

Bureaucracy and Bureaucratic Change in Hittite Administration

by

Remzi Tayfun Bilgin

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Gary M. Beckman, Chair
Associate Professor Benjamin W. Fortson
Professor Piotr A. Michalowski
Emeritus Professor Norman Yoffee

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Abbreviations in Bibliographical and Textual Material

<i>ABoT</i>	<i>Ankara arkeoloji müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletleri</i>
<i>AM</i>	Goetze, A. <i>Die Annalen des Muršiliš</i> , MDOG 38. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933.
<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies (Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara)</i>
<i>ArAn</i>	<i>Archivum Anatolicum</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
<i>AÖAW</i>	<i>Anzeiger den Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil-hist. Klasse</i>
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BLMJ</i>	<i>Emar Tablets from the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem</i>
<i>Boğazköy III</i>	K. Bittel et al. <i>Boğazköy III. Funde aus den Grabungen 1952–1955</i> . Berlin.
<i>BoHa</i>	<i>Boğazköy-Hattuša</i> , 1957.
<i>BoHa 14</i>	Boehmer, Rainer M. and Hans Gustav Güterbock. <i>Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy. Grabungskampagnen 1931–1939, 1952–1978</i> , Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1987.
<i>BoHa 22</i>	Dinçol, Ali M. and Belkıs Dinçol. <i>Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel aus der Oberstadt von Boğazköy-Hattusa von 16. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende der Grossreichzeit</i> , Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 2008.
<i>BoHa 23</i>	Herbordt, Suzanne, Daliah Bawanypeck, and J. David Hawkins. <i>Die Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen auf Tonbulln aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa</i> , Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 2011.
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
<i>CHD</i>	<i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
<i>ChS</i>	<i>Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler</i>
<i>CTH</i>	Laroche, Emmanuel. <i>Catalogue des textes Hittites</i> . Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.
<i>CoS</i>	<i>Context of Scripture</i> , vol. I–III, edited by W. W. Hallo. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2003.
<i>DBH</i>	<i>Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie</i>
<i>Emar IV</i>	Beyer, Dominique. 2001. <i>Emar IV: Les sceaux</i> . OBO Series Archaeologica 20.

Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

- Emar VI* Arnaud, Daniel. 1986. *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Textes sumériens et accadiens Texte*, Emar VI/3. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Eothen* *Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico*. Firenze: LoGisma.
- FsAlp* *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Sedat Alp*, edited by H. Otten, H. Ertem, E. Akurgal, and A. Süel. Ankara: TTK, 1992.
- FsArchi* *Studi di Ittitologia in onore di Alfonso Archi*, edited by R. Francia and G. Torri. *Orientalia* 79/2. 2010.
- FsBeckman* *Beyond Hatti: A Tribute to Gary Beckman*, edited by B. J. Collins and P. Michalowski. Atlanta: Lockwood Press.
- FsCarruba* *Studi di Ittitologia in onore di Onofrio Carruba*, edited by A. Archi and F. Pecchioli Daddi. *OrNS* 73/4. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 2004.
- FsdeRoos* *The Life and Times of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV. Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Honour of J. de Roos, 12–13 December 2003, Leiden*, edited by Th. P. J. van den Hout. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- FsDinçol* *Belkis Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol'a Armağan VITA Festschrift in Honor of Belkis Dinçol and Ali Dinçol*, edited by M. Alparslan, M. Doğan-Alparslan and H. Peker. Istanbul: Ege, 2007.
- FsGüterbock* *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by K. Bittel, Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate and E. Reiner. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul, 1974.
- FsGüterbock²* *Kaniššuwār: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on his Seventy-fifth Birthday May 27, 1983*, edited by H. A. Hoffner and G. M. Beckman. *AS* 23. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1986.
- FsHaas* *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalistische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by T. Richter, D. Prechel, and J. Klinger. Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001.
- FsHawkins* *Ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis: Luwian and Hittite Studies presented to J. David Hawkins on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, edited by I. Singer. Tel-Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2010.
- FsHoffner* *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by G. Beckman, R. Beal, and G. McMahon. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003.
- FsHouwink ten Cate* *Studio Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by Th. P. J. van den Hout & J. de Roos. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut vor het Nabije Oosten, 1995.

- FsKořak* *Tabularia Hethaeorum; Hethitologische Beitrage Silvin Kořak zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by D. Groddek and M. Zorman. DBH 25. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007.
- FsLebrun II* *Studia Anatolica et Varia. Melanges offerts au Professeur Rene Lebrun (Vol. II)*, edited by M. Mazoyer and O. Casabonne. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004.
- FsMeriggi²* *Studia mediterranea: Piero Meriggi dictata*, edited by O. Carruba. Pavia: Aurora Edizioni, 1979.
- FsNeve* *Festschrift fur Peter Neve, zum 65. Geburtstag am 3. April 1994 von Freunden und Kollegen*, edited by J. Seeher. IstMitt 43. 1993.
- FsNozguc* *Nimet Ozguc'e Armađan. Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Ozguc*, edited by M. J. Mellink, E. Porada, and T. Ozguc. Ankara: TTK, 1993.
- FsTozguc* *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honor of Tahsin Ozguc*, edited by K. Emre, B. Hrouda, M. J. Mellink, and N. Ozguc. Ankara: TTK, 1989.
- FsOtten²* *Documentum Asiae minoris antiquae. Festschrift fur Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*, edited by E. Neu and C. Ruster. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988.
- FsPopko* *Silva Anatolica: Anatolian Studies Presented to M. Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by P. Taracha. Warsaw: Agade, 2002.
- FsWilhelm* *Festschrift fur Gernot Wilhelm anlasslich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010*, edited by J. C. Fincke. Dresden: Islet, 2009.
- GsForrer* *Őarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer*, edited by D. Groddek und S. Roble. DBH 10. Dresden: TU Dresden, 2004.
- GsNeu* *Investigationes Anatolicae: Gedenkschrift fur Erich Neu*, edited by J. Klinger, E. Rieken, and C. Ruster. StBoT 52. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010.
- GsDiakonoff* *Memoriae Igor M. Diakonoff*, edited by L. Kogan, N. Koslova, S. V. Loesov, and S. Tishchenko. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005.
- GsImparati* *Anatolia antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, edited by S. de Martino and F. Pecchioli Daddi. Eothen 11. Firenze: LoGisma, 2002.
- HCCT-E* Hirayama Collection Cuneiform Texts (in Japan), Emar.
- HED* Puhvel, Jaan. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin - New York: Mouton, 1984ff.
- HEG* Tischler, Johann. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, Innsbruck: Inst. fur Sprachen und Literaturen der Univ. Innsbruck, 1977ff.
- HKM* Alp, Sedat. *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Mařat*. Ankara: TTK, 1991.
- HW²* Friedrich, Johannes, A. Kammenhuber and I. Hoffmann, *Hethitisches Worterbuch. 2nd ed. Indogermanische Bibliothek. 2. Reihe: Worterbucher*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1975ff.

- HZL* Rüster, Christel and Erich Neu. *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten, (StBoTB 2)*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1989.
- IBoT* *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri 1–4*. Istanbul – Ankara: TTK, 1991.
- ICH 1* *Uluslararası 1. Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri (19–21 Temmuz 1990)*. Çorum, Ankara: Uluslararası Çorum Hitit Festivali Komitesi, 1992.
- ICH 2* *Atti del II congresso internazionale di hittitologia, Pavia 28 giugno - 2 luglio 1993, (StMed 9)*. Pavia: Gianni Iuculano, 1995.
- ICH 3* *III. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, Çorum 16–22 Eylül 1996 - Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, September 16–22, 1996*, edited by S. Alp and A. Süel. Ankara: Uyum Ajans, 1998.
- ICH 4* *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4–8 Oktober 1999*, edited by G. Wilhelm. StBoT 45. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2001.
- ICH 5* *V. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, Çorum 02–08 Eylül 2002 - Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum September 02–08, 2002*, edited by A. Süel. Ankara: Nokta Ofset, 2005.
- ICH 6* *VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia. Roma, 5–9 settembre 2005. Parte I, (SMEA 49), Parte II, (SMEA 50)*, edited by A. Archi and R. Francia. Rome: CNR, Istituto di studi sulle civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, 2007–2008.
- ICH 7* *VII. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri Çorum 25–31 Ağustos 2008 - Acts of the VIIth International Congress of Hittitology Çorum, August 25–31, 2008*, edited by A. Süel. Ankara: Anıt, 2010.
- ICH 8* *VIII. 2011. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Hittitology. Warsaw, 5–9 September, 2011*, edited by P. Taracha. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Agade, 2014.
- JANES* *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
- JEOL* *Jaarbericht van het Voor-Aziatisch-Egyptisch-Gezelschap. Ex Oriente Lux*
- JKF* *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung (=Anadolu Araştırmaları)*
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- KBo* *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Leipzig – Berlin
- Konkordanz* Košak, Silvin. *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln*. In <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>, 2002–2006.

- KUB* Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi. Berlin
- LhK* Rüter, Christel and Gernot Wilhelm. *Landschenkungsurkunden hethitischer Könige*, StBoT Beiheft 4, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.
- MDOG* *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*. Berlin
- MVAeG* *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*. Leipzig
- MIO* *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*. Berlin
- NH* Laroche, Emmanuel. *Les Noms des Hittites*, Études linguistiques 4, Paris: Klincksieck, 1966, and “Les noms des Hittites: supplément,” *Hethitica* 4 (1981): 3–58.
- Niș.* Herbordt, Suzanne. *Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel der hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbullien aus dem Nișantepe-archiv in Hattusa*, BoHa 19. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 2005.
- OA* *Oriens Antiquus*. Rome
- OIS 4* *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, edited by N. Brisch. Oriental Institute Seminars 4. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2008.
- OLZ* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*. Berlin
- OrNS* *Orientalia New Series*. Rome
- PRU III* Nougayrol, Jean. *Le palais royal d'Ugarit III: Textes accadiens at hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1955.
- PRU IV* Nougayrol, Jean. *Le palais royal d'Ugarit IV: Textes accadiens des archives sud*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1956.
- PRU VI* Nougayrol, Jean. *Le palais royal d'Ugarit VI: Textes en cunéiformes babyloniens des archives du grand palais et du palais sud d'Ugarit*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1970.
- RA* *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale*. Paris
- RE* Beckman, Gary. *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*, HANE/M 2, Padova: Sargon, 1996.
- RGTC* *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes*. Wiesbaden
- RHA* *Révue Hittite et Asianique*. Paris
- RIMA 1* *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods v. 2: Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC*. Toronto, 1987.
- RIA* *Reallexikon der Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie)*. Berlin
- RSO* *Ras Shamra-Ougarit*. Paris
- SBo I* Güterbock, Hans Gustav. *Siegel aus Boğazköy I (AfO Beiheft 5)*. Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1940.

- SBo II* Güterbock, Hans Gustav. *Siegel aus Boğazköy II* (AfO Beiheft 7). Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1942.
- SMEA* *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*. Rome
- StBoT* *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*. Wiesbaden
- StBoTB* *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten: Beihefte*. Wiesbaden
- StAs* *Studia Asiana*, Rome
- StMed* *Studia Mediterranea*. Pavia: Gianni Iuculano
- Tel Aviv* *Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University*. Tel-Aviv
- TTK* *Türk Tarih Kurumu*. Ankara
- THeth* *Texte der Hethiter*. Heidelberg
- UF* *Ugarit-Forschungen*. Kevelaer
- Ugar. III* Schaeffer, Cl. F.-A. et al., *Ugaritica III. Sceaux et cylindres hittites, épée gravée du cartouche de Mineptah. tablettes chypro-minoennes et autres découvertes nouvelles da ras shamra*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1956.
- Ugar. V* Schaeffer, Cl. F.-A. et al., *Ugaritica V. Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit; commentaires des textes historiques (première partie)*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1968.
- VBoT* Götze, Albrecht. *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*. Marburg, 1930.
- VS NF* Jakob-Rost, Liane. *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy im Vorderasiatischen Museum (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Neue Folge, Heft XII)*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1997.
- WO* *Die Welt des Orients*
- WVDOG* *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*. Leipzig – Berlin
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*. Leipzig - Berlin

Frequently Abbreviated Terms and Conventional Markings

Akk.	Akkadian
cun.	Cuneiform
dupl(s).	duplicate(s)
GN	Geographical Name
hier.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Hitt.	Hittite
l(l).	line(s)
l. col.	left column
l.e.	left edge
LNS	Late New Hittite Script
lo.e.	lower edge
Luw.	Luwian
MH	Middle Hittite
MS	Middle Hittite Script
n(s).	footnote(s)
NS	New Hittite Script
OA	Old Assyrian
OH	Old Hittite
OS	Old Hittite Script
obv.	obverse
PN	Personal Name
r. col.	right column
rev.	reverse
u.e.	upper edge
=	equivalences in dupls., lexical texts, etc.
()	in lemma encloses omissible part of the stem in translation encloses words not in the Hittite but needed to make sense in English
[]	encloses material lost in break
┌ or └	encloses material partially broken
[()]	encloses material restored from a duplicate
< >	encloses material omitted by scribal error
<< >>	encloses material to be omitted

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Issues and Objectives

This purpose of this study is to investigate the administrative organization of the Hittite state in its entirety (c.1650–1180 BCE), with particular emphasis on the state offices and their officials. The Hittite state emerged in central Anatolia as a patrilineal and patrimonial society, which, under the Weberian tripartite classification of authority, falls under the category of “traditional domination,” whereby the authority of a regime is tied to preexisting traditions and customs. Like most of the contemporary polities of the ancient Near East, the Hittite state remained an absolute monarchy during its half-millennium existence. During this period, nearly all of its rulers were members of the same royal family. Throughout it all, the king’s absolute control of the state never changed; however, as the state grew from a small Anatolian principality into a multiethnic empire, its administrative system expanded accordingly. According to the structure of the patrimonial system, as the household expands it gives rise to a state with a patrimonial government, wherein the functions of household administration become governmental offices. As the state expands, the patrimonial state moves towards bureaucratization with a deeper hierarchy and increased specialization. Yet the question of whether the Hittite state truly follows Weber’s definition has unto this point not been thoroughly and satisfactorily investigated. How well do the bureaucratic changes in the Hittite state parallel the textbook definition of a patrimonial state? This study tries to answer this question by

examining the components of the state's administrative structure, particularly its offices and officials.

The administrative organization of a state is an extension of its social organization. The social structure of ancient Near Eastern Late Bronze Age societies remains a contested issue:¹ where some scholars defend the existence of more bureaucratized and de-centralized societies with multiple sectors, other scholars claim the societies were purely patrimonial systems, with only a single sector controlled by the palace. In the case of the Hittites, the study of their society is hindered by the lack of textual sources for the private sphere in Anatolia or references to demographics in the existing sources.² This is in contrast to Mesopotamian sources, where documents of socio-economic nature constitute the majority of extant texts.³ Nearly the entire Hittite corpus is a product of the Hittite state's organization, yet the documents that can be classified as "administrative" constitute a small portion of this corpus—a great majority of which belong to rituals and festivals of the state cults.⁴ As a result, the study of the administrative structure of the Hittite state as regards its day-to-day functions—activities that would have produced such administrative records—does not yield satisfactory results. In light of the dearth of such documentation, this study investigates the administration of the state from a different perspective, focusing mainly on the officials of the state and their functions. It surveys the textual sources from all periods of Hittite history concerning various groups of officials, offices, and titles, and then analyzes Hittite governmental structure within a greater framework to observe patterns and trends, to better portray its development.

¹ See Schloen (2001: 187ff.) and the extensive bibliography therein.

² See Wilhelm (2009: 223f.).

³ See Siegelová (1986: 11–13).

⁴ On the nature of Hittite textual sources, see van den Hout (2005 and 2008).

By the time of the Empire period, the Hittite state had reached a considerable size, occupying most of Anatolia and northern Syria. Documents from its capital Boğazköy and other Anatolian settlements—e.g., Maşat, Kuşaklı, Kayalıpınar, Ortaköy, Oymaağaç, as well as ones from northern Syrian centers like Emar, Alalah, and Ras Shamra—indicate the level of centralization and complexity of the state’s organization. Various letters testify to the involvement of the Hittite king in the daily affairs of the state, but nevertheless the king would not have been able to run an empire single-handedly. The king’s immediate family—the queen (*tawananna*), the crown prince (*tuhkanti*), and other sons—were certainly involved in state matters, but beyond that there were a large number of officials. The Hittite sources contain references to more than 600 different titles, designations, and occupations from various domains (such as military, civil administration, temples, palace, agriculture, husbandry, craftsmanship, and commerce).⁵ The great majority of these titles and designations attested are lower-level positions, but the particular interest of this investigation lies at the high-level officials. These offices are primarily considered because they form the central government of the organizational structure. They are distinguished by their titles and frequently attested in sources; they witness important state documents and hold positions of authority.

Various generic terms distinguish high officials from others, such as “Grandee/Great” (^{LÚ}GAL), “Prince” (DUMU.LUGAL), “Lord” (EN/*BĒLU*), or “Courtier” (^{LÚ}SAG). These officials are encountered in a wide range of documents of various genres. A major portion of this work (Chapters 3 and 4) concerns the investigation of these offices and their officials. While several studies have already been conducted about many of these high offices, they often investigate individual offices rather than the administrative network or hierarchy. Even the studies in which multiple offices are investigated tend to focus solely on limited aspects of the

⁵ See the list in Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 611–28).

offices. In addition to identifying the basic facts about each office, a particular concern of this study is to indicate the organizational changes which developed over time. To this end, the following points are investigated throughout the analysis: the frequency of the offices attested synchronically and diachronically, the level of specificity of their responsibilities, the synchronic and diachronic analysis of these responsibilities, the level of hierarchical order of the administration, and the appropriateness of designating the Hittite administration as a patrimonial or a bureaucratic government.

Concerning the existence of a hierarchical order, the investigation will provide additional information regarding the theoretical analysis of the administrative structure as well as its level of complexity and rationality. The difficulties inherent in the process of analyzing the hierarchy of the Hittite state seem to have discouraged such undertakings by scholars up to this point. The geographical magnitude and longevity of the Hittite state presuppose the existence of a hierarchy of a certain level of complexity. Since there are no obvious sources that describe in full the hierarchical organization of the state, one has to glean clues from various sources. In analyzing the hierarchy, multiple factors such as kinship, age, and experience remain possible determinants, as well as indicators of superiority or subordination. These factors are addressed through investigating who gives orders to whom, and by examining the order of appearances in letter salutations, forms of address, and in other collective attestations of officials.⁶ More detailed analysis is applied to the witness lists of the late Old Kingdom and late Empire periods, which have proved to be a mainstay of my thesis as they suggest the existence of a certain hierarchy of protocol. But it should be kept in mind that hierarchy functions on multiple levels. For example, a hierarchy that reflects the order of court protocol is not necessarily the same as a hierarchy that reflects the chain of command.

⁶ See Beckman (1995a) for a similar analysis of Hittite provincial administration based on the Emar and Maşat officials.

In regards to determining the extent of patrimonialism or bureaucracy, an issue that needs to be investigated is the rationality of the process that leads to the assignment of officials to their offices, according to the Weberian definition. It is certainly already known that several of the highest officials (such as most of the known *GAL MEŠEDIs*) were close relatives of the king, but so far the extent to which this practice of nepotism extended throughout the administrative layers of the state has not been examined satisfactorily. The study, therefore, investigates the extent of the royal family's involvement in various offices, as well as the nature of officials identified with designations like *DUMU.LUGAL* and ^{LÚ}*SAG*, to whom various offices were given. Several other matters pertain to the rational process, such as education or training, length of terms in office, frequency of assignments, and alterations within the area of responsibility, but often the restrictive nature of the sources makes it difficult to reach confident conclusions on some of these issues (see below).

The objectives of the study, therefore, can be described in two parts: a comprehensive analysis of the top offices of the administration through a prosopographical examination of their incumbents, and an evaluation of the administrative structure and its theoretical place based on the results obtained from the analysis of these offices and officials.

1.2 Previous Research

As aforementioned, while there have been other studies of the administrative structure of the Hittite state, they have tended to be less comprehensive, focusing either on certain groups of documents, functions, offices, or time periods. The fullest treatment of Hittite state organization was provided by Imparati (1999a) in her supplementary chapter to Klengel's history of the Hittite state. In this she treats the administration of the Hittite state and includes a subsection in which she summarizes the various aspects of Hittite officials and bureaucracy. Several other

studies are even less specific in their presentation of Hittite administrative organization; I summarize as follows: Starke (1996) discusses the collective nature of the high officials, namely the “Greats” (^{LÚ}.MEŠ GAL), whom he chooses to equate with the ^{LÚ}.MEŠ SAG—an equation which will be argued against in this study. Beal’s (1992) detailed work on Hittite military organization examines most of the top offices, although for the most part he focuses on the military responsibilities of these officials. Other studies concentrate on the function and duties of individual offices. Bin-Nun’s works on GAL MEŠEDI (1973) and Tawananna (1975), as well as Gurney’s work on *tuhkanti* (1983) are the most comprehensive treatments concerning those titles, although they are now rather dated. Several other offices have also been investigated, primarily by Italian scholars, notably Pecchioli Daddi on (GAL) KARTAPPI (1977), ^{LÚ}uriyanni and ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI (2010); de Martino on (GAL) SAGI (1982); Rosi on (GAL) UKU.UŠ (1984); and Marizza on GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL (2006), GAL GEŠTIN (2007b), and GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) (2010b). Singer’s treatments of ^{LÚ}AGRIG (1984a) and ^{LÚ}HAZANNU (1998) are also included among the notable studies. While all of these studies are certainly valuable contributions and are utilized by the present work, many are in need of updating if not serious revision. Specifically, those published prior to 1990 predate the publication of several new primary sources, including nearly two dozen new volumes of KBo from Boğazköy, the documents from Maşat and Kuşaklı, as well as additional volumes of texts from Hittite-dominated principalities of northern Syria such as Emar, Ugarit, and Qatna. Another significant source unavailable to earlier works is the large cache of seal impressions excavated in Nişantepe at Boğazköy during the 1990 and 1991 seasons. Among the over 3500 seals found in Nişantepe, close to forty percent belonged to Hittite officials (published by Herbordt in 2005; the royal seals were published by Herbordt, Bawanypeck, and Hawkins 2011).

Regarding the Hittite territorial administration and its offices, due to the availability of large archives like those of Ugarit and Emar, administration of the Syrian provinces has received more attention, such as by Arnaud (1984), Imparati (1987), Beckman (1992, 1995a), d’Alfonso (2000, 2005, 2011), Klengel (2001a and 2001b), Adamthwaite (2001), Faist (2002), and Mora (2004a, 2005, 2008a). The only decent-sized and published Anatolian archive outside of Boğazköy is that of Maşat Höyük, and Beckman’s (1995a) investigation of the hierarchical order of its officials remains the most significant administrative study of this border province. Governors of various types have been the subject of parts of several studies, such as Imparati (1974: 55–62) and Beal (1992: 437–42) on EN KUR^{TI}, and Hawkins (2005a: 306f.) on its hieroglyphic equivalent REGIO.DOMINUS; Beal (1992: 426–36) and Pecchioli Daddi (2003b: 50–53) on *BĒL MADGALTI*; and Arnaud (1984), Mora (2004a), and Balza (2006) on UGULA.KALAM.MA.

Some of the officials discussed in the secondary literature are rather controversial. For example, those who are identified with designations such as “prince” (DUMU.LUGAL) or “courtier” (LÚ.SAG) have been subject to several studies that suggest various interpretations regarding their connection to the royal family. The DUMU.LUGAL official has been studied in detail by Imparati (1975: 1987), whose suggestion that the numerous officials bearing this designation could not all have been the sons of the reigning kings is now generally accepted.⁷ The LÚ.MEŠ.SAG were also subject to several studies, including Starke (1996), Hawkins (2002), Pecchioli Daddi (2006: 121–24), Mora (2010b), and Peled (2013: 785f.). Two issues regarding the LÚ.MEŠ.SAG officials on which there is no consensus are whether they were eunuchs, and whether they were members of the royal family. I argue in the present study that at the Hittite court the LÚ.MEŠ.SAG designation did not necessarily imply the meaning “eunuchs,”—although

⁷ See Güterbock (BoHa 14: 74f.), Beal (1992: 413 n. 1550), Starke (1996: 144f.), Singer (1997: 418f.), and d’Alfonso (2005: 65).

that did not exclude the possibility of some of them being eunuchs—and that for the most part these officials were not related to the royal family.

Regarding prosopographical studies, the foremost is van den Hout's (1995a) investigation of the thirteenth-century officials who appear as witnesses in three important state documents of the Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV era (mid to late thirteenth century BCE), namely the two Tarhuntašša treaties (CTH 106.A and B) and the Šahurunuwa Text (CTH 225). Other prosopographical studies tend to limit their investigation to a much smaller scale, focusing on only certain groups, which include, but are not limited to, the high officials of the early Empire period by Marizza (2007a), the princes and other officials associated with the court of Karkamiš in a series of articles by Mora (2004b, 2005, 2008c, 2010b), the princes attested in Ugarit and Emar sources by C. Lebrun (2014), the Hurrian scribes of Boğazköy by Mascheroni (1984), a group of officials that appear in Syrian legal proceedings by d'Alfonso (2005), the witnesses of the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75) by Del Monte (1975) and again more recently by Devecchi (2010), and certain individuals who appear in votive texts by de Roos (2007a: 55–70). Another notable work is a detailed prosopographic study of the scribal families of Hattuša in the 13th century BCE by Gordin (2008). There have been numerous other studies that have focused on specific individuals or those with homonymous names, all of which are cited throughout the present study. It is perhaps unsurprising that most of these studies focus on individuals from the better-documented thirteenth century BCE, rather than the full span of the Hittite state. The present study, however, does not impose such limitations on the data, and in my prosopography chapters I investigate more than a hundred officials from all periods of Hittite history.

One of the major works that documents officials from the late Old Kingdom period is the recent publication of an enlarged corpus of royal land donation texts from Boğazköy (Rüster and

Wilhelm 2012). This publication includes over ninety documents of this type, more than doubling the number of previously known texts. Close to forty of these texts preserve witness lists with numerous names and titles of high officials, and several others are attested within the context of the documents as the beneficiaries or otherwise, almost all of whom are from the otherwise little known late Old Kingdom period. Although the limitation of the sources in this period is a handicap for the prosopographic study of these officials, the witness lists were very useful for comparative purposes and for an analysis of the rules of hierarchy.

On the topic of hierarchy a notable study is that of Beckman (1995a), who investigates the archives of Maşat and Emar and provides an organizational chart of officials in these provinces. Our picture of the hierarchy of the offices of the central administration, however, remains mostly obscure. Beal (1992: 527) provides only an imprecise chart of officials in his study of the Hittite military, and Starke (1996: 151) suggests an absence of hierarchical relationships among the top offices.

Three genres of administrative documents to be discussed in separate sections are instructions and oaths (CTH 251–275), land donation texts (CTH 222), and inventory texts (CTH 240–250), all of which have been the subject of multiple studies in the past. Some of the collective treatments of the instruction and oath texts include Giorgieri (1995), Pecchioli Daddi (2002a, 2005a, 2005b), d’Alfonso (2006), Mora (2008b), and a complete edition and discussion by Miller (2013). Several of these studies concern the different ways of classification of documents that fall into this group, while generally all agree on the fact that these texts are meant to establish rules and regulations. The land donation texts have been investigated in the past by various scholars, notably Güterbock (1940), Riemschneider (1958), Easton (1981), Carruba (1993), and Wilhelm (2005), but the most comprehensive study is the above-mentioned edition

of the corpus by Rüter and Wilhelm (2012), which brings a new understanding to the dating of this early group of texts, as well as revealing numerous new texts of the same genre. The major studies of the inventory texts (CTH 240–250) are those by Košak (1982) and Siegelová (1986). The latter scholar has established a subcategorization of the texts according to their particular function, such as records, purchases, lists, distributions, etc. The involvement of the members of the royal family and several officials in the transactions of goods are open to discussion regarding their role in the flow of state resources. The traditional view of the “inventory” documents is that they are the records of a regular flow of the state’s goods; however, Mora’s (2006) suggestion that they are actually “gifts” that feed the elites of the central administration is worthy of consideration.

The argument regarding the social structure of the state revolves mainly around identifying the classes of society that existed in the Hittite state. An important factor in making this identification is resolving how Hittite land tenure and the tax and corvée systems operated.⁸ While some of the early works by Güterbock (1954) and Goetze (1964) refer to the Hittite state as a feudal organization, this is rejected by Diakonoff (1967 and 1982), who defends the existence of a two-sector model made up of those who work for the state and those in the free community.⁹ More recently a counterargument was presented by Schloen (2001), who rejects the two-sector model, but instead defends the existence of a single sector controlled entirely by the state. Although Schloen’s main area of study is Ugarit, he extends the definition to all neighboring societies of the Near East in the Late Bronze Age, including that of the Hittites (2001: 311f.), and claims that the patrimonial household model of Weber is the best system to explain these societies. While in the present study I also defend the existence of a patrimonial

⁸ See Imparati (1982), Beal (1988).

⁹ Thus also Archi (1973, 1977), Imparati (1982), and Klengel (1986).

structure, I would like to make the distinction that I apply this definition only to the upper levels of the Hittite administrative structure, and do not defend the existence of a single sector in Hittite society.

1.3 Sources

For Hittite studies, besides the major archive of documents from Boğazköy, limited-size collections of texts from the Anatolian locations Maşat Höyük/Tapikka, Kuşaklı/Şarişša, Kayalıpınar/Şamuha, Oymaağaç/Nerik, Ortaköy/Şapinuwa,¹⁰ as well as large archives from Syrian locations Ras Shamra/Ugarit and Meskene/Emar are notable groups of cuneiform sources.

Since the main methods of the present work will be both individual and collective prosopographical studies, all genres of textual sources that include attestations of offices and officials, whether by name or only by title, are subject to the study. That said, however, certain genres do offer more relevant information. The importance of the instructions and oaths (CTH 251–275), land donations (CTH 222), and inventory documents (CTH 240–250) has already been mentioned above. Among the other documents, historical texts from all periods, including decrees, treaties, and annals (CTH 1–150), as well as correspondence (CTH 151–210) and court depositions (CTH 293–297) are some of the more important groups of texts that reveal information about individual officials. On the other hand, documents from genres like rituals (CTH 390–500), oracle and dream texts (CTH 531–590), and festivals (CTH 591–724), although not rich in attestations of personal names, provide information about offices through their anonymous attestations.

A particularly valuable primary source for prosopographical studies is the collections of seals and seal impressions, since they typically include officials' names and titles. Just as in their

¹⁰ With over 3500 tablet fragments, Ortaköy is not a small archive, but so far only a few texts have been published.

contemporary cultures, usage of seals among the officials from all levels of the Hittite administration was very common. In Hittite tradition, the preferred script of the seals is hieroglyphic Luwian, while cuneiform legends are typically found only on the outside bands of the digraphic royal seals.¹¹ Hittite seals are known to us predominantly through their impressions on clay bullae, but many actual seals have also been recovered. Like the cuneiform sources, the majority of these finds come from Boğazköy. These collections were published in multiple volumes, which include SBo I (Güterbock 1940), SBo II (Güterbock 1942), BoHa 5 (Beran 1967), BoHa 14 (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987), BoHa 19 (Herbordt 2005), BoHa 22 (A. Dinçol and B. Dinçol 2008b), and BoHa 23 (Herbordt, Bawanypeck, and Hawkins 2011). Numerous other seals and seal impressions have been found at many different sites in Anatolia and Syria, and many other unprovenanced ones exist in museums and private collections.¹²

1.4 Structure and Methodology

The general methodology of the present work can be described as an analysis of the textual sources and application of socio-historical theories to the results obtained in order to investigate the relevance of these themes to the ancient material.

The investigation of the administrative organization starts with a short chapter on the role of the royal family in this structure, namely the king, the queen, and the crown prince. However, rather than an investigative survey, this is only a summary introduction to pave the way to the officials of the state to be discussed in the following chapters. The following two chapters investigate the officials responsible for the administration of the territories of the state and the high officials of the central administration. The governorship offices and the high offices of the

¹¹ Some of the late Old Kingdom royal seals made exclusive use of cuneiform (see nos. 1–12 in Rüter and Wilhelm 2012: 41–48). On Hittite seal practices, see Boehmer and Güterbock (1987) and Herbordt (2005: 25–73).

¹² See Mora (1987) for a collection of all non-Boğazköy seals. For a complete list of all hieroglyphic Luwian seals, see Boysan-Dietrich et al. (2009).

central administration are investigated through a prosopographical analysis of the identified holders of these offices.

This is followed by a chapter that covers officials of the territorial administration, namely the rulers of the appanage kingdoms and the governors of the provinces. The latter group incorporates both the Provincial Governors (EN KUR) of larger internal territories such as the Upper Land or the Lower Land, and the Frontier Governors (*BĒL MADGALTI*) of the smaller border territories such as Tapikka/Maşat. Also included here is a brief treatment of the region-specific title UGULA.KALAM.MA of Emar and the less frequently attested *ŠAKIN MĀTI*, both of which are equivalent to governorship. The vassal rulers of the Hittite state are left out of this study. The highest officials of the central administration are studied in the fourth chapter, which includes the separate treatment of each individual office and a prosopographical study of dozens of officials in these offices. A separate section (4.14) in this chapter is reserved for the investigation of the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG officials, who form a distinct group that had risen to prominence only in the latest period of Hittite history. Finally the chapter ends with an analysis of the officers of the Hittite military, an area which is the primary responsibility of most of the high officials who occupy a dominant position. It is not a separate study of an office, but rather a collective treatment of all military commanders, many of whom occupy the offices discussed in the earlier sections of that chapter.

Subsections that investigate each office in territorial administration and the high offices of the central administration are analyzed employing similar methods. Two levels of research applied in these sections are: (1) a series of “individual prosopographies” of each identified official, and (2) a “collective prosopography.”¹³ An individual prosopography is essentially a textual survey of all known attestations of the individual’s name both in cuneiform and glyptic

¹³ On this terminology, see Bulst (1986: 3–5).

sources. This philological analysis gathers all available information about the individual in an attempt to determine who he was, what additional titles he may have had, during what periods he was active, in what activities he was involved, in what genres (administrative, military, cultic, judicial) of texts he is attested, who his family members and peers were, and what are the indications of superiority or subordination in respect to others. This individual study of each official is followed by a collective prosopography, which is a general discussion of the features of the office in question. This section combines the results obtained from the study of the identified holders of the office with anonymous attestations of the title and evaluates the overall aspects of the office, such as its chronological permanence, extent of responsibilities over multiple domains, and any changes that can be observed in sources of different periods.

A separate chapter is dedicated to the study of the administrative documents, again with a particular focus on the information they provide about the officials of the administration. Although information about officials can be obtained from administrative documents of various genres, three groups of texts that are paid particular attention are the instructions and oaths (CTH 251–275), land donations (CTH 222), and inventory documents (CTH 240–250). The significance of the instructions and oaths, particularly for the present study, is that they are the only group of texts that define rules and guidelines for the officials of the state and therefore provide valuable information about the bureaucratic nature of the administration. With the regulatory aspect of these documents in mind, certain other documents have also been included within the analysis of this group, notably the Pimpira Edict (CTH 24), the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8–9), and the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19). Both the land donation texts and the inventory documents are unique in the information they provide about involvement of state officials in the

distribution of wealth, while the former are particularly important in the discussion of hierarchy, due to their incorporation of ordered lists of high officials as witnesses.

Various results obtained from the analyses in these chapters are discussed in individual sections of the final chapter. The first of these concerns the dual offices, a feature of the administrative organization that seems to have appeared in the late Old Kingdom and reflects the increasing complexity of the bureaucratic structure. A collective analysis of the permanence or disappearance of offices in a chronological frame further indicates a series of changes towards enlargement of the administration. Issues of hierarchy and kinship are also investigated from a broader perspective, based on what has been obtained from the examination of the offices and officials. The chapter concludes with a theoretical analysis of Hittite administration, discussing the patrimonial features of the political system and the extent of change into a bureaucratic organization.

1.4.1 Drawbacks and limitations

A couple of drawbacks that affect not only this study but most other works on the Hittite sources are that in contrast to tablet collections from Syria or Mesopotamia, the Hittite archives are rather fragmentary,¹⁴ and the Hittite scribes did not employ any type of dating system. Lack of a dating system, of course, affects attempts to establish a secure chronological assessment, which in most cases—unless the context yields some clues—depends on a paleographical analysis. However, not only are the date ranges suggested by such paleographical analysis rather broad, but the limits of the ranges defined by this analysis are also still under debate.¹⁵

A specific problem that affects prosopography is the existence of many homonyms. In addition to the lack of a dating system, apart from the kings and scribes there is hardly any

¹⁴ See Košak (1995: 174f.) and van den Hout (2008: 213f.).

¹⁵ See van den Hout (2009b: 72–74).

genealogical information available about Hittite officials that would help distinguish between identically-named individuals. In many cases, one has to depend once more on contextual clues, the repetition of titles and designations, or the presence of the same list of associates. As mentioned earlier, since the Hittite corpus is comprised entirely of state documents, we lack any information from private activities, which would otherwise be a valuable source of prosopographical information as in the case of Mesopotamian and Syrian archives.¹⁶

Another problem that affects the quality of scholarly work in Hittite studies is the uneven chronological distribution of the Hittite corpus. According to the numbers given by van den Hout (2008: 215f.) for the paleographical distribution of the tablets from three major find spots at Boğazköy (Building A, the storerooms surrounding Temple 1, and the Haus am Hang),¹⁷ about 78% of the fragments belong to NS (1350–1180 BCE), while the MS texts (1500–1350 BCE) are about 18%, and the OS texts (1650–1500 BCE) are only 3% of the total. Hence there is significantly less information available for the early periods of the Hittite state, which limits the information about offices and officials from these periods and makes it difficult to reach definitive conclusions about chronological trends in administrative organization.

It should also be mentioned that this study is not a comprehensive theoretical analysis of the political system of the Hittite state. Such an undertaking would require not only a textual examination of the government, but also of its social structure, and should also ideally include an investigation of the archaeological data. The limitation of the corpus that was mentioned earlier and the restrictive amount of relevant archaeological data makes such an attempt rather difficult at present. It is hoped, however, that the present study will help to pave the way for future publication of such an encompassing work. Furthermore, looking at the picture from a wider

¹⁶ See van den Hout (1995a: 3f.) and Singer (1997: 416).

¹⁷ The total of about ten thousand tablet fragments from these locations accounts for about one-third of the corpus, and therefore should provide an approximate reflection of the entirety.

angle while still trying to achieve the same level of detailed analysis of the current study would be impractical to accomplish within a reasonable body of thesis work. Even in the present analysis of the administrative system, I have had to limit myself to include only the top-level offices in order to keep the study at a manageable size.

1.4.2 Terminology and conventions

For the most part, the terms, abbreviations, and conventions here follow those of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, although I have also provided a complete list of abbreviations (page vii). Throughout the present work the Hittite/Akkadian *ḫ* is written as *h* since it does not indicate a particular distinction, while the Hittite *š* is kept in order to distinguish it from Akkadian *s*.

