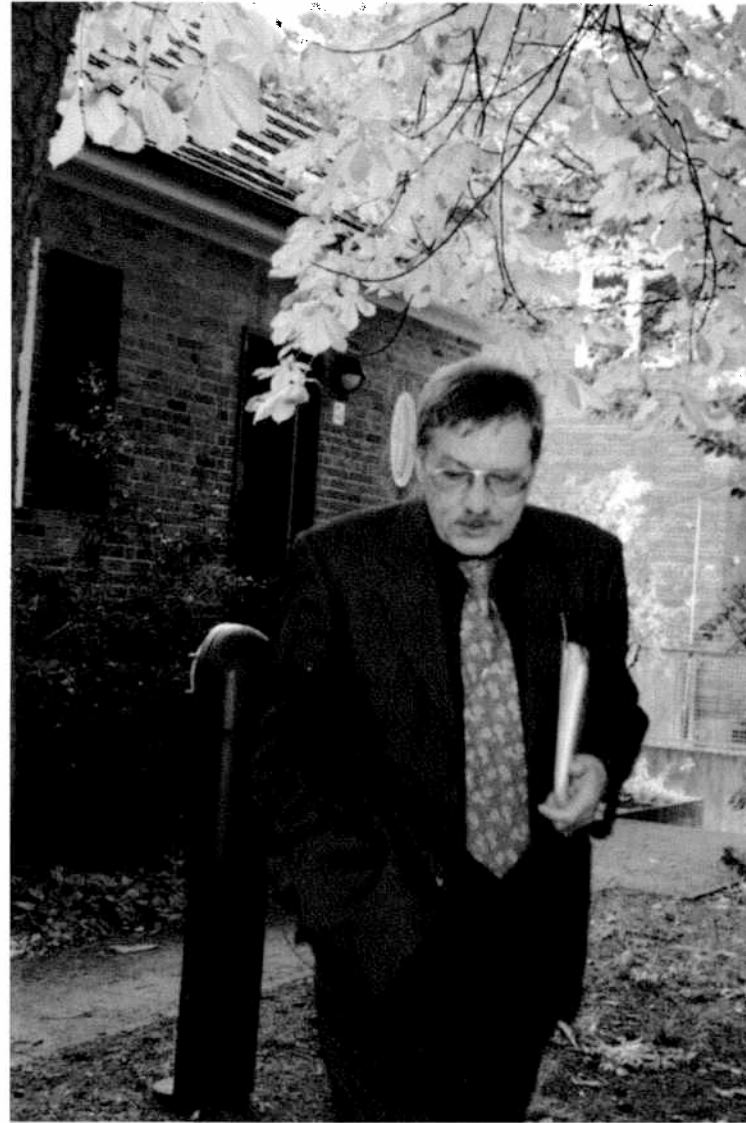




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25 *tuluzzi nē*-en nicht

26 und kommen nicht (einfach so) hin; zum/für das Wasser

27 der Reinheit sollen sie erschaffen sein!“

Wenn der Übersetzungsversuch auch nur als vorläufig gelten kann — einige Formen mehrere Deutungen zulassen, manche Probleme ungelöst bleiben —, zeigt er dennoch, daß sich die Beschwörungsworte ganz in den Ritualverlauf einfügen.

Der Passus des Wasserschöpfens machte deutlich, daß die Opferungen am Flußufer wohl als eine Art Gegenleistung für das Wasser zu verstehen sind, das der Beschwörungspriester von der Sonnengöttin der Erde „fordert“, um auf dessen Basis, wie eingangs beschrieben, das Reinigungswasser zuzubereiten. Der vorgeschlagene Übersetzungsversuch ließe sich ähnlich interpretieren: In der Beschwörung, die während einer weiteren Opferung zu rezitieren ist und sich vielleicht direkt auf diese bezieht, wird darauf hingewiesen, daß die verschiedenen Gaben nicht als selbstverständlich anzusehen sind.⁹⁷ Auch wenn nicht klar ist, um wen es sich bei der Angerufenen und wohl auch Beopferten (Z. 22f.) handelt⁹⁸, hat diese vielleicht entscheidenden Anteil daran, das Wasser magisch wirksam zu machen, wofür ihr eben als Dank die Opfergaben dargebracht werden.

