung der Etrusker ausgesprochen, wobei er für ihre Sprache mit indogermanisch-anatolischem Charakter rechnet.⁴ Beekes (2002) hält das Etruskische einerseits für nicht-indogermanisch, andererseits aber ebenfalls für aus Anatolien stammend.

Im Folgenden soll versucht werden, beide Probleme, also die Herkunft der Seevölker und der Etrusker, unter Einbeziehung des Rätischen miteinander zu einer neuen Hypothese zu verbinden. Eines der Ziele dabei ist, zu zeigen, dass sich gute Gründe für diese Annahme finden lassen. Ein weiteres Ziel ist es, anhand des Vergleichs mit den anatolischen Sprachen wahrscheinlich zu machen, dass das Etruskische nicht indogermanisch ist. Beginnen wir also mit den Etruskern.

1.1 Der allzu früh verstorbene Helmut Rix hat gemeinsam mit Stefan Schumacher nachgewiesen, dass das in den zentralen Alpen gesprochene Rätische mit dem Etruskischen verwandt ist, also beide von einer gemeinsamen Ursprache abstammen (Rix 1998; Schumacher 2004: 294–316). Die Gemeinsamkeiten sind nämlich von solcher Art, dass sie nicht durch Entlehnung oder Zufall erklärbar sind. So gibt es beispielsweise sowohl im Rätischen als auch im Etruskischen einen – von Rix so genannten – Kasus „Pertinentiv“ mit den Ausgängen *-si* und *-le*, der nach Rix auf einem Lokativ auf *-i* zu einem Genitiv auf *-s* oder *-l* beruht.⁵ Hierbei lässt sich zusätzlich ein bestimmter Vorgang bemerken, der dem Altetruskischen und dem Rätischen gemeinsam ist, nämlich der weitgehende lautliche Schwund des auslautenden velaren *-l* hinter dem (gerundet gesprochenen) *a*. Erst ab ca. dem Jahr 500 wurde das *a* dann im Etruskischen selbst entrundet und das *-l* wieder deutlich gesprochen, weshalb es nun auch geschrieben erscheint (Rix 1998: 28–29). Diese komplexe Beziehung zwischen Etruskisch und Rätisch ist weder durch zufällige Übereinstimmung noch Entlehnung erklärbar. Weiterhin ist beiden Sprachen gemeinsam ein Suffix *-ke* (rätisch *-xe*) des aktiven Präteritums und ein *-k-u* für passive Verbalnomina (Rix 1998: 36–45) usw. Die Verwandtschaft ist also gesichert.

1 So vor allem Singer (1988; 1994; 2000; 2006; demnächst).

2 So Dionysios von Halikarnassos 1, 2: 2ff. und in der Moderne u. a. Eduard Meyer.

3 So Herodot 1, 94 und in der Moderne Massimo Pallottino.

4 Woudhuizen (2008) betrachtet das Etruskische als ein kreolisiertes Luwisch, was ich für unwahrscheinlich halte.

5 Beispiele: etr. *clens-i* „im Bereich des Sohnes (*clan*)“, *larθiale* „im Bereich des *Larθ*“ (PN), *mi hirumesi mulu* „ich (bin) ein Geschenk für *Hirume*“ (PN) Cr–3.12, nach Helmut Rix (Unterricht). Vgl. auch Steinbauer (1999: 174ff.).

1.2 Andererseits, und auch das ist für unsere Argumentation wichtig, gibt es zwischen Etruskisch und Rätisch aber auch bedeutende Unterschiede: Der Sexus wird bei den rätischen Patronymika der Männer durch *-nu* und bei Frauen durch *-na* bezeichnet, bei den (aus Patronymika stammenden) Gentilnamen des Etruskischen dagegen bei Männern durch *-na* und bei Frauen durch *-na-i*. Das Vokabular der längeren rätischen Weihinschriften ist von dem entsprechenden etruskischen ganz verschieden. Von den ca. 70 erhaltenen rätischen Personennamen findet sich nur noch ein einziger, und zwar *Remi*, der auch im Etruskischen existiert hat und in lat. *Remus*, dem Bruder des Romulus, erhalten ist (Rix 1998: 58–59).

1.3 In Zeiten, in denen noch keine Medien zur Information existierten und entweder niemand oder nur wenige Gelehrte lesen konnten, pflegten sich die Sprachen mit einer Geschwindigkeit zu verändern, die zwar nicht immer völlig gleich war, sich aber doch in einem gewissen Rahmen hielt.⁶ Daher können wir die Veränderung selbst als ungefähren Zeitmesser benutzen. Dabei unterliegen wir keinem Zirkelschluss, weil wir die „Uhr“ der sprachlichen Evolution an solchen Zeitabschnitten eichen, für die wir über sichere Daten verfügen, und sie dann auf andere Phasen wie eben unser Norditalien der Frühzeit extrapolieren. Dieses Wissen setzt implizit auch Rix (1998: 59–60) voraus, wenn er schreibt, dass die großen Unterschiede zwischen Etruskisch und Rätisch nicht erst nach dem Jahr 600 entstanden sein können, als nach Livius die Räter von den Etruskern getrennt worden sein sollen, sondern viel älter sein müssen.

2. Wenden wir uns nun dem Verhältnis von Etruskisch und Lemnisch, der Sprache einiger Inschriften von der Insel Lemnos in der nördlichen Ägäis, zu. Hier bietet sich ein anderes Bild. Die Übereinstimmung zwischen beiden Sprachen ist außerordentlich groß. Betrachten wir diejenige Wortgruppe, die im Etruskischen eine Altersangabe des Verstorbenen darstellt: *avils maxs šealχls-c* „mit 65 (oder 45) Jahren“ (Ta 1.191; Rix 1991: II 56 = TLE 98) und *avils cealχls* „mit 30 Jahren“ (Ta 1.191; Rix 1991: II 56 = TLE 141). Im Lemnischen kommt sie auf beiden Steleninschriften vor: *šivai aviš sialχviš* B 3, *sialχveiš aviš*.... *šivai* A. Der Unterschied von etruskisch *-(i)l* zu lemnisch *-(v)i* vor *s/s* ist systematisch (Rix 1968: 215).

Ferner konnte Rix (1968: 215–222) zeigen, dass in etr. *z[i]lci vel[u]s hulχniesi* „im Zilc-Amt des Vel Hulχnie“ und in lemnisch *holaieši qokiasiale⁷ šeronaiθ* „im Seronai-Amt des HOLAIE QOKIASI“ ein morphematisch genau gleich strukturiertes, weitgehend auch formal gleiche Morpheme verwendendes Syntagma von drei Gliedern vorliegt.⁸

6 Steinbauer (1999: 361) ist zwar anderer Meinung und führt als Beispiel das Hethitische bzw. Anatolische an, das sich trotz seiner frühen Bezeugung stark vom Indogermanischen unterscheidet, was zeige, dass sich Sprachen sehr unterschiedlich schnell, in diesem Fall nämlich sehr schnell, verändern könnten. Er lässt aber dabei die sich heute immer mehr durchsetzende Ansicht außer Acht, dass das Anatolische den indogermanischen Verband wesentlich früher verlassen hat als alle übrigen Sprachen, so dass hinsichtlich des Entwicklungstempos keine Vergleichbarkeit besteht.

7 Das früher als *φ* interpretierte Zeichen dürfte als *q* zu lesen sein; s. Steinbauer (1999: 363). Daher entfällt auch der einzige deutliche Unterschied zwischen Etruskisch und Lemnisch, der sich aus angeblichem lemnischem **naqoθ* mit etr. *nefts* „Neffe“ ergeben hätte. Es ist aber wohl *naqoθ* zu lesen, so dass kein Wort für „Neffe“ mehr in Frage kommt.

8 Vgl. auch Steinbauer (1999: 365). Wie methodisch Rix (1968) vorging, zeigt der Vergleich mit dem zwei Jahrzehnte jüngeren Artikel von Schmitt-Brandt (1987–1988), ohne Kenntnis von Rix. Die bei Beekes (2001: 380) genannten Entsprechungen von lemnisch *šivai* und *maras* sind fraglich.

Mit Recht bilanzierte er (1968: 222):

dass man die beiden Texte der Stele von Lemnos nicht schlechter versteht als einen gleich langen etruskischen Text. Das geht allein auf Kosten des Umstands, dass sich das Etruskische mit einer Reihe von mehr oder weniger gesicherten Wörtern und Morphen zum Vergleich anbietet... Umgekehrt: Wenn das Etruskische, das in sich selbst ja nur so lückenhaft erhalten und verständlich ist, sich als so guter Führer für das Verständnis der lemnischen Texte erweist, so ist das nur möglich, wenn beide Sprachen nahe „verwandt“ sind.

2.1 Fassen wir das Bisherige zusammen: Wie sich gezeigt hat, sind zwischen Lemnisch und Etruskisch die Flexionsmorpheme, soweit man sehen kann, weitgehend die gleichen,⁹ zwischen Rätisch und Etruskisch jedoch in wesentlichen Teilen nicht. Die Konsequenz aus dem bisher Dargestellten ist daher die historisch bedeutsame Tatsache, dass das Etruskische der Sprache der weit entfernten Insel Lemnos enger verwandt ist als der geographisch relativ nahen Sprache Rätisch der Zentralalpen.

3. Daraus ergeben sich die folgenden logischen Schlüsse, wobei ich zunächst meine eigene Hypothese entwickle und dann erst auf andere Auffassungen eingehe:

3.1 Da die Verwandtschaft von Etruskisch und Lemnisch eng ist, muss die Aufspaltung in relativ später Zeit geschehen sein, und zwar (theoretisch) entweder in Italien oder in der Ägäis.

3.2 Da sich Etruskisch und Rätisch schon relativ früh getrennt haben und deren Aufspaltung nur in Italien erfolgt sein kann – beide wurden ja weiterhin in Italien gesprochen – so müssen die Etrusker bereits in früher Zeit in Italien gelebt haben.

3.3 Wenn aber die Etrusker schon in früher Zeit in Italien lebten, so ist es ökonomisch, anzunehmen, dass sie zu jener Zeit nicht gleichzeitig auch schon in der Ägäis oder Westanatolien wohnten.¹⁰

3.4 Daraus folgt, dass der Beginn der Aufspaltung von Lemnisch und Etruskisch nicht in der Ägäis, sondern in Italien stattgefunden haben dürfte. Die (späteren) Lemnier dürften also von Italien aus nach Osten aufgebrochen sein.

4. Diese Annahme lässt sich durch weitere Argumente stützen. Das erste ist geographischer Natur: Die Räter lebten in den Zentralalpen, und zwar in nord-südlicher Richtung vom Chiemsee in Bayern bis zum Gardasee in Italien und in west-östlicher von Graubünden in der Schweiz bis zum Oberlauf der Drau (s. die Tafel 1 bei Rix 1998, wobei inzwischen noch der Fund eines nahe dem Chiemsee entdeckten, rätisch beschrifteten Gegenstands hinzugekommen ist).

⁹ Beekes (2001: 360) schreibt, die Tatsache, dass so viele Wörter der Lemnos-Inschriften keine Entsprechungen im Etruskischen haben, spreche für eine lange Trennungszeit beider Sprachen. Was Beekes aber nicht berücksichtigt, ist, dass das Rätische relativ noch weniger Wörter mit dem Etruskischen gemeinsam hat als das Lemnische.

¹⁰ Mit Recht wendet sich Beekes (2002: 218–219) gegen die Annahme, das Etruskische Italiens und dasjenige von Lemnos seien beide Reste einer Substratsprache der Vorzeit, die einstmal den ganzen Mittelmeerraum innegehabt habe. Angesichts einer so langen Trennung beider Sprachen müssten dann nämlich die Unterschiede zwischen ihnen wesentlich größer sein als sie es de facto sind.

Die Alpen sind aber, wie alle hohen Gebirge, bekanntlich typische Rückzugsgebiete.¹¹ Daraus folgt, dass die Vorfahren der Räter zuerst in der Ebene Oberitaliens gesiedelt haben dürften und dann infolge längerer historischer Prozesse immer mehr ins Hochgebirge gedrängt wurden, bis sie sich ihm anpassten und zum typischen Alpenvolk wurden. Dies erforderte sehr wahrscheinlich einen langen Zeitraum, der nach der Trennung vom Etruskischen gelegen haben dürfte. Auch deshalb müssen die Etrusker schon sehr früh in Italien gelebt haben. Zu weiteren Indizien für die Ostwanderung der Lemnier s. u. §§6–8.

5. Wenn also die (späteren) Lemnier wahrscheinlich von Italien aus nach Osten aufgebrochen sind, wann könnte diese Wanderung dann stattgefunden haben? Die Annahme, die Etrusker Italiens hätten in archaischer Zeit auf Lemnos eine Handelskolonie gegründet, ist m. E. allein schon typologisch nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, denn Kolonien pflegen nicht in Gebieten gegründet zu werden, die zur gleichen Zeit selbst expansiv sind und Kolonien gründen, so wie es Griechenland in archaischer Zeit tat. Vor allem aber konnte Malzahn (1997) zeigen, dass die Lemnier ihr Alphabet in der Ägäis übernommen und nicht, wie teilweise angenommen worden war, aus Italien mitgebracht haben. Die Auswanderung muss also vor der Zeit der Alphabetisierung erfolgt sein.

6. Wenn aber die Auswanderung der Lemnier aus Italien vor der Alphabetisierung, die ja im 8. Jahrhundert stattfand, erfolgte, dann bietet sich meines Erachtens nur ein einziges Szenarium als wahrscheinlich an: Die späteren Lemnier waren ein Teil der Seevölker.

Nehmen wir also an, dass die ungefähr um das Jahr 1200 herum die Küsten der Ägäis verheerenden Seevölker einen erheblichen Anteil von aus Italien stammenden Etruskern enthielten. Dies kann positiv durch folgende Namen von Teilstämmen der Seevölker, die uns durch ägyptische Inschriften überliefert sind, gestützt werden: *Šrdn* (= keilschriftlich *Šerdani*), was auf Leute von der Insel Sardinien weisen dürfte, *Škl* (= keilschriftlich *Šikila*), was für Leute aus Sizilien spricht, und schließlich *Trš*, was der Vorläufer des Namens der Tyrsener, der griechischen Bezeichnung der Etrusker, ist.¹² (Die Tatsache, dass es später nicht nur in Italien, sondern auch in der Ägäis Tyrsener gab, z. B. eben u. a. diejenigen von Lemnos, ist natürlich kein Argument gegen unsere Auffassung, dass die *Trš* unter den Seevölkern aus Italien stammende Etrusker waren.)

6.1 Als nächstes stellt sich die Frage nach möglichen Motiven für diese Wanderung. Man muss sich dazu vor Augen halten, dass der Mittelmeerhandel vom 16. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert eine Blüte erreicht hatte wie in den darauf folgenden sechs Jahrhunderten nicht mehr. Auf Sardinien hat man aus dieser Zeit reichlich Kupfer gefunden, das fast ausschließlich aus Zypern stammte. Auch in Griechenland hergestellte Möbel mit Einlagen von aus Ägypten und Mesopotamien eingeführtem Elfenbein wurden bis nach Sardinien gehandelt. Mykenische Keramik wurde als Luxusgut im italienischen Raum verbreitet. Die Kultur der Bronzegeräte,

¹¹ Zum Begriff „Rückzugsgebiet“ vgl. in anderem Zusammenhang auch Beekes (2002: 210–211).

¹² Billigmeier (2003) identifiziert die *Trš* mit den griechischen Doriern, wozu aber kein Anlass besteht.

die im östlichen Mittelmeer hergestellt wurden, war von Zypern bis Sardinien stilistisch einheitlich.¹³

6.2 Es scheint mir kein Zufall zu sein, dass die Insel Sardinien, die ja sonst in der Geschichte nie eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hat, einerseits gerade die wichtigste Anlaufstelle kretisch-zyprisch-levantinischer Händler des 16.–13. Jahrhunderts war, und andererseits direkt anschließend, nämlich im frühen 12. Jahrhundert, Sardinien in Ägypten als Teil der Seevölker genannt wurden. Möglicherweise wollten Einwohner Sardinien sowie der italienischen Westküste und auch Siziliens diejenigen Länder, aus denen all die wunderbaren Luxusgegenstände kamen, einmal mit eigenen Augen sehen und vor allem sie auch nicht länger gegen mühsam erarbeitete Landesprodukte eintauschen, sondern selbst holen, auf eigene Rechnung oder, wenn nötig, auch mit Gewalt.¹⁴ Und so dürfte es sich abgespielt haben wie bei den meisten solcher Invasionen zur See: Zunächst dürften Schiffe mit unternehmungslustigen jungen Männern den Spuren der Händler gefolgt sein und schließlich einmal einen Überraschungsangriff auf eine Handelsstation in Griechenland oder Kreta gewagt haben. Als dieser erfolgreich war, da brachen daraufhin größere Gruppen auf und ließen sich im Lauf der Zeit zum Teil auch im ägäischen Raum nieder, verstreut auf verschiedene Stellen.¹⁵

7. Sie siedelten unter anderem vermutlich auf Kreta und dürften mit den in der Odyssee (19.177) dort lokalisierten Pelasgern identisch sein. Auf Lemnos sind sie später nicht nur durch ihre Inschriften nachgewiesen, sondern auch durch die griechische Überlieferung, die sie wechselweise als Tyrsener und Pelasger bezeichnet. Aus Herodot (6, 137ff.) geht indirekt hervor, dass sie Seeraub ausübten, und überhaupt gelten noch den Griechen des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts die Tyrsener als Inbegriff von Piraten.¹⁶ Und räuberische Eroberer bzw. Piraten waren ja auch die Seevölker gewesen, was nicht ausschließt, dass sie zwischendurch Handel trieben. Auch wenn sich viele Angehörige dieser Völker auf den Inseln, Kreta und der anatolischen Westküste fest ansiedelten, so nutzten sie doch diese Stützpunkte auch für Raubzüge, und ein großer Teil von ihnen blieb mobil und drang wieder nach Südosten vor. Dabei schlossen sich ihnen so viele Achäer (Griechen) an, dass sie wohl schließlich die Mehrheit des Zugs bildeten.¹⁷ Die Ägypter führen diese Achäer als „*ikwš*“ in ihren Listen der Seevölker auf, neben den ihrer Herkunft nach ungeklärten *plšt* „Philister“, die später an der Küste Palästinas siedelten. Aber auch andere entwurzelte Küstenbewohner als die Achäer wurden vom Strom mitgerissen, so etwa Lykier (*rk*). Dafür, dass die Seevölker nicht von Nordwestanatolien her, sondern aus

13 So zum archäologischen Befund mein Erlanger Kollege Hartmut Matthäus in einem Vortrag des Titels „Das Schiff von *Uluburun*“ in Erlangen am 8. Juni 2006.

14 Dies ist meine Antwort auf die Frage von Beekes (2002: 218) „Why would Etruscans come to these places?“, mit der er die Möglichkeit, dass die Tyrsener (Etrusker) aus Italien kamen, ablehnt.

15 Vielleicht waren auch schon früh Söldner von den Küsten des Tyrrhenischen Meeres in die Ägäis und Levante gekommen, denen im Lauf der Zeit immer mehr nachfolgten, so dass sie schließlich zu einer Bedrohung der dortigen Staaten wurden (dankenswerter Hinweis von S. Deger-Jalkotzy).

16 Vgl. den „homerischen“ Hymnus an Dionysos 6ff.

17 Auch Singer (demnächst) nimmt an, dass zu der Zeit, als die Seevölker sich der Levante zuwandten, ein großer Teil von ihnen aus Griechen bestand. Zu ihnen gehörte auch der griechische Seher Mopsos, der in Kilikien ein Reich gründete; s. Oettinger (2007; 2008). Zur griechischen Überlieferung zu Mopsos vgl. auch Bremmer (2008: 133–151).

der Richtung des griechischen Mutterlandes, also weiter von Westen, in die Levante kamen, ist die unabhängige archäologische Evidenz bei Niemeier (1998) zu vergleichen.¹⁸ Auch die Tatsache selbst, dass italische Völker an der Wanderung der Seevölker teilgenommen haben, scheint jetzt durch die Archäologie bestätigt zu werden. Eine Erscheinung dieser Bewegung könnte die handgefertigte Keramik sein, die von Griechenland bis in das östliche Mittelmeer auftritt. Jung (2006) hat nämlich nachgewiesen,¹⁹ dass diese Keramik teilweise aus Italien stammt. Damit könnten die Produzenten dieser Ware Seevölker gewesen sein.

8. Nachdem Flotte und Landheer der Seevölker, die nicht genau gleichzeitig in Ägypten eintrafen, jeweils getrennt von den Ägyptern besiegt worden waren, dürften sich die in der Ägäis und Westanatolien verbliebenen Etrusker (Tyrsener) nach und nach sprachlich assimiliert haben. Auf Lemnos hielt sich das Etruskische bis ins 6. Jahrhundert, es ist aber sehr wahrscheinlich, dass es noch viele andere tyrsenische Sprachinseln gab oder bis zu Homers Zeit gegeben hatte; vgl. die gründliche Zusammenstellung von Beekes (2002), der auf Lochner von Hüttenbach (1960) aufbaut, und Singer (demnächst).

Teilweise wurden die ägäischen Tyrsener von den Griechen auch Pelasger genannt, wobei allerdings der Begriff „Pelasger“ noch mehr umfasste, nämlich alle Gruppen, die die Griechen innerhalb ihres eigenen Landes für vorgriechisch oder überhaupt irgendwie alt eingesehen hielten, kurzum: er ist ideologisch geprägt. Es ist aber möglich, dass der Name der Pelasger ursprünglich mit demjenigen der Philister, einer anderen wichtigen Gruppe der Seevölker, identisch war (vgl. Singer demnächst mit Lit.).

Die Beziehungen zwischen den Etruskern Italiens und der Ägäis dürften vor allem in den so genannten „Dunklen Jahrhunderten“ nach 1200, aber auch später noch stark gewesen sein, so wie es eben bei blutsverwandten und die gleiche Sprache sprechenden Gruppen auch sonst der Fall war. Man vergleiche aus späterer Zeit das Verhältnis Griechenlands zu Großgriechenland und Sizilien oder Phönikiens zu Karthago. Auch der „orientalische Stil“ der etruskischen Kunst könnte so erklärt werden. Als positives Indiz für solche Kontakte ist beispielsweise der bisher ungedeutete etruskische Gentilname *Lemni* (bei Steinbauer 1999: 436), der m. E. auf eine Herkunft des betreffenden Stammvaters aus Lemnos weist, anzuführen.

Dem bisher dargestellten Teil meiner Hypothese stehen die Meinungen von de Simone, Beekes und Steinbauer gegenüber.

8.1 De Simone (1996) nimmt an, dass die Etrusker schon seit langem in Italien gelebt hätten, worin ich ihm zustimme, und um das Jahr 700 herum von dort aus eine Handelskolonie auf Lemnos gegründet hätten. Gegen die letztere Annahme spricht aber neben der bereits erwähnten ägäischen Herkunft des lemnischen Alphabets vor allem auch die griechische Überlieferung. Denn wären die Tyrsener erst um 700 von Westen in die Ägäis gekommen, so wäre das aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach von den ja bereits alphabetisierten Griechen tradiert worden.

8.2 Gewichtiger ist die in neuester Zeit von Beekes weiter entwickelte These, die Etrusker Italiens seien aus der Ägäis bzw. Westanatolien ausgewanderte Tyrsener (Beekes 2002; 2001).

18 Die Tyrsener werden auch von Singer (demnächst) zu den Seevölkern gerechnet, wobei er allerdings ihr Ursprungsland anders bestimmt. Eine kurze Bemerkung findet sich schon bei Oettinger (2004: 367).

19 Den Hinweis auf Jung verdanke ich Roland Vogelsang.

Seiner Meinung nach sind die Tyrsener=Etrusker ein Volk von nicht-indogermanischer Sprache, worin ich mit ihm übereinstimme. Sie hätten ursprünglich, in Symbiose mit den ein indogermanisches Idiom sprechenden Lydern in Bithynien an der Propontis, dem heutigen Marmarameer, gelebt. Die Tyrsener seien dann größtenteils nach Italien ausgewandert, während der Rest sich überwiegend im Raum der nördlichen Ägäis niederließ, wo er sich der Piraterie zuwandte. Bezüglich der Insel Lemnos selbst überliefert der auf das Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts zu datierende Schriftsteller Hellanikos (FGH 4, 71), der aus Lesbos stammte und lokale Traditionen benutzt haben dürfte, folgendes: Die Pelasger (=Tyrsener) hätten bei ihrer Ankunft in Lemnos dort Sintier²⁰ angetroffen, die in Eintracht mit Griechen wohnten. Die Tyrsener selbst seien dorthin aus Tenedos gekommen (vgl. auch de Simone 1996: 72–77; Beekes 2002: 226–227). Herodot (1, 57) berichtet dagegen, dass die Pelasger=Tyrsener von Lemnos ursprünglich aus Attika stammten. Mag dies auch zum Teil auf politischer Propaganda Athens beruhen, die die Eroberung von Lemnos und Vertreibung der Tyrsener von dort rechtfertigen sollte, so hat Herodot m. E. doch insofern recht, als in Attika tatsächlich mindestens eine tyrsenische Stadt existiert hatte (s. u. §9.3 zu Hyttienia).

8.3 Die Theorie von Beekes hat den Vorteil, hinsichtlich der frühesten Heimat der Tyrsener mit Herodot überein zu stimmen. Dabei ist allerdings zu bedenken, dass die betreffenden Ereignisse zu seiner Zeit bereits über fünf Jahrhunderte, und zwar „dunkle Jahrhunderte“, zurück lagen. Daher kann bereits Spekulation, die von der kulturellen Ähnlichkeit der Tyrsener und Lyder ausging (s. u. §10), an die Stelle von Tradition getreten sein. Vor allem aber ist gegen Beekes' These folgendes einzuwenden:

8.4 Da unabhängige Zeugnisse, nämlich vor allem die Namen *Šrdn* (=keilschriftlich *Šerdani*) und *Škl* (=keilschriftlich *Šikila*) für das Tyrrhenische Meer als Ausgangspunkt der Seevölker sprechen (s. o. §6), ist ohnehin mit einer zu Schiff erfolgten Bewegung von Italien in die Ägäis zu rechnen. Daher ist es ökonomischer, die Wanderung der Tyrsener mit dieser Bewegung zu identifizieren und nicht noch eine zusätzliche Wanderung in umgekehrter Richtung zu postulieren, zumal diese ungefähr zur gleichen Zeit erfolgt sein müsste.

8.5 Beekes folgt Herodot auch in der Annahme, die Tyrsener seien in Folge einer Hungersnot aus Bithynien ausgewandert, ein Teil nach Italien und ein anderer in die nördliche Ägäis. Und er (2001: 363) charakterisiert sie auch sonst als ärmliche Gruppe, die sozusagen ständig auf der Flucht war: „They were trying to find a place to live, and a means to live. For the latter they became pirates, i.e., they had to steal, to fight for their living... We see a people losing ground before disappearing; but in Italy they found a new life, and a remarkable place in history.“ Wem es so schlecht ging, der wäre wohl nicht in der Lage gewesen, die fruchtbarsten Gebiete Italiens zu erobern, würde ich meinen. Um dies zu erreichen, hätten die Einwanderer die Vorfahren der Umbrer, Latiner und Osker in großem Umfang verdrängen müssen. Wenn dies später nicht einmal den Griechen gelang, die doch nach allem, was wir wissen, eine viel breitere Ausgangsbasis für ihre Kolonisation Italiens hatten und sich dennoch über sehr lange

Zeit mit einzelnen Küstenstädten begnügen mussten, wieso sollte es dann den Tyrsenern gelungen sein? Dies spricht ebenfalls gegen eine Herkunft der Etrusker aus dem Osten.

8.6 Die wahrscheinlich tyrsenische Siedlung Hyttienia in Attika (s. u. §9.3), die Erwähnung von Pelasgern auf Kreta durch Homer sowie weitere Quellen zeigen, dass Tyrsener anfangs nicht nur in der nördlichen Ägäis und an der Propontis lebten, sondern auch in fruchtbaren Gebieten Griechenlands. Dies könnte ein Indiz dafür sein, dass sie Nachfolger ehemaliger Eroberer, eben der Seevölker, waren und nicht etwa von Anfang an Vertriebene auf der Flucht. Dass sie teilweise Piraterie betrieben, ließe sich gut mit der Tradition als ehemalige Seevölker vereinbaren. In Zusammenfassung dieser Argumente ergibt sich, dass die Annahme einer östlichen Herkunft der Etrusker durchaus nicht zwingend ist.

9. Nun zu Steinbauers Hypothese (1999: 366–389). Er hält das Etruskische für eine indogermanische Sprache der anatolischen Gruppe, also derjenigen, die aus Hethitisch, Palaisch, Lydisch und den luwiden Sprachen (Lykisch, Karisch usw.) konstituiert wird. Zur Untermauerung seiner Ansicht gibt er eine sehr nützliche Liste sprachlicher Erscheinungen des Etruskischen, die seiner Meinung nach sicher oder möglicherweise aus dem Anatolischen ererbt sind. Ich selbst, der ich das Etruskische nicht für indogermanisch halte, beurteile einen Teil von Steinbauers lexikalischem Material als Lehnwörter aus westanatolischen Sprachen. Im Sinne meiner Hypothese nehme ich weiterhin an, dass diese Wörter von den ägäischen Etruskern an ihre Verwandten in Italien weitergegeben worden sind. Es handelt sich um folgende:

9.1 Der etruskische Göttername *Tarχna-*, aus älterem **Tarχwena-* (vgl. den lat. ON *Tarquinius*), ist aus demjenigen anatolischen Namen des Wettergottes entlehnt, der in Lydien in griechischer Wiedergabe als *Ταρχυνός* erscheint²¹ und seinerseits aus älterem **Tarhuṽan-* oder **Tarhuṽanna-* stammt; Diskussion bei Steinbauer (1999: 474).

Etr. *aril* „Atlas“ ist vielleicht aus denkbarem luwischem **ari-alla/i-* „Heber, Träger“ entlehnt; vgl. Steinbauer (1999: 369).

Etr. *Culšu-* bezeichnet wahrscheinlich eine Schicksalsgöttin; vgl. luwisch *Gulza-* und heth. *Gulsa-* gleicher Bedeutung sowie Steinbauer (1999: 372–373).

Zur Gruppe der potentiell aus dem Etruskischen entlehnten Gottheiten gehört schließlich noch *Mean*, die gr. *Hebe*, der personifizierten Jugendlichkeit, entsprechen dürfte; vielleicht ist sie aus einer heth. *Miyatann-zi-* oder *Miyanna-*²², Genien des Gedeihens, verwandten anatolischen Gestalt entlehnt; vgl. auch die Diskussion bei Steinbauer (1999: 379).

Der etr. Männername *Pesna* ist aus anatolisch **Pesna-*, wörtlich „Mann“, übernommen; vgl. den heth. Namen *Piseni-* (mit Anaptyxe); Steinbauer (1999: 453).

Etr. *spanti-* „Teller, Schale“ ist dementsprechend vielleicht mit heth. *ispanduzzi-* < **spandu-ti-* „Libationsgefäß“ zu vergleichen; Steinbauer (1999: 467).

Etr. *tamera*, ein Gebäude(teil), und *tmia* „Tempel(?)“ könnten vielleicht aus anatolischen Nomina entlehnt sein, die mit hieroglyphen-luwisch *tam-a-* „bauen“ verwandt sind, doch bleibt dies äußerst unsicher. Diskussion bei Steinbauer (1999: 473, 480).

20 Die in Ilias 1.594 und Odyssee 8.294 Σίντιες /*Sinties*/ genannten Bewohner von Lemnos sind thrakischer Herkunft. Etymologisch bedeutet Σίντιες m. E. sicher „Räuber“.

21 Vgl. Högemann & Oettinger (2008: 20).

22 Zu heth. **Miyanna-* s. van Gessel (1998: 308).

Etr. *halχ* (ein Gefäß) kann aus älterem **halv* stammen; vgl. daher vielleicht heth. *haluani*–; Steinbauer (1999: 374). Sehr fraglich sind die Vergleiche von etr. *maru* (ein Funktionär) mit Verwandten von lykisch *mar-aza* „Richter“ (vgl. Steinbauer 1999: 379), von etr. *cel* „Erde“ mit lyd. *klida* < **glijā*; zu letzterem s. Melchert (1994: 332) auch für den Lautwandel lyd. *j* > *d*, und von etr. *hiul* „Eule“ mit heth. *huḫala*–, dessen Bedeutung „Eule“ unsicher ist. Unabhängig davon wäre die Entlehnung eines Vogelnamens natürlich grundsätzlich möglich.

Von diesen potentiellen Entlehnungen ist die Gruppe der Gottheiten und Genien m. E. relativ sicher, die Beispiele *Pesna*, *spanti* und *halχ* relativ wahrscheinlich. Es handelt sich dabei um typische Kulturlehnwörter. Die Tyrsener dürften sie bei ihren engen Kontakten mit Westanatoliern und insbesondere den Lydern (s. u. §10) übernommen,²³ und, was angesichts des kulturellen Gefälles im frühen ersten Jahrtausend nicht erstaunlich ist, an ihre Verwandten in Italien weitergegeben haben.

9.2 Außer diesen Lehnwörtern bleiben, wenn man ganz unsichere Anklangsetymologien²⁴ nicht berücksichtigt, von dem Material bei Steinbauer (1999: 366–389) noch folgende weiteren Fälle:

- A. Etr. *ci-pen* „unten, unter“ und *ce-hen* < **ci-hen* „außen, außer“ können strukturell mit luwisch *nā-nun* „jetzt“, heth. *ki-nun* „jetzt“ verglichen werden (Diskussion bei Steinbauer 1999: 372).
- B. Etr. *-m*, *-um* „und, aber“ und heth. *-ma* „aber“ (Steinbauer 1999: 377–378).
- C. Etr. *-c* „und“ und lyd. *-k* „und“²⁵ (Steinbauer 1999: 371).
- D. Etr. *an* (Anaphoricum und Relativum) und heth. *anni*– „der frühere“ (Steinbauer 1999: 368).

9.3 Diese vier Ähnlichkeiten sind auf den ersten Blick zweifellos überraschend. Sie reichen aber m. E. nicht aus, um anatolisch-indogermanische Herkunft des Etruskischen zu beweisen. Zufällige Übereinstimmung ist möglich. Nehmen wir zur Illustration das Beispiel von etr. *mi* „ich“. Steinbauer (1999: 380) stellt es etymologisch zu lyd. *amu* „mir, ich“. Man könnte es aber, für sich allein genommen, stattdessen z. B. auch mit finnisch *minä* „ich“ vergleichen. Die finno-ugrischen Sprachen sind nicht indogermanisch, aber Urverwandtschaft auf wesentlich früherer Ebene ist bekanntlich nicht ausgeschlossen. Entsprechendes könnte, wenn man nicht mit Zufall rechnen will, theoretisch auch für das Proto-Tyrsenische (Urtyrsenische) gelten, nur wissen wir darüber nichts. Jedenfalls ist aber zu beachten, dass der Grundwortschatz des Etruskischen, von dem uns durchaus ein Teil bekannt ist, wie z. B. *θi* „Wasser“, *tiiur* „Mond, Monat“, *sval(a)*– „lebendig“, *lupu* „gestorben“, sowie auch die Verwandtschaftsnamen und die Zahlwörter keinerlei Entsprechungen im Anatolischen oder sonstigen Indogermanischen haben. Wenn Steinbauer (1999: 387) die etr. Genitivallomorphe *-l(a)* und *-s* auf Entsprechungen der

23 Umgekehrt könnten durch Vermittlung der ägäischen Etrusker auch vereinzelte etruskische Lehnwörter ins Griechische gelangt sein, wie etwa gr. *πρύτανις* aus einer mit etr. *eprθnevc* (eine Amtsbezeichnung) verwandten Bildung.

24 Etr. *nac* „als, weil(?)“ hat höchstwahrscheinlich mit lyd. *(-)nak(-)* „auch“ o. ä. nichts zu tun; vgl. zur Funktion des letzteren Gusmani (1982: 77).

25 Etr. *-a* „und, aber“ lässt sich nur unter großen Schwierigkeiten mit Anatolischem vergleichen, wofür die Diskussion bei Steinbauer (1999: 367) selbst einzusehen ist.

luwischen Adjektivsuffixe *-alla/i-* sowie *-assa/i-* zurückführt, so ist dagegen einzuwenden, dass auch nicht wenige andere Sprachen *l* oder *s* enthaltende Adjektivsuffixe besitzen, wie z. B. türkisch *-li* (in *şeker-li* „zucker-ig“ usw.) oder lat. *-ālis* und *-ōsus*, ohne dass Verwandtschaft besteht. Zufall (oder eventuell vor-urindogermanischer Zusammenhang) ist also auch hier wahrscheinlicher als etruskisch-anatolische Erbverwandtschaft.

Zu etr. *max*, das aus **mav* stammen dürfte²⁶, führt Steinbauer (1999: 378) aus, dass es entweder „4“ oder „5“ bedeutet, er selbst sich aber angesichts des Anklangs an luwisch *maḫa* „4“ für die Bedeutung „4“ entscheide. Dabei erwähnt er aber nicht, dass der alte Name von gr. *Tetrapolis*, wörtlich „Vier-stadt“, *Hyttēnia* (Υττενία) lautete (s. die Literatur bei Lohmann 2002: 195). Da dieser Ort in Attika lag und Herodot über ehemals dort siedelnde Pelasger berichtet, die dann vertrieben wurden und nach Lemnos auswanderten,²⁷ ist es m. E. wahrscheinlich, dass wir es mit einem tyrsenischen Ortsnamen zu tun haben, dessen Vorderglied mit etr. *huθ* identisch war. Man vergleiche typologisch, dass der Name der nahe bei Pergamon gelegenen griechischen Stadt *Elaia* in älterer Zeit *Dainis* (Δαινίς) gelautet hatte, was luwisch war und ebenfalls „Öl besitzend“ bedeutet hatte (s. Watkins 1995: 149 mit Lit.). Daher ist also *huθ* als das etruskische Wort für „4“ zu bestimmen,²⁸ während *maḫ* „5“ bedeutet und dann mit luw. *maḫa* „4“ natürlich nichts zu tun hat.

Was schließlich die formale Identität von etr. *ara-* *pēra* (=c) unbekannter Bedeutung mit der lydischen Formel *aara-* *bira* (=k) „Hof(?) und Haus“ betrifft, so würde sie, falls die Bedeutungen sich wirklich entsprechen sollten, eine sozusagen vollkommene Identität beider Sprachen vermuten lassen. Da aber alles, was wir sonst von diesen beiden Sprachen wissen, gegen eine solche Identität spricht, muss man sich nach einer anderen Lösung umsehen, nämlich entweder zufälliger Übereinstimmung oder, was interessanter wäre, Entlehnung einer lydischen Formel ins Etruskische.

10. Bei dieser Gelegenheit scheint noch eine generelle Bemerkung zum Verhältnis von Lydisch und Etruskisch angebracht. Herodot (2, 7) berichtet, dass vor den Mermnaden und Herakliden das Geschlecht der Attyaden über die Lyder geherrscht habe. Deren Stammvater Atys habe zwei Söhne gehabt, Lydos und Tyrsenos, unter deren Führung sich das Volk in zwei geteilt habe, eben die Lyder und Tyrsener. Letztere seien wegen einer Hungersnot nach Italien ausgewandert. Beekes (2002: 215) nimmt an, dass die Lyder bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts in Bithynien gewohnt hätten,²⁹ was ich für richtig halte. Weiterhin nimmt er, wie schon gesagt, an, dass auch die Etrusker (Tyrsener) als Nachbarn der Lyder dort gewohnt hätten und später teilweise nach Italien ausgewandert seien (s. Beekes 2002: 219, 226, 238–239 in Auseinandersetzung mit Briquel 1984). Auch wenn ich in diesem Punkt anderer Meinung bin

26 Etr. *maḫ* „5“ geht auf älteres **mav* zurück, wie *muvalχ* „50“ zeigt. Im Lemnischen heißt es noch *mav*. Diese Bewahrung von *v* im Auslaut des Lemnischen spricht zwar gegen die Annahme von de Simone (1996), dass die Lemnier erst um das Jahr 700 aus Italien ausgewandert seien (so richtig Beekes 2001: 360), jedoch nicht gegen eine frühe Auswanderung um 1200 als Teil der Seevölker. Denn zwischen 1200 und den ältesten etruskischen Belegen von *maḫ* war mehr als genug Zeit, um den Lautwandel von *v* zu *χ* zu vollziehen.

27 Skeptisch Beekes (2002: 227).

28 Vgl. für den Wechsel der Begriffe Tyrsener und Pelasger oben §8. Ein zusätzliches Argument für unsere Bestimmung von *huθ* als „4“ geht aus Steinbauer (1999: 97) hervor, auch wenn ihm dieser keine wesentliche Bedeutung beimisst.

29 So unabhängig auch Oettinger (2004: 358).

und mit westlicher Herkunft rechne, so ist doch unbestreitbar, dass die Griechen, und das gilt nicht nur für Herodot, einen Zusammenhang zwischen Tyrsenern (=Etruskern) und Lydern empfanden. Dies dürfte m. E. daher rühren, dass sich Gruppen der teilweise ja etruskischstämmigen Seevölker in der Ägäis und deren Randgebieten angesiedelt hatten. Daher finden sich später Hinweise auf Tyrsener nicht nur in Lemnos, sondern auch in Plakie und Skylake usw. (s. die ausführliche Liste bei Beekes 2002: 226–229). Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass sich sowohl in der alten Heimat der Lyder (Bithynien) als auch in dem Land, das dann zur neuen Heimat der Lyder werden sollte (Lydien), Gruppen von Tyrsenern angesiedelt hatten. Da in der ersten Hälfte des ersten Jahrtausends einerseits die Lyder die Westküste Anatoliens samt der Inseln der nordöstlichen Ägäis kulturell dominierten – noch Sappho von Lesbos war nach Lydien orientiert – und andererseits tyrsenische Gruppen an der westanatolischen Küste und in der nördlichen Ägäis verbreitet waren, so ist es kein Wunder, dass es zu einer teilweisen kulturellen Symbiose beider kam. Dieser Umstand dürfte es gewesen sein, der die Griechen dazu bewog, Tyrsener und Lyder als untereinander verwandt zu betrachten.

11. Abschließend ein Wort zu einem ganz anderen Gebiet, nämlich der biologischen Genforschung. Angesichts des vermutlichen starken Austauschs zwischen ägäischen und in Italien verbliebenen Etruskern über möglicherweise bis zu sieben Jahrhunderte hinweg wäre es nicht erstaunlich, wenn sich in Etrurien bei Menschen insbesondere der antiken Oberschicht sowie auch bei Haustieren aus der Ägäis und Westanatolien stammendes Genmaterial nachweisen ließe.³⁰ Die Zukunft wird es zeigen.

12. Zusammenfassend lässt sich zunächst sagen, dass bisher vor allem drei Hypothesen über die Herkunft der Etrusker (=Tyrsener, Tyrrhener) existierten, nämlich erstens dass sie in Italien heimisch gewesen seien und von dort aus um das Jahr 700 herum auf Lemnos eine Handelskolonie gegründet hätten (de Simone 1996), zweitens dass sie aus Nordwestanatolien stammten und eine nicht-indogermanische Sprache sprachen (Beekes 2002: 222ff.) und drittens, dass sie aus Westanatolien kamen und ihre Sprache anatolisch-indogermanisch und insofern dem Hethitischen verwandt sei (Steinbauer 1999). In der vorangehenden Darstellung wurde versucht zu zeigen, dass noch eine weitere sinnvolle Hypothese möglich ist, nämlich:

Etrusker und Räter wohnten bereits vor dem 13. Jahrhundert v. Chr. in Italien. Von dort brachen um die Wende zum 12. Jahrhundert Etrusker zusammen mit Sardiniern und anderen in Richtung Ägäis auf und bildeten den ältesten Kern der so genannten Seevölker. Ein Teil von ihnen siedelte sich am Rand und auf Inseln der Ägäis sowie in küstennahen Gebieten Nordwestanatoliens an, während ein Teil gemeinsam mit Achäern und Angehörigen anderer Völker weiter in Richtung Levante zog. Schließlich wurden sie bekanntlich in Ägypten besiegt. Wenn diese Hypothese zutrifft, dann ergibt sich einerseits für die Etrusker, dass sie sozusagen „Ureinwohner“ Italiens darstellen, deren Sprache nicht indogermanisch ist, und andererseits für die Seevölker, dass sie in ihrer Anfangszeit unter anderem aus Etruskern bestanden. Meiner Ansicht nach sind die hier vorgelegte Hypothese sowie diejenige von Beekes (2002) die beiden wahrscheinlichsten. Welche die richtige ist, wird hoffentlich die Zukunft zeigen.

30 Zu einem ersten Versuch in dieser Richtung, s. Barbutani (2005).

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‘Amore, more, ore, re...’ Sexual Terminology and Hittite Law

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This article is dedicated to my dear teacher, Professor Itamar Singer. As part of my MA thesis on Hittite concepts of sex and gender, written under his careful and meticulous supervision, I examined the contents of the Hittite Laws relating to sexual matters. It therefore gives me great pleasure to contribute this summary of the fruits of that study to this volume in his honour.

Introduction

What did the Hittites say when they spoke about sex? What expressions, terms and phrases did they use when referring to sexual issues? And in what way might consideration of these questions yield answers which might improve our understanding of Hittite society, culture and thought?

The current paper surveys phrases and terms with sexual connotation in the Hittite Law Code. The lexical and contextual analyses are meant to serve as a means toward an improved understanding of the concepts surrounding sex in Hittite society, and thereby an increased comprehension of Hittite culture as a whole. It should be stressed, however, that this paper does not present an overall study of Hittite terms pertaining to sexual matters. Its aim is more modest, as it focuses mainly on assessing the language of the Hittite Laws dealing with sexual issues. The methodology applied here is intended to examine the nature of these laws by analysing several characteristic key-terms and discussing the semantics of select terms within these specific laws. Naturally, the conclusions drawn from this analysis are limited to the laws alone, and are not necessarily applicable to the wider context of the Hittite language in general.

One of the most intriguing sections of the rather elaborate Hittite Law Code is its conclusion, a group of some fifteen clauses dealing with various sexual mores and prohibitions. They provide a rare and most valuable glimpse into the Hittite system of moral thought and norms of social conduct, hence their relevance and importance to the current discussion. The issues addressed by these laws are incest and kin relations (§189–§195, §200a), bestiality (§187, §188, §199, §200a), adultery (§197, §198) and rape (§197).² Before discussing the ‘sexual language’

¹ I am greatly indebted to Susanne Görke for kindly reading earlier versions of this paper and making valuable comments on it, and to Alwin Klockhorst for sharing with me his views on some of the terms discussed in this paper. I would like to express special gratitude to my dear wife, Ortal-Paz, for her unlimited encouragement and support, and particularly for her wise advice concerning the current paper. Any remaining errors, however, are entirely my own.

² The clauses are numbered in accordance with Hoffner (1997).

of the Hittite Laws, a review of the general lexical framework of the sexual expressions common in Hittite is in order.

General Sexual Terms

The Hittite term for 'sexual intercourse' is MUNUS-*as uttar*, literally 'the matter of a woman' (Hoffner 1967: 79). As a designation of the term 'to perform sexual intercourse' one finds numerous phrases in Hittite.³ Consider *ark-*, 'to copulate', mostly employed with regard to animal mating (HED A: 142); *iskisa pai-*, literally 'to go from behind' (CHD P: 38); *sali(n)k/g(a)-*, 'have (maybe illicit) sexual intercourse' (CHD Š: 100, 102–103); *ses-*, literally 'to sleep' (Puhvel 2002: 548; Kloekhorst 2008: 746); *sassanu-*, a causative derived from *ses-* (CHD Š: 305; Kloekhorst 2008: 746); *-si maninkuwan tiya-*, literally 'to approach, step near to (somebody)' (Hoffner 1967: 79); *wen-*, supposedly a vulgar expression akin to 'to fuck, to rape' (Puhvel 2002: 548); *uwansik-*, an iterative from *wen-* (Hoffner 1967: 79); MUNUS-*ni=san pai-*, literally 'to go to a woman' (Hoffner 1967: 79).

Terminology of Sexual Genitalia

Surprisingly, no specific term is known for designating the vagina. The expressions used for this purpose were MUNUS-*natar* (Hoffner 1967: 92), literally 'womanhood', and *katta=kan kuit harzi*, a phrase appearing in the Song of Ullikummi,⁴ literally 'what she has below' (Güterbock 1951: 146, 148; Hoffner 1996: 249). For designating the penis, on the other hand, numerous terms were used: *arlip(a)-* (Hoffner 1967: 66);⁵ *genu-*, literally 'knee' (Dardano 2002: 369; HED K: 146);⁶ *hapus(as/nt)-* (Alp 1957: 25; Zeilfelder 1997; HED H: 132);⁷ *harniu-* (Hoffner 1967: 66; 1996: 248); *lalu-* (CHD L-N: 28; HED L: 47) and *pesnatar-*, literally 'manhood' (CHD P: 329). Certain other terms might also have euphemistically denoted the penis, such as 'kid' (young goat)⁸ and 'peg'.⁹

Two terms denoting the testicles are known, *arki-* and *tasku-*.¹⁰ The latter may have designated the scrotum rather than the testicles themselves, which might explain its attestations in the singular, while the former appears in the plural.¹¹ Kloekhorst (2005: 37–38, n. 9) has suggested that *tasku-* should rather be translated as 'thigh-bone'.

There appears to be, then, a stark contrast between an abundance of words and phrases denoting sexual intercourse and male genitalia on the one hand and a dearth of terms designating

3 See mainly Hoffner (1967: 79) and Puhvel (2002: 548).

4 KUB 17.7++ i 16 (CTH 345).

5 Cf. Puhvel's reservations in HED A: 154.

6 Interestingly, the knee functions as a euphemism in Akkadian as well (*birku*, 'knee'), but for both male and female genitalia; see CAD B: 257.

7 Cf. Kloekhorst's (2005: 37–38) objections and his suggested translation 'shin-bone'.

8 Stefanini (2004: 629).

9 Melchert (1999: 21).

10 Alp (1957: 25); Hoffner (1996: 248); and (Poetto 2004).

11 Hoffner (1996: 248) and Poetto (2004: 385).

female genitalia on the other.¹² What does this reveal about Hittite social thought with regard to women and their status in society? Might it be an indication of social conservatism of a sort? A linguistic means for protecting women's dignity or even chastity? Sometimes what is said is no more important than what is **not** said. Or written.

Terminology and Male Sexuality: Virility and Aggression versus Passivity

Analyzing the etymologies and semantic contexts of certain terms may lend some insight into the prevailing concept of male sexuality. For example, Puhvel (1989: 227, n. 1) has suggested that the term for 'man', *pesna-*, was derived from the verb *pes-*, 'to rub', stemming from the hitting, casting and rubbing of stones and wood for lighting fire. This interpretation, if accepted, might point to the active role assumed by males during sexual relations by analogy with acts of casting and hitting.¹³ A connection could be offered, then, between *pes-*, 'to rub' (and the broader implication of acts of hitting and knocking), and its supposed etymological derivative *pesna-*, 'man', in the sense of 'male', 'virile person'. It should further be noted that the abstract noun *pesnatar*, 'manhood', a derivative of *pesna-*, was used as a generic title for the Hittite royal annals (CHD P: 328–329). Thus the feats and the military campaigns of Hittite kings were entitled 'Manly Deeds', a clear demonstration of the semantics of manhood and military prowess in Hittite thought (Hoffner 1966: 327, n. 4; Moyer 1969: 63).

Another term worth mentioning in this respect is the verb *wen-*. Though it has long been known to scholars as a vulgar sexual innuendo, in the 'Cannibal Text' it appears in the context of military triumph.¹⁴ It has therefore been suggested that its denotation might be twofold, translatable both as 'to fuck' in a sexual context and 'to fuck over' with a brutal military association.¹⁵

The concept of male passivity, on the other hand, seems to be expressed by the terms *ku(wa)liya-* and its derivative *kulessar*.¹⁶ The former was interpreted by Puhvel (HED K: 303) and Hoffner (2000: 75) as designating 'idleness', the latter as passive homosexuality.¹⁷ Their arguments are based on the parallel between Hittite *kulessar* and the Akkadian phrase *kula'utam epēšum*, 'to behave as *kulu'u*', in the 'Siege of Uršu',¹⁸ with the *kulu'u* being a male temple attendant exercising an effeminate role in the Mesopotamian cult of Ištar,¹⁹ and regarded by some as the passive partner in homosexual relations.²⁰

12 A similar (though less extreme) imbalance exists in Latin; see Adams (1982: 77).

13 Compare modern English terms such as 'to bang', 'to knock up' and the like, used as slang expressions referring to sexual intercourse, usually in a demeaning manner.

14 KBo 3.60 i 14, iii 10–13 (CTH 17.1).

15 Hoffner (1997: 225) and de Martino (2002: 83–84, n. 43).

16 Melchert (personal communication) suggests that Hittite *kulessar* was 'a nonce creation based on *kulu'u*'.

17 It should be noted, however, that this term is translated in a somewhat different manner by Beckman (1995: 26): 'hesitation' and Miller (1999: 44–45): 'procrastination'.

18 KBo 1.11 rev. 17–18 (CTH 7); (Güterbock 1938: 120, 122, 128; Otten & von Soden 1968: 24).

19 See CAD A/II: 341; Bottéro (1992: 191) and Guinan (1997: 469).

20 Bottéro (1992: 191).

The Terminology of the Laws Regarding Sexual Behaviour

The vocabulary of the Hittite Laws exhibits a wide variety of terms and expressions designating sexual intercourse and other significant phrases, including several which suggest a relative or graded approach to patterns of sexual behaviour, such as ‘offence’, ‘abomination’ and ‘sin’. To give but one example, in §190 the sexual relations between a man and his mother-in-law following the death of his father are deemed licit, but are nonetheless referred to with the verb *wasta-*, ‘to sin’. Clearly, then, the term can have more than one distinct connotation in the legal and normative sense. The difference in this case is functional, i.e., the social-cultural essence borne by each reflects different social functionality. These socio-cultural implications can be deciphered by examining each term in its various contexts throughout the Laws.

For this purpose several tables summarizing the occurrences of the key terms in the relevant laws are given below, followed by conclusions. The tables are ordered according to the thematic topics treated by the laws: ‘incest’, ‘adultery and rape’, ‘bestiality’ and ‘others’. Under each topic, the Hittite terms in question appear alphabetically.²¹ As are law codices across the ancient Near East, the laws discussed here are comprised of a protasis containing the felony committed and an apodosis stipulating the verdict. The terms considered below, therefore, appear either in the protasis, where they are connected with the crime, or in the apodosis, where they are related to, or even define, the verdict. The relation between these two parts of the law becomes clearer by studying the terms characteristic to each.

Terms for Incest

(UL) *ḫaratar*

§§	The context in which the term appears	Sexual act
190	Intercourse between a man and his father’s wife, after death of the father	<i>wasta-</i>
191	Intercourse between a man and women who are biologically related, i.e, sisters and their mother (in different localities)	<i>wen-</i>
192	Marriage of a man with his late wife’s sister	-
193	Levirate marriage of a man with his late brother’s/son’s widow	-
194	Intercourse between a man and slave women who are biologically related, i.e., sisters and their mother	<i>wen-</i>
194	Intercourse between brothers and the same woman	<i>ses-</i>
194	Intercourse between father and son and the same female slave or prostitute	<i>ses-</i>
200a	Intercourse between a man and a female deportee, her mother and her sister	<i>ses-</i>

ḫurkel

§§	The context in which the term appears	Sexual act
189	Intercourse between a man and his mother	<i>wasta-</i>
189	Intercourse between a man and his daughter	<i>wasta-</i>
189	Intercourse between a man and his son	<i>wasta-</i>
190	Intercourse between a man and his father’s wife (while the father is still alive)	-
191	Intercourse between a man and women who are biologically related, i.e., sisters and their mother (in the same locality)	<i>wen-</i>
195	Repeated intercourse between a man and his brother’s wife (while his brother is still alive)	<i>ses-</i>
195	Intercourse between a man and his stepdaughter	<i>salik-</i>
195	Intercourse between a man and his wife’s mother/sister	<i>salik-</i>

salik-

§§	The context in which the sexual term appears	Verdict
195	Intercourse between a man and his stepdaughter	<i>ḫurkel</i>
195	Intercourse between a man and his wife’s mother/sister	<i>ḫurkel</i>

ses-

§§	The context in which the sexual term appears	Verdict
194	Intercourse between brothers and the same woman	<i>UL ḫaratar</i>
194	Intercourse between father and son and the same female slave/prostitute	<i>UL ḫaratar</i>
195	Intercourse between a man and his brother’s wife (while his brother is still alive)	<i>ḫurkel</i>
200a	Intercourse between a man and a female deportee, her mother and her sister	<i>UL ḫaratar</i>

wasta-

§§	The context in which the sexual term appears	Verdict
189	Intercourse between a man and his mother	<i>ḫurkel</i>
189	Intercourse between a man and his daughter	<i>ḫurkel</i>
189	Intercourse between a man and his son	<i>ḫurkel</i>
190	Intercourse between a man and his father’s wife after the death of the father	<i>UL ḫaratar</i>

21 Following Friedrich (1959: 82–87) and Hoffner (1997: 148–158).

wen-

§§	The context in which the sexual term appears	Verdict
191	Intercourse between a man and women who are biologically related, i.e., sisters and their mother (in different localities)	UL <i>ḫaratar</i>
194	Intercourse between a man and slave women who are biologically related, i.e., sisters and their mother	UL <i>ḫaratar</i>
200a	Intercourse between a man and a female deportee, her mother and her sister	UL <i>ḫaratar</i>

Terms for Adultery and Rape

ēp-

§§	The context in which the sexual term appears	Verdict
197	Man ‘seizing’ a woman in an isolated place	<i>wastul</i>
197	Man ‘seizing’ a woman indoors	<i>wastai-</i>

ḫaratar

§§	The context in which the offence term appears	Comment
197	Husband killing his adulterous wife and her lover when caught in the act	Unique phrasing: ‘not his offence’

wastai-

§§	The context in which the sexual term appears	Verdict
197	Adulterous wife	The woman shall be put to death

wastul

§§	The context in which the offence term appears	Verdict
197	Man ‘seizing’ a woman in an isolated place	The man shall be put to death

Terms for Bestiality

(UL) *ḫaratar*

§§	The context in which the term appears	Sexual act / Verdict
199	Pig leaping on a man	<i>watku-</i>
200a	Intercourse between a man and a horse/mule	<i>wasta-</i> : Prohibition against approaching the king/ becoming a priest

ḫurkel

§§	The context in which the term appears	Sexual act / Verdict
187	Intercourse between a man and a cow	<i>wasta-</i> : Death/Prohibition of approaching the king
188	Intercourse between a man and a sheep	<i>wasta-</i> : Death/Prohibition of approaching the king

wasta-

§§	The context in which the term appears	Verdict
187	Intercourse between a man and a cow	<i>ḫurkel</i> : Death/Prohibition of approaching the king
188	Intercourse between a man and a sheep	<i>ḫurkel</i> : Death/Prohibition of approaching the king
199	Intercourse between a man and a pig/dog	Death/Prohibition of approaching the king
200a	Intercourse between a man and a horse/mule	UL <i>ḫaratar</i> : Prohibition of approaching the king/ becoming a priest

watku-

§§	The context in which the term appears	Verdict
199	Ox leaping on a man	The ox shall be killed, a sheep will be sacrificed as atonement for the man
199	Pig leaping on a man	UL <i>ḫaratar</i>

Terms in other Hittite Laws Relating to Sexual Matters

(UL) *ḫaratar*

§§	The context in which the term appears	Definition of the act
190	Contact with a corpse	- <i>it tiya-</i> (‘approach/enter with’)

ḫurkel

§§	The context in which the term appears	Verdict
196	Committing <i>ḫurkel</i> by a couple of slaves—with no specification of exact nature of the offence	The couple will be separated, a sheep will be sacrificed as atonement

Terms for Sexual Offence in the Hittite Laws

Most of the terms and expressions in the above tables can be placed in one of two categories, those signifying the notion of offence and those indicating various segments along a continuum of sexual contacts. The first category covers terms relating to the concept of sexual offence as addressed by the laws. All have been treated on numerous occasions by previous scholars, so the present section attempts to reveal their particular implications in their specific contexts in the laws relating to sexual matters.

ḫaratar

This substantive, as noted by Hoffner (1997: 2), is well attested outside the Laws, usually in religious contexts, allowing one to translate it as ‘sin’. Other scholars translated this term as ‘offence’, ‘outrage’, ‘scandal’ (HED H: 140), ‘punishment’ (Neufeld 1951: 189), ‘Ärgernis’, ‘Anstoss’ (Friedrich 1959: 114, 120) or ‘Verbrechen’ (HW² H, 14: 273). Among the suggested translations, ‘offence’ or ‘felony’ seems the most fitting, as the others do not suit the juridical formulation or are semantically improbable.

Interestingly, in the laws pertaining to sexual matters this term appears exclusively in a negated form, i.e., ‘not an offence’.²² The standard ‘*UL ḫaratar*’ appears eleven times, ‘*ḫaratar=set* NU.GÁL’ (§197) only once. The term was apparently the sole expression for denoting exemption from legal liability in the Hittite Laws relating to sexual matters, testifying to the accused person’s innocence.

ḫurkel

This term has often drawn the attention of scholars and has been compared by many with the Akkadian term *ikkibu* and the biblical words תבל (*tebel*) and תועבה (*tô‘ebah*).²³ In the Hittite Laws regarding incest this term appears eight times, always in the apodosis, suggesting that it essentially represented the verdict, the more so since the transgressor’s punishment is not specified. In the laws pertaining to bestiality it appears twice, again in the apodosis, but here the transgressor’s punishment, execution, is indeed mentioned.

It thus seems clear that *ḫurkel* comprises the conceptual antonym of *UL ḫaratar*, as both represent the felon’s verdict, one positively, the other negatively. So if *UL ḫaratar* could be understood as designating ‘innocent’, *ḫurkel* could denote ‘guilty’. Undoubtedly, this term represented in the Hittite mind an exceptionally severe offence, which most probably led to execution, even in those laws where punishment is not explicitly mentioned. This assumption is based on the fact that in the laws relating to sexual matters the term is always associated with the two most obscene sexual vices in Hittite thought, incest and bestiality.

22 Cf. HW² H, 14: 273, for the attestations of *Ú-UL ḫaratar* ‘es (ist) kein Verbrechen’ in the laws.

23 For a partial survey (now outdated) of the various interpretations ascribed to *ḫurkel*, see Petschow (1976: 146–147); see also Neufeld (1951: 189); Hoffner (1973: 83–84); Puhvel (1986: 153–154); Haase (1995: 34–38); Hoffner (1997: 224); and Cohen (2002: 91, 93).

In consideration of the above, it seems that the generally accepted ‘abomination’²⁴ would be the most suitable translation of this complicated Hittite term, whose etymology remains obscure.²⁵

wasta- (and its derivatives *wastai-*, *wastul*)

This verb, usually translated as ‘to sin’,²⁶ bears according to Hoffner (1997: 2) a sense that goes beyond the mere significance of the sexual offence, even in its attestations in the law corpus. Neufeld (1951: 190), on the other hand, defined it as ‘a term of a general nature used for sexual relations without specific reference to morality.’ Examination of the attestations of *wasta-* in the laws pertaining to sexual matters suggests that it was usually related to the term *ḫurkel*,²⁷ which, as noted, reflects severe transgressions or acts of abomination, thus supporting Friedrich’s and Hoffner’s views. Moreover, its derivative substantives, *wastai-* and *wastul*,²⁸ bear the sense of ‘sin’,²⁹ and they designate the sinful acts of rape and adultery in law §197.

Terms for Sexual Contact in the Hittite Laws

The second category encompasses ‘terms of sexual contact’. All have generally been translated by modern scholars as ‘to have sexual intercourse with...’, thereby overlooking significant points of subtle distinction among the terms and obscuring the range of moral gradation the Hittite lawmakers attempted to convey.

ēp-

Unlike most other terms discussed here, *ēp-* ‘to seize’,³⁰ bears no inherently sexual meaning, nor is its nature vague. Outside the laws its attestations are numerous, but it appears only twice in the laws relating to sexual matters, twice in §197, where the act of ‘seizing’ functions as a euphemism for the illicit sexual relations of rape and adultery, regarded as a sin (*wastai-* or *wastul*).

salik-

This verb may express various meanings: ‘to touch, have contact with; to approach; to intrude into, invade, plunge into, penetrate, enter (generally in an unwelcome or polluting manner)’.

24 This is better than Kloekhorst’s (2008: 364) suggested ‘perversity’, and contrary to Puhvel’s (HED H: 401) ‘unsatisfactory’.

25 See HED H: 401–402 and Kloekhorst 2008: 364 for discussions of the various attempts to decipher the term’s etymology, to no avail in Puhvel’s and Kloekhorst’s opinions.

26 Friedrich (1959: 137) and Hoffner (1997: 306).

27 The two occur together in three out of four occasions where *wasta-* appears in the laws relating to incest (§189) and in two out of four cases where it appears in those regarding bestiality (§187, §188). Cf. also Friedrich (1959: 112).

28 Cf. Kloekhorst (2008: 931, 985).

29 For a thorough discussion of these terms, see Catsanicos (1991: 58 and *passim*).

30 Puhvel (HED E: 281) stresses that ‘*ep(p)-* is semantically akin to *da-* “take” and *har(k)-* “have, hold” but has stronger nuances of seizing and grabbing.’ Friedrich (1959: 87 and n. 2) translated ‘ergreift’, commenting ‘d.h. vergewaltigt’.

and in sexual context: ‘violate, have (illicit) sexual intercourse’.³¹ In the laws pertaining to sexual matters *salik-* is attested only twice, in law §195, where it indicates intercourse between a man and his stepdaughter, his wife’s mother, or his wife’s sister. In both cases the verb is inflected in the medio-passive voice, and the act is designated an ‘abomination’. It thus clearly relates to the severe offence of incest. It does not seem to convey the sense of ‘rape’, among other reasons because of its absence from the law dealing with this crime (§197), hence my hesitation to concur with the suggested ‘violate’. Still, its association with incest and ‘abomination’ compels its translation with a term of a coarsely negative sense, so that Hoffner’s (1997: 154) suggested ‘approach’ seems not harsh enough. For lack of a better option, ‘to molest’ may be suggested, a term preserving the connotation of ‘incest’, though this of course does not correspond exactly to the semantic content of *salik-*. The reasons for the inflection of the verb in the medio-passive also remain obscure.

ses-

The literal meaning of this verb, ‘to sleep’ (Friedrich 1959: 132; Puhvel 2002: 548; Kloekhorst 2008: 746), is not inherently sexual, but in certain occasions it undoubtedly refers to sexual intercourse. Its attestations in the laws relating to sexual matters reveals that it is confined exclusively to the laws of incest, and in all four attestations the imperfective form (*-ske-*) is employed, the only verb relating to intercourse in the laws used in this manner. In spite of some difficulties in identifying a common denominator among these four cases, it seems that the imperfective form emphasizes the inceptive character of the act, perhaps used by the lawmaker to insinuate its sexual nature and differentiate it from the general sense of ‘sleeping’.³² Hence, one may translate this term ‘to lie with’.

wasta- (and derivatives *wastai-*, *wastul*)

For a discussion of *wasta-*, which pertains to the categories of ‘sexual offence’ and ‘sexual contact’ alike, see the previous section.

wen-

This verb, according to Neufeld (1951: 190), implies ‘free relations of a base nature, prostitution, fornication’. Friedrich (1959: 138) has ‘*futuere aliquam*’ (‘to copulate with someone’, ‘fuck someone’).

The verb *wen-* is limited to three cases in the laws pertaining to intercourse of a man with several women who are related to each other (biological sisters and their mother), a sexual contact that was strictly forbidden (see §191). In these three cases, however, attenuating circumstances are detailed, due to which the act was not considered a felony. In the first case the women are in different towns (§191), so that the man could not be expected to know of

³¹ CHD Š: 100, 103.

³² Hoffner’s (1997: 153, n. 547) suggestion ‘carry on an affair’ with a woman, might therefore fit all four cases semantically, as it indicates prolonged relations and not a single occurrence. The possible insinuation of multiple sexual encounters is significant for cases where otherwise the situation described might have involved a forbidden incestuous connotation (e.g., §194, where brothers or a father and his son have sex with the same woman. The option of multiple encounters leaves open the possibility that they were not simultaneous).

their kin relationship, in the other two they are defined as belonging to an inferior social class, i.e., slaves (§194) or deportees (§200a).³³

It seems, therefore, that this term bore a negative but not a vulgar connotation.³⁴ It does not appear to reflect forced sexual relations or fornication; otherwise, one might have expected to find it in the law dealing with these issues (§197). The best translation, at least in the context of the laws relating to sexual matters, may therefore be ‘to womanize’. Admittedly, this suggestion is quite different than the customary translations of *wen-*, but it seems to fit well, as it reflects the involvement of one man with multiple female sexual partners. Again it should be noted, that this suggestion is restricted solely to the laws dealing with sexual topics.

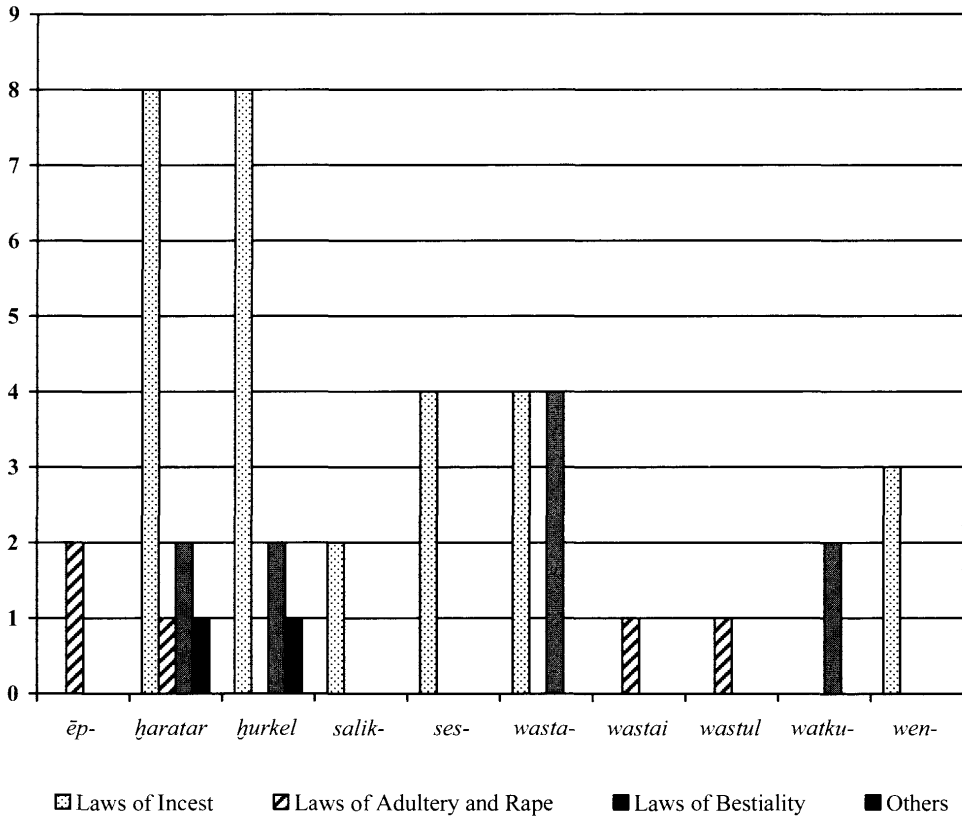
Terminology, Verdict and Morality

The next issues to be addressed relate to verdict and punishment on the one hand and morality and social ethics on the other as reflected in the diverse vocabulary of the laws. The tables above provided the data for evaluating the relation between a given term for a sexual act and its consequences. These terms may be placed in a ‘hierarchical model of morality’:

1. *wen-*, ‘to womanize’, is the least serious of the terms, applied to cases yielding an innocent verdict. It is attested three times (§191, §194, §200a), all cases ending in exemption from liability (*UL ḫaratar*).
2. *ses-*, ‘to lie with’, is slightly harsher, usually applied to cases receiving an innocent verdict, but once to a case of forbidden sexual contact between partners of indirect kin relation. The term is attested four times (§194, §195, §200a), three cases resulting in exemption from liability (*UL ḫaratar*), one in an abominable felony (*ḫurkel*) for which no punishment is explicitly mentioned.
3. *ēp-*, ‘to seize’, is a severe term, applied to sinful acts of adultery and rape. It is attested twice (§197), both cases resulting in a sinful felony (*wastai-*, *wastul*) punishable by death.
4. *salik-*, ‘to molest’, is even more severe, since it denotes abominable acts of forbidden intercourse between partners of indirect kin relation. It is attested twice (§195), both cases representing an abominable felony (*ḫurkel*) for which no punishment is explicitly mentioned.
5. *wasta-*, ‘to sin’, is the most drastic of the terms, since it denotes the extreme abominations of intercourse between man and his closest kin relations and bestiality. This term is attested eight times (§187–§190, §199, §200a), two cases resulting in exemption from liability (*UL ḫaratar*), five are deemed an abominable felony (*ḫurkel*) (two punishable by death, three mentioning no punishment), and one is judged punishable by death, though no term designating the act as depraved (such as *ḫurkel*) is employed.

³³ For the sexual restrictions and social classes as reflected by the examples mentioned, see Cohen (2002: 91).

³⁴ Contra Friedrich’s (1959: 138) rather harsh ‘*futuere aliquam*’. Neither does Hoffner’s (1997: 225) suggestion of a possible connection with colloquial ‘knock up (sexually)’ seem to be adequate in this specific case.



Frequency of Sexual and Related Terms in the Hittite Laws

Conclusions

This paper has examined the essence of several key terms in the Hittite Laws relating to sexuality and the morals they meant to convey. The chart entitled ‘Frequency of Sexual and Related Terms in the Hittite Laws’ (see above) illustrates the patterns of distribution of the key terms in the laws. The laws of incest and kin relations are the only ones to make use of a variety of terms denoting sexual intercourse (*salik-*, *ses-*, *wasta-*, *wen-*), whereas the laws relating to other sexual matters each employ a single specific term. The word *wasta-*, ‘to sin’, is found in bestiality laws,³⁵ while *ēp-*, ‘to seize’, is seen in the law regarding rape and adultery. The reason behind this fact might be the difference between laws dealing with acts necessarily constituting a social vice (adultery, rape and especially bestiality) and those of lesser severity that on occasion did not even constitute a felony (extended kin relations). It is no surprise, then, to find the term *UL ḫaratar*, the designation for the exemption from legal

35 The verb *watku-*, ‘to leap’, is only employed for the actions of animals (an ox and a pig, see §199).

liability, appearing significantly more frequently in these laws (eight attestations in eight laws) than in all other laws together (four attestations in seven laws).

None of these terms was arbitrarily chosen by the Hittite lawmakers, and each fulfilled a specific function. Though it is not always possible to distinguish among them and to fully comprehend their nuanced meanings, it is hoped that the current paper sheds more light on the context of their attestations within the limits of the Hittite laws pertaining to sexual matters, thereby contributing to an improved understanding of these laws.

One of the most beautiful Latin proverbs, ascribed (probably falsely) to Virgilius, says ‘*Amore, more, ore, re, probantur amicitiae*’. Indeed, a true friend becomes known through love, behaviour, words and deeds. This paper, a study of words, attempts to reveal the love, behaviour and deeds of an ancient people in ancient times. It is dedicated as a token of my appreciation to a man of love, behaviour, words and deeds. A man of true friendship.

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Connections between KI.LAM and the Tetešhapi Festival: The Expressions *halukan tarnanzi* and *heun tarnanzi**

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It is to Itamar Singer¹ that we owe the first systematic study of a great state festival, and though subsequent research, new findings and the publications of further fragments have enriched the corpus of texts on the KI.LAM festival,² the work carried out by Singer is still the reference model for all researchers involved in this important aspect of Hittite culture.

