HITTITE KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE. A STUDY
BASED ON THE CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM 2ND MILLENNIUM BOĞAZKÖY.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

PAGE

375 Read in n.50, L.1, Bryce, 1985a, etc.

376 Erase "woman" in L.3 (n.57); read in n.68, L.5, Haas, Wilhelm, 1974, etc.

379 Read in n.101, L.1, Note Hawkins, 1980c, p.143.

382 Read in n.152, L.2, Güterbock, 1970a, etc.; read in n.154, L.2, Neu, 1982a, etc.

385 Read in n.213, L.1, Hawkins, 1980c, etc.; in L.2, Morpurgo Davies, 1980a, etc. Read in n.214, L.2, (Hawkins), 1980c, etc.

386 Read in n.216, L.2, Hawkins, 1980c, pp.149, 154; etc.

387 Read in n.234, L.1, Laroche, 1973a, etc.

392 Read in n.290, L.1, Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies, etc.; read in n.291, Hawkins, 1980c, etc.

402 Read in n.30, L.1, Güterbock, 1961a, pp.75, 78; 1962a, p.23, etc.; read in n.33, L1, Güterbock, 1961a, pp.78, etc.

403 Read in n.47, LL.3-4, Stefanini, Devoto, 1965, etc.

405 Read in n.83, L.2, Otten-Souček, StBoT 8, etc.

410 Read here and ff., Kühne, Otten, 1971, for Otten, Kühne, etc.

412 Read in n.183, L.1, Philpotts, 1913, etc.

413 Read Philpotts for Phillipotts; read in n.183, Benveniste, 1935a, etc.

419 Read in n.261, L.1, See Lindeman, 1965, etc.

431 Read in n.56, L.4, Stefanini, Devoto, 1965, etc.


440 Read in n.161, L.1, Pisani, 1951, etc.

444 Read in n.202, L.1, Oettinger, 1982b, etc.; read in n.203, L.2, Oettinger, 1982b, etc.
452  Read in n.264, L.2, Goetze, 1947a, etc.
457  Read in n.303, L.2, Archi, 1980a, etc.; read in L.11, J. Puhvel, FsHill, 1978, etc.
463  Read in n.354, L.1, Renger, 1967, etc.
480  Read in n.50, L.1, Driver, Miles, 1960 I, p.250; etc.
481  Read in L.3 (n.51), Kühne, 1973a, etc.; read in ns.57 (L.2), 58 (L.1), Stefanini, 1964a, etc.
488  Read in L.4 (n.131), Keesing, 1975, pp.42.
496  Read in n.56, L.1, Klengel, 1965, pp.227-228, etc.
503  Read in n.144, Starke, 1977a, etc.
511  Read in n.52, L.3, von Schuler, 1959, pp.449, etc.
512  Read in n.58, L.8, pp.160-161, etc.; read in n.61, L.5, Otten, 1958a, etc.; in LL.5-6, Goetze, JCS 16 (1962), p.26, etc.; read in n.62, LL.2-3, J. Friedrich, SymbKoschaker, pp.3-4.
513  Read in ns.72, 73, 74, Thomas, 1976, etc.
523  Erase in ns.190, 191, Puhvel, 1971, etc., and read HED 3, pp.401-402, on hurkis/hurkel.
530  Read in n.280, LL.1-2, Stefanini, 1964b, etc.; in L.3, Ünal, 1974a, etc.
533  Read in n.328, LL.1-2, Güterbock, 1962a, etc.
534  Read in ns.332, 340, Güterbock, 1961a, etc.
539  Read in n.22, LL.5, 6, ArAnz for AA; read in n.23, LL.6-7, 1968, pp.110-111.
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567 Read in n.365, L.2: Ünal, 1974b, etc.

599 Read in n.19, L.4, Laroche, 1973a, etc.

603 Read in n.48, Bryce, 1985a, etc.


642 Under HOUWINK TEN CATE, P.H.J. read 1963 ... Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs. etc.

656 Under NEVE, P. read ArAnz for AA.


660 Read in L.2, ArAnz for AA.

664 Read under ROWTON, M.B.: 1966 The Material from Western Asia and the Chronology of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

NOTES AND REFERENCES: CHAPTER I. 372

1. See Keesing, 1975, p.150.
4. White, l.c.
5. See Preface, p.10.
8. See White, 1958, p.379.
9. Murdock, l.c.
10. See HEG I pp.92-93; HED 1, pp.224-226; HW² I pp.541-569; note Klinger, Neu, 1990, pp.135-160, dating to MH or MH+, texts which are still dated "Jh" in HW².
11. With e. and f. no kinship relationship was implied. See f.b.
15. See ref. in HEG I p.93.
16. HEG I pp.92-93; HED 1, p.226; also, Starke, 1990, ns. 20, 151.
17. 1971, p.22. Note P. Friedrich, 1964, p.140, Fig.3, for modern Russ. otets "father".
18. Jakobson, l.c.
19. Ibid., pp.24-25.
20. Ibid., pp.21-22.
23. HEG I p.92 with ref.
24. L.c. On CL maddu- "wine" (possibly the first element of Madduwatta-), see Starke, 1990, p.191 and n.624.
25. See HW² I, pp.71-72; 554; Kammenhuber, l.c. p.71, remarks that atta- anna-, being near to but not identical in meaning to our concept of "parents", is moreover, not a
"Dvandva-Komposition".

26. HG §§28, 29; see f.b., Ch.IV, §2.

27. See translit. and tr. of the prayer, Sörenhagen, 1981, pp.84ff.; this pass., pp.96-97; also Beckman, 1983a, p.12 with n.56. On MÌ/MUNUS see f.b., iv.

28. Neu, 1974a, pp.10-11; see comm. in Bryce, 1985a, p.266 with ref., that this suggested "close ethnic and even kinship affinities between Nesa and Kussara".

29. KUB XXXV 43, II 5-6; 45, obv.II.B., 2; KBo XXIX 11, obv.II, 9'; Starke, 1985a, pp.143, 151, 160; also, Carruba, 1982, p.46.

30. See KUB XXXV 102 (+) 103, II 13'-18', and further, in Starke, 1985a, pp.221ff.; 1980a, pp.79-80; s.a., n.24 on maddu--; on vbs papparkuwa- "purify" and sim. pappasa- (?), see Starke, 1990, n.192; pp.311, 497.

31. For text and comm. see Carruba, 1970, pp.27-28; 1972, pp.52-53; for CL text see ref. to Starke, above, n.29. On 1/tabarnas and MÌtawannanas see f.b., Ch.II, §6.B.1.3.

32. See HED 1, pp.55-57, for exx. cited, Karatepe 15-16; TLy 44d.66-67; Sardis 10.20.

33. For text and tr. see Murray, 1965, pp.292-293; "father" is πατήρ.


35. On Matrilineal kinship see esp. Schneider, Gough, 1961, with further comm. by Keesing, 1975, pp.62-73. The genitor role is typical of matrilineality while an ex. of the nominal husband/father is found with the warrior Nayar caste of southwest India (Gough, pp.298-384, in Schneider, Gough, 1961; Fox, 1973, pp.99-101).


37. KUB XII 34 +, belongs to the "1st version" (OTH p.72; Cornil, 1987, p.32); the "3rd version" in KUB XXXIV 82 + KBo XXIV 1 +, being a "spät mh./früh jh." acc. to SHV p. 578. Note HW² I p.554 for this pass. with text and ed. ref. Rost, 1953.

38. Cf. the introduction of Hurr. itkalzi ritual tablets
to Hattusas in NK period; see Haas, 1985, p.275 with ns. 76-79; for Hurr. birth rituals and (H)isuwa Festival texts from Kizzuwatna in the NK, see Beckman, 1983a, pp.161-164.

39. CTH 5; ed. HAB; note C. Kühne, ZA 62 (1972), pp.257-260, on KUB XL 65, dupl. = KUB 1 16, Hitt. II 74-III "12a"; Akkk., ends of 8 lines at end of obv.I; traces at end of 1-10 in rev.IV.

40. HAB pp.2-7, I/II §§1-7; pp.16-17, III/IV colophon, 1-3. On Mursilis I as "son" or "grandson" of Hatt. I, described by him as his "seed" (NUMUN) in HAB II 44, see KBo III 57 (CTH 11), thought by Forrer (apud Kempinski, Košak, 1982, p.98) to be a chronicle from time of Hantilis, ref. Mursilis as DUMU-ŠU of Hatt. (obv.4'), and to latter as ABIBI-ŠU (10'). In favour of "son" (by a later union than with the mother(s) of rebellious Huzziyas and Hakkarpilis) note Hardy, 1941, p. 196, n.69; Riemschneider, 1971, p.82, and ns.11, 12, doubting accuracy of KBo I 6 (CTH 75), obv. 13, naming Mursilis as "grandson"; but for latter see Gurney, CAH II vi, p.21; Otten, 1966, p.119; Bin Nun, 1975, pp.17-19; also Astour, 1989, p.14 with n.88. Beal, 1983, pp.122-124, saw Hastayara as daughter of Hatt. and mother of Mursilis, the father being possibly mMaratti named after her in KBo III 34, II 1-7 (with dupl.).


42. Obv.4'-5'; see ed. in ArchI, 1979a, pp.44-48.

43. KBo III 27 (CTH 5), obv.28'-31'; see ArchI, l.c. pp. 44-45, with n.25.

44. HAB pp.8-11, II §§12-13, Huzziyas. See rebellion of Hakkarpilis with support of Zalpa, recounted in CTH 3, ed. Otten, 1973a. Bin Nun, 1975, attributed texts to Hatt. I, seeing 3 generations of Kings, the ABI ABI LUGAL = huhhas = mis "my grandfather" of HAB III 41, and Hakkarpilis = brother of the King, who composed text (cf. KBo III 38, rev.1 A-HI-TA-x[ ] ; Otten, 1973a, pp.10-11), while the overthrow of Zalpa's revolt under his son Happis may be recorded in the Annals as conquest of Zalpa (KBo X 1/2, obv.4/9; CTH 4). For patrilineality implied by the generations of Kings,
see Bin Nun, 1975, p.27.

45. HAB pp.2-7, II §§1-6.

46. For text see Laroche, 1973a, pp.186ff. See Easton, 1981, p.21 with n.90, for scholars prior to Bin Nun, 1975, who identified the ARI LUGAL of these texts with Hatt.I.


49. IK 174-66, ed. Balkan, 1973, pp.41-103. See f.b., Ch. II, §2.3.3.; Ch.VI, §3.12.1.-12.2. and cit. 9).

50. See e.g. Bryce, 1985, pp.259-268, with prev. ref. of which note Singer, 1982, pp.119ff., esp. pp.125-132 (for comm. on "brother-sister marriage" supposedly reflected in Queen of Kanesh myth, see f.b., sub SISTER); Oettinger, 1978, pp.74-90.


52. NH 194 (n. also NH 193, 195, 196); dismissed in HW^2 I, p.569; noted in HEG I p.92; on -hsu see Oettinger, 1978, p.74; f.b., §2.11.7.1., 7.4.-7.6.

53. See Beckman, 1986, p.14 with n.6, ref. Larsen, 1976, p.121, n.44.

54. See f.b., Ch.II, §6 B.1.3.

55. See HED 1, p.226, ref. also l.c. p.56; HW^2 I, pp.569, 74-76; note Starke, 1987, pp.260-261, with ns.66, 67.

56. See HW^2 I, pp.70-72; HED 1, pp.55-57; HEG I pp.24-25; Laroche, 1958b, p.187, 192; DLL p.27.

57. HW^2 l.c.; For Mi^AMA in Hitt. and CL contexts: a) possible ref. to cult functionaries: e.g. KBo XX 3 (CTH 627), obv.16' (note Neu, 1980a, pp.44-46, with Mi^AMA <.DING-IR.LIM>); ref. in Daddi, 1982, p.408; b) others: e.g. KUB XXXV 7 (CTH 694), I 2'; KBo XII 46 (CTH 832), obv. 6', listed in HW^2 I p.70; KBo XXIII 72, obv.12'; KBo XXIX 25, II 8' (Starke, 1985a, p.225); KUB XXXIV 2 ?? KBo XXVIII 50, obv.1 (AMA.Mi; Edel, 1974, pp.108-112, 126-128); KUB III 42.
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58. For such epithets see HW² I, p.72 b).

59. S.a., §2.1.2.-3.


61. I would like to thank J. D. Hawkins for pointing out the Turkish kin terms here and below. For m variations cf. Grk. ἡμιά "mother, mother superior of a convent", μημια γηματ "mama", Lat. mamma "breast" (Liddell-Scott, pp.78, 919). 62. See HEG I p.24.

63. L.c.


65. L.c., p.243.


67. S.a., n.61.

68. HW² I, p.93 with ref.; cf. l.c. and KUB XXXVI 81, I 6, for d.-l. AMA-an-ni; also HED I p.56, note KBo XXI 48, obv.? 5', par. to KBo II 9 + (CTH 716), II 31, }-kān ar-ha an-ni-it[-tal-wa-a-tar?, with rest. based on KUB XV 34, II 19. Cf. Haas, Thiel, 1974, p.190. HW² I p.94, tr. annital-watar "Fähigkeit, Kinder zu bekommen", expresses doubt as to whether this were a Hitt. word; note Starke, 1990, p.188, with ns.619, 620, on annital°, "Hier rät vor allem die teilweise fehlerhafte Überlieferung vom Ansatz eines Stammes annit-" (zu *anni- "mütterlich" ..."; cf. Oettinger, 1986b, pp.43-47, on *-t/dal(l)a/i- in Hitt., with analogical dental introduced before the inherited suff. of "belonging", with geminate l influenced by CL suff. alli- of same meaning. The suff. -watar suggested a deverbal abstr. based on a -we- vb, "be, do" what the base stem means. This was usually a u-stem - see SHV p.330.

69. Cf. translit. and tr. in Haas, Wilhelm, 1974, pp.190-191; Beckman, 1983a, p.4 with n.18. For likely MH dating see Melchert, 1977, pp.59, for CTH 483, and p.118.

70. See f.b., Ch.IV, §2. with cits. 1) and 3).
71. §170 forbad snake witchcraft, and §172 regulated the fee for one aiding a starving man; see HG pp.75-77; Haase, 1968, pp.78-79. See Imparati, 1964, pp.27-28, with ref., on the belonging respectively of KBo VI 13 (= d) and KBo VI 26 (= j), to "two tablet" copies. On dating and text problems see Melchert, 1979, pp.62-64.

72. Melchert, l.c. p.63, argues that edî nai (with other exx.) means lit. "turn from that side", with "specific nuance of 'turn from its accustomed/proper place'", meaning in TUG-ŠU edî nai "'turns her dress from its accustomed place'", to symbolise the mother's anger and rejection.

73. On these items, GISiskissana- and GIShuppulli-, see HED 2 p.426; Melchert, 1979, p.64, n.15.


75. Korošec, 1932a, p.167; RIA II, 1933, p.293.

76. See e.g. Fox, 1973, pp.112ff., on matrilineal and patrilineal societies, with summary pp.120-121.

77. Note IK 174-66 (s.a., n.49).


80. "Tablet 2", Huehnergard. l.c. pp. 16-17, 19, 27, 30-31. Described (p.12) as the longer "Syrian" type, but note "Tablet 3" (pp.18, 19-21, 31-33) of the shorter "Syro-Hittite" type, also records a husband having made his wife "father and mother of my estate" (obv.4-5), a phrase recurring in other Emar texts (l.c. p.27).


82. See Mascheroni, 1934, pp.152-173.

83. For ref. to women's property, esp. in marriage, see Ch.VI, §2.4.1-5.3; §6; §7 A., 2.1.

84. KBo III 40a + (CTH 16), rev.14-15; see HW2 I, p.80, for translit. and tr., interpr. uwass=mas in 15. as "mit


86. Exx. cited in HW1 p.269 are from NH texts; for OH see now e.g. Neu, l.c. pp.229-231; MH, f.b.

87. See HZ No.237. For DUMU with both Hitt. and Akk. (presumably) complements in the same text, see KUB LII 102 (a Festival/Ritual for the "gods of Zalpa"), obv.18'. ...

DUMU-āš; 24' ŠiA? DUMURÍ I-NA É A-BU-UZ-Za; see f.b.

88. For text ref. DUMU-li, d.-l. sg., see Neu, 1983a, p.229 (Gloss.). See now Hoffmann, l.c. p.291; f.b.

89. See Starke, 1987, p.243, n.3) with ref. to Oettinger, on final -la- in DUMU(.NITA)-la, comparing IE forms, for which see Szemerényi, 1977, pp.16-18, on Osk. puklo, Ved. putra "child, son", deriv. possibly from same root as Grk. παιδίς "child" <PIE *pau- > *putlo "young, boy, son". See now Hoffmann, 1992, pp.292-293; f.b.


91. Dovgjalo, l.c.; see f.b., APPENDIX I: Dynastic Succession in the OK.

92. See Beckman, 1986, pp.13-14, with ref. in n.3.


94. See KBo XXII 89, 2', for acc.sg. ]x-za DUMU.NITA-an ha-äš[-ta "she had born a son"; Otten, 1973a, p.65. Further, Otten, l.c. p.24, thought there might have been an original difference between DUMU.MUNUS = Akk. mārtu(m) "daughter", and MUNUS.DUMU (or MUNUS.TUR) = Akk. gehertu(m) "young woman, maiden". Both logograms occur at Mari and
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Nuzi. See f.b., sub DAUGHTER.

95. See Beckman, 1983a, p.309, Glossary, with text ref.
97. I 4', 22'; also acc. with -an, I 14'; Beckman, l.c. pp.32-36.
98. l.c., pp.68-71, with comm. p.71 on -la- complement.
103. Starke, l.c. with n.1633 and ref.
104. l.c., with n.1631, analysed as ni-walla-ia. See CHD pp.459, with text ref.; OH+ and later; the Glossenkeil accompanies the -i-stem.
106. See new translit. and tr. in part of LL.15'-18', in Otten, l.c. with comms., ref. Ünal, SMEA 24, pp.99-100, and n.66, where LL.15'-20' are translit., tr., with interpr.
108. On this reading of ha-aš-ki-it (as rest. by Ünal, l. c.), see Otten, l.c. p.227, n.23, with ref.
109. Ünal, l.c. rest. for 18'-19' nu-[wa-mu-za]l / [tu-e] DUMU-an ma-ah-ha-an Ú-UL da-a-at-tl nu-wa-az ŠA SAL.LUGAL ÍR-a[n QA-TAM-MA 11-e]. Since these words appear to be the Queen's judgement, [am-me-e] seems more appropriate at the beg. of 19'. The sign ÍR occurs in L.21' below, as which suggested that ni-wa[- should be read in 19' for it. Without further information we cannot determine whether the speaker's order to his mother "lift up (kar-ap) the
"child", reminiscent of what the midwife or (wet)nurse would do in myth. and birth ritual texts (see e.g. Hoffner, 1968, pp. 199-200; cf. GL *walluna(s)san wani d.-l., "woman of raising; midwife"; Starke, 1990, pp. 550-551, with ref.), was subversive or not, and consequently whether the judgement constituted a punishment or not.

111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.; s.a., n.89.
113. See n.69 above for ref.; on *hassa hanzassa see f.b. §3.ix.; on the reading DUMU.MUNUS "daughter" see further under DAUGHTER.
114. See brief comm. on DUMU.NITA not to be read IBILA "heir", in Neu, 1983a, p.231, n.11, ref. OH ritual texts.
116. L.c., pp.348-349.
117. See Schwartz, 1947, p.36; HW² II p.104.
118. Schwartz, l.c., who tr. "sons", and HW² l.c., leaving p. untr., renders pappaniknes; note HW¹ fasc.3 (1966), p.25, pappanikni- "boy, lad".
120. Cf. Grk. παῖς, τέκνος, and τέκνοι, which could des. "child(ren)" without any specification of sex (Gates, 1971, pp.11-14); on παῖς note n.89 above. Note Eng. "child"; also Buck, 1949, p.106, 2.43.
121. See SV pp.108-111; Friedrich, l.c., and throughout this text reads IBILA for DUMU.NITA.
122. See now HZ No.237 and p.291: IBILA = TUR.USR.
123. HAB pp.2-3; note Bin Nun, 1975, pp.17-18.
124. See CAD § pp.120-124; 229-230, esp. a).
125. See CAD A² p.112.
126. Acc. to Dovgjalo, 1963, pp.74-75 and ff.; see f.b., APPENDIX I: Dynastic Succession in the Old Kingdom.
127. Bin Nun, 1975, p.112, foll. von Schuler's tr. (1959, p.441; note Haase, 1984, p.50), translit. and tr. 6'-12', rest. 7' with [DUMU.MUNUS.MES-SU]. Contrary to Bin Nun, l.c p.52, this was not Hattusilis' attempt to abolish the title and official status of Mítawanannas; see now e.g.
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128. 13' ka-ša-at-ta-ax-ma-ax mμ-ur-ši-li-in pi-iν-hu-un
14' GISSA A-BI-ŠU a-pa-ax da-a-ú DUMU-mi-ša NU.DUMU-aš.
On the final clause see Kammenhuber, 1961, p.200, n.1; for
Terminology of Succession see Beckman, 1986, p.27.
129. See HAB p.212. On adoption see f.b., Ch.VI, §3.11.
1.-11.3.
130. HED 3, pp.212ff.; HW1 pp.61-62; SHV p.439; further,
Starke, 1990, n.1768; also numerous exx. in Beckman, 1983a
(see Gloss. p.269); comm. on -za has-, p.24, and ns.6, 8.
131. For abstr. deriv. see Ch.II, §1.
132. See Laroche, NH pp.297-301, with ref.; f.b.
133. CTH 19, §18-19; see ed.in Hoffmann, 1984, pp.24-25;
preserved in texts B, C, D, E; see Hoffmann, 1984, pp.1-2,
24 with ns.c)-1); text B (KUB XI I, II 3) has LUKURMEŠ-ŠU.
135. Ed. von Schuler, 1957, p.23; on NUMUN "seed" and
sakuwas(s)aras "legitimate", see Ch.II, §2.6.1.
136. See Beckman, 1983a, Text K, pp.142-143, §§27-29; cf.
137. L.c., §§28-29.
138. See HED 3, p.245; Laroche, NH pp.297-302; Goetze,
133ff.; passim; Weitenberg, 1984, pp.158ff.; HEG I pp.207-
209, with further ref. Laroche's arguments, NH pp.299-301,
still prevail against reading -(a)hsu- as "King", an inter­
pretation recently revived in Carruba, 1974, pp.89ff.
139. See Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies, 1978, p.107, for KARA-
TEPE XV 74-80 (Hu.), translit. and tr., and p.115 with tr.
of the Phoenician; also Laroche, NH p.301. For HL ha-sa-mi-
na "successor, child(ren)", Kululu I, 5, see Starke, 1987,
p.23, n.38; Meriggi, HHG 1962, p.54; Hawkins, 1981, p.172,
28), with n.(iii).
140. See Laroche, NH pp.298-299.
141. Cf. Laroche, l.c. p.301; on this suff. see Oettinger,
1982, pp.162-177; see f.b., 8.1. c)
142. Note Imparati, 1975, p.91, n.64, with ref.

144. See Daddi, 1982, pp.91-104, with ref.

145. See Laroche, l.c.

146. S.a., n.135 for ref.; for ref. to works on etymology and semantics, see HEG I pp.207-209, 191-194; on gram. det. see HW1 pp.64, 84; SHV pp.331, 341; note Beckman, 1986, Appendix, for hassuwaï- "rule as King", with text ref., sub Terminology of Succession and Rule, pp.26-31.

147. See HED 3, p.245, with ref.


149. Gusmani, l.c.; HED 3, p.82. Note e.g. Korošec, 1974; Haase, 1965, pp.251-253.

150. See HEG I pp.146-147; cf. HED 3, p.82.

151. See Laroche, NH pp.301-302; HED 3, p.245.


155. For text, see e.g. HG pp.82-83; Haase, 1968, p.86. Note Imparati, 1964, p.314; Haase, 1977-78, pp.72-76; 1984, p.45. On hurki/el see Starke, 1990, pp.300, 343-345, with ref.in ns.1215a, 1216; f.b.

156. See f.b., §2.v.3.2.; vi.1.1.-1.5.; §4.x11.2.3., 3.2.; Ch.IV, §3.

157. See Korošec, 1963, pp.142-143; generally on incest and adultery, see Goody, 1968, pp.64-81.

158. On the latter, see ref. n.153 above; note comm. and ref. in Goody, l.c.

159. See ref. in Radcliffe-Brown, 1950, p.69, cited in Goody, l.c. p.69,

"Incest is properly speaking the sin or crime of sexual intimacy between immediate relatives within the family,
father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister."  
160. Cf. two frags. cited in Hoffner, 1973, pp.88-89, of rituals performed if a man committed incest a) with daughter, sister, mother (KBo XII 115, rev.1'-5', rest. with IBoT II 117, IV 1'-3'); b) with mother, [daughter?], member of his family (827/z).

161. HW¹ p.269; Labat⁵ No.144; HZ No.237; Cf. S-DG II p. 674, mî-tur "young woman"; CAD M₂ pp.301, 309ff.; S pp.179-185.

162. Note HZ No.297, p.238-239, with comm. ref. Borger, that the relationship between MUNUS and MĪ is still not clear, while Emešal du₂-mu-nu-us attests only DUMU.MUNUS as "daughter"; Cf. mī/MĪ and munus/MUNUS, S-DG II pp.673-675, 693. We note that in Hitt. syll. writing the sign No.297 has the phon. value only of ḫal, begging the question whether Hitt. scribes wrote logogram HZ 237+297 with its Sum. phon. values in mind or whether the still pictographic No.297 was simply comprehended as the marker "female", whether prefixed or appended? On Hitt. expressions for "woman", "female", see f.b., Ch.III, §3. and §7.4.1.-4.3.

163. Labat⁵ No.554, noting also amīltu at Nuzi e.g.; GAG §75 a; s.a., n.162, ref. MUNUS.

164. See GAG §60; §55 b; Labat⁵ No.144; s.a., n.171.

165. PDK pp.18-19; HAB p.12-13, 145.

166. See Ch.IV, §2.10.1. with cit. 6).


168. Bo 69/203; see Otten, 1973a, p.65.

169. Starke, 1987, p.243 with n.3; s.a., ref. in n.89.


172. See now Starke, 1987, pp.244ff. with prev. lit.


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175. L.c. pp. 248, 262-264, with ref.
176. KUB XL 2 (CTH 641), rev. 5; ed. (Bo 4889) Goetze, 1940, pp. 64-65, 70; RGTC 6 p. 555; Starke, 1987, pp. 249-251.
177. RGTC 6 pp. 23-26; 523, 534, 536, 555; KBo XXXIII 196, left col. 15. Tattarinna; Starke, l.c. offers two possible analyses for the suff. in duwattrinn(i)-, 1. possessive -ann-(as in Lyc.), meaning "who has a daughter(daughters)", or preferably 2. the diminutive forming -ann- > "little daughter"; see NH pp. 331-332.
178. Starke, 1987, p. 251, for r.col. 2'-5'.
179. NH 1388; Starke, l.c. pp. 251-252, rendering 16'-19', with query as to whether this is a PN or title, which the context leaves undecided; see CHD p. 395, sub nani-, favours a PN here and poss the kinship term elsewhere.
180. NH 1388; Starke, l.c. p. 253, rendering obv. 27-29.
182. See Ch.III, §6.11.3.
185. Siegelova, 1971, pp. 33-34.
188. Otten, 1973a, p. 35.
189. See discussion in Szemerényi, 1977, pp. 19-22, who thought that the meaning was perhaps "the person who prepares a meal." See also Buck, 1949, p. 106.
190. See comm. to KBo XVII 62+63, IV 13'-18', in Beckman, 1983a, ed., pp. 34-35.
191. L.c., p. 2.
192. E.g., s.a., §2.11.3.1. with cit. 4); Beckman, l.c. p. 4.
193. See Ch.VI, §3.
194. S.a., §2.1.6.1. with n. 49 and ref.
196. CHD p.430, b.c.; 431 *negnatar; note Hagenbuchner, 1989 1, pp.42ff., with text ref.
197. See CAD A 1 p.200; text cited also in HED 1, p.117.
198. For the solidarity of these "30" brothers who remained together from infancy to adulthood, s.a., §2.111.3.0. with cit. 6); f.b., §2.v.3.2. with cit. 17).
200. For Ussau, see RGTC 6 pp.464-465.
201. See ed. Hoffmann, 1984, pp.12-19; on AFFINES see f.b., Ch.V, §2.
203. On concubines and illegitimate sons, see Ch.VII, §3. vi.; see CHD p.430, 3' for "halfbrothers".
205. S.a., §2.111.7.3. with cit. 12), and n.135; Ch.II, §2.5.4. with cit. 13); also ref. in CHD p.429, 2'.
206. See, respectively, KBo II 5, IV 16; CTH 19, §30 46. (Hoffmann, 1984, p.34); Siegelova, 1971, (indices) for CTH 360 (nom., acc., dat.sg.); (for šeš-ni note KBo V 2 (CTH 471), II 59; f.b., Ch.IV, §3.4.1. with n.160); KUB XXXVI 106 (CTH 27); KUB XXXI 59 (CTH 233), 20; rev.8'; CTH 19 §31 50 (Hoffmann 1.c.); Goetze, 1949, p.290, n.12; CHD pp.428-429.
208. See Buck, l.c., noting also Lett. brālis.
209. DLL p.73.
211. See Werner, 1967, pp.69, 30; also Starke, 1987, l.c.
212. Starke, l.c., deriv. Lyc. nēne(/i-) from *nanna- with CL "nāni- (nn bzw. ā vewrmutlich durch unterschiedliche Akzentuirung bedingt)".
213. See resp. ALEPPO 2, §3,§9, in Hawkins, 1980a, pp.151-152; Morpurgo Davies, 1980, p.126, ref. KARKAMIS A 4 a, 1.
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215. KARKAMIS A 18 j; HH I No.45, III, p.33.
216. KARKAMIS A 15 b, L. 3: Hawkins, 1979b, p.159, with n.51; further, 1980a, p.158; Meriggi, in Manuale II/I, 34, preferred to interpr. "cousin(s)".
217. See Laroche's comm. on tatali- (1958, p.187), "il signifie proprement 'de la nature du père', non pas 'qui appartient au père'", with ref. also to attalla in Hitt.; s.a., §2.1.6.4. with n.55.
218. Also mat-ta-a-i at Hattusas (NH 195), reflecting Hurr. attai "father"?; GLH pp.53-54.
220. DLL p.73; Starke, 1987, p.266.
222. For former text, obv.4-9, see Hoffner, 1988b, pp.196-197; for obv.5-6 with KUB LVII 69, II 4, see CHD p.430, e., "but call [your mother] mother, and call your brother 'brother'.
224. S.a., ref. in §2.111.5.3.; Hoffner, 1988b, p.195.
225. L.c. p.196.
226. Laroche, 1965b, p.84.
228. For ed. with rests. see Otten, 1973a, pp.33-36; note CHD pp.325-326.
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230. HG p.84; Haase, 1968, pp.88-89. Note almost "mirror-image" circumstances regulated in foll. 47-48, "If a slave woman or a prostitute sleeps with a (man who is a) father and his son, no crime."

231. See f.b., Ch.IV, §3.3.1.-3.3., VI, §2.; cf. HG §196, in which slave men and women were punished for their incest by separation, not by death - like free persons -, since animals were sacrificed as atonement substitutes.

232. Also, Haase, 1977-78a, pp.73-74; Imparati, l.c. Note HG §200 LL.25-27, where sexual relations with a resettled woman and her mother was not incest, indicated that they were not considered properly "free" status; f.b., Ch.IV, §3., Ch.VI, §2.

233. HG p.84; Haase, 1968, pp.89-90; CHD p.426, 2'. For LL.49-50ff., see f.b., SISTER.

234. See Larocche, 1973, pp.186-187; CHD p.426, 1'.


236. Neumann, l.c. p.63; also, HEG II p.302. For ref. to Jasonoff, see n.242 below.

237. See f.b., Ch.III, §2.1.1.4.; see Neu, Otten, 1972, pp.181-190; Watkins, 1961, pp.7-12.


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242. See Hoffner, 1988b, p.197, n.41, ref. a communication by C. Watkins, "...Jasanoff noted also that a Common Anatolian negna- could very well come out as nani- in Luvian; nanasri- would be a further derivative." On the velar loss in Luw., see f.b.; Starke, 1980, p.85; 1990, pp.344, 426.

243. See Melchert, 1987, pp.182ff., esp. with n.17, who offers an alternative deriv. for tawi-, i.e. <*teu- which he suggests is required by (related?) Lat. tueor "look at". For these see P. Reichert, Glossaire Inverse du Hittite. RHA 73 (1963), pp.112, 85; HEG II pp.16-19, 99; III pp.54; cf. for (TUG) seknu{s?) <*se£k- "cut", see Eichner, 1979, pp.42, n.4, but <*seg- "stitch", acc. to Hrozny, apud Weitenberg, 1984, p.229.

245. See CHD pp.425-428, with prev. ref.; HEG II pp.297-301; n.67 above. For Mİ* an-na-ni-ku-uş acc.pl., see KBo XXI 35 (CTh 297), 11'; cf. Otten, 1973a, p.36; HW1 p.76.


247. See CHD p.425; with f. det., see KBo I 21, obv.14; 29 +, obv.18, 21, 22; KBo XXVII 30, obv.16; KUB III 53, obv. 2, 5ff. Note CAD A1, pp.171-173.

248. See list in Neumann, 1974, p.279; also, HEG II p.299.

249. See Laroche, NH pp.306-308; cf. Neumann, l.c.

250. See Cornil, 1987, p.11, for texts now belonging to CTh 42 A and B.; note Carruba, 1988, pp.59-75, esp. pp. 64ff., who reckons approx. 92 lines per col. for A + (= KBo V 3 +), from which the bottom of obv.I and II had been lost = top of rev.III and IV. We have calculated the L. numbering in A, rev.III, on the basis that II has 83 LL. preserved, breaking after the first L. of §22', which had 5 LL. acc. to the center frag. of B = KUB XXVI 37 + KBo XIX 44a, with §§21'-24' (of which the top right corner, KBo XIX 44, preserves §19' in ends of 10 lines = 10 in A, §19'). Therefore A II, §§9'-22', foll. feasibly by §23' with 4 LL. as in B, = 91 LL. SV II pp.122-123 began A III with last 2 LL. of §26**. Now KUB XXVI 38 joins the top left broken edge of A III, attests 5 LL. of §26' and 11 of §25', with a trace of the last L. in §24'. B (KUB XXVI 37 +) preserves
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centre of first 4 LL. of §24' in which there were approx. 7(?) LL., to yield 91 for A III, with L.45' beg. §29'.
251. For this rest. see Otten, 1970b, p.165, l.c.
252. See Otten, l.c. p.163 with n., for rest. after collation of A.
253. Traces suggest that ut(-tar) was inscribed over a final -na of apinisusan-, providing the connective -a. Cf. SV p.124, Otten, l.c. for transcriptions.
254. Rest. acc. to Otten, l.c., contrary to SV p.124. Neu, 1979b, p.78, noted presence of this comparatively ancient enclitic particle, noted in SV p.151.
255. We prefer [S]E Ş here to NIN- or NUMUN-, elsewhere sugg., neither of which make good sense in the pres. context.
256. B, rev.26, has da-an-na-ma-an-za here; Neu, 1979b, p.69, comm. on lack of expected acc. obj. in A.
257. For the latter see f.b., COUSIN. Note that CHD p.427 tr. simply "sisters of her MĄŞ and of her 'seed'". Cf. SV p. 125, "viele Vollschwestern(?) und Halbschwestern(?)"; Otten, 1970b, p.164, "weil dieser(ihre) schwestern der engeren und weiteren Verwandschaft zahlreich (sind)".
259. HW² I p.94; HED 1, pp.71-72.
260. Cf. SV II pp.128-129, = LL."59-60".
261. Cf. HG §§191; 195 A,B,C.
262. See Ch.VI, §7.A; also Ch.VIII, §4.1.1., where the pattern of rels., where marriage was actually permitted between affines, may be represented as foll.:
   a.  + W @ M +   b. + M @ W +
      M <   > W   W <   > M
263. KBo V 3, I lff.; see cit. 1) in Ch.VII, §3.l.2.1.; also, §4.v.2.1.
264. CHD, pp.426-427.
266. L.c.; note for LL.50-51, "und (+ oder)".
267. See HAB I/II 1-4; note Beal, 1983, p.117 with n.18. For the sequence of rebellions by Hattusilis' own sons and
supporters of his daughter's son, HAB II 63-68, II 69-III 25, see Bryce, 1981, pp.13-14; for ed. of KUB XL 65, with beg. of lines II 74-III 12a, see Kühne, ZA 62 (1972), pp. 257-260. For tr. of III 13-35, and comm., see Gurney, CAH², II vi, pp.21-22.


270. See HAB I/II 5-36; also tr. in Gurney, l.c.; further, Bryce, 1981, p.14, with n.34.

271. In the Ahiqar version set in Egypt the post-punishment fate of the adopted son, Nadan, was that he was forced to listen to more proverbs, having been instructed prev. by Ahiqar with 75, which caused him to swell up and explode.


273. See esp. Goody, 1969b, pp.58-72, and note p.65 with ref. to early Hindu Law,

"The most eligible male for the purpose of adoption is a brother's son, or more distant agnate, but daughter's sons, sister's sons, and wife's brothers were also selected.

274. Note the above, and l.c. p.64, ref. the preferred kinsman for adoption in India, China, and ancient Greece, namely the brother's son; also Goody, 1973, pp.12-13.

275. See ed. Otten, 1973a, pp.8-9; HW¹ p.305.

276. Obv.16. [mIa-ah-ha-an-ma-kán A-BA A-BI-IA mŠ[u-up-pi- lu-11-u-ma LUGAL GA]L UR.SAG ša-ra-a iš-pár-za-aš-ta "When my grandfather Š[uppiluliumas, Great Kin]g, the Hero, emerged/came of age (and seated himself on the throne of King-
ship); HED 2, p.449; HW^2 I p.548.
279. KBo XII 18, 8' (= KBo XII 63, II 7'); CTH 3.2.A.B.
281. For Kussar(as) see RGTC 6, p.230; on this dynasty, not a continuation of that of Pithana and Anitta, see Gurney, CAH^2 II, vi pp.9, 13.
282. While we would see Mursilis I as the LUGAL(-ūš) of the Chronicles, and CTH 3, and 13 (ed. Kempinski, Košak, 1982, pp.87-116), as did Kühne, 1982, p.205, Kempinski, Košak, l.c., see Hattusilis I, as did also Bin Nun, 1975, p.56, who remarked (p.27) on the patrilineality implied by the generations of Kings in CTH 3.
283. See Otten, 1972a, p.237; see f.b., APPENDIX I.
284. Note šA AB[1 AMA[ in KUB XLIII 47, 6; both texts cited in HW^2 I p.71; see f.b., §3.viii.1.2.
285. Cf. HW^2 I p.553; ed. Houwink ten Cate, 1983-4, pp.34ff., tr. L.12, [mX-X-a]hyhas, the domestic and table man, who ...(ku-ūš LU AMA.A.TU LUBANSUR ...).
286. Both from Hitt. texts, as also NH 380 [mhu-ha-ar-mаti-ūš (and p.332), NH 382 [mhu-šar-pa-aš(īš) LU MUŠEN. Dû, and NH 384 [mhu-u-ha-za-al-mа; note NH 381-383 with Huha-x in HL names.
287. DLL p.46; Starke, 1985a, p.126; 1990, p.64.
288. See HW^1 p.71.
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289. See comm. in Heinhold-Krahmer, 1977, pp.36-37.
290. See ed. Morpugo Davies, Hawkins, 1979, pp.387-388; see H.H.I No.331, with "ancestor" for BOHCA, 3 and 4.
292. L.c., p.149; e.g. KARKAMIS A 11 b. 1. tá-ta-li-sa AVUS-ha-ta-li-sa; HH I No.331. d).
295. See HW1 p.305; HW2 I p.559.
298. See e.g. (KUB XXX 16 +) KUB XXXIX 1, III 9; XXX 19, I 3; XXX 24, II 23; Otten, l.c. pp.22, 32, 60.
299. As in texts cited above, n.298.
300. KUB XVII 29 (OTH 470), II 6; HW1 p.71; HEG I p.262; Kammenhuber, 1961, pp.166 (n.1), 177.
301. See Daddi, 1982, p.107; Arčī, 1973, p.211 with n.12, p.222; Laroche, OLZ 1965, p.29. Note KUB LII 97, 2'; 99 7'(?), 10'.
302. Arčī, l.c. p.211, and n.12.
307. L.c.
309. S.a., §2.111.1.1.
311. L.c.; note f.b., Ch.II, §3.8.3.
313. HEG I l.c.
314. NH pp.324-325; Starke, 1990, p.170; see f.b., Ch.III, §2.1.1.3.
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315. SHV p.450, n.120.
317. L.c.; see f.b., GRANDDAUGHTER.
320. Whether "your maternal grandmother" ref. to 'Danu-hepa of I 7', III 4, is uncertain, owing to the broken context.
321. S.a., §2.i.4.1.-4.2.
322. NH 62.
323. See Riemschneider, 1958, pp.344ff.; cf. cit. 8) above in §2.iii.5.2.
326. See comm. in H. Wittmann, Some Hittite Etymologies II. Die Sprache 19, (1973), pp.42-43; ref. in HEG I p.147; HED 3, p.85.
327. HEG I p.146.
329. There are many theories concerning the deriv. on the one hand of hanna-, and on the other, of has(s)- (see HED 3, p.85; HEG I p.145, 191-193; and has(s)- < *gena-, in H. Hendriksen, Untersuchungen über die Bedeutung des Heth. für die Laryngaltheory. København. 1941. pp.24ff.,), there are none to my knowledge which expressly consider the possibility of their relationship to each other and consequently to *gena- and *(H)an-.
333. See Beckman, 1983a, pp.232-233; HED 3, p.228.
335. See HW¹ p.268.
338. See Kammenhuber, 1961, p.177.
341. L.c.; Melchert, 1973, p.57, with ref.
342. Goetze, 1930a, p.162.
343. Melchert, l.c. pp.59, ref. esp. to the DUMU DUMU. DUMU ḫ.- ḫ.- phrases where "grandson(s)" would be repeated, e.g. Treaty with Alaksandus (CTH 76), A I 68, 70.
344. Where descendants of the King are described as DUMU MES ḫUTUŠI ḫ.- ḫ.-, ḫ.- ḫ.- NUMUN, and DUMU MESŠ SU DUMU. DUMU MESŠ -SU; Melchert, 1973, p.61.
345. L.c., pp.61ff.
346. L.c. p.64.
347. L.c., pp.62, 64-65, 70; note ref. also in HED 1, p.227.
349. L.c., pp.66ff.
353. See ref. as in n.351 above; cf. SHV p.439.
227-228; Eichner, 1979, esp. pp.57-58; with ns.52, 53; cf. SHV p.439; Starke, 1990, n.1768.

356. S.a.; n.351. The components of this term appear to be a -u-stem adj. deriv. of *h₂om-s- + deriv. formative -k(a)- + -(a)l(1)a/i-.


358. See SHV p.439; Starke, 1990, p.31 with n.27.

359. Starke, l.c.; cf. Eichner, l.c.

360. See ed. Schwartz, 1947, pp.36-39; note Melchert, 1973, pp.58, citing LL. from the foll. pass. For GIS Art-atis, see HED 1, p.177; GIS Marsigqas, see CHD p.200.

361. For text and comm., see Archi, 1975a, pp.85-87.

362. See l.c. p.86.


364. Cf. also Ghurye, 1955, e.g., pp.151, 159, 189, on the Roman cult; Raglan, 1964, pp.75ff.


367. See exx. cited in Güterbock, 1970b, p.75 with ns.12-15, ref. (as "great grandsons") Urhi-Tešub, Ini-Tešub, Sup-piluliumas II, Tuthaliyas IV; for latter also see now Bo
86/299, I 4. DUMU.DUMU.DUMU-ŠU ṢA mšu-up-pi-lu-li-u-ma LUGAL.GAL...; Otten, 1988a, pp.10-11, 31, with n.1; for the genealogy of the noted seal, see f.b., Ch.VII, n.22.

368. See Ch.II, §2.6.4.ff., with cit. 15).


370. See Lancaster, 1958, esp. pp.235-239, with figs. 1,2; Goody, 1984, Appendix 3, pp.262-278, esp. p.271, ref. to "cousin".


374. L.c.


376. For a recent study see Imparati, 1975, pp.80-95.

377. SV II, pp.72-73.

378. The oracle frag. contains remains of a 4 col. tablet. It queries events, incl. homicide: II 16' UM-MA ṢU-Ū-MA ki-e-da-ni x[ 17' ŬR ṢA LÙ x[ 18' ṢA GNUCÁ GAR LUM ku-en-ta ]' ; cf. IV 6. -k]an ku-en-nir nam-ma-ia-wa-kán ... Mentioned also are "My Sun" and the "son" (rev.III 4.) Note also "anointing priest" (I 10', II 22', III 7), the "wife of Zulkiya" (III 2), and obv.II 21' nu-zi-zi-in DAM mÀ .

379. For MH dating of CTH 42.B. (KBo XIX 44+KBo XXII 40+), and MH+ of A (KBo V 3 +), see Neu, 1979b, pp.64-84; in both of which the double initial plene a- occurs.

380. This term is discussed below, in Ch.II, §1.

381. S.a., §2.1.1.1.-1.3., with cit. 18), 46'ff.

382. See HW1 p.22; HW2 I, p.94; HEG I p.31; HED 1, pp.71-72. Cf. Goody, 1970a, p.126, with chart of the main possibilities of cousin nomenclature.

383. See f.b., Ch.II, §2.

384. See Pembroke, 1965, p.231, n.2, with ref. HG §193,
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386. Murdock, 1949, pp.123-124; the passage continues:

"There must always be a first marriage before there can be any secondary marriage at all. Moreover, if a brother or a maternal uncle dies, his widow is available as a wife to only one of the surviving brothers or nephews, and where there are none, she must marry someone else. Hence levirate marriages, even where they are possible and preferred, can actually occur in only a fraction of all cases."


387. Cf. comms. in Goody, 1970a, pp.133, 136, on "Hawaiian" terms for siblings and collaterals, associated with bilaterality and prohibition of cousin marriage.


389. See Lounsbury, l.c. 10.

390. HED 1, pp.71-72.


393. EHS pp.220, 221, who considered -mi- to be a suffix of non-IE origin.

394. Bachofen, (1861/)1948, with pp.85ff., devoted to Lycia. Note Pembroke, 1965, pp.217, with critical comm. In passim on Bachofen's "evolutionary" ideas reg. matriarchy, with ref. p.217, n.2, to recent works ref. the "matrilinear" system of the Lycians. Lebrun, 1979, pp.111-118, Danmanville, 1974, p.266, both assume a pre-IE matriarchal state for Anatolia. Danmanville, l.c., ref. to the confirmation afforded by discoveries from Catal Höyük, incl. f. figurines. Note P. Friedrich, 1966, p.17, comm. on archaeologists' assumptions that the Tripolye culture exhibited matrilinear traits, considered that

"female figurines - even one per room as in Tripolye-
no more prove matrilineality than do ikons of the Virgin Mary..."

but note p.22, "...but matriliney only is attested among the Lycians of Asia Minor". Note Bremmer, 1976, on the "avunculate", esp. p.74.

395. See e.g. Keesing, 1975, pp.132-143.


397. For clearly explanatory charts of the "Crow" (matrilineal) terminologies, see Lounsbury, 1969, figs.4,7,9,11, and further, Coult, 1967. Although not all matrilineal systems have "classical" terminologies like the "Crow", the latter illustrate how relationships within such systems are conceived by the individuals involved.

398. Cf. Lounsbury, 1969, figs.2,6,8,10.

399. Laroche, 1958b, pp.186-187; RA 52 (1958), p.188.

400. DLL p.75.

401. On the former, see Beckman, 1983a, pp.66-67; Otten, KUB XXXV, p.iii, ref. to KUB XXV 89, 20; also, van Brock, 1964, p.139; Starke, 1990, pp.330ff.; on the latter cf. CHD p.438; DLL p.75; Starke, 1990, p.333, noting that the interpr. "a spiral shaped bun ..." (Hoffner, AlHeth. pp.174), depended on the semantics of the Hitt. vb.

402. See Hawkins, 1980b, p.128, with ref., and suggested that the HL verb might mean "to follow"; cf. CRUS.CRUS(-) ni-ia-sa-ta-la- "successor" (KARKAMIS A 15.b. 3), Hawkins, 1979b, p.159 with n.48; Starke, 1990, pp.331-332; cf. CHD p.353, 13.a., b., (para) nai- "continue".


408. See exx. in DLL p.27; for possible stress on the
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409. HH I, p.189, No.360.5; NH 773; Meriggi, Man. II/I pp.99-100, No.24.5; NH p.319, interpr. as "aimé des dieux". For the HL vb "love", and ref. this PN, see Hawkins, 19-80b, esp. p.124 with n.8.

410. Cf. the history of consobrinus > "cousin" (§4.xii.1.1.), although the extension of anninniyamis to the father's brother's son had apparently not yet occurred in Hitt./Luw.?

411. See f.b., Ch.II, §2.

412. On "uncle" < Lat. avunculus, superceding the OE terms, see Lancaster, 1958, p.237; Goody, 1934, Appendix 3, pp.263-265. On the prehistory of avunculus, developed from a term apparently denoting both grandfather and (maternal?) uncle, see Szemerényi, 1977, pp.53-55.

413. Note I 34. ... nú ŠEŠ.A-BI DUTUŠI mNIR.GÁL-l; ed., Kühne, Otten, 1971, pp.5-9.

414. Listed in KUB XXXI 52 (CTH 232.1), II 10.

415. See Laroche, NH p.326; Houwink ten Cate, LPG, p.141.

416. Nor if there were other Luw. terms for this uncle, based on "father"; note the PN in apparent deriv. forms of mTati-, NH 1302, 1305, 1306-1308, esp. 1307 mTa-ti-ig-ga-an-na <*Tati-(i)ga-(a)nn-, a composite Luw./Pal. "(male) belonging to father"(?); cf. Anniewyan(n)is below.

417. CTH p.170.


419. See ref. l.c., p.680.


422. KUB I 1+(CTH 81), IV 61-54; Otten, 1981, pp.28-29; van den Hout, 1984, p.92. See recently, Otten, 1988a, pp.3-5, with Abb. 1-3.

423. For text see Imparati, Saporetti, 1965, pp.44-45, 77, 80; see Houwink Ten Cate, 1984, pp.47-55, with tr. of the
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parallel Akk. text (KBo X 1, I 1ff.) with notes and comm. ref. to the Hitt. and parallel texts; Bryce, 1982, pp. 50ff., with tr. of the Hitt. Note Houwink Ten Cate, l.c., with L.1, "The Great King Tabarna exercised Kingship in Hatti; the nephew of the Tawannanna."

424. See e.g., KUB VI 44+(CTH 68.D), I 23, 26; SV II pp.108-111.
425. E.g. KBo IV 3+(CTH 68.C.), I 2'; SV II pp.112-113.

430. HAB pp.2-3.
431. See HAB p.38. For māru in kinship terms, such as mār ahi/ahtı see CAD M₁ p.200.

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2. AU, pp.136-138.
3. SHV p.439; on has(s)-, hans-, see HED 3, pp.212-218; f.b.
5. See e.g. Hoffner, 1974b, p.119.
8. See HAB 3, p.216.
9. L.c.; cf. ed. Hoffmann, 1984, pp.32-33, with n.1)
10. HED 3, p.216, cit. KUB XXXIX 35+(CTH 450: end of 8th and 9th days), IV 9'; cf. CHD pp.122-123, tr. 9' [GIDIM-ag(?) k]uus hassannasis nu=za G[A ...]/[apas d]ai... "He who is a member of the family [of the deceased(?)] takes for himself the m[ilk]
..." See f.b., §3.4.1. with cit. 22).
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12. See CAD N₂ pp.297-298; S pp.93.
18. Note Hurr. uzzi "flesh", zurgi "blood", found independently and in combination, e.g. uzziya zurkiya, in other Hurr. rituals; for text ref., see GilH pp.291, 309.
19. E.g. KUR XXXIII 120 + (CTH 344,A), obv.I 25ff.; translit. in Kum. p.2. Note Goetze, ANET² p. 120, and n.1; Hoffner, 1975, p.139, on the euphemism of "his knees" for the genitals of the god Anu. See f.b. §2, on NUMUN, with exx. Note that the entry Labat, Manuel⁵ 1976, No.399, for nišūtu (with which Haas, Thiel, l.c. equate genu- in the present context), "parenté par le mari", is not explicitly supported by exx. of nišūtu in CAD N₂.
21. See CHS 1988, I, pp.52ff., partic. pp.63-64, with l.c., II p.244.
23. On the Hitt. word for "woman" see Neu, 1990, pp.208-217, cit. (pp.216-217), among others, these exx. of Mī(MUNUS) with phonetic complements; also, Starke, 1980, pp.75, 85-86; Oettinger, 1980, pp.44ff. Hoffner, 1967, p.95, lists "SAL-natar" as one of two Hitt. expressions for "vulva". Neu, 1990, n.28, favours MUNUS-annaz(a) and MUNUS-anni as d.-l. and abl. respectively of abstr. MUNUS-natar,
24. S.a., text ref. in Ch.I, §2.11.1.1, n.57.
25. E.g. MĪahātī(-) in KBo I 29 +, obv.18, 21, 22, but cf.
obv. 3 a-ha-ti-ki, 4. a-ha-ti-ia, 6. a-ha-ti (ed. Edel, 1978, pp. 139ff., with Tafel 2, 3); NIN is never determined by M. Note M a-mi-il-ti, KBo XXVIII 30, obv. 20, ed. Edel, 1976, pp. 67; note M a-mi-la-tu MES, KUB III 52, obv. 7'.
27. See f.b., 5.2.-5.4.
28. Akk. urIGU "buck, kid"; Borger, ABZ, p. 77, No. 76. Other meanings incl. gihtu "duty, tax, interest". E. Ledinsky, ZA 41 (1933), p. 10, citing Deimel's list in SL II, pp. 173 ff., for M AŠ, argued the combined meanings "kid, produce, interest", might relate to the "fruit" of the womb, with humans as well as animals, with birth being the effective causa of the relationship, hence the use of M AŠ for "family" in Hittite.
29. See Forrer, Forsch. 1929, p. 161. M AŠ = HZ No. 38, in Bogazköy texts appears as identical to the MB M AŠ, as in Labat, Manuel 5 p. 72, No. 76. The earliest preserved Hitt. ms with M AŠ "family", seems to be MH KUB XXIII 72, rev. 49, but see KBo XIII 29, Riemschneider, 1970, Text 17, p. 82, "small script sim. to Old Duktus". See Otten's comm., 1982, p. 285, "wohl mh.", with ref. Riemschneider, l. c. Cf. NH ms KBo XIX 44, rev. 15, and M AŠ "buck/kid"; OH ms KBO XVII 1, III 25; MH ms KUB XVII 21, II 18; NH ms KBo XVII 61, rev. 8, 20.
31. See Forrer, 1922, p. 31, where No. 179, 1 = M AŠ; Fried- rich, HKL II, 1960, p. 20, where No. 58, 1 = M AŠ, 58, 2 = ÛZ.
32. CAD E pp. 180: Akk. enzu 1. she-goat 2. goat (generic term) 3. Constellation Lyra, etc.; see l. c. p. 182, for exx. of UZ 6 in OB texts coupled with "he-goats", M AŠ.GAL, and "kids", M AŠ/M AŠ.TUR.HI.A.
33. H. G. Gütterbock, 1961, l. c., p. 78, and Table II, l. c. p. 75, ref. to HG pp. 78, 80, KBo VI 26, II 36-37; III 13.
34. See Gütterbock, 1962a, p. 23, with ref. to Souček, noting that his collation of Bo 5585 (Otten, HTR, p. 118), showed that UZ 6 should be read in rev. 2, 32.
35. Translit. in Starke, 1985a, p. 323, with M AŠ in 6'.
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Rest. here foll. Starke, l.c., with exception of [1 MÄŠ. GAL(?)] where lacuna was left unrest. Note KUB XXXV 135, rev. (l.c. p.322), where UZ₆ should be read towards the end of 27', [M]ÅŠ.GAL šal-la-an UDU.ŠI[R UD]U. GANAM UZ₆ ṢAHḪI.A, instead of a second MÄŠ. UZ₆ may be read also in KBo XXI 12, r.col., 21', 24', rather than MÄŠ.


