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A PRAYER OF MURŠILI II ABOUT HIS STEPMOTHER¹

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KBo 4.8 IS LISTED WITHOUT JOIN OR DUPLICATE IN *CTH* 71. The measure of its importance as a testimony to matters political, religious and social in Hatti is indicated by the many important studies it has elicited, none of which, however, has constituted a full edition of the text.² The historical incident which forms the background to this prayer is the conflict between the widow of Šuppiluliuma, named Tawannanna, and the wife of King Muršili II. Most of the evidence for this incident can be found either in *KBo* 4.8 (*CTH* 71) or *KUB* 14.4 (*CTH* 70), which are prayers of Muršili. F. Cornelius once intended to fully edit these two texts, but a serious illness made this impossible. He could only prepare a partial edition in an article which he entitled "Ein hethitischer Hexenprozess."³ Meanwhile, using transliterations of unpublished Boğazköy fragments kindly made available to me by H. G. Güterbock, I was able to identify "Izmir 1277" as a join to the main text *KBo* 4.8.⁴ On the field transliteration of 1206/u (photocopy in the possession of Güterbock) Otten identified the fragment as a duplicate to *KBo* 4.8. On his copy of the transliteration of 245/w Güterbock wrote "Murs. gegen Taw.?" Subsequently I was able to join these two fragments in Ankara. Since the unpublished join "Izmir 1277" has shown, contrary to all expectation, that Muršili was authorized by the oracle to execute Tawannanna, it is important to publish a complete edition of *CTH*

71. I promised such an edition in *JCS* 29 (1977), 155 and now wish to fulfil that promise. Since the text shows a lofty style and is characterized by an eloquence not always found in Hittite prayers, I present it here to Professor Kramer, who more than anyone has contributed to our understanding and appreciation of ancient Sumerian literary texts.

Exemplar A, which is the principal copy, consists of *KBo* 4.8 + "Izmir 1277". The Izmir piece directly joins the upper right side of column II and the lower right side of column III. This requires assigning a new, cumulative line count to column II. But, because previous studies and citations of this text have used the *KBo* 4.8 line count, these line numbers have also been retained for column II in parentheses.

Exemplar B, consisting of 1206/u + 245/w, is only cited to provide the textual variants. All readings from B have been controlled from photos in the possession of Güterbock, who kindly allowed me the use of both photos and field transliterations.

My join 1206/u + 245/w was initially confirmed by Mr. Cem Karasu of the Ankara Museum. I was able subsequently to verify the join during personal visits to Ankara in 1981 and 1982. I would like to thank Mr. Karasu for his kind assistance.

Exemplar B is preserved only on the reverse. It duplicates A iii 5–18.

TRANSLITERATION

- 1 [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] x x x
- 2 [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] x-kán ku-en-ta
- 3 [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]-ma-mu ku-ri-pa-it
- 4 [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] e¹-eš-ši-iš-ta
- (1) 5 [o o o o] x x x na-a[*t-m*]u² SAG.DU-aš hi-in-kán

TRANSLATION

[. . . .] She killed [my wife] She bereaved(?) me. [. . .] She . . . -ed [. . .]. And was it a capital crime (lit. death of the person) [for m]e,

¹ Abbreviations peculiar to Hittitology employed in this article follow the *Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (abbrev. *CHD*) (Chicago, 1980).

² See the bibliography given in *CTH* 71 (p. 15).

³ *RIDA* 22 (1975), 27–45.

⁴ Details of the discovery and some points of information about the join piece's wording were given in *JCS* 29 (1977), 155f. with note 22.

