Proceedings
of the
Eighth International
Congress of Hittitology

Warsaw, 5-9 September 2011

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with the assistance of
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Warsaw 2014
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Mursili II’s Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawannanna

Jared L. Miller
Munich

Introduction

In his Catalogue des textes hittites E. Laroché (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. Košák’s online Konkordanz (http://www.hethport.uni-vuehrzburg.de/hetkon/), 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 Izmir fragment, and several fragments have since been recognized as duplicates, including those largeish 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 + Izmir 1277 (CTH 71), de Martino (1998) presented a full edition of KUB 14.4 (CTH 70), thus superseding the older treatment by Cornelius (1975), while Grodek (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 ms. extant at the time. Finally, just as the present paper was going to press, a new translation of CTH 71 by Klingler 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


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

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mss. could well represent tablets one and two of a single text. Moreover I hope to demonstrate that these fragments, one of which is traditionally assumed to join indirectly with KUB 21.19 (CTH 383: Prayer of Hattusili III and Puduhepa to the Sun Goddess of Arina), 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 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 Hattusili III and Puduhepa to the Sun Goddess of Arina. Finally, discussions of a number of individual passages along with a few further considerations will be presented.

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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: 12.9f. 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 Rakhye Aldoğan. I would also like to express my appreciation to Genot 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.
Maurini II’s Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawananama


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Mursili II’s Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawamanna

14 A·NA MUNUS.LULUGAL i-si-ja-aj-hi-is-kat-tal-la-ta ki-sa-at nu-kán A·NA[14 ...]
15 An-ni-ja-ja-an [kOJi] SUHUR.LÁL, IŠ.TU.E.GAL,11 kat-ta-an *u*-i-ja-ā[r ...]
16 ad-díma ma-an-aa-zu DAM·JAl-NA MUNUS.LULUGAL i-si-ja-aj-hi-is-kat-tal-la-ta
17 [a]d-[k]i-sa-at[ ...]
18 nu l-o-d-du ku ki-ša-ja-at MUNUS.LULUGAL a-pu-aa-un me-mí-an A·NA DAM·JAl-NA[ ...]
19 EGIS па wa-at-tal ku-wa-at i-ja-at na-aš UD-ti [E]·E.gi-ja-at DINGIR[13 ...] ad-pe-ra-an[ ...]
20 ar-ki-ta ni DAM·JAl-NA DINGIR[13 ...] pe-ša-ra-an[ ...] ha-ša-k-ke-ez-zí nu-aš-hi-n kán[ ...]
21 nu DAM·JAl-NA MUNUS.LULUGAL i-da-la wa-adh-ta ku-[k]-ki[ ...]
22 me-an ka-wa-at i-ša-ma-at te-en DAM·JAl-NA MUNUS.LULUGAL i-da-la wa-adh-ta,...
23 ma-an-aa um A·NA KUR[13 ...] KUM.MA.A.NI ma-pa-a-un A·BA·U·JA A·NA[13 ...]
24 EZE.N, šul-zi-ja-wa-aa šu-ša-ka-a-an-tu-ta iš-sa-at ma-an-ši na-a-ši[ ...]
25 na-aš am-mu-uk na-ak-e-e-č-ta-at na l-NA[13 ...] KAL.ZU.WAT.ENA pa-a-un[ ...]
26 nu ki-aš-an me-mi-ši ku-nun pa-i-mi-wa-ša A·BA·U·JA še-ši, ši-ša-ša-an[ ...]
27 ar-ša-[kar,] ni-ši-mi [mu]-za am-mu-šu-č[ ...] Bālu.KUM.MA.A.NI A·NA[ ...] NUN.SAG.13 ...
28 DAM·JAl-NA DINGIR[13 ...] KUR·TI·JA A·NA[13 ...] KUR[13 ...]
29 tal-[li-ši,] še-[mu-šu-šu-ki, šu-ši] k-ki me-mi-un x[ ...]
30 A·NA[13 ...] A·WA·AT[13 ...]
31 ku-šit [ši-šu-č[ ...]
32 mu [šu-ši] TUR[13 ...] TUR[13 ...]
33 a-pa-ša-ša[ ...]

