



Further Notes on the Hittite Laws

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE HITTITE LAWS

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The classification of the various manuscripts of the Hittite Laws given by the present author in a review of J. Friedrich's edition, JCS XV (1961) 62-64, as well as the parallel listings of A. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII (1961) 78-82 and 124-127, can now be supplemented and in part modified on the basis of an inspection of the originals in Istanbul and Ankara carried out in the autumn of 1961.

It was found that copies D and E of the First Series (KBo VI 6 and 7, in Istanbul) are indeed parts of the same tablet. Reverse col. iv of No. 6 (Hrozný: "Zu Nr. 6 gehört als Rückseite Columne IV höchstwahrscheinlich das folgende Fragment") joins the obverse back-to-back, preserving the upper edge of the obverse = lower of the reverse; cf. the photographs in Neufeld,¹ figs. 12-13. No. 7 is the lower end of col. iii of the same tablet, its lines 1-4 just touching the broken protrusion visible to the right of the colophon, *ibid.* fig. 13.

It seemed to me on the basis of clay and handwriting that copies O and Q are in all likelihood parts of one tablet, as tentatively suggested by Ehelolf, KUB XXIX, Vorwort, ad Nos. 18 and 20 (Bo 6186 and Bo 1923, in Istanbul).

Copies L and P (KUB XXIX 14 and 19, 39/e and 266/c, in Ankara) have the same clay and the same handwriting; thus they form tablets I and II, respectively, of one two-tablet manuscript.

The fragments N and V (248/f = KUB XXIX 17, and 170/q, both in Ankara) join each other: N is the end of col. i, V the end of col. ii, the lower edge with "Randleiste" running through. In addition, there is a dividing line at the end of col. ii after only two lines, indicating that §71 in this copy was split in two sections, probably after *nan LUGAL-an aška unnai* of Friedrich's main text, lines 63f.

Concerning the old ductus, it was seen that copy A of Series I (KBo VI 2 = Bo 2097, in

Istanbul) has it quite clearly, just as copy M (KUB XXIX 16 = Bo 1789, in Istanbul). Copy K (KUB XXIX 13 = 2627/c, in Ankara) may also be in the old handwriting, although the bad state of preservation (cf. phot. Neufeld, figs. 24-25) makes a decision difficult.

Of the old manuscript of Series II, the eight fragments listed by Friedrich as q₁-q₈ are indeed all parts of one tablet. A hand copy of this text is presented below.

However, inspection of the originals (in Ankara) of the fragments subsumed under Friedrich's siglum o (o₁-o₇) showed that instead of one copy we are here dealing with fragments of three different manuscripts, since the handwriting differs. Fragments o₁ + o₂ + o₃ (KUB XXIX 21+22+23) are one copy, for which the siglum o may be retained; another copy is represented by o₄ (+) o₅ (No. 26 on the right, No. 27 on the left, with a gap between them); a third copy is formed by o₆ + o₇ (Nos. 34+37). New sigla, v and w, respectively, are proposed here for these two additional one-tablet copies.²

Copies k and m (KBo XIII 14+16) were joined in Istanbul by H. Otten.³

Copies e₁ and e₂ (KBo VI 14 and 18) join each other back-to-back (see already Hrozný in KBo VI). Copy i (KBo VI 19) belongs to the same tablet according to the clay and ductus;⁴ its column iii must have contained §47 bis of Friedrich between the break and the lower edge, before §163/48 of e, col. iv, top.

Concerning the combination of fragments of tablets I and II of the Second Series in two-

2. Friedrich's sigla run up to t; u was proposed JCS XV 63 for KUB XIII 31.

3. Cf. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 126 n. 3; my own footnote, JCS XV 64 n. 9a, referred to the only mention of this "join" available to me at the time, but failed to bring out Otten's priority. R. Haase, ZA 54 (1961) 104; the same, *Der privatrechtliche Schutz der Person und der einzelnen Vermögensrechte in der hethitischen Rechtssammlung* (Diss. Tübingen, 1961), pp. 155f.