Often, due to a lack of clear textual evidence, particularly when no colophons are preserved, systematic philological studies of the tablets pertaining to Hittite festivals prove very difficult, and therefore few scholars concerned themselves with critical editions dealing with these types of texts. The corpora of other text genres (including rituals) are now largely defined, while many festival texts are still to be situated within the mass of material: recognizing a festival text is simple; trying to establish where it belongs, however, is somewhat more complex and often ambiguous. Apart from some exceptions most festivals mentioned in the Hittite tablets³ have not yet been reconstructed systematically from the mass of festival tablets and fragments. Exceptions include the outline tablets of the great state festivals AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and *nuntarryašhaš*;⁴ some festivals for specific occasions characterized by very particular and univocal ceremonies;⁵ festivals particular to the various regional cultures of Anatolia—cultures that differed from the north-central Hattic-Hittite culture—characterized by their specific vocabulary and deities.⁶

I hope that, within a reasonable period of time, I will be able to complete my planned edition of the *purulli* Festival, to which, it seems,⁷ belong the tablets of the Tetešhapi Festival (CTH 738) and a large number of tablets of the NIN.DINGIR Festival (CTH 649) of Old Hittite tradition, and part of which (in particular the celebrations in Hattuša) was then combined with the Spring Festival celebrated in the capital in the Imperial Period. The corpus is vast, and

* Institutional commitments have prevented me from participating in the homage that the scientific community has paid to important colleagues in the last few years, but I felt that I simply could not fail to contribute to these writings in honour of Itamar Singer, who has earned my heartfelt admiration and with whom I have enjoyed a long friendship. It is therefore a great pleasure to dedicate to him this paper, which covers themes that are dear to both of us.

For the reconstruction and cataloguing of the tablets as well as related bibliography, see *Konkordanz*.

¹ Singer (1983; 1984).

² See updates in the *Konkordanz* and in Groddek (2004: 8, no. 7).

³ E.g., the list of festivals celebrated in Hattuša found in CTH 264, §4 (KUB 13.4 i 39'–45').

⁴ For an overview of these festivals, see Haas (1994: 772–847), where the daily tablets are enumerated, and the divinities venerated and the localities of the ceremonies are summarized.

⁵ E.g., the Monthly Festival (CTH 591; Klinger 1996: 286–614); the Festival of the Moon and Thunder (CTH 630); and the so-called Gewitterritual (CTH 631).

⁶ E.g., the (*h*)*išuwa* Festival (CTH 628) and the Festival for the Goddess Huwaššanna (CTH 690–694).

⁷ Pecchioli Daddi (1987a: 367–369; 1987b: 55–57; 1988; cf. also 1992: 100; forthcoming). See also, for this purpose, Haas (1988; 1994: 696–747); differently Popko (1995: 149).

distinctive elements are not always available. This makes it difficult for one to distinguish it from other festivals, especially the KI.LAM, which draws on the same Hattic-Hittite amalgam for its divinities, cult personnel and ceremonies.⁸

The distinctive elements of the *purulli* and KI.LAM festivals consist of:

1. their principal deity:
 - a) the Storm-god in the KI.LAM Festival: his statue is carried out of the temple with his four bulls; the Great Assembly takes place at the *ḫuwaši*-stone of the Storm-god; the Storm-god together with the Storm-god of Zippalanda, Wašezzili,⁹ opens the sequence of divinities who are honoured with the drinking ceremony, inaugurated by Taurit, 'the Powerful (goddess)'.
 - b) Tetešhapi, 'the Great Goddess', in the *purulli* festival.
2. the role of the queen:
 - a) always at the side of the king in the KI.LAM festival.
 - b) marginal in the *purulli* festival.
3. the principal setting for the celebration:
 - a) Ḫattuša in the KI.LAM festival.
 - b) Tawiniya in the *purulli* festival.

As noted, the tablet recently restored by Groddek (2004) reveals that the two festivals have a greater number of elements in common than emerge from the tablets edited by Singer (1983; 1984). The similarities are not surprising, since both festivals, though probably celebrated at different times of the agricultural year, stem from the same religious milieu and represent, at least in the Old Hittite tablets, the most undiluted manifestation of religious practice in central and northern Anatolia, typical of the area that would long remain the undisputed centre of the Hittite state.

This paper will treat two similarly structured but semantically different expressions which occur only in these two festivals: *ḫalukan tarnanzi* and *ḫeun tarnanzi*. Both expressions, though included in descriptions of usual ceremonies, appear to be out of context and to relate very succinctly with the actions they denote, actions with which the scribes and celebrants were surely well acquainted, even if they elude the modern interpreter. Obviously, the scribes of Ḫattuša did not record festival and ritual descriptions in order to transmit expressions of their religious sentiments to posterity, but rather to ensure that the celebrants would respect established norms thought to be appreciated by the gods and to prevent errors or omissions, particularly concerning the sequence of the rites, the performing of gestures, the recitation of invocations and litanies, as well as the quality and quantity of offerings, as is clear from the occasional remark concerning possible alternatives;¹⁰ descriptions of these elements are very detailed and often repeated to the point of being obsessive. Only when a festival includes rather specific ceremonies are they described in detail, but such punctilious descriptions always relate

⁸ The association of the *purulli* and KI.LAM festivals is clearly demonstrated by the Old Hittite tablet reconstructed by Groddek (2004).

⁹ For this identification, see Haas (1994: 426, 445, 589), which finds confirmation in the hapax *ḫaḫa-wašezzu* of KUB 59.22 iii 24' (CTH 627; van den Hout 1991–1992), for which see Pecchioli Daddi (1998: 25–26).

¹⁰ E.g., in KI.LAM, l.a. iv 8–9, v 14'.

unusual actions marking an atypical celebration, i.e., actions which are not repeated during the festival or found in other festivals. In contrast, the expressions *ḫalukan tarnanzi* and *ḫeun tarnanzi* seem to constitute extremely concise ciphers for actions that recur in the course of both the *purulli* and the KI.LAM festivals.

Thus far the interpretation of these two expressions in oracular terms suggested by Haas,¹¹ who translates '(glänzende) Botschaft der Inar(a)' and 'Botschaft des Regens', respectively, has found no confirmation in published texts.¹² This interpretation is based on an errant translation of the locution LUGAL-*i ḫandaitta*: '(die ēntu-Priesterin oder der Priester der ḫapi(ya)-Leute) [haben] "für den König (das Orakel) festgestellt"' (Haas 1994:690); it should, however, be translated '(she or he) is placed next to the king'. Oracles connected with the festivals are concerned with ensuring the suitability and accuracy of the procedures performed or to be performed, as well as the proper time schedule,¹³ but as a rule, oracular investigations are not included in the festival ceremonial.

ḫalukan tarnai / tarnanzi

For *ḫalukan tarnanzi*, an expression unique to the *purulli* festival, I have already proposed a possible interpretation,¹⁴ but, perhaps since the papers were written in Italian,¹⁵ the suggestion seems to have been misunderstood by the editors of CHD P: 85b, who write:

Pecchioli Daddi (OA 26 [1987]: 45–46, and FsCarratelli [1988]: 194–197) understands 'the message of Inara' to be a reciting of the Illuyanka story, however this might be an allusion to the Inara myth (KUB 33.55 and dupls.;...), where the Mother-goddess commands Inara (wr. *ḫLAMMA*) to take a goat's horn and *ḫalugan iya* 'make a message (i.e., sound the horn),' which she does (KUB 32.52 II 4–5), and 'everyone went somewhere.' It is thus conceivable that the boy and girl *palwatalleš* here are blowing horns.

¹¹ Haas (1994: 690–691, 731 and *passim*). Cf. also Schuol (2004: 29).

¹² Cf., however, Alaura (2004: 203–205).

¹³ Cf. Haas (1994: 689–690).

¹⁴ Note in particular Pecchioli Daddi (1988: 194–197):

'La prima azione rituale [*ḫalukan tarnai/tarnanzi*] è compiuta da un ragazzo e da una ragazza...e trova, a mio avviso, un chiaro riferimento nella frase del mito di Inara *ḫalama ḫalukan iya* "fece il messaggio per Inara" di KUB XXXIII 52 II 5 e KUB XXXVI 51 Vo 7 = KUB XXXIII 63 Vo 5, che allude alla ricerca, compiuta dall'ape della divinità scomparsa. Sembra quindi trattarsi dell'inserimento di un momento mitologico nel corso del rituale festivo, e la cosa non è certo nuova in ambito ittita (and n. 16: 'Si veda per es. il mito di Illuyanka che veniva rappresentato nel corso della festa *purulli*)...Rimane infine la possibilità che la frase...si riferisca ad una azione mimata, che riproduca in qualche modo uno dei momenti salienti del mito di Inara...Questi elementi mi inducono ad attribuire le tavolette alla grande festa di origine hattica del *purulli*...nella quale Inara svolgeva un ruolo preminente e nel cui rituale erano inserite recitazioni mitologiche (mito del dragone Illuyanka).'

Note further that in Pecchioli Daddi (1987b: 45–46), quoted by CHD P: 85b, is found only a translation of the text; the relevant comments are found in *ibid.*: 55:

'La proposta di attribuzione di queste tavolette alla festa di origine hattica del *purulli* è fondata...soprattutto sulla lettura in chiave mitologica dell'espressione *ḫinaraš ḫalukan tarnai*...Ma Inara è anche la divinità protagonista della prima versione della lotta del dio della tempesta con il drago Illuyanka, la cui recitazione costituiva parte integrante della celebrazione della EZEN *purulliyaš* a Nerik.'

¹⁵ But see also Pecchioli Daddi (1987a: 368; in French).

My references to the myth of Illuyanka (see n. 14), however, were not intended to explain the expression ^d*Inaraš ḫalukan tarna-*, but to reinforce the hypothesis that even the ceremonies dedicated to Inara described in CTH 649 (and 738) belong to the *purulli* festival, which, as has been known for some time, included mythological representations; hence, myths, or elements of myths, in which Inara would have been the protagonist—among them surely the myth of Illuyanka and the myth of Inara—would have been recited or performed in this festival.

That this expression should be connected with the myth of Inara seems to be agreed. The meaning of the phrase ‘a boy and a girl (or a boy)... “leave the message of/for Inara”,’ however, remains open for discussion. The proposal in CHD P: 85b, according to which the children would have sounded a horn, is plausible, but certainly not the only possibility. To sound the horn is a frequent action in festive rituals. Why then was such a specific expression used? And why would an action common to many festivals be expressed with this phrase only in tablets belonging to the festival(s) for Inara?

In any case, whether the action signified by the expression was a ritual gesture or a performative act, it shows clearly that the *purulli* festival included ceremonies that reproduced mythologems in which the celebrated deities were the protagonists. The mythical elements likely varied, depending on the locality and the day on which the celebrations took place. While the myth of Illuyanka would have been recited during the *purulli* festival of Nerik, dedicated to the Storm-god of Nerik, and probably during that of Tawiniya, dedicated to the great goddess Tetešhapi,¹⁶ in other localities—and in Hattuša in particular, where Inara had her own temple as the divine protector of royalty and wild fauna—it is possible that salient moments of the myth of this disappearing goddess, Inara, were performed.

ḫeun tarnanzi

The expression *ḫeun tarnanzi* (lit. ‘they let/leave the rain’,¹⁷ ‘they release the rain’) is present only in the tablets of the KILAM festival and in the OH²/MH² fragment KUB 34.94 (CTH 649). Naturally, rain¹⁸ is the prerogative of the Storm-god.¹⁹ In the *mugawar* for the Storm-god of Nerik (KUB 36.89),²⁰ for example, the god is asked to ‘bring down from the sky “gentle/pleasant rains”’ for the well-being of Hatti and the king.²¹ His parents, the supreme couple of the pantheon, are asked to ‘let “gentle/pleasant rains” fall’ for the health and prosperity

16 In this festival one finds a ‘daughter of the poor man’: KBo 19.161 iii 5', iv 5; KBo 25.48 iii 6', 8'; KBo 21.90, 19', 23'; see Pecchioli Daddi (1987b: 56).

17 Singer (1983: 103).

18 For *ḫeu-*, see recently Zinko & Zinko (2007: 740–743), where attestations for the noun as well as related verbs and adjectives are listed.

19 Cf. Haas (1994: 325); see e.g., KBo 13.245 iv 3'–7'.

20 See Haas (1970: 140–174).

21 KUB 36.89 rev. 60–61: *e-ḫu* ^{URU}*Ne-ri-qa-aš* ^d*10-aš ne-pi-ša-za-kán* *GAM mi-e-uš ḫé-e-uš ú-da* / *A-NA KUR.KUR* ^{HLA} ^{URU}*GIDRU-ti La-bar-na-ia LUGAL-i a-aš-šu e-eš-du*.

of humanity.²² In a section dedicated to the city of Hakkam/piš within the cult inventory KUB 25.23(+),²³ the Storm-god (of the rain) is asked to ‘make’ rain in large amounts,²⁴ while the Storm-god of the thunderstorm is asked not to ‘make’ [(disastrous) storms^(?)].²⁵

The Storm-god similarly sends rain in the bilingual Hattic-Hittite myth known as ‘The Moon that Fell from Heaven’, where one reads: ‘after him (i.e., the Moon-god) the Storm-god let the rain fall [*tarnaš*], after him he let pelting rain fall [*tarnaš*] and after him he gave rise [*tarnaš*] to the winds’.²⁶ In this case the rain is so destructive that it gives rise to fear and anxiety.

In the ritual section that closes the first version of the myth of Illuyanka,²⁷ it is Mount Zaliyanu that guarantees the rain in the city of Nerik, from which it receives bread offerings: ‘Zaliyanu is the first among all (the gods)! After the rain will have been distributed [*ḫinikta*] in the city, the herald will bring a loaf of round bread to him. Zaliyanu was asked [*wekta*] to bring the rain...’²⁸

The ritual sections of both versions of this aetiological myth for the *purulli* festival of Nerik confirm that the mountain deity²⁹ replaces the Storm-god when he is not able to fulfil his function of distributing the rain (in the first version) or the spring waters (in the second), so necessary for the prosperity of the land of Hatti.³⁰

It is interesting to note that the relations between divinity and rain are stressed by different verbs:³¹ *uda-*, *tarna-*, *iya-*, *ḫin(i)k-* and *wek-*, among which *tarna-* is used to express ‘letting the rain (fall) from the sky’ by the great Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna and also to ‘let pelting rain (fall)’ on the part of the Storm-god. Unlike the action ^d*Inaraš ḫalukan tarna-*, which may be performed by one or two actors characterized by their youth (DUMU.NITA and/or DUMU.MUNUS) and function (*palwatalla-* or *taḫiyala-*), the act of ‘letting the rain (fall)’ in festival texts never has a subject, and the verb is always given in the third person plural, clearly an impersonal form. The only variation concerns the accusative of *ḫeu-*, which is also documented in the plural form in one case (KUB 51.10 right col. 6').

The expression *ḫeun tarnanzi*, as mentioned, recurs mostly in the tablets of the KILAM festival. According to the NH outline tablet KBo 25.176 (CTH 627 3.b.A)³² this act takes place during the drinking ceremonies that unfold during the ‘Great Assembly’; it precedes

22 KUB 36.89 rev. 54–55: ^d*10-aš-wa-kán* ^d*UTU* ^{URU}*PÚ-na ne-pi-ša-za kat-ta mi-e-uš ḫé-e-uš tar-ni-eš-du* / *nu-wa* *DUMU LÚ* ^{MES}*-LU-UT-TI SIG₅-ru A-NA* *DUMU* ^{MES}*LÚ* ^{MES}*-LU-UT-TI-wa ḫa-at-tu-la-tar ḫal-ki-eš-ta-ru DÚ-ru*. For ‘gentle/pleasant rains’ in connection with the Storm-god of Nerik, see also KUB 31.136 ii 5; cf. *ibid.* ii 1, for which see CHD L-N: 242 sub *mienu-* A, *minu-*; ‘gentle/pleasant rains’ for the country of Hatti are also mentioned in KUB 36.77 right col. 2' and 4'–5'.

23 See Hazenbos (2003: no. 4).

24 KUB 25.23(+) iv 57'–58':...^d*10 EN-IA ḫé-e-ú-u[n]* / *me-ek-ki i-ia*...

25 KUB 25.23(+) iv 45'–46'.

26 KUB 28.4 ii 19–20 (and KUB 28.5 ii 12–13); cf. Pecchioli Daddi (1990: 109–113).

27 For a recent analysis of this myth, see Hoffner (2007) with the relevant bibliography.

28 KBo 3.7 ii 21'ff.; see Hoffner (2007: 137), who modifies his previous translation (1998: 12) in agreement with that in Pecchioli Daddi (1990: 52).

29 In the second version the deity appears with his wife Zašhapuna and his concubine Tazzuwašši.

30 On the role of Zaliyanu, see in particular Hoffner (2007: 124, 129, 139) where various opinions are noted.

31 Cf. Zinko & Zinko (2007: 741–742), who examine the use of the transitive verbs *tarna-*, *ḫink-* and *iya-*.

32 Singer (1984: 92–95).

(obv. 12) and follows (obv. 14) drinking (to) the Storm-god and Wašezzili,³³ while in rev. 20' it accompanies the ceremony dedicated to ^dUD-AM. It is not, however, found in the OH outline tablet KBo 20.33+ (CTH 627 3.a). The expression's connection with these three deities is confirmed by the descriptive tablets of 'the regular KI.LAM festival' and 'the great KI.LAM festival'.³⁴

In the OH tablet ABoT 5++ (CTH 627 1.h.A),³⁵ the locution is found within the following sequences: (a) ii 6'–12': the king and queen drink (to) the Storm-god and Wašezzili, / *halliyari*-singers sing to the sound of a large lyre, / *heun tarnanzi* (ii 7'), / food and drink are presented. // Blacksmiths bring two silver heads of oxen, / and the king presents prizes to the winner of a race; (b) ii 31'–35': the king and queen drink (to) [^dUD-AM],³⁶ / the GALA-singers sing [...], / *heun tarnanzi* (ii 33'), / [...] HÜB.BI-dancers perform [...].³⁷

In the NH sixth tablet of the regular KI.LAM festival, KBo 10.25 (CTH 627 1.j.A)³⁸ and KBo 27.42 (CTH 627 1.j.B),³⁹ as well as in the parallel text KBo 45.47(+)⁴⁰, the action *heun tarnanzi*⁴¹ is found in a similar, yet more articulated, context:⁴² the king and the queen drink the Storm-god and Wašezzili, / the king pours a libation into the *huppar*, the queen does not pour. // The cupbearer lifts it up with the empty gold *išgaruḫ*, // the *halliyareš*-singers sing to the sound of the large lyre; / performance of the trio. // The king breaks the bread given him by the cupbearer, // the cupbearer picks up the bread again and takes it out; // the king breaks the soft bread which the table waiter has taken from the pure table and has given him; / the table waiter puts it back on the pure table. // The queen breaks the soft bread taken from her table which the table waiter has given her; / the table waiter puts it back on the queen's table. / (B iv 6; performance of the trio); / *heun tarnanzi*; // *parašnawaš=kan uizzi*. Also in B v 2 (in fragmentary context) *heun tarnanzi* marks the ceremony of bread offering for the Storm-deities (cf. ll. 14–15, a libation from two silver rhyta in the shape of an ox head).

In the NH tablet KUB 51.84⁴³—which in right col. 3'ff. constitutes a parallel though expanded version of the 11th tablet of the regular KI.LAM festival,⁴⁴ as well as an abbreviated version of CTH 627 1.j.A i 15–ii 33"—*heun tarnanzi* is inserted among the ritual actions accompanying the drinking (to) the Storm-deities,⁴⁵ to which the divinity ^dUTU is added.

33 Here written ^dWa_a-še-ez-za-al-li-i[n].

34 For these definitions, see Singer (1983: 33–52).

35 See Neu (1980: no. 12); Singer (1983: 69; 1984: 32–38); Groddek (2004: 44–47).

36 The restoration, as tentatively suggested by Singer (1984: 35), now finds confirmation in KBo 30.18++ ii 15 (see below).

37 In a fragmentary context.

38 Singer (1984: 46–54).

39 Singer (1984: 54–61).

40 See the transcription in Roszkowska-Mutschler (2005: 61–63).

41 A ii 3 // B iv 7 // KBo 45.47 iv 3; B v 2.

42 A i 15–ii 4 // B iii 50'–iv 8; KBo 45.47 iii x+1–iv 4 runs parallel to A i 19ff., with variants.

43 See transcription in Groddek (2004: 137–138).

44 KBo 10.26 v 19ff. (CTH 627 1.i.A).

45 The correction to van Gessel (1998: 590) proposed by Groddek (2004: 137, n. 1) does not seem necessary, since Wazizzašu and Wašezzalli/Wašezzili are simply different writings of the name of the same divinity; cf. Pecchioli Daddi (1998: 25).

In the OH tablet KBo 38.12++ of the great KI.LAM festival,⁴⁶ which Groddek has recently reconstructed from numerous fragments,⁴⁷ some of which had been attributed to CTH 649, *heun tarnanzi* (ii 16–17) is embedded within the following sequence (ii 15–19): the king and queen drink (to) the deified Day (^dUD-AM); / the cupbearer brings a bread loaf; / music is played and the GALA-singers sing; / [*heun tar*]nanzī; / the dancers perform; / the king breaks the bread that the cupbearer gives him; / (the cupbearer) takes it away; / the participants finish (their action) (ÉRIN^{MEŠ}-az appai).⁴⁸ In ii 20ff. follows a dance of the HÜB.BI-men, who receive bread and drink as their fee.

Probably also belonging to the KI.LAM festival⁴⁹ is the NH fragment KUB 51.10,⁵⁰ currently catalogued under CTH 653, where in right col. 6' *heuš* (acc. pl.) *tar*[nanzī] follows the ceremony of drinking (to) a divinity (in lacuna) performed by the king (l. 4'), as well as the songs of the GALA-singers (l. 5').

The last attestation of *heun tarnanzi* known to me from published texts occurs in KUB 34.94, 2' and 8',⁵¹ which I previously catalogued under CTH 649.1.9. Likely references to drinking (to) the divinities are lost in a lacuna, but the new evidence supplied by the reconstruction of KBo 38.12++ now makes the attribution of KUB 34.94 to the KI.LAM festival very plausible; it could be an abbreviated version of the OH tablet published by Groddek (2004), as the presence of the HÜB.BI-dancers (l. 3'), the bread sorts *m[itgaimi]* (l. 3'), *wagata* (l. 4') and [*zippu*]lašni (l. 9'), and especially the phrase ÉRIN^{MEŠ}-az *ap*[pai] (l. 5') seem to show.

The ritual action *heun tarnanzi* is thus seen to recur in the context of bread offerings and performances by musicians, singers and dancers that complete the rite of drinking (to) the divinities. The deities concerned are the great Storm-god (always written ideographically), the younger Storm-god of Zippalanda, Wašezzili, and the deified day (^dUD-AM). Only one text mentions the Sun-goddess ^dUTU. Her presence may be due to a copying error by a scribe who had summarized detailed descriptions of KI.LAM ceremonies, whereby the omission of a single sign turned ^dUD-AM into ^dUTU. It is also possible that the addition is due to the interpolation of a scribe from a more recent period who felt obligated to complete the divine family of Zippalanda by adding the name of the mother (^dUTU)⁵² to the names of the father (^d10) and son (^dWazizzašu).

It is plausible that 'letting the rain (fall)' could be evocative of the primary function of the Storm-god, but it seems improbable that it should allude to a negative aspect of rain, i.e., heavy destructive rain. Such an aspect might perhaps be evoked in the complex scene⁵³ that unfolds when the king exits a tent at the end of the 'Great Assembly', during which the divinities were

46 Cf. the colophon (iv 15'–16'): [...] *ma-a-an* LUGAL-uš / [... KI.LA]M-ni 3-ŠU e-ša.

47 Groddek (2004).

48 Cf. also the duplicate KBo 30.47 obv. x+1–8'; for a transcription, see Groddek (2002: 58).

49 Cf. Popko (1986: 475); for this attribution, in addition to the action in question, note the mention of a ^{LU}HÜB.BI (l. 2'), some hunters (l. 3') and *zippulašni* bread (l. 10'), as in KBo 38.12++ *passim*.

50 For a transcription, see Groddek (2004: 16–17).

51 For a transcription, see Pecchioli Daddi (1987b: 56, n. 57).

52 Note the absence of ^{URU}Arinna.

53 KUB 2.3 ii 11–31 (Text 1.k; see Singer 1983: 78–79; 1984: 64): two naked performers squat inside a pythos of *marnuwan*; two priestesses run around it three times, one holding a wooden knife, the other a staff fitted with sharp points; one of them pours an abundant quantity of *marnuwan* three times onto the backs of the performers; they then rise and play the horn three times.

drunk (to), and then proceeds to enter the *huwaši* of the Storm-god. The quantity of liquid poured, the noise caused by the tools and the sound of the horns seem here to be designed to imitate the pelting of the rain and the rumbling of thunder, typical of a storm.⁵⁴ In contrast, the expression *heun tarnanzi* seems to refer to an action that needed no complex organization or preparation, a simple action that could be easily repeated and that could be performed to coincide with other ritual actions.

I have tentatively proposed (1987b: 56, n. 57) some possible explanations for the expression *heun tarnanzi* in mythological terms, with reference to the myth of Illuyanka, as has Yoshida (1996: 340), with reference to the myth of 'The Moon that Fell from Heaven'. A complementary approach to uncovering what lies behind this 'obscure expression', as Singer⁵⁵ refers to it, might come not from the texts, which lack any useful indications, but from examining the splendid Old Hittite ritual vases discovered in the last two decades, which have substantially enriched the documentation relating to Hittite religious customs of the oldest period. Particularly noteworthy are the large ritual relief vases, found practically intact at İnandık⁵⁶ and Hüseyindede,⁵⁷ which preserve friezes showing the salient moments of the festive celebrations where they were used.⁵⁸ Consider also the vase from Eskiypar exhibited at the Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.⁵⁹ That these vases served a cult function is assured by their findspots, but, unlike the frequently mentioned rhyta, reference to their use has still not been identified in the festival descriptions. Vases of this size might, with difficulty, have been used to pour liquid, but they more probably served to collect liquids that were subsequently drawn with a ladle or similar instrument (*išgaruḥ*) or with long straws.

To elucidate the meaning of 'letting the rain (fall)', i.e., to pour liquid in such a way as to mimic the falling rain—likely not a heavy downpour, but a fine rain invoked, above all, from the Storm-god to render the soil fertile and cause seeds to germinate—it is useful to consider the wide mouth of these large vases, in which a small trough was formed. This trough is connected by two narrow channels set inside the widened rim leading to four symmetrical bulls' heads, each with a small aperture at its base.⁶⁰ This apparatus might allow liquids, when poured into the small trough, to drip out of the mouths of the bulls and fall into the large body of the vase, where, as in a sort of sound box, a sound similar to fine falling rain would be produced. Vases with rims of this type have been found at various Anatolian sites from the Old Assyrian and Hittite periods,⁶¹ but so far no specific hypothesis concerning their use in cultic context has been offered, even though the presence of the bull heads leads one to wonder about their possible connections with the cult of the Storm-god.

KI.LAM is an ancient festival, born in the same cultural context in which the large ritual vases were produced. In the KI.LAM festival the Storm-god is the principal divinity, and the number four, clearly of a symbolic value recurs: the image of the deity, when brought

54 Cf. Haas (1994: 765): 'Ein Regenzauberzeremoniell'.

55 Singer (1983: 103).

56 Özgüç (1988).

57 Sipahi (2000; 2001); Yıldırım (2006; 2008).

58 Further significant fragments come from Bitik, Eskiypar and Hattuša; cf. Yıldırım (2008: 845–850, figs. 1–6).

59 Inv. Nr. 73–1–67; cf. Özgüç (1988: 119 and pl. 73.1); Yıldırım (2006: 356, fig. f).

60 See Özgüç (1988: 84–85 and fig. 65).

61 See recently Yıldırım (2008: 838–839), with bibliographic references.

out of the temple and taken to the *huwaši*-stone, is accompanied by two pairs of bulls placed symmetrically to his right and to his left (see CTH 627 l.e.5, Bo 5005 obv. x+1–6').

Based on these considerations it seems reasonable to suppose that the 'obscure expression' *heun tarnanzi* of the KI.LAM festival refers to the use of vases of this type and to the way liquid pours through the mouths of the bulls placed around their upper edge. Therefore, in the KI.LAM festival the two kinds of rain that the Storm-god sends would have been evoked through mimetic actions: the fine rain is propitiated on several occasions by pouring a libation from the small mouths of the four bulls on a cult vase; only once, in the scene of the naked performers squatting in the pythos, is heavy, pelting rain, accompanied by the rumbling sounds of thunder, warded off.

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Nuovi sigilli in luvio geroglifico VII* (Per il valore di á in alcune occorrenze)

Massimo Poetto (Milano)

In ambito anatolico, un campo d'indagine in cui Itamar Singer si è egregiamente espresso a più riprese è quello della sfragistica (vd. ultimamente Singer 2007): confido quindi che gli risulti gradita la presente edizione d'un sigillo geroglifico (figg. I-III) in collezione privata,¹ quale segno di stima e amicizia di lunga data.

Descrizione: corpo biconvesso con perforazione diametrale; fianco liscio, salvo un segmento intagliato (C) di cm. 2,5 ca.; entrambe le facce sono incise, con la A ottimamente conservata, e un terzo della superficie di B saltato via.

Dimensioni: diametro cm. 2,4 ca.; spessore cm. 1,6 ca.

Materiale: ematite rossa.

Datazione: (fine) XIII secolo.

Provenienza: inaccertabile.

1. Su ambedue i lati, incolonnato entro una sottile scanalatura circolare in buona parte mancante, è inciso il medesimo andronimo *N-na/ni-á-tù* (36[.2]–388–17–81); il glifo iniziale si presenta mutilo della sezione superiore in B/b, il secondo nell'ormai consolidata foggia angolare — a sua volta da integrare in B/b — e allungata,² il terzo nella raffigurazione del semplice ‘profilo del volto’; in base alle impronte, l'orientamento dei segni risulta sinistrorso per i primi tre ma destrorso per -tù su a, viceversa su b.

2. Rispetto ad altre grafie d'antroponimi contenenti -á- in preciso allineamento verticale su analogo supporto — quali, i. a., *Ti_x/Ta_x-á-s-tú*,³ *Pa-á-431*,⁴ *Zi/Za-á-li*⁵ —, sull'oggetto qui in esame il posizionamento parzialmente fuori asse e inclinato di tale elemento appare imputabile al sovradimensionamento del pittogramma stesso, ma l'intento del suo inserimento giust'appunto tra -na/ni- e -tù viene palesato dal netto rientro del segmento inferiore del ‘viso’; consimile

* Prosecuzione della serie di cui da ultimo Poetto (2007).

1 Ringrazio di nuovo sentitamente il detentore (che intende conservare l'anonimato) per avermene affidato la pubblicazione.

2 Su cui cf., con rinvii, Poetto (2007: 624a).

3 Bleibtreu (1971–1972: 301b, nr. 21; foto capovolte), con lettura di P. Meriggi. Per la trascrizione *ti_x/ta_x* di 183 (e *ti_s/ta_s* di 266b, in riferimento alla rispondenza onomastica *Ti_x/Ta_x-ti_s/ta_s-mi Alalimi* su certune cretule digrafiche da Nişantepe, onde ora Herbordt 2005: 114 ad nr. 3) vd. Poetto (1993: 10–11, sub Nota Bene 2).

4 Dinçol & Dinçol (2008a: 34, nr. 103, fig. 10).

5 Herbordt (2005: 207b, nr. 522) + Hawkins (2005: 279a, fig. 42). L'andronimo ritorna nella metà inferiore del blocco BOĞAZKÖY 15, con -li ritto e spostato in alto a destra (Dinçol & Dinçol 2002: 208–209, 213 fig. 2).

inclinazione del grafema in corpo di parola è parimenti riscontrabile, per esempio, in *Ku²-ti-á-ti⁶* e, come terminazione, in *Zu-la-á⁷*.

3. È poi ipotizzabile che per alcune occorrenze *á* esprima /ja/,⁸ come si desume dalla corrispondenza istituibile tra l'idionimo sulla *bulla* nr. 200 in Güterbock (1942: 76) (qui fig. IV) qualora letto *Ki-á-n⁹* e il cuneiforme *Kiyanna*;¹⁰ oppure nel caso di *A/I(a)+r-á* su un'impronta da Alişar¹¹ inteso come *Iriya* da Dinçol & Dinçol (2008a: 68a) in forza del cuneiforme¹² oltreché dell'eventuale comunanza di titolo (L 135.2 / LÜHAL 'veggente'); senza infine insistere sugli omonimi in cui *-á* si contrappone ad *-a/i(a)* — che in questa posizione vale di norma /-ja/ — quali, a titolo di esempio, *Zú-wa/wi-á¹³* vs. *Zú-wa/wi-a/i(a)¹⁴* ovvero *Pi-ha-á¹⁵* vs. *Pi-ha-a/i(a)¹⁶*.

4. Sulla scia di quanto su esposto (§§2–3), si dimostrerà quindi giustificata la prospettiva che le impronte nrr. 14–15 in Herbordt (2005: 116b–117a) + Hawkins (2005: 248b–249a, figg. 2 e 1) (qui fig. IV) rappresentino — proprio in vista della (dis)posizione altrettanto obliqua di *á* — *N-na/ni-á*, confortato altresí dal perfetto *pendant* *N-na/ni-a/i(a)* sempre in Herbordt (2005: 163, nr. 278) + Hawkins (2005: 266b, fig. 22) (con la variante *N-ni-a/i(a)¹⁷* sull'attiguo nr. 279, ammesso che si confermi essere il medesimo individuo), equipollente al cuneiforme *Na(n)niya¹⁸* — anziché “*á-na-ni / Anani¹⁹*” —, e che (perlomeno) l'esemplare nr. 20 in Herbordt (2005: 117b) + Hawkins (2005: 249a, fig. 2) (qui fig. IV), se decodificato come *N-na/ni-á-zi/za* — piuttosto che come “*á-na-ni-zi/a / Ananizi/a*” (isolato) — corrisponda al cuneiforme *Naniya(n)za²⁰*, una forma ampliata del suddetto *Na(n)niya*: base *Nani²¹* (a fianco di *Nana*, con

l'ulteriore derivato *Nananza*),²² geroglifico *N-na/ni(-s)²³* (accosto a *N-n*),²⁴ presente nel luvio cuneiforme *nani-* ‘fratello’.²⁵

5. In virtù di tutto ciò si può argomentare che *N-na/ni-á-tù* sul sigillo qui edito indichi a sua volta un derivato quale *Naniyandu* — formazione parallela a *Masturiyandu* vs. *Masturi*;²⁶ si consideri altresí *Nakkarsiyandu*,²⁷ che presuppone certo *Nakkarsi(ya)** —, ovvero *Naniya(d)du* — sul tipo di *Piḥa-(d)du*,²⁸ *Ura-ddu*,²⁹ ecc.³⁰

In alternativa, se *N-na/ni-á-tù* dovesse invece rispecchiare *Nana(d)du* o *Nanandu*, allora *-á-* svolgerebbe qui la funzione di *scriptio plena*.³¹

6. Al bordo sinistro di **a** (perlomeno) trova inoltre posto la qualifica del proprietario del sigillo, URU.EN (199–371) ‘signore della città’, di non particolarmente frequente attestazione,³² ma con tutta plausibilità omologa di EN URU(-LĪ) del cuneiforme.³³

Sull'eventuale corrispondenza di questo ufficio a quello del *BĒL MADGALTI* ‘(una sorta di) margravio’³⁴ cf. da ultimo le osservazioni di Hawkins.³⁵

Il resto di ciascun campo è infine occupato da motivi di carattere esornativo in forma globulare e cuspidata a tre tratti.

7. Da ultimo, gli intagli apposti — inusualmente — sul fianco **C** (fig. III) non si prestano a un'immediata interpretazione.

Alla sinistra di un tondo decorativo (da **c**), tre tratti inclinati verticalmente (EN [371.(1)]?), di preferenza a ‘3’ [369]?; o altro?) precedono un motivo che richiama quello (speculare) in

6 Yoshida (1997: 39a, nr. 4b); Poetto (2004: 514, n. 7).

7 Güterbock (1942: 78, nr. 229, fig. VII), con riedizione in Boehmer & Güterbock (1987: 77b, nr. 249 [lettura: “*zu-á-la*”], fig. XXXI).

8 Per /ja/ vd. già la congettura (pur generica) in Poetto (1981: 19, commento al nr. 9b).

9 Anziché “*Á-ki²-n*” (Meriggi 1962: 17) / “*Á-ki-na*” (Boehmer & Güterbock 1987: 66b, sub nr. 188 = Hawkins 2005: 311b, sub nr. 58, “*Akina*”), caratterizzato dalla professione L 135.2 (su cui Dinçol & Dinçol 2008a: 67b–68a, “MEDICUS/MAGUS?”).

10 Laroche (1966: 92, nr. 565).

11 Gelb (1935: 73, nr. 67, fig. LII).

12 Laroche (1966: 80, nr. 462).

13 E.g., Herbordt (2005: 210, nrr. 537–540) + Hawkins (2005: 279b, fig. 43); Dinçol & Dinçol (2008a: 39a, nr. 145, fig. 14, ecc.). Per la resa *zú* di 298 vd. Poetto (1993: 55, n. 126).

14 Güterbock (1942: 68, nr. 65); Dinçol & Dinçol (2008a: 52b, nr. 236, fig. 22).

15 Herbordt (2005: 166b, nr. 297) e Hawkins (2005: 267, fig. 23).

16 Güterbock (1942: 68, nr. 66); Kennedy (1959: 160, nr. 39, fig. III). Hawkins (2005: 267, commento al nr. 297), sembra — per ragioni non così ovvie — non tener in considerazione siffatta alternanza; del pari alle pp. 291b–292a sub “Excursus 4”.

17 Su 58a = *ní* vd. Poetto (1993: 28, n. 41).

18 Laroche (1966: 127, nr. 862; 1981: 290), accanto a *Nanaya* (ibid.: 126, nr. 855.2).

19 Rapportato al cuneiforme *Annanni* (KUB 49.8:10; Laroche 1981: 7, nr. 63). Da rilevare, ad ogni buon conto, che il “Capp. *A-na-ni*”, registrato in Laroche (1966: 31, nr. 63.1), “ist als *A-na-li*, d.h. *Ana-(i)li* zu lesen” secondo Matouš & Zgusta (1969: 619).

20 Cf. Laroche (1966: 127, nr. 863; 1981: 29).

21 E.g., Laroche (1966: 127, nr. 861; 1981: 28).

22 E.g., Laroche (1966: 126, nrr. 855.1/3 e 857; 1981: 28); in più, con differente suffissazione, *Nananda* (e.g., Laroche 1966: 126, nr. 856) = geroglifico *N-n-tà* (Dinçol & Dinçol 2008a: 58b–59a, nrr. 283–284, fig. 27).

23 CEKKE B r. 6 §17d; cf. Meriggi (1962: 90).

24 E.g., Dinçol & Dinçol (2008a: 52a, nr. 234, fig. 22).

25 Cf. Laroche (1966: 241–242, ad “Type II”, 328–329 sub 1–2).

26 Laroche (1966: 116, nrr. 784 e 783, 329 sub 2).

27 Laroche (1981: 28, nr. 848a); Tischler (1982: 447).

28 Laroche (1966: 140, nr. 970; 1981: 33).

29 Laroche (1966: 197, nr. 1436).

30 Laroche (1966: 332, sub 8).

31 Cf. in merito Hawkins (2005: 279a, nr. 522) relativamente a *Zi/Za-á-li*.

32 Sicuramente in, e.g., Güterbock (1942: 69, nr. 79); Kennedy (1958: 68, nr. 8[b], fig. II); Poetto (2002: 273, nr. 1, 275 fig. I); Herbordt (2005: 213b, nr. 559) + Hawkins (2005: 281a, fig. 44), con il commento su tale titolo (presunto anche per i nrr. 348, 381, 528) alle pp. 309b–310a, nr. 48 “URBS.DOMINUS”; Dinçol & Dinçol (2008b).

33 Cf., i.a., Imparati (1974: 57–60), con le correzioni di Poetto (2002: 273, n. 2) in relazione ai documenti geroglifici ivi citati a n. 48; inoltre, Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 453–454); Hawkins (2005: 271b, sub nr. 381 e 309b, sub nr. 48).

34 Rivisitato da Gonzáles Salazar (1999).

35 Hawkins (2005: 309b, sub nr. 48). Per contro, del *BĒL MADGALTI* è stata posta in luce l'affinità di carica con quella esercitata dall'EN KUR(-TI) ‘signore del territorio’ dei testi cuneiformi = geroglifici (ricorrente) KUR.EN (198–371) e, in parallelo, dall'UGULA.KALAM.MA ‘sovrintendente del territorio’ nella sfera d'amministrazione etea dell'area siriana: vd. il resoconto in Mora (2004); Hawkins (2005: 306b, sub nr. 34 “REGIO.DOMINUS”).

Herbordt (2005: nr. 593, fig. 47), riguardo a cui suscita decisamente perplessità l'analisi quale combinazione di due componenti, identificati (ibid.: 218b) come "L. 414(?)-DOMINUS";³⁶ oltretutto, il tracciato superiore rassomiglia a un 'lituo' sdraiato, non alla 'falce di luna a doppie punte' = 213a / L 414.

Dunque, o il complesso dell'incisione costituisce una (ulteriore?) designazione professionale del personaggio, oppure esso rimane — anche per via dell'anomala collocazione — enigmatico.



A



a (impronta)



a (disegno)

Fig. I



B



b (impronta)



b (disegno)

Fig. II

³⁶ "L. 414-DOMINUS(?)" in Hawkins (2005: 282b) (comunque senza inclusione nel commento a p. 312b, ad nr. 64).



C



c (impronta)



c (disegno)

Fig. III



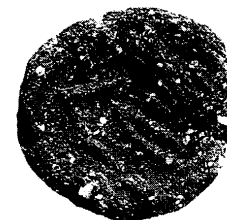
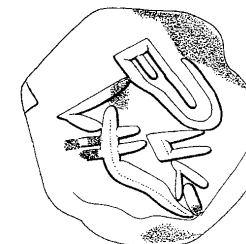
da Güterbock 1942 nr. 200



da Herbordt 2005 nr. 14



da Herbordt 2005 nr. 20



da Herbordt 2005 nr. 15

Fig. IV

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The God Bunene

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In his article on Kantuzzili the Priest, Singer (2002), as have other scholars, accepts that CTH 372 (Hymn and Prayer to the Sun-god), a prayer attributed to a 'mortal', constitutes a parallel version of the prayer of Kantuzzili,¹ which is considered the first example of a personal prayer in the Hittite corpus. Furthermore, Singer (2002: 310, n. 55) attributes the prayer of an unnamed king (CTH 374) to a 'great contemporary king under whom Kantuzzili served.'

CTH 372 mentions the gods Bunene and Mišaru as viziers (^{LU}SUKKAL) of the god Šamaš, and though the Babylonian elements of this prayer have already been pointed out,² it may be useful to consider the cultural and religious climate in which this prayer developed, focusing on these two minor deities. I would like, as a token of friendship and esteem, to dedicate these brief reflections to Itamar Singer, who has made such a broad and deep contribution to the study of Hittitology and the history of the Ancient Near East.

These two deities are attested³ in CTH 372 (Hymn and Prayer to the Sun-god),⁴ CTH 374 (Prayer of a King to the Sun-god),⁵ CTH 62 (Treaty between Mursili II and Duppi-Teššub of Amurru),⁶ CTH 432 (Ritual against Insomnia)⁷ and CTH 793 (Hymn to the Sun-god Istanu).⁸ The attestations of Bunene and Mišaru in Hittite texts are therefore few, and for this reason they are a good index for evaluating the relationship of these texts to Babylonian religion and culture. According to a recent study by Pomponio (2000: 897–904), Bunene is attested as a divinity of the Šamaš circle beginning in the Ur III Period in the Weidner God-List (Weidner 1924–25: 16); and as a divinity belonging to the pantheon of Sippar and as a god of this city he is testified in documents of Hammurabi's era (Pomponio 2000: 892). Since the cult of this deity is attested only in Mari and Sippar (ibid.: 893), since consistent documentation does not exist for the Kassite period or for the end of the second millennium from Sippar (ibid.: 895), and since the name of the god is otherwise found only in Persian and Neo-Babylonian personal names, the chronological and geographical importance of the Hittite attestations seems clear. It must be remembered that the city of Sippar, with its temple Ebabbar, represents the major religious centre in northern Babylonia, as the temple of Enlil in Nippur was the most important centre in the south.⁹ This leads to some further considerations on the issue of the relationship between the Mesopotamian and the Hittite prayers.

Mišaru, found in personal names beginning in the Ur III Period as a personification of the 'Right', appears already in the aforementioned Weidner God-List in the entourage of the god Adad, while in the ancient Babylonian lists from Sippar he appears in the circle of the Sun-god,¹⁰ thus in contexts similar to those in which he is attested in the Hittite and Ugaritic documentation.¹¹ In the two Hittite prayers to the Sun-god, one finds 'Bunene, your vizier walking on the right; [Mišar]u, your vizier walking on the left.'¹²

Güterbock (1958: 244) and Wilhelm (1994: 65) have already highlighted the presence of the two viziers as clear evidence of Babylonian influence in the Prayer to the Sun-god. A Mesopotamian origin for this composition is assumed by both scholars, while the importance of the relationship with possible Mesopotamian models is rightly pointed out by Singer (2002: 312), who recalls that fragments of a Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual hymn found in Ḫattusa might have served as just such a model. Güterbock (1958: 244) also noted that 'the older set of prayers, datable to just before the Amarna Age, is the one that is closest to Babylonian concepts.'

In order to further analyze the relationship between the Hittite and the Mesopotamian religious spheres, it may be useful to consider two prayers written in Akkadian and found in Ḫattusa, namely, the so-called Great Prayer to Ištar¹³ and the Hymn to Adad.¹⁴ The Great Prayer to Ištar, from Büyükkale, Archive A,¹⁵ is duplicated, curiously, by a Neo-Babylonian text.¹⁶ Reiner and Güterbock (1967: 256) suggest that Babylonia was probably the scribal centre in which these compositions originated. They feel that it is not possible to say whether or not the Hittite version was linked to a ritual, though the Neo-Babylonian text is clearly related to ritual instructions, such as those of the šu-il-la prayers. Judging from the number and type of errors made, Reiner and Güterbock (1967: 265) further suggest that the Hittite tablet seems to be a translation from an Akkadian model that was not well understood. Taking these observations into account, Archi (1977: 297) similarly concludes that the prayer might have been constructed 'su modelli che gli Ittiti non fecero mai loro.'

The Hymn to Adad is the Hittite translation of a Babylonian poem of unknown origin. The Hittite version was dated by Archi (1977) to between the reigns of Arnuwanda I and Suppiluliuma I, that is, to the beginning of the Imperial Period. In rev. iii 21 and 24 two famous cult places of Adad are cited, the temple É.NAM.ḪÉ in Babylonia consecrated by Hammurabi and restored by Ammišaduqa, and the temple in Pada erected by Ammišaduqa. The text expressly cites Sippar¹⁷ as the city of the Sun-god,¹⁸ while Pada is a city known from an inscription of Šamšu-iluna to have had a temple of Adad.¹⁹ Further, in rev. iv 12' one finds

1 For the problematic identity of Kantuzzili, see Imparati (1979: 169ff.); de Martino (1991: 5–14); Beal (1992: 321, n. 1225); Freu (2002: 65–80); and Taggar-Cohen (2006: 374–375). For a new edition of the prayer, see Schwemer 2008.

2 See the extensive bibliography cited by Singer (2002: 310, n. 54).

3 For Bunene, see van Gessel (2001: 920). No citations are given for Mišaru.

4 KUB 31.127++ i 65.

5 KUB 36.75++ ii 4.

6 KBo 22.39(++) iii 23'. Only Bunene is cited.

7 KUB 4.47 obv. 4. Beckman (2007) regards the composition as a ritual against depression.

8 KUB 4.11.

9 See Myers (2007: 197).

10 Schwemer (2001: 67–68).

11 Schwemer (2001: 67 and nn. 420–421).

12 KUB 31.127+ABoT 44++ i 65–67: ⁽⁶⁵⁾...nu ^dBu-ne-ne-ša-a[t-t]a ^{LU}SUKKAL-K[A] ⁽⁶⁶⁾ZAG-az-ti-it i-ia-at-ta ^d[Mi-ša-r]u-uš-ša-at-t[a] ⁽⁶⁷⁾^{LU}SUKKAL-KA GÜB-la-az-te-er [x-x-x] .i.-ia-at-t[a].

13 Reiner & Güterbock (1967: 255–266) and Archi (1977: 297–311).

14 KBo 3.21 (= 2 BoTU 6); see Archi (1983: 20–30).

15 Akkadian version: KUB 37.36(+)KUB 37.37; Hittite version: KUB 31.141.

16 Published in King 1902: LXXV–LXXXIV (= Ebeling 1953: 130ff.).

17 KBo 3.21 iii 14.

18 Sippar as a residence of the Sun-god is also found in the myth of Appu; see Siegelová (1971: 12).

19 Archi (1983: 30) and Schwemer (2001: 308).

LU]DUB.SAR *pa-pi-li-li*, ‘scribe in Babylonian’.²⁰ In my opinion, the text therefore shows a very detailed knowledge of Babylonian religion.

The Ritual against Insomnia (CTH 432) is particularly interesting, as the incantations accompanying the invocations are recorded in Akkadian. According to Beckman (2007: 79), this text is not the usual scribal exercise, as is the case with the Great Prayer to Ištar, because it employs a highly refined Akkadian. Among its invocations is one to Šamaš which shows clear analogies to Mesopotamian prayers (ibid.: 78–79). This text, like the Hymn to Adad, is dated to the Imperial Age (ibid.: 80) and was probably written by a Hittite scribe ‘steeped in Mesopotamian tradition’. In fact, according to Beckman (ibid.: 80), ‘a number of elements in the texts are most unusual for the Boğazköy library,’ citing Bunene among them. Beckman (ibid.: 81) also notes Mesopotamian features rarely attested in Hittite texts, features significant enough to lead him to conclude that the text is the result of collaboration between a Hittite student and a Babylonian scribe resident in Hattusa.

Bunene and Mišaru are present also in CTH 793, a text designated by Laroche as a list of viziers of Šamaš in Akkadian, but which Cooper (1971: 1, n. 1) felt was more similar to the ‘Incantation to UTU’, studied by Castellino (1969). Richter (1999: 297), following Laroche, equates Panuna, listed in the circle of Šamaš/UTU, with Bunene, suggesting that this association took place for the first time precisely at Hattusa in the text KUB 4.1.

Schwemer’s recent article (2007: 2–3) demonstrates, in any case, that the text in question shows closer affinities to the ‘Incantation to UTU’, as Cooper suggested. It should be noted that the colophon of one tablet of the ‘Incantation to UTU’ dates it to the first year of Ammišaduqa, while some fragments are from the Kassite Period, others from the Neo-Babylonian.²¹

The situation is very different with CTH 62, the Treaty between Mursili II and Duppi-Tešsub of Amurru. That Bunene is found here not in connection with the Sun-god, but listed between the gods Telepinu and Askasepa, may perhaps be explained by the genre of the text. With no explicit evidence one can do little more than speculate that perhaps Bunene was placed here in his role as ‘messenger of justice’, as he is known from an Old Babylonian prayer of a *bārû*-priest dedicated to Šamaš and Adad.²²

As has become apparent from this short overview, interpretations concerning the relationship between Babylonian and Hittite literature—either known as Akkadian models or as texts for which no parallel is known—generally place these texts in one way or another within the school environment, as though religious texts were regarded as materials used only in order to learn Akkadian. The foregoing observations, despite the admittedly scarce documentation, would, however, seem to point to the following conclusions:

1. Hittite knowledge of Babylonian ritual and religious literature may perhaps have been much deeper and more precise than commonly thought. This may not be the opinion of all respected scholars,²³ but this relationship cannot be investigated solely with regard to the question of whether Babylonian scribes were present or not or in terms of the transmission of literary material out of an abstract scholarly interest alone. Scrupulous respect of the liturgy is known to be a fundamental element of religion across the typological spectrum, not only of

those of the Ancient Near East, and the question of the duties and responsibilities incumbent upon the scribes in carrying out their roles and various functions must therefore be addressed as well.

It may therefore be suggested that the mention of the viziers of Šamaš might be attributed to the appreciation of a need not to neglect any element of the deity’s cult and to the priestly obligation to observe scrupulously the liturgy. The necessity of following the stipulations of the cult in a clear and precise manner—a well-known concern among the Hittites—presumably dictated the same practice when addressing divinities from other regions as well. The fact that the invocation of the Sun-god betrays knowledge of who his viziers are need not obscure the fact that the divergent religious contents and conceptions of the text stem from a different civilization.

If one accepts the hypothesis of Güterbock (1958: 238) and Singer (2002: 311), according to which the prayer of Kantuzzili could have contained the same hymn to the Sun-god in the first part of the text, now broken away, it seems plausible that all three of the prayers cited may have had their origins in a priestly ‘chancellery’ entrusted with the task of drawing up texts for the priest Kantuzzili.²⁴ As Singer has shown (2002: 310), many types of religious texts, among them the prayer contained in CTH 373, may be traced back to Priest Kantuzzili in Kizzuwatna. The prospect raised by Reiner and Güterbock (1967: 25) becomes relevant at this point, namely, the possibility that ‘the recording of what we know of Babylonian literature originated not with the scribe but with the magician and the exorcist.’ In this connection it may be recalled that even though no ritual elements relating to the prayers in question are preserved, the section following the Hymn to Istanu is motivated by some sickness caused by an irate divinity.

2. The Hittites had a remarkable knowledge of the literature of the Old Babylonian Period, the formation of which dates to the time of Hammurabi and his successors.

3. Of the possible ways and occasions through which the Hittites may have come into contact with Mesopotamian religion, it is likely that direct contact was made in some cases, and that mediation through the country of Kizzuwatna occurred in others. The latter seems to be the most plausible scenario in the case of Kantuzzili, a priest in Kizzuwatna, as already pointed out by Haas (1985: 275), de Martino (1991: 20) and Singer (2002: 312).

20 Archi (1983: 20) translates ‘Schreiber auf Babylonisch’, though he does not restore LU].

21 Castellino (1969: 1–4); for a different interpretation, see Alster (1991: 27–96).

22 See Goetze (1968: 25–29).

23 See Wilhelm (1994: 68).

24 Wilhelm (1994: 68), in observing that the hymn to the Sun-god shows ‘eine gewisse Selbständigkeit in der Behandlung der vorgegebenen babylonischen Materials,’ speaks of ‘Priestergelehrsamkeit’ as one possible explanation for these texts, along with their possible use as the object of study or simply as a library acquisition.

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Hethiter und Ahhijawa: Feinde?

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Itamar Singer hat sehr viel für unser Verständnis der Geschichte und Kulturen Altkleinasiens und der Nachbarländer geleistet. Gut bekannt sind seine Studien, die er der Ahhijawa-Problematik widmete,¹ daher ist es mir eine große Freude, den Jubilar mit diesem bescheidenen Beitrag in seiner Festschrift zu ehren.

Die sogenannte Ahhijawa-Frage und damit verbundene Themen werden seit langem erörtert, haben also zu einer umfangreichen Literatur geführt, mit der das verfügbare, sehr knappe Textmaterial stark kontrastiert. Es steht jetzt außer Zweifel, dass der Name Ahhijawa der Keilschriftquellen und das griechische Ethnikon Achaioi in einem genetischen Zusammenhang stehen; auch die schon früh vermutete Lokalisierung des Landes Ahhijawa auf dem griechischen Festland wird nur selten in Frage gestellt.

Unter den Autoren, die sich mit der Geschichte Altkleinasiens befassen, überwiegt die Meinung, dass die Beziehungen der Hethiter zum Land Ahhijawa eher friedlich waren, ziemlich oft aber wird auch die entgegengesetzte Ansicht vertreten. Dieser Widerstreit der Meinungen bedarf einer Erklärung, daher werden hier, auf der Suche nach Belegen der eventuellen Feindschaft zwischen beiden Mächten, Textfragmente kommentiert, die die hethitisch-ahhijawäischen Beziehungen in dieser Hinsicht beleuchten können. Zumeist haben wir es hier mit kurzen Erwähnungen zu tun, deren Informationsgehalt eher gering ist; dies erklärt, mindestens teilweise, deren häufig subjektive Interpretation.

In der Vorgroßreichszeit taucht die Bezeichnung „Feind“ in Bezug auf einen „Mann von Ahhija“ im mheth. Orakeltext KBo 16.97+ Vs. 38 auf.² Höchstwahrscheinlich handelt es sich hier um den aus dem sogenannten Madduwatta-Text (KUB 14.1+) bekannten Attariššija, „Mann von Ahhija“, dessen Tätigkeit in die Regierungszeit Arnuwandas I. fiel. In den beiden Urkunden wird Ahhija gewöhnlich nicht als Landesname, sondern als Ethnonym gedeutet, meint also „Achäer“. Nach Götze war Attariššija „ein Emporkömmling, der eben erst angefangen hat, sich eine Macht zu schaffen“. ³ Sicherlich war er Anführer einer Achäergruppe; deren Eroberungen in Kleinasien gehörten zur Geschichte der Expansion der Achäer im ägäischen Raum an der Wende des 15. zum 14. Jahrhundert v.u.Z. Weniger wahrscheinlich ist, dass er der erste namentlich bekannte König eines Ahhija-Landes gewesen ist, das später in Urkunden als Ahhijawa-Land auftritt.⁴

Die frühesten Belege des Namens Ahhijawa begegnen in den Annalen Muršilis II., leider sind die betreffenden Textfragmente sehr lückenhaft, folglich stützt sich ihre Interpretation auf Ergänzungen, die jedoch sehr unsicher sind. Die chronologisch früheste Erwähnung eines Königs des Landes Ahhijawa in KUB 14.15 Vs. i 24' gehört zur Beschreibung der Ereignisse im Frühling im 3. Regierungsjahr Muršilis II., noch vor seinem entscheidenden Feldzug gegen

Arzawa. Das diesbezügliche Textbruchstück (Z. 23'–26') schildert Spannungen zwischen Hatti und Arzawa, nennt aber auch – zum ersten Mal im hethitischen Schrifttum – das Land der Stadt Millawanda, die mit dem späteren Milet identifiziert wird.⁵

Die Lücken im erwähnten Text wurden versuchsweise von Forrer, Sommer und Götze ergänzt.⁶ Nach Götzes Auffassung stellte sich der König von Arzawa auf die Seite des Ahhijawa-Königs und überredete die Stadt Millawanda zum Abfall von Hatti. Dies habe eine hethitische Reaktion provoziert, folglich sei Millawanda vom hethitischen Heer unter Führung der Feldherrn Gulla und Malaziti erobert worden. In ihrer Arzawa-Monographie hat Heinhold-Krahmer, obwohl nicht ohne Bedenken, Götzes Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse als plausibel anerkannt, derselben Meinung war auch Güterbock.⁷

Auch heute wird diese Interpretation von mehreren Autoren akzeptiert, obgleich sie sich auf ein recht schlecht erhaltenes Textfragment stützt. Die vermeintliche Eroberung von Millawanda/Milet durch die Hethiter wird also als *fait accompli* angesehen, daher datieren die Archäologen auch die Brandschicht, die das Ende von Milet V markiert, nach den Muršili-Annalen. Der Konflikt um Millawanda wird als Ursache der feindlichen Beziehungen zwischen dem hethitischen Reich und Ahhijawa betrachtet. Niemand fragt, ob der hethitische Angriff damals überhaupt möglich gewesen wäre. Millawanda lag hinter dem Latmischen Golf, der Zugang zu diesem Land war nur vom Südosten, durch Karien, möglich.⁸ Der Weg führte durch die Büyük Menderes- und Çine Çay-Täler auf dem Territorium von Arzawa, das in jener Zeit eine Großmacht und zugleich ein gefährlicher Feind der Hethiter war. Es ist also anzunehmen, dass keine Aktivitäten der hethitischen Truppen im Grenzgebiet Millawandas unmittelbar vor dem siegreichen Feldzug Muršilis II. gegen Arzawa möglich waren. In der Tat ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass Gulla und Malaziti mit ihren Truppen nicht die Hethiter, sondern den König von Arzawa repräsentierten.⁹

Auch früher gehörten weder Millawanda noch die Nachbarländer zum hethitischen Machtbereich. In der althethitischen Zeit ist der Einfluss Hattis bis in den Küstenbereich der Ägäis überhaupt unwahrscheinlich. Arzawa, der Hauptgegner der Hethiter im Westen, existierte schon damals.¹⁰ In der Vorgroßreichszeit führte Tutḫalija I./II. Feldzüge gegen dieses Land, überdies besiegte er das nördlich von Arzawa und südlich der Troas lokalisierte Aššuwa.¹¹ Im lückenhaften Bericht über diesen Feldzug wird auch Karkiša, d.h. das spätere Karien, genannt, jedoch ist es sehr zweifelhaft, dass der hethitische König auch dieses Land eroberte. Darauf folgte die Machtperiode von Arzawa; Südwestkleinasien stand dann vermutlich unter der Kontrolle dieses Staates. In der Regierungszeit Tutḫalijas III. erfolgte der Niedergang des Hatti-Reiches nach der sog. konzentrischen Invasion: Es war nun auf sein Kerngebiet reduziert. Der Einfluss von Arzawa reichte dagegen fast bis in die Nähe von Kizzuwatna. Erst später ist es Šuppiluliuma I. gelungen, die hethitische Herrschaft über mehrere Kleinstaaten im Westen wiederherzustellen, jedoch blieb dort Arzawa weiterhin ein mächtiges Reich.

5 S. dazu z.B. Freu (1987: 144ff.).

6 Forrer (1926: 45, 98); Sommer (1932: 307ff.); und Götze (1933: 36ff., 234ff.).

7 Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 97ff.); Güterbock (1983: 135).

8 Vgl. auch Hawkins (1998: 26).

9 Dazu schon Sommer (1932: 308).

10 Vgl. jetzt die zusammenfassende Diskussion bei Hawkins (1998).

11 Dieser Sieg wird in einem späteren Brief an den König von Ahhijawa, KUB 26.91, erwähnt. Zum Text s. Sommer (1932: 268ff.) und vgl. Hagenbuchner (1989: 319ff.).

1 Singer (1983; 2006: 250ff.; s. auch 2000: 25).

2 ŠA^{LU} KÜR LÜ^{URU} AH-HI-JA. Zu dieser Textstelle s. zuletzt Schuol (1994: 96, 103, 108).

3 Götze (1928: 53).

4 Attariššija wird auch als Ahhija-Fürst bezeichnet, s. Klengel (1999: 122).

Die zweite Erwähnung des Namens Ahhijawa im Bericht Muršili II. bezieht sich auf die Zeit nach dem Niedergang Arzawas. Im wieder lückenhaften Abschnitt der Zehnjahr-Annalen, KBo 3.4+ Rs. iii 1ff., ist die Rede von einem Sohn des inzwischen verstorbenen Königs von Arzawa, der – wie aus einer anderen Textpassage folgt – „im Meer drinnen“ blieb; aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach wurde er dann vom Ahhijawa-König an Muršili ausgeliefert.¹² Dass dies wirklich angesichts des hethitischen Sieges über Arzawa und der Anwesenheit des hethitischen Heeres erfolgte,¹³ kommt nicht in Betracht, da die Hethiter ja nicht über eine Flotte auf dem Ägäischen Meer verfügten. Möglich ist dagegen, dass der König von Ahhijawa entsprechend den Regelungen eines uns unbekannten Vertrages zwischen beiden Staaten handelte. Unabhängig vom faktischen Verlauf der Ereignisse bietet auch das diskutierte Fragment keine Argumente dafür, den König von Ahhijawa als Feind der Hethiter anzusehen.

In der Beschreibung des weiteren Verlaufes des Krieges gegen Arzawa wird weder Milla-wanda noch Karkiša/Karien erwähnt. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach war Millawanda damals ein Vasall von Ahhijawa, Karkiša dagegen genoß Unabhängigkeit und unterhielt gute Kontakte mit den Hethitern, worauf der Anfang des Vertrages zwischen Muršili II. und Manapa-Tarḫunta hinweist.¹⁴ Im späteren Alakšandu-Vertrag wird Karkiša nur als mögliche Basis eines Feldzuges genannt.¹⁵ Ob es dann tatsächlich zu einer Stationierung des hethitischen Heeres in diesem Land kam, ist unklar.

Die Aktivitäten eines hethitischen Königs in Karien und auf dem Territorium Millawandas sind erst durch den sog. Tawagalawa-Brief, KUB 14.3, bezeugt.¹⁶ Dieses an einen König von Ahhijawa gerichtete Schreiben wird zumeist Hattušili III. zugeschrieben und daher in die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts v.u.Z. datiert. Sein Hauptthema ist die mehrfach diskutierte sog. Pijamaradu-Affäre. Von Bedeutung für die hier erörterte Frage ist die Rs. iv 7ff. und 19ff. dieses Textes, wo von einem Streit zwischen dem Absender und dem Adressaten des Briefes in einer nicht näher bestimmten Vergangenheit die Rede ist. Der Gegenstand des Konflikts war eine Stadt, wohl Wiluša (der betreffende Passus ist schlecht lesbar); seine Umstände bleiben völlig unbekannt, wir wissen nur, dass es schließlich aus der Initiative des hethitischen Königs heraus zu einer Verständigung zwischen den beiden Staaten kam. Die genannten Textstellen bilden den einzigen Beweis einer wohl nur kurz dauernden Feindschaftsperiode in der Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Hatti und Ahhijawa.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit seien die Titel „Großkönig“ und „Gleichgestellter“ kommentiert, mit denen der König von Ahhijawa im Tawagalawa-Brief bedacht wird. Gegen die Meinung, dass sie nur zur Taktik einer *ad hoc*-Diplomatie¹⁷ gehörten, spricht ein Passus des Vertrages zwischen Tuthalija IV. und Šaušgamuwa von Amurru, in dem der König von Ahhijawa als Gleichgestellter mit den Königen von Ägypten, Babylonien und Assyrien bezeichnet wird.¹⁸ Die erwähnten Titel lassen vermuten, dass in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts v.u.Z.,

12 Anders Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 118ff.). Ihrer Meinung nach können sich die Z. 4–8 auf die Rückschaffung der NAM.RA-Leute bezogen haben; vgl. aber Heinhold-Krahmer (2007: 197).

13 So Klengel (1999: 190ff.).

14 KBo 19.49+ Vs. i 1–13; zum Text s. Beckman (1996: 77ff.).

15 KUB 21.1+ Rs. iii 3ff.; s. Beckman (1996: 84ff.).

16 Für neuere Literatur zu diesem Text s. *Konkordanz*.

17 Zu dieser Bezeichnung s. Bryce (2003: 67).

18 Wie bekannt, hat der Schreiber den König von Ahhijawa später getilgt, vermutlich deshalb, weil die Nachricht über den Fall von Ahhijawa soeben angekommen war.

mindestens etwa dreißig Jahre vor seinem Untergang, Ahhijawa als eine Großmacht angesehen wurde.¹⁹

Aus den Jahren nach der Regierungszeit Hattušili III. liegen keine Beweise einer feindlichen Stellung Ahhijawas gegen die Hethiter vor. KUB 23.13 gemäß hat Tarḫundaradu im Šeḫa-Fluss-Land einen Aufstand entfacht und dabei auf die Hilfe von Ahhijawa gehofft, womit jedoch die Feindschaft des genannten Staates selbst nicht bestätigt wird.²⁰ Andere Dokumente weisen auf gute, sogar freundschaftliche Verhältnisse zwischen beiden Staaten hin.²¹

Wie gut bekannt ist, war Syrien ein geographisches Zentrum der damaligen Welt, die Aufmerksamkeit der Hethiter richtete sich also eher nach Südosten, wovon zahlreiche Ereignisse der hethitischen Geschichte zeugen. Ahhijawa lag dagegen zu weit im Westen, um zum Gegenstand des hethitischen politischen bzw. wirtschaftlichen Interesses zu werden. Auch eine militärische Bedrohung seitens Ahhijawas war recht unwahrscheinlich, worauf seine im Prinzip neutrale Stellung gegenüber inneren Konflikten in Westkleinasien hinweist.

Überraschend ist auch das Vorgehen, Beispiele der vermeintlichen Feindschaft zwischen den Hethitern und Ahhijawa unter den Funden in Hattuša zu suchen; vgl. Niemeier (2006: 50): „Das Fragment einer Schale zeigt die eingeritzte Darstellung eines Kriegers, dessen Ausrüstung nicht hethitisch ist... Ein Bronzeschwert mykenischen Typs trägt die sekundär eingravierte akkadische Weihinschrift: ‚Als Tudhalija, der Großkönig, das Land Assuwa zerstörte, weihte er diese Schwerter dem Sturmgott, seinem Herrn‘. Demnach waren möglicherweise Ahhijawa-Krieger auf Seiten Assuwas in dessen Konflikt mit Hatti verwickelt“.²² Die Beweiskraft solcher Argumente soll hier nicht diskutiert werden.

19 Die Meinung, dass Ahhijawa mit dem Verlust von Millawanda für die Hethiter den Status eines Großkönigtums verlor (so Bryce 1998: 343ff.), ist sicherlich zu vereinfacht.

20 Zu KUB 23.13 s. Güterbock (1992).

21 Dazu zuletzt Taracha (2006: 145) sowie Heinhold-Krahmer (2007: *passim*).

22 Vgl. auch Niemeier (1999: 149f.).

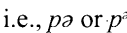
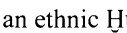
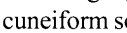
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P^a-Hurru, Commissioner of 'Ôpa (Including a New Edition of EA 131)

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During that period generally referred to as the Amarna Age, an Egyptian commissioner,  p3-h3-rw = P^a-Hu-rú (Ranke 1935: Vol. 1, 116, 117), was posted in the Damascus area. His name is variously written in cuneiform, viz. 'Pa-hu-ra (EA 122:31), 'Pi-hu-ra (EA 123:13, 34; 132:47; also 117:61), 'Pu-hu-ri (EA 189:17; 190:2), 'Pu-hu-ru (EA 208:11; also 189:18; 57:6, 10), 'Pu-hu-ur (EA 207:17) (Hess 1993: 129–130). The variations in the first vowel reflect the vocalization of the Egyptian masculine singular definite article , p3, i.e., pə or p^a. The meaning of the name P^a-Hurru is 'The Hurrian,' like  P^a-Nh³sy 'The Nubian' = Hebrew פִּינְחָס 'Phinehas.' The name does not, however, suggest that its bearer was an ethnic Hurrian,  Hu-rú. The cuneiform spellings of this commissioner's personal name, when compared to the same personal name in hieroglyphic or hieratic writing, confirms that the geographical name vocalized by Egyptologists as Kharu actually represents Hurru in cuneiform sources. The geographical term , H3-rw = Hu-rú, was used as a synonym for Canaan. In Papyrus Anastasi III, 1, 9–10, a high official is described as the king's envoy to *ḥswt n Hu-rú š3' m Ši-lú r' U-pa* 'The lands of Hurru starting from Sillô to 'Ôpa'. The ambassador was accredited to the city states of the territory from the border of Egypt in western Sinai to the Damascus region ('Ôpa). The Damascene was a part of Canaan. The Egyptian traveller Wenamon was also in Hurru during his stay at Byblos, and Byblos is a city in Canaan. So the personal name of this commissioner meant 'The (man of) Hurru/Canaan'. It is, therefore, of interest that this 14th-century Egyptian official, P^a-Hurru, was posted in the land of 'Ôpa/'Ôpe, one of the principal districts of the Egyptian province of Canaan.

Although P^a-Hurru was based in the Damascene (EA 189:12–18), he could also take action in a neighbouring district. Itakkama, ruler of Qidši, refers to him as LÚ.GAL = *rabû* (EA 189:16–18). Rib-Haddi, in the coastal district administered by the commissioner at Šumur, reported an action on P^a-Hurru's part which caused great indignation in his city of Byblos. For clarity's sake, an extensive passage from EA 122 will be cited to help in the interpretation of EA 123.

ù 'Pa-hu-ra / a-pa-aš ip-ša ra-ba / a-na ia-ši uš-ši-ir / LÚ.MEŠ^{KUR} Su-te ù / da-ku^{LÚ} še-er-da-ni / ù 3 LÚ.MEŠ / šu-ri-ib a-na KUR Mi-iš-ri / ù ma-ni UD.KAM^V.MEŠ / ti-ša-šu URU UGU-ia / ù al-le-e / ta-aq-bu URU ip-šu / ša la a-pi-iš iš-tu / da-ri-ti a-pi-iš / a-na ia-ši-nu ù yi-iš-me / šar-ru a-wa-te ÌR-šu / ù yu-wa-ši-ra / "LÚ".MEŠ ù-ul ti-pu-uš / URU ar-na

P^a-Hurru has committed an enormity against me; he sent Sutû men and they slew a Šerdanu man and he(sic!) extradited three men to Egypt. So many days has the city been enraged at me! And lo, the city has been saying, 'A deed which has never ever been done before has been committed against us.' So may the king heed the words of his servant and may he send back the [m]en, lest the city rebel (EA 122:31–43).

Moran (1992: 202, n. 3) understood the text but not the situation, which was not a bedouin 'raid' as he supposed. P^a-Hurru's deed was a police action carried out using auxiliary troops of the Egyptian 'foreign legion'. It is known that in the Damascus region there were posted auxiliary military units, not only of the 'apîru outcasts but also of Sutû pastoralists (EA 195:24–32). It was some of these nomadic mercenaries that P^a-Hurru sent to deal with some auxiliary mercenary, a Šerdanu, and to arrest three other men, citizens of Byblos, and to transport them to Egypt. Instead of the 3rd masculine singular *šu-ri-ib* of line 37, the parallel in EA 123:17 has the 3rd masculine plural *šû-ri-bu*. The reason for this drastic action is not stated, but it would seem that P^a-Hurru's deed was sanctioned by the crown, since the three prisoners were apparently in custody in Egypt with full knowledge of the government.

Collation of EA 123 reveals an almost identical passage:

ip-šu / ša la a-pi-iš / "iš-tu da-ri-ti / [a]-pi-iš a-na URU Gub-la / [u]š-ši-ir 'Pi-hu-ra' / [LÚ].MEŠ KUR Su-te d[a-ku] / [LÚ] Še-er-da-ni [ù] / [I]a-qu 3 LÚ.⟨MEŠ⟩ "u" / [š]u-ri-bu a'-[na] / "KUR" Mi-iš-ri" [šum-ma] la-a yu-wa-[š-ru] / šu-nu šar-ru E[N-li(?)] / [a]-di ti-pu-šu [URU] / "ar-na UGU-i[a] / [šum]-ma i-ra-am ša[r-ru] / [EN]-li ÌR ki-t[i-šu] / [ù] uš-ši-ra / [3] LÚ.⟨MEŠ⟩ ù ib-lu-"tā" / "u" i-na-ši-ra / URU a-na šar-ri

A deed which has not been done from time immemorial [has] been done to the city of Byblos. P^a-Hurru [s]ent Suteans; they sm[ote] a Šerdani [man] [and] they [t]ook three m[en] and delivered them t[o] the land of Egypt. [If] the king, [my] lo[r]d does not rel[ease] them, the [city] will [ev]en revolt against m[e]. [If] the ki[ng], my lord, loves [his] faith[ful] servant, [then] send the [three] m[en] that I may live and that I may guard the city for the king' (EA 123:9–28).

At the beginning of line 15 there is certainly no room for a MEŠ sign. Only one Šerdanu was killed, *contra* Moran (1992: 201 and 202). Line 16 must be compared with EA 122:36, which has 3 LÚ.MEŠ. At the end of line 17, Knudtson's *m[u-ḥi]* (in italics, indicating that he was quite uncertain) would be completely without precedent. The parallel passage, EA 122:37, has *a-na*; thus the three wedges at the end of line 17 (before the break) must indicate an *a*, so that one should read *a'-[na]*. At the end of line 19, one must read *yu-wa-[š-ru]* if [*šum-ma*] is to be supplied at the end of line 18, which context seems to demand. An imperfect form with the *-u* suffix is expected in such a conditional clause. Finally, at the beginning of line 21 [*a-di*] is an example of the word with the meaning of Hebrew *ôd*, 'still, yet, further', the implication being that if the king would not return the three extradited men, the city's anger would yet boil over into a rebellion. The verb must be the 3rd feminine singular *ti-pu-šu*, with [URU] as the subject as in the parallel passage EA 122:47–48 (instead of Knudtson's *-[na]*).

So the 'enormity' committed was an official police action on the part of a commissioner. He sent some of his Sutû legionnaires to arrest four men in Byblos, one of whom was a Šerdanu mercenary. The latter may have resisted arrest and thus was killed. Whatever the issue at stake, the citizens of Byblos were enraged and threatening revolt against Rib-Haddi's authority if he did not retrieve their people from Egypt.

At a later stage in the conflict with the sons of 'Abdi-Aširta, Rib-Haddi found himself allied with P^a-Hurru against Aziru and his brother. The situation in northern Canaan was deteriorating. The commissioner,  = P^awuru, failed to heed the warnings of Rib-Haddi

and was murdered. As a consequence, his headquarters at Šumur fell into the hands of the sons of ‘Abdi-Aširta. His predecessor, Yanḫamu, had heeded Rib-Haddi’s warnings, and as a result the trouble maker ‘Abdi-Aširta was eventually captured by an Egyptian force, in spite of the subversive behaviour of another Egyptian commissioner, , P3-ḥm-ntṛ = P^hamnata, who had seen to it that Šumur was handed over to ‘Abdi-Aširta. Now, P^hamnata’s son,  = Ḥpy = Ḥa’ip, was instrumental in helping the sons of ‘Abdi-Aširta to assassinate P^wwuru and gain control of Šumur. This is all spelled out in EA 132.

