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Revisiting the Child Burials of Old Babylonian Ur: the Funerary Rite and its Spatial Aspects

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Abstract: The archaeology of children is a new perspective steadily gaining popularity in research and in recent years, it has begun to be implemented in Mesopotamian archaeology as well. The material evidence of children's lives in ancient communities, such as Old Babylonian Ur, is the most tangible through their burials. The aim of this study is to compile data on child burials in the private houses of Ur's Old Babylonian levels from multiple published and unpublished sources, to explore connections between different aspects of the funerary rite, such as spatiality, grave form and grave goods, illustrated through three short case studies. Though there are challenges faced in reconstructing the normative burial rite of children, due to the often lacking or imprecise recording and publication of information on the graves, general trends are apparent, such as the concentration of child burials in the inner parts of the houses, the preference for enclosed clay containers as burial vessels and a small number of grave goods. Individual burial rites displaying a difference from this pattern may be interpreted as markers of a different social age category and indicate that at a certain point in the life stage, elements of the adult mortuary rite started to be employed.

Keywords: burials, funerary rites, archaeology of childhood, Old Babylonian period, Ur

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1. Introduction

The archaeology of childhood has been a growing field of study in the past decades, starting with gender archaeology calling attention to the study of women in past societies, which led to the incorporation of other previously neglected, "muted" groups, such as children, into the archaeological narrative.[1] As archaeology of the Near East has, historically, focused little on burials – which make up the bulk of evidence for ancient children's lives, since other forms of their material culture are challenging to detect and to distinguish from that of adults – early research on this topic was primarily the work of Assyriology, based on textual sources and focusing on the legal status of children.[2] Only in recent years, due to the increased focus on funerary archaeology and new perspectives introduced by neighbouring fields, did children's material culture and social role start gaining traction, resulting in the new, holistically viewed archaeology of children and childhood finding its way into Mesopotamian archaeology. The aim of this study, as part of this

[1] Lillehammer 2018. About the development of gender archaeology and the archaeology of childhood see Pawleta 2009.

[2] For an overview of research history see Garroway 2014, 1–2.

process, is to revisit the child burials of Old Babylonian Ur and to introduce a new perspective into working with this set of legacy data.

Ur (Tell el-Muqayyar) was excavated between 1922–1934 by a British team led by Sir Leonard Woolley.[3] Earlier, in 1853–1854, J. E. Taylor,[4] and in 1919, H. R. Hall[5] excavated a number of graves as well. These included children in pot, double pot and larnax burials, in domestic contexts, though little else is known about their locations, contents, or even their exact numbers.

Since their first publication in 1976, the only analysis of the Old Babylonian graves of Ur was provided in E. M. Luby's 1990 unpublished dissertation, in which he successfully reconstructed a high number of unpublished graves based on Woolley's excavation notes and outlined a number of socio-economic classes or "wealth groups" based on cluster analysis, one of which consisted of children buried with no grave goods.[6] In addition to the perspectives employed in Luby's analysis, I would like to highlight the diversity of grave forms, as well as a less-frequently studied aspect of the funerary rite, the placement of the graves in the physical space of the house and its connection to the original function of the rooms they were buried in.

In this article, the term "child" is used to describe all individuals identified as non-adults by the excavators. As there was no physical anthropologist present during the excavations, this term must be understood to not accurately reflect the biological or social reality of these individuals' ages. Similarly, the term "infant" is also used, in accordance with the excavators, to describe younger children, though the basis of distinction between the two has unfortunately not been recorded and may be assumed to be arbitrary. It must also be noted that these categories are most likely not analogous to the social age categories recognized by ancient Mesopotamians. They are not intended here to describe cultural age categories and are merely used as analytical tools.

2. Framework: The graves and the methods of analysis

In addition to the first publication of the graves – which listed only 198 of them, deemed worthy of mentioning by Woolley[7] – Luby's dissertation and the original excavation notes made available through the UrOnline Project[8] provided the basis of collecting the data on child graves excavated inside houses of the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods of Ur, as part of a broader study of Old Babylonian burial customs.[9]

The occupation of the so-called "Larsa" layer[10] of the town lasted approximately 1926–1738 BCE (Middle Chronology).[11] Most of the excavated private houses are located in the AH and EM domestic residential quarters. The administrative documents of the archives indicate that the houses

3 Woolley – Mallowan 1976.

4 Taylor 1855.

5 Hall 1930.

6 Luby 1990.

7 Thus, leaving out many of the non-furnished graves, or the ones containing only non-diagnostic ceramic finds unfit for typochronological dating (Woolley – Mallowan 1976, xvi).

8 UrOnline.

9 Kersánszki 2024.

10 The more appropriate term may be "Old Babylonian", because it refers not only to the rule of the Larsa Dynasty, but also to the brief period of Babylonian occupation.

11 Van De Mieroop 1992, 46–71. Luby dated several graves after the destruction of the city and followed Woolley's theory that occupation might have been continuous until about 1500 BCE (see Luby 1990, 137, fig. 3.1.). This is supported by recent excavations at the nearby site of Tell Khaiber and re-evaluation of the Babylon material, which have demonstrated the need for nuanced ceramic typologies in order to recognize a distinct ceramic assemblage of the period of the Sealand Dynasty, which shows many similarities to the Late Old Babylonian assemblage, so much so that previously this period appeared as a gap in the ceramic sequence (as in Gasche 1989, 130–131), leading to the assumption of a discontinuity in occupation. Further see Calderbank 2020; 2021; as well as Clayden 2020 and Sternitzke 2020.

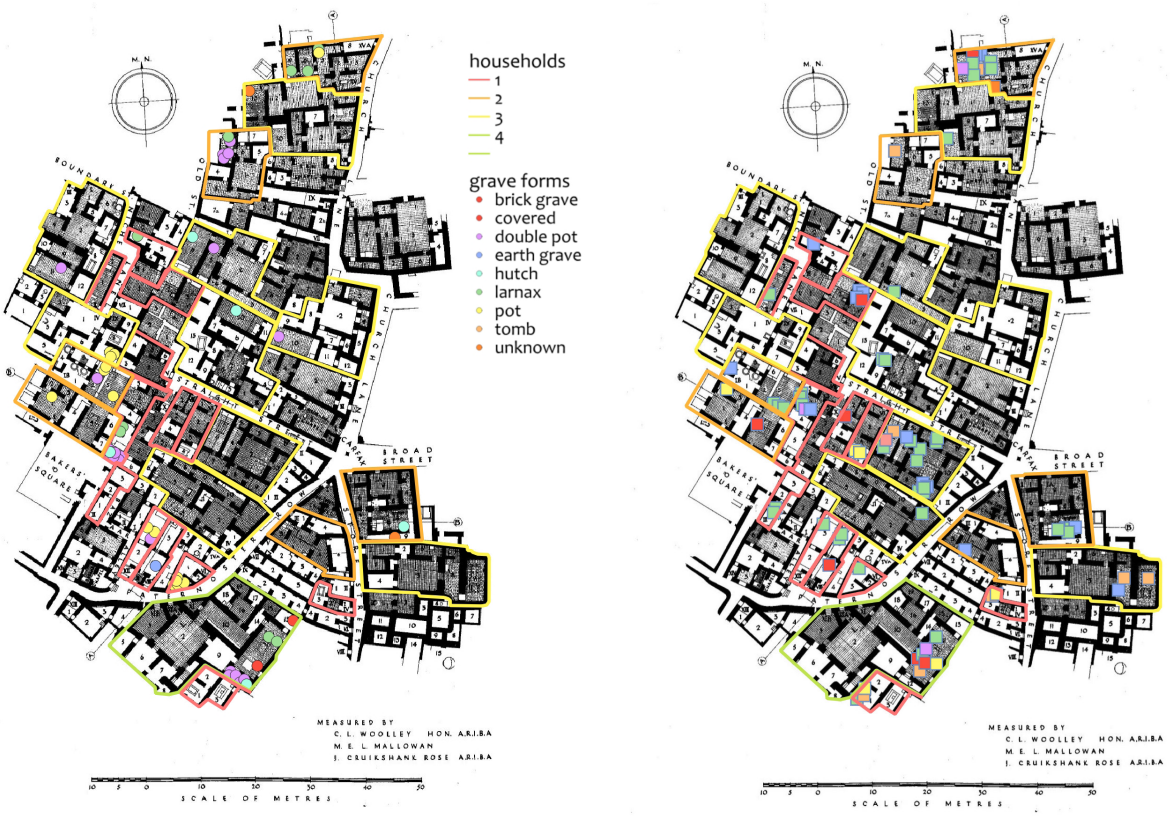


Fig. 1. Map of the AH site, child (left) and adult burials (right) (after Woolley – Mallowan 1976, pl. 124).

in the EM site belonged to members of the clergy of Nanna, and those of the AH site to a more secular population of merchants and businessmen.[12] Burials have also been found outside of these areas, in the badly-preserved EH site, in the layer above the former Royal Cemetery, as well as in the vicinity of the City Wall – it is possible that these graves were also once associated with houses that had disappeared by the time of the excavation due to erosion. Except for the so-called Mausoleum Site, which includes five houses built in the layer above Šulgi's mausoleum, their contexts were impossible to observe in detail.[13] Therefore, these burials had to be excluded from the sample. Only graves with proper context, which can provide an opportunity to examine the choices related to spatiality, were included: the burials found at the AH and EM sites and in the houses of the Mausoleum Site.

Woolley excavated 51 houses in AH site, 29 of which contained at least one burial (Fig. 1). Of the 15 houses in EM site, 12 contained burials (Fig. 2). The 5 houses of the Mausoleum Site all contained graves (Fig. 3), and this is the only area where the earliest floors of the houses had certainly been reached by the excavation.[14] Altogether, graves were found in 65% of the identified houses, though not all were fully excavated. Recent excavations revealed previously unknown graves at the AH site that Woolley did not reach.[15] However, excavations in Nippur, which extended to the earlier occupational periods in areas TA and TB, found graves in less than half of Old Babylonian

12 Charpin 1986; Van De Mieroop 1992. For a collection of recent studies of Ur society, see Charpin *et al.* 2020.

13 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 194.

14 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 95–168, 194–213; Luby 1990; UrOnline.

15 Stone – Zimansky 2016, 251–254.



Fig. 2. Map of the EM site, child (left) and adult burials (right) (after Woolley – Mallowan 1976, pl. 122).

houses.[16] Based on this, as well as the small number of buried individuals compared to the excavated areas across Old Babylonian sites,[17] the existence of extramural cemeteries or the use of other types of mortuary rites that leave no archaeological traces cannot be ruled out.[18] In any case, a selection of the dead who received an intramural burial is likely, though the factors that contributed to this selection are yet to be determined.

It is important to note at this point that the excavation, the documentation and the subsequent publication all have their shortcomings. No information is available on the stratigraphical and chronological relations between each house's floors, and consequently, between the graves dug into them;[19] no drawings or photographs were made of the graves during the excavation and many unfurnished graves, considered to be of no interest by the excavators, were not eventually published. Additionally, since most of the human remains were not examined by an anthropologist, no sex or age-at-death estimation has been made on the dead, and what little information is available about their ages is limited to the broad and rather subjective categories of "adult", "child" and "infant". Only the remains of one child from the Old Babylonian period, from Hall's excavation in 1919, were examined as part of the collection in the British Museum by Molleson and Hodgson. They were estimated to be at least five months old, though bone length indicated a

16 McCown – Haines 1967. For the identification of the houses and re-evaluation of the material, see Stone 1987.

17 Kersánszki 2024, 8–9.

18 Recalling, for example, the association in a number of texts between rivers and the journey to the Netherworld.

19 For a discussion of this problem, see Luby 1990, 35–36, 78, 89–90.



Fig. 3. Map of the Mausoleum Site, child (left) and adult burials (right) (after Woolley – Mallowan 1976, pl. 128).

much younger age of 1–3 months, suggesting developmental problems, further supported by the evidence of rickets, a nutritional developmental disease.[20]

These gaps in the available information are in large part due to the fact that the excavation took place almost a century ago, when excavation and documentation techniques were in their early stages of development. Additionally, the amount of data created by the sheer size of the uncovered area resulted in a selection of the documented and later published information. All of this, together with the half a century that passed between the excavation and the eventual publication, led to a significant loss of information on the burials.

Out of 295 burials, 116 were identified as belonging to children or infants, containing the remains of 123 individuals altogether. The discrepancy between the number of burials and the number of individuals is caused by graves with multiple interments. Though they are more common in the case of adult graves, especially tombs, two child burials can also be described as multiple burials: both LG/14 and LG/46.6 contained the remains of four infants.[21] The children buried in these graves probably died within a short period of time, which is why a shared grave was chosen for them. Additionally, in one grave, an infant was buried together with an adult, most likely the mother who died in childbirth, as will be discussed later.

These 123 children account for 37.5% of all individuals buried in the excavated Old Babylonian graves of Ur. In an individual household the Late Old Babylonian period, the house of Ur-Utu in

[20] Seven additional individuals from Old Babylonian burials, transported to London at the time of Woolley's excavation, were also examined in 2003. Five of them can be identified with graves in the published material: two women and three men. They were all adults, and three of them showed signs of heavy physical activity (Molleson – Hodgson 2003).

[21] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 118–120, 196; Luby 1990, 463.

Sippar-Amnānum (Tell ed-Dēr), where a detailed physical anthropological study of the human remains was conducted, 33 individuals were found, almost third of whom were children. The infant mortality rate was 48.5%.[22] This corresponds to the 30–48% infant mortality rate estimated for Classical Antiquity,[23] and is probably similar to what we could expect in Old Babylonian Ur as well.

The data available about individual graves are: the house and the room where it was found, the original function of the room, or at least its location within the house, the grave's form, its grave goods and the age of the deceased (adult, child or infant). In some of the graves, the position and orientation of the body were also noted, but unfortunately, not in enough cases to allow for a detailed analysis. The aim was to find possible relations between the spatiality of the graves (i.e. the function and location of the rooms in which they were found), the grave form and the quality and quantity of grave goods, to discover if certain factors, such as the role of each child within the household, their ages, the parents' status, etc. manifested in these elements of the mortuary rite. These statuses and roles were quite diverse according to textual sources, since one household could be composed of multiple generations of a family, as well as the married and adopted family members, the servants and slaves; and in all cases, it was the status of the parents that determined the status of the children.

The households themselves were also diverse, indicated not only by the architectural remains but by textual sources such as contracts and inheritance division texts, based on which four different types of households can be differentiated in the Old Babylonian period: small (type 1), medium (type 2), medium-large (type 3) and large or complex households (type 4).[24] The households of Ur range from type 1 to type 3, with only one house, 11 Paternoster Row, representing type 4.

3. Spatiality

3.1. The house of the dead and the living

The burying of the dead within domestic structures had been a recurring tradition in Mesopotamia since the earliest settlements and it was a popular practice in the 2nd millennium BCE as well. The dead were considered to be part of the family and the household, existing in symbiosis with their living relatives, as they were believed to be able to positively influence the lives of their families, who, in exchange, kept them supplied with regular offerings – called *kispum* – to ensure their well-being in the Netherworld. Alternatively, the dead also possessed the ability to negatively impact the lives of the members of the household if not cared for properly.[25] Because of this, the dead were buried in close proximity to the everyday activities of the living, which both served as a reminder of the family's shared identity through its ancestors[26] and helped relatives cope with grief through memory-keeping.[27]

Though there is no written evidence for this, as children rarely appear in the texts, it may be assumed that at least some of these above outlined concepts of the afterlife applied for them as well. AbB 13, 21, a letter from the reign of Hammurapi talks about a father who performed *kispum* for

22 Burger-Heinrich *apud* Gasche 1989, 68.

23 Frank 2008, 248.

24 Type 1 households: an average of 35 m^2 inhabited area and 2-6 rooms; type 2 households: an average of 76 m^2 inhabited area and 6-10 rooms; type 3 households: an average of 142 m^2 inhabited area and 10-20 rooms; type 4 households: an average of 293 m^2 inhabited area and more than 20 rooms (following Kalla 2009).

25 For detailed explorations of the funerary rites and ancestral cult, see Tsukimoto 1985; Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999; Katz 2003; Hauser 2012.

26 Laneri 2010; 2014.

27 MacDougal 2014.

his missing and presumed dead son.[28] Though in this case the son in question is an adult, this letter illustrates that it was not only the responsibility of descendants to care for their ancestors, but that one's own children could be the recipients of mortuary offerings as well. In the archaeological record it is clear that burials of children are also found under houses, meaning that the intertwined physical space of the living with the place of remembrance and interaction with the dead was no different in the case of children and adults. In fact, in earlier time periods like the Ubaid[29] and in certain sites later, such as Tell Brak in the Uruk period[30] and Ḫarādum in the Old Babylonian,[31] it is only infants who are buried within architectural features, becoming the objects of the passive, every-day formation of the household members' collective social memory.

In the Old Babylonian period, sub-adults were buried with great care and kept close to their living family. From their funerary rites, it is apparent that a set of traditions determined both the place and the method of laying a child to rest and that those who conducted and attended the funeral chose elements from a culturally defined ritual kit which was more or less specific to children. A comparison with the adult burials also reveals that this was more restricted than the ritual kit of adults, with less room for personalization within the normative funerary practice.

Since not all houses contained graves, and the number of excavated human remains falls short of the expected population of a city such as Ur, there is a possibility that other funerary spaces, such as external cemeteries, were also in use along with the rite of intramural burials or that other ways of burial were employed that left no trace in the archaeological record. There is certainly evidence for the use of a burial ground separate from architectural features in Ur, though the use of the Royal Cemetery[32] has concluded by the time period under study. A large part of the city area is still unknown, so it should not be ruled out that a burial ground was in use elsewhere in Ur during the Old Babylonian period. Additionally, Woolley's excavations did not reach the earliest levels of every house, which means further burials could still be found in the earth. The recent excavations in Ur confirmed this assumption: new burials were discovered in the trench reopened at 1 Baker's Square.[33]

Because the factors determining access to burial space within the houses or within cemeteries are still poorly understood in the absence of excavated contemporary settlements and cemeteries, this paper focuses on intramural burials and the choices related to their spatiality within the houses.

3.2. Spatial division of Old Babylonian houses

The original functions of the rooms can, in most cases, be reconstructed based on their location within the house and the structures found in them. Evidence of the distinction of rooms based on function can also be found in Old Babylonian legal documents, for example, in the different designations of doors.[34] The most significant rooms identifiable in the archaeological record are the entrance, the courtyard, the rooms located around the courtyard such as the kitchen, the staircase leading to the roof or second storey, the toilet, the storage and the reception room, which had both a representative function and served to separate the innermost family room from the outer parts of the house related to infrastructure and household-level economic production. The family

[28] Van Soldt 1994, 23; also discussed in MacDougal 2014, 152–153.
[29] Brereton 2011, 219–221, fig. 5.11, 5.14, 5.15.
[30] Brereton 2011, 387; 2013, 236–237.
[31] Kepinski-Lecomte 1992, 14; 1996, 194.
[32] Which contains fewer than 50 children among its 2000 recorded burials, which has been suggested to indicate that the majority of non-adults was buried under the currently unexplored houses of contemporary levels (See Pollock 1991, 175).
[33] Stone – Zimansky 2016.
[34] Kalla 1996; Jahn 2005.

room was at the back of the house, where family members most likely spent the majority of their time. Additionally, the family rooms often had an adjacent smaller room. Its function is unclear: it might be interpreted as the sealed store-room where the valuables were kept, or as the bedroom; both are attested in texts but difficult to confidently identify on the basis of the floor plan alone.[35] Woolley interpreted the family rooms as chapels, where the cult of the household gods took place.[36] The modern interpretation, however, views these structures as accessories to ancestor cult and mortuary rituals.[37] Whether this correlates with the inheritance division of rooms between the eldest son, responsible for the maintenance of the cult and caring for the dead, and other branches of the family, is currently impossible to determine through archaeological methods. However, it is clear that these rooms were often constructed with niches and built-in altars. Graves and mudbrick tombs are also most often found under the floors of the family rooms. Some houses contain multifunctional rooms,[38] or further rooms whose original function has been lost to time. In such cases, the location of the room and its relations were considered when evaluating the graves found within it.

3.3. Spatial distribution of child burials

59 of the children were buried in the family rooms. A substantial number, 30 individuals, were also found in the store-rooms adjacent to the family rooms. 11 more children were found in the reception rooms and 23 in other rooms of unknown function located in the inner part of the houses. There is a clearly observable concentration of child graves in the innermost parts of the houses, while they are much less common in and around the courtyards, and entirely absent, for example, from the kitchens (Fig. 4).

In contrast, the graves of adults display more variety in their locations and a more even distribution between the distinct parts of the houses. Though most of them have also been found in the family rooms, especially in the tombs located there, many adults were buried in and around the courtyards, in the more open spaces primarily associated with the household infrastructure – places where child burials can rarely be observed. Adults appear in each of the distinct types of rooms, except for the small store-room adjacent to the family room, which contained only children's graves.

A remarkable concentration of child and infant graves appears in house 7 Quiet Street of the EM site (Fig. 5), which belonged to a family of *abriqqum* priests, Ku-Ningal and his sons, Ešuluḫuru and Enamtisud.[39] This type 2 household contained the site's highest number of burials, 41 graves: in addition to an emptied tomb in the reception room and a single adult grave by the entrance, 39 infant graves were found in the house, in the family room and the store-room.[40]

4. Grave forms

4.1. Typology

Another integral part of the funerary rite's process was the choice of grave form. In his publication, Woolley differentiated between the following types of graves (Fig. 6): earth graves, covered

35 Kalla 1996; Miglus 1999, 64–67; Gábor Kalla (pers. comm.).
36 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 29–30.
37 Kalla 2009, 23; Gruber – Roaf 2016, 39–41.
38 Kalla 1996.
39 Charpin 1986, 90; Van De Mieroop 1992, 124–126.
40 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 110–112; Miglus 1999, 275–276, Fig 27; Battini-Villard 1999, 489.

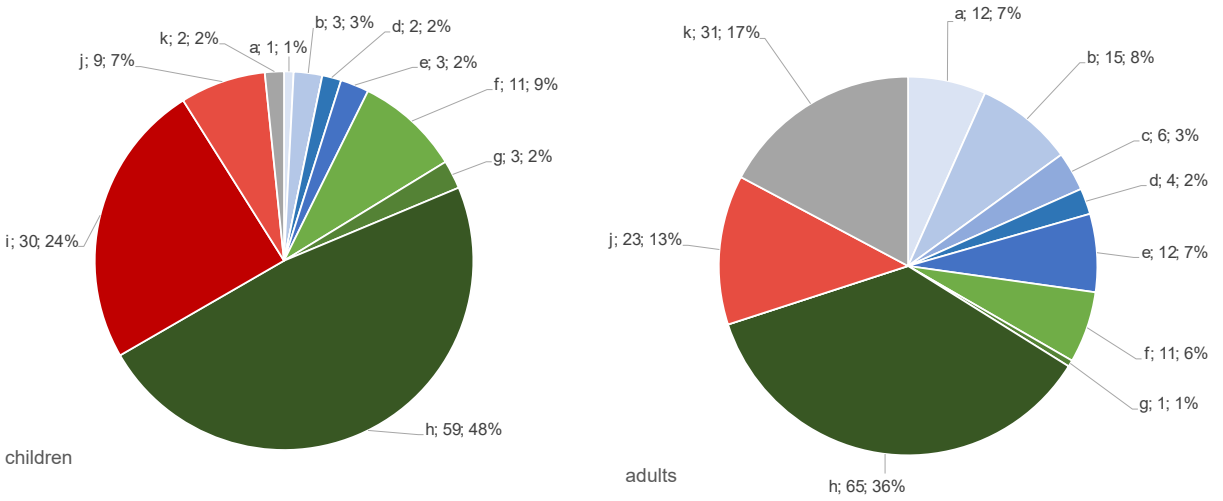


Fig. 4. The spatial distribution of child and adult burials. a: entrance; b: courtyard; c: kitchen; d: storage/staircase/toilet; e: other room opening from courtyard; f: reception room; g: other room opening from reception room; h: family room/archive; i: store-room/bedroom opening from family room; j: other room in inner area; k: other room of unknown function.

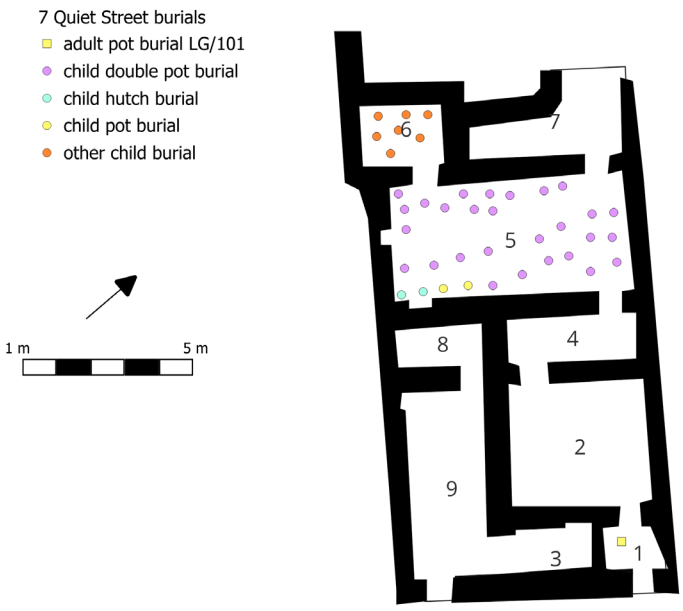


Fig. 5. Burials in 7 Quiet Street (after Woolley – Mallowan 1976, pl. 122).

graves,[41] pot graves, larnax graves[42] and built tombs. In addition to these, double pot graves and hutch-shaped clay containers are mentioned to be specific to the burying of infants.[43] Vessels used for covered, pot and double pot graves were usually deep, open vessels or simple bowls.[44] A unique feature of double pot burials was that they were not buried under the floors but rather

41 He designated these as "urns" (Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 195–213; plate 114), which in this case does not indicate cremation, a rite that was rarely ever performed in ancient Mesopotamia, but an upturned vessel placed above the dead. For this reason, I propose the use of the term "covered grave".

42 Tub-shaped clay sarcophagi, designated as "larnax" by Woolley.

43 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 33–34.

44 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, pl. 103, 114. These correspond to the pottery groups 260, 265, 270 and 275, and in the case of small infant burials, 15 and 35 in Armstrong – Gasche 2014.

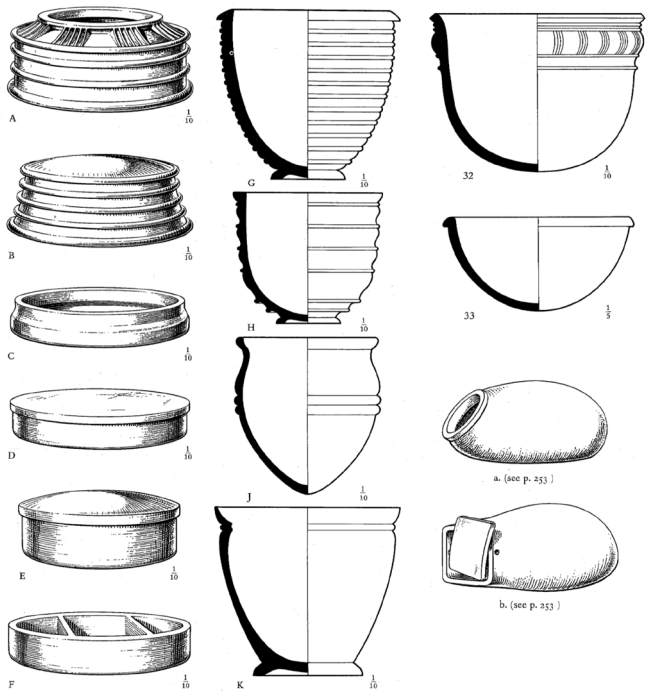


Fig. 6. The types of grave containers used in child burials. A–F: larnax forms; G–H: vessels used for covered graves; J–K: vessels used for pot graves; 32–33: vessels used for double pot graves; a–b: hutch forms (after Woolley – Mallowan 1976, pl. 97, 103, 114).

dug into them, so that part of the upper bowl was visible in the room, probably serving to preserve the memory of the dead.[45]

4.2. Distribution of grave forms among child burials

The most common forms of child burials are double pot and pot graves (Fig. 7). There are several cases of hutch and larnax graves as well. Earth graves and covered graves are uncommon; only two examples of each are known. No children were found in tombs.[46]

The high frequency of pot graves could be associated with a number of reasons, both practical and symbolic. The vessels necessary for these burial rites were already present in the households, so preparing the grave did not require much time, energy or finances. They were also the right size for this particular purpose. On the symbolic side, the burying of the child in a contracted, foetal position inside a vessel served to connect death with returning to the womb, in the hope that this way the child will be reborn in the same family.[47] This symbolic return to the womb was also a return to the Netherworld, from which newborn children were believed to have come.[48]

Overall, the burials of children are among the simpler grave constructions, while the complex forms that require higher effort and energy-expenditure but are also more easily used for

45 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 30.

46 However, in the recent excavations of Ur, infant remains were found in tombs in excavation areas 3 and 5 (Göhring 2024 and pers. comm.). Because of the tendency for tombs to contain disarticulated remains pushed aside (reduced) to make room for new burials, as well as the small size of infant bones, it is possible that Woolley's excavation may have missed such infant burials within tombs or misidentified them as animal bones.

47 Kuleman-Ossen – Novák 2000; Garroway 2014, 240–241; Valk 2016, 714–715.

48 Stol 2000, 9.

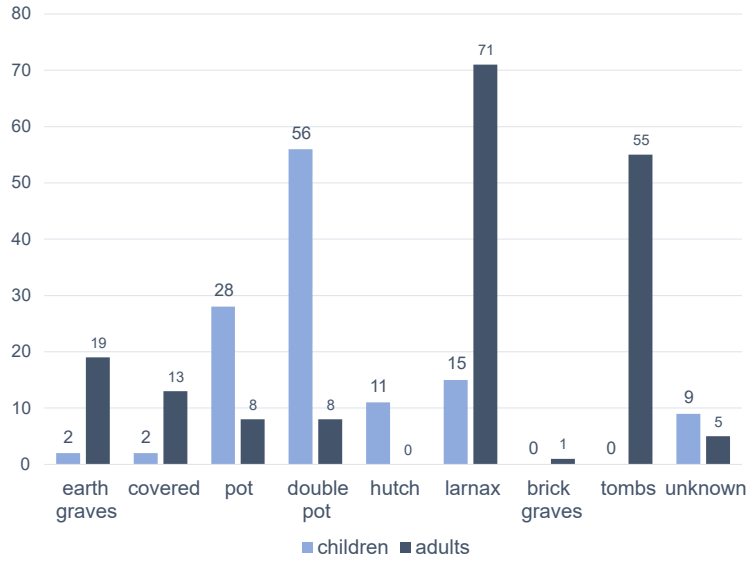


Fig. 7. Distribution of grave forms among child and adult burials.

multiple successive internments – larnax graves and mudbrick tombs[49] – more often contain adult individuals. Adult burials show a different distribution of grave forms as well: only a small number of them are pot graves, while the most common forms are the tombs and the sarcophagi, with simple earth graves and covered graves often occurring as well.

An example of this clear distinction between the grave forms of children and adults can be found in house 1 Gay Street. This two-room house of the EM site is the smallest household found in the city, yet it contained a tomb with the remains of 10 adults[50] and the earth grave of a child, LG/132, close to its entrance but separate from the tomb itself.[51] This child was buried in the same room as the rest of the family, where the tomb was built and where the rituals connected to ancestor cult were conducted, and yet they had no access to funerary space in the tomb. At the same time, their closeness to the tomb and placement in the inner room show their importance to the family and their cherished role within the household.

Admittedly, the chronological relationship between the two graves is unknown. If long enough time elapsed for the floor level to be raised significantly or if the ownership of the house changed, a different generation or a different family might have had no knowledge of the existing grave in the room and the close proximity of the later burial – whichever of the two it is – is simply coincidental.

The child's burial described here is also peculiar when it comes to another aspect of the funerary rite: the grave goods. LG/132 contained, in addition to three vessels – a commonly found set of grave goods – a zoomorphic terracotta figurine. This is the only animal figurine discovered in context during Woolley's excavations; the others were found discarded, so their possible function

[49] Because of its complexity, value and the amount of time, energy and finances required for their construction, tombs can be regarded as the most prestigious form of graves in the period. More than half of the houses of Ur contained at least one tomb, while type 2–4 houses often had multiple of them. Though they are the most often disturbed, robbed or entirely emptied, the excavated tombs contained the remains of up to 10 adults. However, this number could be much higher: one tomb found during the recent excavations contained 24 individuals (see Stone *et al.* 2021, 186).

[50] Interestingly, LG/125 was one of the few tombs at the site that Woolley did not report to be plundered or emptied and where the last internment still lay in its – preusmably – original position, with the remaining 9 individuals were in a secondary deposit or in a reduced position at the back of the chamber. However, despite its apparently intact status, the tomb contained only a few ceramic vessels, a clay disk, a stone loom weight and a lead plaque (Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 206).

[51] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 95–96; Miglus 1999, 274, fig. 46.

is unclear.[52] Terracotta figurines are usually interpreted as having served a magico-ritual function; however, because this one was found in a child's grave, the possibility that it was a toy cannot be ruled out. The distinction between ritual objects and children's toys or playthings is a complex topic that often arises in archaeological discourse, and in this case, it would be particularly difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion on the possible interpretation of this object. We can certainly keep in mind that a figurine like this could have served multiple functions: at the same time for different groups of people, such as adults and children, or at separate stages of its "life cycle".[53]

5. Grave goods

5.1. "Those poor children"

Woolley described the Old Babylonian graves as rather poor, which he attributed to the practice of burying the dead in the houses, who then continued to take part in the shared meals of the households via the mortuary offerings and thus had no need for large amounts of food or furnishing in their graves. Of child graves specifically, he noted that "as a rule no offerings were placed with [them]".[54]

Indeed, most child burials in the sample have no grave goods – at least none that remained detectable in the archaeological record, since we must account for the possibility of the existence of perishable grave goods such as foodstuffs, textiles, leather goods and bags, baskets, or wooden bowls.[55] However, there is a significant number of child graves with some form of pottery, usually eating or drinking vessels. In a few cases, they were even noted to contain plant remains, fruit stones or animal bones. These children, therefore, were given some kind of food or drink offering, which may have served as provisions for their journey to the afterlife or some form of the *kispum*.

5.2. Child and adult grave goods

89 children, more than 70%, were buried without grave goods, as opposed to only 16% of the adults. In the remaining child burials, the most frequently appearing objects are ceramics: cups, goblets, or other drinking vessels, as well as jars, plates and bowls (Fig. 8). The same is true for adult graves; however, certain types, such as miniature vessels, perhaps containing cosmetics, and especially large storage vessels, only show up in adult graves. Metal vessels are also more often associated with adults, only one was in a child's burial;[56] while of the three examples of stone vessels, one was found in an adult, one in a child grave and one further in a plundered tomb.[57]

Personal ornaments made of metal are more frequently found in adults' burials than in children's, and there is a difference in the material available for the two age groups as well: gold or silver only appears with adults, though only in rare cases. Children are adorned only with copper bracelets or rings. An exception is the grave LG/69, which contained traces of a silver headband or

[52] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, Table 90–91.

[53] For more about toys and their identification in the archaeological material, see Crawford 2009; with special regard to figurines and ritual objects, see Garroway 2018, 202–211 and Schmidhuber 2019. Recently, Judean pillar figurines were proposed to have served both a symbolic and a ludic function, see Parker 2019.

[54] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 34–39.

[55] Such items are listed in a description of funerary *kispum*, available in an Old Babylonian text which was identified as belonging to an exorcistic ritual in which a funeral is imitated in order to placate a ghost. These items included food, leather goods, ceramic vessels and personal ornaments. For a full translation, see Tsukimoto 1980, 130–131.

[56] LG/157 (Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 209).

[57] LG/51, LG/98.6A and LG/113 (Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 188, 199, 204; Luby 1990, 475, 485).

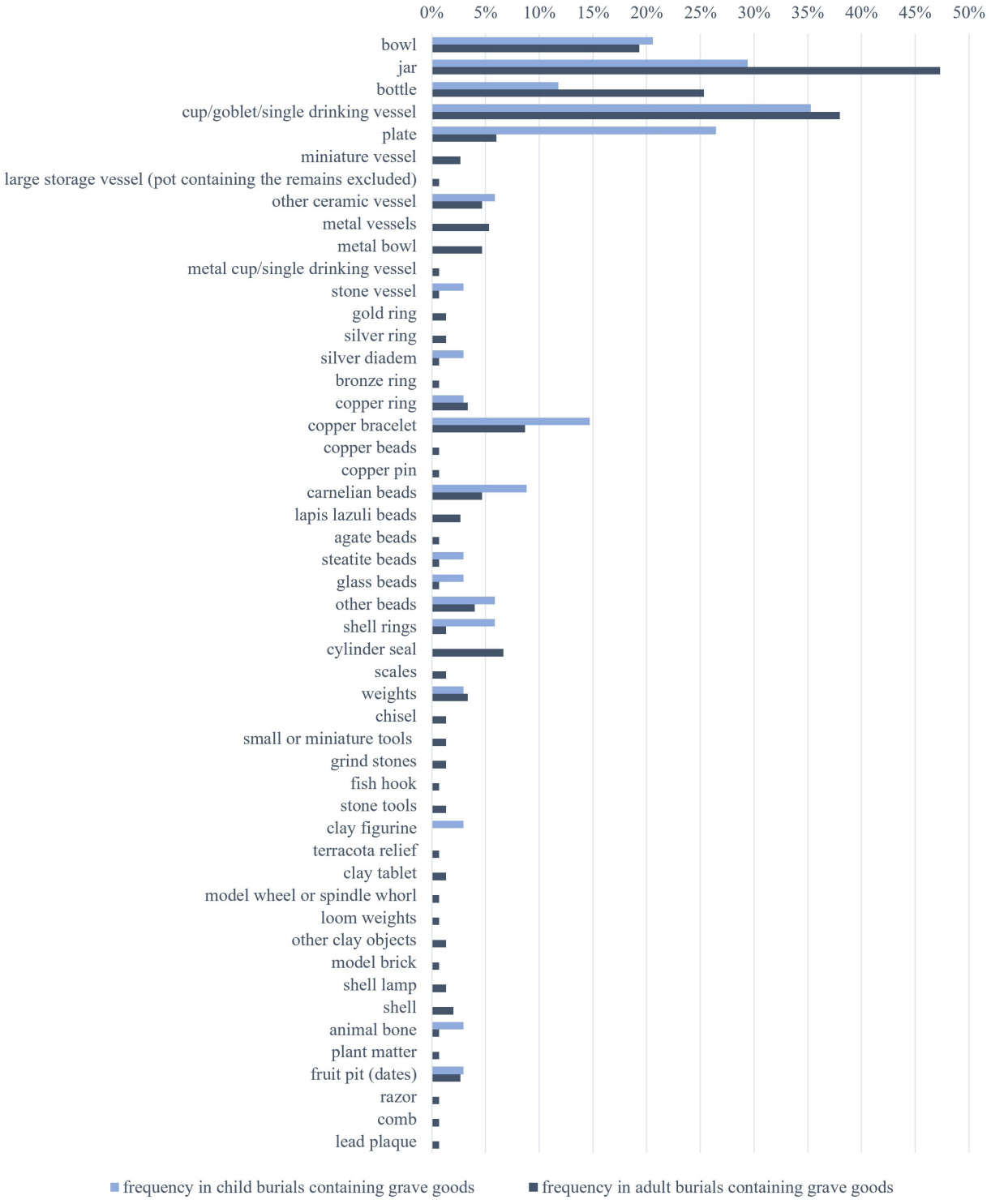


Fig. 8. Occurrence of grave good types in furnished child and adult burials.

diadem.[58] Additionally, shell rings and beads of carnelian, steatite and other unspecified stones can appear among the costume of both children and adults, but agate and lapis lazuli beads are specific to adults.[59]

[58] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 201.