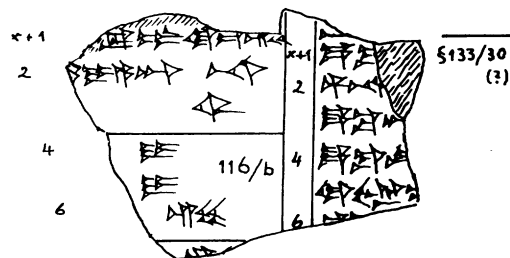
4. Cf. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 125 under 6.

1. E. Neufeld, *The Hittite Laws*. London, 1951.

§106/6 Col. I

§107/7

38 (q₈) Col. II



below middle

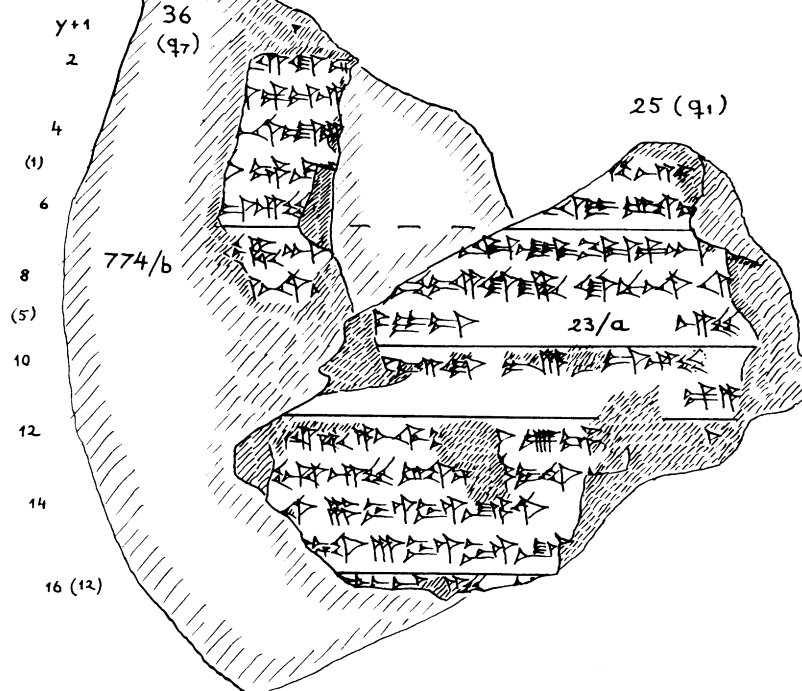
§118/15

§119/16

§120/17

§121/18

§122/19



Col. II cont.
next page

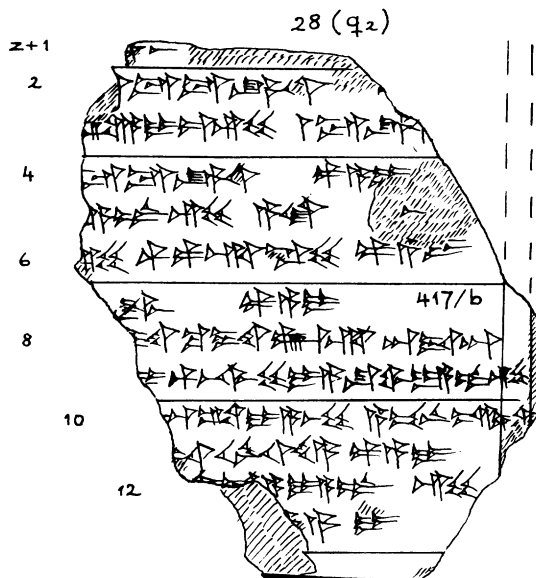
§125/22

§126/23(a)

