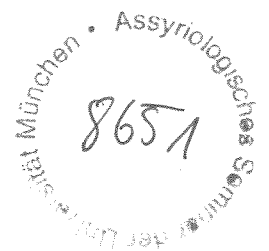
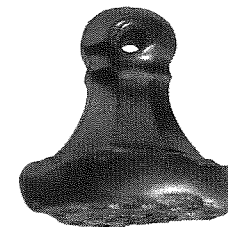


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Mursili II's Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawannanna

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Munich

Introduction

In his *Catalogue des textes hittites* E. Laroche (1971) booked KUB 14.4 under No. 70, labelling it “Sur l’affaire de Tawannanna,” and KBo 4.8 under No. 71, calling it “Sur l’affaire de la ‘Mère-du-dieu’.” In S. Košak’s online *Konkordanz* (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>), three smallish duplicate fragments (KBo 19.84, KBo 19.85, KBo 50.46) have been added to *CTH* 70. To KBo 4.8 of *CTH* 71, Hoffner (1983) was able to join the so-called İzmir fragment, and several fragments have since been recognized as duplicates, including those largish pieces now published as KBo 50.43+44 and, more recently, the small fragment ABoT 2.3 (see Table 1).

In addition to Hoffner’s (1983) treatment of KBo 4.8 + İzmir 1277 (*CTH* 71), de Martino (1998) presented a full edition of KUB 14.4 (*CTH* 70), thus superceding the older treatment by Cornelius (1975), while Groddek (2007) has recently provided an edition of KBo 50.43+44. Singer’s (2002a: 73-79) volume of translations of Hittite prayers includes the principle mss. extant at the time. Finally, just as the present paper was going to press, a new translation of *CTH* 71 by Klinger appeared (2013), which I was able to hurriedly take account of.

With this paper I would like to suggest that these tablets and fragments should be understood as one composition,¹ which could aptly be dubbed “Mursili II’s Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawannanna.”² The main

¹ The relationship between *CTH* 70 and 71 has been variously assessed. Cornelius (1975) treated KUB 14.4 and KBo 4.8 together, though he did not see them as a single composition. Hoffner (1983: 191) calls *CTH* 70 the “companion text” to KBo 4.8 + İzmir 1277 (similarly Cohen 2002: 153 n. 658), while Kühne (1988: 222) refers to *CTH* 71 as a “Gebet Muršilis II., in derselben Angelegenheit wie bei *CTH* 70;” de Martino (1998: 20) sees it as analogue. Van den Hout (1998: 42) refers to them as “two ... appeals.” Groddek (2007: 54 n. 10) writes explicitly that *CTH* 70 “ein anderes Gebet ist” than *CTH* 71 (similarly Ünal 1974: 40; Bin-Nun 1975: 189). The present treatment builds upon the existing editions, i.e. primarily Hoffner 1983, de Martino 1998 and Groddek 2007, and does not gratuitously repeat what has been convincingly established there.

² Similarly de Martino 1998: 19, with regard to KUB 14.4 alone, which he described as designed “... per giustificare la sua decisione di deporre e inviare in esilio Tawannanna....” For recent general

mss. could well represent tablets one and two of a single text. Moreover I hope to demonstrate that three fragments, one of which is traditionally assumed to join indirectly with KUB 21.19 (*CTH* 383: Prayer of Ḫattusili III and Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna), in fact belong to Mursili’s prayer concerning the Tawannanna (2.d in Table 1), and further, that several other stray fragments might well belong to the composition, too.³ To this end, a full edition of all the texts and fragments in question will be presented; then, in order to demonstrate that *CTH* 70 and 71 and related fragments should be seen as one composition, their contents will be briefly summarized, concentrating on the similarities among them and, especially with regard to 2.d (formerly *CTH* 383), their dissimilarities vis-à-vis the Prayer of Ḫattusili III and Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna. Finally, discussions of a number of individual passages along with a few further considerations will be presented.

Table 1: Mursili II’s Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawannanna⁴

Tab./Ms.	Inv. No.	Edition	Findspot	Ms. date
1.A	Bo 4802	KUB 14.4	n.a.	jh.
1 ¹ .b ₁	1049/u	KBo 19.84	Tempel I, Grabungsschutt L/19.	jh.
1 ¹ .b ₂	(+)1130/u	KBo 19.85	Tempel I, alter Grabungsschutt L/19.	jh.
1 ¹ .c	834/v	KBo 50.46	Tempel I, L/19 Grabungsschutt.	jh.
2.A	Bo 3246	KBo 4.8	n.a.	jh.
	+İzmir 1277	see Hoffner 1983	n.a.: see Soysal 1998: 63	jh.
2.B	1206/u	KBo 50.43	Tempel I, alter Grabungsschutt L/19.	jh.

overviews of the situation involving Mursili II’s struggle with his father’s, Suppiluliuma I’s, Babylonian widow, the queen mother Tawannanna, see Singer 2002a: 73-78; Bryce 2005: 207-210; Schwemer 2007: 261; Haas 2008: 84-86.

³ Cf. already Miller 2008: 129ff. and KBo 57, p. V sub no. 19. As noted most recently by Beckman, Bryce and Cline (2011: 158-161), the fragment KUB 14.2 touches on some of the same themes as found in the composition presented here and could conceivably belong to it. They also rightly point out, however, that dating it to one specific king from at least three possible candidates remains difficult (see also n. 107), and it is therefore ignored here. Further passages more or less plausibly related to this Tawannanna affair have been discussed in recent years by de Martino (1998: 20-22, 44), Alparslan (2007) and Haas (2008: 84-86).

⁴ Lower case letters in the first column indicate that a fragment nowhere duplicates any other, so that its ascription to the composition remains tentative. As noted in KBo 57 (p. V sub no. 19), 1.A and 2.A show a very similar hand, so that one suspects that they may have been written by the same scribe, and the same is the case with Frags. 2.d vis-à-vis Bo 7785 and 2.B vis-à-vis 2.e. Further, 2.C shows the same hand as 2.B and may well join it at the top of 1206/u, either directly or with a few mm. of space between them. For kindly providing a photo of ABoT 2.3 I would like to thank Rukiye Akdoğan. I would also like to express my appreciation to Gernot Wilhelm and the rest of the colleagues at the Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mainz as well as the contributors of various research aids to the online *Konkordanz* of the “Hethitische Forschungen” project.

	+1490/u	KBo 50.44	Tempel I, aus Grabungsschutt L/19.	jh.
	+1508/u	KBo 50.44	Tempel I, alter Grabungsschutt L/19.	jh.
	+245/w	KBo 50.43	Tempel I, L/19, Schutt vor Tempel-mag. 11-12.	jh.
2.C	AnAr 11621a	ABoT 2.3	n.a.	jh.
2.d	Bo 4222	KUB 21.19	n.a.	sjh.
	+Bo 4603	KUB 40.94	n.a.	sjh.
	+687/v	KBo 57.19	Tempel I, L/19 Grabungsschutt.	sjh.
2.e	707/v	KBo 57.24	Tempel I, L/19 Grabungsschutt.	jh.
2.f	Bo 69/906	KBo 22.152	Tempel I, Schutthalde vor Mag. 2-6.	jh.
?	Bo 7785		n.a.	jh.
?	Bo 69/562	KBo 22.30	Tempel I, vor Mag. 11-12, alter Grabungsschutt.	jh.

Text Edition

1.A (KUB 14.4)

Obv. I

- 1' $i]^{-1}da^2-la^2-u^2-x x x^5$
 2' $\dot{U}-UL-an ku-it-ki i-da-la-u-wa-ah-hu-u[n$
 3' $ar-ha i]š-du-wa-a-ti na-an ú-it ŠEŠ-IA ap-pé-éz-z[i-ia$
 4' $]_{A}BI-IA-ia-an \dot{U}-UL ku-it-ki i-da-a-la-u-w[a-ah-ta]$
- 5' $[ma-ah-ha-an-ma-za^6 A-BU-IA DING]IR-LI-iš ki-ša-at Ta-wa-an-na-an-na-an-m[a^2] mAr-nu^{-1}wa-an^{-1}[da-aš]$
 6' $[ŠEŠ-IA am-mu-uk-ka_4] \dot{U}-UL ku-it-ki i-da-la-u-wa-ah-hu-u-en^{-1}te^{-1}ep-nu-mi-na-an$
 7' $[\dot{U}-UL ku-it-ki É.LUG]AL \dot{U}KUR^{URU}HA.AT.TI A-NA PA-NI A-BI-IA ma-ah-ha-an$
 8' $[ta-pa-ar-ta a-pi-ia-ia-at]^7 QA-TAM-MA-pát ta-pa-ar-ta ma-ah-ha-an-ma-za ŠEŠ-IA-ia$

⁵ The remaining traces do not seem to fit $-u-wa-x x$, as one might expect based on the writings in ll. 2', 4' and 6', but could perhaps suggest $-u^{-1}ah^2-hu^{-1}[u]-e[n^1]$. Cornelius's (1975: 27) $mŠu-$ is impossible and, as argued by de Martino (1998: 23 n. 26), his reconstruction equally so.

⁶ GIM, as restored by Laroche (1956: 102) and followed, e.g., by de Martino (1988: 23), Cohen (2002: 151) and HEG III: 283, is never found in these texts and fragments, and, depending of course on how the left edge of the tablet is reconstructed, would seem perhaps to leave too much space in the break. Sommer (1932: 302 and n. 2) has $[ma-ah-ha-an-ma-za \dots]$.

⁷ Even $[ta-pa-ar-ta A-NA PA-NI ŠEŠ-IA]$, as restored by Laroche (1956: 102) and followed, e.g., by Bin-Nun (1975: 177), de Martino (1998: 23), CHD P: 304b-305a, and Cohen (2002: 151), would seem to require ca. one sign too much space, while Goedegebuure's (2003: 299) additional $na-at$ would make it that much tighter. Cornelius (1975: 28) opted for $A-NA$ without $PA-NI$. Since, however, Goedegebuure is right to expect the resumptive pronoun, perhaps $nu-un-na-ša-at$, which fits the space quite nicely, would be an option worth considering. $A-NA PA-NI ŠU-at$ would also seem to be just a bit too long, but might be a further possibility. Surely the most likely solution, however, would be the analogous location at the end of 11', which fits the space perfectly.

- 9' [DINGIR^{LI}-iš ki-ša-at Ta-wa-a]n-na-an-na-an-na-an-ma am-mu-uk-ka₄ $\dot{U}-UL ku-it-ki$
 10' $[i-da-la-u-wa-ah-hu-un te-ep-nu-nu]-na-an^8 \dot{U}-UL ku-it-ki É.LUGAL \dot{U}KUR$
 $URU]HA.AT.TI$
 11' $[A-NA PA-NI A-BI-IA \dot{U}A-NA PA-NI]ŠEŠ-IA ma-ah-ha-an ta-pa-ar-ta a-pi-ia-ia-at$
 12' $[QA-TAM-MA-pát ta-pa-ar-ta A-NA PA-NI^{10}]MU-TI_4-ŠU-ia-aš-ši ku-iš ša-ak-la-a-iš$
 13' $[x-aš-š⁹ ku-e \dot{U}-UL a-a-ra e-eš-ta$
 14' $]x^{10} ša-ak-la-in-na-kán iš-hi-ú-ul-la$
 15' $i]š-]hi-ú-]li-ia^{11} pa-ra-a pé-e-da-an har-ta$
 16' $]_{-uk/az}^{12} ma-ah-ha-an IŠ-TU LÚ-ši^{11}$
 17' $É.LUGAL \dot{U}KUR^{URU}HA.AT.TI QA-TAM-MA ta-pa-ar-ta$
 18' $]x-un, na-an me-ek-ki$
 19' $me-e]k-ki ti-ia-an har-ku-un$
 20' $]_{-e-eš-]ta$
 (2-3 empty[?] lines)

Obv. ii

- 1' $k]u^2-iš-ki/e^{-1}nu^{21}~[]$
 2' $-i]š^2-kán^2~^{-1}kap^{21}pi^{-1}šar^2/li^{21}$
 3' $^{1}ti^{-1} x x x x x x ^{1}har^{-1}ni-ik^{-1}ta^1 nu šu-me-e-eš DINGIR^{MES}$
 4' $\dot{U}-UL uš-ket_5-te-e-ni É A-BI-IA-kán ma-ah-ha-an hu-u-ma-an$
 5' $I-NA É^{NA}h⁴e^{-1}kur^* ^{d}LAMMA I-NA É.NA_4 DINGIR^{LI} ne-ia-at a-pa-a-at-ma$
 6' $^{URU}Ša-an-ha-ra-az hu-u-i-nu-ut a-pa-a-at-ma^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ši ^{1}hu-u-ma-an-ti^1$
 7' $an-tu-uh-ša-an-ni pa-ra-a pé-eš-ta nu-kán EGIR-an \dot{U}-UL ku-it-ki$
 8' $da-a-li-iš-ta nu DINGIR^{MES} \dot{U}-UL uš-ket_5-te-e-ni nu-uš-ši a-pi-ia-ia$
 9' $\dot{U}-UL ku-it-ki me-ma-ah-hu-un a-pád-da-an-kán še-er aš-šu-li ha-an^{-1}na^{-1}nu^{-1}un^{113}$
 10' $a-pa-a-aš-ma KA \times U^{HLA}uš an-da ha-ma^{-1}an^{-1}ak-ta^{14} nu \dot{U}-UL-ia ku-it$

⁸ So, i.e. *tepnunun=an*, rather than Cohen's (2002: 151) *te-ep-nu-un]-na-an*.

⁹ Though $A-NA PA-NI^{10}MU-TI_4-ŠU-ia]a-aš-ši$ has traditionally been read here (e.g., Laroche 1956: 102; Bin-Nun 1975: 188), the traces – perhaps over an erasure and, in fact, hardly amenable to anything – do not seem to suggest an $]A$. One might consider $[iš-hi-ú-ul-la a-a-ra e-eš-ta nam-m]a^2-aš-ši$, or – in view of nom. sg. comm. *kuis saklais* at the end of 12' and nom.-acc. pl. neut. *kue* in 13' – perhaps $[a-a-ra e-eš-ta nu iš-hi-ú-li^{HL}]_{-}^{1}a-aš-ši / iš-hi-ú-li-]a-aš-ši$ (cf. in l. 15'), or similar, whereby the same problem with the traces would apply to any attempt to read $-m]a-$ or, obviously, $]_{-}^{1} / -]a-$.

¹⁰ Traces visible on the photos would appear to suggest the trailing ends of the heads of a broken vertical rather than the trailing end of the head of a vertical and the end of a horizontal, which speaks against $\dot{U}-UL a-a-r]a$, otherwise a seemingly promising guess.

¹¹ Bin-Nun's (1975: 188) *ka-ru-i]-li-ia* is excluded by the traces.

¹² Not $]ni$, as commonly read, e.g., by de Martino (1998: 24).

¹³ Goedegebuure's (2003: 331) *hannaun* can be excluded, as $-nu-$ is quite clear.

¹⁴ Clearly so, rather than *ha-ma-na-ak-ta* (e.g., Bin-Nun 1975: 187; Dardano 2002: 345; de Martino 1998: 25; Goedegebuure 2003: 331), eliminating the only such form in *HW² H: 116a*. Van den Hout (1997: 730) notes that "in the copy of this KUB volume preserved at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago containing the marginal notes by A. Walther on his collations, he drew a clear AN sign (possibly written over erasure)."