[59] In Woolley's catalogue of graves, an unfinished lapis lazuli cylinder seal is mentioned near the LG/71 sarcophagus of a child, but a more precise context is not given. Without it, it is impossible to decide

Only one set of stone weights appears in a child's grave;[60] the rest are found in adults' graves. The interpretation of the presence of these weights in association with a child burial is challenging. Perhaps parallels could be drawn with the previously discussed terracotta figurine; they might have been used by the child as toys in addition to serving a practical function for adults, but they could just as well have been educational tools, preparing the child for a future of taking over the family trade.

Other grave goods that are exclusively associated with adults and appear overall very rarely in the assemblage: cylinder seals, scales, tools, grindstones, shells, shell lamps and clay tablets. Individually occurring grave goods are: a fishhook, a razor, a comb, a lead plaque, a loom weight, a model wheel or spindle whorl, a model brick and a terracotta relief, all associated with adult burials. The terracotta figurine in LG/132 described above is also a unique grave good in the site; however, it appears in association with a child.

In summary, the furnishing of child graves was not only less common but also less diverse than that of adults. The grave goods were usually made up of ceramic vessels and simple personal ornaments – copper bracelets and rings, as well as beads of various stones which could serve as amulets – and only in the rarest cases do other, personalized objects appear. It is worth noting that of the graves containing these atypical grave goods, the first was a pot burial, while the other children were buried in sarcophagi, the typical "adult" grave form.

In contrast to the simple furnishing of child burials, the grave goods of adults are more varied in number and more diverse: in addition to pottery containing food offerings, metal vessels were also common, as well as personal ornaments, tools, weight sets and scale pans, cylinder seals and even objects made of prestige materials like gold or lapis lazuli, materials that could not be found in children's graves.

5.3. Relations between graves, relations between grave goods

The context of the aforementioned LG/69 burial illustrates the relationship between grave goods and spatiality. It was found in house 15 Church Lane, a type 2 household in the AH site, which, according to the contracts found there, once belonged to a man named Annû.[61] Under the family room, there was a tomb containing the remains of three adults, with two further adult graves, and the grave LG/69, a child's sarcophagus located outside the tomb. The child wore a silver diadem on their head. In the rooms around the family room, there were several additional burials, both of adults and children, their grave goods ranging from none to a small number of ceramic vessels and personal ornaments of copper and stone.[62]

The child with the silver diadem stands out among the other children of the house, and their special role in the household is underlined by the fact that they were the only non-adult to be buried close to the tomb, in the family room – just as the child in LG/132 in 1 Gay Street. It is likely that the child buried in LG/69 with the silver diadem was the child of the head of the family, while the other children were born to parents from other branches of the family or other adults working in or connected to the household.

Another burial, LG/126, constitutes a special case, as it is the shared grave of an adult and an infant. It contained not only food offerings, but also "two very thin silver frontlets placed on a round brick in front of the body" as described by Woolley.[63] "The brick of birth" is mentioned in

whether the seal should be considered as belonging to this grave or to the floor level of the room where the archive of the house was also kept (see Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 201).

60 LG/124 (Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 205).

61 Van de Mieroop 1992, 147–148.

62 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 135–136; Miglus 1999, 279, fig. 48; Battini-Villard 1999, 438.

63 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 206.

	earth grave	covered	pot burial		double pot burial		hutch		larnax				tomb	grave form unkown
no grave goods														
1-3 vessels														
4-9 vessels, ornaments														
high number of vessels, personal grave goods, precious materials														
entrance									1					
courtyard	1		1	1										
kitchen														
staircase/vestibule									1					1
other room opening from courtyard			1	1					1					
reception room			5	2	1	1	1		1					
small room opening from reception room			3											
family room		1	4	1	36	1	5		1	2	3	1		1
small room opening from family room		1	2	1	14		1	1						7
other inner room	1		6						1		1			
other room of unkown function									2					

Fig. 9. Distribution of child burials by location, grave form, and occurrence of grave goods.

textual sources, associated with midwifery, childbirth, and birth rituals, and is also mentioned in the myth of Atraḫasīs, where a symbolic brick is placed in the house during the birth of a child.[64] The brick in grave LG/126 could be a symbolic representation of the same ritual, suggesting that the deceased might be mother and child who both died at the time of birth. However, without further bioarchaeological examinations, such as aDNA analysis, it is necessary to treat this assumption with a degree of caution.

6. The relationship between three aspects of the funerary rite: grave form, grave goods, and spatiality

If the three discussed aspects of the funerary rite – the location, form and furnishing of the grave – are examined interdependently (Fig. 9), it becomes apparent that the most common form of a child's burial is the unfurnished double pot grave located in the house's family room. There are 36 such graves, almost one third of all child burials, though it is important to emphasize that 28 of these come from one single house, 7 Quiet Street. The second most common grave is the similarly unfurnished double pot grave in the small room adjacent to the family room, which, as discussed previously, is the only type of room associated exclusively with child burials, as it never contained adult remains.

It is also apparent that it is double pot, pot, hutch, and covered graves that tend to be focused in the inner, more intimate and protected parts of the houses. On the other hand, some of the pot graves, the earth graves and the sarcophagi can be found, though not as frequently as adults, in other locations too. These children buried in the outer parts of houses, with such typically "adult" rites or with grave goods more frequently occurring in adult graves, received a markedly different funerary treatment than would be normative for their age group. This suggests that they belonged a different social age category; one we might perhaps designate as "older children" or even "adolescents" who were closer to – or even included in – the contemporary definition of adulthood.

64 Stol 2000, 118–119.

At Old Babylonian sites where physical anthropological results make it possible to identify the biological ages of the human remains, such as Isin or Sippar-Amnānum,[65] it seems that the change from funerary rites used for children to those used for adults, which mark this transition into a new social age category, begins around 5–6 years. Re-analysing the graves of Neo-Assyrian Aššur, Stefan Hauser found that children under the height of 1 m were usually buried in pots, while taller children were buried in earth graves and small sarcophagi imitating the grave forms of adults.[66] Kristine Garroway, in her study of the archaeology of children in Bronze Age Canaan, arrived at similar conclusions. Infants and small children were buried in pot graves, while children older than 2–4 years were more and more commonly found in grave forms usually associated with adults: pit graves and cist graves in the case of this region. While the time of this transition varied for each child, this age can be regarded as the time when a child starts to be able to perform simple tasks on their own and, with that, begins their journey towards becoming a fully integrated member of society.[67] In many cultures, social age is based exactly on observations like this, on the person's abilities and responsibilities, instead of being chronologically or biologically defined.[68] The ethnographic work of Hilma Granqvist in early 20th century Arab villages in Palestine, for example, describes that the ages of children are not given in years but in the kind of chores they perform.[69]

Though a study of age groups in such detail is unfortunately not possible in Ur because of the lack of physical anthropological data and drawings or photographs documenting the graves, the burials described above with unusual, more "adult" features point to a similar distinction between younger and older children and could support the interpretation of a different treatment of age groups in the funerary rite. Hopefully, more recent excavations will help provide more direct evidence of this possible practice and place these considerations in a new light.

7. Discussion

Based on the presented findings, there are three main features of child burials in the private houses of Old Babylonian Ur, reflecting the tendencies of choices made during the process of the funerary rite:

1) Placement in the inner, more private and protected part of the house, most commonly in the family rooms and their adjacent store-rooms, which likely served the purpose of allowing parents to keep their child close even after death, to continue caring for them, and to preserve their memory, since the family room and its area was not only the central place of ancestor cult but also the place of the family's everyday life. The time spent in this room helped keep the child's memory alive, especially during the regular rituals that took place here. Though these did not necessarily focus on the lost children, the rituals and the very presence of the graves transferred the rooms where the family spent their time into spaces of remembrance.

2) Burial in closed containers made of clay, most commonly pots, but also hutches and sarcophagi, for both practical – availability and size – and symbolic reasons – return to the womb of the mother and to the Netherworld, and the possibility of rebirth after death.

3) Little to no grave goods, usually ceramic vessels containing food and drink offerings, while personal objects are almost always missing. This perhaps reflects the idea that children were not

65 Isin: Hrouda 1987, 30–39; Sippar-Amnānum: Burger-Heinrich *apud* Gasche 1989, 67.

66 Hauser 2012, 260–262, 284–285.

67 Garroway 2014, 243–244.

68 Kamp 2001, 3.

69 Young boys go from "he (who) chases the animals" to "goatherd" and "shepherd" to "ploughman" and finally to "he (who) can bear arms", while girls at different ages are called "she (who) chases animals", "goatherd", "guardian of the fig trees", "woodgatherer" and finally, "drawer of water" (See Granqvist 1947, 130–131, 137–138).

regarded as full members of society, whose status could have been reflected in their grave goods. They had also not developed such wide social circles as adults, whose expressions of grief could have manifested in the funerary rite.

The few exceptions, the outliers of this pattern, can be attributed to a different stage in childhood, a distinct social age category. No differences beyond these age groups – not even ones apparent in the written record, such as differences between children of slaves and free parents – could be ascertained based on the burials. Among the variety of social groups within the city, it is the group of children, especially the youngest children and infants, who clearly stand out in light of their separation from adults in the burial practice.

A separation of infants in the mortuary rite has been attested since at least the Late Chalcolithic period. This different treatment manifested in the use of vessels for child burials, as well as in a spatial separation, as graves of infants and young children were often found in domestic areas while those of adults were in designated cemeteries.[70] Both of these aspects of the rite can still be observed several millennia later, in the Old Babylonian period (and even continuing to the 1st millennium BCE). Young children and infants in Ur were buried in variations of pot graves, with little to no grave goods, and their graves were almost always located in the inner parts of the house.

Hauser interpreted this different treatment of children as a sign of a different social role assigned to them in both life and death, since, lacking any descendants of their own, they could not be counted among the family's ancestors and thus could not take part in the ancestor cult or receive offerings.[71] However, as we have seen from the example of AbB 13, 21, not only ancestors, but descendants could have received *kispum* as well and that the relationship between the living and the dead maintained through the regular offerings was not as straightforward as the current, younger generation presenting offerings to previous generations.

Another way of interpreting the separation, especially of the youngest age-category of children, concerns the liminal role of newborns. As they were believed to have come from the Netherworld, they occupied a liminal space between the worlds of the dead and the living, and dying in this liminal state meant that the children, "who never knew their names",[72] could not join the other spirits of the dead in the Netherworld, the *eṭemmu*. Instead, we may consider the demons called NIĜIN or *kūbu*, which can be translated as "stillborn child", but has been proposed to also describe infants who died at the time of birth or shortly thereafter. Because of their in-between state as dead who never lived, these infants are treated differently and are often strictly separated from older children and adults in the mortuary rite.[73] These stillborn children or young infants were also conceptualized as having a different status in the Netherworld from the other dead, whose well-being in the afterlife depended on the heirs they left behind and on the amount of offerings they received. Instead, they are described as "playing at a table of gold and silver, laden with honey and ghee" in the literary composition Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld.[74] This picture, in stark contrast to the unpleasant fate of other inhabitants of the Netherworld, reveals an emotional dimension in beliefs about the afterlife. Even though we do not know how widespread these notions were, it is not difficult to imagine parents wishing this kind of

70 Brereton 2013, 236, 240–241.

71 Hauser 2012, 397–398.

72 Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld, ll. 298–299 (ETCSL 1.8.1.4.; accessed: 1 May, 2023). For a note on the translation of mu ní-ba nu-zu as "who never knew their names" instead of "who never knew existence", see Attinger 2019, 24, n. 200.

73 Lambert 1981; Kulemann-Ossen – Novák 2000, 126–127.

74 Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld, ll. 298–299 (ETCSL 1.8.1.4.; accessed: 1 May, 2023).

happiness and well-being to the children they lost, something that had not been possible for them during their short lives.[75]

A possible explanation for the concentration of 39 infant graves in the family room and its storeroom in 7 Quiet Street could be that most, if not all, *kūbu*s who died in the EM site were buried here,[76] in a house of *abriqqum*-priests, specifically because they had to be physically separated from other graves. However, this pattern of separation is not observable elsewhere in the site. In fact, already two doors down from 7 Quiet Street, in 3 Quiet Street, a small concentration of 6 infant burials is located in the same room as the family tomb and an adult's sarcophagus. In other houses of Ur, similar infant pot burials with no grave goods can appear both by themselves or in the same room as other age groups. If it is not the *kūbu* who are buried in 7 Quiet Street, this large number of burials could have instead included not only foetuses and neonates, but also placentas that could similarly be buried in jars. A hymn to the goddess Ninisina mentions the jar in which the placenta is placed and deposited at a place referred to in the sources as the NIĜAR.[77] Though there is no available documentation on each individual grave in 7 Quiet Street to confirm this,[78] this room might be tentatively identified with a NIĜAR.

The differences in the burial treatment of infants – inclusion or physical separation from other age groups, the presence or absence of grave goods, the use of single or double pot graves – highlight that not even such a clearly definable subgroup of children had completely homogenous burial rites and that the attitudes of the agents, the adults who conducted these rites and the choices made during the funeral were diverse, even if not to such extremes as in cases of the loss of an older child or an adult member of the family.

Additionally, there is a slight difference between the child burials of the two distinct residential quarters: in the EM site, the set of grave forms used for child burials is more limited, mostly pot and double pot graves are employed, with only a few examples of hutch and larnax graves; the graves less often contain grave goods; and the spatial distribution is also almost completely restricted to the inner parts of the houses. The funerary rite at the EM site can be interpreted as more strictly following the normative patterns of child burials, while in the AH site, more locations and more grave forms are employed, and the distinguishing characteristics of typically adult and child burials more often blur together. This different attitude towards the funerary rite, which appears not just in the case of children, but adults too, can be attributed to the different residents of the two neighbourhoods, the temple personnel living at the EM site and the more secular, diverse population occupying the AH site.[79]

8. Conclusions and possibilities of future research

The archaeology of children centers the child, but the archaeology of child burials necessarily centers the adults as well: parents, grandparents, and others, the active agents of the funerary process. They are the ones making the decisions on where and how the child is buried, decisions that reflect the burial practices of the community as a whole, whether they follow these established patterns or go against them. The archaeological remains of the ancient child's world are the result of child–child, child–environment and child–adult interactions;[80] in this sense, a

[75] For an exploration of parental grief and emotional connection to infants in Mesopotamia, see Valk 2016.

[76] The connection had already been drawn, though implicitly, in Esztári 2018, 5–6.

[77] Ninisina A, 75 (ETCSL 4.22.1.; accessed: 1 May, 2023). For the reading of ^{dug}silà-gar-ra, see Cuoto-Ferreira 2013, 107, n. 42–44.

[78] It is even a possibility, because of their large number, that the graves were only identified, but not opened.

[79] As Luby also suggested in connection to the contrast between AH and EM in the usage of courtyards as burial space (Luby 1990, 326–327, 344–345).

[80] Lillehammer 1989, 90.

child's funeral and the subsequent mortuary offerings are the continued child–adult interactions even after death. They reflect not only the child's role within the household and the community, but their unique dynamic with the adults around them.

In the case of Old Babylonian Ur, this dynamic could only in individual cases be partially reconstructed. Still, general tendencies can be identified. For most children, the same practices applied to choices about the grave's location, form, and grave goods, and within these practices, there was much less room for variety than for adults. This indicates that children represented a much more homogenous subgroup of society than adults. Almost all of them were buried in some kind of closed clay container, with little to no grave goods, in the inner parts of the houses, and no differences beyond the distinction of the various stages of childhood are apparent.

This is partly due to the loss of information on the graves, but we must be reminded that today there is a greater potential in studying children's social roles and cultural age categories, thanks to the methods of bioarchaeology, than it was possible a hundred or even fifty years ago, at the time of the excavation or the publication of Ur's Old Babylonian levels. The human remains unearthed at that time are no longer available for study, but those found in new excavations may be examined by a physical anthropologist. This could provide information on the child's age-at-death, while aDNA or dental peptide tests could reveal their biological sex, helping to determine how these factors influenced the child's social status and the role they played in their funerary rites. Anthropology could also inform us about illnesses, developmental disorders or the physical activities performed during their lifetime, which, together with stable isotope analyses about nutrition, could answer several questions regarding the child's everyday life, their role within society and within the household. One of the most promising avenues of research is the aforementioned aDNA analysis, which could help identify families within households, shed light on the role of adopted children and show how kinship associations determined the spatial aspects of the graves,[81] whether at a nuclear family level in a single household or group of households or even at the level of extended families of neighbourhoods or entire towns.

The growing number of interdisciplinary excavation projects in the region of Southern Mesopotamia in the past decades opens up hope for the conduction and publication of the first such scientific analyses. For example, in recent years, a new excavation at Ur was carried out by Elizabeth Stone and Paul Zimansky. In two locations within the AH site, as well as in previously undisturbed areas, they discovered additional houses and, within them, further graves, many of them subadults. Adelheid Otto's excavations on the southern mound yielded similarly promising results.[82] These modern excavations and methodologies may provide opportunities for sampling for isotopic or archaeogenetic analyses and, through new studies, offer a fresh perspective on both life and death in the Old Babylonian period.

Catalogue of child burials

[81] An illustrious example of this phenomenon and the possibilities of research opened by archaeogenetics can be found in Fowler *et al.* 2022.

[82] Stone – Zimansky 2016; Stone *et al.* 2021.

6 Paternoster Row, AH[83]
type 1 household
3 rooms, 17 m^2

LG/1.6A-LG/1.6E (6 graves)
room: inner room, perhaps family room (room 3)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: -

8/10 Paternoster Row, AH[84]
type 1 household
4 rooms, 33 m^2

LG/2.5
room: courtyard (room 2)
grave form: earth grave
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 1 vessel (goblet)

11 Paternoster Row, AH[85]
type 4 household
20 rooms, 298 m^2

LG/8
room: family room (room 11)
grave form: covered
state of disturbance: disturbed
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: 1 vessel (plate)

LG/12
room: family room (room 11)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 2 copper bracelets, 3 carnelian beads

LG/13
room: family room (room 11)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1

[83] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 148; Miglus 1999, 280, fig. 47; Battini-Villard 1999, 462.
[84] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 149; Van De Mieroop 1992, 153–155; Miglus 1999, 280, fig. 11; Battini-Villard 1999, 464–465.
[85] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 195; Miglus 1999, 280, fig. 31; Battini-Villard 1999, 466.

age: child
grave goods: 1 vessel (bowl)

LG/14.5-LG/14.9 (5 graves)
room: small room adjacent to family room (room 12)
grave form: double pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: -

LG/14
room: in the doorway between the family room and the small room adjacent to it (rooms 11-12)
grave form: hutch
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 4
age: infant
grave goods: 3 vessels (plate, bowl, jar)

LG/15
room: small room adjacent to family room (room 12)
grave form: covered
state of disturbance: disturbed
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 2 vessels (cup), copper bracelets, traces of cloth

12 Paternoster Row, AH[86]
type 1 household
3 rooms, 30 m^2

LG/16.5A
room: family room (room 3)
grave form: double pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

LG/16.5B-LG/16.5C (2 graves)
room: family room (room 3)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

3 Straight Street, AH[87]
type 3 household

[86] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 153; UrOnline (http://www.ur-online.org/location/443/; accessed: 28 January, 2021); Van De Mieroop 1992, 153–155; Miglus 1999, 281, fig. 10; Battini-Villard 1999, 468.

[87] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 196; UrOnline (http://www.ur-online.org/location/478/; accessed: 28 January, 2021); Molleson – Hodgson 2003, 118; Miglus 1999, 280, fig. 30; Battini-Villard 1999, 449.

15 rooms, 167 m²

LG/22.7
room: family room (room 10)
grave form: hutch
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

4 Straight Street, AH[88]
type 3 household
10 rooms, 111 m²

LG/24
room: room of unknown function opening from courtyard (room 3)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 1 vessel (goblet), copper bowl (U.16305)

12 Straight Street, AH[89]
type 1 household
6 rooms, 47 m²
LG/39 or AHG/191
room: family room (room 5)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 2 vessels (goblet, plate), knucklebones of sheep, remains of linen and of wool cloth with a thin strip of silver

LG/39.6 or AHG/190
room: family room (room 5)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 6 vessels (bottles, cup, goblet, plate and jar)

LG/38.7A-LG/38.7I (9 graves)
room: small room adjacent to family room (room 6)
grave form: double pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

[88] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 196; UrOnline (http://www.ur-online.org/location/705/; accessed: 3 February, 2021); Miglus 1999, 282, fig. 33; Battini-Villard 1999, 451.

[89] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 165, 198; UrOnline (http://www.ur-online.org/location/1170/; accessed: 3 February, 2021); Miglus 1999, 283, fig. 15; Battini-Villard 1999, 456.

unnumbered grave, possibly LG/39.5
room: small room adjacent to family room (room 6)
grave form: hutch
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: -

1 Baker's Square, AH[90]
type 2 household
9 rooms, 90 m^2

LG/42
room: courtyard (room 1)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: 1 vessel (plate)

1B Baker's Square, AH[91]
type 2 household
7 rooms, 69 m^2

LG/45.5
room: family room (room 5) or small room adjacent to guest room (room 6)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

LG/44.5-LG/44.7 or AHG/171-AHG/173 (3 graves)
room: small room adjacent to guest room (room 6)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

LG/45.7
room: guest room (room 2)
grave form: double pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: 1 vessel (bowl)

2-4 Niche Lane, AH[92]
type 3 household

[90] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 157, 198; Miglus 1999, 282, fig. 26; Battini-Villard 1999, 477.
[91] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 158, 187, 199; Luby 1990, 474; UrOnline (http://www.ur-online.org/location/801/; accessed: 7 January, 2024); Miglus 1999, 282, fig. 22; Battini-Villard 1999, 477.
[92] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 12, 199–200; Miglus 1999, 277, fig. 50; Battini-Villard 1999, 442, 444.

12 rooms, 106 m²
The house 2 Niche Lane is uncertain; it was either a part of 4 Niche Lane or its own type 1 household with just 2 rooms and 21 m2. Or perhaps both, at different times.

LG/52A-LG/52B (2 graves)
room: room of unknown function adjacent to family room (room 7 of house 4 Niche Lane)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

LG/52C
room: room of unknown function adjacent to family room (room 7 of house 4 Niche Lane)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: 1 vessel (bowl)

3 Niche Lane, AH[93]
type 1 household
5 rooms, 31 m²

LG/50
room: room of unknown function, adjacent to family room (room 5)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 1 vessel (pot), copper bracelet, shell ring

1 Old Street, AH[94]
type 3 household
7 rooms, 127 m²

LG/57.5
room: guest room (room 5)
grave form: double pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

LG/57.8
room: family room (room 6)
grave form: hutch or pot burial
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant

[93] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 121, 199; Luby 1990, 475; Van De Mieroop 1992, 132; Miglus 1999, 282, fig. 26; Battini-Villard 1999, 477.

[94] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 124, 200; Van De Mieroop 1992, 136–137; Miglus 1999, 277, fig. 21; Battini-Villard 1999, 439.

grave goods: -

5 Church Lane, AH[95]
type 3 household
12 rooms, 138 m^2

LG/58.5
room: family room (room 10)
grave form: double pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

9 Church Lane, AH[96]
type 2 household
9 rooms, 84 m^2

LG/58.1-LG/58.4 (4 graves)
room: family room (room 8)
grave form: double pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

LG/58.7
room: family room (room 8)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: -

13 Church Lane, AH[97]
type 3 household
14 rooms, 159 m^2

LG/62.6
room: below the door connecting the second family room and the small room adjacent to it (room 13-14)
grave form: unknown
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 2 vessels (bowl and jar)

15 Church Lane, AH[98]
type 2 household

95 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 130; Miglus 1999, 278, fig. 35; Battini-Villard 1999, 432.
96 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 157, 198; Luby 1990, 477; UrOnline (http://www.ur-online.org/location/313/; accessed: 4 February, 2021); Miglus 1999, 278, fig. 49; Battini-Villard 1999, 434.
97 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 134; Miglus 1999, 278, fig. 48; Battini-Villard 1999, 437.
98 Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 200–201; Van De Mieroop 1992, 147–148; Miglus 1999, 279, fig. 48; Battini-Villard 1999, 438.

9 rooms, 76 m^2

LG/69
room: family room (room 6)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 1 vessel (goblet), traces of silver diadem

LG/70
room: small room adjacent to guest room (room 4)
grave form: unknown
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 1 vessel (jar)

LG/71
room: room of unknown function (room 9)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 7 vessels (bottles, cup, goblet, plate and jar), copper bracelet and bangle, date-shaped beads of carnelian and granite around the neck, remains of dates in a vessel

LG/73
room: guest room (room 5)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 4 vessels (goblets, jar)

LG/74
room: guest room (room 5)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: 3 vessels (bowl, cup and goblet), date-shaped bead of steatite

1 Broad Street, AH[99]
type 2 household
10 rooms, 91 m^2

LG/80.5
room: family room (room 8)
grave form: hutch
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant

[99] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 136, 202; Miglus 1999, 279, fig. 51; Battini-Villard 1999, 478.

grave goods: -

unnumbered grave
room: vestibule (room 9)
grave form: earth grave
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: -

1 Boundary Street, AH[100]
type 3 household
12 rooms, 158 m^2

LG/46.6
room: family room (room 11)
grave form: double pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: 1 vessel (bowl)

3 Quiet Street, EM[101]
type 2 household
8 rooms, 60 m^2

LG/98.6A
room: guest room (room 4)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: stone pot (U.7635)

LG/98.6B-LG/98.6F (5 graves)
room: guest room (room 4)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

LG/98.7
room: guest room (room 4)
grave form: hutch
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

[100] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 118–120; Van De Mieroop 1992, 131; Miglus 1999, 276, fig. 29; Battini-Villard 1999, 440.
[101] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 107; Luby 1990, 485; Miglus 1999, 275, fig. 23; Battini-Villard 1999, 485.

5 Quiet Street, EM[102]
type 2 household
7 rooms, 64 m^2

LG/100
room: staircase (room 4)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: 1 vessel (jar), 2 beads of carnelian, 2 shells, remains of shroud/cloth

7 Quiet Street, EM[103]
type 2 household
9 rooms, 87 m^2

LG/101.9A-LG/101.9B (2 graves)
room: family room (room 5)
grave form: hutch
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: -

LG/101.8A
room: family room (room 5)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 1 vessel (type 91a)

LG/101.8B
room: family room (room 5)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: -

LG/101.7A-LG/101.7BB (28 graves)
room: family room (room 5)
grave form: double pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: -

LG/100.6A-LG/100.6G (7 graves)
room: smaller room adjacent to family room (room 6)

[102] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 203; Van De Mieroop 1992, 127; Miglus 1999, 275, fig. 40; Battini-Villard 1999, 489.

[103] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 112, 203; Charpin 1986, 90; Van De Mieroop 1992, 124–126; Miglus 1999, 275, fig. 27; Battini-Villard 1999, 489.

grave form: unknown
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

Quality Lane, EM[104]
An incompletely excavated area, composed of several rooms, north of 3-5 Quiet Street. The rooms were possibly contemporaneous with these buildings, but their plan shows no obvious access or opening. The locations of the graves are badly documented.

LG/124
room: unknown, area I
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 2 vessels (goblets), 3 weights of haematite, remains of a reed box

LG/126
room: unknown, area II
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 2
age: adult with infant
sex: female
grave goods: 4 vessels (bowl and jars), one of them containing vegetable matter, 2 thin silver frontlets on a round brick placed in front of the body

1 Gay Street, EM[105]
type 1 household
2 rooms, 11 m^2

LG/132
room: inner room, most likely family room (room 2)
grave form: earth grave
state of disturbance: disturbed
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 3 vessels (vases and jar), in one of them, vegetable matter, zoomorphic terracotta figurine (U.7095)

House 30/A, Mausoleum Site[106]
type 2 household
7 rooms, 65 m^2

LG/155.5A- LG/155.5B (2 graves)
room: family room (room 7)
grave form: double pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1

[104] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 102, 205.
[105] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 206; Miglus 1999, 274, fig. 46; Battini-Villard 1999, 493.
[106] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 166, 209; Miglus 1999, 283, fig. 19; Battini-Villard 1999, 498.

age: infant
grave goods: -

House 30/B, Mausoleum Site[107]
type 2 household
10 rooms, 95 m^2

LG/157.6
room: room of unknown function (room 3)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: -

LG/157.8A
room: room of unknown function, opening from courtyard, most likely guest room (room 8)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: -

LG/157.8B
room: room of unknown function, opening from courtyard, most likely guest room (room 8)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: infant
grave goods: 2 vessels (jars)

LG/157
room: room of unknown function, opening from courtyard (room 7)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: 7 vessels (cups, bottles and jar), copper bowl, remains of a copper bracelet, 3 beads in the neck area

House 30/C, Mausoleum Site[108]
type 2 household
8 rooms

LG/162
room: entrance, perhaps shop (room 8)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child

[107] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 167, 209; Luby 1990, 457; Miglus 1999, 283, fig. 52; Battini-Villard 1999, 499.
[108] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 209; Luby 1990, 497; Miglus 1999, 283; Battini-Villard 1999, 500.

grave goods: 10 vessels (plate, goblets, jars and bottles), copper rings

House 30/E, Mausoleum Site[109]
partially excavated house with at least 5 rooms
LG/163.8
room: room of unknown function (room 2)
grave form: pot
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: -

LG/163.9
room: room of unknown function (room 3)
grave form: larnax
state of disturbance: -
number of dead: 1
age: child
grave goods: shell rings

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[109] Woolley – Mallowan 1976, 168; Luby 1990, 498; Miglus 1999, 284; Battini-Villard 1999, 503.

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Preserving the Word of the King and the Word of the Father: New Joins to the Political Counsel of Mursili I

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Abstract: Several joins among well-known Hittite texts and fragments from Ḫattusa / Boğazköy reveal that the composition hitherto known as The Edict of Ḫattusili I (KBo 3.27) and a text variously regarded as a fragment of the Palace Anecdotes or as an edict of Mursili I (KBo 3.28) in fact belong to a single tablet containing what one might now call the Political Counsel of Mursili I. The primary purpose of the Political Counsel is to underline Mursili's authority and legitimacy, in large part through a repeated emphasis of the necessity of observing the 'word(s) of the father' or the 'word(s) of the king', invariably referring to traditions and precedents established by the author's (adoptive) father and predecessor, Ḫattusili I. Most of the events narrated in the text thus occurred during the reign of Ḫattusili and are told in retrospect, partly from the vantage point of Mursili's day, partly as if narrated by Ḫattusili himself. While many details of philology and history must remain open for discussion, the newly reconstructed text sheds light on a number of issues of early Hittite history. It is seen, *inter alia*, that there is no need to posit any Tawannanna in the Old Kingdom other than the queen of Labarna I, the aunt of Ḫattusili I. The succession to the throne of Ḫattusili I is likely to have been the result of a *coup d'état* rather than the desire of Labarna and Tawannanna, whose sons Ḫattusili apparently eliminated or outmaneuvered. And the so-called Purušḫanda Episode referred to here and in KBo 3.46+ can likely be placed in the reign of Ḫattusili I and may well reflect one episode of the disenfranchisement of Labarna's and Tawannanna's lineage.

Keywords: Political Counsel of Mursili I (Edict of Ḫattusili I), Hittite Old Kingdom, Labarna I, Tawannanna

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Introduction

In 2005, while preparing the fragments 533/v and 1131/v for publication as KBo 50.6 and 50.7, respectively, a number of striking similarities between them caught my eye, and I suggested that they might belong to the same tablet.[1] In November 2018, I discovered that one of these fragments, KBo 50.7, directly joins KBo 3.28, a largish fragment that had been catalogued among the

[1] Miller 2006, iv. Bibliographical abbreviations used here can be found in The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (CHD), also available online at https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary. For signs and conventions employed, see Miller 2013, xv–xvi. This paper was submitted to HAR in February, 2025, and thus, it was no longer possible to take account of Marazzi 2024, which appeared in May, 2025.

Palace Anecdotes by Laroche (CTH 9.6). In his classification of KBo 3.28 Laroche was followed among others by the CHD,[2] while some, such as Soysal,[3] Dardano[4] and Marazzi,[5] have argued for its being a royal edict, perhaps of Mursili I. In February 2020, while examining some of the well-known similarities between KBo 3.28(+KBo 50.7) and KBo 3.27, the text commonly known as the Edict of Ḫattusili I (CTH 5),[6] I realized that these fragments belong to the same tablet and in fact join directly. Shortly thereafter I concluded that KBo 3.24, to which Soysal[7] had joined KBo 53.275, probably belongs to this same tablet, and that they should likely be situated slightly above KBo 3.27. Where KBo 50.6 might belong one can only speculate at present; I will assume as a working hypothesis that it might belong to the first part of obv. ii.

I then realized that in fact Emil Forrer had already assumed in his treatment of the Bo fragments published as KBo 3.24, 3.27 and 3.28 that these would have belonged to a single tablet, which he thus presented as BoTU 2.10 α, β and γ. He assumed KBo 3.24 and KBo 3.27 would belong to obv. i, KBo 3.28 to obv. ii. However, Güterbock,[8] having collated the fragments, rejected Forrer's suggestion, though he did not detail his observations[9] or provide any reasons for his conclusion,[10] writing merely, '[n]ach Kollation gehören die Stücke 2BoTU 10 α, β, γ nicht zu einer Tafel'. Güterbock was followed essentially by all[11] subsequent authors, either explicitly or implicitly.[12]

Finally, shortly before I was ready to submit this paper, James Burgin discovered that Bo 8421 (DBH 43.117) directly joins Bo 2556 as well, thereby providing the ends of obv. i 7"–8", and he kindly informed me of his welcome discovery and provided me with a photo montage (email of 14 July 2023).

That the main fragments (i.e. Bo 2423+Bo 2556+1131/v) do indeed join is now ensured, among other details, by ^{UR}[^{U}*Ḫa-a*]*t*-[*t*]*u-ša-an* in obv. i 26" and *pe-eš-ši-*˹*at*˺ in 29" as well as the paragraph dividers that align nicely below §§6", 7" and 8". Bo 2423 might well join Bo 2556 and 1131/v directly, but it is difficult to be certain without collating the fragments themselves; there might be a millimetre or two between them. Unfortunately, most of the fragments cannot be physically joined at present, as they are housed in different museums (Istanbul: Bo 2423, Bo 2556, Bo 3413; Ankara: Bo 8421, 1699/u, 533/v, 1131/v).[13]

2 E.g. CHD Š, 70b, 526b.

3 Soysal 1989, 31–33, 90–91, 125–126, 136–137.

4 Dardano 1997, 15.

5 Marazzi 2011–2012.

6 Other designations of KBo 3.27 found in the literature include 'Das Ächtungs-Edikt auf die Tawannanna' (Haas 2006, 65) and similar.

7 Soysal 2006a.

8 Güterbock 1938, 99 n. 2.

9 In contrast, Forrer (BoTU 2, p. 4*), who had obviously examined the originals as well, had noted 'die gleiche Handschrift und den gleichen eigentümlich kalkartigen und innerlich und äußerlich eigenartig gefärbten Ton' of the three Bo fragments, which surely speaks for their attribution to a single tablet.

10 I can only assume that Güterbock was led astray by the fact that the fragments from obv. i, i.e. Bo 2423 and Bo 3413 (and now 1699/u) have a rather different surface appearance than that (or those) of obv. ii, i.e. Bo 2556 (and now 1131/v and 533/v?), presumably due to different deposition conditions. Such variation among fragments belonging to a single tablet, however, is not uncommon, and can indeed be quite deceiving.

11 Bin-Nun 1975, 74 with n. 86 assumed that BoTU 2.10 α and β belonged to a single tablet, while BoTU 2.10 γ would have belonged to another tablet. At the same time Bin-Nun 1975, 75 referred to BoTU 2.10 α and β as 'these two documents of Ḫattušili I', and did not otherwise treat them as belonging to a single tablet.

12 More recently Forlanini suggested that KBo 3.27 and KBo 3.28 'may be fragments of the same composition' (2010, 124 n. 49) or that they might belong 'to the same text' (2017a, 242 n. 45; cf. also 2017b, 132–133 and n. 50; 2020, 152 n. 36).

13 For photographs of each fragment as well as a join sketch (not including 533/v) see the documentation in the *Konkordanz*. I had planned to visit the museums in Istanbul and Ankara in order to collate and photograph the fragments before presenting my results at the 11th Congress of Hittitology in Çorum during the first week of September 2020, but was not able to do so due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Collation of

It seems quite likely, but is not entirely certain, that we are dealing with the obverse. All three Bo fragments were published in KBo 3 as *Vorderseite* (i.e. KBo 3.24, 3.27, 3.28); and the fact that there is no colophon at the bottom of the left column suggests, but does not assure, that it should be regarded as obv. i, not rev. iv. And if KBo 3.24 does in fact belong to this tablet, then it would all but clinch the assumption that at least this portion represents the obverse, as in the edition we find the comment: 'Die Rückseite der Tafel, soweit erhalten, ist unbeschrieben; am linken Rande ist nur ein kleiner Stück einer Randleiste erhalten.'

The tablet is clearly a New Hittite copy[14] of an Old Hittite composition.[15] The findspots of 1699/u, 1131/v and 533/v (Grabungsschutt in L/19) suggest that the tablet stems from the storerooms on the eastern side of the Temple I complex.

The present paper offers a renewed treatment of the reconstructed text, with transliteration,[16] translation and philological commentary, followed by a discussion of its contents. Of course, all these fragments, and especially KBo 3.27 and 3.28, have been treated extensively by many scholars, so that their content as well as most of their challenges are already well documented.[17] I will therefore limit the discussion to some potential gains in understanding that the new joins seem to suggest along with a few considerations concerning passages that have resulted from my work with the texts. Extensive bibliography can be found in Silvin Košak's *Konkordanz*, sub 533/v, and in Detlev Groddek's *Liste*[18] under the numbers of the respective text editions. I thank them both for their tireless efforts and their selfless sharing with colleagues.

the principal fragments is now prohibited for the foreseeable future by the closure of the museum in Istanbul due to a restoration project.

14 Probably a IIIa (ca. Suppiluliuma I to Mursili II) or a IIIb (ca. Muwattalli II to Ḫattusili III) copy, though caution is always called for when dealing with late copies of older texts, as the copying scribe can be and often is influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the sign forms in the text from which he is copying. In any case, I see no indications that it might be a IIIc copy (ca. Tutḫaliya IV to Suppiluliu/ama II). The designation of KBo 3.27 and 3.28 as Old Hittite originals by Kammenhuber 1969, 259–260, followed by Bin-Nun 1975, 108, is obsolete.

15 E.g. Groddek 2008, 5–6; Gilan 2015, 110.

16 The transliteration is based primarily on the photos available in the *Konkordanz*, and secondarily on the hand copies of the KBo and DBH editions.

