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# THE DEEDS OF SUPPILULIUMA AS TOLD BY HIS SON, MURSILI II

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## INTRODUCTION

The Hittite text called "The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma",<sup>1</sup> composed by Muršili II, was first recognized by Forrer.<sup>2</sup> He collected all fragments known to him in BoTU<sup>3</sup> under numbers 31–47. E. Cavaignac published a French translation of these fragments in 1931.<sup>4</sup> The tablets collected by Forrer were gradually republished in cuneiform, mostly by A. Goetze, in the KUB series, namely in volumes XIV (1926, Nos. 22, 23), XIX (1927, Nos. 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 18), XXI (1928, No. 10), XXVI (1933, Nos. 73, 84), and some by Otten and Sturm in vol. XXXI (1939, Nos. 6, 7, 21, and 8).<sup>5</sup> Along with these, some fragments which had escaped Forrer among the "Bo" tablets were published in cuneiform copies, namely KUB XIX 4, 12, 47, XXIII 2, 7, 8, 50, XXXI 11, 25, 33 and 34.

The excavations conducted by K. Bittel since 1931 have added a considerable number of new fragments, virtually all from "Archive A" in the south-east part of the acropolis, Büyükkale.<sup>6</sup> When the tablets found during the campaigns of 1931, 1932, and 1933 were in Berlin for cleaning and copying, H. Ehelolf began to make hand

1. Hittite *Šuppiluliumaš* LÜ-nannaš, genitive (more probably plur. than sing.) of LÜ-natar "manhood, manly deed". The correct interpretation was given by Sommer, *KlF* I 354; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Wörterbuch* (HW) 284.

2. Before him, Hrozný already stated that the best preserved part, namely, the tablet published by him as KBo V 6, was probably written by Muršili and dealt with the reign of Šuppiluliuma (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* V-VI [WVDOG 36, 1921], Inhaltsübersicht).

3. E. Forrer, *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* II: *Geschichtliche Texte aus Boghazköi* (WVDOG 42, 1926), with remarks on pp. 31\*–34\*.

4. E. Cavaignac, *Les annales de Subbiluliuma*, Strasbourg, 1931 (repr. from *Revue des études anciennes*, 32).

5. For the question of whether XXI 10 (BoTU 45) and XXXI 8 (BoTU 47) belong to our work, see below, p. 49, under "Isolated and Doubtful Fragments".

6. *MDOG* 72, 42; 75, 63 f.; 78, 63; *IF* 60, 200 n. 1. Cf. below, p. 50, under "Places of Discovery".

copies of some texts, including Šuppiluliuma fragments. He soon realized that many of the newly found pieces joined one another and that more joining fragments could be expected as the excavations went on. For this reason he postponed publication of the copies he had made. After his untimely death, his wife and H. Otten could make available the existing copies only in the state he had left them; of the two posthumous volumes, KUB XXXII and XXXIV, the latter contains a number of Šuppiluliuma fragments, namely Nos. 23–30 and, though not expressly so designated, Nos. 31, 32, and 35. It was because of these circumstances that some of these fragments were only later recognized as forming parts of the larger units.

Ever since I had noticed a dozen Šuppiluliuma fragments among the tablets of 1933,<sup>7</sup> I had hoped to be able to publish the new texts together with a translation of the old. The fact that after 1935 I no longer officially belonged to the team working on the Boğazköy tablets made an early realization of that hope impossible. At one time in Ankara I copied two fragments which had been pieced together in Berlin and later noticed that two others, published separately as XXXIV 24 and 30, could be combined with them to form one almost complete column, which I subsequently published in *IF* 60.<sup>8</sup> By that time, however, the tablets had been removed from Ankara for reasons of safety during the war. Since they remained in their shelter long after the end of hostilities, for lack of appropriate storing space while the Bedesten Museum was under construction, the tablets were again made available in the museum at Ankara only after I had left Turkey in 1948.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, I

7. *MDOG* 72, 42. Needless to say, there are now many more, namely 29 numbers of that year (numbers marked with letter /c).

8. "Neue Texte zur Geschichte Šuppiluliumas", *Indogermanische Forschungen* (*IF*) 60 (1952, but Heft 2 already 1950) 199–211.

9. Cf. *IF* 60, 200 n. 2.

was never able systematically to go through the whole lot of Bittel's tablets in search of Šuppiluliuma fragments. To do so now would unnecessarily duplicate the work already done in Berlin.

Publication of the Hittite sources for the history of Šuppiluliuma has become more important than ever since new texts were discovered at Ras Shamra in 1953 and the following years.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, when I was sent to Frankfurt, Germany, by the Chicago-Frankfurt Inter-University Project of the University of Chicago for the summer semester of 1954 and, in addition, received an Oriental Institute grant enabling me to go to Turkey at the end of that semester, I felt that the time had finally come for carrying out my plans concerning the "Deeds of Šuppiluliuma." Upon my request, H. Otten very kindly — and with the authorization of the Berlin Academy — provided me with a complete set of photographs of all the fragments that he had recognized, in the course of his work on the Boğazköy tablets, as belonging to this composition. The excellent photographs were, as usual, made by Mrs. Ehelolf. Otten also made a number of suggestions for the joining of fragments (which all turned out to be correct). After having copied in Frankfurt as many of the texts as was possible from photographs, I spent some time in the Ankara museum in August and September, 1954, checking and completing my copies with the originals and piecing together a few more fragments. In Istanbul I had at least time for a very short inspection of the originals of the "Bo" tablets, in the course of which two of the BoTU texts could be fitted back to back. The Turkish colleagues in both museums facilitated my work in the kindest way, and I take the opportunity now to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Cahit Kınay, then Director General of Antiquities, to Mr. Necati Dolunay and Dr. Selçuk Ar in Ankara, as well as to Mr. Osman Sümer and Mesdames

Muazzez Çığ and Hatice Kızılyay in Istanbul. During my stay with the German expedition at Boğazköy, two small fragments were most fortunately unearthed just then, which I copied with the kind permission of K. Bittel and H. Otten. The latter also kindly provided me with a list of the locations at which the Bittel tablets were found, and communicated to me a transliteration of one fragment found in 1955. Finally, Mrs. Edith Ritter helped me with the English style. My thanks go to all the individuals and institutions who have helped me in the present task, above all to Otten, without whose generosity in making the material available I would not have been able to undertake it.

#### RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT

In spite of the increase in the number of fragments, the text of "The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma" is still very fragmentary, much more so than the other great historical composition of Muršili, his own Annals. Regnal years were not counted in these Hittite annalistic texts, and in contrast to the Muršili Annals, where at least the beginning of each new year is marked, phrases indicating the beginning of a year are extremely rare in the extant parts of the Šuppiluliuma text.<sup>11</sup> Only a few tablet numbers are preserved, and since the different copies of the text had tablets of different length and counted the tablets individually,<sup>12</sup> the existing tablet numbers can be used only with some caution. For most of the arrangement of the fragments we have, therefore, to rely on considerations of their contents, correlating them with whatever evidence is available in outside sources for the sequence of events during the reign of Šuppiluliuma. Forrer already used this method for arranging the fragments in BoTU, and his arrangement has turned out to be basically correct.

It is assumed that texts which mention the author's grandfather together with his father (i.e., Tudḫaliya III with Šuppiluliuma) must belong to the beginning of the whole composition. On this basis Forrer already put the fragments mentioning the "grandfather" at the beginning of his series (BoTU 31–36). The new fragments

10. To be published by J. Nougayrol in *Palais Royal d'Ugarit (PRU)*, vol. IV. Preliminary report by the same, *CRAI* of Jan. 29, 1954, 30 ff. [While working on this article, I received, through Nougayrol's kindness, proofs of *PRU* IV. Unfortunately the Deeds contain nothing that would directly contribute to a solution of the problems raised by the "Dossier Šuppiluliuma" (II A) of Ugarit. In the interpretation of KUB XIX 9 (*PRU* IV p. 33) I follow Götze, *KlF* I 118.]

11. Contrary to my statement, *IF* 60, 199, they are not altogether lacking.

12. Cf. *JCS* V 135 with literature in n. 5.

added one important bit of evidence, which comes from our text No. 3: Its column iii was obtained during the campaign of 1933 from two fragments; the greater part of its column iv is a duplicate of BoTU 37. Inspection of the originals in 1954 showed (1) that columns iii and iv join each other, with the beginnings of iii 22-30 in XXXIV 26, right column; (2) that XXXIV 28 with joining 175/c, containing the end of a fourth column with colophon, belongs to the same tablet. Although it cannot directly be fitted to the rest of col. iv, the handwriting, the color and texture of the clay and particularly the shining, polished appearance of its surface make it clear that it belongs here. From this, it is evident that BoTU 37 indeed follows the "grandfather" texts immediately, as Forrer had assumed, and that in the new copy the itinerary known from BoTU 37 i was still part of the second tablet (No. 3, colophon in 175/c); BoTU 37 itself has this itinerary in its col. i and is accordingly the third tablet in its copy. Since the "grandfather" is not mentioned anywhere in BoTU 37, it seems that at the point represented by the beginning of BoTU 37 and of col. iv of our No. 3, Šuppiluliuma was left alone. However, since there is very little space (ca. eleven lines missing) between columns iii and iv of No. 3 for the mention of Tudḫaliya's death and Šuppiluliuma's accession, the possibility exists that the "grandfather" was still alive at this time and might even have been mentioned in the lost parts of BoTU 37. But on the basis of the existing text we are inclined to assume that all "grandfather" fragments should be placed before the beginning of BoTU 37 and No. 3 col. iv.

#### First to Third Tablets

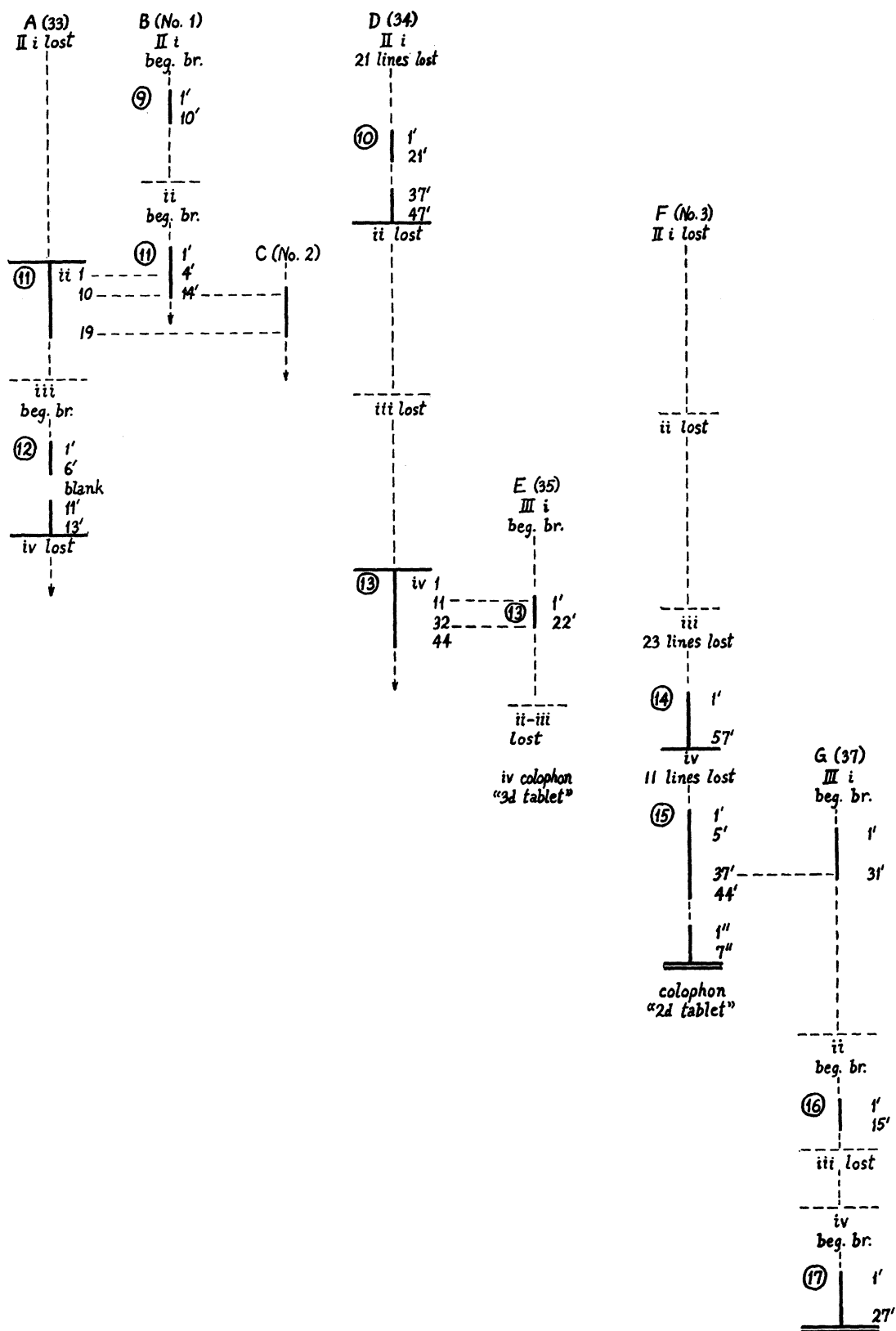
Our arrangement of what we have called "First Tablet" and "Second and Third Tablets" is based on the above considerations. Like Forrer we have assumed that BoTU 31 is part of the First Tablet, because it is the only text in which the "grandfather's" name, Tudḫaliya, is expressly mentioned. Since the beginning and end of its first column are broken, and its second column is represented by only a few illegible lines, and its third and fourth columns are lost, it is possible to ascribe some other "grandfather" fragments also to the First Tablet. Foremost among these are those mentioning a certain Tuttu: XIX 12, in which he appears together with the "grand-

father", and XXXI 33 and 34, in which only Tuttu is mentioned (none of these is in BoTU). In XIX 12, the upper edge of the obverse with the beginning of col. ii and a trace of col. i line 2 is preserved. If XIX 12 really belongs to the First Tablet, then the latter ought to be part of the beginning of the text, and if the preserved [...]ia is the end of the name Tudḫaliya of the genealogy, this may indeed be the case (Tbl. I, *Frgm. 1*, copy B). Another little fragment, XXIII 2, just contains part of a genealogy that is followed, in the only subsequent line preserved, by the words "my grandfather", and is therefore placed here as Tbl. I, *Frgm. 1*, copy F. It is true that this small fragment is not very characteristic and might just as well come from any other text which happens to mention the grandfather of its author in the first paragraph after the introduction; but even if this be the case, there is no harm in putting it here, since our composition is likely to have begun in this way.