- (2) 6 ¹e¹-eš-ta ma-a-na-aš Ū-UL BA.ÚŠ k[a-a-š]a-
za DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU^{MEŠ}-IA
- (3) 7 [E]GIR-pa pu-nu-uš-šu-un na-aš-mu ku-na-an-
na SI×SÁ-at
- (4) 8 kat-ta a-ša-an-na-ia-aš-mu SI×SÁ-at na-an-kán
a-pí-ia-ia
- (5) 9 Ū-UL ku-e-⟨nu⟩un na-an-kán A-NA^{SAL}AMA.
DINGIR-LIM-UT-TIM
- (6) 10 ar-ḥa ti-it-ta-nu-⟨nu⟩un na-aš kat-ta a-ša-
an-na ku-it SI×SÁ-at
- (7) 11 na-an kat-ta a-ša-aš-ḥu-un nu-uš-ši É-er AD-
DIN
- (8) 12 nu-uš-ši-kán ZI-ni Ū-UL ku-it-ki wa-aq-qa-a-ri
- (9) 13 NINDA-aš-ši wa-a-tar nu ḥu-u-ma-an ša-ra-a
ar-ta-ri
- (10) 14 Ū-UL-aš-ši-iš-ša-an ku-it-ki wa-ag-ga-a-ri TI-
an-za-aš
- (11) 15 nu^dUTU ŠA-ME-E IGI.ḪI.A-it uš-ki-iz-zi NINDA-
an-na-az
- (12) 16 TI-an-na-aš az-zi-ik-ki-iz-zi am-me-el ka-a-aš-
pát
- (13) 17 1-aš dam-me-eš-ḥa-aš ki-i-ia-an 1-an dam-
me-eš-ḥa-nu-⟨nu⟩un
- (14) 18 IŠ-TU É.GAL-LIM-pát-kán ku-it kat-ta u-i-ia-nu-
un
- (15) 19 A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ-ia-an AŠ-SUM^{SAL}AMA.DINGIR-
LIM-TIM ar-ḥa ti-it-ta-nu-nu-un
- (16) 20 nu am-me-el ka-a-aš-pát 1-aš dam-me-eš-ḥa-
aš nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ
- (17) 21 ki-i DI-NAM pí-ra-an kat-ta da-a-iš-ten na-at
pu-nu-uš-ten
- (18) 22 ki-nu-na a-pé-el TI-tar i-da-la-u-e-eš-ta TI-an-
za ku-it
- (19) 23 nu ne-pí-ša-aš^dUTU-un IGI.ḪI.A-it uš-ki-iz-zi
- (20) 24 TI-an-na-ša-za NINDA-an az-zi-ik-ki-iz-zi nu
am-me-el
- (21) 25 dam-me-eš-ḥa-aš ŠA DAM-IA ḥi-in-kán SIG₅-ia-
at-ta-at
- (22) 26 [k]u-en-ta-an-kán ku-it nu-za-kán TI-an-na-
aš UD.ḪI.A-uš

Col. III

- 1 [ZI-IA da-an-k]u-i da-ga-an-zi-pí kat-ta-an-da
- 2 [a-pád-da-še-er pa-i]š-ki-iz-zi am-mu-uk-ma
tal-wa-tal-la-it
- 3 [a-pa-a-aš-ma-m]u[?] ku-ri-pa-aḥ-ta⁵ nu DINGIR.
MEŠ Ū-UL
- 4 [še-ek-te-e-ni k]u-e-el-la-aš dam-me-eš-ḥa-aš

if she didn't die? Lo! I consulted the gods, my lords. And she (i.e., Tawannanna) was determined by oracle for me to execute. She was also determined by oracle for me for unseating/dethroning. But even then I did not execute her, but I deposed her from the office of *šiwanzanni*-priestess. And because she was determined by oracle for unseating/dethroning, I unseated/dethroned her, and I gave her a house (or: estate). Nothing is lacking to her desire. She has food and drink (lit. bread and water). Everything stands at (her) disposal. Nothing is lacking to her. She is alive. She beholds the sun of heaven with her eyes. And she eats bread as one of life (or: eats the bread of life). Mine is only this one punishment: I punished her with this one thing, that I sent her down from the palace; I deposed her from the gods in the office of *šiwanzanni*-priestess. Mine is only this one punishment. O gods, set this case down before yourselves and investigate it! Has her life now become miserable? Because she is alive, she beholds the sun of heaven with her eyes. As one of life she eats bread (or: She eats the bread of life). My punishment is the death of my wife. Has this gotten any better? Because she killed her, throughout the days of life [my soul] goes down to the dark netherworld [on her account]. For me it has been unbearable(?). She has bereaved(?) me. Don't you gods [recognize] whose is the punishment?

