

DANUḪEPA AND KURUNTA

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Prof. Fiorella Imparati, a dear friend and colleague, was a leading expert on Hittite prosopography. With unparalleled skill she wove together the various fragmentary threads of information, bringing to life many a Hittite nobleman, cult functionary, or administrator. Reconstructing the biography of an ancient personage may be both exciting and frustrating. The source material is notoriously fragmentary, and some Hittite texts, especially those dealing with court scandals, often conceal the identity of key figures behind cryptic identifications, familiar to the ancients but elusive to us. A lot of creativity is needed to fill in the large gaps in the plot, and one often has the feeling of walking a tight rope between cautious reconstruction and wild imagination. Sometimes, new evidence conclusively proves or disproves a certain biographical reconstruction, but more often its force will remain hinged upon its plausibility.¹

The elusive figure of Queen Danuḫepa has often been discussed over the last sixty years, but still her basic profile remains quite fluid.² In his first comprehensive collection of textual and glyptic data H. G. Güterbock (1940: 11-16, 60) identified her as Muwatalli II's wife, who was deposed by him in the wake of a court trial, but was later rehabilitated by Urḫi-Tešub as the acting queen (*tawannanna*). Some confusion arose when it was discovered that Urḫi-Tešub also bore the throne name Muršili, like his grandfather (Güterbock 1956; Otten 1993: 27). Both kings employed the same hieroglyphs when writing their name on seals, but E. Laroche (1956: 106) observed some minor differences between the seals of Muršili II and Muršili III/Urḫi-Tešub, which were then developed by Th. Beran (1967: 74 f.) into an integral classification of the Muršili seals. Since the Muršili seals shared with Danuḫepa seemed to fall into both categories, she was henceforth considered to be the last wife of Muršili II, who survived him and served as *tawannanna* during the reigns of

¹ The regretted Prof. O.R. Gurney and Prof. J.D. Hawkins have read an early version of this article and I have greatly profited from their remarks.

² For a recent discussion of the textual and glyptic evidence on Danuḫepa, with references to earlier studies, see van den Hout 1998: 44-53.

Muwatalli II and Urhi-Tešub. Although this was but one of the three theoretical options proposed by Laroche (1956: 105), most scholars have embraced it, and Danuḫepa's marriage to Muṣili II has become a rarely questioned common opinion in Hittitology.³

First doubts concerning the validity of this scenario were raised by Th. van den Hout (1998: 47 ff.), who pointed out that the criteria for distinguishing between the seals of Muṣili II and Muṣili III are no longer reliable. But, as often happens, the existing paradigm persists, even though its original grounds are no longer valid. Van den Hout himself has found a possible hint for Danuḫepa having been the last wife of Muṣili II in a vow text (KUB 15.5+ i 7-17) in which Danuḫepa and a (step-) grandmother, allegedly Urhi-Tešub's, appear in two consecutive dreams (1998: 48 f.). He admits, however, that "this remains conjectural". It seems to me that until some binding evidence to the contrary turns up, it is safer to return to the simple scenario formulated by Güterbock some sixty years ago, namely, that Danuḫepa first enters the Hittite courtlife as the wife of Muwatalli II. This position is now maintained by P. Neve in his preliminary reports on the royal seals from Nišantepe, where he attributes all the seals on which Danuḫepa appears together with a Muṣili to Urhi-Tešub/Muṣili III (1992: 54; cf. also Börker-Klähn 1996: 49).

Except for her seals, we have no other data on Danuḫepa from texts dated to her husband Muwatalli. Our information comes from later kings, a fact which calls for caution. The most explicit reference to her trial and downfall is found in the prayer of Ḫattušili to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, in which he excuses himself from any responsibility for alleged sins committed by his predecessors.⁴ The relevant passage (i 16'-ii 22) is augmented by an important join, 1193/u, which has occasionally been referred to in the past,⁵ but was never fully published. I use this occasion to provide a transliteration and translation of the augmented passages (along with their context) in iii 33'-45' and in ii 1-12, which will be

discussed subsequently.⁶ I wish to thank Prof. Heinrich Otten for his kind permission to utilize this join also in my forthcoming volume of *Hittite Prayers* in translation (*SBL Writings from the Ancient World Series*).

