

J. de Roos (photograph by C. Freudenthal)

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ḪATTUŠILI III AND TUTḪALIYA IV

PROCEEDINGS OF A SYMPOSIUM
HELD IN HONOUR OF J. DE ROOS,
12-13 DECEMBER 2003, LEIDEN

edited by

Th.P.J. van den Hout
with the assistance of C.H. van Zoest



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PREFACE

On December 12-13, 2003 friends, colleagues, and Hittitologists gathered for a symposium at the University of Leiden to celebrate the 65th birthday of Johan de Roos, better known to many as Han. Organized by Co Roodenberg, director of the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (NINO) and Wilfred van Soldt, Professor of Assyriology at Leiden, the symposium had asked contributors to focus on the period that Han devoted most of his attention to: The Life and Times of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV.

As so many Hittitologists, Han started out as a classical philologist and taught Latin and Greek at a high school before coming to the University of Amsterdam as assistant to Philo Houwink ten Cate. He taught classes and was extremely active in committees and university administration. In 1987-1988 he was visiting professor at the North-East Normal University in Changchun and helped set up Hittite and Anatolian studies at the new Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations program there. In 1990 he moved to Leiden to become director of the NINO but kept teaching Hittite language and history both in Leiden and Amsterdam, at the latter university as professor of Hittitology for the Allard Pierson Foundation since 2002.

Han's dissertation and most of his articles center around the couple of the Hittite Great King Hattušili III and Puduḥepa around the middle of the 13th century BC. Almost all contributors focused on some topic fitting the overall theme and their papers are printed in this book. Jürgen Seeher and Harry Hoffner were not able to attend but kindly sent us their papers for inclusion in this volume. Discussions continued during coffee breaks, lunches and dinner and Han's typical manner guaranteed an atmosphere of joviality and lively discussions. Especially gratifying was the presence of many young students, a tribute to Han's standing as an inspiring teacher.

All contributors are thanked for their cooperation in publishing the proceedings of the symposium in timely fashion, Co Roodenberg for including them in the publications of the NINO and especially Carolien van Zoest for her unrelenting help in editing the manuscripts.

Chicago, December 2004

Theo van den Hout

THE SUDDEN RETURN OF URḪI-TEŠŠUB TO HIS FORMER PLACE OF BANISHMENT IN SYRIA

Philo Houwink ten Cate

In this paper I shall try to deal with an important aspect of the diplomatic and thus international crisis which took place during the final decade of the first half of the 13th century B.C.E., as reconstructed by Professor E. Edel in that part D of the two magisterial volumes of his 'Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache', which is devoted to the correspondence between Ramses II and the Hittite royal couple concerning Urḫi-Teššub. This international crisis initially involved Ḫatti-land and Babylonia on the one hand and Egypt on the other.¹ References to the above-mentioned international crisis occur in D 4-14, the letters nos. 23-33, dating from the period after the conclusion of the Treaty between Egypt and Ḫatti-land, 1259 B.C.E. in the Egyptian time reckoning, but already 1258 in that of Ḫatti-land and Babylonia, and also in the letter KBo 1.10 + KUB 3.72 = A. Hagenbuchner THeth 16 (1989) No. 204, 281-300.² My main subject in this paper is the degree of support for Urḫi-Teššub during this, by me presumed 'second stay in Niya.' Two duplicates of a Hittite 'deposition in court' offer additional information regarding the political situation in the southeastern part of the Hittite confederacy during the time these letters were written.

In his volume II which contains the commentary, Edel recognizes three different phases or stages within the subgroup D 4-14: 2a) Urḫi-Teššub stays in Egyptian controlled territory (D 4); 2b) Urḫi-Teššub sojourns in Northern Syria and thus actually within the Hittite sphere of influence (D 5-12); 2c) Urḫi-Teššub is again in the hands of the Hittite authorities (D 13-14).³ The numerical preponderance of group 2b) is highly

¹ Cf. E. Edel, 1958, KBo 1.10 + 11.57-71, but see too M.B. Rowton, 1960, 16-18 for a first group of modifications and Rowton 1966, 244-249 for another treatment of the chronological framework which led to new improvements, partly based on recent discoveries of the Egyptologists E. Edel and W. Helck. From early beginnings before the 2nd World War onwards up to the completion of the highly important project on 16.4.1986, when Professor Edel submitted the manuscripts of both volumes to the Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, the famous Egyptologist Edel constantly worked on this project, incorporating his own ideas and proposals as well as the numerous reactions of a substantial number of Assyriologists and Hittitologists (see the preface).

² See the reviews by H. Freydank 1990, 308-313; G. Beckman 1992, 174-179; F. Starke 1992, 5-6, 804-815; R.H. Beal 1993, 245-250; A. Archi 1996, 170-174.

³ Professor W. Helck 1963, 87-97 conclusively proved that the Hittite draft KUB 21.38 for a letter of Puduḥepa was destined to be sent to Ramses II and thus actually belonged to Elmar Edel's 'Corpus'. Because in Obverse 11-12 Puduḥepa wrote "Since Urḫi-Teššub is there (with You)" and she encourages Ramses II to "ask him whether it is not so or [it is not so] (as I have just told You)," this draft proves that in the end the two parties agreed that Urḫi-Teššub should be handed over to the Egyptian authorities.

significant since it shows that for a fairly long period Urhi-Teššub must have lived in hiding in a part of North or Middle Syria. D 4 (=ÄHK no. 23 = KBo 18.16) is the first letter of this part of the 'Dossier' which unmistakably refers to the Treaty, based on Parity.⁴ It is a very remarkable letter since within a framework in which Ramses II elaborates on a remark made by Hattušiliš III in his letter to which D 4 forms the reply, by stressing that the two countries had not simply resumed their (good) relations, but that the deposition of the Silver Tablet had, on both sides, taken place so that the two rulers were now bound by their oaths. Towards the end of the preserved part of the letter, the Pharaoh laconically assures that at some later moment he will give a reply to the question which Hattušiliš III had posed to him regarding 'the matter of the (town of) Qadesh', viz. about the battle of Qadesh. It thus would seem that Ramses II was trying to diffuse criticism levelled at him by his treaty partner. Ramses II writes: 10' "[So (sprich) zu] meinem [Bruder:] und was mein Bruder [mir in Betreff des Urhitešub] geschrie[ben] hat, 11' [mit den Worten: siehe, i]ch schrieb dir [seinet]weg[en] immer wieder [durch die Hand meiner Boten], 12' [und sie haben] meine Tafeln vo[r meinem Bruder vorge]lesen, [aber du hast nicht geantwortet]." 13' "[So] hast [du ge]sagt. Ic[h] habe keine Schreiber [die die Tafeln gelesen hätten. Und du] 14' [schriebst an mic]h, den König des Landes Ägypten, deinen Bruder, in [sehr] freund[licher Weise, und ich] 15' [freute mich sehr]" etc. etc.

If the name of Urhi-Teššub had rightly been restored for 1.10', Professor Edel's handling of this passage and his general interpretation of this letter would have the distinct advantage of not merely indicating that "the affair of Urhi-Teššub" may have taken place after the conclusion of the Treaty, but also that an earlier group of letters from Hattusa must have been disregarded in Egypt.⁵

In his highly useful synopsis of the passages dealing with Urhi-Teššub in the letters belonging to subgroup 2b), Professor Edel summarizes the contents of the ll. KBo 1.15 + 19 (+) 22 (=D 5) Rev. 35-44 as follows: "R. erklärt genauer, Urhitešub halte sich in Nordsyrien auf mit seinen Anhängern, die ihn als rechtmässigen König behandeln und besonderen Wert auf die Feststellung legten, dass Urhitešub mit einer Königstochter verheiratet sei. Die Bevölkerung der oben genannten Vasalstaaten (Kizzuwatna, Aleppo, KUR Subari, Qadesh (Qinsa) weigere sich, Urhitešub auszuliefern, und drohe mit Vergeltung falls Urhitešub etwas böses angetan werde; entsprechend solle auch Gutes vergolten werden, das man Urhitešub antue."⁶ Apparently Ramses II posed as if he could not intervene, at the same time pointing out that he was highly impressed by the considerable measure of support which still existed for the former 'Great King.' It is very clear that D 5, the well-known "Battle of Qadesh Letter", constituted the acme of the crisis. By that time Hattušiliš III and Puduhepa had understood that their own interests were best served by a sort of luxurious internment of their most dangerous enemy on Egyptian territory proper under the strict surveillance of Ramses II, but they had not yet

⁴ Cf. nr. 23 Obv. [2]-9' of Edel 1994, I, 56-57 and II, 85-86.

⁵ Ibidem Obv. 10'-13', cf. I, 56-57 and II, 85-86.

⁶ Cf. E. Edel 1994 II, 88, ll. 63-86.

heard that meanwhile Urhi-Teššub had escaped by crossing the border between Egyptian occupied territory and the Hittite zone of central and northern Syria.

In the late fifties and the sixties of the preceding century claims which apparently arose not too long after the conclusion of the treaty, mentioned by both E. Edel and W. Helck and concerning the country of Zulapa, would seem to have caused such serious frictions between the two powers that in the wake of those tensions Urhi-Teššub suddenly turned up in either Egypt itself or in Egyptian controlled territory more to the north and thus rather close to Nuḥašše, his first place of banishment.⁷ In a matter-of-fact manner Professor M.B. Rowton remarked that his arrival as such would have sufficed to create an atmosphere of crisis.⁸ While from phase 2b) onwards Hattušiliš III and Puduhepa had understood that their best interests were served by a sort of luxurious internment of their most dangerous enemy in Egypt, this did not apply to the phase 2a), the stage for which we only have one source, D 4, in the correspondence with Egypt in addition to a retrospective passage of KBo 1.10 +⁹, a letter sent by Hattušiliš III to Kadasman-Enlil II (1258-1250 B.C.E.), the successor of Kadasman-Turgu. With respect to these two sources it is highly likely that Hattušiliš III first had thought otherwise, requiring an extradition in conformance with the rulings of the Treaty.¹⁰ In view of the new dates for the reign of Kadasman-Turgu¹¹ one might even speculate whether the death of his Babylonian ally and the latter's succession by the still inexperienced Kadasman-Enlil II may have furthered or forced Hattušiliš III's embracement of a more resigned attitude: a military adventure will not be lightly undertaken by a country experiencing a change in leadership.

It is rather likely and has already been noticed by Th.P.J. van den Hout that the two duplicates of a likely Hittite 'deposition in court' - CTH no. 209.3 (A = KUB 8.79 (poorly preserved); B = KUB 26.92, presumably column II, far better preserved)) is also relevant to Professor Edel's phase 2b), Urhi-Teššub's 'whereabouts' on Hittite territory. The text is deemed by a number of scholars to constitute a letter, cf. A. Hagenbuchner, o.c., no. 304, 399-405. Prof. van den Hout who dealt with two passages of this text, the second of which preceded the first in textual order, cf. The Purity of Kingship (1998), 222-23 (B ii 5'-7') and in StBoT 38 (1995), 122-23 (B ii 8'-17') hesitated on the second occasion between a letter and a 'deposition in court.' From its contents the second option is in fact

⁷ H. Otten 1981, 24-25 iv 29-33: "Entsprechend der Hochachtung für meinen Bruder tat ich keinesfalls <Böses>, sondern marschierte zurück hinab gegen Urhi-Tesup und führte ihn wie einen Gefangenen ab. Ich gab ihm im Lande Nuḥassi befestigte Städte und dort verblieb er."

⁸ See M.B. Rowton 1966, 250⁴²; Rowton also pointed to the fact that it is perhaps equally probable that the extradition of fugitives still was a matter of major concern, also after the conclusion of the Treaty, cf. ibidem 248⁽³²⁾.

⁹ The decisive lines in KBo 1.10+ are the ll. 66-70, cf. E. Edel 1958, 131-132 and A. Hagenbuchner 1989, Part II, 283-284 and 290-291.

¹⁰ See E. Edel 1997, 42-65, par. 11+12 up to and including par. 19-20 and the Commentary, 95-98 for the treatment of the extradition rules in the Treaty.

¹¹ Two recent proposals are 1276-1259 B.C.E. and ca. 1260, cf. respectively The International Colloquium on Ancient Near Eastern Chronology (2nd Millennium B.C.), Gent, 7-9 July 2000, and K.R. Veenhof, Geschichte des Alten Orients bis zur Zeit Alexanders des Grossen, ATD Ergänzungsreihe Band 11 (2001) Göttingen, 192, 314 and 345.

preferable, since the badly preserved major part of the text in A (presumably the second part of the Obv., and the first half of its Rev.) abounds in examples of the particle *-wa(r)* expressing direct discourse, while this also holds good for the better preserved remainder of the text, as far as it is available. *UMMA...-MA* occurs on four occasions in A's Obv., 12', 13', 14' and 21'. While initially 'His Majesty', the 'Great King', had been considered to be the sender of the letter or the speaker of the text, H. Klengel hesitated over the choice of the sender and of the addressee, but limited the choice to the 'Great King' and the viceroy of Kargamiš of the period concerned. Albertine Hagenbuchner, o.c., II, 1989, 405 preferred the king of Kargamiš for the role of arbitrator between two vassal kings and the sender of the letter and 'His Majesty' for the role of addressee. Prof. van den Hout, o.c., 1998, 223 came to a similar choice, but also reckoned with the possibility that a representative of the viceroy might have led the investigation, mentioning in this respect Talmi-Teššub.

The text consists of declarations of persons who are closely involved in two issues, one being legal, the threat to the life of one of two opponents, presumably Kurabu, the other matter being instead a financial affair concerning taxation, viz. a tribute, again in the sphere of the Government and the Public Administration, in the terminology of the text itself, "this affair of the towns, the affair of the tribute (*arkamman*) of (the town of) Niya", the capital of the region of that name. In the first 15 lines of the preserved part of A's Obv. one already encounters verbal forms of the verb *kuen-*, "to kill", II. 4', 7' (with a likely subject Bentešina, the king of Amurru), 10', 14' and 15'. Bentešina, who is mentioned in the Treaty, is one of the two proponents of the text, the other being Kurabu, who has been identified with the person whose life is being threatened. References to "towns" start out in A's Rev. 6', 10' 12' ("and [I] (or [he]) began to take the [town]s into account, one by one") and 14', while an early example of *arkamman*, 'tribute' (= taxation) occurs in A Rev. 9'. In my opinion it is highly tantalizing that A Rev. 14' in an unfortunately broken context refers to a subgroup of the towns in question as *A-NA URU.DIDLI.HI.A << zaršiyaš* since for this Luwian term the following renderings have been proposed: "guarantee" (F. Sommer, F. Starke), "safe conduct" (E.O. Forrer, E. Laroche, H.C. Melchert), while J. Friedrich and J. Tischler also proposed "Gastrecht" and "Schutzbrief" in their treatments of the noun. Apparently the concept "guarantee" covers in a more general sense the abstract idea of "warranting a liberty", while "free conduct to and fro" and "the right to hospitality" constitute two practical expressions for this abstract concept. J. Friedrich's "right to hospitality" covers quite a number of passages: KUB 14.3 ii 62, 63, 65 and iii 2' (?) and KUB 8.73 Rev. 14'.¹²

It is actually very likely that both affairs of this 'deposition in court' are interconnected in this sense that the threat to his, Kurabu's (?) life had been triggered by the fact that too little tribute had been collected from this group of towns belonging to the region of Niya, which constituted a part of the larger entity of Nuḫašše, mentioned in the

¹² Actually "Gastrecht", 'the right to hospitality', was a proposal submitted by H.G. Güterbock to J. Friedrich, cf. the latter HW¹, 260 (Güterbock, briefly "Gastrecht" (?)). This proposal fits perfectly to the usage in KUB 8.73, Rev. 14'.

Apology of Ḫattušiliš III as the region in which the towns were located which constituted the first place of banishment for Urḫi-Teššub.¹³ Professor Edel, ÄHK II, 95 and 370-1 notified that 'Der Name Nuḫašše in den Ramsesbriefen nicht begegnet, da dort durch "Land der Subaräer" (see above) ersetzt.'

Above I already mentioned that Professor van den Hout dealt with the best preserved part of the text, treating two adjacent passages. I shall now quote this best part of the text in textual order and in Van den Hout's translations. But I believe that I should first explain why I presume that the second issue, the matter of the tribute, may be of relevance to the "whereabouts" of Urḫi-Teššub during phase 2 b). The first paragraph of this best preserved part shows a decisive juncture of the text; the two affairs are opposed to one another. The matter of the tribute is "being altered", lit. "taking a turn (viz. for the better)", possibly in practice meaning "(is) being rectified", while the Oath, viz. the declarations under oath (cf. A Obv. 17') concerning the matter "of killing" or "of being killed", still is unfinished and thus continues.¹⁴

This decisive juncture of the text was brought to my attention through a highly interesting remark made by Professor van den Hout in his philological commentary on CTH 569 (1998), 223. His point of departure concerning the first paragraph consisted of KUB 16.32 ii 27-30 = o.c. 180-1, which details that regarding 'the Oath of the father of "His Majesty"' viz. Ḫattušiliš III, in connection with the "Urḫi-Teššub affair" in Niya one "settlement" needed to be handed over to the sons of Urḫi-Teššub, cf. o.c. 71, 180-1 and 223, respectively. The author remarked: "Since the King of Kargamiš or his representative (Talmi-Teššub (?)) ... seems to have been involved together with Katapaili in assigning cities to descendants of Arma-Tarhunta and Urḫiteššub, there might be reason to suspect some connection between the contents of KUB 8. 79//26.92 and this subject in CTH 569. It seems impossible, however, to substantiate such a claim."

It is especially "This affair of the cities, the matter of (the city of) Niya" in combination with the 'cities of "the right to hospitality"' and the well-known fact that the city (viz. the capital) of (the land of) Niya belongs to the larger region of Nuḫašše which suggest to me that one should seriously reckon with the probability that "the fortified towns in the country of Nuḫašše" which Ḫattušiliš III gave to Urḫi-Teššub did include the "settlement" mentioned in CTH 569 and that they were located in the land of Niya and that we should also reckon with the likelihood that, after the death of Nerikkailis and Urḫi-Teššub's bribing of his warden,¹⁵ he might have taken refuge in his former, first place of banishment where he might have been most welcome.

¹³ See above note 7.

¹⁴ A. Hagenbuchner 1989, 400-401 and 402 did not profit from E. Neu's remark, but she did recognize the opposition between the two matters.

¹⁵ The two letters E. Edel 1994 I Nr. 26, D 7, Rev. 17'-19' and Nr. 28 D 8, Obv. 11'-14', on the pp. 72-73 as well as II, 121-124 of the Commentary both treat the Death (?) of Nerikkailis and the Escape of Urḫi-Teššub to the Hittite zone of Syria.

See now Th. P.J. van den Hout 1998, 223 for B ii? 5'-7' = Rev. 24'-26' and idem 1995, 122-3 for B ii 8'-17', as duplicated by A Rev. 24'-26' for B ii 8'-10'.

- § 5'. "Now, however, this affair of the cities, the affair of the tribute of the city of Niya ch[anges],
 6'. but the affair of killing does not change: they will certainly kill me!
 7'. They will not let go of me! That divine Oath (is) one thing and that [... (is) an]other.
 § 8'. "Welche Tafel ich für Bentešina aber im Palast aufbewahrte, die war bei Takuw[a]¹⁶,
 9'. dem Mann aus Arijanta. Der kam zurück und sagte mir: 'Die Tafel des Palast[es]
 10'. hatte Bentešina und er gab sie dem Tattamaru (und sagte): "Meiner Majestät
 11'. sollst du (sie) zeigen". Jener aber hat sie an der Wand zerschl[agen]'.
 12'. Ich hätte je[n]em Mann nicht geglaubt. Aber als ich einige Boten schi[ckte],
 13'. da kam keiner zurück, und ich glaubte die Angelegenheit, und ich sag[te]
 folgendermassen:
 14'. "Da des Bentešinas Angelegenheit nicht (auf)gegriffen worden ist, werde ich noch
 15'. einen anderen Mann schicken, und dessen Angelegenheit wird (auf)gegriffen werden."
 16'-17'. Diese Geschichte vom Brechen der Tafel glaubte ich aus diesem Grund auch. Piḥaddu,
 der als mein Bote bei Bentešina war, ..."

From this point onwards also copy B is badly preserved. Unfortunately we can only guess what the second argument of the speaker was. Has the story also been confirmed by Piḥaddu? Line 18' preserves two personal names, "Dakuḥili and Ḥilani...".

Some remarks concerning details of the text, its translation or interpretation, are probably useful. Contrary to the treatment of l. 5' by A. Hagenbuchner, whose translations differ from her transliteration, both Professor Neu and Dr. Th. van den Hout transliterated at the end of B ii 5' *ú-e[-eḥ-ta-ri]*, while the sentence as a whole was introduced with an adversative enclitic *-ma*, cf. E. Neu, StBoT 5 (1968) 119¹⁷ and Th. van den Hout 1998, 223 (independently). This results in the opposition between the two subjects of the Inquiry which, at least in my opinion, together with Van den Hout's remark about the connection with CTH 569, greatly enhances the chances to define the background to this 'deposition in court'. Among the rather well-known functionaries mentioned in the paragraph B ii 8'-18' Tattamaru stands out, cf. more in general Van den Hout's excellent treatment in the section of his Prosopography devoted to him, StBoT 38, 116-124. This text warrants that he either did not want, or else that he did not dare to convey the clay tablet which had been entrusted to him to its required destination, 'His Majesty', the 'Great King'. In consequence he thus destroyed it by throwing it against a wall, in doing so exemplifying to the modern reader what should be done in preclassical antiquity in

¹⁶ Professor I. Singer preferred the original choice of E. Laroche Takuw[a] to Takuh[i]li, preferred by other scholars since then.

order to get rid of unwanted clay tablets! His behaviour confirmed the tone of the synopsis of the passages dealing with Urḥi-Teššub quoted in the beginning of this paper. Takuwa was first disbelieved, while it later turned out that he had told the truth. The sentence "The tablet which I kept, viz. preserved, for Bentešina in the Palace" (B ii 8' = A Rev. 24') indicates that the sender, presumably the viceroy of Kargamiš (or his representative), had royal status, while the oral message to him on the part of Takuwa that Bentešina had given this letter to Tattamaru with the order to proffer it to 'His Majesty' possibly intimates that the letter which Tattamaru broke (ii 9' and 15'-16') presumptively either being an earlier, final copy or an interim report which had needed to be read out to Bentešina first, had been meant to reach the 'Great King' later.

Finally, if my assumption that, after his escape, Urḥi-Teššub might have taken refuge in his former, first place of banishment should turn out to be convincing, it goes without saying that the renewed establishment of a sort of royal court in the small country of Niya will have strongly affected the finances of the town or the towns in question. This admittedly tentative scenario inevitably requires an attempt on my part to offer a reconstruction of the preceding paragraph referring to these "cities of the right to hospitality" in order to see whether it contains any information which might support this daring working hypothesis: (A Rev. 14'-18' = B ii 1'-4')

- 14'. [^mZAG.ŠEŠ-a]š-mu[?]<GIM>[?]-an[!] A-NA URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A << za-ar-ši-ia-aš ku-i[n]-ki LÚ
 Ṭ(E-MI QA-TAM-MA)-pát[?]
 15'. [up-pé-eš]-ta am-mu-uq-qa-ua ḥa-tu-ga-nu-ua-ua-aš me-mi[-i-a-ni še-er]
 16'. [me-mi-e]š-ta Ú-UL-ua-at-ta ḥa-tu-ga-nu-ua-an-z[(i ar-ḥa-ū)a-ták-kán]
 17'. [Ú-UL] ku-it-ki da-an-zi ma-a-an-ua-at-ták-kán [(me-mi-an ku-is-ki an-da-an me-ma-i)]
 18'. [nu-ua-at-t]a an-da ti-it-ta-nu-ua-an-zi mar-ri-ma-ū[(a-ták-kán Ú-UL ku-na-an-zi)]

- 14'. "When [Bentešina] (had) [sen]t me in [exactly (?)] the same manner as so[me messe]nger (of his) to the cities of the right to hospitality,
 15'. he spoke to me with regard to the matter of frightening;
 16'. 'They will not terrify you, and they will [not] take
 17'. anything away [from you]! If someone addresses a speech to you,
 18'. [then] they will come to an agreement [with y]ou, but they will not impetuously¹⁷ kill you!'"

After a highly tentative reconstruction of the beginning of the paragraph (merely 4 signs of B ii 1' are preserved), its remainder inspires more confidence. While the paragraph as a whole confirms the reading of the predicate of the first lines 5'-6' (partly) of the following paragraph, as proposed by E. Neu and Th.P.J. van den Hout, as well as the fine summary of A. Hagenbuchner of the badly preserved parts of copy A, from the earliest beginning

¹⁷ See for this translation of *marri* the CHD L-N, 185 A.

onwards up to and including A Rev. 18', cf. o.c., 402-403, the following, tentative 'conclusions' may still be added: it would seem that 1) Bentešina strongly protected the interests of Ḫattušiliš III and of the Confederacy. 2) Kurabu, presumably a high or even the highest official in probably Nuḫašše/i, was put under pressure by both Bentešina and the local leaders of the towns of the right to hospitality.

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L'IMPORTANCE DES RÊVES DANS L'EXISTENCE DE ḪATTUŠILI III

Alice Mouton*

Lorsqu'il s'agit d'examiner la documentation hittite faisant allusion au rêve, nous remarquons que le nombre de témoignages datant du règne de Ḫattušili III est supérieur à ceux des autres périodes.¹ Nous pouvons ainsi avoir l'impression que le rêve était pris plus au sérieux à l'époque de ce roi. Telle a en effet été la réaction d'A. Kammenhuber², de G. Frantz-Szabó³, de M. Popko⁴ et de R. Lebrun⁵ notamment. Il se pourrait cependant que cette interprétation ne reflète qu'une facette de la réalité. Même si, comme nous le verrons, ladite Apologie de Ḫattušili III constitue un témoignage exceptionnel, je pense que le rêve était un phénomène tout aussi important dans la vie des souverains des époques antérieures et postérieures. Le présent article tentera de faire la lumière sur ce point.

Les récits de songes datant du règne de Ḫattušili III

Les textes datés du règne de Ḫattušili III qui mentionnent le rêve peuvent être subdivisés en cinq groupes: 1-3) trois ensembles distincts de textes historiques, 4) des comptes rendus oraculaires, et 5) des textes votifs.

1) Le premier ensemble textuel de nature historique constitue un témoignage exceptionnel sur le rêve. Il s'agit de l'Apologie de Ḫattušili III (CTH 81) qui contient cinq récits de songes. Dans le paragraphe 3 de l'édition de H. Otten⁶ se trouve la description d'un premier rêve envoyé par la déesse Šaušga au père de Ḫattušili, Muršili II. Dans ce rêve, le frère de Ḫattušili, Muwatalli II, transmet à son père un message en provenance de

* Het is met grote vreugde, dat ik deze voordracht opdraag aan mijn vriend en leermeester Johan de Roos als verder teken van mijn oprechte affectie en dankbaarheid.

¹ Les abréviations employées ici sont celles se trouvant dans H. G. Güterbock/H. A. Hoffner/Th.P.J. van den Hout (éd.), The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, L-N, Chicago 1989: xxi-xxix; CHD P, Chicago 1997: vii-xxvi; CHD Š, Chicago 2002: vi-viii.

² Kammenhuber, THeth 7: 25.

³ Frantz-Szabó, 2013 représente l'illustration la plus claire de cette tendance: "In Khatti, major importance was first attributed to dreams in the reign of Khattushili III and his spouse Pudukhepa."

⁴ Popko, "Opisy marzeń sennych w piśmiennictwie hetyckim", PO 115/3, 1980: 254.

⁵ Lebrun, Samuha: 53.

⁶ KUB 1.1 + i 13-17 et duplicats: Otten, StBoT 24: 4-5.

Šaušga. Par ce biais, la déesse demande à Muršili qu'il place Hattušili à son service en échange de sa survie. Hattušili en personne reçoit le second rêve au paragraphe 4.⁷ Šaušga lui annonce qu'elle l'a placé sous la protection d'une autre divinité en complément de son propre soutien. Le paragraphe 9 décrit un autre songe de Hattušili dans lequel Šaušga demande que l'ensemble de la famille du souverain entre au service de la déesse.⁸ Dans le paragraphe 11, Šaušga s'adresse à Puduḥepa, l'épouse de Hattušili, pour lui assurer qu'elle approuve les actions de son mari.⁹ Ce même paragraphe 11 décrit en outre un rêve qui apparaît aux généraux limogés par Urḫi-Teššub, rêve les avertissant de la victoire de Hattušili sur ce dernier.¹⁰

Ainsi, l'on voit que, dans son Apologie, Hattušili III tient à se représenter comme un être hors du commun bénéficiant d'une relation privilégiée avec Šaušga depuis sa plus tendre enfance. Manifestement, ces récits de songes sont avant tout des armes de propagande.¹¹

2) Le deuxième texte historique datant du règne de Hattušili III est KBo 6.29. Il s'agit d'un document relatif au conflit ayant opposé ce roi à son neveu Urḫi-Teššub (CTH 85¹²). Hattušili y indique que son union avec Puduḥepa a été exigée par Šaušga par le biais d'un rêve. Ce contexte rappelle fortement celui dépeint dans l'Apologie, car il illustre l'affection que porte la déesse à Hattušili.

3) Le troisième texte historique, à savoir KUB 21.17, décrit un différend entre Hattušili III et Arma-^DU (CTH 86).¹³ Le contenu précis du songe qui y est mentionné n'a pas été spécifié. Seul le fait que ce rêve doive avoir un lien direct avec le litige est assuré. Le texte ne précise pas non plus l'identité de la divinité qui semble avoir réclamé quelque chose de Hattušili dans le songe. Ce dernier se borne à y affirmer sa volonté de respecter les exigences exprimées par ce biais.

4) Les textes oraculaires constituent le quatrième groupe de témoignages. La majeure partie des comptes rendus d'oracle mentionnant le songe est datable du règne de Hattušili III, même si le nom du roi n'y est jamais cité. Les cas de KBo 24.124, KUB 22.61 et KUB 52.72 sont particulièrement clairs car ils font référence aux problèmes de santé notoires du roi.¹⁴

⁷ KUB 1.1+ i 36-38 et duplicats: Otten, StBoT 24: 6-7.

⁸ KUB 1.1+ iii 4-5 et duplicat: Otten, StBoT 24: 16-17.

⁹ KUB 1.1+ iv 7-16: Otten, StBoT 24: 24-25.

¹⁰ KUB 1.1+ iv 19-23: Otten, StBoT 24: 24-25.

¹¹ Le terme "propagande" est ici employé dans sa plus large acception, à savoir "action de vanter les mérites d'une théorie, d'une idée, d'un homme..., pour recueillir une adhésion, un soutien" (Le nouveau Petit Robert, Paris 1994: 1799).

¹² KBo 6.29 i 15-21: Götze, Hatt. 46-47.

¹³ KUB 21.17 ii 9-14: Ünal, THeth 4: 22-23.

¹⁴ KBo 24.124 Vo 1'-2': Alaura, Eothen 10: 22-26; KUB 22.61 iv 21; KUB 52.72 Ro 5-6 etc.

5) Le dernier groupe est formé par les textes votifs. Dans sa thèse de doctorat, J. de Roos avait déjà signalé l'appartenance de la plupart de ces tablettes au règne de Hattušili III.¹⁵ Il semble qu'il n'existe que deux exceptions: KBo 9.96 (qui pourrait dater du règne de Muwatalli II) et KUB 15.5 (peut-être à dater du règne d'Urḫi-Teššub). Il faut préciser que bien que KBo 9.96 ne contienne aucun récit de songes, KUB 15.5 nous fournit au contraire une des plus longues énumérations de récits de rêves comprises dans les textes votifs hittites.¹⁶ Quant aux autres textes votifs mentionnant le songe, ils sont le plus souvent en relation avec les problèmes de santé de Hattušili, comme en témoignent notamment KUB 15.1, KUB 15.3, KUB 15.19 et KUB 48.123.¹⁷

Les récits de rêves datant du règne d'autres souverains hittites

Les récits de songes qui sont datés avec certitude de règnes antérieurs ou postérieurs à l'époque de Hattušili III peuvent être répartis en trois grands ensembles chronologiques: 1) les textes antérieurs à l'époque hittite impériale; 2) les textes de l'époque impériale précédant le règne de Hattušili III et 3) les textes postérieurs au règne de ce dernier.

1) Parmi les textes datant de l'époque pré-impériale se trouve la description du rituel magique de Walkui KBo 32.176 destiné à purifier une personne d'un rêve insolite.¹⁸ À l'inverse, le rituel de naissance KBo 17.65 fait appel au rêve dans le processus de purification.¹⁹ Ces deux textes moyen hittites ne nous donnent cependant aucune information relative à la vie d'un roi hittite en particulier. Une autre composition remontant à l'époque moyen hittite fait toutefois figure d'exception. La prière du prince Kantuzzili cite le rêve parmi les techniques divinatoires existant à cette période.²⁰ La divinité courroucée contre le prince est susceptible d'envoyer à celui-ci un message onirique pour lui expliquer la raison de sa colère, c'est-à-dire la nature de son manquement. La prière de Kantuzzili témoigne donc de l'importance que les membres de la sphère royale attribuaient au songe dès l'époque moyen hittite.

2) Certains des récits de rêves de l'époque impériale précédant le règne de Hattušili III sont attribuables à: a) son père Muršili II; b) son frère Muwatalli II.

a) Le récit d'un songe se trouve dans les annales de Muršili II.²¹ Le texte fait alors usage du sumérogramme MA.MÚ suivi du complément phonétique hittite à l'ablatif dans

¹⁵ de Roos, Diss. 51-62.

¹⁶ de Roos, Diss. 203-214 et 341-353.

¹⁷ de Roos, Diss. 184-197 et 324-336; 198-200 et 337-340; 240-242 et 378-380; 303-309 et 442-448.

¹⁸ Lebrun, ArOr 67/4: 601-608 et Mouton, ZA 94/1: 85-105.

¹⁹ KBo 17.65 Vo 17-19: Beckman, StBoT 29: 140-141.

²⁰ KUB 30.10 Ro 24'-25': Lebrun, Hymnes 113 et 116; voir également la traduction de Singer, Hittite Prayers, 2002.

²¹ KBo 2.5 i 14-15: Götze, AM: 180-181.

un contexte relativement obscur.²² Le fait que le verbe *ep-* qui se trouve associé à ce passage soit à la troisième personne du singulier semble indiquer que le rêve n'a pas été vu par Muršili, car ce dernier s'exprime à la première personne dans ce texte. A l'instar de la prière de Kantuzzili, celles de Muršili au sujet de la "peste" mentionnent le rêve comme un des moyens de communication disponibles entre les dieux et les hommes. Un troisième texte datant du règne de Muršili doit être cité. Il s'agit de l'Aphasie de Muršili qui décrit un message onirique en provenance du dieu de l'orage.²³ Le dieu "revendique" le problème d'élocution de Muršili. En effet, la main du dieu qui apparaît en rêve au souverain symbolise la maladie elle-même, car cette dernière est couramment désignée par l'idiome "main (du) dieu" (ŠU DINGIR) dans les textes cunéiformes.

b) La prière à Teššub de Kummanni représente le seul exemple de récit de songe clairement daté du règne de Muwatalli II.²⁴ Le rêve y est une fois encore cité parmi les autres moyens de communication existant entre les dieux et les mortels.

3) Deux textes faisant allusion au rêve pourraient être datés du règne du fils de Hattušili III, Tudhaliya IV.²⁵ Le texte oraculaire KBo 16.98 témoigne d'un rêve reçu de la déesse Soleil d'Arinna par le roi.²⁶ Th. van den Hout a suggéré que cet épisode soit à mettre en relation avec celui de l'intronisation de Tudhaliya IV.²⁷ Il faudrait ajouter KUB 5.1 qui, selon J. Orlamünde²⁸, ferait allusion à des campagnes militaires menées par Tudhaliya IV (et non par Hattušili III comme l'avait suggéré A. Ünal²⁹).

La lettre KUB 57.8 qui a été envoyée par Šuppiluliuma II³⁰, serait, si l'on en croit A. Hagenbuchner³¹, destinée au roi médio-assyrien Tukulti-Ninurta I.³² Bien que le contexte dans lequel le rêve apparaît soit trop lacunaire pour être intelligible, cette lettre constitue

²² Le sumérogramme MA.MU n'est utilisé que deux fois dans l'ensemble des textes hittites, l'autre attestation étant KUB 22.70 Ro 41 (Ünal, THeth. 6: 54-99).

²³ KBo 4.2 iii 45-47 et duplicats: Lebrun, Hethitica 6: 104, 109-110 et van den Hout, "Some Thoughts on the Composition known as Muršili's Aphasia (CTH 486)" in: Fs Lebrun, à paraître.

²⁴ KBo 11.1 Ro 42: Houwink ten Cate/Josephson, RHA 25/81: 108, 117.

²⁵ Le texte très lacunaire KUB 31.32 fait référence à un songe vu dans la ville de Šamuha. Ce rêve semble être mis en relation avec les personnes de Tattamaru et Halpa-ziti. Th. van den Hout l'attribuait au règne de Tudhaliya IV (van den Hout, StBoT 38: 123) mais la datation de ce document fait encore l'objet de débats (voir Heinhold-Krahmer, AfO 48-49: 96).

²⁶ KBo 16.98 ii 10: van den Hout, Purity: 98-99.

²⁷ van den Hout, Purity: 93-95.

²⁸ StBoT 45: 511-523.

²⁹ KUB 5.1 iii 48: Ünal, THeth 4: 72-73.

³⁰ Kühne/Otten, StBoT 16: 26 note 17 et Klengel, Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches, HdO I/34, Leyde/Boston/Cologne, 1999: 302-303.

³¹ Hagenbuchner, THeth 16: 331.

³² Concernant cette attribution, voir également Bemporad, in: de Martino/Pecchioli Daddi (éd.), *Anatolica antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, Eothen 11, Florence 2002: 86. Cet ouvrage sera par la suite cité sous forme de l'abréviation Gs Imparati.

un précieux indice de l'importance que le songe continue de revêtir pour les souverains hittites même après le règne de Tudhaliya IV.

Quelques réflexions sur le plus grand nombre de récits de songes dans les textes datant du règne de Hattušili III

Deux observations résultent de la brève synthèse ci-dessus: 1) l'impression de prédominance des récits de rêves dans les textes datant du règne de Hattušili III se confirme; 2) les textes historiques attribuables à Hattušili III font maintes allusions au songe.

Ces deux éléments méritent plus ample réflexion.

1) Dans son article publié dans le volume Gs Imparati, Th. van den Hout offrait une vision d'ensemble de la littérature hittite, tentant de distinguer le plus clairement possible le terme "bibliothèque" de celui d'"archive". Pour lui, les textes destinés aux bibliothèques sont ceux qui possèdent un ou plusieurs duplicat(s). Eux seuls constitueraient ce qu'il conviendrait d'appeler des sources littéraires, à l'inverse des documents n'ayant pas de duplicats qui formeraient une ou plusieurs archive(s) vivante(s).

Si nous ordonnons les textes hittites mentionnant le rêve en fonction des critères établis par Th. van den Hout, nous obtenons la liste suivante:

- Parmi les textes précédant le règne de Hattušili III, seule la prière de Kantuzzili ne possède pas de duplicat. Il y a cependant tout lieu de penser qu'elle était susceptible d'être copiée à l'instar des autres prières.³³
- Parmi les textes datant du règne de Hattušili III, trois sur cinq ont des duplicats, à savoir CTH 81, 85 et 86. En outre, il faut noter que seuls les textes oraculaires et votifs ne possèdent pas de copie.
- Pour le règne de Tudhaliya IV, les deux textes oraculaires KBo 16.98 et KUB 5.1 ne nécessitaient pas la création de duplicat. Il en va de même pour la lettre KUB 57.8 datant du règne de Šuppiluliuma II.

La distribution de ces textes paraît abonder dans le sens de la théorie de Th. van den Hout. En effet, tout comme cet auteur l'avait suggéré au sujet de l'ensemble de la documentation hittite³⁴, il semblerait que seuls les règnes de Hattušili III et de ses successeurs aient livré des textes non littéraires mentionnant le rêve. Th. van den Hout suggère que l'absence quasi complète de textes non littéraires pour les périodes précédant et succédant ce laps de temps puisse s'expliquer par la destruction des archives antérieures (car leur contenu n'est plus d'actualité), et par l'abandon de la capitale hittite après le règne de Tudhaliya IV respectivement.

³³ van den Hout, Gs Imparati: 864.

³⁴ van den Hout, Gs Imparati: 867.

Le résultat de cette observation s'impose de lui-même: la première impression que nous avons concernant les récits de rêves de l'époque de Hattušili III s'explique au moins en partie par le fait que seuls les textes non littéraires (et plus particulièrement les textes oraculaires et votifs) datant de cette époque nous sont parvenus. La découverte d'une archive appartenant à un autre roi hittite, par exemple celle de Muwatalli II se trouvant sans doute quelque part dans la ville de Tarhuntašša, pourrait changer cette situation.

2) L'utilisation fréquente du récit de rêve dans les textes historiques de l'époque de Hattušili III représente le second élément à examiner. L'Apologie de Hattušili constitue un témoignage exceptionnel par son nombre important de références à des messages divins oniriques. Si nous la comparons aux autres compositions annalistiques hittites, l'Apologie est le seul texte appartenant à cet ensemble qui utilise aussi clairement le récit de rêve dans sa rhétorique. Nous pouvons considérer cette caractéristique comme une originalité de Hattušili par rapport à ses prédécesseurs. Il faut toutefois rappeler qu'une telle utilisation du rêve se retrouve dans le discours d'autres rois du Proche-Orient ancien. Le souverain de Lagaš Eannatum de l'époque des Dynasties Archaïques décrivait déjà, sur sa célèbre stèle des vautours, un rêve qu'il affirmait avoir reçu de son dieu personnel Ningirsu et dans lequel ce dernier lui assurait la victoire sur Kiš.³⁵ Après lui, son "compatriote" Gudéa dépeignait dans son "cylindre A" trois songes qu'il avait reçus des dieux et plus particulièrement de Ningirsu.³⁶ Contrairement à Eannatum qui voyait là un moyen de légitimer ses actions militaires, Gudéa employait les "rêves prémonitoires *a posteriori*"³⁷ pour justifier la construction dans la ville de Girsu du temple monumental de l'Eninnu pour Ningirsu.

On pourrait également citer plusieurs textes historiques du premier millénaire. Au sein de ses différentes inscriptions, le roi néo-assyrien Assurbanipal décrit quatre rêves.³⁸ Ces derniers sont autant de messages divins faisant approuver par les dieux la suprématie politique du roi. Dans deux de ces récits de songes, Ištar joue un rôle équivalent à celui joué par Šaušga dans l'Apologie de Hattušili: elle y exprime son soutien pour le roi. Enfin, le roi néo-babylonien Nabonide décrit également quatre rêves dans ses inscriptions

³⁵ vi 19-vii 14: Jacobsen, in: B. L. Eichler et al. (éd.), *Kramer Anniversary Volume. Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer*, AOAT 25, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976: 258-259.

³⁶ Cyl. A iv 14-vi 13, ix 7-xii 11 et xx 7-11: Edzard, *Gudea and his Dynasty*, RIM Early Periods 3/1, Toronto 1997: 71-73, 76 et 81.

³⁷ J'emprunte cette expression à Perrin, *Les praticiens du rêve. Un exemple de chamanisme*, Paris 1992: 66 pour désigner les rêves dont le contenu est manipulé afin d'en faire *a posteriori* des prémonitions du destin extraordinaire du rêveur.

³⁸ Cyl. A ii 95-102, iii 118-126 et v 97-103 par exemple: Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Niniveh's*, VAB 7/2, 1916: 20-21, 32-33 et 48-49. Voir également Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society NS 46/3, Philadelphie 1956: 249-250 et R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften, Wiesbaden, 1996: 30-31, 40-41 et 50. Le nom de l'ouvrage d'Oppenheim cité ci-dessus sera dorénavant abrégé *Dream-Book*.

annalistiques.³⁹ Deux d'entre eux sont liés à l'édification du temple Ehulhul, contexte qui fait écho aux récits de rêves de Gudéa concernant l'Eninnu.

Quel est le point commun de ces différents souverains? Le fait que tous utilisent le rêve comme une preuve du soutien divin me paraît indubitable. Ces rois considèrent le songe comme un procédé rhétorique efficace et n'hésitent pas à l'employer pour légitimer leurs actions. Chacun d'entre eux cherche en effet à justifier une décision qu'il a prise, qu'elle soit politique, économique ou religieuse. Qu'il s'agisse de l'édification d'un nouveau temple (dans le cas de Gudéa et de Nabonide), de leur installation sur le trône royal (dans le cas de Hattušili), ou de décisions d'ordre militaire (dans le cas d'Eannatum et d'Assurbanipal), tous ces rois cherchent à légitimer leur acte.

Ainsi, les souverains de l'ancien Proche-Orient utilisent les récits de rêves comme éléments d'un discours apologétique dès le troisième millénaire, et l'Apologie de Hattušili III s'inscrit dans cette tradition. Le fait que Hattušili soit le seul roi hittite qui nous ait livré un texte dans lequel un tel usage politique du récit de rêve a été répété reste toutefois un fait à constater.

Conclusion

Le nombre de textes mentionnant les rêves est supérieur pour le règne de Hattušili III, comme plusieurs savants l'ont déjà remarqué. Ce phénomène doit s'expliquer par l'absence presque complète de documentation d'archive – dans le sens défini par l'article de Th. van den Hout – pour les autres périodes de l'histoire hittite. Ce phénomène ne peut par conséquent pas illustrer une éventuelle montée en importance du phénomène du rêve dans la vie politique hittite. Dans ce cas précis, tout comme dans de nombreux autres contextes, l'argument *a silentio* est dangereux. En outre, bien que l'utilisation du récit de rêve en guise d'arme rhétorique ne connaisse pas de parallèle clair dans l'historiographie hittite, des cas analogues peuvent être observés dans d'autres sources proche-orientales anciennes.

Il demeure délicat de chercher à savoir pour quelle raison Hattušili III a décidé de se servir des rêves de cette façon. Était-il influencé par un roi voisin? Tout comme les textes historiques mésopotamiens (dès le troisième millénaire), les lettres de Mari témoignent de l'importance que pouvait revêtir le rêve dans la vie politique de la Syrie ancienne au début du deuxième millénaire, et plus particulièrement au cours du règne du roi Zimri-Lim, et ce bien qu'aucun texte annalistique en tant que tel nous ait livré un récit de songe.⁴⁰ Devons-

³⁹ Inscriptions n° 1 col. i 16-33 et n° 8 col. vi, vii 11 et suivantes: Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, VAB 4, Leipzig 1912: 218-221 et 278-281. Voir également Oppenheim, *Dream-Book*: 250 et P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus King of Babylon 556-539 B. C.*, YNER 10, New Haven/Londres 1989: 107-108 pour l'inscription n° 1. Inscription H2 i 11-14: Gadd, *AnSt* 8: 56-57.

⁴⁰ Durand, *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1*, *Archives Royales de Mari XXVI/1*, Paris 1988: 455-482 et Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari III*, *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient* 18, Paris 2000: 74-91.

nous en déduire que l'importance politique du rêve était un héritage mésopotamien dont bénéficièrent les Hittites par l'intermédiaire de la Syrie? Je ne pense pas qu'une telle reconstruction soit nécessaire. Tout d'abord, les annales de Muršili II font déjà usage du récit de rêve, même si le contexte est trop lacunaire pour que l'on puisse en dire plus à ce sujet. En second lieu, la présence répétée de récits de songes dans l'Apologie de Ḫattušili III pourrait être simplement due à un choix personnel. Cette remarque s'inspire d'une réflexion qu'A. L. Oppenheim livrait dans son étude pionnière sur le rêve au Proche-Orient ancien: "With regard to the distribution of dream-reports within the same literary type of text, it can be observed that the frequency seems to depend not only on stylistic conventions but also on the individual preferences of authors and compilers."⁴¹ R. Lebrun écrivait quant à lui: "L'on peut penser que la soudaine importance prise par les rêves sous Ḫattušili III [...] trouve son origine dans l'action de certains scribes au sein de la cour impériale; le rôle politique joué par certains chefs des scribes est indéniable et la mention de rêves-messages à portée politique ne doit pas être étrangère à la pensée de ceux-ci."⁴² Encore une fois, il paraît nécessaire de distinguer la supériorité artificielle en nombre des textes d'archive mentionnant les rêves du caractère atypique de l'Apologie de Ḫattušili. Quant à savoir si l'originalité de cette dernière composition découle d'un choix royal, scribal ou d'une toute autre raison, il n'y a, me semble-t-il, aucun moyen de trancher définitivement la question.

Enfin, les textes cunéiformes issus d'horizons très divers indiquent clairement que tous les habitants de l'ancien Proche-Orient considéraient le rêve comme un phénomène essentiel. Ce phénomène se caractérise à la fois comme une expérience intime et universelle car vécue individuellement par chaque être humain. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que certains souverains aient eu l'idée de faire usage du récit de rêve dans leur rhétorique. Le récit de songe constitue, à tout bien considérer, une figure de rhétorique commode car difficile à contester.

⁴¹ Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East. With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society NS 46/3, 1956: 187.

⁴² Lebrun, Samuha: 53.

MATERIALS FOR A BIOGRAPHY: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PUDUḪEPA WITH EGYPT AND UGARIT

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This volume contains the proceedings of a symposium on the occasion of my sixty-fifth birthday, held in Leiden on 12-13 December 2003. I am grateful to the organizers of this symposium for giving me the opportunity to talk about two topics which will be of interest to Hittitologists and to discuss these with my colleagues and friends.

The main part of this paper consists of some observations on the story of PuduḪepa, one of the most influential and powerful women in Hittite history, perhaps even in a wider history, even though my studies are not yet complete and need to be further developed.



But before we consider the subject of PuduḪepa I should like draw your attention to the animal which is shown on the front cover of the present volume. Although it may look like a simple representation of a funny little dog, in fact it represents Teššub, under whose auspices the symposium was held. It is a drawing of a bronze figurine of a bull, one of the pieces of Hittite art from our Leiden collection, and I should like to tell you how it came to be here.

The object was first published as long ago as 1933 by the owner, Prof. Franz M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, who described it as a votive bronze bull found at Boğazköy. At the same time he also published a ceramic votive horse from the same site. Of the bull he writes:

Der Kunstwert dieses kleinen Bronzestieres ist noch grösser als der des Tonpferdes. Die Proportionen sind tadellos; ohne Zweifel handelt es sich um Handarbeit (im Gegensatz zu den zahlreichen Apis- oder Osiris-Stieren, die meist fabrikmässig aus den beiden Hälften derselben Gussform zusammengeschweisst sind). Die Masse betragen: vorn 5 cm und hinten 3,5 cm Höhe; 6 cm Länge; das Gewicht nicht weniger als 130 Gramm. Eigentümlich ist der nach oben geringelte Schweif; offenbar ist das Tier in Angriffsstellung gedacht, ein Bild verhaltener Kraft.¹

* Many thanks to Mervyn Richardson for correcting the English text.

¹ In Anon., *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur. Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim zum 70. Geburtstage gewidmet von Freunden und Mitarbeitern* (Berlin 1933), pp. 9-12. Abbreviations according to CHD.

Both the horse and the bull originally belonged to the collection of Prof. E.F. Peiser in Königsberg i.Pr. Böhl acquired both animals in August 1923 from Peiser's widow. Frau Peiser, in her letter of 25 April 1925 answering a request from Böhl, assured him that both objects had been dug up by H. Winckler during his penultimate campaign in 1911, and that the excavator had presented them as a personal gift to Peiser. The authenticity and origin of the objects are therefore certain.

Before he was appointed in Leiden, Böhl had been Professor in Groningen, and during that time he had donated several pieces of his collection to Groningen University. However, when he died that collection was inherited by NINO here in Leiden, where Böhl had been one of the directors for many years. As a result NINO now possesses over 2000 objects, including many tablets, several of which are presently on display in the National Museum of Antiquities. About eight years ago an archive of Böhl's writings, including his letters, was deposited in the Leiden University Library.

The figurine is without parallels, both in a material and in a textual sense. In the inventory texts prepared by S. Košak, bronze is very rare. There is no mention of *GU₄ ZABAR 4 *aranteš* "a bronze bull standing on four legs" either in the inventory texts or in the votive texts.

That, then, explains the relevance of the frontispiece for this volume. I shall now turn to a description of what can be discovered about Puduḥepa.

We may get to know about somebody rather well from official texts, such as historical texts, rituals and festivals, court proceedings, oracles, inventory texts, rock reliefs and seals. In texts like these we often read about Queen Puduḥepa. But for most of the time we cannot be sure whether she is referred to there as the author or merely an actor in the narrative. But when it comes to documents like letters, prayers, votive texts and dreams, we find they provide an inside view of the person we knew only formally from elsewhere.

Besides the really personal touch and personal expressions, letters have the important advantage that they are often more outspoken in tone than official texts. Furthermore, we usually know the identity of the addressee, which can help in dating the texts. Otherwise this would be a difficult task for Puduḥepa, for she had a long life: she reached at least seventy-five or eighty, possibly even ninety, years of age before she died. Unfortunately, for determining the age at which Puduḥepa died, we are dependent on the date fixed for the demise of Ugarit. The last of her recorded activities is a letter from her to Niqmaddu III of Ugarit, which, according to Itamar Singer, must be dated before 1215.²

² Basing her age on the correspondence with Niqmaddu III of Ugarit, who, according to I. Singer, reigned from 1225/1220-1215 (see his *A Political History of Ugarit* (1999), 691). If so Puduḥepa could not be older than 75 when she wrote her letter. By contrast Wilfred van Soldt, in his *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit, Dating and Grammar* (1989),

Nevertheless, we are fortunate in that we can be more certain of the date of her birth, which was about 1290. This assumes that when she was taken by Ḥattušili III after the battle of Kadeš, in 1275 or 1274, she was about fifteen years of age. Since she was a daughter of the priest Pentipšarri, who had performed an offering to Ištar, the protecting goddess of Ḥattušili, in Lawazantiya for and with Ḥattušili, the two of them could easily have met at that ritual. Ḥattušili already had some sons and daughters from unknown women in Ḥattuša and Ḥakpiš, but he was undoubtedly struck by her beauty, and also her position as a daughter of a priest of Ištar. So after a short while he took her back with him to Ḥakpiš, and she became the Queen of Ḥakpiš. According to Volkert Haas, the name Puduḥepa means something like "Effective is Ḥepa(t)"³ and it is striking that the city or region where she was born, Kummanni or Kizzuwatna,⁴ is often mentioned. In Fraktin, on the right side of the well-known rock relief, we read an inscription of the queen herself: "Puduḥepa, daughter of the land Kizzuwatna, beloved of the gods". The relief could have been a result of the initiative of Puduḥepa, perhaps after the death of Ḥattušili, because there is no inscription of Ḥattušili, and because Ḥattušili is shown wearing the horned cap of the dead (but this last argument is not compelling). If this is so, then we should consider that it was constructed some years after 1239, the year when Ḥattušili is supposed to have died after an active and hectic life of 74 years. He left Puduḥepa, then at least 51 years old, a widow.

It is all very well to know about her birth and her death, but what happened between those times? Instead of repeating the many historical facts well-known to specialists, I shall rather try to give a description of Puduḥepa in action, and to search for a better understanding of her character, even though it may not be possible to reach a point where we can say, "That's typical of Puduḥepa!"

We have no specific information for Puduḥepa as a young girl. Her mother is never mentioned, but once in a dream, KUB 31.77 I 4 ff., she sees her deceased father alive again.⁵ She sees him during the night of the ritual of weeping, a ritual which never recurs

takes into account a longer period of reign for the Ugaritic kings, with the result that Puduḥepa would then be in her eighties.

³ V. Haas, OLZ 73 (1978), 352 note 1.

⁴ Among other examples we find "Queen of the land of Ḥatti, daughter of the city of Kummanni", in KUB 15.16+; and on her seal on the treaty with Ramesses II she calls herself "Queen of the land of Ḥatti; daughter of the land Kizzuwatna". Lawazantiya is never mentioned in this respect, although Puduḥepa lived there with her family when her father was priest of Ištar of Lawazantiya. This is mentioned by Ḥattušili in his Autobiography. I prefer the title Autobiography to Apology, since Houwink ten Cate, in his *Dynastic Marriages*, has given good reasons for dating the text to 1245, only about six years before his death, which would be rather late for an Apology. Perhaps "In praise of Ištar" is an even better title. According to Puduḥepa, in her famous prayer KUB 21.27, she was given to Ḥattušili by the sun-goddess of Arinna or Ḥepat. Ḥattušili gives the credit to Ištar of Lawazantiya for his marriage with Puduḥepa, when the goddess offered her to Ḥattušili in a dream.

⁵ I prefer to translate "I saw in a dream how my father was alive again" rather than "somebody like my father", taking mān as "how" or "in some way"; there is no mention of *kuiški*.

elsewhere, so that we are left in the dark in deciding whether or not this was a special ritual, performed perhaps in order to see deceased relatives again. It is not at all clear what the meaning of her father's actions in this dream signify: he draws water from an old well, which dates from the time of Puduḫepa's grandfather, and which he had brought back into use; her father then says something about a dead wolf, which he may have killed himself; this wolf comes alive again in a mysterious way when it is taken out of the well. Without knowing the significance within the dream of the once dead but now revived wolf, it is not possible to say whether Puduḫepa's memories of her father are good or bad.

When Puduḫepa first reached Anatolia with her husband, Ḫattušili spent some time in the pacification of Ḫakpiš before they became a couple, as the King and Queen of Ḫakpiš. In her famous letter to an unknown king, Puduḫepa tells us about her arrival at her house, simply denoted as an É, not an É.GAL or an É.LUGAL, but we still do not know where and when this happened.⁶ According to Edel, in his edition of the correspondence between Egypt and Ḫatti (1994)⁷, this letter was certainly addressed to Ramesses II. We can assume that the children of Ḫattušili at that time were in Ḫattuša, and that there we see Puduḫepa aged twenty busily involved not only with her own pregnancy but also with pregnant step-daughters and boys who had become officers. We are given the impression of a very healthy and strong young lady, who rightly stresses her capabilities for her duties. Ramesses can be assured that a daughter of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa will be well-educated.

58' ... *nu am-me-el an-na-a-an*

59' *ti-iš-ša-a-an LÚ.MES^{URU} ḪA-AT-TI me-mi-iš-kán-zi ...*

63' ... *nu A-NA ŠEŠ-IA ku-in DUMU.MUNUS pi-iḫ-ḫi nu-uš-ši-[ká]n ŠA
MUNUS.LUGAL an-na-an ti-iš-ša-a-an*

64' [DINGIR.MEŠ QA-TAM-MA] GAM ḫa-ma-an-kán-du ...

58'-59' And the Hittites praise my experience of bringing up: ...

63'-64' "[The gods] will give to my daughter, whom I will give to my brother, that experience of bringing up [as well]."

Puduḫepa wrote this letter before the marriage was consummated in 1246. Then she was 44 years old, and had already given birth to six sons and daughters. As for her own pregnancies there is the attestation in her prayer, KUB 21.27, where she clearly states (I quote Singer's translation)⁸: "This matter, I, Puduḫepa, your maid, made into a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, lady of the Ḫatti-lands, queen of heaven and earth. Have pity on me, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and hear me. Even among humans

⁶ KUB 21.38 I 59 ff.

⁷ E. Edel, *ÄHK I* n° 105.

⁸ I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (2002), 103 § 6.

one speaks the following saying: 'To a woman of the birthstool the deity grants her wish.' Since I, Puduḫepa, am a woman of the birthstool and I have devoted myself to your son, have pity on me." Then she asks: "Grant life to [Ḫattušili], your servant!"

Because she promises to conduct the service of the cult for the gods, and to observe its regulations and rituals, and to celebrate the traditional annual and monthly festivals for the gods, religious duties which had been previously neglected, we can date this text towards the beginning of her life in Ḫattuša, when Ḫattušili was active in reinstalling Nerik. She was really concerned about the health of her husband, which was to be her concern for 36 years, from 1275-1239. At this time she would have been between 22 and 24 years old. According to KUB 21.38 I 57 ff., Puduḫepa became queen by appointment of the sun-goddess of Arinna, the storm-god, Ḫepat and Šauška. Because she was already Queen of Ḫakpiš and Nerik, according to KUB 21.11 rev. 5f.⁹ (whether or not ^DU^{URU} Nerik is the subject of the sentence or not),¹⁰ what is meant here is perhaps Queen of Ḫatti.

The dream mentioned in Ḫattušili's Autobiography (IV 9-15), in which Ištar supports Puduḫepa by saying that she will protect Ḫattušili and make him priest of the sun-goddess of Arinna, can be dated to the same time. What this means is that he will conquer Urḫi-Teššub and will be great King of Ḫatti. From her childhood onwards, Puduḫepa had been a servant of the sun-goddess of Arinna¹¹: *ammuk-ma-za^f Puduḫepa annalliš GEME-KA*.