17 The more extensive treatments and/or translations of the substantial individual fragments published within the last 50 years or so, all with previous literature, include Laroche 1973, 186–189 (KBo 3.28); Soysal 1989, 31–33, 90–91 (KBo 3.28); 2006a (KBo 3.24+53.275); de Martino 1991 (KBo 3.27); Carruba 1992, 77–82 (KBo 3.27); Haas 2006, 65–66 (KBo 3.27); Dardano 2002, 365, 383–384, 388 (KBo 3.28); 2010, 47–50 (KBo 3.28 and 3.24+); Marazzi 2010, 212–216, 222–227; 2011–2012 (KBo 3.28); Gilan 2015, 99–103, 110–115 (KBo 3.27 and 3.28); Klinger 2020 (KBo 3.27). Of course, Forrer's (BoTU 2.10) and Sommer and Falkenstein's (1938, 211–214) highly influential early work must be mentioned as well.

18 At http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/grodlist/.

Transliteration

Obv. I

(probably not much more than ca. 8 lines missing)

§1’ 1’ [x]-˹*wa*ʔ˺[KBo 3.24+KBo 53.275

2’ [DU]MUʔ/[L]Úʔ.MEŠ[

———————

§2’ 3’ ˹*ku*ʔ˺-*w*[*a*ʔ-

4’ GI[Šʔ

5’ *ḫu-w*[*a*ʔ-

———————

§3’ 6’ LUGAL-*a*[*n*~

7’ *e-eš-k*[*e*ʔ~

8’ ˻*le*˼-˹*e*˺[

9’ ˹*i*ʔ˺-*e*-x[

———————

§4’ 10’ f*Ta-wa-n*[*a-an-na*~

11’ *at-ta-aš-š*[*a*~

12’ *ut-ni-ia-an-d*[*a*~

13’ *ú-ga* DUMU.MUNUS-*TI* [

14’ *da-aḫ-ḫu-un* DUMU.MU[NUS-*TI*ʔ

15’ *ša-na-aš-ta* URU*Ḫa-a*[*t-tu-š*°~

16’ *ú-*e*-em-ia na-at-ta* x[

17’ *az-zi-ki-i ak-ku-uš-ki-ia* URU*Ḫa-a*[*t-tu-ši-ma*(ʔ) LUGAL-*wa-aš*(ʔ)]

18’ *ša-a-ku-wa le-e a-ú-u*[*t*ʔ-*ti*

———————————————

§5’ 19’ *ku-i-da* DUMU.NITA-*na e-ep-p*[*u-un*] x x [

20’ *a-pa-ša ma-˻am*ʔ*˼-m*[*a*ʔ-*an*(ʔ)

21’ ˻*iš*˼-*ḫa-aḫ-ru-u*[*š-ši-it*(ʔ)

(break of probably only a few lines)

§6” 1” […]x ˹UN˺ x[KBo 3.27+KBo 3.28+KBo 50.7+DBH 43.117

2” [… ~*l*]*a*ʔ-*an-ta-a-˹e*ʔ ŠA˺~x x[

3” [*t*]*a ki-*še*-ra-aš-ša-an e-ep-z*[*i*

4” [*ú-w*]*a-te-ez-zi ta ú-ez-zi* URU*Ḫ*[*a-at-tu-ša-an*(ʔ) URU-*an*(ʔ)]

5” [*ta*]-*mi-u-ma-an i-e-zi ta eš-ḫa-na-aš* [URU-*an*(ʔ) *i-e-zi*(ʔ)]

6” ˹UR˺-RA-AM ŠE-RA-AM f*Ta-wa-na-an-na-aš š*[*UM*ʔ-*ŠU*ʔ]

7” *le-e ku-iš-ki te-ez-zi* ŠA DUMUMEŠ-*ŠU* [DUMU.DUMUMEŠ/DUMU.MUNUSMEŠ(ʔ)]-˻*ŠU*˼

8” *ŠUM-ŠU-NU* ˻*le*˼-*e ku-iš-ki te-ez-zi ták-ku* DUMUM[EŠ-*an*ʔ *i*]*š-tar-na ŠUM-ŠU-NU ku-iš-*˻*ki*˼ [*te-ez-zi*]

9” *kap-ru-uš-še-*˻*et ḫa*˼*-at-ta-an-ta-ru na-an a-aš-k*[*i-iš-ši*]

10” **kán**-*kán-du ták-ku* ÌR˺MEŠ-*am-ma-an iš-tar-na ŠUM-š*[*U-NU*]

11” ku¹(QA)-*iš-ki te-ez-zi* ÌR-*mi-iš le-e kap-ru-u*[*š-še-et*]

12” *ḫa-at-ta-an-ta-ru na-an a-aš-ki-iš-ši kán-kán-*[*du*]

———————————————————————

§7” 13” *ka-ša-at-ta-aš-ma-aš* m*Mu-ur-ši-li-in pé-eḫ-ḫu-un* [Ø]

14” [GI]ŠŠÚ.A *A-BI-ŠU a-pa-aš da-a-ú* DUMU-*mi-ša* NU DUMU-*aš* [Ø]

15” [*šu*]-˻*mi-in*˼-*za-na* ÌRMEŠ-*am-ma-an* UR.BAR.RA-*aš ma-a-an pa-an-g*[*ur-ša-me-e*]*t*ʔ

16” ˹1-*EN*˺ *e-eš-tu* ˹*nu*˺ *ku-*i*-e-ša ḫu-ur-ta-li-an-zi* [Øʔ]

17” *A-WA-A-AT* LUGAL˹LÚ˺MEŠ *ME-ŠE-DI-eš* LÚ.MEŠ*pa*¹(GAD)-*aḫ-ḫur-zi-e-eš*

18” *Ù*¹(MA) LÚ.MEŠ*MU-ŠA-A ḫ*[*u-u*]*r-*˻*ta*˼*-li-an-zi ke-e ḫu-u*[*r-ta-an-ta-ru*(ʔ)]

Translation

Obv. I

§1’ 2’ [*me*]*n*/[*so*]*ns* [

§2’ (no translation possible)

§3’ 6’ The king [
7’ *do/make* [
8’ must not [
9’ *do/make* [

§4’ 10’ Tawan[anna
11’ an[d] the father/father’s [
12’ the population [
13’ I, however, my daughter [
14’ I took. [*My*] daugh[ter
15’ and […] her(acc.) Ḫa[ttusa
16’ find! Not [
17’–18’ Eat(sg.) and drink(sg.)! [In] Ḫat[tusa, though], y[ou shall] not regard the eyes [of the king!]

§5’ 19’ But as for the son (whom) [I] took, [
20’ That one, however, *even i*[*f*
21’ *h*[*is*] tears [
(break of probably only a few lines)

§6” […][19] (3”)[the]n *she* will take *his* hand […] (4”–5”)*she* will [br]ing, and thereafter *she* will make *Ḫ*[*attusa a city*] of [an]archy, [*she will make (it) a city*] of blood. (6”–8”)In the future no one shall speak Tawananna’s *n*[*ame*]! No one shall speak the name(s) of her sons (or) *her* [*grandsons*?*/daughters*?]! ‘If anyone among the prince[s speaks] their name(s), (9”–12”)they shall slit his throat and they shall hang him a[t his] gate! If anyone among my servants speaks th[eir] name(s), he shall not be my servant! They shall slit [his] throat and they sha[ll] hang him at his gate!

§7” (13”) I have hereby presented Mursili to you(pl.). (14”)It is he who shall take the throne of his father. My son, however, is no (longer my) son! (15”–16”)But your, my servants’, clan must be one like the wolf’s!
But they who confound (17”)the words of the king, (i.e.) the royal bodyguard,

[19] In 2” perhaps ‘[*If*? …] *s*[*eeks*?*/at*[*tempts*? …*-l*]*antae*, …’? See commentary.

19” DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL *lu-r*[*i*$^{?}$-*a*]*ḫ*$^{?}$-[*ḫa-an-zi*$^{(?)}$ *u*]*t-*^{ʳ}*tar*^{ˀ}*-ši-it* DUMU^{ᵘ}(I$^{?}$) É.GAL *ku-*[*iš*]
20” *ḫu-ur-ta-li-*[*iz-zi kap-ru-uš-ši-i*]*t ḫa-at-ta-a*[*n-ta-ru*]
21” *na-an a-aš-k*[*i-iš-ši kán-ká*]*n-*[*du*]

_____ _____ _____

§8” 22” *ma-a-an ud-da-a-a*[*r-me-et p*]*a-aḫ-š*[*a-te-ni*$^{(?)}$ *nu*$^{?}$ ^{URU}*Ḫ*]*a*$^{?}$*-a*[*t*$^{?}$*-tu-ša-a*]*n*$^{?}$
23” ˹*ut*˺*-né-em-me-et-t*[*a pa-aḫ-ša-n*]*u-ut-te-n*[*i ma-a-an-ša-an ḫ*]*a-aš-ši-*[*i*]
24” [*p*]*a-aḫ-ḫu-ur pa-ra-iš-t*[*e-ni n*]*a-at-ta-kán*$^{!?}$(Á) *u*[*d*$^{?}$*-d*]*a*$^{?}$*-*˹*a*˺*-ar-me-e*[*t*]
25” ˹*šar*^{ˀ}*-ra-at-tu-ma m*[*a-a-an*]*-ša-an ḫa-aš-ši-*^{ʳ}*i*^{ˀ} *p*[*a-aḫ-ḫ*]*u-ur* [Ø]
26” [*n*]*a-at-ta pa-ra-iš-*^{ʳ}*te*^{ˀ}*-ni ta ú-ez-zi* ^{UR}[^{U}*Ḫa-a*]*t-*[*t*]*u-ša-an*
27” ˹MUŠ^{ˀ}*-aš ḫu-la-a-li-az-zi*

_____

§9” 28” [L]Ú ^{URU}*Za-al-pu-u-ma-aš at-ta-*^{ʳ}*aš*$^{!}$ *ut*^{ˀ}*-tar pé-eš-ši-at ka-a a-pa-aš*
29” [^{URU}*Z*]*a-al-pa-aš* LÚ $^{URU!}$*Ḫa-aš-šu-*^{ʳ}*u*^{ˀ}*-ma-aš at-ta-aš ut-tar pé-eš-ši-*˹*at*˺
30” [*ka*]*-*^{ʳ}*a*^{ˀ}*-aš a-pa-aš* ^{URU}*Ḫa-aš-šu-wa-aš na-aš-ma* LÚ ^{URU}*Ḫal-pu-u-ma-aš-ša*
31” [*at-t*]*a-aš ut-tar pé-eš-ši-at* ^{URU}*Ḫal-pa-aš-ša ḫa-ra-ak-zi*

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Obv. II

(probably only a few lines missing)
§10” 1’ [*n*]*a*$^{?}$*-*^{ʳ}*at*^{ˀ} x[KBo 50.6

_____

§11” 2’ *ki-nu-na* [L]UGAL$^{?}$ DU[MU$^{?}$ / [L]UGAL$^{?}$.G[AL$^{?}$
3’ *ku-e zi-ke-e*[*z-zi*

_____

§12” 4’ ˹*ták*˺*-ku* DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} LUGAL DUMU^{ME}[^{Š} LUGAL$^{?}$
5’ [*n*]*e ke-et-ti i-d*[*a-l*°~
6’ [*ták*]*-ki-iš-ši i-da-lu* x[
7’ [*ku*]*-e-da-ni-ik-ka* x[
8’ [*k*]*i-iš-šar-ta ša-ku-i-i*[*t*

_____

§13” 9’ [*A*]*-NA* DAM*-KA i-da-lu l*[*e*$^{?}$*-e*$^{?}$
10’ [*ḫ*]*a-*˹*aš-ši*˺*-i ḫa-an-za-aš-ši* ˹*i*˺*-d*[*a*$^{?}$*-lu*$^{?}$
11’ [*k*]*u-iš-ki ták-k*[*i-iš-zi*

_____

§14” 12’ [*tá*]*k-*˹*ku*˺ MUNUS.LUGA[L$^{?}$
13’ [^{LÚ}*ḫ*]*a*$^{?}$*-pí-aš*$^{?}$[
14’ [ ]x L[I$^{?}$
15’ [ ]x[
(break of probably only a few lines)
§15” 1” [x] x x x [KBo 3.28+KBo 50.7
2” [x] x x-*an* x x x x [x x x] x ^{ʳ}IŠ^{ˀ} x x x x [
3” [*i*]*š-ta-ma-aš-ta* ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-ši ku-u-ru-ur e-e*[*p-ta*$^{?}$ …]
4” [*š*]*a-kán-zi* ^{ʳ}LUGAL^{ˀ}*-un* ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-ša-an na-at-ta* […]
5” ^{ʳ}*eš*^{ˀ}*-*ša*-i* ^{URU}*Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-du-um-na-an da-a-er ke-e*[*š*$^{?}$*-ri-mi-an*$^{(?)}$ *da-i-er*$^{(?)}$]
6” *ke-e-da-am-mu a-pa-a-aš i-ez-zi šu-mu* DINGIR^{DIDLI} DUMU ^{URU}*Pu-r*[*u-uš-ḫa-an-d*°-…]
7” *ki-iš-ri-mi da-i-er* LUGAL*-uš A-NA* DAM*-ŠU ne-ga-aš-š*[*a*$^{?}$*-a*]*š-ša* [Ø]
8” *i-it-te-en az-zi-ket*$_{9}$*-te-en ak-ku-uš-ket*$_{9}$*-te-en* LUGAL*-wa-ša* x$^{?}$[Ø]
9” *ša-a-*^{ʳ}*ku*^{ˀ}*-wa-me-et le-e uš-te-ni*

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those not in the line of succession (18”)or[!] the *m*.-men[20] confound (them), these [*shall be*] *acc*[*ursed*]! (19”–20”)They *dis*[*grace*] the courtiers! The courtier *wh*[*o*] confound[s] his [w]ord, [they shall] slit [hi]s [throat] (21”)and [they shall hang] him [at his] gate!

§8” (22”–27”)If [you(pl.) p]reser[ve my] words, [then] you(pl.) will [preserve *Ḫ*]*a*[*ttusa*(?) and] my land. [If] y[ou(pl.)] fan the [f]lames in the [h]earth, you(pl.) will not transgress my [wo]rds. I[f] you(pl.) do not fan the f[lam]es in the hearth, then eventually a/the snake will strangle [Ḫa]t[t]usa!

§9” (28”)The Zalpaean [ru]ler spurned the word of the father: Here (is) he (29”)of [Z]alpa! The Ḫassuan ruler spurned the word of the father: (30”)[Th]is (is) he of Ḫassu! *Also* the Ḫalabean ruler (31”)spurned the word of the [fath]er: Ḫalab, too, will perish!
(probably only a few lines missing)

Obv. II

§10” 1’ [*an*]*d they/it* [

§11” 2’ Now, though, *the king* … [
3’ those whom/which [s/he] places/undertakes [

§12” 4’ If the daughters of the king, the sons [*of the king*(?)
5’ [an]d they […] ev[il] *for this one* [
6’ you(sg.) [*con*]*coct*, evil [
7’ to/for [wh]om/[wh]atever [
8’ with the/(his/her) hand, with the eye [

§13” 9’ […] *shall n*[*ot* …] evil [ag]ainst your(sg.) wife [
10’ *ev*[*il*] against grandchildren, great grandchildren [
11’ whoever conco[cts

§14” 12’ [I]f the *quee*[*n*
13’ [a *ḫ*]*apiya*-cult official [
(break of probably only a few lines)

§15” […] (3”)he heard. In/Against Ḫattusa [*he*] *beg*[*an*] hostility. […] (4”–5”)they [re]cognize/will [re]cognize. The king(acc.) (and?) Ḫattusa(acc.) *he will* not *make/treat* […].[21] They took the Purusḫandean (and) [*they placed him in my*] *ha*[*nd*]. (6”–7”)*This is how* the guy behaves toward me! (So) the gods placed the prince *of* Pur[usḫanda] in my hand. (I), the king, (said) to his wife and his(/her) sist[e]rs: (8”–9”)Go! Eat! Drink! But you(pl.) shall not see my, the king’s, eyes!

20 Perhaps ‘night watchmen’. See commentary.

21 Perhaps rather, ‘They will [re]cognize [*him*], (as) king(acc.)! (But) Ḫattusa(acc.) he will not treat [*well*]!’ See commentary.

§16” 10” *ki-nu-na ma-a-an* DUMU-*aš A-NA* SAG.DU LUGAL *ú-wa-aš-ta-i ku-it-ki a-pa-ša*ˡ(SI²)-*an* ⌞*A*⌟-[*NA*(?) $^{d}I_{7}$-*ia*(?)]
11” [*ḫa*]*l-za-a-i na-aš pa-it-*˹*tu*˺ *ma-a-na-aš pár-ku-eš-zi nu ša-a-ku-wa-at-te-et ú-uš*-[*ket*$_{9}$-*tu*]
12” [*t*]*ák-ku* $^{d}I_{7}$-*i*[*a-m*]*a mi-im-ma-i na-*‹*aš*› É-*ši-pát e-eš-tu ge-en-zu-wa-*˹*i*²˺-[*ši*² *ma-a-an*(?)]
13” *na-an ka-pu-u-e-ši na-an ka-pu-u-i ták-ku na-at-ta-ma ka-pu-u-e-ši*
14” *na-aš* É-*iš-ši-pát e-eš-tu A-NA* É.EN.NU.UN *le-e da-it-ti*
15” *i-da-lu-ma-an le-e i-ia-ši ḫé-en-kán-še le-e ták-ki-iš-ši uš-*˹*ša*˺-*n*[*i*²-*ia-ši-an*(?)]
16” *le-e ne-pí-ši* DINGIR^{DIDLI} *iš-tar-ni-ik-ši ták-na-a-ma mi-e-nu-uš iš-tar-ni-i*[*k*²-*ši*(?)]

_____

§17” 17” *at-ta-aš-ma-aš ḫar-ša-ni-i* $^{d}I_{7}$-*ia me-ek-ke-eš pa-ap-re-eš-ker šu-uš A-BI* LUGAL
18” *na-at-ta ḫu-iš-nu-uš-ke-e-et* ^{m}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-aš-pát A-NA* SAG.‹DU› *A-BI-*˹*IA*˺ $^{d}I_{7}$-*ia*
19” *pa-ap-ri-it-ta ša-an at-ta-aš-*˹*mi-iš*˺ ^{m}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-an na-at-*‹*ta*› *ḫu-*˹*iš*²˺-*nu-ú-ut*

_____

§18” 20” *ki-nu-na* LUGAL-*uš i-da-lu me-*˹*ek*˺-*ki u-uḫ-ḫu-un ta* LUGAL-*wa-*‹*aš*› *ud-da-a-ar-ra-me-et*
21” *le-e šar-ra-at-tu-ma a-ši* MUNUS.LUGAL ^{URU}*ḪU.RU.MA* *É*.GI$_{4}$.A
22” *e-eš-ta ad-da-aš-mi-ša-aš-še ke-e-da-ni a-ra i-ia-an ḫar-ta*

_____

§19” 23” [*na*²-*aš*²]-⌞*ta*²⌟ MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš* DUMU.MUNUS É-*TÌ ku-wa-ta-an pé-ta-at-te-ni n*[*u*² *le-e*(?)]
24” [*ú*²-*w*]*a-*˹*at-te*˺-*ni ku-in* LUGAL-*uš* ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A-*mi a-ša-aš-ḫé* MUNUS.LUGAL-[…]
25” *nu ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-*⌞*iš-*ke*⌟*-et*-{E}-*tu** ^{m}*Ga-ri-ia-an*~**še*²***~x[…]
26” ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA$^{ḪI.A}$ ˹*ar*˺-⌞*ma*⌟*-na-an-te-eš a-ša-an-du* […]
27” *a-ra e-eš-tu* LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{GIŠ}⌞GIDRU^{LÚ}⌟.^{MEŠ}*pa*ˡ(DUR)-*aḫ-ḫur-zi-eš-š*[*a* …]

_____

§20” 28” *nu-uz-za* URU^{DIDLI}-*ŠU ḫu-wa-iš-ket*$_{9}$-*tu* [
29” UDU.“SÍG+MUNUS”$^{ḪI.A}$ *ŠA* *KÙ.BABBAR *ŠA* KÙ.G[I²?!*
30” *le-e ku-iš-ki ša-li-*[*ga*
31” *le-e ku-iš-ki ḫu-u*[*r-ta-li-iz-zi*(?)/*ḫu-u*[*r-d/ta-i*(?)
32” *i-iš-ša-i nu-uš-še* [
33” *a-ap-pa-li-iš-še*ˡ(BU)-*et ku-w*[*a*²-
34” *ku-e-da-ni-ik-ka ta-i*[*t-ta*²/*ti*²
35” *na-aš-šu-ma na-ak-ki-ta* [
36” [*nu*² *n*]*a*²-[*a*]*š*²-⌞*šu*²⌟ *ša*⌟*-ku-i-it* x[

_____
_____

Rev. III KBo 3.28+KBo 50.7

_____
_____
1]x ⌞KU²⌟ x[
…
1’]-*ši*/-*LÌ*

§16” (10”–11”)Now, though, if a prince transgresses against the person of the king somehow, (and) he (the king) [c]ites *him t*[*o the divine river (ordeal)*], then he (the offender) must go. If he is shown to be innocent, then [he shall contin]ue to see your(sg.) eyes (i.e. remain at the royal court). (12”)[I]f, however, he refuses (to undergo) the divine river (ordeal), then ‹he› shall remain (lit. be) in his own house (i.e. placed under house arrest). [*If you*(sg.) *are*] lenient, (13”)and you(sg.) *can keep tabs on* him, then *keep tabs on* him. If, however, you(sg.) cannot *keep tabs on* (him), (14”)then he shall remain in his own house. You(sg.) shall not put (him) in prison, (15”–16”)neither shall you(sg.) do him evil. You(sg.) shall not seek death for him. [*You*(sg.)] shall not *sel*[*l him*] (into slavery). (Otherwise), in heaven you(sg.) will aggrieve the gods, while *on* earth [*you*(sg.) *will*] *aggrieve* the *mienu*-(beings).

§17” (17”–19”)Many proved guilty before the person of my father (in) the divine river (ordeal). But did the father of the king not let them live? Kizzuwa, for one, proved guilty before the person of my father (in) the divine river (ordeal). But did my father no‹t› let him, Kizzuwa, live?

§18” (20”–22”)But now I, the king, have seen much evil, so do not transgress(pl.) my, the king’s, words, too! That queen of Ḫuruma *was a bride*.[22] My father, though, had acted justly in this (affair) toward her (saying):

§19” (23”–24”)To whatever house you(pl.) bring the daughter of the queen, you(pl.) [*shall not co*]*me*. He whom I, the king, place on my throne, the queen […][23] (25”)and *he* shall govern. *Gari(ya)* […] (26”)mules shall be *ill*. […] (27”)shall be just. The scepter bearers a[nd] those not in the line of succession […].

§20” 28” And his/her cities shall run/escape/function/spread [
29” the ewes of silver (and) of go[ld
30” no one shall approa[ch
31” no one shall *con*[*found*/*cu*[*rse*
32” s/he does/makes, and to/for him/her [
33” his/her trap [
34” [*you*] *pla*[*ce*]/*pla*[*ced*] to/for whomever/whatever [
35” or else important [
36” [*and eit*]*her* with the eyes [

Rev. III
(No translation possible.)

[22] Perhaps to be emended to ‘That queen of/from Ḫuruma remained (in) her estate.’ See commentary.

[23] Presumably something along the lines of ‘the queen [shall recognize him]’ is to be understood here; see commentary.

Philological Commentary

Obv. I

KBo 3.24+KBo 53.275

KBo 3.24+KBo 53.275 clearly show, in my view, the same hand as KBo 3.27. (Comparison with KBo 50.6(+)KBo 50.7+KBo 3.28 is more difficult due to the differing condition of their surfaces.) As far as the available photos allow one to judge, other details, such as the shape of the left edge and the lightly impressed paragraph dividers, support the assumption that KBo 3.24+KBo 53.275 belong to this tablet. It does, of course, remain an assumption. Carruba argued against KBo 3.24 belonging to CTH 5 (i.e. KBo 3.27), 'da die Rückseite, soweit erhalten, leer ist: weil sie sprachlich älter sein dürfte (enthält Z. 15 *s-an-asta*); und schließlich nach Kollation H.G. Güterbock'.[24] Carruba added, 'Stimmt die Angabe Forrers Vs. für beide Texte und stand 10α (Rs. leer) vor 10β (Rs. nicht erhalten; Doppelstrich als Ende), so könnte die Tafel kaum nur auf der Vs. beschrieben worden sein.'[25] If I am not mistaken, however, Carruba's considerations concerning the obv. and the rev. are simply confused. There are numerous tablets that show a significant amount of blank space in rev. iv or are even mostly or completely blank in rev. iv (or vi), such as the NH copy of the Annals of Ḫattusili I (KBo 10.2), to name just one example; thus, the likelihood[26] that the rev. of KBo 3.24+KBo 53.275 will have been uninscribed, i.e. that this tablet's rev. iv may have been at least largely uninscribed, constitutes no argument for or against its belonging to KBo 3.27++.[27] (Again, collation of KBo 3.24 might allow one to ascertain, based on the shape of the edge, whether the fragment belongs to the upper or to the lower part of a tablet.) Also Carruba's assertion concerning the linguistic dating of the two fragments can be dismissed: Both are clearly NH copies of OH documents, and the existence of the conjunction *s*(*u*)- or the particle -*asta* certainly does not demonstrate an earlier date for KBo 3.24 *vis-à-vis* the archaic forms in KBo 3.27, even apart from the fact that the new joins yield the conjunction *s*(*u*)-, in ii 6", 17" and 19". Concerning Güterbock's collation, cf. above and n. 10.

Ca. 8 lines are missing between the traces in line 1' and the top of the fragment. As portions of 52 lines are preserved in KBo 3.24(+)KBo 3.27 (traces of 51 lines are preserved in KBo 50.6(+)KBo 3.28+KBo 50.7), and since at least some few lines are presumably lost between these two fragments, it is unlikely that a great many more than these ca. 8 lines preceded line 1' of KBo 3.24. Examination of the shape of the edge of KBo 3.24 might give one a better idea of how much of the top of the column is missing.

3': While the copy (KBo 3.24) might suggest ^{m}*A*[*r*- or ^{m}*Š*[*i*-, one sees even here that the vertical is set further to the right than one would expect, and the copyist has indicated some damage before the vertical. Examination of the photos suggests that perhaps some now largely abraded horizontals might have filled the space between the vertical and the edge, so that ˹*ku*˺- suggests itself; thereafter perhaps -*w*[*a*-.

[24] Carruba 1992, 81.

[25] Carruba 1992, 81 n. 19.

[26] The remark in the edition, KBo 3.24, quoted above, does not indicate how much of the rev. is preserved or where exactly the preserved part is located, leaving uncertain how much and what portion of the rev. of KBo 3.24 is uninscribed. According to Forrer's remark to his BoTU 2.10α (= KBo 3.24), it seems that enough uninscribed surface is preserved to ensure that at least roughly half of the rev. of KBo 3.24 was indeed originally uninscribed: 'Von der Spalte IV (Rückseite) ist nur ein Rest der linken Randleiste(!) & schriftfreier Raum von etwa 13 Zeilen erhalten.'

[27] Neither does its rev. iv possibly being largely uninscribed suggest that the tablet would have been inscribed 'nur auf der Vs.' (Carruba 1992, 81, n. 19), as there is no reason to assume that its rev. iii would have been uninscribed. But again, I assume that Carruba was simply confused on this point, and would not have maintained such a claim if asked.

6': Presumably either an OH gen. (whether sg. or pl.)[28] or a short form of the dat.-loc. from *ḫassueznatar*, i.e. *ḫassueznanni*.

7': While the copy would seem to suggest rather *e-eš-š*[*i*~, examination of the photos suggests perhaps *e-eš-k*[*e-*, which is indeed how Forrer (2 BoTU) read the traces. Thus maybe a *-ske*-form of either *ēs-* or *iya/e-*.

11': *attas* presumably nom. or gen. sg., while gen. or dat.-loc. pl. are also theoretically possible. The *-š*[*a* can of course be geminating 'and; also' or the beginning of a number of enclitic possessive personal pronouns. Given what few clues remain regarding the paragraph's context, perhaps *at-ta-aš-š*[*a-aš*, 'of his/her father', would be the most likely restoration and translation. The father would perhaps be that of Tawannanna in 10' or, since her father is not often the topic of discussion in OH historical texts, maybe the father of the daughter mentioned in 13' and 14', i.e. Ḫattusili himself.

17': Pointing to the parallel construction in ii 8"–9", Soysal suggests the plausible restoration, ^{URU}*Ḫa-a*[*t-tu-ši-ma*$^{(?)}$ LUGAL-*wa-aš*$^{(?)}$], yielding, '[But in] the city of Ḫat[tusa] yo[u shall] not regard the eyes [of the king]!'[29]

18': As Soysal notes,[30] examination of the photos available in the Mainzer Photoarchiv – in fact, both the old black and white photo B 831l and the colour photo that I took in the summer of 2005 (Phb 11114c) – suggests that the *-u*[*t-* is partially preserved. Indeed, while preparing KBo 53.275 for publication I initially drew these traces as such based on the photo B 0831l, but upon collating the original in Ankara decided, rightly or wrongly, that what had seemed like the remains of an *-u*[*t-* based on the photos were in fact only scratches.

19': The translation and analysis follow Goedegebuure, who notes that this would seem to be the only example of clause initial *kuid=a* (which she identifies as marking left-dislocated contrastive topics) in a verbal clause, raising the question whether *kuid=a* holds scope over the entire clause or solely over the NP.[31] Prior to seeing her paper I had translated 'But since I took a son, too, […', taking *ku-i-da* (*kuit=a*) as causal *kuit* with topicalizing *-ma/-a*;[32] and further, DUMU.NITA-*na* as an acc. sg. with the particle *-ia/-a*, 'and', here without the overt gemination expected with phonetically written words, as is sometimes attested with logograms in OH texts.[33]

KBo 3.27+KBo 3.28+KBo 50.7+DBH 43.117

1"–5": My translation tentatively assumes that the subject of these initial lines would also have been Tawannanna, though she is first mentioned unambiguously in line 6". Cf. e.g. Haas, who either assumes some other subject in 1"–5" or does not consider the issue: 'Und es wird geschehen, daß er Ha[ttusa] zu einer [and]eren (d. h. zu einer veränderten Stadt) machen wird. Dann werden die Bluttaten [zahlreich werden]!'[34]

[28] Cf. GrHL^2, §3.27 and 141 n. 143, and Goedegebuure 2019, who argue for pl. only, vs. Kloekhorst 2017.

[29] Soysal 2006a, 15.

[30] Soysal 2006a, 15 n. c.

[31] Goedegebuure in press. I also wish to thank Petra Goedegebuure for patiently discussing this matter with me in a series of emails.

[32] According to GrHL^2, §30.63, causal *kuit* is found only beginning with MH texts, so that such an interpretation would assume the influence of the copying NH scribe; neither, of course, should causal *kuit* appear in clause initial position.

[33] GrHL^2, §29.25.

[34] Haas 2006, 65.

2”: (1) The traces have generally been read [… *l*]*a-an-ta-a-*ˀ*e-eš-ša*ˀ […],[35] or similarly,[36] for which no interpretation has been given. The copy in KBo 3.27 does show three clear tails of wedges suggesting the *eš-*, but I see no traces of such on either of the photos available in the Mainzer Photoarchiv.[37] Thus, pending collation, I have not included them in the transliteration. The traces following the *-ta-a-* could be either an *-un* or, perhaps more likely, an *-e*, as this scribe's UN always includes the inset vertical (i 1”?, 13”, ii 14”, 20”). I find nothing searching in my files for *-d/ta-a-un*, but there is a]x-*la-an-da-a-e-ma le-e ša-aḫ-te-*[*ni* in the OH/OS fragment KBo 16.45 obv. 6. Here the]x-*la-an-da-a-e-ma* seems to be something negative that one should not seek or attempt. So here in 2” perhaps ‘[If someone] se[eks/att[empts …*-l*]*antae*, … .’ Unfortunately, I find nothing in the dictionaries that I am able to connect with *-land/tae*. Neither do the faint traces following the ŠA allow one to confidently confirm or reject any suggestion of ˀ*ša-aḫ*ˀ*-z*[*i* or the like, though the possibility is tempting.[38] (2) Forlanini's reading í]D-*an* at the beginning of the line[39] would be a possibility considering these traces in isolation; they would, however, hardly fit with the following context, as there is no further suggestion of a river ordeal in this paragraph, and there would seem to be no reason to connect it with the mention of a river ordeal in ii 10”–19”.

3”: (1) Space is insufficient for Steiner's [*nu-u*]*š*.[40] (2) As has often been noted, the *-še-* is written over two horizontals, so that the scribe may well have (originally) intended the expected *ki-iš-še-ra-aš-ša-an*, but for some reason ended up writing the non-geminate form. This would have been worth noting in the list of unexpected non-geminate writings in GrHL².[41]

4”–5”: Similarly HW²,[42] but without URU-*an* at the end of 4”, followed, e.g. by Dardano.[43]

5”: (1) On *tamiuman* see most recently Marazzi's considerations,[44] and cf. the further attestation in Bo 6109, 4’.[45] (2) Bin-Nun suggested *ta eš-ḫa-na-aš* [*ud-da-a-ar pa-an-ga-ri-i̯a-an-ta-ri*], ‘and bloody [deeds will become numerous]’, on the basis of parallels in KBo 3.1++ ii 31, 47 and KUB 11.1+ iv 19 (Telipinu Edict).[46] Such a restoration would have bled significantly into the column divider, which, of course, would have been no reason to exclude it entirely at the time of Bin-Nun's writing, but Burgin's recent join with DBH 43.117 shows that nothing bled into the column divider from l. 5”. Cf., similarly, Carruba's suggestion, where no restoration is found in the transliteration, only in the translation: ‘… und die Blut[(taten) werden zahlreich? werden.]’[47] Steiner's [*ud-da-a-ar e-eš-ša-i*] for the end of the line[48] is also worth considering, though the attestations in HW²,[49] to which he refers, would rather suggest the verb *i̯a-* as opposed to *essa-*.

6”: There are in fact traces as the line breaks off that are not rendered in the copy. They might fit a ŠUM, but do not seem unequivocally to be a ŠUM, if one compares with the clear ŠUM at the

35 E.g. already by Forrer in BoTU and most recently Gilan 2015, 100.

36 E.g. de Martino 1991, 55.

37 It must be admitted, though, that the lower tails of several of the wedges in the rest of Bo 2423 can be rather difficult to see on the two photos available in the *Konkordanz*.

38 An anonymous reviewer was rather more sanguine about the possibility, writing regarding reading ˀ*ša-aḫ*ˀ*-z*[*i*,‘… this actually looks really good … based on the photos’; and that if ‘you (have) *-landae=ma ša*(*n*)*ḫ-* in another OH text, you should go ahead and make the restoration here’.

39 Forlanini 2010, 124 n. 49.

40 Steiner 1996, 609.

41 GrHL², 16 n. 21.

42 HW² E, 119b.

43 Dardano 2002, 348.

44 Marazzi 2014.

45 Soysal 2021.

46 Bin-Nun 1975, 112.

47 Carruba 1992, 77–78.

48 Steiner 1996, 609.

49 HW² E, 119b.

beginning of 8”. Collation might be helpful in this case.[50] One might also consider *š*[*UM*?-*an*?],[51] since the PN Tawannanna is spelled phonetically in the gen. and is thus not preceded by *ŠA*, as are DUMU^{MEŠ}-*ŠU* (and [DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ}/DUMU.MUNUS$^{MEŠ(?)}$]-˹*ŠU*˺) in 7” and preceding *ŠUM-ŠU-NU* at the beginning of 8”.

7”: Of course, there are a number of conceivable restorations for the gap, the -˹*ŠU*˺ now being assured by Burgin’s join with DBH 43.117. Pringle, e.g., signalled this fact with ‘Of her children [and grandchildren (or sons [and daughters?)](sic) …’;[52] Goedegebuure has *ŠA* DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU* [DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU*] / *ŠUM-ŠU-NU le-e ku-iš-ki te-ez-zi* ‘let no one mention the names of her children [and grandchildren].’[53] Freu opts for ‘les noms de ses fils ou de ses files’,[54] unfortunately without brackets, question marks, etc.

8”: Burgin’s recent join with DBH 43.117 renders moot nearly all of the previous discussion of what should be restored.[55] With the -*an* of DUMU^{M}[^{EŠ}-*an* I have assumed an OH gen. pl., based on the assumption that ˹ÌR˺^{MEŠ}-*am-ma-an* in 10” is more likely to be the assimilated form of a gen. pl. ÌR^{MEŠ}-*an=man* than of a gen. pl. ÌR^{MEŠ}-*as=man*.[56] One might further consider whether one might want to restore following *tezzi* something akin to what is found (or was intended) in KBo 3.45+ obv. 14’ or the ÌR-*mi-iš le-e* here in 11”, i.e. DUMU-*aš-mi-iš le-e*: ‘If anyone among the prince[s speaks] their name(s), [he shall not be my son!] They shall slit his throat and they shall hang him a[t his] gate!’

11”: (1) In the copy (KBo 3.27) the line begins with a clear, undamaged KU, but on both photos I can see only a seemingly unadulterated QA. Collation of the original might clarify the matter. (2) In the copy, KBo 3.28, traces are seen in the column divider to the left of *i-da-lu-ma-an* of line 15” of obv. ii that look like one or two wedges and that would probably align with the end of line 11” of obv. i here. I am unable to see any hint of these traces on the photos and thus have not included them in the transliteration, pending collation. If they are indeed confirmed, perhaps *kap-ru-u*[*š-še-et-pá*]*t* would be the most likely reading.

8”–12”: Soysal and Alparslan noted that UBT 34, 1’–5’ duplicate lines 8”–12” here,[57] and James Burgin has recently joined UBT 34 to KBo 3.45. I suspect that KBo 3.45+ has nothing to do with Ḫantili, as is often assumed, but is rather more closely related to our present text. The *damnatio* in KBo 3.45+, 12’–17’ is thus presumably directed against Tawannanna and her seed, not against Mursili.[58] These matters, as well as whether KBo 3.45+ represents a further composition of Mursili or whether it might belong to the present text, or perhaps even to the rev.? of KBo 3.27++, will have to be examined in future studies and by collation.

[50] Bin-Nun 1975, 52 n. 7 writes, ‘much more than only ŠUM.ŠU must be missing after *ta-wa-na-an-na-aš* because of the space. Perhaps her husband was mentioned in the broken part.’ While something further might have followed *š*[*UM*?-*ŠU*?, one can hardly reasonably claim that ‘much more … must be missing … because of the space’, as even in this tablet and this column, space in any given line is not always filled completely. (Not to mention the fact that before the discovery of the joins one had little or no indication of the width of the column.)

[51] Or even *l*[*a-ma-an*] or *l*[*a-ma-an-še-et*], depending on collation, though based on the photos *l*[*a-* seems perhaps less likely than *š*[*UM-*.

[52] Pringle 1993, 29.

[53] Goedegebuure 2012, 431 and n. 72.

[54] Freu 2007, 67.

[55] Cf. e.g. Carruba 1992, 79; Steiner 1996, 609–610; Goedegebuure 2012, 431 and n. 72; Freu 2007, 67; Forlanini 2017b, 134; Gilan 2015, 100; de Martino 1991, 55; Bin-Nun 1972, 74.