11' *i-ja-an e-eš-ta a-pa-a-aš-ma-at-ták-kán pa-ra-a pé-eš-ta nu-kán É A-BI-IA*
 12' *ḥar-ni-ik-ta nam-ma-aš i-da-la-u-wa-an-ni-pát EGIR-an ti-i-e-et*
 13' *na-aš UD-ti GE₆-ti-ia A-NA PA-NI DINGIR^{MES} ar-ta-ri nu [DAM₁]-[IA ḥur-za-ke-ez-zi]*
 14' *nu ma-a-an am-mu-uk DINGIR^{MES} NINDA.GUR₄.RA-az DUG^{DU}iš-pa-an-[tu-uz-zi-ia-az]*
 15' *EGIR-an ḥu-u-it-ti-ia-*mi {ZI}* nu-uš-ma-aš NINDA.GUR₄.R[A-an DUG^{DU}iš-pa-an-
 tu-uz-zi-ia-an]*

16' *pé-eš-ke-mi na-aš-za-kán am-mu-uk A-NA SAG.D[U-IA DAM-IA DUMU-IA]*

17' *É-IA KUR-TI-IA Û A-NA *LÚKÚR*^{HIA} ku-i[n²...¹⁵ tal-li-iš-ke-mi mu-ki-iš-ke-mi]*

18' *ma-[al-za₁]-ke-mi Ta-wa-an-na-an-na-aš-ma [UD-ti GE₆-ti-ia DINGIR^{MES}-aš]*

19' *pé-ra-an ar-ta-ri nu DAM-IA D[INGIR^{MES}-aš pé-ra-an ḥur-za-ke-ez-zi nu-uš-ši-kán
 an-da]¹⁶*

20' *ši-pa-an-za-ke-ez-zi nu-za-kán ŠA DAM-[IA DUMU-IA]*

21' *nu DINGIR^{MES} Ú-UL *a*-ša-an-da-an x[*

22' *ḥa-an-ne-eš-ni ḤUL-u-i AN Š[AR[?]/T[U[?]*

23' *xx [*

Rev. iii

1 *ku-it DAM-IA DINGIR^{MES}-aš x[...]*

2 *iš-ta-ma-aš-tén nu-kán x[... ḤUL-wa-aš]*

3 *me-mi-an ku-wa-at iš-ta-m[a-aš-tén ...]¹⁷*

4 *ma-a-an-kán An-ni-el-la-aš[...]*

5 *ša-ra-a da-a-iš An-ni-el-l[a- ...]*

6 *me-mi-iš-ta u-ni-uš-wa ku-i-e-eš x[...]*

7 *nu-wa-aš-ma-aš MUNUS.LUGAL Me-ez-zu-ul-la-an[...]*

8 *ḥu-u-uk-ma-a-uš ar-ḥa ša-a-ki-iš-ke-e[z-zi]¹⁸ ...]*

9 *ku-it me-mi-an A-NA DAM-IA a-wa-an kat-t[a me-mi-iš-ta ...]¹⁹*

10 *me-mi-an A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL ša-an-ni-eš-ta nu DAM-IA [...]*

11 *ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki me-mi-iš-ta na-aš-ma am-mu-u[k ...]*

12 *me-mi-iš-ta na-aš-ma-at-za DI-NU ku-it-ki i-ia-at¹ nu MU[NUS[?].LUGAL-kán]*

13 *ḥa-an¹(UŠ)-ne-eš-ni ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ti-it-ta-nu-ut nu-za DA[M-IA ...]²⁰*

¹⁵ Following the *ku-* are traces of what seem to be 2-3 wedges, which would allow an *-i[n-*, e.g., perhaps something like *ku-i[n-na-tar*. This verbal abstract, however, is attested only as *kunatar*, as a verbal noun in the gen. as *ku-en-nu-ma-aš* (Kloekhorst 2008: 485). The variants on *ku-[e-* (e.g., Alparslan 2007: 32 n. 3; de Martino 1998: 25; Cornelius 1975: 31) would seem to be ruled out.

¹⁶ For the restoration, cf. iii 19, iv 23; 2.d iii 16'-17'.

¹⁷ For the restorations cf. iii 20-21.

¹⁸ The sign traces visible on the photos exclude Bin-Nun's (1975: 186) *-ki-u-[wa-an da-a-iš* and de Martino's (1998: 26) *-ki-w[a-an da-a-iš*, followed by *CHD Š: 42b*, suggesting rather an *-e[z-*. Cf. Sommer and Falkenstein's (1938: 196 and n. 2) *ša-a-ki-iš-ki-w[a-an*, which they comment with "So eher als „u“ n. Kollation (Eh)."

¹⁹ *CHD Š: 157a*, restores *kuit=kan* here and translates "What matter you secretly [spoke] to my wife, [what] matter you concealed from the (dowager) Queen."

²⁰ Traces certainly favour *DA[M* (de Martino 1998: 27 and n. 55; Cornelius 1975: 33) over Boley's

14 *A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL i-ši-ia-ah-ḥi-iš-kat-tal-la-aš ki-ša-at nu-kán A-N[A²¹ ...]*

15 *An¹-ni-el-la-an^{MUNUS}SUHUR.LÁL IŠ-TU É.GAL^{L1} kat-ta-an *u*-i-ia²-a[² ...]*

16 *ad-du²² ma-an-ma-za DAM-IA A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL i-ši-ia-ah-ḥi¹-iš-kat-tal-la-
 aš k[i-ša-at^(?)]*

17 *nu i-da-a-lu ku-it-ki i-ia-at MUNUS.LUGAL a-pu-u-un me-mi-an A-NA 'DAM¹-[IA]*

18 *EGIR-pa wa-aš-tíl ku-wa-at i-ia-at na-aš UD-ti G[E₆]-ti-ia DINGIR^{MES}-aš 'pé-ra-an¹*

19 *ar-ta-ri nu DAM-IA DINGIR^{MES}-aš p_é¹-ra-an ḥur-za-ke-ez-zi na-an-kán x x x x²³*

20 *ḥi¹-in-kán 'ú¹-wa-ak-ke-ez-zi 'a²¹-ku¹-wa¹-ra-aš nu DINGIR^{MES} EN^{MES}-IA 'ḤUL-
 wa²-aš²⁴*

21 *me-mi-an ku-wa-at iš-ta-ma-aš-te-en [DAM₁]-IA MUNUS.LUGAL i-da-la-wa-ah-ta
 ku-it-ki₁*

22 *na-an te-ep-nu-ut-ta [ma²⁵] ku-[i¹]-ki nu-kán Ta-wa-an-na-an-na-aš DAM-IA ku-en-da*

23 *ma-a-an-ma I-NA KUR^{URU}KUM.MA.AN.NI-ma pa-a-un A-BU-IA A-NA 'ḤÉ.BAT^{URU}
 KUM.MA¹.AN.NI*

24 *EZEN₄ ḥal-zi-ia-u-wa-aš ta-ra-a-an ḥar¹-ta pé-eš-ta-ma-an-ši na-a-ú-i*

25 *na-aš am-mu-uk na-ak-ke-e-eš-ta-at nu I-NA^{URU}KI.IZ.ZU.WA.AT.NA pa-a-¹un¹*

26 *nu ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-iš-ke-nu-un pa-i-mi-wa-za ŠA A-BI-IA še-eš-š¹i²⁷-ia²⁷-an²⁷]²⁶*

27 *ar-ḥa [šar₁]-ni-ik-mi [nu]-za am-mu-uk 'ḤÉ.BAT^{URU}KUM.MA.AN. [NI A₁]-[NA SA]G.
 'DU¹-IA*

28 *DAM-IA 'DUMU¹-IA É-IA KUR-TI-IA Û A-NA [LÚKÚR]^{HIA} ...]*

29 *tal-li-iš-[ke₁]-nu-un mu-[ki₁]-iš-ke-nu-un x[*

30 *A-NA A-WA-AT^mx[*

31 *ku-it [ú₁]-e-e[k²-*

32 *nu^dU[TU[?]/^dU[TU[?]š^t*

33 *a-pa-[a₁]-[*

Rev. iv

1

]

(1993: 50) ^{MUNUS}[annellas[?].

²¹ On the photos the hint of a wedge would seem to be visible; cf. *a-a[š-ma*, e.g., in de Martino (1998: 27).

²² There seems clearly to be a space following *ad-du*, as assumed, e.g., by Ünal (1978: 121); cf. Hoffner's (1995: 99) *addu=man=ma=za* and my comments on *addu* in the light of several new attestations (Miller 2007: 525).

²³ Unclear on photos as well as in copy; presumably *ŠA DAM-IA* or similar, for which cf. 2.A ii 25. Reichardt (1998: 15, 156-157) thinks of *nu-uš-ši* following a verb of two signs that can no longer be read.

²⁴ The traces seem, upon comparison with *ḤUL* in ii 22', to suggest rather *ḤUL-¹ni¹*, so that one might opt for "why did you listen to the matter in evil," i.e. "wrongly."

²⁵ Likely yet another scribal error, but if not, then presumably *tepnutta=ma*, i.e. med.-pass., despite Neu's (1968: 172) concerns, as assumed in *CHD L-N: 92b-93a; GrHL §27.18*. Reichardt's (1998: 15, 156-157) *tepnuttat* is a mystery.

²⁶ The reading remains quite uncertain, even if the sense seems transparent enough; cf. Goetze 1940: 10 and n. 42, *še-eš-ši-in¹-na²*; de Martino 1998: 28 and n. 68, *še-eš-ši¹-[ya-a]m*; Trémouille 1997: 29 n. 81, *še-eš-ši-in*; Kloekhorst 2008: 749, *[še-eš₁-ši-š[a]r²*.

2] A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL
 3]-^rwa ku¹-it
 4]-zi ^dUTU^{ŠL}-ma-wa
 5]A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL AD-DIN
 6]x ku-it I-DE nu-wa-ra-at
 7]^rpa-ra¹-a ḥa-an-da-a-an-te-eš ku-it
 8]x-ni~pát/nu ma-a-an an-tu-uḥ-ša-aš ta-ma-a-i
 9 -i]a/]-^re ta¹-ma-a-i A-WA-TE^{MES} nu šu-me-e-eš DINGIR^{MES} Ú-UL
 10 A-N]A LUGAL ^{URU}KAR.GA.MIŠ AQ-BI A-NA KÙ.BABBAR ^{URU}AŠ.TA.TA-wa-mu
 11 MUNU]S.LUGAL ḥar-zi nu-wa ka-ru-uš-ši-ia-an ḥar-ak
 12]MUNUS.LUGAL ša-a-ak-du na-aš-ma A-WA-AT KÙ.BABBAR LUGAL
^{URU}KAR.GA.MIŠ
 13]^rma¹-a-an *am-mu*-uk e-ni-iš-ša-an AQ-BI nu šu-me-e-eš
 14 [DINGIR^{MES} še-ek-te-n]i[?] A-WA-TE^{MES} ŠA KÙ.BABBAR A-NA LUGAL ^{URU}KAR
 .GA.MIŠ Ú-UL AQ-BI
 15 [p]a-it nu GIG-an an-tu-uš-ša-an a-iš ar-ḥa ḥu-u-it-ti-ia-at
 16 []x ^dUTU^{ŠL}-wa IQ-BI KÙ.BABBAR ^{URU}AŠ.TA.TA-wa MUNUS.
 LUGAL ḥar-zi
 17 [na-aš²⁷ A-NA ^dIŠ.Ḥ]A.RA ^{URU}AŠ.TA.TA ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-iš-ke-et DINGIR^{LU4}
 a-pa-a-at-wa
 18 [KÙ.BABBAR Ú-U]L am-mu-uk ḥar-mi tu-el-wa ŠA DINGIR^{LJ} KÙ.BABBAR ku-
 iš ḥar-zi
 19 [²⁸]*x x* ku-iš šu-un-ni-iš-ke-et nu-wa DINGIR^{LU4} a-pu-u-un Ú-UL e-ep-ti
 20 [Ú-UL-wa DA]M-ZU DUMU^{JMES}-ŠU e-ep-ti nu-wa am-mu-uk ni-wa-al-li-in e-ep-ti
 21 [nu²⁹ a-pu-u-u]n e-ep na-aš-ma-wa DAM-ZU DUMU^{JMES}-ŠU e-ep am-mu-uk-ma-wa
 22 [ni-wa-al-li-in]e-e e-ep-ti nu MUNUS.LUGAL am-mu-uk DAM-IA DUMU-IA
 A-NA ^dIŠ.ḤA.RA
 23 [^{URU}AŠ.TA.TA³⁰ ḥur-z]a-ke-et nu-un-na-aš-kán an-da ši-pa-an-za-ke-et nu-kán DAM-
 IA a-pé-el-la-az BA.ÚŠ

²⁷ Goedegebuure (2003: 307) would restore [*nassu=wa apū*]n, which is certainly possible and matches her longer restoration of the other lines here, but is syntactically not strictly necessary; cf. CHD L-N: 401.

²⁸ Goedegebuure (2003: 307), e.g., sensibly restores [*nu=wa apēl É*]-ŠU, and one could even see the trailing end of É in the partly preserved signs.

²⁹ Goedegebuure (2003: 307) would restore [*nassu=wa apū*]n, which is certainly possible and matches her longer restoration of the other lines here, but is syntactically not strictly necessary; cf. CHD L-N: 401.

³⁰ Oddly omitted by Otten (1958: 101), Burde (1974: 15), Bin-Nun (1975: 186), Prechel (1996: 131 n. 323), Hoffner (2006: 194), GrHL: §6.2, and Alparslan (2007: 32 n. 3), but surely likely, both due to space considerations and because Išhara is otherwise so qualified in this text in iv 17. Huber (2001: 640), apparently recognizing the need to fill the available space, restored *pi-ra-an*. His ensuing *ḥur-za-a]k-* (similarly Bin-Nun 1975: 186 and de Martino 1998: 30: *ḥur-za-ak]-ki-it*) rather than *ḥur-z]a-* is amenable to the sign traces, but *ḥurzake-* (i.e. *hurt=ske-*) is otherwise not geminated (Kloekhorst 2008: 372-373; HED H: 434; pace *ḥurzakke-*, GrHL: §12.31), nor would one expect it to be.

24 [*ma-a-an I-NA KUR AZ*].ZI-ma i-ia-aḥ-ḥa-at nu ^dUTU-uš ša-ki-ia-aḥ-ta MUNUS.
 LUGAL-^rma³¹
 25 [Ú-U]L³¹ me-mi-iš-ke-et e-ni-wa ku-it ^dUTU-uš ša-k[i-i]a-aḥ-ta
 26 [i-ši-i]a-aḥ-ta Ú-UL-wa ŠA LUGAL ÚŠ i-ši-ia-aḥ-ta nu-wa ma-a-an
 27 [³²MEŠ ^{URU}ḤA.AT.TI-ma-wa-za AŠ-ŠUM BE-LU-UT-TI ta-ma-a-^rin¹
 28 [³³ -w]a²-za ^rAm-mi-in-na-ia-*aš²* ŠA ^rAM.MI.IN.NA.IA-ia
 29]x-an-zi ^dUTU^{ŠL}-ma-za I-NA KUR ^{URU}ḤA.IA.ŠA
 30]x tup-pi-az EGIR-an-da ḥa-at-ra-a-eš
 31 -u]š/d]a wa-tar-na-aḥ-ta ma-a-an ^{URU}Ḥa-ia-ša-az-ma
 32]x ḥu-u-da-a-ak Ú-UL me-mi-iš-ta
 33 ma-aḥ-ḥ]a³⁴-an⁽³⁾ ku-u-un me-mi-an iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi
 34 p]u-nu-uš-šu-un ku-u-un-wa ku-in
 35]x-ia Ú-UL ša-an-ni-eš-ta
 36 -l]i[?]-ia ^rme₁-mi-iš-ta
 37] ^rme-mi₁-iš-ta
 38 k]u-e-da-aš me-mi-ia-[aš
 39]x-eš^[M]ES e-šer[
 40]x x[

§1' (i 1'-4') ⁽¹⁾[...] wrong [...] ⁽²⁾[...] In [n]o way did I wrong her. [...] ⁽³⁾[...] was [dis]covered, thereupon my brother late[r ...] her. ⁽⁴⁾[...] Also my father in no way wron[ged] her.³⁵

§2' (i 5'-20') ⁽⁵⁾[When my father] became a [go]d, [though], Arnuwan[da, my brother, and I] in no way did Tawannanna wrong, we did [not] demote her [at all]. Just like [she administered] the [pala]ce and the land of Ḥattusa at the time of my father, she administered [them] exactly the same [then, too]. But when my brother,

³¹ As at least one wedge is visible here, the common reading *ki-iš-ša-a]n* is excluded, as noted already by van den Hout (1998: 42-43 and n. a), who restores [*I-NA KUR* ^{URU}Ḥa-at-t]i. While van den Hout's suggestion would fit the traces and space well and should not be ruled out, there seems to be little need for the text to qualify the queen as being in the land of Ḥattusa at this point, and a negated rhetorical question would fit those in the following lines well.

