

YORAM COHEN

Taboos and Prohibitions in Hittite Society

A Study
of the Hittite Expression
natta āra ('not permitted')

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The view of the Anatolian plateau as seen from ancient Hattuşaş,
the capital city of the Hittites.

Photograph by the author.

In memoriam

*Tovha and Moshe
Mandelberg*

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April 2001
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Abbreviations

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Beckman, <i>DiplTexts</i> | Beckman, G.
1999 <i>Hittite Diplomatic Texts</i> (2 nd ed.), Atlanta, Georgia. |
| Güterbock, <i>Selected</i> | Güterbock, H.G.
1997 <i>Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock</i> (AS 26), H.A. Hoffner, ed., Chicago. |
| Hoffner, <i>Laws</i> | Hoffner, H.A.
1997 <i>The Laws of the Hittites</i> , Leiden and New York. |
| Hoffner, <i>Myths</i> | Hoffner, H.A.
1998 <i>Hittite Myths</i> (2 nd ed.), Atlanta, Georgia. |
| Klengel, <i>Geschichte</i> | Klengel, H.
1998 <i>Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches</i> (HdO 34), Leiden and New York. |

Preface

This study is intended primarily for Hittitologists, but hopefully it will appeal to other audiences, such as Assyriologists and biblical scholars, and those interested in the social history of ancient societies. Therefore, at the opening sections of each chapter in this study, I have included some general introductory remarks that provide the historical background. I hope that scholars in the field of Hittitology will be forgiving, should they find some of these remarks superfluous.

As will become immediately apparent, this study covers many aspects of Hittite society. I have tried to be as comprehensive as possible and to include as many examples and studies as I could find to illuminate particular problems. However, it is obvious that in this endeavour, certain aspects have not been covered. Hence, it is unavoidable that some deficits will be encountered in this study.

I have sought to provide some comparative remarks on the phenomenological level, and less often on the historical level, from different fields of scholarship. Even at the risk of generalization or misrepresentation, I believe that the comparative data utilized here can illuminate specific issues and stimulate further discussions.

For ease of reference all of the occurrences of *natta āra* and *āra* have been numbered according to the sequence of their appearance in this study. Thus a reference to Text 3, or Text 22, for example, allows the reader to find that text quickly by browsing through the pages, or by using the table of contents. I have presented textual citations in as full a context as possible. For each occurrence of *natta āra* or *āra*, footnotes indicate publication, CTH number (supplemented by Collins 1998), textual editions, and previous major discussions. The dating of the texts follows the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, unless noted otherwise. The transliteration of the texts follows the conventions of the *Hethitisches Zeichenlexicon* (Rüster, Ch. and Neu, E.). Abbreviations follow the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (Hoffner, H.A. and Güterbock, H.G., eds.), *Volume P*, (1997) vii-xxix, apart from some additions listed on page VIII.

I. Introduction

1. Introducing the Subject

The subject of this study is the Hittite prohibitive expression *natta āra*, which can be translated as 'not permitted', 'not correct', or 'not allowed'. Although this expression appears on only some 40 occasions (excluding duplicate texts) —a seemingly small number in the entire corpus of Hittite texts so far published¹— it is well worth close scrutiny and detailed commentary. The expression is used to prohibit over twenty different social behaviours; it touches upon matters of sexual conduct, religious observances, political injunctions, and ethical norms. It appears in almost every genre of Hittite writings: it is found in myths, instruction texts, cultic regulations, political proclamations, and historiographic texts. Some of these texts are, in fact, quite central for the reconstruction of Hittite history (e.g., the Telepinu Proclamation, the Treaty with Ḫuqqana, and the Tawagalawa Letter). Chronologically, it is widespread as well, making its earliest datable appearance in one of the oldest surviving Hittite texts, the Tale of Zalpa. Its latest datable occurrences are in documents of Ḫattušili III and his son, Tudḫalia 'IV', the penultimate ruler of the Hittite empire. The aim of the present study is to examine in detail each and every occurrence of this expression. Also included in this study are the occurrences of the expression's antonym —*āra* 'suitable', 'correct'— in order to contrast what was prohibited in Hittite society with what was correct and acceptable.²

¹ Additional 5 textual citations from unpublished materials are presented in the appendix of this study.

² All in all, *āra* is attested 29 times in the entire Hittite textual corpus (excluding duplicates), occurring alongside or in the same context with *natta āra* on 4 occasions (see Texts 5, 23 [§33], 33, 35 [and possibly also 36]).

2. The Hittite Expression *natta āra* : Lexicographic Definitions

The basic meaning of the expression *natta āra* is 'not right', 'not acceptable', or 'not permitted' (*natta* = 'not'; *āra* = 'correct', 'right'), as opposed to *āra*, which means 'correct' or 'approved'.

The signification of this expression has been understood since the early days of Hittitology. Hrozný 1915:28 was the first to suggest the meaning and etymology of *āra*, translating the word as 'good', 'suitable' ('gut', 'passend'). Friedrich 1924:52 translated the expression as 'unsuitable' ('*Unpassendes*') on account of the trilingual lexical list found in Hatti (Text 1), which equates the Hittite expression to Sumerian and Akkadian lexical entries. Forrer, *Forsch.*: 147 suggested a religious nuance for the word *āra* by translating 'holy' ('*heilig*'), a translation not entirely out of place, as this study will demonstrate. Sommer, *AU*: 97 rejected this suggestion and offered 'abomination' ('*Greuel*') for *natta āra*. In more recent scholarship, Friedrich, *HW*: 27-28 has '*Unrecht*', '*Unpassandes*', '*Greuel*', '*es ist nicht recht*'. Hoffner, *EHG*: 87 equates *natta āra* with 'tabu'. Friedrich and Kammenhuber in *HW*²: 219 translate the expression as '*es ist (nicht) erlaubt, recht*' and Puhvel, *HED/A*: 118 gives the following: 'it is not right, it is forbidden'. CHD/L-N: 412 (s.v. *natta*) translates selected occurrences as 'it is not permitted' and 'it is not allowed'.

The premise of this study is that, while all of the above translations are precise, the semantics of the expression demand elucidation that requires a detailed interpretation of the contextual use of the expression.

3. The Objectives of the Study

Although the general meaning of the *natta āra* expression is clear, to date there has not been a thorough discussion of the expression's semantics and contextualized usage.³ Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore the use of the expression within its settings. A consideration of the expression's use

³ A seminal but brief study of the expression is Laroche 1960.

in religious environments or international and local affairs permits one to discern how the authoritative and punitive systems in Hatti utilized the expression in order to define and articulate various prohibitions. Further, the study examines to what extent these prohibitions were formulated ad hoc and what role they played in the legal and moral systems of the land of Hatti.

As the immediate context of the expression is taken into consideration, so are the broader implications of its use. Comparison to similar prohibitions provided by the Hittite textual sources, notably the Hittite Law Code (from which the expression is absent), illuminates the scope or distinctive meaning of certain injunctions formed with the expression. Within this wider viewpoint, one can observe the social framework in which the *natta āra* expression was put into operation.

In order to highlight and at times differentiate the distinctive characteristics of the Hittite prohibitions, some comparisons with neighboring cultures are offered. On the typological level, for example, Hittite notions about purity are compared with Mesopotamian ones; or the sexual norms of Hatti are compared with biblical regulations. On the historical level, comparisons with Hatti's contemporaneous neighbours are brought forth to clarify distinctive features of some of the Hittite injunctions formulated with the help of the *natta āra* expression. For example, the formulation of laws concerning the extradition of fugitives, which constitute a major component of Hittite legislation, is compared with the customs of contemporary societies.

Finally, the broader aim of the study, in sociological terms, is to describe what was the meaning and function of this group of prohibitions. By looking at what the Hittites thought of as forbidden, a sharper image of some of the distinctive traits of their society emerges. The next section of this introduction will briefly expand on this issue.

4. Regulations and Prohibitions : Some General Considerations

One can state that the central authorities of a given society try to formulate cultural repertoires that dictate a set of behaviours or beliefs to wide audiences of divergent customs and conduct. When these repertoires are written at ideological power centers, such as the palace or major cult centers, they necessarily become invested with authority. On the basis of

such authority, they establish common grounds for a 'collective identity'.⁴ These written repertoires may include historiographic texts, religious regulations, myths, judicial procedures or law codes. Each of these, to different degrees, tends to curtail or at least define social norms and beliefs by creating the boundaries of 'socially accepted behaviour', thus attaining order and sense in a cosmos in which sin and transgression have no place. This is achieved by employing sanction mechanisms, like prohibitions, taboos, bans, and ethical or normative precepts, which determine the boundaries between 'accepted behaviour' and the abhorred or rejected. Such prohibitive sanctions have the ability eventually to shape the identity of the self (and its relation to the community) and of society at large.⁵ As these sanctions exclude and reject certain actions, they define negatively what constitutes 'civilized' behaviour. Thus, the prohibited, tabooed, or marginalized are devised as 'counter-identities', and come to determine the criteria for what is desired or chosen by society. Counter-identity, or 'Otherness', becomes the cement which helps maintain social coherence and a sense of belonging both spatially (to a certain locale) and communally (to a certain group or ethnicity).⁶ For example, in ancient Israelite society, rejection of the 'Other', which was an image embodied in Israel's neighbours (chiefly the Egyptians and the Canaanites), helped to compose Israel's distinctive traits. This counter-identity or 'Otherness' was formulated in the book of Deuteronomy by sets of specific prohibitions regarding many aspects of the daily life of the community, which excluded customs of the surrounding people, terming them categorically as abominations (on many occasions with the term *tô'ēbā*, 'abomination').⁸ This rejection was articulated in the various stories of the Deuteronomistic historian(s), when evil deeds perpetuated by foreigners created a concrete image of the more general prohibitions found in the book of Deuteronomy.⁹

⁴ Assmann 1992:130-166, with lit.

⁵ See Douglas 1966 and Kristeva 1982:1-112.

⁶ Studies of the historical and sociological discourse of 'Otherness' now abound. Reference is made here to some essential works: Foucault 1965 and 1973 (and criticism by White 1987:104-141); Hodgen 1964; Said 1978; Funkenstein 1993:22-49.

⁷ Cohn 1994; Machinist 1991 and 1994.

⁸ Weinfeld 1993. Whether these customs were indeed practiced by the Egyptians or the Canaanites is immaterial to this discussion. The fact that the biblical discourse attributes abominable acts to these peoples is what is at issue here.

⁹ Mullen 1993 and 1997. The French structuralist school of classical scholars demonstrated similar, although less focussed, trends in Greek myths and historiographical writings. These offer negative images of women, slaves, and foreigners that strengthen

Hittite literature abounds with regulating texts, such as political proclamations, legal edicts, civil laws, and cultic rules, all addressing specific audiences. In the 'Instructions for the Temple Officials', orders dictated the behaviour of various functionaries of the temple. The soldiers' loyalty oaths were oriented towards the military personnel as a means of creating an atmosphere of loyalty to the crown. Social behaviour and sexual norms of freemen, women, and slaves were restricted by the Hittite Law Code. Elaborate treaties, dictated by the Hittite royal house, stipulated that vassal kings observe the statutes and customs of Hatti. The Hittite expression *natta āra* is found in almost all of these genres (it is absent from the Hittite Law Code). Along with other prohibitions and interdicts, but perhaps more categorically because of its formulaic nature, it articulated a difference, drawing a line between accepted norms of society and rejected behaviour. It advanced a notion of 'counter-identity' which this study will attempt to delineate.

With these considerations in mind, studying the expression as a mechanism of social sanctions may contribute to our understanding of the function that prohibitions had in the formation of Hittite identity. The rationale for this study is, in conclusion, the examination of a crucial component in the formation of traits and behavioural patterns that characterize Hittite society. On the basis of the prohibitions formulated by the expression, one may attempt to assess how Hittite social identity is constructed on several occasions, and how, more generally, the Hittites regarded themselves in relation to the surrounding world.

Ultimately, as is nearly always the case when social histories of ancient societies are reconstructed, one has to keep in mind that the vast majority of Hittite texts that have fallen in our hands originate from the palace or temple. Due to this fact, it is obvious that the picture offered by the textual remains better reflects what the central authorities in Hattuša wished Hittite society to be, rather than its actual reality.

the opposite ideals of oligarchic societies or the early Greek polis. See Hartog 1988, Vernant 1998, Vidal-Naquet 1981. Negative imagery of the figure of the 'Other' has also been studied in Mesopotamian historiography. Its construction revolves around two oppositions: the city, the apex of civilization and the abode of the gods, posited against borderland zones, whose inhabitants and geographical space are negatively characterized. See Botéro 1994; Machinist 1986 and 1993; Liverani 1979 and 1990; Zaccagnini 1982. For the construction of the image of the 'Other' in Hittite literature and historiography, see Beckman 1995b; Cohen (in press a) with lit.; Hoffner 1980; Singer 1994.

The study is structured as follows. Chapter II includes a discussion relating to the formal sides of the expression, considering the expression's grammar, etymologies, and cognates. The singular syntactic construction of the expression is then presented, followed by an exposition of its Indo-European cognates. In the same chapter, the *natta āra* expression is compared to Sumerian and Akkadian equivalent expressions.

The rest of the study is arranged thematically, each chapter addressing the use of the expression in a specific sphere of social behaviour. Chapter III discusses religious and cultic prohibitions; the use of the expression in oracle texts, prayers, rituals, and other cultic settings is closely observed. Chapter IV discusses sexual prohibitions; the Tale of Zalpa and the Hūqqana Treaty, the only two texts in the corpus dealing with sexual prohibitions, reveal crucial components of the Hittite sexual and matrimonial code. Chapter V examines the employment of the expression in the international affairs of the Hittite state; its usage in vassal treaties and in the international correspondence of the period is studied. Chapter VI examines the role of the expression in administrative and legal procedures in the internal matters of the land of Hatti; legal cases, Hittite Instruction Texts, and royal proclamations (in the guise of edicts or legal instructions) are some of the texts considered in this chapter. Conclusions are offered in Chapter VII. Chapter VIII is an appendix which includes fragmentary texts, some of them unpublished.

One final word about the study's structure is in order. One should note that the expression displays a chronological distribution pattern very much similar to the general distribution of the Hittite textual corpus. That is, the majority of the expression's occurrences are found in the largest component of surviving texts, which dates to the Empire period.¹⁰ Therefore, due to the nature of the evidence, one is not in a position to judge statistically the growing or diminishing use of the expression, or to evaluate chronologically its evolutionary employment in various genres. (Those occasions on which

¹⁰ The expression's distribution may be characterized as follows. The majority of the occurrences fall into two groups: Middle Hittite texts written in New Hittite Script and New Hittite texts written in Old Hittite Script. Some 5 texts were written in Middle Hittite in Middle Hittite Script. Only Texts 3, 22, 43, and 44 can be unquestionably defined as Old Hittite. The dating of the texts is given at the relevant points throughout this study.

one might observe a conceptual development of the expression's employment will be singled out at particular points of this study.) Accordingly, I have chosen to present its distribution thematically, although at times this structural organization will betray its artificiality, as several uses of the *natta āra* expression will resist a simple classification in neat categories.

II. Grammar, Etymology, and Cognates

1. Grammar

a. Orthography

The word *āra* ('correct', 'permitted') is written almost always *a-a-ra*. In the corpus, at least 70 cases exhibit the regular orthography *a-a-ra*; there are six occurrences of the spelling *a-ra*.¹¹ There are a few isolated examples of aberrant spellings: there is one occurrence of *a-ra-a-an*,¹² a similar ending, but without the plene spelling is *a-ra-an*, also occurring only once;¹³ the spelling *a-a-ri* is documented on one occasion.¹⁴

The deity ^D*Āraš* usually presents the spelling ^D*A-a-ra-(aš)*; there is one occurrence of ^D*A-ra-a-aš-ša*.¹⁵ The substantive *araš* 'friend' is spelt *a-ra-(a)* (+ case ending).

As to pronunciation, which has a direct effect on the understanding of the etymology of *āra*, Goetze repeatedly claimed that due to the doubling of the *a* sign, the word should be vocalized as *ayara*, following the Akkadian convention of writing the semivowel /ya/ with double *a*.¹⁶ Melchert 1994:27-28 (with previous discussions) finds this 'highly improbable', and opts to consider the doubling of the *a* sign as an indication of a long accented vowel: [ā:]. In addition, since there are six occurrences of the spelling variant *a-ra* in contexts in which the meaning is indisputably 'not permitted'

¹¹ Texts 4b (KUB 39.9 obv. 12; NH?), 9 (KUB 30.10 obv. 13'; MH/MS), 29 (KUB 57.11 rev. 11'; NH) 40 (KUB 31.106 iii 4; NH), 43 (KBo 3.28 ii 22'; OH/NS) and 53 (1131/v ii 4'; NS').

¹² Text 41 (KBo 21.19+ ii 21). See p. 148.

¹³ Text 2 (1270/z rev. 7). See p. 34.

¹⁴ Text 50 (KBo 43.52 iv 15).

¹⁵ KBo 3.30 obv. 4'. See discussion on pp. 41-44.

¹⁶ Goetze 1968:17-18 (referring also to his former discussions).

or alternatively 'permitted', it is unlikely that the sequence *a-a-* in *āra* should be pronounced /aya/.

b. Morphology

The ending of *āra* with /a/ suggests that morphologically the form may have been originally a neuter plural adjective in the nom./acc. case of an *-i* or *-a* stem.¹⁷ Kronasser, *EHS*: 345 attributes to the form an adjectival origin. It is possible that originally it was used alternately, as substantive or as predicate adjective,¹⁸ like other lexical entries in Hittite (e.g., *kurur* or *takšul*), perhaps reflecting an earlier lack of distinction between adjectives and substantives in Proto Indo-European.¹⁹ Neither Friedrich, *HW*: 27 nor Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HW*²: 219-221, commit themselves to the morphology of the form, except for a remark in *HW*²:219 that *āra* is an 'unflektiertes Nomen'. As such, it can be treated as a noun used predicatively, like Latin *fas*. In our documentation, it is used predicatively in the *natta āra* expression.²⁰

c. The Negation Particle

The term *āra* is negated with *natta*, resulting in the phrase that is the object of this study: the *natta āra* expression. The negation particle is written syllabically (*na-at-ta*) in OS texts and most MH/MS texts. In NH texts it is written with the Akkadogram *Ú-UL* or (later on, from Hattušili's time onwards) *UL* (Akkadian *ul* 'not'), although syllabic writing occurs occasionally.²¹ In the present corpus we find syllabic *natta* in Text 9

¹⁷ Laroche 1960:128; Puhvel, *HEDA*: 118.

¹⁸ Compare Latin 'bona' (neut. pl. nom./acc.) or English 'good(s)', used substantively.

¹⁹ Lehmann 1993:227; Friedrich, *HE*: 116-117.

²⁰ Compare the use of *mekki-* as an inflecting adjective, and its adverb *mekki* derived from the sg. neut. nom./acc. form. See CHD/L-N: 245, 247.

²¹ Hoffner 1983c:83-85.

(MH/MS)²² and Text 35 (MH/NS).²³ The Akkadogram *UL* is used in Texts 28, 29, 31b, 45.²⁴ The rest of the corpus displays *Ú-UL*.

d. The Nominal Sentence

The expression *natta āra* only appears in nominal clauses predicatively.²⁵ It never appears with the copula *eš-* ('to be'), except for a single occasion, when the past tense is used (discussed below). The fact that its tense is unmarked may suggest a timelessness suited to formulation of laws and general statements. What is forbidden has no aspect of past, present or future.²⁶ By contrast, *āra* (without the negation) appears regularly with *eš-* in the imperative (*ešdu*). But not too much emphasis is to be given to this phenomenon, since the omission of the copula in the present tense is most typical in Hittite, as in other Indo-European languages, and it need not imply that the sentence is inherently suited for the formulation of laws and prescriptions.²⁷

As mentioned, the *natta āra* expression always occupies the predicate position, while the subject slot is left variable. It may be occupied by 1) *Ø*, just *natta āra*, the subject being implied; 2) an enclitic pronoun subject (*-ar*, *-aš*); 3) a substantive; or 4) an infinitive.

Note the following examples:

1. Implied subject:

1. *natta āra*

'(It is) not permitted'.²⁸

2. Enclitic subject (directly appended to *natta* or to the enclitic chain):

2. *'natta'≈q̄ āra*

'It is not permitted'.²⁹

²² KUB 30.10 obv. 13'. CHD/L-N: 115a.

²³ KUB 13.7 i 24. CHD/L-N: 459b.

²⁴ KUB 19.55 rev. 4' (probably 13th century; CHD/L-N: 400a); KUB 57.11 rev. 11'; KUB 14.3 iv 10 (CHD/L-N: 340a); and KUB 60.112 rev. 6'.

²⁵ Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HW²*: 219, 221; Coticelli-Kurras, *Theth* 18:55-56.

²⁶ See Benveniste 1966:151-167. And compare the nominal verbless sentences *alwanzar* ('[It is] sorcery') and *hurkel* ('[It is] a sexual crime') in the Hittite Law Code §§ 44b, 111, 191, 195, etc.

²⁷ Luraghi 1997:59; Coticelli-Kurras, *Theth* 18:16.

²⁸ Texts 12 (= KUB 25.37+ i 45'), 13 (= HT 1 iv 7), 14 (= KUB 45.49 iv 10), 20 (KUB 28.4 iii 15), 21 (= KUB 57.79 iv 42), 34 (= KUB 9.15 ii 21'), and 47 (VS 12.7 6').

3. *natta'≈q̄'≈ši āra*

'It is not 'just' for him.'³⁰

4. ^{URU} *Hattuši'≈ma'≈q̄' natta āra*

'But in Hattuša, it is not permitted'.³¹

3. Substantive subject:

5. [...]*≈naš kurur natta [ār]*a

'[...] for us enmity is not permitted'.³²

6. *SISKUR UZ₆ MĀŠ.GAL natta āra*

'An offering of a goat (or) male goat is not permitted'.³³

7. [*nu apā*]*t uttar natta āra*

'[Now, th]is thing is not permitted'.³⁴

4. Infinitive subject:

8. ...*≈ma hūkanna INA Ê Duwat tna'nza natta āra*

'But it is not permitted to slaughter in the Duwatna temple...'³⁵

9. *danna natta āra*

'...It is not allowed to take...'³⁶

10. *aštarwar'≈ši ad[anna] j'na'tta āra*

'It is not permitted for her to e[at] *aštarwar*'.³⁷

11. *adar' na' UL ā[ra]*

'It is not al[lowed] to eat...'³⁸

12. *nu natta'≈ma āra UGU šešuanzi*

'Now is it not permitted to sleep above?'³⁹

And finally, a broken text provides an example of the use of the infinitive in subordination, with the main clause missing.

²⁹ Text 23 = KBo 5.3 iii 30, 38.

³⁰ Text 35 = KUB 13.7 i 24.

³¹ Text 23 = KBo 5.3 iii 34 and 60 (displaying *-ya* instead of *-ma*).

³² Text 31b = KUB 14.3 iv 10.

³³ Text 16 = KBo 2.4 ii 12.

³⁴ Text 23 = KBo 5.3 iii 62.

³⁵ Text 17 = KUB 17.24 ii 14-15.

³⁶ Text 18 = KUB 32.63 i 9'.

³⁷ Text 19 = KBo 17.65 obv. 17.

³⁸ Text 45 = KUB 60.112 rev 6'.

³⁹ Text 5a = KUB 5.1 i 38.

13. *jx-wanzi natta kuit āra*

'...because it is not permitted to do X...'⁴⁰

Another way of expressing the subject of the *natta āra* expression is by a construction of a substantive and an infinitive.

14. *IS[TU KUR U¹RU KÙ.BABBAR-iti LÚ.MUNNABTUM appa piyanna natta āra*

'From the land of Hatti it is not allowed to give back a fugitive.'⁴¹

15. *LÚ.MUNNABTUM=ma appa SUM-uazzi⁴² natta āra*

'And it is not permitted to send back a fugitive.'⁴³

16. [*elšar iyaqanz*] *natta āra*

'To shed blood is not permitted.'⁴⁴

17. *apeniššiwān uttar ammu [men]ahh[anda] ammel UD^{HI.A}-aš appa huittiyawanz[i] natta a-ra-a-an*

'It is not permitted to reopen such a case against me in my reign.'⁴⁵

18. *šuni-mi=ma=mu kuit šuppi adanna natta a-ra*

'...that which is sacred for my god, but for me not permitted to eat.'⁴⁶

19. *pi-ya-ni-ma ŠA DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL izzan Qiš-ru 'na'uta āra*

'It is not permitted to give away (from) the chaff (down to) the (entire) log of the princes.'⁴⁷

One issue should be considered in light of these examples. Can we determine the case of the substantive? In other words, does it function as the subject (nom.) of the sentence or as the object (acc.) of the infinitive? Whereas in English, we would expect the substantive to function as the object of the infinitive ('to hand over [subj.] a fugitive [dir. obj.],'), some authorities claim that in Hittite the construction is different. The subject of

⁴⁰ Text 46 = KUB 60.122 rev. 5.

⁴¹ Texts 25 (= KBo 5.4 obv. 38), 26 (KUB 6.44 iv 40-41 [with dupls.]), 27 (KUB 21.1 iii 63-64).

⁴² For this infinitive form of *peya-* 'to send', see CHD/P: 42b, 261a.

⁴³ Text 28 = KUB 19.55 rev. 4.

⁴⁴ Text 32 = KUB 19.20 rev. 12.

⁴⁵ Text 41 = KBo 21.19+ ii 19-21.

⁴⁶ Text 9 = KUB 30.10 obv. 13.

⁴⁷ Text 44 = KBo 3.1 (with dupls.) ii 60-61. Notice the reversal of order in the last example: the infinitive form (*piyanni*) precedes the substantive.

the sentence is the substantive (nom.) followed by an infinitive: 'A fugitive to hand over - is not permitted'.⁴⁸ However, in all the examples present in the corpus, there is no clear nominative case which marks the substantive as the subject of the sentence. It is true that the Akkadogram ^{LÚ}MUNNABTUM is consistently found in the nominative, but since one should not expect correct Akkadian case marking in Hittite,⁴⁹ this criterion is not solid enough. The rest of the substantives encountered in the corpus are neuter (*aštawar*, *ešhar*, *uttar*, *kuit*, *ezzan* and *GIŠ-ru*), and thus their nominative and accusative forms are identical. If these are taken to be in the accusative case, then what we might be facing in this construction is an infinitive as the subject of the sentence with a substantive object. There is one example, however, in which the nominative case might be indicated:

20. *MUNUS-za=šī-kan anda pauanzi natta āra*

'The woman to enter to him (in his temple) is not allowed.'⁵⁰

It appears that MUNUS is marked in this example with the typical nominative ending -z(a). If this is indeed proved to be correct, we encounter here a nominative substantive, functioning as the subject of the sentence followed by an infinitive. However, one should consider that in this last

⁴⁸ Kammenhuber 1954:260-261 (contra Ose, *Sup.*: 82); Friedrich, *HE*: 143-144. In a sense such a *nominativus cum infinitivo* construction is like the Latin gerundive construction: transitive verbs are passivized, verbs of motion or un-accusative verbs are taken as deponents or middle voice. Compare the Latin phrase, *ad placandos Deos* 'For appeasing the gods', versus *dolendus* '(He is) grieved'. See also Holland, G. cited in Cottecelli-Kurras, *Theth* 18:56. But it becomes apparent on closer inspection that in such infinitive constructions, transitivity actually is context determined. Formally, there is no way that one can distinguish whether the subject is a patient or an agent (or, in other words, whether the subject is 'accusatively' dependent on the infinitive, or its 'subject'). Consider the following example in English: 'He is too stupid to understand.' This sentence could mean: 1. 'He is too stupid that he cannot understand us' (subject is the agent; 'He' > 'to understand') or 2. 'He is too stupid, therefore we cannot understand him.' (subject is the patient; 'him' < 'to understand'). (Courtesy of Taylor, P.). In the *natta āra* expression, if we agree that the substantive is in the nominative case, a sentence with a transitive verb and a human subject can display a similarly indistinguishable construction, in which transitivity can be determined only by context. Consider the following: 14. ^{LÚ}MUNNABTUM appa piyanna natta āra 'a fugitive (patient) to give back it is not allowed.' ['Him' < 'to give back']. But not: * 'a fugitive (agent) to return (it) is not allowed.' = * 'A fugitive is not allowed to return (it)'. ['He' > 'to give back']. In this case, the subject is 'accusatively' dependent on the infinitive.

⁴⁹ Friedrich, *HE*: 174.

⁵⁰ Text 15 = KBo 24.45 obv. 20'.

example, MUNUS is in extraposition: the word is topicalized, outside of the main sentence. The enclitic *ši* might be taken to refer back to the logical subject of the sentence (the woman). The grammatical subject is the infinitive. The sentence can be understood thus: 'The woman – for her it is forbidden to enter.' It is possible that the following example exhibits a similar topicalization of the logical subject, but the line is not well preserved to form firm conclusions.

21. LÚ.MEŠ-pát šipanakanzi DUMU^{MES} L[UGAL]x-x-x-x^{17?} *natta āra*
 'Only the men sacrifice, the princes – (for them) it is not permitted to do X.'⁵¹

With no certain example of a nominative case in Hittite, presently there is no way to demonstrate formally that the *natta āra* expression exhibits a *nominativus cum infinitivo* construction, apart from relying on the Akkadian nominative ^{LU}MUNNABTUM as the sole criterion for this construction.

To conclude, from these examples one may see how the *natta āra* expression retained a flexible and yet unchanging formula. Always occupying the predicate position, it allowed the facile articulation of different prohibitions and decrees to be fitted in the subject slot. Its expressive formulaic character remained unchanged and was immediately recognizable starting from the oldest Hittite texts down to the end of the Hittite kingdom.

e. The *natta āra* Expression with the Dative

Used less often with the *natta āra* expression than with *āra* alone, the enclitic dative is found in several examples. It denotes the person for whom, or for whose interest or disinterest, something is prohibited (*dativus commodi*). When the indefinite dative pronoun is used (example 22), it will apparently follow the negation particle, as the rule formulated by Hoffner 1983c:88 dictates.

22.]-ta-u-an-zi *natta kuedanikki āra*
 'It is not permitted for anyone to do X.'⁵²

⁵¹ Text 10 = KUB 45.47 iv 37.

3. *natta-at-ši āra*
 'It is not "legal" for him.'⁵³
10. *aštauwar-ši ad[anna]]na'tta āra*
 'It is not permitted for her to e[at] *aštauwar*.'⁵⁴
23. *natta-šmaš āra*¹
 'For them it is not permitted.'⁵⁵
24. [...-y]a-šši *kue natta āra ēšta*
 'and X-s which were not permitted to her.'⁵⁶

The last example also exhibits the only documented use of the expression with the copula in the past tense. It is part of a narrative which relates to past transgressions, rather than instituting new regulations. The verb is in the singular, as is the case in Hittite when the subject is neuter plural (*kue*).

Notice that since regularly the *natta āra* expression cannot participate in a transitive sentence as an object, when one wishes to say, for example, 'I did *natta āra*', circumlocution is necessary. For this, the relative sentence is used:

18. (šuni-mi-ma-mu) *kuit (šuppi) adanna natta āra*
 'that which is not permitted to eat (for me)
na-qt natta kušanka edun
 I never ate it.'

This construction suggests the restoring of Text 42:

24. [...-y]a-šši *kue natta āra ēšta [na-qt iya]*
 '(these) which were not permitted to her [she did these].'⁵⁷

And in normal English: '[She did these things] which were not permitted to her'.

⁵² Text 49c = Bo 5040 ii 27. This is the only example in the corpus using an indefinite pronoun.

⁵³ See also examples 5 and 18.

⁵⁴ Text 19 = KBo 17.65 obv. 17.

⁵⁵ Text 33 = IBoT 1.36 iii 41.

⁵⁶ Text 42 = KUB 14.4 i 13.

⁵⁷ Text 42 = KUB 14.4 i 13. See further, pp. 150-154.

f. Conjunctions and Enclitics

The use of conjunctive particles with the *natta āra* expression is rare, and usually the sentence stands without the sentence-initial particle *nu* or enclitic conjunctives such as *-ma*, or *-a/-ya*. Positioned independently, the expression cuts the flow of discourse for stylistic emphasis.⁵⁸ The following examples, which were already presented above have *-ma*: 4, 8, 15, 18 and 19. The enclitic *-ya* is encountered in example 24 (and in Text 23, iii 60). A sentence-initial conjunction *nu* appears in example 12 (a question). Between the negation particle *natta* (or *Ū-UL*) and *āra*, no adverbs or prepositions are ever inserted; only conjunctions and/or enclitics are appended to the negation.

g. The Term *āra*

The term *āra* alone, without the negation, can apparently occur also in a verbless nominal sentence:

25. DINGIR^{MES} *=(a)z=at āra*
'Is it permitted by the gods?'⁵⁹

and most likely in:

26. *apēdaš āra* []
'It is right for them.'⁶⁰

Otherwise it appears with the copula or the verb *iya-* ('to do'), on which more below. It occurs with the copula *eš-*, always in the imperative, in the following ways:

27. *na=at=šī āra ēšdu*
'May it be permitted for him.'⁶¹
28. *na=at=mu a-ra ēšdu*
'May it be permitted for me...'⁶²

⁵⁸ See Friedrich, *HE*: 158.

⁵⁹ Text 5b = KUB 5.1 iv 57.

⁶⁰ Text 33 = IBoT 1.36 iii 48.

⁶¹ Texts 4a (KUB 30.27 rev. 2), possibly 36 (KBo 16.25 iii 13', 20'), 37 (KBo 4.10 obv. 37'), and 38 (Bo 86/299 ['The Bronze Tablet'] ii 20).

⁶² Text 40 = KUB 31.106 iii 4.

29. *na=aš ANA* ^DUTU^{SI} *āra ēšdu*

'May he be (considered) "legal" to His Majesty.'⁶³

Notice that in the last example, *-aš* functions as the subject of the sentence.⁶⁴ Indeed, a substantive can also function as the subject of the clause:

30. *šeliš āra* 'e' [*šdu*']

'May the winnowed-grain be as due.'⁶⁵

31. ...*ešhar INA KUR* ^{URU}KÜ.BABBAR' *āra* 'na'⁷=*at natta*
'Is bloodshed in the city of Hatti allowed? It is not!'⁶⁶

The term *āra* can also be imbedded in a relative clause:

32. *ŠA LUGAL=ya išhiul* [*kui*]: *ANA RN₁ āra*
ANA RN₂=ya [*ap*] *āt āra ēš* [*du*]
'The royal binding obligation which is permitted for RN₁
– that (same) one shall also be permitted for RN₂.'⁶⁷

The term *āra* may appear in transitive sentences with the verb *iya-* ('to do', 'to perform'). Here it functions adverbially, or predicatively, referring to the direct object of the sentence. In English, it can either be translated as (adverbially) 'something done legally, correctly, or lawfully', or (predicatively) 'to make something permissible, lawful, correct, legal'. It is necessary to exhibit some flexibility when translating, since formally no distinction is available.

The verb *iya-* in the past occurs three times:

33. *nu=wa=du=za aran iyanun*
'I have worshipped you accordingly.'⁶⁸
34. [^DUTU'²-an' ^DIIM-ann=za *āra iēr*
'They worshipped correctly the [Sun-god] and the Storm-god.'⁶⁹

⁶³ Text 35 = KUB 13.7 i 10.

⁶⁴ This is comparable to the following sentence type (Kühne and Otten, *StBoT* 16:14, iv 4): *mān RN ANA* ^DUTU^{SI} *takšul tuq=a=aš takšul ēšdu* 'If RN is friendly to My Majesty, then he shall be friendly to you.' Here the neuter noun *takšul* ('friendship') functions adverbially.

⁶⁵ Text 4c (KUB 39.41 rev. 14').

⁶⁶ Text 31a = KUB 14.3 ii 8.

⁶⁷ Text 37 = KBo 4.10+ obv. 37'; and also Text 38 = Bo 86/299 ii 81-83.

⁶⁸ Text 2 = 1270/z rev. 7'. See further discussion on the aberrant form on p. 134.

⁶⁹ Text 3 = KUB 29.1 i 4.

35. *na=at=ši* RN₁ *āra iya-*, RN₂ *ya=at=ši* RN₂ *āra iyanun*
 'And RN₁ had (already) made it permissible for him, as likewise I, RN₂,
 made it permissible for him.'⁷⁰

The following are with the verb in the present tense, negated:

36. *nu=šmaš=at¹ le āra ienzi*
 'They shall not make it permissible for you (pl.).'⁷¹
37. *lahhiyaš=an ḥarni[kši /*
ešwar=ši Ū-UL āra iyašī nu...
 'You oppose him, and you dest[roy him...]/
 Do not make support for him permitted/legal.'⁷²

And with the periphrastic construction:

38. *kunn=a=wa=ši Ū.SAL^{LAM} Istanuš āra iyan ḥarak*
 'Now, may you, Sun god, have this meadow made for him lawfully.'⁷³
39. *addaš=miš=a=še kedani a-ra iyan ḥarta*
 'And in this (matter) my father had made (it) permissible for her.'⁷⁴

And once with the verb *kiš-* ('to become') which is used as the passive voice of *iya-*:

40. [*huma*] *nti=ya=pat a-ra kiša*
 'And so (it) is done accordingly for [every]body.'⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Text 38 = Bo 86/299 ('The Bronze Tablet') ii 18-19.

⁷¹ Text 6 = KBo 5.3 ii 8. Cf. Text 6a (KBo 5.3 ii 43, 44 and 49-50 [conflated]): *n=at=ta le āra* 'i-en-zi' 'They shall not make (it) permissible for you'.

⁷² Text 50 = KBo 43.52 iv 27-28; the same construction is found in the same text in iv 15: *Ū-UL a-a-ri i-ya-ši*. The negation particle behind the Akkadogram *Ū-UL* here is undoubtedly *natta*, and not *le* (which is always spelt syllabically); see Hoffner 1983c:83-84 and CHD/L-N: 55-57 (s.v. *le*). The negation *natta* with the 2nd person, pres. is not common, although it can occur (for e.g., in KBo 4.2 i 24-25 [CTH 398] and in Friedrich, *SV* 2:108, i 28-29).

⁷³ Text 39 = KUB 30.24 ii 1.

⁷⁴ Text 43 = KBo 3.28 ii 22; see CHD/L-N: 217b.

⁷⁵ Text 4b = KUB 39.9 obv. 12. Neu, *SiBot* 5:94 wishes to take *āra* as the subject of the sentence (with Otten, *HTR*: 55, as his translation implies: '[einem jeden ebenso wird Recht werden']'. Here it is taken adverbially (with Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HW*²: 221a), and the impersonal subject ('it') is implied. Formally, there is no distinction, and either possibility can be accepted.

On one occasion, the construction uses an aberrant verbal form, possibly the iterative of *iya-*:⁷⁶

41. ^{MUNUS} *NAP-TIR₅-TA-ma-at-ta a-a-ra e-š-kán-zi*

'They indeed will legally make her as your second-rank wife.'⁷⁷

The duplicate text of this passage may display the use of the imperative of *aš-* ('to be'), if one reads it as follows:

42. ^{MUNUS} *NAP-TIR₅-TI-K[A-ma-a]t-ta a-a-ra 'e'-[eš-d]u⁷⁸*

'She shall legally be your second-rank wife.'⁷⁸

As attested in the corpus, whenever *āra* appears with either the copula, or a verb *iya-*, a dative object is almost always present expressed by an enclitic pronoun (*-ši*), a dative case marker in Hittite, or the Akkadian marker *ANA*.⁷⁹ One should also notice that *āra* always appears directly before the predicate, whether copula or the verb *iya-* (and before the participle *iyān* + *har(k)-*). Even when negations are used (as *le* [36] or *natta* [37]), the position of *āra* remains unchanged.⁸⁰

2. Hittite Cognates and Indo-European Etymologies

a. Hittite and Anatolian Cognates

Laroche 1960 equated the term *āra* with two Hittite words, *arawa-* 'free', and *L⁰ara-* (or *arā-*) 'friend', 'companion', postulating a common etymological base for the three. In his footsteps, Benveniste 1962:110 has argued convincingly for the shared semantics of the three terms.⁸¹ Although the cognates proposed by Laroche and Benveniste have been accepted by Puhvel *HEDA*: 116-121, they were wholly rejected by Friedrich-

⁷⁶ Thus Friedrich, *SV* 2:128-129, 184; Kronasser, *EHS*: 553; Puhvel, *HED/E-I*: 343.

⁷⁷ Text 23 = KBo 5.3 iii 64 (possibly textual corruption of this sentence; cf. *HW*²: 221).

⁷⁸ Text 23 = KBo 19.44+ rev. 49 (dups. B and D). See Otten and Rüster 1972:103.

⁷⁹ Exceptional are examples 25, 30, 31, 33, and 34.

⁸⁰ Indeed, on account of KBo 43.52 iv 15 (Text 50): *Ū-UL a-a-ri-i-ya-ši* (> [*ariyašī*]), one might suppose that this construction could have been treated almost as a single grammatical unit.

⁸¹ See also Bader 1985:67-70. Possibly etymologically related is the verb *aralai-* 'to match', 'join' (in Sørensen 1981:108-109, i 10-11 = CTH 384); see Puhvel, *HEDA*: 117; Tischler 1972:272.

Kammenhuber, *HW*²:223-224, and Szemerényi 1977:115, 140-145, on semantic and formal grounds. To support the thesis that the three terms are indeed related, we will briefly expand on this theme, beginning with the semantics, and moving to discuss the proposed etymological base.⁸²

The Hittite word for friend is ^{LÜ}*araš*. This may reflect the notion of friendship equated with that of brotherhood, as one may see in the next example. In times of chaos,

nu-za ŠEŠ-aš ŠEŠ-an kat-ta-an pé-eš-ki-it / [^{LÜ}*a-r*]a-aš-ma-za ^{LÜ}*a-ra-an kat-ta-an pé-eš-ki-it*...

'Brother betrayed brother and friend betrayed friend.'⁸³

The next extract defines *araš* in the social sense, specifying the relative degrees of separation from the self.

10 [LUGAL-u]š ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti te-ez-zi e-hu pa-a-i-wa-ni

11 [nu zi-i]k HÜR.SAG ^{MEŠ}EGIR-an ti-i-ya ŠEŠ'-aš-mi-iš⁸⁴

12 [le]-e ki-iš-ta ga-a-i-na-aš-mi-iš le-e ki-iš-ta

13 [a-r]a-aš-mi-iš a-ra-a-aš-mi-iš; e-eš

[The kin]g speaks to Ḫalmašuit: 'Behold, let us go, [and y]ou go back to the mountains. Do not become my brother', do not become my relative, may you be my friend, my friend.'⁸⁵

First comes the brother of blood relation, then family connections by marriage, and finally the friend or companion.⁸⁶ But what is the intent of this passage? Why is the Hittite king requesting the deified throne, Ḫalmašuit, to be his friend? The king is requesting the deity Ḫalmašuit to be his

⁸² The following discussion is an attempt to elucidate the connections of the Hittite cognates, and should not be understood to describe fully the related terms, as this would merit a separate study.

⁸³ Goetze, *AM*: 192; CHD/P: 53. See also Hoffner 2000b:70, s.v. *kaena*- 'in-law'.

⁸⁴ The text reads ^{LÜ}*MEŠ* ^{MEŠ}*EGIR-an ti-i-ya ŠEŠ'-aš-mi-iš*. Starke 1979:74 assumes that the ^{MEŠ} is a scribal error and reads ^{LÜ}*MEŠ* ^{MEŠ}*-aš-mi-iš*. Hoffner, H. (private communication) assumes that ^{LÜ}*MEŠ* is a scribal error that should be amended to *ŠEŠ*. The latter interpretation is adopted in the present translation, as it is also parallel to the previous quotation and seems to make better sense than assuming that the king is naming Ḫalmašuit as his spouse in the masculine gender (^{LÜ}*MEŠ* ^{MEŠ}*-aš-mi-iš* 'my man').

⁸⁵ KUB 29.1 i 10-13 (CTH 414); see Marazzi 1982; Goetze, *ANET*: 357-358; Starke 1979.

⁸⁶ See Hoffner 2000:70, sub *kaena*- 'in-law'.

'companion' not in intimate terms, but rather, as Starke 1979:74-86 demonstrated, to enable a shared interaction in social terms, under the aegis of customary behaviour amongst peers. Both the king and Ḫalmašuit are friends to one another (*areš*), and as peers they should maintain the degree of respect of each other's political domain.⁸⁷ When the Hittite king requests permission to enter into Ḫalmašuit's domain to cut timber in the mountains, he expects the deity to consent, as is customary among peers:

... nu ^{GIŠ}DAG-an a-ra-am-ma-an ḫal-zi-aḫ-ḫu-[un] / ^ÜUL-wa LUGAL-wa-aš a-ra-aš-mi-iš zi-ik nu-wa-mu i-ni ^{GIŠ}ru / ma-ni-ya-aḫ na-at-kán kar-aš-mi...

Then I called Ḫalmašuit, my friend: "Are you not a friend of mine, of the king? Now allocate this timber to me, and I will chop it down..."⁸⁸

Ḫalmašuit responds eagerly to the Hittite king's request, being his friend. As will be demonstrated later on, the Hittite kings insisted that relations with their allies and peers be conducted as the rules of proper behaviour dictate, prohibiting anything which is *natta āra*. The accepted behaviour was defined in the international correspondence by the Akkadian term *paršu*, which partly overlaps Hittite *āra*, as will be shown presently.

Beyond these concepts, *araš* can also denote collegiality among professional circles, as seen from § 56 of the Hittite Law Code.⁸⁹ Reciprocity among friends or colleagues in the social sense is expressed by the Hittite idiom ^{LÜ}*araš* ^{LÜ}*ari* 'one to another',⁹⁰ an idiom which finds many analogues in other Indo-European languages.⁹¹ By extension, the idiom can be used to denote a sequence of 'one after another'.⁹²

Around this conceptual background, the related cognates are to be situated: 1) The adjective *arawa*- 'free, exempt', and its two derived verbs:

⁸⁷ Haas, *Gesch. Relig.*: 724-725.

⁸⁸ KUB 29.1 i 34-36. See note 85 for details.

⁸⁹ See Hoffner, *Laws*: 66-68.

⁹⁰ See Text 14.

⁹¹ See Bader 1985; Arbeitman 1985; Friedrich, *HE*: 133. Kronasser, *EHS*: 125 claims that the Hittite idiom is a calque on the Akkadian *tappū tappā*. For expressions of reciprocity in the Akkadian of North Syria and its vicinity, see Seminara 1998:410-412.

⁹² For example, Lebrun, *Samuha*: 123, rev. 37-39 (= CHD/P: 104): 'As this onion is unwrapped around with (layers) of skin, so that one can [not] break loose from the other (nu *araš aran ar[ḫa natta] tarna*), let evil and perjury, curse and uncleanness envelop that temple like (the layers of) an onion.'

the factitive verb *arawaḥḥ-* 'to free from corvée work', and the denominative verb *araweš-* 'to free oneself (from tribute)'. 2) The substantivized adjective *arawanni-*, 'free'.⁹³ How do these relate semantically? A person who is *arawanni-* belongs to a certain social stratum, in which its members are probably ^{LU}*ara-* to one another; that is, they share the same social standing.⁹⁴ One can assume that people who were *arawanni-* enjoyed some economic and social privileges; by implication, a person who was exempt from obligations to the crown was made *arawa-*, although one should understand that this does not transform his status to *arawanni-*. The same applies for people and lands who have freed themselves (*a-ra-a-u-e-eš-še-ir*) from the yoke of tribute: they are freer, but not 'free', so as to be necessarily associated with the social class of *arawanni-*, or be considered ^{LU}*aras*.⁹⁵

Having defined the semantic field of *āra* > *aras* > *arawanni-*, we can discuss the etymological base of the three. The main problem is, How does one account for the different vowel quantity of the first syllable which stands in the way of equating *āra* with its Hittite cognates? One can postulate an original adjectival base **arā-* which meant something like 'fitting, fair, appropriate'. The collective or abstract notion *āra* (or *āra*) was differentiated by accent, producing the lengthening of the first syllable. Compare *τομός* (adjective) 'cutting, sharp, that which cuts' against *τόμος* (noun) 'a cut, cutting, a slice'.⁹⁶ It is probably from the base **arā-* that ^{LU}*ara-(a)-* was derived and substantivized ('one that conforms', 'is appropriate' > 'peer', 'friend', 'comrade'), followed by *arawa-* and *arawanni-* ('one who is equal' > 'free' [of obligations]).

The last Hittite cognate to consider is the deity ^D*Āraš*, usually spelt with the doubling of the *a* sign. This doubling may indicate that it derives from *a-a-ra*. Since *āra* conveys an abstract notion, it is not difficult to imagine the deification of the concept.⁹⁷ But, unfortunately, too little is known about this god, or goddess, to determine its exact semantic relation to the term *āra*.⁹⁸ It is worth noting the personification of Vedic *āryaman*

⁹³ Güterbock, *Selected*: 257; Hoffner 1983b; Laroche 1960:124-125; and under entries in the dictionaries. It is possible that *arawanni-* appears as an Akkadianized form at Emar; Yamada 1995:303-304.

⁹⁴ See discussion on pp. 104-105.

⁹⁵ See Gurney, *AAA* 27:30-31, ii 41-43.

⁹⁶ Watkins, C. (personal communication), Melchert, C. (email, 25 October 1999).

⁹⁷ Puhvel, *HED/A*: 118; Otten, *HTR*: 99, n. 2 (with reservations).

⁹⁸ See discussion on pp. 41-44.

(derived from *arya-*, a cognate to Hittite *āra*) which as a neuter noun means 'hospitality' and as a masculine substantive means 'friend'. It is given a concrete form in the guise of the god *Āryaman*, the god of hospitality and friendship.⁹⁹

Remaining to be considered are the cognates in Lycian, an Anatolian language. We find 1) *ara* 'rite', 'what is due', which overlaps semantically with Hittite *āra*; and 2) *arawa-* 'free'.¹⁰⁰

As will be seen in the next section, these related terms all contribute to the broadening of the term *āra* in relation to its Indo-European cognates.

b. Indo-European Etymologies

Hrozný 1915:28 was the first to equate Hittite *a-a-ra* with Vedic *āram* ('fittingly', 'enough').¹⁰¹ Since then, most proposals have followed his equation. But some objections have been raised, notably by Goetze, followed by Szemerényi. Since Goetze repeatedly insisted that the doubling of the initial *a* would result in *ayara*, the connection with the other Hittite cognates and the Indo-European etymologies was rejected by Szemerényi 1977:142-145. He postulated, like Goetze before him, that *āra* derives from a neuter noun **ayar* (from the verbal root **aya-* 'to do'). This gave the plural form **ayara*. This suggestion has to be abandoned, however. As Szemerényi himself admits (ibid:142), the existence of the variable spelling *a-ra*, which occurs both in the *natta āra* expression and in place of the expected spelling of non-negated *a-a-ra* in indisputable contexts, makes it clear that the vocalization was not **ayara*.¹⁰² That Hittite ^{LU}*ara-* 'friend' was adopted from the Egyptian *ʾiry* and Ugaritic *ʾary*, eventually leading to the Indo-European *arya-* in the course of the second millennium (idem:148) is a thesis which is to be submitted to the proper evaluation of Indo-European linguistic scholars, although here it is not sustained.

Here we follow the analysis given by Puhvel, *HED/A*: 120, in the steps of Laroche and Benveniste, who assumes that the Indo-European root is possibly **ar-* 'to fit, arrange'.¹⁰³ With this at hand, some Indo-European cognates of Hittite *āra* can be mentioned: *Avestan arata*, 'right', 'order',

⁹⁹ Benveniste 1969:367-373; Szemerényi 1977:130-131.

¹⁰⁰ Melchert 1993:5; Puhvel, *HED/A*: 120.

¹⁰¹ See also Hrozný 1917:41, n. 3.

¹⁰² See also above, under 1.a. Orthography.

¹⁰³ Also Puhvel 1978:336.