Just as XXXI 33 and 34 were placed near XIX 12 because all three deal with Tuttu, so we follow Forrer in putting BoTU 32, which mentions Kantuzzili, near BoTU 31 col. i, where his name also appears. The original of BoTU 32 in Istanbul does not show in any way which column of a tablet it is; in contrast to Forrer, who reconstructed it as a right column, we have tentatively considered it part of col. i.

We attribute BoTU 33 (and its duplicates, Nos. 1 and 2) to the Second rather than to the First Tablet, because in contents it is much closer to BoTU 34 than to BoTU 31; the last column of BoTU 34, in turn, is duplicated by the first column of BoTU 35, a tablet whose colophon bears a number which, though damaged, seems to be "3". As a result of the fact already mentioned, that the individual copies were made on tablets of different length, what is part of the Second Tablet in one copy is part of the Third in another. For this reason we subsume "Second and Third Tablets" under one heading. Our reconstruction of this part of the text may be illustrated in the accompanying chart.<sup>13</sup>

13. The chart has to be very condensed for reasons of space. Capital letters refer to the copies (cf. n. 16); numbers in parentheses, as (33) etc., to BoTU; if provided with "No.", to text numbers in this article (texts published here for the first time). Encircled numbers refer to the numbering of Fragments (elsewhere in this



It will be evident from this arrangement that I now have given up my previous idea that there existed two versions of the "Deeds of Šuppiluliuma", comparable to the abridged "Ten-year Annals" and "Full Annals" of Muršili's own reign.<sup>14</sup> One of the factors that led me to this assumption, the consideration that there could not have been two similar accounts of the Nib-ḫururiya incident in one and the same version, has been disproved by Otten, who found the fragments 555/c + 562/c + 568/c + 575/c which, together with 301/c A, complete the third column of our No. 12 and show that it was a duplicate of KBo V 6 iii-iv; consequently, the fourth column of No. 12, dealing with the conversation between Šuppiluliuma and the Egyptian envoy, does in fact follow the second letter of the queen. Another factor in my earlier assumption was the similarity of our No. 3 col. iii with BoTU 33 ii and 34 iv, as follows:

In No. 3 iii 8 ff. the "grandfather" is ill, the "father" volunteers, is dispatched and defeats the Gašga who had entered Hatti. In line 22 the "grandfather" recovers and descends from the Upper Country.

Similarly, in BoTU 33 ii the "father" volunteers, is dispatched from Šamuḫa, comes to Hatti and fights the Gašga. In 34 iv 1-16 the "father" fights the Gašga; in line 17 the "grandfather" recovers and descends from the Upper Country.

However, apart from the fact that I do not now see a possibility of placing BoTU 33 ii immediately before BoTU 34 iv in view of the length of tablets in the different copies, I had overlooked the difference between the passages following the "grandfather's" recovery and descent from the Upper Country in BoTU 34 and our No. 3: in 34 he has to deal with Maša and Kammala, etc., and, after his victory there, marches against Hayaša. In No. 3, he fights the Gašga in Zithara, receives news about Arzawa, and dispatches the "father" against that country.

These differences indicate that the fragments under discussion are not different accounts of the same events, but rather of totally different ones; in other words, we have to accept the fact that

the aging Tudḫaliya had several spells of ill health and recovered at least from two of them. It is true that the repeated mention of the same countries is bewildering: Hayaša in BoTU 34 i 3 and iv 41 ff.; Šamuḫa in 34 i 10 f. and 33 ii 5; the Upper Country in 34 i 19, (iv 18 =) 35 i 8, and No. 3 iii 23; and one might well ask whether another arrangement of the fragments may not result in a clearer sequence of the campaigns to different regions. But the possibilities of shifting the fragments around are limited by the consideration that within the first tablets of the series the divergence in the distribution of the text in the individual columns of the different copies cannot be too great. After having tried a number of arrangements, I think that the sequence proposed in the above chart and followed in the text agrees best with the length of the existing tablets.

When cataloguing the tablets in the campaign of 1933 at Boğazköy, I believed that three of them looked so similar that they must be part of one and the same tablet, and therefore numbered them 301/c A, 301/c B, and 301/c C, respectively. Later I noticed that 301/c A duplicates KBo V 6 iii 44 ff. (it is now part of No. 12 col. iii), 301/c B duplicates BoTU 33 (now No. 1), and 301/c C joins 426/c (now No. 3 col. iii). Thus it is clear that 301/c A cannot be part of the same tablet as 301/c B and C, but may at best be part of a later tablet of the same copy written by the same hand. Our present reconstruction of the Second and Third Tablets raises the question of whether 301/c B and C cannot be part of one tablet, i.e., whether our No. 1 is not part of No. 3. Of No. 3, only the reverse is known, while No. 1 is flat and therefore part of an obverse. However, No. 1 cannot be fitted into No. 3 because of BoTU 33, whose col. ii is a duplicate of No. 1 ii, and whose col. iii would then fall somewhere in the third column of No. 3, whose text is preserved and different. So No. 1 must be considered part of a different copy.—The small piece 16/m (our No. 2), on the other hand, may be part of the obverse of No. 3, but since I saw it in Boğazköy, I could not compare it with the other fragments in the Ankara museum.

The fragments discussed so far represent several copies of our work. The six texts ascribed to the First Tablet (A-F)<sup>15</sup> are all from Winckler's

article in italics). Capital roman numerals are tablet numbers, lower-case roman numerals refer to columns.

14. *IF* 60, 207 f.; *Siegel aus Boğazköy* (SBo) I p. 36 n. 139.

15. Listed below, at the head of the transliteration.

tablets that are now in Istanbul. Inspection of the originals did not show that any of them were part of the same copy; but this negative impression may be due to the fact that I had very little time to spend there. Of the text portion that we call Second and Third Tablets,<sup>16</sup> copies A, D, E, and G are from Winckler's excavations, and B, C, and F are from Bittel's. As stated above, C might be part of F, but B is a separate copy. The copies differ considerably in length: the new copy F has the longest columns and therefore includes the itinerary in its second tablet, whereas in G this is part of a new tablet, probably the third. The copy with the shortest tablets is E, whose col. i is a duplicate of D col. iv; since the tablet number of E seems to be "3", D is the second tablet of its copy. I was not able to correlate any of the Istanbul fragments of the Second and Third Tablets with those of the First, apart from noting that both BoTU 31 (Tbl. I) and BoTU 34 (Tbl. II) have large writing. BoTU 33 has a blank in col. iii, comparable to the blanks in KBo V 6,<sup>17</sup> but, in contrast to the extremely large handwriting of KBo V 6, I noted "medium-size writing" for BoTU 33. BoTU 37 has a horizontal "rule" after each line of writing in columns i and ii that is not found in col. iv (iii is lost); this peculiarity occurs only in the isolated fragments BoTU 38-40 which Forrer attributed to our work for this very reason.<sup>18</sup> The Tuttu fragment XIX 12 (Tbl. I, B) has thin horizontal rules running through the center of the signs of each line of writing, and the same kind of ruling can be seen in some lines of XIX 10 = BoTU 35 (Tbl. II-III, E), a Berlin (VAT) tablet; thus, XIX 12 and 10 may be parts of the first and third tablets, respectively, of the same copy.

#### Further Fragments

After the text portion containing the detailed itinerary, there follow, on the one hand, the remnants of columns ii and iv of BoTU 37, and, on the other hand, several fragments which cannot

be placed more exactly. In our presentation of the text, the former are given as "*Fragments 16 and 17*" of Tablet II-III, the latter under a new heading "*Further Fragments*". *Fragment 18* (No. 4) is the beginning of a new tablet; it comes from Bittel's finds and has small handwriting. Whether it follows No. 3 immediately cannot be determined with certainty. The fact that Himuili is mentioned both in No. 4 and in BoTU 37 iv does not in itself prove an overlap of BoTU 37 and No. 4, since the same general also appears in KBo V 6 i 11. If No. 4 (*Frgm. 18*) came immediately after No. 3 (*Frgm. 15*), the mention of the town of Peta in No. 4 i 1 would seem a little abrupt. According to its handwriting, No. 4 seems to belong to the same copy as No. 13, which we have placed at a later point (*Frgms. 38, 39*) because of its contents.

The general scene of No. 4 is Arzawa, a country first mentioned in No. 3 col. iii, so that No. 4 might very well come after No. 3. However, after what has been said about Peta, and also according to its handwriting, it can neither be part of the same copy nor follow No. 3 immediately. In order to account for the fact that the itinerary of No. 3 iv (with duplicate BoTU 37 i) includes the town Tuwanuwa, we refer to KBo VI 28 obv. 8 f. (Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 21), according to which the Arzawaeen enemy had reached this town before the accession of Šuppiluliuma (cf. the discussion at the end of this article).

Of the following fragments, No. 6 (*Frgm. 19*) and No. 7 (*Frgms. 20 and 22*)<sup>19</sup> are linked to No. 4 (*Frgm. 18*) by the place names.

No. 8 (*Frgms. 21 and 23*) and XXXIV 32 (*Frgm. 24*) mention the country of Armatana. In the Mattiwaza treaty<sup>20</sup> this is one of the regions whose inhabitants migrated to Išuwa. XXXIV 23, part of columns i and ii of a tablet<sup>21</sup> (*Frgms. 25 and 26*), also seems to deal with events mentioned in the same section of that treaty: the name Išuwa followed by "NAM.RA.MEŠ of Hatti" (i 12-14) recalls the situation described in PD No. 1 obv. 19 f.; the fruitless challenge in

16. A list of the copies with their sigla is to be found at the beginning of the transliteration of "Second and Third Tablets", p. 62.

17. For these blanks, see below, p. 47, under "Seventh Tablet".

18. See below, p. 49, under "Isolated and Doubtful Fragments"; not included in our text.

19. I noticed No. 7 years ago among the "Bo" tablets in Berlin.

20. E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien (PD)* (BoSt. 8), 1923, No. 1 obv. 19 ff., esp. line 22 (p. 6 f.).

21. I was unable to add further fragments to those combined by Ehelolf.

ii 16 ff. can be compared with *PD* No. 1 obv. 29, and the mention of Waššukanni in ii 26 with *PD* No. 1 obv. 27. From the treaties and from the fact that in Amarna the letters of Tušratta belong to the beginning of Akhen-Aton's reign, it has been deduced that considerable time elapsed between this first Mitanni campaign, directed against Tušratta, and the second, in which Mattiwaza was installed as a Hittite vassal. Whereas the latter could have taken place only after the conquest of Carchemish (dated to the year of Tut-ankh-Amon's death), the former must have occurred before that event; for this reason our *Fragments 21–26* have been placed here before KBo V 6 (which, as is known, tells of the conquest of Carchemish and the events following the death of Tut-ankh-Amon).

Some doubts remain concerning BoTU 43,<sup>22</sup> a small fragment that contains a mention of Kinza, a sign which may best be restored as “my brother”, and a reference to two persons who met Šuppiluliuma. For these reasons, Forrer (BoTU II, p. 34\*) put it after KBo V 6 (BoTU 41), but it seems equally possible to place it before that text, because we know neither who is meant by “my brother” (Arnuwanda or “the priest” Telipinu), nor who the two persons are; furthermore, KBo V 6 presupposes a Hittite hold on Kinza, so that we expect this town to be mentioned at an earlier point. We have, therefore, tentatively put the fragment here as “*Frqm. 27*”.

#### “Seventh” Tablet

The passage dealing mainly with the siege of Carchemish and the letter of the Egyptian queen is the best attested part of the whole composition (this whole text portion is called here *Frqm. 28*). Its copy A = KBo V 6 = BoTU 41 is numbered “seventh tablet”, and for easy reference we have used this number but put it in quotation marks. For it is obvious that only in a copy with such extremely large handwriting could the number be that high. The new fragment No. 9 has equally large writing and, moreover, has the text arranged in exactly the same lines as A. We therefore call it B. From the fact that in B iv the ends of seven lines corresponding to A iv 4–10 are

written on the same level as the lines of the third column which correspond to A iii 16–25, we conclude that in B the columns were shorter than in A. Copy A, whose colophon omits the title of the work and has the unique formula *ANA TUPPI SIPARRI nawi aniyān* “not yet made into a bronze tablet”,<sup>23</sup> has blanks at the end of columns i and ii and another near the end of col. iii. These blanks indicate that the original, from which KBo V 6 was copied,<sup>24</sup> was broken at the bottom of its obverse which corresponds to the top of the reverse. Thus, the blank in A i would indicate a break at the end of col. i of the original; the blank in A ii would render the break both at the end of col. ii and at the beginning of col. iii of the original; and the blank between A iii 43 and 44 which, as we now know from the duplicate No. 12, corresponds to ten lines of text would be the break at the beginning of col. iv of the original. Since we have just seen that B (No. 9) had shorter columns than A, our B might indeed be the original from which A was copied, but its fragmentary state makes a definite statement to this effect impossible. The variants (notes 50, 52–54 to the transliteration) are insignificant.

Of the blanks in A, the third can be filled by No. 12, as has just been mentioned. Of the second, eight lines are preserved in traces in XXXIV 25, although these are certainly less than the length of the whole blank. For the blank in A col. i no duplicate has turned up so far.

As is the case with other tablets, the beginnings of the tablets in the individual series differ considerably. Our copy C (Forrer's B, best published as XXXI 7 whereas BoTU 42 is incomplete) starts with the sentence that begins in A i 28; copy C must have had very long lines and many lines per column, so that it would belong to a copy with very long tablets. Whether it was the third tablet of its copy as Forrer thought (BoTU II p. 33\*), I do not know; it might equally well have been the fourth. Of the new fragments, No. 11 (E<sub>1</sub>) begins one sentence after C, that is, with A i 29. It is possible that No. 11, XXXIV 25, and

23. B. Landsberger drew my attention to an actual bronze tablet found in Nuzi: E. R. Lacheman, *Excav. at Nuzi V* (HSS XIV), Corrected Plate 1.

24. This was, of course, not the bronze tablet Forrer assumed it to be on the basis of a wrong interpretation of *nawi* (BoTU II, p. 33\*, cf. Sommer-Ehelolf, *Papanikri* [BoSt. 10] 5), but another clay tablet.