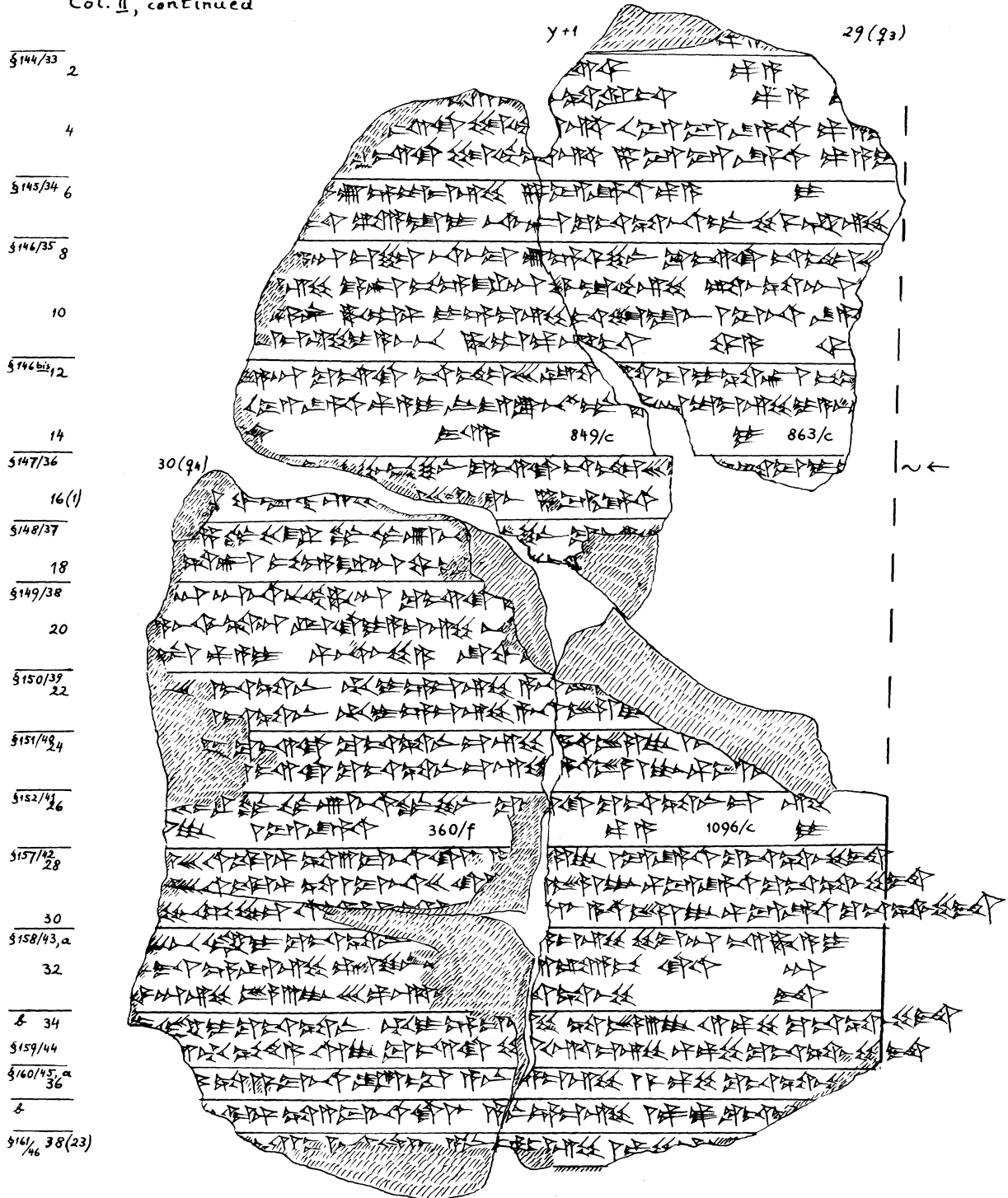
(b)