It is striking that KUB 21.27 is a prayer by Puduḫepa alone, without her husband. From the beginning she has been very independent and self-supporting and due to her education at home as the daughter of a priest, she was used to offerings, prayers, rituals and vows. It is therefore quite understandable that she, more than any other, always tried to please the gods by performing the compulsory religious duties. And when distress is at its greatest, the rituals in Kizzuwatna, her homeland, are at their most powerful.

The independent attitude of the queen is very clear in her international correspondence with Egypt and Ugarit. The correspondence with Egypt often concerns the subject of the despatch of a daughter for marriage. Marriages of course played a very important role in international politics, but motherly feelings also always play an important role as far as Puduḫepa is concerned.

Twice we find a mention of children of Puduḫepa alone: once in KBo 4.12 rev. 8f., NUMUN ^fPuduḫepa; and then in a Ramesses letter, KUB 3.63 Obv. 7 ff., the sons of Puduḫepa: "the sons of my sister" ("sons" is restored). Strong motherly feelings and the strong ties within the family of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa are also evident when Puduḫepa expresses her wish to send two of her sons to Egypt to make an inspection, to get news for

⁹ V. Haas, *Nerik*, p. 15.

¹⁰ Cf. H. Otten, *Puduḫepa* (1975), 17 with note 38.

¹¹ KUB 21.27 I 7.

her about the situation of her daughter.¹² We have no proof from any text about whether or not there really ever was a member of the Hittite royal family at the court of Ramesses,¹³ but there is no reason why Ramesses should not have been glad to welcome the brothers to Egypt.¹⁴ Citations from earlier letters, often quoted verbatim, give us useful information, even though we do not have the original letters. A response which includes the original questions or remarks reminds us of common practices in today's email exchanges.

In the Hittite letter KUB 21.38 (which may be the draft of a letter) we hear the very self-confident queen talking to the world-leader RI-A-MA-ŠE-ŠA about her daughter. He had complained that her daughter had not yet been presented to him, and the queen replies (quote largely from the translation of Edel): "[Die Tochter verzögere ich absichtlich] (9') und du wirst es nicht mißbilligen können. Du wirst es akzeptieren (müssen); denn [ich vermochte] sie dir bis jetzt [auf keinen Fall zu geben], mein Bruder. (10') Wie du, mein Bruder, das Schatzhaus des Landes Hattuša kennst, ke[nne] ich es nicht; [denn das Schatzhaus ist ein gebranntes Haus (11') was aber übrig bliebe, das gab Urhitešup der Großen Gottheit. Da Urhitešup dort ist, (12') so frage ihn, ob es sich so verhält, (oder) nicht!"]¹⁵

This is a famous passage which shows that Puduhepa, if she is speaking truthfully, never saw the É^{NA}KIŠIB in its full glory, but only as a devastated É. But Ramesses, it should be noted, is supposed to know the É KUR^{URU}HATTI. Is this the same location as the É^{NA}KIŠIB from which Puduhepa is supposed to have taken the valuable presents for Ramesses?¹⁶ Perhaps Urhi-Teššub had already burned down the treasury of Hattuša when he began his quarrelling with Hattušili, when Hattušili and Puduhepa were living in Hakkpiš. Surely, in keeping with her role as the queen, she should have been able to see the Treasury! But who in the world would believe that Puduhepa dares to say: "Ask Urhi-Teššub, because he is with you, if it is true or not!"

After having said "You can't compare our daughter with any other daughter from Babylon, Zulabi or Aššur, because she is much better", Puduhepa goes on to complain indirectly about the greed of Ramesses: "(15') Besitzt denn mein Bruder gar nichts?! Wenn der Sohn der Sonne oder der Sohn des Wettergottes nichts hat, oder das Meer nichts hat, (16') hast auch du dann nichts? Willst denn du, mein Bruder, dich an mir etwas bereichern? Das entspricht weder gutem Ruf noch vornehmer Haltung!"

¹² ÄHK I n° 51.

¹³ Nevertheless Hattušili is portrayed in the Abu Simbel marriage scene (cf. M. Liverani Or. 59 (1990), 207 ff). Whether the vow of Puduhepa for curing the feet of Hattušili (KUB 15.3) has any relation with a planned visit to Egypt is at the moment uncertain.

¹⁴ So I. Singer in AnSt 34 (1984), 112; and later F. Starke in E. Edel ÄHK II 329.

¹⁵ ÄHK I n° 105 obv.

¹⁶ T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (1998), 312.

These are just a very few citations from that letter of Puduhepa from the many other sentences showing how self-confidently she wrote. It seems amazing that Ramesses in his reply (see KUB 21.36,¹⁷ but only thirteen lines are preserved) is content just to praise her ability in educating her daughters, and he promises not to place these daughters on the same level as daughters from other countries, like Aššur or Zulabi (note that Babylon is left out from his text). There is nothing in what we have remaining of his answer referring to the tone of what Puduhepa had to say. Perhaps he was used to it. We also have letters written to Ramesses by Hattušili on the very same subject of daughters, but they are more factual and respectful than those from their mother Puduhepa.

There is another instance of her motherly concern for her daughters to be seen in a letter from Ramesses, KUB 26.89¹⁸. Contained within his answer to a letter from Puduhepa are a few citations from the letter she had sent. It becomes clear that she had been concerned to receive a report from some Babylonian envoys about a Babylonian princess who was living in Egypt in a distressed condition; she had had no contact with her Babylonian countrymen, and all she could know was *Gefühlskälte* (what a wonderful German expression!). Ramesses naturally in his reply denied anything of the kind: "How could you believe this and how could you trust these words?" He even states that the Babylonian envoys had been able to speak with the princess and that they were eating and drinking together.

The reply of Puduhepa on this subject is in KUB 21.38 rev. 7ff., where we find her own comments interspersed with citations from the letter of Ramesses, who had himself cited Puduhepa's earlier remarks, in which she complained that the Babylonian envoys had had to stay outside in the fields. She admits that all her information was based on hearsay, from the official envoy from the Babylonian king: "But because I have only heard the story, I shouldn't have written this to my brother, who was offended by my words. And since it did hurt the soul of my brother, I will never do it again." She goes on to repeat these ideas in slightly different words.

Puduhepa stressed that she herself had taken the initiative to have two of her sons married to Babylonian princesses, and to have another son married to a princess from Amurru. Nowhere is Hattušili mentioned. Her idea of choosing two foreign daughters-in-law brought fame to the Hatti-lands: "Enough girls are in our country, but these foreigners are important for the whole country. When envoys arrive in Hattuša, then that is glory for us." The queen knows that a good relationship with Babylon could be important against the growing power of Assyria.

It is clear that Ramesses was expectantly waiting for his Hittite spouse for, nine months after her arrival, they celebrated the happy birth of their daughter, Neferu-Re.

¹⁷ ÄHK I n° 106.

¹⁸ ÄHK I n° 104.

Happiness spread all over Hattuša, as had been the case during her pregnancy. But the birth of a son would really have brought unity to the two countries. In KUB 23.105,¹⁹ grandfather Hattušili wrote to Ramesses after the birth of the child in a slightly acidic tone: "Couldn't you have created a son? But I'm very glad with the daughter." At the same time we should not forget that Ramesses already had many sons, some of them by queen Nefertari, and she had given many presents to Puduhepa, though she died before the Hittite princess arrived in Egypt.²⁰ We can easily imagine Puduhepa proudly walking around her palace wearing one of her twelve linen garments, and round her neck the heavy twelve-row necklace of finest gold weighing 88 shekels (801 grams).

Although Puduhepa had made a request for her daughter to be recognised as Ramesses' principal wife, she was apparently sent to live in the Pharaoh's harem in Gurob, in the south-east Fayyum (but in a new house built especially).²¹ She also had another house in Pi-Ramesses. An interesting detail in the correspondence is the request from Puduhepa that the Kaška people, who were part of the dowry, should never be sent back. Puduhepa was clearly pleased with the result of the marriage, for we read that Ramesses, in one of his *insibya* letters (between 1237 and 1223), is reacting to a request from Puduhepa to arrange a second marriage.²² At that time Tudhaliya was king. Was it as a favour for Tudhaliya's position that Puduhepa did indeed again send a daughter? We know that there was a second marriage only from stelae in Koptos and Abydos. In 1218, Ramesses' sixty-first regnal year, there was still at least one Hittite princess alive in Egypt.

Enough has been said about Egypt, and it is now time to look at the second best corpus of international correspondence from Puduhepa and her husband Hattušili, the letters exchanged between them and Ugarit. The subjects of these letters are very different from the despatch of daughters and the arrangement of marriages in the Egyptian correspondence. As Singer has remarked: "The royal house of Ugarit did not marry into Hittite royalty until the very end of the thirteenth century and even then with very limited success."²³

So far only a very few Hittite texts have been found in Ugarit, and Ugarit is seldom mentioned in Hittite texts. It seems as if there was no real personal contact between the royal families, but only the decrees, edicts and royal decisions which were drawn up officially in Hattuša.

¹⁹ ÄHK I n° 110.

²⁰ ÄHK I n° 12; H. Klengel, *Hattuschili und Ramses* (2002), 98.

²¹ Klengel, *op. cit.* 130.

²² *Ibid.* 140-141.

²³ *Ugaritic Handbook*, 650.

As well as Singer's work, I have consulted Van Soldt's publications on Ugarit, and what I say relies heavily on the results of their research. We have at our disposal correspondence with Ugarit from Hattušili and Puduhepa, from Hattušili alone, and from Puduhepa alone (as was also the case in the correspondence with Egypt). It is, therefore, interesting to discover under what circumstances the king and queen together decided to send a message, and when only one of them was involved with a letter or decree. A reason for Puduhepa to take the decisions alone at Ugarit in RS 17.133, to be dated about 1236, could be that Hattušili had already died and Tudhaliya was perhaps still too inexperienced. But she wrote her letter to Niqmaddu III, RS 17.435+, when she was in her seventies or eighties, as mentioned previously, when Tudhaliya had already been king for some twenty years; that is on the assumption that Tudhaliya came to power in around 1237 and Niqmaddu reigned until 1215. The content of this letter, originally written in Akkadian and translated into Ugaritic,²⁴ concerns us now inasmuch as there should be some good reason for Puduhepa to have sent it in her own name without involving King Tudhaliya. Besides the usual complaints about missing presents, and an answer to Niqmaddu regarding his complaint about the caravans and horses which passed through his country on their way from Hatti to Egypt without paying the official taxes,²⁵ we also read something about Niqmaddu's visit to the Hittite court (see lines 5-13). During his visit to Hatti, Niqmaddu had been pleased by the fact that the face of the Hittite sun shone upon him²⁶, which he mentions in a letter to his mother Sarelli (RS 16.379), but there is no mention of the harsh treatment of his messengers, who had been cast into prison in Hatti territory, and there is never any suggestion of a reference to the Hittite queen. So perhaps Puduhepa was right to complain that he had not paid a visit to her. But in that case it is impossible that Niqmaddu should have arranged the marriage with the Hittite princess Ekli-Nikkalu and that he should have presented gifts to Puduhepa personally.²⁷

Then how are we to explain RS 11.872 as a successful audience with the queen?²⁸ Was this queen the wife of Tudhaliya, leaving Puduhepa as the great queen? Could Puduhepa have written this letter when her relations with Tudhaliya and/or his wife were not at their best?²⁹

Another letter sealed by Puduhepa alone is an official edict of the Hittite king (RS 17.133) sent to Ammistamru II, who reigned, according to Singer, until 1235.³⁰ Here we may assume that Hattušili was incapacitated or already deceased, and that Tudhaliya was

²⁴ Van Soldt, *Studies*, 8.

²⁵ So Singer *op. cit.* 674 and 700.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 695.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 700.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Perhaps KUB 22.70 is another proof of difficulties at the court at this time.

³⁰ See G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (1996), 164.

still too young to take decisions in judicial matters. It is remarkable that the verdict was decided against the Hittite citizen Šukku³¹. However, there is a problem with the date of 1235. Tudḫaliya, as king of Hatti, had sealed the marriage and divorce of Ammistamru and the princess of Amurru.³² This contradicts the suggestion that the date of 1235 was the end of the reign of Ammistamru and the beginning of the reign of Tudḫaliya. This means that we would do better to date the end of Ammistamru's reign to about 1225, which would then mean that Puduḫepa was probably in her eighties when she wrote her letter to Niqmaddu.

Rounding off the Ugaritic correspondence, it is appropriate to emphasize the unique position that Puduḫepa held in the state affairs of Hatti; perhaps it was unique in the whole world! On the other hand we may be able to find an equal in Sarelli, who remained the queen of Ugarit over a period when three kings reigned at her side: her husband, her son and her grandson. It is because we have many more important texts concerning Puduḫepa than we do concerning Sarelli that today we have chosen to place Puduḫepa as number one.

In conclusion I should like to underline the fact that there are so many texts giving us the opportunity to get a better insight into the activities, behaviour and character of Puduḫepa, that it would be impossible to include in the space of this presentation any more than her correspondence with Egypt and Ugarit. Not only have I had to leave out her correspondence with other countries, but also the records of her private dreams, such as KUB 31.71, her vows (which were not always for her beloved husband), her prayers, the court proceedings, oracles (which are of special interest if we date KUB 22.70 to her period), festivals, inventories and many more. That Puduḫepa is worthy of a full biographical study should, from what has been stated here, be clear to see by all of us Hittitologists.

³¹ Singer *op. cit.* 678.

³² *Ugaritica* III, 17-19.

THE URḪI-TEŠŠUB AFFAIR IN THE HITTITE-EGYPTIAN CORRESPONDENCE*

Itamar Singer

Diplomatic contacts between Hatti and Egypt are first attested from the second half of the 15th century B.C.¹ During his Syrian campaigns Thutmose III received presents from Babylon, Assur and 'Great Hatti' (Helck 1971: 166 f.). It has been suggested that it was on this occasion that the Kuruštama Treaty was concluded between the two lands, but a far better option might be the Year 9 campaign of his son Amenophis II (1417 B.C.), when a Hittite ruler, probably Tudḫaliya I, sent an expedition to the Pharaoh suing for peace (Singer 2004).

After the triumphant reign of Tudḫaliya I Hatti sank into serious military failure, and the vigilant Egyptians set up diplomatic contacts with its major rival in Anatolia, Arzawa (EA 31-32). The centre of power shifted back to Hatti only when Šuppiluliuma I seized power in the mid-14th century B.C. At first, relations between the Hittite and Egyptian courts were cordial and they exchanged letters and presents.² However, a border dispute in the region of Qadesh and the murder of the would-be Hittite groom of the Egyptian widow disrupted the peaceful relations, and for almost a century Hatti and Egypt became fierce enemies.³ The dispute reached its climax at the Battle of Qadesh (1275 B.C.), as a result of which the Egyptians were forced to renounce their claims to Qadesh and Amurru.⁴ After extensive negotiations peace was re-established, the Silver Treaty (1258 B.C.) marking the beginning of an era of unprecedented cooperation between the two empires. The extensive exchange of goods, technologies and ideas must have had a lasting effect on both cultures, as well as on their allies in the Levant. The material and intellectual aspects of this mutual impact have yet to be explored in depth.⁵

The most important source for the study of Hittite-Egyptian relations during the Pax Hethitica era in the second half of the 13th century B.C. is the correspondence between the

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¹ The Middle Kingdom and Hyksos statuary discovered in Anatolia (Bittel 1970: 115 ff.) should probably be attributed to the 'antiquities trade' of the Hyksos rulers (see Singer 1999: 614 f., with refs.), rather than to diplomatic contacts during the Hittite Old Kingdom. For a recent survey on Hittite-Egyptian relations, see Archi 1997.

² To this exchange of presents could belong the Hittite silver pendant discovered at Tell el-Amarna (Bell 1986).

³ Šuppiluliuma's angry reply to the news of his son's death is recorded in KUB 19.20+, for which, see van den Hout 1994 and Archi 1997: 4 f.

⁴ For various aspects of the battle and its results, see the articles assembled in Guidotti & Pecchioli Daddi 2002.

⁵ For some references to the various aspects of the cooperation between the two states and for the scattered Hittite finds discovered along the trade route connecting them, see Singer in Guidotti & Pecchioli Daddi and Singer, forthcoming.

two royal courts. Until recently only the Hittite end of this correspondence was known, but recently an Akkadian fragment was discovered by the German expedition excavating at Qantir, ancient Piramesse, hopefully anticipating more to come (Pusch & Jakob 2003). On the tiny fragment only the end of Ramses's name (*Ri-a-ma-še'-ša*) and his title (EN.KUR.KUR.MEŠ 'lord of the lands')⁶ are clearly preserved, along with a few disconnected vocables.⁷ The fragment complements previous finds from Piramesse that exhibit Hittite influence, notably the limestone moulds for 8-shaped shields (Pusch 1996), found in a large complex identified as the headquarters of the royal chariotry, which could accommodate some 700 horse studs, many of them probably of Anatolian origin.

Other Hittite-related finds were discovered long ago at Gurob (Medinet el-Ghurab) at the entrance to Fayyum (Kemp 1978; Thomas 1981). Sir Flinders Petrie excavated in the late 19th century the Royal Harem structure, which would have housed, among many other women, the Hittite princess who married Ramses in his 34th year, Maat-Hor-neferure'. Among the administrative papyri found at the site, one fragment (U, recto of b, line 2) refers to a list of garments belonging to her (Gardiner 1948: xi, 23 f.; *RITA* II: 155 ff.).

A Hittite presence might also be detected in the unusual burial customs attested at the site, according to an intriguing new theory put forward by J. Politi (2001). In his description of the so-called 'Burnt Groups', which can now be confidently dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty (Bell 1991: 255 f.; Politi 2001: 111), Petrie noted a remarkable custom: A hole was dug in the floor of a room, and into it personal objects were lowered and burnt, after which the floor was covered again. The items included various personal valuables, such as necklaces, toilet vases, kohl tubes, a mirror, a stool and articles of clothing. The bodies were buried separately in Egyptian fashion, and since many of them were light-haired and their graves contained Aegean pottery, Petrie (1891: 16) suggested that they might have belonged to Achaeans. Recently, however, Janet Politi (2001) has put forward an attractive comparison between this burial custom and the case described in § 27 of the Hittite Laws: 'If a man takes his wife and leads [her] away to his house, he shall carry her dowry in (to his house). If the woman [dies] th[ere] (in his house), then he, the man, shall burn her personal possessions, and the man shall take her dowry for himself.'⁸ In other words, the burnt deposits within the houses at Gurob might have belonged to the Hittite princess and her large retinue in the Royal Harem.⁹

⁶ For the rare title 'Lord of the lands', see Pusch & Jakob 2003: 150. A similar title, 'Lord of all the lands', appears in Ugarit's correspondence with Egypt, both in Akkadian (*Ugaritica* 5, no. 36, line 3: [*be-lī gab-bi* KUR.KUR.MEŠ]) and in Ugaritic (Ras Ibn Hani 78/3+30: *b' l kl hwt*; Milano 1983).

⁷ Provided that the tentative restorations are valid, they might contain a highly significant reference to the beginning of a new reign, presumably Tudḫaliya IV's (Pusch & Jakob 2003: 150).

⁸ The translation is based on Beckman 1986: 16 and Hoffner 1997: 36 f., with a slight variation based on dupl. C.

⁹ No information on the size of the royal retinue that accompanied the Hittite princess to Egypt is extant, but one might recall that Giluḫepa, the Mittannian princess who married Amenophis III, was accompanied by no fewer than 317 ladies (*Urk.* IV: 1738).

Finally, a recent discovery at Saqqara raises further hopes for new data relevant to Hittite-Egyptian contacts. At the cliff-side cemetery on the eastern edge of the site a French expedition has discovered the tomb of Netjerwymes, the treasurer and great intendant of Memphis during the reign of Ramses II (Zivie 2002). According to the excavator¹⁰ this high functionary bore an additional name, Pa-rekh-an, which is probably the same as cuneiform Pariḫnawa, the well-known Egyptian messenger, who, among his several missions, brokered the peace treaty between Ḫatti and Egypt (Edel 1976: 79; Singer 1999: 674). One can only hope that the ongoing excavation of his tomb will reveal some intriguing secrets from his prolific diplomatic career.

Obviously, finds relevant to Hittite-Egyptian relations are not restricted to Ḫatti and Egypt. Along the lengthy caravan routes connecting the two lands various finds have been discovered and more will undoubtedly follow once the important caravan stations in Syria are further excavated. Meanwhile, there are several textual references from Ugarit (Singer 1999: 673 ff.) and some scattered finds from Palestine (Singer, forthcoming): an exquisite Hittite ivory from Megiddo, which may perhaps symbolically represent the two Great Kings who signed the 'Silver Treaty', and several seals, one of which belonged to a 'charioteer', i.e., a professional diplomat.

Even though the number of Hittite-related finds from Egypt and Canaan is on the rise, the main source of information remains the extensive Hittite-Egyptian correspondence discovered at Ḫattuša. Elmar Edel's monumental publication of around one hundred letters is a gold mine of information on various aspects of international relations, rivalled only by the Amarna correspondence of a century earlier.¹¹ However, with all due admiration for Edel's unparalleled mastery and unflinching efforts, much caution is needed when utilizing his very extensive and often quite daring restorations.¹² In this article I will concentrate on a single dossier, the one related to the infamous Urḫi-Teššub affair, a major international episode in the history of the 13th century B.C.¹³

Dossier D relating to the Urḫi-Teššub affair contains fifteen letters in Edel's treatment.¹⁴ On closer inspection, however, one finds that the name Urḫi-Teššub is preserved, at least partially, in six letters only. In all other texts his name has been restored by Edel, with different degrees of probability, on contextual grounds. Some of these are certainly justified, especially in the case of the "double-track" correspondence of

¹⁰ Alain Zivie, written communication.

¹¹ Edel 1994. Cf. the reviews of Haas und Wegner 1996; Beckman 1997; Izre'el 1997; Zaccagnini 2000. Cf. also Archi 1996: 172-174. References in the following pertain to the text numbers in Edel 1994 (abbr. ÄHK), namely, to (vol.) I (transliterations and translations) and to (vol.) II (commentaries).

¹² Cf. Zaccagnini 2000: 439 f.

¹³ I wish to thank Dr. Yoram Cohen for his valuable comments on my interpretation of these letters. The Urḫi-Teššub affair has been discussed repeatedly over the years. See, in particular, Houwink ten Cate 1974 and 1994, and, most recently, Bryce 2003: 213-222. The deposed Hittite king should be distinguished from another Urḫi-Teššub, a late 13th century B.C. Hittite official from Karkamiš attested in the documents from Ugarit (Singer 1999: 645 f.).

¹⁴ Nos. 20-33 in Akkadian, plus the Hittite letter of Puduḫepa, no. *105; cf. Klengel 1999: 221 f.

Ramses, i.e. the (nearly) identical letters addressed separately to Hattušili and Puduhepa which mutually complete each other (ÄHK II: 19-21). However, in cases in which the restoration is not supported by parallel contexts, Edel's suggestions are tentative at best, sometimes even farfetched. This should be candidly admitted *precisely* because of Edel's undisputed mastery of the field, which has led to uncritical adoption of his translations in general studies and anthologies, sometimes without even marking the restorations. The aim of the following survey, then, is to re-examine the information on the Urhi-Teššub affair extracted from the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence, attempting to separate the established facts from dubious textual and historical reconstructions.

Perhaps the best point of departure is no. 28, Ramses's well-known response to an inquiry by Kupanta-Kurunta, king of Mira.¹⁵ The text has been discussed often because of its importance for the Urhi-Teššub affair and for inner-Anatolian conditions.¹⁶ Comprehension of the letter, even apart from the many damaged passages, is hindered by the ambiguous use of pronouns and its unusual syntax. Following the introductory formula, the better preserved paragraphs concerning Urhi-Teššub read:

- § 3 (obv. 7-13) Now I, the Great King, King of Egypt, have heard all the matters which [you wrote] to me about. Concerning the matter of Urhi-Teššub, it is not so! I have not d[one(?)] that which you wrote to me about. Now, [the case(?) is] different. [Behold,] the good relationship which I, the Great King, King of Egypt, established with the Great King, [King of Hatti], my brother, in good brotherhood and good peace, the Sun-deity and [the Storm-god granted(?) it] forever. Furthermore, behold, the matter of Urhi-Teššub which yo[u wrote] to me about, the Great King, King of Hatti, acted according to [...].
- § 4 (obv. 14-17) Still, he keeps writing to me about him as follows: "[Let] the Great King, King of Egypt, *exhaust* his troops and let him [...], and let him give his gold and let him give his silver, and I[et him give] his horses, and make him give his copper and make him [...], and may he take Ur[hi-Tessub (or: may Ur[hi-Tessub take] [...].

The second paragraph is quite ambiguous because of the cryptic usage of pronouns and the disparate verbal constructions.¹⁷ That "he" who keeps writing to Egypt about Urhi-Teššub must be Hattušili is generally agreed upon, but the identity of "his troops, etc." is disputed, and so is the exact meaning of the verbal form *ana šunuhi*.¹⁸ Whereas

¹⁵ The reading ^mKu-^rpa-an⁷-[ta-^DKAL] has been collated and confirmed by H. Klengel; see ÄHK I, Tafel XIX; vol. II, 126 f.

¹⁶ To the bibliographical references provided by Edel (II, 125), add Wouters 1989 and Beckman 1996: 124 f. (no. 22D).

¹⁷ These were explained by Wouters (1989: 229) as a way to enliven the blandness of the enumeration, whereas Edel (II, 128) simply calls it 'schlechtes Akkadisch'. Perhaps one should rather follow the explanation first suggested by J. Friedrich (1924) and elaborated by Z. Cochavi Rainey (1988: § 3.2.2.2; 1990: 63 ff.), according to which the prospective causal sentences with *nadānu* are influenced by Egyptian syntactical constructions.

¹⁸ Derived from *anāhu* I, Š, in the sense 'pour calmer' (Cavaignac), 'make weak' (Wouters) 'bemühen lassen' (Edel), 'exert themselves' (Beckman). Y. Cohen has suggested a derivation from *nāhu*, Š (AHw 717a), which would

Cavaignac (1935: 26) thought that Ramses is requested to "make weak, wear out" the troops of Urhi-Teššub and to confiscate his valuables, Edel understood that Ramses should rather "exert" ("sich bemühen lassen") his own troops in search of Urhi-Teššub. Either way, Urhi-Teššub seems to have had at his disposal a contingent prepared to fight on his side, or at least this is what Hattušili wanted his correspondent to believe. The following lines (obv. 19 ff.) are almost entirely lost. Edel restored the passage as the answer of Ramses in which he announced that he followed Hattušili's instructions and brought Urhi-Teššub to Egypt. This, however, is quite doubtful. According to other letters, including the one sent by Hattušili to Kadašman-Enlil II (KBo 1.10+), Ramses probably reneged on complying with Hattušili's request, using as a pretext his ignorance of Urhi-Teššub's whereabouts (see below). The reverse is also in a bad state of preservation, but it is clear that Ramses pledges his loyalty to the peace treaty signed with Hattušili.¹⁹

What was the purpose of Kupanta-Kurunta's missive to Ramses inquiring about Urhi-Teššub? In the past, common opinion used to be that the king of Mira, unlike his neighbour in the Šeḫa River Land, Mašturi, remained loyal to Urhi-Teššub and applied on his behalf to Ramses.²⁰ It now seems that Kupanta-Kurunta, the main western ally of Hatti, pursued a more expedient policy "designed to get the pharaoh to state his position on Urhi-Teššub without in any way compromising his own" (Bryce 2003: 92). Perhaps he even acted on Hattušili's behalf, skilfully putting to the test Ramses's commitment to the new regime in Hatti (Archi 1997: 11). Of course, the experienced Egyptian king did not fall into the trap, and in his unequivocal answer, sent directly to Hattuša, he reassured his troubled ally of his loyalty. Whatever its purpose, Kupanta-Kurunta's correspondence, in Akkadian, with the Great King of Egypt is highly significant as an attempt at reinstating Western Anatolia on the international scene a century after Arzawa's correspondence with the Amarna court.

The issue of Urhi-Teššub's whereabouts is expanded in a group of letters included by Edel under the rubric "Urhitesub in Nordsyrien" (nos. 24-31), the best preserved of which are the duplicates nos. 24 and 25.²¹ This is the famous letter in which Ramses presents his version of the events that took place before, during and after the battle of Qadesh.²² Thereafter he moves on to more recent issues, declaring his commitment to the peace

provide a similar sense, i.e. 'to allow to rest'. The reading *a-na šu-nu-ti* suggested by Z. Cochavi Rainey 1988: *177 is unlikely, since the value *ti* for the sign *hi* is not attested in this correspondence (ib.: 27).

¹⁹ The key phrase is rev. 6' f.: *um-m[a-a mi-nu-ū-ia a-na-ku^m Ur-^{hi}-^dŠKUR / a-ka-a i-di-šu ...*. Wouters (1989: 228; unaware of the join with KUB 3.23) places the phrase in the mouth of Urhi-Teššub himself: 'What is mine, I, Urhi-Teššub[...]. Edel (followed by Beckman) has Ramses as speaker and translates: 'Was (soll) ich?? Wo sollte ich ihn (den Urhitesub) (als König) anerkennen?' A sense "to acknowledge" ('anerkennen') for *e/idi* is not registered in the dictionaries, and the parallel supplied by Edel (II, 129) appears in a fragmentary context. Perhaps what Ramses meant was that he simply did not know Urhi-Teššub because he had never met him.

²⁰ See, e.g., Archi 1971: 209; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 240 f.

²¹ CTH 156; no. 24 = KBo 1.15+19 (+) KBo 1 22; no. 25 = KUB 3.30 (+) 31.

²² §§ A-H; previously discussed by Edel 1949; cf. Liverani 1990.

treaty which had been deposited before the Sun-god of Ana/Heliopolis (rev. 3). He protests against Hattušili's anachronistic usage of hostile terminology in peace time (§ I = rev. 5-8). In the next paragraph (§ K = rev. 9-12) Edel restores a reference to Urhi-Teššub, who Ramses allegedly failed to bring to Egypt. In fact, the paragraph deals with the eternal peace between the two lands and the recurring verb *leqû* could well refer to something else. Indeed, the next paragraph (§ L = rev. 13-21) takes up a totally different subject, the dispatch of a contingent of Nubians (^{LÚ}*Meluhha*^{MEŠ}). Several persons are mentioned in the passage, including a governor (*šakin* KUR) and a king of Halba (Aleppo), both unnamed. Whatever the meaning of this intriguing section, it is impossible to follow Edel's theory (II 101, 118),²³ according to which Ramses proposes to Hattušili to appoint a certain Egyptian official named Ria as the governor of Halba and to install Urhi-Teššub himself as the king of Halba.

Urhi-Teššub's name first turns up in the next paragraphs, which can be partly restored from the parallel text no. 29. In § M (rev. 22-28) is a tantalizing list of four lands enumerated from north to south: Kizwatna, Halba, Subari, Kinza.²⁴ In early studies, in which the recurring word *-jakuššu* was restored as *nakuššu*, "escort(?)", this list was conceived as an itinerary for the voyage of the Hittite princess. On the basis of the duplicate (KUB 3.31 rev. 2'), however, Edel (1949: 206) was able to rectify the reading to *i]l-qa-ak-ku-uš-šu*, "hätte ihn dir gebracht",²⁵ ostensibly referring to the transfer of Urhi-Teššub to Egypt. The lands enumerated by Ramses signify, according to Edel, the potential hiding places of Urhi-Teššub, the kings of which allegedly failed or refused to extradite the fugitive king (cf. also Archi 1997: 11). This would seem to support Ramses's claim that Urhi-Teššub was not to be found in Egyptian-held territory, and thus, he could not comply with his correspondent's persistent demand.

The mystery surrounding Urhi-Teššub's whereabouts and actions increases in the next paragraph (§ O = rev. 35-41). Apparently, a group of people²⁶ together with "that man" (rev. 35) came to Ramses and expressed their concern for him. The unnamed person, who was apparently married to a king's daughter (rev. 36), would be, according to Edel, Urhi-Teššub.²⁷ But if this were the case, how could he have appeared before Ramses, who repeatedly claimed that he had not been able to find the man? Could not the man in question have been someone else, perhaps Nerik(a)ili, who was married to a daughter of Bentešina and who indeed seems to have been in Egypt (no. 26 rev. 15'; see

²³ Also criticized by van den Hout 1998: 55, n.52.

²⁴ The passage was first discussed by Goetze 1940: 34 f. It is interesting to note in passing that, whereas the geographical sequence is basically correct, the geo-political concepts are quite outdated. A "king of Kizuwatna" is no longer extant in the mid-13th century, nor is a "king of Subari", which, according to Goetze, must refer to Nuhašši.

²⁵ Wouters 1989: 231 restores *li-i]l-qa-a[k-ku-uš-šu*, 'he will capture him for you'.

²⁶ Not necessarily 'sons of Hatti' as restored by Edel in rev. 35; 'your [servants]' in rev. 39 is also questionable.

²⁷ Edel (II, 120) assumes that Urhi-Teššub was married to a daughter of Kadašman-Turgu, king of Babylon, an assumption for which there is no supportive evidence.

below)? Is it mere coincidence that in the following lines (rev. 39 f.) the "sons of Amurru" (DUMU.MEŠ KUR *A-mur-ri*) are mentioned?²⁸

Whatever the exact interpretation of this intriguing passage may turn out to be, it seems safe to say that the Land of Amurru played a pivotal role in the Urhi-Teššub affair. As I have suggested elsewhere (1999: 645), Amurru could well be the place "alongside the seashore" (A.AB.BA *tapuša*; Hatt. iv 36) to which Urhi-Teššub was supposedly transferred after his failed conspiracy with Babylon.²⁹ Bentešina, Hattušili's protégé, was apparently trusted to keep a watchful eye on the notorious exile, but whether he succeeded in doing so or not is far less evident. There seems to be no direct reference to Urhi-Teššub in the poorly preserved correspondence with Amurru,³⁰ but there are two letters which may indirectly implicate Bentešina in this affair.

The first is KUB 3.56 sent by His Majesty to Bentešina.³¹ The letter deals with various matters, including a successful visit of Šaušgamuwa to the Hittite court (perhaps in search of a Hittite bride?). Rev. 9'-11' (Houwink ten Cate 1994: 246) contains a well-preserved command of the Hittite king:

(9') *ša táš-pu-ra ma-a* ^{LÚ}KUR *ša* ^DUTU-ŠI E[N-ia]

(10') *ú-ul i-di šum-ma i-na* ŠA KUR *Mi-iš-ri-i*

(11') *[šu]m-ma i-na KUR-ti ša-ni-i ku-ul-li bi-la-aš-š[u]*

Concerning what you wrote to me as follows: 'About the enemy of His Majesty, [my lo]rd, I do not know whether he is in the land of Egypt or whether he is in some other land,' capture him (and) bring him to me!

Like in Hattušili's letter to Kadašman-Enlil II (KBo 1.10+ obv. 66-70), the unnamed enemy of His Majesty likely refers to Urhi-Teššub. Bentešina, like Ramses, claims ignorance about Urhi-Teššub's whereabouts.

The second letter is KBo 28.86, sent to His Majesty by one of his subjects (Singer 1988). On the reverse he informs his lord about the arrival of Hittite and Egyptian messengers from Makkitta, most probably Megiddo in the Jezreel Valley. The author must have been located somewhere between Megiddo and the Hittite capital, and the land of Amurru, which became after the ratification of the Silver Treaty an important station on the diplomatic route between Hatti and Egypt (Singer 1991: 169 f.), could well be the origin of the letter. The obverse has a quotation from His Majesty's letter with a broken reference to 'Urhi-Teššub at M[y] Brother's', i.e. the king of Egypt.³² The fragmentary

²⁸ Alongside the "sons" of another land whose name begins with *Qa-*. Edel (I, 64 and fig. xxix) restored *Qa- [a] - [ú] - [e] (?)*, which would provide the only second millennium attestation of *Qwh* (= Cilicia). Qatna, however, as suggested by Wouters 1989: 232, seems more likely. Edel also restored a third land, *Š[u]-[ba-ri-i]*, from which practically nothing is preserved; note that in the duplicate KUB 3.30 (+) 3.31 rev. 8'-9' he only restores Qaue and Amurru (I, 69).

²⁹ Other proposed locations include Alašia, Ugarit, Mira and, most recently, Tarhuntašša (Bryce 2003: 220 f.).

³⁰ Houwink ten Cate 1994: 244 ff. For the Amurru correspondence from Boğazköy, see Hagenbuchner 1989: nos. 260-267 and Izre'el 1991, vol. II: 100-108.

³¹ Hagenbuchner 1989: no. 267; Singer 1991: 165 f., n. 44; Houwink ten Cate 1994: 245 f.

³² Obv. 5': *-d[i]im?* ^mUr-*hi*-^DIM *a-šar* ŠEŠ-*i[a]*

context seems to imply that the person in question had not been brought to the sender,³³ a claim curiously recalling Bentešina's defence quoted in the previous document. In short, there is a good chance that KBo 28.86 should be classified among Bentešina's correspondence with his in-laws, Hattušili and Puduhepa. If so, the suggestion that Amurru played a significant role in the Urhi-Teššub affair would gain further support.

There remains, however, a tantalizing question. Why did Hattušili not mention in his Autobiography the actual location of Urhi-Teššub's second place of exile instead of using the cryptic location 'alongside the seashore' (Hatt. iv 36)? The only answer I can think of is that he himself was not quite sure where Urhi-Teššub ended up after his failed scheme with Babylon. Therefore, he kept writing incriminating letters to Bentešina and to Ramses, both of whom repeatedly exculpated themselves. The general impression one gets is that nobody was particularly enthusiastic to host this political "hot potato" in his own territory. It seems that, despite what he says in his letter to the king of Babylon (KBo 1.10+ obv. 66-68), Hattušili himself was not really interested in the extradition of Urhi-Teššub to Hatti, but rather preferred to keep him as far away from his homeland as possible, preferably under the vigilant eyes of Ramses (cf. also Archi 1997: 10; Klengel 2002: 106). Whether he managed to achieve this aim remains unknown. Puduhepa's ironical remark in her letter to Ramses – 'Since [Urhi-]Teššub is there, ask him whether it is so or not' (KUB 21.38 obv. 11' f.) – is usually taken as a proof that Urhi-Teššub ended up in Egypt. In fact, however, the remark only proves that this was the common opinion in Hatti, nothing more. As far as can be gleaned from the preserved correspondence, Ramses himself never acknowledged Urhi-Teššub's residence in Egypt, at least not in the preserved parts of the correspondence. Stimulating and thought provoking as they are, the Urhi-Teššub letters in the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence, in their present state of preservation, do not yet remove the veil from Urhi-Teššub's biography as a political exile.

Let us return to the remaining documents of "dossier D". In some of them Urhi-Teššub is actually mentioned, but the context is too fragmentary for any sensible conclusions. In others, his name has been unnecessarily restored.

In no. 20, a letter sent by Hattušili, Edel (I, 50 f.) restores the end of the line with a reference to Urhi-Teššub (obv. 9) as such: ... *a-am-h[ur LUGAL-ut-ta i-na aš-ri-šu]*, "Ich habe [die Königswürde an seiner Statt] empfan[gen]." This would provide a rare confession of Hattušili's usurpation, but in fact, all that remains are the first two signs (*a-am-x[]*) of the verb, with practically nothing of the third.³⁴ No. 21 is a small fragment which may perhaps show Urhi-Teššub's name in broken context (obv. 8). No. 22 obv. 31' has the rare word *Lj^uhu-ub-bu-šu* rendered by Edel (I, 55; II, 82) as "stubborn/obstinate man" ("starrsinniger /starrköpfigen Mensch"), allegedly referring to Urhi-Teššub. A. Goetze (1947: 245), who first published this text (NBC 3934), translated *hubbušu* as "a

³³ Obv. (8') *a-na m[a-an-ni ú-še-bi-lu-ú-š]u ia-a-ši-ma* (9') *ú-ul(?)*] *ú-še-bi-lu-šu* ... "...to w[ho]m did they bring [hi]m? To me [...] they did [not(?)] bring him." The reading *ia-a-ši-ma* was confirmed on a photograph by Prof. H. Otten (written communication, 3.2.1989).

³⁴ See drawing in ÄHK I, Tafel I and photograph on Tafel XLVII.

cripple",³⁵ which may indeed be more in line with the rest of the letter dealing with doctors and medicines. Equally unwarranted is the restoration of Urhi-Teššub's name in no. 23, 10', a Ramses letter dealing with the dispatch of the treaty tablets and their deposition before the Sun-god of Ana/Heliopolis.

The parallel letters nos. 26 and 27 mention Kurunta and Nerikk(a)ili. The former probably appears in connection with physicians sent to him, and this alone should render the insertion of Urhi-Teššub's name (in no. 26, rev. 17') very unlikely.³⁶ The same applies to Nerikkili, who Edel (II 121) places in the role of Urhi-Teššub's captor. This well-known son of Hattušili and son-in-law of Bentešina appears in another letter alongside Tudhaliya (no. 80, 4' f.). His mission to Egypt (like that of Hišmi-Šarruma's in no. 78) could be connected to the shipment of grain at issue elsewhere. No. 26, rev. 6', mentions a ship,³⁷ and no. 27, obv. 6', has 'breads for eating' (*a-ka-la NINDA.MEŠ*). The gold, silver, copper and horses (no. 26 rev. 13'; no. 27 obv. 4' f.) could reasonably refer to the Hittite payment for the imported grain rather than expenditures spent on Urhi-Teššub's search and capture. Such an interpretation is at least no less likely than Edel's audacious scenario (II, 122-124), according to which Urhi-Teššub escaped from Egypt hidden in a fisherman's boat and was captured in Syria by Nerikkili, who mysteriously died immediately thereafter, leaving his evasive prisoner free to roam around again!³⁸

No. 30 is a Ramses letter dealing with [drugs for] the eyes (obv. 14') and the dispatch of 'horses from herds' (obv. 20' f.: *ANŠÉ.KUR.RA.MEŠ ša šu-gu-s-ul-la-ti*) and *NAM.RA* (rev. 1). Both items were exported from Hatti to Egypt, and reference has already been made to the royal stables excavated at Piramesse. Again, I fail to see the necessity of squeezing the Urhi-Teššub affair in the almost completely broken end of the reverse (l. 18). Equally unwarranted is the restoration of Urhi-Teššub in the tiny no. 31,

³⁵ Cf. CAD H, 214 f.: 'defective' or 'describing a characteristic bodily trait'; CDA, 118: 'swollen up'.

³⁶ The topic of the physicians sent to Kurunta recurs in some of the *insibja* letters, to be dated late in Hattušili's or even in Tudhaliya's reign. See Edel 1976: 29 ff.; ÄHK II 257 ff. Cf. also van den Hout 1995: 99.

³⁷ *i-na ŠA GIŠMÁ LUba-a[-i-ri]*, restored by Edel as *LUba-a[-i-ri]*, 'fisherman's boat'. *bā'eru* is definitely a possibility, and grain was occasionally transported in Egypt by fishermen (Castle 1992: 249). However, I would like to suggest an alternative possibility: the Egyptian term *bari*-ships, which is listed together with *qerer*-ships and *menesh*-ships in Papyrus Harris I, a passage reporting about the transportation of goods from Canaan to Egypt (ANET, 260; Wachsmann 1998: 10 f.). The Egyptian term might also be related to the Ugaritic '*br*-ships', which could simply reflect the Semitic term *br*, 'grain, cereal' (see Vita 1995: 165, ns. 1-6, with refs.).

The previous line (rev. 5') has the curious combination *a-i-ri-ú šum-šu* [, "*airiu* is his/its name". Edel assumed that this must be an Egyptian gloss, but could not offer any Egyptian (or Akkadian) parallel (II 122). Neither does it have any Anatolian parallel. Since the passage deals with shipping, I wonder whether this might be a rare reference to an Aegean term; cf. *e-re-e-u* in the Linear B tablets from Pylos, which has tentatively been interpreted as an 'official in charge of rowers' (Palaima 1991: 301 ff.).

³⁸ Obviously, this imaginative scenario cannot be exploited for the reconstruction of Nerikk(a)ili's prosopography, let alone for a distinction between two Nerikk(a)ilis (Houwink ten Cate 1996: 46, n. 13, with further refs.).

which has a rare reference to the Land of Danuna (l. 7'), allegedly one of Urḫi-Teššub's hiding places.

Finally, nos. 32 and 33 are probably parallel letters sent by Ramses to Ḫattušili and to Puduḫepa, respectively. In the main, Ramses praises the brotherhood between Ḫatti and Egypt with the following exceptionally amicable declaration: 'Are we not as from one father, and are we not as from one mother, and do we not live as in one land?' (no. 32 obv. 20'-22'). The reverse in both tablets may refer to some stumbling blocks in the relationship between the two monarchs, but need these *always* refer to Urḫi-Teššub (no. 32, rev. 4')? And even if they do, I still fail to see any grounds for Edel's idea (II, 140 f.), according to which Ramses insists that Urḫi-Teššub be 're-transferred' from Ḫatti to Egypt, promising that he would not let him escape again from his land.

In concluding these preliminary remarks on just one dossier of the vast Hittite-Egyptian correspondence, it is important to stress the indebtedness of the scholarly community to Professor Elmar Edel for dedicating a lifetime to the arduous effort of joining, classifying and studying this unique corpus. I believe, however, that this formidable legacy obliges us to continue critical research into the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence with an unrelenting commitment to unbiased re-examination of each and every hypothesis and historical conclusion.

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A NOTE ON SOME LOCAL CULTS IN THE TIME OF TUDĤALIYA IV

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The reports ordered by King Tudĥaliya IV on the restoration of the cultic installations in towns and villages within his realm have been preserved in the archives at Ḥattuša. Many are inventories of the furniture in the local temple or shrine, including descriptions of the god's image, while others describe the restoration of the Spring and Autumn Festivals.¹ Among the latter is *KUB* 12.2, a tablet that describes the distribution of sheep and piglets, together with beer and offering bread, to the *ḥuwaši*-s (standing stones) of various towns.² The top of the tablet is broken so the beginning of columns i and ii and the ends of columns iii and iv are lost. However, in the preserved portions, the allotments for three separate towns can partially be reconstructed. Those for the first town are recorded in lines i 1–ii 4, for the second in ii 5–iii 25 and for the third in iii 26–iv 25. Unfortunately, the name of none of the towns is fully preserved. A tally of the *ḥuwaši*-s listed and their provisions marks the transition from one town to the next.

The names of nine storm gods are preserved, including those of the cities of Aššur, Zippalanda, Nerik, Ḥayaša and Tarmaliya and the storm gods of Growth, of the Cloud, of Thunder and the *piḥaimi* Storm God. Of these, most are provided with a sheep, but the Storm God of Tarmaliya and the Storm God of the Cloud are each provided with a piglet. The Storm God of Thunder has a cult in two of the towns and receives a sheep in one and a piglet in the other. Associated with two of the more important storm gods, the Storm God of Aššur and the Storm God of Nerik, are groups of nameless male deities who are provided with piglets³ even while their masters are given sheep. The "Male Deities of the Cloud" are not associated with the Storm God of the Cloud (their cults are in different towns), but like him and like the other groups of male gods, receive a piglet, as does the deified spring Kuwannaniya. The Sun Goddess of the Earth, who seems to have two cults in the second town, receives a sheep in one and a piglet in the other. The *zawalli* deities

* I am pleased to dedicate this article to Johan de Roos, whom I met for the first time in the Winter of 1991 in Changchun, P. R. China. I had followed him as Professor of Hittite at the Institute for the History of Ancient Civilizations at Northeast Normal University and that Winter he returned for a brief visit to see his former students, with whom he had formed a great bond. Hittite studies owe Prof. de Roos a deep debt of gratitude, for he has enriched our field as surely as he has the lives of his students and friends.

¹ Houwink ten Cate 1992: 103 with n. 42, 108; Hazenbos 2003: 167–72.

² Edited by Carter 1962: 74–89.

³ Restored in the case of the male deities of the Storm God of Aššur; see ii 10'.

receive both a piglet and a sheep for a single cult. Finally, Pentaruhši, who has a cult in each of the three towns, receives sheep in the first two and a piglet in the third.

<i>huwaši</i>	1 st town	2 nd town	3 rd town
"New Deity"	S	S	S
^d U of Aššur	S	[S]	S
male deities in cult of ^d U of Aššur	P		
^d Pentaruhši	S	S	P
^d U of Thunder	S		P
Male Deities of the Cloud	P		
^d U <i>piḥaimi</i>	S	S	
^d Milku	S		
^d Yarri	S		
^d U of Ḫayaša	S		
Sun God of Heaven		S	
Sun Goddess of the Earth		S / P	
^d U of the Cloud		P	
^d LAMMA		S	
^d Iyaya		S	
^{TUL} Kuwannaniya		P	
^{ḪUR.SAG} Uttaliya		S	
<i>zawalli</i> deities		S / P	
^d U of Nerik		S	S
male deities in cult of ^d U of Nerik		P	
^d Putallimi		S	
^d U of Zippalanda			S? ⁴
^d U of Tarmaliya			P
^d U of Growth			S

Table 1. List of *huwaši*-s and the animal(s) they receive in each of the three towns preserved on *KUB* 12.2. S = sheep; P = piglet.

Within the large collection of cult inventories, piglets feature only rarely⁵ and their presence in this text raises several questions. What guidelines dictated the choice of

⁴ The offering of a sheep to the Storm God of Zippalanda depends on whether the sheep in iv 6 belongs to this deity, who is listed in iii 26. The first paragraph of col. iv seems to describe offerings for the *ḫaršiyalla*-container rather than for the Storm God of Zippalanda; see the translation below.

⁵ A piglet appears elsewhere only in *KBo* 13.249:14', a distribution list for the Spring Festival, where it is the single piglet listed among numerous sheep (ll. 2', 3', 9', 13', 15', 17' etc.) and a goat (l. 21').

animal – sheep or piglet – to be allotted for each *huwaši*- and why are piglets included among the offerings in the first place? Although prized for the products derived from them, pigs were low-status, unclean animals whose presence in sacred spaces was considered extremely defiling. They were manipulated in ritual to ensure the fertility of the fields and of humans⁶ and their parts were used to make oils,⁷ medicine and other products, but they are rarely included among the food offerings presented to the gods.⁸

When piglets are sacrificed, it is usually in the performance of a purification,⁹ but if the piglets in *KUB* 12.2 were intended for purifications, one would not expect to see them dedicated to specific gods.¹⁰ In other words, when the deity is named, as in *KUB* 12.2, the sacrifice should be a normal one. Other texts referring to the distribution of pigs are helpful in this regard. A Middle Hittite text records the distribution of beer, an adult pig and a puppy to the storehouse manager of Ḫattuša.¹¹ Since no specific deity is mentioned in this case, it is likely that these animals are being distributed for some other use(s) than as a food offering. Similarly, in a ration list for an Old Hittite festival, the wolf-men and *ḫapiya*-men of certain towns distribute pigs' heads and genitalia to various functionaries, perhaps for fertility rites.¹² The genitalia of pigs and bulls are turned over to the *ḫamina*-men, pigs' (?) genitalia are given to the Old Woman of the Palace and pigs' heads are given to the Cupbearers of the Deity. In a New Hittite duplicate (B, see note 12), genitalia are given individually to the cupbearer, cook and scepter bearer of the Gods. If a similar use were intended for the piglets in *KUB* 12.2, then we should expect them to be given to an official rather than a deity. Thus, it seems that the piglets in our inventory were destined as offerings to the deities represented by their *huwaši*-s. The fact that the piglets are included as alternatives to sheep, the favorite food of the gods, further indicates this.

⁶ Collins 2002: texts 7, 8, 9 and 15.

⁷ Hoffner 1995: 109.

⁸ Only Ašhella's Ritual, performed for the military, attests to an adult pig being offered in a normal sacrifice – that is, one that occurs as part of the regular maintenance of the gods and in which the victim is intended as food for god and man. Cf. the military ritual *KUB* 48.86 (*CTH* 422), with the colophon DUB.2.KAM ŠA ŠAḪ *QAT*. These texts suggest that pigs may have been appropriate offerings in the context of sacrifices performed on behalf of the military on active duty, even if nowhere else.

Other possible examples include *KBo* 10.37 iv 39–42 (piglet fat and other parts are offered); *KBo* 4.11 obv. 9–12 (pigs are sacrificed and offered); *KUB* 12.44 iii 18–19 (a sow's genitals are thrown into a pit for Maliya); and see additional references in note 17.

⁹ E.g., Tunnawi's Ritual (*KUB* 12.58 i 36–38, iii 17–18) and the Ritual of the Ox (*CTH* 760.1.2–3, edited by Beckman 1990: 34–55).

¹⁰ As noted by Clinton ("Pig Sacrifice Among the Greeks," in press) regarding pig sacrifices in Greece.

¹¹ *KBo* 21.82 iv 14'.

¹² A = *KBo* 20.16 i 5'–14' (+) *KBo* 20.3 ii 4'–11' (OH); B = *KBo* 2.12 v 3–6, 16–28 (NH); Singer 1983: 23. Cf. *KBo* 10.31 iii 17'–20' (*CTH* 627): 3 [ŠA]Ḫ.ḪI.A *QA-DU* KUŠ-ŠU-NU LÚ ^dU *da-a-i* 3 [GU]D 15 UDU.ḪI.A *QA-DU* KUŠ.MEŠ-ŠU-NU UGULA [L]Ú.MEŠ *SIMUG.A da-a-i* "Three pigs together with their hides the man (of) the Storm God takes. Three cattle, fifteen sheep, together with their hides the overseer of the blacksmiths takes"; transliterated by Singer 1984: 103.

In ancient Greece, piglets were considered the least expensive form of offering, with the result that they were offered to a variety of deities.¹³ Could cost be a factor in the presentation of the piglets to the deities in the present text? The modest size of the rations listed for the towns included on this tablet in comparison with some inventories suggests that the towns were indeed of modest means. The average offering consists of one container of beer, a handful of offering loaves and either a sheep or piglet. A number of the priests named in the text served more than one deity, perhaps further indication of the poverty of the cults. The fact that the inventory in question deals with the Spring Festival, which Hazenbos has identified, together with the Autumn Festival, as being the minimum required for a local cult calendar,¹⁴ also supports the relative poverty of the towns treated on this tablet.

But not all of the gods in *KUB* 12.2 received piglets, a fact that the relative costs of the two animals alone cannot explain satisfactorily. In Mesopotamia, the gods sometimes exhibited individual tastes in what was offered to them and taboos against the eating of certain foods on specific days within particular cults were frequent.¹⁵ Perhaps a look at the nature of the deities who receive piglets will offer some insights into their culinary preferences. As mentioned above, piglets are allotted to only three minor storm gods out of the nine listed. In addition, they were provided to three separate groups of male deities, the divine spring Kuwannaniya, Pentaruhši, the *zawalli* deities, and the Sun Goddess of the Earth. With the exception of the storm gods and possibly Pentaruhši, these deities to whom piglets were offered during the Spring Festival have something in common besides the piglet as an offering – each has chthonic associations.¹⁶

In Hittite cosmology, bodies of water were natural channels to the Underworld and so the spring Kuwannaniya was by nature chthonic. The Sun Goddess of the Earth was demonstrably fond of piglets¹⁷ and as Queen of the Underworld, she tended to receive her offerings in and around pits dug in the ground. Accompanying her in the Underworld were a number of gods who are sometimes referred to collectively as the “Male Deities.”¹⁸ Although this designation can be used to refer to celestial deities as well, it is possible that the groups of male deities attached to the cults of the storm gods of Aššur and Nerik and the “Male Deities of the Cloud” are gods of the Underworld. Just as the Sun Goddess has

¹³ Clinton, “Pig Sacrifice Among the Greeks,” in press; van Straten 1995: 175–81.

¹⁴ Hazenbos 2003: 216.

¹⁵ See Scurlock 2002: 389–95 on the culinary quirkiness of the gods in Mesopotamia.

¹⁶ Note that Milku (i 20), an underworld deity from Amurru whom Tudḫaliya IV introduced to northern Anatolia along with the Storm God of Aššur and other foreign deities (Archi 2002: 50), is not offered a piglet in this text.

¹⁷ See, e.g., *KUB* 42.23 iv 57'–58', *KUB* 17.28 i 16–19; *KBo* 11.14 iii 34–35. Piglets are also offered to the goddesses Hannahanna (*KBo* 20.89 obv. 9'–10'), Tetewatti (*KUB* 7.19 obv. 2'–8' w. dupl. *KBo* 23.97 i 5–11), the Heptad (see note 27), and the Fate Deities (*KBo* 11.10 ii 15'–16'). The sometimes bizarre contexts of these offerings will be discussed fully in my forthcoming article on pig sacrifice among the Hittites.

¹⁸ E.g., *KUB* 55.45 ii 3, 8; *KBo* 10.37 iii 5.

both a celestial and a chthonic aspect, perhaps the “male deities” served as the chthonic counterpoint to the storm gods to whose cult they were attached.

Pentaruhši, a Hurrian deity,¹⁹ is attested mostly in the inventories and little is known about him/her, though Otten²⁰ has suggested tentatively that Pentaruhši is the name of the Storm God of Ḫayaša based on *KUB* 38.10 iv 14–15 where s/he appears with Milku, Yarri and Piḫaimi, the same deities to appear with the Storm God of Ḫayaša in *KUB* 12.2. However, Pentaruhši and the Storm God of Ḫayaša both have individual cults in the first town in *KUB* 12.2 and therefore are unlikely to be the same deity. In the end, too little is known about this deity to determine whether s/he had any chthonic associations.

We can say somewhat more about the *zawalli* deities, in whom we seem to have something akin to the Greek *elasteros*, the vengeful dead, who receive piglets, which are sacrificed in such a way that the blood is made to flow into the earth.²¹ Murder was the most common reason for being pursued by an *elasteros*²² and piglet sacrifice the most common form of purification from murder.²³ *Zawalli* deities were spirits or genii not only of persons, but of places (e.g., cities) and institutions (e.g., temples), and as *KUB* 12.2 attests, they could be represented by a statue or *ḫuwaši*.²⁴ Oracular inquiries were undertaken to determine which *zawalli* might be angry, suggesting that they were potentially dangerous entities if neglected, although there is no evidence either for or against an association with bloodshed.²⁵

¹⁹ Laroche 1947: 57.

²⁰ Otten 1971: 36 n. 54.

²¹ Clinton, “Pig Sacrifice Among the Greeks,” in press. On the *zawalli* deities as spirits of the deceased, see Archi 1979: 81–94.

²² Johnston 1999: 47.

²³ Although there is no direct evidence of piglets being sacrificed to purify from murder among the Hittites, a lamb is sacrificed in a ritual for the deities of the Underworld (*CTH* 446, §§28–31; edited by Otten 1961: 126–31) apparently as expiation for murder. First, the exorcist fashions a figurine of the Deity of Blood. After some preparations that include washing his hands, a lamb is sacrificed and its blood allowed to flow out into a clay basin that the exorcist sets before the Deity of Blood while he recites this incantation: “O Anunnaki-deities, I have invoked you in this matter. (So) decide the case of this house. What evil blood is present, you take it and give it to the Deity of Blood. Let him carry it down to the Dark Underworld, and there let him nail it down.” The exorcist then opens up a pit (*api*-) with a knife, pours libations into it, throws in a shekel of silver and covers it over.

²⁴ On the use of statues to control the dead, see Johnston 1999: 59–60.

²⁵ Van den Hout (1998: 82–83) argues that the *zawalli* may be divine spirits dwelling in or representing the living as well as the dead. If this is the case, then perhaps the term *zawalli* had a semantic range similar to *elasteros*, which could refer not only to the soul of a dead person or another supernatural agent sent by that soul (an avenger) but also to the blood of that person upon the murderer's hands (Johnston 1999: 142–43). The incident recorded in the oracular inquiry, *KUB* 5.6 + *KUB* 18.54 iii 17–37 (see van den Hout 1998: 3–5), in which the Hittite vassal ruler Mašḫuiluwa curses the statue of a *zawalli* of His Majesty's House, as a result of which both the *zawalli* deity and the king were bewitched, can be explained if we understand the *zawalli* as referring in this case not to a deceased individual but to the (blood)guilt attached to the royal house. Similarly, the *zawallis* of towns and institutions could refer to the (blood)guilt accruing to those places as the result of an offense committed by an individual.

Piglets were certainly inexpensive (see §83 and §85 of the Hittite Laws) and this may explain why three lesser storm gods in *KUB* 12.2 are provided with them instead of sheep. It may also help to explain why certain deities receive a piglet in one town and a sheep in another. Although the Sun Goddess of the Earth was sometimes offered piglets, her tastes also included sheep and so the provision of each to her cults in *KUB* 12.2 should not be surprising,²⁶ but for most of the deities listed on the tablet, piglets would not have been an appropriate offering.

