Oğuz Soysal'a Armağan

Agade'den Šamuḫa'ya / From Agade to Šamuḫa

Studies in Honour of Oğuz Soysal
on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday

Yayına Hazırlayanlar / Editors

Zekiye Nihan Kırçıl
Tolga Pelvanoğlu
Burcu Özer

Ankara - 2026

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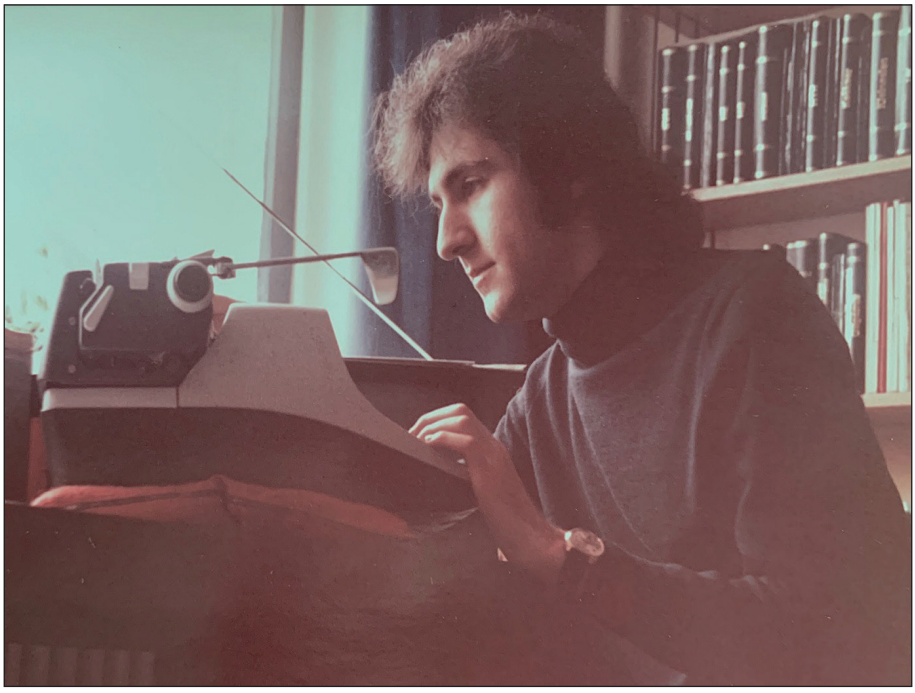
Bu armağan kitabını, alanımızın özverili ve seçkin bilim insanlarından, uzun yıllar Hititoloji alanında eşsiz katkılar sunmuş ve özelikle Türkiye'de bu bilimin görünürlüğünü arttırmak için büyük emek vermiş olan Oğuz Soysal'a takdim etmekten büyük mutluluk duyuyoruz.

Oğuz Soysal'ın Hititolojiye ilgisi, ortaokul yıllarına kadar uzanır. On yaşlarında *Heredot Tarihi*'yle tanışması ve ardından C. W. Ceram'ın *Tanrılar, Mezarlar ve Bilginler* kitabıyla İlkçağ Önasya Tarihi'ne yönelmesi, onu henüz çocuk yaşta Hititçe öğrenmeye ve eski Anadolu uygarlıklarını araştırmaya yönlendirmiştir. Bu erken yaşta başlayan tutkusu, onu Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi'nin Hititoloji Bölümü'ne taşımış, oradan Almanya'da Marburg ve Würzburg üniversitelerinde doktora çalışmalarını sürdürmesine vesile olmuştur. 1989'da tamamladığı doktora tezi, Hitit Kralı I. Muršili'nin hayatını konu alarak alanında özgün bir katkı sunmuştur.

Oğuz Soysal, özellikle Chicago Üniversitesi Oriental Institute bünyesinde yürütülen Büyük Hitit Sözlüğü Projesi'nde 23 yıl boyunca aktif rol almış ve Hititçe kelimelerin anlam, gramer ve metin bağlamlarını detaylı biçimde derlemiştir. Ayrıca Hattice üzerine yaptığı kapsamlı sözlük-gramer çalışması, alanında bir ilk niteliği taşımakta ve günümüz araştırmalarına temel oluşturmaktadır. Türkiye'deki Sivas/Kayalıpınar kazılarında yürüttüğü filolojik çalışmalar, arkeoloji ile dilbilimini birleştiren disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımı gözler önüne sermektedir.

Oğuz Soysal'ın bilimsel katkıları sadece yayınlarıyla sınırlı kalmamış, aynı zamanda Türkiye'de Hititoloji'nin tanınırlığını arttırmak ve öğrencilerin yetişmesini desteklemek için büyük çaba göstermiştir. Onun önerisi ve vizyonu, bağımsız araştırma inisiyatiflerinin önünü açmayı hedeflemiş, öğrenciler ve meslektaşları için ilham verici bir örnek oluşturmuştur.

Bu bağlamda, Oğuz Soysal'a bu armağan kitabını sunmak, sadece onun bilimsel başarılarını onurlandırmakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda Hititoloji ve Eski Anadolu Tarihi'ne adanmış bir yaşamın takdir edilmesidir. Kitaba katkıda bulunan tüm akademisyenlere teşekkür eder, Oğuz Soysal'ın araştırmalarının önümüzdeki kuşaklar için de yol gösterici olmasını dileriz.



Oğuz Soysal Puḫanu-Kronik'i yazarken, Marburg 1983

/

Oğuz Soysal typing the Puḫanu-Chronicle, Marburg 1983

ON SOME PHILOLOGICAL DETAILS OF THE 'INDICTMENT OF MADDUWATTA' AND THE IDENTITY OF KUPANTA-KURUNTIYA

Jared L. MILLER*

The Indictment of Madduwatta (KUB 14.1+KBo 19.38), as it is often termed, has long played a central role in modern scholars' reconstructions of the history of Hittite relations with Western Anatolia. In accordance with its importance, it received as early as 1928 a masterful and exemplary philological treatment by Albrecht Götze, which remained the only full transliteration and translation until Beckman's edition of 2011.[1] Of course, the text was initially dated to the end of the Empire Period, being redated to the latter part of the Middle Hittite Period, and to the reign Arnuwanda I specifically, only in the 1960s and 70s with the advent of paleographical, orthographical and linguistic dating methods (Otten 1969).

In the summer semester of 2019 I conducted a seminar on Hethitische Anklageschriften, in which the Indictment of Madduwatta was the main focus. While working on the text before and during this course I found that some progress could be made with a number of readings and interpretations,

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[1] Götze's (he was still using this spelling of his name at this point as opposed to later Goetze) and Beckman's treatments are referenced here simply by these names and by line number. Götze's transliterations are cited with the sign values current in his day and used by him. Beckman's 2011 translation (i.e. in Beckman, Bryce and Cline 2011) is the same that appeared in his Hittite Diplomatic Texts (1996; 2nd ed. 1999) and repeats its errors. The transliteration added in the 2011 edition is unfortunately riddled with typos and more substantial errors. For a list of those that I happened to notice while working on the text, see below. Abbreviations used in this paper are those employed by the CHD (i.e. The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980ff.; https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

and this paper presents these considerations.

Researchers of my generation are extremely fortunate to have access to photographs of most Hittite texts as well as to other invaluable tools and resources provided by the Hethitologie Portal Mainz (https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php), and this as a result of the vision and efforts of Gernot Wilhelm and his successor Daniel Schwemer as well as their colleagues and cooperation partners, to whom I extend my gratitude. I was also able to collate and photograph[2] the tablet itself (VAT 6210) in Berlin on July 29th and again on Oct. 7th 2019, and I would like to thank Juliane Eule of the Vorderasiatisches Museum for her kind assistance in this regard.

It is a pleasure to dedicate these lines to Oğuz Soysal, one of the most prolific Hittitologists of his generation. Among his many contributions, particularly his determined efforts in recent years to facilitate the publication of the remaining Bo fragments have earned the heartfelt appreciation of the scholarly community.