³² As noted by de Martino (1998: 31 n. 90), there are several possibilities here, including EN, DUMU, DINGIR and LÚ.

³³ Van den Hout (1998: 43 and n. c) plausibly restores [*ku-in-ki i-la-li-ia-an-zi ...*] (cf. Bin-Nun 1975: 247: *u-e-ik-kán-zi*), which would yield "And if/when ⁽²⁷⁾[...], but the [me]n of Ḥattusa [wish for someone] else for the lordship, ..."

³⁴ Though copied as a clear -ḥ]a- in the edition, a T]I seems from the photos equally likely.

³⁵ There seems to be no reason, pace Haas 2008: 84, apparently following Cornelius 1975: 29, to assume that the first preserved lines here begin "mit dem Hinweis auf die Klausel eines Ehevertrags, daß der Babylonierin im Lande Hatti 'nicht irgend etwas Böses geschehen wird' und man sie nicht 'demütigt'." Nor is Mursili's lenient sentence to be seen "auf dem Hintergrund des Ehevertrages" (Haas 2008: 85). One certainly can agree with Haas (2008: 86), however, when he writes that reason for Mursili's "Zurückhaltung ist also nicht die so oft gepriesene Humanität der Hethiter. Dieser Chimäre widersprechen die seit der althethitischen Zeit belegten grausamen Bestrafungen unbotmäßiger Untergebener gänzlich."

too, ⁽⁹⁾[became a god], neither did I [do Tawa]nanna any [wrong] whatsoever, nor did I [demote] her at all. Just like she administered the palace and the land of Ḫattusa [in the time of my father and in the ti]me of my brother, [she administered] them [just the same] then, too. And the customary activity that was [...] to her [during the time] of her husband ⁽¹³⁾[...] those which were not permitted her, ⁽¹⁴⁾[...] and the customary activity and obligation(s) ⁽¹⁵⁾[...] and the [ob]ligations she had carried out ⁽¹⁶⁾[...] just as [...] from/with a/the man ⁽¹⁷⁾[...] she administered the [palace and the land of Ḫat]tusa just the same.³⁶ ⁽¹⁸⁾I [...] -ed, and [...] her/him/it very much, [...] ⁽¹⁹⁾I had set/placed [ver]y much [...].⁽²⁰⁾S/He/It was [...].

(gap of ca. 2/3 of a col.)

§3⁷ (ii 1'-iii 3) ⁽¹⁾[... w]ho/wh]atever, and [...] ⁽³⁾[...] she ruined. Do you gods not see how she has diverted my father's entire estate to³⁷ the stone monument building of the protective deity (and)³⁸ to the royal funerary structure of the deity? Moreover, ⁽⁶⁾some (of it) she dispatched to Babylon, while other (things) she distributed to the whole population in Ḫattusa.³⁹ She left nothing behind. Do you gods not see (this)? And even then I said nothing to her; I gave her the benefit of the doubt on it.⁴⁰ ⁽¹⁰⁾Still, she shut up (people's) mouths,⁴¹ and even that which ⁽¹¹⁾she had not yet

³⁶ The sense of the passage seems to be to emphasize that up until the present time no one had done the Tawannanna any wrong or demoted her; it does not yet begin recounting her misdeeds (de Martino 1998: 39-40). Thus Cohen's (2002: 15, 152) suggestion of restoring *na=at iyat* at the beginning of 14' and translating "[She did these things] which were not permitted to her" seems unlikely (similarly Singer's [2002a: 74] comments, though not reflected in his translation, p. 75). Nor is it the case (Cohen 2002: 152 and n. 651) that she had at this point "probably transgressed the statute (*šaklais*) and the binding obligation (*išhiul*) which she was obliged to follow once she became queen in the Hittite court." Cohen crucially ends his treatment with l. 15', neglecting the all important *QA-TAM-MA ta-pa-ar-ta* of l. 17', "she administered the [palace and the land of Ḫat]tusa just the same way."

³⁷ Güterbock's (apud Laroche 1956: 102-103) "... she has turned the entire house of my father ... into the 'stone house'" (similarly Ünal 1974: 39; Bin-Nun 1975: 180, 189; Hoffner 1983: 191b; Bryce 2005: 208) would presumably be expressed by a double accusative with *iya-* (van den Hout 1992). On *neyat*, see Neu 1968: 125 n. 4; Imparati 1977: 26; de Martino 1998: 33 n. 110.

³⁸ Marking in the locution is insufficient for determining whether "to the stone monument building of the protective deity (and) to the royal funerary structure of the deity" or "to the stone monument building of the protective deity, (i.e.) to the royal funerary structure of the deity" (partitive apposition) is intended, and the question can only be clarified, if at all, through examination of other attestations of the *ḫekur* and *É.NA₄*-structures and/or institutions. Cf., e.g., Otten 1958: 133; 1963: 18; Archi 1980: 20-21; Singer 2009: 169, n. 2; van den Hout 2002: 87-88; *CHD* L-N: 105b; Taracha 2009: 165 and n. 991; *HW²* III: 557b.

³⁹ Also possible, with *CHD* P: 54b, "to all Ḫattuša, to the people."

⁴⁰ Lit. "there/then I decided/judged over/about it in goodness," with, most recently, Dardano 2002: 345. Presumably not, as Singer (2002a: 75) translates, "... and therefore I set it aright." At this point Mursili had not yet set anything right, but had refrained from acting, not yet having moved against the queen. Also possible would be de Martino's more literal "riguardo a ciò ho espresso un giudizio favorevole," which would imply that the Tawannanna had been put on trial already at some point for her mismanagement of Suppiluliuma's estate but had been pronounced not guilty. That the Tawannanna would have been put on trial twice might receive very tenuous support from the "again," [E]GIR-*pa*, in 2.A ii 7'.

⁴¹ Dardano (2002: 344-345 and 345 n. 40) and Singer (2002a: 79 n. 5) are surely correct in rejecting

touched,⁴² even that she gave away to you^(sg.),⁴³ so that she ruined my father's estate. And then she followed with real maliciousness. ⁽¹³⁾Day and night she stands before (you) gods and [she curses my] wife. ⁽¹⁴⁾And when I for my part try to win back (you) gods with bread and win[e libation], and I regularly give you^(pl.) brea[d and wine libation], and [I beg, I evoke], I praise them for [my own] perso[n, for my wife, for my son(s)], for my estate, for my land and for the *de[struction of]* the enemies.⁴⁴ But Tawannanna stands [day and night] before (you) [gods], and [she curses] my wife [before] (you) g[ods and] sacrifices [concerning her], and [...] of [my] wife, [my son(s), ...], ⁽²¹⁾and the attendant gods not [...] ⁽²²⁾for an evil judgement [...] ^(iii 1)Since/That which my wife [...] (you) gods [...] ⁽²⁾you^(pl.) have heard/you^(pl.) must hear, and [...] ⁽³⁾why [did you ...] listen to (that) [evil] word?

§4⁷ (iii 4-22) ⁽⁴⁾When Annella ⁽⁵⁾took up [...], Anell[...a ...] ⁽⁶⁾S/He said: "Those which [...], ⁽⁷⁾the queen [...] Mezzulla [...] to/for you^(pl.)/them, ⁽⁸⁾s[he] revealed the curses [...]."⁴⁵ ⁽⁹⁾The matter which she *di[vulged]* to my wife, [...] she concealed

Goetze's (1957: 53) and Bin-Nun's (1975: 186-187) connection of this passage with Mursili's aphasia; cf., e.g., Strauß 2006: 20.

⁴² Lit. "and even that which was not done/made." For discussion see, e.g., de Martino 1998: 43, who thinks of raw materials, and Dardano 2002: 345, who might well have the best solution with her translation "Rien n'a été fait (contre elle), mais elle a continué à faire des donations..."

⁴³ As noted by de Martino (1998: 34 n. 117), this is the only passage in the text in which Mursili would seem to be addressing a god in the singular, leading him to suggest a variant parsing of the enclitic chain (*apas=ma=at=a=kán^(sic)*) which, however, is syntactically impossible. (Incidentally, Hoffner [1983: 191b] presumably did not parse *apas=ma=ta=kan* for his translation "And even that which was not done/made, she handed over to you," as claimed by de Martino, presumably based on a misunderstanding of Hoffner's English, which does not require explicit pronominal resumption as in Italian.) The 2nd sg. enclitic pronoun may well be a scribal mistake, perhaps also suggested by the odd resumption of "that which was not done" by *apās* – which one would expect to refer to the Tawannanna – rather than expected *apat*. When one considers also the seemingly nonsensical giving away of "that which was not made" and the bungled *Ú* in 10', perhaps one can assume that the entire clause is errant. Cf. also Goedegebuure 2003: 331.

⁴⁴ Singer (2002a: 75 and 76), reading "brothers" (i.e. ŠEŠ), understandably attempts to avoid including "enemies" here along with those for whom Mursili is praying, but ^{LU}KÜR is a much more convincing reading, despite the erasure, as it is in the same locution in iv 28, too, despite the damaged state of the signs. Presumably Mursili is praying for "[something negative] for his enemies" (cf. n. 15) or "Schutz gegen Feinde" (Cornelius 1975: 32), not for his enemies per se, or, with de Martino 1998: 37, simply "reguardo i nemici."

⁴⁵ Exactly where the quoted speech ends cannot be determined. Klinger (1992: 199 and ns. 81-82) long ago called into question Laroche's (1956: 102-103) and Bin-Nun's (1975: 186) interpretation, according to which the Tawannanna had employed Mezzulla to curse Mursili's wife and had introduced Babylonian practices instead of adhering to the traditional ancestor cult, and more recently Mouton (2010: 109 n. 16) has argued cogently, based on a correct understanding of the meaning of *ḫūkmāus*, "curses" (Cambi's [2007: 218-219] *ḫūkmīs* is an error), that nothing suggests that sorcery per se is at issue here. (Nothing, that is, if one wishes to distinguish mere cursing from the more inclusive rubric of "black magic." Some definitions of "black magic" or *Schadenszauber*, of course, do include the mere spoken word uttered with intent to harm.) Neither is it clear that the queen had "sent ... Mezzulla to utter spells" (Bin-Nun 1975: 186; similarly Klinger 1992: 199; Schwemer 2007: 261), as this interpretation is entirely dependent on the restorations. What the queen did to Mezzulla, who stands in the acc. in iii 7, is hardly obvious from the remaining context and is entirely a matter of

the matter from the queen. And did my wife say [...] to anyone? Or did she say [...] to me? Or did she make it into some lawsuit? And did she involve the *qu[een]* in some lawsuit? Did [my] wif[e ...] become a denouncer of the queen?⁴⁶ She expelled Annella, the maidservant, from the palace down t[o ...].⁽¹⁶⁾ Sure! Had my wife b[ecome] a denouncer of the queen,⁽¹⁷⁾ she would have done something wicked.⁴⁷ Why did the queen turn that matter into a crime concerning [my] wife again? She stands⁴⁸ day and ni[gh]t before the gods and she curses my wife before the gods, and she [...] *her*, she wishes (her) an evil death, (saying): “May she die!” Oh gods, my lords, why did you listen to (that) evil word? Did my wife wrong the queen in any way,⁽²²⁾ or did she degrade her at all, so that the Tawannanna (should have) killed my wife?

§5” (iii 23-33)⁽²³⁾ When I went to the land of Kummanni, though – my father had promised to Ḫebat of Kummanni a festival of acclaim, but had not yet provided it for her –⁽²⁵⁾ she⁴⁹ haunted me, and thus I went to Kizzuwatna,⁽²⁶⁾ and I spoke as follows: “I am going to fully atone for the *neglect* of my father.” And I evoked,⁵⁰ I called up [...] Ḫebat of Kummanni f[or] my own [per]son, my wife, my son, my estate, my land and the [...] of the enemy[s].⁽³⁰⁾ To/For the word of P[N ...] ⁽³¹⁾ which/since [...] demand/require [...] ⁽³²⁾ and the S[un] Deity/[My Majesty] [...] ⁽³³⁾ tha[t ...]

(gap of somewhat more than one col.)

§6” (iv 1-23)⁽²⁾ “[...] ⁽⁵¹⁾ to the queen ⁽³⁾ [...] which/since [...], ⁽⁴⁾ [...] but His/My Majesty ⁽⁵⁾ [...] I gave to the queen. ⁽⁶⁾ [...] which/since she knew/knows, and [...] it/they ⁽⁷⁾ [...] divine providence, since ⁽⁸⁾ [...]” And if a man [...] other/another ⁽⁹⁾ [...] other matters. And do you gods not [...]? ⁽¹⁰⁾ I said [t]o the king of Karkamiš: “[...] me/to me for/about the silver of Aštata [...], ⁽¹¹⁾ the [qu]een has/holds [...], so keep quiet! ⁽¹²⁾ May the queen know [...]!” Whether the matter of the silver of the king

speculation. For discussion of other attestations of Mezzulla, see de Martino 1998: 44.

⁴⁶ It seems to make little sense to translate this sentence in the indicative, as does Singer (2002a: 76), and it does not seem to be a question of Mursili's wife having become an informant *for* the queen, but of her becoming an informant *against* or denouncer *of* the queen (Cornelius 1975: 36). Mursili seems rather to argue that his wife, whose innocence he is, after all, trying to defend, had done no wrong to the queen by further propagating whatever happened in the Annella affair, i.e. by denouncing her; to the contrary, Mursili seems to argue that his wife had expelled Annella from the palace, presumably for speaking ill of the queen (de Martino 1998: 44). This is reinforced by the subsequent irrealis particles, which treat the possibility of his wife having become a denouncer as a hypothetical situation. It seems perhaps that Annella, who stands in the nom. in l. 4 (not the acc., as in Singer's translation), had informed Mursili's wife that the queen had been uttering curses before the gods or otherwise misbehaving. Mursili's wife, instead of using the information to begin a lawsuit against the Tawannanna, expelled the informant, Annella, from the palace, keeping the information quiet, thereby not becoming an informer/denouncer herself.

⁴⁷ The translation assumes that the irrealis particle remains in force for the main clause as well.

⁴⁸ Reichardt's (1998: 15, 156-157) translation of this and the following verbs in the past tense is unwarranted.

⁴⁹ I.e. Ḫebat, with de Martino 1998: 36 with n. 132, not the Tawannanna, as assumed by Freu (2008: 64).

⁵⁰ For *talliye/a-* see most recently Melchert 2010.

⁵¹ It is no longer possible to ascertain for certain where exactly the quotes of this paragraph begin and end.

of Karkamiš [or ...],⁵² ⁽¹³⁾ if I said such a thing, you ⁽¹⁴⁾ [gods kno]w. I did not / Did I not reveal the matter of the silver to the king of Karkamiš./⁵³ ⁽¹⁵⁾ [...] She [we]nt and / Later⁵⁴ she got it from the mouth of the sick man⁵⁵ (who said): ⁽¹⁶⁾ “His Majesty said: ‘The queen has the silver of Aštata.’” ⁽¹⁷⁾ [And/But] she kept saying [to Išḫ-] ara of Aštata as follows: “O goddess, it is [no]t I who has that [silver]. He who has your divinity's silver, ⁽¹⁹⁾ he who kept filling [...], will you not seize that (person), o goddess? ⁽²⁰⁾ Will you [not] seize his [wif]e (and) his sons? Will you seize me, the *innocent one*?⁵⁶ ⁽²¹⁾ Seize [tha]t (person)! Or seize his wife (and) his sons! But do not seize me, [the *innocent one*]!” And the queen continually [cur]sed me, my wife (and) my son to Išḫara [of Aštata], and she repeatedly offered sacrifices concerning us, so that my wife died from her (actions).⁵⁷

§7” (iv 24-37)⁽²⁴⁾ [When] I marched [to the land of Az]zi, though, the sun gave a sign. Did [no]t the queen, then, [...] keep saying, “That (sign) that the sun gave, ⁽²⁶⁾ [...] did it [port]end? Did it not portend the death of the king?⁵⁸ So if/when

⁵² For the syntactical difficulties, see de Martino 1998: 37 n. 135.