Although the content of EA 132 is similar to that of EA 131 (to be discussed presently), the script is not identical; the signs in EA 132 are larger and beautifully shaped. Collation has led to several improvements.

First, some observations must be made with regard to lines 16–18 on the obverse; cf. Rainey (1975: 400, n. 56) and Moran (1992: 214, n. 2, 182 n. 5). The passage should be rendered:

ú-ul / la-qí ¹IR-A-ši-ir-t[a] / qa-du mi-am-mi-šu a-na [ša-šu]
Was not ‘Abdi-Aširta taken for [him (pharaoh)] with his property?
(EA 132:16–18).

This is a rhetorical question properly introduced by *ul*. The verb, *laqi*, is passive, *contra* Moran (1992: 214), just as in EA 108:32–33. At the end of line 18, [ša-šu] is supplied as in EA 108:33 where Moran (1992: 182, n. 5) saw š[a-šu]. But the main focus of interest is on the reverse:

‘a[^l]-lu-mi ‘Ia-an-ḥ[a-mu] / it-ti-ka ù ‘ša^l-[al-šu] / šum-ma la-a qa-bi-ti / a-na ša-a-šu
a-pa-ši-m[ⁱ] / at-ta ki-ta it-[ti DUMU.M]EŠ / ‘IR-A-ši-ir-ta ‘ú / la-qú-ka ša-ma a-^lna^l
[ia-ši] / ù na-ša-ar URU.[MEŠ] / LUGAL EN-šu qa-bi-ti / ki-na-na a-na ‘Pa-wu-[ra] / ù
la-a yi-iš-mu / i-na a-wa-te^{MEŠ} ‘Ḥa-i[p] / a-^lbu^l-šu nu-ki-ir URU.M[EŠ] / an-^lnu^l-ú ‘Ḥa-ip
na-^lda^l-[an] / URU Šu-mu-ra ú-ul / ia-qú-ul LUGAL a-na i-[pé]-^lšī^l / an-nu-ú i-^lnu^l-ma
di-ka / LÚ.MAŠKIM šum-ma i-na-^lna^l / qa-la-ta ù ‘Pi-ḥu-ra / la-a yi-zi-za i-na / URU
Ku-mi-di u ka-li ‘LÚ.MEŠ / ‘ḥa^l-za-ni-ka tū-da-^lku-na^l

Lo, Yanḫamu is with you, so a[sk him] if I did not say to him, ‘You make a treaty wi[th the son]s of ‘Abdi-Aširta and they will grab you.’ He listened to [me] and protected the cit[ies] of the king, his lord. I spoke thus to P^wwura that he should not heed the words of Ḥa’ip; his father alienated these cities (or: this city). Ḥa’ip han[ded] over Šumur. May the king not keep silent concerning this deed because the commissioner has been killed. If now you keep silent and P^hurru does not take a stand in Kômidi, then all of your city rulers will be slain (EA 132:29–50).

The vertical wedge before the break at the end of line 32, concerning which Moran (1992: 215, n. 4) admits having no explanation, is to be read *m*[ⁱ], the enclitic marking direct speech, and is attached to an absolute infinitive, *apāš*, a Canaanized form of *epēšu*. The infinitive here introduces a conditional sentence (Moran 1950: 74 and 2003: 54–55; Rainey 1996: 387). The [DUMU.M]EŠ is written around the edge to the other side of the tablet; Ebeling (1910: 77) had seen that it must belong to line 33 and not to 32. The apodosis is *u laqūka*, indicating what the result would be (Rainey 1996: Vol. 2, 361). The scribe uses many narrative *qtl* forms (suffix conjugation verbs), e.g., *qabīti*, *šama*, *našar*, *nukkir*, *nad[an]*, *dīka* (passive G) as well as resultative *laqū* and conditional *qālāta*.

The clause *u P^hurra lā yizizza ina āl Kômidi* may be part of the protasis, as I have assumed here, or it may be part of the apodosis, as understood by Moran. Either way, the *-a* suffix on the verb may very well be the Akkadian ventive, which adds to this verb the lexical meaning of ‘presenting oneself, taking up a position’, etc. (like Hebrew *hiṭyaššēb*). So troubles in the Šumur district have a direct bearing on the commissioner in the Kômidi/Damascus district. Rib-Haddi reveals here an awareness of P^hurra’s important role in defending Egypt’s best interests in Northern Canaan and Amurru.

EA 131: In this context a renewed collation of EA 131 takes on enhanced significance. The revised text is presented here by line, unlike the citations above, to facilitate comparison with the ensuing notes.

Obv. (lines 1–4 broken away)

5 [- - - - -]- ? ? ? -[- - - - -]
6 [yu-š]i-^lru be^l-li ‘ÉRIN.MEŠ^l ma-ša-ar^l-[ta]
7 a-na URU Gub-li ù i-na-an-[na]
8 ša-ab-ta-at URU.KI Šu-mu-^lri^l
9 ÉRIN.MEŠ URU Gub^{ub}-li di-ku
10 šum-ma lib-bi LUGAL be-^lli^l-ia
11 a-na URU.KI Gub^{ub}-la ù
12 yu-ši-ra be-li 3 me ÉRIN.MEŠ 30 GIŠ.GIGIR.^lMEŠ^l
13 me ‘LÚ.MEŠ^l KUR.MEŠ Ka-ši ù ti-na-ša-ru
14 URU.^lKI Gub^{ub}-li URU be-li-ia
15 ‘šum-ma ŠE.MEŠ qè^l-e-ši la-a yu-ši-r[u]
16 LUGAL ‘ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-fá-ta^l a-na URU.KI Gub-l[^la]
17 ù la-^lqé-mi^l ti-il-qú-na-ši
18 ù ia-^la-ti^l [‘IR-ka] ‘ti^l-du-ku-na
19 ù gu^l-^lmi-ru^l [yu-ši-ru]-na šār-rù
20 be-li-ia ‘LÚ.MEŠ ma-ša-ar^l-ti ù
21 qa-ar-bu a-na ‘LÚ.MEŠ^l MÁŠKIM(! <PA>.SUḪUŠ) \ ma-lik^{MEŠ}
22 LUGAL i-nu-ma di-ki ‘Pi-wu-ri
23 LÚ ‘ma^l-lik LUGAL ù ‘ša^l-ki-in
24 ‘a-na^l-[ku] ‘IR ki-ti^l ù ‘Pi^l-ḥu-ri

Lower edge

25 ù ‘ni^l-nu ‘IR.MEŠ ‘LUGAL^l ù
26 ma-ri-iš a-na IGI.MEŠ^l-nu^l i-nu-ma
27 ni-dám-mi-qú ù ‘pa^l-ḥa-ti a-^lna^l-ku

Rev.

28 la-a-mi ú-da-a-k[a LÚ Ú]Š(?)
29 yu-na-^lda^l LÚ KI.[SÌ.GA]-pí
30 ‘ia^l-nu a-na ša-a-^lšu^l [ù a]-nu-ma
31 ti-pu-[š]u-na ki-^lam^l-[mi ù]

32 *yu-šir₉-mi* LUGAL AD-bu-[ka]
33 ÉRIN.MEŠ *pí-ṯá⁷-ta₅* TUR ù ṯi-il-qē⁷
34 *gáb-ba* ù *la-a* yi-iš-ṯmu⁷
35 *a-na ia-a-ši* ṯPa-ḥa-am-na-ta
36 ù *yi-pu-šu ip-ša-ta₅ ša-r*[u-t]a₅
37 ù *an-nu* TUR *mar-šu yu-ḥa*-[liq]
38 URU *Šu-mur-ri* ù *yi-iš*-[mé LUGAL]
39 *a-wa-at* ÌR-šu ù ṯyu⁷-[ši-ra]
40 ÉRIN.MEŠ ṯpí⁷-ṯá⁷-ta₅ GAL-ta₅ yi-[il-qa gáb-b]a
41 *mí-nu-ma yi-qa-bu a-na* [pa-ní]
42 LUGAL *ia-nu-mi* ŠE.MEŠ NÍG.MEŠ
43 *a-ka-al* ÉRIN.MEŠ *pí-ṯá-ti a-ṯia⁷-mi*
44 *gáb-bi* DIDLI.URU.KI-ni LUGAL *be-li-ia*
45 ṯiṣ⁷-tu ṯlib-bi-šu⁷-nu ṯNÍG⁷.MEŠ u ŠE.MEŠ
46 [----- Š]E.MEŠ

(lines 47–56 broken away)

Left edge

57 [ÉRIN.MEŠ *pí-ṯ*]á-ti ù ÉRIN.MEŠ *ti-la-t*[i - - - -]
58 [*a-na na-ša-ar*] URU.KI *Gub-la la-a-mi* [yi-m]a-a[k] \-ki
59 [LUGAL URU.KI-šu *šum-ma*] *la-a yu-wa-ṯša⁷-ru-na*
60 [*a-na* URU.KI *Gub-l*]a ù *la-qú-ši* ù
61 [*ya-ti*] ṯú⁷ *ia-nu* KUR.MEŠ *Ki-na-aḥ-ṯni⁷* \ *a-na* LUGAL
62 [ù *yi-ša-al* ¹] *la-an-ḥa-ma a-na a-ḥwa-te*^{MEŠ} *an-ḥnu-tu*

Translation

(1–4) [.]

(5–14) My lord used to s[en]d a garrison to Gubla, but now Šumur has been seized and the troops at Gubla have been killed. If the king cares about Gubla, then may my lord send three hundred troops, thirty chariots and one hundred Cushite men that they may guard the city of Gubla, the city of my lord.

(15–19) If by the time of the summer grain the king does not send regular troops to Gubla, then verily they will take it, and they will kill me, [your servant], so that they will have gained full control.

(19–23) The king, my lord, should [send] garrison troops that they should keep close to the commissioners\counsellors, because P³wuri, the counsellor of the king and commissioner, has been slain.

(24–30) I am a loyal servant and (so is) P³hurri, and we are servants of the king, and it is distressing for us since **we are behaving properly**. And I myself am afraid lest I be killed, a corpse cast away having no one to care for the funerary offerings.

(30–40) And [n]ow they are doing th[us. But] the king, your father sent a small regular force and they took all. But P³ḥamnata would not listen to me and did wicked deeds, and now his son has destro[yed] Šumur. So may [the king heed] the word of his servant, and may he se[nd] a large regular force that it may [take all].

(41–46) Who says in [the presence] of the king, ‘There is no grain, bread for food for the regular troops’? Wherever are all the cities of the king, my lord? Within them bread and grain [may be found . . .] grain

(47–56) [.]

(57–62) [. . . regular tr]oops and support troops [. . . to guard] the city of Gubla. [The king] must not neglect [his city. If he] does not send [to the city of Gub]la, then they will take it [and me], and the territories of Canaan will not belong to the king. [So may he ask] Yanḥamu about these things.

Notes

Line 6: Moran (1992: 213, n. 1) is certainly correct in seeing here [yu-š]i-ru as a 3rd masculine singular imperfect expressing habitual action in the past.

Line 12: Bezold in Bezold and Budge (1892: 50, no. 24: 8) saw four verticals in a row. Knudtzon (1915: 556, n. c.) saw that the fourth wedge is set slightly apart from the others and that there is a small horizontal wedge just to the left of it. He rightly noted that such a sign should normally be read LAL, and that another ostensible LAL stands at the beginning of line 13. It was obvious to him that in both places the LAL must stand for ME, which reading he gave in italics. The intention was clearly to indicate 3 *me*, ‘three hundred’, in line 12 and *me*, ‘one hundred’, in line 13. Moran (1992: 212) accepted these readings, which are surely correct, without question. At the end of line 15 the last word is written around the edge of the tablet, and Knudtzon transcribed ju-ši-ru. He was not certain about the PI = WA sign (to be read *yu* in such verb forms) at the edge of the obverse, and the reason is simple: the horizontal wedge which concludes the PI = WA is written higher than normal. The scribe of this tablet tended to write horizontal wedges that conventionally should be at mid level higher than usual, so that his ME looks like a LAL. This fact is pregnant with meaning for the correct interpretation of line 27.

Line 13: The first sign is written like LAL, but Bezold in Bezold & Budge (1892: 50, no. 24:9) wrote ‘sic’ under the horizontal; he knew that it must be read ME because a numeric is required. Knudtzon (1915:556, n. d), of course, also recognised that this sign must be ME for the same reason.

Line 15: In spite of the rare sign value *qè*, there is hardly any doubt about the meaning of the temporal expression (here as an adverbial accusative) in lines 15ff.: ‘If **by the (time of) summer grain** the king does not send the **regular army** to Byblos, they (the enemy) will surely capture it’ (Rainey 1989–1990: 62a; cf. CAD Q: 243b).

Line 16: Moran (1950: 57; 2003: 123) was correct in his original suggestion to read *ʔpi-ta-ta₅* instead of his later attempt (1992: 213, n. 3) to read *ʔyi-ša-[ba]-ʔta₅* following Knudtzon. Moran’s remarks only serve to demonstrate just how unlikely Knudtzon’s original reading was. The above rendering is therefore the only one that makes sense.

Lines 17–18: Two clauses comprise the apodosis of the conditional sentence. Their verbs are imperfect 3rd masculine plural, the first reinforced by the absolute infinitive. In the second clause (line 18) the direct object, *yāti* [*aradka*], is fronted to create a contrast between the accusative suffix of the previous clause, viz. *-ši*, referring to the city of Byblos, and Rib-Haddi himself. I.e., they will take the city but they will slay its ruler. Moran’s (1992: 213, n. 4) [ĪR-ka] is certainly in order.

Line 19: This line contains a result clause expressed by the suffix conjugation verb. The form *gu₅-ʔmi-ru* is a 3rd masculine plural of the D stem suffix conjugation, i.e., *gummirū* following the vocalization typical of the hybrid dialect of the Canaanite scribes (Rainey 1996: Vol. 2, 310–311; Izre’el 1978). The value *gu₅* for the KU sign is indeed unusual (cf. URU *Gu₅-ub-li^{k1}* in the obscure EA 67:14), just as *qè* for GI is in line 15. Both values are typical of peripheral texts not written by Canaanite scribes. The second sign, badly abraded, begins with a *Winkelhaken* followed by traces of horizontals, certainly an original MI sign. The *ʔru* is clear enough. Other solutions for the verb in line 19, such as Moran’s *kummuru*, ‘to heap up’ (CAD K: 114a), only introduce meaningless confusion to the context. At the end of the line *šar-ru* is also an unusual orthography; it also occurs in EA 254:39 (nominative) and EA 228:8 (where it is an error for the genitive). Since it is in the nominative case, it should be preceded by a verb. Here [*yu-ši-r*]*u-na* is suggested, a 3rd masculine singular imperfect energetic. It seems to be an energetic in the protasis of a conditional sentence without the conditional particle *šumma*, just as in EA 251:11–15 (Rainey 1996: Vol. 2, 241).

Line 21: The verb *qarbu* is a 3rd masculine plural of the suffix conjugation introduced by the conjunction to express purpose. This can hardly be a reference to making an attack, *contra* Moran (1992: 213 n. 5). The *maššartu* troops were for garrison duty, i.e., defence and protection, not for aggressive action. They were to be sent to protect the remaining officials from being killed like P^awuru was.

Line 22: Because of the final *-i* vowel, Moran (1961: 69, n. 52; 1975: 80, n. 2) considered *di-ki* to be a participle with *hireq compaginis*. The parallel in EA 132:45 has the 3rd masculine singular passive suffix form, *di-ka*.

Line 23: Knudtzon had read [*š*]*a-ki-in* with a footnote stating that the first sign was possible, but that the second could be *di* as well as *ki*. The first sign is badly abraded, but its traces suit *ša*. Thus one can restore *ʔša-ki-in*, i.e., a *status absolutus* like the preceding *ʔmā-lik*, both as ideograms without case endings. The scribe equated a defective MĀŠKIM (⟨PA⟩.SUḪUŠ) with *mālik* and *šakin*.

Line 24: The first part of this line is such a common idiom as to preclude any margin of error. The problem arises concerning the final sign combination. The final *ri* is perfectly clear. The middle sign was read as *ri* by Bezold in Bezold & Budge (1892: 50, no. 24: 20), but Knudtzon (1915: 558, n. c) corrected it to *hu*. In fact, it is *hu*, but was elongated in order to squeeze it on to the bottom of the obverse. The first sign in this group is badly abraded. Bezold thought he saw a NA, while Knudtzon transcribed [*š*]*u*, his italics showing his uncertainty. Actually what he presumably saw was a small indentation at the lower left side of the abrasion, followed by two horizontal wedges and what appeared to be one vertical. The indentation in the clay at the lower left side, however, is not the head of a third horizontal wedge beneath the other two (which would have made the alleged *ša*). It is really the bottom, the point, of a vertical wedge that can simply be read DIŠ, i.e., the marker of a personal name. The presumed right hand vertical is actually the traces of two *Winkelhaken*, one at the end of each of the two verticals, in other words, ʔDIŠ BI. The resulting personal name can then be read ʔPi⁷-*hu-ri*, which is, of course, the name of the commissioner from the Damascus area mentioned in EA 132.

Line 25: In light of the corrected reading of line 24 the switch to the plural in this line makes sense. Rib-Haddi has introduced another person, and he says ‘and **we** are servants of the king’.

Line 26: The following phrase is also couched in the plural; first of all: *u mariš ana inīnu*, ‘and it is painful to **our** eyes’.

Line 27: The circumstantial clause that concludes this sentence can now be properly interpreted by analysis of the verb at the beginning of the line. The third sign was read *lá* (LAL) by Knudtzon (1915: 558, n. d), who noted that it is written over something else. Bezold in Bezold & Budge (1892: 50, no. 24: 23) read NI ŠU LAL KU and, significantly, added ‘sic’ under the high horizontal of the LAL, just as he had done with the LAL at the head of line 13. In other words, Bezold recognized the need to read the LAL in line 13 as ME because a numeric indicator was required by the context, and he likewise felt that LAL in line 27 had to be read ME. In the light of this scribe’s habit, discussed above, the sign must surely be ME. It is remarkable that neither Knudtzon nor Moran made the connection with the LAL = ME signs on the obverse.

The second sign in the line was read ŠU by Bezold, who saw three horizontals followed by one vertical. Knudtzon read the sign as na(!), which Moran accepted, but it looks much more like UD, which Knudtzon evidently rejected because he could make no sense of it. Since Bezold’s three horizontals might all really be there, the sign could possibly be DI. But closer scrutiny reveals that there are two wedges, one of which slipped slightly, leaving the

impression of two signs. Comparison with UD elsewhere in the tablets shows that the sign is actually UD.

Knudtzon could offer no translation for his reading, *ni-na-lá-ku*. Moran (1992: 213, n. 6) reads *ni-^unu na-lá-qu* and makes a desperate attempt to derive it as a passive from either *lequ* or *alāqu* = *ḫalāqu*. Both commentators, ignoring the evidence for LAL = ME on the obverse, also ignore the fact that LAL never serves for syllabic *lá* anywhere in the Amarna corpus. Knudtzon was familiar with the *lá* value from his previous work with Assyrian texts, and as was the case with many aspects of orthography and morphology, he imposed late Assyrian values on signs and ideograms in the Amarna texts. But LAL only appears in Amarna as an ideogram for either *šimittu* (EA 9:37) or in the combination KILÁ = *šuqultu* in many lists of gifts or commodities (e.g., EA 5:26, 27; especially EA 14, EA 22 and EA 25, *passim* and various other texts that include lists). There is, however, no instance of LAL or LÁ serving as a syllabic sign in the orthography of a Semitic word anywhere in the Amarna collection.

So what can be done with the sequence NI UD ME KU? In view of the context, in which the scribe has switched from the singular to the plural (to include P²Hurri), the first sign can be readily accepted as the 1st common plural verbal suffix. The last sign is the standard representation of *qu*, and the next to last sign (written as if it were LAL/LÁ) often stands for *mi* in these texts. When one thinks of a verb with a second radical *m* and a final radical *q*, *damāqu/dummuqu* immediately comes to mind, for which the second sign, UD, could provide the first radical, suggesting *ni-dám-mi-qu*. If the sign should nevertheless be a DI, then one would have to read *ni-de-mi-qu* and posit a vowel shift typical of Middle Babylonian, a shift not at all typical of verbal forms in the hybrid dialect of the Amarna texts from Canaan. Here and there, other Middle Babylonian verbal forms do appear in these texts, often as ‘Akkadograms’ or glosses to hybrid forms. On the other hand, the value *dám* is not typical of the Amarna texts. It is attested in EA 29:185 *dám-qu-ú-tum*; and it appears elsewhere in peripheral areas, e.g., at Ugarit, *ú-dám-mi-qa-ak-ku*, ‘he has done favours for you’ (RS 17.132:18; Nougayrol 1956: 36). Therefore, the most convincing reading would seem to be UD = *dám* in this instance. The sign in fact looks more like an UD, and that is likely why Knudtzon transcribed it na(!); he presumably saw the same number of wedges that I did. Incidentally, among the wide range of examples from *damāqu/dummuqu* in the dictionaries, many of them have orthographies with the ME sign, which AHW rightly transcribes *mi*.

The form *nidammiqu* is therefore 1st person common plural, the Akkadian present with the West Semitic imperfect *-u* suffix. It can mean to ‘be/become good’. This would satisfy the context, but since the hybrid dialect often uses the Akkadian G present forms as substitutes for the D stem, it is possible that this is the intention here. The D stem can express ‘to behave favourably’ towards someone, as in the following: *a-na EN-ia ú-da-mi-i[q ú] / a-na^{LÚ}tap-pí-ia*, ‘Towards my lord I have behaved properly [and] towards my colleague’ (EA 120:44–45; *contra* Moran 1992: 199, 200, n. 14). The circumstantial clause may therefore be rendered ‘because we are behaving properly’.

Lines 28–30: [LÚ Ú]Š(?) / *yu-na-ṣda* LÚ KI.[SÌ.GA]-pí / *ṣa-nu a-na ša-a-ṣu*; Moran’s reading of the signs is correct and his conjectured transcription is brilliant. He was puzzled, nevertheless, by the meaning in this context. The translation preferred here, ‘a corpse cast away having no one to care for the funerary offerings’, makes beautiful sense of the context.

Rib-Haddi knows that if his enemies murder him, his corpse will be cast out without proper burial and funerary rites.

Line 30: [ù a]-*nu-ma*, *contra* Moran (1992: 213, n. 9), thus removing an anomalous form of *pānānu*.

Line 32: At the end of the line the final horizontal of the KA sign is visible after the abrasion.

Line 37: There may not be enough room for Na’aman’s (1975: 166–167) *yu-ḫa-[li-iq]*, but there would be enough for *yu-ḫa-[liq]*.

Line 38: At the end of the line the traces indicate *yi-iš-m[é]*, not *yi-iš-m[u]*. This obviates Moran’s (1992: 213, n. 12) remarks about the modal usages in the following verbs.

Line 41: *mi-nu-ma* here is personal, the subject of the verb, *yi-qa-bu*, ‘Who is/has been saying?’, *contra* Izre’el (1987: 86), who read *yu-qa-bu* and took it as an impersonal.

Line 57: At least the first wedge of the final *t[i]* is sufficiently clear, so that there is no question about *ti-la-t[i]*.

The *tillatu* auxiliaries, identical to the *maššartu* troops requested in line 20, are to guard the city. The remarks by Moran (1992: 213, n. 14 and 161, n. 8, where he cites Pintore 1972: 106 ff.) are thus irrelevant.

Concluding Remarks

It is not known when P²-Hurru ended his tenure. Since he is called LÚ.GAL and the association with MÁSKIM (cf. *supra*) is somewhat uncertain, it cannot be determined just what his relationship was with Biryawaza, who was apparently ruler of Damascus. One thing is clear: Rib-Haddi says that it is essential that P²-Hurru take a stand and hold fast in Kômidi. He had command over members of the ‘foreign legion’ and could use them for a police action. On the other hand, he seems to have supported Rib-Haddi in the conflict with Aziru and his brothers.

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Das Zeichen <ta> im Hieroglyphen-Luwischen

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1. In den vergangenen Jahren ist es gelungen, die Lesungen der sechs scheinbar homophonen Zeichen mit den Lesungen <ta> bis <ta₅₄₅

Diesen bescheidenen Beitrag möchte ich dem verehrten Jubilar als ein Zeichen meiner hohen Wertschätzung widmen.

2. Der alveolare Wert des Zeichens <ta> ist seit langem bekannt und unumstritten. Er geht aus den digraphischen Siegeln aus Ras Shamra und Meskene hervor, ebenso wie aus der Alternation mit <ta> (Hawkins 2005: 431; Marazzi 1990: 106ff., mit weiterführender Literatur). Auch die Schreibung TÁ AVUS-zi/a in YALBURT block 4 §2, in der die Graphie TÁ das Wort <ta-ti-zi/a> 'Väter' repräsentiert – als Abkürzung oder als akrophonisch abgeleitetes Logogramm PATER – bestätigt die Lesung (Hawkins 1995: 74).

Die Untersuchung der inschriftlichen Überlieferung aus Karkamiš von ihren Anfängen bis in die Mitte des 9. Jh.s erlaubt jedoch eine Präzisierung der Lesung innerhalb eben dieses räumlichen und zeitlichen Kontexts. Das ist deshalb nicht unerwartet, weil sich auch für andere graphische und orthographische Regeln des Hieroglyphen-Luwischen gezeigt hat, daß sich die frühe Schreibertradition von Karkamiš durch eine besondere Qualität auszeichnet. Diese besteht nicht nur in einer konsequenten Anwendung der tradierten Orthographie (z. B. hinsichtlich des 'initial-a-final'; dazu Hawkins 2003: 159–161; Melchert 2009), sondern auch in dem Versuch, das vorhandene Zeicheninventar für eine stärker ausdifferenzierte lautliche Wiedergabe der Sprache zu nutzen (so etwa im Falle von <sa> für [ša] gegenüber anderen sa-Zeichen für [sa]; s. Rieken, demnächst). Nach 850 v. Chr. stellt man einen Rückgang der Gelehrsamkeit fest, weil zum einen die entwickelten orthographischen Konvention vielfach nicht mehr mit derselben Regelmäßigkeit angewendet werden und weil zum anderen offensichtlich der Grund für die bestehenden Schreibungen, die Phonem-Graphem-Zuordnungen, nicht mehr erkannt wurden. Man behielt erlernte Graphien überwiegend bei, war aber nicht mehr in der Lage, neue oder seltenere Wörter mittels der in der frühen Karkamiš-Tradition konventionalisierten Phonem-Graphem-Beziehungen wiederzugeben. So wird z. B. die Graphie <(SOLIUM)i-sà-nú-wa/i-> [išnuwa-] 'setzen' (mit <sa> für palatalen Frikativ [š] nach [i]) bis zum Ende der Überlieferung gebraucht, aber neben regelgerechtem |(.,*217“)u-sà-li-zí (KARATEPE Ho §20) mit <sa>

nach [u] erscheint auch „fehlerhaftes“ („*271?“) *u-sa-li-zi*¹ (KARATEPE Hu §20) mit <sa>. Deshalb überrascht es nicht, auch im Falle von <tá> in der älteren Tradition von Karkamiš Differenzierungen bei der Verwendung von Schriftzeichen zu finden, die in dieser Form in den jüngeren Inschriften und anderenorts nicht durchgeführt werden.

Der besondere Gebrauch von <tá> gegenüber <ta> wird durch die folgende Statistik sämtlicher Belege aus den Karkamiš-Inschriften der betreffenden Periode deutlich:

	<tá>	<ta>
1. Lexeme mit unleniertem Alveolar		
3. Sg. Prt. -ta (außer <i>asta</i>)	–	14
<i>muwatala/i-</i>	–	2
<i>kutassara/i-</i>	–	5
<i>sarlata-</i>	–	2
<i>hatali-</i>	–	1
<i>haḥata-</i> (Vb)	–	1
<i>pitaḥali-</i> (Vb)	–	2
<i>taskuera/i-</i>	–	1
<i>tanima/i-</i>	–	1
2. *nt, *nd		
Verb: 3. Pl. Prt. -nta	7	11
<i>anta</i>	16	–
<i>Tarḥunta-</i>	3	1
<i>ḥant-</i>	1	1
Adverb <i>zanta</i> ¹	1	1
<i>tananta-</i> (Vb) ²	1	1
3. *st		
<i>asta</i>	2	–
<i>haristana/i-</i>	5	–
4. Ortsbezugspartikel -ta		
Partikel -ta	27	20
5. Unlenierter Alveolar durch Čops Regel		
<i>apatanza</i>	2	–
6. Lexeme mit einem weiteren, nicht unlenierten Alveolar		
<i>tati-</i>	14	–
<i>tatari(ya)-</i> (Vb)	1	1
<i>tarus-</i>	1	–
<i>tananta-</i> (Vb)	1	1

1 Zur Bedeutung von *zanta* ‘hinab’ und Entsprechung zu heth. *katta* s. Goedegebuure, demnächst.
2 Das Adjektiv und seine denominalen Verbalbildungen weisen zwei verschiedene Lautungen auf, zum einen die ursprüngliche mit *dannatta-* < *d^honóto-, zum anderen die durch Nasalepenthese veränderte, *dannanta-* (vgl. zum Phänomen Oettinger 1994). H.-luw. *tananta-* wird hier der zweiten Lautung zugeordnet, weil dies eine widerspruchsfreie Deutung des Befundes erlaubt (s. auch die Bemerkungen zur sechsten Wortgruppe).

	<tá>	<ta>
7. Unklare Fälle		
3. Sg. Prt. oder 3. Pl. Prt.	1	3
Lautung unbekannt	6	16

2.1 Die augenfälligste Erscheinung in der Statistik ist, daß in der Anlautposition, wo der unlenierte Konsonant zu erwarten ist (Melchert 1994: 252), sowie in allen Morphemen und Lexemen mit ererbtem unleniertem *t, die Graphie mit <tá> nicht auftritt. Der Nachweis der betreffenden Lautung erfolgt durch die Doppelschreibung im Keilschrift-Luwischen (für Belege s. jeweils Melchert 1993: s. v.) oder durch gesicherte etymologische Erwägungen.

Die Verben der *hi*-Konjugation (Wurzelveben wie reduplizierte Bildungen) zeigen in der Präteritalendung der 3. Sg. stets unleniertes /-ta/, vgl. z. B. k.-luw. <la-a-ad-da>, <la-la-at-ta> ‘nahm’ oder <pi-ya-at-ta> ‘gab’. Auch *nu*-Verben sowie deradikale und denominalen Ableitungen auf -i(ya)- zeichnen sich durch die Endung /-ta/ aus, vgl. k.-luw. <a-ar-la-nu-wa-at-ta>, <a-ri-it-ta> (Entsprechung zu h.-luw. PUGNUS-ta) und <tu-um-ma-an-te-it-ta>. Im Corpus der älteren Karkamiš-Inschriften sind folgende Formen bezeugt:

<i>pi-ia-ta</i>	KARKAMIŠ A23 §5
<i>pi-ia-ta</i>	KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §2
(CAPERE2) <i>u-pa-ta</i>	KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §7
<i>pi-pa-sa-ta</i>	KARKAMIŠ A23 §4
CRUS.CRUS-ta	KARKAMIŠ A11a §13
<i>za-ha-nu-wa/i-ta</i>	KARKAMIŠ A1a §37
PUGNUS-ta	KARKAMIŠ A23 §3
(ASCIA) <i>ka+ra/i-ma-li-ta</i>	KARKAMIŠ A1a §3
BONUS-li-ia-ta	KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §3, 4, 5
BONUS-ia-ta	KARKAMIŠ A23 §11
(„LONGUS“)i+ra/i-ia-ta	KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §3
<i>há-ha-ta-ia-ta</i>	KARKAMIŠ A1a §2

H.-luw. *muwatala/i-* ‘stark’, *kutasara/i-* ‘Orthostat’, *sarlata-* ‘Preisung’ entsprechen k.-luw. <mu-u-wa-at-ta-al-la-ti> (Abl.-Instr.), <^{NA}ku-ut-ta-aš-ša-ri> (Dat.-Lok. Sg.), <šar-la-at-ta> (Nom.-Akk. Pl.). H.-luw. *hahataya-* ‘schlagen’ und *hatali(ya)-* ‘schlagen’ enthalten die Wurzel **h₂et-* ‘schlagen’, die auch k.-luw. <ḥa-at-ta-aš> ‘Schlag’ (Nom. Sg.) zugrundeliegt. H.-luw. *pitaḥali(ya)-* ‘ins Exil treiben, zerstreuen’ gehört zur uridg. Wurzel **peth₂/pteh₂-* ‘ausbreiten’.³ H.-luw. *taskuera/i-* ‘Erde’ und *tanima/i-* ‘all, jeder’ enthalten den alveolaren Plosiv jeweils im Anlaut, wo die Fortiskonsonanz verallgemeinert ist. Besonders hoch ist die statistische Relevanz natürlich im Falle der Endung der 3. Sg. Prt. mit 14 Belegen (zur einzigen Ausnahme <*a-sa-tá> /asta/ s. gleich). Dies läßt vermuten, daß das Zeichen <tá> aufgrund seines Lautwerts von der Verwendung für den unlenierten Alveolar ausgeschlossen war.

3 Der derivationelle Prozeß des Verbs läßt sich als eine denominalen Ableitung zu einem Nomen **pitaḥal-* beschreiben (freundlicher Hinweis von C. Melchert). Der anaptyktische Vokal -i- zur Sprengung der anlautenden Konsonantengruppe findet sich auch in heth. *pitte-ant-* ‘Flüchtling’, einer Partizipialbildung zu einer Wurzelvariante **pteh₂-* ‘fliegen, fliehen’.

2.2 Die zweite Gruppe von Belegen enthält Wörter und Morpheme, die Fortsetzer der Lautfolgen **nt* und **nd* aufweisen.⁴ Es konnte für das Luwische bisher nicht geklärt werden, welche phonetischen Eigenschaften die ererbten stimmlosen und stimmhaften Plosive besitzen.⁵ Dies gilt sowohl für die intervokalische Position als auch für diejenige in Konsonantengruppen. Ist die Opposition intervokalisch durch den Gegensatz [+ GEMINIERT]: [– GEMINIERT] fortgesetzt, so ist mit einer Neutralisierung der Opposition in Konsonantengruppen zu rechnen (Kümmel 2007: 135). Dies könnte eine Bestätigung darin finden, daß in k.-luw. *⟨i-ip-pa-tar-ri-eš-ša-⟩* (KUB 35.48 ii 15) bzw. *⟨ip-pa-tar-ri-īš-ša-⟩* (KUB 35.48 ii 22) < **h₁ēptro-* der zweite Plosiv trotz seiner ursprünglichen Stimmlosigkeit nur einfach geschrieben wird, d. h. wie ein ursprünglich stimmhafter Laut repräsentiert wird (Melchert 1994: 277, mit weiteren Beispielen und einer abweichenden Erklärung). Handelt es sich dagegen noch um stimmlose und stimmhafte Plosive oder um Fortes und Lenes, ist die Tatsache von Bedeutung, daß stimmlose Plosive bzw. Fortiskonsonanten dazu tendieren, durch progressive Assimilation die Stimmhaftigkeit des Nasals anzunehmen bzw. den Fortischarakter zu verlieren (Kümmel 2007: 53). Da ein Ausweichverhalten der stimmhaften Plosive bzw. Leniskonsonanten mittels Vollassimilation im Luwischen nicht festzustellen ist (vgl. k.-luw. *anda*, h.-luw. *⟨a-tá⟩* < **endō*), kann auch diesem zweiten Fall mit einer Aufhebung der Opposition beider Reihen gerechnet werden.

Die phonematische Neutralisierung zwischen leniertem und unleniertem Alveolar nach Nasal wird aber nicht nur durch sprachtypologische Vergleiche nahegelegt, sondern insbesondere durch die identische Graphie mit *⟨tá⟩*. Zudem darf man aufgrund desselben Umstands annehmen, daß die phonetische Realisierung von ererbtem **t* und **d* nach Nasal sowohl von derjenigen des intervokalischen unlenierten als auch des intervokalischen lenierten Alveolars abwich, daß also mit drei verschiedenen Obstruenten-Reihen zu rechnen ist.

Aus dem Wechsel von *⟨ta⟩* und *⟨tá⟩* in dieser Gruppe läßt sich außerdem ersehen, daß die Graphie mit dem Zeichen *⟨ta⟩* umgekehrt durchaus auch dann zur Darstellung alveolarer Plosive gebraucht werden konnte, wenn sie nicht unleniert waren. Eine derartige Verteilung ist in den graphischen Systemen natürlicher Sprachen nicht ungewöhnlich. Es sei hier nur daran erinnert, daß man zeitweise im Lateinischen mit der Doppelschreibung von Vokalen als Längenmarkierung experimentiert hat: Die Doppelung war optional; wo sie gesetzt wurde, war sie jedoch aussagekräftig, und umgekehrt konnte ein einfacher Vokal sowohl für die Kürze als auch für die Länge stehen. Ähnliches gilt für die deutschen Graphien mit „Dehnungs-*h*“ gegenüber einfachem Vokal (z. B. *⟨sehnen⟩* vs. *⟨leben⟩*), die jedoch orthographisch konventionalisiert wurden.

2.3 Der Befund wird bestätigt durch die Graphie mit *⟨tá⟩* in einer anderen Konsonantengruppe, die auf **st* zurückgeht. Auch in diesem Fall gibt es typologische Parallelen: Eine spezifische Sonorisierung bzw. Lenierung in der Position nach **s* ist durchaus bezeugt (Kümmel 2007: 52),

4 Tatsächlich ist die Beobachtung von Felix Esser, M.A., während eines Marburger Seminars (WS 2004/05) zu den kleineren anatolischen Sprachen, daß *⟨tá⟩* in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c vor allem bei lautlich zugrundeliegendem [nt] auftritt, der gedankliche Ausgangspunkt für die vorliegende Untersuchung. Ich danke Felix Esser sehr herzlich für die Erlaubnis, auf seinem Ansatz aufbauend die Arbeit fortführen zu können.

5 Vgl. dazu Melchert (1994: 18–21); Kimball (1999: 262–264); und Kloekhorst (2008: 21–25) mit weiterführender Literatur. Es werden hier zum Teil sehr unterschiedliche Auffassungen vertreten.

während Degeminierung in Konsonantengruppen sogar generell üblich ist (s. o. 2.2). Athematisches *asta* ‘war’ ist im hier untersuchten Corpus die einzige Form der 3. Sg. Prt., deren Endung weder durch *⟨ta⟩* für [–*ta*] (Gruppe 1) noch mit *⟨tá⟩* für [–*da*] wiedergegeben wird, sondern durch *⟨tá⟩*, weil hier der Stammauslaut des Wurzelverbs und die Endung die Konsonantengruppe *st* bilden.

2.4 Zu den eben behandelten Belegen, in denen die Graphie eine ursprüngliche Konsonantengruppe **st* wiedergibt, gehören auch die Fälle mit *⟨tá⟩* für die Ortsbezugspartikel *-ta* (k.-luw. *-tta*), die bisher ausgeklammert geblieben ist. Angesichts der Häufigkeit der Graphien mit *⟨tá⟩* (27 Belege) ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Partikel *-ta* entgegen Watkins (1978: 308ff.) nicht auf **-te* zurückgeht. Stattdessen ist eine Rückführung auf eine unbetonte Form von **-sta* wahrscheinlich (Melchert 2003: 210) – eine Lokalpartikel, die auch durch das funktional weitgehend äquivalente hethitische *-(a)šta* für das Anatolische nachgewiesen ist (Josephson 1995: 170–175). Der Verlust von **s*, das zuvor als konditionierender Faktor die Neutralisierung der ererbten Opposition zwischen ursprünglicher Tenuis und Media (aspirata) bewirkt hatte, ist der Enklise und lautlichen Erosion im Grammatikalisierungsprozeß geschuldet. Diese letztgenannte Herleitung, die zuvor ganz unabhängig von der „orthographischen“ Problematik vorgeschlagen worden ist, erlaubt also einerseits eine widerspruchsfreie Einordnung der Partikel *⟨-tá⟩* in den Gesamtbefund und wird andererseits eben dadurch bestätigt.

2.5 Zwei weitere Belege für *⟨tá⟩* treten in der Form des Dat.-Lok. Pl. des Demonstrativpronomens *apa-* auf. Die keilschrift-luwische Singularform des Dat.-Lok. *⟨a-pát-ti, a-pa-a-at-ti⟩* und der etymologisch entsprechende hethitische Stamm *apēd-* lassen sich gemeinsam mit Goedegebuure (demnächst) unter der Annahme einer Vorform **ob^héd^h-* (abstrahiert aus **ob^hé-d^hi*) überzeugend erklären. Durch Čops Regel hat sich im Luwischen betontes **é* zu *á* entwickelt, während der darauf folgende stimmhafte Laut (ggf. nur graphisch) geminiert wurde. Entsprechendes gilt sicher für den h.-luw. Plural *⟨*a-pa-tá-za⟩* (= *⟨pa-tá-za-⟩*). Infolge der Lautentwicklung unterscheidet sich der resultierende Konsonant von dem lenierten Phonem (graphisch k.-luw. *⟨t, d⟩*, h.-luw. *⟨tá⟩*); aber auch die zuvor nicht begründete Annahme (z. B. Melchert 1994: 252), daß er außerdem von unleniertem Plosiv distinkt war (graphisch k.-luw. *⟨tt, dd⟩*, h.-luw. *⟨ta⟩*), läßt sich nun durch die Graphie mit *⟨tá⟩* bestätigen. Stattdessen scheint er also in derselben Weise realisiert worden zu sein wie Plosive in den Konsonantengruppen, die aus **nt*, **nd* und **st* hervorgegangen sind.

2.6 Die letzte Gruppe mit *⟨tá⟩* besteht scheinbar aus Ausnahmen zu der ersten, indem ein Alveolar im Anlaut, wo der unlenierte Konsonant zu erwarten ist, durch *⟨tá⟩* repräsentiert wird. Dies läßt sich jedoch recht einfach durch einen konditionierten Lautwandel erklären, bei dem unter Einwirkung eines zweiten, nicht unlenierten Alveolars (< **nt*, **d*, **r*) eine Fernassimilation im Anlaut stattgefunden hat. Für */tadari(ya)-/* ‘verfluchen’ und */tada/i-/* ‘Vater’ (in herkömmlicher Notation) ist die inlautende Lenis zweifelsfrei durch die k.-luw. Entsprechungen mit einfachem Alveolar nachgewiesen (Melchert 1993: 221–223, mit Belegen). Im Falle von */tarus-/* ‘Statue’ ist die Herkunft aus ererbtem **r* gesichert. Dieser Laut, der wahrscheinlich als Flap realisiert wurde, tendiert dazu, mit dem lenierten Alveolar zusammenzufallen, wie dessen graphische Wiedergabe mit *⟨ra/i⟩* zeigt (Melchert 2003: 179ff., mit weiterführender Literatur).

Das Verbum <ta-na-ta> 'leer machen, verwüsten' läßt sich wegen der alternativ auftretenden Graphie <ta-na-tá> als /tananta-/ deuten (</tanata-/ mit perseverierendem Nasal; vgl. anders Oettinger 1994: 320; Melchert 1993: 205). Die Existenz solcher Formen hat im Hethitischen mit dem Adjektiv *dannant-* 'leer' und dem zugehörigen Fientivum *dannantē-* 'leer werden' eine Parallele (HEG T: 99–102). Es ist jedenfalls sicher kein Zufall, daß alle vier Wörter mit <tá> im Anlaut die Kombination mit dem zweiten Alveolar zeigen.⁶

3. Es stellt sich natürlich die Frage, welche phonetische Realisierung der durch <tá> repräsentierte Laut besitzt. Das nahe verwandte Lykische weist eine entsprechende Dreiteilung des ererbten Verschlusslautsystems auf: Unlenierte Plosive, z. B. /t/ [t], stehen lenierten Phonemen, z. B. /d/ [δ], in intervokalischer Position gegenüber, während nach Nasal oder als zweiter Bestandteil von Konsonantengruppen generell ein stimmhafter Plosiv vorzuliegen scheint. Für den ersten Fall (nach Nasal) wird im allgemeinen auf Schreibungen für fremde Eigennamen im Lykischen verwiesen, z. B. auf <ñtarijeus> für pers. *dārayavauš* 'Darius' (so schon Pedersen 1945: 42), wo die Gruppe <ñt> zur Wiedergabe des stimmhaften Plosivs [d] gebraucht wird. Dies läßt auf die Aussprache von <ñt> etwa in dem ererbten Adverb <ñte> <*endō 'in' (heth., k.-luw. *anda*) oder in der Endung der 3. Pl. Prs. <-ñti> <*(V)nti> schließen, die offensichtlich ebenfalls einen stimmhaften Plosiv enthielten. Für den zweiten Fall (als zweiter Bestandteil von Konsonantengruppen) ist die Schreibung <ap[p]di> 'ergreift' anzuführen, die zumindest einen stimmhaften Alveolar in dieser Position vermuten läßt (s. Melchert 1994: 313). Eine vergleichbare Dreiteilung [t] oder [tʰ] (unleniert und fortisiert im Anlaut): [δ] (leniert und ererbtes *d^(h)): [d] (neutralisiert und durch sekundäre Lautwandel) ist auch für das Luwische denkbar. Daß mit der Bewahrung der plosiven Artikulationsart wie möglicherweise auch beim stimmlosen Plosiv eine Geminatoneinherging, ist denkbar.⁷

Lägen dieselben oder ähnliche Verhältnisse wie im Lykischen vor, bestünde also der Wandel von *t nach Nasal in einer Stimmtonassimilation (ggf. mit gleichzeitig einhergehender Verkürzung der Verschlussdauer, Gruppe 2), während *d < *d^(h) in dieser Position unverändert blieb (oder ggf. eine längere Verschlussdauer erhielt). Dies resultierte in einer Neutralisierung der Opposition.⁸ Der Wandel von *t nach *s wäre entsprechend als eine Schwächung zu bewerten (Gruppe 3 und Gruppe 4), während durch Čops Regel lediglich nach Akzent die Frikativierung von *d > δ verhindert worden wäre (also relativ zur sonstigen Entwicklung eine Verstärkung, wahrscheinlich mit Verlängerung der Verschlussdauer, Gruppe 5). Die Assimilation von anlautendem Alveolar an einen zweiten, nicht unlenierten (stimmhaften) Alveolar wäre als bloße Stimmtonassimilation *t > d zu betrachten (Gruppe 6). Die Einfachheit und typologische

6 Die beschriebene Assimilationserscheinung bietet möglicherweise auch einen Erklärungsansatz für den auffälligen Anlaut von k.-luw. *la-la-* (und durch sekundäre Beeinflussung von *la-*) 'nehmen' (zur Wurzel *deh₃-) in der keilschriftlichen Wiedergabe des stimmhaften Anlautkonsonanten. Zum Phänomen s. Melchert (2003: 180ff.).

7 Das Ergebnis ließe sich auch mit dem von Kloekhorst (2006) postulierten System vereinbaren, nach dem die Länge der Konsonanten automatisch durch die Länge der Vokale reguliert wird. Es wäre jedoch zusätzlich eine Unterscheidung durch Stimmton nach kurzem akzentuierten Vokal anzunehmen.

8 Vgl. zu dieser Erscheinung Kraehenmann (2001), die zeigt, daß im Thurgauer Dialekt des Schweizerdeutschen nach Obstruent die Opposition zwischen Fortis (mit Geminatoneinhergehend) und Lenis (*singletons*) aufgehoben wird, indem beide Reihen „einander entgegenkommen“ und einen gemeinsamen Mittelwert aufweisen.

Normalität der anzunehmenden Lautwandel lassen dieses Modell als eine plausible Möglichkeit erscheinen.

Der Grund dafür, daß allein bei den Alveolaren eine derartige feine Differenzierung der graphischen Wiedergabe entwickelt wurde, dürfte in der Frequenz ihres Auftretens liegen. Die Position nach Nasal ist sicherlich die häufigste Quelle, und ererbtes *nt/nd^(h) ist weitaus häufiger als *nk/ng^(h) oder *mp/mb^(h).

4. In der vorangegangenen Erklärung der spezifischen Verwendung des Zeichens <tá> in den hieroglyphen-luwischen Texten der frühen Karkamiš-Tradition (bis 850 v. Chr.) waren für die letzte Gruppe zwei zusätzliche Annahmen notwendig: a) Der Faktitivbildung *tanata-* 'leeren, verwüsten' liegt eine Variante mit „perseverierendem n“ zugrunde, die mehrfach auch im Hethitischen bezeugt ist. b) Es hat eine Stimmtonassimilation des alveolaren Anlauts stattgefunden, wenn im Wortinneren ein zweiter stimmhafter alveolarer Laut vorhanden war. Keine dieser Annahmen ist jedoch besonders problematisch. Selbst wenn man Zweifel bezüglich dieser vier Wörter hat, ist dennoch auf die 29 Belege mit unleniertem Alveolar [t(t)] zu verweisen, in denen <tá> erwartungsgemäß niemals auftritt. Gegenüber dem Verhältnis von 0 <tá>: 29 <ta> für [t(t)] weisen für [d(d)] von den 119 Belegen, in denen die Graphie <tá> zu erwarten ist, 82 diese tatsächlich auf, während <ta> hier nur 37 mal bezeugt ist. <tá> wird also in etwa zwei Dritteln der möglichen Anwendungen gewählt, während es an den Stellen, wo sein Gebrauch lautlich nicht korrekt wäre, überhaupt nicht verwendet wird.

Den vorhandenen Befund anders zu deuten, ist schwierig. Wollte man die konsequente Beschränkung des Zeichens <tá> auf die Position von [d(d)] allein durch eine zufällig entstandene orthographische Konvention erklären, müßte man eine Antwort auf die Frage geben, weshalb in immerhin 9 lexikalischen und grammatischen Morphemen eine andere orthographische Tradition mit ausschließlicher Verwendung von <ta> ausgebildet wird als in 14 anderen mit einem Wechsel von <tá> und <ta> im Verhältnis von 2:1. In der folgenden Zeit und in anderen Traditionen außerhalb von Karkamiš kann man dagegen eine solche Verteilung zwischen den beiden Zeichen beobachten, wie sie entsteht, wenn sie allein durch orthographische Tradition – ohne eine festgelegte Graphem-Phonem-Beziehung – bestimmt ist.

5. Die neue funktionale Differenzierung der Zeichen <tá> und <ta>, die in Karkamiš in der Zeit vor 850 v. Chr. durchgeführt wurde, wurde bald wieder aufgegeben und setzte sich in anderen Regionen nie ganz durch. In Karkamiš, wo man mit der konsequentesten Anwendung neu abgeleiteter orthographischer Regeln rechnen darf, zeigt sich dies vor allem darin, daß mit einer Ausnahme⁹ die Graphien der lexikalischen Elemente und der Enklitika stabil bleiben, während in der Endung der 3. Sg. Prt. jetzt auch die Graphie <tá> auftritt (für lautliches [t(t)]), vgl.:

„PES ₂ “(-)wa/i-za-tá	KARKAMIŠ A24a §6
PONERE-tá (tuwata)	CEKKE §2
ARHA ² (-)i+a-l[á]	KARKAMIŠ A21+ §3
SOLIUM-nú-tá	KARKAMIŠ A21+ §4
su-su-tá	KARKAMIŠ A30h §1

9 (SCALPRUM)ku-tá-sa₅+ra/i-zi KARKAMIŠ 18e §5, wo <ta> zu erwarten wäre.

Die Endung wurde als ein gebundenes Morphem nicht so stark wahrgenommen, daß für sie eine Regel geschaffen wurde. Derselbe Effekt ist für die der Karkamiš-Tradition nahe stehenden Inschriften aus Tell Ahmar festzustellen, vgl.:

DARE-tá	ALEPPO 2 §2
HWI-nu-wa/i-tá	ALEPPO 5 §4
(„MORI“)wa/i-la-tá	TELL AHMAR 1 §10, §18
„AUDIRE+M“ti-i-tá	TELL AHMAR 1 §25

Gleichzeitig nimmt dort aber der Gebrauch von <ta> anstelle von <tá> insgesamt sehr stark zu. Für die Inschriften aus Malatya muß man eine chronologische Differenzierung vornehmen. Während in den älteren Inschriften bis in die Mitte des 10. Jh.s <ta> und <tá> ohne erkennbaren Unterschied gebraucht werden, ist danach mit einer vereinzelter Ausnahme (REX-tá 'König' MALATYA 5 §1) das Zeichen <tá> auf die Ortsbezugspartikel -ta, die Endung der 3. Sg. Prt., <tá-ti-> 'Vater' und <a-tá> 'in' beschränkt (insgesamte 17 Belege); sonst wird <ta> gebraucht. In der Bilingue von Karatepe vom Ende des 8. Jh.s erscheint <tá> nur noch siebenmal: viermal in <tá-ti-> 'Vater', einmal in REX-tá- 'König' und in zwei duplizierenden Belegen für <tá-mi-hi-sá> 'Überfluß'. Dem stehen etwa 120 Belege für <ta> gegenüber. In den Assurbriefen aus demselben Zeitraum tritt <tá> gar nicht mehr auf.

Es zeichnet sich deutlich eine Entwicklung ab, in der der phonologisch bedingte Gebrauch von <tá> zunächst durch die für jedes Lexem einzeln erlernte Verwendung abgelöst wird. Die Zahl der betreffenden Lexeme nimmt jedoch zum Ende der Überlieferung stark ab, bis <tá> in den Texten, die nicht der Repräsentation dienen, gänzlich außer Gebrauch kommt.

6. In der Großreichszeit ist dagegen <tá> fast allein gebräuchlich, während <ta> nahezu nicht existent ist. Die Entstehung des Zeichens ist unklar. Die singuläre Graphie TÁ AVUS-zi/a in YALBURT block 4 §2 mit TÁ für <tá-ti-zi/a> 'Väter' reicht wohl nicht, um die logographische Lesung PATER (Hawkins 1995: 74) als die ursprüngliche zu betrachten. Eine Überlegung könnte dahin gehen, daß in der bildlichen Darstellung des Zeichens die Hand nicht einen konkreten Gegenstand (z. B. den vermuteten Dolch) hält, sondern daß lediglich angedeutet werden soll, daß sich irgendetwas in der Hand befindet. Dann ließe sich der Lautwert [d(d)] aus der – wahrscheinlich betonten – zweiten Silbe des Lokaladverbs anda 'in' (vgl. lyk. ñte 'in') ableiten. Eine solche Entstehung, die dem akrophonischen Prinzip zuwider liefe, wäre allerdings bisher einzigartig, so daß die Überlegung den Wert einer plausiblen Spekulation nicht überschreitet.

7. Zusammenfassung: Es hat sich gezeigt, daß in der älteren Karkamiš-Tradition zwischen 1100 und 850 v. Chr., in der Phase der höchsten Schreibergelehrsamkeit, dem Zeichen <tá> ein besonderer Lautwert zugewiesen wurde, der in verschiedenen phonologischen Kontexten entstanden war. Es handelt sich dabei um die Fortsetzer der stimmhaften und stimmlosen alveolaren Verschlusslaute *t und *d^h, wenn sie als zweite Bestandteile von Konsonantengruppen (hier nach *n und *s bzw. *s > Ø) auftraten, wenn nach Čops Regel die Frikativierung von *d^h verhindert wurde und wenn eine Assimilation an einen nicht unlenierten Alveolar im selben Wort erfolgte. Sehr wahrscheinlich wurde dieser Laut, der sich sowohl von dem Reflex einer anlautenden oder intervokalischen Tenuis [t(t)] als auch von demjenigen der Media und

Media aspirata [ð] unterschied, als [d(d)] realisiert. Das Zeichen <tá> stand damit im Gegensatz zu <ta>, das sowohl für [t(t)] als auch für [d(d)] verwendet wurde.

In späterer Zeit und in anderen Schreiberzentren außerhalb von Karkamiš war der Gebrauch des Zeichens <tá> weitestgehend an festgelegte lexikalische Elemente gebunden, die die Schreiber auswendig lernten. Die Phonem-Graphem-Beziehung war verloren gegangen. Zusätzlich wurde <tá> aber auch immer weiter durch <ta> selbst in den betreffenden Wörtern ersetzt, bis es in den Assurbriefen schließlich gar keine Verwendung mehr fand. Über die Entstehung des Zeichens lassen sich nur Vermutungen anstellen.

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- 19 Mighty One, Mighty One,⁴ who renders our judgement,
 20 before Nuska and Girra my exchange is established!
 21 Come, rebellion! Rage, rebellion!
 22 In uprooting the feet of my warlock and witch, place your feet (in their place)!
 23 May a fool lead the witch to her judge,
 24 may her judge roar against her like a lion,
 25 may he strike her cheek, may he return her word to her mouth!

The anti-witchcraft ritual effects an inversion (cf. *šupêltu* in l. 20) of the patient's and the sorcerers' roles. The latter have been toppled from their position of strength. Indeed they have become so powerless that a fool abducts them; they are now inferior to those at the lowest rung of society, an image well known from texts such as the *Babylonian Theodicy*: *ilānnu kuššudu panānī lillī* 'a cripple has become my superior, a fool outstrips me' (Lambert 1960: 76, l. 76).

In order to achieve this transfer of power from the sorcerers to the patient, anti-witchcraft rituals employ a wide variety of ritual scenarios, symbolic actions and images. Most of the relevant texts prescribe the use of figurines serving as substitutes for warlock and witch who are not present for their ritual trial: 'Šamaš, these are they, these are the figurines representing them. Since they are not present, I have made figurines of them and [I] h[old] (them) up in the presence of your great divinity.'⁵ These figurines are convicted of their crimes, usually before the sun-god Šamaš as the divine judge of the living and the dead (Schwemer 2007a: 205–208), then subjected to various forms of defiling and destructive treatments. Most prominent among them are the exposure to fire, i.e., burning and melting, on the one hand (a ritual gesture that is otherwise employed only against 'ban' and sin),⁶ and on the other hand, contamination with the patient's dirty wash water. Other, less ubiquitous forms of maltreatment include binding, various forms of gagging,⁷ sprinkling with malodorous liquids,⁸ piercing,⁹

4 The interpretation of *dunnānu* follows AHw: 177a. Note that the same formation is attested as a divine name or epithet at Ebla (ARET 5, 1 obv. iii 1, 2+ obv. ii 11). The identity of the almost certainly divine judge at the beginning of the present incantation is not specified, and the text gives no hints as to whom the ancient scholars would have identified with the 'Mighty One'.

5 See Lambert (1957–1958: 289, ll. 9–10) with further duplicates; for a new edition of the text, see Abusch & Schwemer (forthcoming) text 8.3. For further attestations of this stock phrase, see e.g., *Maqlû* I 94; Læssøe (1955: 39, ll. 29–30) with further duplicates (read *kima šī...* at the beginning of l. 30; for a new edition, see Abusch & Schwemer forthcoming, text 9.1); KAR 80 = KAL 2, 8 rev. 11–12 with duplicates; full edition in Abusch & Schwemer (forthcoming) text 8.4.

6 Especially within the rituals *Šurpu* and *Ilī ul īde*; for the latter, cf. Lambert's comments (1974: 269) on KAR 90 and the dingiršadabba incantation *Ilī šurbū qā'īšu balāṭi*; edition: *ibid.* 280, ll. 109–120.

7 See Schwemer (2007a: 95–96). Cf. also the rite of putting one hand of the figurine into its mouth and the other into its anus, thereby blocking all the orifices that can release anything from the body (see VAT 35 obv. 7–8 and BM 40568 obv. 10', the latter edited in Schwemer forthcoming a). The earliest attestation of the motif is found in a curse formula of an Old Assyrian royal inscription (RIMA I, A.O.33.1: 40–41), where, significantly, it refers to someone who has lied in court.

8 Fish oil: KAR 80 = KAL 2, 8 rev. 16 with duplicates; LKA 156 = KAL 2, 23 rev. 13' with duplicates. Full editions in Abusch & Schwemer (forthcoming) texts 8.1 and 8.4; Maul (1994: 448, l. 41); Th 1905–4–9, 93 obv. 17' = Meeks (1918–1919: 141–142). Rancid oil and tanning agent, respectively: BAM 140 = KAL 2, 46 obv. 12'–rev. 1 with duplicates; full edition in Abusch & Schwemer (forthcoming) text 2.2.

9 For a discussion of the relevant texts, see Schwemer (2007a: 209–214).

beating¹⁰ and squashing the figurines with one's foot.¹¹ The figurines, or their remains, could be disposed of in different ways. Though not all texts provide specific information on the final elimination of the substitutes, the available evidence suggests that burned vestiges were normally either thrown into a river or dumped in wasteland, thereby entrusting them to the purifying power of Ea in the subterranean ocean or leaving them to the uncivilized world inhabited by demons and ghosts. Figurines that had been defiled and maltreated, but had not been subjected to fire, were either buried in one way or other and thus banned to the netherworld, or thrown into a river, which, in the present context, may sometimes symbolize a transfer to the netherworld as well.¹² Despite the systematic tension between the total annihilation symbolized by burning or melting the figurines and the transfer to the netherworld of the more or less intact sorcerers symbolized by burying their substitutes, both motifs are employed side by side at least since the Old Babylonian period, and contamination between the two concepts is not uncommon, burned materials occasionally being buried in the ground, and Girra, the divine fire, sometimes requested to convey the evildoers to the netherworld.¹³ In the following it will be argued that the combination of ritual incineration and a transfer of the witches to the netherworld can also be found in *Maqlû*, the burning ritual par excellence, and that the latter motif constitutes one of the crucial elements of the well-known opening section of the ritual. This section, during which the first five incantations of *Maqlû* were to be recited, forms a ritual unit of its own, which, right at the beginning of the extensive ritual, places the patient in a protected position of power from which he can start the ritual battle against his opponents.

Overture to a Drama: *Maqlû* I 1–36

As is well known, the history of research into *Maqlû* stretches back to the early days of Assyriology. Indeed, the text of the first five incantations of the series has been known basically ever since Pinches published the two main manuscripts of tablet I in the fourth of the Rawlinson volumes. Tallqvist's (1895) edition of *Maqlû* includes almost the complete text, and Meier's (1937) edition has the Akkadian text, except for a few half-lines, as we know it today. While these early efforts paid little attention to the overall structure and function of *Maqlû*, Abusch was able to clarify the basic ritual structure of *Maqlû* in a series of studies published from the 1970s onwards (Abusch 2002), demonstrating that what seemed to be a collection of incantations is one coherent anti-witchcraft ritual performed over one night ending with the patient's final triumph in the morning. While Abusch's early studies were based on Meier's edition, he soon took it upon himself to prepare a new edition of *Maqlû*, and within the framework of our collaboration on a new German translation of *Maqlû* (Abusch & Schwemer 2008),

10 VAT 35 obv. 9. For an edition of VAT 35, see Abusch & Schwemer (forthcoming) text 8.12.

11 Akkadian *sêru*; see Schwemer (forthcoming a), commentary on BM 40568 rev. 5.

12 Naturally, the subterranean ocean (*apsû*) and the underworld were regarded as neighbouring cosmic realms, and in a number of texts the inhabitants of the *apsû* are associated with the underworld and vice versa; see Horowitz (1998: 342–344).

13 The relationship between the ritual killing of the sorcerers by fire on the one hand and by sending them to the netherworld on the other hand is discussed by Abusch (1998: 375; 2002: 65–78, 223–234); for a slightly modified interpretation of the evidence, see Schwemer (forthcoming b).

he generously shared with me his yet unpublished synoptic edition of the Akkadian text, which, unsurprisingly, includes much unpublished material.¹⁴

Abusch recognized early on that the first five incantations, *Maqlû* I 1–72, have to be understood as a major coherent section. In his *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature* (Abusch 1987) and a number of subsequent articles he offered new translations and detailed interpretations of these incantations. Naturally, the present article focuses on the points where I disagree with Abusch's interpretations, though it should be emphasized that the following comments start from and build upon his pioneering studies.¹⁵

For a long time a cogent interpretation of the incantations, which at first sight form a rather heterogeneous group of texts, was barred by the extremely fragmentary state of the pertinent passages of the ritual tablet; without the guiding hand of the ritual proceedings it is often difficult to unlock the literary images used by the incantations. At Abusch's request I collated and recopied the Sultantepe manuscript of the ritual tablet in 2003;¹⁶ and when later copying the relevant Kuyunjik manuscripts it became clear that, while we are still far from a complete reconstruction of the beginning of the ritual tablet, the basic structure of the opening section can be established on the base of the available sources. As expected, the ritual proceedings indeed contribute to an increased understanding of the accompanying incantations.¹⁷ Since orthographic variants are unimportant for the present argument, the text of the incantations in *Maqlû* I 1–72 is presented here in a conflated transliteration that mostly reflects the form of the text as found in the various Neo-Assyrian manuscripts from Nineveh; any more substantial variants are noted.

- 1 ÉN *al-si-ku-nu-ši ilū*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *mu-ši-ti*
- 2 *it-ti-ku-nu al-si mu-ši-tum kal-la-tum kut-tum-tum*
- 3 *al-si ba-ra-ri-tum qab-li-tum u na-ma-ri-tum*
- 4 *áš-šú munuskaššāptu*(UŠ₁₁.ZU) *ú-kaš-šip-an-ni*
- 5 *e-le-ni-tum ub-bi-ra-an-ni*
- 6 *ilī*(DINGIR-MU) *ú* ⁴*ištārī*(IŠ₈.TÁR-MU) *ú-šes-su-ú elīya*(UGU-MU)

14 Within the framework of our collaboration on the *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals* Tzvi Abusch has also granted me access to his unpublished catalogue of anti-witchcraft rituals and his provisional editions of relevant texts. The work on this article has greatly benefited from using these materials, and I would like to thank Tzvi for his generosity; still, any mistakes are mine alone.

15 Abusch (1987: 85–147; 2002: 219–247, 249–269, 271–286).

16 Most importantly, the collation of the original confirmed that the detached small fragment copied as the top part of the obverse in STT 83 (SU 52–77) must be placed, as Abusch had suspected, below the upper SU 52–33 fragment.

17 The following manuscripts of the ritual tablet have so far been identified (included here are new handcopies): K 2385 + 3331 + 3584 + 3645 + 7274 + 7586 + 8033 + 11603, K 2961 (both Nineveh, Neo-Assyrian script; see figs. 1–4, pp. 328–330); SU 52–33 + 52–77 (+) SU 52–33 + 52–77 + 52–119 (Sultantepe, Neo-Assyrian script, first published as STT 83; see figs. 5–6, pp. 331–332); K 8879 + Sm 229 + 499 + 929 + 1194 (+) Sm 139 (+) Sm 1901 (Nineveh, Neo-Babylonian script; see figs. 7–8, pp. 333–334); BM 46972 (Babylon(?), Late Babylonian; see figs. 9–10, pp. 335); and VAT 4103 (unprovenanced, Neo-Babylonian script; see figs. 11–12, pp. 336–337; first published by Meier 1966: pls. 11–12). Thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum, London, and the directors of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, and of the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, Ankara, for the permission to work in their collections.

- 7 *eli*(UGU) *a-mi-ri-ia₅ am-ru-uš a-na-ku*¹⁸
- 8 *em-de-ku la ša-la-lu mūša*(GI₆) *ù ur-ra*
- 9 *qu-ú im-ta-na-al-lu-ú pī*(KA)-*ia*¹⁹
- 10 *ú-pu-un-ti pīya*(KA-MU) *ip-ru-su*
- 11 *mē*(A.MEŠ) *maš-ti-ti-ia₅ ú-maṭ-ṭu-ú*
- 12 *e-le-li nu-bu-ú ḫi-du-ti si-ip-di*
- 13 *i-zi-za-nim-ma ilū*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *rabūtu*(GAL.MEŠ) *ši-ma-a da-ba-bi*
- 14 *di-ni di-na a-lak-ti lim-da*
- 15 *e-pu-uš šalam*(NU) ¹⁴*kaššāpīya*(UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU) *ú* ^{munus}*kaššāpīya*(UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU)
- 16 *ša e-piš-ia₅ ú muš-te-piš-ti-ia₅*
- 17 *áš-kun ina šap-li-ku-nu-ma a-dab-bu-ub di-ni*
- 18 *áš-šú i-pu-ša lem-né-e-ti iš-te-a-a la ba-na-a-ti*
- 19 *ši-i li-mut-ma a-na-ku lu-ub-luṭ*
- 20 *kiš-pu-ša ru-ḫu-ša ru-su-ú-ša lu-pa-áš-ru*
- 21 ^{GI8}*bīnu*(ŠINIG) *lil-lil-an-ni ša qim-ma-tú ša-ru-ú*
- 22 ^{GI8}*gišimmaru*(GIŠIMMAR) *lip-šur-an-ni ma-ḫi-rat ka-lu-ú šāri*(IM)
- 23 ⁴*maštaka*(IN.NU.UŠ) *li-bi-ban-ni ša eršeta*(KI-tim) *ma-la-a-ta*
- 24 ^{GI8}*terinnatu*(ŠE.Û.SUḪ₃) *lip-šur-an-ni ša še'a*(ŠE.AM) *ma-la-a-ta*
- 25 *ina maḫ-ri-ku-nu e-te-lil ki-ma* ⁴*sassati*(KI.KAL)
- 26 *e-te-bi-ib az-za-ku ki-ma la-ár-di*
- 27 *tu-ú-ša ša* ^{munus}*kaššāpti*(UŠ₁₁.ZU) *le-mut-te*
- 28 *tu-ur-rat amās*(INIM)-*sa ana pī*(KA)-*ša lišān*(EME)-*ša ka-aš-rat*
- 29 *ina muḫḫi*(UGU) *kiš-pi-ša lim-ḫa-šu-ši ilū*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *mu-ši-ti*
- 30 *šalāš*(3) *maššarātu*(EN.NUN.MEŠ) *ša mu-ši lip-šu-ru ru-ḫe-ša lem-nu-ti*
- 31 *pū*(KA)-*ša lu-ú lipū*(Ī.UDU) *lišān*(EME)-*ša lu-ú tābtu*(MUN)
- 32 *ša iq-bu-ú amāt*(INIM) *lemuttī*(ḪUL-ti)-*ia₅ ki-ma lipī*(Ī.UDU) *lit-ta-tuk*
- 33 *ša i-pu-šú kiš-pi ki-ma tābti*(MUN)²⁰ *liš-ḫar-miṭ*
- 34 *ki-iš-ru-ša pu-uṭ-ṭu-ru ep-še-tu-ša ḫul-lu-qa*
- 35 *kal a-ma-tu-ša ma-la-a*²¹ *šēra*(EDIN)
- 36 *ina qī-bit iq-bu-ú ilū*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *mu-ši-ti* TU₆ ÉN

- 1 Incantation: 'I invoke you, gods of the night,
- 2 with you I invoke the night, the veiled bride,
- 3 I invoke dusk, midnight and dawn!
- 4 Because the witch bewitched me,
- 5 (because) the "mendacious one" accused me,
- 6 (because) she drove my god and my goddess away from me,

18 Note that the variant *am-ru-šu* in 82–5–22, 508 obv. 6 is a ventive form in *-u*, not a subjunctive; *pace* Abusch (1987: 122–123); cf. *am-ra-ša* in A 43 obv. 7'.

19 For *pīya* (nom.-acc.) vs. *pīya* (genitive) in Standard Babylonian, see n. 53.

20 Note that STT 78 obv. i 34 has *kīma*(GIM) *kīrbān*(LAGx) *tābtu*(MUN) *ina mē*(A.MEŠ) 'like a lump of salt in water'.

21 Note that STT 78 obv. i 35 has a precative form here (*lim-la-a*), but the expected stative in the preceding line.

- 7 I have become offensive to (anyone) who sees me,
 8 I suffer from sleeplessness night and day.
 9 Threads fill up my mouth more and more,
 10 they have cut off the flour, (the food) of my mouth,
 11 they have minimized the amount of water I can drink.
 12 My joyous song is wailing, my rejoicing is mourning.
 13 Be present, great gods, and listen to my pleading,
 14 grant me a judgement, learn about what befell me!
 15 I have made figurines representing my warlock and witch,
 16 representing my sorcerer and sorceress,
 17 I have placed (them) beneath you to plead my case:
 18 Because she practised evil, kept seeking bad things,
 19 let her die, but let me live!
 20 May her witchcraft, her sorceries, her magic be undone!
 21 May the tamarisk whose crown is luxuriant cleanse me,
 22 may the date-palm which withstands all wind release me,
 23 may the soapwort which fills the earth purify me,
 24 may the pine cone which is filled with seed release me!
 25 Before you I have become clean as *sassatu*-grass,
 26 I have become pure, I have become clear as *lardu*-grass.
 27 Her spell is that of an evil witch,
 28 (but) her word is returned to her mouth, her tongue is tied.
 29 May the gods of the night strike her on account of her witchcraft,
 30 may the three watches of the night undo her sorceries.
 31 Let her mouth be tallow, let her tongue be salt:
 32 let (her mouth) that spoke evil against me drip away like tallow,
 33 let (her tongue) that performed witchcraft dissolve like salt.
 34 Her knots are untied, her machinations are wiped out,
 35 all her words fill the steppe—
 36 by the command which the gods of the night spoke!’ Incantation formula.

Let us briefly recapitulate the overall structure of the text, which now readily reveals its character. At the beginning of the text, ll. 1–3, stands the invocation of the astral deities, of the deified night and of the personified watches of the night, and thereby, with the very first lines, the whole temporal extent of the ritual is envisioned.²² This is followed in ll. 4–12 by

22 The commentaries provide information on which deities were associated by first millennium scholars with these lines. The deified night was identified with Gula according to KAR 94 obv. 4’–5’ // A 405 = Ass. 15955 ii rev. 7’–8’. For the gods of the night two possible interpretations are preserved in the commentaries. With help of dupl. A 405 rev. 5’–6’, KAR 94 obv. 1’–3’ can be restored as follows (coll.): ‘*ša-niš ana* ^{mul}MUL’ [^{mul}GUD.AN.NA ^{mul}SIPA.ZI.AN.NA], *i-qab-bi šal-’šiš*’ [ana MUL.MEŠ], *ka-a-a-ma-nu-ti* [i-qab-bi] ‘secondly, he says (it) to the Pleiades, [Taurus (and) Orion]; thirdly, [he says (it) to] the regular [stars].’ The preceding line in A 405 is only fragmentarily preserved, but collation of the original shows that the first possible interpretation simply associated the gods of the night with the stars as the astral manifestations of the great gods: ‘DINGIR.MEŠ *mu-ši-tu* MUL.MEŠ’ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ. I would like to thank E. Frahm for discussing with me his reading and interpretation of these lines. Thanks are also due to Director Zeynep Kızıltan and Curator Asuman Dönmez, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, for their kind support and permission to collate A 405.

the patient’s complaint describing the actions of the witch and their dire consequences.²³ Lines 13–14 contain the initial plea for the presence of the gods as judges of the patient’s ritual lawsuit, while ll. 15–17 describe the patient’s actions in preparing the following ritual. In ll. 18–24 the patient actually pleads his case and asks for his purification and acquittal, a section that is immediately followed by a confident announcement of the desired verdict: The patient is purified and the evil is returned to the witch (ll. 25–28). Lines 29–33 add a final plea for the annihilation of the witch; with the words ‘Let her mouth be tallow, let her tongue be salt: let (her mouth) that spoke evil against me drip away like tallow, let (her tongue) that performed witchcraft dissolve like salt,’ these lines clearly refer to ritual actions to be performed during the recitation of the text. The incantation then concludes with the statement that the witch’s machinations are undone once and for all. From these final lines we learn that the text with its references to the night and its three watches not only alludes to the following proceedings, but that it actually anticipates the entire ritual; the structure of the opening incantation—invocation, ritual actions, plea and verdict—reflects the basic dynamics of *Maqlû* as a whole. Like an opera’s overture the text is not merely the first recitation, but it presents a programme and summary of the following performance. This interpretation of the opening incantation is now confirmed by the ritual tablet, whose still very fragmentary beginning reads:²⁴

1 ‘*e*’-nu-ma ‘*né-pe-ši šá ma-aq-lu*’-[*ú teppušu* x x x x x x x x x x]

gap of approximately 2–3 lines of about 24 signs each

2’ [x x] x [*gap of approximately 21 signs*

3’ [^uG]IG KA.LUH.Ú^{sic}.D[A’ *teppuš* *gap of approximately 16 signs*

4’ ^{lu}GIG ^{gis}ŠINIG u mul-[i]l’ *gap of approximately 8 signs*

5’ [*space for approximately 10 signs*] x

6’ ÉN al-si-ku-n[u-š]i šalāššū(3-šú) talimannu(ŠID-nu)

7’ x [*space for approximately 10 signs*] x-e

8’ šá iq-bu-u a-mat lemutti(HUL-tim)-ia i-kaš-šá-dam-ma

9’ [gizillā(GI.IZI.LÁ) ina(?) išā]t(IZ)I’ kibrīti(PEŠ₁₀.⁴ÍD) t[a’-qàd-m]a’ šalam(NU) lipi(Ī.UDU)

10’ tābta(MUN) ina pī(KA)-šú tašakkan(GAR) šalma(NU) ina ap-pi gizilli(‘GI’.IZI.‘LÁ’) tašakkan(GAR)-ma

11’ [ina muḥ-h]i ^{duḡ}burzigalli(BUR.ZI.GAL) [it-t]a-na-at-tuk

12’ ÉN ‘al’-[s]i-ku-nu-ši tu-q[ar’-t]i’-ma

13’ gizillā(‘GI’.IZI.LÁ’) a-di ^{du}[^gburz]igalli(BUR.ZI.GAL) a-n[a bābi(KÁ) tušeššē(Ē)-ma(?) tuš]-ken

23 In my view there is no justification for the assumption that the witch is described in neutral terms within this section of the incantation; see Schwemer (2007a: 142–144), *pace* Abusch (1987: 133–134).