'truth'; *arām*, 'fittingly', 'enough'; *airyo* 'Aryan'; *Vedic: āram* 'fittingly' (a petrified form); *ari* 'righteous', 'loyal'; *ārya-* 'belonging to the community'.¹⁰⁴ Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:657-658 traced the historical development of the notion, as it evolved from terms for 'guest' or 'foreigner' to collective self-designations of whole peoples (*ārya-* 'Aryan') and hence to geographical territories (*irān*, Iran, Persia). All of these terms, along with Hittite *āra*, expand upon the postulated Indo-European abstract notion of accepted and appropriate behaviour in the communal sense.¹⁰⁵

In light of the said above, how should one understand the notion of Hittite *āra* and *natta āra*? Anticipating in part this study's conclusions, we will demonstrate that the *natta āra* expression did not censure conduct which was alien to the Hittite genus or, in a wider sense, to the notion of 'Aryanhood'. Measures for defining difference between the self and the 'other' concentrated on the individual's immediate contact with the gods or on the establishment of proper (that is, *āra*) relationships among peers, for example. Some texts make use of the expression, as we will see, to define 'Hittite-ness'; they do not, however, consistently pit it against an image of other ethnic groups, but rather against individuals of a different ethnic origin who come in contact with the Hittites.

c. Syntactic and Semantic Equivalent Expressions

Watkins 1994a equated the Hittite expression *natta āra* with the Greek idiomatic expression *οὐχ ὁσία*, which means 'not lawful', 'not permitted'. The Greek *ὁσία* attains the moral and religious standards of what is permitted, or what is just, in contrast to what is considered *τὸ ἀδίκιον*, an act of injustice or wrong. It is the action allowed for humans in civil and religious realms by the divine law. Whatever is *οὐχ ὁσία* is out of bounds.¹⁰⁶ Syntactically, it employs the same impersonal construction found in the *natta āra* expression, employing the infinitive and dative of interest: *τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεια ὁσίη θύειν ἐστί χωρίς...* 'To them (the

¹⁰⁴ See also Tischler, *HEG*: 50.

¹⁰⁵ Puhvel 1978:336.

¹⁰⁶ Benveniste 1969:2:198-202; Burkett 1985:269-270. These examples can reveal the scope of the Greek prohibition: it is not *ὁσίη* to disclose the Mysteries (Herodotus, ii 171), to behave irreverently towards the dead (Odyssey, 22, 412), or to plan evil deeds against others (id. 16, 423). Like the Hittite *natta āra*, it deals with matters of religion or ethics.

Egyptians) it is forbidden to sacrifice animals except (the following bovines)...¹⁰⁷

In addition to the Greek equivalent expression, Latin employs a similar impersonal expression. Latin uses *fas* ('allowed', 'correct'), an indeclinable noun, like *āra* and its opposite *nefas* ('strongly prohibited'), equivalent to *natta āra*, in order to define behaviour which is ordained by the gods. This interdiction, sanctioned by the divine is contrasted with *ius*, used to define the earthly customs and laws. One should notice that *nefas* shares a morpho-syntactic feature with *natta āra*. Latin *ne* is not to be analyzed as a negation prefix, but rather as a sentence negation that is actually older than the usual Latin *non*. It therefore is construed as a sentence, like Hittite *natta āra*. Thus, like the Hittite expression, *nefas* constitutes the predicate (sometimes with *est*) which may be followed by an infinitive.¹⁰⁸

3. Sumerian and Akkadian Equivalents

a. The Trilingual Lexical List

The first text in the corpus of the *natta āra* expression to be considered is the Trilingual Lexical List, or dictionary, from Boğazköy. This dictionary consists of three columns, starting from the left: Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite. The words in this dictionary are organized graphically, according to the elements of the Sumerian signs, and thereupon, they are subcategorized thematically.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Herodotus, ii 45.

¹⁰⁸ Benveniste 1969:2:133-136; Watkins, C. (personal communication).

¹⁰⁹ Technically, this list is termed 'Post Old-Babylonian Proto-Izi'. See Civil 1971:3-4.

1. The Trilingual Dictionary:¹¹⁰Transcription and Translation: KBo 1.42, iv 3-7.¹¹¹

	Sumerian	Akkadian	Hittite	Translation
3 (230)	NĠG.X	[o o]- <i>tum</i>	<i>pu-uk-kán-za</i>	hated
4 (231)	NĠG.X	[o o]- <i>pu</i>	<i>ku-uš-du-wa-an-ta-u-wa-ar</i>	slander
5 (232)	NĠG.GIG	[<i>mu-u</i>]- <i>r-šú</i>	GIG-aš	sickness
6 (233)	NĠG.GIG	[<i>ma-ru-u</i>]- <i>š-tù</i>	<i>ir-ma-ni-ya-u-wa-ar</i>	being / becoming sick
7 (234)	NĠG.GIG	[<i>ik-ki-b</i>]- <i>u</i>	Ú-UL a-a-ra	taboo, abomination

In this dictionary, the scribes at Hattuša equated the studied expression with Sumerian and Akkadian lexical entries. Although it seems that such a list would provide us with a straight answer as to what *natta āra* exactly means, the hermeneutic circle cannot be broken: using one term to explain the other is begging the question, since the semantics of the Sumerian and Akkadian entries are themselves matters of some complexity. But it may prove worthwhile to examine the Sumerian and Akkadian entries of NĠG.GIG and *ikkibu* in order to ascertain the limits of the semantic field of the *natta āra* expression. In other words, we will ask if these terms, once we have defined them, do offer an exact semantic equivalent to the Hittite expression.

Hallo 1985 and Klein and Sefati 1988 offer reevaluations of the Mesopotamian entries. All three scholars equated NĠG.GIG and *ikkibu* with biblical Hebrew *to'ēphā* 'abomination' on semantic grounds. It was also shown that the two terms were found in either cultic or ethical contexts. Whereas Hallo showed some flexibility as to the definition of NĠG.GIG and *ikkibu* and opted to translate them, according to context, as either 'abomination' or 'taboo', Klein and Sefati rejected the notion of 'taboo' and decided that both these terms must be understood as 'abomination'. In support of Hallo's view, one finds the arguments in Geller 1990 most persuasive. Geller demonstrated that NĠG.GIG (and by implication *ikkibu*) need not be translated automatically as 'abomination', but for some contexts

¹¹⁰ Text: KBo 1.42. Script and Language: NH (CHD/P: 372a), Sumerian, Akkadian and Hittite. CTH: 303. Bibliography: Civil 1971:3-4, 127; Güterbock in Civil 1971:132-147.

¹¹¹ Following Güterbock in Civil 1971:140.

suggest the sense of something which is 'reserved', 'cut off for the gods', hence excluded from humans.¹¹² In that sense it fits perfectly with the anthropologic definition of taboo, or rather tabu, in its original sense.¹¹³ It is likely that, by extension, the terms came also to mean 'sin' or 'abomination'.¹¹⁴

If we accept that the Mesopotamian terms can mean 'taboo', their equation with the Hittite *natta āra* will fit perfectly on several occasions. In the corpus there are texts which deal with the prohibition of wasting or eating what was set apart for the gods, hence what is taboo for humans.¹¹⁵ But in the bulk of the corpus the Hittite expression can not be readily translated as 'taboo'. Accepting only the ethical definition of 'sin' or 'abomination' for the Mesopotamian terms also will not concur with the examples of the *natta āra* expression at hand. Although some of the prohibitions in the corpus can be defined as 'sins', or 'abominations', others do not convey the sense of a moral transgression. It is no wonder then, that the Hittites composing in Akkadian chose the more fitting word *paršu*, and devised it as an expression in order to translate their own *natta āra* while ignoring the Mesopotamian terms found in the Trilingual Lexical List. As is sometimes the case (in dictionaries of all sorts), definitions only partially cover the semantics of a given word.

b. The Akkadian Term *paršu*

It has long been recognized that the Akkadian expression *ul paršu* is a translation of the Hittite expression *natta āra*.¹¹⁶ Although the term *paršu* was widespread among the cuneiform centers in the 2nd millennium, the idiom *ul paršu* is apparently found only in the Akkadian of Boğazköy.¹¹⁷ This section will offer a discussion concerning the nature of the term *paršu* and its employment by the Hittites and their contemporaries. This will assist

¹¹² In support of Geller 1990 are some of the definitions of *ikkibu* in CAD/I:55-57.

¹¹³ Slater 1996.

¹¹⁴ See discussion in van der Toorn 1985:43

¹¹⁵ See Texts 9-14.

¹¹⁶ Goetze 1930:289; Friedrich, *HW*:27; Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HW*²:219; del Monte, *Muršili-Niqmepa*: 96-97.

¹¹⁷ I thank Testen, D. and the team of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary Project for allowing me access to the proof galley of CAD/P, from which the information about *paršu* was culled.

in elucidating the semantic tie between the terms *paršu* and *āra*, and will also explain the mechanics of translation, once the Hittites employed the Akkadian term in their Akkadian compositions.

The basic meaning of the Akkadian word *paršu* was 'offices' or 'power', rendered in Sumerian as GARZA (written logographically PA.AN) or ME.¹¹⁸ Landsberger 1924-25 divided the semantics of *paršu* into two broad categories, following the use of the Sumerian equivalents. Under the first category fall cases in which *paršu* (GARZA) denotes 'customary behaviour'; under the second, 'divine power' or 'divine offices' (ME).¹¹⁹ But as Landsberger himself pointed out, the fact that both categories (made distinct by modern scholarship) are defined by the same Akkadian term *paršu* implies a semantic overlap between the two. The semantic range of *paršu* is therefore quite wide and may include definitions as diverse as 'offices', 'cult orders', 'rites', 'customs', 'authority of the gods', 'divine worship', and the general abstract term for 'cult'.¹²⁰

Since the semantic categories of *paršu* are quite broad, in order to limit our definition of the term we will concentrate on the evidence available from the political centers of the Levant and Anatolia in the Bronze Age. One may start by examining its attestation in the lexical tradition, an important mode of transmission of Mesopotamian culture to the West. The term *paršu* occurs in the lexical tradition at Hattuša, where it is equated with Sumerian ME in a small fragment of an Izi-type tablet.¹²¹ Other peripheral lexical lists from Ugarit and Emar may list *paršu* as equivalent to ME,¹²² or to GARZA.¹²³ In other textual genres, we find an Akkadian ritual imported to

¹¹⁸ The etymology of the Akkadian *paršu* remains unclear; possibly it is a loan word from Sumerian /garza/ or Emesal /marza/, although the opposite mode of transmission is also feasible. See Steinkeller 1984:141-142, n.34.

¹¹⁹ It is worthwhile recalling that these are the ME-s which Inanna stole from Enki, in the myth 'Inanna and Enki'; see Kramer 1963:115-117, 160-162; Black et al. 2000.

¹²⁰ Since it is impossible to list here all attestations, one should consult the dictionaries for exact references.

¹²¹ See Güterbock, in Civil 1971:147, 8': ME *pār-šu* (= 1250/z in Otten and von Soden, *StBoT* 7: pl. iv).

¹²² Nougayrol, *AS* 16:34, 9: ME.ME = *pār-šu ma-du-tu*₄; Arnaud, *Emar* VI/4:603, 1: [ME.ME] *pār-šu ma-du-tu*.

¹²³ Arnaud, *Emar* VI/4:602, 232': [GA]RA *pa-ar¹-šu*.

Hattuša which uses GARZA to denote 'ritual'.¹²⁴ From cultic texts found in Emar, the same meaning is attested, as seen in several examples.¹²⁵

In more mundane settings, the word may mean 'custom' or 'conduct'. In a legal verdict issued by king Niqmepa of Alalakh, it expresses the customs of the city of Ḫalab: *ù ki-ma pa-ra-aš^{URU} Ḫa-la-ab^{KI} / ni-id-na i-za-ab-bil-šu* 'He will deliver to him the (marriage) gift in accordance with the custom of Ḫalab'.¹²⁶ In the Amarna correspondence, Rib-Addi of Byblos assures the Pharaoh that his duty is *a-na a-ra-ad LUGAL ki-a pār-ši / ša a-bu-ti-[i]a* 'To serve the king as the custom of my ancestors'.¹²⁷ In the same corpus, the Hittite king employs the term with a somewhat differently nuance:

*ù i-na-an-na DUB-pá-ka ša [] / šun-ka e-li šun-ia am-mi-ni [] /
ù ma-an-nu ša ba-a-na-a-ti [] / uš-bal-kat-ma pār-šu ki-na-an-na*

'And now as to the tablet that [you sent me], why [did you put] your name over my name? And who (now) is the one who upsets the good relations [between us], now is this appropriate?'¹²⁸

Such a misplacement of the Hittite king's name was no trivial matter, since in the international etiquette of the period, this could imply that his status was lower than that of the Pharaoh, although they were equals. This kind of behaviour is certainly not according to the *paršu*, the appropriate custom. One should note at this point that the term *paršu* does not feature in any other letters of the Amarna dossier. Neither Egypt, Babylonia, Mitanni nor Assyria ever employed this word in their correspondence.

Some centuries later, the term appears again in a letter from a Hittite king, probably Hattušili III, to his Assyrian peer, Adad-nerari I. Apart from discussing the burning political problems of the hour, the Hittite king was

¹²⁴ KUB 29.58 iv 33 (CTH 811 = Meier 1937:208).

¹²⁵ Arnaud, *Emar* VI/3:471, 1 (also ibid. 369, 1): *tup-pu pār-ši ša DINGIR^{MEŠ} KUR Ḫa-at-ti / URU^{MEŠ} AN.TA ù KI.TA* 'The tablet of the ritual of the gods of the land of Hatti, the upper and lower towns'.

¹²⁶ Wiseman, *Alalakh*: 17.5-6.

¹²⁷ EA 118:40-41. See also EA 73:39-40 (= Knudtzon, *EA*, p.372; Moran 1992:142): *ti-i-de pa-ar-ša-ia / i-nu-ma i-ba-ša-ta i-na^{URU} [š]u-mu-ra* 'You knew my conduct when you were in [š]umur'. EA 117:82 (= Knudtzon, *EA*, p.512; Moran 1992:194; Rainey 1996:1:72): *ki-ma pār-ši ša a-bu-ti-ka* 'Like the custom of your ancestors'.

¹²⁸ EA 42:15-18 = Knudtzon, *EA*, p.302 and Moran 1992:115-116. The specific identity of the Hittite king is not known, since the heading of the letter is missing.

concerned with failure of the Assyrian to acknowledge his accession to the throne. The Assyrian king was lax in the practice of sending gifts to the new king. Therefore, the Hittite king wrote:

- 5 ...[*ki-m*]e 'a'-na-ku LUGAL-ut-ta aš-ša-bat
6 [ū a]-ta DUMU.KIN-ra la-a taš-pu-ra ū pār-šu ša LUGAL^{MES}
7 [ša LUGA]L-ut-ta aš-ša-ab-bā-tū-ni¹²⁹ ū LUGAL^{MES} mi-iš-ru-šu
8 [šul-ma]-na-ti SIG^{MES} ti lu-bu-ul-ta ša LUGAL-ut-ti
9 [i D]ÜG.GA ša na-ap-šu-ši ū-še-bi-lu-ni-iš-šu
10 ū al-ta UD-ma an-ni-ta-ma la-a {e} te-pu-uš¹³⁰

'When I seized the kingship, [then y]ou did not send (your) messenger. This is the appropriate behaviour of kings [who] seize [king]ship: the kings his equals send to him beautiful [gi]fts, clothes of kingship and fine oil for anointing. But you, until this very day, did not do so.'¹³¹

As in the Amarna letter, the diplomatic protocol has been transgressed, and the offense requires reprimand.

The next encounter with *paršu* in Hittite materials is found in the Treaty of Šattiwaza and Šuppiluliuma. Here the Hittite king interrogates Šattiwaza about the succession procedures in the land of Mittanni:

[LUGAL GAL i-na qa]-ti-šu iš-ša-ab-ta-an-ni-ma i-na UGU-ia iḫ-ta-du ū
mi-nu-me-e pār-šu ša KUR^{URU} Mi-it-ta-an-ni el-ta-ta-al-an-ni

'[The Great King] took me by his hand and was pleased with me, then he questioned me extensively about the entire procedure of the land of Mittanni.'¹³²

That *paršu* refers here to the succession rules in Mittanni is clear from the following lines, in which Šuppiluliuma lays out his plans for installing Šattiwaza on the Mittannian throne. It is possible that *paršu* stands in this instance for Hittite *šaklais* 'rule' or 'customary law', rather than *āra*.¹³³

¹²⁹ Crasis (aš for iṣ). See Durham 1976:426.

¹³⁰ Harak 1987:72 reads 'te'-te-pu-uš, but in the copy the sign looks like an erased E (a result of scribal confusion between 3rd and 2nd person). The form therefore is a simple preterite, rather than a Gtn preterite. Thus also Goetze, *Kizz.*: 28.

¹³¹ KBo 1.14 rev. 5-10 (CTH 173). For lit., see Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 192.

¹³² KBo 1.3 obv. 22 (Weidner, *PD*: 40; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 49).

¹³³ See pp. 146 and 152.

Our final attestation of *paršu* comes from the Hittite Egyptian Treaty.¹³⁴

paršu ša dārīti ša ^DUTU u ^DIM iḫ-šu / *ana* KUR Mišri qadu KUR Hatti
salāma ū aḫḫitta ana la nadāni ¹³⁵ KUR 'i'na bērišunu

'The *paršu* for eternity which the Sun-god and the Storm-god made (is) for peace and brotherhood among Egypt and Hatti, (and is) for prohibiting enmity among them.'¹³⁵

Providing the partners with *paršu* is the responsibility of the Sun-god and the Storm-god in this treaty.¹³⁶ In another Hittite treaty, we find that the gods could refrain from granting that the relationship be *āra*.

nu=šmaš'at' le āra ienzi

'(The Oath Deities) will not make it *āra* for you.'¹³⁷

Since the two quotations share a conceptual background, one might suppose that *paršu* and *āra* share a related semantic field (and are expressed syntactically by the employment of verb *epēšu* / *iya-* 'to make, 'to do'),¹³⁸ even if they do not wholly correspond in this last instance.¹³⁹

The above citations demonstrate that *paršu* could be translated as 'customary or normal behaviour', and therefore it overlaps semantically with Hittite *āra*, although it could include other conceptual notions as well, such

¹³⁴ The copy found in Boğazköy was written originally by the Egyptians in Akkadian; nonetheless, it reflects concepts of reciprocity circulating amongst all the great powers of the period. See Zaccagnini 1990:46-50 and *passim*. The Egyptian term, missing from this passage, was in all likelihood *nt-* (Edel 1997:88).

¹³⁵ Text 7, see details on p. 40.

¹³⁶ Landsberger 1924-25:67 offered here 'werk der Götter' for *paršu*.

¹³⁷ Text 6, see details on p. 39.

¹³⁸ While the use of Akkadian *epēšu* with *paršu* is quite regular (Landsberger 1924-25:65), as is the use of Hittite *iya-* with *āra*, the syntax of this sentence betrays its Egyptian origin. See Cochavi-Rainey 1990:63-65; Rainey and Cochavi-Rainey 1990:802-803.

¹³⁹ Sørensen 1985:82-85 (following Goetze, *Hatt.*: 82-85) wished to equate *paršu* with the Hittite *para ḫandandatar*, 'divine guidance'. Since the entries for this word in CHD/P:130-132 demonstrate that while *para ḫandandatar* is rather shown or displayed by the gods, at times bestowed upon humans, it is not 'made' for the benefit of partners bound in a mutual agreement. Therefore *paršu* seems to share more with *āra* or *šaklais* in this specific example and as affirmed from the other cases.

as 'rule' or 'agreement'. While it is arguable whether all of the instances in Hatti of *paršu* do indeed directly translate *āra*, there is almost no doubt that the Akkadian expression *ul paršu* is a direct translation of Hittite *natta āra*. Having established the semantics of *paršu* in Hatti and elsewhere, we can investigate how the Hittites employed this Akkadian idiom. An in-depth analysis will be offered during the course of this study in the relevant chapters; presently, only the formal side of the Akkadian idiom will be discussed.

The term *paršu* with the negation particle *ul* occurs, it seems, only in the Akkadian of Boğazköy.¹⁴⁰ Notice that the three secure attestations of the Akkadian idiom display a grammatical construction which is similar to the Hittite *natta āra* expression.¹⁴¹ The expression can appear as an independent nominal sentence, simply *ul paršu*, comparable to the occurrences of *natta āra*.¹⁴² In its two other attestations it functions as the predicate with an infinitive construction serving as the subject, just as in the Hittite expression. Compare:

u ana dāki ul paršu

'...but to kill is not permitted.'¹⁴³

[^{L10} *āšipu/-a u* ^{L10} *asū/-ā*] *ʿa'na kalē ul paršu*

'It is not permitted to detain [the incantation priest or the physician].'¹⁴⁴

to the following Hittite examples:

9. *danna natta āra*

'...It is not allowed to take...'¹⁴⁵

14. ^{L10} *MUNNABTUM appa piyanna natta āra*

'It is not allowed to give back a fugitive.'¹⁴⁶

To conclude, it was demonstrated first that the term *paršu* was employed in diplomatic correspondence regularly by the Hittites, and to

some extent by their immediate neighbours, but not by the other great powers of the period. This makes it probable that it was employed to denote specific Hittite concepts of appropriate behaviour, if not specific words. Second, its meaning in diplomatic contexts was rather limited and did not include the Mesopotamian meaning of 'rite', 'offices', or 'divine worship'. A desideratum would be a detailed examination of the Babylonian or Assyrian use of the term in the sense of 'customary behaviour' in secular contexts. Third, it was chosen to be the most appropriate term to be used to translate *natta āra* in diplomatic exchanges. Ultimately, the religious connotation of *paršu*, as something ritually appropriate, might have also influenced its employment as a translation of *āra*. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, the Hittites defined ritual behaviour, on numerous occasions, as being *āra* or *natta āra*.

¹⁴⁰ See note 117, and AHw: 835-836.

¹⁴¹ In this study, only the secure attestations are included. In Edel 1994: 94-95, 6' and 15': 98-99, 14', the Akkadian idiom is feasibly restored, but the context is not secure enough to rule out other possibilities (see Izre'el 1997: 146 sub ÄHK 28 Rs. 4').

¹⁴² Text 24 (= KBo 1.1 rev. 11).

¹⁴³ Text 30a (= KBo 1.10 rev. 22).

¹⁴⁴ Text 30b (= KBo 1.10 rev. 44).

¹⁴⁵ Text 18 (= KUB 32.63 i 9').

¹⁴⁶ See note 41.

III. Religious and Cultic Prohibitions

1. Introduction: The *natta āra* Expression and Hittite Religious Sentiment

In many societies, modern and ancient alike, prohibitions and taboos demarcate polar concepts of human and divine behaviour, differentiating the sacred from the profane. In practical terms, with the enactment of ritual and cultic observances, prohibitions define the standards of conduct between humans and gods. In Hittite religion, the studied term *āra* may articulate the standards of conduct between the human and divine within the sphere of cultic practices by precisely defining what is permitted and what is forbidden. In their mutual relations with their worshippers, the gods demand that any conduct directed toward them will be done properly or correctly. If the worshipper will perform what is demanded of him correctly, that is by doing it *āra*, hopefully the gods' reaction will be positive. Notice in the following text, the request forwarded by a worshipper to a deity. As the worshipper confesses to have behaved in a religiously correct manner, he requires that he receive his just dues.

2. A Plea to the Deity:¹⁴⁷

Transliteration: 1270/z rev. 6'-9'.¹⁴⁸

6' *ka-a-ša-wa-at-ta ar-kam-ma-aš* []

7' *nu-wa-ad-du-za a-ra-an*¹⁴⁹ *i-ya-nu-un* []

¹⁴⁷ Text: 1270/z. *Language and Script*: 14th century, according to Starke, *StBoT* 31:355. *Bibliography*: Starke, *StBoT* 31:355, n. 1257.

¹⁴⁸ Starke, *StBoT* 31:335.

¹⁴⁹ Understanding *a-ra-an* as 'friend' in the acc. case, and thus translating 'I made you a friend', is a possibility to be considered (cf. p. 20), although one would expect some referentially to the speaker (that is, either 'for me' or 'my friend'); see here van den Hout

8' *nu-wa-at-ta šar-ni-in-ku-un nu-wa-mu* []

9' *nam-ma kal-la-a-ar le-e i-ya-ši*

Translation:

'Behold, this is the tribute for you. I have worshipped you accordingly,¹⁵⁰ and I have provided a substitute sacrifice for you. Subsequently, do not bring calamities upon me!'

Acting 'correctly' will secure that the god's wrath be diverted from the worshipper. However, doing something *natta āra*, which is in opposition to the divine dictum, will result, apparently, in a negative sanction.

In a similar manner, in the following Hittite rituals, the term *āra* is used to positivize actions in the procedures of the cult, marking them as appropriate or fitting for the gods or other participants. This example is from a Hittite foundation ritual.

3. A Hittite Foundation Ritual:¹⁵¹

Transliteration: KUB 29.1 i 1-4.¹⁵²

1 [] *ú-e-le-ez-zi*
2 [] *GIŠ²-ru-az*
3 [] *EGIR-p)a ú-e-da-a-ši*
4 [] *^DUTU²-an[?] ^DJIM-an-na a-a-ra i-e-er*

Translation:

...[] he constructs...[] from the [wo]d...[]...you construct [ag]ain...[]...they worshipped correctly the [Sun-god] and the Storm-god.¹⁵³

1992:283. But in light of the general context, and the frequent use of the verb *iya*- with *āra*, and in spite of the aberrant form, in my opinion, *aran* is to be taken as a variant or scribal mistake for the term *āra* (likewise, Starke, *StBoT* 31:335: 'Ich habe dir Recht verschafft'). For a similar spelling of *āra*, see p. 148.

¹⁵⁰ For *āra* with the verb *iya*- ('to do') see examples 33-37 in Chapter II. Here the meaning is to celebrate or worship the god correctly. For *ša...iya-* in the sense 'to worship', see, for example Hatt, ii 82 (= Otten, *StBoT* 24:16): *nu-za DINGIR^{LUM} i-ya-nu-un* 'I worshipped the deity'; Puhvel, *HED/A*, I: 336ff. cites additional examples.

¹⁵¹ Text: KUB 29.1 (For additional copies, see Marazzi 1982:144). *Language and Script*: OH/NS (CHD/L-N: 411). CTH: 414. *Bibliography*: Marazzi 1982; Goetze, *ANET*: 357-358; Starke 1979.

¹⁵² Following Marazzi 1982:148-150 and Starke 1979:74, 80.

¹⁵³ Cf. Puhvel, *HED/A*: 118: 'they did right by the sun-god and the storm-god.'

The following examples are from the Hittite Funerary Ritual for the deceased king (the *Totenrituale*).

4. The Hittite Funerary Ritual¹⁵⁴

Transliteration: a. KUB 30.27 rev. 1-3.¹⁵⁵

- 1 [ku-it-wa-a]š-ši ku-it e-eš-šu-u-e-ni
2 [nu-wa-ra-a]t-ši a-a-ra e-eš-du
3 [-k]án 8 UDU ak-kán-ta-aš ZI-ni BAL-t[i]

Translation:

"Let whatever we will perform for him, be considered acceptable to him!"
[An ox and] 8 sheep are offered to the soul of the deceased."

Transliteration: b. KUB 39.9 obv. 8-12.¹⁵⁶

- 8 [-] I-NA UD 4^{KAM} ha-aš-ti-ya-aš
9 [-] x LUGAL-i har-na-an-ta-an pi-an-zi
10 [-]^{LÜ}MES DUGUD ša-re-e-ku-aš
11 [-] ya U A-NA DAM^{MES} LÜ^{MES} DUGUD
12 [-] hu-u-ma²-a²n-ti-ya-pát a-ra ki-i-ša

Translation:

'On the fourth day, to/for the bones...[-] they give to the king the fermented (beverage)...[-] the officers of the *šarikuwa*-troops¹⁵⁷...[-] and to the wives of the officers...and so it is done accordingly for [every]body.'¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Text: KUB 30.27. *Language and Script*: MH²/NS (CHD/L-N: 58a). CTH: 451. *Bibliography*: Otten, *HTR*: 98-101.

¹⁵⁵ Following Otten, *HTR*: 98.

¹⁵⁶ Text: KUB 39.9. *Language and Script*: NS². CTH: 450. *Bibliography*: Otten, *HTR*: 52-55.

¹⁵⁷ For these military personnel, see Beal, *THeth* 20:503.

¹⁵⁸ Another occurrence of *āra* (Text 4c) in conjunction to the Hittite Funerary Ritual is found in KUB 39.41 rev. (CTH 450). This complementary text is a sort of an 'ingredient book' for the various magical implements used in the Hittite Funerary Ritual and the magical utterances associated with them. The passage containing the term *āra* is somewhat fragmentary: rev. 13' *še-li-in ku-wa-pi ti-[ya-an-zi]* / 14' *še-e-li-iš a-a-ra e-eš-du* / 15' *e-el-ri-ya-nu-uš-ki-i[d-du]* 'When [they] pl[ace] the winnowed-grain

By acting *āra*, as these rituals prescribe, the worshipper creates a balanced and beneficial reciprocal relationship between himself and the deity, maintaining the basic equation of *do ut des* ('I give so that you will give'). This relationship is maintained also by introducing prohibitions regarding rituals. In the texts presented in this chapter, the *natta āra* expression articulates prohibitions that seek to eliminate the possibility of disruption of the procedures enacted in rituals or other cultic obligations. Indeed, in some instances, adjacent to the *natta āra* expression, in the same paragraph or text, *āra* stands without the negation particle and thus conveys a sense which is contradictory to the action forbidden, creating the necessary contrast for comparison between right and wrong.¹⁵⁹ In the following text, oracle questions are put forward to determine whether certain actions are permitted or not. Once the gods are asked to indicate whether the king's behaviour is *natta āra* and once whether it is *āra*.

5. An Oracle Text Concerning Fighting in the Haḫarwa Regions.¹⁶⁰

Transliteration: a. KUB 5.1 i 32-39.¹⁶¹

- 32 ^DUTU^{ŠI}-kán A-NA^{rHUR.SAG} ha-har-wa UGU³ pa-iz-zi na-aš-kán UGU³ še-eš-zi BAD-an-ma-aš-ši A-NA SAG.DU-ŠU³
33 UL ku-it-ki HUŠ-u-e-ni SIG³-ru DINGIR^{MES} DU-ir IZI šal-li-ya wa-aš-túl ME-ir na-aš pa-i¹⁶² SUM-za¹⁶³ NU.SIG³

[...the old woman says:] "[May] the winnowed-grain b[e] as due [-], may he feed [the winnowed-grain to...]"'. The translation follows the general interpretation of this text given by Otten 1962:231-232. The reading *a-a-ra* was pointed out to me by Wilhelm, G. (email 22th April, 2001). Since it is hard to imagine *šeliš* as an active subject of the verb *ija-*, it is reasonable to restore 'e'[šdu] in 14' (cf. rev. 17'), unless we have before us a verbless nominal sentence. See discussion on p. 10. For restoring *ti-[ya-an-zi]*, cf. obv. 1'. For *šeliš* as 'winnowed-grain', see Hoffner, *AlHeth*: 33-34 and Otten, *HTR*: 140-141; for the verb *etiryaškidu*, see HW²/E: 140, and also CHD/L-N: 114b.

¹⁵⁹ See Texts 5, 23, 33, 35 and possibly 36.

¹⁶⁰ Text: KUB 5.1 + KUB 52.65. *Language and Script*: LH (Beal, *THeth* 20:308, n.1173). CTH: 561. *Bibliography*: Ünal, *THeth* 4 (complete edition); Beal 1999 (translation with copious notes). I thank Profs. Melchert and Beal for sharing with me their elucidating email correspondence (19 Oct-12 Nov, 1999) discussing these passages.

¹⁶¹ See also Ünal, *THeth* 4:36-38, differently.

¹⁶² Short for *paḡawi* 'to the assembly'; see HZL: 174.

¹⁶³ This form is taken as a part.sg.com.nom: *pianza*. See CHD/P: 43a.

- 34 ^{DUTU}^{SI}-^{kán} ^{HUR.SAG} *Ha-har-wa UGU pa-iz-zi BAD-an-ma-za TI-tar*
*UL ku-it-ki 'GÜB'-ah-hi*¹⁶⁴ SIG₅-ru {ras.}
- 35 DINGIR^{MES} DU-ir TI-tar ŠA LUGAL-ya A-DÁM-MA ME-ir nu-kán
 EGIR^{GIS} DAG
- 36 2 pa-za¹⁶⁵ ZAG-tar pár-na-aš SIG₅ KASKAL LUGAL-ya ME-aš nu-kán
 DINGIR^{MES}-aš
- 37 3 DINGIR^{MES} DU-ir ^DGul-ša-aš mi-nu-mar ME-ir nu-kán DINGIR^{LIM}-ni
 da-pt-i ZI-ni
-
- 38 nu UL-ma a-a-ra UGU še-šu-an-zi NU.SIG₅-du GIG.GAL
 NINDA.GUR₄ RA iš-pa-tu-zi pár-na-aš-ša SIG₅ ME-aš
- 39 na-at A-NA ^DUTU AN⁶ pa-iš NU.SIG₅

Translation: a.¹⁶⁶

His Majesty will go up to the Ḥaḥarwa mountains and he will sleep up there. If we have nothing to fear for his person, let (the oracle) be favourable. The gods stood up and took fire and the great sin. It is given to the assembly. Unfavourable.

His Majesty will go up to the Ḥaḥarwa mountains. If nothing will ruin (his) life, let (the oracle) be favourable. The gods stood up and took the life and the red (blood) of the king. Now (they placed it) behind the throne: Secondly, the assembly took 'Rightness', 'The Wellbeing of the House', and the 'Royal Campaign'. (And they gave it) to the gods. Thirdly: The gods stood up and took the 'Goodwill' of the fate deities. (They gave it) to the 'Whole Soul' of the deity.

Now is it not permitted to sleep above? Let (the oracle) be unfavourable. The 'Great Sickness' took thick bread, a libation vessel, and the 'Wellbeing of the House', and gave it to the Storm-god of Heaven. Unfavourable.

Transliteration: b. KUB 5.1 iv 57-58.

- 57 ^{HUR.SAG} *Ha-har-wa-kán UGU še-eš-zi DINGIR^{MES}-za-at a-a-ra KUŠ^{MES}*
*SIG₅-ru ni-kán*¹⁶⁷ *GÜB'-liš a-dam-da-ḥi-eš*
- 58 ^{Ši}¹⁶⁸ ZAG-za RA^{IS} ZI *ḥi-li-ip-ši-ma-an* 8 ŠA DIR {ras.} (NU.SIG₅)¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ See Beal 1999:43, n.14.

¹⁶⁵ Short for *pankuš-za* 'the assembly'; see HZL: 174.

¹⁶⁶ Following Beal 1999:43.

¹⁶⁷ *ni* is short for *nipašuri*-, an oracle term.

¹⁶⁸ *ši* is short for *šintahi*-, an oracle term.

¹⁶⁹ See Beal 1999:53.

Translation: b.¹⁷⁰

He will sleep above on the Ḥaḥarwa mountains. Is it permitted by the gods?¹⁷¹ Let the flesh oracle be favourable. The *nipašuri* is *adamdahiš* on its left. The *šintahi* is squashed on the right. The galbladder is *ḥilipšiman*. The intestine has eight turns. (Unfavourable).

But maintaining behaviour which was correct or acceptable (*āra*) was not only a duty performed by humans for the sake of the gods' satisfaction or appeasement. The gods themselves had a role to play. They legitimized the social conduct among humans, allowing relations to be *āra* amongst one another. In the treaty of Šuppiluliuma with Ḥuqana, the vassal king is warned about the consequences which may follow should he wish to conduct relations with Hatti's enemies against the Hittite king:

6. The Oath Deities in the Ḥuqana treaty.¹⁷²

Transliteration: KBo 5.3 ii 2-9.

- 2 na-aš-ma a-pé-e-da-ni im-ma EGIR-an ti-ya-ši A-NA ^DUTU^{SI}-[ma]
- 3 a-wa-an ar-ḥa ti-ya-ši nu ma-a-an ki-iš-ša-an ut-tar i-e-[ši]
- 4 nu-ut-ta ke-e NI-IŠ DINGIR^{MES} le-e da-li-ya-an-zi nu-ut-t[a]
- 5 a-pu-u-un-na an-tu-uḥ-ša-an le-e da-li-ya-an-[zi]
- 6 zi-ik ku-e-da-ni EGIR-an ti-ya-ši nu a-pu-u-un-na ḥar-ni-in-kán-[du]
- 7 nu-uš-ma-aš ki-i ut-tar NI-IŠ DINGIR^{MES} EGIR-an le-e tar-na-an-zi

¹⁷⁰ Following Beal 1999:53.

¹⁷¹ DINGIR^{MES} *za-at* taken as abl.pl. with Ūnal, *Theth* 4:87. See Melchert, *Diss.*: 358 sub Ablative of Agent: (KBo 4.6 obv. 26-27) nu DINGIR^{MES} *az a-ri-ya-ir na-at* DINGIR^{MES} *az-zi-ya [ḥa-an-da-ḥi-ta]-at* 'They inquired of the gods, and it was [determi]ned by the god'. See also Beal 1999:53: 'Is it acceptable to the gods?'

¹⁷² Text 6: KBo 5.3. CTH: 42. For additional details, see Text 23, p. 80. Similarly, in the same text, Ḥuqana is warned not to betray the Hittite king. The Oath Deities will not make it permissible for him and destroy him for such an attempt. Text 6a: KBo 5.3 ii + KBo 19.43, 43-44 and 49-50 (see Text 23 for details). Bibliography: Friedrich, *SV* 2:118-119; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 30.

...[nu tu-uk^m Ḥu-ug-qa-na-a-an ke-le NI-IŠ DINGIR^{MES} ḥar-ni-in-kán-du / nu-ut-ta le-[e a-a-ra] i¹-en-zi

...nu [tu-uk^m Ḥu-ug-qa-na-a-an ke-e NI-IŠ DINGIR^{MES} ḥar-ni-in-kán-du / ne-et-[a le-e] 'a-a-ra' i¹-en-zi]

'...And these Oath Deities will destroy you, Ḥuqana, and they will not make (it) *āra* for you.'

- 8 *nu-uš-ma-ša-at-«ša»*¹⁷³ *le-e a-a-ra i-en-zi nu-uš-ma-aš ták-ša-an*
 9 *ḥar-ni-in-kán-du* ¹⁷⁴ *UTU*¹⁷⁵ *ma-aš-ša-an ZI-aš ar-nu-an-du*

Translation:¹⁷⁴

'Or if you go over to him (to Hatti's enemy), and abandon My Majesty, if you act thus, these Oath Deities shall not leave you, nor shall they leave that man of yours,¹⁷⁵ and may they destroy the one to whom you will turn over. The Oath Deities shall not forgive you (pl.) for such a deed,¹⁷⁶ and they shall not make it *āra* for you (pl.), and may they destroy the both of you, and so may they fulfill the wishes of My Majesty.'

The gods' refusal to grant that relations will be *āra* will ensure that Ḥuqqana will fail in any evil intentions he and his partner wish to partake. However, receiving *āra* from the gods will ensure the success of a relationship, as stated explicitly in the treaty between Hatti and Egypt. Both partners, Ḥattušili III and Ramses II, are to obtain *paršu* (equated at times with the Hittite term *āra*)¹⁷⁷ from the Sun-god and the Storm-god, who are clearly the two chief representatives of the Egyptian and Hittite pantheon respectively.

7. The Hittite-Egyptian Treaty:¹⁷⁸

Transliteration:¹⁷⁹

...[(a-)]mur pâr-šu ša da-a-ri-ti ša ¹⁸⁰UTU ù ¹⁸¹IM i-pu-šu / a-na KUR Mi-i[(s-ri-i g)]â-du KUR Ḥa-a[(t-ti sa-la-m)]a ù ŠEŠ-ut-ta a-na la-a na-da-a-ni
¹⁸²LUGAL GAL LU]GAL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i iš-ša-bat-šu a-na e-pê-ši šu-ul-mi a-di UD-mi an-ni-i

Translation:

The *paršu* for eternity which the Sun-god and the Storm-god made (is) for peace and brotherhood among Egypt and Hatti, (and is) for prohibiting

¹⁷³ For scribal error, see Friedrich, *SV* 2:142.

¹⁷⁴ See also Beckman, *DipTexts*: 29.

¹⁷⁵ Translating *nu-ša* (1.4) as dative of reference.

¹⁷⁶ See Friedrich, *SV* 2:115.

¹⁷⁷ See discussion on pp. 27-30.

¹⁷⁸ Text: KBo 1.7+ obv. 24-26 (restored from KBo 1.25+ obv. 24-26). CTH: 91.

Bibliography: Edel 1997; Beckman, *DipTexts*: 96-100.

¹⁷⁹ Following Edel 1997: 7 and 88.

enmity among them. And Ramses, Beloved of Amon, the Great King, king of Egypt has seized it in order to make peace as to this very day (onwards).

Seizing *paršu*, or *āra* to use the Hittite term, as Ramses has done, will ensure that peace, brotherhood, and the absence of hostilities will prevail; it guarantees all the necessary ingredients for a successful brotherly relationship between the two kings. In this treaty and the Ḥuqqana treaty, the chief gods and the Oath Deities, gods of the contract, constitute the *āra* necessary for normative relations between humans.¹⁸⁰

As it was noted in the introduction to this chapter, the relations between gods and humans, as between humans alone, are bordered and defined by the abstract concept of *āra*. Before presenting the texts pertaining to religious and cultic prohibitions, a short discussion of the deified form of this abstract term is in place.

2. The Deity ^D*A-a-ra-aš*

Hardly anything is known about the Hittite deity, ^D*A-a-ra-aš*.¹⁸¹ In spite of the paucity of attestations, some information about this deity can be gleaned.

In a foundation ritual for a new city, ^D*Āraš* is found situated alongside other deified abstract qualities, all positive.¹⁸²

- 7 EGIR-ŠU-ma ^DKe-el-ti DUMU ^D*A-a e-eš-zi* EGIR-ŠU-ma ^D*A-a-ra-aš*
 8 *e-eš-zi* EGIR-ŠU-ma ^DḤi-in-kal-lu-uš *e-eš-zi*
 9 EGIR-ŠU-ma *ḥa-an-ta-an-ta-tar-ra e-eš-zi...*

And after him, sits the deity *Kelti* ('Wellbeing'), the offspring of the deity *A-a*,¹⁸³ and after him/her sits the deity *Āraš*, and after him/her, the deity *Ḥingaluš* ('Opulence'), and after him/her sits Divine Justice....

¹⁸⁰ See p. 31. It was also within the power of the Hittite king to ensure that his vassals act in accordance with procedures that were considered *āra*. See discussion on p. 143-146.

¹⁸¹ For the etymological connection between *āra* and ^D*Āraš*, see p. 22. For attestations, see Laroche, *Rech.*: 45; Puhvel, *HED/A*: 118; van Gessel 1998: 45.

¹⁸² Text: KUB 17.20 ii 7-9. CTH: 492 (see Otten and Rüster 1978: 154). Bibliography: Bossert 1956: 202-203; see also Haas, *Gesch. Relig.*: 257-258; Puhvel, *HED/A*: 118.

¹⁸³ Possibly ^D*Aya*, the consort of the Hurrian Sun god, Šimige (Haas, *Gesch. Relig.*: 380), or ^D*Ea* (ibid.: 82).

In this ritual, along with these deified qualities, other abstract qualities are mentioned, such as 'Auspicious Day', 'Health', and 'Happiness'. These abstract nouns (some of Hurrian origin) constitute the desired conditions of the land; finding ^DĀraš among this list permits us to consider that it represents a positive abstract quality, namely, *āra*.

KUB 60.153 is a fragmentary offering list which includes the gods Darawi (10': ^DDa-ra-u-i-ya), Kurwašu (10': ^DKur-wa-šu), Āra (11': ^DA-a-ra), Hinkalli (11': ^DHi-en-kal-li) and Pithanu (17': ^DPit-ḫa[-nu]). Since the order of the deities in this text appears to resemble the one found above (KUB 17.20 ii 7), as noted also by the copyist, H. Klengel (p. vi), we can restore line 11' as follows:

[... 1 UDU ^DKe-el-ti DUMU ^DA]-a 1 UDU ^DA-a-ra
1 UDU ^DHi-en-kal-li].¹⁸⁴

KBo 3.30 obv. is another fragmentary offering list (?) which names in line 4' ^DA-ra-a-aš-ša along with two obscure deities ^DKán-ta-ru-u[š] and ^DHi-la-al-la-[-]. Because of the different orthographic practices by which the name of the deity is spelt, this text appears under a new entry in van Gessel's *Onomasticon*: 45. The different spelling (with only a single initial *a*; but notice the plene spelling of the second syllable) is not an entirely compelling reason for excluding the text from the present discussion.¹⁸⁵

The final passages to consider which feature ^DĀraš are from the Hittite Funerary Ritual. Since they are repetitious, only the first is presented here.

¹⁸⁴ Notice that in these two texts (obviously dependent on each other) ^DĀraš appears after ^DA-a; was it the spelling of the double initial *a* sign which induced the scribe to follow this order, or was there some other reason for this sequence?

¹⁸⁵ See also Puhvel, *HED/A*: 118. Van Gessel's entry for ^DA-ra-aš in KBo 33.167 iv 8'-10' should perhaps be reconsidered. This passage, which describes a ritual for Ištar of Nineveh, could possibly be read as follows: nu MUNUS^{MES} GAL^{HLA} an-da / GUL-an-zi nam-ma-aš / ŠA DINGIR a-ra-aš a-ri / Še-er la-a-ḫu-u-i 'The women smash the vessels and in addition "the one of the deity", one after/for the other, empties them out' (cf. CHD/L-N: 14). For the expression *araš ari*, see p. 21 and *HW*²:223. Cf. van Gessel 1998: 45. ŠA ⁴Araš.

8. The Hittite Funerary Ritual:¹⁸⁶

Transliteration: KUB 30.27 obv. 7' - rev. 3.¹⁸⁷
obv.

7' ḫa-aš-ta-i-ma tu-u-wa-za ku-it KUR-az ú-a-da-n
8' nu ku-it-ma-an UD^{KAM} ḫi^{LA} mu-kiš-na-aš
9' nu-uš-ši UD^{KAM} ti-li SISKUR kiš-an pé-eš-kán-z[i]

10' IGI-zi-ya-an UD^{KAM} ti ku-wa-pi : li-la-an-zi
11' nu-kán 1 UDU A-NA¹ UTU DINGIR^{MES} ŠA-ME-E-ya
12' [ši-p]a-an-ti 1 UDU-ma A-NA¹ Al-la-ni ták-na-aš^D UTU-[-]
13' [ták-na-aš-š]a DINGIR^{MES} aš BAL-ti
14' [1 UDU-m]a-kán A-NA¹ A-a-ra BAL-ti

rev.

1 [ku-it-wa-a]š-ši ku-it e-eš-šu-u-e-ni
2 [nu-wa-ra-a]i-ši a-a-ra e-eš-du
3 [-k]án 8 UDU ak-kán-ta-aš ZI-ni BAL-[-i]

Translation:

'During the days of invocation, they give daily offerings as follows for the bones (of the deceased) which are brought from a distant land.¹⁸⁸ On the first day they pacify him (the deceased) and one sheep is offered to the Sun-god and to the gods of heaven; one sheep is offered to Allani, the Sun-goddess of the earth, and to the gods of the [earth; one sheep] is offered to Āra(š). "Let whatever we will perform for him, be considered acceptable to him"! [An ox and] 8 sheep are offered to the soul of the deceased.'

The offerings are then repeated for the third and fifth day (rev. 4-18), whereupon the text breaks. All in all, ^DĀraš is mentioned four times. Who are the main actors to receive offerings in this ritual? The Sun-god and the gods of heaven are due to receive offerings; likewise, Allani and the gods of the earth will also be propitiated. As chthonic powers, they are entitled to their share.¹⁸⁹ Finally, the soul of the deceased is appeased with blood

¹⁸⁶ For details see Text 4, p. 36.

¹⁸⁷ Following Otten, *HTR*: 98.

¹⁸⁸ Following CHD/L-N: 325a.

¹⁸⁹ Haas, *Gesch. Relig.*: 405-406.

sacrifices.¹⁹⁰ The question is, what is *Āraš* doing in their midst? Is it possible to imagine that this deity has a function like that of the Vedic Aryaman who protects customs and ensures the proper worship?¹⁹¹ Since the bones of the deceased are brought from a different or strange land (line 7'), is *Āraš* required to ensure that the important funerary ritual be carried out *āra*, that is, properly, according to Hittite custom? Presently, there is no way to verify these assumptions. However, one should consider that the fact that the ritual mentions this deity in conjunction with *āra*, which ensures the commitment to enact the ritual properly, is not a coincidence. As discussed above, the appearance of *Āraš* in a list-like text with other deified abstract concepts, along with the proposed etymological connection, also strengthens its ties with the concept of *āra*.

3. Kantuzili's Prayer

The prayer of the Hittite prince Kantuzili is directed to the Sun-god of justice, *Iṣtanu*, who is requested to relieve the prince of his sufferings. Understanding that the sufferings are a result of some grave sin, the prince pleads pitifully to the Sun-god to reveal his fault.

As Güterbock 1974 recognized, this prayer and its analogous counterpart, CTH 372, derive from bilingual Sumero-Akkadian incantation prayers for 'appeasing angry gods' (INIM.INIM.MA DINGIR ŠA.DIB.BA GUR.RU.DA.KAM), edited by Lambert 1974. This derivation is not comprehensive and the Hittite scribe chose to borrow freely from the Sumero-Akkadian model to suit his needs, inserting many themes which are unique and styling his composition quite differently.¹⁹² The following passages, the first from an Akkadian prayer, illustrate the degree of shared traits between the Sumero-Akkadian and Hittite prayers.

GU₄ ina 'TÜR ul' ak-la-aš / UDU.NITÁ^{BLA} ina AMAŠ [ul] ak-la-aš / [dum]
qu i-šu-ú MIN / NINDA^{BLA} ut-tu-ú ina rama-ni-ia ul a-kul / A^{MES} ut-tu-ú ina
rama-ni-ia ul aš-ti

¹⁹⁰ Haas 1995:2024.

¹⁹¹ For Aryaman, see Brereton 1981:157, 161, 181-183; Oberlies 1998:183-185. I am indebted to Jamison, S. for this suggestion.

¹⁹² Güterbock 1958, 1974, and 1978:130-134.

'I have not held back from him (the god) the ox in the stall. I have not held from him the sheep in the pen, likewise (I have not held back from him) the goods which I owned. The food I found, I did not eat by myself, the water I found I did not drink by myself.'¹⁹³

This passage, which speaks of sharing a meal with the god and not dining all alone (and perhaps of offering some libation or food to the deity), finds its echo in the Hittite prayer, in a passage largely identical to the quotation above.¹⁹⁴

GU₄-um'-aš-ta ḥa-a-li-az a-ap-pa Ū-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka kar-šu-un UDU-un-
aš-ta a-ša-ú-na-az EGIR-pa KIMIN / NINDA-an-za ú-e-mi-ya-nu-un
na-an-za A-ḥI-TI-YA na-at-ta ku-wa-pi-ik-ki e-du-un wa-a-tar-ma-az /
ú-e-mi-ya-^{nu-un} na-at A-ḥI-TI-YA Ū-UL ku-wa-pi-ik-ki e-ku-un...

'I never separated an ox from the stall, likewise (I never separated) a sheep from the pen; (When) I found food I never ate it by myself, (when) I found water, I did not drink it by myself.'¹⁹⁵

The theological theme of the two prayers concerns the concept of allocating commodities between human and god. The Hittite prayer precedes these lines with a passage containing the *natta āra* expression that concentrates on the violation of sacred offerings (*šuppi*¹⁹⁶) set aside for the god, an idea which is not expressed explicitly in the Akkadian prayer.

9. Kantuzili's Prayer: Avoidance of Foods which are Sacred to the God.¹⁹⁷

Transliteration: KUB 30.10 obv. 11'-14'.

11' ku-it-ta im-ma mi-eš-ḥa-ti nu-za-ta ŠA DINGIR-YA du-ud-du-mar
ḥa-at-ta-ta ḥu-u-ma-an-ta ša-ki-[nu]-un

12' nu A-NA DINGIR-YA Ū-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka li-in-ku-un li-in-ga-in-na-
aš-ta Ū-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka šar-ra-aḥ-ḥa-at

¹⁹³ Lambert 1974:278-279, II.80-84. This prayer is a unilingual Akkadian translation of a Sumerian original. See Lambert 1974:270.

¹⁹⁴ See Lambert 1974:299-300 and Güterbock 1974:325.

¹⁹⁵ KUB 30.10 obv. 15'-17'. Transliteration and translation follow Güterbock 1974:325.

¹⁹⁶ For *šuppi*-, see Moyer, *Diss.*: 30.

¹⁹⁷ Text: KUB 30.10. Language and Script: MH/MS (CHD/L-N: 115a). CTH: 373.