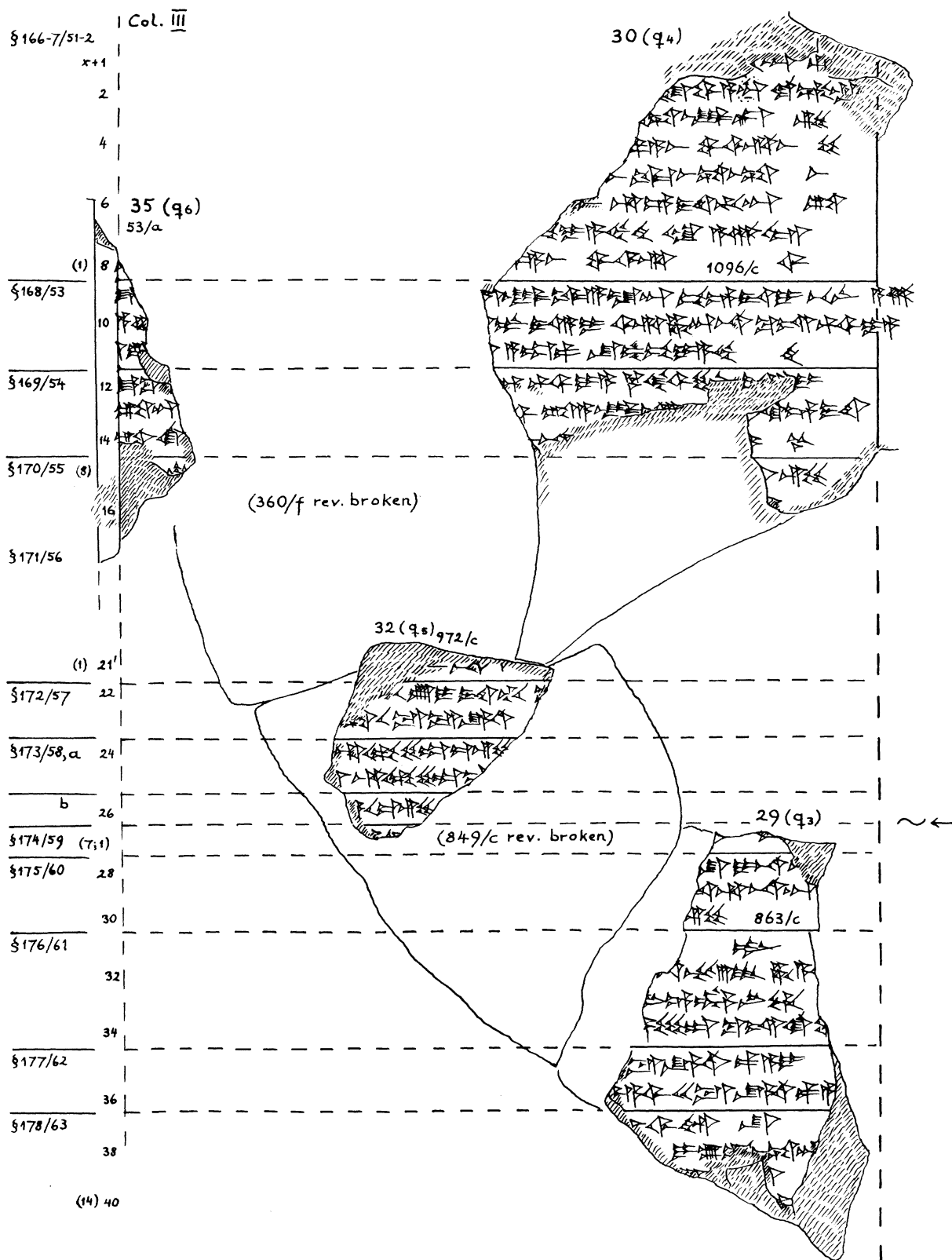
§127/24

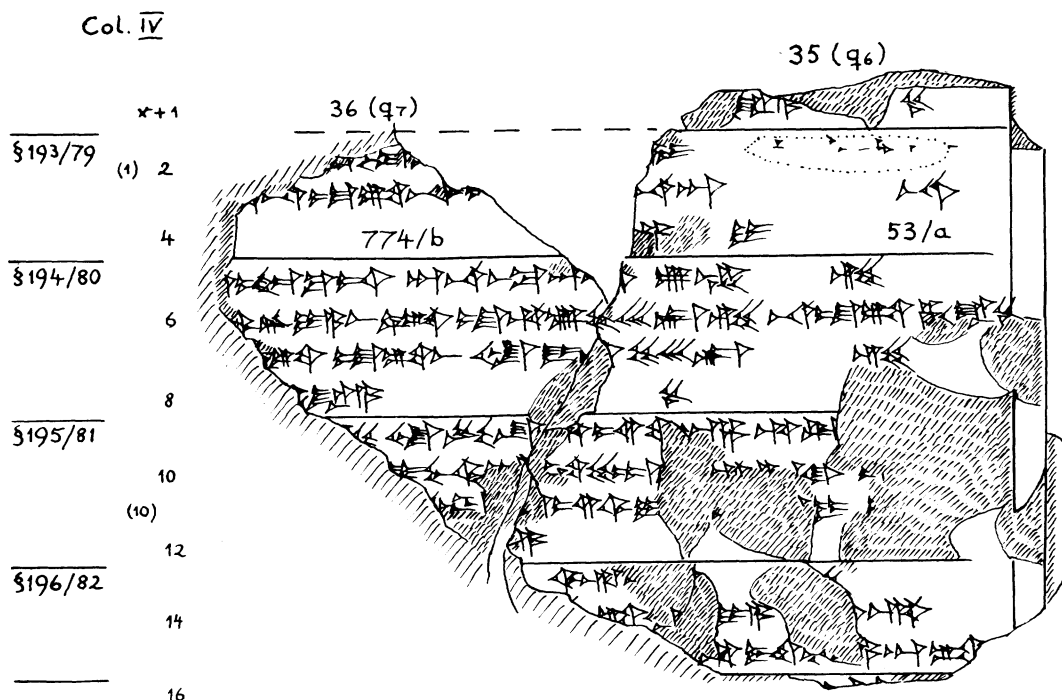
§128/25



Col. II, continued







tablet manuscripts, the combination of b (KBo VI 11) as tablet I with d (+) n (KBo VI 13 and KUB XIII 30) as tablet II, proposed JCS XV 64, was confirmed by the identity of handwriting.⁵

Also according to the ductus, copies h (KBo VI 17) and j (KBo VI 26) are parts of the same manuscript, as tablets I and II, respectively. Here again, as in b and d, one law is repeated at the end of the first and the beginning of the second tablet, in this case §157/42 (in h this must have been followed in the break by only the colophon or — as in j — an empty space). In my copy of Neufeld I noted that the handwriting of p (KUB XXIX 24 = Bo 1619) is the same as that of h, so that p would also be part of tablet I of this copy; unfortunately I failed to check this point in Istanbul, or, in other words, the similarity did not strike me when I looked at the originals.⁶

In contrast to the existence of two-tablet manuscripts written by the same hand *within* each of the two series, I did not see any identity of handwriting *between* any copies of Series I

5. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 125b under 2, overlooked the fact that overlaps of the last/first paragraph are well attested; for some examples see JCS XV 64 n.10.

6. Cf. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 125 under 7.

and II. This may be oversight, but at least I did not notice a clear case in which the same hand had written a copy of *takku* LÚ-aš and one of *takku* GIŠ.GEŠTIN-aš.

On the basis of the above observations the following table can now be presented.⁷

First Series

A. One-tablet manuscripts

- (1) A (KBo VI 2) old
- (2) M (KUB XXIX 16) old
col. iii = §§58–63, middle of col. in §61
- (3) K (KUB XXIX 13)⁸ perhaps old
- (4) B (KBo VI 3)
- (5) J (KUB XXVI 56)
col. ii top = §§26a–27

B. Two-tablet manuscripts

a. Both tablets preserved

- (6) L (XXIX 14) and P (XXIX 19):⁹
L = tbl. I col. iii = §§39–41

7. The laws preserved in each manuscript are listed below only where this is of interest for the arrangement. For the rest, see Friedrich's list. Find spots of tablets found since 1931 are given in footnotes; all other tablets are from Winckler's excavations.