39. L.c.; see Akk. dāmu, CAD D p.75.

40. AU, p.136, n.3.

41. See Otten, 1981, p.18, as III 25, and tr. (p.19), "Weil <vielmehr> Arma-datta ein Blutsverwandtschaft war". The pass. is cit. in HED 2, p.307.

42. Deimel, SL II, No.81.3; CAD A₁ pp.287.

43. AU, p.135; note von Schuler, 1957, p.32.


45. Cf. MÄŠ: Borger, l.c., p.9, No.75, Col.V/2. Col. V/1 = Labat, l.c. No.76, p.72, lower left side of OB fig.; cf. HZ No.38, ex. on far right.

46. But cf. KBo XIII 29, III 6',8', with Forrer, 1922, No.179/1; s.a., n.26.

47. HZ No.26. See e.g. KUB XXI 42, IV 24,...MUD nasma BAL (von Schuler, 1957, pp.28, 32). MUD BAL of KBo IV 14+(CTH 123), IV 67, should be interpr. sim., and not acc. to Stefanini, 1965, p.77, who compared the logograms to ṢÂ BAL. BAL. Sommer, AU, p.135, thought MUD must conceal a word other than eshar, despite its meaning "Blutvergiessen, etc.", noting MUD-tar in KBo IV 14, I 52, LUG]AL-āš MUD-tar li-e 53.[(Stefanini, Devoto, 1965, p.48). But in this late text with frequent Glossenkell words and other peculiarities (see Singer, 1985, pp.110-111ff.) an -atar noun formed from a verbal der. of eshar would not be surprising (cf. HED 2, pp.309-311). The verbal forms MUD-ān-zi and MUD-zi in KUB XVI 19 (CTH 577), obv.5',7',8', were noted by Sommer, l.c. n.2, with exx. of the noun MUD.
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48. HED 2, p.305; Archi, 1974, p.143.
49. See MSL XVI, pp.5,13,38,45-46.
50. CAD A₁ pp.287; MSL XVI, p.51.
52. Cf. KUB I 1+(CTH 81), III 4.[(nu-un-n)]a-aš DUMU.NITA.MES DUMU.MUNUS.MES 1-la-u-ēn (Hatt. III); KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.58...nu-za DUMU.NITA.MES DUMU.MUNUS.MES DŪ-nu-un (Puduhepa); see Beckman, 1983a, pp.9-10, for text pass. in translit. and tr. with refs.
53. CAD B pp.85.
54. P. Koschaker, ZA 41 (1933), p.10; s.a., n.25.
55. Koschaker, l.c. p.11.
56. KUB XXI 1+, III 33'-36'; s.a., Ch.I, cit. 30).
57. S.a., Ch.I §2.vi.1.2.-1.3.; f.b. 5.3. and §2.
58. AU, p.137.
59. See f.b., Ch.VI, §7A; Ch.I, §4.xii.4.1.-4.3.
60. Goetze, 1930b, pp.159-160.
61. AU, l.c.; Koschaker, l.c. p.11.
62. AU, l.c.; Koschaker, l.c. p.10. S.a., Ch.I, §2. iii.5.4. with cit. 9).
63. KBo V 3+, III 45'ff.; Ch.I, §2.vi.1.1. with cit. 18).
64. Cf. also 13'-15', 24'-26'; Hoffmann, 1984, pp.12ff., 58ff.
65. E.g., KUB XXIII 85, rev.3'-6'; XIV 15+, IV 38'-41'; XXIII 1, II 1'-3'; see Ch.I, cit. 34); Ch.V, cits. 12)c., 14).
67. See ed. in von Schuler, 1957, p.26, where the end of 8' is left untranslit. The traces after the second §A are illegible.
68. See Hoffmann, 1984, pp.54-55.
69. See ed. with rest. in von Schuler, 1957, p.22.
70. Cf. HED 3, p.78; see Koschaker, l.c., p.11, ref. L 12'.
71. See ed. with rest. in SV II, pp.56-57.
73. AU, l.c. pp.138-139.
74. Garstang, Gurney, Geogr. p.113; note HED 2, p. 360. See further comm. on (UL) imma in Ch.VII, §4.111.2.1.
75. AU, p.138.
77. Ed. Sturtevant, Bechtel, Chrest., pp.148. See noted above (ns.29, 46), the frag. omen text KBo XIII 29, III 3'-9', the sisters and brothers of the woman who gives birth are listed after "her family", e.g. 6'[ nu-u]š-ši MÂŠ-XU SÈŠ-XU [NI]NÈŠ-XU ; cf. also 8'-9'.
79. See CAD Z pp..89-97.
80. As with NUMUN = zēru, CAD, l.c. p.96.
82. See HW2 I, pp.288-289, "Jeder Same ist gesondert (hin) geschütet."
83. nu=san NUMUN-an [an]da kita GIŠ zup(p)ari kita; see Otten, Soušek, 1969, pp.32-33, 130.
84. HG p.74.
85. Starke, 1985a, p.397.
86. Ibid. p.88; DLL p.124, "nom.sg."; see Starke, 1990, p.481 with n.1762.
89. Starke, 1990, p.480-481; for obv.11 note Güterbock, 1973b, p.103, with ref. KBo VI 29 + (CTH 85.1.A), III 18. For dat.sg. note KUB XXVI 58 (CTH 224: grant, free of dues, to Ura-Tarhundas by Hattusilis III), obv.19.... n(a)=at damedani antuhsi 20. damedani NUMUN-ni le piyanzi "And it (his house).... let them not give to another person (nor) to another successor"; Korosćec, 1950, p.201, n.79. On the partitive gen. see 2.1. below.
91. Cf. III 9-10; ed. Otten, 1988a, pp.20, 26; Starke,
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1. c. (printing error has III 26), with n. 1755.
93. Starke, l.c. p. 483-484, noting also Dwa-ar-wa-ili-ia-an (KBo IV 11, rev. 59, acc.sg.c.), an epithet of DKal, as a -illi- adj. *war(ru)wa-.
94. See Starke, 1990, pp. 481-482, with n. 1765, and ref. to Neu's suggestion (1983a, p. 263, n. 48) that this -n-stem might be related to Lat. sēmen, etc.
95. As listed in HW 1 p. 289; see Otten, 1972a, pp. 235-237; Güterbock, 1973b, pp. 102-103, with ref. to Sommer, 1949, p. 376, and n. 2; Starke, 1990, p. 480 and n. 1761.
96. Translit. and tr. in Korošec, 1950, p. 201, n. 77.
"und zwar soll es (jemand) von der männlichen Linie halten, die Nachkommenschaft einer Tochter soll man nicht nehmen!"
98. See Otten, 1988a, p. 51, for text and comm.
100. See Gurney, 1983, p. 100, for text translit. and interpr. of salli pedan.
101. For rest. k[anessa]ndas see Goetze, 1957b, p. 59, n. 57.
103. Güterbock, l.c.
104. See f.b., Ch. VII, §2.3.1. with ref. in n. 22, on the cruciform seal. This genealogy would confirm Alp's (1980, pp. 56-57, Taf. 4) rest. of the cuneiform legend of Mšt 76/15, in which Suppiluliumas I describes himself "[... son of Tuthaliya, the Great King, H[ero]".
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108. On the formula see Otten, l.c. p.234.
109. Güterbock, 1973b, p.103, on k[anessa]ndas, concluded, "It is hard to tell how a Hittite would have taken it."
110. See e.g. H.M. Chadwick, Ch.XI. "King Aethelwulf's Mythical Ancestors", in: The Origin of the English Nation. Cambridge. 1907; Goody, 1984, p.18.
111. HAB pp.10-11, col.II 63-74; pp.2-5, col.II 2-15 (I 2-15); s.a., Ch.I, §2.iii.6.1., 6.4., and vi.3.1.; f.b., APPENDIX I: 4.1., 7.3.
112. Col.I 1 [LUGAL.GAL t]abarna ana kaptutu (= II 1. LU[-GAL.GA]L tabarna pa[n]auwas ERINMES-ti LUGMES DUGUD-assa] (HAB pp.2-3) - the convocation to which Hattusilis spoke. For the pankus in this context see e.g. Beckman, 1982a, pp.435ff.; Mora, 1983a, pp.159ff.
113. HAB, col.II 44; "Your 'My Majesty'" (i.e. "Your My Sun") is a lit. tr. of what Sommer (p.72) deemed atrocious Akk. - Sams[k]unu. Sommer proposed the foll. Hitt. readings: *DUTU=mas=smas NUMUN (with dat. -smas), or *DUTU=mas=smet (neut.), tr. freely as "(he is) for you the successor of his Majesty", while conceding that the phrase might seem less nonsensical if the King himself or his subjects used DUTUSI simply as a title (cf. tr.. in HAB p.9, "Euch ist er des göttlichen Sonnenkönigs leiblichen Spross!"). The titular tr. "My Majesty" is generally employed by modern scholars, e.g. Gonnet, 1979, p.19; Beran, 1967, p.79. On DUTU and DUTUSI see Fauth, 1977, pp.227-263 (but note Starke's arguments, 1979a, pp. 56ff., reg. D[s]iu=mis/-summi).
114. Acc. to KBo I 6 (CTH 75.A), obv.13; see e.g. Gurney, CAH II vi, p.21; Otten, 1966, p.119; Bin Nun, 1975, pp.17-19; Beal, 1983, pp.122-123. Hardy, 1941, p.196, n.69, thought Mursilis must be the natural son of Hattusilis; also, Riemschneider, 1971, p.82, with ns.11, 12.
115. Beal, 1983, pp.122-124, favouring Hastayara, with the father being poss. mMaratti named after her in KBo III 34, II 1-7 (with dupl.); also, Astour, 1989, p.13; f.b. APPENDIX IX I, 8.2.
117. Goody, 1969b, pp.58-62 (Rome, Greece); pp.63-65 (Ind-
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118. F.b., Ch. VI, §3.


122. CTH 19, §18, 36-39; ed. Hoffmann, 1984, pp. 32-33. Note Beckman, 1986, p. 13, with n. 1; Gurney, CAH² II xv(a), p. 10; Menabde, 1960, p. 4; Liverani, 1977, p. 118. See below, Ch. VI, §3.3.1. with cit. 6).

123. See below, APPENDIX I, 9.1 ff.

124. S.a., Ch.I, §2.v. cits. 15)a. and b. for KBo III 34 + (CTH 8.A), III 15'-18', 20'-21'.

125. Goody, 1972, p. 121.

126. I.e., with brothers, wives and children, living in the paternal household, and sisters marrying out = "patrilineal"; see Keesing, 1975, p. 149, sub EXTENDED FAMILY:

A domestic group or composite of domestic groups consisting of two or more nuclear families linked together through parent and child (patrilineal extended family, matrilineal extended family) or through siblings (fraternal or sororal extended family).

Note Goody's general analysis of "The evolution of the family", 1972, pp. 103-124, with ref. On the South Sl. zadruga, a typical European patrilineally "extended" family, see Vinski, 1938, pp. 22-26, and P. Friedrich, 1964, p. 131-139, concerning the more bilateral Russ. household in the (pre-)18th-19th centuries A.D. See Baker, 1979, esp. pp. 37-39, 55-69, on lineage, clan organisation, and leadership, of the extended family in China, in a different ethnic environment, which offers interesting comparisons. The sphere of the "Housefather/overlord, Elder, Head of the Family, etc.", whose position was assured by law, comprised the overall economic and social administration of the fam-
ily and conduct of its external relationships, and he was chief Priest responsible principally for family ancestor worship, centered upon the Hearth. Acc. to Vinski and Friedrich, The "Housefather" was usually the eldest capable married man of the family, who was succeeded in old age, or after sudden death, by an adult son or brother, ideally des. prev. with the recognition of the other m. family members. Cf. Szemerényi, 1977, p.205, on the (P)IE "joint" family, who thought that headship very likely passed from father to eldest son.


128. Ed. Otten, l.c.; cf. KBo IV 10 +, obv.12'-14'

12. ... ma-a-an NUMUN DUMU.NITA-ma Ú-UL e-eš-zí EGIR-an-at-kán tar-na-at-ta-ri


129. Cf. Otten, l.c., tr. NUMUN DUMU.NITA (III 17), "männliche Nachkommenschaft", and ŠA DUMU.NITA NUMUN-as (III 10), "von der männlichen Linie".


131. See KBo IV 10, obv.12' in n.128 above.


133. See Goetze, 1930b, pp.48-49.

134. Ed. Goetze, l.c.; also for L.17, see Starke, 1990, n.1760; Güterbock, 1973b, p.103.


136. Despite his leniency in this reg. with Kurunta (Bo 86/299, II 90-94; ed. Otten, 1988a, pp.20-21. See f.b.,
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Ch.VII §3.vi.1.1.-1.2.

137. See f.b., l.c.
140. See Ch.I, §2.iii. cit. 12).
142. KBo I 3 +, rev.31; cf. rev.45-52; PD, pp.52-55.
144. Korošec, l.c. p.205 and n.2; Imparati, l.c. p.115.
146. Cf. LL.65, 66, below.
147. Both Korošec and Imparati rest. DUMUMEŠ here, where MĪ, erased after DUMU, is inscribed over a prev. erasure of MEŠ(?). If the clause in L.61 may be rest. as above, cf. KBo IV 10, obv.9', ma-a-an DUMU-KA DUMU.DUM[U-KA ku-it]-ta wa-aš-ta-i ku-iš-ki ..., then the erasures and double writing of MĪ may be interpr. as mistakes of the copyist (there were 3 "official" copies - see obv.4-5), who began to write the accustomed MEŠ after DUMU, realised that MĪ actually foll., which he then wrote over erased MEŠ, adding an automatic DIŠ before the PN, which was emended to MĪ and the first MĪ partially erased?
148. See obv.10 + KBo XXII 60, x-6', requiring 19 signs after na-[(), making feasible the pres. rest.; s.a. n.145.
149. Cf. LL.60, 61, 66.
150. The rest. is speculative based on the need for a verb to govern hassus hanzassus acc.pl.c.; cf. L.62.
151. Cf. L.65; Goetze, Tunn. p.96, rest. "hassi hanzassi ha-ar-du-[wa-aš ha-ar-du-ı?]" See f.b., §5 on hartu-.
153. For rest. cf. rev.53.
154. KUB XXVI 43 +, obv.22-27; note Tarhu(nda)manawas, LL. 25, 27.
155. With Korosćec, l.c. p.205 and n.2; Imparati, l.c. p.115.
157. For rest. of KUB XXVI 43+, obv.5, see f.b. Ch.VI, §6.3.1. cit.23; cf. preceding L.4. ... Š-ZU kiš-an šar-
r[(a-aš š-1-ia GISGIR ū-wa-)te-it(?)]. For LÚ(MES)HA-
LA(-šu/šu-NU) as a shareholder of a fief, cf. HG §§50, 51,
53.
159. Obv.4-5; Imparati, l.c. p.104.
160. §7, rev.54, LÚ(MES) SIPADHI.A-us kisandat "they have
become Shepherds". Cf. §8, rev.55-59, for the requirement
to render tribute to the Temple of the Sun goddess of Arin-
na.
161. Note Bryce, 1981, p.12, on royal adoptions; also,
Beal, 1983.
163. Gough, l.c. p.327. It is notable that the patrilineal
Brahman Nambudini, with whom the Nayar maintained complica-
ted relationships, would compensate for lack of an heir
"by the adoption of a daughter's husband or of a man,
related through some cognatic tie";
Gough, l.c. p.320.
164. Schneider, in Schneider, Gough, 1961, e.g. pp.14-16,
26.
166. See Ch.I, §2.vi.1.2-1.3, with cit. 18).
167. For ed. see Hagenbuchner, 1989 2, No.204, pp.281-
300.
168. See Edel, l.c. pp.52, 121; also Hagenbuchner, l.c. p.
169. Ed. PRU IV, p.123; an adjudication in Akk. by Tuthal-
iyas. Note obv.5. DUMU.DUMU.DUMU-ša ša šu-up-pi-lu-li-
ma LUGAL.CAL.
170. See Keesing, 1975, p.47.
171. See ed. in Laroche, 1953, pp.72-73.
172. Keesing, 1975, Glossary, p.148, adding
"but who do not know the genealogical links that connec-
t them to this apical ancestor."
But, there must be the possibility that clan members could trace their descent with accuracy.

173. See Buck, 1949, pp.1316-1318.

174. For Hitt. (?) latti- "tribal troop(s), tribe(?)" = ERINMES $\overline{S}$ / $\overline{S}$ / Zute, from MH, see CHD pp.47-49; Hoffner, 1979, pp.261-266. In no context, apparently, does latti- des. a social organisation of the people of Hatti itself.

175. H.G. Gütterbock, RHA 74 (1964), pp.103., ref. KUB XXIV 14 (CTH 397), I 5 (f.b., cit. 28); Gütterbock, 1983a, p.162, with n.15, reiterates the above interpr.

176. CHD, p.208, under masiwan; also, Hoffner, 1980, p.302, tr. KBo III 27, obv.15, and KUB I 16, II 46; see f.b., cit. 24)a. and b.


178. See Freeman, 1961, pp.192-204, on the history of the "divergent" interpr. of the term in the lit. of the 19th and 20th centuries.

179. Freeman, l.c. p.192.

180. In contrast to e.g. Northern France and Belgium, where the strength of the kindreds persisted into the 15th century, and later; Phlpotts, 1913, pp.205-244 (England); pp. 173-204 (Belgium and N. France); f.b., n.191.

181. Freeman, 1961, p.193, citing Maine. Phlpotts, l.c., continually stresses the inherently bilateral nature of the Teutonic kindreds, among which very few (e.g. Ditmarschen, Norway, England) discriminated between paternal and maternal kin (summary, p.267). Note P. Friedrich, 1964, p.141, on the bilateral nature of the old Russian kindreds, and descent, despite the patrilocal household.

182. See Freeman, l.c. p.205, fig.I, with paradigm of kindred extending to second cousins, the truncal ancestors of all the descendants being the parents of the individual's agnatic and uterine grandfather and grandmother.

183. See e.g. Phlpotts, 1913, p.106 (Schleswig) for distribution of wergeld acc. to the Charter of Duke Adolf in 1446 for Eiderstedt. Note P. Friedrich, l.c.

"the incest taboo was extended to all second cousins and many tertiary affines."

184. Each Germ. branch used different terms for "family",
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"kinsmen" etc., to ref. to kindred, e.g. aet(t) in Norway (Larson, 1935, Glossary, p.419); Schleswig-Holstein: freunde "kinsmen", Blotfrønder "bloodrelatives" (Phillipotts, l.c. pp.117, 118-119; p.119 n.1, gesampte Siepschaft "whole kindred"); Anglo-Saxon maegas (pl.) "kinsmen", or maegalam (Phillipotts, l.c. pp.209 and n.1, pp.215, 216, and n.2, noting cynn and sibb). the ambient French lignage in Belgium and France designated "house, family, kindred" (Goody, 1984, p.230; Phillipotts, l.c. pp.177, 181, 190).

185. For the deriv. of wergeld see e.g OED pp.3742-3743.

186. Such as the "kindreds" of the Malaysian Iban studied by Freeman and others (Freeman, 1961, pp.207-217).


188. See Freeman, l.c. p.211; Firth, 1963, p.24, ref. to "operational criteria".

189. Phillipotts, 1913, p.3.

190. Freeman, 1961, p.204.

191. Note Phillipotts, l.c. pp.104-123, on the late survival of kindred solidarity in Schleswig, resisting the efforts of centralised authority, such as the Danish King and its Duke, to enforce individual responsibility alone before the Law for crime.

192. See P. Friedrich 1964, p.141. Note his foll. remarks, "Since the members of a household or small village thought of one another as relatives (rodnyje), it is evident that the three basic structures of household, kindred, and village overlapped in membership and in many functions."

193. Benveniste, 1935, p.37; see e.g Weitenberg, 1984, pp.123, 285, for the negative view.


195. See Oettinger, l.c. p.39; note Ivanov, 1957, p.28, n.32.


198. See ref. to this text in Kempinski, Košak, 1969-1970, p.192; CHD p.36, tr. NUMUN as "offspring".
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201. See Kempinski, Košak, l.c. for text and rest.
202. See l.c., p.206, for ref. to this frag. text of Arnwandas.
203. Cf. Alp, 1947, pp.394, 407, for text and tr., "to one of his family, to one of his clan", for hassannassì pankun-assì; for ref. to hassannassì=si as d.-1. sg. of the partitive gen., see Hoffmann, 1984, p.132. Cf. HED p.216,
"for his household's, his brother's and sister's blood relative, clansman, [or] in-law, [or] for a friend of his"

s.a., §1, ns.9, 10. See CHD p.169, for maniyahhiyatt-, and tr. of L.34 in this "MH/NS+" text. For (LU)kaenant- see HEG I p.460; f.b., Ch.V, §2.111.
204. HED 3, p.216 reads NIN in L.33 rather than DAM.
205. S.a., ref. in n.182.
206. For a translit. of text see Chrest. p.148. Korosec, 1950, p.199, and n.67, interpr. MÄS as "seine Grossfamilie", while rendering NUMUN as "Nachkommenschaft".
207. See Furlani, 1939, p.17.
208. CHD p.208, tr. 9'-11'
"(May Labarna's (and) Tawannanna's offspring and years be) as numerous as a clan in a h."

hikkirmahi=ia d.-l. remains a hapax.
209. See CHD p.208, dating text OH/MS?, tr. LL.5'-6':
"Let the ...-s be however numerous his clan is."
211. HAB p.75, tr. pankur as "Sippe". Beal, 1983, pp.125-126, notes that Güterbock's collation of the text has shown that it is not a frag. of the same tablet as KBo III 24 (= BoTU 10x).
213. The rest. here in HAB of [šu-me-en-za-na] seems too long for the available space; cf. beg. of L.36. If [hu-] is to be rest. here (see below), a simple conjunction may be all that is required.
214. If the rest. of kurur here is correct (HAB pp.8, 47), [ ku-u-ru-ur(?) n]u-, the non-plene ku-ru-ur would fit
better, being attested also in II 49 of this NH copy; see Neu, 1979a, pp.408, 411.

215. The reading -n]a was suggested by J.D. Hawkins, since it fits the traces better, making poss. either [SAG.DU-n]a or [har-aš-ša-n]a, obviating a preceding determinative UZU, which reading is marked with a query in HAB.


217. It is also poss. that ]u-i-it-na-aš could be read as gen.sg. of watar "water" (see e.g. Schindler, 1975, p.5); thus the simile would be "...be united like water!"

218. The İR-am-ma-an of KBo III 27 (CTH 5), obv.15, also İRMEŠ İR-am-ma-an (and 11' İR-m1-iš), may be correlated with the İRMEŠ IA of KUB I 16, II 41, "My subjects" who would be future subjects of Mursilis. See Mora, 1983a, pp.164, 180, for argument that İRMEŠ here = pankus "communita, intera popolazione". Korošec, 1950, pp.188-189, had come to the same conclusion reg. tuliya in the Telepinus Edict, but foll. Goetze in reg. pankus as "der Allgemeinheit der Adliger" - p.187.

219. See Pocock, 1943-1972, pp.724-725; also Mowat, 1964, recording the behaviour patterns of the Alaskan wolf.


221. Pocock, l.c.

222. Hattusilis was given to metaphor; cf. II 39 of the same text, and his description of his sister, mother of Labarnas, II 20, "his mother (is) a serpent!"; HAB p.5.

223. As proposed by Ivanov, 1960, pp.794ff.

224. See a) KBo XXI 10 + (CTH 427.D), 15' QA-D(U)] DU-
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225. The signs LI, NAM, AZ, e.g., have characteristically late forms, while the text conforms in script, with Gloss-enkeil, language and format, to oracle texts from the reign of Hatt. III and later. Kammenhuber, 1976, pp.29,180, notes (INIM) ŠA DUMU mar-nu-wa-an-da in obv.II, 1',18',25',31', named also in KUB XXXI 23 (CTH 832), rev.5'-7': ki-e IN-IMI.A ku-e ŠA [x] / mûr-hi-D-x-up mhal-pa-L[ú x] / ŠA DUMU mar-nu-wa-an-da. The augurer mKursa-DKAL with mArtummanna of KUB XVI 77, III 53 (also III 4; see Archi, 1975c, p. 132), also performed oracles in KBo II 6 (CTH 569), III 59, IV 16, concerning mArma-Dx and fŠaušgattis.


227. See Kammenhuber, l.c. ref. to this pass, as concerned with murder; note obv.5. [x x x ]măš-iš-ši-li 1 ŠA mha-it-ti-li 6. [x x x ]šar-ni-in-ku-u-wa-an-zi ša-an-hi-eš-ki-ši 7. [x x x ] SIG₅-du NU.SIG₅.


229. Cf. HAB p.76, n.3, with ref. to 18-19, "(the one) of the pankur of that (person) they will bring here[ ] the compensation of the blood(deed)." Note HED 2, p.308, who tr. "eshanaz sarnikzel 'wergeld', lit. 'restitution because of blood[shed]'. See f.b.


231. S.a., ref. to III 8-9 in 6.1., and note III 23.[x x
x-a]n-zi na-aš KASKAL-ši-ih-ha-an-zi "[ ]x and they will exorcise"; cf. Archi, 1979b, p.81, n.2, on KASKAL-(si)ahh- "exorcise", in such contexts.


233. Cf. HED 2, p.308 (n.229 above); s.a., n.185.


235. For late dating of the "parallel laws" of KBo IV 4, see Korošec, 1959, pp.261; 1963, pp.139. For linguistic criteria, see Carruba, et al., 1965, pp.1ff. Laroche, 1949, pp.11, 12, ascribes text to end of Tuthaliyas IV, acc. to its scribe Manikuilis, or to reign of Arnuwandas III. Note Beckman, 1983b, pp.105-106, and n.46, suggesting c. 1220 B.C. for its inscription.

236. For a detailed study of the KIN oracle texts see Archi, 1974, pp.113-144.

237. See Archi, 1974, pp.134-144, for lists of various "symbols" occurring in these KIN oracles.


"but the flour dough into which are mixed 'medicines', I take and I press it upon the person."


240. S.a.


242. In this context we might expect a vb "to bring". Is pezza- a late assibilated Hitt. form of a Luw.(?) *pit(t)*-iya-, corr. to Hitt. peda- "convey, deliver" (HW1 p.168)? Cf. MP 2.sg.pres. huezta, 3.sg.pret. huizzastati, and act. 2.pl. pret. huezatten(-), cited in SHV pp.517-518, for huittiya- (MP huett-*tta "draw, lead").

243. Cf. AU p.25, n.2, for ref.to KBo VI 4, IV 25, 34, for the part. harkant- ref.to (farm) land, as usual. L.3' could read, "of the house (that has) perished".

244. E.g. KUB XLIII 23, rev.19 ... nu-za 1 ŚAH ma-a-ah-ha-an 20. ŚAH.TUR HIA me-ik-ku-uš ha-aš-ki-iz-zi "...and as one sow continues to bear many piglets"; see Archi, 1979c,
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p.34; for text note CHD p.112.

245. NH 417a: see Laroche's comm., CTH p.167; also, Tischler, 1982a, pp.440, 443, with ref. to KBo XVIII 172, I 15. [UZU] huwarla-

246. Ed. Burde, 1974, pp.42-46, as L; Polvani, 1988, p. 142, for LL.24'-26'. See now HZ No.133 for NAHZÚ (/KA) "Obсидian, Feuerstein". On saminu- see Singer, 1983a I, p.95. The treatment by fSuwamma of the Palace of [ ]Hariyasa was for someone with an affliction, lost in the lacuna.

247. See obv.21' ...nu hûr-li-li kis-an[.]

248. Cf. MÁŠ.GAL-aš nom.sg., KBo XVII 61 (CTH 430), rev. 20' (Beckman, 1983a, pp.44-45); MÁŠ.GAL-ilš nom.sg., KUB XXXV 54, III 9 (Starke, 1985a, p.68); MÁŠ.GAL-pi d.-l.; KBo XVII 3 + (CTH 416), III 25-28 (Starke, 1977a, No.104). Note KUB XXXIV 74 (CTH 470), 4', A-]NA ŠIR-aš û MÁŠ-tar[ (see HZ p.109). Burde, 1974, p.45:

"von Ziegebock, Ziege? oder? Schaf Barthaar (bzw), Milch?, Urin eines Menschen[ ]Käse, ...-Stein ..."

Sim. Polvani, l.c.


250. L.c. p.39, with n.73.

251. See SHV p.517.

252. S.a., KBo XXI 10 +, 15', cit. in n.224 as a).

253. "Sap" or "milk"? See Güterbock, 1983a, p.162, who considers the relationship between galaktar and vb galank- "refresh, soothe", is simply one of assonance. SHV p.149 (cf. HW I p.95, with refs.) understands galaktar as deriv. of the latter, with original root *gleg- "be soft, tender" (IEW p.401). Liddell-Scott, (8th ed.) p.298, ns. Gothic mluk-s and Lat. lac lactis "milk", as equivalent forms (note Güterbock, l.c.), thereby relating vb ḫμμέλλω and mulgeo. Notably the Grk. word lent itself to descriptive plant names, e.g. ὑψήλακτα, and denoting the sap of certain plants. This par. Hitt. use of ḫ for a plant(?) with stem (?), inserted or stuck into a vessel; see Güterbock, l.c. n.14, ref. KBo XXII 225, II 5-7.

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257. S.a., Ch.I, §4.xi.5.3., with refs.
258. See IEW pp.127; Weitenberg, 1984, pp.128-129, gives only the earliest refs., to Sturtevant and IEW. We add Ivanov, 1957, pp.19ff., with whose arguments O. Szemerényi, 1962, p.196, agrees. Melchert, 1984, p.120, sees "panku- 'total, entire', pangur 'milk, clan' and pangar- 'mass', all from *bhengh-".
259. See Polomé, 1968, pp.98-101, deriv. from *pgkw- "all", Grk. πᾶς, πάντας (see Chantraine, 1968, p.859), Hitt. panku- (*pgkw-u), and > *penkwē "five" > πέντε (Aeol. πέμπτε) Lat. quinque, with special sense "five" deriving from "all" the fingers on a hand, which may be paralleled in other languages. Carruba, 1979, p.196, analysed *penk-(u)-kwe "e tutto quanto; e l'ensieme", which counters Weitenberg, 1984, p.129 (the final -e of *penkwe had not been explained). Carruba related Hitt. panku- to the original PIE root, yielding pank-u-s "all, entirety, multitude". H. Wittmann, Some Hittite Etymologies II. Sprache 19 (1973), pp.41-42, analysed panku- (cf. anku-) "all", as *pe-anku, the prefix to be seen also also in pahhur and peda-.
260. As, e.g., did Ivanov, 1957, ff.; 1958, pp.8, 12, with ns.14, 30; 1960a, pp.793-797; 1960b, p.270. Note EHS §160, querying whether the -r/n stem of panku- might have a "substantivierende Funktion (Kollektivum)".
261. See Lindemann, 1965, pp.29-32; also SHV p.87, with ns.9, 10.
264. L.c. p.2, Category b). Schindler elaborates: -Cer/n: -wer/n, -mer/n, -ter/n, -ser/n. Weitenberg, 1984, p.128, argues from Oettinger's (1976, p.39) par.: karu/karurar- (war) and poss. aku-/hekur, that pankur would not be an -k deriv. of a u-stem adj., but an "independent formation from the root with *-we", -wer." The former conclusion ag-
reets with the evidence here for *ppk\textsuperscript{W}-r > pankur, and also *ppk\textsuperscript{W}-u > panku-. Melchert, 1984, p.120, suggested "the suffix *-\textsuperscript{W} (of pangur) is a composite of *w\textsuperscript{-r}, although he admits "lack of evidence for heteroclite inflection."

265. That is, an acrostatic accent. See Eichner, 1973, p.91, with definitions of various types of accents, the terminology of which is foll. by Schindler, 1975; see l.c. p.3, n.2. Eichner, l.c. p.62, ascribes pankur to the accent type of -ur forms with acrostatic or amphikinetic accent.

266. See Schindler, 1975, pp.4ff., for this type of acrostatic inflection.

267. Gurney, 1952, pp.68-69, quoted in Weitenberg, 1984, pp.127-128; Hoffmann, 1984, also quotes Gurney, with ref. to Telepinus' use of pankus as "meaning probably, in this context, 'whole community'". Mora, 1983, pp.176-177, concluded that pankus in the OK meant the entire population, with the functioning assembly always dependent upon the will of the ruler. All recent studies offer extensive bibliographies for the preceding analyses of pankus.


269. Beckman, 1982a, pp.437, 442.

270. Beckman, l.c. with ns.90, 91, concludes that "the assembly - in fact if not in theory - was seemingly made up of the upper echelons of the state bureaucracy."


272. On the antiquity of the -r/-n stem formation see e.g. Szemerényi, 1970, p.158, with refs.

273. For the relative antiquity of the respective clauses of HG see e.g. Korošec, 1963, pp.121-144, and esp. pp.132-133, in reg. to §§166-167 (HG p.74). Even in the customary defunct "law" cit. in §166 the individual, with his plough animals, paid with his own life for the crime of "sowing seed on seed". For an examination of individual versus collective responsibility with the Hittites, see e.g. Korošec, 1950; Furlani, 1939.

274. See CAD L (\textsuperscript{l1}bl\textsuperscript{b}libbu) pp.179, and f.b.

275. See Otten, 1972a, p.233, and 1981, p.80, with compar-
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ative chart of ṢÂ BAL.(BAL)/NUMUN in the genealogies of parallel text copies of CTH 81.

276. In KUB XX 63 (CTH 611.1.A), I (par., KUB XX 42, I), 1-4, the great-grandfather is omitted, but incl. in KUB XI 35 (CTH 597.1.A), obv.3'[ ] DUMU.DUMU-ŠU ṢÂ mšu-up-pi-lu-li-li-um-ma; cf. RS 17.35 (PRU IV, p.123), and adjudication in Akk. by Tuthaliyas, obv.5. DUMU.DUMU.DUMU-ŠU ṢÂ mšu-up-p[i-lu-li-li-um LUGAL.GAL.

277. KUB XI 35, obv.5'-6'; KUB XX 63 (and parallel), I 5-6; cf. KUB XXIII 1 + (CTH 105), obv.1-7 (damaged), with comm. in Otten, Kühne, 1971, pp.6, 22.

278. ABoT 56 (CTH 256), I 5'-7'; see Laroche, 1953, pp.70-71, for translit. and rest.

279. See Laroche, l.c. p.71, n.1.

280. HW 1 p.203, "Nachkomme" (Akk. līplīpu; cf. Goetze, 1925, p.129, "Nachkomme".


282. See CAD L pp.179ff., with lexical ref., Ṣâ-bal-bal :NUMUN = lib-lib-bi:TUR.TUR-ri (= mār mārī), ref. (under2, p.180) to grfa., grgrfa., grgrgrfa.. In MB texts līp(1)līpī and liblibbi (both ṢÂ BAL.BAL) were already confused; see ref. to Landsberger, below.

283. Landsberger, 1967, p.29, n.84, who firmly denied an etymological relationship between lēp(1)lēpī and liblibbi; see discussion in l.c. pp.28-29, 35, 42. Cf. CAD L p.205; AHw p. 555, lī/ēpu < elēpu ("to send forth shoots; to lengthen, to stretch forth", CAD E pp.86).

284. Landsberger, 1967, p.29, n.84.

285. L.c. ref. to UET IV 208; Landsberger would correct to bin binim = liblibbi (ref. to AHw. p.127, binu).

286. See Landsberger, l.c. p.35; and ABL 442, cit. in AHw. p.555; CAD L p.205.


289. S.a., §1. cit. 5) and §2.9.2.
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290. OB-MB, liblibbu ref. to descendants of ancestors in royal genealogies (see CAD L p.205), with §A BAL.BAL becoming the logographic rep. in MB texts.

291. The text is ed. as No.33 in Merrigi, 1967, as No.33. Note Hawkins, 1974, pp.73-74, on the Gurgum rulers and datings acc. to NA association.

292. For this reading of Laramas' name see recently Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies, 1978, pp.103-105, and Hawkins, 1974, pp.74-75, on likely equivalence of this Laramas to the Assyrian Palalam/Pa'alla.

293. Each descendant relationship in this genealogy apparently had a distinct term - Ch.I, §3.xi., cit. 27)c.; note Hawkins, l.c., on the Gurgum Dynasty.


295. See Starke, 1985a, p.45, with list of such words and forms, and comm. on a MH dating.


298. Cf. HW\(^1\) p.61 where hartuwa-hartuwati is listed as Hurr. d.-1.sg. Note van Brock, 1964, §29, on this type of reduplication.

299. See Riemschneider, KUB XLIII p.v and n.1, on the dating of this frag. text.

300. See van Brock, 1964, p.144.

301. See Landsberger, 1967, p.29.


304. L.c. Cf. also a random selection of words with meanings metaphorically extended from plant life to persons: Eng. scion; Grk. θάλος, ἐρνος, ἡρπες (Liddell-Scott, pp. 660, 1078); Av. taoxman "seed"; Skt. tokman "young blade of grain"; toka "offspring"; OPers. taumā "wider family"; Goth. mana-seis (Menschensaat) "mankind, world" (IEW p.
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890); Skt. vanca "bamboo cane" applied, on analogy of the series of stem joints to "lineage, race, family" (Buck, 1949, p.1318).

305. See Buck, l.c., for examples in Boh., L.Sorb., Pol. and MHG.

306. See CHD p.112, with ref. to Kellerman. Hittite Foundation Rituals. Diss., for sim. "figures of speech" as found in KUB XXIX 1, IV 13-25, in ancient West Semitic texts.

307. Ed. Schwartz, 1947, pp.23-55; re-ed. in Kellerman, l.c.; Eng. tr. in ANET² pp.357-358. See Archi, 1975a, pp. 77-87, on the "cult of the hearth with the Hittites", esp. remarks on this pass. Note CHD p.112, for IV 13-16, under mahla- "branch".


310. E.g., s.a., Ch.I, §2.ii.

311. See Bo 86/299, IV 42. ... Ḫ A-NA MĀŠLUGAL hu-u-man-ti; Otten, 1988a, pp.28-29, 53 with n.125, and ref. to KUB XXVI 12 + (CTH 255.1.A), I 8, šu-um-me-eš [ku]-i-e-eš MĀŠLUGAL ... "you, who (are of) the King's family" (ed. von Schuler, 1957, p.22).

312. See f.b., Ch.VI, §3.

313. S.a., Ch.I, §2.v. cits. 15)a,b,c.; f.b., Ch.V, §2.iii. 5.2


315. See Vinski, 1938, pp.22-26; the sphere of the "Housefather/Overlord, Elder, Head of the Family, etc." whose position was assured by law, comprised the overall economic and social administration of the family and conduct of its external relationships, while he was its chief Priest resp-
Onsible principally for family ancestor worship, centred upon the Hearth.

316. S.a., §3.2.2. with n.192. On the selection and succession of the Housefather, after his death or infirmity in old age, by the eldest, most capable man in the family as new leader see Vinski, 1938, pp.22-25; P. Friedrich, 1964, p.139. The head mother, whose title reflected that of the Housefather, was responsible for administration of the domestic realm, with supervision of the other women and children, a role requiring tact and diplomacy. After the head father she commanded most authority in the household. She was usually the wife of the leading man, but could be the widow of his predecessor, and so mother of the Housefather. When she died or became infirm, she was succeeded by another suitable married woman. In certain cases

"properly qualified women not infrequently took over the reins and created transitional matriarchies (particularly a widow with married children)."

See P. Friedrich, p.139; also, Vinski, 1938, p.26.


CHAPTER III

1. Rivière, 1971, p.63; s.a., Preface to this study.
2. Neu, Otten, 1972, pp.181-190, with ref. esp. (p.182) to the parallel pass. in KBo XXI 22, obv.25-28, and KUB XX 54 + KBo XIII 122, rev.6-8; they compare *pes-no- (pes-na-), OInd. pás-as-, and Lat. pennis <pēs-nī-s), with ref. also to IEW, p.824 (but cf. Walde(-Pokorny), 1927, p.68, where it is queried whether the Lat. form is not better derived from pendere via *pendsnis?). Popko, 1974, p.182, briefly, on basis of texts cited above, came to the same
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conclusion. Reg. *-no-, see f.b., §2.1.1.4.

3. 10' [... ]kat-ti-š-š-ši-ma Dma-li-š-š

36. DINGIR,LU[MES]-aš KI.MIN Dma-li-š-š

11' [... ]x-aš kat-ti-š-ši-ma DINGIR pf-še-ni-eš[...

37. Dma-li-š-š KI.MIN DINGIR,LU[MES]-aš

See Neu, Otten, 1972, p.184, with LL. x+5'-12' = 31-38 in translit. with ref. to dupl. (10/g) to L.10', with DINGIR pf-še-ni-š.


5. NH 1023, 1; see n.7 below.


7. Acc.sg.c. (m)pf-še-ni-š, KUB XIV I, obv.53,58; see also Akk. KBo I 27, II 12, mpi-še-NI; gen.sg. KBo III 67 +, II 12, mpi(1)-š(e-ni-la-aš), = Akk. KBo I 27, II 14, mpi-še-NI; cf. KUB XIV I, rev.66, 67, (šA) É mpi-še-NI; nom.pl. c. pf-es-ne-iš, 942/z 4 (Neu, Otten, 1972, p.183); pf-še-ni-š KUB XLIII 30, III 11' (see n.3; Neu, 1980a, Text 30); KUB XLI 23, III 13, (9), (Neu, Otten, 1972, p.185, n.8); KBo III 40, 9' pf-še-ni-š (Neu, Otten, l.c., and n.8a); acc. pl.c. pf-še-e-nu-š, see f.b., n.8; other, unclear exx. in oblique case(s): [p]š-š-na-a-aš KBo XVII 1, IV 6 (see Otten, 1969, p.36; Neu, Otten, 1972, p.183); pf-eš-na-aš 942/z, 3, (Neu, Otten, l.c.); see Neu, 1983a, p.151, listing the form pes(e)na- "man".


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1990, pp.160-161. See f.b., §3.1.4.5. for asrulahi(t)-.
11. See exx. of (GIŠ)kalw/misna- listed by Neu and Otten, 1972, pp.186-187, with -sn-, -s(e)n-, -s(i)n- and -s(a)n-, and comment. by Oettinger, 1982, p.172, n.41, who thinks the suff. may be better analysed as *-en- than *-no-.
13. KBo XIII 34, IV 15' pár-še-nu-šu-uš, 21' pár-še-e-n[u- (šu-uš ) ]; Riemschneider, 1970, p.36, comm. that the e/i vowel in parsina- "ist danach offensichtlich real" on account of the plene e.
15. Brugmann, 1902, p.316.
16. 1972, p.188.
17. Watkins, 1961, pp.7, argues that the Hitt. ordinal suff. in -an(n)a is deriv. from *-e/on-, the geminate n being "purely graphic" (p.9, n.6).
18. E.g. Hoffner, 1966a; 1980, p.324. Cf. foll. where the abstr. had the physical member as referent: KUB XXXIII 120 + (CTH 344.A.), I 25,26 (Friedrich, 1950, p.249), and KUB XXXIII 84 (CTH 348.3. = Siegelová, 1971, pp.58, No.16), rev.IV, 14-15, ... MUS hé-dam-mu-uš[ 15. ]LÚ-na-tar pa-ra-a wa-at-ku-uš-ki-iz-zi nu LÚ-na-t[a r ; Neu, Otten, 1972, p.183, n.3; note Friedrich's comparison with KUB XXXIII 108 (CTH 350.3; Friedrich, 1952, pp.147), 2-4, where ZI-an-za "spirit, soul, will, etc.", appears as a conceptual homonym of *pesnatar in the sim. context of the erotic IŠTAR.
19. CTH 342; see Otten, 1953b, pp.126-127, for translit. of L.17. [ ... (D a-še-ir-du-u) š-wa-za tu-uk LÚ-x-UT-KA mar-ki-ia-[zi], which Hoffner, 1965, p.8 and CHD p.189, tr.
"Asherah is impugning (?) your virility/manhood(?)", render- ering markiya- in this context as "impugn" (?).

20. CAD Z, pp.110-112; 116-117; see f.b.
21. Cited in CAD Z, p.112; the text calls upon gods as witnesses to the Treaty oath, incl. rev.51, DINGIRMES LUMES
DINGIRMES MI MES (ŠA KUR URU, ki-iz-zu-at-ni), "male and female deities (of Kizzuwatna)."

22. As remarked by Hoffner, 1980, pp.313, 324.
24. For the colophon title of the "Deeds of Suppilluliumas (I)", see Güterbock, 1956, pp.41 and n.1, with ref. to Sommer (1929, p.354); also Güterbock, 1938, pp.94, 96 and n.1.

26. See Melchert, 1978, esp. p.2, with ns.; also, Houwink ten Cate, 1983, p.91, disagreeing with the above (and Goetze and Carruba) but defending the arguments of Otten, Güterbock and Kammenhuber on the antiquity of the original compositions, i.e. that the Akk. version was comparatively contemporary to the events, but that the Hitt. text rep. a much later tr.; cf. Hoffner, 1980, p.294.
27. Concerning narû and šar tamhari literature of Mesopotamia, see Güterbock, 1934, pp.22ff.; also, Gurney, 1955, pp.93-113; Hoffner, 1980, pp.289, 318-319. In reg. to the
Hitt. Annals generally, and CTH 4 texts specifically, see Otten, 1966, p.116

"... Dieser ist kein Rechenschaftsbericht gegenüber den Göttern, wie es vielfach assyrische Königsinschriften sind. Vielmehr steht die Leistung des Königs im Vordergrund und ist Thema der Inschrift."

28. Houwink ten Cate, 1983, pp.98, with quotations p.100 from Sollberger and Kupper (1971, pp.32-33). For arguments attributing texts of CTH 13 to "The Extensive Annals of Hattusili I (?)", see Kempinski, Košak, 1982, pp.87-116. The Šar tamhari texts are listed as CTH 310, with Bo 68/28 now pub. as KBo XXII 6. For Naram-Sin see CTH 311 and 819 (KBo XIX 98, 99); Hoffner, 1980, pp.289; Beckman, 1983b, pp.102, with ref.


30. See Gütterbock, 1938, pp.52-53 for transl. and tr.


32. See AR II, pp.147, 195-196; Seux, l.c., noting also Tukulti-Ninurta I's epithets: zi-ka-ru dan-nu qarrādū.

33. There is as yet no complete ed. of the ritual in KUB VII 58, I 1'-17'. Obv.I 18'-22', II 1-IV, is listed as CTH 779, and rev.IV as CTH 426.I.A. For transl. and tr. of I 1'-12', see Alp, 1957, pp.23 (2'-12'), Kummel, 1967, pp.68-69 (1'-10'), Neu, 1968a, p.68 (ibid.), Haas, Thiel, 1978, p.38 and n.109, with ref. to Neu, l.c. See Starke, 1981a, p.222, for interpr. igati-ta "erkalten, gefrieren"; sim., HED 2, p.257.

34. Texts ed. in Oettinger, 1976; see f.b., §3, and §4. 3.1. with cit. 9).

35. CAD Z, p.112.


37. Ibid., p.23.

38. See HW 1 p.63; HED 3, pp.233-237.
39. HED 3, l.c.; HEG I pp.202-204.
41. HED 2, p.369 (sub innar-), tr. tarhuilatar "potency", ref. to it and *pesnatar as "starkly male terms", while tr. hastaliyatar "heroism".
42. KBo XI 10 (with dupls.; CTH 447), obv.II 30-32; Archi, 1979c, pp.27-28, n.4, with translit. and tr.
43. See KUB XLIII 23 (CTH 820), rev.18. ták-na-a-aš-ša DUTU-uš A-NA LUGAL a-aš-šu hu-iš-wa-tar tar-hu-i-li 19. GIS tu-u-li pi-iš-ki-id-du 
   "...And may the Sun god of the Earth ever give to the King his good, life, the conquering lance ..."
Cf. also LL.15-16. See translit. and tr. in Archi, 1979c, p.34. Note l.c., pp.48-49, translit. and tr. of Bo 2489 + 4008, II 4-15, with L.4. nu-uš-ma-š pa-ra-a ne-ia-an-ta-an tar-hu-u-li-in GIS SUKUR pa-š. See n.44 below.
44. KUB XXIV 1 (CTH 377.A.), III 
13. nu-us-ma-as LÚ-aš tar-hu-u-li-in pa-ra-a ne-i[a-an-ta-an]
14. D.GIS TUKUL-in pi-eš-ki nu-uš-ma-š KUR.KUR LÚ KUR
15. ŠA-PAL GÍR MES SU-NU zi-ik-ki
See Laroche, 1958a, n.12, for ref., and cf. KUB XXXVI 20 (CTH 346), 9' tar-hu-u-li-in GIS TUKUL(?)-i[n.
45. KUB XIV 1 +(CTH 147), rev.41; see Laroche, 1958a, n.12, with ref. to Goetze, 1928, p.29. Note Otten, 1969, p.27.
46. See CAD Q, gardu (fem. garittu, garattu), pp.129-131; garradu, and garradutu, pp.140-144; Seux, 1967, pp.229ff.
47. Ed. of Boğazköy texts in Reiner, Gütterbock, 1976, pp. 255-266, with the relevant NB text.
48. For text see Reiner, Gütterbock, 1976, p.258.
49. l.c. for text and tr.
50. l.c.; Laroche, 1958a, p.91 and n.12, had thought the adj. referred to Adad, IŠTAR's brother, since tarhuilatar (=tet) hatugatar(=tet) were attributes of Adad in KBo III 21 (CTH 313), 14-15; cf. Archi, 1983, pp.23-25, "dein
Heldenmut, dein Schreckensglanz".


52. KBo II 9 + KUB XV 35, obv.I, 25-27; see below, §3.v. 1.1. with 5).


54. KBo X 37 +(CTH 429), III

12. H(U)L-lu-un UšKAM-an a) HUL-lu-u[(n)] me-mi-an b) ku-is A-NA D[..UMUR]  
13. me-[iš-ta na-at-ša-an [(EG)]IR-pa a-pi-e-da-ni-pát(?) p[a-id-(du)]c)  
15. EGIR.[U(D)]M ma-ia-an-t[(a-)t]ar UR.SAG-tar ha-aš-ta-li-a-[n-ta-tar]  
16. [i]n-na-[r]u-u-wa-a-[tar pi-eš]kat-ten ...

a) KBo XIII 121, 8' has UD-an. b) ibid., me- is omitted.  

55. See KBo XV 10 + KBo XX 42, I

35. A-NA BE-LI-ma DAM-ŠU DUMU-MEŠ-ŠU TI-tar ha-aš-t[i-li-a-talr ma-ia-an-da-tar  
36. pi-iš-kān-du nu-uš-ši DINGIR-MEŠ.HI.A GIš[TUK]UL pa-
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ra-a ne-i-e-an-ta-an pi-an-du

See Szabó, 1971, for ed.; for the identity of "my lord" and "his wife" as Tuthaliyas and Nikalmati, see e.g. I 18-19.

Note Neu, 1974b, pp.258-259, ref. to spelling hastiliya--.