Rev. iv

1

(1993: 50) MUNUS.LULUGAL[ ...]
11 On the photo-hint of a wedge would seem to be visible; cf. a-ši-ša, e.g., in de Martino (1998: 27).
12 There seems clearly to be a space following ad-du, as assumed, e.g., by Onal (1978: 121); cf. Hofner’s (1995: 99) ad-ad-um-mu-za-and my comments on adda in the light of several new attestations (Miller 2007: 525). 
13 Unlike on photos as well as in copy, presumably šá DAM·JAl or similar, for which cf. 2.A ii 25. 
14 The staves seem, upon comparison with JU.L in ii 22, to suggest rather JU.L-[nu], so that one might opt for “why did you listen to the matter in evil,” i.e. “wrongly.”
15 Likely yet another scribal error, but if not, then presumably tegnusa=, i.e. med.-pass., despite Neus’s (1968: 172) concerns, as assumed in Chad L-N.92:334a; Grühl 327.18. Reichardt’s (1998: 15, 156-157) attempts to follow a verb of two signs that can no longer be read.
16 The sign traces, upon comparison with JU.L in ii 22, to suggest rather JU.L-[nu], so that one might opt for “why did you listen to the matter in evil,” i.e. “wrongly.”
17 On the photos the hint of a wedge would seem to be visible; cf. a-ši-ša, e.g., in de Martino (1998: 27).
18 On the photos as well as in copy, presumably šá DAM·JAl or similar, for which cf. 2.A ii 25. 
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too.¹⁰⁾ became a god), neither did I [do Tawa]manna any [wrong] whatsoever, nor did I [denote] her at all. Just like she administered the palace and the land of Hattusa [in the time of my father and in the time of my brothers [she] administered them just the same] then, too. And the customary activity that was [...] to her [during the time] of her husband (I) ... those which were not permitted her, (I) ... and the customary activity and obligation(s) (I) ... and the obligations she had carried out (I) ... just as [...] from with a/the man (I) ... she administered the palace and the land of Hattusa just the same. (I) ... [I] ... and, [...] her/him/it very much; [...] (I) I had set/placed [very] much [...] S/H/e it was [...].

gap (of ca. 2/3 of a col.)
³²⁾ (ii 1-ii 3) [I] who/whatever, and [...]; (I) she ruined. Do you gods not see how she has diverted my father's entire estate to the stone monument building of the protective deity (and) to the royal funerary structure of the deity? Moreover, (some of it) she dispatched to Babylon, while other (things) she distributed to the whole population in Hattusa. 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. (I) [...]
²⁰⁾ Still, she shut up (people's) mouths; and even that which (I) she had not yet seen the passage seems to be to emphasize that up until the present time no one had done the Tawananna any wrong or denoted her; it does not yet begin recounting her misdeeds (de Martino 1997: 59-60). Thus Cohen's (2002: 15, 152) suggestion of restoring ne-[a]r-v (at the beginning of 14) and translating "She did those 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 (sklakia) and the binding obligation (ēhuth) 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 wa-pa-ar-ta of L 17, "she administered the palace and the land of Hattusa just the same way."


²⁵⁾ Marking in the location 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 goddess and E.N.A. 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; Tarscha 2009: 165 and n. 991; KBB III: 557b.

²⁶⁾ Also possible, with CHD P 54b, "to all Hattusa, to the people."

²⁷⁾ 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 Murshi 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 Tawananna had been put on trial already at some point for her mismanagement of Suppiluliuma's estate but had been pronounced not guilty. The Tawananna would have been put on trial twice might receive very tenuous support from the "again," [E][GIR-pa, in 2A 17.]

¹⁰⁾ Dardano (2002: 344-345 and 345 n. 40) and Singer (2002a: 79 n. 5) are surely correct in rejecting touched, even that she gave away to you(s), so that she ruined my father's estate. And then she followed with real maliciousness. (Day and night she stands before you) [you] gods with bread and wine (and) regularly give you (your) bread (and) wine (and), and I beg, I evoke, I praise them for my own person, for my wife, for my son(s), for my estate, for my land and for the destruction of the enemies.

But Murshi stands [day and night] before you [gods], and [she] curses my wife [before] you (you) gods and sacrifices [concerning her], and [...] of my [wife], [my son(s)], [...] and the attendant gods not [...] for an evil judgement [...] (Since/ That which my [...] you gods [...] you have heard/you must hear, and [...] why (did you [...]] I listen to (that) evil word?"

³⁴⁾ (iii 4-22) When Annelma [took up [...] Annelma [...]. SIS/he said: "Those which [...], the queen [...], Mezzulla [...] to for you(whom), [...] [S/I] he revealed the curses [...]" (The matter which she divulged to my wife, [...] she concealed Goethe's (1957: 53) and Bin-Nun's (1975: 186-187) connection of this passage with Murshi's aphasisia; cf., e.g., Strauß 2006: 20.