Rev. iii

- 30' *am-mu-uk-ma ŠA EN-YA TUKU.TUKU-an*
 31' *ŠA LU^{MF} TAP-PÍ-YA-ia kur-ku-[ri-im-m]a-an Ú-UL iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un*
 32' *nu-za-kán ki-i x-x[-(-x)-x] ta-ma-aš-šu-un*
 33' *ki-i-ma-za-kán x[-x(-x)]-x ta-ma-aš-šu-un nu kiš-an me-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un*
 34' *ku-it-ma-an-wa^{URU} Ne-ri-iq-qa-an da-me-e-da-ni pí-iḫ-ḫi*
 35' *nu-wa A-NA^{URU} Ne-ri-ik še-er ag-gal-lu-pát nu-za am-mu-uk*
 36' *DUMU A-MI-LU-UT-TI e-šu-un nu-kán ŠA DUMU A-MI-LU-UT-TI*
 37' *NÍG.TUKU-TI an-da Ú-UL da-ri-ia-nu-un nu-za <NÍG.>TUKU-an*
 38' *Ú-UL ša-an-ḫu-[u]n nu-kán tu-el ŠA DINGIR^{LIM} A-NA KUR^{TI}*
 39' *ŠA DUMU-KA še-er [x(-x)-u]n nu am-mu-uk GIM-an DUMU A-MI-LU-UT-TI*
 40' *a-pa-a-at i-ia-n[u-un] nu ŠA^{DU} URU^{URU} Ne-ri-ik DUMU-KA*
 41' *a-aš-ši-ia-an AŠ-RU^{URU} Ne-ri-iq-qa-an URU-an e-ep-pu-un*
 42' *^{DU}UTU^{URU} TÚL-na-ma GAŠAN-YA <GAŠAN>KUR.KUR^{HIA}*
^{URU}HA-AT-TI^{DU} URU^{URU} HAT-TI EN-YA
 43' *A-NA INIM^{DU} URU^{URU} Ne-ri-ik DUMU-KA a-aš-ši-ia-an-ti še-er*
 44' *ku-u-un me-mi-an i-ia-at-ten ma-a-an DINGIR^{MF}-aš pí-ra-an ku-iš-ki*
 45' *at-ta-aš-ma-aš an-na-aš-ma-aš wa-aš-ta-iš e-eš-zi*

Rev. iv

- 1 *na-aš-ma-aš ma-a-an ka-ru-ú-i-ḫi-aš ...]*
 2 *wa-aš-ta-iš na-an DINGIR^{LIM} GAŠAN-YA ša-an-a[ḫ-ti]*
 3 *nu DINGIR^{LIM} GAŠAN-YA a-pa-a-at wa-aš-tul A-NA^{DU} URU^{URU} Ne-ri-ik DUMU-KA]*
 4 *a-aš-ši-an-ti še-er ar-ḫa pé-eš-ši-ia*

⁶ The hymnic introduction in obv. i has the following ends of lines: (1) ^{URU}Ha-at-ti; (nothing in ll. 2-4); (5) *ku-iš ta-pa-ar-ti*; (6) GAŠAN-YA; (7) *an-da a-ut-ti*; (8) ^{DU}UTU^{URU} TÚL-na. Rev. iv is not preserved on 1193/u.

³ See, e.g., Houwink ten Cate 1994: 239 (with previous bibliography); Bryce 1998: 264; Klengel 1999: 208. One of the few dissenting opinions was Bin-nun's (1975: 277), who categorically stated that "she [Danuḫepa] was certainly not Muṣili's wife".