So piglets were being offered to these mostly chthonic deities, but just how “normal” were the offerings? In Maštigga’s ritual, for example, a piglet is waved over the petitioners to absorb the evil curses, then killed and placed in a pit with bread and wine.²⁷ This is a mixed sacrifice, serving both as an offering (although the Underworld deities are not named) and as a purification. The deities of the Underworld do not seem to have minded receiving polluted goods and in this regard, the distinction in the manner in which the sheep and piglet are provided to the *zawalli* deities may be significant: “One person goads(?) a sheep while another delivers a piglet” (iii 15–16). This is the only instance in the text where the two animals are provided together to a single cult, and perhaps the purpose of specifying the manner of delivery was to emphasize the need to keep the animals separate so that the sheep would not be contaminated.

Thus, sacrifices involving piglets were normal only in the sense that they followed a loose format considered appropriate for the realm of the Underworld. Ḫantitaššu’s ritual, to be performed for anyone enduring difficult times, provides a template for a piglet sacrifice:

When it becomes dark, the master of the incantation digs up the earth beneath(?) the wooden doorbolt. He takes a piglet and slits its throat downward into the pit, letting its blood flow downward.²⁸

Various offerings of grains and breads are placed into the pit and the primordial deities are invited to eat the food and drink the blood of the piglet. The accompanying incantation explains the purificatory purpose of the offering:

“(O) door bolt, as you customarily open up the bolt⁽¹⁾, go you and open up the dark ea[rth]. § Bring up the primordial deities. There let [them] take [them (the offerings)] for

²⁶ See, e.g., *KBo* 10.45 i 34–41; *KUB* 55.45 + *Bo* 69/142 ii 7–8; *KBo* 11.10 ii 17–19’.

²⁷ 2 Maštigga ii 44–54; edited by Rost 1953: 356–57. Cf. Maddunani’s Ritual for the army, where a kid, piglet and puppy are cut in half for the Heptad (*KUB* 7.54 ii 20–24 w. dupl. *KUB* 56.59 ii 16’–20’; edited by Collin 1990: 214 with n. 16). Cutting certain animals in half was a common ritual technique for removing pollution (Collins *op. cit.*).

²⁸ *ma-a-an* GE₆-a[n-za k]i-ša-ri ud-da-na-aš EN-aš GI¹[MA]R-it GI¹ḫa-at-tal-wa-aš GIŠ-r[u-i GA] [M?-an?] te-kán pád-da-i nu 1 ŠAḪ.TUR da-a-i na-an-kán ḫa-at-te-eš-na GAM-an-ta ḫa-at-ta-ri e-eš-ḫar-še-et kat-ta-an-ta tar-na-i, *KBo* 11.14 iii 6’–10’; edited by Ünal 1996: 22, 30.

With column iii, the ritual location shifts from the rooftop where rituals are performed for the Sun God to the interior of the house, where the rituals involving the pit are performed now for the Sun Goddess of the Earth (iii 30). Ḫantitaššu’s ritual thus illustrates the binary focus of Hittite magical practices, with attention paid to both the celestial and chthonic spheres in order to cover all divine bases.

themselves]. Let (them) go there and let them invoke the Sun Goddess of the Earth and whatever [evil] I have committed, let the gods [respond] to me (about) it.”²⁹

The piglet is then butchered and offered to the Sun Goddess of the Earth.³⁰ Many elements distinguish this sacrifice from normal offerings – among them is the fact that no humans join in the meal. It is no doubt in a similar manner that the piglets of inventory *KUB* 12.2 were destined to be sacrificed to the gods.

KUB 12.2

[beginning of column i is broken]

First Town:

- (i 1–7) [The divinity] is a seated statue of [...] / [...] standing. Tattiya [is the priest ...]. When summer arrives, the *ḫazḫaraya*-women and the *wal[ḫiyala]*-men] carry [the god, the offering loave(s) (and) the *ḫarši*-container] up [to the temple.] The men of the *ABUBITI* palace of the right arrange one *ḫuppar*-container of beer on the offering table [...] and the *ḫazḫaraya*-women [carry] it down.
- (i 8–9) The “New Deity” is a *ḫuwaši*. Armapiya is the [priest ...]. One sheep, six offering loaves, one container of beer. For the [Spring Festival].
- (i 10–11) The Storm God of Aššur is a *ḫuwaši*. Marašanda is the [priest. One sheep, one piglet] for the male deities, six offering loaves and one container of beer. [For the Spring Festival].
- (i 12–13) Pentaruḫši is a *ḫuwaši*. Maraša[nda is the priest.] Baza is the “Mother of the Deity” priestess for him/her. One sheep, three offering loaves, [one container of beer. For the Spring Festival].
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- (i 16–17) The Male Deities of the Cloud are a *ḫuwaši*. Dudduwalli is the [priest]. One piglet, three offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (i 18–19) The Storm God *piḫaimi* is a *ḫuwaši*. Hullu is the priest. One sheep, three offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (i 20–21) Milku is a *ḫuwaši*. Muttanani is the priest. One sheep, three offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (i 22–23) Yarri is a *ḫuwaši*. Harwaluti is the priest. One sheep, six offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.

²⁹ GI¹ḫa-at-tal-wa-aš zi-ik URUDU¹[za-a]k-ki-<in->na-pa [GIM-an] EGIR-pa ḫa-aš-ki-ši «x» da-an-ku-i[n]-na-pa ta-g[a-an-zi-pa-an] i-it zi-ik EGIR-pa ḫa-a-aš § nu ka-ru-ú-li-uš DINGIR.MEŠ-uš ú-wa-te n[a-at-za] a-pi-ya da-an-zi nu-za pa-a-an-du a-pi-[ya] ták-na-aš ^dUTU-un mu-ki-iš-kán-du nu Ḫ[UL-lu] ku-it DÙ-nu-un na-an-mu DINGIR.MEŠ EGIR[-pa me-mi-iš-kán-du], *KBo* 11.14 iii 25’–31’; edited by Ünal 1996: 23–24, 30); cf. Hoffner 1967: 390–91. The emendations of line 25 follow Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 136.

³⁰ iii 32–37; cf. Ünal 1996: 30–31 whose reconstruction of the text has the piglet’s carcass placed first in the pit and then removed again for the offering to the Sun Goddess. Note that his restoration of Š[A]Ḫ by collation in iii 15 nevertheless requires emendation to ŠAḪ<TUR> since it is surely the same animal that is being offered. See note 17 for other examples of piglets offered to the Sun Goddess of the Earth.

Piglets were certainly inexpensive (see §83 and §85 of the Hittite Laws) and this may explain why three lesser storm gods in *KUB* 12.2 are provided with them instead of sheep. It may also help to explain why certain deities receive a piglet in one town and a sheep in another. Although the Sun Goddess of the Earth was sometimes offered piglets, her tastes also included sheep and so the provision of each to her cults in *KUB* 12.2 should not be surprising,²⁶ but for most of the deities listed on the tablet, piglets would not have been an appropriate offering.

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“(O) door bolt, as you customarily open up the bolt⁽¹⁾, go you and open up the dark ea[rth]. § Bring up the primordial deities. There let [them] take [them (the offerings)] for

²⁶ See, e.g., *KBo* 10.45 i 34–41; *KUB* 55.45 + *Bo* 69/142 ii 7–8; *KBo* 11.10 ii 17–19’.

²⁷ 2 Maštigga ii 44–54; edited by Rost 1953: 356–57. Cf. Maddunani’s Ritual for the army, where a kid, piglet and puppy are cut in half for the Heptad (*KUB* 7.54 ii 20–24 w. dupl. *KUB* 56.59 ii 16’–20’; edited by Collin 1990: 214 with n. 16). Cutting certain animals in half was a common ritual technique for removing pollution (Collins *op. cit.*).

²⁸ *ma-a-an* GE₆-a[n-za k]i-ša-ri ud-da-na-aš EN-aš GI₁š[MA]R-it GI₁š[ha-at-tal-wa-aš] GIŠ-r[u-i GA] [M?-an?] te-kán pád-da-i nu 1 ŠAH.TUR da-a-i na-an-kán ha-at-te-eš-na GAM-an-ta ha-at-ta-ri e-eš-har-še-et kat-ta-an-ta tar-na-i, *KBo* 11.14 iii 6’–10’; edited by Ünal 1996: 22, 30.

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themselves]. Let (them) go there and let them invoke the Sun Goddess of the Earth and whatever [evil] I have committed, let the gods [respond] to me (about) it.”²⁹

The piglet is then butchered and offered to the Sun Goddess of the Earth.³⁰ Many elements distinguish this sacrifice from normal offerings – among them is the fact that no humans join in the meal. It is no doubt in a similar manner that the piglets of inventory *KUB* 12.2 were destined to be sacrificed to the gods.

KUB 12.2

[beginning of column i is broken]

First Town:

- (i 1–7) [The divinity] is a seated statue of [...] / [...] standing. Tattiya [is the priest ...]. When summer arrives, the *hazharaya*-women and the *wal[hayala]*-men carry [the god, the offering loave(s) (and) the *harši*-container] up [to the temple.] The men of the *ABUBITI* palace of the right arrange one *huppar*-container of beer on the offering table [...] and the *hazharaya*-women [carry] it down.
- (i 8–9) The “New Deity” is a *huwaši*. Armapiya is the [priest ...]. One sheep, six offering loaves, one container of beer. For the [Spring Festival].
- (i 10–11) The Storm God of Aššur is a *huwaši*. Marašanda is the [priest. One sheep, one piglet] for the male deities, six offering loaves and one container of beer. [For the Spring Festival].
- (i 12–13) Pentaruḫši is a *huwaši*. Maraša[nda is the priest.] Baza is the “Mother of the Deity” priestess for him/her. One sheep, three offering loaves, [one container of beer. For the Spring Festival].
- (i 14–15) The Storm God of Thunder is a *huwaši*. Duddulli is the [priest. One sheep,] six offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (i 16–17) The Male Deities of the Cloud are a *huwaši*. Dudduwalli is the [priest]. One piglet, three offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (i 18–19) The Storm God *piḫaimi* is a *huwaši*. Hullu is the priest. One sheep, three offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (i 20–21) Milku is a *huwaši*. Muttanani is the priest. One sheep, three offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (i 22–23) Yarri is a *huwaši*. Harwaluti is the priest. One sheep, six offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.

²⁹ GI₁š[ha-at-tal-wa-aš] zi-ik URUDU[za-a]k-ki-<in>-na-pa [GIM-an] EGIR-pa ha-aš-ki-ši «x» da-an-ku-i[n]-na-pa ta-g[a-an-zi-pa-an] i-it zi-ik EGIR-pa ha-a-aš § nu ka-ru-ú-li-uš DINGIR.MEŠ-uš ú-wa-te n[a-at-za] a-pi-ya da-an-zi nu-za pa-a-an-du a-pi-[ya] ták-na-aš ⁴UTU-un mu-ki-iš-kán-du nu H[UL-lu] ku-it DÜ-nu-un na-an-mu DINGIR.MEŠ EGIR-pa me-mi-iš-kán-du], *KBo* 11.14 iii 25’–31’; edited by Ünal 1996: 23–24, 30); cf. Hoffner 1967: 390–91. The emendations of line 25 follow Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 136.

³⁰ iii 32–37; cf. Ünal 1996: 30–31 whose reconstruction of the text has the piglet’s carcass placed first in the pit and then removed again for the offering to the Sun Goddess. Note that his restoration of Š[A]Ḫ by collation in iii 15 nevertheless requires emendation to ŠAH<TUR> since it is surely the same animal that is being offered. See note 17 for other examples of piglets offered to the Sun Goddess of the Earth.

- (i 24–25) The Storm God of Hayaša is a *huwaši*. Wanni is the priest. One sheep, [N] offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (i 26–27) [DN] is a *huwaši*. Pihawiya is the “Mother of the Deity” priestess. One sheep, [N offering loaves,] one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (ii 1) [... fo]r the Spring Festival
- (ii 2–3) [...] container of beer [...]. For the Spring Festival
- (ii 4) [The gods that are *huwaši*-s of the town of ...]-jenta are complete.
- Second Town:**
- (ii 5–7) [The Storm God of ... is a statue of an o]x, wooden, standing on all fours. A *haršiyalli*-container [...] of N *PARISU* of flour, 1 container of KA.GAG beer for the Autumn Festival of pouring. [N *PARISU*] of flour, three containers of KA.GAG beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (ii 8–10) The Storm God of [Aššur] is a *huwaši*. One sheep, five containers of beer. But they continuously bring offering loaves from the town for the Autumn Festival. The Spring Festival is handled in this manner (also).
- (ii 11–12) The Sun God of Heaven is a *huwaši*. One sheep, two containers of beer. But the offering loaves they continuously bring from the town. For the Spring Festival.
- (ii 13–14) The Sun Goddess of the Earth is a *huwaši*. One sheep, one offering loaf of one *SUTU*, 1 container of [beer]. For the Spring Festival.
- (ii 15–16) Pentaruhši is a *huwaši*. One sheep, 6 offering loaves, 2 containers [of beer]. For the Spring Festival.
- (iii 1–2) The Storm God *pihaimi* is a *huwaši*. One sheep, six [offering loaves] two containers of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (iii 3–4) The Storm God of the Cloud is a *huwaši*. One piglet, but they continuously provide the offering loaves from the town. One container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (iii 5–6) The Protective Deity is a *huwaši*. One sheep, one container of beer, but they continuously provide the offering loaves from the town. For the Spring Festival.
- (iii 7–8) Iyaya is a *huwaši*. One sheep, two *PARISU* of flour, one container of KA.GAG beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (iii 9–10) The Spring, Kuwannaniya. One piglet, three offering loaves, one *hanešša*-container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (iii 11–12) Mt. Utaliya is a *huwaši*. One sheep, three containers of beer, but they continuously provide the offering loaves from the town. For the Spring Festival.
- (iii 13–14) The Sun Goddess of the Earth is a *huwaši*. One piglet, three offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (iii 15–17) The *zawalli* deities. One person goads(?) a sheep while another delivers/presents a piglet. For the Spring Festival. But they continuously provide the offering loaves together with beer from the town.
- (iii 18–19) The Stormgod of Nerik. One sheep, one piglet for the male deities, one container of beer. But they continuously provide the offering loaves from the town. For the Spring Festival.
- (iii 20–21) The “New Deity” is a *huwaši*. One sheep, one container of beer. But they continuously provide the offering loaves from the town. For the Spring Festival.
- (iii 22–23) Putallimi is a *huwaši*. One sheep, six offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.

- (iii 24–25) Total: Seventeen³¹ deities that are *huwaši*-s of the town of Hašu[-...].³² Twelve sheep and five(!) piglets.
- Third Town:**³³
- (iii 26–29) [The Storm God of] Zippalanda [...] is the priest [...] His Majesty [has instituted these things ...]
- [break of several lines]
- (iv 1–7) One *haršiyalli*-container of [N] *PARISU* of emmer. Pallanna is the priest. Three offering loaves, one container of beer for the Autumn Festival of pouring. When it thunders and they open the *haršiyalli*-container then they celebrate the *ippiya* festival for it. One container of KA.GAG beer, three containers of (regular) beer. But the offering loaves of the *haršiyalli*-container (are for) when they relinquish the sickle and they take the staff down. One sheep, one container of beer. But they provide the offering loaves from the town. One cauldron of *gangati* stew. For the Spring Festival.
- (iv 8–9) The Storm God of Nerik is a *huwaši*. Tarhuntapiya is the priest. One sheep, one container of beer. But the men of the town continuously provide the offering loaves. For the Spring Festival.
- (iv 10–11) The Storm God of Tarmaliya is a *huwaši*. Hutrala is <the priest>. One piglet, one container of beer. But they provide the offering loaves from the town. For the Spring Festival.
- (iv 12–13) Pentaruhši is a *huwaši*. Hutrala is the priest. One piglet, one container of beer. But they continuously provide the offering loaves from the town. For the Spring Festival.
- (iv 14–15) The Storm God of Growth is a *huwaši*. Tarhuntapiya is the priest. One sheep, three containers of beer. But they continuously provide the offering loaves from the town. For the Spring Festival.
- (iv 16–17) The Storm God of Thunder is a *huwaši*. One piglet, three offering loaves, one container of beer. For the Spring Festival.
- (iv 18–19) The Storm God of Aššur is a *huwaši*. Tarhuntapiya is the priest. One sheep, one container of beer. But they continuously provide the offering loaves from the town. For the Spring Festival.
- (iv 20–21) The “New Deity” is a *huwaši*. Dudduwalli is the priest. [One sheep], one container of beer. But they continuously provide the offering loaves from the town. For the Spring Festival.
- (iv 22–23) [DN] is a *huwaši*. Pallatati is the Priest. [One sheep, one container] of beer. But they continuously provide the offering loaves from the town. For the [Spring Festival].
- (iv 24–25) [DN] is a *huwaši* [
- [remainder of column broken]

³¹ The number 17 here is correct (questioned by Carter 1962: 89 and Archi 1979: 90). Note that the first deity is not a *huwaši* and therefore not to be included in the total. Seventeen animals total are allotted, two animals for the two? *zawalli* deities and two animals for the Storm God of Nerik and his male deities. The number that is incorrect is the tally of 4 piglets, since 5 are in fact offered.

³² So *RGTC* VI, 96–97; van Gessel 1998: 352. Archi 1979: 90 reads Hjakur[a].

³³ It is not clear whether the list for the third town begins here or at the beginning of col. iv, although it seems unlikely that there is sufficient room at the end of col. iii to list the inventory for an additional town.

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TUDḪALIYA THE HUNTER

J. David Hawkins

I. INTRODUCTION

The hunts of the bull and the stag are perhaps the most striking images of Neolithic Çatal Höyük, and the persistence of this theme through succeeding periods down to IInd millennium B.C. Anatolia is apparent. There it reappears in the two most prominent Hittite cults, those of the Storm-God and the Stag-God. That the Storm-God actually is his sacred animal the bull is shown by portrayals of a bull on an altar receiving reverence from the King and Queen on the Alaca reliefs, and even more revealing, receiving the sacrifice of a bull on the İnandik vase (Özgüç, 1988, pl. 46.I, fig. 64.18-20). The new relief vases from Hüseyindede with the scene of bull-leaping (Sipahi, 2000; 2001) and the frieze of bulls doubtless belong to the same context.

The cult of the Stag-God and the associated hunt of the stag are also shown on the monuments, notably the Alaca hunting reliefs and the silver stag-rhyton of the Schimmel Collection. It is the purpose of this paper to draw together the different strands relating to the cult of the stag, the iconography, the cuneiform texts and the hieroglyphic monuments, and to elucidate thereby various aspects of the last group. The evidence will be seen to concentrate in the reign of Tudḫaliya IV, and it is thus entirely appropriate to dedicate to Johan de Roos this paper originally read at the Symposium “The Life and Times of Ḫattusili III and Tudḫaliya IV” held in his honour.

The importance of the Hunt in the monarchies of the Ancient Near East is recognized by the entry “Jagd” in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (Heimpel and Trümpelmann, 1977) though as it happens, the Hittite evidence was not included. This deficiency has been made good by articles by E. von der Osten-Sacken (1988), and Güterbock (1989). In her article von der Osten-Sacken observes: “Bemerkenswert ist allerdings dass die Jagd nicht zur offiziellen Selbstdarstellung der hethitischen Könige gehörte” (p. 71). The present paper provides the evidence that at least for Tudḫaliya IV the opposite is true. In it I draw on a number of recent treatments of aspects of the subject by many Hittitologists, and it was gratifying to see so many of these scholars present at the Symposium: Archi (1975), Collins (2002), van den Hout (1995a, b), Houwink ten Cate (1961), van Loon (1985), Müller-Karpe (2003), Singer (1996); and among the absent I noted particularly Carruba (1968), Forlanini (1987), Lombardi (1998), McMahon (1991), and Poetto (1993).

II. ICONOGRAPHY

This does not require extended discussion, but I note relevant items for subsequent reference and to draw attention to some more recent finds. Cf. Crepon, 1981.

1. The deer-hunt reliefs from Alaca höyük are well enough known and commented. For photographs see e.g. Bittel, 1976a, Abb. 224-225.

2. The Schimmel stag-rhyton clearly belongs to the cult and probably to its reorganization by Tudḫaliya IV, as may also the silver fist-rhyton which bears a "Tudḫaliya Great King" inscription (Güterbock and Kendall, 1995 – but note Güterbock's dating to Tudḫaliya III). The relief cult scene from the rhyton's neck shows offerings to the Stag-God and his consort Ala (readings argued below, III.2), with the hunting spears, hunting bag, quiver and dismembered stag placed behind the seated deity (see Bittel, 1976b, Taf. I, III-V; Alp, 1988, p. 17-23). The earlier appearance of this motif on seals was noted by von der Osten-Sacken (1988, p. 68f.) and Güterbock (1989, p. 114), as was its probable presence on the unfinished and poorly preserved upper part of one of the Alaca blocks. The *Bildbeschreibung* of ^DKAL LÍL has been often cited in the identification of the Stag-God's figure (e.g. von der Osten-Sacken, 1988, p. 64).

3. On the great Storm-God seal of Mursili III (Urhi-Tesub) (Neve, 1992, cover photograph), the supporting deity behind the Storm-God with his bull-drawn chariot may now be securely identified as the Stag-God after the discovery of a relief showing the same scene – see following item.

4. Among the reliefs excavated in the temple of the Storm-God on Aleppo Citadel the same scene as on the Mursili III seal is found, the Storm-God in his bull-drawn chariot followed by a supporting god identified by an epigraph as the Stag-God ((DEUS)CERVUS₃-ti) (Kohlmeyer, 2000, p.31 Taf. 15).

5. The Kınık-Kastamonu hoard has produced a magnificent bronze bowl which adds to the iconography of the hunt. The upper of its three registers with repoussé figures shows a stag-hunt by an archer leading a tethered stag (as on the Alaca deer-hunt) and raining arrows on groups of cervids. The second register has a spear-hunter with boar, lions and bulls, and among them a man spearing a stag. See Emre and Çınaroğlu, 1993, pp. 684-701, fig. 23, pls. 133-145, and (colour) C, D. The bowl bears an inscription of the dedicator, the eunuch Taprammi (Hawkins, 1993). See Fig. 1.

6. A seal impression of the same Taprammi is found in the Nişantepe archive (Herbordt, 2005, no. 409), which shows him pouring a libation to the "Stag-God of the King", though only the outstretched arm of the god on the stag is preserved on the sealing. Signet impressions of another official also show a deity holding this epigraph, one a standing figure, the other holding the lituus and seated on a stag, and the latter seal also has an unlabelled female deity seated on a goat: Herbordt, 2005, nos. 621, 622. See Fig. 2. For the epigraph and its reading, see below, III.1.

7. A stele Altınyayla recently discovered and published by A. Müller-Karpe (2003) shows a standing figure pouring a libation to the god on the stag. The pair are rendered very similarly to the god on the stag and the first offerant on the Schimmel rhyton scene. See Fig. 3. The function of the monument in its geographical setting is considered below, V.5.

III. THE READINGS OF THE STAG-GOD'S NAMES

1. Before proceeding with the cuneiform evidence for Tudḫaliya's cult of the Stag-God and the connected hieroglyphic material, I should summarize what I have recently argued elsewhere on the cuneiform and hieroglyphic readings of the Stag-God's names (Hawkins *apud* Herbordt, 2005 VIII.3.2, excursus 2-3).

The equivalence cuneiform ^DKAL = hieroglyphic (DEUS)CERVUS was established by Güterbock (1942, pp. 10f., 15-17), and the hieroglyphic already read phonetically as a form of (recent new reading) *Runtiya*. Two different readings for cuneiform ^DKAL are now established: (a) Hattic *Inar* and its Hittite (folk-etymologized) form *In(n)ara* (see McMahon, 1991, p. 23ff., with bibliography) and (b) *Kurunta* (McMahon, *ibid.*, following Houwink ten Cate (1961), p. 130 n. 3).

The cuneiform and hieroglyphic readings can now be satisfactorily aligned, especially with the new evidence from the seal impressions of the Nişantepe archive:

CERVUS₍₁₋₃₎+ra/i was already read *Inara* by Güterbock (Boehmer and Güterbock, 1987, no. 123, p. 46), which is fully supported by Nişantepe no. 136, (read *Hassawas-Innara*), and nos. 137-140, cuneiform *Innarawa* = hieroglyphic CERVUS₍₂₋₃₎+ra/i-wà/i: see Hawkins *apud* Herbordt, 2005, VIII.3.1, s.v. nos. 136, 137-140). See Fig. 4.


CERVUS₍₁₋₃₎-ti was identified since Houwink ten Cate with the (Akkadian) cuneiform writing *Kurunta*, but the hieroglyphic complement -ti coupled with cuneiform complement -ia(-) points to a Hittite reading *Kuruntiya* aligning with the Late *Runtiya*. In this context I also considered whether the Late period loss of initial *ku-* might already be occurring in the Empire Period, especially when the DN was used as an onomastic element.

Further, the evidence suggests that at least by the time of Tudḫaliya IV, the readings *Innara* and *Kurunti(ya)* for ^DKAL // (DEUS)CERVUS were interchangeable and no longer regarded as separate deities: thus the Stag-God of the King, cuneiform LUGAL-as ^DKAL-ri (dat. sing., *Hassawas Innara*) must equate with hieroglyphic CERVUS₃(DEUS)-ti REX (*Kurunti(ya)*, see Herbordt, 2005, nos. 409, 497, 621, 622, with comments of Hawkins, *ibid.*; for the writing see Fig. 2). Similarly "Innara of Mount Sarpa" (HUR.SAGSarpas ^DKAL-ri (dat. sing.)) is identified with the EMİRGAZİ altars' CERVUS₃(DEUS)-ti *463, "Kurunti(ya) of the Countryside", see below, V.1, §26.

The easiest way of understanding this identification of *Innara* and *Kuruntiya* is the assumption that they are respectively the Hittite and the Luwian names of the Stag-God. This assumption is supported by the distribution of the occurrences: in the cuneiform texts evidence suggests that the reading of the DN ^DKAL was *Innara* both by alternations with phonetic writings and the complement *-ri* (dat. sing.), while *Kuruntiya* seems restricted to use as a personal name and an onomastic element in names recognizable as Luwian. In hieroglyphic writings the usual complement *-ti* indicates *Kurunti(ya)* for the deity, for the PN CERVUS₁₋₃-*ti*, and for the onomastic element in most names – though CERVUS₁₋₃-*ra/i* is used to write the Hittite names *Innarawa* and *Hassawas-Innara*.

2. The gold epigraphs on the Schimmel rhyton. See Fig. 5.

The reading of these hieroglyphic epigraphs present problems which are worth considering in this context.

The sign common to both epigraphs  is otherwise unknown but here must surely represent “god” in place of the usual DEUS (L.360). The sole other hieroglyph before the god on the stag is not very like the usual “antler” (L.102) but must be a form of it, as already suggested by Steinherr (Güterbock, 1989, p. 115). Thus for this epigraph we read DEUS_x.CERVUS_x.

The other figure, the sex of which has occasioned doubt, has the epigraph á-x-DEUS_x-FILIA (cf. Güterbock, *ibid.*). The second sign x is partly obscured by the folded-over rim and is unidentified, while the fourth seems to guarantee the femininity of the figure. The initial á-, when compared with the EMIRGAZI altars writing á(FEMINA.DEUS).*461 for the goddess Ala (see below, V.1, §26) must in this context indicate the same deity here, whatever the function of the second sign. The use of FILIA might suggest that Ala was the daughter rather than the consort of the Stag-God, but other evidence for this appears to be lacking.

IV. CUNEIFORM SOURCES

1. Terminology.

The actual Hittite word “hunt” (*hu(wa)rna-*, see Puhvel, 1991, s.v.), is seldom attested. The Kessi story does have *hurnuwanzi pai-*, “go hunting”, and a fragment of a ^DKAL festival connecting closely with the texts of the following section (IV.2) attest the iter. form *hu(wa)rnisk-*. Beyond this, the word is restored at the appropriate part of the Anitta text (rev. 59: see Hoffner, 1997, p. 184, contra Neu, 1974, pp. 14, 44, 87). Also Güterbock suggested the recognition of a “festival of hunting” in the EZEN *hurnay(ay)assar* (perhaps with the excision of a surplus *-ia-*: 1989, p. 118 with n. 44). The term “hunter” where it occurs is rendered Akkadographically LÚŠĀ’IDU (Gilgames, Laroche, 1969, p. 124 (i 27); Madduwatta, Goetze, 1928, rev. 59, 60, 64, 66; Hurr.-Hittite bilingual, Neu, 1996, pp. 77, 114f., where the Hurr. equivalent is given as *kebli*). The “dog-man”, LÚ UR.GI₇, sometimes seems to be acting as a hunter, although in many

attestations he is found simply in a cultic context (Pecchioli Daddi, 1982, p. 376f., LÚ UR.ZÍR, distinguished as I and II). Finally a Late hieroglyphic Luwian word *hú+ra/i-na-li* has been tentatively identified as “hunter” (KULULU lead strip 1, §7.38: see Kalaç, 1978, p. 123f.).

2. Texts.

The cuneiform texts which connect closely with the hieroglyphic monuments are those named by McMahon “The Festival for all the Tutelary Deities” (1991, chapter 3), both the festival of the group offerings (a), and that of the individual offerings (b), compositions of Tudĥaliya IV, whose name appears frequently.

(a) *KUB* 2.1. The comparatively well preserved part (obv. i 42 - rev. v 5) contains two lists, the first “two bulls for all the names of ^DKAL (not “names of all the ^DKAL”!) ... total 112 names”; the second “one cow, 3 wild billy goats for all the names of Ala ... total 60 [...]”.

(The nine disconnected lines preserved at the top of col. vi belong with the following item, (b), see below).

The first group of ^DKAL names (i 44-51), after the four principal types (“of the Sky, of Garahna, Karsi, Ĥapantali”), lists the ^DKAL’s of cities, mountains and rivers (the names in bold type are the ones of relevance to the present discussion): “to Innara (^DKAL-*ri*) of **Alatarma**, of Mt. **Saluwanda**, of Mt. **Sarpa**, of Sulupassa, of Tuttuwa, of Ĥarana, of **Sarissa**, of Mt. **Sunnara**, of the river Kummara, of the river Siĥiriya, of Ĥallatta”.

(b) *KBo* 11.40, the main fragment with the individual offerings.

col. i runs parallel to the first group of ^DKAL names on (a) above, including offerings to Innara of [Sul]upassa, [Tu]ttuwa, Ĥarana, [Mt. S]arissa, [Mt. Su]nnara, [river Kummar]a, river Kella, Ĥallassa.”

col. v (with toponyms restored from duplicate c) has direct offerings to mountains including Mt. Sarpa (l. 8’) and Mt. Sunnara (l. 10’).

col. vi runs parallel to col. vi of the previous text (a): –

KUB 2.1 vi: “Of the land Ĥatti all the mountains, all the lands which My Sun Tudĥaliya habitually travels (*lahĥiyaiskizzi*); all the mountains of the land Ĥatti which My Sun Tudĥaliya Great King habitually shoots (*siyatalliskizzi*), all the mountains of the Upper Land which My Sun habitually shoots, [the river Mala], the river Mamranta [...]”

KBo 11.40 vi: “[... (offer)ings) (to) all the mountains which [My Sun] habitually shoots, (offerings) (to) all the mountains of the Upper Land which My Sun habitually shoots, (offerings) to the rivers Mala, Mammaranda, Gurmaliya.” Hereafter patterned: “(offerings) (to) all the mountains, all the rivers of the land ... which My Sun habitually shoots”, including the lands Ĥurri, Arzawa, Masa, Luqqa, Gasga, ending “(offerings) to all the mountains (and) rivers [of the land Ĥ]atti.”

(c) *KBo* 12.59, a similar but otherwise unidentified fragment, has (i 2'-7'): "...]. One [billy goat] for Mt. Saluwanda which T[udhaliya the Kin]g habitually shoots (and) hu[nts]. One [billy goat] for river Halenzuwa which Tudhali[ya the King] habitually travels, for the rivers Kumra and Kella which Tudhaliya the King habitually shoots and hunts (*huwarniskizzi*) ...".

These texts use the iterative verbs *lahhiyaisk-*, *siyatallisk-* and *huwarnisk-* in parallel and partly interchangeably. The verb *huwarnisk-*, "hunt habitually", is sufficiently clear. *siyatallisk-*, "shoot habitually", is to be derived from *sai-/siya-*, "press; seal; shoot (arrow, spear)" (*CHD* s.v. *sai-* B, *siye-*), through *siyatal*, "spear" (or perhaps more generally any projectile), for which see Starke, 1990, p. 204 (though his attempt to explain the distinction between *siyattari(ya)-* and *siyattalli(ya)-* as scribal misunderstanding of RI/TAL is difficult to follow). The activity appears in the iconography as the shooting of deer with arrows (Alaca relief, Kınık bowl, above II.1 and 5, also for the Late period the Malatya Stag-Hunt relief with inscription MALATYA 3 (*CHLI* I/1, V. 18), and spear (also Kınık bowl, and compare the spears on the Schimmel rhyton scene and the related seals). *lahhiyaisk-* in the context seems more likely to have the sense "travel (habitually)" rather than "campaign militarily" (both senses being offered by the *CHD*, s.v. *lah(h)iyai-*).

The combined information of these texts shows Tudhaliya at pains to list his offerings to the Stag-God and his consort Ala of various localities and aspects, together with his offerings to all the mountains and rivers of Anatolia where ("which") he travels, shoots and hunts: note especially the offerings to the named mountains of text (b), col. v. It will be shown that these text references are reflected in the widely dispersed Empire Period monuments and their hieroglyphic inscriptions.

V. THE HIEROGLYPHIC MONUMENTS

1. EMİRGAZİ altars. See Fig. 6.

In my most recent treatment of this text (1995, pp. 86-102) I unfortunately omitted to note the undoubtedly correct proposals of Forlanini (1987), to which may now be added those of Lombardi (1998). Since then, in the preparation of the corpus of the Empire Period hieroglyphic inscriptions, I have completed new texts of the EMİRGAZİ altars inscription. The main revisions to the text, which are of relevance to the present discussion, are presented here, incorporating also useful suggestions from van den Hout (1995), Melchert (1997), and Rieken (2004).

...

§ 2. *a-wa/i* (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS á.CERVUS₃.*463-zi/a PONERE

§ 3. *zi/a-ha-wa/i-mi* STELE **a-pa+ra/i* PONERE

§ 4. **a-wa/i-tá* REL-*i(a)-sa* **a-mi-sa* NEPOS-*sa* INFA[NS ...

...

§16. *ma-pa-wa/i-tá* (MONS) ASCIA *sà-ka-la-tà-i(a)*

§17. *a-wa/i* (MONS) ASCIA SCALPRUM-*sa tá-tu-sa* **a-sa-tu*

...

§24. REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i* REX *zi/a-i(a)* STELE *sà-ka-la-tà-i(a)*

§25. REL+*ra/i-pa-wa/i* *tà-na* NEG-*wa/i á*

§26. **a-wa/i-tu-tá* (DEUS)SOL SOL+*RA/I* (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM
CERVUS₃.DEUS.*463-*ti* (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS á(FEMINA.DEUS).*461
REX.*398-*zi/a* *512-*zi/a* INFRA *tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-tu*

§27. REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i* REX *zi/a-i(a)* STELE PUGNUS-*MI-na á*

§28. **a-wa/i-tà* ARHA NEG-*wa/i* DELERE-*i(a)*

§29. **a-wa/i-na* (DEUS)SOL SOL+*RA/I* (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM
CERVUS₃.DEUS.*463-*ti* (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS á(FEMINA.DEUS).*461
su-na-sa-ti PUGNUS-*MI-tu*

§30. REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS á.CERVUS₃.*463-*zi/a* PONERE

§31. *ma-wa/i-sa* [...]

§32. *ma-wa/i-sa* 「VITELLUS」.*285

§33. EGO-*pa-wa/i* SOL₂ MAGNUS.REX IUDEX+*la* MONS+*tu* IUDEX+*la*
MAGNUS.REX x[...] *502-*mi-li* LOCUS-*ti* DARE-*tu*

§34. REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i-mu* *137-*ha-sa₅* NEG-*wa/i* DARE

§35. **a-wa/i-ti-i(a)-na* CERVUS₃.DEUS.[*463-*ti*] (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS [...]

§36. REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i-mu* *137-*ha-sa₅* DARE

§37. **a-wa/i-tu* CERVUS₃.DEUS.*463-*ti* (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS
á(FEMINA.DEUS).*461 *su-na-sa-ti á-na+ra/i-sù-ha-ti* PRAE *hwi/a'-i(a)-tu*

**a*, "initial-*a*-final".

See Hawkins, *apud* Melchert, *The Luwians*, pp. 159-161.

...

§ 2. and (on) Mount Sarpa put á.CERVUS₃.*463,

§ 3. and afterwards I for myself set this stele.

§ 4. (He) who (is) my grandson's son [...]

...

§16. But if one *damages* it/them(?) (on?) Mount "Axe",

§17. may Mount "Axe" be the ... TATU-

...

§24. But the king who will *damage* these stelae,

§25. or not make them *holy*,

§26. for him may the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, the Storm-God of Heaven, the Stag-God of the Country, Mount Sarpa (and) the goddess Ala *turn* down the royal(?)
*303('s)(?!)

§27. But the king who shall make these stelae to be *firm*,

§28. and not destroy them,

§29. him may the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, the Storm-God of Heaven, the Stag-God of the Country, Mount Sarpa (and) the goddess Ala make *firm* with full measure.

§30. And (he) who will put á.CERVUS₃.*463 (on) Mount Sarpa,

- §31. whether he (be) [...]
 §32. whether he (be) 𐎲VITELLUS𐎲 *285,
 §33. (to) me, My Sun, Great King, Tudḥaliya a ri [tual ...] in an *undefiled* spot let him give!
 §34. (He) who does not give a *ritual* to me,
 §35. him [may] the Stag-God of the Country, Mount Sarpa [(and) the goddess Ala ...].
 §36. (He) who does give a *ritual* to me,
 §37. may the Stag-God of the Country, Mount Sarpa (and) the goddess Ala run before him with fullness (and) ANARASUHA- !

Comments

§2. (DEUS) MONS.THRONUS = Mount Sarpa (previous ed., “Table Mountain”), also §§26, 29, 30, 35, 37. Forlanini’s identification of Mount Sarpa is clearly correct, and now received further corroboration from the Nişantepe archive. He has already cited in comparison the cuneiform name 𐎲Sarpa-𐎲KAL (note 25; Laroche (1966), no. 1129), for which a perfect hieroglyphic correspondence has now appeared as THRONUS.CERVUS₃-ti (Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005, no. 363).

á.CERVUS₃. *463-zi/a: see discussion below at the recurrence, §30.

§§16-17. (MONS)ASCIA, “Mount Axe”: the mountain name can now be seen to be written with a sign, presumably logographic, representing the type of battle-axe with spiked back as seen in the Şarkışla axe (Bittel, 1976b, pp. 19-27, Abb. 7a-b), and in the iconography as held by the god at the King’s Gate of Boğazköy (Bittel, 1976a, Abb. 267). The sign has already been seen as a hieroglyph on the fragment BOĞAZKÖY 9 (Beran, 1962, p. 48 Abb. 41). The reading of the sign is unknown, though is probably the word for the kind of axe which it represents: it may be listed as L.281 variant (3). The recognition of this writing adds a second mountain besides Sarpa to the text.

§25. *tà-na*: for the recognition of *tana*, “holy”, see Melchert, 1997.

§26. CERVUS₃.DEUS. *463-ti, “Stag-God of the Countryside”: clearly the correct order of understanding the signs is DEUS (determinative), CERVUS₃ (logogram), -ti (phonetic complement), *463 (epithet), cf. (DEUS)CERVUS₃-ti REX (written CERVUS₃.DEUS.REX-ti), “Stag-God of the King”, = cuneiform 𐎲KAL LUGAL (LUGAL-as 𐎲KAL), which is both a DN and used as a PN, see above, III.1. The sign *463 was identified as the equivalent of cuneiform LÍL, Hittite *gimra*-, Luwian *imra*-, “field, countryside, wild”, since it appears also as an epithet of Sauska (SÜDBURG, §3; Hawkins, 1995, pp. 33f., following Wegner; note the reversed orientation of the sign, and see further below, V.2). See Fig. 7 a-c.

á(FEMINA.DEUS). *461, “The goddess Ala”: again Forlanini’s identification of this writing as representing the goddess Ala is clearly correct, though the use of *461 remains not fully understood. In the writing, á- would appear to be a first-syllable phonetic indicator used similarly to those in e.g. (MONS)tu, “Tudḥaliya”, (VIR)zi/a, ziti-, “man”, etc.: cf. the remarks on reading of the gold epigraph on the Schimmel rhyton (above,

III.2). The determinative (FEMINA.DEUS), “goddess”, is strikingly paralleled by D.SALa-la-a-as, “Ala” (Muwatalli prayer, see Singer, 1996, pp. 14 (ii 5), 58). The sign *461 is presumably, as Forlanini remarks, the logogram standing for the deity’s name.

§30 closely parallels §2, with the context of “putting” (PONERE), something (on) Mount Sarpa. In §2 the subject of the verb is presumably 1 person singular as in the following clause, i.e. the “speaker”, Tudḥaliya, put ..., and then erected the stele. In §30, the subject is an indefinite future actor, “(he) who will put ...”, not necessarily a king (see §§31-32).

á.CERVUS₃. *463-zi/a, the object(s) “put” (on) Mount Sarpa: -zi/a should be a case-ending, (nom.) acc. sing. N (-(a)nza) or (nom.) acc. plur. MF (-(i)nzi). CERVUS₃. *463 represents “Stag-God of the Countryside” (without determinative and phonetic complement), and coupled with á-, seen to be a main component in the writing of “Ala”, this should represent something connected with the cult of the divine pair, perhaps statues or other symbols. See Fig. 7d.

tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-, “turn”: for this interpretation see Rieken, 2004.

§§31-32. *ma-wa/i-sa* [...] *ma-wa/i-sa* 𐎲VITELLUS𐎲 *285, “whether he (be) [...], whether he (be) VITELLUS *285”. Tudḥaliya placed the object(s) á.CERVUS₃. *463-zi/a on Mount Sarpa (§2), and another, either [royal?] or someone else, is expected to repeat the action in future. VITELLUS. *285 will be seen to be a title which may be borne by a king as well as by non-royal persons, and is the subject of the following enquiry (V.2).

§§33-37: for the elucidation of this passage, see van den Hout, 1995.

The stelae. The EMİRGAZİ altars text thus details the setting up of cult object(s) and stelae for the Stag-God and Ala on Mount Sarpa, and a connected ritual for Tudḥaliya himself. In the inscription STELE is written with the usual square block hieroglyph, L.267. The “altars” themselves are stone representations of offering tables (log. ZAG.GAR.RA, Hittite *istanana*-), which are seen in representations of festivals, e.g. on the Inandik vase, and are often stated to be made of wicker (AD.KID). Are these the “stelae” actually referred to in the text, often qualified as “this stele” (§§3, 6, 7, 24, 27)? Along with the altars a monumental base was discovered, the EMİRGAZİ block, with part of a historical inscription of Tudḥaliya, but this piece does not offer material relevant to this enquiry. However a later discovered piece, the EMİRGAZİ fragment, does contain relevant material, namely an informative context for VITELLUS. *285: see following section, V.2.

The mountains (see Fig. 8). Two mountains are named in the text, Mounts Sarpa and “Axe”, the former being more prominent. Forlanini identified Mount Sarpa as the relatively distant Hasan Dağ, some 40 km. away (Forlanini, 1987, p. 77), but Lombardi argued instead identification with the local Karaca Dağ (Lombardi, 1998, p. 77), and I myself followed this (*apud* Herbordt, 2005, no. 363). Examination of the account of the discovery (Callander *apud* Ramsay, 1906, p. 178 ff.) and a map (Fig. 8) suggests an alternative. The find spots of the monuments, Emirgazi village and Eski Kışla some 5 km.

to its north-west, lie at the foot of Arisama Dağ, a peak with *kale*, rising 1425 m., identified by Ramsay as classical Ardistama. To the south across a flat valley the ridge of the Karaca Dağ, reaching to over 2000 m. at its southern end, extends some 25 km. south-westwards towards the town of Karapınar. Thus in the context of placing monuments on Mount Sarpa, the immediately adjacent Arisama Dağ seems the most likely candidate for the identification, while Mount "Axe" could possibly refer to the Karaca Dağ. Geographically the area should have lain within the cult zone of Hupisna (Kybistra-Ereğli, lying some 50 km. away to the south), so the two mountains should be reckoned among those of Hupisna referred to in Muwatalli's prayer (Singer, 1996, §32), though the only named mountain there is Mount Sarlaimmi (the Toros-Bolkar Dağ). Perhaps Mount Sarpa did not gain prominence until Tudḥaliya's foundation.

This review of the information in the EMİRGAZİ altars text shows that the monuments in context represent the physical remains of the cult of the Stag-God and Ala of Mount Sarpa, and the offerings to Mount Sarpa itself, as recorded by Tudḥaliya IV on KUB 2.1 (i 46, iii 37) and KBo 11.40 (v 8).

2. EMİRGAZİ fragment (+ YALBURT blocks 16 + 10). See Fig. 9.

The new fragment of the EMİRGAZİ monuments was acquired by Sedat Alp from a villager during a visit in 1953 (Alp, 1973). Its text gained considerably in interest and in the possibility of interpretation when the publication of the YALBURT inscription in 1988 provided a parallel passage in a complete context with blocks 16 + 10, the junction of which was made possible by the comparison of the EMİRGAZİ fragment itself (Hawkins, 1992; cf. Poetto, 1993).

EMİRGAZİ fragment

CERVUS₃(DEUS)-*ti* *463 *wa/i-sà-ti*

**a-wa/i-mi-i(a)* VITELLUS.*285 *463.*398 H[EROS ...

YALBURT blocks 16 + 10

- (16, § 1. ...] NEPOS-*ka-li*)
 § 2. (DEUS)TONITRUS *wa/i-sà-ti*
 § 3. *a-wa/i-mi* REGIO *430 (*273) [*m*]u-*wa/i-ha*
 10, § 4. (DEUS)CERVUS₃ || *wa/i-sà-ti*
 § 5. *a-wa/i-mi* HEROS *463.*398 VITELLUS.*285 MAGNUS.REX
 (§ 6. (DEUS)TONITRUS DOMINUS-*na* REL+*ra/i* PRAE-*na* hwi/a-*i(a)-tá*)
 (§ 1. ...] great-grandson.)
 § 2. The Storm-God loves(?),
 § 3. and I conquered all the countries. } topos 1
 § 4. The Stag-God loves(?),
 § 5. and I (am) the Hero, the *463.*398, } topos 2
 the VITELLUS.*285, the Great King.
 (§ 6. When the Storm-God the Lord ran before me ...)

Comments

The YALBURT context shows that this forms a "prologue" to the text, standing as it does between the introductory genealogy ending "... great-grandson" (§1) and the beginning of the narrative proper (§6). The sense of §§2-3 (topos 1) is adequately clear, but for the parallel §§4-5 (topos 2), the sense of §5 is by no means obvious. What can be seen is first, that it is a clause with a 1st person singular subject (enclitic reflexive *-mi*), and secondly that HEROS and MAGNUS REX are royal titles, while VITELLUS.*285 may be identified as a title not specifically royal (Dinçol and Dinçol, 1985, p. 36f., no. 4). Recognizing this I was inclined to identify the verb in *463.*398 (Hawkins, 1995, p. 78f.), but I now think that this may be another title, thus that the clause is a nominal sentence, verb "be" understood, "I (am) (four titles)."

*463.*398: the sign *463 has been shown to equate with cuneiform LÍL, "field, country(side)", (above, V.1), and note the reverse orientation of the sign in either context, all EMİRGAZİ attestations showing the projecting "spur" pointing backwards, and YALBURT agreeing with SÜDBURG with it pointing forwards. The sign *398 is found on seals alone and with MAGNUS as a title (Poetto, 1981, no. 16; Hawkins, *apud* Herboldt, 2005, VIII.3.3, no. 62). Putting together what is known of either sign we may perhaps consider some such sense as "field-master(?)" for the group.

VITELLUS.*285: this pair of signs is now frequently attested. Besides (1) EMİRGAZİ altars, §32 and (2-3) the present EMİRGAZİ fragment and YALBURT occurrences, a similar context (4) grouping it with the titles MAGNUS.REX and *416-*wa/i-ni* is found (KIZILDAĞ 4, §3, see now Poetto, 1998, p. 469f., with n. 5). Its recognition as a title was as noted due to its occurrence on a seal (5) (Dinçol and Dinçol, 1985, p. 36f., no. 4; see Fig. 10), and the appearance (6) on KARAKUYU l. 2 is the attestation known longest. It has recurred recently (7) on a new fragment BOĞAZKÖY 23 (Neve, 1992, pp. 317, 319 Abb. 12), and it also occurs (8) on a new stele KOCAOĞUZ in Afyon Museum (see Ünal, 2003, p. 2 fig. 3), again as a title of the author, a prince.

The first sign was transcribed VITELLUS simply as a Latinization of Laroche's VEAU (L.109), where it is listed along with the animal head used in the writing of the toponym "Malatya" (KARAKUYU was the only attestation known to Laroche), but it should probably be separated from this, which is itself not understood graphically. "VITELLUS", rather than a calf-head(?) as in "Malatya", probably represents a cervid-head without antlers but showing clearly in all examples the knob from which they grow, the "pedicel" (see Gilbert, *apud* Collins, 2002, p. 24), so it would best be listed after CERVUS₁₋₃ (L.102-103) as L.103A and transcribed CERVUS₄.

The second sign *285 may be suggested in the context to represent a projectile, arrow and/or spear, (thus IACULUM), and the combination CERVUS₄.IACULUM as a title, royal and non-royal, to render ideographically the noun "hunter". We thus propose speculatively to recognize two additional titles in the clause, giving:

"I (am) Hero, Field-Master(?), Hunter(?), Great King."

Can further support for this interpretation be offered? A rather distant 8th century echo of this 13th century topos was already suggested (Hawkins, 1992, p. 263), in the shape of the BOHÇA inscription, itself apparently celebrating a successful hunt. Here, following the introductory genealogy and titulary, we find: –

BOHÇA

- §2. | *wali-ta* | (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ti* | *za-ri+i* | (BONUS)*wali-su-wali-i*
 §3. | *wali-mu* | TERRA-REL+*ra/i-zi* | SUPER+*ra/i* | “!CAPERE”(-) *la/i/u-na-’* | *pi-pa-sa-i*
 §4. | (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ti-pa-wali-ta₃-’* | *za-ri+i(-)ia(-)pa-’* | (BONUS)*wali-su-wali*
 §5. | *wali-mu* | *za-ri+i sa-ma-ia* || (“ANIMAL.BESTIA”) *HWI-sa₅+ra/i* | *pi-pa-sa-ia*

- §2. Here I am good to Tarhunza,
 §3. he grants to me to take over the territories;
 §4. and here ... I am good to Runtiya,
 §5. here he grants to me the beasts (as?) SAMAYA (or: the SAMAYA beasts).

Comments

§2. The love of the Storm-God leads (§3) to political power as on YALBURT block 16 (topos 1).

§4. The love of the Stag-God leads (§5) to the grant of the wild beasts in his domain (topos 2). The uncertain word *sa-ma-ia* was even considered for “shooting” (Neumann) or “shot” (Hawkins, 2000, p. 479f.). The EMİRGAZİ fragment/YALBURT parallel to this, with the interpretation offered of the two middle titles, may be thought to produce a sense sufficiently similar to the BOHÇA topos 2 to be acceptable. We may also think that Tudḫaliya IV who in his cuneiform record of offerings boasted “travelling, shooting, hunting”, might express similar ideas in his hieroglyphic inscriptions.

The proposal to recognize the signs as CERVUS₄.IACULUM and interpret “hunter” require a brief examination of all contexts to consider whether this fits in every case (these are numbered as above).

(1) EMİRGAZİ altars, §32: “(§30) and (he) who will put cult-object(s)(?) on Mount Sarpa, (§31) whether he (be) [...], (§32) whether he (be) a *hunter*, (§33) to me Tudḫaliya (*aedicula*) let him give a ritual ...”.

§§31-32 seem to appeal to any future visitor to the sacred site, and in the context a hunter, who might or might not be royal, may be thought appropriate.

(2-3) EMİRGAZİ fragment // YALBURT blocks 16 + 10. The interpretation “hunter” was suggested on the basis of the comparison of this with the BOHÇA topoi: the favour of the Stag-God should lead to power over the wild beasts, a sense which could be conveyed by “I (am) the Hero, the Field-Master(?), the *Hunter*, the Great King”.

(4) KIZILDAĞ 4, §3. This post- or Late Empire text, drawing on the same terminology as YALBURT, gives (interpretation following Poetto, except for (TERRA) *ta-sa-REL+ra/i* *430 VIR): “The men of all the earth (I) Great King, *DIWANI*, *Hunter*, took by (the help of) the celestial Storm-God”.

The context belongs closer to topos 1, political conquest with the help of the Storm-God, yet one would have to suppose that the title “Hunter” would have crept in from an unexpressed topos 2.

(5) Seal MERSIN no. 83.5.5. The pair of signs appears as a commoner’s title, which first revealed it as such, and makes clear that it is not reserved to the Hittite king, though he also might take it. “Hunter” fits here.

(6) KARAKUYU, l. 2 demands a more extended treatment: see following V.3, where it is suggested to be a verb, “hunt”.

(7) BOĞAZKÖY 23 is an uninformative fragment only.

(8) KOCAOĞUZ stele. The pair of signs appears twice as the title of the prince, the author of the stele. The cervid head seems to have been replaced with a dog’s head with prick ears. This may remind us of the cuneiform Hittite logogram LÚ UR.GI₇, “dog-man, hunter” (see above, IV.1), and we should perhaps transcribe CANIS.IACULUM in place of CERVUS₄.IACULUM.

3. KARAKUYU inscription. See Fig. 11.

- line 1. Tudḫaliya aedicula, to its left the single ligature sign *HATTI+li*, “*Hattusili*”, as if to commence the genealogy, continued on another block or left incomplete.
 line 2. (MONS)*á*-THRONUS (MONS)*417-*wali-tá* (MONS)*su-na-ra/i* CERVUS₄.
 IACULUM *HATTI+MONS.tu* (URBS)TONITRUS.PURUS.*417 REL-x-*i(a)*.

It is not clear how (in)complete the line is. The uninscribed space on the left may indicate what follows as the beginning of a passage; at the right end judgement on whether the text continued on another block will depend on the view taken on the last word.

(MONS)*su-na-ra/i*: unproblematic identification with cuneiform ^{HUR.SAG}*Sunnara*, already by Laroche (1952, p. 123).

(MONS)*á*-THRONUS: identified by Forlanini (1987) with the Mount Sarpa of the EMİRGAZİ altars, and he further suggested the existence of a second Mount Sarpa in the neighbourhood of Karakuyu. The initial *á*- however must be considered: does it perhaps indicate a reading *Asarpa*? Even if we may accept a reading *Sarpa*, a second Sarpa near Karakuyu is perhaps not necessary.

(MONS)*417-*wali-tá*: for the still uncertain reading of the first sign, see Hawkins, *apud* Herbordt, 2005, no. 580. Little can be added to Forlanini’s discussion of the mountain name, but of his suggestions *Suwanda*, *Siwanda* or *Saluwanda*, only the first seems epigraphically possible, though *Saluwanda* would produce a welcome link with the ^DKAL festival texts.

Though the identifications of *Sarpa*(?) and *Suwanda*(?) are doubtful, the occurrence of (MONS)*sunara* should suffice to link the monument KARAKUYU with the ^DKAL festival texts *KUB* 2.1 (i 50) and *KBo* 11.40 (i 15), the only cuneiform attestations of the mountain. If this does locate Mount Sunnara in the neighbourhood of Karakuyu, on the

Uzun Yayla close to the mid-point between Kayseri and Malatya, it should be included among the “mountains of the Upper Land”, as referred to also in these texts.

CERVUS₄.IACULUM: following the three mountain names and in perceived context of the ^DKAL festivals, specifically the information that Tudḫaliya “habitually shoots” (*siyatalleskizzi*) (on) the mountains of the Upper Land, we propose to see in these two signs, suggested above to be “hunter”, here the verb “hunt”. An appropriate sense would emerge: “Tudḫaliya (*aedicula*) hunts Mounts Sarpa(?), ... *wa(n)ta* (and) Sunnara”.

The problems of the rest of the KARAKUYU text are not addressed here.

4. KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA inscription.

Only the point relevant to the present discussion on this difficult and incomplete text is considered here, the city name *ta₅-tarali-ma*(URBS), which occurs twice (lines 1 and 3), see Fig. 12a.

The text must have stood also on lost elements on either side, leaving lines 1 and 2 as isolated fragments. Line 3 appears to be the last clause of the text, complete and recording the setting up of the monument by the high official Sauskaruntiya, entitled “prince, major-domo”, who is known from his seals (see Hawkins, *apud* Herbordt, 2005 nos. 373-378). The text has a “speaker”, 1st person singular (“my” occurs twice), who must be the Hittite king, specifically Tudḫaliya IV, since he was the author of most such monuments including YALBURT (only some 25 km. distant), also the same clause appears on l. 2 as on EMİRGAZI altars, §2 (“(he) who (is) my grandson’s son”).

ta₅-tarali-ma(URBS). Evidence is now accumulating for the Empire Period usage of the pair of signs *ta₄* and *ta₅* (L.416 and L.172), beginning with the digraphic seal of Alalime in the Nişantepe archive, where his name written cuneiform *a-la¹-li-me-es* is rendered in hieroglyphic *ta₅-ta₄-mi*, equating *ta₅* with (*a*)*la* and *ta₄* with *li* (see Fig. 12b). A growing number of examples of the latter correspondence are becoming apparent (Hawkins, *apud* Herbordt, 2005, VIII.3.2, Excursus 1). For hieroglyphic *ta₅* // cuneiform (*a*)*la* we note now YAZILIKAYA no. 45 where the name of the goddess identified as *Allanzu* is shown by collation to the written *ta₅-zu(wa)* (Hawkins, *ibid.*, see Fig. 12c). Following the pattern *ta₅-ta₄-mi* // *Alalime*, and *ta₅-zu(wa)* // *Allanzu*, we should take *ta₅-tarali-wa* as *Alatarma*. Exactly what is rendered phonetically by hieroglyphic *ta₅* // cuneiform (*a*)*la* and *ta₄* // *li* has yet to be fully explained, but it may well be reflected in the Hittite-Luwian alternation observed in Hittite *alapahḫ-* // Luwian *dapa-*, “spit”.

The contexts of KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA for the city *ta₅-tarali-ma*, though obscure, appear to indicate a proximity to the site of the monument, so if it indeed represents *Alatarma*, there is a problem. The *Alatarma* attested in cuneiform texts is located in the upper Euphrates area in two occurrences: the Mita of Pahḫuwa text (CTH 146, see Gurney, 1948, p. 37), where a man of the city is listed among potential rebels; and the battle of Niḫriya text (CTH 123, see Singer, 1985, p. 110 n. 61), where Tudḫaliya apparently fled there after his disastrous defeat at Niḫriya. Thus if KÖYLÜTOLU

YAYLA does indeed attest an *Alatarma* in its own vicinity, it would have to be a second city of that name. The Stag-God and Ala of *Alatarma* appearing in the ^DKAL festival text (*KUB* 2.1 i 45, iii 36) could however belong with this postulated western *Alatarma*, and the KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA inscription could be a monument associated with the cult.

Two other recently discovered monuments may be identified as representatives of Tudḫaliya’s cult of the Stag-God, the ALTINYAYLA stele from near Kuşaklı-Sarissa, and the DELİHASANLI stele from near Boğazköy.

5. The ALTINYAYLA stele. See Fig. 3.

This has already been mentioned above under Iconography (II.8). It had been reused as a tombstone in an abandoned cemetery at Altınyayla some 16 km. south-west of Kuşaklı-Sarissa, and was found in August 2001 by the Kuşaklı expedition under Andreas Müller-Karpe, who had it taken to Sivas Museum. See Müller-Karpe, 2003.

^DKAL of the city Sarissa is listed as a recipient in both the group offerings and the individual offerings of the ^DKAL festival texts (*KUB* 2.1, i 49; *KBo* 11.40, i 12’; see McMahon, 1991, p. 120 with n. 170), and a Mount Sarissa receives offerings in the latter text along with other mountains (*KBo* 11.40 v 10’ restored from duplicate *KUB* 40.101). Mount Sarissa should be included among “all the mountains of the Upper Land which My Sun habitually shoots” (*KUB* 2.1 vi 7-8 // *KBo* 11.40 vi 4’-6’), and was doubtless the most prominent mountain in the neighbourhood of the city Sarissa: see Gonnet, 1968, p. 135. The obvious candidate for identification, as Andreas Müller-Karpe informs me, is the Karatonus Dağ, which rises to over 2000 m., some 20 km. south-west of Kuşaklı, at the foot of which lies Altınyayla itself (formerly Tonus). (He also notes that this mountain has the geographical distinction of lying between three watersheds, sourcing rivers which flow ultimately into the (eastern) Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Persian Gulf).