⁶⁾ 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 "Feinde zu ein de Auftrag (contre elle), mais elle a continué à faire des donations..."

⁶⁾ As noted by de Martino (1998: 34 n. 117), this is the only passage in the text in which Murshi would seem to be addressing a god in the singular, leading him to suggest a variant parsing of the enclitic clause (apar-mer-at-tar-kū) which, however, is syntactically impossible. Incidentally, Hoffner (1983: 191b) presumably did not parse apar-mer-at-tar-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 nominalization as in its English translation. And sg. enclitic pronoun may well be a scribal mistake, perhaps also suggested by the odd resumption of "that which was not done" by apar – which one would expect to refer to the Tawananna – rather than expected aparr. When one considers also the seemingly nonsensical giving away of "that which was not made" and the bungled U in 10, perhaps one can assume that the entire clause is errant. Cf. also Gudegebehrn 2003: 331.

⁴⁾ Singer (2002a: 75 and 76), reading "brothers" (i.e. Sē(S), understandably attempts to avoid including "enemies" here along with those for whom Murshi is praying, but "KUR is a much more convincing reading, despite the erasure, as it is in the same location in lv 28, too, despite the damaged state of the signs. Presumably Murshi is praying for [something specific] for his enemies (cf. 15) or "Schütze gegen Feinde" (Cornelius 1975: 32), not for his enemies per se, or, with de Martino 1998: 37, simply "reguardo i nemici."

⁵⁾ Exactly where the quoted speech ends cannot be determined. Klingner (1992: 199 and nos. 81-82) long ago called into question Laroche's (1956: 102-103) and Bin-Nun's (1975: 186) interpretation, according to which the Tawananna had employed Mezzulla to curse Murshi'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 šubbara, "curses" (Cunliff's 2007: 218-219) šubbara 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 Schadenzauber, of course, do include the mere spoken word uttered with intent to harm (Neither is it clear that the queen said "sent [...] Mezzulla to utter spells" (Bin-Nun 1975: 186; similarly Klingler 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 ii 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 qāṣ[en] in some lawsuit? Did [my] wife [...] become a denouncer of the queen? [...] She expelled Annella, the maid servant, from the palace down [...]. [...] Had my wife [become] a denouncer of the queen, [...] she would have done something wicked. Why did the queen turn that matter into a crime concerning [my] wife again? She stands [...] day and night 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, [...] or did she degrade her at all, so that the Tawannanna (should have) killed my wife?

Section 5 (ii 23-33) When I went to the land of Kummanni, though—my father had promised to Hebaf of Kummanni a festival of acclaim, but had not yet provided for it—she [...] haunted me, and thus I went to Kizzuwatna, [...] and I spoke as follows: “I am going to fully atone for the neglect of my father.” And I evoked, [...] I called up [...] Hebaf of Kummanni [for] my own [person], my wife, my son, my estate, my land and the [...] of the enemy[s]. [...] to/For the word of P[N [...] which/since [...] demand/require [...] [...]and the $[un] Deity/[My Majesty [...] that [...] (gap of somewhat more than one col.) [...] (ii 24-37) to the queen [...] which/since [...], [...] but His/Ma Majesty [...] if I gave to the queen, [...] which/since she knew/knows, and [...] it/they [...] divine providence, since [...] [. [... And if a man [...] other/another [...] other matters. And do you gods not [...] [...] (ii 30) said to [the king of Karkamis: [...] me/to me for/about the silver of Aštata [...], [...] the [queen has/holds [...] so keep quiet [...]. May the queen know [...]!” Whether the matter of the silver of the king speculation. For discussion of other attestations of Mezzalla, see de Martino 1998: 44. 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 Murisi’s wife having become an informant for the queen, but of her becoming an informant against or denouncer of the queen (Cornelius 1975: 36). Murisi 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 Amnella affair, i.e. by denouncing her; to the contrary, Murisi 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 I 4 (not the acc., as in Singer’s translation), had informed Murisi’s wife that the queen had been uttering curses before the gods or otherwise misbehaving. Murisi’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 infomer/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. Hebaf, with de Martino 1998: 36 with n. 132, not the Tawannanna, as assumed by Freeh (2008: 64).