⁴ CTH 383: KUB 21.19 + 1193/u (+) KUB 14.7+ 1303/u (+) Bo 4222 + 338/v. The text or parts of it have often been dealt with, a.o.: Haas 1970: *passim*; Archi 1971: 190 ff.; Ünal 1974: *passim*; Lebrun 1980: 309-328; Sørensen 1981: 88-108; Marazzi 1983: 331-340 (with joinsketch); Houwink ten Cate 1987: 21 f.; Güterbock 1988.

⁵ Marazzi 1983: 386; CHD, L-N: 272; HED, A: 19. Lebrun (1980) and Sørensen (1981) were apparently unaware of the existence of this join.

(iii 30'-31') I listened neither to my lord's anger nor to the intimidation of my associates. (32'-33') I repressed this [...] and I repressed this [...], and I said as follows: (34'-35') "Before I give Nerik to another let me rather die for Nerik!" (35'-38') I was but a human, but I did not toil for human wealth. I did not seek wealth(!).⁷ (38'-39') Rather, I [...] the land of yours, O Goddess, for the sake of your son. (39'-41') And as [I], a human, did it, (namely,) I took the beloved place of the Storm-god of Nerik, your son, the city of Nerik, (42'-44') O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, <mistress> of the lands of Hattuša, O Storm-god of Hattuša, my lord, do this thing for the sake of the matter of the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved son! (44'-45') If before the gods there is some sin of my father and my mother, (iv 1-4) or if it is [some(?)] ancient sin,⁹ and you goddess, my lady, pursue it, repress that sin O Goddess, my lady, for the sake of the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved [son]...

Obv. i

- 16' *ma-a-an-ma-kán ú-it ŠA É.LUGAL DI-NU ŠA 'Da-n[u-hé-pa]*
 17' *ŠA SAL.AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}-KA ki-ša-at 'Da-nu-hé-pa-an G[IM-an te-ep-nu-ut nu]*
 18' *QA-DUDUMU^{MIS}-ŠÚUKU^{MIS}-tar-ra hu-u-ma-an BE-LU^{MIS}-[ia]*
 19' *EGIR-iz-zi-uš-ša UKU^{MIS}-tar ku-wa-pí har-ak-ta*
 20' *ŠA 'Da-nu-hé-pa-ma har-ga-aš A-NA DUTU URU^{URU}TÚL-na [GAŠAN-YA]*
 21' *ma-a-an ZI-an-[z]a e-eš-ta*

Obv. ii

- 1 *ma-a-an-ši-ia-aš Ú-UL ZI-an-za e-eš-ta*
 2 *nu-kán a-pád-da-ia A-NA ZI DINGIR^{LIM} GAŠAN-YA an-da*
 3 *Ú-UL ku-iš-ki ša-ak-ta am-mu-uk-ma-za-kán*
 4 *a-pé-e-da-ni ŠA 'Da-nu-hé-pa DUMU-ŠU*
 5 *har-ga-na-aš me-mi-ni an-da Ú-UL e-šu-un*
 6 *še-cr-ši im-ma ha-an-ne-iš-ki-nu-un*
 7 *ge-en-zu-ia-aš-mu e-eš-ta am-me-el-ma KA^xUD-aš*
 8 *me-mi-ia-ni-it ta-pa-ri-ia-az Ú-UL*
 9 *ku-iš-ki har-ak-ta a-pa-at-ma HUL-lu ut-tar*

⁷ Assuming the omission of NÍG before TUKU.

⁸ There seems to be space for only one sign, two at the most. *e-ep-pu-un*, "I took" (cf. l. 41') does not fit, unless spelled [DIB-u]n.

⁹ So with Otten 1958: 118. Sørenhagen 1981: 96 restores "sin of ancient [kings]".