This mountain then should be Mount Sarissa of the ^DKAL festival text, and the ALTINYAYLA stele should represent a monument of Tudḫaliya and part at least of his cultic installation in honour of the Stag-God of Sarissa on its sacred mountain.

6. The DELİHASANLI stele. See Fig. 13.

This rather crude little stele of Tudḫaliya IV was recovered from a house-wall in the village of Delihasanlı in 1995 by the German Boğazköy expedition under Jürgen Seeher, who kindly invited me to comment, which I did briefly (Seeher, 1996, pp. 357-359), but my remarks now demand some revision. On the preserved half of the top line I read the two surviving signs as MONS *430, “all mountains, every mountain”, but unfortunately added: “It is not immediately obvious to what kind of context this phrase might belong”. Actually it should have been obvious, if I had kept in mind the ^DKAL festival texts of Tudḫaliya, specifically the phrase “all the mountains which My Sun, Tudḫaliya, the Great King travels/shoots/hunts”. Thus it is clear that this little stele represents a local manifestation of the cult of the Stag-God and his mountains close to Ḫattusa, and it thereby gains an interest which I did not remark at the time.

My suggestion that on the missing half of the top line a deity's name should be restored is probably correct: it should be that of the Stag-God, and indeed the surviving trace to the left of MONS is probably the top tine of the antler hieroglyph CERVUS₃, suggesting the restoration [(DEUS)] C[ERVUS₃-ti], perhaps with [*463], (1) "On every mountain (to) the S[tag-God (of the Countryside?)] (2) Tudḫaliya (+ aedicula) ..."

Line 3. The main surviving sign visible on the lower right seems to be the "putting hand" (L.65), and I considered the possibility of adding AEDIFICIUM (L.244) to its lower right side, to give the verb AEDIFICARE (L.246). This now seems unlikely, which leaves us simply with the logogram PONERE, "put", apparently sinistaverse, thus the first sign of the line, an awkward position if a restoration "put this [stele]" is envisaged. We could however compare the Kınık bowl inscription of Taprammi (see above, II.1.5) which though sinistaverse ends up with the verb on the left, "put", written with a reversed (dextroverse) "putting hand". If the same applies here, we could more easily envisage restoring a dextroverse last line, "[stele] this put", parallel to KIZILDAĞ 3 as suggested. It is true that it is also easier to see the zi/a, "this", as a sinistaverse rather than dextroverse form, so the understanding of line 3 must remain uncertain. What is clear at least is that the DELİHASANLI stele is another monument belonging to Tudḫaliya's mountain-top cult of the Stag-God.

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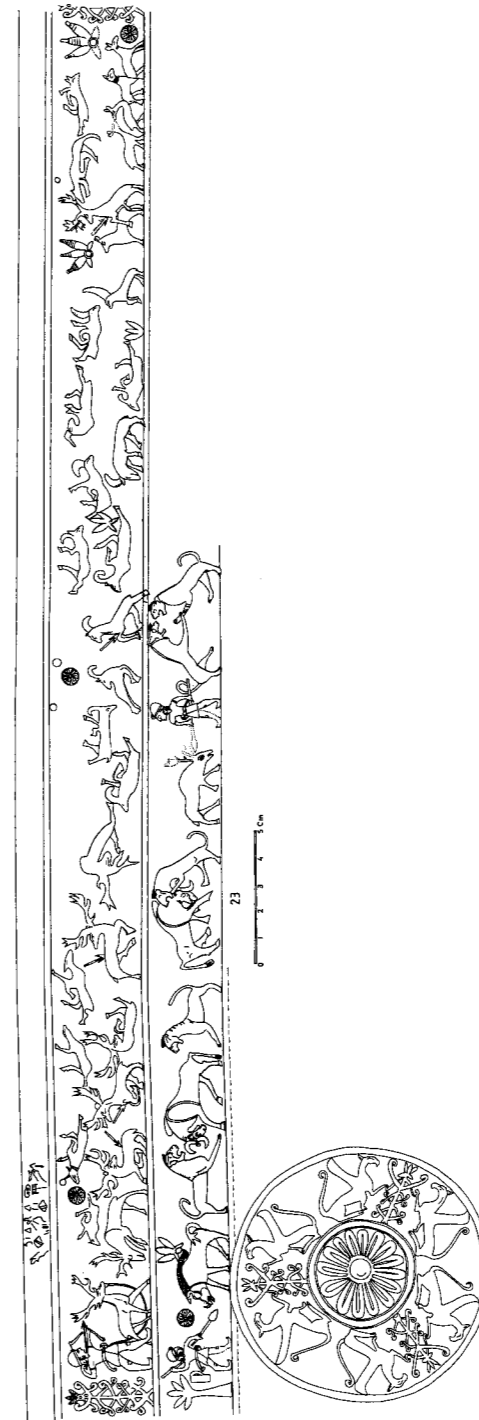


Fig. 1.
Bronze bowl dedicated by the eunuch Taprammi, Kınık-Kastamonu hoard (Emre and Çınaroğlu, 1993).

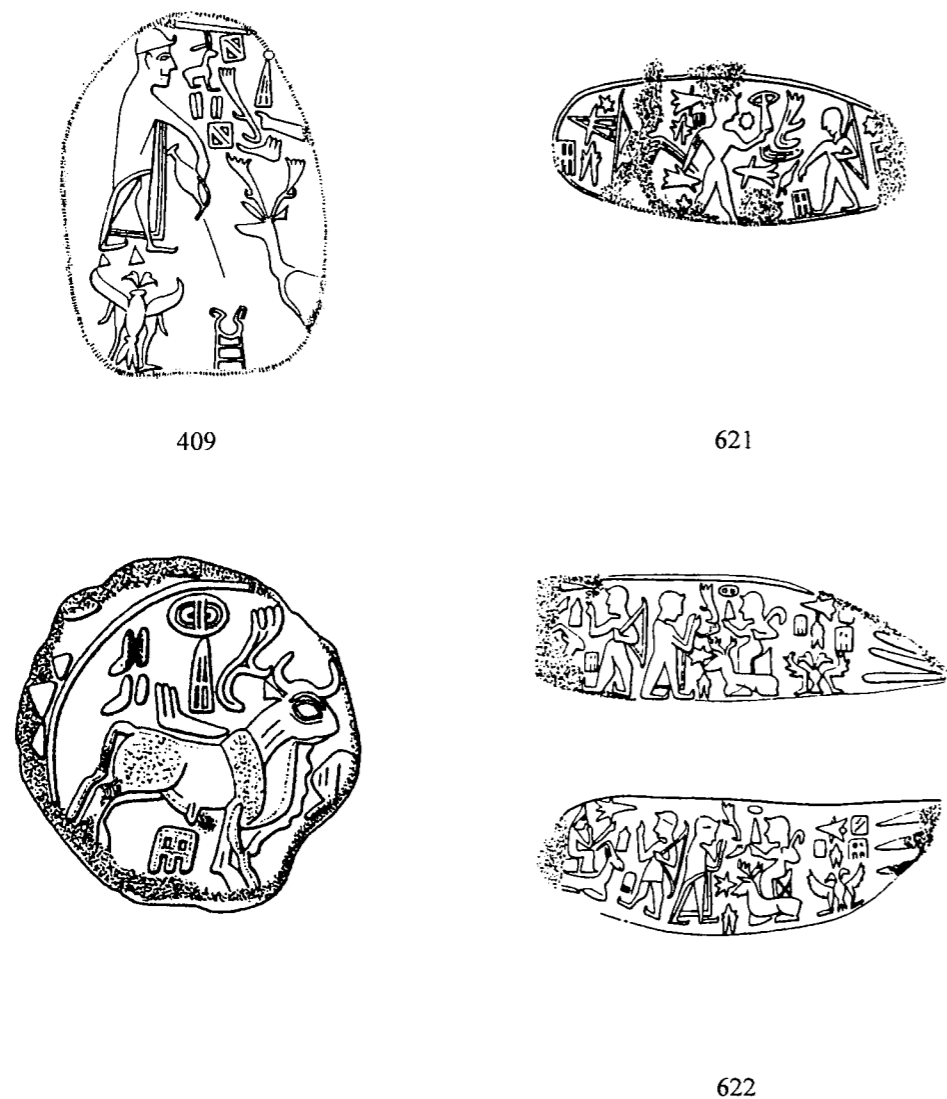


Fig. 2.
Seals with “Stag-God of the King” (DEUS.CERVUS₃-ti REX), Nişantepe archive
(Herbordt, forthcoming, nos. 409, 497, 621, 622).

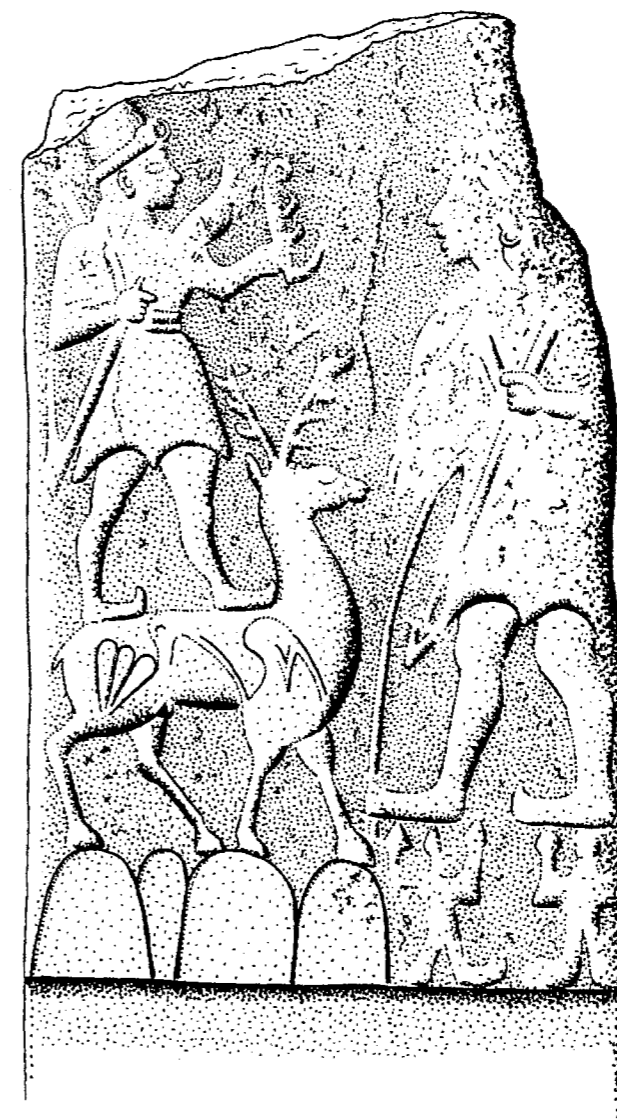


Fig. 3.
Altınyayla stele (Müller-Karpe, 2003)

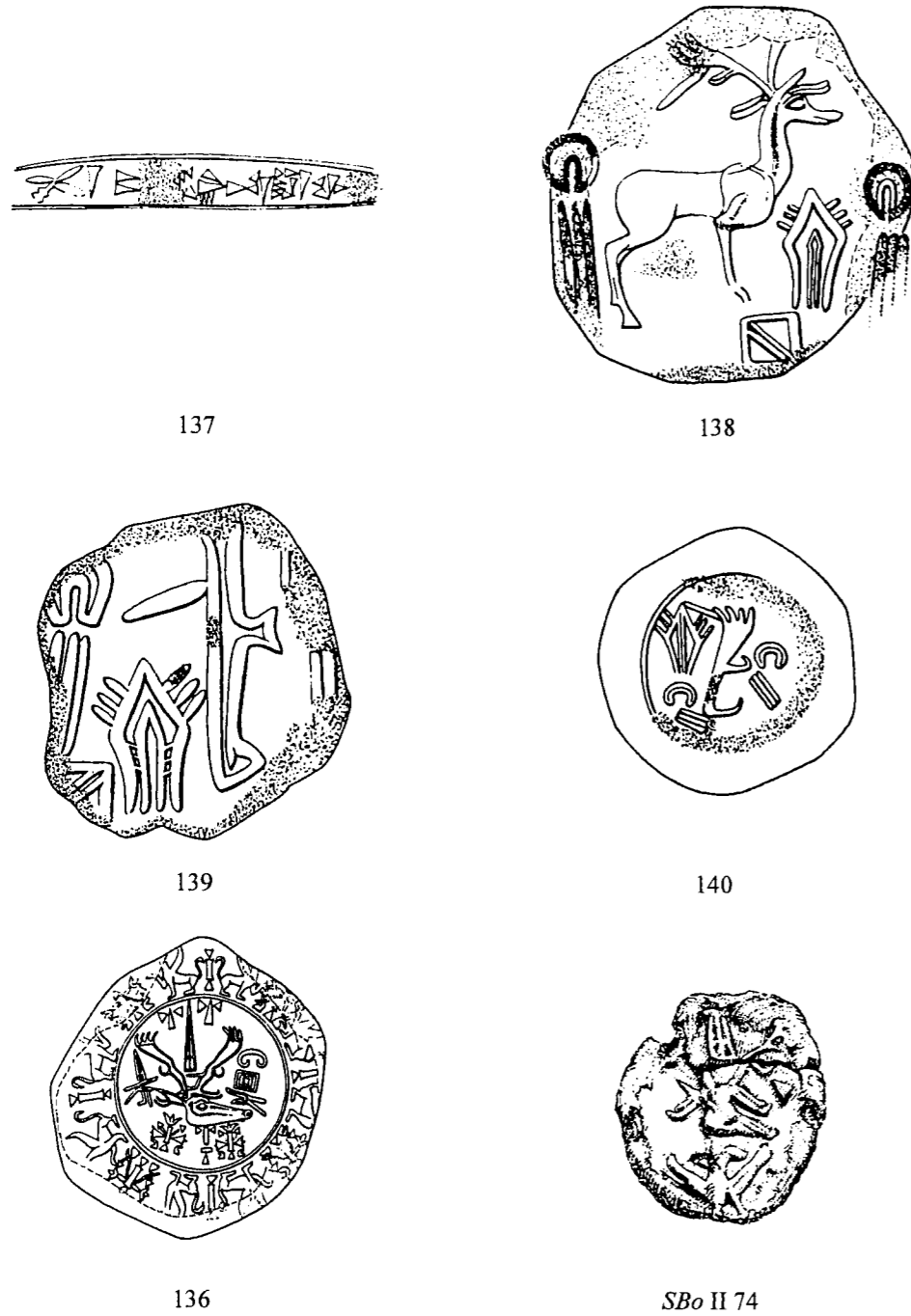


Fig. 4.
Seals of Innarawa and Hassawas-Innara, Nişantepe archive (Herbordt, 2005, nos. 137-140, 136 with *SBo II 74*).

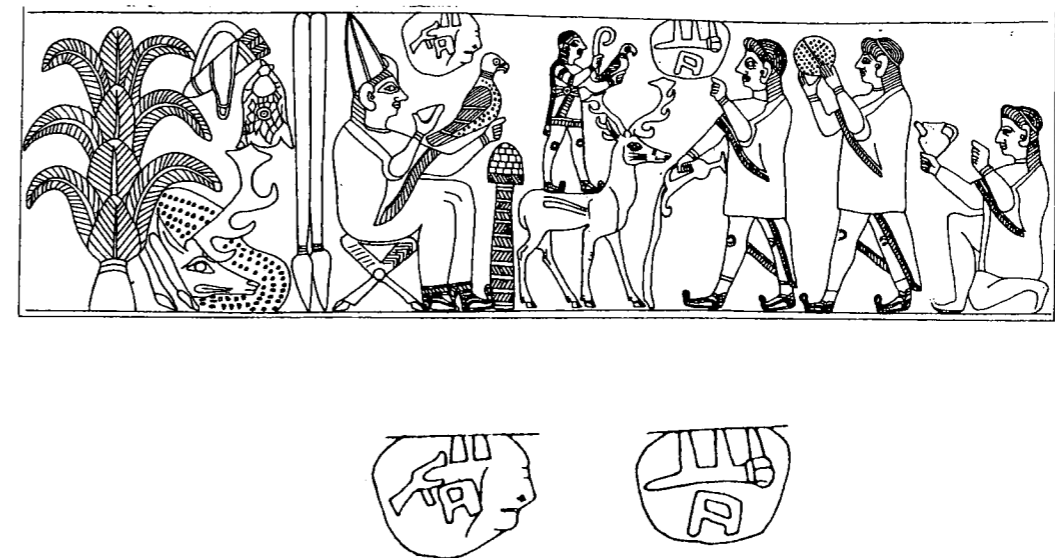


Fig. 5.
Relief scene on silver stag-rhyton, Schimmel collection (Alp, 1988), with gold epigraphs ($\text{DEUS}_x.\text{CERVUS}_x$ and $\acute{a}\text{-}x.\text{DEUS}_x.\text{FILIA}$).

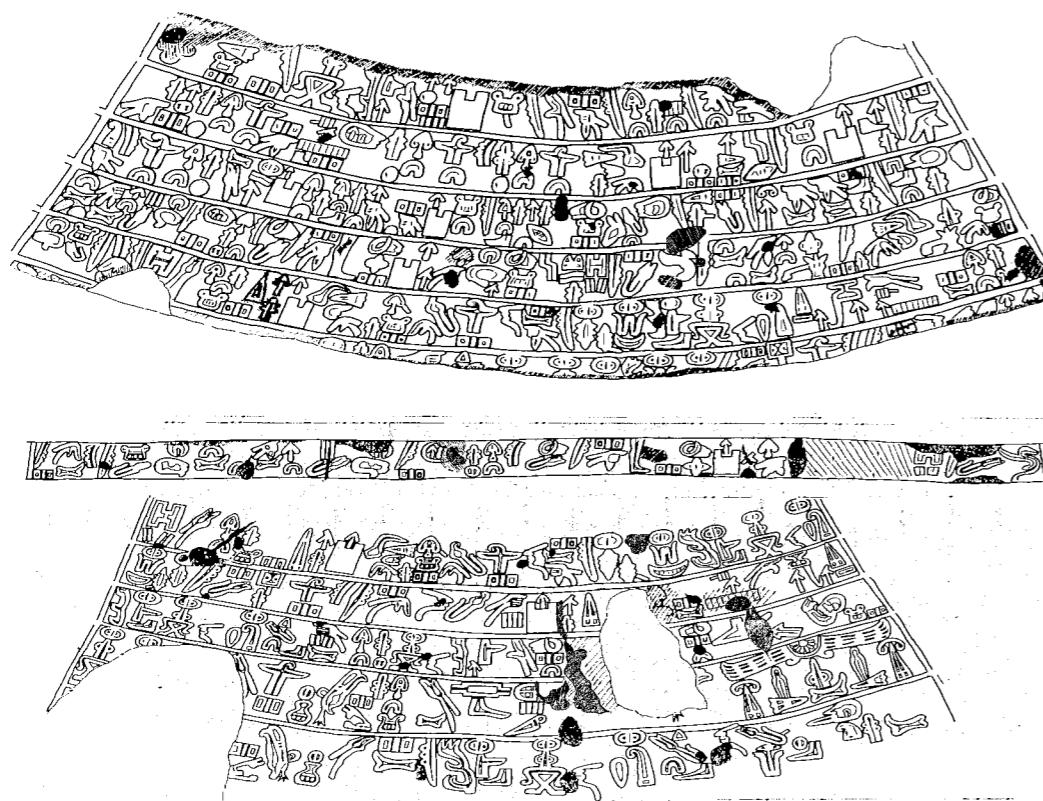


Fig. 6.
EMİRGAZİ altars text, altars A and B, from tracings made direct from the stones.

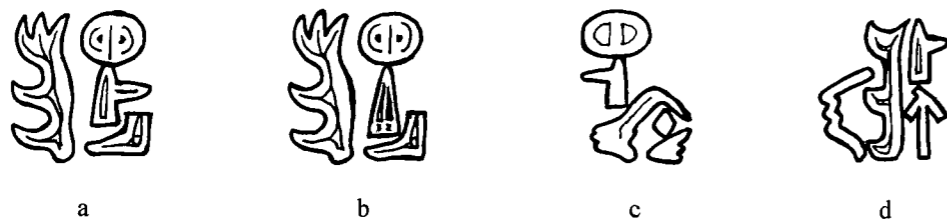


Fig. 7.
Writings (a) (DEUS)CERVUS₃-ti *463 [see EMİRGAZİ altars, §§26, 29, 35, 37]
(b) (DEUS)CERVUS₃-ti REX [see above, Fig. 2]
(c) (DEUS) *463 sà-US-ka [see BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), §3]
(d) á-CERVUS₃. *463-zi/a [see EMİRGAZİ altars, §§2, 30]

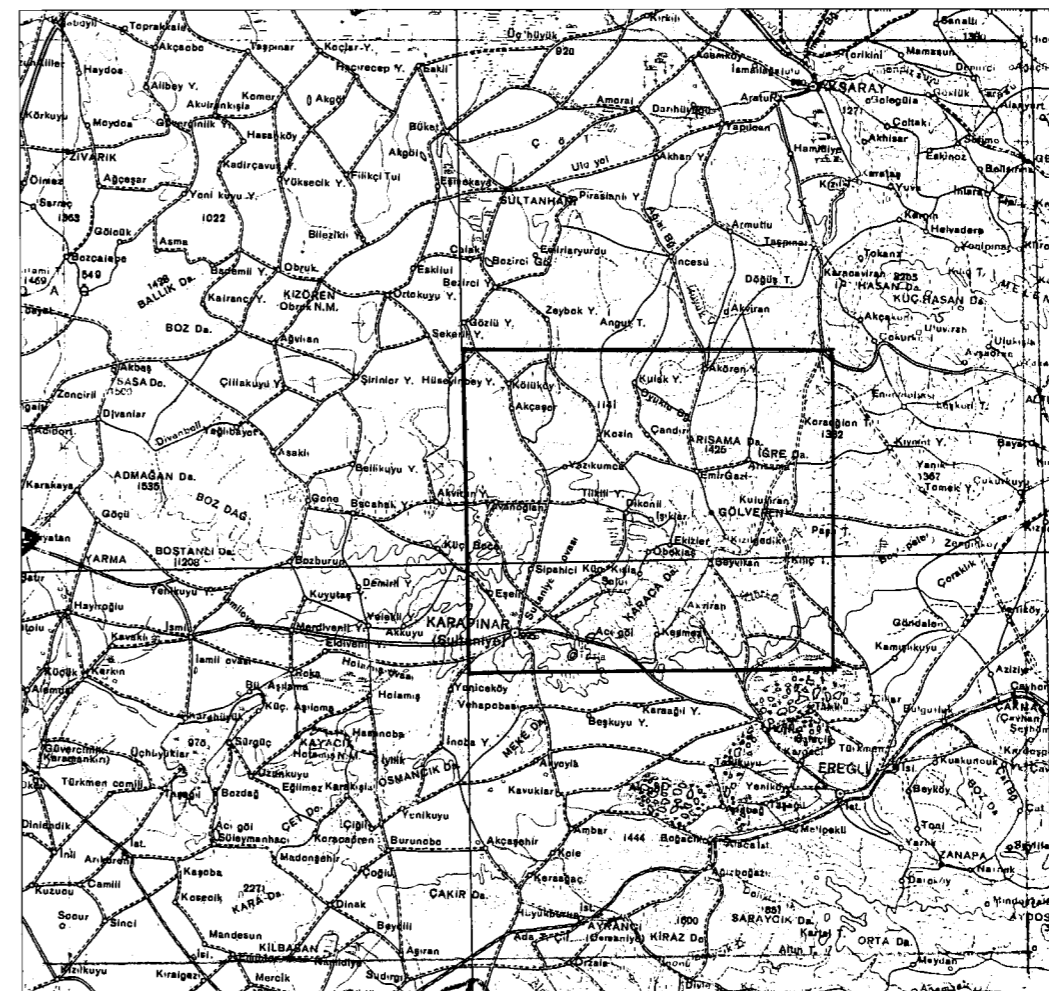


Fig. 8.
Map of central Anatolia, showing Emirgazi village, Arisama Dağ and Karaca Dağ.

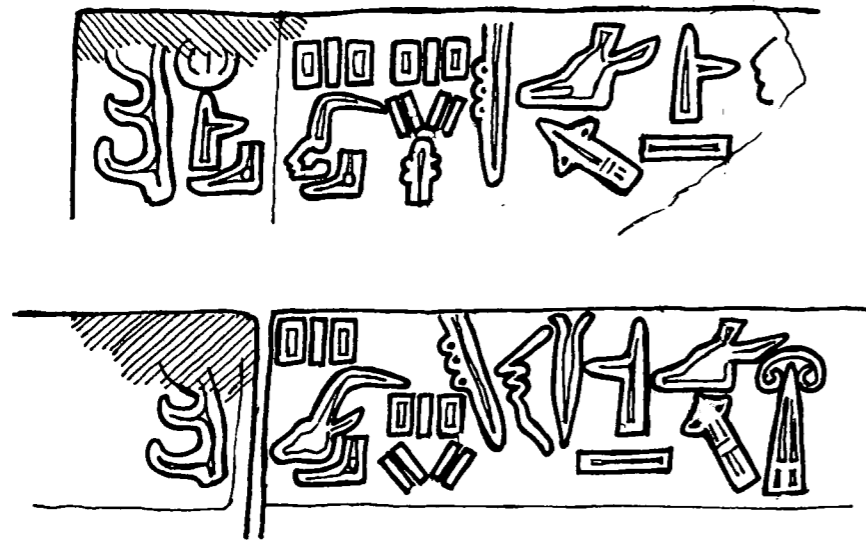


Fig. 9.
Parallel texts of (a) EMIRGAZI fragment, and (b) YALBURT blocks 16 + 10.



Fig. 10.
Seal of Luluwa, Mersin Museum (Dinçol and Dinçol, 1988), showing title
VITELLUS.*285.

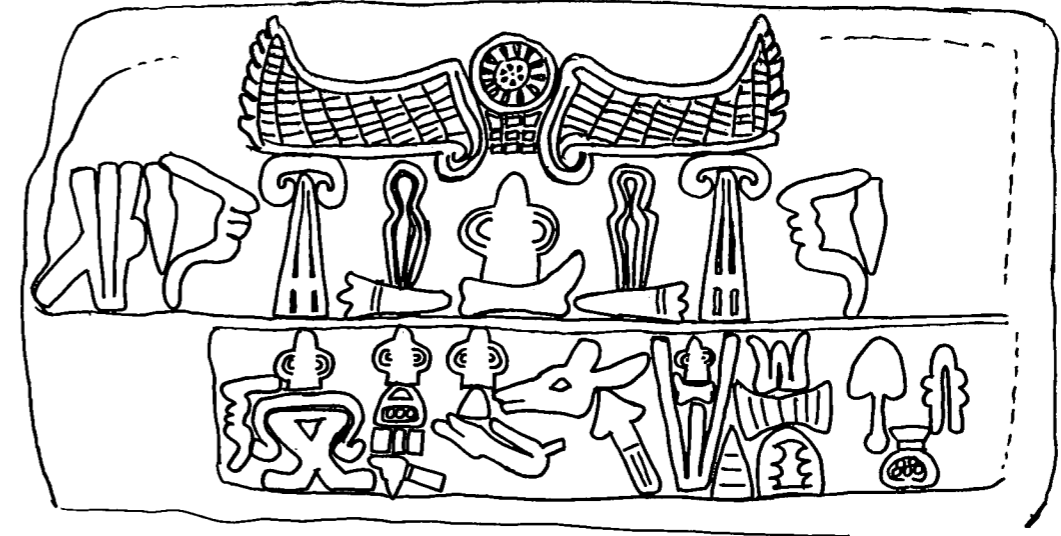


Fig. 11.
KARAKUYU inscription, text traced from photograph.

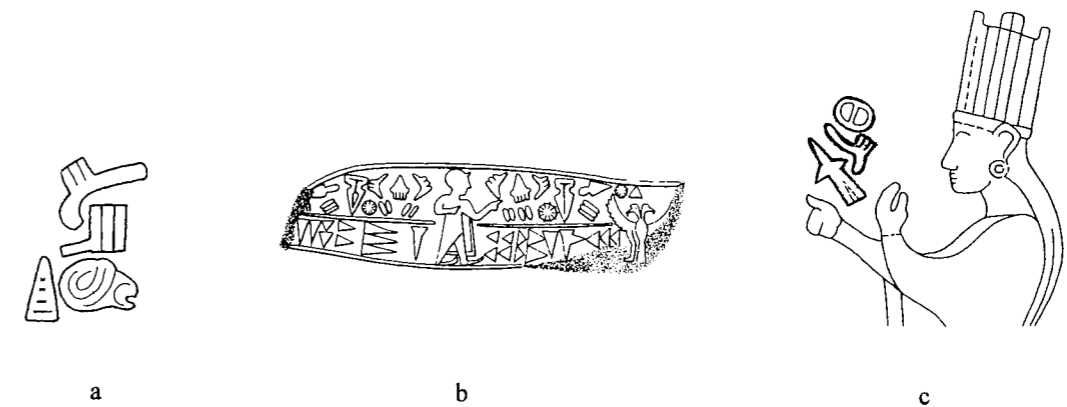


Fig. 12.
(a) Toponym *TA₅-tar*li*-ma* (URBS) (KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, II. 1, 3).
(b) Seal of *TA₅-TA₄-mi* (Alalimes) from the Nişantepe archive (Herbordt, 2005, no. 9).
(c) YAZILIKAYA no. 45, epigraph of goddess *TA₅-zu(wa)* (Allanzu), collation, 1991.

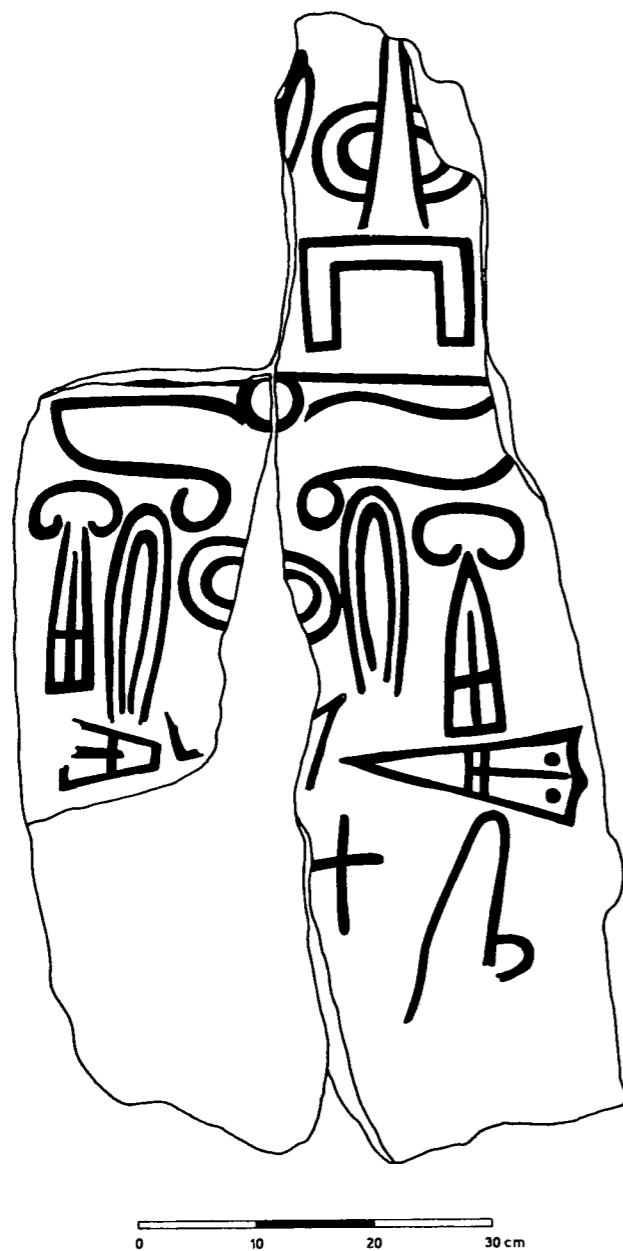


Fig. 13.
DELIHASANLI stele of Tudhaliya IV (Seeher, 1996).

ADMINISTRATION IN THE REIGN OF TUTHALIYA IV AND THE LATER YEARS OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE

Theo van den Hout

1. Introduction¹

The problem surrounding the findspots of Hittite tablets and fragments from the capital Hattuša is well-known. Their number is large, the documentation of findspots for roughly a third of the material has been lost and where we do have this information, it is very hard to detect some consistency or system. A few attempts at studying collections per building have been made in the past by Hans Güterbock, Silvin Košak and Silvia Alaura for Bldgs. A and E on Büyükkale.² Such studies can yield important information on the workings of the Hittite administration and the functions and responsibilities of, as well as the relations between, the various “offices”, that is, if we interpret the several primary places of tablet storage in the capital Hattuša as such. Košak, for instance, was able to point to the fact that despite the presence of records from all periods the very late ductus typical for Tuthaliya IV and his successors³ is not very well represented in Bldg. A. His observations found further support in Alaura’s claim that certain records originally kept in Bldg. E were selected and deposited in A whereas most others were discarded.⁴

Elsewhere I have defended the overall character of these collections as “living” archives with only small library-like portions concentrated especially in the Lower City Temple area.⁵ I start from the premise that an empire like the Hittite must have had some systematized form of record management. In this system there must have been offices with specific responsibilities including a “paper” trail with dossiers travelling between offices, copies being made, circulated and filed. Part of the alleged inconsistency between findspots and genres may find an explanation this way: it is unrealistic to assume that at

¹ For abbreviations see H.G. Güterbock, H.A. Hoffner, Th.P.J. van den Hout (edd.), *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CHD), L-N (1989) pp. xv-xxviii, P (1997) pp. vii-xxvi and Š/1, pp. vi-viii. I would like to thank here Silvia Alaura, Silvin Košak, and Jürgen Seeher for their friendly advice and comments. Needless to say, however, I alone am responsible for the views expressed here.

² See H.G. Güterbock 1991-1992 132-137, S. Košak 1995 173-179, S. Alaura 1998 193-214, and ead., StBoT 45, 12-26.

³ For literature on the identification of this late script see Th. van den Hout 1999 147.

⁴ See S. Alaura, StBoT 45, 26. It should be noted here that Košak and Alaura still reckon with a dating of Bldgs. A and E in their “present” form to Tuthaliya IV. However, as pointed out by J. Seeher in his contribution to this volume, there is no real hard evidence for this.

⁵ See my contribution to the forthcoming proceedings of the 5th International Congress of Hittitology held in Çorum from 2-6 September 2002 where I give a definition of the terms archive and library.

edition	excav. no.	findspot	remarks
KBo 41.168	2293/c	E	or.
KBo 41.171	2199/c	E	or.
KBo 41.178	8/k	A	or.
KBo 41.179	839/f	D	or.
KBo 41.188	15/g	E	or.
KBo 41.200	1762/c	E	or.
KBo 41.201	1763/c	E	or.
KBo 41.204	2797/c	E	or.
KBo 41.205	25/g	E	or.
KBo 41.212	2347/c	E	or.
KBo 41.220	87/f	E	or.
KBo 43.50	27/g	E	or.
KBo 43.59	340/e	A	or.
KBo 44.206	376/n	D	or.
KBo 44.207	331/o	A	or.
KBo 44.216	168/k	D	or.
KBo 44.223	44/l	A	or.
KBo 44.225	397/i	D	or.
KBo 44.231	508/i	D	or.
KBo 44.252	19/g	E	or.
KBo 45.186	2143/g	HaH	or.
KBo 45.187	212/t	HaH	or.
KBo 45.188	5/s	HaH	or.
KBo 46.123	84/p	A	or.
KBo 46.125	149/r	E	or.
KBo 46.129	157/r	E	or.
KBo 46.130	158/r	E	or.
KBo 46.134	209/q	E	or.
	486/u	StT1	vow
	491/u	StT1	vow
	543/u	StT1	vow
	584/u	StT1	vow
	585/u	StT1	vow
	1043/u	StT1	vow
	1340/u	StT1	vow
	1283/u	StT1	vow
	1381/u	StT1	vow
	1384/u	StT1	vow
	1407/u	StT1	vow
	1409/u	StT1	vow
	1421/u	StT1	vow
	1638/u	StT1	vow
	566/v	StT1	vow
	69/53	StT1	vow
	181/u	StT1	vow
	183/u	StT1	vow
	1214/u	StT1	vow
	577/v	StT1	vow

edition	excav. no.	findspot	remarks
	679/v	StT1	vow
	1188/v	StT1	vow
	69/755	StT1	vow
	69/845	StT1	vow
	219/u	StT1	vow
	367/u	StT1	vow
	410/u	StT1	vow
	537/u	StT1	vow
	600/u	StT1	vow
	1302/u	StT1	vow
	1333/u	StT1	vow
	1358/u	StT1	vow
	1865/u	StT1	vow
	1538/u	StT1	vow
	1372/u	StT1	vow
	43/v	StT1	vow
	351/v	StT1	vow
	366/v	StT1	vow
	507/v	StT1	vow
	600/v	StT1	vow
	837/v	StT1	vow
	941/v	StT1	vow
	965/v	StT1	vow
	1111/v	StT1	vow
	207/w	StT1	vow
	250/w	StT1	vow
	307/z	StT1	vow
	713/z	StT1	vow
	976/z	StT1	vow
	1147/z	StT1	vow
	1158/z	StT1	vow
	1173/z	StT1	vow
	69/373	StT1	vow
	69/522	StT1	vow
KBo 08.62	1/l	D	vow
KBo 09.96	381/n	A	vow
KBo 13.72	458/s	HaH	vow
KBo 13.80	100/t	HaH	vow
KBo 34.143	236/a	A	vow
KBo 34.145	432/e	A	vow
KBo 39.57	580/b	A	vow
KBo 40.332	2376/c	A	vow
KBo 43.66	85/f	E	vow
KBo 43.67	60/g	D	vow
KBo 44.226	73/g	D	vow
KBo 46.104	147/r	E	vow
KBo 46.132	138/r	E	vow

THE APPARENTLY DELAYED HOMECOMING OF TUDḪALIYAŠ IV TO HIS CAPITAL ḪATTUŠA

Philo Houwink ten Cate

In this paper I shall set out from a plausible text restoration of the apposition to the name of the prince ¹He/išniš which was recently proposed for a cleaned text from Ugarit by I. Singer. This emendation implies that ¹He/išniš would have been “a prince of the land of (the town of) Kargamiš” rather than a son of the royal couple Ḫattušiliš III and Puduḫepa. This new piece of evidence offers the fortunate opportunity to look once more at KBo 18.48 = A. Hagenbuchner, THeth 16, no 5, 7-12, a letter which has already received considerable attention from some of the reviewers of her important studies on the Hittite letters, THeth 15 and 16 (1989).² Admittedly I can only achieve the required results through the addition of a further proviso, to wit that it was not the Hittite king who had sent the letter, probably Tudḫaliyaš IV, who was residing at that moment in the capital Ḫattuša, but that this applied to Ḫešniš, the addressee. But in my opinion the analysis of the contents of the Rev. 1'-13', as confirmed by the less well preserved ll. 14'-20', does indicate that this must indeed have been the case. The same also applies to the Obv., notwithstanding the fact that the Obv. is badly preserved.

The short, but excellent definition of its contents by the editor, H.G. Güterbock, in the Introduction to the Volume, p. V can now be more closely followed than has hitherto been the case. Güterbock remarked: “Der König an Hisnî. Handelt ausser von politischen Dingen auch von Opferschau: GIM-an UDU-un TA-BAR-RI (vs 12); vgl. Nr. 124.” KBo 18.48 is Professor Güterbock's first and prime example of a “Verwaltungsbrief” and thus a letter concerning the Government and the Public Administration of the Confederacy as a whole and not a diplomatic letter, as has been assumed by others.

Another point which needs to be mentioned at the outset concerns the fact that Professor Van den Hout, in my opinion, conclusively proved in his treatment of the Oracle Inquiry CTH 569 (1998) that this Oracle Inquiry consisted of two stages and that the purification rites involved thus were twice performed during the reign of Tudḫaliyaš IV³. This may very well indicate that at least one other ‘Great King’ temporarily occupied

¹ Cf. note 9.

² See my other contribution sub note 2.

³ Cf. Th. van den Hout 1998a, 68-74 and especially 72-73, and 1998b, 28, 30, 36-37, 54-59, 84 and 89.

the Throne of 'Great Kingship' in Hattuša. It is even possible that a second candidate may have stood in the wings.⁴

Taking into account the famous bullae, known since approximately the same time as The Bronze Tablet, but also in consideration of the rock relief of Hatip with its inscription published by A.M. Dinçol (1998)⁵, the revolt of Kurunt(iy)aš can be dated to the time after the crushing defeat of the Hittite army by the troops of Tukulti-Ninurta I near Niḫriya some time before 1220 B.C.E.⁶

To the best of my knowledge, until fairly recently no one contested the 'communis opinio' of both R. Stefanini and Th.P.J. van den Hout that 1) E. Laroche had conclusively shown that KBo 4.10+, the Tarḫuntašša Appanage Kingdom Treaty, was negotiated between Tudḫaliyaš IV (but for other Hittitologists Hattušiliš III) on the one hand and Ulmi-Teššub on the other, but for these same Hittitologists who preferred Hattušiliš III, Ulmi-Teššub was to be identified with Kurunt(iy)aš by means of the 'Double Name Option'. That option entailed that in addition to the birth name (in this case Kurunt(iy)aš), a throne name (in that case Ulmi-Teššub) would have later, on the occasion of the enthronement, replaced the initial birth name⁷. Before Laroche's intervention the dating of KBo 4.10 + had been a strongly disputed issue from the twenties of the preceding century onwards.

Before the debate about The Bronze Tablet started, the same two scholars, R. Stefanini and Th.P.J. van den Hout, concluded that 2) therefore, since the name of Ḫešniš with the apposition DUMU.LUGAL is mentioned in the list of human witnesses in Rev. 30, "the conspiracy of Ḫešniš" would need to be dated after the conclusion of that treaty, but still during the reign of Tudḫaliyaš IV. But for the minority of Hittitologists who in this case do not apply the 'Double Name Option' and maintain Laroche's argumentation concerning point 1), the reasoning concerning point 2) can now be modified in this sense that "the conspiracy of Ḫešniš" may now in fact have preceded that Appanage Kingdom Treaty, with the proviso that the conspiracy would have been directed against the 'Great King' Kurunt(iy)aš instead of against Tudḫaliyaš IV. I hope to be able to argue on the basis of the badly preserved letter KBo 18.48 that this in fact was the case. If my

⁴ I am referring here to the letter KBo 18.48 which in my opinion indicates that "the conspiracy of Ḫešniš" may very well have taken place during the period of absence of Tudḫaliyaš IV and the presumably rather short reign of Kurunt(iy)aš, cf. below for a partial treatment of this letter.

⁵ In the Inscription – for which see A.M. Dinçol 1998, 28 – Kurunt(iy)aš uses the titel "Great King", [Hero], the son of Muwatallis (II), 'Great King', Hero, closely copying the latter's Sirkeli Inscription and confirming his own Genealogy, as more vaguely hinted at in Otten 1988, 10-11, par. 2, i ll. 12-13 and perhaps again in ibidem, 16-17, par. 13, ii ll. 34-35 and 18-19, par. 14, ii ll. 43-44. See for his seal impressions Th. van den Hout, 1989-1995, 82-84, at that point in time 14 specimens.

⁶ Some scholars prefer an earlier date, closer to the beginnings of the reigns of both Kings, but this problem cannot be solved on the basis of either the Hittite or the Assyrian evidence alone.

⁷ In JNES 20 (1961) 68³ Professor H.G. Güterbock cautiously (with a question mark) formulated the hypothesis that Kurunt(iy)aš and Ulmi-Teššub might have been a birth and a throne name, respectively. In my opinion KBo 18.48 renders this solution rather improbable. The letter would have seem to indicate that Kurunt(iy)aš had been removed from the political scene and was in all likelihood to be replaced in the near future with his brother Ulmi-Teššub.

treatment should turn out to be convincing, other debatable points may also very well become more clear.

But first I must refer to the article 'More about the "Ḫešni Conspiracy"', AoF 28 (2001), 154-164, written by M. Tani⁸. In her interesting and, as far the treatment of the genre 'depositions in court' is concerned, innovating article, the writer towards the end of her study considers a few new proposals more in line with the ideas of the majority. In a more general sense the writer adheres with these new proposals to the still prevailing 'communis opinio' that the conspiracy would need to have taken place after the conclusion of KBo 4.10+. The dating of both the revolt of Kurunt(iy)aš and the conspiracy of Ḫešniš (in this order) to the period just before the conclusion of KBo 4.10 + has the distinct advantage that Ḫešniš even might have earned his place among the human witnesses by plotting during the presumably rather short period of Kurunt(iy)aš's 'Great Kingship' against this 'interim Great King' during the absence of Tudḫaliyaš IV.

In his review of Th.P.J. van den Hout, "Der Ulmitesub-Vertrag, Eine prosopographische Untersuchung", StBoT 38 (1995), I. Singer, BiOr 54 (1997), 416-423, drew attention to a passage in Ras Shamra-Ugarit 11 (1995) 37-38, cf. l.c. 420⁽¹¹⁾, in which F. Malbran-Labat proposed the reading ^mḪi-iš-ni-i LUGAL KUR ^{URU}Ka[r-gamiš]⁹ for the recently cleaned RS 17.403 (found in 1953), l. 2. Singer rightly remarked: "I prefer an omission of the first element in DUMU.LUGAL, rather than positing for an as yet unattested king of Kargamiš, as tentatively suggested by the author. The only seal impressed on this document is that of Taki-Šarruma, which would be unthinkable if Ḫešni was really a king." In the beginning of this subsection I. Singer already refers to KBo 18.48, the letter sent by 'His Majesty' to Ḫešniš, DUMU[LUGAL], so that one can remark that the two text restorations may mutually support one another. Singer's text restoration implies that Ḫešniš would have been a 'prince of the land of (the town of) Kar[gamiš]' rather than a son of the Hittite royal couple Hattušiliš III and Puduḫepa. However, for the attempt I would like to engage in, a new look at the badly broken letter KBo 18.48, a decision between the two options is not of great importance, although Singer's solution serves my purposes better.

The Rev. of KBo 18.48 is slightly better preserved than its Obv., while the end of the Obv. and the beginning of the Rev. are lacking. But the preserved parts of the letter share two common characteristics: 1) the viceroy of Kargamiš is prominently present, being mentioned no less than six times, Obv. 5, 15 and 19 and Rev. 9', 13' and 21', while his title, the king of Kargamiš, has plausibly been restored for Obv. [6] and [7]; 2) while the Obv. does not allow for a detailed interpretation, one may surmise that, like this also would seem to apply to the Rev., in a highly intricate political situation involving the 'Great King', Ḫešniš and the viceroy of Kargamiš, but also a presumably common enemy of both the sender and the addressee, this sender, in all likelihood Tudḫaliyaš IV, was in a

⁸ Cf. N. Tani 2001, 154-164 and especially 160-164.

⁹ Alternatively ^mḪe-eš-ni D[UMU.LUGAL]KUR ^{URU}Ka[r-ga-miš] might be a proposal. I owe this suggestion to Professor I. Singer.

rather remarkable manner not only the superior of the prince Hešniš, but also dependent upon him. This curious contradiction suggests in my opinion that the prince was staying in Hattuša (where the letter was found), but that Tudḫaliyaš IV (still) was elsewhere. The common enemy would seem to have been Kurunt(iy)aš. Moreover and thirdly, it would seem that the viceroy of Kargamiš, certainly at this time Ini-Teššub, was angry with Hešniš, cf. e.g. INIM LUGAL KUR Kargamiš in Obv. 5 and Rev. 7' (?), 12'-13', "the word" (or "the order"), "the matter" (or "the affair") of the king of Kargamiš which is sometimes mentioned in the preserved parts of the beginning of the Obv. and of the end of the Rev. of the letter. In a notable manner the sender of the letter both warns and reassures the addressee, Hešniš, about the intentions of the viceroy of Kargamiš. Apparently 'My Majesty' is surprisingly well-informed about a letter which has been sent from Kargamiš to Hattuša. But in addition to these three persons there still is that 'fourth man', this other participant in the proceedings, whose name remains unmentioned in the preserved parts of both sides. He is referred to as "the enemy" in l. 7' and possibly in l. 8' of the Rev., while it is in fact rather likely that he was introduced in the missing part of the Obv., either with his personal name, or with the same designation "the enemy", ^{LU}KÚR, again also a pun on his Luwian personal name Kurunt(iy)aš, cf. on the one hand ^mKur in StBoT Beiheft 2, no 329 on p. 255 and on the other StBoT 38, pp. 245-267, the Oracle Inquiry CTH 577, KUB 5.24+ and also 82-96, the treatment of Kurunt(iy)aš.

Two Hittite princes, Kammaliyaš (Obv. 9' and Rev. 16') and later also Huziyaš (Rev. 17') and one highly placed "Grenzherr", viz. a governor of a border province, Hašduiliš (Obv. 4 and 10) would seem to have come into contact with the 'Great King'.¹⁰

Obv. 1: While A. Hagenbuchner restored DUMU[-YA] as an apposition to the name of Hešniš at the end of the line, H. Klengel, *Gesch. Syr.* 1, 63 and Th. van den Hout, StBoT 38, 207, chose for DUMU[LUGAL], certainly the preferable option, if one reckons with the likelihood that Hešniš would have belonged to the royal family of Kargamiš.

In the ll. Obv. 3-6 the preserved remnants would seem to suggest that, as soon as the messenger sent by "My Majesty" will have arrived (at the spot where Hešniš is now staying (?)) and [will have consulted (?)] Hašduiliš, [Hešniš should carry through] the order (or the matter) of the viceroy of the country of Kargamiš fully in the manner of the king of the c[ountry of Kargamiš], cf. the translation and the commentary of A. Hagenbuchner.

For the preserved end of l. 8 R.H. Beal proposed A-NA LUGAL KUR Aš-t[a-ta] instead of LUGAL KUR Ka[rgamiš] (A. Hagenbuchner) or LUGAL KUR A[š-šur] (H.

¹⁰ The name of the *BEL MADGALTI* (?) Hašduiliš (Obv. 4 and 10) returns in the young letter KUB 40.1 Rev. 32, 37 together with another "Grenz-Herr" ^mTaruppišniš and ^mMARDUK-^dLAMMA, cf. A. Hagenbuchner 1989, 68-76, Nr. 45. KUB 40.1 Rev. 20 shows the young form *a-u-ya-an* which can also be restored for KBo 18.48 Rev. 1' (?) in the commentary on Rev. 1'-13' of our letter. ^mHašduiliš has been restored by Th. van den Hout for VSNF 12 (Heft XXVIII) in his review 1999 145 and 149 in No. 106 iii 20' of this volume. This text refers to Assyria, according to Professor Van den Hout.

Klengel), as followed by others. Beal's cautiously formulated proposal implies that the ll. 7-8 may still mean that "My Majesty" did send [someone or something] to the king of the country of K[argamiš], but that the ll. 8-9 would need to signify that Kammaliyaš did go to the king of the country of Aš-t[a-ta]. From l. 10 onwards the 'Great King' approaches the subject of the Oracle Inquiry, explained by Professor H.G. Güterbock in the Introduction to the volume, p. V. It would seem that again Hasduilis was involved in the proceedings, cf. the ll. 10-11: "And like Hasdu[ilis] repeatedly conveyed this to me [in the following manner (?)]." The sequel, the continuation of l. 12 up to and including l. 14 is highly unclear. In the continuation of Obv. 15-16 'My Majesty' seems to notify Hešniš of the fact that the viceroy of Kargamiš had ordered that a clay tablet would need to be written which "he must have transported." For Obv. 16, the plain and short sentence, *nu-za pi-ten har-du* in Hagenbuchner's transcription which she interpreted as "Er soll den Ort (= die Stellung) halten," I prefer the solution offered by the CHD P3, 346b, the reading *pé-dan*, and a derivation from the verb *peda-* B, which provides the translation mentioned above with *pedan* as a nom.-acc. neut. of the participle of the verb "to bring, to transport."

The broken final ll. 16-21 of the preserved part of the Obv. seem to indicate that "My Majesty" advises Hešniš not to refuse the encased and presumably sealed tablet or to find fault with the contents of the letter, cf. the usage of *markiya-* in l. 16 and the imperative "open the tablet" in l. 17. The ll. 18 up to and including 21 offer no fortunate prospects apart from the fact that Obv. 20 requires – contrary to the translation applied by A. Hagenbuchner – the application of H.A. Hoffner's rule: "-za in a nominal sentence marks it as 1st or 2nd but not 3rd person", cf. R.H. Beal, l.c., cf. his remark concerning Rev. 3'-4', referring to H.A. Hoffner, JNES 28 (1996), 225-230. In this case application of this rule results in the following translation: "But if you would have been here (viz. with me and not there in Hattuša (?))..."

Above I already mentioned that 'the coup d'état of Kurunt(iy)aš' may very well have taken place before "the conspiracy of Hešniš". This revolt must have been introduced in the letter by 'My Majesty', the 'Great King', in the large gap consisting of the lower half of the Obv. and the upper half of the Rev. This follows from two points, the first being that in Rev. 1'-9' a total of 6 examples would seem to refer to him, Kurunt(iy)aš, either through the use of ^{LU}KÚR or by means of enclitic datives and accusatives of the enclitic pronoun -a-, but in any case in a veiled manner¹¹, while the second point consists of the fact that l. 1' of the Rev. shows a main clause which, like the preceding conditional clause which needs to be supplied, both suit the role of Kurunt(iy)aš perfectly and are in fact indispensable: he did not accompany Tudḫaliyaš IV and his troops in the military

¹¹ According to the rule originally formulated by Calvert Watkins in ca 1970 and conclusively proven by Andrew Garrett around 1990, cf. the latter's Harvard thesis, "The Syntax of Anatolian Pronominal Clitics" (1990) and his article "Hittite Enclitic Subjects and Transitive Verbs", JCS 42 (1990), 227-242, the enclitic common-gender nom. singular -aš- is optionally restricted to intransitive verbs and thus in other words: transitive verbs do not have enclitic subjects. The following enclitic pronouns occur: -aš- in Rev. 1' and 5'; -an(-) in *na-an-za-an* (Rev. 2'); the dative -ši- occurs in Rev. 4' and 6'; ^{LU}KÚR in Rev. 7' and possibly again in Rev. 8'.

campaign to Mesopotamia. Actually the rules in question, as formulated in The Bronze Tablet iii, 32-56, did not require that he would do so. This was changed in KBo 4.10+ Obv. 40-47 with respect to Ulmi-Teššub. This was implying a return to ABoT 57, 26-31/32 (in this case even mentioned twice). In my opinion these data do support the sequence of the large Tarhuntašša Appanage Kingdom Treaties, first The Bronze Tablet and then KBo 4.10 +, at the same time also indicating that the latter Treaty cannot be dated to the reign of Hattušiliš III. In my opinion these points also render it likely that the Oracle Inquiry KUB 5.24 + 16.31 + 18.57 = CTH 577, cf. StBoT 38, 245-267 should be dated to the reign of Hattušiliš III, and would need to have led to the removal of his position of ^{LU}*tuḫkanti*-ship concerning Kurunt(iy)aš.¹²

KBo 18.48 Rev.

0. "[if he would have accompanied us on our campaign]"

1'. *ma-an-na-ša-[a]š a?-u-ya-an ar-ḫa* GIN-at [...]

2'. *nu << an-na-ri << an-na-ri na-an-za-[a]n* KUR *Aq-qa-d[u] ša-ak-ta*

3'. *nu me-ek-ki* SIG₅-in *ma-a-an-ma-an-za* ^{LU}KUR-*ma e[-šu-un]*

4'. ⁴UTU-ŠI-*ma-an-ši-kán* DI-NU *an-za-nu-uh-ḫa ma-an-za* S[IG₅-in]

5'. *nu-u-ya-ma-na-aš ku-i[-t-ki]* *nam-ma an-ze-el e-eš-t[a]*

6'. *a-pi-da-ni-ḫa-ma-an-ši-kán* [INIM-ni *še-er*] x-x-x-x *ú-ya-m[i]*

7'. ^{LU}KUR-*ši an-ze-el ku-e!* INIM.MEŠ *ḫa-at-re-eš-ki-zi* LU[GAL KUR *Kar-ga-miš-ya*] (in the column divider)

8'. *tu-el* ^{LU}KUR-ni *UL-pát* [*k*u[-it-k]i *ar-ḫa* BAL-zi

9'. GEŠTU¹-*ši-ma-ya ku-iš* [*a-k*]i (or, [*a-ga-r*]i) *nu-ya-kán* INIM LUGAL KUR *Kar[-ga-miš]*

10'. *UL BAL-nu-uš-ki-zi*

11'. *ki!-nu-na-aš-kán* EGIR-zi-an << *ḫur-la ku-it-ki iš[-du-ya(-a)-ri]*

12'. EGIR-*pa* SUD-*u-ni ki-nu-un-ma-at* ⁴UTU-ŠI GIM-an *mu[-ta-a-mi]*

13'. LUGAL KUR *Kar-ga-miš-ḫa-at a-pi-ḫa QA-TAM-MA mu[-ta-id-du]*

Translation:

0. "[If he would have accompanied us on our campaign]",

1'. he would have gone off away from us! [...]

2'. And success, success! The country of Babylonia [recognized him legally!]

¹² It may be of some significance that the Oracle Inquiry 577 = KUB 5.24 + 16.31 + 18.57 shows the older form *a-ya a-an* in direct object *ediz pedaz ayan arḫa tittanu-*, see iv 4, [5], 21, 27 and [28] and not yet the younger form, cf. Rev. 1'. The Oracle Inquiry stems from the reign of Hattušiliš III, I think.

3'. And this is very good! If I would have been an enemy (or, "an opponent"),

4'. I, 'My Majesty', would have *a*-ed. a legal suit against him, I would have been [suc]cessful.

5'. He (the enemy?) would still (*nūwa*) have been in some way ours again (*namma* 2)?

6'. And [on account of] that [matter] I should come to him in ... (place name?)?

7'. "Our affairs which the enemy wrote to him (saying): "The ki[ng of the country of Kargamiš]

8'. will not cause in any way a revolt for your enemy."

9'. "He who b[en]ds an ear to him (or, "the ear which

10'. b[en]ds to him") (reports): "The word of the king of Kar[gamiš] will not cause a revolt."

11'. Now, ultimately it will somehow be[come known] to the Hurrian (?).

12'. We shall pull back. But, now, in the manner in which I, 'My Majesty', se[t] them (viz. the affairs) [aside],

13'. in the same manner also the king of the country of Kargamiš, [must] then/there set them [aside]!"

Commentary on this part of the Rev. 1'-13':

Rev. 1': cf. H.A. Hoffner 19, 93-94, for the sequence *man=naš=aš*; see A. Kammenhuber 19, 155 and HW² I 8 (1984) 634-5 for *a-u-ya-an* as the younger form for *a-ya-an*.

Rev 3'-4': cf. R.H. Beal 1993, 246a; possibly 'My Majesty' criticizes the choice of a conspiracy.

Rev. 5': cf. the CHD L-N 4, 470 a, but "Further" in the beginning of the sentence is likely to have been a mistake; has *namma* been translated twice?

Rev. 6': concerning this line I basically follow A. Hagenbuchner who in the commentary qualifies her proposal (the town of Utruna in the northern Gasga region) as uncertain; 'My Majesty' indicates that it would be unnecessary or even unwise to pay him a visit in his place of banishment.

Rev. 7'-10': regarding these lines I would like to follow the proposals of G. Beckman, WO 23 (1992) 175 and of R.H. Beal 1993, 246b.

Rev. 11': the enclitic pronoun *-aš-* indicates that the predicate of the sentence must have been intransitive; cf. A. Garrett 1990, 227-242 and elsewhere, as I have been reminded of by Th.P.J. van den Hout and P. Goedegebuure. The chosen Hittite verb is in fact intransitive and can use nominative *-aš* as a subject, cf. E. Neu, StBoT 5 (1968), 78 and J. Puhvel, HED, vol. 2 (1984), 483-5 (*ištuwa-*), while the verb begins with *iš* [...], "kund, offenbar, bekannt werden" (E. Neu); "be(come) manifest, be exposed, get out in the open" (J. Puhvel); see for *ḫurla/i* – "hourrite?" Laroche, DLL, 48 and G.F. del Monte, RGTC 6/1, 119-124. The sentence of Rev. 11' remains rather cryptic, but this may have been intentional. Is it possible that with "the Hurrian" the viceroy of Kargamiš, Ini-Teššub, would have been meant? It would seem that he still plays an important role in this part of the letter.