[56] So e.g. GrHL^{2}, §1.129.

[57] Soysal 2005, 144; Alparslan 2016, 115.

[58] Thus lines 12’–13’, rather than referring to the death of Mursili, presumably originally had Ḫattusili speaking, ‘Mursi[li is now my son]; whoever speaks [Tawannanna]’s name …’, or similar.

13”: For *ka/āsatta* and related as deictic particles, see Rieken’s recent contribution,[59] followed by Steitler and Melchert.[60] I doubt whether Marazzi’s[61] use of this example in an attempt to restore the temporal to Rieken’s deictic analysis succeeds. (Whether his other cases do so must await renewed examination.) Steiner’s *ka-ša at-ta-aš-ma-aš*[62] must be rejected, as *kāsa* is always spelled *plene*; neither does the lack of space between the *-ša* and the *at-* support his reading, though admittedly spacing between words on this tablet is minimal.

15”–16”: Though all commentators agree on the basic import of this line, i.e. that the royal family should be united, they diverge on a number of details. Syntactically there seem to be two possibilities, i.e. seeing nom. *pang*[*ur=sme*]*t* as congruent with [*su*]*minzan=a*[63] and ÌR^{MEŠ}-*amman* (< ÌR^{MEŠ}-*a*(*n*)*=man*), yielding the translation ‘But your, my servants’, cl[an] shall be one like the wolf (pack)’; or taking gen. *pang*[*awa*]*s* as congruent with gen. UR.BAR.RA-*aš*, thus ‘But your, my servants’, (clan) must be one like the wolf pa[ck]!’. The joins should help solve the dilemma, as it can now be seen that the trace in the column divider just before line 19” of obv. ii in fact represents the last portion of, presumably, either *-e*]*t* or *a*]*š* at the end of 15” here in obv. i, i.e. either *pa-an-g*[*ur-ša-me-e*]*t*? or *pa-an-g*[*a-u-wa-a*]*š*?.[64] In the copy (KBo 3.28) the traces seem to indicate the head of a vertical, and indeed this is the impression one gets from the one photo available in the Mainzer Photoarchiv (B 545c). The other photo (BoFN 6608), however, seems to suggest rather an *-a*]*š*.[65] Pending collation I will assume *pa-an-g*[*ur-ša-me-e*]*t*?. I do so grudgingly, however, since for this interpretation, i.e. a so-called split genitive usually, but not always, expressing inalienable possession,[66] one would have preferred to have found *pangur=smet* directly following [*su*]*minzan=a* and ÌR^{MEŠ}-*amman*,[67] not separated from these elements by UR.BAR.RA-*aš ma-a-an*. (That said, the alternative interpretation faces the similarly discomfiting difficulty of having UR.BAR.RA-*aš* separated from *pa-an-g*[*a-u-wa-a*]*š*? by *mān*.) Indeed, this is presumably what has led some to see *pangur* as relating to UR.BAR.RA-*aš* instead of [*su*]*minzan=a* and ÌR^{MEŠ}-*amman*, e.g. Puhvel’s [*su*]*minzan-a* ÌR.MEŠ-*amman* UR.BAR.RA-*as mān pangu*[*r*] 1-*EN ēstu*, ‘let your, my subjects’ (family), like a wolf’s family, be united!’[68] For variants of the assumption of congruence between [*su*]*minzan=a* and ÌR^{MEŠ}-*amman* with *pangur*, cf. ‘May the *p*. of [y]ou, my servants, be unified like (the *pankur* = pack?) of a wolf’;[69] ‘But let your clan, my subjects, be one like the wolf’s’;[70] [*su*]*minzan=a* ARAD^{MEŠ}-*am=man* UR.BAR.RA-*as mān panku*[*r=semet*] 1*EN ēstu* ‘Und [eure] Sippe, die meiner Diener (*-*an=man*), sei Eins, wie die des Wolfs.’[71]

59 Rieken 2009, 270–271.

60 Steitler 2019; GrHL², §17.50; cf. e.g. HW² A, 543b: ‘Siehe, ich habe dich, M., ihnen gegeben; er soll den Thron seines Vaters bekommen’; HEG W, 546.

61 Marazzi 2011 [2015], 64.

62 Steiner 1996, 593.

63 For [*su*]*minzan=a* instead of [*am*]*minzan=a*, see GrHL², 190 n. 11, with refs.

64 Gilan 2017, 35 n. 22 has simply *pa-an-g*[*u-ur*] (cf. his preferable *pa-an-g*[*ur-ša-me-et*] in Gilan 2015, 101), but *g*[*u-* is impossible, as there are two clear horizontals at the break.

65 How much space might be available cannot play any significant role in the debate at present, as the precise spatial relationship between the fragments Bo 2423 and Bo 2556 cannot be determined without collation.

66 Garrett 1998; GrHL², §§16.31–33.

67 Craig Melchert (email of 15 November 2022) agrees, suggesting that ‘like the wolf’s’ will have been topicalized, while ‘your, my servants’ will have been placed in contrastive focus.

68 HED M, 40; but cf. HED H, 353, ‘let my subjects, like a wolf’s family, be united!’; and Puhvel 2009, 59; 1986, 55.

69 CHD P, 93a.

70 CHD L-N, 145a.

71 HEG W, 546; cf. also Pringle 2010, 197; Melchert 1983, 9 n. 23; Carruba 1992, 78–79; Marazzi 2013, 76; Starke 1996, 176 n. 151; Beckman 1986b, 23; Beal – Collins 1996, 309; Laroche 1965, 35.

16”–20”: The translation essentially mirrors Gilan’s,[72] which closely follows Carruba’s:[73] ‘Denn welche auch immer sich dem Königswort widersetzen werden – (ob) sich die *MEŠEDI*-Leute, die Nebensöhne (oder) etwa die MUŠA-A-Leute(sic) widersetzen – werden diese [ver]fluch[t sein?]. Die Palastleute sch[änden?] sein Wort.’

16”: The unexpected *nu kuies=a* here can be added, it seems, to the short list of attestations in the CHD[74] of *nu* and =(*m*)*a* found in the same sentence but not indicating double questions. Whether this might be a further case of our NH scribe having trouble with whatever he might have found in his OH *Vorlage* is, of course, another question.

17”: With the *plene* writing of *A-WA-A-AT* – otherwise found only in OH/OS KBo 22.1, 4’, 31 – the scribe presumably wanted to express a plural; cf. pl. *ud-da-a-ar-* in i 22” and ii 20”.

18”: (1) At the beginning of the line clearly a MA, essentially undamaged, just the heads of the horizontals being somewhat abraded. It is surely errant, the simplest solution being perhaps a straightforward emendation to *Ù*.[75] Carruba has *ma‹n?›*, adding ‘Man mag *ma‹-an›* oder *ma‹-a-an›* emendieren, die Interpretation bleibt schwierig.’[76] (2) Carruba, opting in the end for *m‹ān›*, ‘wie’, writes, ‘Im Graphem LÚ^{MEŠ} MU-ŠA-A möchte man ein Wort für eine geringere bzw. verachtete soziale Klasse sehen. Wäre eine Beziehung etwa zu akk. *mašaʾu* “rauben” möglich, so ergäbe sich eine “Übersetzung” “die MEŠEDI-Leute und die Pahhurzi werden wie Räuber rebellieren?”’.[77] Cf. the treatment of de Martino, $^{lú.meš}$MUHALDIM-*ša-ḫ*, ‘i cuochi,’[78] as well as those of the CHD and Gilan, who read $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*MU-ŠA-A* but offer no interpretation.[79] I certainly have no significantly more convincing explanation, but I wonder if a connection with Akk. *mūšu*, ‘night’ might be a possibility. I find no directly comparable Akkadian usage (Akk. for ‘night watchman’ is *ḫāʾiṭu* or *dēkû*), but I do find *sāḫir du-ri* = *maṣṣar mūši*[80] as well as *muttallik mūši*[81] for ‘night watchman’, obviously not enough to secure the very tentative interpretation here, but perhaps enough to warrant mentioning the possibility. If so, maybe the *plene* writing *MU-ŠA-A* is trying to express a plural. (3) The restoration of *ḫu-u*[*r-ta-an-ta-ru*(?)] at the end of the line and the resulting translation follow Carruba,[82] in part, but there are grounds for caution. Above all, *ḫurt-/ḫuwart-* is otherwise never attested in the medio-passive. An alternative might be to restore *ḫu-u*[*r-ta-li-an-zi*],[83] as in 16”, in the middle of 18” and in 20” (presumably in the sg.), despite the resulting rather long and clumsy syntactical construction.[84] It would yield a complex subordinate clause from *nu kuies=a* in 16” through *ḫurtali*[*zzi*] in 20”, followed by the main clause in 20”–21”, i.e. ‘But they who confound the

72 Gilan 2015, 101.

73 Carruba 1992, 79.

74 CHD L-N, 93a, end of § a 1' b' 4".

75 Might the (copying) scribe have been thinking of the Akkadian enclitic conjunction *-ma*? Which he thought could be used independently? Or was the front portion of Ù broken away in his *Vorlage*, so that he unthinkingly copied only the latter portion, which resembled MA?

76 Carruba 1992, 78–79.

77 Carruba 1992, 79–80.

78 De Martino 1991, 55–56. Marazzi 2013, 76 presumably also read MUḪALDIM, but was apparently thinking rather of LÚ$^{MEŠ\ GIŠ}$BANŠUR when he translated ‘addetti alle mense’.

79 CHD P, 17b; Gilan 2015, 101 and n. 379.

80 CAD D, 193–194.

81 CAD A/I, 302a; CAD E, 410b.

82 Carruba 1992, 80. Carruba also mentions the possibility of restoring *ḫurkel* here, e.g. ‘*kē hur*[*kēl iyanzi*’, ‘sie machen etwas Greuliches’, or ‘*kē hur*[*kilas* (*asanzi*)’, ‘sie (sind) des Greuels’, which, however, as he notes, ‘in anderen Zusammenhängen und bei anderen Vergehen gebraucht wird’. Indeed, *ḫurkel* seems rather to be associated with crimes of a sexual nature (HW^2 Ḫ, 754–756).

83 Indeed, this seems to be the assumption behind Marazzi’s (2013, 76) translation, ‘… o che quelli che tras[grediscono siano] i funzionari di palazzo [ ] …’.

84 For this reason, Craig Melchert (email of 15 November 2022) suggests that one might want to restore [*ták-ku*] or [*ma-a-an*] at the end of 16”, for which there would be just enough room, yielding, ‘Whoever creates confusion, [if] the royal bodyguard, those not in the line of succession, or the *m*.-men confound

words of the king, (i.e.) the royal bodyguard, those not in the line of succession or[!] the *m.*-men confound (them), (should) these *con*[*found*] (them), they *dis*[*grace*] the courtiers.' Another possibility, suggested by Craig Melchert,[85] would be to restore a substantive along the lines of *ḫu-u*[*r-ta-le-eš*], 'confoundings',[86] i.e. 'these con[foundings] dis[grace] the courtiers'.

19": (1) The oft restored *lu-ri-*[*ia-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi u*]*t-*˹*tar*˺*-ši-it*[87] is a fair bit too long for the break. Eliminating the IA would bring it down to approximately the right length, though even this might be a bit tight. Also likely speaking against the reading is what seems to be a wedge after the *lu-*, which perhaps explains the *ū* in Carruba's[88] *lū*[*riahhanzi*], i.e. he would have assumed *lu-*˹*u*˺*-*[. Carruba[89] mentions *luluwai-* 'stützen; fördern' as an alternative. (2) On both photos available in the Mainzer Photoarchiv the first sign of the obviously intended DUMU É.GAL seems to be a clear I, while the hand copy shows an unmistakable DUMU. (3) One might also consider *ku-*[*iš-ki*], 'wh[oever]', i.e. 'whi[chever] courtier' (presumably behind Marazzi's[90] 'qualun[que]').

22": Hitherto read and restored as *ma-a-an ud-da-a-a*[*r-me-et p*]*a-aḫ-š*[*a-nu-ut-te-ni n*]*u-k*[*án*], or similarly.[91] The traces toward the end of the line as preserved in KBo 3.27 might perhaps do as *n*]*u-* and *-k*[*án*, but are not overly convincing as such when one compares closely with other NU and GÁN signs in these lines. In fact, they suggest more of a Ḫ]A and an A[T, which of course leads one to think of ^{URU}*Ḫ*]*a*[?]*-a*[*t*[?]*-*. Moreover, the join with 1131/v shows that these are not the last signs in the line, as a further vertical, seemingly with a horizontal before it, is to be seen at the end of the line in the column divider, which in fact fits nicely with ^{URU}*Ḫ*]*a*[?]*-a*[*t*[?]*-tu-ša-a*]*n*[?]. This reading is also preferable when one considers that *paḫs-*[92] and *paḫsanu-*[93] never take *-kan* when referring to a land or a border, not to mention the fact – for what it's worth – that *-kan* never appears as a particle in the present text. Contextually, the suggested reading also fits nicely with the 'and my land' at the beginning of 23" and with the occurrence of Ḫattusa as object in 26", though neither of these actually present a problem for the reading *n*]*u-k*[*án*. Naturally, if one does opt for ^{URU}*Ḫ*]*a*[?]*-a*[*t*[?]*-tu-ša-a*]*n*[?], then there is no longer enough room in the break for *p*]*a-aḫ-š*[*a-nu-ut-te-ni* or even *p*]*a-aḫ-š*[*a-nu-te-ni*, let alone the additional expected conjunction *nu* thereafter. The suggested *p*]*a-aḫ-š*[*a-te-ni nu* would fill the available space fairly well, though perhaps just slightly on the long side. Of course, the form *pa-aḫ-ša-te-ni* is not entirely satisfying, as for a 2nd pl. pres. one would expect the only attested writing *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-te-ni*.[94] One does find for a $C_1aC_2C_3$- verb the writings *ša-an-ḫa-at-te-ni* and *ša-an-ḫa-te-ni*,[95] but of course this is only partially comparable. If *pa-aḫ-ša-te-ni* is found to be entirely unacceptable, then my suggested reading and restoration will probably have to be abandoned, as *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-te-ni* and the more common *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-ut-te-ni* would surely be too long. Dispensing with the *nu* would certainly also be ill advised.

23": There are a few options for the restoration of the verb in the middle of the line, each yielding a similar meaning. HW[2] suggests *udni=mitt*[=*a* TI-*nu-*]*ut-te-ni*,[96] which would be a bit short for the

the words of the king, …'. Presumably, this passage is yet another example of our NH scribe having difficulty with his OH *Vorlage*.

85 Email of 15 November 2022.

86 Cf. HW[2] Ḫ, 772; HED H, 437–438; cf. also Raman 1973, 62.

87 E.g. Gilan 2015, 101.

88 Carruba 1992, 78.

89 Carruba 1992, 80.

90 Marazzi 2013, 76.

91 E.g. by de Martino 1991, 55; HW[2] Ḫ, 657a, which even gives *nu=kan* without brackets.

92 CHD P, 5.

93 CHD P, 8–9.

94 CHD P, 2; cf. also pret. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-te-en*, *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ti-en*, *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-tén*, *pa-aḫ-aš-te-en*.

95 CHD Š, 163.

96 HW[2] Ḫ, 657a.

available space, but *ḫu-iš-n*]*u-ut-te-ni* would fit quite nicely. Sommer and Falkenstein, followed by Giorgieri, consider *warasn*]*utteni*, too.[97]

24”: Following the [*n*]*a-at-ta* is a clear, even if slightly irregular, Á, i.e. *-it/id*. Opinion has been divided on whether to attempt to explain this as a unique but somehow acceptable form or simply to emend it to something more palatable. Melchert read *n*]*atta=it* and connected the particle with *imma* < **id-mō*, seeing in it an emphasizing function,[98] but he informs me that he has since abandoned this suggestion,[99] as ‘both Hittite and Luwian *imma* reflect **im-mo*’. Carruba, in contrast, wrote:

> Das Zeichen IT ist rätselhaft und stellt m.E. die Korruptel eines alten DA: **na-at-ta-da* für *natta-at-a* “auch sie (*-at* proleptisch für folgende “meine Worte”) nicht …”. Wahrscheinlicher, obwohl zeichenmässig schwieriger, dürfte ein Mißverständnis von KAN sein, weil eine Partikel mit *sarra-* geboten ist.[100]

I, too, have tentatively opted for the emendation to *-kán*, since the *sarra-* in the sense of transgressing an oath or transgressing one’s words is otherwise almost always provided with an *-asta* or a *-kan*.[101] A significant problem for this solution, of course, is the fact that *sarra-* occurs here in the same text in the same context in ii 20”–21” without any local particle. Another possibility would be to see the Á – perhaps followed by an erasure – as the muddled initial part of *ud-da-a-ar-me-et*, i.e. *n*]*a-at-ta ud*^{i}*-da*^{i}(Á)-{*x*}-$_{\lfloor}$*a*$_{\rfloor}$*-ar-me-e*[*t*.

25”: Klinger translates as a passive, ‘wird mein [W]ort nicht gebrochen’,[102] but this is perhaps a mere blooper, as *sarrattuma* is surely 2nd pl., in accordance with the verb forms before and after it.

28”: One could, of course, as some have done,[103] just as well emend *ka-a* to *ka-a-‹aš›* due to the obvious parallel at the beginning of 30” and translate accordingly, ‘Thi‹s› is he of Zalpa!’ But since *kā*, ‘here’, also makes perfect sense and is not obviously errant, I have refrained from emendation.

28”–30”: Translations of the second (*ka-a a-pa-aš* [^{URU}*Z*]*a-al-pa-aš*) and fourth ([*ka*]-$^{\lceil}$*a*$^{\rceil}$*-aš a-pa-aš* ^{URU}*Ḫa-aš-šu-wa-aš*) phrases as ‘Hier ist Zalpa!’ and ‘Hier ist Ḫaššu(wa)!’[104] or ‘da (ist) jenes Zalpa’ and ‘das (ist) jenes Hassuwa’[105] seem to, consciously or unconsciously, attempt to avoid the clear deictic references in *kā*/*kās* and *apas*, i.e. *kā*, ‘here’, *kās*, ‘this; this one’ and *apas*, ‘that one; the aforementioned’.[106] An unassailable translation and interpretation of these lines is of course impeded by the fact that both [^{URU}*Z*]*a-al-pa-aš* and ^{URU}*Ḫa-aš-šu-wa-aš* can be interpreted either as nominatives or as genitives, i.e. *Zalpa=s* (nom.) or *Zalpa=as* (gen.), on the one hand, and *Ḫassuwa=s* (*a*-stem nom.) or *Ḫassu=as* (*u*-stem gen.) or *Ḫassuwa=as* (*a*-stem gen.), on the other; and since both Ḫassu and Ḫassuwa are well-attested stems in Hittite texts,[107] the occurrences here are formally indeterminate.[108] If one takes [^{URU}*Z*]*a-al-pa-aš* and ^{URU}*Ḫa-aš-šu-wa-aš* as nominatives,

97 Sommer – Falkenstein 1938, 168; Giorgieri 1995, 94 n. 26.

98 Melchert 1985, 204.

99 Email of 15 November 2022.

100 Carruba 1992, 80; followed by Steiner 1996, 600 d.

101 CHD Š, 237–238.

102 Klinger 2020, 191.

103 E.g. Gilan 2015, 102.

104 Gilan 2015, 102.

105 Carruba 1992, 79; similarly Haas 2006, 66.

106 Not to mention such rather free translations as Klock-Fontanille’s ‘… voilà ce qui est arrivé à Zalpa! … voilà ce qui est arrivé à Ḫaššuwa!’ and ‘Comment cette Zalpa est réduite! … voilà comment cette Ḫaššu est réduite!’ (Klock-Fontanille 2001, 214 and 111 n. 20, respectively).

107 RGTC 6/1–2, s.v.

108 At first glance, one might think that *Ḫa-aš-šu-u-ma-aš* in 29” would speak for the stem here being *Ḫassu*, and thus, that *Ḫa-aš-šu-wa-aš* in 30” must unequivocally be seen as an *u*-stem in gen. – assuming, that

then one must translate 'Here is that [Z]alpa!' and '[Th]is is that Ḫassu!'[109] If one opts for this translation perhaps it can be understood as indicating that the speaker will have been pointing to some memento, booty or trophy from the conquests of Zalpa and Ḫassu that was kept at the Hittite royal court as a reminder of the fate of rebellious vassals.[110] If one takes [URU*Z*]*a-al-pa-aš* and URU*Ḫa-aš-šu-wa-aš* as genitives, however, one must translate 'Here is he of [Z]alpa!' and '[Th]is is he of Ḫassu!'. In both cases the *apas* would refer back to the LÚ and to the ethnicon in the preceding clause. And to my mind the most straightforward interpretation of these translations is that the speaker would have been pointing to the former kings of these two cities, who had been captured during the reign of Ḫattusili and presumably spent the rest of their lives, or at least some portion thereof, as prisoners at the Hittite court. In fact, we are in the case of Ḫassu even fortunate to have a reference from Ḫattusili's Annals to its king being tied to a transport wagon headed for Ḫattusa (KBo 10.2 iii 41–42).[111] The word order, however, would seem to speak for the former solution, as the *rectum* generally precedes the *regens* in Hittite, so that for the latter translation one might expect *ka-a* URU*Za-al-pa-aš a-pa-aš* and *ka-a-aš* URU*Ḫa-aš-šu-wa-aš a-pa-aš*. (Or so I thought, until I asked Petra Goedegebuure about the issue, who kindly responded in an email of 27 September 2024: 'The word order of *apa-* Gen seems fine: in NPs focal *apa-* should precede *unless* the noun, and presumably the genitive, is discourse old. Since in the previous clause the topic was the person, not the city, the city should not be considered discourse old', referring to a previous paper.[112] She also considers the possibility that (a) one might want to see *ka=as* rather than *kās* in 30" and that (b) a translation of the two phrases as rhetorical questions is to be considered, i.e. either '(Is) that [Z]alpa here? … (Is) it [h]ere, that Ḫassu?' or perhaps rather, '(Is) he of [Z]alpa here? … (Is) he [h]ere, he of Ḫassu?').

30": The clear *na-aš-ma* is obviously difficult. Most commentators have essentially ignored the issue, translating literally, e.g. Carruba: 'Der Mann aus Hassuwa verwarf des Vaters Wort: das (ist) jenes Hassuwa. Oder: auch der Mann aus Halpa verwarf des Vaters Wort: auch Halpa wird zugrunde gehen'.[113] Dardano rightly recognizes the difficulty, pointing to a case noted in the CHD[114] where *nasma* with no preceding *takku* or *mān* may perhaps mean 'or (if)'. Assuming such a usage here, however, leads her to translate '… (Se) anche l'uomo de Ḫalpa dovesse rifiutare la parola, …'.[115] I.e. she translates the same pret. verb form (*pessiyat*) twice as 'ha rifiutato' (in 28" and 29") and the third time as 'dovesse rifiutare' (in 31"). Thus, unless one prefers to simply accept the aberrant usage of *nasma* here, one might consider emending *na-aš-ma* to *na-at*$^{!}$. It requires assuming

is, that the scribe would have employed one and the same stem within a single paragraph, which is also not necessarily a given. However, stems in *-uwa* that receive the *-uman* suffix show elision of the glide, as in URU*Anunum(i)nes*, and similar (GrHL^{2}, §2.44, §4.72), so that *Ḫa-aš-šu-u-ma-aš* could represent either the *a*-stem or the *uwa*-stem.

109 Bossert 1946, 48–49, in fact, correctly interpreted these deictic particles, translating, 'Hier (ist) jenes Zalpa! … Hier (ist) jenes Ḫaššuṵa!'. Cf. similarly Klinger 2020, 191: 'dies ist (jetzt) jenes Zalpa … dies ist (jetzt) jenes Ḫaššuwa'.

110 One might recall the iron throne and sceptre of the king of Purusḫanda from §19 of the Anitta text (Klinger 2005, 141) or the booty, likewise from Purusḫanda, mentioned in the *šar tamḫāri* text from Ḫattusa (KBo 22.6++ iv 14'–19'; Güterbock 1969, 23; Miller 2012, 679–680).

111 If one prefers not to assume that rebellious vassal kings would have spent long periods of imprisonment at Ḫattusa, then perhaps only their severed heads or impaled bodies were present (for a recent interpretation of Hittite *sakuwai-* as 'to impale', see Waal 2022), or perhaps they were only symbolically represented, e.g. by their bloodied clothes. One thinks in this context of Nunnu, stationed in Arzawa, whose blood-soaked clothes the king demanded to see in the Palace Anecdotes (§§3–4; Gilan 2015, 118); or Šanda, stationed in Ḫassu, who had been mutilated (§§5–6); or of Mariya, a king of Ḫayasa, who was killed for his misbehaviour at the Hittite court (§§32'–33'; Devecchi 2015, 107–108). And of course there is the slitting of the throat and hanging at one's gate, as in §6" in our present text. For capital punishment among the Hittites in general, see most recently de Martino – Devecchi 2012.

112 Goedegebuure 2013.

113 Carruba 1992, 79; similarly Gilan 2015, 102.

114 CHD L-N, b 4' c', p. 404b.

115 Dardano 1997, 5 and n. 15.

merely that the copying scribe left out a single initial horizontal of the *-at*, which would then appear as *-aš-ma*. The *-at* would then be a cataphoric enclitic pronoun anticipating *uttar* in 31"; in fact, it would thus constitute another case of what Sideltsev sees as clitic doubling in topicalizing function,[116] directly paralleling the case in ii 19" (see commentary).

Obv. II

KBo 50.6

2': Groddek's[117] ˹LUGAL˺.G[AL does seem possible, but in light of the damaged state of the signs, and since LUGAL.GAL is otherwise not found in what is preserved of this text, one would not want to exclude alternatives such as [UG]ULA LÚ x[, [DU]MU.LÚ.˹U$_{19}$˺.[LU, [L]UGAL DU[MU OR LÚ/[L]UGAL ^{U}[^{RU}.

5': I can only assume that *ke-et-ti* is a unique – and seemingly inexplicable – writing of the dat.-loc. sg. dem. pron., otherwise attested, alongside ubiquitous *kēdani*, occasionally as *ke-e-ti*.[118] This may be a further case of our NH scribe, who would have known only *ke-e-da-ni*, having trouble with what might have been an original *ke-e-ti*.

6': Cf. Groddek's[119] [*iš*]*-ki-iš-ši*, which, though perhaps a possibility, seems less likely in light of *ták-k*[*i-iš-zi* / *ták-k*[*e-eš-zi* here in ii 11' and *ták-ki-iš-ši* in 15".

9': James Burgin suggests [*A-N*]*A* DAM-*KA i-da-lu l*[*e-e ku-iš-ki ták-ke-eš-zi*$^{(?)}$].[120]

10': Also possible is [*ḫ*]*a-*˹*aš-ši*˺*-i ḫa-an-za-aš-ši-*˹*i*˺ x[, but there does seem to be perhaps some slight space between the *-ši* and the ˹*i*˺*-d*[*a*$^{?}$*-lu*$^{?}$; cf. similarly in 6'.

11': *ták-k*[*e-eš-zi* also possible.

12': Without the benefit of further context one should probably not exclude the alternative [*tá*]*k-*˹*ku*˺ *šal-l*[*a-*.

KBo 3.28+KBo 50.7

2": Pending collation – which, I suspect, is unlikely to yield significant results – it seems that the only signs that can be read with any degree of confidence are an AN in the first part of the line and an ˹IŠ˺ toward the end. As Marazzi notes, Soysal's suggested [*ka-a-š*]*a*$^{(?)}$ at the beginning of the line[121] is too long for the available space and must be rejected.[122] The rather clear *ma-a-an* in the copy thereafter should perhaps not be excluded, but based on the photos does not look likely, as there are only two verticals, not three, before the likely *-an*, reflected also in Soysal's *mạ*^{1}*-a-an*. (What one might initially see as the first of three verticals is in fact a crack, which runs all the way down into line 5" and beyond.) Instead of *ma-a-* one might consider *-ia-an* or URU*-an*, but neither are these overly convincing. If *-ia-an*, one thinks of something like [*nu* i]R*-ia-an* or [*n*]*e-ia-an*, but there seems to be a space before the would-be *-ia-an*, so that these are at most possibilities to be kept in mind while collating. For the ensuing traces Marazzi refers to Soysal's ^{GIŠ}ḲAB*-ḳz*$^{(?)}$ as a possibility,[123] writing that if this were to be accepted, the 'Blick aus dem Fenster' motif examined by Christiansen[124] might contribute 'zur literarischen Charakterisierung der anekdotischen

[116] Sideltsev 2011.
[117] Groddek 2008, 5.
[118] Goedegebuure 2014, 32–36; HW^{2} K, 1; HED K, 5.
[119] Groddek 2008, 5.
[120] Email of 27 January 2023.
[121] Soysal 1989, 31.
[122] Marazzi 2011–2012.
[123] Followed also by Gilan 2015, 247.
[124] Christiansen 2007.

Erzählung'.[125] While not to be dismissed out of hand, the AB seems more likely to be an AN upon comparison with various other ANs and the ABs in ii 17" and 19", and any contextual connection with what follows would remain tenuous and conjectural. At the end of the line *˹ut-tar˺-š*[*i-it*/*m*[*i-it* …], which would naturally fit well with the [*i*]*stamasta* of the following line, might be as or at least no less convincing than Soysal's *˹ú-u˺k-k*[*aʾ*. The UD also appears to be placed high enough in the line for it to be a proper sign in its own right rather than a subscripted part of UG.

3"–4": Among the attempts to restore these lines, cf. [*…-un*] (4) [*š*]*a-kán-zi* LUGAL-*un* URU*Ḫattusan natta* [*kanesanzi*], '[ihn] erkennen sie an, den König (und) die Stadt Hattusa [akzeptieren sie] nicht.'[126] As this text does not, as far as is preserved, employ the quotative particle or verbs of speaking (when introducing quoted speech), it is impossible to be certain, but I suspect that the clauses beginning either with [*i*]*stamasta* or with *kurur ē*[*ptaʾ* …] in 3" and ending with *essai* in 5" might be quoted speech from the prince of Purusḫanda, in which he explains his hostility against Ḫattusili.

4"–5": (1) The copy (KBo 3.28) here shows unmistakably the signs EŠ TA DUMU at the beginning of line 5" before URU*Purusḫandumnan*, with a space between the EŠ TA and the DUMU. Most commentators have understood *eš-ta* as a 'defective' independent pronoun onto which the local particle is suffixed, i.e. *e*=*sta*.[127] The DUMU is thus understood as 'prince' in relation to 'the Purusḫandean'.[128] Goedegebuure, in contrast, sees the verb *ēs-* here, i.e. 3rd sg. pret. *ēsta*, 's/he/it was'.[129] However, since this verb form is otherwise always spelled *plene*, she must restore [*e*]-*eš-ta*, for which there is certainly no room, neither in the copy nor in the photos. So, for her solution one would need to emend ‹*e*›-*eš-ta*, a suggestion against which the editors of CHD had already argued.[130] Pending collation, however, I would argue for reading *˹eš˺-*ša*-i*, 's/he does/makes; s/he will do/make'. On the two photos available on the Mainzer Photoarchiv, the third sign is clearly an I, not a DUMU, though it is, it must be granted, separated by some space from the first two signs; this, perhaps along with the clear DUMU URU*Pu-r*[*u-* in 6", presumably led to the modern reading of the sign as DUMU. The second sign could understandably be read (or mistaken) for a TA, but its first inset vertical appears perhaps to be a wayward trace, as its head reaches up far above that of the clearly intentional inset vertical. The first sign is clearly EŠ, with only the front of its first wedge somewhat damaged, but clearly placed at the left border of the column. Of course, this interpretation as *˹eš˺-*ša*-i* also makes sense in light of the following ethnicon in the acc. sg., not gen.: While an apposition DUMU *Purusḫandumnan*, 'they took the prince, the Purusḫandean', is conceivable (though one might prefer to see DUMU-*an Purusḫandumnan* for such), the scribe seems to have opted simply for 'they took the Purusḫandean'. Against the interpretation *˹eš˺-*ša*-i* one might point to *i-iš-ša-i* in ii 32", but, though noteworthy, this bears only limited weight, as variant spellings are not uncommon within a single text, and especially a younger copy of an OH text. In the break at the end of 4" some positively connotated adverb is probably to be assumed, yielding 'The king(acc.) (and?)[131] Ḫattusa(acc.) *he does/will* not *treat* [justly/well/correctly].' Alternatively, one could see *˹LUGAL˺-un* as postposed to the previous sentence, yielding something akin to, 'They will [re]cognize [*him*], (as) king(acc.)! (But) Ḫattusa(acc.) *he will* not *treat* [*well*!]' (2) Comparison with *ki-iš-ri-mi* just two lines below in 7" would suggest one should restore *ki-i*[*š-ri-* here as well, but on the copy there is a clear wedge at the break, which I believe I can see in one of the photos available in the Mainzer Photoarchiv (BoFN 6608), too, so that *ke-e*[*šʾ-ri-* is perhaps the better option, pending collation.

[125] Marazzi 2011–2012.

[126] HEG S, 709.

[127] HW² A, 41a; HED A, 4; CHD P, 393b; HHw, 11; cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 165 and n. 641.

[128] An assumption upon which Weeden's (2011, 212–213) considerations regarding the possible difference between LÚ URU*KUSSAR* and DUMU URU*KUSSAR* are based.

[129] Goedegebuure 2014, 109.

[130] CHD P, 393b.

[131] As the common double accusative constructions (GrHL², §§16.16–19) can probably be excluded for semantic reasons, an implicit 'and' seems to be the most likely solution.

6”: (1) *kēda=mmu* is generally taken as a unique instr. sg. form of demonstrative *ka-* with enclitic 1st sg. pron. *=(m)mu*, thus literally, ‘with the aforementioned (behaviour) that guy treats me’.[132] Hoffner and Melchert[133] and Goedegebuure[134] apparently reject this analysis of *kēda*. (2) In light of the reinterpretation of DUMU in 5” as *-i*, one might also want to call into question the common restoration here at the end of 6” in the same fashion, i.e. as ^{URU}*Pu-r*[*u-uš-ḫa-an-du-um-na-an*].[135] Maybe more likely would be simply the non-declined ‘logographic’ stem form,[136] i.e. ^{URU}*PU.R*[*U.UŠ.ḪA.AN.DA*], or a simple gen., ^{URU}*Pu-r*[*u-uš-ḫa-an-da-aš*].[137] Perhaps suggesting a gen. of the ethnicon are the forms in i 28”–30”, i.e. [L]Ú ^{URU}*Za-al-pu-u-ma-aš*, LÚ $^{URU!}$*Ḫa-aš-šu-ʾu᾽-ma-aš* and LÚ ^{URU}*Ḫal-pu-u-ma-aš-ša*, and thus, ^{URU}*Pu-r*[*u-uš-ḫa-an-du-u-ma-aš*].

7”: (1) Hoffner has *ne-ga-aš-t*[*aʾ*]*-aš-ša*, correctly noting that ‘the autograph copy indicates two vertical strokes in the beginning of the sign’.[138] The CHD, in contrast, reads *ne-ga-aš-š*[*a*]*-aš-ša*.[139] As a *-ta-* would be morphologically unintelligible, the reading *š*[*aʾ-* seems preferable, pending collation, as my examination of the photos is inconclusive. (2) Pringle rightly indicates the formal ambiguity with ‘her/his’.[140] Beal points out that the context suggests that it would likely be the sisters of the prince of Purusḫanda rather than the sisters of his wife who are intended.[141] And de Martino suggests that one might rather expect ‘sons’ here instead of ‘sisters’.[142] (3) The CHD restores [*te-et*] at the end of the line here,[143] which is certainly a possibility, as this scribe does continue onto the edge often enough in lines 10”–19”. If one restores anything, though, one could also consider *tenun* or *memaḫḫun*, as these lines are otherwise framed in the first singular. It is not clear if this scribe used verbs of speaking to introduce quoted speech, though, as there are no directly comparable passages in the preserved text.

8”–9”: (1) Pending collation I have not included in the transliteration the (sign?) traces seen on the edge, separated from LUGAL-*wa-ša* by a considerable space, in the copy and indeed visible on the photos. (2) Dardano has repeatedly argued for this and similar expressions having been a calque on comparable Akkadian phrases.[144] While the suggestion must surely be seen as a possibility, Dardano makes no attempt to demonstrate why the phrases should be seen as a calque rather than a mere similarity that might be found in languages that are unrelated and unconnected,

[132] E.g. HED K, 5; EDHIL, 425; HW² K, 1; implicitly also CHD L-N, 311a; P, 393b; Š, 521b; similarly Dardano, ‘e in tale modo quello agisce nei miei confronti’ (2004, 240; cf. 2012, 628); slightly differently, it seems, HEG P, 667–668: ‘*keda=mmu*, … zu dem sich jener mir gegenüber verhält’.

[133] GrHL², §7.3. Indeed, Craig Melchert informs me (email of 15 November 2022) that instr. sg. *kēda* would be hard to accept and that he would prefer to interpret this as *kēd=a=mmu*, i.e. instr. sg. with non-geminating topicalizing/contrastive *-a*/*-ma*, although *kēd* is otherwise known in OH texts only in the relative location usage ‘on this side’.

[134] Goedegebuure 2014, 32–36.

[135] E.g. Gilan 2015, 111.

[136] With Garrett 1990, 172.

[137] Note the declined PNs and GNs in i 6”, 13”, 22”?, 26”, 29”, 30”, 31”, ii 3”, 4”, 18”, 19”, 25”? vs. the solitary non-declined ‘logographic’ form in ii 21”.

[138] Hoffner 1966, 392.

[139] CHD L-N, 426a.

[140] Pringle 1993, 41–42.

[141] Beal 2003, 26.

[142] De Martino 1992, 27 n. 38. This would, of course, comport well with the narrative in CTH 13 (KBo 3.46 ii 9’–13’), in which the king addresses the man of Purusḫanda’s wife and son (Gilan 2015, 246), though with a different figure of speech. An anonymous reviewer points me to CHD L-N, 431a, which hypothesizes that *nega*, ‘sister’, from which *negna-* was built with a masculine marker, might have originally meant ‘sibling’. If so, one might speculate whether the meaning ‘siblings’ may have been intended still in the OH original of our text. Cf., however, eDiAna Nr. 3854 (Sasseville 2025), which disallows such a reconstruction.

[143] CHD L-N, 426a.

[144] Dardano 2010; 2016, 56–57; 2018, 362–365.

and thus ignores a basic principle of linguistic and/or cultural comparison.[145] Might this and similar expressions be found in countless languages around the world simply because they reflect the universal social experience of looking someone in the eye? The question is not posed and not examined in Dardano's discussions. As I have discussed the issue of inherited and borrowed vs. mere structural similarities elsewhere[146] I will not belabour the point here.