50 For taltumwe- 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.
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(37) ... then the [....]s of Hattusa another [....] for the lordship. (38) Amminiyāya [....] and Amminīyān’s [....] they will [....]. My Majesty, however, [....] into the land of Ḫayasa, [....] she wrote [....] back [....] by means of a tablet. (39) [....] she’s ordered. If [....] to/from Ḫayasa, though, [....] suddenly would not say. (40) [.... or see] as they learn of this matter [....]. I asked, “This (matter/person) which [....] did she not conceal? (41) She said [....] (42) She said [....].

§8 (iv 38-40) [.... to which matters [....] they were [....]

1:1b, (KBo 19.84)

1'  
2'  
3'  
4'  
5'  
6'  
7'  
8'  
9'  
10'  
11'  
12'  
13'  
14'

9 If -wa-la is in fact to be read after the break (which is anything but certain, as the traces do not speak convincingly for -wa-) it could relate to van den Hout’s (1994: 81) suggestion that Amminiyā might be the personal name of the Tawannānīn in one of at least two ways. Reading -wa-la would place all the text up until UTÚ[mu-za] in l. 29 in the mouth of the Tawannānīn, in which case it is unlikely that he had been the Tawannānīn who refers to himself by name; or it would place the text beginning in the break of l. 27 in the mouths of the [lords’men] of Ḫattusa, which would thus be referring to the Tawannānīn 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 Tawannānīn. The possibility would seem perhaps to be strengthened by l.5b, 7-8, which would appear to reiterate Muršili’s oft-repeated claim never to have harmed Tawannānīn in any way, even with Amminiyā as object, if indeed l. 7-8 constitute only one sentence; and all the more so if lines 1.5b, 7-8 in fact parallel 1.1A i 1-3’ (see n. 111), which certainly refer to the Tawannānīn. Bin-Nun (1975: 247) – not van den Hout, as assumed by Haas (2008: 85) – suggested that Amminiyā might have been Atnumadda’s wife/widow, and Haas (2008: 85) wonders if she might be a daughter of Sapphulahma and the Tawannānīn; see summary now in Zehnder 2010: 112 and a now attestation of Am-mi-in-na fa-la in the oracle fragment KBo 54.111+KUB 18.42 obv. 6’.

40 Heinhold-Kraemer et al. (1979: 232), van den Hout (1994: 43) and HW III: 518b, translate as a 2.sg., but the 3.sg. scene contextually more likely, with de Martino 1998: 39, with n. 143, and according to Grütz, §12.36, the -di: conjugation does slip into the paradigm of bar-[a], though not all attestations are cited; cf. HW III: 514b.

41 Clearly so, rather than Neu’s (1986: 78) ʾi-di-wa-ra-ri.

42 Graphically could equally well be a L[U], but cf. 1A i 3’ and n. 111.

Mursili II’s Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawannānīn

§1 (1-9) (37) [....] and Zuwālimnu [...]. She always [...]-ed, and PN [... to him/her. (38) [...]. They [...]-ed, and (to) us [...]. Zuwannānīn out/forth [...]. [...]-ed, Amminīnīyā [...]. I wrong[ed] [... in no way. (39) [...]. was discovered, and (my) bro[th]er [...]. [...].

§2 (40-14) [...]. In Hattusa [...]. [... to/to the deity [...]. [...]. from the [...]

1:2b, (KBo 19.85)

1'  
2'  
3'  
4'  
5'  
6'  
7'  
8'  
9'  
10'  
11'  
12'  
13'  
14'  
15'

43 Or “it was an illness of life,” i.e. a life-threatening illness? There is very little space between GIG and e-[e]-ta, but there is often little to no space between words in this fragment.

44 Seemingly not [me]-. Traces would fit -e; rather well, but neither CHD L-N: 268-267 nor Klockhorst 2008: 575 show a writing of mem[i]-yaw/- with a plane e.
Mursili II's Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawannanna

Aii 20' nu am-me-el ka-a-aš-pāt l-aš dā-me-el-ša-aš μ-za DINGIR\5 4\5 ×\5 4  C, 1' 1  x  x
Aii 21' ki-i DI-NA, pē-ra-an kat-ta da-ā-ti-tēn na-at μu-šē-tēn  C, 2' 2  p\5 4\5 7\5 4\5 5\5 4\5 0\5 0\5 4\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5\5 7\5 0\5 5}
office of Mother Goddess Priestess. And since it was determined that she be deposed, (4) I deposed her, and I gave her an estate. (5) Nothing whatsoever is lacking for her, for her well-being. (6) There is bread and water for her, everything stands at her disposal. (7) She does not lack a thing. (8) She is among the living, (8) 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, (9) that I banished her from the palace only, (10) and I dismissed her from the office of Mother Goddess Priestess for the gods. (11) My punishment (for her) was merely this alone. So place this lawsuit down before you, o gods, and investigate it! (12) Has her life now become disposable? Since she is alive, (13) she sees the sun in the sky with her eyes, (14) while she eats bread among the living. And my (15) punishment? The death of my wife? Has it been amended? (16) Because she killed her, the days of life (17) ... constantly [... ] down into the [dark] netherworld. Me, however, she spared (18) and bereaved (19) (20) That woman has bereaved [me]. (Do you) gods not (21) know whose is the punishment?!