Rev. 12': The first sentence which merely consists of the predicate, EGIR-*pa* SUD-*u-ni*, "we shall pull back", may possibly be translated with "we shall draw back" (or "withdraw"), even in the sense of "Let us go home (to our capital)", if one applies "Die kohortativische 1. Person Plur." cf. J. Friedrich HE I (1960), 139, par. 263 c: "Let us draw back" (or "withdraw").

Rev. 12'-13': with this guarantee concerning the frictions between the ruling viceroy and the prince belonging to his royal family (?) the evidence on this matter comes to an end. The final

reference to the king of Kargamiš in Rev. 21' stands totally isolated. From approximately l. 14' onwards up to and including l. 22' the ll. of the Rev. are as badly preserved as those of the Obv. However, occasionally parts and pieces of sentences or subordinate clauses offer a surprising view on the likely contents of these final lines. It would seem that clay tablets had been prepared which were to be taken along by the envoy of the letter, probably Huzziyaš, in order to be judged by Hešniš, cf. "And if you do agree to them (l. 18') and "But if [you] do not agree to them" (l. 20'), while l. 19' refers to "And these in the future", a point which suggests that "those to which Hešniš agreed should be promulgated for the future", cf. Th.P.J. van den Hout, StBoT 38, 108. One can ask oneself the question, who was the ruling 'Great King' of those days, Tudḫaliyaš IV or (still) Hešniš? Anyhow, Tudḫaliyaš IV had not yet resumed his Royal Reign, I assume.

1) In this article I tried to show that the highly intriguing, but also curious letter KBo 18.48 may indicate that the two revolts of Kurunt(iy)aš and Hešniš followed one another in quick succession in the aftermath of the Assyrian victory in the battle of Niḫriya during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

2) The fact that the Oracle Inquiry CTH 577 = KUB 5.24 + 16.31 + 18.57 cannot be connected in a meaningful manner with the comparatively late coup d'état of Kurunt(iy)aš – a revolt will not be checked by means of an Oracle Inquiry, but rather through a counterplot like the conspiracy of Hešniš – renders it in fact rather likely that this Oracle Inquiry finally permitted the earlier replacement of Kurunt(iy)aš as the future successor by Tudḫaliyaš (IV), which was presumably furthered and fostered by Puduḫepa.

3) The "conspiracy of Hešniš" may very well have been directed against the 'coup d'état' of Kurunt(iy)aš since he wrote to Tudḫaliyaš (IV) about his, Kurunt(iy)aš's position of the time being and possibly also about the place of banishment he had assigned to him (Rev. 3'-6').

4) It is rather probable that Hešniš will have shown or may at least have harbored aspirations to ascend to the Throne of 'Great Kingship' in Ḫattuša. This might explain "the word" or "the order", "the affair" or "the matter" of the King of the country of Kargamiš who in that case would have been surpassed by a member of his own family.

5) The fact that I suggested that Tudḫaliyaš (IV) would have sent this letter while on his return journey to Anatolia is less arbitrary or risky than it might seem to be at first sight since there is in fact in the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence a comparable letter, ÄHK no 74 = KUB 3.44 = F 6, 176-7, one of the *insibya* letters which are dated by Professor E. Edel between the 42nd and the 56th year of the reign of Ramses II and thus between 1237-1223 B.C.E. In volume II, 267 Professor Edel characterized the letter in the following manner: "KUB 3.44 gehört zu den merkwürdigsten Briefen unserer Publikation." According to Professor Edel Ramses II reacted favorably to the proposal of possibly Tudḫaliyaš (IV) that both 'Great Kings' would renew the Treaty between the two countries.

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THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AT THE TIME OF TUTḪALIYA IV

Franca Pecchioli Daddi

For TutḪaliya and the period of his reign we have a large number of documents of various typology that throw light on all the fields of the activity of this sovereign.¹ These documents therefore give us the opportunity to reconstruct the essential framework of his system of government in the religious, administrative and political spheres – spheres that are well-known and widely studied, especially as far as his foreign policy and religious interests are concerned.² In this paper, I would like to put forward some points of reflection in order to attempt a deeper investigation on this king and his management of domestic policies.

As we know, TutḪaliya appears profoundly conditioned by the doubtful legitimacy of his role as king, which stemmed from the fact he belonged to a dynasty's cadet branch (dating back to the founder of the Empire, his great grandfather Šuppiluliuma), which had seized power so traumatically and conspicuously that it aroused disapproval even of TutḪaliya himself, despite his being favoured as an incumbent.³ The manner in which Ḫattušili had succeeded to the throne was extremely disruptive even for a society like the Hittite one, where practically no transfer of power had ever been carried out smoothly: the usurpation by Ḫattušili had been just one event among many, but it was the only one that could not fall within the codified rules in the edict of Telipinu. In order to get codified, it would have been necessary to cancel the reign of Muwatalli and link up directly with Muršili II; but the reign of Muwatalli had been too important and the events connected to the struggle with Muršili III were too well-known for this to happen and for Ḫattušili to follow the model of his father (Muršili II had been able to make his legitimacy stem from his father, because the reign of Arnuwanda had been so brief and his brother had died as a result of pestilence, caused by his father's actions).⁴ Therefore, Ḫattušili had had to resort, ideologically, to divine legitimacy (by involving deities of a different tradition)⁵ and, politically, to management of his power in two ways: firstly, by repression using legal

¹ For these documents (and related bibliography), see, recently, Klengel 1999, 273-285 (Quellen).

² Cf., for example, Giorgieri/Mora 1996, 51-61, in particular.

³ Cf. CTH 105 II 10-30, and the remarks by Klengel 1995, 166-167.

⁴ For the accession of Muršili II, cf., recently, Pecchioli Daddi 2000, 344-358.

⁵ Besides the great deities of Hittite State, the goddess Šauška and the Storm-god of Nerik are particularly involved.

means and the confiscation of goods and, secondly, by seeking consensus through the acquisition of international prestige and the concession of benefits to his supporters.⁶

This equilibrium, so laboriously yet wisely attained (Apology), also relied on an agreement with some members of the Muwatalli family (Danuḥepa and Kurunta)⁷ and entailed the recognition of an important political role for his brother's descendants. If Ph. Houwink ten Cate⁸ is right, perhaps the agreement established, initially at least, that Kurunta, whom Ḫattušili placed in the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša,⁹ the place that Muwatalli had built, would succeed him on the throne of Ḫattuša upon his death; probably, for this reason Kurunta is mentioned in the Apology before Tuḫaliya¹⁰ who, in turn, was dedicated to the priesthood¹¹ like those other prior Hittite princes excluded from succession: Kantuzzili, son of Arnuwanda I(?),¹² Telipinu, son of Šuppiluliuma,¹³ and Ḫattušili himself;¹⁴ we can also see the case of Zidi in the tablet of Inandik.

Furthermore, also the accession to the throne by Tuḫaliya certainly did not fall within the rules established by tradition: in his career he had, in fact, followed in his father's footsteps¹⁵ and, unless this was a deliberate choice by Ḫattušili to affirm yet again his right to reign by presenting his own life-story as the new model for royalty, this means that the succession of Tuḫaliya, too, had been the result of a coup d'état, and of a struggle between opposing factions where the political party of this son of Ḫattušili and Puduḥepa had prevailed.

From these inner struggles for power within the Hittite royal family in which, given the direct or acquired parental ties that linked the holders of economic and political powers in the empire, the entire ruling class was involved, stems the sense of precariousness and the obsession for fidelity that characterises a great deal of the documents that emanated from Tuḫaliya once he became king.

⁶ Cf. the summary treatments by van den Hout 1995a, 1107-1120; Giorgieri/Mora 1996, 37-51; Klengel 1999, 235-273.

⁷ On these two persons, cf., recently, Singer 2002, 739-752, with previous bibliography.

⁸ Houwink ten Cate 1992, 233-270 (239-240, 259-270, in particular); cf. also van den Hout 1995a, 1118-1119. But most of the scholars hold a different opinion: see, for example, Klengel 1991, 224-238; Imparati 1995, 151-153, with previous bibliography.

⁹ See the texts quoted by Imparati/Pecchioli Daddi 1991, 24.

¹⁰ Kurunta, in CTH 81 IV 62, Tuḫaliya, in CTH 81 IV 77-78: edition by Otten 1981, 28-29.

¹¹ Tuḫaliya was appointed to the office of priest of Storm-god of Nerik (CTH 386.1, KUB 36.90 obv. 15'-17': recent translation by Singer 2002b, 106; CTH 524, KUB 25.21 III 13-16: edition by von Schuler 1965, 186-187) and of *IŠTAR* of Šamuḫa (CTH 81 IV 76-79).

On the priesthood of Hittite royal princes, cf. recently Imparati 2003, 230-242.

¹² On this person, cf. now Singer 2002c, 309-310; Imparati 2003, 233-239.

¹³ Cf. now Imparati 2003, 230-233.

¹⁴ Cf. now Imparati 2003, 239-240.

¹⁵ Cf. Imparati 1995, 155 in particular, with references.

It is also likely that, in a crisis situation of royal power such as this one, the inner organisation of the State and the relations of power between the centre and the periphery, defined as we know in the Middle Hittite period,¹⁶ were modified in some way; and, perhaps, the existence of a LUGAL in Šarišša in the 13th century¹⁷ and the fact that Ḫattušili managed to bedeck himself with the title of LUGAL in Ḫakpiš (and Nerik)¹⁸ could be interpreted as clues of such modifications.

To keep the situation under control and to reinforce his power, Tuḫaliya had to develop a policy in the country that would allow him to increase consensus and, in attempting to reconcile innovation and respect for tradition, he employed two special tools consolidated by time: the legal tool of allegiance and oath,¹⁹ and the administrative tool of the cult inventory,²⁰ which enabled him to link up with various Anatolian potentates and exercise widespread control of his country. If we take note then of his intense activity in monumental buildings and in the diffusion of rock inscriptions and sculptures, his political plan appears even more clearly defined.²¹

The two legal and administrative tools that he used had been established during the Middle Kingdom by sovereigns like Tuḫaliya I, and especially Arnuwanda I, to overcome a particularly difficult period as a consequence of both the dynastic crisis and the scant organisation of the country; these tools were used again by subsequent Hittite kings to reinforce their control over their subjects and territory. Tuḫaliya IV therefore resumes traditional practices, but he adapts them to the new political situation and to the needs of his government.

I. The impositions of an oath CTH 255.2 (SAG 1) and CTH 255.1 (SAG 2)²²

Since these texts are well known, I will focus on a few points, which, in my opinion, are particularly significant as far as the political ideology of Tuḫaliya is concerned.

When Tuḫaliya ascends the throne, he calls all the LÚ^{MEŠ} SAG²³ to make a pledge;²⁴ the sworn declarations take place in the city of Ušša,²⁵ located at the border with

¹⁶ Cf., recently, Pecchioli Daddi 2002, 261-268; Pecchioli Daddi 2003, 30-31.

¹⁷ See Müller-Karpe 1995, 22-25 (16-17, for a previous king Mazitima); cf. also G. Wilhelm 1997, 10.

¹⁸ Cf. in particular CTH 81; CTH 384.

¹⁹ For these texts, cf. now Pecchioli Daddi 2003, 24-26 (*išhiul*-texts), 27-30 (*lingai*-texts), with bibliography. For a recent edition of *lingai*-texts, see Giorgieri 1995.

²⁰ Cf. now Hazenbos 2003, with previous bibliography.

²¹ Cf. van den Hout 1995, 545-573.

²² Edition by von Schuler 1957, 8-21 (SAG 1), 22-33 (SAG 2). Cf. also critical reviews by Otten 1958, 388-390; Goetze 1959, 66-69; Italian translation by Del Monte 1988, 518-519.

²³ On LÚ SAG (not LÚSAG) = Akkadian *ša reši*, cf. Pecchioli Daddi 1977, 180, n. 54, and recently Hawkins 2002, 217-218, both with references and bibliography.

²⁴ SAG 1 § 1 (KUB 26.1 + 23.112 I 1-3).

Tarhuntašša,²⁶ but are also extended to include the SAG men who were unable to reach the city.²⁷ The other oath imposition (SAG 2) concerns first the “lords” and the “princes”,²⁸ and then the LÚ^{MEŠ} SAG again;²⁹ in this case the *incipit* and *colophon* are missing: so the occasion and the place where the sworn declarations took place are not known, but it is unanimously believed that this oath occurred in a situation analogous to the preceding one.

If these documents are compared with other allegiance and oath texts, some clear differences immediately emerge as far as the occasion, provisions, recipients, and the structure of the text are concerned.

1. The occasion

Tuthaliya required allegiance and oath at the time of his accession to the throne. The other known oaths, instead, are either periodic oath taking (see, for instance, the monthly³⁰ oath sworn to Arnuwanda, Ašmunikal and the *tuhkanti* Tuthaliya, CTH 260; to Šuppiluliuma and Taduḥepa, to princes and their descendents, CTH 253.1; the oath to Ḫattušili, Puduḥepa, their children and descendents, CTH 254) or special ones such as CTH 85.2, KUB 21.37,³¹ the oath required by Ḫattušili III from everybody in Ḫatti (indicated as DUMU.NAM.U₁₉.LU, obv. 7', 10'; UN^{MEŠ}-tar, obv. 17'; URU^{URU} Ḫattušan ḫumandan, obv. 37'; šumeš LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{URU} Ḫatti pankuš, obv. 40') after his conflict with Urḫi-Tešub.

2. The provisions

The provisions contained in the two Tuthaliya documents dwell exclusively on the subject of fidelity to the king and his direct descendents, to whom absolute loyalty is called for under any circumstance. These provisions are similar to those contained in the treaty of Tuthaliya with his nephew and brother-in-law Šaušgamuwa of Amurru,³² hence a member of the great royal family; instead, they are totally unlike the specific provisions recurring in the oaths of the Middle Hittite period; and more precisely, 1) in the impositions of an oath CTH 258.2, emanating from Tuthaliya II/III, related to the legal area; CTH 268, concerning the military; CTH 251, emanating from Tuthaliya I, with provisions primarily about military activities; and 2) in the swearing an oath CTH 270, where Ašḫapala

²⁵ SAG 1 *colophon* (KUB 26.1 IV 54-56).

²⁶ Cf. Houwink ten Cate 1992, 268.

²⁷ SAG 1 § 25 (KUB 26.1 III 53-54).

²⁸ SAG 2 §§ 1-21.

²⁹ SAG 2 §§ 22-31.

³⁰ Cf. ITU-*mi* ITU-*mi*, in KUB 26.24+ IV 7'; KUB 26.57 I 8; KUB 21.46 I [6].

³¹ See now Singer 2001, 399-402, with previous bibliography.

³² CTH 105; edition by Kühne/Otten 1971.

pledges himself to supply men and to inform the governor of his province on enemy movements.

3. The recipients

The other documents are addressed to specific categories of royal employees (CTH 258.2;³³ CTH 268: to the troops involved in military campaigns;³⁴ CTH 253.2: by Šuppiluliuma I to the troops³⁵ because they are faithful to the king and queen) and/or to all Ḫattuša (CTH 256: by Šuppiluliuma II to all subjects;³⁶ CTH 251: by Tuthaliya I to various categories³⁷ and all Ḫattuša;³⁸ CTH 259: this *išḫiul* is addressed by Tuthaliya I to “all the men”³⁹ so that they would pledge, by taking an oath, to observe their obligations; cf. also CTH 85.2); even the swearing of oaths is done by specific categories (CTH 260),⁴⁰ by single individuals (CTH 270),⁴¹ and by “whoever is in Ḫatti”⁴² (CTH 253.1,⁴³ CTH 254,⁴⁴ cf. CTH 260,⁴⁵ too).

Instead, the oath taking called for by Tuthaliya concern the high classes in Anatolian society, namely, they are addressed to members of the ruling class and not the entire population or specific professional categories. Surely, some professional categories, like “the lords of the army” (*BELU^{HLA} KARAŠ^{HLA}*: SAG 2 § 2, KUB 26.12 + KUB 21.42 I 4'), “the governors of the provinces” (*šumeš kuieš BELU^{HLA} ḫantezi auriuš maniyahḫeškatteni*: SAG 2 § 10, KUB 26.12+ II 12'-13'), the administrators or tax collectors (*šumeš kuieš BELU^{HLA} DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL maniyahḫeškatteni*: SAG 2 § 17, KUB 26.12+ III 13-14), can be included in the oath taking; but they are included as

³³ KUB 13.7 I 11 (LÚ^{MEŠ}EDI, DUMU.É.GAL, LÚUGULA LIM, LÚDUGUD), 22-23 (*BELU GAL, appizziyaš ... antuwahḫaš*).

³⁴ KUB 23.82 + 21.47 obv. 2' (ÉRIN^{MEŠ}HLA); KBo 19.58 (+) KUB 23.82 rev. 11' (*šumenzann-a kuiš ḫantezziš*).

³⁵ KUB 21.41 IV 6 (ÉRIN^{MEŠ} šarikuwaš ÉRIN^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{HLA}).

³⁶ ABoT 56 I 22-23 (*dapianza* [UN^{MEŠ}-za]), II 33 (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{URU} Ḫatti), III 21' (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{URU} KÜ.BABBAR), 23' (LÚ^{MEŠ} KUR.KUR URU^{URU} Ḫatti).

³⁷ KBo 16.24 (+) 25 I 26', 42' (LÚUGULA LIM, LÚDUGUD), 72' (*BEL GAL*), II 10' (LÚ^{MEŠ}EDU DUMU.É.GAL), III 8'-9'a (BAD GAL, *appizziyaš ... antuwahḫaš*), 11' (BAD GAL, ÉRIN^{MEŠ}), 17' (BAD GAL), IV 59', 61' (LÚ^{MEŠ} DUGUD).

³⁸ Cf. *ibidem* I 55', 62', IV 21, 30; I 63' (*pankuš URU^{URU} Ḫattušaš*), II 11' (DUMU^{MEŠ} URU^{URU} Ḫatti).

³⁹ KUB 26.11 I 2' (KUR URU^{URU} Ḫatti); KUB 13.20 IV 8' (UN^{MEŠ}-annaš ḫumandaš). Cf. also the various officials addressed in KUB 13.20 (and duplicates) I 1 (*BEL MADGALT*), 4 (LÚDUGUD, UGULA LIM), 6 (*tuzziš ÉRIN^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{HLA}*), 28 (*BELU^{MEŠ}*).

⁴⁰ KUB 31.44 I 1 (UGULA LÚ^{MEŠ} LIM LÚ^{MEŠ} DUGUD); see also KUB 26.24+ IV 8'.

⁴¹ KBo 16.50 obv. 1-2.

⁴² Cf. KUB 26.57 I 7; KUB 21.46 I 5, for the resumptive sentence *kuiš(-) INA KUR URU^{URU} Ḫatti anda ešzi*.

⁴³ KUB 26.57 I 3-7.

⁴⁴ KUB 21.46 I 2-5.

⁴⁵ KUB 31.44 I 25-26; KUB 26.24+ IV 2'-3'.

belonging to a determined social class (the class of the lords), not as holders of public office or charge.

“Lords” and “princes” are in fact the designations used to define those people belonging to a social rank, independently from their charge or office. The same goes for the $L\dot{U}^{MES}$ SAG, a term on which I expressed my opinion many years ago,⁴⁶ and which I think does not define “eunuchs” (as held instead by D. Hawkins, CRRAI 47 [2002] 217-233), or, at least, not only eunuchs. The interpretation of SAG 1 §§ 32-34, proposed by Hawkins⁴⁷ as a possible alternative to the one more adherent to the text, according to which the SAG men are forbidden to have sexual relations⁴⁸ with women in the royal house (cf. also SAG 2 § 31), does not take in the real meaning of the term $(L\dot{U})ara-$,⁴⁹ that indicates a person belonging to the same social group⁵⁰ and does not mean a “friend” (in SAG texts to indicate a friend the term $aššu-$ is used);⁵¹ moreover, the interpretation of Hawkins does not take in the real meaning of the iteration $L\dot{U}araš L\dot{U}aran$ (SAG 2 § 31, KUB 21.42 left edge 3),⁵² which is regularly used with the meaning of “one another”.⁵³

Even the tone of the provisions in the two oath requirements addressed to SAG men and the fact that the second oath requirement involves first the lords and princes and then the $L\dot{U}^{MES}$ SAG seems to render their definition as eunuchs, in the sense of “castrato”, as unlikely.

Both lords and princes together, that is, the aristocracy and royal family strictly bound by multiple parental ties (in SAG 2⁵⁴ it is specified that the lords are part of the king’s family and they are his brothers or cousins), define the entire ruling Hittite class, spread throughout the territory⁵⁵ (provisions can be seen regarding border defence⁵⁶ and rebel countries).⁵⁷

⁴⁶ Pecchioli Daddi 1977, 178-182 (n. 54, in particular).

⁴⁷ D. Hawkins 2002, 222-224, with new restorations and translation.

⁴⁸ For *maninkuwan pai-* (KUB 26.1 IV 36-37, 42-43) with a sexual connotation, see now CHD, M, 172a.

⁴⁹ SAG 1 § 33, 34 (KUB 26.1 IV 38, 43).

⁵⁰ Cf. J. Puhvel, HED 1, 116: “belonging (or: proper) to one’s own social group, ...”.

⁵¹ Cf., for example, SAG 1 § 5 (KUB 26.8 I 34’), § 19 (KUB 26.1+ III 3: *aššuwanza*); SAG 2 § 11, 17, 19 (KUB 26.12+ KUB 21.42 II 25’, III 18, 25). Cf. also SAG 1 § 23 (KUB 26.1 III 37: *aššuwanni*); SAG 2 § 18 (KUB 26.12+ III 22: *aššulan*).

⁵² For II. 3-5, cf. now CHD, M, 215a. The iteration $L\dot{U}araš L\dot{U}aran/L\dot{U}ari$ is met with in SAG 1 § 29 (KUB 26.1 IV 7) and SAG 2 § 24 (KUB 21.42+ IV 5), too.

⁵³ See J. Puhvel, HED 1, 117.

⁵⁴ See, for example, §§ 2, 3, 16, 28.

⁵⁵ When, in SAG 2 § 2, 10, 17, it is said that the oath requirement also pertains to the lords of the army and lords of the provinces, I think it is worth pointing out, that the entire ruling classes, wherever they are located, do indeed pledge their fidelity to Tuthaliya the king.

⁵⁶ SAG 2 § 10, 11.

⁵⁷ SAG 2 § 12.

In the second part of the tablet SAG 2 (§§ 22 ff.) a specification is introduced: these lords and princes who live at court (namely the SAG men) are tied to the king in some special way because the sovereign “is in *their* hands” (SAG 1 § 2):⁵⁸ they are the inner circle of power; they live with the king at court and have access to his private residence (É.ŠÀ ŠA LUGAL: SAG 2 § 24, KUB 21.42+ IV 3), they are the guarantors of the “king’s body and soul” (SAG 1 § 20, KUB 26.1 III 23: ŠA $DUTU^{ŠI}$ -ma kuit NÍ.TE-ŠU ZI $DUTU^{ŠI}$ -ya).

In various passages of SAG 1 (in § 2, KUB 26.1+ I 6-7, $L\dot{U}^{MES}$ SAG and *annauleš* UN^{MES} -uš, “the men of equal rank”, are mentioned; according to § 22, $L\dot{U}^{MES}$ SAG, $DUMU^{MES}$ LUGAL and *BE L U HIA* are both involved in diplomatic missions) and SAG 2 (§ 28,⁵⁹ for example) there is evidence of a close connection and, at times, even complicity between $L\dot{U}^{MES}$ SAG, lords and princes – hence of their common interests.

The contiguity among personages belonging to such ranks also transpires from other data.⁶⁰ The titles in KUB 26.43⁶¹ of Anuwanza, scribe and lord of Nerik,⁶² and Palla, scribe and lord of Hurma,⁶³ indeed, show that the SAG men are part of the class of the lords. It is even likely that some of them might be part of the “Greats”, as is probably the case with EN-*tarwa*, scribe and palace superintendent,⁶⁴ and surely the case, documented in Ugarit, of Taprammi,⁶⁵ whose seal identifies him as “scribe” and “great X” (unidentified sign).⁶⁶ At least one of them (Piḫatarḫunta),⁶⁷ if F. Imparati⁶⁸ is correct, would also be documented as prince in (Ugarit⁶⁹ and) Emar⁷⁰ – but this case appears very uncertain.⁷¹

⁵⁸ KUB 26.1+ I 7: $DUTU^{ŠI}$ -kán šummaš ŠU-aš, “the Majesty (is) in your hands”.

⁵⁹ According to this paragraph, any “brother of the king”, “lord”, “prince” or SAG, must reveal to the king any plot against him.

⁶⁰ For a different opinion, see Hawkins 2002, 224-229.

⁶¹ CTH 225, edited by Imparati 1974.

⁶² Rev. 34: *A-nu-wa-an-za* DUB.SAR EN URU Ne-ri-ik $L\dot{U}$ SAG. On this personage, see now van den Hout 1995, 238-242.

⁶³ Rev. 32: *Pal-la-a* EN URU *H(u-ur-me* $L\dot{U}$ DUB.SAR $L\dot{U}$ SAG)]. Cf. also KBo 4.10 rev 32: *Pal-la-a* EN URU *Hur-mi*. On this person, known also as father of the scribe Angulli, see now van den Hout 1995, 216-225.

⁶⁴ KUB 26.43 rev. 32: *EN-tar-wa* DUB.SAR UGULA É.GAL $L\dot{U}$ SAG (the title UGULA É.GAL is a *hapax*, probably to be amended in GAL). See van den Hout 1995, 235.

⁶⁵ RS 17.234 (= PRU IV 238) obv. 9, rev. 16: $L\dot{U}$ ša re-ši É.GAL-*lim*. On this important person, see Hawkins 2002, 225-226, with other references.

⁶⁶ On this seal (Ugaritica III 50, 52, 55), see Hawkins 2002, 225-226.

⁶⁷ KUB 13.35+ III 13 (*Pal-la-a* $L\dot{U}$ $L\dot{U}$ SAG)]; edition by Werner 1967, 10-11. For the digraphic seal of this Piḫatarḫunta, cf. Hawkins 2002, 222 n. 44, 225-226 n. 64.

⁶⁸ Imparati 1987, 192-195.

⁶⁹ RS 17.148B, 1 = PRU VI 10.

⁷⁰ Msk 73.1012, 24. Cf. also Msk 73.1019; Hawkins 2002, 225-226, n. 64, with references.

⁷¹ Cf. Hawkins 2002, 224.

Therefore, in my opinion, “the men of the head (of the king)” or “of the person”, given the meaning of the term SAG, which as *pars pro toto* may also indicate a person, refers to the tight circle of those living at court, in contact with the king, his trusted men, whom the sovereign could use as his spokesmen in contacting various potentates, at home and abroad; this does not exclude that, in other cultural and historic contexts (Assyria; and the new Hittite states),⁷² such definition might include the eunuchs who live in the royal palace close to the king and his family, but not exclusively them.

I do not know if, as F. Starke⁷³ holds, the SAG term replaced the word “Grandee (GAL)” in the 13th century; it seems, however, that the personages so designated, “grandees” or not “grandees”, are presented in the Hittite texts as the people who make up the king’s entourage, his trusted men, and, in this sense, men of the head (the king’s men) – personal attendants of the king or his cabinet. From a political point of view, the choice of Tuthaliya to call upon them, and not “all Hattuša”, with oath impositions indicates that the sovereign felt the need to be bound to the high ranking society, thereby marking a split between high society and the common people, in whom the king is no longer interested – the ideology of royalty in the late Bronze Age has never been so explicitly clear by other Hittite sovereigns.

In this comprehensive oath taking by the “lords”, “princes” and SAG men there is also probably an attempt by Tuthaliya to involve those who have obtained autonomy from the central power and who are “king” in their territories: indeed, the provisions contained in the first part of SAG 2 § 10 concern, after the members of the royal family and the king’s brothers, the “lords who administrate advanced posts”, namely, the governors of the border provinces (by way of example, those mentioned are the provinces placed along the borders with the countries of Azzi – the east, Kaška – the north, and Lukka – the south). These provisions reproduce rules already established before in the Middle Hittite *išhiul* addressed to the *BEL MADGALTI* (in demonstration of the fact that Tuthaliya uses previous legal tools, it should be noted that this paragraph is the only one that contains specific provisions); since, in the treaty with Kurunta (Bo 86/299 III 44), Tuthaliya affirms that Tarhuntašša is a border province (*hantezzi auriya*, “advanced post”), it is possible that the oath requirement involves him particularly. In this way, at least when Tuthaliya was enthroned, Kurunta might have been “king” in Tarhuntašša, but to his Majesty he was a “prince” and a “lord of a border province”.

The location in Ušša for the oath declaration ceremony, to which are summoned all the LÚ^{MEŠ} SAG located throughout the various Anatolian regions, even those in Tarhuntašša, should be not therefore a demonstration of favouring Kurunta,⁷⁴ or at least not the only reason; instead it is a way to involve everyone, including Kurunta and his

⁷² Cf. Hawkins 2002, 217-221, 229-232.

⁷³ Starke 1996, 140-182 (145-146, 160 ff., in particular).

⁷⁴ So Houwink ten Cate 1992, 268-269.

supporters, because Kurunta is one of trusted men of Tuthaliya⁷⁵ and one of the “lords” of Hatti, from the time his country is considered a frontier province of the Hittite state. We might also conjecture that, on this occasion, the first treaty took place between Tuthaliya and Kurunta, which is referred to in the first part of the bronze tablet.⁷⁶

II. The so-called “cult inventories”

The large number of documents containing inquiry reports promoted by Tuthaliya to verify the conditions of the Anatolian sanctuaries and the respect of the cult practices constitute solid evidence of this king’s will to rule methodically and incisively in the religious life of the country. Tuthaliya obtains two goals by resuming and intensifying a traditional praxis (just think of the provisions given by Arnuwanda I to the governors of the border provinces, CTH 261); one of these goals was to show his *pietas* to the gods; the other was to make people aware of his presence and his solicitude towards them.

These documents have already been analysed and widely studied.⁷⁷ I would like, however, to call attention to the tablet KUB 56.56, that is not inserted in any of the studies on the cult inventories, but to which I have dedicated a brief contribution.⁷⁸ This tablet records supplies needed for the celebration of the divinities in the city of Hurma, a city in the eastern part of central Anatolia, linked further back in time to the fortunes of the Hittite reigning dynasty, as seen, for instance, in the text of Zalpa⁷⁹ and in the so-called “palace chronicles”.⁸⁰

The scribe of this text ordered the information at his disposal into distinct sections, each one dedicated to a particular group of gods. For every group of gods, in ensuing paragraphs, there is a list of their festivals and a list of supplies for daily worship, monthly festivals and seasonal and additional festivals, all with an indication of the relevant suppliers and a reckoning of partial totals.

The first part of the text is dedicated to the citizen gods of Hurma (the part dedicated to the goddess Hantitaššu remains, KUB 56.56 obv. I 1'-30', but probably it was preceded by one dedicated to the Storm God of Hurma, whom we know from other documents,⁸¹ and especially, the prayer of Muwatalli for the Storm God *piḥaššašši*, CTH 381 I 74-75,

⁷⁵ Bo 86/299 II 31-56 (53-56, in particular).

⁷⁶ Bo 86/299 II 58.

⁷⁷ See, among others, especially the works of Laroche 1975, 87-95; Carter 1962; Houwink ten Cate 1992, 100-109, 121-128, in particular; and more recently Hazenbos 2003.

⁷⁸ Pecchioli Daddi/Baldi 2004, 495-506.

⁷⁹ CTH 3, KBo 3.38 obv. 19'-20'; edited by Otten 1973, 8-9. Cf. also discussion on this text by Pecchioli Daddi 1994, 85-86.

⁸⁰ Edition by Dardano 1997. Cf. Pecchioli Daddi 1994, 78-84; Pecchioli Daddi 1995, 321-332. For these texts I have recently (Çorum 2002) proposed the definition proto-*išhiul*: cf. Pecchioli Daddi 2003, 23.

⁸¹ Cf. van Gessel 1998, 666, 802.

being the principal male god of the pantheon of this city); in this section even the names of the festivals, mostly *hapax*, and suppliers (the priestess “mother of the divinity”⁸² and the property of the lord of Hurma, Kaššu)⁸³ refer to a local context.

The subsequent preserved section⁸⁴ is dedicated to the cult of the divinities of Zippalanda (the Storm God of Zippalanda, Anzili, Mount Daḥa, to which are added ^DU.GUR and a deity not otherwise attested, Ḥa/uršašwa), who must take care of the palace of Hurma, hence the local seat of administration of the state: this is a demonstration of the “national” character of these divinities.

Then, lastly, there is a section⁸⁵ dedicated to ^DLAMMA.LUGAL, “the tutelary god of the king”, to ^DDAG, “the throne goddess”, and to Zithariya, whose supplies must provide for the palace of the tutelary god of the king and the employees of the palace at Hurma. The group of gods listed and the remarks recorded by the scribe relating to their respective cults are, in my opinion, revealing of the procedures and goals of Tutḫaliya’s activities, wherein he does not distinguish between the political and the religious spheres.

From this tablet it is learnt that traditionally the pantheon of Hurma included not only the citizen divinities but also the gods of Zippalanda: in the paragraph recording the supplies for the cult of these divinities, a remark about drinks is found saying: “now there isn’t any” (*kinun=aš* NU.GÁL: rev. IV 7). As a rule, this expression is used to point out a change in custom; it is therefore highly likely that the gods of Zippalanda had been venerated for a long time in the city of Hurma, something that, anyhow, is confirmed by the tablet of Šarišša, KuT 53, that documents the existence of a temple of the Storm God of Zippalanda in the city of Hurma, already in the Middle Hittite period.⁸⁶

The three divinities who conclude the preserved part of the text (LAMMA of the king, the throne and Zithariya) are divinities linked to the royal cult and to the person of the sovereign. The special devotion of Tutḫaliya IV towards the tutelary god of the king and Zithariya emerges from their frequent occurrence in the cult inventories (for instance, according to the tablet KUB 38.35,⁸⁷ which is dedicated to the restoration of Ḥalenzuwa, abandoned by the time of the ancient kings, the royal intervention concerns the cult images of these two divinities); from his institution of the festival for the tutelary divinities (LAMMA) of everything that is pertinent to the person of the king,⁸⁸ a feast where the well-being of the sovereign is identified with that of the state;⁸⁹ from the

⁸² Obv. I 3', 12': MUNUS AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}.

⁸³ Obv. I 21'. For this person, cf. now van den Hout 1995, 226-232.

⁸⁴ Rev. IV 1-10.

⁸⁵ Rev. IV 11-33.

⁸⁶ Cf. Wilhelm 2002, 342-351.

⁸⁷ Cf., recently, Hazenbos 2003, 48-51 (Text Nr. 10).

⁸⁸ CTH 682: edition by McMahon 1991, 83 ff.

⁸⁹ Cf. McMahon 1991, 47.

existence of a building in Hurma called “palace of LAMMA.LUGAL”;⁹⁰ and as far as Zithariya is concerned, from the frequent mention of the king’s Zithariya in the festive celebrations,⁹¹ whose emblem (^{KUŠ} *kurša*), together with the emblem of the queen’s Zithariya, is sent into the provincial temples⁹² (a specific cult for these two Zithariya is documented in the city of Šamuḥa: KUB 27.1 I 64);⁹³ and, above all, from the final note contained in the bronze tablet that refers to the provision of a copy of the treaty in the “house of the king in front of Zithariya”⁹⁴ – therefore Zithariya has his cella in the king’s residence (É.LUGAL).

The tablet KUB 56.56 specifies that the cult of these divinities is a new introduction into the city (IV 11-12: *kišan* GAM *ḥamankanzi*). It is possible that said introduction is a consequence of queen Puduḥepa and her visit to the city; she had gone there, as J. de Roos has shown, to make votive offerings to the god in favour of Tutḫaliya (KUB 15.23 obv. 3'-11'⁹⁵; KUB 15.11 III 13'-18').⁹⁶ Therefore, at least in Hurma, the investigation of the cults promoted by Tutḫaliya had, as a result, the introduction in the city of the cult of deities that were symbol of the royalty and personal protectors of the king.

The essential points highlighted up to now therefore confirm what Th. van den Hout had already noted in 1995⁹⁷ in connection with the iconography of the royalty during the period of Tutḫaliya IV, namely, the tendency of this sovereign to strengthen the religious legitimacy of the royalty. It might be said that Tutḫaliya, even though critical of his father, realised that ‘sacralization’ of the person of the king implied in the justificatory documents of Ḫattušili.

Such ‘sacralization’ emerges firstly from the introduction of the cult of the divinities that represent royalty and the king in a city like Hurma, which was part of the great religious district of the eastern part of central Anatolia that had its most important centres in Karahna, Šamuḥa, Kummanni and Šarišša;⁹⁸ secondly, from the provisions granted by him to the men of his closest entourage, who are bound to him on the basis of two fundamental principles: 1) their belonging to a privileged élite, with whom the king shared the exercising of power, detached from the rest of the people who were not called upon to take an oath at the time of his accession to the throne; 2) their contact with the

⁹⁰ KUB 56.56 rev. IV 17, 20.

⁹¹ Cf. the attestations of this god quoted by van Gessel 1998, 593-597; 2001, 347. See, especially, the treatment by McMahon 1991, 19-23 (23, in particular, for Zithariya of the king).

⁹² Cf. Haas 1994, 454-456.

⁹³ See Lebrun 1976, 77, 88; Wegner 1995, 34, 38.

⁹⁴ Bo 86/299 IV 50.

⁹⁵ Cf. de Roos 1984, 250-251, 388-389.

⁹⁶ Cf. de Roos 1984, 227, 365.

⁹⁷ van den Hout 1995, 572 (in particular).

⁹⁸ For this religious district, cf. Pecchioli Daddi/Baldi 2004, 505.

“pure” person of the king, that implied purity even for them (SAG 2 § 26, KUB 21.42+ IV 33-37).⁹⁹ They are not new concepts (we just need to think, for instance, of some of the so-called “protocols of dynastic succession”, CTH 271, issued probably on the occasion of the designation or accession to the throne of a new king; of the Middle Hittite instructions for the palace staff, CTH 265; and of the instructions for the temple staff, CTH 264); but these concepts are used in a new way: in the Middle Hittite protocols the taking of an oath was required to specific people belonging to families involved in the struggle for power,¹⁰⁰ and to all the men in Hatti,¹⁰¹ not only to the ruling class; the purity of the king was guaranteed by the respect for precise technical provisions (regarding procedures in the preparation of food and drink or even articles of clothing destined for him)¹⁰² by the kitchen service staff of the palace who were called upon to take an oath each month.¹⁰³

In the Hittite texts, the condition of personal purity is demanded, as a rule, to approach the deities; SAG 2 § 26 introduces, for the first time, the concept of *maršaštarri*- “sacrilege, unconsecrated condition”,¹⁰⁴ as opposed to *šuppeššar* “consecrated state”, with regard to the king. I wonder if in this sense the lack in both the tablets SAG of the list of witnesses gods that is a fundamental component of other oaths (CTH 253.1; 254; 256; 260: 251; 268; 259; 85.2) issued by the kings that lived before or after him, could be significant.

In conclusion, the sense of precariousness of royal power drove Tuthaliya to exercise vast control of the state bureaucracy and powerful groups through the use of traditional legal means for imposing an oath, and a vast control of the territory by means of administrative tools, also traditional, of the inventories of temple goods and cults. However to render control more effective, he introduced new elements that accentuated the ‘sacralization’ of the monarchy and of himself.

⁹⁹ Cf. also CHD, S, 101b.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, KUB 34.40+41 obv. 6' (DUMU^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} GAL.GAL); KUB 36.114 r.Col. 12' (DUMU^{MEŠ} ^mHimuiili DUMU^{MEŠ} ^mKantuzili).

¹⁰¹ KUB 36.109: 2' (^{URU}Hattušaš), 7' (^{pankušš}-a LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU}Hatti); KUB 36.114 r.Col. 18' (LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU}Hatti ^{pankuš} ^{URU}Hatti); KBo 40.16: 18' (^{pankuš} ^{URU}Hattušaš).

¹⁰² Cf. KUB 13.3 III 3 ff.

¹⁰³ KUB 13.3 II 20'-III 2 (see, in particular, II 25'-26': LUGAL-waš ZI-ni šer ITU-mi ITU-mi linkiškutin)

¹⁰⁴ See CHD, M, 198-199: “desecration, profanement, sacrilege”.

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HATTUŠA – TUTHALIJA-STADT? ARGUMENTE FÜR EINE REVISION DER CHRONOLOGIE DER HETHITISCHEN HAUPTSTADT

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Das von K. Bittel und P. Neve ausgearbeitete Modell zur Entwicklung der hethitischen Hauptstadt Hattuša geht davon aus, daß es außer im Palastbezirk von Büyükkale und dem Wohnbereich in der Unterstadt, der nach Süden und Südwesten hin durch die Poternenmauer geschützt ist, keine Spuren von vor-großreichszeitlicher Nutzung gibt: “Viel Zeit zum Ausbau einer Hauptstadt scheint man ohnehin nicht gehabt zu haben”, da die Herrscher zu sehr von Feldzügen und der Lösung von innenpolitischen Konflikten in Anspruch genommen worden seien (Neve 1999a: 254). Erst im 13. Jh. v. Chr. sei die Stadt nach Süden erweitert worden: Die Anlage der Oberstadt sei zwar möglicherweise von Hattušili III. initiiert worden, aber “viele spricht eher dafür, daß dieser Stadtteil, durch den die Hauptstadt mit nunmehr fast 200 ha Gesamtfläche ihre größte Ausdehnung erhielt, im wesentlichen eine Schöpfung des Sohnes Hattušilis, Tuthalijas IV. (ca. 1235-1211 v. Chr.), ist” (Neve 1999a: 257). Zu dieser Zeit sei außerdem auch auf Büyükkale und Büyükkaya sowie in der Unterstadt und in Yazılıkaya sehr viel neu gebaut worden, so “daß faktisch das gesamte Stadtgebiet eine einzige Baustelle bildete” (Neve 1999b: 146). Dieses Modell der extrem kurzen Chronologie der Stadtentwicklung ist inzwischen in den meisten einschlägigen Veröffentlichungen übernommen worden. Kritische Stimmen sind selten.

Die Forschungen der letzten zehn Jahre haben nun zum Thema Stadtentwicklung neue Daten – Grabungsergebnisse und ¹⁴C-Datierungen – geliefert und ermöglichen in Verbindung mit einer kritischen Betrachtung der bisherigen Ergebnisse die Formulierung einer neuen Hypothese zur Besiedlungsgeschichte.

Die Stadtgeschichte von Hattuša: Ältere Positionen

K. Bittel und R. Naumann schrieben 1952 im ersten Band der Boğazköy-Hattuša Reihe: “Ein Blick auf den Stadtplan, mehr noch eine Wanderung durch das Stadtgebiet, lassen es sofort als naheliegend erscheinen, daß das gesamte ummauerte Areal gewiß nicht von Anfang an als Siedlungsland geplant war, vielmehr eine schrittweise Entwicklung aus bescheideneren Anfängen heraus stattgefunden haben muß” (Bittel-Naumann 1952: 20). Diesen Eindruck hatten auch schon die früheren Besucher gewonnen, aber ihre Versuche, alt von jung zu unterscheiden, führten zu recht unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen (z.B. Humann-Puchstein 1890: 73 ff; Schaeffer 1895: 452 ff.). Auch nach den ersten großen Grabungen in den Jahren 1906-07 waren die Ausgräber noch nicht in der Lage, über die

reine Beschreibung der vorgefundenen Befunde hinaus eine Idee zur Entwicklung der Stadt zu äußern. Als Zeitrahmen wurde nach Maßgabe der inschriftlichen Funde "die Zeit vom Ende des 15. bis Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts v. Chr." angenommen, "aber Zeitunterschiede darin festzustellen, ist nach den baulichen Resten nicht möglich... Es ist zu hoffen, daß die zahlreichen Scherbenfunde noch Aufklärung bringen" (Puchstein 1912: 174). Da die Bearbeitung dieses Materials jedoch nicht wie geplant durchgeführt werden konnte, dauerte es bis in die dreißiger Jahre, bis K. Bittel und H. G. Güterbock neue Vorstellungen zur Chronologie vorlegen konnten (Bittel-Güterbock 1935: 12 ff.). Ihnen stand nun Textmaterial zur Verfügung, vor allem der Telipinu-Erlaß, in dem es heißt, daß Muršili I. in Hattuša herrschte. Sie stellten die Frage, ob Muršilis Vater Hattušili I., "dessen Name ganz deutlich mit dem Stadtnamen in Verbindung steht", nicht auch schon dort residiert habe. Damit war der Beginn der hethitischen Hauptstadt weit zurückdatiert, denn nach damaliger Kenntnis regierte dieser Herrscher im 18. Jh. v. Chr. (die Datierung Hattušili I. ins entwickelte 17. Jh. v. Chr. wurde erst später allgemein anerkannt). Aber dennoch: "Über die Schicksale der Stadt vom 18.-13. Jahrhundert wissen wir sehr wenig".

Bis 1938 hatte sich die Situation verändert. Durch die Grabungen war jetzt klar geworden, daß die althethitische wie die *karum*-zeitliche Besiedlung sich im Bereich von Büyükkale und der nordwestlich anschließenden Unterstadt erstreckt hatte, und Bittel ging inzwischen davon aus, daß nicht nur die Königsburg, sondern auch die althethitische Stadt insgesamt befestigt gewesen sein müsse (Bittel 1938: 5 ff.). Damit meinte er die Poternenmauer, und er war jetzt auch mit der Vorstellung einverstanden, daß ihr Bau auf Hantili I. zurückgehen könnte – in einem Keilschrifttafeltext heißt es, daß König Hantili die Stadt, die zuvor ungeschützt gewesen sei, mit einer Befestigung versehen habe. Nach damaliger Kenntnis ergab sich daraus ein Datum von 1740/1700 für die erste Befestigung der hethitischen Hauptstadt (Bittel 1938: 9). Tempel 1 wurde nach Aussage der Tontafelfunde in die Zeit von Šuppiluliuma I. datiert und ein althethitischer Vorläufer wurde beim Haus am Hang vermutet (Naumann 1938: 36). Für die Gründung der Oberstadt von Hattuša wurde dagegen ein Datum um 1400 v. Chr. genannt, da man bei verschiedenen Grabungen und Aufsammlungen keine älteren Funde (d.h. keine damals als althethitisch identifizierbare Keramik) geborgen habe. Dieses Datum scheint aber auch wesentlich bestimmt worden zu sein durch die Annahme, daß Šuppiluliuma I. der Auftraggeber der Inschrift von Nişantepe sei. Ein Versuch, zeitliche Tiefe aufzuzeigen, ist die Datierung von Tempel 3 ins 13. Jahrhundert v. Chr., da er "durch die große Beherrschung der Steinbearbeitung ... zu den am besten ausgeführten Bauwerken in der Stadt" (Bittel 1938: 10) gehöre. Hier wie auch in den Beurteilungen anderer Forscher klingt immer wieder als Tendenz die Annahme durch, daß die Qualität der Bauausführung und sonstiger Arbeiten erst in der entwickelten Großreichszeit ihren Gipfel erreicht: Je besser die Qualität, um so jünger muß das Baudatum sein.

In der 1952 erschienenen zusammenfassenden Publikation der Grabungsergebnisse der dreißiger Jahre wurde die Stadtgeschichte ähnlich dargestellt, ergänzt um die Aussage, daß der Felsrücken von Büyükkaya frühestens im 14. Jh. v. Chr. in das ummauerte Stadtgebiet einbezogen worden sei. Die beigegebene Karte und die

Chronologietabelle verzeichnete wieder die Datierung der Oberstadterweiterung um 1400 v. Chr. (Bittel-Naumann 1952: 20 ff.), und auch im Bericht über die Kampagne des Jahres 1956 wurde festgestellt, daß "der große südliche Stadtteil, der das Gemeinwesen zu einer Großstadt innerhalb seiner Zeit machte, erst um 1400 v. Chr. entstanden ist... Das schließt nicht aus, daß hier schon früher vereinzelt Häuser gestanden haben können. Aber in die Stadt einbezogen und mit einem Mauerring versehen wurde dieses Gebiet erst zu jener Zeit"; Tempel 1 ist "in seiner bekannten Gestalt kaum wesentlich vor 1400 entstanden, aber vielleicht mit älteren Vorgängern, die wir noch nicht kennen" (Bittel e.a. 1957: 6). In der ersten umfassenden Publikation der Siedlungskeramik hieß es: "[Es] sind in der südlichen Oberstadt bisher niemals Funde zutage gekommen, die älter als das 14. Jahrhundert sind" (Fischer 1963: 14). Noch 1976 wiederholte Bittel diese Aussage und stellte fest: "Von den bekannten fünf Tempeln [also Tempel 1 in der Unterstadt und Tempel 2-5 in der Oberstadt] geht keiner über das 14. Jahrhundert zurück" (Bittel 1976a: 106 f; 122). An anderer Stelle heißt es allerdings für Tempel 1 genauer: "Der gewaltige Tempelbezirk ist, wie die letzten Untersuchungen gezeigt haben, mit Ausnahme unwesentlicher Teile kaum vor der Zeit um oder kurz nach 1300 v. Chr. errichtet worden" (Bittel 1976a: 133). Als Bauherr favorisierte Bittel Hattušili III., weil die Mehrzahl der im Tempel gefundenen Tonbulln seine Siegelabdrücke tragen – nur wenige stammen von Muwatalli II. (Bittel 1976b: 69).

In der Rückschau läßt sich ein damals unbemerkt gebliebenes Problem erkennen, das eine Feinchronologie für Hattuša unmöglich machte: Schrift- und Siegelfunde waren nur an wenigen Stellen zum Vorschein gekommen, und auch dort waren sie für die Datierung oft nicht hilfreich. Gleiches galt für die Kleinfunde, und daher griff man für Datierungszwecke wie bei jeder Grabung auf die überall in großer Zahl geborgenen Keramikscherben zurück. Allerdings herrschte bei der Fundbergung aufgrund der hohen Zahl von Arbeitern (zeitweise bis zu 200 Mann) und der geringen Zahl von beobachtend und dokumentierend tätigen Forschern häufig nicht die nötige Sorgfalt, um Störungen und Schichtwechsel zu registrieren – da war die Grabung in Boğazköy anderen Grabungen ihrer Zeit durchaus nicht voraus. Man war daher kaum in der Lage, die graduellen Unterschiede, die das Kennzeichen der hethitischen Keramikentwicklung sind, zu erkennen und mit Befunden in Verbindung zu bringen, und auch die Unterscheidung von umgelagertem älterem Material in den jüngeren Schichten gelang vielfach nicht¹. So konnte F. Fischer in seiner Vorlage der Keramikfunde bis 1960 nur recht wenig Formen nennen, die ausschließlich für nur eine seiner Zeitgruppen der hethitischen Keramik typisch sind. Außerdem ist mit heutigem Kenntnisstand erkennbar, daß diversen Formen zu lange Laufzeiten zugebilligt wurden (Fischer 1963: 103 und Abb.18-19). Einigermassen sicher unterscheiden konnte man eigentlich nur bestimmte

¹ Mit diesem Problem konfrontiert war ich im Jahr 1993 während der Aufnahme von Keramik aus der Unterstadtgrabung. Vermischungen sind in allen Fundkontexten feststellbar, und daher wurde die Bearbeitung dieses Materials eingestellt. Erst wenn eine sichere Feinchronologie von hethitischer Keramik vorliegt, lassen sich die Keramik-Funde aus der Unterstadtgrabung – ein umfangreiches und qualitativvolles Material – sinnvoll auswerten.

charakteristische althethitische Waren und Formen von (spät-) großreichszeitlicher Keramik – Keramikformen aus dem 15. und 14. Jh. v. Chr. waren nicht ausreichend definiert (ausführlich zu dieser Problematik Schoop 2003).

Die Oberstadtgrabung: Neue Chronologievorstellungen

Die Vorschläge zur Datierung der Oberstadt von Hattuša wurden erst nach dem Beginn der Grabungen dort im Jahr 1978 konkreter. 1983 faßte Bittel die Grabungsergebnisse erneut zusammen; hier finden sich zwei Modifikationen: Während die Poternenmauer weiterhin als althethitisch angesehen wird, wird jetzt für die Oberstadterweiterung das Datum „um 1300 v. Chr.“ genannt, und ebenfalls „vermutlich im 13. Jahrhundert“ sei Büyükkaya in das ummauerte Stadtgebiet einbezogen worden (Bittel 1983: 64; 85). Eine Begründung dieser Aussagen wird nicht geliefert, aber sie beruhen sicher auch auf der inzwischen Allgemeingut gewordenen Erkenntnis, daß die Nişantepe-Inschrift nicht von Šuppiluliuma I., sondern von Šuppiluliuma II. stammt (Laroche 1960: 261 Chronologietabelle; Otten 1967: 230 f.; Steinherr 1972). Auch der Ausgräber P. Neve hielt am Anfang der Oberstadtgrabung eine Nutzung dieses Stadtviertels ab Beginn des 13. Jh. v. Chr. für wahrscheinlich (Neve 1981: 373), und 1985 schrieb er „Die Stadtmauer [der Oberstadt] entstand nachweislich in zwei zeitlich getrennten Bauphasen, von denen die ältere etwa in die Zeit um die Wende vom 14. zum 13., die jüngere in die zweite Hälfte des 13. Jh. v. Chr. datiert“ (Neve 1985: Blatt Oberstadt/Stadtbefestigung. A. Gesamtsituation und Anlage) – gemeint sind die Hauptmauer und die später errichtete Vormauer. An anderer Stelle erwog er aber schon 1982, daß der endgültige Ausbau von Büyükkale wohl auf Tuthalija IV. zurückzuführen sei, „eben jenen Regenten, unter dem wahrscheinlich auch die Erweiterung der Hauptstadt nach Süden...vollzogen wurde“ (Neve 1982: 136).

Dieses letztgenannte Datierungsschema wurde in den folgenden Jahren bevorzugt und mit Substanz gefüllt. Scheinbare Bestätigung fand sich im häufigen Vorkommen von Votivgefäßen, Libationsarmen und *spindle bottles*, für die Parallelen in der Unterstadt in Schicht U.St.1b und auf Büyükkale in Schicht III vorliegen und die daher in die zweite Hälfte des 13. Jh. v. Chr. datiert wurden (Neve 1984: 369; Neve 1987: 390). Daß diese Gefäßformen eine Laufzeit haben, die in Zentralanatolien spätestens im frühen 14. Jh. v. Chr. beginnt (Fischer 1963: 73; Eriksson 1993: Fig.140), blieb unberücksichtigt. Zu einem der Hauptargumente für die Spätdatierung der Oberstadt wurde dann eine 1983 gefundene Stele von Tuthalija IV. Neve sah in ihr eine „Gründungsurkunde, ... mit der sich Tuthalija als Erbauer oder ... Vollender der Tempelstadt ein Denkmal setzte“ (Neve 1984: 370 mit Abb.10). Folgender Einwand scheint mir berechtigt: Die Stele wurde nicht *in situ*, sondern sekundär verbaut in einer byzantinischen Kirche über der Ruine von Tempel 16 gefunden. Aber auch wenn die Annahme des Ausgräbers, daß die Stele ursprünglich in der Nähe aufgestellt war, zutreffen sollte, so ist sie doch kein Dokument für die Datierung der Oberstadterweiterung. Die Stele enthält nur genealogische Angaben, d.h. der Zweck ihrer Aufstellung bleibt unklar. Es spricht nichts dagegen, daß der König sie – vielleicht tatsächlich in Verbindung mit einer Baumaßnahme – in einem schon

länger bestehenden Stadtviertel hat errichten lassen. Gleiches gilt übrigens auch für eine ganz ähnliche Stele desselben Königs, die ebenfalls in sekundärer Lage auf der Königsburg Büyükkale gefunden worden ist (Bittel-Güterbock 1935: 67 ff Taf. 27) – die Baumaßnahmen können so nicht datiert werden.

Eine weiteres Argument für die Spätdatierung der Oberstadt kam dann wiederum von K. Bittel, der neben dieser Stele eine weitere Hieroglypheninschrift ins Spiel brachte. Die Inschrift stammt ebenfalls von Großkönig Tuthalija IV. und befindet sich auf einem Steinblock im Wall des hethitischen Staubeckens von Karakuyu 110 km nordöstlich von Kayseri. Eine Zeichenkombination der Inschrift läßt sich als 'Tuthalija-Hattuša-Stadt' lesen (Bittel 1984: 13 ff.; Gegenstimmen zitiert 15 Anm. 15). Als Bestätigung für diese Lesung wurde ein beim Haus am Hang in der Unterstadt von Boğazköy gefundenes Textfragment herangezogen, wo im Zusammenhang mit 'bauen' vom 'Hatti des Tuthalija' die Rede zu sein scheint (KBo 12.39, I 16)². H. Güterbock verglich diese Angabe mit dem Ausdruck 'Friedrichstadt', 'Josephsstadt', 'Leopoldstadt', Stadtteilen von Berlin und Wien, die nach ihren Gründern benannt wurden (Güterbock 1967: 80 Anm. 12, siehe auch Bittel 1984: 15): Der Regent, der den Ausbau eines Stadtviertels in Auftrag gibt, gibt dem Viertel auch seinen Namen. Auf diese Argumentation komme ich unten noch einmal zurück.

In der Endpublikation zu den Architekturbefunden in der Oberstadt wird die Chronologie der Oberstadt folgendermaßen zusammengefaßt (Neve 1999b: 146 ff.; Neve 2001: 97 ff.): In der Periode O.St.4 wird die erste Stadtmauer gebaut mit der Bastion des Sphinxtores/Yerkapi und mit dem Unteren und Oberen Westtor, dem Löwen- und dem Königstor sowie Tempel 2, 3, 4 und 30 sowie einige Einzelbauten. Diese Periode endet mit einer Brandzerstörung. In Periode O.St.3 werden die meisten Tempel neu gebaut oder aber erneuert (Tempel 2-4), bei der Befestigungsmauer wird eine Vormauer gebaut und die Tore ebenfalls erneuert. Periode O.St.2 schließlich sieht den Verfall vieler Tempel und die Entstehung eines Wohn- und Werkstattviertels in der südlichen Oberstadt. Die Hauptbauperiode O.St.3 wird durch die bereits erwähnte Stele und die Karakuyu-Inschrift in die Zeit von Tuthalija IV. datiert, was auch „durch die Keramikanalyse bestätigt“ werde (Neve 1999b: 12). Außerdem „dürfte sich durch den Fund der Bronzetafel Tuthalijas beim Sphinxtor bestätigen, daß die Periode O.St.3, d.h. die Phase des endgültigen Ausbaus der Oberstadt ... in die Zeit der Regentschaft dieses Herrschers fällt“ (Neve 2001: 97): Ein nicht nachvollziehbares Argument, denn die Tafel ist ja nicht Teil eines Gründungsdepots. Selbst wenn sie zur Zeit dieses Herrschers dort vergraben worden sein sollte, so datiert sie den Bau der Pflasterstraße als Teil der Ausbaustufe der Periode O.St.3 nicht – diese kann deutlich älter sein.

Sodann wird vermutet, daß auch die erste Anlage der Oberstadtbefestigung – Periode O.St.4 – in die Zeit von Tuthalija IV. datiert. Das Argument ist diesmal der „offensichtlich unter seiner Regie erweiterte und zur neu gegründeten Oberstadt hin

² H. Otten sei an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt für seine Anmerkungen zu diesem Thema.

ausgerichtete Palast auf Büyükkale" und die Befunde am Sphinxor und bei Tempel 2 und 3, wo kein großer zeitlicher Abstand zwischen den beiden Bauperioden gelegen zu haben scheine (Neve 2001: 97). Auch diese Überlegungen stehen und fallen wieder mit der Datierung der Periode O.St.3 in die Zeit von Tuthalija IV, sowie mit der Datierung des Neubaus von Büyükkale in die Zeit dieses Herrschers (hierzu s.u.).