In the present study, the terms that are used to refer to specific periods of Hittite history and the approximate years that correspond to them are as follows:

Old Kingdom / Old Hittite period	c. 1650–1400 BCE	Hattušili I–Muwatalli I
Early Old Kingdom	c. 1650–1500 BCE	Hattušili I–Huzziya I
Late Old Kingdom	c. 1500–1400 BCE	Telipinu–Muwatalli I
Empire period	c. 1400–1180 BCE	Tudhaliya I/II–Šuppiluliuma II
Early Empire period	c. 1400–1350 BCE	Tudhaliya I/II–Tudhaliya III
Late Empire period	c. 1260–1180 BCE	Hattušili III–Šuppiluliuma II

The following terms are used as linguistic and paleographic designations suggesting a certain date for the text,¹⁸ but they do not reflect historical periods:

Old Hittite (OH) / Old Script (OS)	c. 1650–1500 BCE	Hattušili I–Muwatalli I
Middle Hittite (MH) / Middle Script (MS)	c. 1500–1350 BCE	Telipinu–Tudhaliya III
New Hittite (NH) / New Script (NS)	c. 1350–1180 BCE	Šuppiluliuma I–Šuppiluliuma II
Late New Hitt. (LNH) / Late New Scrp. (LNS)	c. 1260–1180 BCE	Hattušili III–Šuppiluliuma II

¹⁸ The dates given here reflect the commonly accepted convention (see van den Hout 2008: 215 and 2009a: 22 with bibliography). However, see van den Hout (2009a: 28f.) for a summary of recent criticism about their validity and suggested changes, particularly regarding the extension of OS towards 1400 BCE.

All dates given in the study are BCE. As the writing “Tudhaliya I/II” implies, neither a Tudhaliya II between the first and third of this name, nor a Hattušili II are considered to have existed.

Although the usual English translations of the offices, titles, and designations will be provided, for the most part they will be referred to in transcription (e.g., *GAL MEŠEDI*, ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*, or ^{LÚ}SAG), due to the fact that some do not have a proper translation (e.g., ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli*), others do not have a commonly accepted translation (e.g., “Chief Treasurer,” “Chamberlain,” “King’s Steward,” or “Quartermaster,” all of which have been used to refer to *GAL* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}ŠÀ.TAM in various sources), and yet others have similar translations that can cause confusion (e.g., “Chief of Shepherds / Herdsmen” for both *GAL SIPA* and *GAL NA.GAD*). This convention is also preferable for practical purposes in order to avoid repeatedly writing lengthy English translations of the titles. Furthermore, again for practical reasons, when a title is referred to in general context, it is often abbreviated by not including the determinatives (e.g., *GAL SIPA* instead of *GAL* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SIPA), which was a convention already commonly used by Hittite scribes for several titles such as *GAL MEŠEDI* or *GAL GEŠTIN*, but not necessarily with all titles, or at least, not on all occasions. Therefore, the reader should be aware that a title mentioned in an abbreviated form does not necessarily indicate that its actual attestations were without the determinatives, although for the most part I have tried to pay attention to the exact writing of the title when referring to a specific attestation.

CHAPTER 2: The Royal Family

2.1 The King

Within the Weberian tripartite classification of authority (Weber 1978: 215f.), the Hittite state falls under the category of traditional domination. Weber classifies authority as traditional when the rulers are determined by age-old traditions (Weber 1978: 226f.). The ruler draws his powers from the personal loyalty of his subjects, which is defined by traditions and common upbringing. Loyalty is not owed to the rules and regulations, but to the king, who occupies the position as a result of tradition. The commands of the king receive legitimation either directly as a result of the traditions, such as assigning a crown prince, or indirectly as a result of the discretion that his traditional authority provides, such as handing out land donations. Although in its ideal form this discretion may seem limitless, in actuality it can go only so far before the traditional compliance of the subjects is breached.

The Hittite state was essentially a patrimony, which is a form of the traditional authority with a developed administrative and military structure. The textual evidence from the Old Hittite period reveals that in its early stages, the patrimonial system of the state still displayed the remnants of its patriarchal origins, where the power was centered on the family structures. During the years of its initial expansion, the cities that came under the rule of the Hittite king were distributed to close members of the royal family, who ruled over them with kingly titles.¹⁹ The early Hittite kings did not attempt to expand the borders of the state beyond its core

¹⁹ Discussed in detail in section 3.1.1.

Anatolian region. Despite successful campaigns by Hattušili I and Muršili I to northern Syria and beyond, the main purpose of such incursions was not the expansion of state territory, but rather the collection of spoils and tribute to increase royal prestige, as well as the distribution of these riches to followers in order to consolidate power.²⁰

Absolute powers of the kings are also more vividly demonstrated in the Old Hittite period. All of the known royal seals of the Hittite kings up to Muwatalli I include the statement “Seal of Tabarna, Great King; whoever alters (it) shall be put to death.”²¹ Most of these seals are known from their impressions on land donation texts. Almost all of these texts include the formulaic statement in their closing paragraphs: “The word of Tabarna, Great King, is made of iron. (It is) not to be discarded, not to be broken. Whoever alters (it), his head will be cut off.”²² Anonymous *tawananna* seals of the queens of the Old Hittite period also bear similar language.²³ Other texts like the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8) or the Instructions for the Palace Personnel (CTH 265)²⁴ contain several examples of capital punishment of individuals due to either petty crimes or seemingly small wrongdoings against the king, such as serving water with hair in it. Such descriptions of violence are not encountered frequently in documents of the later periods, and perhaps reflect an earlier version of royal ideology.

The assembly referred to as *panku-* was apparently also a remnant of the pre-state institutions, attestations of which come mostly from the texts of the Old Hittite period with only one or two references in the Empire period.²⁵ It was certainly not an assembly with powers to limit the authority of the king, but more like an advisory council which acted mainly on judicial

²⁰ See Klengel (1988: 186f., 2003: 283f.).

²¹ Attested on seals of Telipinu, Alluwamna, Tahirwaili, Zidanta II, Huzziya II, Muwatalli I; see Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: 41–48).

²² For this and other formulaic clauses of the land donation texts, see Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: 35–37). See also section 5.2.

²³ “Seal of Tawananna; whoever alters (it) shall be put to death” (see BoHa 23: 108f.).

²⁴ On the Old Hittite dating of this composition, see Miller (2013: 78).

²⁵ For a detailed treatment of *panku-*, see Beckman (1982b).

matters. The king could convene this council at his own will, but reserved the final decision to himself: In the bilingual testament of Hattušili I, the king tells his heir Muršili to consult the council but then to act according to his own heart (CTH 6 §22). In the Telipinu Edict, the king overrides the death penalty suggested by the council for royal conspirators, and instead punishes them by banishment and humiliation (CTH 19 §26). Moreover, the members of the council were not necessarily the highest nobles of the land, but rather consisted of people who were active at the court, such as palace attendants, royal bodyguards, cupbearers, staffbearers, and even table servers and cooks (CTH 19 §33).

Despite certain peculiarities, the core of Hittite royal ideology was not very different from that of the neighboring kingdoms of the Near East. From Labarna I in the seventeenth century to Šuppiluliuma II in the early twelfth century at least twenty-six kings²⁶ are known to have ruled over the Hittite state.²⁷ The king received his authority directly from the gods, which is perhaps best expressed in the well-known passage of IBoT 1.30 (CTH 821.1):

May the Tabarna, the king, be dear to the gods! The land belongs to the Stormgod alone. Heaven, earth, and the people belong to the Stormgod alone. He has made the Labarna, the king, his administrator and given him the entire Land of Hatti. The Labarna shall continue to administer with his hand the entire land. May the Stormgod destroy whoever should approach the person of Labarna, [the king], and the borders (of Hatti).²⁸

The king's role as the representative of the gods was a common theme of Near Eastern cultures. Nevertheless, Hittite ideology differed from some of those, particularly Egypt, with respect to the fact that the Hittite kings were never worshipped as gods in their lifetime.²⁹

Although some divine representations of the kings of the final era of the state exist, their names

²⁶ Not included in this count are disputed names like Hattušili II, Tudhaliya the Younger, and Kurunta.

²⁷ See Bryce (2005: xv), Collins (2007: 38).

²⁸ Beckman (1995b: 530).

²⁹ On the divine aspects of kingship in Egypt, see Frandsen (2008). For a discussion varying aspects of divine kingship in Mesopotamia, see articles by P. Michalowski, I. Winter, E. Ehrenberg, J. Cooper and others in *OIS* 4 (2008).

are never written with divine determinatives and there are no known attestations of a cult of a living king. Such divine representations can be viewed more of as an instrument of political power and propaganda that conveyed the universal powers of the king as agents of the gods, rather than his divine existence.³⁰ As often pointed out, frequent employment of the phrase “to become a god” upon the death of the Hittite kings testifies to the belief of their transition from human to divine status.³¹ However, as the agents of gods, Hittite kings occupied the highest ranks in the military, religious, and judicial fields. The Hittite king was the head of the army, as well as the high priest and supreme judge of Hatti. The king’s top role in various domains is demonstrated by the titles and epithets, the textual evidence, and the iconography.

Other than the usual LUGAL “king” title, some of the most commonly used titles of the Hittite kings are LUGAL.GAL “Great King,” Labarna/Tabarna, ^dUTU^{ŠI} “My Sun,” UR.SAG “Hero, Warrior,” and *NARAM DN* “Beloved of the deity,”³²

Great King can be defined as an international title which was used by the kings of the large territorial states that dominated the Near East in the second millennium BCE. Great Kings saw each other as equals and referred to each other as “brother,” as members of a pseudo-family. In practice, for the Hittite kings this is especially true during the Empire period, when Hatti rivaled other powers like Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, but the Great King title was used even by the earliest known Hittite rulers like Anitta³³ and Hattušili I. The title “hero” was apparently also borrowed from Mesopotamia, since it was never written in Hittite but rather in Sumerian UR.SAG or Akkadian *qarrādu*.³⁴ It was used for the first time by Šuppiluliuma I.³⁵ As the

³⁰ See Bonatz (2007: 132f.), Beckman (2012).

³¹ See Houwink ten Cate (1987: 24), van den Hout (1995b: 545), Beckman (2012: 605).

³² See Gonnet (1979).

³³ Whether Anitta and his father Pithana were Hittite is not certain, but they ruled over the cities of Kuššar and Neša, which are considered to be within the Hittite domain.

³⁴ Gonnet (1979: 25).

³⁵ Attested with Tudhaliya III as part of Šuppiluliuma’s genealogy.

commander in chief of the Hittite armies, the king quite often led military campaigns outside the Hittite homeland. There is ample documentation proving that the Hittite kings had campaigned multiple times from the western shores of Anatolia to southern Syria, and in one extreme case all the way to Babylon.³⁶

In the religious domain, the king was also the high priest of Hatti. Especially in the earlier periods the king was closely associated with the Stormgod. In the Anitta text, which dates to the earliest known period of the Hittites, the king is referred to as “the beloved of the Stormgod.” Soon after, however, in this special relationship between the Hittite king and the deities, the Sun-deity rose to a prominence that was no less than that of the Stormgod. The title ^dUTU^{ŠI} “My Sun,” which was increasingly in use from the late Old Kingdom and is often translated as “My/His Majesty,” is quite likely to be a consequence of this relationship.³⁷ This close association with the Sun-deity may also bring justification to the Hittite king’s role as the supreme judge in the judicial arena, which parallels the Sun-deity’s role in Mesopotamian traditions as the god of justice.³⁸ The king’s association with these deities is also reflected in thirteenth-century iconography, where he is often depicted with a priestly costume in the likeness of the Sungod, and in military attire as the Stormgod.³⁹ “The deities of kingship” phrase, which is used in reference to the Stormgod and the Sun-deity in the composition CTH 569,⁴⁰ further highlights the association of these deities with the royal ideology.⁴¹

As the gods’ steward in the world and the chief priest of Hatti, the king attended a multitude of festivals, and was personally involved in many rituals asking for the well-being and the health

³⁶ Muršili I’s successful campaign to Aleppo and then Babylon is relayed in the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19 §9).

³⁷ See Beckman (2002).

³⁸ ^dUTU-*e išhami handanza hannešnaš ... utniyandaš šaklain išhiul zik=pat hanteškiši* “Sungod, my lord, just lord of judgment ... you alone establish the lands’ custom and law” KUB 31.127 i 16–17 (solar hymn, OH/NS) w. dupl. KUB 31.129 obv. 5–6; edited by Schwemer (2008). See also Beckman (2012: 132f.).

³⁹ See van den Hout (1995b) and Beckman (2012).

⁴⁰ See van den Hout (1998: 73–75).

⁴¹ For various examples that highlight the Hittite king’s association with the Stormgod and the Sun-deity, see Archi (1979).

of the land and the people of Hatti.⁴² In their special role between the gods and the people, kings felt responsible to act appropriately, sometimes seeking the fault in themselves when things went wrong. Such is the case when Muršili II interprets the plague that ravaged the people of Hatti as a punishment for the wrongdoings of his father Šuppiluliuma I. In one of the so-called Plague Prayers, Muršili reveals that his father's attack on Egyptian territory was in breach of prior agreements,⁴³ and in another he admits that Šuppiluliuma had broken his oath of allegiance by murdering the crown prince Tudhaliya the Younger.⁴⁴ Muršili is aware that "the father's sin comes upon his son," but he also knows that his prayers will be heard by the gods and he is personally ready to make any compensation: "If you want to require from me some additional restitution, specify it to me in a dream, and I shall give it to you."⁴⁵

The word used in Hittite to express "prayer" is *arkuwar*, derived from the verb *arkuwāi*- "to pray" which is also a judicial term with the meaning "to plead, argue, offer a defense." This may suggest that the Hittite prayers were seen more like a defense in a divine court, where the king is the defendant making his plea.⁴⁶ As the deities are the judges over the king, the king is the supreme judge over his people.

The king's personal involvement in various judicial processes is known from several sources. As the ruler of an empire, the Hittite king was required to oversee cases that involved vassal rulers or high officials. Examples of this can be seen in the arbitration of Muršili II between the vassal rulers of Nuhašši and Barga in Syria,⁴⁷ or in an edict of Tudhaliya IV for a divorce settlement that involved the royal houses of Ugarit and Amurru.⁴⁸ Complicated cases that

⁴² On the priestly role of the king, see Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 369–80).

⁴³ Muršili's Second Plague Prayer, CTH 378.II, §4–6, see Singer (2002a: 58f.).

⁴⁴ Muršili's First Plague Prayer, CTH 378.I, §§2f., see Singer (2002a: 61f.).

⁴⁵ Muršili's Second Plague Prayer, CTH 378.II, KUB 14.8 rev. 34–36 (Singer 2002a: 60).

⁴⁶ Singer (2002a: 5). See also Bacharova (2006: 126f.).

⁴⁷ CTH 63, see Beckman (1999: 169–73).

⁴⁸ CTH 107, see Beckman (1999: 180f.).

exceeded the authority of local officials required the verdict of the king,⁴⁹ even if they took place in outlying provinces.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the Hittite Laws indicate that certain types of cases required the involvement of the king.⁵¹ Among those, particularly the cases of sorcery (Laws §44b, 111) and cases that involved sexual relations with animals (§§187, 188, 199) were considered to be extremely serious offenses that necessitated a verdict by the king. More evidence of the Hittite king's involvement can be found in the Hittite Laws, one of which says: "If anyone rejects a judgment of the king, his house will become a heap of ruins. If anyone rejects a judgment of a magistrate, they shall cut off his head" (§173, Hoffner 1997). Beside the king's role, this law also indicates the existence of other judicial officials, in this case a magistrate (^{LÚ}DUGUD). This should particularly apply to towns in outlying provinces, where the presence of the king to preside over judicial cases would be rather impractical. This is also testified in instructions of the king that assigns judicial responsibilities to provincial officials.⁵²

Outside the Laws, we encounter the king declaring capital punishment as a threat in several royal instructions from all periods, such as desertion in battle (CTH 251 §6), neglect of certain duties (CTH 251 §27–28), a capital crime by a member of the royal funerary structure personnel (CTH 252 obv. 12), misappropriation of temple provisions or inventory (CTH 264 §§5, 8, 17–19), and defiling of deities (CTH 264 §§6, 10).⁵³ Despite such statements and the descriptions of capital punishments in the above-mentioned early-period texts, references to carrying out death sentences are very rare.⁵⁴ By the middle of the Old Kingdom, we read in the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19) that decision for the punishment of a homicide is left to the "lord of the blood" (i.e.,

⁴⁹ In the Military Instruction of Tudhaliya I/II (CTH 259), KUB 13.20 i 36–37: "Bring the legal issues that you cannot solve before the king, your lord, and the king will personally investigate" (Giorgieri 1995: 144–52).

⁵⁰ In the Instructions for the *BĒL MADGALTI* (CTH 261), KUB 13.2 iii 29–32: "If the case is too involved (*šuwattari*), he will send it before the Majesty" (Miller 2013: 212–37).

⁵¹ Hoffner (1997: 4).

⁵² CTH 259 §14 and CTH 261.I §37–40; both texts are edited by Miller (2013: 150f. and 228–31).

⁵³ Paragraph numbers follow the edition of Miller (2013). For a complete list of capital punishment clauses in the instruction texts, see Miller (2013: 29f.).

⁵⁴ See de Martino and Devecchi (2012).

the head of the victim's family): "Now the procedure in case of bloodshed (is) as follows: whoever commits bloodshed, only (that) which the lord of the blood says (will happen). If he says: 'He shall die,' then he dies, but (if) he says: 'He shall compensate,' then he compensates. However, for the king (there will be) nothing."⁵⁵ The last sentence reiterates Telipinu's declaration that the king, and therefore the state, will not be involved in the decision. A couple of centuries later Hattušili III remarks somewhat similarly on two different occasions—in letters to the kings of Ahhiyawa and Babylonia—that murder is not applied as a punishment in Hatti.⁵⁶

2.2 The Queen

The top-level members of the court of the Hittite king were his immediate family members, who formed the Great Family (*šalli haššatar*). The first-rank wife of the Hittite king bore the title Great Queen and her main duty was to produce first-rank offspring for the king. As explained in the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19) and deduced from the description of events that refer to the ascent of Urhi-Tešup to the Hittite throne, the sons of the first-rank wife had priority in the line of kingship.

Great Queens kept their position for life, even after the death of their royal husbands. Clear examples of this are known with the queens of Šuppiluliuma I, Muršili II, and Hattušili III, all of whom continued to hold this title after the death of their husbands.⁵⁷ Also, Taduhepa, who appears as the Great Queen next to Šuppiluliuma I, is likely to be a queen of one of Šuppiluliuma's predecessors.⁵⁸ Normally the reigning king's chief wife would become the Great Queen only after the death of the previous Great Queen, although it is known that in some cases

⁵⁵ CTH 19 iv 28–29; Goedegebuure (2006: 234).

⁵⁶ KBo 1.10+ rev. 14–25 (CTH 172), Beckman (1999: 142); KUB 14.3 ii 7–8 (CTH 181), Hoffner (2009: 305f.).

⁵⁷ The seal AO 29722, which names queen Ašmunikal with a Great King Tudhaliya (presumably III), would imply that this queen of Arnuwanda I survived into the reign of her son, but the seal is probably a forgery (see Hawkins 1990).

⁵⁸ See Miller (2004: 8f.), who suggests that Taduhepa was probably a wife of Tudhaliya III, or less likely, Tudhaliya the Younger.

the widowed Great Queens were removed from their positions through legal action (see more below).

A commonly used title by the Great Queens was Tawananna, which can be seen as a counterpart of the Hittite kings' Tabarna/Labarna title. However, unlike Tabarna, which is commonly used in a variety of genres of texts, the Tawananna title appears predominantly in texts of cultic nature, often alongside Tabarna. Almost all of these attestations of Tawananna are anonymous, with the exception of an attestation of Ašmunikal and perhaps of Gaššulawiya.⁵⁹

The Tawananna title was also used as a personal name in a few instances. Some of the bearers were queens: the aunt of Hattušili I, who was probably the wife of Labarna I; the Babylonian princess who became the queen of Šuppiluliuma I and apparently adopted the title as a name; and a woman who is listed after Ammuna in a royal offering list (CTH 661), possibly the queen of this king. Another person named Tawananna might have been a sister or daughter of Hattušili I.⁶⁰

Just as the Hittite king was the high priest of the state deities, the Hittite queen was the high priestess. Queens participated in the cults of the state, attending religious festivals and performing ceremonies. At least two queens are known to have borne the AMA.DINGIR-LIM-priestess title.⁶¹ While an AMA.DINGIR-LIM (“mother of god”) was an ordinary priestess, the AMA.DINGIR-LIM-priestess position of the queens seems to have had greater prominence, since they exercised considerable control over the cultic institutions of the state.⁶² Like their husbands, the queens also received a funerary cult upon their death. Their names are often listed next to those of their husbands in the so-called “king lists” (CTH 661), which are actually cultic

⁵⁹ See Beckman (*RIA* 13: 489), and note 80 below.

⁶⁰ For the use of Tawananna as a personal name, see Beckman (*RIA* 13: 488f.).

⁶¹ On the priestess role of the Hittite queens, see Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 380–83).

⁶² See Bin-Nun (1975: 191–93), Hoffner (1983: 191), Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 383).

texts where offerings are made to deities in the name of the deceased members of the royal family.

With the exception of Puduhepa, there is no evidence that Hittite queens had any significant involvement in matters beyond the cultic domain. That said, however, their position had enough power that directly or indirectly they were involved in the political intrigues of the Hittite court. Already during Hattušili I's reign we hear of a Tawananna cursed by Hattušili, possibly because she was either the daughter or sister of the king who was plotting to have her own son become the next king. Muršili I's sister Harapšili became the queen by conspiring against her brother in his assassination. It has been suggested that Šuppiluliuma I may have banished his first wife Henti to the land of Ahhiyawa,⁶³ perhaps due to conflicts that arose in the palace upon Šuppiluliuma's marriage to a Babylonian princess, but it is also entirely possible that Henti's removal was arranged to enable the king to establish his new wife as the Great Queen.⁶⁴ This Babylonian princess, who assumed the name of Tawananna and continued to serve as the Great Queen into the reign Muršili II, was accused of abusing her powers by Muršili, and was even blamed for the death of Muršili's wife Gaššulawiya by way of sorcery. A similar situation took place when Muršili's second wife and widow Tanuhepa was put on trial and banished during the reign of Muwatalli II.⁶⁵

Queens often shared royal seals with their husbands⁶⁶ and Ašmunikal and Puduhepa are known to have had their own separate royal seals,⁶⁷ which may not be a coincidence considering the prominence of these two queens in political matters in comparison to others. Ašmunikal was

⁶³ This is based on the fragmentary lines of KUB 14.2 rev. 3–6, which can be interpreted in different ways (see Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011: 158–61).

⁶⁴ Installation of the Babylonian princess as the Great Queen was probably a requirement that was agreed upon between the Hittite and Babylonian kings.

⁶⁵ For a treatment of Tanuhepa, see Cammarosano (2010: 47–64).

⁶⁶ Attested for Ašmunikal, Šatanduhepa, Henti, Tawananna, Tanuhepa, and Puduhepa.

⁶⁷ Ašmunikal seal impressions: SBo I 77A–C and BoHa 23 no. 3; Puduhepa seal impressions: RS 17.133, Tarsus 36.1171, and BoHa 23 nos. 84–88.

the daughter of Tudhaliya I/II,⁶⁸ and her husband Arnuwanda I gained legitimation to the Hittite throne through her. This must have been the reason for her to appear alongside her husband in some documents that concern administrative matters, such as Loyalty Oath of Clan Chiefs and Commanders (CTH 260) and the land donation text LhK 91.⁶⁹ Also, CTH 258 is a decree about certain exemptions for a royal funerary institution issued solely by Ašmunikal.⁷⁰

Puduhepa, on the other hand, did not have a prominent royal background,⁷¹ but she was a more influential queen than her predecessors. Much of this must have been due to her strong and ambitious personality, combined with her devotion to Hattušili III, who had become increasingly dependent on her while battling various illnesses throughout his life. She was active in the religious sphere; she authored prayers,⁷² commissioned compilation of festival texts,⁷³ and was responsible for most of the extant dream and vow texts.⁷⁴ Her name appears next to that of Hattušili on various political documents and treaties, including the peace treaty established with Egypt, which was apparently sealed by both Puduhepa and Hattušili III individually.⁷⁵ Puduhepa was also active in international diplomacy, personally exchanging letters with both vassal and foreign kings.⁷⁶ It is furthermore known that she presided over various legal cases.⁷⁷ Puduhepa continued to serve as the Great Queen and Tawananna during the reign of her son Tudhaliya IV, perhaps even until the end of it, since Tudhaliya's wife, who was probably another Babylonian

⁶⁸ See Beal (1983: 115–19).

⁶⁹ To prevent any confusion, I prefer to use the abbreviation LhK and use the numbers given in “*Landschenkungsurkunden hethitischer Könige*” of Rüster and Wilhelm (2012), rather than the commonly used abbreviation LSU, which is typically associated with the text numbers assigned by Riemschneider (1958). For a table of concordance, see Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 25–27).

⁷⁰ Edited by Miller (2013: 208–13).

⁷¹ She was a priestess and the daughter of Pentipšarri, a priest of Šauška in Lawazantiya (CTH 81 iii 1 and KBo 6.29 i 16–18, CTH 85).

⁷² Puduhepa's prayer to Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 384); see Singer (2002: 101–5).

⁷³ See Wegner and Salvini (1991: 3f.).

⁷⁴ CTH 585; edited by Otten and Souček (1965).

⁷⁵ Based on the description given in the Egyptian translation of the original tablet (Pritchard 1969: 201).

⁷⁶ For about two dozen letters exchanged between Puduhepa and Ramses II, see Edel (1994: 48ff.).

⁷⁷ See Darga (1974: 944f.).

princess, has never been attested as a Great Queen. In general, however, it is safe to say that while Hittite queens were not mere consorts of the kings, they were not co-rulers.

Queen	Reigning King	Other Titles / Relationship
Tawananna	Labarna I	Aunt of Hattušili I
Kadduši	Hattušili I	
Kali	Muršili I	
Harapšili	Hantili I	Sister of Muršili I
(Daughter of Hantili I)	Zidanta I	Daughter of Hantili I
Tawananna ⁷⁸	Ammuna	
Ištariya	Telipinu	Sister of Huzziya I
Harapšeki	Alluwamna	Daughter of Telipinu
Iyaya	Zidanta II	
Šummiri	Huzziya II	
Nikkalmati	Tudhaliya I	
Ašmunikal	Arnuwanda I	Daughter of Tudhaliya I
Šatanduhepa	Tudhaliya III	
Taduhepa	Tudhaliya III–Šuppiluliuma I	
Henti	Šuppiluliuma I	DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL GAL ⁷⁹
Tawananna	Šuppiluliuma I–Arnuwanda II–Muršili II	Daughter of Babylonian King
Gaššulawiya ⁸⁰	Muršili II	DUMU.MUNUS GAL ⁸¹
Tanuhepa	Muršili II–Muwatalli II–Muršili III	
Puduhepa	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	Daughter of Pentipšarri, Priest

Table 1. Known Hittite Great Queens.

2.3 The Crown Prince

Kingship in Hatti typically changed hands from father to son as in most other monarchies.⁸² The crown prince was selected by the monarch himself. The Telipinu Edict (CTH

⁷⁸ Based on a single attestation of the name ^f*Ta-wa-an-na* written right after Ammuna in the royal offering list KUB 36.120:11' (CTH 661.1).

⁷⁹ The title can be read “daughter of the Great King” or “Great Daughter of the King (Great Princess).” For a summary of this discussion with bibliography, see Hawkins (BoHa 23: 89).

⁸⁰ It is not certain whether Gaššulawiya became Great Queen/Tawananna before her death. If the Gaššulawiya who is referred to as “Great Daughter” (DUMU.MUNUS GAL) in the prayer text KBo 4.6 *passim* (CTH 380.A) is the wife of Muršili II, and not the same-named daughter of Hattušili III (for varying opinions, see Singer 2002a: 71–73 and de Roos 2005a: 213f.), and if the ^{MUNU}_S*Ta-wa-an-na*[- mentioned in the duplicate fragment KBo 31.80:3' (CTH 380.E³) applies to Gaššulawiya (see Beckman *RIA* 13: 489), that could suggest that Gaššulawiya had been promoted to the position of Tawananna after the banishment of the widow of Šuppiluliuma I. However, since Gaššulawiya is repeatedly referred to as the “Great Daughter” throughout KBo 4.6, it remains in doubt whether the “Tawanann[a]” of KBo 31.80:3' is a reference to her.

⁸¹ On this title, see de Roos (2005a).

19) provides a definition of the rules that govern the selection of successor to the Hittite crown. Telipinu states: “Let only a prince of the first rank, a son, become king! If there is no first-rank prince, then whoever is a son of the second rank—let this one become king! If there is no prince, no (male) heir, then whoever is a first-rank daughter—let them take a husband for her, and let him become king!”⁸³ His statement reiterates the fact that Hittites did not practice primogeniture. The heir to the throne had to be a son or son-in-law of the king, but otherwise Telipinu does not specify any priority to a first-born or oldest son.⁸⁴ In other words, there was no right to kingship associated with birth or age, and the king had the final say in determining the future king. The right of the Hittite king to choose any one of his sons or even to change his mind later and assign a different one as heir is best observed in the Bronze Tablet, where Tudhaliya IV states that his father Hattušili III had originally installed his older brother (Nerikkaili) as the crown prince, but later deposed him and installed Tudhaliya in kingship instead.⁸⁵ The language of some of the vassal treaties of Tudhaliya III and Šuppiluliuma I also reveals the same prerogative of the king: “Šunaššura must protect for kingship whichever son <of> His Majesty he designates to Šunaššura as his successor” (KBo 1.5 i 57–59),⁸⁶ “Now you, Huqqana, recognize only My Majesty as overlord. And recognize my son whom I, My Majesty, designate: ‘Everyone shall recognize this one,’ and thus distinguish among <his brothers(?)>” (KBo 5.3+ i 8–11).⁸⁷

However, if we look at the period preceding Telipinu, there is hardly any evidence of a smooth transition of kingship from father to son. Hattušili I was a nephew of his predecessor

⁸² For a treatment of Hittite royal succession, see Beckman (1986).

⁸³ CTH 19 ii 36–39 (Beckman 1986: 13).

⁸⁴ On the interpretation of *hantezziyaš* DUMU.LUGAL and DUMU.LUGAL *hantezziš* of the Telipinu Edict (ii 36–37) as “first-rank son” rather than “first-born,” see Beckman (1986: 24 n. 60 with bibliography).

⁸⁵ CTH 106.A ii 35–36 and 43–44.

⁸⁶ CTH 41.I.A; translated by Beckman (1999: 20).

⁸⁷ CTH 42.A; translated by Beckman (1999: 27).

Labarna I,⁸⁸ and his own successor Muršili I was probably his grandson.⁸⁹ The historical prologue of the Telipinu Edict describes the circumstances under which the rest of the kings of the Old Hittite period up to Telipinu came to power (CTH 19 i 24–ii 16): Muršili I was assassinated and replaced by his brother-in-law Hantili I; Hantili I's successor was not one of his sons, but rather Zidanta I, who had been an accomplice of Hantili I in the murder of Muršili I; Zidanta I's reign came to an end with his murder by his own son Ammuna; it is not clear how Ammuna's successor Huzziya I was related to him, but he too came to power after the murder of several individuals who were probably sons of Ammuna; and finally Telipinu himself was a brother-in-law of Huzziya I and became king by deposing the latter.

Considering such chaotic circumstances, the declaration of Telipinu in his edict may appear as an attempt to establish a reform by defining proper rules of succession. However, as pointed out by other scholars,⁹⁰ detailed reading of the edict does suggest that his declaration was more or less a reiteration of existing rules, including the possibility of an in-law becoming king, and that it was therefore intended to serve as justification for the ascension of Telipinu to kingship. Also, in the cases of both Zidanta I and Huzziya I, these kings came to power by murdering the sons of the reigning kings, who were no doubt the intended successors. Zidanta was probably the son-in-law of Hantili I,⁹¹ and a similar circumstance might be suspected for Huzziya I.⁹² It could be argued, therefore, that their crimes were aimed at opening up the way for themselves to ascend the throne by eliminating other eligible contenders.

After the reign of Telipinu, the succession to kingship did not go smoothly either. King Tahurwaili is generally considered to be a usurper, but the nature of his relationship to the royal

⁸⁸ In KBo 10.2 i 3 (CTH 4.II.A), Hattušili I refers to himself as “the brother’s son of Tawananna,” where Tawananna refers to the wife of Labarna I.

⁸⁹ As mentioned in KBo 1.6 obv. 13 (CTH 75).

⁹⁰ See Beckman (1986: 22 and n. 46 with bibliography).

⁹¹ Riemschneider (1971: 88f.).

⁹² See Bryce (2005: 103 and n. 34).

family and whether he ascended the throne before or after Telipinu's son-in-law and intended heir Alluwamna is not clear.⁹³ While little is known about the rest of the Old Hittite period kings, it is generally accepted that Muwatalli I was also a usurper, who came to power by murdering his predecessor Huzziya II. It is very likely that Muwatalli was closely related to Huzziya II, since he may have served as *GAL MEŠEDI* during the latter's reign (see section 4.1.1.7).

While the succession to kingship among the eleven known kings of the Empire period was less chaotic than during the Old Hittite period, it was not trouble-free. It is known that Šuppiluliuma I was not designated to become king. He was a son of his predecessor Tudhaliya III, but the intended replacement of the latter was another son, Tudhaliya the Younger (TUR), as revealed by Šuppiluliuma's son Muršili II:

And since for twenty years now in Hatti people have been dying, the affair of Tudhaliya the Younger, son of Tudhaliya, started to weigh on [me]. ... Since Tudhaliya the Younger was their lord in Hatti, the princes, the noblemen, the commanders of the thousands, the officers, [the corporals(?) of Hatti and all [the infantry] and chariotry of Hatti swore an oath to him. My father also swore an oath to him.

[But when my father] wronged Tudhaliya, all [the princes, the noblemen], the commanders of the thousands, and the officers of Hatti [went over] to my father. The deities by whom the oath was sworn [seized] Tudhaliya and they killed [Tudhaliya]. Furthermore, they killed those of his brothers [who stood by] him. (CTH 378.I, §§2–3)⁹⁴

A better-known example is the usurpation of the Hittite throne by Hattušili III from his brother's son Urhi-Tešup (Muršili III). Upon revolting against his nephew, Hattušili states:

To the generals whom Urhi-Tešup had dismissed to some place, Ištar appeared in a dream ... (saying): "All Hatti lands have turned over to Hattušili"... The Kaškaens, who had been hostile to me, backed me and all Hattuša backed me. Out of regard for the love of my brother I did not do anything (evil). I went down to Urhi-Tešup and brought him down like a prisoner. (CTH 81 iv 19–21, 26–31)

⁹³ See Bryce (2005: 112 and n. 63). On account of stylistic features of Tahurwaili's *tabarna* seals, Wilhelm (2009: 227 n. 15) places his reign between those of Hantili II and Zidanta II at the earliest (see also Rüter and Wilhelm 2012: 41, 52).

⁹⁴ Translated by Singer (2002a: 61f.).

The quoted passages about Šuppiluliuma I and Hattušili III indicate that both princes received the support of the Hittite nobility. Although they were not designated to become kings, they were able to raise enough support on their side to alter the conditions. While the account of Muršili II, which describes the guilt he felt as a result of the actions of his father, and the attempts of Hattušili III to justify his actions, which caused the CTH 81 to be labeled by modern scholars an “apology,” indicate that these actions were outside of the accepted norms, these examples demonstrate that personal connections and loyalties within the higher circles could help to modify the rules that surrounded the succession.

It is now generally accepted that the title used by the Hittite crown princes was *tuh(u)kanti*,⁹⁵ which probably has a Hattic origin similar to Labarna/Tabarna and Tawananna.⁹⁶ If we can assume that the LNS copy of a campaign of Telipinu to Lahha (CTH 20.A) has the original wording, a fragmentary attestation suggests that the Tuhkanti title was already in use during the Old Hittite period.⁹⁷ Up until now the title has been attested with only three personal names: Tudhaliya III, Urhi-Tešup, and Nerikkaili.

In the loyalty oath text of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal (CTH 260), Tudhaliya III is mentioned multiple times alongside his parents with the Tuhkanti title.⁹⁸ In the text dignitaries pledge their loyalty to the royal couple and the crown prince:

Hereby we, the [entire] Land of Hatt[i, lords o]f the infantry, the chariotry, the *šari(ku)wa*-troops, [all together, to the person of Arnuwa]nda, the Great King, to the person of Ašm[unikal, the Great Queen, and to the person of Tudh]aliya, [son] of the king (and) Tuhkanti, (and) [thereafter his sons, his grandsons, and to the persons of the sons of the ki]ng (and) [thereaft]er their sons, [their grandsons, month for month, swear an oath]. (KUB 31.44+ i 25–29, CTH 260.1)

⁹⁵ See Gurney (1983).

⁹⁶ See Klinger (1996: 220f.).

⁹⁷ ^{LU}*tu-uh-k[án-ti* (KBo 12.8 i 10’); edited by Hoffmann (1984: 63–67).

⁹⁸ KUB 31.44+ i 28 with parallel KUB 26.24+ i 19’, KUB 31.42 iii 12’ with parallel KUB 31.44 iii 3’, KBo 50.151+ iv¹ 4’, and KBo 50.62 iv 10’, 13’. For a recent edition of CTH 260, see Miller (2013: 194–205).

In the land donation text of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal, Tudhaliya is again named with the same title next to his parents in the formulaic statement that otherwise almost always mentions only the Hittite king:⁹⁹

Arnuwanda, the Great King, Ašmunikal, the Great Queen, and Tudhaliya, the son of the king, Tuhkanti, took (this) and gave as gift to PN. ... The word of Tabarna Arnuwanda, the Great King, Ašmunikal, the Great Queen, and Tudhaliya, the son of the king, Tuhkanti, (is) made of iron; (it is) not to be altered, not to be broken. Whoever alters (it), his head will be cut off.” (KBo 5.7 rev. 46–50, LhK 91)¹⁰⁰

Muwatalli II’s son Urhi-Tešup is attested with the crown prince title on some of his seals (Niš 504–508), where the hieroglyphic sign *525 has been identified as an equivalent of the [LÚ_t]u-hu-kán-ti title that appears in the cuneiform band (Hawkins 2001: 174f., 2005a: 278). The seals, therefore, provide the proof that Urhi-Tešup had already been named crown prince during his father’s reign, despite a contrary implication by Hattušili III.¹⁰¹

Hattušili III’s son Nerikkaili is listed with the Tuhkanti title as the first witness both in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (KUB 4.10+ rev. 28, CTH 106.B) and the Šahurunuwa Text (KUB 26.43+ rev. 28, CTH 225). Since it is known that Nerikkaili never became king, his appearance as Tuhkanti had initially cast some doubts about the meaning of the title. However, as mentioned in the introduction of this section, the discovery of the Bronze Tablet (CTH 106.A) provided an explanation. We do not know at what point during the reign of Hattušili III the promotion of Tudhaliya above his older brother Nerikkaili took place. However, since in his two references to the event in the Bronze Tablet, Tudhaliya refers to his installation into “kingship” (LUGAL-iznani) rather than installation into “the office of the crown prince” (*tuhukantahiti*),¹⁰² it can be

⁹⁹ All of the other known attestations of this statement come from Old Hittite period texts, among which the only exception to this rule is LhK 47 of Muwatalli I, which mentions the Great King and Great Queen without names in the first part of the statement. However, this may have something to do with the fact that the beneficiary of LhK 47 is a Chief Singer of the Queen.