Obv. 1: Restoring [*tu-uk-k*]*a*$_4$,[3] i.e. [*tukk*]*=a ... arḫa parḫta*, with the conjunction -(*i*)*a*, would imply, of course, that at least some clause or clauses preceded this one. In the colophon on the lower edge of the tablet's reverse, however, the scribe unambiguously labelled this tablet as the first: [D]UB.1.KAM *MA-AḪ-ʳRU-Ú ŠA* $^{\text{m}}$ʾ[*ma-ad-du*]-*wa-at-*˹*ta*˺ *wa-aš-*ʳ*túl-la*ʾ-[*aš*]. Moreover, the fact that *tu-ug-ga* is used for *tugg=a* in obv. 10, not *tu-uk-ka*$_4$ (or *tu-uk-ka*), also suggests that one should reconsider this restoration.[4] One might restore, e.g. [*tu-uk-ša-a*]*n*, which would likely be somewhat too long, or rather [*tu-uk-ká*]*n*, as *parḫ-*, which usually takes no

[2] All the photographs were also donated to the Hethitologie Portal Mainz, an enigmatic selection of which is now available online in the Mainzer Fotoarchiv.

[3] Götze and Beckman both have [*tu-uk-k*]*a*.

[4] In fact, this text never uses *ka*$_4$ in any context. Indeed, in my files – which are neither entirely exhaustive nor perfect, but do give a good general picture – I find no attestations of KA in any Hittite text for *tukk=a*, which is always spelled *tu-ug-ga* or *tu-uk-ka*$_4$. Moreover, I find only three attestations of KA in *am-mu-uk-ka*, all three in OH or MH texts, against ca. 80 with *am-mu-uk-ka*$_4$; and similarly only three cases of *zi-ik-ka*, again, all three in OH or MH texts, against ca. 140 cases of *zi-ik-ka*$_4$; and only one case of *ú-uk-ka*, in a late copy of an OH text, vs. over 40 cases of *ú-uk-ka*$_4$. (Searches in TLH$^{\text{dig}}$, also a work in progress, yield similar results.) Thus, rather than Götze's and Beckman's (restored or partially restored) *-ka-* in *ūkk=a* and *tukk=a* in obv. 24 and 29, respectively, one should probably transliterate [*ú-ug-g*]*a-*˹*wa-kán*˺ and [*tu-ug-g*]*a-*˹*wa*˺*-ra-aš*. Cf. also below, n. 25.

local particle, does occasionally take one of these two (CHD P: s.v., also with *-sta* with *arḫa*).[5] Also worth considering would be [*ma-aḫ-ḫa-a*]*n* (or [*ma-a-an-ká*]*n*), in which case one would probably have a series of three relative clauses in ll. 1-2 (… *parḫta*, … *kittat*, … *parḫisket*), followed by the main clause ending in *sanḫisket* at the end of l. 2. Alternatively, if *tu-uk-ka*$_4$ was in fact written here, necessitating that at least some clause or clauses will have preceded it, then one might assume that this text at the beginning of the tablet might have been copied from another composition or from another version or a draft in which *tukk≠a* did not constitute the beginning of the text. Of course, the fact that there is no incipit or other introductory information, along with the fact that the tablet was found in Ḫattusa, suggest that we are likely dealing with a preliminary draft of a text that would eventually have been sent to Madduwatta.

Obv. 16: Götze's reading *i̯š*$^{?}$*-ki*$^{??}$*-ša*, followed by Beckman with ˹*iš*˺[-*ki*]-˹*ša*˺, should be abandoned, as there is far too much space between what might perhaps be an ˹*iš*$^{?}$˺- and what is likely a -˹*ša*˺. Unfortunately, I can as yet offer no convincing alternative. As the only other passage suggested to contain the meaning 'Rückhalt' for *iskisa* is an entirely opaque phrase in a letter of Pudu-Ḫepa to Ramses II (KUB 21.38 obv. 46; HW^2 I: 191a), this meaning should presumably be struck entirely. It seems that Götze assumed the German notion of 'Rückhalt', derived from 'Rücken', for the Hittite, though there seems, as far as I can see, to be no evidence that Hittite *iskisa* is anywhere associated with the metaphorical connotation of 'Rückhalt', 'support', 'backing' or 'having one's back'.

Obv. 25: (1) In the middle of the line Götze read and restored LUGAL *ku-i-i̯t-u̯a̯* KÚR[*-e-*]*a̯n-za-ma-a̯t*[*-ta ku-*]*u-ru-u*[*r e-ip-zi*, translating 'König, welches Land aber mit dir Feindschaft beginnt, …'. Beckman opts for <<LUGAL>> *ku-i-*˹*ša*˺-[*w*]*a* ˹KUR˺[*-e*]-˹*an-za-ma-at*˺[*-ta ku*]*-u-ru-u*[*r e-ep-zi*, yielding 'But whatever land [commences hostilities] against you, …'. Of course, Götze's *ku-i-it* would be an unexpected plene writing and as a neut. would not agree with comm. KUR-*eyants*. Both Götze and Beckman overlook that syntactically there are clearly two clauses here, as indicated by the two sets of enclitic particles. Indeed, this might be what seems to have irritated the scribe himself, who added what is likely to be read as LUGAL above the line between the preceding *-pát* and the *ku-i-*.

[5] Just days before submitting this paper I happened upon Melchert's recent article (2022: 265), in which he likewise reads/restores [*tuk≠ka*]*n*, presumably for similar reasons.

Thus, we may be dealing with a defective clause (or clauses); the enclitic elements of the first clause should naturally have been attached to the first word, which, however, was added restrospectively. In any case, as this text is very consistent with including *-wa-* in its enclitic chains where required, one should expect it in the second clause here as well, so that one should probably read and restore LUGAL *ku-i-š*[*a*ʾ*-w*]*a* K[UR*-e-a*]*n-*[*z*]*a-*˹*ma*˺*-w*[*a*ʾ*-at-ta*(?) *k*]*u-u-ru-u*[*r e-ep-zi* ...]. There are in fact traces following the *-ma-* that are conducive to the reading *-w*[*a-*, though so badly damaged that one can hardly be certain. The space available following *-ma-* and before *k*]*u-u-ru-u*[*r* would be about right, though slightly on the tight side. Thus one could translate, 'Welcher König es [aber] (sein mag), [nimmt] ein L[and] aber gegen [dich F]eindschaft auf, ...'. (2) Toward the end of the line Götze restores *ku-*]*u-ru-u*[*r e-ip-zi nu-u̯a-*(*áš-šá-an*) *ku-it-ma-a*]*n*, pointing to rev. 46, and Beckman follows Götze but drops the parentheses. Götze does not explain why he places these signs in parentheses, but he may have realized that available space is too short for his restoration, indeed ca. 3 signs too short. And since *zaḫḫiye/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$, which he sensibly restores at the beginning of 26, takes no local particle in obv. 29, 31 and 32,[6] one might well want to leave it out here as well, restoring merely *nu-wa ku-it-ma-a*]*n*.

Obv. 26: How exactly the damaged traces toward the end of the line are to be read remains uncertain, as they end with an unbroken vertical, clear on both the drawing and the photos, so that *Q*[*A-TE*$^{MEŠ/ḪI.A}$*-I*]*A*! should be provided with an exclamation mark if read as such. I suspect that perhaps *QA-TE*$^{MEŠ/ḪI.A}$*-ŠU* originally stood here, based also on traces, perhaps, before the vertical that might be amenable to a *-ŠU*, which would obviously have been a scribal error for expected *QA-TE*$^{MEŠ/ḪI.A}$*-IA*. (Cf. below, sub rev. 47).