An dieser Stelle sollen die Befunde der Oberstadtperioden nicht detailliert diskutiert werden. Daher möchte ich nur auf zwei wesentliche Schwachpunkte in dem beschriebenen Entwicklungskonzept hinweisen: Zum einen beruht die Definition der Periode O.St.4 ausschließlich auf Hypothesen. Weder ihr Beginn noch ihr angenommenes Ende durch Zerstörung – an den Stadttoren und bei Tempel 2-4 und 30 gibt es Reste von "Altbauten", die Feuereinwirkung zeigen – sind durch Fundmaterial (Parzinger-Sanz 1992: 68) oder physikalische Altersbestimmungen datiert. Außerdem gibt es keinen Beleg für die Gleichzeitigkeit der Brände und damit auch nicht für die Annahme, daß die Neubauten von Tempel 2-4 und 30 gleichzeitig sind und in die Periode O.St.3 gehören. Und zum anderen sind auch die anderen der Periode O.St.3 zugewiesenen Bauten zum größten Teil nicht stratigraphisch miteinander verbunden; ihre Zusammenfassung in einen Bauabschnitt folgte dem postulierten Konzept des "übergeordneten Generalplanes", der "nur aus der Hand eines mit der Berglandschaft wohlvertrauten, dazu künstlerisch befähigten Meisters stammen kann" (Neve 1999b: 9). Zeitliche Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Bauwerken wurden nicht erwogen. Mir erscheint dies angesichts der Kartierung der ausgegrabenen Gebäude im Zentralen Tempelviertel (s. Abb.1) nicht überzeugend: Hier sind vielleicht einige Baugruppen gleichzeitig geplant und errichtet worden, aber durch die regellose Lage vieler anderer Gebäude ergibt sich deutlich der Eindruck eines allmählichen Wachstums, angepaßt an vorhandene Bauten und Eigenarten des Geländes. Das steht durchaus nicht im Widerspruch zu der Annahme einer allgemeinen Idee für die Entstehung des Tempelviertels, nur entfällt in diesem Fall der Zwang, die Baumaßnahmen in einen Zeithorizont pressen zu müssen – ein 'Tempelviertel' kann auch durch die Bauaktivitäten verschiedener Herrscher entstehen. Leider sind weder Architekturvergleiche noch Siegelabdrücke und Keramikfunde geeignet, exakte Angaben für den Bau, für die Laufzeit und für das Datum der Auflassung oder Zerstörung zu liefern. Zeitliche Unterschiede im Bereich von einigen Jahrzehnten sind in Hattuša zumindest zum heutigen Zeitpunkt nicht bestimmbar.

Argumente für ein höheres Alter der Oberstadt

1. Ältere Funde aus der Oberstadt

Die Keramik aus der Oberstadt-Grabung ist in zwei großen Studien untersucht worden (Müller-Karpe 1988; Parzinger-Sanz 1992). Sie konnten jedoch chronologisch kaum zu neuen Ergebnissen führen, weil sowohl von anderen Stellen des Stadtgebiets von Hattuša als auch von anderen Fundorten nicht ausreichend stratifiziertes Vergleichsmaterial zur Verfügung stand: Es gab vor allem keine sicher in das 14. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datierten Keramikkomplexe, die zur Feststellung der Laufzeit von bestimmten Gefäßformen und

damit zur Überprüfung der vom Ausgräber vorgegebenen Chronologiehypothese – Beginn der Bebauung in der entwickelten Großreichszeit – geeignet gewesen wären. Außerdem standen keine unabhängigen Datierungen zur Verfügung – Dendro- und Radiokarbondatierungen aus der Oberstadtgrabung gab (und gibt) es nicht. So mußte es zwangsläufig zu einem Zirkelschluß kommen, denn die Bearbeiter konnten ihre Ergebnisse nur in das damals aktuelle Schema einbauen: Die zwei von ihnen unterschiedenen Keramikkomplexe wurden in die zweite Hälfte des 13. Jh. v. Chr. datiert, was dann – wie oben zitiert – in der Folge wieder als Beleg für die Spätdatierung des Tempelviertels gewertet wurde. Es fehlt in beiden Arbeiten nicht der Hinweis, daß es ältere Keramikformen gebe, aber diese wurden als Erbstücke eingestuft. Aufgrund seiner Erfahrungen mit gut datiertem Material in Kuşaklı/Şarışa und neuer Überlegungen, die weitgehend mit den hier vorgetragenen konform gehen, hat sich A. Müller-Karpe inzwischen von seinem früheren Chronologieschema für die Oberstadt von Hattuša distanziert (Müller-Karpe 2003: 391). Die Auswertung der stratifizierten Befunde aus dem Tal vor Sankale und anderen Bereichen der Stadt zeigt jetzt ebenfalls, daß die ausschließliche Spätdatierung der Keramik aus dem zentralen Tempelviertel nicht den Realitäten entspricht.

Bei den Schriftfunden aus der Oberstadtgrabung konnten ältere Funde leichter identifiziert werden. Unter den bereits veröffentlichten Tontafelfragmenten der Kampagnen 1980-86 (Otten-Rüster 1990: IV ff.) gibt es eine Reihe von als mittelhethitisch bzw. ins 14. Jh. v. Chr. gehörig eingestufte Stücke, und auch unter übrigen Text- und Glyptikfunden gibt es Exemplare, die vor die Zeit von Tuthalija IV. zu datieren sind. Als Beispiele für solche alten Stücke seien genannt: Aus Tempel 7 eine Bulle von Muršili III. und eine althethitische Landschenkungsurkunde von Großkönig Alluwamna (Neve 1999b: 44); aus Tempel 8 Landschenkungsurkunden von Zidanta II. und Muwatalli I., Tafelfragmente mit mittelhethitischen Texten sowie diverse mittelhethitische Tonbullen (Neve 1999b: 81; Otten-Rüster 1990: Nr.201-204); aus Tempel 15 eine mittelhethitische Tonbulle (Neve 1984: 360 Abb. 34); aus Tempel 16 eine Bulle von Arnuwanda I. sowie eine mittelhethitische Serie von Keilschrifttafeln mit einer hethitisch-hurritischen Bilingue (Neve 1999b: 72; Neu 1996); aus Haus 21 eine Bulle von Muršili II. und der Tawannana (Neve 2001: 94); und aus Tempel 2 sechs und aus Tempel 3 neun Stücke von großen Tonverschlüssen mit den Abdrücken eines kreuzförmigen Siegels von Muršili II. (Neve 2001: 59 und 82; Dinçol e.a. 1993). Aus Tempel 30 stammen drei Miniaturkeilschrifttafeln mit Orakeltexten, die wegen ihrer Lage in Fundamentgruben vom Ausgräber als mögliche Gründungsbeigaben angesprochen wurden (Neve 1996: Abb.126; Neve 2001: 89) – nach frdl. Mittl. von G. Wilhelm ist "Bo 87/170 eindeutig und Bo 87/132 möglicherweise mittelhethitisch. Bo 87/129 hat keine Zeichen, die eine großreichszeitliche Datierung ausschließen und keine, die eine mittelhethitische Datierung zwingend machen. Der Gesamteindruck und der Fundort legen aber Gleichzeitigkeit nahe".

Diese Liste früher Fundstücke im zentralen Tempelviertel muß noch ergänzt werden um zahlreiche Funde von mittelhethitischen und früh-großreichszeitlichen Tonbullen mit

Abdrücken von Beamtensiegeln (frdl. Mitt. A. Dinçol). Der Ausgräber sah in derartigen Stücken sowie in Fragmenten von Reliefvasen und anderem als 'althethitisch' erkennbarem Gebrauchsgeschirr "Güter, die aus alter Zeit bewahrt wurden und für eine Datierung unseres Viertels keine weiteren Anhaltspunkte als einen *terminus post quem* bieten" (Neve 1987: 390). Müller-Karpe weist jedoch darauf hin, daß z.B. die großen Bullenstücke mit den Abdrücken des kreuzförmigen Siegels von Muršili II., die als Verschuß von Truhen oder Transportbehältern dienten, kaum lange aufbewahrt worden sind, und auch eine mittelhethitische Tontafel mit einer Auflistung von Handwerkern aus Haus 20 (Kořak 1988) sei wohl ebenso als Verbrauchsmaterial anzusehen und nicht als bewahrenswertes Altgut, das von einem anderen Ort herbeigebracht worden ist und viele Jahrzehnte oder gar Jahrhunderte überdauert hat (Müller-Karpe 2003: 390 f.). Für die Bullen mit Beamtensiegelabdrücken, zumindest für einen Teil von ihnen, sind die gleichen Vorbehalte gerechtfertigt.

2. Der postulierte Bezug von Büyükkale auf Niřantepe und die Oberstadt.

Ein wesentliches Element im Konzept der "Tuthalija-Stadt" ist die Palastanlage von Büyükkale, die in Periode BK IIIb anscheinend völlig neu gebaut wurde. Als Hauptargument für die Datierung dienen die bereits erwähnte Stele, die in einer jüngeren Grube über Bau C lag, sowie ein fragmentarischer Granitblock im Schutt von Torbau I, die beide den Namen Tuthalija IV. (Neve 1982: 136) tragen und die ebenfalls als Gründungsinschriften interpretiert werden – auch hier gilt der gleiche Vorbehalt wie bei der Stele aus der Oberstadt, da auch auf diesen Stücken kein Bezug zu einer Baumaßnahme genannt ist. Die Datierungsproblematik der Palastanlage soll hier jedoch nicht weiter erörtert werden; für die gegenwärtige Fragestellung wichtiger erscheint mir die Behauptung, "daß die Anlage der Oberstadt, spätestens ihr durch die Periode O.St.3 dokumentierter umfassender Ausbau zur Tempelstadt, etwa zur gleichen Zeit erfolgt sein muß" wie der Bau des Palastes der Periode BK IIIb auf Büyükkale, da es eine "räumliche Anbindung" gebe, die "durch die Ausrichtung seines Haupttores und der zugehörigen Viadukte deutlich demonstriert ist" (Neve 1999b: 12). Dieses auch Südwesttor genannte Tor in der Befestigungsmauer von Büyükkale hatte nach Neve keinen Vorgänger und ist erst in dieser Periode, also der späten Großreichszeit, eingerichtet worden (Neve 1982: 77 ff.). Damit wird der Eindruck erweckt, daß mit dem Palastbau der Periode BK IIIb eine Umorientierung im Stadtbild stattgefunden hat. Das ist jedoch nicht der Fall, denn nur 20 m weiter westlich, unterhalb der Südwestspitze von Büyükkale, lag seit Jahrhunderten das Südtor der Poternenmauer, über das immer schon eine Anbindung der Altstadt und des Palastes an das Gebiet der Oberstadt gegeben war: In der althethitischen Zeit sowie in der älteren Großreichszeit nahm der Palast nur den Bereich des oberen Burgplateaus ein, während auf dem südwestlich davon gelegenen unteren Burgplateau eine 'normale' Wohnbebauung lag. Da die Nordwestseite des Burgbergs noch nicht mit einer Befestigungsmauer gesichert war, war das Tor in der Poternenmauer auch vom Palast aus leicht erreichbar und von hier aus für den König wie für die Untertanen der Weg in die Oberstadt offen. Möglicherweise hat erst die Errichtung der Büyükkale-Nordwestmauer

(anscheinend in der Periode BK IIIb), die das Plateau von der Unterstadt abriegelte, zur Notwendigkeit eines eigenen Südwesttores für den neuen und vergrößerten Palastbezirk geführt.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist ein Befund bei den erwähnten Viadukten, die eine Verbindung vom Südwesttor von Büyükkale zu dem Bereich von Niřantař herstellten, von besonderem Interesse: Eine Tiefsondage am westlichen der beiden Viadukte ergab, daß er "einen älteren, gleichorientierten Mauerzug" überlagert, "der, den Keramikfunden aus dem zugehörigen Schutt nach zu schließen, in die frühgroßreichszeitliche bis mittelhethitische Periode datiert" (Neve 1991: 303). Neve vermutet, daß dieser Mauerzug nicht auf das Südwesttor von Büyükkale bezogen war, sondern auf das direkt westlich davon am Fuß von Büyükkale gelegene Südtor in der Poternenmauer. In diesem Fall müßte der nach Nordosten gerichtete Mauerzug in seinem weiteren Verlauf nach Nordwesten zum Poternenmauer-Tor hin abgelenkt gewesen sein. Zwangloser erklären ließe sich sein Vorhandensein und vor allem seine gleichartige Orientierung jedoch, wenn man annimmt, daß auch er schon auf das Südwesttor von Büyükkale bzw. einen Vorgängerbau an gleicher Stelle, von dem keine Spuren beobachtet werden konnten, gerichtet war. Diese Frage läßt sich wohl nicht mehr klären, aber so oder so bleibt festzuhalten, daß mit dem älteren, gleichorientierten Mauerzug unter dem westlichen Viadukt eine alte Wegführung belegt ist, die nach Südwesten auf das Gebiet von Niřantepe ausgerichtet war – die "räumliche Anbindung" gab es also schon sehr viel länger.

Damit stellt sich auch die Frage nach dem Alter der Bauwerke nördlich des Niřantepe, also des Nord-, Ost-, Süd- und Westbaus. Bisher ist dieser Bereich nur in Vorberichten publiziert – die Endpublikation als Band 3 der Bauwerke der Oberstadt steht bevor –, so daß ein abschließendes Urteil noch nicht möglich ist. Aus den bisherigen Veröffentlichungen ergibt sich jedoch, daß auch hier hauptsächlich durch hypothetische Überlegungen und weniger mit Hilfe von eindeutigen Funden und Befunden datiert wird. Wieder wird der Neubau des Palastes und die Anbindung des Bereiches durch die Viadukte als Argument für eine Entstehungszeit in der späten Großreichszeit genannt (Neve 1996: 52). Eine Sandsteinplatte mit dem Namen von Tuthalija IV. im Schutt über dem Eingangstrakt wird als Hinweis auf den Erbauer des Nordbaus gewertet (Neve 1993: 629), und Šuppiluliuma II., dem vermuteten Bauherrn von Niřantepe und der Anlagen im Bereich der Südburg, wird die Einrichtung des Palastarchivs im Westbau zugeschrieben (Neve 1996: 58). Ich möchte nicht bezweifeln, daß diese Gebäude in der entwickelten und späten Großreichszeit (Periode BK III) in Benutzung waren, aber für den Zeitpunkt ihrer Entstehung können auch andere Argumente genannt werden. So deutet z.B. die zeitliche Verteilung der im Westbau gefundenen Siegelabdrücke auf eine lange Laufzeit des Archivs in der Großreichszeit, obwohl sogar einige vor-großreichszeitliche Königsbulln und Teile von 28 alt- bzw. mittelhethitischen Landschenkungsurkunden darin enthalten sind³. Ab Šuppiluliuma I. (über 80 Siegelungen) ist ein einigermaßen kontinuierlicher

³ Gegenüber den früher publizierten vorläufigen Zahlenangaben haben sich in der Bearbeitung der Bullenfunde teilweise deutliche Änderungen in der Zuweisung zu einzelnen Königen ergeben. S. Herboldt sei herzlich gedankt für

Anstieg bis zu Hattušili III. (über 400 Siegelungen) zu erkennen, dann ein Sprung zu Tuthalija IV. (über 690 Siegelungen), und von Arnuwanda III./Šuppiluliuma II. stammen nur noch über 50 Siegelungen.

Es ist anzunehmen, daß ein Archiv gepflegt, d.h. von Zeit zu Zeit durchgesehen wurde und daß manche obsoleute Unterlagen auch entfernt wurden. Daher erscheinen mir diese Zahlen als durchaus normal für eine Urkundensammlung, die hier seit der frühen Großreichszeit angelegt worden ist. Daß dieses Archiv an anderer Stelle entstanden und erst später in dieses Gebäude überführt worden ist, ist zwar nicht unmöglich, aber es gibt keine Begründung für diese Annahme, da – wie oben beschrieben – das Argument einer besonderen "Anbindung" der Nişantepe-Gebäude an den Palast der Periode BK IIIb nicht zutreffend ist und daher auch für die Datierung dieser Gebäude keine Gültigkeit hat.

3. Die Sünteiche und der Getreidesilo nordwestlich von Yerkapi

In den Jahren 2000 und 2001 sind Ausgrabungen auf dem westlich des Zentralen Tempelviertels gelegenen Plateau durchgeführt worden. Dabei wurden die Sünteiche, fünf große dort in den natürlichen Mergeluntergrund eingetiefte Becken, identifiziert (Seeher 2001: 341 ff.; Seeher 2002: 59 ff.). Dies war allerdings nicht die erste Nutzung dieses Bereiches, denn es wurde außerdem ein mindestens 8x13 m messender und ursprünglich um die 3 m tiefer Erdsilo für die Lagerung von Getreide festgestellt (Seeher 2002: 66 f.). Er wird von Teich 2 geschnitten, ist also älter; zugehörige Baustrukturen fehlen, könnten aber einst vorhanden gewesen und dann bei der Anlage der Teiche zerstört worden sein. Da kaum anzunehmen ist, daß ein solcher Vorrat von etwa 200 Tonnen Getreide schutzlos auf freiem Feld angelegt wurde, kann man davon ausgehen, daß diese Anlage bereits durch eine – wie auch immer geartete – Befestigung geschützt gewesen ist.

Keramikscherben in der Verfüllung und Radiokarbondaten ermöglichen eine Datierung des Silos ins 16.- frühe 15. Jh. v. Chr. Für die Datierung der später angelegten Sünteiche ist ein großer Keramikfund in Sünteich 1 hilfreich: Hier hat man zu einem Zeitpunkt, als der Teich schon halb verfüllt bzw. verlandet war, mehr als eine Tonne Scherben abgeladen. Die Zusammensetzung dieses Sammelfundes zeigt, daß es sich nicht um einfachen Siedlungsabfall handelt. Während im Schutt von Siedlungen besonders Schalen und Kochtöpfe immer in hohen Anteilen vertreten sind, sind solche Scherben hier extrem selten. Statt dessen gibt es Teile von 55-60 *spindle bottles*, rund 100 Libationsarmen, zahlreichen großen und sehr großen Krügen, Linsenflaschen und anderen Gefäßen, die nicht zum alltäglichen Gebrauchsgut gehörten. Daraus leitet sich die Hypothese ab, daß es sich dabei um Inventar aus einem oder mehreren Tempeln handelt; nachdem die Gefäße dort zu Bruch gegangen waren, landeten die Scherben nicht einfach auf dem Müll, sondern wurden zunächst gesammelt und dann kultisch einwandfrei entsorgt, d.h. an einer besonderen Stelle bestattet. Der Umstand, daß 15-20% der

entsprechende statistische Angaben. Da die Auswertung noch nicht abgeschlossen ist, können im Folgenden noch keine endgültige Zahlen genannt werden.

Scherben Spuren von sekundärer Brandeinwirkung zeigen, könnte dafür sprechen, daß hier auch Scherben aus einem niedergebrannten Tempel enthalten sind. Nach vorläufiger Einschätzung von U.-D. Schoop ist diese Keramik ins mittlere bis entwickelte 14. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren (Radiokarbondaten weisen in die 2. Hälfte 15.-14. Jh. v. Chr.). Diese Angabe liefert einen *terminus ante quem* für die Teiche, für die ebenso wie für den Silo ein Schutz durch eine Befestigung im Süden zu erwarten wäre. In diesem Zusammenhang paßt es gut, daß die anscheinend ältesten Tempel, also die Altbauten von Tempel 2, 3, 4 und 30, Bränden zum Opfer gefallen sind. Sie liegen nur 100-400 m entfernt von den Sünteichen – auf diese Weise könnte man die Herkunft der zerstörten Kultgefäße sehr viel leichter erklären, denn sonst müßte man annehmen, daß Keramikbruch aus der Altstadt in die noch leere und unbefestigte Oberstadt hinaufgeschafft und dort in einem schon teilweise verfüllten Teich bestattet wurde.

4. Die Besiedlung im Sarikale-Tal

Seit 2001 wird in der westlichen Oberstadt von Hattuša, im Tal westlich des Felskegels von Sarikale, gegraben. Schon nach drei Kampagnen läßt sich eine zeitlich lang gestreckte Folge von Bau- bzw. Siedlungsperioden erkennen: Der bisher älteste Befund ist das per Radiokarbondatierung ins 16.-frühe 15. Jh. datierte 'Quadratgebäude' – eine rund 19x19 m messender Bau, der aufgrund der regelmäßigen Gestaltung der zahlreichen Räume eine Funktion im offiziellen, vielleicht militärischen Bereich innegehabt haben könnte (Seeher 2004). Ins 14. und frühe 13. Jh. datiert sind andere Baustrukturen, darunter ein mehrräumiges Gebäude mit einem großzügigen Badezimmer sowie der sogenannte Zingelkomplex, in dem eine kleinteilige Architektur von einer 25 x 31,5(?) m messenden Umfassungsmauer eingeschlossen ist (Seeher 2003: 7; Seeher 2004). Vielerorts wurden in den Siedlungsschichten Hinweise auf Handwerk und die Verarbeitung von Stein (Bohrkerne), Bronze (Gußtiegel und Gußabfälle) und Glas (Rohglas und Gußform) gefunden. In verschiedenen Kontexten fanden sich auch mittelhethitische und früh-großreichszeitliche Siegel und Siegelabdrücke sowie Fragmente von alt- bis mittelhethitischen Keilschrifttafeln und Landschenkungsurkunden – der Befund entspricht demjenigen aus dem zentralen Tempelviertel, und auch hier gibt es keinen Grund, eine weiträumige Umlagerung zu einem späten Zeitpunkt zu vermuten. Mit diesen Befunden werden die Ergebnisse der Grabungen an den Sünteichen bestätigt: Es gab schon weit vor dem 13. Jh. v. Chr. Siedlungs- und sonstige Aktivitäten in der Oberstadt.

Schlußfolgerungen

Wir sind immer noch weit davon entfernt, die Stadtgeschichte von Hattuša im Verlauf der Jahrhunderte genau definieren zu können. Vor allem der Ablauf der Besiedlung der Oberstadt ist erst lückenhaft erkennbar, aber dennoch lassen sich jetzt im Gegensatz zu den bisherigen Chronologievorstellungen folgende neue Erkenntnisse formulieren:

1. Die Forschungen der neunziger Jahre haben ergeben, daß die althethitische Stadt nicht nur den Bereich zwischen Poternenmauer und Büyükkaya-Bach umfaßte; vielmehr war wie schon in den vorangegangenen Epochen der späten Frühbronzezeit und der *Karum*-zeit auch der Bergrücken von Büyükkaya in das mit einer Schutzmauer umgebene Stadtgebiet mit einbezogen, und zusätzlich auch der Bereich der Nordstadt (das Gebiet nördlich und nordwestlich von Büyükkaya) (Seeher/Baykal-Seeher im Druck).

2. Die Nutzung des Bereichs der Oberstadt begann nach jetziger Erkenntnis bereits im 16.-frühen 15. Jh. v. Chr.; die ältesten bisher bekannten Anlagen sind das angesichts des ungewöhnlichen Grundrisses vermutlich für offizielle Zwecke genutzte Quadratgebäude im Tal vor Sarikale und der Getreidesilo bei den Sünteichen. Etwas später entstanden dann die Sünteiche selber. Es spricht nichts dagegen, daß auch andere, bereits früher ausgegrabene Strukturen im zentralen Tempelviertel und in der östlichen Oberstadt vor- oder früh-großreichszeitlich zu datieren sind. Hier wird vielleicht die Vorlage der Kleinfunde und der glyptischen Funde aus diesen Bereichen neue Erkenntnisse bringen. Als Kandidaten dafür kämen die Tempel 2-4 und 30 in Frage, aber auch das Viertel bei Nişantepe dürfte, wie oben gezeigt wurde, bereits früher in Funktion gewesen sein. Für andere Bauwerke ist diese Frage derzeit noch nicht zu beantworten. Da die ursprüngliche Datierung der Keramikfunde aus dem Zentralen Tempelviertel ausschließlich in die 2. Hälfte des 13. Jh. v. Chr. hinfällig geworden ist, muß zunächst das Ergebnis der zur Zeit im Aufbau befindlichen neuen Keramikchronologie der Hauptstadt durch U.-D. Schoop abgewartet werden. Möglicherweise gelingt es später mit Hilfe der bereits publizierten Keramik, neue Datierungsvorschläge für einzelne Bauwerke zu machen. Solche Ergebnisse wären auch für die erneute Auseinandersetzung mit Gebäudetypen, wie z.B. die von A. Müller-Karpe vorgeschlagene Ordnung der Tempel in der Oberstadt von Hattuša in drei chronologische Phasen (Müller-Karpe 2003: 389), von großem Nutzen.

3. Eine Verbindung der bisher definierbaren frühen Befunde in der Oberstadt mit einer Befestigungsmauer ist nicht nachgewiesen, erscheint aber angesichts ihres Charakters durchaus wahrscheinlich. Es kann eine – schwächer ausgeführte – Vorläuferbefestigung gegeben haben, lange bevor die Stadtmauer, die wir heute vor uns sehen, errichtet wurde. Diese Frage ist im übrigen eng verbunden mit der Realität der Periode O.St.4 und den ihr zugeschriebenen Elementen, also dem südlichen Stadtmauerbogen und den Altbauten von Tempel 2-4 und 30: Es muß noch einmal darauf hingewiesen werden, daß diese Periode hypothetisch definiert und weder durch stratigraphische Verbindungen noch durch Fundmaterial oder naturwissenschaftliche Messungen datiert ist – großreichszeitliche Text- und Bullenfunde aus den Tempeln sind hier nicht hilfreich, da mit ihnen nur Abschnitte der Nutzung, aber nicht das Entstehungsdatum bestimmt werden kann. Also kann zumindest der Beginn dieser Periode – wenn es sie überhaupt so gab – deutlich älter sein.

4. Angesichts der politisch und wirtschaftlich schwierigen Zeiten hat Tuthalija IV. sicher nicht die Kraft gehabt, Hattuša 'neu zu bauen'. Das ihm zugeschriebene Baupensum – fast alle bisher bekannten Tempel, der Palast von Büyükkale, die

Neugestaltung der Unterstadt und der Neubau aller Stadtmauern (mit Ausnahme der Poternenmauer) – hätte nicht nur ihn, sondern vermutlich auch jeden anderen hethitischen König überfordert. Daß er Bauten hat errichten lassen, auch im Zusammenhang mit seinem religiösen Engagement, wird nicht bezweifelt (u.a. Yazılıkaya). Vielleicht geht tatsächlich eine größere Zahl von Tempelbauten in der Oberstadt auf seine Initiative zurück. Aber der Begriff "Tuthalija-Stadt", wenn es ihn denn gab und wenn er weiter verbreitet war als nur mit den wenigen uns bekannten Belegen, meinte wohl etwas anderes: Die Verbindung des Stadtnamens mit den Königsnamen sollte in diesem konkreten Fall vermutlich zur Aufwertung des regierenden Königs bzw. seines Zweigs des Königshauses dienen. Sowohl im Vertrag mit Šaušgamuwa von Amurru als auch im Vertrag mit Kurunta von Tarhuntašša auf der Bronzetafel von Yerkapı gibt Tuthalija offen zu, daß sein Vater den Thron unrechtmäßig bestiegen habe und daß eigentlich Kuruntas Linie dieser Anspruch gebühre. Er brauchte also dringend Bestätigung für seine Regentschaft. Die Hauptstadt Hattuša mit dem Beinamen Tuthalija-Stadt zu versehen, dürfte in diesem Sinne ein politisches Manöver gewesen sein, mit dem der *status quo* effektiv unterstrichen werden konnte.

Wenn man auf die in diesem Artikel vorgeschlagene Weise die Entstehungsgeschichte der Oberstadt von Hattuša in die Länge zieht, ergibt sich übrigens auch eine andere Interpretation für einen Passus in den 'Instruktionen für den Bürgermeister von Hattuša', deren Abfassung um 1400 v. Chr. datiert wird. Dort ist die Rede von zwei Funktionären, die "oben und unten in Hattuša die Befestigungs-Wachen einweisen" (Otten 1983: 48 f.). Unter der bisherigen Annahme, daß die Oberstadt-Erweiterung erst im 13. Jh. v. Chr. erfolgte, ergab sich daraus die Notwendigkeit, "oben" mit dem Palast auf Büyükkale und "unten" mit der Unterstadt gleichzusetzen. Entfällt diese Voraussetzung, so lassen sich diese beiden Ortsangaben viel sinnvoller mit dem Gelände der Stadt in Verbindung bringen.

Das Anliegen dieses Beitrages war es, Schwachstellen in der bisherigen Datierung der Oberstadt von Hattuša zu benennen und Alternativen aufzuzeigen. Der Bedarf eines neuen Chronologiesystems für die hethitische Hauptstadt ist deutlich zu erkennen. Für einige Bereiche sind Änderungen der bisherigen Vorstellung bereits klar, während in anderen Bereichen noch keine stichhaltigen neuen Lösungen in Sicht sind – A. Müller-Karpe hat z.B. Argumente genannt, die auf ein höheres Alter des Großen Tempels hinweisen (Müller-Karpe 2003: 388), und auch die Datierung der Bauperioden von Büyükkale (insbesondere BK III) sollte noch einmal unvoreingenommen überprüft werden.

Mit Absicht schlage ich hier keine neue Verbindung der Abfolge der Baugeschehnisse in Hattuša mit bestimmten Regenten vor. Zu gering ist die Zahl schriftlich überlieferter Ereignisse, um sie mit den archäologisch nur ungefähr datierbaren Befunden in Verbindung zu bringen. Bei diesen Ereignissen handelt es sich ja fast ausschließlich um Zerstörungen, die man in den diversen Brandruinen wiederzuerkennen versucht. Der Annahme von Neve, daß die frühen Brände in der Oberstadt auf einen Angriff durch

Kurunta, der sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jh. v. Chr. den Thron aneignen wollte, zurückzuführen seien (Neve 1996: 19), widersprechen die oben geschilderten Funde und Befunde. Aber auch der Versuch, diese Brände als Folge der innenpolitisch instabilen Lage zur Zeit von Tutthaliya II./III. in die erste Hälfte des 14. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren (Müller-Karpe 2003: 391), erscheint problematisch: Abgesehen davon, daß eine Gleichzeitigkeit der Brände ja gar nicht erwiesen ist, scheint angesichts der neuen Grabungsergebnisse in der westlichen Oberstadt ein noch früheres Datum wahrscheinlich. Die Anlage einer ersten Verteidigungslinie in der Trasse des südlichen Stadtmauerbogens ist vermutlich spätestens im 15. Jh. v. Chr. erfolgt.

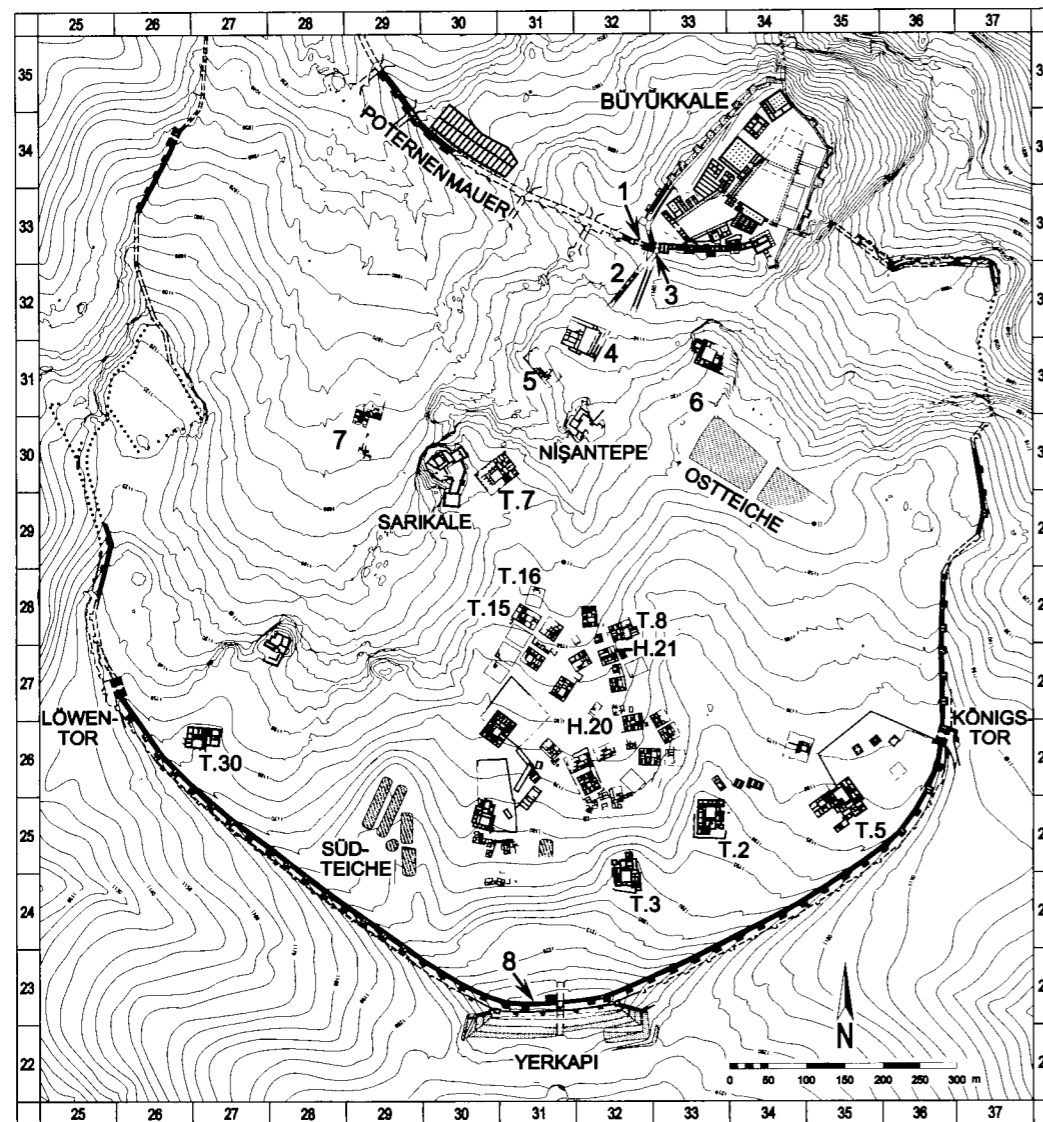
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Abb. 1:

Hethitische Befunde in der Oberstadt von Hattuša, Stand der Grabungen 2003.



1 – Südtor in der Poternenmauer; 2 – westlicher Viadukt nach Büyükkale; 3 – Südwesttor von Büyükkale; 4 – Nişantepe / Ost-, Süd- und Nordbau; 5 – Nişantepe / Westbau; 6 – Südburg / Kammer 2; 7 – Grabungsgebiet im Tal westlich von Sarıkale; 8 – Fundort der Bronzetafel auf dem Wall von Yerkapi; T = Tempel, H = Haus.

HURRIAN GODS AND THE FESTIVALS OF THE HATTIAN-HITTITE LAYER

Alfonso Archi

1. As W. Burkert has stated, “religions have the power to divide peoples ... polytheism is [however,] an open system, endorsing, nay encouraging diversity with some promise of coexistence, even if it means a lower degree of stability and a greater tendency to change.”¹

A very common kind of interaction within different polytheistic systems is the equations of gods. Etruscans and Romans took over a large part of Greek mythology and equated their own gods with those of Greece.

In the context of cuneiform writing, we can even talk of “translation,” the same Sumerogram being used to indicate a Sumerian god, or a Semite, Hurrian or Anatolian deity.²

The Egyptians had an entirely different approach, enclosed within their own culture, reason for which the Greeks considered Egypt to be the most foreign of all countries (Herodotus 2, 35-37). The treaty stipulated between Muwatalli II and Ramses II contains a lengthy list of gods called as witnesses and guarantors. Of these, only the principal gods are equated to each other. The Egyptian version equates both the Anatolian Sun-deities: the Sun-god of Heaven and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, to Re, and the Storm-god (with his many epithets) to Seth. The scarce interest entertained by the Egyptians for the polytheistic system of an Asiatic people such as the Hittites is shown by the odd imprecision. The Tutelary-god (of the fields), ^dKAL, should be a male divinity, but ^dKAL KUR ^{URU}Hatti is, instead, rendered as “the Goddess of the country Hatti”. ^dKAL ^{URU}Karahunna is “the Goddess of the town Karahunna”. Ištar is simply “the Goddess”. Ninatta and Kulitta, the two female attendants of Ištar, are “the god Ninatta, the god Kulitta.” Hebat, the spouse of Teššub, is “the god Hebat, the queen of Heaven.”³

The ancients were well aware that there existed the same gods for diverse peoples and countries, even if their names were different. According to Herodotus 2, 50-58, “well-nigh all the names (*ounómata*) of the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. ... I say what the Egyptians themselves say. ... It would seem too that the Egyptians were the first people

¹ Burkert 2003, 17-34 (quotation from p. 17).

² Assman 1996, 25-36.

³ Edel 1997, 70-73, 99-101.

to establish solemn assemblies, and processions, and services; the Greeks learnt all this from them." By this, Herodotus meant that the Egyptians were the first to determine the forms and functions of the gods, something, which the Greeks had been doing for only 400 years, and not that the names of the Greek gods derived from the Egyptian ones. It was from the Egyptians that other peoples received knowledge concerning the gods.⁴

This discourse on the gods was shared by the cultures of the ancient Near East. By knowing the manifestations of the gods and their roles, it was possible to establish equations between them. Thus, the queen Puduḫepa, in a well-known passage, has every right to address herself in these terms to the supreme goddess of Ḫatti: "O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of all the countries, in the land of Ḫatti thou bearest the name 'Sun-goddess of Arinna', but in the country which thou hast made the land of cedars thou bearest the name 'Ḫebat'" (KUB 21.27(+) i 3-6).⁵ As a matter of fact, the goddess of Arinna was a sun deity, whilst Ḫebat reigned over the heavens in her function of wife of the Hurrian Storm-god Teššub. What, however, makes it possible to equate them is the fact that both were the most important female deity of, respectively, the Hittite and West-Hurrian pantheons. This is the same approach as that which causes Isidorus (1st century B.C.?) to say, in his hymn to Isis Thermuthis: "The Syrians call you: Astarte, Artemis, Nanaia; the Lycian tribes call you: Leto, the Lady; the Thracians also name you as Mother of the gods; and the Greeks (call you) Hera of the Great Throne, Aphrodite, Hestia the goodly, Rheia and Demeter."⁶

2. The term "translation" can be used for the outcome of contacts between cultures which retain their own individual natures. In the case of the Old Hittite pantheon of Ḫattuša, however, which results from a fusion of Hattian and Hittite tradition, "superimposition" would seem more appropriate.

The equation of Enlil with Kumarbi in some Hittite god-lists is a "translation". The same holds true for the god lists from Ugarit, where Dagan and Kumarpi occupy the same position. There is, instead, a superimposition of Enlil on Dagan in some Old Babylonian inscriptions from Mari, because Enlil's epithets and functions are attributed to Dagan. When at Ḫattuša, Allani stands for the Sun-goddess of the Underworld, we may presume superimposition to occur, in the sense that certain properties of a divinity could have been attributed to another.⁷

⁴ Burkert 1985, 121-132.

Lucianus, *De Dea Syria* 2, evokes the same idea: "Now then, the Egyptians are supposedly the first men who formed a conception of gods, established sanctuaries and sacred precincts and instituted festivals. They were also the first to conceive of holy names and to tell sacred tales. Not long afterwards, the Assyrians heard an account about gods from the Egyptians, and they established sanctuaries and temples in which they placed images... In Syria, too, there are sanctuaries almost as old as the Egyptians ones."

⁵ A. Goetze, *ANET*², 393.

⁶ Vanderlip 1972, 18, lines 18-22. See also Dunand 1973, 79-93.

⁷ Taracha 2000, 178-179, remarks as follows "Hierbei sei generell bemerkt, daß in den meisten mittel- und jung-hethitischen Kontexten die kleinasiatische Sonnengöttin der Erde mit hurritischer Allani gleichgesetzt wurde. Diese

Be that as it may, such classifications can only be approximate as religious phenomena, by their very nature, cannot be precisely defined, unless accompanied by a dogmatic theology.

A good example of how this process of assimilation of Syro-Hurrian elements was only partial may be seen in Muwatalli's prayer to the Storm-god of Lightning (CTH 381).⁸ The first couple of the "short list" of gods is formed by the sun-deities: Sun-god of Heaven – Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, Queen of Ḫatti. There then follow the Storm-god, king of Heaven, my lord – Ḫebat Queen, my lady. We do not know whether the phonetic reading of ^dU here has to be the Hurrian name Teššub. However, mention of the Sun-god and Storm-god, with their more general attribute "of Heaven" enables the two main female deities to co-exist: the Sun-goddess of Arinna for Ḫatti, Ḫebat for the Hurrian regions, placed side by side yet maintaining their individuality. There then follow the Storm-god of Ḫatti, king of Heaven, lord of Ḫatti, my lord; the Storm-god of Ziḫanda, my lord, beloved son of the Storm-god; Šeri and Ḫurri (manuscript *B* has instead: "Šeri, the bull who is champion in the land of Ḫatti"). Here, the two bulls with Hurrian names who pull the chariot of Teššub and bear the vault of Heaven in Hurrian cosmology,⁹ are attributed to the Storm-god of Ḫatti, that is Tarḫun(t). Šeri, "the bull of the Storm-god", is even asked, in his capacity as herald of Ḫatti, to introduce the king's plea before the gods (i 33-36).¹⁰

The same prayer includes other examples of Hurrian elements attributed to the main gods of Ḫatti. In the invocation to the "gods of all the lands," two hypostases of the Hurrian Storm-god are added to the gods of Arinna: the Storm-god of Salvation (^dU *eḫellibi*) and the Storm-god of Life (^dU *šuhurribi*) (i 37-39). Moreover, although the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* (^dU *ḪI.ḪI*) had the Luwian name Tarḫun(t) (from which the name of the town of Tarḫuntašša is derived), his spouse in Šamuḫa is named Ḫebat (i 40).¹¹

3. The long lists of the "gods of all the lands" of this prayer (i 37-iii 12) show that, in the centres embraced by the bend of the river Halys, there were no important cults of deities

auch bei anderen Gottheiten gut belegte Praxis, hurritische bzw. mesopotamische Götter mit den Namen anatolischer Gottheiten zu nennen, hängt wohl nicht mit dem Synkretismus zusammen. Demzufolge bezieht sich jedoch manches, was in der Literatur über die Sonnengöttin der Erde gesagt wurde, *de facto* auf die hurritische Unterweltsherrin. Das Wesen der kleinasiatischen Göttin selbst läßt sich nach den erhaltenen Belegen nur bis zu einem gewissen Grade erschliessen."

⁸ Singer 1996.

⁹ See the reliefs of Yazilikaya, nos. 28-29, and Haas 1994, 471-472.

¹⁰ Singer 1996, 7-12.

¹¹ In the following line, however, this Storm-god is paired with both the sun-goddess of Arinna and Ḫebat, "Storm-god *piḫaššašši*, Ḫebat of Šamuḫa, male gods, female gods, mountains (and) rivers of Šamuḫa (manuscript *B*: of Tiwa). Storm-god *piḫaššašši*, Sun-goddess of Arinna, Ḫebat, queen of Heaven, Storm-god of the ruins, gods of the palace of the grandfather" (I 40-42). See also KUB 9.98+KUB 40.46 i 6-7, in Singer 1996, 165, and 187 for a commentary to this text.

from other regions,¹² apart from the Hurrian Ša(w)oška of the fields at the town of Ankuwa (^dIS^{TAR} LÍL, ii 60), who had one of her major cult centres at Šamuḫa (43). The ^dIS^{TAR}-li of Šarišša (i 73) is, instead, perhaps the local goddess Anzili.¹³ This is the situation we find up until the time of Muwatalli II.

It is only at Ḫatti/Ḫattuša, that we find Hurrian gods of the Syrian region alongside the Hittite gods. They are: (Šeri), "the prominent calf"; Teššub of Ḫalab and Ḫebat of Ḫalab of Ḫatti; Ea and Damkina: two Mesopotamian gods included in the Hurrian pantheon; Ištar / Ša(w)oška of Nineveh, who reached Ḫatti through Mitanni;¹⁴ Ša(w)oška (^dIS^{TAR}) of Ḫattarina (i 50-56); the Syrian goddess Kupapa.¹⁵

In judging the extent of the cult of Hurrian gods at Ḫattuša and in Ḫatti, the region enclosed by the bend of the Halys, during the last decades of the Hittite empire, we have four principal groups of documents at our disposal: a) the documents of the cult reorganization of Tuthaliya IV; b) the Festival of the month; c) the *nuntarriyašha* festival; d) the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival.

4. During the reign of Tuthaliya IV, the central administration undertook a reorganisation of the cults, not only in those regions won from the control of the Kaška people, but also in large parts if not all of the country.¹⁶ Certain earlier sovereigns had already taken sporadic action in this sense, such as Muwatalli II (mentioned in KUB 42.100 i 17', iii 32', iv 13' (?), 38', a document of the time of Tuthaliya IV¹⁷). According to Ph. Houwink ten Cate, "the uniqueness of the 'Cult Reform' [of Tuthaliya IV] depends on its geographical scope and the special character of this inquiry, manifesting, as indeed it does, the aspects of both intensification and restoration and showing furthermore in its application a remarkable amount of personal involvement of His Majesty himself. ... Laroche summarized the main principles of the reformer in the following manner (abbreviated): 1) restoration of lost or damaged idols; 2) within the group of cult objects, a notable preference for anthropomorphic representation in the form of statue(tte)s usually made of iron; 3) accommodation for the stelae in the more permanent housing of temples; 4) organization of the maintenance of the cults by the appointment of priests and

¹² Among the listed towns, there are: Katapa (where, however, the Storm-god NIR.GÁL is paired up with Ḫebat, I 46), Zippalanda, Zithara, Kaštama, Nerik and Takupša, Ankuwa, Tawinija, Šanaḫuita, Ḫattena, Karaḫna, Ḫiššašhapa, Šarišša, Ḫattarina.

¹³ Wilhelm 2003, 343. For Hattian-Hittite goddesses who receive the name of ^dIS^{TAR}, see Forlanini 1984: 264.

¹⁴ Beckman 1998, 1-10.

¹⁵ For this section of the prayer, see Singer 1996, 55.

¹⁶ For western regions concerned in this reorganisation, see Archi/Klengel 1980, 143-157 (KUB 48.105), and Forlanini 1996, 5-12 (KBo 2.1); for southern regions, Forlanini 1990, 116-120 (KUB 57.108); for the eastern region of Šarišša (to the south of Sivas), Hazenbos 2003, 149-165. For the geographical areas involved in the cult inventories, see, in general, Houwink ten Cate 1992, 139-140; Hazenbos 2003, 191-199.

¹⁷ Hazenbos 2003, 16-25.

priestesses and the assignment of the task of taking care of the costs of the offerings to the notables of the community or to palace organizations."¹⁸

In such dispositions, E. Laroche perceived the characteristics of a real religious reform.¹⁹ In reality, the only innovative aspect of entirely religious nature is the tendency to substitute theriomorphical representations, symbols and stelae with anthropomorphic representation. Apart from this, there is an increase in the number of personnel and offerings guaranteed by the central administration, besides restoration of objects and buildings. Tuthaliya IV promoted, therefore, simple cult reorganization.²⁰ The festivals are those connected with the changing seasons and agricultural work, typical of markedly conservative rural centres, such as the autumn and spring festivals.²¹ These included the ceremony of bread prepared in spring with the barley stored in autumn in a pithos, ^{DUG}harši(yalli): a rite which established a link between the successive agricultural cycles, ensuring productivity in the year to come.²²

The pantheon of all these towns was the local one, with very rare intrusions by gods of different origin, like ^dAMAR.UTU, that is the Kizzuwatnean god Šantaš KUB 57.108 + (?) KUB 51.23 iii 3, 14; KUB 57.102 i 11' (in a western region; J. Hazenbos, *Local Cults*,

¹⁸ Houwink ten Cate 1992, 102, 107.

¹⁹ Laroche 1975, 87-95.

²⁰ Götze 1933, 159-160 (2nd ed. 1957, 169), was the first to use the word "Kultreorganisation" in connection with this activity by Tuthaliya IV.

²¹ Hazenbos 2003, 168-172.

²² Archi 1973, 7-27.

According to Ch. W. Carter, Hittite *Cult-Inventories* (Diss. Chicago 1962) 20, "the fact that the festivals described in the cult-inventory texts are based on one model [i.e., they are centred on the pithos rites] tends to indicate imposition into the cult (and thus enrichment or intensification) from a single, outside source." Hazenbos 2003, 169, follows this thesis: "These festivals, in the form we know them, were instituted by a central source." Carter is followed also by Houwink ten Cate 1992, 104-105, who recognizes, however, that the problem is more complex: "A recently published text, KUB 55.14, may be quoted in support of the hypothesis that the king favoured the pithos ceremony: 'A pithos was not present. His Majesty instituted [ME-iš = da-a-iš] a pithos of 1 PA-measure [of emmer (ZÍZ) and of] 2 PA-measures of wine' (Rev.: 9-10). Quite a number of texts refer to the same type of improvement in a more veiled manner. It thus would seem that what may already have been surmised by Carter can now be proven, viz. that the pithos ceremony, which has already been described and explained in its symbolism above, was, on royal initiative, extended to towns and townships where it had not been practiced before. In a number of passages reference is made to a specific room in the temple for the pithos. This suggestion is not meant to imply that the ceremony and the symbolism must have been developed in or near the capital, nor that the ceremony and the underlying symbolism would need to have been a comparatively recent development, and thus most certainly not that it could not have been practiced from time immemorial in those regions where both (the filling and the opening of the pithos) were attested."

Many passages (quoted by Houwink ten Cate 1992, 141-142, note 47) list the goods necessary for the festivals. These lists always conclude as follows: x ZÍZ ^{DUG}har-ši ^{DUTU}ME-iš "... x-measure of emmer (for) the pithos have been established by His Majesty". According to the present writer, the contexts only enable us to interpret this as indicating that the king had fixed the amount of the different goods for the festival, including the emmer for the pithos, which had to be delivered by the administration and/or by the village/town communities; not that the king himself had introduced the pithos rite (with the exception of possible new introduced gods).

102-107, 79-82); KUB 38.10 iii 13' (CTH 510; in a northern region; L. Rost, MIO 8 (1961) 195); KUB 38.25 ii 3' (CTH 525); KUB 38.33 Vs. 6' (CTH 522) (L. Jakob-Rost, MIO 9 [1963] 181, 192).

The only relevant exception is the pantheon of the group of texts CTH 510,²³ which contains some Luvian, Syrian and Assyrian deities. The documents concern a region north of Hattuša (the town Šapitta, KUB 38.6 I 21, was close to the region of Tumana, in Paphlagonia, RGTC 6, 349). The presence of the Storm-gods of Nerik and Kaštama²⁴ means that these documents have to be dated to Tuthaliya IV. There are the Luvian Storm-gods ^dPiḫami and ^dPiḫaimi;²⁵ the deified Syrian river Balih with its Luvianized name ^{ID}Baluḫašša, together with the Storm-god of the town Harran (KUB 36.6 i 24-25); the Syrian god Milku;²⁶ Ištar of Nineveh; the Storm-god of Aššur; and even Ištar of Babylon.

- [^{URU}X:] ... ^dMilku ^dU ḫaršiharši... (KUB 38.6 i 9-12)
^{URU}Parmašḫapa: ^dU KUR Aššur... ^dMilku (KUB 38.6 i 13-16)
^{URU}DU₆ ¹Ḫurlušša: ... ^dLIŠ ^{URU}Nenuwa... (KUB 38.6 i 17-20)
^{URU}Šapitta: ... ^dMilku ^dAnaz[...] ^dLIŠ ^{URU}Nenuwa ^dU KUR Aššur... ^dU ^{URU}Ḫarana (KUB 38.6 i 21-26)
^{URU}Kanzāna: ... ^dU ^{URU}Ḫarana... ^dU KUR Aššur... ^dLIŠ MÈ... (KUB 38.6 i 27-32)
^{URU}Iššanašši: ... ^dLIŠ [^{URU}Nenuwa (?)]... ^dU KUR Aššur... (KUB 38.6 i 33-37)
[^{URU}X:] ...] ^dMilku [...] (KUB 38.6 iii 4')
^{URU}Šapagurwanta: ... ^dMilku... ^dLIŠ ^{URU}Nenuwa... ^dLIŠ ^{URU}Karanduniya... ^dU KUR Aššur... (KUB 38.6 iv 7'-14')
[^{URU}X:] ... ^dLIŠ ^{URU}Nenuwa... ^dU KUR Aššur (KUB 38.10 iii 1'-8')
^{URU}Mallitta: ... ^dMilku... ^dLIŠ ^{URU}Nenuwa ^dLIŠ MÈ... ^dU ^{URU}Ḫarana (KUB 38.6 iv 15-25; dupl. KUB 38.10 iv 12'-22')
[^{URU}X:] ... ^dLIŠ ^{URU}Nenuwa ^dLIŠ MÈ ^dMilku... (KUB 57.106 ii 19)

Deities of this kind indicate particular attention in relation to the Assyrian kingdom and the preservation of the Hittite rule in northern Syria, which corresponds well with one of the major political interest of Hatti at the time of Tuthaliya IV. Tuthaliya chose, oddly enough, to introduce the cult of two major gods of Assyria not in his capital, but in small centres of a northern province which was released from the control of the Kaška populations.

²³ CTH 510: A. KUB 38.6 (Jakob-Rost 1961, 185-188) + Bo 6741 (Otten/Rüster 1982, 141). B. KUB 38.10 + KUB 38.10a. C. KUB 57.106; KUB 57.58. D. KBo 39.48+24; 117+40.42.

²⁴ ^dU ^{URU}Nerik: KUB 38.6 i 3', 22', 30', iv 11'; KUB 38.10 iv 7', 13'; KUB 57.106 ii 11', 17'; KUB 57.59: 3'. ^dU ^{URU}Kaštama: KUB 38.6 i 3', 10', 14', 29', iii 7', IV 10'. KUB 38.10 iv 8', 13'.

²⁵ ^dPiḫami: KUB 38.6 i 4', 30', iv 11' (with ^dPiḫaimi); KUB 38.10 iii 7' ([^dPiḫami] ^dPiḫaimi), iv 14'; KUB 57.106 ii 9', 17', 37' (with ^dPiḫaimi). Other Luvian deities could be: ^dAllinašši: KBo 39.48 v 21'; ^dḪuwadišši: KUB 38.6 i 5', 11', 19', 31', 35', iv 9', 19'; KUB 38.10 iv 17'.

²⁶ Also to be added to the passages listed below, KUB 12.2 I 20' (CTH 511); HT 14.10'. On Milku, see Archi 2002, 50.

We have no evidence of gods from the West-Hurrian pantheon being received in any area of Anatolia which stretched even beyond the bend of the river Halys. There is the odd, sporadic presence of deities such as Ša(w)oška with her two companions Ninatta and Kulitta who appear in KUB 38.2 i 7'-20' and 21'-27' (here: ^dLIŠ ḫalziyauwaš "Ša(w)oška of invocation") (CTH 521; L. Rost, MIO 8 (1961) 175), and Hebat in KUB 51.23 iii 13' (preceded by: [^dU(-up)] ^{URU}Zi-ip-la-an-da, which is anomalous)²⁷ and in the fragmentary KUB 54.90 r. Kol. 7' (J. Hazenbos, *Local Cults*, 102-107, 121-124). A Syrian goddess, Kupapa, reached the northeastern region of Karahna, KUB 38.12 III 15' (followed by ^dU ^{URU}Kummaḫa; CTH 517).

There is, however, a spectacular exception: the introduction of the cult of Teššub and Hebat, together with their circles of gods, in the capital, Hattuša (see below, § 8).

5. The Month festival (CTH 591) consists of a large corpus of texts which were not drawn up together. Very few tablets presenting Middle Hittite elements go back to the period of the formation of the Empire, while the others present New Hittite forms of signs. Two manuscripts, dated to Tuthaliya IV on the basis of the colophons, are copies of earlier texts (KUB 10.89 = III.A.; KUB 2.13 = IV.A.).²⁸ This is an ideal corpus for determining which changes occurred in the pantheon of a festival of Hattuša that originally goes back to the Old Hittite period, if not earlier.

All the deities belong to the so-called Hattian-Hittite tradition. There is only one, remarkably late intrusion of two Hurrian deities: Hebat and the dyad Hebat-Šarruma, in one of the two tablets that can be dated to Tuthaliya IV, KUB 2.13 v 14-16. The fact that these follow the Storm-god of Nerik provides the explanation. Šarruma was the son of Teššub and Hebat, just as the Storm-god of Nerik was son of the Storm-god of Hatti and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, according to 13th century theology. The principle of equating two deities did not, however, require their fusion, but their juxtaposition, as we have already seen for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and Hebat in Muwatalli's prayer. Religious practices demanded precision: the risk of omitting something could not be borne. It was sometimes preferable to keep the individual names of the gods who were considered equated to each other. Furthermore, Šarruma was the personal god of Tuthaliya IV.²⁹ Hebat is introduced due to attraction to the dyad, which represented a single deity: ^dḪé-pát-šar-ru-ma. As a result of equating Šarruma with the Storm-god of Nerik, both Hebat and Hebat-Šarruma receive an invocation in Hattian, which was pertinent to the Storm-god of Nerik (^{LU}NAR ^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti-li ŠiR^{RU}; v 10-16) (Klinger 1996, 562-565).³⁰

²⁷ The Storm-god of Zippalanda becomes Teššub of Zippalanda in the Hurrian festival for Ša(w)oška of Šamuḫa (CTH 712), KUB 47.64(+) IBot 2.50 ii 20: ^dU-up (dupl. ^dU) ^{URU}Zi-ip-la-an-da, Wegner 1995, 56; cfr. Popko 1994, 33.

²⁸ The Month festival has been edited by Klinger 1996, 285-614.

²⁹ See the relief no. 81 of Yazilikaya. For the Hurrian name of Tuthaliya IV, X-Šarruma, see the seal impressions published by Laroche 1956, 118-119 with figg. 24-26, and Otten 1993, 35-40, together with the commentary by S. Heinhold-Krahmer, in: G. Wilhelm, StBoT 45, 180-198.

³⁰ According to Klinger 1996, 584, *ad* V 14ff., Hebat and Hebat-Šarruma are not Hurrian gods but should stand, instead, for Hittite deities: "In der hethitischen Spätzeit ist der Synkretismus, der eigentlich mehr eine einfache

Ištar of Šulupašši and the Lady, that is Ša(w)oška, of Šamuḫa appear also in the same text, vi 13-18. They follow the god Pirwa, and they both receive an invocation in Hurrian (LÜ^{URU}NAR^{URU} Hur-ri ŠIR^{RU}; Klinger 1996, 568-569, and 585-586 for a commentary concerning the deities of the town Šulupašzi).

Ša(w)oška of the fields (^dIŠTAR LİL) appears in the other tablet copied at the time of Tuḫaliya IV, KUB 10.89 i 31'-34'. She receives an invocation in Hurrian (LÜ^{MEŠ}NAR^{URU} Hur-la-aš ŠIR^{RU}) (Klinger 1996, 506-507).

At least the last two forms of Ša(w)oška had arrived in Ḫattuša much earlier than the time of Tuḫaliya IV, by different routes than that by which knowledge was obtained of the "circles", *kaluti*, of the West-Hurrian gods.

6. The Festival of autumn, *nuntarriyašḫaš* "of Haste," was celebrated in Ḫattuša and a number of nearby towns. In its latest version it lasted about 40 days, like the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}, with which it shares a number of elements.³¹

Amongst the numerous gods mentioned, only two of the foreign divinities enjoy a degree of importance. One is the Storm-god of Ḫalab (^dU^{URU} Hal-pa), whose festival was celebrated on the 28th/34th day in his temple.³² Mentions of this event are from various sources, not necessarily to be dated to the latest period. That Teššub of Ḫalab had a temple at Ḫattuša, at least from the period of Muršili II on, is confirmed by the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival.

The other god is Ea, accompanied by his spouse Damkina, Nabu and NISABA, (Dagan), all gods who the Hittites knew through Hurrian mediation (KUB 58.45 + KUB 59.42. iii 21'): ^dÉ.A ^dDAM.KI.NA ^dAG ^dNISABA, Nakamura 2002, 282-286; this tablet cannot be ascribed to a specific day). The main contents of the Outline of this festival should go back to Muršili II.³³ Tuḫaliya IV made, however, a decisive contribution to the final version of this festival (four tablets are surely dated to this king; three of these concern the 5th day; Nakamura 2002, 172-187, and 286-287 for IBoT 3.39).

Übertragung der Götternamen verschiedener Kultschichten auf äquivalente Gottheiten des Pantheons darstellt, so weit fortgeschritten, daß mit Hepat bzw. Hepat-šarruma hier keine hurritischen Götter bezeichnet werden, sondern hurritische Namen für Götter bzw. für entsprechende Positionen innerhalb des hethitischen Staatspantheons verwendet werden, die ursprünglich andere Namen trugen; in diesem Falle wird mit Hepat die Sonnengöttin von Arinna, d. h. die zentrale weibliche Gottheit und Gefährtin des Wettergottes, bezeichnet, während Šarruma als Sohn des Wettergottes in das System gelangt." The reverse case, where a Hittite DN stands a Hurrian deity, could be represented by that of "Ištar, auch als Sonnengöttin von Arinna bezeichnet" (Klinger 1996, 585-586, ad VI 13). Taracha 2000, 178-179, shares this theory.

³¹ The documents of this festival have been studied by Nakamura 2002, who gives a general presentation of the festival on pp. 9-14. See also the important study by Houwink ten Cate 1988, 166-194.

³² Houwink ten Cate 1988, 175-176; Nakamura 2002, 131, with the following texts: Ü 2.B III 6' (p. 38); Ü 3 IV 8' (KUB 55.5 + IBoT 4.70; p. 51); Ü 6 Rs 2' (KUB 51.15; p. 70); cfr. KUB 25.27 III 13 (p. 77).