Bibliography: Goetze, *ANET*: 400-401; Güterbock 1974; Lebrun, *Hymnes*: 111-120.

- 13' *ši-ù-ni-mi-ma-mu ku-it šu-up-pi a-da-an-na na-at-ta a-ra na-at Û-UL*
ku-uš-ša-an-ka e-du-un
 14' *nu-za tu-ek-kam-ma-an na-at-ta pa-ap-ra-aḥ-ḥu-un*¹⁹⁸

Translation:

'Even when I prospered, I acknowledged all the mercy and wisdom of my god and I never swore falsely to my god. I never broke (his) oath. I never ate that which is sacred for my god, but for me not permitted to eat. Therefore, I have not defiled my own body.'¹⁹⁹

Although such a parallel passage is lacking in the Akkadian prayer, both prayers, Hittite and Akkadian, make use of the terms denoting taboo.²⁰⁰ Indeed, it is possible that these Sumero-Akkadian terms may have motivated the Hittite scribe to employ his own native formula in his composition, that of *natta āra*. In the Hittite prayer, the *natta āra* expression excludes the sacred meat from the worshipper, by specifically prohibiting its consumption. The Akkadian prayer exhibits the term NĪG.GIG (Akkadian *IKIBBU*), which is equated with *natta āra* in the trilingual dictionary (Text 1), making use also of two synonymous terms: *ANZILLU* and *ASAKKU*. Notice their use in the Akkadian prayer:

ša i-li ba-ni-ia a-ta-kal a-sak-ku / ú-kab-bi-is an-zil-lu le-mut-tu e-te-ep-pu-uš / a-na NĪG.GA-ka rap-ši at-ta-ši pa-ni-ia / a-na KÙ.BABBAR-ka šu-qu-ri la-lu-ú-a il-li-ik / áš-ši qa-ti la šul-pu-ta ú-šal-pit / i-na la KÙ-ia, e-te-ru-ub a-na é-kur NĪG.GIG-ka dan-na e-te-ep-pu-uš a-na-ku

¹⁹⁸ The parallel text (9a), KUB 36.79 ii 29-33 (CTH 372), is badly preserved in this passage and is restored here according to Text 9 (KUB 30.10 obv. 11'-14').

29 *nu A-NA [DINGIR-YA Û-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka li-in-ku-un]*

30 *li-in-[ga-in-na-aš-ta Û-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka šar-ra-aḥ-ḥa-at]*

31 *ši-ù-ni-mi-ma-mu ku-it šu-up-pi a-da-an-na]*

32 *Û-UL a[-a-ra na-at Û-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka e-du-un]*

33 *nu-za tu-ek-kam-ma-an pa-ap-ra-aḥ-ḥu-un]*

Lebrun, *Hymns*: 97 reads against the copy: 33 *nu-za N[Ī.TE-YA*. The sign looks like GIG, possibly a mistake for DU, an option which is adopted here.

¹⁹⁹ See CHD/P:102b: *paprah-* 'resulting from a violation of taboo'. Translation follows the CHD and Kammenhuber 1964:154, although *tuekkansman* might simply mean 'myself'.

²⁰⁰ See also discussion on p. 26-27.

'I infringed on a taboo of my creator god, I committed an abomination, continuously doing evil, I coveted your abundant property, my desire was after your precious silver, I set my hand (and) desecrated what should not be so treated, in a state of impurity I entered the temple. I constantly committed your terrible abomination.'²⁰¹

The range of both the Hittite expression and the Sumero-Akkadian prohibitions in this analogy is basically the same. Both imply a transgression involving material objects excluded from humans: property or food reserved for the god. In the Akkadian prayer, the nefarious deeds have already been committed; the Hittite supplicant professes never to have done so.

We find in these prayers *in vivo*, so to speak, the equivalent terms of taboo of three cultures, which are posited superficially in the trilingual dictionary (NĪG.GIG = *IKIBBU* = *natta āra*). Although the syntactic construction of these terms is markedly different in Akkadian and Hittite,²⁰² a conceptual influence can be detected here, pertaining to the notion of taboo, in the sense of exclusion. That eating food sacred for the gods was considered taboo is mentioned also in some Akkadian incantations formulated in the Kassite period. In *Šurpu* incantations, the gods are requested to forgive he 'who has eaten what is taboo to his god' (NĪG.GIG DINGIR-šu i-ku-lu).²⁰³ A specific term for consecrated food or implements is the Akkadian *asakku*, a Sumerian loanword, which denotes religious transgressions. The expression *asakka akālu* 'eating forbidden food' was eventually used metaphorically to express the commitment of graver sins,²⁰⁴ as is implied in the Akkadian prayer above.

In the Hittite prayer the *natta āra* expression defines an exclusion of a food allotment sacred to the god. An idea similar to the one found in the prayer is expressed in an offering ritual without the use of the *natta āra* expression: ...*nu ke-e MUŠEN²⁰⁵ SILA²⁰⁶ 1AMAR-y[a]]'šū-up-pa-e-eš Û-UL-aš ku-iš-ki e-ez-za-zī...* 'These birds, lambs, and a single calf [...] are sacred; none may eat them'.²⁰⁵ In this ritual the excluded meat is termed

²⁰¹ Transliteration and translation follow Lambert 1974:282-283, II.139-145.

²⁰² The Akkadians use finite verbs usually encountered with these substantives: *asakka akālu* 'to eat the *asakku*'; *anzilla kubbusu* 'to step into a forbidden place'; *ikibba epēšu* 'to commit *ikibbu*' (see CAD/A2: 153; I: 55; K:10). The Hittite here displays the *natta āra* expression construed with the infinitive and the enclitic dative pronoun.

²⁰³ Reiner 1958:13, 1.5 (see also 15, 1.95 and 25, 1.4; for date of composition, 2-3).

²⁰⁴ van der Toorn 1985:26, 79.

²⁰⁵ Haas-Wilhelm, *AOATs* 3:262-263 (= KBo 8.86 obv. 13'-14').

suppaēš; the prayer is less specific, content with the more general *kuit šuppi*. Usually, meat which is meant for sacrifice is described in Hittite as ^{UZU}šuppa while its equivalent in Sumerian is ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG, as observed by Laroche 1950:43 and Watkins 1994a:516-517. These terms defining the specific domain (the excluded meat) overlap the general one mentioned in this prayer ('what is sacred to the god'), but both fall under the definition of categories of taboo, of that which is sacred to the gods but profane to humans. This means that the same item can have a double value, positive (sacred) or negative (profane), depending on its recipient.²⁰⁶ This dual nature of sacredness is made rather explicit in the Hittite prayer as Kantuzilli takes care to mention that he did not defile his own body, his own self (*tuekkan=man natta paprahhun*), since he did not eat what is sacred to his god. His body, or person, like a container, would have become defiled by the input of the sacred food.²⁰⁷

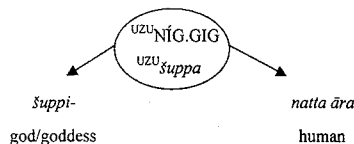


Fig. 1

This dual nature of sacredness is a concept embodied in the biblical *ḥērem*. In some instances, a person who violates what is excluded from him and devoted to God becomes himself the carrier of the *ḥērem* and is put to death.²⁰⁸ Other examples of contagion (without the explicit mention of the term *ḥērem*) include the touching or seeing of holy implements such as the Ark, Mount Sinai, or the divine fire.²⁰⁹ We also mention the episode in Sam. 2, concerning the sons of the high priest Eli who appropriated for their

²⁰⁶ Following here Watkins 1994a. See Fig. 1.

²⁰⁷ See Moyer, *Diss*: 41; CHD/P.102.

²⁰⁸ See the episode of the ban of Jericho (Josh. 6-7), in which Achan violates the *ḥērem*. Also, van der Toorn 1985:26, 43; Wright, *Disposal*: 284. Malamat 1991:111-112 wishes to equate *ikkibu* with *ḥērem* on account of *ḥa(r)mu* which appears in Eblaite glosses and lexicographical lists.

²⁰⁹ Milgrom 1981.

own consumption the sacrificial meat which was meant for God alone, and as a consequence died.

In Hatti, the possible outcome of eating food which is *šuppi*- is reflected in the 'Instructions for Temple Officials', although the offender is not understood to be necessarily contaminated. But it is specified that the death penalty hangs over him who takes from the god what was ordained for him and distributes it throughout his family.²¹⁰ Furthermore, if someone keeps for himself and his family the fattened cattle which are appropriated for the gods, or slaughters the sheep in his fold (as prohibited in both prayers), or even sells it, he is to expect retribution from the god, who is not blind to such matters.²¹¹

The use of the *natta āra* expression in this text is not intent on prohibiting or restricting specific diets (see Text 19), but rather on defining the sacred and the profane, offering a categorization of what is taboo and what is allowed. The actual exclusion of sacred food from the worshippers is revealed in the next occurrence of the *natta āra* expression.

4. A Ritual for the Goddess Nikkal: The Burning of Sacrifices

This fragmentary ritual may illustrate an actual ceremony in which the offerings were consecrated to the god and then burned completely.

The text is part of a ceremony for the goddess NIN.GAL (Hurrian *Nikkal*) whose many *termini technici* reveal a Hurrian influence. The goddess's cult is to be traced to the geographical area of Kizzuwatna. The ceremony, which is enacted during the 'course of the year', is celebrated by a queen, probably the Hittite queen Nikkalmati, along with her sons.²¹² Participating in the ritual is the 'doctor' (^{LU}AZU), who functions as an exorcist. He performs the ritual with birds, waving them over the deity and the royal persons, who also take an active part. Later, he also sprinkles water over the deity and over the queen and her sons. This is followed by some offerings. The fragmentary fourth column opens with a list of sacrificial meat. Then apparently there is an invitation to eat and drink the sacrifices (KUB 45.47 iv 8-9: *nu a-da-an-na ḥal-zi-ya-ri nu a-ku-wa-an-na [a] / pi-an-zi*). At the end

²¹⁰ Goetze, *ANET*: 208, § 5.

²¹¹ Ibid.: 208, § 7 and 210, § 18.

²¹² See Imparati 1979b for the historicity of the various royal participants.

of the extant text, there is a prescription to throw the sacrifice into the fire, and probably a prohibition on consuming the sacrifice.

10. A Ritual for the Goddess Ningal:²¹³

Transliteration: KUB 45.47 iv 31-37 (dupl. KBo 17.84 1'-2' (very frag.) = 36-37).

31	nu ŠA SILA ₄ ku-it ^{UZU} []
32	ku-i-ta-kán a-aš-zi-ma ^{UZU} []?
33	na-at ar-ḫa wa-ar-[nu-zi] []
34	MUNUS.LUGAL-ma DUMU ^{MES} .LUGAL-ya da-ma-i' []
35	Ú-UL ku-iš-ki e-ez-za-zi []
36	ki-i-ma ŠA ^D NIN.GAL SISKUR []
37	LÚ ^{MES} -pár ²¹⁴ ša-pa-an-za-kán-zi DUMU ^{MES} .L[UGAL]x-x-x-x Ú-UL a-a-ra' [] ²¹⁵

Translation:

The fat of the lamb which []...and what remains, the fat² []...[he] burns it away. But the queen and the princes to another []...No one shall eat. These offerings for the goddess Ningal []...only the men sacrifice, but the prin[ces] (for them)...it is not permitted...

As the last line is damaged, we do not know for certain what the princes were forbidden to do, although it is quite likely that either they were prohibited from participating in the sacrifice or from eating the offerings of Ningal. If one of the sons, who is named the 'priest' (DUMU.NITA SANGA) in this ritual, is truly to be identified with the Hittite prince Kantuzili, supplicant of the Prayer to the Sun-god, as advocated strongly by Imparati 1979b:175,²¹⁶ then he is associated twice with the same prohibition

²¹³ Text: KUB 45.47 (dupl. KBo 17.84; Bo 4186 [Ottén and Rüster 1981:128]). **Language and Script:** MH (Imparati 1979a:299). **CTH:** 707. **Bibliography:** Imparati 1979a and 1979b.

²¹⁴ Imparati 1979a:302, n.37 reads LÚ^{MES}BE (taking BE as an abbreviated form of BE-LU); Melchert, C. suggests the above reading (private communication).

²¹⁵ Dupl. KBo 17.84 iv 1'-2' (Text 10a): [D]¹[NIN.GAL...]/ Ú-UL a-a-[ra...]. Collation of KUB 45.47 iv 37' following the tablet's photo by Wilhelm, G. (April 2001) did not reveal additional details.

²¹⁶ However, see Klengel, *Geschichte*: 128-129 with lit.

Regardless of this proposal, the phenomenon encountered in both texts is the same. The actions performed in this ritual are given their *raison d'être* in Kantuzili's prayer: what was burnt was to be allotted completely to the god, and not to be eaten by the worshippers. It is possible that we find the same prohibition being articulated again by the *natta āra* expression in the following text, but its fragmentary nature precludes any definite conclusions.

5. A Passage from the Hīšuwāš Festival

The next text is a fragmentary passage from the thirteenth tablet of the Hīšuwāš Festival.²¹⁷ Lines 1-28 of the obverse are completely preserved. Lines 1-11 involve sacrifices directed to ^DIM *ma-nu-zi-ia* which are probably brought from the 'house of the grandfathers'.²¹⁸ Offering materials and sacrificial procedures are described from lines 12 down to the break at 28, and probably further on. From 29 down to 56' there is a large lacuna.²¹⁹ This means that the immediate context of the passage containing the expression is lost. Some sense can be attributed to the passage, if we take into account that in line 12, the list of offerings includes ^{UZU}NIG.GIG, the meat which is reserved for the gods.²²⁰ It is therefore likely that the UZU mentioned in line 53' refers back to the ^{UZU}NIG.GIG, and possibly *natta āra* in the next line forbids it to be consumed. Further down, we read that someone is instructed about eating in front of the gods.

In the next paragraph, the king joins in for a libation.

²¹⁷ See Haas, *Gesch. Relig.*: 872-875.

²¹⁸ Gütterbock, *Selected*: 76.

²¹⁹ Duplicate B (KUB 32.90 i) supplies partial lines i 27-40.

²²⁰ Later in the text (iii 48-49) it is also presented to a deity. ^{UZU}NIG.GIG *da-a-i / na-at PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} da-a-i* 'He takes the sacrificial meat and places it in front of the god'.

11. A Passage from the Hišwaš Festival:²²¹

Transliteration: A = KBo 15.37 i 51'-65' (C = IBoT 2.60 i 1'-12' partially duplicates A 58'-65').²²²

51' [] -nu-zi
 52' [] a)n-zi
 53' [] -kâ)n UZU pa-ra-a
 54' [] 'U'-UL a-a-ra
 55' [] -i]š UDU-ya ŠA KUR⁷¹ a-aš-zi
 56' [] x É.GAL^{LUM} da-an-zi

57' [] x DUG-⁷š i' DINGIR^{MEŠ} -aš pé-ra-an a-da-an-na
 58' [] x nu iŠ-TU É^{71M} GAL A-NA NINDA a-a-an-ta-aš
 59' [(2 PA)]²²³ BA.BA.ZA 2 PA ZI.DA-ya da-an-zi
 60' [(1)]²²⁴ ŠA-A-TU AR-ZA-AN-NU 1 UP-NU GÜ.GAL
 61' 3 DUG GEŠTIN 1 DUG hu-u-up-pár GEŠTIN EM-ŠA
 62' da-at-ta-ri nu LUGAL-i pé-ra-an KUR-e e-ša-ri

63' nu LUGAL-uš ha-an-te-ez-zi BAL-ši
 64' DINGIR^{MEŠ} -na ad-da-an-ni-bi-na GAL e-ku-zi
 65' ^{LUM}NAR ŠIR^{RU} NINDA.GUR.4.RA pá-r-ši-ya-u-wa-an-zi NU.GÁL

Translation:²²⁵

[] he X-s...[] they do X...[] the meat forth...[] (it is) not allowed.
 [] x and the sheep of the land (which) remains...[]...the palace... they take.
 [] ...To eat in front of the gods in the vessel (is)...[] and from the palace for (the preparation of) hot food...they take 2 PARISU of PAPPASU, 2 PARISU of flour. (In addition) one seah of groats, one UPNU of chickpeas,

²²¹ Text: A = KBo 15.37 (dupl. B = KUB 32.90; C = IBoT 2.60). Language and Script NS. CTH: 628. Bibliography: To the author's knowledge, no edition exists. See Güterbock, *Selected*: 76; Hoffner, *AlHeth*: 97.

²²² Lines 57'-65' find their parallel version in the same text (iii 61-iv 6). The preceding lines apparently do not have a parallel version.

²²³ C, 1': a-a-an-ta-aš '2 PA'.

²²⁴ C, 2': da-an-zi 1 ŠA-A-TU.

²²⁵ Translation of foodstuffs follows Hoffner, *AlHeth*: 97.

three vessels of wine, one *huppar* vessel of sour wine are taken. The land will subside in front of the king.

The king libates first; then he drinks from the vessel (to) the *addabbibina* gods. The singer sing(s); there is no breaking of thick bread.

6. The Tablet of Lallupiya: Not a Drop is to be Spilt!

This text presents a prohibition against wasting consecrated beverages during a ritual and therefore can be linked thematically with the preceding texts.

The Tablet of Lallupiya (CTH 771) belongs to group of rituals pertaining to the cult of the pantheon of the city of Iṣtanuwa.²²⁶ In the performance of these rituals music is thoroughly integrated.²²⁷ In the present text, a ritual is being enacted by the men of Lallupiya. Libation is made by using the *huhupal*, a vessel-shaped hollow instrument — a drum,²²⁸ or a clapper.²²⁹ This instrument is filled with wine and other beverages. As it is filled with *marnuwan* beer, special care is taken that the liquid will not be spilt, as it is offered to the god.²³⁰ If it is poured on the ground accidentally, the contents are to be retrieved with a bronze *waršini*.²³¹ Then the *huhupal* is filled with wine and the cupbearer drinks out of it, while the other participants sing a Luwian song. The following action unfolds:

²²⁶ Haas, *Gesch. Relig.*: 582. The interpretation of this text is based on the translation and commentary of Güterbock 1995.

²²⁷ Starke, *StBoT* 30:294-300.

²²⁸ Güterbock 1995; de Martino 1997:483.

²²⁹ Melchert 1988:229-236.

²³⁰ KUB 25.37+ i 27-29: ...na-at-kán DINGIR^{LUM} a-pé-ez ar-ḥa / e-ku-zi da-ga-a-na-ma-at-kán Ū-UL la-ḥu-u-w[a-a-r]i na-at a-pád-da ḥa-an-da / pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-ma-an-zi i-ya-an... 'And the god drinks it (the *marnuwan* beer) from that one. But it does not flow on the ground. For that reason it is made to be preserved'. Translit. and tr. follow Güterbock 1995:65.

²³¹ Ibid., 31'-32': ma-an-ma-kán da-ga-a-na-ma ku-iš-ki ar-ḥa la-ḥu-u-wa-a-i [] x / na-an-kán a-pé-ya-pát [wa]-ar-ši-ni-ya-az ZABAR ḥa-ap[pu]-šá'-an-zi 'But if someone pours (it) out on the ground, they re[trieve] it right there with a bronze *waršini*'.

12. The Tablet of Lallupiya: Not a Drop is to be Spilt!:²³²

Transliteration: KUB 25.37 i 41'-45' + KUB 35.131 i 1'-5' + KUB 51.9 i 8'-11'.²³³

- 41' na-aš-ta^{GIS} hu-hu-pa-al h[a-a]n-[tā]^{LUM} SAGLA-pāt ku-it
 42' [w]a-ar-šu-ú-li e-k[u-z]i ma-an-[kā]n ku-it-ki^{GIS} hu-hu-pa-li
 43' kat-ta a-aš-zi [na-a]t-za-kān x i-[] x x na-an-kān ar-ḥa
 44' e-ku-zi GEŠTIN x[] x pa-an-ku-un-pāt ak-ku-[uš-kān-zi ar-ḥa-ma-an-kā]n [Ú-UL]
 45' la-a-hu-u-an-zi Ú-UL a-a-r[a]

Translation:²³⁴

If something remains in the *huppal*, which only the cupbearer sep[arate]ly drinks to the last drop,²³⁵ [he takes] it and drinks it up. [They] drink all the wine. They [do not] spill [it out]. It is not allow[ed].

The exact reason for preserving the wine is not given, but it seems that the injunction of this text is similar to those encountered in the preceding pages, where food was consecrated to the gods and offered in its entirety. Here, although the wine was consumed by the human participants, presumably it was consecrated through its use in cult,²³⁶ and therefore not to be wasted. In the 'Instructions for Temple Officials' the prohibition regarding consecrated beverages is made clear: KAŠ-ma-kān GEŠTIN IŠ-TU GAL-ya še-er ar-ḥa le-e ku-iš-ki la-a-hu-u-i / hu-u-ma-an-pāt DINGIR^{LUM}-ni EGIR-pa-ma-ni-ya-ah-ten 'No one should pour out beer or wine from the vessel. Devote every bit to the god'.²³⁷

²³² Text: KUB 25.37 + KUB 35.131 + KUB 51.9. Language and Script: LS. CTH: 771. Bibliography: Güterbock 1995; Starke, *SiBoT* 30:342-344.

²³³ Following Güterbock 1995:66; see Starke, *SiBoT* 30:344.

²³⁴ Following Güterbock 1995:66.

²³⁵ See Zinko 1987:38-42. Güterbock translates *waršuli* 'sniffing'; Watkins, C. (personal communication) suggests 'sipping'.

²³⁶ See Text 14 for consecrated foodstuffs in the cult.

²³⁷ Goetze, *ANET*: 208, §6; Süel, *Direktif Metni*: 32, i 62-63.

7. The Ritual of Ašhella against Epidemic in the Army

This ritual was performed over the course of four days to rid the army of epidemics infecting the camp.²³⁸ Various substitutes were collected and then released into the enemy lands, thus expiating sin, causing it never to return. Three rams were offered to the god, so that the flesh of man would become distasteful to him. Furthermore, an ornamented woman was also offered. She was expected to flee to the enemy territory with the rest of the offerings, carrying the sins away from the army. The second day included offerings to the god.

13. The Ritual of Ašhella against Epidemic in the Army:²³⁹

Transliteration: HT 1 iv 1-7.

- 1 [nu-uš]-ši zé-ya-an-ta-az nam-ma IŠ-TU UZU NINDA KAŠ
 2 [ku-e-d]a-ni pi-ya-u-e-en nu-wa-za DINGIR^{LUM} DINGIR^{LUM}-ni-li
 3 [e]z-za e-ku an-f u-uh-ši-'ma-wa-za kat-ta-an le-e pé-eš-ti
 4 [na-a] EGIR-an kat-ta hi-in-kān-zi na-at-za ar-ḥa
 5 [ú]-wa-an-zi ku-it-ma-an-kān DINGIR^{LUM} aš-ša-onu-uš-kān-zi
 6 n[u-z]a Ú-NU-TUM ta-ga-a-an kat-ta Ú-UL ku-iš-ki da-a-i
 7 'Ú-UL' a-a-ra ša-ra-a-za-at nam-ma Ú-UL da-a-i

Translation:

'(We say to the god) [to which we have given, from the cooked, and in addition, from the flesh, the bread, and beer: "Now, O god, eat (and) drink like a god. Don't hand over to man (what belongs to you)."'²⁴⁰ Then they bow

²³⁸ See general discussion in Beal 1995:69-70 and Wright, *Disposal*: 50-55.

²³⁹ Text: HT 1 iii-iv (dupl. KUB 9.32 obv. [the parallel passage is in very poor condition, and does not contribute much]; for further dupls. excluding the discussed passage, see Dinçol 1985:10-11). Language and Script: MH/NS (CHD/P: 41b; Kümmel 1987:285). CTH: 394. Bibliography: Dinçol 1985; Kümmel 1987 and 1968; Wright, *Disposal*: 50-51; Gurney 1977:49.

²⁴⁰ The translit. of this line follows CHD/P: 53b, which translates this enigmatic sentence thus: 'but do not give (?) yourself under a human being'. (Beal 1995:69 suggests: '(do) not forsake (a single) person'.). As the dictionary suggests from other examples of *kattan pai-*, enclitic -za can be understood as 'one's own'; the object in the present sentence is omitted and should be understood to refer to the list of offerings to the god from the previous line. The idea here is that the god will appropriate and accept the sacrifice (following a suggestion of Watkins, C.).

down, and go away from there. While they are worshipping the deity, no one shall place (any) utensil on the ground. It is not permitted; nor shall one take it up for himself.²⁴¹

The concern of this prohibition is similar to the ones we have examined above. It wishes to ensure that when the sacrificial procedures are brought to an end, none of the participants will set aside (lit. 'on the ground') the utensils containing the offerings, instead of leaving them on the altar or place of sacrifice. That is strictly out of bounds. It also emphasizes that the practitioner should in addition (*namma*) not plan to appropriate for himself the utensil (and presumably its contents). Once offered, they are consecrated to the god. In comparison, notice how Muršili II in one of his prayers to the Sun-goddess of Arinna wishes to stress that her temple implements are consecrated, therefore taboo: 'At your temple, reverence is given to your [rhyta, your vessels,] and your utensils [] It (i.e., the temple implements) is taken care of (or: It is counted). To (your) utensils [and...] none may draw near!²⁴²

As in the previous texts in which prohibitions forbade the consumption by humans of the food and beverage of the gods, here also the *natta āra* expression prohibits strongly this taboo act.²⁴³

8. A Ritual Prohibiting the Participation of the 'Impure'

In the preceding cases, the *natta āra* expression was used to prohibit and exclude from humans various offerings meant for the gods. With the mention of the *natta āra* expression in such contexts, a certain emphasis was

²⁴¹ Notice the use of *-za* in iv 7: *šarā=za=at namma dai*; see also Friedrich, *HW*: 202: *šarā d.* 'heraufholen; auf sich nehmen; in Besitz nehmen'. Compare: *nu=za=kan happar šarā dai* 'he takes for himself (its) price' (Süel, *Direktif Meini*: 86, iv 63-64), cited in Tjerkstra 1996:120 (and 136: *-za šarā dā* 'to accept'); cf. Kümmel 1987:287: 'danach nimmt er es nicht (wieder) auf.' Translating as Kümmel does renders this instruction contradictory, as one cannot be guided not to place the utensil on the ground and at the same time not to 'pick it up' again.

²⁴² Gurney, *AAA* 27:20-21, ii 16-19: *nam-ma-aš-ša-an É.DINGIR^{UM}.KA [BL-IB-R]^{HA}.KA / [GAL^{HA}.KA] Ū-NU-TE^{MES}.KA na-aš-ša-ra-za ti-ya-an-za / [] EGIR-pa kap-pu-wa-an A-NA Ū-NU-UT / [] ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an Ū-UL ku-is-ki ti-ya-an-zi*. See also CHD/L-N: 344a, 172b.

²⁴³ See Beal 1995:69 for a somewhat different interpretation.

put on the important role of the prohibitions, resulting in a sharp demarcation between the sacred and the profane, which is essential to the cult. This demarcation between the sacred and the profane was not exclusive to material offerings to the gods, or allocations in the cult procedures. Human beings could also be divided into these two elementary categories. Hence in the cult, in addition to the regular priests, some members of the congregation could take part, while others were excluded. In a ritual for Ištar, we encounter two categories of people:

14. A Ritual Prohibiting the Participation of the 'Impure'.²⁴⁴

Transliteration: KUB 45.49 iv 1-10.²⁴⁵

- 1 [nu-kán G]A.KIN.AG EM-ŠÚ ke-e-ez ke-e-ez-zi-ya
- 2 [har]-pa-a-an-zi
- 3 [n]u-kán^{LÜ.MES} zu-up-ri-ya-al-li-uš^{LÜ} a-pi-ri-uš
- 4 []^{GIS} kal-mi-iš-ni-it a-pé-e-en-za-an-pa-aš-šu-e-ni-an-d[a]
- 5 [] šī-i-ya-iš-kán-zi a-pé-e-ma^{GIS} kal-mi-iš-ni-uš
- 6 []^{GIS} a'-pé-e-en-za-an-pa-aš-šu-e-ni-an-da šī-ya-i-iš-kán-z[i]
- 7 [na]m-ma G.A.KIN.AG da-aš-kán-zi nu^{LÜ} a-ra-a-aš^{LÜ} a-ri
- 8 [šī-y]a-i-iš-ki-iz-zi nu G.A.KIN.AG EM-ŠÚ šū-up-pa-e-e[š]
- 9 [az]-zi-kán-zi ša-ak-nu-wa-an-te-eš-ma
- 10 [Ū]-UL a-da-an-zi Ū-UL a-a-ra

²⁴⁴ Text: KUB 45.49 iv (dupl. 611/f = KBo 39.190 obv. ii). Language and Script: NS (CHD/P: 14b). CTH: 790. Bibliography: Otten, *StBoT* 15:29; Collins 1995:89; Hoffner 1994b.

²⁴⁵ KBo 39.190 obv. ii (Text 14a) is only partially preserved, but it is clearly not an exact duplicate of Text 14.

- 1' []^{LÜ.MES} zu-up¹[-pa-ri-ya-al-li-
- 2' [] ke-e-ez-zi-ya []
- 3' []^{GIS} kal-mi-iš-ša-ni-uš da-aš-ká[n-zi
- 4' [] a-pi-re-e-eš^{GIS} kal-mi-iš-ša-ni-
- 5' [] x an-da šī-e-eš-kán-zi []
- 6' []^{LÜ} a-pi-re-e-eš^{GIS} kal-mi-iš-ša-ni-it
- 7' []-it an-da šī-e-eš-kán-zi []
- 8' [G.A.KIN.]A[G] da-aš-kán-zi nu^{LÜ} a-ra-aš^{LÜ} a-ri
- 9' [] nam-ma []^{GIS} NINDA G.A.KIN.AG-ya x[]
- 10' [az-zi-ká]n-zi ša-ak-nu-an-te-eš^{GIS} ma' Ū-UL [a-da-an-zi]
- 11' [Ū]-UL a-a-ra

Translation:²⁴⁶

'[Then] they [he]ap the cheese (and) rennet from here and there. The torch-bearers and the *apiri* men throw with the logs into their fire, the others throw the logs into their fire.'²⁴⁷

'Then they take the cheese and [th]row (it) at each other and the sacred ones eat the cheese (and) rennet but the impure ones do not eat. It is not permitted.'

Cheese (GA.KIN.AG) and rennet (*EM-ŠU*) show up on many occasions as a pair, both constituting part of the rudimentary diet allotted to state-supported farmers. In this text, as in other rituals, a combat ritual was enacted with the cheese.²⁴⁸ Then the *šuppaēš* —the 'sacred ones'— eat the cheese and the rennet; in contrast to them stands a particular class of people who are forbidden to participate: they are the *šaknuwanteš* —the defiled.

In Hatti, various personnel were allowed to take part in rituals; others were considered inappropriate. Certain rituals mention different categories of people allowed to partake in the eating of meat, and include a brief statement that no one else may join, without offering any specification.²⁴⁹ A specified class, those that are *dampupi*-, the 'uninitiated' or 'ignorant',²⁵⁰ were on one occasion barred from eating the meat of a sacrificial goat; in another text, the same group consumes a puppy, an animal which was not eaten by the Hittites and was considered foul.²⁵¹ Not much is known about the specific class of people mentioned in this text, the *šaknuwanteš* —the defiled, who are excluded from eating the cheese.²⁵² According to the 'Instructions for Temple Officials', a man who approaches the gods' sacrificial loaves and libations, without first bathing after having intercourse with a woman, is considered defiled (*šaknuanza*) and is liable to be executed for his offence.²⁵³

²⁴⁶ See Hoffner 1994b:225. I have benefited from some additional remarks by Melchert, C. (email, 17 January 2000).

²⁴⁷ See CHD/P: 14b; also Puhvel, *HED/K*: 27: '[They] pitch with brands into their fire.'

²⁴⁸ Hoffner 1994a:203-204.

²⁴⁹ For details, see Collins 1995:87-88.

²⁵⁰ See discussion on p. 82.

²⁵¹ Collins 1995:87 and 1990:225.

²⁵² The following details about the *šaknuwanteš* are taken from the compilation in Hoffner 1994b. Notice that the adjective *šaknuwanti*- deriving from *šakkar* 'dung' is to be distinguished from the homophone deriving from **šakna*- 'oil'. See idem.

²⁵³ Goetze, *ANET*: 209, § 14; CHD/L-N: 172b; Moyer, *Diss.*: 44.

Defilement could contaminate utensils as well. An oracle text instructs that utensils which were defiled by *šaknuwanteš* must undergo purification (*šuppiyahḫanzi*) prior to their reuse in the cult. The utensils are to be passed between fire and a male goat.²⁵⁴ This process is meant to extract the defilement imbedded in them, and transit them successfully from the stage of impurity to purity. To return to the text under discussion, the fact that the *šaknuwanteš* are carriers of defilement excludes them from eating any food which in turn can contaminate the *šuppaēš* ('the sacred ones'). This again points to the dual nature of consecration. Whereas Kantuzili is afraid that by eating whatever is *šuppi*- he will defile himself, here the opposite concern is expressed: that the consecrated priests will be contaminated by means of food eaten by the defiled.

The practice of excluding from participation certain persons who either are physically deformed or who have defiled themselves by touching a corpse (and are therefore not 'pure' or 'whole') finds its detailed articulation in Leviticus 21; evidence for related practices is also found in Mesopotamia.²⁵⁵ In Hatti, where extreme concern is given to purity, the identification and the exclusion of carriers of impurity is imperative to the maintenance of the cult. The next text under examination specifies exclusion on the basis of gender.

9. A Woman is Forbidden to Enter a Temple

This text, broken at its beginning, probably constitutes the first day of a ritual from Kizzuwatna. The obverse of the tablet describes the various offerings prepared for and ritual acts directed to an unspecified deity.²⁵⁶ The middle section is of interest to this study:

²⁵⁴ Ünal, *THeth* 6:94-95, II.51-53.

²⁵⁵ van der Toorn 1985:29-30; Wright, *Disposal*: 163-228.

²⁵⁶ See Lebrun 1983:103. In 15', Teššub and his gods (^{IM DINGIR} ^{MES} *ŠU-m(a)*) are mentioned.

15. A Woman Shall not Enter a Temple which Houses a Male God:²⁵⁷

Transliteration: KBo 24.45 obv. 17-22.

- 17' *nam-ma-kán ma-a-an a-pé-e-da-ni A-NA DINGIR^{LM} MUNUS-za an-da*
pa[-iz-zi]
 18' *pár-ku-in ta-lu-up-pi-in* ^{SG}*a-li-in-na* MUNUS-za da-a-i
 MUNUS-x[o o]-kán ku-iš IŠ-TU ŠA x[]
 19' *pu-nu-uš-ki-zi nu É.DINGIR^{LM} a-pa-a-aš ar-ḥa a-ni-ya-zi*
ti-^Lya¹-zi-ma-aš-kán ŠA^{BI} É.DINGIR^{LM}
 20' *ma-a-an DINGIR^{LM} LU^{LM}-ma MUNUS-za-ši-kán an-da pa-a-u-an-zi*
Ú-UL a-a-ra nu pár-ku-in ta-lu-up-pi-in
 21' ^{SG}*a-li-in-na* ^{LU}*AZU da-a-i nu É.DINGIR^{LM} a-pa-a-aš a-ni-ya-zi*
ti-ya-zi-ma-aš-kán ŠA^{BI} É.DINGIR^{LM}
 22' *nam-ma É.DINGIR^{LM} še-er kat-ta* ^{SG}*ḥu-im-pa-az ḥur-nu-wa-an-zi*
UD 1^{KAM} QA-TI

Translation:

- 17' When a woman g[oes and...] into (the temple of) that god,²⁵⁸
 18' The woman takes pure dough and wool; the woman [] who from [?
 19' he/she consults and at the temple,²⁵⁹ she (herself) performs (the rites) and
 she indeed does enter inside the temple.²⁶⁰
 20' If the deity is a male, the woman is not permitted to enter to him (in his
 temple).²⁶¹
 21' (In that case) the exorcist takes pure dough and wool and he performs
 (the rites) at the temple. He indeed does enter the temple.

²⁵⁷ Text: KBo 24.45 (dupl. for rev. is KBo 27.202). Language and Script: ENS or MS (CHD/P: 378b). CTH: 479. Bibliography: Lebrun 1983; Otten and Rüster 1978:vi.

²⁵⁸ The verbal expression *anda pai-* 'go into' (CHD/P: 26-27) is taken here *cum sensu* 'to enter the temple in order to face the deity'. See below note 261. Lebrun 1983:104 restores the line's end: *MUNUS-za an-da pa[-a-u-an-zi a-a-ra nu]*.

²⁵⁹ In the dat./loc. case without preposition. See Friedrich, *HE*: 179.

²⁶⁰ Notice the emphatic initial verb position: (1. 19') *tiyazi-ma-aš-kan*.

²⁶¹ The woman is in the nominative case (MUNUS with typical case of nominative -za complement). See Chapter II, example 20, for an additional suggestion for the understanding this sentence. Here following basically CHD/L-N: 412a: 'If the deity is a male it is not permitted for a woman to go in to him', but notice that -ši is taken to refer to the deity in his abode, that is, in his temple. As is clear from the following description: the woman is prohibited from entering the temple, not the deity itself. Otten and Rüster 1978:vi offer: 'Wenn die Gottheit aber männlich (ist), einer Frau bei ihm einzutreten nicht gestattet (ist)...'

- 22' Further, they sprinkle the temple from the *ḥuimpa-* top to bottom. First day is finished.

It is clear that the woman participating in this ritual can not carry out her duty in a temple which houses a male divinity. All she performed in the temple of an unspecified deity (DINGIR^{LM}) will be carried out by the exorcist in her stead should the deity worshipped be a male god (DINGIR^{LM} LU^{LM}-ma).²⁶² The specific reason for this exclusion is not given. It is to be remembered that Hittite women usually took an active part in the cult.

The exclusion of women from cult centers is alluded to as far as the temple and its precincts are concerned. According to the 'Instructions for Temple Officials', the cultic officials had to exit the temple in order to have intercourse and were required to bathe upon return to service.²⁶³ An oracle question is concerned with the consequences of a defiled woman (^{MUNUS}*saknuwanza*) entering a temple.²⁶⁴

In Mesopotamia, and according to the Hebrew Bible, women in menstruation were excluded from cultic environments. The 'Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees' forbid a menstruating woman to approach the person of the king during sacrifices;²⁶⁵ menstruating women are considered ritually impure and instructions concerning their purification are given in Leviticus 15.²⁶⁶

To return to the present text, it seems that no special condition of the woman is alluded to, although primary conceptions about the impurity of womanhood may have initiated this prohibition. However, it is more likely

²⁶² Lebrun 1983:112 suggests that the unmarked deity, DINGIR^{LM}, is either a female deity or a bisexual deity (like Ištar or Šauška). But since various procedures are performed for this deity and his/her retinue throughout the ritual (for example, in obv. 23-24': *...apédani DINGIR^{LM}-ni Ú A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ} ŠU [k]uptin walḥanzi...* 'They strike the *kuptin* for that deity and for his/her gods'), it is best to leave it as an unmarked common gender one. Its gender is specified as the need arises; should the deity propitiated in this ritual be male under certain circumstances, the required precautions will be taken. Such an instruction follows the pattern of logic which is generally found in rituals: if x then y, but if anything but x, then z. Here obviously it is a *tertium non datur*, since there are only two possibilities (either x or not-x), but that did not hinder the author of the text from adhering to the usual formulation. He brings forth the general instruction, and then the exclusive one.

²⁶³ Goetze, *ANET*: 209, §§ 10, 14.

²⁶⁴ See Hoffner 1994b:225; KUB 16.42 obv. 32; see another case of cultic desecration by a female in CHD/L-N: 220b.

²⁶⁵ Roth 1995:200, § 7.

²⁶⁶ Wright, *Disposal*: 189-192.

that an explanation for this exclusion is to be sought in the symbolic division of the sexes in the Hittite cult. As will be seen (Text 16), gender played a part in sacrifice, for at times the sex of the sacrificial animals was matched to that of the deity.²⁶⁷ In another ritual from Kizzuwatna, male gods are seen to be worshipped separately from female gods.²⁶⁸ The purification ritual of Tunnawi specifies that if the defiled client is a man, male animals are used as his scapegoats; if the client is a woman, animals of matching gender are brought forward.²⁶⁹ It may have been that in this ritual, a division of the sexes was necessary to permit masculine practitioners sole access to the evoked male god.

10. Prohibitions in Sacrificial Contexts

This text describes the cultic regulations of the thirteenth to the fifteenth day in the festival of the month for the Storm-god of the city of Nerik, an important Hittite cult center. On the fourteenth day, various fruit offerings are placed on the *daḥanga* altar.²⁷⁰ However, some restrictions apply to the sacrifice of animals.

16. Sacrifice in Nerik:²⁷¹

Transliteration: KBo 2.4 ii 7-16 (dupl. B = KUB 56.48 iii 8'-14'; dupl. C. = KBo 23.95 obv. 3'-4' = 14-16).²⁷²

7 ... 3 GAL.GIR₄ *da-an-na-ra-aš da-an-zi*

8 *nu* 1^{EN} GAL.GIR₄ *İŠ-TU GEŠTIN šu-un-na-an-zi*

9 2 GAL.GIR₄ *İŠ-TU KAŠ šu-un-na-an-zi*

10 *na-aš-kán* ^{GIS}ZAG.[GA]R-ni ŠA ^{DU}URU *Ne-ri-ik*

11 *ti-an-zi A-NA* ^{NA}₄ *da-ha-an-ga-ma*

12 SISKUR UZ₆ MÁŠ.GAL *Ú-UL a-a-ra* ²⁷³

²⁶⁷ Also Collins 1995:90. See Hoffner 1966 for the symbolism of gender in Hittite rituals.

²⁶⁸ Lebrun 1977:99-100, II.23-25, 31-32 and 101, II.7-9, 14-15.

²⁶⁹ Goetze, *Tunn.*: 4-5, II.11-13 and 8-9, I. 52.

²⁷⁰ KBo 2.4 i 27-31 (Haas, *KN*: 280-281).

²⁷¹ **Text:** KBo 2.4 (parallel texts are KBo 23.95, KUB 56.48 and 49; see Haas, *KN*: 293ff.). **Language and Script:** NH (CHD/L-N: 323a). **CTH:** 672. **Bibliography:** Haas, *KN*: 280-281.

²⁷² See Haas, *KN*: 280.

²⁷³ B, iii 11': *ti-an-zi A-NA* ^{NA}₄ *da-ha-an-ga-ma* SISKUR 'UZ₆' [] .

13 *A-NA* ^D*Za-aḥ-pu-na-i-ma da-ha-an-ga-pát* ²⁷⁴

14 *kiš-ša-an pi-ya-an-zi* 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA BA.BA.ZA²⁷⁵

15 *İŠ-TU GEŠTIN KU₇ šu-un-ni-ya-an-za* 1 *UP-NI*

16 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA BA.BA.ZA²⁷⁶ ^{DUG}IM.ŠU.RIN.NA ½ *UP-NI*

Translation:

...They take three empty clay vessels. They fill one clay vessel with wine, and they fill two clay vessels with beer. They place them at the altar of the Storm-god of Nerik. Offerings of a goat or billy goat to the *daḥanga* [st]one are not permitted.

Thus they give to the deity *Zaḥpuna-* at the *daḥanga-* (altar): One thick bread of barley poured over with sweet wine, (in the measure of) one *UPNI*. One thick bread of barley (from) the oven, (in the measure of) half a *UPNI*. (And so on...).

Male and female deities received at times a sacrificial animal of a matching sex, so potentially the male goat and the goat were intended for the two main recipients, the Storm-god of Nerik and the goddess *Zašḥapuna*. But on this occasion *ambašši* offerings, which include various sorts of wine, milk, and cooked dishes, were presented.²⁷⁷

And then:

[(*nu* I)]-N[(A ^{NA}₄ d)]a-[(*ha-a*)]n-[(*ga am-ši-in*)]
ḥar-pa-an-zi šu-[up]-p(a ar-ḥa)
wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi a[m-(ši-in-ma)]
İŠ-TU É.GAL ^{LM}*ku-in ú-e-te-er*¹
nu-kán a-pé-e-da-ni še-er
wa-ar-nu-uš-kán-du A-NA da-ha-an-ga-ma-a[(t)]
ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an le-e pa-a-an-zi

They heap up at the *daḥanga* altar the *ambašši-* offerings. They burn [away] the sacrificial flesh. They shall regularly burn the *ambašši-* offerings which were brought from the palace over that. They shall not approach near the *daḥanga* altar.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ B, iii 12': *A-NA* ^D*Za-ha-pu-na-at-ma ŠA* ^{NA}₄ *ta-ha-an-ga-pát kiš-[-]*

²⁷⁵ B, iii 13': 1 NINDA.BA.BA.ZA.

²⁷⁶ B, iii 13': 1 NINDA.BA.BA.ZA.

²⁷⁷ See Haas, *Gesch. Relig.*: 661-664.

²⁷⁸ KBo 2.4 iii 1-7, + dupl.s (= Haas, *KN*: 284).

As was encountered in the discussion concerning the consecrated foods, in this circumstance, the participants are not permitted to approach this altar, since once the offerings have been given to the gods, they are taboo.²⁷⁹ From other sources found in Haas, *KN*: 90-91, it is seen that the *daḥanga* cult room itself contained the statue of the Storm-god and may have been possessed by a special numinous force of the deity *Daḥangaili*. The prohibition of sacrificing goats in this cult room may have been occasional, rather than regular. In a different ritual lamb and sheep are offered in the very same cult room to the Storm-god and to *Zababa* and *Daḥangaili*.²⁸⁰ Finally, it is of no surprise to find a decree which wishes to instruct what is permitted (*āra*) in the same *daḥanga* cult room, but since the text is broken the specificities are lost for us.²⁸¹

In Mesopotamia, certain foods were prohibited for forbidden as offerings to some gods, since they were *ikkibu*, like *šegūšu* flour or wheat flour.²⁸² Unclean animals, such as the pig, were excluded from the temple grounds.²⁸³ Animals with physical blemishes were classified as *lō'ēbā* in Deuteronomy and not allowed to be sacrificed to God.²⁸⁴ In Hittite sacrifices, the animals had to be of the highest quality; otherwise they were deemed unacceptable.²⁸⁵ In the present context we are left in the dark as to the reason why this cultic prohibition was formulated.

The next prohibition concerned with sacrificial offerings is found in an oracle text pertaining to the cult of the goddess *Huwaššanna* of *Ḫuḫiḫna*. As

²⁷⁹ This prohibition is articulated again in another text (Haas, *KN*: 83-87).

²⁸⁰ Haas, *KN*: 214-217.

²⁸¹ Text 16a: KUB 27.68 ii 15-18 (CTH 673) (Following Haas, *KN*: 300-301):

15 ...nu A-NA AŠ-RU¹ []
16 [DINGIR^{LIM}]-ma GIS² ta-ḫa-an-qa-aš an-da-an ḫa[l]-za-a-i]
17 []³ U Za-ḫa-lu-ki-pāt a-a-ra e-e[š-du⁴]
18 [] an-da-an UL ku-iš-ki]

Break

Translation:

...And to the place...he ca[lls the divinity⁵] of the *daḥanga* cult room forth...[*Ma*ly it be permitted...only (for⁶) the Storm god of *Zahlu*...no one may forth...

²⁸² Hallo 1985:29; CAD/I-J: 55.

²⁸³ Lambert 1960:215, iii 15-16.

²⁸⁴ Deut. 17:1.

²⁸⁵ See Szabó, *Theth* 1:20-21, II.8-10; also Collins 1995:90 and CHD/L-N: 298.

is the case in many oracle texts, details are lacking, and it is left unclear why the following prohibition was given.

17. The Festival of *Huwaššanna* of *Ḫuḫiḫna*: An Oracle Question.²⁸⁶

Transliteration: KUB 17.24 ii 8-15.

- 8 nu NINDA^{HLA} za-nu-wa-an-zi nam-ma-an-kán Ê.ŠA-ni an-da pé-e-[da]-an-zi
9 nu-za BE-EL-TI Ê^{TI} AŠ-RU^{HLA} SA DINGIR^{LIM} IŠ-TU DINGIR^{LIM} ar-ḫa
10 a-ri-i-e-ez-zi ŠA.BA I-NA Ê Ka-ri-im-mi ŠA⁰ Hu-u-wa-aš-ša-an-na
11 I-NA Ê Tu-u-ma-an-ti-ya-la-ti I-NA Ê A-la-an-du-wa
12 I-NA Ê Hu-wa¹-i-ú-ti-iš-ša-an ku-e-da-ni pé-e-di
13 IŠ-TU DINGIR^{LIM} SIG²-at-ta-ri nu a-pé-e-da-ni pé-e-di hu-u-kán-zi
14 A-NA EZEN³ ú-i-ta-aš-ši-ya-aš-ma hu-u-kán-na I-NA Ê Du-ú-wa-d⁴-t-na⁵-an-za
15 Ú-UL a-a-ra I-NA Ê Du-wa-at-na-an-za Ú-UL hu-u-kán-zi[i]

Translation:

They cook the breads and then they carry it (all) into the inner sanctum. The lady of the temple determines by an oracle from the god the places of the god.²⁸⁷ Inside the *Karimmi* shrine of the deity *Huwaššanna*, in the *Tumantiyalati* temple, in the *Alandawa* temple, in the *Huwaitiḫsan* temple: they will slaughter at such a place that (the oracle) from the deity (indicates) is favourable.²⁸⁸

It is not permitted to slaughter in the *Duwatna* temple on the *witaššiyas* festival. They will not slaughter in the *Duwatna* temple.

Laconic as these texts usually are, we may suggest that the sacrifice in the *Duwatna* temple was not allowed since it was not considered auspicious. Because the following passage of this text is concerned with a different matter altogether, this prohibition remains elusive.

²⁸⁶ Text: KUB 17.24 (the fragment KUB 32.105 is parallel, but not a duplicate; for additional texts, see Collins 1998 sub CTH 691). Language and Script: NS (CHD/L-N:154a) CTH: 691. Bibliography: Kammenhuber, *Theth* 7:36 (short ref. only); for AŠ-RU^{HLA} DINGIR^{LIM}, see McMahon, AS 25:157, 270-271. For a general description of the goddess's cult, see Lombardi 1999.

²⁸⁷ Puhvel, *HED/A*: 136. For the role of women in the cult of *Huwaššanna*, see Lombardi 1999:219-220.

²⁸⁸ CHD/L-N: 52.

The final text included in this section is in fragmentary condition. This is a small fragment of a ritual, possibly to the goddess Hebat. Its poor state of preservation precludes further comment.

18. Fragment of a Ritual for Hebat (?).²⁸⁹

Transliteration: KUB 32.63 i 1'-13'.

- 1' [] x x[
 2' i-e-er x[
 3' 1 GU₄MAH 1 'UDU[
 4' al-la-aš-ši-ya x[
 5' ta-ḥa-ši-ya du-ru-[-ši-ya
 6' am-ba-aš-ši-ši-ip-pa-a[n-ti
 7' nam-ma-aš-ša-an GU₄MAH[
 8' pa-ra-a wa-ar-ḥu-wa-uš x-an-x [
 9' da-an-na Ū-UL a-a-ra it-x[
 10' 1 NINDA.GUR₄RA 'ŠA 3' ŠA-A-TT 1 NINDA.GUR₄R[A
 11' 1 'wa'-a[k-šur] '1 wa-ak'-šur Ī.GIŠ 1 x[
 12' [] ḥa-aš-ši-i x[
 13' [] ḥa-aš-ši-i i[-pantuzzi?]

Break

Translation:

- 1' []...[
 2' They went [
 3' One ox, one sheep [
 4' allaššiya [
 5' taḥašiya dūru[šiya
 6' ambašši he liba[tes]
 7' Then the ox[
 8' away the un-stripped (hides³)...[
 9' It is not allowed to take...? [
 10' One thick bread of 3 seah, one thick bread
 11' One wakšur measure of [], one wakšur measure of fat, one [?]
 12' [] to the hearth [
 13' [] to the hearth a libation?

²⁸⁹ **Text:** KUB 32.63. **CTH:** 790. **Bibliography:** Haas 1998:57.

11. Dietary Restrictions for a Pregnant Woman

One of the many Hittite birth rituals edited by Beckman, *StBoT* 29, stipulates dietary regulations and denies some edibles to a pregnant woman. One of these prohibitions uses the *natta āra* expression. Generally, avoiding certain foods during pregnancy is well-attested in different cultures and is a world-wide phenomenon. The basic tenet is that the consumption of foods has repercussions on the birth and health of the newborn.²⁹⁰ This may have been the ultimate motive for including dietary restrictions in this Hittite ritual, which wishes to ensure the safe birth of a healthy child. But in addition, these restrictions are part of the entire process of separation and exclusion from the rest of society that the pregnant woman undergoes in this ritual.