22. In contrast to the note in KUB XIX ad No. 16, inspection of the originals showed that XIX 16 and XIX 7 (the latter = BoTU 43) are not pieces of one and the same tablet.



No. 12 are parts of one and the same tablet; this was an afterthought, not verified with the originals in Ankara, and cannot therefore be stated with certainty. To indicate this situation, we have called the three fragments E<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>2</sub>, and E<sub>3</sub>, respectively. No. 11 is the beginning of a col. i; XXXIV 25 shows no sign indicating what column it is, but it would be part of the second if it belonged to the same tablet; and of No. 12 only the reverse with the greater part of col. iii and all of col. iv is preserved, the latter falling entirely after the end of A. Since No. 12 iii 27 is the middle of the tablet, this copy had about 53–55 lines in this column; thus, it was a rather short copy and the broken tablet number must, therefore, have been rather high. According to what was said above about the handwriting of 301/c A, it may be from the same hand as our No. 3, although Nos. 3 and 12 differ in length.

No. 10 (D) is still another copy; it is the end of a left column (since there is no colophon on it, probably obv. i) and corresponds to A ii 19–34.

#### Further Fragments Following "Seventh" Tablet

As is well known, there are other texts referring to the Egyptian episode. In XIX 20<sup>25</sup> we have a fragment of the letter in which Šuppiluliuma holds the Egyptians responsible for the murder of his son. Muršili dealt with the incident repeatedly: apart from the "Deeds of Šuppiluliuma" and the Plague Prayers<sup>26</sup> we have another prayer of his in XXXI 121 (+) 121a.<sup>27</sup> It is therefore not certain whether all small fragments dealing with this event belong to our text; nevertheless, we have included them here for the sake of completeness. XXXI 25 (*Frgm.* 29) is very similar to the end of our No. 12 but not a duplicate. Whether XXIII 7 (*Frgm.* 30) belongs to our text is equally uncertain. XIX 4 (*Frgm.* 31) is the text treated in *IF* 60, 208 ff. Goetze independently also regarded it as belonging here (l.c. 208 n. 3). However, Otten drew my attention to the fact that, according to Walther's copy in the Berlin Dictionary file, the reading *Mi-iz[-ri]* in line 10 was unlikely, that the trace might point

to a reading *Mi-r[a-a]*, and the fragment might, therefore, not belong here at all. Collation in Istanbul showed that there actually is the head of a second vertical on the right-hand fragment, but that the left piece clearly has two horizontals only. This is against *ra*, and the additional vertical may be the first of a *za*, which would yield the reading *Mi-iz-z[a-ri]*, so that the fragment, which otherwise fits the situation very well, is still likely to belong here. XIX 4 is flat and therefore part of an obverse, but its position cannot be determined more precisely. Equally flat and written in a similar handwriting, though not necessarily part of the same tablet, is XXIII 8 (*Frgm.* 32), a small fragment mentioning *Mi[-iz-ri]*, a treaty, and "evil"; whether it belongs to our composition, and where, cannot be determined.

Somewhere after the end of No. 12 falls the end of BoTU 42, the "long" copy C of our "Seventh" Tablet (*Frgm.* 33). From it we only learn that Šuppiluliuma had to deal with the Gašga again after his famous Syrian campaign.—For BoTU 43 see above, *Frgm.* 27, before the "Seventh" Tablet.

BoTU 44 deals with campaigns in Anatolia first, but its col. ii obviously tells the same story as *PD* No. 2 obv. 45 ff., that is, the campaign which brought Mattiwaza to the throne.<sup>28</sup> Since this campaign was conducted by Piyaššili (mentioned as "king of Carchemish" in ii 38), this event falls after the conquest of Carchemish related in our "Seventh" Tablet. Collation in Istanbul showed that BoTU 44 and 46 are parts of the same tablet in such a way that 46 falls a little before the colophon of 44 (the four columns of BoTU 44 + 46 are numbered here *Frgms.* 34–37). No. 11 ii (*Frgm.* 38) seems to belong to a context similar to BoTU 44 ii; in it, Irrita is mentioned together with what may be restored as

28. Laroche, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 148 (1955) 8 with n. 1, equated the campaign mentioned in XIX 13 (BoTU 44) ii with that of *PD* No. 1 obv. 17–30 (this is the one "où, prenant le royaume mitannien à revers, Šuppiluliuma occupe Wašugganni . . .") and distinguished it from that conducted for Mattiwaza ("Plus tard, lors du règlement . . . du statut de Mattiwaza"). In view of the mention of Assur, Šuttarna and the king of Carchemish in BoTU 44 ii 34–38, there can be no doubt that we deal here with the Mattiwaza affair, and Laroche informs me that he now accepts this latter identification.

25. Forrer, *Forschungen* II 28 ff.

26. Götze, *KlF* I 208 ff., § 4–5; Goetze in Pritchard, *ANET* (first ed.), p. 395.

27. Forrer, *Forsch.* II 23.

[ŠE]Š-IA (ii 17), a situation which again reminds us of *PD* No. 2 (obv. 44 f.). The reverse of No. 13 (*Frgm.* 39) deals with Hayaša, so that, if the placing of the fragment based on its obverse is correct, Šuppiluliuma would have had to deal with that country again at this late date.

The rest of the fragments cannot be placed with certainty. No. 14 (*Frgm.* 40) mentioning Hayaša and the Upper Country may go with the last mentioned or with our Tbl. II–III, *Frgm.* 13 (BoTU 34 iv). No. 15 (*Frgm.* 41), in which the names Irrita and Carchemish occur, resembles No. 13 (*Frgms.* 38–39). XXIII 50 (*Frgm.* 42), an account in the third person mentioning Irrite, may or may not belong to our composition. No. 16 (*Frgm.* 43) would belong to the last years of Šuppiluliuma if the restoration *Iš-ḫu-p[ti-it]-ta* were correct (the space seems rather large!); for we know from a later text that he fought there toward the end of his life.<sup>29</sup> But cf. our No. 8, col. iii, which we have placed as *Frgm.* 23 between the “Second and Third” and the “Seventh” Tablets on the basis of the mention of Armatana, but where the signs [...](*-pī*)-*it-ta* in lines 5 and 7 might be the end of the name Išhupitta (if not of some other, unknown name; cf. *Frgm.* 38, 21).

#### Isolated and Doubtful Fragments

*Frgm.* 44 = BoTU 36 mentions the “grand-father”. Its lines 5–8 are similar to No. 3 iii 31 ff. (*Frgm.* 14, Tbl. II–III) but cannot be placed there as duplicate.

*Frgm.* 45 = XXXIV 29 mentions the “father” and has the colophon of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma with broken tablet number; its place in the composition cannot be determined.

*Frgm.* 46 = No. 17 and *Frgm.* 47 = XXXI 11 both mention the “father” but cannot be placed.

*Frgm.* 48 = KBo VII 16 was considered by Otten as possibly part of our text mainly because of the phrase *pangarit* BA.BAD.

*Frgm.* 49 = 137/n, communicated by Otten from the 1955 tablets, mentions the “father” and a town Wazziya not known from the other parts of our text.

Forrer includes four more fragments only because they are “ruled” like the obverse of BoTU

37. None of them mentions the “father”. They are:

BoTU 38 = KUB VIII 46;

BoTU 39 = XXVI 73, in which the mention of Arzawa may be another link with BoTU 37, so that the fragment may belong somewhere in its neighborhood;

BoTU 40 = XXXI 6, whose extremely long lines do not favor attribution to our series (one-column tablet?);

BoTU 47 = XXXI 8: if the “ruled” lines prove to be decisive for attributing the fragment to our composition, and if line 8 does refer to Muršili’s own accession, this fragment would belong to the very end of his work about the deeds of his father; however, such a conclusion is quite uncertain.

Since none of these four fragments can be attributed to our text with certainty, and since they are too small to contribute anything to the history of Šuppiluliuma, we do not include them here but simply refer to the transliterations in BoTU.

Finally, we have to mention two fragments (BoTU 45 and 97/c) which Otten would like to include in our text.<sup>30</sup> One of them was published by Forrer together with the Šuppiluliuma texts; but since it contains the name NIR.GÁL (Muwatalli), Forrer himself in his “Bemerkungen” (BoTU II pp. 31\* and 34\*) concluded that it was rather part of a later work, most probably written by Tudḫaliya IV and referring to Hattušili III as “my father”. Goetze adopted the same view when publishing the text in cuneiform in KUB XXI as No. 10. Now Otten has shown that there existed a Muwatalli, member of the royal family, already at the time of or in the generation of Šuppiluliuma. This “older” Muwatalli is mentioned in the texts dealing with Hīmuili and Kantuzili (XXXIV 40, 10 and XXXVI 117, 15)<sup>31</sup> and most probably also in the offering list BoTU 24 iii 10.<sup>32</sup> If, then, there was

30. KUB XXXVI p. V n. 7.

31. For this group of texts, see Otten, KUB XXXVI p. IV ad Nos. 113–117.

32. This is List E in *MDOG* 83, 68. The NIR.GÁL of (BoTU 25 +) XXXVI 122 rev. 15 (List C, *ibid.* p. 66 and phot. on p. 71), however, is rather the great king Muwatalli because of the position after Šuppiluliuma and Muršili, also because this list seems to reserve large offerings (ox and sheep) to great kings.

29. XIX 9 i 23 (text of Hattušili); Išhupitta was also one of the first countries Muršili had to fight (*AM* p. 18, XIX 29 iv 12; p. 24, KBo III 4 i 43, etc.).

a Muwatalli at the time of Šuppiluliuma, BoTU 45 with its reference to "my father" can very well be part of Muršili's work on Šuppiluliuma. Since we learn from XXXIV 40, 9 f., that the "older" Muwatalli was killed by Himuili [and] Kan[tuzzili], the fragment might best be placed in our First Tablet where Kantuzzili is mentioned twice. One feature in which BoTU 45 differs from our text is in the enumeration of the gods who "marched in front of my father": BoTU 45 must have mentioned more gods between the Storm God of the Army (16) and Ištar of the Battlefield (17), and it also adds Zababa after the latter. One might argue that the fuller list was given here because this was the first time that the phrase occurs in our composition; but my feeling is that this explanation is somewhat artificial and that, owing to this difference, we should be cautious of giving up Forrer's and Goetze's view too easily (cf. below, n. 33). Nevertheless, since Otten's attribution of the fragment to our text still remains possible, we include it here as *Fragment 50*.

The other text adduced by Otten in this connection (see n. 30), 97/c, was made available to me in photograph by him in 1954. It mentions NIR.GÁL in line 20 (Otten's 19) and also speaks of "my father". This latter term, however, is not spelled *A-BU-IA* here as in our text, but rather *A.A.MU* (line 12), an orthographic feature which very definitely sets this fragment apart. In addition, the text uses the first person singular (lines 3], 14 f.) in passages which show no visible sign of being quoted speech. I wonder whether—even if NIR.GÁL is the "older" Muwatalli—the fragment could not be part of a different composition by Muršili (a prayer, for example) rather than of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma. Nevertheless, since it has been mentioned by Otten and put at my disposal by him, it is presented here in full (No. 18, *Frqm. 51*) so that others may form their own opinion.

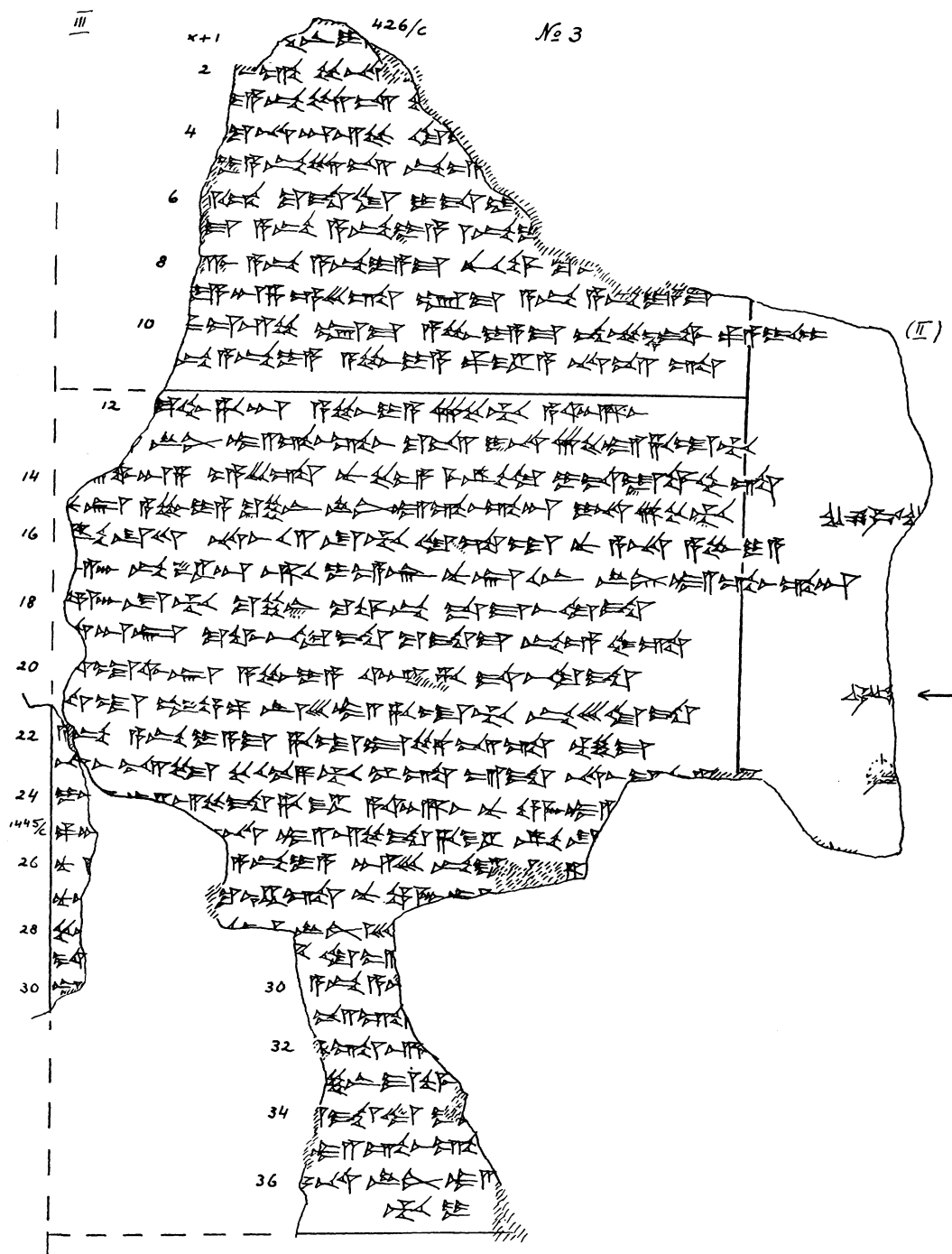
There might be other small historical fragments that belong to our work but that have not been identified for lack of characteristic phrases.<sup>33</sup> This holds true, of course, for unpublished texts, of which, as stated at the outset, only those could be included here that Otten recognized as belonging to the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma.