§3° (Aii 5-27; Bii 1’-24’) [And since I deposed the queen] from the office of [you] ( gods) (22) Mother Goddess Priestess, I will take care of the [ ] for (you) gods, [my lords], and I will venerate (you) gods, (23) do (re)install her (i)n the office of Mother Goddess Priestess [for (you) gods] and do not (conspire) to make her (m)any way] in any way!] But because [i] (person) was not [... j for good fortune, long as she was queen, (24) (she] constantly curse[d] (my) wife], so that she killed her. (25) [And when I] deposed her from the office of Mother Goddess Priestess for (you) gods, I demoted her, (26) and I sent (her) down [from the palace], and does she no longer curse all the time, (27) previous treatments.

59 Groddée (2009: 50) iš-ha-na-at-l₃₂ iš-ta₄₂ ma₂₂ is a simple type.
60 Groddée (2007: 40-41) [e]-e-da-n, “an welcomisch Tisch,” in 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.
61 Groddée’s (2007: 40) [k]u₃₃-a-p₃₃-en is certainly a possibility, as it would fit the sign traces quite well. “Hochbeben,” however, does not seem to offer an inherently transparent sense in the context, and I wonder if edition, “we [would have] eaten” (cf. e₃₃-a-en in KII 55.205, 13), should be preferred. An e₃₃ at the beginning of the line would seem to leave just a bit too much space, however, though not quite enough even for a me, so that the suggestion must remain tentative. SIGK, k₃₃-a-en would fill the space nicely, but would seem to be foiled by the vertically immediately after the break and before the broken vertical as well as the lack of further horizontals in LA.
62 Presumably not to be connected with [l₃₃-d₃₃-a-n₂₃-]₃₃-an₂₃-a₄-um₂₃-ma₂₃-a₄-, which would fit the signs well, except for the lack of space between m₂₃-as and summa₃-m. To be linked with expected n₃₃-um₂₃ or another accented personal pronoun? Maybe n₃₃-um₂₃-an₃₃-m is the best solution, despite a seeming dearth of horizontals in the AT.
63 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
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"And if she continues to curse – even if [once], earlier, [you gods] might have [(hers)en] her to – now, though, o gods, my lords, (it is) do not do so! Do not listen to (each an) [they]! I myself[if, Mursili], 1⁄4[your servant, your priest, have [(sprung)] forth,] 1⁄4[and I myself immediately prayed my] in her stead.

So [heret] my concerns, o gods, my lords? And if Tawannanna continues to curse [me, my son(s), my estate], then do not, o gods, [my] [lords], all[ow] and [y affair/plea/evil tongue] of Ta<wa-nan ana (to reach) my sons, [my] estate, [my land and ...]!

§4" (B ii 25'-41'; A ii 28-30) "(And) because I am the one who has been punished, may I appea[re] before/be [not]ced b[y] (you) [gods, my lords]! And [because] I [perfo]rm the prayer for you, [incline] an ear to me (and) listen to [m'e]! [She] took the place of my mother, [a]nd she constantly cursed my wife, so that she [died], while that (woman) became a murderer to me. 1⁄2[T]he festivals of the gods, however, [she] neglected. 1⁄2(while) I was reverent toward the gods, and I provided for the festivities of the gods. [But ...] she was the Mother Goddess Priestess of the gods, and sin[ce] transgressions ... o gods, she became a murderer to me. [But if] I had done/made [...], I wo[uld] have brought the murderer into my home. And if we had sat upon the throne, if ... we had eaten in ... at one (and the same) table; or [...] from a single [...]