Auf die Qualität des Wassers als *materia magica* deutet schon die nun verwendete Bezeichnung „Wasser der Reinheit“ (Z. 26f.). Unter der hurritisch-hethitischen Entsprechung *šeḫelliaš wātar/widār* findet das Wasser dann im Verlauf des Rituals in verschiedenen Riten zur Reinigung des Ritualherrn Anwendung.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Vgl. den Abschnitt des Hausreinigungsrituals CTH 446, KBo 10.45 Rs. III 35-40 (s. H. Otten, ZA 54, 130f.): Den Unterweltsgöttern wird angedroht, ihnen ihre Opfer vorzuenthalten, falls sie, in der Funktion als Rechtsinstanz, die „Rechtssache des Hauses nicht günstig“ entscheiden.

⁹⁸ Vgl. KBo 20.129 + (V. Haas, ChS I/1Nr. 5) Rs. III 22-30, wo *šilalluḫi* (ebd. 25) ebenfalls in einer hurritischen Beschwörung zwischen verschiedenen Göttern erwähnt wird; s. Anm. 49.

⁹⁹ KBo 5.2 Rs. III 42-52, 54-60, Rs. IV 20-26, 36-48.

Mycenaeans, Ahhiyawa and Hittite imperial policy in the West: a note on KUB 26.91

Piotr Taracha (Warszawa)

It is a pleasure to offer this small contribution to Professor Volkert Haas to whom I am indebted for his friendly attitude and help during my educational stays in Berlin. I hope that Professor Haas will be interested in this note on one Hittite text dealing with Ahhiyawa.

Recent discoveries — the Bronze Tablet, the inscriptions Yalburt and Boğazköy-Südburg, and the inscribed reliefs Hatip and Karabel — provide a secure foundation for the establishment of the political geography of west and south Anatolia in the thirteenth century B.C.¹ The now firm locations of the major countries, Tarhuntassa, Lukka, Mira-Arzawa, and the Seha River land, appear a persuasive argument for the placement of Wilusa in the Troad and rule out a south or west Anatolian location for the great kingdom of Ahhiyawa. This kingdom should be located in mainland Greece (at least its capital, irrespective of the question which of the Mycenaean palatial centers would be the best candidate for it) rather than in the southern part of the East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface, as P.A. Mountjoy wants to see it on the evidence of Mycenaean-type pottery and burial customs.² Ahhiyawan interest in Anatolia was focused on the Aegean coastal zone, in particular in the area of Millawanda (later Miletos), which was under Mycenaean control, but it impinged also strongly on the west Anatolian countries, Mira-Arzawa and the Seha river land. The sequence of historical events in west Anatolia in relation to Mycenaean

¹ For a recent discussion, see F. Starke, “Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen Umfeldes Kleinasien im 2. Jahrtausend”, *Studia Troica* 7 (1997), 484-487; J.D. Hawkins, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira — ‘Tarkondemos’, Boğazköy sealings and Karabel”, *AnSt* 48 (1998), 21-31, map in fig. 11, with bibliography. Hawkins’ proposal (p. 26) to place Attarimma at Telmessos (Fethiye) is most unlikely, however. Telmessos has been identified with Kuwalapassi/a of the Hittite texts; cf., e.g., M. Poetto, *L’iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di Yalburt* (StMed 8, Pavia 1993), 81-82.

² P.A. Mountjoy, “The East-West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age: Mycenaeans and the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa”, *AnSt* 48 (1998), 33-51, maps in Figs 1 and 7. The idea to place Ahhiyawa on the islands of the southeastern Aegean with Rhodes as center is very old (cf. B. Hrozný, “Hethiter und Griechen”, *ArOr* 1, 1929, 323 ff.) but Rhodes or Kos do not offer enough room for the great kingdom of Ahhiyawa (see, e.g., S. Iakovidis, “Rhodes and Ahhiyawa”, in: *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium “The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean”*, Nicosia 27th March-2nd April 1972, Nicosia 1973, 189-192), the rulers of which “correspond on equal terms with their Hittite counterparts, and (...) were apparently regarded as ranking in importance with other major Late Bronze Age rulers — the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria” (quotation from T.R. Bryce, “The Nature of Mycenaean Involvement in Western Anatolia”, *Historia* 38, 1989, 5). The location in the Mycenaean mainland with overseas possessions and dependencies on the Aegean islands and in west Anatolian coastal area has gained much more adherents, see now W.-D. Niemeier, “The Mycenaeans in Western Anatolia and the Problem of the Origin of the Sea People”, in: S. Gitin/A. Mazar/E. Stern (eds), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition, Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE, in Honor of Trude Dothan* (Jerusalem 1998), 20 fig. 3 and 22 fig. 4 (the hitherto proposed locations of Ahhiyawa).