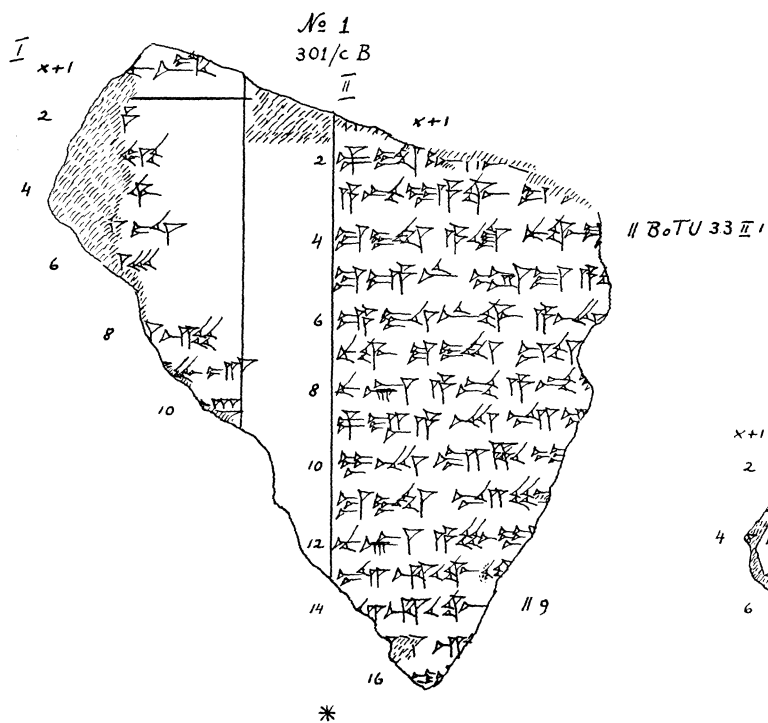
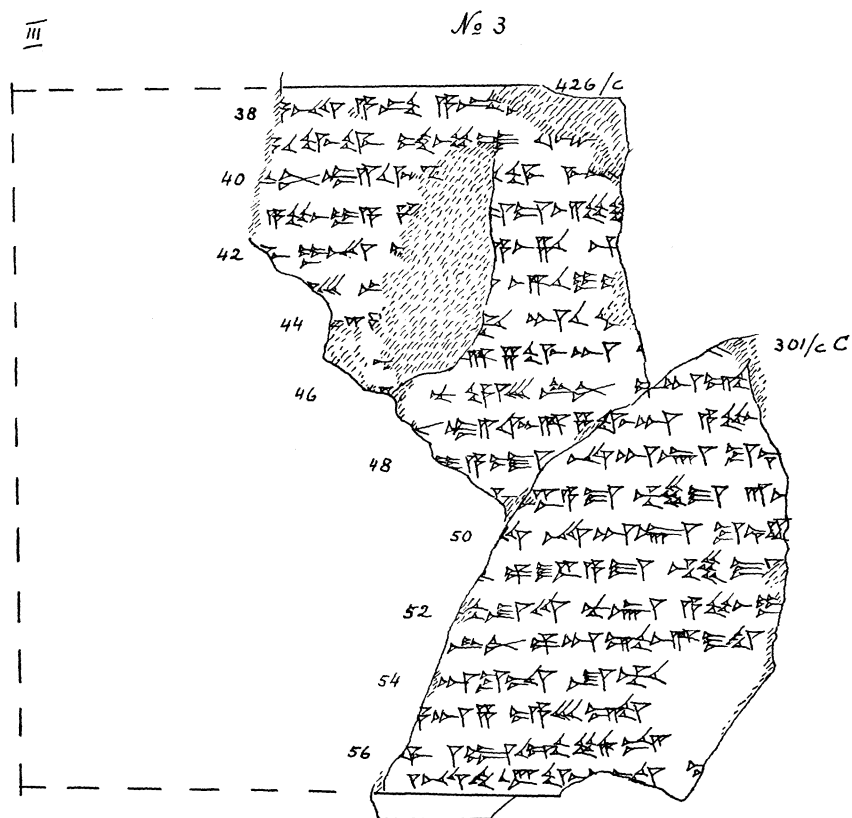
#### Places of Discovery of the Tablets

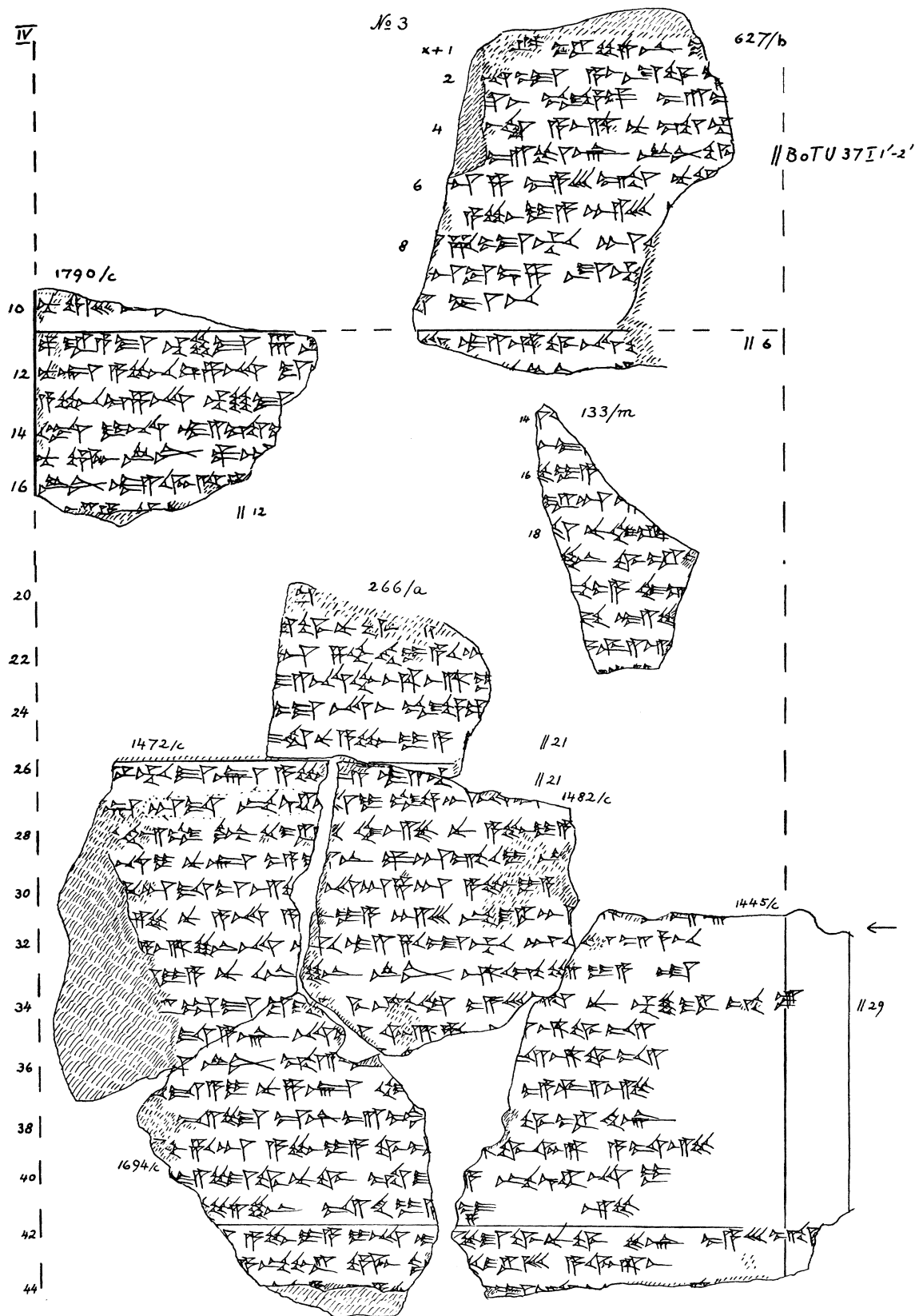
As is well known, tablets were found at Boğazköy in three major "archives": by Winckler and Makridi in and near a building on the west side of Büyükkale (Bittel's Building E), in 1906; by the same two excavators, in 1907, in one of the storerooms of Temple I; and by Bittel, since 1931, in the "Archive", Building A, in the south-east corner of Büyükkale. In addition, there are smaller lots of tablets, for instance in the "House on the Slope" above Temple I and in Building D of Büyükkale. Finally there are stray finds.

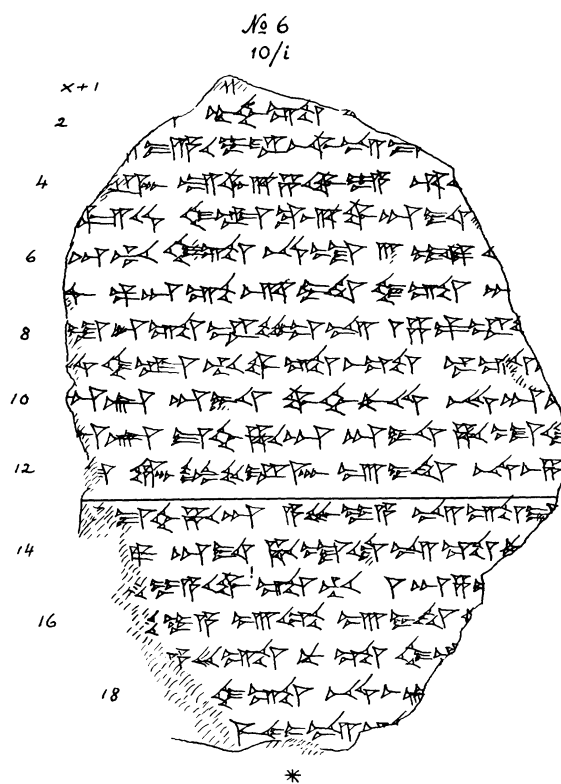
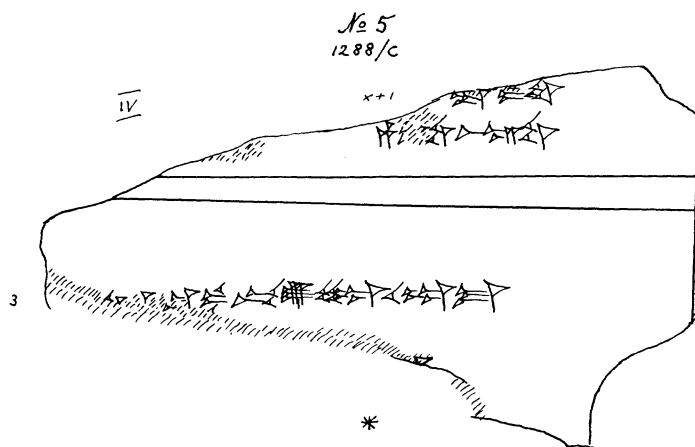
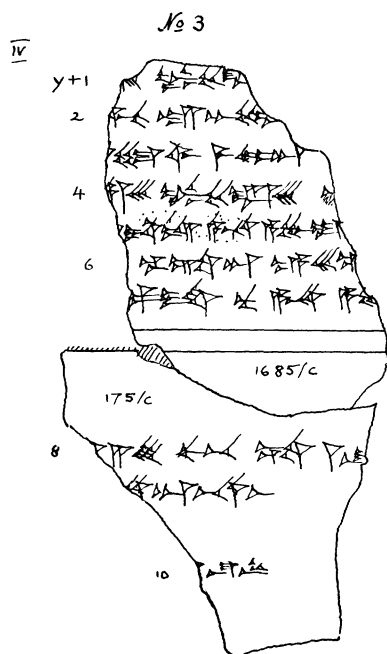
Virtually all of the Šuppiluliuma texts from Bittel's excavations come from Archive A. The few stray tablets listed below (list of "New Tablets" at the end of this article) were found not too far from Building A and include fragments of tablets actually found in that building. They can therefore be regarded as ultimately coming from the same archive. Bittel's excavations in Building E, Temple I, and the "House on the Slope" did not produce any Šuppiluliuma texts, so we have no clue to determine in which of these places Makridi found the "old" fragments of our text.

33. XIX 21, tentatively attributed to our work by Götze in the Foreword, does not belong here because collation showed that line 9 reads *A-NA* 'DINGIR. MEŠ.IR-*ma-an-wa* and this name of Muršili's daughter shows that the text must be later. This, incidentally, has some bearing on the question, discussed above, as to whether BoTU 45 is a late text or not, because it shows that there existed late *ABUYA* texts.