56. KBo IV 14 (CTH 123), II 68 nu-mu ma-a-an GIS TUKUL-za ha-aš-ta-li-l-e-eš-z1 ..."And if he should threaten me with arms (the ruler of Assyria - see II 66) ..." For ed. see Stefanini, 1965, and p.43 for the above pass., tr. "se con le armi su di me prevale ..."); cf. comm. by Singer, 1985, pp.109ff; HED 3, pp.236-237. See HW1 p.63, with further ref. and lit. meaning, "heldenhaft (stark) werden."

57. On latter see Gonnet, 1979, pp.25; Laroche, HH I, pp.15-16; on former, see Gonnet, l.c., ref. to the frag. remains of the Suppiluliumas I seals, e.g. BE.206, 207, with traces of UR.SAG; note Seux, 1967, p.230, with ref.

58. See Bossert, AfO 9 (1934), p.184; 1944, pp.7-8; AfO 17 (1954-56), p.65. See below, 3.1.-3.3. for muwattall1--.

59. See CHD pp.116-118.

60. As cited by Risch, 1955, p.195, e.g. Gr. μετίς, Lat. *mētis in mētīrī, and RV mīmāti, mīmē "to set a measure; create"; also, Eichner, 1973, p.60; Puhvel, 1960, p.55.

61. See CHD p.117, sub (LU) mayant-|LU GURUS(-ant-); CAD E, pp.407-411; Siegelova, 1971, p.22; HW1 p.280.


63. Cf. CHD p.115, 3; 223-228; SHV p.242. The frequently attested logogram LUMIX SU.GI "old", is also found with the complement -tar, indic. *m1(yah)hu(wa)ntar; see CHD p.228.

64. Cf. appa mayantah- and newahh- ("renew") in the evocation in KUB XLIII 61, obv.I 5'-6', to renew the image of Labarna, and to rejuvenate him; see translit. and tr. in Starke, 1979a, p.92, n.95; CHD, p.118. Cf. also the pass. cited in Neu, Otten, 1972, p.182, KUB XX 54 +, rev.6ff.

65. See cited in n.54 above.


67. E.g. KUB XXIV 2 (CTH 377.B.), rev.12-13, "to the King, Queen, royal children and the Hatti land, life, health, innarawatar, long years in the fut-
ure, joy."

See HED 2, pp.368-369 for ref., and further, Gurney, 1940, p.32. Also, KBo XVII 105 (CTH 433.3), II 19-22,

"May the Protector god of the KUSkursas, the Pleiades (IMIN.IMIN.BI), and all the gods, be turned in good will to the King, Queen (and) royal children, and continue to give them life (and) innārauwatar"

see HED, l.c.; Archi, 1975a, pp.85-86. See further ref. as cited in HED 2, pp.369-370.

68. HED 2, pp.372-373.

69. DINGIRMES LUMES ERIN-aš in-na-ra-u-wa-an-te-eš ...

KUB XV 34 (CTH 483), I 48; see Haas, Wilhelm, 1974, pp.186-187, tr. "kraftvollen."

70. DkAL in-na-ra-u-wa-an-za nom.sg., VBoT 24 (CTH 393), obv.I 29. See below, §3.v. with cit. 6) and n.229.


72. Cf. KUB IX 31 (CTH 757), obv.II 22-24 (Luw.) and HT 1, I 29'-34' (Hitt.). See translit. of former in Starke, 1985a, p.53; brief comm, with ref. to the D Kulahinzas=tar, Starke, 1982, p.421. For translit., dating etc., of latter text, see Starke, 1985a, pp.50-51, and pp.46-55. Laroche, 1973b, pp.110-111, gave a tr. and interpr. See CHD p.79 for L.31, "(The Innarawantes) who have bound on themselves) the sashes(?) of the mountain dwellers." Prev. ed. of pub. texts (CTH 757), in B. Schwartz, Ritual of Zarpiya of Kizzuwatna. JAOS 58 (1938), pp.334-353.


74. Cf. exx. in DLL p.66, and KBo IX 143, III 12' [ ]EN SISKUR.SISKUR - cf. 6'; for text, and rests., see Starke, 1985a, pp.121-122, and p.93; KUB XXXV 16, 9' and rest. [ma-al-ha-aš-ša-aš-š1-iš-pa-]tar EN-aš ...; cf. 2' with ]EN.SISKUR.

75. KBo IX 143 (CTH 762; Starke, 1985a, pp.121-122), III
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13' [h]a-am-ša-a-ti ha-am-šu-
uk-kal-la-a-ti

14' [a-ar-ra-ia-ti uš-ša-a-ti an-pa-ra]a-an-ta-ti a-ar-a-
ti ha-at-tu-u-la-a-hi-ta-ti

15' [ma-aš-ša-na-aš-ša-an-za-a-ti wa-aš-ša-ra-a-hi-ta-ti]
hu-i-tum-na-a-hi-ta-ti

See also Starke, 1990, pp.55, 159. For massanassanzati
(MES-assanzati) wassarahitati huitummanahitati (in
KUB XXXV 45, II 9-10, translit. in Starke, 1985a, pp.151),
"through the favor and life of the gods", see Starke, 1990,
pp.163, 164.

76. E.g. KUB XXXV 143, II 38-39 (Starke, 1985a, p.145);
XXXV 24 +, obv.35'-37' (Starke, 1985a, p.85); note Starke,
1990, p.159.

77. 29' URU ha-at-tu-ša-a ap-pa-ra-an-ti-en a-ri-in 30'
an-na-ru-ma-a-hi hu-u-it-wa-la-a-hi-ša-ha u-pa; Starke,

On muwa- and derivatives, see Starke, 1989a, col.667-669;
1990, pp.172-173, 487, with ns.

79. Cf. KUB XV 4 (CTH 590), 5; 9 (CTH 590), II 2; ref. in
H.G. Güterbock, Ar. Or. 18 (1950), p.216, n.36; note KUB XLI
22 (CTH 470), III 8, MU-KAM. GID.DA GID-TUKUL HI.A NIR.GAL pī-
?; muwaddalalahidas as epithet of D.KAL in KUB II 1, III 14,
"della forza" - Archi, 1975b, p.98; Starke, 1990, pp.172-
174; CHD p.317.

80. CHD p.317. For muttallu, adj. "noble", see CAD pp.306-
307; note A. Sjöberg, ZA 55 (NF 21), 1962, p.1, with ref.
to GAG §106j, analysing muttallu as possibly the Gtn part-
iciple of elū "hinaufsteigen".


82. See Hawkins, apud Starke, 1990, p.488, with ns.1790,
1790a.

83. L.c. p.173.

84. L.c.

85. For Muwattallis I, see Otten, 1986, pp.28ff.; Neve,
1985/3, p.333, Abb.11b; for Muwattallis II see e.g. text
ref. in NH 837.
90. L.c.; s.a., §2.11.2.2.
91. See below, §7. ff.
92. See Hoffner, 1966a, with esp. ref. to Israel, Canaan, Ugarit, Greece (passim), and Hatti; also, Beckman, 1983a, (Text B) p.40 and n.80; J. Pringle, Bi.Or. 42 (1985), col. 657, with ref.
93. Ed. by Oettinger, 1976 (see l.c., pp.10-11 for the relevant text); note, Hoffner, 1966a, p.332; Archi, 1977a, p.302, and below, §3.v. with cit. 6).
95. KUB IX 27 +, I 20-29; Hoffner, l.c. pp.272, 277, 283; also, translit. in del Monte, 1973, p.127; tr. of I 17-29, in Archi, 1977a, pp.302-303.
96. KUB VII 8, II 1-9; Hoffner, l.c. pp.275-276, 285-286; also, Engelhard, 1970, p.81, with ref. to LL.2-10. See below, §3.11. with cit. 4) and n.180.
98. Not, as once interpr. and tr., "mirror and spindle"; see Oettinger, 1976, pp.64-66; Hoffner, 1987, p.283; further, Archi, 1977a, p.302 and n.13; below, n.103.
100. Azatiwatas' boast — women able to walk the roads in safety with their spindles, in his Neo-Hitt. Kingdom of Karatepe (KARATEPE, §XXXV Hu. and Phoen. preserved; see Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies, 1978, p.116), is cited as an ex.
of this continuing symbol of femininity (Hoffner, 1966a, p. 333; Laroche, HH I, p.157 sub L.305, "fuseau").


103. SHV, p.379, interprets and tr. KUB XXXV 54, II 33'-34' (Starke, 1985a, p.67), GIš ha-at-ta-ra-a-ti ha-at-ta [-r]-t-i-it-ta GIš tu-u-ra-a-ti-pa-ta tu-u-r[a-a]-t-ta "mit der Spindel stach er, mit dem Speer aber spiesste er auf."


104. "... and he scatters (breadcrumbs) on it (a table), and libates wine before it. They bring 8 boys who have not yet "gone" to a woman. They dress one boy in a goat's skin and he walks forward and calls out like a wolf. Then they surround the table and eat up the (goat's) shoulder and breast."

For translit. of the pass., see Starke, 1985a, p.52. B. Schwartz, l.c., p.341, tr. UR.RAR.RA-1-li in II 12 as "in Luwian", which must be amended to "like/in the manner of a wolf"; see Starke, 1990, n.1450; HWl p.299; HWl fasc. 2, p.34, with ulippana- c. "wolf"?; also, Hoffner, 1967, p.99; SHV, p.546, n.3; Ünal, 1985, p.428.

105. Cf. the story of Enkidu (created to be the counter­part of Gilgamesh), who represented the wilderness and its animals, as "man in a state of nature", before the loss of his innocence by succumbing to the harlot's seduction; see Jacobsen's interpr., 1976, pp.196. On hunting and other habits of the European wolf see Pocock, pp.724-725.

108. See STARKE, 1980, p.75.
111. See Puhvel, 1987, pp.159-163.
114. See f.b., Ch.VI, §4.A., 2.1.-3.2., with ref.
116. Ibid.
117. See SHV p.69, §29, for paradigm. Cf. Kellerman, 1987, p.111, "Et il lui (= à l'Ocean) donna mille de chaque (sort) : il lui donna mille boeufs (et) mille moutons ..."
118. See Stefanini, 1969, p.164, n.42. Further on kuissa see HEG I pp.614-615; HE I (1960), §§125, 126; Sommer, Ebelof, 1924, pp.16-17, esp. with ref. to KBo II 13 (CTH 505.2), obv.12-13...DINGIRMES ku-in-na a-pi-il-a A-NA NA4ZI.KIN pi-ra-an / ta-nu-an-zi "They set the gods, each (i.e. whomsoever) in front of his own Huwasi stone." Ed. in Carter, 1962, pp.106, 111.
119. See CAD M2 pp.80-83.
120. See CAD M2 pp.73-80, with esp. ref. to Sа Voc. P.l' (= KUB III 105): MSL III p.69, [NIQ] [ni-ig] [mi-im-ma] ku­id im-ma [ku-id] "whatever".
121. On Mesopot. scribes see Beckman, 1983b, pp.97-114.
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cf. e.g. Akk. ha-a-ma ū hu-uz-za-a-pa (acc.) (see hāmu ū hūgābu "a blade of straw or a splinter of wood", CAD pp.73, 258-259), in KBo I 1 (CTH 51.A), obv.51, in context "I, the Great King, did not remove h. u. h." (PD p.16), i.e. "not even the smallest thing", and Hitt. izzan GIS-ru(/taru) with same sense in CTH 19, §32 60-61; Hoffmann, 1984, pp. 36-37, with n.2; von Schuler, 1983, pp.161-163.

123. See Neu, 1990, p.210, with n.10, with ref. to a prev. article in which he suggested the possible derivation of kuinna- from *kāe (IEW pp.636-637), as "Payment, dowry, (Bride)price". Notably, *kāe > Hom Grk. ἄνει "pay, compensate", and nouns des. payments in the same semantic range.

124. 1990, p.213.


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er"", implying his identification of the final element of the Luw. word with (P)IE *-esör; see f.b.  
129. Ibid., with n.29.  
132. HW¹ p.85.  
133. Usually with determinative DUMU,MI(MEŠ)-, See HW¹ p. 198; on the spelling variant see Oettinger, 1984, p.54; 1986a, pp.123-124.  
134. HW¹ p.273, 278.  
135. Cf. e.g. KUB XXXV 49, I 7' [na-a-ni-ia-an (NIN-i)la-an hu-tar-li-i-ia(-an GEME-ia-an)], and KUB XXXV 45, II 2..., ŠEŠ-ia-an NIN-ia-an 3. İR-ia-an GEME-ia-an. For translit. see Starke, 1985a, pp.150,151; note DLL pp.49, 121, 122; EHS p.109.  
137. HW¹ p.291; note for d.-l.sg., and gen., or nom.sg.?, KBo XXV 94, x+4', MI.LUGAL-ri pa-a-i MI.LUGAL-as[.  
139. For full phonetic spelling see, e.g., the steles MEHARDE: §§1,4,7, ed. in Hawkins, 1979a, pp.151-152, with fig.1; SHEIZAR: §7, "DOMINA"ha-su-sa저-ra/1-sa, - Hawkins, l.c.; note Laroche, 1954, p.104 and n.31; NH pp.303-305; HH I Nos.16, 383.  
140. See, e.g. NH pp.304-305.  
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143. EHS pp.109-111; also Brosman, 1982, p.65. For "in the Hitt. language" = "in Neshite", i.e. nes(umn)ill, see HW\(^1\) p.150; on (Kültépe/)Kanesh = Nesa, see Otten, 1973a, pp. 56-57; 25-26.

144. For latter two PN see Starke, 1980, n.33a. On the -uman suffix see e.g. Oettinger, 1982, pp.170, 174, n.47; p.176, n.51.

145. For this opinion see Kammenhuber, 1961, p.192. Note Szemerényi, 1967, p.210, n.24, suggesting that Lihsu was an ON, contracted from a man's PN Liahhsu.

146. For general remarks on this subject see Brosman, 1982, pp.66-67, but note remark (p.67) "That none of the nineteen words preceded by SAL" (i.e. in HW\(^1\)) "referred to an animal ... is an indication of the use of lexically distinct forms for female animals in Hittite..."

which requires qualification. See below, 4.1.

147. See, HW\(^1\) p.298; Hoffner, 1967, pp.18-19, and fn.2.


150. Regarding Eng. -ess, see Brosman, 1982, p.67, with n.2; Bloomfield, 1976, pp.165, 238; Martinet, 1957, p.86. On *-ya see Martinet, l.c. pp.87; Burrow, 1973, p.185.

151. See Daddi, 1982, pp.266-268 ([\(\text{LUu-ri-an-ni-}\)\(\text{i-\(\text{i}\)}\)\(\text{u-ra-ia-}\)\(\text{an-ni-}\)\(\text{i-\(\text{i}\)}\)\(\text{nom.sg. etc.}\)], p.400, hapax in KUB VII 61, rev.1. UM-MA t\(\text{DIN.GAL-}\)\(\text{u-uz-z[\(\text{i}\)}\) 2. DAM\(\text{kaš-šu-}\)\(\text{MI-\(\text{ur-ri-ia-}\)\(\text{an-ni}\) See f.b., §6.9.1.

152. For \(\text{LU-}\)\(\text{ar-za-na-a-la-aš}\) nom.sg., KBo XX 16, rev.8' (CTH 627), listed as a hapax, see Daddi, 1982, p.558.


154. See e.g. the list of "woman" words in IE languages in Buck, 1949, pp.82-83.


156. Interpr. thus in Szemerényi, 1977, p.37 and n.139; also in Starke, 1990, §92, §99, sub asrulāhit- note "Weiblichkeit, weiblich Wesenart", and asrāhit- "Weiblichkeit". See KUB V 10 (CTH 567), obv.7,9, which records the Festival
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157. Starke, 1990, p.170; DLL p.34.
158. Nor *asrulj-; see Starke, 1990, pp.161, 170, with ref. to the frag. context of KBo XXIX 26 (1.col.4'), which appears to be part of KUB XXXV 123, without joining; see Starke, 1985a, pp.250-252; Oettinger, 1986a, p.124), rev. IV? 11' has ]x aš-ru-li-en; cf. 16' aš-r[u-li-en.

160. Oettinger, 1986a, pp.126-127 (cf. 1986c, p.16), deriv. the compositional forms in hassu-ssar(a)- and *swe-sör- from the weak stem *sr-, but the sex-determining element in the (P)IE numerals "3" and "4", from the full grade stem *esör, deduced from Luw. *asr/ya-.

161. V. Pisani, 1951, p.7. J. Schindler, Tocharische Mischzellen, IF 72 (1967), p.247 and n.44, considered Pisani's etymology (1951, pp.7) of *swe-sör to be unimpeachable and "scarcely to be doubted". On the "history" of the usual analysis of swe-sör "sister" as "own-woman", see Szemerényi, 1977, p.34 with ref.; HEG I pp.113; also Buck, 1949, p.108. Normier, 1980, p.54, notes reg. OInd. svasar "sister", that the reflexive pron. is attested in other constructions as sva- "own", not as su- (Pisani's alternative suggestion with ref. Specht, 1944, pp.46), as first element of a compound.

163. Linke, l.c., argues that *es-r "inside blood", in the kinship term *swe-sör-, means "clan-sister", i.e. "own-inside-blood-woman", referring to women related by "blood" = "clan" of the "brother". Cf. Laroche, 1970, p.51 and n.39 (with ref. to H. Mittleberger, WZKM 62 (1969), p.319, arguing *su-esör as "die des eigenen Blutes, consanguinea"), "comment 'celle du même sang' définit-il la soeur dans une terminologie patriarcale?... Les objections à me­­connaitre le plan des désignations parentales, et à nier l'évidence."

Szemerényi, 1964, p.313, n.1; 1967, p.220; 1977, p.36, argued that the IE evidence for *es-r (gH) "blood" (see IEW
p.243), and Pisani's (*su)-esôr "blood", were irreconcilable. See various ref. in HEG I pp.112-115, sub eshar.

164. Concerning the laryngeal represented as "H₂", which is preserved in Hitt., contrary to "H₁" and "H₃", see Eichner, 1973, pp.54; SHV pp.546. For the recognition of the spelling without h, e.g. e-eš-na-aš, as late, and not older as argued in EHS (pp.279), or parallel to the Vedic gen. ānāh (Schindler, 1975, p.6), see Rosenkranz, 1978, p.43; Hart, 1980, pp.10-12; Starke, 1985b, pp.252-253. HED 2, pp.312-313, while seeing h-less forms as secondary, analyses *ēš₁p:ēš₁-n-s > *eshans>eshanas; cf. however, the Pal. e-eš-ha noted below.


171. See f.b.

172. KBo III 38 (CTH 3), obv.3'. Mī Da-ga-zi-pa-aš-a DUMU. MUNUS DUTU; see Laroche, 1947, p.68; Otten, 1973a, for text ed. with further exx. (p.37), KUB XXX 52 (CTH 278, and p. 172), obv. x+4'. 3 DUB ŠT-PAT da-ga-an-zi-pa-aš 5. DUMU. MUNUS; Bo 6172, IV 6. ku-kān DUMU.MUNUS DUTU lu-ut. Soys-
175. For syncretisms, see Gurney, l.c.; Laroche, 1974, esp. pp.184-185.
176. Laroche, 1974, p.185; Goetze, 1957a, p.137.
177. MI.LUGAL ŠA-ME-E Ů IR-ŠE-TIM, KUB XXI 27 + (CTH 384), obv.2; cf. obv.1-6; Stürenhagen, 1981, pp.108ff.; Goetze, 1957a, p.137; Gurney, 1977, p.18 and n.11.
178. Ed. in Otten, 1961, pp.114-157; for foll. pass. see pp.138-139. On ark- see HED 1, pp.142-143; cf. SHV pp.414, with ns.40, 41.
180. See KUB VII 8, II
7. nu-uš-ši GEME-KA ma-ni-ia-ah
8. na-aš-za GIS i-ú-ga-an ki-ša-ri nu-za DAM-ZU
9. da-a-ú nu-za DUMU.NITA MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS MEŠ 1-ia-ad-du
181. Hoffner, 1974a, p.47.
183. See Lehmann, 1958, p.190, contrasting Skt. Yugām
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"yoke"; Chambers-Murray, 1976, p.143.


188. Čop, 1960, p.6, n.14, with ref. to the relevant lines in HG §158 a), KUB XIII 15, rev.(3-)4, rest. with KBo VI 26, I, 6-7, KUB XXIX 30, obv.II 16: [ták-ku LÜ-aš BURU-1 ku-u]Š-ša-ni ti-ia-zi še-e-pa-an iš-ha-a-1 (cf. KUB XXIX 30, obv.II, 16, še-e-pa-an; KBo VI 26, I 6, še-e-pa-an; see Haase, 1984, pp.72-73; cf. HG, p.72), "If a man stands on hire (and) he binds sheaves (literally, a sheaf?)..."

189. Explained by Čop, 1960, pp.6 (who posits a weak grade *shE1-*, *she1- in ishiya-), as due to the juxtaposition of h2 to a foll. semi-consonant -š-, before the thematic *e/o of the verbal pres., and after lengthened e of the full grade root, *šEH. On ishiya- etc., cf. HED 2, pp.398-403; SHV pp.416-417, and n.44; p.546, §§469-470; 1978, p.74; Oettinger, 1984, p.57.

190. For the second element in the f. PN Find-abair = Cymr. Gwen-hwyfar (Guinevere), deriv. from siabar, see Čop, 1960, p.4.

191. For HUR.SAG Askasepas, see RGTC 6, pp.47-48, suggesting its locality in Pala; for "female" DAskasepas, see Goetze, 1953, p.265. For Kamrusepas as mother of D LAMA of Taurisa and "göttliche Hebamme" in birth and healing rituals, see Starke, 1985a, pp.206; also Laroche, 1947, p.67.

192. See Oettinger, 1982a, p.239, on etymology and origin-
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al(?) gender of ḫspanṭ-; note Neu, Otten, 1972, p.184, for texts with ḫspanztepas.

193. Goetze, 1953, p.266 and n.22; RGTC 6, p.68, with further ref.

194. On -wiya- see Starke, 1990, p.183; - ON deriv. are the most frequently attested of the -wiya- names; Starke, l.c.; NH pp.325-326; Tischler, 1981, pp.30-35. For other such PN see NH 539, NH 759, NH 888, NH 1374, NH 1550a; Tischler, 1981, p.32; 1982, p.453.

195. Note ḡYar(r)awiyas (NH 432); ḡSantawiyas (NH 1102); ḡTiwatawiyas (NH 1351).

196. Cf. ḡAspunawiyas (NH 177), ḡAsduwiyas (NH 185), ḡKallawiyas (NH 483), and others; see brief comm., Laroche, NH p.325; Tischler, 1982a, p.448, with ref. to ḡPisulawiyas (NH 1024b).

197. See mD*Armazitis (NH 141), m(I)yar(r)azitis (NH 434), mSantazitis (NH 1103), mDtiwatazitis (NH 1352); for x-muwa-(HL) PN, cf. NH 429, 1099, 1346. On these elements see Neu, 1987, p.168; Starke, 1989a, col.668; CHD pp.314-315.


199. The last two PN occur in KBo V 7 (CTH 223), rev.5, 29, ḡZiplantawiyas in KBo XV 10 + (CTH 443); ḡT/Drunnawiyas was practitioner of the rituals sub CTH 409/448, one text of which is a MH ms (i.e. KUB XLIII 41; SHV p.578).


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in Milyan of *-w > a as normal in postconsonantal position in Lyc. and Milyan, but not when between vowels. He noted in Lyc. Inscr. 2, prnebutu, instead of the usual prnnawate "has built".

204. See e.g. Brugmann, 1889, pp.104-105, with exx. of "colour" words deriv. with this suff. - cf. *ghel-wo-s ("yellow"), OHG gelo, Lat. helvo-s, etc., and also of other derivs. with different meanings; Burrow, 1973, pp.186-187, with exx., note that the suff. in Skt. is associated with u-stems.


207. See n.199 above.

208. As engraved on the silver ring seal (2.3.2.3 (ASHM) 4.S.1.1, in SHS): Ku-mi-wa/i-ia, with L.370 over L.79 visible to the left, on collation, but not noted in Kennedy, 1958, p.66. A male PN is engraved on the right. I am most grateful to Dr. Moorey of the Department of Antiquities at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (1984) for permission to see this and other seals, together with B. Buchanan's unpub. Catalogue of Anatolian Stamp Seals in the Ashmolean Museum, dated 1980, with Glosses by Professor Gurney and Notes by Professor Gitterbock.

209. S.a., e.g., §3.1.4.2., in reg. to mod.E. -ess.


211. S.a., §2.iii.1.1.

212. For translit. and tr. note Archi, 1977a, pp.298-300; CHD p.124.

213. S.a., Ch.I, §2.11.3.1.

214. See Beckman, 1983a, pp.1-5 with ref., on recognition in Hitt. texts of the importance of human reproduction.

215. KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.58-59. See Helck, 1963,
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p. 95, for Ramesses II as addressee; Edel, 1976, p. 24 and n. 48, with earlier ref.; Pintore 1978, pp. 36, ns. 136ff. For translits. and tr. of preceding pass. in obv. 58', and succeeding 59'-60', detailing Puduhepa's production of her own m. and f. offspring and her supervision of childbearing by princesses already resident in the Palace, see Stefanini, 1964a, pp. 13-14, Helck, 1963, p. 92, Beckman, 1983a, pp. 9-10. annan tissan still defies an exact analysis, opinions varying on the interpr. of tissan as Hurr. "many, much", cf. HW2 I, p. 76, or the participle of Hit. tessae- "set in motion", formed on the basis of CL tis(s)aj- (see SHV p. 382, DLL p. 97), thus "made ready, moved" – see Gütterbock, 1946, p. 59. The Glossenkeil annan might be Luw. "under"?, see HW2 I, p. 76, rather than "mother". Whatever the interpr. – "un'accezione morale: un'grande spirito materno" – (Stefanini, l.c., and Pintore, 1978, fn. 177), or "exceptional vitality" (Helck, l.c. after Goetze, foll. by Beckman, l.c.), or, with biological inferences, "(having) moved – i.e. been constantly active – underneath"?, the implications are clear.


217. KUB XXXIII 88 (CTH 348), with duplic. IBoT II 135, 10' [ (... TA IA.DUG.G) T A-ma-za ša-ni-iz-zi-šat iš-ki-it [nu-za ū-nu-w(a-at-ta-at)] 11' [(a-aš-[ši]-ia-tar-ma-aš-[ši])] UR.ŠI MES GIM-an EGIR-an hu-wa-ia-an-d[(a-rí)] "...and she (ISTAR) anointed herself with sweet fine oil and ornamented herself; love(s) then ran after her like hounds".
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see Laroche, 1968, p.57; cf. HED 1, p.191, HW² I, p.404.


219. KUB XV 34, II 9; see HW² I, p.403; cf. MH dating remarked in n.53 above; note HED 1, p.191.


221. See e.g. Inanna/Ištar (Mesopotamian), RIA 1976-1980, pp.74-89.

222. Cf. KUB XXIV 7, I 14-15... nu-kán DIŠTAR-li ī-ir ku-it / [a-aš-ši]-ia-at-ta-ri "Whatever household is beloved by IšTAR," - enjoyed exceptional happiness and tranquility (see Gütterbock, 1983a, p.156), as opposed to those hated by the goddess, I 25. [k]u-it ī-ir pu-uk-kăn... Note Archi, 1977a, pp.305.


224. Cf. the OB CH §§129 (latter comparable to HG §§197-198), 130, 131-2, 133a,b, 141, 142-3, for which see Driver, Miles, I, 1960, pp.50ff; II, 1960, pp.281-290, with ref. the MA §15, Driver, Miles, AL pp.39, 44-48; von Schuler, 1982, pp.82-83 with recent tr. Cf. also OT, Deut. XXII 23-27, as noted by Haase, 1987, p.98; Driver, Miles, l.c.

225. See e.g. Schneider, 1961, pp.14-16, 26.

226. See Haase, 1984, pp.90-91, for transcriptions; for OH dating of KUB XXIX 25 (+) 28 (+) 29 + 30 (+) 32 (+) 35 + 36, listed under CTH 292, see SHV, p.575. Cf. Korošec's argument, 1963, pp.142-144, that these laws originated from a later redaction than the preceding group in "Tablet II".

227. On the spelling variants s.a., §3.1.3.1. Acc. to SHV l.c., suppressarant-, the -nt- deriv. of the -essar abstr.
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228. Ed. in Chrest. p.100-126. For I 22-32, 36-II 26, note del Monte, 1973, pp.115, 124-125; see below, n.231. Both del Monte (p.115) and Moyer (l.c. p.59) render "into the house", not noting the force of pe-; cf. CHD p.82, "From the midst of the house".

229. E.g. Englehard, 1970, p.52, with ref.; see CHD p.82, "... it appears that DLAMMA lulimis represents an undesirable quality - e.g. impotence, effeminacy, weakness - and DLAMMA il a desirable one."

Moyer, l.c. p.59, interpr. "barrenness" vs. "fertility" for the two, while del Monte, 1973, p.115, leaves lulimes untr. and renders "DLAMA il robusto (?)" for its opposite.

230. Starke, 1979b, p.255, with ns.41, 42.

231. VBoT 24, III 34ff. Cf. "label" 108/e 1-6, recording two tablets, one being the mugauwar to DKAL KUS Kursas or to DKAL lulimi (d.-l.); see Starke, l.c.; CHD p.82.

232. Cf. KUB XV 34 (CTH 483), I 18-25; KUB XV 31 (CTH 484), II 20-21, 39-40; KUB VII 60 (CTH 423), II 4-10; KUB XX 1 (CTH 719), III 11-15; see Goetze, 1947a, p.178, n.18; note Haas, Wilhelm, 1974, pp.144, 173-176, with further text ref. On the TUG₉ see below, §4.2.1.-3.4.

233. E.g. in KUB XVII 94, 4; TUG₉ forms part of the equipment in the ritual to "draw up" (28'...sara huitiyami) numerous underworld gods - see e.g. 21'ff, naming Ishara, her father, mother and the "former deities", 26'-27', 29'-32' (in Hurr.); KBo XVII 96, I 12'ff., mentioning the TUG₉ in 13', 15', and naming the Sun goddess of the Earth in 15' - še]-ir-ma ták-na-a-aš DUTU-un; see Haas, Wilhelm, 1974, p.13, n.1; Otten, 1961, pp.148-149.

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235. KUB XXXIII 32 (CTH 328.2), III 8. .šu-up]-pî-1š-ša-rra-aḫ DUMU.MUNUS\[MES\]; the deity is "the god of the scribe MšIrwa" - see II 21; Laroche, 1965b, pp.125-126.

236. Cf. VBoT 24, I 25, 28, cited above as 6).

237. See CAD A₂, pp.242-243, sub ardatu (wardatu) "young woman", = ki.sikil, from OB; cf. SIKIL = ellu, ebbu "pure, clear", etc., Labat, No.564.

238. See CHD pp.116-117, sub (Lû)mayant-; s.a., §2.5.1; also HW¹ fasc.3, p.41, for par. MI.(MES)zialuhi-; also Dad-dí, 1982, pp.401, 418; s.a., Ch.I, §3.x.

239. For DUMU.MUNUS see IBoT II 129 (CTH 574), 18-19, in Daddi, 1982, p.88; KBo XXVI 196 (frag. of a "bildbeschreibung" - see Güterbock, l.c. p.viii), 6']x DUMU.MUNUS-an; KUB LV 21 (CTH 691), II 4' DUMU.MUNUS î-NA ẖi-[ , 9' DUMU.MUNUS-ma-za ta-ma-ta, 10'-]za DUMU.MUNUS x[ ; KUB LV 40, 9' ]x GAL î-Š-TU ā DUMU.MUNUS da-[ , 10'] TIT-TUM x DUMU.MUNUS xxx; VAT 7480 + 7502, 4, EZEN DUMU.MUNUS-UG₂₂₁₁. Note Starke, 1987, §3.1.2, for the syll. spelled "daughters" in ritual context, Bo 4120, r.col.4', Midd-ut-tar-ia(-)ta-ašš-(kān), with ref. Note KBo X 35 (CTH 670), I 7'-8', 2 LU.MES=SANGA a-ra-an-ta-ri XABA 1 DUMU.NITA / 1 DUMU.MUNUS-TUM, in Daddi, 1982, p.353. For DUMU.MUNUS SAN[GÀ in KBo XXIV 115 (CTH 670), I 85, see Daddi, 1982, p.426.

240. See Daddi, l.c. pp.418-419. See now also in the "DUMU.LUGAL" ritual texts - cf. l.c. pp.503-512, with ref. to MI.MES\[ES\] Ki.SIKIL - , KUB LIII 3, rev.9'; 4, rev. 28'; 7, obv. III 4'; 14, rev. III 18'.

241. 1) Note IV 10' ma-a-an TUKUL-an a-uš-zī [?] (and 13' ma-a-an UZU UN/UKÛ (?)-in-ma [T]UKUL-an a-uš-zī ... 15' ma-a-an TUKUL-[ ... ], where "If he sees a 'sign'" seems a possible tr. acc. to other attestations of (GIS) TUKUL in oracle texts from Boğazköy, and as kakku in Mesopotamian texts - see e.g. Moore, 1981, pp.49-52; cf. Laroche, 1952, esp. p.52. 2) Each paragraph is introduced by ma-a-an(-), where earlier omen mss. have takku; cf. Laroche, 1952, pp.19, KUB VIII 34, rev.II, obv.III, where both forms occur. 3) Another indication is the voc., cf. esp. IV 12' with
ukturi (=pat), which occurs elsewhere in omen lit. (see Lar­
oche, 1952, p.33), as also pi-tu-li-ia-aš in IV 16' (cf. 

242. Note obv.1 10' ma-a-an LŪ-iš-ni MIKI.SIK[I]L; see 
Daddi, 1982, p.419. For free women the terms in HG are 
DUMU.MUNUS, §§28,29, 30, and MI(-), §§32,34,35,37.

243. See CAD A2 pp.242-243; also, AHw. p.1464, noted some 
evidence for "Kultdirne" as an occupation. For LÜMESŠ ŠU.GI 
see Daddi, 1982, pp.568-572; for MIšMESŠ ŠU.GI as "old women"
in the social sense, l.c. pp.590-591.

244. CHD p.116, with ref. to KUB XXXI 63+, II 3': 4 
SAG.D]UšMESš MIšma-ia-aš ... interpr. elsewhere as enclitics. 
See Melchert, 1984b, p.46, who sees a stem *maya- "grown 
man" of which mayant- is an -ant- extension.

245. For the text see KBo XXIII 97 + XX 78, obv.I 12-17, 
translit. in Daddi, 1982, p.417, with ns.1,2, to be tr.:

"And a virgin the red robe of Te[tewa]tti wi[th ] has 
held raised up; on the red robe, however, x[ ] is 
laid. And (s)he, running before them, bac[k ]. And the 
Chief of the Prostitutes, the Prostitutes [ ] walks 
along, and 2 Wolfmen ru[n ] before them; they pursue 
them, away before them and ..."

Note Jakob-Rost, 1966b, esp. pp.420-422, and p.421 with 
ref. to possible remains of "animal" totemism residual in 
Hitt. rituals, "zu einer Art von kultischer Maskerade ge­
kommen."

246. See esp. Ortner's article, 1974, with ref.

247. See esp. the lists in CTH 241-250, ed. Košak, 1982, 
with bibliographies, incl. esp. studies sub Goetze, 1947a; 
Holt, 1958.

248. See e.g. Košak, 1982, in Summary, esp. pp.195- 
pp.85-89.

249. See e.g. the description of the dressing of a cult 
image as IŠTAR, in KUB IX 28 (with dupl. = CTH 442), I 
15' TÚG-an ú-e-eš-ta iš-pa-a-ta KÜ.BABBAR TUR iš-par-ra- 
an har-z1
16' SĪG ZA.GIN iš-hu-uz-zi-a-an-za SĪG SA₅ 
17' i-pu-ul-li-še-it I-NA UZU.GAB-ŠU SĪG SA₅ ki-it-ta 
18' I-NA GÚ-ŠU NA4ku-un-na-aš ku-ut-ta-na-al-li
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19' ne-e-ia-1-an-na-aš  DÎŠTAR-îš  i-ia-an-za

"She (the image of ÎŠTAR) wears a gown (and) holds outstretched a small silver bodkin. She is girt with blue wool (and) her mantle (is of) red wool. On her breast red wool is laid. Around her neck is strung a necklace of beads. ÎŠTAR is made."


250. Goetze, 1955, pp.48ff.; cf. Goetze, 1947a, pp.177-179, with esp. ref. to the kuressar "a garment characteristic of women", and the kusisi "the long gown that both queen and king wear in virtually identical fashion." Note Holt, 1958, p.148, with ref. to the kusisi and adupli garments.


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254. See f.b., Ch.VIII, §3.3.1.II.1.
256. See Özgüç, 1988, pp.103-104; 1957, pp.62; ffigs.1,2; Pl.I-V. Note Bittel, 1976, Abb.140, 144.
257. See Özgüç, l.c. esp. pp.89ff.
258. See esp. the summary by Özgüç, 1957, p.78.
260. KUB XXII 70 (CTH 566), obv.59. nu 1EN TUGTUM-ma l TUG ka-ri-ul-li-ia pí-an-zi ... See Ünal, 1978, pp.72-73; also l.c. pp.25, 100, on the deity and dating.
261. Since Gütterbock, 1962b, p.348, expressed doubt as to whether the Great Festival text could represent a Marriage, further Huwassannas Festival texts have been pub., as listed in CTH 690-694, and more recently in KBo XXIV 18-38, KBo XXIX 64-193, with ed. by Kühne promised, in the StBoT series; f.b., Ch.VIII, §3.II.1.ff.
263. See Bittel, 1976, No.313, p.274.
264. See e.g. in Bossert, 1942, Nos.845, 846; Bittel, 1976, No.278, p.246. Goetzg, 1947, p.178 and n.19, identifies this "veil" with the TUG kuressar in I 25'.
265. Cf. in Bittel, et al., 1975, Tafel 64, poloi of goddesses Nos.43,46,47,48,51,54,57,59, all with some variations on a basic design.
266. E.g. from Kültepe: Bittel, 1976, p.98, No.88; from Alisar: l.c., p.100, No.9.
268. See Bittel, 1984, p.103, with Abb.2a-d, for comparisons of L.15 (in L.16 MAGNUS DOMINA) and the headdress in profile of the Sun goddess on the seal of Tuthaliyas IV. For Ninatta and Kulitta see Bittel, et.al., 1975, Tafel 57, Nos.36 and 37 in Chamber A; note unusual depiction: bodies facing front like the m. gods in the same procession, but
with heads in profile.

269. For translit. and tr. see Oetinger, 1976, pp.10-11, but note that TŪG ŞÀ SAL as interpr. in l.c., A.42 (cf. B. obv.32', TŪG.MĪ), is better translit. with Hoffner, 1966a, p.331, n.33, TŪG.NĪG.MUNUS/MĪ, although this would not ref. to the kuressar alone, in view of A.45 – see n.271 below.

270. Cf. the evocation to turn the enemy's army to women, KBo II 9 (CTH 716), I 29; see cit. 2) above. Note Goetze, 1947a, p.178, n.18; Holt, 1958, p. 150; Archi, 1977a, pp. 299ff.


272. KUB X 91 (CTH 669), II 3. ... 3 TŪG ku-ri-eš-šar 1 BABBAR 1 SA 5 1 ZA.GĪN 4. an-da ta-ru-up-pa-an-zi na-at-kán GIS hu-lu-ga-an-ni ha-ma-an-kán-zi

"They "plait" together 3 "headdresses", 1 white, 1 red, 1 blue, and they tie them onto the chariot."

See Goetze, 1947a, p.178, n.18, for ref.

273. See cit. above for "plaiting". For "trailing" see e.g. KUB XV 34 (CTH 493.A.), I 18-25, esp. 21... TŪG ku-ri-eš-šar IŠ-TU GIS BANŠUR AD.KID 22. kat-ta hu-it-

"... they draw down a kuressar from a cane table and they make a pathway";


"And I set a table in the inner chamber and I suspend a kuressar (from it)"

see Goetze, 1947a, p.178, n.18, for ref.

274. E.g. cit. 10) below.


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cits. 7) and 8).


GIBIL an-da ha-ma-an-kán-zi

"But they tie the old ulihi- on to the red kuressar of the new (image) of the goddess."

See Kronasser, 1963, pp.30-31, for text; also noted by Goetze, 1947a, p.178, n.18; Haas, Wilhelm, 1974, p.172.

277. See KUB XXXIII 67 (with dupls.; CTH 333), I 30' nu-uš-ši TUG hu-ú-bi-ki a-ap-pi-iz-zi [(pi-ra-an hu-i-nu-ut)]

31' ha-an-te-iz-zi-ma-za ap-pi-iz-zi-az [(hu-i-nu-ut ... 

"She let the rear of her veil run down in front, while the front she let run down in the back";

see Laroche, 1965b, pp.135; Beckman, 1983a, pp.74; also Laroche, GLH p.109 listing hu-u-bi-ki-na (pl.), of KUB XLV 32, III 26, an attribute of IŠTAR, with query "Même mot que le hitt. hubiki 'œil'?".

278. Laroche, 1961, pp.25; HW I fasc.3, p.15; HEG I p.295, with ref.


280. Laroche, l.c.; 1958c, p.46. Reg. the headdress worn by this goddess, see Bittel, 1984, esp. p.104 with ns.22-26.


GI6 BAN 100 GIŠ KAK.TAG.GA 4. 2 E.ÍB ZABBAR 1 GAD.IGI.HI.A

-wa-aš 1 URUDU dam-nu-ú-ri-in-ná da-ah-hu-un "I have taken objects from the Treasury: 2 linen (cloths), 2 copper ingots, 6 bows, 100 arrows, 2 tunics of bronze (i.e. plated with), 1 eye-cloth, 1 copper dammuri-"; see Goetze, 1955, p.55 for ref.; Werner, 1967, p.8, for translit. Cf. KBo XVIII 181 (CTH 243.6), rev.27. 3 GAD.IGI SÁBA 2 LÚSAG 3 GAD gi-nu-wa-aš; KUB XLII 56, obv.4, 14; 59, rev.20. These texts ref. to women's clothing; all in Košak, 1982, pp.120, 123, 131, 134, where "eye-cloth" still seems preferable to "veil".

282. HEG I p.646, with ref.

283. Bittel, 1984, p.102, thought the very large "sundisk"
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(in front view) headdresses worn by figurines of his Group A (p.102) must have been fashioned on a frame of thin bronze wire or pliable wood.

284. Esp. the bridal veil, still integral to the wedding dress in Western society as a "modern form of the flammaum or large yellow veil which completely enveloped Greek and Roman brides during the ceremony". Brit. Encycl. 4.; 1970, p.180; note Goody, 1984, pp.18, 44, passim. On the (Syrian-derived) motive of the "unveiling female" on Anatolian cylinder-stamp seals, see Alexander, 1973-1976, pp.148-149. For the veiling of married Assyrian women, see RLA 2, 1933, pp.290-291; also, Borger, TUAT I, 1982, pp.87-88, for MAL §40 LL.42-57, §41 VI.

285. For the variety, and similarity, of dress and attributes, including "hats" worn by m. and f. deities, see N. Özgüç, 1979, concerning principally the Cappadocian period. Cf. depictions of the tall peaked "crown" which marks a King, i.e. REX (L 17), and similar but horned crowns worn by deities. For the round, flat, caps worn in cultic scenes on the Bitik and Inandik vases by offering-bearers and the "Lute player" on the frag. Vase 10 from Boğazköy, see Boehmer, 1983, p.22.


287. See CHD pp.31.85-86 for cit., e.g. KUB XXIX 4 (CTH 481), II 44-46.

288. See citations compared in Goetze, 1955, pp.48-50, 61. See also HEG I p.471, with additional ref.


290. See IBOT I 31 (CTH 241.1), I 8. ... 1 TUG 'ka-lu-up-pa-aš' 9. 1 TUG 'ka-lu-pa-āš' ZA.GIN "...1 red kalupas 1 blue kalupas ..."; in Košak, 1982, pp.4; KUB XLII 64 (CTH 245), rev.17. 1 ka-lu-pa-āš GUŠKIN "1 golden kalupas"; in l.c., pp.148, 150.
291. Note esp. the long robe of Queen Puduhepa depicted at Fraktin (e.g. Güterbock, 1978a, pp.127, Abb.1); the Hitt. King's robes as priest of the Sun god, being identical to the dress of the latter, e.g. Yazilikaya No.34 (Laroche, 1969, pp.73-74). For a 17th century B.C. depiction of the long robed deities and priests/priestesses?, see the "panels" of SHS 2.6.2.1.(VM)5 - for dating see Boehmer, 1975, 375b, p.446; Alexander, 1973-1976, pp.141 and n.2, 145ff.; cf. (in Bossert, 1959, Pl.I, Abb.2) panel 4 = DUsmu; 1 = seated god; 3 and 7 = seated goddesses (wearing the kuressar?); 2,5 and 6 = religious personnel, 5 being f. with the kuressar? The robes have varying numbers of horizontal decorative bands.

292. Cf. Bittel, 1984, p.103, Abb.2a with ref.; Bittel, 1975, Tafel 57 - Nos.36, 37; Tafel 64.

293. Cf. the descriptions of different dress for the f. vs. m. Black god(dess), KUB XXIX 4, I 44-46/46-50 (Kronasser, 1963, pp.10-11; Goetze, 1955, pp.48, 49), and the different depictions of the male vs. f. ISTAR at Yazilikaya, No.38 (see Bittel, 1975, Tafel 57) and "Nos.55a, 55b, 56" (Güterbock, 1982, p.45; 1975, p.181; Laroche, 1969, pp.98-99, fig.39). Note Danmanville, 1962, pp. 37-59, with illustrations. For garments depicted on the Inandik vase see Özgüç, 1988, pp.85-86.

294. Özgüç, 1988, pp.85, 88, 91; these are "short", a I.


296. Cf. e.g. KBo XXIX 65, obv.15'; 92, rev.4'.


298. See f.b., in §6.4.1.ff.


300. In KBo I 11 (CTH 7), II 17-18. See Güterbock, 1938,
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pp.122-123, 128; HEG I p.626.

301. See Beal, 1988, p.170; cf. CAD K pp.501, 529; HEG l.c.

302. See A.L. Oppenheim, Mesopotamian Mythology III. Or. 19 (1950), pp.129ff., esp. with ref. to the assinnu, equivalent of the kulu'u; CAD A2, pp.341-342, on assinnu and assinn̄u “position of an ā.”


304. See Hoffner, 1974a, pp.30-31.

305. KUB XIII 4 (CTH 264.A), IV 25; cf. Chrest., pp.162-163, tr. KISLAH here as "barns"; HED 2, p.406, sub ishu-wa(i)-: "granaries (of the gods)".

306. On LA ZI LA cf. Güterbock, 1938, p.129; for pilakk/q-qu(m) "spindle", see l.c.; AHw. p.863. On kirassu (kirissu) "hairclasp, metal pin", and its inclusion among the typical emblems of femininity, see CAD K p.407, with ref. On GIS. SAG.GUL see Güterbock, l.c.; HW¹ p.290 for GIS SAG.KUL =
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Akk. *sikkūru*, Hitt. *hattalu- "bar, holt"; CAD S pp.256-259; note GIS.SAG. KUL.APIN = *si-ku-ru "part of a plow connecting the share".*

307. For the official titles, respectively, see KBo III 1 +(CTH 19.II.A), II 25; ibid. + 68, II 6 and 8; Daddi, 1982, pp.174, 200, 127-128. For cit., see ed. in Hoffmann, 1984, pp.30. The reading *maš-du-[uš]*, l.c. pp.30-31, with ref. to *m/basta- "strip, filament"* (note CHD p.210), noted by Kosak, 1982, pp.56, 227, in the Inventory texts, seems preferable not only to Forrer's GIŠ-KU[DUN], but also QA-DUN-[*...*]pīhhun (Carruba, 1974, pp.74-75), and also GIŠ[ST- IN?? ], in Hoffner, 1974a, p.45. Hoffmann reads *masta- here as "Band, Fessel", since, with the Luw. participle *m/bastaimi-, it ref. in the Inventory texts to ornamentation of clothes with strips or filaments. If the sentence by Telepinus echoed in its scornful tone that of the King in the Ursu text, a translation "ornaments, gee-gaws" might be closer to the intended pejorative meaning.

308. KBo III 1, II 29. ... *nu-uš pa-an-ku-uš pa-ra-a hi-in-ga-ni har-ta LUCAU-ul-ša me-ma-ah-hu-un 29. [ku-wa-a]t-wa-ri ak-kān-zī nu-wa-ru-uš IGII₅-H₄-a wa mu-un-na-an-zî"

"... and the assembly recommended them for death. However, I, the King, declared, "Why should they die? They (i.e. "people") will ignore them."

See Hoffmann, 1984, pp.30-31, and 120ff. for this interpr. of the munmai- clause. Cf. Hoffner, 1974a, p.45 and n.214, "they will hide their faces."

309. See lit. evidence of Hitt. agricultural activity amassed by Hoffner, 1974a. For the "nobility" of the farmer's way of life see the description of the god Telepinus as *nakkis* in his cultivation of the soil, VBoT 59, I 29-31, cited by Hoffner, l.c. pp.42, 44-45, but note that it may not be assumed, ref. KBo III 1, II 29-30, that King Telepinus actually provided the culprits with estates in order to set them "up in business as farmers."

310. The foll. brief assessment is facilitated by the compilation of "professional" and like terms in Daddi, 1982, to which there will be frequent ref.

311. Such as texts in CTH 1-216, 251-275.
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312. See f.b., Ch.VII §3.111.2.2. with cit. 4), for Mur- silis II's statement that Tawannannas, his father's widow, continued to administer the Palace and Hatti as she had done before the death of Suppiluliumas I. Cf. Otten, 1975; Lebrun, 1979, p.113. See Otten, 1986, esp. pp.28-29, with ref. to the high officers of State named in the MH Bo 84/465 (= KBo XXXII 185), namely the LU.MESŠ EDI, DUMUMES É.GAL, LU.MESŠ.GUŠKIN; note LU-uriyanni, LU.MESŠ SIPA and DUB.SAR, ibid., rev.15,16,17, and Otten, l.c.


315. For the EN/BEL MADGALTI / aurias ishas/EN see Daddi, 1982, pp.455-457; HED 2, pp.232-234.


317. See the personnel listed in Daddi, 1982, sub D. Amministrazione, pp.435-454.


319. For personnel des. acc. to their general or specific military, or policing, function, see Daddi, 1982, pp.457-471; more senior ranks could be termed GAL, EN(MESš) /ERIN.MESš /BÉLU/ishas, Daddi, l.c. pp.495ff. On LU.KARTAPPU "Charioteer", see Daddi, 1977, pp.169-191; 1982, pp.133-135. For LU salasha- "Charioteer, stable boy", see Daddi, l.c. p.115, with ref.; ŠÁ KUŠKA.TAB.ANŠE/(LU) ismeriyas, ismeriyas EN/ishas (lit. 'Lord of the Reins'), "Charioteer", Hoffner, 1967, pp.30, 48, with n.76; also, Daddi, l.c. pp.113-114; HED 2, p.428. For LU.ismanala- "groom,
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equerry" (lit. "reinholder" (?)), see HED 2, p.428; Daddi, l.c. p.113; cf. Lūš "groom, stable boy", Hoffner, l.c. p.47; Daddi, l.c. pp.123-125. For Lū ANŠE.KUR.RA, LŪ UMMEDA. ANŠE.KUR.RA "horse trainer, etc.", see Daddi, l.c. p.19; cf. Lū Assussanni-, l.c., p.109; HED 1, pp.222-223; also Lū suwasali-, associated with horses in KBo IV 1'4, II 42; noted in Daddi, l.c. p.117. See Lū uralla-, l.c. p.118; Hoffner, l.c. p.49. For "Cavalry", cf. ANŠE.KUR.RA MANS(-), HW l p.265.

320. See Daddi, 1982, pp.161-168 for (Lū) DUR.SAR "scribe", and (Lū) DUR.SAR.GIŠ "scribe on wood", with other occupations, such as DUMU.Ē.GAL, LŪ A.ZU and LŪ SAG listed p.166; for the GAL DUR.SAR(.GIŠ) see l.c. pp.525-528, esp. p. 528, with ref. to "Sahurunuwas GAL DUR.SAR.GIŠ GAL LŪ UKU. UŠ [GAL N]A.[KA]D, KUB XXVI 43, rev.49; also, Symington, 1991, p.122, n.81. Note Mascheroni, 1979, pp.364-365 with n.42, for the DUMU.LUGAL/(GAL)DUB.SAR.

321. For Lū E.ĐÈ(.A)/SIMUG "smith", with specific denotation acc. to the metal worked, see Daddi, l.c. pp.37-44; LŪ NAGAR "carpenter", l.c., pp.47-48; LŪ BUR.GUL/NAGAR.NA₄ "mason", l.c., pp.48-49. For LŪ APIN(.LAL), LŪ ENGAR "(farmer/) ploughman", l.c. pp.1315; Hoffner, 1967, p.70. On the labour entailed in ploughing, and described by the Hitt. terms hars, terip-, see Hoffner, 1974a, pp.42-43.

322. Daddi, 1982, pp.76-80, 57; Hoffner, 1974a, pp.129ff.; also, Gurney, 1940, p.55. Note Hoffner's remark, 1974a, p.130,

"The private citizen's needs for NINDA were met in his own home by the production of his wife or domesticos."


324. See Daddi, l.c. p.62, noting KUB XXXVI 69 (CTH 832), rev.11; KUB XXVII 70 (CTH 681), II 24. See Hoffner, 1974a, p.133 (n.45 not printed), with ref. to the cultic context of IBoT I 29 (CTH 633), rev.1819, where the Prince, priest and certain officials grind at a mill; cf. l.c. with n.44.
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325. ŠA GEMEŠ-ŠU ŠUMES-uš IŠ-TU NA4ARĀ da-ah-hu-un / ŠA IREMES-1a ŠUMES-ŠU-NU IŠ-TU KIN da-ah-hu-un; see Imparati, Saporetti, 1965, pp.51-52. Cf. parallel Akk. in KBo X 1, rev.12, tr. in CAD Q, p.162, sub qätamma,

"(the Hittite King) released his slave girls from the grindstone and likewise freed his slaves."