⁵ Cf. ii 3 ku-ri-pa-it.

- 5 [o o o o -⁶š(a-m)]a-aš-ša-an A-NA SALAMA.
DINGIR-LIM-UT-TI ku-it
- 6 [o o o ar-ḥa t(i-it-t)]a-nu-nu-un am-mu-ug-ga⁷
A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ
- 7 [EN.MEŠ-IA SISKUR.SISKU(R.ḪI.A E)]GIR-an ar-
ḥa-ḥa-ri nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ e-eš-ša-aḥ-ḥi
- 8 [nam-ma²-ma A-N(A DINGIR.MEŠ AS)-]ŠUM
SALAMA.DINGIR-LIM-TIM le-e
- 9 [ti-it-ta-nu-ut-te(-ni kap-p)]u-u-wa-at-te-ni-ia-
an-za-an le-e
- 10 [ku-it-ki nu k(a-a-aš-m)]a u-wa-aš-šu-ú-ra-ia⁸
ku-it Ū-UL
- 11 [o o o o o (-ia²-an-za)] e-eš-ta ku-it-ma-na-aš
SAL.LUGAL e-eš-ta
- 12 [na-aš DAM-IA ḥur-za-k(i-i)]t na-an-kán ku-en-
ta
- 13 [na-an-ša-ma-aš⁹? ku-(w)]a-pí AŠ-ŠUM SALAMA.
DINGIR-LIM-TIM ar-ḥa
- 14 [o o o ti-it-ta-nu-nu-un n]a-an te-ep-nu-nu-un
- 15 [SAL.LUGAL-an-kán IŠ-TU É.G]AL-LIM kat-ta u-
i-ia-nu-un na-aš ki-nu-un
- 16 [L^USANGA-KU-NU IṚ-KU-N]U Ū-UL ḥur-za-ki-
iz-zi
- 17 [o o o o o o o]x ku-wa-at-qa na-an ka-ru-ú
- 18 [o o o o ku-it iš-ta]-ma-aš-ten nu ki-nu-un-ma
DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-IA
- 19 [o o o o o -KU-N]U QA-TAM-MA nu ḪUL-aš
me-mi-an
- 20 [o o o o o o o n]u ka-a-ša am-mu-uk^m Mur-ši-
li-iš
- 21 [LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR^{URU} ḪA-AT-TI] pí-ra-
an wa-aḥ-nu-nu-un
- 22 [nu-uš-ma-aš ku-e-da-ni me-mi-ni ḥu²-d]a¹-ak
¹ar¹-wa-nu-un
- 23 [nu-mu iš-ta-ma-na-an pa-ra-a e-ep-ten nu-mu
i]š-ta-ma-aš-[t]en⁹
- 24 [] ḥur-za-ki-iz-zi
- 25 []-an-na ku-it-ki
- 26 [-N]A É-IA
- 27 []-at-te-ni
-
- 28 [] DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU^{MEŠ}-IA
- 29 [ḪUL-wa-aš ud-da-a-a]r ku-it
- 30 [iš-ta-ma-aš-ten]x

(Breaks off entirely)

Now because I [depo]sed [the queen] from the office of *šiwanzanni*-priestess to you (plural), I will provide for the [offer]ings of the gods and I will regularly worship the gods. Don't [re-inst]all [her] in the office of *šiwanzanni*-priestess for the gods! Don't [take] her [into ac]count! Because she was not . . . -ed for *uwaššuraya*, while she was queen, she kept [curs]ing [my wife] until she had killed her. When I had de[po]sed her from the office of *šiwanzanni*-priestess [to the gods], I curtailed her power. I sent [the queen] down [from] the palace. And now does she not continue to curse [your priest and yo]ur [servant]? [. . . .] somehow. [Be-cause] you (plur.) listened to her once before, is your [will(?) . . .] the same, O gods, my lords? The word of evil [will you hear?] Lo, I Muršili, [the Great King, King of Hatti Land] have come forward. [In what matter] I have [promptly(?) presented myself [to you,] [hold forth your ear to me and] hear [me]! She is cursing [.] something [.] in(?) my house. Do[n't]!