⁵³ Perhaps indicative, in which case ll. 10-11 would have to be understood differently, since those lines are generally understood to indicate that Mursili told his brother that the queen had the silver; cf., e.g., Singer 2002: 76 and de Martino 1998: 38, who assume a rhetorical question here. Since Mursili is trying to exonerate himself, one might expect him to claim that he did nothing to implicate the queen in this affair, i.e. had not told his brother. Perhaps the “so keep quiet!” of l. 11 is thus to be understood as Mursili telling his brother “stop spreading calumny about the queen!” rather than “keep secret what I just told you about the queen!” If so, the first lines of col. iv might have contained some accusations that the king of Karkamiš had raised against the queen and would thus present a parallel to the passage involving Annella, who also, according to Mursili's version, had questioned the queen's behaviour and had been silenced by Mursili's wife, who defended the Tawannanna. The “May the queen know!” after the break in l. 12 might, given such a scenario, be understood as a continuation of Mursili's reprimand of his brother, in which he essentially threatens to inform the queen that the king of Karkamiš had been spreading calumny concerning her.

⁵⁴ I.e., if a phraseological construction, for which see van den Hout 2003; 2010 and Rieken 2010.

⁵⁵ Lit. “she pulled out/away the sick man, the mouth.” Presumably also possible: “She ‘pried on’ the mouth of the sick man, (asking) ‘Did His Majesty say, «The queen has the silver of Aštata?»” Presumably not “She closed the mouth of the sick man” (Bin-Nun 1975: 187 with n. 113), as it must be the king of Karkamiš who speaks immediately thereafter; cf. now *HW*² III: 678.

⁵⁶ Cf. *CHD* L-N: 459b, where all three sentences are understood as indicative.

⁵⁷ For this understanding of *apellaz*, see Melchert 1977: 356, followed by Rieken 2006: 278 n. 8; Hoffner 2006: 194; *GrHL*: §5.4, §6.2.

⁵⁸ Traditionally translated assuming LUGAL-*pát* rather than LUGAL ÚŠ, e.g., Kümmel 1967: 18, “jenes Omen, das die Sonne (ngottheit) gab, [kündig]te (etwas) [für die Königin] an, doch nicht für den König kündigte es etwas an” (similarly already Goetze 1930: 405). It was presumably such a translation that led to Haas's (1994: 27) mistaken assumption that “Die wieder eingeholten Vogelflug- und Leberorakel verkünden, daß nicht Mursili, sondern die Königin in großer Gefahr sei, die von der Tawannanna Malnikkal, der verwitweten Königin, droht,” whereby it remains a mystery where the *Vogelflug-* und *Leberorakel* come from. Hoffner (1986: 90) was seemingly the first to read the more likely LUGAL ÚŠ, recently explicitly rejected by Huber (2001: 642) and van den Hout (1998: 43 with n. b), but reaffirmed convincingly by Wilhelm (2009: 114-115); see also *HW*² III: 562b. Van den Hout (ibid.) correctly points out that there is little to no space between LUGAL and ÚŠ, but there is often little to no space between words in general in this ms., especially between those ending in a horizontal and the following word, so that the argument is to be noted but not overrated.

(27) ..], then the [...]s of Ḫattusa another [...] for the lordship. (28) Amminnaya [...] (29) and Amminnaya's (29) [...] they will [...]. My Majesty, however, [...] in(to) the land of Ḫayasa, (30) s/he wrote⁶⁰ back [...] by means of a tablet. (31) [...] s/he ordered. If/When [...] to/from Ḫayasa, though, (32) [...] suddenly would not say. (33) [...] as soo]n as they learn of this matter (34) [...] I asked: "This (matter/person) which (35) [...] did s/he not conceal? (36) S/He said [...] (37) S/He said [...].

§8" (iv 38-40) (38) [...] to wh]ich matters (39) [...] they were [...]

1².b₁ (KBo 19.84)

1']x x[
 2']x-a-aš-ḫa-[
 3']x nu^m Zu-wa-a[n-na-
 4' -k]e-et mu-uš-ši^{r^m1}[
 5']x-la-a-er nu-un-na-aš x[
 6']x^m Zu-wa-an-na-an pa^r-ra¹-[a
 7' ḪUL]-^ru¹-e-_{en}]^rAm-mi-en-na-ia-x[
 8']x UL ku-it-ki ḪUL-u-uh-ḫu-[un
 9' a]r-ḫa iš-du-wa-ti⁶¹ na-an ŠE[Š⁶²-IA
 10' URU Ḫ]a-at-tu-ši ša^r-ra-a¹ u²-wa-x[
 11']-a-an DINGIR^L-ni x[]x[
 12']-a-an pé-en-[
 13' DI]NGIR^{MES}-az[
 14']x x[

⁵⁹ If -w]a-za is in fact to be read after the break (which is anything but certain, as the traces do not speak convincingly for -w]a-) it could relate to van den Hout's (1998: 44) suggestion that Amminnaya might be the personal name of the Tawannanna in one of at least two ways. Reading -w]a- would either place all the text up until ^dUTU^š-ma-za in l. 29 in the mouth of the Tawannanna, in which case it is unlikely to have been the Tawannanna who refers to herself by name; or it would place the text beginning in the break of l. 27 in the mouths of the [lords'/men'] of Ḫattusa, who would thus be referring to the Tawannanna by name. If the latter is the case, which is perhaps the more likely option, it is difficult to imagine in the context at hand who the [lords'/men'] of Ḫattusa would be referring to if not the Tawannanna. The possibility would seem perhaps to be strengthened by 1.b₁, 7'-8', which would appear to reiterate Mursili's oft-repeated claim never to have harmed Tawannanna in any way, apparently with Amminnaya as object, if indeed ll. 7'-8' constitute only one sentence; and all the more so if lines 1.b₁, 7'-9' in fact parallel 1.A i 1'-3' (see n. 111), which certainly refer to the Tawannanna. Bin-Nun (1975: 247) – not van den Hout, as assumed by Haas (2008: 85) – suggested that Amminnaya might have been Arnuwanda's wife/widow, and Haas (2008: 85) wonders if she might be a daughter of Suppiluliuma and the Tawannanna; see summary now in Zehnder 2010: 112 and a new attestation of ^rAm-mi-in-na-ia-aš in the oracle fragment KBo 54.111+KUB 18.42 obv. 6'.

⁶⁰ Heinhold-Krahmer *et al.* (1979: 232), van den Hout (1998: 43) and *HW²* III: 518b, translate as a 2. sg., but the 3. sg. seems contextually more likely, with de Martino 1998: 39, with n. 143, and according to *GrHL*, §12.36, the -ḫi conjugation does slip into the paradigm of *ḫatrai-*, though not all attestations are cited; cf. *HW²* III: 514b.

⁶¹ Clearly so, rather than Neu's (1968: 78) *iš-du-wa-ri*.

⁶² Graphically could equally well be a L[Ú, but cf. 1.A i 3' and n. 111.

§1' (1'-9') (1'-2') [...] (3') [...] and Zuwa[rna ...] (4') [...] s/he always [...] -ed, and PN [...] to him/her. (5') [...] They [...] -ed, and (to) us [...] (6') [...] Zuwana out/forth [...] (7') [...] we [...] -ed. Amminnaya [...] (8') [...] I wronge[d ...] in no way. (9') [...] was discovered, and [my] broth[er ...] her [...].

§2' (10'-14') (10') [...] up in Ḫattusa [...] (11') [...] for/to the deity [...] (12') [...] from the [g]ods [...]

1².b₂ (KBo 19.85)

1' -k]i-i-[t]
 2']
 3' Ú-UL i-da-la]-u-e-eš-šu-u-e-en
 4']x še-er IŠ-BAT
 5' -i]š-ša-an za-lu-ke-eš-ta
 6']TI-mu-ma-aš GIG~e-eš-ta
 7']x^m Zu-wa-an-na-aš
 8']tar-ak-ta
 9']ti-it-ta-nu-an-za e-eš-ta
 10']ŠEŠ-^rIA¹ A-NA LÚ^{MES} URU ḪUR.RI[
 11']x-kán na-a-ú-i
 12'] ḫar¹-ta

§1' (1'-3') (1') [...] s/he [repeat]edly [...] -ed [...] (3') [...] we did [no ev]il.

§2' (4'-12') (4') [...] s/he held/seized up/over (5') [...] s/he took a long time/was delayed (6') [...] of life s/he⁶³ fell ill (7') [...] Zuwana (8') [...] s/he spun around/danced (9') [...] it was set up/arranged (10') [...] my brother to the Hurrians (11') [...] not yet (12') [...] s/he had/held/kept.

1².c (KBo 50.46)

1']^{LURU}Ḫa¹-at-tu-š[i
 2']x nu-wa-ra-an A-BI-^rIA/a-pi-^ria
 3']x-ni/LÚ še-er IŠ-BAT x[
 4' ~a]r²-^rne²-li-ia-at-t[
 5']x^m Ar-nu-wa-an-ta-an [
 6']x-^rna-aš-ma¹ pa-ra-a ma/ku-x[
 7']^rm Zu-wa-an-na-aš~x x x[
 8' ḫ]IA-ia]
 9']x-ma-^ran¹-na-^raš-kán¹ m^rZu²-[
 10']x⁶⁴-mi-ia-ni]an-da]
 11']x [

⁶³ Or "it was an illness of life," i.e. a life-threatening illness? There is very little space between GIG and *e-eš-ta*, but there is often little to no space between words in this fragment.

⁶⁴ Seemingly not]me]-. Traces would fit]-e]- rather well, but neither *CHD* L-N: 268-267 nor Kloekhorst 2008: 575 show a writing of *memiyan-* with a plene *e*.

§1' (1'-8') ⁽¹⁾[...] in/at/to Ḫattusa [...] ⁽²⁾[...] "And my father/there [...] him/it [...] ⁽³⁾[...] s/he held/seized up/over [...] ⁽⁵⁾[...] Arnuwanda^(acc.) [...] ⁽⁶⁾[...] or out/forth [...] ⁽⁷⁾[...] Zuwanna [...].

§2' (9'-11') ⁽⁹⁾[...] (to) us Z[uwanna ...] ⁽¹⁰⁾[...] in(to) [...]

2.A (KBo 4.8 + İzmir 1277)

2.B (KBo 50.43+44)⁶⁵

2.C (ABoT 2.3)

A i 1']x
 ...
 A i 3']-ŠU/KU-NU
 ...
 A i 10']A
 ...
 A i 15']x-zi-ja

(ca. 2/3 of a column missing entirely)

A ii 1']x x x⁶⁶
 A ii 2']x-kán ku-en-ta
 A ii 3']-ma-mu ku-ri-pa-it
 A ii 4']^fe¹-eš-ši-iš-ta
 A ii 5']x x ^fna¹-a[^fm]u² SAG.DU-aš ḫi-in-kán
 A ii 6' ^fe¹-eš-ta ma-a-na-aš Ú-UL BA.ÚŠ k[a-a-š]a-za DINGIR^{MEŠ} BE-LU^{MEŠ}-IA
 A ii 7' [E]GIR-pa pu-nu-uš-šu-un na-aš-mu ku-na-an-na SI×SÁ-at
 A ii 8' kat-ta a-ša-an-na-ja-aš-mu SI×SÁ-at na-an-kán a-pí-ja-^fja¹
 A ii 9' Ú-UL ku-e-nu-^fnu²-un na-an-kán A-NA^{MUNUS} AMA.DINGIR^{L1}-UT-TÌ
 A ii 10' ar-ḫa ti-it-ta-nu-<nu>-un na-aš kat-ta a-ša-an-na ku-it SI×SÁ-at
 A ii 11' na-an kat-ta a-ša-aš-ḫu-un nu-uš-ši É-er AD-DIN
 A ii 12' nu-uš-ši-kán ZI-ni Ú-UL ku-it-ki wa-ak-ka₄-a-ri
 A ii 13' NINDA-aš-ši wa-a-tar nu ḫu-u-ma-an ša-ra-a ar-ta-ri
 A ii 14' Ú-UL-aš-ši-iš-ša-an ku-it-ki wa-ag-ga-a-ri TI-an-za-aš
 A ii 15' nu² UTU ŠA-ME-E IGI^{H1A}-it uš-ke-ez-zi NINDA-an-na-az
 A ii 16' TI-an-na-aš az-zi-ik-ke-ez-zi am-me-el ka-a-aš-pát
 A ii 17' 1-aš da₄-me-eš-ḫa-aš ki-i-ja-an 1-an da₄-me-eš-ḫa-nu-^fnu²-un⁶⁷
 A ii 18' IŠ-TU É.GAL^{L1}-pát-kán ku-it kat-ta u-i-ja-nu-un
 A ii 19' A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ}-ja-an AŠ-ŠUM^{MUNUS} AMA.DINGIR^{L1}-TÌ ar-ḫa ti-it-ta-nu-nu-un

⁶⁵ For the correct determination of obv. and rev., see Groddek 2007: 54 n. 15.

⁶⁶ The transliteration of the İzmir fragment simply follows Hoffner (1983), as no other documentation is available.

⁶⁷ For an alleged causative, see HEG III: 80, where *dam-mi-eš-ḫa-a-nu-u[š-k°]* from KBo 18.109 rev. 4', following a remark by E. Neu, is presented as evidence for it. There seems to be no reason, however, that this should not be read *dam-mi-eš-ḫa-a-nu-u[n]*.

A ii 20' nu am-me-el ka-a-aš-pát 1-aš da₄-me-eš-ḫa-aš nu-za DINGIR^{MEŠ} *x*
 C, 1']x x x[

A ii 21' ki-i DI-NA, pé-ra-an kat-ta da-a-iš-tén na-at pu-nu-uš-tén
 C, 2' p]u-nu-uš-tén k[i-nu-na

A ii 22' ki-nu-na a-pé-el TI-tar i-da-la-u-e-eš-ta TI-an-za ku-it
 C, 3' i-d]a-la-u-e-eš-ta TI-[an-za

A ii 23' nu ne-pí-ša-aš² UTU-un IGI^{H1A}-it uš-ke-ez-zi
 C, 4' ²UT]U-un IGI^{H1A}-it uš-ke-e[z-zi

A ii 24' TI-an-na-ša-za NINDA-an az-zi-ik-ke-ez-zi nu am-me-el
 C, 5' NINDA-a]n az-zi-ik-ke-ez-zi[

A ii 25' da₄-me-eš-ḫa-aš ŠA DAM-IA ḫi-in-kán SIG₅-ja-at-ta-at
 C, 6' DA]M-IA ḫi-in-kán S[IG₅-

A ii 26' [k]u-_{en}-ta-an-kán ku-it nu-za-kán TI-an-na-aš UD^{H1A}-uš
 C, 7' ku-en-t]a-an-kán ku-i[t

A iii 1 [da-an-k]u-i da-ga-an-zi-[p]i kat-ta-an-da
 C, 8' da-an-k]u-wa-i da-ga-[an-zi-pi

A iii 2 [-(i)]š-ke-ez-zi⁶⁸ am-mu-uk-ma ḫu²(RI)-wa-tal-la-it
 C, 9']x-iš-ke-ez-zi

A iii 3 [a-pa-a-aš-ma-m]u⁶⁹ ku-ri-pa-aḫ-ta nu DINGIR^{MEŠ} Ú-UL
 C, 10' -m]u ku-ri-p[a-aḫ-ta

A iii 4 [še-ek-te-e-ni k]u-e-el-la-aš da₄-me-eš-ḫa-aš
 C, 11' k]u²-_{en}-e[^f-

A iii 5 [MUNUS.LUGAL-an-na-š(a-m)]a-aš-ša-an A-NA¹ MUNUS.AMA.DINGIR^{L1}
 -UT-TI ku-it

B iii 1' [MUNUS.LUGAL-an-na-š]a-^fma-aš-ša-an A-NA¹ [^{MUNUS}AM]A.DINGIR^{L1}
 -U[T-TÌ

⁶⁸ Hoffner's (1977: 155-156) suggestion of restoring this passage following KBo 13.62 obv. 10-11 is abandoned in its specifics, though not in the general sense that it yields, primarily because the first sign of C, 9' (perhaps written over an erasure?) cannot be p]a-, but also because the phrase in KBo 13.62 is constructed with a dative -mu, which is lacking here in ii 26' and is presumably not to be restored in iii 1.