Obv. 27: The fact that the speaker and/or scribe of this text refers to Madduwatta, seemingly with little rhyme or reason, sometimes in the 2nd sg., sometimes in the 3rd sg., has led to some confusion among its translators as well as among grammarians and lexicographers. Götze and Beckman translate *likta* in the 2nd sg. and accordingly restore [*da-i*]*š-*[*ta*] at the end of the line, translating likewise in the 2nd sg. pret. CHD L-N: sub *link-*, as well as EDHIL, sub *li*(*n*)*k-*^{zi}, recognized, however, that the

[6] Thus, one might want to reconsider *zaḫḫiyattari* in rev. 46, where it is, in fact, fully restored. Perhaps the active form of the same verb, as in obv. 59, there with *-ssan* (but with *ANA* PN … *ser*, which may be the reason for the local particle), i.e. *za-aḫ-ḫi-ia-an-zi*.

passage can and likely should be translated in the 3rd sg., the end of the line restored simply as [*da-i*]*š*. This paragraph thus begins (l. 22: *memist*[*a*]) and ends (l. 27: *likta*, [*dai*]*s*) with the 3rd sg. references to Madduwatta, from whom a quote is included in between. In rev. 23, however, Götze's and Beckman's translations of *kuenta*, *epta* and [*paitta*] all as 2nd sg. pret. have not been similarly exposed as a failure to recognize the text's switches into the 3rd sg. GrHL[2]: 251 and n. 18, 254 and n. 32, e.g., gives only the attestations here in 23 for the 2nd sg. pret. of *kuenta* and *epta*. And also HED A/E/I: 276, and EDHIL, sub *epp-*^{zi}/*app-*, have only this attestation for the 2nd sg. pret. of *ep-*, though one finds no corresponding *kuenta* for the 2nd sg. pret. in either, as they book all cases of *kuenta* under the 3rd sg. The verbs of ll. 23-24, *kuenta*, *epta*, [*pais*] and *dās*, can and probably should, however, be translated entirely in the 3rd sg. pret., eliminating the only supposed attestations for the 2nd sg. pret. for these forms. This paragraph (rev. 19-24) thus begins with the last clause of a statement quoted from the father of His Majesty (continued from the previous paragraph), which addresses Madduwatta in the 2nd sg. pret. (l. 19); continues with 3rd sg. pret. narration concerning Madduwatta (l. 20); switches to the 2nd sg. pret. (21a) and back to the 3rd sg. pret. (21b-22a) in redundantly introducing a quote from Madduwatta (22b-23a), before finishing up with 3rd sg. pret. narration concerning Madduwatta (23b-24: *kuenta*, *epta*, [*pais*], *dās*).

Obv. 37: Beckman, following Götze, translates 37f., 'You shall not [conceal the person who] speaks an evil word before you, whether someone speaks of a matter of hostility before you, or someone slanders the kings and princes.' With such a translation, however, one wonders who these 'kings' should be, the slandering of whom Madduwatta is not to countenance. Hittite vassals are of course obligated to report any subversive talk they hear of concerning their overlord, the Hittite king, and his family, but not concerning other kings. Indeed, even the traces as seen in the copy, which is in fact quite nearly accurate, do not quite square with a reading LUGAL^{MEŠ} DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL, as they have been read thus far.[7] And examination of the photos reveals that the traces in fact correspond perfectly to a reading ⌞LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL⌟ DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL. Thus, as expected, Madduwatta was required to report any subversive talk regarding the (Hittite) king, the queen and the king's sons, indeed, as is commonly found in Hittite treaties.

Obv. 44: At the end of the line Götze restored simply [KÚR-*e*$^{??}$], in

[7] In the '*Verbesserungen*' in the first pages of KUB 14 one finds, in fact, a *Verschlimmbesserung* of these traces.

which he was followed by Beckman (without the question marks), i.e. 'But [Madd]uwatta [to]ok the entire [land]!' This is unlikely to be sufficient, however, since the preceding lines 42-44 instruct Madduwatta to take possession of the Land of the Zippaslā-Mountain, but nothing in addition to this land: 'But you, Maddu[watt]a, broke the [oath]s to the father of My Majesty. The father of My M[aj]esty [gave] you the Land of the Zipp[aslā]-Mountain to [occ]upy. Further, he made [yo]u s[we]ar an oath, and he [pl]aced the following unde[r oat]h for you: "[He]reby I have given you the Land of the Z[ipp]aslā-[Mounta]in, [so] you shall occupy [only this (land)]. Fu[rthermo]re, though, you shall occupy b[ey]ond (this) no additional land and no [addition]al rive[r valley] on your own vo[lit]ion."' What follows should thus be an accusation that Madduwatta had contravened the content of his oath; but taking possession of the entire land, i.e. the entire Land of the Zippaslā-Mountain, was exactly what he had sworn to do. So his having broken this part of his vassal treaty should presumably mean that he had occupied some land or some river valley above and beyond the Land of the Zippaslā-Mountain that had been granted to him. Therefore, one should probably restore [KUR $^{URU/ÍD}$GN] at the end of 44. It would thus parallel closely the situation in rev. 11-19 and 20-24, where Madduwatta is granted the Land of the Siyanta-River and likewise forbidden to occupy any land or river valley in excess of it, whereupon he is accused of thereafter breaking his promises and occupying the entire Land of Arzawa.

As to what land or river valley is to be restored at the end of 44, one can only speculate, since in subsequent lines it is not made explicit. It may have been the Land of the Siyanta-River, since in rev. 11ff. this land is granted to him by the father of His Majesty without any background being given, at least in the lines preserved, and one suspects that the Hittite king is here simply accepting what had been presented to him as a *fait accompli*.

Obv. 46: Following *na-aš-ta* in the first part of the line, Götze's [*pa*-]*i̯t* and Beckman's [*pa*]-ʾ*it*ʾ are perhaps possible, but would be a tight squeeze, requiring that no space had been left by the scribe between *na-aš-ta* and *pa-it*. Götze's restoration *t*[*ar-na-áš*] in the middle of the line, which he labelled 'ganz unsicher', but was adopted without comment by Beckman, is much too short for the break. Moreover, traces are visible on the photographs that seem amenable to *ḫ*[*a-a*]*t*-[*ra*]-˹*a*˺-*i*[*t n*]*u*. This, in turn, suggests that instead of [*pa-i*]*t*, one should restore [*A-N*]*A* earlier in the line, alleviating the tight situation there. This yields a sentence

and a situation rather analogous to that in obv. 69, in which Madduwatta 'wrote *kattan arḫa* to the men of the town of Dalawa' (*na-aš-ta* $A\text{-}^{\lceil}NA^{\rceil}$ $LÚ^{MEŠ}$ ^{URU}*da-la-u-wa im-ma kat-ta-an ar-ḫa ḫa-at-ra-a-it*). In both cases the precise meaning of *kattan arḫa ḫatrai-* would remain up for debate. Götze translated literally 'schrieb ... hinab'. HHw suggests 'heimlich an jemanden schreiben' (so also HW^2 Ḫ: 517a), Beckman has 'wrote away to'.

Contextually, these suggested readings highlight a number of difficulties, questions that in fact should be raised regardless of whether one accepts the new suggestions or not. It is assumed by many researchers that Kupanta-Kuruntiya here is the king of Arzawa (e.g. Beckman et al. 2011: 69, 98; Bryce 2005: 131f.).[8] It seems, however, that one should at least question whether Kupanta-Kuruntiya is acting as the ruler of Arzawa in this passage. It would be odd for the king of Arzawa to have to write to the troops of the land of Arzawa in order to have them mobilize against Madduwatta, whereupon 'the troops of the land of Arzawa w[en]t against Ma[dduwatta]' (obv. 46f.), not, apparently, Kupanta-Kuruntiya at the head of these troops. I also find it difficult to understand, were Kupanta-Kuruntiya king of Arzawa, why his wives and sons would be found in the town of Sallawassa (obv. 55), far to the east of Arzawa, where Madduwatta had apparently sought refuge with Kupanta-Kuruntiya, rather than in some centre in Arzawa. Kupanta-Kuruntiya also swears (*lingan ḫarzi*) to Madduwatta in obv. 79, and though the entire episode in these fragmentary lines (obv. 75-83) is open to various interpretations, one might see it as suggesting that Kupanta-Kuruntiya is subordinate to or at least junior partner to Madduwatta (at least as Madduwatta portrays the situation, in the telling of the Hittite scribes), which perhaps would not have been the case with the king of Arzawa at this point. (Granted, in rev. 20 Madduwatta is said to have taken the entire land of Arzawa, though how literally this is