¹⁰⁰ Edited by Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 231–44).

¹⁰¹ See Hawkins (2001: 175f.).

¹⁰² “At that time my father had placed my elder brother in the office of crown prince, while he had not yet then designated

speculated that this took place towards the end of Hattušili's reign, perhaps during his days of illness when he was more concerned about the handover of the kingship.¹⁰³ Therefore, if Tudhaliya was ever installed as Tuhkanti, it may have been for a relatively short period. As the Šahurunuwa Text reveals, Nerikkaili again bore the Tuhkanti title during the early years of Tudhaliya IV's reign. The reasons behind this are not entirely clear, but it is possible that Tudhaliya did not have a son at the time,¹⁰⁴ and as the oldest brother of the king, Nerikkaili may have been reassigned to the position as a temporary measure, perhaps coupled with an intention to appease his brother after his path to kingship was altered. In the Bronze Tablet, which dates to a time after the Šahurunuwa Text, Nerikkaili is no longer identified as Tuhkanti, although still listed as the first name in the witness list.

A few other attestations of the Tuhkanti title that date to the reign of Hattušili III may be references to Nerikkaili, or less probably, to Tudhaliya. In KBo 18.19 rev. 15' the title appears by itself in fragmentary context.¹⁰⁵ The document is a letter, possibly written by Hattušili III, and involves marriage arrangements.¹⁰⁶ Since both Nerikkaili and Tudhaliya were married to foreign brides, the Tuhkanti title could be a reference to either one of them.¹⁰⁷

A more frequently cited attestation of the title comes from the so-called Tawagalawa Letter (CTH 181) of Hattušili III.¹⁰⁸ In one of the passages, the Hittite king remarks that he had sent the crown prince to Piyamaradu:

He (i.e., Piyamaradu) sent a man to meet me, (saying:) "Take me as (your) vassal. Send the Tuhkanti to me, that he may escort me to Your Majesty." So I sent to him the *TARTENU*, (saying:)

me for kingship" (CTH 106.A ii 35–36) and "But when my father deposed my brother whom he had placed in the office of crown prince and installed me in kingship" (CTH 106.A ii 43–44). For the translation of *tuhukantahiti* as "zur Kronprinzschaft," see Otten (1988: 48f.).

¹⁰³ Van den Hout (1991b: 175f.) even suggests a short period of co-regency.

¹⁰⁴ Imparati (1992: 318, 1995a: 152).

¹⁰⁵ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 207–12).

¹⁰⁶ See Houwink ten Cate (1996: 58f.).

¹⁰⁷ On the obverse of the tablet there are multiple references to the "sons" of presumably the writer of the letter, and Tudhaliya is mentioned by name in rev. 36'.

¹⁰⁸ On the authorship of the letter and an edition, see Hoffner (2009: 296–313).

“Go stand him alongside yourself on the chariot, and escort him here.” But he (i.e., Piyamaradu) snubbed the *TARTENU*, and said “no.” Yet is not the *TARTENU* the equivalent of the king? He (i.e., the *TARTENU*) held him by the hand, but he said “no” to him and demeaned him in the presence of the lands. (KUB 14.3 i 6–13)

The term *TARTENU*, Akkadian *tardennu*, can mean “second in rank” or “successor,”¹⁰⁹ and is used here as an equivalent of the Hittite term *tuhkanti*.¹¹⁰ Later in the text, another passage which refers to the same episode clarifies that the *TARTENU* was a son of the Hittite king: “Did I not send to him my own son, the *TARTENU*? Did I not give (my son) these instructions: ‘Go, assure him with an oath, take his hand, and conduct him to me?’” (KUB 14.3 ii 4–6). If we can assume that the Tawagalawa Letter dates to the early reign of Hattušili III, when he was healthy enough to go on campaign, the crown prince in question is likely to be Nerikkaili.

A Tuhkanti is also mentioned in the historical fragment KUB 23.61 rev. 4' and the liver oracle KUB 49.103 obv. 14', both of which probably date to the reign of Hattušili III.¹¹¹ In the liver oracle, an inquiry is made regarding a military campaign to be led by the Tuhkanti with the aid of two generals. While not specifically identified with the crown prince title, further examples of military undertakings by the crown princes are known in the cases of Tudhaliya I/II's son-in-law Arnuwanda I and Šuppiluliuma I's son Arnuwanda II.¹¹² The first half of the Annals of Arnuwanda I (CTH 143)¹¹³ describes Arnuwanda's military activities alongside his father Tudhaliya I/II, and in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (CTH 40)¹¹⁴ Prince Arnuwanda (II) appears in two separate campaigns, once in Syria¹¹⁵ and once against Egypt,¹¹⁶ in both of which

¹⁰⁹ CAD/T: 225–28.

¹¹⁰ See Gurney (1983) and Hoffner (2009: 389 n. 263).

¹¹¹ KUB 23.61 mentions “my father Muršili” (obv. 4') and “Tudhaliya” (rev. 7'). For the dating of KUB 49.103, see section 4.2.1.16.

¹¹² On the military role of the crown prince, see Beal (1992: 219f.).

¹¹³ Edited by Carruba (1977: 166–74).

¹¹⁴ Edited by Del Monte (2009).

¹¹⁵ Arnuwanda was accompanied by Zita, who was his uncle and GAL *MEŠEDI*. KBo 5.6 ii 24–43 with dupl. KBo 14.10:6–17 (Del Monte 2009: 86–92).

¹¹⁶ KUB 19.13 iii 3–8 (Del Monte 2009: 135, 143).

he acted independently of his father Šuppiluliuma I. Certain passages of a prayer of Urhi-Tešup may also indicate his military involvements during the reign of his father.¹¹⁷

Although several possible cases of coregency have been discussed for several Hittite rulers, the most likely one among these is that of Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I. This claim is mainly based on Arnuwanda's references to both himself and his father Tudhaliya I/II with the Great King title in his descriptions of their joint military campaigns.¹¹⁸ Beal (1983: 115–19) further points out that Arnuwanda I quite possibly became a son-in-law of Tudhaliya I/II by marrying the latter's daughter Ašmunikal, and that Tudhaliya I/II may have felt it necessary to establish a coregency in order to ensure a smooth transfer of power to his adopted son. Arnuwanda I's ties to the Hittite crown through his wife may further be supported by the fact that, with the exception of Puduhepa, in comparison to the other Hittite queens, Ašmunikal has a more prominent presence in Hittite documentation, such as in the previously quoted Loyalty Oath of Clan Chiefs and Commanders (CTH 260) and the land donation text LhK 91.¹¹⁹ Other claims of coregency, such as those involving Arnuwanda I–Tudhaliya III,¹²⁰ Muwatalli II–Urhi-Tešup,¹²¹ and Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV,¹²² cannot be substantiated for the moment.

The cultic duties of the crown prince are also attested in various documents. In the *nuntarriyašha* Festival (CTH 626), the Tuhkanti celebrates a great festival (EZEN₄.GAL) in the temple of the god Ziparwa.¹²³ In the Festival for Tetešhapi (CTH 738), the Tuhkanti appears

¹¹⁷ KUB 31.66+ iv 10–20, v 26–29 (see Cammarosano 2009: 186f.).

¹¹⁸ KUB 23.21 ii 13–14, 26–27, iii 2–3, 19–20 (CTH 143). On the coregency of Arnuwanda I, see Houwink ten Cate (1970: 58), Carruba (1977: 177 n. 7), Gurney (1979), and Haas (1985: 270).

¹¹⁹ She and Puduhepa are also the only queens who are attested with seals of their own (see note 67 above).

¹²⁰ Suggested by Gurney (1979: 214f.) and Haas (1985: 270 and n. 14), contra Beal (1983: 119–22). See also Otten (1990: 223–27), whose suggested join of KUB 36.118+119 supports Beal.

¹²¹ Cammarosano (2009).

¹²² Van den Hout (1991b).

¹²³ KUB 59.2 rev. iii 9 and KUB 55.5+IBoT 4.70 iii 16'; edited by Nakamura (2002: 34–47, 49–59). In the second text the title has the unparalleled spelling of ^{LÚ}*tu-hu-kán^{an}-te-eš* (see Nakamura 2002: 53).

multiple times participating in the ritual activities, almost always alongside a cupbearer.¹²⁴ In both compositions, in the passages that mention Tuhkanti the NIN.DINGIR-priestess also has a presence and it has been shown by Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 384–422, 2006b: 313–27) that this role was played by a daughter of the king. While the appearance of the Tuhkanti title within the cultic texts is limited to only these compositions,¹²⁵ numerous other texts mention the participation of the prince (DUMU.LUGAL=“son of the king”), and since he is almost always a single son and his activities are directly related to those of his father, this person is to be identified as the crown prince (Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 377 n. 958, 2010: 124). These texts¹²⁶ show that the crown prince performs the same cult activities as his father and travels year-round in towns surrounding Hattuša to participate in various festivals.¹²⁷

The Tuhkanti is also attested in some inventory texts of the late Empire period,¹²⁸ but these documents do not provide any specific information about the administrative responsibilities of the individual other than indicating that he was in possession of or associated with certain inventory items.¹²⁹

As the heir to the Hittite throne, the crown prince wielded considerable power and in many respects he was second only to the king. As testified in the edict of Muršili II about the status of Piyaššili (CTH 57)¹³⁰ and by Tudhaliya in the Bronze Tablet,¹³¹ the position of the crown prince

¹²⁴ KBo 19.161 ii 4'; KBo 19.163 ii 47', 55', iii 18, KBo 21.98 ii 9', 13', 18', 23'[, iii 5'][, KBo 21.99:9', 12'[, KBo 25.48 ii 14, and KBo 54.205:7'. All attestations, which come from both MH and NH texts, are solely spelled as ^(LU)ta-hu-(uk-)kán-ti-, with a vocalization in the first syllable, which is not attested outside CTH 738.

¹²⁵ The small festival fragment KBo 8.126 vi 6' (CTH 670) has a reference to the office of the crown prince (^(LU)tu-u-hu-^(LU)kán-ti-an-ni¹) (see Otten 1988: 48).

¹²⁶ For a partial list, see Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 377 n. 958). For an extensive list of attestations of DUMU.LUGAL in cultic texts, see the entries under “B. Ambito Cultuale” in Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 505–8).

¹²⁷ For a treatment of the cultic duties of the (crown) prince (DUMU.LUGAL), see Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 377–80) and Torri (2004: 461–69).

¹²⁸ KUB 26 iii 17 (CTH 242.2.A) and KUB 42.51 obv. 2][(CTH 250); edited by Siegelová (1986: 100–107, 344f.).

¹²⁹ Other fragments that mention Tuhkanti are: KUB 23.39 obv. 1'[, (CTH 214), KUB 26.81 iv 10]' (CTH 275), KUB 26.52+KUB 23.4:14'[(CTH 212). The last text involves an oath taken “for the life of His Majesty” and “for the life of the Tuhkanti.”

¹³⁰ “Whoever is His Majesty's crown prince, only he, [the crown prince (of Hatti)], shall be [greater than] the king of the land of Karkamiš” (KBo 1.28 obv. 15–19, Beckman 1999: 169).

in protocol was higher than that of anyone else, including the Hittite viceroys like the king of Karkamiš and later the king of Tarhuntašša.

The following table is a list of the Hittite crown princes, known either by title or context. Bold names indicate those who eventually succeeded to the throne.

Prince	Reigning King	Title / Other Titles / Relationship
Labarna	Hattušili I	Nephew
Muršili I	Hattušili I	Grandson
Alluwamna [?]	Telipinu	Son-in-law
Arnuwanda I	Tudhaliya I/II	Son-in-law
Tudhaliya III	Arnuwanda I	Tuhkanti, Son
Tudhaliya the Younger	Tudhaliya III	Son
Arnuwanda II	Šuppiluliuma I	Son
Muršili III	Muwataalli II	Tuhkanti/PRINCEPS, Son
Nerikkaili	Hattušili III	Tuhkanti, Son
Tudhaliya IV	Hattušili III	GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i> , Son
Arnuwanda III [?]	Tudhaliya IV	Son

Table 2. Hittite crown princes.

¹³¹ “Only the crown prince shall be greater than the king of the land of Tarhuntašša” (CTH 105.A ii 81, Beckman 1999: 118).

CHAPTER 3: Provincial Administration

3.1 Rulers of Appanage Kingdoms

Despite some periods of setback, the geographical area controlled by the Hittite state expanded throughout its existence. Although the Hittite king held the central authority, he entrusted the administration of conquered territories to members of his close family. In the early days of the state, territories ruled by such members were more or less the size of city states. With the expansion of the empire the centrally ruled territory also expanded. While the most distant regions like western Anatolia and southern Syria were turned into vassal kingdoms under their native rulers, several regions bordering the central territory were turned into appanage kingdoms, which were territories ruled by the members of the Hittite royal family, typically sons of the king. Rulers of the appanage kingdoms bore the title “King” and were allowed to establish their own sub-dynasties with rights to transfer the kingship to their sons. They were more or less independent in their internal affairs, but externally subordinates of the Great King of Hatti. As members of the extended Hittite royal family, naturally they had a greater status in comparison to vassal kings, and as in the case of kings of Karkamiš, they were the local representatives of the Hittite king over the vassals of their surrounding area. While some of these appanage kingdoms were seats of former kingships, others appear to have been newly formed by the Hittite kings for political purposes. The rest of this section aims to study the Hittite appanage kings, starting with

a brief treatment of the princes in the Old Hittite period, and continuing to the Empire period rulers of Kizzuwatna, Aleppo, Karkamiš, Išuwa, Hakpiš, Tarhuntašša, and Tumanna.



Figure 1. Map of Hittite geography.

3.1.1 Princes of the Old Hittite period

It is stated in the historical introduction of the Telipinu Edict that the installation of royal princes as rulers of conquered territories was a common practice from the early days of the Hittite kingdom: “Each time he (Labarna I) returned from campaign, each of his sons went somewhere to a country. Hupišna, Tuwanuwa, Nenašša, Landa, Zallara,

Paršuhanda, Lušna were the countries they each governed,”¹³² and a few lines later the same statement is repeated for Hattušili I without the city names. A similar declaration is also made by a Hittite king in the so-called Ammuna Chronicle (CTH 18).¹³³ We also hear it from Hattušili I himself, as he indicates in his bilingual testament (CTH 6) that he had installed his son Huzziya as the lord of the city of Tappaššanda.¹³⁴

Some of the other princes are also known by name. In the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8), Ammuna, the Prince (DUMU) of Šukziya,¹³⁵ and Pimpirit, the Prince (DUMU) of Nenašša, are referred to as the “king’s brothers” and his “beloved children.”¹³⁶ In the subsequent fragmentary lines there are also references to a “Prince (DUMU) of Ušša, his in-law” (iii 20’), and a “Prince (DUMU) of Hupišna, his brother” (iii 23’). Pimpirit is possibly the same person as Pimpira,¹³⁷ and he is identified as either a brother or son of Hattušili I¹³⁸ and the regent for Muršili I, mainly based on a decree by this person (CTH 24)¹³⁹ and the remarks of Hattušili on his death bed (CTH 6). Pimpira, Labarna, and Huzziya are listed next to Hattušili in a royal offering list, where they are all titled as kings (LUGAL-*ri*).¹⁴⁰ Labarna and Huzziya were probably other sons or brothers of Hattušili I. Huzziya is listed next to Pimpira in another royal offering list with the designation LÚ^{URU} Hakmiš “man of Hakmiš,”¹⁴¹ which probably refers to his rulership in that city. Ammuna,

¹³² CTH 19 i 8–11 (Hoffmann 1984: 12–14). All of the mentioned cities are likely to be located in central Anatolia.

¹³³ KUB 26.71 i 22–23 with dupl. KUB 36.98b rev. 8–9; see CHD/L–N: 168b.

¹³⁴ KUB 1.16 ii 63–64 (CTH 6).

¹³⁵ DUMU^{URU}Šukziya is literally “son of the city of Šukziya,” but as understood from the context, these individuals are brothers and sons of the king, who were in charge of said cities. Note the LÚ^{URU}Šukziya, “man/ruler of Šukziya,” in the dupl. KBo 12.11: 6’ (see Torri 2009: 221).

¹³⁶ KBo 3.34 iii 15–17 (Dardano 1997: 58–61); *kardiy[as=ša]š* DUMU.MEŠ is literally “sons of his heart.”

¹³⁷ On the variation of this name, see Soysal (2005: 206 and n. 79).

¹³⁸ Although generally assumed to be a brother of Hattušili I, Sürenhagen (1998: 87f.) suggests that Pimpira was a son of Hattušili I and the father of Muršili I. Cammarosano (2006: 47–63) and Gilan (2007: 300–302 and n. 21) make plausible arguments to identify him as a (step-)brother of Muršili I and a (second rank) son of Hattušili I.

¹³⁹ For a recent study of Pimpira and an edition of CTH 24, see Cammarosano (2006), who also suggests that Pimpira was a son of Hattušili I. See also Beal (2003: 15 and 34f.).

¹⁴⁰ KBo 11.36:9’–12’ (CTH 523).

¹⁴¹ KUB 36.120:6’–7’ (CTH 661.1). Huzziya’s name may perhaps be restored at the end of the line in KUB 11.4+11 r. col. 7 (CTH 661.2), which starts as Pimpir[a, followed by LÚ^{URU}Ha[kmiš’] in r. col. 8.

who is possibly the same person as the Prince of Šukziya and a brother of Hattušili I, is also listed between Pimpira and Huzziya in another royal offering list.¹⁴²

3.1.2 Kizzuwatna

3.1.2.1 Kantuzzili

The opening lines of Tudhaliya I/II's treaty with Šunaššura (CTH 41) reveal that a couple of generations earlier the land of Kizzuwatna had come under Hittite rule, but was later lost due to the expansion and influence of Mittanni in the region. With the Šunaššura treaty Kizzuwatna once again came under Hittite dominion. Although the treaty indicates that Kizzuwatna was turned into a vassal kingdom, Šunaššura would be its last king. The annexation of Kizzuwatna into Hittite territory probably happened before the death of Tudhaliya I/II, possibly during his joint rule with Arnuwanda I.¹⁴³ It is not certain whether the installation of Kantuzzili as the Priest of Kizzuwatna took place during that time or during the sole reign of Arnuwanda I. The main evidence about Kantuzzili's installation in this position comes from the fragment KUB 17.22, which reads: "[Xth tablet, not finis]hed. The words of Kantuzzili: [When] they treat [] the priest of Tešup and Hepat [in Kizzuwat]na, they do the priestship-ritual [as follows]."¹⁴⁴

Although this statement by itself does not clearly indicate that Prince Kantuzzili was installed as the priest, Kantuzzili's authorship of Kizzuwatna rituals is known from his listing in the tablet catalog KUB 30.56 iii 7, where he is referred to with the title [GAL LÚ.ME]ŠSANGA DUMU.LUGAL "Chief Priest, Prince."¹⁴⁵ Quite possibly he is also the author of the Hurrian ritual KUB 27.42, where he is again referred to as the Priest Prince (LÚSANGA DUMU.LUGAL)

¹⁴² KUB 11.7+ obv. 22–24 (CTH 661.9).

¹⁴³ See Beal (1986: 436–41).

¹⁴⁴ See Beal (1986: 436 n. 59).

¹⁴⁵ On the restoration of the title, see 4.13.1.

(rev. 28').¹⁴⁶ A more prominent document also attributed to him is a prayer to the Sun-deity (CTH 373),¹⁴⁷ which might be one of his late compositions, since the anguish and fear of death displayed in the prayer may suggest that its occasion was a serious illness (Singer 2002a: 31). Concerning Kizzuwatna, in a letter from Mašat Höyük (HKM 74), a complaint is raised by the “Priest” to a high official named Kaššu about the latter’s refusal to return certain Kizzuwatnean subjects.¹⁴⁸ This Priest is almost certainly Kantuzzili, who appears to be in an administrative position in Kizzuwatna. His association with Kizzuwatna in administrative and cultic domains makes it likely that the person installed as the priest of Tešup and Hapat in Kizzuwatna was Kantuzzili himself.¹⁴⁹

There is some uncertainty about the family connections of Kantuzzili. A frequently cited document concerning this matter is the fragment IBoT 4.346+KUB 14.23, which is considered to be a fragment of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (CTH 40).¹⁵⁰ Line 20' of this text, which starts after a paragraph break, reads: [a]n-da-ma-at PANI ^mKán-tu-[uz-zi-li ... ^mD]u-ut-ha-l[i-ya]. It has been suggested that the gap between the names of Kantuzzili and Tudhaliya can be restored as either DUMU or ŠEŠ, which would make Kantuzzili either the son or brother of Tudhaliya, who is assumed to be Tudhaliya III.¹⁵¹ Another alternative I would consider is to restore it as *A-BI*, hence “Kantu[zzili father of T]udhaliya,” which would make the latter Tudhaliya I/II.¹⁵² On

¹⁴⁶ Edited by Haas (1984: 113–19).

¹⁴⁷ KUB 30.10; translated by Singer (2002a: 31–33). His name is mentioned several times in the text (obv. 5', 9', rev. 8), and a few times abbreviated as ^mKán-iš (obv. 3') and ^mKán-li (rev. 10, 11).

¹⁴⁸ See more on this in section 4.12.1.3.

¹⁴⁹ Thus Goetze (1940: 12 n. 52), Houwink ten Cate (1970: 69), and Beal (1992: 320f.). For some of the more recent treatments of Kantuzzili the Priest, see Freu (2002), Singer (2002b), Marizza (2007a: 17–24), and Soysal (2012).

¹⁵⁰ Edited by Güterbock (1956: 59f.) and more recently, Del Monte (2009: 3f.).

¹⁵¹ See Marizza (2007a: 18 with bibliography). See also Taracha (2007: 661 n. 14), who suggests restoring *Ú*, therefore “Kantuzzili and Tudhaliya.”

¹⁵² For this older Kantuzzili, see section 4.6.1.7. In support of the suggestion to identify this Kantuzzili with the older: (1) this fragment does not have a confirmed place in CTH 40, (2) paleographically it may be an older text (designated mh.? in *Konkordanz*), (3) the earlier lines of the text refer to Old Hittite period personalities ([Hant]jili², Telipinu, Harapšiti), which increases the possibility that the passage is about events took place earlier, (4) the term (*ANA*) PANI “at the time of” may refer to a past time for Kantuzzili, (5) “at the time of” phrase is usually used for a person’s reign, but in this particular case it could be referring to a time when the older Kantuzzili was fighting against the factions of Muwatalli I, therefore perhaps a period when

account of this uncertainty, this particular document is not helpful in determining the connections of Kantuzzili, the Priest, to the royal family.

There is a group of Kizzuwatna rituals in which a queen and princes participate. In these texts, the Priest (SANGA) is consistently listed among the four sons (DUMU.NITA); he is always preceded by Manninni and Pariyawatra, and sometimes followed by Tulpi-Tešup.¹⁵³

Pariyawatra and DUMU.NITA SANGA “the son, Priest” are also listed in a passage of the royal pair Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal’s prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 375):

KBo 53.10 obv. ii 22’–25’ with dupl. KBo 51.16+ ii 4’–6’¹⁵⁴

22’ *š**u*-*m**e*-*e**š*-*š**a*-*a**š*-*š**a*-*a**n* DINGIR.MEŠ x[..... ^m*Ar-nu-wa-an-da* LUGAL.GAL]

23’ *Ú*^f *Aš-mu-ni-kal* MUNUS.LUGAL ^m[*Tu-ut-ha-li-ya* (*tu-hu-kán-ti*)]

24’ [^f]*Ša-ta-an-du-ḥé-pa* ^m*Pa-r[i-ya-wa-at-ra* (DUMU.NITA SANGA)]

25’ [^f*Mu-š**u*-*h**é*-*p*]^a ^r*kat-ta*¹ [

The fact that the Priest (i.e., Kantuzzili) is still referred to as “son” suggests that he is a son of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal, and therefore, Tudhaliya (III), Manninni, and Pariyawatra are his brothers.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, Kantuzzili’s name is also encountered in KUB 34.58 l. col. 4’ with Pariyaw[atri] (r. col. 2’), Tulp[i-Tešup] (r. col. 3’), and Mušuhep[a] (r. col. 1’), and in KUB 36.119+118:8’ with Tudhaliya (3’), 4’, 7’, 17’[], Pariyawatra (8’), and Tulpi-Tešup (2’, 9’).¹⁵⁶ It

Kantuzzili was the person in charge of affairs along with Tudhaliya (note the suggestion of Taracha (see note 151 above) to restore “Kantuzzili and Tudhaliya”), and (6) the spelling of the name with *Du*- conforms with the fact that Tudhaliya I’s name is rarely spelled with *Tu*-.

¹⁵³ KUB 45.48+ ii 6’, KBo 20.62 i 10’–11’, KUB 45.47+ i 40–41, ii 5–6, 9–10, iii 24–27; edited by Wegner (2002: 168–70, 172f., 178–88). Tulpi-Tešup is not mentioned in KUB 45.48+ or in KBo 20.62. Also, Pariyawatri and/or SANGA may possibly be restored in KBo 20.98 obv.⁷ 11’–13’ (edited by Wegner 2002: 173f.).

¹⁵⁴ De Martino (2009: 92f.).

¹⁵⁵ De Martino (2009: 92f.), Soysal (2009: 297, 2012: 317).

¹⁵⁶ Both texts are edited by Carruba (1977: 192–95). See Marizza for a general treatment of the sons of Arnuwanda (2007a: 8–33), including a suggestion that Tulpi-Tešup might be a son of Manninni (2007a: 31–33).

has been also suggested that Mušuhepa might be the wife of Kantuzzili,¹⁵⁷ and Ašmi-Šarruma another brother.¹⁵⁸

The suggestion put forward above about identifying the Kantuzzili of IBoT 4.346+KUB 14.23 with the Kantuzzili of an older generation raises doubts also about the identity of Kantuzzili in the other fragment of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma that mentions this name (KUB 14.22 i 5', 11').¹⁵⁹ Other than these two fragments, there are no documents suggesting that Kantuzzili played a role in Hittite military affairs. In terms of his administrative activities, in addition to the above-mentioned Mašat letter HKM 74, more evidence comes from the Ortaköy archive. The letter Or. 93/20 is addressed to the Hittite king by a person named Uhhamuwa. This person relays some information which was originally reported to the Priest (^{LÚ}SANGA) by a refugee from Arzawa about the activities of certain Arzawan leaders.¹⁶⁰ Although not yet published, the Ortaköy archive apparently contains two other letters that were sent by ^{LÚ}SANGA to the Hittite king, and two letters from the king to ^{LÚ}SANGA, one of which was jointly addressed to Šup[piluliuma], as well as a ritual fragment that refers to ^{LÚ}SANGA DUMU.LUGAL “Priest Prince.”¹⁶¹ Since the Ortaköy archive is dated to the reign of Tudhaliya III, these letters of Kantuzzili, the Priest, should date to a time when he was already active as the “priest-ruler” of Kizzuwatna.

Among the other documents that mention Kantuzzili’s name, KUB 27.13 iv 4' (CTH 698.1) and KUB 38.12 iv 8' (CTH 517), although in NH script, may be associated with

¹⁵⁷ Originally suggested by Meriggi (1962: 97f.), followed by Houwink ten Cate (1995–95: 69 n. 51), Freu (2002: 67), de Martino (2010c: 132f.). See also Marizza (2007a: 14f.).

¹⁵⁸ Beal (2002: 66), de Martino (2010c: 9f.).

¹⁵⁹ Edited by Güterbock (1956: 60) and more recently, Del Monte (2009: 4f.).

¹⁶⁰ Süel (2001: 671f.).

¹⁶¹ Süel *apud* Soysal (2012: 318).

Kantuzzili, the Priest, on account of their cultic nature.¹⁶² Less certain are the attestations in KBo 22.24:2' (^m*Kán-t'u-z[í²-li*), KUB 57.68 obv. 38' (^m*Kán-du-zi-liš*), and KUB 16.21 obv. 4' (^m*Kán-tu-zi-?*).¹⁶³

3.1.2.2 Telipinu

There is no information whether Kizzuwatna had another “priest/ruler” immediately after Kantuzzili. It is unlikely that Kantuzzili, who was a generation older than Šuppiluliuma I, could have survived through the reign of the latter. Šuppiluliuma I installed his son Telipinu as the “Priest” of Kizzuwatna with a decree he issued jointly with his queen Henti and crown prince Arnuwanda.¹⁶⁴ Since it is known that Henti was later replaced by a Babylonian princess, this event must have taken place relatively early in Šuppiluliuma’s reign. Šuppiluliuma’s decree is more like a vassal treaty, which describes the obligations of the Priest to the king of Hatti, and not surprisingly the document is identified as an *išhiul* (KUB 19.25 i 9). This, therefore, suggests that Telipinu’s assignment as “Priest” was actually an assignment of rulership.

Active involvement of Telipinu as an army commander in his father’s military campaigns in northern Syria is also another indication of the fact that his responsibilities were not limited to the cultic domain. The brother of Muṣšili II, who is also referred to as the “Priest” in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, is without a doubt Telipinu, whose victories forced the Syrian enemies to seek peace, only to break the agreement when Telipinu traveled back to Hattuša.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² See Marizza (2007a: 17 n. 67) and Soysal (2012: 316). KUB 27.13 iv 4' specifically refers to a “palace of Kantuzzili,” and since the document dates to late Empire period, it would have to be a reference to an already dead Kantuzzili (passage edited by Del Monte 1980: 223f.).

¹⁶³ See Soysal (2012: 316, I.A.17–19). For other attestations of Kantuzzili that belong to the father of Tudhaliya I/II and to a general of Muṣšili II, see sections 4.6.1.7 and 4.15.3, respectively.

¹⁶⁴ KUB 19.25 and KUB 19.26 (CTH 44); edited by Goetze (1940: 12–16). For a treatment of Telipinu, see Bryce (1992), and for a study of Telipinu in his priestly role, see Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 375–77).

¹⁶⁵ KUB 5.6 ii 1–15; edited by Del Monte (2009: 86–90).

After the Syrian territories came into Hittite possession, Šuppiluliuma I installed two of his sons, Telipinu and Piyaššili, as the kings of Aleppo and Karkamiš, respectively.¹⁶⁶ In the hieroglyphic ALEPPO 1 inscription, Telipinu's son Talmi-Šarruma gives his father's title as MAGNUS.SACERDOS₂ (i.e., cuneiform GAL SANGA),¹⁶⁷ which indicates that Telipinu kept his priestly title even after becoming the king of Aleppo. In fact, as noted by Klengel (1992: 128f.), the kingly title is mentioned only in sources of later periods, while documents contemporary with Telipinu always identify him as the Priest. It is quite likely that Aleppo's position as an important cult center of the Stormgod played a role in his assignment to this position. Whether he still had any responsibilities concerning Kizzuwatna is not known, but it may be assumed that after the northern Syrian territories had been secured, Kizzuwatna lost its strategic status as an appanage kingdom and that it had then been brought under the direct rule of Hattuša.

Muršili II remarks in the ninth year of his annals that subsequent to the death of his brother Piyaššili, the king of Karkamiš, he installed Piyaššili's son as the new king of Karkamiš (see below), and Telipinu's son Talmi-Šarruma as the king of Aleppo.¹⁶⁸ Although this may imply that Telipinu had also died in the same year as Piyaššili, Telipinu's death is not explicitly stated. It is possible that the change of power in Aleppo had already taken place sometime earlier, and that Muršili II may have felt the need to mention it while he was describing the similar events in Karkamiš. On that note, Telipinu was probably older than Piyaššili on account of the fact that he had been chosen over the latter to become the Priest of Kizzuwatna. Also in all three attestations

¹⁶⁶ KUB 19.9 i 17–19 and KBo 6.28+ obv. 20–21; for both passages, see Beal (1992: 322 n. 1230).

¹⁶⁷ This is probably the only attestation of Telipinu's name in hieroglyphic script, which is written with a single sign (L. 151) that represents a tree (see Laroche 1960: 83). On GAL SANGA, see section 4.13.1.

¹⁶⁸ KBo 4.4 iii 12–16 (*AM* 124f.).

of Telipinu in royal offering lists, his name precedes that of his brother Piyaššili/Šarri-Kušuh: twice in CTH 661.5¹⁶⁹ and once in CTH 661.6.¹⁷⁰

A few other attestations of Telipinu's name are too fragmentary to provide any significant information.¹⁷¹

3.1.3 Aleppo

3.1.3.1 Talmi-Šarruma

As mentioned above, Talmi-Šarruma was appointed king of Aleppo by Muršili II at least by the ninth year of the Hittite ruler.¹⁷² It is known that during the reign of Muwatalli II, Talmi-Šarruma was still reigning in Aleppo. The so-called Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75) is an official copy issued by Muwatalli II to replace the lost original issued to Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo by Muršili II.¹⁷³ Although in some ways it is similar to other vassal treaties of Muršili II,¹⁷⁴ the Aleppo Treaty is rather brief and lacks some of the typical clauses like defensive or offensive alliances and treatment of fugitives, and this should be attributed to the fact that Aleppo was still considered to be an appanage kingdom. In the mutual loyalty clauses (§13), Muršili II remarks on the fact that both parties are descendants of Šuppiluliuma and that the houses should be united, and in the next paragraph (§14) he promises that the sons and grandsons of Talmi-Šarruma will continue to hold the kingship in Aleppo.

In a document concerning Muršili II's arbitration of disputes in Syria, the Hittite king states to his Syrian vassals that judicial matters will be handled by the Priest, and that only the

¹⁶⁹ KUB 11.8+9 iii 1, v 15; edited by Nakamura (2002: 268–75).

¹⁷⁰ KUB 36.124 i 5; edited by Otten (1951: 70).

¹⁷¹ Tel[ipinu], KUB 19.46:6' (CTH 215) is a small NS historical fragment. It is also not certain whether the Telipinu of the small fragment IBoT 4.346+KUB 14.23 i 3 attributed to the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (CTH 40) refers to the son of this king (see Güterbock 1956: 59 n. a, and Del Monte 2009: 3f.). See also the argument about this fragment under Kantuzzili above. The Telipinu of the court deposition fragment KUB 23.54:15 (CTH 297.1) must be a different person.

¹⁷² KBo 4.4 iii 12–16 (*AM* 124f.).

¹⁷³ KBo 1.6 and dupls.; edited by Beckman (1999: 93–95).

¹⁷⁴ See Beckman (1999: 59–86).

more serious cases that cannot be handled there should be brought to him.¹⁷⁵ It is almost certain that “the Priest” is a reference to the king of Aleppo, who must be either Telipinu or his successor Talmi-Šarruma. Unlike his father, Talmi-Šarruma is never attested with the Priest title, which favors the identification of the Priest of this document with Telipinu.¹⁷⁶ In fact, in his dedicatory building inscription for the temple of the goddess Hepa-Šarruma (ALEPPO 1), Talmi-Šarruma refers to his father with the title Chief Priest (MAGNUS.SACEROS₂), but uses the King of Aleppo title for himself. In contrast, van den Hout (1998: 56f.) considers the possibility of identifying him as Talmi-Šarruma on account of the fact that a later king of Aleppo, Halpaziti (see below), is also attested with the Priest title. Furthermore, Miller (2007a: 130 n. 24) indicates that if this text is part of Muršili II’s “mopping-up activities” that took place in the aftermath of the Syrian rebellions in his seventh and ninth years, it would be more likely to identify the Priest as Talmi-Šarruma. One may also consider the attitude of Muršili II ordering all parties including the king of Karkamiš to appear before him to be questioned on the matter. Although as the king of Hatti, Muršili had the right to call any of his subordinates to his presence, it is perhaps more reasonable to expect this language to be used towards his nephew Šahurunuwa, who became king in Karkamiš after Muršili II’s 9th year, rather than his older brother Piyaššili, the father and predecessor of Šahurunuwa.

It seems that by the time of Talmi-Šarruma, Aleppo had been overshadowed by Karkamiš as the Hittite administrative center of the region. At the time of the Aleppo Treaty, the throne of Karkamiš had already passed to Šahurunuwa, since he is among the witnesses of the treaty. It is also known indirectly that Niqmepa of Ugarit and Tuppi-Tešup of Amurru were contemporaries of Talmi-Šarruma. As Klengel notes (1992: 129), unlike Karkamiš, Aleppo is hardly ever

¹⁷⁵ KBo 3.3+ iii 27–29; edited by Miller (2007a: 121–52).

¹⁷⁶ Thus Bryce (1992: 7, 9), followed by Beckman (1999: 170), Freu (2002: 79), and Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 376).

mentioned in documents from Ugarit dating to the reign of Niqmepa and afterwards,¹⁷⁷ whereas the role of the Karkamiš kings in the administration of Ugarit continuously increased.

In Egyptian sources Aleppo is listed among the allies of the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh.¹⁷⁸ It is, however, uncertain whether Talmi-Šarruma was still in power in Aleppo at the time, since the battle took place towards the later part of Muwatalli II's reign.

3.1.3.2 Halpaziti

The only outright reference to Halpaziti as king of Aleppo comes from the letter IBoT 1.34 obv. 8, which was sent by an unnamed king of Hanigalbat, probably Šattuara II, who was apparently responding to the Hittite king after the kings of Aleppo and Išuwa had informed against him in regard to some affairs involving the Assyrian king, possibly Shalmaneser I.¹⁷⁹ Mention of Ehli-Šarruma, the king of Išuwa (obv. 9), dates the letter to the reign of Tudhaliya IV or afterwards.

Halpaziti's name appears in several documents dating to the late Empire period, which have been studied by van den Hout (1995a: 186–93 and 1998: 59). Among these, a group of documents refer to a Halpaziti, who, along with a *tawananna*,¹⁸⁰ Danuhepa, Arma-Tarhunta, Šaušgatti, and Urhi-Tešup, is the subject of a group of oracles forming the composition CTH 569.¹⁸¹ The common characteristic of these individuals seems to be that they are all members of the royal family who had been subjected to injustice and/or persecution, and the object of CTH 569 is to conduct an oracle investigation in order to undo the curses of these individuals and purify the kingship of Tudhaliya IV (van den Hout 1998: 6f.). In relation to this composition,

¹⁷⁷ One attestation of Aleppo comes from a treaty of Niqmepa and Muršili II (CTH 66), where it is listed as one of the neighboring lands of Ugarit, next to Mukiš⁷ and Nuhašše (RS 17.353 obv. 18 and dupl., *PRU* IV: 88f.).

¹⁷⁸ See Gardiner (1960: 58).

¹⁷⁹ For a commentary and translation, see Beckman (1999: 150f.).