⁶⁹ Hoffner's (2000: 74b) suggested [ammuk=ma=pa]t and his resulting assertion, according to which -pat would suggest that *ḫuwa(n)tallai-* and *kuripah-* are virtuously synonymous, must now be abandoned in light of the clear -m]u of C, 10' (cf. also]-ma-mu ku-ri-pa-it of ii 3'). For the restoration of the first four lines of iii after KBo 13.62 obv. 10-11, see Hoffner 1977: 155-156; cf. HEG I: 647.

- A iii 6 [70 *ar-ḥa t(i-it-t)]a-nu-nu-un am-mu-ug-ga A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ}*
 B iii 2' *t]i-it-ta-nu-nu-un *am*-^rmu-uk¹-ka₄ A-N[A*
- A iii 7 [EN^{MEŠ}-IA EZE(N₄^{H1.A} E)]GIR-an *ar-ḥa-ḥa-ri nu-za DINGIR^{MEŠ} e-eš-ša-aḥ-ḥi*
 B iii 3' [EZE]N₄^{H1.A} EGIR-an *ar-ḥa-ḥa-ri nu-za D[INGIR^{MEŠ}*
- A iii 8 [*na-an A-N(A DINGIR^{MEŠ} AŠ)]-ŠUM^{MUNUS} AMA.DINGIR^{Lj}-TÌ le-e*
 B iii 4' *A-N]A DINGIR^{MEŠ} AŠ-ŠUM^{MUNUS} AMA.DINGIR^{Lj}-TÌ [*
- A iii 9 [*tì-it-ta-nu-ut-te-n(i kap-p)]u-u-wa-at-te-ni-ia-an-za-an le-e*
 B iii 5' [*tì-it-ta-nu-ut-te-n]i kap-pu-u-wa-at-te-ni-ia-an-za-[an*
- A iii 10 [*ku-it-ki nu a-p(a-aš-m)]a wa-aš-šu-ú-ra-ia ku-it Ú-UL*
 B iii 6' [*a-p]a⁷¹-aš-ma¹(Ú)⁷²wa-aš-šu-ra-ia ku-i[t*
- A iii 11 [*-i(a-an-za)] e-eš-ta ku-it-ma-na-aš MUNUS.LUGAL e-eš-ta*
 B iii 7' [*-i]a-an-za e-eš-ta ku-it-ma_j-n[a-aš*
- A iii 12 [*nu-mu DAM-IA ḥur-za-k(e-e)]t na-an-kán ku-en-ta*
 B iii 8' [*ḥur-za-k]e-et na-an-[kán ku-e]n-t[a*
- A iii 13 [*na-an-ša-ma-aš ku-w]a-pí AŠ-ŠUM^{MUNUS} AMA.DINGIR^{Lj}-TÌ*
 B iii 9' [*ku-w]a-pí AŠ-Š[UM^{MUNUS} A]MA.DINGIR^{Lj}-TÌ*
- A iii 14 [*tì-it-t(a-nu-nu-un) n]a-an te-ep-nu-nu-un*
 B iii 10' [*tì-it-t]a-^rnu-nu-un¹ [na-an te]-ep-nu-nu-u[n*
- A iii 15 [(*na-an-kán IŠ-TU É*).GA]^{Lj} *kat-ta u-i-ia-nu-un na-aš ki-nu-un*
 B iii 11' [*na-an¹-kán IŠ-TU É¹.GAL^{Lj}] kat-ta u-i-ia-nu-un*
- A iii 16 [(*ka-ru-uš-ia-az-zi n)]u Ú-UL ḥur-za-ke-ez-zi*
 B iii 12' [*ka-ru-uš-ia-az-zi⁷³ nu [Ú-UL] *ḥur-za-ke-ez*-z[i*
- A iii 17 [(*nu ma-a-an ḥur-za-ke-ez-z)]i ku-wa-at-ka₄ na-an ka-ru-ú*
 B iii 13' [*nu ma-a-an ḥur-za-ke-ez-zi k[u-wa-a]t-ka₄ na-an [*
- A iii 18 [(DINGIR^{MEŠ} 1-an-ki iš-ta)]-ma-aš-tén nu ki-nu-un-ma DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ}-IA

⁷⁰ Groddek (2007: 39 with n. 18) suggests [a-wa-an ...], which is reasonable enough in light of *awan arḥa tittanu-* in KUB 1.1++ iv 64 and perhaps in KUB 30.10 rev. 7, but as far as can be determined none of the other passages in this text (2.A ii 9'-10', 19', iii 13-14) that speak of deposing the queen include it.

⁷¹ Hoffner (1983: 189) and Groddek (2007: 39) read *k]a-a-aš-ma*, but the first sign is surely *-i]a-* or *-p]a-a-aš-ma*, as comparison with other KA signs on this fragment suggests. Tellingly, Hoffner did not translate *kasma* as he generally does, i.e. as a particle which “renders both past and non-past verbal tenses more immediate” (*GrHL*: §24.27-30; cf. now Rieken 2009), opting instead for “Because she was not ...-ed for *uwaššuraya*, while she was queen...”

⁷² As Groddek (2007: 54-55 n. 21) points out, the scribe of B seems to have misunderstood the original *Glossenkeil* as a *u-*, which he then rendered with a *Ú*.

⁷³ As Groddek (2007: 39, 55 n. 23) notes, one would expect *ka-ru-uš-ši-ia-az-zi*, so that this may be yet another scribal omission.

- B iii 14' DINGIR^{MEŠ} 1-an-ki iš-ta-ma-aš-tén n[u ki-nu-u]n-ma DINGIR^M[^{MEŠ}
- B iii 15' *le-e i-ia-at-te-ni QA-TAM-M[(A nu HUL-a)]š m[(e-mi-an)]*
 A iii 19 [*-n]i QA-TAM-MA nu HUL-aš me-mi-an*
- B iii 16' *le-e iš-ta-<ma>-aš-te-ni ka-a-[(ša am-mu-uk^m Mur-ši-li-iš)]*
 A iii 20 [*-n]i ka-a-ša am-mu-uk^m Mur-ši-li-iš*
- B iii 17' İR-KU-NU^{LÚ}SANGA-KU-NU *pé-ra-an w[(a-aḥ-nu-nu-un)]*
 A iii 21 [*]pé-ra-an wa-aḥ-nu-nu-un*
- B iii 18' *nu-uš-ši am-mu-uk ḥu-u-da-ak ar-ku-[(wa-nu-un)]*
 A iii 22 [*ḥu-u-d]a-ak a[r-k]u-wa-nu-un*
- B iii 19' *nu DINGIR^{MEŠ} BE-LU^{H1.A}-IA am-me-el me-mi-an [i(š-ta-ma-aš)-t(én)]*
 A iii 23 [*i]š-ta-ma-aš-[t]én*
- B iii 20' *nu ma-a-an^r Ta-wa-an-na-an-na-aš a[m-mu-uk^(?) DUMU-IA^(?) É-IA^(?)]⁷⁴*
- B iii 21' *ḥur-za-ke-ez-zi nu-kán DINGIR^{MEŠ} B[E-LU^{H1.A}-IA]*
 A iii 24 [*]ḥur-za-ke-ez-zi*
- B iii 22' *ŠA^r TA.<WA>.AN.NA.AN.NA ku-i[(t-ki) me-mi-an/ar-ku-wa-ar/EME-an]⁷⁵*
 A iii 25 [*^rTA.WA.AN.NA].AN.NA ku-it-ki*
- B iii 23' *A-NA DUMU^{MEŠ}-IA A-NA É-[(IA) KUR-TI-IA Ú A-NA ...]⁷⁶*
 A iii 26 [*A-N]A É-IA*
- B iii 24' [*a]n-da le-e tar-na-a[(t-te-ni)]*
 A iii 27 [*tar-na]-at-te-ni*
- B iii 25' [*nu-za] da₄-me-eš-ḥa-an-za ku-it^r A⁷⁷-[NA^(?) (DINGIR^{MEŠ} BE-LU^{H1.A}-IA)]*
 A iii 28 [*]DINGIR^{MEŠ} BE-LU^{H1.A}-IA*
- B iii 26' [*u-wa-a]ḥ-ḥa-ru₁⁷⁸ nu-uš-ma-aš¹-za ar-k[u-wa-a(r ku-it)]*
 A iii 29 [*ar-ku-wa-a]r ku-it*

⁷⁴ Cf. 1.A iv 22 and 2.B iii 23'. Groddek (2007: 39, 56 n. 29) restores likewise plausible *k[u-wa-at-ka₄]* after iii 13'.

⁷⁵ Cf. *kuitki* EME-an in 2.d ii 3'; Groddek (2007: 57-58 n. 42) considers *nu-kán DINGIR^{MEŠ} B[E-LU^{H1.A} ...] / ŠA^r TA.<wa>-an-na-an-na ku-it-[(ki) HUL-lu A-NA SAG.DU-IA] / A-NA DUMU^{MEŠ}-IA A-NA É-[(IA) ...] / [a]n-da le-e tar-na-at-[(te-ni)]*.

⁷⁶ Cf. A ii 17' and iii 28.

⁷⁷ The traces, seemingly only a single vertical and the tip of the head of a horizontal, do not immediately suggest an A. Cf. Groddek 2007: 39 and 56 n. 31, who says he can perhaps see a trace of a second vertical as well as the tip of the head of the horizontal of -N[A. Perhaps rather 1-a]š, “as the only one,” or 1-^re¹-[da, “alone,” would be better.

⁷⁸ In the Mursili's First Plague Prayer (Neu 1968: 21-22) one finds *u/ú-wa-aḥ-ḥa-ru* in similar passages. Groddek (2007: 39 with n. 32; 2008: 39) suggests [*ne-ia(?)*]-a]ḥ-ḥa-ru, translating “will ich mich wenden.”

- B iii 27' [e-eš-š]a-ah-ḥi nu-mu iš-*ta-ma*-na-a[n la-ga-a-an ḥar-ak-tén]
 A iii 30 []x
 B iii 28' [nu-m]u ḥi¹-ta-ma-aš-tén A-ŠAR AMA-ḥA¹-k[án² ar-ta-at/ti-ia-at]
 B iii 29' [n]u-mu DAM-IA ḥur-za-ke-et nu DAM-IA B[A.ÚŠ]
 B iii 30' a-pa-a-aš-ma-mu iš-ḥa-na-al-li₁₂-iš-t[a-at]
 B iii 31' A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ}-ma-kán EZEN₄^{MEŠ} ša-ku-wa-an-d[a-ri-ia-nu-uf]
 B iii 32' nu A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ} *na-a*-ḥu-un nu A-NA EZE[N₄^{MEŠ} ...]
 B iii 33' ŠA DINGIR^{MEŠ} EGIR-an ti-ia-nu-un A-NA DINGIR^M[^{ES}-ma ...]
 B iii 34' ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^L e-eš-ta nu wa-aš-ta-aš ku-i[t
 B iii 35' na-aš-mu iš-ḥa-na-al-li₁₂-eš-ta-at⁹ ma-[an-ma ...]
 B iii 36' i-ia-nu-un iš-ḥa-na-at-tal-la-an-m[a-an ...]
 B iii 37' ŠĀ É-IA ú-wa-te-nu-*un¹ {nu} ma*-an-na-x[
 B iii 38' ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti e-eš-šu-wa-*aš-ta*-ti ma-an-[-
 B iii 39' ḥ₁-e-da-ni⁸⁰ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR I-NA GA/DUG R[A[?] ...]
 B iii 40' ḥ₂-du[?]-u-en⁸¹ *na-aš-šu du[?]-ma-an*-[-⁸²
 B iii 41' [x x] x x-at/an-kán[?] *1[?]*-e[?]*-da[?]*-a[z[?]
 B iii 42'] x x [

§1' (A i 1'-15'') (traces)

(ca. 2/3 of a column missing entirely)

§2'' (A ii 1'-iii 4; C, 1'-11'') ⁽²⁾[...] she killed [...]. ⁽³⁾[...] but she *bereaved* me. ⁽⁴⁾She carried out [...]; ⁽⁵⁾[...] and i[t] was a capital case for [m]e. Had she not died, would I have inquired h[er]e again of the gods, my lords? It was determined (by oracle) for me that she should be put to death, ⁽⁸⁾and it was determined for me that she be deposed.⁸³ And even then I did not execute her, so I removed her from the

⁷⁹ Groddek's (2009: 50) *iš-ḥa-na-al-li₁₂-eš-ta^(sic) ma-* is a simple typo.

⁸⁰ Groddek's (2007: 40-41) [*k*]u-e-da-ni, "an welchem Tisch," is certainly possible graphically, but would yield an odd sense, as the table would then presumably have been resumed in the main clause, whereby it would receive more attention than one would expect. Rather, Mursili seems to be seeking to convince the gods what a disaster it would have been if the Tawannanna had continued in her duties, sitting with him on the throne and eating[?]/offering[?] with him at one and the same table.

⁸¹ Groddek's (2007: 40) [*ka*]r-ap-u-en is certainly a possibility, as it would fit the sign traces quite well. "Hochheben," however, does not seem to offer an immediately transparent sense in the context, and I wonder if *edüen*, "we [would have] eaten" (cf. *e-du-u-en* in KBo 55.205, 13'), should be preferred. An *e-* at the beginning of the line would seem to leave just a bit too much space, however, though not quite enough even for a *nu*, so that the suggestion must remain tentative. [SI]G₅-la¹-u-en would fill the space nicely, but would seem to be foiled by the vertical immediately after the break and before the broken vertical as well as the lack of further horizontals in LA.

⁸² Presumably not to be connected with ^{LU}*dumanali*-, *tummantiya*-, *dumantiyal*- or ^É*tumantiyatt*- (HEG III: 431ff.). Perhaps rather *na-aš šu-um-ma-an*-[-, which would fit the signs well, except for the lack of space between *n=as* and *summan*~, to be linked with expected *sumenzan* or another accented personal pronoun? Maybe *nassu=at=man*~[- is the best solution, despite a seeming dearth of horizontals in the AT.

⁸³ It is important to reiterate that the join published by Hoffner (1983) showed that Mursili was indeed authorized by oracle not only to depose, but also to execute Tawannanna, contrary to all

office of Mother Goddess Priestess. And since it was determined that she be deposed, ⁽¹¹⁾I deposed her, and I gave her an estate. ⁽¹²⁾Nothing whatsoever is lacking for her, for her well-being. ⁽¹³⁾There is bread and water for her, everything stands at her disposal. ⁽¹⁴⁾She does not lack a thing.⁸⁴ She is among the living, ⁽¹⁵⁾she can see the Sun God of Heaven with her eyes, and she eats bread among the living. My only punishment (for her) was this alone, only in this one (way) did I punish her, ⁽¹⁸⁾that I banished her from the palace only, ⁽¹⁹⁾and I dismissed her from the office of Mother Goddess Priestess for the gods.⁸⁵ ⁽²⁰⁾My punishment (for her) was merely this alone. So place this lawsuit down before you, o gods, and investigate it! ⁽²²⁾Has her life now become disagreeable? Since she is alive, ⁽²³⁾she sees the sun in the sky with her eyes, ⁽²⁴⁾while she eats bread among the living.⁸⁶ And my ⁽²⁵⁾punishment? The death of my wife? Has it been amended? ⁽²⁶⁾Because she killed her, the days of life ^(iii 1)[...] constantly [...]s down into the [dar]k netherworld. Me, however, she *spared*[?] / *bereaved*[?].⁸⁷ ^(iii 3)[That] (woman) has *bereaved* [m]e. [Do you] gods not ⁽⁴⁾[know] whose is the punishment!?