326. KBo X 2, III 1ff.; see e.g. RGTC 6, pp.61-62, with ref. and bibliography on the location of URU-Hahhas.

327. Noted by Imparati, l.c. p.69; note Košak, 1982, p.263, with KIN (VBoT 62, 1-2) "ritual paraphernalia"; URUDU KIN "sickle". Cf. HW\(^1\) fasc.2, p.30, KIN = "sickle"; HW\(^2\) I, pp.88, = "Arbeit, Arbeit(sleistung)", etc.; also Hoffner, 1967, p.80; 1974a, pp.28-29, for URUDU KIN(.GAL) "sickle", On the KIN oracles, see e.g. Archi, 1974, pp.113-144.


331. See Chrest. pp.148-149, I 14'-18'; note in Moyer, 1969, pp.107ff., comm. on ritual purity in reg. to this text; further, on the economy of the Hitt. Temple, based on agrarian personnel, see Souček, 1979, esp. p.79.

332. See e.g. KUB XIII 4, I 30-31, 36-37, cited above in Ch.II as 6) and 24).


334. See Daddi, l.c. pp.211-212, for translit.; note Souček, 1979, p.82.
335. For MĬMUHALDIM see Daddi, l.c. p.86; for the LŬMUHALDIM cf.l.c., pp.64-76, with text ref. p.65 for their inclusion in the GĬŠTUKUL and BĔLŬMEŠ UTŬL (lit. "Lords/owners of the food preparations") categories. On LŬMEŠ GĬŠTUKUL see Daddi, l.c. pp.3033, with ref.

336. KBo VI 3 (CTH 291 b.A), 48. tâk-ku an-tu-uh-ša-an ku-ši ki ku-uš-ša-ni-i-e-iz-zi na-aḫ la-ah-ha pa-iz-zi; cf. KBo VI 2, II 27 with LŬ.ULŬ-ši an, KBo VI 5, IV 7, with UKŬ-aḫ; see Haase, 1968, p.22; HG p.30 and n.1; HED 1, pp.79-83.

337. See CHD sub lahha- c. pp.4, with translit. and tr. of this pass.; von Schuler, 1982, p.104,"(Geschäfts)reise".


341. HG §§7, 8, 9, 10 (pay the "doctor"), 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19a; see HG pp.16-20; Haase, 1968, pp.1-9; 1972, pp.20-21.


343. The attestations are numerous in the preponderance of texts in CTH concerned with Festivals, rituals, oracles and cultic administration, as also in the listing of personnel - with text ref. in Daddi, 1982.


"[Moreover, do not [re-inst]all [her] as 'mother-of-god' for the gods! Do not [take] her [into ac]count [at all!]"

Note A. obv.II 24-26. See translit. and tr. in Hoffner,
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1983, pp.188-189. On this Tawan(n)annas see f.b., Ch.VI, §7.B.8.0; Ch.VII, §3.111.1.1-3.0.

345. Watkins, 1974, p.105. Cf. MIMEX DINGIR.AMA; text ref. in Daddi, 1982, p.408. Note now KUB LVII 63 (Bo 2489+4008), II 21. S\-I\-wa-an-za-[an-n]a-an-[t]a-an, while dupl. KUB LVII 60 (Bo 92), II 15' has AMA.DINGIR-LIN-KA; ed. in Arch1, 1988, pp.16-31.

346. See f.b., Ch.VII, §3.111.1.1.ff.

347. KUB XXXVIII 12, IV 15', 17'; see Daddi, 1982, p.212; Güterbock, 1975, p.131.


350. Cf. the epithet of the ruler god Enlil, ab.ba.dingir. re.ne.ge "father of the gods", for which see Poebel, l.c.

351. See e.g. Hoffner, 1983, p.191, remarking in reg. to the Babylonian wife of Suppiluliumas I,

"This office, with its powers of allocating sacrifices, votive offerings, perhaps even temple lands, allowed her considerable control over the assets of the state cult."


355. E.g. KUB XI 32 +(CTH 738.1.), III 5-6; IV 1-3, 20-21, V 5'-7'; see Daddi, 1982, pp.422-423, for translit.

356. See Daddi, l.c. p.424, for text ref.

357. See Güterbock, 1975, pp.126, 127; Houwink ten Cate, 1986, pp.98, ns.8,9; 100, n.16; 102.

358. Daddi, l.c. p.424; cf. the Palace personnel, ŠÀ NIN. DINGIR DUMMEX.Š.GAL-TIM, KBo X 27 (CTH 649), III 21', also cited l.c.
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361. See cits. from KUB XL 2 in Daddi, l.c.

362. KUB XX I, II 11 M\textsuperscript{1}EN-TUM LI\textsuperscript{1}SANGA-ia a-da-an-na e-ša-an-ta-r[4], cited in Daddi, l.c.; cf. Mat.Thes. 6, p.310, cit. also L.13. Dy-ix GUB-àš 3-šu akawanzi "standing, they (i.e. the Šentu and the Priest) toast [\textsuperscript{Dy}] 3 times."

363. See Daddi, 1982, p.420; also Starke, 1987, p.5 and n.24; cf. KUB XL 2, obv.40, M\textsuperscript{1}da-a-ni-ti \textsuperscript{D} d.-l. sg.; rev.35 M\textsuperscript{1}da-a-ni-ti M\textsuperscript{1}-iš(-ma) nom,sg.; KUB LVI 19, II 15,16, M\textsuperscript{1}da-ni-ti-iš nom.sg.; 26, M\textsuperscript{1}da-ni-ti-in acc.sg.; KBo II 20 (CTH 470), I 1. UM-MA M\textsuperscript{1}ta-ni-i-ti M\textsuperscript{1}tal[4], (NH 1242) author-ness of a ritual.

364. On the Mesopotamian priestess see Renger, 1967, p.143. For D\textsuperscript{D}Teteshapi as f. (?) see Daddi, 1987, p.363; DZit-hariya as a (m.) Protector/Weather god, see ref. in RGTC 6, p.514; Otten, 1959, p.355. In reg. to the Šentu, KUB XL 2 concerns the establishment of the cult of D\textsuperscript{D}lishara.


367. Ibid.

368. See KUB LVI 19, II, 1ff.; Beckman, 1983a, pp.256-258; see f.b., §6.8.5.

369. See Daddi, 1982, p.426, for ref.


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p.381; Daddi, 1982, p.346.

372. L.c. pp.425-426, for ref. to the MĪSANGA; for LŪMEŠ Š.DINGIR\(\text{LIM}\) see Gütterbock, 1975, pp.129-132; Archi, 1973, p.222; Daddi, l.c. pp.204-207. For MĪ(MES) Š.DINGIR\(\text{LIM}\) (ŠA \(\text{DIM}/\hepat\)), see l.c. pp.217-218.

373. For 9'-12' in translit. see Daddi, 1982, p.528. Cf. 10'-12' A-NA 3 MĪ.MEŠ SANGA 3 TŪG / 3 TA-PAL TU-TI-IT-TUM [K]Ū.BABBAR / pi-an-zi and 13' EGIṆ-ŠU ma-kān 3 TŪG MEŠ x[ ]x ... 15' A-NA 3 LŪ.MEŠ SANGA pi-an-z[1].


375. The rest. at the beg. of I.1. follows the citing of 3 priests in obv.I 5-7., with 2 priestesses in 8-9. See Daddi, l.c. p.426 for translit. of 2'-4'; note KUB XXXIV 128 (CTH 647.8.A), obv.7', ]2 MĪ.MEŠ SANGA GAL ŠU-an QA-TAM[MA; cf. ibid., 11'; Daddi, l.c.

376. Obv.I 5-10; cf. LŪ.SANGA D.kattahha in obv.I 17.


"The Priestess of Ḫebat and the Priest of the Storm god stand up and they bow down; then they go out."

Cf. KBo XX 113, II 6ff.; III 1'3'.

378. See Daddi, 1982, pp.416-417, for translit. of KBo XXIII 97(+) (CTH 639), I 2-19; cf. I 6, 7, and 9, 15.


380. See l.c. pp.257-258, with text ref. and bibliography; also AHw. p.1163.


382. KBo XXIII 97(+), I 5-7; KBo XXIII 97(+), I 8-10; Daddi, 1982, p.416.

383. On Hitt. tarkum"dance, turn oneself", see SHV pp. 223-226. Other cultic personnel may "dance", apart from the LŪ.MEŠ UR.BAR.RA and MĪ.MEŠ KAR.KID noted above; tarw(iy)a-li, Daddi, 1982, pp.263-264; LŪ.tarwesgala-, l.c. p.263; cf. SHV pp. 224-226; LŪ(MEŠ) hapiyas, see n.404 below;
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Lúhartagas "Bearman", KBo XVII 43, I 14'-15', - see Daddi, l.c. p.233; SHV p.224 for tar-uk-zî in OH; n.393, below.
Not KBo XXII 196, obv.4' ta NIN.DINGIR nam-ma[ 5' tar-ku-zî Lû.MES. ha-âl 6' CA-TAM-MA tar-ku-an-z[i (l.c. p.362, n.9), which may ref. to the dancing of a NIN.DINGIR.

384. For MI(MES)AMA.DINGIR.LIM in same context as the Lû(MES)GUDû, see e.g. text ref. for CTH 261 in n.381 above and Daddi, 1982, p.411. For MI(MES)SANGA and the Lû(MES)GUDû, see e.g. KBo XXX 164, rev.IV 16; MI(MES)SANGA 3 Lû(MES)SANGA 2 Lû(MES)GUDû; KUB XX 88 +, obv.18ff. (cf. KUB XXXIV 128, 4'ff.); KBo VIII 122, obv.8', XXIII 82, rev.2', ref. to in Daddi, l.c. p.425. For the MIAMA.DINGIR.LIM and NIN.DINGIR in same context, see l.c. pp.422-423. 385. With ref. to Daddi, 1982, sub Tempio, pp.204-380, we note approx. 83 m. "offices" without a f. counterpart attestation to date, which number allows broadly for the concurrence in meaning of syllabic and logographic terms such as Lû-tazzelle/-GUDû "anointing priest", Lû-anisi-/AKIPU "seer", or LûSÀ.NE.SÀ4 "mourner, keener" with f. equivalent(?) MI-taptara- (p.399). F. "offices" without m. equivalents in the same Temple category, l.c. pp.380-435, no. approx. 24, incl. the taptara-. See f.b., ref. to cultic "offices" not confined to a "Temple" context.

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387. See ref. in n.386 above; f.b.


389. Cf. Daddi, l.c. pp.364-366, for ref.; Gütterbock, 1975, p.130 - lower ranking than the SANGA.

390. See Daddi, l.c. pp.312-317; 290-297; 218, 378-379; note the LÚ KÀSÌP and LÚXIPAT, l.c., p.379. For the augurers, LÚMÚŠEN.DÛ, LÚIGI.DÛ, LÚIGI.MÚŠEN, see l.c., pp.323-326, 319-321, with bibliography.


392. l.c., pp.275-289.

393. See for, respectively, the LÚUR.BAR.RA, l.c., pp.373-375; LÚUR.MAH, pp.375-377; LÚUR.TUR and UR.GI (not ZÍR!), pp.376-378. For LÚ harrtaggas "Bearman", see SHV p.546, n.3; cf. Daddi, 1982, pp.233-234, with ref.; LÚ paras(a)na- "Panther/Leopardman", l.c., p.252.

394. l.c., p.303.

395. l.c., pp.301-303; Hoffner, 1967, p.61; see below.

396. See Daddi, 1982, pp.326-343, note (p.327) equivalence with LÚ kinirtalla- in KBo I 52 (CTH 299.5.), I 15'16'; cf. Hoffner, 1967, p.61, = "zitherplayer". The LÚNAR is attested as playing - he lit. "sings" (SÌR RU) -, the GÌS.DINANNA. GÁL, the "great IŠTAR instrument", or lyre, as also the LÚGALA (see below). For types of lyre depicted on the Inandik vase see Özgüç, 1988, pp.97-99.


398. See Daddi, l.c. pp.208-210. With the pub. in KBo XXIX of additional texts to the Huwässannas Festival/rituals, there are further exx. of the LÚ.MEŠÈN/BEŠ DINGIR.ÀM/MÈŠ.
of which n.: KBo XXIX 93, obv.15'; 95, 10'; 96, obv.6'; 100, IV 19'; 129, obv.8'; 112, rev.III.14'; 113, 8'; 124, 7'; 125, 3', rev.6', 12'. Cf. hapax, LU.MEŠÉN K.DINGIR.MEŠ

Daddi, l.c.


403. E.g. see l.c. pp.60-61, LÚtawalala- and LÚwalhiyala-/LÚ.MEŠwalhiyas; cf. Hoffner, 1967, pp.67-68, "offerer of tawal- drink", "offerer of walhi- drink".


405. HED 1, pp.146-147; Daddi, 1982, p.297, sugg. "tamburo"; cf. Hoffner, 1967, pp.61, who sugg. mukar- might be the phonetic reading of GISBALAG.DI "harp"(?).

406. The (H)isuwas festival, CTH 628: KBo XV 52, V 9' 1 LÚMEŠBALAG.DI-ma-kán ŠÁ DINGIR.LIM KÁ an-da 10' ar-ta-rí ša-wa-a-tar pa-ri-pa-ra-a-1; cf. ša-ú-wa-tar in I 3; for the vb., see SHV pp.468-469; for translit. see Daddi, 1982, pp.468-469.


408. KBo X 24 (CTH 627.2.A.), IV 13-17; see Singer, 1983a, p.19, for ed.; Daddi, l.c. p.383, for ref.

409. HED 1, pp.146; 3, pp.358-359; cf. KUB XI 23 (CTH 618.4.), V 19-20; KBo XXII 238, x+6'.

410. E.g. KBo X 27 (CTH 649.1.), III 15'-17'; translit. in Daddi, l.c. p.420; note IV [11'], V [6']-7', 31'-33'; cf. in frag. context, KBo XIX 127 (CTH 649.3.), 9'-11'.

411. See Özgüç, 1988, p.87, "we have no cymbal players among women in costumes of type b I." (i.e. long, beltless, with long sleeves: pp.85-86). For f. cymbal players in the 4th frieze, see l.c. pp.91-92.


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415. L.c. pp.321-323, 413; note KBo XXX 155, obv.10' LÚ Dx MÍ Dx ha-lu-kân tar-na-an-zi.
417. Cf. HED 1, p.186; Hoffner, 1974b, p.120.
418. CTH 612; see Daddi, 1982, pp.412-413.
419. Cf. l.c., pp.460-461; Houwink ten Cate, 1984, pp.56, 59-60, with ref. to KBo III 34 (CTH 8), II 21-42, for the training of archery. See translit. and tr. in Daddi, 1975, pp.120-121, of the esp. relevant LL.27-32.
420. See ref. in n.386 above.
422. Güterbock, l.c.; cf. above, 3.2.
424. See ref. in Daddi, l.c. p.395 to texts in CTH 692-4; note now e.g. KBo XXIX 117, 2', 14'; 118, obv.2'(?) 119 5'; 120, rev.IV 2'; 126 9'.
425. Cf. KUB XX 76, I 6-8; Gonnet, 1982, p.48; see Daddi, 1982, pp.251, 395-396, for personnel associated with the LÚ/MÍ palwatalla-
428. See Daddi, 1982, pp.591-590, with bibliography; also
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Benedetti, 1980, pp.93-108; cf. HW2 I, p.90, SALSU.GI =
SALnasaua.


430. MI.MES\[\text{sam-ma-ra-aš-ša-wa ku-i-e-eš da-pí-an-te-eš}
nu-wa-ra-at IT-TI LÜMES\[\text{KUR Ar-za-u-wa še-eš-kiš-ki-eš-kán-
zi}; see Daddi, 1982, pp.397-398, (and cf. pp.260-261,
LU\[\text{dammar}-); SHV pp.635, 320.


433. L.c. p.469.

434. L.c. pp.119-120, 144.


436. L.c. p.413.

437. L.c. p.390, the M̄isharalli-

p.434.

439. For M̄KAR.KID see l.c. pp.415-418, with bibliography;
for M̄KILI.SIKIL, s.a., §3.v.3.2.-3.3. For MISUHUR.LAL cf.
159 "attendant woman"; f.b., Ch.VII, §3.11.2.4.

440. For ref. to the UGULA of MI.MES\[\text{zintu}-
he, M̄MES\[\text{KAR-
KID}, and M̄MES\[\text{SANGA}, see Daddi, l.c. pp.407, 418, 426; for
the GAL of the first two categories see l.c. pp.555-556.
See below, 12.4. for the GAL M̄(.MES\[\text{SU}-GI.

441. Incl. the M̄ manahuertas, M̄tarpaskanas, and M̄MES\[\text{ha-
} 

442. On the M̄alhuiras see f.b., Ch.VII, §3.11.1.ff.;
note KBo XXIX 100, IV 15' nu A-NA M̄al-hu-ir-ri BE-EL SISK-
\[\text{UR}[.SISKUR-ia 16', DUTU TUȘ-aš-a-ku-an-zi]; 93, obv.I 15'
[nu A-NA M̄al-hu-ir-ra-aš BE-EL SISKUR.SISKUR Ú LÜMES\[\text{BE-EL}
DINGIR M̄ES\[\text{a-ku-an-na p]}-an-zi]; cf. KBo XXIV 26,
III 10-11; KUB XXXII 126, "II" 10'-11'.

444. As text ref. in Daddi, 1982, for the personnel noted above, §6.1.1.-1.3., will confirm. Note the "Palace and Temple" m. personnel listed, Daddi, l.c. pp.144-203.

445. Texts of the dedication by Puduhepa of estates to the goddess Lelwani, CTH 585, ed. in Otten, Souček, 1965, exemplify the former; for the latter see esp. Otten, 1958a, pp.104ff., on the Ἐ.NAἱ "mausoleum", and KUB XIII 8 (CTH 252), obv.14-15, see f.b., Ch.VI, §3.4.1. as cit. 7).

446. For MI A MA 𐐱 LÚ SANGA see Bo 2689, rev.?V, 16', pub. as No.195 in Alp, 1983, pp.358-359; s.a., Ch.I, §2.11. n.57. For the DAM LÚ GUDŪ see ref. in Daddi, 1982, p.312; cf. Neu, 1983a, p.226 and n.2; for the DAM MEŠ LÚ MEŠ 𐐱 DING-ILIM, mentioned with "their husbands", see KUB XVI 34 (CTH 578), obv.19ff.. For DUMU(MEŠ) SANGA, DUMU.NITA(MEŠ) SANGA and DUMU.MUNUS SANGA, see Daddi, l.c. pp.365, 426; note KBo XXX 83, obv.? 1', 15' KÁA 1 DUMU.NITA SANGA. For DUMU.MUNUS/MI A MA.DINGIR.LIM see KUB XI 32, II 8, 25; IBoT III 68 (CTH 670), rev.7', ref. in Daddi, l.c. p.412.


451. For DTesub (i.e. DIM) with DHepat, see KBo V 1, II 16, 20-21 (cf. III 26, 30); alone, ibid., II 30, III 9,13, 16; for DINGIR.LÚ MEŠ URU.LIM, see KUB IX 22, III 22; DING-IR MEŠ URU.LIM, KBo V 1, I 11 (and DAlitapara); adad DING-IR MEŠ-aḫ, KBo V 1, III 3.

452. On the KÌM oracles, see Archi, 1974, pp.113-144;
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Gurney, 1981, pp.155-156; for the MUŠ oracles (CTH 575), note l.c., p.157. Apart from KIN in CTH 572 and "mixed oracles" in CTH 577, note KIN with bird and flesh oracles in CTH 562 = e.g. KUB XXII 25, 22'-24', 34'-35'; rev. I 9-10, 17-19, etc.; CTH 563 = e.g. KUB V 3, I 5-7, 11-14, 21-22, 26-29, etc.; CTH 569 = e.g. KBo II 6, I 9-10, 20-24, 44-45, etc.; CTH 570 = e.g. KUB V 6, I 15-16, 43; II 12, 20, etc.; note Daddi, 1982, p.587, b).

453. KUB I 16+(CTH 6), III 64-69 (= IV 64-68); HAB pp.16-17, 188-194; cf. Bin Nun, 1975, p.353.

454. See ref. in Daddi, l.c. pp.583-586, with CTH numbering, of rituals performed by, or participated in, by the "Old Woman"; note CTH 390, with ref. to LÜMAŠEN.KAK/MĀŠDA "poor man", in KUB VII 1, II 9 (Daddi, l.c. pp.566, 583), and a ritual for the King and Queen, KBo XXI 1 (CTH 448. A.), obv.1. [U]M.MA f'luy-[na-wi]-ia MĪSU.GI [MĪ KUR URU]ha-[a]š-ti 2. ma-an-kān LUGAL MĪ.LUGAL tāk-na-a-az da-a-hi nu ki-i da-a-h-hi; cf. II 11, III 14; KBo XXI 6 (CTH 448.B.4.), IV 12-13.

455. KBo XXI 82, IV 5'-8'; cited in Daddi, l.c. p.571.


457. See Košak, 1982, pp.89-90, read as above and "]Arumu-ra the Chief Wise Woman (for) a ritual. 1 copper pipe [ ]; cf. also III 6, 9, with URUDÜPIŠĂN. Mascheroni, 1979, p. 359, also rest. MĪ]A-ru-mu-ra; cf. NH 155, with fA-ru-(um)mu-ra-(aš) attested elsewhere as a woman's name.
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458. See Labat, 1976, No.317; cf Košak, 1982, p.271, who sugg. "pipe, conduit" (or "kettle"?).

459. See Jacobsen, 1973, p.278 and n.11, with ref. to the inscription on Statue A of Gudea, 11, urudux alal-kū-ga-ni "her holy copper waterpail"; and further, pp.289-290, in the myth of Enki and World Order, alal-kug-na-di₅-ga-ni "her holy consecrated waterpail".

460. For text ref. for the GAL MĪ(.MEŠ)ŠU.GI, see Daddi, 1982, p.556. Cf. also the MĪ.GAL in KBo XXIV 5b, II 9',11' = Beckman, 1983a, Text Z, pp.224-225, "great woman".

461. For midwives, see Texts A(+M), B,C, (D,E?), F,L,N, Q,R,S, in Beckman 1983a, pp.22-83, 176-205, 212-215; for the LŪpatilis and LŪAZU rituals see l.c., Texts H-K (pp. 86-175), O (pp.206-209), T,U (pp.216-221); for comm. on the respective personnel, l.c., pp.232-238.

462. KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.53' ...ŠES-IA-ma-at-kān ū-UL am-me-el ŠES-an-ni NIN-ni 54' na-ak-ki-[ia]-an-ni i₅-ia-at

"... But my "brother", you have not done it (according) to my dignity in (our) brotherhood (and) sister-ship."

Cf. Stefanini, 1964a, pp.12-13, 40; Rost, 1956, p.333; Helck, 1963, pp.91-93; see CHD p.370, nakkiyatar "dignity, importance, exalted status", tr. this phrase "of my dignity"; f.b., Ch.VIII, §3.2.2.

463. See cit. with ref. in Beckman, 1983a, pp.2-3, with ns.6-10.

464. KBo XVII 62 + 63, IV 13'-15', in which the midwife says if a boy is born, that she has brought the "goods" of a boy, but she would bring the "goods" of a girl in the foll. year. The next paragraph, 16'-18', supposes a f. child with a boy to be expected the next year. See ed. as Text B in Beckman, 1983a, pp.32-41; note Pringle, 1985, col.657.

465. KBo XVII 65, rev.39-44. See ed. as Text K in Beckman, 1983a, pp.132-175. Could this indicate f. infanticide, a subject with which we have not dealt in this study?


467. See 20'-21' ma-a-an DINGIR LŪ LUM LUM ma MĪ-za-ši-kān
an-da pa-a-u-an-zi Ú-UL a-ra nu pár-ku-in ta-lu-up-pi-in / SIG a-li-in-na Lú AZU da-a-1 nu E.DINGIR.LIM a-pa-a-aš a-ni-
ia-za ti-ia-zi Ma-a-aš-kán SABI E.DINGIR.LIM; for (SIG) a-an-
"some kind of wool or wool product in Hurroid rituals", see
HED 1, p.34; cf. HW 2 I, p.58.

468. 17' nam-ma-kán ma-a-an a-pí-e-da-ni A-NA DINGIR.LIM
Mí-za an-da pa-[a-u-an-zi a-ra nu] 18' pár-ku-in ta-lu-
up-pi-in SIG a-li-in-na Mí-za da-a-1 Mí-x[ ]-kán ku-ia
IŠ-TU ŠA x[ ] 19' pū-nū-uš-ki-zi nu E.DINGIR.LIM a-pa-a-aš
ar-ha a-ni-ia-zi ti-[1]a-zi Ma-a-aš-kán SABI E.DINGIR.LIM ]

469. Cfr. KBo XXX 164 (= 174/4), III 16' MÍ.MES.SANGA III
LÚ.MES.SANGA II LÚ.MES.GUDÚ 17' MÍ.MES.ZI-EN-TU-U-HI-E-E
EN GÍX.MA.SÁ.AB 18' na-at-kán E.Dzi-in-tu-hi-e-es 19' an-da
pa-a-an-zi nu-za A-ŠAR-ŠU-NU 20' ap-pa-an-zi; KBo IV 9 (CTH
612), II 37. na-aš·ta LUGAL MÍ.LUGAL I-NA E.DZA.BA4.BA4
38. an-da pa-a-an-zi; see cfrs. in translit. and tr. in Alp,

470. On the "male gods" and dating of texts see esp. Neu,
otten, 1972, pp.184-185; with n.8a; §2.1.1.1. above. Note
KUB XXX 31, II 10, IV 8 (cf. III 24); tagnas DINGIR.MES-
LÚ.MES in KBo X 37 (CTH 429), III 5, 8 ]; cf. KUB XII
16 (CTH 470), II 9'-10'; also KBo XIII 121, 2', 5', 6' (?);
Cf. ANA D.KAL DINGIR.MES LÚ.MES , in KBo X 37, III 31; CTH
oracle text, KUB L 20, I 7',10'; cf. DINGIR.LÚ DINGIR.MÍ,
KUB XLIX 17, 17' (SU oracle). See further, KUB XXX 31 (CTH
479), II 14, IV 14; cf. III 31. For DINGIR.MÍ.MES (= 1a) in a
list of named m. and f. deities foll. Pirwa, see KUB LVI 45
(= Bo 2597 + 2659), II 6 (note in Otten, 1953a, n.29, p.
73). For the DINGIR.LÚ.MES DINGIR.MÍ.MES, note KUB IV I (I-
III 14) and KUB XXXI 146 (CTH 422), I 5; KUB IX 28 (CTH
442), IV 9-10.

TI-PA-SA-SI-ZI-PÁ-WÁ/-I-ná DEUS-NI-ZI ! ("TERRA") TA-SA-
acc. to J. D. Hawkins, forthcoming publication; see pre-
ceeding LL. of this curse in cit. 29a), Hawkins, 1981, p.173.
472. See Otten, 1970a, pp.32-36; Beckman, 1983a, pp.238-
an-da pa-a-u-an-zī ū-UL a-a-rā nu pār-ku-in ta-lu-up-pī-in
/ Sīg a-li-in-na LU ḪU da-a-1 nu E.DINGIR.LIM a-pa-a-gā a-ni-
ia-za ti-ia-zi-ma-aš-kān ṢABī E.DINGIR.LIM; for (Sīg) all-
"some kind of wool or wool product in Hurroid rituals", see
HED 1, p.34; cf. HW2 I, p.58.

468. 17' nam-ma-kān ma-a-an ē-pī-e-da-nī A-NA DINGIR.LIM
Mī-za an-da pa-[a-u-an-zī a-a-rā nu] 18' pār-ku-in ta-lu-
up-pī-in Sīg a-li-in-na Mī-za da-a-1 Mī-x[ -kān ku-īš
IŚ-TU ŠA x [ ] 19' pu-nū-uš-ki-zī nu E.DINGIR.LIM a-pa-a-gā
ar-ḥa a-ni-ia-zī ti-ia-zi-ma-aš-kān ṢABī E.DINGIR.LIM ]

469. Cf. KBo XXX 164 (= 174/t), III 16' MĪ.MEŠ.SANGA III
LU.MEŠ.SANGA II LU.MEŠ.GUDū 17' MĪ.MEŠ.zi-en-tu-u<-hi>-e-eš
EN GISMĀ.AB 18' na-at-kān E.Dzi-in-tu-hī-e-eš 19' an-da
pa-a-an-zī nu-za A-SAR-ŠU-NU 20' ap-pa-an-zī; KBo IV 9 (CTH
612), II 37. na-ā-ta LUGAL MĪ.LUGAL I-NA E.DZA.BA₄.BA₄ 38.
an-ḥa pa-a-an-zī; see cits. in translit. and tr. in Alp,

470. On the "male gods" and dating of texts see esp. Neu,
Otten, 1972, pp.184-185, with n.8a; §2.1.1.1. above. Note
KUB XXX 31, II 10, IV 8 (cf. III 24); tagnas DINGIR.MEŠ
LU.MEŠ in KBo X 37 (CTH 429), III 5, 8 ], 18 ]; cf. KUB XII
16 (CTH 470), II 9'-10'; also KBo XIII 121, 2', 5', 6' (?);
cf. ANA D KAL DINGIR MEŠ LŪ.MEŠ, in KBo X 37, III 31; CTH
433.3, III 15-16, 26-27. See sg. DINGIR.LŪ in the frag.
oracle text, KUB L 20, I 7',10'; cf. DINGIR.LŪ DINGIR.MĪ.
KUB XLIX 71, 17' (SU oracle). See further, KUB XXX 31 (CTH
479), II 14, IV 14; cf. III 31. For DINGIR.MĪ MEŠ (= ıā) in a
list of named m. and f. deities foll. Pirwa, see KUB LVI 45
(= Bo 2597 + 2659), II 6 (note in Otten, 1953a, n.29, p.
73). For the DINGIR.LŪ.MEŠ DINGIR.MĪ MEŠ, note KUB IV I (I-
III 14) and KUB XXXI 146 (CTH 422), I 5; KUB IX 28 (CTH
442), IV 9-10.

471. Rev.39-40. Cf. SULTANHAN (base) D §33 b ("CAELUM")
ti-pa-sa-si-zi-pa/wa/-i-nā DEUS-ni-zi ! ("TERRA") ta-sā-
REL-ra/i-si-zi-ha ! VIR-ti-zi ! FEMINA-ti-zi-ha, translit.
acc. to J. D. Hawkins, forthcoming publication; see prece-
ding LL. of this curse in cit. 29a), Hawkins, 1981, p.173.
472. See Otten, 1970a, pp.32-36; Beckman, 1983a, pp.238-
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475. KUB IX 32 (CTH 394. A.), obv.I 1ff.; Cf. I 5-7. nu kues kuesa EN MEŠ KARAS humanes nu=[za (humanza)] UDU."HIR handaizzi UDU."HIR=ma man hargases man dankuwaes UL kuuklik dukkanri; 16-17. ... ANA GIS.ZA.LAM.GAR LUGAL=ma piran MİTUM unuwantan ašasi ... a) ku-e-eš ku-e-eš. See Gurney, 1977, pp.48-49, for tr. of obv.I 4-32; Englehard, 1970, p.163.


477. KBo IX 129 (CTH 470), obv.? x+2'[ ]LUŠANGA Mİ pal-wa-tal-la-aš-ša [ ] ... 4' an-da DINGIR LUM ši-ip-pa-an-da-an-[zi (paragraph ruling) 5' nu ma-a-an LUŠ-aš nu-uš-ši GUD. MAH[ 6' tar-pa-al-li-in 1-ia-an-zi ... 8' ma-a-an-aš Mİ-za-ma GUD.ÂB tar-pa-al-li-in ] 9' [1]-ia-an-zi ...

478. II 34-36; see HE II, p.42, No. 14, for translit. of II 19-36, III 5-38, of this ritual.

479. See IV 9. ... na-aš-ta 1 UDU DINGIR MEŠ LU MEŠ-aš 10. ši-pa-an-ti 1 MASI.GAL DINGIR MEŠ Mİ MEŠ-aš ši-pa-an-ti; the ritual was performed by a LU AZU, according to II 11, 14. For further, brief, comment on the sex distinction of animal substitutes, see Engelhard, 1970, p.159, n.515.

480. See KBO II 3 (CTH 404), I 47-50 (with par. texts, ed. in Rost, 1953, pp.345ff.; see esp. pp.354-357 = obv.II 35-43), for the "black sheep", UDU.GE 6 , as a substitute, and recipient of the "curses" to be exorcised. Note Engelhard, 1970. p.166.

481. See HE I, pp.42ff.; W. Meid, Der Archaismus des Hethitischen, Heth.u. Ing.; pp.165, 168ff., with further ref. esp. ns.11, 23.

482. See Szemerenyi, 1970, p.143 with ref.; also Meid,

483. For anas and the similarly non-distinguishing enclitic pron. -as "he/she", see HE I pp.63, 66-67; note HED 1, pp.6-7; 86-91. See comm. in Neu, 1969, p.239, with n.10.

484. See KBo I 44 + (CTH 301.a) I 56 (a-hu-ru-u-[t]im), 60 (a-hu-ur-du); MSL XVII, pp.104-105; also comm. in Otten, von Soden, 1968, pp.17-18.


486. HW¹ p.243; KBo I 42 (CTH 303.1.), I 14'-16'; MSL XIII, pp.132; cf. Otten, von Soden, l.c. p.18.

487. HW¹ p.249; Starke, 1990, p.445 with n.1602; Otten, HTR, pp.118-119.

488. On HG §197 see below, Ch.VI, §4.D., 9.2.-9.3. with cit. 13).


491. See Otten, HTR p.118, with ref. to KUB XXI 19 (III 44f.) + XIV 7 (IV 1ff); ed. in Sürenhagen, 1981, pp.96-97.

492. See Otten, l.c. with text ref.

493. S.a., §6.11.4. Note Keesing, 1975, pp.1412, reg. the "battle lines" which "still exist along which social changes may be advanced ...", esp. in 1. (p.142); cf. the description in Pehrson, 1957, p.96, concerning the contribution to domestic and group economy by adult women of the bilateral Lappish society.

CHAPTER IV.

1. See f.b., Ch.VI, §4.B. with cit. 11).

2. On manus in the sense of "the legal power of husband, master, etc." see Chambers Murray, p.422, 2.B.; also, Corbett, 1930, pp.68, 71-90, 108-112; Neufeld, 1950, p.126. Walters, 1980, p.119, with ref. also to "The etymological and conceptual links between manus and OHG munt (Latinised as mundium)...".

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5. See e.g. Westermarck, 1921, pp. 433ff., with specific ref. also to: customs in the West of Ireland where only a day or so intervened between betrothal and the nuptial ceremony; Jewish customs of the 11 AD. "to solemnise both betrothal and marriage proper on the same day"; the separate Roman betrothal or sponsalia, soon combined by the Christian Church into rites for the nuptials.

6. The former is related to OHG gitriuwida "fidelity", ON tryggr "true", while the latter has the sense of "acclamation".

7. On Roman betrothal, see e.g. Corbett, 1930, pp. 1ff.

8. See esp. Bächtold, 1914, pp.72-73, with spec. ref. to Switzerland, for the (O)Germ. and (O)Fr. terms. On the "handclasp" see e.g. Pollock, Maitland, II, 1968, p.188; Koschaker, 1937, pp.98ff, with ref. to Grk. ἐγγύς Note Mezger, 1944, p.28, reg. Icelandic heit(kona) "promised(woman)", the occasion being the heitorð "promising". Buck, 1949, lists only terms for "marriage", excluding specifically, "betrothal".


10. See e.g. the arguments of Korošec, 1932a, pp.163ff.; 1973, pp.54-61.

11. While agreeing with Korošec's attribution of the initiative for the "prescriptions juridiques/légales" recorded in HG, to the Hitt. Kings, e.g. Korošec, 1974, pp.316ff.; 1957, pp.93ff., we cannot accept the low dating offered in the latter, p.104, for their redaction.

12. On the Kindred generally, s.a., Ch.II, §3.

13. As rest. in HG p.24, acc. to the par. KBo VI 5, II 11. See n.24 below for ref. to prev. tr. and studies of §28;
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16. Neufeld, 1950, p.119. See HG p.28, har-kán-ta-an t[a(-ra-a)n-zí] "they declare defunct (the fields of the LUGITUKUL); cf. L.37, with tezzi.
18. On the meaning of ana bít emin Šasû see Finkelstein, 1967, pp.127-135 and cf. Greengus, 1969, p.521 with n.78; not so in AHw. pp.1195-1197. The semantics of Šasû in these contexts, as also of Sum. é gû-dé are quite different to those under consideration here of Hitt. te-/tar.
19. See CAD Q pp.18-42; also, KUB I 16 (CTH 6), IV 64, where Akk. i-qab-[bi] = Hitt. me-mi-1[8-ki[-1]z-zi] in III 64; in IV 65, 66, 67, qabû is the equivalent of te-/tar­forms in III 66, 68; HAB pp.16-17.
21. Cf. SV II, pp.54-55, for ed.; s.a., Ch.II, §2. on NUMUN; also, f.b., Ch.VII, §3.v1.1.1.
22. SHV pp.107, 109, with ns.47, 48. Note tar-di in KUB XXI 42 (CTH 255), IV 25. Melchert, 1984, p.69, n.128, ob­jecting to initial d^h, in view of OH spellings with ta-, prefers a deriv. from *ter-, which has numerous IE derivat­ives (see IEW pp.1071-1073) with the general sense "rub, bore, pierce", e.g. Greek ὀφέω and related forms.
23. Benveniste, 1962, p.119. Cf. SHV l.c., and n.22 above. Note OChSl. deti < *dhē- (IEW pp.235-239) with both the in-
herited, and predominant meaning "lag/legen", and "say, speak", as in Hitt./Luw.; cf. OInd. dhárma (= Lat. firmus) "Satzung, Sitte, Recht, Gesetz" < *dher-, IEW pp.252-254.


27. Korošec, 1932b, p.563 had interpreted L.3 to mean that the parents were unable to return the gift as they had insufficient property, i.e. "goods"; Haase, 1980, pp.19-20, with ref., presents this interpr. sub b) and the one adopted in our tr. sub a); cf. Hoffner, 1963, p.32.

28. In defence of the interpr. that (na-an)-ši-(kán) ref. to the second man, generally accepted by the scholars cited above in n.24, see HG p.95, refuting Koschaker's suggestion (1950, p.276) that ši- ref. to the parents as a hendiadys. Note Imparati, 1964, pp.211-212.


31. Cf. Haase, 1980, p.20 with n.28; see below, Ch.VI, §4.C.


33. E.g., Korošec, 1932b, pp.569-570; 1973, p.50. On LE §§27-28, see Greengus, 1969, pp.505ff.; for the expression-attas annas(sa) in Hitt. texts, s.a., Ch.I, §2.i.4.1.
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34. Westermarck, 1921, pp.278-286.
36. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxor1 maritus offert. intersunt parentes et propinqui ac munera probant. Ch.18, 1-2; text and tr. in Tacitus, Germania, 1970, pp.158-159, with n.1.
38. os ben aittiten aranaissc fine "And an acknowledged wife, contracted/betrothed by her family"; cf. Thurneysen, 1931, p.27, No.30; Power, 1936, pp.83-84; McAII, 1980, p.12. See below, 12.2.ff.
39. E.g., s.a., Ch.I, §2.11.3.2.-3.5; Ch.II, §2.4.1.ff.
40. See n.24 above.
42. Westermarck, 1921, pp.319-326, with note on child betrothals leading to later elopements, p.324, n.2.
43. Landsberger, 1968, pp.64-65.
45. See below, Chs.VI-VIII on types of Hitt. marriage.
46. HG p.24; cf. Imparati, 1964, p.50. Note the tr. of this pass., generally as ["he has given"] by the scholars listed above in n.24.
49. See Driver, Miles, 1960 I, pp.249-250; cf. Dalley, 1980, with spec. ref. to the OB terhatu(m).
51. For VBoT 1, 2 = EA 31,32, see ref. sub CTH 151, 152, and recently, Starke, 1981a, pp.221ff.; tr. in Moran, et.
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52. n(u)=ata natta imma; see Melchert, 1985, p.185, with tr. of this pass., "If you properly seek my daughter, will I not give (her) to you?".


54. KUB XII 60, I 21-22. Cf. tr. of this pass. in Kellerman, 1987, p.111, "Est-ce que je lui donnerai cela (= une compensation) ou ne (le) lui donnerai pas?"; CHD p.156, 2', differently, but note, l.c. h., remarking that "'but if not' is frequently used as a fixed idiom."

55. See Watson, 1985, pp.5-9; Maine & Pollock, 1906, pp.338-342.

56. See Maine & Pollock, l.c.; Kienast, 1984, pp.49-52.


59. Cf. KUB XXI 38, obv.8', 28; obv.12'-13', etc.; see Helck, 1963, pp.88, 89.

60. See CTH 157, 159, with Edel, 1953a, 1953b.

61. Note comm. in Korošec, 1932b, p.558.

62. Puduhepa would be attested now as the "Queen" in Bo 86/299, obv.II 85-86, who would provide a wife for Kurunta of Tarhuntassa; see Otten, 1988a, pp.20-21.

63. See Ch.III, §6.2.2., 3.2.

64. See e.g. Buckland, 1921, pp.406; Watson, 1985, pp.5; Maine & Pollock, 1906, pp.322, esp. p.328.


66. KBo V 6 (CTH 40), III 5-25; see Güterbock, 1956, pp.94-95; f.b., Ch.VII, §3.1v.1.1.ff.

67. See now HED 3, pp.64-69, with "tie" as the predominant meaning, with which we fully agree, having made prev. a careful study of the semantics of this word in its lit. and abstr. contexts, which will not be incl. here now. It is a matter of choice whether one tr. in certain contexts
"tie(d) together" (as HED) or "knot(ted)", which we prefer, esp. where sorcery is implied (see n.80 below). On "mandate", see n.77 below.

68. For translit. and comm., see HG pp.24, 54; Imparati, 1964, pp.50, 212-213; Haase, 1968, p.15.

69. The later copy, KBo VI 5, III 6, has M\textsuperscript{TUM} here; see e.g. HG pp.24, 25.

70. Only the beg. of each of the four lines in KBo VI 4, II 13-16, is preserved, with the signs III-\text{\text{	extsuperscript{-}}} alone in L.16. See e.g., HG p.54.


73. Melchert, 1984, p.168. On the equation kuggru : hamenkuwa[\text{r}] see KBo I 38 (CTH 304) rev.

3. [ ] [ ] RI-IK-SU iš-hi-[\text{\textsuperscript{-}}ul]
4. [ ] [ ] KI-IŠ-RU ha-me-in-[ku-wa-ar(?)]
5. [ ] [ ] RU-UK-KU-ŠU iš-hi-ia-u-wa-[ar]
6. [ ] [ ] KU-US-ŠU-RU ha-me-en-ku-wa-ar
7. [ ] [ ] [RU]-UK-KU-ŠU iš-hi-ia-u-wa-a[\text{r}]

The com. denominator for the Akk. and Hitt. entries is the restorable Sum. first col. entry - [sag.\text{kēš.}	ext{kešda}l] "band, knot; bind, knot, etc." See MSL XIII, 1971, p.249. Hitt. hamenkuwar, vbl.n. inf., is equated in 4. and 6. with kīgru and kuggru; pirs n. of the G stem and D stem inf. and vbl adj., respectively of kaga\text{r}u "to tie, bind, join, surround, etc." See CAD K pp.437, 261. The latter may rep. all the permutations of actions associated with lit. tying, binding, which are separately rep. by Hitt. hamank-, ışıya-, and bulalıya- "wind around, surround" (see n.82 below). The distinction between ışıya- and hamenk- is pointed
by říksu:ishiul. From ᵃʳᵃḳᵃˢᵘ are der. the most commonly used Akk. terms for legal contracts, treaties, as also from Hitt. ışhiya- is ışhiul "Treaty, contract, instruction, obligation, binding"; (cf. Greengus, 1969, pp.505ff.; HW¹ p. 86; HED 2, pp.400-401.) However, it was kigru "knot", (= hamenkuwar), which had the distinctive deriv. meaning "sorcery" (see e.g. Maqlû VII, 112, cited in CAD K p.437; also, l.c. pp.258, 261-262), and the Đ stem vbl forms with which it was freq. associated could express the "knotting, binding, paralysing" of parts of the anatomy affected by sorcery or demons, per. by the Hitt. use of hamank- to express virtually identical concepts in the sphere of magic and sorcery. The "knotting", a practical concomitant of the basic action described by hamank-, became the predominant concept expressed by it in such contexts.

74. Melchert, 1984, p.168; the only instance where "mix, mingle", could be invited by the context for hamank- is in KUB XLI 8 (CTH 446.C.), IV 25-26 (see Otten, 1961, pp.136-137, for ed.; not in HED 3), although with =san, hamank- may be tr. "join (upon, onto)".

75. See Melchert, l.c.; for ışhiya- cf. HED 2, pp.398-403; SHV pp.461; 465-466; 1986b p.48. On hulaliya- see HED 3, pp.361-363; SHV p.265, with n.15; HZ¹ pp.73-74.

76. Note e.g. KUB IX 31 + (CTH 394.B), III 25, where hamanganzi must mean "they tether (the rams for the night before the tents)"; cf. tr. "tie", in Gurney, 1977, p.49.

77. See HED 3, p.65 for exx. These are well illustrated by KUB XXXII 133 (CTH 482), obv.4... nu-zā ha-az-zi-wi-ta iš-hi-ú-li³ ₅A ku-e 5. I-NA É.DINGIR.GE₆ kat-ta-an ha-ma-an-kat-ta ū-e-ir-ma-at-kān LU⁴ MES² DUB.SAR.GIₓ ₅ ₆. LU⁴ MES É.DING-IR-LIMⁱ₄ ia wa-ah-nu-uš-ki-wa-an da-a-ir

"...and the rites and rules which were tied down (by prescription) in the temple of the Black goddess, the Scribes on wood and the men of the Temple came (and) began to alter them."

See ed. Kronasser, 1963, p.58. While kattan h. has been tr. appropriately here festgelegt waren, stressing the prevb "down", that of the alternate meaning of katta(n) "with, accompanying", seems evident also, since the force
of the clause is that certain rules and customs were connected by cultic law to this Temple.

78. See Westermarck, II, 1921, pp.439-44.


80. Or they have their thumbs tied together - l.c. Note Westermarck's description, l.c., of the "Brahman knot" with which the ends of the Hindu bridal couple's upper garments are tied by the priest to symbolise the marriage.


82. Cf. Archi, 1968, p.84, for a view contrary to Korošec, 1932a, pp.163-165; see below, Ch.VI, §5.A.2.1.ff.

83. KBo VI 4, II 16. 3-ŚU[...]; see HG pp.54-55; Haase, 1968, p.15; above, 10.1.


89. L.c.

90. See Power, 1936, pp.85, 101-102; Thurneysen, 1936,
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pp.112, 114, 119. McAll, 1980, pp.11, 14, links the payment of *coibhe* by the man as evidence that the woman was betrothed by her *fine*, and could be described as a *ben urnadma*. For the analysis of *coibhe* (<comflach> *cobach*) "equivalent liability to payment; mutual debt", see McAll, 1980, p.11; Thurneysen, 1936, p.114.


92. See Power, 1936, pp.84-85, on *adaltrach* "adultress", "concubine", used as a gloss in the Christian era, e.g. *ind adaltrach urnadhma* "contracted secondary wife", to the *Dire* text *ben aitetet aranaicce fine* "Acknowledged woman contracted/betrothed by her family"; also, as gloss to *Cain Lánhanna* §21 = *ben urnadma nabe cétmuinter* "a contracted woman who is not a *cétmuinter*". On the legal requirements for legitimate marriage, see Thurneysen, 1936, p.110.

93. See Thurneysen, 1936, p.109 and 1931, p.29, where *Aurnaidm* is described as lit. "Vorbindung", "Vorpflichtung", which Thurneysen prefers to tr. as *Antrauung* rather than *Verlobung*, since no second official act or contract followed.


96. L.c. p.169.

97. L.c.; Buckland, 1921, p.426; Ernout, Meillet, 19513, p.772.


100. See Buckland, 1921, p.119.
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101. Gaius I, 113; cited by Buckland, 1921, p.119.
102. L.c., n.11.
104. For the Akk. evidence see CAD Z pp.99-100.
106. See Ernout, Meillet, 19513, pp.372ff.; IEW, pp.235–236; on Hitt. tar- s.a., n.22.
107. See Koschaker, 1950, p.216; Amira, 1882, I, §47.
108. L.c.
109. 1950, p.216 with n.23.
112. On the latter and nexum see l.c., pp.290-293 (=n.97), and esp. p.290, with ref. to
"den ersten Akt des von den 12 Tafeln nexum mancipium-que genannten Geschäfts, indem ein Freier sich selbst einem anderen für ein dingliches Zugriffsrecht (ius ad rem) gegen seine Person einräumt ..."
Cf. Jolowicz, 1952, p.169, who allowed that the transaction had
"a 'real' element because it gave the lender a right (eventually) against the body of the borrower, ..."It gave rise to manus injectio because that was originally the only form of liability known; ..."
114. See Maine, 1906, p.336, for the definition of: "The Obligation" (i.e. the iuris vinculum of Roman law which he saw as the vital factor converting a Pact to a Contract)
"is the 'bond' or 'chain,' with which the law joins together persons or groups of persons, in consequence of certain voluntary acts."
116. Driver, Miles, 1960 I, pp.260-262, who prefer to term the tirhatu(m) a "gift", not "price".
117. S.a., n.74.
118. The Akk. vb in CH for "giving" tirhatu(m) is nadānu "to give, pay", while the Hitt. vb for "delivering, rendering" kusata in HG is piddae-; f.b., Ch.VI, §5.A. 3.3.
120. L.c., pp.217-222.
121. See e.g. Assur Letter e, from "the Harranean" (Taksala- to Pihami, §§30-31, "You *77-tis(a) (2nd.pers.sg., pres.) your child to me, whom never before me shall anyone know", the vb *77(-) having been interpr. acc. to context as "promise, betroth, pledge"; see Hawkins, 1989, p.195; 1980a, pp.126-127; 1975, p.131, No.14; Morpurgo Davies, 1980, pp. 105-106.
122. See f.b., Ch.VI, §4.C.
123. Cf. a sim. conclusion by Greengus, 1969, pp.514-515 concerning the OB marriage (and other) contract(s) designated riksātum (see f.b.); also, reg. the OIr. (ur)naidm, Thurneysen, 1936, p.110.
124. See f.b., Ch.VII, §4.iii.6.1.VI.
125. See GAG² §30.g, p.5**; AHw pp.984-985; Greengus, 1969, pp.514ff.; further, Kienast, 1984, Text 11, A:13b-17, B: 15-17, pp.119-121, and further comm., §100.
126. For ešlu in LH see Driver, Miles, 1960, II, p.167; I, pp.211; also, CAD E, pp.39-40, 51; AHw pp.189, 191.
127. See Kienast, l.c., and pp.225-227. On the continuity of the Anatolian legal concept of personal liability as evinced in OA texts, note interpr. of the HG formula parnassea suwaizzi as Hitt. var. of OA bītam dagālu "look upon /keep watch on (his) house", in Gütterbock, 1983b, pp.73-80, the closer rendering being phrases with sakuwaya- + acc.
128. See e.g. CH §128; Driver, Miles, 1960 II, pp.213-214; I, pp.280ff.; see below, Ch.VI, §5.A.
129. See KUB XXX 76 (CTH 714.3.); Gütterbock, MDOG 72 (19-33), p.38 and n.2; f.b., Ch.VI, §5.A.1.2.
130. See below, Ch.VIII, §3. on sacred marriage, with ref. in II.1.ff. to texts in the Dhuwassannas Festivals of CTH 690-694.
131. See I. Schapera. Marriage of near Kin among the Tswa-
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132. See e.g. Goody, 1990, pp.319-325, 332-333, with esp. ref. to ancient Egyptian brother-sister marriage.

133. See f.b., Ch.V, cit. 2); Ch.VII, §3.ii.ff.

134. KBo I 1 (CTH 51.I.A.), obv.60-62; PD, pp.18-19; f.b. Ch.VII, §3.15.1.ff.


136. KBo V 3 +, III 48'-59'; s.a., Ch.I, §2.vi.1.1. with 18); on ara- see HED 1, p.118.

137. Cf. Goody, 1968, pp.64-81, on the separation of such categories; see f.b.


139. HG §196; see HG pp.84-85; Hoffner, 1973, p.85 with n.18.


141. For anna/-"mother", s.a., Ch.I, §2.11. with ref.; for rest. of the colophon of KBo XII II5, rev.1'5' + IBoT II 117, IV 1'-3', see Hoffner, 1973, pp.88-89, with 2' ma-a-an UKU-ax š[(ur-ki-il i-ia-zi)] 3' nu-za DUMU,MUNUS-X NIN[-š(U AMA-X] da-a-i)]; cf. also the frag. 827/z cited above, n.140.

142. S.a., n.141.

143. S.a., Ch.I, §2.v. with cits. and ref.

144. S.a., n.141.

145. S.a., Ch.I, §4.xii. with cits. and ref.

146. On annawanna/-"stepmother", f.b., Ch.V, §2.i.

147. If the mother were a free woman; note Haase, 1977-
1978, p.72.

148. On the former, see Hoffner, 1973, p.83.


150. Cf. DAM šES-ŠU in KBo VI 26, III 49; MiMRš šA šES-KA in KBo V 3+, III 79'. S.a., Ch.I, §2.v1.1.5.

151. HG §193; f.b., Ch.VI, §7.A.

152. S.a., Ch.I, §4.xii. on "Cousin".

153. F.b., Ch.VI, §7.A.

154. HG pp.82-83; Haase, 1984, p.46.

155. See Haase, 1968, p.87; 1984, p.46, n.44; HG p.84, n.3.

156. KBo VI 26, III 45-46; HG pp.84-84; Haase, 1968, p.88; 1984, p.46.

157. Note comm. in Goody, 1968, pp.75-77, esp. p.75, on the patrilineal Tallensi who,
   "regard intercourse with the wife of a patriclansman as being the worst form of heterosexual offence,"
   but
   "There is always an incipient contradiction in patrilineal societies centring around the fact that while
   rights to the sexual services of women are in general acquired by individuals, rights to their procreative
   capacities are to some extent vested in the clan as a whole."