10": (1) For the right dislocation of *kuitki* in this and similar cases, cf. Neu[147] and GrHL[2].[148] An anonymous reviewer plausibly wonders if the import here might be along the lines of 'in any way (whatsoever)'. (2) *a-pa-ša-an A*-[*NA* ^{d}ÍD?] was Laroche's suggestion.[149] The copy shows a clear ŠA in *a-pa-ša-an*. The wedges of the ŠA seem to be missing on the photos, however, yielding something like GUR or SI, so pending collation I will assume a scribal slip for the surely intended ŠA. (3) The traces at the break would seem to allow either ˹*A*˺-[*NA* ^{d}I$_{7}^{(?)}$][150] or simply I[$_{7}$-*ia*], i.e. without the divine determinative before I$_{7}$ as in 12", 17" and 18"; whether the -*ia* found on I$_{7}$ in 12", 17" and 18" would have been added here would be a separate question. A further possibility might be *a-pa-ša*^{i}(SI$^{?}$) ^{d}I[$_{7}$-*ia*] / [*ḫa*]*l-za-a-i*, i.e. with no acc. pronoun resuming the defendant and with the same divine determinative before and, presumably, the same phonetic complementation on I$_{7}$ as in 12", 17" and 18", and thus allowing either 'but he (the king) [de]clares a divine ri[ver] (ordeal)' or 'but he (the king) [ci]tes (him to) the divine ri[ver] (ordeal)'.

10"–11": Marazzi asserts that '*halzāi* ist hier wohl als Imperativ 2. Pers. Sing. aufgrund der in Z. 11'ff. in der 2. Pers. Sing. vorhandenen Verbalformen und Possessivpronomina aufzufassen,' and translates accordingly, 'Und jetzt, wenn sich ein Prinz der Person des Königs gegenüber in Bezug auf irgendetwas schuldig macht, dann sollst du jenen zu[m Flußgott ru]fen, und er soll (hin)gehen.'[151] Dardano, too, opts for the 2nd sg. imp., arguing against the 3rd sg. pres. in HW[2], where one finds 'wenn ein (Königs-)Sohn … sündigt, [r]uft jener (der König) ihn zu[r Flußgottheit]'.[152] She translates 'Ma ora se un principe pecca in un qualche modo nei confronti della persona (lett. testa) del re, convoca costui pres[so il dio Fiume] e quello vada!'[153] Marazzi's transcription (*apašan*) and translation and Dardano's translations, however, show or imply that they understand *apasan* as a 3rd sg. acc. dem. pron. This is an unfortunate error, though, as it clearly must be parsed as *apas=an*, i.e. the 3rd sg. nom. dem. pron. and the 3rd sg. acc. enclitic pronoun, i.e. 'the aforementioned … him'. This, in turn, requires that one interpret [*ḫa*]*lzāi* as a 3rd sg. pres., not the 2nd sg. imp.[154]

11": Marazzi restores *ú-uš*[-*ki-it-tu*] at the end of the line, adding in n. 5, 'Ergänzung aufgrund der Parallelform *e-eš-tu* in Z. 12','[155] referring to Laroche[156] and contrasting with Soysal's *ú-u̯š*-[*ki-iz*$^{?}$-*zi*].[157] The new joins, however, provide better comparanda, i.e. further *ske-* forms in 3rd sg. imp., i.e. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-*˹*iš*˺*-*ke-et-*{E}*-tu** in ii 25' and *ḫu-wa-iš-ket*$_{9}$*-tu* in ii 28'. Since the signs here

[145] Surely incorrect is Dardano's (2018, 365) assertion that a similar expression in the Sunaššura treaty 'confirms that the Akkadian wording was widespread in Ḫattuša.' To the contrary, such an Akkadian expression would have been known at most to a handful of scribes competent in Akkadian and to diplomats and merchants in Ḫattusa.

[146] Miller 2004, 458–461.

[147] Neu 1974, 25.

[148] GrHL[2], §§17.54–17.55, §30.26.

[149] Laroche 1973, 186.

[150] So e.g. HW[2] Ḫ, 197b.

[151] Marazzi 2011–2012.

[152] HW[2] Ḫ, 197b.

[153] Dardano 2010, 49 n. 3; similarly Gilan 2015, 111–112.

[154] Thus already Laroche 1973, 186–187; Soysal 1989, 91; Dardano 2002, 388; CHD L-N, 151b.

[155] Marazzi 2011–2012.

[156] Laroche 1973, 186.

[157] Soysal 1989, 32.

run onto the edge, perhaps the considerably shorter *ú-uš-*[*ket*$_9$*-tu*] is preferable. Cf. also *-ket*$_9$- in ii 8” in two further *-ske-* forms.

12”: (1) The suggested alternatives to the essentially unproblematic [*t*]*ák-ku* ^{d}I$_7$*-i*[*a-m*]*a mi-im-ma-i* are not convincing. The clear space in the copy between I$_7$ and IA is refuted by examination of the photos (indeed the ‘tail’ of the head of the final vertical of the I$_7$ touches and cuts through the head of the upper left horizontal of the IA); and, pending collation, reading *-m*]*a* is similarly unproblematic, as what is drawn as the head of a vertical before the clear vertical both in the copy (KBo 3.28) and in Forrer’s rendering (BoTU 2.10γ) is revealed in the photos to be dubious at best, and likely just part of the damage to the first part of the sign.[158] The reading ^{d}I$_7$*-i*[*a-m*]*a* also fits nicely with the expected syntax, as topicalizing *-ma* is regularly postponed to the second accented element in sentences beginning with *takku* (as well as *mān*, *kui-* and *nasma*).[159] The *-ia* here (as well as in 17” and 18”) I would like to see as phonetic complementation indicating the stem form,[160] not any particular case.[161] A literal translation would thus be, ‘If, however, he refuses the divine river,’ probably to be understood as ‘If, however, he refuses (to undergo/submit to) the divine river (ordeal),’ i.e. he foregoes any attempt to prove his innocence. Syntactically, ‘river’ presumably functions as an acc.[162] here in 12” and as a loc. (or even an instr.) in 17” and 18”. Cf. also HED: *takku* ^{D}ÍD*-ya-ma mimmai*, ‘but if he declines the river[-ordeal]’;[163] HW^2, also with ^{D}ÍD=*ia-m*[*a*].[164] (2) The sequence *mi-im-ma-i* NA before the É*-ši-pát* has understandably been taken

158 Even if one prefers to see here a further sign trace, it is surely errant and to be discounted, as is so often the case with wayward sign traces on this tablet. Cf. Marazzi (2011–2012, Partitura §2’ n. 6), who writes that although the reading ^{d}I$_7$*-i*[*a-m*]*a* ‘eine bedeutungsvolle Sequenz wiedergibt, berücksichtigt sie weder den Raum, der zwischen ^{d}ÍD und dem darauffolgenden Zeichen “YA” vorhanden ist, noch die Zeichenspuren, die nach “YA” deutlich auf der Autographie sowie auf dem Foto noch zu lesen sind’; and further, ‘Sowohl die Autographie (und die in 2. BoTU 10γ dargestellte Skizze der Zeichenreste) als auch das Foto scheinen die in Bin-Nun S.R. 1973a [i.e. Bin-Nun 1973, 7 and n. 18 – J. M.] vorgeschlagene Transliteration ^{d}ÍD *ya-ra* … zu bestätigen.’ To the contrary, the traces following *-ia-* look nothing like the other RA signs in this text. There are also no grounds whatsoever for the *-za* in ^{d}ÍD(-?)*ia-ma-za*(?) in CHD L-N, 151b; cf. the ^{d}ÍD*-ya=ma* in CHD L-N, 264a and the *takku* ^{d}ÍD*-ya x mimma‹i› INA* in CHD P, 221a.

159 See CHD L-N, 97a; Sideltsev 2024, 184, with refs.

160 Watkins 1973, 84–85 similarly assumed that the *-ia* disallowed an interpretation of the underlying form being the known Hittite word for river, i.e. *ḫapa-*. And he plausibly suggested that the otherwise attested divine name Ḫapaliya might lie behind the writing (1973, 85), which he saw as ‘an adjectival derivative of the thematic noun *ḫapaš* “river,” with the specific meaning of “the River God”’. He suggested, however, seeing here the directive case, but for the directive or allative one would surely want to see a motion verb or at least one that can indicate direction (GrHL^2, §§16.73–78), which is true neither of *mimma-* in 12” nor of *papreske-*/*papre-* in 17” and 18”. Zsolt Simon (email of 30 March 2025) agrees with Watkins that the *-ia* disallows interpreting the underlying word as *ḫapa-*, ‘river’, but suggests a derivation with the adjective-building morpheme *-iya-* (see GrHL^2, §2.37), **ḫapiya-*, thus literally ‘zum Fluß gehörig’, which one could indeed understand as a/the word for ‘river ordeal’.

161 *Pace* Lebrun 2000, 115, who, referring to Laroche 1973, 182, translates ‘Mai[s], s’il (le coupable) refuse le dieu Fleuve, qu’il reste justement dans sa maison,’ adding, ‘Cette traduction tient compte du fait que le dieu Fleuve est l’objet direct du verbe *mimmai*. Cependant, comme l’avait bien observé E. Laroche, le Fleuve pourrait être le sujet de ce verbe, en ce sens que le Fleuve refuserait de juger. Dans ces deux interprétations possibles en soi, le dieu Fleuve ne peut se trouver ni au datif-locatif, ni au directif, ce que pourrait laisser entendre la finale en *-ya*.’ This may have influenced Dardano 2010, 49, who, revising her earlier translation (2002, 388), also reads [*t*]*ák-ku* ^{d}ÍD*-ia-ma*?, but translates ‘Ma se il dio Fiume dice di no, …’ (similarly Soysal 1989, 32, 91). Her translation, though formally possible, would result in the only case in which ‘the river says no’ would be employed to express ‘he is proved guilty’ in a river ordeal, otherwise rendered with *papre-* or *papress-* in opposition to *parkue-* or *parkuess-*, which, though not impossible, seems unlikely, especially in light of the fact that *papreske-*/*papre-* are used for this purpose here in 17” and 18”.

162 Also possible would be a dative function, as per CHD L-N, 264a, with an elided verb of motion.

163 HED M, 158.

164 Unfortunately, this is translated here (HW^2 Ḫ, 197b) as ‘Und … ab[er],’ though *-a*/*-ia* and *-a*/*-ma* do not co-occur. For discussion of the highly unlikely alternative ^{d}I$_7$ *ia-ra mimmai*, ‘wenn das *jara* des Flussgottes ablehnt/erbricht’, and similar, cf. Marazzi 2011–2012; 2010, 213–216; Bin-Nun 1973, 7 n. 18.

by some as a haplography for *mi-im-ma-i* ‹*I*›-*NA* É-*ši-pát*,[165] but since both a conjunction in the main clause and a subject pronoun are required, or at least solicited, by the grammar, most have opted for *na-*‹*aš*›. (The ‘let him remain (lit. ‘sit’) in his house’ in the CHD[166] is presumably a hurried oversight, as *ēstu* is clearly 3rd sg. imp. from active *ēs-*, ‘to be’, not middle *ēs-*, ‘to sit’.) (3) The restoration at the end of the line goes back to Laroche,[167] and it is difficult to suggest a more sensible alternative.[168] Cf. Soysal, who has *ge-en-zu-u̯a-i̯-*[*ši-ma*ʔ*-an*ʔ] ‘[Du wirst ihn jedoch] schonen.’[169]

12”, 14”: I follow those who assume that ‘to be (i.e. remain) in one’s house’ is to be understood as ‘under house arrest’ and/or ‘banned from the royal court and confined to a country estate’ in such contexts (cf. also ii 23”), and further, that it stands in opposition to ‘allowed to attend / be welcome at the royal court in Ḫattusa,’ expressed, *inter alia*, by the phrase ‘shall see the eyes of the king’ (i 18’, ii 8”–9”, 11”), and similar.[170]

13”: The precise connotation of *kappue-* here, with its basic meaning ‘to count’, and with the reflexive, ‘to consider’, is open to interpretation. Giorgieri assumes the meanings ‘considerare, contare tra (i propri servi)’, and, referring to Laroche,[171] translates, ‘(se) lo conterai (ancora tra la schiera dei tuoi servi), contalo! Ma se non vorrai (più) contarlo (tra i tuoi servi), egli se ne stia a casa sua; non metterlo in prigione!’[172] HW² has ‘Wenn du (ihn) aber nicht kontrollier(en kann)st, soll er in seinem eigenen Haus bleiben.’[173] Perhaps something like the English usage, ‘to count on’, in the sense of ‘to trust’ would be apt? I.e. ‘[*If you*(sg.) *are*] lenient and you(sg.) *can count on* him, then *count on* him. If, however, you(sg.) cannot *count on* (him), then he shall remain in his own house.’ Cf. also HW², ‘im Auge behalten’;[174] and HED, where the less illuminating ‘esteem’ is found for this passage, though ‘to keep tabs on’ is suggested for other passages.[175]

15”–16”: The interpretation depends, of course, on the restoration[176] at the end of 15” and whether one associates the *le-e* at the beginning of 16” with the verb at the end of 15” or with the ensuing phrase in 16”. (That the *lē* appears at the beginning of 16” must presumably be explained, if one nevertheless associates it with *ussaniyasi*, by the scribe running out of space on the edge following *uš-*˹*ša*˺*-n*[*i*ʔ*-ia-ši-an*(?)].) Dardano, e.g., suggests ‘*Mett*[*ilo in gioco*!]’, restoring *uš-ša-n*[*i-ia-an*], i.e., the 2nd sg. imp. of *ussaniya-*, ‘vendere, mettere in vendita; mettere in gioco’, followed by the acc. enclitic pronoun. She then relates the *lē* at the beginning of 16” to the following sentence(s), translating, ‘Non procurare motivo di sofferenza agli dei in cielo, non procurare motivo di soffe[renza] agli *esseri umani* sulla terra.’[177] The main weakness in her interpretation is the unwarranted assumption of a negation in the second phrase. In other words, for her translation one would surely expect *ne-pí-ši* DINGIR^{DIDLI} ***le-e*** *iš-tar-ni-ik-ši ták-na-a-ma mi-e-nu-uš* ***le-e*** *iš-tar-ni-i*[*k-ši*]. Topicalizing *-ma* on *taknā* surely suggests that the negative force of *lē* from the beginning of 16” does not

[165] E.g. Frymer-Kensky 1979, 236; CHD P, 221a.
[166] CHD L-N, 151b.
[167] Laroche 1973, 186.
[168] So also Marazzi 2011–2012.
[169] Soysal 1989, 32, 91.
[170] E.g. CHD P, 221a.
[171] Laroche 1973, 187–188.
[172] Giorgieri 1995, 128–129 with n. 17.
[173] HW² Ḫ, 564a; similarly Soysal 1989, 91. I doubt that the semantic range of *kappue-* extends as far as ‘to exercise control over (someone)’, though ‘to check on / keep tabs on (someone)’ (the German ‘kontrollieren’ is ambiguous) seems fitting enough, but I cannot reexamine all attestations in the present forum.
[174] HW² K, 124.
[175] HED K, 66.
[176] The restoration, in essence, goes back to Soysal 1989, 32, who, however, added topicalizing *-ma-* as well, *uš-šạ-nḭ*ʔ-[*ia*ʔ*-ši*ʔ*-ma*ʔ*-an*ʔ], which is entirely possible, though one might opt for the shorter solution due to space considerations.
[177] Dardano 2010, 49 with n. 4; cf. differently Dardano 2002, 365.

remain in effect through the second phrase. Puhvel, essentially following Laroche,[178] also relates *lē* to the following phrases, but correctly realizes that the second phrase would then likely have to be in the imperative, restoring *istarni*[*k*] and translating, 'in heaven do not afflict gods, but on earth afflict faces [= persons?]'.[179] Cf. HW², also relating *lē* to the following phrases, but restoring *iš-tar-ni-ʾikʾ*-[*ši*] at the end of the line: 'Mach nicht die Götter im Himmel krank/Verletze nicht die Götter im Himmel! Du wir[st] die freundlichen (Menschen?) auf der Erde krank machen/verletzen.'[180]

16": (1) DINGIR^{DIDLI}, as noted by Corti, is found in the Hittite corpus only here, above in ii 6" and in the OH/OS exemplar of the Zalpa Text (KBo 22.2 obv. 4, 16, rev. 13').[181] Van Gessel's ^{d}ḪAL is an unfortunate lapse and should be struck from the record.[182] (2) Pending collation of the original, it seems from an examination of the photos that we have a perfectly normal, perhaps slightly damaged, *-ši* here in *iš-tar-ni-ik-ši*, as opposed to the PI in the copy. (3) For the oft discussed *mienu-*, cf. the dictionary entries[183] as well as Oettinger[184] and Puhvel.[185] (4) That allative *taknā* is errant or unexpected is implied by the CHD,[186] and is seen as possibly archaizing by Dardano,[187] which is the most likely solution. A further possibility might be to see *iš-tar-ni-i*[*aʾ*~ or *iš-tar-ni-š*[*umʾ-miʾ*, or similar, as an adverb and to assume a verb of direction thereafter, i.e. '[*You will send/bring*] the *mienu-* to the middle of the earth/underworld' or '[*You will send/bring*] the *mienu-* to the earth/underworld among [*us*]', or similar. As the verb would bleed significantly onto the edge, and as I find no really comparable usage with *istarna*, *istarni*= or *istarniya-*,[188] the possibility should be viewed with caution, though it would solve the problem with the allative.

17": For an alternative interpretation of ḪAR-*ša-ni-i* as Akkadian *ḫurš/sānu*, 'river ordeal', see Marazzi,[189] who follows Riemschneider[190] and Frymer-Kensky.[191] Despite the obvious difficulties the (copying) scribe had with some elements of the passage, the fact that Akk. *ḫurš/sānu* is otherwise never found in texts from Hittite Anatolia, as well as the fact that there is an oft-occurring and sensible Hittite reading,[192] not to mention the fact that the scribe himself understood the word this way as indicated by his SAG in 18", surely speak for the interpretation as Hittite *ḫarsar/ḫarsn-*, 'head; person'. Cf. HW²: 'Dem Kopf meines Vaters und der Flußgottheit gegenüber

178 Laroche 1973, 187.
179 HED M, 115; similarly HED E & I, 476: 'but on earth afflict countenances!'
180 HW² I, 277b.
181 Corti 2005, 116.
182 Van Gessel 1998, 640.
183 CHD L-N, 242–243; EDHIL, 579; HED M, 172–173; P, 219; HEG M, 198–199, with refs.
184 Oettinger 2022.
185 Puhvel 2023.
186 CHD L-N, 243a.
187 Dardano 2002, 384.
188 Cf. HW² I, 272–277.
189 Marazzi 2011–2012.
190 Riemschneider 1977, 121–122 with n. 32. Inexplicably Riemschneider 1977, 122 still describes this passage as one in which a son had 'committed a sin against the person of the king', whereby 'person' can only be the translation of Hittite *ḫarsar/ḫarsn-*. Further, Riemschneider does not, in fact, actually argue for his interpretation, he simply asserts it as clear or obvious, and mentions some Mesopotamian comparanda of uncertain relevance, writing (1977, 121–122 n. 32), '*ḫuršani* is clearly a borrowing from Akkadian, in which one word for ordeal is *ḫuršānu*. Combined with "river", it occurs in Nuzi as ÍD *ḫur-ša-an*. Obviously the same expression as in line 17 in the following line is written *A-NA* SAG *A-BI-YA* ^{d}ÍD-*ya*; this is clearly a misunderstanding by the scribe of this late copy, who took ḪAR-*ša-ni-i* for *ḫaršan-* "head".'
191 Frymer-Kensky 1979, 235–241.
192 Frymer-Kensky 1979, 240 seems, on the one hand, to be unaware of this fact, writing, 'the phrase "By my father's head" does not seem to make any sense'; but on the other hand reasonably translates *A-NA* SAG.DU LUGAL *ú-wa-aš-ta-i* in 10" as 'offend against the person of the king.'

zeigten sich viele unrein.'[193] Marazzi translates, 'molti sono usciti impuri dall'ordalia del dio fiume (stabilita per ordine di) mio padre, e il padre del re non li ha graziati.'[194] In Marazzi's and in similar translations one also sees a rather forced attempt to accommodate the gen. 'of my father' (*attas=mas*), i.e. 'dio fiume (stabilita per ordine di) mio padre', as opposed to the unproblematic and amply attested 'person of my father (*vel sim.*)'.[195]

18": The emendation to SAG.‹DU› is perhaps not strictly necessary, but since it is written SAG.DU in ii 10" and since the writing with SAG alone is in general so very rare in Hittite texts, it is perhaps preferable. Silvin Košak, who kindly checked the attestations for SAG alone in the card collection in Mainz for me, reports, 'So weit ich sehen konnte, kommt es bei sicheren Belegen immer mit Komplement', i.e. KBo 39.8 ii 36 (SAG$^{ḪI.A}$-*aš-ma-aš*), KUB 50.96, 12' (SAG-*i*), KUB 8.34 ii 14' (SAG-*iš-ši*), KUB 43.8 obv. 5a (SAG-*aš*).[196]

18"–19": (1) The CHD is surely correct, *pace* Kloekhorst,[197] in seeing in the *plene* writings in *ḫu-iš-nu-uš-ke-e-et* and *ḫu-ʾiš?ʾ-nu-ú-ut* an indication that these sentences are intended as rhetorical questions.[198] This determination is also quite important contextually, as it makes clear that the point of the speaker's narration is that the father had acted mercifully, not harshly, eschewing executions in favour of less severe punishments.[199] Understanding these as rhetorical questions places them in a long line of admonitions not to let bloodshed at the royal court get out of hand, such as in the Telipinu Edict, §§23, 26–34. (2) The potential identity of this Kizzuwa with *Ki-iz-zu-i*, Chief of the Royal Bodyguard, in the Palace Anecdotes (KBo 3.34 ii 32) and its implications were discussed by Beal and Forlanini;[200] the possibility that Kiswa in the Zalpa Text (KBo 3.38 i 30) might also be equated with this Kizzuwa was discussed by Corti.[201]

19": (1) For the oft discussed *papritta*, see the CHD.[202] (2) Context and the parallel with *natta huisnuskēt* in 18" suggest that one should emend *na-at* to *na-at-‹ta›* here, as most commentators have done. Cf. Hoffner:

> the fact that this same writing *na-at* occurs three times, all in texts originally written in OH, makes one wonder if such a strange writing might be evidence for a rare variant of this word. … It is understandable how *na-at* "not" might have been avoided in order to prevent confusion with *n=at* "and it". The writing *na-at-ta* could only be confused with *n=at=ta* "and they/it (to) you", a combination which never occurs, being replaced by *ne-et-ta* (*n=e=ta*) KBo 4.10 rev. 12.[203]

193 HW^2 Ḫ, 197b–198a. Cf. also HW^2 Ḫ, 198a for 18"–19": 'Gerade Kizzuwa wurde dem Kopf meines Vaters und der Flußgottheit gegenüber unrein.'

194 Marazzi 2013, 75.

195 For this common usage, and similar, see HW^2 Ḫ, 352–353. On these lines cf. further CHD L-N, 245b, 411a; P, 106a.

196 Email of 9 September 2020.

197 Kloekhorst 2014, 66, 496.

198 CHD Š, 526; cf. GrHL^2, §27.2.

199 Cf. e.g. Strobel (2011, 262, referring to KBo 3.27 and 3.28), who writes, 'Labarna I. selbst erscheint in der juristischen Überlieferung als gnadenloser Herrscher.' Or Korošec 1950, 203, commenting on BoTU 2.10γ (i.e. KBo 3.28): 'Dabei wird ein Vergleich mit den Rechtsvorschriften, wie sie unter dem früheren Herrscher, dem Vater (*attaš-miš*, Z. 16; 18) des Verfassers des Textes gegolten haben, angestellt, mit dem offensichtlichen Bestreben, den jetzigen Rechtszustand als den milderen und günstigeren darzutun.' Similarly, Freu 2007, 71: 'Dans son édit le « roi », c'est-à-dire Muršili, opposait sa mansuétude envers le prince rebelle de Purušḫanda et surtout envers sa femme et ses enfants, qu'il avait bannis, à la dure sévérité de son père.'

200 Beal 2003, 27–28; Forlanini 2010, 118 n. 20.

201 Corti 2005, 116.

202 CHD P, 106a, with refs.

203 Hoffner 1986, 84.

Cf., however, GrHL[2], where this is seen as 'almost certainly a case of an accidental omission'.[204] (3) Kloekhorst reads *ḫu-ḫiš-nu-ú-ut*[205] where previously most had read *ḫu-e-nu-ú-ut*,[206] which is worth considering.[207] The photos do not allow a firm decision one way or another, but do, to my eyes, suggest an inset vertical between the horizontals rather than a wedge, so rather an E than an IŠ. Collation might well help in this case, as the sign is right on the edge and only partly visible on the photos. Watkins suggests *hu-uš*[!?]*-nu-ú-ut*, pointing to several parallels,[208] so that this is also a good possibility. Cf. HED, where it is booked under *ḫuinu-*, 'to run', but also sub *ḫuesnu-*, where one finds *ḫu-e-‹es›-nu-ú-ut*.[209] (4) The syntax of this passage and the topicalization via clitic doubling in 19" were discussed by Sideltsev.[210] Cf. Melchert, who rejects Sideltsev's interpretation,[211] and Watkins, who sees in *-an* 'the archaic aspectual particle',[212] concerning which see now GrHL[2].[213]

20": The enclitic *-a-* in *ud-da-a-ar-ra-me-et* (i.e. *uddārr=a=met*) I tentatively understand as the conjunctive particle[214] in the sense of 'too', though one would naturally expect *uddār=mett=a*.[215] The speaker has just narrated a number of anecdotes in which the word of his father had been ignored; he continues that he himself had also during his own reign (*kinun=a*) seen similar evil, so that he must exhort his listeners/readers not to transgress his words, too, like they had transgressed those of his father. Similarly the CHD: 'Do not transgress the words of me, the king, either.'[216] Cf., however, GrHL[2]: 'The form *uddārra≥met* 'my words' KBo 3.28 ii 20 (OH/NS) appears to show double marking of the plural (for the ending *-a* compare *kallāra* in §4.82) and the gemination seen with neuter nom.-acc. plurals in *-i* (see §3.24 and Rieken 2012). The reality of this isolated form in a late copy is very doubtful.'[217] But differently GrHL[1], with *uddārr=a=met* and the translation, 'But now I, the king, have seen much evil, so you (plural) must not transgress even (*-a/-ya*) the words of me, the king.'[218] Here the particle is interpreted, correctly in my view, as the conjunctive morpheme, but the translation 'even' in this case makes little sense to my mind. Craig Melchert informs me that he now doubts GrHL[2]'s first interpretation,[219] i.e. the double marking of the plural. He was also unable to point to any other examples of the conjunctive morpheme *-a/-ia* appearing between a noun and a possessive pronoun, and notes that such 'would be pretty much inexplicable linguistically.'

21"–22": These lines have received a great deal of attention in the secondary literature.[220] The reading of the signs themselves in the phrase in question has never really been at issue: *a-ši* MUNUS.LUGAL ^{URU}*ḪU.RU.MA* É.GI$_4$.A / *e-eš-ta*. (At most one might add that the horizontals of the É seem to be written over a small erasure or wayward sign traces, not rendered in the copy, perhaps intimating,

[204] GrHL[2], 49 n. 132.
[205] In EDHIL, 354, he opted for *ḫu-e-‹eš-›nu-ú-ut*.
[206] Cf. already Archi 1968, 59, *ḫu-iš*[!]*-nu-ú-ut*.
[207] Kloekhorst 2014, 496 with n. 1931.
[208] Watkins 1973, 85 and n. 14.
[209] HED H, 421 and 334, respectively.
[210] Sideltsev 2011, 87–88.
[211] Melchert 2015, 139–140.
[212] Watkins 1973, 85 n. 13.
[213] GrHL[2], 479–480.
[214] GrHL[2], §§29.25–29.
[215] Emended accordingly by Steiner 1996, 601 e, i.e. *ud-da-a-ar-{ra-}me-it‹-ta›*. Presumably, we have here another case of our NH copyist struggling with OH possessive enclitics.
[216] CHD Š, 238a; cf. CHD L-N, 219a, where the morpheme is ignored.
[217] GrHL[2], 178 n. 403.
[218] GrHL[1], §29.17.
[219] Email of 4 September 2020, considerations which did not find their way into GrHL[2] (2024).
[220] Cf. various translations and discussions by Beal 2003, 26–27 and n. 80; Boley 1992, 43; 1984, 34; Cohen 2002, 154 and n. 662; de Martino 1989, 15–16 with n. 65; Marazzi 2011–2012; Martínez 2016, 184–185; Otten 1975, 502.

as does the omission of expected, though not absolutely necessary, MUNUS before É.GI$_4$.A,[221] that the copying scribe might have had his difficulties with this series of signs.) Interpretations, however, vary, generally based on whether one opts for 'that queen of Ḫuruma was a bride' or 'that queen was a bride (in/of/from) Ḫuruma'. The syntactically obvious translation, 'that queen of Ḫuruma was a bride' makes little sense in the context, as Beal has emphasized.[222] The contextually only marginally more illuminating rendering, 'That queen was a bride (in/of/from) Ḫuruma' is syntactically quite unlikely and requires special pleading.[223] I therefore suspect that we have a scribal error here, i.e. *É*.GI$_4$.A for É-*ZU*$^{\text{Ḫ}}$, or similar, as the signs ZU Ḫ together could easily be interpreted as a GI$_4$ by an inattentive scribe.[224] Naturally, one would also like to see an *I-NA* before an emended É-*ZU*$^{\text{Ḫ}}$, if this is what was intended. In any case, seeing *É*.GI$_4$.A as a scribal mistake for (*I-NA*) É-*ZU*$^{\text{Ḫ}}$ or the more palatable É$^{\text{Ḫ}}$-*ŠU/ZU* would yield the translation, 'That queen of/from Ḫuruma remained (in) her houses/estate', i.e. was placed under house arrest there. This could then be compared to the similar expressions in ii 12" and 14" (É-*ši-pát e-eš-tu* / É-*iš-ši-pát e-eš-tu*), which decree that a potential offender should 'remain in his/her house/estate', and to that in ii 23" (É-*TÌ ku-wa-ta-an pé-ta-at-te-ni*), where the issue seems to be to what house a certain princess is to be brought, presumably in exile or house arrest. Alternatively, if the emendation is rejected, perhaps one can understand the phrase 'that queen of Ḫuruma was a bride' as indicating, in keeping with the historical interpretation advanced below, that 'that queen of Ḫuruma (who was a daughter of Labarna and Tawannanna) was a bride (of the King/Prince of Ḫuruma)'. Others, of course, have seen the Tawannanna herself as this queen of Ḫuruma.[225]

22": (1) Cohen has collected more or less similar attestations of sentences with *āra*, i.e. those without the negation and containing *iya-* or *es-*.[226] He notes that *āra* appears in transitive sentences with *iya-*, where *āra* functions either adverbially or predicatively in reference to the direct object, suggesting the translations 'something done legally, correctly, or lawfully' or 'to make something permissible, lawful, correct, legal'.[227] In Cohen's translation, 'This queen was a bride from the city of Ḫurma. In this (matter) my father had made (it) permissible for her',[228] the unexpressed direct object would presumably refer to the queen's marriage. If, however, one accepts the emendation of *É*.GI$_4$.A to *É*-*ZU*$^{\text{Ḫ}}$, then the unexpressed direct object would refer to the

221 I find four cases of É.GI$_4$.A without MUNUS in my files (KUB 21.33 iv? 12'; KUB 13.8 obv. 13, 14; KUB 13.23, 4') vs. some 19 cases with MUNUS.

222 Beal 2003, 26–27 and n. 80.

223 That *asi* MUNUS.LUGAL GN should be considered one syntactic unit is emphasized, e.g., by Goedegebuure 2002–2003, 27 n. 54; 2014, 161 n. 178, who translates, 'That (*aši*) queen of Hurma was an eligible bride.'

224 Of course, É-*ZU*$^{\text{Ḫ}}$ would be quite unexpected, even for a Hittite scribe, from whom one would expect rather É$^{\text{Ḫ}}$-*ŠU/ZU* (cf. Hoffner 2010; here Hoffner does not actually address the question of whether the Sumerian plural markers appear following Akkadographic pronominal suffixes, but as far as I see from my searches, they never do). Thus, one might well doubt that the É.GI$_4$.A here will have resulted from a misreading of a hypothetical É-*ZU*$^{\text{Ḫ}}$ in an OH original; and it is difficult to imagine why a scribe would perceive a more plausible É$^{\text{Ḫ}}$-*ZU* as É.GI$_4$.A. Still, the signs as found on the extant tablet look so much like É-*ZU*$^{\text{Ḫ}}$ that I cannot but suspect that this may have something to do with a solution. The muddled writing might have resulted from an attempt to convert *pár-ni-iš-ši*, É-*iš-ši* or É$^{\text{Ḫ}}$-*ŠU/ZU* in the OH original (cf. the slightly diverging renderings É-*ši-pát* in ii 12" and É-*iš-ši-pát* in 14") into (*I-NA*) É-*TÌ-ŠU*, or similar. Perhaps a (damaged?) *-iš-ši* in the original was misread as *-ZU*$^{\text{Ḫ}}$; which the copying scribe rejected in favour of É.GI$_4$.A?

225 E.g. Martínez 2016, 184–187. Of course, some authors derive their ideas about the relationship of the early OH kings to Ḫuruma from the Zalpa Text (e.g. Beal 2003, 29, who writes that the mention of Ḫuruma in KBo 3.28 'reminds us that Labarna's father was Lord of Ḫurma'; Martínez 2016, 183), but any such attempt is very tenuous, both because the identities of the various kings in the Zalpa Text are yet to be clearly established and because the lines mentioning Ḫurma and the 'father of the old king' are fragmentary and remain, despite much optimism, largely opaque.

226 Cohen 2002, 16–19.

227 Cohen 2002, 17.

228 Cohen 2002, 154 n. 662.

queen's exile, i.e. 'That queen of/from Ḫuruma remained (in) her estate. In this (matter), though, my father had made (the exile) permissible with regard to her' or, similarly, 'My father, though, had handled (the matter) justly in this (affair) regarding her.' Alternatively, one could opt for an intransitive usage of *iya-*,[229] which is well enough attested, though far less common that the transitive,[230] yielding something akin to 'My father, though, had acted justly in this (affair) toward her.' The intent of the two translations would be essentially the same. In any case, it is likely the perceived need to account for the apparent bride in 21" that has led some authors to interpret *addas=mis=a=sse kēdani ara iyan ḫarta* in unorthodox or idiosyncratic ways, i.e. as some type of expression for arranging or sanctioning a marriage, e.g. 'Und mein Vater hat mich dieser (Königin von Ḫurma) rechtmäßig (zum Gatten) gemacht';[231] 'my father had me duly betrothed [lit. made] to her';[232] 'my father … had her betrothed to me';[233] 'e con lei mio padre aveva fatto un accordo in questo modo'.[234] There is, however, no other comparable usage of *āra*. Arranging or performing marriages is expressed in other terms.[235] As mentioned, the unexpressed object in Cohen's translation, 'In this (matter) my father had made (it) permissible for her',[236] would presumably be the fact that the queen had become a bride or had married, but this would again beg the question of the meaning of the term *āra iya-*. What would be intended by the father having made socially, morally or legally acceptable, justifiable, allowable, that a princess marries? Forlanini's 'mais mon père m'avait considéré comme légitime pour elle'[237] faces similar semantic, contextual difficulties.[238] What in the world would be the intent of such a locution? Contextually, then, the most parsimonious understanding seems to be, as suggested, 'My father, though, had acted justly in this (affair) toward her.' Of course, with any traditional interpretation of the phrase in 21" along the lines of 'that queen of Ḫuruma was a bride', also this understanding of this sentence in 22" makes little sense and appears at first glance to hang in mid air (but see below, sub 2). Only when one assumes, as suggested above, that line 21" mentions the house arrest of the queen of Ḫuruma does the meaning of line 22" immediately become obvious, i.e. that the father's exiling of the queen was justified in Mursili's view. In other words, to paraphrase, 'she was allowed to remain in her home (instead of being killed), and in this (affair) my father had acted justly toward her.' (2) As Marazzi points out, opinions differ as to the referent of *kēdani* here as well as regarding the relation of this final phrase in §18" to the content of the following paragraph.[239] Soysal relates *kēdani* to the queen mentioned in 21", translating 'und mein Vater hatte an dieser (Frau) gerecht gehandelt'.[240] Some commentators have related *kēdani* to an unexpressed 'matter/affair', and further, have seen the following lines as an explication of just what this 'matter/affair' had been in

229 As does, e.g., Soysal 1989, 91, 125.

230 HW² I, s.v. §V.

231 HW² Ḫ, 291b.

232 HED H, 152.

233 Boley 1992, 43; similarly 1984, 34.

234 De Martino 1989, 16.

235 Pringle 1993, 181–208.

236 Cohen 2002, 154 n. 662.

237 Forlanini 2017b, 133–134.

238 Forlanini 2017b, 133 reads *ad-da-aš-mi-iš-ša-mu* rather than *ad-da-aš-mi-ša-aš-še*, and while his added *-iš-* is presumably merely an unintended slip, his *-mu* would in principle be worth considering (so also, e.g., HW² Ḫ, 291b; HED H, 152). Comparison with the MU signs in i 13", 18" and ii 6" (twice), however, with their two leading wedges drawn far to the left, shows that *mu* here is at least graphically quite unlikely (as Forlanini 2020, 153 n. 37 admits), but of course, a NH scribe could have misinterpreted an OH *-mu* as *-aš-še*, or vice versa. Forlanini intended to comment on his reading in his note 58, but a redactional error replaced the text of his note 58 with the contents of his note 56. He subsequently provided this commentary in a footnote in a later paper (Forlanini 2020, 153 n. 37), but it does little to advance his argument. The passage in the funerary ritual KUB 30.24 ii 1, e.g., hardly provides 'un parallélisme parfait', as the phrase *āra iyan ḫark-* occurs there in a completely different context.

239 Marazzi 2011–2012, Translatio n. 6.

240 Soysal 1989, 91, 125.

which the father had treated the queen justly. Beal, e.g., even suggests seeing the following lines as quoted speech: 'The aforementioned queen was a bride/daughter in-law in Ḫurma. My father had done right to her, (saying?). § "Wherever you carry away the daughter of the house of the queen, do [not har]m(?) [her]."'[241] While I see no way to demonstrate conclusively that §19" constitutes an explicatory excursus on the father's just action with regard to the queen of Ḫuruma of §18", as neither verbs of speaking nor the quoted speech particle is employed in this text, contextually this does seem the most likely interpretation.

23": (1) [*na-aš-t*]*a*[242] is probably the better restoration, as [*ka*]-*ḫa*(?)-*šḫa*, '[Se]ht?', as suggested by Soysal,[243] does not fit well with 'to whatever house you bring' (or with Soysal's 'wohin könnt ihr … hinschaffen?'[244]), as *kāsa* is now to be understood as a first person and/or near deictic particle.[245] The verb *peda-* does occur often enough with *-asta*,[246] and relates here perhaps to the notion of arrival or goal.[247] The available space seems just a bit tight for either [*naʾ-aš*?]-*ḫtaʾḫ* or [*ka*]-*ḫaʾ-šaʾḫ*, but is perhaps acceptable. Pending collation I tentatively assume that the trace above and before the *ḫtaʾḫ*, visible both on the copy and on the photos (but not rendered by Forrer in BoTU 2.10γ), is just damage or perhaps a wayward trace.[248] (2) MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš* DUMU.MUNUS É-*TÌ* has often been translated 'the queen's "daughter-of-the-house"',[249] or similarly,[250] but it has nearly as often been noted that this makes little sense. Surely 'to whatever house you(pl.) bring the daughter of the queen' is more sensible and syntactically no less likely,[251] though for this translation one would admittedly expect *A-NA* É-*TÌ* (cf. the similar omission in ii 12"). In any case, the phrase 'to bring to a house/estate' seems to parallel 'to be/remain in one's house/estate' in ii 12", 14" and perhaps 21", and thus serve as a euphemism for house arrest. Forlanini understands the sentence as a question ('la reine, la fille du palais, pourquoi l'amenez-vous ?'),[252] as did Soysal before him ('wohin könnt ihr im Hause die Tochter der Königin hinschaffen?'),[253] which is worth considering, but of course the queen cannot be the object, as in Forlanini's translation, which would require MUNUS.LUGAL-*an*. One might consider 'To what house are you bringing the daughter of the queen?' I fail to see, however, how this would fit sensibly in the context.