[8] Klengel (1999: 413) books all occurences of Kupanta-Kurunta in one entry, which is provided with a parenthetical '(von Mira-Kuwalija)', but this is simply an error in compiling the indices, not an assertion that there was only one Kupanta-Kurunta, king of Mira-Kuwaliya. This is clear from Klengel's discussion of (1) a Kupanta-Kurunta from the time of Tudḫaliya I and Arnuwanda I and (2) a Kupanta-Kurunta, king of Mira-Kuwaliya, from the time of Mursili II. Nowhere does Klengel state that Kupanta-Kuruntiya of our text would be king of Arzawa, though he does imply (p. 114f.) that the Kupanta-Kuruntiya of the Indictment of Madduwatta and that of the Annals of Arnuwanda I might be the same person.

to be understood is also open to debate.) Thus, Kupanta-Kuruntiya might well be the ruler of some other entity,[9] calling upon Arzawa for assistance upon being attacked by Madduwatta. On the other hand, it may strike one as odd that Kupanta-Kuruntiya writes to the troops of Arzawa,[10] not to the king or 'man' of Arzawa, requesting aid, and for this I have no ready explanation; perhaps there was a contingent stationed near Kupanta-Kuruntiya's territories. Unfortunately, nowhere in this text is Kupanta-Kuruntiya explicitly labelled as the 'man' or 'king' of any particular land or the 'servant' of any overlord (obv. 30, 45, 49, 55, 56, 75, 76, 79, rev. 6, 43).

Of course, it is known from the Annals of Arnuwanda I that a Kupanta-Kuruntiya was the or a 'man' of Arzawa during the coregency of Tudḫaliya I and Arnuwanda I (KUB 23.21 ii? 16', 31'; Gander 2022: 313-318), and therefore at least roughly contemporary with the Kupanta-Kuruntiya of the Madduwatta text. Thus the question arises whether the Kupanta-Kuruntiya of the Madduwatta text, who does not appear, at least explicitly, to be a 'man' or king of Arzawa, might be the same person as the 'man' of Arzawa from the Annals of Arnuwanda. There seem to be two possibilities, with no way to decide conclusively between them at present. Either they are simply two different persons with the same name, which would not be difficult to believe given that probably (at least) two further West Anatolian rulers bore the same name at later points (i.e. Kupanta-Kuruntiya of the Ortaköy texts during the reign of Tudḫaliya III and Kupanta-Kuruntiya of Mira-Kuwaliya, treaty partner of Mursili II); or they are one and the same person, and either the Kupanta-Kuruntiya of the Madduwatta text succeeded at some point in gaining power in Arzawa, or the Kupanta-Kuruntiya of the Annals succeeded in losing it and being relegated to an inland province. It would be remarkable if Kupanta-Kuruntiya of the Madduwatta text succeeded in conquering all of Arzawa and being recognized by the Hittites as the 'man' of Arzawa, but neither can it be excluded. For a thorough and judicious discussion of the Kupanta-Kuruntiyas one can now refer to Gander (2022: 767), where also the recently (partially) published attestations from the Ortaköy letters

[9] Maybe of Sallawassa? And/Or of the land to be restored at the end of obv. 44? The Land of the Siyanta-River?

[10] A cursory check for comparanda yields writing to 'lands' in KBo 6.29 ii 14-17 (de Martino 2023: 15, 20).

are discussed. Gander assumes that Kupanta-Kuruntiya of the Madduwatta text will indeed have been the ruler of Arzawa.[11]

Obv. 47: Comparison with obv. 51 and 57 (see below) suggests that one might want to read and restore ˹1˺-[*iš* …], not ˹1˺-[*aš* …], at the end of the line here, and further, that *ne-ku-ma-an-za* may well have followed, for which there is plenty of room.

Obv. 49: As an alternative to Götze's ^{N}[^{À}*pí-ru-n*]*i u*[*n-ni*]-*e-eš-ta*, which he labeled as 'ganz unsicher' and which was sensibly abandoned by Beckman, one might consider simply a GN followed by what is probably just *e-eš-ta*. Following EGIR-*an* traces are visible that might be seen as K[UR or ^{Ḫ}[$^{UR.SAG}$, but the very meagre traces thereafter do not seem to be amenable to any of the obvious possibilities, such as KUR $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*zi-ip-pa-aš-la-a*, KUR ^{ÍD}*ši-ia-an-ta-ia* or, what I initially thought might be a good possibility due to its occurrence in 54 and 55 (but without KUR), ^{URU}*šal-la-u-wa-aš-ši*.

Obv. 50: In the first part of the line one can surely read *I*]*Š-PU*[*R*] before the clear *nu-uš-ši* instead of Götze's and Beckman's]-˹*ra*$^{?}$˺. The PUR is quite clear on the photos, as it is only slightly damaged at the upper right. The IŠ is less certain, but traces of the lower horizontal, the wedge and a final vertical seem clear enough. I see no trace of the expected first vertical. Close comparison in Photoshop with a cut-out of *IŠ-PUR* from obv. 53 confirms the impression. Thus, Kupanta-Kuruntija sent or wrote in order that Madduwatta's household be taken.

Obv. 51: Beckman, following Götze (but dispensing with his judicious question marks), restores *wa-aš-ta-an*]-*ni-iš-*˹*ki*˺-*ir*, translating, again following Götze (though dropping his brackets), 'they … sinned'. However, no verb stems **wastanna/i-* or **wastanniske-* are attested in Hittite. (Götze did not discuss the verb in his commentary nor is it listed in his glossary.) The verb *wasta-* is attested with imperfective *-ske-* as *wastaske-* (and with the factitive as *wastaḫḫiske-*), but not with imperfective *-anna/i-*, let alone with co-occurring *-ske-*. Of course, as both *-anna/i-* and *-ske-* are productive and do co-occur, it cannot be ruled out that **wastanniske-* may have been

[11] I assume, however, that Gander's (2022: 307) 'Kupant[akurunta von Arzawa] (Vs. 30-31)', implying that one should actually restore Arzawa here in KUB 14.1+ obv. 30, is unintentional, as such a restoration is out of the question. Presumably he intended rather 'Kupant[akurunta] (von Arzawa)'.

employed. (Causatives of *wasta-* with *-nu-* are attested, but a *-ske-* form based on this should be **wastanuske-*, which is not attested.) Of course, 'to break an oath' is usually expressed with *sarra-* in Hittite, so if one is inclined to restore unattested verb forms one might think rather of **šar-ra-a*]*n-ni-iš-*˹*ke*˺*-er*. If one prefers an attested verb form in an unattested locution, one might consider e.g. *A-NA NI-ŠI* DINGI[R-*LÌ d/tu-wa-a*]*r-ni-iš-*˹*ke*˺*-er*.

Obv. 52: Available space and traces seem to favour ˹*kap-pu*˺*-w*[*a-an-te-eš-pá*]*t* over Beckman's *kap-*˹*pu-u*˺[*-wa-an-te-eš-p*]*át*, which follows Götze.

Obv. 55, 59: (1) Beckman emends to ^{m}*Ku-pa-an-ta-*^{d}[LAMMA]*-ya*<<*-ya->>kán*, but see Goedegebuure (2014: 447f.) for discussion, suggesting that the first *-ia-* is clause connective, the second discourse connective, thus 'and also'. Alternatively, one may see the first *-ia-* as the end of the PN, now known to be Kupanta-Kuruntiya, not -Kurunta, the second as clause connective. (2) Beckman emends the *še-er* toward the end of 55 as well as the same in 59 to *še-*<*e*>*-er*, but this is unnecessary. Along with *še-e-er* in obv. 54 and 59, this text shows *še-er*, apart from the present attestation here in 55, also in obv. 59 (see already Otten 1969: 20). Other MH texts also vascilate between the two writings, so that such variation need not be seen as scribal error.