5" (B ii 42') (traces)

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

2' [ai-μα-αi] ha-an-ni-il
3' [jar-ii-ti] Em-e-an ar-̱a
4' [jar-ku-u-e-k-e-k-e-z] 2
5' [ṉa-μu mu ha-wa-ap-po-an]
6' [e-em-ma-αi] bu-i
7' [SANGA-KU-N] JR-KU-N 2
8' m-e, mi-an
9' k najwięks ŚM MUNUS.LUGAL
10' [x] A-N A KUR-TI-IR
11' [x] ku-i-eš
12' [x] ŚM MUNUS.LUGAL
13' [a] na-dā-le-e

(c.a. 10 empty lines)

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

1' [ja-at DI-N] JÉ-ra-an CAM 2 [a-a]š-tōn
2' [k]a-e-u-ašt [xi] me-eš-aš 2 ma-na-an am-mu-šuk
3' [ja-pa-a-eš] du-[me-eš-ba] [a]š-ta nu A-MA-NA
4' [eG-ti] [a]š-ta mu A-N A NINDA KAŠ tēk-ša-an
5' [x] U-UL-IR, l-an eš-ta nu k[i]-ša-an
6' [x] še-eš 1 e-ša-šu A-N A NINDA KAŠ
7' [x] ar-zi *na-at-zā 2 *i-n-[k]aš
8' [A]-MA-[e]-eš-ta
9' [x] wa-a-tar tēk-ša-an
10' [a]-en mu A-N A Lī-TI
11' [jō]-u-ni A-N A DINGIR-šu
12' [EN]-MAR[BE]-LI-IR-MAŠ
13' [EN]-MAR[BE]-LI-IR-MAŠ 2
14' [e]-eš-ta
15' [x] wa-ašt na-an am-mu-šuk
16' [U]-UL-IR, ku-it-ti i d-a-la-ša-šu-ša-an
17' [a]-aš-ta mu A-N A NINDA KAŠ
18' [j]ar-zi eš-ta n[a]-ša-šu na-at-tal-la-ša

60 The usage of peran was<nu> followed by bid<i>dak> in this passage provides an interesting parallel to the strikingly similar usage in Mursili II's Second Plague Prayer employed to describe Suppulliluna I's attack on Egyptian Aruni: "Since the men of [Hatt] and the men of Egypt were bound by the oath of the Storm God of [Hatt], and the men of [Hatt] sprang forth (peran was<nu>), the men of Hatti thereby suddenly (bid<i>dak>) transgressed the oath of the gods" (KUB 14.8-16f. // 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 the attack was understood by Mursili to have been hasty and diplomatically ill-considered; both follow up the peran was<nu>-phrase with an immediately subsequent action modified with bid<i>dak>, seemingly as the unavoidable consequence of the preceding phrase. Such an understanding of peran was<nu>, with a translation "spring forth; hurc forth," would seem to fit the attestations collected in CHD P: 302a, as well.
61 The irreals particles (iii 35'-38' and perhaps 40'), ignored in most transliterations (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 office, if they had sat on the throne together, sat at table together, and eaten together. Cf. Grodeck 2007: 57 n. 41, where he assumes that "Mursili II. in the following Zeilen die Zeit seiner Herrschaft in jungen, in schöneren Tagen vor dem fahnen Ende seiner Gattin schildert, in der Tawannana an seiner Seite ihren Pflichten nacheingespielt war, so daß die Priesterin hier voreilig als Plusquasuperlative wiedergeben werden", and in which he also discusses the difficulties with the eratic particles in these challenging lines.
KBo 22.30
1'  یر لیٰس A' ٰ[ ژ
2'  ژٰ-ٰل DAM- ّA[ ژ
3'  ژٰس-ٰل DAM- ّA[ ژ
4'  ژٰس-ٰل DAM- ّA[ ژ
5'  ژٰس-ٰل DAM- ّA[ ژ
6'  ژٰس-ٰل DAM- ّA[ ژ
7'  ژٰس-ٰل DAM- ّA[ ژ
8'  ژٰس-ٰل DAM- ّA[ ژ

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 I.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. 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 hēkur-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. 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 Amella, apparently a palace servant, and how she had told his wife something that she

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102Nowhere, in fact, is it claimed that “se sic 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. The column ends by relating that Mursili had gone to Kummanni to celebrate a festival for Ḫetet that his father Suppiluliuma had neglected.