The birth ritual opens with the purification of the woman. During the preparation for purification, the woman purifies her mouth (possibly a euphemism for 'vulva' ²⁹¹). The ritual also stipulates that the husband and the pregnant wife abstain from sexual relations from a certain point of the pregnancy. Then the wife is perhaps separated from her family, and thereafter enters a 'seclusion hut', where she is to observe dietary restrictions.

19. A Hittite Birth Ritual: Dietary Prohibitions.²⁹²

Transliteration: KBo 17.65 obv. 14-19 (dupl. 44.59 obv. 1'-2' = 18-19).²⁹³

- 14 nam-ma-aš-ši EGIR-pa [pa-a-u-an-zi Ū-UL] 'a'-a-ra ma-a-na-an-za ḥal-
 za-a-i-ya ku-iš-ki [
 15 na-aš 'kal-li-i[-[š-tar-wa-ni an-do pa-i]z-zi ḥar-nu-wa-aš-ma ma-aḥ-ḥa-an
 'šu'-[up-[-pí-ya]'-[aḥ-ḥu-wa-aš]
 16 pâr-ku-ya-an-na-aš-ša i[-[š-ḥi-ū-ul nu a-pé]-e'-ya QA-TAM-MÁ-pât [

²⁹⁰ Davis-Floyd and Georges 1996:1014-1015; for present day Turkey, see Delaney 1991.

²⁹¹ Obv. 12. See Scurlock 1991:138 and Finkel 1980:47 discussing an Old Babylonian Sumerian incantation dealing with gynecological procedures where 'mouth' and 'head' may mean 'vulva'.

²⁹² **Text:** KBo 17.65 (dupl. 44.59). **Language and Script:** MH (Beckman, *StBoT* 29:149). **CTH:** 489. **Bibliography:** Beckman, *StBoT* 29:132-135.

²⁹³ Following Beckman, *StBoT* 29:132-134.

- 17 a-aš-ta-u-wa-ar-ši a-a[an-na] ʾUL a-a-ra tap-pi-ī[n-na]
 ū-ʾUL e-ez-za-ʾ[zi]
 18 ZĀ.ĀḤ.LI ku-uš-ku-uš-[ša-an-ta-an ū-UL e-e]z¹-za-zi SAR-[aš
 Z]Ā.ĀḤ.LI az-zi-ki-ī[z-zi]
 19 MUNUS-aš aš-ta-u-wa-ar¹³ M[U-SĀ-ŠU e-ez-za-zi² aš-ī]a-u-wa-ar¹
 MUNUS-za ū-UL e-ez-za-zi

Translation:²⁹⁴

Furthermore, it is [not] allowed for her [to enter] back (to her house).²⁹⁵ If someone calls her, then she will [proceed to the] kall[īstarwana-] house. But those things are the same as the re[ulation] of the consecrat[ing] and purification of the birth-stool.²⁹⁶

It is not permitted for her to e[at] aštauwar. She also will not eat tappi. Grou[nd] cress she will not eat. Garden cress she will eat regularly. The hu[sband will eat] the aštauwar belonging to the woman.²⁹⁷ The woman will not eat [aš]tauwar.

If the couple meets afterwards, they do not dine together, perhaps for fear of contamination.²⁹⁸ Finally, furniture and various utensils are to be purified, possibly for the same reason.²⁹⁹ The reverse of the tablet, which is the second version of this ritual, exhibits the same procedures. In sum, the entire ritual can be viewed as a transitional process of separation that terminates a former stage and initiates an entry to a new one.³⁰⁰

As for the prohibited edibles, the prohibition of eating aštauwar is not apparent, since the meaning of this word, which is a hapax, is unknown. If the suffix -war denotes that the word aštauwar is a *nomen actionis*, deriving from a verb,³⁰¹ it may be taken as an abstract noun and not a specific designation of a certain food or plant, at least in its original or etymological

²⁹⁴ Following Beckman, *StBoT* 29:133-135.

²⁹⁵ The first occurrence of the expression in this text is in a fragmentary context, with the verb and the negation particle missing, but Beckman's restoration seems most feasible.

²⁹⁶ CHD/P: 167b.

²⁹⁷ The genitive (19: MUNUS-aš aš-ta-u-wa-ar) is taken here as a case of belonging. The idea here is that although the woman is barred from eating aštauwar, her husband may eat her share. A different interpretation from Beckman's, which is basically followed here, is found in Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HW*²: 492.

²⁹⁸ See Jacobsen 1959:457 concerning a taboo placed on eating bread prepared by a menstruating woman.

²⁹⁹ See Wright, *Disposal*: 106-107.

³⁰⁰ See van der Toorn 1985:31; for comparative data Douglas 1966:95-97.

³⁰¹ Kronasser, *EHS*: 306; also Tischler, *HEG*: 86.

sense. Hence it is possible that some general or even abstract quality was associated with this edible substance that was forbidden to the pregnant woman by the *natta āra* expression.³⁰²

Further, the pregnant woman should avoid tappi, and (most probably) ground-up cress (ZĀ.ĀḤ.LI kuškuš[šantan]). These are not restricted by the impersonal *natta āra* expression. The identity of the first edible —tappi—is obscure. It is mentioned in a medical text where it is specified that it is to be applied to an ailing (?) penis.³⁰³ The second forbidden food is ZĀ.ĀḤ.LI (Akk. SAHLU), a weed or grass growing over ruins of uncultivated fields, whose seeds are crushed and eaten.³⁰⁴ While this species is forbidden to the pregnant woman, a different one is allowed —the 'Garden Cress' (SAR-[aš Z]Ā.ĀḤ.LI), perhaps because it was cultivated and not wild.³⁰⁵ The plant ZĀ.ĀḤ.LI had elaborate cultural associations in the ancient world. We know that the king Anitta sowed this plant over vanquished cities,³⁰⁶ and that Aššurbanipal scattered cress (and salt) over the devastated Elamite cities.³⁰⁷ The Hittite Military Oath warns that should anyone break the royal oath, the Storm-god would insure that cress would grow upon his field, instead of crops.³⁰⁸ Mesopotamian hemerological texts frequently forbid on certain days the consumption of this plant, which together with other vegetables was considered to be offensive to the gods.³⁰⁹ As a plant symbolically associated with barrenness one can imagine why it was forbidden to pregnant women. In contrast, consumption of the SAR-aš ZĀ.ĀḤ.LI, the cress of the garden, was permitted, presumably since it was cultivated and thus lacking a negative connotation.

³⁰² Compare Text 20, in which the 'fears and terrors' of the Storm-god are drunk.

³⁰³ Burde, *StBoT* 19:20-21, II.19'-22', and 23-24.

³⁰⁴ Beckman, *StBoT* 29:156; Hoffner, *AlHeth*: 110-111. See also CAD/S: 62-64.

³⁰⁵ Beckman, *StBoT* 29:156.

³⁰⁶ Neu, *StBoT* 18:12-13, rev. 48: ...pē-e-di-iš-ši-ma ZĀ.ĀḤ.LI-an a-ni-e-[nu-un] 'I planted cress in their stead'.

³⁰⁷ CAD/S: 64a: tābta ū.ZĀ.ĀḤ.LI.SAR usappiḫa šērūšun 'I scattered salt and cress over them'.

³⁰⁸ Oettinger, *StBoT* 22:14-15, iii 43-45: ...na-aš-ta a-pē-el-la / iš-tu a.šā-šu zīz-tar šē^{AM} ša-ra-a le-e / ū-iz-zi 'na'-aš-ta UGU za-aḫ-hē-li i-ya-ta-ru 'Moreover, emmer and barley will not sprout up from his field, but cress will develop all over'. The lemma zaḫḫeli- is taken here as a Hittite loan of SAHLU / ZĀ.ĀḤ.LI. See Hoffner, *AlHeth*: 110-111; cf. Oettinger, *StBoT* 22:48.

³⁰⁹ See Hulin 1959:47-49 and CAD/S: 62b. Leek and garlic are among the other plants listed with SAHLU. They (along with fish) were considered ikkibu to some gods, perhaps on account of their offensive smell. See van der Toorn 1985:33-34.

In this text, the *natta āra* expression classifies edibles according to a symbolic or proto-medical taxonomy whose exact definitions are elusive to the modern mind.

12. A Ritual Silence during the Ceremony

The next use of the *natta āra* expression is found in an old Anatolian myth, written in Hittite with the Hittite translation accompanying it on the right-hand column of the tablet. The myth itself, in a fragmentary state, relates how the gods attempted to retrieve the Moon-god who fell from the sky onto the gate complex.³¹⁰ The ritual following the myth describes what the man of the Storm-god (that is, the priest) does. He breaks three loaves, and then drinks symbolically various qualities of the Storm-god, such as his 'Thunders', 'Clouds', and 'Rains', which were mentioned previously in the myth. Subsequently, he proceeds as follows:

20. The Moon that Fell: Ritual Silence during the Ceremony.³¹¹

Transliteration: KUB 28.4 iii 10-16 (main copy); KUB 28.5 iii 10-14.³¹²

- 10 [EGIR-ŠU]-ma na-aḥ-ša-ra-ad-du-[(uḥ)]
- 11 [ú]-e¹-ri-te-mu-uḥ ŠA^DU [(9-ŠU e-ku)]-zi
- 12 8 NINDA.GUR₄.RA pá-r-ši-y[(a)]
- 13 ku-it-ma-an-ma LÚ^DU ku-u-un [(GAL ak-ku-u)]š-ki-iz-zi
- 14 ḥa-lu-ga-na-iz-zi-ma³¹³ Ú-UL ku-iš ku-iš-«ki»³¹⁴
- 15 Ú-UL a-a-ra na-aš-kán ar-ḥa-ya-an
- 16 'aš-ki'-i da-a-i

³¹⁰ Hoffner, *Myths*: 34-36.

³¹¹ Text: A = KUB 28.4; C = KUB 28.5 + VBoT 73 (see Laroche, *Myth*: 73).

Language and Script: NS (CHD/L-N: 212a). CTH: 727. Bibliography: Laroche, *Myth*: 76-78; Hoffner, *Myths*: 34-36; Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1990:109-114.

³¹² Following Laroche, *Myth*: 77.

³¹³ C, 14: ḥa-lu-ga-na-iz-zi.

³¹⁴ Either a dittography of the first two signs (for *kuiški*) or possibly a scribal error for *kuiš kuis «ki»*. Watkins, C. suggests (personal communication) that the form *kuiš kuis «ki»* is veritable and it is a product of a reanalysis by scribe. By adding the suffix *-ki* to *kuiš kuis* the scribe intensified the indefinite form. Copy C does not help solve the problem since it breaks off, leaving only: 14...Ú-UL ku-iš-
}.

Translation:³¹⁵

[Next] he drinks nine times the 'Fears' and 'Terrors' of the Storm-god. He breaks eight thick loaves. While the man of the Storm-god keeps drinking from this cup, no one utters a sound. It is not permitted. He places them (that is, the breads) separately at the gate.

Ritual silence, as prescribed above, is also met in other Hittite rituals, especially those dedicated to the deity *Taurit*.³¹⁶ The Hittite king and queen sit together and 'drink' the deity.³¹⁷ Meanwhile, the participants can play the lyre, but singing is forbidden (*Ú-UL ŠIR^{RU}*). No reason is given for this prohibition, but it is to be noted that the act of singing was forbidden during drinking ceremonies in many cases. The song with the flow of words uttered by humans was silenced, so that it should not interfere with the act of 'drinking the god'. Keeping silence during libation rituals is a well-documented phenomenon in Greek religion, which is illustrative for the present discussion. The spoken word may contain harm (*blasphemia*), and therefore in rites, it is the 'good speech' (*euphemia*) which is requested. The 'good speech' is actually silence, devoid of words lest they be harmful, held fast in respect for the sacred. In times of libation or prayer to the gods, the worshippers keep silent.³¹⁸ For the same reason, the Hittites also may have held their tongues while libating to their gods.

13. The Ritual of *Ḥantitaššu*

The final text in this chapter is from one of the versions of the ritual of *Ḥantitaššu*. This ritual seeks to ensure the wellbeing of the client (or of the Hittite king in one of the versions) against his 'disturbed' years.³¹⁹ After accomplishing a variety of magical procedures, towards the end of the ritual the client is required to carry on his person the *ḥuišwantaš ḥukanta*, which

³¹⁵ See Hoffner, *Myths*: 36.

³¹⁶ See Kümmel 1973.

³¹⁷ For this expression, see Rosenkranz 1973 and Melchert 1981.

³¹⁸ Burkett 1985:73, 199, 273; see also Iliad, 9:171-172.

³¹⁹ For the expression MU^{KAM} ŠU *nininkanteš*, see Ünal 1996:33ff.; CHD/L-N: 442-443.

serves to absolve any curse placed on him.³²⁰ Being contaminated with evil magic, these are then stashed away.

21. The Ritual of Hantitaššu:³²¹

Transliteration: a. D = KUB 57.79 iv 34-42.³²²

34 [] EN INIM A-NA EN SISKUR UŠ-KE-EN nu-kán EN SISKUR
35 [h]u-kán-ta INA UD 7^{KAM} ne-ya-an har-zi
36 [ma]-a-an² UD 7^{KAM} pa-iz-zi na-[a]-za-kán ar-ḥa da-a-i
37 [na]-at-kán A-NA GIS³PISAN TUG³ an-da ti-an-zi
38 [na]-aš UL gi-nu-uš-kán-zi na-an-kán ŠA E^{NA} KI[ŠIB]
39 [pē]¹ e¹-da-an-zi na-an nam-ma Ū-UL ku-iš-ki 'gi'-[nu-zi]

40 [ki-i-m]a¹ kán³ SISKUR EN INIM ta-me-e-da-ni pár-ni
41 [i-y]a-zi EN SISKUR-ma-at-kán
42 [Ū-UL] i-ya-zi Ū-UL a-a-ra³²³

Translation:

The practitioner bows down to the client; then the client, having been wearing the *hukanta*³²⁴ for seven days, when the seventh day passes, puts [them] away. They place them (along with³) the clothes inside a box, [so that] they will not be opened. They transport it inside the sealing-house, so that no one can open it.

³²⁰ The meaning of *huišwantaš hukanta* is unclear. It can either be understood as the slaughtered meat parts of the sacrificial animal for the sake of (the client's) life (Únal 1996:31, 75-77) or, more likely, the 'conjured things of the living' (CHD/L-N: 360a) placed around the client.

³²¹ Text: D = KUB 57.79; E = KUB 58.94 (sigla following Únal's edition; for further copies excluding the studied expression see Únal 1996:14-16). Language and Script: MH/NS (Únal 1996:82; CHD/L-N: 426a). CTH: 395. Bibliography: Únal 1996.

³²² Restored according to variant KUB 43.57 iv 9'-22'. Following *ibid.*:94.

Parallel fragmentary Text 21a (text E = KUB 58.94 iv 1'-3') reads (following *ibid.*:96):

1' [k]i-i-ma-kán 'SISKUR' EN INIM da-m[e-da-ni pár-ni
2' an-da e-eš-ša-i i-na É EN [SISKUR
3' Ū-UL i-ya-zi Ū-UL [a-a-ra

These three lines and part of the colophon are all that survive from the fourth column of this version of Hantitaššu's ritual.

³²³ The restoring and translation of this line follow the parallel text E, 3', which seems closer to Text 21, rather than the main recension. Únal 1996:94 prefers to follow the main recension, but in any case, the difference between the two alternatives is small.

³²⁴ See note 320.

The practitioner will [per]form [these things] of the ritual in another house. The client, however, [will not] perform it (in his house).³²⁵ It is not permitted.

The specification here requires that the culmination of the client's purgation will not occur in his house for fear of contamination. Once the contaminated *hukanta* are removed, the client must distance himself from the ritual process, while the practitioner ensures that the rest of the ritual takes place somewhere else (in the main variant, the king does not continue to participate and the ritual is continued outside of the palace). Doing otherwise is not permitted, so as to ensure that the outcome of the ritual be positive. As seen in the beginning of this chapter, it was necessary that practitioners and participants in the cult perform rituals properly. In this last text falling under the category of religious prohibitions, the *natta āra* expression functions in the same manner: by expressing a negative command, it ensures that order will be maintained and that any deviations will be averted.

In the next chapter, we will examine how the *natta āra* expression operates within the social sphere, prohibiting various sexual behaviours.

³²⁵ Here, the translation takes its cue here from E, 2': I-NA É EN[SISKUR...] / Ū-UL i-ya-zi 'He will not perform it in the house of the client...'. Also according to the variant (*ibid.*: 26, iv 19-20): ...Ū-UL-at I-NA É GAL^{LM} / e-eš-ša-i... 'He will not perform it in the palace'.

IV. Sexual Prohibitions

1. The Zalpa Tale

This chapter begins with a folktale, perhaps the oldest of its kind that has come into our hands. It is unique in Hittite and ancient Near Eastern literature and yet it shares, as shall be noted, many universal motifs. Its theme is that of incest.

The tablet containing the tale is broken after twenty lines of complete narrative at what appears to be the very climax. The duplicate tablet of the reverse side continues with a ritual and a somewhat fragmentary account of warfare amongst the early Anatolian cities.

The story can be briefly paraphrased.³²⁶ The queen of Kaneš gives birth to thirty sons. Not content with her 'gang', she places the thirty sons in caskets insulated with oil and sends them down the river. Having reached the sea, in the land of Zalpa, the sons are found and reared by the gods. Time goes by, and the queen of Kaneš gives birth again, this time to thirty daughters. Presumably a few more years have passed and the sons start their journey back to Kaneš together with their donkey. They reach the city of Tamarmara and ask the inhabitants for a heated chamber; then they apparently request that their donkey be accommodated with them.³²⁷ The inhabitants, after a brief exchange with the sons, in which they learn of their origin, recount another 'strange' or unnatural occurrence. They tell of the

birth of the thirty daughters of the queen of Kaneš. The sons set their faces in joy to Kaneš, having found their mother. However:

22. The Tale of Zalpa: Brother-Sister Incest.³²⁸

Transliteration: KBo 22.2 obv. 15-20.³²⁹

- 15 ...ma-a-an^{URU} Ne-e¹-ša pa-a-ir
 16 [n]u-uš-ma-aš DINGIR^{DIDL} eš ta-ma-i-in ka-ra-a-ta-an da¹-i-ir¹
 nu AMA-ŠU-NU
 17 [a-pu-u-u]š na-at-ta ga-ni-eš-zi nu-uz-za DUMU.MUNUS^rMEŠ ŠA¹
 A-NA DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} ŠA pa-iš
 18 [ha-an-le-e]z-zi-aš DUMU^{MEŠ} né-ku-uš-mu-uš na-at-fa ga¹-ni-eš-šir
 ap-pé-ez-zi-ya-ša-aš-ša-an
 19 [o o o]x-uš-za né-e-ku-šum-mu-uš da-aš-ke-e-u-^re-ni¹ [n]u le-e ša-li-
 ik-tu-ma-ri
 20 [na-at-ta]¹a-a-ra³³⁰ nu kat-ti-iš-mi še¹-[-]

Break

Translation:

'...When they went to Neša, the gods put another 'countenance' on them, so that their mother would not recognize them.³³¹ When she gave (in marriage) her daughters to her sons, the [old]er sons did not recognize their sisters. However, the youngest [objected]: "Should we marry our own sisters? Do not approach (them sexually)!"³³² [It is not] right." But (the brothers) sl[ep]t with them.'

The end of the narrative is lost. The editor of the text, H. Otten, translates the very last surviving line 'Und mit ihnen schl[ieff]en', implying that the youngest brother ended his admonition and that the brothers had indeed committed the incestuous deed. Hoffner, *Myths*: 82 interprets the final line differently and ends the story thus: '[It is surely not] right that [we should] sleep with them.' Whatever the exact outcome of the events, since

³²⁶ Following the translation by Hoffner 1997. For additional philological details, see Hoffner 1980:290, n.27, and 1994b:230.

³²⁷ The account of the thirty sons demanding the inhabitants of the city of Tamarmara that their donkey be accommodated with them is baffling. The problem in the sentence (obv. 9) is how to translate the verb *arkatta*. Hoffner translates thus: 'Heat up a bedroom and our donkey will climb up (a staircase)!'; some translate likewise; others have ignored this difficult verb. Tsevet 1983 ('the ass mates') is akin to Eichner 1974:185 ('...die Esel (=hengeste die-stuten) bespringen!'). Puhvel 1975 and HED/A: 142 demonstrated that the use of the *ark-* denotes the coition posture of male animals. Also now, Melchert, paper presented at the Fourth International Hittitology Conference, October 1999.

³²⁸ Text: KBo 22.2. Language and Script: OH/OS (Otten, *StBoT* 17:1-3). CTH: 3. Bibliography: Otten, *StBoT* 17; Hoffner, *Myths*: 81-82.

³²⁹ Following Otten, *StBoT* 17:6.

³³⁰ The -ra sign is just visible, the -a signs are almost completely obliterated. However, there is no reason to doubt Otten's reading, since this sign combination for writing *dra* is highly distinctive: two *a* signs, followed by a *ra* sign.

³³¹ Taken as a final clause (pres. verb with the particle *nu*; see CHD/L-N: 462). Somewhat differently CHD/L-N: 410b. Cf. also Únal 1994:807, n.17a.

³³² For the verb *šalik-* 'to approach (sexually)', see Hoffner, *Laws*: 153-154, § 195.

the incestuous deed is *natta āra*, as the youngest brother states explicitly, it is of concern to this study.

The tale has understandably drawn numerous and varied interpretations from different fields. Because of the many typological details present in the tale, a plethora of parallels have been suggested, ranging from Sargon of Akkad and Moses to Aeneas and the Amazons. Apart from generic comparisons, historical reconstructions of early Anatolia which vary in their complexity have also been proposed.³³³ But before discussing the tale's ideological function and its analogous counterparts, an analysis of the plot will be provided in order to establish what this tale is all about before exploring its ideological aims and symbolic function.

The general theme of the tale is incest between brothers and sisters. The details interspersed in the story provide the inner logic which culminates in the story's climax, the incest dilemma. The first crucial detail concerns the queen of Kaneš. The queen's role in the story as the sole mother of the children is repeated in the story several times not to suggest that she is the founder of a matrilineal dynasty.³³⁴ Rather, she is brought repeatedly to the foreground of the story to remind the audience that the siblings were born of the same womb. They were not half-brothers and half-sisters of the same father. This kinship distinction may seem trivial nowadays when incest and its inescapable ethical and normative problems are discussed; however, marriage between half-brother and half-sister was certainly considered acceptable in some societies of the ancient Near East.³³⁵ Hence in this tale, it was to be understood that they were uterine siblings and therefore the deed they committed was *natta āra*. The hyperbolic number of the siblings may have added incredibility to the story: by distancing it from the audience, clearly it was set up as a myth.³³⁶ The next detail of importance is the fact that the sons were reared by the gods, after being abandoned and subsequently separated from their sisters.³³⁷ This will permit us to understand why the *natta āra* expression was used, as we shall argue.

³³³ See however the cautions issued by Hoffner 1980:290-291 and Singer 1981:132 against using this tale as a historical source.

³³⁴ See Bin-nun, *Theth* 5:145; also Haas 1982:42-43, more cautiously.

³³⁵ See further, p. 93-96.

³³⁶ For the typological function of the number thirty in the tale, see Otten, *SiBoT* 17:15 and also Tsevat 1983 and Dieterle 1987.

³³⁷ The similar, but not identical, motif of divine birth is found in both the 'Anum-berwa Birth Account' (Helck 1983:272-274) and the myth of 'The Sun-god, the Cow, and the Fisherman' (Hoffner, *Myths*: 85-87). See also Ünal 1986. Echeverría 1987 compares the gender-based separation of the brothers and sisters with the Greek myth of the Amazons.

Introducing the divine also enables the apparent change of the sons' facial features when they are about to encounter their mother. As they reach the city of Tamarmara, the ensuing dialogue with the city's inhabitants furthers the story by providing the sons with the solution of the problem of finding their mother. Regardless of how the episode with the donkey is understood (whether it climbs up into the bed chamber or commits a sexual act), it is clear that it is an unnatural or strange act, because it triggers a dialogue whose theme is strange births, thus leading the sons to their mother in Kaneš. We are faced now with the final detail to be considered: the ignorance of the participants. The physical appearance of the sons is somehow changed so that their mother will not recognize them (*[apu]š natta ganiešzi*) and prevent the marriage of the siblings. Further, the sons themselves are ignorant of their kinship ties with the girls whom they are about to marry (*[hante]zziaš DUMU^{MEŠ} nekuš=šmuš nati a ga'niešir*).³³⁸ Only the youngest son has the knowledge of the dire deed about to be perpetrated, but whether or not his warnings were heeded is unknown.

With these crucial components isolated, the plot can be summarized: the separation of uterine brothers from their sisters is about to result in the forbidden sexual or matrimonial encounter of the ignorant siblings. European folksongs dealing with brother-sister incest, although modern by this study's standards, share this plot scheme with the Zalpa tale. Nine brothers kill a man and ravish his wife, who is their sister. Only one knows of the incestuous deed, and after relating it to his brothers they all commit suicide. This grim tale is but one of many which revolve around this basic plot of birth separation and incest committed, or about to be committed, out of ignorance.³³⁹

What is the intent of this story, we may ask? Since the end is broken, we might never know for sure. But it can be stated that the author's intent was not to blame a particular participant, representative of a singular ethnic or geographically located group, since all involved acted out of ignorance. Therefore, it does not seem that there was any intention of condemning a surviving practice in Anatolia. Rather, the intent was to formulate a sexual

³³⁸ Attention is to be given to the phraseology *natta ganieš-* 'not knowing, not recognizing', used repeatedly of both mother and sons. Whether a potential offender had unwittingly committed a sexual misdeed was apparently a matter to be considered, as is stressed in the Hittite Law Code. In § 191, the offender was liable to punishment only if he had knowingly committed *hurkel* (unpermitted sexual pairing)—in this case, sleeping with free sisters and their mother. See Hoffner, *Laws*: 150-151.

³³⁹ Brewster 1972.

prohibition which heightens the sense of group distinction and social awareness.³⁴⁰ The youngest son wishes, by using the *natta āra* expression, to dictate a behaviour which is considered desirable to the society of gods and humans. We can envisage that the sons, having being reared up by the gods, were endowed with the understanding of what is *āra* and what is *natta āra*. The same terminology used to demarcate the sacred from the profane here defines kinship relations acceptable within a given group by specifying what should be excluded from the group's sexual behaviour.³⁴¹ It is from this point onwards that the story is geared towards providing a historiographic explanation concerning the relationship of the two cities, Zalpa and Kaneš.³⁴² The substance of the explanation is missing, because of the large gap between the tale and the subsequent historical details, but one might suggest that the destruction of the Hattic cities was a result of the sin committed by the sons.³⁴³ Other clues which link the two parts may be the mention of a daughter (of royal parentage?) who is killed, and of sixty households, perhaps a dynastic continuum of the thirty sons and thirty daughters.³⁴⁴ However, since the context is very unclear due to the fragmentary state of the tablet, no more can be said.

Although accounts of brother-sister incest exist in ancient Near Eastern myth, they are of an entirely different nature. In general terms it can be said that the protagonists of these myths are gods engaged in sexual acts that procreate deities or natural phenomena.³⁴⁵ In this category fall also the Greek myths concerning the incestuous acts of the Titans. But some tales involving multiple births of humans and incestuous marriage following en suite, as in the Zalpa tale, can be found in Greek myth. Odysseus tells of his host Aeolos who gave his six daughters to his six sons to wed; no tragic outcome was the siblings' lot, and they lived happily ever after.³⁴⁶ The legend of Danaos, as given form by Aeschylus in his 'Suppliants', describes Danaos's attempt to marry his fifty daughters to their fifty cousins, sons of

³⁴⁰ See the structural endeavour of Hérítier 1982 to explain incest prohibitions as a mechanism to sustain the 'difference' of the self.

³⁴¹ Notice the prevalence of laws dealing with incest in the Hittite Law code (further p. 88-92).

³⁴² Hoffner 1980: 291; Güterbock, *Selected*: 174.

³⁴³ Otten, *StBoT* 17:64ff.

³⁴⁴ See Otten, *StBoT* 17:8, B, obv. 10' and 15'.

³⁴⁵ Petschow 1976: 149.

³⁴⁶ Odyssey, 10.1-7; see Gantz 1993: 169. The same story takes a more sinister twist when it falls into Plutarch's hands (*Moralia*, 312).

Aegyptos.³⁴⁷ Thus, this myth provides an etiological explanation for the alleged Greek (Danaos) and Egyptian (Aegyptos) connections,³⁴⁸ just as the Zalpa tale seeks to explain the relationship between two cities of Anatolia.

What is the probability that the Zalpa tale reflects a custom prevalent in Hattic Anatolia? It has been demonstrated that the story is a highly structured literary artifact that shares to some degree its structure with other mythological or etiological stories. Moreover, there is no extraneous evidence of such a custom in the Anatolian highland, and thus the answer is quite conclusive.³⁴⁹ In the Hittite kingdom, no endogamy is attested amongst the royal family. Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal, once thought to be the only brother and sister ruling pair, should no longer be considered siblings at all.³⁵⁰ Arnuwanda was adopted into the royal family, and required the status of a 'son', a reflection of the *antiyant*-marriage pattern, in which the groom enters his wife's household.³⁵¹ The Hittite laws and statutes which emphatically prohibit various types of incest relations and marriages will be dealt with in the next sections, as we discuss the treaty of Šuppiluliuma and Ḫuqqana of Ḫayaša.

2. The Treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Ḫuqqana of Ḫayaša

The treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Ḫuqqana, the ruler of Ḫayaša, a vassal state in northeastern Anatolia about which little is known, is a unique document.³⁵² Its chief deviation from other known Hittite treaties lies in the array of sexual and matrimonial instructions given to Ḫuqqana. In these

³⁴⁷ Watkins 1994b: 328-329 and 1995a: 53.

³⁴⁸ See Benveniste 1949.

³⁴⁹ A different view is represented by Bin-nun, *Theth* 5:140-147, although it is now refuted by most authorities. See Beckman 1978.

³⁵⁰ Beal 1983.

³⁵¹ Hoffner 1975a: 137-138.

³⁵² The two main exemplars that have survived are copies which betray their Middle Hittite origin, although the script is more recent. Column iv of the treaty may be a remnant of a treaty drawn up before the days of Šuppiluliuma between the Hittite king Tudḫalia and the 'people of Ḫayaša'. Two more fragments are perhaps testimony to later treaties drawn by the Hittites. See Carruba 1988 and Neu 1979b.

instructions, the *natta āra* expression occurs five times; the term *āra* (without the negation) appears in the treaty at least three times.³⁵³ Otherwise, the treaty follows the usual pattern of stipulations imposed on vassals; loyalty to the royal house of Hatti, extradition of fugitives, and military alliance. But contrary to other vassal treaties drawn by Šuppiluliuma, the so-called 'historical prologue' is very short, and the typical details of Šuppiluliuma's deliverance of the vassal state from its enemies are missing.³⁵⁴ However, Šuppiluliuma emphatically reminds Ḫuqana of his duty to his overlord, ever since he had elevated him from among the men of Ḫayaša.³⁵⁵ It is surely not difficult to imagine Šuppiluliuma intervening in the internal affairs of Ḫayaša, as in Mittanni's, only to collect his dues later on. It is in this section of the treaty that it is first mentioned that Ḫuqana has been given a royal princess to wed, Šuppiluliuma's sister. After the regular conditions have been set, divine witnesses enumerated, and the curses and blessings of the Oath Deities bestowed, Ḫuqana is to swear secrecy and avoid divulging any imperial plans which he might overhear once he stays in the palace. Then the following stipulation is introduced:

23. The Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Ḫuqana of Ḫayaša:³⁵⁶

§ 29: Transliteration:³⁵⁷

- 25 *nam-ma-at-ta* ^DUTU^{SI} [k]u-in ku-u-un NIN-YA A-NA DAM-U[*T-TI-K*]A
AD-DIN
26 *nu-us* ^Iš^{SI} NIN^{MES} ŠU ŠA MÁŠ-ŠU ŠA 'NUMUN' ŠU *me-eq-ga-eš*
x[]³⁵⁸ *a-ša-an-zi*
27 [^KA' *-at-ta-at* ³⁵⁹ *a-pé-e-ya zi-ga-aš-ma-aš-za* NIN-[(ŠU ku)]-it
har-ši

³⁵³ For *āra* in the treaty, see Texts 6 and 6a and further down.

³⁵⁴ Altman 1987.

³⁵⁵ Carruba 1988:69.

³⁵⁶ Text: KBo 5.3 (dups. KBo 19.44 + KBo 22.40, KUB 19.24, KUB 14.6, KUB 40.35; additional copies excluding the discussed expression in Laroche, *CTH* 42). Language and Script: MH/LS (Carruba 1988 and Neu 1979b). *CTH*: 42. Bibliography: Friedrich *SV* 2:106-163; Otten 1970; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 26-34.

³⁵⁷ A = KBo 5.3 iii; B = KBo 19.44 rev. 14-59, C = KUB 19.24 rev. 9-28, D = KBo 22.40 (join to B, ll. 36-50; see Otten and Rüster 1972:102-103), E = KUB 14.6 (dupl. iii 54-70), F = KUB 40.35 iii 48-62 (dupl. iii 48-62).

³⁵⁸ Otten 1970:165, b. restores [ku-it].

- 28 A-NA KUR ^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti-ma-kán ša-a-ak-la-iš du-u[(q-ga)]-ri³⁶⁰
29 'ŠES-aš-za'³⁶¹ NIN-ŠU^{MUNUS} a-a-an-ni-in-ni-ya-mi-in Ū-UL [(da-a-i)]
30 'Ū-UL'-at a-a-ra ku-iš-ma-at i-e-zi³⁶² a-pi-ni-iš-[u-u-w]a-an-na
ut-tar³⁶³
31 na-aš^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ši Ū-UL ḫu-u-iš-šu-u-iz-zi³⁶⁴ a-ki-pa-a[t-š]a-an³⁶⁵
32 šu-me-in-za-an KUR-e dam-pu-u-pi ku-it an-da-at za-[(ah-ha)]-an ŠA
33 'ŠES-ŠU'-za DAM'-ŠU^{MUNUS} a-a-an-ni-in-ni-ya-mi-in da-aš-ká[(n-zi-
pát)]
34 ^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ši-ma-at Ū-[(UL a)]a-ra

§ 29: Translation:

'Furthermore, this sister of mine, whom I, My Majesty, have given to you as your wife, has many sisters from her family and her extended family. Because you have taken from them (the family's) sister, [] to you' those *belong*.³⁶⁶ For the land of Hatti, there exists an important custom. A brother should not take (sexually) his sister or niece. It is not permitted. Whoever does it —and such a deed (it is), he will not live in Hattuša, but be killed here! Because your country is 'ignorant', it is disrupted.³⁶⁷ they take by

³⁵⁹ B, 16: ŠA A[N-] -[a] a-pé-e-ya.... Otten 1970:165, c. proposes: [(ŠA DIN)GIR-K]A-at-ta-*u-at*], but offers no translation. If we follow B, one can perhaps read: ŠA ^D[UTU^{SI}-o-o]š^{SI} *ape-ya* 'These are from My M[ajesty's] (family)] for you' = 'You should consider them part of My Majesty's family'. (This type of nominal sentence with the dative as marker of possession is comparable to the Latin type of *liber est mihi* 'The book belongs to me'; see Watkins 1994c). In copy A, there seems to be not quite enough space for such a reading. Reading -[K]A'- instead of Friedrich's]-pa- follows a suggestion of Melchert, C. (email, 17 January 2000).

³⁶⁰ B, 17 and C, 12: tu-uq-ga-ri.

³⁶¹ Otten 1970: 165, f.

³⁶² B, 19: i-ya'-[zi].

³⁶³ Friedrich, *SV* 2:124, n.10 reads UD above the NA sign, but there is no need to delete the latter as it marks the geminating -a (*apinišš[uw]ann-a*). B, 19:] ut-tar.

³⁶⁴ B, 19: ḫu-iš-šu-iz-zi.

³⁶⁵ Following here CHD/P: 214a, which lists also other possibilities.

³⁶⁶ Possibly if following copy B: 'These are from My [Majesty's] (family)].' Similar is Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 31: 'They belong to your extended family because you have taken their sister.' See note 359; also see Friedrich, *SV* 2:149.

³⁶⁷ I owe this translation to Hoffner, H. (personal communication) who compares the use of *zahh*- in this text to its usage in KUB 13.4 iii 38 (see CHD/L-N: 441 and also Otten 1970: 164).

habit the wife' of their (lit. his) brother or niece.³⁶⁸ This, however, is not permitted.'

This sexual prohibition is unique in the Hittite treaties and is only the first out of six to appear in the *Ḫuqqana* treaty. Since the vassal king is about to marry a Hittite princess and enter her extended family, his conduct must be in accord with the customs of Hatti. Any transgression from these 'national' customs is *natta āra* and may result in death.

Laroche 1960:128 noted two cases in which customs specific to the land of Hatti are ordained by the *natta āra* expression: one is in this treaty, the other appears in the case of Šuppiluliuma's Babylonian wife (see Text 42). Both juxtapose 'national' customs (*šaklaiš*) to external ones.³⁶⁹ These prohibitions function as distinguishing factors (as in the *Zalpa* Tale), drawing a line between 'we' and 'they'. Indeed, in contrast to the land of Hatti, as commentators on this text have noticed repeatedly, stands the land of *Ḫayaša*, which is defined with the adjective *dampupi*- and because of this condition is 'disrupted' (*zahḫan*). The adjective *dampupi* has already attracted much commentary. Here we follow Collins 1995:88, who translates it in religious contexts as 'uninitiated' and Hoffner, *Laws*: 208, who translates *dampupi*- as 'unskilled' in Hittite law § 147, which discusses the sale of crafts-persons.³⁷⁰ In the present context, it is taken at its face value and translated as 'ignorant' in the social sense: because *Ḫayaša* is ignorant of proper (*āra*) social behaviour, it is 'disrupted'. The next sentence tells us that this happens because of forbidden sexual matches, which are *natta āra*.

Formulation of 'counter-identity' is indeed a necessary step towards collective self-consciousness.³⁷¹ However, although it is tempting to compare the prohibition imposed on *Ḫuqqana* with Leviticus 18 and 20, which forbid certain sexual behaviours on the grounds that other profane people practice them, one should notice that the cultural conditions are different. In Hatti, sexual prohibitions were aimed to achieve the objectives of the royal house and its members, and did not engage an entire people in a

³⁶⁸ This reading and translation follows Klinger 1992:193. Reading with the copy NIN would result in *'the sister of his brother', which gives no sense.

³⁶⁹ For more cases in which *natta āra* is made specific to the land of Hatti, see Texts 30-31.

³⁷⁰ Klinger 1992: 194 advocates for the neutral 'foreign' ('fremd'), but since this leads to the country's 'disruption' (*zahḫan*), the context demands a more negative term. See also Otten 1970:164.

³⁷¹ See Assman 1992:155 and Cohen, in press a.

process of self-definition.³⁷² The distinction articulated between Hatti and *Ḫayaša* serves a different purpose. Moreover, it is not to be forgotten that it is the ruler of *Ḫayaša* who is given this instruction, and not the entire people of *Ḫayaša*. Therefore, this instruction should not be viewed as an attempt to force cultural norms on an entire group of people, in accord with the Hittite custom.³⁷³ In the course of this section, an effort to discern the objectives of the royal Hittite house will be undertaken.

At what are the prohibitions in the treaty aimed? On the practical level, they aim first and foremost to prevent *Ḫuqqana* from attempting any sexual or matrimonial relations with his horizontal axis of kinship. In the first excerpt brought above (§ 29), the first prohibition, which forbids any relationship with a sister or her daughter, serves to delineate the general scope of the forthcoming exclusions.³⁷⁴ Then, it continues to deny also the possibility of a relationship with the brother's wife, or his daughter. This is formulated as a general prohibition in the 3rd person singular. The second prohibition (§30) forbids any relation with the wife's sister, the brother's wife, or niece; it is an apodictic instruction (2nd person singular), repeated again in §33, which is aimed straight at *Ḫuqqana*. Over it hangs the death penalty.

§ 30: Transliteration.³⁷⁵

35 nu-ut-ta ma-a-an ŠA DAM-KA ku-wa-pi NIN-SÚ na-aš-ma ŠA
[(ŠE)]Š³⁷⁶ DAM-SÚ³⁷⁷

36 MUNUS a-a-an-ni-in-ni-ya-mi-iš kat-ta-an ú-ez-zi nu-uš-ši [(a)]-da-an-na

37 a-ku-wa-an-na pa-a-i nu-za e-za-at-tén e-ku-ut-tén du-uš-[(ki)]-iš-ki-
tén³⁷⁸

38 da-an-na-ma-za³⁷⁹ le-e i-la-li-ya-ši Ú-UL-at a-a-ra a-pé-e-ez-kán

³⁷² See Chapter 1, 4.

³⁷³ See von Schuler, *Kaššäer*: 6-9; Singer 1994.

³⁷⁴ See Klinger 1992:192 and in addition, Koschaker 1933:8 who maintains that this implies that sisters-in-law are considered to be 'sisters' of the groom.

³⁷⁵ For details, see the previous § 29.

³⁷⁶ Friedrich, *SV* 2:126, 1.35, reads [NUM]JUN; Otten 1970:163 reads with copy B, 23: Š[E]Š.

³⁷⁷ The sign is unclear, probably DAM, since NIN here would make no sense (resulting in *'the brother's sister'). See Otten 1970:165, 1.

³⁷⁸ B, 25: du-uš-ki-iš-ki-[(i)-ten].

³⁷⁹ B, 26 and C, 21: da-an-na-ma-an-za.

- 39 *ud-da-na-az ar-ḥa ak-ki-iš-kán-zi na-at zi-ik*³⁸⁰ *tu-el ZI-it*
 40 *le-e e-ep-ši ma-an-ták-kán a-pé-ni-iš-šu-wa-an-ti ud-¹ da'-ni-i*
 41 *da-ma-iš-ša ku-iš-ki pár-ra-an-da ti-it-ta-nu-uz-zi*³⁸¹ *zi-ga-an*
 42 *le-e iš-ta-ma-aš-ti na-at le-e i-ya-ši*
 43 *ŠA-PAL NI-IŠ DINGIR*^{LIM} *y[a]-at-ta ki-it-ta-ru*

§ 30: Translation:

'If at some time, a sister of your wife, or a wife of (your) brother, (or) a niece comes to you, give her to eat and drink. Eat, drink, and be merry. But you shall not desire to take her (sexually). It is not permitted. For such a deed people are executed. Don't do this out of your own will. If someone else should lead you astray to (perform) such a deed, you shall not listen to him. You shall not do it. This shall be under oath for you.'

This prohibition widens the circle of kinship, prohibiting the next-removed women of the family. Not only sister or niece or wives of one's brother are excluded, but also sisters of one's wife; also is excluded the niece (^{MUNUS} *annimiyamiš*), who could be the offspring of either the wife's sister or one's brother. This prohibition is aimed directly at Ḥuqqana. But Ḥuqqana was not only to avoid sexual relations with his next of kin, he was to watch his step while residing at Hattuša lest his fate be like that of his predecessor, Mariya. The next section (§ 31) specifies that Ḥuqqana should not approach any of the palace ladies; his servant and maid should also beware, as all should make way for a woman of the palace. In typical Hittite fashion, this precept is followed by an admonitory story (§ 32) whose purpose is to authenticate the warning.³⁸² Ḥuqqana should note that Mariya was killed by Šuppiluliuma's father when he was caught in the act of seducing a lady in waiting. Next follows the final set of instructions, resolving Ḥuqqana's matrimonial status:

³⁸⁰ B, 27: [na-at z]i-ga.

³⁸¹ B, 29 and C, 24: ti-it-ta-nu-zi [.

³⁸² Koschaker 1933:2-3; compare this Hittite anecdotal technique with Goetze, *ANET*: 207 and the OH Palace Chronicles, edited by Dardano 1997. This 'One Thousand and One Nights' episode (Friedrich, *SV* 2:159) anticipates the Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees (Roth 1995:195-209) as noted by Haase 1987:106, n.44.

§ 33: Transliteration:³⁸³

- 59 *I-NA KUR*^{URU} *Ḥa-ya-ša-ya ku-wa-pi pa-i-ši*³⁸⁴ *n[(u-za nam-ma*
MUNUS^{MES} *ŠA ŠE)]Š-KA*
 60 [(NIN)³⁸⁵]-KA *le-e nam-ma da-aš-ki-ši*^{URU} *Ḥa-at-tu-ši-y[(a-at*
*Ú-UL a)-a-r]*³⁸⁶ *a*
 61 [(ke-e-e)]z-ma-kán I-NA É.GAL^{LIM} *ya ša-ra-a i-y[(a-at-ta)]-ti*³⁸⁷
 62 [nu a-pa-a]i³⁸⁸ *ut-tar Ú-UL a-ra ŠA KUR*^{URU} *Áz-y[(a-za*³⁸⁹
MUNUS)] nam-ma A-NA DAM-UT-TIM
 63 *le-e da-at-ti*³⁹⁰ *a-pu-u-un-na-za ar'-[(ḥa da-a-lī)] ka-ru-ú-za*
 64 *ku-in ḥar-ši*^{MUNUS} *NAP-TIR_s¹-[-TA]²-ma-at-ta a-a-ra e-eš-kán-zi*³⁹¹
 65 'DAM'-an-ma-an-za *le-e i-ya-ši A-NA*^m *Ma-ri-ya-ya-kán*
DUMU.MUNUS-KA ar-ḥa da-a
 66 *na-an ŠEŠ-ni*³⁹² *pa-a-l...*

§ 33: Translation:

'And when you go to the land of Ḥayaša, you shall no longer take by habit the wives of your brother (or of) your sister.³⁹³ At Hattuša it is not permitted. You will come up here to the palace. [But th]is deed is not permitted. In addition, don't marry the woman of the land of Azzi. Also, divorce the one which you already have. As your secondary-rank wife she shall be duly

³⁸³ For details, see § 29.

³⁸⁴ D, 44: pa-a-i-ši.

³⁸⁵ Otten and Rüter 1972:103 (B, 45) read DAM'. Here I follow CHD/L-N: 387a. The NIN sign in B, 47 (here 1.62), which looks similar to the one in B, 45 but is supplied with the phonetic complement -UT-TIM (to produce *ÁŠŠÜTTIM*), is perhaps best to be understood as DAM'.

³⁸⁶ Friedrich, *SV* 2:128, n.7 remarks that more signs are visible from the photo than the copy.

³⁸⁷ B, 46 and E, 8: i-ya-at-ta-ri.

³⁸⁸ Friedrich, *SV* 2:128, n.9.

³⁸⁹ B, 47 = D, 47: KUR^{URU} *Az-DIŠ-ya-za*¹. See Otten and Rüter 1972:103. Friedrich, *SV* 2:128 emends to *Az-zib-y[a]*.

³⁹⁰ B, 48: ta-at-ti.

³⁹¹ B, 49 with join D reads: ^{MUNUS} *NAP-TIR_s-TI-K[A-ma-a]i-ta a-a-ra 'e¹-[-eš-d]u*⁷⁷. See Otten and Rüter 1972:103.

³⁹² B, 50 and E, 12: LÚ-ni pa-a-i-ji.

³⁹³ Otten and Rüter 1972:103 read the sign as DAM; CHD/L-N: 387a (whose translation is followed here) prefers to read NIN as does apparently Beckman, *Dip/Textris*: 32 who offers: 'you shall no longer take (sexually) the wives of your brother, that is your sisters.' See note 385.

approved.³⁹⁴ Don't make her your wife. Take your daughter from Mariya and give her to (his) brother.³⁹⁵

First, the instruction already encountered in § 30 is repeated, as a reminder and a conjoiner for the next new personal instructions. In addition, new instructions await Ḫuqqana. Once back in Ḫayaša, he is ordered to divorce his wife and take her as a concubine, obviously making her a woman of lesser importance vis-à-vis Šuppiluliuma's sister. Such behaviour is considered *āra*. Furthermore, to conclude the instructions, Ḫuqqana is ordered to give in marriage his daughter, Mariya's widow, to Mariya's brother (or relative), as is the custom in Hatti.³⁹⁶

One can witness in this passage the juxtaposition of *natta āra* with *āra*. While it is *natta āra* to marry one's next of kin, it is *āra* to have a concubine. Here, *āra* seems to convey an immediate political demand of Šuppiluliuma, rather than indicating the mores or customs of Hatti. As a political command, it accentuates for the modern reader the political objectives of these matrimonial instructions. Before we proceed to discuss the social background and political objectives which initiated these prohibitions, it is worthwhile to present this simplified overview:

³⁹⁴ Following B, 49 here; see note 391. For the version present in the main copy, see discussion on p. 19.

³⁹⁵ Copies B, 50 and E, 12 have LÚ. The main copy A has ŠEŠ, a reading which is to be preferred in terms of *lectio difficilior* and its earlier date of composition (it exhibits MH language, while more recent in script than B; see Carruba 1988:60). Whether originally a corruption or not, perhaps LÚ of B and E is to be translated 'male relative'.

³⁹⁶ There is no need to assume that the Mariya mentioned here is a different person than the Mariya of § 32 (cf. Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 27). Ḫuqqana was to give his daughter, who was formerly married to the now executed Mariya, to Mariya's brother (or relative, if the reading of LÚ in B is not a corruption of ŠEŠ in A; see note 395). This is in accordance with the Hittite marriage practice recorded in Hittite Law § 193, in which the wife of a deceased man marries his brother. Different Mariyas were assumed because of the generation gap between the days of Tudḫaliya, Šuppiluliuma's father, and Šuppiluliuma himself. But there is nothing that indicates that Ḫuqqana was younger than Mariya; in fact he might have been older or of the same age group. Between the execution of Mariya (with whom a previous treaty had been signed [Carruba 1988:59; Klengel, *Geschichte*:132]) and the present treaty concluded with his successor, Ḫuqqana, it may be assumed that no more than a few years have passed. Ḫayaša was not to remain without a protectorate ruler for long. It is also known that this treaty was probably signed in the early days of Šuppiluliuma's reign; see note 400. In cautious agreement with this view is Hoffner, *Laws*: 226.

Matrimonial Instructions Forwarded to Ḫuqqana

1. A brother should not take in marriage his sister or niece (§ 29).
2. You should not take your wife's sister, or your brother's wife, or niece (the offspring of either) (§30).
3. You should avoid the palace women in light of the Mariya episode (§§ 31-32).
4. In Ḫayaša, you should not take the women of your brother or of your sister (§ 33, repeats § 30).
5. Do not take in marriage any more women from the land of Azzi (§ 33).
6. Divorce your wife and make her your concubine (§ 33).
7. Hand Mariya's widow to his brother (§ 33).

Fig. 2

How are we to understand these rules forwarded to Ḫuqqana? Are they a reaction against and a reflection of the marriage institutions customary in Ḫayaša? In response to von Schuler's suggestion³⁹⁷ that since the Hittites were faithful ethnographers, these instructions document the customary sororal polygamy of Ḫayaša, Otten 1970 claimed that the entire intent of these prohibitions was to insure sexual moderation and restraint. Drinking, eating, and making merry with one's next of kin could lead to sexual promiscuity and are therefore condemned. Whether this indicates the actual practices of Ḫuqqana and his country remains unclear.³⁹⁸ Naturally, it is very difficult to prove that such marriages were customary in Ḫayaša, for lack of external evidence. The cumulative data from other ancient Near Eastern societies indeed suggests that sororal polygamy occurred, although not in large numbers.³⁹⁹

In spite of the lack of external evidence, it is clear that Šuppiluliuma's concern was genuine, the outcome, possibly, of some knowledge concerning the internal norms in Ḫayaša. By mentioning Mariya's sexual misconduct, which led to his execution, the Hittite king offered a measure of caution. In addition, because this treaty is one of the earliest in Šuppiluliuma's career,⁴⁰⁰ it is only natural to expect that extra care was taken to ensure the status of

³⁹⁷ von Schuler, *Kaššāer*: 6-7; see also Koschaker 1933:9-10.

³⁹⁸ See also Klinger 1992:192-193.

³⁹⁹ Koschaker 1933; Westbrook 1982:316, 326; Yaron 1963.