See f.b., Ch.VI, §7.A. on the Levirate.

158. KBo VI 26 (and dupls.), III 44-45, 47-48; HG pp.84-85; Haase, 1984, p.46. For III 44-46, s.a., Ch.I, §2.v.3.2. cit. 17)c.

159. E.g. HG §31; l.c. pp.26-27; Haase, 1984, p.102; KBo V 3+, III 84'-85', cited in Ch.V, §1. as 2).


162. KBo V 3, III 73'-78'; s.a., Ch.III, §6.10.4.; f.b.,
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163. Also, Carruba, 1988, pp.67-69; for record of the battle see KUB XIX II (CTH 40), IV 40-44; Götterbock, 1956, p.66 and n.37. Note RGTC 6, pp.59-60; cf. Forrer, 1931, pp.4-5.

164. Forrer, 1931, p.3, distinguished the Mariyas of CTH 42, III 73', from that of III 85'-86', while he considered that Huqqanas' daughter would have been issue of the latter's marriage to Suppiluliumas' sister, an event which he estimated as occurring some 20 years before the Treaty with Huqqanas; contra Carruba, 1988, pp.67ff.

165. S.a., 4.1.

166. See Werner, 1967, with pp.1-2; 74ff.; cf. Otten, 19-60b, where KUB XXIII 54 was noted as "historische".

167. Obv.1' has only one sign, partially preserved. In 2' may be read ]LUGŠtar-p[a]?-a[l?-; in 18' ku-it ku-i-e-e[ 19' ma-a-an-ma-at[ 20' [ ]x[DUTU]ŠIT x[. On the reverse 14 damaged lines remain which do not contribute to the sense of the obverse.

168. Acc. to the transcription the sign an appears over a second vertical which is partially erased.

169. The remaining traces suggest DAM, but a reading NIN would be possible.

170. NH 857 (see KBo XXIII 44 (= 201/g), JV 10); Daddi, 1982, p.131, identifies Nananza as the LUGŠA.TAM in KUB XXIII 54, 5'; further ref. above, Ch.I, §2.v.2.1.

171. NH 162.1 and 2.

172. If mGEš/MI(?)-LUGŠiš is to be listed under NH 141, *Armazitis, the lack of the usually written divine determinative is seen also in AT 124, 1 (see Rost, 1956, pp.342-343); cf. NH 134.2. mMI/GEš-ŠEŠ; NH p.224, ref. (D)MI. Note the seal Bog.V,15 (= SHS 1.1.2.(BO)517), with PN *Arma-zi(ti). EXERCITUS.SCRIRUS; SCRIRUS.DOMINUS.

173. NH 706; see Košak, 1982, pp.66-71.

174. See Daddi, l.c.

175. On the vb see Ciantelli, 1978, pp.5ff., esp. p.28, with ref.

176. S.a., Ch.I, §2.vi.1.5.

2. See CAD A\textsubscript{2}, pp.462-465; 471-472.

3. See Beckman, 1983a, p.208 and ns.561-563, with ref., reg. DAM-SU with the ZU sign, to indicate nom. *aššassu "his wife", in Hitt. texts, as in OB. Cf. e.g., nom. DAM-SU (i.e. ZU) in HG §§192-194; KBo II 3 with dupls. (CTH 404), I 2; IV 15, and 𒀀\textsuperscript{M\textsuperscript{T}}\textsuperscript{A-ŠA-ZU in KBo XXI 45, 3' = StBoT 29, Text 0., pp. 206-207; cf. acc.sg. in HG §193, L.40; see Beckman, i.c. pp.206-207; cf. DAM\textsuperscript{MEŠ-SU} (nom.) KBo VI 4 (CTH 427A), obv.II, 38; see Oettinger, 1976, pp.10-11, 77. For DAM\textsuperscript{MEŠ-SUNU} (d.-l.) see KBo I 3 + (CTH 52.1.), rev. 29'. Note HG §§27,34, 35, for "(he takes her) for his wife" (ANA) DAM-ŠU; Korošec, 1932b, p.558, and f.b.

4. See ... ANA DAM-KA in e.g. KUB XIV 1 (CTH 147), obv. 77, and DAM\textsuperscript{MEŠ-KUNU} (acc.), in KBo VIII 35 (CTH 139), obv. II 17', citing Oettinger, 1976, pp.79ff.; KBo XIX 52' (CTH 268), 9' (= cit. 22)a., Ch.II above); for d.-l. see CTH 42.9.; IV §41', 33', §46', 53'; on renumbering of paragraphs and LL. in CTH 42, s.a., Ch.I, §2.vi.1.2.

5. Cf. NIN-IA ASSUM/ANA DAM-UTTIM ADDIN: KBo V 3 +, I 5 (f.b., Ch.VII, §3.iii.2.1. with cit. 1)); III 45' (s.a. Ch. I, §2.vi. cit.18); see CAD A\textsubscript{2}, pp.471-472 for Akk. exx., incl. EA 1, L.53, with ina DAM-utti. For DAM-an-ni see e.g. Bo 86/299, II 85. MÌ.LUGAL-wa-at-ta ku-in MÌ\textsuperscript{TUM} DAM-an-ni \textsuperscript{pa-a-i} "What woman the Queen may give you as a wife,"; ed. Otten, 1988a, pp.20-21.

6. CAD A\textsubscript{2}, pp.471-472 for exx.

7. CAD M\textsubscript{3}, pp.313-316.

8. CAD A\textsubscript{2}, p.472, šub aššu u mutūtu; cf. NB hatnūtu "marriage" <hatanu "protect", noted in AHw. p.335; see f.b., §2.iv.ff.

9. See f.b., Ch.VI, §2.2.1.

10. Cf. exx., a-na DAM-ut-ti-ia/ka "as/for my/your wife" in CAD A\textsubscript{2} p.472, and KBo XXVIII 139, obv.6' ]x a-na DAM-ut-ti-šu, all in Akk. contexts, and those in Hitt. contexts as in n.5 above.
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11. See e.g. KUB XII 34 (CTH 404.1.B), I 2-3, and colophon, where "pairs" are cited who might have quarreled: ABU DUMU-RU "father and son", LÚMUDU DAM-ZU-ia "husband and his wife", ŠEŠ NIN-ia "brother and sister".

12. See ed. in Güterbock, 1950, pp.199ff., esp.203-205; f.b., Ch.VII, §3.iv.1.1.-2.3.


15. See HG pp.84-85; f.b., Ch.VI, §7.A.

16. S.a., Ch.I, §2.v.3.2. with cit. 17)d.

17. For ref. to the recent text add. to CTH 42, with consequent renumbering of paragraphs, and LL., s.a. Ch.I,§2.vi.1.2. Note III 82', B. rev.47 (= KBo XXII 40, 11'), has URU az-DIš-ia-za; see Otten, Ruster, 1972, pp.102-103; on MÍ NAP-ŠAH-ma/-MI NAP-TIR-TI-K[A-ma-a]t-ta, see f.b., Ch. VII, §3.vi.1.1; in reg. to eskanzi at the end of L.84', Otten, l.c., p.103, restores for the parallel L.49 in B rev., ef[eš-d]u?. On the implications of the prohibition, s.a., Ch.IV, §3.4.1.-4.2.; f.b., §2.11i.6.1. For 85' see HED 1, p.118, "they shall duly treat (her as ...)."

18. On MÍ, s.a., Ch.III, §3.1.1.2.-1.4.; cf. Neu, 1990, p.217, n.28, on possibility that in Hitt. texts MÍ(/MUNUS) might mean "wife", while DAM + -a-stem complements might rep. the postulated kuinna- "woman".


21. F.b., Ch.VII, §4.iii.1.2. with cit. 8).
22. See Buck, 1949, pp. 82-85, 95ff.; ref. in n. 18 above.
25. See Hawkins, 1972, pp. 94-95, with Fig. 3.
26. See HG pp. 84-85; f.b., Ch. VI, §7. A. cit. 26).
27. On the latter see Starke, 1990, p. 170; on former, s.a., Ch. III, §2.i.1.1.ff.; also ἡ χαῖρ εἰς τὸν ἰδίον τὴν ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ λατρεύοντος τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκ τὴν ζωήν τῆς ἱδρύματος τῆς γυναίκας τῆς ἐκ τῆς ἸΣΤΙ ΛŰ-ŠTū "through (the permission of) her husband", i.e. Suppiluliumas I, in KUB XIV 4, obv. I 16'; see f.b., Ch. VII, §3.iii.1.1.ff.
28. See e.g. Buck, 1949, pp. 95-97.
29. See f.b., §2.i.1.1. cit. 9)e.
31. Starke, 1990, pp. 62, 681; cf. HED 1, p. 65, with refs; HW 1 p. 80.
32. See e.g. KBo V 3 +, III 55'; Otten, Rüster, 1972, p. 103 (= LL. 44-45); SV II, pp. 128-129 (= L. 59); KBo III 28 (CTH 9), II 7; s.a., Ch. I, §2.v. cits. 18) and 17)e.
33. CAD E pp. 154-156; AHw. p. 215, "Familienoberhaupt"; cf. Finkelstein, 1967, p. 131,
"That father-in-law' is its (i.e. of emu) most frequent signification is due only to the fact that in most instances it is that person who speaks for the family being allied with - either the father of the bridegroom, or the father of the bride - and holds the legal power of giving his offspring into marriage, ".
34. For ed. see AU, p. 4-5, 82-83, with tr. of 64'-65':
"Warum verschweigen sie, weil er ihr Schwiegervater (is), die Sache i[mm]er noch?";
37. Cf. spelling in the foll. exx. of (LŪ/LŪ.MEŠ) ǃ/kai/e-na-, with text dating acc. to SHV pp. 574-580; note Klinger, Neu, 1990, pp. 135ff.:
ga-i-n( )= CTH 8 -(OH) KUB XXXVI 104, obv. 15.; (OH+) KBo
III 34, 20.; CTH 19 -(OH+) KUB XI 1, I 13'; CTH 144 -(MH+) KUB XXI 55, 16'; CTH 146 -(MH) KUB XXIII 72, rev. 41; CTH 275 -(MH+) KUB XXXVI 109, 8'; CTH 362 -(NH) KUB XXXVI 67, III 6'; CTH 371 -(MH) KUB VII 28+, obv. 9, 20, 35; CTH 414 -(OH+) KUB XXIX 1, I 12 (note [LU?] ga-a-i-na-);

ka-i-na-: CTH 8 -(OH+) KBo III 34, I 17; CTH 264 -(NH) KUB XIII 4, I 31; CTH 297 -(NH) KBo XVI 58, II 5; note KUB LXII 79 (Ritual mentioning the Sun god; NH copy), with LU.MES ka-i-nu-uŠ(-ša-an) in I 39';

gae-n( ): CTH 19 -(OH+) KBo III 1+, I 3', 13', 24'; II 41; CTH 42 -(MH+) KBo V 3+, IV 43'; CTH 133 -(MH) KUB XXII 38, obv. 23.;

ka-e-n( ): CTH 142 -(MH+) KUB XXIII 11, II 37; CTH 259 -(MH+) KUB XIII 20, I 33.


38. See CAD H, p. 148; AHw. p. 335; note with Ichissar, 1981, pp. 79-80, that ICK 114, 2. has kā-pi-a ha-tā-a-nī-šu "(and) Kapiya his brother(?)-in-law" (acc.); for spelling, see Goetze, 1947b pp. 246-247; in Hitt. texts, see Otten, Kühne, 1971, p. 23; see f.b., §2.iv.1.1.-1.3.


40. On hassantes s.a., Ch. I, §2.111.7.1.-7.3.

41. See f.b., cit. 8).

42. See PN in KBo XVI 58, II 2, listed as NH 1758 (UR.MAH-ziti), although the copy has mUR.MAH-šiš. For LL. 4-6, cf. construction in KUB LIV 1, I 52. [k]a-ru-š-ša-mu-kān ku-wa-pī am-me-el DINGIR LUM ar-ha da-a-ir tr. in Archi, Klengel, 1985, p. 59, "[Fr]Über, wenn sie mir meine Gottheit nahmen,". LU ka-i-na-an-ni would be the d.-1. sg. of the abstr. deriv. in -š-tar. Note the phon. compl. in GAL LÜMES DUB. SAR.GIŠ-rī, *tuppa(la)n-uri?; see f.b., n. 90.


44. For ed. see Hagenbuchner, 1989, 2, pp. 15-16, with šu-wa-ru- "[für]wahr"; cf. Stefanini, 1962, pp. 3-10, deducing
for 8': "genero di frasca; genero-fantoccio" i.e. like a man of straw; Puhvel, 1981, pp.213-214, with "An in-law through a deceased person (remains) very much an in-law"?

CHD p.117, ref. KUB XXX 10, II 7 (with dupl. and parallel pass.), [ṣu-wa-a-ru ma-ia-an-za "[Sun go]d, fully grown up (son of Ningal)."

45. Note comm. in Otten, Kühne, 1971, p.23.
46. S.a., Ch.I, §2.v. cits. 15)a. and b.

48. For ed. see Friedrich, 1957, pp.218-222; cf. obv.I 7'-10', 28'-31', 33'-36'.
49. For translit. and tr. see Carruba, 1971, pp.89-90, with L.9"... di fronte ad Hattusili la sua persona ...";
dated as OH/OK (to Hatt. I) by Otten, RIA IV, 1973, p.174;
foll. by Astour, 1989, pp.38-46, with ref. But note Košák, 1980b, pp.165-166, remarking that, while KUB XXXVI 109 names the pankus which may have ceased to function by the end of the MK, the ductus is not OH, suggesting the text was either OH+ or MH. This would indicate a Hatt. II, but we cannot discuss genealogical problems here. Note SHV p. 580, listing KUB XXXVI 109 as MH+. Reg. the connective -(š)ā in L.7' foll. the first part of the phrase, cf. the connective in ŠA-ŠU-ia, KUB XIV 1, obv.80-81; see f.b., cit. 12)a.
50. See Starke, 1979a, p.74, where L.11 is amended to LÚ<<MES>>-aš-mi-iš, and L.12 a-ra-a-aš-mi-<iš>; note HED 1, pp.116, for ara- "member of one's group, peer, comrade, friend, etc.," of either sex.
51. Note by Otten, Kühne, 1971, p.24; note use of vb zik-kanza, also at end of I 6', and ]x-ur sissanz[i in 3'.
52. This frag. may belong to the same type of cultic performance as above, with descr. in similar language. Note it is a copy, the earlier text having lacunae through damage at the time of the present copy.
53. See rev.5' ]INA ḫ[hα-]lientuwas; rev.7', 9', 16',
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18', GAL LU^MEŠ NI.DUG.

54. See KBo III 64 +, I 9' ] nu-kán [ (ša-ra-a-pa)]t hu-it-ti-ia-at nu-kán I-NA
URU^KU.BABBAR-tí(1) 11' [(A-NA )]É.GAL^LÍM pa-ap-rar-tar m^ha-
an-ti-li-iš 12' [(ša-ra-a ) ] ú-da-aš. a) KBo III 63, I 8'
has URU ha-at-tí. Klengel, 1966, p.326, sees King Hantilis.
55. Note rev.11' ma-a-an-ma-za [HA-DA-NU?
56. For translit. see Klengel, 1965a, pp.227-228 with n.
57. For MH+ dating see Klinger, Neu, 1990, p.142; note for Malazitis (NH 725.3) and mSUM^DKAL, rev.III 1-2; Kukkulis,
58. See Gurney, 1948, pp.38, 43, for tr. and comm., with gaina-
"wife's relative" and LU^kusas "son-in-law"? (i.e.
one who pays the kusata); see f.b., §2.vi.
60. See SV II, pp.134-135. Neu, 1979b, p.77, remarks on
the nom. form sumes (L.42') and of gaenes in the foll. L.,
functioning as acc., instead of expected sumas and gaenas,
which error he attributes to the late copyist's eye being
drawn to the first sumes (nom.) in L.41'.
61. For ed. II 5'-35', see Güterbock, 1938, pp.84-90,
noting ga-i-na-an-ní on rev., "zur Verschwägerung".
62. S.a., Ch.II, §3.4.1.
63. Cf. NUMUN-an-za "seed; descendant" vs. the more frequ-
ent neuter -n stem form; s.a., Ch.II, §2.5.2.-5.3. with
64. S.a., Ch.II, §3.2.1., with ns.
65. See HED 1, p.116ff., for ara-:
"belonging (or, proper) to one's own social group, com-
munally accepted or acceptable, congruent with social
order";
also HW^2 I, pp.221-224, "Freund, Gefährte".
66. See Starke, 1979a, p.74, with ref. to this pass., on
the exceptional relationship of the Hitt. King and the
deity Halmasuit, exemplified here.
67. See Keesing, 1975, p.32, briefly, on the occasional
equivalence of a specific geographic area and a clan.
68. Cf. See n.58 above and f.b.
69. *KUB XIV 3* (CTH 181), II 75; s.a., Ch.II, cit. 5).
70. *KBo I 8 +* (CTH 92), obv.40-41; for ed. see *PD* pp.130-131; note tr. "[mein] Schwiegersohn" on p.131, with n.10.
71. The former, a small frag., is descr. as part of a "Verwaltungsbrief" by the ed. *Archi*, KUB LVII, p.iv. For ref. to the 2nd frag. see *Otten*, Kühne, 1971, p.23.
72. For ed. see *Goetze*, 1928, pp.20-21; cf. obv.75-77, pp.18-19. Note *Otten*, 1969, p.23, for tr. "seine leibliche Tochter"; f.b., Ch.VII, §3.2.2.-2.3.
74. See *Imparati*, 1974, pp.36-37 for ed.; s.a., Ch.II, §2.6.4.-7.3. with cit. 15).
75. See *Güterbock*, 1956, p.112, with ns.31 and 1; note *Otten*, Kühne, 1971, p.23.
76. *Güterbock*, l.c.; see f.b., Ch.VII, §4.11.1.1.-1.2.
77. Ed. von Schuler, 1957, pp.10-11. See *HED* 1, p.78, sub antiyant-, with tr. "but those of you who are sons-in-law of the king ... brothers-in-law of the king"; see f.b.
78. See f.b., 3.1. with cit. 14).
79. See ed. von Schuler, l.c. with [ha?] at beg. of 10', and [ŠA? LU] GAL at beg. of 11', with tr. "Schwiegersöhnene des Königs" for end of L. For a. see Laroche, 1957, p.126; Otten, 1958b, p.388; *HED* 1, p.78; for b. see *Otten*, apud HW2 I, p.109. The tip of the uppermost vertical on the right of the first a- (?) is visible, where we might expect a trace of MEš, but cf. *KUB XXXVI 106*, rev.8, in cit. 16) f.b., with sg. det. before pl. ares and kuses. The lacuna at the beg. of L.11', and foll., is larger, allowing for the rest. of more signs. We might read [I-NA Š.LU] GAL here; cf. in the prev. paragraph IšTU Š.LUGAL-kän ..., KUB XXVI 8 (+ 1a), I 40'; von Schuler, 1957, p.10.
80. See Balkan, 1948, pp.147-152; *HED* 1, pp.78-79; cf.
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Starke, 1989b, p.654; f.b., Ch.VI, §3.
82. L.c. pp.10-11, tr. "...er (ist) ebenso ein Schw[ieg­ersohn ...]."
83. See f.b., §2.v. (LH) kusa-
87. S.a., 4.1.
88. RS 34.136 is pub. as Pl.XVIII in Ug. VII. A full ed. is promised by Mme. Malbran-Labat, who has kindly sent the present author her coll. with transcription, headed "Lettre du roi de Gargamis au roi de l'Ugarit pour lui reprocher d'avoir, de sa propre initiative, envoyer au roi des présents trop médiocres", for which I am most grateful, as also to J.D. Hawkins for his help in the initial reading and interpretation of the text from photograph. The present author alone is responsible for any errors in the reading and dating of the text here; see f.b.
89. Obv.I. um-ma LUGAL-ma 2. a-na LUGAL KUR ù-ga-rît. Note Huehnergard, 1983, p.13, n.9, on the attribution of this text to the King of Karkamis.
90. The obv.5-17, with the edge 18-20, are devoted to this reprimand, e.g. 8-14. ... a-na-ku-û / aq-ta-ba-ak-ku ma-a ūul-ma-na-ti / ū a-na GALMRS tu-še-ba-lu / lu-û mi-i- ūū a-kán-na-a / al-tap-rak-ku ma-a ūul-ma-na at-ra / a-na LH tu-pal-nu-ra / ū-bi-il ...; the sign pal in L.13 is clear. For spellings of the Hitt. "Great Scribe" in Ug. texts, see e.g. LHTun-pa-la-n[u-r]1 in RS 17.272, obv.29-30, with dupl. 17.347, obv.15, LHtun-pa-la-nu-ra, PRU IV, p.42 and n.1; l.c., p.264 for tumpa(1a)nuri (tpnr); cf. LHtup-pa-nu[-r]1 in RS 11.732, B 5, PRU III, pp.181-182; note Imparati, 1969, esp. pp.158-159 with n.21. S.a., §2.i11.3.3. with cit. 7), L.3, where GAL LHMRS DUB.SAR.GIš-
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93. RS 17.289, PRU IV, p.192, with RS 11.834, PRU III, p.17.

94. PRU IV, pp.208-210; see f.b., Ch.VII, §4.v1.3.1.-3.3.

95. Ug. V, pp.108-110; s.a., n.94.

96. See Drower, 1968, pp.16-17, with ref., for the filiation of Ibiranu to Ammistamru; f.b., Ch.VII, §4.vi.2.1.


98. See riₙ, i.e. rat, in the spelling of Ugarit, L.2, also in RS 18.03 29, PRU IV, Pl.LXXVIII (and see pp.105, 107), a letter from Hattusilis III to Niqmepa of Ug.; lil in precative of šasū "declare, call out > read" (AHw. p.11-96), in the same phrase a-na pa-ni-ka lil-sú-ū, L.24, as above, in KBo I 10, 20; note RS 17.422 (PRU IV, pp. 221-225), and RS 20.03, 28 (Ug. V, pp.91-94), a letter to Ammistamru, King of Ug., from a Hitt. Prince Šukur-Tešub, governor(?) in Alalah; šak in tu-šak-ši-ld L.18, a spelling more usual in NB and LB texts (CAD K, sub kašādu, 7. šukšu-du, pp.281), but also seen in KBo I 10, obv.43. [ū]-šak-ši-da-aḫ-šu; aššūm in the writing of aššum "on account of", ri might conceivably be read as GAL LÚ.MEŠ tuppalanuri "Chief of the scribes on wood(en tablets)". For further ref. and comm., see now Symington, 1991, esp. pp.114 with n.22, 146 with ns.78-81.


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which is generally a NA or NB spelling (CAD A2 pp.468.), while šūm occ. mainly in territories peripheral to Mesopotamia, from MA (von Soden/Röllig, 1967, No.115); see aš-šūm in KBo I 10, rev.26, 29, and áš-šūm in RS 20.237, rev.5 (Ug. V, pp.102-104), a letter from the King of Karkamis to the King of Ug., and frag. 20.130 1' (Ug. V, pp.132-133).

99. S.a., n.98.

100. See CAD Q pp.93, and cf. RS 34.136, 20-21. te-ma ul / ta qa-ap "did you not believe the message?"; KBo I 10, rev.30, 1 qa a-ap (Hagenbuchner, 1989 2, pp.285, 292); RS 17.132 (PRU IV pp.34-37), obv.29, ta qa a-ap. For kasû see RS 34.136, rev.31-32. ul ʾIr MEX-ka / UK-te-su-ši ... "Were not your subjects bound ..."; also, CAD K p.250, sub kasû V. "to bind", analysing the Dt as pass. to meaning I; l.c. p.270, where uk-te-is-ši in KBo I 10, obv.23., is ascribed to this vb, not kasû "become cold", as in Hagenbuchner, l.c. pp. 282, 289; AHw p.459; Labat, 1932, p.145.

101. See obv.6, 10; rev.21; for ed. see Fisher, 1971, pp. l1ff., but cf. Kühne, 1973b, pp.175ff., with comm. and corrections; see f.b., Ch.VII, §4.vi.1.3.-2.3.

102. Kühne, 1973b, esp. pp.177-181ff.; see relevant texts listed in chart, Fisher, 1971, p.71, but note, with arguments of Kühne, l.c., that Mɪrabɪtɪ is always preceded by a "regens", either Mɪbɪttā/i, DUMU.MUNUS, or DUMU MEX.

103. See Kühne, 1973b, pp.181-182, with ref. KBo I 8 + 804/u + KBo III 8 (CTH 92), obv.18-21; cf. obv. 34-36.

Kühne, 1973b, pp.182, offers another possibility, that Gas- sulawiyas was neither the rabɪtu nor mother of Šaušgamuwa; having died childless, she was foll. by another, equal ranking, wife of Bentešina, the rabɪtu of our text.

104. If the "letter" RS 17.116, PRU IV, pp.132-133, were from Šaušgamuwa to Ammistamru, as seems likely (note e.g. Kühne, 1973b, p.183). Note obv.21'-22' ... a-na-ku ū at-ṭa / ŠES MEX DUMU MEX ša-a I Lūlim ŠES MEX-e "I and you, (are) brothers; sons of one (and) the same man, (we are) brothers."

105. See Kühne's comms. with ref., l.c. n.68. Acc. to our argument Šaušgamuwa was not a descendant of the Hitt.
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royal house, but may have adopted his PN and the HL style of seal to mark his association with it through affinity, and in competition with the offspring of Bentešīna's Hitt. wife.

106. See obv.18'-19' of this text, ...it-ti / šēšMEŠ-š1 al-ta-kan-šu; PRU IV, p.133; cf. ref. to DUMU MEŠ-rabīti as well as to DUMU.MUNUS rabīti in RS 17.82, 10', 11', 16' (PRU IV, p.147, Pl.VIII), from whom Šaušgamuwa appears to be separate, being styled DUMU ZAG.ŠEŠ LUGAL KUR a-mur-ri, obv.8'-9', 14'-15'; see Kühne, 1973b, p.180, but with other views, pp.181-182ff.

107. See Bo 86/299, IV 36. ...mZAG-ŠEŠ LUGAL KUR URU a-mur-ri; Otten, 1988a, pp.26-27; s.a., 3.1. and n.85.


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117. See ref. to Langdon, in n.115, and Seligman, l.c. On ḫam and its deriv. see AHw p.215; CAD H p.69 sub hammu A; E p.156, sub emu; Seligman, 1923-25, pp.61ff.

118. For ḫatanu as a paras form, see von Soden, GAG, p.14, §§12 b, p.59, §55 e.


121. See ref. in HEG I pp.459-60, to deriv. suggested or denied by many philologists.

122. HEG I p.460; Mezger, 1957, p.75; 1960, p.305. For this particle note IEW pp.456-457, and pp.609-610 (note Hitt. kl "this", kī-nun "now"), seen also in XIMN(OS) and in EKHINOS.

123. See Mezger, 1960, p.305; 1957, p.75; HEG I p.460; note Buck, 1949, pp.125-127, 2.65.7. and 2.66.6.


125. See ref. in Boisacq, 1950b, pp.391-392, sub XIMNOS "récent, étrange".

126. See Buck, 1949, pp.83, 97, 125.


128. Buck, 1949, p.128. Cf. Akk. errēbu "newcomer (to the household, etc.)", CAD E p.304, connected to erēbu "to enter, etc.", l.c. pp.259-273.


132. See II 6-8. ...GISšušuš suwadus
harkanzi // nu LUGAL=wa=as MU*KAN.HI.A-us malkiyanzi
"... she holds a distaff (and) they hold full spindles,
and they are weaving the (long) years of the King".
For "distaff" and "spindles" and their symbolic character,

s.a., Ch.III, §2.iii.2.1. On the deities see Gurney, 1977,
p.12; Laroche, 1974, p.176.
133. Schwartz, l.c.; see further, Weitenberg, 1975, n.2,
with ref. for similar interpr.; also, HEG I p.669.
134. Weitenberg, 1975, pp.66ff., with ref.
cf. Cop, 1956; HEG I p.673.
136. See HEG I p.669, for this pass.
137. Ibid.
138. Ibid.
139. See Weitenberg, 1975, pp.67-68. For kussan- see HW1
p.120; HEG I p.671.
140. See HEG I pp.671-673, with ref., e.g. IEW p.399,
*geus- "kosten, geniessen, schmecken, etc."; see f.b.
141. KBo VI 2, III +, 16; see HG pp.34-37, for translit.
acc. to KBo VI 3, with rests. and ns. acc. to earlier and
later copies. Starke, 1977a, pp.143-144, translits. and
tr. copy A, III 16-20, with rests. from later texts. Note
tr. in Haase, 1984, p.29; von Schuler, 1982, p.107. See
Imparati, 1982, p.227, n.3, for the reservation regarding
the DUMU*MES URU.Hatti, "... ceux qui exercaient des fonctions
en milieu palatin, dans la capitale". Note LU*MES_ILKI tr.
Lehensleute in Starke, l.c., and von Schuler, l.c.; Königs-
dienspflichtige in Haase, l.c.; see f.b. for ref. Imparati,
1982, on this socio-economic class. On the ABI LUGAL see
e.g. Mora, 1983b, p.49, n.1, with ref.; cf. Imparati,
1964, pp.243-244.
142. For translit. of this clause in frag. KBo VI 6, I
24-29, see Haase, 1968, p.32.
143. See e.g. HG p.35; Goetze, ANET3 p.195; Imparati,
1964, pp.72-73, 243.
144. See Starke, 1977, p.144, "Eine Verwandtschaftsbeze-
eichnung ... ist möglich, aber nicht zwingend (vgl. ara-
"Gefährte", das neben kusa- in der oben zitierten Stelle (i.e. KUB XXIX 1, II 2-4) und KUB XXXVI 108, Rs.8' vorkommt."

146. Or possibly acc. ku-ū-ša-an with -(n)a connective?
147. For meaning of ilku in Akk. contexts see CAD I-J pp. 73-81; for recent assessment of this category in Hitt. texts, and of sahhan and luzzi, see Imparati, 1982, pp. 226ff.
148. For copy see Güterbock, 1962a, p.19; for translit. as KUB XXIX 30, II 11, see Haase, 1968, p.72; HG p.72, n.3.
150. See f.b., 4.0.
151. HW1 p.120; for mauszi in these texts see esp. Neu, 1968a, p.115; Goetze, 1938, pp.4-5.
157. HEG I pp.669-670, ref. EHS pp.269-270, and remarking also that the vbl origin for kussan- was unattested, but note EHS p.285, with tr. kus-; s.a., n.154.

158. Note in EHS p.189, §95, kusa- ("a particular relative", pp.165, 189) is considered to be a primary a- stem.

159. See HEG I p.673 for exx. of LÜkussana/(iya)tallas "soldier"; also Oettinger, 1986b, pp.43, on the supposed -talla- suffix in Hittite.

CHAPTER VI.

1. For Roman legal marriages: confarreatio - by solemn ritual and sacrifice; coemptio - by payment of "brideprice"; usus - by one unbroken year of cohabitation; and for "irregular marriages", see e.g. Corbett, 1930, pp.66-106. For Grk. forms, with esp. ref. to the έγγύωνος - by contract of "handclasp", and the ἐπίκλης of the heiress, see e.g. Erdmann, 1934, pp.70-80, 250-266; also Sergent, 1984, pp.180-183, with ref. to myth and legend. Cf. Willetts, 1967, pp.18ff., ref. to Law Code of Gortyn. For OInd. marriages: brāhma - of the priest; daiva - "of the gods"; ārṣa - "of the seers"; prājāpatya - "of the protector god"; āsura - "of the daemons" (i.e. by purchase); gāndharva - free marriage, without ceremony; rākṣasa - by abduction; paśāca - by rape of a sleeping, mad or drunk woman; see e.g. Dumézil, 1979, pp. 31-45; Sergent, 1984, pp.179-180, 186ff., with ref. also to svayamvara marriage when the woman chose her husband. For the nine OIr. recognised forms of marital union, see Sergent, 1984, pp.183-186, with ref. to prev. lit., p.183, n.16. We summarise (titles all prefixed by Lánamnas "union"): 1) comthinchuir: equal contribution to marriage of movable goods by respective kindred; 2) mná for ferthinchuir: man contributes greater amount, woman little or no goods; 3) fir for bantinchuir: man contributes the lesser amount, or none at all; 4) fir thathigthe: a "visiting" of wife in her natal home by the man; 5) airite for uráll: an open elopement but without recognition by woman's kin; 6) foxail: abduction; 7) táide: "visiting" by stealth; 8) áicone no sléithe: "rape or intercourse with woman found asleep or drunk"; 9) genaige: of the insane.

3. Cf. Korošec, 1973, p.61,
"Dem hethitischen Gesetzgeber ging es vor allem darum, die Rechtsfolgen und die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer Ehe trennung zu ordnen."

4. S.a., Ch.II, §3.5.3.ff., regarding the concern of Hattusilis I that each of his subjects would maintain the unity and mutual co-operation of his pankur.

5. See HG p.26, n.7; p.27, n.5; Imparati, 1964, pp.52-53. HG l.c., tr. hanti [anti of L.8, as "(ihr Gut) [jeder] für sich (auflösen); cf. Imparati, "(<e> i loro beni) separa[ttmente] (dividono)"].

6. KBo VI 2, II 3. ták-ku ḫR-aš Mí-n[a-(an da-a-1 nu-uz-za)] DUMU MES American Civil Rights Reference. An obituary for the late Dr. Susan E. Brown, a civil rights advocate and scholar, is included.

11. See CHD p.149, sub mān 5a, 3' b., for comparable exx.


"slaves with a peculium are discussed (i.e. by modern scholars) in the first instance as slaves, when, economically and in terms of the structure and functioning of the society, they were mostly self-employed craftsmen,..."


17. L.c., with translit. of I(?) 2'-11', with ref. to Neu's paraphrase, 1968a, pp.50, n.1.


19. The translit. foll. HG p.26. For tr. of LL.18-19, cf. l.c. p.27, "(und wenn) sie hinterher entweder zanken oder von einander wegziehen und den Haus(stand) halbieren,"; Imparati, 1964, p.53, ns.4-6, "e in seguito essi o vengono a contesa o (essi) si separano, e la casa si dividono,"; Archi, 1968, p.88 with n.93, "'o litigano o vengono ad un accordo, allora dividono il patrimonio a metà'"; CHD p.491, "'[i]f afterwards they become estranged or separate and split up the household'". Note SHV p.524, for härp-tta "sich absondern", in this "AH+" context.

20. See HW1 p.190; cf. HG p.95; "verliebte" (?)"; Impar-
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22. KUB I 1+ (CTH 81), III 1-4; Otten, 1981, pp.16-17, 48; also s.a., Ch. III, §3.v.1.2.
25. See e.g. Roby, l.c.; on the Grk. "Leading Home of the Bride" (ἀγγίων), Erdmann, 1934, p.256; f.b., §4.B.
26. On §§34, 175, see f.b. Cf. RS 8.208 (ed. Thuereau-Dangin, 1937, pp.248, 253-255; Pardee, 1977, p.15), recording, before 4 witnesses, the freeing of a slave girl by her owner, who then received 20 shekels of silver from another man who took her as his wife (L.14. i-hu-uz a-na DAM-šu). Cf. the Slavonic practice noted by Machek, 1949, p.134, of paying a "brideprice" (kuna, konnoje, kunčnoje) by the groom to the bride's feudal lord.
27. See RS 8.208, noted above. Cf. RS 16.250:20-24 (PRU III p.86, Boyer, l.c., p.300, n.2), recording the (prev.) manumission of his wife by one, Abdu, who declared her "mistress of the house" above her son; Driver, Miles, 1960, I, p.227, noting the (OB) "cleansing" (from slavery) of a girl by her adoptive mother who then gave her in marriage. For Roman practice, see e.g. Roby, 1902, pp.135.
30. On taksan here, see Neu, 1980b, pp.13-15, esp. p.14, with ref.; note Hoffner, 1963, pp.298-299. The interpr. and tr. of hanti hanti as ref. to the division itself (see n.5 above), and not to the destination of the property (e.g. O. Szemerényi, "'they divide the property and take the proceeds each to his own (new) place'", pp.221-222, Anatolica II (8-10). pp.213-234, in: GsKronasser, 1982,
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Wiesbaden), is preferable, since, among other reasons, adv. takšan appears to replace this phrase later. For the analysis of hanti as d.-1. sg. of hant- "front, Vorderseite" <Hnt-+ *ei, see Laroche, 1970, p.37; Neu, 1974a, p.41, n.23.


32. For text, KUB I 1 + (CTH 81), III 1-4, see Otten, 1981, pp.16-17; cf. Gütterbock, 1983a, p.160 (on handail-).

Note Hoffner, 1980, pp.315-316, with ref.


34. tak-ku-za IR-18 MÍ-an D[AM-1]n da-a-1 DI-IN-ŠU-NU QA-TAM-MA-pát; s.a., Ch.V, §1.2.2. cit. 3).


36. For HG §34 see cit. 3) below, with ref.

37. See HW² I, p.252; CHD p.119.

38. For translit. see HG p.26.

39. See Neu, 1988, pp.20ff.; cf. HW¹ p.215, para tarna-"herauslassen, Überlassen, gestatten; "herausholen(?), entziehen(?)", with ref., interpr. diverse meanings acc. to the presence or absence of -kan.


42. Apart from text ref. in n.38. above, note KBo XXXII 216, 11', 12', duplic. to 35, 3',4'; 69, 1'–3'; all cited in Neu, 1988, p.12.

43. See Neu, 1988, p.14, with n.31; cf. Lemche, 1979, pp. 11ff., with prev. ref.

44. Cf. KUB XVI 16 (CTH 570), obv.14; XXII 40, II? 3'; 342/F, I 4'; noted in Neu, 1982a, p.126; KBo XVI 69 (CTH 573), obv. 19' (20'), noted by Neu, l.c. p.128; KUB V 6 (CTH 570), II 28. (cf. tr. in AU, p.279, "die Zeit des Herauslassens haben sie zu einen Verfehlung gemacht(?); nun [...]", with query in n. 4, whether this ref. to a religious event. Note Neu, l.c. p.136; 1988, p.10 and n.22.

45. See CAD A2 p.115; Lemche, 1979, esp. p.16, with n.34, ref. Falkenstein, on Sum. ama.ar.g14 (manumission of slaves), as "Der zur Mutter zurückkehren!"

46. KBo X 1, rev.14 / X 2, III 18–19; Imparati, Saporetti, 1965, pp.79, 52; HW2 I, pp.255, 257.


49. The context is the reallocation of territories, described as belonging to certain deities (I.10), to the Entu-priestess and the Priest, by the Hitt. King, foll. by the cited pass., 11–13. ... nam-ma DINGIRMES hu-u-ma-[an-da-aš LÚ SANGAMES] / IRMES DINGIR-LIM 1a a-ra-u-wa-ah-hu-un pa-ra-a tar-nu-u[m-na-aš-ma ku-iš e-eš-ta] / ki-nu-na-šu-aš QA-TA MA-pát I-NA x[...]. See Goetze, Kizz., pp.64, 65, for tr. with rests., rendering para tarmam- "taxation".

50. For exx. see Goetze, 1930a, p.73; Lebrun, 1980, pp. 256–257, 274; cf. KUB XXI 27 (CTH 384), III 23–25; KBo V 2 (CTH 471), 32–34; KUB XVII 35 (CTH 525), IV 7 (see Carter,
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1962, pp. 132,152); also KUB XXII 70 (CTH 566), rev.44 (see Unal, 1978, p.93), with "My Sun" as subject and colloquial (?) use of para tarna- with sense of "permit".
51. For para tarna- as "release", cf: A) from detention: KBo X 7 (CTH 549), 11 7'-9' (noted in Neu, 1988, p.12, n.25); B) from ownership, of a compensation: in KUB XIII 9 + (CTH 258), ed. von Schuler, 1959, pp.444ff., with reinterpr. by Freydank, 1970, pp.258-268, with ref. also by Neu, 1988, n.61a, to pp.262-263, noting (MH+) KUB XIII 9 + (CTH 258), and the comparability of the state of release implied there by para tarna- for a person, or immoveable property, and that conveyed by Akk. andurāru; see HW2 I, p.438, for nu-za-ta = nu=za=a:sta; note, A. Kammenhuber, ZA (NF 22) 56 (1964), pp.151, 190; Lemche, 1979, p.18.
58. tāk-ku LÚ SIPAD.UDU na-aš-ma LÚ AG:RI:G Mí-an EL-LI-TAM
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59. This interpr. of "two or four years" follows HG p.79, n.2; note Singer, 1984, p.99, and p.100 on the relative status of named social categories.

60. Cf. usus marriage in early Roman law (ref. in n.1) which could be prevented by the woman's absenting herself from the shared home for three nights each year, see e.g. Corbett, 1930, pp.85-89; Roby, 1902, pp.68-69.

61. See Akk. KBo X 1 (CTH 4), rev.12-13, qab-li-šu-nu ippur-ma "he loosed their waists", and Hitt. KBo X 2, III 19, na-āš QAB-LI-ŠU-NU ar-ha la-a-nu-un "I loosed them (from the belts) of their waists"; see Imparati, Saporetti, 1965, pp.79, 82, 52, 53; Otten, 1958b, p.83 and n.27; Goetze, 1962, p.26, "The phrase qabli paṭaru "loosen the belt" occurs in Gilg. X iv 9." For qablu (= MURUB) "middle, centre; hips, loins, waist; trunk," see CAD Q pp. 6-12. For ishuzzi(z)i- c. "band, belt, girdle", see recently HED 2, p.401. Note Haase, 1984, p.43, tr. HG §175, "... und an ihre Fess­el wird niemand (befreiend) greifen".


63. S.a., discussion in §2.5.1.ff.

64. For translit. see HG p.26, with tr. of L.28, l.c. p.27, "'und ihn als einheiratenden Schwiegersohn ergreift, so kann ihn [nie]mand entziehen(?)'", contrary to his prev. rendering, 1939, p.6, "'und ihn als 'Gatten' ergreift,'"; cf. Haase, 1984, p.26, "'und ihn also (in sein Haus) Eintr­etenden ergreift, so wird ihn (ihm) niemand wegholen(?)'"; von Schuler, 1982, p.103, "'... einheiratenden Schweiger-
sohn ... herauslassen"; Imparati, 1964, p.55, with ns., "... genero maritato ... fa uscire"; Beckman, 1986, p.17, "... an antiyant-husband (for his daughter), no one shall alienate him ...".

65. See Imparati, 1964, p.218, and n.6, with ref. to Goetze, in ANET²; note Neufeld, 1951, p.151, with ref. to interpr. by some scholars, either that this was the "free son" of the slave himself, or, §36 dealt with paederasty.

66. Cf. exx. in 2.2.-2.3. below.

67. Balkan, 1948, pp.147-152; HED 1, p.79, with ref.; cf. HW² I, pp.108-109, querying the analysis of this term as a compound form, or even of IE deriv.


69. See Starke, 1989b, p.654; on antu- see HW² I, p.109; HED 1, 85. An analysis of the first element of *ant-ia-+ -ant- as related to an *ant - "soul, spirit"?, to be seen in antuhsa- "person" - see ref. in HEG I pp.36-37 --, would not be helpful either.

70. See f.b. for exx. and ref.

71. Note queries in Imparati, 1964, pp.219-220.

72. See Thomas, 1979, p.439,

"The provision (Si pater ter filium venum duit, filius a patre liber esto) was doubtless designed to deter patres from and penalise their excessive exercise of their parental authority."


74. Thomas, 1979, pp.439; 437.

75. Cf. 8.1.-9.1. above on para tarna- as "release" here.

77. S.a., Ch.II, §2.4.1.-4.3.
78. Ed. in Hoffmann, 1984, p.32, §28, LL.36-38; tr. in Beckman, 1986, p.13 with n.1; s.a., further ref. in Ch.II, §2.4.1. with n.122. Note Ch.I, §2.iii.5.1.ff, on preferred reading DUMUNITA vs. IBILA.
79. Cf. Hoffmann, l.c., with "für die sollen sie einen Schwiegersohn nehmen, ..."; Beckman, l.c., "let them take a husband for her...".
80. See e.g. Asheni, 1963, pp.17; Erdmann, 1934, pp.73-80.
82. On CTH 97, with Bo 86/299, and CTH 106, see Otten, 1988a, pp.1-9; for relevant text, s.a., Ch.II, §2.5.1. with cit. 11)a.
83. Ed. in HTR pp.106-107, with LL.14-15, "heraus aber darf niemand einen Burschen oder ein Mäd­chen als Braut oder als Schwiegersohn geben."
84. See esp. HED 1, p.79, for linguistic analysis but interpr. "son-in-lawship"; cf. HW² I, p.109, suggested the form might represent Hitt. popular etymologising.
85. CAD K pp.79-82.
89. See Landsberger, MSL I, pp.ii-iv, with ref. to other opinions, dating original to Ur III.
91. See David, 1927, pp.21ff.
92. MSL I, p.48.
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93. The fir thathigthe listed in n.1, 4) above.
96. Ibid.
98. See e.g. HSS 5.67 and HSS 5.59, cited and discussed in Grosz, 1981, pp.166-167, 169; for HSS 5.67, note Paradise, 1980, p.190, n.7, 192; also pp.202-203 (HSS 19.73).
99. See Beckman, 1986, p.17, n.22, "... the Hittite term is probably a calque on Akkadian errebu and thus may not reflect correct Hittite usage."
100. TUAT I, 1982, p.85.
102. Tr. acc. to CAD E p.156; cf. doubt expressed in SJöberg, 1967, p.225-226, with ref. Falkenstein's suggestion that ús-(sá) might be a word for "purchase" or "wegnehmen". For study of mí-ús-sá (mussa) "son-in-law", emu sehru, see SJöberg, 1967, pp.221-226, 230, rendering (p. 225) mí-ús-sá-tur as 
"entweder den zukünftigen schon für die Ehe mit einem Mädchen bestimmten Schwiegersohn oder der jüngsten eingeeirateten Schwiegersohn in der Familie des Schwiegervaters".

Cf. Greengu, 1969, p.523, n.86, who understands that tur refers to the woman, or (after Falkenstein) that it might be a loan tr. of the Akk., adding,
"the use of emu sehru and emu rabû appear to be lexical only...";

distinguishing
"father-in-law and son-in-law for which Akkadian has only one term: emu, while Sumerian has separate terms for each relationship".
103. See SJöberg, 1967, pp.226-227, 229-231; the wife's father in CLI §29 was expressed as( -)ur7(- ), and also written û-ûr elsewhere; see l.c. pp.225, 227; cf. Labat, 1976, No.185 b. urû7, murû2 = emu rabû.
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104. Note e.g. Neufeld, 1951, p.124; Freedman, 1958, pp. 28-29, 134; Firth, 1963, p.32; P. Friedrich, 1964, pp.144-147; Goody, 1973, pp.11-13; Tambiah, 1975, p.84.


113. See Baker, 1979, p.45.

114. Cf. Neufeld, 1951, p.124; Goody, 1973, pp.5-13; P. Friedrich, 1964, pp.146-147, noting the kinship terms primák (uxorilocal son-in-law) and vodvorka (uxorilocal daughter), "...two semantic slots that were unique in implying a component of uxorilocal residence counter to the prev-
ailing patrilocal pattern."

115. As, e.g., in Hoffner, 1975, pp.137-138, who interpr. this as new to the Hittites, "a survival of a practice among the autochthonous peoples, the Hattians", which was "perhaps even the prevailing type" and so "needed no special name." Note Haas, 1975, p.231, for the interpr. of a "mutterrechtlichen Gesellschaftsordnung". See Beckman's ed., 1982b, of the CTH 321 myth, (pp.11-12) for list of texts, prev. eds. and major studies: add Haas, 1988, pp. 284-298; Gütterbock, 1978b, pp.246-249.


119. See Beckman, 1982b, §§24-25, pp.15-16, 19, 23.

120. L.c., §26, p.16, 20.


123. For these semantic equivalences and opposition to (LU)happinanza "rich (person)", see HW² I, pp.405-407; note that KUB XXIII 72, rev.8, cited on p.406, is better read with mlâ-šî-wa-an-ta-an - see CHD p.208, sub asiwant-. Cf. HED 1, pp.211-212, analysing asiwant- as a privative, "not

126. As brief ref., note Levi-Strauss, 1963, pp.213-217, on the representation of the autochthonous origin of man by the "Serpent/Dragon", and the implications of his slaying; on the possible IE element in CTH 321, s.a., ref. in n.116.
127. For translit. see Laroche, 1965b, pp.79-80; for description with cit., see Kellerman, 1987, pp.111-112, with ref. to *KH* 26, as another version; see f.b.
129. S.a., Ch.II, §2.3.3.
135. Cf. above, 4.1.-4.3. with cit. 7).
136. See Thomas, 1976, pp.437-439, on adrogatio: the adrogatus renounced the sacra of his natal family (pp.437-438), and (p.439),

"The effect of adrogatio was to place the adrogatus and all his familia, if any, in the potestas of the adrogator and his property vested in his new pater, an instance of universal succession inter vivos."

On adoption in Nuzi and related problems, s.a., 5.3. and n.96.
137. HAB §1 and ff.; §7 and ff.; s.a., Ch.I, §2.111.6.1.
and 6.3; Ch.IV, §2.2.1.-2.2.

138. See esp. Goody, 1969b, pp.58-72, and p.65 with ref. to early Hindu Law,

"The most eligible male for the purpose of adoption is a brother's son, or more distant agnate, but daughter's sons, sister's sons, and wife's brothers were also selected."

Note l.c., p.64, referring to the preferred kinsman for adoption in India, China and ancient Greece, namely the brother's son; Goody, 1973, pp.12-13.

139. S.a., ref. in Ch.II, §2.4.1.; note Ch.I, §2.v.1.2. with cit. 15)a.b.c.; Ch.V, §2.iii.4.2. with cit. 9)a.; f.b., APPENDIX I.


141. For text see Hoffmann, 1984, pp.28-29, §24, 16; Beckmann, 1986, p.27.


144. For general information and numerous exx., see e.g. Westermarck, 1921, II, pp.240-277; also Koschaker, 1937, pp.138-140b; Sergent, 1984, pp.179-191, passim; all with further ref..

145. Acc. to the "Laws of Manu"; see e.g. Dumézil, 1979, pp.32, 34.

146. For OIr. legal evidence, see e.g. Power, 1936, pp.81, 88-90, on distinctions of women and their honour price, of which

"a woman ... abducted in defiance of her father or her kindred"

formed a fifth category. She and her family, if all unwilling, received the honour price in full; if she had consented, only her family received it. Her atonement was dependent also upon whether she had accepted a "brideprice"; note McAll, 1980, pp.7, 12; T.G.E. Powell, The Celts. London.
1958, p.77 (on honour price).

147. See exx. cited in Westermarck, II 1921, pp.254ff.; for the custom in Sparta, see e.g. Erdmann, 1934, pp.199, 259-260, with esp. ref. to Plutarch. Lycurg. c.15-16.

148. See f.b., Ch.VII, §4.vi.3.1.-3.3.

149. S.a., Ch.IV, §2.3.2.ff.; f.b., §4.C.

150. KUB XII 60, obv.1, 1; see Hoffner, 1975, p.137 with n.14; for translit. of KUB XII 60 + KUB XXXIII 81 (CTH 322. A.) see Laroche, 1965b, pp.79-80; also, Stefanini, 1969, pp.161-164, for semi-syllabic translit. with tr. and brief comm.; DeVries, 1967, pp.15-16, with tr. and description; Kellerman, 1987, pp.111-112, with citations from and comm. on the text, noting (ns.14 and 15) the frag. KBo XXVI 128, as part of an alternate(?) version of the myth.

151. Hoffner, 1975, p.137.


153. Obv.I 8-11, states that the Storm god called Telepinus, his well favoured, foremost, son,

"[(Come here)] Telepinus! You, yourself [((go to))] the [S(ea)]; [(bri)ng ba(ck)] the Sun of [He]aven from the Sea. Telepinus went to the Sea."

See Hoffner, 1975, p.137, who interpr. that the Storm god "contrived a plan". For the "question" see obv.18-19; Kellerman, 1987, p.111; DeVries, 1967, p.16 with n.67, who rest. [ku-ša-a-ta] at the end of KUB XII 60, obv.I 20

154. Obv.1 11-15; see DeVries, 1967, p.16, for tr. Cf. KBo XXVI 128, 5'-6', interpr. in Kellerman, 1987, n.15, to denote a choice among his daughters offered to Telepinus by the Sea (5' "Who (is) pleasing to you?") to which the former replied (in 6') "I shall sleep with ...".


156. See obv.I, 23; Kellerman, 1987, p.111 with n.16; on Mī₂E₂.GI₄,A, f.b., §5.B.

osec's suggestion (1932b, p.562) that Mesopotamian influence may be seen in the adoption of "brideprice" in Hatti; see Archi, 1968, p.84; s.a. Ch.IV, §2.11.3; f.b. §5.A.2.2.

158. Note, Laroche, 1965b, p.63. The story of the Sun god's abduction and rescue appears to have formed part of a longer episode or series of related myths, continued in the recitation of CTH 323 (a) KUB XXXVI 44, (b) VBoT 58, where a colophon, IV 13 in (b) states: "Ritual supplication of the Sun god and Telepinus. Complete." According to Gurney, 1952, p.188, the ritual seems designed to attract these deities back to the Temple. For CTH 323 see Laroche, 1965b, pp.81-88; Kellerman, 1987, pp.112-113; DeVries, 1967, pp.8-15.