involvement there is well illuminated by Hittite sources, and during the last two decades or so enough works have been published to discuss them in a clear and objective way.³

It is not my purpose here to retrace the whole vast discussion but simply to indicate the bearing of the evidence of KUB 26.91 on the question.⁴ This fragmentary text is a letter of a

³ Suffice it to mention here the most important ones: E.R. Jewell, *The Archaeology and History of Western Anatolia during the Second Millennium B.C.* (Diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor 1974), esp. 297 ff., 325 ff., 337 ff.; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa. Untersuchungen zu seiner Geschichte nach den hethitischen Quellen* (THeth 8, Heidelberg 1977), passim; ead., "Untersuchungen zu Piyamaradu (Teil I)", *OrNS* 52 (1983), 81-97, and "Untersuchungen zu Piyamaradu (Teil II)", *OrNS* 55 (1986), 47-62; H.A. Hoffner, "The Milawata Letter Augmented and Reinterpreted", *AfOB* 19 (Horn 1982), 130-137; H.-G. Güterbock, "The Hittites and the Aegean World, 1. The Ahhiyawa Problem Reconsidered", *AJA* 87 (1983), 133-138; id., "Hittites and Akhaeans: A New Look", *PAPS* 128/2 (1984), 114-122; id., "Troy in Hittite Texts? Wilusa, Ahhiyawa, and Hittite History", in: M.J. Mellink (ed.), *Troy and the Trojan War* (Bryn Mawr 1986), 33-44; id., "Wer war Tawagalawa?", *OrNS* 59 (1990), 157-165; id., "A new look at one Ahhiyawa text", in: *Fs. Alp*, 235-243; S. Košak, "The Hittites and the Greeks", *Linguistica* 20 (1980), 35-48; id., "Western Neighbors of the Hittites", *Eretz-Israel* 15 (1981), 12-16; R. Lebrun, "Considérations sur l'expansion occidentale de la civilisation hittite", *OLP* 11 (1980), 69-78; I. Singer, "Western Anatolia in the Thirteenth Century B.C. According to the Hittite Sources", *AnSt* 33 (1983), 205-217; J. Puhvel, "Homeric Questions and Hittite Answers", *AJP* 104 (1983), 217-227; Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, "Sidelights on the Ahhiyawa Question from Hittite Vassal and Royal Correspondence", *JEOL* 28 (1983-1984), 33-79; M. Popko, "Zur Datierung des Tawagalawa-Briefes", *AoF* 11 (1984), 199-203; id., "Z najdawniejszych dziejów Miletu", *Meander* 46/3-4 (1991), 79-86; T.R. Bryce, "A Reinterpretation of the Milawata Letter in the Light of the New Join Piece", *AnSt* 35 (1985), 13-23; id., "Madduwatta and Hittite Policy in Western Anatolia", *Historia* 35 (1986), 1-12; id., *Historia* 38, 1-21; id., "Ahhiyawans and Mycenaeans – An Anatolian Viewpoint", *OJA* 8/3 (1989), 297-310; id., "Lukka Revisited", *JNES* 51 (1992), 121-130; id., *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford 1998), passim; M. Marazzi, "Gli 'Achei' in Anatolia: un problema di metodologia", in: M.-S. Tusa/L. Vagnetti (eds), *Traffici Micenei nel Mediterraneo. Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica, Atti del convegno di Palermo (11-12 maggio e 3-6 dicembre 1984)* (Magna Grecia 3, Taranto 1986), 391-403; id., "Das 'geheimnisvolle' Land Ahhiyawa", in: *Fs. Alp*, 365-377; J. Freu, "Problèmes de chronologie et géographie hittites: Madduwatta et les débuts de l'empire", *Hethitica* 8 (1987), 123-175; id., "Hittites et Achéens. Données nouvelles concernant le pays d'Ahhiyawa", *LAMA* 11 (Nice 1990), 1-69; id., "Les relations entre Troie et le monde hittite", in: L. Isebaert/R. Lebrun (eds), *Quaestiones Homericae – Acta Colloquii Namurcensis* (Louvain/Namur 1998), 95-118; W. Helck, "Zur Keftiu-, Alašia- und Ahhiyawa-Frage", in: H.-G. Buchholz (ed.), *Ägäische Bronzezeit* (Darmstadt 1987), 224-226; A. Ünal, "Two Peoples on Both Sides of the Aegean Sea: Did the Achaeans and the Hittites Know Each Other?", *BMECCJ* 4 (1991), 16-44; E.H. Cline, "A Possible Hittite Embargo against the Mycenaeans", *Historia* 40 (1991), 1-9; id., *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford 1994), 121 ff.; O. Carruba, "Ahhiyawa e Ahhiyawa, la Grecia e l'Egeo", in: *Fs. Houwink ten Cate*, 7-21; C. Gates, "The Mycenaeans and their Anatolian frontier", in: R. Laffineur/W.-D. Niemeier (eds), *Politeia. Aegean State and Society. Proceedings of the International Aegean Conference in Heidelberg 1994* (Aegaeum 12, Liège 1995), 289-298; S. de Martino, *L'Anatolia Occidentale nel Medio Regno Ittita* (Eothen 5, Firenze 1996); J.D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 48, 10-21; C. Mee, "Anatolia and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age", in: E.H. Cline/D. Harris-Cline (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium. Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium Cincinnati, 18-20 April 1997* (Aegaeum 18, Liège 1998), 137-148; P.A. Mountjoy, *AnSt* 48, 47-49; W.D. Niemeier, in: *Mediterranean Peoples*, 19-25 (with a comprehensive list of publications dealing with the Ahhiyawa question), 41-45; id., "Mycenaeans and Hittites in War in Western Asia Minor", in: R. Laffineur (ed.), *POLEMOS. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7e Rencontre Égéenne Internationale, Université de Liège, 14-17 avril 1998* (Aegaeum 19, Liège 1999), 141-155; H. Klengel, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches* (Leiden [u.a.] 1999), passim; K. Nowicki, *Defensible Sites in Crete c. 1200-800 B.C. (LM IIIB/IIIC through Early Geometric)* (Aegaeum 21, Liège 2000), 257-265.