24 The reconstruction of the text is based on SU 52–33 + 52–77(+) obv. 1’–7’ (= ll. 2’–13’) and K 8879(+) Sm 139(+) obv. i 1’–9’ (= ll. 5’–13’). The first line is reconstructed following the quotation of its incipit in the catalogue VAT 13723(+) obv. i 13’; edition: Geller (2000: 226–234).

(¹)When [you perform] the ritual proceedings of *Maqlû*: [...] — gap —
 (²)[...] ... [...]. (³)[You perform] the ‘washing of the mouth’ rite [on the pa]tient.
 [...]. (⁴)The patient [...] tamarisk wood and a *mull*[*ilu-aspergillum* ...].
 (⁵)[...] (⁶)You/He recite(s) the incantation ‘I invoke you’ three times. [...].
 (⁷)... [...] (⁸)When he reaches (the words) ‘Let (her mouth) that spoke evil against
 me’, (⁹)y[*ou light a torch with*] sulphur [*fir*]e. A figurine of tallow: (¹⁰)you put salt in its
 mouth. You place the figurine on the tip of the torch, and (¹¹)[it d]rips away [ove]r a large
 bowl. (¹²)You *fi[ni]sh(!?)*²⁵ the incantation ‘I invoke you’. Then (¹³)[*you take*] the torch
 together with the large bowl [out] thr[ough *the gate*;²⁶ *then you pros*]trate yourself.

This section as it stands could have constituted an anti-witchcraft ritual of its own: The patient is cleansed, an incantation is recited, a figurine of the witch is melted and the leftovers are disposed of outside the house. Leaving the house for this purpose is otherwise prescribed only on two other occasions within *Maqlû*: After the recitation of *Isá isá*, the last incantation of tablet V (ritual tablet, l. 91'), where it marks the end of the series of burnings in the *huluppaqu* crucible, and after surrounding the patient's bed with a magic circle, marking the beginning of the morning section of the ritual (ritual tablet, l. 139'). The disposal of ritual materials outside the house therefore should be interpreted as marking a major caesura within the proceedings: Just as the opening incantation anticipates the whole ritual, the accompanying actions represent a self-contained anti-witchcraft ritual.

The following lines in the ritual tablet (ll. 14'–18') are frustratingly fragmentary. It seems that offerings (for the gods of the night?) are set up after the exorcist's return to the house and that the proceedings included another recitation, quite possibly of the opening incantation.

An Irreversible Verdict in the Underworld and the Purity of Heaven:

Maqlû I 37–41 and 42–49

After another paragraph ruling the ritual tablet gives instructions for the recitation of the second and third incantation of *Maqlû*:²⁷

25 The reading *tu-q[at-i]-ma* is very uncertain, especially since one would expect a present tense form (*tuqatta*). For the phrase, cf. KAR 90 (ritual tablet *Ilī ul īde*) rev. 4–6: ÉN *i-lī ul i-de še-ret-ka dan-nat tu-šad-bab-šū ina muhhi(UGU) šipat(ÉN) ḏIštar(15) šur-bu-t[i]*, 'i'-kaš-šā-dam-ma sebet(7) šalmi(NU.MEŠ) šā lipi(Ī.UDU) ina muhhi(UGU) nap-pa-ti taqallu(GĪBIL), ÉN *i-lī ul i-de tu-qat-ta-ma tadabbub(DU₁₁.DU₁₁-ub)* 'You have him recite the incantation "My god, I do not know (my sin), your punishment is (so) severe". When he arrives at (the words) "Incantation of gre[at] Ištar" you burn the seven figurines of tallow in the *nappaṭu*-oven. You recite the incantation "My god, I did not know" to its very end.' Note, however, that the phrase *šipat Ištar šurbūti* forms no part of the attested version of *Ilī ul īde* (Lambert 1974: 274–276, ll. 23–39). It can of course not be excluded that ÉN ḏI5 *šur-bu-t[i]* should be understood as an incipit; so Lambert (1974: 269) and Mayer (1976: 392). However, then the patient would reach the incipit of another incantation in the process of reciting *Ilī ul īde*; perhaps the text is corrupt.

26 For this restoration, cf. ritual tablet ll. 91' and 139'; in both lines the disposal of ritual materials outside the house is introduced by the phrase *ana bābi tušeššēma*. Note that after a ruling, SU 52–33 + 52–77(+) obv. 8' continues the text with the words *ana bīti(É) x [...]* '[you return (or: enter)] to the house [...].'

27 The text is based on SU 52–33 + 52–77(+) obv. 12' and K 8879+(+) obv. i 15'–16'.

- 19' É[N *eršetu*(KI-*tum*) *eršetu*(KI-*tum*) *er*]šetum(K)[I-*tu*₄-*um*)-*ma mē*(A.MEŠ)
tattanaddi(ŠU[B].ŠUB⁷-*d*[i])
- 20' [ÉN *ālī*(URU-MU) *za*]b-⁷*ban*⁷ *ā*[l]ī(U[RU-M]U) *zab-ban* K[IMIN]
- 19' Incan[tation 'Underworld, underworld], oh [under]world!': You sprinkle water.
 20' [Incantation 'My city Zabban, m]y [city] Zabban': d[itto].

The fact that both incantations are accompanied by the same ritual action indicates that the two texts should be interpreted as a pair. Bearing this in mind it becomes obvious that the main concern of these two incantations is to imbed the ritual into its cosmic setting between underworld and heaven. The second incantation reads:

- 37 ÉN *eršetu*(KI-*tum*) *eršetu*(KI-*tum*) *eršetum*(KI-*tum*)-*ma*
 38 ḏ*gilgameš*(GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ) *bēl*(EN) *ma-mi-ti-ku-nu*
 39 *mim-mu-ú at-tu-nu te-pu-šá ana-ku i-di*
 40 *mim-mu-ú ana-ku ep-pu-šu at-tu-nu ul ti-da-a*
 41 *mim-mu-ú* ^{munus}*kaššāpātūya*(UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ-MU) *ip-pu-šá e-ga-a pa-ṭi-ra*
pa-ši-ra ul(NU) *irašši*(TUK-*ši*)²⁸ TU₆ ÉN
- 37 Incantation: 'Underworld, Underworld, oh Underworld!
 38 Gilgameš is the lord of your ban!
 39 Whatever you have done, I know,
 40 (but) what I am going to do, you do not know!
 41 Whatever my witches do, there will be nobody (lit. will not get someone)
 who disregards, releases (or) undoes (it).' Incantation formula.

The opening line invokes the personified underworld; then the speaker addresses the sorcerers directly (2nd pl. masc.): Gilgameš, the judge of the netherworld, will enforce the ban, the curse (*māmītu*) that they have brought upon themselves through their criminal acts (cf. *Šurpu* II 68). The invocation of Gilgameš as a god who ensures that the sorcerers are banned to the netherworld is attested from the Old Babylonian period onwards. A Sumerian anti-witchcraft incantation mentions Gilgameš as the one who guarantees that the witch will not escape the netherworld:²⁹

- 30 'uš⁷-ZU níg-ak 'uš⁷-hul-dím-ma-ni
 31 ḏbil-ga-mes-⁷e⁷ [k]a-kéš-bi ù-me-du₈
 32 ki-⁷maḥ⁷-túm-ma-na [b]a[r⁷-š]è⁷ 'na-an-ši-in-te⁷-ge₂₆
- 30 (As for) her witchcraft, machinations (and) evil sorcery:
 31 when Gilgameš will have released that bond,
 32 in her grave, to which she was carried off, she will certainly not approach
 (anyone) outside.

28 STT 78 obv. i 42 has *i-šá-a* instead of TUK-*ši*; A 43 obv. 30' has syllabic *i-ra-⁷aš-ši*.

29 Edition: Geller (1989: 194–200, ll. 30–32; OB and MB mss.); cf. also *ibid.* l. 41'; KUB 37.109: 4' = *ibid.*: 202; and KBo 36.13 rev. col. 15'. The transliteration follows Geller; for the interpretation of *ki-⁷maḥ⁷-túm-ma-na*, see Wilcke (1973: 12); for the *na-* prohibitive indicating a categorical negation, see Attinger (1993: 290).

A number of Akkadian anti-witchcraft rituals involve Gilgameš in his function as king, judge and boatman of the netherworld:³⁰ The ritual KAR 227 (and duplicates) addresses Gilgameš, the underworld judge, besides Šamaš, the Anunnakki and two ghosts in its quest to ban the sorcerers to the netherworld.³¹ An unpublished ušburruda ritual for sending the sorcerers to the netherworld involves Gilgameš and Ḫumuṭ-tabal, both known as ferrymen of the dead.³² Anti-witchcraft incantations accuse witches of having entrusted the patient to Gilgameš so that he would guide him away across the underworld river Ḫubur.³³ An ušburruda incantation begins with the words ‘Gilgameš, king of the wide earth, unbribeable judge’ (SpTU 2, 25 rev. 25). Note that within *Maqlû* the references to Gilgameš seem to be restricted to the incantations; there is no evidence that a figurine representing Gilgameš would have been used, as attested for other rituals.³⁴

In ll. 39–40 the speaker continues addressing his evildoers directly. They will not be able to defend themselves against the ritual that will now be performed. The mirror-image structure that is so characteristic of anti-witchcraft rituals implies that knowing the ways by which the patient has been harmed is a prerequisite for adequately countering them: *scientia potentia est*. The patient has been empowered by the exorcist’s professional diagnosis, but his sorcerers will be hit unawares.³⁵

The last line does not form part of the direct speech, but reports on the witches’ ultimate fate: The self-inflicted curse (*māmītu*), enforced by Gilgameš, will never be undone. The witches have received their irreversible verdict in the netherworld whose prisoners they will remain. The change from referring to the warlocks and witches collectively in the 2nd pl. masc. (ll. 38–40) to the focus on the witches alone in l. 41 need not, in my view, imply that two different groups of evildoers are referred to; rather, it may reflect the combination of various textual snippets in the composition of this incantation; and I cannot see any indication in the text whatsoever that the sorcerers of ll. 38–40 are regarded as dead persons or spectres who are already residents of the netherworld.³⁶ While it

30 For these roles of divine Gilgameš, see generally George (2003: 127–135); for the relationship between anti-witchcraft rituals and Gilgameš, see Abusch (2002: 107–110) and Parpola (1983: 204).

31 For the text, see Abusch (1986: 150–151 with nn. 3–4); for a recent translation of the opening section of the text, see George (2003: 134–135).

32 BM 47806+; see Schwemer (forthcoming b).

33 See Abusch & Schwemer (2009), commentary on O 193 obv. ii 5 for the relevant attestations; cf. BAM 231(+) obv. i 16; for a full edition of the text, see Abusch & Schwemer (forthcoming) text 8.7.

34 The letter ABL 56 (= SAA 10, 274; Parpola 1970 and 1983: no. 208) refers to a performance of *Maqlû* at the end of the month Abu and, within this context, also mentions the rites of the 28th(?) day of the month; the latter involve a figurine of Gilgameš (rev. 5–6), but there is no evidence that it was used for the performance of *Maqlû*, *pace* George (2003: 133); for a discussion of this letter, see Abusch (2002: 108).

35 As noted by Abusch (2002: 228), this motif of the patient’s superior knowledge occurs also in the phrase *anāku idēma attakil takālu* ‘I know (about it), so I have gained confidence’ in *Maqlû* VI 129⁺, 137⁺, 145⁺ and 154⁺.

36 Thus Abusch (2002: 225–228). Note that I also do not share the notion expressed there that the witches are perceived as spirits in the incantation *Isā isā* (*Maqlû* V 158–175). The ritual adjuration (*nīs...tamātumu*) places its object under an oath to depart and not to return. Usually these formulae are employed within the context of sending and banning someone to the netherworld; this type of ritual oath is therefore often found in ghost rituals; see Scurlock (2006: 25–26). It is also employed against various demons and (demonized) diseases. This, however, does not imply that those adjured and taken under oath are, like ghosts, necessarily inhabitants of the underworld from the start. Within *Maqlû* the incantation *Isā isā* with its oath formulae certainly refers to sending the witches to the netherworld, but I cannot see any clear indication in the text that it should refer to spectral witches. The adoption of ritual elements typically used for sending off ghosts within anti-witchcraft contexts does not presuppose that the witches were perceived as ghosts.

is true that the meristic figures of the incantations refer to the accused warlock or witch as ‘man or woman, dead or living’,³⁷ there is, to my knowledge, no evidence at all for anti-witchcraft rituals explicitly performed against dead evildoers, nor do I find the interpretation of *Maqlû* II 119–123 as a plea to Girra to authorize the disinterment of dead witches persuasive.³⁸ The vocabulary used in the incantation is very unspecific: *makkūru* is a general term for property, including real estate, and has no specific connotation pointing to a meaning ‘grave furnishings’; *būšu* is the general word for movable property, and I know of no contexts that would lend it a specific meaning ‘grave goods’. More difficult is *ma-na-ḫa-te-šū-nu* in l. 121, but in view of the two preceding lines and the idiomatic verbal phrase *eli...rabāšu* ‘gain possession of ...’,³⁹ it seems much more plausible to interpret the form as *mānaḫātēšunu*, ‘their goods’,⁴⁰ than to derive it from the rare *manāḫtu*, ‘resting place’.⁴¹ If, as argued here, there are no clear references to graves or the netherworld in ll. 119–121, there is little reason to assume that *é-kur* in l. 123 would refer to the netherworld rather than to the main Babylonian sanctuary and temple of Enlil, a fitting abode for Girra, who is equated with Enlil’s vizier Nuska in *Maqlû*.⁴² The whole passage should not be understood as referring to an alleged disinterment of the witches, but as a description of the sorcerers’ defeat in images of social degradation, poverty and the resulting restlessness and need.⁴³

119 *dan-nu ma-ak-kur-šū-nu šu-ul-qi*

120 *šu-ut-bil bu-šā-šū-nu ek-ke-e-ma*

121 *eli(ugu) ma-na-ḫa-te-šū-nu ḫab-ba-ta šur-bi-iš*

37 See Schwemer (2007a: 73 with n. 17); add K 8183: 5 to the references given there.

38 Thus Abusch (2002: 231–234).

39 See CAD R: 12, 2. b, for the relevant attestations.

40 *mānaḫtu*, ‘toil’, following AHW: 602a, in the pl. also ‘goods’ (< gains of toil); cf. especially the attestations in omen texts quoted by CAD M/1: 206, 3. e, under the meaning ‘installations, equipment’.

41 For *manāḫtu*, see GAG²: §56c; Abusch (2002: 232–233, n. 50). Note that there are only two reasonably clear attestations of this word: (1) the commemorative inscription of Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē; cf. CAD M/1: 206b, but note that Wiggermann (2008: 221–222) in his recent edition of the text argues for a derivation from *mānaḫtu*; (2) the passage OIP 2, 52: 35 (cf. CAD loc. cit.), the interpretation of which is not without problems either.

42 It is questionable whether the Ekur ever serves as a designation of the netherworld, *pace* AHW: 196a, following Tallqvist (1934: 32). Especially in bilingual incantations the Ekur is one of the places from which demons come forth. As rightly pointed out by Schramm (2008: 215), Enlil is sometimes mentioned within this context as the god who sends out these demons; therefore Ekur certainly refers to his temple (as a cosmic locality) in these contexts. The later attestations in Akkadian literature clearly depend on the older tradition, and a close reading of the relevant contexts shows that there too Ekur refers to Enlil’s temple rather than the underworld (Horowitz 1998: 294–295). There are, however, sources which suggest that Enlil himself was associated with the netherworld in periods predating the textual record, and the name of his temple may reflect this association with the netherworld (Katz 2003: 440–442); cf. the lexical evidence for *é-kur-bad*, ‘distant mountain house’, adduced by Horowitz (1998: 270–271). Unsurprisingly, witchcraft, the perversion of the exorcistic art, according to this line of thought, was regarded as having originated from Enki’s realm, the subterranean ocean, rather than from Enlil’s Ekur; see Schwemer (forthcoming a), note on BM 47451 obv. 10.

43 For the motif of restlessness being imposed upon the sorcerers, cf. *Maqlû* IV 93–94: *mušītu kallatu kuttumtu kakkašunu lišbirma lā šalālu līmissunūte*, ‘May the night, the veiled bride, break their weapon and impose restlessness upon them’.

- 122 ^d*gira ez-zu gīt-ma-lum ra-šub-bu*
 123 *ina é-kur a-šar tal-lak-ti-ka e tu-šap-ših-šú-nu-ti a-di sur-riš*⁴⁴
 119 Let a powerful man take their property,
 120 let a thief carry off their valuables,
 121 let a robber gain possession of their goods!
 122 Fierce, perfect, awe-inspiring Girra,
 123 in the Ekur, where you walk about, do not give rest to them quickly!

On the surface there is little that connects *Ālī Zabban*, the third incantation of *Maqlû*, to the preceding text with its focus on the netherworld and the eternal ban that is imposed on the evildoers. But given that the ritual proceedings indicate that the two texts should be interpreted as a pair, it is significant that the second half of ‘My city Zabban’ establishes a firm link between the patient, the purity of heaven and the heavenly gods:

- 46 *a-na-ku e-ra ḥa-aš-ba* ^u*maštakal*(IN.NU.UŠ) *na-ša-ku*
 47 *a-na ilī*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *ša šamē*(AN-*e*) *mē*(A.MEŠ) *a-nam-din*
 48 *kīma*(GIM) *ana-ku ana ka-a-šú-nu ul-la-lu-ku-nu-ši*
 49 *at-tu-nu ia-a-ši ul-li-la-in-ni* TU₆ ÉN

- 46 I hold up a snapped off (twig of) *ēru*-wood (and) *maštakal*-soapwort,
 47 to the gods of heaven I give water (saying):
 48 “As I purify you for your sake,
 49 (so) you (oh gods), purify me!” Incantation formula.

With ‘Underworld, Underworld’ the patient directs his attention to the netherworld, then he looks up to heaven; and just as heaven and underworld form a pair, the two incantations complement each other. The interpretation of the first section of ‘My city Zabban’ is less obvious, though Abusch’s remark (2002: 265 and cf. 261–269) that Zabban ‘here in *Maqlû*... is a cosmic locale... that connects the earth, heavens, and the netherworld’ leads us in the right direction:⁴⁵

- 42 ÉN *ālī*(URU-MU) *zab-ban ālī*(URU-MU) *zab-ban*
 43 *ša ālīya*(URU-MU) *zab-ban šitta*(2.TA) *abullātū*(ABUL.MEŠ)-*šú*
 44 *ištēt*(1-*et*) *ana* ^u*utu-è ša-ni-tu ana* ^u*utu-šú-a*
 45 *ištēt*(1-*et*) *ana ši-it* ^a*šamši*(UTU-*ši*) *ša-ni-tu ana e-reb* ^a*šamši*(UTU-*ši*)

- 42 Incantation: ‘My city Zabban, my city Zabban:
 43 my city Zabban has two gates,
 44 one towards the sunrise, a second towards the sunset,
 45 one to the east, a second to the west.

44 Abusch (2002: 232) draws attention to a slip in Meier’s edition (1937) of l. 123 (Meier’s l. 122), where the preserved text actually reads: *e tu-šap-ših-šú-nu-ti* (K 2713+ obv. ii 10’; so already in Tallqvist’s edition). Interpretations of this line based on Meier, such as the one in CAD T: 98b, have to emend the preserved text.
 45 I am not convinced by Abusch’s attempts (2002: 264–265, 267–269) at associating Zabban with anything other than the actual city (city of the *zabbu*-ecstatic or equation with Mount Šaphon). The first is an ad hoc etymology that does not really explain anything, the second, while very learned, fails to explain why the incantation explicitly refers to a city, not to a mountain; note also that Mount Šaphon is not otherwise attested in Babylonian literature.

Any discussion of these lines has to start from the commentary on ll. 42–43 in KAR 94 obv. 19’–23’ (coll.), which, however, poses a number of difficulties. It seems worth pointing out that the mere existence of a commentary offering several explanations of these lines indicates that their meaning was far from obvious to Babylonian and Assyrian scholars.

- 19’ *ālī*(URU) *zab-ban ālī*(URU) *zab-ban ša ālīya*(URU-MU) *zab-ban šitta*(2)
abullātū(ABUL.MEŠ)-*š[ú]*
 20’ NU \ *ma-a zab-ban ana mu-^{bi}-^{ra}-^a-ti nadi*(ŠUB-*di*) *šitta*(2)
abullātū(ABUL.MEŠ)-*šú*
 21’ *ma-a a-na ḥul-pa-qim-ma ma-ši-il*
 22’ *ša ina lib-bi ut-napišti*(ZI)(??) *ana ša-šú-ma*^{??}(š) *iq-bu-u*
 23’ *ma-a ša imitti*(15) *zab-ban-ma ša šumēli*(150) KAR *kar-ku*
 19’ ‘My city Zabban, my city Zabban: my city Zabban has two gates’:
 20’ NU \ This means: Zabban is situated towards ...s;⁴⁶ it has two gates.
 21’ This means: It is similar to the *ḥuluppaqu*-crucible;
 22’ *what he said to him in Ūta-napišti*.⁴⁷
 23’ This means: the one on the right is Zabban; the one on the left is ⁴⁸

Much of this remains enigmatic, but ll. 20’ and 23’ indicate that the actual location and layout of the city of Zabban form the background of its description in our incantation. The city of Zabban in the region of the Jebel Hamrin apparently had unique, unusual fortifications and was surrounded by a city-wall with only two gates that formed a western and an eastern access to the city.⁴⁹ In the incantation the city’s unusual fortifications are used as a cosmic image. The sun passes through the two cosmic gates in the east and west, and the course of the sun includes heaven and underworld, the two cosmic spheres with which the two incantations are concerned; Zabban itself serves as a metaphor for the surface of the earth. The comparison with the *ḥuluppaqu*-crucible (l. 21’) puts this burning vessel, which plays a prominent role in the ritual proceedings of *Maqlû*, in place of the city. Perhaps the stand of the crucible had two gate-like openings, or, as Maul suggests (personal communication), the two ‘gates’ of the *ḥuluppaqu* might refer to two spouts on opposite sides of the bowl of the crucible. If the latter, the bowl of the crucible would presumably symbolize the surface of the earth, and the indirect comparison with Zabban would imply that the city’s fortifications were circular.

46 Uncertain *mu-^{bi}-^{ra}-^a-ti* is perhaps corrupt for *mušēbirāti* (see CAD M/2: 263); note the error-mark NU on the left margin; for this mark, see Abusch & Schwemer (2009), comments on O 193 rev. iii 10’, with further literature.

47 This is no more than a desperate attempt at making sense of this difficult line. It is not clear to me to which literary work a title *Ūta-napišti* would refer. Of course one thinks of the flood-myth, but what would be the point of comparison? Note that KAR 94 uses *ana libbi* to denote in which tablet of *Maqlû* the quoted passages occur (*ina libbi alsikunūši* for tablet I, etc.).

48 KAR *kar-ku* should probably be interpreted as a place-name, perhaps *Kār-karku*.

49 For the localization and history of Zabban (Simurram), see RGTC 5: 279–280 and Frayne (1997).

A Commission between Heaven and Earth: *Maqlû* I 50–60

Akla nēberu, the fourth incantation of *Maqlû*, further explores the cosmic theme introduced by the two preceding incantations; the text reads:

- 50 ÉN *ak-la né-bé-ru ak-ta-li ka-a-ru*
 51 *ak-li ip-ši-ši-na šá ka-li-ši-na ma-ta-a-ti*
 52 ^d*a-num u an-tum iš-pu-ru-in-ni*
 53 *man-nu lu-uš-pur a-na* ^d*be-let-šēri*(EDIN)
 54 *ana pī*(KA) ^{lū}*kaššāpīya*(UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU) *u* ^{munus}*kaššāpīya*(UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU) *i-di-i*
ḫar-gul-li
 55 *i-di-i šipās*(ÉN)-*su šá apkal*(ABGAL) *ilī*(DINGIR.MEŠ) ^d*marduk*(AMAR.UTU)
 56 *lil-sa-ki-ma la tap-pa-li-ši-na-a-ti*
 57 *liq-ba-nik-kim-ma la ta-šem-mi-ši-na-a-t[i]*
 58 *lu-ul-si-ki-ma a-pu-ul-in-ni*
 59 *lu-ṣu-ḫa-ki-ma ši-min₄-ni ia-a-š[i]*
 60 *ina qí-bit iq-bu-ū* ^d*a-num an-tum u* ^d*be-let-šēri*(EDIN) TU₆ ÉN

- 50 Incantation: ‘I have blocked the ford, I have blocked the quay,
 51 I have blocked their sorceries (coming) from all the lands!
 52 Anu and Antu have sent me—
 53 whom should I send to Bēlet-šēri (saying)’⁵⁰
 54 “On the mouth of my warlock and my witch put a lock,
 55 put the incantation of the sage of the gods, Marduk!”?
 56 Should they invoke you, do not answer them,
 57 should they speak to you, do not listen to them.
 58 Let me invoke you, then answer me,
 59 let me speak to you, then listen to me—
 60 by the command which Anu, Antu and Bēlet-šēri spoke.’ Incantation formula.

The setting of the incantation is neither the underworld nor heaven; rather it is firmly grounded in the world of the living, exploring the patient’s situation: Like a city under siege he has blocked all the access ways in order to thwart his enemies’ attacks. But then the cosmic theme introduced by the preceding incantations is further developed: The patient in his city is located between heaven and earth. The heavenly gods Anu and Antu, with whom he is allied, have commissioned him to fight the sorcerers. But the destruction and death of the witches must be enforced by the powers of the netherworld, here personified by the goddess Bēlet-šēri, the divine scribe of queen Ereškigal’s palace and, presumably, at the juridical court over which judge Gilgameš presides.⁵¹ After the rhetorical *mannu lušpur*, ‘Whom should I send?’, question, the patient addresses Bēlet-šēri directly in the final lines and asks her for her help.

50 Abusch (2002: 251) interprets l. 53 as the direct speech of Anu and Antu, but this is difficult to square with the clear first sg. *lušpur*; the fact that the *mannu lušpur* formula is usually put in the mouth of the speaker of the incantation also militates against this hypothesis; for the formula, see Farber (1990).

51 For Bēlet-šēri’s role in the netherworld, see *Gilgameš* VII 204–205 (George 2003: 483, 644–645) and CT 23, 15–22+ obv. i 35’ with duplicate (Scurlock 2006: 185–186).

A look at the pertinent passage of the ritual tablet confirms that the main concern of this incantation is to create a protected space from which the patient can carry out his heavenly commission; it reads:⁵²

- 21' É[N *ak-la né-b*]é-[*ru ina*² *g*]ašši(I)M.BABBAR) *u mašḫa*[*ti*](ZÌ.MAD.G[Á])
 22' *zisurrá*(“ZÌ”.SUR.RA-a) *ḫu-lu-up-paq-qi te-šer*

(21')In[can]tation ‘I blocked the ford’: With] gypsum and flour (22')you draw a magic circle around the crucible.

On the horizontal level the magic circle is to protect the patient from the ongoing attacks like a city-wall; it blocks and holds off anything that may approach the patient from outside. At the same time he has allied himself with the powers above who authorize him and with the powers below who are ready to pass their fatal verdict on his evildoers.

Stand Still, World, Pay Heed: *Maqlû* I 61–72

The fifth incantation of *Maqlû* adds yet another facet to the preparation of the patient for the long battle against his opponents during the following night. First, the text takes up the commission theme, thereby drawing a clear line to the preceding incantation; also Marduk-Asalluḫi, the divine exorcist, is referred to again:

- 61 ÉN *šap-ra-ku al-lak u*²-*ú-ra-ku a-dab-bu-u*[*b*]
 62 *ana le-et* ^{lū}*kaššāpīya*(UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU) *u* ^{munus}*kaššāpīya*(UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU) ^d*asal-lú-ḫi*
bēl(EN) *a-ši-pu-ti iš-pur-an*-[*nī*]

- 61 Incantation: ‘I am sent, so I shall go, I have a commission, so I shall speak;
 62 against my warlock and witch Asalluḫi, the lord of exorcism, sent me.

But then the speaker turns his attention to the world around him, to heaven and earth, to the birds, to the fish, to the animals and the people living on dry land:

- 63 *šá šamē*(AN-e) *qu-la šá eršeti*(KI-tim) *ši-ma-a*
 64 *šá nāri*(ÍD) *qu-la-ni šá na-ba-li ši-ma-a pīya*(“KA-ia”)⁵³
 65 *šāru*(IM) *na-zi-qu tur-ru-uk e tal-lik*
 66 *šá* ^{gis}*ḫaṭṭi*(GIDRU) *u* ^{gis}*mar-te-e*⁵⁴ *tur-ru-uk la tal-lak*
 67 *li-iz-zi-iz ḫar-ra-nu mārat*(DUMU.MUNUS) *ilī*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *rabūti*(GAL.MEŠ)
 68 *a-di a-mat* [^{lū}]*kaššāpīya*(UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU) *u* ^{munus}*kaššāpīya*(UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU) *a-qab-bu-u*
 69 *alpu*(GU₄.NÍTA) *i-pa-áš-šar immeru*(UDU.NÍTA) *i-pa-áš-šar*

52 SU 52–33 + 52–77(+) obv. 13' // K 8879+(+) obv. i 17–18'.

53 Syllabic spellings indicate that the nom.-acc. bound form of *pū* before the possessive suffix of the first sg. is the simple stem (*pīya*) in Standard Babylonian rather than a triptotic formation (*pūya*, *pāya*, *pīya*). Within *Maqlû* cf. *pī-ia* in STT 78 obv. i 9 and BM 43826 + 43835 obv. i 3' (*Maqlû* I 9) and in Sm 741 + 2069(+) rev. iv 7' (*Maqlû* V 138, 139); cf. also *muṣsu pī-ia šutēšurā qātāya* in IV R² 17 + K 5326 + 16854 rev. 25 // KAL 2, 15 rev. iii 3 // Ki 1904–10–9, 108 rev. 3'. For a full edition, see Abusch & Schwemer (forthcoming) text 8.5.

54 So following STT 78 obv. ii 18; Si 14 obv. 10' has: *šá* ^{gis}GIDRU *šá mar-te-e*.

- 70 *a-mat-su-nu lip-pa-šir-ma a-ma-ti la ip-pa-áš-šar*
 71 *a-di a-māti a-qab-bu-ú a-mat-su-nu ana pān*(IGI) *amāīya*(INIM-MU)
ul(NU) iparrik(GIB)
 72 *ina qī-bīt* ⁴*asal-lú-ḫi bēl*(EN) *a-ši-pu-ti* TU₆ ÉN
 63 You in heaven, pay attention, you in the underworld, listen!
 64 You in the river, pay attention to me, you on dry land, listen to my speech!
 65 The howling wind is beaten: “You must not blow!”
 66 He who carries stick and rod is beaten: “Do not blow!”
 67 Let the road stand still, the daughter of the great gods!
 68 While I speak, the word of my warlock and witch,
 69 the ox will undo, the sheep will undo.⁵⁵
 70 Let their word be undone, but let my word not be undone!
 71 While I speak my word, their word will not lie in my word’s way—
 72 by the command of Asalluḫi, the lord of exorcism.’ Incantation formula.

The cosmos and all its inhabitants are requested to pause, to turn their attention to the patient and to listen to his plea. Even the divine Wind who is constantly on the move has to lie down and keep still. He who races across the land beating down everything in his path is now beaten down himself, and does not move anymore.⁵⁶ All traffic—the road, the daughter of the great gods—stops. The final lines of the incantation leave no doubt about the purpose of this general stillness. It creates a protected period of time within which patient and exorcist can act against the sorcerers without them being able to react. Since the whole world stands still in favour of the patient, the warlock’s and witch’s words cannot travel, cannot obstruct and overturn the

55 The exact significance of this line is still unclear to me. The following two lines from a dingiršadabba incantation shed some light on the role of at least the sheep in exorcistic rites: *alpu anākuma šammū ākul[u u]l īde, immeru anākuma pišerti a[pšuru u]l īde*: ‘I am an ox, I do [n]ot know the plants I eat, I am a sheep, I do [n]ot know the (ritual) undoing I effect’ (Lambert 1974: 284–285, ll. 2–3). The sheep is of course the standard sacrificial animal of anti-witchcraft and other exorcistic rituals, though oxen are not used for this purpose. It should be noted, however, that substances affected by witchcraft can be disposed of by feeding them to an ox, i.e., to an animal that proverbially does not know what it is eating (IV R² 59/1 rev. 22; Schwemer 2007a: 226; cf. for this motif also STT 75 rev. 38 // CAD A/1: 365a). One would expect that l. 69 here alludes to concrete ritual actions that were performed at the beginning of *Maqlû*. The fragmentary section of the ritual tablet that follows the opening rites accompanying the recitation of the first incantation includes the setting up of an offering arrangement: ...] *ana’ maḥar*(IGI) [...] *riksa*(KÉŠ) *tara-kās* (SU 52–33 + 52–77(+) obv. 8 // K 8879(+) obv. i 10’). The proceedings associated with this *riksu* may well have included the sacrifice of a sheep, though the preserved text says nothing about an ox.

56 Note that this beautiful image does not stem from the literary creativity of the present incantation’s author. It is rather one of the traditional boilerplates he used when composing the text, since an unpublished ušburruda incantation contains the very same lines in a different context: *ša šamē*(AN-e) *qu’-l[a-nin-ni]*, *ša eršeti*(K1-tim) *ši-ma’ nin’-ni šāru*(IM) *na’-zi-qu tu’-ru-uk’* [I a tal-lak], *mi-it-ga-ru-ṭu šārū*(IM).MEŠ) [I i-il-[li-ku-ni]: ‘You in heaven, pay attention [to me], you of the earth, listen to me! The howling wind is beaten: “Do not [blow]! May favourable winds [blow] to me!”’ (BM 38635 obv. 10–12 // Th 1905–4–9, 72 + 73 obv. ii 18’–19’ // 80–7–19, 146 + K 10559 + I 1993 + Sm 1330 obv. i 14’–15’); for a full edition, see Abusch & Schwemer (forthcoming) Text 8.8, 4. For standardized lines and groups of lines in the composition of incantations after the Old Babylonian period, see Farber (1990: 303) with further literature.

patient’s defensive ritual. The pertinent passage of the ritual tablet shows that the end of the opening section has been reached:⁵⁷

- 23’ [ÉN *šap-ra-ku al-lak šalam*(NU) ^{51s}*bī*ni(ŠI)NIG) *šalam*(NU) ^{51s}*erēni*(EREN)
 24’ *šalam*(NU) *lipī*(I.UDU)⁵⁸ *šalam*(NU) *iškūr*[i(DUḫ.LĀ[L] *šalam*(NU) *kups*]i
 (DUḫ.ŠE.GIŠ].T) *šalam*(NU) *ittī*(ESIR) *šalam*(NU) *gašši*(IM).BABBAR)
 25’ *šalam*(NU) *ḫidi*(IM) *šalam*(NU) *līši*(NÍG.ŠE.)SILA₁₁.GĀ) [*ina*² *mul*]*ḫi*(UGJU)²
ḫu-lu-up-paq-qī ta-sa-dir(-ma)] *tašakkan*(GAR-an)

(²³) [Incantation ‘I am sent, so I shall go’: A figurine of tamar]isk wood, (a figurine) of cedar wood, (²⁴) a figurine of tallow, a figurine of wa[x, a figurine of sesame poma]ce, a figurine of bitumen, a figurine of gypsum, (²⁵) a figurine of clay, a figurine of dough you arrange in a row [*o*]n the burning vessel.

This is the final preparation before the first main section of *Maqlû*, with its long series of burnings, begins. The preliminaries have been completed, the actual battle, the burning of the witch’s figurines, can begin.

Conclusions

The first five incantations of *Maqlû* form part of a coherent preliminary ritual section of this extensive anti-witchcraft ritual. The text of the incantations poetically explicates the patient’s requests and concerns, while the ritual actions condense them into concise symbolic gestures. To the modern interpreter the *dicenda* provide the intellectual context of the terse ritual instructions, while the *agenda* help to winnow the essential statement from the rhetorical padding and to unlock the poetic images of the incantation language. Given its overall coherence and logical stringency, its self-contained nature and its all-encompassing relationship to the rest of the ritual, the opening section of *Maqlû* was composed in all probability at the time and within the context of the redaction of the ritual’s canonical text, in my opinion most likely in 12th- or 11th-century Babylonia.⁵⁹ The opening section anticipates the successful outcome of the ritual and symbolically creates a protected position of power for the patient. Allied with the gods of heaven and the underworld, acting from a well-protected place and taking advantage of the *kairos* granted to him by the cosmos, he may defeat his enemies and finally triumph over them in the light of the morning sun.

57 SU 52–33 + 52–77(+) obv. 14’–15’ // K 8879+ (+) Sm 1901 obv. i 19’–21’.

58 So in SU 52–33 + 52–77(+) obv. 14’; in Sm 1901(+) obv. i 20’: ‘NU’ x ‘ni’.

59 Note that Abusch (2002: 287; first published in 1989 as the article *Maqlû* in *RIA* 7, 346–351) regards ‘the present form of *Maqlû*... to be a first millennium creation.’ According to him, the opening section I 1–72 was composed at a third stage of *Maqlû*’s development, ‘probably’ before major portions of tablet VII 53–VIII were added, and certainly antedating the addition of several incantations in tablets VI–VII and all of tablets II–III. For my own view on the date and structure of *Maqlû*, see Schwemer (2007a: 37–55; forthcoming c).

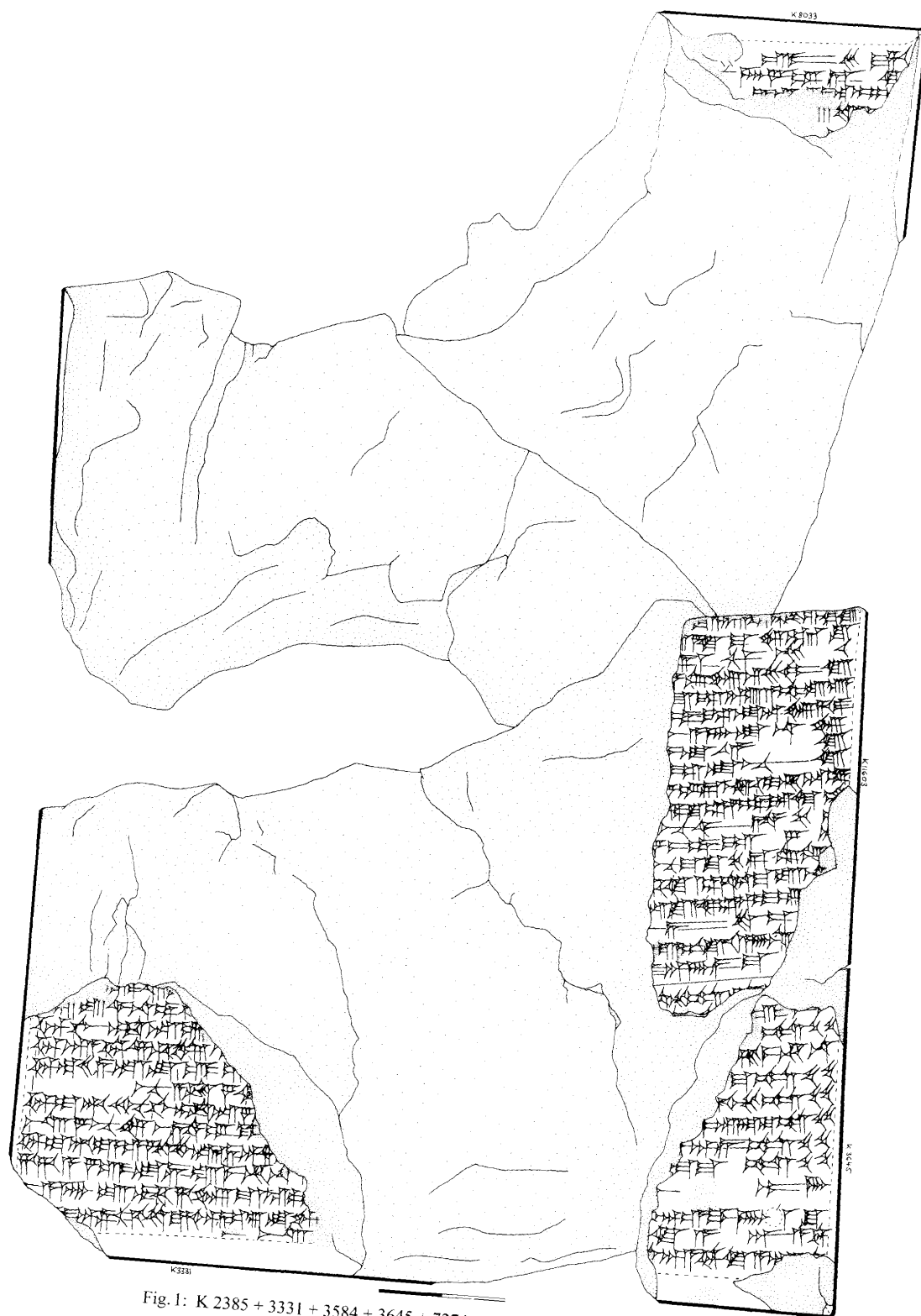


Fig. 1: K 2385 + 3331 + 3584 + 3645 + 7274 + 7586 + 8033 + 11603 Obv.

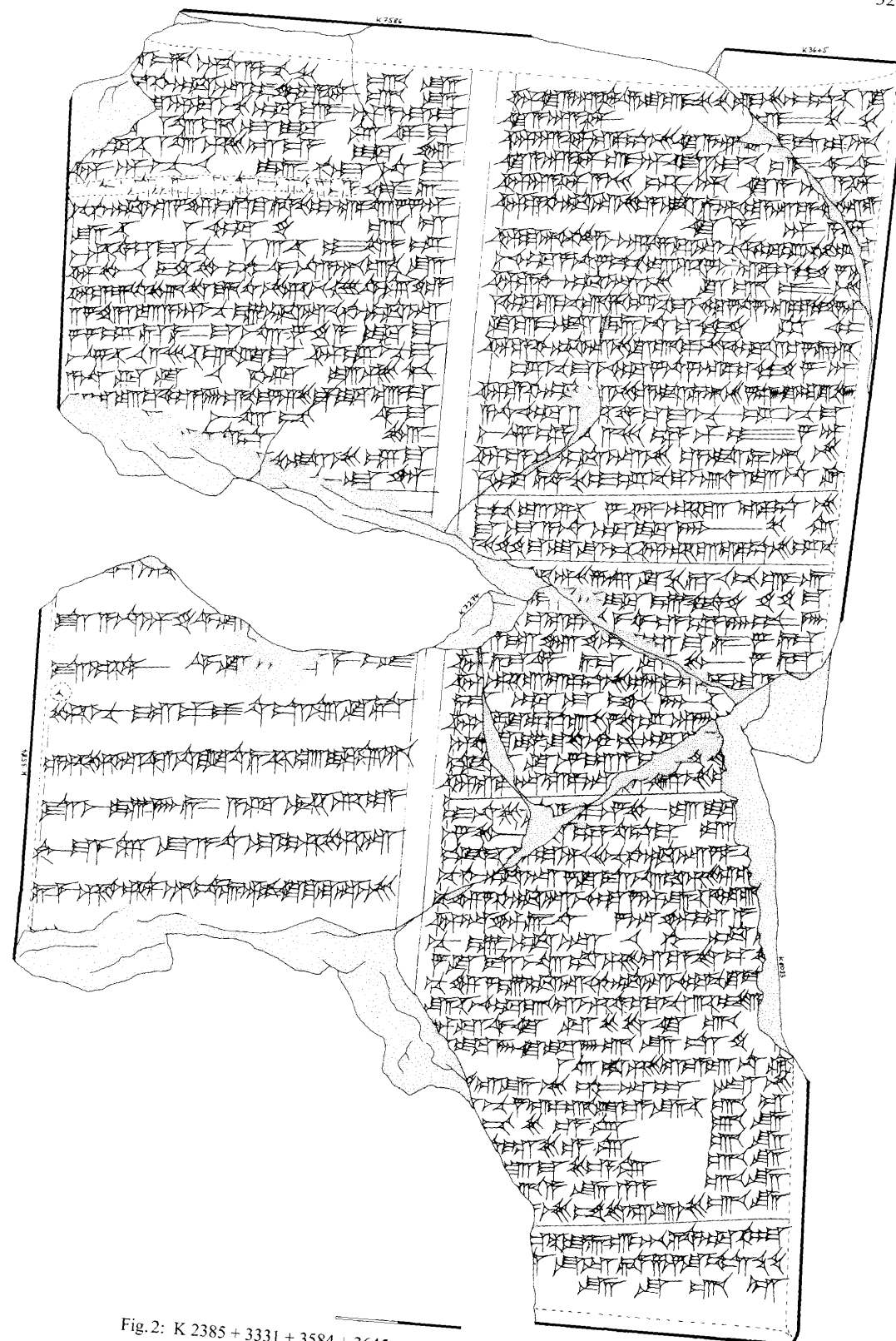


Fig. 2: K 2385 + 3331 + 3584 + 3645 + 7274 + 7586 + 8033 + 11603 Rev.

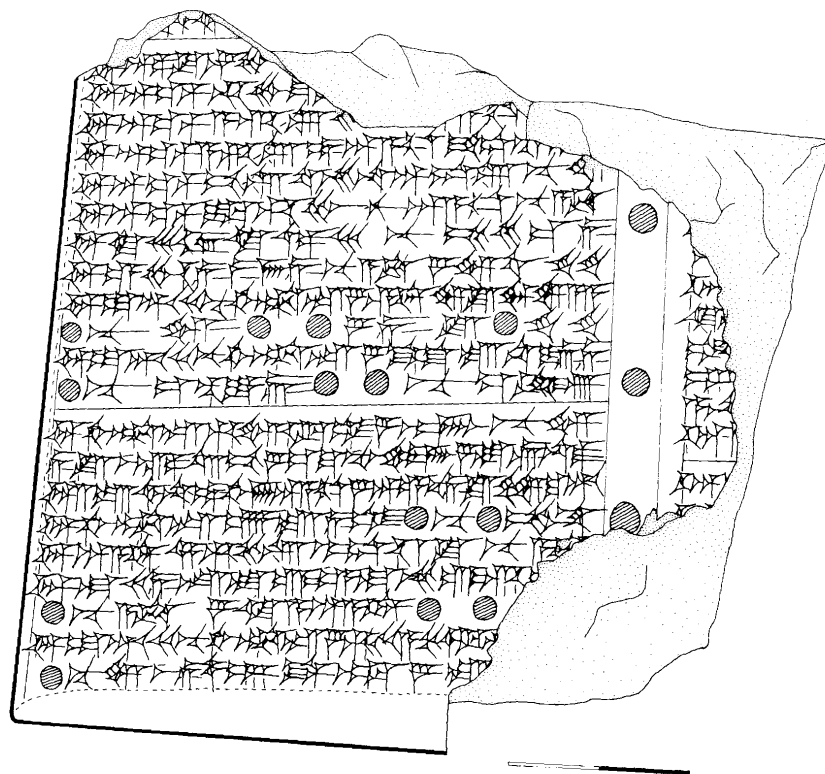


Fig. 3: K 2961 Obv.

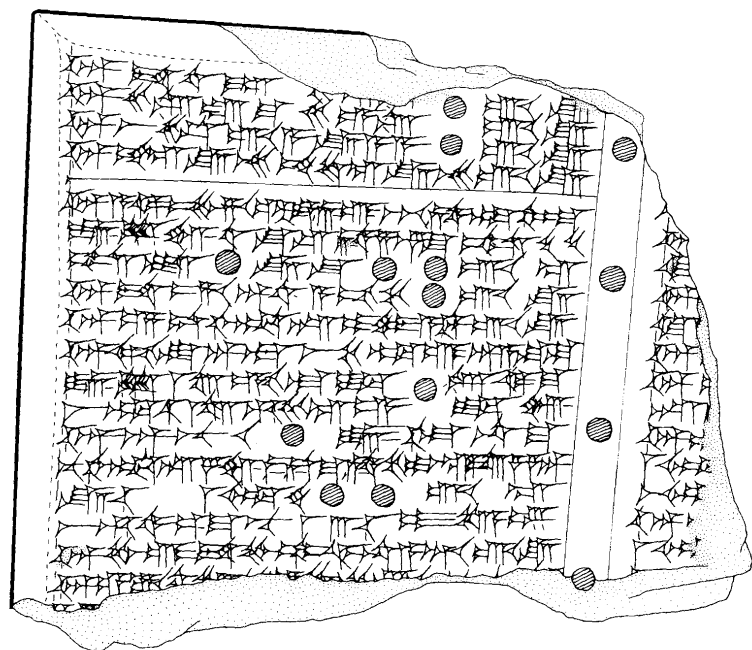


Fig. 4: K 2961 Rev.

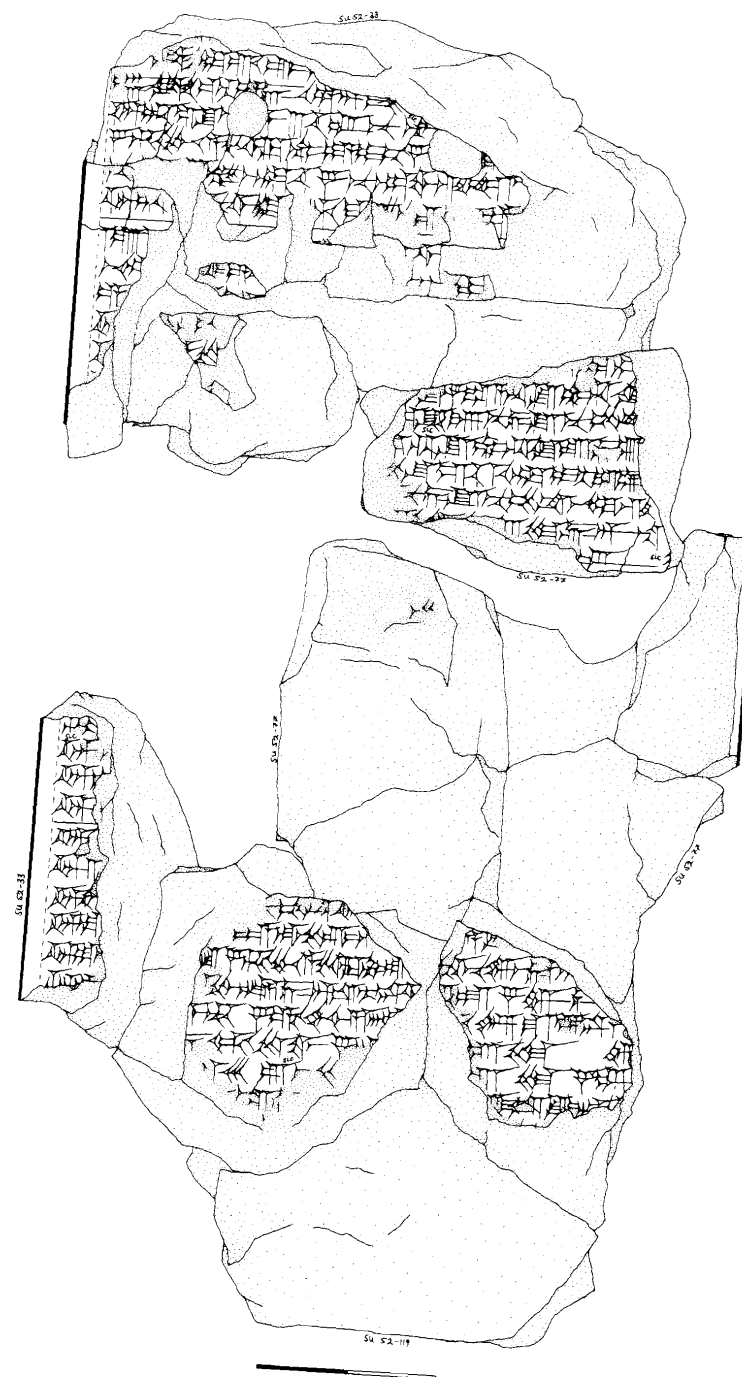


Fig. 5: SU 52-33 + 52-77 (+) SU 52-33 + 52-77 + 52-119 Obv.

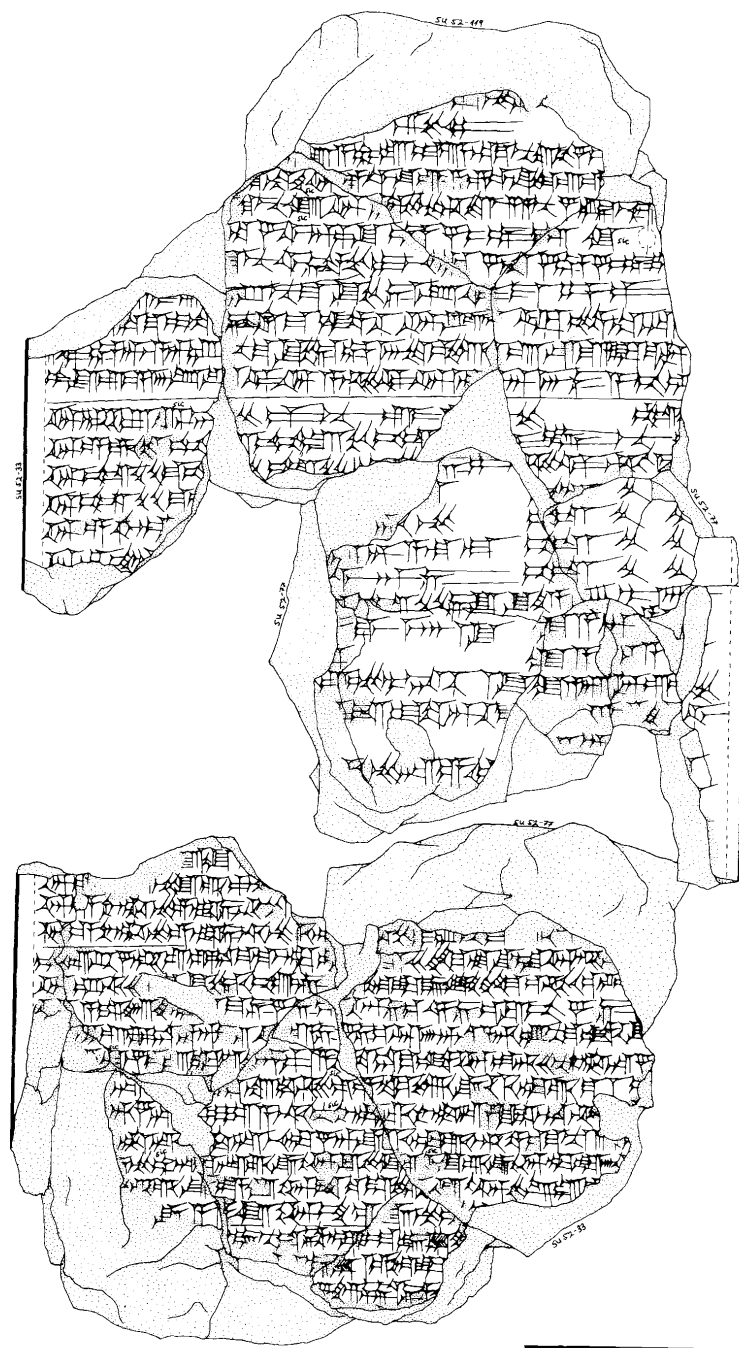


Fig. 6: SU 52-33 + 52-77 (+) SU 52-33 + 52-77 + 52-119 Rev.

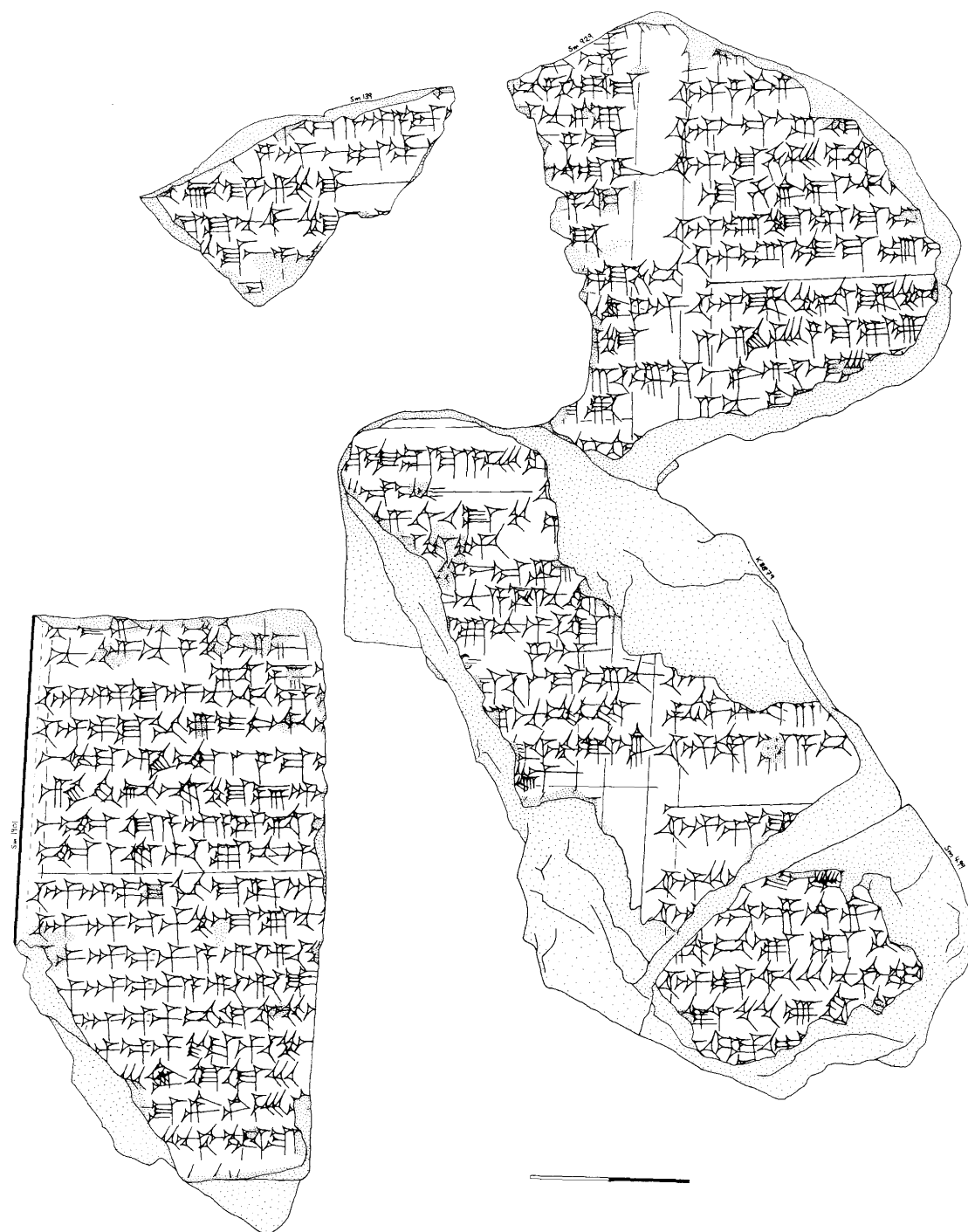


Fig. 7: K 8879 + Sm 229 + 499 + 929 + 1194 (+) Sm 139 (+) Sm 1901 Obv.

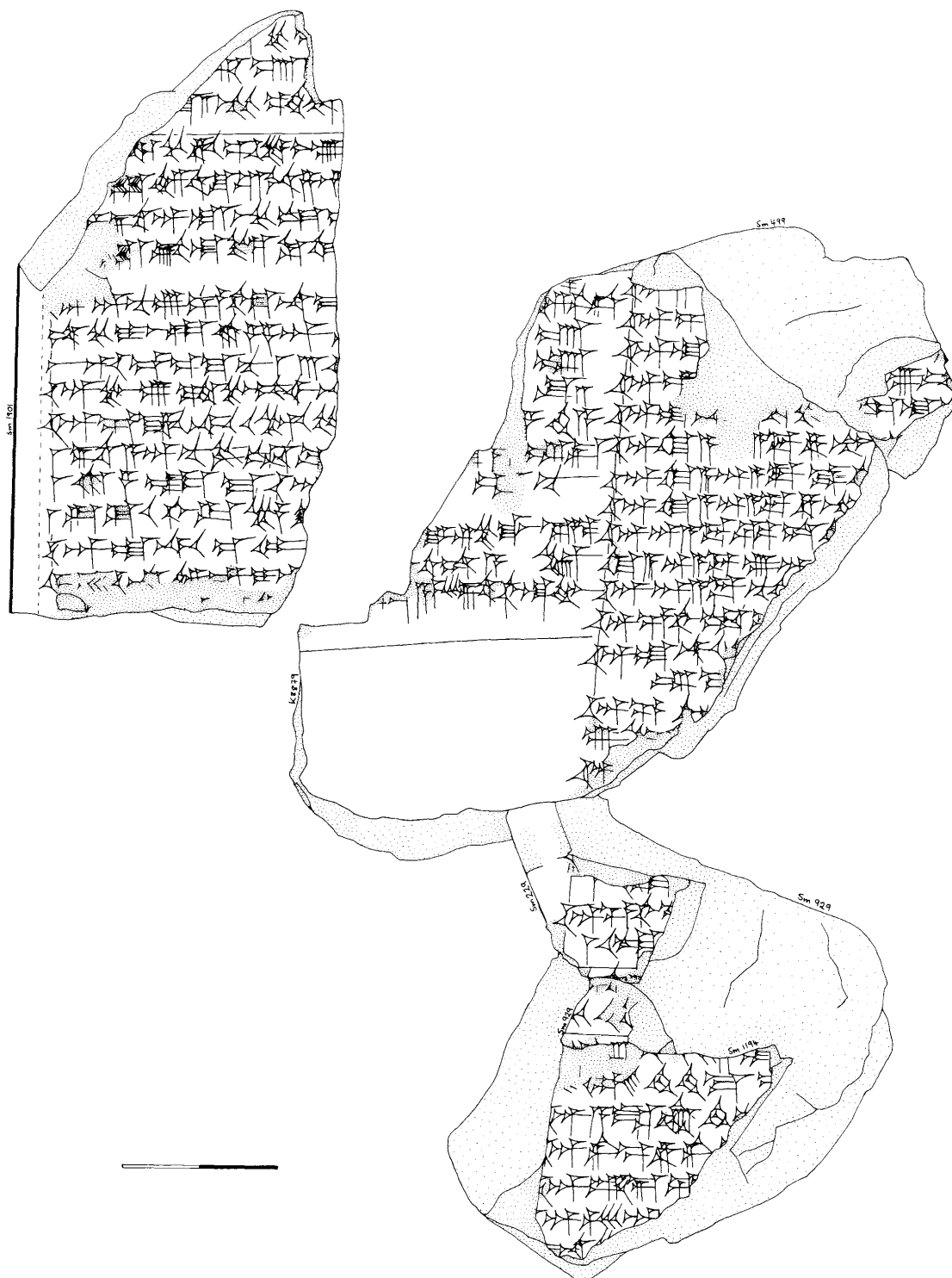


Fig. 8: K 8879 + Sm 229 + 499 + 929 + 1194 (+) Sm 139 (+) Sm 1901 Rev.

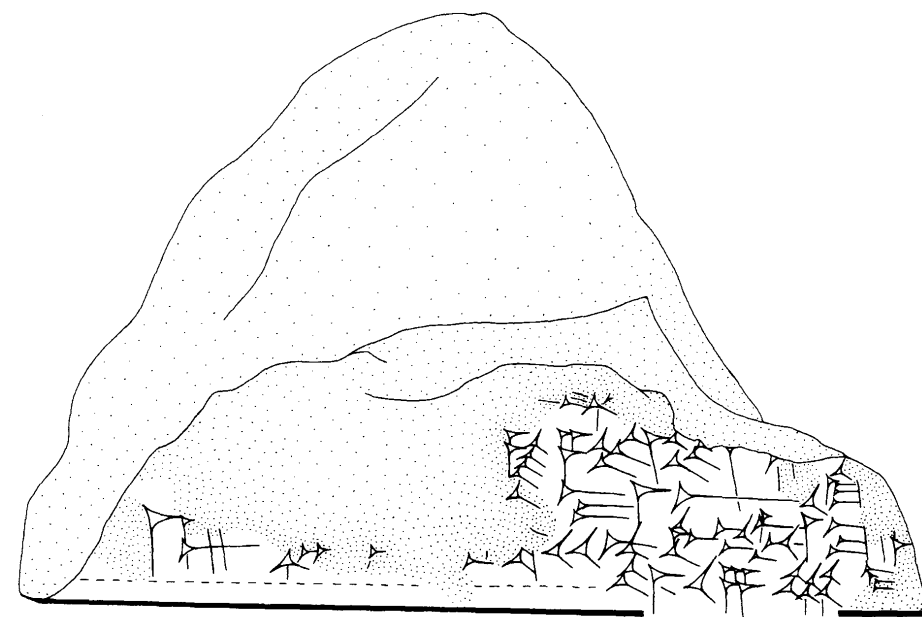


Fig. 9: BM 46972 Obv.

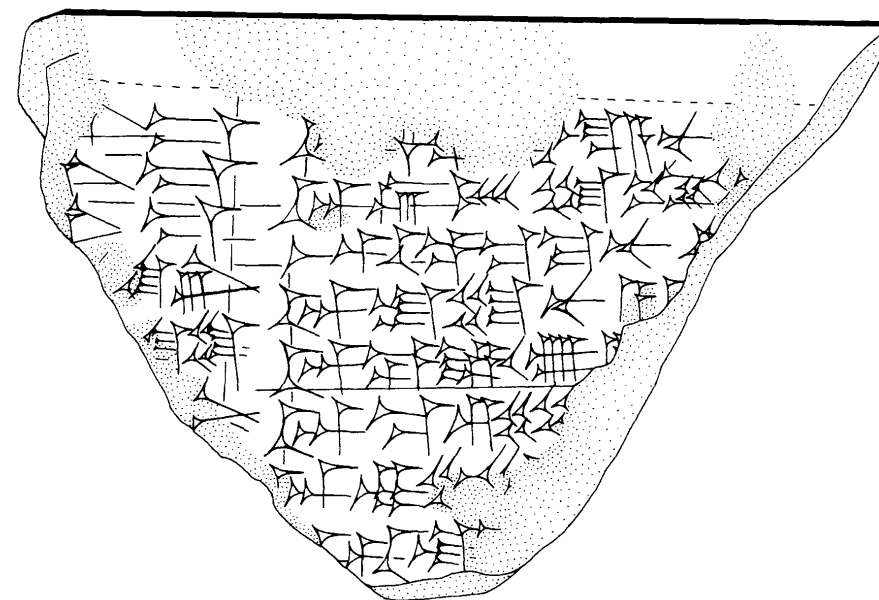


Fig. 10: BM 46972 Rev.

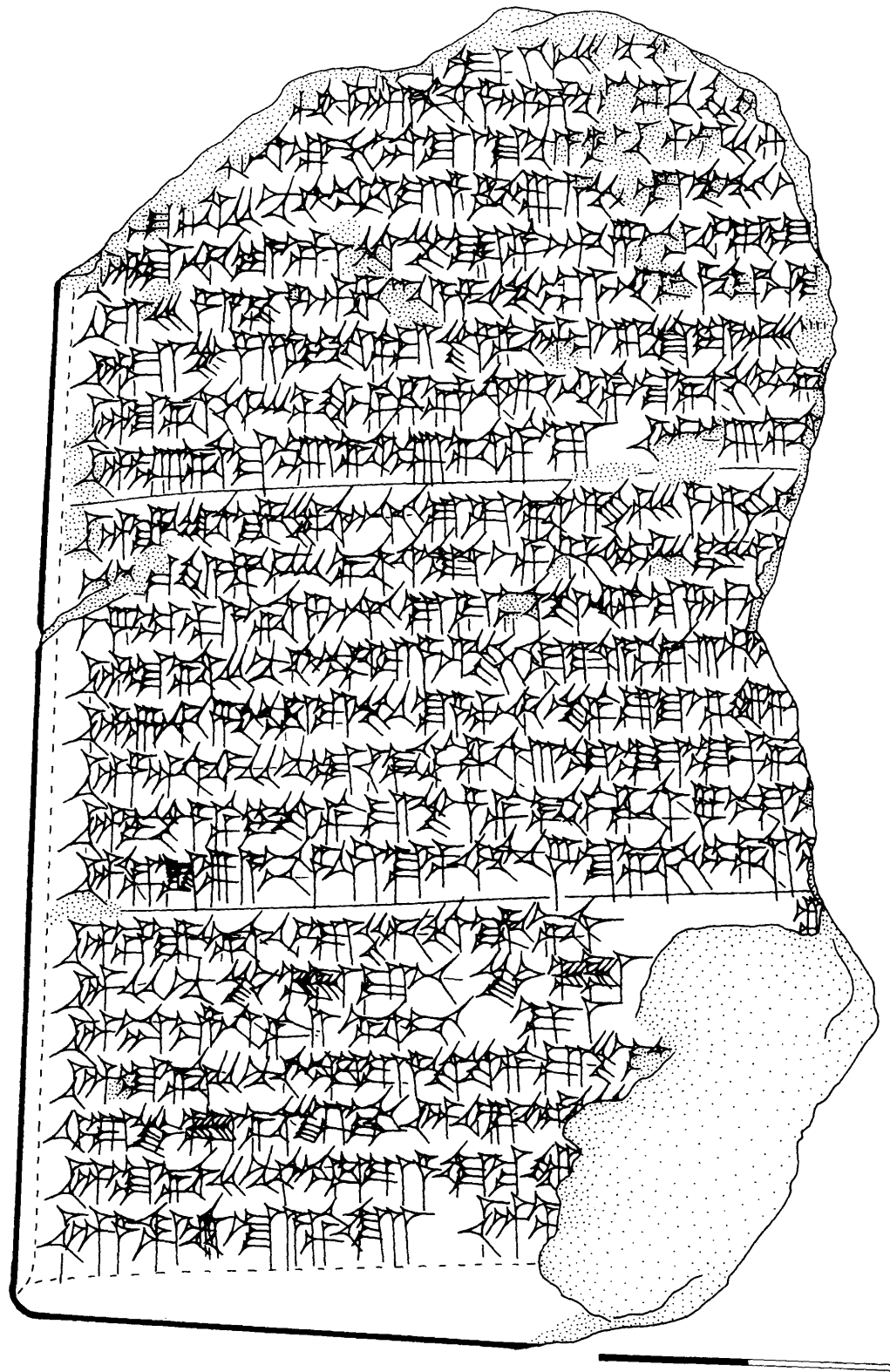


Fig. 11: VAT 4103 Obv.

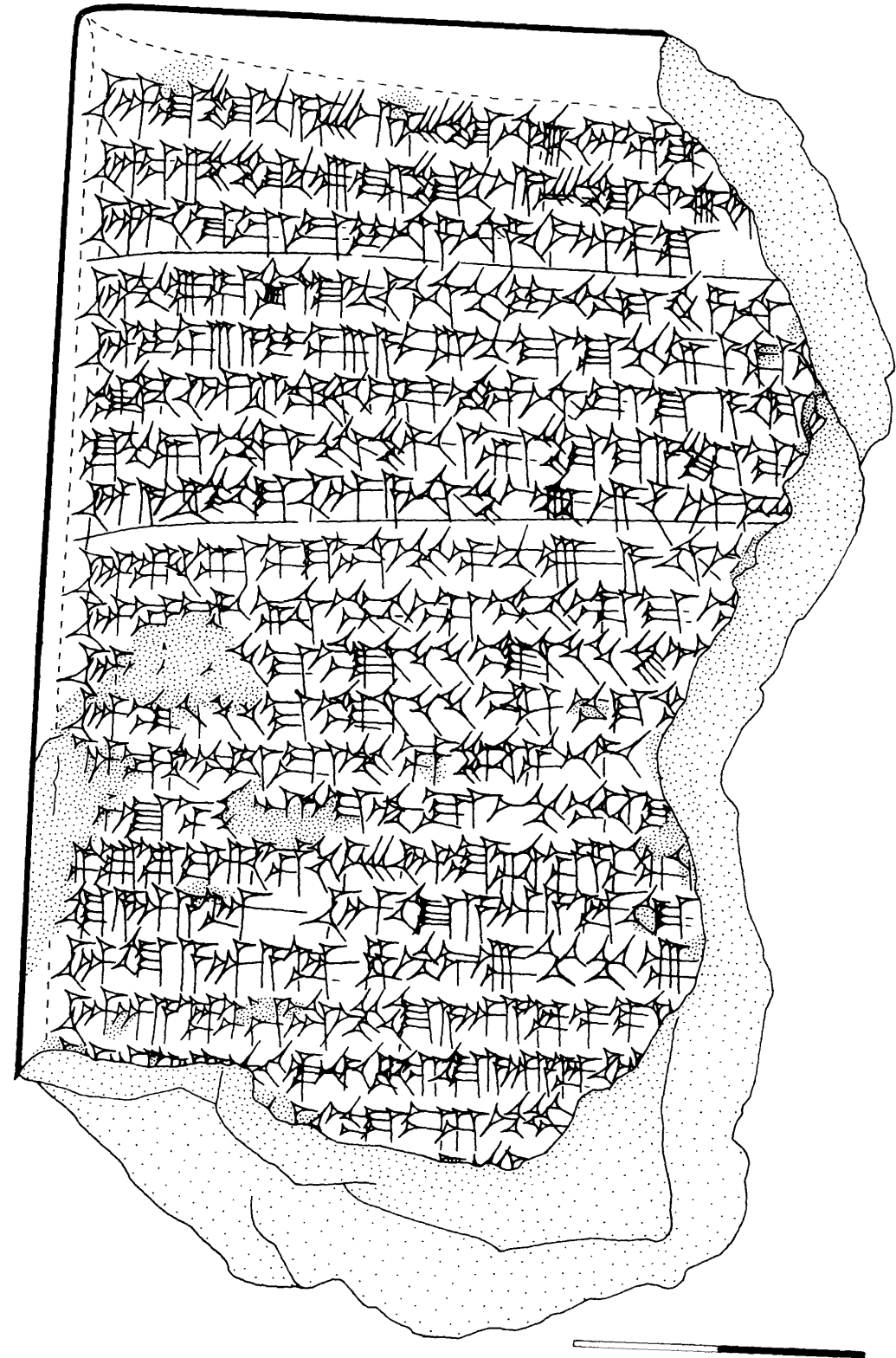


Fig. 12: VAT 4103 Rev.

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Philological Contributions to Hattian–Hittite Religion (II)

3. On the Origin and the Name of the *ḫazkarai*-women*

Oğuz Soysal (Chicago)

Hittite cuneiform documents of religious character attest to the existence of various female functionaries who were active in Hittite cult life in manifold ways. The designations of the majority of these women cannot be explained convincingly, or even understood at all, within the Hittite language, suggesting that the terms and the institutions employing such female cultic assistants were borrowed from the neighbouring foreign cultures of Hattian, Hurrian and Luwian origin.¹ One of these designations of female cult functionaries, the *ḫazkarai*-women, has inspired several studies on particular aspects of the phenomenon in recent years, as well as numerous remarks and discussions on the topic dispersed throughout the literature.² These studies focus mainly on the spelling and formation of the title or on the role of the *ḫazkarai*-women within cultic activities in general. However, the origin of the designation *ḫazkarai*- has not yet been scrutinized satisfactorily. In an effort to fill this gap, I would like to examine the *ḫazkarai*-women once again in the present contribution, which I am glad to dedicate to my distinguished colleague Itamar Singer.