Obv. 57: (1) In a note on the signs following 1-˹*iš*˺ at the beginning of this line Götze wrote 'Schwerlich *ne-ku-ma-an-za*', but copying in the signs *ne-ku-ma-an-za* from obv. 51 in Photoshop reveals that the spacing for them is in fact perfect. Also, the admittedly meagre visible traces would seem to speak more for than against a reading/restoration *n*[*e-k*]*u-m*[*a-an-z*]*a*, even if it cannot be regarded as certain. It would also yield parallelism in obv. 47 (if restored correctly), 51 and 57, except for the lack of 1-*iš* in 51, a lack, however, that might be obviated if the 1-*iš* originally followed *nekumants*, i.e. *ne-ku-ma-an-za* [1-*iš iš-pár-za-aš-ta*]. (2) Already Götze noted that the supposed *-e-* in his *ke-e*$^{?}$*-kán*, followed by Beckman (without the question mark), would be 'bedenklich breit', and examination of the photos confirms this. As it is difficult to imagine what might have stood here other than the demonstrative pronoun *kē*, the simplest solution is surely to read *ke-*˹*ia*˺*-ká*[*n*], i.e. *kē=ia=kan*, with the conjunction, which indeed fits the length and traces perfectly.

Obv. 65: Neither Götze nor Beckman suggested a restoration for what is likely to be the object of the verb, which, with Beckman, is surely *ne-e-a-at*. One might consider [IGI$^{ḪI.A}$-*wa*], since this is often the object of the verb *nai-*/*neya-*, as one can see in CHD's treatment of *sakui-*/*sakuwa-* (CHD Š: 70a, 71b-72b). The signs would perhaps be somewhat short for the available space; on the other hand there is significant space between words in these lines, so this might not be fatal to the suggestion. While the literal meaning would thus be clear, what exactly is intended would remain a matter for discussion, as the locution seems to have a variety of meanings, as CHD's attestations and translations demonstrate. In the context of the paragraph at hand, perhaps 'And Attarissiya *looked around* for Madduwatta, then he left for his land' is apt, since Madduwatta had apparently been absent during the battles between Attarissiya and the Hittite forces. Assuming the verb still had its m.p. meaning in this MH text, one might restore [*ar-ḫa*],[12] of similar length, yielding 'Attarissiya turned away from Madduwatta' (CHD L-N, sub nai-, 3.c.2').

Obv. 78, rev. 9: If we assume that the beginning of the line should be restored, following Götze, after rev. 9, with [*ma-a-an-wa-ra-aš-ma-kán kat-ti-mi ú-ez-z*]*i*, we come up ca. 2-3 signs short for the space available. As *maḫḫan* fits the context as well if not better than *mān*, its additional signs would help fill the remaining space. One might therefore want to restore [*ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-wa-ra-aš-ma-kán kat-ti-mi ú-ez-z*]*i* here and similarly in rev. 9 (see below, sub rev. 9).

Obv. 86: For the reading ⸢*ḫu-u-ur-ki-il*⸣ at the beginning of the line and its import for how this section is to be understood, see now Beckman (2025).

Rev. 9: Götze's restoration of this line must be modified slightly, as the first traces following the break are certainly no]-*aš* (cf. Beckman's inexplicable -*r*]*a-aš*), but probably a -*T*]*i* (cf. that in rev. 27). The restorations are of course based on similar passages in obv. 77f., rev. 60, 64f. and others, so that they are likely not far from the mark. Perhaps something as simple as *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-wa-ra-aš* *A-NA* KUR-*T*]*i kat-ti-mi ú-ez-zi nu-wa-ra-an e-*⸢*ep*⸣*-mi* is required, '[As soon as] he comes to me in (my) [land], I will

[12] Beckman has [away(?)], basically following Götze, without giving a transliteration, but presumably thinking of [*ar-ḫa*].

capture him.' For the *maḫḫan* rather than Götze's *mān*, cf. above on obv. 78 (whereby the problem with space would not apply here in 9).

Rev. 12: At the end of the line one should presumably read and restore ^{LÚ}*ša-pa-a-ša-al-l*[*i-i*]*š*-[*ša*], for which there would seem to be just enough room in the break, instead of Götze's and Beckman's ^{LÚ}*ša-pa-a-ša-al-*˹*li-iš*˺, as suggested by the demands of syntax in general and by ^{LÚ}*ša-pa-a-ša*]-*al-le-eš-ša* in 16 specifically.

Rev. 17: At the very end of the line, below the *me*]-*mi-an* of 16, a clear single vertical (and before it perhaps 1-2 horizontals?) is visible on the photos following the break, so that Götze's restoration [*ma-a-an-wa* KÚR-*e*] must be emended slightly. Perhaps [*ma-a-an-wa ku-it-k*]*i*, which would seem to fit the available space quite well, though it is difficult to tell for certain due to the curvature of the edge of the tablet here. In light of *ma-a-an-wa* ˹*ku*˺*-it ku-*˽*u-ru*˽*-ur e-ep-zi* in rev. 46,[13] perhaps simply [*ma-a-an-wa ku-i*]*t* $^{(18)}$[*ku-u-ru-ur e-ep-zi* ...], '[If he/one untertakes an]y [hostilities, ...]' is the best solution, though [*ma-a-an-wa ku-i*]*t* might be slightly short for the gap. If one prefers 'land' as the subject (cf. obv. 25), as in Götze's and Beckman's translations, then perhaps [*ma-a-an-wa ku-iš-k*]*i* $^{(18)}$[KUR-*an-za ku-u-ru-ur e-ep-zi* ...], '[If an]y [land commences hostilities, …].'

Rev. 23: See above on obv. 27.

Rev. 26: Götze's and Beckman's transliterations of ^{URU}*Ḫa-pa-a-al-la-ụa-kán* (Beckman errantly ^{URU}*Ḫa-pa-a-la-wa-kán*) gloss over the fact that the latter half of LA is lost and, further, that there is a short but significant gap thereafter, a gap, in fact, into which an AN would fit nicely, yielding ^{URU}*ḫa-pa-a-al-l*[*a-a*]*n-*wa*-kán*. This text does on occasion provide GNs (and PNs) in the acc. with *-an* (e.g. obv. 67, rev. 54), though hardly consistently. Moreover, *-wa-* seems to be malformed and probably written over other traces.

Rev. 27: (1) I am not sure that the translations of lines 25-28 suggested thus far, and especially of the irrealis clauses in 27, properly convey the intent of the passage, nor am I entirely certain that my thoughts on these lines lead in the right direction. What does seem reasonably clear is that the

[13] Beckman's emendation to *ma-a-an-wa* ˹*ku*˺*-it* <KUR-*e*> *ku-*˽*u-ru*˽*-ur e-ep-zi*, 'If some <land> commences hostilities, …' results in a neut. as subj. of a trans. clause.

first two sentences of 27 should be actions (or inactions) of Madduwatta that in his overlord's view represent once again a violation of the terms agreed with his sovereign. The specific terms in question, it seems, are those quoted as having been placed under oath in 22f: 'The land of Ḫapālla I will either destroy or I will carry it off along with (its) civilian captives, bovines and caprids [and] I will turn [it] over [to] His Majesty.' The following lines 23-24 make clear that Madduwatta did not fulfil this obligation to be an enemy to Ḫapālla and to either destroy it or to loot it for the benefit of his overlord. Lines 25-28, I would think, should constitute a further, more detailed illustration of how Madduwatta failed in this obligation. Namely, he made a show of wanting to forge plans with the 'wine steward' to use the territory for which this Hittite official was responsible to launch an attack on Ḫapālla, but instead of doing so once let into the country, he did not destroy Ḫapālla and did not carry off its booty for his overlord. This, it must be said, is what I would expect it to say according to the logic of these two paragraphs as I would like to understand them. The suggestions offered thus far do not really fulfil this expectation (e.g. Beal 1992: 349; GrHL^2: §17.11; Gander 2022: 309, n. 93). They essentially follow Götze, as does Beckman, in understanding the irrealis clauses as indicating that Madduwatta, once he had been allowed by the 'wine steward' to cross the border, *would have* blocked the roads and *would have* attacked him, the 'wine steward', in the rear. And perhaps this is, in the end, correct, i.e. Madduwatta's transgression here is having wanted to or having planned to do such. This strikes me as rather odd, though, as the passage would thus simultaneously state, in fact, that Madduwatta *did not* block the roads and *did not* attack the 'wine steward', so that the Hittite accusations would sound rather hollow, Madduwatta's defence rather strong. A prosecution based on the charge that the accused wanted to or would have committed a crime is a rather weak case, to be sure. So I suspect that the Hittite accusation here is that instead of attacking Ḫapālla as he was required by his oath to do, he was entering Ḫapālla and carrying out some other business advantageous to himself, and perhaps to Ḫapālla as well, in essence, behaving in a friendly rather than a hostile manner toward Ḫapālla. This understanding of the passage, however, would require not only a different interpretation of the irrealis particles, but also a slight emendation to the second clause in order to make it say what I expect it to say.[14] If one emends the beginning