159. On Storm god characteristics of Telepinus, see DeVries, 1967, pp.162-167 with ref.

160. S.a., Ch.III, §3.1.1.3.-1.5., with cit. 2), and ref.

161. For a comparable historic system of compensation acc. to "honour", s.a., ref. in n.3.

162. Note the apposite remarks on the "gift" and "altruism" in Pitt-Rivers, 1973, pp.99-100, with ref. to Mauss, whose declared purpose (1969, p.1), was to discover,

"In primitive or archaic types of society what is the principle whereby the gift received has to be repaid? What force is there in the thing given which compels the recipient to make a return?"

163. See Levi-Strauss, 1969, pp.52-68, discussing "The Principle of Reciprocity".

164. See Westermarck, 1921, II, p.245 - the Hos; in Bali; p.246 - in Ruin.


166. See discussion in Koschaker, 1937, pp.138, with ref.

167. Ibid.

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169. Note f.b. §6. esp. 1.2.

170. See Corbett, 1930, p.92; Roby, 1902, p.127. Cf. Erdmann, 1934, pp.250. 256-7, on the acquisition of ΚΟΡΙΟΣ through the γνημιογιανικα and ceremonies, which all lead to recognition of a legal marriage.

171. For these tr. see Starke, 1977a, p.141; note Neu, 1974a, p.59.


175. See ref. in SHV p.37; HW1 p. 167. For 1. see ref. in CHD p.5, c.; 2. note esp. HAB (pp.8-9) Col.II, §8, 45; 3. see e.g. CTH 19, §26, 27-28; §50; Hoffmann, 1984, pp.30-31, 54-55; 4. see KBo XX 10 (CTH 669), I 10, etc., cited in Starke, 1977a, p.141; noted, SHV p.37; 5. see e.g. HG §19, and s.a., §2.3.2. with ref. Note, for driving horses, KUB XXXI 71 (CTH 297), III 7-8, nu-mu-kán im-ma u-ni-uš ANŠE. KUR.RA'MES / a-wa-an ar-ha pí-e-hu-te-zí.

176. But s.a., n.153, ref. DeVries.

177. See Levi-Strauss, 1969, p.65, dealing specifically with a Polynesian tribe, although he generalises on "Reciprocitcy"; "compensation" is tr. l.c. as "(te malai)".

178. S.a., Ch.IV, §2.15.4.ff.

179. S.a., Ch.IV, §2.3.2.-5.2.; Ch.VI, §2.7.2.ff.


181. KUB XLI 8 (CTH 446), II 15-17; HED 2, pp.321-32.

182. See exx. in del Monte, 1983, pp.29-47.

183. S.a., Ch.IV, §2.3.2.-5.2.

184. S.a., §2.7.2.ff., esp. 9.2.


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190. See Haase, 1958, p.34 and n.39; Gerstein, 1974, with cit., pp.131-156, esp. 135-139, ref. to HG §37 and Puhvel, 1971, on hurkis/hurkel (see now, HED 3, pp.401-402).


192. The stipulations OH/MH "three/two or two/three" suggest that this phrase formed part of a common law prescription against persons gathering to fight in a public place, such as the "affray" in Eng. Law.


194. HG §28c; s.a., Ch.IV, §2.3.2.-4.2.

195. Note Hoffner, l.c.


198. For CU §8 see Landsberger, 1968, pp.49-50 (as AS 16,
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199. See listing sub "ah+" of CTH 292 (1.), in SHV p.579.
200. Cf. CU §6 (Römer, 1982, p.20); LE §26 (Borger, 1982, p.35); CH §130 (Borger, 1982, p.58); Deut. xxii 23-27 (see Driver, Miles, 1960 I, pp.282-283); MAL §12 (Borger, 1982, pp.82-83); discussed, with other ref., in Landsberger, 1968, pp.53-65; Finkelstein, 1966, pp.355ff.

201. See HG pp.86-87; Haase, 1968, p.91. For comm. on LÚ-áš/LÚ-Iss, LÚ-nas wastul/SAL-nas wastais, s.a., Ch.III, §2. 1.1.1.-1.3.; §7.4.2.-4.3.

202. "If he conducts them here to the Gate of the Palace, and he declares, 'Let not my wife die', then he will let his wife live, and he will (also) let the seducer live, and he will cover his head. If he declares, 'Let them both be put to death', then they will kneel to the wheel. The King may put them to death, and the King may let them live."


203. Note the same or similar qualification of rape versus adultery, and types of rape, public or secret, in ancient NE laws, as discussed by Finkelstein, 1966, pp.355. Cf. also, Laws of Gortyn, col.II, 11ff., where the rapist of a (non-virgin) houseslave paid different fines according to rape by day (1 obol) or night (2 obols), and for seduction of a married woman in her father's, brother's, or husband's house (Willetts, 1967, p.40); the Old Welsh (based on OIr.) distinctions between the lowest forms of unions, open or secret abductions/seductions (see Charles-Edwards, 1980, pp.23-39, esp. pp.31-35).


205. See HW¹ p.173.

206. Cf. LE §26, which condemns to death the man who captured and deflowered a girl, without her parent's consent,
after she had been betrothed, with brideprice, to another; Landsberger, 1968, pp.53, 62, 64; cf. Finkelstein, 1966, p. 368, who sets this in the "unmarried" category because of the lack of consent assumed for the girl.

207. Cf. LE §26, as above; CU §6; CH §130; ref. as above.

208. On the problems of legislation on the "norm" missing from ancient legal sources, see Daube, 1973, pp.126-134, with the remark (p.132),

"The more fundamental an institution - fundamental in the sense of embedded in the fabric of society - the more apt it is to be accepted without ado and to remain unformulated."

209. S.a., Ch.IV, §2.11.3, on HG §29/CH §§159-160.

210. Cf. Finkelstein, 1966, p.367, on the absence in CH of regulations regarding rape of an unmarried woman vs. its treatment of cases concerning married women,

"Another index of the relatively lenient view taken in Mesopotamia of sexual 'misconduct' by and with unmarried women is the paucity of 'cases' of this sort in the earlier 'codes' ..."

211. Cf. OIr. Lánannas 8), listed above in n.1.

212. S.a., Ch.IV, §2.6.1. with n.47; note §2.11.2.-11.3.

213. S.a., Ch.V, §2.vi.1.3.ff.


215. HEG I p.674.

216. For text see HG p.26 with ns.1-4.

217. KBo XXI 17, 5', ed. as G in Burde, 1974, pp.35-36.


219. See text in Archi, 1977a, pp.299-300, tr.

"e per te il paese di Hatti sia un paese puro dove ci si sposa e si genera",

and (p.304), "del prezzo della sposa e del generare".

220. S.a., n.218.

221. See Neu, 1982b, pp.205ff., on these forms.

222. Weitenberg, 1975, pp.66ff.; s.a., Ch.V, §2.vi.1.3.

223. See Weitenberg, l.c. p.68. On this suffix <*-to (?), cf. Melchert, 1987, p.201; also, Watkins, 1961, pp.7-12; note Ch.III, §2.1.1.4.

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225. S.a., Ch.IV, §2.6.1.-6.2.

226. See HW¹ p.120; AHw p.1348; s.a., Ch.IV, §2.6.1. with n.47.


228. S.a., Ch.IV, §2.10.1. with cit. 6).

229. Driver, Miles, l.c., pp.62-63; Borger, l.c., p.62.


231. S.a., Ch.IV, §2.11.3.

232. See e.g. Dalley, 1980, pp.54ff.


235. See Goody, 1975, pp.22, 49-52, with Tables and comm., for "Brideservice" among various marriage transactions in certain areas listed in the Ethnographic Atlas (1967). Note l.c. p.16, on the Nyamwezi (Africa) where marriage with bridewealth resulted in the husband gaining all rights over his wife and children, but marriage without ("traditionally initiated by elopement") yielded limited rights over the wife and none over the children,

"However, it is possible to convert the inferior marriage into a superior one by a subsequent payment, which includes a sum for 'rearing'. In both types of marriage it was formerly common for the groom to spend the first part of his married life at the home of the bride's father."


238. See ref. in HW¹ p.170; note esp. rest. by Goetze, 1928, p.18, with the dur. sup.: (MH) KUB XIV 1 (CTH 147), obv.74...[nu-uš-ši me-na-ah-]an-ta 11-in-ga-nu-ut nam-[ma-aš-ši ar[-kam-ma-]an píd-da-a-an-ni-wa-an da-a-ir

"[and he (Madduwattas) made them (the people and elders of Dalauwa) swear an oath (of fealty) [be]fore [him]. Consequently, they began to render tr[ib]ute to him]"
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further (pp.36-37), rev.85. [KUR] URU-a-la-ši-ia-wa ṢA DUTUŠI ku-it [KUR-e nu-wa-ra-at-ši ar-ka-ma-na]-an pîd-da-a-an-zi ]; for gram. comm. see Otten, 1969, p.23; for hist. comm., see Bryce, 1986, p.10. See Gütterbock, 1938, pp.72-73, for 3 sg.pret. dur. pîd-da-an-ni-iš in KBo III 13 (CTH 311), II 12', "he rendered (tribute)".

239. See f.b., Ch.VII, e.g. §4.111.2.3., and §3.3.3. Note Ch.VIII, §1. On "wife-givers" and "wife-takers", see e.g. Keesing, 1975, pp.84-90.

240. See L.22. nu-ut-ta ū-wa-an-zi ū-da-an-zi ku-ša-ta DUMU.MUNUS-TI "And they (the messengers) will come (and) bring the "brideprice" for the daughter"; Rost, 1956, pp.335-336; Moran et al., 1987, pp.192-194. The contrast of this piddai- to uda- in a Hitt. festival text, KUB XXXII 82 (CTH 669), might be explained by the lowly status of the "courier" vis à vis the elite Bodyguard: 11'-12' LÛ-NU-ŠE-DI LÛ.ât/KAS₄.E ha-lu-kán / pîd-da-a-iz-zi "the couriers deliver the message to the (royal) Bodyguard", vs. 13'-14' ... LÛ-NU-ŠE-DI LUGAL-₁ / ha-lu-kán ū-d[a-a]-₁ "the (royal) Bodyguard brings the message to the King" (see Friedrich, AfO 14 (1941-1944), p.349), but it seems more likely that this is a late spelling of peda- "convey".

241. S.a., ref. in n.239 to Ch.VII.


243. S.a., Ch.III, §3.v.1.1.ff., with cit. 5).

244. See HW¹ p.270; HZ p.314; note CAD K pp.79-82, with esp. ref. Landsberger, 1968, pp.41ff.; Finkelstein, 1966, pp.355ff..

245. CAD K p.79.

246. See ref. in CAD K p.80, a) 3' to ARM 1 24:11.


250. See text ref. in CAD K p.80, a) 5', to JCS 8, p.93, r.13 (Gulg. VIII); STT 73:40, 53, LKA 135 r.9, Maqlu I 2; and cf. p.82 c) 2', for further ref.
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251. Cf. colophon, LL.31-34; see ed. with translit., partial tr. and comm. in Hoffner, 1973, pp.86-88, with n.36, on kariya- "cover, veil"; see f.b., on the veiled bride.
252. Hoffner, l.c. p.88, presumably derives iwarwann[iš]-\text{anzi} as the dur.-iter. (cf. HE I, p.73, §137), from attested iwarwa- "make a gift, bestow, confer" (HED 2, p.502; SHV p.366). Note Hoffner's suggestion that a theoretic rest. might be "i-wa-ar-wa-an-ni [pi-\text{an-zil} 'they give for (i.e., 'as') a dowry (*iwaratar).'" On TUG kuressar s.a., Ch.III, §4.
254. S.a., Ch.III, §4.1.3. with cit. 8).
255. Note Hoffner's rest. (l.c. pp.87-88) of L.12. [1 MUS\text{N} iš-ha-ru-wa-aš [1 U]DU 1 MUS\text{N} na-ak-ku-ša-\text{an} tar-na-a[n-zil], with comm. on "[one she]ep (and) one bird they dispatch as a scapegoat."
256. Cf. Hoffner, l.c. with n.37, on the disposition of the dowry.
257. See HW¹ p.250, and f.b. for exx.
259. Cf. HG §§29, 30, 34, 35, 36 (kusata), and §27 (iwaru).
260. See f.b., Ch.VII.
261. S.a., §3.4.1.-4.3. with cit. 7).
262. S.a., ref. in n.247; note comm. in D. Freedman, "A New Approach to the Nuzi Sistership Contract" JANES (1970), p.84, that the ahātūtu differed very little from either the mārtūtu or kāllatūtu, possibly being explained by generational differences.
263. For ed. see Otten, Souček, 1965, with prev. ref., and this pass., pp.20-21, with L.11' "Ein Mädchen, Titai mit Namen, habe ich dem Appallū zur Braut gegeben" and L.13' "... ich habe ihm ihn aber nicht überlassen."
264. Cf. Col.I, LL.15, 16, 22; II 5. Note sallanum(m)anzi pai- "give to bring un", in Bo 86/299, obv.I 12-13, with ref. to Kurunta of Tarhuntassa when young; ed. in Otten, 1988a, pp.10-11, with n.9 to p.3.
265. On Mi₄-ta-ti, e.g. I 10' 1 Mi₄tum Mi₄-ta-ti me-me-it-ti-e-n[i, see Otten, Souček, 1965, p.42 with n.1, pp.48-49.


"One boy, Tuttu (is) his name, I have given to [PN ] to bring up; but he has not been given to him."

268. E.g. (l.c. pp.22-23) Col.I 24'; Col.II 5'.

269. S.a., Ch.V, §1.1.2.ff.


271. On weaving and agricultural work s.a., Ch.III, §5. and §6.2.1.-2.4.; 4.1.

272. See Gütterbock l.c. p.156, with comm., p.160.

273. On intrans. hantair <handai-, with "brides" as subj., see Gütterbock, l.c., "be in agreement" or sim. Cf. 24'-31' for the household "hated by IŠTAR" where the "brides" kapp-ilair "were at odds; stirred up", par. to the Lu₄Mes AT-HU-TIM (30') who kururi[yahh]ir (31') "have become enemies".

Cf. L.30' in the contrasting pass., where "the brothers" are equivalent to the "sons of the household" (20'). Note Goetze, AM pp.262-263; cf. Archi, 1977a, p.308, tr. hantair clause, "Hanno fatto sposare le promesse spose."

274. S.a., Ch.I, §4.xii.6.4.; Ch.II, §2.4.3. with ns.

275. See Driver, Miles, 1960 I, p.250, n.5.

276. Or completely in Puduhepa's power; s.a., n.267.

277. S.a., §4.A.2.1.-3.2., with ref.

278. See tr. in RGTC 6, p.125; cf. Kempinski, Košak, 1982, p.101: "was 'kind' towards his daughter-in-law ..." See f.b., ref. in Ch.VII, §2.2.1.-2.2. HED 1, p.118, tr. other exx. of a-ra/a-a-ra iyan hark- as "have duly made", and similarly, with ara, usually with initial a-a-, interpr. as "right, proper, due". This context suggests a meaning "has made (me?) equal/an associate to this (woman)", parallel to that expressed by aralai- "associate (with), join (to)" (HED 1, p.117), seen in KUB XXI 27 (CTH 384), I 10'-11',
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deriv. from ara- "comrade, equal, etc." (HED 1, p.116; but cf. HW^2 I, p.248). See f.b., Ch.VIII, §3.2.3.

279. On *^fMassana/uz(z)is/*^fMassana-IR-~is/*^fDINGIR^MEŠ.IR (-~is)/Matanazi, NH 775, see Starke, 1977b, pp.287-288; Beckman, 1983a, p.9 with n.45; Heinhold-Kramer, 1977, pp.371-372. On this marriage s.a., cit. 14) in Ch.V, §2.iv.3.1.; f.b., Ch.VII, §4.1.1.1.-1.2.


283. Houwink Ten Cate, 1974, pp.128-129, with ns.23-29.


285. On this and "sacred marriage" see f.b., Ch.VIII, §3.

286. S.a., §4.B., cit. 11); §5.B., cit. 18)a.

287. On peda-, in anda pedai, s.a., §4. B., 5.1.

288. See HED 2, p.502; cited also l.c. KBo I 38, rev.9, with vbl. noun _iwar[war:[šar]āku. Note Weitenberg, 1971-72, p.166, with n.32. Note Goetze, JCS 2 (1948), pp.149-151, who thought that this hymn was a tr. from an unknown Akk. hymn. His "free" tr. into Akk.: kitmu mātātim ilū iš-rūku(ā) ana kāsim, equates išrūku (<šarāku) with _iwarwair.

289. See Weitenberg, 1971-2, pp.165-167, with whose conclusion (p.167) "Alles im allem kann man eine analyse von _iwaru- also _iwar-u akzeptieren", Puhvel disagrees (HED 2, p.503); but see SHV p.470 with n.24, and ref.


292. See Beal, l.c.; cf. CH §44, reg. failure to cultivate
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a "waste field" (KI.KAL/BAD₄); Driver, Miles, 1960 II, pp. 26-27. On iwaru- see comm. in Beal, l.c. p.166 with n.7.

293. Cf. KBo VI 3 (+ VI 2), II 59-60; KBo VI 4, IV 23-24.; HG pp.30, 58; Beal, l.c. pp.165-167.

294. Cf. HG l.c., KBo VI 3 +, II 61; VI 4, IV 24-25; Beal, l.c. Cf. Hoffner, 1963, p.303, on this stipulation, which "may be interpreted as sale adoption. ... If the Hittite term iwaru "inheritance share" has a Hurrian origin, then perhaps the Hurrian institution of sale adoption came into Hittite law from the same source."


296. See Beal, l.c. p.168.


298. Note, they divided not only the "household", but also cattle, sheep and fields (of their joint possession) KBo VI 2 (+ VI 3), III 8. ta-as E-ZU-NU šar-ra-an-zi; 9...GUH.HI.A UDU.HI.A ri-im-ra-aš-ša-aš QA-[(TAM-MA)] / šar-ra-an-zi. For sarra- see SHV pp.284-287.

299. CAD Z pp.139-148.


302. On this text, s.a., Ch.II, §2.6.4.-7.3.

303. The adjoining frag. KBo XXII 55 (536/u) was not available to Imparati, 1974, pp.5ff., for her main ed., but noted l.c., pp.208-209.

304. See KUB XXVI 43 +, rev.9-10.... ku-it-ma-kán IŠ-TU ᵃ ma-ri-ia-[A.]A(?) Š IŠ-TU ᵃ (me-ig qa-i)a-az(?) /tepu-wa-az da-ad-da na-at A-NA DUMU.MES IDX-ma-[na-wa ] pi-
ėš-ta x[. For first PN see Imparati, 1974, p.49. The rest. signs in L.9. (KBo XX 57, 9') could belong to a PN after ᵃ, and not to adv. abl. megaqayaz; for temporal use, see CHD p.247. For tepuwaq "in geringer Zahl" <tepu- "few, small", see HW¹ p.221; Imparati, l.c. p.25, "in piccola misure".
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305. See obv.8ff.; cf. rev.53-59, sahhan of a token nature for the office of "shepherds" assumed by the sons of Tarhu-(nda)manawa. For text and disc., see Imparati, 1974, pp.30-32, 34-37, 93-96, 105ff.; 1982, pp.245-246.

306. See Ch.II, §2.7.1., 7.3.

307. S.a., Ch.II, §2.7.1. with ref.

308. S.a., ref. in 2.2. and n.293.

309. See AHw pp.1183-1184, 1216.


311. See CAD Q pp.156-161, 275-280.

312. L.c., p.278, c) ref. EA 22, IV 43.

313. I.e., (NÍG.)BA seems not to have represented šarāku /šeriktu.

314. NÍG.BA is not always preserved/attested in this category of texts; see however, the recently discovered KBo XXII 185 (donation under Tabarna seal of Muwattalil I), rev.4-5, LUGAL.GAL MĪ.LUGAL.GAL lā-ši-ma a-na mši-pár-ta / GAL LÜMEŠ NAR MĪ.LUGAL IR-šu a-na NĪG.BA-šu id-di-in

"The Great King (and) the Great Queen have taken (the foregoing estates) and to Siparta, the Chief of the Singers, servant of the Queen, have given (them) as his "'gift'".

See ref. for this and other land donations in KBo XXII, l.c. pp.III, VI. Note NÍG.BA in LS 1, rev.47; LS 2, rev. 2; LS 7, obv.11'; LS 12, upper edge, 4; Riemschneider, 1958, pp.354ff.; p.331 with ns.27, 28.


317. Cf. Grk. words for "gift" derived from *do- "give", as examined by Benveniste, 1966, pp.273-274, of which the closest parallel to iwaru is ἡμεξ "a sóšis ἡμεξδόσεις
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319. Of the extensive lit. on "bridewealth", see esp. Goody, 1975, pp.1-58; 1976, p.8; 1984, Appendix 2. From brideprice to dowry? pp.240-261. Cf. Dalley, 1980, pp.54-55ff., on OB marriage practice seen in contemporary documents, where the terhatum was taken by the girl with her on marriage, tied in the hem of her garment; the šeriktum/nud-unnum "dowry", was a separate gift from her parents.


321. See e.g. Goody, 1984, p.243, ref. remarks by Patai on "bridewealth" in the ME.

322. The accumulated evidence points in this direction; see e.g. Goody's remarks, 1975, p.18.

323. F.b., Ch.VII, §4.iv.6.1. V. Note Goody's remarks, 19-84, p.241, on transfers of property in "advanced agricultural societies" (i.e. using the plough or complex irrigation", which "tend to go to the wife herself rather than to her kin, whether directly from the parents or indirectly from the groom (and often from both). Whereas bridewealth payments are relatively standardised, dowry varies in kind and quantity according to the wealth and status of the bride and her family, the very poor making only very limited transfers, perhaps none at all; in Asia it is the lower groups that tend to give an indirect dowry, while the upper groups provide a direct one."

324. LS 1 (rev.46-47); Riemschneider, 1958, pp.344-355. Note Beckman, 1986, p.18, with ns.26, 28 and ref..

325. HAB pp.10-13, §§16-17.

326. See Beckman, l.c.; note Bo 86/299, III 17-20, equivalent to KBo IV 10 (CTH 106), obv.12-14, cited by Beckman, l.c. n.33.

327. S.a., Ch.I, §4.xii.4.1.-4.2.

328. See hand copy of KUB XXIX 35+36, IV 1'-16' in Güterbock, 1962, p.21; for comm., 1961, p.64. Imparati, 1964, pp.24-26, lists with comm. texts q1-8. The rest of attassa=sis at the end of 2' is based on A-BU ŠU in KBo VI 26, III 41, and the syllabic spelling in KUB XXIX 36 +, IV 3'; cf.
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329. On "Levirat", Assyria, Hatti, Nuzi, Ugarit, Israel, see Skaist, pp.605-608 in RIA VI; note Korosec, 1932a, p.167; Koschaker, 1933, pp.77-89; 1937, pp.100-103, 107; Neufeld, 1951, pp.191-193; Hoffner, 1963, p.277. For comm. on the levirate in "pre-industrial Eurasia" see Goody, 1990: China – among lower (social) groups only (pp.54, 110, 470 with Table 13); India: Levirate forbidden among higher castes and in south among orthodox Hindus; possibly attested in Veda? Note Goody, 1984, pp.36 (early English), 40, 60-63; 204. For many exx. of leviratic customs see Westermarck, 1925, III pp.210ff.

330. Cf. Germ. order of succession when a man had no offspring, and presumably his father was dead, in Tacitus Germ.20.5-8: brother, paternal uncle, maternal uncle.


333. See f.b., 4.2.


335. For text see HG, pp.84-85; Haase, 1968, p.87. Note Imparati, 1964, pp.317-318; Koschaker, 1933, p.87, noted that -šù in Bogazköy Akk. could be fem. as well as masc.

336. Koschaker, 1933, pp.84ff.

337. L.c., pp.87-89; note Imparati, 1964, p.319, n.7.

338. Also, Skaist, RIA VI p.607.

339. Note Imparati l.c.

340. The copula -ia is add. to the rest. in Imparati, 1964, p.318; Gueterbock, 1961, p.72. In Goetze, ANET, p.196, only the above is tr. as §192. On the text = w₁₂, see Imparati, 1964, pp.27, 318; also Haase, 1968, p.87.
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342. CH §158; see Driver, Miles, 1960 II, pp.60-61; 231; I pp.320-322; Koschaker, 1933, 85-86.
343. See Skaist, RIA VI, p.607.
344. See l.c. §1 pp.605-606.
345. S.a., Ch.I, §4.xii.3.1, 4.4.
348. F.b., cit. 27). For recent ed. with comm. see Otten, Souček, 1965, without commitment to the meaning of Mi_uta-ti-; earlier ed. (based on fewer texts) in Laroche, 1949a, pp.55-78. For another ex. of PN f'udatis, see KUB XLVIII 117, 10' = Bo 1602, noted in Otten, Souček, 1965, p.42, n.1; Hahn, 1967, p.167, n.33, noted PN also in KBo X 10 (CTH 235), III 4. Note Tischler, 1982a, p.440, passim; HW1 p.237.
349. L.c., p.70 with n.2.
352. See Col.II 6, III 6 (pp.22, 26) in Otten, Souček, 1965, with comm. p.39; also, RGTC 6, p.501.
353. See f.b., 6.1.
354. Cf. Otten, Souček, 1965, p.21, tr. (e.g.) 18/58. "Eine Frau, Utati des Pitagatti [mit Namen; ein Knab], Nuhati, mit Namen"; Mora, 1977, p.230, interpr. "udati di x", and Hahn, 1969, pp.41-43, both citing Col.II 1 (p.21); Laroche, 1949a, pp.59, 63, "Une femme, veuve de Pità-gattëni". For list and disc. of -eni PN preceded by Mi_utati in this text see Otten, Souček, 1965, pp.48-51; Hahn, 1967, pp.159-161. For earlier ref. and disc. of the gram. case and gender of the "stem" form of the PN and utati in this text (as opposed to occasional nom.sg.c., e.g. ū-da-ti-ië)
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see Hahn, l.c.; 1969, pp.37ff.
355. S.a., exx. cited in Ch.I, §2.i;ii;iii;iv;ff.; note
m'Tatilis "Fatherly (one)", in cit. 19), §5.B.7.2. above.
356. Cf. (m)Temetteni, (m'Tatileni, in cit. 27) above, and
NH 1329. m'Temetts; NH 1307 m'Tatilis.
358. S.a. Ch.III, §3.iv.1.2.-1.3.
359. See Hahn, 1969, pp.18ff., with ref. in n.143.
360. For "genitive", see Laroche, 1949a, p.70; also,
Otten, Soucek, 1965, tr. "des x-enti"; Hahn's query, 1969,
p.45, n. 45. Note the bracketed f. det. for NH 1010, 1027,
1524, 1635 (f)pi-iz-zu-ur-x[).
361. KUB XL 83 (CTH 295), obv.13'; ed. in Werner, 1967,
pp.64-65.
362. Otten, Soucek, 1965, pp.23, 46 with n.6; CAD E pp.27-28;
Hahn, 1967, n.55.
See HW¹ p.244, with suggestion that the d.-l. in KUB XIII
2, III 32, indicates an original gen. formation, "Frau der
Vereinsamung"? Could wannummi-, as a -(m)mi part., have
been an early borrowing from Luw., like kurimma-? See f.b.
364. KBo XIV 12 (CTH 40.IV E), IV 18-20; Gütterbock, 1950,
pp.202-205, with n.1 to p.205; 1956, p.98. Note Hoffner,
1988a, p.151.
366. Hoffner, 1988a, pp.143-166, esp.149-151.
368. See Gütterbock, 1980, p.47; 1958, p.240, n.19; Hoff-
ner, l.c. p.151.
250. Note HEG I pp.646-647, with ref. to kuripai-, kuri-
pah-(<kurimma-(?)) as denom. "Zum Witwer machen"?
370. For dammashant-, part. of dammeshai- "schädigen, bed-
rängen, etc.", see HW¹ p.208; Starke, 1979b, pp.248-249;
SHV pp.124, 357.
371. Cf. KUB XII 63 +(CTH 412.3), rev.7' ma-u-wa Mī-za wa-
an-nu-um-mi-ia-aš nu-wa-ra-an ma-ah-ha-an[ ; KUB VIII 12
(CTH 533), 6.... wa-an-nu-mi-ia-as Mī-za LUGAL[; see Lar-
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373. Elsewhere declined like an -i/iya- stem (cf. tuzziyas), wannumiyas<as> should agree with d.-l. MÍ-ní.
374. See Driver, Miles, 1960 II p.284, for comm. on the epilogue to CH, xxivb 59-62, which echoes here "Urukagina's reforms, whereby the mighty man did no harm to the 'orphan' (NU.SÍG) and 'widow' (NU.MA.SU) in Lagas."
377. For remarks on f. personnel, s.a., Ch.III, §6.
378. See Hoffner, 1983, pp.187-192, for ed. of CTH 71 (A. KBo IV 8 + "Izmir 1277"; B. 1206/u + 245/w); cited pass., II 26'-III 2, is given on p.188. Note kuripait (II 3'; kuripahta (III 3), tr. by Hoffner, l.c. pp.187-188, as "She (has) bereaved(?)".

CHAPTER VII.

2. On the Anatolian/Assyrian, and Assyrian couples, see ref in n.1. above, esp. Veenhof, 1982, p.151 with ns.19-21, with text ref..
3. For EL 2, see Bilgiç, 1951, pp.241-242; noted also by Veenhof, 1982, n.31.
5. On Divorce, see below, Ch.YIII, §2.
6. For ref. for the (GAL) (LU(MES))DUB.SAR.GIŠ, see Dad-dí, 1982, pp.527-528, 166-168; f.b., n.8.
7. For ref. reg. GIŠ.HUR at Boğazköy, s.a., Ch.V, n.91.
8. For the patrilineages of certain scribes see below, Ch.VIII §1, 2.2.-2.3.; on the basically patrilineal Hittite Dynastic succession see f.b. APPENDIX I.
9. See ref. in Ch.VI, n.1; Ch.VIII §3, 3.1, 3.2.-3.
10. KUB XXVI 89, 7; see f.b. §4.iv.1.2.-1.3.VI. ishiul.


13. VBoT 2 (CTH 152) = EA 32, 2-3; s.a., Ch.IV, cit. 4).

14. HED 2, pp.395-396; see also HEG I p.382.


17. For translit. and tr. see Otten, 1973a, pp.8-9; for tentative interpr. of "the King" as Mursilis I (and "the old King" as Hatt. I), see l.c., p.62; cf. e.g. Bin Nun, 1975, p.56, who understood "the King" to be Hatt. I.


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See Otten, 1973a, pp.6-9, 36-37; CHD pp.115, sub mai-5., and p.267, sub memal c.2', giving the rest. and tr. for 4'.

20. Otten, 1966, p.136; also, Gurney, CAH 2 II, xv, p.18, "Hurrian princess".


22. Note succession: Zidantas (-iyyaya), Kuuniyas (- Sum-miris), Tuthaliyas (- Nikalmati), Arnuandas (- Ašmunika-l), in 1307/z II?, in Tafel V, Otten, 1968, p.125; note Tabelle III, p.123; 1986, Abb.3. On rec. excavated clay lumps with impressions of a cruciform seal (see P. Neve, AA 1987, pp.394ff.; AA 1988, pp.371ff.), with HL names and titles of Hitt. Kings and Queens, see the forthcoming joint study (in PsNeve) by B. and A. Dineol, J. D. Hawkins, G. Wilhelm: "The 'Cruciform seal' from Boğazköy-Hattusa." The present author has been able to note the contribution by J. D. Hawkins, l.c. p.[11], with readings and ref., for the "obverse" sealed with: Bo 86/618(1); 86/622 (3); 87/1a; 86/627(2); see f.b., APPENDIX I, 1.1. On OK Zidantas I vs. "MK" Zidantas II, see Beal, 1986, p.428 with n.21. For MH/MH+ CTH 142, 143, see Klinger, Neu, 1990, p.142.

23. CTH 75; for recent translit. with rest. and tr. of KBo I 6 (with dupl. and var. KBo XXVIII 120 = 21/c, 7'-8'), obv.9-39, see Helck, 1979, pp.328ff.; Na'amana, 1980, pp.34-42; cf. Klengel, 1964, pp.213ff. The present author's interpretation reg. "Hatt. II" follows Otten, RIA IV, p.174; note, Otten, 1972a, pp.233-238; 1971, p.68, n.15; 1968a, pp.110-111. Further, on Mittanni/Hanigalbat, see Astour, 1989, p.44; on Astata, named in Ebla texts, l.c., p.45; for Nuhasse, named in Hurri/Hitt. bilinguals (KBo XXXII) with URU-Ikinkal(1) (in apposition to Ebla) = Ikakali in campaign itinerary of Hatt. I, see l.c. pp.45-46; on this town in Ebla texts and Ebla in Boğazköy texts, see Otten, 1988b, pp.291-292; 1984b, p.374.

24. On Kummanni, see Imparati, 1979b, p.174, citing KUB VI 45 (CTH 381), I 62-65 = 46, II 27-30; XV 3 (CTH 584), I 5ff., 17ff., I 4. On Hurri. influence in North Syria and Kiz-

25. On the situation necessary for a conquest of Halab, see Wilhelm, 1982, pp.43-44; 1988, pp.367-368. N. l.c., pp.362-365, with collation of PN in first line of KBo I 5 (CTH 41), as [N]A₄₅₇tu[u[t-h][a][-l-t-a]; Wilhelm, 1982, pp. 42-44, saw Hitt. King/contractant as Tuthaliyas II/III (i.e. the reigning father of Suppiluliumas I), whose "grandfather" would have been Tuthaliyas I/II; but Wilhelm (1988, pp.360ff.), revised as follows: Tuthaliyas I (succeeded by Hatt. II), Tuthaliyas II (<> Nikalmati), Tuthaliyas III (father of Suppiluliumas I), which brought difficulties; note l.c., Addendum, after Beal, 1986, and new seal impressions from Boğazköy. See n.34 below.


27. See e.g. Laroche, NH pp.343-362; Haas, 1984; Neu, 19-88; Otten, 1984a, pp.55ff.; Mascheroni, 1984, pp.151-173.


30. See further, Kitchen, SAP, list of "events", pp.39-50, subject to redating arguments noted above; Houwink ten Cate, 1963, pp.270-276.


32. Obv.1ff., 45ff. Recently on Ahhiya/Ahhiyawa, see Güterbock, l.c.; 1983c, pp.133ff.
33. I.e. obv.1-75; from obv.79 the author, DUTUŠI "My Sun" was in command, although past ref. was made to A-BI DUTUŠI, rev.11, 15-17, 20.

34. See Klinger, Neu, 1990, p.142, with ns. and ref. "Tuthaliyas I" des. here this Tuthaliyas <-> Nikalmati, before whom we need no longer see an OK Tuthaliyas (note Carruba, 1969, pp.226-227, with n.3), nor a preceding MK "Tuthaliyas I", who becomes chronologically unlikely following the recent discoveries (s.a., §1.2.1.).

35. Cf. KUB XIV 1, obv.6-10, 49, 54 (Madduwattas), and obv.75-82; on the son-in-law/antiyant- status of Arnuwandas I, s.a., Ch.VI, §3.12.2; Beal, 1983, pp.116-119; Kühne, 19-82, ns.215, 231.


37. See obv.13ff., reporting the direct speech of the "father of My Sun", obv.14-17, 17-18, 19-21, with Madduwattas' response, obv.22-27, all laid under oath. Further stipulations under oath were added, as direct speech of the "father of My Sun", obv.28-41, 43-44. Whether or not the "speeches" were committed to a "tablet of the oath" or recorded in writing only for future ref. by the Hitt. King, the declarations constituted a sworn contract.

38. See obv.42, 44-65.


41. See obv.79-82; obv.80-81, were cited above in Ch.V, §2.iv. as 12)a; for the concluding words see obv. 83.... ma-a-ha-an-wa-at-ta a-aš-šu nu-wa QA-TAM-MA 1-1a.

42. See obv.75.


45. For the "concentric" invasion see KBo VI 28 + (CTH 88), obv.1-15; Goetze, Kizz., pp.21-22; CAH^2 II, xxi(a), I. with n.1; Houwink ten Cate, 1970, p.78; Heinhold-Krahmer, 1977, pp.40-41.

46. For VBoT 2 (CTH 152) 1-13, s.a., Ch.IV, cit. 4).


50. EA 11 (to Amenophis IV/Akenaton), rev.16-22; Moran, l.c., pp.84-88; Pintore, 1978, pp.27-32; C.J. Gadd, CAH^2II, xviii, II. pp.7-8.

51. See EA 1, 36-42 (Ug., Hanigalbat, Gasga); Moran, l.c., p.60; Pintore, 1978, pp.13ff., 25, 51ff.; Helck, 1967, pp.350-351.

52. See Pintore, 1978, pp.11, 105-123, on marital exchang- es, with charts. See comm. in Gadd, l.c., pp.6-7.

53. EA 4 (from Kadašman-Enlil), 4-7; Moran, l.c., pp.68- 70; Pintore, 1978, pp.11, 27, 78, 95, 142.

54. EA 4, 10-22; Moran, l.c.; Pintore, 1978, p.27.

55. See C. Desroches-Noblecourt, Ug. III, Fig.I, and pp. 179-22; Cl.F.A. Schaeffer, l.c., p.165, preferred to see an Egyptian princess, but cf. SAP pp.34-36, arguing for a
noblewoman, with ref. EA 4, 4ff., and dating marriage before Akhenaton Year 12.


57. Desroches-Noblecourt, l.c.; cf. Pintore, 1978, p.79, and n.434; M. Drower, CAH II, xx1(b) §iv, p.10, "Amarna or immediately post-Amarna period"; but see SAP p.36.

58. The "Treaty" remains as a series of "Edicts" and texts listing tribute; see PRU IV II A 2, 3, pp.37-52; on these tablets see J. Nougayrol, l.c. pp.4-6; K. Klengel, GS III, p.234; also, Drower, l.c., pp.10-11.

59. Cf. RS 17.132 (PRU IV, pp.35-37) from Suppiluliumas to Niqmadu, and EA 49, and probably 46, 47, 48, from Niqmadu; Liverani, 1962, pp.28-30; SAP p.35.

60. See RS 17.227, 45, one of the "Treaty" texts (n.60 above), naming also aggressive Nuhasse and Mukis. For the influence of Mittanni in Syria even where Egypt was nominally in control, and the greater antiquity of the "Kurustama Treaty" than the Suppiluliumas I era, see Houwink ten Cate, 1963, pp.274-275; on Treaty, see also RGTC 6, p.229.

61. For the former see DS, 1956, p.68, Fragment 14. F (KBo XIV 3), III 36'ff.; pp.79-80, Fragment 18, I 1ff., esp. 23-31. For Suppiluliumas' accession possibly reported at the end of IV of KBo XIV 3 (= 2nd Tablet; DS p.53) or in col.I of "3rd Tablet" (= beg. of Fragment 15) see Bryce, 1989, p.21; Wilhelm, Boese, 1987, pp.79-80.


63. KUB XIV 15 (with parallel), IV 34-43; KBo IV 4, IV 56-69; AM pp.72-73; 140-141; KUB VI 44+ (CTH 68.D), I 3-10; SV II, pp.106-107; Heinhold-Krahmer, 1977, pp.179-190; del Monte, 1974, pp.356-357.

64. See esp. KBo IV 4, IV 57ff.; AM pp.140-141, with other ref. in Heinhold-Krahmer, l.c.; del Monte, l.c. Hatt. III recorded this campaign, fought by his grandfather after 20 years spent winning back the lands of Hatti, see KUB XIX 9, I 7'-13'; SAP pp.3-5; Bryce, 1989, pp.19-20.
66. KUB XXI 1, with dupl. (CTH 76), III 33-36; s.a., Ch.I, §4.xii. cit. 30).
70. See KBo III 4, III 10-7, AM pp.66-67, 221, discussed by Güterbock, 1983; p.135, accepting Goetze's rest.
71. See Heinhold-Krahmer, 1977, pp.122ff., and 146-147 with ref., KUB XXI 1, III 31-33 (=§17), and reading mma-nappa-DKAL; also p.156, on possible error here for Manapa-DX (/Tarhundas) - of the Seha River Land?
73. For mSUM-ma-DKAL = *Piyama-DKAL(-an), see NH 980, with p.317-319; on -radu see NH p.289 with n.32; on Piyamaradu, with text ref., see Heinhold-Krahmer, 1986, pp.47-62; 1983, pp.84-87; 1977, pp.382-383.
74. S.a., ref. in ns.33-36; note NH 635.2; on prev. dating and problems see Heinhold-Krahmer, 1977, pp.255ff.
75. Bo 86/299, IV 36; Otten, 1988a, pp.26-27; n. Otten's comm. (p.53) on the implication of IV 42 on the relationship of the more important officials named, to the Hitt. royal family.
76. See Singer, 1983b, pp.207-208 on KUB XXIII 13 (CTH 211), = "Offences of the Seha River Land", who prefers to see Hatt. III as the author.
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78. S.a., Ch.V, §2.1v. cit. 14); Ch.VI, §5.B. 9.2.-9.3. with cit. 22).
80. See Mellink's comm., l.c. p.139, with n.4, on Amenophis III, who
"acknowledged the prominence of the mainland Achaians by listing Mycenae among the Aegean places in his orb-it."
81. For this declaration, see cit. 1) below; s.a., Ch.I, §2. vi.1.2. with n.260, with ref. and renumbering of LL. and pars. in CTH 42.A. and B.
82. See KBo V 3, I 53 (= §8), between "all the gods of the army" and Allatum; Marduk noted here, also in Gurney, 1977, p.4; Laroche, 1947, p.102. For ritual and text dating see Starke, 1985a, pp.46-50.
83. For the former see KUB XIX 25 (CTH 44); SAP pp.1-2; for the latter see RS 17.227; 17.373 (PRU IV, pp.37ff.); SAP p.2, with ref.
84. Neu, 1979b, pp.64-84.
86. S.a., Ch.IV, §3.4.1.-4.2.
87. See KUB XXXIV 23, I (= Fragment 25), 24', with col.II (=Fragment 26) 11'ff. recording attacks against Karkamis and Waššuškanni; DS pp.83-85; SAP p.42.
88. The rest. UR.[GI7]-an in I 2. was once suggested by J.D. Hawkins; cf. SV II p.106, with UR.SAG-an; f.b.
89. For the clause cited see KBo V 3, I §3, 12-14; SV II pp.106-107; for expected loyalty, see l.c., §§2ff.
90. S.a., Ch.I, §2. vi. cit. 18).
91. L.c.
92. SV II pp.126-129; "Ogle" is a subjective tr. of anda au(s)- ("see in/on", e.g. KUB XXI 1, IV 45; HED 1, p.237) in §32' 69'-71' U-UL MISUHUR.LAL i-ia-at-ta-at a-na-a-la-an-kān an-da a-uš((-zi)) / [(A)l-BI DUTUL ma-kān im-ma GIS AB āz ar-ha a-uš-zī na-an wa-aš-tū[1] IŠ-BAT / zi-ik-wa-kān a-pu-u-un an-da ku-wa-at a-uš-ta

"Did not a 'woman with curled hair' walk by, and he (i.e. Mariyas) ogles (lit. 'looks in/on/at') her? But just then the father of My Sun looks out of the window and caught him (in) the sin (saying), 'Why did you ogle her?'

On MÚ.SUHUR.LAL s.a. Ch.III, §6.10.4; Ch.IV, §3.4.2.

93. S.a., Ch.IV, §3.4.1.-4.2. with ns.

94. Ibid.

95. On MÚ.NAPARTU, see f.b., §3.vi.1.1.-1.2.

96. See e.g. KUB XXI 42+ (CTH 255.1.A.), I 11ff.; IV 16-32; von Schuler, 1957, pp.24-25, 28; Goetze, 1957a, p.94.

97. S.a., Ch.III, §6.10.4.

98. CAD K p.72, citing NA and NB examples, with ref. also to L.3 of EA 61 from Abdi-Asirta of Amurru. Melchert, 1989, pp.97-101, has identified PIE *kwon- "dog", in the Hitt. "animate n-stem" ku-wa-aš, occ. in ritual contexts; note Starke, 1990, n.68: HL su-wa/i-ni- "dog".

99. G/t 35, obv.4-15; Balkan, 1957, pp.4ff.; Orlin, 1970, pp.97-100; s.a., Ch.III, §5.1.2. with n.303.

100. See KUB XXXVI 1, rev.4, 9, 24, 28; ed. Meyer, 1953, pp.112ff.; see also CAD D pp.68, esp. p.70; also, Daddi, 1982, pp.467-469, with text ref. and prev. lit. Note HL symbols L.370 "good" over L.386 "man", frequently engraved on personal seals.


104. Gütterbock, l.c., tr. LÚ.SIG5 as "leader".

105. See Liddell-Scott, p.4; Il. 1 275; Murray, op.cit. p.23, interpr. here,

"Neither do thou, mighty though thou art, seek to take
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from him the girl, "...

See also II. xi 345; KUB XIII 20 + (CTH 259), I 3; HED 1, pp. 92-93, on appizzi(ya)-, appezzi-.

106. Hayasa had apparently disappeared as an independent state by the time of Tuthaliyas IV; see RGTC 6, p.60.

107. See KBo III 4, III 93-95; AM pp.96-97.


110. For titles and PN of this Queen, see Gonnet, 1979, pp.69-70, Nos.174-178, with ref.; also, Beran, 1967, pp.69, esp. p.74, with ref.; see also Laroche, NH p.349; recently, P. Neve. "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 1990". AA (1991), Abb.33a (Mursilis II with "Tawananna III"), and p.333.


112. For translit. with rest. and tr. of obv.I 5'-13', see E. Laroche, Ug. III, p.102. Illness prevented the intended full ed. of KUB XIV 4, and KBo IV 8, by Cornelius (see comm. in Hoffner, 1983, p.187), whose interim ed., 1975, pp.27ff., unfortunately has errors in the transcription. The rest. there (pp.28, 29) of ishiul in obv.*2, 3, interpr. as a (marriage) contract by Suppiluliumas, depends upon the interpr. of LL.14'-15', and is not justified in context. For deposition by Mursilis II of his stepmother see KBo IV 8 + (CTH 71), II 5', 15', III 5, 8, 13, 20; ed. Hoffner, 1983, pp.187-192. Cf. KUB XIV 4 (CTH 70), with comm., Hoffner, l.c., pp.191-192; KUB XXI 19 (CTH 383), I 21-34 (Sürenhagen, 1981, pp.88-89).


"[And the seer says to her: 'You] have become the maidservant of Hebat, and of her the maidservant [you shall remain?] ...] and (of Hebat) the temple, the command and custom you shall observe!'"
For ed. see Beckman, 1983a, pp.144-145, 174. See also ishiul in sim. context: KUB XXXII 133 (CTH 482), obv.1 4-5, ... nu-za ha-az-zi-wi-ta iš-hi-Ú-14HI. A ku-e / I-NA È DING-IR. ĠE₇ kat-ta-an ha-ma-an-kat-ta
... "Die kultischen Handlungen (und) Vorschriften, die in dem Tempel der Schwarzen Göttin festgelegt ... waren..."

see Kronasser, 1963, p.58.

114. KUB XIV 4, II 3'-7'; Gütterbock, cited in Laroche, Ug. III, pp.102-103; tr. also in Hoffner, 1983, p.191.
115. See also Bin Nun, 1975, p.117.
116. A gift of the King; s.a., Ch.III, §6.4.2.-4.4.
117. As "šiwanzanni-priestess" for "(all) the gods" (KBo IV 84), see Hoffner, 1983, p.191. As GEME-KU-NU "your servant" of "(you) gods, my Lords", (des. by Hatt. III), see KUB XXI 19, obv. I, 1ff., esp. 16-23; Stürenhagen, 1981, pp.88-89; s.a., n.116.
119. On this subject, with ref., see e.g. Michalowski, 1982, pp.129-142; Steinkeller, 1981, pp.77-92; Kang, 1972, pp.264-270.
120. See Laroche, Ug. III, p.102. Note Hoffner, 1977, pp.152-154, for interpr. of tepnu-, without -za, here, and KBo IV 8, III 14, as "I demoted her/curtailed her power".
123. See Bryce, 1990, pp.97-105, with prev. lit.; f.b.
124. DS A (KBo V 6), III 7-27; 44-IV 15 // E₃ (KUB XXXIV 24 +), III 24-IV 1-39; Gütterbock, 1956, pp.94-98; KUB XXXI
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125. See Bryce, 1990, pp.97ff., with prev. ref., esp. to Kitchen, 1985, pp.43-44.


127. S.a. Ch.V, §1 with cit. 1)b. On Ankhesenamun see f.b.


129. KBo V 6, III 16-25; Gütterbock, 1956, pp.95-96. For the attribution of KBo XXVIII 51 (225/d) to correspondence between Suppiluliumas and the Egyptian court, see KBo XXVIII p.v, with ref. Edel, 1949, p.75, n.1, with ed. recently in Orientalistika 2 (1978), pp.33ff., which has been unavailable to the present author. Note, obv.4', [DUMU.NITA û-ka-x[ and 10']]ta-al-tap-ra mGISPA.L[Ú .

130. Cf. KUB XXXIV 24 +, III 24-25; KUB XIX 4, 6'ff.; Gütterbock, 1956, pp.96, 107-108; KUB XIV 8, 22'-23'; Goetze, 1929, pp.210-211; Bryce, 1990, pp.100, 105; 1989, p.21; SAP p.48. Desroches-Noblecourt, 1971, pp.202-212, argues that it was not the vizier Ay, who would have known of and favoured the Queen's request to Hatti, but General Horemheb—who succeeded Ay—who organised the assassination.

131. KUB XIX 20 (CTH 154), ed. as No.208 in Hagenbuchner, 1989 2, pp.304-309; see comm. in Bryce, 1990, pp.100, 105.


133. Lex.Aeg. IV, col.90; V, col.837-841 (Semenkhkare); SAP p.11; Desroches-Noblecourt, 1971, pp.120-121; see l.c. pp. 78, 114, with fig.69, on Meketaten, 2nd daughter of Akhenaten, who married her father and died in childbirth.

134. Lex.Aeg. IV, col.90; V, col.837ff.

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136. See ref. in n.135 above, esp. Ray, l.c., and Fairman, l.c., pp.17-18, with ref. the blocks found in Hermopolis of which the majority had been removed from an original site in the Temple of Aten at Amarna. The relevant block is inscribed (acc. to Fairman) "King's son of his body, his beloved, Tutankhuaten".

137. S.a., ref. in ns.127, 128; also, Lex.Aeg. VI col.812, "the consanguinious relationship to the family of Amenophis III and IV/Akhenaten is assured," although the identity of the mother is uncertain. On the lock of Queen Tiye's hair (wife of Amenophis III) found in a tiny sarcophagus bearing her titles, with a small gold statuette of Amenophis III in one of its legs in a room off the burial chamber of Tutankhamun, see Desroches-Noblecourt, 1971, pp.65, 100, 186.


139. On the marriage see ref. in *Lex.Aeg.* I, col.162; on the still-born infants see Desroches-Noblecourt, l.c. pp. 65, 187, suggesting that these may have been necessary to the burial rites.

140. KUB XXXI 24 +, IV 35-39, tr. in Gütterbock, 1956, p.98.

141. KBo I 1 (CTH 51.I), obv.48-56; PD, pp.15-19; note, Wilhelm, 1982, pp.51-54.

142. KBo I 3 + (CTH 52.I), obv.1ff.; PD, pp.37ff.; note, Wilhelm, 1982, pp.52ff.

143. Cf. PD, pp.18-19; note tr. of LL.56-58, in del Monte, 1974, pp.357-358.

144. KBo I 1, obv.60-63; PD, pp.18-19.

145. On "concubines", permitted Šattiwaza, see f.b., §3. vi.1.2.

146. KBo I 3 +, obv.1ff.; see comm. on Šuttarna III and his father Artatama, Treaty partner of Suppiluliumas, in Wilhelm, 1982, pp.52-54.

147. KBo I 3 +, obv.23-24, .. LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG a-ka-an-na
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1q-ta-bi šum-ma mšu-ut-tar-na / ū [šum-ma K]UR URU mi-it-ta-
an-ni ú-ga-aš-ša-du a-na-ku ú-ul a-na-az-zu-uk-ka a-na DU-

148. DUB 1 KAM qa-ti ša mki-li DP-pa ša ri-ik-si-šu ū ša

149. Cf. KBo I 3 +, rev. 25-34, 44-53; I 1, rev.59-69; PD,
pp.50-57; 32-35.

150. KBo I 3 +, rev.35-39; 53-58; PD pp.53-57.

151. KBo I 3 +, rev.61; cf. the "blessings" passage, KBo I
1, 70-75, (PD pp.34-36) beg.:

"But if you, Prince Šattiwaza, [and you Hurrians] guard
this contract and oath, you, Šattiwaza, with your wife,
the daughter of the King of Hatti, ..."

152. KBo I 3 +, rev.59-62; PD pp.56-57.

153. See Korošec, 1931, pp.90-91.

154. KBo I 1, obv.I 64'-65'; PD pp.18-19; Korošec, 1931,
p.43, passim.

155. S.a., 1.3. with n.147.

156. KBo I 8 (CTH 92), obv.19-21; PD pp.128-129.

157. S.a., Ch.II, §2.4.1.,-4.3; APPENDIX I.

158. KUB XXI 1 (CTH 76), obv.65'-69'; SV II, pp.54-57;
Goetze, 1930b, p.154. For Allogram see HZ Nos.100, 344.


160. Cf. KBo V 3 +(CTH 42. A), III 79, has MNAP-ŠAH-ma,
note in SV II, p.128, n.11, while KUB XIX 44 +(Copy B),
rev.49 (559/u 7') has MNAP-TIR₅-TI-[A-ma-a]t-ta, with
rest. in Otten, Rüster, 1972, pp.102-103, with n.1.