¹⁸⁰ Probably the Babylonian princess who became the last wife of Šuppiluliuma I (van den Hout 1998: 42).

¹⁸¹ KUB 16.58 ii 6', KUB 22.35 iii 1', iii 9', and KUB 52.92 iv 3'; edited by van den Hout (1998: 190–93).

three other documents that mention Halpaziti in the same context with Šaušgatti and “sorcery/defilement”¹⁸² and with Urhi-Tešup and “sorcery”¹⁸³ must also be references to the same individual.

Based on the mention of the city of Aleppo and compensation for the deities of Aleppo in connection with Halpaziti,¹⁸⁴ van den Hout (1998: 55f.) reconsiders an earlier suggestion of Archi (1979: 82) that this Halpaziti might be the same person as the king of Aleppo. Since in one of these texts Halpaziti appears with the Priest title (KUB 60:129:7'), pointing to the remarks of Tudhaliya IV elsewhere in CTH 569 about establishing a priesthood in Aleppo,¹⁸⁵ van den Hout (1998: 55f.) further suggests that at some point during his reign Tudhaliya IV may have installed Halpaziti as the priest-king of Aleppo. According to van den Hout (1998: 56) parts of CTH 569 suggest that Hattušili III was still alive, although probably close to his death during the very first years of Tudhaliya IV's reign. On the other hand, in one of the passages (KUB 22.35 iii) Halpaziti is already dead. Suggesting that CTH 569 was composed in at least two stages, van den Hout (1998: 36f.) dates the text in its final form to a time after IBoT 1.34, which should correspond to a time after the drafting of the Bronze Tablet. Under this scenario, the kingship of Halpaziti in Aleppo must have started and ended during Tudhaliya IV's reign. There are, however, further uncertainties. Why would Tudhaliya continue to conduct such purification acts late in his reign? Also, if the affairs of Halpaziti were a late addition to the composition as suggested by van den Hout (1998: 29f.), this would conflict with the fact that offerings to the gods of Aleppo and the establishment of the priesthood in Aleppo took place during the early stages of the composition. Van den Hout's (1998: 30) remark that these acts “probably are to be

¹⁸² KUB 60.129:7' (CTH 214/297³) and KBo 18:145:1' (CTH 581); edited by van den Hout (1998: 65–67).

¹⁸³ KUB 31.23 obv. 6' (CTH 832); edited by van den Hout (1998: 58f.).

¹⁸⁴ KUB 22.35 iii 13, [15] with parallel KUB 52.92 iv 6'.

¹⁸⁵ KUB 16.32 ii 8'–13' (van den Hout 1998: 57 and 178f.).

taken as a prelude to” adding the Halpaziti affair to the composition is not entirely satisfactory, and identifying the Halpaziti of CTH 569 as the king of Aleppo remains uncertain.

We may also note that Halpaziti’s name is not so uncommon. In addition to the GAL GEŠTIN of Arnuwanda I (see 4.2.1.10) and the GAL UKU.UŠ of Hattušili III (see 4.7.1.4), van den Hout’s prosopographic study (1995a: 186–93) identifies an augur and at least two scribes with this name.

There is no information whether Halpaziti, the king of Aleppo, was related to Telipinu and Talmi-Šarruma. If that was the case, the difference in time periods suggests that there must have been one additional generation between Talmi-Šarruma and Halpaziti. The king of Aleppo mentioned by Ramses II in one of his letters to Hattušili III¹⁸⁶ probably refers to that king.

3.1.4 Karkamiš

3.1.4.1 Piyaššili/Šarri-Kušuh

After his conquest of the region, Šuppiluliuma I installed another of his sons, Piyaššili, as the king of Karkamiš.¹⁸⁷ KUB 19.27 (CTH 50) appears to be a fragmentary copy of an agreement established by Šuppiluliuma installing his son in the kingship of Karkamiš, the original of which was probably inscribed on a golden tablet as mentioned on the copy (l.e. 6).¹⁸⁸ In this document, as well as in many others, Šuppiluliuma’s son is referred to by his Hurrian name Šarri-Kušuh (^mLUGAL-^dSIN).¹⁸⁹

Šuppiluliuma’s treaty with Šattiwaza of Mittanni (CTH 51.A)¹⁹⁰ makes it clear that Piyaššili was put in charge of Karkamiš and all the neighboring lands to the west of the

¹⁸⁶ LUGAL KUR *Hal-b[a-a]*, KBo 1.15+ rev. 20; edited by Edel (1994: 58–61).

¹⁸⁷ KUB 19.9 i 17–19, KBo 6.28+ obv. 20–21 (for both passages, see Beal 1992: 322 n. 1230), and KBo 14.12 iii 17–20 (Del Monte 2009: 93–95).

¹⁸⁸ See Singer (2001: 635).

¹⁸⁹ See Güterbock (1956: 120).

¹⁹⁰ Beckman (1999: 42–48).

Euphrates (§10), and that he was the equal of the Mittannian king, who had to work with the Hittite prince in his future endeavors (§§11–12). In the historical introduction of the counterpart copy of the Šattiwaza Treaty (CTH 52),¹⁹¹ the Mittannian king indicates that he had been entrusted to Piyaššili, and describes their military cooperation against the rival Mittannian factions and Assyrians (§§4–7).

While initially Hittite authority in northern Syrian territories may have been divided between Aleppo and Karkamiš, the former seems to have lost its importance, possibly after the death of Telipinu. Muršili II's edict recognizing Piyaššili's and his future descendants' kingship in Karkamiš (CTH 57), where Muršili¹⁹² declares that only the king of Hatti and his crown prince would be greater than the king of Karkamiš,¹⁹³ testifies to the supreme position of this Hittite viceroy in Syria.

Piyaššili was actively involved in Hittite military operations during the reign of Muršili II. In addition to his frontier position against the Assyrian threat from the east of the Euphrates,¹⁹⁴ he assisted in missions in Syria against the revolt of Tette of Nuhašše,¹⁹⁵ in central Anatolia,¹⁹⁶ and even in western Anatolia during Muršili's Arzawa campaign.¹⁹⁷

As reported in Muršili's annals, Piyaššili fell ill and died in the ninth year of Muršili II while he was visiting the Hittite king in the city of Kummanni.¹⁹⁸ Piyaššili/Šarri-Kušuh's name

¹⁹¹ Ibid. (48–54).

¹⁹² For the restoration of the unpreserved name of the Hittite king as Muršili II, see Güterbock (1956: 120) and Beckman (1999: 169).

¹⁹³ KBo 1.28 obv. 6–19 (Beckman 1999: 169).

¹⁹⁴ KUB 14.16 i 9–19 (*AM* 26–29).

¹⁹⁵ KBo 14.17 ii 17ff. (*AM* 86f.). Piyaššili's offer of alliance to Niqmaddu II of Ugarit (RS 17.334, *PRU* IV: 54f.), requesting the latter to attack the Tette of Nuhašše must also be associated with this event.

¹⁹⁶ KBo 50.29 (Miller 2007b: 526f.), KUB 19.30 i 20–26 (*AM* 94f.), KUB 26.79 iv 2ff. (*AM* 102f.).

¹⁹⁷ KUB 14.15 ii 7ff., iii 34ff. (*AM* 48f., 54f.).

¹⁹⁸ KUB 14.29 i 28–31 and KBo 4.4 i 6–11 (*AM* 108f.). Also mentioned in KUB 21.16 i 21–24 (Goetze 1940: 11 n. 47). The king of Karkamiš and the “sick man” (*GIG-an antuhšan*) mentioned in KUB 14.4 iv 10–15 involving the “silver of Aštata” and the Tawananna affair of Muršili II probably also refers to Piyaššili while he was lying ill in Kummanni (see Singer 2002a: 73–77).

appears in the royal offering lists (“king lists”) on three occasions, in each case preceded by his brother Telipinu’s name.¹⁹⁹

3.1.4.2 Šahuruuwa/[...]-Šarruma

The death of Piyaššili/Šarri-Kušuh in the ninth year of Muṣili II apparently created an opportunity for the Assyrians to advance on Karkamiš,²⁰⁰ and for other Syrian principalities like Nuhašše and Kadesh to revolt.²⁰¹ According to the order of events in the annals, Muṣili dealt with these problems first, and only afterwards, but still in the same year, installed [...]-Šarruma, the son of Piyaššili, as the new king of Karkamiš.²⁰² It is generally accepted that [...]-Šarruma is the Hurrian name of Šahuruuwa.²⁰³

He was a contemporary of his cousin Talmi-Šarruma, who was installed as the king of Aleppo by Muṣili II perhaps only a bit earlier. Šahuruuwa also appears as a witness in Talmi-Šarruma’s treaty with Muṣili II/Muwatalli II (CTH 75). Among the witnesses his name is listed second only to Halpašulupi (see Appendix 2), who was probably the oldest son of Muṣili II (see below and in section 4.6.1.11).

It is quite possible that the decree of Muṣili II (CTH 65) reducing the territories of Niqmepa of Ugarit by bringing the lands of Siyannu, Ušhnatu, and Mukiš under the rule of Karkamiš took place in the aftermath of the Syrian uprisings, therefore, during the reign of Šahuruuwa.

Emar VI 201 is a legal settlement case issued by Šahuruuwa’s successor Ini-Tešup.²⁰⁴

The document mentions Šahuruuwa in connection with a Muṣi[li] (obv. 7–8), both of whom

¹⁹⁹ See notes 169 and 170 above.

²⁰⁰ KBo 4.4 ii 40ff. (*AM* 118ff.).

²⁰¹ KBo 4.4 i 12, i 39–ii 13, ii 58–66 (*AM* 110–21).

²⁰² KBo 4.4 ii 12–14 (*AM* 124f.).

²⁰³ See Beal (2002: 57 n. 16 with bibliography). The suggestion of d’Alfonso (2005: 58 n. 164) equating [...]-Šarruma with the Tudhaliya mentioned in KBo 3.3 iv 3’, 6’ seems unlikely (see Miller 2007a: 134).

²⁰⁴ Edited by Skaist and Gan (2005: 612f.).

were apparently involved in the initial stages of the legal case, which was eventually finalized by Ini-Tešup. Identification of the Hittite king as Muršili III, i.e., Urhi-Tešup, suggests that Šahurunuwa's reign continued into that of this Hittite king, and ended shortly afterwards.²⁰⁵ Therefore, Šahurunuwa's reign must have overlapped with the entire reign of Muwatalli II, during which this king of Karkamiš must also have participated in the Hittite king's battle against Ramses II. Šahurunuwa's reign probably ended around the reign of Muršili III, and even if it lasted into the reign of Hattušili III, it could not have been more than a few years since we do not have any document that establishes contemporaneity.

Šahurunuwa is attested on the seal impressions of his son Ini-Tešup from Ugarit.²⁰⁶ He is also attested on several other documents and a seal impression from Emar.²⁰⁷ In one of these documents dating to Ini-Tešup's reign (MFA 1977.114), the king's mother's name is given as ^{fd}U-İR-*mi*, who must be the wife or one of the wives of Šahurunuwa (Owen 1995).²⁰⁸

3.1.4.3 Ini-Tešup

As mentioned above, the accession of Ini-Tešup to the kingship of Karkamiš probably took place during the short reign of Muršili III or in the early years of Hattušili III. Ini-Tešup is listed as the king of Karkamiš in all three major witness lists of the Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV period (CTH 106.B, CTH 225 and CTH 106.A), in each case as the first name after the sons of Hattušili III, with the exception of Kurunta, the king of Tarhuntašša who appears above him in the Šahurunuwa Text (CTH 225).²⁰⁹

The administrative activities of the king of Karkamiš over the Syrian vassals are better documented during the reign of Ini-Tešup. Several texts from the Ugarit archives reveal his

²⁰⁵ See Skaist and Gan (2005: 609–16).

²⁰⁶ In the cuneiform bands of RS 17.146 and RS 17.230 (*Ugar.* III: 121 and figs. 27–29).

²⁰⁷ Documents: *Emar* VI 31:1; 177:1; 201:2, 8, 15; 202; *RE*: 85:2 (mostly in the genealogy of Ini-Tešup). Seal: *Emar* IV A1.

²⁰⁸ For a discussion of the reading of the name, see Hawkins (2005a: 297).

²⁰⁹ See Appendix 3.

verdicts or decrees in relation to border disputes,²¹⁰ murder of merchants,²¹¹ land donations,²¹² divorce settlements of royalty,²¹³ and even the banishment of the brothers of the king of Ugarit.²¹⁴ While some disputes involve international matters,²¹⁵ others seem to be domestic issues of the vassal state,²¹⁶ which were perhaps brought to the king of Karkamiš as a result of appeals. Further information about Ini-Tešup's administration is obtained from Emar, which was administered by a Hittite official titled "overseer of the land" (UGULA.KALAM.MA),²¹⁷ who was subordinate to the king of Karkamiš.²¹⁸ The texts that mention Ini-Tešup are mostly private affairs and legal cases.²¹⁹

The Assyrians to the east of Karkamiš must have remained a threat during Ini-Tešup's reign. The Assyrian kings Adad-nirari I and his successor Shalmaneser I, both of whom were contemporaries of Ini-Tešup, report campaigns into the territory of Karkamiš.²²⁰ The complaints of the Hittite king to his Assyrian counterpart concerning incursions into Karkamiš territory mentioned in KBo 1.14 obv. 6'–19' may also refer to the same events.²²¹ It is not certain whether the reign of Ini-Tešup lasted until the battle of Nihriya, which resulted in a defeat of Tudhaliya IV, and following which the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I claimed to have removed 28800 captives from the west of the Euphrates.²²²

²¹⁰ RS 17.341 (*PRU* IV: 161–63).

²¹¹ RS 17.146, RS 17.230, RS 18.19, RS 18.115 (*PRU* IV: 153–60), and RS 17.158, 17.42, 17.145, 17.234 (*PRU* IV: 169–74). Involvement of the king of Karkamiš in such verdicts is also referred to by Hattušili III in his letter to the king of Babylon (KBo 1.10+ rev. 9–10; Beckman 1999: 141).

²¹² RS 17.68 (*PRU* IV: 164).

²¹³ RS 17.396 (*PRU* IV: 127f.). We may note, however, that this particular case between the king of Ugarit and the daughter of the king of Amurru was serious enough to require the intervention of the Hittite king (RS 17.159, *PRU* IV: 125–27).

²¹⁴ RS 17.352 (*PRU* IV: 121f.).

²¹⁵ RS 17.42, RS 17.145, RS 17.128 (*PRU* IV: 171–73, 179).

²¹⁶ RS 17.108, RS 17.129, RS 17.337, RS 17.346, RS 17.110 (*PRU* IV: 165–69, 175–79), RS 20.22 (*Ugar.* V: 94f.), RS 27.051+RS19.63 (*PRU* VI: 36f.).

²¹⁷ For more on UGULA.KALAM.MA, see section 3.2.9.

²¹⁸ For a summary treatment of Emar administration, see Beckman (1995a: 26–37).

²¹⁹ *Emar* VI 18:1; 177:[1]; 201:1, 19, 23, 35; 202:1, *RE* 54:1; 55:1, 10; 85:1.

²²⁰ A.0.76.1: 8–14 (*RIMA* 1: 131) and A.0.77.1: 81–85 (*RIMA* 1: 184).

²²¹ For a discussion of the identities of the correspondents and an edition of the text, see Mora and Giorgieri (2004: 57–75).

²²² A.0.78.24: 23–24 (*RIMA* 1: 275).

Ini-Tešup's name has been identified on several seals and seal impressions from Hattuša,²²³ Ugarit,²²⁴ and Emar.²²⁵ An attestation of Ini-Tešup's greeting to a pharaoh on a hieratic ostrakon found in Egypt may also point to the existence of communications with Egypt,²²⁶ which may have taken place within the context of the peace treaty that was established during Ini-Tešup's reign between Egypt and Hatti (Klengel 1992: 126).

In addition to Talmi-Tešup, who succeeded his father, Upparamuwa (see 4.6.1.14), Mizramuwa (see 4.11.1.8), and Alihešni were probably other sons of Ini-Tešup.²²⁷

3.1.4.4 Talmi-Tešup

Ini-Tešup's son and successor Talmi-Tešup was a contemporary of the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma II as revealed by a treaty established between the two (CTH 122).²²⁸ Compared to Muršili II's decree (CTH 57) for his brother Piyaššili a century earlier, formally it appears much more like a vassal treaty. Although not much of the text has been preserved, in the surviving lines of the historical introduction of the obverse, the speaker is Šuppiluliuma, who explains how he became king after the death of his brother Arnuwanda. On the reverse of the tablet, the text is spoken by the king of Karkamiš, who expresses his loyalty to Šuppiluliuma. The treaty, therefore, suggests that the kings of Karkamiš continued to serve the Hittite state until its last years.

It has been already discussed in section 3.8.1.6 that the logographically written name ^mGAL-^dU may stand for either Hittite Ura-Tarhunta or Hurrian Talmi-Tešup, and that the GAL

²²³ Niš 150, Niš 151.

²²⁴ See Laroche (*Ugar.* III: 121–27 and figs. 27–35).

²²⁵ *Emar* IV A2a, A2b, A3.

²²⁶ Kitchen (1999: 86 and 145f.).

²²⁷ See Mora (2004b: 432–39) for a list of Karkamiš officials with princely titles.

²²⁸ KBo 12.41(+)/KUB 26.33(+)/KBo 13.225 with dupl. KBo 40.37 (CTH 122.1; edited by d'Alfonso 2007) and KBo 12.30(+)/KUB 26.25 (CTH 122.2; edited by Giorgieri 1995: 287–89 and 2001: 299–320; see also Singer 2001).

KARTAPPI official named in the Bronze Tablet (iv 38) and the Šahurunuwa Text (rev. 31) might be identified with the future king of Karkamiš.²²⁹

Testimonies to his administrative activities in Syrian affairs can be seen in his edicts concerning the divorce of the king of Ugarit from a daughter of the Hittite king.²³⁰ His name is also encountered in Emar documents.²³¹ In addition to his seal impressions on RS 17.226,²³² a seal of his known to be in a private collection must have produced the seal impression SBo I 110.²³³ He is also named as the father of his successor Kuzi-Tešup on a seal from Lidar Höyük.²³⁴ Another seal impression on a tablet possibly also from Emar identifies a Kuti-/Kunti-Tešup as the son of king Talmi-Tešup.²³⁵ The former is likely to be an alternative spelling of the name Kuzi-Tešup, who is the son and the successor of Talmi-Tešup.

3.1.5 Hakm/piš

3.1.5.1 Hattušili

Although princes of the early kings of the Old Hittite period may have served as rulers of the land of Hakm/piš,²³⁶ there is no indication that the region remained a kingdom until the mid-thirteenth century. Our only clear evidence for an appanage kingdom of Hakpiš comes from the remarks of Hattušili III. In the so-called “Apology” he states: “I was a Prince and I became the GAL MEŠEDI. (As) GAL MEŠEDI, I became the king of Hakpiš too. (As) king of Hakpiš, I

²²⁹ For discussion of this and a few other texts that may include attestations of Talmi-Tešup, see section 4.8.1.6.

²³⁰ RS 17.226 (*PRU* IV: 208), RS 17.355 (*PRU* IV: 209f.), RS 20.216 (*PRU* IV: 108–10). See also Beckman (1999: 183–85).

²³¹ It should be restored in *Emar* VI 267:[2] as the father of Kundi-Tešup.

²³² Laroche (*Ugar.* III: 128f. and figs. 36–37). The legend reads: (cun.)^{NA4}KIŠIB mGAL-^dIM-up LUGAL KUR *Kar-ga-miš* DUMU mI-ni-^dIM-up / (hier.) REX *Tal-mi-TEŠUP-pa* REX *Kar-ka-mi-sà* URBS.

²³³ (hier.) REX *Tal-mi-TEŠUP-pa* REX *Kar-ka-mi-sà* REGIO (See Singer 2010).

²³⁴ (hier.) REX *Ku-zi-TEŠUP-pa* REX *Kar-ka-mi-sà* REGIO / REX *Tal-mi-TEŠUP-pa* REX *Kar-ka-mi-sà* REGIO / DEUS-ni-ti u-ni-mi-sa (x +)INFANS (Hawkins 1988: 99f.; originally published by Sürenhagen 1986: 183–90). A bulla that bears the impression of this seal is in a private collection (see Hawkins 1988: 99 n. 1).

²³⁵ Known from an impression on a tablet that reads: (hier.) *Ku-ti-TONITRUS* REX.INFANS and (cun.)^{NA4}KIŠIB mKu-un-ti-^dU-ub DUMU mTal-mi-^dIM LUGAL *Kar-ga-miš* (Hawkins 1988: 99 n. 1).

²³⁶ For the location and a list of attestations with both Hakmiš and Hakpiš variants, see RGCT 6: 65–67 and 6.2: 22f.

further became the Great King,²³⁷ and “(Urhi-Tešup) was the Great King in Hatti, but I was the king in Hakpiš.”²³⁸ The formation of the kingdom of Hakpiš probably had to do with Muwatalli II’s decision to move the Hittite capital to Tarhuntašša in the south. The order of events described in the Apology by Hattušili suggests that he was initially installed as the governor of the Upper Land (§4), and only after Muwatalli II had moved the capital to Tarhuntašša was he given the desolate lands to administer and made king in Hakpiš (§8). Hattušili lists “Išhupitta, Marišta, Hiššašhapa, Katapa, Hanhana, Darahna, Hattena, Durmitta, Pala, Tumanna, Gaššiya, Šappa, (and) the Hulana River Land”²³⁹ among the places that were given to his management. The list not only includes the lands of the Upper Land, but also Pala and Tumanna which used to be a separate governorship during the reigns of Šuppiluliuma I and Muršili II.²⁴⁰ Therefore, the promotion of Hattušili to the kingship of Hakpiš seems to have been a reformulation of his governorship with a kingly title. Moving the central command away from Hattuša must have left this north-central Anatolian region more vulnerable to attacks of the Kaška and other northeastern groups, a threat that never ceased throughout the history of the Hittite state. By handing the control of the region to his brother, in addition to collecting more power within his immediate family, Muwatalli may have aimed to reduce the risks. Although we do not have a surviving treaty or decree to testify to this, Hattušili must have been assigned certain privileges and responsibilities as the king of this border territory. His campaigns to Kaškan targets, resettlement of devastated lands, and recapture of the holy city of Nerik from the Kaška must

²³⁷ CTH 81 iv 41–42; edited by Otten (1981: 26f.).

²³⁸ CTH 81 iii 44’–45’ (Otten 1981: 20f.).

²³⁹ CTH 81 ii 56–60 (Otten 1981: 14f.).

²⁴⁰ See under Hutupiyanza in section 3.2.1.

have been accomplished in that capacity, and like the kings of Karkamiš and Aleppo, he provided military assistance to Muwatalli II during the latter's campaign against Egypt.²⁴¹

In the dream text KUB 15.5+ ii 55 (CTH 583)²⁴² a king of Hakpiš and a king of Išuwa are said to have made offerings to the Stormgod whom they had angered. The king of Hakpiš must be Hattušili since the text probably dates to the reign of Urhi-Tešup.²⁴³ It is known from Hattušili's statements in the Apology that after the death of his brother, he initially remained in the kingship of Hakm/piš, but later Urhi-Tešup removed him from this position, which led to the events that brought Hattušili to the kingship of Hatti.

3.1.5.2 Tudhaliya (?)

Whether the kingship of Hakm/piš remained in existence during and after the reign of Hattušili III is uncertain. Since the Hittite capital was moved back to Hattuša during the reign of Urhi-Tešup, the strategic importance of this kingdom must have been reduced. There are several references to the installation of Prince Tudhaliya as a priest of different deities,²⁴⁴ and on one occasion he is anointed as priest in "Hakmiš and Nerik."²⁴⁵ However, in none of these cases is kingship mentioned. Although Kantuzzili and Telipinu were also installed as "priests" and rulers, unlike Tudhaliya these princes were not destined to become the kings of Hatti. Yet, a counterargument could be made that the assignment of Tudhaliya to a priesthood position may have taken place early in Hattušili's reign, when the crown prince was not Tudhaliya but Nerikkaili. It may also be noted that in one of the versions of his autobiography, Hattušili III refers to his rulership in Hakpiš in similar terms: "When my father died, my brother Muwatalli

²⁴¹ Beal (1992: 324 ns. 1240–41) draws attention to the contrast between the statements of Hattušili when he refers to the troops of Hatti and his own troops.

²⁴² Edited by de Roos (2007a: 71–88).

²⁴³ For the dating of the text, see de Roos (2007a: 33–36).

²⁴⁴ See Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 225f. and 373f.).

²⁴⁵ KUB 36.90 obv. 15–17 (Singer 2002a: 106).

was seated on the throne of his father, but I administered the land for him. And he made me the Priest in Hakpiš for the Stormgod of Nerik. And gave me the land of Hakpiš, the land of Ištahara, the land of Hattena, and the land of Hanhana.”²⁴⁶

A King of Hakpiš, whose name is broken, is mentioned in the fragmentary court proceeding KUB 26.49 rev. 10' in the same context with Ewri-Šarruma and Šahuruwa. On account of these officials the text should date to the reign of either Hattušili III or Tudhaliya, but otherwise the text does not reveal any information about the king of Hakpiš.²⁴⁷

3.1.6 Tarhuntašša

3.1.6.1 Kurunta

The appanage kingdom of Tarhuntašša came into existence during the reign of Hattušili III with the investiture of Kurunta as its first king. Since the discovery of the Bronze Tablet (Bo 86/299) in 1986, the facts surrounding Kurunta have been more or less established.²⁴⁸ As confirmed by this document, Kurunta was a son of Muwatalli II, who was apparently placed in the care of his uncle Hattušili III while he was a child (§2). After Hattušili III had usurped the Hittite throne from Muwatalli's older son and rightful heir Urhi-Tešup, probably in an effort to maintain the support of Kurunta and keep any possible challenges to the Hittite throne at bay, he installed Kurunta as king of the land of Tarhuntašša (§§2–3).²⁴⁹ The kingdom was located in south-central Anatolia, centered around the city of Tarhuntašša.²⁵⁰ The reasons behind the choice of Tarhuntašša as the location of an appanage kingdom may have been both political and strategic. It had served as the capital city of the Hittite kingdom during the reign of Muwatalli II

²⁴⁶ KBo 6.29+ obv. 22–28.

²⁴⁷ See section 4.4.1.12 and notes 693–694.

²⁴⁸ CTH 106.A; edited by Otten (1988). For a prosopographic study of Kurunta, see van den Hout (1995a: 82–95).

²⁴⁹ Also mentioned in the “Apology” (KUB 1.1 iv 62–64 and dupls., CTH 81); edited by Otten (1981).

²⁵⁰ Tarhuntašša is not attested in sources prior to the reign of Muwatalli II. On the borders of Tarhuntašša, see Melchert (2007) and Bryce (2007: 122f.).

and in that respect was an appropriate seat for Muwatalli's son. Strategically, the region bordered the unruly Lukka lands to its west and the Mediterranean Sea to its south, which may have been experiencing increased activities of Ahhiyawans and perhaps early signs of the Sea Peoples.

The text also suggests that Kurunta had not been involved in the conflict between Hattušili III and Urhi-Tešup (§2). Hattušili established a formal treaty with his nephew, the so-called Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, similar to Hittite vassal treaties with clauses about borders and military obligations.²⁵¹ In this treaty, the king of Tarhuntašša is almost consistently²⁵² referred to as Ulmi-Tešup, which initially caused some confusion among scholars, but it is now generally accepted that Ulmi-Tešup is the Hurrian name of Kurunta.²⁵³ As cited in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, there were earlier agreements established between the two parties, one of which is almost certainly ABoT 1.57.²⁵⁴ Another related document is the fragment 544/f (CTH 96), in which Kurunta apparently acknowledges his installation into the kingship of Tarhuntašša and refers to the issuance of treaty tablets for him.²⁵⁵

Kurunta's name is mentioned in the Tawagalawa Letter (KUB 14.3), the sender of which is probably Hattušili III.²⁵⁶ The Hittite king indicates the presence of Kurunta at the site when Tawagalawa crossed into Millawanda (i 71–73).²⁵⁷ It has also been proposed that Kurunta is mentioned in the Milawata Letter (KUB 19.55+ rev. 39),²⁵⁸ where the Hittite king (probably Tudhaliya IV) tells the addressee (the king of Mira) that Kurunta (^{r^m1^dr}LAMMA¹) would be delivering certain documents regarding the installation of Walmu as the king of Wiluša.

²⁵¹ KBo 4.10+ (CTH 106.B.2); edited by van den Hout (1995a: 22–73).

²⁵² A single reference to Kurunta is in obv. 41'.

²⁵³ See Bryce (2005: 463 n. 21).

²⁵⁴ Edited by Beckman (1989: 291f. and 1999: 108f.).

²⁵⁵ Edited by Beckman (1989: 290f.).

²⁵⁶ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 296–313), Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011: 101–22). For authorship of the letter, see Gurney (2002) and Hoffner (2009: 298).

²⁵⁷ Whether Tawagalawa came alone as a representative of the Ahhiyawan Great King or not, and whether Kurunta met them are not entirely clear.

²⁵⁸ See van den Hout (1995a: 91), Hawkins (1998b: 19), followed by de Martino (2010d: 46f.).

However, the reading of Kurunta's name remains uncertain, and the deliverer of the documents may just be Kuwalanaziti, who is said to be in possession of them in the previous line of the letter.²⁵⁹ Nevertheless, if the Kurunta of either one of these letters is the same person as the king of Tarhuntašša, that could be an indication of his involvement in Hittite military campaigns and political activities in western Anatolia.²⁶⁰ Considering that the destructive activities of Piyamaradu, the subject matter of the Tawagalawa Letter, involve regions around Lukka, which borders the land of Tarhuntašša to the west, Kurunta's involvement would not be unreasonable. According to Bryce (2007: 122) and de Martino (2010d: 46), attestations of Kurunta in documents about western Anatolian affairs support the hypothesis that by the late Empire period the king of Tarhuntašša had been brought into a liaison position between Hattuša and the western Anatolian vassals of Hatti, similar to the role fulfilled by the kings of Karkamiš in Syria. Elevation of the status of Kurunta to a level equal with the king of Karkamiš also supports this view.²⁶¹

In a fragmentary vow of Puduhepa (KUB 56.13)²⁶² concerning the illness of Hattušili, Kurunta is mentioned (rev. 14), possibly in regard to making offerings to the gods of Tarhuntašša (rev. 3', 23'),²⁶³ which may be another indication of close relations of this prince with Hattuša during Hattušili III's reign. Kurunta's name is also attested in the oracle text KUB 5.13+ i 1, which does not reveal any relevant information.

A couple of letters sent by the Egyptian king Ramses II refer to Kurunta, the king of Tarhuntašša (KUB 3.27 obv. 8' and KUB 3.67 rev. 2, 5) regarding an illness.²⁶⁴ In reply to the

²⁵⁹ See the recent editions of the letter by Hoffner (2009: 319) and Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011: 128f.), who do not read the name Kurunta.

²⁶⁰ See de Martino (2010d).

²⁶¹ See more on this under general discussion (3.1.9).

²⁶² Edited by de Roos (2007a: 232–37).

²⁶³ See van den Hout (1995a: 89f.).

²⁶⁴ Edited by Edel (1994: v. 1 70–73 and 170f.).

Hittite king's request for help, Ramses informs him about the dispatch of an experienced physician. The addressee of the letters is not preserved, but Edel (1994 v.1: 71, v. 2: 121) attributes the first to Hattušili III on account of the mention of "that man" in broken context (rev. 14), which he assumes to be a reference to Urhi-Tešup. On the other hand, if the illness of Kurunta can be associated with old age, it would suggest Tudhaliya IV as the addressee.

As indicated on the Bronze Tablet, while growing up, Kurunta had developed a close friendship with Hattušili's younger son Tudhaliya, and this may have even played a role in Hattušili's decision to designate Tudhaliya as the new *tuhkanti* "crown prince," over his older brother Nerikkaili.²⁶⁵ Tudhaliya's renewal of the treaty (the Bronze Tablet) with Kurunta probably took place in the early years of his reign. The fully preserved treaty has more detail in general and is lengthier than the previous Ulmi-Tešup treaty. With the new treaty Tudhaliya removed some of the border restrictions previously applied by Hattušili and also reduced the military and religious obligations of Kurunta. While this may suggest the existence of good relations between the two parties, it could also be interpreted as an attempt by Tudhaliya IV to ease tensions that may have started to cause signs of strain. Certain statements of Tudhaliya IV further reveal such concern about the security of his kingship. Both in his instructions to dignitaries and high officials (KUB 26.1 i 9–29) and in the treaty with Šauškamuwa of Amurru (KUB 23.1+ ii 8–15), he expresses the threat posed by the descendants of Muwatalli II and demands full loyalty only to himself and his descendants.²⁶⁶

The existence of three different seal impressions²⁶⁷ and a monumental rock relief and inscription in Hatip,²⁶⁸ all of which identify Kurunta as a Great King, suggests that at some point

²⁶⁵ CTH 106.A §13–14.

²⁶⁶ See Bryce (2005: 300f.).

²⁶⁷ BoHa 23 no. 136 (MAGNUS.REX *LABARNA* ⁴LAMMA.CERVUS₂), BoHa 23 no. 137 (MAGNUS.REX *LABARNA* CERVUS₂-*ti*), and another seal known from its three impressions on Bo 86/609, Bo 86/612, and Bo 87/3 (MAGNUS.REX *LABARNA* CERVUS₂-*ti*).

Kurunta must have broken ties with Hattuša and declared himself king of Hatti. Several attestations of ^m*Kur* in the oracle text KUB 5.24+²⁶⁹ are likely to be an abbreviated version of Kurunta's name, as suggested by van den Hout (1995a: 94–96), but his suggestion that the oracle may have been conducted to determine the expulsion of Kurunta from Tarhuntašša is not entirely certain. Although the YALBURT inscription of Tudhaliya IV testifies that the Hittite king campaigned around the Lukka regions, there is no mention of Tarhuntašša in that text. In fact, in his treaty with Kurunta, Tudhaliya remarks about an ongoing conflict and a possible campaign to the land of Parha (CTH 106.A i 62–64), which lay between the lands of Tarhuntašša and Lukka. Nevertheless, even if Tudhaliya may not have acted against Kurunta, the secession may have taken place during the late years of Tudhaliya, perhaps in the aftermath of the Hittite king's defeat at the battle of Nihriya.²⁷⁰

In an oath taken by one of his officials (KUB 26.32+ ii 10'–14'), Šuppiluliuma II expresses concerns similar to the above-mentioned ones of his father Tudhaliya IV (KUB 26.32+ ii 10'–14'), which suggests that during his reign too such a threat from the descendants of Muwatalli II may have continued. In his SÜDBURG inscription Šuppiluliuma II counts Tarhuntašša among the lands he conquered and destroyed. According to Bryce (2007: 127), by the time of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns to the region, the kingship of Tarhuntašša had passed into the hands of Hartapu, whose name is known from three hieroglyphic rock inscriptions,²⁷¹ in all of which he has the title Great King and identifies himself as the son of Muršili, presumably Muršili III (i.e., Urhi-Tešup).²⁷²

²⁶⁸ CERVUS_{2-ti} MAGNUS.REX [HEROS] BOS+*MI-ta-li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS, “Kurunta, the Great King, [hero,] son of Muwatalli, the Great King, hero” (A. Dinçol 1998).

²⁶⁹ Edited by van den Hout (1995a: 244–67).

²⁷⁰ Houwink ten Cate (2006b: 108), Bryce (2007: 126).

²⁷¹ KIZILDAĞ, KARADAĞ, BURUNKAYA (Hawkins 2000: 433–42).

²⁷² See also Sürenhagen (2008) and d'Alfonso (2014: 223–25).

3.1.7 Išuwa

3.1.7.1 Halpašulupi (?)

The claim about Halpašulupi's kingship in the land of Išuwa was put forward by Glocker (2011), based on the restoration of his name in KBo 50.182 obv. 4.²⁷³ According to Glocker (2011: 258) the first three lines of the text should have a genealogical introduction by a Hittite king, whose name he restores as Hattušili III, and the subsequent lines read:

- 4 [... Halpašul]upi w[as] my older brother. [...]
5 [...] ... and [he made] him ki[ng] in the Land of Išuwa.
6 [But when my brother] became [a god, I,] My Majesty, Ali-Šarr[uma ...]
7 [...]ed. And [I made] him [king] in the Land of [Išuwa.]
8 [But that one] transgress[ed ag]ainst [My Majesty]

Since the speaker of the text is likely to be an Empire period Hittite king, among the known brothers of the kings of this period the only name that fits the preserved *-pi* ending of the name in line 4 is Hattušili III's brother Halpašulupi, and he was indeed older than Hattušili as revealed in the Apology. It had been generally assumed that Halpašulupi had died at a relatively early age, opening the way for Muwatalli II into the kingship of Hatti. In Glocker's construction of events, Muršili's son Halpašulupi was sidelined for the kingship of Hatti due to not being a son of Muršili II's favorite wife Gaššulawiya,²⁷⁴ and he was installed as the king of Išuwa either during the reign of his father Muršili II or that of his brother Muwatalli II. Between the two, Muwatalli II would be a more likely choice since the scarcity of documentation from his reign could account for the absence of any information about the establishment of Išuwa as an appanage kingdom. We may also note that in the Aleppo Treaty of Muršili II/Muwatalli II,

²⁷³ Already by Groddek (2008: 125).

²⁷⁴ Already suggested by Beal (1992: 374). See also Alparslan (2007: 31–37).

Halpašulupi is listed with the title GAL KUŠ₇, which, under this scenario, must have been a position he occupied before obtaining the kingship of Išuwa.²⁷⁵

Since the kingdom of Išuwa appears to have existed as an appanage kingdom later in the thirteenth century, yet is not mentioned in sources prior to the thirteenth century, Glocker's suggestion about the formation of the kingdom sometime around the turn of century and the restoration of Halpašulupi's name as its first ruler seems plausible, but for the moment needs further evidence for confirmation.

3.1.7.2 Ali-Šarruma and Ari-Šarruma

The evidence for Ali-Šarruma's kingship in Išuwa became clear only after the correct reading of his name in two seal impressions: KRC 68-364 from Korucutepe and Niš 98 from Boğazköy.²⁷⁶ Both seal impressions have the same inscription: *Ali(L. 416)-SARMA REX ISUWA.REGIO* "Ali-Šarruma, King of Išuwa."²⁷⁷

Ari-Šarruma is known as the king of Išuwa most prominently from the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (KBo 4.10+ rev. 29), where he is listed with this title among the witnesses right after the sons of Hattušili III and the king of Karkamiš. Furthermore he is identified on four seal impressions apparently produced by two seals, on one of which Ari-Šarruma the king of Išuwa (*MANDARE-SARMA REX.ISUWA*) is accompanied by a "Great Daughter" Kilušhepa (*Ki-la/i/u-si[?]-ha-pa MAGNUS.FILIA*).²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ For more information on Halpašulupi, see section 4.6.1.11.