[14] Further errant enclitic pronouns in this text include, it seems, the *-an* toward the end of

of the second clause in 27 to *ma-a-na-at*$^{!}$(AN)-*kán*, one could translate, 'As soon as the "wine steward" let him through, though, he (Madduwatta) should have blocked/seized the roads (and) he should have attacked it$^{!}$ (the land of Ḫapālla).' Alternatively, one could understand the *-an-* as a reference to the ruler of Ḫapālla, who has not been named explicitly. This, then, would reiterate Madduwatta's failure or refusal, just as enumerated in line 23, to attack Ḫapālla as required of him. Perhaps this also comports well with the, at first glance, odd final sentence of the preceding paragraph (l. 24), where we read 'Madduwatta took it (Ḫapālla) for himself' (*ˌna¸-at-za* ^{m}*ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta-aš da-a-aš*), which does not seem to agree with the three preceding clauses, especially that stating that 'neither did he seize it' (*epta≈ia≈at* UL). In other words, Madduwatta sought to or succeeded in gaining control of or some degree of influence in Ḫapālla for his own ends, instead of treating it like an enemy of his overlord and either destroying it or looting it for the good of the Hittite coffers. (2) At the end of the line it seems quite likely that G[AL.GEŠTIN] is to be restored as the occupational title of the preceding PN Antaḫittā, and that this is the same GAL.GEŠTIN as at the beginning of the paragraph in line 25. It was thus Antaḫittā, the GAL.GEŠTIN, with whom Madduwatta sought (or feigned to have sought) in lines 25-28 to conspire concerning an attack on the Land of Ḫapālla. It is therefore reasonable that Antaḫittā is said in 28 to be a potential witness to or denouncer of Madduwatta's conspirations. The author apparently deemed it unnecessary to mention how Mazlawa of Kuwaliya likewise came to be a witness or denouncer in the same affair. For further discussion and refs., see Gander (2022: 309).

Rev. 40: The join with 603/u makes it clear that Götze's restoration *nu-wa-za-kán* [*ŠÁ* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* KÚR.KÚR^{TI}]^{M} *e-eš-du-ma-at*, followed by Beckman despite the join (*nu-wa-za-kán š*[*A*$^{?}$ ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* KUR.KUR^{TI}]^{M} *e-eš-du-ma-at*), must be emended, as clear traces of a vertical, and perhaps of a second thereafter, are visible both on the drawing (KBo 19.38) and on the photos. Perhaps the most likely alternative is ˹*a*˺-[*pé-e* KUR.KUR-*T*]*ì*, which fits the available space quite nicely. The demonstrative would refer to Salpa and a second toponym lost in the break in 38, from which His Majesty had withdrawn troops and chariotry. If so, one might want to restore the same at the end of 40, i.e. *ú-e-e*[*r a-pé-e* KUR.KUR-*Tì e-ša-an-ta-at*] or, with Beckman, *wa-al-ḫe-er* instead of Götze's *e-ša-an-ta-at*. Of interest is the fact that the

rev. 55 and the *-an* at the beginning of rev. 89.

anaphoric referent of *apē*, i.e. the cities of 38, would thus be text internal, while there would be no referent within the quote from Madduwatta. Of course, as only snippets of Madduwatta's supposed statements are cited, an *apē* in his quoted utterance could naturally refer to elements not included in these snippets but present in his discourse as a whole.[15]

Rev. 41: Both Götze and Beckman ignore the traces at the end of the line before the break, the former opting for *ka-ra-a-ta* [○ ○ ○ ○ ○], the latter for *ka-ra-a-ta*[*-uš* ○ ○ ○ ○], apparently an attempt to rescue Otten's (1969: 27) *ka-ra-a-ta-u*[*š*. In the copy one sees, however, (unnecessarily) unclear traces of a wedge, on the photos an unmistakable and fully preserved wedge; there is a clear space between the *-ta* and the wedge.[16] Thus, one would have to read *ka-ra-a-ta-*u*[*š*[!?]* to achieve Otten's or Beckman's aim. If, as seems likely due to the space between the signs, the trace does not belong to *karāta*, then acc. pl. comm. *tarḫuilaus* and nom.-acc. pl. neut. *karāta* would not agree, and Beckman's translation 'triumphant heart' (a typo for 'triumphant hearts'?) would have to be abandoned; cf. Puhvel's 'my heroic soldiers [proved their?] mettle' (HED K: 76), with 'heroic' for *tarḫuilaus* and 'mettle' for *karāta*.[17] Moreover, *karāta* should probably be derived from *karāt-*, 'entrails; interior', rather than *ker*/*kard*(*i*)-, 'heart' (EDHIL: 445-446, 469-471; HED K: 75-77, 189-191; HW² K: 135b; Rieken 1999: 142, n. 657). Craig Melchert (email of 26 Dec. 2025), who kindly read and commented on an initial draft of this paper, thinks of *karāta* as an acc. of respect with a following adj., thus 'But they […-ed] my own powerful troops, […] as to *karāta*,' the verb being something akin to 'encountered'.

Rev. 43: Götze's otherwise unattested ḲGIR-*iz-ma* at the beginning of the line, for which he referred to the *Verbesserungen* in KUB 14, was rightly

[15] Naturally, such quoted passages in general are largely imagined by the author and or scribes as what they believe would or must have been said, not faithful quotes of witnessed speech, on which see Miller 2018.

[16] Very faint traces below and to the left of the wedge might hint at the erasure of some sign element(s).

[17] Unfortunately, Puhvel does not indicate what verb he imagines would provide his suggested meaning. One can hardly read *t*[*e*- at this point, as this scribe's TE, as seen in ll. 38 and 40, begins with horizontals, not wedges, so that some further element would have to have preceded any assumed *tekkussnuer*. A further issue with Puhvel's interpretation is seeing *tarḫuilaus* as nom. pl. comm. While *-us* does begin to appear for *-es* by this time in the MH period (GrHL²: §3.17), so that the possibility should not be excluded, this text seems to employ, if I have not overlooked anything, *-es* for the nom. and *-us* for the acc. without exception.

abandoned by Beckman, who offered no alternative. As the signs *-ez-ma* are in fact quite clear on both the copy and the photos, one is essentially left with only *kēz=ma* or *apēz=ma* as options. And as both the *Verbesserungen* in KUB 14 and examination of the photos suggest a vertical before the *-ez-ma*, and thus *-e-ez-ma* rather than *-pé-ez-ma*, there remains no room for *a-pé-*, so that the reading *k*[*e*?]-⸢*e*?⸣*-ez-ma* becomes likely, though even this would be ever so slightly long for the space. It also makes perfect sense contextually, as in lines 38-42 Madduwatta continues his attempts to expand his sphere of influence, but is checked by the intervention of the Hittite king himself. Line 43 thus begins with *kēz=ma*, 'From this, ...', i.e. 'For this reason, then, he (Madduwatta) wrote repeatedly to Kupanta-Kuruntiya ...' in a further attempt to gain support for his ventures.

Rev. 46: see above, sub obv. 25, n. 6.