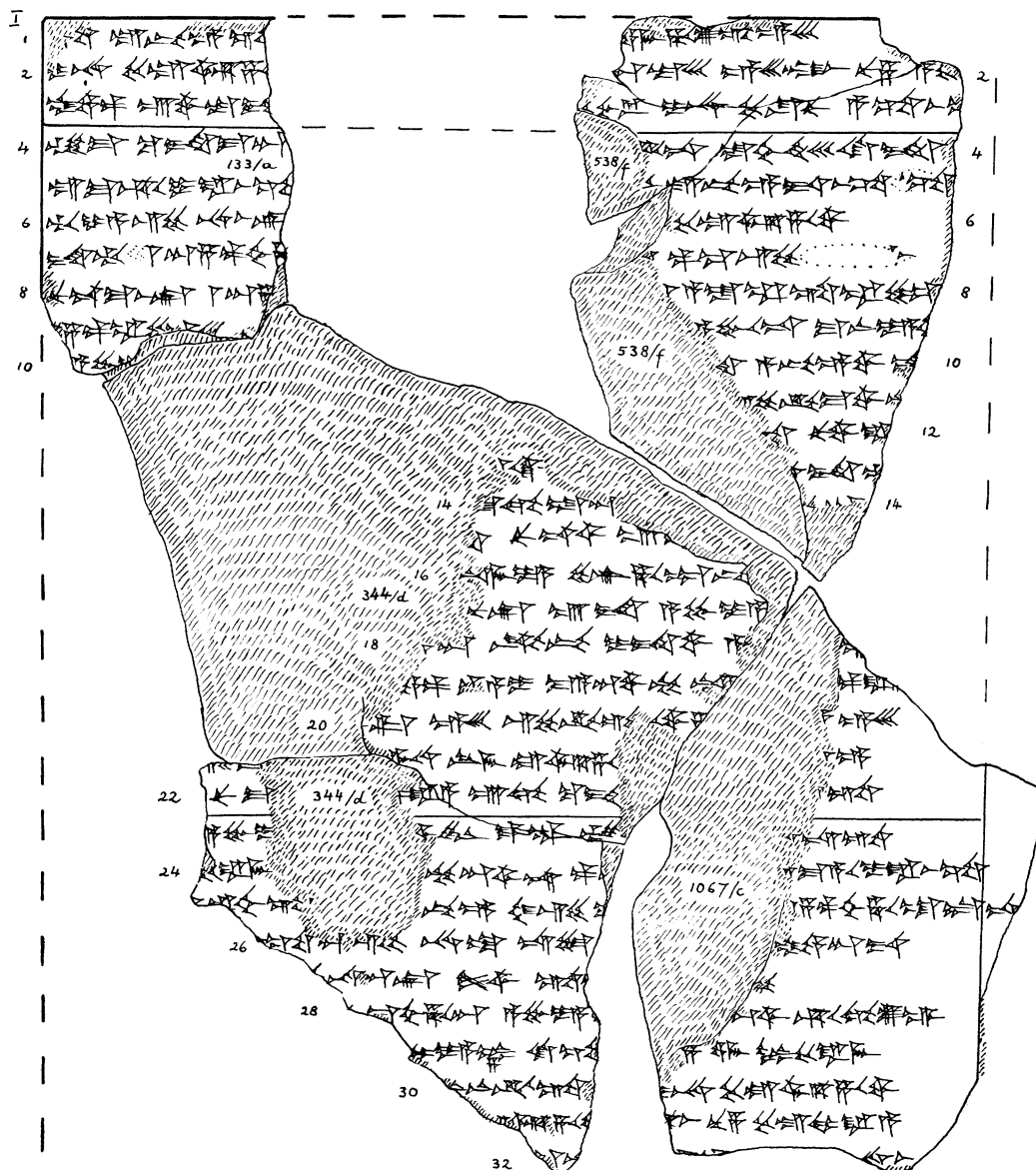






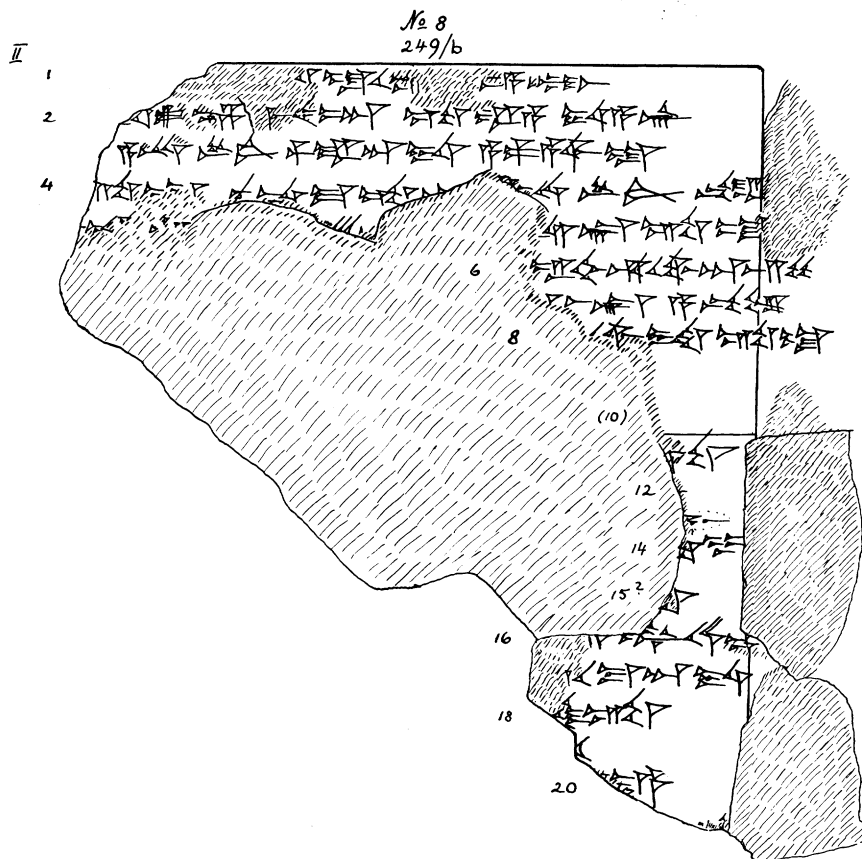
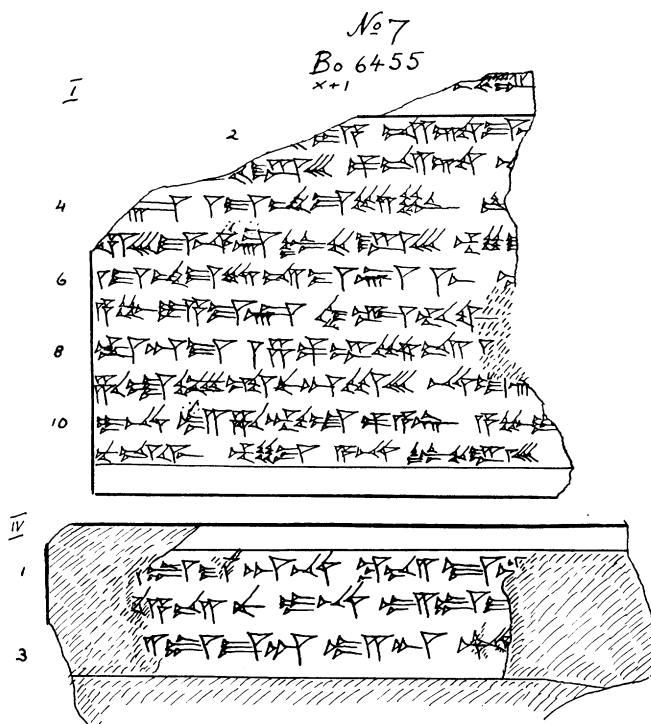


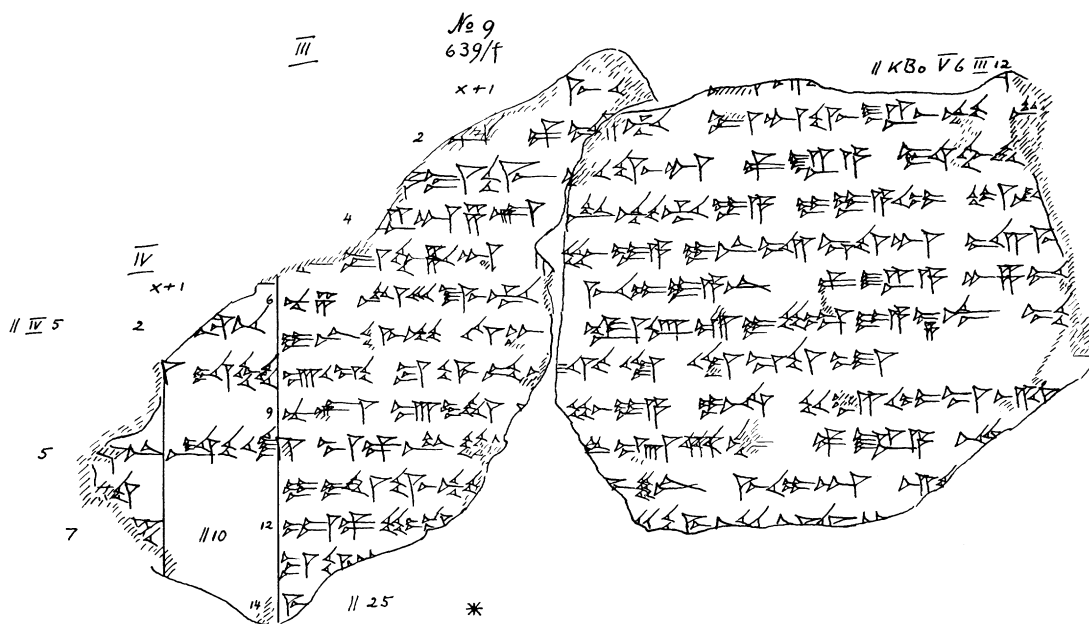
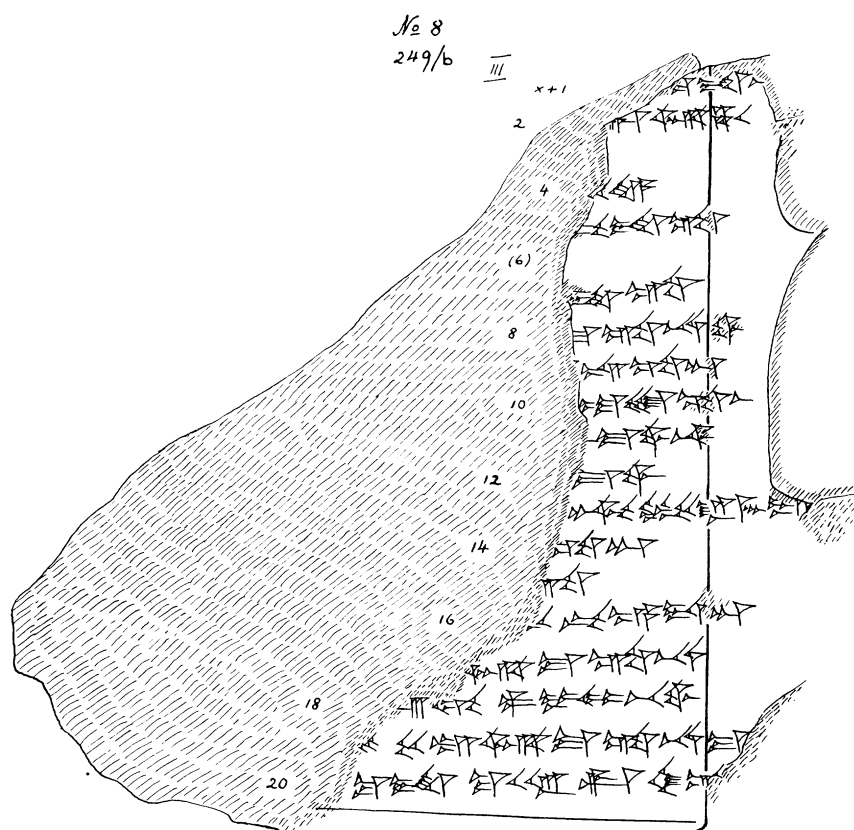
№ 4

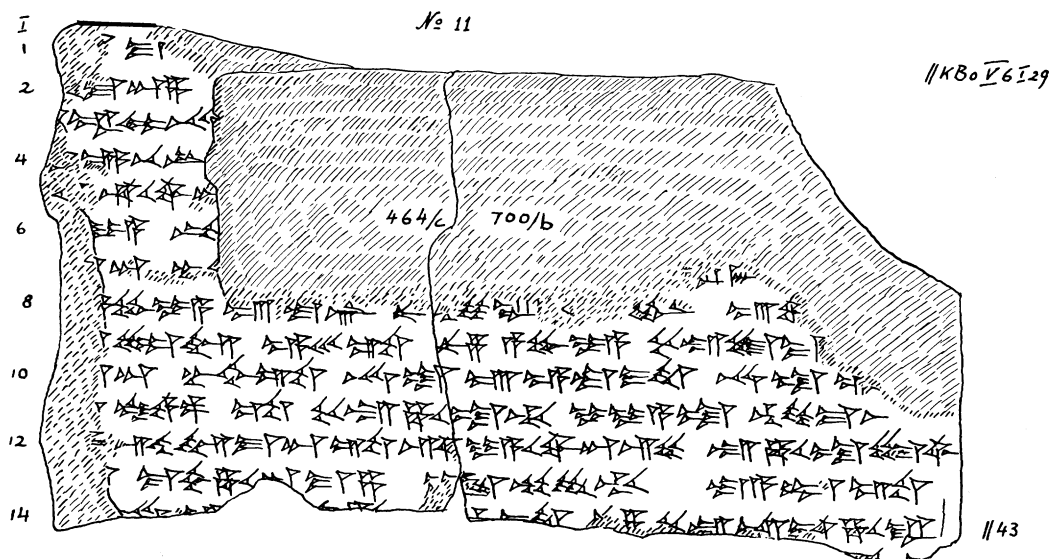
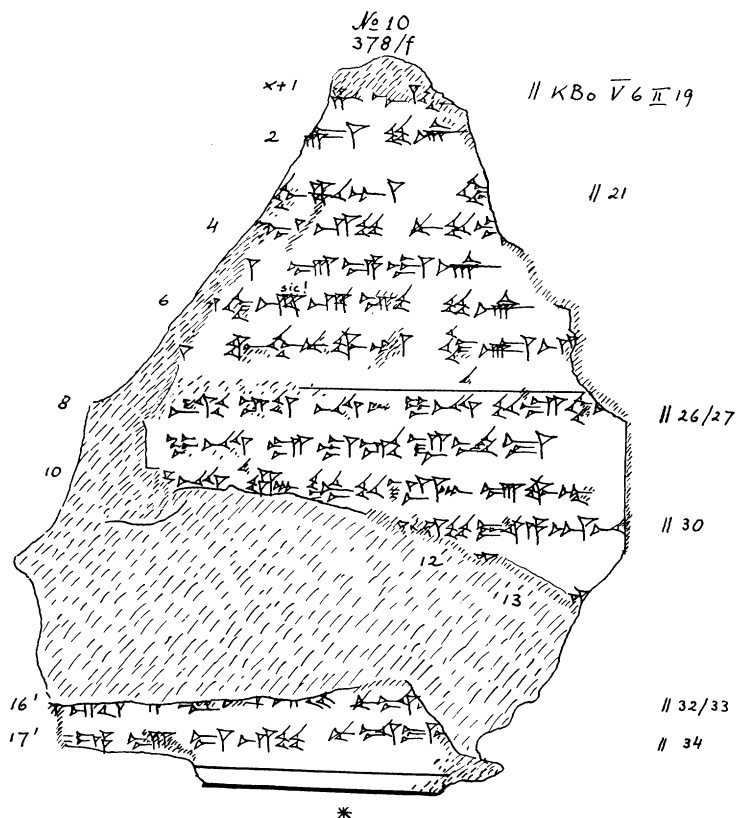


Col. iv: blank in 133/a and 344/d,  
broken in 1067/c and 538/f.