Discussion

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iv Mursili relates that he had marched to Azzi, when a solar omen occurred, 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 ii 5 ff.). 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 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 Lewan, the only exceptions being his first, fourth and fifth plague prayers, which are also directed to the gods altogether. 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 i 22, iv 23; 2 A ii 2’-6”, 25’-iii 3, 12, 2 B ii 29”), and her innocent behaviour toward the Tawannanna is spoken of only in the past tense (1 A i 9-17, 22-23); the trial and banishment of the Tawannanna had already taken place (2 A ii 6’-11’, 16’-20”, iii 5, 15-15); 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 i 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.-inf. “she stands before (you) gods and [she curses] my wife” and in 1 A iii 18-20 is found “She stands day and night 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

The 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, mitigating 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; Grodek 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 Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna, CTB 383.108 Stürchgen, in his edition of Ḫattušili’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 nächstehed Parallele wohl das Mursili-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 CTBL 71. And it is the gods in general that are addressed, not the Sun Goddess of Arinna, as in Ḫattušili’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 the direct object, which reminds one of the constant cursing and pleading of the Tawannanna in CTBL 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 of question, in Mursili’s Plague Prayers and in Munawattal’s Prayer to the Assembly of Gods, but never in any of Ḫattušili’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, who echoes CTBL 71 summarized a moment ago. The location employed here, pe-rām kata-tāš-ti, is found, for what it is worth, in the 2nd

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

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 CTBL 70 and 71. The word for murderer here, isḫa-umattal-ta, the meaning of which Tischler (1981: s.v.) and Grodek (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 Ḫattušili’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 Ḫattušili’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.b, and 1.c, 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.b, and 1.c show very similar hands and tablet features, were found in the same debris dump and all mention Zawanna, and therefore may well belong to a single tablet. They mention the father and Arnuwanda as well as the woman Ammimaya, who is mentioned toward the end of CTBL 70 (see n. 59). The 1st pl. referring to Mursili, his father and his brother is found only in 1.b, 7’ in 1.b, 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.b, (II. 7’-9’) are strikingly parallel to the first three lines of the first column of 1.A, so much so that one would presumably regard them as duplicate if it were not for the fact that the following lines of 1.b 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

108 And as of 30.05.2013 included as such in the join sketch sub CTB 383 in the Kowkowlanci (Version 1.86, http://www.hethuport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/).
109 Followed, e.g., by Grodek 2007: 37, 45, 53 n. 6, 61 n. 67, who presents a treatment and insightful discussion of Bo 4222 before the joins.
queen (1.2), possibly a lawsuit (4'), "my mother" (14') and someone cursing (5'); it addresses the "[gods], my lords" (7') and contains the phrase "your 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 Mursil'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 Puduḫepa in her Prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinnu (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 I.A ii 3'-8', where Mursil bemoans the Tawannanna having depleted his father's estate, ii 5'-6' of which have been translated "she brought something from Babylon" (a-pu-a-at-na / /Sa-an-su-ra-as hu-zi-i-na-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 Šanharra, another thing she gave away in Hattusa to the whole population," while SINGER (2002a: 75) has, "This she let come from Šanharra (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 brought from Babylon, range widely (see de Martino 1998: 41-42). Güterbock (apud Laroche 1956: 102 n. 2) remained rather agnostic, admitting that "What ---- Šanharra: hu-ni-du 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

112Similarly, e.g., OTTEN 1966: 151; Ünal 1974: 39; HoFFNER 1983: 191b; van den Hout 1994: 49; GED P. 54b; De Martino 1998: 33; Opfermann 1998: 235; BOLEY 2000: 97, 97, 725; COHEN 2002: 152f. with n. 654, but noting Melchert's alternative (see below); BRYCE 2005: 208; CAMBI 2007: 399, cf. also HIT 1: 557b and 650, the latter rather muddled, since the passage is understood to warrant a separate semantic category, "besitit 'herzlenden, übertreiben(?)", though it is in fact nueru from 1.5 which is then translated as such, while hu-ni-du is translated "liesst sie aus Šanharra kommen."

113E.g., BRYCE 2005: 207; similarly KLINGEL 1979: 87: "Mursili II. erhob später gegen diese Königsn den Vorwurf, sie habe fremdes Brauchtum aus Babyloniens (Šanharra) an hethitischen Hof eingeführt."

114BIN-NUN 1975: 189: "Mursili goes on accusing her of having turned his father's house into 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 Hattusa would have reduced the wealth of the estate of the royal family, which is Mursil's chief complaint.

The verb hu-ni-du, however, is simply a causative of the verb hu-wa-, "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 Hattusa (MELCHERT 1977: 358, EX. 254): "She (removed part of the goods) to Šanharra, part she gave away to the population in Hattusa."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

greywandö by bringing over things from Babylon and giving others away to the population of Šanharra. 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.