23"–24": Beal, even without the benefit of the join, anticipated with his reading and restoration *n*[=*an*(?) *lē* / ḪUL-*a*]*ʿḫtʿeni* that we are likely dealing with an injunction regarding the princess in exile,[254] in which he is probably correct. One possibility would be to read and restore [*ú-w*]*a-ʿat-teʾ-ni* at the beginning of 24",[255] resulting in an injunction against the addressees going to where she had been brought, presumably to prevent any further conspiring with her and/or, since Mursili sees his father's actions as having been just (ii 22"), perhaps to prevent her from being murdered as well.[256] Of course, one might have expected *lē paitteni*, 'you shall not go', rather than *lē uwatteni*, 'you shall not come'. Perhaps Ḫattusili is envisioned here as speaking these words not in Ḫattusa,

241 Beal 2003, 26–27; similarly de Martino 1989, 16.
242 Beal 2003, 26; CHD P, 349b.
243 Soysal 1989, 33.
244 Soysal 1989, 91.
245 For *kāsa* and related deictic particles see Rieken 2009, followed by Steitler 2019; GrHL², §17.50.
246 CHD P, s.v.
247 GrHL², §28.67.
248 I do not believe it can be seen as part of the *na-*, as apparently intended by Gilan's (2015, 113) *ʿnaʾ*-[*aš-*]*ʿtaʾ*.
249 E.g. CHD P, 349b.
250 Beal 2003, 30.
251 Cf. Soysal 1989, 91.
252 Forlanini 2017b, 134.
253 Soysal 1989, 91.
254 Beal 2003, 27 n. 81.
255 Obviously not [x-*n*]*a-at-te-ni*, as Marazzi (2019–2020, xix) reads, even with the benefit of the new joins and new photos.
256 Cf. Ḫattusili's Testament, §§17–18 (Klinger 2005, 145).

but in whatever town or region to which the daughter of the queen was brought, e.g. in Kussara? Perhaps the *uwa-* is imagined from the vantage point of those who are to have brought the princess to the house (*petatteni*), thus 'come' from the point of view of their location once there.[257] Craig Melchert wonders about the possibility of restoring *n*[*u-uš-ši le-e kat-ta-an*] at the end of 23",[258] which would come closer to the meaning 'you must [not v]isit [her]'. One might also consider a deictic element such as *apadda*(*n*) or *apiya*, 'there, thither'. Another possibility would be to restore [*šu-w*]*a-ʿat-teˀ-ni*, though which verb and which meaning this would imply would remain an open question, as would the issue of whether an injunction with *le-e* restored at the end of 23" would be preferable to the mere present implying a command, i.e. without *le-e*. Little would seem to speak for *su(wa)-*, 'to fill'.[259] Conceivable might be *suwe-*/*suwai-*/*suwiye-*, 'to push',[260] probably with *parā* or *arḫa*, in the meaning 'to expel',[261] i.e. something akin to *n*[*a-an le-e pa-ra-a/ar-ḫa*] / [*šu-w*]*a-ʿat-teˀ-ni* '(To whatever house you(pl.) bring the daughter of the queen), you(pl.) [shall not ex]pel [her] (from it).' But would such a caveat really be necessary? Finally, there's *suwaye-*/*suwaya-*/*suwai-*, 'to look at/for; to regard',[262] though which of this verb's meanings might make sense in this line is difficult to say. Presumably not, '(To whatever house you(pl.) bring the daughter of the queen), you(pl.) [shall lo]ok to (it for compensation)', as this seems to be a specific legal idiom restricted to the Hittite Laws. The meaning 'to spy' favoured in EDHIL, though not accepted in the CHD, would yield a plausible sense here, but this does not seem to be what is implied in such cases of banishment and house arrest. Perhaps *n*[*a-at*] / [*šu-w*]*a-ʿat-teˀ-ni*, '(To whatever house you(pl.) bring the daughter of the queen), you will/shall observe/monitor [it]'?

24"–25": Even before the discovery of the joins Beal offered two possible restorations that anticipate what is suggested here, i.e. MUNUS.LUGAL[=*ma*=*za*] / [*apūn*(?) *memmi*]*škit*(?), '[But] the queen has continually [rejected(?)] the one whom I place on my throne', and, alternatively, MUNUS.LUGAL-[*š*=*an* LUGAL-*iznani*] / [*anda kann*]*iškit*‹‹*e*-››*tu*, 'Let the queen always [recognize for kingship] …'.[263] In light of the new joins, perhaps MUNUS.LUGAL-[*aš-ša-an ga-né-eš-tu*] (i.e. MUNUS.LUGAL-[*ss*=*a*=*an*]),[264] or perhaps more likely, MUNUS.LUGAL-[*aš-ša-an-za ša-ak-du*],[265] or similar, would be a possibility, i.e. 'the queen [shall recognize him], and he shall govern.'

25": While the joins clarify the hitherto enigmatic *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-*˻*iš-*ke*˼*-et-*{E}*-tu**, how the mysterious ᵐ*Ga-ri-ia-an*~**šeˀ**~x[is to be understood remains an open question. How would a PN Gari(ya) in the accusative relate to the subject matter in 23"–24" or to what seems perhaps to be a blessing formula in 26"–27"? Might this be an entirely muddled rendering of intended *ga-ri-ia-an le-e ḫar-zi*, 'she shall not/must not hold (it/anything) concealed', or the like? Cf. the attempts by Soysal and Marazzi.[266] Despite the queen likely being the subject of the clause at the end of 24", the subject of *maniyaḫḫiskettu* is presumably he whom the speaker will have placed on the throne; otherwise the speaker would be commanding that the queen, whom he is trying to marginalize, is to govern the land, which is precisely what he is trying to prevent.

26"–27": I am not sure what one could read other than *ʿarˀ-*˻*ma*˼*-na-an-te-eš*, i.e. *armanantes*, 'ill(pl.)', but what might possibly be intended with 'mules shall/must be ill'? Is someone (the queen?)

[257] For similar usage of *uwa-* with reference to a distant vantage point, cf. KUB 14.3 ii 71–72 and discussions in GrHL², 198; Heinhold-Krahmer – Rieken 2020, 30–31, 216.

[258] Email of 15 November 2022. This would, of course, bleed a fair bit on to the edge, but not all that much farther than some of the signs on the edge in lines 16"–19", so might be acceptable.

[259] CHD Š, 530–539; EDHIL, 797.

[260] CHD Š, 559–563; EDHIL, 797–798.

[261] CHD Š, 561b–562a.

[262] CHD Š, 539–542; EDHIL, 795–796.

[263] Beal 2003, 27 n. 81.

[264] Cf. comparable usage in HW² K, 64.

[265] Cf. usage in CHD Š, 29–30.

[266] Soysal 1989, 33, 91; Marazzi 2011–2012.

uttering here a curse formula? Or might we be dealing with an error for *armawantes*, and thus, 'mules shall be pregnant', i.e. (part of) a blessing formula invoking fecundity and prosperity that should result if the queen recognizes the appointed heir and he is allowed to govern?[267] The interpretation as a blessing formula would comport well with the following, in which something is to be right or just, and, to finish off the paragraph, 'the scepter bearers a[nd] those not in the line of succession' presumably either 'shall be or behave in a positive manner' or receive here a further final injunction along the lines of 'must not trangress my word', or similar.

28": I find not a single other occurrence of *ḫuwai-*, 'to run, flee', with the reflexive, so that one can only guess what 'his/her cities shall *ḫuwai-*', or, if one understands it transitively,[268] 's/he shall *ḫuwai-* his/her cities', might mean. As the verb is in the singular one might assume, if intransitive, that the populations of these cities in the collective is intended.

29": With Groddek,[269] *pace* Cohen's UDU.SÍG+MUNUS$^{ḪI.A}$-*ša*$^{?}$ *A-NA ša*-?-?, which was based on a copy provided to him by H. Otten.[270] For considerations on the problematic *ŠA* *KÙ.BABBAR *ŠA* KÙ*.G[I$^{?}$, see Marazzi's recent paper.[271]

31": Either *ḫu-u*[*r-ta-li-iz-zi*, 'per[vert]/dis[tort]' (cf. i 16", 18", 20"), or *ḫu-u*[*r-d/ta-i*, 'cu[rse]' would seem to offer reasonable possibilities.

32": Also conceivable are *nu-uš t*[*u-* (cf. Cohen's *nu-uš tu-*[[272]) or, as suggested by Groddek, *nu-uš l*[*e-e*;[273] but one might expect to see some traces of the horizontals of *t*[*u-* or *l*[*e-* in the little area preserved following the four wedges if to be read as such.

33": Cohen reads *a-ap-pa-li ka-pu-it pa-*[,[274] and this is perhaps a possibility, but his *ka-*, upon comparison with the KA in 34" and the IŠ in 32", is surely more likely to be an IŠ, and there is no space between the LI and the IŠ. This suggests the possibility of emending the clear BU to a *-še*$^{!}$- and reading *a-ap-pa-li-iš-še*$^{!}$(BU)-*et ku-w*[*a-*, with Groddek.[275] Cf. also Soysal: 'The usage *appali kapuwai-* 'to take a trap into account > be aware of a trap' in ii 10' pleads for a neuter *i*-stem noun *appali-* instead of a commune *a*-stem *appala-*.'[276] Assuming that our NH copying scribe rendered the possessive pronoun *-sset* properly, we should indeed assume that *appali* is a neuter *i*-stem, here in the nom.-acc.

34": *kuedanikka* is now attested only in this text (above in ii 7' and here in ii 34") and in KBo 3.41+ obv. 4, 5 (2×); KBo 12.22 i 6, 7, 8 (both CTH 16).

[267] An anonymous reviewer suggests an interpretation that is certainly worth considering, even if somewhat daring: '[If I set] Gariya o[n] (it) (i.e. the throne), then let mules be pregnant/sick (i.e. "let pigs fly!"). [Instead, let the queen] behave uprightly/properly, and [let] the sceptre-men and those not in the line of succession also [behave uprightly/properly].' And s/he adds, 'In this case, Gariya would have been the successor backed by the queen's party.' One is reminded of the curious episode in §2 of the Zalpa Text (Gilan 2015, 181–183). Zsombor Földi (pers. comm.) notes that the pregnant(?) mules remind him of Herodotus' (III: 151–153) description of the siege of Babylon and wonders if a literary topos might be traced here.

[268] For the transitivity 'toggle' function of *-z*(*a*), see GrHL^{2}, §§28.30–36.

[269] Groddek 2008, 7 with n. 28.

[270] Cohen 2002, 175 with n. 11.

[271] Marazzi 2019–2020, xxii.

[272] Cohen 2002, 175.

[273] Groddek 2008, 6.

[274] Cohen 2002, 175.

[275] Groddek 2008, 7 with n. 31.

[276] Soysal 2006b, 133.

35”: Neu saw in *nakkita* an instr. sg.[277] The CHD[278] shows only *na-ak-ki-it* (KBo 50.7 had not yet been published by that time). As the spaces between words in this fragment are sometimes minimal, a reading *na-ak-ki ta-*[would also be a possibility.

36”: (1) The sign traces also allow [*n*]*a-aš-ma*, as Cohen reads based on a drawing provided to him by H. Otten,[279] in addition to Groddek’s [*n*]*a-*˹*aš-šu*˺.[280] Both [*n*]*a-*[*a*]*š-šu* and [*n*]*a-aš-ma* require one to assume that the word was indented *vis-à-vis* the *na-aš-šu-ma* in 35” or that a single short sign preceded it, thus suggesting a *nu*. (2) The traces at the end of the line are of course amenable to a Ú, and could thus constitute the beginning of some form of *au(s)-*/*u(wa)-*, ‘to see, to look’, but any number of alternative possibilities must also be taken into account, too, so I have not restored this here.

Rev. III

1’: The]-*ši*/-*LÌ* occurs ca. 16 lines from the top of the column, judging by the lines of the obv.

Discussion

Dating and Authorship

Naturally, a key matter that must be addressed again in light of the new joins is the question of the dating and the authorship of the composition. The issue is particularly germane in view of the fact that KBo 3.27 has generally been seen as stemming from Ḫattusili I, while KBo 3.28 has mostly, though not universally, been deemed as originating with Mursili I.[281] The new joins suggest that the text as a whole should be considered a composition of Mursili I (perhaps together with some counsellor; see presently), with which he presents primarily the political counsel of his (adoptive) father, Ḫattusili I, but also his own words of wisdom, which he often bases on or extrapolates from his father’s counsel. The overarching purpose of the text is to bolster the authority and legitimacy of the author, Mursili I, as the heir of Ḫattusili. The summary and focal point of the repeatedly referenced ‘word of the father’ was, after all, both in the Testament and here in the Political Counsel, the designation of Mursili as Ḫattusili’s chosen successor. This accords, in fact, with Pecchioli Daddi’s insightful conclusion regarding this and other similar texts,[282] i.e. ‘che la redazione dei documenti, nei quali emerge la figura del padre come fonte di legittimità e di autorità, sia stata ispirita da Muršili.’[283]

[277] Neu 1974, 64 n. 94.

[278] CHD L-N, 364b, 368a.

[279] Cohen 2002, 175.

[280] Groddek 2008, 6.

[281] To note only a small number of more influential and/or more recent views: Gilan (2015, 102–103, 110, 247) and de Martino (1991, 54–55; 2005a, 145) ascribe KBo 3.27 to Ḫattusili I and KBo 3.28 to Mursili I (Barjamovic’s [2011, 115 n. 345] claim that de Martino ascribes KBo 3.27 to Mursili is an oversight); Forlanini (2017a, 242 n. 45) and Klinger (1996, 217) ascribe both KBo 3.27 (typo KBo 3.29 in Forlanini 2017a) and KBo 3.28 to Ḫattusili I; Pecchioli Daddi (1994, 82, 90–91) ascribes both to Mursili I.

[282] As Pecchioli Daddi (1994, 90 with n. 104) indicates, in this she was expanding on considerations offered by Liverani, who wrote, e.g., that ‘il vero “autore” del testamento di Ḫattušili deve essere considerato Muršili’ (Liverani 1977, 115 and n. 35; cf. his even more far-reaching formulation in Liverani 2014, 260). In light of Liverani’s thesis, Gilan’s (2015, 95–98) more recent considerations, and now the demonstration that the erstwhile ‘Edict of Ḫattusili’ in fact constitutes just one part of the ‘Political Counsel of Mursili I’, the nature and authorship of the ‘Testament’ should perhaps be reassessed. Still, I tend to doubt that one will be able to convincingly prove that the Testament was composed by Mursili I. Liverani’s argument is essentially that it will have been authored by Mursili I because it serves his legitimation, as it certainly does, but this fact in no way precludes Ḫattusili having authored a text intended to serve Mursili I’s legitimation.

[283] Pecchioli Daddi 1994, 91.

As part of this discussion it might be useful to attempt to establish the narrative situation, i.e. speaker, audience and temporal setting, of each paragraph. Of **§§1'–3'** too little remains to even allow speculation. One might initially suspect that **§4'** would see Mursili speaking, as the 'father/father's […]' is mentioned, but the occurrence of 'my daughter' and the command to eat and drink (i.e. to remain alive)[284] but not to see the eyes of the king (i.e. to be banished from the court), echoing §15", probably presented as a speech of Ḫattusili, surely outweigh this. **§5'** almost certainly continues this narrative, as the 'taking of a son' is mentioned, which presumably refers to Ḫattusili's well-attested search for an heir. And if 'That one, however, …' in 20' can be understood as an indication that at some point this son failed to live up to the expectations of the (adoptive) father, then it would probably clinch the suggestion. These paragraphs thus likely relate to Ḫattusili's struggles to find a loyal heir so well known from other texts, first and foremost his Testament.[285] Thus, the daughter of 13' and 14' is likely the daughter of the Testament, §13 and §§17–18; the son in 19' could theoretically be any of Ḫattusili's (adoptive) sons or sons-in-law – or some other prince entirely for that matter – but if one can connect '*h*[*is*] tears' in 21' with the description of that son from the Testament, §§1–6, who could not cry or show empathy (§1), then this would be the son that Ḫattusili had designated and subsequently rejected for the throne, i.e. Labarna, the son of his sister. In any case, the subsequent **§§6"** and **8"** are very probably, and **§7"** is indisputedly, presented as the words of Ḫattusili.

§9", in contrast, has always presented a bit of a conundrum for a text assumed to be from Ḫattusili I, since it refers to the rulers of Zalpa, Ḫassu and Ḫalab having spurned the 'word of the father'. Klengel, for example, asserts that the usage in this case is only intended metaphorically,[286] though he does not clarify what the meaning or intent of this supposed metaphorical usage is to have been. With the new joins and the determination of the text as a whole as a composition of Mursili, it now becomes clear that Mursili is the speaker in §9". Thus, the rulers of Zalpa, Ḫassu and Ḫalab all 'spurned the word of the father', i.e. rebelled, during the reign of Ḫattusili; and while the rulers of Zalpa and Ḫassu had already paid the price, revenge against Ḫalab remains, at this point in Mursili's reign, a task for the future.

In **§§10"** and **14"** no relevant clues remain, but **§§11"–13"** seem again to be dealing with the era of Mursili. The 'now though' (*kinun=a*) in ii 2' can be compared with the same at the beginning of §§16" and 18", which clearly introduce Mursili's era in contrast to that of his (adoptive) father. And in §§12" and 13" the audience is addressed in the 2nd sg., just as in §16", perhaps even suggesting that some counsellor might be addressing Mursili here. If so, this counsellor might be seen as instructing Mursili on how to deal with the complicated familial and dynastic situation left to him by his (adoptive) father. Without further context, however, this remains quite uncertain.

§15", related in the first person (*kēda=mmu*; *su=mu … kisri=mi*), is presumably presented as the words of Ḫattusili,[287] if for no other reason than the fact that the following §16" is presented in chronological contrast to it (*kinun=a*) at the beginning of the paragraph. One wonders, however, if **§16"**, though likely presented from the temporal vantage point of the reign of Mursili, is actually

[284] Cf. Dardano 2012, 627–633, suggesting that the injunction to eat and drink expresses banishment. It seems to me, however, that the phrase can rather be understood as an expression by which the king waives the death penalty, allowing the accused to remain alive, which is then generally followed by a phrase (to not see the eyes of the king and/or to remain in one's house) indicating banishment and/or house arrest instead. See in this sense §2" of the second tablet of Mursili II's Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of the Tawannanna (Miller 2014, 534–535).

[285] Gilan 2015, 65–103.

[286] Klengel 1999, 39 n. 30; cf. de Martino 1991, 63–66.

[287] I suspect, however, that at least 'The king$^{(acc.)}$ (and$^{?}$) Ḫattusa$^{(acc.)}$ he will not make/treat […]' in 4"–5" and perhaps also '[…] they [re]cognize/will [re]cognize' in 3"–4" should be understood as words of the prince of Purusḫanda as quoted by Ḫattusili, but the fragmentary state of the lines precludes certainty.

styled as the speech of Mursili. The king is referred to at the beginning of the paragraph in the third person, after which a person is addressed repeatedly in the 2nd sg. Since the person being addressed has the power of life and death regarding offending princes, he must be the king, or at least the heir apparent, and thus presumably Mursili himself. So who is speaking to Mursili, the young king, in such a manner? One possibility would be that the author of the composition envisioned Ḫattusili speaking directly to Mursili here, giving him advice,[288] and this suggestion must remain an option. Still, the 'now, though' (*kinun=a*) at the beginning of the paragraph seems to suggest that someone during the era of Mursili is addressing the king here, and we just happen to have a familiar candidate from this time period for such a role: Pimpira. He is known, of course, as a counsellor and perhaps vice-regent for the king in his youth, and even composed words of advice for the young king in a separate document or documents.[289] This, of course, must remain a mere hypothesis, as there is no explicit indication in the preserved portions of the text of who the speaker here might be, but the possibility is tempting.[290] Both possibilities, Ḫattusili and Pimpira, should in my view be considered. In any case, I suspect that the link between the content of §15" and the counsel given in §16" is the question implied in §15", i.e. 'What to do with a rebellious prince?' The answer was, as suggested by Mursili's counsellor, a river ordeal in order to establish guilt or innocence, whereupon the king must decide how strict or lenient he wishes to be with the offender.

In **§17"** we clearly have Mursili speaking about events from the era of his father. It obviously takes up contextually the theme of the river ordeal suggested in §16", recalling Ḫattusili's mercy in its application. It has often been remarked that Kizzuwa here might be equated with Kizzuwa, Chief of the Royal Bodyguard, in the Palace Chronicles,[291] which would thus also be told from the vantage point of Mursili's reign, referring often to events of Ḫattusili's era. **§18"** is again set in temporal contrast to the father's age, and is styled first as Mursili speaking in an attempt to establish the authority of his own reign, and then, depending on one's understanding of these lines, in a brief defense of his father's actions. In **§19"** we seem to revert to Ḫattusili speaking; indeed these lines seem to constitute Mursili's attempt to allow Ḫattusili to present in his own words his reasoning and justification for sending the queen of Ḫuruma mentioned in §18" into exile, if the emendation suggested there is accepted. This timeframe is supported by the mention of 'He whom I, the king, place on my throne, …', which surely presents Ḫattusili expressing his oft-repeated deliberations concerning who his heir should be. One might also compare the 'scepter bearers a[nd] those not in the line of succession' here with warnings concerning the 'the royal bodyguard, those not in the line of succession or[!] the *m.*-men' in §7", clearly presented as spoken by Ḫattusili. Finally, I can only assume that what remains of **§20"** essentially continues the considerations expressed in §19" and is thus also presented as speech of Ḫattusili, though exactly where the quoted speech ends is now impossible to ascertain.

288 So, e.g., Gilan 2015, 114.

289 Cammarosano 2006; de Martino 2005b; Gilan 2024. On the question of whether Pimpira served merely as an adviser or as a regent of some sort, I am rather neutral, and it is not directly relevant for present purposes. Gilan 2024 argues against him ever having been king or regent, but while Gilan 2024, 58 mentions the offering list in which Pimpira appears as LUGAL alongside a Ḫattusili, a Labarna and a Ḫuzziya, all labelled LUGAL, he never explains how this is to be understood if Pimpira did not serve as regent or king, which should have been a central concern of his paper. Neither does Gilan (2024, 59) reveal by what legerdemain he manages to see in §4 of the Telipinu Edict sons of Ḫattusili I ruling in the seven cities listed rather than sons of his predecessor Labarna.

290 Forrer's (BoTU 2, p. 4*) assumption that BoTU 2.10 might be attributed to Pimpira was based primarily on his reading and interpretation of NU.BÀNDA-*aš* rather than NU DUMU-*aš* in i 14". For the refutation of this argument, see already Sommer – Falkenstein 1938, 211–212.

291 Cf. Beal 2003, 27–28; Forlanini 2010, 118 n. 20.

Genre and Function

Even before the discovery of the joins presented here, Gilan had argued that both KBo 3.27 and KBo 3.28 should be viewed as didactic literature, as texts of political wisdom or political counsel.[292] In my view Gilan is clearly correct in seeing these compositions as essentially didactic and, I would emphasize, legitimizing, in nature, not as juridical or legislative documents, and the new joins only bolster Gilan's argumentation.

This contrasts markedly, e.g., with Marazzi's assessment of KBo 3.28 as a juridical document, as an edict:[293]

> Der Text, obwohl sehr lückenhaft und nur partiell erhalten, erweist sich mit Sicherheit als Königserlass. Anekdotische (auf eine nähere Vergangenheit, in der der König als juristische Autorität vorkommt, oder auf eine fernere, in der ein „Vater des Königs" handelt, chronologisch bezogen) kurze Erzählungen alternieren mit Textpartien mit dispositivem Charakter (*kinun=a* … Z. 10' und 20'). Anlass und Hauptgegenstand des Erlasses scheint die Festlegung der Strafprozeduren im Falle untreuen Verhaltens der Person des Königs gegenüber … von Angehörigen der königlichen Familie oder des königlichen Hofes zu sein. Die vorgesehenen Strafprozeduren sind (je nach betroffener Kategorie) mit verschiedenen (?) Ordalformen verbunden.

I do not wish to belabour the point here, as both Gilan and Marazzi have laid out their cases extensively, to which I can add but little. In fact, however, at no point in the entire reconstructed text does the author, Mursili, utter any dispositive statement; he only refers back to decisions and statements made by his (adoptive) father and patron. The only seemingly dispositive statements in §16" are actually spoken by a third party (either Ḫattusili himself or, perhaps, some other counsellor) to Mursili; however, in my view, these statements seem more like the political counsel of an adviser to his liege, as they suggest alternative options in the face of a courtier suspected of having transgressed against the king, which is surely rather didactic than legislative. And the rules regarding the river ordeal are obviously not being instituted by the speaker, he is merely referring to existing practice, as is made obvious by the ensuing paragraph (17"), where reference is made to Ḫattusili having employed precisely these methods. Surely §16" is not a case of law giving or legislation. Neither does the recollection of the *damnatio memoriae* or *abolitio nominis* of Tawannanna, uttered at some point (or repeated any number of times) during the reign of Ḫattusili and recalled here by Mursili, reflect the issuing of an edict, and it is only one aspect or episode of the text's overarching narrative.[294]

The primary unifying theme of the composition is, as Gilan and others have argued, the Hittite court's desired behaviour with regard to the word of the king or the word of the father.[295] And since the focus of that father's word – as seen, *inter alia*, in his Testament and in our current text – is that Mursili has been chosen as that father's legitimate successor, this repeated emphasis on the word of the father is at its core legitimizing for Mursili. This, of course, was seen long ago by

[292] Gilan 2015, 98–103, 110–115.

[293] Marazzi 2011–2012, Introductio. That Marazzi's assessment is strongly derivative of von Schuler's (1959, 441–442, 444, 459, 467, etc.) is clear; cf. also Marazzi 2007. Marazzi 2019–2020, even in the light of the new joins, continues to refer to the text as an edict, neglecting to even mention the reassessment of the question of its genre in Gilan's (2015) seminal work. Cf. also Klinger's (2020, 190) recent comments regarding KBo 3.27 alone, which he asserts 'läßt sich keinem spezifischen Textgenre zuweisen, etwas, was durchaus typisch für die hethitische Überlieferung bereits der frühesten Epoche ist.'

[294] For convincing argumentation for seeing the *damnatio* as directed against this particular individual and her offspring rather than as directed against the office of the *tawannanna* in general and in perpetuity, as argued by Bin-Nun 1975, 52–53 and followed more recently by Yiğit 2005, 788, see e.g. Bryce 1981, 15; Beal 1983, 124–126; 2003, 14–15; Freu 2007, 67. On further fundamental weaknesses of Bin-Nun's work, see already Archi's (1977), Beckman's (1978) and Haas's (1977) reviews.

[295] Gilan 2015, 98–100 and n. 375.

Liverani and emphasized by Pecchioli Daddi (see above, under Dating and Authorship, with ns. 282–283).

As to the function and original setting of the text, one can naturally do little more than speculate. For the most part the text reads like a speech of Mursili held or to be held at the Hittite court before the assembled nobility. As argued above, however, §16" seems rather to consist of words of advice spoken by a prominent adviser to the young king, and thus would hardly have been spoken as such by Mursili to his court. Perhaps, then, the document arose as Mursili and his closest advisers were considering what Mursili should say to the nobility at some point, and into the text flowed not only Mursili's thoughts about the importance of his father's word being heeded, but also some key adviser's thoughts about how the young king should deal with disloyal subordinates. The 'quoted' speech of Ḫattusili is presumably pieced together from the memories of Mursili's advisors, perhaps from his own memories of the later years of Ḫattusili's reign, and likely also from written documents from Ḫattusili and his scribes, such as the Testament, which consisted of a tablet that was to be read to Mursili every month (§22).

The traditional title of KBo 3.27 = CTH 5, Edict of Ḫattusili I, is thus seen to be obsolete, both with regard to its genre as well as to its authorship. Neither should KBo 3.28 be seen as an edict, be it of Ḫattusili or of Mursili. 'The Political Counsel of Mursili I' is suggested here as a suitable alternative for the expanded text.

Selected Historical Considerations

Of course, a number of passages from the fragments now constituting the Political Counsel of Mursili I referring to various persons or events have played a central role in discussions about early Hittite history. In light of the narrative situation detailed above, it is a perpetual challenge to determine whether any given passage in this text is presenting (a) events and utterances from the reign of Ḫattusili as if from his own vantage point; (b) events and utterances from the reign of Ḫattusili from the vantage point of Mursili (whereby it is difficult or impossible to say when during the reign of Ḫattusili any given event occurred, let alone how long its repercussions may have remained relevant); or (c) events and utterances from Mursili's own reign. The events and persons in question can now be reassessed in light of the new joins and the determination that the entire text constitutes a didactic and legitimizing composition of Mursili I.

The Identity of Tawannanna and Ḫattusili's *coup d'état*

Since the new joins demonstrate that there is no 'Edict of Ḫattusili' that must be dated to the end of Ḫattusili's reign, there is no reason to assume that Tawannanna was alive toward the end of his reign; and there is thus no reason to assume that such a late Tawannanna can only have been the wife, sister or daughter of Ḫattusili. In other words, there is no reason to assume more than a single Tawannanna, i.e. the aunt of Ḫattusili and queen of Labarna, in the early Old Hittite period. One is thus forced to reassess the nature of Ḫattusili's ascension to the throne as well as Tawannanna's (and Labarna's) stance toward his claim to kingship. It will be seen that there is little to suggest that Ḫattusili was the designated and favoured successor, but rather the instigator of a *coup d'état* that deposed his predecessor's lineage.[296]

[296] I will use the term *coup d'état* here, but in fact the nature of Ḫattusili's takeover of Ḫattusa, whether a *coup d'état* or a conquest, should probably be left open for discussion. He was after all from Kussara, reigned at least in part in Kussara, probably died in Kussara (see most recently Gilan 2020, 208–210), and came to power in Ḫattusa by dislodging the reigning dynasty in Ḫattusa. Since he belonged, however, to this dynasty in Ḫattusa to a certain degree (his grandfather, Ḫuzziya, presumably having been king in Ḫattusa; his aunt, Tawannanna, a subsequent queen), one could perhaps say it was part *coup d'état* and part conquest.

Tawannanna is mentioned by name here in the newly reconstructed text in i 10' and i 6", in both cases with the determinative for feminine personal names and titles.[297] It remains the case, as argued most recently by Beal, that the only person in this period who is ever unambiguously called Tawannanna is Ḫattusili's aunt, whom he identifies as such in the opening lines of his Annals,[298] and who will have been the wife and queen of Labarna.[299] All attempts to identify an Old Hittite figure bearing the name Tawannanna or the title *tawannanna* in other persons, be she Ḫattusili's sister, his daughter or his wife,[300] are based on more or less convoluted considerations concerning a very small number of text passages. Moreover, no person from any period other than the ruling queen or queen mother is ever unambiguously attested with the title *tawannanna*; and neither Ḫattusili's sister nor his daughter, whose personal names still elude us, ever reigned, as far as we know, as queen. Thus, pending further more decisive evidence becoming available, the most parsimonious solution is to see Ḫattusili's aunt, the wife and queen of Labarna, as the Tawannanna mentioned here in i 10' and i 6".[301]

Naturally I cannot address in the present paper all the arguments for contrary opinions – and much less the status of the *tawannanna*, the nature of Hittite kinship relations and the rules of the succession to the throne in general[302] – so I will mention and briefly discuss only a few.

The primary assumption made in arguing for a further Tawannanna in the Old Hittite period in addition to Ḫattusili's aunt has been that this queen of Labarna can no longer have been alive or would have been too old to have been a person of interest in a text such as the 'Edict of Ḫattusili' (CTH 5, i.e. KBo 3.27), which has generally been assumed to have been promulgated toward the end of the reign of Ḫattusili, since it mentions Mursili as designated successor.[303]

[297] There has been, and remains, some disagreement on whether any given attestation is to be considered a personal name or the royal title (cf. Beckman 2012; Forlanini 2017b, 134 and n. 61; Soysal 2004, 772–774; Sürenhagen 1998, 84, all with refs.). Obviously it can be difficult to impossible to ascertain which is intended in any given case, as Hittite scribes used the same determinative for both feminine personal names and feminine titles, while employing two distinct signs for male personal names vs. male titles.

[298] KBo 10.2 i 3: *ŠA* ^{f}*Ta-wa-an-na-an-na* DUMU ŠEŠ-*ŠU*; KBo 10.1 obv. 1: *ša* ^{f}*Ta-w*[*a-na-an-na* DUMU ŠEŠ-*šu*].

[299] Beal 2003, 29. Others who have asserted that the Tawannanna in question is probably to be equated with Ḫattusili's aunt include Soysal (2006a, 16) and Forlanini (2010, 117 and n. 16, 124 and n. 49; 2017b, 134 and n. 61).

[300] Cf. Gilan 2015, 89 and n. 340; 2020; Beckman 2012, 488–489; Bryce 2005, 93–94; Beal 2003, 29–30; de Martino – Imparati 1998, 392–395; de Martino 1991, 59–60, all with refs.

[301] Of course, the question is tied to the oft-discussed issue of matrilinearity (even matriarchy for some scholars) in the Old Hittite period, which I will not address here, except to state that I see no convincing evidence for it whatsoever. Also rejecting Old Hittite matriarchy are, e.g., Beckman 1986a; 1993, 37 with n. 69–70; 1995, 533–535; Gilan 2016, 569; Klinger 2005, 144 n. 10; 2007, 42–43; 2017, 62–63 with n. 33; Wilhelm 1990; cf. Goedegebuure 2004 and Sürenhagen 1998, who argue for an avunculate.

[302] Particularly the rules of the succession to the throne cannot, unfortunately, be properly discussed here. For the purposes of the present paper I will merely mention that I assume that a patrilinear system of male primogeniture existed for the entirety of Hittite history (similarly, e.g., Beckman 1986a; Klinger 2017, 64; 2020, 190–191 n. 14). In other words, a son (generally the eldest) of the king (and queen) was the assumed successor (whereby the king could exercise a degree of choice); if there was no son or if he could not fulfil the role or was rejected for it, then the king (and queen) pragmatically sought an alternative close male relative, who was often adopted as a son. I know of no instance where this is not the case, excluding, obviously, cases of violent or forceful usurpation. In his Edict Telipinu is simply codifying and/or refining this basic principle, not introducing anything substantially new (except, perhaps, a loophole allowing for his own usurpation; see Klinger 2017, 64). It is thus apparent that I regard reconstructions such as Sürenhagen 1998 and Forlanini 2010 – though both are full of astute observations and attractive suggestions – as almost entirely fantastical. I also cannot agree with Gilan's (2016, 569b) more recent statement, i.e. that 'OHitt. historical literature, most notably the historical introduction of the Telipinu edict …, shows that any male relative of the reigning king could aspire to the throne.' All those in the Telipinu Edict (and elsewhere) who 'aspired to the throne', but were not a son of the king, did so through violent means, not through rules of succession.

[303] So e.g. Freu 2007, 63–64; Carruba 1992, 80–81; de Martino 1991, 59; Bin-Nun 1975, 72–73. This argument, though suggestive, ultimately failed on at least two grounds, even before the new joins.

First, we have only a vague idea of how old Tawannanna would have been toward the end of Ḫattusili's

It is now seen, however, that the expanded document to which the 'Edict' belongs, the Political Counsel of Mursili I, was not composed toward the end of the reign of Ḫattusili, but during that of Mursili, rendering moot any assumption that this Tawannanna would have to have been alive toward the end of Ḫattusili's reign.

A secondary argument in support of there having been a further Tawannanna in addition to Ḫattusili's aunt was expressed by de Martino and Imparati:[304]

> In the preamble of the *Gesta*, in fact, Ḫattušili calls on his kinship with her, undoubtedly to demonstrate the legitimacy of his position as king of Ḫatti. From this we may assume that at this time Ḫattušili's aunt did not have children who were old enough to take the throne. Moreover, she cannot have had children who could claim rights of succession to the throne even at the time of the Testament, since there is no mention of them in this document, which instead refers to various members of the royal family who could aspire to the succession. It would appear, therefore, that an identification of this *Tawannanna* with Ḫattušili's aunt, who we have said had no children, can be excluded, given that in KBo III 27 Ro 6'–8' — subsequent to, as we said, though not that long after the Testament — reference is made to the sons of the/of *Tawannanna* who were banished with her.

De Martino and Imparati thus assume that Ḫattusili only became king because Tawannanna was childless, or heirless, and that she remained so up until the end of Ḫattusili's reign.[305] This argument, however, ignores the clear evidence that Labarna and Tawannanna did indeed have children, including adult sons, and that Ḫattusili thus usurped the rights of these sons by taking the throne,[306] which would have led to her attempts to reassert her and their rights, to which Ḫattusili responded by formally banning the utterance of her and her offspring's names.[307]

> reign. We have no idea how old she was when she married Labarna; no clue when during Labarna's lifetime he took his bride. And while she, as Ḫattusili's aunt, will have belonged to the generation preceding him in kinship terms, she need not have been a full generation (i.e. ca. 20-25 years) older than him; indeed she need not have been older than Ḫattusili at all. Nor do we know whether Ḫattusili reigned 15, 25 or 35 years or more, or if he died at age 55 or 85. Thus, while Freu 2007, 63 claims that she must have been in her 80s or 90s toward the end of Ḫattusili's reign, she could just as well have been in her 60s or 70s. (Freu is the only one who argues with a specific age or age range. All others [e.g. Carruba 1992, 80–81; Klinger 1996, 217–218], as far as I see, argue only more generally or implicitly assume that the *damnatio* in KBo 3.27 would be too late, so that only Ḫattusili's wife, sister or daughter would even come into question.) And who's to say that an 80 or even a 90 year old woman and queen mother cannot be a formidable force? History provides the occasional example of precisely such persons. This argument is thus seen as a case of the well-known error of applying averages to specific cases.
>
> Second, even assuming that the 'Edict' would have been issued at the end of Ḫattusili's reign, it would not be necessary to assume that Tawannanna would still have been alive at this late date, nor need she have been, for the *damnatio* to refer to her. The issue of Tawannanna was for Ḫattusili not one of Tawannanna alone, but also, perhaps primarily, of her royal lineage, which would have constituted a threat to Ḫattusili's authority, to his selection of an heir and to Mursili's authority, whether Tawannanna was still alive or not. The *damnatio* is, after all, an injunction against speaking her name as well as those of her progeny, regardless of her status. The *damnatio* would thus have aimed first and foremost at stifling the fading hopes of those who still yearned for a son of Labarna and Tawannanna for king.