²⁷⁶ The Korucutepe seal was published by Güterbock (1973: 141 Nr. 3). For the reading of Ali-Šarruma's name, see Hawkins (2005a: 252, 289f.).

²⁷⁷ For the reading of *ISUWA* as a logogram, see Hawkins (1998a: 287f.).

²⁷⁸ No. XI 1.1 (= Korucutepe 68.321/Mus. Elaziğ 112) in Mora (1987: 257) and No. VII 10.1 (= Korucutepe 68.403/Mus. Elaziğ 113) in Mora (1987: 204).

Documents mentioning Kilušhepa suggest that she was a close relative, possibly a daughter, of Hattušili III and Puduhepa.²⁷⁹ Further information about Kilušhepa associates her with Ali-Šarruma too. In the court proceeding KUB 40.80:1–3, the death of Kilušhepa is mentioned in the same context with Ali-Šarruma, which may be part of a statement made by a woman named ^{fd}U-IR.²⁸⁰ Another court proceeding (KUB 40.90) includes depositions made by Šauškaziti, who mentions that the “wife of Ali-Šarruma is dead.” Although the two statements seemingly refer to the same event, implying that Kilušhepa was a wife of Ali-Šarruma and that she predeceased her husband (Riemschneider 1975: 259, Klengel 1976: 88), the existence of seals that place Kilušhepa next to a king named Ari-Šarruma complicates the matter.

With the assumption that Ali-Šarruma and Ari-Šarruma refer to two separate kings of Išuwa, difficulty arises in establishing the order of their reigns. While the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty is the only attestation of Ari-Šarruma in cuneiform sources,²⁸¹ Ali-Šarruma is known from several other documents. In addition to KBo 50.182 obv. 6 (see above under Halpašulupi), and the above-cited KUB 40.80 and KUB 40.90, he is mentioned in another court document (KBo 8.30 obv. 1], 3) in association with Bentešina (obv. 2),²⁸² and in the prayer text KUB 54.1+ i 26, where Šauškaziti states that he was warned by Ali-Šarruma that his (Šauškaziti’s) life was in danger.²⁸³ One other document that names Ali-Šarruma is KBo 14.21 i 61, where he is involved in a cult offering to the deity Pirwa. All of the documents that mention Ali-Šarruma are dated to the reign of Hattušili III or the early part of the reign of Tudhaliya IV.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁹ For a treatment of Kilušhepa, see de Roos (1985–86: 74–83, 2005a: 211–15, and 2007a: 60–68).

²⁸⁰ See de Roos (1985–86: 75 and 2007a: 60). Owen (1995: 578) suggests that she is the same person as the mother of Ini-Tešup, who is named as ^{fd}U-IR-*mi* in a legal document that probably originates from Emar. For a discussion of the reading of the name, see Hawkins (2005a: 297).

²⁸¹ A scribe named Ari-Šarruma (^mSUM-^dLUGAL-*ma*), who witnessed and sealed an inventory document in Emar (*Emar* VI 43:20), is certainly a different individual. Differently from King Ari-Šarruma, his name is spelled *Ara/i-SARMA* on his seal impression (*Emar* IV B53).

²⁸² For the passage, see Glocker (2011: 269).

²⁸³ Text edited by Archi and Klengel (1985: 52–64).

²⁸⁴ For a study of the documents that mention Ali-Šarruma, see Glocker (2011) and de Martino (2010b).

According to de Roos (2005a: 215) and de Martino (2010b: 113), Ari-Šarruma and Ali-Šarruma were brothers and Kilušhepa was first married to Ari-Šarruma, and upon her husband's death she married her husband's young brother and successor Ali-Šarruma. However, according to Glocker's reconstruction of events (2011: 272f.), the attestation of Ali-Šarruma in KBo 50.182 obv. 6, right after the mention of [Halpašul]jupi, suggests that the former was the next king of Išuwa, who was installed during the reign of Hattušili III. Furthermore, since Ali-Šarruma is referred to in the third person, and the remnants of obv. 8 hint at deterioration of relations with the Hittite king, Glocker proposes that KBo 50.182 was actually established with the next king Ari-Šarruma after Ali-Šarruma had been removed from kingship. He also suggests that Ari-Šarruma may have been a son of the couple Ali-Šarruma and Kilušhepa, and that the presence of Kilušhepa on her son's seals is no different than the presence of certain Hittite *tawanannas* on the seals of their reigning sons.

It should also be noted that, if Kilušhepa is indeed a daughter of Hattušili III, and her husband—Ali-Šarruma and/or Ari-Šarruma—was a son of Halpašulupi, that would imply a marriage between the children of two brothers, i.e., between cousins. This would represent an odd case considering the sensitivity of Hittites about relationships within the family.²⁸⁵

3.1.7.3 Ehli-Šarruma

Ehli-Šarruma is referred to as the king of Išuwa in IBoT 1.34 obv. 9' and 16', which is a letter sent by the king of Hanigalbat to a Hittite king, who is almost certainly Tudhaliya IV.²⁸⁶ It is assumed that he is the identically named prince attested in several documents from the reign of

²⁸⁵ Note the words of Šuppiluliuma I in the Huqqana Treaty (CTH 42.A iii 43'–48'): "But for Hatti it is an important custom that a brother does not take his sister or female cousin (sexually). It is not permitted. In Hatti whoever commits such an act does not remain alive but is put to death here" (Beckman 1999: 31).

²⁸⁶ Thus Singer (1985: 115), Imparati (1992: 310f.), Klengel (1999: 282).

Tudhaliya IV. Ehli-Šarruma must have succeeded to the kingship of Išuwa following his father, who must have been either Ari-Šarruma or Ali-Šarruma.²⁸⁷

The sick “son of the king of Išuwa” who is mentioned in the dream texts KUB 15.1 iii 48 and KUB 15.3 iv 6 (CTH 548) might be a reference to Ehli-Šarruma as a young prince.²⁸⁸ The mention of Kilušhepa making offerings in the subsequent paragraph in KUB 15.1 iii 54 suggests that the text dates to a time before her death. The queen, whose dreams and vows are mentioned throughout the texts, is likely to be Puduhepa, and this demonstrates the royal couple’s ties to Kilušhepa and the importance they attached to the ruling family of Išuwa.

In the Bronze Tablet, Ehli-Šarruma is listed with the “prince” title as a witness (iv 34). He is also mentioned in relation to certain goods in the inventory document KUB 40.96 iii 24' (CTH 242) about metal tools and weapons.²⁸⁹ Furthermore, three different seal impressions from the Nišantepe archive (Niš 100, 101, and 102) and SBo II 18 identify Ehli-Šarruma as MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS and REX.FILIUS.²⁹⁰ These documents suggest that he spent some time in the Hittite palace before becoming king in Išuwa.

Based on his attestation as a king in the above-mentioned IBoT 1.34, it is clear that he must have succeeded to the throne of Išuwa sometime during the reign of Tudhaliya IV. This took place after the drafting of the Bronze Tablet, and probably before the defeat of the Hittite king by the Assyrians in the battle of Nihriya. Evidence for the latter may be found in KBo 4.14

²⁸⁷ Glocker (2011: 273) suggests he is a son of Ari-Šarruma and a grandson of Ali-Šarruma, while de Roos (2005a: 215) and de Martino (2010b: 113) consider Ali-Šarruma and Ari-Šarruma as brothers and indicate that Ehli-Šarruma could be a son of either.

²⁸⁸ Both texts are edited by de Roos (2007a: 88–108). For the identification of the sick son of Išuwa with Ehli-Šarruma, see van den Hout (1995a: 125f.).

²⁸⁹ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 280f.).

²⁹⁰ The name is spelled i(a)-*HALA-SARMA*. SBo II 18 with the same name and titles probably comes from the same seal as Niš 102. On Ehli-Šarruma’s position as MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS, see section 4.4.1.13.

(CTH 123).²⁹¹ This treaty or protocol document must date to a time after the battle of Nihriya, on account of the following remarks of the Hittite king (ii 7–11):

As (the situation) turned difficult for me you kept yourself somewhere away from me. Beside me you were not! Have I not fled from Nihriya alone? When it thus occurred that the enemy took away from me the Hurri lands, was I not left on my own in Alatarma? (Singer 1985: 110).

Since the subordinate ruler scolded by the Hittite king is likely to be a ruler of an eastern province near Assyria, it was suggested by Singer (1985: 109–13) that the person in question might be Ehli-Šarruma, whose name appears elsewhere in the same text in fragmentary context (iv 71). The text contains the plea of Tudhaliya IV for the utmost loyalty of his subordinate, and Tudhaliya's willingness to give him another chance may be indicative of the difficult situation he found himself in against the Assyrians (Singer 1985: 110).

3.1.7.4 Other kings of Išuwa

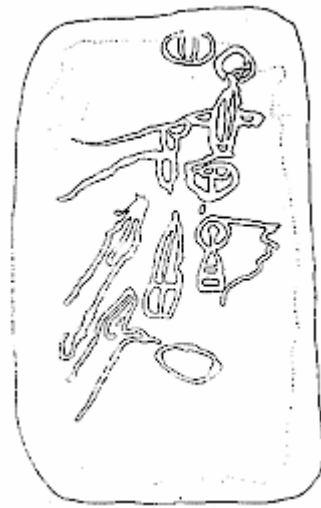
With the identification of the hieroglyphic sign for *ISUWA*,²⁹² we are faced with a few more attestations of the kings of Išuwa, about whom there is no information in cuneiform sources. One of those attestations comes from the so-called Quellgrotte stele from Boğazköy,²⁹³ which might be a dedication to a god by a certain king of Išuwa (REX *ISUWA*), but his name, *x-lu-x*, remains unreadable (Figure 2.a). A seal impression on a bulla in the Kayseri museum, reportedly found in Kayseri province, is read REX *Á-zi/a*-TONITRUS REX *ISUWA*.REGIO (Figure 2.b).²⁹⁴ As Hawkins (1998a: 289 and 2005a: 251) points out, the name can be read in Luwian as *Aza-Tarhunta*, but a Hurrian reading of *Azi/a-Tešup* might make more sense for the location of Išuwa, although *azi/a-* cannot be identified as an onomastic element in Hurrian. The

²⁹¹ Edited by Stefanini (1965: 39–79).

²⁹² See Hawkins (1998a: 287–95).

²⁹³ Bo 68/265 (see Güterbock 1969: 49–51).

²⁹⁴ Published by Kodan (1989) and Poetto and Bolatti-Guzzo (1994). For the reading, see Hawkins (1998a: 289 and fig. 3).



a. Bo 68/265
(Güterbock 1969 Abb. 13)



b. Kayseri Museum 81/402
(Poetto and Bolatti-Guzzo 1994: 15 fig. 3)



c. Arslantepe signet ring
(Meriggi 1963 Tav. XLVI)

Figure 2. Quellegrotte stele and two seal impressions that identify kings of Išuwa.

name is known from several other seal impressions from Boğazköy, all of which possibly belong to the same official, who is a scribe and courtier,²⁹⁵ and therefore unlikely to be identified with this king of Išuwa. A further attestation of a king of Išuwa comes from multiple impressions of a signet ring on a bulla found at Arslantepe in Malatya, which was published by Meriggi (1963). Although on the reconstruction of Meriggi the sign was drawn more like a cursive *ma*, as Hawkins (1998a: 289) suspects, the sign may actually be *ISUWA*. Seal owner's name *CERVUS₂-ti* is flanked by antithetically written *REX ISUWA.REGIO*. There is the possibility that the Kayseri and Malatya seals may belong to post-Empire period rulers, particularly if the *CERVUS₂-ti* of the Malatya seal could be identified with *CERVUS* (Runtiya[?]) of the *GÜRÜN* and *KÖTÜKALE* rock inscriptions.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁵ Niş 82–86, SBo II 146–147, and with *URCEUS* title on Niş 87. Niş 85 and SBo II 147 are likely to have been imprinted by the same seal.

²⁹⁶ See Hawkins (1998a: 289f.). For the *GÜRÜN* and *KÖTÜKALE* inscriptions, see Hawkins (2000: 295–301 and plates 135–41).

3.1.8 Tumanna

Although no king of Tumanna is known by name, there is evidence to suggest that the position existed in the second half of the thirteenth century. According to the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, the land of Tumanna was again brought under Hittite rule during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I.²⁹⁷ During the reign of Muršili II the land was governed by Hutupiyanza, who was a son of Šuppiluliuma's brother Zida.²⁹⁸ During the reign of Muwatalli II, the region apparently became a part of the kingdom of Hakpiš, since Hattušili counts it among the lands that were given to him.²⁹⁹ While we do not have any evidence of continuity of the kingdom of Hakpiš during and after the reign of Hattušili III, there exist some references to a king of Tumanna.

In the oracle text IBoT 1.32 about an expedition to the land of Azzi, the king of Tumanna is considered one of the possible candidates to lead the campaign. The text starts by asking whether the Hittite king will lead the campaign (obv. 1), and then continues with the options Šauškaruntiya (obv. 11), the king of Tumanna (obv. 14), the king of Tumanna and Šauškaruntiya together (obv. 17), the king of Išuwa and the king of Karkamiš (obv. 29).³⁰⁰ Inclusion of the king of Tumanna alongside the other appanage kings indicates that Tumanna enjoyed the same status,³⁰¹ and that its ruler was probably a member of the Hittite royal family.

The cult inventory fragment VBoT 108 i 21' (CTH 530) refers to “the Stormgod of the Great House of [...] and the king of Tumanna.”³⁰² A more significant presence of the king of Tumanna is attested in another cult inventory text (KBo 12.53+KUB 48.105 *passim*).³⁰³ The text

²⁹⁷ KBo 5.6 i 37, with dupls. KUB 31.7 i 7 and KBo 14.11 i 9. KUB 19.13+ i 41 (see Del Monte 2009: 102f.).

²⁹⁸ KBo 2.5 iv 18–20 (*AM* 192f.). See also KBo 5.8 ii 14–22 (*AM* 152f.).

²⁹⁹ KUB 1.1 ii 59.

³⁰⁰ For the relevant lines, see Beal (1992: 317 n. 1217).

³⁰¹ See Beal (1992: 326f. and n. 1250).

³⁰² ^dU É^{TIM} GAL ŠA[] Û ŠA LUGAL^{URU} *Tumanna* (Otten 1971: 22f.).

³⁰³ KBo 12.53+KUB 48.105 *passim*; edited by Archi and Klengel (1980: 143–57).

mentions donations such as personnel, houses, and livestock made by the Hittite king to cultic institutions in various towns, and can be associated with the cultic reforms of Tudhaliya IV.³⁰⁴ The towns are grouped under four regions: the name of the first region is not preserved but includes the towns of Šananauya, Ušhaniya, Kipitta, Uhhiuwa, and Kapitamma (obv. 1'–18'); the second section is a long list of towns of the land of Durmitta (obv. 18'–rev. 30); this is followed by a shorter list of towns of the city of Kaššiya (rev. 31–36); and the final section is about the towns of the land of Tapikka, of which only the names of the first five are preserved (rev. 37–48). The king of Tumanna is mentioned about fifteen times, with almost every different town of Durmitta and Kaššiya, making donations alongside the Hittite king, but he is not mentioned in the first section or in the section on Tapikka. Therefore, it may be assumed that the association of the king of Tumanna with the regions of Durmitta and Kaššiya could be due to his jurisdiction over these regions, which are clearly outside the generally accepted location of Tumanna in the north/northwestern region of Hatti.³⁰⁵ Since this region overlaps with the regions that were ruled by Hattušili while he was the king of Hakpiš,³⁰⁶ and there is no evidence for a separate king of Hakpiš during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, this may further suggest that the responsibilities fulfilled by the king of Hakpiš may have been taken over by a king of Tumanna during the reign of Tudhaliya IV.

3.1.9 General Discussion of the Rulers of Appanage Kingdoms

Throughout the history of the state, Hittite princes were entrusted with the administration of large territories. In the early Old Kingdom they are referred to as the “Prince” or the “Man” of a city, but as testified by the kingly titles attributed to them in later-period royal offering lists, they

³⁰⁴ Archi and Klengel (1980: 152), Houwink ten Cate (1992: 143 n. 51).

³⁰⁵ See RGTC 437f.

³⁰⁶ Hattušili counts “Land of Turmitta, Land of Pala, Land of Tumanna, Land of Kaššiya” among the lands he ruled over (KUB 1.1+ ii 59–60).

Name	Reigning Great King	Titles / Relationships
Kantuzzili	Arnuwanda I	Priest of Kizzuwatna, Son of Arnuwanda I
Telipinu	Šuppiluliuma I–Muršili II	Priest of Kizzuwatna, King of Aleppo, Son of Šuppiluliuma I
Piyaššili/Šarri-Kušuh	Šuppiluliuma I–Muršili II	King of Karkamiš, Son of Šuppiluliuma I
Talmi-Šarruma	Muršili II–Muwatalli II	King of Aleppo, Son of Telipinu
Halpašulupi(?)	Muršili II–Muwatalli II	King of Išuwa(?), Son of Muršili II
Šahurunuwa/[...]-Šarruma	Muršili II–Muwatalli II–Muršili III	King of Karkamiš, Son of Piyaššili
Hattušili III	Muwatalli II–Muršili III	King of Hakpiš, Son of Muršili II
Tudhaliya IV(?)	Hattušili III	Priest/King(?) of Hakpiš, Son of Hattušili III
Ini-Tešup	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	King of Karkamiš, Son of Šahurunuwa
Ali-Šarruma	Hattušili III	King of Išuwa, (Son [?] in-law [?] of Hattušili III
Ari-Šarruma	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	King of Išuwa, Son(?) of Ali-Šarruma
Kurunta	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	King of Tarhuntašša, Son of Muwatalli II
Ehli-Šarruma	Tudhaliya IV–Šuppiluliuma II(?)	King of Išuwa, Son(?) of Ari-Šarruma
Halpaziti	Tudhaliya IV–Šuppiluliuma II(?)	King of Aleppo
Talmi-Tešup	Tudhaliya IV–Šuppiluliuma II	King of Karkamiš, Son of Ini-Tešup

Table 3. Rulers of the Hittite appanage kingdoms.

were viewed as subordinate kings to the Great King of Hatti. In the Empire period we see the emergence of larger appanage kingdoms. While some of these were territories of former kingdoms (Kizzuwatna, Karkamiš, Aleppo, and Išuwa), others (Hakpiš, Tarhuntašša, and Tumanna) were newly and intentionally established by the Hittite kings to serve as appanage kingdoms. Although the city of Hakm/piš had existed since the early days of the state and was even ruled by princes during the early Old Kingdom, by the reign of Muwatalli II it had become the administrative center of a large territory that apparently covered most of the Upper Land. After Hattušili III became the king of Hatti, either he or his son Tudhaliya IV may have turned a portion of the kingdom of Hakpiš into the kingdom of Tumanna. The change of name may possibly have to do with the choice of a different administrative center in the land of Tumanna. The city of Tarhuntašša is never attested prior to Muwatalli II, who may have been its

founder. But it was turned into an appanage kingdom by Hattušili III with a larger territory surrounding the city.

When Hittite princes were installed as the new kings of these lands, they were also given the right to establish their own dynasties under the suzerainty of Hatti. Treaties established with these rulers almost always included clauses ensuring that the kingship would be inherited only by their descendants. This is best observed in Karkamiš, where kingship was transferred from father to son for four generations from the mid-fourteenth century until the end of the thirteenth century, all of whom remained loyal to their Hittite overlord until the demise of the Hittite state.³⁰⁷ When Telipinu was installed as the priest of Kizzuwatna, his descendants were to receive the same privileges.³⁰⁸ These privileges were transferred along with him when he was later installed as the king of Aleppo.³⁰⁹ Although we do not have concrete evidence, a dynastic succession probably took place in Išuwa too, and the presence of its crown prince Ehli-Šarruma in the Hittite capital prior to his accession testifies to close ties with Hittite royalty.

In addition to having administrative and judicial responsibilities over their regions, appanage kings provided military assistance whenever needed. Military participation of Piyyašili in Arzawa, and Hattušili at Kadesh indicates that such assistance was not necessarily limited to their own territories. We also see in oracle questions that the appanage kings were able to lead Hittite armies on behalf of the Hittite king.³¹⁰

The high position of the rulers of appanage kingdoms within the Hittite administrative hierarchy is demonstrated by their high ranking in the witness lists. Kings of Karkamiš, Išuwa,

³⁰⁷ A line of Karkamiš kings who identified themselves as the descendants of the same family continued to reign over an independent kingdom of Karkamiš during the twelfth century and beyond.

³⁰⁸ *ANA Telipinu* ^{LÚ}SANGA *katta* [DUMU-ŠU DUMU.DUMU-ŠU] (KUB 19.25 i 8) and ^{LÚ}SANGA *našma katta* DUMU ^{LÚ}SANGA (KUB 19.26 i 9, 13) (Goetze 1940: 13f.).

³⁰⁹ It may be noted, however, that there is no information available about the family ties of Halpaziti, the last known king of Aleppo.

³¹⁰ In addition to the above-mentioned IBoT 1.32 (CTH 577), which considers the kings of Karkamiš, Išuwa, and Tumanna as possible leaders of a campaign, the oracle text KUB 49.25 iv 1' (CTH 579) mentions the king of Karkamiš in association with a campaign to Papanhi (see Beal 1992: 338).

and Tarhuntašša are listed right after the crown prince and a couple of other sons of Hattušili III in three major witness lists of the thirteenth century (see Appendix 3). The king of Karkamiš in particular was the most important of them due to his unique position as the viceroy of the entire Syrian region. Already during the reign of Mušili II, the Hittite king recognized the status of his brother Piyaššili right below himself and the crown prince. After the formation of the kingdom of Tarhuntašša, its new ruler Kurunta was also given the same status as the kings of Karkamiš:

Concerning the Great Throne (of Hatti), his protocol shall be the same as that of the king of the land of Karkamiš. Only the crown prince shall be greater than the king of the land of Tarhuntašša; no one else shall be greater than he. Whatever royal ceremonial is allowed to the king of the land of Karkamiš shall also be allowed to the king of the land of Tarhuntašša. (CTH 106.A ii 79–83; Beckman 1999: 118).³¹¹

The statement clearly implies a distinguished status for the king of Karkamiš and the king of Tarhuntašša relative to other appanage kings. In the Šahurunuwa Text (CTH 225), the crown prince (Nerikkaili), the king of Tarhuntašša (Kurunta), and the king of Karkamiš (Ini-Tešup) are the first three names in the witness list.

The ties of the appanage kings to the Hittite royal family are emphasized by the Hittite kings even generations later. Just as Mušili II states to Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo that they were “all the progeny of Šuppiluliuma, the Great King” (KBo 1.6 rev. 8), a century later in his treaty with Talmi-Tešup of Karkamiš, Šuppiluliuma II makes the same comment.³¹² This was no doubt a conscious effort to strengthen the loyalty of these rulers.

3.2 Governors

It has already been mentioned in the previous section that the Hittite territories that were not administered by appanage kings were ruled by the central government. This central territory

³¹¹ The last sentence is also repeated in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (CTH 106.B obv. 36–37’).

³¹² CTH 122.1 obv. i 8 (d’Alfonso 2007: 207–13).

was divided into smaller administrative units under various officials, although we do not have a full understanding of this division. Some of those units were large provinces like the Upper Land and the Lower Land, which more or less covered the two halves of central Anatolia, while there were certainly smaller border provinces such as Tapikka under the independent management of *BĒL MADGALTI* officials. The focus of this section, however, will only be on the governors of the large provinces, almost all of whom were members of the royal family, followed by a more detailed discussion of the position of governors in general.

3.2.1 Hutupiyanza

Hutupiyanza is attested as the governor of Pala and Tumanna on several occasions in the Annals of Muršili II (CTH 61).³¹³ In a couple of these instances, he bears the DUMU.LUGAL designation. The same passages indicate that he was a son of Zita, who was a brother and GAL *MEŠEDI* of Šuppiluliuma I (see section 4.1.1.10). These are the earliest verified attestations of the usage of the DUMU.LUGAL designation for someone other than the son of a king, a practice that became more common in the late Empire period.

Although in some of these attestations only the land of Pala is mentioned, it is assumed that on these occasions the term actually refers to a greater territory which included the adjacent region of Tumanna too. There is no specific governorship title given to him other than the indication that he was administering (*maniyahheškit*) these lands. It is possible, however, that he may have been referred to as EN KUR *Pa[-la]*[?] “the lord of Pala” in the fragmentary letter KBo 18.45 l.e. 2, which was sent by his contemporary Aranhapilizzi (see section 4.7.1.1), to the Hittite king, presumably Muršili II.

³¹³ KUB 14.29+KUB 19.3 i 17][, 20 (*AM* 106f.), KBo 5.8 ii 18–44 (*AM* 152–55) with dupl. KBo 16.8+ ii 8'–27' (Kammenhuber 1970: 548f. and Groddek 1996a: 102f.), KBo 2.5 iv 18–20 (*AM* 192f.).

Hutupiyanza's assignment to this position must have taken place during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I. Muršili II indicates that his father had sent Hutupiyanza to the region, and that lacking a proper army, he had initially had to defend the region by guerrilla means.³¹⁴ By the time of Muršili II, Hutupiyanza must have established his rule in the region pretty firmly. Muršili II indicates that he did not go to the region, but sent chariotry and troops to Hutupiyanza's aid. Hutupiyanza was not only successful in fending off numerous enemy offensives, but he also went on successful campaigns to enemy lands, brought back captives, and rebuilt and fortified the land of Pala.³¹⁵ Later, it is reported that in the ninth year of Muršili II, when the city of Wašulana started hostilities against Hutupiyanza, the GAL GEŠTIN Nuwanza was sent to his aid.³¹⁶ The letter KUB 57.1, which was sent by Hutupiyanza to the GAL GEŠTIN to report on the activities of the Kaška enemy, must be associated with the events of this period.³¹⁷ Hutupiyanza is mentioned once again around the twentieth year of Muršili II, when he put an end to rebellions in Kalašma after repeated punitive missions to the region by Muršili II and the Hittite military commander Tarhini.³¹⁸ Another letter of his, KBo 18.35,³¹⁹ is probably to be associated with these events on account of the mention of the Hittite official Tarhini's capture of the city of Lahhu (obv. 6–8).

These documents suggest that Hutupiyanza had a strong presence in the northern regions as the governor of Pala and Tumanna. Since he had already been active during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, he may have been even older than Muršili II, who became king as a rather young man. Hutupiyanza is the only known governor of the region of Pala and Tumanna.

³¹⁴ KBo 5.8 ii 18–31 (*AM* 152–55).

³¹⁵ KBo 16.8+ ii 14'–27' (Kammenhuber 1970: 548f. and Groddek 1996a: 102f.).

³¹⁶ KUB 19.3 i 16–17+KUB 14.29 i 12–21 (*AM* 106f.) and dupl. KBo 16.6 iii 1–12.

³¹⁷ Edited by Hoffner ((2009: 356–58). For Nuwanza, see section 4.2.1.12.

³¹⁸ KUB 2.5 iv 11–28 (*AM* 192–95).

³¹⁹ See Hagenbuchner (1989b: 166f.) and Marizza (2009: 136f.). The letter is addressed by Hu[tupiyanza] to EN-t[arawa?].

3.2.2 Hannutti

Hannutti is mentioned in the Extended Annals of Muršili II as the governor of the Lower Land during short reign of Arnuwanda II. Muršili remarks that upon the development of some trouble and while his brother Arnuwanda was sick, “Hannutti, who was administering (*maniyahheškit*) the Lower Land, went to Išhupitta, but he died there.”³²⁰ Hannutti is known to have served as GAL KUŠ₇ for Šuppiluliuma I and to have participated in military campaigns against the Kaška, as well as in Syria and western Anatolia (see section 4.6.1.10). He must have been installed in the governorship of the Lower Land during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, following his service as GAL KUŠ₇. It is not mentioned whether his death was due to battle or natural causes, but having served with Šuppiluliuma I, Hannutti was probably no longer young. As Beal points out (1992: 373), the enemy’s belittling speech towards Muršili upon Hannutti’s death may indicate the important status of this official. In addition to his position as the governor of the Lower Land, attestation of his name in a fragment of the royal offering lists³²¹ does suggest that Hannutti was a close member of the royal family.

3.2.3 Tudhaliya (?)

Claims for the existence of a governor named Tudhaliya are mainly based on the attestation of this name in KBo 3.3+ (CTH 63.A), which contains two separate edicts of Muršili II regarding Syrian affairs. The second edict³²² is apparently addressed to a group of three subordinate rulers in Syria, who are mentioned several times in the text as an unnamed king of Karkamiš, Tudhaliya, and Halpahi. Although the tablet is somewhat fragmentary, it is

³²⁰ KUB 19.29 iv 11–13 (*AM* 18f.).

³²¹ ^m*Ha*]r-*an-nu*¹-*ut-ti* in KBo 13.42:5’ (CTH 661). No other name ending with *-annutti* has been attested in Hittite sources, and other attestations of this name seem to belong to a late Empire period prince, save a ^m*Ha-nu-di* from an Alalah text (see van den Hout 1995a: 200).

³²² KBo 3.3+ ii 39ff.; edited by Miller (2007a).

understood that Tuppi-Tešup, the king of Amurru, had complained to the Hittite king that these three individuals had been rejecting his requests for the return of certain civilian captives who had escaped from Amurru into the lands of these individuals. As noted by Miller (2007a: 135) the reference to three geographic locations within the statement of Tuppi-Tešup quoted by Muršili II as “and the one (group) went to the land of [Karka]miš, another went to the land of [GN], while another [w]ent to the land of Hala[b]”³²³ is likely to correspond to the three lands under the jurisdiction of the aforementioned king of Karkamiš, Tudhaliya, and Halpahi, respectively. This would, therefore, associate Halpahi with the city of Halpa, and Tudhaliya with another city, the name of which is not preserved. Halpahi’s association with the city of Halap (Aleppo) is also supported by his gentilic name, but his function in this city is not clear, since the Priest mentioned in the text is likely to be the king of Aleppo.³²⁴

On account of the mention of a Tudhaliya in two letter fragments—one from Alalah (ATT 35)³²⁵ sent by “His Majesty” to Tudhaliya, and another from Boğazköy (KBo 9.83)³²⁶ sent by Tudhaliya to “His Majesty” that also includes multiple references to the city of Gaduma, which was apparently in a border region between the lands of Mukiš and Karkamiš,³²⁷ it has been suggested that the city name associated with the Tudhaliya of KBo 3.3+ might be Alalah.³²⁸ The same scholars also suggest that this Tudhaliya might be the male figure depicted on a monumental relief found in Alalah (AT/40-45/2) and identified with the accompanying hieroglyphic inscription as Prince Tudhaliya.³²⁹ In his edition of KBo 3.3+, Miller (2007a: 131f.)

³²³ KBo 3.3+ ii 51–53.

³²⁴ Halpahi’s name is not attested in any other source. See Miller (2007a: 136f.) on the difficulties in determining the role of this official in Aleppo.

³²⁵ Only the address and greeting have been preserved. Edited by Niedorf (2002), who dates it to Šuppiluliuma I/Muršili II, and more recently by Hoffner (2009: 374). Marizza (2009: 156) dates the letter to Šuppiluliuma I.

³²⁶ Hagenbuchner (1989b: 48f.), Marizza (2009: 157f.).

³²⁷ See RGTC 6: 203.

³²⁸ See Niedorf (2002: 21–23), Marizza (2009: 154f.), Devecchi (2010: 16).

³²⁹ For a photo see Bittel (1976: 202 fig. 203). For a summary report of a recent study of the relief, see Yener, Dinçol and Peker (2014).

remarks that the traces of the last sign of the city name in ii 52 do not support a reading of Alalah, and instead suggests restoring it ^{UR}[^UAš-ta-t]a, or less likely ^{UR}[^UQa-at-n]a. However, suggesting a governor/ruler named Tudhaliya in Emar/Aštata is not problem-free, since the fairly large archives of Emar do not indicate the presence of such an official.

A recent study involving enhanced imaging techniques reads the abraded title of Prince Tudhaliya on the Alalah relief as MAGNUS.SACERDOS₂ “Great Priest”³³⁰ (Yener, Dinçol, and Peker 2014), rather than the previously suggested MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ or MAGNUS.HATTI[?].³³¹ With the assistance of a recently excavated seal impression (AT 20414) that jointly names Prince Tudhaliya and Princess Ašnuhepa, the same study reads the name and title of the female figure that accompanies Tudhaliya on the relief as Ašnuhepa REX.FILIA, and furthermore identifies her with the Ašnuhepa of KBo 18.12 rev. 2', which is a tablet with two fragmentary letters on each side.³³² Ašnuhepa is the sender of the piggyback letter on the reverse side of KBo 18.12, which is addressed to a Hittite queen.³³³ Yener, Dinçol, and Peker (2014: 137) suggest that the main letter on the obverse of the tablet, which mentions UKU.UŠ- and Šarikuwa-troops, must have been sent by Ašnuhepa's husband Tudhaliya to the Great King, adding yet one more document to the dossier of this Tudhaliya.

The MAGNUS.SACERDOS₂ (“Great/Chief Priest”) title of Tudhaliya brings into the question another Hittite priest-ruler in the region. Even before the reading of this title, it was already suggested by Marizza (2009: 154f.) that the Tudhaliya of KBo 3.3+ and the Alalah relief might be a second-rank prince of Šuppiluliuma I, who was installed as a ruler in Alalah/Mukiš. The Priest mentioned in KBo 3.3+ iii 53', who is to oversee any judicial matter that may arise

³³⁰ On GAL SANGA/MAGNUS.SACERDOS₍₂₎, see section 4.13.1.

³³¹ See Hawkins (2005a: 304).

³³² Edited by Hagenbuchner 1989b: 86f.

³³³ KBo 18.12 rev. 1'-2': [A-NA MUNU]S.LUGAL GAŠAN-YA QI-BÍ-MA / [UM-MA] ^fAš-nu-hé-pa GEME-KA-MA.

between the addressees of Muršili's edict and Tuppi-Tešup, must be the priest-ruler of Aleppo, distinct from Tudhaliya. Therefore, Tudhaliya of KBo 3.3+, even if he is the "Chief Priest" of the Alalah relief, must be in a subordinate position to the Priest of Aleppo. It should also be noted that in KBo 3.3+, Muršili II consistently refers to the king of Karkamiš anonymously with only the title, yet he does not use any titles for Tudhaliya and Halpahi, who are listed after the king of Karkamiš on all three occasions,³³⁴ which could be an indication of status difference between these two officials and the king of Karkamiš. According to Yener, Dinçol, and Peker (2014: 138), Tudhaliya is more likely to be a son of Telipinu, the (Chief) Priest of Aleppo, and was placed in charge of a territory that at least includes a part of [Ugari]t or [Aštata]³³⁵ and adjoins border areas of Alalah.

For the moment, it is sufficient to say there is some evidence about the existence of a Tudhaliya in an administrative position somewhere in northern Syria during the reign of Muršili II, but his specific location and function remain uncertain.

3.2.4 Arma-Tarhunta

In his "Apology" (CTH 81), Hattušili III indicates that previously "Arma-Tarhunta, son of Zita, used to govern it (the Upper Land)" (i 27f.). In another document Hattušili states: "The Upper Land was given to Arma-Tarhunta. But then Muwatalli II, my brother, gave it to me to administer."³³⁶ Since it is unlikely that Muwatalli II had given the land first to Arma-Tarhunta and then to Hattušili III, the former had probably already been installed in that position during the reign of Muršili II.

³³⁴ [LUGAL KUR^{URU} Karkamiš=wa=mu^m]Tudhaliyaš [mHalpahišš=a] (KBo 3.3+ ii 41–42), [LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ka]rkamiš kuit^mTudhaliyaš^mHalpahišš=a (KBo 3.3+ iv 3'–4'), LUGAL KUR^{URU} Karkamiš^mTudhaliyaš^mHalpahišš=a (KBo 3.3+ iv 6'–7') (Miller 2007a: 123, 128).

³³⁵ Presumably on account of the partial reading in KBo 3.3+ ii 52, as mentioned above.

³³⁶ KUB 21.17 i 4–7 (CTH 86.1); edited by Ünal (1974b: 18f.).

Arma-Tarhunta's position within the Hittite royal family as another son of Zita and a brother of Hutupiyanza must have played a role in his installation as governor. He must have been younger than his brother since he was still alive during the reign of Hattušili III, although by then he was in old age.³³⁷ We do not have any information about his activities as a governor. Most information about him comes from the documents of Hattušili, which inform us about the legal disputes and antagonism arising between them after the governorship had been taken away from Arma-Tarhunta and given to Hattušili during the reign of Muwatalli II.³³⁸ Eventually Arma-Tarhunta along with his wife and children was found guilty of witchcraft and evil deeds. Hattušili remarks that he had released Arma-Tarhunta due to his old age, and his son Šippaziti upon the request of Muwatalli II, but had exiled his wife and other sons to Alašiya.³³⁹

3.2.5 Aranhapilizzi (?)

Aranhapilizzi was a military commander known to have been active during the reigns of Muršili II, Muwatalli II, and possibly Urhi-Tešup (see section 4.7.1.1), but his governorship is not entirely certain. If Hoffner's (1981: 651) restoration of his name in the small fragment KUB 48.83: 5' as ^m*A-ra-an-ha-p*]i-li-zi-iš EN KUR^{Tl} is correct,³⁴⁰ it could be assumed that he may have been given the governorship of a certain land later in his career. This would be comparable to the governorship of Hannutti, who was installed in that office after long service in the military.

³³⁷ As remarked by Hattušili in the Apology, iii 25f.

³³⁸ For a study of Arma-Tarhunta and a list of his attestations, see van den Hout (1998: 60–64). The only other attestation of his name that can be added to van den Hout's list is the seal BoHa 22 no. 163 (hier. LUNA-TONITRUS-*tá*). However, it is uncertain whether he can be identified with our prince, since it does not indicate a title other than BONUS₂.VIR₂ and the other side of the seal mentions a priest (SACERDOS₂) named Zuwa.

³³⁹ On the suggestion that his wife might be Šaušgatti, see Ünal (1974a: 105) and van den Hout (1998: 67).

³⁴⁰ If the restored word is indeed a proper name, within the Hittite onomasticon Aranhapilizzi is the only name that matches the preserved ending. The fragment also mentions the titles GAL DUB.S[AR (l. 3') and perhaps GAL^{LU}NA.GAD GÜB (l. 6'), and the mention of these titles may have caused the text to be classified as CTH 225.C? in *Konkordanz*, perhaps because in CTH 225, Šahuruwa is referred to with both the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ and GAL NA.GAD titles. However, this does not seem to be justified. If the text was a copy of the Šahuruwa Text, the GAL NA.GAD GÜB title would have to be a reference to Mizramuwa, who appears with that title among the witnesses of the text. KUB 48.83 is clearly not a witness list, and it seems less likely that Mizramuwa would be mentioned somewhere in the body of the text. KUB 48.83:10' also mentions KUR^{URU}Turmi[*ta*, which is not mentioned in CTH 225. See also note 1323.

We may also speculate that the land in question was the Lower Land, considering the suspected involvement of Aranhapilizzi in the return of the Stormgod's statue from Tarhuntašša to Hattuša (see section 4.7.1.1).