- 10 *i-ia-at ku-iš nu-kán ma-a-an DUTU URU^{URU} A-ri-in-na GAŠAN-YA*
 11 *A-NA INIM 'Da-nu-hé-pa še-cr TUKU.TUKU-iš-ta ku-it-ki*
 12 *nu a-pa-a-at-ta-ia ut-tar ŠA 'Da-nu-hé-pa i-ia-a[t k]u-iš*
 13 *nu-za a-pa-a-ša DINGIR^{LIM}-iš ka-ru-ú ki-ša-at*
 14 *na-aš-kán KASKAL-az ar-ḥa ti-ia-at*
 15 *na-at IŠ-TU SAG.D[U-Š] Ú ka-ru-ú pa-ra-a šar-ni-ik-ta*
 16 *nu DUTU URU^{URU} A-ri-in-na GAŠAN-YA ŠA 'Da-nu-hé-pa ut-tar*
 17 *am-me-el U^{HLA}-aš am-mu-uk A-NA KUR URU^{URU} HA-AT-TI-ia*
 18 *me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da EGIR-pa le-e [ḥ]u-it-ti-at-[t]*
 19 *a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-wa-an ut-tar am-mu-uk [me-n]a-aḥ-ḥ[a-an-da]*
 20 *am-me-el U^{HLA}-aš EGIR-pa hu-it-ti-ia-u-wa-an-z[ḫ]*
 21 *Ú-UL a-ra-a-an ŠA 'Da-nu-hé-pa-ma ut-tar [ku-iš]*
 22 *pa-ra-a i-ia-at ka-ru-ú a-pa-a-aš-pát šar-ni-ik-ḫa*

(i 16'-21') When it came to pass that the trial of Danuḥepa, your priestess, took place in the palace, [how he curtailed the power of] Danuḥepa until she was ruined together with her children and all her men, lords and subordinates, that which was inside the soul of the goddess, my lady, nobody knew, namely, whether the ruination of Danuḥepa was the wish of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [my lady], (ii 1-5) or whether it was not her wish. In any case, I was not involved in that matter of the ruination of Danuḥepa's son. (ii 6-9) On the contrary, when I passed judgement over him, he was dear to me.¹⁰ Nobody was destroyed by the order of the word of my mouth. (ii 9-15) The one who did that evil thing — if somehow the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, became angry over the matter of Danuḥepa — that one who did that matter of Danuḥepa has already become a god. He stepped down from the road and paid for it with his head. (ii 16-22) O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! Do not drag up again the matter of Danuḥepa against me and the land of Hattuša during my days! To drag up again such a thing against me during my days is not right. The one who has carried out the matter of Danuḥepa, that one has already paid for it himself.

Although Hattušili tactfully omits the name of the person responsible for the downfall of Danuḥepa and her entire retinue, the relative position of this affair in the prayer — between the transfer of the capital to Tarḫuntašša (i 1'-15') and the death of Muwatalli (ii 23) — leaves no

¹⁰ Lit.: "he was on my lap", taking *genzuia* as a dat.-loc. sg. of *genzu*, "(lower) abdomen, lap" (HED, K: 154).

doubt that it took place during the reign of the latter. That the unnamed son of Danuḥepa must have shared the fate of his mother has always been suspected,¹¹ but the new join confirms it, and, more importantly, it adds new insight into Hattušili's position in the affair. He stresses that he was not in any way involved in the downfall of Danuḥepa's son, on the contrary, he showed mercy towards him. Who was this mysterious son of Danuḥepa? According to the current view of Danuḥepa's biography, he was a son from her marriage with Muršili II, a rival candidate to the throne who was pushed aside in order to ensure Urḫi-Tešub's succession (Houwink ten Cate 1994: 240, 243; van den Hout 1998: 50). But if, as suggested above, Danuḥepa was Muwatalli's wife, her unnamed son must have been a first rank son of Muwatalli, who was expelled from the palace together with his mother.