⁴ The text has been frequently used in the discussion of the Ahhiyawa question, cf. E. Forrer, "Ahhiyavâ", in: *RIA* I (1928), 56-57; F. Sommer, *Die Ahhiyavâ-Urkunden* (München 1932), 268-274; O. Carruba, "Über historiographische und philologische Methoden in der Hethitologie", *OrNS* 40 (1971), 214; Ph. Houwink ten

Hittite king to his Ahhiyawan counterpart, whom he regards on equal terms as Great King, calling him 'my brother' (obv. 1, rev. 14', 15'). I concur with de Martino that the letter's sender, who most likely can be identified with Muwatalli II,⁵ alludes to the events related also in Manapatarhunta's letter KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79, that is, smiting of land of Lazpa (= Lesbos) by Atpa of Millawanda at instigation of Piyamaradu, involving the ŠARIPŪTU-men of Manapatarhunta and Hittite king, who claim to have come to the island 'across the sea' (l. 16) and now apparently approve of the change of their suzerain.⁶ These operations of Millawandan troops on the off-shore islands controlled by Manapatarhunta, Hittite vassal in the Seha-River land, were probably antecedent to the Alaksandu treaty⁷ and must have taken place in the early (turbulent⁸) years during the reign of Muwatalli II. Ahhiyawan ruler was fully aware of these actions and clearly accepted them. He is quoted in KUB 26.91 obv. 6-7 as having stated in his previous letter to the Hittite king: *tuel=wa :guršawara kue z[ik ...] / DU ARAD-anni ammuḫ paış* "Your islands, which y[ou ...], the Storm-god gave [them] to me in vassalage".⁹

The following portion of the text (obv. 7-10) sets forth an answer of the Hittite king, referring to the Assuwa campaign of Tudhaliya, three generations before Muwatalli II,¹⁰ in order