3.2.6 Hattušili

As mentioned above, the documents that inform us about Arma-Tarhunta also indicate that the governorship of the Upper Land was taken from him and given to Hattušili by Muwatalli II. It was also discussed in the previous section that his governorship was subsequently turned into an appanage kingship centered in the city of Hakpiš (see section 3.1.5.1). Hattušili's jurisdiction extended not only over the territories of the Upper Land, but also over Pala and Tumanna, which had previously been a separate governorship.

3.2.7 EN KUR^(TI)

None of the few governors discussed above are clearly attested with a specific title that indicates their governorship position, but instead they are said to have been administering a land. There are only the fragmentary attestations of Aranhapilizzi EN KUR^T[^I] (KUB 48.83: 5') and an EN KUR Pa[la][?] (KBo 18.45 l.e. 2) which is speculated to be a reference to Hutupiyanza. However, the logographic title EN KUR^{TI} translates directly as “Lord of the Land” and it is a rather generic term that can be used to refer to authorities at various levels.³⁴¹

In a prayer of Muwatalli II the Hittite king refers to himself as EN KUR.KUR.MEŠ “lord of the lands” (KBo 11.1 obv. 11). Anniya, LUGAL KUR^{URU} Azzi of the Annals of Muršili (KBo 3.4 iii 93), is mentioned elsewhere in the same composition as Anniya, EN KUR^{URU} Azzi (KUB 26.79 i 18). In a letter of Puduhepa to Ramses II, the context suggests that the phrase EN.MEŠ KUR^{TI}-YA “lords of my land” is a generic reference to dignitaries of Hatti (KUB 21.38 obv. 19).

³⁴¹ For a discussion of the EN KUR^{TI} title, see Imparati (1974: 55–62) and Beal (1992: 427–42).

EN KUR^{TI} is also attested generically in a number of festival texts as the provider of offerings.³⁴² Some of those are probably references to the administrators of the locations where the festivals are taking place.³⁴³ In one such document the text refers specifically to the EN KUR of Zallara as the provider of annual offerings to the Stormgod of Aleppo (KBo 14.142 iii 31–34). In Hattušili’s decree on the people of Tiliura, the EN KUR^{TI} is said to be the person who governs this city and the settlements surrounding it, including both Hittite and Kaška people (KUB 21.29 i 8).³⁴⁴ These examples suggest that the EN KUR^(TI) “Lord of the Land” title can be used at various levels basically to refer to the highest authority in a specific territory.

There are also several attestations of EN KUR^{TI} that appear in the context of tax and corvée obligations (*šahhan* and *luzzi*). These attestations often come from land donation documents where exemptions from such obligations are indicated. In these cases EN KUR^{TI} is often mentioned alongside the *BĒL MADGALTI* and MAŠKIM.URU^{KI} as one of the authorities to whom tax and corvée obligations are due.³⁴⁵ *BĒL/EN MADGALTI* is known to be the official in command of a border province (see below), while MAŠKIM.URU^{KI} is a city administrator.³⁴⁶ Since these three officials are usually mentioned together and always given in the same order, they may represent three different levels of jurisdiction over a province, a border district, and a city.³⁴⁷ Accordingly, it is reasonable to conclude that EN KUR^{TI} may have been used as a title for the governors discussed above. However, it may be noted that although an EN KUR^{TI} was a

³⁴² KUB 25.22 ii 13 (CTH 524.2), KUB 25.23 i 16 (CTH 525.3), KUB 25.25 i 10 (CTH 678.3), KBo 2.4 l.e. 2 (CTH 672), KBo 26.227 iii 10 (CTH 530), and perhaps KBo 13.150 iii 3 (CTH 832).

³⁴³ According to Haas (1970: 24), the first four of the attestations mentioned in the previous note specifically refer to EN URU^{NI}Nerik “Lord of Nerik” (For more about EN URU^{NI}Nerik, see section 4.13.7).

³⁴⁴ In this particular case the EN KUR^{TI}, which is repeated several times in the text (i 8, ii 10, iii 2’], 9(2)), may actually be standing for *BĒL MADGALTI* (see Beal 1992: 438, and see below).

³⁴⁵ KUB 26.43 rev. 12–14 with dupl. KUB 26.50 rev. 4–6 (CTH 225), KUB 26.58 obv. 8–12 (CTH 224), KBo 6.28 rev. 24–25 (CTH 88), KBo 6.29 iii 19–21 (CTH 85).

³⁴⁶ There is no generally agreed translation of the term: “ispettore di città” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 447), “Stadtkommissär” (HZZ: 337), “headman of a town” (Beal 1992: 438), “the ‘mayor’” (CHD/L-N: 54a), “commissioner of the town” (CHD/L-N: 226a), “city inspector” (CHD/P: 280a), “magistrate” (CHD/Š: 146a), “city governor” (CHD/Š: 500a).

³⁴⁷ Cf. *ISTU ŠA UD.KAM ELKI EN KUR^{TI} EN MADGALTI* [(MAŠKIM.URU^{KI})¹⇒y(a)] “(Tarhuntamanawa is exempted) from daily *ILKU* services to the provincial governor, the frontier governor, and the city governor” (KUB 26.43 rev. 12, CHD/Š: 500a).

more prominent official than a *BĒL MADGALTI*, he did not necessarily have jurisdiction over the latter.³⁴⁸

In hieroglyphic script, the REGIO.DOMINUS, “lord of the land,” title stands as the exact equivalent of the cuneiform EN KUR title,³⁴⁹ although the equation has not been confirmed with an attestation of both titles for the same individual. Several proper names are attested with the REGIO.DOMINUS title on seals and seal impressions, but none of these can be identified with the known governors:

Tarhuntanani TONITRUS.FRATER ₂	REX.FILIUS REGIO.DOMINUS	Kp 09/39 ³⁵⁰
Kiyazi/a <i>ki-i(a)-zi/a</i>	REGIO.DOMINUS	SBo II 140
Ku(wa)lanamuwa EXERCITUS-BOS(+MI)	REGIO.DOMINUS	Niṣ 192, 193
Nerikkaïli [?] TONITRUS.URBS+ <i>li</i>	REGIO.DOMINUS	Niṣ 651, 652
TONITRUS.URBS+ <i>li</i>	REGIO.DOMINUS REX.FILIUS	Niṣ 653
TONITRUS.URBS+ <i>li</i>	REGIO.DOMINUS MAGNUS.PITHOS+ <i>ra/i NI-NI-DOMINUS</i>	Niṣ 654, 655
TONITRUS.URBS+ <i>li</i>	REGIO.DOMINUS MAGNUS.PITHOS+ <i>ra/i REX.FILIUS</i>	Niṣ 657, 658
TONITRUS.URBS+ <i>li</i>	MAGNUS.PITHOS+ <i>ra/i NI-NI-DOMINUS</i>	Niṣ 656
TONITRUS.URBS+ <i>li</i>	MAGNUS.'SCRIBA(?) ¹	Niṣ 659
Paluwa [?] <i>pa-la/i/u-wa/i</i>	REX.FILIUS REGIO.DOMINUS	AT/39/322, AT/39/38 ³⁵¹
Zi/apiya <i>zi/a-pi-i(a)</i>	REGIO.DOMINUS	Niṣ 526, 527
<i>zi/a-pi-i(a)</i>	CRUX ₂ .DOMINUS	Niṣ 525
Zaza [?] <i>zi/a-zi/a-á</i>	REGIO.DOMINUS	KRC 69-334 ³⁵²
L. 461-*521 ³⁵³	REGIO.DOMINUS	No. 47 in Kennedy (1959: 163)
L. 461-*521	REX.FILIUS	Nos. 45–46 in Kennedy (1959: 162)

Tarhuntanani must have served during the beginning of the early Empire period since his seal impression comes from level 3 of Kayalıpınar that also yielded a seal impression of

³⁴⁸ See below under *BĒL MADGALTI*.

³⁴⁹ On the REGIO.DOMINUS title, see Hawkins (2005a: 306f.).

³⁵⁰ A. Müller-Karpe and V. Müller-Karpe (2009: 191f.).

³⁵¹ Nos. XIIa 2.21 and XIIb 1.40 in Mora (1987: 288, 311 and Tav. 85, 99).

³⁵² No. 12 in Güterbock (1973: 143f.).

³⁵³ For the identification of the signs and other names that incorporate the same signs, see Hawkins (2005a: 288f.).

Tudhaliya I/II and her queen Nikkalmati.³⁵⁴ His name is also encountered in two other unprovenanced seal impressions with the REX.FILIUS title.³⁵⁵ Other attestations of this name either date to late periods or belong to other individuals.³⁵⁶ Other than the fact that Kayalıpınar is located in the region that Hittites referred to as the Upper Land, there is no support for the assumption of the Müller-Karpes (2009: 192) that Tarhuntanani was a governor of the Upper Land.

The most prominent name among these is Nerikkaili⁷, but the reading of this name remains uncertain.³⁵⁷ He is attested on eighteen seal impressions in the Nişantepe archive, which were produced by nine different seals, and all of them were probably owned by the same individual. The large size and elaborate design of some of his seals suggest that he was an important prince, and if he is indeed the same person as the eldest son of Hattušili III, a governorship position for this ex-crown prince would not be unreasonable. However, no information to that effect can be obtained from the multiple cuneiform documents that mention Nerikkaili.³⁵⁸

The Ku(wa)lanamuwa of Niş 192 and 193 is another name that is known from other sources. A military commander with this name is reported in the annals of Muršili II (see section 4.15.3). More significantly, the same hieroglyphic spelling of his name is also attested on the rock inscriptions of İMAMKULU and HANYERİ, both of which identify him as a prince (REX.FILIUS). Both inscriptions are located in the Zamanti Valley in the southeastern part of central Anatolia and may possibly be considered as territorial markers of a provincial official. If the prince of İMAMKULU and HANYERİ is the same person as the one mentioned in the annals of Muršili II, this would make them the oldest dated hieroglyphic rock inscriptions. Since all of

³⁵⁴ A. Müller-Karpe and V. Müller-Karpe (2009: 187–90).

³⁵⁵ BoHa 14 no. 242 and no. 42. in Kennedy (1959: 161f.).

³⁵⁶ See section 4.11.1.6 and under Tarhuntanani in section 4.14.2.

³⁵⁷ For the suggestion of the reading Nerikkaili and discussion of his titles, see Hawkins (2005a: 286).

³⁵⁸ For a study of Nerikkaili, see van den Hout (1995a: 96–105). On his crown prince status, see section 2.3.

the datable hieroglyphic rock inscriptions originate from the thirteenth century or later, this identification remains uncertain.³⁵⁹

Both of the seals that name Paluwa[?] as a prince and REGIO.DOMINUS come from Alalah, and he may therefore be associated with that region. Singer (2000: 69f.) suggests identifying this person with a certain Palluwa mentioned in the Emar letter Msk.73-1097:9 as the beneficiary of a property.³⁶⁰ His suggestion to identify REGIO.DOMINUS with the title UGULA.KALAM.MA is certainly plausible (see below in section 3.2.9), but if Palluwa was a Hittite governor, i.e., UGULAKALAM.MA in Emar, one would expect to encounter his name more often in the Emar documentation. Furthermore, authority figure in the letter in question seems to be a certain Alziyamuwa, who authorizes the transfer of property to Palluwa.

3.2.8 *BĒL MADGALTI*

BĒL/EN MADGALTI or Hitt. *au(wa)riyaš išha-* (literally “Lord of the Watch(tower)”) is known to be the official in command of a border or rural province defined as *hantezziš auriš* (“frontier post”).³⁶¹ As pointed out in previous studies,³⁶² the duties of this official go beyond the boundaries of the border town itself, and his title is therefore usually translated as “Provincial/District Governor.”³⁶³ However, the more proper translation might be “Governor of a Frontier Province,” which may perhaps be shortened to “Frontier Governor,” to indicate both the

³⁵⁹ Ku(wa)lanamuwa’s name also appears on a third rock inscription at AKPINAR (SIPYLOS) without any title. Stylistic differences as well as the distant location of this monument at the western end of Anatolia (within the land of Mira) make him less likely to be identified with the prince known from the İMAMKULU and HANYERİ inscriptions.

³⁶⁰ Letter edited by Singer (2000: 65–72), and more recently by Hoffner (2009: 367–71).

³⁶¹ See HED/A: 232f.

³⁶² Beal (1992: 426–36), Pecchioli Daddi (2003b: 50–53).

³⁶³ “Signore della postazione confine” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 455), “Herr der Grenzwahe, Provinzgouverneur, Distriktaufseher, Distriktverwalter” (HZZL: 362), “Provincial Governor” (Beal 1992: 426), “Governatore di provincia” (Pecchioli Daddi 2003b), “Frontier Post Governor” (Miller 2013: *passim*).

distinction of his area of responsibility from a territory administered by an EN KUR^{TI} and its location at the frontiers.³⁶⁴

The frontier location of the jurisdiction area of the *BĒL MADGALTI* is apparent from various attestations. It is understood from Mašat Höyük documents that the town of Tapikka with its surrounding territory and settlements near the Kaška area was under the command of a *BĒL MADGALTI*. In the Annals of Muršili II, the *BĒL MADGALTI* of the city of Ištahara was sent on a mission by the Hittite king to capture a group of rebels, apparently due to the proximity of this governor to the location of the rebels,³⁶⁵ which was in the eastern provinces.³⁶⁶ In the Mašat letter HKM 36, the Hittite king informs the recipient in Tapikka that he has dispatched a *BĒL MADGALTI* to Išhupitta, which was a town in the same general area near the Kaška territory.³⁶⁷ In another Mašat letter, written by the “Priest” of Kizzuwatna to Kaššu in Tapikka, it is understood that Kaššu had refused to return certain fugitives to Kizzuwatna, claiming that his territory was a “frontier post,” and the Priest replies that the land of Kizzuwatna is a “frontier post” too.³⁶⁸ During the period of the Mašat letters, i.e., sometime late in the reign of Arnuwanda I or the early reign of Tudhaliya III, Kizzuwatna was certainly a frontier territory facing the threat of Hurri/Mittanni in the east, but it is of course unlikely that the entire land of Kizzuwatna was considered a single frontier province. In fact, in the late Empire period, the land of Tarhuntašša is referred to as a territory of frontier posts (*hantezziuš auriuš*), testifying to the fact that it was made up of multiple such smaller provinces.³⁶⁹ The same description may have also applied to Kizzuwatna during the early Empire period.

³⁶⁴ See Miller (2013: 212f.).

³⁶⁵ KBo 2.5 i 1–19 (CTH 61.II, *AM*: 180–83).

³⁶⁶ For the location of Ištahara, see RGTC 6: 150f. and 6.2: 55.

³⁶⁷ See RGCT 6: 146 and 6.2: 53, Otten (*RLA* 5: 178f.), Alp (1991b: 13f.).

³⁶⁸ HKM 74 (Hoffner 2009: 234–36).

³⁶⁹ CTH 106.A iii 43–44.

Interestingly, while the term “frontier post” is encountered in reference to various regions of the Hittite state, almost all references to *BĒL MADGALTI* seem to concern the borders to the east and northeast of Hatti. In the Kaška treaties of Arnuwanda I, the *BĒL MADGALTI* official is identified as the local Hittite authority. In these treaties, the Kaška leaders are instructed to inform the *BĒL MADGALTI* about hostile activity and threats,³⁷⁰ the *BĒL MADGALTI* is said to be in charge of regulating trade activities at the border,³⁷¹ and he is further mentioned in less clear context on a few other occasions.³⁷² A *BĒL MADGALTI* is mentioned in fragmentary context in Hattušili III’s decree to the people of Tiliura (CTH 89).³⁷³ Although the EN KUR^{TI} is said to be the person who governs the city of Tiliura and both the Hittite and Kaška people of the surrounding settlements, as discussed above, in this text the EN KUR^{TI} term may have been used in a general meaning, perhaps to refer to the *BĒL MADGALTI* official.³⁷⁴

Certain clauses of the Kaška treaties which demand that the *BĒL MADGALTI* be informed about enemy activity in border districts are very similar to those encountered in treaties with western Anatolian vassals, such as Tarkašnalli of Hapalla (CTH 67) and Alakšandu of Wiluša (CTH 76),³⁷⁵ yet on these occasions the local Hittite official to be informed is not mentioned by title, but instead referred to as “whichever lord is in the land” (ŠÀ KUR^{TI} *kuiš BĒLU*). In an instruction text of the late Empire period, Tudhaliya IV refers to the administrators of the “frontier posts” bordering the lands of Azzi, Kaška, and Lukka collectively as lords (*BĒLU.HI.A*).³⁷⁶ In the Annals of Muršili II, in contrast to the above-mentioned *BĒL*

MADGALTI of Ištahara on the eastern border, during a military operation in western Anatolia,

³⁷⁰ KUB 23.77+ obv. 25–31, 36–37 (CTH 138.1); KUB 31.105:18–21 (CTH 138.2) (Kitchen and Lawrence 2012: 1041, 1045f.)

³⁷¹ KUB 23.77+ obv. 87–89 (CTH 138.1) and KUB 26.19 ii 7’–12’ (CTH 138.3) (Kitchen and Lawrence 2012: 1042, 1051).

³⁷² KUB 23.77 obv. 80–84 (CTH 138.1) and KBo 8.35 i 19 CTH 139.1.B (Kitchen and Lawrence 2012: 1042, 1047), and possibly in KUB 26.20+:3’[(CTH 140.2) (Groddek 2008: 124).

³⁷³]EN *MAD*-{*TI*-} *KAL-TI* (KUB 21.29 rev. iii 9).

³⁷⁴ See CHD/L-N: 166a, which amends EN KUR^{TI} to EN *MAD*-<*GAL*>-*TI*.

³⁷⁵ KBo 5.4 rev. 43–49 and KUB 21.1 iii 46–56 (see Beckman 1999: 73, 91).

³⁷⁶ KUB 26.12 ii 12’–17’ (CTH 255.1); Contra CHD/L-N: 166a, see Miller (2013: 286f. with n. 44) for the emendation of *ha-an-te-zi-<uš> aú-ri-uš* “frontier posts.”

what seems to be a Hittite provincial governor is referred to as *ŠAKIN MĀTI*,³⁷⁷ which is an Akkadian term for “governor” (see below).

The lack of attestations for a *BĒL MADGALTI* in other border regions brings to mind the question whether the office was exclusively used on the eastern/northeastern borders.

Considering that after the reign of Muršili II the western and southern regions of the state were for the most part surrounded by vassal states whose loyalty did not come into question as often as that of the Kaškan tribes of the northeast, this may not be an unreasonable deduction.

In the treaty of Arnuwanda I with the men of Išmerika, the addressees are required to report any “evil word” spoken by a *BĒL MADGALTI* or anyone else.³⁷⁸ Although the location of Išmerika is not certain, the treaty clearly concerns the protection of Kizzuwatna against the Hurrian threat from the east. As mentioned above, during the reign of Arnuwanda I, the region to the east of Kizzuwatna was hostile territory, and therefore the situation there was very similar to that on the Kaška border, not to mention the fact that the Išmerika Treaty (CTH 133) displays more similarities with the Kaška treaties as a special type of treaty established with a group of people rather than a head of state.

Other documents, however, do not indicate anything about the *BĒL MADGALTI* being a region-specific office. Most significantly, the instruction text addressed to these officials (CTH 261)³⁷⁹ provides detailed information about the duties and responsibilities without any geographical reference.³⁸⁰ These instructions, which date to the reigns of Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I, reveal the extent of the responsibility of these officials for administrative,

³⁷⁷ *AM* ii 53–iii 10 (KBo 2.5a ii 20–iii 10+KBo 16.17 iii 1–10). See Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 221), Houwink ten Cate (1983–84: 59), Beal (1992: 444).

³⁷⁸ KUB 23.68 obv. 21'–24' (CTH 133); translated by Beckman (1999: 13–17). Note also the restoration of *BĒL MADGALTI* by Beckman in obv. 7'–12', which is again a clause about informing the local Hittite authorities about enemy activity.

³⁷⁹ See section 5.1.2.

³⁸⁰ The mention of the troops of Kašiya, Himmuwa, Tagarama, and Išuwa (KUB 13.2+KUB 40.60 iii 33–35 [CTH 261.1.B; see Miller 2013: 230f.] is not necessarily an indication of the location of *BĒL MADGALTI* officials, but rather of the use of troops that originated from various regions.

religious, economic, military, and judicial matters, such as supervision and protection of the people, livestock, agricultural lands and settlements of the border, construction, repairs, supply and distribution of goods, spying and reporting on enemy activity, proper conduct of religious ceremonies, maintenance of temples and their personnel, resolving legal disputes, and supervision and armament of the fighting forces.³⁸¹

In terms of hierarchy, the *BĒL MADGALTI* was apparently not a top-level official. For one thing he never appears as a witness in official state documents. As discussed above under EN KUR^{TI}, in documents that mention tax and corvée obligations, the *BĒL MADGALTI* is listed as one of the authorities to whom these obligations are due, but is always mentioned after the EN KUR^{TI},³⁸² which should be an indication of his lesser prominence. It is likely that the territories under the jurisdiction of *BĒL MADGALTI* officials were smaller than the provinces of the EN KUR^{TI}. The territory of a frontier post (*hantezziš auriš*) administered by a *BĒL MADGALTI* was probably the size of a *telipuri* (“district”),³⁸³ which was smaller than a KUR/*utne*- (“land”) but bigger than a city.

In the Mašat letters too, Hi(m)muili, the *BĒL MADGALTI* of Tapikka, appears subordinate to Kaššu, the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ official.³⁸⁴ However, the lesser prominence of the *BĒL MADGALTI* is not necessarily an indication of his subordinate position in the chain of command, as it is evident from the instruction texts (CTH 261) and the Mašat letters that there was not a separate layer of administration between the *BĒL MADGALTI* officials and the king.³⁸⁵

³⁸¹ See Pecchioli Daddi (2003b: 50–52).

³⁸² See note 345.

³⁸³ For *telipuri*, see HEG/T: 306f. See also KBo 32.14 ii 33–35 (CTH 789): “They made him provincial governor (*auriyaš išhan*) in a *telipuri*, but he sets (his) eyes on a second *telipuri*” (Goedegebuure 2006a: 171).

³⁸⁴ For Kaššu, see sections 4.12.1.3.

³⁸⁵ In CTH 261, §§16–17, 32, 36, and 52 indicate that the king is the immediate supervisor of the *BĒL MADGALTI*. Mašat documents include a number of letters exchanged between the king and Himuili, the *BĒL MADGALTI* of Tapikka (HKM 31–38; see also Beal 1992: 436 and n. 1637).

Leaving aside [...-]š*i-iš*, the broken name of the *BĒL MADGALTI* of the city of Ištahara mentioned in the Annals of Muršili II,³⁸⁶ the only *BĒL MADGALTI* official known by name is Himuili of the Mašat documents.³⁸⁷ After Kaššu, he is the second most frequently mentioned official in the Mašat texts. Information revealed in these letters confirms the wide-ranging area of responsibilities mentioned in the instruction texts, such as the management of agricultural fields and livestock,³⁸⁸ reports on military activity and the command of troops,³⁸⁹ judicial matters,³⁹⁰ tax and corvée obligations,³⁹¹ and handling of fugitives.³⁹² It is notable that both in military and other matters Himuili and Kaššu (see section 4.12.1.3) have overlapping areas of responsibility in Tapikka. Such overlaps reflect a lower level of specialization and an unclear division of duties within the upper levels of the administration (see section 6.5).

3.2.9 UGULA KALAM.MA

Another governorship position comparable to the EN KUR^{TI} or *BĒL MADGALTI* was the LÚUGULA KALAM.MA (occasionally abbreviated as LÚUGULA), literally meaning “Overseer of the Land.”³⁹³ Within the Hittite realm, this office is encountered only at Emar, which was the administrative center of the land of Aštata. Aštata came under Hittite rule following the conquest of the region by Šuppiluliuma I. Unlike the other Hittite territories of northern Syria which were ruled by local kings, the authority figure of the land Aštata was the Overseer of the Land, although below him there was still a king from a local dynasty and a council of city elders, who

³⁸⁶ KBo 2.5 i 13 (CTH 61.II, *AM*: 181f.).

³⁸⁷ Hi(m)uili is not unambiguously attested with the *BĒL MADGALTI* title, but the identification is almost certainly correct (see Alp 1991: 59–62, Beal 1992: 430f., and Hoffner 2009: 93f.).

³⁸⁸ HKM 31: 8–12, 25–30, HKM 54, HKM 55, HKM 66:34–42.

³⁸⁹ HKM 26, HKM 27, HKM 30:1–10, HKM 31: 3–7, HKM 36: 3–36, HKM 59:15–19.

³⁹⁰ HKM 52: 23–35, HKM 62. HKM 10: 42–52, refers to a court case in to which Himuili is a litigant.

³⁹¹ HKM 52, HKM 57 (The unnamed *BĒL MADGALTI* is one of the addressees of this letter. The Himmuili mentioned in the same letter must be a different individual).

³⁹² HKM 59:1–14, HKM 62:1–8.

³⁹³ On the UGULA KALAM..MA, see Arnaud (1984), Beckman (1992: 47f., 1995a: 28f.), Mora (2004a), Balza (2006).

represented the native authority in Emar.³⁹⁴ Like the authorities of other principalities of northern Syria, however, the Overseer of the Land in Emar was also subordinate to the Hittite viceroy in Karkamiš as well as several other high officials of the Karkamiš court, most of whom were simply identified with the “prince” (DUMU.LUGAL) designation. Most of the Overseers of the Land bear Hurrian names³⁹⁵ and some may even have had relationships with the Hittite royal family (Balza 2006: 380f.), but the existence of an Ahī-Malik with a West Semitic name may also suggest that local elites were also integrated into the ruling class (Beckman 1995: 28).

Emar documents provide information about the activities of the Overseers of the Land, indicating that they traveled frequently within their realm, and like the EN KUR^{TI} and *BĒL MADGALTI*, they had wide-ranging responsibilities in military intelligence, legal transactions, administrative supervision, and participation in local cult.³⁹⁶ The office of UGULA KALAM.MA was therefore on a comparable level to those of other territorial governors of the Hittite administration.

It was proposed by Mora (2000: 68–70 and 2004a) that the hieroglyphic REGIO.DOMINUS may be the equivalent of UGULA KALAM.MA as well as EN KUR^{TI}.³⁹⁷ Since there are no other hieroglyphic titles that represent a territorial rulership position,³⁹⁸ it is plausible that REGIO.DOMINUS could have been used as an equivalent of *BĒL MADGALTI* too. However, currently there is no concrete evidence to support these suggestions. The UGULA KALAM.MA officials attested on Emar seals do not use any hieroglyphic titles.

³⁹⁴ For the administrative organization of Emar, see Beckman (1992 and 1995a).

³⁹⁵ Six officials attested with this title are Ahī-malik, Laheya, Mutri-Tešup, Nahiya, Puhi-šenni, and Tuwarša (see Beckman 1995: 36).

³⁹⁶ See Beckman (1992: 47, 1995: 28), Mora (2004a).

³⁹⁷ See also Singer (2000: 70).

³⁹⁸ The few attestations of FLUMEN.DOMINUS, “River(-county) Lord,” seem to be specific to first-millennium inscriptions. On this title, see Hawkins (2000: 338) and Mora (2004a: 481).

3.2.10 ŠAKIN MĀTI

The Akkadian title ŠAKIN MĀTI is another designation for a governorship position.³⁹⁹ Most of the few attestations of it in Hittite sources are references to Egyptian officials in letters written in Akkadian.⁴⁰⁰ In Hittite context, as mentioned above, it is attested in the Annals of Muršili as the title of an official in western Anatolia,⁴⁰¹ possibly a Hittite provincial governor, whose name is not preserved. Another attestation comes from a vow text of Puduhepa, which mentions certain offerings sent by an Alalimi, the ŠAKIN KUR URUKaneš.⁴⁰² Also an Assyrian document from Tell Sheikh Hamad refers to a certain Hittite official named Taki-Šarruma with the title šakin KUR (see section 4.9.1.12). Whether the title signified any distinction from an EN KUR^{TI} remains uncertain.

3.2.11 General Discussion of the Governors

All named governors of Table 4 date to the Empire period, and it is reasonable to observe that the appearance of governorships in large provinces took place simultaneously with the formation of the appanage kingdoms, only after the expansion of the borders during that time. The appanage kings and governors of the Empire period were in practice the replacements for the “Prince of the City” (DUMU URUGN) and “Man of the city” (LÚ URUGN) of the cities during the Old Hittite period.⁴⁰³

The titles EN KUR^{TI} “Lord of the Land” and EN URU^{LIM} / EN URUGN “Lord of the City (of GN)” seem to have come into use only in the Empire period. There is not a single attestation of these titles in OH texts, not even as an appellation of a sovereign or a deity, and the

³⁹⁹ See *šakin māti* in CAD/Š1: 160.

⁴⁰⁰ KBo 1.15 rev. 13 (CTH 156.A), KUB 3.34 obv. 14 (CTH 163), KUB 3.57 rev. 2, 8 (CTH 159.1.B).

⁴⁰¹ See note 377 above.

⁴⁰² KUB 26.63+ ii 14 with dupls. KUB 15.17+ ii 17–18 and KUB 56.2+ ii 12'–13' (CTH 585). For Alalimi, see sections 4.3.1.4 and 4.8.1.8.

⁴⁰³ The princes of the Old Hittite period are discussed above in section 3.1.1. For the LÚ URUGN title as an OH period equivalent of EN URUGN, see section 4.13.7.

Name	Reigning King(s)	Titles / Relationships
Hutupiyanza	Šuppiluliuma I–Arnuwanda II–Muršili II	Governor of Pala and Tumanna, DUMU.LUGAL, Son of Zita, nephew of Šuppiluliuma I
Hannutti Tudhaliya [?]	Šuppiluliuma I–Arnuwanda II Muršili II	Governor of the Lower Land, GAL LÚ.MEŠ ⁷ KUŠ ⁷ [Governor of ...] [?] , MAGNUS.SACERDOS ₂ , REX.FILIUS
Arma-Tarhunta	Muršili II	Governor of the Upper Land, REX.FILIUS, Son of Zita, nephew of Šuppiluliuma I
Aranhapilizzi	Muršili II–Muwatalli II–Muršili III [?]	Governor of [...] (EN KUR[...] [?]), DUMU.LUGAL, GAL UKU.UŠ (ZAG-aš)
Hattušili	Muwatalli II	Governor of the Upper Land, DUMU.LUGAL, GAL MEŠEDI, son of Muršili II
REGIO.DOMINUS		Other titles
Tarhuntanani	Tudhaliya I/II [?]	REX.FILIUS
Ku(wa)lanamuwa	Muršili II [?]	REX.FILIUS
Nerikkaili [?] (TONITRUS-URBS+ <i>li</i>)	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	REX.FILIUS/DUMU.LUGAL, <i>tuhkanti</i> , MAGNUS.PITHOS+ <i>ra/i</i> , NI-NI-DOMINUS,
Kiyazi/a	13 th century	
Paluwa [?]	13 th century	REX.FILIUS
Zi/apiya	13 th century	CRUX ₂ .DOMINUS
Zaza [?]	13 th century	
L. 461-*521	13 th century	REX.FILIUS

Table 4. Attested governors in Hittite history.

attestations of EN^{URU}Šarišša⁴⁰⁴ and EN^{URU}Hupišna⁴⁰⁵ in MH texts likely to date to early Empire period. Similarly, the earliest attestations of the *BĒL MADGALTI* “Frontier Governor” also come from the early Empire period documents dating to the reign of Arnuwanda I. Therefore, as mentioned above, the three-tier division of the governors of the province, district, and city that is observed within the context of tax and corvée obligations is probably also a development of the Empire period. Assuming that the residents of a settlement did not have tax and corvée obligations due to each of the city, district, and province governors, these governors must have operated independently of one other, but how this exactly functioned is not entirely clear.

⁴⁰⁴ See note 1462.

⁴⁰⁵ See note 1474.

Within the Empire period, leaving aside the officials attested with only the REGIO.DOMINUS title, the governors of the provinces of the Upper Land, the Lower Land, and the lands of Pala and Tumanna all date to the period between the reign of Šuppiliuma I and that of Muwatalli II. Although the reign of Hattušili III and afterwards is better documented in Hittite sources, there are no references to the governors of these regions during that period. A reasonable explanation for this is the formation of new appanage kingdoms like Hakiš, Tarhuntašša, and Tumanna, which incorporated the territories of these former governorships.

If we divide the developments in the Hittite territorial administration system into phases, the Old Hittite period represents the first phase, during which the land was made up of city-state-sized units under the rule of princes (DUMU^{URU}GN) or governors (LÚ^{URU}GN). In the second phase, during the early to mid-Empire period, the princes of the royal family were installed in appanage kingdoms that were formed from former seats of kingships as they came under Hittite rule, while other close members of the extended royal family were assigned as governors to the large inner provinces. While appanage kings had greater powers and were given the right to establish sub-dynasties, this was not an option for the governors. During the third phase that started with Muwatalli II and Hattušili III, a second wave of appanage kingdoms appeared, which were formed by the conversion of the territories of former large governorships.

CHAPTER 4: The Top-level Offices of Hittite State Administration

The most commonly encountered reference that distinguishes a high-level official from the others is EN/*BĒLU/išha-*, usually translated as “Lord.” It can be used in the plural—i.e., ^{LÚ}EN.MEŠ or ^{LÚ}.MEŠ *BĒLUTIM*—to refer to high officials collectively or it can be complementary to another title to define a specific position such as *BEL MADGALTI*, “Governor of a Border Province” or EN KARAŠ, “Army Commander.” The titles that are carried by individuals that occupy the highest offices of the Hittite administration for the most part bear the GAL, “Great,” attribute, as in GAL *MEŠEDI* or GAL *GEŠTIN*,⁴⁰⁶ but some are also encountered with titles in Hittite (e.g., ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli*, ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*) or Akkadian (e.g., ^{LÚ}*ABUBĪTI*). These officials who form the top layers of the administration are collectively referred to as the “Great Lords” (EN/*BĒLU* GAL, or Hitt.) or “Greats” (^{LÚ}.MEŠ GAL). These officials appear in various documents as military commanders; as participants in ceremonies, rituals, festivals; as witnesses in important state documents; or as officials in charge of certain administrative institutions. The study of this chapter includes a detailed treatment of the most important of these offices as determined by the roles they play in such attestations. Certain offices are studied jointly within a single section such as the Chief Scribe (GAL DUB.SAR) and the Chief Scribe on Wood (GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ) in section 4.9.1, and the offices of GAL SIPA and GAL NA.GAD, both of

⁴⁰⁶ Scholars choose to translate the GAL attribute in various ways, such as “Commander of the Royal Bodyguards” (GAL *MEŠEDI*), “Chief of Wine” (GAL *GEŠTIN*), “Head of the Scribes” (GAL DUB.SAR), etc., but in the present work for the most part I will leave the titles untranslated due to the reasons noted in the introduction (see section 1.4.2).

which can be translated as Chief of Herdsmen/Shepherds in section 4.11. The offices of GAL KUŠ₇ and UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI are also combined under one section.

4.1 GAL MEŠEDI

The position of GAL MEŠEDI existed since the earliest times of the Hittite state and it was one of the top positions after the king, queen and the crown prince. The office of the GAL MEŠEDI has been treated in the past by Bin-Nun (1973), who proposed the equation of the office with *tuhkanti*, and also suggested that the title was usually given to the brother of the king. Pecchioli Daddi's work on Hittite officials provided a list of all known attestations of this title in Hittite cuneiform sources up to the time of publication (1982: 548–55). More recently in his study of the Hittite military, Beal examined all the known holders of this office in Hittite history and analyzed the duties of the office as well as its ranking within the military hierarchy (1992: 327–42).

The office of GAL MEŠEDI is encountered in numerous documents of various genres throughout Hittite history. These documents provide an insight into the different responsibilities of this office as well as help us identify several holders of it from all periods, who will be discussed further below.

GAL MEŠEDI is usually translated “Chief of the (Royal) Bodyguards.”⁴⁰⁷ The Hittite equivalent of the term is not known, and in cuneiform sources it is always written with the Sumero-Akkadogram GAL MEŠEDI. The Akkadian component of the term has been shown to mean “spear, lance.”⁴⁰⁸ Befittingly, later it was also been demonstrated that this Akkadogram corresponds to sign L. 173 in Luwian hieroglyphs that depicts a spear, providing the evidence

⁴⁰⁷ “Chief of the Royal Bodyguards” (Beal 1992: 327), “Oberster der Leibwache” (*HZL*: 271 no. 357), and “capo delle guardie del corpo” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 548).

⁴⁰⁸ Civil (1987: 187f.) and Hoffner (1987: 188f.). See also Beal (1992: 220–24), who points out certain problems with this reading.

that the same title was written in hieroglyphs as MAGNUS (L. 363).HASTARIUS (L. 173).⁴⁰⁹

4.1.1 Known GAL *MEŠEDI*s in Hittite history

4.1.1.1 Kizzuwa

The earliest known GAL *MEŠEDI* is encountered in the so-called Palace Chronicle (CTH 8) of the Old Hittite period. The document is usually dated to the reign of Muršili I (“the king”), although possibly narrating events from the reign of Hattušili I (“father of the king”).⁴¹⁰ In the text a GAL *MEŠEDI* named Kizzuwa, along with the Chief of the Cupbearers (GAL LÚ.MEŠ SAGI.A) and the Chief of the Heralds (GAL LÚ.MEŠ NIMGIR), is involved in the training of chariot fighters. In another fragment dated to the same king, possibly the same Kizzuwa reportedly sinned against the father of the king (hence Hattušili I), and after failing a river ordeal he was executed: “At the River-God many turned out to be guilty in regard to the person of my father, and the father of the king did not save them; even Kizzuwa was guilty in regard to the person of my father at the River-God: my father did not save Kizzuwa.”⁴¹¹ The fact that Kizzuwa is singled out in this example may suggest that he was a high official of the court.

4.1.1.2 Lepalši (?)

It is suggested by Beal that a Lepalši (^mLI.KASKAL) mentioned in KBo 7.14 obv. 8 may also be a GAL *MEŠEDI* (1992: 328). This document, referred to as the Zakraši-text, probably also dates to Hattušili I and narrates a fight against the city of Haššu, which was aided by some troops from Aleppo under the command of Zakraši.⁴¹² During an attack by the king of Haššu

⁴⁰⁹ See Herbordt (1998: 313). The title is encountered on several seals/seal impressions: SBo I 105, SBo II 26, Niš 181, Niš 182, BoHa 22 no. 58, and Herbordt and Alkan (2000).

⁴¹⁰ See Beal (2003: 27) and citations listed there. For a contrary opinion, see Forlanini (2004: 256, 264 n. 10), who suggests the king and the father of the king are Hattušili I and Labarna I respectively.

⁴¹¹ KBo 3.28 ii 17'–19' (CTH 9); edited by Dardano (1997: 5).