Col. IV: small unscripted portion near lower edge

A = BoTU 31 = Bo 2984 + 3414 (Bo 3414 only = XIV 23)  
 B = XIX 12 = Bo 626  
 C = BoTU 32 = XIV 22 = Bo 799  
 D = XXXI 33 = Bo 8740  
 E = XXXI 34 = Bo 8026  
 F = XXIII 2 = Bo 7797

## Translation

17' [...] KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Ha-ia-ša* x[.....]x-  
*pi-i*[...]

b) Explanatory parentheses like “(the woman)”, “(the town of)”, etc., are renderings of the determinatives of cuneiform script.

- 18' [A-NA(?) <sup>m</sup>Du]-ut-ḥa-li-ia A-BI A[-BI-IA  
 ..... (-)]na-at x[...]  
 19' [<sup>m</sup>Du-ut-ḥa]-li-ia-aš-pát ḥu-x[.....]x  
 20' [EGIR-a]n-da-ma-at PA-NI <sup>m</sup>Kán-tu[-uz-  
 zi-li DUMU(?) <sup>m</sup>D]u-ut-ḥa-l[i-ia]  
 21' [.....]x-ta na-at EGIR-pa x[...]  
 22' [.....]x-nu-ut nam-ma-az x[...]  
 23' [.....]x ú-it-ma-at PA-NI [...]  
 24' [.....]n]a-at EGIR-pa [...]

broken

*Fragment 3) C* (taken as col. i, against BoTU,  
 see p. 43). Beginning broken

- C i 1' x[...]  
 2' x[...]  
 3' EGIR-an x[...]  
 4' nam-ma-pát x[...]  
 5' <sup>m</sup>Kán-tu-uz-zi-l[i-...]  
 6' ḥu-ul-li-ia-at EREM.M[<sup>š</sup>2  
 7' EGIR-an-da-ma-aš nam-ma x[...]  
 8' pa-it nu <sup>URU</sup>Ar-zi-ia-an[...]  
 9' nu ŠA <sup>URU</sup>Ar-zi-ia a-aš-šu[-uš-še-ei QA-DU  
 NAM.RA.MEŠ]<sup>3</sup>  
 10' GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR pé-e ḥar[-ta  
 ...  
 11' <sup>m</sup>Kán-tu-uz-zi-DINGIR-LIM nam[-ma ...  
 12' [nu] EREM.MEŠ <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR pa-an-ga-r[i-it  
 BA.BAD]  
 13' [NAM.R]A(?)<sup>4</sup>.MEŠ-ma-aš-ši-kán kat[-ta-an  
 ...  
 14' [.....] KUR <sup>URU</sup>Ar-zi-ia ...
- broken (other columns lost)

*Fragment 4) B* col. ii (beginning of column)

- B ii 1 nu nam-ma Ū-UL tu-ḥu-ši-i[a-it ...  
 2 na-aš EGIR-pa i-ia-an-ni-i[t<sup>4</sup> ...  
 3 nu A-NA <sup>m</sup>Tu-ut-tu ku-i[š ...  
 4 nu-kán <sup>m</sup>Tu-ut-tu-uš ku-it [...  
 4a ar-ḥa pí-it-ta-le-eš-ki-it A-BI A[-BI-IA-ma  
 ...  
 5 nu <sup>URU</sup>Šal-la-pa-an IZI-az a[-...  
 6 A-BI A-BI-IA URU-an lu-u[k-ki-it ...  
 7 nu-uš-ši URU-aš ku-it ŠA x[...  
 8 ke-e-ez-za-ma-at-ši šal-li [...  
 9 nu-kán A-NA A-BI A-BI-IA [...  
 10 ki-iš-ta-nu-um-ma-an-zi ú<sup>5</sup>[-...  
 11 ki-iš-ta-nu-uš-ki-it <sup>m</sup>Tu-u[t-tu-...  
 12 [nu-k]án A-BI A-BI-IA A-NA [...  
 13 [pa-r]a-a na-a-i na-an-kán [...  
 14 [.....]x <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ AMA.A.TU [...

[.....to(?) T]udḥaliya, my grand-  
 f[ather ..... Tudḥ]aliya himself [.....  
 ...].

(20) But [after]wards, at the time of Kantu[zzili,  
 the son(?) of] Tudḥali[ya], [.....]-ed it, and  
 again [.....]-ed it. Then [.....  
 .....]. But it hap-  
 pened that it [.....] at the time of [.....  
 ..... An]d it again [... (broken)

*Fragment 3) C* (i) (beginning broken)

(3) after [.....]  
 again [.....] Kantuzzil[i .....  
 .....] smote. The troops [.....  
 .....] (7) But afterwards he  
 went again [.....] and (the  
 town of) Arziya (accus.) [he .....], and the  
 goods of Arziya [with the inhabitants], cattle and  
 sheep the enemy kept. [.....] Kan-  
 tuzzili again [.....], [and] the enemy troops  
 [died] in multitude.

(13) But the [inhabitant]s [.....] wi[th] him,  
 [.....] la]nd of Arz[ya ... (broken)

*Fragment 4) B* ii:

(1) Then finally [he] wait[ed] no longer [...  
 .....], and he went back [.....].  
 And [the .....] who to Tuttu [.....],  
 because Tuttu used to neglect [the .....], my  
 grand[father .....-ed,] (5) and (the town of)  
 Šallapa with fire ..[..... he burned. When] my  
 grandfather se[t fire] to the town, [...?] because  
 the town belonged(?) to his [.....] and  
 therefore it [.....] great to him, to my grand-  
 father [.....] (10) to extinguish (he)  
 c[ame, and the fire(?) he extinguished. [But]  
 Tu[ttu .....]. Then my grandfather [said]  
 to [.....: "..... send forth!" And [he  
 sent] him [forth. ....] servants

1. NUMUN or nu-x in BoTU; less in KUB.
2. Thus KUB; BoTU "Glossenkeil" ḥa[-...].
3. Restored after *Frgm.* 15, 20 (No. 3 iv 20 with BoTU 37 i 15).
4. Collation.
5. Rather ú than e, collation.

15 [.....]x *ku-it ša-x*[...]

16 [.....]x-*ia* x[...]

broken

*Fragment 5*) D (col. cannot be determined; for placing see p. 43). Beginning broken

D 1' .....]x x[...  
 2' ..... UR]U(?)*-aš tu-u[z-zi-(?)*...  
 3' .....]x-*pa mTa-pa[l(?)*-...<sup>6</sup>  
 4' .....A-NA *mTu-ut-t]u*<sup>7</sup> 8 LÚ.MEŠ *kat-t[i-iš-ši e-šir(?)*]  
 5' .....*kat-t[i-iš-mi* URU*Ta-x*[...  
 6' .....]A-NA *mTu-ut-tu* x[...  
 7' .....*kat-ti-i]š-ši* URU*Ha-la-mi-x*[...  
 8' .....A-N]A *mTu-ut-tu* 8 L[Ú.  
 MEŠ *kat-ti-iš-ši e-šir(?)*]  
 9' .....*kat-ti-i]š-ši* URU*Du*[-...  
 10' .....]x-*šu-na-a[z(?)* ...  
 11' .....]x x[...

broken (other columns lost)

*Fragment 6*) E col. ii (col. i not placed)<sup>8</sup>. Beginning broken

E ii 1' *nu-za* DINGIR.MEŠ [...  
 2' *nu-za* A-NA KI.KA[L.BAD ...  
 3' *nu-uš-ši-ša-an ku-e*(-)...  
 4' KI.KAL.BAD.ĜI.A *na-a-x*[...  
 5' KI.KAL.BAD.ĜI.A *pa-ra-a* [...  
 6' *na-aš* A-NA *mTu-ut-tu* x[...  
 7' (traces)

broken (rev. lost)

*Fragment 7*) A col. ii (in BoTU only). Beginning broken

A ii 1'-7' illegible traces

8' *a-ku-wa*[-...  
 9' *ú-wa*[-...  
 10' *nu* x[...  
 11' *nu*[-(-)...

broken

*Fragment 8*) B col. iii (end of col.). Beginning broken

B iii 1' [.....]x[...  
 2' [.....]x-x *u-ni* LÚ[KÚR...  
 3' [*nu*]A-BI A-BI-IA *IŠ-T[U* ...  
 4' [*wa-a]h-nu-ut na-aš* I-NA [...  
 5' [*na*]-aš GIM-an I-NA ĜUR.S[AGNa-an-ni<sup>9</sup>..  
 6' [*nu*]-kán I-NA ĜUR.SAGNa[-an-ni ...  
 7' [A-B]U-IA-ma-kán *pa-ra*[-a ...

[.....] what/because [...  
 (broken)

*Fragment 5*) D (beginning broken)

(2) [..... to]wn ar[my .....]  
 ... Tapa[lli(? or: one tea[m of horses ?) .....]  
 with [Tutt]u [were] eight men, [..... wit]h  
 them [in(?)] (the town of) Ta[-.....] to  
 Tuttu [.....].

(7) [..... wit]h him [in(?)] (the town  
 of) Ĥatami[-..... with] Tuttu [were]  
 eight m[en ..... wit]h him [in(?)] (the town of)  
 Du[-.....].....[... (broken)

*Fragment 6*) E ii (beginning broken)

(1) And the gods [.....].  
 And to the arm[y .....]. And [the  
 ..... (pl.)] which to him [.....]  
 armies ...[.....] (5) armies forward  
 [.....]. And he [...] to Tuttu  
 [...] (broken)

*Fragment 7*) A ii

(Too little preserved for translation)

*Fragment 8*) B iii (beginning broken)

(1) ... (2) [.....] the aforesaid en[emy  
 .....].

(3) [And] my grandfather from [.....]  
 tu]rned, and he [went] into [.....].  
 And when he [came] to Mount [Nanni], on Mount  
 Na[nni .....]. But my father [.....]

6. Or: 1 TA-PA[L ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ ...] after  
*Frgm. 23*, 13 (No. 8 iii 13); cf. *Frgm. 47* (XXXI 11) 6,  
 and *Alalakh Tablets* No. 330 (*JCS* VIII 26).

7. Restored after line 8.

8. Of col. i, ends of two lines preserved: 1' [ ... *ku*]-  
*iš-ki*, 4' [ ... *e*]-*ep-ta*.

9. Restored after lines 6 and 11.

- 8' [nu-k]án EREM.MEŠ ZU-TE-E A-N[A  
 ...  
 9' [nu-z]a ku-iš wa-al-ḥa-an[-...  
 10' [wa-a]l-ah-ta nu NAM.RA.MEŠ [...  
 11' I-NA ḥUR.SAGNa-an-ni me-n[a-ah-ḥa-an-da  
 ...  
 12' ma-a-an-za A-BI A-BI-IA-ma [...  
 13' ta-ni-nu-um-ma-an-zi IŠ-B[AT ...  
 14' DUMU <sup>m</sup>Zi-it-ta-ra <sup>URU</sup>Ḥa[-...  
 15' <sup>m</sup>Ḥal-pa-mu-u-wa-aš-wa-kán ku-iš [...  
 16' KUR-e an-da e-eš-ta nu<sup>10</sup>[-...]

end of column

Column iv lost in all copies

### Second and Third Tablets

A = BoTU 33 = XXVI 84 = Bo 2726

B = No. 1 = 301/c B

C = No. 2 = KBo VIII 29 = 16/m

D = BoTU 34 (Bo 2059 + 2467 + 6487 + 6610) + Bo 6456 = XIX 11

E = BoTU 35 = XIX 10 = VAT 7443

F = No. 3 = 266/a (XXXIV 27) + 627/b + 301/c C + 426/c + 1445/c + 1472/c + 1482/c + 1694/c (last four = XXXIV 26) + 1790/c (XXXIV 35) + 133/m (KBo VIII 31) (+) 1685/c (XXXIV 28) + 175/c

G = BoTU 37 = XIX 18 = Bo 2338

Fragment 9) B col. i. Beginning broken

B i 1' .....] NU GÁL

- 2' .....]x  
 3' .....]ul (or UL)  
 4' .....]ši (or LIM)  
 5' .....]x-uš  
 6' .....]MEŠ (or x-eš)  
 7' .....]  
 8' .....]x-zi  
 9' .....]x-pu-ú  
 10' .....-P]UR(?)

broken

Fragment 10) D col. i. Beginning broken<sup>1</sup>

D i 1' x-x[...

- 2' ma-ah-ḥa-a[n-m]a A-BU-IA i-i[a-...  
 3' nu nam-ma <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR <sup>URU</sup>Ḥa-ia-ša I-N[A  
 KUR ..... Ū-UL]<sup>2</sup>

10. Over erasure.

1. Ca. 21 lines missing according to Forrer. This number would include the lines preserved in *Frgm. 9*.

2. Restorations of lines 3-5 from context.

forth, and the troops of the tribes<sup>c</sup> to [.....  
 And] who [went(?) to] atta[ck ....., he  
 attacked [him], and the population [.....] on  
 Mount Nanni agai[nst .....]. (12) But  
 when my grandfather undertook to reestablish  
 [the country of ....., PN], the son of Zittara,  
 [told him in] (the town of) Ḥa[.....]: “Ḥalpa-  
 muwa, who was [.....] in the country, [.....]  
 (end of column; continuation of text lost)

Fragment 9) B i

(Too little preserved for translation)

Fragment 10) D i (beginning broken)

(2) But when my father ma[rched forward], he  
 [did not] meet the Ḥayašaeen enemy in [the

c) The *sutû* in our text cannot be Bedouins or Syrian nomads as elsewhere (Mari, *ARM* XV; Alalakh, Idrimi 15; Amarna, *EA* pp. 1038 f., 1580; Assyrian inscriptions, Luckenbill, *Anc. Rec.* I § 73 [Adadnirari I], II p. 485 [Sargon and later]). The Gašgaeans are EREM.MEŠ ŠU-TI (*Frgm. 10*, 6, etc.), and šuti are counted (12 ŠU-TI, *Frgm. 14*, 16, etc.). Muršili, while campaigning in the Gašga region, sends forth EREM.MEŠ ŠU-TI.ḤIA (*AM* p. 174, XIX 37 iii 27) who are contrasted to the Hittites (*ibid.* 30). The term must have a wider meaning than “Bedouins”, something like “tribe” or “tribal group” in general. Spellings: ZU-TE-E, ŠU-TI(ḤIA), ŠU-TE, SU-TE-I, SU-TE.MEŠ (for references see the list of names).