Philological studies to date have shown that the neuter noun *ḫazkarai*- denotes not the individuals, but rather a group of female personnel in a collective sense.³ Except in a few cases, *ḫazkarai*- always employs the pl. determinative MUNUS.MEŠ,⁴ and the related actions of these women are expressed in the 3. pl. and the 3. sg. person, which are interchangeable in the sentences which follow.⁵

The *ḫazkarai*-women are present mainly in cult inventory texts and festival descriptions,⁶ in which they perform various functions:

1. Singing: KBo 2.8 ii 2; KBo 24.95 rev.² 18'–19' // Bo 4801 iii 1ff. (as cited by Otten, KBo 24: VII, n. 3); KUB 9.30, 7'; KUB 20.25+KUB 10.78 i 18'–19'; KUB 25.25, 15'; KUB 41.37 i 9–10; KUB 58.1 i 4'; KUB 58.4 v 14'; IBoT 2.138, 7'; ABoT 2.160, 2'–3'.
2. Entertaining the deity (an obscure case, since with 'deity' the divine image is meant, and it is not clear what the women actually perform as entertainment): KUB 17.35 i 33', iii 8, iv 13.
3. Carrying and placing the divine images in their places: KBo 2.13 obv. 19–20, rev. 3'–5'; KUB 17.35 ii 27'–28'; KUB 55.15 rev.² iii' 7'–8'; KUB 56.39 ii 5'–7', iv 26'–27'.
4. Carrying breads and cups (to the temple): KBo 2.7 obv. 26'; KBo 2.13 obv. 11; KUB 17.35 iv 24.
5. Carrying, crushing and grinding [grain]: KBo 2.13 obv. 10.
6. Providing fruit for decoration: KBo 2.8 iii 23', 26'–27', iv 13'–15', 22'–23'; KBo 26.182 i 11'; KUB 17.35 ii 24'–25', iii 32; KUB 44.42 obv. 15'; KUB 56.39 iv 25'.
7. Marching in (cult) processions: KBo 2.8 iii 11'–12'; KUB 17.35 i 25', 29', ii 17'–18'.
8. Greeting and welcoming a royal visitor (king, prince) in their native town with accompaniment of Hattian songs: KUB 9.30, 5'–7'; KUB 58.1 i 1'–4'; KUB 58.4 v 11'–14' (in *Ḫanḫana*); KUB 58.65 obv. 3–6 (in *Kastama*²); IBoT 2.21 obv. i' 5'–9'; cf. also KUB 9.17 obv. 21'–22' (in *Ḫāḫisa*), KUB 20.80 iii' 7'–8' (in *Kastama*) and IBoT 2.138, 3'–7' (in [*Zip*]palanda).
9. Accompanying the bridegroom (^{LU}*ḪATĀNU*): KUB 60.122, 2f. // KUB 60.22.
10. Shouting out: Bo 2670(+HT 17) l. col. 24'.
11. Entering a portico: Bo 3249 i 12'.

In addition to these functions, one encounters other activities possibly associated with the *ḫazkarai*-women as parts of long cultic descriptions. Attribution to these women, however, is not always certain, since the subjects of the relevant sentences are not expressly stated and since the verbs are phrased in the present 3rd person pl., and thus to be construed as impersonal.⁷

Although the *ḫazkarai*-women were active in cultic life and appeared together occasionally with members of the priestly class,⁸ there is no evidence that they executed the basic sacral functions of the regular religious personnel, such as recitation or conjuration, performing libation and praying, etc. Nor were they in attendance during the ritual or divination procedures.

* This manuscript was completed in February 2009. The study continues the series with the same title; for the first part (nos. 1–2), see Soysal (2008a).

1 E.g., *alḫuesra-* / *alḫuitra-*, *ammama-*, *annati-*, *azzinna-*, *esi-*, *ḫaḫḫallalla-*, *katrali-*, *manaḫuerata-*, *dammara-*, *tapritassi-*, *taptara-*, *tarpaskana-* (all from the Luwian and Hurrian cult milieu from Kizzuwatna), and *zintuḫi-* (of Hattian origin).

2 Hoffner (1998: 37–40); Röbke (2004: 557–569); and Torri (2006: 99–106). Other studies with brief remarks or discussions of the topic will also occasionally be mentioned in the relevant footnotes.

3 See Berman (1972: 112): 'plural tantum'; HED H: 281: 'denoting a group or collectivity'; Hoffner (1998: 37): 'a collective noun denoting a group of persons'; and Röbke (2004: 558): 'weibliches Kultpersonal (kollektiv)'.

4 For the bibliographical reference to the occurrences, see n. 25. Exceptional usage appears either without the pl. sign 'MEŠ' (see Appendix, no. 10), or sometimes drops the entire determinative MUNUS.MEŠ (see Appendix, no. 11). The formation with the inanimate pl. indicator [...*ḫa-a*]z-zī-ka₁-ra^{HLA} in KUB 46.27 obv. 4' is unique and rather perplexing; see n. 18, below.

5 Cf. Carter (1962: 188).

6 Further textual sources for the evidence of *ḫazkarai*- are few and exceptional: the vow KUB 15.24 i 6, iv 5' (CTH 590) and a foundation ritual fragment from Ortaköy (CTH 726), for which see below.

7 This problem is discussed by Carter (1962: 187ff.). Such cases are observed in: KBo 2.8 iv 23'–24'; KBo 2.13 obv. 11–15, 20, rev. 5'–6'; KBo 26.182 i 9'–10', 11'–14'; KUB 17.35 i 34', ii 18'–23', 25'–27', 29', iii 33–35, iv 13–15; KUB 55.15 rev.² iii' 9'–11'; KUB 56.39 ii 7'–8', iv 25'–26', 28'–29'; and VS 28.11 iii 3'–6'. These passages encompass, among others, performance of the following functions: decorating a divine statue with a wreath, breaking loaves of bread, filling rhyta, carrying and setting up lamps, lighting torches and shutting the temple gates. Together with the lion-men also: offering (= slaughtering) sheep and serving meat (which they eat themselves). HW² H: 550–553, attributes all these functions to the *ḫazkarai*-women, but with some reservations (cf. *ibid.*: 551: 'Subjektwechsel nicht ausgeschlossen'). On the functions of the *ḫazkarai*-women see also Haas (1970: 35–36) and Archi (1971; 1994: 64, 82, 158ff., 286ff., 290, 304ff.).

8 KUB 17.35 i 25', 29'; KUB 20.80 iii' 7'–10'; KUB 25.36 ii 8'–10'; cf. the remarks in n. 13.

Some of their duties connect them to the temple precinct,⁹ but this does not necessarily mean that *hazkarai*-women were permanent members of the temple staff or that they constituted a part of the religious community. They often sang, but did not play any musical instrument or dance; thus, they were not professional musicians.¹⁰ The functions they performed were duties of a practical sort rather than sacred cultic service. Thus, the *hazkarai*-women may be considered low-ranking female servants. Frequently, the *hazkarai*-women co-operate with the ‘lion-men’ (LÜ.MEŠUR.MAH / LÜ.MEŠ^{wa}lwalla-).¹¹ It is unlikely that the designation of this male class of workers was inspired by their appearance, having dressed or masqueraded as lions,¹² since they execute, alongside the *hazkarai*-women, ordinary daily tasks that are obviously external to the cult ceremonies themselves and not for entertainment. The designation of this group of functionaries seems rather to suggest a ‘wild, strong, rustic’ figure, which might be suitable for indicating a low-ranking male servant, comparable in status to the *hazkarai*-women. There is also the possibility that *hazkarai*-women and ‘lion-men’ had close contact with one another as colleagues,¹³ or even formed a kind of partnership in social life, too. This assumption, however, does not presuppose that they would have had sexual relationships;¹⁴ there is no evidence for the involvement of these women in any (cult) prostitution.¹⁵

Apart from the textual sources from Boğazköy, the noun *hazkarai*- occurs once in a fragment of the (Late-)Middle Hittite Ortaköy version of the Hattian-Hittite foundation ritual ‘*Rituel bilingue de fondation d’un temple ou d’un palais*’ (CTH 726),¹⁶ which is a very welcome additional piece of evidence for the subject of this study. As part of this composition, a benediction passage for the Hittite king reads as follows (Or. 90/1687 (+) Or. 90/1694 + Or. 90/784 (+) Or. 90/1335 rev. iv / iii [§8’]):

- 20’ [...](-)x₂-e-da-an-zi nu ^{GIŠ}hal-ma-aš-šu-i[t-...] me-ma-a[n²-...]x[...](-)x²-x₂-an₂-x(-)[...]
 21’ [...-a]n² ti-an-zi A-NA LUGAL.GAL MU.[...]x[...]-x² e-eš-tu, [...]
 22’ [...-Š]U² uk-tu-u-ri ha-az-ga-ra-a-i₂-[iš²...] da₂-an-du-ki₂-f²iš²
 23’ [... t]a-me-tar-wa-an-za e-eš-du ÉRIN.MEŠ(-)x²-x(-)[... u]k²-tu²-u-ri
 24’ [...-d]u ^{GIŠ}hal-ma₂-aš-šu-it-ti-ma₂-aš²-š[(a²-a)n² ...]¹⁷

9 KBo 2.7 obv. 26’; KBo 2.8 iv 22’; KUB 17.35 i 5’-6’, ii 27’; KUB 56.39 ii 5’-6’.

10 Schuol (2004: 149). In Hittite cult life there were singing female functionaries and city inhabitants who are not necessarily to be classified as musicians; see Soysal (2004: 17) and HW² H: 554.

11 KBo 2.8 iii 11’-12’, 23’, 26’; KBo 53.134 obv. r. col. 2-3; KUB 12.2 i 4’; KUB 44.42 obv. 7’, rev. 19’-20’; KUB 55.15 obv.² ii² 8’-9’, rev.² iii² 7’-8’, where they jointly set up the divine images, supply fruits, march in a procession, etc.

12 According to Jakob-Rost (1966: 420ff.).

13 Cf. the cult-artistic partnership between ^{MUNUS}zintu_{hi}- and ^{LÜ}zin_huri- in KBo 20.40 v 5’ff. The *zintu_{hi}*-women were, however, professional cult musicians who stood close to the priestly community and were perhaps able to make recitations as well (*mald*:- KBo 8.117 ii 11’). They were, moreover, descended from respectable families and households (KBo 10.10 iii/iv 7ff., 24ff.). Thus, the *zintu_{hi}*-women would have had a considerably higher status than the *hazkarai*-women.

14 *Contra* Jakob-Rost (1966: 420 n. 8).

15 Carter (1962: 188).

16 This text is in preparation for publication by Süel and Soysal in *Anatolica*.

17 Restoration is taken from the duplicate Or. 91/125 rev. 9’.

(20’) They [c]arry² [...] and the[y] spea[k to²] the thro[ne ...]. (21’) They put [...]. ‘Let the year² [...] be [...] for the great king! (22’) [...] h[is]² [...] is eternal, the *hazgarai*- [(one²)] is mortal. (23’) [Let his² ...] be [p]owerful. [Let his²] troops [b]e [s]table!’ (24’) [...] But [they² ...] o[n] the throne [...].

This text is too mutilated to yield an acceptable meaning for *hazkarai*-, and the context here differs from those in the festival descriptions and cult inventories. The noun in l. 22’ possesses no determinative, ‘MUNUS’, and the incomplete context does not help in establishing if indeed the female profession ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazkarai*- is meant. In any event, it surely comes from the same root, *hazkarai*-.¹⁸ The passage states that the *hazkarai*- is mortal, in contrast to something—in a lacuna, perhaps something pertaining to the king—which is eternal. The co-attestation and comparison of the two antonymic terms *ukturi*-, ‘eternal, permanent, regular’, and *danduki*-, ‘mortal’ > ‘transitory, temporary’, is semantically significant, since the latter qualifies the *hazkarai*-. This might hint at the less respected status of the ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazkarai*- and suggest that these women were servants hired for a certain period of time rather than for a particular job.

My conclusions so far might add only slightly to our understanding of ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazkarai*- beyond the generally accepted definition ‘woman in temple service’ in the first Hittite-German Dictionary published fifty-seven years ago (Friedrich 1952: 68), but they may help to clarify some lexical and factual details and to rule out incorrect or imprecise interpretations in the secondary literature.¹⁹

So far, no particular study has been devoted to the lexical origin of the word *hazkarai*- and to the ethnicity of the women referred to by this designation.²⁰ The first step in an investigation of the question would be a determination of the nature and the cultural stratum of the festivals mentioning the *hazkarai*-women. The majority of the festival fragments are to be assigned to CTH 651, ‘*Fragments nommant les femmes hazgarai*’, while the rest belong to CTH 599, 626, 647, 648, 678 and 685. Of these, CTH 647 (‘*Fêtes célébrées par le prince* (DUMU.LUGAL)’), CTH 648 (‘*Fragment de fêtes présidées par un “fils”* (DUMU-as)’ and CTH 678 (‘*Culte de Nerik / Fragments de fêtes diverses*’), contain distinct Hattian cult features. The contents of the other available documents are not very helpful in gaining further information, but they clearly exhibit no noticeable Hurro-Luwian elements of the Kizzuwatnean sphere, i.e., the second important foreign influence in Hittite cult life. Another decisive point is the ethnicity of the *hazkarai*-women, for which there is enough textual evidence to indicate that they may well

18 See my recent remarks in Soysal (2008b: 118–119). Despite the fact that *hazkarai*- may likewise denote the female profession without ‘MUNUS’, I suspect that its primary meaning on a more general level is as a neuter adjective that is used also substantively. Note that an acephalic occurrence of this word (see n. 4, above) employs the inanimate pl. marker ‘HIA’. I am also uncertain whether *hazkarayas pangau* in KUB 25.36 ii 10’ should mean ‘to the *hazkarai*-women, to the (whole) group/congregation’ (thus, CHD P: 194 and Š: 197) or ‘to the group of *hazkarai*’, without indicating any feminine status.

19 E.g., Goetze (1954: 189): ‘*hazkarai*- = ^{MUNUS}KI.SIKIL “maiden”’; Carter (1962: 188): ‘something like “hierodule”’; Berman (1972: 112): ‘ritual personnel’; Alp (1983: 15): ‘*hazqarai*-Priesterinnen’; HED H: 280: ‘woman percussionist, female musician’; and Rieken (2004: 535): ‘die Priesterinnengruppe’.

20 Except for the contribution of Röble (2004: 557ff.), who partially discusses the issue and pleads for a Hattian origin of *hazkarai*- (followed by HW² H: 554), one notes only brief remarks by Oettinger (1981: 387; 1994: 312ff., n. 22; 1995: 214ff., 218, n. 19; 2000: 358ff.); HED H: 281, in favour of Hittite origin; and Tischler (1983: 234), who suspects foreign origin. Compare also other unconvincing attempts to find a connection to Hitt. *hazzik*- cited in n. 36.

have been speakers of Hattian, since they frequently sing in this language.²¹ In IBoT 2.138, immediately after II. 1'–2' containing vestiges of two incomplete Hattian words [...] *il*,²² one finds the description of a scene of 'singing in Hattian' involving the *hazkarai*-women. This passage, and other comparable ones from various festival descriptions, read thus:

1. ^{URU}*Hanḫani*=*ma* ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazgar*[*ai*] / KASKAL-*az arḫa* ZAG-*az LUGAL-i menahḫan*[*da*] / *tapusza karū arandar*[*i*] / *ta hattili* SÌR-[(*RU*)]
'In the town of Ḫanḫana the *hazgar*[*ai*]-women are already standin[g] away from the road, on the right, beside the king facin[g] him, and they sing in Hattian' (KUB 58.4 v 11'–14' // KUB 58.1 i 1'–4'; CTH 651).
2. [^{URU}... *t*]a'=(*ma* ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazgarai*[-]...?) / [KASKAL-*az arḫa* Z]AG-*az LUGAL-i* / [*menahḫanda t*]apusza / [*karū aranda*]ri / [*ta hattili*] SÌR-*RU* (IBoT 2.21 obv. i? 5'–9'; CTH 678.8.B).
3. *n=as anda* INA ^{URU}*K[astama? ...]* / [... *INA?* ^{URU}...]x-*ma*(=*ma* *hazkarāi* DUMU-*[i ...]* / [...x *arḫa tapusza kar.ū, [arandari]* / [...*ḫat*]ili SÌR-*RU* (KUB 58.65, 3–6; CTH 648).
4. [... ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḫa*]zkarai / [... ^{URU}*Zip*]palanda / [... *a*]rtari / [... *U*]ŠKENNU / [...*ḫat*]ili SÌR-*RU* (IBoT 2.138, 3'–7'; CTH 651.4).
5. [... ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḫ*]azgarā(-)*iya*[*tta*(-)...] / [... *pira*]n *iyatta*(-)[...] / [...*ḫ*]attili SÌ[R-*RU*] (KUB 9.30, 5'–7'; CTH 651).
6. [... ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḫ*]azkarai x[...] / [...*ḫat*]ili SÌR-*R*[*U*] (ABoT 2.160, 2'–3'; CTH 651).²³

With the help of the information yielded by these occurrences, some of the native towns of the *hazkarai*-women can be determined as well, namely Zippalanda and Ḫanḫana, which were traditional Hattian cities with their established cults. Furthermore, these women also appear elsewhere in close connection with Kurustama, Ḫaḫisa and Kastama.²⁴

The details discussed above point unambiguously to the Hattian ethnicity of the *hazkarai*-women, which is, of course, decisive evidence also for the determination of the linguistic origin of the designation *hazkarai*-. The spellings of the word in the Hittite writing tradition are not uniform and vary greatly, even in contemporary documents or within one and the same text.²⁵ The regular form, with graphical variants, is *hazkarai*.²⁶ There is also a secondary formation

21 To be added to the list of the speakers and performers of Hattian language compiled by Schuster (1974: 44ff.).

22 Listed in Soysal (2004: 483); cf. Popko (1994: 158ff.).

23 The edition of ABoT 2 by Akdoğan (text copies) and Soysal (catalogue), continuing ABoT (Balkan 1948) is expected in the year 2010.

24 [^{URU}*Kurust*]ammas ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazkarai*[...] / [...] ^{URU}*Kurustama*=*ia* (KUB 51.35, 7'–8'; CTH 670); *n=as mahḫan* ^{URU}*Ḫāḫisa ari nu menahḫanda* / [^{MUNUS}]^{MEŠ}*hazgarāi uizzi* (KUB 9.17 obv. 21'–22'; CTH 685). The occurrence with the mention of the town Kastama in KUB 20.80 iii? 7' (CTH 647.3) is incomplete.

25 For compilations and overviews of the occurrences, see Carter (1962: 188); Berman (1972: 112); Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 385ff.); HED H: 280ff.; Röbke (2004: 558–560); and most recently HW² H: 549.

26 See Appendix, nos. 3.1–4.

hazkara with the loss of final *-i*.²⁷ In some writings of the word the spelling *ḫa*(-*az*)-*zi*-²⁸ is observed. A further form results from interchange between the plosive and aspirate (*g* / *k* ~ *ḫ*) occurring in the medial consonant.²⁹ As Hoffner has shown,³⁰ this collective neuter noun can be extended with the morpheme *-ant*-, i.e., *hazkara*(*ia*)*nt*, with numerous variants with nasal loss,³¹ transforming it into the common gender and enabling it to function as the agent of a transitive verb. In addition to some orthographically and morphologically irregular uses,³² one also observes many defective spellings caused by omitted or wrongly inserted signs.³³ Röbke (2004: 558–559) claims to have detected a secondary stem, *ḫaz*(*i*)*karaya*-, creating thereby a 'ghost' word, in which, in fact, the enclitic conjunction *=ya* 'and' is contained.³⁴ Other instances cited by Röbke (2004: 559) are merely based on unclear word separations between the noun *hazkarai*- and the following middle verb *iya*-, 'to go', as parts of the phrase 'the *hazkarai*-women march.'³⁵

In conclusion, one encounters with the noun *hazkarai*- unexpected and interchangeable phonetic variations, diverse formations and misspellings. Moreover, the lemma seems to have no reasonable etymology or sense within the Hittite language.³⁶ Thus, there is sufficient reason to suspect that *hazkarai*- is not a genuine Hittite word. Consideration of all writings of the word in the Hittite texts leads one to postulate a full form **hazikarai*-. According to Röbke (2004: 566ff.), who takes the nominal base as **hazkar*-, the ending *-ai* refers to a secondary *āi*-stem in Hittite with a collective sense.³⁷ This assumption can be questioned for two reasons. First, if *-ai* has a definite function such as expressing a collective meaning, why does it not appear

27 See Appendix, no. 1.1.

28 See Appendix, nos. 1.2, 2.3, 4.3, 6.9–11, 7.3, 8.2–3, 9.2.

29 See Appendix, nos. 5.1–4.

30 Hoffner (1998: 39–40). These forms neither apply the reflexive particle *=za*, nor are they nom. pl. forms in *-nza* as classified by Berman (1972: 112); cf. Carter (1962: 188).

31 See Appendix, nos. 6.1–11. The only occurrence without nasal loss is found in KUB 46.22 i 8' (Hoffner 1998: 39, 40).

32 See Appendix, nos. 7.1–6 and 8.1–3. Rare spellings: ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḫa*-*za*-*ka*-, *ra*[-]... (note the unique *-za*- instead of *-zi*-) in KUB 57.103 iv 5' and [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}]^(?)*ḫa*-, *az*-, *zi*-, *ik*-*ka*-, *-[ra?(-)]...* (note the geminated *-kk*-) in KUB 44.21 ii 15'. Unusual, and obviously nom. com. gender formations: [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}]^(?)*ḫa*-, *az*-*ga*-*ra*-*i*-*iš*(-*ša*) in 648/z obv. 14' and ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḫa*-*az*-(*ga*-*ra*-*i*-*iš*) in KBo 24.95 rev. 2 18' // Bo 4801 iii 1ff. (cited in KBo 24: VII, n. 3). As a further possible nom. com. form, Hoffner (1998: 39) suggested (with a different reading) ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ḫa*-*az*-, *zi*-, *-[?]*-, *ra*-*ia*-, *-aš* in KBo 2.8 iv 22', if not in the genitive.

33 See Appendix, nos. 9.1–5. Since the usage *hazkarari* appears among the numerous attestations of *hazkarai*- only once, I do not consider it a significant phonetic or even morphological variant, as assumed by Oettinger (1994: 312ff. with n. 22) and followed by Tischler (2001: 49): 'Kollektivum *hazkarari* "Mädchenorchester, Gruppe der Schlagzeugmusikantinnen".' I tend to agree with Röbke (2004: 563), who assumes a writing (or hearing) error '*ri*' for '*i*', under the phonetic influence of the preceding syllable *-ra*-.

34 See Appendix, nos. 2.1–5.

35 See Appendix, nos. 4.1–4. Further, Röbke's (2004: 559) reading [^{MUNUS}]^{MEŠ}*ḫa*-*az*-*ka*-*ra*-*a*-*i*-*[i]a*(- in KBo 2.7 obv. 26' should be corrected to [^{MUNUS}]^{MEŠ}*ḫa*'-*az*-*ka*-*ra*-*a*-, *i*-, *[i]a*-*za*; the actual form is *hazkara*(*ia*)*nza*; see Appendix, no. 6.8.

36 Contra Kronasser (1966: 186); Carruba (1969: 37, n. 22); and HED H: 281. The attempt to connect *hazkarai*- to the Hittite verb *hazzik*-, 'to hit, strike (a musical instrument)', must be rejected, since the *hazkarai*-women are not to be classified as professional musicians; see above main text.

37 Cf. CHD Š: 81.

with other professional names for groups of (female) functionaries?³⁸ Second, why is the final *-i* dropped in the form ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*haz(i)kara-*, and in others, if it is indeed a morphological element? The occasional omission of final *-i* can likely be explained only on the basis of the assumption that it is a foreign element that is incomprehensible and meaningless within the Hittite morphological system. It may therefore be the remnant of a Hattian nominal element. The chronology of the occurrences of ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazkarai-* does not give a clear picture about the oldest and original form of the word, since the majority of the instances come from the (Late-)New Hittite period. The earliest documents seem to be written in Middle Hittite script and are very few in number, e.g., KUB 25.36 (CTH 647.6), KUB 58.65 (CTH 648) and Or. 90/1687(+) (CTH 726). All are possibly Old Hittite compositions which have survived in Middle Hittite copies. Old Hittite ‘originals’, which should contain more trustworthy forms and spellings of the word, are yet to turn up.

For a possible explanation of the noun *hazkarai-* within the Hattian language one could consider either a formation *ha=zika=ai*³⁹ or an analysis into even smaller morphemes, such as *ha=zi=kara=i*. In a recent study (Soysal forthcoming), I sought to demonstrate that some proper name formations in Hattian are based on a simple formula of the dative, locative or ablative case of a noun, which is further modified by the nominal prefixes *ha=*, *ka=* or *ta=* in order to form derivative words. An illuminating example of this phenomenon is the name of the goddess Kataḫzipuri, for which the analysis **ka=taḫ=zi=pur=e/i*, ‘the evil (= *taḫ*) one (is to be) under the land (= *pur*)’, is suggested, where the combination *zi* (local prefix ‘under’)=...(noun)=*e/i* (locative marker) denotes the locative expression ‘under the ...’ in Hattian.⁴⁰ A similar pattern may work also for *hazikarai-*, analyzed as **ha=zi=kara=e/i*, where the combination *zi*=...(noun)=*e/i* is again present, and the initial *ha=* would be the well-attested individualizing prefix in Hattian. The only nominal base seems to be **kara*, the meaning of which is currently unknown, due to our poor knowledge of the Hattian lexicon. The proposed interpretation **ha=zi=kara=e/i*, ‘who is under the *kara* (or: lower⁴¹ than *kara*)’, might be semantically appropriate for the lower status of the *hazkarai*-women. A definitive translation of *hazikarai-*, however, still depends on the obscure nominal element **kara* in Hattian. The noun *hazikara(i)-* might also be reflected in the geographical names ^{URU}*Ha-at-ka₄-ra* (with *t < z*) and ^{URU}*Ha-az-gal-la* (with *l < r*) in HT 2 i 7, ii 21, two infrequently attested villages located somewhere in the central Hattian region and only mentioned with respect to their female singers (cf. del Monte & Tischler 1978: 104, 107).

38 E.g., none of the female groups mentioned in n. 1 above and others in the entire Hittite lexicon. Beside the possibility of ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazkarai-*, a collective marker *-ai/-ae* has been claimed to date for only a limited number of lemmas in Hittite: *hastai-* ‘bone(s)’ (Oettinger 1994: 312, n. 22), DINGIR *kuwansaya-* ‘female gods’ (Oettinger 1995: 214), *sakuttai-* ‘(a body part)’ (CHD Š: 80ff.) and ^{DUG}*hupuwai-* ‘pot’ (Röbbe 2004: 567), which are, however, mostly irrelevant for the case of ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*hazkarai-* on the semantic level.

39 For the suggestion of a nominal suffix *=ai* in Hattian, see Soysal (2004: 209). The only Hattian word which recalls **zikar* is *ziḫar*, ‘wood’ (Soysal 2004: 327), but this is very unlikely to be connected with the name of a female profession.

40 The Hattian divine name Zilipuri may also show a similar pattern if analyzed as *zi=li=pur=i*, ‘(who) under his land’, but without any individualizing prefix; see Soysal (forthcoming).

41 With regard to semantics, it should be noted that *zi-* may also mean adjectival/nominal ‘small’, ‘little’ in Hattian (Soysal 2004: 327).

Appendix: Selected attestations of ^(MUNUS.MEŠ)*hazkarai-*⁴²

1. Short formations with reduced final *-i*

- 1.1 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ka₄-ra* KBo 2.8 iii 23'
- 1.2 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-zi-ka₄-ra* KUB 17.35 i 29'

2. Forms with attached *=ya*, ‘and’ (i.e., stem ≠ *hazkaraya-*)

- 2.1 [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*h*]*a-az-ga-ra(-ia)* KUB 57.95 iii 16'
- 2.2 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ka₄-ra(-ia)* KBo 2.8 iii 12'
- 2.3 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-zi-ka₄-ra(-ia)* KUB 17.35 i 25'
- 2.4 *ha-az-ga-ra(-ia)* HT 90, 3'
- 2.5 ^{MUNUS}*ha-az-ka(-ra)-i(-ia)* KBo 49.111 rev. 4'

3. Full forms

- 3.1 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ga-ra-i* KUB 60.140 rev. 16'
- 3.2 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ka₄-ra-i* KUB 55.15 iii? 7
- 3.3 [^{MUNUS}]^{MEŠ}*ha-az-ga-ra-a-i* KUB 9.17, 22'
- 3.4 *ha-az-ka₄-ra-a-i* KUB 58.65, 4

4. Written together with following word with initial *i-* (i.e., stem ≠ *hazkara(i)ya-*)

- 4.1 [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-a*]*z-ga-ra-a(-i)-ia-a[t-ta(-)...]* KUB 9.30, 5'
- 4.2 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ka₄-ra-a(-i)-ia-[a]n-ta* KUB 44.42 rev. 13'
- 4.3 [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha*]^{MEŠ}*ha-az-zi-ka₄-ra-a(-i)-ia-an-da* KUB 44.21 iii 15'
- 4.4 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ga-ra-i(-i)-ia-ta-ri* KBo 26.182 i 8

5. Forms with *-h-* instead of *-g/-k-* in medial consonant

- 5.1 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ha-ra-a(-i)[...]* KUB 42.92 iv 6
- 5.2 [^{MUNUS}]^{MEŠ}*ha-az-ha-ra-a-i(-i)[...]* KUB 42.92 ii 7'
- 5.3 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ha-ra-ia(-i)[...]* KUB 12.2 i 7'
- 5.4 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ha(-ra)-ia-za* KUB 12.2 i 4'

6. Extended forms with the morpheme *-ant-* (*hazkara+ants* and *hazkarai+ants*)

- 6.1 [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}]*ha-az-ka-ra-an-za* KUB 46.22 i 8'
- 6.2 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ka-ra-za* KUB 41.34 i 6'
- 6.3 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ka₄-ra-ia-az* KUB 15.24 iv 5'
- 6.4 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az'-ga^r-ra-ia-za* KBo 2.13 obv. 10
- 6.5 [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-a*]*z-ka₄-[r]a-a-ia-za* KUB 44.42 obv. 18'
- 6.6 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ga-ra-i-ia-za* KBo 2.13 obv. 11
- 6.7 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-ka₄-ra-i-ia-za* KBo 2.13 rev. 3'
- 6.8 [^{MUNUS}]^{MEŠ}*ha¹-az-ka-ra-a-i-[i]a-za* KBo 2.7 obv. 26
- 6.9 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-zi-ka₄-ra-az* KUB 17.35 ii 17'
- 6.10 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-zi-ka₄-ra-za* KUB 17.35 ii 24'
- 6.11 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}*ha-az-zi-ka₄-ra-za* KUB 46.27 obv. 13'

42 This appendix should not be regarded as a redundant word listing. It contains additional occurrences and forms with corrected readings or improved interpretations differing from those in the secondary literature. For reasons of space, each form is represented by only a single instance.

7. Rare usage other than nom. neut. coll.

- 7.1 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ḥa-a*[(z-ga-ra-a-iš)] KBo 24.95 rev.² 18' // Bo 4801 iii 1ff. (nom. com.)
 7.2 [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}] *ḥa₂-az-ga-ra-i-iš(-ša)* in 648/z obv. 14' (nom. com.)
 7.3 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ḥa-az-zi₂-(!)-ra-ia₂-aš* KBo 2.8 iv 22' (nom. com. or gen.)
 7.4 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ḥa-az-ka₄-ra₂-iš-si^o* KUB 56.39 iii 22 (neut. *ḥazkarai=ssi* or com. *ḥazkarais=si*)
 7.5 *ḥa-az-ka₄-ra-ia-aš* KUB 25.36 ii 10' (gen. or pl. dat.)
 7.6 [^{MUNUS}].^{MEŠ} *ḥa-az-ga-ra-aš(-ma)* KUB 60.122 obv. 5 (nom. com. or pl. dat.)

8. Unique spellings

- 8.1 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ḥa-za-ka₄-ra₂(-)[...]* KUB 57.103 iv 5'
 8.2 [^{MUNUS.MEŠ(?)}] *ḥa₂-az-zi₂-ik-ka₄-[ra(-)...]* KUB 44.21 ii 15
 8.3 [...² *ḥa-a*] *z-zi-ka₄-ra^{HLA}* KUB 46.27 obv. 4'

9. Defective forms

- 9.1 [^{MUNUS.MEŠ}] *ḥa-az-(!)-ra₂(-ma)* KBo 2.8 ii 2
 9.2 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ḥa-az-zi₂-(!)-ra-ia₂-aš* KBo 2.8 iv 22'
 9.3 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ḥa-az-ḥa-⟨ra⟩-ia-za* KUB 12.2 i 4'
 9.4 ^{MUNUS} *ḥa-az₂-ka-⟨ra⟩-i(-ia)* KBo 49.111 rev. 4'
 9.5 ^{MUNUS.MEŠ} *ḥa-az-ka-ra«-ri»* KBo 53.134 obv. r. col. 2

10. Usage without pi. marker 'MEŠ'

- 10.1 ^{MUNUS} *ḥa-az₂-ka-⟨ra⟩-i(-ia)* KBo 49.111 rev. 4'
 10.2 [^{MUN}]^{US} *ḥa-az-ḥa-ra-a-i₂ (-)[...]* KUB 42.92 ii 7'
 10.3 [^{MUN}]^{US} *ḥa-az-ga-ra(-i-i[a(-)...]* KBo 26.189, 9'

11. Usage without determinative 'MUNUS.MEŠ'

- 11.1 *ḥa-az-ga-ra(-ia)* HT 90, 3'
 11.2 *ḥa-az-ka₄-ra-ia-aš* KUB 25.36 ii 10'
 11.3 *ḥa-az-ka₄-ra-a-i* KUB 58.65, 4
 11.4 *ḥa-az-ga-ra-a-i₂-[iš²]* Or. 90/1687(+90/1694+90/784(+90/1335 rev. iv / iii 22'

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Local Cults in the Zuliya Basin

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The topic of this paper is inseparable from the discussion of the geography of the central provinces of Hatti, to which Forlanini (2008) has recently contributed an updated summary. A number of assumptions in his reconstruction of Hittite geography need to be reassessed, however. The identification of Ankuwa with Alişar, which plays an important role in Forlanini's study, does not find unambiguous support in the Hittite texts. Ankuwa supplied large amounts of goods for the cult of Telipinu in Hanhana (Haas & Jakob-Rost 1984: 40, 44, 47), a town certainly to be located in the north, between Vezirköprü and Çorum (Camatta 2006). Hence, Ankuwa was also north or northeast of Hattusa and not very far from Ziplanda, with which it was connected via Mount Daḫa(ya). Since neighbouring Katapa (Karasu 2007: 377–378; Forlanini 2008: 151–153) must be sought now in the direction of the Zuliya river (modern Çekerek), probably to the north or northeast of Sapinuwa/Ortaköy, Ziplanda is likely to have been situated rather farther north or northeast than suggested by Popko (1994: 13, 29–31, 90–91; 2000) who identifies the town with Alacahöyük.

An inventory list of local pantheons, KBo 47.76, may be a good starting point for the following discussion. Based on its script, the text can be dated to the late 14th- or the first half of the 13th-century BC. It has a separate paragraph for each town, and all of them were evidently located in or near the Zuliya basin, considering that the river was worshipped mostly in those towns. Unfortunately, only a few of the town names have been preserved: obv. 4' [Hanin⁽²⁾k]auwa; 7' (-)]Mārašša; 9' Ḫa[-]; rev. 7' Katapa; and Kattemārna (rev. between obv. 9' and 10'); cf. Forlanini (2008: 152–153). There are, however, other town, mountain, river and spring names from which we can infer the region's geography.

Lebrun (2007) has recently commented on this text, but his readings call here and there for emendation, and plausible additional restorations enable one to augment his commentary:

Obv. 3' ¹⁷Z[i-du-ḫa-na⁽²⁾]. If the tentative restoration of the river name is correct, [Hanin⁽²⁾k]auwa, where this river was worshipped, might be located not far from Hanhana.

Obv. 5' [^dUTU ^d10 ^dLAMMA *ták-n*]a-aš ^dUTU-uš ^d10 ^{URU}Da-a-ḫa-ia ^d10²].

Obv. 6' has rather P[u- than Ta[l-; cf. Lebrun (2007: 457, 459). This would suggest the restoration ^{HUR.SAG}P[uskurunuwa⁽²⁾]. The toponym at the beginning of the line may thus have been [^{URU}Har-ra-na-aš⁽²⁾]-ši, probably preceded by two more signs (^d10²).

Obv. 7' [ke-e DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{URU}x⁽²⁾(-)]Ma-a-ra-aš-ša. Following ke-e DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{URU} there is no more room in the lacuna for more than a single sign (if at all). (-)]Mārassa was somewhere in the region of Ziplanda, Katapa and Ankuwa (cf. differently Forlanini 2008: 153), where one should also look for Daḫa(ya), Harrana(ssi) and the mountains Puskurunuwa and Hanzula (hapax).

Obv. 8'–9' list the goddess H̄atepuni, the Storm god of Daḥa(ya), the Storm god of the T[ower^(?)] (A[N.ZA.GÀR^(?)]),¹ the Storm god of [the Cam]p^(?) ([tu-uz-zī^(?)]-ia-aš¹⁰-aš) and the spring Munnisga among the deities worshipped in the town of Ḥa-. The context brings to mind KUB 9.17, a description of a cultic journey that stopped first at Taurisa, proceeded by a tower (Hittite *auri-*), and then visited the town of Ḥāḥisa, where Mount Daḥa received offerings (McMahon 1991: 218–221). This allows one to locate Ḥa- of the present text in the same area as the above-mentioned town of (-)Mārašša, not far from Ziplanda, Ankuwa and Taurisa. The Storm god of the Camp appears in northern pantheons of the Empire period that include deities of local and foreign (Luwian, Syrian and Mesopotamian) origin; see HT 14; KUB 23.77a obv. 15–18; and 877/v, 3'. The Spring goddess Munnisga is attested also in Bo 3824, 7' and Bo 3875 r. col. 7', in the latter together with Mount Wi- (8'), Ḥalki (9') and Mali[ya] (10').

Obv. 15' [^dHu-u-wa-at^(?)-t]a-aš-ši-iš¹⁷ HUR.SAG Ta-ru-uš¹⁷ Zu-ú-l[i-ia-aš. KBo 42.36 confirms the presence of the Ḥuwattassi cult in the Zuliya basin. Its reverse (?) reads:

2']x-^ran¹ ^dŠu-li-in¹-[kat-te
3' ^N]A⁴ḥu-wa-ši a-aš-ki pé-ra-an [
4']x-iš¹ ^dHu-u-wa-ad-da-aš-ši-iš [
5' DING]IR.MAḤ^{MEŠ} ¹⁷Zu-li-^ria¹-[aš

Obv. 16'–18' [^dUTU ^d10 ^dLAMMA ^d] ^r10¹ AN.ZA.GÀR ^d10 ^{URU}x-x []x / [...^dUTU^(?) ^{URU}Ḥi¹-i]m-mu-wa ^dAMAR.U[TU...] / [...-]^rú-li¹-[ta²-. Restorations are based on 877/v, which mentions [...^dUTU^(?) ^{URU}Ḥi¹-mu-w[a (x+1), ^rd10¹ [^dŠA-ME-E (2'), ^d]10 KARAŠ (3'), ^d]Ma-li-ia-aš (4'),]-ú-li-ta-x(-)] (5') and ^d]10¹ AN.ZA.GÀR (6'); and KBo 53.184 l. col.:

x+1 ^d]10¹ ^{URU}[
2']^rd¹UTU ^{URU}Ḥi-m[u-wa
3']^rd¹ZA-BA₄-BA₄
4']x
5' ^{GIŠ}GI]DRU ^d10
6' ^{GIŠ}GID]RU ^dUTU ^{URU}Ḥi-mu-wa
7' ^{GIŠ}GID]RU ^dZA-BA₄-BA₄
8' pé]-^re¹ ḥar-kán-zi

The presence of the Storm god of the Tower and the Luwian god Santa (^dAMAR.UTU) (Taracha 2009: 113–114), the latter worshipped in many other centres in the middle and lower stretch of the Zuliya/Çekerek river, suggests the connection of this local pantheon with the

1 Reading according to Lebrun (2007: 457) and the files of the Boğazköy-Archiv in Mainz. The photograph, however, shows that the sign traces do not exclude a reading *ta[r-* (see below on rev. 14'). The Storm god of the Tower appears also in other paragraphs of the text under discussion (obv. 10', 16'). For his cult, see KBo 13.231 rev.² 5'–8' (Hazenbos 2003: 86–87).

same region of Ziplanda, Ankuwa and Taurisa. There was also a local cult of the Sun-deity of Ḥim(m)uwa, a town situated somewhere between Kastama, Kammamma and Taggasta, certainly not so far to the northeast as suggested by Forlanini (2008: 170).

Rev. 6'–7' list local deities of Katapa, including a War god,² the Sun goddess of the Earth and a divine eagle (^dTI₈^{MUSEN}). The 'divine eagle of the person (of the king)' is also attested in the cult of nearby Ankuwa, where it was connected with the Storm god of Heaven, KUB 11.27 i 6f.: ^d10 AN-E *suppis* TI₈^{MUSEN} [^dŠA (SA)]G.DU; see Archi (2006: 158 with n. 46); cf. Taracha (2009: 98, 101–102) on the cult of Ankuwa.³

Rev. 8' ^d10 ^{URU}Ḥa-wa-ri-x(-)]. This fragmentary town name might be connected with Ḥawal/rkina that should be sought in the north, in the neighbourhood of Ḥakmis(a), Takupsa and Ḥattena (KBo 2.4 iv 36f.; KUB 7.24 iv 9'; Bo 3136 obv. 7'). The latter town was in the vicinity of Ḥanḥana (Forlanini 2008: 165–166).

Rev. 14' [^dUTU ^d10 ^dLAMMA ^dAMA]R.^rUTU¹ ^d10 tar-ma-^rta²-š[^a(-).⁴ The last, uncertain, form brings to mind a Luwian epithet of the Storm god, *tarmatnas*, 'of the Fastening' (Melchert 1993: 213), as attested in KBo 21.81 rev.¹ 12 (see below). Both contexts would suggest a chthonic aspect of the Storm god of the Fastening. There is no knowing whether his cult may have originated with a dream mentioned in the catalogue tablet KUB 57.90 iv 6'–9' (Mouton 2007: 106). In KUB 38.25, which refers to new cults in the Nerik region, this Luwian term is marked with the *Glossenkeil*: ^r tar-ma-at-tar (erasure) ^dAMAR.UTU ^dLAMMA x[(ii 3'). As I have argued elsewhere (2009: 102–105), the new cults of Nerik were successively introduced from the region of Kastama and Ḥakmisa after the reconquest of the northern territories by Ḥattusili III still in the lifetime of his brother Muwattalli II.

There are good reasons to assume that the fragmentary inventory list of local pantheons in KBo 47.76 refers to a rather small region, including Katapa and other localities along the Zuliya river, which must have been situated to the north and northeast of Sapinuwa/Ortaköy and not farther to the north than the neighbourhood of Ḥanḥana and Taurisa. Another cult inventory, KBo 34.106 (+) KBo 21.81, describes on its obverse¹ the deities of Ḥattena and Ḥanḥana, both located farther to the north, while its reverse¹ lists the deities of a local pantheon from the region under discussion. The text confirms that Istaḥara was also situated somewhere in the vicinity.⁵

2 The logogram *ZABABA* here may represent the Luwian god of war and plague, Iyarri, since this War god appears repeatedly in KBo 47.76 among the gods from other localities together with Santa and the Sun goddess of the Earth.
3 The connection between the gods and divine eagles in the Luwian tradition of Taurisa and neighbouring centres in the Zuliya basin finds corroboration in KBo 12.89 iii 11'ff.: '[The Great] Sun god made a feast and [inv]ited the great [gods, he invited] the lesser gods, he invited divine eagles' (Starke 1985: 243).
4 Reading uncertain.
5 Probably not in the Zuliya basin proper, but a little farther to the west, like Ziplanda.

KBo 21.81 rev.¹

- 8 ^d10 ^{URU} *Iš-da-har* ^d10 ^É *Wa-aš-[ša-an-ta-ta-iš^(?)*
 9 ^d10 ^{URU} *Da-ha-at-ta-ru-na* ^d10 *Ha-a[n-zu-la-aš^(?)* ⁶
 10 ^d10 ^{URU} *Zi-pal-an-da* ^d10 *Da-h[a-ia*
 11 ^d10 ^É ^dUTU ^dLAMMA ^dZA-BA₄-B[A₄ ^dAMAR.UTU^(?)
 12 ^d10 ^rtar^r-ma-at-na-aš DINGIR.MAH^r-aš ^d[
 13 [^dEREŠ].KI.GAL ^dHa-tág-ga-aš [^d

Noteworthy is the prominent position of the Sun goddess of the Earth (*taknas* ^dUTU / ^dEREŠ.KI.GAL) in these pantheons (Taracha 2009: 109). Her local cults, attested in Ankuwa, Katapa and many other localities in and near the Zuliya basin, may even date to the Old Hittite period.⁷ In the local tradition of Ziplanda this Luwian goddess was the mother of the local Storm god, a fact which need not have been an innovation of the Empire period.

The worship of Luwian deities in the Zuliya basin, and generally in the middle section of the great bend of the Kızılırmak, raises anew the question of the ethnic situation in this area and the nature of Hattian-Luwian cultural interaction. Several scholars have argued for the presence of Luwian speakers in Central Anatolia and even North Anatolia at least at the beginning of Hittite history (Soysal 2002: 331–332, n. 44; Hutter 2003: 214–215). This is also claimed by Goedegebuure (2008) on the linguistic evidence of a proto-Luwian language community having influenced Hattian before the Hittite conquests. As she states (ibid.: 174), ‘the linguistic, cultural and political facts seem more easily explained by a pre-conquest merger of proto-Hattian and proto-Luwian language communities than by an invading Luwian-Hittite language community replacing a Hattian and, for example, Palaic language community.’ In fact, the Indo-Europeans must have formed a significant share of the population in Central Anatolia, next to the Hattians, already presumably in the third millennium BC (Taracha 1991).

It is a well known fact that the Telipinu myth and other related compositions show a mixture of Hattian and Luwian motifs (e.g., Miller 2004: 441, with literature). Popko (2007: 65) has pointed out that these myths, in which the Luwian Sun god Tiwad and Kamrusepa play a significant role, may have originated among the mixed population of Taurisa and the whole region under study. They undoubtedly derived from an early Anatolian (Hattian) tradition; still, it is not known how one should date their preserved ‘Luwianized’ versions, first attested in compositions of the early Empire period written in Middle Hittite script. These versions certainly reflect a much earlier oral tradition.

⁶ Forlanini (2008: 169) restores *Ha[nḫana]*.

⁷ Important evidence for this is found in an Old Hittite purification ritual for the royal couple and the people of the land of Hatti (CTH 416), celebrated in Katapa and Hattusa and demonstrating ties with the Luwian milieu. It invokes Luwian deities, including the Sun god and the Sun goddess of the Earth (Otten & Souček 1969; Taracha 2009: 78–79).

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5 In copy B (KBo 3.6+ iii 56): *huwappi* INIM DINGIR-*LÍ*, ‘to an evil word of a deity’.

event, while the text of the following lines, where the same idea is expressed in other words (i 42ff.), and the present passage certainly tend toward generalization, speaking of Ḫattusili's protection by Ištar from any possible danger or evil. Moreover, the understanding of the phrase as a formula presupposes its recurrence in other Hittite texts as well.

A deity with the epithet *ḫuwappa-* or *idalu-* is found occasionally in other texts. In the 'Ritual of Ḫatiya against Wišuriyanza' (Carruba 1966) the goddess is referred to as an 'evil woman' (KBo 15.25 obv. 34: *ḫuwappi MUNUS-ni*). According to Carruba (1966: 37–38, n. 65), it is highly unusual for this epithet to be applied to a goddess as it is normally used with humans, and its usage here can apparently be attributed to her demonic nature. 'Evil/bad deities' (*idalues siwannes*) are also mentioned in the 'Ritual of Tunnawi' (KUB 9.34 iii 45; Goetze 1938; Hutter 1988), aimed at removing their spell from the king and queen.

Still, in the context of Ḫattusili's Apology, the phrase '... never exposed him to an evil trial (or) an evil deity', and even the formula 'evil deity', seem unusual, and one should presumably treat each attestation of the formula separately. According to V. Eyot (pers. comm.),⁶ the '*ḫuwappi*-deity' in the context of Ḫattusili's Apology refers to an 'injuste' deity who assisted Arma-Tarḫunta and his supporters in their fight against Ḫattusili. If so, it would seem that the term/epithet *ḫuwappi-* would have been applied to a deity personally hostile to Ḫattusili. This may have been the intent behind the translations of the epithet as 'hostile' (Sturtevant & Bechtel 1935: 67 and 79) and 'übelgesinnt' (Goetze 1925: 11; Otten 1981: 7).⁷

In my opinion, the identity of the evil deity should be sought within the context of the religious reforms of Ḫattusili's elder brother, Muwatalli. In several of his works, Singer (1996: 191ff.; 1998; 2001; 2006) considers the transfer of the capital to Tarḫuntassa in the context of Muwatalli's religious reform. He draws a parallel with Akhenaten's reform, pointing out the similarities as well as the differences between them. The focus of Muwatalli's reform was an attempt to promote the cult of the Storm god referred to by the epithet Piḫassassi as an alternative to that of the Storm god of Ḫatti. The new cult partly overshadowed that of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. As Singer (2006: 37) has written, 'Muwatalli founded his new capital at Tarḫuntassa in the Lower Land, as the apex of a religious reform promoting the cult of the Storm-god of Lightning at the expense of other major deities of the Hittites.'

The Hittites were, of course, already familiar with the introduction of new cults and the promotion of any of the various hypostases of the main deities. As early as the dawn of Hittite history, perhaps in the time of King Anitta, the Hittites developed a religious system mostly based on the Hattian cults and assumed a flexible pantheon structure, which facilitated adoption of new deities (Tatišvili 1996: 10–11; 2004b: 94ff.). Hittite religion was open to various religious influences, such as Mesopotamian, Hurrian, Luwian, etc. So, why should the promotion of one more hypostasis of the Storm god be called a reform, and why should it be associated with the transfer of the capital (Taracha 2007: 757; 2008)?

Already in the first study in which he treated the problem, Singer (1996) convincingly showed that Muwatalli introduced important changes to Hittite religion. The ideas and comments presented in various parts of the study can be combined into the following statement: a deity of a new type—'a more universal hypostasis of the Storm-god' (Singer 1996: 161), 'the Storm-god (of Lightning) *piḫaššašši*... was "discovered" (not to say "created") by Muwatalli

and adopted by him as his "personal god"' (ibid.: 186). It marked the "'opening of a new page" in relations between gods and the king' (ibid.: 163). And finally, if we take Ḫattusili's own words at face value, 'Muwatalli moved his capital "at the command of his god"' (ibid.: 193), it should not be ruled out that Muwatalli's intentions were even more far-reaching, as I have tried to show elsewhere (Tatišvili 2004a: 157; 2004b: 107; 2005: 718).

The results of Muwatalli's attempted reform were not likely to have been lasting. This can be inferred from the situation during the reigns of the following kings. The traditional gods are treated with particular respect, and a marked return to earlier customs is obvious. The great kings succeeding Muwatalli worship their old or newly adopted gods again in Ḫattusa. The patron of Ḫattusili III on his way to the throne is Ištar, while after ascending the throne, he and his spouse Puduḫepa repeatedly testify to their devotion to the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

Ḫattusili's attitude to the acts of his royal brother is also noteworthy. In the prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (CTH 383) Ḫattusili distances himself from the deeds of his predecessors, especially those of his brother Muwatalli. He mentions the offences his father Mursili II, his brother Muwatalli and his nephew Urḫi-Teššub committed against the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the deities of her circle. The following passage seems particularly important (i 1'–15'):

Whether the trans[fer of the gods was] in accordance with the wish [of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, or whether it] was [not in accordance with your] wish, you, [my lady,] are the one who knew [that in your soul, O Goddess, my lady. But I was not] involved [in that] order of the trans[fer] of the gods [in any way]. [For me it was a matter] of compulsion, [because] he was my master. But [the transfer] of the gods was not in accordance with my wish, and I was rather worried concerning that [order]. Concerning the silver and the gold of all the gods [...], to which god he gave whose silver and gold, in that decision, too, I was not [involved] in any way (Singer 2002: 98).

We may see Ḫattusili's attempt to distance himself from Muwatalli's deeds, as well as from his god, also in the phrase, 'Now, when my brother Muwatalli at the behest of his own deity went down to the Lower Land, he left (the city of) Ḫattusa behind' (Apology, i 75–76; van den Hout 1997: 200). In both cases it seems that Muwatalli's god was alien to Ḫattusili.

If indeed Ḫattusili neglected the god of Muwatalli, it would be quite natural to suppose that in his apology Ḫattusili could have applied to the deity the epithet 'evil' (*ḫuwappa-*). Leaving the deity nameless—merely calling him a 'deity',⁸ or applying to him epithets, whether 'great' in international correspondence,⁹ or 'evil' in local propaganda—can be regarded as a step aimed at consigning the deity to oblivion.

Itamar Singer's hypothesis may thus help to interpret the passage in question, which in turn serves as another argument in favour of his assumption. If Ḫattusili opposed Muwatalli's deeds and his god, expressing his position more or less explicitly, Muwatalli's acts must have been appreciated by the Hittites themselves as remarkable changes, i.e., as a 'reform'.

⁸ See '...to which god he gave...' in the fragment above.

⁹ The 'Great Deity' mentioned in Puduḫepa's letter to Ramses (KUB 21.38) may perhaps be 'Muwatalli's personal god' (Singer 1998: 538; Houwink ten Cate 1974: 126). Of course, the epithet 'great' is not pejorative—a negative epithet for the deity of one's own country in international correspondence is hardly to be expected—but an anonymous 'great deity' was easy to replace or forget.

⁶ I am grateful to Eyot for sharing materials from his PhD thesis with me.

⁷ Cf. the translation 'böse' of the same word in iv 12 (Goetze 1925: 33; Otten 1981: 25).

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A 'New' Prayer from the 'House on the Slope'*

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In his book of Hittite Prayers Itamar Singer published a new translation of 'Mursili's Hymn and Prayer to the Sun goddess of Arinna' (CTH 376.A).¹ It is a long invocation to the Sun goddess of Arinna in which the king laments the pestilence in the land of Hatti and the hostilities of neighbouring countries. A second version, known as the 'Short Plague Prayer (CTH 376.C)',² presents only the king's plea to the gods and the Sun goddess of Arinna.³ Its most complete exemplar, KUB 24.4+KUB 30.12, dates to the Middle Hittite period and therefore cannot be attributed to Mursili II. It could belong to the period of Suppiluliuma I or even earlier, but unfortunately no royal name is preserved.⁴ Parallel to these two versions, CTH 376.A and C, there is a number of small fragments written during the imperial period. They may have belonged to a set of similar prayers composed for other kings after Mursili's reign.

In this paper a new reconstruction of one version of the prayer is presented, based on the indirect joins KUB 30.13(+KBo 12.132(+VBoT 121. Two of the fragments, KUB 30.13 and KBo 12.132, are part of the same tablet, a join discovered by the author during a stay at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara in the summer of 2008 while collating the few prayer fragments found in the area L/18 at Hattusa, in the debris of the early excavations of the so-called 'House on the Slope' ('Haus am Hang').⁵

Many similarities in the external features and the script of the texts are evident. The main problem in linking these pieces together was the clear attribution of the first fragment to CTH 376, a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna,⁶ and the second to CTH 375, on the assumption of some parallelism with the Prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal.⁷ But a careful analysis of KBo 12.132 reveals that ll. 8'–10', though fragmentary, can be fully reconstructed on the basis of KUB 24.4+ rev. 1ff. and KUB 24.3+ ii 44ff. (CTH 376). The further assumption that VBoT 121⁸ likely represents part of the same tablet results in a new version of the Plague Prayer, composed in the late Hittite period on the basis of the other prayers grouped under CTH 376.⁹

* I would like to thank Franca Pecchioli Daddi for her comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

1 Singer (2002: 49–54). See also the section of KUB 24.3+ published by García Trabazo (2002: 289–303).

On Hittite royal prayers in general, see Houwink ten Cate (1969: 81–98).

2 Güterbock (1958: 244) and Singer (2002: 44–45).

3 Corresponding to KUB 24.3+ ii 1–59.

4 Already Carruba (1983: 4–5).

5 I would like to thank Dr. Rukiye Akdoğan for her constant support during my stay at the museum.

6 It parallels KUB 24.3+ ii 3'ff. and KUB 24.4 ii.

7 Against this possibility, see already Neu (1983: 396). See also the remarks of van den Hout (2007: 404).

8 I thank Ulla Kasten, Associate Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, who sent me a digital photo of VBoT 121 (Goetze 2). This join must remain a suggestion, since the fragment is housed in Yale. Already Güterbock (1958: 244 and n. 48), suggested that VBoT 121 and KUB 30.13 could belong to the same tablet.

9 See Carruba (1983: 3–8). About the Plague Prayers, see also Houwink ten Cate (1969: 81–98).

The text was written only on the obverse of the tablet. According to this new reconstruction it would have consisted of about fifty lines.¹⁰ The reverse, preserved in KBo 12.132 and VBoT 121, was apparently unwritten except for a paragraph preserved in KBo 12.132. The most striking fact is that the paragraph divisions of the three pieces overlap exactly those of KUB 24.4+. The tablet itself, however, was bigger than KUB 24.4+, as it contains on a single face the same number of paragraphs written on both sides of the latter. The final lines of VBoT 121 consist of a short KIN oracle investigation that represents the conclusion of the prayer.¹¹

Transliteration and translation of the three fragments is presented here in their reconstructed sequence:

KUB 30.13(+KBo 12.132(+VBoT 121 obv.

- x+1¹² [(*ki-i* DINGIR^{MEŠ}) *ku-it i-(ia-at-tén nu ħi-in-kán)*] *tar-na-at-tén nu* K[(UR^{URU} KÙ.BABBAR)-*t(i)*]
 2' [*ĥu-u-m(a-an-pát* BA.ÚŠ *nam-ma-aš-ma-aš* NINDA^{MEŠ} *ĥar-ši-in)*] DUG^{MEŠ} *iš-pa-an-tu-zi*[(*-ia*¹³ *Ú-UL* *k)u-iš-ki* (*-ia-zi*)]¹⁴
- 3' [(LÚ.MEŠ)APIN.LÁ (A.ŠÁ A.GÀR^{HI.A} DINGIR-LÍ *k)*] *u-i-e-eš an-ne-eš-ker na-a*[*t* (*e-ker nu nam-ma* A.ŠÁ A.)GÀR^{HI.A} DINGIR-LÍ]
 4' [Ú-UL (*a-ni-ia-an-zi wa-ar-aš-ša-an-zi*) Ú-U] *L ku-iš-ki* MUNUS^{MEŠ} NA⁴AR[(A₅ ŠA DINGIR^{MEŠ} NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{HI.A} *ku-i-e-eš e-eš-še-er*]
 5' [(*na-at e-ker nu nam-ma*) Š]A DINGIR^{MEŠ} 15 NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{HI.A} 16 Ú-UL
 [*ia-an-zi*]¹⁷
- 6' [(UDU *a-ú-li-ú-uš-k)*]án GU₄^{HI.A} UDU^{HI.A} *ĥa-a-li-ia-az a*[(*-ša-u-na-az ku-e-ez-za-aš* *kar-aš-k)e-er nu* LÚ.MEŠSIPA GU₄]
 7' [(LÚ.MEŠSIPA.UDU *a-k)*] *e-er*¹⁸ *ĥa-a-li-ia a-ša-a-u-w*[(*a-ar*)]¹⁹²⁰
- 8' [(*nu ú-iz-zi* 'A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ} NINDA.GUR₄.R)]A^{HI.A} DUG^{MEŠ} *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi*²¹
 [(UDU *a-ú-li-ú-uš-ša kar-š*) *a-an-ta-ri*]
 9'²²[(*nu-un-na-aš ú-wa-at-te-ni* DING)]IR^{MEŠ} *a-pé-e-da-ni-ia ud*[(*-da-ni wa-aš-du-li* *ĥar-te-ni*)]

10 For a join sketch, see *Konkordanz*: 2156/g.

11 Berman (1983: 7–8).

12 KUB 30.13. Dupls. KUB 24.3+ ii 3'ff. and KUB 24.4+ obv. 1'ff. (from l. 4' of KUB 30.13).

13 KUB 24.3+ ii 5': DUG^{MEŠ} *iš-p) a-an-du-zi-ia*.

14 Omitted in KUB 24.3+ ii between ll. 5' and 6'.

15 Omitted by KUB 24.3+ ii 10' and KUB 24.4+ obv. 2'.

16 HI.A omitted in KUB 24.3+ ii 10'.

17 Omitted in KUB 24.3+ ii between ll. 10' and 11'.

18 KUB 24.3+ ii 13': *e-ker*; KUB 24.4+ obv. 4': *a-ke-er*.

19 HW² A: 394: [sind] die Hürden (für Großvieh) (und) die Pferch[e leer (o. ä.)]. Compare García Trabazo (2002: 294 with n. 24).

20 Omitted in KUB 24.3+ ii between ll. 13' and 14'.

21 KUB 24.4+ obv. 5': *iš-pa-an-d*[*u-*].

22 Ll. 9–12 are parallel to KBo 57.20, 1'ff.; see Miller (2008: 129).

		23
10'	[(<i>na-aš-ta A-NA DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU ha-at-ta-t</i>)] <i>ar-šum-mi-it</i> ²⁴ <i>har-ak-ta</i> [	
11'	[(<i>nu ku-un-na-an ku-it i-ia-(u)-e-ni</i>)] <i>n</i> [(<i>a-at NU.GÁL</i>)] ⁽²⁾²⁵	
12' []x x[		
Ca. 10 lines missing		
empty space		
x+1	[(<i>nu KUR^{URU} Ha-at-ti i-da-a-la-u-wa-an-ni ša-an-ḫi-iš-kán-z</i>)] <i>i</i>	
	<i>É^{MEŠ}.DINGIR^{MEŠ}-ma</i>	
2'	[(<i>la-u-wa-ar-ru-na ša-an-ḫi-iš-kán-zi</i>) ²⁶	-l]a-aš-ma
3'	[	ZA.GA]R.RA ^{H1.A} <i>pí-ip-pé-er</i>
3a'	É.DINGIR ^{MEŠ} -ia <i>ša-ar-wa-er URU^{H1.A}-m</i> [a]	
3b'	ŠA ^d <i>Tu-wa-ša-i</i> [l	
3c'	<i>ša-an-ḫe-eš-kán-zi</i> ²⁷	
4' [		šu-ul-l]a-an-da ²⁸ KUR.KUR ^{MEŠ} -T ⁱ
5' [		-]ia-an-ta-ma
6' [		]x LÚ.MEŠSIPAD.UDU
		LÚ.MEŠ<SIPAD>.ŠAH-ia
7' [		ar-]kam-ma-an pí-d-da-a-er
8' ²⁹ [		(A-NA ^d UTU ^{URU} A-ri-in-na a-ra-a-u-e-eš-še-er) ³⁰ a]r-kam-ma-an ³¹
		ar-ḫa
9' [(<i>pé-e-eš-še-er nu EGIR-pa KUR^{URU} Ha-at-ti GUL-ḫa-an-ni-ia-u-wa-an da-a-er</i>		
		<i>nu ka-r</i>)]u-ú KUR ^{URU} Ha-a[t-ti]
10' [(<i>IŠ-TU^dUTU^{URU} A-ri-in-na⁽²⁾ a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš A-NA KUR.KUR^{H1.A}-Tⁱ</i>		
		UR.MA)]H ³² <i>ma-a-an</i> [(<i>šar-ḫi-iš-ki-it</i>)] ³³

23 Omitted in KUB 24.3+ ii 17' before *na-aš-ta*.

24 KUB 24.4+ obv. 8': *ha-at-ta-ta-šum-mi-it*.

25 Traces of a sign (NA) are visible on the photo.

26 The integration of ll. 1'–2' is based on KUB 24.4+ obv. 19–20. The sentence is missing in KUB 24.3+ ii.

27 The three lines on the reverse are indicated as 3a', 3b' and 3c'. See below for the interpretation and motivation of this choice.

28 See KUB 24.4 obv. 23. [...*ḫu-m*]a-an-da is also possible; see van den Hout (2007: 403).

29 KUB 24.4+ rev. 1ff. and KUB 24.3+ ii 44ff.

30 KUB 24.4+ obv. 28: A-NA^dUTU^{URU} A-ri-in-na a-ra-a-u-e-eš-še-er; KUB 24.3 ii 42: A-NA^dUTU^{URU} A-ri-in-na a-ra-a-u-e-eš-ta.

31 KUB 24.3+ ii 42': *ar-ga-mu-uš*.

32 The traces suggest rather MAḪ than EN. Compare van den Hout (2007: 403).

33 KUB 24.3+ ii 44'ff. KUB 24.4+ rev. 2ff.: *nu ka-ru-ú KUR^{URU} Ha-at-ti URU^{URU} A-ri-in-na [] za-aḫ-ḫa-it a-ra-aḫ-zé-na KUR-e UR.MAḪ ma-a-an a-ar[-aš-ki-it]*. See also the parallel versions KBo 53.9, 1'–4' and KBo 53.13 rev. iii 7'–9'.

		34
11'	[	]'har ³⁴ -n[i-in-ki-iš-ki-it ⁽²⁾³⁵]
Ca. 5 lines missing		
x+1	³⁶ [(<i>ku-iš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-</i>)]'na ³⁷ [-aš] ³⁷ U ³⁷ -U[(<i>L na-aḫ-ḫa-an-za na-aš-ta</i> ³⁸ <i>le-e</i>)]	
2'	[(<i>a-aš-ša-a-u-e-eš</i>)]'i-da-la-u-aš ³⁹ <i>har-k</i> [(<i>án-zi na-aš ma-a-an 1-EN URU^{K1.40}</i>)]	
3'	[(<i>na-aš-ma 1</i>)]-EN É-TU ₄ <i>na-aš-ma 1-EN</i> [(<i>LÚ nu DINGIR^{MEŠ} a-pu-u-un-pát</i>	
	<i>1-EN ḫar</i>)-ni-in-kán-du]	41
4' [(KUR ^{URU} Ha-at-ti)]i-ma-kán ⁴² DINGIR ^{MEŠ} ⁴³ an-da SI[G ₅ -it (IGI ^{H1.A} -it a-uš-tén)]		
5' [i-da-a-lu-ma ḫi-in-ká]n i-da-la-u-aš KUR-e-aš ⁴⁴ pé-eš-t[én]		
6' [I-NA KUR ^{URU}]KÚ ³⁷ .BABBAR-ti-ma ma-a-ú še-eš-du [nu KUR ^{URU} Ha-at-ti]		
7' [EGIR-pa k]a-ru-ú-i-li-at-ta ki-ša[-ru ⁴⁵		]
8' [ma-a-an] LUGAL-uš-ma I-NA ^{URU} PÚ-na ar-ku-wa-ar i-i[<i>a-zi nu KIN SIG₅-ru</i>		
9' [] da-a-aš nu-kán an-da SIG ₅ -u-i I-NA U[D.x.KAM pa-a-iš] ⁴⁶		
10' [ar-ku-]wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-ar ⁴⁷ ME-aš na-at A-N[A		pa-a-iš]
11' [ZAG-tar] ⁴⁸ NINDA.GUR ₄ .RA A-DAM-MA ⁴⁹ ME-aš na-at p[a-an-ga-u-i pa-a-iš]		
empty space		

[O Gods, why did you do these things?] You let [the pestilence] spread, and [the whole] la[nd of Ḫatti is dying]. Nobody [is preparing for you bread loaves] and libations [anymore]. / [The plowmen] who constantly worked [the fields of the gods died, and] none of them [work and reap the fields of the gods anymore]. The grinding wome[n who prepared constantly

34 Omitted in KUB 24.3+ ii between ll. 45' and 46'.

35 KUB 24.4+ rev. 4.

36 VBoT 121. Dupls. KUB 24.3+ ii 55'ff., KUB 24.4+ rev. 10ff.

37 KUB 24.4+ rev. 10: A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ}.

38 KUB 24.4+ rev. 11: *na-pa*.

39 KUB 24.3+ ii 56': *i-da-a-la-u-wa-aš an-da 'har-kán-zi'*.

40 KUB 24.4+ rev. 12: URU-LU₄.

41 Omitted in KUB 24.3+ ii 59.

42 KUB 24.4+ rev. 14: KUR^{URU} Ha-at-ti-ma-aš-ša an[-da].

43 KUB 24.4+ rev. 14 omits DINGIR^{MEŠ}.

44 KUB 24.4+ rev. 15: *ut-'ne'-i[a-aš]*.

45 Cf. KUB 14.12 rev. 14 (CTH 378): *na-at še-eš-du ma-a-ú na-at ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-a-ta pa-r[a-a]*; Singer (2002: 56–57).

46 Cf. KUB 5.24+ i 36 (CTH 755): *nu-kán an-da SIG₅-u-i I-NA UD.2.KAM DINGIR^{MEŠ} GUB-e[r]*.

47 According to HW² A: 312, this expression first appears during the reign of Muwatalli II, in the colophon (rev. 24') of his prayer to the Storm-god of Kumanni (CTH 382); see Singer (2002: 81–85).

48 Or TI-tar; as, e.g., in KUB 16.66, 33'.

49 Cf. the expression: ŠA LUGAL ADAMMA ME-aš in oracular texts, e.g.: KUB 6.5 obv. 2'–3' (CTH 572): LUGA[L-uš-za ZAG-tar A-DAM-MA NINDA.GUR₄.RA / ME-aš nu [] pa-]an-ga-u-i pa-iš; KUB 6.14 rev. 15' (CTH 578): -]ma-za ZAG-tar A-DAM-MA ta-pa-aš-ša-an NINDA.GUR₄.RA mu-ki-iš-ša-ar ME-aš. On ADAMMA, see Güterbock (1950: 228 and n. 65b).

the bread loaves of the gods died, and] they don't [prepare] the bread loaves of the gods anymore. / The cowherds [and shepherds] from whatever corrals [and fold] they used to select [them, the sacrificial] cattle and sheep, [died], and the corrals and fold [are empty]. / [So it is happening that the bread loaves], libations [and sacrificial animals for the gods are neglected. O Go]ds, [proceed to consider us guilty] in this m[at]ter. / [To mankind], our⁵⁰ [wisdo]m has been lost. [Whatever we do right, is worthless].

[... They constantly seek to damage Hatti] and [seek to despoil] the temples of the gods [...]. They overthrew [the altars], they plundered⁵¹ the temples, and they constantly sack the cities of the god Tewašail (= their lord)^(?),⁵² / [...] the belligerent countries⁵³ [...]. Shepherds and swineherds [...]. [...] They carried the tribute. / [...] They set themselves free before the Sun goddess of Arinna. [They] dis[continued] the tribute, [and they began to attack the land of Hatti. In the] past the land of Ha[t]ti, [with the help of the Sun goddess of Arinna^(?)], like a li[on, used to maul the surrounding countries⁵⁴] / [the lands...] it destroyed [...].

[He who is] not [pious] toward the [gods, may not the good ones] succ[umb] to the evil ones. [Whether it is a single city or a single] house or a single [person, let the gods destroy only that one]. / O Gods, [look at the land of Hatt]i with bene[volent eyes], give [the bad pestilen]ce to the bad countries. / May there be growth and prosperity [in the land] of Hatti!⁵⁵ May it become as be[fore (as it used to be)!] / [If] the king ma[kes] a plea in Arinna, [let the KIN be favourable]. He took the [...] and [gave it] for the good in the [...] day. He took the 'presenting the prayer'⁵⁶ and gave it to the [...]. He took [the right side], the blood, the bread and [gave it to the] mu[l]titude].

When the three fragments are considered together this text appears to be a later copy of an older manuscript.⁵⁷ Older and newer signs are present in all the fragments. In some cases the same sign is written in two different ways, like MEŠ in KBo 12.132 (ll. 1' and 4'), NA (ll. 3', 10' and 11') and DA in VBoT 121 (ll. 4' and 9'). Despite the similarity to the Plague Prayers, this 'new' version from the 'House on the Slope' has several peculiarities.

50 According to Singer (2002: 52 and n. 4).

51 The verb *saruwe-* is attested in a similar context in the prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal, KUB 13.124 ii 13–15 (CTH 375): 'They took as plunder silver, gold, rhyta, cups of silver, gold and copper, as well as your implements made of bronze (and) your clothes and divided them among themselves'; CHD Š: 298b.

52 A god Tuwašail is attested in KBo 37.157, 8' (^d*Tu-u-wa-ša-il*). See also the analogous form ^d*Tu-up-ḫa-ša-il* (*Tuḫašail* < w = ph) in KBo 41.74 ii 23'. (I would like to thank J.L. Miller and O. Soysal for their suggestions about these forms.) Cf. van den Hout (2007: 404 and n. 11), who reads Tewašail. The sign TE, however, is unconvincing. Collation of the original shows that between AN and the following sign (l. 3b' of the reverse) there are two more wedges. For similar Hattian constructions of divine names, see Soysal (2004: 183, 249, 279, 459–460).

53 Or '[a]ll the countries'; see n. 28

54 On the metaphor of the lion, see Collins (1989: 46–47).

55 For this formulaic expression, see the Illuyanka Myth, KBo 3.7 i 5; see Pecchioli Daddi & Polvani (1990: 49). See also the comments by Kassian & Yakubovich (2007: 451).

56 HW² A: 312–313.

57 On the fragment KUB 30.13, see Klinger & Neu (1990: 149–150). Cf. the palaeography of the parallel prayers KUB 24.4+ and KUB 24.3 in Neu & Rüster (1975: 18ff.).

The first is the external features of the tablet. The text was written only on a single side; one paragraph was inserted at a later juncture on the reverse when the clay was partly dry, a detail demonstrated by the contrasting features of the handwriting.⁵⁸ This portion is inverted compared to the usual orientation of writing on the reverse. Pace van den Hout (2007: 403), though, all the lines added on the reverse (3a', b' and c') can be considered the continuation of the text in obv. 3' and should be read before obv. 4'. In fact, there is no paragraph divider between the lines on the reverse, as van den Hout's (2007: 403) transliteration indicates. A further argument is that obv. 3' continues over the edge of the tablet onto the reverse, while the other lines of the reverse are not connected with obv. 4'ff. Indeed, Otten's copy (KBo 12.132) precisely reproduces the appearance of the two sides of the tablet. This unusual feature may be the result of the scribe having forgotten to write these lines on the obverse in the correct sequence while copying the text from some other tablet and then inserting the missing lines between obv. 3' and 4' by prolonging 3' onto the reverse.

The paragraph dividers of all three fragments were drawn with an unsteady hand, and there are two empty paragraphs at the beginning of KBo 12.132. What appears to be a double line marks the beginning of the written text, but it is difficult to determine whether it is actually a double paragraph line⁵⁹ or just the consequence of the unsteady hand of the scribe who seems to have redrawn the line.⁶⁰ Perhaps this manuscript was part of the raw material prepared for the composition of a new prayer and then stored in order to keep record of its content.

The second distinctive aspect of this manuscript relates to its content. Only a few lines (KBo 12.132, 2'–7') cannot be fully reconstructed according to KUB 24.4+ and its parallel copies. The lines which do not match the main versions of the Plague Prayer refer to hostile countries. This fact can be explained by assuming that the scribe, who was in all probability preparing a prayer for a different historical occasion and/or for a different king, listed a series of enemy countries more current than those mentioned in the Middle Hittite prayer KUB 24.4+ and in Mursili's II version, KUB 24.3+.⁶¹

The conclusion (VBoT 121, 8'–11') is an oracular investigation that concerns the recitation of the prayer in Arinna. In fact the colophons of the prayers (CTH 376) to the Sun-goddess of Arinna specify that the king could recite the invocation not only in Hattusa, but also in other cities:

His majesty [entrusted^(?)/dictated^(?)] to me the word/matter. [...] I went [and invoked] the gods [in Hattusa^(?)], in Arinna, in Zi[ppalanda]...⁶²

I have invoked the Sun-goddess of Arinna in Hattusa for seven days, and I have also invoked her for seven days in Arinna.⁶³

58 See the remarks of van den Hout (2007: 404–405).

59 Van den Hout (2007: 404).

60 At least on the part of the tablet close to the right side.

61 See Carruba (1983: 6–7).

62 KUB 24.4+ rev. 18–21, according to the translation of Singer (2002: 45).

63 KUB 24.3+ iv 1'–6', according to the translation of Singer (2002: 54).

The aim of the KIN oracle preserved in VBoT 121 was to ascertain where this particular prayer under elaboration should be recited.⁶⁴ The oracle is incomplete, however. Only one response is reported,⁶⁵ perhaps that with a positive result—although this part is missing—the main elements of which were needed later for the composition of the new prayer.⁶⁶ The writing of new prayers was carried out on the basis of oracular investigations and by means of painstaking research in the archives of the city (Singer 2002: 47–48).⁶⁷ Both were accomplished not only in order to determine the cause of the gods’ anger, but also to establish how and where ritual ceremony carried out in connection with the prayer had to be performed.