⁴¹² Edited by Rosi (1984: 118–20). See also Haas (2006: 46f.).

against the Hittite king, Lepalši is apparently in charge of a section of the Hittite army that stands against the enemy, while another section is under the command of “the son of Karahnuili.” The two commanders are likely to be the GAL *MEŠEDI* and GAL *GEŠTIN*, who usually appear as top military officials, and Beal supports his association of Lepalši with the former title based on a couple of parallel texts, KUB 43.31 l. col. and KUB 58.48 iv.⁴¹³ A partially preserved [...]*x(-)palšiyaš* in KUB 43.31 l. col. 12' is paralleled by no name but just the title GAL *MEŠEDI* in the well-preserved KUB 58.48 iv 11'–12', which may indicate that in the former text the scribe used the officer's name while the scribe of the latter text referred to the same person only by the title (Beal 1992, 456 n. 1692).

4.1.1.3 Zuru

A third GAL *MEŠEDI* of earlier Hittite history is the infamous Zuru, who is mentioned in the Telipinu Edict. There it is reported that upon the death of Ammuna, Zuru sent *a son of his family*, Tahurwaili, the Golden-Spear Man, to kill Tittiya and his sons. He also sent Taruhšu, the courier, to kill Hantili and his sons, and then Huzziya became king. Presumably both Tittiya and Hantili were sons of Ammuna. Beal also suggests that this Zuru, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, was a brother of Ammuna, as well as the father of the future king Tahurwaili, citing Bin-Nun's suggestion that the GAL *MEŠEDI* title was usually held by brothers of the king (1992: 329). This Zuru is not encountered in any document other than the Telipinu Edict.⁴¹⁴

4.1.1.4 Haššuwaš-Inar

Several other officials with the GAL *MEŠEDI* title are known from land donation

⁴¹³ Both texts are edited by van den Hout (1991a: 194ff.).

⁴¹⁴ The only other attestation of the name is as one of the employees of a dignitary (^{LÚ}DUGUD) in the Old Hittite text KBo 22.1:8; edited by Marazzi (1988: 127).

documents.⁴¹⁵ Haššuwaš-Inar is possibly the earliest among them. His name and title are preserved among the witnesses in two texts, in each case following all other officials and preceding only the scribe (LhK 11 and 17):⁴¹⁶

LhK 11:		LhK 17:	
<i>Hapuwa(š)šu</i>	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	<i>Hapuwaššu</i>	[GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL]
<i>Marakui</i>	LÚ ^{ur} <i>urianni</i>	<i>Marakui</i>	LÚ ^{ur} [<i>ianni</i>]
<i>Zidanni</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{ur} GEŠTIN	<i>Zidanni</i>	G[AL LÚ.MEŠ ^{ur} GEŠTIN]
<i>Haššuwaš-Inar</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{ur} MEŠEDI	<i>Haššuwaš[-Inar</i>	G]AL LÚ.MEŠ ^{ur} M[EŠEDI]
<i>Hutarli</i>	DUB.SAR	<i>Hutarl[i</i>	DUB.SAR]

All officers mentioned in these two documents appear in several other land donation texts. Hapuwaššu, the Chief of the Palace Servants, and Zidanni, the Chief of Wine, who are listed on both documents, also appear on LhK 22, where Hapuwaššu is not a witness but the person whose land holdings are being transferred to a Prince Labarna.⁴¹⁷ The scribe of this land donation text, Išpunnuma, is also the scribe of a land donation text of Alluwamna (LhK 26). Also, according to Wilhelm (2005: 276) the design on the anonymous Tabarna seal of LhK 22 with a rosette in the center and a “life” sign (L. 441) that has been moved into the band is indicative of a transition from older to newer seal designs, suggesting a dating between Telipinu and Alluwamna, while the other Tabarna seals mostly date to Telipinu. Assuming that the gift of the land holdings of Hap(p)uwaššu to Prince Labarna took place during the end of Hap(p)uwaššu’s career, it is likely that the two land donation texts that list Haššuwaš-Inar, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, alongside Hap(p)uwaššu date to Telipinu’s reign.⁴¹⁸

Haššuwaš-Inar may also be the same person whose name is written as ^mLUGAL-*wa-aš-*

⁴¹⁵ Hittite land donation texts have been collectively edited most recently by Rüster and Wilhelm (2012), abbreviated here as LhK followed by text number. For an earlier summary treatment of them see Wilhelm (2005).

⁴¹⁶ See Appendix 1 for a complete list of the preserved witness lists of the land donation texts.

⁴¹⁷ According to Wilhelm (2009: 228 n. 16) this Labarna might be a son of Telipinu who predeceased him.

⁴¹⁸ Wilhelm (2009: 227 with n. 15) notes that a reign for Tahirwaili between Telipinu and Alluwamna is unlikely based on the grouping of royal seals on stylistic grounds, where Tahirwaili seals show greater similarity with those of Zidanta II, Huzziya II and Muwatalli I, whereas seals of Alluwamna and Hantili II form another distinct group.

name was spelled with logograms like ^mLUGAL-*wa-aš*-^dLAMMA as it was in KBo 50.103 rev. 13'. It is quite likely that Haššuwaš-Inar was outranked by the officers listed before him in terms of experience, age, and/or ties to the royal family.

A disk-shaped Old Hittite seal from Alacahöyük bears the hieroglyphic name REX.CERVUS₃.⁴²² Hawkins (2005a: 290f.) suggests the reading Haššuwaš-In(n)ara for the hieroglyphic writing REX.CERVUS+*ra/i*, which was encountered in Empire period seal impressions SBo II 74 and 230, and Niš 136. The reverse side of the seal appears to have the signs *Á*(L. 19)-*wi*/VITIS(L. 157.2), and it is not certain whether this is to be read as a name or title.

4.1.1.5 Haššuilī

In the previously mentioned land donation text of Alluwamna (LhK 26), the king makes an endowment to “Hantili, his son,” presumably the future king Hantili II. One of the partially surviving witness names in rev. 11' of this text is restored as ^m*Ha-^raš-šu¹-[i-li GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI]*. Assuming that the restoration of the name is correct, this suggests that even if Haššuwaš-Inar served during (or lasted in office into) the reign of Alluwamna, he must have been replaced by Haššuilī later in Alluwamna’s reign.⁴²³ It is further known from three more land donation texts of Hantili II that Haššuilī remained as GAL *MEŠEDI* during the reign of this king.

In two of those texts, the names, ranks and the order of four officials and the scribe remain identical:

⁴²² See no. XIIb 1.1 in Mora (1987: 301 and Tav. 98).

⁴²³ Based on the spelling of Haššuwaš-Inar with the logogram ^dLAMMA in KBo 50.103 rev. 13', there may be enough space to suggest a restoration ^m*Ha-^raš-šu¹-[wa-aš-^dLAMMA GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI]*. It should also be noted that Haššuwaš-Inar seemingly has a lesser prominence since he is listed after three other officials in both land donation texts in which he appears, and ^m*Ha-^raš-šu¹-[* of LhK 26 is listed after two other witnesses. On the other hand, in all four land donation texts where Haššuilī is a witness, he is listed either in second place following Šarpa, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, or he is in the first place. There is also the possibility that what we have here is a completely different person, perhaps not even a GAL *MEŠEDI*. See also Otten and Rüter (1990: xv), who probably assumed the name on rev. 10'–11' to be ^m*Uš-ha-* followed by that person’s title, and Marizza (2007a: 165, 167) after Fuscagni, who suggested the reading ^m*Tu]thal[iya LÚurianni (?)]*.

LhK 28:		LhK 29:	
<i>Šarpa</i>	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	<i>Šarpa</i>	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL
<i>Haššuili</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ <i>MEŠEDI</i>	<i>Haššuili</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ <i>MEŠEDI</i>
<i>Ilaliuma</i>	LÚ <i>urianni</i>	<i>Ilaliuma</i> (and) <i>Zi[</i>	LÚ.MEŠ <i>urianni</i>
<i>Muššu</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN	<i>Muššu</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN
<i>Hani(k)kuili</i>	DUB.SAR	<i>Hanikkuili</i>	DUB.SAR

In the third text (LhK 30), Haššuili, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, is the beneficiary, witnessed by Šarpa, the Chief of the Palace Servants, and Iškunaššu, the Overseer of Military Herald's (UGULA LÚ.MEŠ NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ), and the scribe is again Hanikkuili.

A further attestation of the name Haššuili occurs in an offering list where a “Zidanta son of Haššuili” is mentioned.⁴²⁴ The names in the offering list do not follow any particular order and therefore Zidanta could be either of the kings with that name. However, since no other person with the name Haššuili is known, it is quite likely that he is the same person as the GAL *MEŠEDI* under Hantili II. This equation would make Haššuili the father of King Zidanta II and based on this along with Bin-Nun’s suggestion that GAL *MEŠEDI*s are the brothers of kings, Beal has suggested that Haššuili might have been a brother of Hantili II (1992: 330 n. 1261).⁴²⁵

4.1.1.6 Lariya

We do not have any evidence of a GAL *MEŠEDI* from the reigns of Tahurwaili or Zidanta II, but during the reign of Huzziya II the GAL *MEŠEDI* was a person named Lariya. He is encountered in three land donation texts (LhK 40, 41, 43), possibly all issued by Huzziya II.⁴²⁶

In LhK 41, Lariya tops the witness list above Arinnel, the Chief of the Palace Servants, two

⁴²⁴ KUB 36.124 i 3–4. Transliterated by Otten (1951: 70).

⁴²⁵ Thus also Pecchioli Daddi (2005: 288), but Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 156) object on the grounds that it would be unlikely for Alluwamna to give the office to a son not destined to be king, and suggest that Haššuili was more likely a brother of Alluwamna. Their objection, however, is not necessarily valid as contrary examples can be seen in the late Empire period when sons other than crown princes served as GAL *MEŠEDI*, certainly Tudhaliya and possibly Huzziya, both under Hattušili III (see below). On the other hand, note also that in the land grant of Hantili II to Haššuili, the latter is simply referred to as “Haššuili, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, his (the king’s) servant.”

⁴²⁶ The seal of Huzziya survives on the first two.

separate persons with ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* titles (Zuzzu and Marašša), and Pazzu, the Chief of Wine. In LhK 40, a donation text issued by Huzziya II to Happi the Chief of the Cupbearers (GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠŠU.SILÀ.DU₈.A}), Lariya is above Arinnel. In LhK 43, Lariya’s name and title and Arinnel’s name are the only ones that have survived, in that order. The latter was presumably still the Chief of the Palace Servants.

This Lariya, the GAL *MEŠEDI* of Huzziya II, cannot be identified with Lariya, the Overseer of the Thousand Chariot-Fighters (UGULA 1 *LI* ^{LÚ.MEŠŠU}KUŠ₇) of the reign of Telipinu (see above, under Haššuwaš-Inar) since the reigns are separated by four generations.⁴²⁷ It is, however, possible to think that the later Lariya is a grandson of the former.⁴²⁸

4.1.1.7 Muwatalli

A GAL *MEŠEDI* named Muwatalli (NIR.GÁL) appears in KBo 14.18, a fragment attributed to the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma.⁴²⁹ It has been suggested by Otten that he is the same person as Muwatalli I, who would later usurp the throne by killing Huzziya II (1987: 32). This has also been supported by Beal (1992: 331–32 and n. 1266–67). However, Beal’s attempt to match the first witness named Muwa[in the land grant LhK 45 with Muwa[talli, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, by assigning this document to Huzziya II did not find support by those who assign LhK 45 to the reign of Muwatalli I as king.⁴³⁰

LhK 45 rev. 2–6:

r.2’ [A-N]A PA-NI ^mMu-wa-
3’ ^mA-ri-in-né-e[l

⁴²⁷ For a table of the generations of Hittite kings, see Beckman (2000: 26).

⁴²⁸ For an analysis of ponymy among the Hittites, see Marizza (2010a); however, Lariya of KBo 50.103 rev. 14’, whom Marizza identifies as the GAL *MEŠEDI* of Huzziya II (ibid. 94), should actually be the earlier UGULA 1 *LI* ^{LÚ.MEŠŠU}KUŠ₇ of the Telipinu time (see above under Haššuwaš-Inar).

⁴²⁹ Edited as fragment 51 by Güterbock (1956: 118f.). Note the doubts of Güterbock (ibid. 50) and Freu (1995: 136f.) about this fragment being a part of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma. Carruba (1990: 543 n. 9) indicates the possibility that in the fragmentary passage the “GAL *MEŠEDI*” may not even be a part of Muwatalli’s title, but rather a generic reference to an official.

⁴³⁰ Thus Marazzi (2007: 470), Pecchioli Daddi (2010: 234); contra Marizza (2007a: 151), who restores the name as Muwatalli.

- 4' ^m*Ma-ra-aš-ša-a* [
 5' ^U^m*Zu-u-uz*-[zu
 6' [^m*W*]a-ar-š[i-ia DUB.SAR *IŠ-ṬUR*

Beal's argument was that the second witness in the list, Arinnel, the Chief of the Palace Servants under Huzziya II, would not have been able to remain in the same position during the reign of Muwatalli I. However, another land grant discovered later, LhK 46 (see below under Muwa), which is sealed by Muwatalli I, actually proves that Arinnel did keep his position, at least initially.⁴³¹ On the other hand, it should be noted that Marašša and Zuzzu, who are among the witnesses in LhK 45, also appear as witnesses with the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* title in the land grant text of Huzziya II (LhK 41), but not in the land grants of Muwatalli I (LhK 46 and 47), where different persons are listed as ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*. Therefore chronologically LhK 45 should come before LhK 46. Furthermore, in LhK 45 Arinnel is listed below Muwa[but in LhK 46 he is above Muwa, the GAL *MEŠEDI*. If we restore Muwa[talli as the GAL *MEŠEDI* in LhK 45 and date the document to the later part of Huzziya II's reign, this complication will disappear. It can be observed from all extant witness lists of the land donation texts that there is almost no attestation of two persons being listed in two texts in different order.⁴³² Therefore, it is much more likely that the first name is not Muwa, but Muwatalli. As Beal indicated, being the top-level official of Huzziya II would put Muwatalli in an advantageous position to usurp the throne (1992: 332 n. 1266).⁴³³

⁴³¹ In LhK 47, another land grant sealed by Muwatalli I, the Chief of the Palace Servants is Himuili.

⁴³² See section 6.3.

⁴³³ Since the existence of a Muwatalli, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, is certain, the only other alternative would be that he was Muwatalli II. This was proposed by Forrer (1926: 31*, 34*), followed by von Schuler (1965: 55 with n. 384) and Ünal (1974a: 48 with n. 4), who have suggested that Muwatalli II was GAL *MEŠEDI* during the reign of Muršili II, and the fragments mentioning his name were written in the reign of Hattušili III.

4.1.1.8 Muwa

Muwa, the GAL *MEŠEDI* of Muwatalli I, is listed among the witnesses in two land donation texts sealed by Muwatalli I. In LhK 46 he is listed below Arinnel, the Chief of the Palace Servants, who apparently kept this position after the reign of Huzziya II. In LhK 47, however, Arinnel is no longer among the witnesses and his title is borne by Himuili, but the latter is still listed after Muwa:

LhK 46:		LhK 47:	
<i>Arinnel</i>	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	<i>Muwa</i>	[GAL LÚ.MEŠ <i>MEŠEDI</i>]
<i>Muwa</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ <i>MEŠEDI</i>	<i>Himuili</i>	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL
<i>Himuili</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GĚŠTIN	<i>Kantu(z)zili</i>	UGULA LÚ.MEŠ KUS ₇ KÙ.GI
<i>Atupalanza</i>	LÚ <i>u-ri-ia-an-ni</i>	<i>Hutupalla</i>	LÚ <i>u-ri-an-ni</i>
<i>Gullutti</i>	GAL LÚ.<MEŠ> KUS ₇ <i>ku-un-na-az</i>	<i>Zuwa</i>	GAL [L]Ú.MEŠ _r SIPA ZAG-az ¹
<i>Waršiya</i>	DUB.SAR	<i>Waršiya</i>	DUB.SAR

Muwatalli I was killed in a rebellion that involved his officials Himuili and Kantuzzili.⁴³⁴ Muwa apparently continued the fight, leading an army of infantry and chariotry assisted by Hurrian troops against the forces of Kantuzzili and Kantuzzili's son, the new king, Tudhaliya I/II, but he was ultimately defeated.⁴³⁵ Muwa's relationship to Muwatalli I is not known, but that his fight continued even after Muwatalli's death may indicate a close family relationship.

4.1.1.9 Kantuzzili

Existence of a Kantuzzili, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, is so far known only from seal evidence. His name is attested on three separate seal impressions with the title MAGNUS.HASTARIUS—the hieroglyphic equivalent of GAL *MEŠEDI*—presumably all belonging to the same person.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ Mentioned in KUB 34.40 rev. 9–12; edited by Otten (1987: 27f.).

⁴³⁵ KUB 23.16 iii 4–9; edited by Carruba (1977: 162–63). For this Kantuzzili, see section 4.6.1.7.

⁴³⁶ See Figure 4 for a copy of these sealings.

Bo 78/56:⁴³⁷

hier.: Tudhaliya(MONS+TU) MAGNUS.LITUUS *Ká-tuzi*(L. 283)-li TI NA MAGNUS.HASTARIUS LEO₂-x-x
cun.: NA₄ KIŠIB ^mTu-ut-ha]-li-ia ^mKán-tu-zi-l[i] NA-RA-A[M] ^d[U[?]]

SM 90/2:⁴³⁸

Ká-tuzi(L. 283)-li MAGNUS.HASTARIUS

Kp 06/13:⁴³⁹

Ká-tuzi(L. 283)-li MAGNUS.HASTARIUS

The seal impression Bo 78/56 clearly places this Kantuzzili in association with a Tudhaliya, who bears the title MAGNUS.LITUUS. There are two known persons with the name Kantuzzili who are associated with a Tudhaliya: (1) the father of Tudhaliya I/II, and (2) the brother of Tudhaliya III, who is also known as the Priest.⁴⁴⁰ As discussed in section 4.6.1.7 below, it is suggested that Kantuzzili, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, is the same person as Kantuzzili, the father of Tudhaliya I/II, who is known to have served as UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI during the reign of Muwatalli I. If that is the case, Kantuzzili must have become GAL *MEŠEDI* before his son became king. However, it is difficult to say whether during that time Muwatalli I was still the king or not, since the events of the time remain in obscurity.

4.1.1.10 Zita

During the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, his brother Zita was the GAL *MEŠEDI*, whose prominent military role is well attested in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma. Along with the crown prince Arnuwanda, Zita led a successful attack on the Mittannian forces that had surrounded some

⁴³⁷ Published by A. Dinçol (2001). See also in Dinçol and Dinçol (2008b: 27f.).

⁴³⁸ Herbordt and Alkan (2000).

⁴³⁹ Müller-Karpe (2009).

⁴⁴⁰ On the identification of Kantuzzili, the Priest, as a brother of Tudhaliya III, see Klinger (1995: 93–99). Some scholars identify Kantuzzili, the Priest, as the son of Tudhaliya I/II. For an overview of the issue with bibliography, see de Martino (2005: 316). For an overview of the identities of the two Kantuzzilis, see Hawkins (BoHa 23: 87–89). A slightly alternative opinion was proposed by Soysal, most recently in Soysal (2012: 319ff.), who identifies Kantuzzili not only as the Priest and the brother of Tudhaliya III, but also the father of Tudhaliya the Younger (TUR), and identifies the latter with the Tudhaliya mentioned on Bo 78/56, as well as on Bo 99/96, which names a Kantuzzili, father of the Great King Tudhaliya.

Hittite troops.⁴⁴¹ He must also be identified with the general named Zitana in EA 170, who was reportedly leading an army of 90,000 soldiers against Nuhašši.⁴⁴² Besides the prominent military role of this GAL *MEŠEDI*, Beal also points out the important position he held in the palace hierarchy, where he was the only other person after the king, queen, and crown prince who was involved in the decree installing Telipinu, the son of Šuppiluliuma, as the “Priest” of Kizzuwatna, and that he was also able to communicate directly with the king of Egypt and exchange gifts, as demonstrated by the letter EA 44 (Beal 1992: 334). Of the glyptic evidence, the seal SBo II 26 from Boğazköy identifies Zita as a prince and GAL *MEŠEDI*.⁴⁴³ It is also known that a son of Zita, named Hutupiyanza, was active as a military commander and served as governor of Pala and Tumanna during the reign of Muršili II.⁴⁴⁴

4.1.1.11 Muršili

A Prince Muršili with the title of MAGNUS.HASTARIUS is known from two seal impressions from Boğazköy (SBo I 105 and Niş 252), both of which appear to have come from the same seal.⁴⁴⁵ The only Muršilis known in Hittite history are the three kings with that name. It has been noted by Hawkins that stylistically the seal cannot be assigned to Old Hittite king Muršili I, and that Urhi-Tešup took on the Muršili (III) name only after he became king (Hawkins 2005a: 265). Therefore this leaves only Muršili II, who is not otherwise known to have served in that position. It is known, however, that Muršili II was the brother of Arnuwanda II who ruled for a very brief time. Thus, assuming the tradition of giving this office to the brother of the king, Muršili II may have been given this title prior to becoming king, and the brevity of

⁴⁴¹ KBo 5.6 ii 21–35, Güterbock (1956: 93).

⁴⁴² See Beal (1992: 334 and n. 1271). For EA 170 see Moran (1992: 259f.).

⁴⁴³ SBo II 26: VIR-*á* MAGNUS.HASTARIUS REX.FILIUS.

⁴⁴⁴ About Hutupiyanza, see sections 4.2.1.12 and 4.15.3.

⁴⁴⁵ The seal is read URBS+*RA*/*I-li* REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.HASTARIUS (Hawkins 2005a: 265).

the office period may account for the lack of further evidence.⁴⁴⁶

4.1.1.12 Hattušili

It is said by Hattušili III in the so-called “Apology of Hattušili” that upon becoming king, Muwatalli II made him a military commander, installed him in the position of the Chief of the Royal Bodyguard, and furthermore gave him the governorship of the Upper Lands.⁴⁴⁷ Similarly, in KBo 4.2 (CTH 87),⁴⁴⁸ Hattušili III indicates that when Muwatalli II became king, he himself was the GAL *MEŠEDI*. Hattušili’s governorship of the Upper Lands apparently placed him in a dispute with Arma-Tarhunta, the son of Zita, who had been the GAL *MEŠEDI* under Šuppiluliuma I. This may have caused a temporary block on Hattušili’s position until the matter was resolved, after which Hattušili reports: “He (Muwatalli) took me back. He placed all the infantry and chariotry of Hatti in my hand, and I commanded all the infantry and chariotry of Hatti. My brother regularly sent me out, and ... I kept conquering all the enemy lands.”⁴⁴⁹ Whether that implies that Hattušili remained as GAL *MEŠEDI* or was assigned to the command of those troops in some other capacity is not clear. Note that while governing the Upper Land, Hattušili also mentions that he was in charge of all the Golden Chariot Fighters.⁴⁵⁰ Towards the end of the “Apology,” Hattušili summarizes his career steps as “I was a Prince and I became the GAL *MEŠEDI*. (As) GAL *MEŠEDI*, I became the king of Hakpiš, too. (As) king of Hakpiš, I further became the Great King.”⁴⁵¹ Again the implications are not certain. Clearly, after becoming the Great King, he would not have remained as the king of Hakpiš, but while he was the king of Hakpiš could he have continued to serve as GAL *MEŠEDI*? Other than KUB 1.1 and

⁴⁴⁶ Beal (2001: 79).

⁴⁴⁷ KUB 1.1 i 22–28; edited by Otten (1981: 6f.).

⁴⁴⁸ Edited by Goetze (1925: 40–45); for a more recent treatment see Gordin (2008: 40–44).

⁴⁴⁹ KUB 1.1 i 63–69 (Otten 1981: 8f.).

⁴⁵⁰ KUB 1.1 ii 60 (ibid. 14f.).

⁴⁵¹ KUB 1.1 iv 41–42, (ibid. 26f.).

KBo 4.2, Hattušili is not mentioned in any other documents with the *GAL MEŠEDI* title; however, *GAL MEŠEDI* being the highest military office, combined with the fact that Hattušili continued to act as a top-level military official may suggest that he remained in this office. Furthermore, there is no evidence for a different *GAL MEŠEDI* during the reign of Muwatalli II.

Hattušili reports that after Muwatalli had moved the capital to the south, he was sent to deal with the Kaška rebellions in the north. He was given further territories to govern and later he was installed as the king of Hakpiš. It is also known that Hattušili was one of the top commanders during the campaign against Egypt: “As it came about that when my brother went forth into Egypt, I led the infantry and chariotry of these lands which I had resettled to my brother on campaign to Egypt. And what(ever) infantry and chariotry of Hatti were in my hand during the reign of my brother, I commanded them.”⁴⁵² It is also known that Hattušili was left in the city of Aba⁴⁵³ for some time, after Muwatalli had returned to Hatti.⁴⁵⁴ As a top military official and governor of large territories, the prominence of Hattušili during the reign of Muwatalli II is well established. However, as Beal (1992: 336) comments, *GAL MEŠEDI* was only one of several titles he had held and thus it is not certain to what degree Hattušili owed his status to this office.

4.1.1.13 Tudhaliya

We do not know who the *GAL MEŠEDI* was during the reign of Urhi-Tešup. For that matter, we do not know whether there even was a *GAL MEŠEDI* at any given time. The next known holder of this position is Tudhaliya (IV), who held the title during the early part of his father’s reign. Despite the pattern of brothers of the reigning king occupying this office, since Hattušili

⁴⁵² KUB 1.1 ii 69–74, Otten (1981: 16f.).

⁴⁵³ Near Damascus, see Del Monte and Tischler (1978: 457).

⁴⁵⁴ KUB 21.17 i 14–21 with dupl. KUB 31.27:2–7; edited by Ünal (1974b: 20f.).

did not have a brother in Hattuša,⁴⁵⁵ Tudhaliya may have been assigned to this position since he was the younger brother of the crown prince and intended future king Nerikkaili.⁴⁵⁶ It may have been intended that Tudhaliya would remain as GAL *MEŠEDI* when Nerikkaili ascended the throne. It is known that Tudhaliya as the GAL *MEŠEDI* was leading campaigns in the north,⁴⁵⁷ and he may have been only twelve years old at the time.⁴⁵⁸ In hieroglyphic evidence, we also have a seal identifying Tudhaliya as MAGNUS.HASTARIUS (Niš 468).

4.1.1.14 Huzziya

The last known GAL *MEŠEDI* is Prince Huzziya, who is listed with that title among the witnesses on the Bronze Tablet, second only to Nerikkaili, the prince.

Now that Tudhaliya's Hurrian name has been established as Tašmi-Šarruma on the basis of additional seals,⁴⁵⁹ it is certain that Tašmi-Šarruma, the prince, who is listed following Nerikkaili, the *tuhkanti*, in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty⁴⁶⁰ is Tudhaliya, and his position right below the *tuhkanti* should be an indication of his status as GAL *MEŠEDI*. This also establishes the assignment of this treaty to the reign of Hattušili III. It could be assumed that upon the promotion of Tudhaliya to *tuhkanti*, the office of GAL *MEŠEDI* was given to Huzziya already during Hattušili's reign.

4.1.2 General discussion of GAL *MEŠEDI*

A list of all fourteen possible holders of the GAL *MEŠEDI* position is given in Table 5,

⁴⁵⁵ In the "Apology" he counts himself the youngest of three brothers, Halpašulupi, Muwatalli and himself, and a sister, Maššanauzzi; KUB 1.1 i 9–11, Otten (1981: 4f.). Even if Halpašulupi was alive in Išuwa as discussed in section 3.1.7.1, as an appanage king he would not be considered for the position of GAL *MEŠEDI*.

⁴⁵⁶ See Beal (1992: 336f.).

⁴⁵⁷ KUB 19.8 iii 27–42 with dupl. KUB 19.9 iii; KUB 19.9 iv 3–16; KBo 12.44 1–12 (Bo 89/s)+KUB 19.8 iv 5–15; edited by Riemschneider (1962: 115f.); KBo 16.36+; edited by Alp (1977: 644–46).

⁴⁵⁸ See the commentary of Riemschneider (1962: 118) and Del Monte's restoration (1978: 102f.). This is quite plausible, considering that both Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV must have had reasonably lengthy reigns. Bryce (2005: xv) assigns 30 and 28 years to them respectively.

⁴⁵⁹ First proposed by Alp (1998), see Hawkins (BoHa 23: 98–100) for an analysis of the seal evidence.

⁴⁶⁰ Edited by van den Hout (1995).

where uncertainties are marked with question marks.⁴⁶¹ We do not have definitive proof for the GAL *MEŠEDI* position of Lepalši or Muwatalli I, and for Muršili we do not know whether our evidence certainly refers to the second bearer of that name.

GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i>	Reigning King	Other titles / Relationship
Kizzuwa	Hattušili I (?)	
Lepalši [?]	Hattušili I [?]	
Zuru	Ammuna	father of Tahirwaili ⁴⁶²
Haššuwaš-Inar	Telipinu	
Haššuili	Alluwamna [?] and Hantili II	father of Zidanta II
Lariya	Huzziya II	
Muwatalli (I) [?]	Huzziya II [?]	future Great King
Muwa	Muwatalli I	
Kantuzzili	Muwatalli I [?] -Tudhaliya I/II [?]	UGULA KUŠ ₇ , KÙ.GI, father of Tudhaliya I/II
Zita	Šuppiluliuma I	brother of Šuppiluliuma I
Muršili (II) [?]	Arnuwanda II	brother of Arnuwanda II, future Great King
Hattušili (III)	Muwatalli II	brother of Muwatalli II, future Great King
Tudhaliya (IV)	Hattušili III	son of Hattušili III, brother of <i>tuhkanti</i> , future Great King
Huzziya	Hattušili III [?] and Tudhaliya IV	brother of Tudhaliya IV

Table 5. List of GAL *MEŠEDI* officials.

During the reigns of Hattušili I, Huzziya II, and Hattušili III, there is the possibility of two successive GAL *MEŠEDI*s, but in each case uncertainty exists. For the reverse situation of one GAL *MEŠEDI* for two different kings, the only examples seem to be Haššuili under Alluwamna and Hantili II, and Huzziya under Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV. In the case of Haššuili there is the possibility that he may not have been the GAL *MEŠEDI* of Alluwamna,⁴⁶³ but even if he was, that would not be so unusual, since it is possible that just as Hattušili III had done, a brotherless Alluwamna may have installed his younger son and the brother of the future king as

⁴⁶¹ Hawkins' (2005a: 255) suggestion of the MAGNUS.HASTARIUS(?) reading for the title of the official named Hillarizzi[?] (*Hi-LEO.LEO+ra/i-zi/a*) on the seal impression Niš 124 remains rather uncertain, since neither the MAGNUS nor the HASTARIUS signs look convincing.

⁴⁶² Tahirwaili, the son of Zuru, is less likely to be associated with the Great King Tahirwaili (Wilhelm 2009: 227 n. 15, Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 41, 52).

⁴⁶³ See note 423 above.

GAL *MEŠEDI*.⁴⁶⁴ If Haššuili did not serve under Alluwamna, and if Hattušili III's son Huzziya did not become GAL *MEŠEDI* until after his brother Tudhaliya IV had become king, this would confirm a pattern that a change in kingship was paralleled by a change in the office of GAL *MEŠEDI*.

The Chief of the Royal Bodyguards, GAL *MEŠEDI*, similar to some other Hittite titles such as “Chief of the Wine(-stewards),” GAL *GEŠTIN*, may have originally had a more literal meaning, in this instance as the commander of the palace guard. The title is not encountered in Old Assyrian documents from Anatolia. In those texts the most comparable title is GAL/*rabi mašsar(ā)tim*. However, the duties associated with this official and men under his command—at least from the viewpoint of the Assyrian merchants—do not seem to be directly in relation with the ruler(s) but rather to revolve around protection of caravan routes, safekeeping of deposited goods, and prevention of smuggling activities (Erol 2007: 36f.).

The Middle Hittite document known as the Instructions for the Royal Bodyguards (CTH 262)⁴⁶⁵ describes the rules and protocol the bodyguards should follow in the palace court and during the processions of the king. Several references to the GAL *MEŠEDI* describe his duties, such as issuing permission to the guards. When the king exits the palace, he is symbolically entrusted to the GAL *MEŠEDI* when stepping into his carriage, and likewise upon his arrival at the destination town⁴⁶⁶ and stepping out of his carriage, the king is handed over by the GAL *MEŠEDI* to the Chief of the Palace Servants (GAL *DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL*). During his absence, however, another official could substitute for him. The text further indicates that the GAL *MEŠEDI* was one of the few people who could approach the king: “[When] the king asks for a

⁴⁶⁴ See Beal (forthcoming).

⁴⁶⁵ IBoT 1.36; edited by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991), and more recently by Miller (2013: 98–121).

⁴⁶⁶ As opposed to Güterbock and van den Hout, Miller (2013: 98f.) interprets this passage as the arrival of the king at a provincial palace outside Hattuša, rather than a return to the palace in Hattuša.

case (to be tried), the guard [picks] it [out] and p[uts] it into the hand of the GAL *MEŠEDI* and tells the GAL *MEŠEDI* [what] the case [is]; the GAL *MEŠEDI* [tells the king].”⁴⁶⁷ Therefore, although it may be symbolic, the GAL *MEŠEDI* officer may have continued to perform these duties, at least during the Middle Hittite period. Clauses that indicate alternatives in cases of the GAL *MEŠEDI*'s absence suggest that he was not necessarily accompanying the king at any given time. These absences must have been mainly in connection with military matters, as evidence from several attested GAL *MEŠEDI*s reveals their campaigning activities. As surveyed above, there is plenty of evidence about the involvement of certain GAL *MEŠEDI*s in military activities. There are several statements from oracles that also indicate the role of this official on campaigns.⁴⁶⁸ In one oracle it is asked whether the enemy “will strike opposite the GAL *MEŠEDI*,”⁴⁶⁹ which implies that a wing of the army was under the command of this official.

The GAL *MEŠEDI* also had significant cultic responsibilities. He appears in festivals and rituals so frequently that in the past Alp had even suggested that the GAL *MEŠEDI* had no military or administrative duties, but only ceremonial ones, and translated the title as “Master of Ceremony” (Alp 1940: 5). Examples provided by Alp indicate the intermediary position of the GAL *MEŠEDI* between the king and other officials during those ceremonies, where he gives orders to various servants, makes announcements for the king, and introduces priests, or in a festival when he even continues the ceremonies on behalf of the king after the king departs (Alp 1940: 1–25, Bin-Nun 1973: 6f.).

In the case of Hattušili, extensive administrative responsibilities are also observed, although some of these may have come under different titles, such as the kingship of Hakpiš and the governorship of the Upper Land. It was suggested by Bin-Nun that the taking over of the

⁴⁶⁷ IBoT 1.36 iii 2–5, *ibid.* (1991: 22–23).

⁴⁶⁸ See Beal (1992: 338–40).

⁴⁶⁹ [... G]AL *MEŠEDI* IGI-*anda* GUL¹-*ahhanzi* x[...] KUB 16.56 obv. 3.

command of a certain part of the country might have been associated with the office of the GAL *MEŠEDI*, pointing out that Arma-Tarhunta, the previous governor of the Upper Land was the son of Zita, the GAL *MEŠEDI* of Šuppiluliuma I (1973: 12). This was rejected by Beal, on the grounds that if this were the case, Hattušili would not have had a reason to mention it separately, and that there is no evidence for Arma-Tarhunta being a GAL *MEŠEDI* or Zita being a governor of said territory (Beal 1992: 335). This being said, it would not be unreasonable to think that holders of this office exercised certain administrative capacities even if not at the level that Hattušili III occupied. In an oracle text about the celebration of certain festivals, there is a reference to bringing “the cultic supplies of the domain of the GAL *MEŠEDI*,”⁴⁷⁰ which implies the existence of a district assigned to him. Whether this was a territory over which the GAL *MEŠEDI* had governorship duties is not clear. It is possible that it is a reference to a sizable estate assigned to the GAL *MEŠEDI* office to collect revenues from its sources, as part of the compensation for the office.

In the years between 2006 and 2008, a large house was excavated on the so-called middle plateau of the city of Hattuša, in an area southwest of Sarikale.⁴⁷¹ The house was determined to be in use roughly between the fifteenth and the early thirteenth centuries. Mainly on account of a fragmentary letter addressed by the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL official to the GAL *MEŠEDI*, both of whom are unnamed, it is suggested that the principal resident of the house might have been the GAL *MEŠEDI*.⁴⁷² This suggestion is supported by the large size of the house (445 m²), its elegant pottery, and the distinct organization of the building, which suggests that it was used

⁴⁷⁰ *halkueššarma ŠA GAL (LÚ.MEŠ) MEŠEDI maniyahhiyaš udai* “He will bring the cult provisions of the district of the Chief of the Guard” (KBo 24.118 vi 10’-11’ with dupls. KUB 22.27 iv 26’-27’ and KUB 50.82:6’-7’ (CTH 568); edited by R. Lebrun 1994: 41-77).

⁴⁷¹ See Schachner (2015).

⁴⁷² KBo 62.29 (Wilhelm 2013: 341f.). See also below in section 4.4.1.7.

for public events as well as a residence.⁴⁷³ If this identification is correct, it would make this building the first identified residence/office of a Hittite high official, and possibly demonstrate the high social status of these officials.

For the first half of the names in the table, we cannot establish any type of relationship, other than suspecting that all of them were princes within the royal family. But a development can be observed in the land donation texts that date from the reign of Telipinu to the reign of Muwatalli I (LhK 3–49). In these texts the *GAL MEŠEDI* appears among the witnesses seventeen times.⁴⁷⁴ As mentioned under Haššuwaš-Inar above, in the first six attestations the *GAL MEŠEDI* is always listed after the *GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL*, ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*, and *GAL GEŠTIN*, allowing for the fact that the only *GAL MEŠEDI* known from that period is Haššuwaš-Inar. In the latter eleven attestations, starting from the reign of Hantili II, the *GAL MEŠEDI* is either listed in the second place after *GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL* (LhK 28, 29, 31, 46) or he is at the top of the list (LhK 38, 40–43, 45, 47). In fact, among those eleven attestations the only clear exception to a move from second to first place is the appearance of Muwa, the *GAL MEŠEDI*, after Arinnel, the *GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL*, during the reign of Muwatalli I. Therefore, this may imply that over time the *GAL MEŠEDI* office become a more prestigious one.⁴⁷⁵

Starting with Zita, there is a clear trend where the title is always borne by a brother of the reigning king, or in the case of Hattušili III, who did not have a brother available for the position, by a brother of the crown prince. In the Old Hittite Period, the involvement of Zuru in the palace coup during the reign of Ammuna may be indicative of the power and status of the office. In fact, the same scenario may have been repeated with Muwatalli I, if he indeed served as *GAL*

⁴⁷³ See Schachner (2015).

⁴⁷⁴ Including LhK 29, 38, 45 and 47, where the title has not survived but can be restored with confidence, but not including LhK 26 and 44, where uncertainties exist, although their inclusion would not change the above analogy.

⁴⁷⁵ It should be noted that I am not arguing about a change in the hierarchical order of the offices. See, section 6.3 about the ranking of officials.