Before we suggest an obvious candidate for the identity of this unnamed son of Danuḥepa, it is necessary to tackle another deeply rooted view in Hittitology, namely, that Muwatalli did not have any sons of first rank.¹² This view is based first of all on circumstantial evidence, namely, the fact that the son of a secondary wife, Urḫi-Tešub, inherited Muwatalli's throne. An alleged support for this conclusion was provided by Hattušili's explicit statement concerning the circumstances of Urḫi-Tešub's coronation. However, the rendering of this statement in the Autobiography of Hattušili and in a related text is in serious need of revision after the discovery of a small but important join by S. Košak (1996).

Hatt. iii 40'-43':¹³ Therefore, since my brother did not have a *huiḫu(i)ššuwali*- son [of his wife(?)], I took up Urḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife, and I put him into lordship over the Hatti Land.

KUB 21.15 + 760/v i 5'-10' (with dupl. KBo 6.29 i 33-38): When my brother died, and since my brother did not yet have a *huiḫuiššuwali*- son of his wife, out of regard for my brother I took

up Ur[ḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife], and I put him in kingship on [the throne of his father].

The new join has eliminated the ghost word **šahuiḫu(i)ššuwali*-, which was generally rendered as "legitimate", and we are now faced with a reduplicated adjective which must be analyzed as *hui-ḫu(i)ššu-ali*- (Košak 1996: 96). From the four attested occurrences of this word (in two texts of Hattušili) it appears that the qualifier "of his wife" (*ŠA DAM-ŠU*) is not an indispensable element of the expression. As for its meaning, the traditional translation "legitimate" may be disregarded, because it would be redundant to append it to the son of a principal wife. Košak (1996: 97) suggested "own" ("leiblich"), but A. Götze's "adult" ("grossjährig", Hatt.: 47, 109) seems to make more sense, especially in combination with *nawi*, "not yet." What the passage seems to imply is that when Muwatalli died he must have had at least one son of his principal wife, but this son was not yet old enough or capable of ruling. Hattušili's emphatic statement must refer either to Danuḥepa's son, or to another son, born from a second marriage of Muwatalli after the expulsion of Danuḥepa and her son from the palace.¹⁴ Only under these special circumstances did Hattušili offer the crown to Urḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife. Actually, we now know that Hattušili gives himself too much credit for this coronation, since Urḫi-Tešub appears on the seals from Nišantepe as the officially nominated successor to the throne (see below).

Besides its lexicographical contribution, the new join has removed the last support for the generally held view according to which Muwatalli did not sire any sons of first rank. Perhaps we were too much influenced by the denigrating characterization of Urḫi-Tešub in the texts of Hattušili and his followers. But, in fact, none of these texts ever describes in similar terms Muwatalli's other son, Kurunta. As far as I can see, he is never defined as a "son of second rank" (¹⁰*pahḫurzi*-) or the son of a "secondary wife" (^{8M}*EŠERTU*), although reasons and occasions to belittle his dynastic rights were certainly not lacking. This fact is in itself quite noteworthy, and it gains in significance when we recall the remarkable statement in the Bronze Tablet according to which Muwatalli entrusted Hattušili with the upbringing of Kurunta (Bo 86/299 i 12-13; Otten 1988: 10). Now, why would a king send away his own first rank son from the palace to the distant provincial

¹¹ Güterbock 1940: 13; Sörenhagen 1981: 92 f.; Houwink ten Cate 1994: 240, with n. 16; van den Hout 1998: 50.

¹² E.g., Houwink ten Cate 1994: 233, 243; Imparati 1995: 148; van den Hout 1997: 1109; 1998: 47 f.

¹³ Restored from two duplicates of the Autobiography: 1194/v + KUB 19.68 iii 1' + 922/v iii 9' (CTH 81.E); KUB 9.64 i 11f. (CTH 1.F). See Otten 1981: 20 f.; Košak 1996: 97.