8. From Büyükkale, north of Building E.

9. Both from Archive A on Büyükkale.

- col. iv = §§49–50
 P = tbl. II col. iv = §§95–96
- b. Tablet I alone preserved*
 (7) C (KBo VI 5) youngest; end broken
- c. Tablet II alone preserved*¹⁰
 (8) D+E (KBo VI 6+7)
 began with restored §50
 (9) F₍₁₋₃₎ (KBo VI 8 + XXIX 15¹¹ (+) KUB XIII 11)
 col. i begins with §53
 col. ii begins with §64
 col. iv ends with §100 and colophon¹²
- (10) G (KBo VI 9)
 begins with §51
- (11) H (KUB XIII 12)
 beginning broken; cols. ii and iii
- (12) I (KUB XIII 13)
 beginning broken; cols. ii and iii
- (13) N+V (XXIX 17 + 170/q)¹³
 beginning broken;
 N = end of col. i = §§59–60
 V = end of col. ii = §§70–71a
 very short lines
- (14) R (KBo VI 21)
 beginning broken
- (15) W (96/q)¹⁴
 beginning broken
- C. Undetermined*
 (16) O(+)Q (XXIX 18 and 20)
 O [iv] = §§94–95
 Q [iv] = §§97–98
- (17) S (KBo VI 21)
 col. ii(!) = §§72–74
 col. iii(!) = §§77–78(?)
- (18) T (KBo IX 70)¹⁵
 col. [iv] = §94
- (19) U (Bo 6292)¹⁶
 §60 (col.?)

Second Series

A. One-tablet manuscripts

- (1) q₍₁₋₈₎ (see hand copy)¹⁷ old
10. None of these has the same handwriting as C;
 cf. already Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 81b, top.
11. From Temple I.
12. The reading DUB.2.KAM (JCS XV 63 n. 5)
 confirmed by collation.
13. From Büyükkale, stray finds.
14. Found near Archive A.
15. From Lower City, square K/20 of city plan.
16. Unpublished, in Berlin, not seen.
17. From Archive A. Previous publication numbers
 (in KUB XXIX) noted in the hand copy.

- (2) o (Fr. o₁+ o₂(+) o₃ = XXIX 21–23)¹⁸
 col. i = §§101/1–112/12
 col. ii traces
 col. iii = §§176/61–180/65
- (3) v (Fr. o₄(+)o₅ = XXIX 26, 27)¹⁹
 col. i = §§123/20–127/24
- (4) w (Fr. o₆+o₇ = XXIX 34+37)²⁰
 col. iv = §§186/72–198/84
- (5) t (134/q)²¹
 col. i = §122/19(?)
 col. ii = §§149/38–157/42

B. Two-tablet manuscripts

a. Both tablets preserved

- (6) b (KBo VI 11) and d(+)n (KBo VI 13, KUB XIII 30)
 b = tbl. I, col. i = §§105/5–113/13
 col. iv = §168/53
 d = tbl. II, col. i = §§168/53–172/57
 col. ii = §§182/67–183/69(?)
 d(+)n, col. iii = §§194/80–196/82
 d, col. iv = colophon
- (7) h (KBo VI 17) (+?) p (XXIX 24)
 and j (KBo VI 26)
 h = tbl. I, col. i = §§106/6–109/9
 p = tbl. I, col. i end = §§112/12–113/13
 h = tbl. I, col. iv = §157/42
 j = tbl. II complete = §§157/42–200/86

b. Tablet I alone preserved

- (end lost in all)
- (8) a₍₁₊₂₎ (KBo VI 10+20)
- (9) c (KBo VI 12)
- (10) e₍₁₊₂₎ (KBo VI 14+18) (+) i (KBo VI 19)
 e₁ col. i end = §§118/15–122/19
 i col. ii = §§124/21–126/23
 i col. iii = §§162/47–[47bis, restored]
 e₂ col. iv top = §§163/48–165/50
- (11) f (KBo VI 15)
- (12) l (KUB XIII 15)

c. Tablet II alone preserved

- (beginning broken in all)
- (13) k+m (KUB XIII 14+16)
- (14) s (KBo IX 71 + XXIX 33)²²