[.], O gods, my lords! Because [you have heard the word]s [of evil]

⁶ Restore perhaps [SAL.LUGAL-an-na-š(a-m)]a-.

⁷ B 3: *am-mu-ug-qa*.

⁸ B 4: *ú-wa-aš-šu-ra-ia*.

⁹ Here the Izmir fragment joins with -[t]en in its first line. The following lines are entirely from the Izmir fragment.

COMMENTS

II 3 *kuripait* is probably synonymous with *kuripahta* (III 3). The translation assumes some connection with *kurimma*—"lonely, orphaned, bereaved." Cf. Hoffner, *JCS* 29:155.

II 5 For the construction *natmu* SAG.DU-*aš* *hinkan* compare *natši mān* SAG.DU-*aš* *hinkan* *KBo* 18.142:5–6. The question contains irony. Why should Muršili be held guilty of such a grave offence? He didn't take her life, even though he had oracular authorization.

II 6 Against a reading IN[IM-*n*]a-*za* (i.e., *memiyanaza*) is the need of the particle *-za* in this construction (*appa punuš-*: *nu*=[*z*]a *pankun* EGIR-*pa* *punuški* *KUB* 1.16 iii 61 (*HAB*), cf. *ibid.* iii 70, *ugat=za appa* ^{SAL}ENSI-*ta* *natta kuššanka punuššun* *KUB* 30.10 rev. 21, *appa punuš-* occasionally occurs without *-za* where the sentence enclitics at the head of the clause are preserved (*KBo* 13.72 obv. 12, *KUB* 36.55 ii 30), but in these cases the meaning seems to be different from "to consult (someone)." In [. . . LÚ].É.DINGIR LIM=*ya=šmaš* EGIR-*pa* *punuš* *šanzi* (*KBo* 13.72 rev. 3) the *=šmaš* with a third person plural verb is the functional equivalent of *-za*.

II 7 The absence of *ū-UL* on the join piece is contrary to all expectation expressed in earlier restorations. The theory that Muršili was refused permission to execute his step-mother has been accepted by everyone, including those who have commented on the matter most recently: Ünal, *TH* 3 ('74) 40, Cornelius, *RIDA* 22 (1975), 41 and Archi, *Florilegium Anatolicum*, 1979, 39, note 13. Archi translates without indicating the free restoration, "et il fut décidé pour moi de ne pas la tuer mais de l'exiler." As I pointed out in brief remarks in *JCS* 29 (1977), 155 note 22, the new join casts an entirely different light on this incident. Muršili chose to spare her life, although he had a divine permission to take it. This permission, once obtained, gave him a card which he could play any time he chose. There was no time limit on the gods' authorization. His temporary restraint in the matter was politically wise and earned for him propaganda points with the public.

II 8 *katta ašanna* and *katta ašašhun* (II 11) see Kammenhuber, *MIO* 2:249 and Friedrich, *Heth. Elementarbuch*² paragr. 276c. On the meaning and translation of *katta ašeš-* here see discussion below. *apiya=ya* "even then," i.e., in spite of the permission granted.

II 9 The proper preterite 1 sg. of *kuen-* is *kuenun*, as amply attested (*ku-e-nu-un*, *KUB* 23.21 rev. 30, Hatt. II 40), especially often in the texts of Muršili II (*KBo* 2.5 ii 11, *KBo* 3.4 i 40, *KBo* 14.20 + 4, *KUB* 14.16 ii 19, *KUB* 19.39 ii 6, etc.). It seems unnecessarily cautious, therefore, on the basis of this single example of *ku-e-nu-nu-un* in a text whose scribe repeatedly shows confusion about whether or not to write consecutive *-nu-* signs (cf. II 10 and 17) to seriously propose an alternative form *kuenunun* (Friedrich, *HW*, 113).