¹⁴ If so, this hypothetical second wife might have effected her queenship already in the new capital Tarḫuntašša, which would explain her absence from the seals of Muwatalli.

capital of his brother? I would like to offer a general explanation which may clarify at once these strange happenings at the court of Muwatalli. The new seal impressions from Nišantepe provide some crucial hints for the reconstruction of the picture.¹⁵

No doubt one of the most surprising results emerging from the classification of the Nišantepe hoard is the massive presence of Urḫi-Tešub, whose name appears on nearly 600 bullae (Neve 1992: 54; Houwink ten Cate 1994: 235). It is now clear that, contrary to the impression left by Hattušili's reports, Urḫi-Tešub was not an obscure bastard discovered in Muwatalli's harem, but rather the officially nominated successor to the throne.¹⁶ On one of his seals J. D. Hawkins (2001) has recently managed to read the cuneiform legend *tuhkanti*. On the basis of the glyptic evidence alone one would even be tempted to follow P. Neve (1992: 54) in considering Danuḫepa to be simply Urḫi-Tešub's mother, in square contradiction to Hattušili's testimony. However, the author of the intriguing text KUB 31.66+, most probably Urḫi-Tešub, declares himself reluctant to take sides in the conflict between his father and Danuḫepa (iii 5, 15).¹⁷ This designation would be most unusual if Danuḫepa were indeed Urḫi-Tešub's mother (Houwink ten Cate 1994: 241). Therefore, it seems better to accept in this case Hattušili's testimony about Urḫi-Tešub's mother at face value.

Why did Muwatalli appoint as his successor the son of a secondary wife? Perhaps at the time of Urḫi-Tešub's appointment as *tuhkanti* Danuḫepa had yet not borne a son, or if she had, he was not of age to fulfill this high position. This latter possibility could be exactly what the expression "not yet *huiḫuiššuwali*-" means in the texts of Hattušili quoted above. To be sure, there could be other explanations as well, perhaps connected to palace intrigues unknown to us. There are countless similar situations, indeed, a short while later, when Tudḫaliya overtook his older brother in the race for the throne of Hatti, no doubt thanks to the machinations of his influential mother, Puduḫepa (Imparati 1995: 151 ff.).

For reasons unknown to us, at some point in Muwatalli's reign Danuḫepa lost grace in the eyes of her husband. He conducted a lawsuit

against her and expelled her from the palace together with her children and her entire retinue. She must have been a very important personage,¹⁸ for the next kings of Hattuša went out of their way to distance themselves from any responsibility for her mistreatment.¹⁹ The unnamed son of Danuḫepa and Muwatalli, as was often the case in such family scandals,²⁰ probably shared the fate of his mother and was sent away from the palace. But, as a royal offspring of first rank, he was spared a grim fate. Hattušili himself stresses in his prayer that he treated the boy with compassion and was in no way involved in his downfall. Could this unnamed royal prince be no other than Kurunta who was entrusted by Muwatalli to Hattušili? If indeed Danuḫepa and Kurunta were mother and son, Muwatalli's rather unusual fatherly decision to send away his own son from the palace would become somewhat more comprehensible.

Is there any additional support to our tentative suggestion that Kurunta was Danuḫepa's son?²¹ I am not aware of any evidence explicitly associating the two, but reference can be made to two oracle texts in which Kur(unta) is mentioned alongside an unnamed royal couple who may, or may not, be Muwatalli and Danuḫepa. According to KUB 5.13 obv. 1 ff. (see van den Hout 1998: 90 f.) the Storm-god of Šapinuwa was angry at His Majesty, the Queen, and Kurunta (^dKAL). The text may of course refer to Hattušili, Puduḫepa and their protégé Kurunta (del Monte 1978: 348), but could also refer to Muwatalli, Danuḫepa and their son Kurunta. The same applies to the large oracle text KUB 5.24+ which deals with the affair of a certain *Kur*, probably an abbreviation for Kurunta (van den Hout 1998: 94 ff., 245 ff.). Particularly noteworthy is the report on the dream of the queen (ii 12-14), according to which the Sun-goddess of Arinna took up again the matter of Kur(unta). The following dream of His Majesty (ii 14-16) is more obscure, and the whole matter is thoroughly investigated by various divination experts (ii 17 ff.). Could this obscure reference conceal somehow the background for Muwatalli's estrangement from his wife and his son? We shall probably

¹⁵ For preliminary reports on the Nišantepe glyptic archive, see Neve 1992: 49 ff.; Otten 1993: 7-9; 1995: 5-7; Hawkins 1998: 76 ff.