Rev. 47: (1) Beckman, following Götze, reads ⸢*nu-wa-ra-at*⸣ at the beginning of the line, Götze also referring to the *Verbesserungen* at the beginning of KUB 14. Neither the copy, nor the *Verbesserungen* nor the photos suggest *-*⸢*ra-at*⸣, however, for which the available space is also far too short, but clearly ⸢*nu-wa*⸣*-k*[*á*]*n*. Götze seems to have been influenced by the parallelism of these lines with the same phrases in obv. 26, where *n*[*u-w*]*a-ra-*⸢*at*⸣ does occur. For *walḫ-* with *-kan* (and *apanta*) in this text one can compare rev. 27. There appear to be no other cases of *walḫ-* in this text without an explicit object, but of course omission of a (pronominal) object is well attested otherwise, both with *walḫ-* and with other transitive verbs (e.g. GrHL^2: §21.2). (2) Examination of a photo montage of VAT 6210 together with the joined fragment 603/u makes quite clear that [*Q*]*A-*⸢*TI*⸣$^{\text{Ḫ.A}}$*-IA* is to be read in the middle of the line here, as opposed to Götze's and Beckman's *QA-TE*$^{\text{MEŠ}}$*-KA*, adopted from rev. 18. I can see no trace of the vertical visible on the drawing, which obviously would suggest TE. (Cf. above, sub obv. 26.)

Rev. 48: Götze's and Beckman's restoration *ki-*[*iš-ša-an da-a-iš* may in the end be correct, but *kissan* as a rule functions cataphorically (always in our text), only rarely anaphorically (Goedegebuure 2014: 299). As an alternative one might consider, e.g., *k*[*e-e ud-da-a-ar*, as in obv. 14 (cataphoric) and 27 (anaphoric). Either way, one should restore *da-iš* thereafter, not *da-a-iš*, as this text otherwise writes this form without plene spelling (obv. 14, 28, 43).

Rev. 49: A Photoshop montage of the tablet with the join indicates

that between *walḫta* and *sākuwa≠pat* one should restore a short sign, *nu* obviously suggesting itself.

Rev. 56: Beckman's [*pa-a-i nu* ^{m}*Ma-ad-du*]-*wa-at-ta-ša*, which follows Götze, should probably be read [*pa-i* ^{m}*ma-ad-du*]-*wa-at-ta-ša*. This text otherwise shows *pa-i* (end of obv. 60) and *nu* does not co-occur with -*a*/-*ma* in this text[18] (cf. also below, sub rev. 66).

Rev. 60: In the middle of the line one must read ^{LÚ}*ṢA-A-D*[*U* or emend to ^{LÚ}*ṢA-A-*‹*I*›*-D*[*U*, if one insists that it comport with the writings in 59, 64 and 66. The traces following ^{LÚ}*ṢA-A*- are clearly DU, not I, and even if one would prefer to assume that the traces should be read as a muddled I, there is no room thereafter for a DU in the narrow gap preceding *ḫ*]*u-wa-iš*.

Rev. 61: The traces in the middle of the line suggest a probable]x-˻*šu*˼- or]x-˻*la*˼- and thereafter clearly -*a-an* x[. In light of ^{r}^{m}$^{\neg}$*ni-wa-al-la-a-aš-ma* in 59 and ^{m}*ni-wa-al-la-a*[*š-wa* in 60 a restoration *pal-š*[*i* ^{m}*ni-wa-a*]*l*$^{?}$-˻*la*˼-*a-an*$^{(?)}$, which fits the available space nicely, thus suggests itself. As the following sentence (*Ú-UL≠wa≠mu kuiski* [*wet*]) is marked as quoted speech, Götze understandably sought to restore a verb of speaking, opting for *d*[*a*$^{?}$-*ar*$^{?}$-]*áš-ki-it-pát*, followed essentially by Beckman (*t*[*a*$^{?}$-*ar*$^{?}$]-*aš-ki-it-pát*). However, one hardly expects a writing of the verb *te-*/*tar*- with *da/ta-ar*-. Of course, one need not restore a verb of speaking, as Hittite often introduces speech with various verbs that set up the situation in which the speech is embedded. And in the context in question a restoration *š*[*a*$^{?}$-*an-n*]*a*$^{?}$-*aš-ke-et-pát*$^{(?)}$, which also fits the traces and available space quite well, seems likely enough, all the more so since line 65 makes it clear that it is the concealing of this fugitive that is at issue. And while simple indicative forms of *sanna*- are used several times in this text (obv. 35, 38), we also find the imperfective -*ske*- form used as well (rev. 17). This results in the translation, 'At first, however, Madduwatta kept *c*[*oncea*] *ling* [*Niwal*]*lā* (saying): "No one came to me!"' In fact, considering the imperfective here in 61, one might want to restore accordingly in 65, where hitherto simply *ša-an-n*[*a-at-ti* has been restored, a consideration that might well extend to *munna*-, too, i.e. *zi-ga-wa-ra-an ša-an-n*[*a-aš-ke-ši nu-wa-ra-an mu-un-na-eš-ke-ši nu-wa-ra-a*]*n an-da* [*e-ep*].

[18] Contra GrHL^{2}: §28.152, where an example from the beginning of obv. 53 is given, which, however, is essentially entirely restored. This would leave, according to GrHL^{2}: §28.150, n. 70, only three examples of co-occurring *nu* and -*a*/-*ma* in the corpus of MH/MS texts apart from oracle inquiries.

Rev. 64: Götze's *u̯p*[*-pí-eš-ki ki-nu-na-wa-at-ta* [1]*Ni-û̯a-al-la-a-áš-m*]*a* suffers from including the particle of contrastive focus *-a*/*-ma* twice and from being perhaps ca. 3-4 signs too long for the break.[19] Beckman's ˹*up*˺[*-pé-eš-ki ki-nu-un-wa-at-ta* [m]*Ni-wa-al-la-a-aš-m*]*a* eliminates the first problem but is no shorter. (His translation also ignores *kinun*, fortuitously, since it makes little sense in the context.) Finally, the traces visible on the photo following the break would seem maybe to suggest that wedges may precede the vertical, allowing *-t*]*a* (or a similar sign). The simplest solution may thus be *u*[*p-pí-iš-ke* [m]*ni-wa-al-la-a-aš-ma-wa-at-t*]*a*$^{(?)}$,[20] yielding, in fact, Beckman's translation.

Rev. 65: See above, rev. 61.

Rev. 66: Beckman's [*nu* [m]*M*]*a-ad-du-wa-at-ta-ša*, which follows Götze, should be read [[m]*m*]*a-ad-du-wa-at-ta-ša*. There is clearly no space for the *nu*, as comparison with [m]*ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta-ša* at the beginning of 61 just above makes clear (cf. also above, sub rev. 56).

Rev. 72: The copy shows a clear [m]*uš*-x[, and even on the photos one might, at first glance, be inclined to read it as such, but the seeming wedge here is far to the left of where it is placed in all other examples of UŠ on this tablet. Examination of the photos suggests that what looks like a wedge is therefore the internal horizontal of a MA damaged in just such a way as to make it look like a wedge. Of course, there is nothing that would preclude a person named Uš-x[turning up at this point, but one might want to simply read [m]*ma*[1]*-a*[*d-du-wa-at-ta*.

Rev. 90: Beckman's 'why have you joined up with [them]?' (*a-*˹*pé*˺[*-e-d*]*a-aš-za an-da ku-wa-at ḫa-an-da-a-it-ta-at*) surely yields better sense than Götze's 'warum wurde ihnen das bestimmt?' (*a-p*[*a-at-ša-m*]*a-áš-za* [*kat*$^{?}$*-ta*$^{?}$-]*an-da ku̯-û̯a-at ḫa-an-da-a-it-ta-at*); but Beckman's reading and restoration must be revised, as an E and the first part of a DA are far too short for the available space, and as the traces before the *-aš-za* are surely -˻*ma*˼-, not *-d*]*a-*. (Götze's [*kat*$^{?}$*-ta*$^{?}$-]*an-da* would be slightly too long for the available space and does not seem amenable to what is visible here;

[19] It is particularly difficult to be certain at this point, however, since the two fragments in the middle of the rev. are set somewhat askew in relation to the rest of the tablet.