304 De Martino – Imparati 1998, 393.

305 Also Barjamovic 2011, 186, 367 n. 1523 assumes that Tawannanna, the wife of Labarna, had no sons. Bin-Nun 1975, 69 also suggested that Tawannanna, the aunt of Ḫattusili, will have had no sons, but of course, Bin-Nun believed that this Tawannanna was not the queen of Labarna, but rather his sister, a view which, weak even when proposed, was rendered obsolete by the cruciform seal (Dinçol *et al.* 1993).

306 As argued, e.g. by Soysal 1989, 124.

307 Incidentally, this is the only measure taken against Tawannanna in KBo 3.27. Nowhere is she said to have been banished, as asserted, e.g. by de Martino – Imparati 1998, 392–393. This assertion is obviously based on the assumption that this Tawannanna would have been the daughter of Ḫattusili, who was indeed banished from Ḫattusa (Testament, §§16–17), and/or one of the persons (queen of Ḫuruma; daughter of the queen; the queen) banished in §§18"–19" in our text, which, though one possibility, remains quite uncertain.

The first bit of evidence is found in the Telipinu Edict, §§3–4, in which it is said that each of Labarna's sons went to one of seven specifically named towns to govern them.[308] Of course, Telipinu's depictions of the reigns of Labarna, Ḫattusili and Mursili are known to be somewhat schematic and to seek to depict, to some degree,[309] a kind of golden age in contrast to that of their successors, so that one could perhaps argue that this mention of Labarna's sons need not be taken seriously. On the other hand, while the Telipinu Edict, §6, mentions how Ḫattusili's sons administered towns with almost identical words (though without naming concrete towns) – which is indeed attested for his son Ḫuzziya, while his adopted son Labarna was made a priest (Testament, §§12 and 3) – no such thing is noted for Mursili, so that the phrase was not simply mechanically copied for each ruler, a conclusion bolstered by other differences in details as well.[310] Thus, Tawannanna seems indeed to have had sons, unless one wishes to maintain that none of Labarna's seven sons were born of Tawannanna, which, as far as I can see, no one has argued explicitly in recent decades; nor am I aware of any evidence that Labarna had any other queen who would have born him these seven sons. It is surely much more parsimonious to assume that Tawannanna was indeed the mother of (at least some of) these seven sons, and that it is precisely these persons who would have represented a real and present danger to Ḫattusili and his designs and whom Ḫattusili's *damnatio* is designed to exclude from contention for the throne.[311]

Second, there is no indication that Labarna and his queen, Tawannanna, assented to or advocated Ḫattusili's becoming king in Ḫattusa.[312] To the contrary, one might understand the fact that it is nowhere mentioned[313] that Ḫattusili married a daughter of Labarna and/or was adopted as

[308] Thus I will assume here that Labarna (and Tawannanna) will have had seven sons, which seems to be the most straightforward reading of the passage. Of course, one cannot exclude the possibility that this royal couple had a smaller number of sons, and that they ruled these seven cities either in some consecutive configuration or grouped in some fashion. Also possible is that some of these seven sons would have been adopted sons and/or sons-in-laws who married daughters of Labarna and Tawannanna, i.e. were *antiyant*-sons.

[309] 'To some degree' because §7 of the Telipinu Edict in fact shows clearly that Telipinu was fully aware of the conspiratorial and bloody nature of the age of Ḫattusili, though he does not seem inclined to elaborate or to name names. Despite all the obvious indications to the contrary, Telipinu desperately wanted to present this period of the first three kings as an age of dynastic unity and of the growth and success of the state. He was apparently unable, however, to differentiate between dynastic unity on the one hand, which at no point was a reality, and military success and an expanding empire on the other, which is indeed clearly witnessed. In Telipinu's worldview the success of the state could only stem from dynastic unity, so that he was forced to see dynastic unity where there was none.

[310] See, e.g. Kloekhorst – Waal 2019, 197b. Indeed, one might even see the prince and son of Labarna stationed in Purusḫanda (Telipinu Edict, §4) as precisely that prince whom Ḫattusili managed to capture and whose family he banished in §15" here in our text, for which, see below.

[311] As for the question of why the *damnatio* was directed against Tawannanna and her progeny rather than against Labarna and his, I can only assume that it relates to Tawannanna being the daughter of the previous king, likely Ḫuzziya, while Labarna was presumably merely an *antiyant*-son in Ḫattusili's eyes. She may also have been actively attempting to (re)establish (one of) her sons on the throne. The issue for Ḫattusili was thus one of allegiance to Tawannanna's line vs. allegiance to his own, Labarna not even warranting mention. Of course, it may also be the case that Labarna was no longer alive when the *damnatio* was uttered, so that Ḫattusili felt even less inclined to bother with him.

[312] *Pace* Martínez 2016, 187, e.g., who writes, 'It is clear that Hattušili I had a positive relationship with Tawananna early in his reign, as evidenced by his reference to her in his epithets.' Similarly, Bin-Nun 1975, 69: 'It was obviously with her [i.e. the Tawannanna's] official agreement that Ḫattušili as her nearest kin became king.' To the contrary, Ḫattusili's reference to his aunt, Tawannanna, in the opening clause of his Annals yields no information about their relationship other than his kinship claim. It surely says nothing about Tawannanna's stance toward or involvement in Ḫattusili having become king or about her opinion of his exploiting his kinship with her for his political legitimation. Klinger (2017, 62–63) is more likely to be correct when he writes, 'Es ist vermutlich nicht falsch, in der wie auch immer im Detail zu erklärenden Wendung weniger einen Hinweis auf vermeintlich matriarchale Traditionen zu sehen, sondern eher den Versuch, die eigene Herrschaft zwar durch Bezug auf das Königshaus zu legitimieren, wobei gerade im Umgehen bzw. dem Fehlen einer traditionellen patriarchalen Filiation ein Hinweis auf eine mögliche Thronusurpation zu sehen sein dürfte.'

[313] *Pace* Forlanini 2010, 117 n. 16, 124 and n. 49; Barjamovic 2011, 289 n. 1147, 367 n. 1523.

son and successor[314] to Labarna as suggesting that Labarna and Tawannanna would much rather have seen one of their own sons on the throne. And the fact that Ḫattusili felt the need to so decisively rule against these sons of Tawannanna agrees with the assumption that their claims would indeed have been legitimate, i.e. that they were Labarna's and Tawannanna's rightful and intended heirs. Those who assume that (Labarna and) Tawannanna chose Ḫattusili for the throne and that the transfer of power played out peacefully assume in effect that Tawannanna and/or this pair wilfully initiated the disenfranchisement of their own grown and politically active sons and that these sons were entirely content with this state of affairs. This is, in my view, quite unlikely.

Further, that Tawannanna (and Labarna) would have had no children is surely not the only possible explanation for the fact that Ḫattusili's Testament does not concern itself with her or her heirs. One might assume, e.g., that at the time of writing of the Testament late in Ḫattusili's reign (but cf. n. 312) he no longer considered Tawannanna and her sons a threat to his hold on the throne and his ability to pass it on to Mursili; perhaps their power had been curtailed by his political machinations, or maybe he had succeeded in eliminating them all.[315] (For the 'Purusḫanda Episode' as one chapter in this contest, see below.) Alternatively, and probably more likely, it may be the case that the Testament does not mention Tawannanna and her sons because they are simply not its subject matter: the primary topic of the Testament is (a) those persons from Ḫattusili's own family whom he had considered as candidates for his throne, (b) why he had rejected them, and of course, (c) the elevation of his final choice, Mursili. Tawannanna and her sons certainly did not belong to those whom Ḫattusili considered for the throne and thus warranted no mention. The Testament does not address all the dynastic issues mentioned, e.g., in the Telipinu Edict, the Zalpa Text and the Political Counsel of Mursili I. Labarna's sons – regardless of the question of who their mother would have been – are not afforded even a passing allusion in the Testament, and there is no reason why the modern reader should expect that it should do so. Of course, it bears repeating that nowhere in the extensive narrative essentially fully preserved in the Testament of Ḫattusili is any *damnatio* of any person mentioned, only the rebellion and subsequent death (or dismissal)[316] of his own son, Ḫuzziya (§§12–13), the adoption and subsequent disowning, dismissal and banishment of Ḫattusili's sister's son, Labarna (§§3–6), and the disowning and banishment of his own unnamed daughter, whose male progeny had been eyed for the throne by unnamed persons (§§13–18).

Finally, there is little reason to assume, with de Martino and Imparati, that Ḫattusili would only have referenced his relationship to Tawannanna in the opening lines of his Annals (see n. 298) as part of his legitimation if she had had no sons old enough for the throne. This presumes, again, that Labarna and Tawannanna approved of, perhaps even initiated, Ḫattusili's ascent to the throne due to their lack of heirs. In fact, this calls into doubt our traditional understanding of Ḫattusili's reference to his aunt, Tawannanna, in his Annals as pointing to his kinship with her in order to bolster or even grant him his own legitimacy. After all, it is not only Tawannanna who is mentioned in this line, but Tawannanna and her brother, i.e. Ḫattusili's father, together. Probably it has generally been assumed that it is the reference to Tawannanna that is the one that

[314] As is occasionally seen (or suspected) when a Hittite ruler has no (preferred) son of his own, i.e. in the cases of Mursili I, Arnuwanda I and Suppiluliuma I.

[315] The question arises, of course, why would Mursili bring up the matter of the *damnatio* again at such a late juncture, i.e. in his own reign? Naturally, if Ḫattusili had not yet succeeded in eliminating them, which seems likely enough, the *damnatio* of Tawannanna's issue might still have been directly relevant for Mursili and his authority and legitimacy. If, however, Ḫattusili had succeeded in eliminating the threat of Tawannanna's and Labarna's lineage, then one can only speculate that perhaps Mursili's renewed reference to it simply fit within his broader self-legitimizing narrative of reverence for the word of the father.

[316] Depending, of course, on how one restores and understands the fragmentary passage (§§12–13). Cf. most recently Gilan 2020, 204; 2015, 74–75; Klinger 2005, 144, with refs.

matters because she is named, while the reference to Ḫattusili's father is somewhat oblique. Still, one wonders if Ḫattusili is not rather (or also) pointing to his relationship to this person, son of the previous king, as supporting his claim to legitimacy.[317] Of course, the weakness of any such theory is this: Why did Ḫattusili not just openly say, 'I am the rightful heir of my father, PN, who is the rightful heir of my grandfather, PN!'? Naturally, one can only speculate. First and foremost, Ḫattusili's father was, as far as we know, never king. Further, perhaps Ḫattusili's father died young, before he could have ascended the throne; perhaps he was involved in some rebellious activities and was banned by his father, as suggested, e.g. by Beal.[318] Presumably, Ḫattusili references both Tawannanna and his own father, knowing that he might enjoy some degree of legitimacy from each, but also knowing that he cannot claim full legitimacy from either. And why reference Tawannanna at all? Perhaps as the still living child of Ḫattusili's grandfather (presumably Ḫuzziya), and maybe the only remaining member of that dynasty in Ḫattusa?

A further argument why Tawannanna in our text should not be identified with Ḫattusili's aunt is put forth by Freu, who writes, 'Si la vieille tante du roi avait été visée, comme la veut Beal, il est invraisemblable que Ḫattušili n'ait pas fait disparaître la mention de cette Tawananna (I) dans le prologue de ses « annals ».'[319] This suggestion, too, should not be dismissed *a priori*, but counterarguments are also conceivable. It may be the case, for example, that the *damnatio* was to be understood as a ban on uttering the name of Tawannanna and those of her sons in the context of advocating for their rights to the throne, while Ḫattusili in his Annals refers to her in a different context entirely, i.e. of his relationship to her, her brother (his father), and his own legitimacy. A member of the court saying something like 'We support you, Ḫattusili, as opposed to Tawannanna's sons for the throne,' for example, would presumably not have been at all unwelcome. After all, Mursili and his scribe are now witnessed as uttering the name of Tawannanna in the context of recalling Ḫattusili's *damnatio*, and they apparently did not feel any qualms about speaking (or writing) her name in such a way. Alternatively, as Beal suggests, the *damnatio* might have been uttered after the Annals had already been composed, and one cannot necessarily expect that the *damnatio* would have entailed the act of seeking out all the texts in which the name Tawannanna occurred and physically scratching it out of the dried clay.[320] Finally, it may simply be the case that Ḫattusili did not see himself bound by the same rules that he imposed on others, which hardly requires any stretch of the imagination considering the well-attested behaviour of monarchs, dictators and autocrats throughout history.

Thus, while one cannot on present evidence exclude the possibility that some Tawannanna other than the queen of Labarna is at issue here in i 10' and i 6", there is no clear indication that such an additional Tawannanna must be posited, be she Ḫattusili's wife, his sister or his daughter.[321] It

[317] I wonder, in fact, whether the thinking behind Ḫattusili's cryptic reference to Tawannanna and her brother might even have been to contrast what he felt would have been his own greater legitimacy with the lesser legitimacy of Tawannanna's sons. In other words, to paraphrase, 'I, Ḫattusili, am the son of a SON of the previous king, my grandfather, while the sons of Tawannanna and Labarna – who is, need I remind you, merely an *antiyant*-son – are only the sons of a DAUGHTER of the previous king, my grandfather.' Obviously, the truncated formulation in the Annals fails to fully express the entirety of this presumed thinking.

[318] Beal 2003, 15.

[319] Freu 2007, 68.

[320] Beal 2003, 14 n. 3.

[321] Conceivably, Kaddusi, Ḫattusili's wife as attested in the cruciform seal and the offering lists, could have taken the office of *tawannanna* at whatever point the queen of Labarna died or was formally stripped of the office, but nowhere in our documentation is Kaddusi or any wife of Ḫattusili connected with the office, and nowhere does Ḫattusili express animosity toward his wife (cf. also Beal 2003, 29). In fact, it remains an open question just how far back into Hittite history the office of *tawannanna* goes. Several ritual texts that clearly reach back into the OH period (Carruba 1992, 85–89; Beckman 2012, 489) show that it can be traced at least this far back; but what historical dating these linguistically and, in part, palaeographically, OH rituals suggest is another question. In other words, as the OH palaeography stretches down to the immediate predecessors of Tudḫaliya I (or to Telipinu according to the more conventional

therefore seems likely that Tawannanna here was simply that Tawannanna known as the queen of Labarna and aunt of Ḫattusili.

The Other Royal Women

Related to this question as to the identity of Tawannanna is the matter of the identities of the bevy of other female royals mentioned in our text, i.e. 'the/my daughter' in i 13' and 14', perhaps 'a/the snake' in i 26", the 'daughters of the king' in ii 4', 'your$^{(sg.)}$ wife' in ii 9', 'the *quee*[*n*]' in ii 12', 'his wife' and 'his(/her) sisters' in ii 7", 'that queen of Ḫuruma' in ii 21", the 'daughter of the queen' in ii 23" and 'the queen' in ii 24".

In i 13' and 14' – just a few lines after the mention of Tawannanna in 10' in the same paragraph – is mentioned 'the' or 'my daughter'. Obviously, as only some 3-5 signs at the beginning of each line are preserved at this point, no conclusions should be based on this passage, *pace* e.g. Gilan[322] or Marazzi, who wrote:

> Sia detto per inciso che l'ipotesi che la Tawananna qui oggetto del provvedimento regio sia da riferire alla figlia e non alla sorella di Hattusili, sembrerebbe ottenere ora maggiore credito in virtù del nuovo join KBo 3.24+KBo 53.275 illustrato in Soysal 2006.[323]

This very fragmentary passage offers, in my view, not the slightest hint of an identity between Tawannanna mentioned in 10' and the daughter mentioned in 13' and 14'; nor, to be clear, the least bit of evidence against it.[324] With some three-quarters of the right portion of the paragraph missing, one can just as easily imagine that these lines refer to a single person first with the name Tawannanna and then again with the word daughter as one can imagine that they refer first to a person named Tawannanna and then to another person referred to as the daughter;[325] it depends entirely on what once stood in the break. Neither, incidentally, does the new join (i.e. KBo 3.24+53.275) make the identity between Tawannanna and the daughter in these lines any more or any less likely than before the join. That said, it seems to me the most parsimonious assumption that Ḫattusili refers here first to his aunt, Tawannanna, and then, following the topic marker, to his daughter, who would be his rebellious daughter known from his Testament (§§13–18). But this remains, of course, mere conjecture.

Little more can reasonably be said about the reference to 'a/the snake' in i 27", who is imagined will strangle Ḫattusa if the king's words are not respected. Naturally, this can conceivably be equated with Ḫattusili's calling his sister[326] a snake in his Testament, §2, so that she might be the referent here,[327] even if nothing necessitates this interpretation. It is hardly unlikely that Ḫattusili may have used the same metaphor for other persons as well, such as the Tawannanna mentioned in §6". Nor can one exclude the possibility that the image here represents evil in

view; cf. Miller 2004, 463–464 n. 773; Klinger 2022, 307–308 n. 142), the OH language down to roughly the same period (Melchert 2008), the OH rituals attesting the office of *tawannanna* merely show that this office arose at some time before Tudḫaliya I (or Telipinu); when in this period remains unclear.

322 Gilan 2015, 89.

323 Marazzi 2011 [2015], 64 n. 8.

324 So already Beal 1983, 125. At the most one might point to the topic change at the beginning of 13' (*ug=a*) – i.e. not the conjunction *-ia/-a*, as understood, e.g. by Dardano 2012, 630 –, but though a topic change from Tawannanna to the daughter is one possibility, perhaps even the most likely one, it is obviously not the only possibility. It might well, e.g., be topicalizing 'I, however …' as opposed to the previous actors in the paragraph.

325 So e.g. Soysal 2006a, 16.

326 Not his daughter, as mistakenly asserted by Klinger 2020, 191 n. 16.

327 E.g. Freu 2007, 67; Carruba 1992, 80.

general that will plague the land if the king's counsel is ignored.[328] Arguing staunchly for one or the other option is, in my view, rather forced.

The identities of the 'daughters of the king' in ii 4', 'your$^{(sg.)}$ wife' in ii 9' and 'the *quee*[*n*]' in ii 12', in consideration of the fragmentary state of these lines and without the benefit of any further context, must also be left open. If one takes *kinun=a* in ii 2' to suggest that §§11"–14" should be situated in the reign of Mursili, and if one assumes that the 2nd sg. forms in ii 6' and 9' suggest that some adviser is speaking to Mursili (cf. above, on §16"),[329] then perhaps the 'daughters of the king' would refer to the daughters of Ḫattusili,[330] 'your$^{(sg.)}$ wife' to Mursili's wife, Kali, and 'the *quee*[*n*]' either to Ḫattusili's queen, as queen mother, or to Mursili's queen; in this case the switch from 'your$^{(sg.)}$ wife' to 'the *quee*[*n*]' in reference to one and the same person would remain unexplained, though not necessarily fatal to the hypothesis. Otherwise, if *kinun=a* in ii 2' relates only to lines 2'–3', so that it is again Ḫattusili speaking in 4'–13', then perhaps the 'daughters of the king' and the 'sons [*of the king*$^{(?)}$' relate to the progeny of Labarna and Tawannanna; and maybe the 'the *quee*[*n*]' is again a reference to Tawannanna, or maybe to Ḫattusili's own wife and queen. Who 'your$^{(sg.)}$ wife' would be in such a scenario is anybody's guess: perhaps the wife of one of the sons of Labarna and Tawannanna, who is thus being addressed? After having been stripped of his office as regional administrator, as the prince of Purusḫanda had been?

It seems clear enough that 'his wife' and 'his(/her) sisters' in ii 7" refer to the wife and the sisters of the prince of Purusḫanda.

Finally, we have 'that queen of Ḫuruma' in ii 21" as well as the 'daughter of the queen' and 'the queen' in ii 23" and 24" in the enigmatic paragraphs §§18"–19". I am inclined to see 'that queen of Ḫuruma' and the 'daughter of the queen' as one and the same person, and to see in her a daughter of Tawannanna; and I therefore tend to see Tawannanna in 'the queen' in 24". This queen of Ḫuruma would thus have been a further vestige of the dynasty of Labarna and Tawannanna that was herewith marginalized by Ḫattusili.[331] It must be emphasized, however, that this scenario is largely speculative, that present evidence is insufficient to prove or disprove it, and that other possibilities must yet be entertained.[332]

The dem. pron. *asi* in 21" should, of course, refer back in the text to where this queen of Ḫuruma was mentioned already, so that one might be inclined to equate her with the wife of the prince of Purusḫanda mentioned in §15", the more so as she, too, was banished. Indeed, this possibility should not be excluded.[333] It would surely be odd, however, for the speaker or the scribe to refer

[328] Collins 1989, 216–217, e.g., doubts Sommer's suggestion of equating the snake here with Tawannanna, and sees a mythological creature instead, though providing no further reasoning.

[329] This interpretation may well be doubted, however, since '[if] you$^{(sg.)}$ [*con*]*coct* [evil]', or similar, at the end of 5' and in 6' suggests rather that a royal person is addressing a subordinate, who is not to concoct evil against the king and/or the royal family. I suspect, therefore, that Mursili (or an adviser) is speaking to a subordinate (or subordinates).

[330] But then who would the 'sons [*of the king*$^{(?)}$]' in 4' be referring to? The sons of Labarna and Tawannanna? So would both 'daughters of the king' and 'sons [*of the king*$^{(?)}$]' be referring to daughters and sons of Labarna and Tawannanna?

[331] One question that arises with such a scenario is: Why then is Ḫuruma not in the list of seven cities in the Telipinu Edict (§§3–4) that were ruled by sons of Labarna (and, presumably, of Tawannanna)? Clearly one can only speculate. Perhaps because these seven were ruled by sons of Labarna and Tawannanna, while Ḫuruma (and other cities?) were ruled by (mere) *antiyant*-sons who had married daughters of Labarna and Tawannanna? Perhaps one or more of the seven sons were transferred at some point from one city to another?

[332] Cf. e.g. Beal 2003, 26–27 with n. 80; Martínez 2016, 184–189; Forlanini 2017b, 133–134.

[333] In fact, if one regards §16", with its 2nd sg. forms, as an insert into the flow of the text, then §17" would follow or would have followed narratively or structurally upon §15". This would considerably reduce the distance between *asi* and whatever its antecedent might have been. Similarly, one might take §§16"–17" as the insert, §17" being Mursili's contextual commentary or response to §16". In this case, §18" would follow or would have followed upon §15".

to the wife of the just mentioned prince of Purusḫanda as 'that queen of/from Ḫuruma'. Why not refer to her as 'that queen of/from Purusḫanda'? Alternatively, *asi* may refer to some royal woman mentioned in the now (largely) missing paragraphs at the beginning of obv. ii. Still, as this composition in general seems to be pieced together from a number of sources, be they speech situations, memories thereof, or various texts, *asi* could presumably have referred anaphorically to a queen mentioned in that initial narrative or textual situation, whereupon it was subsequently imported into the present composition, where its referent is no longer present. One should therefore probably not expect more insight from this pronoun than is warranted. Thus, *asi* might be referring back to the princess of Purusḫanda, or it might be referring again to Tawannanna[334] or, as suggested above, to a daughter of hers.

A further possibility, though very much in the realm of speculation, might be to see 'that queen of Ḫuruma' as the wife of Kizzuwa, who would thus have been a prince or king of Ḫuruma. The beginning of §16" does introduce the matter of the river ordeals as one in which 'a prince/son transgresses against the person of the king', so that subsequently presenting the example of Kizzuwa in §17" as just such a prince would fit the narrative. If so, for the scribe and his audience it would have been obvious that this 'queen of Ḫuruma' was Kizzuwa's wife, so that his use of anaphoric *asi* would have been clear to all, even if it seems obscure to us, since nowhere in the preserved text is it explicitly stated that this 'queen of Ḫuruma' was Kizzuwa's wife or that Kizzuwa was prince or king of Ḫuruma. This interpretation would also echo to some degree the pattern seen in §15", where the matter of the prince of Purusḫanda and his offences is mentioned, whereupon the banishment of his wife and family is noted.[335]

In fact, such a scenario might provide a narrative and associative thread in §§15"–19" that otherwise seems rather difficult to detect: In §15" the prince of Purusḫanda is at issue, but while we see that his family is banished, we do not seem to learn what happens to him; it is thus perhaps the question of what happens to him that leads to the topic of §16", i.e. the river ordeal, so that we can perhaps assume that the prince of Purusḫanda would have been subjected to the same ordeal, though the scribe neglects to name him explicitly. This reference to the use of the river ordeal in §16" may then have reminded the speaker/scribe of the related case of Kizzuwa, who likewise was found guilty by means of the river ordeal, but was spared nevertheless. And upon relating Kizzuwa's ordeal, the speaker/scribe continued with the fate of Kizzuwa's family, i.e. with the fate of 'that queen of Ḫuruma'.

That said, an alternative scenario might provide a no less plausible narrative and associative thread for §§15"–19". The prince of Purusḫanda might be Kizzuwa. In this case, §16" would again function as an interlude of sorts, addressing the question 'What to do with a rebellious prince?', after which the case of Kizzuwa, Prince of Purusḫanda, is taken up again in §17". If so, one might speculate further that Kizzuwa's wife might be the 'daughter of the queen', whose banishment would thus be mentioned at the end of §15" and again in §19". In this case, assuming that she would thus be a daughter of Tawannanna, Kizzuwa would presumably be an *antiyant*-son of Labarna and Tawannanna. If, moreover, this 'daughter of the queen' and 'that queen of Ḫuruma' of §§18"–19" were one and the same person – i.e. if Kizzuwa married into the royal family of Ḫurma, his bride thus becoming a queen (of Purusḫanda) from Ḫurma –, then it would presumably support

[334] E.g. Martínez 2016, 184–187.

[335] Such a scenario might imply either that this Kizzuwa was not the same person as the Chief of the Royal Bodyguard of the same name in the Palace Anecdotes, or, if they were indeed the same person, that at some point he gained his position as prince or king in Ḫuruma by marrying into the royal family, i.e. by marrying a daughter of Labarna and Tawannanna. In any case, Kizzuwa, the Chief of the Royal Bodyguard, must have been a member of the innermost circle of the royal family, as this office is generally filled by such a person, often by a brother of the king (Bilgin 2018, 97–116).

the suggestion of Martínez that Labarna's family was based in Ḫuruma.[336] Again, these two scenarios are rather speculative, and any number of alternatives can and should be entertained.

To recapitulate, I am inclined to see 'that queen of Ḫuruma' and the 'daughter of the queen' as one and the same person, and to see in her a daughter of Queen Tawannanna;[337] and I tend to see Tawannanna in 'the queen' in 24". This presumes a situation in which this daughter of Labarna and Tawannanna ruled as queen in Ḫuruma at some point, presumably as the wife of a husband who would have married into the royal family and ruled as king or prince in Ḫuruma, just as Labarna's and Tawannanna's seven sons ruled as princes in the seven cities mentioned in the Telipinu Edict, §§3–4. It must be emphasized, however, that this scenario is largely speculative, that present evidence is insufficient to prove or disprove it, and that other possibilities must remain in the discussion.

The Rulers of Zalpa, Ḫassu and Ḫalab

A further important historical issue that gains some clarity with the new text reconstruction is that concerning the rulers of Zalpa, Ḫassu and Ḫalab. In particular, as it is now clear that Mursili can be seen as the narrator of §9" rather than Ḫattusili, it becomes quite likely that the rulers of these three cities had 'spurned the word of the father', i.e. that of Ḫattusili, that the rulers of Zalpa and Ḫassu had already been punished for this, and that the fate of the ruler of Ḫalab was at this point during the reign of Mursili yet to be decided. There is no longer any need to see the reference to the father as metaphorical,[338] self-referential[339] or as pertaining to Ḫattusili's predecessor, Labarna.[340]

How one interprets these laconic statements of Mursili historically is of course another matter, which cannot be treated exhaustively here. I remain of the opinion[341] that the most obvious interpretation is that Ḫattusili succeeded during his reign in subjugating all three cities, concluding vassal treaties with them.[342] All three subsequently rebelled, 'spurning the word of the father', i.e. still during the reign of Ḫattusili, and only Zalpa and Ḫassu had since been reconquered,[343] presumably during the latter part of Ḫattusili's reign.[344] The reconquest of Ḫalab was thus left to Mursili. The rulers of such cities would only be said to have 'spurned the word of' a Hittite king if

[336] Martínez 2016. In such a scenario, this Kizzuwa, Prince of Purušḫanda, could only be equated with Kizzuwa, Chief of the Royal Bodyguard, in the Palace Anecdotes if one assumes either that (a) the events in the Anecdotes occurred during the reign of Labarna or that (b) Kizzuwa, despite his opposition to Ḫattusili while Prince of Purušḫanda, not only survived (as per §17") but was subsequently installed by Ḫattusili in a position as sensitive as Chief of the Royal Bodyguard. The first assumption seems unlikely, as it is quite clear that the Anecdotes relate to Ḫattusili's court in Kussara, at a time when he already ruled over essentially all of Anatolia and much of Syria. The second assumption also seems rather unlikely, though it must be noted that the land grants do attest a number of high officials' surviving (violent) regime change; however, one might assume that these survivors would have been active supporters of the up-and-comers (Rüster – Wilhelm 2012, 49–57).

[337] It is difficult to imagine to what other queen she might have been a daughter. Ḫattusili never refers to his own troublesome daughter as 'daughter of the queen', by which he would be intending his own wife and queen, but simply as 'my daughter'.

[338] Klengel 1999, 39 n. 30.

[339] Archi 1979, 44.

[340] Forlanini 2007, 277; 2009, 51.

[341] Miller 1999, 12–13.

[342] As noted explicitly in the case of Nuḫasse and Astata in §10 of the historical introduction to Muwattalli II's Copy of Mursili II's Treaty with Talmi-Šarrumma of Aleppo (CTH 75), assuming of course, that Ḫattusili here is Ḫattusili I, not the disputed Ḫattusili II. This is often overlooked by those treating this period, e.g. by Beckman (2013, 3082), who writes that 'There is no evidence that Hattusili imposed Hittite governance on Syria.'

[343] Dardano 2014, 43 also speaks of these two cities, which had 'ribellatesi al potere ittito', having been 'riconquistate', with Ḫalab, in contrast, 'destinata alla rovina'.

[344] Miller 2001, 72–74, with refs.

they had been obliged to their sovereign by an oath of vassalage; rulers who are not vassals of the Hittite king are not obliged or expected to obey his word.[345] Of course, which of the three or four cities named Zalpa/Zalpuwa is at issue here remains an open question. In my view it is more likely to have been one of the northern Syrian Zalpas.[346] Corti,[347] Freu[348] and Forlanini[349] have argued recently for the northern Anatolian Zalp(uw)a, whereby Forlanini's assumption is predicated on his placement of the events pertaining to these three cities back in the reign of Labarna.

The Purusḫanda Episode

Another important historical issue is raised by the occurrence of the Purusḫandean and the prince of Pur[usḫanda] in ii 5" and 6", apparently in the context of a (re)conquest[350] of this city or at least of the dismissal of its ruling prince along with the banishment of his wife and his(/her) sisters. As argued above, these events seem to be presented by Mursili as having been narrated by and thus having taken place during the reign of Ḫattusili. Moreover, as the Telipinu Edict (§§3–4) lists Parsuḫanta as one of the cities governed by the sons of Labarna, it seems likely that what we see here in §15" is one episode in Ḫattusili's disenfranchisement of Labarna's and Tawannanna's heirs; perhaps the missing portions of the text would have informed us of further stages in these efforts. Possibly the phrases in 3"–6" of this paragraph are to be understood as indicating that this prince of Purusḫanda, rather than accepting Ḫattusili's *coup d'état* and recognizing Ḫattusili as king, responded by beginning hostilities against Ḫattusa, which Ḫattusili perceived as unjustified behaviour toward him, so that the gods surrendered this prince to him.[351] While the fate of the prince of Purusḫanda is not obviously related,[352] his family is banished.

A closely related question is whether this would be the same episode as that concerning Purusḫanda mentioned in KBo 3.46+ ii 4'–13' of CTH 13 and, if so, when these events should be dated.[353] It has generally been assumed that the events in these two texts should be equated. Further, most have assumed that KBo 3.46+ and the events narrated in it should be ascribed to Mursili I, and this conclusion has generally been based, at least in part, on the assumption that KBo 3.28 is to be attributed to Mursili I.[354] Kempinski and Košak, in contrast, argued that KBo 3.46+ should rather be seen as the Extended Annals of Ḫattusili I,[355] while Forlanini attributes it either to Mursili I or to Ḫantili I, with a preference for the latter.[356]

In light of the new joins and renewed analysis it can be seen that the Purusḫanda episode here in §15" is indeed presented as if narrated by Ḫattusili, but retrospectively, from the vantage point

345 I emphasize this point here because Klengel 1992, 82, e.g., asserts that this passage 'demonstrates that Halab itself was not yet conquered during the late years of Hattushili's reign.' Cf. also e.g. Soysal 1989, 123.

346 Miller – Corti 2017, 195–196, with refs. So also e.g. Klinger 2014, 72, updating his previous view (1996, 124).

347 Corti 2005, 119–120 with n. 46.

348 Freu 2007, 80.

349 Forlanini 2007, 277; 2009, 51.

350 I.e. presumably not the initial Hittite conquest of this area, which had already been under the control of Labarna, who installed a son in Parsuḫanta (Telipinu Edict, §4).

351 Perhaps the most probable juncture for Ḫattusili launching his *coup d'état* will have been Labarna's death, at which point Ḫattusili will have seen himself as rightful heir. While seemingly likely enough, there is in fact no evidence that might specifically support or militate against such an assumption.

352 Dardano's (2018, 363) assertion that he was sentenced to death is not correct.

353 For recent treatments and discussions of CTH 13 and/or the 'Purusḫanda episode', see Beal 2003, 26–31; de Martino 2003, 127–153; 2004, 40–41; Dardano 2004; Barjamovic 2011, 367–368; Gilan 2015, 243–248; Forlanini 2017b, 131–137.

354 E.g. de Martino 2005a, 145–147; Soysal 1989, 136–137.

355 Kempinski – Košak 1982.

356 Forlanini 2017a, 242–243 and n. 46.

of Mursili, thus placing the events back in the reign of Ḫattusili. Assuming that this episode concerning Purusḫanda and that in KBo 3.46+ ii 4'–13' can be connected or equated, as indeed seems likely, one should probably conclude that the events of KBo 3.46+ should be dated to the reign of Ḫattusili I as well. This, of course, leaves open the precise characterization and narrative situation of KBo 3.46+, which Gilan[357] has recently suggested might also narrate events dating to the reign of Ḫattusili from the perspective of Mursili, as presciently intimated already by Pecchioli Daddi.[358] Whether these two text passages, with their significant similarities and despite their significant differences, can indeed be reconciled, should be the topic of further analysis.

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[357] Gilan 2015, 247.

[358] Pecchioli Daddi 1994, 84.

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Einige inneranatolische Wortverknüpfungen

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Abstract: Geographic names explainable by Hittite *halluwa-* "deep" attest the sound change **Cw* > *Cb* from Labraunda up to Termessos. The Lycian personal name *Xluwãnimi* may join them as "deepening". Lycian *χrssẽni* may be cognate with Hittite *harsannas*, an epiclesis of the Storm-god. The toponym Πασανδα near Caunos may be explainable by Hittite *pahs-* "protect", the Lycian toponym *Pttara* by cognates in other Indo-European languages. Lycian *hrm̃mã* is probably not cognate with Lydian *šyrma-*, but with Hittite *saram(m)a(n)-*.

Keywords: Anatolian languages, Hittite, Carian, Lycian, 'Solymian', Indo-European languages

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geschichte, sprachforschung, selbst poesie
ist eine allerdings ungenaue wissenschaft[1]

Es geht hier weniger um Etymologie im herkömmlichen Sinn als um die Verknüpfung von weit verstreuten Namen und Wörtern, die natürlich auch nach Möglichkeit erklärt werden sollen – wobei Möglichkeit unterstrichen ist: Sicherheit kann dabei nicht der Fall sein, lediglich mehr oder weniger wahrscheinliche Annahmen. ‚Anatolisch' bezeichnet hier übrigens nur die so genannten indogermanischen Sprachen. Involviert sind Karisch, Lykisch, ‚Solymisch' und Hethitisch, das die weitaus am besten bezeugte anatolische Sprache ist, nur marginal das Luwische und nur negativ das Lydische.

1. Von Kalbissos bis Kelbessos

Der Lautwandel **Cw* > *Cb* ist am besten im Lykischen nachgewiesen: Craig Melchert führte dafür vor 30 Jahren uranatolisch **ekʷo-* ‚horse' > *esbe-*, **dwi-* ‚two' > *kbi-*, **dug(a)tr-* ‚daughter' > *kbatra-*, „virtual" **Honsu-* ‚descendant' > *χahba-* und einmal *χãhb* (TL 44a, 31) ‚Enkelkind' an.[2] Er gilt auch in der lykischen Dichtersprache, wo *tbisu* (TL 44c, 64 und 44d, 21) normallykischen *kbihu* ‚zweimal' entspricht.

[1] Grimm 1884, 564.

[2] Melchert 1994, 308. Zu neueren Ansätzen siehe Martínez-Rodríguez 2019 und auch eDiAna, zu *kbatra-* auch Schürr 2022–2023. Beim letzten Wort scheint mir der Anschluß nicht an spätluwisch (NEPOS)*ha-su-* ‚progeny, family (*vel sim.*)' (Sasseville 2023), sondern an luwisch *hams(i)-* wegen der gleichen Bedeutung naheliegender, also die Annahme einer Suffigierung mit *-wa-*, etwa uranatolisch **Honswa-*. Bei der Wiedergabe keilschriftlicher Belege werden hier diakritische Zeichen weggelassen. Mit TL werden lykische Inschriften nach Kalinka 1901 angeführt, mit N 320 die Trilingue vom Letoon nach Neumann 1979, mit LW lydische Inschriften nach Gusmani 1964.

Dieser Lautwandel läßt sich aber auch im Karischen fassen: An *χahba-* läßt sich der in Mylasa belegte karische Personenname *Ksbo* anschließen, gräzisiert Χασβως,[3] und die ebenfalls als Personenname belegte Ableitung Κασβωλλις.[4] Dazu kommen geographische Namen in griechischer Überlieferung: Bei Kaunos am Ostrand Kariens mündet ein kurzer, aber sehr tiefer Fluß ins Meer, der Καλβις heißt und schon von Strabon (Geogr. XIV 651) als ‚tief' bezeichnet worden ist. Daher kann der Name plausibel mit hethitisch *hallu-* oder wohl besser *halluwa-* ‚tief'[5] erklärt werden, wenn man Erstsilbenbetonung, Synkopierung des *u* und den Lautwandel **Cw* > *Cb* annimmt.[6] Das hethitische Wort ist vor allem für ‚tiefe Täler', aber auch ‚tiefe Quellen' belegt, und zu letzterem paßt der ebenfalls keilschriftlich belegte Quellname *Halwannas*, der zusammen mit sicher luwischen Quellnamen wie *Siwannas* und *Kummajannis* bezeugt ist,[7] allerdings auch als Name eines Berges.[8] Als Quelle Lykiens bucht Stephanos von Byzanz Καλβιος, mit anderem Namen griechisch Καλαινόν ‚türkisfarben': Eine solche Farbe paßt zu einer tiefen Quelle. In Labraunda, also mitten in Karien, ist der Ortsname Καλβισσος belegt. Dazu kommt aber auch noch ein Ortsname jenseits von Lykien, nämlich westlich von Antalya: Da liegt Κελβησσος, ein Peripolion von Termessos. Dazu läßt sich nun das Benennungsmotiv ergänzen: Nach Nevzat Çevik liegt es „along a steep rocky slope on the edge of a deep gorge",[9] und das illustrieren Fig. 3 (Foto) und Fig. 4 (Plan).[10] Für diese Wortform wird *i*-Umlaut anzunehmen sein, und in der lykischen Dichtersprache würde **χelbesi* entsprechen: „of a deep gorge". Die ursprünglich im Gebiet von Termessos gebrauchte anatolische Sprache, die man ‚Solymisch' nennen könnte, stand also dem Lykischen und dem Karischen nahe.