§3'' (A iii 5-27; B iii 1'-24'') ⁽⁵⁾[And] since I [de(po)]sed the [queen] from the office [o(f y)]ou^(pl) (gods') Mother Goddess Priestess, I will take care of the [festival]s for (you) gods, [my lords], and I will venerate (you) gods, ⁽⁸⁾[so] do not (re)[instal(l) her (i)]n the office of Mother Goddess Priestess [fo(r you gods)] and do not [(coun-)]tenance her ⁽¹⁰⁾[in any way]! But because [t(hat)] (person) was not [...]ed for *good fortune*, so long as she was queen, ⁽¹²⁾[she constantly curs(e)]d [my wife], so that she killed her. ⁽¹³⁾[And wh]en I de[po(sed) her] from the office of Mother Goddess Priestess [for you^(pl)], I demoted her, ⁽¹⁵⁾and I sent [(her)] down [(from the pa)l]a[nc]e; and does she now ⁽¹⁶⁾[(remain quiet)], and does she no longer curse all the time?⁸⁸

previous treatments.

⁸⁴ These three sentences in 13'-14' are in the present tense, not the past, as in Klinger's (2013: 122) translation.

⁸⁵ For an alternative understanding of the office of Mother Goddess Priestess, see Groddek 2007: 57, n. 37. *CHD* P: 223a, has "Tawannanna-ship for the gods" here, which is either a simple oversight or a wayward attempt to equate the mother-goddess-priestessship with the office of Tawannanna.

⁸⁶ Presumably so rather than *GrHL*: p. 349, "Has her (i.e., Tawannanna's) life become bad, just because she is (still) living and sees with her eyes the Sungod of Heaven?"

⁸⁷ For *ḥu'wattalai-* (here *RI-wa-tal-la-it*), cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 368, "to spare;" *HED* H: 429, "let off, allow to escape, spare;" Klinger 2009: 103-104 and n. 30, "to spare" (whereby "to spare o^(sic)" is presumably an unintended error); *HHw* 65: 184, *ḥuwa(n)tallai-*, "trennen, abschnneiden;" *HEG* III: 67, *talwattalai-*, no meaning; Hoffner 2000: 74b, referring to a suggestion by O.R. Gurney, "she stripped me (of my dear wife);" Klinger 2013: 123 and n. 51.

⁸⁸ Hoffner (1983: 189) restored [^{LU}SANGA-KU-NU ÌR-KU-N]U, taking this to indicate that "now that her [the Tawannanna's] earlier cursing has brought death to his wife, she has turned her attention to him, and is now cursing (thus, threatening with death) "[your priest, y]our [servant]". Groddek (2007: 41) suggests that just the opposite was the case, that the Tawannanna, once deposed, remained quiet and "verwünscht nichts und niemanden" (similarly Klinger 2013: 123). This would be the case, of course, if one were to understand the sentence in the indicative, but since in the rest of the prayer Mursili repeatedly claims that she continued to curse him and his family even in exile, perhaps it is better understood as a rhetorical question.

(17)And if she continues to curse – (even) if [(once)], earlier, [(you gods)] might have [(lis)]tened to her – now, though, o gods, my lords, ^(B iii 15')do not do so!⁸⁹ Do not listen to (such an) [(evi)]l w[(ord)]! I myse[(lf, Mursili)], ⁽¹⁷⁾your servant, your priest, have [(sprung)] forth,⁹⁰ ⁽¹⁸⁾and I myself immediately pra[(yed)] *in her stead*. ⁽¹⁹⁾So [(hear)] my concerns, o gods, my lords! ⁽²⁰⁾And if Tawannanna continues to curse [me, my son(s), my estate], then do not, o gods, [my] l[ords], all[(ow)] an[(y affair/plea/(evil) tongue] of Ta<wa>nnanna (to reach) my sons, [(my)] estate, [my land and ...]!

§4⁷ (B iii 25'-41'; A iii 28-30) ⁽²⁵⁾[And] because [I am] the one who has been punished, may I [appe]ar be[fore] / be [noti]ced b[y] (you) [(gods, my lords)]! And [(because)] I [perfo]rm the pr[ayer] for you, [incline] an ear to me ⁽²⁸⁾[and] listen to [m]e! [She took] the place of my mother, ⁽²⁹⁾[a]nd she constantly cursed my wife, so that she d[ied], ⁽³⁰⁾while that (woman) became a murderer to me. ⁽³¹⁾The festivals of the gods, however, [she] neglec[ted], ⁽³²⁾(while) I was reverent toward the gods, and I provided for the festivals [...] of the gods. [But ...] she was the Mother Goddess Priestess of the gods, and sin[ce] transgressions [...], ⁽³⁵⁾so she became a murderer to me. [But i]f ⁽³⁶⁾I had done/made [...], I wo[uld] have brought the murderer into my home. And if ⁽³⁸⁾we had sat upon the throne, if [...] we [had] eaten in [...] at one (and the same) table;⁹¹ or [...] from a single [...]

§5⁷ (B iii 42') (traces)

2.d (KBo 57.19 + KUB 40.94 + Bo 4222 [pub. as part of KUB 21.19])

Obv. ii (Bo 4222 + KUB 40.94)

1' a]m-^rme-el-la-at¹⁹²

⁸⁹ Misread and misinterpreted by Cotticelli Kurras (1991: 53).

⁹⁰ The usage of *peran wahnu-* followed by *hūdāk* in this passage provides an interesting parallel to the strikingly similar usage in Mursili II's Second Plague Prayer employed to describe Suppiluliuma I's attack on Egyptian Amqu: "Since the men of Ḫatti and the men of Egypt were bound by the oath of the Storm God of Ḫatti, and the men of Ḫatti *sprang forth* (*peran wahnuēr*), the men of Ḫatti thereby suddenly (*hūdāk*) transgressed the oath of the gods" (KUB 14.8 i 16ff. // KUB 14.11+ // KUB 14.10+; cf. Singer 2002a: 58). Both imply a sense of eagerness, here as Mursili is hoping to be accepted by the gods as their new priest, in the Plague Prayer since the attack was understood by Mursili to have been hasty and diplomatically ill-considered; both follow up the *peran wahnu-* phrase with an immediately subsequent action modified with *hūdāk*, seemingly as the unavoidable consequence of the preceding phrase. Such an understanding of *peran wahnu-*, with a translation "spring forth; lurch forth," would seem to fit the attestations collected in CHD P: 302a, as well.

⁹¹ The irrealis particles (iii 35'-38' and perhaps 40'), ignored in most translations (e.g., most recently Klinger 2013: 123), would seem to suggest that Mursili is attempting to convince the gods that it would have been a disaster if he had allowed the Tawannanna to have continued in her offices, if they had sat on the throne together, sat at table together, and eaten together. Cf. Groddek 2007: 57 n. 41, where he assumes that "Muršili II. in den folgenden Zeilen die Zeit seiner Herrschaft in jungen, in schöneren Tagen vor dem fatalen Ende seiner Gattin schildert, in der Tawannanna an seiner Seite ihren Pflichten nachgekommen war, so daß die Präterita hier vorzeitig als Plusquamperfekte wiederzugeben wären", and in which he also discusses the difficulties with the enclitic particles in these challenging lines.

⁹² Cf. Lebrun 1980: 313, a]m-me-el-la-aš-kán; Groddek 2007: 45, a]m-^rme-el-la-aš-ma⁷¹.

2']aš-ma-aš ḫa-an-ni-iš
3']ku-it-ki EME-an ar-ḫa
4']ar-ku-ú-e-eš-ke-ez-zi
5' -n]ú-i]n nu ḫu-u-wa-ap-pa-an
6' š]u-um-ma-aš⁹³ ku-it
7']^úSANGA-KU-NU ÌR-KU-NU⁹⁴
8' m]e-_rmi]-an
9' -k]án⁹⁵ ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL
10']x A-NA KUR-TI-ÌA
11']x ku-i-e-eš
12']x ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL
13'] an-da le-e

(ca. 10 empty lines)

Rev. iii (KBo 57.19 + KUB 40.94 + Bo 4222)

(ca. 7 empty lines)

1' -i]a-at DI-NU pé-ra-an GAM ta-a-iš-tén
2' k]u-e-la-aš da₄-me-eš-ḫa-aš⁹⁵ ma-a-na-an am-mu-uk
3']a-pa-a-aš da₄-me-eš-ḫa-it a-pa-a-aš-mu AMA-ÌA
4']_rÉ]-TI-ÌA e-eš-ta nu A-NA NINDA KAŠ ták-ša-an
5']x]^úUL⁹⁶ 1-an e-eš-ta nu ki-iš-ša-an
6']x-še-eš 1-e-da-ni A-NA NINDA KAŠ
7']x-an-zi *na-at-za li*-in-ki-aš
8' A]MA-ÌA e-^reš¹-ta
9']x wa-a-tar ták-ša-an
10' -u]-en nu A-NA 1-NU-TÌ
11']-za³/un² A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ}
12' [EN^{MEŠ}/BE-LU^{HLA}-ÌA a]m-mu-uk-za A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ}
13' [EN^{MEŠ}/BE-LU^{HLA}-ÌA]^re¹-eš-ta
14']x-wa-aš-ta na-an am-mu-uk
15' Ú-U]L ku-it-ki i-da-a-la-u-aḫ-ḫu-un
16' -i]t nu-mu DAM-ÌA PA-NI DINGIR^{MEŠ}
17']ḫur-za-ke-et n]a-aš-mu iš-ḫa-na-at-tal-la-aš

⁹³ Cf.]x te-ma-aš in Lebrun 1980: 313;]x-te-ma-aš in Groddek 2007: 45.

⁹⁴ Lebrun's (1980: 313) UD-KU-N]U ITU-KU-NU MU-KU-NU is a simple misreading.

⁹⁵ Before the join became known, CHD P: 310b-311a, based presumably on 2.A ii 20'-21', restored here [nu=za DINGIR^{MEŠ} kī DĪNAM] peran GAM tāisten / [n=at punusten kuel=as dam]meshas, translating "[O gods,] put [this case] down in front of [yourselves and investigate it: Whose is the damage?]" Cf., however, also 2.A iii 4, which might suggest that one should restore nu (DINGIR^{MEŠ}) Ú-UL še-ek-te-e-ni here in 2'.

18' *DI]-NU pé-ra-an kat-ta ta-iš-tén*
 19' DAM-*IA* k]u-it ku-en-ta
 20' [x x-*ma*]-an UL *a*]-pa-a-aš-pát BA.ÚŠ

Obv. ii

(ii 1'-13) ⁽¹⁾[...] and it my ⁽²⁾[...] s/he decides for you^(pl)/them ⁽³⁾[...] whatever tongue away ⁽⁴⁾[...] s/he pleads continually ⁽⁵⁾[...] and the evil ⁽⁶⁾[...] which/because you^(pl) ⁽⁷⁾[...] your^(pl) priest, your^(pl) servant ⁽⁸⁾[...] the affair ⁽⁹⁾[...] of the queen ⁽¹⁰⁾[...] to my land ⁽¹¹⁾[...] those which ⁽¹²⁾[...] of the queen ⁽¹³⁾[...] must not in(to) [...]

Rev. iii

(iii 1'-20') ⁽¹⁾[...] Place it (o gods) as a lawsuit down before [you ...], ⁽²⁾[... w]hose is the punishment. If/Should/Had I myself ⁽³⁾[...], that (woman) persecuted [...]. That (woman) was [...] my mother to me in my own home. And for bread and beer together ⁽⁵⁾[...] was one. And as follows ⁽⁶⁾[...] to one, to bread and beer they [...]. And it of this oath/to these oaths ⁽⁸⁾[...] my mother was. ⁽⁹⁾[...] water together we [...]-ed, and to one ⁽¹¹⁾[...] to the gods, ⁽¹²⁾[my lords, ...] I myself to the gods, ⁽¹³⁾[my lords ...] s/he/it was. ⁽¹⁴⁾[...] s/he [...] -ed, and I myself did her [... n]o wrong whatsoever. ⁽¹⁶⁾She [... -e]d, and [she constantly cursed] my wife before the gods. [...] And she [...] to me a murderer. ⁽¹⁸⁾[...] Place the [law]suit down before [you!] ⁽¹⁹⁾[Be]cause she killed [my wife], ⁽²⁰⁾[...] had that person not died.

2.e (KBo 57.24)

1']NU ^rAN^{r1} x[
 2']SIG₅-ah-^rta² ma²-a^{r1}-[
 3' š]u-ma-a-aš A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ} E[N^{MEŠ}-*IA*
 4' ^{LÚ}SANGA-KU]-NU ÌR-KU-NU ar-ku-w[a-
 5']x ku-e-da-ni me-mi-ni [
 6']x-šar pa-ra-a ha-an-a]a-an-
 7' -e-d]a-ni DI-NI tu-l]i-
 8']-^ri²]-*ia* DINGIR^{MEŠ} x[
 9' -a]n-te-eš x[
 10']-*IA* x[

(1'-2') ⁽²⁾[...] s/he made good. If[...]
 (3'-10') ⁽³⁾[...] to you gods, [my] lo[rds ...] ⁽⁴⁾[... yo]ur [priest], your servant pray[...] ⁽⁵⁾[...] the affair in which [...] ⁽⁶⁾[...] divine prov[idence ...] ⁽⁷⁾[...] in which/this lawsuit [...] ass[embly ...] ⁽⁸⁾[...] the gods [...]

2.f (KBo 22.152)

1' pu-nu-[uš-
 2' i-da-a-la-u-[
 3' na-aš-mu AMA-[*IA*
 4' na-aš a-pi-*ia*/A-BI-*IA*[

5' hur-za-ke-et[
 6' kat-ta x[

[...] ⁽¹⁾quest[ion ...] ⁽²⁾[d]o evil [...] ⁽³⁾and she [...] me my mother [...] ⁽⁴⁾and she there/my father [...] ⁽⁵⁾repeatedly cursed [...] ⁽⁶⁾below/with [...]

Bo 7785

1']x-^rzi²/mu^{r1} nu~[
 2']MUNUS.LUGAL EME-a[n
 3' -*i*]a an-da le-[e⁹⁶
 4' D]I^r-NI/D]I^r-ni kar-ša-*ia* [
 5'] hur-za-ke-^{*}ez^{*}-zi nu-kán[
 6' kⁱ]-n]u²-na A-NA LÚ^{MEŠ} GAL.GAL [
 7' [DINGIR^{MEŠ}] EN^{MEŠ}-*IA* ku-in ni-wa-a[l-la-an
 8' [an]-tu-uh-ša-an iš-ta-ma-aš-tén B[I^r
 9' ^{LÚ}SANGA-KU-NU ki-iš-ša-an ku-*i*]t~ ... ŠA É.GU₄-wa-aš-ma-aš-za⁽⁹⁷⁾
 10' AMAR-uš ša-am-ma-na-aš-ma-wa-š[a²-ma-aš-za⁽⁹⁸⁾
 11' [N]A₄-i⁹⁸ nu-za am-mu-uk šu-u[m-ma-aš⁽⁹⁹⁾
 12']A-BU]-*IA*-aš-ma-aš ^{LÚ}SANGA-KU-N[U
 13' [e]-eš-ta A-BI A-BI-[A-*ia*-⁹⁹
 14']x AMA-*IA*-*ma*]-a[š²
 15']x~*EŠ*²]-[

1'-6' ⁽¹⁾[...] and [...] ⁽²⁾[...] queen [...] tongue [...] ⁽³⁾[...] (in)to shall no[t ...] ⁽⁴⁾[...] in the [I]aw case¹⁰⁰ harshly [...] ⁽⁵⁾[...] she continually curses, and [...] ⁽⁶⁾[... no]w, though, to the grand lords [...].

7'-15' ⁽⁷⁾[O gods], my lords, listen to the innoc[ent ...] man who [...]! ⁽⁹⁾[...] your priest thus: [... I am] a calf [of the cattle barn for you; I am a st]one of the foundation f[or you], and I myself to/for y[ou ...] ⁽¹²⁾My father [w]as your priest, [...], for you, [and] my grandfather [...]. ⁽¹⁴⁾[...] but my mother [...]

⁹⁶ Cf. 2.d. ii 12'-13'.