⁴⁰⁰ Pintore 1978:72.

the king's young sister. The political benefit of such inter-dynastic marriages was clear to the Hittite monarch; therefore the superior status of the incoming queen was to be defended. The following passage from another treaty of Suppiluliuma with Šattiwaza of Mittanni throws light on the objectives of the Hūqqana treaty:

'Prince Šattiwaza shall be king in the land of Mittanni, and the daughter of the king of Hatti shall be queen in the land of Mittanni. Concubines will be allowed for you, Šattiwaza, but no other woman shall be greater than my daughter. You shall allow no other woman to be her equal, and no one shall sit as an equal beside her. You shall not degrade my daughter to second rank. In the land of Mittanni she shall exercise queenship.'⁴⁰¹

Although no sexual prohibitions are present in this passage, its spirit is akin to that of the treaty with Hūqqana.⁴⁰² Like Šattiwaza from Mittanni, reinstalled on his throne by Suppiluliuma, Hūqqana, instead of the previous Mariya, gains recognition as the new ruler of Hayaša. In his new role, he must learn to adopt the customs of Hatti and to avoid what is *natta āra*.

Since it is not presently possible to determine with certainty the existence of any marriage patterns in Hayaša, we can still examine the prohibitions from a Hittite point of view. We can ask: what significance did they hold for the author of the text, what did they mean to the young king Suppiluliuma, and why were they punishable by death?

3. Sexual Restrictions in Hittite Law and Ritual and the Hūqqana Treaty

This section will examine the social context of the prohibitions in the treaty and try to answer why they were issued to Hūqqana.

Prohibited sexual acts were identified in the Hittite Laws by a specific term: *hurkel*.⁴⁰³ All in all, this term is present in seven law clauses that demand severer punishment than the one required in the homicide laws and

⁴⁰¹ Tr. Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 44, § 7; Weidner, *PD*: 18-19.

⁴⁰² See also the marriage instructions issued to Bentešina (Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 102, § 8; del Monte, *Muršili-Niqmepa*: 182-183).

⁴⁰³ See Hoffner 1973; Hoffner, *Laws*: 224; Haase 1995:37-38.

deny any compensation.⁴⁰⁴ Bestiality, to begin with, is considered *hurkel* (except when committed with a horse or a mule, § 200a). Three clauses (§§ 187, 188, 199) specify that the capital punishment to be inflicted on the transgressor could be mitigated by appeal to the king.⁴⁰⁵ Sexual acts committed within the immediate kinship structure were also considered to be *hurkel*. These can be arranged on a 'vertical' and a 'horizontal' axis of kinship intimacy.⁴⁰⁶ The 'vertical' axis defines sexual relations of the subject with mother, daughter, and son (§§ 189-190), all blood relatives, and with a stepmother (while the father is still living). These are not permitted. In addition, a man may not have sexual intercourse with his stepdaughter or with his mother-in-law (§ 195b and c). However, a father and son are permitted to share the same female provided she is a servant girl (*GÊME*) or a prostitute (^{MUNUS}KAR.KID), a circumstance prohibited should the female be part of the family (daughter or mother).

The 'horizontal' axis defines the sexual relations of the subject with family members who are not of direct lineage (that is, neither parents nor offspring). In case of the wife's death, the husband is permitted to marry her sister (§ 192). If the husband dies, his next of kin, beginning with his brother, should wed his wife (§ 193).⁴⁰⁷ While the husband is alive it is strictly forbidden for his brother to sleep with his wife. It is considered *hurkel* (§ 195a), and in the treaty such a relation is defined as *natta āra* (§§ 30, 33). The two brothers, however, can share a free woman if she is not part of the family (§ 194). Two free uterine sisters⁴⁰⁸ (or daughter and mother) can not have sexual intercourse with the same man, as it is considered *hurkel* (§ 191).⁴⁰⁹ If the status of the women is inferior (being civilian captives), such a pairing is permitted (§ 200a). Approaching one's wife's sister sexually is also *hurkel* (§ 195c); hence it is definite that at least according to this clause, sororal polygamy was forbidden in Hatti. This last clause, § 195c, as well as § 195a, agree with the prohibition found in the Hūqqana treaty (§ 30). Further, the instruction in the treaty concerning Mariya's

⁴⁰⁴ Haase 1987.

⁴⁰⁵ Hoffner 1973:83.

⁴⁰⁶ Somewhat similar is Haase 1977:72; for a different classification, see Ziskind 1988:86.

⁴⁰⁷ The levirate marriage. See Hoffner, *Diss.*: 275, 277; Ziskind 1988:92-94.

⁴⁰⁸ Hittite *annanega* 'uterine sister' (lit. 'mother-sister'); see Hoffner 1988:194 and Watkins 1995b:358.

⁴⁰⁹ This is one of the rare instances in which there exists a text (KBo 21.35) that documents such an occasion, whether be it a ritual (Hoffner 1973:89; Puhvel, *HED/A*: 58) or the minutes of a rape trial (Friedrich-Kammenhuber, *HW²*: 76).

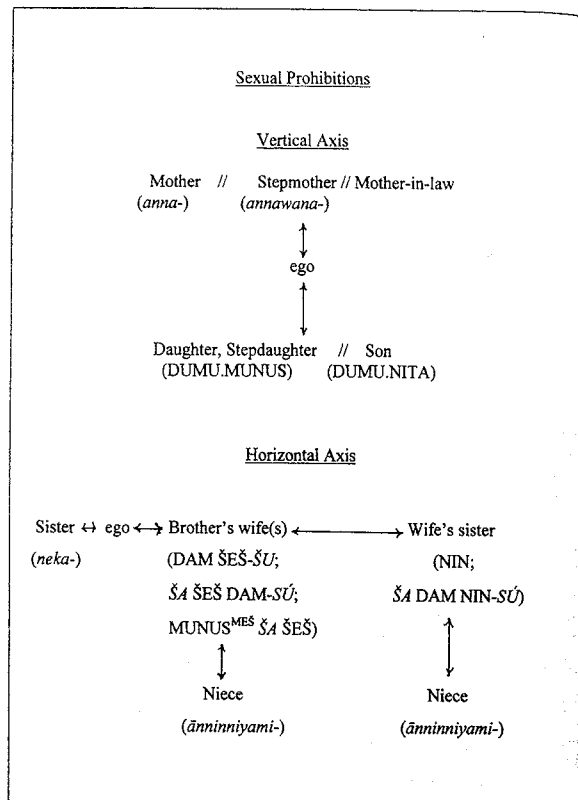


Fig. 3

former wife (§ 33) agrees with the levirate marriage law of the Hittite code (§ 193). However, the treaty goes further by expanding such prohibitions: it forbids sexual relations with the niece (^{MUNUS}ānninniyamiš).⁴¹⁰ And it specifies the prohibition of brother-sister relations, which is absent from the law code, but present in the Zalpa Tale.

On the vertical level all sexual acts are forbidden. On the horizontal axis, acts which are not considered *hurkel* specify the social status of the women involved. So long as they are not part of the family (prostitutes or servant maids or free women) they are permitted to men. Even if the women involved share some degree of kinship, they are still permitted, provided their status is inferior. The women who are part of the family are 'taboo' and are protected from violation by right of law, as long as their husbands are living.⁴¹¹

As Hoffner 1973 explains, there appears to have been a legal and religious development of the punishment for *hurkel*. Although as a rule, the offender was probably executed, local magistrates in peripheral centers had the power to banish the offender from his city, depending on local custom, as we read in the 'Instructions for the *Bēl Madgalti*'.⁴¹² Banishment was a solution, but so were rituals. In case of bestiality, the offender was purified from his sin, and in his stead, animal and bird substitutes were sent out of town.⁴¹³ Rituals referring to incest are very fragmentary. However, at least one of them makes it clear that brother-sister relations (along with father-daughter or son-mother relations) were definitely considered *hurkel*, and the culprit was either banished or allowed to perform an ablation ritual.⁴¹⁴

Such options as rituals or banishment from one's own hometown were not valid for Ḫuqqana. Should a transgression be made, he will pay with his head, as Mariya did. What are the circumstances which demand capital punishment for some, while allowing for others the option of banishment or absolution? The 'Instructions for the *Bēl Madgalti*' dictate that each town follow its own custom. The Hittite Law Code defines *hurkel* according to the social status of the women participants; it permits acts which otherwise would have been *hurkel*, so long as the women are of inferior social status. Slaves who committed *hurkel* (presumably, either brother-sister or parent-offspring incest) would have been separated and settled in different

⁴¹⁰ Watkins 1995b:358.

⁴¹¹ Haase 1995:37-38.

⁴¹² von Schuler, *Dienstanw.*: 47, ll.9-16; Goetze, *ANET*: 211.

⁴¹³ Hoffner 1973:87.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 88-90.

locations, while substitution rituals were held (§196). On the basis of this categorization presented in the Hittite Law Code it becomes clear that sexual relations between free persons of a equal status, as Ḫuqqana was, were positioned on a different plane and presumably no option was given to them but the death penalty.

What were the consequences of the act of *hurkel*? The act defiled not only the offender, but also his surroundings, so as to require purification and ablution rituals.⁴¹⁵ Indeed, this act could disrupt the entire land, as Šuppiluliuma tells Ḫuqqana. Most seriously, *hurkel* was likely to contaminate the Hittite king should the offender approach him, as stated explicitly in laws §§ 187, 188, and 199. In a ritual which aims to ensure that the Hittite king's purity be maintained, we read as follows:

As the chamberlains make the linen plain and remove the lint (?) from it so that it becomes white, so let the person of the king become pure from the abomination of evil men, from *hurkel*, from impurity, and from the evil quality....⁴¹⁶

We now come to understand why Ḫuqqana was given all these instructions. The prohibitions ordered on Ḫuqqana were not meant solely to deprive him of additional wives or concubines; otherwise no detailed instructions would have been necessary and a general warning like the one issued to Šattiwaza would have sufficed. These instructions were meant to ensure that Ḫuqqana would not be defiled in any way, by committing an act which is *hurkel*, and would thus remain 'pure' and fit to wed a Hittite princess, enter the Hittite royal house, and sojourn in the king's presence. From an ideological point of view, the institution of kingship is kept sacred. Its sacredness is harnessed to a political end that aims to create a difference between the king and his subjects—in this case, between Ḫuqqana and the men of Ḫayaša about to reenter a vassalage position. In order to achieve these undeniably political goals, Šuppiluliuma invokes various social sanctions, crystallized in a single expression, *natta āra*. This expression translates the concept of *hurkel* and its implications into the workable and definable frameworks demanded in a document of an international nature. It therefore defines relations within the community, as in the Zalpa tale, and

⁴¹⁵ In the 'Instructions for the *Bēl Madgalti*' the inhabitants of the town purified themselves (von Schuler, *Dienstanw.*: 47, l. 14); rituals were held upon the banishment of the slaves (§ 196; see also § 199) and other offenders (Hoffner 1973:88-90).

⁴¹⁶ CHD/L-N: 327a = KBo 13.109 iii 9-11. For other occasions in which *hurkel* is listed beside other evil qualities, see Hoffner 1973:84. See also the 'Instructions for Palace Personnel to Insure the King's Purity', Goetze, *ANET*: 207.

expresses for Ḫuqqana the collective notion of what is allowed and what is abhorred in the land of Ḫatti, as he is about to approach the sanctity of the Hittite royal household.

4. Sexual Prohibitions in the Bible and in Other Ancient Near Eastern Sources in Light of the Zalpa Tale and the Ḫuqqana Treaty

By way of conclusion, this short excursus will examine some of the incest prohibitions in the Hebrew Bible in light of the discussion presented in this chapter. The final paragraph will consist of a review of incest practices in various ancient Near Eastern sources.

Leviticus 18 opens with a warning to the people of Israel. They are to avoid the customs of the peoples surrounding them, the Egyptians and the Canaanites, and to observe the laws given to them by God. The rest of the chapter lists sexual abominations (Hebrew *toš'ebā*) which include incest, homosexuality, and bestiality. At the end of the chapter the warning is repeated and a threatening curse is pronounced: should any of these precepts be broken, the land will be defiled and reject its dwellers. The sinners themselves shall be ostracized from the community. Leviticus 20 also follows this outline and supplies additional sexual abominations.

Different aspects of these prohibitions are comparable to Hittite law and custom. Notably the elaboration and comprehensiveness of the subject are unique to the Hittite and biblical legislators. Here, our interest lies in the semantic equivalence of Hittite *hurkel* and *natta āra* with Hebrew *toš'ebā*, which also occurs in a context concerned with sexual behaviours. Since both the Hittite and the biblical prohibitions tend to overlap, it can be said that *hurkel* and *toš'ebā* are semantically very close.⁴¹⁷ The notion of defilement as a result of committing a forbidden act is also common to both the Hittite materials and the Bible. Sexual *toš'ebā* is conjoined throughout Leviticus 18 with *tāmē* ('impure', 'defiled'), just as *hurkel* is associated with the concept of impurity and defilement (*papratar*). Committing the sexual *toš'ebā* defiles the land and its inhabitants. Whereas in the Hittite texts, the king's purity is the main concern, in Leviticus, the people of Israel are to ensure that God's

⁴¹⁷ Hoffner 1969:41 and Laws: 224. A detailed comparison can be found in Pickett 1985:131-150.

purity is retained, as well as their own.⁴¹⁸ The abstract concept of the convent between God and his people is verbalized in this chapter through a single umbrella term *toš'ēba* (or the idiomatic expression *toš'ēbat YHWH*), which encompasses a wide range of sexual transgressions. Any transgression would lead to defilement and the breaking of the convent. The *natta āra* expression in the treaty likewise defines for Ḥuqqana the scope of various sexual situations which are socially and religiously unacceptable. Transgressing these prohibitions would result in Ḥuqqana's death, and the termination of the treaty agreement between the Hittite king and his vassal.

Specific sexual prohibitions that are comparable to the ones found in the Ḥuqqana treaty are found in a number of instances. Leviticus 20:17 prohibits the union of siblings, taking care to indicate that even half-sibling unions are prohibited, regardless of whether the siblings share a mother or father. Leviticus 18:11 prohibits the union of half siblings on the father's side, by which it is implied that the union of uterine siblings is likewise prohibited.⁴¹⁹ Apart from the prohibitions in Leviticus, brother-sister incest (along with other sexual abominations) is condemned in Ezekiel 22:11.⁴²⁰ Sororal polygamy is explicitly forbidden (Lev. 18:18), and having sexual intercourse with the brother's wife, as in the Ḥuqqana treaty, is not allowed (Lev. 18:16).

In relation to the brother-sister incest prohibition present in both the Zalpa Tale and the Ḥuqqana treaty, a general overview of endogamous marriage patterns in the ancient Near East indicates that the custom of brother-sister marriages prevailed in some dynastic circles, notably in Elam and later in Achaemenid Iran.⁴²¹ In Elam, the son produced by a union of the king and his sister was the heir, although as a rule the scion of a father-daughter marriage enjoyed a higher legitimacy.⁴²² The royal family marriages of brother-sister in the Achaemenid court, which are well attested, helped to limit the rights of succession to close members of the royal family.⁴²³ The most notable occurrence of brother-sister marriages in

⁴¹⁸ Lev. 20:26.

⁴¹⁹ See Westbrook 1992:549-550 with lit.

⁴²⁰ It is apparent that some discrepancy exists between these laws and some of the biblical narrative, notably Abraham's marriage to his half-sister, Sarai (Gen. 20:12); for modern explanations, see Kunin 1995:245 and Pickett 1985:10-50, with lit.

⁴²¹ For a general bibliography of incest in the ancient world and modern sociobiological studies, see Scheidel 1996.

⁴²² van Soldt 1987; Vallet 1995.

⁴²³ Briant 1995; Sidler 1971.

dynastic as well as in common circles is found in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Out of the fifteen marriages of the Ptolemies (from the second to the tenth), ten were full brother-sister marriages, many more than those attested for the Egyptian dynasties in Pharaonic times. This marriage custom was also widespread amongst the Greek population, villagers and elite alike, but the reasons for this phenomenon remain unclear.⁴²⁴ In Pharaonic Egypt, however, brother-sister marriages among the common people seem to be rare, and among the royal circles it is encountered in the New Kingdom right after the Hyksos period, when the legitimacy of the Egyptian kingship was at its lowest ebb.⁴²⁵ In Mesopotamia proper, the only recorded brother-sister royal marriage occurs in the Ur III period, between Ibši-Sin and Šu-Sin's daughter, his sister, possibly in response to theological notions about deification.⁴²⁶ To conclude this short excursus, it can be said that the wide geographical and ethnic dispersal of the practice in limited social circles may indicate its nature. Possibly, brother-sister marriages were practiced in response to specific socio-political conditions that presented a potential threat to an institution or community.

In the Mesopotamian legal sphere, there is no law which explicitly forbids brother-sister incest. The Laws of Hammurabi (§§ 154-158) deal with incest only on the vertical axis (parent-offspring). Other law codes do not deal with incest at all.⁴²⁷ Other textual references to brother-sister incest are few, being limited to medical or omen texts.⁴²⁸ Incestuous relations could be inferred from diseased genitalia⁴²⁹ or oedipal nightmares.⁴³⁰ The Akkadian and Sumerian terms for abomination, *ikibbu* and *NIĜ.GIG*, which were found to be equated with *natta āra* in the trilingual dictionary, forbid various sexual actions, but incest of any kind does not seem to be mentioned. The prohibitions using these terms focus on transgressions committed in apparently sacred environments, as they occur in Sumerian proverb

⁴²⁴ Lloyd in Shaw 2000:408-410; Montserrat 1996:89-91; Shaw 1992 (see, however, the responses to Shaw 1992 by Scheidel 1995 and 1996:6-51).

⁴²⁵ Allam 1977:568-570; Bryan in Shaw 2000: 228-236; Černý 1954.

⁴²⁶ Steinkeller 1981:80-81.

⁴²⁷ The Middle Assyrian Laws do not deal with incest, but rather with the position prior to consummation of a bride whose husband has fled or died (§§ 30, 43), or with the position of a wife whose husband has died (§§ 33, 46). See Yaron 1970:553-554; Petschow 1976:146.

⁴²⁸ Petschow 1976:149-150 with lit.

⁴²⁹ van der Toorn 1985:79.

⁴³⁰ Oppenheim, *Dreams*: 227.

collections or Akkadian omen and hemerological texts. These consist of almost context-less short prohibitive sentences which may, for example, forbid sexual promiscuity, while the following clause forbids the eating of leeks or the crossing of a river.⁴³¹ The seemingly eclectic nature of these prohibitions demonstrates their provisional formulation: they play a relatively small part in a series of wider injunctions included in these textual genres. Their employment is not as comprehensive or formulated within a defined context as that of the Hittite *hurkel* or *natta āra* and the biblical *to'ēphā*. Unlike the Akkadian and Sumerian prohibitions which are conditional (in omens and hemerologies), the Hittite *hurkel* in the laws and the *natta āra* expression in the treaty try to formulate general impersonal and timeless rules that serve as guidelines of behaviour for the individual and the community alike.

V. International Affairs

In this chapter, we will examine the *natta āra* expression in treaties where it forms regulations and rules concerning the extradition of fugitives. We will see also how the *natta āra* expression was used in the international diplomatic correspondence of the Hittites to define the treatment of fugitives and other outsiders in Hatti itself. The final sections of this chapter will discuss how the expression forbade bloodshed and hostilities amongst Hatti and its allies.

1. Introduction : The Extradition of Fugitives

Nearly all of the treaties drawn up by the Hittites with their vassals over a period of more than 150 years feature a section which deals with the extradition of fugitives of various types and classes. The problem of extradition is also encountered in parity treaties and in many diplomatic letters of the international correspondence.

As opposed to stationary goods, slaves were commodities that at times had a will of their own and were liable to escape their masters. Therefore, all ancient Near Eastern law codes deal with the issue of fugitive slaves, legislating various rules of extradition, compensation, and reward. The intent of such legislation was to ensure that at least within the state's territorial boundaries, citizens would return lost property to its lawful owners. International legislation of the period—that is, treaties—broadened these categories: all inhabitants of a specific land were considered its property. Therefore, measures were taken to ensure that fugitives (^{LU}MUNNABTU), whether free citizens or slaves, or captive civilians (NAM.RA), would, like stray cattle, be returned to the country from which they came. Contrary to the policies of modern states, fugitives were usually welcomed by the hosting countries, chiefly because of their contribution to the economy. Whole populations were speedily harnessed to the economic needs of the country, dispersed and resettled accordingly.⁴³² Individuals who can be described as political refugees were adopted wholeheartedly by the hosting

⁴³¹ See Halio 1985:26, 31.

⁴³² Archi and Klengel 1980; Alp 1950; Liverani 1990:106.

states because of their political value.⁴³³ In the prevailing political conditions of the 2nd millennium in Syria and Anatolia, political entities drew up mutual agreements in formal documents such as treaties or provisional letters. It is evident on the basis of the care and attention, as well as the space, devoted to the topic in these documents, that the extradition of fugitives occupied a central position and was of much concern to the parties involved.⁴³⁴

The earliest Hittite treaties to have survived were drawn with the neighbouring country of Kizzuwatna and include international regulations concerning the extradition of fugitives. Two of these early treaties (the Treaty of Telepinu and Išputaššu and the Treaty of the Hittite king Tašurwaili and the Kizzuwatnaen Eḫeya) contain clauses concerning fugitives, although their precise content is in question due to the poor state of the treaties' preservation: it seems that political rebels who have escaped must be returned to Ḫatti; the same would have applied to the land of Kizzuwatna.⁴³⁵ In a Hittite treaty with Paddatiššu of Kizzuwatna, similar clauses appear, in addition to new specifications concerning transhumant populations.⁴³⁶ Tudḫalia's treaty with Šunaššura deals extensively with fugitives, inserting a paragraph which is similar in detail to the one found in the Alalakh treaty (AT 3): should someone hide a fugitive, he is liable to pay compensation for his offence.⁴³⁷ Although the clauses describing the extradition of fugitives in the Šunaššura treaty seem reciprocal, they do indeed favour the Hittite side in some respects, when one notices that Šunaššura's responsibilities for extraditing fugitives are elaborated and expanded. This is only one example of the unilateral conditions in this supposed parity treaty that clearly favours the Hittite crown.⁴³⁸

With the advent of Šuppiluliuma and the foundation of the Hittite empire new treaties were formulated, which were aimed to ensure the loyalty and obedience of the newly incorporated vassal states of northern Syria. All of these treaties contain a section pertaining to fugitives which upsets the former balance of reciprocity, exercised in the earlier 'parity' treaties. From now on, fugitives that have escaped from the vassal's land into Hatti shall

⁴³³ Korošec 1931:65.

⁴³⁴ Generally, see Korošec 1931:64-65; Liverani 1964 and 1990:106-112; Ebeling 1957-1971:88-90. For Hittite extradition terminology, see del Monte 1983.

⁴³⁵ del Monte 1981:212-213; Otten 1971:65-67.

⁴³⁶ Beal 1986:431; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 11-13; Klengel, *Geschichte*: 98.

⁴³⁷ See pp. 128-129.

⁴³⁸ See Liverani 1973; Beal 1986:432, n.41; del Monte 1981:216-219; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 25-26, §§ 5-10.

not be returned to the vassal, but rather kept in Hatti. Contrariwise, fugitives and civilian captives fleeing from Hatti to the vassal's land shall be handed over to the Hittite king. Should the vassal ruler not return the fugitive to Hatti under the pretext of ignorance, he will be considered to have violated the pact.⁴³⁹ Even if a slave or a noble man of the vassal country living in Ḫatti should flee to his homeland, he is to be handed back. Should the vassal king wish to detain such runaways, he is to receive special permission from the Hittite king.⁴⁴⁰ These sections, together with other restricting clauses, constitute the very nature of the Hittite vassal treaties.⁴⁴¹ It is in this context that the *natta āra* expression appears.

2. The Treaty of Šuppiluliuma with Šattiwaza of Mittanni

This treaty concluded with Šuppiluliuma's protégé, Šattiwaza, the son of the former king of Mittanni, marks the formal end of the Mittannian empire. The treaty, written both in Akkadian and in Hittite (of which only segments have survived), opens with a long historical prologue. Provisions for ensuring succession and mutual alliance follow this prologue. Then arrives the section concerning fugitives (preserved only in the Akkadian version), which looks similar in content and form to sections from other vassal treaties. A closer look discloses some differences:

24. The Treaty of Šuppiluliuma with Šattiwaza of Mittanni:⁴⁴²

Transliteration: KBo 1.1 rev. 9-13.⁴⁴³

9 šum-ma LÜ¹⁰ mu-un-na-bi-tū iš-tu KUR URU¹¹ Ḫa-at-ti i[n-na-bi-it-ma a-na KUR URU¹² Mi-it-ta-an-ni il-la-ak LÜ¹³ MES KUR URU¹⁴ Mi-it-ta-an-ni i-ša-ba-tū-šu-ma]

⁴³⁹ See the Treaty with Aziru of Amurru, Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 39, § 8; del Monte, *Mursili-Niqmepa*: 136-137.

⁴⁴⁰ See the Treaty with Aziru of Amurru (Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 39, § 10; del Monte, *Mursili-Niqmepa*: 136-137) and the treaty with Tette of Nuḫašši (Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 57, § 9; del Monte, *Mursili-Niqmepa*: 150-151).

⁴⁴¹ For a comparison of the North-Syrian treaties, see Kestemont 1974b:90-91. An exception to this policy is the favourable decree (Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 178; RS 17.238 = PRU 4:107-108) granted to Ugarit, which entitled the city to retrieve its fugitives under specific circumstances. See Singer 1999:682.

⁴⁴² Text: KBo 1.1 (for other dupls., see Weidner, *PD*: v, and Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 172). Language and Script: Akkadian. CTH: 51. Bibliography: Weidner, *PD*: 2-36; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 41-48 and 1993; for the Hittite version, see Laroche 1969.

⁴⁴³ Following Weidner, *PD*: 22.

- 10 *ú-tá-ar-ru šum-ma*^{LU} *mu-un-na-bi-it-tù ša* KUR^{URU} *Mi[-it-ta-an-ni in-na-bi-it-ma a-na* KUR^{URU} *Ha-at-ti il-la-ak]*
 11 LUGAL KUR^{URU} *Ha-at-ti ul i-ša-bat-sú ul ú-tá-ar-šu*⁴⁴⁴ *ul pār-šu ša*^{DU} *UTU^{URU} A-ri[-in-na]*
 12 *È-tu ša*⁴⁴⁵ *Šat-ti-ú-a-a* DUMU.LUGAL *i-na* KUR^{URU} *Ha-at-ti i-ip-pu-uš*^{LU} *mu-un-na-ab-ta* [
 13 *a-na* URU^{LM} *Šat-ti-ú-a-a* DUMU.LUGAL *ú-še-iš-šu-a-ab-šu a-na* KUR^{URU} *Ha-at-ti-ma* [
]

Translation:⁴⁴⁶

'If a fugitive flees from Ḫatti [and goes to the land of Mittanni, the Mittannians shall seize and] return [him]. If a fugitive of the land of Mittanni [flees and goes to Ḫatti], the king of Ḫatti will not seize him (and) will not return him. It is not permitted. What the Sun-goddess of Ari[nna...?].⁴⁴⁷ The household that Prince Šattiwaza will establish in Ḫatti, the fugitive (acc.) [] Prince Šattiwaza will settle him in the city, to the land of Ḫatti [he will belong?].'

In comparison to other Hittite vassal treaties, the extradition clause in this treaty is short and limited. It does not offer any specifications, nor does it deal with whole populations or civilian captives, but rather concentrates on the individual refugee: coming to Ḫatti, he will not be captured and deported. Moreover, Šattiwaza is instructed to take care of the fugitive, and to be responsible for his wellbeing. The intention of this provision, it seems, was to remind Šattiwaza, himself a political refugee in Ḫatti, that any other future fugitives from Mittanni might be harboured in Ḫatti and promptly manipulated to serve the Hittite cause, should he dare stray from the right path. Keeping in mind this similarity between the potential fugitive and

⁴⁴⁴ The Akkadian verb *turu* is the equivalent of the Hittite *appa pai-*, the verb which is regularly used in extradition sections. See del Monte 1983:45-46; CHD/P: 51-52.

⁴⁴⁵ This sign can also be read as MAT or KUR.

⁴⁴⁶ See Beckman, *DipTexts*: 45.

⁴⁴⁷ Since the Akkadian expression *ul paršu* stands as a nominal clause in all attested cases, as does *natta āra*, the following *ša* (rev. 11) is taken as the beginning of the new sentence (with Beckman, *DipTexts*: 45). See p. 32. If, however, one should opt to take *ša* as part of the sentence, it could be understood as 'It is not permitted according to the Sun-goddess of Ari[nna...?]. This would lend to the prohibition an authoritative divine sanction; see also Text 7.

Šattiwaza, it is worthwhile to examine the Mittannian prince's former activities, before proceeding to analyze the use of the *natta āra* expression in this provision.

From the historical prologues of the present treaty (CTH 51) and its analogous yet differing version (CTH 52), the fate of Šattiwaza, the son of the last independent Mittannian king, Tušratta, is revealed to the reader. Through a series of complicated political moves following Tušratta's liquidation in a palace coup, Šattiwaza became Šuppiluliuma's protégé in Ḫatti. Fleeing from Mittanni, the prince arrived with his meager escort in Ḫattuša, only to be supplied with riches and hosted in the palace by Šuppiluliuma. This adoption process culminated with the marriage of Šattiwaza to the king's daughter.⁴⁴⁸ The political end of this 'rags to riches' story was to cement Šattiwaza's commitment to his saviour, the Hittite king. Additional details about various rulers and their families who were brought over from their homelands to Ḫatti in the course of Šuppiluliuma's conquests are incorporated within the historical narrative, accentuating the Hittite state's role as the ultimate moderator of the area. As this prevailing situation is emphasized, Šattiwaza is to understand that his political status has changed from that of an equal king to that of a vassal. His country, which he will be given to rule, is to turn from empire to vassal state. This reversal of Mittanni's status is orchestrated through the narrative of the historical prologue and through the various provisions and instructions. This is where we return to discuss the use of the provision *ul paršu* (the Akkadian for the *natta āra* expression).

Unlike the previous conditions, in which both equal countries were obliged to extradite fugitives, the *ul paršu* / *natta āra* expression is used to formulate a new rule that grants Ḫatti the right to keep the fugitive on its own territory. Šuppiluliuma is using this expression, loaded with religious and social connotations (as demonstrated in the previous two chapters), in order to bestow upon this new provision an aura of 'religiosity' or 'morality'. But, as a matter of fact, the *ul paršu* / *natta āra* expression in this instruction was used to regulate the movement of people rather than to define social customs or religious norms. What might have been a Hittite social custom of hospitality is turned into law by means of the expression, thus sanctioning between the two states the new unbalanced relations, to

⁴⁴⁸ Beckman 1993:55-56.

which Šattiwaza or Mittanni's former rulers were unaccustomed.⁴⁴⁹ In this treaty, as in the following ones, we find the *natta āra* expression used operatively as a legislative tool, redefining international legal procedures.

Proceeding chronologically, the expression is found yet again to define international conduct in treaties that Šuppiluliuma's successors signed with the Western Anatolian countries.

3. The West Anatolian Treaties

a. Introduction

The expansion of the Hittite empire was not limited to North Syria and Mittanni. Westwards from Hatti lay Arzawa, a geographical area comprising many small states, which were to fall prey to Hittite expansion. Šuppiluliuma conducted some battles in the area and intervened in its intricate web of inner politics; he died before he could exercise his most assertive political tool, and, therefore, probably no treaties were drawn with the Arzawean rulers in his days.⁴⁵⁰ Muršili II continued in the steps of his father and broke down the region into controllable vassal states. As soon as he had subjugated the area, written agreements were drawn up with his new vassal states.⁴⁵¹ Targašnalli of Hapalla, Manapa-Tarḫunta of the land of the Šeḫa river, and Mašḫiulwa (and later his successor, Kupanta-Kurunta) of Mira-Kuwaliya entered into binding agreements with the Hittite king as well as with one another.⁴⁵² And a generation later, a treaty was drawn between Muršili's son, Muwatalli, and Alakšandu of Wiluša. These vassal rulers each received an almost identical treaty, which includes provisions of mutual conduct.⁴⁵³ The treaties that have survived are those drawn with:

1. Targašnalli (Text 25).
2. Kupanta-Kurunta (Text 26).
3. Alakšandu (Text 27).
4. Manapa-Tarḫunta (does not contain the *natta āra* expression).

⁴⁴⁹ See Kestemont 1982:270 and Zaccagnini 1990:72.

⁴⁵⁰ Heinhold-Kramer, *THeth* 8: 56-83; Klengel, *Geschichte*: 149-152.

⁴⁵¹ Bryce 1974 and 1986:99; Heinhold-Kramer, *THeth* 8:103-120.

⁴⁵² Heinhold-Kramer, *THeth* 8:124-125.

⁴⁵³ First noted by Friedrich, *SV* 1:61, n.6 and Korošec 1931:10. For comparison between these treaties, Heinhold-Kramer, *THeth* 8:130-135; Kestemont 1974a:414.

b. The Targašnalli Treaty

The Targašnalli treaty survives in one exemplar. The historical prologue and the end of the treaty are lost, and thus not much is known about the land of Hapalla and its newly installed ruler, Targašnalli. The section dealing with the extradition of fugitives is rather intact and hence it provides the basis for restoring the lacunae of the rest of the treaties.

25. The Treaty between Muršili II and Targašnalli of Hapalla:⁴⁵⁴

Transliteration: KBo 5.4 obv. 35-40.⁴⁵⁵

- 35 [ŠA] ^LU MU-NAB-TI-ma ŠA-PAL NI-IŠ DINGIR ^LUM QA-TAM-MA ki-it-ta-
ru ma-a-an-kán ^LU MU-NAB-TUM IŠ-TU KUR ^{URU}H[Ha-at-ti]
36 [^LU pit-ti]i-ya-an-ti-li ú-iz-zi na-an ša-ra-a da-a na-an-mu pa-ra-a pa-a-i
ma-a-an-kán IŠ-TU KUR ^{URU}H[a-pa-l-la]
37 [ku-iš-ki] ŠA LÚ ^{GI}ŠTUKUL GID.DA na-aš-[ma] LÚ EL-LU I-NA
KUR ^{URU}H[Ha-at-ti] ku-iš-ki ^LU pit-ti-ya-an-ti-li ú-iz-zi
38 [na-an-ti]a EGIR-pa Ú-UL pé-eh-ki IŠ-[TU KUR ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-ti
^LU MU-NAB-TUM EGIR-pa pi-ya-an-na Ú-UL a-a-ra
39 [ma-a-na]-aš ^LU APIN.LÁ-ma na-aš-ma-aš ^LU [UŠ.BAR ^LU NAGAR
^LU AŠGAB ku-i-ša-aš im-ma ku-iš EN QA-TI nu-za-kán KIN⁷ Ú-UL
r⁷-[da-i]
40 [na-aš] hu-u-wa-a-i na-aš I-NA KUR ^{URU}H[Ha-at-ti] ú-iz-zi na-an ša-ra-a
da-aḫ-ḫi na-an-ta EGIR-pa pé-eh-[hi]

Translation: ⁴⁵⁶

'[The matter] of fugitives shall likewise be put under oath: if a fugitive comes in flight from the lan[d of Hatti], arrest him and turn him over to me.⁴⁵⁷ And if from the land of Hapalla someone] of the men of the 'long weapon' or someone as a free man comes to the land of Hatti in flight, I shall

⁴⁵⁴ Text: KBo 5.4. CTH: 67. Bibliography: Friedrich, *SV* 1:49-94; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 69-73.

⁴⁵⁵ Following Friedrich, *SV* 1:58.

⁴⁵⁶ Based on Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 71.

⁴⁵⁷ The use of the verb *para pai-* 'to hand over, extradite' regularly denotes the vassal's responsibility to extradite the fugitives to Hatti. The verb *appa pai-* (EGIR-pa/EGIR-pai-) 'to give back, return' expresses the direction of the fugitive away from Hatti, a motion that the Hittites usually forbade. See del Monte 1983; CHD/P: 51-52, 53-54.

- 10 *ú-tá-ar-ru šum-ma*^{LU} *mu-un-na-bi-it-tù ša KUR URU Mi[-it-ta-an-ni in-na-bi-it-ma a-na KUR URU Ha-at-ti il-la-ak]*
 11 LUGAL KUR URU Ha-at-ti ul i-ša-bat-sú ul ú-tá-ar-šu⁴⁴⁴ ul pár-šú ša^{DU} UTU URU A-ri[-in-na]
 12 É-tu⁴⁴⁵ ša^{DU} Šat⁴⁴⁵ ti-ú-a-za DUMU.LUGAL i-na KUR URU Ha-at-ti i-ip-pu-uš^{LU} mu-un-na-ab-ta []
 13 a-na KUR URU^{LM} Šat-ti-ú-a-za DUMU.LUGAL ú-še-iš-ša-ab-šu a-na KUR URU Ha-at-ti-ma []

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'If a fugitive flees from Hatti [and goes to the land of Mittanni, the Mittannians shall seize and] return [him]. If a fugitive of the land of Mittanni [flees and goes to Hatti], the king of Hatti will not seize him (and) will not return him. It is not permitted. What the Sun-goddess of Ari[nnu...?].⁴⁴⁷ The household that Prince Šattiwaza will establish in Hatti, the fugitive (acc.) [] Prince Šattiwaza will settle him in the city, to the land of Hatti [he will belong?].'

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⁴⁴⁸ Beckman 1993:55-56.

not give [him] back to you. From the [land] of Hatti it is not allowed to give back a fugitive. But [if] he is a cultivator, or a [weaver], a carpenter, or a leatherworker — whatever sort of craftsman he is, and he does not [deliver] his assigned work',⁴⁵⁸ [and he] flees and comes to the land of Hatti, I shall arrest him and give him back to you.'

In this extradition section, the *natta āra* ensures, as in the Šattiwaza treaty, that the fugitive coming into Hatti will remain in Hittite hands. The difference between the two treaties lies in their detailing. The extradition section of the Targašnalli treaty distinguishes between six different categories of people. The 'free man' and a person from the men of the 'long weapon' (LÚ^{GIS}TUKUL GÍD.DA) are to be held in Hatti; the four other are to be handed back. What are the criteria for determining such a distinction amongst the potential fugitives? It would seem that social categories are those which determine the status of the fugitive: noblemen or freemen (LÚ EL-LU) and men of 'the long weapon' (LÚ^{GIS}TUKUL GÍD.DA) stay in Hatti, while menial workers of a lowly class are returned to their homeland.⁴⁵⁹ It is possible, as has been suggested, that the phenomenon encountered here is similar to the Greek *xenia*, the harbouring of peers,⁴⁶⁰ especially as Targašnalli and his fellow rulers of the Arzawa land are all termed 'free-men' (LÚ^{MES} EL-LU-TIM) by the Hittite king.⁴⁶¹ But it is nowhere said explicitly that the fugitives are on equal footing with anyone in Hatti, let alone that the ones mentioned in this section are equal with the rulers of Arzawa. Since peerage is a prerequisite to the custom of *xenia*, it is not certain that this is the sole criterion for determining who will stay and who will return.

An additional source offers some clarification as to the categories of people in the Targašnalli treaty. In a treaty drawn with the Kaška people, the fugitives are ordered into two categories: the LÚ EL-LU and the LÚ^{GIS}TUKUL GÍD.DA on the one hand, the slave (ARAD) on the other.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁸ Although the sign KIN is not entirely clear, from the parallel passage of Text 27, iii 65-66, it is almost certain that this was the intention here.

⁴⁵⁹ Giordadze 1974:301-302 and also Beal 1988:302-303, who provides evidence for the LÚ^{GIS}TUKUL GÍD.DA as personnel who held land and were apparently differentiated at times from farmers and artisans.

⁴⁶⁰ Liverani 1990:109-110.

⁴⁶¹ Friedrich, *SV* 1:60, II.2-3.

⁴⁶² Giordadze 1974:302-303. See Yamada 1995 for supporting evidence from Emar concerning this basic social division. A similar division of fugitives is found in the treaty signed with Aziru of Amurru (Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 39; del Monte, *Muršili-Niqmepa*:

Both social classes can remain in Hatti or in a befriended city of the Kaška;⁴⁶³ only commodities that they carry on their person but are not legally theirs are to be returned. Thus, the distinction in the Kaška treaty is based on the illegal possession of property, regardless of the social standing of the fugitive. In the present treaty, the distinction seems to be dependent on the social status of the fugitive, but further distinctions have been added. Should the fugitive belong to a group that potentially could have been under the duty of assigned work, he will be promptly arrested and returned to his home country, as the treaty explicitly states (II. 39-40).⁴⁶⁴ Presumably, at least according to the treaty, the free men and the men of the 'long weapon' are free from such obligations.⁴⁶⁵ Furthermore, in the next section, Muršili II makes it clear that Hatti will not become an asylum for criminals from Arzawa: 'If someone seeks to kill you, Targašnalli, or your son, but then escapes to Hatti, as he is your enemy, he is likewise [My Majesty's] enemy. I will arrest him and give him back to you.'⁴⁶⁶ Although it is questionable if in reality the Hittites adhered to such a policy, the assurance is given that political dissenters, as well as the craftsmen negligent of their duties back home, will be handed back.⁴⁶⁷

To conclude, as in the Šattiwaza treaty, the *natta āra* expression's function is to validate a new norm for the vassal state of Ḫapalla. But following the seemingly general provision, some qualifications are formulated, limiting the scope of the provision. These qualifications ensure that people of lower status who are under obligation will be returned and that political dissenters will not be given asylum in Hatti; such individuals cannot

138-139, II.35'-44'). In the 'Indictment of Madduwatta', in what looks like a citation from a written document, possibly an actual treaty, there appear to have been several qualifications of fugitives, but the passage is too fragmentary to yield any definitive meaning (Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 155; Goetze, *Madd*: 8-9, obv. 34-36).

⁴⁶³ von Schuler, *Kaškaer*: 120, § 24.

⁴⁶⁴ See Hoffner, *Laws*: 205.

⁴⁶⁵ See Hoffner 1983b:410, who describes the social class EL-LU = *arawa*- as exempt from menial obligations like *tahhan* and *luzzi*. See pp. 20-22.

⁴⁶⁶ Tr. Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 71, § 7; Friedrich, *SV* 1:58-59, II.41-43.

⁴⁶⁷ It is of interest to compare §§ 19-21 of the Hittite Law Code which are concerned with the abduction of free persons or slaves into or from Luwian, that is Arzawa. Since the penalties inflicted on the Luwian transgressors are greater than those inflicted on Hittites, we might be witnessing a reflection of a non-parity treaty between Hatti and the Luwian lands (Hoffner, *Laws*: 179-180). Notice, however, that an abducted Luwian slave in Hatti must be returned to his owner in Luwian (§ 21), just as the various workmen are to be returned in the Arzawa treaties.

shelter under the provision of the *natta āra* expression. The next treaty, drawn with Kupanta-Kurunta, includes the same provision. Its intact historical prologue provides a welcome background for understanding why so much attention, as we shall see, was given to the issue of fugitives in Hittite international affairs.

c. The Kupanta-Kurunta Treaty

The Kupanta-Kurunta treaty, unlike the Targašnalli treaty, boasts an intact historical prologue which constitutes practically all that is known of the politics of the lands of Mira and Kuwaliya. A detailed account reveals the story of the soldier of fortune, Mašgūluwa, Kupanta-Kurunta's adoptive father. This man, fleeing for his life from his brothers, was granted political asylum in Hatti by Šuppiluliuma, whose daughter he also wed. Later, after inciting the local population against Muršili II, he fled to the land of Maša, but there he was finally handed over by the inhabitants to the Hittite king. What happened to him at the end is not known, but his adopted nephew, Kupanta-Kurunta, was given a treaty and promised the lands of Mira and Kuwaliya.⁴⁶⁸ Section § 22 of this treaty includes the very same provisions found in the Targašnalli treaty.⁴⁶⁹

26. The Treaty between Muršili II and Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya.⁴⁷⁰

Transliteration: KUB 6.44 iv 34-45 (copies are F = KUB 19.54 obv. i 1-7 = 38-45 and B = KBo 4.7 iv 1'-4' = 44-45).⁴⁷¹

- 34 [ŠA^{LÜ} MU-NAB-TI-ma] 'ŠA^{LÜ}-PAL NI-IŠ DINGIR^{LIM} ki-iš-ša-an
35 [ki-it-ta-ru ma-a-an-kán^{LÜ} MU-NA] B-TÜ IŠ-TU KUR^{URU} Ha-at-ti

⁴⁶⁸ See Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 74-75; Bryce 1974 and 1986; del Monte 1974; Heinhold-Kramer 1989 and 1994.

⁴⁶⁹ The treaty of Muršili with Manapa-Tarhunta is the only one of the Arzawa treaties not to include the *natta āra* expression; the section concerning fugitives is styled quite differently, including a narrative account of Manapa-Tarhunta's surrender. In the treaty, Muršili's interest lies in fugitives who are civilian captives (NAM.RA^{MES}). See Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 83; Friedrich, *SV* 2:6-11.

⁴⁷⁰ Text: E = KUB 6.44; F = KUB 19.54; B = KBo 4.7 iv 1'-4' (sigla following Friedrich, *SV* 1:97-98; for additional copies of this text [excluding the discussed passages], see Laroche, *CTH* 68). *CTH*: 68. *Bibliography*: Friedrich, *SV* 1: 95-179; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 74-82.

⁴⁷¹ Following Friedrich, *SV* 1:138-140.

- 36 [pit-ti-ya-an-ti-ŋ] i ú-iz-zi na-an ša-ra-a
37 [da-a na-an-mu pa-ra-a pa-a-i ma-a-a] n-kán IŠ-TU KUR^{URU} Me-e-ra-a
38 [ku-iš-ki ŠA^{LÜ} TUKUL GÍD.D] A na-aš-ma LÜ EL-LU ku-iš-[ki]
39 [I-NA KUR^{URU} Ha-at-ti^{LÜ} pit-ti-ya-an-ti-li ú-iz-zi
40 [na-an-ta EGIR-pa Ú-UL pé-eh-hi IŠ-TU KUR^{URU} Ha-)] at-ti^{LÜ} M^U-NAB-TÜ]
41 [EGIR-pa pí-ya-an-na Ú-UL (a-a-ra ma-a-an^{LÜ} APIN.LÁ-ma na-aš-m)] a^{LÜ} UŠ.BAR
42 [I^{LÜ} NAGAR^{LÜ} AŠGAB ku-i-ša-aš (im-ma EN)] QA-TI⁴⁷²
43 [(nu-za-kán ma-a-an) I-NA KUR^{URU} Mi-ra-a KIN] 'Ú-UL ú-da-i⁴⁷³
44 [(na-aš hu-u-wa-i) n(a'-aš^{URU} Ha-at-tu⁴⁷⁴ š-i ú-iz-zi) i na-an ša-ra-a
45 [(da-aš-hi na-an-ta EGIR-pa)] pé-eh-hi

Translation.⁴⁷⁵

'[The matter of fugitives shall be placed un]der oath as follows: [If a fugitive from the land of Hatti comes to [your land in flight], [arrest] him [and hand him over to me]. If from the land of Mira [someone of the men of the long weapons or someone as a freeman comes [to the land of Hatti in flight, I will not give him back to you. From the land of Hatti, it is [not] allowed [to give back] a fugitive]. But if he is a cultivator, or a weaver, [a carpenter, a leatherworker —whatever sort of] craftsman he is— and if he does not deliver [his assigned work in the land of Mira], but he runs away and [come]s to Hattuša, I will arrest him and give him back to you.'

d. The Treaty between Muwattalli and Alakšanduš of Wiluša

Shortly after the rulers of Arzawa received their treaties from Muršili II, Alakšanduš of Wiluša was handed a treaty by Muršili's son Muwattalli. This ruler from Wiluša (identified with Ilios, i.e., Troy) probably owed his throne if not his life to Muwattalli, if what is written in the historical prologue of the treaty is to be believed.⁴⁷⁶ The extradition section of the

⁴⁷² F, 5: EN ŠU⁷⁷.

⁴⁷³ F, 6: ú-da-a-i.

⁴⁷⁴ Restored from B, 2.

⁴⁷⁵ See Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 80.

⁴⁷⁶ Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 87-88; Friedrich, *SV* 2:50-59. See Heinhold-Kramer, *Theth* 8:157-172. For the proposed identification of Wiluša with the Greek toponym, see Güterbock, *Selected*: 223-228; Watkins 1986:48-50.

treaty is quite damaged, but is most similar to, if somewhat shorter than, its corresponding section in the former treaties.

27. The Treaty between Muwattalli and Alakšanduš of Wiluša:⁴⁷⁷

Transliteration: KUB 21.1 iii 61-72 (dupl. KUB 21.5 iv 7-8).⁴⁷⁸

- 61 ŠA^{LU} MU-UN-NA-AB-TI-ma me-mi-aš ŠA-PAL NI-EŠ DINGIR^{LIM} kiš-an i-¹ [ya-mu-un]]
 62 ma-a-an-kán^{LU} MU-UN-NA-AB-TUM IŠ-TU KUR-KA KUR^{URU} KÜ.BABBAR-ti¹ [pit-ti-ya-an-ti-li]⁴⁷⁹
 63 ú-iz¹-zi na-an EGIR-pa Ú-UL [pi-ya-a]n-zi IŠ-TU KUR^{URU} Ha-at-ti
 64^{LU} MU-UN-NA-AB-TUM a-ap-pa [pi-ya-an] na Ú-UL a-a-ra
 65 [ma-a-an] EN QA-TI-ma ku-iš-k]i hu-u-i-ya-at-ta-r[i]⁴⁸⁰
 66 [ap]¹ e¹-el-za-kán KIN Ú-UL 'ú-da-a-i'
 67 [na-an ša-ra-a da-an-zi na-an-i] a-pa-ra-a pi-ya-an¹ zi¹
 68 [ma-a-an-kán^{LU} MU-UN-NA-AB-TUM ku-iš-k]i IŠ-TU^{LU} KUR ap¹ pa-an¹ za
 69 [na-aš IŠ-TU KUR^{URU} Ha-at-ti hu-u-wa-a-i] KUR KUR-KA-ma-aš-kán iš-tar-na ar-ḫa
 70 [pa-iz-z]i z[i-ga-an e-e]p-ti na-an-kán pa-ra-a
 71 [Ú-U]L ne-ya-ti n[a-an A-NA]^{LU} KUR EGIR-pa pé-eš-[ti]
 72 [nu] a-pád-da ŠA-PAL NI-E[Š DINGIR^{LIM} k]i-i-ta-ru

Translation:⁴⁸¹

'I established the matter of fugitives under oath. Now if a fugitive from your land to the land of [Hatti] comes [in flight, he will not be given back]. From the land of Ha[tti], it is not allowed to give back a fugitive. [But if some] craftsman flees [] and does not [deliver] his assigned work, [he will be arrested] and turned over to [you].'

'[If some fugitive] from the enemy is captured, [and he flees from Hatti], and he [goes] through your lands, and you capture him but do [not turn him over to me], (but) you return him back [to] the enemy, (this action) henceforth shall be placed under oath.'

⁴⁷⁷ Text: KUB 21.1 (dupl. KUB 21.5 iv. For additional copies [excluding the discussed passages], see Laroche, *CTH* 76). *CTH*: 76. Bibliography: Friedrich, *SV* 2:42-102; Otten 1957; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 87-93.

⁴⁷⁸ Following Friedrich, *SV* 2:74-76 and Otten 1957:29.

⁴⁷⁹ KUB 21.5 iv 8 ends: na-an-kán zi-ik, evidence of a different formulation of this clause. See Friedrich, *SV* 2:75, n.12 and 99.

⁴⁸⁰ From iii 65 down to iii 69 about 10 initial signs are missing in each line.

⁴⁸¹ See Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 91.

The distinctions made in the two former treaties between the classes of persons to be kept or returned are almost entirely abandoned. The men of the 'long weapon' or the free men are not mentioned. Of the four various professions, it seems that only the general designation remained, the 'craftsman' (EN QA-TI).⁴⁸² Nonetheless the section retains its essential details: people who are under some obligation in their homeland will be returned.

To conclude, the use of the *natta āra* expression in the treaties with Western Anatolia legalized the unilateral act of maintaining fugitives in Hatti. However, additional specifications ensured that although this was a unilateral step, the Hittite king still oversaw the administration of fair justice towards his vassals. Criminals and offenders who have escaped shall be handed back to meet retribution. Others will be kept in Hatti, in asylum. In the following sections we will examine the use of the expression in the Hittite international correspondence where again, benefiting the political objectives of Hatti, it is employed to control the movement of fugitives, renegades, and foreign professional experts.