The name of the deity for whom the prayer was intended is not known. The first lines of KUB 30.13(+) (corresponding to KUB 24.3+ ii 1–9), which probably held the deity’s name, are unfortunately lost. The mention of the city of Arinna in the last part of the prayer (VBoT 121, 8’) is the only explicit element that connects the text to the Sun goddess of Arinna. It is not decisive, however. Apparently the prayers could be recited in each of the main Hittite holy cities for one of the major gods of the Hittite pantheon.⁶⁸ Of course the fact that the prayer could be addressed mainly to this deity is quite possible, since it corresponds very well to the prayers KUB 24.3+ and KUB 24.4.

The only allusion to a particular deity (KBo 12.132, 3’b) is to an otherwise unknown god Tuwašail.⁶⁹ This Hattian name seems more like an epithet related to the text’s content than a proper name, and it could refer to some male Storm-god from whom Hittite cities had been taken away.⁷⁰

As mentioned, this prayer comes from the ‘House on the Slope’ at Boğazköy/Hattusa, a building in the vicinity of Temple I. KUB 30.13 is one of the few fragments from the area that can be allocated to a precise room, No. 14.⁷¹ Van den Hout (2007: 402) has noted that only a few prayer fragments were found in this building, while the majority of prayers were filed away in the main temple. A fragmentary prayer of Tuthaliya IV addressed to the Sun-goddess of Arinna is known from the ‘House on the Slope’, the only document of this genre that can be undoubtedly attributed to this king.⁷²

With the new attribution of KBo 12.132 to CTH 376 it should be useful to note the distribution of the texts belonging to this particular group in the buildings of Hattusa. The original find spot of KUB 24.4+ is unknown, but it is possible that it was kept in the storerooms

64 See also the votive text KUB 15.22, 3’:]x I-NA URUPÚ-na ar-ku-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-an-’zi’ [kiš-a]n IK-RU-UB: ‘[When the king^(?) began] to present a plea in Arinna [... in the follow]ing way made a vow’; see de Roos (2007: 183–184).

65 About the KIN technique, see Archi (1974: 113–144) and Orlamünde (2001: 295–311).

66 Torri (2003: 216–222).

67 See the Second Plague Prayer of Mursili (CTH 378.II, §2–4; Singer 2002: 58). Also see Archi (1978: 85).

68 Although most probably the king recited them in the capital city. See also Singer (2002: 12–13).

69 See above, n. 52.

70 Franca Pecchioli Daddi informs me that in the Hattian texts the word *šail*, ‘Lord’, always refers to the Storm god. See Pecchioli Daddi (1995: 95), with ref. to Girbal (1986: 74). About the Storm god in Hittite sources, see Schwemer (2008: 21–22). See also Houwink ten Cate (1969: 89–91), who observes how prayers, when not directed to the whole assembly of the gods, were dedicated mostly to the Sun goddess of Arinna or to the Storm god of Hatti.

71 On the few fragments of Area L/18 found in the rooms of the building, see Torri (2008: 459–460). See also the remarks of van den Hout (2007: 403).

72 Singer (2002: 108–110).

of Temple I,⁷³ as were the majority of versions of this prayer (CTH 376), whether written in Middle Hittite script or in the New Hittite script:

Text (CTH 376)	Date	Location
KUB 24.3+	NH	T I
KUB 24.4+	MH	unknown
KBo 7.63 ⁷⁵	NH	T I
KBo 46.5	NH	unknown
KBo 53.9+	MH	T I
KBo 53.13	NH	T I
KBo 57.20 ⁷⁶	NH	T I
1229/u+	NH	T I
369/v	NH	T I
Bo 69/330	NH	T I

Among the fragments from the storerooms of Temple I, KBo 57.20 shows the same paragraph divisions as KUB 24.4+.⁷⁶ The same division is seen in the fragments from the ‘House on the Slope’, KUB 30.13(+). The correspondence in the paragraph divisions among these versions suggests that the newer texts may have been edited on the basis of KUB 24.4+, or some other common source.⁷⁷ This could be a significant link among the three copies: a Middle Hittite text (KUB 24.4+) and two New Hittite manuscripts coming from a text repository (the storerooms of Temple I) and from the *scriptorium* of the temple area, that is, the ‘House on the Slope’, respectively.⁷⁸ Van den Hout’s hypothesis (2007: 407), that some scribes of the ‘House on the Slope’ worked on the composition of new prayers, seems thus to be confirmed. However, the reconstructed text outlined above shows us that those scribes, at least in one case, had a precise model in front of them, that is, the Plague Prayer KUB 24.4+ and its later parallels. KUB 30.13(+) could represent an intermediate stage of elaboration on this hitherto unknown prayer.

73 The following table is based on *Konkordanz*, CTH 376. Van den Hout (2007: 408–409) observes that most of the older prayers come from Building A on the Büyükkale, with only few exceptions. However, it is seen here that six older texts were found in contexts other than Building A, a number that cannot be considered small in comparison with the total number of prayers. As a consequence, the criteria for their allocation to different buildings may not be (solely) related to their dating.

74 Miller (2008: 128) finds similarities in the handwriting of this fragment with that of KBo 57.20. The hypothesis that KBo 7.63 could indirectly join KUB 30.13 (Klinger & Neu 1990: 149–150) is not supported by the evidence. First, the fragments come from different find spots. Moreover (and more importantly) the manuscripts exhibit two different ductus, as I was able to ascertain by my collation of the photo in Mainz in November 2008.

75 Miller suggests an indirect join with Bo 69/330 (*Konkordanz*, CTH 376).

76 Miller (2008: 128).

77 For KUB 24.4 and its composition, see Carruba (1983: 4–5).

78 On this definition of the ‘House on the Slope’ as a *scriptorium*, see Torri (2009).

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A Note on Hittite Envelopes and HKM 86

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1. Letters are one of the most fascinating genres of Hittite literature. Diplomatic exchanges provide insight into high-level international contacts in the ‘global community’ that was the latter half of the second millennium BC in the Ancient Near East. Intra-state letters yield invaluable information about the inner workings of the Hittite state, and the *postscripta* in those same documents offer rare and probably the liveliest peeks into every-day Hittite society.

It gives us great pleasure to offer the following remarks to Itamar Singer, who has made so many essential contributions on all aspects of Hittite society and literature, letters among them, including his and Sh. Izre’el’s book *The General’s Letter from Ugarit* (Singer & Izre’el 1990), the important publication of ‘A New Hittite Letter from Emar’ (Singer 1999), as well as his recent contribution to the Festschrift for Israel Eph’al (Singer 2008), with its edition of the very difficult text KBo 18.54. We hope therefore that this note will pique his interest.

2. In the introduction to her edition of Hittite letters, Hagenbuchner (1989) brought together a wealth of information about letter writing in the Ancient Near East, focusing on the Hittite Kingdom and Empire: physical, graphic and stylistic attributes of the clay letters, their topics, scribes, messengers, routes and general logistics are all dealt with. One of the questions she raises is that of envelopes. Apart from a single uncertain example, not known to Hagenbuchner at the time, about which more below, there is no evidence for their use. Hagenbuchner (1989: 32) quotes the only textual hint at letter covers in the Hittite text corpus: *nu TUPPU ḫēš* ‘open the tablet!’ from KBo 18.48 obv. 17 (letter from the king to Ḫešni, NH). It is noteworthy that Hittite used the same proleptic idiom here that is attested for Akkadian (see CAD P: 347–348, under *petū* 2.a 1’ ‘to open’),¹ as do English and other modern languages, in which ‘opening a letter’ is short for ‘opening an (envelope in order to reveal the) letter (that is inside)’. No Hittite word for ‘envelope’ *vel sim.* is attested, or it has not been recognized thus far. The rare ^{GIS}DUB.ŠEN ‘Tafelbehälter’² seems not to have been used for tablets and is more likely to denote a ‘treasure box’.³

For the complete lack of clay envelopes in Anatolia, Hagenbuchner (1989) sees three possible explanations: either they were rarely used (perhaps only for important diplomatic contacts); they were recycled after opening; or they were not made of clay but of other materials such as cloth, leather or wood. Though each option is possible, the third one seems the most plausible. If clay envelopes had been a common feature one would have expected at least one or two examples to have escaped Hittite recycling efforts and to have shown up in the archaeological record. If they were therefore not used for internal correspondence they

may not have been used internationally either. Sealed diplomatic bags or non-clay containers would have offered a similar degree of security as clay envelopes. If a seal closing a leather bag could be forged, so could a clay envelope.

3. At this point the single alleged example of a letter with a clay envelope should be addressed. In his edition of the letters from Maşat Höyük, Alp (1991: 284, n. 427) described HKM 86a and 86b as the inscribed envelope (a) and its enclosed letter (b) respectively.⁴ The lower edges of both are partly preserved, allowing the determination of obverse and reverse. The documents do seem related in that they deal with troops (ÉRIN.MEŠ), even partly duplicating each other, it seems, with the country of Arzawa probably mentioned in both, although the latter depends on the restoration in (b) 9 (KUR ^{URU}A[r²-], which Alp based on KUR ^{URU}Ar-za-u-wa in (a) 10. As he also correctly observed, what he considered the letter (b) is upside down vis-à-vis what he dubbed an envelope (a) (see figure on opposite page). *Pace* Alp, however, the hands of (a) and (b) do not seem to be those of different scribes. There appear to be no striking systematic differences in sign shape or the order in which their constituent wedges were impressed into the clay. On the contrary, both should probably be attributed to the same individual. Both documents are marked by a somewhat shallow (due to a hurried writing?) impression of the wedges and verticals slanting to the left.

In the summer of 2008 I had the opportunity to examine HKM 86.⁵ Upon hearing of my intention to do so Prof. Cem Karasu informed me that he shared my doubts as to the status of these pieces as an envelope and its contents, and he mentioned the possibility of an original tablet having been overlaid with a fresh layer of clay that was in turn inscribed with a new text. Collation of the original document fully confirmed this. Usually, letters from Maşat Höyük are fairly thick and round, as shown, for instance, by HKM 72 (see figure). Assuming that HKM 86b would have been a similarly shaped letter, HKM 86a clearly could not have accommodated it. The document (b) simply could not have fit into its ‘envelope’ (a). Whereas the side of the object preserving the obverse of (a) and the reverse of (b) clearly shows two overlapping writing surfaces, there are no such indications whatsoever on the other side. It rather looks as if an original letter (b) was (partly) re-used in creating a new document (a). While the obverse of (b) was left unaltered, a new writing surface of fresh clay was superimposed upon Alp’s reverse (b), on which (a) was then written, its obverse covering (b)’s reverse.⁶ One can only speculate concerning exactly what procedure was used. Was the obverse still malleable enough to be smoothed out and inscribed again while the reverse had already dried too much? This would seem unlikely, since the obverse would have been inscribed first, and it therefore would tend to be the side that would dry first. Could it be that the scribe so completely muddled the reverse that he felt it would be easier to coat it with a new layer of clay and rewrite it rather than erasing and then writing over each line? For whatever reason, it must have seemed to the scribe more expedient to revert to this unusual procedure instead of forming an altogether

4 For a further historical evaluation of this letter, see de Martino (1996: 91ff.).

5 I am deeply grateful to the Director of the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi in Ankara, the late Dr. Hikmet Denizli and the curator of the tablets, Dr. Rukiye Akdoğan, for permission to collate this fragment in the summer of 2008.

6 An Old Babylonian example from Mari may show the same procedure *in statu nascendi* (Charpin 2008: 102, fig. 17). Prof. Jared Miller kindly informs me that the same phenomenon of two inscribed surfaces, one overlaying the other, can be observed on Bo 3080.

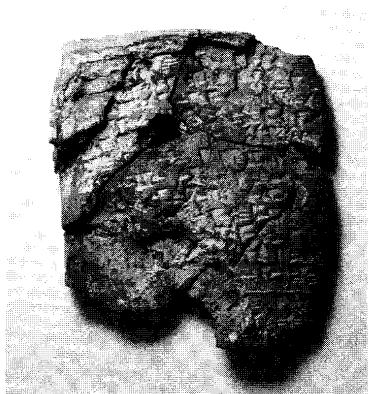
* The first author drafted the article, while the second author’s contributions are noted where they occur. Responsibility for the final version lies with both.

1 For envelopes in Mesopotamia, see most recently Charpin (2008: 111).

2 HZL: 99.

3 CHD P: 78, under *palsūwanza*.

new tablet. In any case, when the tablet was scorched in the conflagration marking the end of Maşat Level III around 1375,⁷ it burst along the seams of the overlay, exposing its inner core. The contents of the two documents as far as preserved seem to support this scenario.



HKM 86 rev.



HKM 86a obv.



HKM 86a lower edge



HKM 72 side

4. The decision not to send the letter in its original form (b) but to rewrite it may explain why the two texts are so closely related. As far as preserved, (a) 15–17 duplicate (b) 15–17, while (a) 9–11 parallel (b) 8–10. The intervening lines ([a] 12–14 and [b] 11–14) are completely different. Although lines (a) 1–8 are only fragmentarily preserved, the total lack of overlap with (b) 2–7 suggests that these two passages also contained a different text. The information conveyed in the reverse of (b) must have been seen, for whatever reasons, as no longer appropriate or simply wrong in order to prompt the rewrite.

Before discussing the contents of the relevant passages in more detail, a slightly revised transliteration, based on collation of the original, is offered here, starting with the original, that is, the inside letter (b).

⁷ Van den Hout (2007: 397ff.).

HKM 86b (original)

x+2 []x² ÉRIN.MEŠ
 3 [le]-e² da-²a²-at-ti
 4 [EGI]R²-pa-an pa-i nam-ma-aš-ma-aš
 5 [ki-i]š-ša-[a]n me-mi a-pu-u-un-w[a]
 6 [o]x ÉRIN.MEŠ ²Ú-UL² tum-me-e-ni
 7 ka-a-š[a]-²wa² tu-uz-zi-[eš/iš]
 8 ku-it an-[d]a a-ra-an-z[i]
 9 nu-wa-ra-aš nam-ma I-NA KUR ^{URU}A[r-za-u-wa]
 10 ²Ú-²[UL] pa-iz-zi nu-wa-²ra²-an a[n-da]
 11 [EGIR-pa ú-w]a-te-zi
 12 [o o o]k]u-wa-at a-da²-x[...]
 13 [o o o o] ²Ú-²UL² a-uš-tén
 14 []-wa-aš]-ma-aš ku-it

(b): [...] do[n]’t take the troops, give them [b]ack, then tell them [as f]ollows: ‘We will not take those...troops. Because just now troops are arriving, they (i.e., your troops) will no longer go to the country of A[rzawa] and he will [le]ad them [back] t[o (you)]. Why [...]...? Haven’t you seen what [...] there is [to/for y]ou?’

HKM 86a (overlying text)

x+6 []h]a-at-ra-a-mi
 7 [o o] tu-uz-zi-i]š ku-iš
 8 [o o]x x h]u-u-ma-an-da-aš
 9 [o o]a]n²-da a-ra-an-za
 10 [nu-wa-r]a-aš I-NA¹ KUR ^{URU}Ar-za-u-wa
 11 [²Ú-U]L pa-iz-zi nu-wa-ra-aš
 12 [EGIR-p]a ú-iz-zi
 13 [nu-uš me-e]k-ki na-aḫ-šar-nu-ut
 14 [o o o o] ša-r[a]-a ti-it-ta-nu-ut

(a): [...] I will [w]rite [to them?]: ‘[The troop]s² that have arrived in/to/for all [...], will [no]t go to Arzawa. They will come [bac]k’. You must instill [gre]at fear [in them and] put them on alert!

Brief commentary

HKM 86b

- 3: Given the Hittite common gender behind Sum. ÉRIN.MEŠ, Alp’s restoration to [ku]-e is not possible. Since his reading [...]e is likely, restoring the prohibitive *lē* fits both the space and the context.
- 6: Reading based on collation (see photograph).

7: Because of the 3. plur. *aranz*[i], *tuzzi*- must be nom. plur., which can be spelled with either *-eš* or *-iš* in the final syllable; cf. GrHL: 87, §4.19. The plur. is appropriate since it refers to multiple military units coming to the sender of the letter, as opposed to the single unit of the people addressed in the quoted speech, referred to in ll. 4 (*-an*), 5–6 (*apūn...ÉRIN.MEŠ*), 9 (*-aš*) and 10 (*-an*).

11: ‘He’ is understood as referring to the person who was in charge of the actual requisitioning of the troops.

12–14: For a possible interpretation of these lines see below. The translation remains tentative.

HKM 86a

7–9: Restoration to [*tuzzi*]š is based on the parallel sentence in (b), though *tuzziš* must be sg. here because of the immediately following *kuiš*.⁸

14: *šarā tittanu*- is used to describe how the bee puts Telipinu back on his feet again after having stung him (CHD Š: 220, under *šarā* B 1 a 53' b'), reawakening and alerting him.

Both passages contain references to three parties, i.e., the sender (cf. *ḫatrāmi* in [a] 6), the addressee in the 2 sg. (cf. *dātti*, *pai*, *memi* in [b] 3–5, and *naḫšarnut*, *tittanut* in [a] 13–14) and a third party, an unnamed town’s representatives, referred to in the quoted speech by way of a 2 pl. (cf. *-šmaš* in (b) 4, 14², *aušten* ibid. 13). The letters seem to deal with troop movements in which plans to send military units to Arzawa in western Anatolia play a role. According to (b) the sender had initially ordered the addressee to requisition the third party’s troops in order to send them to Arzawa. However, while this order was being carried out, other troops arrived, and the sender told the addressee it was no longer necessary, that he could reassure the third party that their troops would not be sent to Arzawa and that they could expect them back shortly. It follows from (a), however, that the troops that the addressee had been ordered to take from the third party had meanwhile already reached the place where the sender wanted them to go. He now tells the addressee that he himself will write the third party not to worry and that they will be sent back. If this scenario is correct, it seems that when the original letter had been written but not yet sent, the troops had already been taken and arrived at their destination, thus rendering the message of (b) no longer current. In the revised letter (a) the sender wrote the addressee that he himself would assure them that the troops would return and that they were no longer destined to go to Arzawa. The last lines of the quote from (a) are again hard to understand. Did the sender urge his addressee to tell them to be very much on the alert, perhaps because they were temporarily without any military protection? Or should these words be taken literally in the sense that the town’s representatives had initially been disrespectful towards the sender’s emissary? Should they be forced to show more respect (*naḫšarnu*-) and be made to stand up for him (*šarā tittanu*-)? Perhaps this is what the enigmatic lines (b) 12–14 referred to. Whatever the meaning of these words and (a) 13–14 may have been, the two texts as a whole seem incompatible with each other and one can thus hardly have been the other’s envelope.

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⁸ This is therefore not a case of *aranza* standing for *aranzi*; for this phenomenon, see GrHL: 182ff.

Patahuli – Die Tochter des Priesters?

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In einem 1997 in Šarišša-Kuşaklı ausgegrabenen mittelhethitischen Brief (KuT 49)¹ berichtet ein „Bürgermeister“ (*HAZANNU*) dem „Obersten der Palastbediensteten“ (GAL DUMU^{MES} É.GAL) von den Resultaten einer Vogelorkelanfrage, mit der negativ ausgefallene Orakel einer MUNUSŠU.GI – zweifellos KIN-Orakel – überprüft werden sollten. In der Edition des Briefes ließ ich offen, ob der Adressat am Fundort des Briefes, also in Šarišša, wohnte oder ob die Briefe wegen der Katastrophe, der der Tempel C von Šarišša im 14. Jh. zum Opfer fiel, ihren Adressaten nicht mehr erreichten. In diesem Falle dürfte der Adressat zunächst die KIN-Orakel an seinem Wohnort eingeholt haben, während die Vogelbeobachtung an einem anderen Ort stattfinden sollte: *nu apiya=ya arḫa ariyandu* „und auch dort möge man gründlich Orakel einholen!“

Der Brief wurde zusammen mit einem zweiten, ebenso perfekt erhaltenen Brief (KuT 50)² gefunden, der ebenfalls (überwiegend) von Vogelorkeln handelt. Hier ist der Absender ein gewisser Ḫalpa-ziti,³ der seinem Herrn Bericht über die Einholung von Vogelflugorkeln erstattet, die von einem Palastbediensteten im Auftrag der Königin angefordert worden waren.

Wegen des hohen Amtes des Obersten der Palastbediensteten (KuT 49) und der Beauftragung durch die Königin (KuT 50) darf man annehmen, dass es um Vorgänge in der Hofgesellschaft der Hauptstadt Ḫattuša ging, wo wohl auch die KIN-Orakel eingeholt wurden. Als Ort der Einholung der Vogelflugorkel käme dann am ehesten der Fundort der nicht mehr abgeschickten Tafeln in Frage, also Šarišša. Daraus dürfte man folgern, dass der Ort berühmt war als Vogelorkelstätte, und hier denkt man unwillkürlich an den Heiligen Teich Šuppitaššu, der nach einem Festritual in einem Kultbezirk mit *ḫuwaši*-Steinen oberhalb der Stadt lag und der im Gebirgszug unmittelbar südlich von Kuşaklı identifiziert werden konnte.⁴ Dieser Ort dürfte nach hethitischer Auffassung für die Einholung von Vogelflugorkeln geradezu prädestiniert gewesen sein, da er die Anwesenheit der Götter in den zahlreichen *ḫuwaši*-Steinen⁵ mit der Präsenz zahlreicher Vögel verband.

Gegenstand der Orakelanfrage war der Zustand – wohl der Gesundheitszustand – einer Person, die als DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA (jeweils ohne Spatium) bezeichnet wird. Dies kann prinzipiell als „Sohn der Priesterin“ oder als „Tochter des Priesters“ verstanden werden. Verf. neigte zunächst der ersteren Interpretation zu,⁶ während Imparati in ihrem letzten, erst posthum erschienenen Aufsatz⁷ es – wie mir jetzt scheint, zu Recht – für plausibler hielt, den

Priestertitel ohne jeden Zusatz (Gottheit oder Ort) auf den Priester Kantuzzili zu beziehen,⁸ der zweifellos zur königlichen Familie gehörte, wobei trotz zahlreicher Bemühungen noch nicht sicher nachgewiesen werden konnte, ob er zur Generation Arnuwandas I. oder Tuthaliyas II. gehört.⁹ Das Prestige seines Amtes rührt wohl daher, dass er, wie später noch Telipinu, der Sohn Šuppiluliumas I., als Priester des Wettergottes von Kummanni die priesterlichen Funktionen des Königs von Kizzuwatna ausübte, für die nach der Abschaffung dieses Königtums in der späten Regierungszeit Tuthaliyas I. ein neues Amt geschaffen werden musste.¹⁰

Imparati hielt es für nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die in KuT 49 genannte Tochter des Priesters identisch ist mit der gleichfalls ohne Namen, allerdings auch ohne den Zusatz „(des) Priesters“, in dem anderen Brief aus Šarišša (KuT 50) genannten Tochter. Auch ihr Zustand ist Anlass der Einholung eines Vogelflugorkels, und hier gibt der Text genauere Auskunft: *A-NA DUMU. MUNUS-wa za-aš-ḫé-it an-da wa-al-ḫa-an-ni-iš-^(kat)-ta-at* „Auf die Tochter wurde in einem Traum¹¹ immer wieder dreingeschlagen.“¹² Hier ist es die Königin selbst, die über einen Palastbediensteten namens Ḫandapi den Auftrag zu der Orakelanfrage gegeben hat.¹³

8 So jetzt auch Marizza (2007: 62).

9 Imparati (1979: 169–176); Beal (1986: 436, Anm. 59); Freu (2002: 65–80); Singer (2002: 301–313) und Marizza (2007: 8, 17–32), jeweils mit Lit.

10 Wilhelm (1991: 102).

11 Text Instr. „durch/mittels eines Traumes“, s. GrHL: 268, §16.105.

12 KuT 50: 7, s. Wilhelm (1998: 184); die *ske*-Form des Durativs von *walḫ-* „schlagen“ ist sonst häufig bezeugt in militärischem Kontext („immer wieder/ständig überfallen, angreifen“) und im Zusammenhang mit Musikinstrumenten.

13 Mouton (2007: 20) nimmt in KuT 50: 7 eine Interpolation des Pluraldeterminativs vor (DUMU.MUNUS^{MES}), da auch in Z. 3 von Töchtern die Rede sei: *MAḪAR DUMU.MUNUS^{MES} (Ras.) SIG₅-in Ū ANA MAḪAR BĒLĪJA (4) SIG₅-in ešdu*. Die Annahme, dass es mehrere Töchter sind, die im Traum geschlagen wurden, führt Frau Mouton zu der Annahme, dass es sich um den Traum der Königin handele, die den Untersuchungsauftrag gab, nicht um einen Traum der „Tochter“. Die Interpolation ist jedoch nicht nötig, da es sich hier um ein Element des Begrüßungsformulars handelt, das mit dem Inhalt des Briefes keinen Zusammenhang haben muss und das ähnlich auch sonst vorkommt, wie der Vergleich mit HKM 49 Vs. 4–5 zeigt: *MAḪAR DUMU.MUNUS^{MES} ḫumandaš ḫūman SIG₅-in* „Bei allen Töchtern ist alles gut.“ Auch Haas (2008: 41) nimmt an, dass es sich um einen Traum der Tochter handele („Alptraum einer Königstochter“, wobei einzuschränken ist, dass die Königin zwar in der Sache engagiert ist und die Tochter daher zweifellos hohen Ranges, aber nicht notwendig Königstochter ist). Problematisch ist in KuT 50 allerdings das Verständnis des Begrüßungsformulars. Normal wäre als erster Satz die Formulierung **MAḪAR DUMU. MUNUS^{MES} ḫuman SIG₅-in* „Bei den Töchtern ist alles gut.“ Dies wäre eine Information des Absenders an den Empfänger über die Befindlichkeit von Personen, die sich in der Umgebung des Absenders aufhalten. Allerdings ist an der Stelle, an der **ḫuman* stehen müsste, ein Zeichen radiert, und der anschließende Wunsch für das Wohlergehen des Empfängers ist mit *Ū* „und“ angeschlossen. Verf. hatte dies in der Edition so interpretiert, dass der Schreiber versehentlich die falsche Formel wählte, sich beim Schreiben korrigierte und dann durch die Fortsetzung mit *Ū* den anschließenden Wunsch für das Wohlergehen sowohl auf die Töchter als auch auf den als „Herrn“ bezeichneten Empfänger beziehen wollte. Die Schreibung *Ū* unterstützt diese Interpretation insofern, als sie meist *-al-ya* entspricht und damit im vorliegenden Fall eher eine parataktische Reihung von Wörtern markiert, weil die zweite Formel des Begrüßungsformulars regelmäßig mit *nu* in syllab. Schreibung eingeleitet wird. (Das Corpus der Maṣat-Briefe bietet hierzu mit *Ū* für *nu* HKM 21: 18 nur eine einzige Ausnahme.) An anderer Stelle des Textes KuT 50 ist in der Tat von Töchtern die Rede, doch geht es hier um einen anderen Vorgang; insgesamt handelt es sich ja um drei Beobachtungen zu unterschiedlichen Fragen: einen Auftrag der Königin via Ḫandapi betreffs der Tochter (10–23), einen Auftrag des „Herrn“ via Upnalli zur Beobachtung des Weges (24–40) und die Beobachtung von *lahraš*-Vögeln in Bezug auf die „Töchter“ (41–43).

1 Wilhelm (1998: 175–180).

2 Wilhelm (1998: 180–187).

3 Für Überlegungen zur Person des Ḫalpa-ziti und zu der des Empfängers des Briefes s. Marizza (2007: 69–70).

4 Müller-Karpe (1997: 118–120; 1998: 108–109; 1999: 79–86); Tuba Ökse (1999: 86–91); und Stümpel (1998: 152–153); für die textliche Grundlage der Identifikation s. Wilhelm (1997: 9–14, 17–18).

5 Nach KuT 54 mindestens 10 *ḫuwaši*-Steine für verschiedene Götter, s. Wilhelm (2002: 351).

6 Wilhelm (1998: 178, Anm. 10).

7 Imparati (2003: 230–242), abgedruckt in Imparati (2004: 851–864, hier: 858–860, mit Anm. 40 und 44).

Für den in KuT 49 und insbesondere KuT 50 vorliegenden Zusammenhang gibt es Anknüpfungspunkte in KBo 32.224, dem mittelhethitischen Text eines bräunlich-hellroten Fragments, das in der Oberstadt von Hattuša zusammen mit Sedimenten aus rotem Lehmziegelbrand im Schutt in dem Wasserbecken 1 zwischen Tempel 3 und Tempel 4 gefunden wurde und das nach Meinung des Ausgräbers aus Tempel 3 stammen dürfte.¹⁴ Der Text ist verschiedentlich kurz kommentiert¹⁵ und von Fuscagni bearbeitet und diskutiert worden.¹⁶ Die Möglichkeiten der sicheren Ergänzung des Textes sind nicht nur aus inhaltlichen Gründen eng begrenzt, sondern auch, weil es zweifelhaft ist, ob die Tafel zweikolumnig war, wie die Editoren, KBo 32: VII, annahmen.

Der Text ist ein Bericht über Aussagen, die gegenüber einer Mehrzahl von Personen auf Nachfrage gemacht wurden; dies ist am deutlichsten in Vs. 10': ^{MUNUS}SUḪUR.LÁ *punušsuen* „wir befragten die Zofe“. Marizza nennt dies „un tipo di interrogazione giudiziaria“.¹⁷ Die Aussagen selbst sind teilweise ebenfalls in der 1. Ps. Pl. abgefasst, teilweise in der 1. Ps. Sg., und gelegentlich zitieren sie die Reden anderer, die dann, wie zu erwarten, durch die Partikel *-wa(r)-* gekennzeichnet sind.

Der Fall, um den es auf der Vs. der Tafel geht, handelt von einer Frau namens Pataḫuli. Über sie berichtet eine Mehrzahl von Personen (1. Ps. Pl.), deren Funktionsangabe auf dem Fragment nicht erhalten ist, bei denen es sich aber vermutlich um weibliches Dienstpersonal aus der unmittelbaren Umgebung der Pataḫuli handelt.

- 2' [

-a]t³[x š]e-e-š^u-en ¹Pa⁷-ta-ḫu-li-i-š-ma⁷-aš-ša-⁷an⁷
- 3' [

]ar-ḫa uš-ki-it mu-ú-li-iš-ma
- 4' [

]x-eš-ta
- 2' [...]

wir schliefen/ruhten. Pataḫuli aber
- 3' [...]

schaute aus [dem Fenster?]. Ein *mūli*(-Mann?) aber
- 4' [...]

... (Prät. 3. Ps. Sg.)

Die oben Anm. 15 zitierte Übersetzung der Stelle durch Otten und Rüster geht davon aus, dass die Tafel zweikolumnig war und daher am Zeilenanfang nur wenige Zeichen fehlen. Dies ist aber zweifelhaft, wie im Folgenden deutlich wird. Daher ist es keinesfalls sicher, sondern eher unwahrscheinlich, dass den Verben in Z. 3 und 4 die Nominative der jeweils vorausgehenden Zeile als Subjekt zugeordnet werden dürfen.¹⁸

14 Neve (1999: 119).
15 Otten & Rüster (KBo 32: VII) interpretieren den Text als „Bericht über Vorfälle bei Hofe“ und übersetzen Vs. 2'–4' folgendermaßen: „[...] wir schliefen⁹, die (Frau) Pataḫuli aber blickte aus [dem Fenster, dort] saß aber ein *mūli*(-Mann)“; mit der Ergänzung und dem Hinweis auf den Hukkana-Vertrag §32 (Rs. 53–58) machen sie deutlich, dass sie hier an ein Realereignis denken, nicht etwa an einen Traum. Klinger (1995a: 243ff., Anm. 28) spricht von einem „Text, der auf bestimmte Ereignisse am hethitischen Königshof eingeht, die...nicht recht klar werden“, ähnlich Klinger (1995b: 89). Für weitere Erwähnungen des Textes in der Forschungsliteratur s. die folgenden Fußnoten.
16 Fuscagni (2004: 147–154).
17 Marizza (2007: 150).
18 Nach CHD Š: 127–129 ist *-šan* nicht in Verbindung mit *au(š)-* / *uške-* bezeugt. Auch ist es unsicher, ob *mu-ú-li-iš-* Vs. 3' ohne Determinativ mit der Personenbezeichnung ^{LU}*mu-li*(-) (s. CHD L-N: 328) identifiziert werden darf. Otten (1991: 117) verbindet es stattdessen mit dem gleichfalls plene geschriebenen *mu-ú-li* des Kikkuli-Textes unbekannter Bedeutung (s. dazu CHD L-N: 328).

Der folgende Abschnitt beginnt mit dem in der 1. Ps. Sg. abgefaßten Bericht einer Person, deren Namen man am Anfang der Z. 5 erwarten möchte. Sie spricht von „Truppen von ‚Schwerbewaffneten‘ draußen“ (Vs. 5': ^{ÉRIN}^{MEŠ} ^{LÚ}.^{MEŠ}UKU.UŠ *arahzanta*), unter die sie sich gemischt habe (Vs. 6': ^{ÉRIN}^{MEŠ} ^{LÚ}.^{MEŠ}UKU.UŠ *anda immiyahḫat*),¹⁹ beendet den Bericht über ihr eigenes Tun ([...] *parā uwanun* „ich kam hervor“) und spricht dann von Pataḫuli, und zwar wiederum im Nominativ und in Verbindung mit *-šan*:

- 7' [

]... nu-uš-ša-an ¹Pa-ta-ḫu-li-i-š
- 8' [

wa-a]l-ḫa-an-ni-iš-ki-⁷iz⁷-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an
- 9' [

]x-wa-an-na-ša-at ḫa-[a]n-da-a-it-ta-at

Ob Pataḫuli das Subjekt des Prädikats in Z. 8 („er/sie schlägt immer wieder“) ist, hängt wiederum von der Frage ab, ob die Tafel keine Kolumneneinteilung aufwies oder zweikolumnig war. Im folgenden Satz wird mit *kiššan* die Zitation der Rede einer Mehrzahl von Personen eingeleitet, auf die der Dativ *-nnaš-* in Z. 9' Bezug nimmt. Ihre Namen und eventuell Funktionsbezeichnungen sowie ein verbum dicendi²⁰ sind am Anfang der Z. 9' zu erwarten; hier gewinnen wir – wie wohl schon aus Z. 5' – ein Argument dafür, dass die Zeilen jedenfalls nicht sehr kurz waren und wohl doch mit einer einkolumnigen Tafel gerechnet werden muss. Es wäre demnach möglich, dass am Anfang der Z. 8' eine Verbalform und das Subjekt des Verbs *walḫanniškizzi* abgebrochen ist. Der Satz *]x=wa=nnaš=at ḫandaāttat* „es wurde für uns [nicht]²¹ festgestellt“ ist eine Formulierung, die man am ehesten im Zusammenhang eines Orakelberichts erwarten würde. Eine mittelhethitische Parallele bietet ein Brief aus Mašat über Vogelorakel: *nu=nnaš=at ḫandaāttat* „und für uns wurde es festgestellt“ (HKM 47: 16).²¹ Freilich kann nicht gänzlich ausgeschlossen werden, dass trotz dieser Parallele das Passiv von *ḫandai-* hier eine der anderen, weniger häufig bezeugten Bedeutungen hat.²²

Der folgende Abschnitt (Vs. 10'–11') handelt von der Befragung einer namentlich genannten Zofe. Da mit dem Namen ein mit *-ma* eingeleitetes Kolon beginnt ([...] *-iyan=ma* ^{MUNUS}SUḪUR.LÁ *punušsuen* „wir fragten die Zofe [...] *-iya*“), ist anzunehmen, dass in derselben Zeile (nach Abschnittsstrich) ein Kolon vorausgeht, was wiederum für einen beträchtlichen Abstand zum Zeilenanfang spricht. Es wäre allerdings wohl auch möglich, dass der Topikwechsel auf die zuvor befragte Person Bezug nimmt, deren Namen am Anfang von Z. 5' zu erwarten ist.

Die nächste Aussage (Vs. 12'–14') handelt wieder von Truppen von „Schwerbewaffneten“, und zwar in einer nächtlichen Aktion, die aber unklar bleibt.²³

Die Rs. enthält ebenfalls Aussagen, es bleibt aber unklar, ob es hier um denselben Untersuchungsgegenstand wie auf der Vs. geht. Ein plausibler Zusammenhang ist kaum zu rekonstruieren.

19 Zur Bestimmung der Verbalform s. Neu (1992: 154ff. zu S. 363).
20 Entsprechend *memišta* in Vs. 12' und Rs. 15' wohl [*me-e-mi-ir*].
21 S. van den Hout (2001a: 438).
22 S. dazu Neu (1968: 40–44); Kammenhuber (1989); HW² H: s.v. *ḫandai*.
23 Zu Z. 10 s. van den Hout (2001b: 174).

In der Aussage einer Person Rs. 3'–7' wird ein „Mann der Stadt Ulpina“²⁴ erwähnt sowie ein Zirra, der einen Ḫattušili²⁵ in irgendeiner Weise behandelt.²⁶ Im nächsten Abschnitt ist von der Königin die Rede, wobei es wiederum um Ḫattušili geht.²⁷

Ungeachtet der Tatsache, dass der Text inhaltlich weitgehend unverständlich ist bzw. die Konstruktion verschiedener Szenarien zulässt, sind doch einige Punkte festzuhalten, die ihn mit den beiden Briefen aus Kušaklı verbinden.

KuT 49, KuT 50 und KBo 32.224 stammen aus mittelhethitischer Zeit. Es geht um eine hochrangige Dame des Königshofes, in KuT 49 um die Tochter des „Priesters“, in KuT 50 um die „Tochter“, für deren Schicksal die Königin Sorge trägt, in KBo 32.224 um eine Frau namens Pataḫuli, die – nach Interpretation von Vs. 2' in Verbindung mit Vs. 10' – über Zofen verfügte. Wenn die Rs. des Textes inhaltlich die Vs. fortsetzt, ist auch hier eine Beteiligung der Königin gegeben. In KuT 50 wird „auf die Tochter“ im Traum „immer wieder dreingeschlagen“ (*walḫanniškattat*), in KBo 32.224 findet sich im Zusammenhang mit Pataḫuli die Form *walḫanniškizzi* „er/sie schlägt immer wieder [auf jmd.] drein“. In KuT 49 und 50 geht es um Vogelorakel im Zusammenhang mit dem Zustand der „Tochter des Priesters“ bzw. „der Tochter“, in KBo 32.224 findet sich eine Formulierung aus dem Vokabular der Vogelorakel. In KuT 50 nimmt der Absender zusammen mit dem Palastbediensteten (DUMU.É.GAL) Ḫattušili die Vogelbeobachtungen vor, in KBo 32.224 Rs. ist von einem Ḫattušili in unklarem Zusammenhang die Rede.

Jede einzelne dieser Parallelen wäre nicht aussagekräftig genug, eine Verbindung zwischen den Vorgängen zu begründen. In der Kumulation erhalten sie größeres Gewicht, ohne aber beim gegenwärtigen Stand der Kenntnisse und angesichts der Interpretationsschwierigkeiten von KBo 32.224 zu einem gesicherten Schluss zu führen. Es muss daher bei dem Fragezeichen in der Überschrift dieses Aufsatzes bleiben.

24 HW² H: 196 bucht die Stelle Rs. 5' sub *ḫapp-* „gefügt machen“ und ergänzt ohne Übersetzung zu [X SAL. LU]GAL-š=a^{CRU} *Ulpina ḫappun* („Prt. Sg. 1.“). Eine plausiblere Deutung bietet van den Hout (1997: 731) mit der Bestimmung von *ḫappun* als Akk. Sg. von *ḫappu-* mit unklarer Bedeutung.

25 Eine Identifikation dieses Ḫattušili mit dem viel diskutierten Ḫattušili von KUB 36.109 bleibt fraglich; Klinger (1995a: 243, Anm. 28) hält eine Identität für möglich. Marizza (2007: 123) vermutet, der in Rs. 6' und 10' genannte Ḫattušili „si trovi in difficoltà“ und die in Rs. 9' und 10' genannte Königin sei an dem Fall interessiert.

26 Klinger (1995b: 89) transliteriert und übersetzt Rs. 6'f. folgendermaßen: (6') [...a]m-mu-uk^{*} m^{*}Zi-ir-ra-aš^{*} m^{*}Ha-at-tu-ši-li-in (7') [...h]u-ur-pa-a-al pi-ra-an e-ep-ta „Für mich hat Zirra den Ḫattušili vor dem... ergriffen“. Auch hier wäre bei Annahme längerer Zeilen eine andere Lösung denkbar, bei der am Anfang der Z. 7' eine transitive Verbalform den vorausgehenden Satz abschließt und ein Name/Nomen im Nom. als Subjekt von *e-ep-ta* folgt. Für [...h]u-ur-pa-a-al kommt aus dem bisher bekannten Lexikon wohl nur ^{GIS}hu-h]u-ur-pa-a-al (Akk Sg. n.) in Frage, welches als „Stock, Treibstock, Peitsche“ gedeutet wurde; s. Rieken (1999: 452–454). *peran* ist hier als Adverb „vorher“ (CHD P: 302, *peran* 3.a.1') zu verstehen.

27 Klinger (1995b: 89) bietet für Rs. 9'f. die folgende Transliteration und Übersetzung: (9) MUNUS.LUGAL pu-nu-uš-ta u-ni-wa ku-iš (10) [... m^{*}Ha-at-tu-ši-li-iš-wa UM-MA MUNUS.LUGAL-MA „Die Königin fragte: ‚Wer ist der?‘, [Ḫattušil]i (ist es).“ Folgendermaßen aber (sprach) die Königin“.

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The West Semitic God El in Anatolian Hieroglyphic Transmission

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1. Introduction

The deity whose name is derived from the common Semitic **ilu*, ‘god’, and conventionally rendered as El in religious-historical literature was venerated in a variety of West Semitic religious traditions.¹ The role of El (*il*) as the supreme god of the Ugaritic pantheon in the late second millennium is known from religious texts found in Ras-Shamra, such as the *Ba’lu*-epic. In the early first millennium, El (*ʾl*) and Rakib-El (*rkbʾl*) emerge as two separate members of the dynastic pantheon in the Syrian kingdom of Sam’al (Tropper 1993: 264, 276). An Old Aramaic inscription from Sefire lists El (*ʾl*) among the divine witnesses to an international treaty (Fitzmyer 1995: 42–43). Although *ʾl* is usually rendered as the appellative ‘god’ in the translations of the Hebrew Bible, some of the idioms in which this noun occurs appear to betray a continuity with the earlier worship of El as a separate deity in Canaan, in the period before he was assimilated into the cult of YHWH (e.g., Day 2002: 13–41).

The derived theonym Elkunirsa (**il qōnē’arš* ‘El-Creator-of-Earth’) belongs to a protagonist of *Elkunirsa and Ashertu*, a myth of Canaanite inspiration attested in Hittite cuneiform transmission (Hoffner 1998: 90–92). In a recent paper, Singer (2007), the honorand of this volume, explores the landmarks of the ‘Canaanite’ myths from Hattusa, concluding that they reflect the landscape of the Upper and Middle Euphrates rather than that of the Levantine coast. This indicates that the Hittite text of *Elkunirsa and Ashertu* represents the result of creative adaptation, which probably took place in Northern Syria and may reflect the spread of the Elkunirsa cult to the Hittite Empire, or at least to its southern periphery. This last conjecture finds a degree of support in the occurrence of **Ku-ni-ir-ša* in the offering list KUB 36.38 rev. 8 (Singer 2007: 636, n. 40).

In this contribution I will argue that the unextended name of El (**ila-*) is also attested in Anatolian transmission, albeit hidden in an adjectival derivative. The content of the Iron Age Luvian inscription TÜNP 1 leaves no doubt that its author saw El as a part of his own cultural universe, not an exotic foreign deity. I am offering these observations as a small token of gratitude to Professor Itamar Singer, whose guidance and friendship have been sustaining my research for several years, in the hope of many more years of fruitful intellectual interaction.

¹ I am grateful to D. Pardee (University of Chicago) for detailed comments on a draft of this paper, to M. Bachvarova (Willamette College), J. Scurlock (Elmhurst College) and A. Winitzer (Notre Dame University) for specific advice in matters of Syrian religion and to A. Manaster Ramer (Los Angeles) and Th. Wier (University of Chicago) for a number of stylistic improvements. Sole responsibility for the views expressed and any errors remains that of the author.

2. The Hieroglyphic Inscription TÜNP 1

The fragmentary inscription TÜNP 1 was found in the village of Tünp in the Oğuzeli district of Gaziantep province in the vicinity of the ancient town of Karkamiš (see map in Hawkins 2003: 142). It is incised on a basalt boulder, the right part of which has been chipped away. So far as one can judge from the shape of the stone, slightly more than half of the inscription is preserved (see photograph in Hawkins 2000: III, pl. 45). It is nonetheless clear from the available part of the text that it constitutes an entitlement stele commemorating the transfer of land, which originally might have functioned as a boundary stone. The inscription cannot be dated on internal grounds, but the latest edition (Hawkins 2000: I, 154–56) stresses its lexical similarities with the mid-eighth-century entitlement documents CEKKE and KARKAMIŠ A4a, both mentioning Kamani, king of Karkamiš, and tentatively assigns TÜNP 1 to the same period. Thus, TÜNP 1 probably reflects the final phase of Luvian literacy in the kingdom of Karkamiš.

Hawkins (2000) provides a somewhat agnostic translation of the inscription's most remarkable passage, rendering 'below, the earth (is) Ia-ean and above the sky (is) Itawean(?)'. In my opinion, this sentence introduces divine witnesses to the act of transfer, i.e., 'below, the earth belongs to Ea but above the sky belongs to El'. Since the new interpretation depends as much on the understanding of the overall structure of the text as it does on the reading of its key passage, it is necessary to present a new edition of this short inscription. The commentary below dwells on those words and passages for which different interpretations than those offered by Hawkins are suggested. Along with the Luvian texts mentioned above, the Babylonian entitlement *narû*-stelae ('*kudurrus*'), which have recently undergone detailed treatment by Slanski (2004), will be used as a typological parallel for recovering the structure of TÜNP 1.² In particular, Slanski's dichotomy between the operative division, devoted to the business aspects of the transaction, and the imprecative division, concerned with the protection and preservation of the entitlement, is extrapolated here from the '*kudurru*'-inscriptions to the analysis of the Luvian text.

- 1 §1 [...]ara/i-FRATER.LA-ia CUM-ni sà-ta-ti-wa/i+ra/i-sa-na
 2 ('TERRA')ta-sà-REL+ra/i-na CUM-ni || ('CONTRACTUS')i-ia-sà-ta
 §2 a-wa/i ('SCALPRUM')á-su-sa ARHA ('CAPUT+SCALPRUM')ku-sà-mi-na
 [*161.ANIMAL(?) zú-ki-sa[... ||
 (2–3 clauses missing)
 3 §3 ... SUJB-na-na ('TERRA')ta-sa-REL+ra/i-sa i-LITUUS-wa/i-ni-sa
 §4 |SUPER+ra/i-la+ra+a-pa-wa/i ('CAELUM')ti-pa-sà |i-tà-wa/i-za
 4 §5 ('PES₂')tara/i-pi+ra/i-pa-wa/i || REL-sà
 §6 [*a-wa/i 1 'ARGENTUM'-sa 1 ('SCALPRUM')ma-na-sa

² It does not seem possible to demonstrate that the entitlement stelae were erected in Karkamiš in the last years of its independent existence in imitation of the '*kudurrus*'. Despite the existence of a number of chronological parallels (Slanski 2004: 302), the complete absence of '*kudurrus*' from Assyrian territory speaks against this hypothesis. My claim, therefore, does not go beyond recognizing the Akkadian and the Luvian entitlement stelae as two parallel genres of 'monumental' business documents that arose in the Ancient Near East.

- |1 ('SCALPRUM')ma-na-sa-ha-na (*419')wa/i-sa-ha-sa
 §7 |PRAE-sa-pa-wa/i-ta REL-sa na a-ta i-zi-ia+ra/i
 §8 wa/i-ta [...]pa[...]
 (1–2 clauses possibly missing)

- §1 [...] bought the land from Aralani, son of Santatiwari.
 §2 The stone is to be effaced?, ...
 (2–3 clauses missing)
 §3 Below the earth belongs to Ea,
 §4 But above the sky belongs to El.
 §5 One who attacks (this stele),
 §6 One mina of silver (is a fine),
 And one mina (befits) him as a sacrifice.
 §7 But...who is not involved,
 §8 [Translation not attempted]
 (1–2 clauses possibly missing)

§1. What may be a more archaic variant of the name *ara/i*-FRATER.LA-, 'Aralani', is attested in the form *l'a-lá/i*-|FRATER.LA-, 'Alalani' (KARKAMIŠ A18j §1). Hawkins interprets *ara/i*-FRATER-la-ia, 'to Aratalas', on the assumption that the Iron Age Luvian word for 'brother' was **atala/i*- (cf. Hawkins 2000: I, 132). Rieken & Yakubovich (forthcoming) dissociate FRATER.LA-, 'brother', from (INFANS.NÍ)aralla/i- (sic), 'companion', and provide distributional arguments for LA functioning as a phonetic indicator, rather than a phonetic complement, in this lexeme. The parallelism with the complex logogram INFANS.NI/INFANS.NÍ, 'son', which contains a phonetic indicator derived from the initial syllable of Luv. *nimuwizza*-, 'son', suggests that a word for 'brother' began with *la*- in Iron Age Luvian. I reconstruct this word as **lani*-, a dissimilated variant of Luv. *nani*-, 'brother', and propose that it is directly attested in the compound personal name *Muwalan(n)i* (Laroche 1966: no. 834) vs. *Muwanani* (Laroche 1966: no. 835). Somewhat more remotely, one can compare the frequent development *niga*- > *liga*-, 'sister', in Hittite compound names of the Colony Period, probably triggered by dissimilation with the preceding nasal (Laroche 1966: 308–309). For the general discussion of nasal dissimilation as a common Anatolian phenomenon, one will soon be able to consult Katz (forthcoming).

It is assumed that the missing beginning of §1 contains the name and the genealogy of the merchant. Space considerations preclude reconstructing additional clauses in the beginning of the inscription. For a parallel example of an entitlement stele beginning directly with the statement of transfer, see KARKAMIŠ A4a §1–2 (Hawkins 2000: 152).

§2. Melchert (2004) convincingly argues for the existence of the gerundive in *-mina* in Iron Age Luvian (see especially *ibid.*: 357 for the discussion of the syntax of this paragraph). The translation of ARHA ('CAPUT+SCALPRUM') *kusa*- as 'remove' by Hawkins (2000: I, 155) is based on his provisional interpretation of the unpublished stele İVRİZ 2, but it is not conducive to understanding the iconography of the determinative. I would rather suggest that

the verb in question means ‘to efface’ both here and in EMIRGAZI §8, 20. Since effacing an inscription requires the application of a chisel, the use of the symbol SCALPRUM is justified in both instances. With regard to the general meaning of the first clause of this paragraph, Melchert (2004: 357) plausibly conjectures that the old property marker was to be removed in conjunction with the act of transfer. The erection of the new stele is prescribed in a similar context in CEKKE §15: *a-wa/i FINES-ha+ra/i-ia ta-sa ha-zi-mi-na*, ‘a stele is to be engraved at the frontier’.

For the reading <zú> of the sign L 448 in the beginning of the second clause of §2, see Melchert (1987: 201–202) and Yakubovich (2008: 51, n. 58), *pace* Hawkins (2000: 1: 35–36). It is presumed that the operative division of the contract ends in a lacuna between §2 and §3.

§3. Hawkins, in his commentary on this paragraph, suggests a possible value <a_x> for LITUUS and the tentative reading *iawani-* for *i-LITUUS-wa/i-ni-*, adducing as parallels the spelling *wa/i-mi-LITUUS-* for the Luvian cognate of Hitt. *wemiya-*, ‘to find’ (KARABURUN §6; Hawkins 2000: II: 482), and the use of <zi>+LITUUS with the value <zá> (e.g., KAYSERİ §2; Hawkins 2000: II: 473). He further observes: ‘(the) form *iawani-* (?) appears to be ethnic (?) adj. in *-wani-* but note absence of determinative URBS/REGIO’. The toponym that could serve as a base for this adjectival derivative, however, has not been found.

While it is true that the derivation of ethnic adjectives represents the most frequent function of *-wa/i-ni-* in Luvian hieroglyphic texts, appellatives and non-geographic proper nouns can also provide bases for adjectives derived with this suffix. In particular, one can compare the phrase ‘(DEUS’) *ma-ru-wá/i-wá/i-ni-sa...* (‘DEUS’) *ni-ka-[ru-ha-s]a*, ‘Nikaruha of the Marwa-deities’ (KAYSERİ §8; Hawkins 2000: II, 473). In view of this fact, nothing precludes the analysis of *i-LITUUS-wa/i-ni-* as a derivative of Iya (the Iron Age Luvian rendering of the Mesopotamian god Ea) with the omitted determinative DEUS. The rare use of LITUUS with the phonetic value <a_x> in this adjective may have another level of interpretation. On the one hand, Ea was known as the god of wisdom among the Anatolian scribes, as is clear from the phrase ‘É.A’ *ha-at-ta-an-na-aš* LUGAL-uš, ‘Ea, Lord of Wisdom’, in the scribal appendix to a letter sent from Arzawa to Egypt (VBoT 2, 15–16; EA 31). On the other hand, LITUUS is used as a determinative of the Luvian verb *uni-*, ‘know’; for this and other functions of LITUUS, see Hawkins (1980). Therefore, we may possibly be dealing here with a deliberate scribal pun: the sequence *i-LITUUS-* both transliterates the Luvian name of Ea and hints at one of his functions.

§4. If one accepts for the reasons stated above that *i-LITUUS-wa/i-ni-* was derived from a theonym, considerations of symmetry suggest the same conclusion in the case of *i-tà-wa/i-za*. I analyze this form as *i-tà-wa/i-za* < **ilawan-za* (n.), ‘belonging to El’. Although Rieken (2008: 643) convincingly argued for /da/ being the regular phonetic value of L 41 = <tà>, she also collected a number of late cases where <tà> is used for sequences containing the etymological sounds **l* and **r* in late Luvian. Her examples are *zi-tà* (KARATEPE §31) and *zi/a-tà-* (TOPADA §23) for /zila/, ‘then’, MALUS-*tà-ti-i* (SULTANHAN §21) for /adduwaladi/, ‘with evil’, and LONGUS⁽⁻⁾-*tà-ia-sa-ha-na* (İVRİZ 1 §2) for /arayashan/, ‘length’ (acc. sg.). These examples are explained as instances of hypercorrect orthography postdating the merger of **d*, **l* and **r* in intervocalic position in Late Luvian. The 8th-century

date of TÜNP 1 proposed by Hawkins (2000) is consistent with adding *i-tà-wa/i-za* to the list of these hypercorrect spellings.³

My analysis implies that §§3–4 belong to the imprecative division of the inscription. Ea and El are indirectly introduced as divine witnesses to the transaction, capable of inflicting punishment within their respective spheres upon those not willing to abide by its conditions. The opposition between heaven and earth introduced in these two paragraphs has a direct counterpart in a curse formula belonging to another Luvian entitlement stele: *a-wa/i* |‘CAELUM’-*sa* CORNU+*RA/I-na* |*ni* LITUUS+*na-ti* TERRA-*pa-wa/i* CORNU+*RA/I-na* |*ni* (PES₂.PES)[*tara/i-pi-ti*], ‘Let him not behold the abundance of the sky and let him not tread the abundance of the earth’ (CEKKE §§25–26).

§5. A detailed discussion of the Luvian verbs *tarpa-* and *tarpi-* can be found in Yakubovich (2002: 202–209; for an earlier attempt, see Morpurgo-Davies 1986). There I argued that the basic meaning of the Luvian verbal root √*tarp* was ‘to tread, trample’ and compared it with Gk. τραπεῶ ‘to tread grapes’, Lith. *trepėnti*, *trepėnti*, ‘to stamp (one’s feet)’, ORuss. *tropa*, ‘path’, and MHG *draben*, *draven*, ‘to trot’. The postulated meaning appears to match the majority of contexts, but a number of difficulties have emerged in recent years. On the one hand, Soysal (2003: 105–106) argues that the expression *tarpa tiya-*, lit. ‘to step for TARP-ing’, which occurs several times in Hittite texts, appears to mean ‘to attack, to advance against’, or something similar. The same range of meanings matches well the similar context of CEKKE §22: |*ni-pa-wa/i-sa-za-ti* STELE-*ri+i* (SCALPRUM)*tara/i-pi* CRUS-*ia*, ‘or (if) he steps for TARP-ing to this stele’, in an inscription that belongs to the same genre as TÜNP 1. On the other hand, comparison with Akkadian texts of the same genre suggests that the crimes addressed in the imprecative division of an entitlement stele were normally concerned with challenging the act of the entitlement or damaging/removing the actual stele (Slanski 2004: 176–177). Although the translation ‘one who trespasses (on this property)’, implicitly advocated in Yakubovich (2002: 203), remains formally possible, it is not supported by comparative textual evidence. Therefore, I am now inclined to accept the existence of Luv. √*tarp*, ‘to attack, challenge’, without prejudging the issue of whether it reflects a semantic development of Luv. √*tarp*, ‘to tread, trample’, or merely represents a homonymous root.

§6. Hawkins (2000: I, 156) remains agnostic about the sequence ‘(SCALPRUM’) *ma-na-sa-ha-na*. Two independent considerations speak against the assumption that it represents a single lexical unit. First, it is unlikely to be a neuter noun coordinated with nom. sg. *manas*, ‘mina’, as implicit in Hawkins’ translation, because the etymological neuter nouns in *-an* had nearly completely generalized the nom./acc. sg. extension *-za* in Iron Age Luvian (Melchert 2003: 186). Second, the relative pronoun *kwis* functioning as the subject of §5 needs to be matched

3 As a rather less likely alternative, the same form could be analyzed as /*irawanza*/ < **ilawanza* < **ellilawanza* (n.), ‘belonging to Enlil’. One would in that case, of course, assume that the Luvian adjective was derived not from the Sumerian name of Enlil but rather from its Akkadian adaptation Ellil. The possibility of syncope between the two lateral sounds in **ellilawanza* (n.) is indicated by the hypercorrect spelling **a-la/i-la/i/u-ni-* (BABYLON 1 §11, 12) alongside **a-la/i-na/i-*, ‘enemy’ (KARKAMIŠ A23 §4, 5, TELL AHMAR 6 §5, 21), corresponding to phonetic **alunn(i)-* > **arunni-*, ‘enemy’ (Yakubovich 2009). However, one must recognize that this solution is phonetically more complicated. On the semantic side, moreover, it stumbles upon the absence of Enlil cults in the Levant.

somehow in the following main clause, which apparently has a different subject. I suggest segmenting *ma-na-sa-ha-na* as /manas=ha=an/, where *manas* is the familiar word for ‘mina’, =*ha* is the clitic conjunction ‘and’, while =*an* is the clitic pronoun referring to the perpetrator. The transitive verb governing =*an* is presumably left without formal expression.

This interpretation leaves two syntactic fragments in §6. The other passages from the Luvian entitlement stelae that prescribe donations feature the gerundive *piyamin(a)*, ‘is to be given’, e.g., (‘PANIS.PITHOS’) *á-za-li-sa-pa-wa/i* DOMINUS-*na-ní* ‘*419’-*sa-ha-sá-a* DARE-*mi-na*, ‘sacrificial (offerings) are to be provided by’ the patron of the feast’ (KARKAMIŠ A4a §11). The omission of the two predicates in our case may reflect the abbreviation of a common legal formula, similar to the modern *Fine \$100*. As a speculation, I would suggest that the first mina of silver was to be given to the property owner, while the second was to be collected by the temple where a copy of the transaction was deposited. This analysis bridges the gap between the base noun *washa-* and its derivatives, which appear to have religious connotations (cf. Hawkins 2000: II: 153b, sub §11; Hutter 2003: 257; Yakubovich 2008: 276). I hasten to add, however, that the number of hypothetical assumptions underlying my translation of this paragraph makes it strictly provisional. The only certainty is that it prescribes a fine for challenging the sale arrangements or damaging the stele.

§7. Hawkins (2000) transliterates PRAE-*sa* as CAPUT-*ra/i-sa*, taking it as a rhotacized variant of the usual CAPUT-*ti-sa*, ‘person’. The consistent spelling CAPUT-*ta/tá-* in the oblique cases, however, suggests that the last consonant in this stem was the *fortis* stop /t/, which could not undergo rhotacism. Hawkins considers the reading PRAE-*sa* as a possible alternative, but dismisses it on the grounds that the sign L 14 = PRAE is to be endowed with a protruding tongue. The same tongueless shape of PRAE can, however, be observed in a similar sequence PRAE-*sa-sa-pa-wa/i* (KULULU 4 §16). The comparison between TUNP 1 and KULULU 4 cries out for the reconstruction of the noun PRAE-*s*, although the possibility that the ‘tongueless PRAE’ represents a separate sign should be considered. The meaning of this noun remains opaque, but a title or professional designation of some kind would be compatible with both contexts.

It is not clear whether the expression *na a-ta i-zi-ia+ra/i*, ‘is not involved’ (*vel sim.*), refers to the transgression (§5) or to its subsequent atonement (§6). In the first case one would expect to find a blessing formula in §8, while in the second it is necessary to assume that §8 calls for swift divine punishment of the unrepentant evildoer.

3. Ea and El in Syrian Religion

The identification of the Mesopotamian god Ea and the West Semitic god El as divine witnesses to the TUNP 1 contract leads to a number of questions pertaining to the history of religion in the Neo-Hittite states. On the one hand, the co-occurrence of the two gods in the same text is rare, since they were normally worshiped in different religious traditions. The only corpus known to me where Ea and El frequently appear side-by-side consists of the Hurrian syncretic offering lists from Ugarit (Laroche 1968: 504–505, 507, 509). On the other hand, neither Ea nor El can be respectively defined as Earth-god or Sky-god in their earliest attestations. The

Mesopotamian tradition portrays Ea as the god of underground sweet waters and, secondarily, the patron of crafts and wisdom. El was perceived in the Bronze Age Levant as the supreme god, the creator of the earth and/or humankind, but had no specific associations with heaven. In what follows, I intend to discuss the factors that may have contributed to the changing functions of Ea and El in Iron Age Syria and thereby made possible the juxtaposition of these two gods in the Luvian formula before us.

The etymological analysis of Enki, the Sumerian functional equivalent of Ea, as en.ki, ‘lord of the land’, does not represent a sufficient argument for assigning a chthonic function to Iya < Ea in the Luvian milieu. If anything, one would expect this etymology to affect Ea’s functional profile among the Mesopotamian scribes, something that apparently did not happen. In order to understand the theological generalization of TUNP 1, it is more important to consider the place of Iya in Neo-Hittite religion. Fortunately, his name appears rather frequently in the Iron Age Luvian inscriptions, and some of the attestations are amenable to functional interpretation. The most interesting passage for our purposes is the curse formula of the KARATEPE bilingual.

- (1) KARATEPE (Hu.) §73; Hawkins (2000: 58)
wa/i-ta || ARHA |MANUS(-)ia-ti-tu CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sá
CAELUM (DEUS)SOL-za-sá (DEUS)i-ia-sá OMNIS-MI-zi-ha DEUS-ní-zi á-pa
|REX-hi-sá |á-pa-há ‘REX’-na |á-pa-há-wa/i |CAPUT-ti-na

May Tarhunt of Heaven, Sun of Heaven, Ea, and all the gods annihilate that kingdom and that king and that person!

- (2) KARATEPE (Ho.) §73; Hawkins (2000: 58)
|wa/i-ta |ARHA |*69’(-)i-ti-tu (DEUS)i-ia-sá |‘CAELUM’(DEUS)TONITRUS-
hu-za-sá-’ |‘CAELUM’ (DEUS)SOL-’za’-sá |OMNIS-MI-zi-há-wa/i DEUS-ní-zi
|á-pa-sá REX-ta-hi-sa |á-pa-há-’ |REX-ti-na |á-pa-há-wa/i CAPUT-ti-na

May Ea, Tarhunt of Heaven, Sun of Heaven, and all the gods annihilate that kingdom and that king and that person!

- (3) KARATEPE (Phu.) §73; Hawkins (2000: 58)
w-mḥ b’l šmm w-’l qn ’rṣ w-šmš ’lm w-kl dr bn ’lm ’yt h-mmlkt h’ w-’yt h-mlk h’
w-’yt ’dm h’ ’š ’dm šm

Then may Baal of Heaven, El-Creator-of-Earth, Eternal Sun, and all the assembly of the sons of gods annihilate that kingdom and that person, who (is) one of name.

The two Luvian versions of KARATEPE list the same triad of Heavenly Tarhunt, Heavenly Sun and Ea, though in different order. Ea appears last in the Upper Gate inscription and first in the Lower Gate inscription, which suggests that the relative order of the gods in the curse formula is not hierarchical. The Phoenician version of the Upper Gate, the only one to preserve this passage, apparently features yet another permutation. If we assume that Heavenly Tarhunt and Heavenly Sun correspond respectively to Heavenly Baal and Eternal Sun of the Phoenician version, this leaves us with a correspondence between Iya/Ea and El-Creator-of-Earth, who occupies the second position in the Phoenician triad.

Weippert (1969: 208–209) plausibly suggested that it was Ea’s function as the patron of crafts that prompted his association with the creator figure. Lipiński (1988: 143) noted a number of parallels between Ea and El: both are credited with the creation of humankind; the abode of both gods is surrounded by water; and El is endowed with the title *mlk*, ‘king’, in Ugaritic texts just as Ea was known as *šarri*, ‘king’, among the Hurrians. But these similarities need not obfuscate the crucial difference. Ea was never credited with creating the earth in the Mesopotamian tradition, since Earth was perceived here as a primordial substance and the act of separating heaven and earth was attributed to Enlil. One cannot, however, exclude that the secondary identification between Iya/Ea and El-Creator-of-Earth in the Neo-Hittite milieu may have reinforced Ea’s chthonic associations in Anatolia and northern Syria.

An additional confirmation of this hypothesis comes from the juxtaposition between Iya/Ea and Kumarma, the late manifestation of the Hurrian chthonic god Kumarbi. The two deities occur side by side in three divine lists belonging to the parallel contexts of the inscriptions commissioned by Hamiyata, king of Masuwari (TELL AHMAR 1 §2–*3; TELL AHMAR 1 §2; and TELL AHMAR 6 §2). For present purposes, it is enough to cite the first context, which features the phonetic representation of the name Kumarma and the combination ‘King Ea’, which probably represents a calque from Hurrian. The fact that Iya/Ea and Kumarma/Kumarbi are listed next to each other can, of course, be explained through their functional adjacency. It is only natural to group the god of the underworld sweet ocean (Sum. *abzu*, Akk. *apsû*) together with the earth-god, as opposed to the deities associated with the sky or heavenly bodies. But should one expect the inhabitants of Neo-Hittite states to be intimately familiar with the Mesopotamian concept of Abzu? If not, the borrowed idea of Ea’s underground abode may have complicated the precise delineation of Ea’s and Kumarbi’s spheres of influence.

(4) TELL AHMAR 1 §2–*3; Hawkins (2000: 228)

*a-wa/i-mu |á-ia-lá/i-na | (INFANS.*NÍ*)*282-wa/i-ra+a |‘CAELUM’-si-i-sa
(DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-sa (DEUS)i-ia-sa |REX-ti-i-sá (DEUS.BONUS)ku-
mara^{+ra/i}-ma-sa; |(DEUS)‘HORDEUM’(-)ma-ti-la/i/u-sa (DEUS)FORTIS-su-pa-sa
|ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa-ha(URBS) (DEUS)LUNA+MI-sa [...] (DEUS)k[u-AV]IS-pa-[pa]-sa-ha [*fragmentary forms*] (LITUUS)á-za-ta

Tarhunt of Heaven, King Ea, Kumarbi, Grain-god, Tessub, Harranean Moon-god [...] and Kubaba [*and other gods*] loved me, the first(-born son)² as a child.⁴

In order to deflect the possible objection that the juxtaposition between Iya/Ea and Kumarma/Kumarbi would reflect the peculiarities of the state cult in Masuwari/Tell Ahmar, one must refer to the same phenomenon in the CEKKE inscription. As mentioned above, this entitlement stele mentions a king of Karkamiš and shows a number of structural parallels with TŪNP 1. The deities listed in the curse formula CEKKE §24 logically and grammatically fall into three groups. If we set aside the initial Karkamišean triad of Tarhunt, Kubaba and Karhuha, as well as the final pair of the deified celestial luminaries, we wind up with the same pair of Ea and

Kumarbi connected by the coordinative conjunction. The only peculiarity of CEKKE §24 is the logographic rendering of Kumarbi as (DEUS)BONUS.

(5) CEKKE §24; Hawkins (2000: 146)

á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS (DEUS)ka+ra/i-hu-ha-sá
(DEUS)ku-AVIS-ha (DEUS)BONUS (DEUS)i-sa-ha (DEUS)LUNA+MI-sa
(DEUS)SOL (CRUX)wa/i-la ‘PES’-wa/i-tú

Let Tarhunt of Heaven, Karhuha and Kubaba, Kumarbi and Ea, Moon-god (and) Sun-god come fatally against him!

Thus one can claim, using structuralist terminology, that the Luvian form of Ea is paradigmatically linked to the Semitic god El-Creator-of-Earth and syntagmatically linked to the Hurrian chthonic deity. On the other hand, I am not aware of any Iron Age Luvian texts that bear out the synchronic association between Ea and water. These facts, taken together, accommodate the attribution of the earth to Ea’s domain in TŪNP 1.

The situation becomes more complicated when we turn to the religious significance of the statement ‘the sky belongs to El’. To be sure, the cosmological observation ‘the sky belongs to God (ʾl)’ would be rather trite from the perspective of the Biblical tradition, especially in its later phase. The Aramaic idiom *ʾlh šmy*, ‘God of Heaven’, represents the usual way of referring to YHWH in the vernacular parts of the post-exilic books of Ezra and Daniel, while its Hebrew equivalent *ʾl hšmym*, ‘God of Heaven’, occurs in Ps. 136.26. The extended Aramaic idiom *ʾlh šmy ʾwʾrʾ*, ‘God of Heaven and Earth’, is found in Ez. 5.11, while the Torah features the synonymous expression *ʾlhym bšmym mmʾl wʾl ʾrʾ mlt*, ‘God in Heaven above and on Earth below’ (Dt. 4.39). There is, however, not a single divine epithet in the Tanakh that connects God (ʾl, *ʾlh*, or *ʾlhym*) with the earth alone without also referring to heaven. While being the creator of both Heaven and Earth, YHWH was more closely associated with the former, which came to be perceived as his abode in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

It would, however, be methodologically unsound to reconstruct the role of El in Early Iron Age Syria based on the late epithets of the Hebrew God. The image of YHWH in the post-exilic books of the Tanakh is likely to reflect the indirect influence of the Phoenician celestial deity Baalshamem (*bʾlšmym*) or its Aramaic counterpart Baalshamin (*bʾlšmyn*), lit. ‘Baal of Heaven’ or ‘Lord of Heaven’. Niehr (2003: 185–213) places the spread of the idiom ‘God of Heaven’ within a broader context of cultural contacts between Hebrews and their Semitic neighbours in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. In particular, he indicates that these linguistic innovations went hand in hand with the iconographic representation of YHWH in the guise of Baal on Samarian and Judaeo coins. He also mentions YHWH’s titles that represent formal calques of Baalshamem, such as Aram. *mrʾ šmy*, ‘Lord of Heaven’ (Dn. 5.23), or its Greek equivalent ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in the post-canonical book of Tobias. Since the Aramaic phrase *ʾlh šmy*, ‘God of Heaven’, is likely to represent a further adaptation of the calque *mrʾ šmy*, ‘Lord of Heaven’, with which it sometimes alternates in post-exilic Hebrew literature, it is not directly relevant for assessing the significance of religious formulae in eighth-century Syria.

The reconstruction of Bronze Age Canaanite phraseology yields a different picture. The rare but widely dispersed occurrences of the collocation El-Creator-of-Earth are summarized in Miller (1980). We have already mentioned Elkunirsa, the hero of the second-millennium

4 On Luv. *á-ia-lá/i-*, ‘first(-born son)’, see Rieken & Yakubovich (forthcoming). I take (INFANS.*NÍ*) as a determinative, ‘son’ (as opposed to INFANS.*LA*, ‘brother’), and assume that the lexeme it determines begins with the rare logogram L 282.

Canaanite myth adapted in Syria and preserved in Hittite transmission, and *ʾl qn ʾrs*, the Phoenician counterpart of Ea>Iya in the KARATEPE inscription. To this, one should add *ʾl qn ʾrs* on an ostrakon from Jerusalem (8th–7th centuries BC), *ʾl qn ʾrs* in a Neo-Punic inscription from Leptis Magna (2nd century AD), *ʾlqwnr* in the Palmyrene inscription PAT 2778 (1st century AD, identified with Poseidon in the Greek version), and *ʾlqnr* on four tesserae from Palmyra (PAT 2219–22). The vocalization of the second syllable in Hitt. *El-ku-ni-ir-sa-* and Palm. *ʾlqwnr* reflects the characteristic ‘Canaanite shift’ **ā>ō* and indicates that both forms represent early assimilated borrowings from Canaanite **il qōnē ʾars*, ‘El-Creator-of-Earth’. Miller (1980: 45) is fully justified in his conclusion that ‘(w)hatever El’s associations with the heavenly realm, they are not to be deduced from this title.’ But since we have no other philological evidence for the function of El in second-millennium Canaan, it does not seem far-fetched to hypothesize that his associations in this region in the second millennium BC were chthonic rather than celestial.⁵

The attestations of El in the Ugaritic tradition are likewise not conducive to defining him as a heavenly god. El’s abodes in the Ugaritic texts are variously taken as corresponding to Jebel Ansariye to the east of Ugarit, Mount Hermon in the Anti-Lebanon or other prominent mountains in the Levant (Niehr 2003: 22). This is not that different from the Syro-Hittite tradition, which locates El’s residence at the sources of the Euphrates, as stressed in Singer (2007). Although El is known as the father of humankind rather than the creator of the earth in the texts from Ugarit, none of them mentions El in connection with the sky but not earth, let alone contrasting him with a chthonic deity. Dietrich (2007: 121) even goes so far as to describe El as the Ugaritic ‘pendant’ of Ea, the Mesopotamian god credited with the creation of humankind.⁶

Against this background, El’s celestial sphere of influence mentioned in TÛNP 1 represents a distinct innovation of the Early Iron Age period. To be sure, this motif may ultimately reflect the same broad tendency as the rise of the cult of ‘Baal of Heaven’ in Iron Age Syria and the astralization or solarization of several other Near Eastern deities in the early first millennium BC. Yet, historians of religion are not content with stating this general trend and try to point to specific influences responsible for the new heavenly attributes of individual gods. Thus Schwemer (2008: 16) regards the Luvian deity *tipasasis Tarhunzas*, ‘Storm-god of Heaven’, which corresponds to the Phoenician Baalshamem in Texts 1–3 above, as one possible trigger for the later independent development of ‘Baal of Heaven’.

5 Earlier speculations about identifying El with Baalshamin were based largely on the understanding of the Aramaic phrase *bšmyn qnh dy rʿ* in an inscription from Hatra as ‘Baal of Heaven, Creator of Earth’ (cf. Miller 1980: 44). This translation, however, has been challenged in recent publications, and consequently, attempts to equate the two gods have fallen out of favour in contemporary scholarship (Niehr 2003: 174, n. 506).

6 As Scurlock (forthcoming) stresses in her reaction to Dietrich’s claim, the mention of Anu’s vizier Ilabrat as El’s messenger in the Hurrian incantation from Ugarit KTU 1.128, translated in Dietrich (2007: 106), undermines the direct correspondence between El and Ea in the Ugaritic tradition. The regular counterpart of Ea in Ugaritic alphabetic texts is Kothar, not El (Lipiński 1988). It is impossible, however, to exclude the possibility that the functional similarity between Ea and El could have led to their identification in some local or personal cults of Late Bronze Age Syria, just as Luv. *Iya-* and Phoen. *ʾl qn ʾrs* were identified in the KARATEPE inscription.