[20] Or [m]*ni-wa-al-la-a-ša-wa-at-t*]*a*$^{(?)}$, as this text employs both *-Ca-* and *-VC-ma-* for the particle of contrastive focus.

the other words in this line have significant spaces between them, too.) Perhaps simply *a-p*[*i*ˀ*-ia*ˀ*-a*]*š*ˀ*-*˹*ma*˺*-aš-za-k*[*án*][21] *an-da* [*k*]*u-wa-at ḫa-an-da-a-it-ta-at* is the best solution. At least the two clauses (beginning with *nu* ^{m}*at-tar-ši-ia-aš*) following the direct speech, however, should surely be in the 3rd sg., not the 2nd, with Götze and *pace* Beckman, as one would expect *-z* in the enclitic chain in the second clause if it were in the 2nd sg. (i.e. **Madduwattas≠ma≠z* ÌR ^{d}UTU-*ŠI*), as it is a nominal sentence in a MH text; and the final sentence should probably also be seen as 3rd sg., though *ḫandāittat* could conceivably be 2nd sg. pret. (GrHL[2]: §11.24), even if it is thus far attested only as a 3rd sg. pret. (HW[2] Ḫ: 164; HED H: 99f.). The narrative framing in this and the following paragraph (rev. 84-91a) is otherwise in the third person.[22] One would thus translate lines 89-90, 'And since Attarsiya and the man of Piggaya (are) *independent rulers*[23] vis-à-vis My Majesty, Madduwatta in contrast a vassal of My Majesty, why did he join them th[ere]/in t[hat]?' The 'th[ere]/in t[hat]' would refer to Alasiya from 88 or to the episode in general.

Rev. 91: Following *nam-ma* and traces of ca. 3 further signs at the beginning of the line that I am unable to read, I think one can with some confidence read ˹^{m}*ma*˺-[*a*]*d-d*[*u-w*]*a*-[*a*]*t-*˹*ta*˺. It thus seems likely that the intriguing metaphors that close the text were articulated by Madduwatta, but until the rest of the signs preceding *kissan udas* are deciphered, this must remain but a possibility.

Finally, as Beckman's edition will surely serve as a standard for years to come, it seems appropriate to provide the following list of corrections of the typos and other errors that I happened to notice during my work: obv. 1: [*tu-uk-**k***]***a*** → [*tu-uk-**k***]***a***$_4$[24]; 5: *da-li-eš-ta* → *da-**a**-li-eš-ta*; 17: ^{Ḫ}UR.SAG[*Ḫa-ri*]*-ya-ti* → ^{Ḫ}UR.SAG*Ḫ*[*a-**a**-ri*]*-ya-ti*; 18: ^{Ḫ}UR.SAG*Ḫa-ri-ya-ti* → ^{Ḫ}UR.SAG*Ḫa-*˹***a***˺*-ri-ya-ti*; 22: ˹^{Ḫ}UR.SAG˺*Zi-i*[*p-pa-aš-la*] → ˹^{Ḫ}UR.SAG˺*Zi-i*[*p-pa -a*]*š-l*[*a*]-˹***a***˺; 24: [*ú-**ka-k***]***a***-*wa-kán* → [*ú-**uk-k***]***a***$_4$-*wa-kán* (better [*ú-**ug***

[21] The *-k*[*án*] was suggested to me by Craig Melchert (email of 26 Dec. 2025), who notes that all other examples of *-z … ḫandai-* have a local particle (cf. Melchert 2020).

[22] It must be admitted, though, that Beckman's wish to see the last clause of l. 90 as a second person clause, presumably because of *kuwat*, 'why', is understandable and yields a contextually satisfying question.

[23] On *kurewani*, see most recently Pallavidini (2017), who suggests 'juridically equal'.

[24] But see commentary to obv. 1 above for a different restoration.

-g]***a***-˹*wa-kán*˺); 29: [*tu-uk-**ka***]-*wa-ra-aš* → [*tu-uk-**ka**$_4$*]-*wa-ra-aš* (better [*tu-ug-**g***]***a***-˹*wa*˺*-ra-aš*); 31: [*tu-uk-**ka***-*wa-r*]*a-aš* → [*tu-uk-**ka**$_4$*-*wa-r*]*a-aš* (better [*tu-ug-**ga***-*wa-r*]*a-aš*); 32: [*zi-ik-**ka***-*wa*]-*ra-an ... ku-e-da-ni-**ik***-*ki* → [*zi-ik-**ka**$_4$*-*wa*]-*ra-an ... ku-e-da-ni-ki*;[25] 38: *z*[*i-ik-**ka***]-˹*wa*˺-*ra-an* → *z*[*i-ik-**ka**$_4$*]-˹*wa*˺-*ra-an* (better *z*[*i-ig-**ga***]-˹*wa*˺-*ra-an*); 41: … **IGI.ḪI.A**]-˹*ma*˺-*wa-kán* → … $^{\text{LÚ}}$***ṬE***$_4$***-M***]***I***-˹*ma*˺-*wa-kán*[26]; 48: *ku-**u-i**-eš* → *ku-**i-e**-eš*; 54: *a-aš-šu-u-**wa*** → *a-aš-šu-u-**ia***; 57: $^{\text{m}}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta-an ta-a-an* → $^{\text{m}}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta-an **nam-ma** ta-a-an*; 60: $^{\text{m}}$*At-**tar**-ri-iš-ši-ya-aš*[27] → $^{\text{m}}$*At-**ta**-ri-iš-ši-ya-aš*; 61: ANŠE.KUR.ḪI.A → ANŠE.KUR.**RA**.ḪI.A; 72: *ku-**en**-nir* → *ku-**e**-nir*; 76: ˹DAM˺-***SÚ*** → ˹DAM˺-***ŠU***; 85: *ḫar-ta ú-uk* → *ḫar-ta **nu-wa** ú-uk*; 86: $^{\text{m}}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-**at**-ta-ša-mu* → $^{\text{m}}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-ta-ša-mu*[28]; rev. 11: $^{\text{ÍD}}$*Ši-ya-an-ta-ya pa-ra*]-˹*a*˺ [*pé-e*]*š*$^{?}$*-ta* → $^{\text{ÍD}}$*Ši-ya-an-ta-ya* **[***pa-ra***]**-˹*a*˺ [*pé-e*]*š*$^{?}$*-ta*; 14: *A-BI* $^{\text{d}}$UTU^{ŠI} KUR → *A-B***[***I* $^{\text{d}}$UTU^{ŠI}**]** KUR; 26: $^{\text{URU}}$*Ḫa-pa-a-la-wa-kán* → $^{\text{URU}}$*Ḫa-pa-a-**al**-l*[*a-w*]*a-kán*; 31: the phrase ÉRIN.MEŠ-*ya ke-e-el ŠA* KUR.KUR^{TIM} *MA-ḪAR* $^{\text{d}}$UTU^{ŠI} *ú-wa-u-an-zi Ú-UL tar-na-i* is omitted from the translation; 48: BAL^{LIM} → *pal-ši*; 52: *ku-**en**-nir* → *ku-**e**-ner*; 56: … *zi-ig*]-˹*ga*˺-*wa-ra-at* → … *zi-ig*]-˹*ga*˺-*wa-ra-at-**za***; 59: BA[L^{LIM}] → *pa*[*l-ši*]; 61: BAL^{L}[^{IM} → *pal-š*[*i*; 80:]-*ru-up-ša-az* → *-š/t*]*a-ru-up-ša-**ša**-az*; 85: *wa-al-ḫa-an-ni-iš-ki-**i**]**t*** is translated ‘you … raided’, for which one would expect *wa-al-ḫa-an-ni-iš-ki-**i**]**š*** in a MH text; 91: *wa-**ak**-ki* → *wa-**a**-˹ki*˺.

[25] Actually, [*zi-ig-ga-wa*]-*ra-an* would be preferable, as this text otherwise always shows GA with *zig=a* and *zigg=a* (obv. 29, 40, 42, rev. 15, 25, 35, 36, 56, 64, 65). Cf. above, n. 4.

[26] In Beckman’s translation one finds, correctly, ‘[the messenger]’.

[27] Pointed out to me by Ingeborg Richardsen, Starnberg.

[28] Some might, with some justification, prefer to emend to $^{\text{m}}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-*‹*at*›*-ta-ša-mu*, as the name is otherwise always written plene, but the scribe may well have been trying to save space here, since he was rapidly running out of room on the edge.

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