161. S.a., n.160.

162. KBo I 1, obv.60; PD pp.18-19; Goetze, 1930b, p.156.

163. CAD ḇ pp.336-337.

164. See the words of Hatt. III, KUB I 1 +(CTH 81), III
40'-44',

"Since in that respect (i.e. the death of Muwatallis
II) there was not a legitimate son (and heir) for my
brother, I took up Urhi-Tešub, son of a concubine (DUMU
E-ŠE-B)R-TI) and [established] him as Lord in Hatti. I
laid all Hattusas in his hand, and he was [Great King]
in the Hatti lands."

See Otten, 1981, pp.20-21, 39, 49, 55. Cf. stipulation in
7f. below; Otten, Kühne, 1971, pp.8-10; 37; Goetze, 1930b,
pp.155-156.


166. See CAD N1 pp.324-325, (napṭaru/napturu, naptartu) "person with certain privileges"; p.326 naptiru (napṭaru <paṭaru/TUH), "substitute, replacement". See also Goetze, 1930b, p.155.

167. As considered by Friedrich, SV II, p.160.

168. In his ed. Schwartz, 1947, p.37, tr. this line
"the king and queen, the ladies (and) children of secondary rank"

Note Archi, 1975a, p.85, tr. this pass. with "... le spose, la figliolanza"; but cf. Otten, Kühne, 1971, p.37, with "pahhuarsai-Gemahlinnen". Note, Beckman, 1986, p.24, n.61, on "the class/rank" of these women, ref. "Güterbock, apud Kellerman, Diss. pp.65-66 (all the wives of the king but the queen)."

169. The unusual spelling is noted in Otten, Kühne, l.c., in this late copy of an OH historical text.

170. S.a., n.169.

171. Otten, Kühne, l.c., suggest the spelling (-re-es) may be due to a "Schreibfehler".

172. For translit. and tr. see Otten, Kühne, 1971, pp.8-11.

173. Obv.II 16-27; Otten, Kühne, 1971, pp.10-11. For LL. 16-18, see also cit. 14) in Ch.V.

174. See Otten, Kühne, 1971, pp.10-11, tr. L.29,
"Soll ich denn einen Bastard schützen?! Soll ich das (Anliegen) aber eines Bastardensohnes vertreten?"
see p.38 on  kupyatin  kupta "er hat auf Verrat gesonnen"; cf. Starke, 1990, p.64, CL kupyattī- "Verschwörung", "deverbale Substantive mit dem Suffix -tti-".

175. See also Goetze, 1930b, p.157, where the translit. of L.29 differs slightly from that of Otten, Kühne. Cf. HW1 p.154, "nicht regierungsfähiger Königsohn(?)".


177. On the Hitt. pahhur and CL pahur see Starke, 1990, pp.158, 346, 531, 570ff., with prev. ref..

178. KUB II 1 (CTH 682), II 35', [pa]-ah-hu-na-aš ha-aš-
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š-a-[š LÚ pa]-hu-ru-la-š, cited in Daddi, 1982, p.146; note ibid., citing LÚMÉS pahuneas "men of the fire", i.e. attendants, in KBo V 11 (CTH 263), I 21.

179. Cf. spelling pa-ah-hu-wa-ar- in KUB XXIX 1, III 42, and Hitt. pa-ah-hu-wa-ar "fire" in KUB VII 60 (CTH 423), II 11, note in Starke, 1990, pp.571-572, with ref., as possible evidence for an original *pahuar from which the CL pa(a)hu(u)r derives, with single -h-, although the Hitt. pahuyar and pahur might result from reformation after the oblique stem. The spelling pa-hur- in KUB XXIII 1+, II 29, in a context of glossenkeil Luwianisms might be significant.

180. On the importance of the hearth and hearth fire in Hitt. royal ritual see Archi, 1975a, pp.77-87 (but see n.160 above), esp. pp.83-84 on KBo III 27, obv. 22'-27'.


182. S.a., n.168.

183. As related principally by Mursilis in his Annals, CTH 61, with lit.; see also Cornil, 1987, p.12.

184. On Muwatallis, see above, §3.1.1.1.-1.2; on Matanazi, s.a., Ch.VI, §5.B.9.2.

185. S.a., Ch.I, §4.xii. cit. 30).

186. See KBo I 24+(CTH 166), a letter discovered at Boğazköy from Ramesses II (obv.2-3) a-na kuḫ-pa-an-ta-D KAL? / LUGAL KUR mi-ra-a, soon after his Treaty with Hatt. III (CTH 91); see comm. by Heinhold-Kramer, 1977, pp. 211, 240-242, with ref.; also, Houwink ten Cate, 1983-84, pp.67-68, with n.96; recent ed. Wouters, 1989, pp.226-234.

187. Beckman, 1983a, pp.253-254, with n.16, for obv.8-13, 16 - rev.5; note ref. to Edel on KBo XXVIII 30, in KBo XXV-III, p.v.

188. Not even "fifty years" as Hatt. had written; see Beckman, l.c.

189. See Singer, 1983b, p.208, with sim. comm., noted as "highly tentative" in his recent study of Masturis (with KUB XXIII 100), by Houwink ten Cate, 1983-84, pp.63-68.
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194. See AU, for photograph of tablet by Ehelolf; also p.204-205, 239.
195. E.g. AU p.207; Gätterbock, 1983c p.137. See recent general comm. on related terms of address in letters, Hagenbuchner, 1989 2, pp.43-44; prev., Otten, 1956, pp.179ff. Note KBo XXVIII 46 from Ramesses II to the Hitt. prince mka-an-nu-ut-ta whom he addresses as DUMU-IA "my son"; see comm. in KBo XXVIII p.v, with ref. Otten, 1979, pp.314-317 for ed., who suggests the PN recalls Kurunta of Tarhuntassa; and Edel, who identifies the prince with mna-an-nu-uti DUMU.LUGAL, witness in KBo IV 10 +(CTH 106), rev.28.
196. For discussion see f.b., APPENDIX II.
198. See Hagenbuchner, 1989 2, No.335, pp.446-447, for ed., and brief comm.: obv.11'-14' are rendered: ša KUR URU mi-it-ta-an-ni[x] / ki-i-me-e a-bu-ia a-na ši[=ma-ti-šu illik x] / ū a-na-ku KUR URU mi-it-t[a-an-ni x ] / ū-ma-ah-hi-ru (after -ah- an ū has been erased or damaged, which partly erased also the ūḫīl).
200. S.a., Ch.V, §2.1v.2.2. with cit. 12)e and n.76.
201. KUB XXI 5 +(CTH 76.B), III 24-26; HED 1, pp.64-65; HW2 I, p.80.
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203. Wilhelm, 1982, p.54; Houwink ten Cate, l.c., p.78, "Sattiwaza, presumably grandfather of Wasasatta".

204. For text, see Grayson, AR, pp.136-137; Weidner, AfO 5 (1928-29), pp.89-99; AfO 6 (1930-31), pp.21-22. For dating see Munn-Rankin, CAH^2 II, xxv, pp.6-7; cf. Wilhelm, l.c., for different view, and tr. §§392-393 (p.55). See also, Houwink ten Cate, l.c., with tr. in part, pp.71-72; 77-79, placing arguments for Šattuara I or Wasasatta as the King of Hanigalbat in the Alaksandus Treaty, which he dates after Qades.

205. See Weidner, AfO 5 (1928-29), p.90. obv.35-36, with transl. of ab-be- as "Vorfahren"; Grayson, l.c., "his (Uasashatta's) fathers".


209. S.a. ref. in n.195, and f.b.


212. For ed. see Hagenbuchner, l.c., No.211, pp.310-312; note obv.14-15, [x] ū ma-ri-ig-ga-i-li / [x tup-pa ša m]a-mi-ti ū tup-pa ša-na-a; on prince Nerriqqaili, NH 887, f.b. 213. See Munn-Rankin, l.c., p.6, with ref.

seines Palastes".

215. For tr. see Grayson, l.c., pp.183-184; Wilhelm, 1982, p.56, who thinks Wasašatta escaped from the Assyrian King and reconsolidated his kingdom, dates this to after the Hatt. III - Ramesses II Treaty.

216. See e.g. Korošec, 1931, pp.66ff., esp. 80-90, on obligations and rights of the Hitt. vassal, acc. to the Treaties; s.a., n.211.

217. IBoT 34, obv.12-13; see Hagenbuchner, l.c., pp.313-315. KBo XXVIII 65 (2539/c), rev.5'-6', }x URUta-i-te 1-na x[ / ]x-šu 1a-a û-še-ši-[ib?]; see Güterbock, SBo II, pp.37ff.; comm. in Hagenbuchner, l.c., No.210, p.310.

218. Cf. KUB III 80, obv.4'; Hagenbuchner, l.c., No.212, pp.312-313. KBo XXVIII 65, obv.1; see Güterbock, l.c. esp. pp.38, 54.

219. See Hagenbuchner, l.c., pp.312-313.

220. KUB III 80, obv.8'-10'.


222. KBo I 10 + KUB III 72, obv.7-10; for rec. ed. see Hagenbuchner, l.c., No.204, pp.28-300, with previous ref.


224. See Klengel, 1979, pp.87ff.

225. Cf. translit. and tr. this pass. in Helck, 1963, pp.91-92; Stefanini, 1964a, pp.12-13; also CHD p.155, 2', tr. the first sentence of 53'-54' as a question; Beckman, 1983b, p.109, n.56, with 54'-55',

"And they (the marriage arrangements) were indeed settled in regard to the King of Babylonia".


226. See KUB XXI 38, obv.59'-60'; Helck, 1963, p.92.

227. On the latter see KBo I 10+, obv.59ff.; Hagenbuchner, l.c., pp.283-284, 290-291; Rowton, 1966, pp. 244ff.,
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esp. p.250. Hagenbuchner, l.c. p.296, comm. that the Treaty might have been concluded already by Muwattallis only to be continued by Hatt.; note Ünal, 1974a, pp.159-160, on friendly rels. between Urhi-Tešub and Kadašman-Turgu. Pintore, 1978, p.71, sugg. that the hostility of Itti-Marduk-balaḫu to Hatt. reflected that of Kadašman-Turgu's widow, as sister of Urhi-Tešub.

228. See Helck, 1963, p.91, Rost, 1956, p.33, Beckman, 1983b, p.109, all with an "affirmative" tr. of the rhetorical question implicit in the phrase UL(/natta) imma, on which see Melchert, 1985, pp.185-187. Cf. AU p.253, and Stefanini, 1964, pp.11-12. HED 2, p.360 (to which Melchert, l.c. ref. for this line) tr. obv.48 (as one sentence), "'were they not a discredit (lit. not any renown) to me before the men of Hatti?'"

229. On UL(-) introducing a rhetorical question see n.225 above. Even if obv.48 contains only one rhetorical question (and not two, as we believe), the force of the double negative, in the rhetorical UL imma, and in UL kuit esta "not what was?", would surely have the affirmative force of a sim. question in Eng., despite its colloquial and "ungrammatical" appearance; note CHD p.415. d'.

230. See Bo 86/299, II 85-86; Otten, 1988a, pp.20-21; further ref. to this Treaty f.b., §4.viii.2.1.-2.2.

231. See Hagenbuchner, l.c., No.205, pp.300-302, for ed., with prev. ref.


233. For comm. on this period with text ref., see Munn-Rankin, CAH² II, xxv, pp.11-13.


236. On the conquest and occupation by Assyria, see e.g. Munn-Rankin, l.c. pp.15ff., with ref..

237. See Hagenbuchner, l.c. Nos.197-201, pp.270-275, and note KBo XXVIII 59 (No.196, pp.269-270), from the King of Assyria, dated by the limu to Salmaneser I or Tukulti-Ninurta.

238. Obv.1' mšu-x[½/ followed by a dividing line, 2' m tu-ut-ha½/.
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239. See KBo XXVIII 64, obv.3', 4'-4a'; 62, obv.15'; also, 62, obv.4', 5', 10', 12'ff.; Hagenbuchner, l.c., pp.272-275.

240. For Hitt. texts see CTH 91. For rec. tr. of these and Egyptian inscriptions, see Edel, 1983, pp.135-153; note Kitchen, 1982, pp.75-79, 250-251.


244. See Kitchen, 1982, pp.89-110; Pintore, 1978, p.41, n.202, with ref..

245. For ref. see Kitchen, 1982, p.251.


247. On KUB III 37 + KBo I 17 (CTH 159), from Ramesses to Hattusilis, see ed. in Edel, 1953a, pp.31ff.; also Kitchen, 1982, p.83, tr. obv.6-11, 20-24.


250. Tr. also in Kitchen, 1982, p.88.

251. Cf. obv.71-78 and obv.57-71; see comm. on this text and its implications for dating, Rowton, 1966, pp.244-249.

252. Note Hattusilis' hostile response in KUB XXIII 102 (CTH 171; Hagenbuchner, 1989 2, No.192, pp.260-264), I 5-8, to Adad-narari's proposal that he should visit the Amanus Mountains; see Munn-Rankin, CAH² II, xxv pp.7-13, on Hitt. relations with this King and with Salmaneser I.

253. The presence of a fragment of an alabaster vase with the cartouche of Ramesses II at Ras Shamra/Ugarit, a Hitt.
vassal state, may represent an attempt to entice Ug. back to the Egyptian camp, but cf. Drower, CAH\(^2\) II, xxii(b), p.13. Note Goetze, CAH\(^2\) II, xxiv p.47, concluding that the marriage

"only testifies to enduring good relations between the two powers (after the Treaty)".

Note Pintore, 1978, noting on p.43,

"che i redattori egiziani sono fortemente condizionati dal loro angolo di visuale, e non sul solo piano ideologico".

Note Rowton, 1966, p.247, ref. Edel and Helck (n.27), on tension between Egypt and Hatti after the Treaty.

254. See Kitchen, 1982, pp.89-91, 251, with ref.

255. KBo XXVIII 23 (CTH 158 + 2244A/c + 2244B/c + 2358/c), obv.37ff.; see f.b.


257. L.c., pp.88, 98-111; Desroches-Noblecourt, Ug. III, p.202, with n.3; P. Montet, Tanis. Douze années de fouilles dans une capitale oubliée du delta Égyptien. Paris. 1942, pp.76-77, and Fig.15, illustrating the base and lower legs of the colossus of Ramesses with the tiny figure in relief of the Hitt. princess standing behind the left leg, identified by her cartouche and description; Meryetamun also figures on the statue as a "Great Royal Wife". See also P. Montet, Les énigmes de Tanis. 1952, Fig.11.

258. See Kitchen, 1982, pp.15ff.

259. L.c., p.110; Desroches-Noblecourt, l.c.

260. S.a., §3.1i.1.1.ff.

261. See Edel, 1949, pp.75-81; now pub. in KBo XXVIII are frag. exx. noted by Edel, for which see H.M. K"ummel, l.c. pp.1iv-v; f.b.

262. KBo XXVIII 23 (with "copy" to Hattusilis, KBo XXVIII 21), rev.70-71; Edel, 1949, p.80 with n.3; KBo XXVIII p.iv. See rev.63-66, e.g., illustrating Hattusilis' and Puduhepas' joint concern for the "sons of Masniyalis": 64... umma-a LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ha-at-ti iq-bi 65. [a-n]a ia-ši ü MĪ.LUGAL.GAL ša KUR ha-at-ti taq-ta-bi a-na ia-ši 66. [u]m-
Thus the Great King of Hatti has said to me (i.e. Ti-
li-Tešub, the Hitt. messenger) and the Great Queen of
Hatti, you have said to me, 'Say thus to the King, our
brother, 'Deliver the sons of Masniyals!''

—a concern recognised by Ramesses, as noted above.

263. On these texts and points see Helck, 1963; Stefanini,
1964a, pp.62-63, n.1; Houwink ten Cate, 1974, p.140 with
n.63; f.b.

264. E.g., s.a., §3.iii.1.1.ff.

265. On Puduhepa's "career"; see Otten, 1975, pp.7-33; cf.
Goetze, CAH^2 II, xxiv, p.48.

266. See below, Ch.VIII, §3.

for other ref. see Kitchen, 1982, p.251; f.b.


270. NBC 3934, obv.7'-8', 13'-15'; Goetze, 1947c, pp.241,
244, 246-247; Kitchen, 1982, p.82.

271. KUB XXI 38, obv.53'-54'ff.; s.a. §4.iii.1.2. cit. 8).

272. KUB XXI 38, rev.7-12; Helck, 1963, p.93; KUB XXVI 89,
9-14; Stefanini, 1964a, pp.62-63, n.1; Kitchen, 1982, p.84;

273. KUB III 63 (CTH 159), obv.12-20; Edel, 1953a, pp.52;
See also KBo XXVIII 23; note f.b., 6.1.

274. KUB XXI 38, obv.7'ff., esp. 15'-16'; Helck, 1963,
pp.88, 95; Kitchen, 1982, p.84.

275. KUB XXI 38, obv.10'-11'; Kitchen, l.c.; 18'-20'; f.b.

276. Kuentz, 1925, pp.231-232, n.3.

277. KUB XXI 38, obv.17'-20'; Helck, 1963, p.89; Pintore,
1978, p.38.

278. On KBo XXVIII 21, 22, 23, see KBo XXVIII p.iv; also,
f.b. with n.281.

279. KBo XXVIII 23, obv.30. [um-m]a-a a-na f^a-ha-ti-ia-ma
^u ^a f^a-ha-ti ta-aš-pu-ri 31. [a-na i]a-ši aš-šum DUMU.MUN-
US ^a um-ma-a DUTU i-te-ip-ša 32. [šu-bi-1]1-ti-ia ša a-na-
ku ag-ba-aš-šu it-ta-din 33. [a-n]a ūtu[-ub] šÀ-ia f^a-ha-ti
kán-na ta-aš-pu-ri 34. [a-n]a ia-ši[ S]IG₃-qî dan-niš te₇-
mu an-nu-u še DUTU 35. i-pu-šu ki-i id-di-nu a-na ṭu-ub ŠA
see Edel, 1953b, p.268, ref. obv.34.
280. E.g. terhatu: EA 29, LL.22-23; Moran et al., 1987, p.
180; Edel, 1953b, p.269; kusata: VBoT 1 (OTH 151), obv.22-
23. Note kussan ([HW] p.120) in KUB XXI 38, obv.35' = "when
(we shall see)", not "Brautgabe" (cf. Helck, 1963, p.90).
281. Obv.26. [D]UTU ū DIM i-na-an-di-nu ŠEŠ-tam-ni ša-
lam-ni 27. ū i-na te₇-mi an-ni-i ba-ni-i ša ni-nu i-na ŠA-
šu 28. [a-]di dá-ri-ti ū DUMUMES KIN-ni it-ta-na-al-la-ku
29. [i-n]a be-ri-ni UGU ŠEŠ-ut-ti ū ša-la-ma ba-ni-i a-di
ga-ti.
282. Obv.37. DUTU ū DIM ... 39. ... a-na DUMU.MUNUS-š[u ]ū
i-na-di-nu-ši 40. [a]-na bi-it-ti LUGAL ŠEŠ-ki ū ši-[a-
]na be-el-tū-ti 41. [š]a KUR mi-ig-ri ū šu-nu i-na-[an]-di-
u a<-na> ṭu-ub ŠA-bi 42. [š]a f-a-na-ti-ia ū i-na-an-di-nu
a-na ṭu-ub ŠA-bi 43. [š]a LUGAL ŠEŠ-ki UGU te₇-mi ša šu-nu
ip-pu-šu-ni-iš-ši; for obv.39 see Edel, 1953b, p.268.
283. See Edel, 1953b, p.269, remarking the exact equiv-
alence of Akk. tabāku here to Hitt. lilhuwaı-.; cf. VBoT I,
obv.14. nu-uš-ši li-il-hu-wa-i ī-an SAG.DU-ši; CHD pp.59,
a.; Starke, 1981a, p.223; EA 29, LL.22-23, it-ta-ab-ku;
284. See J.-M. Durand, E. Laroche, "Fragments hittites du
Louvre", pp.74-78, in Mémorial Atatürk, 1982.; Edel, 1953b,
286. KUB III 37 + KBo I 17//KUB III 57, obv.(C)19... a-na-
ku] 20. [a-]na-an-din a-na DUMU.MUNUS-š[ [NAM.RA MESA
gudMES UDUMES] 23. ANšE.KUR.RA MESA; Edel, 1953a, pp.31ff.; on the
287. S.a., n.286; cf. Edel, l.c., pp.32ff., for attestations
288. L.c.; for equivalence of "horses, cattle, sheep"
named on the tablets and on the "marriage stele", see Edel,
1953a, p.48 with ref.; see Pintore, 1978, p.42 with n.207.
289. See Kuentz, 1925, p.232, L.32-34; Pintore, l.c.
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290. EA 22, IV 43; Knudtzon, 1915, p.178; Moran et al, 1987, pp.123-136; see Pintore, 1978, pp.120-122ff., who regards this as terhatu, "della dote 'ex marito'"; f.b., on the logogram, for which the reading remains uncertain.


292. HED 2, pp.400-401.

293. For rec. ed. see Hagenbuchner, 1989 2, pp.336-337, No.228, but expressing doubt as to author and addressee; for comm. on origin of letter, and the statement, see Houwink ten Cate, 1974, p.140, n.63; Pintore, 1978, p.39.


297. Cf. Pintore, 1978, n.157; Güterbock, 1983a, p.160; Helck, l.c., "verheiraten"; on handai- see f.b. Ch.VIII, §3.2.3


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ri-i [ . Note Pintore, 1978, p.141, with n.811 and ref. to CAD A₁ pp. 293b, 41b.
300. Cf. comm. in Meissner, l.c., p.63; Pintore, 1978, p.78.
301. S.a., Ch.IV, §2. n.73, ref. KBo I 38 (CTH 304), rev. 3; see ref. in Ch.IV, §2.17.1., n.125.
302. For latter see HED 2, p.400-401.
305. See Edel, 1949, p.206, 207; Houwink ten Cate, 1983-84, pp.75, with n.125; RGTC 6, p.367.
312. See Kitchen, 1982, pp.102, 216.
313. Ed. PD 9, pp.126-129; see comm. on KBo XXVIII 116 (408/u) and 117 (1243/u) in KBo XXVIII p.vii.
315. On this, see e.g. KUB XXIII 1 + (CTH 105), obv.I 28-ff.; Otten, Kühne, 1971, pp.6-9; GS II pp.209-210, 309-310.
316. For ed. see Stefanini, 1964b, pp.22ff.. Note obv.13' murr-ši-DINGIR-LIM-1š-ma-an-ši AD-DIN but obv.11' [murr-ši-DINGIR-LIM-1š-ma-an I-NA KUR-ŠU EGIS-pa tar-ni-eš-ta; see also Houwink ten Cate, 1974, p.128, n.28.
317. Cf. KUB XXIII 1 +, obv.I 39-45; see f.b.
318. See Klengel's rest., GS II pp.215-216, note Meriggi's opinion (1962, pp.70) that either Hatt. or one of his successors was the author. Cf. Houwink ten Cate, 1974, pp.127-
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128.

319. Stefanini, l.c. pp.28-29, who attributed text to an elderly Mursilis II, considered a double dethronement.

320. See KBo I 8 +, obv.14-15; PD 9, pp.130-131; GS II, p.310 and n.9, on the "house" in Hatti given to Bentešina. S.a., Ch.V, §2.iv.4.5.

321. On rels. see f.b., n.327.

322. On Sapilis see GS II pp.310-311.

323. Note, KUB XXIII I + (CTH 105); I 21-22, 44-45; Otten, Kühne, 1971, pp.6-9, 29-30; KUB III 14 + (CTH 62), I 2ff.; SV I, pp.1-5; KBo I 8, obv.6-9; PD 9, pp.124-125; Klengel, GS II pp.302, 307.

324. See King Bentešina of Amurru as a witness in Bo 86/299, IV 36; Otten, 1988a, pp.26-27.

325. KBo I 8 +, obv.30-31; PD 9, pp.128-131; GS II p.313. On the MI.GAL/rabītu etc., see below, §4.v.2.1.ff.

326. S.a., §3.vi.2.1. with cit. 7)f.; f.b., §4.v.2.4.

327. See Pintore's comm., 1978, p.75, "sul piano delle curiosità di costume", that Tuthaliyas' sister whom he gave in marriage to Sausgamuwa, was the latter's maternal aunt; note also Kühne, 1973b, p.182. On incest s.a., Ch.IV, §3.

328. S.a., Ch.V, §2.iv.3.2.ff.

329. L.c., with cit. 15).

330. Cf. from Bentešina, KBo XXVIII 54 (65/a + 282/a), to "the Great Queen, my Lady", naming m̄pi/(pa/be)-ha-aš-tu₉ (obv.4, 12, 17); ed. Hagenbuhner, 1989 2, No.263, pp.375-377; KBO VIII 16 (CTH 193), to "My Sun", naming the "messengers of My Sun and Egypt" m̄be-ha-aš-du ẑ m̄na[-ah-ha, obv. 6-8; ed. Hagenbuhner, l.c. No.260, pp.370-372. See also KBo XXVIII 53 and 56, from Bentešina to "My Sun", and No.55 to the "Great Queen"; Hagenbuhner, l.c., Nos.261, 262, 264, pp.373-377; note Klengel, GS II pp.217-218.

331. See comm. in e.g. Klengel, GS II pp.320ff.


333. S.a., Ch.V, §2.iv.2.3. and 3.1; note witness list in Bo 86/299, IV 30ff., with m̄a-uš-ga-mu-u-wa LU₈ HA-DA-A-AN LUGAL (L.32) and "Bentešina, King of Amurru" (L.36).
334. See comm. on Ug. in Drower, CAH² II, xxiv, §§ IV, V; on the KRT myth, see l.c. pp.29-30 with ref.
335. See esp. Pintore, 1978, pp.78-87, 127-128, 131-132, for detailed and valuable comm. on Ugarit's interdynastic marriages, to which we give frequent ref., although not always in agreement with his conclusions.
336. Note Pintore, 1978, pp.79-80, with n.440, for comm. on the basis of RS 15.86 and 16.276, that princesses of Ugarit married only local persons.
337. See RS 16.146+161, PRU III, Pl. LI; pp.182-186; PRU IV, p.120, n.1, ref. RS 17.372A+360A, Pl. LXII; pp.139-141.
338. For former text see PRU III, pp.13-14, and p.13, n.1; Pintore, 1978, pp.80-81; for latter, see RS 17.362, RS 17.35, RS 17.352, = "dossier" V B + frags., PRU IV pp.120-124.
339. RS 17.352 (before Ini-Tešub), obv.1-10. For Ammistamru (II), son of Niqmepa, see e.g. RS 16.256, PRU III p.159.
340. Note RS 17.352, esp. obv.4-7; 15ff., where Ammistamru is not accorded any rel. to Hišmi-šarruma or mIr-Dšarruma, while in 17.35 (before Tuthaliyas), 11, he is termed "their brother". Cf. Nougayrol, PRU IV, p.120, who thought Ammistamru was the youngest son of Niqmepa and Ahat-milku; also Pintore, 1978, pp.81, 82.
342. S.a., Ch.V, §2.1v.3.2.ff.; f.b., 2.3. with ref.
343. RS 17.159, 22-27, also, 32-38; PRU IV pp.126-127.
344. L.c., LL.27-42.
345. See Nougayrol, PRU IV p.186; also, RS 18.280, 5' NA4KIŠIB mi-b[i-ra-na ] 6' DUMU m-a-miš-tam-r[i ] 7' LUGAL KUR URURu-g[a-ri-it ]; PRU VI, pp.42-43, with n.1 on p.42; Drower, l.c. pp.16-17.
346. See RS 17.116, 8-18, note esp. 16-18; PRU IV pp.132-133; RS 34.124, 15-33.
347. See RS 17.372A+360A; 17.228; note also 16.270, 18.06 +17.365; PRU IV pp.134ff.
348. See e.g. RS 1957.1 (ed. Fisher, 1971, pp.11ff.), in which S. received mIbidda rabIti "daughter of the Great
Lady", his sister, and wife of Ammistamru, from the latter, banishing her then from his Palace and Amurru to another city; RS 17.116 (PRU IV pp.132-134), in which S. set her "with her brothers" (18'-19'); RS 16.270 (PRU IV pp.134-136), in which S. yielded DUMU.MUNUS Mi-ra-bi-ti to Ammistamru's vengeance.

349. Cf. RS 17.372A+, obv.5'-7'; RS 17.116, 21-22; PRU IV pp.139-140, 132-133, with n.1 to p.133. S.a., RS 34.136, rev.25-30, cited and discussed in Ch.V, §2.1v.3.2.
351. RS 17.226; 17.335; PRU IV, pp.208-210; s.a., Ch.V, §2.1v.4.1.
354. For "Niqmadu (III), son of Ibiranu, king of Ugarit", see RS 18.21, 2-3, 32-33; PRU VI, pp.44-46.
356. S.a., §4.iii. cits. 8), 9). On Zulabi see RGTC 6, p.517, with ref.
357. See f.b., Appendix III.
359. E.g. Tuthaliyas (married to Nikalmati) and son(-in-law) Arnuwandas (married to Ašmunikal), of the "Annals", CTH 142, 143; s.a., §3.2.1; Ch.VI, §3.12.2.
360. See Klengel, 1968, p.73, with ns. and ref.; for dating see Klinger, Neu, l.c.
361. See Klengel, 1968, pp.66, 70-71; Bossert, 1944, p.17.
362. The MH datings note in Klinger, Neu, l.c., have clarified the problem explained in Klengel, 1968, pp.71-73.
363. See KUB XXI 40, III 5' "be]fore /in the time of Urhi-Tešub [" and Bentešina (12'), with mention of "'your
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[daughter to me" (3'), "my brother" (20', 28'), and "of the Great King, my brother, (and of) the Que[en, my sist­
er(?)" (25'), sugg. this was the Hitt. draft of a letter from Hatt. to an equal status King; see 1.2.-2.1. below; note Singer, 1985, pp.116-118ff., on KBo VIII 23 (CTH 209), 6'-19'.

364. Translit. in Ünal, 1974b, pp.128-129; comm., 1974a, p.121. N., and attributed to Hatt. III in Klengel, 1968, p.71; RLA V, p.215. Note Pintore, 1978, p.74, who thought this was probably a letter from Hatt., with LL.10'-11' sugg. an interdynastic marriage; Houwink ten Cate, 1974, p.150, who thought text was "part of a draft of a royal letter"; Klengel, GS II, p.221. For L.7' note CHD p.37; for ku-wa-ia-an-ta which may be a "Hittite" deriv. of the CL vb kuwaiya- "fear", cf. KBo IV 14, II nu-ut-ták-kán am­me-e-el ku-wa-ia-ta-a pa-ra-a ne-ia-ru "Let my fear/danger be turned forth to you". Note other exx. from KBo IV 14 (CTH 123) among the CL derivs. of this vb in Starke, 1990, pp. 267-268. For L.11' see HED 2, p.303, "he made him his son-in-law".

365. A-NA tup-pi-ma-kán DUMU.MUNUS ŠUM-an ki[-it-ta-ru; Ünal, 1973, p.128; see also 17', ma-a-an ŠA DUMU.MUNUS ŠUM-an x[.

366. From the King of Hanigalbat, first ed. Klengel, 1963, pp.280-291; see further Klengel, 1968, p.71, with n.27, giving date as "at latest to the early years of Tuthaliyas IV". Ed. in Hagenbuchner, l.c. No. 213, pp.313-315. See f.b.

367. Rev.IV 9; see Otten, 1988a, pp.1-9, 53, with ref.

368. See discussion of the Kingdom of Tarhundassa in a forthcoming article (1993) by O.R. Gurney.

369. See Otten, 1988a, pp.7-9, for comparative list of same name witnesses in Bo 86/299, CTH 255 (see ed. Impar­atì, 1974, pp.5-209, with comm. on witnesses, pp.142-146), and CTH 106 (note Laroche, 1947-48, pp.40-48); note von Schuler, 1965b, pp.445ff., particularly 455-464, noted in Gurney, 1983, pp.98-99, with n.12.

370. Ari-Šarruma is not attested in CTH 225, which is more
a domestic rather than state document. The passage of time may be appreciated by comparison of witnesses' PN, e.g. Tattamaru, GAL UKU.ÜŠ GÜB-la-aš "Chief (of the) Armed Force, on the Left", in Bo 86/299, but simply DUMU.LUGAL "prince" in CTH 106, while Hattusa-DKAL GAL GESTIN "Chief (of the) Wine" in the former text was GAL UKU.ÜŠ GÜB-aš in the latter (not named in CTH 225).

371. Klengel, 1963, p.289, identifies Ehli-šarruma DUMU.LUGAL of KUB XL 96 (CTH 242), 24, with the son and successor of Ari-šarruma of Isuwa. For text see Košak, 1982, pp. 81-84; note also Hešnis (NH 373), DUMU.LUGAL (11), Tuttu (NH 1390.3) EN É A[-BU-US-SÍ] (18), the former acting as a witness only in CTH 106, while the latter acted for the Kurunta, Sahurunuwa and Ulmi-Tešub documents. See also e.g. PN in rel. text, KBo XVI 83 (CTH 242), II, Hešnis (9'), Hešmi-šarruma (5'), Kammaliya (8'); III, Sippa-zitis (3), Kurakura (4), Alalimi (12), all of which occur as witnesses in one or more of the above documents. Note m]Tuthaliya in KBo XVI 83, III 11.

372. See Bo 86/299, IV 31, Ini-Tešub; 32, Masduri; 36, Antallii; 36, Bentešina; Otten, 1988a, pp.26-29.

373. Based on the contemporaneity of Ari-šarruma with Hattusilis (see below) and Ehli-šarruma with Tuthaliyas; see Güterbock, KOR p.129; 1973a, p.140 with n.13, and ref. Klengel, 1963, pp.288ff.; Klengel, l.c. p.289, n.4, note that Salmaneser I would be the contemporary King of Assyria of IBOT I 34. Klengel, 1968, p.73, saw Ehli-šarruma as King at the end of the Kingdom Isuwa.


375. Güterbock, KOR Pls.40/37, 2A,2B; p.129.

376. KUB XV 1 (CTH 584 1.), III 48-55; XV 3 (CTH 584 2.), IV 5-12; Güterbock, 1973a, pp.139-140.


378. See Klengel, 1976, p.88; Güterbock, KOR Pls.40/37, 6, reading from center: lu-pa-k[i; pp.129-130; 1973a, fig.1, No.6; p.142, with n.24.

379. Klengel, l.c.
380. See comm. by Klengel, KUB LVI p.v, on this text, with ref. to J. de Roos, Hethitische geloften, pp.104ff., on Kilišhepa, which the pres. author could not obtain.

381. NH 22; cf. KUB XXI 38, rev.32; KBo IV 10, rev.32; Bo 86/299, IV 35; note KUB XIII +(CTH 295), IV 3; Werner, 1967, pp.40-41. KUB LVI 14, obv.14' preserves [x x-]za DUMU.MUNUS x x' .


383. Note, Sahurunuwas' deed of CTH 225, considered later than Bo 86/299 by Gurney, l.c., was changed by Puduhepa and Tuthaliyas early in his reign (Otten, 1988a, p.7 and n.20).

384. Recently ed. in Hagenbuchner, l.c., No.132, pp.181-182, with ref.; see also Klengel, 1976, pp.86-87.

385. NH 708.3; for text ed. see Stefanini, 1962, pp.22-36, doubting the identity of Lupakkis as LUKARTAPPU in obv.39; but note Daddi, 1977, pp.182-183 with n.60; see also Klengel, 1976, p.87 n.14. Ukiya was the origin of another scribe, Lila-[UR].MAH in KUB VII 20 (CTH 475), IV 7', noted in RGTC 6, p.451. KUB LVII 110, III 4'-6', records a generation after Halwa-zitit; see Archi, KUB LVII p.v.

386. NH 708.4; see Kohlmeyer, 1983, pp.74-80, for TAŞI A, with previous readings and ref.


388. UR/]Ux-da-ša INIM BAL A-NA mliš-ša-DXI; this could also be read: "matter of an offering/sacrifice". O. R. Gurney suggested the reading Ussu rather than Tarhundassa?


CHAPTER VIII.

1. S.a., Ch.IV, n.1, with ref. OInd. and OIr. marriage types.

2. S.a., Ch.VII, §3.iii.1.1.-3.0.

3. See below, §3.1.2.ff.
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4. S.a., Ch.VI, §3.11.1.-11.2.

5. On scribes with genealogies, see Mascheroni, 1984, pp.152-172; Beckman, 1983b, esp. p.105 with Fig. 3; Laroche, 1949b, pp.7-23.

6. As ritual participants, the former in IBoT III 1 (CTH 609), 23',26',34',38'; Daddi, 1982, p.312; the latter in KBo XI 52 (CTH 634), obv. 10'-13'; KUB XI 26 (CTH 669), V 6-7; Daddi, 1982, pp.448-449.

7. KUB XLVIII 118, obv.19.

8. S.a., Ch.II, §2.6.4.-7.1; Ch.V, §2.1v.2.2. with cit. 12)d; Ch.VI, §6.3.1.-3.2.


10. See Imparati, 1974, p.11.


12. See KBo IV 12 (CTH 87), rev.5'-8'; Goetze, 1925, pp.44-45; Daddi, 1982, p.110, with ref.; del Monte, 1975, p.6; also Mascheroni, 1984, p.167-169 on UR.MAH-zitis.

13. By Muwattallis II; see KBo IV 12, obv.17-19; Goetze, 1925, pp.42-43; Mascheroni, 1984, p.162; del Monte, l.c.

14. NH 809; KBo IV 12, obv.8-17, and ff.; Goetze, 1925, pp.40-43; Mascheroni, 1984, pp.160-161; del Monte, l.c.


16. See SHS 1.1.2. 149 and 183; SHS 1.1.2. 410; SHS 1.2. 3.9. (TARS) 40; note Beyer, 1982, Fig.11 a,b,c, with p.69 n.10. For comm. note Imparati, 1974, pp.12-14.

17. See Mascheroni, 1984, pp.171-172.

18. See KUB XXVI 43 +, obv.5; Imparati, 1974, pp.24, 43, with ref. As GAL UKU.UŠ.GUB-la-aš in Bo 86/299 and DUMU.LUGAL in KBo IV 10, see Otten, 1988a, p.8.

19. See KUB XXIII 85 (CTH 180), rev.3ff., ed. in Hagenbuchner, 1989 2, No.10, pp.15-16, with prev. ref.; s.a., Ch.I, §4.xv. cit. 34); Ch.V, §2.iii.3.4. with cit. 8).

20. KUB XIV 3 (CTH 181), II 73-74; s.a., Ch.II, §1.6.1. with cit. 5); AU pp.10-11.
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21. AU, ibid.; s.a., Ch.V, §2.iv.1.1.
22. S.a., Ch.IV, §3.4.1.
23. S.a., Ch.VII, §4.vi.3.1-3.2.
24. S.a., Ch.V, §2.iii.3.3 with cit. 7).
25. HG §§31, 32a,b, 33; s.a., Ch.VI, §2.1.1.ff.
26. S.a., Ch.VII, §1.1.1.
28. For Puduhepa as "your servant from long ago" (annalis GEME-KA) of the Sun goddess of Arinna, identified as Hebat, see KUB XXI 27 (CTH 384), I 1-7, Surenhagen, 1981, pp.108ff.; also Otten, 1975, pp.14, 20, with n.46.
30. KUB I 1+, III 3-4; Otten, 1981, pp.16-17; Beckman, 1983a, p.9 with n.47; on as(s)iyat "love", s.a., Ch.III, §3.v.1.2.2).
32. KBo VI 29, I 6-9; Goetze, 1925, pp.44-45; Lebrun, 1976, p.22; cf. KUB I 1+, I 12-21; Otten, 1981, pp.4-5.
33. For comparison, note the OInd. text, Māṇava Dharma Sāstra, Bk.3 (20-34), which recommended (23) its first 6 types of marriage for priests, and the last 4 for warriors whereas the "sages" (24) considered only 1-4 "good" for the priest and assigned only the rākgasa for the kṣatriya (warrior/ruler). We do not know whether other Hitt. prince-priests (e.g. MK Kantuzzilis and NK Telepinus) married women who were already dedicated priestesses.
34. KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.57-58; Beckman, 1983a, pp.9-10, with n.49; Helck, 1963, p.92. On handai- see f.b., 2.3.
35. L.c., obv.58-60; Beckman, l.c.; Helck, l.c.; s.a., Ch.III, §3.v.1.2.
36. Rev.15-16; Helck, 1963, p.93; see CHD p.370, nakkiya-
tar "dignity, importance, exalted status"; tr. this phrase "of my dignity".

37. Note KUB LVII 63 (Bo 2489+4008), II (with dupl. KUB LVII 60 (Bo 92), 16-25, in which Puduhepa may have been "your Míta-wa-an-na-an-na-an-da-an, your 'mother-of-god' (priestess)" of the Sun god(dess)?: 21. Míta-wa-an-na-an-na-an-da-an 22. Śi-wa-an-za-fan-nla-an-[t]a-an. A complementary (to "Kinship and Marriage") study of the Hitt. Míta-wa-an-na-an-na-an-da-an examines her role as priestess within the royal family and the state. Note recent ed. of these texts in Archi, 1988.

38. See Otten, 1975, 7-33; on her international activity, note comm. in Singer, 1985, p.116.


40. See HED 1, p.117; also, Tischler, 1972, p.272, with ref.

41. Cf. Helck, 1963, p.92, "mit deinem Bruder vermählt"; Stefanini, 1964a, p.14, "e me um(d)rono in matrimonio"; Beckman, 1983a, p.9, "put me together with your brother (in marriage)"; see f.b.

42. Otten, 1981, pp.16-17, who translates handauen "wir hielten zusammen"; see f.b.

43. On handai- see HED 3, pp.96-107. Cf. Chrest., p.73, "And we founded a family". For ref. to CTH 717, s.a., Ch.VI, §5.B.8.1. with cit. 20).

44. In a personal communication of 3.2.1987, Dr. Frank Starke kindly told me that the above was his considered opinion, with the agreement of Professor E. Edel. The relevant text passages were "StBoT 24, 16 III 2; KUB XXI 36, 6', 9'; 38 vs. 13, 58", while the usual meaning of handai- could be found for example in IBoT I 36 (CTH 262).

45. Cf. Greengus, 1966, pp.55ff., esp. pp.62, with ref. to ritual marriage of Inanna and Dumuzi, "Yet it is likely that aspects of ritual were patterned after real-life marriage".

46. S.a., n.27; see f.b. for the Emar ritual and further ref. to confarreatio.

47. Özgül, 1988, pp.84ff.; for this ref. see l.c. p.93.
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48. L.c., with Pl.F-M; 36-59, and Fig.64. On the karul-

49. L.c., p.89, with n.40; 103-104.

50. L.c., pp.92-103ff.; s.a., ref. in Ch.III, §4.2.1.

51. S.a., Ch.III, §4.1.3. cit. 8), for KUB XXVII 49 (CTH

52. KUB XXVII 49 +, III 23. ma-a-na-an-kán ū-nu-ma-an-zi

53. See ref. in Gutberock, 1962b, p.348, and to new texts,

54. S.a., Ch.III, §6.5.1.-5.4; 11.1.

55. See Arnaud, 1986, pp.326-327, XXIV. No.369, in trans-

56. See Daddi, 1982, pp.381-382, with citations; cf. some

57. KUB XXVII III 1-4, where M[I al-hu-

58. KBo XXIX 129, obv. (= KUB XXVII 57), 10'-12', 7'-

59. KUB XXVII 56 +? IBot I 18, II 2'-4'; KBo XXIX 139, II

60. See of the pass. parallel to KUB XXVII III 1-4, where M[I al-hu-

61. M[I al-h[u-it-ra]a; KBo XXIX 129, II 1', 5', duplic. KBo XXIV 21, rev.5'-8'; KUB XXVII 64 + 66,
57. See KBo XXIX 98, 7-11, which is very similar to KUB XXVII 1-4, with 10' LÚSIL.Á.]ŠU.DU₈-aš A-NA BE-EL-TI E'TI MIr.GI₄. A 11' ]pa-a-i; note broken text in KUB XXVII 56 +? (CTH 692.2), II 6. MIEQI₄(?). A hu-u-wa-aš-ša-an-na-al-11-., and in 8. MII₄ al-hu-it-ra EN.SISKUR.SISKUR.


60. On himmas see HW¹ p.69; for rest. cf. KBo XXIX 103, I 11' ]MINDA₄[H]₄ hi-im-ma-aš, 13' GISH₄[B]ANŠUR₄-A ma-aš-ša-an NINDA₄[H]₄ hi-im-ma-aš; also, KBo XXIX 125, rev.11'

61. This may be a concession if the "owner/sponsor of the ritual" happened to be a "poor man" - note I 7' ...ku-i-ša LÚMÁŠDA-ma. Cf. KUB XXVII 59, I 26. [ ] an EN SISKUR,SISKUR ha-ap-pi-na-an-za ... 28. [ ] ... ma-na-aš LÚMÁŠ-DA x[ "[If? ] the owner/sponsor of the ritual (is) a rich man ... if (he is) a poor man".

62. For the BEL/EN SISKUR.SISKUR, with his table, cf. KBo XXIV 26, III 18-19, 23-24, 28-29; KBo XXIX 94, obv.I 10'-11', 20'-21'; 100, IV 22'-25'.

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64. KBo XXIX 65, IV 24'.


68. For description of The Third Frieze, see Özgüç, 1988, pp.89-91. On the goddess of Samuha see e.g. Lebrun, 1976, pp.28ff.; also, see "DINGIR.GE of Samuha" in KBo XVI 97 (CTH 571), rev.15; text dated to MH in Beckman, 1983b, pp.102-103.

69. On the confrarreatic, apart from Dumézil, 1979, pp.47-48, 50, 55, 75, see esp. Corbett, 1930, pp.68-78, and Rossbach, 1853, pp.95-146, referring frequently to Lat. and Grk. sources, e.g. l.c., p.100, n.350, ref. Ulpian 9, Farreo convenit uxor in manum certis verbis et testibus decem praesentibus et solemnī sacrificio facto, in quo panis quoque farreus adhibetur. See also De-Marchi, 1896, pp.23, 154-164.

70. See comm. in Rossbach, 1853, p.101, that the sum of our knowledge regarding these rites comes from: Ulpian, 9; Gaius, 1, 112; Servius, ad Georg. 1, 31, and ad Aen. 4, 103, 374; Pliny, 18.3; Tacitus, Ann. 4, 16.

71. See Rossbach, 1853, pp.107-108, citing Dionysius of Halicarnassus; Dumézil, 1979, p.75.


73. See Tacitus, Ann. 4, 16: ipsius caerimoniae difficul-
74. Servius, ad Aen. 4, 374: eius ovis quae hostia fuisset per fruges et molam salsam coniungebant; Rossbach, 1853, pp.108, 101; 103, arguing that originally the sacrificial animal must have been a pig, but cf. Corbett, 1930, p.73.

75. Gaius, 1.112: Farreo in manum conveniunt per quodam genus sacrificii quod Iovi farreo fit; in quo farreus panis adhibetur, unde etiam confarreatio dicitur; De-Marchi, 1896, pp.156, 161, with n.5; Corbett, l.c.

76. Rossbach, 1853 pp.108-109; Dumézil, 1979, p.48; see also Corbett, 1930, pp.73-74, for other views.

77. L.c.; see Corbett, 1930, pp.73-74.

78. Rossbach, 1853, pp.108-109; Corbett, 1930, p.73. with n.1.


81. On Hitt. m. and f. cultic personnel s.a., Ch.III, §6.2.1. and 3.2.ff.
APPENDIX I: DYNASTIC SUCCESSION IN THE OLD KINGDOM

1.1. The apparently consecutive reigns of Hittite Kings from Labarnas and Hattusilis I until Telepinus are related in the historical resumé to the Edict of the latter Great King (CTH 19), which names chronologically Labarnas, Hattusilis, Mursilis, Hantilis, Zidantas, Ammunas, Huuzziyas, Telepinus.1) The comparison with the Royal Offerings lists as presented by Otten in Tabelle II (1968, p.122), shows Mursilis as constant in A (KUB XXXVI 120) obv.4', B (KUB XI 4) 6', and H (KBo XIII 43) 5', preceded by Kaddusi (A, obv.3'; B, 5'; H, 3') - whose name is recorded in cuneiform texts only in these lists - , and followed in A, obv.5' by Kali.2) The recent, anticlockwise, readings of the HL impressions from Boğazköy of the "reverse" of the cruciform seal, may confirm the reigns as Great Queens of Kaddusi and Kali, with Hattusilis and Mursilis, respectively.3) Mursilis' predecessor [Hatt]usili LUGAL UR[U, is named in the offering lists only in the tiny fragment H, 2', while A (obv.2') preserves only [Labarna], and B (3'-4') MItawan­nan[na and mLabarn[a, which has led Otten, to see Labarna in these contexts as an alter nomen for Hattusilis.4) However, the top wing of the reverse of the cruciform seal attests "Labarna with [Tawanan]nna(?)", before "Hattusili with Kaddusi(?)",5) which would attest "Labarna"'s separate identity from Hattusilis I.

1.2. It is not possible to decide whether the Labarna LUG­AL[R who follows Hattusili L[UGAL[R], and precedes Pim­pirit LUGAL[R and Huuzziya LUGAL[R, in KBo XI 36, III 9-12 (a text which records ritual offerings and is disclaimed by Singer for the KI.LAM Festival corpus), is also an alternate name for Hattusilis, or refers here to Mursilis whose "successors" in A and B are Pimpira and Huuzziya, "man (LÚ) of Hakmis(sa).6) The evidence of the reverse of the cruciform seal indicates that we need not conflate the introductory Labarnas of CTH 19 with Hattusilis I. This Labarnas might refer to a successful and honoured, even an "archetypal" predecessor, whose PN (if not "Labarnas" itself) had been lost to memory, but not the rank and achievements.7)
1.3. List A alone preserves to the end of its obv. (6'-12') the successors of Mursilis, chosen heir of Hattusilis (CTH 5 and 6), as Pimpira and Huzziya, to whom we will return, then Hantili (with Harapseki) and Ammuna (with Tawanna). As shown in Tabelle III (p. 123) Telepinus is attested clearly enough, despite the preservation of only A-NA mt[e- in the fragment B (KUB XI 11) 3', with I[stapariya in 4', known from CTH 19 to have been his wife and Queen, whose name is virtually complete in I (1307/z) 1, while Huzziya is a conjectural reading for B, 1'. After I[stapariya the lists in B and I, with confirmation in E (KUB XI 8+9) and C (KUB XI 7 + XXXVI 122), continue with Alluwamna, Harapsis, then Hantili, Zidanta, etc., of the "Middle Kingdom".

1.4. While the succession of Kings from Mursilis to Telepinus according to CTH 19, §§8-24 is assured by the events of their accessions, there is no mention there of the Pimpira and Huzziya of Tabelle II, A and B, as noted above. If, however, as seems linguistically feasible, the mpl-im-pi-ra here is the same person as the mpl-im-pi-ra-as (nom.) of the OH+ KBo III 23, and XIV 41 (CTH 24), in which he vows, as loyal and merciful administrator, to defend the King, and also, as the mpl-im-pi-ri-it of KBo XI 36, III 11, and the mpl-im-pi-ri-it, "ruler (DUMU/LÚ) of Nenassa", one of the "brothers of the King who always sit before the King", in the OH+ KBo III 34+, III 15'-17', among the Chronicles of CTH 8, then we have good cause to identify him as this OK Prince; also, "the (Great) King", narrator of the latter text as Mursilis I, and the "father of the King" in this, and texts of CTH 3 and 9, as Hattusilis I. In KBo III 34, III 15'-16', "Am[muna, ruler of Sukziya" is the name of another such brother, which name appears also with Hu[z[ziya? after Pimpira, in Otten's Tabelle II C (KUB XI 7 = XXXVI 121, 122) obv.22-24, the next legible name being Alluw[amna in obv.28. The chronological inclusion of these princes in the offering lists illustrates the function of the lists and recorded rituals, and indicates the high regard in which even lateral ancestors in the royal dynasty were held by its descendants, with honours paid to
2.1. The identification of Mursilis I, rather than Hattusilis I, as the narrator of the Chronicles concerning himself and his father in CTH 8 and 9, who introduced himself in KBo III 34+, obv.1 as: 14)

"Thus (speaks) the Great King: the father of the King in Kussara..."

has been disputed recently. 15) The argument points to the similarity of style of the narrator's address in KBo III 28 (CTH 9), as in the command (II 20'-21') ta LUGAL-wa ud-da-ar-ra-me-it / li-e šar-ra-at-tu-ma "(Now, I the King have seen much evil) so do not transgress my words!", which recalls that of Hattusilis in his Testament, "let no-one transgress the word" (HAB §9, 49-50), or, "May you, my [forem]ost servants [gua]rd my word, of the King" (§20, 33-34). 16) However, this overlooks Hattusilis' reference not only in his Testament but also in his Edict, to himself as "the father", in such terms as: 17)

"The man of Zalpa cast aside the word of the father; behold, that (is) [Z]alpa! ... The man of Hassu cast aside the word of the father; behold, that (is) Hassu! Even the man of Halpa has cast aside the word of the [fa]ther; and Halpa will perish!".

Further, as Archi has noted, in the Testament Mursilis is told to "guard (pahs-) the word of the father", which, as author later of OH KBo XXII 1 (as Archi contends), he admonishes his officials to do: A-WA-A-AT A-BI-IA / pa-ah-ša-nu-ut-te-en "guard the word of my father". 18)

2.2. Moreover, throughout the Chronicles the narrator is obviously still in the shadow of his powerful father, to whom numerous episodes are ascribed concerning errant officials who suffered severe punishment, even death, at his command for their misdeeds. Note the fate of Kizzuwa, the GAL LÛ.MEŠ MEŠEDI who had supervised skilled men for the "father of the King" (KBo III 34+, II 30-32), but then committed an offence. For this he suffered the River test, "and my father did not allow Kizzuwas to live" (KBo III 28, II 17'-19'). 19) By contrast, the King, whom we see as Mursi-
ilis, recommended mercy even "if a son sins against the head of the King" (II 10'-16').