The dearth of references to the god El stemming from Iron Age Syria precludes one from suggesting a definite account of his move to the sky in the popular religion of the region, but there are at least two suggestive possibilities. One of them is to assume that his association with the god *ʾly(w)n* (Elyan/Elyon), perhaps triggered by the remote phonetic similarity of the two names, played a role in this process. The Phoenician History by Philo of Byblos depicts Elyon (Ελιοῦν) as father of Heaven and Earth, whereas El emerges from this source as one of their children (Attridge & Oden 1981: 46–49). The facts that the name *ʾly(w)n* is derived from the root *ʾlh*, ‘to go up’, while Philo of Byblos glosses Elyon’s name as ὕψιστος, ‘the highest’, point to Elyon’s celestial connotations. Bron (1979: 187) and several other scholars explain the Biblical phrase *ʾl ʾlywn qnh šmym wʾrs*, ‘El Elyon, creator of Heaven and Earth’ (Gn. 14.19), as a conflation of El and Elyon, which had originally characterized the cult of Jerusalem. Yet the syntagmatic association between the two deities may not have been restricted to Canaan, since El occurs paired with Elyan (the Aramaic variant of Elyon) in a list of divine witnesses accompanying an Aramaic treaty from eighth-century Syria (see Sefire 1.11; Fitzmyer 1995: 42–43, 75).

The positive evidence for a paradigmatic association between a form of El and Elyan/Elyon comes from the Ugaritic sacrificial list RS 24.643 (Il. 23–25). The list of gods who receive one sheep in January begins with *ilib*, who is followed by *ārš w šmm*, ‘Heaven and Earth’, and *il*, ‘El’ (Pardee 2000: II: 781, 787). The parallelism with the genealogy by Philo of Biblos suggests that *ilib* in the Ugaritic text has the same function as Elyon, father of Heaven and Earth, in the Phoenician account (ibid.: II: 799). Yet comparison with the Akkadian and Hurrian equivalents of *ilib* in Ugaritic ritual texts, i.e., Akk. DINGIR-*a-bi*, ‘god of the father(s)’, and Hurr. *en atn*, ‘god the father’ (ibid.: I: 187), prompts Pardee to interpret *ilib* as **/iluʾabī/ > /iluʾibī/*, lit. ‘god of the father’ (ibid.: I: 296–299). The interpretation ‘El of the father’ appears to be equally possible. It is not easy to decide whether this Ugaritic compound is older than the name of Elyan or whether it was coined as its replacement. Whatever solution one adopts, the multi-tier connections between El/god (when not accompanied by the title ‘Creator of Earth’) and Elyan/Elyon emerge as possible factors bringing about the transfer of Elyan’s functions to El at least in some Syrian traditions. The evidence of TÛNP 1 would be consistent with this diachronic hypothesis.

Another, perhaps less likely possibility is connected with the name of Rakib-El (*rkbʾl*), literally ‘Rider-El’, a dynastic god of the Samalian kings. Such an epithet particularly befits a deity that drives the heavenly chariot, and Cross (1997: 10, n. 32) even adduces circumstantial evidence in favour of identifying Rakib-El with the Moon-god. It is easy to envisage the attribution of the sky to the domain of this god, although the hypothesis that the first part of the compound name Rakib-El could have disappeared in the adjectival derivative **ilawanni-* would be *ad hoc*. On the whole, this comparison cannot by itself prove El’s connection with the sky in Iron Age Syria, but it can be advanced as an additional argument for such a connection, once it is established on independent grounds.

Finally, the question of how the Semitic god El made his way onto a Luvian entitlement stele must be addressed. El, unlike Ea, was not integrated into the official religion of Karkamiš or that of any other Neo-Hittite state. Both the name and the patronymic of the person acquiring land in TÛNP 1 are perfectly Luvian, while the patronymic combines the names of two Luvian gods, Santa and Tiwad. In order to explain how such a person could invoke or accept El as a divine witness, one has to address the general issue of the interpenetrability between the Anatolian and Semitic pantheons in northern Syria.

A crucial piece of evidence comes from the kingdom of Sam'al, which was squeezed in between the Neo-Hittite states of Karkamiš, Gurgum, Unqi and Que. All the royal inscriptions emanating from this kingdom are Semitic, although its rulers used both Anatolian and Semitic personal names. The older of the two royal inscriptions in the Samalian dialect introduces a purely Semitic pantheon consisting of Hadad, El, Rakib-El, Shamash and Rashap. All but the last of these gods are also mentioned in the later inscription. By contrast, the inscription of a certain Kuttamuwa, identified as a servant of Panamuwa, king of Sam'al, contains an offering list featuring a substantially different divine set:

(6) Kuttamuwa l. 3–5; Pardee (2009)

šwr lhdd qrpdl wybl l ngd/r šwd/rn wybl l šmš wybl lhdd krmn wybl lkbw

... a bull for Hadad *harpatalli*, a ram for NGD/R ŠWD/RN, a ram for Shamash, a ram for Hadad of the Vineyards, a ram for Kubaba...

Among the gods mentioned in (6), only Shamash constitutes a clear intersection with the divine lists of Samalian royal inscriptions. One of the two Hadads is modified by a (likely) Luvian title *harpatalli*,⁷ while the other one finds a direct parallel in *tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa*, 'Tarhunt of the Vineyard' (SULTANHAN §8). The identity of NGD/R ŠWD/RN remains uncertain, while Kubaba is a well-known Syrian goddess of non-Semitic origin. It follows from this analysis that Kuttamuwa did not try to copy the Semitic pantheon of his rulers, but rather assembled a regionally representative divine array of his own.⁸ Pardee plausibly hypothesizes that official inscriptions were more attuned to political concerns, which leaves open the possibility that religious eclecticism represented the usual state of affairs among private individuals in Early Iron Age Syria.⁹

The same hypothesis can be applied to TÜNP 1, an inscription that does not mention the rulers of Karkamiš, at least in its preserved part. The commissioner of the stele, probably Aralani, may have decided to dispense with the official Karkamišean triad and to present his personal theology in the curse formula. But the manner in which the two theonyms were recorded may be indicative of the scribe's attitude toward this innovation. The determinative

7 I propose that (1) *harpatalli*, the likely reading of *qrpdl*, represents a derivative of the Luvian root $\sqrt{\text{harp}}$, 'to associate oneself, to join'; for the Hittite cognate, see Melchert (forthcoming); and (2) this divine title means 'companion' or something similar. As long as no comparable title is attested in Luvian proper, my etymology cannot be considered assured. Note, however, that the Anatolian character of this title is supported not only by the proposed etymology, but also by the general shape of the word, which appears to be too long for a normal Semitic epithet.

8 It is remarkable that the religious discrepancies between Kuttamuwa's inscription and contemporary texts commissioned by Samalian kings go hand-in-hand with linguistic differences. Pardee (2009) has demonstrated that the dialect of Kuttamuwa represents an archaic dialect of Aramaic that is situated typologically between Samalian (Ya'udic) and Old Aramaic.

9 The intermediate case between the full integration of Ea in Neo-Hittite official religion and Kuttamuwa's idiosyncratic pantheon is the worship of the Semitic goddess Baalat, rendered as (DEUS)*pa-ha-la-ti*- in Luvian, by Urahilina, king of Hama. Pace Hawkins (2000: 400a), who reads the same name as Urahilina and interprets it as Hurrian, I believe that Urahilina had a Luvian name '(having a) great gate'. Beside Baalat, Urahilina also worshipped the Luvian Storm-god Tarhunt (HAMA 4 §§8–9). It is not clear whether he was the only devotee of Baalat among the Neo-Hittite kings of Hama or if the worship of this goddess was a part of the local dynastic cult, but at any rate it did not spread to the other Neo-Hittite states.

DEUS accompanies neither Ea nor El, and a *scriptio difficilior* is chosen for rendering each of the two names (LITUUS instead of <a> in the case of Ea and <ta> instead of <la> in the case of El). In addition, the choice of the LITUUS sign appears to underscore connotations of Ea that were different from those intended by the author of the inscription. It is difficult to be rid of the impression that the Karkamiš scribe deliberately tried to obfuscate Aralani's religious message. If so, he succeeded in his endeavour to the extent that the mention of these two gods eluded the understanding of the previous editors of his inscription.

The probative value of the scenarios presented in this section is not uniform. There is more evidence for the secondary chthonic associations of Ea in Syria than for the celestial re-interpretation of El in the same region. The religious syncretism of private pantheons in the multi-cultural society of Iron Age Syria is *prima facie* plausible, but the documentary support adduced for this hypothesis is necessarily limited. In none of the three cases are alternative explanations to be ruled out. I hope, however, to have demonstrated that the new interpretation of TÜNP 1 does not face insurmountable obstacles of historical nature that should prompt one to question its philological validity. A possible world in which the earth belongs to Ea but the sky to El may be deduced from the panoply of North Syrian religious views.

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On Birds and Dragons: A Note on the Sea Peoples and Mycenaean Ships*

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The depiction of the sea battle on the Medinet Habu reliefs (Nelson 1930: pl. 37) showing the victory of Ramses III's Egyptian fleet over the ships of the Sea Peoples has been surveyed numerous times from different perspectives (e.g., Wachsmann 1998: 166–177; Dothan 1982: 7–13; Brug 1985: 21; Noort 1994: 66–72). The attacking enemy force is comprised of males only, all armed with swords, spears and round shields (figs. 1, 2). They are grouped into fighting units in ships, according to origin: two ships are manned by the *Sherden*, as evident from their horned helmets, and three ships contain warriors with feathered hats. These represent the *Peleset*, the *Denyen* or the *Tjeker/Sikel*, all of whom appear with feathered hats elsewhere in Medinet Habu (Dothan 1982: 6, figs. 1–3). These people may have an Aegean origin, as indicated by the close Aegean parallels to their feathered hats (Yasur-Landau 2002: 138–139; Mountjoy 2005) (fig. 19). According to Wachsmann (1998: 172), these ships find their best parallels among Mycenaean oared galleys, with the most detailed example found in Kynos Ship A (ibid.: 131; Dakoronia & Mpougia 1999: 23). This ship belongs to Wedde's (1999: 466–467, pl. LXXXVII) 'type V' Mycenaean galley. These are long ships with a shallow hull, propelled by oars and sail. They have no deck, but a catwalk connects the castles on both ends of the bow and stern. Such boats are excellent as a fighting platform at sea (as seen on the Kynos krater), but are also equipped to transport soldiers and plunder.

Much attention has been given to the fact that the ships of the Sea Peoples are equipped with bird-head shaped figureheads on the bow and stern (fig. 3). These stand in contrast to the lioness-head decorating the bows of the Egyptian ships depicted in the Medinet Habu Sea Battle relief. Bearing in mind the importance that the Egyptian artist has attributed to differentiating between Egyptian and Sea People ships by representing different animal-head shaped figureheads, it is only logical to assume that, just as is the case with the feather hats worn by many of the invaders, the bird-head shaped figurehead is indicative of the origin of the Sea People boats.

Indeed, Wachsmann (1998: 177–197) interprets these as belonging to a large group of depictions of Aegean and European Bronze Age ships equipped with bird-head shaped figureheads and indicating the Aegean origin of the ships of the Sea Peoples. Furthermore, Yon (1992) sees the bird head on the ships of the Sea Peoples as that of a duck, interpreted by her as a European symbol of travel, as well as renaissance and fertility.

However, a closer inspection of the figureheads from representations of Mycenaean ships on pictorial pottery¹ shows not only that bird-head shaped figureheads are extremely rare in the Mycenaean world, but reveals intriguing evidence concerning what animal actually was the figurehead of choice in the 12th-century Aegean.

* This article is dedicated to Prof. Itamar Singer, a master scribe and a distinguished teacher, head of the é.dub. ba.a, with warm thanks for his teaching, scholarly advice and unfailing support throughout the years.

¹ Unfortunately, none of the ceramic models of Aegean ships of the LHIII period has a complete prow, although at least two (Wedde 2000: nos. 315 and 334) had stem-post figures in the shape of animal heads.

If one ignores for a moment the almost hypnotic influence of the Medinet Habu reliefs, one notices that Mycenaean ships during the LHIIIB and the LHIIC are generally not equipped with a figurehead that can easily be defined as a bird head. The only clear exception is a depiction of a ceremonial ship, carrying sun-discs(?), with two bird heads on stern and bow from Tiryns (Wedde 2000: no. 640) (fig. 4). This unique example, however, is not connected to Mycenaean traditions, but to bird-boats (*Vogelbarke*) of the central European Urnfield cultures, with many parallels depicted in Wachsmann (2000). Another possible example is a sherd from Ashkelon, most likely an import, showing the legs of a warrior standing on a bird-shaped figurehead (Wachsmann 1998: 201) (fig. 5). This depiction too is highly atypical of 12th-century Aegean traditions. The rendering of the bird's neck, filled with two rows of joined semicircles, and the beak shown as a single line finds a parallel in a LHIIIB1 bird on a sherd from Mycenae (Sakellarakis 1992: 73, no. 132).

Other images of birds in connection with Aegean ships are not of figureheads, but of birds perching on the stems of ships. Such is the case of an LHIIIB amphoroid krater from Enkomi (Vermeule & Karageorgis 1982: pl. V. 38; Wachsmann 1998: 142) (fig. 6) and a LHIIC pyxis from Tragana (Vermeule & Karageorgis 1982: pl. XI.92; Wachsmann 1998: 137) (fig. 7). However, the Enkomi and Tragana birds perch on or near the figureheads which do not resemble bird heads at all (see below). These are very likely to be living sea birds, a common part of every seascape, ancient and modern. Such birds are often seen perching on the bows and sterns of ship depictions of the Middle and Late Geometric period (e.g., Casson 1995: figs. 30, 65, 66, 74; Wedde 2000: fig. 16 D) (fig. 8).

In other cases, it is rather difficult to understand what animal is depicted on the figurehead. The boat depicted on a LHIIC stirrup jar from Skyros (Wachsmann 2000: fig. 6.20; Wedde 2000: no. 655) (fig. 9) has an animal-shaped figurehead, commonly identified as a water bird with an up-turned beak. However, it has a protrusion at the back of its head that looks suspiciously like an ear. As this protrusion does not appear on other depictions of LHIIC birds on pottery, it has also been interpreted as the head of a horse, a goat or a griffin (Wedde 2000: 123). Other oft-quoted examples of depictions on pottery supposedly representing a bird-head shaped figurehead (Wachsmann 1998: fig. 8.61) do not resemble birds at all. On the LHIIIB krater found in tomb 3 at Enkomi the prow is decorated with a series of knob-like objects decorating its upper part, while a real bird is sitting on it (Wachsmann 2000: fig. 6.21; Wedde 2000: no. 644) (figs. 6, 10A). A similar situation can be seen on the ship depicted on a LHIIC pyxis from Tragana (Wachsmann 2000: fig. 6.22; Wedde 2000: no. 643) (figs. 7, 10B). A bird is sitting on the forecastle, while the prow itself is decorated with a peculiar figurehead, shaped like a head, short strokes adorning its upper side, its snout turned up. If this is a bird-shaped figurehead, why does it not have a bird-head similar to that of the live bird sitting on the forecastle? Furthermore, what bird has a series of short strokes or knobs on its beak and forehead? This curious figurehead is also found on four other depictions of LHIIC ships. Two come from Kynos in Lokris. A fragmentary krater shows a galley with a helmsman and two warriors on board (Dakoronia & Mpougia 1999: 23; Wachsmann 2000: fig. 6.15; and Wedde 2000: no. 6002) (fig. 10C). One of the warriors holds the prow, which has an upturned 'snout' with short strokes or knobs on its upper side. A more complete scene shows a naval battle between two galleys, both equipped with the same figurehead (Dakoronia & Mpougia 1999: 23) (fig. 11). A fragment from the same krater (Wachsmann 2000: fig. 6.14; Wedde 2000: no. 6001)

(fig. 10D) shows the most complete example of this figurehead: its snout is thickened at its end, a phenomenon that perhaps can also be observed on the other Kynos sherd. The head is further decorated by a series of vertical lines, perhaps forming an eye. It is likely that a LMIIIB larnax from Gazi (Wachsmann 1998: fig. 7.19; Wedde 2000: no. 608) (fig. 10E) is equipped with a similar figurehead, more schematically drawn, yet still displaying the short strokes on the upper part of the head. A fragmentary figurehead on a ship is seen on a LCIIIA krater from Enkomi (Mountjoy 2005: fig. XCVIId) (fig. 10F). It has a large, blank eye, and the upper part of its beak or snout is considerably thickened. Unlike Mountjoy (2005: 424), who notes that '(i)t seems to be about to eat some object', I believe that this may be an integral part of the creature's physique, i.e., a thickened snout, the same as seen in the Kynos examples.

The recent discovery of a large LHIIC Early or Transitional LHIIIB/LHIIC krater from Bademgediği Tepe (Mountjoy 2005: fig. XCVI) (fig. 12) may connect the Kynos and Enkomi depictions with that from Skyros. The krater depicts two ships facing each other and positioned in a similar way as those in the larger Kynos krater, yet the crew and the ship are shown in much greater detail than in any other LHIIC image. On the better preserved left-hand ship, a row of standing warriors with 'hedgehog' helmets extends from bow to stern. The figurehead is also depicted in greater detail. The head is dominated by a very large elliptic eye, similar to the Enkomi example, yet has a small pupil in its centre (fig. 10G). The shape of this eye differs significantly from the simple dot commonly used to render the eyes of birds on Mycenaean pottery. Zigzag patterns frame the inside part of the head. The upper part, with its upturned beak or snout, is decorated by a series of short strokes. Most interesting is the lunar-shaped object on the back of the head. It is solidly painted and has a fringe of dots. It recalls somewhat the protrusion at the back of the Skyros figurehead, and at any rate, does not seem to be part of a normal avian anatomy.

To sum up the problem, the stem-post figures or figureheads on most LHIIC and some LHIIIB ships do not resemble any bird known from the Aegean world. They lack the small avian eye, some have protrusions which resemble ears, and they have a strange decoration of short strokes on the top of the snout, the meaning of which are not explained by either Wachsmann or Wedde. The lack of resemblance to birds did not result from lack of artistic skills, as seen in the association of the figureheads with birds perching on top of them, as in the Tragana example and the LHIIIB Enkomi krater. Furthermore, it seems that when 12th-century artists wanted to portray bird-shaped figureheads, they could easily and successfully do it, as evident from the Tiryns cult-ship and the Ashkelon ship.

One possible solution to the problem is to suggest another animal, or a hybrid monster of sorts, composed of bird and mammal components. It is less likely that the creature is a griffin, like that depicted with mammal ears on a pyxis from Lefkandi (Popham & Sackett 1968: fig. 35). Aegean griffins do not seem to exhibit the large eye or the 'mane' seen on the figureheads. The origin of the mammal component may be hinted at by the large eye, the upright ear, the thickened snout and the protrusions on the upper part of the head, all of which are features common in the depiction of horses in LHIIC iconography, the short strokes representing the horse's mane. Examples from Tiryns (Güntner 2006: figs. 26, 27) (fig. 13) bear resemblance to the Bademgediği Tepe head, as do examples on the monumental krater from Grotta (Crouwel 2006: fig. 12), on a vase from Mycenae (*ibid.*: fig. 16) and on a LHIIC/early (or Transitional

LHIIIB-LHIIIC) krater from Ugarit (Mountjoy 2004: fig. 2).² In this context it is noteworthy that horses, as well as seahorses, are used as a stern figurehead on sacred boats in Minoan iconography, as on the famed 'Ring of Minos' or the Mochlos ring (Wedde 2000: 179, nos. 908 and 904) (figs. 14 and 15).

Whatever the origin of the hybrid animal on LHIIIC ships may be, it would seem to be better described as a sea dragon than a bird. Doubtlessly, such depictions of a horse or a dragon gave the ship a life of its own (cf. Wachsmann 1998: 195). They may have had an apotropaic function as well, perhaps against the attacks of creatures of the deep. Such an attack is clearly depicted on a sealing from the MMIII-LMI temple repositories in Knossos: a sea monster with a dog or other mammal head is seen being repelled by a hero wielding a spear (Wedde 2000: no. 901) (fig. 16). The final appearance of this dragon as an opponent of a Philistine hero may be found on the Ashkelon pictorial krater (Stager 1998: 164; Stager & Mountjoy 2007). On the right (fig. 17, top), a warrior with a peculiar headdress is depicted, perhaps a feather helmet or the Mohawk-style hairdo as seen on larnax from Mycenae (Crouwel 1991: fig. 7a; 2006: fig. 15a) (fig. 18). It is unfortunate that no part of the lower body of the warrior is preserved, as it is thus impossible to know if he stood on a ship, yet the rounded object shown to his left may be a masthead, represented as a circle on the Skyros, Tragana and Kynos ships. A very good parallel to this rounded object is seen on the larnax from Mycenae, which may indicate that the fragmentary larnax scene depicts a ship with warriors (Crouwel 1991: fig. 7a; 2006: fig. 15a). The Ashkelon warrior faces a monstrous face to the left, interpreted by Stager to be that of a sea dragon, as it was probably connected to the stems with tooth-like protrusions depicted twice on the krater (fig. 17, bottom), possibly representing a long, snake-like body. The monster has short strokes on the top of its head and several triangular objects attached to the back of the head, possibly the ears, all reminiscent of the LHIIIC figureheads.

The Sea People captives from the land and sea battles of Ramses III were no doubt closely examined by the artists who later executed the depictions at Medinet Habu, enabling them to precisely portray their headdress, including the exotic feather hats, as well as their body armour and short kilts. The accuracy of these images is confirmed by the fact that the Sea People warriors in both the land and sea battle reliefs of Ramses III (figs. 2, 19C) have identical headgear and dress to that of depictions of Sea People warriors from Cyprus (fig. 19A, B). Their feather hats are also highly reminiscent of the headgear of warriors on LHIIIC vase paintings (fig. 19D-I). However, it is less likely that the Egyptian artist had such a close look at the boats of the Sea People, as none were reported to have been captured by the Egyptians. The artists had therefore to rely on the observations of soldiers and army scribes. With no more than these second-hand reports, made in the heat of the battle, it is easy to understand how the Egyptians, unfamiliar with the creatures depicted on the prows of the Sea People ships, misidentified them as birds. At the same time, 12th-century Aegean depictions of the ships, made by artists who had doubtlessly seen them with their own eyes and were aware of the symbolism embodied in their figureheads, open an intriguing portal into maritime lore of the Sea Peoples.

² For the chronology, see Yasur-Landau (2003: 236).



Fig. 1: A ship with *Sherden* warriors (after Nelson 1930: pl. 39)

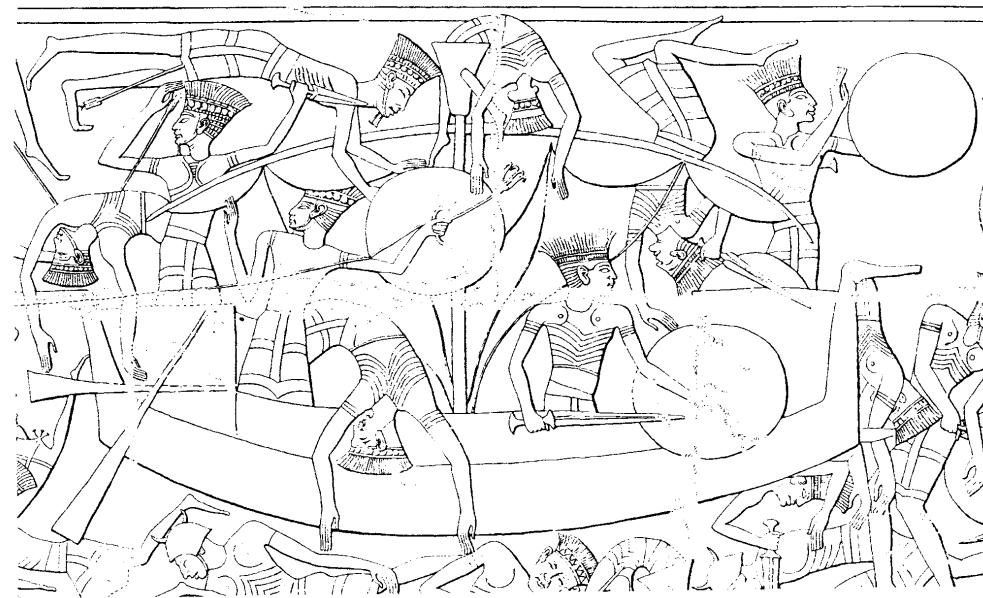


Fig. 2: A ship with warriors wearing feathered hats (after Nelson 1930: pl. 39)

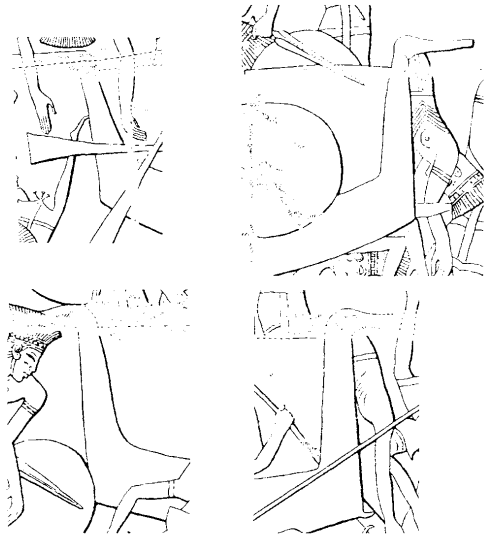


Fig. 3: Bird-head shaped figureheads (redrawn after figs. 1 and 2)



Fig. 4: LHIIC ceremonial boat from Tiryns (after Wedde 2000: no. 640)



Fig. 5: Warrior standing on a ship (?) from Ashkelon (after Wedde 2000: no. 6013)

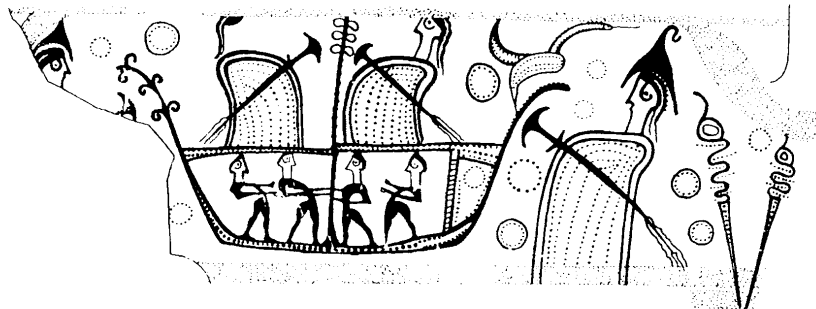


Fig. 6: Ship on a LHIIB krater from Enkomi (after Wedde 2000: no. 644)

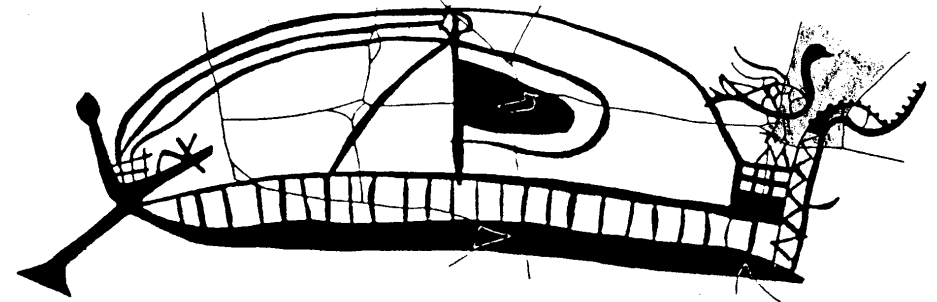


Fig. 7: Ship on a LHIIC pyxis from Tragana (after Wedde 2000: no. 643)

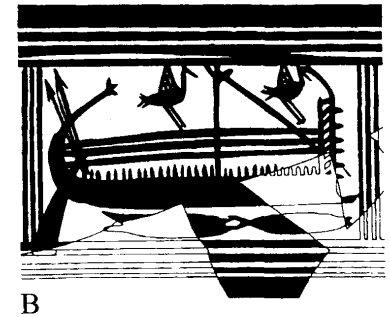
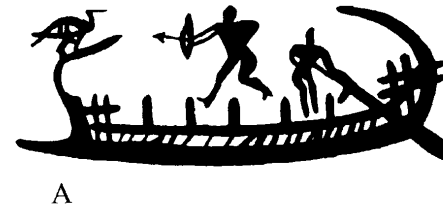


Fig. 8: Ships on (A) an MG vessel from Eleusis and (B) an LG vessel from Toumba (after Wedde 2000: fig. 16D, F)

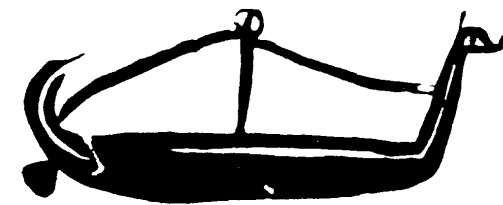


Fig. 9: Ship on a LHIIC stirrup jar from Skyros (after Wedde 2000: no. 655)

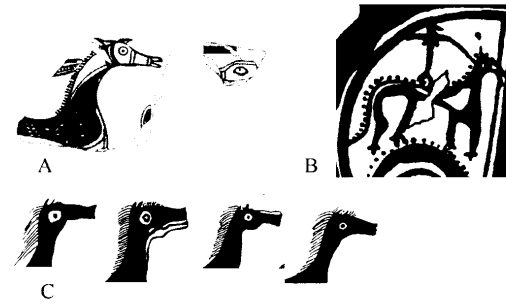
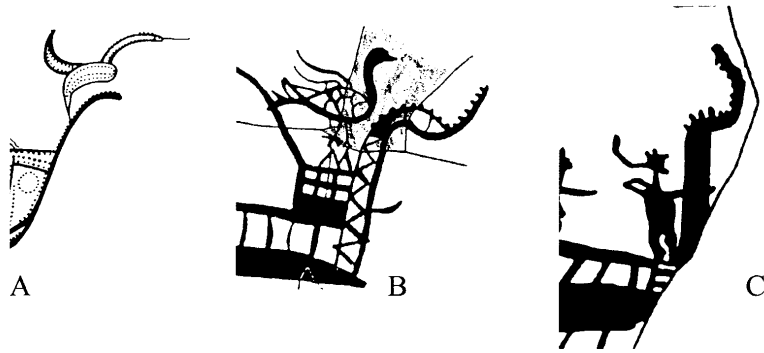


Fig. 13: LHIIC horses on vessels:
A. Tiryns (after Güntner 2006: figs. 26, 27);
B. Grotta (after Crouwel 2006: fig. 12);
C. Mycenae (after Crouwel 2006: fig. 16)

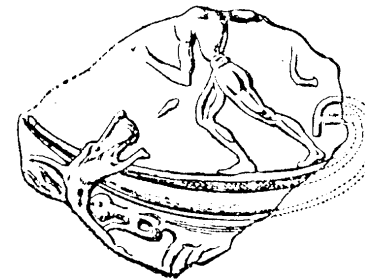
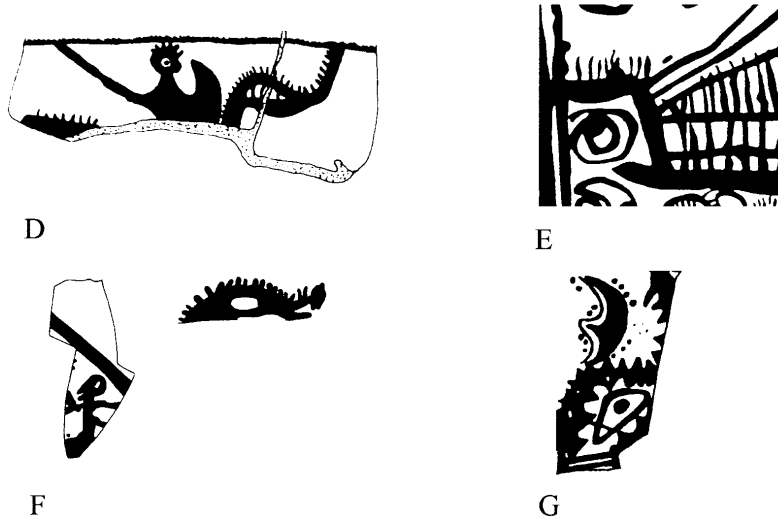


Fig. 16: MMIII-LMI sealing, Knossos
(after Wedde 2000: no. 901)



Fig. 18: A LHIIC larnax
from Mycenae (after Crouwel 1991: fig. 7a)

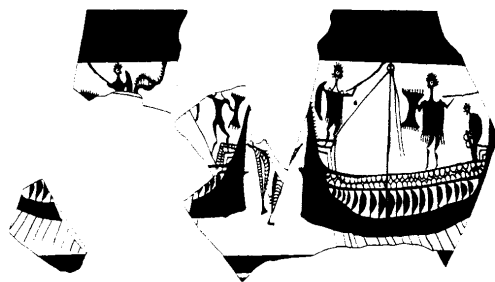


Fig. 11: Kynos, naval battle on an LHIIC krater
(after Dakoronia & Mpougia 1999: 23)



Fig. 12: Ship on LHIIC krater from Bademgedigi
Tepe (after Mountjoy 2005: fig. XCVI)

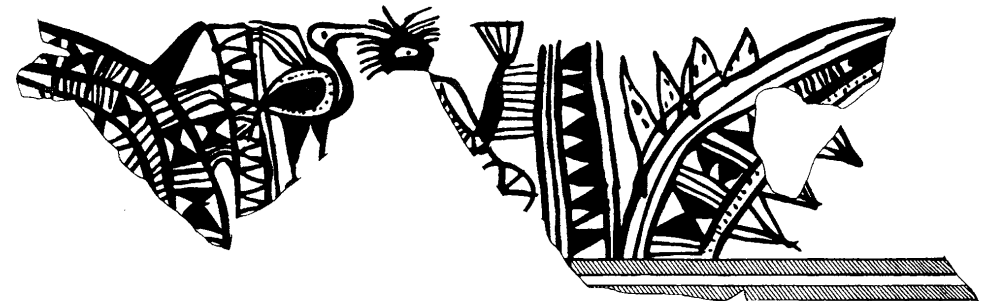


Fig. 17: Philistine Bichrome krater from Ashkelon (after Stager & Mountjoy 2007: figs. 3, 4)

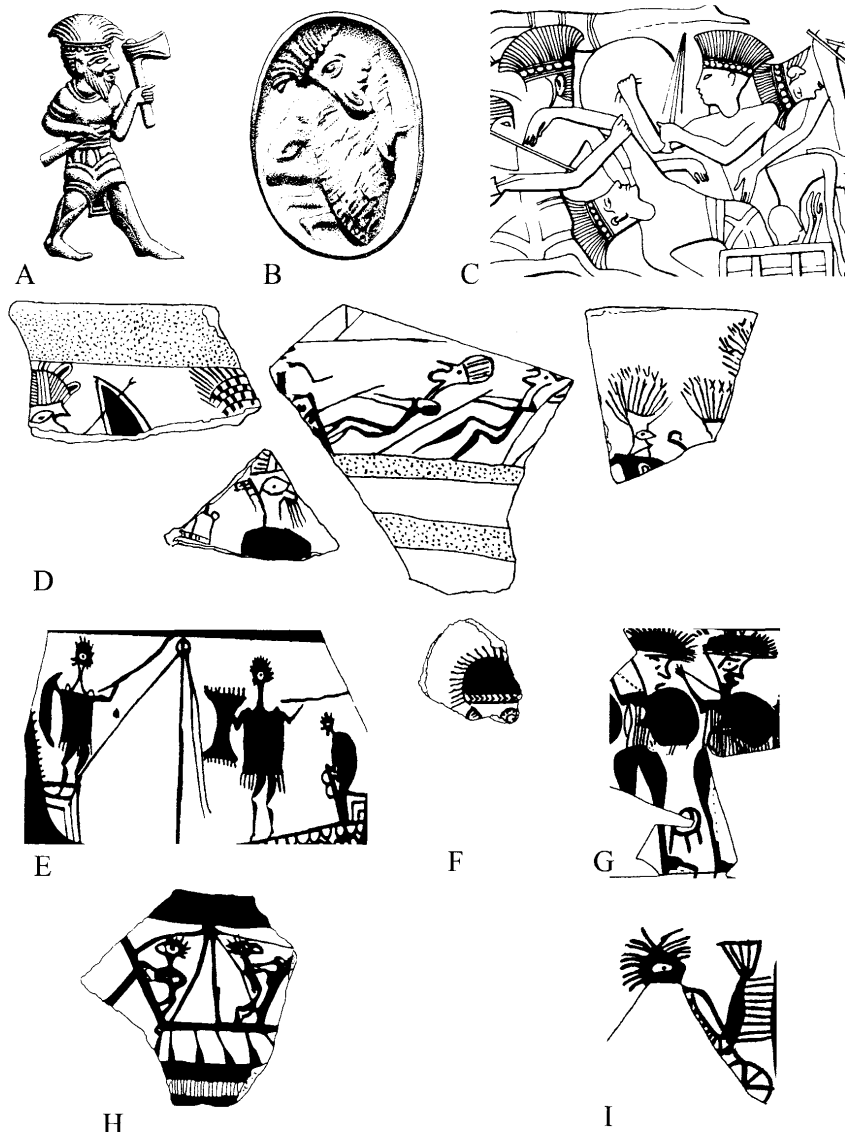


Fig. 19: A. Warrior on a game board, Enkomi (after Dothan 1982: 277, fig. 13); B. Warrior on a seal, Enkomi (after Dothan 1982: 277, fig. 14); C. Feather-hatted warrior from the land battle relief, Medinet Habu (after Nelson 1930: pl. 34); D. Warriors and sailors, Seraglio, Kos (after Sandars 1978: 155, fig. 92); E. Naval battle, Kynos (Dakoronia & Mpougia 1999: 23); F. Head on a larnax, Mycenae (after Crouwel 1991: fig. 7B); G. Warriors on a krater from Bademgedigi Tepe (after Mountjoy 2005: pl. XCVI); H. Sailors, Phaistos (after Wachsmann 1998: fig. 7.27); I. Figure with feather hat, Philistine Bichrome krater from Ashkelon (after Stager & Mountjoy 2007: fig. 3)

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Anatolians in Neo-Assyrian Documents

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Preamble¹

The eminent honouree, my colleague for over three decades, has repeatedly expressed his conviction that investigation into Anatolian issues of the first millennium BCE would be intriguing and rewarding. Here I try in my limited capacity to follow his recommendation.

A comprehensive prosopography of Anatolians in the core of the Assyrian empire, viz. Assyria proper and other parts of the Jezireh, is a desideratum. The task is greatly facilitated by the publication of PNA, where almost all the individuals discussed here are listed. However, ample onomastic analysis and full details about each individual are not always supplied there. This is to be remedied by the following analysis and synthesis based on the textual record. An investigation of the glyptic remains from the core of the Assyrian empire with a view to detect Anatolian and Anatolianizing style is beyond my competence.²

Regarding the direct evidence for Anatolians in Assyria, the early wave of deportees was brought from Patina, Hatti (predominantly Luwian polities) and Bīt-Adini (an Aramean polity with a Luwian urban component) by Assurnasirpal II (e.g., RIMA 2: 222, Asn II A.0.101.1) and Shalmaneser III. They were mostly settled in newly founded Calah (Oded 1979: 130). Later deportations from several polities of southeastern Anatolia were conducted by Tiglath-pileser III and the Sargonids (see below, 1.1.2, 1.3, 1.4 and 2). Only 16 individuals are explicitly described as Anatolians. They are from Luwian-speaking southeastern Anatolia (below, 1.1.2, 1.4.1, 1.4.2, 1.5, 2.1, 3), except for two Kaškeans and one Phrygian (below, 1.4, 5). Their number reaches 41 if one adds the 25 members of the somewhat problematic group listed in II below.

The Anatolian extraction of most individuals can be established with various degrees of plausibility by comparing their names with the Anatolian onomasticon recorded in Hieroglyphic Luwian and other text corpora and onomastica from or around Anatolia. It is likely that an individual from Assyria or upper Mesopotamia who bore an Anatolian name originated from Anatolia, since the Assyrians were the prestigious group in their empire, whereas the Anatolians there, like other foreigners, were influenced by Assyrian culture. The fact that individuals kept their foreign names despite the politics of assimilation practised by the Assyrian rulers would make the equation ‘bearer of Anatolian name = Anatolian’ the norm in such cases, although exceptions cannot be ruled out.

With these assumptions, a maximal sample of 139 individuals of Anatolian extraction was obtained. It stands to reason that most people who were implicitly Anatolian originated in

1 Abbreviations: Akk. = Akkadian; Aram. = Aramaic; atyp. = atypical; f. = father; Hierogl. = Hieroglyphic; Luw. = Luwian; s. = son; Sem. = Semitic; WSem. = West Semitic. Other abbreviations are self-evident. For typographical simplicity *h* in cuneiform is rendered as *h*. The months in Roman figures are the Assyrian.

2 See SAAS 1: 82, 95 with n. 200, 96ff., 118 with nn. 399 and 405, 122 with n. 441, 135f., 140 with n. 65, 142 with n. 78. Cf. I.1.1, 17 below; Aro 2009.

the Luwian-speaking provinces of the Assyrian empire, i.e., from southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. This is based on the cumulative evidence of the deportations reported in the Assyrian royal inscriptions and obvious geopolitical considerations as well as the ratio between the individuals from explicit Luwian polities to the non-Luwian Anatolians.³

Individuals originating in Luwian polities are listed first (I.1.1–5), then people from mixed Luwian-Aramean territories (Hatti and Carchemish, I.2, 3). They are followed by Anatolians of non-Luwian extraction, viz. Kaškeans and Phrygians (I.4, 5). The arrangement of the material is by degrees of plausibility, from certain through probable, possible, alternative and doubtful, whereby a clear-cut separation between alternative and doubtful is not always attainable. Each group is summarized separately. The order within each section is chronological, whereby the dated individuals are listed first, the undated ones last, even though they are generally roughly datable. The separation into categories of plausibility is intended to avoid inflating numbers in the Neo-Assyrian record.

‘Anatolians’, which clearly refers to provenance, are basically non-Semites. Occasionally, certain people from the extreme southeastern corner of Anatolia bore Aramaic names: The population of the Carchemish region (Hatti ‘proper’) and Commagene might have included a certain Aramean component. This is better documented in later periods, especially the Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine ages, when eastern Commagene and the whole Euphrates bend were on the fringe of the territory of Syriac-speakers. Both polities bordered on Aramaic-speaking regions. All the Aramis and almost all the Kubābu names are coupled with Semitic predicative elements. The spatial distribution of the Kubābu and Aramis anthroponyms is due to the prestige of the cults of the ruling urbanite Luwian class among their Aramean subjects and neighbours. It follows that the bearers of the hybrid Kubābu and Aramis anthroponyms were not ethnic Anatolians, but Arameans and Assyrians. The fact that anthroponyms with the theophorous element Kubābu, i.e., the goddess Kubaba of Carchemish, are much more numerous and widely distributed than anthroponyms with the common Luwian god Aramis is due to the continuous importance of Carchemish as a commercial and cultural urban centre.

The certain Anatolians, although not the majority, are the largest group (32.37%). The other groups are (in descending order): alternative (30.93%), probable (17.98%), doubtful (13.66%) and possible (5.03%). For the sake of caution, each group is evaluated separately in the interim summaries. Differences, if any, are highlighted in the conclusions. The sample is obtained mostly by using onomastic criteria. Understandably, it was impossible to detect crypto-Anatolians. Anonymous Commagenian augurs are recorded at the beginning of the 8th century (see below, I.1.2), but the three court augurs from the Sargonid period (at least two generations later; SAA 7, 1, rev. I, 8–10) have Assyrian names. Did they descend from Anatolians who were brought to Assyria at least a generation earlier?

3 This very restricted statistical sample is placed last in the chain of argumentation, with all due reservation; cf. below, I.1.1–3 and 4, 5 respectively.

I. Certainly Anatolians (45/139 = 32.37%)

0. Onomastic Analysis

Tarhunt(a)-, the weather god (Goetze 1954: 79), is extant in *Tar-hu-na-zi* (I.1.1, 18, cf. Hierogl. Luw. *Tarhunazas*; Hawkins 1987: 160 with refs.; Goetze 1962: 56b), *Tar-hu-un-a-kil* (I.1.1, 21); *Tarhun-zumme* (I.1.1, 3), *Tar-hu-(hī)-ri* (I.1.1, 4), *Tar-hu-un-da-pi-i* (I.1.1, 23, cf. Hierogl. Luw. *Tarhuntapiyas*; Hawkins 1987: 136ff.: 1, 23; Laroche 1966: 177), ‘*Tarhunt* has given’ (*-pī-*, *-piya*; Goetze 1939: 9; 1954: 78; 1962: 57) and *Tar-hu-x[xxxx]* (I.1.1, 25). *Ha-an-da-pi-i* (I.1.1, 19) denotes ‘*Handa* has given’ (Goetze 1962: 57b with n. 46; but *Ha-an-DA-sa-ni* is WSem. *Ha-an-ṭa-sa-ni* and does not belong here), *Sa-an-da-pi-i* (I.1.1, 7, homonymous with an individual from Tarsus; PNA 3:1087ff.) means ‘*Šantaš* (Sandes, cf. below) has given’ (Goetze 1939: 9f.: 3); and with inverted order *Pi-sa-an-di* (I.1.1, 20; Goetze 1962: 54). *Šantaš* (*Šanda*, Σανδης; Goetze 1954: 78b) is extant in *Sa-an-du-ū-ar* (I.1.1, 21), *Sandu-ura* (I.1.1, 1) and *Sin-du-a-ru* (I.1.1, 15; SIN is a CVC-sign which is indifferent to vowel quality), cf. NB *Šin-du-ū-ri* s. of *Sa-gi-ri* (for the paternal name, cf. below, III), Aram. *Šndwr* (Porten & Yardeni 1986: 6ff.: A1.1, 9; see Krahmalkov 1981: 197: hardly < Sem. *Š/Šin-dūr* as this fragmentary Aramaic letter does not contain plene spellings to judge by the two comparable examples, viz. *ʾdn* for *ʾAdōn* and *mlkn* for */malkīn/*). This name is of the type DN-*uari*, like *Kubābu-uari* (*-u-a-ri*, ‘DN provides help’ or ‘DN is help’) (Starke 1990: 155–157; Goetze 1962: 56a) and *Kubābu-ār-ri* (below, 2.2, 2, less likely Akk. *-ubrī*; PNA 2: 632a despite its lemmatization or alternatively with Anatolian *-upra* < *-upara*; cf. Goetze 1954: 79b). Cf. Ταρκυαρης from Cilicia (Goetze 1954: 79, with *Tarhu-*), *S/Šar-uari* (I.1.1, 10, 12; Goetze 1962: 56a: 3) and perhaps *[S/Šar²]-ū-a-ri* (II, 2) as well as *Par-nu-u-a-ri* (I.1.2, 3; < Hierogl. Luw. *Parniwaris*; Hawkins 2000: 2: 533ff.); cf. below, V, 0. *Pi-ša-ar-mu* (I.1.1, 10) is homonymous with the Tabolean ruler *ʾPī-še-er-mu/Pi-š[i]l-mu*. They represent Hierogl. Luw. *Piyasarmas* (Hawkins 1987: 152ff.: 3, ii, 5) consisting of *pī-* (< *piya-*) ‘to give’ and the DN *Sarma-*. For the type cf. *Pī-Sanda-* above. For *Sarma-* see Goetze (1962: 56b: 6, 57b: 11), who noticed the variant *Serma-* in imperial Aramaic (letters of Arsham) from the 5th century BCE. *Serma-* is extant in *ʾPī-še-er-mu* as early as the end of the 8th century BCE (> *Pi-š[i]l-mu* is a secondary form with *r* > *l* probably due to the presence of *-m-*; *-ŠIL-* is a CVC sign which is indifferent to vowel quality). *Ha-an-da-bu-ri* (I.1.1, 17), *Handa* < *Kente* (Zadok 1979a: 295; Neumann 2007: 127, s.v. *Xñtab[u]ra*; for *Hnd-/Knd-*; cf. Goetze 1962: 57b). Hybrid, viz. Anatolian (DN)-Semitic (predicative element), are *Ha-an-da-la-rim* (I.1.1, 5, Aram. *-*larīm*) and *Ša-an-ta-da-me-qi* (I.1.1, 16, Akk. *-dāmiqu* > *dāmequ*). The predicative element of *Tar-hu-un-a-kil* is unexplained. A comparison with the predicative element of *Nabû-nakil* (PNA 2: 854b), in which case it would be hybrid (**Tarhu-nakil*) is impossible, as the interpretation of *Nabû-nakil* is doubtful. *Hiba-azammi* (I.1.1, 2) ‘Beloved of Hiba’ (PNA 2: 471a; cf. Σανδαζαμις; Dagron & Feissel 1987: 29ff.: 11, face A, 46, cf. *ad loc.*, i.e., ‘Beloved of Šantaš’). *Hu-un-zu-di-i* (I.1.1, 19; PNA 2: 480a) is apparently a compound starting with *hunzu* ~ *kunza* (Goetze 1954: 77b; 1962: 54b *ad Ku-un-zu-um-pi-ia*, Κονζαπεας, Κοναζαφεας; Zadok 2005: 100: 3; and below, V.). Does *-di-i* go back to *tiya-* ‘to place, lay, put, tread’? Luw. *Kurtis/Kurtiya* is spelled *Gúr-di-i* in NA (PNA 2: 431ff.), but *Gur-di-i*, regarded as Anatolian in PNA 1: 431ff., s.v. ~, 4, 6, 7 (misread as *Gúr-*) is to be read *Qur-di-i*, i.e., *Qurđi*, a common Assyrian name

(also *Qur-di-a*; StAT 3: 13, 31), hence, to be discarded; cf. *Qur-di-i* and *Qur-da-A+A* in the same archive, viz. that of Aššur-māta-taqqin (Ahmad 1996: 234ff., 281: 10, rev. 18 and 241, 283: 13, 19 resp.). *Hu-li-i* can be homonymous with the name of the king of Tabal, viz. *Hu-ul-li-i/Hu-ul-le-e*, *Hul-li-i*, Hierogl. Luw. *Huliyas* (PNA 2: 476ff.), although this royal name is always spelled with <lb> in NA (cf. the Hierogl. Luw. form with a simple <-l-). The former *Hu-li-i* is classified as certainly Anatolian below also in view of the fact that he is juxtaposed with *Sa-an-da-pi-i* (1.1.1, 7, 8), whereas his namesake, who was a slave, is regarded as either Anatolian or WSem. (below, IV.3, 7). *Na-ni-zi* (1.1.1, 24; Zadok 2005: 100). *Tu-ta⁷-mu-u* is homonymous with *Tu-ta-am-mu-ú/Tu-ta-mu-ú*, king of Patina (Tadmor 1994: 58ff.: Ann. 25, 5', 8'; Goetze 1954: 79b). *In-du-u* (1.2, 2) can be compared with Ἰνδου, Ενδου from Cilicia, Isauria and Pisidia (Zgusta 1964: 201ff.: 473–476); less likely to Hurr. *int-* (Gelb et al. 1943: 220a) although Commagene had a Hurrian component as well. *Ka-ma-ba-nu* (1.1.5) was compared with *Qa-ma-ba-na* from Gozan by Ungnad (in Friedrich et al. 1940: 43 ad 68, 4), but the latter name may alternatively be WSem. (PNA 3: 1006a). Less assured Anatolian names are discussed in III-V below.⁴

1. Luwians

1.1 Origin Not Indicated

1. *Sa-an-du-ú-ra* guarded together with Urdu-Gula, **2. *Hi-ba-za-me*** and **3. *Tar-hu-un-zu-me*** a consignment of antimony. They were sent back to Mazamua (Tiglath-pileser III [744–727 BCE] or Sargon II [721–705 BCE]; Parker 1961: 34f.: ND 2496, 2ff.). Bearing in mind the common Assyrian tendency, it can be surmised that they were deported from the westernmost part of the Assyrian empire (southeastern Anatolia) to the easternmost provinces (Zadok 1995: 434ff.). **4. *Tar-hu-chi⁷-ri***, wall guardian (*maššar dūri*, EN.NUN BÀD), is recorded in a list found at Calah (c. 744–705; Parker 1961: 25ff.: ND 2440, rev. i, 1). He is mentioned together with **5. *Ha-an-da-la-rim***, who was apparently a dependent *pater familias*. The latter is mentioned together with a woman and two sons in a list of people and livestock (ibid., rev. ii, 5; PNA 2: 451b). **6. *Ha-an-da-ap-pa-«bi»*** from Aššur was a neighbour of a house purchased by Sebettāyu s. of Rība-Adad (prob. Sargon II or earlier [c. 744–705]; VAT 10696, 3; PNA 2: 452a). **7. *Sa-an-da-pi-i***, a vegetable gardener, and **8. *Hu-li-i***, a farmer, are mentioned in Gozan. They had to be brought from Gozan via Šabirēšu to the newly founded Dūr-Šarru-kēn (Sargon II; SAA 1, 128, 15ff.; PNA 3: 1087ff.). **9. *[Ta]r-hu-«un»-da-pi-i*** loaned [x] homers of barley (details lost) (700; SAA 6, 117, 2). His namesake (*Tar-hu-un-da-pi-i*, presumably the same individual) bought the slave Atar-hamu from Asī for 32 shekels of silver (fine to Issar of Nineveh in case of contravention) (30.XII.698; SAA 6, 118, 5.17). **10. *Pi-ša-ar-mu***, recruitment officer

4 Discarded material: Goetze (1954: 79) suggested that *Iš-pi-ú-ri-i*, a mayor (*hazānu*) from Iagiriya (mid 9th century; Finkelstein 1953: 137: 69, 15) and *Iš-pa-ú-ri* from Nahal-šarbite (831/815; Finkelstein 1953: 137ff.: 72; PNA 2: 586) bore Anatolian names. However, both names may be rather indigenous (Hurro-Urartian, found in Šibaniba in northeastern Assyria proper, which had a Hurrian substrate), the more so since the former refers to a representative of the local population and the occurrence of the toponym *ḫi-pa-ri-ra* in the same source (line 33). Generally, toponyms were coined generations before they first appear in the written record. In addition, *išp-* is extant in Urartian anthroponyms (e.g., Salvini 1979: 119). It is unknown whether NA *As-ta-na-nu* (PNA 1: 138) ends in *-nani-* Luwian ‘brother’ because the preceding element is unexplained.

(*mušarkisu*) of the governor. He is the 4th (last but one) witness, listed after the intelligence officer of the governor, both forming a cohesive duo, but before a royal intimate, which may indicate that the witness list, which consists almost entirely of members of the military establishment, is not ranked (12.1.695; Šumma-ilāni archive, Nineveh; SAA 6, 36, rev. 2; PNA 3: 997b). He is homonymous with the Tabalean ruler *Pi-še-er-mu/Pi-š[i]l-mu*, but the name is common Luw. The fact that he was part of the Assyrian military establishment may favour an origin in one of the Luw.-speaking Assyrian provinces rather than from hostile Tabal. **11. *S/Šar-ú-ar-ri***, seller of slaves (1.IV.686; Nineveh (?); SAA 6, 166, 1; PNA 3: 1093a). **12. *Tar⁷-hu-«un⁷»-dáp-pi-i***, ^{lu}x[xxx] was sold together with his wife, son, land and fowl by Gadi-il (buyer’s name lost). The estate of 30 homers (hectares) was near a river (whence the fowl) adjoining the highway leading from Maliyati to Kannu’, the wadi running from Adian to the village (URU.ŠE = *kapru*) of ^m[x]-⁷x⁷-ha, and the road leading from Kapri-ili to Kannu’ all the way to the river/canal (price not preserved) (12.[x].686; SAA 6, 169, 17). **13. *S/Šar-ú-ár-ri*** [xxx] from Luli[a] (?) (*Lu-li-ī[a⁷-A+A*]), a royal servant (presumably an official rather than a local notable) (Esarhaddon [680–669]; SAA 16, 144, 6). He was sent by Nabû-rā'im-nišēšu (official in charge of eastern affairs) to the king reporting that S/Š. wishes ‘to speak the king’s word’ (PNA 3: 1093a). Was S/Šar-uari based in the eastern section of the Assyrian empire for the same reason as 1–3 above? **14. *Gúr-dī-i***, horse-trainer of the open chariotry acting as the 10th of 14 preserved witnesses. The damaged list is ranked, headed by the chief 3rd rider (*tašlīšu dannu*) and consists mostly of members of the military establishment (c. 671–660; Rēmanni-Adad archive, Nineveh; SAA 6, 334, rev. 31; PNA 1: 431b, s.v. ~, 4, 5). **15. *Sin-du-a-ru*** is the creditor in a list of barley disbursements (the total is given as 11 homers and 5 seahs) from Ma'alānāte (657; O 3688, l.e. 1; PNA 3: 1088a, s.v. ~, 3, cf. below, 2.2, 16). **16. *Ša-an-ta-da-me-qī*** from ^{ur}De-⁷ri (eponym; c. 647–612; Wiseman 1953: 142, 158b, index, s.v.: ND 3431, rev. 10; hapax from Calah). **17. *Ha-an-da-bu-ri*** sold his female slave Urkītu-hamat to Lā-tubāšanni-Adad (= ~ f. of Bēl-aha-ušur, Šamaš-aha-ušur archive, Calah, = ~ Wiseman 1953: 140, 143; ND 3420, 3439; PNA 2: 656, s.v. ~, 2). His seal is considered non-Assyrian (Parker 1955: 121), but SAAS 1: 177b; Nim. 23 lists two parallels, viz. Nim. 12 and Nim. 99 (3.XII.Aššur-šarra-ušur from Marqasi = 643*; Wiseman 1953: 143; ND 3421, 1, 4; PNA 2: 451b). **18. *Tar-hu-na-zi***, servant of Kakkullānu (the archive owner) from Nineveh; his master purchased a female slave (Šalentu) and gave her to him as wife (20.II. Šalam-šarri-iqbi = 630*; SAA 14, 34, 7). **19. *Ha-an-da-pi-i***, perhaps a herald, 12th of 19 witnesses (7th in the group of 10 witnesses from Hubaba; the group of witnesses who do not originate from Irbu and Hubaba is ranked as it is headed by the royal intimate Nabû-erība) s. of *Hu-un-zu-dī-i* (PNA 2: 480a) (17.XI. Šalam-šarri-iqbi = 630*; Kakkullānu archive; SAA 14, 36, rev. 21; the *ditto* sign may refer to line 19; PNA 2: 451). **20. *Pi-sa-an-dī*** (*pater familias*) and his anonymous people (number unspecified) are mentioned in a land grant (Aššur-etel-ilāni [630–627] (?); SAA 12, 51, rev. 4'; PNA 3: 996b). **21. *Sa-an-du-ú-ar*** is the last but one of 6 witnesses (6th–11th of 20 witnesses incl. the scribe) labeled as *mār-ālīšu* in a deed found in Calah. This may imply that he was not necessarily from the city, but from the countryside of Calah (25.IV.Nabû-šarra-ušur = 629*; Parker 1954: 42; ND 2325, rev. 12; PNA 3: 1088a, s.v. ~, 4). At least the seller, Qurdi-Issar, chariot fighter of the supervisor of the crown prince’s palace, was from Calah in view of the fact that a fine was to be paid to (N)inurta of Calah in case of contravention. **22. *Tar-hu-un-a-kil*** was the 3rd of 7 witnesses in a deed from the archive of Kakkullānu. The latter leases land in Bīt-Abi-ilā'i. Since this is the only occurrence of T., it stands to reason that he did not belong to Kakkullānu’s circle, but to that of Lū-šakin from Bīt-Abi-ilā'i, whose paternal name may be Anatolian (see below, V. 8) (18.V.Aššur-māta-taqqin = 623*; SAA 14, 44, rev. 9). **23. *Tar-hu-un-da-pi-i***, foreman (*šaknu*) of the

Hala-ta-A+A (Hallateans), in a list of officials at court (Sargonid; Nineveh (?); SAA 7, 11, rev. 2: *Tar-[h]u-un-da-p[i-i]...H[ala-ta-A+A]*; SAA 7, 5, ii, 38: *Hala-ta-A+A*?; SAA 7, 9, I, 19', perhaps Esarhaddon, see SAA 7: XVIIIff.; *Tar-[h]u-un-da-pi-i*, unspecified foreman). Another foreign foreman of the WSem. group of the Hallateans is the Egyptian Haršešu (SAA 7, 9, rev. ii, 1ff.). The Hallateans, like the Gurreans and Itueans, were probably WSem. tribesmen (presumably Arameans) serving as auxiliaries in the Assyrian army. A fortress on the eastern border of the Assyrian empire (in Zamua) was named after the Gurreans, prob. stationed there (*Halšu ša Gur-A+A*, 'the Gurreans' fortress'; Zadok 1995: 435). **24.** *Na-ni-zi* (7th century; Aššur; SAAB 9, 93, rev. 10; PNA 2: 928a; Zadok 2005: 100:4, cf. below, V.). **25.** *Tar-hu-x[xxxx]* owed 6 minas of silver to Nahiri. Therefore he pledged his slave *Ti-ur-a-me* (unexpl.,⁵ *pater familias*) with his wife and two sons (date lost [Sargonid?]; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 209, e. 1; Galil 2006). **26.** *Tu-ta-mu-u* is recorded in a list of men (deportees?) (Sargonid (?); Nineveh (?); SAA 11, 185, ii, 1').

1.2 Commagenians

Commagenians (NA sg. *Kummuhāyu*) and augurs from there received rations in Calah as early as 784 (CTN 1: 75, 91, 127ff.: 1, iii, 7, 130ff.: 3, 4ff.; CTN 1: 75 with n. 2; Hawkins 1980–83: 339a). Sargon II deported Commagenians not to Assyria proper, but to Babylonia and adjacent regions (notably Dūr-Bēl-ilāya, Bīt-Yakīn and Bīt-Kiblāte; Zehnder 2005: 122, n. 2). Only later, in Sennacherib's reign, was Assyria the destination of Commagenian deportees in addition to Babylonia (Oded 1979: 119, 127). However, 2000 exempted men (*zakkū*) under the charge of a Commagenian are recorded at the end of the 8th century, according to a letter from the Hamath region found at Calah (Saggs 1966: 184: NL 88, 27ff.; Postgate 1974a: 381ff.). According to Parpola (SAA 1: 135: 172), they were the soldiers of the Commagenian (king). This means that the vassal king supplied auxiliary forces for guarding the border of the province of Hamath from the desert Arabians. However, CTN 5: 174–175 renders it '2,000 *zakkū*-men of the land of Kummuh'. Augurs are also attested at Calah in Sargon II's time (Parker 1961: 26: ND 2442, 7; Hawkins 1980–83: 339a). Anonymous Commagenian emissaries are recorded in the same period (PNA 2: 637b). Warriors from Commagene were incorporated in the Assyrian army by Sargon II (Zehnder 2005: 153 with n. 4).

1. *Ahi-sa-pa* (WSem., probably Aram.) from Commagene (^{kur}*Ku-muh-A-(+A)*) is mentioned in connection with a legal case concerning the activities of two Kushite eunuchs (Esarhaddon/early reign of Assurbanipal [c. 680–660]; Nineveh(?); SAA 11, 47, I, 3; PNA 1: 67b). **2.** *In-du-u* (from Commagene acc. to envelope) acted as the 2nd witness (of 5) in the promissory note. He is homonymous with **4** below (9.IV.Nabû-šar-ahhēšu = 646*; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 94, inner tablet; SAA 14, 95, envelope: 3rd of 7). **3.** *Par-nu-u-a-ri*, f. of Sukkāyu from Commagene (Kummuh). His son was a Commagenian merchant (or agent, *tamkāru*; Deller 1987; with a stamp seal). He bears an Akk. name common in Assyria, an indication that he dwelled in Assyria proper or at least was influenced by the Assyrian culture. He sold to Asalluhi-šuma-iddina, company commander (*rab-kišri*) of the *ša šēpi*-guard of the palace, 12 slaves (3 families of 5+4+2 and a single one, their list is by size of the familial unit in descending order) for 10 minas of silver (with a fine of one mina of silver to Issar of

5 Does it begin with **Tiwa*- (Luw. 'sun'), like *Ti-wa-zi-ti* (Laroche 1981: 45: 1353b; Goetze 1954: 79) and *Tiwa-šarpaš* (Goetze 1954: 78b)? Or is it a variant of *Tab-ri-a-me* (Dalley 1996–97: 73f., 92, pl. 1: 3, 3: -[me]; 4, rev. 1)?

Nineveh in case of contravention). None of these slaves is Anatolian (SAAS 6: 227, n. 1266); some are Egyptian and WSem. Among the witnesses there are at least 5 merchants but their names are lost (12.X.Aššur-gimilla-tēre = 638*; (N)inurta-šarra-ušur archive, Nineveh; SAA 14, 424, I.13.21; PNA 3: 989b and 1155b, s.v. ~, 36). **4.** *In-du-u*, a merchant or commercial agent, 2nd of 8 in a ranked list headed by a royal intimate (10.VII.Bēl-šaddû'a [c. 630s or 620s]; Dūr-Katlimmu; BATSH 6, 68, rev. 2; PNA 1: 327b, s.v. ~, 5).

1.3 Marhasheans

People were deported from Gurgum and its capital Marh/qasi to Assyria by Sargon II (Oded 1979: 124, 128). Anonymous Marhasheans (^{lu*}*Mar-ha-sa-A+A*) are recorded in Dūr-Šarru-kēn (c. 712–705; SAA 1, 124, 24, rev. 2; Zehnder 2005: 128).

1.4 Cilicians

Sennacherib conducted campaigns against Cilicia in 696–695 and settled deportees in Illubru (Frahm 1997: 14; Oded 1979: 130).⁶ He forced Cilicians and other people from conquered lands to participate in the construction of his palace in Nineveh. Hostages from Cilicia were held in Assyria (Zehnder 2005: 118ff., 144ff., 189, n. 3).

1.4.1 Explicit

Šulmu([DI^m]^u)-bēl ^{kur}Qu-[A+A?], first witness of 5 (two belong to the military establishment) (Nineveh (?); c. 7th century; SAA 14, 421, rev. 1).

1.4.2 Gentilic

Qu(w)āyu is a gentilic of *Que* (Cilicia). The possibility that certain occurrences may refer to people originating in the town of *Qua* in Commagene cannot be excluded, but it is less likely. Kapri-*Qu-ū-A+A* is recorded in 736, i.e., as early as Tiglath-pileser III (Ahmad & Postgate 2007: 36, 11).

1. *Qu-u-A+A*, military official belonging to the unit of Šamaš-ēmuranni in Calah (Sargon II; CTN 3: 184 *ad* 101 iv, 14; PNA 3: 1027a). **2.** *Qu-u-A+A*, s. of K[ubābu?-xx] (K[ū-KÁ?]-x-x] from Tarqanu (with a cylinder seal; SAAS 1: 243b; Nin. 157) sold a vineyard in Tursan. Tarqanu is to be sought near Tursan (on the south bank of the Lower Zab; Nashef 1982: 266; Fincke 1993: 305ff.) and Aššur, seeing that the vineyard provided regular sacrifices to Aššur and Mullissu. The witness list apparently consists of a local group of the two inspectors (sg. *qēpu*) of Kār-Šamaš (on the Tigris) and the mayor of Tursan as the last witness. This group is preceded by [(x+)] 7 witnesses including at least two functionaries, a chariot driver and a porter. They probably belonged, at least partially, to the buyer's circle, who might have been a functionary as well, presumably from Nineveh (name not preserved) (25.II.682; SAA 6, 188, 1). **3.** *Qu-u-A+A*, creditor (27 bundles of straw). The debtor (with a stamp seal) is Bēl-rēmanni s. of Nabû-tariš from Ekallāti (I.XII.Nabû-nādin-ahi = 647*; Aššur; archive N 27; StAT 3: 38, tablet, 2 = 39, envelope, 3). The name *Qu-u/ū-a*, *Qu-u-ia*, *Qu-ia-a* (referring to 6

6 Que is juxtaposed with *Hilakku* in an inscription of Sennacherib (CTN 1: 92, with n. 348), but no individual from Assyria proper or the Jezireh in general is described as *Hila/ikkāyu* (Parpola 1970: 161ff.); for *Hila/ikku*/Κιλίκια, see Neumann (1979).

individuals),⁷ being too short and therefore atypical, presumably has nothing to do with the above-mentioned gentilic.

1.5 Tabaleans

Ka-ma-ba-nu, a slave from Tabal, was sold (for 67 shekels of silver) by the merchant Adda-rapā (SAAS 6: 227; for his seal, SAAS 1: 177, with nn. 36, 37) to commander-of-fifty Gir-Hā (22. X.648; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 91, 3; PNA 2: 600a). Among 4 preserved witnesses are a merchant and a commander-of-fifty, belonging to the circle of the seller and buyer respectively.

2. From Carchemish

The pre-Sargonid individuals from Carchemish, who are recorded in Assyria, were possibly professional soldiers (Tadmor 1975: 42). Deportees from Carchemish were settled in Assyria by Sargon II (Oded 1979: 123). Crack chariotry and cavalry from Carchemish were presumably included in the Assyrian army (CTN 3: 37; Zehnder 2005: 152ff.).

2.1 Gentilic

1. *Gar-ga-mis-A*+*[A]*, together with *Su-r[a-A+A]* and Nabû-nammir (all with fingernail marks) sold slaves according to a fragmentary deed (1.XI.692; Nineveh (?); SAA 6, 145, 11).
2. [^{ur}]*Kar-ga-mis-A+A*, probably an official, eponym, c. 609* BCE (deed from Ma'alānāte, O. 3663, rev. 7).⁸

2.2 Bearers of Kubābu names with Anatolian predicative elements

Anthroponyms with the theophorous element Kubaba (*Kubābu*, *Ḫū.KÁ*; PNA 2: 630b–632a), the goddess of Carchemish (originally pre-Luw.), were borne by 30 individuals (the name of one more individual, the father of 1.4.2, 2 above, is very damaged). The predicative elements of their names are mostly Akk. (10 = 33.33%), Aram. (7 = 23.33%: *-hinnī* and *-sūrī* from Kanna⁹ and Arzuhina respectively; *-idrī* from Ma'alānāte; *-sapi-*, *-satar*; *Ab-di-ku-bu-bi* with *ā > ō*) and perhaps Phoenician (or non-Sem.? Kubābu-*lu-nu*; one of 30 = 3.33%, see below, IV.2). No less than 10 individuals (33.33%) bore the hybrid (Akk.-Aram.) name Kubābu-*il-A+A* (with Akk. *-ilāi* or Aram. *-ilāhā*). Only two of 30 individuals (6.66%) had Kubābu names with Anatolian predicative elements, viz. Kubābu-*uari* (PNA 2: 632a). Most are mentioned in documents from Assyrian urban centres (Aššur, Nineveh, and Calah). An origin from Carchemish is discernible at least for Kubābu-šallimanni, a scribe and landowner (Sargon II; SAA 11, 221, rev. 6'; PNA 2: 632a). Kubābu-sapi is the 5th (and last) witness in a promissory note of the archive of the Ninevite royal charioteer Šumma-ilāni (21.V.681; SAA 6, 46, rev. 5). Since he does not recur in this archive, it can be argued that he did not belong to the

⁷ Listed in chronological order in PNA 3: 1017b, s.v. Quia, which does not compare Qu(w)āyu. The earliest is f. of Tabši-lēšir from Bīt-šašširi, 746.

⁸ Individuals who lived in Carchemish or in its region are *Bar-ru-še-x[x]* (unexpl.) from Elumu, dated to the post-canonical eponym Pada, witness in an agreement on communal taxation between the village of Elumu and the company commander Šarru-taklāk (PNA 1: 272b); ^d*A-ra-miš*-MAN-DINGIR^{mes}, a merchant from Carchemish, the father of the recruitment officer Šumma-ilu; Ubru-Nabû reports to Esarhaddon that A. was slain by his servants in an enemy country (SAA 16: 105, 10).

circle of the archive owner, unlike the first 3 witnesses, Bēl-šarra-ibni, 3rd rider of the palace, Bēl-aha-ušur and Ahi-nūrī (both company commanders). It is very likely that Kubābu-sapi and Zēr-ketti-lēšir (the 4th witness) belonged to the circle of the debtor, Aššur-bēla-ušur, the major-domo of Carchemish who owed 6 homers of pressed oil (by the copper seah of 10 'litres'). He presumably was from Carchemish. Kubābu-ēreš from Hatarikka is datable to Sargon II. Bēl-dūrī governor of Damascus reports to the king that K. and other Hatarikkeans made Ilu-mušēzib, a baker of Bēl-ēmuranni, run away (SAA 1, 171, 8). It seems that these people, all bearing Akk. names, were not originally from Hatarikka, but were brought there by the Assyrians after its annexation by Tiglath-pileser III. Kubābu-ilāi spoke Mannean and was in the intelligence service of the governor of Zamua in the reign of Sargon II (Zehnder 2005: 162 with n. 6). Kubābu-satar was apparently a political figure in western Media, so the king told the governor of Zamua to speak nicely to him (*ina pī tābi issišu dubbu*; Sargon II; an interpreter is mentioned in a damaged context; SAA 5, 203, 10; PNA 2: 631b, s.v. ~, 1).⁹ Were these individuals, active on the eastern border of the Assyrian empire, deported from the westernmost provinces of the Assyrian empire for the same reason as I.1.1, 1–3 above?

1. [Kub]ābu ([KÜ.K]Á)-*?-u-a-ri*, member of the court personnel in Calah (probably a *ša-ziqni* official) (Tiglath-pileser III; Parker 1961: 27ff. and pl. 13ff.: ND 2443+2621, rev. ii, 3').
2. Kubābu-*ār-ri*, possibly a dependent individual (Assurbanipal; SAA 12, 65, 6').

3. Hatti

People from Hatti (a general term for southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria; PNA 2: 466b: 1–3; Bagg 2007: 95ff.) were settled by Assurnasirpal II in the newly founded capital Calah. Hittites received rations acc. to administrative documents from pre-Sargonid Calah (Zehnder 2005: 138, 171ff.). Anonymous Neo-Hittite male and female singers were active in Assyrian royal palaces like other non-Assyrian musicians (e.g., CTN 1: 76ff., 120; SAA 7, 24, 15, 22). A *kispu*-offering of bread of Hittite females for 15.VI is recorded in an administrative document (Nineveh (?); SAA 7, 143, rev. ii, 9'ff.; Zehnder 2005: 148). People from Hatti were deported to Bīt-Yakīn by Sargon II (Zehnder 2005: 122, n. 2). A fragmentary letter from Sargon II's time is about food supplies to Hittite deportees, who might have been brought to an eastern province (SAA 15, 42). During the same period, deportees from Til-Barsip, originally a Luwian town, are recorded in a letter mentioning Kār-Šarru-kēn (Harhar) in western Media (SAA 15, 106). Sennacherib settled Hittite shipwrights in Nineveh. Hittite auxiliaries served in Assurbanipal's army (Zehnder 2005: 148, 157). *Hattāyu* 'Hittite' (gent.), i.e., 'from Hatti', was borne by the following 3 individuals:

1. *Ha-ta-A+A* sold his slave Lū-ahhē to Dannāyu (5.VI.672; Nineveh (?); SAA 6, 244; PNA 2: 466b, s.v. ~, 2).
2. *Ha-ta-A+A*, debtor, pledged his slave Hatanu for a debt of silver (creditor Urdu-Aššur) (626*; archive N 31, Aššur; StaT 2, 195, 3). *Ha-ta-A+A* acted as a witness (10th of at least 20, several prob. of the circle of Lā-turammanni-Aššur) in a marriage deed of Rihpimunu to the daughter of Ata'

⁹ See Fales (2009: 32) for the Assyrian dialogue with rulers in the Zagros (he does not mention Kubābu-satar).

(Assurbanipal or slightly later [c. 668–612]; archive N 31. Aššur; StaT 2, 184, rev. 13; PNA 2: 466b, s.v. ~, 4). **3. *Ha-ta-A+A***, first witness (of 5) for Sîn-na'di who repays a debt (sum not preserved) to Bibiya. The archive owner Bibiya is elsewhere recorded in 658 and 625* (PNA 2: 466b, s.v. ~, 3; cf. below, IV.3, 4) (*Kanūnāyu* = 666 or rather 624*; archive N 20, Aššur; StaT 2, 82, rev. 1).

4. Kaškeans

Two individuals bear a name which is a gentilic *Kaskāyu* ‘Kaškean’ of Kaška in northeastern Anatolia.