II 12 In this construction *-šan* and *-kan* are interchangeable, cf. II 14.

II 14ff. (cf. II 22ff.) *ti-anza=aš* "she is alive" is made more explicit in II 22 *ti-anza kuit* "because she is alive, (she enjoys all these benefits which my dead wife does not)."

II 15 The writing *-az* for the particle *-za* is unusual in New Hittite.

II 15-16 To take the following *ti-annaš* as dependent on *NINDA-an* ("bread of life"), is difficult although possible in view of *ti-annaš=a=za* *NINDA-an* in II 24. An alternative interpretation would be *ti-annaš* "one of life" (allowed to live a full and normal life span), cf. Hatt. I 15, *KBo* 4.14 iii 9. The expression "bread of life" occurs nowhere else in Hittite.

II 17 Note the change of gender from *kaš dammešhaš* to *ki* "this (one) thing." It is possible with Friedrich, *HW*, to posit on the basis of the hapax *dammešhanunun* a *nu*-causative verb from the verb *dammešhai-*, virtually synonymous with the latter. But in view of our scribe's problems with dittography and haplography of *-nu-* (cf. II 9–10) this may be only dittography for *dammešhanun*. The verb governs two objects in the accusative, *ki* . . . *1-an* "this one thing" and *=an* "her." Cf. Sommer, *AU* 164.

II 22 *ti-anza kuit* "because she (i.e., the Tawannanna) is alive (although deposed)" stands in contrast to *kuenta=an kuit* "because she (i.e., the Tawannanna) killed her (Muršili's wife)" in II 26.

II 26 UD.Ḫ1.A-*uš* is formally acc. pl. "Throughout the days of life" could be acc. of duration.

III 1–2 On this restoration and the similar phrase in *KBo* 13.62 obv. 10–11 which prompted it, compare Hoffner, *JCS* 29 (1977), 155. In a letter dated January 29, 1979, Professor Jonas Greenfield of Jerusalem called my attention to parallels in Ugaritic (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, text 67, col. VI, 24–25: ²*atṛ b^cl² ard b²arš*) and Hebrew (Genesis 37:35). The Genesis passage is particularly interesting. "Surely I will go down to Sheol in mourning for my son." The Hittite clarifies its interpretation, showing that the going down weeping to Sheol was not something anticipated at the end of Jacob's life, but his anticipated daily experience for the rest of his life.

III 2 The hapax verb *talwatallait* probably has an impersonal subject: "It has become . . . to me."

III 3 For the restoration compare II 3.

III 10 *uwaššuraya* only occurs here in the main text and the duplicate.

III 12 The translation "kept cursing my wife until she had killed her" is based on the sequence of *-ške-* verb followed by the non-*-ške-* verb. Compare Telepinu Proclamation I 7: *nu utne ḫaninkiškit nu utne arḫa tarranui* "He kept devastating the lands until he had worn the lands out."

III 14 For *tepnu-* "to curtail power, demote" (without *-za*), versus "to belittle (verbally)" (with *-za*), see Hoffner, *JCS* 29 (1977), 152–4.

III 16 Restore either $\text{IR-KU-N}]U$ or $\text{LU-SANGA-KU-N}]U$ on the basis of Muršili II Plague Prayers *KUB* 14.14 + 19.1 obv. 6, rev. 37, *KUB* 14.10 i 3.

III 21 *piran wahnu-* is usually intransitive. What is expected therefore in the lacuna following *ammuk* ^m*Muršiliš* is a series of titles or epithets. The string proposed here is attested as applied by Muršili II to himself. Cf. H. Gonnet, *Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain*, 15 (Hethitica III), p. 50 number 86a. Strike *KBo* IV 8 iii 20 therefore under the number 82a on page 48.

III 22–23 Restorations based on Fourth Plague Prayer of Muršili II, *KUB* 14.13 i 17–20.