2. Dazu der lykische Männername *Xluwãnimi*

Xluwãnimi ist der Erbauer eines Felsgrabs in Timiusa (TL 67), heute Üçağız (eine Übersetzung des späteren griechischen Namens Tristomo). Er ließ sich da als nackter Athlet nach griechischem Muster darstellen, datiert unter die Herrschaft des Dynasten Perikle, also in die erste Hälfte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.

Die Inschrift ist auch forschungsgeschichtlich von Bedeutung, weil sie zu den frühesten kopierten und publizierten lykischen Grabinschriften gehört: C. R. Cockerell hatte vier Inschriften 1812 kopiert, und R. Walpole veröffentlichte 1820 einen Brief von ihm mit Zeichnungen der Gräber und der Inschriften,[11] die so gut waren, daß die Entzifferung des lykischen Alphabetes und die Erschließung der lykischen Sprache davon ausgehen konnte.

[3] Adiego 2007, 334 und Simon 2008, 460, wo auch „*kiδb-* 'city of Kindyē' < *Hinduwa*" angeführt wird. Belegt ist aber ein Personenname *Kiδbsi* (Adiego 2007, 373), m. E. gräzisiert Κινδαψος und dem Possessivum *χñtabasi* (TL 44c, 41) in der lykischen Dichtersprache entsprechend (Schürr 1991–1993, 170), wo *b* sicher nicht auf **w* zurückgeführt werden kann, auch wenn Sasseville weiterhin diese Meinung vertritt (siehe Sasseville 2020c und zur Kritik seiner Etymologie kurz Schürr 2023, 13–14, wo auch der von Karien bis Kilikien belegte Personenname Κενδηβας o. ä. angeführt wird). Bei Χασβως ist die Wiedergabe des karischen *k* mit Chi ungewöhnlich; Aspiratazeichen werden bei der Wiedergabe anatolischer Namen kaum verwendet.

[4] Schürr 2003, 71. Von Simon in eDiAna gebucht (Simon 2023).

[5] Siehe einerseits das Paradigma bei Hoffner – Melchert 2008, 104 (unverändert in der Neuedition Hoffner – Melchert 2024), andererseits HW² Ḫ, 84–85: Da ist statt des Gen. Sg. einer Substantivierung ein Nom. Sg. c. *hal-lu-(u-)wa-as* angenommen.

[6] Schürr 2003 und 2019a, 12. Simon 2022a setzt dafür karisch **kalbi-* ‚deep' an.

[7] Del Monte – Tischler 1978, 527 (Textzitat 523).

[8] Del Monte – Tischler 1978, 74–75. Der Name des Landes *Halluwa* (Del Monte – Tischler 1978, 74), Teil der Assuwa-Koalition im Westen, kann auf einen Ortsnamen zurückgehen.

[9] Çevik 2024, 299. Ich übergehe hier mit **tarb-* (so Simon 2022b) gebildete Berg- und Ortsnamen, die ebenfalls von Karien bis ins Gebiet von Termessos (Ταρβασσος, siehe Zgusta 1984, §1297-3) reichen und sich zumindest teilweise mit hethitisch-luwisch *tāru-* ‚Holz' erklären lassen (Schürr 2006 und 2019a, 12).

[10] Çevik 2024, 304.

[11] Außerdem TL 66 in Timiusa, 117 (Bilingue) und 123 in Limyra (Walpole 1820, 524–525).



Abb. 1. Das Grab des Xluwãnimi (Photo: D. Schürr, 2009).

Der Name dürfte mit dem Partizip eines Verbs **χluwãni-* gebildet sein, wie etwa der Dynastenname *Trbbẽnimi* (TL 44a, 44 und 44b, 11) von *trbbẽni-* (3. Sg. Präs. in TL 44d, 64).[12] Dieses Verb könnte auch zu hethitisch *halluwa-* ‚tief' gehören, was mit Synkopierung des Stammvokals **χlu(wa)-* ergeben hätte. Und es könnte eine dem hethitischen Kausativ *halluwanu-* ‚tief machen' entsprechende Bedeutung haben. Für dessen Verwendung ist die hurritisch-junghethitische Ištar-Hymne aufschlußreich:

> Die Brüder aber bekämpften (sich): dann [be]acke[rn] sie das Feld [nicht mehr felderweise]. Sie machten ab[er?] nicht tief [X]. Nich[t] mehr [betrieben? (wörtl. machten?) sie] das [M]ahlen (von Getreide).[13]

Da wird es sich auf das Einlagern von Getreide in unterirdische Gruben beziehen: ‚tiefe Vorratsgruben' sind auch belegt,[14] eine Art von Vorratshaltung, die für die Hethiter auch archäologisch gut dokumentiert ist.[15] Aber solche Vorratsgruben sind in Lykien bisher nicht belegt, dafür Zisternen, die im zentrallykischen Karstgebiet die einzige Art der Wasserversorgung waren. Die Beschreibung einer großen Zisterne dort ist bereits Samuel Kiechel zu verdanken, der sie 1588 in „Cacabo" (die Insel Kekova gegenüber von Timiusa) sah:

12 M. E. zu spätluwisch *tara/i-wa/i-ni-*, an das schon Neumann 2007, 371 dachte und für das Melchert 2019 die Bedeutung ‚just, righteous' gesichert hat (mit deutsch *treu* verwandt): also etwa ‚der gerecht Behandelnde', siehe Schürr 2021, 269.

13 HW² Ḫ, 88.

14 HW² Ḫ, 84.

15 Siehe Seeher 2000.

> bronnen von herrlichem, gutem, süesem wasser, wölcher nahend dem mör lügt. Zu solchem mues man in düe 40 stapflen thüeff mütt lüechtern hünunder göhn, sein düe stapflen noch ganz von stein, sauber und aller in düe runde gemacht.[16]

Xluwãnimi, der ‚Vertiefende', könnte also nach der Anlage von Zisternen benannt sein, womöglich auch der von Kiechel gesehenen.

3. Lykisch *χrssẽni* und der Wettergott *harsannas*

Das Wort *χrssẽni* kommt nur in der Passage TL 44b, 51–56 vor:

> *s'-ed'-de tuwetẽ: kumezija: τere-τere*
> *Trqqñti: pddãtahi: qñnãkba: χrssẽni: ehbi: tabahaza:*
> *kumezija: Padritahi: Arñna*
> *Tuminehija: kumezija: Xãkbija: kumezija*
> *se-tukedri: Kerϑϑi: ade: urublijẽ hãtahe:*

Dafür habe ich 2012 mit der Vermutung, daß das Zahlwort *qñnãkba*, das sicher ‚zwei' enthält (s. o. in §1), und *tabahaza*, das zu keilschrift-luwisch *tappas-* und hieroglyphen-luwisch *tipas-* ‚Himmel' gehören kann, Dat. Pl. sind, die Übersetzung vorgeschlagen:

> „Und darauf (?) (v)errichtete er *kumezija* Ort für Ort (?):
> dem Wettergott (im?) *pddãtahi*,
> (den) vier(en) (?) (in?) sein(em) *χrssẽni*, den Himmelsherren (?),
> *kumezija* (im) Aphrodision (zu) Xanthos,
> tymnessische *kumezija*, kandybische *kumezija*,
> und eine Statue (in) Kerϑϑi machte er (als) *urublijẽ* ‚herrlich'".[17]

Da wäre dann „sein" auf den Bauherrn zu beziehen. Aber die ‚Himmelsherren' sind reine Spekulation, und die dichtersprachliche Entsprechung *qñnãtba* geht TL 44d, 8 *χuzrñta Xerigasa*: *tu*[.]*adrala*: *palaraima* voraus, was offenbar alles Nom./Akk. Pl. n. ist. Daher dürfte das auch für *qñnãkba* näherliegen: Es kann zusammen mit *tabahaza*[18] an *kumezija* anschließen:

> „Und sie darauf (?) errichtete er, *kumezija* Ort für Ort (?):
> dem Wettergott *pddãtahi* zwei Paar (?) (in?) sein(em) *χrssẽni*, himmlische (?)".

Da kann sich *ehbi* auf den Wettergott beziehen, so daß *χrssẽni* mit ihm verbunden wäre. Das läßt an den keilschriftlich belegten hethitischen Wettergott *harsannas* (Gen.) oder mit luwischem Possessivsuffix *harsannassis* denken, wie das schon 1989 Frank Starke aufgrund der räumlichen Nähe getan hatte.[19] In HW² wird dafür ein nicht anderweitig belegtes, heteroklitisches **harsatar/harsann-* ‚Sturzregen, Gewitterregen' angenommen, obwohl einmal SAG.DU ‚Kopf' (heth. *harsar/harsn-*) entspricht. Aber das erscheint in einer Aufzählung von Wettergöttern: davor ‚des Himmels', ‚des Blitzes', danach ‚des Donners', was einen Fehler wahrscheinlich macht.[20] Vergleiche auch hethitisch *harsiharsi-* ‚Gewitter(regen)' und den Wettergott *harsiharsi(jas)*[21] sowie

[16] Haszler 1866, 398. Heute verschüttet? Eine solche Felszisterne in Palaiokastro auf der Insel Kastellorizo ist bei Wurster 1981, 228 kurz beschrieben und Tafel 75. 1 abgebildet; die auf dem Kurşunlu-Hügel in Patara von İşkan – Baykan 2016 behandelt.

[17] Schürr 2012, 130.

[18] Das kann mit *a*-Umlaut auf **tebehezi* zurückgehen, also mit dem Ethnikonsuffix *-ezi* gebildet sein.

[19] Starke 1989, 655. Neumann 2007, 132 vermerkte das zwar, machte aber den Zusammenhang mit dem Wettergott nicht deutlich. Nowakowski 2023 übersetzt „in his raging storm", aber ohne Erklärung.

[20] HW² Ḫ, 357.

[21] HW² Ḫ, 369–370.

**harsummar/harsumn-* ‚Wasserlauf, Wassertiefe‘,[22] dazu den Ortsnamen *Harsumna*[23] und auch den Quellnamen *Harsanijas*,[24] der aber auch auf *harsar/harsn-* zurückgehen könnte.[25]

Da kann *χrssẽni* ohne weiteres anschließen, ob man nun einen Nominativ **χrssãna* oder **χrssẽni* oder *χrssẽnijẽ* annehmen will. Da *h* nach Konsonant nicht belegt ist, kann **s* nach *r* erhalten sein, vergleiche auch den Personennamen *Tebursseli* zum Ortsnamen *Tuburehi*/Τυβερισσος, der allerdings wegen des Suffixes aus der Dichtersprache entlehnt sein dürfte,[26] in der **s* generell erhalten blieb.

Nun paßt ‚Gewitterregen‘ hier nicht in den Kontext. Es könnte aber eine Anlage zum Auffangen von Regenwasser gemeint sein, die mit dem Wettergottkult verbunden war.[27] Außer den schon erwähnten Zisternen gibt es auch ein Wasserbecken in einer Senke beim zentrallykischen Avşar Tepesi.[28] Bei Xanthos am Fluß Xanthos paßt das aber nicht, so daß ein Ort im Gebirge angenommen werden müßte.

Daß die Kette von *kumezija*-Installationen außerhalb von Xanthos bei einem Kultort des Wettergottes beginnt, könnte in den Kontext passen (so wenig wir von dem verstehen): Der Wettergott tritt bereits vorher in 44b, 34 und 37 im Nominativ auf, zuerst gefolgt von *heχis*, das ein Ethnikon sein kann,[29] dann in dem programmatischen Satz „Der Wettergott aber liebt Herrschaft (im) Land (?)“,[30] der wohl alles weitere motiviert. Das *χrssẽni* könnte also in dem Ort Heχi zu lokalisieren sein. Im weiteren folgen die Installationen der in 44b, 49 angegebenen Route: *Arñna*: *Tumine-hi*: *Kerϑϑi*: *Xãkbi*, also von Xanthos bis Kandyba.

4. Pasanda und lykisch *Pttara*

Πασανδα lag nach dem Stadiasmus Maris Magni (265) 30 Stadien – wenig mehr als 5 km – östlich von Kaunos.[31] Dieser Ortsname kann vielleicht an das Verb *pas-* in der lykischen Dichtersprache angeschlossen werden, das auf dem Piχre-Sarkophag in Antiphellos (TL 55, 6) belegt ist: Da ist *pasñte* m. E. eine Aktion der Nymphen (3. Pl. Prät.), was den Anschluß an hethitisch *pahs-* ‚schützen‘ < uridg. **peh$_2$-s-* nahelegt.[32] Dazu zitiert das CHD zuerst Belege mit den Göttern als Subjekt, beginnend mit: „If you keep these oaths, may the gods protect you too“ (*pahsandaru*).[33]

22 HW^2 Ḫ, 377.

23 Otten 1972–1975; Del Monte – Tischler 1978, 91; altassyrisch und altbabylonisch *Harsamna* (s. etwa Gander 2022, 118), aber altassyrisch auch als PN *Harsumnuman* (Laroche 1966, Nr. 312), mit dem hethitischen Ethnikonsuffix.

24 Del Monte – Tischler 1978, 528, aber auch als Männername belegt (Laroche 1966, Nr. 310).

25 So Puhvel 1991, 200.

26 Schürr 2014, 747. Nur auf Münzen sind als Genitive *Zẽmuh◊* neben *Zẽmurihe* und *Pttah* statt **Pttarahe* mit Assimilation des *r* belegt, s. Schürr 2019b.

27 Neve 1971 hatte in Büyükkale, der Burg der Hethiterhauptstadt Hattusa, ein schmales Wasserbecken und die Haupträume (mit Abflußkanal) zweier Gebäude als mögliche „Regenkult-Anlagen“ angesprochen. Ökse 2019 will zwei „Hittite Mountain-Pool Sanctuaries“ und den Kratersee auf dem Göllüdağ mit einem eisenzeitlichen Gebäudekomplex und einer beide umfassenden Mauer als „Rain-Cult Places“ erklären, aber es fehlt an entsprechenden Textzeugnissen. Für Lykien sind diese Baulichkeiten und Örtlichkeiten in jedem Fall irrelevant.

28 Kolb 2008, 35; links unten auf dem Plan S. 255 Abb. 52.

29 Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 140.

30 Dönmez – Schürr 2015, 142 und auch Schürr 2022.

31 Siehe zu den Belegen auch Blümel 1998, 188 und Marek 2006, 83 mit weiteren Inschriften und Erwähnung einer Lokalisierung in den Bergen bei Gökbel-Payamlı nicht weit vom Ostufer des Sülüngür-Gölü: „Ruinen (Befestigungsmauer, Tempelgräber, Stelenbasen) n. des Weges von Gökbel nach Mergenli (Merkenli)“ (Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, 780).

32 Schürr 2005, 146.

33 CHD P, 3.

Da ein Verb im Imperativ vorausgeht, nimmt David Sasseville allerdings ein Nomen an.[34] Bei *slatu* wird wie bei *slãtu* (TL 44d, 2) eine Pluralform anzunehmen sein, und jäher Tempuswechsel kommt in den lykischen Gedichten öfters vor. Entsprechend könnte also für Strophe IX

me-i-'bei-pe: *tuwi-be-w'-ẽnẽ*: *slatu*: *wesedi*: *prijãma*:
pasñte:[. . . .]*ese atrala*: *seb'-erbbi*: *km̃qi-ke*: *'lbbeweli*

ungefähr Folgendes angenommen werden:

„Nun (in) ihm hier aber, (im) Land *-be-we* unten mögen sie großmachen mit Güte die *prijãma*.
Sie schützten des [Piχr?]e eigene und (im) Kampf wie (im) *km̃qi* den von (E)lbbewe".

Da müßte dann *h_2s zumindest in der lykischen Dichtersprache *s* ergeben haben.[35]

Daran könnte dann der in Xanthos belegte Frauenname Πασεμη als ‚Behütete' und auch das Nomen *pasba* in der lykischen Dichtersprache anschließen.[36] Auch für einen Ortsnamen könnte das passen, ob im Sinn von ‚beschützend' oder ‚Schutz habend'. Ob dieser Ortsname im Grenzgebiet dem Karischen zuzuordnen ist, muß offenbleiben, da die lykische Dichtersprache ihren Ursprung in diesem Gebiet zu haben scheint.[37]

Die Wurzel *peh_2- kehrt wohl in einem lykischen Ortsnamen wieder: *Pttara* (TL 44a, 43), gräzisiert Παταρα, ist bei Stephanos von Byzanz mit einem Wort πατάρα für ‚Behälter' erklärt, das hethitisch *pattar/n-* ‚Korb' entspricht, und das dürfte eher zu gotisch *fodr* für ϑήκη ‚Behälter'[38] und altindisch *pā́tra* ‚Behälter' als zu lateinisch *patera* gehören.[39] Der ‚Laryngal' *h_2 schwindet auch in den anatolischen Sprachen zwischen Vokal und Verschlußlaut.[40] Dabei handelt es sich ursprünglich wohl um den mit einem Korb verglichenen Kurşunlu-Hügel, an den dann das Theater gebaut wurde, bereits in der ‚reichsluwischen' Inschrift von YALBURT (13. Jh. v. Chr.) als MONS *Pa-tara/i* belegt.[41] Da wird ein Feldzug des Hethiterkönigs Tuthalia IV. skizziert, der dort endete.

5. Lykisch *hrm̃mã*, lydisch *šyrmas* und hethitisch *saram(m)a(n)-*

Bei *hrm̃mã* handelt es sich sicher um ein Neutrum, das Starke zu *hri* ‚oben' wie keilschriftluwisch *sarri* < **seri* und zur hethitischen Brotbezeichnung *saramman-* stellte.[42] „Bread allotment(?)" hat das CHD und ein Adjektiv *saraman-*.[43] Tischler bucht hethitisch *saramna-* ‚oben befindlich', substantiviert als *saram(m)a(n)-* eine Gebäckbezeichnung.[44]

Dagegen führte Melchert *hrm̃mã* wegen der angenommenen Verwandtschaft mit lydisch *šyrmas* ‚Tempel' (o. ä.)[45] nach Innocente auf **s(e)rmŕ̥* zurück, mit der Bedeutung ‚land-section, temenos'.[46] Dem folgen Tischler, der beide Wörter ebenfalls zu hethitisch *sarra-* ‚teilen, trennen; überschreiten'

[34] Sasseville 2020b.
[35] Schürr 2021, 272.
[36] Schürr 2021, 272 und 2023, 13–14.
[37] Schürr 2001, 113 und 2019a, 14.
[38] Von *peh_2-tró* nach Schuhmann 2024, Nr. 250.
[39] So schon Neumann 1961, 56–57.
[40] Melchert 1994, 69.
[41] Dazu Schürr 2010, 15.
[42] Starke 1990, 299. Die Brotbezeichnung hielt er allerdings für luwisch, mit einer Grundbedeutung ‚Akropolis'.
[43] CHD Š, 239, 243.
[44] Tischler 2004, 874–879. Tischler (2004, 876) führt auch Σαραμαννα, Name einer bei Malalas genannten Quelle (recte O 363) an, die aber nicht bei Side, sondern in Daphne bei Antakya lokalisiert ist, so daß sie hier besser beiseite bleibt.
[45] *Ess šyrmas* ‚dieser Tempel' und Dativ *ešλ širmaλ* LW 23, 1 und 3, Adjektiv *šrmliš* LW 24, 3 und 16.
[46] Melchert 1994, 288.



Abb. 2. Modell des Heroons von Trysa im Wiener Ephesos Museum (Photo: D. Schürr, 2023).

stellt,[47] und Sasseville, der ein uranatolisches *$s(h_1)\underline{r}h_1$-meh_2- ‚temenos' ansetzt (d. h. auch das lykische Wort nicht für ein Neutrum hält), wobei diese Bedeutung für das lykische Wort diskussionslos vorausgesetzt wird, für das lydische auch darauf beruht, daß es damals im Gebiet des Artemistempels bei Sardes keine „imposing structure" gegeben hätte.[48]

Das lykische Wort findet sich in den Inschriften dreier Felsgräber: TL 84 in Sura hat als Erweiterung der Bauformel erst

s'-ed'-adẽ: *atli*: *hrzzẽ i:sbazijẽ*[49]

„und das machte er dem Selbst, das obere Bett", dann

s'-ed'-adẽ hrm̃mã: *ijase*: *atlahi*

„und das machte er, das *hrm̃mã*, dem/der *ijas* von ihm selbst".

TL 149 (unterhalb von Rhodiapolis) hat in Z. 13

se-i-agã: *ijase*: *hrm̃mã*: *ebẽ*

„und ihm/ihr machte ich, dem/der *ijas*, dieses *hrm̃mã*".

Daraus geht weder hervor, was ein *hrm̃mã* ist, noch was *ijas* ist; ‚dieses' setzt nur voraus, daß es direkt beim oder im Grab ist. Für ein Temenos um das Grab ist in beiden Fällen gar kein Platz, aber es gibt kurz über dem Grab eine ebene Fläche, eine jedenfalls auffällige Gemeinsamkeit. Es gibt da dem Augenschein nach wohl keine Abarbeitungen, die auf einen Bau deuten würden, aber da könnte eine Art Laube für Zusammenkünfte und Feiern am Grab errichtet worden sein. Die würde dann dem fast 7 m langen „überdachten Areal" in der Südostecke des realen Temenos von Trysa entsprechen, in dessen Innerem ein Bankett für 16 Männer auf den Reliefs dargestellt war.[50] *Ijas* könnte dann eine solche Männergesellschaft bedeuten, der der Grabherr

47 Tischler 2004, 867.

48 Sasseville 2020a; 2020d; Yakubovich 2020.

49 Zu den Leseversuchen an der sehr verwitterten Stelle Schürr 2025b, 14.

50 Landskron 2015, A, 33 und Plan B, Taf. 12.3. Der zeichnerische Rekonstruktionsversuch durch G. Niemann in Benndorf – Niemann 1889, 41 Abb. 31 fehlt da.

angehörte und für die er so sorgte. Ich denke daher, daß Starkes Verknüpfung mit *hri* und hethitisch *saramman-* wahrscheinlicher ist.

Das Felsgrab von Arpacık (nördlich von Myra) „about 3 m above the ground level“ ist einem Turmgehöft benachbart.[51] Auch hier ist nach dem Foto Fig. 1 ein Temenos zu Füßen unwahrscheinlich, aber über dem Grab scheint wenig Platz zu sein. Die kurze Inschrift lautet:

ebẽñnẽ: χupã: me-’ne: prñnawatẽ [2]*Xudrehila: se-lada:*

se-hrm̃mã: ñte-ijeti [3]*metadi: adaijadi: ehbijedi*

[4]*me-’ne ñtepi-tãti: Xudre̲h<i>lã: se-l<a>dã*

„Dieses Felsgrab, nun es baute Xudrehila und Gattin,

und ein *hrm̃mã* dazu(?)-kauft er mit seinem *meta* in *ada*-Währung.

Nun sie sollen sie hineinlegen, Xudrehila und Gattin.“

Da das Grab zu dem Gehöft gehören wird, sollte dieser Kauf doch wohl anderswo stattgefunden haben, das *hrm̃mã* also nicht am gleichen Ort gewesen sein wie bei den beiden anderen Gräbern.

Was die in der Trilingue vom Letoon (N 320) belegte Weiterbildung – oder das Kompositum? – *hrm̃mada* angeht, entspricht

se-de-liñtãtẽ: *teteri*: *se-j-epewẽtlm̃mẽi*: *hrm̃mada*: *ttaraha*: (a, 12–14)

in der griechischen Version wohl nichts außer καὶ (…) ἡ πόλις (b, 12), so daß unklar bleibt, was „und auch (?) …ten die Stadt und die Umwohner städtische *hrm̃mada*“ bedeutet.[52]

Das lydische Wort ist besser fernzuhalten. Es bezeichnet ja nichts ‚oben‘, kann sich aber durchaus nicht nur auf einen irgendwie abgetrennten heiligen Bezirk, sondern auch auf Baulichkeiten wie den lydischen Altar (LA 1) vor dem späteren Tempel, das Sandsteinfundament inmitten der Tempelcella, das „L-shaped corner“ eines Gebäudes unter der Erweiterung des Altars und das damit in der Orientierung übereinstimmende Gebäude Q (mit lydischer Inschrift *tiw* auf einem der Blöcke, LW 39!) bezogen haben.[53] Außerdem hat eine Säule des Artemistempels ja eine lydische Stifterinschrift.[54] Eine Übersetzung mit ‚Heiligtum‘, die offenläßt, wie das aussah, dürfte daher besser sein.

6. Fazit

Die behandelten Namen und Wörter verbinden die Südwestecke Kleinasiens, vor allem Lykien, mit den hethitischen Tontafelarchiven in seinem Zentrum und in einem Fall außerdem auch mit der Inschrift von Yalburt. Dieser Fall führt auch über das Anatolische hinaus: an *Pttara* schließt sogar das deutsche *Futter* (wie z. B. in Mantelfutter und Futteral) an. Wie da, wo nur die griechische Form Παταρα den Stammvokal bewahrt, dürfte dieser auch in anderen Fällen synkopiert worden sein: bei dem vielsilbigen *Xluwãnimi*, bei *χrssẽni* und *hrm̃mã*. In allen vier Fällen scheint ein *a* synkopiert und in drei vor Liquida. Das ist im Lykischen nicht ungewöhnlich,[55] und daneben gibt es auch Schwächung des ersten Vokals wie bei *arawazija* (TL 44b, 38 usw.), später teilweise *erawazija* (TL 40c und 117), *urublijẽ* (TL 44b, 34 usw.), später *erublija* (TL 26).[56] *Xluwãnimi*

[51] İşler – Tekoğlu 2024.

[52] Siehe dazu Schürr 2021, 263–265.

[53] Siehe zu diesen Bauwerken Cahill – Greenewalt 2016, 496–497.

[54] LW 21, siehe dazu Buckler 1924, 39.

[55] Siehe Melchert 1994, 319–321.

[56] Zur Ableitung von *arawazija*, das keinen bestimmten Grabtyp bezeichnet, von einer Personenbezeichnung **arawaza* siehe Schürr 2025a, 333–334 und 2025b, 15, zur Vokalschwächung auch *Ertaχssiraza* TL 44b, 59–60, gegenüber Αρταξερξης. Anders Billing 2021a; 2021b, der Annahme folgend, daß *erawazija* und *erublija* ursprünglicher sind.

und *χrssẽni* könnten sich beide auf die Notwendigkeit beziehen, für die Speicherung von Regenwasser zu sorgen, also auf etwas, was in weiten Teilen Lykiens existenznotwendig war. Mit *hrm̃mã* wird auf jeden Fall ein Element des für die lykische Kultur so wichtigen Totenkults thematisiert, auch wenn es nur dreimal belegt ist. Καλβις und seine Verwandten reflektieren dagegen Naturgegebenheiten, und es ist kein Zufall, daß es sich um weiter streuende geographische Namen – von einem Fluß, einer Quelle und Orten – handelt. Sie belegen damit auch einen überregionalen Lautwandel. Bei Πασανδα ist das nicht der Fall, weil es im lykisch-karischen Grenzgebiet liegt. Das Suffix ist aber in anatolischen Ortsnamen weit verbreitet.

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Neues zum epichorischen Namen der Stadt Side in Pamphylien

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Abstract: With the detection of a new sign for *u*, the transcription of Y as *u* is more questionable than ever, while new inscriptions confirm the transcription *w* for another sign. Therefore, it is proposed to transcribe Y by *v*. New attestations of the epichoric name of Side and its ethnicon show that Ω, attested only on coins, is a variant of Λ = r. The ethnicon is therefore now partially transcribable as *Virvawa*Ƹ, probably nom. sg., and *Virvaw*Ƹ*is*, probably nom. pl., and the city-name itself is attested now as *Virvaw*. This is certainly less similar to the Greek name than supposed formerly.

Keywords: decipherment, Sidetic, Pamphylian

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In der Entzifferung der sidetischen Schrift gibt es einige Fortschritte. Der bemerkenswerteste ist die 2025 publizierte Entdeckung Gem Ferrers, daß das bisher einhellig *e* gelesene Zeichen in Wirklichkeit aus zwei ähnlichen, aber deutlich unterschiedenen Zeichen für *e* und für *u* besteht.[1] Das bestätigen auch die neuen, von Alfredo Rizza und Michaela Zinko ebenfalls 2025 provisorisch publizierten Inschriften,[2] die den kleinen Bestand sehr vermehrt haben. Das neue *u* ist plausibler als die Lesung des Zeichens Y als *u* wie im Griechischen: Auch in den neuen Inschriften kommt es im Gegensatz zu dem neuen *u* nie zwischen zwei Konsonanten vor, was entschieden gegen einen Vokal spricht.[3]

Andererseits hat sich die Lesung *w* für ein anderes Zeichen bestätigt: Die lange, 2020 entdeckte Inschrift (S 16) hat in Z. 16 *ewergesi*[, in Z. 18 *ewergeta*, offenbar für εὐεργεσία und εὐεργέτας, die 2023 gefundene Namenliste (S 18) in Z. 24 *Nowmenij(a)*- für Νουμήνιος. Früher hatte ich *w* für Y vertreten, was ich nun durch *v* ersetze.[4] Die sidetische Entsprechung zu Διονύσιος läßt sich damit nun *Divnusij(a)*- umschreiben.

Ein Grund für das Nebeneinander der beiden Zeichen läßt sich nicht erkennen. Es ist aber bemerkenswert, daß es auch in den pamphylischen Inschriften zwei verschiedene *w*-Grapheme gibt:

1 Ferrer 2025a.

2 Rizza – Zinko 2025. Im Folgenden wird an die Nummerierung der Inschriften bei Nollé 2001 angeknüpft, der Ferrer 2025a die Stele von Lyrbe als S 13 und das von Recai Tekoğlu 2024 publizierte Stimmtäfelchen als S 14 angeschlossen hat. Die von Rizza – Zinko 2025 publizierten Inschriften sind folglich hier als S 15–18 angeführt. Zeichen, deren Lautwert unklar ist, werden im Folgenden behelfsmäßig mit mehr oder weniger ähnlichen Zeichen dargestellt, ohne Serifen (Calibri), nichtkursiv und rechtsgewendet.

3 Am Wortbeginn kommt es vor Konsonant vor.

4 Schürr 2016. Ferrer 2025a, 167 schlägt *y* vor, das aber teilweise anstelle von *j* verwendet wird.

F und И, die auch miteinander wechseln.[5] Und im sidetischen Alphabet gibt es auch zwei Grapheme, die in griechischen Namenschreibungen Delta entsprechen.[6]

Was den epichorischen Stadtnamen betrifft, hat Alfredo Rizza eine Variante der üblichen Münzlegende *ИiΩvawƐis* abgebildet (ohne *is*), die statt des nur auf Münzen erscheinenden, Omega gleichenden Zeichens scheinbar Λ = r hat.[7] Wie eine stempelgleiche Münze zeigt, ist das allerdings eine Deformation des üblichen Ω.[8] Aber mit *r* ist der Stadtname in zwei der neuen Inschriften belegt: S 16 hat in Z. 20 eine verkürzte Zeichenfolge *Иirvaw* (vor *da*), in Z. 17 *Иirvawa*Ɛ (vor *tp*) wie auf verschiedenen Münzen (mit Ω)[9] und anscheinend in Z. 8 des 2022 gefundenen Bruchstücks (S 17; vor *me*): das *w* aber undeutlich, Ɛ mit zwei Fragezeichen versehen. Außerdem wird da in Z. 5 *Иirva*[*w*]*a*[Ɛ zu ergänzen sein; das *w* ist m. E. erkennbar. Dazu Z. 6 *Иirvaw*Ɛ, m. E. vor *i*, während das Zeichen danach unklar ist. Es folgt *Иnve*↑, und Z. 4 dürfte nach]*is* И[*n*]*ve*↑ zu ergänzen sein, so daß in beiden Zeilen die gleiche Wortfolge *ИirvawƐis Иnve*↑ vorliegen dürfte.

Also sind nun drei verschiedene Formen belegt: *Иirvaw*, mit *-a*Ɛ suffigiert, und diese Form auch mit der Endung *-is*, wobei der Suffixvokal entfällt.[10] Demnach scheint *Иirvaw* der Stadtname selbst im Nom. Sg. zu sein, vergleiche zum Ausgang den Personennamen *Pojaw*, und *ИirvawƐis* könnte der Nom. Pl. des Ethnikons sein, wie von Pérez Orozco angenommen,[11] nicht Gen. Sg. analog *Garis* (S 9), wie von mir angenommen.[12] Aber seine Annahme des luwischen Ethnikonsuffixes *-wanni-* entfällt nun, und damit entfällt auch die Umschrift *ñ* oder n_2 für das hier mit Ɛ wiedergegebene Zeichen.[13] Rizza und Zinko vermuten zwar, daß *war*Ɛ*itis* in S 16, Z. 13 zu dem pamphylischen Namen Fαρνιτ- (von ϝαρήν ‚Lamm') gehört,[14] aber das ist nur eine einzige mögliche Gleichung. Da in Z. 17 vielleicht ↑*var itis* zu trennen ist, weil ↑*var* auch in Z. 25 belegt ist, könnte auch in Z. 13 *itis* abzutrennen sein.

Wenn aber *ИirvawƐis* Nom. Pl. des Ethnikons ist, dann sollte *Иirvawa*Ɛ wohl der Nom. Sg. des Ethnikons sein. Zum Ausgang läßt sich nun das Wort *deИo*↑*a*Ɛ vergleichen, das in S 16, Z. 10, 12 und 18 abtrennbar ist. Auf den Münzen muß sich das dann wohl auf die Münze selbst beziehen. Vergleichbar sind die griechischen Legenden (im pamphylischen Dialekt) auf den Münzen anderer Städte in Pamphylien, wie Εστϝεδιυς zu *Εστϝεδυς für Aspendos. Ein Wechsel zwischen Singular und Plural auf Münzen ist allerdings sonderbar.

Für das erste Zeichen И dieser Namensformen fehlen nach wie vor klare Entsprechungen. In der Euempolos-Inschrift (S 6) liegt aber in der Entsprechung des Ethnikons Τεμεριζεύς wohl eine ähnliche Form wie auf manchen Münzen vor: *Teme*, dann C oder *n* (wie meist angenommen

5 Dazu Selvi – Santamaria 2023.

6 Bei Rizza – Zinko 2025, 130–131 wird für das als erstes mit *d* umschriebene Zeichen die Umschrift d_2 (statt *d'*, wie bei Schürr 2016, 150 vorgeschlagen) eingeführt und S. 139–140 eine Psi ähnliche Variante erkannt. Griechisch -δωρος wird mit Ausnahme von *Θandor* mit d_2 wiedergegeben.

7 Rizza 2025, 585 Tf. 1, 5.

8 Gem Ferrer pers. Mitt., mit Foto.

9 Ferrer Pérez 2020, 176 Abb. 2 und 177 Abb. 3–5; Rizza 2025, 585 Tf. 2.

10 Vergleichbar erscheint in S 16 5*erawom* (Z. 23) und 5*erawmijo* (Z. 26) als letztes Wort.

11 Pérez Orozco 2003, 105–106. Die Endung würde dann *-iz* in der lykischen Dichtersprache und *-inzi* im Luwischen entsprechen, aber das beruht natürlich auf der Annahme einer verwandten Sprache. Mit den neuen Inschriften ist das Sidetische aber noch undurchsichtiger geworden, sieht man von den Wörtern ab, die aus dem Griechischen entlehnt sind.

12 Schürr 2021, 126.

13 Es gibt auch keine Variante des Ethnikons mit *n* statt Ɛ, wie Santiago Pérez Orozco 2007, 140–142 mit Cuadro 2 angenommen hatte, der „una variante arcaica" von s16 = *n* neben s25 = sein „*ñ*" postulierte, ohne darauf einzugehen, auf welchen Münzen sie belegt sein sollte. In einer ausführlichen Behandlung der epichorischen Münzlegenden setzt sich Gem Ferrer (demnächst) damit auseinander und bekräftigt, daß es nur Varianten von s25 gibt.

14 Rizza – Zinko 2025, 128.

wird),[15] *e*, *И*? und *as*.[16] Kontrollierbar ist das nicht, weil die Inschrift im Museum von Antalya seit langem nicht auffindbar ist.[17] Darauf, daß *maИara* in S 2, *maИaraИe* in S 3, *maИar* in S 15, Z. 3 zum luwischen Wort *massan(i)-* für ‚Gott' gehört, ist kein Verlaß.[18]

Die Ähnlichkeit mit dem griechischen Namen Σίδη, identisch mit der griechischen Bezeichnung des Granatapfels, ist auf jeden Fall noch geringer geworden als ursprünglich angenommen, und die Annahme, daß beide irgendwie etymologisch miteinander verwandt wären, noch mehr Glaubenssache.

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[15] Siehe auch Schürr 2021, 125 Anm. 6. Schon Muhibbe Darga (1983, 406) umschrieb t-e-e-n-e-s. Für C = r_2 könnten nun vielleicht auch *PigCe* statt *Pigse* (S 9, Z. 4 korrigiert und S 15, Z. 7), vgl. Πιγρης und lykisch *Piχre*, *Pigrẽi*, und *tCvem* (S 15, Z. 3) sprechen, vgl. Τρεβημις o. ä., wenn nicht zu spätluwisch *Tarpamis*, sondern zu lykisch *trbbe-* < **trwe-* und hethitisch *tarru-*/*tarrawa-*, nach Melchert 2020 ‚firm, secure'. Gem Ferrer (pers. Mitt.) schließt nun *Tv*ˈ*Cemesas* (S 14) zu Τερβεμασις im Rauhen Kilikien an. Alfredo Rizza (pers. Mitt.) erwägt auch VCa↑- zu pamphylisch Ουϝρα-/Υϝρα-, *PijtaCev* zu Πιατηραβις in Termessos, vgl. auch Παιταροβης ebenda, wohl für **Pijatar-ube* verschrieben (s. Schürr 1999, 26). Die erste Gleichung setzt voraus, daß sidetisch ↑ ein sehr schwacher Konsonant war (er fehlt auch in S 15, Z. 8 und 10; S 18, Z. 13 und 26 vor Ƹ, was mit Assimilation zu erklären sein dürfte), der im Griechischen nicht wiedergegeben wurde.

[16] Da ist *-as* offenbar ein Ethnikonsuffix wie anscheinend *-a*Ƹ bei *Иirvawa*Ƹ. Neben *deИo↑a*Ƹ ist S 16 Z. 25 vielleicht *deИo↑as* abtrennbar.

[17] Siehe Ferrer 2025b, 2.

[18] Siehe Schürr 2021, 125. Vgl. *jewaИe maИaraИe* mit *jewaИe aCaИe* in der gleichen Inschrift.

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1 Radner 2013, 443.
2 Radner 2013, 445–447, fig. 22.1–22.2; Fales 2001.
3 Radner 2008; 2009a, 181, 190; 2009b.
4 Radner – van Koppen 2009, 95–101.
5 Radner *et al.* 2014, 141–145, 147–151.

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