¹⁶ Houwink ten Cate (1994: 242) has already concluded (on the basis of KUB 21.33) that "already before his accession Urḫi-Tešub played a political role of some importance during the final phases of his father's reign".

¹⁷ KUB 31.66+ iii 4'-21'; Güterbock 1940: 14 f., 60; Houwink ten Cate 1974: 132; 1994: 241; van den Hout 1998: 51.

¹⁸ As shown, among other things, by a fine seal impression from Nišantepe portraying Danuḫepa alone (Neve 1992: 58, Abb. 157; Börker-Klähn 1996: 48 ff.).

¹⁹ For a presentation and discussion of the relevant passages in texts of Urḫi-Tešub, Hattušili and Tudḫaliya, see van den Hout 1998: 49 ff.

²⁰ E.g., the case of Utri-Šarruma, the son of Ammištamru, king of Ugarit, and of the ill-fated Amurrite princess (*bittu rabiti*), who followed his mother into exile and lost his dynastic rights (Singer 1999: 681, with refs.).

²¹ I first put forward this tentative suggestion in the discussion that followed my lecture at the Third International Congress of Hittitology at Çorum in Sept. 1996. Cf. also Börker-Klähn 1996: 49 (without any argumentation).

never have a certain answer for this and many other questions relating to the agitated age of Muwatalli II.

Finally, if this tentative reconstruction of the “Danuḫepa Affair” is valid, we ought to examine the attitude of the following kings towards Kurunta. If a first rank son of Muwatalli grew up “on the lap” of Ḫattušili, why wasn’t he put on the throne? There are several possible answers, and the truth may include several of them. Perhaps Kurunta was still too young to become king,²² or, as Ḫattušili explicitly says, he respected Muwatalli’s choice of Urḫi-Tešub as his successor. Last but not least, perhaps Ḫattušili had already foreseen the ensuing developments, and he estimated that it would be easier to deal in the future with the son of a secondary wife than with a first rank successor of Muwatalli, for whom he had other plans. That Urḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife, readily accepted the throne prepared for him needs no further comment. His relations with his half-brother Kurunta are not known, but he did rehabilitate his step-mother Danuḫepa, as shown by their shared seals (Neve 1992: 87). And last, Ḫattušili, who emerged from the civil war as the strongest man in the kingdom, found the most convenient compromise between his ambition and his conscience. He put Kurunta on the throne of his father in Tarḫuntašša, thus *formally* keeping his duty towards Muwatalli and his legitimate heir, while he himself sat on the vacant throne of Ḫattuša and made the necessary preparations for his own succession. As pointed out by F. Imparati in her brilliant analysis of Ḫattušili’s political aims in his so-called Apology, one of the main purposes of this text was “to point out to Kurunta and any of his followers that he had already been well taken care of and that now he must leave the way free for Tuthaliya” (1995: 154). The ensuing developments in the Divided Kingdom did not conform with Ḫattušili’s wishes.

²² Prof. O.R. Gurney has raised (letter of 24. 10. 2000) an objection to the possibility that Kurunta could still have been a young boy when his father died, on the basis of a fragmentary line in KUB 21.37, 37’, a proclamation of Ḫattušili (CTH 85.2): ... *Ḫattušan ḫumandan ANA Ulmi-Tešub* f... All commentators of this text have followed Meriggi (1962: 67) in restoring a verb of “giving/conferring”. This would mean that Ulmi-Tešub, alias Kurunta, was at this time a mature man, able to take over the administration of “all of Ḫattuša.” I am dealing with this text in another article (forthcoming), in which I propose a different restoration and interpretation of the phrase, one that conforms with the proposals put forward in the present article.

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