4. The Milawata Letter

Problems with political fugitives and their extradition continued well into the 13th century. The Milawata Letter, one of the most famous and most studied Hittite documents contains the *natta āra* expression and is this section's concern. The letter is dated on paleographical grounds to the 13th century, and it is suggested by some authorities to have been written by the Hittite king Tudḫalia 'IV'.⁴⁸³ The addressee's name is missing from the letter, but from his appellation as 'son', it is clear that he is in an inferior position vis-à-vis the Hittite king. However, it seems that this person, whoever he might have been, was in a much stronger position than that of the other rulers of the area, perhaps even exercising some influence over the

⁴⁸² Since no professional designation precedes the EN QA-TI while in the previous treaties the specific craftsmen appeared before this term, we can assume them to be missing. However, there is some possibility that they were mentioned in the break of line 66, after the EN QA-TI.

⁴⁸³ For dating, see Hoffner 1982a:136, n.2; for Tudḫalia as author, see Singer 1983:215-217; Güterbock, *Selected*: 225. Bryce 1998:339-342 gives an overall description of the historical circumstances surrounding the composition of this letter.

city of Wiluša.⁴⁸⁴ The Hittite king requests of this ruler that the deposed king of Wiluša, Walmu, be sent over to him, to be reinstated in place of its present ruler, who does not recognize the Hittite king as his overlord. It can be inferred that the deposed king Walmu fled to the addressee's court and was detained there, instead of being sent over to Hattuša. At this point, it seems that the Hittite king responded to an extradition request of the addressee, although it is impossible to reconstruct the exact chain of events due to the passage's poor state of preservation.

28. The Milawata Letter.⁴⁸⁵

Transliteration: KUB 19.55 rev. 1'-5'.⁴⁸⁶

1' [EGIR]-an DUMU-YA-ma me-ma-ti⁴⁸⁷ DUTU^{SI}-wa UL [

2' [nu-wa] ku-it BAL-nu-un ma-a-an DUMU-YA INIM
"A-[ga-pu-ru-ši-ya]⁴⁸⁷

3' [ku]-it INIM^{LU} MU-NAB-TI-ma DUTU^{SI} ku-it-ki x[

4' ^{LU} MU-NAB-TUM-ma EGIR SUM-u-an-zi⁴⁸⁸ UL a-a-ra x[

5' nu⁴⁸⁹ GAM⁴⁸⁹ IM-ma ku-it-ki ti-ya-u-en^{LU} MU-NAB-TUM-wa [

Translation:⁴⁹⁰

1' You, my son, answered thus: 'My Majesty, not [

2' [now], because I rebelled.' If my son (about) the matter of A[gapurušiya

3' [be]cause of the matter of the fugitive, My Majesty, whatever [

4' It is not permitted to send back a fugitive [

5' Whatever we established under (the oath) of the Storm-god, (saying):
'A fugitive [

⁴⁸⁴ Singer 1983:216.

⁴⁸⁵ Text: KUB 19.55 (+ KUB 48.90). *Language and Script*: NH (CHD/L-N: 400a). *CTH*: 182. *Bibliography*: Sommer, *AU*: 198-243; Garstang and Gurney 1959:114-115; Hoffner 1982a.

⁴⁸⁶ Following Sommer, *AU*: 200. The beginning of the rev. is broken away. Sommer, *AU*: 204, 240 restored line 6 of the left edge thus: [] na-at UL im-ma a-a-ra ('Das ist ganz und [gar] nicht [recht]!'). This was adopted by Garstang and Gurney 1959:115. Restoring a-a-ra is possible, but not entirely sound for syntactical reasons. There is no attestation of an adverb (*imma* or others) coming between the negation particle UL (Hitt. *natta*) and a-a-ra. In most occurrences, *āra* is directly consequent to UL, except when enclitic particles are appended to UL / *natta*, as encountered in Texts 5a, 23, 33 and 35, or when independent pronouns are placed between *natta* and *āra*, as encountered in Texts 46 and 49c.

⁴⁸⁷ The name is restored on account of rev. 9 and 17.

⁴⁸⁸ For this infinitive form of *peya-* 'to send', see CHD/P: 42b, 261a.

⁴⁸⁹ The sign is not in the copy, but visible according to Sommer, *AU*: 221.

⁴⁹⁰ See Garstang and Gurney 1959:114-115.

From what can be understood, it seems that the Hittite king refuses to extradite someone (mentioning the dissenter Agapurušiya).⁴⁹¹ We see the Hittite king justifying his refusal by citing verbatim the *natta āra* expression which forbids the extradition of fugitives; the citation follows almost word for word the formulation found in the Arzawa vassal treaties.⁴⁹² In line 5, the king probably continued his discourse by quoting directly from the section of some previous treaty drawn between the two parties; it is clear that it was the section concerning the management of fugitives, but since the text is broken in mid-sentence, the full quotation is lost.⁴⁹³

If the dating of the Milawata letter is accepted, it is worthwhile to note the conservative nature of the expression. From the days of Šuppiluliuma up to the end of the Hittite empire, the formulation of the extradition clause went unchanged. It is not too much to say that the entire extradition section both in the treaties (and here, quoted in the Milawata letters) owed its authority and power of persuasion to the *natta āra* expression.

To supplement this chapter's section concerning the Hittites' direct dealings with their vassal kings, we include a fragmentary letter (Text 29) from an unidentified Hittite king to his vassal. The letter, KUB 57.11, was edited by Hagenbuchner in *Theth* 16:391-392; it is in a very poor state of preservation and therefore hardly permits any comments. Following Hagenbuchner's interpretation, it seems to be concerned with an unidentified Hittite king assigning to his vassal some fortifications built presumably by his father.⁴⁹⁴ Lines 10'-11' read as follows:

⁴⁹¹ See Singer 1983:214.

⁴⁹² The infinitive is derived from a different verb: SUM-uani (*peyauanzi*) from *peya-* ('to send'), rather than *piyanna* from *pai-* ('to give'); see note 488.

⁴⁹³ Notice the particle -wa (1.5), which marks direct speech in Hittite. Citing from the extradition section of a treaty (or of some other form of written agreement) in other contexts apparently occurs in the following example: an envoy of the Hittite king demands that Madduwatta extradite a fugitive who has found refuge in his house, saying: 'The matter of a fugitive [is placed] under [oath] for you [as follows]: "You [must always send] back to His Majesty whatever [fugitive] of the land of [Hattu] [fle]es to you"'. (Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 159; Goetze, *Madd*: 34-35, rev. 63-64).

⁴⁹⁴ Read rev. 4'-5' as follows (deleted mistakenly in Hagenbuchner, *Theth* 16:391):]-x-šu KASKAL-ab-bi-ir BAD^{BI.A}-ta ku-e ku-e /]-x BAD^{BI.A} ŠA A-BI DUTU^{SI} pē-eh-tu-un '...they went on campaign, whichever fortifications.../ I gave the fortifications of my father, His Majesty...'

10' ŠA x-x-x-x-aš INIM-aš DINGIR^{MEŠ/ULIM?} x

11' EGIR-pa wa-aš-nu-ma-an-zi UL a-ra

end of text (?)

'...the command...of...the god(s)...it is not permitted to turn away.'⁴⁹⁵

All that can be said presently is that the vassal is probably warned not to rebel; further details escape us. However, this occurrence provides us with the documentation that the expression was employed in different contexts in the vassal correspondence, and not only in those dealing with fugitives.

5. The Letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II of Babylon : Retaining Physicians in Hatti

The 'borrowing' of craftsmen and professional experts between the courts of the great kings for an indefinite term of service is a well attested phenomenon in the Late Bronze Age.⁴⁹⁶ The evidence for the Hittites' involvement in this exchange is found in the international correspondence: it seems that their interest lay mostly in procuring physicians and professional incantation priests, whom they received from Egypt and Babylonia.⁴⁹⁷

KBo 1.10 is a lengthy letter of Ḫattušili III to the Kassite king that is concerned, among other things, with the death of a Mesopotamian physician at the Hittite court. The Kassite king probably reproached Ḫattušili for the death of the physician, claiming that it occurred as a result of his detention at the Hittite court. Ḫattušili's letter seems to be a defensive attempt to correct this impression.⁴⁹⁸ At first Ḫattušili describes at length the physician's success at Ḫattuša, lest one should think that he was disposed of because of his medical incompetence. Then, Ḫattušili mentions his devoted care of the ailing physician. After noting that the man eventually died, Ḫattušili

⁴⁹⁵ For *appa wahnu-* ('to turn away', 'revolt'), see Friedrich, *SV* 1:130, § 18, 60 and *SV* 2:66, ii 83-84. The spelling of the Akkadian negation particle (*UL* but not *Ú-UL*) and the short form *a-ra* may point to a late composition, from the time of Ḫattušili III onwards.

⁴⁹⁶ Zaccagnini 1983.

⁴⁹⁷ Edel 1976.

⁴⁹⁸ Edel 1976:116.

explicitly states that he did not detain him at the Hittite court. Such conduct was never his practice.

30. Retaining Physicians in Hatti:⁴⁹⁹

Transliteration: a. KBo 1.10 rev. 42-48.

- 42 [um-ma]^{LÜ} [x un-du i-na ŠEŠ-ia Mu-a-at-ta-al-li
a-ši-pa ú^{LÜ} a-sa-a il-qu-ú-ni
43 [ú^{LÜ}] [x-x ik-lu-šu-nu-ti a-na-ku ad-da-ab-ba-aš-šu
um-ma-a am-mi-ni ta-ka-la-šu-nu-ti
44 [a-ši-pu / -pa ú^{LÜ} a-sú-u / sa-a]⁵⁰⁰ [a-na ka-le-e ú-ul pár-šu ú i-na-an-
na-a a-na-ku^{LÜ} a-sa-a ak-ta-la-ma-ku
45 [aš-šum m]aš-ru-ti ša il-qu-ú-ni mi-in-du-ma^{LÜ} a-ši-pu
mi-i-it
46 [a-sú-ú b]a-li-ít MUNUS ša i-ḫu-zu ŠA.NUMUN-ia ši-i
ú É ba-na-a ša-bi-ít
47 [šú-ú um-ma]-a a-na KUR-ti-ia at-tal-la-ak li-it-bi-ma
li-it-ta-lak
48 [a-sa-a Ra-ba-a-ša-^DAMAR.UTU ak-ta-la-
ma-ku

Translation:⁵⁰¹

'Furthermore [], when in (the reign of) my brother Muwatalli they took an incantation priest and a physician and [in Hatti] they detained them, I myself spoke to him (to Muwatalli) as follows: "Why do you detain them? It is not permitted to detain [the incantation priest or the physician]." So now, would I have detained the physician? [About the fo]rmer (experts) whom they took, perhaps the incantation priest died, [...but the physician is alive. The woman whom he married is from my family. In addition, he is the owner of a fine house. [If he will say as follo]ws: "I will go away to my land", then let him set out and walk away. [Now my brother] would I have detained Rabā-ša-Marduk, the physician?"

⁴⁹⁹ Text: KBo 1.10 + KUB 3.72 (see also *Verbesserungen zu KBo 1* in KUB 6, p.49b-50a). CTH: 172. Bibliography: Edel 1958 and 1976; Hagenbuchner, *Theth* 16:281-300; Beckman 1983b:106-107 and *DiplTexts*: 138-143; Westbrook 1988:52.

⁵⁰⁰ It is not clear what case endings were used here. In Hittite compositions, the Akkadian nominative case of ^{LÜ}MUNNABTUM might indicate that the logical subject of the clause is in the nominative. See discussion in Chapter II, 1d.

⁵⁰¹ See Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 143.

Ḫattušili, in order to deny the charges of the Kassite king, furnishes in his letter the entire personal history of the physician, and uses as well the expression, seemingly employed here as a timeless and impersonal injunction. But the expression which allowed Hatti to retain its fugitives is now inverted: it serves in the interest of bilateral and reciprocal relations, instead of unilateral ones. The phrasing of the injunction, as if plucked straight out of a vassal treaty, has its direction changed ('it is not permitted to give back' is changed to 'it is not permitted to detain'), only to serve the immediate purposes of Ḫattušili.⁵⁰² The effect of this expression, chosen either consciously or associatively by Ḫattušili or his scribe, was to assign a degree of legality to the injunction, to show that Ḫattušili is acting *paršu*, as the norm dictates among peers in international circles. Whereas in the unilateral relations, Hatti is entitled to form its own rules, in the world of brotherly relations between the great powers of the time, Hatti was forbidden to retain any professional experts, or any other personnel for that matter. In Ḫattušili's parity treaty with the Egyptians, no distinctions are made between noblemen, dignitaries, individuals, or groups: each side is under the obligation to return fugitives of every sort back to their country of origin.⁵⁰³ Since that treaty seems to follow the norm in international circles, in which both parties are equally obliged to return fugitives, the *natta āra* expression is not found in it: there was no desire to insert a rule which would tip the balance in favour of the Hittite side. In Ḫattušili's letter, it was used precisely to convey this message, although regularly it expressed the contrary.

The use of the expression in relation to fugitives forbids their extradition, as we saw in the previous section; but it is also used in the context of their actual treatment in Hatti, as the following texts will demonstrate.

⁵⁰² See also Liverani 1990:109, n.11.

⁵⁰³ Beckman, *DipTexts*: 98-100, §§ 12-19; Edel 1997:8-11, A. obv.43-72. The exceedingly long section dealing with fugitives was likely formulated in response to a specific political situation: Urḫi-Teššub's exile in Egypt. See Wouters 1989 and Houwink ten Cate 1974.

6. The Letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II of Babylon: The Murder of Merchants

The problem of fugitives beset Hatti continuously. That sometimes fugitives truly endangered the stability of the western lands of Anatolia is demonstrated by the extraordinary trouble to which the Hittite kings went in order to apprehend them. What fate these political dissenters or enemies of the state met once they had been brought to Hattuša is not clear. Mašhulwa, once he is handed back to Hatti, disappears in the dark; the fate of the Hittite king's huntsman who was demanded from Madduwatta is equally obscure.⁵⁰⁴ What would have happened to Urḫi-Teššub had he been handed back from his Egyptian exile to the hands of Ḫattušili is a matter for speculation. But the next two texts provide us with a clue as to the fate of political fugitives in Hatti.

In the very same letter which Ḫattušili III sent to Kadašman-Enlil (Text 30a) the *natta āra* / *ul paršu* expression appears yet again in paragraph ten, which is concerned with the killing of Babylonian merchants.

30. The Murder of the Babylonian Merchants.⁵⁰⁵

Transliteration: b. KBo 1.10 rev. 14-25.

- 14 [a-]ka-an-na ta-aš-pu-ra um-ma-a^{LÜ} DAM.GAR^{MES} ia
i-na KUR A-mur-ri KUR U-ga-ri-it
15 [i-du]-uk-ku i-na KUR Ḫa-at-ti na-pu-ul-ta ú-ul i-du-uk-ku
16 [na-p]-u-ul-ta i-du-uk-ku šum-ma LUGAL i-ši-im-me a-na
a-ma-ti ša-a-ši
17 [d]a-i-ka-na ša na-pu-ul-ti i-ša-ab-ba-tu^{LÜ}-ma a-na
ŠEŠ^{MES} ša di-ki
18 [] mu-ul-le-e ša^{LÜ} di-ki ŠEŠ^{MES} šu i-le-eq-qu-ú^{LÜ} da-i-
ka-na
19 []^{x506} ša na-pu-ul-tu^{LÜ} i-na ŠA-šú di-ku ul-la-lu ú
šum-ma ŠEŠ^{MES} šu
20 [mu-ul-le-]e⁵⁰⁷ ú-ul i-maḫ-ḫa-ra da-i-ka-na ša na-pu-ul-ti

⁵⁰⁴ See the 'Indictment of Madduwatta', Beckman, *DipTexts*: 159, §§ 27-28; Goetze, *Madd*: 32-35, rev. 59-65.

⁵⁰⁵ For details, see p. 113.

⁵⁰⁶ CAD/E: 82a reads apparently the sign [UR]JU.

⁵⁰⁷ From the *Verbesserung*, 50a, the sign looks like the right edge of -e.

- 21 {]i²-pu-šu šum-ma LÚ ša hi-ia a-na LUGAL i-ḫa-tu
a-na KUR-ti ša-ni-ti-ma
22 {]x ü a-na da-a-ki ü-ur pár-šu ŠEŠ-ú-a ša-a-al-ma
liq-bu-ni-ik-ku
23 { a-]ka-an-na ša EN ḫe-ṭi-i la-a i-du-uk-ku⁵¹⁰ DAM.GÀR
i-du-uk-ku
24 { LÚ^{MES} Šu-bá-ri-i a-i-ka-a i-di šum-ma i-du-uk-ku-ma i-na-an-
na ŠEŠ^{MES} DAM.GÀR^{MES} di-ku-ti
25 [šu-up-ra]-am-ma di-in-sú-nu lu-mur

Translation:

1. rev. 14-15:

'[...You, my Brother] wrote to me [s]o, as follows: "They have been killing my messengers in the land of Amurru and the land of Ugarit [and the land of ?]." They do not kill a soul in the land of Ḫatti.'

2. a. rev. 16-21:

'[...Should] they kill a person, if the king hears (about that), that matter [will be investigated?]. They seize the murderer of the person and [they hand him] to the relatives of the murdered person. The relatives take the compensation [money] for the murdered person, and the murderer [they release?]. They purify [at the place] in the midst of which the person was murdered. [If] the relatives do not accept the [money for compensation], they may make/perfor[m] [?] the murderer of the person.'⁵⁰⁸

2. b. rev. 21-22:

'If a man who has committed a crime against the king [escapes] to another country (and is extradited back),⁵⁰⁹ then it is not permitted to execute (him). Ask, my brother, so that they may tell you.'

3. rev. 23-25:

'[...Following that, would those who do not kill a criminal, kill a merchant? [Concerning the] Subarians, how do I know if they are the murderers? Now, [send me] the relatives of the murdered merchants, so that I can investigate their lawsuit.'

⁵⁰⁸ Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 142: 'they may make the murderer [their slave]' which is more likely than Westbrook 1988:52: 'they may [kill (=damē epēšu??)] the murderer', since the whole point of this passage is to prove that in Ḫatti execution is not practiced.

⁵⁰⁹ The lacuna at the beginning of rev. 22 has been restored by Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 142, as —[escapes?]; Hagenbuchner, *THeth* 16:292 suggests '[ergriffen wird]' (similar to Oppenheim 1967:144).

The first episode in this paragraph (rev. 14-15) concerns the murder of Babylonian merchants in Ḫatti's jurisdiction.⁵¹⁰ The second episode (rev. 16-22) discusses legal procedures of execution in Ḫatti. It is true that the overall concern of the Hittite king was to resolve the legal issue of compensation for the murdered merchants, as Klengel 1980 pointed out, but how does one understand the second episode, whose relation to the first episode is not immediately apparent?⁵¹¹ What have the customs of execution in Ḫatti to do with the already dead merchants? Taking the entire apologetic tone of the passage into consideration,⁵¹² we can understand Ḫattušili to be taking pains to deny any responsibility for the murder of the merchants.⁵¹³ In the second episode, therefore, he supplies the Kassite king with two different examples to prove his point that killing is not allowed in Ḫatti.⁵¹⁴

The first example of Ḫattušili (2.a. ll. 16-21) details an interesting procedure of compensation and piacula of a murder in Ḫatti: an accused man is allowed to pay compensation to the slain's man family (if they agree) and the spot where the murder occurred is purified. He is not to be killed on account of the homicide laws of Ḫatti, which offer the possibility of compensation.⁵¹⁵ The second example of Ḫattušili (2.b. ll. 21-22) deals with a subject all too familiar by now: a fugitive on the run. An offender against the king, not to be confused with the culprit of the first example,⁵¹⁶ is apparently caught in another land but extradited back to Ḫatti, as the injunctions in the treaties demand. However, once returned he is not to be executed.⁵¹⁷ This injunction is given its legal sanction by the expression, here in its Akkadian translation.

⁵¹⁰ See also § 5 of the Hittite Law Code; see Haase 1978 and Klengel 1980 for legislature concerned with the murder of merchants in Ḫatti. Compare also EA 8 (Moran 1992:16-17).

⁵¹¹ See Westbrook 1988:52, n.57.

⁵¹² See Edel 1976:116 and also Hagenbuchner, *THeth* 16:298 who states that the entire passage is characteristic of Hittite compositional style: a general statement followed by some anecdotes and examples.

⁵¹³ See Korošec 1980:203-204.

⁵¹⁴ The interpretation of this passage follows basically Westbrook 1988:52.

⁵¹⁵ The procedure described in the letter may be compared with §§ 1-4 of the Hittite Law Code. See Korošec 1980; Haase 1987; Hoffner, *Laws*: 165.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. Korošec 1980:204.

⁵¹⁷ In spite of the lacuna, it is permissible to assume this sequence of events. That his execution was forbidden in Ḫatti is inferred from rev. 15, and the overall argument of the passage, which seeks to prove that in Ḫatti execution is not customary.

The Structure of Text 30

Episode 1: Accusation: The murder of the Babylonian merchants in Hatti.
General Statement: Refutation: In Hatti, they do not execute.
Episode 2: Evidence: Example a: Possibility of compensation for murder.
 Example b: Fugitives are not executed.
Comparison: Examples a and b ≠ Episode 1.
Conclusion: Hattušili is not to be blamed. The guilt is passed to a third party.

Fig. 4

Then Hattušili proceeds to equate syllogistically examples a and b with the accusation of the Kassite king: if even an offender (whether a murderer or the perpetrator of crime against the king) is not executed, then certainly merchants from Babylon would not be executed (rev. 23).⁵¹⁸ Should the Kassite king still be skeptical he may direct his questions to those familiar with Hittite customs, such as Hittite ambassadors or merchants residing in the Kassite court. Who is then the culprit for the murder of the merchants? The blame is passed on to the uncouth Subarians, to whom the rules of *paršu* apparently do not apply.

7. The Tawagalawa Letter : Piyamaradu's Fear

In some of the historical episodes surveyed in the previous sections, it was seen how the Hittite kings, sometimes by themselves, sometimes via envoys, tried to apprehend troublemakers and bring them into submission. One such person of notorious reputation was Piyamaradu. Responsible directly and indirectly for some attacks on the Hittite army, Piyamaradu managed to escape the wrath of the Hittite king by fleeing to the court of the king of Ahhiyawa, wisely taking with him his family. But even from there, he continued to direct razzias into Hittite lands. The Tawagalawa Letter sent by a Hittite king, almost definitely Hattušili III, to the king of Ahhiyawa demands cooperation in stopping the activities of Piyamaradu and, if necessary, even in extraditing him to the hands of the Hittites.⁵¹⁹

The letter originally consisted of three tablets, of which only the last has survived. The first paragraph (i 1-15) recounts how, at least from the

⁵¹⁸ The EN *hē-iti* of rev. 23 refers to the offender mentioned in rev. 21 (*LÚ ša hi-ta*) and the murderer of example 2a, and not just to an unspecified criminal in general.

⁵¹⁹ Historical reconstruction based mainly on Singer 1983. See also Bryce 1989 and 1998:244-245, 321-324; Güterbock, *Selected*: 199-204, 211-216.

Hittite king's point of view, Piyamaradu requested to be taken into vassalage by the Hittites.⁵²⁰ To fulfil his request, the crown prince was sent to meet him in order to convey him to Hatti.⁵²¹ Piyamaradu, fearing for his life, refused to go to Hatti. This whole episode is narrated again in i 66-ii 8 with additional details: the crown prince, under oath not to harm Piyamaradu, was instructed to lead him to Hatti by the hand, but Piyamaradu refused in spite of the measures taken to insure his safety in Hatti.

The Hittite king also promised to send as a temporary hostage a high-ranking official or even his brother to reside in the Ahhiyawaean court until Piyamaradu's return. Another measure promised to ensure Piyamaradu's safety was safe conduct (*zaršiya*), part of which included the formal participation in a meal consisting of bread and salt (?); this ritual meal guaranteed that the guest, stranger or enemy, was untouchable.⁵²² Adjoining this symbolic act, another guarantee was given to Piyamaradu, to incite him to come to Hatti:

31. The Tawagalawa Letter.⁵²³

Transliteration: a. KUB 14.3 ii 1-8.⁵²⁴

- 1 na-aš Ū-UL-ma⁵²⁵ za-ar-ši-ya []
- 2 a-pa-a-aš-mu ku-wa-at Ū-UL []-da-[]
- 3 ma-a-an-ma ki-i me-ma-i [INI]M⁵²⁶ ku-na-an-na-aš⁵²⁵ wa⁵²⁵ na-aš-[hu]-un
- 4 nu-uš-ši Ū-UL DUMU-YA⁵²⁶ TAR-TE-NU [] IGI-an⁵²⁶-da⁵²⁶
- 5 u-[i]-ya-nu-un
- 5 na-an ki-i wa-tar-na-aš-hu-un⁵²⁶ i-it-wa⁵²⁶-aš-ši []
- 6 li-in-ki nu-wa-ra-an ŠU-an⁵²⁶ e-e⁵²⁶ nu-wa-ra-an-mu
- 7 IGI-an-da ū-wa-ti ku-na-an-na-aš-ma-aš me-mi-ni⁵²⁶ ku⁵²⁶-e⁵²⁶-da⁵²⁶-ni
- 8 na-aš-ta x e-eš-bar I-NA KUR⁵²⁶ KÜ.BABBAR⁵²⁶ a-a-ra⁵²⁶ na⁵²⁶-at Ū-UL

⁵²⁰ Singer 1983:210-212.

⁵²¹ Termed here as the ⁵²⁰ *nuhkanti/tartenu*, this envoy might have been Hattušili's son Nerikkali (Bryce 1998:299-300) or Kurunta (Houwink ten Cate 1992:240; van den Hout *StBoT* 38:88-89). For the title ⁵²⁰ *nuhkanti/tartenu*, see Gurney 1983.

⁵²² See Hoffner, *EHG*: 77: salt = *šiyanta* (?). For the significance of the consumption of salt during communal meals in the ancient world, see Beinart 1962; Potts 1984; Karavites 1992:181-187.

⁵²³ Text: KUB 14.3. Language and Script: NH (CHD/L-N: 340a). CTH: 181. Bibliography: Sommer, *AU*: 2-194; Garstang and Gurney 1959:113-114.

⁵²⁴ Following Sommer, *AU*: 6.

⁵²⁵ This word, hardly visible in the copy, was restored by Sommer, *AU*: 93.

⁵²⁶ See Sommer, *AU*: 94.

Translation: a.

"Doesn't he have a safe conduct [in Hatti]]? That person, why doesn't he [come and] to me. If he says this: "I am afraid of the matter of the execution," didn't I send my son, the crown prince to him and instruct him this: "Go, be under oath to him, seize him by the hand and bring him in front of me." Of which matter of the execution was he afraid?⁵²⁷ Is bloodshed in the land of Hatti allowed? It is not!"⁵²⁸

This final guarantee of Piyamaradu's safety is formulated with the help of the *natta āra* expression, which prohibits the execution of an extradited person in Hatti. The use of the expression to sanction this law makes it emphatically clear that it is not to be transgressed by anyone.

The last two texts presented (Texts 30b and 31a) share two similar points. Both specifically define the geographical limits of their applicability, namely the land of Hatti. The act of execution—even of a guilty party—was, according to the Hittite king's claim, *natta āra* in Hatti:

...i-na KUR Ḫa-at-ti na-pu-ul-ta ū-ul i-du-uk-ku... ū a-na da-a-ki ū-ul
pār-su

...They do not kill a soul in the land of Hatti...It is not permitted to execute.'

e-eš-ḫar I-NA KUR^{URL} KÜ.BABBAR 'a-a-ra 'na'-at Ū-UL
'Is bloodshed in the land of Hatti allowed? It is not!' ⁵²⁹

As in the Ḫuqqana treaty, conduct in Hatti is opposed to the norms of neighbouring people; this is clearly the case in Text 30b where the Subarians are presented as the potential murderers of the merchants. In Text 31a, the Aḫḫiyawaean king's attention was directed toward the measures that had been taken to provide for his guest's safety, measures which were in strict keeping with the rules and customs of the land of Hatti, and which were possibly unknown in Aḫḫiyawa or Western Anatolia. Since Piyamaradu declines to come of his own free will, in spite of all assurances, because he is the Hittite king's enemy, he must eventually be extradited by the king of Aḫḫiyawa.

⁵²⁷ CHD/L-N: 340a.

⁵²⁸ Taken as a rhetorical question with Sommer, *AU*: 98. Cf. Sørensen 1981:102.

⁵²⁹ Texts 30b and 31a.

The second point of similarity between the two texts is the specific use of the *natta āra* expression (or *ul paršu*, in the Akkadian text). Although Text 30b provides a general injunction concerning execution in Hatti, it is only when referring to the prohibition of executing an extradited fugitive that the expression is used. Likewise, in connection with the extradition of Piyamaradu, who flees from Hittite grasp, the *natta āra* expression, phrased as a rhetorical question, prohibits execution in Hatti. In short, in both texts the formulation of laws concerning fugitives makes use of the expression.

To conclude, the usage of the *natta āra* expression in relation to fugitives and their extradition to Hatti is consistent. It seems that in these two letters, the general rule using the expression was not formulated ad hoc; rather, its formulation was imported from other contexts, specifically the extradition clauses of the treaties, to support various political claims and demands. The writers of these texts were quick to adapt the formulaic nature of the expression and to suit it to their immediate demands. When this process is viewed in the context of the cumulative evidence of the treaties, we may be witnessing the formulation of customary law or unwritten law into legally binding law sanctioned by the *natta āra* expression.

The occurrence of the expression in such texts has a direct consequence on our understanding of the treatment of wanted men in Hatti. Is it to be understood, on the basis of the texts examined, that the fate of those several wanted *personae* mentioned in historical contexts was not one of death? It is difficult to answer this question since the outcome of these historical cases is not known. It is known that Mašḫiuluwa was eventually handed over to Hatti, but it is not clear whether he was killed or not, although the threat of punishment loomed over his relatives.⁵³⁰ Muršili asked Mašḫiuluwa's adopted son, Kupanta-Kurunta, if he did not know that 'if in Hatti someone commits the offense of revolt, the son of whatever father who commits the revolt is an offender too? And that they take the house of the father away from him, and either give it to someone else or take it for the palace?' (fortunately for Kupanta-Kurunta, Muršili relieved him from this punishment).⁵³¹ In the Egyptian-Hittite treaty the fate of fugitives and their households was ensured. There it was made clear that fugitives returned to either party would not be harmed: '[They shall not punish them] (*the extradited persons*) for their offenses. They shall not tear [out their tongues or their eyes. And they shall not cut off] their ears or their feet. [And they

⁵³⁰ See p. 115.

⁵³¹ Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 75, § 7; Friedrich, *SV* 1:112-115.

shall not destroy their households], together with their wives and sons.⁵³² Contemporaneous evidence indicates that other countries practiced somewhat different norms. Šattiwaza laments over the noblemen who were 'extradited to the land of Assyria and the land of Alši. They were turned over and impaled in the city of Taite.⁵³³ Šattiwaza's political opponent, who fled to Babylon, may have lost his life once he fell into the hands of the Babylonian king.⁵³⁴ And in North Syria and Canaan, it seems that the Egyptians had no qualms about exterminating political dissenters on the spot.⁵³⁵

From the evidence assembled here, one can cautiously state that an unwritten custom or norm existed in Hatti which forbade the execution of any extradited person. Whether this norm developed out of political acumen or out of a sense of moral conduct is a question whose answer is hard to decide upon. It is likely that both factors contributed to its formation.⁵³⁶ As seen, the *natta āra* expression had a part in the formulation of this law, prohibiting and therefore excluding from civilized normative behaviour the execution of fugitives. The final two texts to be presented in this chapter utilize the expression to forbid bloodshed and hostilities amongst Hatti and its allies.

8. Šuppiluliuma's Letter to the New Pharaoh : Bloodshed between Egypt and Hatti

When Šuppiluliuma was camping in the country of Carchemish, in midst of battle preparations, he received an Egyptian messenger bearing a letter from the queen of Egypt, the widow of the young king, Tutankhamun.⁵³⁷ The widow requested that a Hittite prince be sent to wed her, since her husband had died. Not believing this incredulous story, Šuppiluliuma sent an envoy to Egypt to verify the contents of the letter. Following negotiations between Egyptian and Hittite envoys, the Hittite

⁵³² Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 99, §§ 18-19; Edel 1997:54-61 (conflated and restored from the Egyptian text).

⁵³³ Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 49, § 2; Weidner, *PD*: 38-39, obv. 12-13.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.; Weidner, *PD*: 38-41, obv. 14-17; Liverani 1990:112.

⁵³⁵ See EA 101, where Abdi-Aširta is killed; Altman 1979 (but Moran 1969 differently).

⁵³⁶ See also Liverani 1990:109.

⁵³⁷ Bryce 1990. For other possible identifications, van den Hout 1994:84-85.

prince Zannanza was eventually sent to Egypt to wed the Egyptian queen.⁵³⁸ This royal wedding never took place, since in all probability Zannanza never reached Egypt, but was murdered on his way there. The Hittite king was quick to blame the Egyptians for the murder of his son.⁵³⁹ The following letter (presumably a draft in Hittite later translated into Akkadian) is the Hittite king's response to the announcement that his son had died in Egypt and is addressed to the ruling king of Egypt, probably Ay.⁵⁴⁰

The first surviving lines of the letter describe Šuppiluliuma's military successes in Hayaša, the Kaška lands, Mittanni, and the vicinity of Carchemish. The Hittite prince is mentioned repeatedly in the next and very fragmentary passage, but it is only in obv. 24 that it is clear that Šuppiluliuma had received a letter from Egypt announcing the death of his son. Most likely, the new pharaoh had done all that he could to absolve himself of any responsibility for this deed, as the reverse side of the letter opens with a direct accusation of Egypt.⁵⁴¹

32. Šuppiluliuma's Letter to the New Pharaoh:⁵⁴²

Transliteration: KUB 19.20 rev. 3'-11' + KBo 12.23 1'-14' (numeration acc. to KBo 12.23).⁵⁴³

6' [GIM-an-ma-mu MUNUS.LUGAL KUR URU] M]i-iz-ri ha-at-re-eš-kin-
it tu-uk Ū-UL x[]
7' [-n]u e-eš-ta ma-a' a'-an-za-kán zi-ik-ma k[u-i⁷¹]
8' [am]-me-el-ma-an-mu [D]JUMURU.YA ar-ha up-pé-eš-[ta]
9' [ARA]D⁷.KA "Ha-a' ni-na-aš wa-aš-du-ti har-da x[]
10' [-a]i²-ta-at am-me-el-ma-kán DUMURU.YA ku-it []
11' []x e-eš-[ha]r pé-ra-an NU.GÁL ku-it-ki ku-it
12' [e-e]š-har i-ya-u-an-zi Ū-UL a-a-ra e-eš-ha-na-za-at-za
13' []'ki-nu³-na-kán ma-a-an am-me-el-la ku-wa-at-qa
14' []x-ya-tén nu-kán DUMU-YA ku-wa-at-qa ku-en-tén

⁵³⁸ Edel 1994, vol. 2:26 surveys the exchanged correspondence. The last letter sent from Egypt is probably KBo 28.51, to which the present text responds.

⁵³⁹ This episode has received numerous historical interpretations. The recent ones are those of van den Hout 1994; Murnane 1990; Bryce 1990 and 1998:193-199. See also Edel 1994, vol. 1:14-15, vol. 2:22-26.

⁵⁴⁰ Bryce 1990.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.:100, 104-105.

⁵⁴² Text: KUB 19.20 + KBo 12.23. CTH: 154. Bibliography: Hagenbuchner, *ThHt* 16:304-309; van den Hout 1994.

⁵⁴³ Following van den Hout 1994:66.

Translation:⁵⁴⁴

- 6' [When the queen of Egypt wrote frequently [to me], you did not []
 7' []? you were/she was. When you yourself
 be[cause? ...]
 8' [] you could have sent my son back to me.
 9' [the slave of yours, Ḫani, was considered to be at fault in our
 regard []
 10' [he x-jed, because my son []
 11' [between us] because formerly there wasn't any bloodshed []
 12' [for us] to shed [b]lood is not permitted. By bloodshed
 it...[]
 13' [] and now if perhaps my [son?]
 14' [you (pl.) x-jed and perhaps you killed (pl.) my son.

In this text, the *natta āra* expression forbids that partners shed blood (literally 'to do blood', *ešhar iya-*). Just as war would not have been right between the two partners, this bloody crime annuls peaceful relations between Egypt and Hatti. 'Doing blood' is directed only towards enemies such as the Kaška, against whom vengeful action is taken.⁵⁴⁵ When internecine strife broke through the ranks of the royal family in Hatti, 'doing blood' was of course considered evil, as stated by Ḫattušili I in his 'Testament'⁵⁴⁶ and by Telepinu in his 'Proclamation'.⁵⁴⁷

In this diplomatic letter *natta āra* is used to provide the concrete definition of abstract concepts such as 'war' or 'enmity' between parties. The prohibition was not articulated as a universal law; it is a general rule which partners in peace must keep.⁵⁴⁸ We can assume that the breach of peace which the Egyptians committed upset the regular and accepted conduct, the *paršu* of mutual relations, as dispute (*halluwatar*) and (former) brotherhood (*ŠEŠ-tar*) are discussed throughout the fragmentary lines (rev.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.: 69.

⁵⁴⁵ von Schuler, *Kaškaer*: 172, ll.19-24; Goetze, *ANET*: 355.

⁵⁴⁶ Sommer-Falkenstein, *HAB*: 4-5, ll.24-25, restored from the Akkadian (*dāmi ana epešim*). For the relationship between the Akkadian and Hittite idioms, see Kronasser 1959; Puhvel, *HED/E*: 306.

⁵⁴⁷ Hoffmann, *THeth* 11:16, § 7, and 18, § 11. See also p. 155ff.

⁵⁴⁸ Compare the episode in 2 Sam. 21:1-14, where Saul was considered a murderer for killing the Gibeonites, because he violated the pact between the two parties. See Westbrook 1988:51.

24-37).⁵⁴⁹ It seems that the gods, the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna will have had to pass judgement on this dispute on the battlefield (rev. 18: [*ḫannešsar* ^{URU} U EN-YA ^{URU} JUTU ^{URU} Arinna=*ya BÉLTİ ḫannanzi*).⁵⁵⁰

As stated by later sources, this incident was the *casus belli* for Šuppiluliuma's aggressive acts against Egypt.⁵⁵¹ Even a generation after these events, this episode was given emphasis at the Hittite court in the writing of Šuppiluliuma's son, Muṣili II. The political climate of the period is well described in the retrospective 'Deeds of Šuppiluliuma'. Relations between Hatti and Egypt (because of former agreements) were defined as friendly, but now they seem only to have deteriorated into hostility.⁵⁵² It is within this framework of international relations that the *natta āra* expression is to be fitted. Not 'doing blood' was the fundamental requirement between partners in times of peace.

9. The Tawagalawa Letter : Enmity between Peers

The document under examination here is the Tawagalawa Letter, discussed already through pages 118-122. The *natta āra* expression, which makes its appearance a second time in this document, serves the same aim as it did in the previous text. It forbids enmity among peers. The background for this injunction is again Piyamaradu's misdemeanor.

Since the correspondents of the letter, Ḫattušili III and the king of Aḫḫiyawa were peers, it is not difficult to imagine that both were obligated by a mutual extradition agreement. Such an agreement may have been formulated either in a document such as a letter, or even a treaty, that contained clauses such as those found in the Egyptian-Hittite parity treaty. In a conciliatory and pacific yet firm tone, the Hittite king tries to convince the

⁵⁴⁹ Compare the hostile letter sent by a Hittite king (Ḫattušili III or Urḫi-Tešub), who refuses to write about brotherhood to Adad-nerari I of Assyria, thus initiating hostilities between the two (Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 146-147; Hagenbuchner, *THeth* 16:260-264).

⁵⁵⁰ The passage is fragmentary so this is not definite. See van den Hout 1994:84; Mumane 1990:26.

⁵⁵¹ Bryce 1998:198; Klengel, *Geschichte*: 144-145.

⁵⁵² As in e.g., Güterbock, *DŠ*: 98, iv 38-39: ...*mu-wa-kan* KUR ^{URU} Ḫatti KUR ^{URU} Miṣriya / *ukluri namma ištarni-šummi ašši[antes]* 'Thus Ḫatti and Egypt will continuously be fri[en]dly with each other'. For evidence of an Egyptian-Hittite treaty prior to the days of Šuppiluliuma, see Mumane 1990:31-33; Sørensen 1985:79-88.

Ahhiyawaean to fulfil his obligation by extraditing the troublemaker Piyamaradu. The many details interspersed in the letter form an indictment of Piyamaradu's misconduct which is presented not to the criminal himself, but rather to his host, the addressee of the letter, the Great King of Ahhiyawa. He is given to understand that under no circumstances is he to harbour the enemy of his political partner. Obviously, the Hittite king could not resort to threatening measures, such as he would have taken had the partner been a vassal king; instead, he adopted persuasive rhetoric:

'So now my brother (the Ahhiyawaean king), write to him (Piyamaradu) at least that, if it is not so with him: "Start out, go to the land of Hatti, your lord has settled this matter with you. If not, come to the land of Ahhiyawa, and here, where I shall settle you [you must remain]. Start out with [your civilian captives], your w[ives], and your children, and settle down in [another] place."⁵⁵³

The Hittite king then continues to dictate to the king of Ahhiyawa what to write to Piyamaradu:

31. The Tawagalawa Letter: Enmity between Peers.⁵⁵⁴

Transliteration: b. KUB 14.3 iv 3-10.⁵⁵⁵

3 ...[nu-wa-za] A-NA LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti
4 'ku-wa-pi ku-ru'-ur nu-wa-za da-me-da-za KUR-e-za ku-ru-ur e-eš
5 am-me-ta-za-ma-wa-za-kán KUR-e-za ar-ḫa le-e ku-ru-ur
6 ma-a-an-wa-ši I-NA KUR Kar-ki-ya KUR Ma-a-ša ZI-za
7 nu-wa a-pi-ya i-it LUGAL KUR Ḫa-at-ti-wa-an-na-aš-kán ú-uk
8 ku-e-da-ni A-NA [IN]IM⁵⁵⁶ URU⁵⁵⁷ U⁵⁵⁸is-[u-š]a še-er ku-ru-ur
9 e-šu-u-en nu-w[a-mu a-pé-e-ed-d]a-ni⁵⁵⁶ INIM-ni la-ak-nu-ut
10 nu-wa ták-šú-ú⁵⁵⁷ la-u-en x x⁵⁵⁷ na-aš ku-ru-ur UL [a-a-]a

Translation:

"While you are hostile to the king of the land of Ḫatti, be hostile from another land! From out of my land, don't (be) hostile. If you have a desire (to be) in Karkiya or Maša, then go there! The king of the land of Ḫatti and I

⁵⁵³ Garstang and Gurney 1959:113 = KUB 14.3 iii 63-iv 3.

⁵⁵⁴ For details, see Text 31a.

⁵⁵⁵ Following Sommer, *AU*: 16.

⁵⁵⁶ See Sommer, *AU*: 16 and 170.

⁵⁵⁷ The copy is unclear, following Sommer's reading.

were at enmity because of that *matter* of the city of Wiluša, but he persuaded [me in th]at matter and so we became reconciled, [and] for us enmity is not permitted."⁵⁵⁸

Being enemies is *natta āra* for these partners. They have advanced from the state of war (iv 8-9 *kurur ešuen* 'we were at enmity') to that of peace (iv 10 *takšulauen* 'we became reconciled').⁵⁵⁸ Opposite these two partners stands Piyamaradu, who is an enemy (iv 4 *kurur*) to the king of Hatti. Since that is his status, he cannot conduct hostilities from a country whose ruler is at peace with the king of Hatti.⁵⁵⁹ The Ahhiyawaean king therefore should be aware that by failing to extradite Piyamaradu to the Hittites, he will be guilty of breaking the peace and thus of initiating the renewal of hostilities. Hattušili hoped that by this veiled threat the Ahhiyawaean king would have eventually agreed to hand over Piyamaradu, whose presence in Ahhiyawa jeopardized the peaceful relations of the two countries.

As in the letter of Šuppiluliuma to the Egyptian pharaoh, the *natta āra* expression institutes a norm of conduct that prohibits hostility amongst the partners. As noted on page 40, the *paršu* that the gods give the partners in the Egyptian-Hittite treaty ensures that both shall successfully maintain peaceful relations. And declaring peace means ending the war, as Hattušili explicitly announces in the treaty:

'I have now established good brotherhood (ŠEŠ-*ut-ta* SIG₃) and good peace (*sa-la-ma* SIG₃) between us forever...from the beginning of time and forever by means of a treaty, the god has not granted the making of war (^{LUGAL}KUR) amongst them (that is Hatti and Egypt).'⁵⁶⁰

Ramses then proceeds to give a similar statement.

In the Egyptian-Hittite treaty and the Tawagalawa Letter both composed in times of peace, similar terms define mutual relationships. The term ^{LUGAL}KUR (lit. enemy) of the treaty, that is 'hostility', 'war' finds its

⁵⁵⁸ For a discussion of the political significance of these two antonyms, see Neu 1979a:409-412, 425 and Zaccagnini 1990:63. Compare a typical example from the 'Apology of Hattušili III' (Otten, *StBoT* 24:26, iv 59): 'Those kings from the days of my father and grandfather who were enemies (*kurur ešir*), became my friends (*ammuk-ma takšulair*).'

⁵⁵⁹ Such a stipulation enjoining a third party not to commit aggressive actions from the partners' lands is commonly found in vassal treaties and epistolary exchange. See Zaccagnini 1990:46.

⁵⁶⁰ Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 97, § 3; Edel 1997:5-6, A obv. 7-11 (conflated). The same wording appears in the Egyptian version; see Kitchen's translation in Schulman 1978:113.

Hittite semantic equivalent *kurur* in the Tawagalawa Letter. Likewise, the Akkadian *paṣu*, which defines in the treaty the essence of brotherhood and peace while prohibiting hostility, meets its negative counterpart in the letter: the Hittite expression *natta āra* which forbids hostility between the peers.

In this chapter we have examined the role of the *natta āra* expression in sanctioning and formulating concepts of mutual conduct between Hatti and its neighbours, whether they be vassal kingdoms or equal states, and we have assessed its role in turning custom into law. In the next chapter, we will examine how the expression was used to regulate the internal affairs of the Hittite kingdom.

As a conclusion to this chapter, which dealt mainly with the issue of fugitives, a short overview of the extradition sections in other ancient Near Eastern sources is presented, to contrast the use of the Hittite expression with other injunctions.

10. Extradition Clauses in Ancient Near Eastern Sources and the *natta āra* Expression

In the surviving parity treaties of the Syrian kingdoms of the Bronze Age, specific clauses were written to ensure that fugitives would be extradited. Much attention is given to the arrest and extradition of fugitives in the treaty of Niqmepa of Mukiš and ARAD-ḪIM, king of Tunip. In whatever city they are found, fugitives are to be apprehended and extradited.⁵⁶¹ A contemporaneous treaty drawn between Idrimi and Piliya is more detailed, providing specifications as to the different types of fugitives: the parties are to hand back free runaways, prisoners of war, and slaves on the run.⁵⁶² Moreover, the owner himself is allowed to cross the borders and look for his missing property; should the fugitive be apprehended by a private person, he will be entitled to reward, similar to the rewards offered in the law codes of Mesopotamia.⁵⁶³

In the first millennium, the treaty of Bir-Ga'yah, king of KTK, stipulates that fugitives, officials, and other subjects who have escaped to

⁵⁶¹ Wiseman 1953:26-31 = AT 2; Mendelson 1955:69.

⁵⁶² Wiseman 1953:31-32 = AT 3; Liverani 1964:112-114; McCarthy 1963:61, n.29.

⁵⁶³ Mendelson 1955:69.

Alleppe must be returned by Matfel of Arpad.⁵⁶⁴ The specification of various personnel is reminiscent to a certain degree of the elaboration of the Hittite extradition clauses, although none of the particulars of paragraph arrangement or syntactical ordering suggests direct borrowing.⁵⁶⁵

The Neo-Assyrian treaties seem to have been less preoccupied with the issue of fugitives, although Neo-Assyrian history is dotted with episodes of political runaways. In a fragmentary treaty between Marduk-Zakir-šumi I, the Babylonian king, and Šamši-Adad V, the Assyrian king, the latter is put on a lower footing, as he is instructed to return all fugitives back to Babylonia.⁵⁶⁶ Unilateral concessions were demanded from Matfel by Aššur-nerari V: he was to hand fugitives back to Assyria.⁵⁶⁷

Runaway slaves and political refugees surface in both the narrative and the legislation of the Hebrew Bible. An Egyptian slave begs David not to hand him over to his Amalekite master, lest he be killed.⁵⁶⁸ David himself sought political asylum with Achish;⁵⁶⁹ Nabel complains of the many slaves fleeing their masters,⁵⁷⁰ while Shimei goes to search for his two fugitive slaves in Gath, Philistine territory;⁵⁷¹ Ahab, seeking the fugitive prophet Elijah, interrogates under oath the foreign kings and peoples who might be hiding him.⁵⁷² On the legislative side, Deut. 23:15-16 forbids the extradition of a fugitive slave to his master, a law that is unparalleled by other ancient Near Eastern law codes.⁵⁷³

From this brief survey, we can conclude provisionally that although the issue of fugitives is dealt with in a variety of sources, some of which may exhibit prohibitions comparable to those found in the Hittite sources, injunctions from extra-Hittite sources do not seem to contain an expression or prohibition comparable to the *natta āra* expression. This general and

⁵⁶⁴ Fitzmyer 1967: 96-97, SF III:4-7; see Greenfield 1991.

⁵⁶⁵ The rhetoric of this treaty, however, has been compared with that of the fugitive section in the treaty of Muṣṣili with Tuppi-Teššup (Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 62, §13; del Monte, *Muṣṣili-Niqmepa*: 170-171, II.12-22). See Dupont-Sommer cited in Fitzmyer 1967:124.

⁵⁶⁶ Parpola and Watanabe 1988:4; see also Brinkman 1982:308.

⁵⁶⁷ Parpola and Watanabe 1988:11; McCarthy 1963:70-71.

⁵⁶⁸ 1 Sam. 30:11-15; Mendelson 1949:63.

⁵⁶⁹ 1 Sam. 26.

⁵⁷⁰ 1 Sam. 25:10.

⁵⁷¹ 1 Kgs. 2:39-40.

⁵⁷² 1 Kgs. 18:9-11. The last two references may indicate that some extradition agreement was reached by Israel and its neighbouring states, as in AT 2, thus enabling the search for fugitives in a foreign territory. See Mendelson 1955:69.

⁵⁷³ Dandamayev 1992:65; Mendelson 1949:63-64.

seemingly all-inclusive normative and legislative expression was a Hittite 'invention'. This expression helped establish some of the regulations required for ruling an empire, specifically the burning question of the hour, the control over fugitives, whether individuals or whole groups.

VI. Administration and Justice in Hatti

In this chapter, we will survey the use of the *natta āra* expression in documents relating to internal affairs of the Hittite state. We will examine how the central authorities regulated the conduct of Hittite officials and the military, members of the Hittite court, and the royal family. The first three texts to be presented belong to the genre of Hittite Instruction Texts.

1. Hittite Instruction Texts : A Day in the Life of the Royal Bodyguards

In the Hittite kingdom, the palace issued instruction texts to various cultic, civilian, and military officials. These texts, comprising a unique genre of ancient Near Eastern literature, may have been formulated during the insecure political atmosphere of the Middle Hittite kingdom.⁵⁷⁴ The instructions directed to temple personnel contain a wide range of cultic prohibitions and regulations for the administration of temples and their property. Those intended for civic administrators regulate bureaucratic aspects of towns and provincial centers.⁵⁷⁵

The Hittite Instruction Text for the Royal Bodyguard reveals in its first and sole surviving tablet a day in the life of the Royal Bodyguards. The instructions are laid out like the choreography of a complicated ballet, detailing the lining up of the guards, the solemn procession of the king, and the procedures for the adjudication of cases brought before the king. On the whole, the character of the text is ceremonial as well as functional.⁵⁷⁶

The paragraphs containing the expression are at the end of a long description of the king's sitting in judgement. But since this chapter is

⁵⁷⁴ Pecchioli-Daddi 1975:97-99; for the origins of this literary genre and its similarity in format and content to Hittite treaties, see von Schuler, *Dienstamw.*: 4-7.

⁵⁷⁵ See McMahon 1997 and Goetze, *ANET*: 207-211, for selected English translations of Hittite Instruction Texts.