⁹⁷ Restored after KUB 21.27++ i 8 (CTH 384, Puduhepa's Prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna): ŠA É.GU₄-du-za AMAR-uš ša-ma-na-aš-ma-ad-du-za [N]A₄-aš.

⁹⁸ Judging from the parallel (see n. 97) one would expect nom. sg. NA₄-aš, and indeed, NA₄-i^š does not seem to be otherwise attested in the nom. sg. in the card catalogue of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz, which Silvin Košak, whom I would like to thank, was kind enough to check for me.

⁹⁹ One might well expect A-BI A-BI-[A-*ia*-aš-ma-aš ^{LÚ}SANGA-KU-NU e-eš-ta], of course, but caution is warranted, since – assuming the fragment indeed belongs to a prayer of Mursili II – this would refer to the father of Suppiluliuma I, often assumed to be a son of Tudhaliya III, though this is not entirely without its difficulties; cf. most recently, e.g. Stavi 2011.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. perhaps KUB 19.26 i 13ff. (HED K: 108): nu=za ^{LÚ}SANGA ... mahhan apēl hannesni karassi memiskezzi, “As the priest speaks bluntly at his trial.”

KBo 22.30

1']x 'LÚ² A²¹[
 2' -u]š² DAM-IA[
 3']x i-wa-ar[
 4']x-tar² DAM-IA-ia[
 5']x DINGIR^{MEŠ} ku-it
 6' -a]t-te-en
 7']x-za e-eš-ta
 8'] (leer)

(²)[...] my wife [...] (³)[...] like [...] (⁴)[...] and my wife [...] (⁵)[...] gods because/which/that
 (⁶)[...] you shall (⁷)[...] s/he was [...]

Discussion

Résumé: CTH 70 and 71 as a Single Composition

The first preserved portion of the composition consists of the last third of the first column of 1.A (KUB 14.4) (cf. below and n. 111). In its first paragraph Mursili claims not to have harmed the Tawannanna, and neither, he claims, had his father, Suppiluliuma, nor his brother, Arnuwanda.¹⁰¹ They had not limited her power, and she ruled the palace and the land during Arnuwanda's reign just as she had during his father's reign, and after Arnuwanda's death, this remained the case during Mursili's reign thus far. All the advantages and rights that she had enjoyed during her husband's reign she maintained during Mursili's.

After a gap of about 2/3 of a column the text resumes with Mursili's well-known accusations that the Tawannanna had ruined his father's entire estate by siphoning it off to the *hekur*-institution of the Protective Deity and/i.e. to the royal funerary structure on the one hand and by sending it off to Babylon on the other (see further discussion below). She is also accused of giving it away to the populace of Ḫattusa.¹⁰² Further, Mursili tells the gods that Tawannanna constantly curses his wife, and this, it should be noted, in the present tense.

The text continues in the third column with the story of a certain Annella, apparently a palace servant, and how she had told his wife something that she

¹⁰¹I am aware of no passage that would indicate that Tawannanna "outraged the new king Arnuwanda" (Bryce 2005: 207).

¹⁰²Nowhere, in fact, is it claimed that "sie sich auf Kosten des Staates bzw. des Palastes bereichert hätte" (Haas 2008: 85). She is rather accused of the opposite, of uncontrollable spending, to the point of endangering the family's estate. While it is naturally not to be excluded that Mursili's claims do not tell the entire story and that the Tawannanna may have enriched herself, bought influence or committed any number of other sins, it is certainly well within the realm of possibility that she is indeed accused at this stage of nothing more than profligate spending, for which there are countless historical and current parallels.

had withheld from the Tawannanna, who is, interestingly, referred to always as the queen here, rather than as Tawannanna, so that it certainly seems that at least in this case the Tawannanna retained not only this title but also that of "queen," whether one should generalize this instance or not. It seems that the Tawannanna took this affair very seriously, understanding it as a serious crime of Mursili's wife. Mursili, of course, attempts to convince the gods that his wife was guiltless in the matter and had not harmed the Tawannanna in any way. Nevertheless the Tawannanna succeeded, as Mursili saw it, in killing his wife with her curses.¹⁰³ The column ends by relating that Mursili had gone to Kummanni to celebrate a festival for Ḫebat that his father Suppiluliuma had neglected.

After the loss of a further 2/3 of a column, the remainder of the fourth column tells of the matter of some silver of the city of Aštata, a matter in which the king of Karkamiš was involved. Depending on which phrases are to be translated as rhetorical questions and which as indicative (see n. 53), Mursili claims either to have told the king of Karkamiš about the silver or to have told him to keep quiet about it. Either way, it appears that the Tawannanna was somehow able to get the king of Karkamiš, who was ill at the time, to tell her about the silver, and he seems to tell her that Mursili had told him that she had the silver. With this information in hand, the Tawannanna pleads before Išhara of Aštata that she did not have the silver, and that in fact it was Mursili who had it,¹⁰⁴ and that Išhara should therefore take revenge on Mursili and his wife and his sons, not on her. Mursili then blames Tawannanna's cursing of him and his family before Išhara for causing his wife's death as well.¹⁰⁵ In the final section of col.

¹⁰³It has become essentially *communis opinio* of late that this wife of Mursili, who is never mentioned by name in this text, would have been his first wife, Gassuliyawiya (Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 97-98; Hawkins 2011: 91-93).

¹⁰⁴Singer (2002a: 74) suggests that the Tawannanna blames it on Gassuliyawiya, but the queen seems in 1.A iv 17ff. to blame it on the person whose "wife and sons" she asks the gods to seize in 20 and 21, i.e. Mursili.

¹⁰⁵Haas (2008: 120 and n. 540) suggests that the Tawannanna's curses indeed killed Mursili's wife, since the belief in the curses' efficacy would have been sufficient to kill her. While this possibility should not be excluded a priori, as beliefs certainly can lead to very real and even severe psychological and physiological consequences, it is also entirely possible, and probably far more likely, that Mursili's wife simply became ill with some disease, and that the illness was blamed on Tawannanna's cursings, whether she had uttered them or not. Neither is there any evidence suggesting that the Tawannanna "succeeded in bringing about Gassuliyawiya's death" (Singer 2002a: 74), since Mursili's belief that Tawannanna's cursing brought about her death constitutes no evidence for such a claim whatsoever. It is thus clear that I cannot follow Bryce's (2005: 209) assertion that "Of the queen's guilt there can be little doubt," as there certainly can and should be grave doubt regarding accusations of black magic in general and all the more so in politically highly charged situations. Cf. on a similar note my recent paper on the practice and perception of black magic among the Hittites (Miller 2010), where *inter alia* my consternation is expressed that even in light of the exhaustively researched history of the witch hunts in New England in the late 17th century, those in Europe in the late Medieval and early Modern periods and common enough episodes reported in the daily news today, modern

iv Mursili relates that he had marched to Azzi, when a solar omen occurred,¹⁰⁶ and that the Tawannanna had interpreted this as a sign that the king would die, prompting questions regarding who would take the throne. Thereafter the text again becomes too fragmentary to properly understand.

Laroche's "Sur l'affaire de la 'Mère-du-dieu'" (*CTH 71*) I would like to see as the continuation of this prayer, likely as the second tablet of the composition. Its first column and about the first 2/3 of the second are entirely lost except for a few traces. The preserved portion begins with Mursili repeating that the Tawannanna had killed his wife, emphasizing that this was an unjust death. Mursili then claims that an oracle inquiry had determined that he could rightfully and legally execute her or depose her. He refrained from killing her, however, deciding merely to remove her from the office of the Mother Goddess Priestess and to banish her from Hattusa. No further harm came to her, though, and she was even provided with an estate and sufficient provisions. Mursili emphasizes that her removal from her office of Mother Goddess Priestess was her only punishment, and that these are the facts that the gods should judge as a lawsuit. In fact, while the Tawannanna enjoys life at her country residence, his wife has died, so that he compares the Tawannanna's good life with his own misery, suggesting that he and his wife are the victims, not the Tawannanna.

The text continues with what I would like to see as Mursili introducing himself to the gods as their new chief priest and replacement for the deposed Tawannanna. Mursili pleads to the gods not to reinstate Tawannanna in her office as priestess, as she is a murderer and should be paid no heed. Here Mursili employs for the first time in this composition the titles "your servant, your priest" (2.A iii 5ff.). He thus seeks not only to exonerate himself for dismissing the Tawannanna from her post as Mother Goddess Priestess – which must have been a sort of "Chief Mother Goddess Priestess" position for the whole land – he seems very much to attempt to convince the gods to accept him as chief priest of the land in her stead, an acceptance of which he is not at all confident.

In the final preserved text portion Mursili repeats his request that the gods now listen to him, then repeats a short list of the Tawannanna's crimes: she had taken the place of Mursili's mother; she cursed his wife, so that she died, thereby becoming a murderer; she neglected the rites of the gods, while Mursili was always reverent. And because she committed such crimes, she was deposed. In the fragmentary final clauses Mursili seems to want to convince the gods that it would have been a disaster if he had allowed Tawannanna to have continued in

researchers of the ancient Near East are so willing to believe such accusations in cuneiform texts.

¹⁰⁶Recent studies on the chronological implications of this solar omen include Huber 2001, Klinger 2006: 319 and n. 77, Groddek 2007: 59 n. 51, Taracha 2008, Wilhelm 2009: 115, Miller in Devecchi – Miller 2011: 167, Huber 2011: 200.

her offices, if they had sat on the throne together, sat at table together, and eaten together (see n. 91).

Many points suggest that these two texts, Laroche's *CTH 70* and *71*, should be seen as a single composition. They are both addressed to the gods as a whole, while Mursili's other prayers are addressed to the Sun Goddess of Arinna, to Telipinu, to the Storm God of Hatti or to Lelwani, the only exceptions being his first, fourth and fifth plague prayers, which are also directed to the gods altogether.¹⁰⁷ When placed one after the other these two texts follow a sensible chronological development, dealing at first with the early part of Mursili's reign, when the Tawannanna was still in power, then with her various misdeeds, from depleting the family estate to cursing and killing Mursili's wife and the neglect of her office of Mother Goddess Priestess, and finally, with the Tawannanna's dismissal from that office and Mursili's request to be installed in her stead.

It also seems that the time frame is the same in both tablets. The early days of Mursili's reign when the Tawannanna carried out her duties and Mursili had yet to move against her are long past (1.A, §§1'-2'), and the various episodes in which the Tawannanna cursed and otherwise wronged Mursili and his family have ensued (1.A ii 3'-12', iii 17-18, iv 10-23, 24-37; 2.A iii 10-13, 2.B iii 29'-30'), to which Mursili initially responded with reserve (1.A ii 8'-9'); Mursili's wife had already died (1.A iii 22, iv 23; 2.A ii 2'-6', 25'-iii 3, 12, 2.B iii 29'), and her innocent behaviour toward the Tawannanna is spoken of only in the past tense (1.A iii 9-17, 22-23); the trial and banishment of the Tawannanna had already taken place (2.A ii 6'-11', 16'-20', iii 5, 13-15); and the Tawannanna presently resides in her country villa, enjoying life and continuing to curse Mursili and the remaining members of his family (1.A ii 13', 18'-20', iii 18-20; 2.A ii 12'-16', 22'-24'); and Mursili pleads with the gods to accept his sacrifice and his service to them instead of the Tawannanna's (1.A ii 14'-18'; 2.A iii 5-7, 2.B iii 17'-18', 25'-28'). This is not to say that either of the mss. is perfectly consistent in its use of the tenses. In 1.A ii 13' is found in pres.-fut. "she stands before (you) gods and [she curses my] wife" and in 1.A iii 18-20 is found "She stands day and ni[gh]t before the gods and she curses my wife before the gods, and she [...] her, she wishes (her) an evil death, (saying): 'May she die!'" And this, though it is perfectly clear from the immediately ensuing lines that Mursili's wife had already died (1.A iii 20-22): "Oh gods, my lords, why did you listen to the evil word? Did my wife wrong the queen in any way, or did

¹⁰⁷The 2nd sg. imp. in KUB 14.2 rev. 2 (Beckman – Bryce – Cline 2011: 158-161) would seem to suggest that this prayer is also addressed to a single deity, rather than the deities as a whole, militating against its ascription to Mursili's Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawannanna (but cf. 1.A ii 11' and n. 43), though obviously its attribution cannot be conclusively decided on the basis of a single verb form.

she degrade her at all, so that the Tawannanna killed my wife?” Nonetheless, the thematic and temporal unity of the two tablets surely suggests that they can be viewed as a single composition (cf. Hoffner 1983: 191a; Groddek 2007: 54 n. 10). Finally, it would also seem from the available photographs that the main manuscripts of the two texts, 1.A and 2.A, show the same scribal hand (see n. 4), but this remains to be confirmed or refuted on the originals. If confirmed, it would also fit nicely the suggestion that they belong to a single composition, though obviously not constituting a decisive argument.

Further Fragments

The most substantial of the additional fragments are the recently joined pieces of 2.d (Bo 4222 + KUB 40.94 + KBo 57.19). The first of these, Bo 4222, was originally published as part of KUB 21.19, a Prayer of Ḫattusili and Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna, *CTH* 383.¹⁰⁸ Sørenhagen, in his edition of Ḫattusili’s and Puduḫepa’s prayer, came to the conclusion on the basis of Bo 4222 alone that it likely should be separated from KUB 21.19, and further, that “[d]ie nächste inhaltliche Parallele wohl das Muršili-Gebet KBo IV 8 bieten dürfte” (1981: 86).¹⁰⁹ Now, in light of the direct joins with KUB 40.94 and KBo 57.19, his suspicions can be confirmed, and furthermore, a good case can be made, despite its still fragmentary condition, for attributing the joined fragments to Mursili II’s Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawannanna.

In column three of 2.d it is seen that the gods are asked to decide something, presumably a court case, as is also seen in *CTH* 71. And it is the gods in general that are addressed, not the Sun Goddess of Arinna, as in Ḫattusili’s and Puduḫepa’s prayer. Someone is said to beseech the gods constantly, as Tawannanna had done in Mursili’s Prayer, and the queen is mentioned. Further one sees in ii 4’ and iii 16’ how someone constantly pleads before the gods, once with the penitent as direct object, which reminds one of the constant cursing and pleading of the Tawannanna in *CTH* 70 and 71. Also the phrase “your priest, your servant” is seen (Taggar-Cohen 2006: 369-380), which is otherwise found only in the composition in question, in Mursili’s Plague Prayers and in Muwattalli’s Prayer to the Assembly of Gods, but never in any of Ḫattusili’s prayers. In column three we again see the gods asked to place a law case before them, and to examine who is the victim, which echos *CTH* 71 summarized a moment ago. The locution employed here, *peran katta tāisten*, is found, for what it is worth, in the 2nd

¹⁰⁸ And as of 30.05.2013 included as such in the join sketch sub *CTH* 383 in the *Konkordanz* (Version 1.86, <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>).

¹⁰⁹ Followed, e.g., by Groddek 2007: 37, 45, 53 n. 6, 61 n. 67, who presents a treatment and insightful discussion of Bo 4222 before the joins.

pl. only here and in 2.A ii 17’ of *CTH* 71. Mursili mentions that someone did something to his mother in his own house, and then eating and drinking together is mentioned, and he repeats that he had done nothing evil. He mentions again the death of his wife and that someone became thereby a murderer, all of which we find in the texts of *CTH* 70 and 71. The word for murderer here, *ishanattalla-*, the meaning of which Tischler (*HHw*: s.v.) and Groddek (2007) have recently unlocked, occurs only in this composition.¹¹⁰ The fragments end with a repeated request to take up the lawsuit along with the verbs “she killed” and “she died,” all echoing Mursili’s prayer. Obviously, none of this fits with Ḫattusili’s prayer, which, though mentioning the Tawannanna affair, claims merely that he had been a small child at the time and to have known nothing about it. The verbs in Ḫattusili’s Prayer are thus all in the past tense, those in Mursili’s prayer are mostly in the pres. tense, since the lawsuit is still an active case.