115SINGER 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 conceits." HAAS 2008: 86 n. 313, similarly, "Dafür daß dem babylonischen König dann aber doch am Sture Mursilis gelegen sein musste, sprechen die Bestechungsgelder aus Babylon, über welche die Tawannanna in Hattusa verfügt haben muß." Cf. also n. 102.


117He further comments (p. 358-359): "Why one has an ablative rather than a dative-localizing (expressive) goal is not entirely clear. Since the accusation is that the Tawannanna dissipated the royal family's wealth, perhaps the ablative has a derogatory meaning: she did not even see to it that the goods reached Šanharra, 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 hu-ni-du, 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.118For 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 Hattusa and Babylon were in fact realized, and two late copies of correspondence between the Kassties 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 (ii 28, iv 22), Alparslan (2007: 33; followed by Glockler 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 I.A iv 20-21, not to mention the additional occurrence of sons in 2.B iii 23’. Grodeck (2007: 42f; 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 (Bawanyapec 2007: 57-58; Hawkins 2011: 91-95) that Tanuhèpa was indeed Mursili II’s second wife (pace Singer 2002b), and that she outlived not only Mursili II but also the following king Muwatalli 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-Tešub/Mursili III. In light of these determinations, the chief questions are (1) who prays for Gassiljuiwinya in CTH 380, dubbed by Tischler (1981) “Das hethitische Gebet der Gassiljuiwinya” and in the Konkordanz as “Gebet Mursilis II. an Lehwan für die Geneung von Gassiljuiwinya”; (2) how Gassiljuiwinya’s title Great Queen on the Cruciform Seal is to be understood; and (3) why was Tanuhèpa rehabilitated during or at the beginning of the reign of Urḫi-Tešub/Mursili III?

(1) As shown by Otten’s (1984: 300) discussion of KBo 31.80 (335/e), the person praying for Gassiljuiwinya 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 Suppišiliuma I) should be portrayed as a lethal enemy of Gassiljuiwinya 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 (Tanuhèpa) for Gassiljuiwinya.

Elamites speak of an otherwise unknown Nabi-ši-apper-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., Dingol 1993: 98; Klinger 1996: 215 n. 349). 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). This would seem more parsimonious than a number of admittedly possible alternative scenarios, e.g., that Gassiljuiwinya I had become ill off 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 Gassiljuiwinya 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. Dingol et al. 1993: 97-98), 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 Gassiljuiwinya 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 Gassiljuiwinya posthumously, perhaps after the Tawannanna had been banished, perhaps even after her death, but before he married his second wife, Tanuhèpa, which, however, seems somehow less likely.

(3) The only explanation that immediately suggests itself, though admittedly entirely speculative, for the apparent circumstance that Tanuhèpa was somehow “rehabilitated” as Tawannanna at the beginning of or during the reign of Urḫi-Tešub/Mursili III is that this king would actually have been a son of hers and Mursili II’s, perhaps adopted by Muwatalli II. When Ḫattusili III says in his Apology that his brother had no ḫalkus-sal-kar-sun (KUB 1.1.i+i 40; KUB 19.67+1 i 42; Otten 1981: 20-21), he thus would have meant no “biological” son, since Muwatalli’s “son(s),” Urḫi-Tešub (and Kurumitija?), would have been biological sons of Mursili II and Tanuhèpa, adopted by Muwatalli II during his own reign, perhaps at some point when it seemed to him that he

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 Gassiljuiwinya 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 Hoed 1998: 44 n. 9.

In contrast, KUB 36.81 (Singer 2002a: No. 16), a prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna in which Gassiljuiwinya and the queen are likewise mentioned, seems likely to be from Mursili II, partly because of the duality, which seems somewhat earlier; see Singer 1991: 139; de Roo 2005.

They write that “even during the old queen’s lifetime, in certain contexts the wife of the king might be referred to as ‘great daughters,’ but in others she might be called squeeze as well” (Dingol et al. 1993: 98).
might not produce an heir himself. Ḥattušili might have subsequently spoken of Urḫu-Tesšub 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 Gassuliyawya (i.e. Muwatallti and Ḥattušili) 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 Muwatallti had adopted Urḫu-Tesšub/Mursili III (and perhaps Kuruntiya) only to subsequently put their mother, the taowananna Tanuḫepa, on trial and to ruin her and her sons. Knowing Ḥattušili as we do it is not necessarily surprising that he never mentions Urḫu-Tesšub/Mursili III (or Kuruntiya) as biological sons of Mursili, but only as sons of Muwatallti, 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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