Cate, "Anatolian Evidence for Relations with the West in the Late Bronze Age", in: R.A. Crossland/A. Birchall (eds), *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean: Archaeological and Linguistic Problems in Greek Prehistory* (London 1973), 151; E.R. Jewell, *The Archaeology and History of Western Anatolia*, 338; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *THeth* 8, 267, 269-270; S. Košak, *Linguistica* 20 (1980), 41; D. Easton, "Has the Trojan War Been Found?", *Antiquity* 59 (1985), 192; M. Marazzi, in: *Traffici Micenei*, 398, 401; A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter. 2. Teil* (THeth 16, Heidelberg 1989), 319-320; J. Freu, *LAMA* 11, 10-11, 21; A. Ünal, *BMECCJ* 4, 20, 30; M. Marazzi, in: *Fs. Alp*, 376; S. de Martino, "Personaggi riferimenti storici nel testo oracolare ittita KBo XVI 97", *SMEA* 29 (1992), 44; E. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea*, 121; S. de Martino, *L'Anatolia Occidentale*, 30-33; see also O.R. Gurney, "The Authorship of the Tawagalawas Letter", in: *Fs. Popko* (forthcoming).

⁵ As suggested by D. Easton, *Antiquity* 59 (1985), 192 (Mursili II or Muwatalli II); A. Hagenbuchner, *THeth* 16, 320 (Muwatalli II or later); and S. de Martino, *L'Anatolia Occidentale*, 32. A. Ünal, *BMECCJ* 4, 20, is obviously wrong in dating KUB 26.91 to Arnuwanda I as the text features New Hittite Script. The proposals of S. Košak, *Linguistica* 20 (1980), 41 (Suppiluliuma I) and M. Marazzi, in: *Traffici Micenei*, 398, and in: *Fs. Alp*, 376 (Mursili II; see already E. Forrer, *RIA* I, 57), proved unlikely on the evidence of the contents of the text, see infra.

⁶ E. Forrer, *Forschungen* I.1 (Berlin 1926), 90 f. Cf. also Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *JEOL* 28 (1983-84), 38-40, 45-47.

⁷ For a different opinion, see E. Cavaignac, "La lettre Tavagalava", *RHA* 11 (1933), 102; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *THeth* 8, 176-177. An English translation of the treaty is now available, G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta 1996), 82-88.

⁸ As we may conclude from a fragmentary context KUB 26.91 obv. 3-4: ... *kurur ištarna [... / ...]x kišat nu akkantaš :arr[ahhiyawiya]*.²

⁹ Cf. F. Starke, "Die keilschrift-luwischen Wörter für Insel und Lampe", *KZ* 95 (1981), 143, 145-146; Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *JEOL* 28 (1983-84), 44; F. Starke, *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens* (StBoT 31, Wiesbaden 1990), 535 n. 1970; S. de Martino, *L'Anatolia Occidentale*, 31. In my opinion, the reference to the Storm-god does not imply that the quotation comes from a previous letter of the Hittite king (contra O.R. Gurney, in: *Fs. Popko*). How else could the Hittites call the great god of Ahhiyawa corresponding to their Storm-god? See also J. Freu, *LAMA* 11, 21.

¹⁰ Tudhaliya can be equated here with a great-grandfather of the Hittite king (ll. 8-9), cf. O. Carruba, *OrNS* 40, 214. For a different opinion, see S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *THeth* 8, 270.

to demonstrate just why the Hittite king lays claim to the islands adjacent to the Assuwa lands. The same Tudhaliya may perhaps be alluded to in § 2 of the treaty between Muwatalli II and Alaksandu.¹¹ Both texts produce thus additional evidence for the Assuwa campaign of Tudhaliya III, father of Suppiluliuma.¹²

Muwatalli's claim on the off-shore islands of the Central Interface¹³ could have been based on conquests of his father Mursili II, who, as we know from the Extended Annals CTH 61, sent his generals against Millawanda and conquered Arzawa in year 3 of his reign, introducing, in consequence, new political settlement in the far West of Anatolia. It is equally possible, however, to interpret this claim as going back to the days of Muwatalli's great-grandfather Tudhaliya III, as suggested by the discussed text. Now KUB 26.91 informs us of the king of Ahhiyawa occupying the islands that in former times belonged to the Hittite king, which may be evidence of Ahhiyawa starting its oversea expansion further north early in the reign of Muwatalli.

Admittedly, Mursili's political settlement of the West proved comparatively durable, lasting down into the reign of his grandson Tudhaliya IV. Muwatalli could not prevent Ahhiyawa from extending further north to include more off-shore islands, but in the mainland, owing to his father's political achievements in Arzawan territories, he was in a position to establish control over a more remote western country, Wilusa, by concluding the vassal treaty with its king Alaksandu. Later on, both Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV were military and politically active in Lukka, in the environs of Millawanda, and in the central West.¹⁴ However, there is no evidence of the Hittites regaining the off-shore islands lost in the days of Muwatalli. On the contrary, they virtually had to consent to a steady increase of Ahhiyawan immigration into the insular zone, and the goal of Hittite foreign policy was to reduce the influence of Ahhiyawa on the Hittite vassal states in the mainland by drawing Ahhiyawan rulers into an alliance as Great Kings and equals.