Several other fragments would seem with more or less certainty to belong to this composition as well, some of which have already been suggested to do so by others. The fragments 1.b₁ and 1.b₂, which likely belong to a single tablet, along with 1.c would seem perhaps to belong to the first portion of the composition; indeed, fragments 1.b₁₋₂ and 1.c show very similar hands and tablet features, were found in the same debris dump and all mention Zuwana, and therefore may well belong to a single tablet. They mention the father and Arnuwanda as well as the woman Amminnaya, who is mentioned toward the end of *CTH* 70 (see n. 59). The 1st pl. referring to Mursili, his father and his brother is found only in 1.b₁, 7’, in 1.b₂, 3’ and in the beginning of the first col. of 1.A. (Two further lines toward the end of 2.B employ the 1st pl. referring to Mursili and the Tawannanna.) At one point the speaker also says that he had done no evil. The last three lines of the first preserved paragraph of 1.b₁ (ll. 7’-9’) are strikingly parallel to the first three lines of the first column of 1.A,¹¹¹ so much so that one would presumably regard them as duplicate if it were not for the fact that the following lines of 1.b₁ do not seem to parallel 1.A i 5’.

To the second part of the composition might belong 2.e (KBo 57.24), where the phrase “your priest, your servant” is found, which is addressed to the gods in general, and which mentions a lawsuit. The fragment 2.f (KBo 22.152) mentions “my mother,” the doing of evil and someone cursing. Bo 7785 mentions the

¹¹⁰ To the attestations of *ishanittar* collected by Rieken (1999: 283-287) and reassessed by Groddek (2007) can now be added ^{LU}*ishanittaras* from Msk. 73.1097 obv. 6 (Salvini – Trémouille 2003: 226; Cohen 2009: 153), which clearly must be translated “in-law,” reinforcing the distinction between *ishanittar* and *ishanattalla-*.

¹¹¹ Despite the difficulties in reading the traces at the end of 1.A i 1’ (see n. 5),]-₁u₁-e-₁en₁ of 1.b₁, 7’ presumably duplicates it;]x UL ku-it-ki ḪUL-u-uh-ḫu-[un of 1.b₁, 8’ parallels 1.A i 2’, lacking (or repositioning) only the enclitic acc. pron.; while 1.b₁, 9’ parallels 1.A i 3’ without the presumably phraseological *ú-it*.

queen (l. 2'), possibly a lawsuit (4'), "my mother" (14') and someone cursing (5'); it addresses the "[gods], my lords" (7') and contains the phrase "your^(pl.) priest" (9', 12'), perhaps to be restored "your priest, [your servant]," at least in the latter case. At first glance perhaps seemingly speaking against the attribution is a reference to the speaker's grandfather (13'), which is not mentioned in any of the preserved portions of Mursili's Prayer; in fact, however, the speaker would seem to be trying to convince the gods to accept him as their priest by reminding them that his father and grandfather before him had also been their priests. Intriguing is the use of a phrase employed also by Puduḥepa in her Prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna (see n. 97).

Import from or Dispatch to Babylon?

I would like also to highlight a few passages in the prayer that are of special interest and to make a few suggestions. The first is the passage in 1.A ii 3'-8', where Mursili bemoans the Tawannanna having depleted his father's estate, ii 5'-6' of which have been translated "she brought something from Babylon" (*a-pa-a-at-ma* / ^{URU}*Ša-an-ḫa-ra-az ḫu-u-i-nu-ut*), or similarly, in all published treatments of which I am aware. Güterbock (*apud* Laroche 1956: 103), for example, translated, "One thing she let come from Šanḫara, another thing she gave away in Ḫattuša to the whole population," while Singer (2002a: 75) has, "This she let come from Shanḫara (Babylon), and that she handed over in Hatti to the entire population."¹¹²

Interpretations of the traditional translations of the passage, which in fact makes no statement whatsoever concerning what the Tawannanna might have had brought from Babylon, range widely (see de Martino 1998: 41-42). Güterbock (*apud* Laroche 1956: 102 n. 2) remained rather agnostic, admitting that "What ^{URU}*Šanḫaraz ḫuinut* really means is not clearer to me than to you," but ventured to suggest that "In the context as outlined above, I would think that part of her detrimental innovations was to import foreign stuff from her homeland, but that is only a guess." Some assume that she imported foreign customs not to the liking of the Hittite court;¹¹³ others have even more creatively opted for statues of her ancestors;¹¹⁴ some have more soberly assumed that it might refer

¹¹² Similarly, e.g., Otten 1966: 151; Ünal 1974: 39; Hoffner 1983: 191b; van den Hout 1994: 49; *CHD* P: 54b; de Martino 1998: 33; Opfermann 1998: 235; Boley 2000: 97, q. 725; Cohen 2002: 152f. with n. 654, but noting Melchert's alternative (see below); Bryce 2005: 208; Cambi 2007: 399; cf. also *HW²* Ḫ: 557b and 650, the latter rather muddled, since the passage is understood to warrant a separate semantic category, "Besitz 'herführen, überführen(?)'," though it is in fact *neyat* from l. 5' which is then translated as such, while *ḫuinu-* is translated "ließ sie aus Šanḫara kommen."

¹¹³ E.g., Bryce 2005: 207; similarly Klengel 1979: 87: "Muršili II. erhob später gegen diese Königin den Vorwurf, sie habe fremdes Brauchtum aus Babylonien (Šanḫara) am hethitischen Hofe eingeführt."

¹¹⁴ Bin-Nun 1975: 189: "Muršili goes on accusing her of having turned his father's house into a

to a wealthy dowry that she would have used to buy power and influence.¹¹⁵ More imaginatively, prostitution has been assumed (Cornelius 1975: 32), while still others have submitted that above all her use of Babylonian black magic would have constituted the mysterious something that she had brought from her homeland.¹¹⁶ Of course, none of these interpretations explains how such an influx from Babylon into Ḫattuša would have reduced the wealth of the estate of the royal family, which is Mursili's chief complaint.

The verb *ḫuinu-*, however, is simply a causative of the verb *ḫuwai-*, "to run," thus "she made/let run," "she expedited." The ablative case attached to Babylon is the well-attested ablative of direction, i.e. "this she had expedited to(ward) Babylon." Only in Melchert's unpublished dissertation does one find what thus seems clearly to be the correct translation, which indeed expresses the notion that she had been reducing the wealth of the royal family by sending some of it back to Babylon while giving some of it to persons in Ḫattuša (Melchert 1977: 358, Ex. 254): "She (re)moved part (of the goods) to Sanḫara, part she gave away to the population in Hattuša."¹¹⁷ Naturally, if the Tawannanna was exporting some of the family's wealth to Babylon, it is easy to see how this would lead to a reduction of the wealth of the royal estate.¹¹⁸

graveyard^(sic) by bringing over things from Babylon and giving others away to the population of Ḫattuša. She may have brought over statues of her deceased ancestors and given away disks or statues of deceased kings and princes which had been dedicated to Hittite gods." Cf. also p. 117.

¹¹⁵ Singer 2002a: 74: "Much speculation has revolved around the nature of the "things" she brought with her from Babylonia and distributed among the population of Hatti. The more tantalizing options, from sorcery to prostitution, must probably be given up in favor of the more prosaic possibility that her own dowry is referred to, which she spent entirely in the pursuit of enhancing her popularity in Hatti and winning over influential supporters for her devious concoctions." Haas 2008: 86 n. 313, similarly, "Dafür daß dem babylonischen König dann aber doch am Sturz Mursilis gelegen sein musste, sprechen die Bestechungsgelder aus Babylon, über welche die Tawannanna in Hattuša verfügt haben muß." Cf. also n. 102.

¹¹⁶ Strauß 2006: 214 n. 119, "In der beginnenden jung-hethitischen Zeit wird die Witwe Šuppiluliumas, die „Tochter des Königs von Babylonien“, für die Einführung babylonischer Bräuche und Riten – allerdings der „schwarzen Magie“ – in Ḫattuša verantwortlich gemacht."

¹¹⁷ He further comments (p. 358-359): "Why one has an ablative rather than a dative-locative (expressing goal) is not entirely clear. Since the accusation is that the *tawannanna* dissipated the royal family's wealth, perhaps the ablative has a derogatory nuance: she did not even see to it that the goods reached Sanḫara, but merely sent them off in the general direction, not caring where they ended up." Perhaps one need not assume that the Tawannanna sent the goods off without even caring if they arrived; rather, it would seem to be Mursili's focus on the sending off toward Babylon as opposed to their specific goal there that could account for the abl. instead of a dat.-loc. For the abl. of direction in general, including further examples with *ḫuinu-*, see *GrHL*: §16.32 and Melchert 1977: 151-157, 195-208, 290-292, 310-315, 356-361, 388-390, with abundant attestations, to which nothing need be added.

¹¹⁸ For some further speculative discussion on the potential implications of this interpretation regarding the Tawannanna's relationship with Babylon, see Miller (in press). Though, the scenario toyed with there would be entirely speculative, it is known that at least two dynastic marriages between Ḫattuša and Babylon were in fact realized, and two late copies of correspondence between the Kassites and the

Speculation on Further Points in lieu of a Conclusion

One final set of questions should be addressed with reference to this prayer. Based on two references in KUB 14.4 to a single son of Mursili (iii 28, iv 22), Alparslan (2007: 33; followed by Glocker 2011: 266) concludes that Mursili would have had only one son/child by the time his first wife died, an event which can be dated to Mursili's 9th year, unfortunately basing his entire paper on this premise. This completely overlooks, however, the two attestations of sons/children in 1.A iv 20-21, not to mention the additional occurrence of sons in 2.B iii 23'. Groddek (2007: 42ff.; and already Ünal 1974: 43), in contrast, shows convincingly that all of Mursili's four children mentioned by Ḫattusili at the beginning of his Apology must be children of Mursili's first wife, allegedly killed by the Tawannanna. Alparslan is surely correct (ibid. 32; *pace* de Martino 1998: 22), however, in reaffirming that Mursili's prayers make it clear that his wife died before Tawannanna was banished and thus could not have become queen for a short time between the Tawannanna's banishment and her own death.

It seems also to have become clear of late (Bawanypeck 2007: 57-58; Hawkins 2011: 91-95) that Tanuḫepa was indeed Mursili II's second wife (*pace* Singer 2002b), and that she outlived not only Mursili II but also the following king Muwattalli II, during whose reign she and her sons were "ruined" (Singer 2002a: 98), in spite of which she appears as Tawannanna during the subsequent reign of Urḫi-Teššub/Mursili III. In light of these determinations, the chief questions are (1) who prays for Gassuliyawiya in *CTH* 380, dubbed by Tischler (1981) "Das hethitische Gebet der Gassulijawija" and in the *Konkordanz* as "Gebet Muršilis II. an Letwani für die Genesung von Gaššulijawija"; (2) how Gassuliyawiya's title Great Queen on the Cruciform Seal is to be understood; and (3) why was Tanuḫepa rehabilitated during or at the beginning of the reign of Urḫi-Teššub/Mursili III?

(1) As shown by Otten's (1984: 300) discussion of KBo 31.80 (335/e), the person praying for Gassuliyawiya seems very likely to be a Tawannanna (cf. ns. 103-105). Since it must be deemed unlikely, even if not demonstrably impossible, that Tawannanna I (widow of Suppiluliuma I) should be portrayed as a lethal enemy of Gassuliyawiya I (first wife of Mursili II) in the prayer treated above and as her dedicated nurse and benefactor in *CTH* 380, it seems likely that *CTH* 380 should be viewed as a prayer of Tawannanna II (Tanuḫepa) for Gassuliyawiya

Elamites speak of an otherwise unknown Nabû-apal-iddina, a "son of a Hittite woman," who managed to attain the throne of Babylon (Singer 2008). Even if one must approach these late copies with healthy scepticism, they might constitute enough evidence to suggest that Hittite attempts to become involved in the succession to the Babylonian throne should not be dismissed a priori. If she indeed sent some of her wealth back to Babylon, the well-documented battles for succession might be one setting in which one might search for reasons why she might have done so.

II (daughter of Ḫattusili III) (cf., e.g., Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 98; Klinger 1996: 215 n. 349).¹¹⁹ Nothing in the latter prayer seems to militate against such a scenario; nothing that is, once one strikes the entirely restored "wife" of obv. 10' (e.g., in Singer 2002a: 72).¹²⁰ This would seem more parsimonious than a number of admittedly possible alternative scenarios, e.g., that Gassuliyawiya I had become ill once early in the reign of Mursili II before the quarrel with the Tawannanna I had become acute, at which time the queen mother prayed for her daughter-in-law, only to curse her some years later; or that Mursili II simply imagined or invented Tawannanna's hostility, though she was in fact well disposed to his wife.

(2) The fact that Gassuliyawiya I appears alongside Mursili II on the Cruciform Seal as Great Queen, though she clearly died before the banishment and before the death of the Tawannanna I (cf. Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 97-98),¹²¹ can seemingly only mean that (a) she was given the title during her lifetime even though Tawannanna held the posts of Great Queen and Tawannanna throughout the tenure of Gassuliyawiya as wife and queen of the Great King (*pace* Alparslan 2007: 33). That said, it is not known when during Mursili's reign the Cruciform Seal was fashioned, and one might speculate that (b) Mursili in effect bestowed the title upon Gassuliyawiya posthumously, perhaps after the Tawannanna had been banished, perhaps even after her death, but before he married his second wife, Tanuḫepa, which, however, seems somehow less likely.

(3) The only explanation that immediately suggests itself, though admittedly entirely speculative, for the apparent circumstance that Tanuḫepa was somehow "rehabilitated" as Tawannanna at the beginning of or during the reign of Urḫi-Teššub/Mursili III is that this king would actually have been a son of hers and Mursili II's, perhaps adopted by Muwattalli II. When Ḫattusili III says in his Apology that his brother had no *ḫuiḫusswali*-son (KUB 1.1++ iii 40' // KUB 19.67++ i 42; Otten 1981: 20-21), he thus would have meant no "biological" son, since Muwattalli's "son(s)," Urḫi-Teššub (and Kuruntiya?), would have been biological sons of Mursili II and Tanuḫepa, adopted by Muwattalli II during his own reign, perhaps at some point when it seemed to him that he

¹¹⁹ With, e.g., Haas 2008: 87. Hawkins (2011: 90) further notes that at present it is difficult to argue against the DUMU.MUNUS GAL being Hittite princesses, and that it is therefore equally difficult to argue that the patient of KBo 4.6, referred to in the text as DUMU.MUNUS GAL for the most part, should be Gassuliyawiya I, i.e. the wife of Mursili II, unless one is willing to accept that this would have been an incestuous marriage. For further discussion and lit., see de Martino 1998: 22 n. 24; van den Hout 1998: 44 n. 9.

¹²⁰ In contrast, KUB 36.81 (Singer 2002a: No. 16), a prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna in which Gassuliyawiya and the queen are likewise mentioned, seems likely to be from Mursili II, partly because of the ductus, which seems somewhat earlier; see Singer 1991: 329; de Roos 2005.

¹²¹ They write that "even during the old queen's lifetime, in certain contexts the wife of the king might be referred to as »great daughter«, but in others she might be called »queen« as well" (Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 98).

might not produce an heir himself. Ḫattusili might have subsequently spoken of Urḫi-Teššub as a “son of a harem wife” (KUB 1.1++ iii 41’ // KUB 1.6++ iii 10’; Otten 1981: 20-21) to deligitimize both him and Tanuḫepa, for whom he apparently had little respect. It would not be surprising, of course, if two sons of Mursili and his first wife Gassuliyawiya (i.e. Muwattalli and Ḫattusili) should share a dismissive attitude toward the sons of a late, second wife (Tanuḫepa), especially if such late sons or their mother harboured ambitions for the throne. This would make sense if Muwattalli had adopted Urḫi-Teššub/Mursili III (and perhaps Kuruntiya) only to subsequently put their mother, the *tawannanna* Tanuḫepa, on trial and to ruin her and her sons. Knowing Ḫattusili as we do it is not necessarily surprising that he never mentions Urḫi-Teššub/Mursili III (or Kuruntiya) as biological sons of Mursili, but only as sons of Muwattalli, though through a “woman of the harem.” As noted, this scenario is almost completely speculative, and must not be accepted until further more tangible evidence or argumentation is able to confirm it.

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