The general significance of this prayer has been understood for quite some time.¹⁰ Muršili II, who in the companion text *CTH* 70 complains of specific abuses of power by his stepmother, the Tawannanna, here seeks to defend himself against charges by her that he has sinned against the gods by removing her from her position as *šiwanzanni*-priestess. It was Tawannanna who was first hostile. Repeatedly she asked the gods to take the life of Muršili's wife. Eventually, she succeeded: Muršili's wife died. It was then that Muršili sought the advice of the gods through oracle. This oracle authorized him either to execute Tawannanna or to dethrone her.

Although both options were therefore open to him, in mercy he chose the second option. He furthermore provided her with all amenities befitting her high social position, so that she lacked nothing she might wish for. Vividly he contrasts her condition with that of his deceased wife whom she had killed. This contrast takes on added meaning, now that we know from the join piece that Muršili was authorized to put the Tawannanna to death. Why should she complain of being demoted, when she could have been dead like Muršili's wife? Furthermore, the king contrasts the Tawannanna's present state with his own, as a bereaved husband. He reminds the gods that she made him a widower (*kuripait* II 3, *kuripahta* III 3). And in one of the most moving lines of the entire prayer (II 26, III 1–2) he describes his daily agony of bereavement in terms of a series of daily trips to the dark netherworld.

The Tawannanna's complaint against him may also have included the accusation that by his removing her from her office as *šiwanzanni*-priestess he brought about a diminution of the sacrifices and festivals for the gods. It has already been observed by others that the *šiwanzanni*-priestess was not a high position.¹¹ Each local sanctuary had at least one of them. Considerations of this kind have even led some to translate "I ousted her and made her Siwanzanna-priestess,"¹² but the syntax will not allow this translation.¹³ What suggests that the Tawannanna's *šiwanzanni*-priestessship was something much more exalted is the statement (II 19, III 8) that she had been *šiwanzanni*-priestess "for the gods" (ANA DINGIR.MEŠ), i.e., for all the gods, not just for one temple.¹⁴ Therefore, although our text does not explicitly call her "chief *šiwanzanni*-priestess," something very much like this must have obtained. This office, with its powers of allocating sacrifices, votive offerings, perhaps even temple lands, allowed her considerable control over the assests of the state cult.¹⁵ Doubtless it was for this reason that Muršili could describe her abuses of power in terms which suggest the depletion of the material resources of the royal house in order to bestow goods on her favorites: "Do you gods not see how she has turned the entire house of my father (Šuppiluliuma I) into the 'stone house' (mausoleum) of the god LAMMA (and) the 'stone house' of the god? Some things she brought in from the land of Šanhara. Others in Hatti [. . .] to the populace she handed over(?). She left nothing. . . . And even that which was not done/made, she handed over to you. My father's house she destroyed." (*KUB* 14.4 ii 3–12) To protect the resources of king and gods, therefore, Muršili removed her from this office which allowed her to dispose of revenues. To counter her claim that this would reduce offerings and services for the gods he points out (III 5–10, 21) that, because he had personally assumed control (*piran wahnu-*), he would exercise supervision (EGIR-an *arḥahari*) of the rites and ceremonies and offerings made to the gods. Thus he urges the gods not to direct that on this ground the Tawannanna be reinstalled in office (III 8–9). He notes that, now that her earlier cursing has brought death to his wife, she has turned her attention

¹⁰ The general bibliography is: E. Forrer, *Forschungen* II (1929), 1f.; E. Laroche & H. G. Güterbock in *Ugaritica* III (1956), 101f.; A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens* (2nd ed., 1957), 93 note 2; S. R. Bin-Nun, *The Tawannanna in the Hittite Kingdom* (= Text der Hethiter, 5, 1975), 185ff.; F. Cornelius, *RIDA* 22 (1975), 27–45.

¹¹ Bin-Nun, *TH* 5, 191ff.

¹² Houwink ten Cate, *Numen* 16 (1969), 93; cf. Bin-Nun, *TH* 5, 189, who almost adopted this translation.