- 4' *ú-e-mi-ia-zi nu A-BU-IA A-NA* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR  
[<sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-ia-ša EGIR-an-da]  
5' *i-ia-at-la-at na-an-ša-an nam-ma Ū-U*[*L*  
*ú-e-mi-ia-zi*]  
6' *nu* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR <sup>URU</sup>Ga-aš-ga *pa-a-an-ku-un*  
EREM.MEŠ ŠU-TI I-NA [ŠĀ.KUR-TI]  
7' *IK-ŠU-UD nu-uš-ši* DINGIR.MEŠ *kat-*  
*ta-an ti-i-e-er* [<sup>DU</sup>TU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-na]  
8' <sup>DU</sup><sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-at-ti <sup>DU</sup>KI.KAL.BAD <sup>D</sup>IŠTAR  
LÍL *nu* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR  
9' *pa-an-ga-ri-it* BA.BAD <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠŠU.DIB-  
*an-na me[-ek-ki-in IŠ-BAT]*  
10' *na-an EGIR-pa I-NA* <sup>URU</sup>Ša-mu-ḫa *ú-wa-*  
*te[-et]*  
11' *nam-ma-kán A[-BU-IA* <sup>URU</sup>Ša-mu-ḫa]-*az*  
*ar-ḫa pa-it nu*[. . . . .]  
12' *ku-it* [I]Š-TU<sup>3</sup> <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR[-Š]U(?) *ḫar-ga-an*  
*e-eš-ta nu p[a-an-ku-uš(?)]*  
13'<sup>4</sup> ŠĀ <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *a-pí-ia ar-ta-at* [. . .]x[. . . . .]x[  
. . .]  
14' <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠSIPA.UDU-*ia an-da wa-ar-r[i- . . .*  
15' *še-e-na-aḫ-ḫa da-iš nu* <sup>URU</sup>Ga-a[š-ga- . . .  
16' *nu NA-RA-A-RU ku-iš ú-it* [. . .  
17' [*nu*] EREM.M[E]Š *Ga-aš-ga-aš* EREM.  
MEŠ *N[A-RA-RI-ia pa-an-ga-ri-it* BA.  
BAD]  
18' [<sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ]ŠU.DIB-*an-ma ku-i[n . . .*  
19' [ŠĀ(?) KUR] <sup>URU</sup>UGU-TI-*ia*[. . .  
20'-21' traces only  
22'-36' lost  
37' x[. . .  
38' *nu*[. . .  
39'-40' traces only  
41' *nu*[. . .  
42' *I-N[A . . .*  
43' <sup>URU</sup>[. . .  
44' *nu m[a-aḫ-ḫa-an(?) . . .*  
45'-46' traces only

end of column

Fragment 11) A col. ii // B col. ii and later // C.

Text first after B; beginning of col. broken in B  
B ii 1' x-x[. . .

- 2' *pa-id-du-x*[. . .  
3' *a-pí-ia<sup>5</sup>-wá ku-x*[. . .  
4' *ku-it a-ki<sup>6</sup> nu-wa-r[(a-an-kán) . . .*  
5' *ku-e-ni UM-MA A-B[U-I(A A-NA A-BI*  
*A-BI-IA)]*  
6' *e-da-ni-wa A-NA* [KASKA(L(?) EN-IA  
*am-mu-uk u-i-ia)]*

country of . . . . .]. So my father went  
[after the Ḫayašaeen] enemy, but again he did not  
[meet] him. (But) the Gašgaeen enemy, all of  
their tribal troops, he met in [the country]. And  
the gods stood by him: [the Sun Goddess of  
Arinna], the Storm God of Ḫatti, the Storm God  
of the Army, and Ištar of the Battlefield, (so that)  
the en[emy] died in multitude. He also [took]  
ma[ny] prisoners and brought them back to  
Šamuḫa.

(11) Again [my] fa[ther] went forth from  
[Šamuḫa]. And [in the country(?)] which had  
been laid waste by i[ts] enemy, there stood a[l]l  
of the enemies. [(Even) the . . .] and the shep-  
herds [had come to] help. [My father] set a trap  
[for them] and [smote] the Ga[šgaeans]. The  
helpers who had come, [those he smote, too], (so  
that) the Gašgaean troops and the au[xiliary]  
troops [died in multitude]. But the captives  
whom [he took were countless(?)].

(19) [Of(?)] the Upper Country [. . .

(20-46: too little preserved for translation)

Fragment 11) A ii // B ii and C (beginning broken)

(B 2) [" . . . . .] let him go! [ . . . . .]  
There . . . [ . . . . .] because [ . . . does not(?) die,  
kill him [ . . . . .]!" — Thus (spoke) my father to  
my grandfather: "Oh my lord! Send me on that

3. Here begins Bo 6456, the fragment published only  
in KUB XIX 11.

4. About middle of tablet (Forrer).

5. Rather so than A-BI-IA.

6. Here begins A ii 1 (beginning of col.). Forrer's  
free restoration [. . .-i]š of the one preserved vertical  
(XXVI 84 ii 1) must be given up.



- 7' *nu-wa ku-it ŠA* [ZI(?)(-IA DINGIR.MEŠ  
e-eš-ša-an-zi)]<sup>7</sup>
- 8' *nu-kán A-BI A-BI-I*[A A(-BU-IA URUŠa-  
mu-ḥa-az)]
- 9' *pa-ra-a na-iš<sup>8</sup>-la* [na-aš-kán ma-aḥ-ḥa-an(?)]
- 10' *I-NA* (KUR)<sup>9</sup> URUḤa-at[(-ti a-ar-aš) . . . .  
. . . . .]
- 11' *ku-it IŠ-TU* [(L<sup>U</sup>KUR ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-wa-  
an-za) e-eš-la]
- 12' *nu-kán A-BU-I*[(A ku-un-zi ar-ḥa)]
- 13' *iš-ḥu-u-wa-u-wa*[a-an da-a(-iš na-an-kán ar-  
ḥa)]
- 14' *iš-ḥu-u<sup>10</sup>-wa*[(-a-ir) . . . . .  
(e-ep-pir)]<sup>11</sup>
- 
- A ii 11 . . . . . *me-mi-ia(-a)n ú-te-er*
- 12 . . . . . URUWa-aš(-ḥa-ni)]-ia  
URUGa-aš-ga-an ú-wa-te-et
- 13 . . . . . ] URUWa-aš-ḥa-  
ni-ia
- 14 . . . . . (ŠA É.GAL U.R)A(?)<sup>12</sup> NAM].  
RA.MEŠ GUD.ḪIA UDU.ḪIA
- 15 . . . . . (ḪUR.SAGPi-ir-wa)-aš(?)<sup>12</sup>-  
ši-iš
- 16 . . . . . (-ri-ia-an-na)- . . . . ]x URUḤa-  
at-tu-ša-za
- 17 . . . . . (pé-e ḥ)ar- . . . . n]u URUGa-  
aš-ga-an
- 18 . . . . . (x) . . . . n]u-wa ta-x-x[ . . .
- 19 . . . . . -i]š

broken; large gap

*Fragment 12* A col. iii (end of column). Begin-  
ning broken<sup>13</sup>

- A iii 1' . . . . . ]x
- 2' . . . . . ]x-iš EGIR-an
- 3' . . . . . A-N]A A-BU-IA
- 4' . . . . . URUNe(?)]-ni-iš-ta-an-ku-wa
- 5' . . . . ]x-ri pa-x[ . . . . . ]x-iš IT-TI
- 6' . . . . . ]-ri na-an x[ . . . . . -a]t
- 7'-9' or 10' blank
- 
- 11'<sup>14</sup> [*ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma A-BU(?)*]-IA<sup>15</sup> EGIR-  
pa I-NA URUKU.BABAR-ti
- 12' [*ú-it nu-uš-ši-kán me-mi-a*]n ú-te-er L<sup>U</sup>KUR  
URUGa-aš-ga-aš-wa
- 13' . . . . . wa-al]-ḥu-u-wa-an-zi pa-it

end of column

7. Dividing line on A only.

8. A 5: eš.

9. KUR in A 6 only.

10. A 9 omits u.

11. Dividing line in A only. B has traces of two

[campai]gn! Then, what is in my [heart], the gods  
will fulfill!"

(8) So my grandfather sent forth my father  
from Šamuḥa. [And when he (my father)] ar-  
rived in the land of Ḫatti, since [the *kunzi*(?) had  
been] burned down by the enemy, my father  
began to cast away the *kunzi*.<sup>a</sup> And they cast it  
away [and] took [ . . . . . ].

(A 11) [And to my father/grandfather] they  
brought [wo]rd: [" . . . . . ] brought the Gaš-  
gaeans (acc.) to (the town of) [Waš]ḥaniya.  
[ . . . . . ] Wašḥaniya [ . . . . . ] deportees,  
cattle and sheep of the . . . .<sup>b</sup> palace [ . . . . . ]  
Mount Pirwa[š]ši(?) (nom.) [ . . . . . ] . . . .  
from Ḫattuša [ . . . . . ] kep[t]. And the Gaš-  
gaeans (acc.) [ . . . (18 ff. broken)

*Fragment 12* A iii (beginning broken)

(1) . . . . . (2) [ . . . . . ] behind [ . . . . . ] t]o my  
father [ . . . . . (the town of) Ne(?) ]ništankuwa  
[ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . . with [ . . . . . ] . . And he  
[ . . . ]-ed him. (blank)

(11) [But when my father/grandfather came]  
back to Ḫatti, they brought [him wo]rd: "The  
Gašgaean enemy set out to attack [ . . . . . ]"  
(end of column, continuation of text lost)

a) I cannot determine the meaning of *kunzi*- (with  
SĪG "wool" X 85, 2; 87, 3), *kunzita* (plur., beside *šittarra*,  
X 28 i 19 // XI 21 a vi 10, ZA 46, 23), EZEN *kunzi* (HW),  
*kunza*- (with SĪG "wool", XI 20 i 5 // 25 iii 2) and of  
the derivatives *kunzagašši*- (Pap. iii 6; 13; 27), *kunzalahi*-  
(Bo 2437 i 21: *ku-un-za-la-ḥi-i*[a ke]-el-d[i-ia]), and  
*kunziyala*- (Bildb. 3 ii 8). The Hurrian origin may  
account for the endless form here in spite of the gen.  
comm. (*nankan*, our line 13). Because of this gender,  
*kunzi* may be restored in line 10 as subject of *arḥa*  
*warnuwanza*.

b) Hardly "old", cf. n. 12 to transliteration.

more lines (15' illegible, 16' like [ . . . ]-ak[ . . . ]). Text  
hereafter according to A, with duplicate C whose line 1'  
corresponds to A ii 11.

12. Combination of C and A uncertain. C 4 has U  
followed by what may be the beginning of RA (U<sub>1</sub>.RA  
for U<sub>3</sub>.RA ??); certainly not the NAM.RA expected in  
A 14.—Combination of C 5 and A 15 also uncertain, but  
the proposed reading at least gives a plausible name.

13. Somewhere here F ii falls, of which only the fol-  
lowing ends of lines are preserved on the right edge  
(No. 3): 1' erasure, 4' (about middle of tablet) [ . . . ]-ta,  
9' (?) [ . . . A-BI(?) ] A-BI-IA.

14. Numbering of last three lines differs in BoTU and  
KUB; we have adopted the numbers of BoTU.

15. Or: [GIM-an-ma A-BI A-BI]-IA, restoration free.  
Cf. above, p. 43.

26. Erroneously omitted in E; D 25 correctly [A-BU-I]A-ia-aš-ši.

- 18 [(n)]u-kán A-BU-IA ku-e-da-aš A-NA  
URU.AŠ.AŠ.ĜI.A dan<sup>27</sup>-na-at-t[(a-aš EGIR-  
an)]
- 19 [A]N.ZA.KĀR ú-e-te-et na-aš LÚKUR da-a-  
an nam-ma ħar-ni[(-ik)-ta]<sup>28</sup>
- D iv 29 ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma<sup>29</sup> A-BI A-BI-IA IŠ-TU  
KUR URUMa-a-a[(š-ša EGI)R-pa ú-it]  
30 nu KUR<sup>30</sup> Kat-ḫa-ri-ia-aš URUGa-az-za<sup>31</sup>-  
pa-aš-ša ku-i[(-e-eš)...]x[...]<sup>32</sup>  
31 ħar-ni-in-ki-iš-ki-ir a-aš-šu-wa-az-ma-at  
I[(Š-TU KŪ)].BABAR<sup>33</sup> KŪ[.GI]  
32<sup>34</sup> Ū-NU-UT UD.KA.BAR-ia ħu-u-ma-  
an-da-az-zi-i[a EREM.MEŠ] URUGa-aš-  
g[a-aš(?)]  
33 píd-da-a-ir nu A-BI A-BI-IA a-pé-e-  
da-aš [A-NA UR]U.AŠ.AŠ.ĜI.A  
34 wa-al-ḫu-wa-an-zi pa-it [nu] A-NA A-BI  
[A-BI-I]A DINGIR.MEŠ pí-ra-an  
35 ħu-u-i-e-er nu URUKat-ḫa-ri-i[a-an]  
URUGa-a[z-za]-pa-an-na ħar-ni-ik[-ta]  
36 na-aš ar-ḫa wa-ar-nu-ut A-NA URU[Kat-  
ḫa]ri-i[a-i]a ku-iš  
37 EREM.MEŠ URUGa-aš-ga-aš ħu-u-ma-  
an-za wa-a[r-r]i p[a]-an-za<sup>35</sup> e-eš-ta  
38 nu A-NA A-BI A-BI-IA DINGIR.MEŠ  
pí-ra-an [ħu-u-i-e-e]r nu EREM.MEŠ  
URUGa-aš-g[a-an]  
39 ħu-ul-li-it nu EREM.MEŠ URUGa-aš-ga-  
aš x[... p]a-an-ga-ri-it BA.BAD  
40 ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma A-BI A-BI-IA a-pé-ez  
EGIR[-pa ú]-it  
41 na-aš I-NA KUR URUḪa-ia-ša pa-it  
A-BU-IA[-ia-aš-ši<sup>36</sup> ka]t-ta-an-pát e[-eš-  
ta]  
42 nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an A-BI A-BI-IA I-NA  
KUR URUḪa[-ia-ša a]-ar[-aš(?)]  
43 nu-uš-ši<sup>m</sup>Kar(?)<sup>37</sup>-an-ni-iš LUGAL KUR  
URUḪa-ia-ša [...  
44 [ŠA-PA]L(?) URUKum-ma-ḫa za-aḫ-ḫi-i[a

broken<sup>38</sup>

Columns ii and iii of E lost; in col. iv only colophon  
preserved

Colophon of E

E iv 1' x 3(?)<sup>39</sup> KAM Ū-UL QA-TI

2' Š[A] <sup>m</sup>Šu-u-up-pí-lu-li-u-ma

3' GAL.LUGAL(sic!) UR.SAG LÚ-na-an-  
na-aš

Several lines erased

again; and the enemy again destroyed the empty  
towns behind which my father had built fortifica-  
tions.