3.1. Despite the recent attempt to attribute the Annals (CTH 13) to Hattusilis I, we find the weight of evidence still in favour of Mursilis I as "author". Even if the texts CTH 4, were the record of a "Triumphal Inscription", extracting only the most illustrious events from those of the "extended" account in CTH 13, with its mention also of Ajax Lugal, it is hard to believe that the capture of the "man of Purushanda" would have been excluded by Hattusilis from such an inscription. Moreover, the accounts of other campaigns, particularly involving the Hurrians, differ in the chronologically separate, so we believe, Annals, CTH 4 and 13.

3.2. The military activities of ABI ABI Lugal, ABI Lugal, that is of Hattusilis and his father, described by Lugal(-uš), Mursilis I, in CTH 3, make it clear that the accepted line of descent was patrilineal. This applied not only to the rulers of Kussar(a) but also to people of once rival states, since the Elders of Zalpa "requested a son" from the "old father of the King", who gave them Hakkarpilis. They duly instructed him, which seems to have resulted in this son's rebellion, with the support of Zalpaeans. The same system of representation is attested for Hattusas, according to KUB I 16 +, B, II 60ff., in which Hattusilis warned Mursilis: "Let not the Elders of Hattusas speak to you". Mursilis himself quelled another rebellious son of Hattusilis I? -, Happis, with supporting troops and people of Zalpa. Although Happis escaped, Mursilis took as live prisoner back to Hattusas, one Tamnassus, which shows that this city was already within his power; two years later he achieved the final destruction of Happis. Then Mursilis came (back) to Hattusas to honour the gods, where - in the lower city? - he left "the old King", to go "up to the city(/citadel)", where "he said to the men of the city, 'I have become your King'".

4.1. As "man of Kussar", Hattusilis may have descended from
the same House of Kussar as Kings Pithana and his son Anitta, who had reclaimed Kanesh/Nesa from Zalpa in the Kültepe Ib period, but cursed the conquered city Hattusas. 27) Hattusilis obviously extended his power over Hattusas, since he "exercised Kingship" there, as his name "one belonging to Hattus" also proclaims, although the Telepinus Edict refers first to Mursilis (I) as having become King in Hattusas. 28) No doubt Hattusilis, or a predecessor, could have performed such rites as attested in CTH 400, 401, to free the city of ritual impurity, which would have resulted from the ancient curse. 29) Hattusilis maintained a royal residence in Kussar(a), whence he issued his Testament (CTH 6), recording his demotion of young Labarnas and selection of Mursilis as his "son" and heir to the throne. 30)

4.2. There are still unexplained aspects of Hattusilis' accession to the throne. The supposition by certain scholars that an ancient system of dynastic succession had existed in which the Tawanannas, predominantly a cultic figure, was the King's sister and mother of the heir designate, and that this system was temporarily revived by Asmunikal<->Arnuwandas, was based mainly upon the interpretation of statements by Hattusilis I in regard to Mitawan(n)-annas. 31) The most relevant to the problem concerning his accession are cited below:

1) CTH 4. Annals of Hattusilis I. The translation here of the introductory lines combines both "versions", using double brackets to indicate where the Hitt. text contains additional information or the verbs differ in person: 32)

a. KBo X 1 (Akk.), obv.

1. LUGAL.GAL ta-ba-ar-na i-na URU Kû.BABBAR-ti LUGAL-ut-ta i-te-pu-uš ša MITA-w[a-na-an-na DUMU.ŠEŠ-šu]
2. i-na URU ša-hu-it-ta al-li-i-k-ma ú-ul ú-hal-liq ú KURHİ.šu u-h[a-al-liq]
3. ERİN MEŠ um-ma-an-ti-ia a-na 2-šu i-te-zî-ib ...

b. KBo X 2 (Hitt.), obv.

1. [UM-MA ta-ba-ar-]a Mha-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL
2. [LUGAL KUR URU ha-at-]tī LŪ URU ku-uš-šar KUR URU ha-at-
tī
4. [(I-N)A URUX a-na-u-it-ta pā-it ša-an na-at-ta
5. [(har-ni-)ik-t]a nu ud-ni-e-eš-še-it har-ni-ik-ta
6. [(ERIN M)]]ES 2 AŠ-RA a-ša-an-du-la-an-ni da</la>-ah-

"([[Thus speaks]]) Tabarna, ("Hattusilis"), Great
King, King of Hatti ("The Man of Kussar") ruled as
King in Hatti; her brother's son of Tawan(n)annas,
I("he") went into the city Sanhuitta. I("he") did
not destroy it, but I ("he") destroyed its terri-
ories. Troops of my army I left in two places ("in garr-
ison")...

2) §20: Instructions of Hattusilis to his senior offi-
cials to obey his words, failing which disension and death
would ensue...

KUB I 16 + (CTH 6), B (Hittite), III

40. ...
41. [ u]d-da-a-ar-še-it U[L?] DUMU MES ŠU e-di
   na-a-ir hu-uh-ša-ha-ša-mi-ša
42. [la-ba-a]r-na-an DUMU ša-an URU ša-na-hu-it-ti iš-ku-
   na-ha-hi-ša
43. [EGIR-an-da-ma-kān IR MES ŠU LÚ MES GAL.GAL ud-da-a-
   ar-še-it hu-ur-tal-li-e-e-ir
44. [nu-uš-ša-an ma-pa-ah-di-il-ma-ha-an a-še-še-e-ir nu
   ma-ši-e-eš MUḪ.Ā pa-a-ir
45. [ma-ši-e-eš]a-kān hu-wa-a-ir ŠA LÚ GAL.GAL TIM Ė-ŠU-
   NU ku-wa-pī Ū-UL-at har-ki-e-e-ir

"(It was thus) as to the words of my grandfather []
Were not his sons made disloyal? My grandfath-
er designated his son (as?) Labarnas in/for Sanahuitta;
but [afterwards] his subjects, the Great Men, flouted
his words, [and] they set Papandiimas upon (the
throne). Now, how many years have gone (by)? And [how
many (guilty people)] have run (from their fate)? Where
(are) the Houses of the Great Men? Have they not per-
ished?"

4.3. It has been argued by a few Hittite scholars that the
phrase "brother's son of the Tawan(n)annas" served here as
a genealogical justification by Hattusilis for his assumpt-
ion of the Kingship, which appeals to a matrilineal system of dynastic descent foreign to the patrilineal conquering Hittites. But, as noted earlier, the relationship of nephew would have been relevant within a matrilineal system only if Hattusilis had been the son of the sister of the King. However, since Hattusilis' relationship to this lady was considered sufficiently important to be stated at the beginning of his Annals, it needs examination.

5.1. Recently, it has been proposed that Hattusilis' "genealogical" claim indicates that he was an adopted son of the Labarnas, husband of Hattusilis' aunt, although the same argument is complicated by its contention that this Labarnas was the son appointed by Hattusilis' grandfather, who survived the rebellion in Sanahuitta, while Papahdilmah "lost". However, the consequences of the rebellion in Sanahuitta led to long term disaster for the supporters of Papahdilmah, while Hattusilis' account of these events, as in 2) above, does not suggest that Labarnas was quickly reinstated to rule unopposed, as the successfully conquering Labarnas of the Telepinus Edict. Further, unless we deduce a brother-sister marriage between this Labarnas and Mtawanannas, which would have been contrary to mores later stipulated, we would need to understand that Hattusilis referred to his adoptive father's father as "my grandfather" in his Testament, having ignored in his Annals his justifiable right to the throne as "son" of the previous King, by specifying only his relationship to the dowager Queen. That Hattusilis was an adopted son cannot be disclaimed without further evidence, but such evidence is not provided by his "genealogical" statement.

5.2. If, on the other hand, we accept that the Hittite royal family was conceptually an "extended" family in which the members recognised a male and a female "head" in the manner of such historically attested organisations, and that Mtawanannas was the title given to the ruling lady of the royal family, then Hattusilis' aunt would have occupied this position when he claimed to be the male head of the family as Labarnas, and Great King. The apparently
unusual relationship of the latter and the ruling lady may be explained by the fact that sons-in-law, as well as his brothers and sons, came under the jurisdiction of the OK Kings, as depicted in the Telepinus Edict, which indicates that the Kings' daughters in most instances would remain in practical terms as well as conceptually within the royal family, rather than leaving it on marriage, as is usually the case with patrilineal kinship. It would seem that Hattusilis' aunt, until his accession and claims, had held the ruling position in the royal family alone, exercising a power which is also attested in extended families for a woman in unusual circumstances when no male head of the family was available. The rise of Hattusilis would have been a challenge to the singular power of this lady.

6.1. The above might provide an immediate and superficial answer to why Hattusilis referred to his aunt, a type of genealogical claim found nowhere else in Hittite texts, as Bryce has remarked. But Hattusilis' description of the revolt by the nobles against his paternal uncle, or father, appointed [labar]nas in Sanahuitta by his grandfather, consequent to which they made Papahdilmahas its ruler, suggests that the emergence of his aunt as [tawannanas alone, a position and title usually associated with l/tabarnas in the OK, resulted from political upheavals with implications regarding Hattusilis' own accession to power.

6.2. That Hattusilis' grandfather could appoint a son as l/tabarnas in Sanahuitta, indicates not only that he himself was l/tabarnas of the royal family in Kussara, but that his jurisdiction covered also the former territory. Whether the appointment meant that Hattusilis' uncle/father would have been l/tabarnas designate for the Kussaran royal family, or that he was installed as ruler and head of the Sanahuitan royal family, a branch possibly of the former, is uncertain. The interpretation in HED of iskunahhis of HAB III, §20, 42, as "he demoted/dishonoured his son [Labar]nas in Sanhuitta", seems illogical, since this was not followed by another appointment against which the nobles then rebelled. That Papahdilmahas was chosen in prefer-
ence by them indicates that his claim to rule was based upon a connection with Sanahuitta, which the circumstances suggest was with its royal house. However, the appearance of his infrequently attested name, whether of the same person or not, as $^{\text{m}}\text{pa-waֳ-ah-te-il-ma-ah}$, in KUB XXXVI 121 + (CTH 661.3), obv.20', suggests a connection also with the royal family of Kussara, which became the ruling house of Hattusas.

6.3. Papahdilmahas' kinship status remains undetermined. Recent suggestions have been that he was a son of Hattusilis, or that he was father to Hattusilis, being the previously reigning King, while Otten (1951a) had interpreted the offering list noted above to see Pu-LUGAL-ma, son of Tutha[llya], as [father(?)] of Pawatelmah and Labarnas. We might surmise that he was actually a son-in-law (of Sanahuittan origin?) of Hattusilis' grandfather, husband to a Hittite princess who survived him to become the Mītawanan-nas of KBo X 1/2. Although we cannot prove the association with Sanahuitta, we might understand Hattusilis' reference to his father's sister in his Annals as both genealogical and by way of an historical introduction, since the immediate object of his first campaign was to subdue the territory of Sanahuitta. This could be seen as vengeance against the dissidents, high and low, who had been responsible for the series of rebellions. The failure to attack the city may not have been an act of weakness, but of mercy, in recognition perhaps of common ancestry, recalling the gentle treatment of Nesa by Pithanas, which has been interpreted similarly. The seige and conquest of Sanahuitta by Hattusilis in his fourth year must have resulted from its continued defiance of the Great King.

7.1. Hattusilis' grandfather had obviously reigned as l/tabarnas/King, while the reference in OH+ KBo III 38 (CTH 3), to the "friend(ship)" following hostility, made by the King of Zalpa with the father of Hattusilis, the ABI ABI LUGAL of obv.8', also termed tabarnas in 11', shows the latter also reigning as l/tabarnas/King. The Mītawan-na[nna] of offering list B (KUB XI 4), who precedes in line
3', after a ruling, the mLabarna and Kaddusi of 4'-5', might have been Hattusilis' aunt.\textsuperscript{52} It is still conjectural as to whether his male predecessors are named among those of C (KUB XI 7+), obv.17'-21', Kantuzzili, BU-LUGAL-(ma), son of Tuthaliya, [father(?)] of Pawahtelmah and of L[abarna(?), as noted above.\textsuperscript{53} Admittedly a Hurrian name such as *Hišmi-Šarruma would be unexpected in this period, but in view of Pimpira in 22' and mAllu[wamna in 28' following, we cannot lightly dismiss these "princes" as belonging to the New Kingdom.\textsuperscript{54}

7.2. Although mHuz[z]iya is partially preserved in §2, it is regrettable that the names in the other 6 sections preceding Kantuzzili have been lost. The inclusion of Pimpira, and Ammun[a Huz]ziya, if these two are not the last two Kings before Telepinus, indicates that any or all of the names above Alluw[amna might have belonged to lesser Kings or princes. Enigmatic as the "evidence" may be for the predecessors of Hattusilis I in the offering lists, we note that lines 19'-20' at least reiterate patrilineal succession, the pattern which is apparent elsewhere.

7.3. According to a logical chronology of events described in Hattusilis' Testament, his son Huzziyas was disqualified from succession by rebellion against his father (HAB II 63-68), followed by an uprising occasioned by his subjects' "sons of Hatti" and "nobles and courtiers" - choice of his daughter's son rather than the feared "slave" (i.e. "subject", not of royal blood), whom Hattusilis might have nominated, an insurrection resulting in Hattusilis' disowning of this daughter who was removed from Hattusas to Kussara (HAB II 69-III 25).\textsuperscript{55} Consequently, when ill, Hattusilis turned to his sister's son, whom he declared before his audience of military and nobles "...for you the 'young labarnas'" and future King, formally adopted with the words, "I, the King, have called him my child ..." (HAB I/II 1-4).\textsuperscript{56} After the devious young man had been demoted and punished, circumstances which bear a remarkable similarity to the Ahiqar legend, as noted earlier, Hattusilis declared "Now what? Hereafter let no one bring up his sist-
There is no doubt that Mursilis, nominated while still a boy by Hattusilis as "my son" and heir, after the débacle of the young Labarnas (HAB [I]/II 37-38ff.; III 27, 55ff.; KBo III 27, obv.13'-14'), acceded to Kingship in Hattusas, and conquered Aleppo and Babylon during this reign.\(^{58}\)

Opinions have varied, however, firstly as to whether Mursilis, described by Hattusilis as his "seed" (HAB II 44), was his son, possibly by a later union than with the mother(s?) of Huzziyas and Hakkarpilis, or whether he were the grandson, as stated in the Talmi-šarruma Treaty.\(^{59}\) Secondly, despite the statement in Telepinus' Edict §8 24-27, that Mursilis had children, brothers, affines, as well as other relatives and troops united in their support for him, the existence of offspring has been questioned since there is no mention of them in the Edict when Hantilis murdered Mursilis, apparently to rule as King, when elimination of potential heirs would have been expected.\(^{60}\)

8.2. Although the fragmentary text parallel to KBo III 34, III 15'-16', noted above, substitutes DUMUMES\(^{\prime}\) LUGAL for "brothers of the King", this may be a late scribal interpretation, and does not confirm that Mursilis was the son of Hattusilis, nor indeed the references we remarked, to "my son", "my father", since a formal adoption would have justified such terms.\(^{61}\) It seems more likely that the author of the Talmi-šarruma Treaty recorded the actual relationship, but it also seems pointless to speculate as to which of Hattusilis' children was mother or father of Mursilis.

8.3. Concerning the existence of Mursilis' "children", should we suspend belief in the Edict's credibility at this point? As noted earlier (Ch.VI, 5.B. 9.1. cit. 21) and Ch. VII, §2.2.1.) a difficult passage in KBo III 28 (CTH 9), ascribed to Mursilis, contains a possible reference to a marriage arranged for him by his father with the daughter of, or the Queen of Hurma herself, "whom I, the King, will seat on my throne", but the following text is damaged and then breaks completely.\(^{62}\) However, the offering lists name
a f Kali after Mursilis, and now the cruciform seal, which indicates that she may have been his wife,\textsuperscript{63}) and consequently mother of his children. We may find an explanation for the Edict's later silence regarding the DUMU\textsuperscript{MEŠ} \textquotedblright children\textquotedblright, ascribed to Mursilis in §8, in that they were either too young, if male, to pose a threat to Hantilis, or were all female.

9.1. The Edict relates that Hantilis, \textquotedblright held Har[ap]sek/l-is, sister of Mursilis, as wife\textquotedblright, a reading of NIN!(DAM) which is generally accepted, in preference to \textquotedblright wife of M.\textquotedblright\textsuperscript{64}) He murdered his brother-in-law Mursilis, an act which induced fear of divine wrath, with retribution for his blood-deed sought apparently in the guise of enemy attacks and the assassination of his ailing Queen Harapseki, with her children in Sukziya.\textsuperscript{65}) Hantilis and Harapseki are named in that order in the offering lists (A obv.I 9'-10'), while Hantilis' long reign into old age attests kingship, and, as Liverani noted, that he was not acting merely as regent for his son Pisenis (also read Kassenis), the sister's son of Mursilis whom Riemschneider perceived as the legal heir in a matrilineal system.\textsuperscript{66})

9.2. Contrary to Riemschneider's view of course, Astour's interpretation of these events is that Pisenis must have been son of a second wife of Hantilis since all Harapseki/lish children had died with her; consequently the line of inheritance from Hattusilis had been broken.\textsuperscript{67}) We cannot judge the accuracy of this contention in regard to Pisenis. However, since Zidantas, who had contrived Mursilis' murder with Hantilis, was then married to the latter's daughter [f\textsuperscript{x-(?)-Ś/t]a-an (acc.), this daughter was surely born of Mursilis' sister, and the offspring of Zidantas would have been of royal blood.\textsuperscript{68}) Thus, when Ammunas, son of Zidantas, who had murdered Pisenis with his children and entourage to seize the throne on Hantilis' death, killed his own father for that throne, the new King was the (great-)great-grandson of Hattusilis through his (grand)daughter and (great-)granddaughter.\textsuperscript{69}) The generational term represented in brackets allows for the possibility in the first case
that Mursilis and his sister may actually have been Hattusilis' son and daughter, and for the contrary, in the last two cases.

9.3. What appears to be a line of "matrilineal" succession through Mursilis' sister's daughter to her son, is illusory. Further in the Edict we read that, after Ammunas' death, in order to leave the throne free for Huzziyas, Zurus, the Chief of the Bodyguard, sent his consanguineal son Tahirwailis (as hasannassas "of his (own) begetting" must imply here), to murder Titiyas and his children, and the courier Taruhsus to dispose of Hantilis and his children, actions which proclaim the potential patrilineal descendants of Ammunas, who had to be eliminated.

10.1. These assassinations and the accession of Huzziyas bring the Edict to Telepinus' description of how the lives of himself and of Istapariyas, Huzziyas' premier sister, to whom he was married, were threatened by her brother, whom Telepinus consequently deposed, banished without bloodshed with his five brothers to allotted estates for their sustenance. "When", in the words of Telepinus, "I had seated myself upon the throne of my father", he departed on a successful campaign to Hassuwa, Zizzilippa and Lawazantiya. The relationship of Telepinus to "father" Ammunas, to whom we presume he was alluding, must have been affinal through the premier princess Istapariyas, and so also to Huzziyas, whose status may well have been "second-ranking" vis à vis Titiyas and Hantilis.

10.2. Recent interpretations of these events and relationships are attractive: that, since the GAL (LÜ.MEŠ)MEŠEDI is quite frequently attested later as the reigning King's brother, Zurus would have been Ammunas' brother who supported the claims of a lower-ranking son of Ammunas to the throne, namely Huzziyas. The later assassinations of Huzziyas and his brothers were perpetrated by a clique of high officials through the agency of Tanuwas, with or on behalf of the Tahirwailis and Taruhsus of earlier mention, who were all arrested and condemned to death by the pankus, but
spared by Telepinus to live as blinded(?) peasants in their allotted "houses".76)

10.3. Astour has re-examined the problem of interpretation concerning the phrase (§26, 29) nu-wa-ru-uš IGI Hil a wa mu-un-na-an-zi (lit.) "and they will conceal them as to the eyes", following the interrogative [ku-wa-ajt-wa-ri ak-kânzī] "[Wh]y should they die?", and concluded that a physical punishment, probably actual blinding, was intended.77) Unfortunately for this argument, the phrase cited in KUB XIV 1+ (CTH 147), particularly rev.42, has the reflexive pronoun and is surely translated "During those days Madduwattas veiled his eyes", that is M. deliberately failed to notice the enemy.78) Moreover, in the Edict the phrase might well be interrogative like its predecessor, which obscures the meaning from us still further.79) Since explicit terminology, "make blind", "tear out the eyes", describes acts of blinding as punishment in other texts, we cannot, without further evidence, decide whether "conceal the eyes" was a "euphemism for blinding", or a colloquial phrase like "turn a blind eye".80) It seems possible that the loss of status and condemnation to physical labour was punishment enough for the three murderers whom Telepinus held as a precautionary "sign" (GIšKIM-iš) before other state officials.81)

10.4. A concomitant of Astour's conclusion was that Tah-urwailis, Taruhsus, and Tanuwas, must have been so physically impaired that it would have been impossible after their capture for Tahurwailis to become the "Great King" of this name, with Tabarna seal Bo 69/200 sealing the Treaty with Eheya of Kizzuwatna.82) Astour considers that Tahur-wailis' reign was,83) "simultaneous with a certain part of Telepinush's reign and took place after the murder of Huzziyash."

The silence of the Edict on such an affair, a usurpation while Telepinus was still abroad on campaign and suppressed on return, which would have added further examples to Tahurwailis' evildoings, seems to militate against this theory. Also, the epigraphic evidence for a MK dating of
King Tahurwailis cannot be dismissed, particularly in view of the recently discovered land donation tablet impressed with the Tabarna seal of Muwattallis I.\(^{84}\)

11.1. After the death of his Queen Istapariyas and their son Ammunas, for whom no human agency was blamed, Telepinus proclaimed the order of succession to the throne, according to primogeniture of legitimate, then "illegitimate" sons, failing which an antiyanant husband for the premier daughter of the King should be taken and made King.\(^{85}\) As we have argued earlier, Telepinus, reasserted the patrilineal principle, thus curtailing the virtually equal claim to power of the son/brother-in-law.\(^{86}\)

11.2. Telepinus' statement regarding the antiyanza may have regulated his own position and that of his anticipated successor,\(^{87}\) while it prescribed that this husband should "enter" the royal family relinquishing all claims upon or from his natal family.\(^{88}\) The deaths of his Queen and son as reported, left Telepinus apparently without an heir, prompting the adoption of a son-in-law, the eventual accession of whom may be verified from other sources. According to the offering lists, Telepinus and Istapariyas were followed by Alluwamna and Harapsilis.\(^{89}\) Additional evidence that the former reigned as Great King, Tabarna, is found in the recently discovered OH KBo XXXII 136, a Land donation with seal impression from the same original which impressed earlier examples from Boğazköy.\(^{90}\) Two fragmentary texts, KUB XI 3 and XXXI 74, which mention Alluwamnas, complicate rather than clarify our understanding of the circumstances of his accession, particularly the former, which Forrer interpreted as naming the children of Ammunas, son of Telepinus:\(^{91}\)

3) KUB XI 3 (CTH 23.1),

\[
\begin{align*}
1' & \text{ na[ ]x[ ]x-wa(?)-an-na (-)x[} \\
2' & \text{ I-NA GÎŠ GÜ.ZA.GAL e-eŠ-tfā} \\
3' & \text{ fna-an-na-aš fkat-tu-u-Ši-te-1fš} \\
4' & \text{ fzi-en-ku-ru-wa-aš ū fhar[-ap-Ši-li-iš?}
\end{align*}
\]
A coherent translation is scarcely possible, although we attempt for 2'-6':

"he sat on the great throne[ And these daughters?:] Nannas, Kattusite[s ] Zenkuruwas and Harapselis? and these sons: Ammuna, brother?/man[of X? ] And Alluwamnas, son of the King, t[o ]"

Forrer himself doubted his interpretation, that the eldest three unmarried daughters shared the "great throne" between them until Harapsilis, the youngest and married to Alluwamnas, removed them by murder(?) to rule with her husband.92 With Kühne we may see them as Telepinus' children, but, apart from the association of names, we cannot glean historical data from this text.93)

11.3. The second text noted, KUB XXXI 74 (CTH 23.3), possibly an "Instruction", names Alluwamnas in immediate connection to Hattusas (obv.12'-13')94) and in the following 14'-16' we find ... EGIR-pa-ma A-N[ A / ne-ga-an ta-a-an X[ / li-e ša-ak[-du?, in which Otten restored ta-a-an-n[a to read:95)

"hinterher aber zu[ ]die Schwester zu nehmen[ ], nicht sollst [du] anerkennen!"

The trace before the lacuna in 15' could be the beginning of the upper horizontal of p[1- however, allowing a restoration ta-a-an p[I-e-da-aš/n, after the Edict §28 37, to read "(sister), second-ranking", which might allude to Alluwamnas' marriage to Harapsilis, listed last of Telepinus' daughters,96) although the nature of the text demands cautious interpretation.

11.4. From OH+ KUB XXVI 77 (CTH 23.2), with phraseology akin to that of the Edict,97) we learn that Alluwamnas was indeed married to the princess fHarapsek (/1)is with whom he was banished to Mallitaskuri, together with their children,
by a reigning King, most probably Telepinus.\(^9\) However, according to the seals and texts mentioned earlier, we must conclude that Alluwamnas did come to the throne after Telepinus' death, whatever the circumstances may have been. His succession by a son named as \(\text{mHan}[\text{t}][\text{i}][\text{l}][\text{i}][\text{s}]\) in KBo XXXII 186, obv.14ff., that is Hantilis II, and the mention of a Tuthaliyas, and \([\text{T}][\text{a}][\text{h}][\text{u}][\text{r}][\text{w}][\text{i}][\text{l}][\text{i}][\text{s}]\) "son of a prostitute", in KUB XXVI 77, obv. 17'-18', have been subject to various interpretations, the discussion of which would belong to a study of the Hittite "Middle Kingdom".
APPENDIX II: "MILAWATA LETTER" (CTH 182).

1.1. Regarding the "vassallage" of the recipient (= M) of the letter, CTH 182, to which we referred briefly in Chapter VII, §4.1.2.1.-2.2, above, the main contra-indication consists of the Hittite King's (= H) reference to Walmus, King of Wilusa, then held either as a hostage or a fugitive by M: nu-un-na-ša-āš ka-ru-ā GIM-an īR:TUM ku-la-wa-ni-eš e-[eš-ta]

"As formerly he w[as] a subject to us, one rendering military service, ..."

whom H asked M to release to him, so that he might reinstate him as King in Wilusa. ¹) Since H was sufficiently in control of Wilusa to promise this, we assume that Wilusa, as in the time of Alaksandus, was still vassal to Hatti, but now was subject also to M. ²) Further, H apparently had access to M only by means of his messenger, and seems to have been unwilling to use force against him. This might indicate not only the independence of M, but also, reminding us of the elusiveness of the would-be Hittite vassal Piyamaradus and his protector the King of Ahhiyawa, that he had the inaccessibility of one who could escape by sea from a Hittite land force. ³) Moreover, that M controlled also the inland territory of Milawata (Miletos) is shown by H's statement: ⁴)

"Since we, My Sun and my son x-ed (TŪM-u-en) the border of Milawata for ourselves ..."

1.2. Hoffner argued for the interpretation TŪM for the logogram in this late text, rather than GUB(/DU) = ar-"stand", which is its usual reading in Hittite texts; but this would not have made sense in the present context. ⁵) Hoffner noted that TŪM(/DU) could represent the Akk. verb (w/t)abālu "carry off, etc.", according to which we could interpret that H and M had attacked and raided the border of Milawata; ⁶) consequently, the latter could not have been M's Kingdom at the time, although, as Hoffner suggested, the reference may have been to a "joint conquest ... after which it (Milawata) was allotted to M". ⁷)
1.3. However, as listed in CAD, Sum. túm was translated not only by (w/h/t)abālu with its sense of "carry off", but also with the specialised meanings, in the case of deities and Kings, of "to direct, manage, organise". If the intended meaning of TŪM in our Hitt. text came within this semantic field, then the logogram may have represented Hitt. maniyahh-, which includes among its general meanings of "administer, allocate, etc.", also "deliver" (like (w)abālu), and for which a logographic equivalent has not been noted elsewhere. However, although M may have been privileged with joint execution/administration of the border of Milawata, H's superiority is indicated by his warning regarding territory:

"which I (My Sun) did not give you in addition to the border".

2.1. The "Milawata Letter" was surely a late scribal composition, with unusual logograms such as RA, not GUL, for walh- "strike", ZA instead of LŪ to represent -zitis "man" in PN, recalling such use of these logograms in other late texts, and with the TŪM noted above. The towns Awarna and Pinali, named in CTH 182, were "military goals" of Tuthaliyas IV, according to inscribed blocks from the Yalburt sanctuary. This is further indication that the author of CTH 182 was either this King, or one of his sons and successors in the late 13th century.

2.2. However, just as there is insufficient evidence as to the reason for M's harbouring or imprisonment of Walmus, and the events that led to the latter's expulsion(?) from Wilusa, there is also too little to allow an identification of M either as Mashuitta (possibly to be read Parhuitta), the western Anatolian King and correspondent of KBo XVIII 18, with an unnamed Hittite King, which mentions Wilusa and Piyamaradus, or as a son of Atpas (son-in-law of Piyamaradus and administrator of Milawata in CTH 181), and son-in-law of H.
APPENDIX III: "ASSYRIA".

1.1. As remarked above (Ch.VII, §4.vii.1.2.) the second indication of an interdynastic marriage between Hatti and Assyria is found in the damaged tablet KUB XXIII 103 (CTH 178), on to which three letters from a Hittite King to the Assyrian Court had been copied (with duplicates KUB XXIII 92, KUB XL 77). The recipient of the first must have been Tukulti-Ninurta, soon after his accession, to whom Tuthaliyas IV wrote, via the messenger Masamuwas, mentioned in KUB XXIII 102 (CTH 171), addressed to Adad-nirari I from Hattusilis III (or Urhi-Tešub?). The third letter of KUB XXIII 103 was addressed to the official Baba-aha-iddina referring to the death of "your Lord" and indicating such personal interest on the part of the author, "M[y Sun"], as to suggest that an agreement had existed between the deceased Assyrian King and the Hittite King, including support of their respective successors. The 7 remaining final lines of the second letter were also addressed to an Assyrian official from the Hittite King, concluding "Your Lord has died, and as I was friendly to your Lord, [ ] accordingly I am friendly to that one; defend him!". In broken context LL.1'-2' mention "my father and the King of Assyria[ ] because [he set(?)] back the words of my father", followed by a series of enclitic -man(-) optatives, "3' we have become friendly. Then, had we become friendly, [*one might say] 4' 'You have become (as) of one father and mother.' Had he [come into my land?] 5' I would have marched into his land (and) the one would have [eaten] the bread of the other[".]

1.2. The emotive phrase ႥA i^EN A-BI AMA kiš-dum-ma-at (4') recalls both Šaušgamuwa's declaration to Ammistamru (§3, 19.3.), and particularly that in KUB XXIII 102 when the author, conceding that Adad-nirari I had become a "Great King", rebuked the latter for writing to him (Urhi-Tešub?) about "brotherhood" - "were you and I born of the one mother? Since m[y grandfather] and father used not to write about [brotherhood] to the King of Assyria, don't you write to me about [brotherhood] and Great [King]ship!".
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Tuthaliyas IV had obviously established friendly relations with Salmaneser I, but it is not clear whether Hattusilis had already done so.7)
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2. For fKadusi(t1) see NH 554; the name fKal1, NH 484.2, is also attested for a ritual practitioner.
4. Otten, 1968, p.104; f.b., n.5. Briefly, on the title and function of l/tabarnas, with ref. to Mitawanannas, s.a., Ch.II, §6.B., esp. 2.3. with notes.
5. See Hawkins, l.c., esp. p.[12].
6. See Otten, l.c.; contra Bin Nun, 1975, pp.62-63; Riem­
schneider, 1971, p.81, with n.10. KUB XI 36 appears in CTH 627.16, but Singer, 1983a, p.26, ref. HTR p.111, sugg. it is a ration tablet with list of sacrifices for dead Kings, related possiblt to CTH 241.19, being cult inventories of the hesta- house.
"...Labarnas the founder of the Hittite line was a simple concretion of a series of early kings, all of whom bore the title of Labarnas."

Note Liverani, 1977, p.109,
"...Labarna è una collocazione iniziale più nel senso di un modello originario, di un archetipo..."
8. A f. PN foll. in 2', A-NA f[ . Otten, 1951a, pp.52-53, interpr. the mhu-u[z-li-ia, which he reads in KUB XI 7+, obv.24' (p.65), and the preceding mamu-n[a as the 2 Kings preceding Telepinus, in his Edict. See f.b.
9. On the "MK" s.a., Ch.VII, §2.3.1.-3.2; §3.2.1.
ma-aš-ša [ma-ni-ia-ah-mi] L]UGAL-wa-aš ut-tar pa-ah-ha-aš-
ten; for ed. see Archi, 1979a, pp.39-45; for dating of original composition, see Archi, l.c., p.39 with n.20; p.40 and n.22; SHV §527.
11. S.a., Ch.I, §2.1.2. cit. 15)a. The frag. KBo XII 11, in 5', 6', par. to KBo III 34+, III 15',16', has DUMUMES
LUGAL A-[^] / LÚ URUšu-uk-z[^].

12. On the identity of Pimpira/Pimpirit see Archi, l.c., p.39, n.20, who referred to Forrer, 2BoTU pp.4*-6* for the opinion that Pimpira was regent during the minority of (his nephew) Mursilis I; NH (1000, 1001), p.309; see also Otten, 1951, p.49; on the identification of Mursilis and Hatt. as above, see Archi, l.c., p.45, and f.b.

13. See Otten, 1951, p.65, for full translit.; s.a., ref. Otten, in n.6, and f.b.


15. See Bin Nun, 1975, pp.82-83, 241, with part agreement in Kempinski, Košak, 1982, pp.87-88, who attribute the CTH 13 to "The extensive Annals of Hattusilis I(?)" (pp.87ff.), in which Al-BI LUGAL occurs also, and not to Mursilis I.

16. Bin Nun, 1975, p.83, who compares also II 7-9 with HAB II 33, III 21,

"The circumstances remind us of Hattusilis' revolting daughter and her banishment."

17. KBo III 27, obv.28'-31'; see Archi, 1979a, pp.44-45, with n.25, and further exx.

18. Obv.4'-5'; see ed. in Archi, 1979a, pp.44-48.

19. For translit. and tr. of the former text, see Daddi, 1975, pp.121-122; for the latter, see l.c. n.101; Laroche, 1973a, pp.186-189. On the identity of "Kizzui (dat.) and Kuzzuwas (nom.), NH 598, see Laroche, 1973, p.189, tentatively; also, Daddi, 1975, p.121, n.101. Bin Nun, 1975, p.82, suggested an identification of the bearer of this Kizzu- name and Kizzwas, NH 590, of KBo III 38 +(CTH 3).

20. See Laroche, 1973a, pp.186ff. See Easton, 1981, p.21 with n.90, for scholars, before Bin Nun, 1975, who had identified the ABI LUGAL of these texts with Hatt. I.


22. See arguments for the latter as "The Extensive Annals
of Hattusilis I", in l.c.; note A]-BI LUGAL in rev.III 9 (pp.91, 95). Note conquest of Purushanda related in II 4'-13', an important city as evinced also in CTH 1 and 9. The argument of the above eds. (p.97) that LÚ URU x as the designation of a local ruler is not found later than the OK, cannot exclude Mursilis I; Neu's remark (1974a, p.36) concerned the failure of a 13th century scribe to understand the proper meaning of this phrase. Further, the campaigns following the first L. (14') of §3 in CTH 13, URU[h]a-at-ti ú-it ta-a-ma ú-it-ti "]he came to [H]atti, and in the second year," (KK, p.89) should agree in principle at least with the campaigns in CTH 4 A/B I, 6/15ff., but do not, omitting all mention, e.g., of the conquest of Alalah, while Hurma and Sukziya, the latter featuring in CTH 19, §§16-17, within Hitt. jurisdiction in the reign of Hantil-is, were not mentioned in CTH 4, but were regained from the Hurrians in CTH 13, §§3-4 (pp.89-90, 92-93, 101). Note that Hurrians are mentioned in CTH 13 §3 (pp.89) already before the campaigns in Arzawiya, §§5,6, at the end of which in connection with a "wintering in Arzawiya", the King of the Hurrians is reported as dead, while in CTH 4 A/B I 10/-22ff., the first mention of the Hurr. incursion which left only Hattusas intact, comes after Hatt. I had set off for Arzawa in the "next Year". See also Kühne, 1982, p.206, for recent ascription of CTH 13 to Mursilis I.

23. For ed. of texts in CTH 3, see Otten, 1973a. Bin Nun, 1975, p.56, attributes these texts to Hattusilis I, seeing 3 consecutive generations of Hitt. Kings, ABI ABI LUGAL = "ihuhas=més of HAB III 41, and Hakkarpilis = brother of the King, who composed the text (cf. KBo III 38, rev.1' A-HI-IA-x[ ; Otten, 1973a, pp.10-11), while the overthrow of the Zalpaean revolt under his son Happis may be recorded in the Annals as conquest of Zalpa (KBo X 1/2, obv.4/9). On the patrilineality implied by these generations of Kings, see Bin Nun, 1975, p.27.


25. KBo III 38, rev.11'-26'; cf. KBo XXII 2, 4'ff; Otten, 1973a, pp.10-13, 50.
26. Cf. OH KBo XXII 2, 13'-15'/late copy KBo III 38, rev. 30-31, where the former has LUGAL ŠU.GI (14'), which the later scribe interpreted as LŪMES GAL (30); see Otten, 1973a, pp.12-13, 55-56, 62.

27. For text in CTH 1, and comm., see Neu, 1974a, pp.10-12. Cf. Gurney, CAH² II, vi, pp.9, 13, who thought it unlikely that Hattusilis and "his immediate predecessors ... were the direct descendants of Pitkhana and Anitta".


30. HAB I/II §§1-7, pp.2-7; pp.16-17, III/IV colophon, 1-3. Also, s.a., Ch.I, §2.111.6.3; Ch.II, §2.3.1; f.b.


32. For ed. see Imparati, Saporetti, 1965, pp.44-45, 77, 80; note Houwink Ten Cate, 1984, pp.47-55, with tr. of the Akk. text, with notes, comm. and ref. to the Hitt. and parallel texts; Bryce, 1982, pp.50ff., with tr. of the Hitt. See Houwink Ten Cate, l.c., with L.1, "The Great King Tabarna exercised Kingship in Hatti, the nephew of the Tawannanna."

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34. Cf. Dovgyalo, 1963, pp.72-83; Riemsneider, 1971, pp.79-102; comm. in Bin Nun, 1975, pp.11, suggesting on p.21, that, although Hattusilis' search for a "son" as legitimate heir only makes sense with patrilineal succession, his words "henceforth nobody will raise his sister's son" (HAB II, 9), might allude to a custom existing until his time, possibly with its origin in a different family organisation. See Beckman, 1986, p.21, ns.3, 41-43.

35. S.a., Ch.I, §2.vii.3.1.-3.2; note Bin Nun, 1975, p.15.


38. This concomitant is not stated by Astour, l.c., but see p.60, with n.470, where "an actual sibling marriage" is assumed between Arnuwandas I and Ašmunikal, and ref. made to the failure of the Hittite laws to ban this form of incest. But s.a., Ch.IV, §3.2.2.-2.3. with ref. Bryce, 1981, p.12, considers that Labarnas (of Sanhuitta) may have been an adopted son of Hattusilis' grandfather, and married to the latter's daughter "very likely the Tawananna".


"I have given Mursilis [ ]; let him take the throne of his father".

See Beckman, 1986, p.27, Table pp.26-31; Otten, 1988a,p.81.

40. S.a., Ch.II, §6.B.3.1.-3.2. with notes and ref.

41. Note comm. in Szemerényi, 1977, p.205, on the "uxorilocality" to be observed in Homer, Il.6, 242ff.; Od.3, 387, reg. the sons with wives, daughters with husbands, resident in the palaces of Priam and Nestor, respectively.

42. S.a., Ch.II, §6.B.3.2. with ref. in n.316.


44. HED 2, pp.426-427. Note Riemsneider, 1971, p.99, who thinks Labarnas' appointment was as "regent" only.

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difficulty of determining the role of Sanahuita in this early period of the Hitt. Kingdom.
47. Note Bryce, 1981, p.15, with n.41.
49. Note KBo X 1/2, obv.23ff./46ff.; Imparati, Saporetti, 1965, pp.78, 81; 46-47.
50. S.a., 6.2.
51. For text, obv.7'ff., see Otten, 1973a, pp.8-9, with brief comm. p.58; note on kurur "hostility" and taksul "friendship", Neu, 1979a, pp.407-414.
52. Cf. Otten, 1951a, pp.50-51, conceding that the listing of Tawanannas before "her spouse" might suggest "Mutterrecht" (as Forrer thought), but also considering that the following Labarna was her son, and that the spouse's name had been lost in the lacuna above.
53. See text in Otten, 1951a, p.65 with n.54, sugg. (as Forrer thought) that this might be the genealogy of the first Labarna.
54. For the reading BU-LUGAL(-ma) see HZ p.262, No.339 with ref. Note Astour, 1989, p.12, n.73, who dismisses the possible identity of the above with Hatt.'s grandfather; on the improbability of this Tuthaliya being a reigning predecessor of Hatt. I, see Astour, l.c., ref. to Güterbock, 1938, p.135; also Carruba, 1969, p.226 with n.3. Cf. Otten, 1966, p.114, who believes these names indicate:
"dass die Dynastie mit ihrer Tradition weit ins 17. Jahrhundert zurückreichte, ohne dass aber eine geschichtliche Rekonstruktion der Zeit und ihrer Ereignisse möglich wäre."
55. For this sequence of events note Bryce, 1981, pp.13-14. See C. Kühne, Bemerkungen zu kürzlich edierten hethitischen Texten, ZA 62 (1972) pp.257-260, for ed. with comm. of KUB XL 65, providing the beg. of LL. II 74-III 12a, and differing from Sommer's rest. in HAB. For a tr. with rest. of III 13-25, see Gurney, CAH2 II, vi, p.22. On the revolt of Hakkarpilis, another son of Hattusilis I, s.a., 3.2.
with n.21; note Gurney, l.c. p.21.

56. For translit. and tr. of this pass. in HAB I/II 2-4, note Beal, 1983, p.117 with n.18; s.a., Ch.I, §2.iii.6.1.

57. S.a., Ch.I, §2.vi.3.1.-3.2.

58. Note KBo III 57 (CTH 11), thought by Kempinski, Košak, 1982, p.98 (after Forrer), to be a Chronicle from Hantilis' time referring to Mursilis as DUMU-ŠU of Hatt. (obv.4'), and to the latter as A-BI-ŠU (10'); note Gurney, CAH II vi, p.18; on the succession and conquests see Gurney, l.c. p.24; Klengel, GS I, pp.35-36; Astour, 1989, p.14, and ns.83, 86.

59. For former view see Hardy, 1941, p.196, n.69; also Riemschneider, 1971, p.82, with ns.11, 12, doubting the accuracy of KBo I 6 (CTH 75), obv.13. For latter view, see e.g. Gurney, CAH II vi, p.21; Otten, 1966, p.119; Bin Nun, 1975, pp.17-19; Beal, 1983, pp.122-124, favouring Hastayara as daughter of Hatt. and mother of Mursilis, the father being possibly Maratti named after her in KBo III 34, II 1-7 (with dupl.); note Astour, 1989, p.13.


61. Cf. Riemschneider, 1971, p.82 (foll. Goetze), who considers the "older" sources more reliable, and (n.11) contrasts the wording of Labarnas' "adoption" and the simple statement reg. Mursilis as "my son".

62. S.a., Ch.VI, §5.B. 9.1. with cit. 21); Ch.VII, §2.2.1.

63. S.a., 1.1, with ns.2, 3; note Gurney, CAH II, xv(a), p.3, n.3; Beal, 1983, pp.123, 124.

64. §11. 32. [(NIN! $muru-)$]š1-i-i li DAM-an-ni har-ta; Hoffmann, 1984, pp.18-19, with n.2; note Goetze, 1957b, p.55; Gurney, CAH II, xv(a), p.3.


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68. See Hoffmann, 1984, p.18, n.1 to §1132; Astour, 1989, p.21 with n.133, remarks that Zidantas was married to Hantilis' daughter by Mursilis.


70. Typical matrilineal kinship terminologies and social structures equate the offspring of the mother and daughter, e.g. Ego calls his sister's male children "brother", reflecting their relationship as potential heirs to the "mother's brother"; see e.g. Lounsbury, 1969, Figs. 4, 7, 9, 11, pp.224-241; note Fox, 1973, pp.111ff.

71. §§21-22, 4-9; Hoffmann, 1984, pp.26-27; also Liverani, 1977, p.116, d), 117. Riemschneider, 1971, p.97, postulates that Huzziyas and Istapariyas were children of Ammunas' sister, while Telepinus was son of Ammunas, which seems unlikely since first cousin marriages would have been prohibited surely at this period as well as later (Suppiluliumas I), acc. to customary law; s.a. Ch.I, §4.xii.2.3., 3.2; Ch. IV, §3.2.3.D.


75. See Astour, 1989, pp.23-25, esp. with n.145; on Huzziyas II of the Land donations, see f.b.; note on the GAL (LU.MEš) MEŠEDTI, Daddi, 1982, pp.548-555, with prev. ref.

76. §§25-26, 22-30; §31, 52-53; §33, 68-69; Hoffmann, 1984, pp.28-31, 34-37; see also l.c. pp.63-67, for ed. KBo XII 8, with IV 20'-30' dealing with same incident and ref. 7 AT-HU-TIM "relatives" killed with Huzziyas. Also Astour, 1989, p.25. On Tarhurwailis and "blinding" see f.b.
77. Astour, 1989, p.26, with ns.163-165 giving prev. interpr. by other scholars; note tr. in Hoffmann, 1984, p.31, with n.2:

"[War]um (ist es nötig, dass) sie sterben? Man wird (vor) ihnen die Augen verhüllen."

78. See Astour, 1989, p.26, ref. esp. to rev.49, because it contains walh- "strike". But this L., rest. with join to KBo XIX 38, reads a-pa-a-ša-aš nam-ma Ū-UL wa-al-ah-ta ša-a-ku-wa-pāt mu-un-na-it

"And moreover he (Madduwattas) did not strike them; he 'turned a blind eye'"


79. It forms part of Telepinus' direct speech to his audience before he stated the actual punishment.


81. §33, 69; Hoffmann, 1984, pp.36-37.

82. Astour, 1989, p.27; for the seal and text see Otten, 1971, pp.59-68.

83. Astour, l.c.

84. See Otten, 1986, pp.28ff., with Abb.8 for Bo 84/465; KBo XXXII 185, with KBo XXXII p.VI.

85. §28, 36-39; Hoffmann, 1984, pp.32-33; Beckman, 1986, p.13, with n.1; also, Gurney, CAH² II xv(a), p.10; Menabde, 1960, p.4; Liverani, 1977, p.118. S.a., Ch.II, §2.4.1.-4.2; Ch.VI, §3, 3.1. with cit. 6).

86. S.a., Ch.II, §2.4.2.

87. See Beckman, 1986, p.22 with n.46.

88. On the LU antiyanza s.a., Ch.VI, §3.

89. See Otten, 1968, Tabelle II A, III B, I; 1986, Abb.2 and 3; KBo XXXII p.VI.


91. See Forrer, 2BoTU 26, and p.*16, with n.2, ammending DUMU.NITA to DUMU.MUNUS(Meš), and n.3, ref. 5' for ŠES or
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LÚ?; note Bin Nun, 1975, p.97 with n.163, interpr. "daughters of Telepinus".

92. Forrer, l.c.; for the first three female PN see NH 854; 554; 1546.


94. mal-lu-wa-am-na-aš-ša URU ha-[at-tu-ši] /ú-e-eš nu-za URU ha-at-tu-ši[; see comm. on No.74 as "Instruction?", by Otten, KUB XXXI p.iv.

95. See Otten, 1973a, p.36; n. ta-at-ta "you took" (for paradigm see e.g. SHV pp.64-65) at beg. of 14' which may have encouraged the rest. of ta-a-an-n[a.

96. If the rest. of KUB XI 3, 4' is correct.

97. See comm. in Easton, 1981, p.27, with ref.; for independent eds. of this text see Carruba, 1974, pp.80ff.; Bin Nun, 1974, pp.116ff., who rest. with comm. in ns.38, 39), obv.18'-19': mta-hur-w][a]-i-li DUMU MÍ KAR.KI[D mta-ru-uh-šu-un / mta-nu-wa-an-na SESMES SU[ , not attempted in Carruba, l.c., and uncertain.

98. See Easton, 1981, p.27, ref. Forrer, and Bin Nun; also Astour, 1989, p.27; contra Carruba, 1974, pp.80, who sees a later King than Alluwamnas as author.

APPENDIX II.


2. Cf. Hoffner, l.c., - an "anti-Walmu faction had been raised to the throne"--; Bryce, 1985b, p.21, associates Walmus with a pro-Hittite regime in Wilusa, overthrown by "anti-Hittite elements."

3. On Piyamaradus s.a., Ch.VII, §3.1.2.2. with ref. Note comm. in Bryce, 1985b, pp.22-23, with n.33.

4. For text see Hoffner, 1982, pp.131, 132, 133; on the identification of Milawata with classical Miletos, see rec. T.R. Bryce, l.c., pp.123-125, with prev. ref.
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5. Hoffner, l.c. p.133.
6. L.c.; see CAD A₁ pp.10-29, for abālu (wabālu, babālu).
7. Hoffner, l.c.
9. See CHD pp.163-167, esp. p.165, 5.b. (administer etc., lands, cities, border points), and note p.166, b. maniyahh-with preverb āppa, "to hand over, deliver".
11. E.g. [Z]AG-IA RA-an-zi "they attack my border", KUB XIX 55 +, obv.27; AU, pp.200-201, 216; KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176, Puduhepa), II 6, GAM RA-ti (*katta walhti) "you humiliate"; Stefanini, 1964a, p.47; KUB XXII 51 (CTH 577), II 2, RA-zi (and GUL-ah-zi); 3, RA-an-zi. On RA/GUL see HW¹, p.290 (cf. CHD p.9, contra lahiya-). KUB XXI 51, obv.15', has the PN "Eagle-man" (NH 1733) written mĀMUŠEN.LŪ (also in oracle, KBo XVIII 142, obv.3, rev.9), but as mĀMUŠEN.ZA in rev.3'; Hoffner, 1981, pp.131, 132, notes the PN in KUB XIX 55 +, rev.38, mKARAḵ.ZA, to be read "Kuwatna-zitis" (i.e. "Army-man"), now read as Ku(wa)lana-zitis; on Hitt. ku(­wa)lan- n. "army", see Starke, 1990, pp.234-237, with ref. See further, Singer, 1985, p.111, n.70, noting linguistic similarities in KUB XIX 55 + and KBo IV 14, ascribed to Tuthaliyas IV.
13. Note Hawkins, 1990, pp.305-314, on the Südburg inscription at Bogazköy, which may be attributed to Suppiluliumas II (l.c. pp.313-314), which describes a campaign to western Anatolia, similar to that of Tuthaliyas IV, naming also the Lukka lands (Lycia) and Wiyanawanda (Oenoanda), but not Awarna and Pinali. See also prev. comm. in Singer, 1983b, p.216 with n.40.
14. On these events see Bryce, 1985b, pp.20ff.
15. See Singer, 1983b, p.216. The possible new reading of this name as Parhuitta, is considered by J.D. Hawkins.

APPENDIX III.


3. Rev.8'-27'; see Otten, l.c., pp.45-46, but note, KUB XXVI 70 does not mean Urhi-Tešub was a reigning contemporary of Salmaneser I; see e.g. Rowton, 1966, pp.249-252.

4. LL.6'-7'; see Hagenbuchner, l.c. pp.252, 256, 259.

5. Cf. translit. and tr. in Hagenbuchner, l.c., and Otten, l.c., pp.42-43; in the latter 1.4' is interpr. as a quotation. Ref. SIG₅-ŠU-[u]-en "we became friendly", see SIG₅-[u]- "gut werden", sub assu- in HW²_I, p.494, 2.(3).

6. Obv.14'-18'; ed. Hagenbuchner, l.c., pp.260ff., with prev. ref.; see also Heinhold-Krahmer, 1988, p.89. Do the first few lines of KUB XXIII 103, rev 1'-7' attest some exchange of letters, with reported dialogue, during Hattusilis' reign before an agreement was established?

7. Reg. Hattusilis vis à vis Adad-nirari I, s.a., Ch.VII, §4.ii.2.3. with ref.
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4) L.c., I 5'-12'.

5) KBo I 1 (CTH 51.I.A), obv.56-60.

6) KBo I 3 + (CTH 52.I), obv.59-62.

7a. KUB XXIX 1 (CTH 414.A), III 41-43.
   b. KBo III 27 (CTH 5), obv.16'-17'.
   c. KBo III 28 (CTH 9.6), II 27'.
   d. Bo 6873, 8.
   e. KBo XIV 109 (CTH 500), 3'-4'.
   f. KUB XXIII 1 + (CTH 105), II 8-15.
   g. L.c., II 28-29.

8) KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.53'-56'.

9) KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.47'-51'.

10) KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.12'-14'.

11) KBo I 8 + KUB III 8 + KBo XXVIII 116 (CTH 92) + 117, obv.16-21.

12) KUB XXI 40 (CTH 209.2), III 7'-11'.

VIII.

1) KBo VI 29 + (CTH 85.1.A), I 16-21.

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   b. KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), rev.58.
   c. KUB I 1 + (CTH 81.A), III 2.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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