³³ Houwink ten Cate 1988, 185-188.

The ceremony of the 30th day took place in the temple of ^dURAŠ(= NINURTA) (Ü 6 Rs. 7'; Nakamura 2002: 70-71). This was established by Ḫattušili III, KBo 30.77 iv 24'.³⁴ Among the gods we find the bulls Šeri and Hurri, whilst the main god seems to be the Storm-god of the heaven (IV 3'; ^dU ŠA-ME-E in iv 15'). The god concealed under the Sumerogram URAŠ/NINURTA was the Hurrian Tašmišu, brother of Teššub, who was identified with the Anatolian Šuwaliyat.³⁵ This could be another case of two superimposed gods.

7. The Outline of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} (CTH 604), the spring festival, is represented by a manuscript, *B*, which presumably dates back to the 14th century. The other manuscripts date to the last decades of the 13th century; *A*, however, derives from an older archetype than *B*. *F* is a later version with several innovations and its own numbering of the days.³⁶ The only massive introduction of Hurrian gods is to be dated to the last period, and is connected not only with the celebrations for the Hurrian Teššub of Ḫalab, Ea and Ištar of Ḫattarina, but also with that in honour of the goddess Kattahḫa at Ankuwa.

According to the Outline, on the 19th (25th) day: "... the chief of the bodyguards... sets up the cups before the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* and the Sun-goddess of Arinna". This ceremony for the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* should have been introduced by Muwatalli II or by his son Muršili III (see also the previous day). These two deities also appear in the colophon of the tablet concerning this celebration, KUB 11.13 vi 8'-12' (CTH 613). In iv 10'-23' instead, there is the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* followed by Hebat, who receives an invocation in Hurrian. The replacement of the Sun-goddess of Arinna with Hebat, as well as the insertion of the Storm-god of Nerik in v 18'-23', were most probably due to a redaction of the period of Tuḫaliya IV. The Hurrianization of the Storm-god *piḫaššašši*, however, should be attributed to Muwatalli himself. KBo 13.245 Rs. 3'-16' lists attributes of Teššub: "the cart (^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA), all the weapons (*U[NUT MÈ] ḫūmandas*), the thunder, the clouds of the Storm-gods, the dew, the rains; the Father-gods of the Storm-god; the vizier of the Storm-god (i.e. Tenu); the Heptad; fears and terrors (caused by the Storm-god)."³⁷

The 21st (27th) day is celebrated "in the temple of the Storm-god of Ḫalab." This section is not preserved in the older manuscript *B*, which is rather fragmentary. The fact

³⁴ Nakamura 2002, 261-267. This tablet should be dated to Tuḫaliya IV, because Ḫattušili receives the title of LUGAL.GAL and not ^dUTU^{ŠR}; see, further, the form of the sign ŠAR in III 14'.

³⁵ See the literature quoted by Nakamura 2002, 72.

³⁶ The Outline has been commented on by Houwink ten Cate 1986, 95-110. To the list of the manuscripts given at p. 96, add VS NF 12.1: *F*, a large fragment of a later version, studied by Houwink ten Cate 2003, 205-219. This is the only manuscript which gives the numbering of the days (added here in brackets); the older versions were shorter by a few days. An edition of manuscript *A*, which takes into account all the other sources accessible at that time, has been provided by Güterbock 1960, 80-89.

³⁷ Similar lists are in KUB 28.5(+) iii 3-19 (the late ritual added to the Hattic myth of the "Moon that fell from Heaven", Laroche 1977, 77-78), and in the fragmentary KBo 17.85: 2'-15', KUB 20.65: 3'-10'.

that *A* agrees generally with *B* makes it probable that Teššub had a temple in Ḫattuša at least from the time of Muršili II.³⁸ The text relating to this celebration is, unfortunately, missing, but a late manuscript of the Outline, KBo 45. 16 iii 8'-11' (*D*;³⁹ dupl. KUB 44.39 iv 7'-10' = *E*), adds some further details: while the king goes into the temple of the Storm-god of Ḫalab, they perform the *ḫadauri* celebration for the goddess Ḫattahḫa and the gods Nergal, Ḫašamelī, Ea.⁴⁰

The following five days, 22nd-26th are devoted to the cults of Ištar of Ḫattarina, who had reached Ḫattuša probably already at the time of Šuppiluliyuma I. In the version *F* of the outline, the cults of Ištar of Ḫattarina preceded the day in honour of the Storm-god of Ḫalab: ...] (23rd day); [X, Ištar] of Nineveh (24th day); KAL of Taurišša, [X], Ea, Ištar of Ḫattarina (25th day); KAL of Taurišša... in the temple of the Storm-god of Ḫalab (26th day); Storm-god of Ḫalab (27th day). In the texts concerning the celebrations (CTH 615),⁴¹ Ištar of Ḫattarina is followed regularly by her two attendants Ninatta and Kulitta: IBoT 2.55: 4'-5'; KUB 45.34 10'-16'; KUB 45.35 iv 4'-5'; KUB 45.36 ii 1'-9', iii 3'; KUB 47.70 Vs. 4-5 (respectively, Wegner 1995, nos. 27, 28, 30, 26, 25). In two less fragmentary texts, other Syrian-Hurrian deities follow this triad. KUB 45.37 iii 1'-12' (dupl. KUB 45.38; I. Wegner, ChS I/3-1, nos. 23, 24): the Sun-goddess Aya Ikaldu; Adamma-Kupapa; Ilauwa; Uršue-Iškalli, Zalmi ("Image")-Ninegal. IBoT 3.115 + KUB 47.69 + 53/w + Bo 8034 (I. Wegner ChS I/3-1, no. 19): Aya-Šimegi; Ḫebat mušini. The queen and the incantation priests^{LÚ(MEŠ)} AZU (Outline *A* III 24, 30, 37; Güterbock, JNES 19 [1960] 83) participate in these cults belonging to Hurrian tradition. It is possible that these typically Hurrian prescriptions were introduced into the festival at a very late date.

On the 29th day, "the king and the queen go into the temple of Ea in Ḫattuša". The description of the festival mentions, apart from Ea, his spouse Damkina, his vizier Izzummi and Kalli sometimes the Mother-goddess (DINGIR.MAḪ) and the Gulšeš: KUB 20.59 i 12', iii 5'-9', vi 1-2, 14-16; KBo 9.140 i 5'-9', iii 15-16;⁴² KUB 58.43 i 2'-4'; KUB 51.79 Vs. i 15'-17', Rs. i 1'-3'.⁴³ A longer list of deities is given in KUB 20.59 i 25'-26': Ea, Damkina, A[G], NISABA, and two deified attributes of Ea: Māti "Wisdom", and Ḫazzizzi "Understanding" (cfr. also the fragmentary passage KBo 13.151 ii 1'-7').⁴⁴

On the last-but-one day, the 37th (?), there is the great assembly in the palace in Ankuwa.⁴⁵ KUB 11.27 (ABoT 24 duplicates few lines; CTH 620) preserves (according to

³⁸ Houwink ten Cate 1986, 108-109.

³⁹ Alp 1983, 148-149.

⁴⁰ For the festivals of the Teššub of Ḫalab at Ḫattuša, see below, § 8.

⁴¹ Haas 1994, 809-812.

⁴² Popko/Taracha 1988, 88-99.

⁴³ Popko/Taracha 1988, 101-107.

⁴⁴ Popko/Taracha 1988, 88-89, 109.

⁴⁵ Haas 1994, 820-822.

the colophon) the festival celebrated in the temple of "the Queen" (^dKattahḫa). This tablet presents late forms of signs. The fact that in i 25'-27' the Storm-god of Nerik appears together with Za(š)ḫapuna, dates the tablet to Tuthaliya IV. This text shows an extremely marked Hurrian influence. The Storm-god of Heaven is not followed by the Sun-goddess of Arinna, but by Ḫebat, Šarruma, Ištar, and the bulls Šeri and Ḫurri. The Sun-goddess of Arinna is mentioned later, but followed by several hypostases of Ḫebat.

This particular passage of the text bears no similarity at all to the festivals of the (Hattian-)Hittite tradition. It belongs, instead, to that same religious sentiment which made possible the creation of the Yazilikaya pantheon.

KUB 11.27 i (+) 41.55 (dupl. ABoT 24)

- 4' [] ḫ^d U AN^E an-na-al-li ḫ^dÉ.A
 5' [] DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ}
 [] ḫ^d U AN^E šu-up-pi-iš TI^{MEŠ}
 7' [ŠA (SA)]G.DU 1 UDU ḫ^d U TI.LA ŠA SAG.DU
 [ḫ^dÉ-pát] ḫ^d LUGAL-ma ḫ^d IŠTAR ḫ^d Še-er-ri
 9' [ḫ^d U ḫ^d U]r-ri ŠA SAG.DU
 ḫ^d U ḫ^d U zu-up-pa-ri 2 GUD 2 UDU ḫ^d U NIR.GÁL
 11' [ḫ^d U]a-at-ti {KUM} UR.SAG
 ḫ^d U KARAŠ ka-lu-ti-ya
 13' [ḫ^d U] Kum-ma-an-ni(/Ki-iz-z)u-wa-at-ni)
 1 GUD 1 UDU ḫ^d U AN^E An-ku-wa
 15' [ḫ^d U] ḫ^d U AN^E An-ku-wa 1 UDU ḫ^d U ḫ^d U
 [ḫ^d U]u-ma-an-te-eš 1 ḫ^d U BANŠUR AD<KID>
 17' [1 GUD] 2 UDU ḫ^d U ḫ^d U mu-uš-ni an-na-al-li-uš
 ḫ^d U ḫ^d U LUGAL-ma
 19' [1 UDU] ḫ^d U ḫ^d U A-ri-na ḫ^d U ḫ^d U Šu-lu-up-pa-aš-ša
 [1 UDU] ḫ^d U ḫ^d U Ka-tap-pa 1 UDU ḫ^d U ḫ^d U Kum-man-ni
 21' [1 UDU] ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U hu-u-ma-an-te-eš
 [1 UDU] ḫ^d U ḫ^d U LUGAL-ma ḫ^d U ḫ^d U Al-la-an-zu
 23' [ḫ^d U]pát ḫ^d U Ku-un-zi-sa-al-li
 [ḫ^d U]pát ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U BANŠUR AD<KID>
 25' [1 GUD] ḫ^d U ḫ^d U Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da
 [1 GUD] ḫ^d U ḫ^d U Ne-ri-ik 1 UDU ḫ^d U ḫ^d U Ne-ri-ik
 27' [] ḫ^d U Za-aḫ-pu-na-a
 [] ḫ^d U [ḫ^d U]ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U
 29' [ḫ^d U] ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U
 31' [ḫ^d U] Ka-t]a-pi ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U
 1 UDU ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U ḫ^d U DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} SAL^{MEŠ} [..]

- 33' ^{URU}Ša-pu-ḥa 1 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR AD<KID>
 1 UDU ^dURAŠ ^dHal-ki ^dÉ.A ^dUTU [
 35' 1 UDU DINGIR ^{MEŠ} ^dNIN.GAL 1 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR AD<KID>
 1 GUD 1 MÁŠ.GAL ^dZi-it-ḥa-ri-ya [
 37' ŠA LUGAL 1 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR AD<KID>
 1 GUD 4 UDU ^dKa-taḥ-ḥa [
 39' ^{URU} ^{URU}An-ku-i 1 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR A[D<KID>]
 [] ^dIŠTAR ^{URU} ^{URU}Ša-p[u-ḥa

- 4'-5' [...] the Storm-god of Heaven, primeval Ea, [...], the male gods, the mountains.
 6'-9' [...] the Storm-god of Heaven, the holy eagle,⁴⁶ of the person. 1 sheep (for) the Storm-god of life of the person; [Ḫebat,] Šarruma, Ištar, Šeri, [Ḫu]rri of the person.
 10'-11' [...] the Storm-god of] the torch. 2 oxen, 2 sheep (for) the Storm-god, the mighty, [(and) the Storm-god of Ḫ]atti, the hero.
 12'-13' [...] the Storm-god of the army and (his) circle; [...] the Storm-god of Kummanni/(Kizzuwatna).
 14'-16' 1 ox, 1 sheep (for) the Storm-god of Heaven of Ankuwa and the Storm-god of the House of Ankuwa. 1 sheep for all the Storm-gods. 1 table of reeds.
 17'-18' [1] ox, 2 sheep (for) the primeval Ḫebat muš(u)ni, Ḫebat-Šarruma.
 19'-21' [1 sheep (for)] the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Ḫebat of Šuluppašši. [1 sheep (for)] Ḫebat of Katapa. 1 sheep (for) Ḫebat of Kummanni. [1 sheep (for)] all the Ḫebats.
 22'-24' [1 sheep (for)] Ḫebat-Šarruma, Ḫebat-Allanzu, [Ḫe]bat-Kunzisaalli, [Ḫe]bat-Ḫašulathi. 1 table of reeds.
 25'-27' [1 ox (?) (for)] the Storm-god of Zippalanda. [1 ox (?) (for) the Storm-god] of Nerik. 1 sheep (for) the Storm-god of Nerik, [...] Za(š)ḥapuna.
 28'-31' [...] the Storm-god of Ḫiššašḥapa, [...] the Storm-god of the pala]ce of the grandfather (of the king), one sheep for the Storm-god of [...], the Storm-god of Kata]pa and Šaḥpina.
 32'-33' 1 sheep (for) the Storm-god of Šamuḥa, the male and female gods [...] of Šamuḥa. 1 table of reeds.
 34'-35' 1 sheep (for) Uraš, Ḫalki, Ea, the Sun-deity [...]. 1 sheep (for) the gods of Ningal. 1 table of reeds.
 36'-37' 1 ox, 1 he-goat (for) Zithariya [...] of the king. 1 table of reeds.
 38'-39' 1 ox, 4 sheep (for) Kattahḥa [...] of Ankuwa. 1 table of reeds.
 40'- [...] (for)] Ištar of Samuḥa...

8. It is possible that, at Ḫattuša, there was a temple dedicated to the Storm-god of Ḫalab already at the time of Šuppiluliyuma I or at least at that of Muršili II (see above, § 7).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ According to this passage, the eagle was connected to the Storm-god (Teššub), as it was connected to Zeus in the Greek world.

The rites are collected in a group of texts (CTH 698) which present a relatively complex manuscript tradition dating to the New Hittite ductus.⁴⁸ Some provisions for the festivals of this god at Ḫattuša were established by Muwatalli II (KBo 14.142 iii 34': 'NIR.GÁL LUGAL.GAL *katta ḥamakta*). Judging from the sign forms, and the mention of a certain Ḫišni, the two best-preserved manuscripts, KBo 14.142 and KUB 27.13, could date back to Ḫattušili III or to the beginning of Tuḫaliya IV.⁴⁹ The first sections, KBo 14.142 i 1-39 and KUB 27.13 i 1-30 (I. Wegner, ChS I/3-2, nos 147, 148) relate to the daily offerings of bread for Teššub and Ḫebat and their circles.⁵⁰ There then follow the festivities of the month and some festivals to be celebrated during the year. The first are *pudaḥa*, *ḫiyarra*, *šatlašša*, of Hurrian origin.⁵¹ They were so important that they inserted amongst the prescribed rites of the Instructions for the Temple Officials.⁵² Of the other ten festivals celebrated in the Teššub temple at Ḫattuša, some (such as that for Mount Tatta) could have been Anatolian in origin.⁵³ At Ḫattuša, in order to provide for the cult offerings, a

⁴⁷ According to Popko 2002, 73-80, the temple of the Storm-god of Ḫatti near the royal residence (*Ḫalentuwa*), where the statues of the royal family's ancestors were worshipped, was transformed into the temple of Teššub of Ḫalab. This would be indicated by the fact that the temple decorations show the bulls Šeri and Ḫurri which drew the chariot of Teššub, as well as portraying the chariot itself ^{GIŠ}MAR.GID.DA (KBo 2.30(+)+39.88 i 6, ii 4; KUB 10.11+KBo 24.89 iii 14'-21', iv 17-18). Some of these texts (CTH 660) should be dated no earlier than Muwatalli II, because they mention the statue of Muršili II (VS NF 12.2 i 13', included in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival; KUB 11.7+36.122: 14). The dating of some other texts is not certain because the list of statues ends with Šuppiluliyuma I (KBo 39.86 ii 13'; KBo 39.88(+)+ ii 9; KUB 10.11+KBo 24.89 iv 23). The iconography of Teššub of Ḫalab crossing the heavens in his chariot pulled by two bulls is documented by the impression of one of Muršili III's seals and by the rock relief of Imamkulu, of a later date, see Hawkins 2003, 169-175.

It seems unlikely that the temple of the dynastic cult became the temple of Teššub of Ḫalab, because the rites prescribed by CTH 660 are those of the traditional Hattian-Hittite cult. The attribution of certain characteristics of one god to another of different origin but with similar functions, as in the case of Tarḫun(t) and Teššub, did not represent an anomaly. Muwatalli's prayer to the Storm-god of Lightning also links the two bulls, Šeri and Ḫurri, to the Storm-god of Ḫatti (I 12-14; see above, § 3).

⁴⁸ The tradition of this group of texts has been studied by Souček/Siegelová 1974, 39-52. On Teššub of Ḫalab at Ḫattuša, see: Klengel 1965, 87-93; Schwemer 2001, 494-502.

⁴⁹ On the mention of Ḫišni, see Klengel 1965, 91, note 44.

⁵⁰ Laroche 1948, 113-136.

⁵¹ Some sections concerning these three festivals are transliterated by Trémouille 1997, 93-102. For the *pudaḥa* festival, see CHD P, 400-401. M. Hutter 2002, 187-196, has studied the *ḫiyara* festival, which is related to the Storm-god of Ḫalab already in the oB Mari documents. An Hurrianized *ḫiyaru* festival is attested for the Storm-god (and also Ḫalma), later, in Emar, and also for Ištar in Alalah. This festival gave the name to a month, in Alalah, Ugarit and Nuzi. Durand 1988, 121-122, has suggested that the term *ḫiyaru* comes from the Semitic word for donkey spelled in the Mari texts (^{anše}ḥa-a-ri(-im)). Fleming 2000, 171-173, produces a good reason for not accepting this hypothesis.

⁵² For the mention of these three festivals in the Instructions for the Temple Officials, see A. Süel 1985, 26, II. 40-41. The manuscripts of these instructions present all a New Hittite ductus; the text could go back, however, to the beginning of the Empire period.

⁵³ KBo 22.246 iii 21'-24' and KBo 26.156 Rs. 2-5 mention thirteen festivals for Teššub of Ḫalab, in fragmentary contexts. In addition to the three mentioned above, there are the "festival of *na* [...]; festival of fruit (GURUN); festival of the Spring; festival of the mount Tatta; festival of grinding (*TĒNU*); two festivals of installing the images (*šēnaš ašešanumanzi*)..."

“palace of Ḫalab,” É.GAL ^{URU}Ḫa-la-ab, KBo 14.142 ii 29, was created. Eight lesser centres saw the celebration of festivals “external to” Ḫattuša.⁵⁴ Amongst these, there was also that which foresaw the opening of the pithos, ^{DUG}ḫaršiyalli, in springtime (KBo 14.142 iii 10'; KUB 27.13 iv 23; KBo 13.242: 6) regularly mentioned in the texts concerning the cult reorganization of the time of Tuḫaliya IV (above, § 4). Certain local rites were, therefore, attributed to Teššub of Ḫalab in these centres, where rural traditions were most felt. The reorganization of the cult of the Storm-god of Ḫalab at Ḫattuša, to be dated to a king who followed Muwatalli, takes into account the fact that it was no longer feasible to expect supplies from Kummanni or from Zallara (a city lying to the south, near Ḫubišna) (KBo 14.142 iii 27', 33'). KUB 27.13 iv relates to rural cults of springs and rock sanctuaries (TÚL, ^{NA}ḫegur) not connected with Teššub, a typology similar to that of the documents of Tuḫaliya IV. With this text, therefore, the prescribed elements for the rites of the Storm-god of Ḫalab were included in a general review of the cults in a region, whose localization is still unknown to us today.

9. The facts discussed above lead us to the following conclusions:

a) At the time of Tuḫaliya I/II, Arnuwanda I and Tuḫaliya III, at the beginning of the Empire period, the religious experience of the Hurrians settled in Western Syria was a source of fascination for the Hittite court. The kingdom of Kizzuwatna acted as a kind of go-between, possibly thanks also to an interdynastic marriage. The mythological texts of Hurrian origin, the Epic of Freeing, the *itkalzi* ritual to Teššub and Ḫebat and the other rituals concerning Tašmišarri (Tuḫaliya III) and Taduḫeba (V. Haas, ChS I/1) were acquired in this period. On coming to the throne, Tuḫaliya III and his bride felt it necessary to celebrate the ritual of kingship (Hurr. *šarrašši*) and queenship (Hurr. *allašši*) addressed to Tešub and Ḫebat (KUB 10.34 I 2-3).⁵⁵ The publication of the archive of Šapinuwa,⁵⁶ the town where Tuḫaliya III lived during his youth,⁵⁷ will make certain details regarding this cultural change far clearer. The official cult remained, however, basically the same, in Ḫattuša as in the central region of the empire.

b) There was a widespread tendency to consider the gods of the conquered regions as belonging to the state pantheon. “The thousand gods of Ḫatti” were those worshiped throughout the empire’s territories. The dominant male figure belonged to the Storm-god typology.

⁵⁴ KBo 14.142 iii 9': [AN]A ^{dU}URUḪal[ab x arahz]enaš EZEN^{HI A}; iv 3-4: 8 URU^{DIDL I}HI A [... ^{URU}Ḫ]alab ANA É.GAL ^{dU}URUḪalapa[...]. KBo 13.242 has a fragmentary list of festivals, which “they celebrate outside,” *arahzaš ēššanzi* (l. 7'). The preserved names of the villages or towns are: Taptina, Pakkurunuwa, Šalma, Kašulešna, Ḫarduwa.

⁵⁵ Kümmel 1967, 47-48.

⁵⁶ Süel 2002, 157-165.

⁵⁷ Houwink ten Cate 1992, 133-134.

c) Political treaties required a list of the representative gods of the Hittite pantheon that could be understood by the partner states. The use of Sumerograms made part of these lists immediately understandable. Amongst the Storm-gods there was also that of Ḫalab with his two attendants: Šeri and Ḫurri. The name of Lelwani, the queen of the Underworld, was generally written with the Akkadogram *ALLATUM*. Ea was introduced, the god of wisdom (together with his wife, Damkina) whose determining role in the balance of the divine world and, therefore, that of men, had been explained by the Hurrian myths. A goddess like Ištar/Ša(w)oška (accompanied by her attendants Ninatta and Kulitta), with her extraordinary personality, had taken hold in various Anatolian centres, sometimes finding a form of equivalent with a local goddess. The cosmological dimension represented by the Lady of the Nether World, ^dEREŠ.KI.GAL and the “Primeval Gods” is also a result of Hurrian influence.

d) In prayers such as that of Muwatalli II to “the gods of all the lands,” a juxtaposition of the principal gods was employed. It is during the reign of this king that we see a marked tendency to consider the names of certain Hittite gods as being interchangeable with those of Hurrian gods with analogous attributes. The capital of Muwatalli, Tarḫuntašša, takes the names of the Anatolian Storm-god, whilst the Hurrian personal name of the king includes, as the second element, Teššub.⁵⁸ The Storm-god *piḫaššašši*, the tutelary god of Muwatalli, receives some of the traits of Teššub. This kind of equivalence was dictated by the different cultural environments in which any given name was used. One of the seals of Muršili III shows Teššub of Ḫalab.⁵⁹ It is within this religious context that the Storm-god of Ḫatti and that of Ḫalab meet in an oracular interrogation (that cannot be dated), aimed at determining whether gods approved of the king and queen passing the winter at Ḫattuša. KUB 18.12+22.15 Vs. 1-5: “If... His Majesty and the queen winter in Ḫattuša... there shall they celebrate the festival of the thunder of the Storm-god of Ḫalab, there shall they celebrate the festival of the year...; if you gods have jointly approved in all respects that His Majesty and the queen should winter in Ḫattuša, the town of the Storm-god of Ḫalab (^{URU}KU.BABBAR URU-an ŠA ^{dU}URUḪa-la-ab), ...” Not only is Ḫattuša defined as the “city of the Storm-god of Ḫalab” (see also Vs. 15), but the festival of the thunder of the Storm-god of Ḫatti is attributed to the Storm-god of Ḫalab.⁶⁰

e) In Ḫattuša the introduction of divine cults from other regions was limited, apart from Ištar (in some hypostases), to Teššub of Ḫalab and Ea (and the gods associated with them), who had their own temples and received their traditional cults at least from the period of Muršili II on, and possibly already from the start of the Empire (the first half of

⁵⁸ Güterbock 1987, 82, no. 255.

⁵⁹ Hawkins 2003, 169-175.

⁶⁰ This passage has been already quoted by Popko 2002, 74. The Storm-god of Ḫalab appears also in Rs. 11' and 14', as well as in KUB 5.6(+)iv 9, which mentions the Storm-god NIR.GÁL, the Storm-god of Ḫalab of Ḫatti (^dIM ^{URU}Ḫa-la-ab ^{URU}KU.BABBAR-ti), and the Storm-god of Ḫiššašḫapa. This second text is surely late.

the 14th century). The festivals of the Hattian-Hittite tradition would remain basically unaltered until the end of the empire, if we exclude the occasional insertion of a Hurrian deity. This is shown by the group of texts considered above. KBo 4.13+KUB 10.82 and KBo 19.128 (StBoT 13; CTH 625), two long parallel texts undoubtedly drawn up at a late date, also follow the traditional model, including no Hurrian deities except Ištar ŠĒRI. The second tablet was written during the first years of the reign of Tuthaliya IV, as Anuwanza^{LU} SAG appears in the colophon (the colophon is missing in the other tablet). These tablets may relate to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival. The festival was performed in the "Big House," É^{TEM} GAL, probably the Temple I.⁶¹ We thus would have proof that this temple preserved the traditional rites in an unaltered form.

f) An exception to this tradition is represented by the Hurrian deities associated with Kattaḫḫa, the goddess of Ankuwa, in the celebration of the 37th (?) day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival (see above, § 7). The text must date to the time of Tuthaliya IV. This break with tradition is manifested most markedly in the rock sanctuary of Yazilikaya, the funerary monument of Tuthaliya IV. Here the king had representations of Teššub and Ḫebat placed in the Main Chamber, along with their circle of gods. One of the sources used in determining the two sequences of the gods and goddesses was the god-lists of the temple of Teššub of Ḫalab.⁶² Tuthaliya, portrayed in the Funerary Chamber in the embrace of his tutelary god, Šarruma, wishes to entrust himself to the Hurrian gods in eternity. Such polytheism, however, makes it possible to confront any kind of situation armed with a series of options. When Tuthaliya erected a number of stelae in the region of Konya, he placed them under the protection of "the Sun-goddess of Arinna, The Storm-god of Heaven, The Stag-god of the Country, Mount Šarpa and the goddess Ala."⁶³ In seeking out all possible manifestations of a tutelary deity, he attributed these to the Anatolian tutelary god KAL and his consort, Ala. Furthermore, in order to reaffirm his control over all the Anatolian lands, those where "he regularly campaigns (and) hunts," he invoked all the mountains and the rivers and the Tutelary deities (^dKAL) of all the lands.⁶⁴

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⁶¹ Otten 1971, 22.

⁶² Laroche 1969, 108.

⁶³ See the translation of this section of the Emirgazi inscription given by J.D. Hawkins in this volume.

⁶⁴ McMahon 1991, 83-141.

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A NEW PROPOSAL FOR THE READING OF THE HITTITE NUMERAL '1': *ŠIA-*

Petra Goedegebuure*

Goal, other proposals for 'one' and delimitation of options

The reading behind the Hittite numeral '1' has been a longstanding problem, not in the least because it was (and is) believed that this numeral is only written logographically with the sign '1'¹, with Hittite complements indicating an *-a*-stem, an *-i*-stem or an *-nt*-stem (Eichner 1992). The proposals for the reading behind '1' therefore necessarily centered on the analysis of (supposed) derivatives of '1', and always with the two Proto-Indo-European roots for the cardinal '1' in mind: **sem-* or **oi-*. To start with the latter, the following words have been used to reconstruct the numeral '1' as beginning with *ā-*:

(1) *ānki* "once". HED A: 73 and Eichner 1992: 42-43 note that *a-an-ki* in KUB 4.1 iv 36 and 38 (and not KUB 4.2 as Eichner l.c. and HED l.c. erroneously cite) alternates with *1-ŠU* and *1-an-ki* in iv 35 and 37 respectively. HED l.c. derives *ānki* ultimately from **oyo-* "one" (also see Carruba 1998: 508 with n. 2 and Carruba 1999: 149 with n. 3: **oi-o* + *nki*), whereas Eichner l.c. takes **ān* as the nom.-acc.sg.neuter of either a stem **ānt-* (see immediately below) or **ā-* "one". Most importantly, Eichner considers *ā-* the reading behind the *-a-* stem (o.c. 34).

(2) ^(LÜ)*ānt-* "equal, rival". See Goedegebuure 2002 for the isolation of this lexeme. Eichner 1992: 36f. suggests that *a-a-an-za*, attested in the vocabulary KBo 13.10: 6 and 7 in the expression *ānza* INIM-*aš*, might be an *-nt-* extension of the stem **ā-* (also see Carruba 1998: 508 with n. 2 and Carruba 1999: 149, with n. 3 **oi-o* + *nt-*). Instead, I would like to include this nom.sg.comm. in the paradigm of ^(LÜ)*ānt-*. The translation of Eichner's example KBo 13.10: 7 *ānza* INIM-*aš* *kuedani ēšta* should in that case be something like "He who had an equal (= similar) problem". (For another attestation of

* It is with great pleasure and gratitude that I offer this contribution on the numeral one to one of my first, and highly inspiring teachers, Professor Johan de Roos.

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The following abbreviations have been used: CHD = Güterbock, H.G., H.A. Hoffner and Th.P.J. van den Hout, 1980ff.; HE = Friedrich, J., 1974; HED = Puhvel, J., 1984ff.; HW² = Friedrich, J., and A. Kammenhuber, 1975ff.

¹ With one possible exception: Eichner 1992: 136 suggests that the reading of '1' is *ānt-* < **oyont-*, but see below sub (2) for the correct interpretation of this lexeme.

a-a-an-za in a vocabulary, see KBo 1.30 i 2 *a-a-an-za kui[š UL]* “he wh[o is not] equalled/rivalled” (Goedegebuure o.c. 67).²

(3) *āšma* “see, lo!”. The translation “first”, proposed by Goetze 1949: 297, has to be rejected (Puhvel 1978: 105, Hoffner 2004). As Hoffner shows, *āšma* is derived from the 3rd person/distal demonstrative *aši* with the adversative particle *-a/-ma*, **aši-ma*, just as *kāša* has to be analyzed as *kāš-a*.³

Of these three, only *ānki* remains as a candidate which might provide a clue to the stem of ‘1’.

With **sem-* in mind the following words have been used to reconstruct the numeral ‘1’:

(4) *šannapi(li)* “empty”. Goetze translated *šannapili* as “single”, which led him to *šanna-* “one” (Goetze 1935, Hahn 1942: 90f.). This was rejected by Goetze himself, 1949: 296 (“**šanaš* is not the reading of the numeral 1-*aš*”), Friedrich 1950: 254 (proposing “leer”), Eichner 1992: 46, Puhvel 2002: 675, and finally CHD S: 159.

(5) *šanezzi* “pleasant, first quality”, leading to **šan-* “erster” (Oettinger 1995: 183). CHD S: 178, connecting it with *šannapi* and *šannapili* instead, suggests to derive it from PIE **senh₂-* “on its own, separated” (following Eichner 1992: 46). Also see Puhvel 2002: 675.

(6) *šani-* “the same, one and the same”⁴ (only the dative-locative is attested, CHD S: 173). Kronasser 1956: 152 equated *ša-a-ni-ta* in KBo 2.3 iii 18 with 1-*e-et-ta*, 1-*e-da*, and suggested 1-*aš* = **sanas*, which according to him was an *-n-* derivation of PIE **sem-* “one”. His argumentation has become invalid because *ša-a-ni-ta* is probably a mistake for *ta-a-ni-ta* (CHD S: 175). Neu 1974: 98 n. 210 derived *šani-* from a neuter **san* “one”. Eichner 1992: 46 suggests still another possible route: **šani-* could come from **šami-* “the same”, with analogical reshaping on the basis of a neuter **šan* or **šen* < PIE **sem*. Puhvel 2002: 674-675 derives *šani-*, *šanezzi* and *šannapili* from PIE **sen(i)-* “denoting apartness, oneness as separation”.

(7) *kiššan* “thus, in this way”. Eichner 1992: 46 interprets this adverb as a univerbalisation of **kī šan* < **kī šen* “in this one way”, with **šen* from the nom.-acc.sg.neuter **sem*.

(8) *šayitišt-* “weanling, weaned animal”. This form is considered as a compositum **ša(m) + *yeteš-t-*. The first element **ša(m)-* either comes from **sēmi-* “half” (Hrozný, 1917: 93 with n. 2) or from PIE **sem-* “one”. The latter option is preferred by Kronasser 1962: 159 and Rieken 1999: 147. The original meaning of the composite noun would thus be “aus dem gleichen Jahr stammend” (Rieken l.c.).

² The acc.pl.comm. *a-an-tu-uš(-tu-uš)* “(your) a.” in KBo 25.123 rev. 10’ (Neu 1980a: 206) does not belong to *ānt-* “equal” as I tentatively suggested in Goedegebuure 2002: 67 n. 24, but to *āntu-* “Besitz, Habe, goods”.

³ Eichner 1992: 43-44 does not derive *āšma* “first” from a stem **ā-*, but prefers with Neu 1974: 98 n. 210 the preform **ō-smō*, lit. “at the one”, i.e. from the PIE **sem-* “one”. Carruba 1999: 149 with n. 3 on the other hand analyzes *āšma* as **oi-o- + smo-*, with pronominal *smo-*.

⁴ Eichner’s additional meaning “a single one” (1992: 45) does not seem to fit the examples listed in the CHD S: 173f.

Thus, besides (1) *ānki* also (6) *šani-* (if it is not derived from **šami-* “the same”), (7) *kiššan* and (8) *šayitišt-* stand a chance of providing the stem for ‘1’.

Supportive evidence for a stem beginning with *š-* and not with *ā-* comes from Hieroglyphic Luwian. The value *sa* (or *s*) for the single vertical stroke (= *sa₈*) was proposed by Bossert 1957: 358, which was also noted by Meriggi 1975: 9 and Kalaç 1978: 121 n. 5 (referred to by Hawkins 2000: 446, 528)⁵. It seems highly probable that the value *sa* is acrophonically derived from the Hieroglyphic Luwian numeral ‘1’.⁶ Quoting Bossert l.c.: “Da der “senkrechte Strich” nichts weiter ist als das Zahlzeichen “eins”, muß das H-H Wort für “eins” mit *sa/se/si* begonnen haben”.

Meriggi’s suggestion (1967: 228 n. 14) that the Carian demonstrative *†sie-* is the cognate of Hittite *šia-* must be rejected in view of the new readings proposed by Adiego Lajara 1993 (*†s-i-e-* becomes *s-ñ-i-* in inscription D14: 1, o.c. 332).

As a result of the combination of the Hieroglyphic Luwian evidence and the proposals listed above, the Hittite word for the numeral ‘1’ could begin with *š-*, not with *ā-*. In the remainder of this article I hope to prove that the pronoun *šia-* (with the forms *ši-i-e-el*, *ši-e-da/ta-ni*, *ši-(i)-e-ez*, *še-e-za*, *ši-e-et*, and possibly *še-e-et*), hitherto perceived of as a demonstrative either functioning as a true demonstrative “this”⁷ or “that”⁸ or as an accented pronoun⁹, is actually the Hittite word behind ‘1’. This analysis receives further support from Hoffner’s findings, this volume.

Formal characteristics of *šia-* and delimitation of options

In this section I will characterize *šia-* as a pronoun, which was of course already noted a long time ago, and present an overview of the categories of words that have a pronominal or partly pronominal inflection in order to show the possible options for *šia-*.

⁵ See for example the nom.sg.comm. in KULULU 4 § 1, 2 SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-mi-sa₈* (Hawkins 2000: 446); TOPADA § 26 (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*sa₈* (Hawkins o.c. 458); PORSUK § 1 *pa+ra/i-HWI+ra/i-sa₈* (Hawkins o.c., 528).

⁶ Compare the acrophonic readings *mi-* for the four vertical strokes (L 391), Hittite *meu-*, *miu-* “four” (CHD L-N: 308f.), Cuneiform Luwian *māwa-* “id.” (Melchert 1993: 145) and *nu* for the nine vertical strokes (L 395) (Eichner 1992: 87, Hawkins 2000: 116).

⁷ Hrozný 1917: 137 “warscheinlich “diesem””. Idem Goetze 1928: 29, Pedersen 1938: 66, Neu 1983: 167, Salvini & Wegner 1986: 94. Pedersen l.c. proposed either two Hittite stems **so* and **s(i)jo-* or only one stem **s(i)jo-*, Neu l.c. proposed the stem *šia-*.

⁸ Neu 1996: 79 “in jenem einen Distrikt”; Neu 1997: 145-149 classified *šia-* /*sja-*/ as a demonstrative pronoun with deixis comparable to *apā-* “jener”. According to Neu *šia-* should probably be connected with Vedic *sya-* “jener” (o.c. 148). I assume that the switch from “dieser” (Neu 1983: 167) to “jener” is the result of the discovery of the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual.

⁹ Sommer & Falkenstein 1938: 78 “orthotonierten [...] Demonstrativs”; Kronasser 1956: 143: demonstrative, orthotonic form of 3rd person pronoun (from the pronominal stem **so-*), instead of the usual *apā-*; HE § 105: 64 “Betontes Pronomen der 3. Person”; Kammenhuber 1969: 209: 3rd person pronoun, “orthotoniertes, defektives *še-* (oder *ša-*, ...) “er, sie””; Melchert 1977: 26 “independent pronoun *ša-* (or *ši-*?)”; Meriggi 1980: 319 “pron. pers. “accentato” della 3 pers.”; Oettinger 1999: 264 n. 10: anaphoric pronoun.

The genitive sg. ending *-el* in *ši-i-e-el*, the dative sg. ending *-edani* in *ši-e-da/ta-ni* and the abl. ending *-ez* in *ši-i-e-ez* all clearly establish *šia-* as a pronoun (HE § 110). The following categories have a (partly) pronominal inflection, which means that *šia-* could be

1. an accented third person pronoun, like *apā-* (HE § 98, 105);
2. a demonstrative pronoun, like *kā-*, *apā-*, *aši* (HE § 110-118, for *aši* as a 3rd person/distal demonstrative, see Goedegebuure 2003, chapter 4 & Goedegebuure 2004);
3. a question word or relative pronoun, like *kuiš* “who” (HE § 119-123);
4. an indefinite pronoun or a quantifier, like *kuiški* “someone, something, some”, *tamāi-* “other”, *dapija-* “all” (HE § 124-128);
5. a numeral (HE § 129-134).

The categories 3 and 4 have to be excluded since we already have the lexemes filling these categories. Categories 1 and 2 have already been proposed by different scholars (see the end of section 1, with notes 7, 8 and 9). Theoretically, especially category 2 can include more demonstratives than are currently known for Hittite. Category 1 is more difficult in this respect, for the occurrence of two accented third person pronouns is not easy to explain. It might be possible if these pronouns had slowly been replacing each other in the course of time, but since there is no proof of such a replacement one should account for two competing accented pronouns from Old Hittite to latest Hittite. Finally, no one has ever considered category 5, the numerals.

Method

If the pronoun *šia-* should behave like *apā-*, which functions both as a demonstrative pronoun “that, near you”, and as an accented pronoun “that one, that NP”, one should be able to classify *šia-* as a demonstrative or as an accented pronoun using some functional criteria. In this section I will list the criteria which will be used to determine the classification of *šia-*.

If the referent of the alleged demonstrative *šia-* is not mentioned before¹⁰, there are two possibilities (the following classification is based on Diessel 1999):

1. The demonstrative is used *deictically*, referring to either a location or an entity in the speech situation. The deictic demonstratives belong to one of two formal classes:

¹⁰ To complicate matters from a theoretical linguistic viewpoint, entities that have been mentioned before can still be referred to deictically. Within the limits of this article I will use the following rule of thumb, restricting myself to third person reference: Entities that are both present in the speech situation and mentioned before are generally referred to by means of the same linguistic expressions as entities that are not present but are only mentioned in the text. In other words, the distinctive feature between deixis and anaphora for the moment is ‘earlier mention in the text or not’, not ‘present in the speech situation or not’.

- a. The demonstrative *pronouns*: for example the ablatives *kez* (Old Hittite *ket*) “on this side of ...; from here”, *apez* “from there”, *edez* (Old Hittite *edi*) “on that side of ...; from there”. These ablatives occur mainly in narrative discourse. In Direct Speech one also finds the other cases referring to entities that exist in the speech situation, but since *šia-* is not attested in Direct Speech, one only expects the ablative “from here, there, on this side, that side” or the instrumental “with this, with that”¹¹ to refer to a location or entity. The abl. *šiez* is attested in ex. (3), (4a) and (8), the instrumental (or endingless ‘locative’ (?)) in ex. (2a), (9a) and maybe (9d).
- b. Demonstrative *adnominals*: the demonstrative is accompanied by a noun, referring either to a location, as *apedani KUR-ja* “in that country” or to an entity, as *aši antuḫahḫaš* “that man”. The expression *šiedani telipurija* “in š. district” in ex. (1) might belong to this category.
2. The demonstrative is used *recognitionally*. The referent of the demonstrative is this time not present in the speech situation, but still known to both Speaker and Addressee. This type of demonstrative use is also called ‘Discourse New, Hearer Old’. In Hittite one usually finds an adjective demonstrative + noun in a relative clause (see for example *apūn≈ya kuin ŠA^{LÜ} MUDI≈KA INIM-an* “that situation of your husband which ...” (KUB 15.1 iii 9'-10')). This type of use is not attested for *šia-*.

When the referent of the demonstrative is referred to before, there are again two possibilities:

3. The demonstrative is used *discourse deictically*. The demonstrative refers not to an object but to a stretch of discourse. So although discourse deixis is not truly anaphoric, it still concerns elements that are textually mentioned. And again there are two options:
 - a. Discourse deictic *pronouns*. In Hittite oracles we find for example the phrase *ki kuit ..., eni kuit ...* “as for this/that fact that ...”, referring to the outcome of the preceding oracle inquiry. Another type of discourse deictic reference is ‘something occurs *apez* “because of that”’. The distinction between *demonstrative* pronouns in discourse deictic use and *accented* pronouns referring to a stretch of discourse is rather vague.
 - b. Discourse deictic *adnominals*. These demonstratives appear in the expression *kā-/apā-/aši uttar/memiya(n)/INIM* “this, that, that word, matter, affair”. The expression *šietani uddanī* in ex. (5) might be discourse deictic.

¹¹ The other functions of the instrumental will be discussed when appropriate.

4. The demonstrative is used *anaphorically*, referring to an entity mentioned before. In Hittite anaphoric demonstratives are almost always adnominal¹². Another feature is that they occur on discourse boundaries, such as in the first sentence of a paragraph, or in the first sentence of a digression from the main storyline. There are no examples of anaphoric adjectival *šia-* occurring on discourse boundaries.

As *accented pronoun šia-* should obey the next criteria (*šia-* may be either pronominal or adjectival):

1. The referent has to be mentioned before.
2. If *šia-* functions like accented *apā-*, it should occur in the same contexts as *apā-*. In Goedegebuure 2003 I presented an overview of *apā-* as Focus and Topic pronoun. I distinguished two types of Focus and one of Topic:
 - a. *Expanding* Focus: “that *too*, also/even *that*”. This type of Focus is indicated by means of the particle *-ja* “and, also, even” (Goedegebuure 2003, chapter 7). Preferably the rest of the clause should be somehow presupposed, that is, retrievable or inferable from the preceding text. Ex. (2a) with *šētt≈a* should be studied from this point of view.
 - b. *Limiting* Focus: “only *that*, (not X, but) Y”. The notion “only” is captured by means of the particle *-pat*. If the pronoun is used to indicate replacement ‘not X but Y’, then it should occur in preverbal position (Goedegebuure 2003, chapter 8). There are no examples of *šia-* with *-pat*. Several attestations occur preverbally: ex. (3), (4a), (9a), (9d). As with 2.a. above, the remainder of the clause should somehow be presupposed.
 - c. *Unexpected* Topic: the pronoun should occur in initial position, followed by *-a/-ma* (Goedegebuure 2003, chapter 9). There are no examples of initial *šia-* followed by *-a/-ma*.
3. The description of *apā-* in Goedegebuure 2003 was not exhaustive although the three categories just mentioned covered most attestations of *apā-*. In order to capture also some other possible uses of accented pronouns, one should consider each case of *šia-* from the viewpoint of the superordinate principle that underlies the categories Unexpected Topic and Focus: contra-expectation. There should at least be some perceived contrast or surprise present in the clauses containing *šia-*. This is admittedly rather vague, but by using criteria that are possibly too strict one might overlook cases where *šia-* could still function as an accented pronoun.

In sum, for *šia-* as demonstrative we have to investigate whether it is used *deictically* or *discourse deictically*. If it is an accented pronoun, it should be used *anaphorically* and additionally, there should be some perceivable contrast or surprise.

¹² In case of *apā-*, one should carefully distinguish between *apā-* as accented pronoun referring to a 3rd person and *apā-* used as demonstrative referring to an entity belonging to the spatial or cognitive domain of the Addressee (2nd person). The anaphoric 3rd person pronoun *apā-* generally occurs independently, whereas the anaphoric 2nd person demonstrative *apā-* to my knowledge only occurs adnominally (with the exception of the adverbials *apija* and *apez*).

However, if there are examples where none of these criteria apply, *šia-* should be another type of pronoun. If this situation occurs, the next step is to show by means of contextual analysis that *šia-* could belong to the remaining category of the numerals. In an ideal situation one would like to have duplicates or comparable contexts, and indeed, the exx. (1) and (2a) come close to this ideal situation.

After showing that the meaning “one” fits the examples in the cases where *šia-* is neither a demonstrative nor an accented pronoun, I will proceed to discuss the examples where the situation is not that clear. Still, if *šia-* indeed means “one”, then the latter group of examples should not be able to exclude the meaning “one”.

Conclusive examples

As described in the first two sections of this paper, *šia-* is until the present either categorized as an accented 3rd person pronoun or as a demonstrative, presumably with *Ich-Deixis* although Neu 1996: 79 switched to *Jener-Deixis*. The three following examples however, provide counter-evidence for *both* categorizations. The dismissal of both views will be elaborately justified in the discussions following the examples. This extensive discussion is not only necessary in view of the invalidation of the long accepted interpretation of *šia-*, the discussions following exx. (1), (2a) and (3) will also be referred to in the discussion of the other examples to avoid repetitions.

From the dismissal of *šia-* as a demonstrative and accented pronoun it necessarily follows that *šia-* has to be a numeral, that is, if one does not want to add a sixth pronominal type with unknown function to the list of pronouns presented under “Formal characteristics...” above. Luckily we do not have to rely on only logical argumentation. The likelihood of the interpretation of *šia-* as a numeral in exx. (1) and (2a) is supported by other comparable texts. For ex. (1) we can turn to the Hurrian text of the bilingual, whereas ex. (2a) can be compared with an almost equivalent expression that contains not *šia-* but the numeral 1 itself.

- (1) § ³¹ *ŪL≈ma ališaš nu antuḫahhaš* ³² *apāš LÚ-aš BEL≈ŠU kuin auriaš išhān ijezi* ³³
n≈an ši-e-da-ni telipūrija auriaš išhān ³⁴ *jer tān≈ma≈ššan telipūrija šākuḫa* ³⁵
zikkizzi nu≈za apēdani LÚ-ni DINGIR.MEŠ šēr ³⁶ *hattatar šišhir n≈aš≈kan apēdani*
telipūrija ³⁷ *āraš ŪL << tān≈ma telipūri* ³⁸ *uemit ŪL*

§ “It is not a deer, but a man. *He* is the man whom his lord makes governor-of-a-border-province. They made him governor-of-a-border-province in *ši-e-da-ni* district, but he sets (his) eyes on a second (*tān*) district. The gods impressed wisdom upon that man. He did *not* reach that district, while he did *not* find the second district.”¹³

(KBo 32.14 ii 31-38 (MH/MS wisdom text, CTH 789), ed. Neu 1996: 79, Hoffner 1998: 70)

The phrase *šiedani telipūrija* “š. district” is the first time in this text that ‘district’ is mentioned. This immediately excludes *šiedani* as an anaphoric accented pronoun, leaving

¹³ Hoffner 1998: 70 translates differently: “The gods chose a wise course of action regarding that man so that he did not care for that (first) district, but he did not achieve the second district”.

only two possibilities. The noun phrase should either refer to a location in the (immediate) extra-linguistic situation (the deictic use of demonstratives), or it should evoke a location that is known to both Speaker and Addressee (the recognitional use of demonstratives). More importantly, the knowledge shared between Speaker and Addressee has to be private, for only in that situation do we find Recognitional demonstratives. But since the text belongs to the genre of wisdom literature, the latter option is highly unlikely. We only have an unspecified Narrator and an unspecified Audience, whereas for example letters have identified Speakers and Addressees. Letters necessarily contain shared, private information. Wisdom texts and historical texts on the other hand are intended for a general public and can therefore only contain general references to the outside world, but never private knowledge.

Does *šiedani telipūrija* point then to a location near Narrator, Audience or Other? That location however should be clear from the context. One can safely exclude reference to the locations of the unspecified Narrator or Audience. Only a location near a third party, different from Narrator or Audience might be considered. However, again this should be clear from the context. Contextually the only possible third parties are the governor or his lord. But these are text-internal and do not exist in the extra-linguistic situation, they are not present when the text is read (aloud). Thus, not only is *šiedani* not an anaphoric accented pronoun or adjective, it is not a demonstrative either.

Neu 1996: 79 must have sensed that a true demonstrative interpretation was not really possible, for he translated our phrase as “in jenem einen Distrikt”, i.e., with an added indefinite ‘einen’. Demonstratives however are inherently definite (Lyons 1999: 107ff.), and this in itself is incompatible with a ‘demonstrative’ with the meaning “jener einer”. The only other possibility is that Neu already considered the numeral “one”, but this cannot be concluded from his writings.

That the meaning of *šiedani* is not simply indefinite, but indeed “one” can be proven by its Hurrian counterpart: *šiedani telipūrija* is the translation of *[āk]kanni halzēni* “in one district”, *tān=ma=... telipūrija* is the translation of *šinzi halzi*, both “on a second district”. Hurrian *ākki-* means “one (of two)”, and in combination with **agi-*, “der eine ... der andere” (Wegner 2000: 72). Thus, *šiedani* means either “one”, or “one of a couple”.

In sum, given the fact that *šiedani* is not an anaphoric pronoun or a demonstrative, in combination with the Hurrian original which has “one (of a couple)”, the translation of the involved clauses is: “They made him governor-of-a-border-province in **one** district, but he sets (his) eyes on a **second** district.”

For the interpretation of *ši-e-et-ta* in Mursili’s Annals we can rely on a comparable passage from the same text.

- (2a) *nu=kan aši^m Pihhuniyaš³⁵ [ŪL ŠA^{URU} Gašg[a⁷ iya]r taparta^{URU} Gašgan≈za≈kan³⁶*
[(o) o o o] × × [-o]¹⁴ ši-e-et-ta ne[iat]^{15 37} [n≈an ŠA LUGAL-UTTİM iya]r taparta
 “That Pihhuniya [did not] rule like [a] Gasg[ae]an. He even tu[rned] the Gasga *ši-e-et*
 [...] He ruled [it like a king].”

(KUB 14.17 ii 34-37 (NH annals, Mursili II, CTH 61 II), ed. Goetze 1933: 88-89)

The same passage is rendered as follows in the 10-year Annals:

- (2b) § ⁷⁶ *namma^m Pihhuniyaš ŪL ŠA^{URU} Gašga iya]r taparta⁷⁷ hūdāk mahhan INA*
^{URU} *Gašga ŪL ŠA 1-EN tapariyaš⁷⁸ ēšta aši=ma^m Pihhuniyaš ŠA LUGAL-UTTİM iya]r*
⁷⁹ *taparta nu=šši⁴ UTU-ŠI pāun*
 “Furthermore, Pihhuniya did not rule like a Gasgaean. Suddenly – when there was no rule of one in Gasga – that Pihhuniya ruled like a king, and I, My Majesty, went against him.”

(KBo 3.4 iii 76-79 (NH annals, Mursili II, CTH 61 I), ed. Goetze 1933: 88-91)

Lines iii 78-79 lead to my restoration of KUB 14.17 ii 37 as *[n≈an ŠA LUGAL-UTTİM iya]r taparta* (see also lines iii 30-31 in the next example).

The Gasga had always been a collective of chiefdoms, but they usually did not form a unity under one ruler. Before Pihhuniya could become king, he must have united the separate chiefdoms. This order of events is explicitly described in another passage from the extensive Annals dealing with another hostile leader:

- (2c) ²⁹ *[nu≈m]u kūruriahta nu≈za≈kan KUR^{URU} Kalāšma³⁰ [1-e-e]t-ta neiat n≈at*
³¹ *LUGAL-uēznaš iya]r taparta*
 “He (Aparru) became hostile towards [m]e: he even turned the country of Kalasma into [on]e, and ruled it li[k]e a king.”

(KBo 2.5 + KBo 16.17 iii 29-30 (NH annals, Mursili II, CTH 61 II), ed. Goetze 1933: 188-189)

Although *[1-e-e]t-ta* is not completely preserved, it is absolutely clear that Goetze’s restoration is correct. The expression *1-e-et-ta nai-* “to turn into one, to unite, to gather” is twice attested elsewhere in similar contexts (CHD L-N: 361)¹⁶.

The expression *[1-e-e]t-ta nai-* in ex. (2c) is accompanied by the particles *≈za* and *≈kan*. These same particles also occur in ex. (2a). Given the assumption that Pihhuniya

¹⁴ Contextually a restoration *[da-pi-ja-a]n??* K[UR-e??] “the whole country” seems plausible. However, the signs on the photograph are very unclear.

¹⁵ Goetze l.c. restored *ši-e-et-ta ne-it-ta?* ×[: “]... und das ...[”. Although he did not mention *ši-e-et-ta* in his glossary, I believe that he tentatively read it as a preterite of *šāi-/šiye-* “to impress, etc.”. The next sign, a clear NE, could in that case be the first sign of the sentence initial clitic cluster *ne-et-ta* “and it to you”. However, the signs IT and TA can not be clearly discerned on the photograph, as Goetze already indicated by means of his question marks.

¹⁶ CHD L-N: 361 cites KUB 21.37 obv. 17 (*n≈ašta UN.MEŠ-tar 1-e-et-ta nehhun* “I united the populace”), KUB 26.12 + 21.42 ii 29-31 (*nu KUR.KUR.HI.A BAL [d]apianda 1-e-et-ta naiškitten* “You have united all the rebellious lands”) besides our KBo 2.5+ (the CHD, l.c. seems to consider *1-ētta* as a simplex form, and accordingly does not read the particle *-ja* here). See for the expression *1-e-et-ta nai-* also Sommer & Falkenstein 1938:143, Melchert 1977: 376-378, Eichner 1992: 39-40.

should have united the Gasga before he could become king, I suggest that in ex. (2a) the clause ^{URU}*Gašgan≈za≈kan* [(o) o o o] × ×[-o] *ši-e-et-ta ne[ia]* is equal to the clause *nu≈za≈kan* KUR ^{URU}*Kalāšma* [1-e-e]t-ta *ne[ia]* in ex. (2c). This equation gives *ši-e-et-ta* = [1-e-e]t-ta.

Morphologically, 1-e-et-ta / *ši-e-et-ta* is probably an instrumental with the emphasizing particle -ia “even”. Syntactically, it could be an adverbial instrumental, which sometimes literally means “with one (blow)”, but which here should take the meaning “as one” (compare for example the adverbial instrumental *pangarit* “in large numbers, *en masse*”) (Melchert 1977: 376-378). However, Eichner 1992: 39 gives a different analysis of 1-etta. He suggests that 1-e-et in the expression 1-ēttā is functionally similar to *ke-e-et* “on this side” (o.c. 40)¹⁷, i.e., he treats 1-ēttā as an adverb of relative position, translating 1-etta *nai-* as “to direct to one particular side”. In view of the discussion *sub ex.* (9a) I tend to follow Eichner.

Although it is clear that *ši-e-et* is the same as 1-e-et, I will still present here the arguments against a classification of *šia-* as a demonstrative or accented pronoun. If *ši-e-et* as an instrumental of means or accompaniment “with this, that” were a deictic demonstrative, it should refer to an object in the speech situation. Given the type of text genre, historical narration, this is not possible. Furthermore, *ši-e-et* can neither refer to a location relative to another position (“this, that side of”) since there is no location in the speech situation to which this could apply.

The instrumental *ši-e-et* as an anaphoric pronoun “with it, that” should refer to an entity immediately mentioned before. In the context of ex. (2a) no such entity can be found. Besides, the instrumental is hardly used anymore in New Hittite, except for the numeral ‘1’ (Melchert 1977: 371f.). We should expect the ablative *ši-e-ez* instead if it were a demonstrative or pronoun, like the ‘instrumental’ ablatives *ke-e-ez* or *a-pe-e-ez*.

To conclude the discussion of ex. (2a), the translation of the relevant clause is: “He even tu[rned] the Gasga [, the whol]e(?) c[oun]try (??), into one”.

¹⁷ However, 1-e-et-ta and *ke-e-et* may not automatically be compared. Already in Middle Hittite the forms *ke-e-et* “on this side” and *e-di* “on that (yon) side” were replaced by the ablatives of direction *ke-e-ez* and *e-de-ez* (Melchert 1977: 251, 303). Certainly in a NH manuscript such as the Annals the use of an instrumental instead of an ablative of direction should be excluded; one would expect 1-e-ez, or 1-e-ez-zi-ia with *≈ia* “and, also, even”. The only solution to this problem is to consider 1-e-et-ta as an in Old Hittite times frozen expression, which in later times was not replaced by a more appropriate ablative of direction (see also the discussion in the summary, below). Eichner (1992: 39-41), not using this argument though, indeed derives 1-etta from morphologically complex 1-ašša (1-aš+ia) “each”, already attested in an OS text (1-aš-ša ^{GIS}*māhlaš* “each single vine” KUB 43.23 rev. 21). The problem with Eichner’s ascription of 1-e-et-ta to 1-ašša “each single one”, is that 1-e-et-ta should mean both “to each single side” and “(only) to a single side, just a single side, to one and the same side” (his line of reasoning will not be repeated here, see further Eichner o.c., 40 and 41). Besides that, Hittite already possesses a restrictor “only, just”, the particle *≈pat*, which makes it difficult to accept that 1-ašša could mean the same. To conclude, I prefer to follow Melchert’s solution that 1-e-et-ta is an instrumental with *≈ia* “even”. I do follow Eichner however in classifying 1-ettā as a ‘lateral’ instrumental.

The last example – if it belongs here at all¹⁸ – that conclusively shows that *šia-* is neither a demonstrative nor an accented pronoun, occurs in a cult inventory describing the situation in the city of Sanantiya:

(3) ⁴UTU-ŠI ME-iš URU-aš *še-e-za* SUM-zi¹⁹

“His Majesty has instituted (it). The city shall give (it) *še-e-za*”.

(KBo 2.1 iv 14 (NH cult inventory, Tudhaliya IV, CTH 509), ed. Carter 1962: 51-59, tr. 60-70; notes 71-73)

This text describes for several cities the inventory of divine statues, daily offerings, festivals, and offerings which the king has instituted, the state of the temple, and whether there is a priest or not. The expression “the city gives” occurs in four paragraphs and usually takes the form URU-aš SUM-(iz)-zi (= *peškizzi*) “The city shall give (it)” (KBo 2.1 ii 29, ii 38, iii 32). Only in the case of KBo 2.1 iv 14 the abl. *še-e-za* is added.

If *še-e-za* were a deictic demonstrative, it should refer to an entity or location in the world surrounding this text. Since referents of deictic demonstratives should not be mentioned before, the city Sanantiya and its location are excluded. Remaining options are ‘give from here (near me)’, ‘give from there (near you)’ and ‘give from there (near another, different from the city)’, but none of these options makes sense. The ablative *še-e-za* as an ablative of direction like *kez* “on this side”, *edez* “on that side”, resulting in “the city gives on this/that side (of what??)”, is also meaningless. Finally, *še-e-za* could be an ablative of means, but in that case the object “with this/that” has to be present in the surroundings of the text, which is impossible²⁰. Thus, *še-e-za* does not function as a demonstrative.