Apart from the diplomatic correspondence,¹⁵ an oracular report in KUB 5.6 II 57-64, where the 'god of Ahhiyawa' and the 'god of Lazpa' are said to have been brought to Hatti for the sake of curing the ill health of the Hittite king, may well illustrate friendly relations between both

¹¹ G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 82. The identification with Tudhaliya III, father of Suppiluliuma, has been also suggested by S. de Martino, *L'Anatolia Occidentale*, 35.

¹² Since publication of my article "Zu den Tudhaliya-Annalen (CTH 142)", *WO* 28 (1997), 74-84, I have discussed the script of KUB 23.12, the only surviving Middle Hittite fragment of the annals, with the late Prof. E. Neu and Prof. M. Popko and I agree now that, contrary to the statement in my article, the text dates no later than Tudhaliya I/II – Arnuwanda I (cf. especially the forms of the signs DA and IT), thus at least this text and its late duplicate KUB 23.11 can belong only to the annals of Tudhaliya I/II. However, I still defend my previous reconstruction of the historical events during the reign of Tudhaliya III, including his campaigns against Arzawa and Assuwa (Masa and Kammala in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma), which is based on the evidence of the Deeds of Suppiluliuma.

¹³ See n. 2.

¹⁴ The main texts documenting Hittite relations with the West in the reigns of the two kings are the Tawagalawa (KUB 14.3) and Milawata letters (KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90) of Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV respectively; see now Th. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung* (*StBoT* 38, Wiesbaden 1995), 89, 91; J.D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 48, 17, 19, with ref. Concerning Tudhaliya IV, his imperial policy in the central West is also reflected in KUB 23.13, as suggested by H.G. Güterbock's (in: *Fs. Alp*, 235-ff.) recent restoration of the text, which places the "second sin" of the Seha river land, that is, the revolt of Tarhunradu, "relying on" the king of Ahhiyawa, in the later reign of Tudhaliya; cf. Hawkins, op. cit., 20, with ref.

¹⁵ See n. 14.

powers in the reign of Hattusili III.¹⁶ Two points in the report are relevant in the present context: 1) Lesbos in all probability belonged in those days to the domain of rulers of Ahhiyawa; 2) there existed established communication between Hatti and the insular zone controlled by the Ahhiyawans.

It is essential that the problem of expansion of Ahhiyawan territory overseas in the thirteenth century B.C. should be considered in all its bearings. So the question arises how does this scenario fit in with the evidence of Mycenaean pottery from the East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface that also seems to reflect the unstable conditions. Here we can quote from P.A. Mountjoy:¹⁷

"In LH IIIA2 the northeast Aegean from Troy down to Chios (and probably further south to Samos, but there is not enough evidence) seems to have assemblages largely made up of Anatolian wares together with some Mycenaean ware, whereas the southeast Aegean from Miletos down to Rhodes has assemblages with a much higher proportion of Mycenaean ware (...). (...) This dichotomy probably arose because the south was more receptive of Mycenaean acculturation, since it had already absorbed much Minoan influence. There is Anatolian influence on the shapes of the Mycenaean ware throughout the Interface from Troy down to Rhodes in LH IIIA2 giving rise to a local east Aegean style.

In LH IIIB¹⁸ things seem to change. The east Aegean style with its Anatolian influence disappears. (...) [At Troy] the production of Grey Ware and lustrous painted Mycenaean ware is replaced by that of Tan Ware and matt painted Mycenaean ware (Ginger Ware). Both wares continued in LH IIIC, but with much less Mycenaean ware than before. In the south Miletos was recovering from a burnt destruction in late LH IIIA2.¹⁹ The production of Mycenaean pottery continued here and in the Lower Interface with shapes and decorative syntax appearing which then became part of the LH IIIC Early and Middle East Aegean Koine".