C. Undetermined

- (15) g (KBo VI 16)
 §§109/9–111/11
18. From Archive A.
19. From Archive A.
20. From Archive A.
21. Found near Archive A.
22. From Büyükkale, region of Buildings C and D.

- (16) r (XXIX 31)
left col. = §§159/44–162/47
(17) u (KUB XIII 31)
probably §114/14f.

Some collations of details may be added here.

JCS XV, p. 68 ad §44a: The traces in C = KBo VI 5 iv 17 permit only the reading \perp DUMU.NITA-*an* \perp (Friedrich in the text), not \perp SAG.DU-*an* \perp (Friedrich's alternative reading in n. 26, preferred by me).

P. 70 ad §119/16: For the relative position of q_7 and q_1 and the resulting interpretation of line 8 as [1 M]A.NA K[\hat{U} .BABBAR] *pí-iš-(ki-)kir* see now the hand copy.

P. 70 ad §121/18: See now line 13 of the combined copy of q. Accordingly I would now read *ta* GU[D.Ḫ]I.A-*it* x[...], where x cannot be *a*.

P. 70 ad §146/35: [...*še*]- $\ulcorner e \urcorner$ -*ir* is quite clear on the original in q ii 10 (see hand copy); the small verticals of *ir* simply are not visible in the photograph from which Ehelolf had to copy.

P. 71 ad §166/51, the numeral in j = KBo VI 26 i 35: After the break a simple vertical; the oblique “wedge” is only a scratch. In the break there may have been another vertical, so that the reading “[I]P” is quite possible.

P. 72 ad §187/73, j iii 21: Two small oblique wedges that may indeed be the beginning of *t[e]*.

P. 72 ad §191/77, j iii 33: Between *ka-a-aš* and *ta-ki-ia* there is only an erasure, no “*ma*”.

Ibid. line 35: Numeral 2 quite clear, no need for the hatching given in KBo.

P. 72 ad §193/79, j iii 43: Before ŠEŠ no trace of a vertical, and enough space for [DUMU]; however, the small portion of surface preserved here does not show any of the traces of the end of DUMU that one would expect.

P. 72 ad §200, reference to Friedrich, RHA XVIII 33ff.: I was unable to confirm Otten's²³ reading \hat{U} -UL, but also unable to interpret the traces. At the end of this line (j iv 30), the sign *ra* is in the intercolumnium, and nothing can be restored after it, that is, in col. iii. There is a sign written vertically upward, not in the intercolumnium but rather to the left of it, above the *ša* (cf. the photographs Hrozný, CH, Pl. XXVI, and Neufeld, fig. 55). It could be *iz* although the lower horizontal is longer than the upper. Thereafter (i.e. above it) there is a break. This is another example of the low quality of copy j.

P. 78, discussion of MÁŠ/ÛZ: Mr. Souček kindly put at my disposal an unpublished passage that clearly shows that the two signs are different. Bo 3648 reads in part:

- (2) ... 1 GUD.MAH 1 GUD.ÁB *gi-im-ra-aš*
1 UDU.NITÁ [...]
(3) x 1 MÁŠ.GAL (sign Forrer 179,1) 1 ÛZ
(179,2)

Here the pairs “one bull, one cow;” “one ram, [one ewe];” and “one he-goat, one she-goat” show that the shape 179,2 is meant as ÛZ.

Collation of Bo 5585 (Otten, Heth. Totenrit. 118) revealed the shape 179,2 also here in a context clearly referring to a female.

23. Cf. references in n. 3.