⁵⁷⁶ See discussions in Beal, *THeth* 20:212-218; Güterbock and van den Hout, *AS* 24:1-2; Jacob-Rost 1966:171-173; Melchert 1980:51-53.

concerned with the administration of justice in Hatti, it is worthwhile to commence with a brief description of the previous paragraphs.

The Hittite king proceeds with his full escort out of the city-gate complex (§§ 18-20) and in some building or courtyard proceeds to hear cases brought before him by his guards and officers (§ 30).⁵⁷⁷ What follows is a detailed description of how the guards escort the defendants to trial in front of the king, keeping them separate from the plaintiffs (§§ 30-36).⁵⁷⁸ The following paragraphs describe the trial of some foreign troops (among them the notorious Kaška) and the precautionary measures taken by the guards to ensure the king's safety.

33. The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard.⁵⁷⁹

Transliteration: §§ 37-39 (IBoT 1.36 iii 35-50).⁵⁸⁰

- 35 *ma-a-an a-ra-aḫ-zi-na-an-ma ku-in-ki* ÉRIN^{MES} *an na-aš-šu* ÉRIN^{MES}
URU *Qa-a-aš-ga ku-u-ru-ra-aš*
- 36 *na-aš-ma* ÉRIN^{MES} URU *Kum-ma-ḫa ku-i-na-an im-ma ku-in* ÉRIN^{MES}
LUGAL-*uš ḫal-za-a-i*
- 37 *nu* LÚ^{MES} *ME-ŠE-DU-TIM* EGIR-an-da *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš pa-a-an-zi*
ma-a-š an-ša-¹-ma-aš
- 38 ^{GIS}ŠUKUR^{HLA} *ma-te-pa-u-e-eš-zi na-aš-ta A-NA* LÚ^{MES} ŠUKUR^{HLA}
^{GIS}ŠU[KUR^{HLA}]
- 39 *ar-ḫa ta-an-zi na-at* EGIR-an-da *pa-a-an-zi na-at-za ḫu-u-la-li-¹-ya-u-¹*
wa-ar
- 40 *ḫal-¹-zi-¹-iš-ša-an-zi*
- 41 ^{GIS}GIDRU^{HLA} *u-wa-an-te-eš-ma-at* EGIR-an-da *Ú-UL pa-a-an-zi*
Ú-UL-aš-ma-aš a-¹-ra-¹
- 42 ^{LÚ}^{MES} *ME-ŠE-DU-TI-ma-kán ku-i-e-eš a-aš-ša-an-zi nu ma-a-an*
^{GIS}ŠUKUR *ku-iš*
- 43 *Ú-UL ḫar-zi nu-za* ^{GIS}GIDRU^{HLA} *ku-it ta-an-zi na-at-kán* ŠA ^{GIS}kal-mu-
ša-aš

⁵⁷⁷ For the possibility that the hearings occurred at the king's chariot-wheel, see Archi 2000.

⁵⁷⁸ Following Güterbock and van den Hout, AS 24:2. The plaintiffs may be the Royal Bodyguard (^{LÚ}MEŠEDU) or the Palace Attendant (DUMU.É.GAL) (§ 36). Compare Text 35.

⁵⁷⁹ Text: IBoT 1.36. Language and Script: MH/MS (CHD/L-N: 403a). CTH: 262. Bibliography: Güterbock and van den Hout, AS 24; Jacob-Rost 1966.

⁵⁸⁰ Following Güterbock and van den Hout AS 24:26-28.

- 44 DUMU.É.¹[GAL] *Ú-UL ḫa-an-da-[a-an-ta-r]i pa-ra-a da-ma-a-e-eš* 2
DUMU.É.GAL
- 45 *ti-en-zi nu-uš-ši-kán a-pé-e ḫa-a[n-da-a]n-zi* LÚ^{MES} *ME-ŠE-DI-ma ku-i-*
e-¹eš¹
- 46 ^{GIS}GIDRU^{HLA} *ḫar-kán-zi na-at-ša-ma-aš* [EGIR-an-¹ *i-ya-a]n-ta*
- 47 *ma-a-an* LÚ *ḫa-ZA-AN-NU-ma na-aš-ma* UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN^{MES}
[*ḫa-an-da-it-i]a-ri nu-uš-ma-aš-¹kán¹*
- 48 *a-pé-e ḫa-an-da-a-an-zi a-pé-e-da-aš a-a-r[a ma-a-an-kán]* ^{GIS}*ḫu-lu-*
ga-an-ni-ma
- 49 EGIR-an-da *pa-a-an-zi na-at* ^{GIS}GIDRU *u-wa-an-te-¹eš¹* EGIR-an-da
Ú-UL pa-[a-an-zi]
- 50 ^{GIS}ŠUKUR^{HLA} *za ta-an-zi*

Translation.⁵⁸¹

§ 37 (iii 35-40):

If the king summons some foreign troops, either the hostile troops of the Kaška, or the troops of Kummaha, or whatever troops at all, then all the guards follow them.⁵⁸² But if there are too few spears for them, they take the spears away from the spear-men and follow. It is called 'encircling'.

§ 38 (iii 41-46):

Bearing staffs, they will not follow. It is not right for them. Among the guards who remain, he who happens not to have a spear, because they bear staffs, will not be lined up with the palace attendant of the *lituus*. Two other palace attendants will step forward, and those will line up with him. The guards who bear the staffs will [walk behind] them.

§ 39 (iii 47-50):

If there is [in line] a *ḫazannu* or an overseer of army bailiffs, those will line up with them. It is right for them. [If] they follow the cart, they will not fo[llow] bearing staffs. They will take the spears.

In §§ 37-38, the impression is that around the hostile troops brought for the king's inspection, no guard is to remain armed with only a wooden staff—it is not allowed (iii 41 *natta-šmaš ara*). Those equipped with wooden staffs stay behind and do not 'encircle' the foreign forces. They are to form a second tier from the king. They are given permission (iii 48 *apedaš*

⁵⁸¹ Following Güterbock and van den Hout, AS 24:27-29.

⁵⁸² Possibly, the 'troops' (ÉRIN^{MES}) are to be taken as the general 'people'; see Güterbock and van den Hout, AS 24:55.

āra) to line up with the *ḥazannu* ('the Mayor') or an overseer of the army bailiffs. If they are to follow the king's cart upon his return to the palace, they must however, arm themselves with spears (§§ 39, 42a-49).

As in detailed rituals, where some acts are deemed as right and others inappropriate, in this carefully orchestrated instruction, a precise synchronism is demanded from the participants. At the axis of the entire procedure, between the king's descent and ascent to the palace, *natta āra* and *āra* are emphatically employed to define both negative and positive actions of the Royal Bodyguards in a potentially hostile environment. Any deviance from the proscribed order might endanger the very person of the king as the foreign troops are brought in.

The next Instruction Text is concerned with administrative procedures and addresses the conduct expected of the palace's representative.

2. Hittite Instruction Texts : Officials in Provincial Towns

This second Hittite Instruction Text, of which only two columns survive, possibly belonged originally to a set of wider instructions forwarded to the *bēl madgalti*, the governor of a Hittite province. The first preserved episode of this text contains the *natta āra* expression:

34. Hospitality in a Province Town:⁵⁸³

Transliteration: a. KUB 9.15 ii 1'-23' (one or two lines missing from top of column; col i lost).

1' [l]a ² -ri nu []
2' [-ri an-da-an pa-iz-[zi]
3' [me-mi-]ya-an iṣ-ta-ma-a[ṣ-du]
4' [E]GIR-an ar-ḥa e-ep-d[u]
5' [l]e-e pa-iz-zi	[
6' [] an-da ta-ma-aṣ-zi wa-ar-ṣa-ṣa ^r DU ²¹]
7' [] ta-ma-aṣ-zi na-an-kán wa-ar-ṣa-aṣ]
8' []x URU-ri EGIR-pa u-i-ya-zi na-aṣ-ma UN-aṣ]

⁵⁸³ Text: KUB 9.15 (KUB 39.52 iii joins KUB 9.15 iii 24-26 [Laroche 1964:320]; dupl. KBo 12.114. obv. = ii 13'-27', iii 1-8. The rev. does not seem to fit with what is extant of KUB 9.15). **Language and Script:** NH (CHD/L-N: 422a). **CTH:** 456. **Bibliography:** Kummel, *StBoT* 3:32-33 (only partial transliteration).

- 9' [l]ṣ-TU¹ È.GAL^{LM} KASKAL-an pâr-ḥi-iṣ-na-az u-i-ya-an-za
 10' [na]-aṣ-kán ŠA URU^{LM} pa-id-du nu ṣal-la-ya-az
 11' 'ku¹-iṣ pé-ra-an u-i-ya-an-za nu A-NA LÚ^{MES} URU^{LM}
 12' ma-li-ya-aṣ-ḥa-az me-ma-a-ú na-an-kán ma-li-ya-aṣ-ḥa-az
 13' KASKAL-ṣi ti-ya-an-du a-da-an-na-ma-aṣ-ṣi a-ku-wa-an-na
 14' SIG₅-in pi-ya-an-du ṣu-ul-le-e-eṣ-zi-ma-aṣ
 15' le-e ku-it-ki wa-al-aḥ-zi ḥur-da-i le-e ku-in-ki
 16' na-aṣ-kán ŠA URU^{LM} ṣe-eṣ-du ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma
 17' GE₆-an-za lu-uk-zi MUL UD.ZAL.LE-kán ú-iz-zi
 18' lu-uk-zi na-a-ú-i na-aṣ-kán URU-ri-az
 19' ar-ḥa ḥu-u-da-a-ak pa-id-du^DUTU-uṣ-an-kán
 20' ŠA URU^{LM} le-e ú-e-mi-ya-az-zi
 21' Ú-UL a-a-ra ma-a-na-aṣ ṣu-ul-li-iṣ-zi-ma
 22' na-an-za-an-ki-la-a-an-du LUGAL-uṣ-ma
 23' wa-aṣ-túl-li kat-ta-an ar-ḥa ar-ta-ru⁵⁸⁴

Translation:

- 1']... and [
 2']...he will go to the []...[
 3']...[May he] hear the [comm]and...[
 4']...[May he] seize up [ag]ain...[
 5']...He will [no]t go []
 6']...[the Storm]-god of the heavy rains will oppress (him)?...
 7']...will oppress, and him [the Storm-god²] of the heavy rains
 8']...[whether] he will send (him) to the city again, or (if) a man
 9' - 23': is sent [from] the palace on a journey in haste, may he come to the midst of the city and may the one who was sent from the 'Great (City)'⁵⁸⁵ speak to the people of the city with (their) approval. May they set him on the

⁵⁸⁴ The duplicate (Text 34a), KBo 12.114 (obv. 1'-8' = ii 13'-23') reads:

- 1' [KASKAL-ṣi ti-ya-an-du a-da-an-na-ma-aṣ-ṣi
 2' [a-ku-wa-an-na SIG₅-in pi-ya-an-du ṣu-ul-le]-e-zi-ma-aṣ le-e ku-it-ki
 3' [wa-al-aḥ-zi ḥur-da-i le-e ku-in-ki na-aṣ-kán ŠA URU^{LM} ṣe]-eṣ-du
 4' [ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma GE₆-an-za lu-uk-zi MUL UD.ZAL.LE-kán ú-iz-zi lu-uk-zi na-a-wis
 5' [na-aṣ-kán URU-ri-az ar-ḥa ḥu-u-da-a-ak pa-id-du^DUTU-uṣ-an-kán¹ (wr. -zi)
 6' [ŠA URU^{LM} le-e ú-e-mi-ṣi-zi Ú-UL a-a-ra
 7' [ma-a-na-aṣ ṣu-ul-li-iṣ-zi-ma] na-an-za-an-ki-la-an-zi
 8' [LUGAL-uṣ-ma wa-aṣ-túl-li kat-ta-an ar-ḥa ar-ta-ru

⁵⁸⁵ Probably the capital; see CHD/L-N: 129-130.

road with (their) approval, and may they provide him well with nourishment.⁵⁸⁶ And (if) he shall not pick any fights, nor strike (or) curse anyone, he may sleep in the city. But when the night grows brighter and the morning star rises, while it is not yet (completely) light, he will promptly leave the city.⁵⁸⁷ The Sun shall not find him in the city. It is not allowed. If however he will quarrel, then they should punish him. The king shall avoid interfering in this transgression.⁵⁸⁸

Since the beginning of the text is lost and the first lines of the second column are destroyed, we are plunged in the middle of things. The passage is apparently concerned with the treatment of some official (whose title is lost) or a 'man [from] the palace' on an errand. Supposedly the town's authorities⁵⁸⁹ are to supply his needs as he spends the night in the town in bad weather. But he should not take advantage of the town's inhabitants by power of his position. Just as it is getting light and when day breaks, as emphatically put in the almost poetic passage which follows, he is instructed to leave the town immediately. The reason he is forbidden to remain there for additional time, as the *natta āra* expression instructs, is to avoid misappropriating the town's reserves. By remaining there, he would take advantage of the town's inhabitants, demanding to be nourished and provided with a bed for additional days. Should he quarrel with the town's authorities, the king will not interfere on his behalf, in spite of his standing, but rather will allow the town to punish him directly for his transgressions. With this remark, this specific instruction ends and the rest of the text turns to the maintenance of cult statues, temples and other official buildings in the town.⁵⁹⁰

3. Hittite Instruction Texts : Appeals to the Just King

As the highest legal authority in the land, the Hittite king could be petitioned with cases of appeal or cases of great importance.⁵⁹¹ Indeed, when

⁵⁸⁶ Lit.: 'May they give him to drink and eat.'

⁵⁸⁷ See CHD/L-N: 75.

⁵⁸⁸ Lit.: 'Let the king stand out of the transgression.'

⁵⁸⁹ These are not specifically mentioned in the text, but the context demands that 'they' refers to the town's authorities, such as the town-elders (LÚ^{MEŠ} ŠU.GI), as seen from other Instructions Texts (von Schuler, *Dienstamw.* 45, ii 26-31). The next episode in the text (ii 24-iii 8, not edited here) mentions the responsibilities of the priests and priestesses in the maintenance of the temple and its cult images.

⁵⁹⁰ Partial translations are given in CHD/P: 277 and 280.

⁵⁹¹ Güterbock, *Selected*: 229-232.

some cases were found too weighty, the governor of the province, serving in the capacity of a local magistrate, was instructed to forward them to the king.⁵⁹²

The following two texts, which are somewhat parallel, describe legal procedures for appealing to the king. Due to the fragmentary nature of the two texts and the plentiful legal idioms, the interpretation offered here is tentative. It is to be noticed from the outset, that in this context, as will be discussed in detail, *āra* and *natta āra* are best translated as 'just' or 'legally approved' and 'unjust' or 'legally rejected'. The first text to be presented is CTH 258 and is the better preserved of the two. In the colophon it is termed an 'oath', therefore bearing witness that officials of the kingdom swore in the name of the Hittite king, here Tudḫalia, to keep the instructions.⁵⁹³

35. An Appeal to the Just King.⁵⁹⁴

Transliteration: KUB 13.7 i 1-24.

- 1 [ma-a-na-aš-ta an-tu]-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš LUGAL-un IŠ-TU DI-NI kar-ap-[zi]
- 2 [] x ŠA A.ŠA ḫa-an-ni-eš-šar
- 3 [] ...ŠA A.ŠA ḫu'-u-ma-an me-ma-i nu kat-te-ra-an še-er
- 4 [] LÚ MĀŠDA dam-mi-iš-ḫa-iz-zi
- 5 [] x-na'-[aš-š]i' ḫu'-u-wa-e-ni EGIR-an ú-e-mi-ya-u-e-ni
- 6 [] x-x [o o]-x-š-i-iš-ta šu-up-pa ar-ḫa da-an-zi
- 7 [] IŠ-TU^U LÚ MĀŠDA⁵⁹⁵ ar-ḫa šu-wa-an-zi
- 8 'na-aš-ta' nam-ma x-x-x Ú-UL šar-ra-at-ta-ri
- 9 ma-a-na-an-za ku-wa-pi-ma ap-pé-ez-zi-an LUGAL-uš EGIR-an
- 10 kap-pu-u-e-iz-zi
- 11 na-aš A-NA^U UTU^U a-a-ra e-eš-du ma-a-na'-aš ap-pé-ez-zi-an-na

⁵⁹² von Schuler 1959:438-439. See the 'Instructions for the *Bēl Madgaliti*', Goetze, *ANET*: 211, § 20; von Schuler, *Dienstamw.*: 47-48, iii 21-24.

⁵⁹³ Col iv 1-2: DUB 2^{KAM} mTu-du-ḫa-li-ya 'LUGAL GAL' / ŠA MA-MI-TI QA-TI. For attribution to Tudḫalia 'I', along with CTH 258, see Otten 1979 and Klengel, *Geschichte*: 106-107.

⁵⁹⁴ Text: KUB 13.7. Only col. i, which is edited here in its entirety, and col. iv, which consists only of the colophon have survived. *Language and Script*: MH/NS (CHD/L-N: 459b). CTH: 258. *Bibliography*: Giorgieri 1995:122-136 (unpublished); von Schuler 1959:458-459; see also Beal 1993:32; Josephson, *Part*: 126; Pecchioli Daddi, *Mesieri*: 136; Rizzi-Mellini 1979:549, n.38, for partial translations.

⁵⁹⁵ The signs LÚ and MĀŠ are rather clear in the copy. Of the elements consisting of the MĀŠDA sign, only the verticals of EN are visible. Altogether the space is just right for the sign, and the context seems to support this reading.

- 11 *na-aš-šu*⁵⁹⁶ *ME-ŠE-DI na-aš-ma DUMU É.GAL na-aš-ma*⁵⁹⁷ *LI-IM*⁵⁹⁸ *DUGUD*
 12 *na-aš-ta LUGAL-un kar-ap-zi na-an ar-ḥa pár-ḥa-an-zi*
 13 *DI-NAM IŠ-TU É-ŠU šar-ni-ik-zi*
-
- 14 *ma-a-na-at iš-ḥa-na-a-ša ut-tar an-tu-wa-ḥa-ḥa-aš na-aš-šu BE-EL*
DI-NI-ŠU
 15 *na-aš-ma-aš-ši kat-ta-wa-na-al-li-iš a-pa-a-ša-kán LUGAL-un kar-ap-zi*
 16 *na-an-kán A-NA LUGAL iš-ši-iš-ši an-da pa-a-i na-aš-ta a-pu-u-un*
 17 *an-tu-ḥa-ḥa-an ku-na-an-zi nu-za a-pa-a-š kat-ta-wa-tar ša-na-aḥ-zi*
 18 *nu a-pu-u-un UN-an A-NA LUGAL in-na-ra-a ku-na-an-na pa-a-i*
 19 *ap-pé-ez-zi-an-na ú-e-mi-az-zi nu ni-wa-al-la-an*
 20 *an-tu-ḥa-ḥa-an ku-na-an-na pa-iš na-a[n] x x x x [o o]-x*
 21 *uá-da-ni-i ḥa-an-da-an SAG LUGAL wa-[aš-túl] ?*]
 22 *na-aš ma-a-an BE-LU GAL na-aš-ma-aš ap-pé-e[zi-zi-aš a-pa-a-aš*]
 23 *an-tu-wa-ḥa-ḥa-aš na-aš a-ku-pát LUGAL-uš-za*]
 24 *na-at-ta-at-ši a-a-ra*]

End of Tablet

Translation:

§ 1 (i 1-13):

- 1 [If a m]an appeals to the king⁵⁹⁶
 2 [concerning] the case of a field
 3 [in which someone] lays claim over all [of his f]ield, and over the inferior (person)...
 4 [and as a consequence that one] oppresses a poor man
 5 [] and we will run to him and find (him) again.
 6 [] ? ? They take away the sacrificial (meat)
 7 [] *fro'm* the poor people⁵⁹⁷ they shove (it) away
 8 or, moreover, (it) is not divided []
 9 If sometime later, the king reconsiders him
 10 let him be considered 'legal' to His Majesty. But if, subsequently,
 11 either a royal bodyguard, or a palace attendant or the overseer of the thousand, or a dignitary
 12 appeals to the king, they will banish him away.
 13 He will pay compensation from his house.

⁵⁹⁶ With Beal 1993:32-33 taking *karp-* as 'to appeal (to someone)'.

§ 2 (i 14-24):

- 14 But if it is a matter of bloodshed, and either the (murdered) man's prosecutor⁵⁹⁷
 15 or his avenger, that is, such a man appeals to the king
 16 and he gives him to the king's mouth,⁵⁹⁸ and subsequently they will kill that
 17 man. That man seeks revenge,
 18 therefore, purposely gives that (other) man to the king to be executed,⁵⁹⁹
 19 and later (the king) finds out that
 20 he gave for execution an innocent man, then him *they* [execute?]
 21 [There is] justly a *trans[gression]* (against) the king's person in the case.⁶⁰⁰
 22 Whether be he a nobleman or a low[-ranking person, that],
 23 man —regardless—⁶⁰¹ let him be executed. The king himself []
 24 It is not 'legal' for him.

The text in general seems to warn lest the king be deceived in the legal process of appeal. It seems to consist of two hypothetical cases. Because of the text's poor preservation, the understanding of the first case is tentative, and hence it depends on the better-preserved second case.

The first case (§ 1: 1-13) concerns an appeal in the wake of some injustice. Someone appeals to the king to overrule a case in which a field of his was misappropriated in a legal process possibly because of his inferior economic status.⁶⁰² The next lines (5-8) are too broken to make any sense. Then it seems the king reconsiders the injured party's case of appeal and the case (lit. he) is considered legal and accepted: it is *āra* to stand in appeal

⁵⁹⁷ Taken as a genitive case in partitive apposition (*antuwaḥḥaš* = of a man). See Giorgieri 1995:130 and Josephson, *Part.*: 126.

⁵⁹⁸ That is, to incriminate someone by false evidence. See CHD/P: 50-51.

⁵⁹⁹ See Puhvel, *HED:E/f*: 366; CHD/P: 49a.

⁶⁰⁰ See von Schuler 1959:444, 459; but Giorgieri 1995:124, 131 differently: 'la persona del re [non ha] col[pa].' In spite of the grammatical difficulties of von Schuler's suggestion, it is followed here. In this context, it would seem most strange that the Hittite king should be thought to be at fault in anyway and therefore seek to justify himself. The sentence here seems to suggest that causing an innocent person to be executed is akin to committing a crime against the very person of the king. And indeed, the false accuser is put to death, a fate reserved for those committing crimes against the royal person (see Hoffner, *Laws*: 189, 218).

⁶⁰¹ Thus understanding *-pat*: 'That is regardless of his social status.' Also von Schuler 1959:459.

⁶⁰² von Schuler 1959:458.

before the king.⁶⁰³ But if the litigants subsequently contest this ruling, they will be turned away, regardless of whether they are high officials or military personnel. Their position will not influence the ruling of the king and they will pay compensation to the injured party, who won the appeal.⁶⁰⁴ A total rejection of the king's verdict would result in the annihilation of the litigant and his house, as seen in § 173a of the Hittite Law Code.⁶⁰⁵

The second case (II. 14-24) considers an appeal in a homicide incident. If the injured party is not satisfied with the justice rendered upon the murderer, it may appeal to the king. However, if in the process of the appeal the injured party wrongly incriminates an innocent man by false evidence and the man is executed, the act of false incrimination is considered a transgression against the king himself. Therefore, the accuser, whatever his rank is, will be executed: he compensates with his own head, and cannot compensate, as did the guilty party in the former case, from his own house. His appeal, because of the gravity of the offence, is of course rejected: it cannot be considered as 'just' or 'legal' to stand before the king.⁶⁰⁶

The second text, which is parallel to some extent, does not assist much in our understanding of these legal procedures, as it too is damaged. The section edited here (col. iii) belongs to a longer Instruction Text concerned with the conduct of various military officials on campaigns (col. i).

36. An Appeal to the Just King:⁶⁰⁷

Transliteration: KBo 16.25 iii 6'-29' (lines 1'-5' are almost completely missing).⁶⁰⁸

6' *ú-[e-mi-az-zi nu ni-wa-a]-l-la-a[n] x x [*
7' *na-a[n]]a-u-wa-aš ud-da-ni-i ha-[an-da-an SAG LUGAL]*

⁶⁰³ Following Laroche 1953:72, L.4. For this sense of *āra*, see the next section of this chapter.

⁶⁰⁴ See Beal 1993:33 and von Schuler 1959:458.

⁶⁰⁵ See Hoffner, *Laws*: 217-220.

⁶⁰⁶ The enclitic dative refers back to the king: (I. 24) *natta-aš-āi āra* 'It shall be "illegal" for him', on the basis of the previous statement: (I.10) *na-aš ANA UTU⁶¹ āra ešdu* 'He shall be "legal" to the king'.

⁶⁰⁷ Text: KBo 16.25. Language and Script: MH/MS (CHD/L-N:473b). CTH: 251. Bibliography: Rizzi-Mellini 1979.

⁶⁰⁸ Following Rizzi-Mellini 1979:530-533 and Giorgieri 1995:134. Lines 6'-9' restored according to Text 35, II.20-24; for 22', see *HW²*: 511. Collated from photo by Wilhelm, G., April 2001.

8' *wa-aš-[ú]]x na-aš ma-a-an BE GAL na-[aš-ma-aš ap-pé-
ez-zi-aš]*
9' *a-pa-[a-aš an-tu-uh-š]a-aš na-aš a-ku-pát LUGAL-at'-za-kán⁶⁰⁹ []*
9a' *Ú-[UL-ši a-a-ra'⁷]*

10' *an-d[a-ma m]a-a-an LÚ-aš a-ú-ri-ya an-da [*
11' *e-ep[-zi] ma-a-na-aš BE GAL ma-a-na-aš ERIN^{MEŠ} az nu [*
12' *ak-k[i-iš]-kán-du-pát Ê-SÚ-ma A-NA Ê.GAL [*
13' *ku-in-[na]-aš-ta UTU⁶¹ da-a-i na-at-še a-[a-ra'⁷]*

14' *an-da-[m]a ma-a-an an-tu-uh-še-eš ha-an-ne-[šar*
15' *hu-wa-a[p]-pi ku-iš-ki ku-e-da-ni na-aš x[*
16' *[]x na-aš-ta' ma-a-an a-pé-e an-tu-uh-še-eš*
17' *[BE] GAL 'nam'-ma-aš ha-ap-pi-na-an-za a-[*
18' *-r]a'-x hu-wa-ap-pi ku-e-da-[ni*
19' *[]x 'ha'-ap-ri-iz-zi na-aš a-x-[*
20' *[na-at-š]i 'a'-a-ra e-eš-tu ma-a-na-[aš*
21' *[]x[]pa'-aš-ma ku-iš na-aš ma-a-a[n*
22' *[]x[]A-NA LUGAL a-aš-šu-wa-an-za n[a-aš²*

23' *[]x [ap]-pi-iz-zi-aš LÚ MÁŠD[A*
24' *[]x []-iz-zi-ni-pát x[*

(iii 25'-29' are most fragmentary)

Translation:

§ 1 (iii 6'-9a' [follows KUB 13.7 i 19-24]):

...[But later he] finds out [that he gave an inno]cent man [to be executed], him...In the case, ju[stly it is] a tran[sgression against the king's head]. But whether he be a nobleman or [a low-ranking person] tha[t] man regardless —let him be executed. For the king it' is not considered "legal".

§ 2 (iii 10'-13'):

Furthermore if a man inside a stronghold []...he seizes or if he is a noble or someone from the armed forces, then [], they shall die, regardless (of their status). His house will be [confiscated] for the palace []... the one which His Majesty will take...and for him it will be "le[gal]"]...

⁶⁰⁹ The text reads LUGAL-an-za-kán. Allowing for a scribal mistake, on the basis of the parallel Text 35, II.23-24, and amending to -ar' would make most sense here. Possibly, this mistake resulted from confusion over what case to use in the *natta āra* construction.

§ 3 (iii 14'-24'):

Furthermore,...if the people...the tri[al]...someone to the evil (one) to which he...[] or if these peo[ple]...A [noble]man or a rich man...[]...to that evil...he sells and he...[] May that be legally permitted to [hi]m, or if [he...], the one which, if []...the king is satisfied... [] an inferior, poor man...[]...only... (the rest is too fragmentary for any translation).

The fragmentary state of this text prohibits extensive comment. The first section parallels § 2 of Text 35. The second section seems to consider the confiscation of a guilty party's house for the palace. The third section possibly deals with a transgression of wealthy or influential people against the poor. In all in, as in the former text, the aim of these instructions was to lay emphasis on the fact that all are equal in the face of the law.⁶¹⁰ The spirit of these texts might just as well be compared with the explicit instruction issued to the provincial governor.

'However, let him not (the provincial governor) do it (decide a case) in favour of (his) lord; let him not do it in favour of (his) brother, his sister, or his companion. No one will take a bribe. Let him not dismiss a superior legal case, let him not sustain an inferior one.⁶¹¹ You may do that which is just...If a man's slave, a man's maid, or a solitary woman has a legal case, judge it for them and satisfy them.'⁶¹²

In the last two sections (Texts 34-36), the expression sanctioned the legal action taken by the chief authorities to prevent corruption or favouritism. Prohibiting the stay of palace officials in provincial cities, or determining the measures required to be considered 'just' or 'equitable' by the king, the *natta āra* expression and the term *āra* had a part to play in the Instruction Texts, whose aim was to motivate loyalty to the just king. Overall, the use of the expression in these Instruction Texts assisted in expressing the ideology of the just king as the administrator of justice and chief arbitrator in the land of Hatti. The next texts, two treaties which are somewhat similar in their format and purpose to Hittite Instruction Texts,

⁶¹⁰ See also Archi 1979.

⁶¹¹ See Puhvel, *HED/K*: 133.

⁶¹² From the Instructions to the *Bēl Madgalti* (von Schuler, *Dienstarrw.*: 48, iii 25-28, 31-32; CHD/L-N:426, 209).

make use of the term *āra* to denote the fairness and legality with which the Hittite king treated his dependents.

4. The Tarhuntašša Treaties

Two treaties were signed with the land of Tarhuntašša, a territory, which became politically independent towards the end of the Hittite Empire. Both treaties are most similar to one another. But neither treaty is a vassal treaty in the strict sense; rather they consist of various stipulations regarding borders and succession rights. The first treaty was signed by (most probably) Hattušili III and Ulmi-Teššub; the second treaty, inscribed on a bronze tablet, was signed by Hattušili's son Tudḫalia and his cousin Kurunta. It is more than likely that Ulmi-Teššub and Kurunta are one and the same person, who had two different appellatives.⁶¹³

In the first treaty Hattušili declares that it is legally permissible for Ulmi-Teššub/Kurunta to build a *kuwappala* (which is probably a kind of cultic installation). Here we find *āra* (without the negation) construed in an impersonal sentence, along with the verb 'to be' (*eš-*) in the imperative, a syntactic construction similar to that employed by the legal decrees met in the Instruction Texts.

37. The Ulmi-Tešub Treaty.⁶¹⁴

Transliteration: KBo 4.10 obv. 36'-37' + KUB 40.69 obv. 1'-2'.⁶¹⁵

- 36' I-NA^{URU} Du-un-na-ya I^{NU-TI} : ku-wa-ap-pa-a-la A-NA^{DU} D^{HI} HI-aš-si
 pi-ya-an na-at-kán A-NA LU[GAL] KUR^{URU} DU-ta-aš-ša a-aš-ša-an
 ma-a-an-na-za LUGAL KUR^{URU} DU-ta-aš-ša (U^{MI}-mi-) I^{DU}-ub'
 37' EGIR'-an-da I^{NU-TI} : ku-wa-ap-pa-a-la i-ya-zi na-at-si a-a-ra e-eš-du

⁶¹³ See Gurney 1993 and Singer 1996, but cf. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38:82-96, 193-196; historical overview in Bryce 1998:295-299, 354-355; bibliography in Klengel, *Geschichte*: 239, 274, n.561.

⁶¹⁴ Text: KBo 4.10 + KUB 40.69 + 1548/u. CTH: 106. Bibliography: van den Hout, *StBoT* 38; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 109-113.

⁶¹⁵ Following van den Hout, *StBoT* 38:32.

Translation:⁶¹⁶

'In the city of Dunna, a single *kuwappala* is dedicated to the Storm-god of *Lightning*⁶¹⁷ and it belongs to the king of the land of Tarhuntašša. If later the king of the land of Tarhuntašša, [Ulmi]-Teššub, builds for himself one (more) *kuwappala*, it shall be permitted for him.'

In the second treaty, Tudhaliya reaffirmed his father's actions and added his own confirmation, yet again granting Ulmi-Teššub/Kurunta permission to build a *kuwappala*.

38. The Bronze Tablet Treaty:⁶¹⁸

Transliteration: a. ii 15-20.⁶¹⁹

- 15 ...I-NA^{URU} *Du-un-na-ya* ^{1NU-71} *ku-wa-ap-pa-la*
 16 A-NA^{DU} *pi-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši pi-ya-an na-at-kán A-NA LUGAL KUR*
 ^{DU} *U-ta-aš-ša*
 17 *a-aš-ša-an ma-a-an-na* ^m LAMMA-aš LUGAL KUR ^{URU DU} *U-ta-aš-ša*
 EGIR-an-da
 18 ^{1NU-71} *ku-wa-ap-pa-la i-ya-zi na-at-ši A-BU-YA* ^m *ḥa-at-tu-ši-li-iš*
 LUGAL.GAL
 19 *a-a-ra i-ya-at* ^{DU} *UTU* ^{SI} *ya-at-ši* ^m *Tu-ut-ḥa-li-ya-aš LUGAL.GAL a-a-ra*
 i-ya-nu-un
 20 *na-at-ši a-a-ra e-eš-du*

Translation:⁶²⁰

'And in the city of Dunna, a single *kuwappala* is dedicated to the Storm-god of *Lightning* and it belongs to the king of the land of Tarhuntašša. If later Kurunta, the king of the land of Tarhuntašša, builds one (more) *kuwappala*, my father, Ḥattušili, the Great King had (already) made it permissible for him, as likewise I, Tudhaliya, Great King made it permissible for him. So it shall be permitted to him.'

Apart from Tudhaliya's own conformation of the decree, the only difference between the two passages lies in the syntactic construction which employs the verb 'to make, do' (*iya-*). Here, making something *āra* carries

⁶¹⁶ See Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 111.

⁶¹⁷ For this deity, see HZL: 259 and CHD/P:256.

⁶¹⁸ Text: Bo 86/299 (The Bronze Tablet Treaty). CTH: 106. Bibliography: Otten, *StBoT Beih.* 1; Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 114-124.

⁶¹⁹ Following Otten, *StBoT Beih.* 1:16.

⁶²⁰ See Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 117.

with it a legal nuance. Indeed, some contexts demand that one render the idiom 'doing something *āra*' (*āra iya-*) into English somewhat differently in order to accentuate the judicial aspect at hand. What can be considered as 'correct' can assume a nuance of 'lawful'. Consider the next passage from the Royal Funerary Ritual, which implies that possession is granted its legality by making it *āra*.

39. The Royal Funerary Ritual:⁶²¹

Transliteration: KUB 30.24 ii 1-4.⁶²²

- 1 *ku-un-na-wa-aš-ši* Ū.SAL^{LAM DU} *UTU-uš a-a-ra i-ya-an ḥar-ak*
 2 *nu-wa-ra-aš-ši-iš-ša-an šar-ri-iz-zi ḥa-an-na-ri le-e*
 3 *ku-iš-ki nu-wa-aš-ši-kán ke-e-da-ni A-NA Ū.SAL GU^{HI.A} UDU^{HI.A}-ya*
 4 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} ANŠE.GIR.NUN.NA^{HI.A} *ū-še-ed-du...*

Translation:

'Now, may you, Sun-god, have this meadow made for him lawfully (*āra*). No one may encroach (or) contest (the meadow) from him.⁶²³ May he pasture his oxen, sheep, horses and mules on that meadow...'

As Haas 1995:2025 explains, the Sun god confirms through a legal process that the deceased will be entitled to a meadow (and some other objects); these will be legally his in the next world.⁶²⁴

Returning to the Tarhuntašša Treaties, we find *āra* appearing again when Ḥattušili expresses his decree of fairness to Ulmi-Teššub/Kurunta. Before the disposition of the treaty in the temple (after which follows an appendix) and the witness list, Ḥattušili assures Ulmi-Teššub/Kurunta that his position is equal to the one of the viceroy at Carchemish (a position kept by one of the Hittite king's sons).

⁶²¹ Text: KUB 30.24. CTH: 450. Bibliography: Otten, *HTR*: 58-61.

⁶²² Following Otten, *HTR*: 60. A parallel passage (Text 39a) is found in KUB 39.17 ii 1-4 (= Otten, *HTR*: 86-87): *-e[n nu-wa-aš-ši 'ki-i'] a-a-[ra i-ya-a[n] / [ḥar-ak nu-wa-ra]-a-at-ši-iš-ša-an šar-ri-ya-iz-zi / [le-e ku-iš-ki ḥa-an-na-ri-ya-wa-aš-ši-ša-a[n] / [le-e ku-iš-ki ...] '... We X-ed; [May you have] this [ma]de for him lawfully. [No one] may encroach on it and [no one] will contest (it) from him...'*

⁶²³ See here also, Haas 1995:2025: 'Now, O Sun-god, confirm him in the possession of this pasture! Let no-one take it away from him (or) contest it legally!' and Puhvel, *HED/H*: 78: 'This meadow, sun-god, have rightfully made for him; and let no one sequester it from him [nor] sue him.'

⁶²⁴ Compare Text 50 where the expression is used in a unique manner to deny legality.

ŠA LUGAL-ya iš-ḫi-ú-ul [ku-i]t A-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU} Kar-ga-miš a-a-ra
A-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU} U-ta-aš-ša-ya [a-p]a-a-at a-a-ra e-eš[-du]

'And the royal binding obligation which is permitted for the king of the land of Carchemish —that (same) one shall also⁶²⁵ be permitted for the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša.'⁶²⁶

Tudḫalia follows en suite, in the Bronze Tablet Treaty:

A-NA^{GIS}ŠU.A-ma-aš-ši RA-BU-UT-TI ŠA LUGAL KUR^{URU} Kar-ga-miš
iš-ḫi-ú-ul e-eš-du /A-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU} U-ta-aš-ša-kán 1-aš^{LU} tu-u-ḫu-
kán-ti-iš šal-li-iš e-eš-du / nam-ma-ma-aš-ši-kán le-e ku-iš-ki šal-li-iš ŠA
LUGAL-ya ša-ak-la-iš / ku-iš A-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU} Kar-ga-miš a-a-ra
A-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU} U-ta-aš-ša-ya / a-pa-a-aš a-a-ra e-eš-du⁶²⁷

'And his obligation(s) to the Great Throne (of Ḫatti), shall be as (those) of the king of the land of Carchemish. The crown prince alone shall be greater than the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša. No one shall be greater than he. And the royal statute which is permitted for the king of the land of Carchemish, that (same) one shall also be permitted for the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša.⁶²⁸

Kurunta's obligations (*išḫiul*) to the crown shall be the same as those of the king of Carchemish. Notice that, in addition, the statute or law (*šaklaiš*) which is permitted for the king of Carchemish will be considered permitted for him. These two keywords, *išḫiul* and *šaklaiš*, at times occurring as a pair, will feature again in Text 42.⁶²⁹

Before continuing the discussion in the following section, a fragment of a treaty or an agreement, signed by the last Hittite king, Šuppiluliuma II, must be noted. The fragment features the use of *āra*, which probably carries with it the same legal nuance that was exhibited in the previous texts from Tarḫuntašša. As the beneficiary is expressed in the first person, it is likely to think that the one who bestowed whatever was *āra* was the Hittite king.

⁶²⁵ Taking -ya in obv. 37 (^{URU}Tarḫuntašša-ya) as a coordination particle of equational sentences ('and also').

⁶²⁶ Text 37, obv. 37f.

⁶²⁷ Text 38, ii 79-83.

⁶²⁸ See Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 118, somewhat differently.

⁶²⁹ See discussion in Hoffner, *Laws*: 1-2.

40: A Treaty of Šuppiluliuma II (the so-called 'Scribal Oath').⁶³⁰

Transliteration: KUB 31.106 iii 1-5.⁶³¹

1 na-aš-ma [

2 na-an-za at-]

3 ma-a-an-ma-mu SI[G₅-an-ti me-mi-ya-an-ni še-er ku-iš-ki EGIR-pa
an-da ú-iz-zi...]⁶³²

4 na-at-mu a-ra e-eš-du [

5 A-NA MA-MIT-at GAM k[i-i-t-i]a-r[u

Translation:

'...Or (if) [...him... []

If to me with a favour[able word someone comes up?]

...may it be permitted for me...

[...may it lay under an oath.'

The rest of this fragmentary text continues with a declaration of loyalty to Šuppiluliuma II.

5. The Prayer of Ḫattušili III

Ḫattušili III forwarded a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, requesting not to be punished for the crimes committed by his father, Muršili, and his brother, Muwatallii. The section of the prayer presented here recounts the crimes committed against the royal women of Hatti. In the days of Muršili, Ḫattušili's father, a trial was conducted against Tawannanna, Šuppiluliuma's Babylonian wife.⁶³³ Since Ḫattušili was only a child at that time, he demanded of the Sun-goddess of Arinna that he not be blamed for his father's conduct towards the queen.⁶³⁴ But this was not the sole trial conducted against the royal women of Hatti in Ḫattušili day's. His brother Muwatallii held a trial for Danuḫepa, a woman of royal standing.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁰ Text: KUB 26.32 + KUB 23.44 + KUB 31.106. Language and Script: LH/LS.

CTH: 124. Bibliography: Laroche 1953; Otten 1963.

⁶³¹ Following Laroche 1953:71.

⁶³² Compare KBo 12.30 ii 8-9 (= Otten 1969:52), following suggestion by Singer, l. (letter, 14 October 2000).

⁶³³ For the Tawannanna affair, see next section.

⁶³⁴ See Muršili's similar excuse in one of his prayers (Güterbock 1960: 60-61).

⁶³⁵ The exact identity of this woman is unclear; see van den Hout 1998:44-53 with lit.

It is evident that Danuḫpa was found guilty, but what exactly her punishment was is a matter of speculation. Whatever the precise outcome of that trial, Ḫattušili wished to stress his innocence and his lack of involvement in the entire process.

41. Ḫattušili's Prayer to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna:⁶³⁶

Transliteration: KBo 21.19+ ii 12-22.⁶³⁷

- 12 *nu a-pa-a-at-ta-ya ut-tar ŠA* ⁱ*Da-nu-ḫé-pa i-ya-a[t ku-i]š*
 13 *nu-za a-pa-a-aš-ša DINGIR*^{LIM} *iš ka-ru-ú ki-ša-at []*
 14 *na-aš-kán KASKAL-az ar-ḫa ti-ya-at*
 15 *na-at iŠ-TU SAG.D[U]ŠÚ* *ka-ru-ú pa-ra-a šar-ni-ik-ta*
 16 *nu* ^D*UTU* ^{URU}*A-ri-in-na GAŠAN-YA ŠA* ⁱ*Da-nu-ḫé-pa ut-tar*
 17 *am-me-el UD*^{HALA} *aš am-mu-uk A-NA KUR* ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti-ya*
 18 *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da EGIR-pa le-e* ^{[h]u-it-ti-at} ^[ti]
 19 *a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-wa-an ut-tar am-mu-uk* ^{[me-n]a-aḫ-ḫa-an-da}
 20 *am-me-el UD*^{HALA} *aš EGIR-pa hu-it-ti-ya u-wa-an-z[i]*
 21 *Ú-UL a-ra-a-an* ⁶³⁸ *ŠA* ⁱ*Da-nu-ḫé-pa-ma ut-tar* ^[ku-iš]
 22 *pa-ra-a i-ya-at ka-ru-ú a-pa-a-aš-pát šar-ni-ik-[a]* ⁶³⁹

⁶³⁶ Text: KBo 21.19 + 1303/u. CTH: 383. Bibliography: Sørenhagen 1981.

⁶³⁷ Following Sørenhagen 1981:92. The parallel passage (Sørenhagen 1981:88-90, i 31-39) relating to the affair of the Tawannanna is in poor condition and breaks off prior to the appearance of the *natta āra* expression, and thus it is not included here.

⁶³⁸ The one unique spelling *a-ra-a-an* in this text demands some comment. Sørenhagen 1981:102-103 considered that it is possible that this form has no relationship to *āra* but rather is a participle of a verb. Of the three possibilities (*arāi-* 'to halt'; *ariya-* 'to determine by oracle'; *ar-* 'to go'), none seems convincing, as he admitted. Since the syntax of the sentence follows the basic construction of the *natta āra* expression, and the sense fits the context well, there seems no other option but to adopt this form as a variant of *āra*. How does one explain this spelling? Possibly, the scribe under the influence of the idiomatic *araš aran* ('one to another'; written at times without the determinative LÚ), by analogy built a neuter form by suffixing *-an* (cf. adjectives like *dannatton* [acc.com. and nom./acc. neut.]). This hypothesis can be supported, if we accept that the similar form *a-ra-an* found in Text 2 stands actually for *āra*. For the plene spelling of the second syllable of the form, notice 1) the unique spelling of ^D*A-ra-a-aš-ša* in KBo 3.30 obv. 4ⁱ (see discussion on p. 42), and 2) the occasional spelling ^(LÚ)*a-ra-a-* (Friedrich-Kanmenhuber, *HW*²: 221-223). Alternatively, Melchert, C. suggests (email, 25 October 1999) that possibly the scribe had in his lexicon a productive adjectival base of the form ^{a-ra-a-} to which he suffixed the neuter singular form *-an*. Since this form is a hapax in a NH context, Melchert admits that his suggestion is most tentative.

⁶³⁹ CHD/P: 126b: '*para* has been misplaced by the scribe and should be read before *šarnika*.' See ii 15.

Translation:

'And the one (Muwatalli) who conducted this case⁶⁴⁰ of Danuḫpa has now long since become a god (that is, died) and he has stepped out of the road, so he has already paid his dues with his own head. Now Sun-goddess of Arinna, my Lady, do not reopen (this case) of Danuḫpa in my reign against me and the land of Hatti. It is not (legally) permitted to reopen such an affair against me in my reign. The one [who] conducted the case of Danuḫpa has long since paid his dues.'

Since in Ḫattušili's eyes the guilty party had already compensated for the crime with his own person, the case should have been considered closed. However, the case resurfaced and Ḫattušili was distressed by being charged with responsibility for his brother's sin. This whole affair agitated Ḫattušili and probably led to the bad conscience that troubled him in his dreams. Danuḫpa makes an appearance in Ḫattušili's nightmare, admonishing him for his neglect of the cult. No mention of the trial is made in the dream itself.⁶⁴¹

Ḫattušili's father, Muršili, recognized that he was being punished for his father's sins and was willing to bear responsibility, as he admits in his Second Plague Prayer:

'People always sin. My father sinned and transgressed the word of the Storm-god of Hatti, my Lord. But I did not sin in any way. But so it happens: the sin of the father devolves upon his son. The sin of my father has devolved upon me, and I have now confessed it to the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord...'⁶⁴²

Over time, later compositions, as Güterbock 1960:61 argued, more strongly emphasized Muršili's innocence.

But Ḫattušili was willing to express his grievances more loudly than his father's humble voice permitted. Not expecting to be punished for the sins of others, he claims with the use of legal jargon that the protracting or reopening of the trial is not legally allowed: it is *natta āra*. He uses the specific verb *appa huittiya-*, which means 'to pull' or 'to draw back'. Here it

⁶⁴⁰ Taking *uttar* (ii 12, 21) as 'legal case'; see Hoffner, *Laws*: 2.

⁶⁴¹ Oppenheim, *Dreams*: 255, 193.

⁶⁴² Muršili's Second Plague Prayer, Beckman 1997:158, A rev. 10'-19'.

acquires a legal connotation meaning 'reopening' or 'reviving' a legal case.⁶⁴³

In the Instruction Texts, *āra* and *natta āra* implied whether a process is legally permitted or not. In this text, likewise, the *natta āra* expression conveys the illegality of the reopening of the case. To avoid blaming the Sun-goddess of Arinna directly, Ḫattušili uses an impersonal construction to leave no doubt that a moral and legal transgression will be made against him, once the trial is reopened. The use of such legal language in a prayer should not surprise us, as Laroche, *prière hittite*: 17 affirmed: 'le Hittite exprime les rapports de l'homme à son dieu non en termes de grâce ou de sentiments, mais en termes de droit et de jugement.'⁶⁴⁴

6. The Prayer of Muršili II

Antedating Ḫattušili's prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna is his father's attempt to defend himself before the gods by means of two prayers which describe his rightful conduct towards Tawannanna. These prayers partly supplement the historical background for the previous discussion. One of these prayers, CTH 70, contains the *natta āra* expression in a rather broken context.

The two prayers constitute the bulk of the evidence concerning the strife that occurred between Muršili II and his father's wife, a queen named or nicknamed Tawannanna.⁶⁴⁵ This lady, who was brought from Babylonia to marry Šuppiluliuma, was accused of witchcraft that was thought to have led eventually to the death of Muršili's wife. Seeking the advice of the gods

⁶⁴³ See van den Hout 1998:224-225. Compare the use of the verb *appa ḫittiya-* in the 'Apology of Ḫattušili' (Ottén, *StBoT* 24:18, iv 14-15 = CHD/P: 131b) referring to the reopening of the trial of Arma-tarḫunta: [GIM-(an-ma)] *ū-it iṣ-TU É.LUGAL DI-eš-šar ku[-(it-ki EGIR-pa)] / [(ḫu-it-it)]-ya-at-ta-at* 'But when some trial came to be reopened by the palace'. Also KBo 2.6 ii 37 (= van den Hout 1998:204-205): DINGIR^{LUM} *ku-it ša iṣ-TAR-at-ti u-tar EGIR-pa SUD-at* 'Concerning the fact that the deity has revived the Šaušgatti affair'.

⁶⁴⁴ For further use of legalistic language in the Hittite prayers, see Houwink ten Cate 1969.

⁶⁴⁵ See Carruba 1998 with lit. concerning the scholarly debate on how the queen's name should be read.

through an oracle consultation, Muršili obtained permission to kill his step-mother. However, he showed mercy and was satisfied with deposing her from the office of priesthood she held and banishing her from Hattuša.⁶⁴⁶ The following text is a part of Muršili's prayer in which he relates Tawannanna's crimes and misdemeanors in Hatti from the days of Šuppiluliuma, her husband, through the times of his brother, Arnuwanda, up to his own reign.

42. Muršili's Prayer Concerning Tawannanna.⁶⁴⁷

Transliteration: KUB 14.4 i 5-20.⁶⁴⁸

- 5' [GIM-an-ma-za A-BU-YA DINGIR]^{LUM} *iṣ ki-ša-at*
Ṭa-wa-an-na-an-na-an-m[a] "Ar-nu-ṣ-wa-an-ṭ[da-aš]
 6' [ŠEŠ-YA am-mu-uq-qa] 'Ú-UL *ku-it-ki i-da-la-u-wa-aḫ-ḫu-u-en*
'te-ep-nu-mi-na-an
 7' [Ú-UL *ku-it-ki É.LUGAL*] *Ú KUR URU Ḫa-at-ti A-NA PA-NI A-BI-YA*
ma-aḫ-ḫa-an
 8' [*ta-pa-ar-ta A-NA PA-NI ŠEŠ-YA*] *QA-TAM-MA-pát ta-pa-ar-ta ma-aḫ-*
ḫa-an-ma-za ŠEŠ-YA-ya
 9' [DINGIR^{LUM} *ki-ša-at Ṭa-wa-an-na-an-na-an-ma am-mu-uq-qa Ú-UL*
ku-it-ki
 10' [*i-da-la-u-wa-aḫ-ḫu-un te-ep-nu-un-na-an Ú-UL ku-it-ki É.LUGAL Ú*
KUR URU Ḫa-at-ti
 11' [*A-NA PA-NI ŠEŠ-YA ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ta-pa-ar-ta a-pi-*
ya-ya-at
 12' [^{LÜ} *MU-TI-ŠU-ya-aš-ši ku-iṣ ša-ak-la-a-iṣ*
 13' [*-ya-aš-ši ku-e Ú-UL a-a-ra e-eš-ta*
 14' [*x ša-ak-la-in-na-kán iṣ-ḫi-ū-ul-la*
 15' [*x[] x-li-ya pa-ra-a pé-e-da-an ḫar-ta*

(i 16'-20' are fragmentary)

⁶⁴⁶ Bin-nun, *Theth* 5:183-189; Bryce 1998:225-230; Hoffner 1983a.