¹³ Cf. Ünal, *TH* 3 (1974), 40 note 21.

¹⁴ Bin-Nun, 190 note 126; 193.

¹⁵ Bin-Nun, 186–9.

to him, and is now cursing (thus, threatening with death) “[your priest, y]our [servant]” (III 15–16).¹⁶

Various translations have been employed for the verbs in this text which describe Muršili's actions against the Tawannanna. I shall summarize them here and indicate my own preferences. The verbs in question are *katta ašeš-* (II 11) and its infinitive *katta ašanna* (II 8, 10), *dammešha(nu?)*- (II 17), *katta uiya-* (II 18, III 15), *arḥa tittanu-* (II 10, 19, III 13–14), *tepnu-* (without *-za*, III 14). There is little disagreement among those who have treated this passage regarding the translation of *dammešha(nu?)*- and *katta uiyu-*. The former indicates punishment,¹⁷ and the latter expresses the removal of the queen from the scene of the royal power on the acropolis (“I sent her down from the palace”).¹⁸ For *tepnu-* Friedrich's glossary¹⁹ gave the translations “gering machen, verringern; —demütigen,” which includes 1) verbal humiliation, and 2) real diminution of power. In 1977²⁰ I demonstrated that meaning 1 is regularly indicated by the presence of the particle *-za*. Without *-za*, as in this text, the word always denotes a real curtailment of power of privilege, not just harsh words. *arḥa tittanu-* and its constructions were studied by A. Ünal in 1974.²¹ He translated the verb in the construction found in *KBo* 4.8 as “j-en j-em von einer Stellung absetzen.” The following chart gives an idea of the various translations proposed for *katta ašeš-* and *arḥa tittanu-*.

	<i>katta ašeš-</i>	<i>arḥa tittanu-</i>
1930 Götze ²²	absetzen	
1952 HWb	niedersetzen; verbannen(?)	heruntersetzen
1969 Houwink ten Cate ²³	confine	oust
1974 Ünal ²⁴	verbannen	absetzen
1975 Cornelius ²⁵	absetzen, verbannen	absetzen
1975 Bin Nun ²⁶	depose	depose

It can be noted that Friedrich, Cornelius and Bin-Nun see relatively little difference in meaning between the two verbs. Friedrich, Ünal and Cornelius see the notion of banishment in *katta ašeš-*, while Bin-Nun finds that aspect expressed in *katta uiya-*. Houwink ten Cate alone translates *katta ašeš-* as “to confine.” Although I too see minimal difference between *katta ašeš-* and *arḥa tittanu-*, it seems to me that *katta ašeš-* forms the antonym of *ašeš-*, just as *arḥa tittanu-* forms that of *anda tittanu-*. I would be inclined therefore to translate the first pair as “dethrone, unseat” and “enthroned, seat,” and the second as “depose” and “install.” That the Tawannanna was in fact put under a kind of house arrest or internment seems clear, but I do not see how *katta ašeš-* can be the term to express such a procedure, nor do I find any good reason to suppose with Friedrich (*HW* 35) that *katta ašeš-* is synonymous with *kattan ašeš-* (twice, *KUB* 10.54 v 18 and *KBo* 16.99 vi? 10, both in broken contexts). If it be insisted that *katta* should here mean “down,” I would prefer to say that it means to make someone take a lower seat.

¹⁶ Bin-Nun, 186.

¹⁷ Goetze, *Hatt.* (1925), 63, Friedrich, *HW* (1952), 208.

¹⁸ Bin-Nun, *TH* 5, 189 “banished.”

¹⁹ Friedrich, *HW* 221.

²⁰ *JCS* 29 (1977), 152–4.

²¹ *TH* 3 (1974), 40.

²² *Neue Bruchstücke zum grossen Text des Hattušilis*, 30.

²³ *Numen* 16, 93.

²⁴ *TH* 3, 40f.

²⁵ *RIDA* 22, 27–45.

²⁶ *TH* 5, 185ff.