(D 29) And when my grandfather [came] back  
from the country of Mašša — the countries of  
Kathariya and Gazzapa which kept destroying  
[towns(?)] (as) the Gašgæan [troops] carried away  
their goods, silver, gold, bronze utensils and every-  
thing — my grandfather went to those towns in  
order to attack (the troops of Kathariya and  
Gazzapa). [Then] the gods helped my grand-  
father, (so that) he destroyed (the towns of)  
Kathariya and Gazzapa and burned them down.  
And all the Gašgæan troops who had come to  
help Kathariya — the gods helped my grand-  
father, (so that) he smote (those) Gašgæan troops,  
and the Gašgæan troops [...] died in multitude.

(40) But when my grandfather came back from  
there, he went to the country of Ḫayaša. And  
my father was still with him. And when my  
grandfather arrived in the country of Ḫa[yaša],  
there [came] Karanni (? or: Lanni?), king of  
Ḫayaša, to (meet him in) battle below (the town  
of) Kummaḫa. [...] (broken)

Colophon of E

Third (tablet), (text) not complete, of the  
Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, the great king, the hero.  
(erasure)

e) Lit.: carried them (the towns) away, along with  
the goods, etc.

27. D 27: ta-an-.

28. Dividing line in D only; text hereafter according  
to D again.

30. E 21 adds URU.

31. E 21 omits za.

32. Forrer restores (URU)[AŠ.AŠ.ĜI.A], taking the  
trace in Bo 6610 as URU; cf. XIX 11 iv 30 at right; not  
collated.

33. E broken.

34. Middle of tablet in D.

35. The restoration is Forrer's.

36. Space too small for the required second ia;  
perhaps erroneously omitted, cf. n. 26.

37. kar is Forrer's reading. In KUB given as dam-  
aged; could be la-a (<sup>m</sup>La-a-an-ni-iš).

38. Nr. 14 (Frgm. 40) may belong here; see above,  
p. 49.

39. For these signs cf. the different renderings in  
BoTU and KUB and Forrer's remarks BoTU II p. 32\*.  
A photograph of VAT 7443 shows even more than BoTU:  
the heads of four verticals before KAM, and more  
traces farther left. We have taken the last three ver-  
ticals as figure "3" and the first vertical as part of the  
first sign "x", which does not resemble the expected  
DUB at all.

Fragment 14) F col. iii. Beginning broken<sup>40</sup>

- F iii 1' [.....]x-ni-i[a(-)]...  
 2' [.....Ga-]aš-ga še-na[-aḥ-ḥa ...<sup>41</sup>  
 3' [.....<sup>m</sup>Pi-i]a<sup>42</sup>-pí-li-iš x[...  
 4' [.....] ku-na-an-zi ki-x[...  
 5' [...<sup>m</sup>Pi-i]a-pí-li-iš pé-e[(-)]...  
 6' [.....]Ú-UL ku-it-ki i-da-la[-wa-aḥ-ta]<sup>43</sup>  
 7' [ma-aḥ-ḥa-an]-ma<sup>44</sup> A-BI A-BI-IA <sup>m</sup>Pi-i  
 i[a-pí-li-...  
 8' [.....I]Š-ME A-BI<sup>45</sup> A-BI-IA-ma  
 nu-u-wa ku-i[ti]  
 9' [ir-ma-li]-ia-an-za e-eš-ta UM-MA A-BI  
 A-BI-IA-MA  
 10' [ku-iš-wa p]a-iz-zi UM-MA A-BU-IA-  
 MA am-mu-uk-wa pa-a-i-mi  
 11' [nu-kán A]-BI A-BI-IA A-BU-IA pa-  
 ra-a na-iš-ta  
 12' [nu-kán] ma-aḥ-ḥa-an A-BU-IA ŠĀ KUR-  
 TI a-ar-aš  
 13' [nu-kán]n <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR <sup>URU</sup>Ga-aš-ga-aš ku-iš  
 I-NA ŠĀ KUR <sup>URU</sup>Ḥa-at-ti  
 14' ú-wa-an-za e-eš-ta nu KUR-e me-ek-ki  
 i-da-la-wa-aḥ-ta  
 15' [n]u-kán A-BU-IA ku-in <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR <sup>URU</sup>Ga-  
 aš-ga-an I-NA ŠĀ KUR-TI  
 16' [I]K-ŠU-UD na-aš 12 ŠU-TI ki-ša-at  
 nu A-NA A-BU-IA  
 17<sup>46</sup> [DI]NGIR.MEŠ pí-ra-an ḥu-u-i-e-er nu-  
 kán u-ni <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR <sup>URU</sup>Ga-aš-ga-an  
 18' EREM.MEŠ ŠU-TI ku-in ku-wa-pí da-  
 ma-aš-ki-it  
 19' [n]a-an-kán ku-wa-aš-ki-it ku-it-ma pé-e  
 ḥar-ta  
 20' [n]a-at-ši-kán A-BU-IA ar-ḥa da-aš-ki-it  
 21' [n]a-at EGIR-pa <sup>LÚ</sup>MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Ḥa-at-ti  
 pé-eš-ki-it  
 22<sup>47</sup> A-BI A-BI-IA-ma ḥa-ad-du-li-iš-ta nam-  
 ma  
 23' na-aš IŠ-TU KUR UGU-TI kat-ta  
 ú-it na-aš ma-aḥ-ḥa-an  
 24' I-NA <sup>URU</sup>Zi-it-ḥa-ra a-ar-aš nu EREM.  
 MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>[.....]  
 25' pa-a[n-ku-un I]-NA <sup>URU</sup>Zi-it-ḥa-ra IK-  
 ŠU[-UD]  
 26' nu A[-NA A-BI] A-BI-IA DINGIR.  
 MEŠ pí-ra-a[n ḥu]-[u-i-e-er]  
 27' nu-k[án <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR] ku-en-ta nu EREM.  
 MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>[...  
 28' KUR-x[.....]x-x <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR.MEŠ [...

Fragment 14) F iii (beginning broken)

(2) [..... laid a] tr[ap for the Gašgaeans.  
 [..... Pi]yapili (nom.) [.....] they kill.  
 ...[..... Pi]yapili (nom.) .....[..... did]  
 nothing evil. (7) But [when] my grandfather  
 heard [of the ..... of] Pi]yapili]—since my  
 grandfather was still [si]ck, my grandfather  
 (spoke) thus: “[Who] will go?” Thus (spoke) my  
 father: “I will go!” [So] my grandfather sent forth  
 my father.

(12) When my father arrived in the country,  
 (he found that) the Gašgaean enemy who had  
 come inside the land of Ḫatti had treated the  
 land very badly. And the Gašgaean enemy  
 whom my father met inside the country consisted  
 of twelve tribes. The gods helped my father, (so  
 that) he slew the aforementioned Gašgaean  
 enemy, the tribal troops, wherever he caught  
 him.<sup>f</sup> And what he held, that my father took  
 away from him and gave it back to the Hittites.  
 (22) But my grandfather once more became well  
 and came down from the Upper Country. And  
 when he arrived at (the town of) Zithara, he met  
 a[ll] the troops of (the town of) [.....] in Zithara.  
 (26) And the gods helped my grandfather, (so  
 that) he slew [the enemy]. The troops of (the  
 town of) [.....] the country [.....] enemies

f) Lit.: What aforementioned Gašgaean enemy,  
 troops of tribes, he caught anywhere, he slew him.

40. Ca. 23 lines missing at the beginning of F iii;  
 these may have overlapped with the lost end of *Frqm. 13*  
 (and *Frqm. 40*, see n. 38).

41. Cf. *Frqm. 13*, 4.

42. Restored here and line 5 after line 7.

43. For restoration cf. line 14.

44. Space has same length as *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* in line 12.

45. From here to line 11 already SBo I p. 36 n. 139.

46. Middle of tablet *about* here.

47. Beginnings of lines 22-30 in XXXIV 26 iii (1-9  
 there).

- 29' *da*[-.....]x<sup>48</sup> KI.KA[L.BAD...  
 30' UR[U.....] *A-BI A-B[I-IA*...  
 31' [.....] *iš-ta*[-.....<sup>49</sup>  
 32' [.....]x-*ta-ri*[-.....  
 33' [.....] *ku-in-ma-wa* [...  
 34' [.....] *k*u-*it-ki i-x*[...<sup>50</sup>  
 35' [.....] URU*Ga-aš-ga*[-.....  
 36' [.....] *A-NA* L<sup>U</sup>K<sup>U</sup>R  
 URU[*Ar-za-u-wa*(?)<sup>51</sup>...  
 37' [.....] *ti-i* [-...  
 38' [UM-MA A-BU-IA] *A-NA A-BI A-*  
*BI-I*[A ...  
 39' [A-NA L<sup>U</sup>K<sup>U</sup>R URU*Ar-z*a-*u-wa-wa am-*  
*mu-uk IGI-a*[*n-da u-i-ia nu-kán A-BI*  
*A-BI-IA*(?)<sup>52</sup>...  
 40' [A-BU-IA A-NA(?) L<sup>U</sup>K<sup>U</sup>R URU*Ar*[-*za-*  
*u-wa me-n*[*a-aḫ-ḫa-an-da u-i-ia-at*]  
 41' [*nu-kán ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*] *A-BU-IA ḫ*[*a-an-t*]-  
*ez-zi-i*[*n* ...  
 42' [.....]x *I-NA x*[...-*i*](?)-  
*aš-ḫa x*[...  
 43' [*nu A-NA A-BU-IA DINGIR*].MEŠ  
*p*[*i-ra-a*]*n ḫu-u-i-e*[-*er*]  
 44' [DUTU URUT<sup>U</sup>L-na D<sup>U</sup>] URU*H*[*a-at-t*]*i*  
 D<sup>U</sup> K[*I.KAL.BAD* D<sup>U</sup>*IŠTAR LÍL-ia*]  
 45' [*nu-kán*(?) *A-BU-IA* L<sup>U</sup>K<sup>U</sup>R] U<sup>[RU]</sup>*A*-  
*za-wa-an x*[-*x*]-*x*[...  
 46' [.....]x *nu EREM.MEŠ*  
 L<sup>U</sup>K<sup>U</sup>R *pa-an-ga*[-*ri-it* BA.BAD]  
 47' [.....]L<sup>U</sup>K<sup>U</sup>R URU*Ar-za-*  
*wa-an A-BU*[-*IA* ...  
 48' [.....]-*ia-at na-an-kán*  
*ku-e*[*n-ta*]  
 49' [.....] *p*a-*ra-a-ma nam-*  
*ma 3 Š*[*U-TI* ...  
 50' [.....]IK-Š<sup>U</sup>-UD *na-an-kán*  
*ku-en*[-*ta*]  
 51' [.....]x *pa-ra-a-ma nam-ma*  
 [...  
 52' [.....]IK-Š<sup>U</sup>-UD *nu-kán*  
*A-BU-I*[A ...  
 53' [.....]EREM.MEŠ] L<sup>U</sup>K<sup>U</sup>R *pa-an-ga-*  
*ri-it* [BA.BAD]  
 54' [.....] *pa*-*an-ku-uš ŠU-TI* [ ]  
 55' [.....]-*i*a-*an-za e-eš-ta* [ ]  
 56' [.....]-*ši* <sup>m</sup>*Du-ul-li-iš* [ ]  
 57' (indented?)<sup>m</sup>*Na-ḫi-ru-wa-aš-ša x*[.....]

end of column

[.....] *ar*[*my* .....] (30) (the town of)  
 [.....] *my grandfa*[*ther* .....] *hea*[*rd*  
 ..... ".....], but the one whom [.....]  
 something ..[.....] (35) [.....] *Gaš-*  
*ga*[*ean* .....] to the [Arzawae]an enemy [.....]  
 [..."]].

(38) [Thus (spoke) my father] to my grand  
 father: ["Oh my lord! (?)] Aga[inst the Arz]awae[an]  
 [enemy send] me!" [So my grandfather sent my  
 father(?)] aga[inst] the Arzawae[an] enemy. (41)  
 [And when] my father [had marched for(?)] the  
 first [day(?), he came (?) to (the town of?)...]-  
 ašḫa. [The gods] helped [my father: the Sun  
 Goddess of Arinna, the Storm God of] Ḫatti, the  
 Storm God of the A[rmy, and I]štar of the Battle-  
 field], (45) [(so that) my father slew the] Arza-  
 wae[an] [enemy .....] and the enemy troops  
 [died in] multi[tude. .... the] Arzawae[an]  
 enemy (acc.) my father (nom.) [.....]-ed, and  
 he sle[w] him. [.....]. But furthermore  
 again three tr[ibes] (50) [he m]et [in .....] and  
 slew them. [.....] But furthermore again  
 he met [... tribes in .....], and my father  
 [slew them, (so that) the] enemy [troops died] in  
 multitude. [..... the] whole tribe was [...  
 ...]-ed. [.....] to him Dulli (nom.), [.....](?)  
 and Naḫiruwa (nom.) [.....]  
 (end of column, continuation of text lost)

48. Traces would fit D<sup>U</sup>, but there is no room for the usual enumeration of gods.

49. Cf. BoTU 36, 5 ff. (*Frgm.* 44) and above, p. 49.

50. Cf. above, line 6.

51. Restored in view of lines 39 ff.

52. Restorations in 38-46 are from context. If correct, line 39 would have been written partly on the edge.

(To be continued)