This pottery Koine began in LH IIIB and flourished in LH IIIC, which suggests continuity of inhabitants, and I agree with Mountjoy that its development could have been based on Ahhiyawan expansion toward the north. However, a modification is needed with respect to the historical interpretation she proposes that "the changes in the pottery in LH IIIB at Troy and Miletos might reflect the dissolution of Arzawa by Mursili II and its break down into vassal kingdoms".²⁰ The conquest of Arzawa by Mursili is hardly to be regarded as related to the discussed changes in the East Aegean material culture. As the Hittite sources seem now to suggest, Ahhiyawa started its expansion in the insular zone of the Central Interface only after Muwatalli II, which may have stimulated the process of Mycenaean acculturation. Thus this

¹⁶ For a German translation of this passage, see G.F. del Monte/J. Tischler, *RGTC* 6, 246, with ref. The date of KUB 5.6+ has been hotly debated, cf. Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *JEOL* 28, 44 n. 26. In my opinion, the ascription of the text to Hattusili III appears most likely; see also Th. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag*, 242.

¹⁷ P.A. Mountjoy, *AnSt* 48, 43, 45.

¹⁸ In Mycenaean terms the very beginning of LH IIIB (from ca. 1300 B.C. onwards) applies to Muwatalli II.

¹⁹ Due to the Hittite raid on Millawanda in 1316 under Mursili II?

²⁰ P.A. Mountjoy, *AnSt* 48, 51.

process that continued through the whole thirteenth century B.C., one result of which was the East Aegean pottery Koine, probably began a few decades later than supposed by Mountjoy.

Bemerkungen zu älteren hethitischen Orakeltexten

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1. Trotz der manchen ihnen anhaftenden Probleme gehören Orakeltexte zu den interessantesten und, hinsichtlich der religiösen Auffassungen der herrschenden Oberschicht sowie der sie quälenden Sorgen, zu den aufschlußreichsten Texten des hethitischen Schrifttums. Im Gegensatz zu den Gebeten, die mindestens aus heutiger Sicht eine Einbahnstraße sind, wird in den Orakeln tatsächlich kommuniziert: Der Mensch fragt und die Gottheit antwortet. Die Fülle der überlieferten Orakeltexte entstammt dem 13. Jh., und die darin enthaltenen Orakelmethoden stellen ein schon völlig und bis in die kleinsten Einzelheiten ausgeprägtes System dar, das nur das Ergebnis einer längeren Entwicklung gewesen sein kann. Umso mehr ist es zu bedauern, daß nur ganz wenige ältere Orakeltexte auf uns gekommen sind. Zwar gestatten bestimmte inner- und außerhethitische Indizien, Aussagen hinsichtlich der Herkunft und des Alters der verschiedenen Techniken zu machen, doch sind wir wegen der Seltenheit älterer Texte selbst nur schlecht über die Entwicklung der mantischen Methoden bei den Hethitern unterrichtet. Den wenigen älteren Orakeltexten, die wir haben, wurde bisher kaum Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. In diesem Aufsatz möchte ich die mir bekannten älteren Texte auf diese Fragestellung hin untersuchen und den späteren, meistens in das 13. Jh. zu datierenden Texten gegenüberstellen in der Hoffnung, daß ein Vergleich der beiden in ihrem Umfang sehr ungleich großen Gruppen uns trotzdem einen Blick in die unmittelbare hethitische Vorgeschichte des später so selbstverständlichen Systems des 13. Jh. gewährt. Es ist mir ein ebenso großes Vergnügen wie eine Ehre, diese Beobachtungen Volkert Haas, einem der größten Kenner all dessen, was mit der geistigen Welt der Hethiter zu tun hat, zueignen zu dürfen.¹

2. Die folgenden sechszehn Texte können aufgrund ihres Duktus und der Zeichenformen als prä-junghethitisch, d. h. als alt- oder mittelhethitisch, angesehen werden. Sie erzählen von Orakeluntersuchungen und Anfragen und können je nach der erwähnten Orakelmethode folgendermaßen eingeordnet werden:

KIN	SU	MUŠEN
KBo 18.151	KBo 8.55+KBo 34. 142	*KBo 15.28
HKM 115	(+?)KBo 40.47	(KBo 16.97+KBo 40.48)
(*KuT 49)	KBo 16.97+KBo 40.48	KBo 24.130
	KBo 23.106	KBo 32.123
	KBo 39.54	*KUB 31.101
		KUB 50.1

¹ Abkürzungen folgen *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (CHD)*, edd. H.G. Güterbock/H.A. Hoffner, L-N (1989) xv-xxviii, and P (1997) vii-xxvi.