⁶⁴⁷ Text: KUB 14.4. CTH: 70. Bibliography: Cornelius 1975; Laroche 1956:101-103; de Martino 1998 (see also Hoffner 1983a and Bin-Nun, *Theth* 5:188).

⁶⁴⁸ Following de Martino 1998:23-24 and Laroche 1956:102.

Translation:

'[When my father] became [a god], Arnuwanda, [my brother, and myself] in no way hurt Tawannanna, [in no way] did we curtail her.⁶⁴⁹ As [she governed the palace and the land of Hatti during the reign of my father, thus she governed [during the reign of my brother]. When my brother [became a god], I myself in no way [hurt Tawannanna], in no way [did I curtail] her. As she governed the palace and the land of Hatti [in the reign of my father and in the reign of my brother, then this []. And [at the reign] of her husband, [she broke⁶⁵⁰] which statute she had, and [she committed deeds⁶⁵¹] which were not permitted to her.⁶⁵⁰ Then, the statute and also the obligation (acc.)...[] she had carried on ...[]...' (The rest is fragmentary).

Due to the poor state of the tablet, it is uncertain what Tawannanna did that was *natta āra*. One can gather that she probably transgressed the statute (*šaklais*) and the binding obligation (*išhiul*) which she was obliged to follow once she became queen in the Hittite court.⁶⁵¹ Anyone who is to express his or her loyalty to the Hittite crown, as Kurunta in the Tarhuntašša Treaties, has to comply with the *šaklais* and the *išhiul* of the royal crown.⁶⁵² Likewise, we recall how in the Hūqana treaty, Hūqana as a newcomer to the Hittite royal family is instructed about the *šaklais* of the land of Hatti and forewarned that to break such important laws would be *natta āra*. In Muršili's prayer, this would have indeed served as an accurate introduction to the following series of accusations, which certainly did not comply with any behaviour that is *āra*. When the text resumes after the break of column one, starting with column two, segments of the Tawannanna affair are revealed to the reader.

In the second column, Muršili speaks of Tawannanna squandering the royal coffers on the building of religious monuments in commemoration of the dead.⁶⁵³ The rather enigmatic sentence 'She brought this from Babylonia,

⁶⁴⁹ See Hoffner 1977:153.

⁶⁵⁰ For this suggested translation, see p. 15. For other possibilities, see de Martino 1998:24, n.34.

⁶⁵¹ The *šaklais* can hardly seem to refer to 'her customs' but rather the ones she had to accept as a newcomer to Hatti. Cf. Bin-nun, *THeth* 5:188-189.

⁶⁵² See Text 38 and note 629.

⁶⁵³ de Martino 1998:40-41 with lit.

while that she handed out to all Hattuša, to the people⁶⁵⁴ may refer to the dowry that the queen brought with her and wasted away.⁶⁵⁵ The third column unfolds how Tawannanna with the aid of other court women cast a spell on Muršili's wife. The fragmentary fourth column reports the disappearance of silver from Aštata for which Tawannanna was blamed. This resulted in Tawannanna cursing Muršili and his family, causing consequently the death of Muršili's wife. The last accusation against Tawannanna hammered the final nail in her coffin: she interpreted the rare occurrence of a solar eclipse as an omen signaling the immediate death of the king himself, Muršili.⁶⁵⁶ But in spite of all these accusations, Muršili spared her life, as he states.

It has been argued that Tawannanna brought from Babylon her foreign customs (*šaklais*), which included Mesopotamian rites, prostitution and solar omen prognostics.⁶⁵⁷ These were apparently considered *natta āra* in Hatti. Contrary to this opinion, first, we believe that the reference to the *šaklais* and *išhiul* refers to Tawannanna's obligations in Hatti rather than to her foreign customs. Secondly, the foreign institutions which were allegedly imported by the Tawannanna have found no substantial footings.⁶⁵⁸ As is well known, the Hittites were generally receptive to religious and cultural influences. To attribute a sense of chauvinism to these lines would be to introduce forcefully concepts which are not part of the Hittite worldview. The Babylonian queen was blamed for her wasteful expenditures, and, more seriously, for aiming to harm the royal family. However, one cannot dismiss the historical fact that Tawannanna was an outsider and a woman, which made her more susceptible to attacks. The mention of Babylonia and Hatti along with its people, regardless of how one interprets this phrase (ii 6-7), lays out the geographies of 'differences', however subtle they seem to be. Moreover, as Muršili repeatedly posits her (along with her female accomplices) opposite his own family unit, one

⁶⁵⁴ ii 5'-7' (Tr. CHD/P: 54), but notice also the alternative suggestion of Melchert, *Diss.* 349: 'She (re)moved part (of the goods) to Šanḫara (i.e., Babylonia), part she gave away to the population in Hattuša.'

⁶⁵⁵ *Imparati* in de Martino 1998:42.

⁶⁵⁶ de Martino 1998:47.

⁶⁵⁷ Cornelius 1975:32; Bin-nun, *THeth* 5:188-189.

⁶⁵⁸ Institutionalized prostitution was based on misinterpretation of the term *MUNUS* *SUHUR.LÁ* (iii 15), which means 'palace-lady', but not 'prostitute' (Güterbock, *Selected*: 68-69). The importation of Babylonian funerary rites is also questionable (Klinger 1992:199). Notice also that in CTH 71 (Hoffner 1983a), the complementary prayer, no mention is made of these alleged 'foreign imports'.

cannot ignore the rhetoric that strives to create a counter-image out of the figure of Tawannanna.⁶⁵⁹

'(And Tawannanna cursed): "You, goddess, will you not seize him, will you [not] seize his [w]ife and children, (but instead) will you seize me, the innocent one? Seize him, or his wife and children, but do not seize me." The queen [uttered curs]es against me, my wife, and my son to the goddess Išhara, and she continuously made offering concerning us, and because of her doings, my wife died.'⁶⁶⁰

The counter-image of the evil Tawannanna that emerges is familiar to readers of early Hittite historiography. These early texts create an image of the 'other' around the figure of the *tawannanna*-s, the Hittite queens, who jeopardize the institute of kingship and the person at its head.⁶⁶¹ One of these texts is apparently KBo 3.28, which deals with misbehavior against the Hittite king. It contains the term *āra* and a direct reference to a certain queen. Unfortunately, not much more can be said about the circumstances leading to the use of *āra*, due to the text's incompleteness.⁶⁶²

To return to the affair of queen Tawannanna, the passage in Text 42 does not allow us to be specific about the nature of the prohibition. One should be aware, however, that in its immediate vicinity *šaklaiš* and *išhiul* appear, just as they appear in the Tarhuntaša Treaties along with the term *āra*. The prayer, then, as a whole is full of various accusations that imply a range of actions that could be considered *natta āra*. The next and final text

⁶⁵⁹ de Martino 1998:44.

⁶⁶⁰ Col. iv 19-23. Following CHD/L-N: 459 (but with de Martino 1998:38, taking Tawannanna's statements as rhetorical questions) and 399.

⁶⁶¹ These are the 'Testament of Hattušili I' (= HAB, §§ 2,4,8,18), and the 'Edict of Hattušili I' (= de Martino 1991). See Bin-nun, *Theth* 5:59-60, 72-78, 108-159; Cohen, in press a; de Martino and Imparati 1998:392-394.

⁶⁶² An Old Hittite Palace Chronicle (Text 43): Text: KBo 3.28 ii. Language and Script: OH/NS (CHD/L-N: 217). CTH: 9. Bibliography: Hardy 1941:202-203; Laroche 1973; Bin-nun *Theth* 5:79-85; Forrer, *BoTU* 10:γ.

20' *ki-nu-na LUGAL-uš i-da-lu me-ek-ki u-uš-hu-un ta LUGAL-wa-aš*
ud-da-a-ar-ra-me-el

21' *le-e šar-ra-at-tu-ma a-ši MUNUS LUGAL^{URU} hu-ru-ma É.GI₄ A*

22' *e-eš-la ad-da-aš-mi-ša-aš-še ke-e-da-ni a-ra i-ya-an har-ta*

Translation:

'Now I, the king, saw much evil. And you will not transgress my royal words. This queen was a bride from the city of Hurma. In this (matter) my father had made (it) permissible for her.'

The rest of the text relates how the king seated someone (the queen?) on the throne, and then breaks off after two fragmentary lines.

in this chapter deals with internecine strife amongst the Hittite royal family and in the court. The *natta āra* expression, among with other injunctions, is used to correct the wrongdoings of the past, while offering an image of the ideal Hittite monarch.

7. The Proclamation of Telepinu

This famous document, once considered to be a succession reform initiated by the king Telepinu, is now classified in the literary genre of apologetic and self-legitimizing texts. It is generally recognized that the proclamation's basic aim was to justify Telepinu's reign in Hatti.⁶⁶³

Commencing with days gone by, Telepinu recounts how the harmonious reign of Hattušili I, a time of peace and of successful military operations, went to ruin as a result of murderous deeds. Hattušili's son, Muršili, was murdered, as were the subsequent kings of Hatti. The end of the bloodshed and the revival of the illustrious past are all represented as the achievements of the present king, Telepinu. Following this biased historical account, there comes the 'reform' of succession in Hatti, which is only meant to legitimize Telepinu's own illegal grasp of power. In this respect, Telepinu did not in fact deviate from the norm of succession and he did not intend to change it, but rather he emphasized that he is entitled to rule.⁶⁶⁴ The rest of his 'reform' portrays Telepinu as a just and wise monarch, the very opposite of former usurper kings, fulfilling the model role of the ancient Near Eastern king. Liverani 1977 has argued that the decrees and instructions in this text relate more to past and present events than to the prospective future. Indeed it can be demonstrated that all the decrees laid down in the Proclamation have a parallel episode in the 'historical' section of the edict; they are posited as counter-measures to the bloody past. Therefore, their function is not only legalistic but also comparative, serving to juxtapose Telepinu's just conduct and rule with that of his predecessors. We will examine how the *natta āra* expression fits into one of these decrees by looking closely at the sequence of regulations contained in this proclamation.

⁶⁶³ The interpretation of the text is based on Beckman 1983a; Hoffner 1975b and 1980:306-307, 332; Liverani 1977. A recent English translation is van den Hout 1997.

⁶⁶⁴ See specifically Beckman 1983a:21-22.

After the rules of succession (which, as noted, stress Telepinu's rightful claim to the throne) are laid down, a series of directions regulates the punishment of any member of the royal family who wishes to harm his brothers and sisters.

'Whoever (king or royal prince) does evil amongst his brothers and sisters, (the offended party) shall look for compensation from the person of the king (that is, the offender). Therefore summon the assembly, and if his case is proven against him, let him make amends with his own head.'⁶⁶⁵

This legal decree was drawn up as a reaction to deeds of the past. Huzziya, an illegitimate claimant to the throne had in the past threatened the lives of his half-sister, Ištapariya, and her husband, the future king Telepinu. The historical episode parallel to the legal decree presented above runs as follows:

'Now Huzziya was king. Telepinu had (for a wife) Ištapariya, his (Huzziya's) eldest sister. Huzziya wanted to kill them, but the plot became known and Telepinu drove them (Huzziya and his followers) away.'⁶⁶⁶

By declaring a decree seemingly for the future (the right to depose a king who wishes to harm his brother or sisters), past events (Telepinu's usurpation as the consequence of the banishment of king Huzziya) are given legitimization. Later we read in another decree that the power to judge and sentence to death such an offender was given to the assembly (*tuliya-*, or *panku-*).⁶⁶⁷ And indeed the assembly had sentenced Huzziya to death for his crime, but Telepinu mitigated his punishment.

The next decree demands that the offender alone shall pay for his crime. His household and his sons are not to be harmed.

'They will not undertake evil against his house, his wife, (or) sons. If a prince commits a crime, he will compensate with his own head; but they will not undertake evil against his house and his sons.'⁶⁶⁸

Contrary to what this decree orders, in the past committing wholesale massacres of entire families was certainly the practice. The various claimants to the crown perished along with their children, thus wiping out the male line and precluding direct succession.⁶⁶⁹

Further specifications are then offered:

⁶⁶⁵ Hoffmann, *THeth* 11:34, ii 50-52. Translation based on Hoffner 1982b:507-508.

⁶⁶⁶ Hoffmann, *THeth* 11:26, ii 9-12.

⁶⁶⁷ See Beckman 1982:439-440.

⁶⁶⁸ Hoffmann, *THeth* 11:34, ii 55-56.

⁶⁶⁹ Beckman 1983a:21-22.

'Princes may perish because of such a thing, but not (a thing will happen) to their households, their fields, their vineyards, their slaves (and) their maids, their cattle (and) their sheep.'⁶⁷⁰

This decree is then brought to a close by the use of the *natta āra* expression.

44. The Telepinu Proclamation.⁶⁷¹

Transliteration: § 32 (A = KBo 3.1 ii 59-65; E = KUB 11.6 ii 5-12).

59 *ki-ni(u-na m))a-a-an DUMU.LUGAL ku-iš-ki wa-aš-ta-i nu SAG.DU-
az-pát šar-ni-ik-¹ du¹*

60 *È-[(ŠU-ma-aš-s))i DUMU.ŠU-ya i-da-a-lu⁶⁷² le-e tág-ga-aš-⁶⁷³le-ni pi-ya-
ni-ma ŠA DUMU^{MES} LUGAL*

61 *[(iz-za-an GIŠ-ru)]⁶⁷⁴ 'Ú-UL a-a-ra ki-i-ma i-da-a-la-u-wa ud-da-a-ar⁶⁷⁵
ku-i-e-eš e-eš-[(š)a-an-zi*

62 *[(LU^{MES}) ... LU^{MES} A-BU BI-TUM GAL DUMU^{MES} É.GAL GAL ME-
ŠE-DI⁶⁷⁶ GAL GEŠTIN-ya*

63 *[ku-i-e-eš (E^{MES})] LUGAL da-an-na i-⁶⁷⁷adan-la-li-ya-an-zi⁶⁷⁵ nu ki-iš-ša-
an [da]-ra-an-zi[i]*

64 *[(a-ši-ma-an-wa URU-aš a)]m-me-el ki-ša-ri nu-uš-ša-an A-NA EN
URU^{UM} i-da-a-lu⁶⁷⁶*

65 *[(ták-ki-iš-ki-iz)]-zi*

Translation:

'Now, if any prince commits a crime, he alone shall pay with his head. You shall not intend to do harm to his household, or son, as it is not permitted to give away "(from) the chaff (down to) the (entire) log" of the princes.'⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷⁰ Hoffmann, *THeth* 11:34, ii 56-58.

⁶⁷¹ Text: A = KBo 3.1; E = KUB 11.6. CTH: 19. Bibliography: Sturtevant, *Chrest.*:175-200; Hoffmann, *THeth* 11 (and see corrections of Beckman 1986).

⁶⁷² E, 6: HUL-lu.

⁶⁷³ E, 8: ut-tar.

⁶⁷⁴ E, 9: GAL LU^{MES} ME-ŠE-DI.

⁶⁷⁵ E, 10: i-la-l[i-ya-an-zi.

⁶⁷⁶ E, 12: i-da-lu.

⁶⁷⁷ That is, 'to give anything'; lit.: 'chaff - wood'. Hoffner, H. (personal communication) offered me the translation of this Hittite merism. Cf. von Schuler 1983; Puhvel, *HEDIE-I*: 321-323. The idiom appears again, in a similar context, in which Hattusili in his 'Apology' forbids anyone from appropriating anything from the temple of Ištar (Otten, *StBoT* 24: 30-31, iv 81-84). The equivalent Akkadian idiom *hāmū (u) hušābu* (CAD/H: 258-259) is used by Šuppiluliuma to express that he did not plunder a single thing from Mittanni (Beckman, *DiplTexts*: 44; Weidner, *PD*: 16, obv. 51).

But those who wish to do such evil deeds, the (pl.) [?] the House Administrators, the Chamberlain, the Chief of the Bodyguards, the Chief of the Wine-bearers [who] desire to take the households of the king, [s]peak out as follows: "I wish that city were mine."⁶⁷⁸ Therefore he intends to do harm to the owner of the town.'

As the decree closes with the *natta āra* expression (ii 61), the following rejoining sentences (ii 61-65) offer a look at the potential aggressors who might covet the princes' property. These were high-ranking officials who supposedly had designs on procuring for themselves the confiscated property, which included entire towns, thus committing evil deeds. Being in an influential position, as we learn from the historical narrative, similarly high-ranking military officials interfered regularly in the internal affairs of the state.⁶⁷⁹

Analyzing the decrees as reflections of the past more than as directives for the future, one sees that what Telepinu appoints for the future was in fact practiced by him in the past. Benevolently, he had indeed granted households to his former enemies and made them into farmers, without inflicting any harm upon their bodies or confiscating their estates.⁶⁸⁰ Since his actions are the very opposite of what is defined as *natta āra*, one can say that he did what was *āra*, what is just and moral as befits a true king. Contrariwise, former opponents and murderous claimants to the throne had no scruples about committing deeds which were not *āra*. As such they are unworthy because their acts were *natta āra*.

The employment of the expression in this specific decree was just one mode of strategic rhetoric. Another strategy, for example, involved the repeated use of the idiomatic expression 'doing blood' (*ešhar iya-*) to characterize the murderous deeds of Telepinu's enemies; contrariwise, Telepinu is credited with stopping and forbidding the bloodshed.⁶⁸¹

To conclude, this opposition between right and wrong, eventually justifying Telepinu's seizure of power, was achieved in the proclamation by a variety of narrative and rhetoric ploys, one of them being the expression *natta āra*. Their aim was to articulate abstract moral qualities by juxtaposing

⁶⁷⁸ See CHD/L-N: 140a.

⁶⁷⁹ Zuru, the Chief of the Bodyguards (GAL LÜMES *ME-ŠE-DI*), for example, had some royal blood on his hands (Hoffmann, *Theth* 11:26, §21). See Liverani 1977:123-124 for an economic view on this specific decree.

⁶⁸⁰ Hoffmann, *Theth* 11:30, §26. See also CHD/L-N: 331, 467.

⁶⁸¹ E.g., in §7, i 23 and §9, i 34 in contrast to Telepinu's deeds in §29, 45. For the idiom 'doing blood' (*ešhar iya-*), see discussion on p. 124.

the positive figure of Telepinu the just king to the negative images of former factions that aimed to destroy the core of the Hittite royal family.⁶⁸²

One final consideration is in order. It is hard to judge whether this decree regarding the members of the royal family was practiced in reality or remained a legal fiction. The vassal treaties regularly contain a curse which threatens the vassal kings and their households with total annihilation, should they transgress the oath.⁶⁸³ On the other hand, in both treaties with Tarhuntašša signed by a member of the royal family, it is stated explicitly that should an offender deserve the death penalty, he alone will pay with his head, while his household and land shall not be taken from his family.⁶⁸⁴ It seems that high-ranking or lesser royal individuals could have benefited from similar protection in Hatti.⁶⁸⁵ This conforms to the decree in the Proclamation. A violation of this decree, however, was likely to have been perpetrated by Hattušili III, when he confiscated for the benefit of Ištar's temple the property of Arma-tarhunta, one of his political enemies related to the royal family.⁶⁸⁶

In this chapter, we have examined the use of the *natta āra* expression and its positive counterpart *āra* in texts concerned with the internal matters of Hatti. As in cases concerned with international affairs, where the expression governed the behaviour of vassal kings and their subjects, likewise, in the Instruction Texts, it regulated the conduct of officials and the military. In Text 34, it ensured that officials do not abuse their power. In Texts 35-36, both *natta āra* and *āra* helped define the legality of appeals to the highest legal authority in the land, the Hittite king. Technical language of the court along with the use of the expression, was also used by Hattušili when he claimed that reopening the case against him was not legal. Finally, the expression also provided the opportunity to direct injunctions towards the Hittite court and aristocracy ('The Proclamation of Telepinu') and towards members of the Hittite royal house ('The Tarhuntašša Treaties'),

⁶⁸² For the concept of the ideal kingship in Hatti, see Archi 1979 and Beckman 1995a; a general survey of ideal kingship in the ancient Near East is found in Weinfeld 1995.

⁶⁸³ Korošec 1950:191-194. Compare Muršili's threat to Kupanta-Kurunta, p. 121.

⁶⁸⁴ Korošec 1950:200-201. See the Treaty of Hattušili and Ulmi-Tesšub, §1 (Beckman, *DiplTreats*: 109; van den Hout, *StBoT* 38:24-25, obv. 9'-12') and the Treaty of Tudhaliya with Kurunta, §20 (Beckman, *DiplTreats*: 119; Otten, *StBoT Beih.* 1:20-21).

⁶⁸⁵ Imparati 1974:30-31, 96-102, §9 (CTH 224); Korošec 1950:201. For the high rank or royal position of Šahurunuwu, see Imparati, id:11-22; van den Hout, *StBoT* 38:151-154.

⁶⁸⁶ Klengel, *Geschichte*: 208, 239, 258.

and even to censure the behaviour of the queen herself. Among all these texts, two deserve to be singled out: The Proclamation of Telepinu, and the Prayer of Hattušili.

The Proclamation of Telepinu was a document with obvious political objectives. It wished to correct abuses and offer legitimacy to the present ruler. The legal sections of the Proclamation achieve this aim by the presentation of moral and just laws.⁶⁸⁷ To address specifically the role of the *natta āra* expression, we see that it features in an injunction which has a moral reasoning to it. Limiting the punishment only to the directly guilty party, and thus avoiding acts of revenge (conveniently termed 'collective punishment') on the entire household, demands a grasp of moral standards (either 'natural' or 'evolutionary') on the part of the Hittite legislator. This attempt at formulating a timeless ethical law is one step beyond the immediate political objectives of the text, regardless of whether it was ever practiced or served to boost the ideological image of the just king. It is worthwhile to note that this law was sanctioned by the impersonal and timeless *natta āra* expression.

The plea which Hattušili issues to the Sun-goddess of Arinna provides us with a depiction of the highly emotional and yet rational relationship between gods and humans. Hattušili's demand that he not be punished for his predecessor's sins is put forth as a legal argument which has moral implications. One can trace, therefore, in this Hittite prayer (and its antecedents) the transition from collective responsibility to the individualization of responsibility, a crucial step in forming universal concepts of ethics that transcend beyond temporal or local boundaries. This again was accomplished by the use of legal idioms and the *natta āra* expression.

⁶⁸⁷ See Westbrook and Woodard 1990:653 for a definition of royal edicts in the ancient Near East.

VII. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to offer an elucidation of the Hittite formulaic expression *natta āra* by examining all of its occurrences (and those of its antonym *āra*) within a contextualized environment. Apart from examining the expression within its immediate context, this study also considered other prohibitions in Hittite society, as well as an additional selection of prohibitions from the ancient Near East. This allowed an assessment of the expression's significance for the formulation of laws and prohibitions in society. Bringing to the fore the function of prohibitions in society permitted the assessment of the expression's ideological aims in the formation of the identity of the self and the group.

1. Grammar, Indo-European Cognates, and Semantic Equivalents

A close scrutiny of the syntactical structure of the *natta āra* expression revealed its formulaic nature. It was demonstrated how the expression always appears in a verbless nominal sentence, occupying the predicate slot, while the subject slot is kept variable. This formulaic structure allowed by its flexibility the articulation of different prohibitions. Throughout the expression's usage over several centuries, this structure remained unchanged, acquiring a level of conservatism which enabled, on the one hand, its immediate recognition, and on the other hand, further articulation when the need arose.

Through the examination of the Hittite word *āra* and its Indo-European cognates, the concept of accepted conduct in the communal sense was brought into focus. On the basis of the shared semantics of the Indo-European cognates, one can argue that this concept is one of the basic definitions a group requires in order to place itself in relation to the outer world. Indeed, the Indo-European cognates include abstract notions of friendship and hospitality, and even provide ethnic definitions for whole peoples. In the Hittite world, the opposite side of this concept was

articulated by the *natta āra* expression. It defined exactly what was external to a given society, what was rejected or forbidden on the many levels of everyday life in the religious and social sense.

The Hittite cognate ¹⁰*araš* was shown to broaden the scope of *āra*, by suggesting that among persons who are friends or peers appropriate behaviour (*āra*, or *paršu* in the international correspondence) is expected. The discussion of the deity ¹¹*Āraš* has followed the evidence, scanty as it is, for the deification of the abstract notion of *āra*, a process documented in other Indo-European communities.

The Hittite expression was not to be viewed in isolation from the surrounding Mesopotamian culture, which exerted much influence on the land of Hatti. On the basis of the tri-lingual lexical list (Text 1), a comparison of Hittite *natta āra* with the Sumerian and Akkadian terms for abomination and taboo helped define a distinct meaning for the Hittite expression. In some religious contexts, *natta āra* could have quite easily been substituted for the Sumerian *NĪG.GIG* and the Akkadian *ikkibu* in their restricted sense of 'taboo', or 'something reserved for the gods'; in Texts 9-13, *natta āra* comes closest to the anthropological definition of 'taboo'. But when the Sumerian and Akkadian terms are viewed in their wider sense, they can include the notion of 'abomination', which allows comparison with the biblical *to'ebā*. It is clear, however, that the *natta āra* expression does not share this meaning; the closest the Hittite expression comes to this notion is its employment in the formulation of sexual prohibitions (Texts 22, 23). In most cases, the *natta āra* expression is not to be compared with the idea of 'abomination' (the Hittite term *hurkel* has been proven to fit this definition better).

Another Mesopotamian term equated with *natta āra* was the Akkadian *ul paršu*, which was an expression used exclusively by the Hittites in order to translate their Hittite *natta āra*. The Akkadian term *paršu*, denoting accepted conduct among peers in Hatti, could be equated on a number of occasions with the Hittite *āra*, although other possibilities were suggested, such as Hittite *šaklaiš*. Due to the use of *ul paršu*, the basic twofold meaning of the expression becomes apparent. Whereas, as was argued above, in some religious contexts, the expression retained a meaning shared with *NĪG.GIG* and *ikkibu*, in more 'secular' contexts, it means 'unaccepted conduct, custom or ethical norm'. Thus, it participates in the semantics of the Akkadian (*ul*) *paršu* '(not) customary, normative'. As this study has demonstrated, semantically the expression falls into two basic but

overlapping categories. The first denotes the sense of taboo, or exclusion, defining the division between the sacred and the profane. This sense occurs mainly in religious contexts. The second category denotes the sense of unwanted or illegal actions in society.

2. Religious and Cultic Prohibitions

Opening this study were religious texts employing the term *āra* in the regulation of the cult (Texts 2-4). Behaving *āra* maintained the necessary equilibrium for assuring beneficial relations between gods and humans; inquiring from the gods by means of an oracle what is *āra* and what is *natta āra* (Text 5) assured the success of the Hittite king in his military campaigns.

In these religious contexts, the use of the *natta āra* expression also exemplified the contrast between the sacred and the profane. This sharp division was accentuated in Kantuzilli's Prayer (Text 9) and Texts 10-13, where *natta āra* articulated a prohibition against appropriating the reserved 'possessions' of the gods. This prohibition of the food and beverages that are exclusively for the gods can be associated with similar prohibitions formulated by the Mesopotamian terms *NĪG.GIG* and *ikkibu*. These can be defined as 'taboo' prohibitions: they exclude consecrated materials from one group while permitting them to another (usually the gods). The exclusion of a certain class of persons from the cult (Text 14) also falls in this category, since it maintains the dual nature of consecration. The cultic personnel must be kept sacred and should avoid contaminating agents such as the *šaknuwanteš*.

The remaining instances of the expression related to the sphere of religion are concerned with deviation from the correct procedures of the cult. Disruptive acts, like sacrificing forbidden offerings (Texts 16, 17) or speaking during libation (Text 20), should be avoided. These fit less easily into the category of prohibitions mentioned in the former paragraph, as they do not express the duality of the notion of 'taboo'. To term these transgressions as 'abominations' does not seem viable; 'sins' in the English sense implies a moral nuance which is not present here. Perhaps it is better to understand these as unpermissible cultic acts.

3. Sexual Prohibitions

The *natta āra* expression was used to prohibit sexual acts on two occasions (Texts 22, 23). In the Tale of Zalpa, the expression categorized what kind of behaviour stands outside customary sexual (and by extension, matrimonial) relations. In the tale, incest with one's own sister was prohibited by this expression and no other because its very function was to define counter-behaviour, the antithesis of civilized life. Regardless of whether incest was actually practiced by other groups, the prohibition buttresses the identity of the individual by giving it (and the entire community) a sense of distinction. Here one can mention the Old Hittite 'Cannibal Story'. This story attributes dehumanizing cannibalistic acts to certain antagonists (whether satirically or in the utmost seriousness is not clear), creating an unbridgeable gap between them and the audience of the story, which constructs its own identity on the basis of what it abstains from doing: in this case, eating other people.⁶⁸⁸ To return to the Tale of Zalpa, it seems that similar mechanisms of distinction were at work in the background, with the *natta āra* expression singling out the forbidden act amongst the society of humans.⁶⁸⁹ As for the definition of the expression in this text, one can assume that this is the sense in which *natta āra* can be most closely equated with the biblical *tō'ēbā* ('abomination'), although the discourse concerned with entire defiled ethnic groups is missing from the Hittite tale.

In the Treaty of Šuppiluliuma with Ḫuqqana of Ḫayaša (Text 23), the expression formulated a series of prohibitions which tried to restrict Ḫuqqana's sexual behaviour and force him to conform to the customs of Hatti. It was demonstrated that the sexual acts prohibited in the treaty were defined as *hurkel* in other texts, notably the Hittite Law Code. The fact that not *hurkel*, but rather the more general *natta āra*, was used in the treaty indicates precisely the latter's designation. It functions as an exclusive

⁶⁸⁸ It is not certain that this story is an original Hittite composition, but at any rate, it is mentioned here to suggest the mechanics of 'negative' or 'counter' discourse for the formation of identity. See Güterbock 1938:104-113 and Soysal 1988. For humour in Hittite historiography, see Beckman 1995b. For the discourse of cannibalism in Western anthropology and history, see Hulme 1998.

⁶⁸⁹ See also the Anitta Text (Neu, *StBoT* 18) and Singer 1995.

criterion for defining 'un-Hittite' behaviour. Had *hurkel* been used in an international context, as in this treaty, the full social implications of the prohibition would not have been sufficiently indicated. Since the use of the expression denotes, unlike the specific *hurkel*, all behaviour which is not welcomed, it enables Ḫuqqana to understand that the prohibition is part of the wider behavioural code of Hittite society. In this particular case, *natta āra* required conduct that ensures the sexual purity demanded in Hatti of those who face the royal person. As argued in detail, although there is no doubt that the prohibition served the immediate political ends of Šuppiluliuma, its ultimate objective was to ensure that incestuous deeds and even lesser promiscuous acts would not be committed, lest they contaminate the sanctity of the Hittite royal family.

As a final remark to this section, it is worthwhile noting the conservative nature of the expression. At least two hundred years separate the Tale of Zalpa and the Ḫuqqana Treaty, which prohibit the very same sexual act with the use of the *natta āra* expression.

4. International Affairs

As the Hittites themselves stated, the issue of fugitives was a matter of great importance in Hatti.⁶⁹⁰ The seven occurrences of the expression in relation to this problem merited a detailed examination of its use for political purposes. It was shown how in the treaties (Texts 24-27), the expression came to legitimate a unilateral action of the Hittite state. When Mittanni enjoyed independence (Text 24), one can safely assume that the unilateral extradition policy was not practiced. The expression was used to formulate a new rule and to describe what conduct would be demanded from a vassal state, in terms that naturally favoured the Hittite kingdom. In the treaties with West Anatolia (Texts 25-27), its function was basically the same. Following the military conquest of the area, the reorganization of political entities demanded the (re)formulation of specific injunctions.

The appearance of the expression in diplomatic letters (Texts 28, 30, 31) indicates that its usage in contexts dealing with the issue of fugitives was

⁶⁹⁰ See the statement of a Hittite official who claims that 'in Hatti there are two matters of importance (2 INIM^{MES} *nakkī*): 'If a fugitive takes refuge with someone does he not hand him over? And does he not denounce the [guilty] person who was behind the affair?...'' (following CHD/L-N: 361a; see Archi and Klengel 1985:57, 60, iv, 13'-15').

not accidental but rather premeditated to some degree. The repetitive usage of the expression over a long period of time bears witness to the formulation of a legal idiomatic phrase. The customary laws of hospitality towards strangers assumed full legality as they were harnessed to suit political purposes and protect fugitives from execution (Texts 30, 31).⁶⁹¹

In other diplomatic contexts (Texts 31, 32), the expression forbade hostilities among peers: shedding blood or being at war was not allowed. It guaranteed the existence of 'good brotherhood' and 'good peace' between the Hittite king and his 'brothers', the Great Kings of the period. By examining the similar background of the Egyptian-Hittite Treaty, it was indeed demonstrated that the behaviour between the peers must be approved by the gods; they mandate that the relationship be *paṣu* (Text 7; cf. Text 6).

5. Administration of Justice in Hatti

The first two Instruction Texts (Texts 33, 34) demonstrated how the expression was used to regulate the behaviour of personnel related directly to the king or the palace: the Royal Bodyguards were required to take heed while protecting the king in his descent from the palace; and a palace official was warned not to misappropriate the town's reserves. The following two legal documents (Texts 35, 36) wished to propagate the image of the Hittite king as a just arbitrator. In these rather fragmentary texts, the expression seems to denote the legality of an appeal process before the king. All persons are entitled to a legal appeal (which is *āra*); however, should one transgress against the king during the process, his appeal cannot be considered legal (*natta āra*). This sense of *āra* as denoting the legality of certain actions is met in the next three texts. We saw how the Tarhuntašša Treaties (Texts 37, 38 along with Text 39) exemplified the use of the term *āra* to denote the legality of a certain action. The King validated his subordinates' actions as lawful, that is, as *āra*.

In Hattušili's personal appeal to the Sun-goddess (Text 41), the use of the expression ensures, by its impersonal construction, that the Hittite king does not directly blame the goddess. The idiomatic legal language associated here with the expression emphasizes the illegality of reopening a case against Hattušili. Perhaps more importantly, the expression marks a step

⁶⁹¹ See further Cohen, in press b.

towards the individualization of punishment. The same moral concern is addressed once again in the Proclamation of Telepinu (Text 44). The legislator wishes to limit the immoral acts of revenge and bloodshed and to restrict collective punishment: only the guilty party is to pay for its crimes. In these two instances, the expression formulates a moral injunction, although it is still some distance away from the formulation of universal concepts of morality which transcend temporal or local considerations.

In light of these observations, how does one evaluate the role of the *natta āra* expression in the formation of ethical standards? While *natta āra* can prohibit various actions which have nothing to do with ethics, we saw that because of its inclusive nature, it can regulate moral behaviour through legal procedures. For example, in diplomatic contexts it can prohibit the execution of fugitives; in administrative internal affairs (with the use of instruction texts or royal edicts) it can prohibit the misuse of power by officials. This, however, should not imply that one can trace a progressive process in the use of the expression, commencing with a supposed elementary 'primitive' stage concerned with cultic prohibitions, which then proceeds to loftier moral injunctions.⁶⁹² Rather, it should emphasize the interconnectedness of various forms of social behaviour and point to the fact that modern categorizations of ethics are somewhat artificial. When the inclusive worldview of the Hittites is viewed as one system, we find that *natta āra*, along with other mechanisms, functions to ensure the correct rapport between the various components on many different levels. Since the Hittites were probably the most legally minded people of the ancient Near East, in order to assure the working of the cosmos as they knew it, they articulated multiple rules (on many occasions in technical legal language) in a variety of genres. Found in many of these textual genres is the formulaic expression *natta āra*, which strives to define the dangers of disorder and chaos threatening the community and its world. Within this assumed comprehensive system (it was never explicitly articulated as such), one should place the ethical injunctions formulated with the help of the *natta āra* expression.

⁶⁹² See the criticism expressed by Westbrook 1988:41-46 of the notion of the linear evolution of law in antiquity.

6. The *natta āra* Expression and Hittite Ideology

On some particular occasions in this study, the role of the *natta āra* expression in shaping social identity was discussed. It was argued that the expression had the ability to strengthen the social cohesion of the group, and even the larger social unit, the state, by providing a negative discourse of a 'Counter-identity' or an image of the 'Other'. In several cases the expression sharpened the differences between the customs of the land of Hatti and those of other ethnic or territorial groups. It articulated a qualitative difference, judging the norms of the 'Other' to be unacceptable in the *Ḫuqqana Treaty* (Text 23); *Ḫattušili's* letter to *Kadašman-Enlil* (Text 30); the *Tawagalawa Letter*, to some extent (Text 31); and the account of the *Tawannanna affair* (Text 42). How does one define the distinction that the expression tries to convey? Attributing a sense of chauvinism or xenophobic mentality to the Hittites would seem to imply an attitude of nationalism which is foreign to the political and social atmosphere of the second millennium. One of the definitions of *natta āra* offered by *Laroche 1960:128* therefore should include a clarification. When *Laroche* says 'surtout, dans deux cas remarquables (*Texts 23 and 42*) la notion d'*āra* coïncide avec les règles de la coutume nationale', we should take care to define what exactly 'coutume nationale' means before the advent of nation-states. Tentatively, one can state that the counter-image advanced by the use of the expression in these examples is contrasted with the notion of Hatti as a territorial unit—rather than a national or ethnic state—and therefore, ethnicity plays a minor role, although not altogether absent.⁶⁹³ Hatti is contrasted with *Ḫayaša* and *Babylonia*, but the discourse centers finally around an individual (*Ḫuqqana* or *Tawannanna*) who threatens the institution of kingship. The use of the expression to prohibit the execution of fugitives (Text 31) suggests implicitly that the West Anatolian countries may have had other norms; and in Text 30, the *Subarians*, living in no man's land, directly receive the blame for the murder of the *Babylonian merchants*, because a civilized country like Hatti naturally abstains from such crimes. These last two cases were not meant to boost national pride, but rather to show that Hatti behaves according to the standard demanded among peer kingdoms of the period. Finally, these prohibitions are not expressed as a set of behavioural

⁶⁹³ See *Bryce 1998:7-20* for a reevaluation of the Hittite ethnic component in the Hittite kingdom (although the Hittites' role is perhaps overly minimized in his account); also *Güterbock, Selected: 179-185*.

instructions for an entire people (and therefore, cannot be termed as 'national' in the strict sense of the word): they are directed towards individuals and the limited audience of the Hittite royal house. Their articulation, although generalized by the *natta āra* expression, is not transcendental.



Edicts, Instruction Texts and legal documents formulated by the central authorities at *Hattuša* propagated a positive image of the just Hittite monarch to various audiences. Other texts ensured that the cult manifest the Hittites' religious sentiment towards their gods; some regulated matters of purity and sexual behaviour that contributed to the stability and the identity of the upper levels of Hittite society. As this study has attempted to demonstrate, the *natta āra* expression played a significant role in these textual repertoires that strove to impose coherence and sense upon some basic dilemmas in the multifarious and divergent Hittite society.

VIII. Appendix : Fragments and Unpublished Texts

Below are included some fragmentary texts and additional unpublished fragments containing the *natta āra* expression and the term *āra*. In cases where some sense can be made, I have provided a provisional translation. Texts that are not preserved well enough to merit translation are presented only in transliteration.¹

A. Texts Including the *natta āra* Expression

1. Text 45 = KUB 60.112 rev.

The following text is a fragment which may prohibit a certain woman from eating. Its broken nature precludes any further discussion.

Transliteration: KUB 60.112 rev. 5-12 (the first four lines are most fragmentary).

5' [^{MUN₁US} *Hé-en-ti-i*]
6' *a-da-an-na¹ UL a-[a-ra*
7' *na-at az-zi-ki-[iz-zi*
8' DUMU.MUNUS *ku-it A-NA²* [
9' *nu-uš-ši ek-ki-x*
10' *'EGIR-ŠU hu-u-it-[te-ez-zi²*
11' [*x x*]
12' [*-it ki-*

Translation:

...[] Henti...[]. It is not al[lowed] to eat [She/he] eats continuously...Because (her)² daughter to²...[] for her... (the rest is too broken).

¹ The unpublished texts were generously provided by Wilhelm, G., courtesy of the Boğazköy-Mainz Academy.

2. Text 46 = KUB 60.122 rev.

The obverse of this small fragment is concerned with a sacrificial ritual involving a son-in-law (^{LU}*HA-TÁ-NU*) and women-singers (^{MUNUS.MES}*hazgara*). The reverse reads as follows:

Transliteration:

1']-x-ma-an [
2']x-nu A-NA DINGIR^{ME}Š³
3']x-x-ma a-aš-šu-uš⁴ e'⁵[-eš²
4']x-kán an-da ha-a-ni-eš hu-uh-hi-[eš e-ku-zi²
5']x-wa-an-zi Ú-UL ku-it a-a-[ra

*End of Tablet*Translation:

1'-3' ...to the gods...[You/he b]e good...
4' [He drinks] forth the grandmothers and the grandfather[s].²
5' ...because it is not permitted to do X...

3. Text 47 = VS (NF) 12.7 (VAT 7698)

This is a passage from an evocation to the Sun-goddess of Arinna; it preserves the *natta āra* expression, but does not offer any immediate context.

Fragment of an Evocation Ritual of Muṣṣili II.³

Transliteration: VAT 7698 i 1'-6'.⁴

1' []-x-ká[n]
2' []x na-a-ú-i A-Š[AR.²]
3' []x-a-aš e-ša-ri nu-uš-ši x[]
4' [*ti*]-an-zi ma-aš-ha-an-ma-aš-ši^{LU}[-]
5' [pe]-ra-an e-ša-ri nu-uš-ši nam-ma⁵[-]
6' *Ú-UL a-a-ra x*⁵]

² Cf. Otten, *HTR*: 60, ii 23.

³ VAT 7698 = VS NF 12.7 (28 Heft).

⁴ Following Pecchioli Daddi 2000:345. Bibliography: Pecchioli Daddi 2000; Jakob-Rost 1997:7; see reviews by Hoffner 2000a:125 and Melchert 1999:522.

Translation:

- 1' ...
 2' [] not yet in place...
 3' [The king⁵] sits and for him
 4' they [place]...and as for him...[
 5' In front, he sits and for him also...[
 6' It is not correct and...

The rest of this ritual (i 7'-20') describes a scene in which high-ranking officials participate in a ritual before king Muršili II, who is possibly suffering from some personal distress.⁶ The reverse of the tablet mentions a goat probably to be offered (iii 7'), and includes a fragmentary account of misfortunes afflicting the land of Hatti and Muršili. Presently, it is not possible to determine what the *natta āra* expression prohibited.

4. Text 48 = 500/i rev.

Transliteration:

1	[]-77
2	[] ^{D₃} U DINGIR ^{MES} LU ^{MES} a-a-
3	[ir-]ha-a-iz-zi 2 NINDA.K[U ₇
4	[]-ya nu DINGIR ^{LU^M} ša-ra-[a
5	[]a GÜB-la-za i-en-ta [
6	[ki-i]š-ša-an tar-aš-kán-zi
7	[] NINDA GA.KIN.AG
8	[]x-ri Ū-UL a-a-ra [

Translation:

- 2 ...The Storm-god, the gods, the men...
 3 ...She/he does the [rou]nds, 2 sweet breads...
 4 ...and the deity above...
 5 ...they go from the left...
 6 ...thus they speak...

⁵ Although the copy indicates that a (broken) sign directly follows *a-a-ra*, it is possible that this is a clause-initial particle not actually appended to *āra*. In all documented cases, *āra* is in the predicate position, and it never acquires an enclitic sentence-connective particle.

⁶ Pecchioli Daddi 2000:356-358.

- 7 ...bread, cheese...
 8 ...it is not permitted...

5. Texts 49a-49d: Unpublished Text Citations

- a. Bo 4271 7' : Ū-UL a-a-ra
 b. Bo 4823 9' : Ū-UL a-a-ra
 c. Bo 5040 ii 27' :]-ta-u-an-zi Ū-UL ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki a-a-ra
 d. Bo 6102 iv 16' : Ū-UL a-a-ra

B. Texts Including the Term *āra*:

6. Text 50 = KBo 43.52 iv.⁷

Transliteration:

- 26 kar-dim-mi-ya-aš ki-ša-ri ha-an¹-ni-tal-wa-na-ša-aš ki-ša-ri
 27 kap-pi-la-al-li-iš ki-ša-ri la-aḫ-ḫi-ya-ši-an ḫar-ni-i[k-ši
 28 e-šu-wa-ar-ši Ū-UL a-a-ra i-ya-ši nu...

⁷ Only a short passage is presented, following the transliteration of the file-cards of the Boğazköy-Mainz Academy. At the time of writing, KBo 43 was at the printer and the entire text inaccessible. From the same text the following citation was also made available to me: col. iv 15 presents Ū-UL a-a-ri i-ya-ši. The unique ending -ri instead of -ra is probably a reflection of [arriyaš] (a glide of the final *a* to *i*). For further remarks on this text, see p. 18, n.72 and 145, n.624.

Translation:

'He becomes angry, he be[comes] a litigant, he becomes enraged; you oppose him, and you dest[roy him...], do not make support⁸ for him permitted/legal.'

7. Text 51 = KUB 60.109 obv.

This text (consisting of some 25 lines) is in a poor state of preservation, and due to the somewhat unruly scribal hand and the many *rasurae*, it is difficult to establish the context in which *āra* appears. On the whole, the text is possibly some kind of royal evocation ritual.⁹

Transliteration:

- 6' -[š] me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi
7' } kar-tim-mi-ya-nu-wa-an har-ti
8']^{NA} 4[?] x-x a-a-ra i-ya-zi

Translation:

He/She continuously speaks.... 'You have angered (*the god*)...'
He correctly performs...

8. Text 52 = 1749/u rev.

Transliteration:

- 1']x^{MES}-ya tar-na-at
2']x-a-aš šal
3']x (ras.) ti-ya-at
4']-az pap
5']a-at-ta EGIR-pa i-ya-mu-
6']x BE-LU^{MES}-ya ŠA ERIN^{MES}
7']x a-a-ra i-ya-
8']x ŠIG₅

⁸ Thus translating *ešurwar* (verbal noun of *eš-* 'to be'); the Hittite word *ešurwar* (preceded by *appa*) is equated in the trilingual dictionary with Akkadian *tukultu* and Sumerian *A.GAL*. See Güterbock in Civil 1971:133, i 17 and Puhvel, *HED/A*: 289.

⁹ The royal princes (DUMU^{MES}.LUGAL) are mentioned in Rev. 18'.

9. Text 53 = 1131/v ii

Transliteration:

- 2' nu ma-ni-ya-aš-ḫi-x[-
3' ANŠE.GIR.NUN.NA^{HI.A} ar-
4' a-ra e-eš-tu LÚ.MEŠ^{GI}[DRU?
5' nu-uz-za URU^{DIDL}.ŠU ḫu-wa-iš-ki¹⁰-[u
6' UDU.SÍG+MUNUS^{HI.A}-ša² A-NA ša-?-?¹¹
7' le-e ku-iš-ki ša-li-
8' le-e ku-iš-ki ḫu-u[-
9' i-iš-ša-i nu-uš tu-
10' a-ap-pa-li ka-pu-it pa-
11' ku-e-da-ni-ik-ka ta-i[-
12' na-aš-šu-ma na-ak-ki-ta [
13' [n]a-aš-ma ša-ku-i-ti x[

10. Text 54 = KUB 39.17 (?).¹²

Transliteration: rev. iii

- 2' x[a]r-mu-u-w[a-]
3' a-a-[ra^{??}] nu-wa-aš-ši uk-[tu-u-ri]
4' la-lu-uk-ki-u-wa-an e-eš-du []

Translation:

'...Moon[shine...] accord[ingly]?'] and may it for[ever] be resplendent for him.'

¹⁰ For the value *ki₉* (= *kar*), see Wilhelm 1998:184, rev. 40 (cf. rev. 36).

¹¹ The copy by Otten shows the following:

ANŠE.GIR.NUN.NA

¹² See Otten, *HTR*: 86-87 and CHD/L-N: 30b.

Concordance

1. Texts employing the expression *natta āra*⁷⁰⁶

<u>Publication</u>	<u>Text Number</u>	<u>Page</u>
KBo 1.42 iv 7	1	26
KBo 2.4 ii 12	16	62
KBo 3.1 ii 61	44	157
KBo 5.3 iii 30, 34*, 38, 60*, 62	23	80ff.
KBo 5.4 obv. 38	25	103
KBo 12.114 obv. 6'	34a	135, n.584
KBo 15.37 i 54'	11	52
KBo 16.25 iii 9a*	36	140
KBo 17.65 obv. 14*, 17	19	67
KBo 17.84 iv 2'*	10a	50, n.215
KBo 19.44 rev. 18*, 22, 26, 45*, 47	23	80ff.
KBo 21.19+ ii 21	41	148
KBo 22.2 obv. 20*	22	75
KBo 24.45 obv. 20'	15	60
KBo 39.190 ii 11'	14a	57, n.245

<u>Publication</u>	<u>Text Number</u>	<u>Page</u>
KUB 5.1 i 38	5a	37
KUB 9.15 ii 21'	34	134
KUB 11.6 ii 7	44	157
KUB 13.7 i 24	35	137
KUB 14.3 ii 8	31a	119
KUB 14.3 iv 10	31b	126
KUB 14.4 i 13'	42	151
KUB 14.6 7*	23	80ff.
KUB 17.24 ii 15	17	65
KUB 19.20+ rev. 9	32	123
KUB 19.24 rev. 13*, 17, 21*	23	80ff.
KUB 19.54 i 4*	26	106
KUB 19.55+ rev. 4'	28	110
KUB 21.1 iii 64	27	108
KUB 28.4 iii 15	20	70
KUB 30.10 obv. 13'	9	45
KUB 32.63 i 9'	18	66
KUB 35.131 i 5'	12	54
KUB 36.79 ii 32*	9a	46, n.198
KUB 40.35 iii 60*	23	80ff.
KUB 45.47 iv 37	10	50
KUB 45.49 iv 10	14	57
KUB 57.11 rev. 11'	29	111
KUB 57.79 iv 42	21	72

⁷⁰⁶ Entries marked with an asterisk preserve the expression only partially.

<u>Publication</u>	<u>Text Number</u>	<u>Page</u>
KUB 58.94 iv 3'*	21a	72, n.322
KUB 60.112 rev. 6'	45	170
KUB 60.122 rev. 5'	46	171
HT 1 iv 7	13	55
IBoT 1.36 iii 41	33	132
VAT 7698 i 6'	47	171
Bo 4271 7'	49a	173
Bo 4823 9'	49b	173
Bo 5040 ii 27'	49c	173
Bo 6102 iv 16'	49d	173
500/i rev. 8	48	172

2. Texts containing *āra*

KBo 3.28 ii 22'	43	154, n.662
KBo 4.10 obv. 37'	37	143ff.
(twice)		
KBo 5.3 ii 8	6	39
KBo 5.3 + KBo 19.43 ii 50	6a	39, n.172
KBo 5.3 iii 64	23	80ff.
KBo 16.25 iii 13'*, 20'	36	140
KBo 19.44+ rev. 49	23	80ff.

<u>Publication</u>	<u>Text Number</u>	<u>Page</u>
KBo 22.40 rev. 49	23	80ff.
KBo 43.52 iv 28	50	173
KUB 5.1 iv 57	5b	38
KUB 13.7 i 10	35	137
KUB 27.68 i 17	16a	64, n.281
KUB 29.1 i 4	3	35
KUB 30.24 ii 1	39	145
KUB 30.27 rev. 2	4a, 8	36, 43
KUB 31.106 iii 4	40	147
KUB 39.9 obv. 12	4b	36
KUB 39.17 ii 1*	39a	145, n.622
KUB 39.17 iii 3'*	54	175
KUB 39.41 rev. 14'	4c	36, n.158
KUB 40.69 obv. 2'	37	143
KUB 60.109 obv. 8'	51	174
IBoT 1.36 iii 48	33	132
Bo 86/299 ii 19 (twice), 20, 82, 83	38	144ff.
1749/u rev. 7'	52	174
1131/v ii 4'	53	175
1270/z rev. 7'	2	34

3. Texts with the Akkadian Expression *ul paršu*

Publication	Text Number	Page
KBo 1.1 rev. 11	24	99
KBo 1.10+ rev. 22	30b	115
KBo 1.10+ rev. 44	30a	113

4. Texts including Akkadian *paršu*

KBo 1.3 obv. 22	—	30
KBo 1.7+ obv. 24	7	31, 40
KBo 1.14 rev. 6	—	30
EA 42:18	—	29

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