If *še-e-za* were an accented anaphoric pronoun, like *apēz(za)* it either should refer to a referent which is mentioned before or it should refer to a preceding piece of discourse. The meaning of the clause could be “the city gives from there” (ablative of separation) or “the city gives because of that” (ablative of cause). “From there” meaning “from the city itself” seems to be impossible: such anaphoric relationships within one clause do not seem to occur in Hittite, and other locations are not mentioned. The ablative of cause “because of that” could mean ‘because of the king’s orders’, referring to the preceding clause “the king instituted (it)” However, the phrase should contain an additional element of not knowing why the action described in the *še-e-za* clause occurred (‘Why does the city give it? Because of *that* the city gives it’). More specifically, it should be unknown,

¹⁸ In view of the orthography *še-e-* instead of the regular *ši-e-* Neu was not certain whether the abl. *še-e-za* belonged to *šia-* “dieser” (1983: 167 n. 489: ‘falls hierher gehörig’).

¹⁹ Carter 1962: 58 read URU-aš-še-e-za SUM-zi, transl p. 69: “The town gives (these things) to him”. This analysis is impossible. Most importantly, the dat.sg. enclitic -še is only Old Hittite (and partially Middle Hittite) whereas we have exclusively *≈ši* in texts that are composed in New Hittite times.

²⁰ The other uses of the ablative in New Hittite texts, i.e. the ablative of time from which, of cause, perlocative ablative, of accompaniment, of respect, of agent, the adverbial ablative (Melchert 1977: 346ff.) are equally impossible.

somehow surprising or contra expectations that the city gives what the king has ordered²¹. This is ofcourse impossible in the Hittite cultural context: there should be no surprise whatsoever in obeying the king's orders. Stressing of the reason should therefore not occur. To conclude, *še-e-za* does not function as an accented anaphoric pronoun.

In view of the two preceding examples the next question is, could *še-e-za* be the ablative of the numeral '1'? The meanings "from one", "with one", "because of one", etc. do not make sense. In contrast with example (2a), there are no comparable attestations of 1-*e-ez* or 1-*e-da-az*, besides a possible example of an adverbial ablative 1-*edaza* "all at once, at a single stroke" in KBo 18.54 rev. 26' (Melchert 1977: 386-7). An adverbial ablative seems indeed possible if we compare the offerings which are required by the four cities (see Table 1).

KBo 2.1 ii 21-31	KBo 2.1 ii 32-39	KBo 2.1 iii 26-33	KBo 2.1 iv 1-16
offerings which the king instituted:	offerings:	offerings:	offerings which the king instituted:
1 bull	1 bull	—	3 bulls
14 sheep	4 sheep	x sheep?	93 sheep
5 PA, 4 seah flour	4 PA, 1 seah flour	2 seah flour	33 PA, 2 seah flour
4 vessels of low-grade beer	1 vessel of low-grade beer	—	—
10 vessels of beer	11 vessels of beer	—	13 vessels of beer
1 huppar of beer	—	—	—
3 seah spelt for the <i>harsi</i> -vessel	—	3 seah? spelt for the <i>harsi</i> -vessel	4 PA spelt, 2 PA wine for the <i>harsi</i> vessel
the town gives (ii 29)	the town gives (ii 38)	the town gives (iii 32)	the town gives <i>šēza</i> (iv 14)

Table 1. List of offerings.

The first three cities all have to provide comparable amounts of animals, flour, spelt, beer and wine. Only the last city is required to give much larger amounts of most types. Here we also find the clause with *še-e-za*. This should not be a coincidence. As an adverb it could modify the way in which the city has to give the required offerings, which are much more than usual. Compared with the phrase *ÉRIN.MEŠ≈ma≈mu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ*

²¹ The element of surprise in connection with a causal *apez* is for example observed in KUB 1.1 iii 61 (Otten 1981: 22-23) "Hakpissa however he did not take away from me on divine order. Because (*kuit*) I was priest of the Stormgod of Nerik, for that reason (*a-pé-e-ez-za*) he did not take it (the city) away from me". In the context of the demotion of Hattusili the reader might ask *why* to the reader's surprise Urhi-Tessub did not also take the city Hakpissa away from him. The answer is provided by the immediately following *kuit* clause, and stressed in the *apez* clause. The element of not knowing is mainly found in oracles, for example in KUB 22.70 obv. 31 (Ünal 1978: 62-63) "And as for that fact that (*eni kuit*) Ammattalla has spoken, but (that) we have not yet investigated whether (her) statement is true, or how (it is); (that) they have not included (it) in the oracle inquiry – if the oracle outcome has happened for that reason (*a-pé-e-ez*), ...". Again there is the implicit question why the oracle outcome has happened. In the *eni kuit* clause the possible answer is provided. The question is then phrased as an indirect yes-no question (the conditional clause), with stress on the possible answer (*apez*).

tepaṣaz paš "But he gave me infantry and cavalry in small numbers" (KBo 3.6 ii 21-22), our clause could mean "the city gives (it) in one > the city gives (it) all together". Another possibility is "the city gives (it) alone (without assistance of others) > the city gives (it) all by itself". The latter option seems to make the most sense.

To conclude this section, the pronoun *šia-* in these examples is neither a demonstrative nor an accented anaphoric pronoun. The meaning of *šia-* as "one" was firmly established in exx. (1) and (2a), and possible in ex. (3).

A counter example? Only at first sight.

The next example contains a construction which, at first sight, is similar to the deictically used ablatives of direction *edez* "on that side of" and *kez* "on this side of":

- (4a) §¹⁴ *perann≈a hantezzijaz INA [(K)]A* ^{GIS}GAG ŠENNUR *ši-i-e-ez* ¹⁵ *u(a)hzi n≈ašta* ŠA ZI.DA ŠE [(*ku*)*kk*] *u'lan zanuṣandan* ¹⁶ *harijantejaš≈a* [ZI.] ¹⁷ *DA* ¹⁸ *ŠE kukk* ¹⁹ *ulan* 1 DUG KUKUB GEŠTIN ²⁰ *ganki ke-e-ez≈ma* KI[(*Á-az*) ^{GIS}GAG ^{GIS}MA.NU *u(a)hzi* ¹⁸ *n≈ašta* ŠA ZI.DA ŠE *ku[(kkullan)] zanuṣantan* ¹⁹ *harijantijaš≈a* [(*a*)] ²⁰ *ganki* ²¹ *ukkulun* ²² 1 DUG KUKUB GEŠTIN ²³ *ganki*

§ "And before (the gate) in front, he hits the peg of apricot(?) wood in the gate *ši-i-e-ez*²², and hangs a boiled *kukkula*-(bread?) of barley flour, a *kukkula*-(bread?) of *h*. barley flour and a jug of wine (on it). But on this side (*kēz*) of the gate he hits [the peg] of cornel wood, and hangs a boiled *kukkula*-(bread?) of barley flour, a *kukkula*-(bread?) of *h*. barley flour and a jug of wine (on it)."

(KUB 9.31 i 14-20, dupl. HT 1 i 7-13, KUB 35.10 i 2'-6', KUB 56.59 iv 11-15 (MH/NS ritual, CTH 757B))

The construction *šēz ... kēz* might point at a distal demonstrative value for *ši-i-e-ez*, functioning like *edez*, the ablative of the distal demonstrative *aši*, in *edez ... kēz* "on that (the far) side (of ...) ... on this (the near) side (of ...)" (as for example in KUB 19.20+KBo 12.13 obv. 9' ff.). The problem with this combination is that we need a clearly retraceable external viewpoint, or Deictic Center, from which the whole situation is viewed. In this case a location different from the gate is necessary in order to be able to say: "on the far side of the gate ... on the near side of the gate". Besides the fact that such a viewpoint can not be inferred from the context, another objection against an interpretation of *šēz ... kēz* as similar to *edez ... kēz* is the occurrence of the couple *kēzza kēzzi≈ja* "on one side ... on the other side" (lit. "on this side ... on this side") in line i 23 (*kattan hantezzijaz* ²³ *ke-e-ez-za ke[-e-(ez-zi-ja)]* *uāšši huṣallari* *ŠUM≈ŠU* ²⁴ *harijaz[(zi)]* "Below (the pegs) in front (of the gate) he buries the drug called *huṣallari* on one side and on the other side (= on either side)").

As is already indicated by the translation, the expression *kēz ... kēz* is indifferent with respect to the orientation of an object. The sides of the object are not further specified.

²² Melchert 1977: 324 lists the clause containing *ši-i-e-ez* under the heading 'Problematic Cases' and leaves it untranslated.

This unspecified use of *kēz* is (almost) the equivalent of the correlatively used ablative 1-*edaz* in the next example:

- (4b) *nu≈ššan 1-e<-da>-az KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN NA₄.H₁A≈ja hūmanduš dāi*²⁸ [1]-e-
da-az≈ma≈ššan šalūnan dāi
 “(The old woman [t]akes (weighing) scales.) On one side she places all the silver, gold and precious stones, on the [other] side she places mud.”
 (KUB 30.15 obv. 27-28 (CTH 450.1), ed. Otten 1958: 68-69)

It should not be too surprising that the similarity of the expressions *kēz* ... *kēz* and 1-*edaz* ... 1-*edaz* could lead to a conflation. As Elisabeth Rieken pointed out to me, in colloquial German one can encounter phrases like “zum einen ... andererseits” instead of “zum einen ... zum anderen” or “einerseits ... andererseits”. It seems therefore possible that the scribe made a ‘slip of the stylus’, inadvertently starting with a member of one of the correlative series and finishing with a member of the other series: “And before (the gate) in front, he hits the peg of apricot(?) wood in the gate on one side, But on the other side of the gate he hits [the peg] of cornel wood”.

Supportive but not conclusive examples

Without the exx. (1) to (3) the nature of *šia-* would have remained unclear because the following examples all allow multiple interpretations. However, given that the meaning “one” fits each of them, they serve as supportive material.

The first example falls somewhat in the semantic field described sub ex. (4). Instead of *kā-* ... *kā-* or 1-*a-* ... 1-*a-* we now have the couple *šia-* ... *tamāi-* “the one ... the other”:

- (5) *namma≈ta≈kkan ŠA KUR^{URU} HATTI kujēš LÚ.MEŠ pittejanteš anda ija[ntat]*³⁵
“Madduwattaš≈ma≈aš≈za daškeš [ABI^d]UTU-ŠI≈ma≈tta^dUTU-ŠI≈ja EGIR-anta
*hatreškir zig≈a⁷≈aš āppa Ū[L paitta]*³⁶ *[nu≈t]ta māt šī-e-ta-ni uddanī* [a(?)⁷] [-
*appa h]atrāuni zig≈a≈nnaš namma uddanī āppa arkūar Ū[L ijaš²³]*³⁷ *[nu≈]kan*
tamāi kueikki uddār [o o o²⁴ *nu]≈nnaš EGIR-pa tamāi uddār hatreški[šī]*
 § “Further, which fugitives from Hatti went over to you, now you, Madduwatta kept taking them. [The father of]My Majesty and My Majesty kept writing to you afterwards, you however, did not [give] them back. When we write b[ack] to you on account of *šī-e-ta-ni* affair, you, surprisingly (-a), do not [present] us with an apology about the affair in return, [...] about some other (*tamāi*) affairs, you keep writing us back about the other (*tamāi*) affairs!” (KUB 14.1 rev. 34-37)
 (MH/MS indictment, CTH 147), ed. Goetze 1928: 28-29)

The expression *šietani uddani* could be considered as a discourse deictic expression referring to the preceding piece of discourse, which describes the case of the fugitives.

²³ Goetze 1928: 28 restored *ištamašti*. But HED A: 149 restores *ija-*: ‘thou dost not even make excuses to us in the matter’.

²⁴ Goetze 1928: 28 restored *hatrāši*. However, *hatrai-* does not seem to occur with *-kan*. The verb is not cited in Boley 2000, and not one example with *-kan* occurs in HED H: 269f.

Compare for example the discourse deictic use of the 3rd person/distal demonstrative *aši* in KUB 6.41 i 34: §³⁴ *maḥḥan≈ma^dUTU-ŠI uni memian AŠME nu^dUTU-ŠI^mPÍŠ.TUR-an³⁵ ŪL kuitki HUL-uanni šanḥun* “But when I, My Majesty, heard about that affair, I, My Majesty, did not seek evil against Mashuiluwa at all.” An example with the 1st person/proximal demonstrative *kā-* is KUB 15.1 ii 25 §²⁵ *[mā]nn≈a≈mu kēdani INIM-ni^dLUGAL-maš EN≈YA²⁶ [GEŠTU-a]n parā ēpti ištamašti≈mu* ... “And if you, Sarruma, my lord, lend me your ear in this matter, and listen to me, ...”.

Another possibility is that *šietani* is used like the accented anaphoric pronoun *apā-*, see for example Bo 86/299 iii 6-8: ⁶ *n≈at damēdani uarḫalani ŠA^mNIR.GÁL pāi⁷ ANA NUMUN^mLAMMA≈ma≈at≈kan arḫa dāi nu kuiš a-pu-u-un memian⁸ iḫazi* “..., he gives it (i.e., the kingship of Tarhuntassa) to some other relative of Muwatalli while taking it away from the offspring of Kurunta, anyone who performs that act, (may the gods destroy him ...)”.

The meaning “one” however, also makes sense: “When we write b[ack] to you on account of one affair, *you*, surprisingly, do not [present] us with an apology about the affair in return, ..., you keep writing us back about other affairs!” This remark might refer to the usual behaviour of Madduwatta. Throughout the document the king describes how Madduwatta receives many reprimands and questions concerning his behaviour. Madduwatta never apologizes though, and always has his answer ready.

In the testament of Hattusili I we find the gen.sg. *šī-i-e-el* in a context which seems to show a thorough understanding of the society of wolves:

- (6) ⁴⁶ *[šumenzan≈a] uētnaš māt pankur≈šme[t 1-EN] ēšdu⁴⁷ [n≈at m]ūḫan²⁵ ēšdu šī-i-e-el ARAD.MEŠ≈ŠU [INA 1 AM]A ḥaššanteš*
 § “[Now,] let [your] ‘pack’ be [united] like (a pack) of wolves, and let [it] be [awe-
 i]nspiring! *šī-i-e-el* subjects are born [to one mother].”
 (KUB 1.16 ii 46-47 (OH/NS proclamation, CTH 6), ed. Sommer & Falkenstein 1938: 8).

As a deictic demonstrative *šīēl* “his, that one’s” should refer to an extra-linguistic entity. Obviously a wolf is not present, so only Mursili might be an option if the clause “the subjects of Mursili are born to one mother” would make any sense. Clearly, *šīēl* is not used as a deictic demonstrative. As an accented anaphoric pronoun it should function like *apēl*, and has to refer to a wolf: “His subjects are born to one mother”. The use of an accented pronoun should at least indicate some contrast. One could think of a contrast with an implicit set of somebody else’s subjects: “in contrast with the subjects of others, the wolf’s subjects are born to one mother” although the need for expressing such an implicit contrast in the present context is not clear to me. Linguistically this translation is still possible, although the occurrence of two emphatic 3rd person pronouns is difficult to account for, as I stated above (section “Formal characteristics...”).

²⁵ Sommer & Falkenstein 1938: 8-9 read *[ku-u-ru-ur(?) n]u-ḫa-an e-eš-du* “[Zwist(?)] darf es nicht mehr(?) geben!”. The restoration *nuḫan* is difficult since its basic meaning is “not want to”. Moreover, the translation “no longer” or similar is expressed by means of *namma UL* (CHD L-N: 471f.).

Contextually it is much more plausible to take *ši-i-e-el* as the genitive of “one”. In a wolf pack only the alpha-couple breeds. This means that all the members of the pack are offspring of the number one wolf, and not simply of ‘the’ wolf, as *ši-i-e-el* as accented anaphoric pronoun would indicate. But not only that, the subordinate wolves themselves are not allowed to breed. Instead, they protect and help raising the pups of the alpha couple. The social structure of the wolf pack is therefore a beautiful metaphor for the message of Hattusili I, for in this way he reminds the nobles that they (probably) all belong to the royal extended family and that they therefore have a duty towards the direct offspring of the king, Mursili. Not that they are not allowed to have children ofcourse. Like the pack of wolves, they have to protect and help raise the young prince, and later obey him. The translation thus becomes: “The subjects of **the chief / the number one (wolf)** are born [to one mo]ther”.

The next example is closely connected with the preceding one. For the interpretation I am much obliged to Elisabeth Rieken. At the conference in honour of Professor De Roos I suggested that *ši-an-na* in the oracle KUB 6.3: 14 might contain the neuter of *šia-*, in view of the attested nom.-acc.sg.neuter 1-*an*. Professor Rieken’s solution (personal communication, email 13-1-2004) to take *šian* as the acc.sg.comm. instead and, in view of the occurrence of *pangur*, connect it with the meaning “the number one, i.e. the chief” in the preceding example is convincing in my opinion:

- (7) §¹³ *kī kuit* TI-*anni* SIG₅-¹⁴ *iš* *ta pangur*≈*za parianda* ¹⁴ *ši-an-na* GIM-*an* *taparti* DINGIR-*LUM*≈*an arnuši apēdani* ¹⁵ *mēhuni ilaššanaḫhi*≈*at*≈*za* SIG₅-*ru*

“As for this (fact) that (it) was favorable for the life (of the king), as you command beyond the clan (i.e. ‘in addition to the clan’) even the number one (*šiann*≈*a*, i.e. the king), will you, o god, bring him to that time? Does (it) signify that? Let (it) be favorable.”

(KUB 6.3: 13-14 (NH oracle, CTH 572), CHD P: 93, S: 21)

CHD S: 21, with reservations, analyzes *ši-an-na* as the infinitive of *šai-/šiye-* and translates our clause as “as you command the ‘pushing’ beyond of the *pangur* (the family line?), ...”. The meaning of this clause is utterly unclear, whereas translating *ši-an-na* with “even the number one” not only makes sense, but also resolves the problem of the otherwise missing antecedent for -*an* “him” in line 14.

The next example is contextually and culturally not very clear:

- (8) ¹⁴ *nu* ^{LÚ} *AZU* ¹⁴ *ĪDUG.GA* *pēdai nu ŠA GIŠ* ^d[(INANNA *šūtari* *peran*)] ¹⁵ *ši-e-ez* ²⁶ *tepu* *iškizzi ḫurlili*[(≈*ma kiššan memai*)]

“The magician brings the fine oil. He first (?) anoints the *šūtari* of the lyre/zither a little *ši-e-ez*, but (then) he speaks as follows in Hurrian: (...)”

(KBo 35.84 rev. iv 14'-15' (including KBo 24.57), with dupl. KBo 23.42 + KBo 35.76 rev. 24'-26' (NS ritual, CTH 701), ed. Salvini & Wegner 1986: 169-170)

²⁶ The signs in the hand copy of the duplicate KBo 35.76 rev. 24' are not clear. One could also read *ar*. However, the photograph favors a reading *ši*-*e*. The width of the lower part of E is the same as the sign E in line 26'. The RI part of AR on the other hand is too far removed from the ŠI part in comparison with the sign AR in KBo 23.43 obv. 16. I would like to express my gratitude to Silvin Koşak and Jared Miller of the project Hethitische Forschungen at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur Mainz for allowing me to use the photographs of KBo 35.76 and KBo 23.42.

The arguments dismissing *ši-e-ez* as a deictic demonstrative are listed sub ex. (3). As anaphoric pronoun the only possible option is that it refers to the oil in the preceding clause, leading to “He first (?) anoints it with that, ...”. Contextually *ši-e-ez* could easily be omitted because the verb ‘to anoint’ already implies that it is done with the oil. The use of an accented pronoun should indicate some contrast or unexpectedness, which does not seem to be present.

With *ši-e-ez* as an ablative of direction meaning “on one side”, we get “He first anoints the *šūtari* of the lyre/zither a little **on one side**, ...”. What this ultimately means, depends on the interpretation of the noun *šūtari*.

The last form possibly belonging to the paradigm of *šia-* “one” occurs in a notoriously difficult passage from KBo 22.1. The troublesome word is *ši-e-et*, which either belongs to the pronoun *šia-* or should be understood altogether differently as an accusative “his things”²⁷. In view of the exx. (9c) and (9d) I prefer the former option.

- (9a) ²⁶ *LÚ.MEŠ NAŠI ŠIDITI*≈*ŠU natta punuštēni* ²⁷ *ta* ^{LÚ} *ḫappinandaš ištēni* ²⁸ *parna*≈*šša* *paiši ēzši eukši piḫanazziatta* ²⁹ ^{LÚ} *ašiyandan*≈*a ši-e-et dātti* ³⁰ *DIN*≈*ŠU natta punuštēni*

“[Now, mind this: You go into the country, (but) you do not avenge the blood of the poor man.] § You (pl.) do not question his provision carriers, you (pl.) do (the wishes) of the rich man: You (sg.) go to his house, you eat, you drink, you are rewarded. The poor man however you take *ši-e-et* (and) you do not investigate his legal case/rights.”

(KBo 22.1 26'-30' (OS proclamation, CTH 272), ed. Archi 1979: 47)

The only possible option for *ši-e-et* as a deictic demonstrative is that it could function like the deictic adverbs of relative position *ke-e-et* ... (*e-di*) “on this side ... (that side) of ...”²⁸. As instrumental it could function like an ablative (“take from here/there”), or as a true instrumental it could mean “take with/by means of this/that”. The arguments against a deictic use of Old Hittite *ši-e-et* are similar to the arguments with respect to New Hittite *še-e-za* presented in ex. (3). Thus, the pronoun *ši-e-et* does not function as a demonstrative pronoun.

As accented anaphoric pronoun *ši-e-et* must refer to something in the preceding text. Used as an adverb of relative position it could mean “take to this/that side (of something)”, with the point of reference retrievable from the preceding text. The only

²⁷ Archi 1979: 47 ‘et (du) pauvre tu prendras le sien’; Starke 1977: 176 takes ^{LÚ} *ašiyandan*(≈*a*) *šiēt* as two accusatives in partitive apposition ‘Das Seinige (d.h. die Habe, der Besitz) des Armen’, followed by Boley 2000: 229; Yoshida 1987: 36 follows HW² A 406 concerning the gen.; Marazzi 1988: 128: ‘e (facendo così) derubi il diseredato del suo’; Melchert 1994: 107 *ši-e-et* ‘his things’ as the orthotonic version of enclitic -*šet* ‘his’; Boley 1995: 58 with n. 1: ‘you take the poor man’s thing (but do not investigate his case)’. Neu 1984: 99, rightly I believe, severed the ties between the neuter enclitic pronoun -*šet*/*šit* and *ši-e-et* in view of the orthography of the latter and considered it as the endless ‘locative’ of *šia-* (*šia-* in his view).

²⁸ Neu 1984: 99 translated our phrase as “you take the poor man there”, see also Neu 1983: 167⁴⁸⁹ “(jem.) dorthin (mit)nehmen?”. These translations are based on a comparison with *kēt*, which in Neu’s view could mean “here, hereto” (1980b: 20f.). However, as Melchert already noted in 1977(262), *kēt* only means “on this side of ...”. For the notions “here, hereto” Hittite employs *kā(ni)*.

option seems to be 'this/that side of the rich man', but the meaning of such a phrase completely eludes me. However, one can not exclude the pronoun *ši-e-et* as an instrumental functioning like an ablative of separation "take the poor man from there, i.e. from the rich man's place". Finally, Melchert (1977: 174) originally proposed "by that, thereby" for *ši-e-et*, i.e., as an instrumental of means²⁹, leading to "you thereby 'take' the poor man". In this case 'take' has a meaning which is unknown (Melchert l.c.).

The use of *dā-* "take" with only a subject and object is treated by Tjerkstra 1999. When the object is animate, *dā-* is used in the sense of *šarā dā-* "to take up a person (into one's care)" or more negatively, "to arrest a person" (o.c., 112-113), *para dā-* "to pick out" (o.c., 115) or *-za dā-* "to take a person (sexually), to marry" (o.c., 98-99). If we now interpret *ši-e-et* as an instrumental used as an ablative of cause "because of that", the following translation seems possible: "You (sg.) go to his house, you eat, you drink, you are rewarded. The poor man however you arrest because of that (and) you do not investigate his legal case/rights". Thus, *šia-* could be an accented anaphoric pronoun although the line of reasoning leading to this conclusion is quite far-fetched.

However, Melchert already pointed out that the officials do not seem to be accused of cheating the poor man, but of neglecting or ignoring him (1977: 174). If *šia-* means "one", the expression *ši-e-et dā-* should be compared with other expressions containing *1-e-et-(ta)* in the sense of neglecting or ignoring someone or something. One interesting text which seems to express this sense with *1-e-et-ta* and the verb *peššija-* "to throw" is KUB 57.115:

(9b) § 2' MUNUS-za≈ma≈tta kuiš [ŪL ...] 3' n≈an arḫa peššija n≈an EGIR-pa lē (?) 4' tat[ti (?)] § 5' MUNUS-za≈ma≈tta kuiš ŪL [...] 6' duduḫanza n≈aš≈ta [...] 7' ŪL kaniniḫanza [ø] 8' [n]≈an 1-e-et-ta peš[šija]

§ "The woman that [is not ...] to you, reject[t] her. [Do not (?)] ta[ke her back (?)]. § The woman that [is] not gentle(?) / quiet (?) [...] for you, and is not submissive towards you [...], thro[w] her also 1-e-et."

(KUB 57.115 obv. 2'-8' (NS, CTH 832)).

Although the text is too broken to compare the acts of the wife in the first and the second paragraph with each other, it seems that the act of the wife in the first paragraph is serious enough to be rejected. In the second paragraph the wife is not obedient enough. One could imagine that the proper punishment is (temporary) neglect. This might be expressed by *n≈an 1-ētt≈a peššija* "Throw her also to the lone side > leave her also alone"³⁰. Thus, *1-e-et* could function like an adverb of relative position "on one side"³¹, a lateral

²⁹ Melchert later changed his opinion, see fn. 27.

³⁰ One of the meanings of '1' is: 'stressing isolation or uniqueness', "single", "alone", "without companion" (Eichner 1992: 35).

³¹ The verb *peššija-* is also found with the ablative *apezza* as adverb of relative position in KBo 4.9 vi 6-8 (OH/NS): "The king throws aside (*arḫa*) the linen cloth". 6' *ta mān* DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL *kuēzzi* 7' *par(a)šnan ḫarkanzi n≈at apezza* 8' *peššijazi* "On which side (*kuēzzi*) the palace attendants are squatting, to that side (*apezza*) he throws it". The comparison of *1-et(ta) peššija-* with *apezza peššija-* strengthens the suggestion that *1-et(ta)* is not to be translated as "with one blow, as one", but as an adverb of relative position "on one side" (see above, p. 174 with n. 17).

instrumental as Eichner 1992: 40 calls it in another context (see ex. 9c). The particle *-ja* "also" probably refers to the reciprocity of the act: if she does not look after your needs, then you should ignore her *too*.

(9c) 11' *mahḫan≈ma* LÚ^dU *uddār* [ø] 12' *memijauanzi zinnāi* [ø] 13' *n≈ašta* DUMU.É.GAL DUG^d DILÍM.GAL *parā* 14' É *ḫīli pēdai* 15' *n≈an* 1-e-et-ta *dāi* × [...]

"(He sprinkles water out [...] and the king washes his hands over the pebbles. The man of the Stormgod however recites in Hattic as follows: "...") § Now, when the man of the Stormgod finishes speaking the(se) words, a palace attendant carries the bowl out to the courtyard, and takes it also (?) 1-e-et".

(KUB 48.10 ii 15' (NS, CTH 744, with dupl. KBo 37.91))

Eichner 1992: 40 derives *dāi* from *dai-/tiḫa-* "place, put" ("and puts him on (one and) the same side"), but I prefer *dā-* "take", not only in view of ex. (9a), but also in view of the possible attestation of *še-e-et dā-* in ex. (9d), see below. In English of course one prefers "set, place, put", but the semantics need not be the same in Hittite. The translation thus derived at is "He takes it to **one** side > he takes it **aside** (to be left alone)". Why the particle *-ja* "also" is present is difficult to judge given the broken state of the tablet.

The next Old Hittite example might contain an attestation of *še-e-et* and is interesting given the occurrence of *dā-* "take", which brings it semantically close to ex. (9a):

(9d) § 11' [ŠA ūM(MEDA²-aš≈a 3 DUMU.M)]EŠ-ŠU^d *ḫann*[(*aḫan*)ni ... *daranzi*]^{12'} [šum(*āš≈a≈u*)a (*š*)e³²-]e-et³² *tumēn*[(*i* ūtte)n≈ya...]

"The three sons of the [wet-]nurse [speak to] Hannahan[na and to ...]: "Now [yo]u (pl.) we will take a[s]ide (= leave alone, ignore). Yo[u] (pl.) must go [and ...]"

(KUB 43.25: 11'-12' (OS myth, CTH 336), with NS dupl. KUB 33.60).

Summarizing, OS *šiēt dā-*, possibly OH/NS *šēt dā-*, NS *1-ēt(ta) dā-*, and NS *1-ēt(ta) peššija-* mean "take aside" and "throw aside" respectively = "leave alone, ignore". Therefore I translate ^{LÚ}*ašijandan≈a ši-e-et dātti* 30' *DIN≈ŠU natta punušši* as: "The poor man however you set **aside** (= neglect): you do not investigate his legal case/rights", in agreement with Melchert's understanding of these lines (1977: 174, see above).

The next and final example is only included to complete the list of attestations of *šia-*. The broken text does not allow any conclusion on the function and meaning of the pronoun.

(10) § 7' *namma≈ma ši-e-da-ni ḫašš[ī]*

"But furthermore on/in one brazie[r ...]"

(StBoT 25.104 obv.² ii 7' (= Bo 3752), (OS ritual, CTH 591), ed. Neu 1980a: 179. The online Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte notes "im Mainzer Archiv kein Photo, aber ein Eintrag von H. Otten: "wohl nicht ah., sondern mh."")

³² Laroche 1965: 154 read [*ka*]-*a-ša-wa* ×-×-it in KUB 33.60 rev. 12'. The first broken sign of ×-×-it possibly shows the first two wedges of *še*.

Summary, paradigm and final remarks

Summarizing the results,

1. The exx. (1), (2a) and (3) conclusively show that *šia-* is neither an accented anaphoric pronoun nor a demonstrative.
2. In the exx. (5), (6), (8) and (9a) *šia-* could be an anaphoric accented pronoun, and in (4a) and (5) it could be a demonstrative, but in view of the results for exx. (1), (2a) and (3) another explanation has to be looked for.
3. The expressions with *šia-* in exx. (1), (2a), (4a) and (9a) can be matched to comparable expressions containing the numeral "one".
4. The meaning "one" fits all remaining examples.

Clearly, *šia-* must be the numeral "one". Of the meanings established for 1-*a-* and 1-*i-* (Eichner 1992: 34f.) the following are attested for *šia-*: ¹⁾ indication of the singular of specimens of a particular object or of a group of persons, exx. (1), (5), (6), (7), (8); ²⁾ stressing of isolation or uniqueness, "single", "alone", "without companion", exx. (3), (9a), (9d); ³⁾ stressing the unity of a combination of two or several parts, 'one, united, joined into one', ex. (2a).

Below I present the paradigm of *šia-* and 1-*a-* (the relevant forms of the paradigm of 1-*a-* are copied from Eichner 1992: 32, with the addition of 1-*e-da-za*). Several forms are not attested without the particle *-ja* "and, also, even". In those cases I will list the form with the particle. The reconstructed forms are listed below the table.

	<i>šia-</i>			1- <i>a-</i>
	OH	MH	NH	
nom.s.c.	ø	ø	ø	1- <i>aš</i>
acc.s.c.	ø	ø	<i>ši-an-na</i> (?)	1- <i>an</i>
nom.-acc.s.n.	ø	ø	ø	1- <i>at-ta</i> , 1- <i>e</i> (?)
gen.s.	<i>ši-i-e-el</i> (NS)	ø	ø	1- <i>el</i> , 1- <i>e-el</i>
dat.-loc.s.	<i>ši-e-da-ni</i> (MS?)	<i>ši-e-da-ni</i> (MS) <i>ši-e-ta-ni</i> (MS)	ø	1- <i>e-da-ni</i>
abl.	ø	<i>ši-i-e-ez</i> (NS)	<i>še-e-za</i> (?) <i>ši-e-ez</i>	1- <i>e-da-az</i> 1- <i>e-da-za</i> 1- <i>e-ez</i>
instr.	<i>ši-e-et</i> (OS) <i>še-e-et</i> (? , NS)	ø	<i>ši-e-et-ta</i>	1- <i>e-et-ta</i> 1- <i>e-ta-an-da</i>

Table 2. Paradigms of *šia-* "one" and 1-*a-*

We can thus reconstruct: nom.sg.comm. **šiaš* /*syas*/, acc.sg.comm. *šian* /*syān*/, nom.-acc.sg.neut. **šiat* /*syat*/ (also **šie* /*syē*/?), gen.sg. *šīēl* /*syel*/, dat.-loc.sg. *šiedani* /*syedani*/, abl. *šiēz* /*syets*/ and **šiedaz(a)* /*syedats*/, instr. *šiēt* /*syed*/ and **šietanda* /*syedanT*/. If the acc.sg.comm. *šian(na)* is accepted as belonging to the paradigm, then we finally have

conclusive evidence for a stem *šia-*. The two forms with the writing *še-e-* are exceptional, and might not even belong to the paradigm of *šia-*.

Regarding the instrumental *šiēt* / 1-*ēt* and the ablative *šiēz* / 1-*edaz(a)* the following can be observed. In New Hittite the instrumental *šiēt* occurs only in combination with the particle *-ja* "also, even" and never independently, as it does in Old Hittite. On the other hand, the ablative never occurs with the particle *-ja*. We only have *šiēz* / 1-*edaz(a)*, but never **šiēzzi≈ja* or *1-*edazzi≈ja* although both forms are linguistically acceptable given the existence of *kēzzi≈ja* (see for example lateMH/MS KUB 19.20 + KBo 12.13 obv. 11') and *apēzzi≈ja* (see for example MH/MS KUB 23.77+ rev. 54').

Although it might be coincidental, it seems that the instrumental of *šia-* with the particle *-ja* and the ablative without it are in complementary distribution in New Hittite, and possibly also in Middle Hittite. As is well known, in post-Old Hittite times the original pronominal instrumentals on *-ed* were replaced by the ablatives on *-ez*. We should therefore not expect the pronominal instrumental *šiēt* to survive unless it occurred in a morphologically complex and petrified expression such as *šiētt≈a*. Why the same did not occur with the demonstrative adverb of relative position *kētt≈a*, which was replaced by *kēzzi≈ja* is not clear to me.

Other problems that need to be solved are the readings behind the 1-*i-* and 1-*nt-* stems. It is of course possible that these stems should be read as **ši-* and **šiant-* respectively, but one has to keep in mind that there still exists *ānki* = 1-*anki* "once". Moreover, in view of the lemma ^(LÚ)*ānt-* "equal (= same, similar), rival" it seems preferable to conclude that in Hittite the two PIE stems for "one" were present. As in Greek (οινή on dice, εἷς, μῆ, ἐν as the usual word for "one"³³), PIE **oi-* gained a more specialized meaning in Hittite, whereas PIE **se-* (and not **sem-*?)³⁴ became the general stem for "one".

³³ More interesting for Hittite *šia-* from the viewpoint of comparative linguistics is Beekes' discussion (1988: 81) of the fact that the feminine of the numeral '1' in Greek does not only appear as *mía*, but also as *ía*. Besides Homeric *ía* there exist an acc. *ian* in Lesb. and Thessal. and a gen. *ias* in Boeot. Based on this material Beekes concludes that the feminine of the numeral '1' in PIE has to be reconstructed as **sih₂*, without *-m*.

³⁴ If Proto-Anatolian did not lose the *-m-* of **sem-*, then Brugmann 1916/1917: 160-161 might have been right in his analysis of *sem-/som-* as the demonstrative *se-/so-* + *-mo-*. In that case Proto-Anatolian must have split off from PIE before the formation of the new stem **sem-/som-*. Hahn (1942: 116) came to the same conclusion, using different arguments. One could also think of the co-existence of the descendants of two PIE roots **se-* and **sem-*. **se* would then be expressed as *šia-* "one", whereas **sem-* "same" should appear in ¹⁾ *šani-* "the same", ²⁾ *kiššan* "in this same way" (and not "in this one way"), and ³⁾ *šāqitišt-* "in the same year".

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THE HITTITE DEGENITIVAL ADJECTIVES

ŠIELA-, 2-ELA- AND APELLA-^{*1}

Harry Hoffner

In her article entitled “A New Proposal for the Reading of the Hittite numeral ‘1’: *šia-*”, published in this volume, P. Goedegebuure investigates the word *šia-* (*šya-*), previously regarded as a pronoun, with a view to determining to which category of pronouns it belongs, and demonstrates that it is the numeral “one”, with various derived shades of meaning, depending upon the case form. In connection with work on the manuscript of the S volume of the CHD I have had recent occasion to consider a word which appears to be a derivative of the word *šia-* “one”, but which Goedegebuure did not consider as a possible derivative. This in turn led me to seek other derivatives built to inflected genitives having the pronominal ending *-ēl*.² The result has been the discovery of two examples of adjectives built to the genitive form of the numbers “one” and “two” and one built to the genitive form of the demonstrative pronoun *apā-* “that one”.

The adjective *šielā-* “of one; single”

Hittite law §31 is the third of three consecutive laws (§§29-31) in the NS manuscripts missing from the OS exemplar KBo 6.2. And since no MS exemplar of the laws yet

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¹ The concept behind decasuative forms was articulated already by J. Schindler in Mayrhofer 1986 161 note 267, who analyzes the suffix **-i-o-* (as in Sanskrit *dāmiya-* “located in the house, domestic” as originating in derivatives in **-o-* to inflected locatives in **-i*. The term “degenitival” is employed here on analogy with the well-established term “delocative” and what has recently been called “decasuative derivatives”. Alan Nussbaum (1998) has explored ‘de-instrumental’ adjectives based on instrumental case forms. See also Nussbaum, “‘Decasuative’ Derivatives in Indo-European” (invited lecture Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg, January 2002), cited on his web site: <http://www.arts.cornell.edu/classics/Faculty/AJN.htm>. I thank Craig Melchert for providing me with the reference to Schindler, and Alan Nussbaum for sharing with me a manuscript of his unpublished paper.

² The adjective *da(m)mela/i-* “unused, uninhabited, uncultivated” at first seemed a possible candidate, since semantically *tamai-* “andere” > *da(m)mela/i-* “andersartig” > “of a different kind (from the normal cultivated and inhabited land)” is not an impossible development. What deterred me from proposing the development *tamai-* > *da(m)mela/i-* is chronological distribution of forms in both words showing geminate versus non-geminate *m*. There are very few forms of *tamai-* showing geminate *m*, none of which can be dated prior to NS. On the other hand, forms of *da(m)mela/i-* showing geminate *m* are the vast majority and stretch from MS (4 examples: *dam-mi-li-in* KUB 43.58 ii 28, *dam-me-li* KBo 17.78 i 2, KBo 9.116 rev 6?, *dam-mi-li* KBo 3.21 iv 11) to late NS. The few cases of showing non-geminate *m* are all NS (*da-me-li-in* KUB 15.42 ii 17, *ta-me-li* KUB 7.13 obv 26). Therefore, it is better to regard *dammel(i)-* as a Luwian loanword with a neuter nom.-acc. sg. *dammel*, as diagnosed in Hoffner 1997 172-173, where a complete paradigm can be found.

exists, it is possible that these three laws were added in the MH or even in the early NH period. It is true that, because the normal form of the merged common gender nom.-acc. pl. of a-stem nouns and adjectives in later NH was *-uš*, one might argue that *ši-e-le-eš* points to a pre-NH composition of law §31.³ But one should be cautious, since in Muršili II's annals one encounters a nom. pl. form *an-tu-uḫ-še-eš* from an a-stem noun: *kap-pu-u-wa-an-te-eš-pát-mu-kán an-tu-uḫ-še-eš* (var. *an-tu-uḫ-šu-uš*) *iš-pár-te-er* "Only a few men escaped from me" KUB 19.37 iii 25 with duplicate KBo 16.16 iii 17. In the NS copy B (KBo 6.3 ii 16-17) law §31 reads as follows:

ták-ku LÚ-aš EL-LUM GÉME-aš-ša ši-e-le-eš na-at an-da a-ra-an-zi na-an-za A-NA DAM-ŠU da-a-i nu-za É-er UDUMU.MEŠ i-en-zi ap-pé-ez-zi-an-na-at-kán na-aš-šu i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi na-aš-ma-at-kán ḫar-pa-an-ta-ri nu-za É-er ták-ša-an šar-ra-an-zi DUMU.MEŠ-az LÚ-aš da-a-i 1 DUMU-AM MUNUS-za da-a-i

"If a free man and a female slave are *šieles*, and they come together, and he takes her as his wife, and they make a house and children, but afterwards either they become estranged or they each find a new marriage partner, they shall divide the house equally, and the man shall take the children, with the woman taking one child."

Almost every commentator or translator of this passage has assumed that, as the first statement in a series of actions leading to marriage, this word ought to mean something like "are in love." Hrozný's "sont épris (l'un de l'autre)" (1922 24-25) is representative of all attempts that followed him.⁴ Only one commentator, F. Imparati, took exception, writing that "innamorati, amanti" are "senza ... alcuna giustificazione" (1964 214). In a sense she was right, since (as I pointed out in Hoffner 1997 184) there already exists in Hittite another word for "lover", namely *pupu-*, and several verbal expressions for being in love. Furthermore, normally in arranged marriages it is not the bride-to-be but her parents who contract the marriage.⁵ One difficulty in reconstructing the circumstances of the case which served as the precedent here is that we are not told who the owner of the slave woman is. It obviously made a difference if the woman's owner was the husband-to-be or someone else. But even if consent of her parents or her owner was necessary, the position of this clause at the very beginning of the sequence could indicate the motivation for the union: a oneness of mind in the two principals. On the other hand, it could also be

³ In late NH the ending *-uš* becomes the regular ending for a merged nom.-acc. pl. com. for all stem classes, with the following exceptions: (1) u-stem adjectives generalize *-aweš* (eliminating the irregular acc. pl. com. in *-amuš*); (2) stems in *-t-* (mostly *-nt-*) use *-eš* with a few exceptions; (3) the relative-interrogative *kui-* generalizes *kuiēš* (see McIntyre cited by Melchert 1995). No such regularity is found for i-stems, which show mostly *-iuš* and *-auš*, but *-ieš* and *-aeš* continue to be found, along with *-iyaš* (and rarely even *-aš* and *-iš*; see Melchert 1995 271).

⁴ Zimmern and Friedrich 1922 10 ("sich zugetan sind"), Walther 1931 252 ("are fond of each other(?)"), Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 219 ("(are) in love(?)"), Neufeld 1951 9 ("are in love"), Friedrich 1959 26-27 ("(ineinander) verliebt (sind)"), Goetze 1969 190 ("are lovers(?)"), von Schuler 1982 102 ("(einander) zugetan(?) (sind)"), Haase 1984 26 ("(einander) zugetan(?) (sind)").

⁵ On the very small role played by romantic love in the contracting of marriages see Imparati 1995 572-573 and Bryce 2002 125-127, 279 n. 14. King Hattušili III emphasizes the role of love in his union with Puduḫepa. For ancient Mesopotamia see Stol 1995 488-490.

that the clause expresses an additional condition of the pair (perhaps a primary one) which was a necessary prerequisite for the terms of the divorce settlement to apply (see below). Clearly, the main point of this law was to give legal guidelines for the division of property and offspring at the time of a divorce.

As to the phonetic shape of the word, what always seemed strange was the initial sign sequence *ši-e-*. Yet aside from half-hearted suggestions that perhaps the first sign was a *wa* (Friedrich 1959 26, 95, followed by Tischler 1982; 2001 148), everyone who has transliterated this law has recognized the initial sign sequence *ši-e-*. Friedrich in his glossary (HW 190) ignored the i-containing value of the first syllable and normalized the word stem as *šēli-(?)*. In ignoring the i-vocalization of the *ši* sign before a sign containing or beginning with *e* Friedrich was following what at the time was a broad consensus among scholars. At that time the word for "beer", written *ši-(i-)eš-šar*, was generally transcribed as *šeššar*, although now it is universally recognized that the correct interpretation of the signs is *ši(y)eššar* (first demonstrated by Neu 1980 XIV n. 3). As a result, Hittitologists today are much less inclined to regard the sign sequence *ši-e-* as /se:/, and regularly interpret it as representing /sie/ or /syē/.

When we keep in mind Goedegebuure's conclusion regarding the pronoun *šia-*, with oblique case forms in *šie-*, a plausible solution to the problems of form and base meaning of *šieles* emerges. The word is an adjective whose stem is based on the genitive of the numeral pronoun "one", **šiel* (attested as *1-e-el*, KUB 23.103 + 23.92 rev 5'). Its base meaning is "(he/she/it/they) of one". Its formation is in every way comparable to the derivation of the ablative *apellaz* from a stem *ape(l)la-* "that of him", on which see below.

If we pursue the matter further, seeking a more precise and contextualized meaning of *šieles* in law §31, several routes are open to us. Translators of law §31 sensed that somewhere early in the sequence of verbs should be an expression of unity or consent. Friedrich and others sought it in the second clause *na-at an-da a-ra-an-zi*. One translation of *anda ar-* used in these treatments was "einig werden" (Friedrich 1959 95; Haase 1984 26), although most scholars agreed that this second clause refers to the beginning of cohabitation ("they come together"). It never occurred to anyone that the idea of being one or agreed could be the meaning of the problematic word *ši-e-le-eš*, but that would certainly be one possibility. Following this theory we could translate the opening clauses of law §31 as follows: "If a free man and a female slave are *of one (mind)*, and they come together (i.e., cohabit), and he takes her as his wife, and they make a house and children, ..." Being "of one (mind)" would include both shared feelings of affection (i.e., being "in love") and a common view of the advisability of marriage (being "agreed"). One might presume, since the described marriage is one crossing social class boundaries, that feelings of affection, or romantic love, would be the primary motive, since why else would a free man marry "beneath himself" socially. But in view of the existence in Hittite law of the *antiyanza* marriage, where a slave could financially induce a free man to marry his daughter,⁶ we cannot exclude non-romantic considerations in entering mixed slave-free marriages.

⁶ See laws §36 (Hoffner 1997 43, 185 with cited literature) and Bryce 2002 123-124.

The lexical text entry 1-*e-la-aš* “single”

Perhaps a better approach is based upon the possible occurrence of a nom. sg. for **šielāš* in the writing 1-*e-la-aš*. In the Boğazköy recension of the Sumero-akkadian lexical series Erim-*huš*, edited first by Otten and von Soden 1968 11, 17 and then again by M. Civil and H. G. Güterbock in MSL 17, there is a series of two consecutive entries (I 53-54):

A?.GA 1-EN 1-*aš*
A?.GA.GA E-DE₄-NU 1-*e-la-aš*

The first is the simple numeral “one” (Akkadian *ištēn*, translated into Hittite as 1-*aš*, i.e., **šiaš*). The second, Akkadian *edēnu* “single, solitary”, is translated into Hittite as 1-*e-la-aš*. Is 1-*elaš* a writing of **šielāš*, a putative singular of *šieleš*? And if so, what is its meaning here, as a translation of Akkadian *edēnu*? In his commentary on the entry Otten (Otten and von Soden 1968 17) analyzed the form as 1-*el* “of one” plus the nom. sg. com. clitic -*aš* “he/she/it”. His translation was “des Einen er”. This, of course, produces an English translation “he of the one”, which is a plausible rendering. But is this the Hittite way of expressing such an idea? Elsewhere in Hittite, when the writer wished to say “he of the theft”, he wrote *šar-ni-ik-zi-la-aš* “(he) of the theft”, not **šar-ni-ik-zi-la-ša-aš* (**šarnikzilaš=aš*) “he of the theft”. 1-*elaš* should mean “of singleness” or “of solitariness”, as the Akkadian *edēnu* means, but not by Otten’s analysis. And if this is its meaning, it is possible to assume its identity with **šielā-*, the putative stem of *šieleš*, as **apella-* is the putative stem of the abl. form *apellaz*.

The base meaning would have been “(that) of one”. In the lexical text the extended meaning is “solitary, alone, single” (Akkad. *edēnu*). In the law text it might also mean “single” in the sense of “unmarried”, providing that the case’s disposition, namely an equal distribution of all property other than offspring between both parties, was possible only if the free man did not have an additional wife. If the man already had a wife, it is conceivable that property rights of a secondary wife would have been more restricted.⁷

The Akkadogram E-DE₄-NU

If this argument holds, then the Hittite reading of the Akkadogram *ĒDĒNU* (wr. E-DE₄-NU) was **šielā-*. This Akkadogram is used in family lists to designate members of the extended household as “unmarried”.⁸ It is not clear from those few contexts whether or not the word was used to designate widowed or divorced persons. A Hittite word for “widowed” (*kurimma-*) exists, to be sure, but is not used in the lists containing E-DE₄-NU, and cannot therefore exclude widowed persons from that referent. A verb exists to

⁷ For the status of the secondary wife in ancient Mesopotamia, whose status relative to the first wife was that of a “slave girl”, see Stol 1995 489. Children born to the first wife subsequent to her husband’s marriage to the second wife received two-thirds of the inheritance. Relative rights of secondary wives in Hittite culture are obscure (nothing is reported by Imparati 1995 573-574 other than the existence of polygamy).

⁸ See KBo 5.7 obv 24, edited by Riemschneider 1958 and Vow of Puduḫepa I 22, III 13 (Otten 1965 22-23, 30-31).

designate the action of divorcing a spouse (*šuwe-*, laws §§26b and c), but its (passive) participle is never used to designate a divorcee.

The Akkadogram *ĒDĒNU* is strictly speaking a masculine form. But since in Hittite there is no feminine form of the word, the Akkadian masculine form served for both unmarried men and women (1 MUNUS-TUM-*ma-aš-ši* E-DE₄-NU EGIR-*an-da pī-ya-an-[za]* “but one unattached woman is afterward given to her” KUB 56.1 i 13, vow of Puduḫepa). 6 E-DE₄-NU-TIM “six unmarried individuals” are also mentioned in KBo 5.7 obv 24, the MH land grant text for Kuwattalla, edited by Riemschneider 1958. Such persons are not called *edēnu* because they live alone, for they are included here within family groups. Rather the word means “unattached, unmarried, single.”

It is possible, although because of the broken context far from certain, that this adjective *šielā/i-* occurs in logographic writing as 1-*e-la* in the following list of foods:

[.....] 2 NINDA.GUR₄.RA ŠÀ-BA 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA[...] (5) [.....] 3 ^{DUG}DĪLIM.GAL ŠÀ-BA 1 ^{DUG}DĪLIM.GAL (6) [... TU₇ g]a-*an-ga-ti* 1 ^{DUG}DĪLIM.GAL TU₇ š[a]-*pu-uk-k[i...]* (7) [.....] za-*an-ni-ta* 1-*e-la* ŠA 1/2 UP-NI (8) [... ke-e]l-*dī-ya šī-pa-an-ti* KUB 45.77 i 4'-8'.

Since *zannita* (a kind of food made from cereals) is a neuter plural, and there is no possibility in this context that the *a* at the end of 1-*e-la* is a conjunction, we can view 1-*e-la* as the neuter plural **šielā*. The plural entity *zannita* is thus described as “of one (sort or consistency)”. Alternatively, Eichner 1992 regards both this 1-*e-la* and the examples of 2-*i-la* as adverbs built with the same -*ila* as is found in *apâšila*, *ukila*, *zikila*. And because of the existence of the form *apâšiluš* he has no difficulty explaining the inflected form 2-*e-lu-uš* discussed below. Yet because of the vowel *e* instead of *i*, I prefer to take this 1-*e-la* as a postposed neuter plural adjective modifying *zannita*.

What would be the meaning here? An adjective modifying food can hardly mean “unmarried”, but from the base meaning “of a single (unit)” it could mean “having the same (ingredient, weight, or size)” or something similar to this. If it refers to weight or size, the immediately following ŠA 1/2 UPNI would specify what that single size/weight was.

In my view the word *šielā-* is not originally a noun, but an adjective built to the genitive of the numerical pronoun “one” *ši-(i-)e-el*. Like many adjectives it could be substantivized, meaning “(a person) of solitariness”, “solitary, single (one)”.

The Degenitival Adjective 2-*ela-*

Like the degenitival adjective *šielā-* (1-*ela-*), there is an identical form built to the number “two”, 2-*ela-*. The form is most clearly identifiable in the following passage from the Hittite translation of the Gilgamesh Epic:

na-at-kán 2-*e-lu-uš-pát* A-NA ^{GIS}MÁ ša-ra-a [pa-a-ir] (19) ^dGILGAMEŠ-uš ^mUr-ša-na-bi-iš-ša
“And they – the twosome (lit., ‘they of the two’) – Gilgamesh and Uršanabi went up into the boat”
KUB 8.50 iii 18-19 (NH).

The context makes it clear that 2-*eluš* is nom. com. plural, which fits the pattern of merged nom. and acc. noun endings in late NH (see above in fn. 3).

The Adverbial Form 2-*ila*

If we were willing to disregard the differing vowel (*i* instead of *e*) preceding the *l*, we could propose that 2-*ila* is merely the nom.-acc. neuter form of the pronominal genitival adjective attested in the nom. pl. common form 2-*e-lu-uš*, discussed above. This is somewhat risky, since normally the distinction of *e* and *i* is a stable one, even in NH. For this reason the explanation of Eichner 1992 38-39, offered for 1-*e-la*, and 2-*i-la*, could still be valid for 2-*i-la*. Several examples follow:

[...(-)l]a^{LÚ.MEŠ} SANGA 2-*i-la*^{URU} Zu-up-pa-ra pa-a-an-zi

"the priests go to Zuppara in pairs (or 'both of them')"

KUB 60.152 i 6.

ap-pé-ez-zi-ya-an-na / ut-tar i-ši-ya-aḫ-ta-ri nu-uš 2-*i-la*-pát ša-ku-wa-an-zi

"And (if) afterwards the matter comes to light, they will šakuwa- (some form of punishment) them both"

KUB 13.9 + 40.62 iii 17-18.⁹

The Degenitival Adjective *apella-*

The question naturally arises from our analysis of *šielā-* (1-*ela-*) and 2-*ela-*: Are there other secure examples within Hittite for creating a new adjectival stem from the pronominal genitive in *-ēl*? I can suggest one convincing example.

The unique form *apellaz* KUB 14.4 iv 23 suggests the existence of yet another substantivized adjective built to the genitive form *apel*. Since *apez* existed to express "from it", it is likely that in the sentence nu MUNUS.LUGAL ammuk DAM=YA DUMU=YA ANA⁴ Išhara (23) [hurza]kkt nu=nnaš=kan anda šipanzaket nu=kan DAM=YA *apellaz* BA.ÚŠ "and the queen kept [curs]ing me, my wife, and my son before (the goddess) Išhara, and kept making offerings against us, and my wife died from the (actions) of that one (i.e., the queen)" KUB 14.4 iv 22-23 the form *apellaz*,¹⁰ instead of just being a meaningless alternative to *apez* (HW² sub *apā*-² 5.4.g "durch jene", and de Martino 1998 38 w. fn. 141), actually meant "from (that) of her" (so Sommer and Falkenstein 1938 93 n. 1, Sommer 1947 87, Kammenhuber 1969 214 "durch das von ihr, durch ihre Machenschaften", Houwink ten Cate apud Josephson 1967 1239 n. 18). This would be a third example of a degenitival adjective in Hittite.

⁹ 2-*i-la* also in broken contexts in KBo 38.87 rev 5 and KBo 17.30 ii 1'.

¹⁰ If a form *apellaz* existed only in clause-initial position, one could always analyze it as *apel* + *-a-ya* + *-z*. But in the position where this *apellaz* occurs this option is not open.

The geminate *l* in *apellaz* for what in pre-NH texts would have been written **apelaz* is due to a NH tendency to geminate intervocalic nasals and liquids, for examples of which see *ku-en-ner* for *ku-e-ner* "they killed", *iš-ḫi-ú-ul-la-aš* for *iš-ḫi-ú-la-aš* "of the treaty", *kat-te-er-ra-* for *kat-te-ra-* "lower". This feature is particularly common in collective plurals with the ending *-i*: *ar-ku-wa-ar-ri*^{HIA} "pleas", *minumarri*^{HIA} "soothings", etc., but is by no means regular there (cf. *kururi*^{HIA} "hostile"). For further examples see Melchert 1994 165.

Since on the basis of the nom. sg. form 1-*e-la-aš* we have determined the stem of *šieleš* to be **šielā-*, we are entitled to assume the same for **apella-*.

The Identity of the Stem and a Theory of its Origin

All three adjectives occur only in post-OH texts: *apellaz* in a text from the latter half of the NH period, 1-*elaš* in a NH lexical text, *šieleš* in a NH supplement to the laws, and 2-*e-lu-uš-pát* in the NH translation of Gilgamesh.

With the growing influence of Luwian on Hittite in the NH period it is quite possible that the declinable possessive adjectives like *apašša/i-* were the source for the creation of similar forms in Hittite based on the genitive forms *šiel*, and *apel*¹¹. When modifying or serving as predicates to neuter *singular* nouns these forms could have been reanalyzed as neuter nom.-acc. singulars of adjectives in *-i/el-* like Luwian *dammi/el(i)-* with zero ending.¹² Once this reanalysis was done, forms like *apellaz* and **šielāš*, *šielā* and *šieleš*, became possible. In this case the predicative use of the gen. forms in *-ēl* of the pronouns could have been the trigger.

A survey of the nominative and accusative singular complemented forms of the numeral "1" reveals the following:

sg. com. nom. 1-*aš* (most common), 1-*iš* (much less common)

sg. com. acc. 1-*an* (most common), 1-*in* (much less common)

Given Goedegebuure's proposal in this volume that the numeral "one" was *šia-* (/sya/) in Hittite, which I accept, the most common forms in *-a-* pose no problem. The rarer variants with *-i-*, however, do. It is always possible that such writings conceal an extended (i.e., derived) stem of the numeral. But since several possibilities exist, it is prudent to allow the context of each attested form to determine the likely identity of the derivative.

The arguments given by me above lead to the conclusion that *šieleš* is based upon a stem **šielā-*, itself ultimately based upon the genitive *šiel* "of one". An alternative account would be that the striking similarity to the attested genitive form *šiel* is

¹¹ Misunderstanding *apel* with a following neuter head noun would have been particularly easy for a Luwian speaker, whose accented possessive pronoun was the inflected *apa(s)si-*.

¹² For the neuter nom.-acc. sg. *dammel* see Hoffner 1997 172-173.

coincidental, and that one should assume a derivational suffix *-(i)li-* or something similar. And could the attested 1-*i-* singular forms be from the assumed stem *šieli-*? Could such a sentence as the following contain **šieliš*?

iš-ta-za-na-aš-mi-iš ka-ra-az-mi-iš-ša! 1-iš ki-ša-at

“Their mind and their soul(?) became (sg. verb) ‘of one’/the same”

KUB 41.23 ii 19'-20'.¹³

Addressing the last question first, I am very skeptical that this passage in fact contained a form of *šieleš*. The presence of the singular verb *kišat* (cf. *kišaru* in the following context) with a compound subject is due entirely to attraction by the singular predicate nominative 1-*iš*. And if 1-*iš* is singular here, one would have to explain in what way the expression differed from the obviously plural *takku X Y-ya šieleš (ašanzi)* of the laws passage. If, on the other hand, this 1-*iš* does not represent a form of *šieleš*, it could simply be the same as the other words, singular in their contexts, written 1-*iš* and 1-*in*.

Returning to the first question, were the attested plural *šieleš* a derivative in *-ili-*, one would rather expect **ši(y)ail(i)eš* or **šil(i)eš*, given the base form *šia-* (*šya-*) of the numeral. Nor would this account allow an explanation for the parallel formation *apellaz*.

If the equation of 1-*e-la-aš* in the Boğazköy Erimḫuš entry with the putative nom. sg. of *šieleš* stands, it excludes the alternate theory that *šieleš* is from a stem **šieli-*, a derivative in *-ili-* from the numeral *šia-* “one”. The forms 1-*iš* and 1-*in* must be otherwise accounted for.

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¹³ A further example of this construction, also from a NH copy of an OH text, is: *nu BAPPIR BULUG-ša (8) [ma-ah-ha-a]n i[š-ta-(an-za-ni-it tak-ša-an-d)]a-ri nu ZI-ŠU-NU (9) [ŠA-ŠU-NU (1-iš ki-ša-ri)]* “As beer-bread and malt are joined in ‘soul’, and their ‘soul’ and heart becomes one” KUB 33.6 (+) 33.7 iii 7-9, ed. Mazoyer 2003 58, 84 “leur âme, [leur cœur] forment un tout”.

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