1. *Kas-ka-A+A* was one of 5 robbers who were caught in the house of Tâ (location not specified, but presumably in the vicinity of Nineveh; the name of the house owner is Akk.-WSem. or non-Sem., atyp., cp. *Ta-i*; Gelb et al. 1943: 261b). On 24.I.694, they were investigated by two royal intimates and the deputy (governor) *Gir(i)-te* (WSem., possibly Phoen.). The robbers preferred to admit their guilt rather than to be brought to trial in Nineveh before the vizier (*sukallu*) and the chief judge (*sartennu*) (SAA 6, 133, 1; PNA 2: 607b). They restituted the capital value of the theft to Tâ and were obliged to pay a fine. Almost all the other members of the gang were also non-indigenous: *Kan-ni* (atyp., possibly Luv.; Goetze 1962: 49b:11), followed by *Kas-ka-A+A*, *Ba-bi-ri* (non-Sem.), *Ta-ka-li* (Akk.-WSem.) and *Na-an-na* (atyp. if not Anatolian; Goetze 1954: 77b). For homonymous individuals, see below, V. The witness list is damaged, but one acted as an augur, which was basically an Anatolian profession (see above, 1.2). At least two witnesses were royal intimates (like the members of the local court) and *Ta-u-a-ri* was non-Sem., prob. Hurrian (to be discussed in a forthcoming publication). Two witnesses were merchants or commercial agents (perhaps due to the nature of the offence, which involves movable property): *Ka-ka-a-nu* (Akk.-WSem. or non-Sem.) and *Ma-u-a-u* (non-Sem., see below, III. 1). *Kak-ku-u* was either Akk.-WSem. or non-Sem. **2. *Kas-ka-A+A***, 6th of 7 witnesses in a transaction of the harem manageress of the queen’s household of the Review Palace of Calah (I.XI. Aššur-gimilla-tēre = 638*; CTN 3, 34, rev. 15). Most of the witnesses recur in the text groups which were found in the same building. Therefore Kaskāyu might have belonged to the circle of witnesses of the other party, the seller Mannu-kî-Ninua, identified as an Egyptian.

5. Phrygian

Mu-su-ka-A+A ‘Muškean’ (= Phrygian, gentilic; PNA 2: 771b) was a slave (*pater familias*) included with his anonymous wife in a list of 10 sold slaves (6.X.Nabû-da³inanni, governor of Que = 647*). The seller might have originated from Harran (region) in view of 1) the fine to Sîn of Harran in case of contravention, 2) the fact that two of the 3 preserved names of the slaves are WSem. and 3) that the ranked witness list is headed by a functionary whose name begins with the theophorous element Sē² ([Se]-*-na-qa-me*), typical (but not exclusive) of the Harran region. However, the sample is restricted, and the 2nd witness is the son of the governor of Lahīru in Babylonia (SAA 14, 146, 2; see below, IV.4, 1).

6. Interim summary of certainly Anatolians (45 = 100%)

Chronology

The individuals are recorded between c. 744 and c. 609*. Ten individuals (22.22%) are recorded between c. 744 and 705; 16 (35.55%) in 704–648; 14 (31.11%) in 647–c. 609; 3 (6.66%) are datable to the Sargonid period and two (4.44%) to the 7th century.¹⁰

Geographical Distribution

Most individuals (at least 27 = 60%) are recorded in the documentation from Assyria proper (16 in documents from Nineveh or found there). At least 6 are from the western Jezireh.¹¹

Occupations, Offices and Status

The occupations (and offices) of only 14 of the 45 individuals (31.11%) are recorded. This is far above average (see below, II. 3). Except for two merchants or commercial agents (I.1.2, 2, 4), each occupation/office was held by one individual only.¹² The military establishment is represented by 4 or 5 individuals of 13 (30.76–38.46%).¹³ Additional 3 individuals guarded a consignment of antimony (I.1.1, 1–3 = 23.07%). The status of individuals ranges from eponym holders, owners of land or urban property and business men of sorts to non-free individuals.¹⁴

10 744–727 (I.1.1, 1–6; 2.2, 1); 721–705 (I.1.4.2, 1); c. 714–705 (I.1.1, 7, 8); 700–698 (I.1.1, 9); 695 (I.1.1, 10); 694 (I.4, 1); 692 (I.2.1, 1); 686 (I.1.1, 11, 12); 682 (I.1.4.2, 2); 680–669 (I.1.1, 13); 680–660 (I.1.2, 1); 672 (I.3, 1); 671–660 (I.1.1, 14); 668–631 (I.2.2, 2); 668–c. 612 (I.3, 2); 666/624* (I.3, 3); 657 (I.1.1, 15); 648 (I.1.5); 647* (I.1.4.2, 3; 5); 647–612 (I.1.1, 16); 646* (I.1.2, 2); 643* (I.1.1, 17); 638* (I.1.2, 3; 4, 2); 630* (I.1.1, 18, 19); 630–627 (I.1.1, 20); 630s or 620s (I.1.2, 1); 629* (I.1.1, 21); 623* (I.1.1, 22); c. 609* (I.2.1, 2); Sargonid (I.1.1, 23, 25, 26); 7th century (I.1.1, 24; I.4.1).

11 Aššur: 2 (I.1.1, 6; 3, 2 = 4.44%); found in Aššur: 2 (I.1.1, 24; 3, 3 = 4.44%); Aššur/Ekallāti: 1 (I.1.4.2, 3 = 2.22%); Calah: 3 (I.1.1, 17; I.4.2, 1; 2.2, 1 = 6.66%); found in Calah: 2 (I.1.1, 4, 5 = 4.44%); Calah region (?): 1 (I.1.1, 21 = 2.22%); Nineveh (very prob.): 5 (I.1.1, 9, 10, 14, 18; I.2, 3 = 11.11%); Nineveh (prob.): 2 (I.1.1, 23; 3, 1 = 4.44%); Nineveh?: 8 (I.1.1, 11, 25, 26; I.2, 1, 2; I.4.1; I.5; 2.1, 1 = 17.77%); Nineveh or region: 1 (I.4, 1 = 2.22%); Tarqanu: 1 (I.1.4.2, 2 = 2.22%); Bīt-Abi-ilā'i: 1 (I.1.1, 22 = 2.22%); Kannu?: 1 (I.1.1, 12 = 2.22%); Dūr-Katlimmu: 1 (I.1.2, 4 = 2.22%); Gozan→Dūr-Šarru-kēn: 2 (I.1.1, 7, 8 = 4.44%); Ma'ālānāte: 1 (I.1.1, 15 = 2.22%); Harran region (?): 1 (I.5 = 2.22%); northwestern Jezireh: 1 (2.1, 2 = 2.22%); Hubaba: 1 (I.1.1, 19 = 2.22%); De'ri: 1 (I.1.1, 16 = 2.22%); Lulu-x[xxx] (prob. eastern Assyrian empire): 1 (I.1.1, 13 = 2.22%); Zamua: 3 (I.1.1, 1–3 = 6.66%); unknown: 3 (I.1.1, 20; 2.2, 2; 4, 2 = 6.66%).

12 Vegetable gardener (I.1.1, 7); farmer (I.1.1, 8); herald (?) (I.1.1, 19); official (I.1.1, 16); official (?) (I.2.1, 2); presumably an official (I.1.1, 13), *ša-ziqni*-official (I.2.2, 1).

13 Auxiliary (foreman, I.1.1, 23), horse-trainer of the open chariotry (I.1.1, 14), recruitment officer (I.1.1, 10), military official (I.1.4.2, 1); wall-guardian (?) (I.1.1, 4).

14 Status in descending order: eponyms: 2 (I.1.1, 16; 2.1, 2 = 4.44%); foreman: 1 (I.1.1, 23 = 2.22%); owner of land: 1 (I.1.4.2, 2 = 2.22%); held urban property: 1 (I.1.1, 6 = 2.22%); bought a slave, loaned barley: 1 (I.1.1, 9 = 2.22%); sold slaves: 5 (I.1.1, 11, 17; I.1.2, 3; 2.1, 1; 3, 1 = 11.11%); slave owner: 2 (I.1.1, 25; 3, 2 = 4.44%); creditors (2 = 4.44%): I.1.1, 15 (11 homers and 5 seahs of barley), I.4.2, 3 (27 bundles of straw); member of the court personnel: 1 (2.2, 1 = 2.22%); witnesses (10 = 22.22%): (a) in a ranked and cohesive list: I.1.1, 14 (10th of 14 preserved); (b) in a cohesive list: I.1.1, 10 (4th of 5); (c) in other witness lists: I.1.4.1 (first of 5); 3, 3 (first of 5); I.2, 2 (2nd of 8); I.1, 22 (3rd of 7); I.1, 21 (10th of 20), I.1, 19 (12th of 19 witnesses = 7th witness in group of 10 from Hubaba), 4, 2 (6th of 7). The robber (I.4, 1 = 2.22%) was also a free citizen. No more than 10 (at least 8) individuals were not free: servant: 1 (I.1.1, 18 = 2.22%); deportee (?): 1 (I.1.1, 26 = 2.22%); dependents (5 = 11.11%): 2.2, 2; *pater familias*: I.1.1, 5 (+ wife + 2); I.1.1, 20 (+ unspecified number of dependents); gardener: I.1.1, 7; farmer: I.1.1, 8 (mentioned together with 7); slave sold (3 = 6.66%): I.1.1, 12 (*pater familias* + wife + son), 5 (*pater familias* + wife); I.1.5. The status of 8 individuals (17.77%) is not indicated, but they apparently were free: I.1.1, 1–4, 13, I.4.2, 1 were in the service of the state, I.1.2, 1 was presumably on business and I.1.1, 24 took silver of an orchard.

II. Probably Anatolians (25/139 = 17.98%)

1. Introductory Remarks

Tabālāyu is a gentilic of Tabal (*Tabālu*), i.e., Cappadocia (Bagg 2007: 243ff.). There seems to be a problem, however, as the gentilic is relatively common and is much more frequent than other gentilics referring to Anatolian polities, the more so since Tabal was the remotest Anatolian polity reached by the Assyrians. One may wonder why the gentilics of closer Anatolian polities, like *Qu(w)āyu*, *Kummuhāyu* or *Hattāyu* are much less frequent (cf. above, 1.1.2, 1.4, 2, 3). On the face of it, and in view of the anthroponyms *Ta-ba-li* and *Tab-al-lu-u-a* (below, IV.4), the gentilic might alternatively be derived from Akk. *tābalu* ‘dry land’ (Zadok 1979b: 168; Eilers 1940: 216ff.), but *tābalu* is not productive in the rich Akk. onomasticon. The gentilic is entirely absent in MA and MB and is not recorded before the Sargonid period, when Assyria started deporting Tabaleans. Therefore, there is some reason for thinking that the gentilic is based on the name of this concrete land. It should be remembered that gentilics are not always used in their primary sense, but rather for an individual who sojourned in a certain place, notably South Arab. *Mšr* ‘Egypt(ian)’ (a Minean who spent some time in Egypt) or physiognomic *Kusāyu* (*Ku-sa-a-lA*, ‘Nubian’, viz. ‘black’, f. of Mušallim-Aššur, as early as the 11th century BCE, long before the Assyrians came into direct contact with Nubia; Radner 2004: 4, 2). Compare Arab. *Rūmiyya/i* ‘Greek, Byzantine’ (< ‘Roman’), *Turkiyya/i* ‘Turkish’ and *Jurjiyya/i* ‘Georgian’, all referring to female physical types originating north of the abodes of the Arabs and thus embodying the Arab ideal of a white female. The idea is not entirely foreign to Mesopotamia: compare the popularity of the Hurrian (‘Subarian’) maids in the OB period. Admittedly, like many analogies, these still lack adequate probative force, but it should be remembered that Anatolia was the most popular place of origin of slaves sold in Assyria during the Sargonid period (SAAS 6: 227). No. 14 below was an ironsmith (Zadok 1997: 213); Radner (in BATSH: 80) notes the connection between Tabal and iron production (Zehnder 2005: 60). An anonymous Tabalean (^{lu}*Ta-bal-A+A*), who stole things and sold them in Babylon, is recorded in a damaged letter (Sargon II/Esarhaddon; SAA 17, 170, 3', 139ff.). An anonymous Tabalean woman (*Ta-ba-lu-i-tū*) is mentioned between an Elamite and an ‘Ahlamite’ woman (both anonymous) in a letter from Babylon addressed to Esarhaddon (SAA 17, 158, 5, all referred to as ‘foreign women’ in rev. 2; Frame 1992: 36).¹⁵ People were deported from Bīt-B/Purutaš to Aššur by Sargon II and from Til-Garimmu to Aššur by Sargon II and Sennacherib (Oded 1979: 119, 133). People were also deported from Kammanu (Zehnder 2005: 130). These three polities were part of Greater Tabal. These westerners were deported to one of the easternmost provinces: Tabalean captives are recorded at Nikkur (in Parsua, the northern Zagros) in Sargon II’s time (SAA 15, 54). Although the Assyrian official who sent the letter (name not preserved) claims that the Tabaleans were given houses, livestock and even women (as an assimilatory measure, cf. Zehnder 2005: 168, 173f., 217; a royal intimate looked after the deportees), many of them deserted to neighbouring regions, notably Mannaya (Zehnder 2005: 168, 173), which was not under Assyrian control. It may be surmised that the Tabalean deportees, who belonged to the elite, were aware of the fact that Assyrian control of the Zagros region was often inefficient, as well as of the Urartian enmity towards Assyria, the more so since Amris king of Tabal collaborated with Urartu

¹⁵ For the relations of Tabal with Assyria, see Fuchs (1994: 461ff.); PNA 2: 761ff., s.v. Mugallu; SAA 4: lviiff., 4ff.; Frahm (1997: 8).

against Sargon II (Zehnder 2005: 130). Perhaps there was even a network which organized the transfer of the Tabalean fugitives from Mannaya to their homeland (via Urartu). Tabaleans are recorded in Saṭīru (NB/LB Šaṭīru) of Bīt-Awukānu in southern Babylonia. No less than 180 Assyrians and Tabaleans were sold there into slavery, some for very low prices (4–5 shekels of silver per slave), possibly an indication that many deportees were brought there by the Assyrians in the time of Sargon II (SAA 15, 268; SAAS 6: 227ff.; Zehnder 2005: 191). The Tabaleans were deported to southern Babylonia, which is very far from their homeland, like the Commagenians who were settled in the adjacent Chaldean region of Bīt-Yakīn, even farther to the south. Hostages from Tabal were held in Assyria in the reign of Assurbanipal (Zehnder 2005: 118ff.). The gentilic *Tabālāyu* is not used as an anthroponym prior to 685, at least one generation after the earliest deportations. This would speak in favour of a connection between the bearers of the anthroponym *Tabālāyu* and the land of Tabal.

2. Prosopography

1. *Ta-bal-A+A*, 4th (last) witness (4th = last but one on the envelope) (16.II.685; Nineveh (?); SAA 6, 170 & envelope 171). **2. *Tab-URU-A+[A]*** ^{lu}[...] from Til-Barsip acted as the 10th (last but one) witness (3.II. *Man*²-[*nu*²...] / Šarru-[...] = perhaps 684, 683, 674, 665, or 627*; Dalley 1996–1997: 76ff., 93: pl. 2: T 8, 24). **3. *Tab-URU-A+A***, 3rd rider of the crown prince, 6th witness of 13 (the buyer is a royal eunuch). He is the last of 4 witnesses belonging to the household of the crown prince. The witness list consists of two groups: (a) palatial employees, headed by a company commander and a head porter plus the cohesive quartet of chariot warriors belonging to the crown prince, and a palace superintendent; and (b) locals headed by a mayor, two neighbours (at least), an individual without designation and a scribe. It stands to reason that the first group is the circle of the buyer, whereas the second one is the circle of the seller, whose name is lost (1.II.672; Nineveh (?); SAA 6, 283, rev. 18). **4. *Tab-URU-A+A***, 5th (last) witness in a deed from the archive of the grand vizier Silim-Aššur from Nineveh. The debtor is Marduk-erība (29.III.672; SAA 6, 234, rev. 5). **5. [*Ta-b*]al-A+A**, 4th of 17 preserved witnesses (3.[x].669; archive of the conscript of the chief eunuch; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 64, rev. 18). **6. [*Tab*]-a-la-A+[A]**, 7th preserved witness (of 13; list is damaged) (22.I.668; archive of the manageress of the central city, Nineveh; SAA 14, 9, rev. 4). **7. [*Tab*]-URU-A+A**, 3rd of 16 witnesses = *Ta-b[a-la-A+A]*, the farm owner and neighbour (19.VI.668; SAA 14, 1, rev. 8). The farm was presumably located in Lahīru, as one of the witnesses is the mayor of the Lahirean village of the queen. He is followed by a canal inspector (13th–14th witnesses), which is typical of a Babylonian region like Lahīru. They form part of the local group of witnesses (= the circle of the seller [x]-*ki-ki* ^{lu}[xx] with a cylinder seal impression), which also includes at least *Tabālāyu* and *Zarūtu* (10th, a neighbour with a farm). At least the Ninevite witness (12th) and the royal intimate (5th) belonged to the circle of the buyer. The latter, Milki-nūrī, eunuch of the queen, purchased another farm in Lahīru half a year later (SAA 14, 2). **8. *Ta-bal-A+A***, dependent dyer (*mušappīu*) (Assurbanipal (?); place not preserved; SAA 12, 65, 4'). **9. *Tab-la-A+A*** was the 3rd of 10 Samaneans (^{rm}*uru**Sa-ma-na-A+A gab-bi* ‘the entire village of Samanu’, with a common cylinder seal; SAAS 1: 233b; Nin. 112), who were responsible for paying the blood money to the victim’s family. They were in all probability prominent citizens, presumably the heads of the local clans (3.VIII.657; SAA 14, 81 = SAAS 5, 41, 3; Fales 1990: 100 with n. 91). **10. [*Ta*]-bal-A+A** ^{lu}[...] (mentioned after a merchant or commercial agent, perhaps of the same profession), 5th of 17 preserved witnesses ([x].[x]. [*A-ū*]-ia-a-nu (subject to collation) = 655; Calah; SAA 12, 95, rev. 10). **11. *Ta-ba-la-A+A*** ^{lu}[xxx], 4th (last but one) preserved witness

(27.III.653; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 138, rev. 4, operative section lost). **12. *Tab-URU-A+A***, implicitly a slave belonging to the share of Mudammiq-Aššur, s. of Šummu-Aššur (the father was a tailor of the Aššur temple) (9.VIb.650; archive N 14, Aššur; SAAB 9: 28ff.: 71, 9). **13. [*Tab*]-*URU-A+A***, implicitly a slave belonging to the share of Šamaš-rē'ū'a, br. of 12 (same as above; rev. 1). **14. *Tab-bal-A+A***, an ironsmith acting as seller (with a cylinder seal impression) of a female slave and her anonymous daughter. He also received one mina of copper for his seal (650; Dūr-Katlimmu, but perhaps written in the countryside, where at least two witnesses originate; BATSH 6, 46, 1; *ibid.*: 80, noting that the script of this text is considerably different than that of other documents, resembling no. 183). **15. *A+A-am-me*** s. of *Tab-URU-A+A* is the 3rd preserved witness (of 9) in a slave sale by the harem manageress (21.II.Šamaš-da'inanni = 645*; Til-Barsip; Dalley 1996–97: 82ff., 94: pl. 3: T 13, 20ff.; PNA 2: 485a). **16. *Tab-URU-A+A***, scribe, 8th (last) witness (III.Nabû-šarra-ušur = 643*/624*; Dūr-Katlimmu; BATSH 6, 29, rev. 10'). **17. *Tab-la-A+A***, 2nd of 7 preserved witnesses, following a gatekeeper, but precedes [...], the mayor and the official in charge of the town (*ša-m[u]hhi-āli*) (5th.IV.Aššur-gimilla-tēre, treasurer = 638*; archive N 31, Aššur; StAT 3: 88, 14'). **18. *Tab-ba-la-A+A***, 2nd of 5 witnesses, Kapri-Bīt(?)-[*Sa'*]-*sa-na-a*. Witnesses 3–7 and the scribe might have been Ninevites (14.XII.Upāqa-ana-Arbail = 633*; findspot: possibly Nabû temple, Nineveh; SAA 14, 151, rev. 3). **19. *Tab-bal-A+A***, 5th witness of 7 (26.IX.Sin-šarra-ušur = 625*; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 159, rev. 7). **20. *Tab-URU-A+A***, 6th witness of 10 in a slave sale. The seller is Nabû-da'iq s. of Bahiānu (WSem.) (10.I.Daddi = 622*; Aššur-māta-taqin archive, Aššur; Ahmad 1996: 229ff., 280:8, 29). **21–22. *Tab-URU-A+A*** are recorded in an account (c. 616* BCE; archive N 7, Aššur; StAT 3: 35, iv, 9'. 16': [*Tab-U*]RU-A+A, cf. 66 *ad loc.*). **23. *Ta-bal-A+A***, a royal intimate (*qurbūtu*, *qur-ZAG*) (Sargonid (?); Nineveh (?); SAA 7, 6, ii, 9; 9, ii, 7': residences of the village of x-[x-x], 33': *Ta-bal*-[A+A]; see xviii ff.). **24. [*Ta*]-*ba*][*l*]-A+A**, a horse trainer of a royal intimate (or himself a royal intimate) from Šišil, 5th of 10 preserved witnesses, heads the ranked group of 5 witnesses from Šišil. Šišil was situated on a navigable waterway (Postgate 1970: 139 *ad* 7; Nashef 1982: 249), presumably south of Calah (Parpola & Porter 2001, Gazetteer, 15 (al-Qayyāra); Llop 2002). Witnesses from Šišil are mentioned after witnesses from Samānu (Sargonid (?); SAA 14, 397, rev. 9). **25. *Ta-bal*-[A+A]**, presumably an official in a list of lodgings for officials (7th century; Nineveh (?); SAA 7, 9, ii, 33).

3. Interim summary of probably Anatolians (25 = 100%)

Chronology

The individuals are recorded between 685 and c. 616*. 14 individuals (1–14 = 56%) are recorded from 685–650 BCE, 8 (15–22 = 32%) between 647 and 616, two (23–24 = 8%) are datable to the Sargonid period and one (25 = 4%) to the 7th century.

Geographical Distribution

Most individuals (19 = 76%) are recorded in the documentation from Assyria proper (10 in documents from Nineveh or found there). Four are from the western Jezireh.¹⁶

16 Aššur: 5 (II, 12, 13, 20, 21, 22 = 20%); near Aššur (?): 1 (II, 17 = 4%); Nineveh (very prob.): 2 (II, 4, 6 = 8%); Nineveh (?): 3 (II, 5, 23, 25 = 12%); said to be found in Nineveh: 4 (II, 1, 3, 11, 19 = 16%); Kapri-Bīt(?)-[*Sa'*]-*sa-na-a* (found at Nineveh): 1 (II, 18 = 4%); Samana: 1 (II, 9 = 4%); Šišil: 1 (II, 24 = 4%); found in Calah: 1 (II, 10 = 4%); Dūr-Katlimmu: 2 (II, 14, 16 = 8%); Til-Barsip: 2 (II, 2, 15 = 8%); Lahīru: 1 (II, 7 = 4%); unknown: 1 (II, 8 = 8%).

Occupations, Offices and Status

The occupations (and offices) of only 7 of the 25 individuals (28%) are recorded. This is above average, as Neo-Assyrian archives generally mention less than 20% of the individuals together with their occupations. Each occupation/office was held by one individual only.¹⁷ The status of individuals ranges from royal intimate, prominent citizen, witnesses to some non-free persons.¹⁸

III. Possibly Anatolians (7/139 = 5.03%)

0. Onomastic analysis

Hi-ba-la-li (with the Anatolian theophorous element *Hiba*-?; PNA 2: 471a, s.v. Hiba-azammi); for the 2nd component, cf. perhaps *Lalis* in the Kululu lead strips (Hawkins 1987: 146f.: 2, 2). *B/Pu-ru-ta-a* may be linguistically related to the eponym of the Luw. polity of Bīt-B/Purutaš (Parpola 1970: 79ff.). PNA 2: 746b compares *Ma-u-a-u* and *Ma-zi-i* with Μᾰυης (Zgusta 1964: 304) and Hitt. *Maziyaš*, respectively. *Ha-an-da-ri-ši* (PNA 2: 452; Fales 1991: 113, who suggests a hybrid name).¹⁹ *Sa-gi-ru* (less likely WSem.; PNA 3: 1062a) is homonymous with the paternal name NB *Sa-gi-ri* (above, 1.0; non-Sem. /s/ can be rendered as <s> in NA); cf. Lipiński 1975: 176f. *ad* Σαγάριος.

1. Prosopography

1. *Ma-u-a-u*, a merchant or commercial agent from Nineveh or its region, acted as a witness together with his colleague (24.I.694; SAA 6, 133 rev. 12, see above, 1.4, 1). **2. [*S/Šar*']-*ū'-a-ri***, buyer of a slave. The seller (a major-domo) and several witnesses have names with the theophorous element *Sē* < Sin, which may indicate a Harranite provenance, and the scribe has a WSem. name, but the

17 Ironsmith (II, 14), dyer (II, 8), scribe (II, 16), merchant (or commercial agent?: II, 10) and presumably an official (II, 25). Two of 7 (28.57%) belonged to the military establishment: a 3rd rider of the crown prince (II, 3) and a horse trainer (II, 24). An additional individual has a damaged designation, viz. ^{lu}[...] (II, 2).

18 Status (23 = 100%, as the status of two individuals, viz. 8%, is unknown [mentioned in an account: II, 21, 22]; in descending order): royal intimate: 2 (II, 23, 24 = 8.69%); prominent citizen (pays blood money to victim's family, with a common cylinder seal): 1 (II, 9 = 4.34%); sold a slave (with cylinder seal impression): 1 (II, 14 = 4.34%); witnesses (17 = 73.91%): (a) in a ranked list: II, 24 (5th of 10 preserved, royal intimate); (b) in a cohesive list: II, 3 (6th of 13); (c) in other witness lists: II, 17 (2nd of 7 preserved), 18 (2nd of 5), 7 (3rd of 16), 15 (3rd of 9 preserved), 5 (4th of 17 preserved), 10 (5th of 17 preserved), 6 (7th of 13 preserved), 19 (5th of 7), 20 (6th of 10); 2 (10th of 11), 1 (4th of 4 on the tablet = 4th of 5 on the envelope), 11 (4th of 5 preserved), 4 (5th of 5), 16 (8th of 8). Only 3 individuals were not free: two slaves (implicitly, II, 12, 13 = 8.69%) and a dependent (II, 8 = 4.34%).

19 *Par/Pir-na-a*[-(a')] is not linguistically related. It is the same individual as *Bi-ir-na-a*, who witnesses another deed of the same archive (N 9; SAAB 5, 39, rev. 10; PNA 2: 346b) and *Pir(Pi-ir)-a-na-a*, f. of Šumma-Aššur (PNA 3: 995b with refs., but an unlikely Akk. derivation). The owners of the N 9 archive originated from the pre-Iranian inhabitants of the Zagros. This combined with the variant *Bi-* seems to rule out an Old Iranian or Anatolian derivation (*pace* PNA 3: 989a). His son, Šumma-Aššur from Aššur (debtor), owed 9 homers of corn to Mannu-dan-Aššur (639; SAAB 5, 8, 5). *P[i]-ir-na-a*, f. of Ba-ṭu-ṭu (1.VIII.Adad-rēmanni = 631* BCE; archive N 31, Aššur) is the same individual according to StAT 3: 130 *ad* 78, 4; the son is the debtor in this deed.

sample is restricted (5 individuals) (I.X.677; SAA 6, 267, 5). **3. *Hi-ba-la-li***, eunuch, 4th witness of 15 (VI.662; Dūr-Katlimmu; BATSH 6, 43). **4. *Šangū-Issar***, s. of *Ha-an-da-ri-ši*, seller (with a cylinder seal) of the slave Ba'alti-idrī to Nabû'a (6.[x].659; Nineveh; SAA 14, 78, 2). **5. *B/Pu-ru-ta-a*** ^{1[ú'xxx]}, 5th witness of 7. Unlike several others, B/Purūtā is not a recurrent witness. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that he might have belonged to the circle of witnesses of the seller, who might have originated from the countryside. A mayor acts as the 2nd witness, and a field and house are mentioned in the operative section, but the name of the settlement is broken (list damaged) ([x].XII.[x] = c. 647–612; archive of the harem manageress, Calah; CTN 3, 35, rev. 15; PNA 3: 1000a). **6. *Sa-gi-ru***, company commander, 2nd witness of 7, juxtaposed with the following witness, also a company commander. They are followed by a royal intimate, an indication that the witness list is not ranked. The 6th witness (a commander-of-fifty) also belonged to the military establishment. The seller is a palace employee ([x].[x].[Šar]ru-mēta-balliṭ = 640*; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 27, rev. 5'). **7. *Ma-zi-i***, 4th of 6 witnesses to a transaction of silver borrowed by Nabû-zāqip-enši from Hazail (paid by the borrower's br. Nanī) (II.Nabû-tappūtī-alik = 613*; provenance unknown; Millard 1973: 135ff., rev. 9).

2. Interim summary of possibly Anatolians (7 = 100%)

Chronology

The individuals are recorded between 694 and 613* BCE: 4 (57.14%) between 694 and 659 BCE, 3 (42.85%) in 647–613 BCE and one (14.28%) is undated (presumably Sargonid).

Geographical distribution

Most individuals (4 = 57.12%) are recorded in the documentation from Assyria proper (3 in documents from Nineveh or found there). Two (28.56%) are from the western Jezireh.²⁰

Occupations, offices and status

The occupations (and offices) of at least two of the 8 individuals (28.56%), a merchant or commercial agent (III, 1) and a company commander (II, 6), are recorded. The designation ^{1[ú'xxx]} (III, 5) is not clear. Regarding status, all individuals are free.²¹

IV. Alternatively Anatolians (43/139 = 30.93%)

1. Bearers of Names with Arwas (Moon-god, cf. below)

Nine bearers of Aramis names are listed in PNA 1: 124.²² Most are from northern Syria and adjacent regions, only two from Assyria proper. The witnesses ^d*A-ra-miš*-MAN-PAP and ^d*A-ra-miš-e-ṣel*-DINGIR^[mes] are from northern Syria (Rasm iṭ-ṭanjara in the Ghāb, principal:

20 Calah: 1 (III, 5 = 14.28%); Nineveh: 1 (III, 6 = 14.28%); Nineveh or region: 1 (III, 1 = 14.28%); found at Nineveh: 1 (III, 4 = 28.56%); Harran or region (?): 1 (III, 2 = 14.28%); Dūr-Katlimmu: 1 (III, 3 = 14.28%); unknown: 1 (III, 7 = 14.28%).

21 Status (given in descending order): eunuch: 1 (III.1, 3 = 14.28%); seller (with a cylinder seal) of a slave: 1 (III, 4 = 14.28%); buyer of a slave: 1 (III, 2 = 14.28%); witnesses (4 = 57.14%): (a) in a cohesive list: III, 6 (2nd of 7); (b) in other witness lists: III.1, 3 (4th of 15), 5 (5th of 7), 6 (2nd of 7), 7 (4th of 6).

22 For Aramis Bēl [...], see Watanabe 1987: 195ff. ad 64: 466.

Zambubu) (647*; Aynard & Nougayrol 1971: 85, rev. 6, 86ff.).²³ Fales (1974: 181 ad 6) suggests that Arwas is the Luw. moon-god. However, the graphemes <*a-ra-miš*> and <*ar-ú-as*> do not render exactly the original form of the deity in contemporary Hierogl. Luw., viz. *Armaš*, *Armas* (nom. sg. of *Arma-*), the moon-god (Goetze 1954: 76b; 1962: 57a: 10, with nn. 43–45). Since all the names have Neo-Assyrian or Aramaic predicative elements, it may be a vulgar north-Syrian form coined by speakers of north Syrian Aramaic. The reading *Hr[ms]mr* for *Hdsmsr* suggested by Lipiński (2002: 250 ad Lemaire 2001, 2, 10) is unlikely.

1. ^d*A-r[a-miš]-nāšir*, a 3rd rider, is recorded in broken context in a letter to the king mentioning Babylonia and Elam (Sargon II; Parpola 1979, 91, 5; PNA 1: 124a). **2. ^d*A-ra-[miš'-x-x]*** is named in a lawsuit relating to a murder case in which it is said that he made a query to Šamaš (7.XII.Sin-šarra-ušur, governor of Hindānu = 636*; Aššur; SAAB 9: 96f.: 111, rev. 7). **3. ^d*A-ra-miš-iq-bi***, chief of public works (Sargonid (?); Nineveh; SAA 7, 40, 7, possibly a list of debts). **4–6. ^d*Ar-ú-as-ma-a-di***: 3 homonymous slaves of Ištar of Huzīrīna donated to Nusku (two have paternal names, Bi-Nanaia and *Il-u*-[...]) (undated; SAA 12, 91, rev. 6, 20, 24; PNA 1: 135a).

2. Bearers of Kubābu Names with Semitic Predicative Elements (cf. 1.2.2 above)

1. *Kubābu-ilā'i*, a royal intimate, is recorded in an administrative document (Sargon II; Northwest Palace, Calah; Parker 1961: 55f. and pl. 29f.: ND 2803, ii, 28; PNA 2: 631a, s.v. ~, 1; cf. PNA 1: 213b, s.v. Aššur-rēši-išši, 3, another royal intimate). **2. *Kubābu-ilā'i***, a horse trainer from Piqdāni is recorded in an undated administrative document (Sargon II (?); Aššur; Schroeder 1920, 131, rev. 4'; CTN 3: 211, 218; PNA 2: 631a, s.v. ~, 1). **3. *Kubābu-sūrī***, one of 10 company commanders from Arzuhina (c. 710–708; CTN 3, 102, iii, 3', 11' ff.). **4. *Kubābu-ilā'i***, one of 10 Aramean company commanders, presumably from the periphery of Babylonia (c. 710–708; CTN 3: 211, 218 ad 108, ii, 16, but the suggestion to identify him with 1, 2 above, is purely tentative, the more so since the name is not rare). **5. *Kubābu-aha-iddina*** borrowed 5 seahs of barley from the Ninevite Bahiānu (listed together with at least 12 borrowers immediately before *Kubābu-ilā'i*) (I[0].I.[x], c. 704–682, period when the archive owner Bahiānu was active; SAA 6, 78, rev. 2). **6. *Kubābu-ilā'i*** borrowed barley from the Ninevite Bahiānu (listed immediately after *Kubābu-aha-iddina*) (same as above; rev. 3; poss. = 8). **7. *Ab-di-ku-bu-bi***, a slave, his wife and two children (all anonymous) were sold together with a tower and a field by Harūrānu and Salilānu to Aplāyu (elsewhere described as 3rd rider of the crown prince). The location of the estate is described as in the midst of the meadow (*ušallu*) of the settlement ^{un}[xxx], in Assyria proper or the Arrapha-Lahīru region (?) (10.III.698; SAA 6, 100 & 101; PNA 1: 6a). **8. *Kubābu-ilā'i*** is the 2nd of 3 debtors who owed one mina and a half shekel of refined silver (acc. to the mina of the merchant) to Tarība-Issar. The debt was to be repaid on 1.I, i.e., within a month; in case of non-repayment it would accrue 60% annual interest (2.XIb.692; archive N 30, Aššur; StaT 2, 157, 2). **9. *Kubābu-idrī***, chief baker of the queen, 2nd witness of 9. The buyer, the palace prefect Handī, was from Ma'alānāte. The seller, Adda-qatar, might have been from Nineveh in view of the fact that the deed (sale of slaves) contains a clause about a fine to Issar of Nineveh in case of contravention. Since *Kubābu-idrī* does not recur in the large archive of Handī, it seems that he belonged to the seller's circle, and was based in Nineveh, the more so in view of his function in the

23 For the date, see Deller 1972; Postgate 1974b: 93

court (21.II.687; Ma'alānāte; O. 3680, rev. 10). **10. Kubābu-erība**, a porter, is the 6th witness (of 9) in a deed about purchase of slaves by Ahi-ṭalli, harem manageress (18.XII.686; the archive owner, Nineveh; SAA 6, 89, rev. 11). He is followed by another porter. It can be argued that as porters employed by the palace they belonged to the circle of the harem manageress. The witness list is ranked, as it is headed by 3 royal intimates (a 4th one, acting as the 5th witness, follows a scribe). **11. Kubābu-ēreš**, 7th of 9 witnesses to a transaction of Ēdu-šallim who owned land in Kār-Apladad. The creditor Mušēzibu might have been from Nineveh (16.II.680; Nineveh (?); SAA 6, 259; envelope of 260 from 6.IV.680; poss. = **13**). **12. Kubābu-ilā'i** acted as 4th witness of 6 in a deed from the archive of the Ninevite company commander (later charioteer) Mannu-kī-Arbail. Since he does not recur in this archive, he might have belonged to the circle of the other party, viz. *Is-pal-li-pi-re-e* (alternative reading Pilaqu-lipirê; PNA 3: 994a). At least the first two witnesses, being company commanders, belong to the circle of Mannu-kī-Arbail (15.XI.679; SAA 6, 206, rev. 7). **13. Kubābu-ēreš**, the first witness of 5 in a deed of the Ninevite Mannu-kī-Arbail. Since he does not recur in the archive of Mannu-kī-Arbail, one may argue that he belonged to the circle of the other party to the transaction, the debtor Šamaš-ahhē-šallim (11.III.676; SAA 6, 214, rev. 4). **14. Kubābu-ilā'i** is one of the debtors who owe barley (two homers) to Sinduari (above, 1.1.1, 15) (657; Ma'alānāte (?); O 3688, 2). **15. Kubābu-ilā'i**, 4th witness of 12 in a sale of a female slave. He seems to belong to the circle of the seller, Abi-salāmu, rather than that of the buyer (Ezbu), if it is of significance that he is recorded only once in the sizable archive of Ezbu (2.VII.Šamaš-da"inni = 645*; Ezbu archive, (N)inurta of Calah is mentioned, Calah; Parker 1954, 42: ND 2324, rev. 15; PNA 2: 631b, s.v. ~, 7). **16. 𐎧𐎶-𐎧𐎶**, s. of Kubābu-ēreš, 10th witness of 21 (XII.Sîn-šarra-ušur, governor of Hindānu = 636*; archive N 2, Aššur; StAT 3, 13, 32). **17. Kubābu-ilā'i**, slave sold by Zēru-ukīn to Kakkullānu in Irbu (17.XI. Šalam-šarri-iqbi = 630*; Kakkullānu archive; SAA 14, 36, 9). **18. Kubābu-hinnī** was a recurrent witness (3.I.Sīli = 620*–15.VI.Nabû-tappūtī-alik = 613*; presumably Kannu', less likely Aššur; PNA 2: 631a). **19. Kubābu (KŪ-ba-ba)-ēreš** is recorded in a letter from the goldsmith Nabû-mušēši to his equal ('brother') Nabû-zēra-iddina. The former reports that a certain Šamaš-ēreš brought a lawsuit against Kubābu-ēreš. The central figure in this lawsuit is Ilāni-usā(ṭi), the step-mother of Sagīb-Aššur (PNA 2: 512a, s.v.) (7th century; archive N 33, Aššur; StAT 1, 51, rev. 6). **20. Kubābu-erība** lends silver to 3 individuals (7th century; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 224, 2). **21. Kubābu-satar**, village manager (*rab ālāni*) of the settlement of *Si-la'*[(xxxxx)], presumably in the province of Si'imme (on the upper Habur), as he is mentioned in a list of debts of that province (undated; SAA 7, 28, ii, 2). **22. Kubābu-ilā'i** was one of 17 people (prob. deportees) who were not entered on the writing board, according to an undated list (SAA 11, 172, 4). **23. Kubābu-nāšir** is mentioned in an undated list including several criminals (SAA 11, 166, rev. 5). **24. Kubābu-lu-nu**, slave (*pater familias*), sold with his wife, son and a vineyard somewhere in the countryside (date lost; SAA 14, 345, 4; PNA 2: 631b; Galil 2007: 39, 106, 158, 236).

3. With Other Names

Kundi and Sisu (both in Cilicia) rebelled against Assyria in 676. The gentilic *Kundāyu* (PNA 2: 638) was used as an anthroponym by 3, 8, 11 and possibly 10 below. However, an element (presumably a deified toponym) *Kundi*, which is extant in *Bēl-kundi-* (PNA 1: 319a), seems to be indigenous to Assyria proper (cf. Bēl-kundi-rēmāni the *kurgarru* of the town of Masihu, 762; Ahmad & Postgate 2007, 53, rev. 11'). The early occurrences of this element do not seem to support an Anatolian origin (cf. Gelb *et al.* 1943: 230a). PNA 2: 643b connects *Ku-sa-ni* with Anatolian Κουσαῖ (Zgusta 1964: 256), or with WSem., cf. perhaps *Kwšn* in the Old Testament. *Ku-sa-né-e* is based on the same form. For *Ku-la-a*, cf. Isaurian Κουλας, see Zgusta (1964: 253: 726–2) and Goetze (1954: 77a, s.v. *kula*).

1. Ku-sa-né-e from 𐎧𐎶[...], 2nd witness of 4. Like the preceding witness from Šutānu, he was in the charge of the governor of 𐎧𐎶[...]. (14.I.794; Ahmad & Postgate 2007, 19, 13). **2. Pa-ar-ni-i** (alternatively Hurro-Urart.), Til-pah(h)āri, 6th witness of 8 ([x].III.Bēl-dan = 750/744/734; Ahmad & Postgate 2007, 33, rev. 14). **3. Kundāyu**, recruitment officer of the cavalry stationed together with Nergal-iqbi in Lahīru (Sargon II; Parker 1961: 22 and pl. 11: ND 2386+ ii, 10, cf. CTN 3, 30). **4. Ha-AT-A+A**, 3rd witness of 9 may either be defective for *Hattāyu* (cf. above, 1.3) or render Akk. *Haddāyu* (688; file of Šarru-iqbi (687–658), archive N 20, Aššur; StAT 2, 66 rev. 4). **5. Ku-la-a**, witness (678; Aššur; VAT 10491, rev. 4; PNA 2: 635b). **6. Ku-sa-ni** was a landowner in the province of the chief cupbearer, who sold his land to Rēmāni-Adad (c. 671–660; SAA 6, 334, 15). **7. Hu-li-i** (alternatively WSem., see above, 1.0), a slave sold by Gabbu-āmur to Ezbu (archive owner) for 52 shekels of silver (4.IX.656; no place given; ZT 17, Calah; Parker 1954: 43: ND 2328, 6, cf. 48b, index, s.v.; cf. PNA 1: 413a, s.v. Gabbu-āmur, 10). **8. Kun-dā-A+A** and possibly **9. Mušallim-ilu** (his son?), 6th and 8th of 10 preserved witnesses, found in Calah, but at least one of the parties was from Isana or its region (date lost; Ahmad & Postgate 2007, 49, 25', 26'f.). **10. Kun-dī-[x]**, owner of the silver in a sale of a female slave by Kanūnāyu to Nanunu (c. 640s; archive N 22, Aššur; SAAB 9, 119, rev. 6). **11. Kundāyu** is recorded in an administrative document listing individuals to whom others were given; he received one woman for 1.5 minas of silver (not dated; Nineveh (?); SAA 11, 175, rev. 7).

4. Forms which are based on either *Tabālu* or Akk. *tābalu*

1. Ta-ba-li, 7th (last preserved) witness. The first witness [Se]-²-na-qa-me and the contravention clause mentioning Sîn of Harrān may indicate a connection with the Harran region (cf. 1.5 above) (6.X.Nabû-da"inni, governor of Que = 647*; provenience unknown; SAA 14, 146, rev. 11). **2. Tabālū'a** (*Tab-al-lu-u-a*, i.e., /*Tābālū'a*/ or /*Tabālū'a*/ or Akk.-WSem.) is the debtor (50 minas of copper; the creditor is Bāni-ahū'a). 'Takilat-Arbail (presumably his female slave) is pledged (5.II.Nabû-dan = 642*; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 101, 3).

5. Interim Summary of Alternatively Anatolians (43 = 100%)

Chronology

The individuals are recorded between 794 and 613*. Two (5.12%) between 794 and 734, 6 (15.38%) in 721–705, 14 (35.89%) in 704–656, 7 (17.94%) in 647*–613*, two (5.12%) in the 7th century, one (2.56%) in the Sargonid period and 7 (17.94%) are undatable.²⁴

Geographical Distribution

Most individuals (22–25 = 58.13–51.16%) recorded in the documentation are from Assyria proper (at least 8 in documents from Nineveh or found there). At least 4 are from the western Jezireh.²⁵

Occupations, Offices and Status

The occupations (and offices) of only 9 of the 43 individuals (20.93%) are given. Except for the company commanders (two: IV.2, 3, 4), each occupation/office was held by one individual only.²⁶ Status of individuals ranges from royal intimate, landowner, creditor and debtor to witnesses and non-free persons.²⁷

- ²⁴ 794 (IV.3, 1); 750/744/734 (IV.3, 2); 721–705 (IV.1, 1; 2, 1; 3, 3); 721–705 (?) (IV.2, 2); c. 710–708 (IV.2, 3, 4); c. 704–682 (IV.2, 5, 6); 698 (IV.2, 7); 692 (IV.2, 8); 688 (IV.3, 4); 687 (IV.2, 9); 686 (IV.2, 10); 680 (IV.2, 11); 679 (IV.2, 12); 678 (IV.3, 5); 676 (IV.2, 13); 671–660 (IV.3, 6); 657 (IV.2, 14); 656 (IV.3, 7); 647* (IV.4, 1), 645* (IV.2, 15); 642* (IV.4, 2), 636* (IV.1, 2; 2, 16); 630* (IV.2, 17); 620*–613* (IV.2, 18); 7th century (IV.2, 19, 20); 640s (IV.3, 10); Sargonid (IV.1, 3); undatable (IV.1, 4–6; IV.2, 21–24; 3, 8, 9, 11).
- ²⁵ Aššur: 7 (IV.1, 2; 2, 8, 16, 19; 3, 4, 5, 10 = 16.27%); Calah: 3 (IV.2, 1, 15; 3, 7 = 6.97%); Calah, but at least one of the parties from Isana or its region: 2 (IV.3, 8, 9 = 2.32%); ^{umu}[...] (Calah): 1 (IV.3, 1 = 2.32%); prob. from periphery of Babylonia → Calah: 1 (IV.2, 4 = 2.32%); Nineveh: 4 (IV.2, 5, 6, 10, 13 = 9.3%); Nineveh (?): 1 (IV.3, 11 = 2.32%); found at Nineveh: 3 (IV.1, 3; 2, 20; 4, 2 = 6.97%); found at Nineveh (from Kār-Apladad?): 1 (IV.2, 11 = 2.32%); Nineveh or Ma'alānāte: 1 (IV.2, 9 = 2.32%); Til-pah(h)āri: 1 (IV.3, 2 = 2.32%); ^{umu}[xxx] (Assyria proper or Arrapha-Lahīru region?): 1 (IV.2, 7 = 2.32%); Huzīrīna: 3 (IV.1, 4–6 = 6.97%); Harrān region?: 1 (IV.4, 1 = 2.32%); Ma'alānāte: 1 (IV.2, 14 = 2.32%); Arzuhina: 1 (IV.2, 3 = 2.32%); Lahīru: 1 (IV.3, 3 = 2.32%); Sila[...] (prob. in the province of Si'immi): 1 (IV.2, 21 = 2.32%); presumably from Kanna' (less likely Aššur): 1 (IV.2, 18 = 2.32%); Piqdāni: 1 (IV.2, 2 = 2.32%); Irbu: 1 (IV.2, 17 = 2.32%); province of the chief cupbearer: 1 (IV.3, 6 = 2.32%); unknown: 4 (IV.1, 1; 2, 22–24 = 9.3%).
- ²⁶ Queen's chief baker (IV.2, 9); village manager (IV.2, 21); chief of public works (IV.1, 3); porter (IV.2, 10). The military establishment is represented by 5 individuals (55.55%): a recruitment officer of the cavalry (IV.3, 3), a 3rd rider (IV.1, 1), a horse trainer (IV.2, 2) and the two company commanders.
- ²⁷ Status (in descending order): royal intimate: 1 (IV.2, 1 = 2.32%); landowner (sold his land): 1 (IV.3, 6 = 2.32%); creditors: 2 (silver, IV.2, 20; 3, 10 = 2.32%); received one woman for 1.5 minas of silver: 1 (IV.3, 11 = 2.32%); witnesses (15 = 34.88%): (a) in a ranked and cohesive list: IV.2, 10 (6th of 9); (b) in other witness lists: IV.2, 13 (first of 5), 9 (2nd of 9), 3, 4 (3rd of 9), IV.2, 12 (4th of 6), 15 (4th of 12), 11 (7th of 9), 16 (10th of 21), 18 (recurrent); 3, 1 (2nd of 4), 2 (6th of 8), 8, 9 (6th and 8th of 10 preserved); 4, 1 (7th of 7 preserved); 3, 5 (details not reported); debtors (5 = 11.62%): barley: IV.2, 5 (5 seahs), 6 (quantity not preserved), IV.2, 14 (two homers); IV.2, 8 (one mina and a half shekel of silver acc. to mina of the merchant); IV.4, 2 (50 minas of copper; a woman is pledged); mentioned among criminals: 1 (IV.2, 23 = 2.32%). No more than 8 or 9 individuals were not free: prob. deportee: 1 (IV.2, 22 = 2.32%); slaves (7 = 16.27%): IV.2, 17; 3, 7 (sold); IV.2, 7 (*pater familias* + 3, sold); IV.2, 24 (*pater familias* + 2, sold); IV.1, 4–6 (oblates). The exact place of two individuals (2.32%) is not indicated: Named in a lawsuit relating to a murder case (IV.1, 2); a lawsuit was brought against him: 1 (IV.2, 19).

V. Doubtful Anatolians (19/139 = 13.66%)

0. Onomastic Analysis

I suspect that [P]*a-ta-mu* (1) ends with *-muwa-* (cf. PNA 3: 992b). Alternatively, it may be the same name as NB *Pa-ta-am*, who is explicitly Cilician (Goetze 1962: 54b). Likewise, *La-BAR-mu-u* perhaps ends in *-muwa*. An Akk. interpretation ('not speckled' as implied by PNA 2: 648b, which compares *Bar-mu*) is less likely in view of the *-u*. For *kunza-* (14), cf. Zadok (2005: 100:3). *Sa-(a-)ri-u-ni* is perhaps based on *sar-* (cf. *Sar-uari*, above, I, 1.1, 11). For *Pi-ha-me*, *Pa-hi-me* (3, 12) cf. *Pihamis* (Hawkins 2000, 2: 535; Goetze 1954: 78a; 1962: 55b). *Kusin*[i?...] PNA 2: 643b connects the name with Anatolian Κοσίνας (Zgusta 1964: 249). *Ku-u-a-se* is Anatolian according to Lipiński (2002: 253).

The following names are not classified in IV above because the alternative interpretation or attribution is not beyond doubt: *Mu-li-i* (Sem./Anatolian.); cf. Goetze (1962: 50:12) and Zadok (1979b: 168 with n. 20). *Ha-an-da-b/pu* can be compared with Lyc. Κενδῆβης and related names (Zgusta 1964: 223; alternatively Sem., see PNA 2: 451b). For *Kun-za-ba-ni* (alternatively Akk. acc. to PNA 2: 639a) and *Ú-a-ru/ri* (either short for compounds with *-uari*²⁸ or Hurr.; cf. Sasson 1979: 65) cf. I.0 above. *Ha-ḥa-a*, architect (^{lu}še-lap-pa-A+A) (734; Imgur-Ilil; Parker 1963: 86ff.: BT 106, rev. 6; PNA 2: 439b) resembles *Hahas* in the Kululu lead strips (Hawkins 1987: 138ff.: 1, 35), but the name is atypical. *He-he-e*, 8th of 10 witnesses (I.VI.Sîn-šarra-ušur, palace scribe = 625*; Radner 1997: 118: 1, 31); Akk. acc. to PNA 2: 470b; Anatolian in view of the fact that it is recorded in 2nd-millennium Anatolia (Radner 1997: 120ff. *ad* 1, 31) or Hurr. (Freydank & Salvini 1984: 40, s.v. *Heh*). However, the name is atypical like *Gu-gu-ḥu* (with a damaged gentilic [xxx-A]+A), 2nd witness (after a mayor, of 4 preserved) in a badly damaged deed ([x].[x]. eponym of [...], governor of [...]; 7th century; SAA 14, 203; rev. 2, 10; PNA 2: 428b). Therefore, the resemblance of the latter to Gugu King of Lydia can be incidental. Likewise, *La-li-i* (PNA 2: 651a), Nanni and Nania (PNA 2: 928b) of Lydia can be incidental. Likewise, *La-li-i* (PNA 2: 651a), Nanni and Nania (PNA 2: 928b) are atypical, despite the occurrence of *Lalis* in the Kululu lead strips (cf. above, III, 1, 3).

1. Prosopography

- 1.** [P]*a-ta-mu*, eunuch from Til-Barsip, is the last member of a delegation of 4 eunuchs of the household of Aššur-ilā'i (the preceding 3 with professions) led by a messenger sent to the king by Adad-ibni, governor of Til Barsip (letter, Sargon II; SAA 1, 184, 11). **2.** *La-BAR-mu-u*, s. of Appā from Sinu (not from Hamath) sent to the king by Nabū-de'iq (Sargon II; SAA 1, 230, rev. 1; PNA 2: 648b). **3.** *Pi-ha-me*, deputy governor, is mentioned in a report from Aššur-ālik-pāni, who was active on the northeastern frontier (PNA 1: 153b, s.v. Aššur-ālik-pāni, 1; Arbail is mentioned) (Sargon II; SAA 5, 152, 5; PNA 3: 993a). **4.** *Ú-a-ru* was one of 4 refugees perhaps somewhere in the Zagros, who were brought to the king (Sargon II (?); Saggs 1974: 207 and pl. 34: ND 2477 = NL 98, 7). **5.** *Ku-u-a-se* sold land in Ālu-ša-rab-ša-rēši according to a deed (8th century; Calah; Parker 1961: 15 *ad* ND 2778; PNA 2: 645ff.). **6.** *Sa-a-ri-u-ni* was the last of 10 Samaneans (cf. above, II, 9), who were responsible for paying the blood money to the victim's family (3.VIII.657; SAA 14, 81; PNA 3: 1092b). **7.** *Mu-li-i*, s. of Nabū-dayyānu and br. of Nabū-šuma-iddina, first witness of 11 (25.VIII. Sîn-šarra-ušur, governor of Hindānu = 636*; archive N 24, Aššur; SAAB 9: 112: 124, rev. 9; PNA

²⁸ Extant in the compound toponym Maribat (*ma-ri-bat*)-*ú-a-ri* referring to a settlement in the Harra region. Hardly '*Mari-Til-uari*?' as lemmatized by Baggs 2007: xcii, 168ff., whose type is unheard of.

2: 765b). **8. Lū-šakin** (Aram. Lsgn), s. of *Sa-ri-u-ni*, from Bīt-Abu-ilā'i leased land to Kakkullānu (18.V.623*; SAA 14, 44, 1, cf. above, I, 1.1, 22). **9. Ha-an-d[a-x]** owned a field adjacent to that sold by Bušši, s. of mayor Issar-na'di, to Nagahī (23.II.Bēl-iqbi = 621*; archive N 18, Aššur; StaT 2, 61, 3 related to 60, 3: *Ha-an*-[...]; PNA 2: 452). **10.** Aram. *Kwsh* is equated by Lipiński (2002: 253 *ad* 13) with NA *Ku-u-a-se*, 11th = last witness (6th witness from Tlbr) (Šamaš-šarra-ibni, *trtn* = 615*, 613* or 612*; Lemaire 2001: 46; PNA 2: 645ff.). **11. Ha-an-da-b/pu** (StaT 2, 315, 2) is the addressee of an undated letter from Aššur-balātu-iqbi (found in Aššur). The latter tells him to deliver a bed to Danate (PNA 2: 451b). The fact that a Cimmerian bow is mentioned would support a dating after c. 721.²⁹ Each of the following individuals took for himself the silver of the orchard according to an undated administrative document (archive N 17, Aššur; SAAB 9: 93): **12. Pa-hi-me** (non-Sem., 15), **13. Nanī**, s. of *Bar-mu-u* (20), *Na-ni-zi* (25 = 1.1.1.24), *Ta-a* (atyp., 11), *Ta-qa-li* (non-Sem., 8), *Tu-pi-i* (non-Sem., 13), **14. Kun-za-ba-ni** (5, 18) and **15. Bar-KAM-mu-u** (22). It is noteworthy that *Ta-a*, *Ta-ka-li* and *Na-an-na* (presumably homonymous individuals) are mentioned together with 1.4, 1 above (694 BCE). **16. [xxxx]-nu** s. of *Ku-si-n*[ⁱ xx] acted as the 7th of 10 preserved witnesses in a fragment of a conveyance deed (date lost; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 308, 8'). **17. Za-an-du-ru** in a list of chariot troops (date lost; Nineveh (?); SAA 11, 123, ii, 3; Zadok 2005: 101:7). **18. Ū-a-r[i]**, 2nd of at least 8 in a fragmentary witness list (operative section illegible) (16.II².[x]; Nineveh (?); SAA 14, 234, rev. 2). **19. Kun-zu-ba-n[u² xxx]** is recorded in a list of men subjected to punishments (undated; Sargonid (?); Nineveh (?); SAA 11, 144, ii, 7'; PNA 2: 639a, s.v. ~, 1).

The individuals recorded in the Hierogl. Luw. letters found at Aššur (probably in a late NA house), which probably belong to the archive of Taksala(s),³⁰ presumably did not live or act in Aššur. It is assumed that the letters (end of 8th century?) were brought to Aššur from Carchemish, perhaps late in the 7th century (Hawkins 2000: 2: 533–555).³¹

2. Interim Summary of Doubtful Anatolians (19 = 100%)

Chronology

The individuals are recorded between c. 721 and 615* (or 612*). Six (at most; 31.57%) between c. 721 and c. 705, one (5.26%) in 657, 4 (21.05%) in 636*–615* (or 612*) and 8 (42.1%) undated (Sargonid).³²

Geographical Distribution

Most individuals (14 = 73.68%) are recorded in the documentation from Assyria proper (at least 7 are from Aššur or were found there). Only one is from the western Jezireh.³³

²⁹ The restoration of [*Ha-an*]-*da-a-si-ri* (SAA 7, 32, rev. ii, 8; PNA 2: 451a) is entirely tentative.

³⁰ Pedersén (1986: 98ff.; archive N 13).

³¹ The reason for the existence of a Hierogl. Luw. stone inscription, fragmentary and practically illegible, in Sargonid Nineveh is not known; its findspot was 'flats below Kuyunjik', where a Hierogl. Luw. tablet with a list of deities was also found (Hawkins 2000, 2: 566f., 570, cf. Lumsden *apud* Scott & MacGinnis 1990: 69). A Pontic extraction of the individuals titled *šelaḫāyu* cannot be proven (*pace* CTN 1: 98, 100).

³² 721–705: 2 (V, 1, 2); 721–705?: 2 (V, 3, 4); 8th century: 1 (V, 5); c. 721–612: 1 (V, 11); 657: 1 (V, 6); 636* (V, 7); 623* (V, 8); 621*(V, 9); 615*, 613* or 612* (V, 10); undated (Sargonid): V, 12–19.

³³ Aššur: 3 (V, 7, 9, 11 = 15.78%); found in Aššur: 4 (V, 12–15 = 21.05%); Ālu-ša-rab-ša-rēši (found in Calah): 1 (V, 5 = 5.26%); found at Nineveh: 4 (V, 16–19 = 21.05%); Samāna: 1 (V, 6 = 5.26%); Samāna (?): 1 (V, 13 = 5.26%); Bīt-Abu-ilā'i: 1 (V, 8 = 5.26%); Sinu: 1 (V, 2 = 5.26%); Til-Barsip: 1 (V, 1 = 5.26%); Tlbr: 1 (V, 10 = 5.26%); Zagros (?) 1 (V, 4 = 5.26%). Northeastern frontier: 1 (V, 3 = 5.26%).

Occupations, Offices and Status

The occupation/office of two of the 19 individuals (10.52%) is indicated: V, 3 was a deputy governor and V, 17 is recorded in a list of chariot troops. The status of individuals was varied, with some holding prominent positions.³⁴

VII. Conclusions

All the Anatolians except one are recorded in the Jezireh, including Assyria proper, and in the easternmost provinces between 744 and c. 609 BCE, i.e., during the period of the mass deportations from the newly conquered Neo-Hittite states. The only individual of an earlier date, 794, could be non-Anatolian (IV.3, 1). Most of the assured Anatolians (23 out of 45 = 51.11%) and all the dated probable and possible Anatolians (except for one individual in each category) are mentioned after the time of Sennacherib. Coeval with them are 16 alternative and five doubtful Anatolians. Most assured Anatolians are from Assyria proper (60%) and the majority of the remaining individuals of this category are from either Assyria proper or the western Jezireh. 76% of the probable and 57.12% of the possible Anatolians are from Assyria proper, compared with 16% and 28.56%, respectively, from the western Jezireh. Slightly over half of the alternative Anatolians are from Assyria proper, compared with about 10% from the western Jezireh. No less than 73.68% of the doubtful Anatolians are from Assyria proper and only one (5.26%) from the western Jezireh.

Regarding occupations and socio-economic status, the dependent vegetable gardener and the juxtaposed dependent farmer were presumably deportees who were transferred from Gozan to the newly founded capital Dūr-Šarru-kēn, a clear example of the mobility of specialized labourers. Another possible deportee is recorded. On the other hand, there is good reason to think that the two merchants were not necessarily deportees. As for most of the other Anatolians, there are no serious doubts that they were basically deportees. The fact that southeastern Anatolia does not border on Assyria proper or most of the Jezireh along with the ample evidence for deportations in the imperial period (from 744 onwards) would speak against infiltration and voluntary immigration as significant reasons for the presence of Anatolians in Assyria proper and adjacent regions.

The assimilatory policy of the Assyrians enabled the incorporation of the deportees into the local socio-economic system. Assured Anatolians who owned urban and rural property are recorded as early as 744–705 (in Aššur) and 682, respectively. No fewer than six assured Anatolians owned slaves between 698 and 626* (in addition to the merchant who specialized in slave sales). Two Anatolians of the same category were creditors (657 and 647*). The property of the land owners was not located near that of other Anatolians. Nor were the slave sales and barley loans conducted among Anatolians. This is perhaps another indication of

³⁴ Status (in descending order): two individuals, viz. V, 1, 2 (10.52%), held prominent positions, as they were sent to the king. One (V, 6; 5.26%) was a prominent citizen belonging to a group of 10 Samaneans, who paid blood money to a victim's family. Landowners (3 = 15.78%): V, 5 (sold his land), 8 (leased land), 9. Witnesses (4 = 21.05%): V, 7 (first of 11), 18 (2nd of at least 8), 16 (7th of 10 preserved), 10 (11th of 11); eunuch (household of Aššur-ilā'i): 1 (V, 1 = 5.26%); addressee: 1 (V, 11 = 5.26%). All were free citizens, like V, 17 (5.26%), who belonged to the military establishment. One was perhaps a prisoner (V, 4 = 5.26%). The exact status of the remaining 5 individuals (26.31%) is not indicated. Four took for themselves silver of the orchard (V, 12–15) and one was subjected to punishment (V, 19).

the high integration of the assured Anatolians into Assyrian society. The same assimilatory policy encouraged in the long run their social mobility, even in the army, where in addition to guardians (at the beginning of the period), a recruitment officer is recorded as early as 695 (two others, a horse trainer and a foreman of an auxiliary unit, are recorded in Esarhaddon's reign). Thus one finds an official (presumably such) in Esarhaddon's reign and even an eponym sometime between 647 and 612 (if not 609). One was possibly a herald in Hubaba (probably to be sought in the Jezireh, since eight of ten witnesses from there bore Akkadian names). It is thus no wonder that Anatolians as free and integrated citizens are recorded in lists of witnesses (there is no discrepancy between this phenomenon and their descent from deportees, although their origin is hypothetical; see the reservations of Postgate 1981: 637ff.). Dependents are also amply recorded throughout the period (notably towards the end, cf. Postgate 1981: 637), possibly an indication that they were deportees or their descendants. Only two slaves are attested. Like other westerners (e.g., Phoenicians and the only discernible Greek), the individuals who guarded a consignment of antimony and the official who is recorded later (in Lulu-x[xxx], 1.1.1, 13) were active near the eastern border, following the Assyrian policy of deportation from one end of the empire to the opposite (Oded 1979: 27ff.). The only member of the sample under discussion, who entered the ranks of the scribes, belonged to the category of probable Anatolians. This is one of the bearers of the name Tabālāyu, who is recorded in 643*/624*. It can be surmised that as a member of the 2nd or 3rd generation of deportees from Tabal he attained a high degree of acculturation (unlike in Babylonia, foreigners in Assyria were not barred, for all we know, from the scribal profession) or that he was indigenous and his name is not to be interpreted in an ethnic sense (cf. above, II, 1). At least another member (if not two) of the same category was a royal intimate (date lost). Another royal intimate is found among the bearers of hybrid Kubābu-names. Foreigners who attained this honorary title include *A-zar₄-ia-u* (663–661; SAA 7, 118, rev. ii 3), who, judging from his Israelite-Judean name (OT *ʾzryhw*), was certainly of non-Assyrian extraction.

To sum up, the modest Anatolian sample is part of a test case of more or less defined groups of deportees, but what is analysed here is just a fragment of this test case. The evidence would not be complete without the much larger and homogenous sample of the Egyptians, who were deported to Assyria within a much shorter period, mostly in the mid 7th century, shortly before the demise of the Assyrian empire. Therefore, one finds the Egyptians concentrated as a cohesive group. They, like the Anatolians and residual groups (Iranians, Elamites and Ionians), were not part of the local scene, unlike the Arameans and Arabians, who infiltrated almost every region to the west of Assyria, and the Hurro-Urartians, who inhabited regions adjacent to Assyria proper in the north (the buffer states between Assyria and Urartu) including the northeastern corner of Assyria proper.

VIII. Alphabetic list

1. Individuals in Prosopographical Sample

<i>A+A-am-me</i> II, 15	<i>Kubābu-idrī</i> IV.2, 9	<i>Pi-sa-an-dī</i> 1.1.1, 20
<i>Ab-di-ku-bu-bi</i> IV.2, 7	<i>Kubābu-ilāi</i> IV.2, 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22	<i>Pi-ša-ar-mu</i> 1.1.1, 10
<i>Ahi-sa-pa</i> 1.1.2, 1		<i>Qu-u-A+A</i> 1.1.4.2, 1–3
^d <i>A-ra-miš-iq-bi</i> IV.1, 3	<i>Kubābu-lu-nu</i> IV.2, 24	<i>Sa-an-da-pi-i</i> 1.1.1, 7
^d <i>A-r[a-miš]-nāšir</i> IV.1, 1	<i>Kubābu-nāšir</i> IV.2, 23	<i>Sa-an-du-ū-ar</i> 1.1.1, 21
^d <i>A-ra-[miš³-x-x]</i> IV.1, 2	<i>Kubābu-satar</i> IV.2, 21	<i>Sa-an-du-ū-ra</i> 1.1.1, 1
^d <i>Ar-ū-as-ma-a-di</i> IV.1, 3	<i>Kubābu-sūrī</i> IV.2, 3	<i>Sa-a-ri-u-ni</i> V, 6
<i>Bar-KAM-mu-u</i> V, 15	[<i>Kub</i>] <i>ābu³-u-a-ri</i> 1.2.2, 1	<i>Sa-gi-ru</i> III, 6
<i>B/Pu-ru-ta-a</i> III, 5	<i>Ku-la-a</i> IV, 5	<i>Sa-ri-u-ni</i> V, 8
<i>Gar-ga-mis-A+[A]</i> 1.2.1, 1	<i>Kun-dā-A+A</i> IV, 8	<i>S/Šar-ū-ar-ri</i> 1.1.1, 11
<i>Gūr-d[i-i]</i> 1.1.1, 13	<i>Kundāyu</i> IV, 3, 11	<i>S/Šar-ū-ār-ri</i> 1.1.1, 13
<i>Ha-an-da-ap-pa«-bi»</i> 1.1.1, 6	<i>Kun-di-[x]</i> IV, 10	[<i>S/Šar²</i>]- <i>ū-a-ri</i> III, 2
<i>Ha-an-da-b/pu</i> V, 11	<i>Kun-za-ba-ni</i> V, 13	<i>Sin-du-a-ru</i> 1.1.1, 15
<i>Ha-an-da-bu-ri</i> 1.1.1, 17	<i>Kun-zu-ba-n[u³]</i> V, 19	<i>Sukkāyu</i> 1.1.2, 2
<i>Ha-an-da-la-rim</i> 1.1.1, 5	<i>Ku-sa-né-e</i> IV, 1	<i>Ša-an-ta-da-me-qi</i> 1.1.1, 16
<i>Ha-an-da-pi-i</i> 1.1.1, 19	<i>Ku-sa-ni</i> IV, 6	<i>Šangū-Issar</i> III, 4
<i>Ha-an-da-ri-ši</i> III, 4	<i>Ku-si-n[i³ xx]</i> V, 16	<i>Šulmu-bēl</i> 1.1.4.1
<i>Ha-an-d[a-x]</i> V, 9	<i>Ku-u-a-se</i> V, 5	<i>Tabālāyu</i> II, 1–25
<i>Ha-AT-A+A</i> IV, 4	<i>Kwsh</i> (Aram.) V, 10	<i>Ta-ba-li</i> 1.1.5.2, 26
<i>Hattāyu</i> 1.5, 1–3	<i>La-BAR-mu-u</i> V, 2	<i>Tābalūʾa/Tabālūʾa</i> 1.1.5.2, 27
<i>Hi-ba-la-li</i> III, 3	<i>Lū-šakin</i> V, 8	<i>Tar-hu-«hī³»-ri</i> 1.1.1, 4
<i>Hi-ba-za-me</i> 1.1.1, 2	<i>Ma-u-a-u</i> III, 1	<i>Tar-hu-na-zi</i> 1.1.1, 18
<i>Hu-li-i</i> 1.1.1, 8, IV, 7	<i>Ma-zi-i</i> III, 7	<i>Tar-hu-un-a-kil</i> 1.1.1, 21
<i>Hu-un-zu-di-i</i> 1.1.1, 19	<i>Mu-li-i</i> V, 7	<i>Tar-hu-un-da-pi-i</i> 1.1.1, 9, 23
<i>In-du-u</i> 1.1.2, 2, 4	<i>Mu-su-ka-A+A</i> 1.4	<i>ʾTar³-hu-un³-dāp-pi-i</i> 1.1.1, 12
<i>Ka-ma-ba-nu</i> 1.1.5.1	<i>Mušallim-ilu</i> IV, 9	<i>Tar-hu-un-zu-me</i> 1.1.1, 3
[^{ur}] <i>Kar-ga-mis-A+A</i> 1.2.1, 2	<i>Nanī</i> V, 13	<i>Tar-hu-x[xxxx]</i> 1.1.1, 25
<i>Kaskāyu</i> 1.3, 1, 2	<i>Na-ni-zi</i> 1.1.1, 24	<i>ʾTu-ta³-mu-u</i> 1.1.1, 26
<i>Kubābu-aha-iddina</i> IV.2, 5	<i>Pa-ar-ni-i</i> IV, 2	<i>Ū-a-r[i]</i> V, 18
<i>Kubābu-ār-ri</i> 1.2.2, 2	<i>Pa-hi-me</i> V, 12	<i>Ū-a-ru</i> V, 4
<i>Kubābu-ēreš</i> IV.2, 11, 13, 16, 19	<i>Par-nu-u-a-ri</i> 1.1.2, 3	<i>Za-an-du-ru</i> V, 17
<i>Kubābu-erība</i> IV.2, 10, 20	[<i>P</i>] <i>a-ta-mu</i> V, 1	<i>ʾx³-[x]-ʾx³</i> IV.2, 16
<i>Kubābu-hinnī</i> IV.2, 18	<i>Pi-ha-me</i> V, 3	[<i>xxxx</i>]- <i>nu</i> V, 1

2. Included in Onomastic Analysis

Neo-Ass. (unmarked) and Neo/Late-Bab.

<i>B/Pu-ru-ta-a</i> III.0	<i>Kun-za-ba-ni</i> V.0	<i>Sa-an-du-ú-ar</i> I.0
<i>Gu-gu-’ú’</i> V.0	<i>Ku-si-n</i> [i’ xx] V.0	<i>Sa-an-du-ú-ra</i> I.0
<i>Gür-di-i</i> I.0	<i>Ku-u-a-se</i> V.0	<i>Sa-(a-)ri-u-ni</i> V.0
<i>Ha-an-da-b/pu</i> V.0	<i>Ku-un-zu-um-pi-ia</i> (NB) I.0	<i>Sa-gi-ri</i> (NB) I.0
<i>Ha-an-da-bu-ri</i> I.0	<i>La-BAR-mu-u</i> V.0	<i>Sa-gi-ru</i> III.0
<i>Ha-an-da-la-rim</i> I.0	<i>La-li-i</i> V.0	<i>S/Šar-ú-ar/ár-ri</i> I.0, V.0
<i>Ha-an-da-pi-i</i> I.0	<i>Ma-u-a-u</i> III.0	<i>Sin-du-a-ru</i> I.0
<i>Ha-an-da-ri-ši</i> III.0	<i>Ma-zi-i</i> III.0	<i>Šin-du-ú-ri</i> (NB) I.0
<i>Ha-’ha’-a</i> V.0	<i>Mu-li-i</i> V.0	<i>Ša-an-ta-da-me-qi</i> I.0
<i>He-he-e</i> V.0	<i>Na-ni-zi</i> I.0	<i>Šndwr</i> (Aram.) I.0
<i>Hi-ba-la-li</i> III.0	<i>Pa-hi-me</i> V.0	<i>Tar-hu-⟨hi’⟩-ri</i> I.0
<i>Hi-ba-za-me</i> I.0	<i>Par-nu-u-a-ri</i> I.0	<i>Tar-hu-na-zi</i> I.0
<i>Hu-li-i</i> I.0	<i>Pa-ta-am</i> (NB) V.0	<i>Tar-hu-un-a-kil</i> I.0
<i>Hul-li-i</i> I.0	[<i>P</i>]a-ta-mu V.0	<i>Tar-hu-un-da-pi-i</i> I.0
<i>Hu-ul-le-e</i> I.0	<i>Pi-ha-me</i> V.0	<i>Tar-hu-un-zu-me</i> I.0
<i>Hu-ul-li-i</i> I.0	<i>Pi-sa-an-di</i> I.0	<i>Tar-hu-x[xxxx]</i> I.0
<i>Hu-un-zu-di-i</i> I.0	<i>Pi-ša-ar-mu</i> I.0	<i>Tu-ta-am-mu-ú</i> I.0
<i>In-du-u</i> I.0	<i>’Pi’-še-er-mu</i> I.0	<i>Tu-ta-mu-ú</i> I.0
<i>Ka-ma-ba-nu</i> I.0	<i>Pi-š[i]l-mu</i> I.0	<i>Ú-a-ru/ri</i> V.0
<i>Kubābu-ár-ri</i> I.0	<i>Qa-ma-ba-na</i> I.0	
<i>Kubābu-u-a-ri</i> I.0	<i>Sa-an-da-pi-i</i> I.0	

Hierogl. Luw. (unmarked), Hittite, Lycian	Hurro-Urartian	Greek
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	<i>int-</i> I.0	Εινδους I.0
<i>Hahas</i> V.0	<i>išp-</i> I.0	Ινδους I.0
<i>Huliyas</i> I.0	^{umu} <i>İš-pa-ri-ra</i> I.0	Κενδηβης V.0
<i>Xñtab</i> [u]ra (Lyc.) I.0	<i>İš-pa-ú-ri</i> I.0	Κονζαπεας I.0
<i>Kurtis/Kurtiya</i> I.0	<i>İš-pi-ú-ri-i</i> I.0	Κοσινας V.0
<i>Lalis</i> V.0		Κουανζαφεας I.0
<i>Maziyaš</i> (Hitt.) III.0		Μαυης III.0
<i>Parniwaris</i> I.0		Σαγάριος III.0
<i>Pihamis</i> V.0		Σανδαζαμης I.0
<i>Piyasarmas</i> I.0		Σανδης I.0
<i>Tarhunazas</i> I.0		Ταρκυαρις I.0
<i>Tarhuntapiyas</i> I.0		

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ISBN 978-3-447-05867-4
€ 38,- (D) / sFr 66,-

Als Besonderheiten der alten Religionen des Ostmittelmeerraumes gelten heilige Städte, in denen die Oberpriester der örtlichen Tempel die Macht ausübten. Die ältesten bekannten Kultzentren dieser Art befanden sich in Altanatolien. Die Grundlage zu ihrer Erforschung bilden die hethitischen Keilschrifturkunden aus dem zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus. In seiner Monographie stellt der Autor die berühmteste 'Stadt der Götter' Altanatoliens – Arinna – dar. Die Lage von Arinna bleibt unbekannt, sicher ist jedoch, dass ihre Spuren nahe bei Hattuša, der hethitischen Hauptstadt, zu suchen sind. Arinna war eine heilige Stadt schon in vorhethitischer Zeit. Als das hethitische Reich entstand, wurde die örtliche Sonnengöttin zu seiner Hauptgöttin, was die Bedeutung des Zentrums und seines Kultes innerhalb der Religionen Altanatoliens deutlich macht. Die Stadtopographie wird versuchsweise skizziert, ihre Gottheiten, Tempel, die örtliche Priesterschaft und das übliche Tempelpersonal sowie weitere wichtige Gruppen von Stadtbewohnern werden beschrieben. Ein Kapitel ist den Aspekten des Kultes, u.a. den lokalen Festen, gewidmet.

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