MEŠEDI. The *GAL MEŠEDI*'s close association with the royal family is also demonstrated by Haššuii, whose son Zidanta II became king.

In summary, it can be said that the *GAL MEŠEDI* office was one of the top offices in the Hittite court and possibly became the highest by the Empire Period below only the king, queen, and crown prince. In all likelihood the office was always occupied by very close relatives, at least during the Empire Period always by the brother of the current or future king. The office entailed extensive military and cultic, and possibly administrative duties.

4.2 GAL GEŠTIN

The office of *GAL GEŠTIN*⁴⁷⁶ holds one of the top positions in the Hittite administrative organization. The title is usually translated as “Chief of Wine” or “Chief of the Wine Stewards.”⁴⁷⁷ Previous studies on this office have been made by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 535–37), who gathered all known attestations up to the date of publication, by Rosi (1983: 48–53), who examined some of the responsibilities of the office, by Beal (1992: 342–57), who analyzed the role of the official in the Hittite military, and more recently and comprehensively by Marizza (2007b), who combined the previous studies with the most recent findings and a prosopographical study.

Like the title of *GAL MEŠEDI*, information about the *GAL GEŠTIN* comes from various genres of documentation, which help us to identify even more *GAL GEŠTIN*s than *GAL MEŠEDI*s. For this office too, the land donation texts have been helpful in identifying several names from the late Old Kingdom to early Empire period. Hieroglyphic evidence, especially the Nišantepe archive, has provided several other names.

⁴⁷⁶ The title can be written *GAL* (LÚ/LÚ.MEŠ) *GEŠTIN* and variations like *GAL ŠA GEŠTIN* and ^{LÚ}*GAL GEŠTIN* are also encountered (see Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 533–34). The Hittite word for the Sumerogram *GEŠTIN* is *wiyana-* (“Wine”) but the title is always written in the Sumerian form.

⁴⁷⁷ “Chief of the Wine(-stewards)” (Beal 1992: 342), “Chief of the Wine” (Marizza 2007b: 153 n. 2), “grande (degli uomini) del vino” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 535), “Weinoberer” (*HZL*: 214, no. 242).

The hieroglyphic equivalent of the title has been identified as MAGNUS (L. 363).VITIS (L. 160), sometimes with a BONUS₂ (L. 370) between the two signs.⁴⁷⁸ The sign L. 157.1 has also been recognized to be a combination of the MAGNUS (L. 363) and VITIS (L. 160) signs, and has been attested only once on the seal impression (SBo II 58) of Halpaziti, a known GAL GEŠTIN of Arnuwanda I. SBo II 58 is also the only glyptic evidence for this title that is not from the late Empire period.

4.2.1 Known GAL GEŠTINs of Hittite History

4.2.1.1 Nakkilit and his predecessor

The name Nakkilit appears in a fragmentary section of the Palace Chronicle.⁴⁷⁹ The text describes how a certain official named Hapruzzi “stood by the king” and kept his position while two successive Chiefs of the Palace Attendants (GAL DUMU(.MEŠ) É.GAL) and a Chief of Wine (GAL ŠA GEŠTIN)⁴⁸⁰ were executed.⁴⁸¹ Only the last syllables]-ki-ša-aš (nom.) of the latter’s name has survived. Nakkilit,⁴⁸² whose title is broken, apparently replaced the executed Chief of Wine, and if the broken text parallels the first part, perhaps he too was executed. It is possible that this is the same Nakkilit who appears in another passage of the Palace Chronicle with the title GAL LÚ.MEŠ SAGI (see section 4.3.1.1).

4.2.1.2 Son of Karahnuili

As mentioned above under Lepalši, the GAL MEŠEDI, it was suggested by Beal (1992: 328) that a commander referred to as “the son of Karahnuili” in KBo 7.14 obv. 12 may also be a

⁴⁷⁸ B. Dinçol (1998a).

⁴⁷⁹ KBo 3.35 i 11–16’ with dupl. KBo 13.45: 2–6; edited by Dardano (1997: 40–41).

⁴⁸⁰ A spelling of GAL ŠA GEŠTIN also appears in a land donation text fragment, LhK 60 1’, possibly from the early Empire period.

⁴⁸¹ For the Chief of Wine it is expressed as BA.ÚŠ “died/dead.”

⁴⁸² ^mNa-ak-ki-l[i]- (KBo 3.35 I 15’) and ^mNa!-ki-li-az (KBo 13.45: 6).

GAL GEŠTIN. This document probably dates to Hattušili I and narrates a fight against the city of Haššu,⁴⁸³ where the son of Karahnuili is commanding a section of the Hittite army, while another section is under the command of Lepalši. Since the two top officials in the Hittite army are usually the GAL *MEŠEDI* and the GAL GEŠTIN, and if Lepalši is the former (see 4.1.1.2), perhaps the son of Karahnuili could be the GAL GEŠTIN; however, there is no evidence to support this suggestion. The only other attestation of Karahnuili appears in one of the so-called “king lists”⁴⁸⁴ among royal family members, which may suggest a royal link for this official.

4.2.1.3 Pulli

Pulli, the GAL GEŠTIN, is known from LhK 1 from İnandık, where he is at the top of the witness list.⁴⁸⁵ The other witnesses are Aškaliya (DUMU.LUGAL), Tiwazidi (^{LÚ}*uriyanni*), and Šandamei (UGULA 1 *LI* ^{LÚ}*KUŠ*₇^{MEŠ}), followed by another Aškaliya, the scribe. The dating of LhK 1 has been an issue of discussion,⁴⁸⁶ but with the discovery of other land donation tablets, it is now suggested that the text should date either to the early reign of Telipinu, or perhaps to Huzziya I or Ammuna at the earliest (Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 51, Wilhelm 2005: 278). The name Pulli is attested in other texts but none can be matched with this officer or even with this date.⁴⁸⁷

4.2.1.4 Hattušili

The only attestation of a Hattušili with the GAL GEŠTIN title occurs on KUB 26.71 iv 10, which narrates the events of an unnamed king in annalistic style.⁴⁸⁸ The passage describes a

⁴⁸³ Edited by Rosi (1984: 118f). See also Haas (2006: 46f).

⁴⁸⁴ KUB 11.7+ rev. 8–11; see Carruba (2007: 139).

⁴⁸⁵ LhK 1 rev. 23: ^m*Pu-ul-li* GAL ^{LÚ}*MES*GEŠ[TIN].

⁴⁸⁶ See Wilhelm (2005: 273).

⁴⁸⁷ See under NH 1044 (In Laroche 1981: 35, KBo VIII should be corrected to KBo XVIII), and also in several Mašat letters, for a list of which see Alp (1991a: xxvi).

⁴⁸⁸ Edited by de Martino (2003: 81–87).

campaign by this GAL GEŠTIN in Kaška territory, followed by a campaign of the king, who reportedly “made the sea (his) border.” This is a Sammeltafel of three Old Hittite texts in New Hittite script that also contains the Anitta Text (CTH 1.B) and the “Ammuna Chronicle” (CTH 18.A). Some scholars suspect this text to be a part of Ammuna’s annals.⁴⁸⁹ More recently, however, de Martino on prosopographical and geographical grounds has assigned the text to Telipinu (1999: 77–81, and 2003: 81–83).

4.2.1.5 Zidanni

Zidanni, the GAL GEŠTIN, appears as a witness in seven different land donation texts⁴⁹⁰ that are sealed with anonymous Tabarna seals, all of which Wilhelm attributes to Telipinu (2005: 276).⁴⁹¹ Witness lists of these seven and LhK 3, where his name might be restored, are listed below:

LhK 3	[GAL DUMU.MEŠ].É.GAL	LhK 11	Hapuwaššu GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL
[	LÚ <i>urianni</i>	Marakui	LÚ <i>urianni</i>
[	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠ]TIN	Zidanni	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN
[	GAL LÚ.MEŠ <i>MEŠEDI</i>]	Haššuwaš-Inar	GAL LÚ.MEŠ <i>MEŠEDI</i>
[	DUB.SAR]	Hutarli	DUB.SAR
LhK 12	Hapuwaššu GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	LhK 13	Hapuwaššu G[AL DUMU.MEŠ.É. GAL]
Marakui	LÚ <i>urianni</i>	Marakui	LÚ <i>ur[ianni]</i>
Zidanni	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN	Zidanni	G[AL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN]
Hutarli	DUB.SAR		[rest broken]
LhK 14	H[apuwaššu] GAL DUMU.MEŠ 'É'.[GAL]	LhK 17	Hapuwašš[u] GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL
Marakui	[LÚ <i>urianni</i>]	Marakui	LÚ <i>ur[ianni]</i>
Zida[nni]	GAL LÚ.MEŠ [GEŠTIN]	Zidanni	G[AL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN]
Zuwa	'DUB'.SAR	Haššuwaš[-Inar]	GAL LÚ.MEŠ <i>M[EŠEDI]</i>
		Hutarli[i]	DUB.SAR]
LhK 22	LÚ <i>urianni</i>	LhK 23	[Tudhaliya] LÚ <i>urianni</i>
Tudhaliya	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL]?	[	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GA]L
'Da' [...]	GAL LÚ.MEŠ KAŠ.GEŠTIN	Zidanni	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN
Z[id]anni	GAL LÚ.MEŠ <i>MEŠEDI</i>	[	GA]L LÚ.MEŠ <i>MEŠEDI</i>
[	DUB.SAR]	[	DUB.SAR]

⁴⁸⁹ See von Schuler (1965: 25–26), Hoffner (1980: 306), and Klengel (1999: 75).

⁴⁹⁰ LhK 11 rev. 28, LhK 12 rev. 23, LhK 13 rev. 11, LhK 14 rev. 8', LhK 17 rev. 10, LhK 22 rev. 70 (title is written as GAL LÚ.MEŠ KAŠ.GEŠTIN), and LhK 23 rev. 4'. See Appendix 1.

⁴⁹¹ See also Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: 51, 58).

In all seven texts, Zidanni is always listed in third place after the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL and the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*, and always before the GAL *MEŠEDI*. Noticeably, the ordering of the names and therefore the titles never change in LhK 11–14 and 17. In LhK 22 and 23, which probably date to a later time than LhK 11–14, 17,⁴⁹² there are new names for the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* and GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL offices, yet Zidanni is still listed after them but before the GAL *MEŠEDI*. This, however, should not be an indication of the ranking of the offices, but rather a ranking of the persons. If the ranking had been based on the office, we would not expect ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* to be written before the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL in LhK 22–23. The latter official is in all likelihood the same person in both LhK 22 and 23. Therefore, Tudhaliya, the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*, must have had a higher status based on certain other merits to outrank Zidanni, the GAL GEŠTIN, as well as Da[...], the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL. In LhK 3, where the names of witnesses have not survived but which has an identical ordering of the officials, we may expect to restore Zidanni, as well as Hapuwaššu, Marakui, and Haššuwaš-Inar.⁴⁹³ The name Zidanni has not been attested elsewhere.

4.2.1.6 Muššu

This GAL GEŠTIN of Hantili II is known from several land donation texts where he appears as a witness.⁴⁹⁴ In each list, this officer is listed after the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, the ^{LÚ(MEŠ)}*uriyanni*, and the GAL *MEŠEDI*,⁴⁹⁵ and the only person listed after him is the scribe. The name is attested without any title as the only surviving name of the three addressees in a Middle

⁴⁹² The scribe of LhK 22 is also known from LhK 26 of Alluwamna.

⁴⁹³ On stylistic grounds, the Tabarna seal of LhK 3 (“Siegelabdruck 2a” in Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 42) has been dated to an earlier period than the others (ibid. 49).

⁴⁹⁴ LhK 28 rev. 25, LhK 29 rev. 26, LhK 37 rev. 9', and possibly to be restored on LhK 36 rev. 7' where the name of the GAL GEŠTIN has not survived.

⁴⁹⁵ GAL *MEŠEDI* is listed in only two of the four texts (LhK 28, 29), and three of the four texts list two names for ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*uriyanni* (LhK 28, 29, 37).

Hittite letter of a Hittite king,⁴⁹⁶ but the content of the letter does not provide any clue to match the identity.⁴⁹⁷

4.2.1.7 Pazzu

Two land donation texts of Huzziya II include Pazzu, the GAL GEŠTIN, among the witnesses (LhK 40–41).⁴⁹⁸ Like Muššu before him, this official is listed before only the scribe in both texts, where the GAL *MEŠEDI*, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, the ^{LÚ.(MEŠ)}*uriyanni*, and in one of the texts the GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ and GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI are listed before him.

This GAL GEŠTIN cannot be identified with the official named Pazzu mentioned in letters KBo 18.14, 18.15, 18.90 and 18.96, which date to the times of Tudhaliya III and afterwards.⁴⁹⁹

4.2.1.8 Himuili (I)

During the reign of Muwatalli I, Himuili appears with the title GAL GEŠTIN as a witness in the land donation text LhK 46 that bears the seal of this king. In this text, the two officers who are listed before Himuili as witnesses are Arinnel, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, and Muwa, the GAL *MEŠEDI*. In LhK 47, which is another land donation text of Muwatalli I, Himuili appears with the title GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL as the second witness, right after Muwa, whose broken title, in all likelihood, is still GAL *MEŠEDI*. Arinnel, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, is known from several land donation texts of Huzziya II, and therefore it must be assumed that this official, possibly in collaboration with Muwatalli I in the latter's seizure of the Hittite throne,

⁴⁹⁶ HHCTO 4, 2; edited by Ünal (1998: 40–43) and more recently by Hoffner (2009: 254f.).

⁴⁹⁷ Marizza (2007b: 157) dismisses the possibility on the basis that the name in the letter is spelled as ^m*Mu-ú-šu*, whereas in the land donation texts all three attestations are written ^m*Mu-u-uš-šu*. Note, however, that all three land donation texts are written by the same scribe (Hanikkuili) and scribal conventions can differ.

⁴⁹⁸ The partially damaged name on LhK 41 (VAT 7436) was previously read as ^m*Tap-zu* [(see Riemschneider 1958: 358) and ^m*Tap-zu-u* [(see Easton 1988: 16), but read as ^m*Pa-zu-[ú]* by Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 188), probably with the aid of the later -discovered LhK 40, which has preserved [^m*P*]a-az-zu-ú.

⁴⁹⁹ The letters KBo 18.14 and 18.15 are edited by Hoffner (2009: 88f., and 321f.), who also summarizes the dating of de Martino (2005: 296, 317). For KBo 18.96 and 18.90 see Hagenbuchner (1989b: 169, 218). Marizza (2007a: 155) assigns all four of these attestations to a single person of the Tudhaliya III to Šuppiluliuma I era.

kept his position during the early years of Muwatalli's reign. This, therefore, places LhK 46 at an earlier date than LhK 47. Since the officials who hold the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL title are consistently listed towards the top of the witness lists of land donations texts, Himuili's change of office from GAL GEŠTIN to GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL could be seen as a promotion. Despite the promotion, however, it is quite likely that this official is also the same person who collaborated with Kantuzzili to topple and murder Muwatalli I, as known from CTH 271.A.⁵⁰⁰ This is a rather fragmentary composition comprised of multiple indirectly joining fragments,⁵⁰¹ where Himuili's name is mentioned several times.⁵⁰² In several of those, the text either directly addresses or indirectly mentions the “sons of Himuili and Kantuzzili.” There is also frequent change of the pronoun from 2nd person singular to 2nd person plural, as if the text addresses two different parties. The following two passages are from the second and third paragraphs of one of the fragments:⁵⁰³

(1) “If you ^(sg.) become arrogant, though, and [...] evil to the sons of the grandees, then they shall haunt you ^(sg.).”

(2) “But you ^(pl.), sons of [Him]uili [and] Ka[n]tuzzili [...], you ^(pl.) must protect him! He who becomes arrogant, though, amon[g...] he *concocts* [evil ..., let] this divine oath [...] him!”

The “sons of the grandees” (DUMU.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ GAL.GAL) mentioned in (1) are probably the same people referred to as the sons of Himuili and Kantuzzili in (2). Likewise, the singular addressee of (1) is likely the same person whom the sons of Himuili and Kantuzzili are asked to protect in (2), and might be referring to a young Tudhaliya (I/II). The fragmentary nature of the text prevents a confident understanding, but it is possible to interpret this as an agreement

⁵⁰⁰ Particularly the passage KUB 34.40+ obv.? 8'-13' (CTH 271.A₂); edited by Miller (2013: 158f.).

CTH 271.A does not mention titles for Himuili (KUB 36.113: 4', 8', 9', 11') and Kant[uzzili] (KUB 36.113:9'), but Kantuzzili, the UGULA LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ₇ KŪ.GI, is listed as a witness with Himuili in the land donation text LhK 47.

⁵⁰¹ Edited by Miller (2013: 154–61).

⁵⁰² KUB 36.114 r. col. 2', 4', 10', 12'], l. col. 8'; KUB 34.40+34.41 obv.? 9', 17', rev.? 9'; KUB 36.113:4', 8', 9', 11'; KUB 36.116:5', 10'; KBo 38.91 obv.? 13'.

⁵⁰³ KUB 36.114 r. col. 6'–8' and 12'–15' (translations after Miller (2013: 157)).

between the two parties, which may have followed a period of turmoil among various factions of the royal family that took place at the end of the Old Kingdom.

It is therefore quite possible that both Himuili and Kantuzzili were members of the royal family. It has first been suggested by Freu (1995: 137) that Himuili and Kantuzzili might be sons of Huzziya II through queen Šummiri, based on his interpretation of KBo 34.40+:8'–13', which mentions the killing of Muwatalli I and involves Himuili and Kantuzzili. Although Kantuzzili may be the father of Tudhaliya I/II, his family connections to Himuili or Huzziya II remain unproven.⁵⁰⁴

4.2.1.9 Ulganu(?)

On the reverse of the land donation text fragment LhK 48, where only the last three names of the witnesses have been partially preserved, Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: 205) offer the following restoration:

- r. x+1 ^mH[*i-mu*]-ú-i-[*li GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL*]
 2' [^m]*Ul-ga-a-nu* GA[L ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GESTIN]?
 3' ^m*Wa-ar-ši-ia* [DUB.SAR *iš-tur/-tú-ur*]

Since the two known land donation texts of Muwatalli I (LhK 46–47) were also written by the scribe Waršiya,⁵⁰⁵ this text too is rightly suspected to date from the same period, and the remaining traces of the first name allow for a restoration of Himuili in the first line. If Himuili is indeed the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL as Rüter and Wilhelm restored, then Ulganu may indeed be the GAL GESTIN. He is unlikely to be GAL *MEŠEDI*, which office was in all likelihood held by Muwa, and less likely to be GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ *kunnaz* or GAL SIPA ZAG-*az*, which are the

⁵⁰⁴ For a summary of this discussion with relevant bibliography see de Martino (2010a: 186ff.).

⁵⁰⁵ Marizza (2007a: 168) assigns the above-mentioned land donation text (no. 40) of Huzziya II to this scribe too, but Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: 184) leave it as [^m]x x. According to the copy provided by Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: Tafel LXIX) the final sign remains unrecognized although it looks similar to *-ia* with a missing vertical and an extra horizontal wedge, but the partial signs before it end with a winkelhaken, not supporting a *ši* reading.

offices held by different persons in LhK 46 and 47. Since GAL GEŠTIN is the most commonly attested other GAL title in the witness lists (see Table 24), restoring this title for Ulganu would be reasonable. That said, however, we do not know whether LhK 48 predates or postdates LhK 46, in which Himuili is a GAL GEŠTIN. Therefore, there is also the possibility that Himuili is still a GAL GEŠTIN in LhK 48, perhaps even listed following Arinnel and Muwa, whose names may have been lost in the broken upper part of the tablet. If so, we would have to seek a different GAL title for Ulganu, perhaps the “left” counterpart of either the GAL KUŠ₇ or GAL SIPA. Ulganu’s name is not known from any other document in Hittite sources.

4.2.1.10 Halpaziti

This official is attested in several documents.⁵⁰⁶ He appears among the witnesses of the land donation text of Arnuwanda I (LhK 91), listed in second place after Duwa, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL. Among all known land donation texts, LhK 91 is the latest, and it has the longest witness list, with ten names including that of the scribe. Halpaziti and Duwa are mentioned again together in KUB 32.19+ rev. iii 35 (CTH 777.8), a prayer of Taduhepa in the Hurrian language. They appear in the same paragraph that also includes a wish for a successful campaign for Tašmišarri, who can be identified as Tudhaliya III.⁵⁰⁷ Although Marizza (2007b: 159–61) uses this to suggest that Halpaziti may have also been active under Tudhaliya III, it is quite possible that the text refers to Tudhaliya III as a prince. There is no mention of a king, and had he already ascended the throne, one would expect to see the name Tudhaliya rather than his princely name Tašmišarri.

The seal impression SBo II 58 from Building D of Boğazköy also bears the name and title

⁵⁰⁶ For a prosopographical study of Halpaziti with a focus on the Empire period, see van den Hout (1995a: 186–93), and for a detailed study of Halpaziti, the GAL GEŠTIN, see Marizza (2007a: 65–76).

⁵⁰⁷ For an edition of the text see Haas (1984: 215–32); see also Singer (2002a: 43f.).

of this official.⁵⁰⁸

The Halpaziti mentioned in KUB 27.43 15' (CTH 791), a Hurrian-language fragment, which may be an edict or protocol (Haas 1984: 213), may also be our GAL GEŠTIN, since the text names a Tulpi-Tešup, who is also known from several documents of this period as a member of the royal family (Marizza 2007a: 24–33).

In KBo 18.80+ obv.¹ 2', rev.¹ 6', 19',⁵⁰⁹ a Halpaziti is mentioned several times in the context of military action, possibly in southwest Anatolia. On account of the geographical elements and typology of the text, Otten (1992: 417) links this text with the Madduwatta text (CTH 147), a section of which (KUB 14.1 rev. 25–27) reads: “He kept writing to the general (GAL GEŠTIN): ‘I will approach the land of Hapalla through you (that is, through your territory) alone. You [let] me through, (saying): “Go, smite the land of Hapalla and carry it off!”” But when the general (GAL GEŠTIN) did let him through, he subsequently would have [blocked] his roads and would have attacked him in the rear” (Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011: 94). If the texts are indeed linked, the GAL GEŠTIN here can be identified with Halpaziti.⁵¹⁰

Marizza points out several other MH fragments that mention a GAL.GEŠTIN as possibly referring to Halpaziti. The missing name of the G]AL.GEŠTIN in obv. 8 of the fragment KUB 34.58 (CTH 271.C) that is dated to Arnuwanda I is very likely to be restored as Halpaziti.⁵¹¹ The GAL GEŠTIN mentioned in KUB 26.62+ iv 25' (CTH 140.1) in the context of relations with Kaška tribes, which certainly dates to Arnuwanda I, is perhaps one of the high officials involved in the oath-taking ceremonies. Finally, the GAL GEŠTIN of the letter fragment KBo 18.51 l. e.

⁵⁰⁸ HALPA-VIR.zi/a MAGNUS.VITIS SCRIBA-la.

⁵⁰⁹ Edited by Otten (1992: 410ff.).

⁵¹⁰ Thus Otten (1992: 417f.) and Marizza (2007b: 160), contra Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 537) and Klinger (1995: 90 n. 63), who identify the GAL GEŠTIN as Antahitta of the same text, but see Beal (1992: 349 n. 1326). Marizza further suggests that both KBo 18.80+ and KBo 44.1 may belong to the same historical narrative (2007b: 160f.).

⁵¹¹ Thus Kammenhuber (1976: 174), Freu (2002: 67).

10' may also be Halpaziti.⁵¹² The letter is a report or complaint to a king, who may be identified as Arnuwanda I on the grounds that Wašuwatarla of rev. 11' is otherwise only known from another letter fragment, KBo 18.69, which mentions a “Priest” (LÚSANGA) and a Hulla. The priest may very well be Kantuzzili, the son of Arnuwanda I, and Hulla is probably the GAL KUŠ₇ official, who witnessed the land donation text LhK 91 of Arnuwanda I along with Halpaziti.⁵¹³

Halpaziti's name also appears in the fragment KBo 44.1 obv. 5' (CTH 212). Marizza (2007a: 65f.) reads his partially preserved title as GAL GEŠT[IN] and identifies him as the official of Arnuwanda I, on the grounds that the text also mentions a Duwa (obv. 4').⁵¹⁴ Although paleographically the text dates to the late Empire period,⁵¹⁵ the fragment may belong to the historical introduction of a treaty (Marizza 2007b: 159).

In summary, Halpaziti, the GAL GEŠTIN, was a high official active during the reign of Arnuwanda I. The documentation suggests that he was actively involved in several military campaigns both in the east and in the west. A relationship with the royal family can be suspected but there is no clear evidence.

4.2.1.11 Himuili (II)

This GAL GEŠTIN of Šuppiluliuma I is only known from several attestations in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma. He is mentioned in separate passages, all in a military context, where he is in

⁵¹² See Marizza (2007a: 73f. and 81). The letter is edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 99f.).

⁵¹³ Thus Klinger (1995: 93), followed by de Martino (2005: 315), and Marizza (2007a: 81).

⁵¹⁴ Marizza also reads obv. 6' as ^mHu-ul-l]a⁷ GAL KUŠ₇, who is another official from LhK 91, but the copy clearly shows a ŠI/IGI/LIM sign instead of KUŠ₇. See Roszkowska-Mutschler (2007: 1), who restores it as]r⁷E¹.GAL^{LIM}.

⁵¹⁵ On the dating of the fragment, see Beal (1992: 348 n. 1325) citing Otten. Despite his own late dating of the script, Otten is seemingly of the same opinion as Marizza (Otten and Rüter 2003: iv and n. 1), rejecting the earlier suggestion of van den Hout (1995a: 186) about identifying this Halpaziti with the one mentioned in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (KBo 4.10+ rev. 29). Roszkowska-Mutschler (2007: 1) restores the title as GAL^{LÚ.MEŠ}UK[U¹.UŠ, and thus agrees with van den Hout's identification.

command of Hittite troops in both Arzawa⁵¹⁶ and Kaška territory.⁵¹⁷ In his expedition to Arzawa he was defeated by a surprise attack, which angered Šuppiluliuma to personally lead an expedition there. If the ordering of the fragment of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma is correct, Himuili apparently kept his position despite the defeat, since his appearance in the Kaška campaign (KBo 5.6) takes place after the Arzawa campaigns.

It has been suggested by Alp (1991b: 62)⁵¹⁸ that this Himuili may be the Hi(m)muili, the *BĒL MADGALTI* of Tapikka, known from the Mašat letters. Although there is no conclusive evidence, it is plausible. He may have served as *BĒL MADGALTI* early in his career during the reign of Tudhaliya III and become GAL GEŠTIN by the time of Šuppiluliuma I. We may note that the earliest attestation of Himuili in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma occurs in Fragment 17 in Güterbock's ordering of the fragments (1956: 78). By that time Šuppiluliuma I must have already ascended the throne, since the "grandfather" (i.e., Tudhaliya III) is no longer mentioned after Fragment 14.⁵¹⁹

4.2.1.12 Nuwanza

Nuwanza, the GAL GEŠTIN of Muršili II, is known with that title from multiple attestations in the Annals of Muršili II (CTH 61).⁵²⁰ In the second year he was sent to assist the King of Karkamiš in case of an Assyrian attack. In the ninth year he was sent to the aid of Hutupiyanza the governor of Pala, against the hostile city of Wašulana. Later in the same year Nuwanza was left in the Upper Land while Muršili was busy in the south. When Hayaša

⁵¹⁶ KBo 12.26 i 17 with duplicate KBo 12.25:6, 10, 15 and KBo 14.4 i 23, 24, 28; see Del Monte (2009: 50–53). The Himuili mentioned in KUB 19.18 iv 6' alongside a Takkuri may be an enemy leader (see Del Monte 2009: 38f. and n. 65).

⁵¹⁷ KBo 5.6 i 11; see Del Monte (2009: 86).

⁵¹⁸ Followed by Hoffner (2009: 94).

⁵¹⁹ Thus also Marizza (2007b: 162), but he nevertheless suggests that Himuili may have become GAL GEŠTIN during the reign of Tudhaliya III (ibid. 172).

⁵²⁰ KUB 14.16 i 13, 15; KBo 3.4 iv 17, 19, 20; KUB 14.29 i 14; KBo 4.4 ii 18, 20, 50, 52, 58, 68, 72, 74, 77, iii 20, 61; KBo 16.11:6; KBo 5.8 iv 15–16; KBo 2.5a iii 12.

besieged the city of Kanuwara, Nuwanza was commanded to go to the aid of the city, reportedly in command of 10,000 infantry and 700 chariots, and he crushed the Hayašan enemy. Later, again, near the city of Kanuwara, he defeated the forces of Azzi, and he is further mentioned in the 15th (or 16th) and 19th years of Muršili, all in military contexts.

KUB 57.1 is a letter sent by Hutupiyanza to a GAL GEŠTIN reporting on Kaškan activity.⁵²¹ Hutupiyanza is surely the known governor of Pala and Tumanna and the GAL GEŠTIN should almost certainly be identified with Nuwanza. It is also known from the Annals of Muršili that Hutupiyanza was the son of Zita, who was the brother and the GAL *MEŠEDI* of Šuppiluliuma.⁵²² It is therefore significant that Muršili's first cousin Hutupiyanza is addressing Nuwanza as “my lord” in the letter.⁵²³ This, combined with the fact that Nuwanza is referred to as a prince in one of the passages of the annals,⁵²⁴ suggests he was a close relative of the royal family, outranking Hutupiyanza.

The name Nuwanza is further attested in KBo 18.11 obv. 2, a letter fragment written by Nuwanza to a queen,⁵²⁵ the context of which is not apparent, and on KBo 40.342:2', a small fragment. Marizza (2007b: 163) associates both with the GAL GEŠTIN, the former based on the early Empire paleography of the text, and the latter on the basis of the mention of the Euphrates river, suspecting it to be a part of the Annals of Muršili.

4.2.1.13 Malaziti

A GAL GEŠTIN with this name is known only from the seal impression BoHa 22 no. 241 that reads *ma-la-VIR.zi/a MAGNUS.(BONUS₂.)VITIS*. Among the several attestations of this name in Hittite sources, one that may be identified with the GAL GEŠTIN office is Malaziti of

⁵²¹ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 356–58).

⁵²² KBo 5.8 ii 18–33 (*AM* 152–55). For Hutupiyanza, see section 3.2.1.

⁵²³ Already pointed out by Beal (1992: 353) and Marizza (2007b: 163).

⁵²⁴ KBo 5.8 iv 15–16 (*AM* 152f.).

⁵²⁵ Hagenbuchner (1989b: 85f.).

the Annals of Muršili II,⁵²⁶ who was the commander sent along with Gulla to capture Millawanda in the third year of Muršili II. There are also three seal impressions with the identical spelling but coming from different seals that bear the name Malaziti, “the Prince.”⁵²⁷ Noting that an early Empire period dating has been suggested for the seals,⁵²⁸ a princely title for the commander of Muršili II is plausible.⁵²⁹ On the other hand, as discussed above, it is also known that it was Nuwanza who remained as the GAL GEŠTIN possibly as late as the 19th year of Muršili II.⁵³⁰ Marizza (2007b: 164) suggests that Malaziti may have become GAL GEŠTIN late in Muršili’s reign or perhaps in the early years of Muwatalli II.

4.2.1.14 *pi²-mi-Šarruma*

A possible GAL GEŠTIN who was identified in the Nişantepe archive is *pi²-mi-Šarruma* (Niş 320). The seal identifies the owner as a “prince” (REX.FILIUS) and GAL GEŠTIN (MAGNUS.(BONUS₂.)VITIS). Although the sign for VITIS is heavily damaged, the remaining traces below MAGNUS.(BONUS₂) best fit this reading. The find spot of this seal impression was outside the Westbau in Boğazköy, to the south of the north wall of room 1.⁵³¹ Since this is the slope area, where the debris from the collapsed building including many bullae had been spilled out, and these were not found in tight clusters like those in the rooms, Herbordt did not include that section in her analysis of clusters of seals.⁵³² Nevertheless, if we look at the number of bullae that were found during the 1990 excavations⁵³³ in this particular area, among those that bear a royal impression, the name of Muršili III outnumbers the others with 53.4% of the royal

⁵²⁶ KUB 14.15 i 25 (CTH 61.II.2.A). See Marizza (2007b: 164) on his dismissal of other attestations of this name as referring to the GAL GEŠTIN: KUB 23.11 ii 37, iii 1, KBo 16.97 obv. 10, KUB 8.77 i 2 (CTH 239.4), KUB 40.93:4 (CTH 297.13), and seal impressions Niş 228–230.

⁵²⁷ *ma-la-VIR.zi/a* REX.FILIUS; seal impressions SBo II 10–11, and BoHa 14 no. 245.

⁵²⁸ Boehmer and Güterbock (1987: 75) place BoHa 14 no. 245 among the early Empire seals.

⁵²⁹ Note also that Nanaziti, Hutupiyanza, and Nuwanza were other commanders of Muršili II who had the title of “prince.”

⁵³⁰ The title of Nuwanza has not survived on KBo 2.5a iii 12, the fragment that names him in the 19th year.

⁵³¹ See Herbordt (2005, Plan 1).

⁵³² See Herbordt (2005: 9–18).

⁵³³ I.e., the inventory numbers that start with 90/, which also include 90/1227 (Niş 320).

bullae, versus Hattušili 18.1%, Muwatalli II 13.7%, and Tudhaliya IV only 6.8%.⁵³⁴ This looks significant if one considers that Muršili III's total number of bullae from Nišantepe is only 16.3% of the total royal bullae as opposed to Tudhaliya IV with 21.1%, Hattušili III 19.2%, and Muwatalli II 9.0%.⁵³⁵ Although this is not definitive evidence, at least statistically it is more likely that this official dates to sometime around the reign of Muršili III (Urhi-Tešup).⁵³⁶

4.2.1.15 Hattuša-^dLAMMA⁵³⁷

Hattuša-^dLAMMA appears with the title GAL GEŠTIN in both the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty of Hattušili III⁵³⁸ and the Bronze Tablet of Tudhaliya IV⁵³⁹ as one of the witnesses. In the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty he is listed after almost all of the princes and kings, with the exception of Prince Tarhuntapiya, but before most of the other high-ranking officials, with the exception of AMAR.MUŠEN, the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*; Halpaziti, the GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UKU.UŠ ZAG; and Šahuruwa, the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ. On the Bronze Tablet, he preserves his ranking in relation to the nine names shared with the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, as can be seen in Table 25.⁵⁴⁰ More interesting is the existence of another GAL GEŠTIN named Huršaniya (see below) listed a couple of names after Hattuša-^dLAMMA in the Bronze Tablet.

In his prosopographic study of this person, van den Hout (1995a: 154–57) identifies two more documents mentioning the name: KBo 14.21 is an oracle inquiry in relation to the god Pirwa, and IBoT 2.131 with duplicate Bo 3245 concerns the investigation of a misconduct, again

⁵³⁴ Percentages are based on my calculations using the plan that was supplied by Herbordt (2005, Plan 1).

⁵³⁵ See the table and chart in BoHa 23: 22.

⁵³⁶ Marizza (2007b: 170) suggests a dating between Tudhaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II, due to the lack of documentation about this name in other sources. It should be noted, however, that the seal comes from the Nišantepe archive, where Arnuwanda III and especially Šuppiluliuma II are very poorly represented, with only 2.1% and 0.8% of the finds attributed to each, respectively (see the table and chart in BoHa 23: 22).

⁵³⁷ On the possible readings of ^dLAMMA(=KAL) as Kurunta, Runtiya, or Innara, see Hawkins (2005a: 290f.).

⁵³⁸ KBo IV 10+ rev. 31.

⁵³⁹ Bo 86/299 iv 37.

⁵⁴⁰ Note that the two Alalimis of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Bronze Tablet are probably different individuals (see under Alalimi in section 4.3.1.4).

in relation to the cult of the God Pirwa.⁵⁴¹ Since both texts involve the same cult, Hattuša-^dLAMMA of each text might be identical. The dating of the documents also matches Tudhaliya IV (van den Hout 1995a: 156), and although there is no specific evidence to suggest that he is the GAL GEŠTIN of the treaties mentioned above, since no other person with this name is known from any other period, this identification is possible.

4.2.1.16 Huršaniya

The only cuneiform document to mention Huršaniya with the title GAL GEŠTIN is the Bronze Tablet, where he appears among the witnesses including Hattuša-^dLAMMA, the GAL GEŠTIN. It is quite likely that the seal SBo II 256 also bears this official's name and title, assuring the HUR value for its initial cuneiform sign.⁵⁴²

The name is attested in a few other cuneiform documents.⁵⁴³ KUB 23.86 is a letter fragment where Huršaniya is involved in a mission possibly in command of certain troops.⁵⁴⁴ Van den Hout (1995a: 165) dates this text to the reign of Hattušili III based on the mention of Tili-Šarruma, who is known to be a son of a king of Karkamiš (probably Ini-Tešup⁵⁴⁵) and a contemporary of Hattušili III.

Also, in the oracular inquiry KUB 49.103, the deity is questioned concerning a campaign that will be led by the *tuhkanti* with the aid of Šahurunuwa and Huršaniya.⁵⁴⁶ According to Beal, the name of Huršaniya should also be restored in rev. 8' of the same text next to Šahurunuwa, where the context indicates the two officials leading a campaign to Mt. Ašsharpaya, a location

⁵⁴¹ The name is spelled ^m*Ha-at-tu-ša*-^dLAMMA (KBo 14.21 ii 57', 66', iii 60', 61'), ^m*Ha-ad-du-ša*-^dLAMMA (IBoT 2.131 rev. 28), and ^mKÜ.BABBAR-^d[LAMMA] in Bo 3245 rev. 9. For an edition of the relevant passages see van den Hout (1995a: 155f.).

⁵⁴² *Hu-sá-ni-ia* MAGNUS.VITIS (Massi 2010: 345ff.). All cuneiform attestations of the name are spelled ^m*Hur-ša-ni-ia*, where the first sign could also be read *har* or *mur*.

⁵⁴³ See van den Hout (1995a: 165f.) for a prosopographic study of this official.

⁵⁴⁴ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 226f.).

⁵⁴⁵ Singer (1999b: 654).

⁵⁴⁶ KUB 49.103 rev. 14'–15'.

known to be in Kaška territory.⁵⁴⁷ Šahurunuwa of this text is probably none other than the person known from the decree of Tudhaliya IV, KUB 26.43 (CTH 225). He is known to have held the military titles GAL NA.GAD and GAL UKU.UŠ, in addition to GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ under which he appears as a witness both in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Bronze Tablet. Therefore, Beal assumes that by the time Šahurunuwa was witnessing the treaties, his military career was over. So, KUB 49.103 must date to a time prior to the treaties, when he was still active in the military, and therefore Beal (1992: 354f.) assigns the text to the reign of Hattušili III.

The dating of both KUB 23.86 and KUB 49.103 to Hattušili III and the earlier uncertainties about the dating of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty may have caused Beal to suggest that Huršaniya was the older of the two GAL GEŠTINs of the Bronze Tablet, and also to suggest that Huršaniya may have been allowed to retain his military title despite the fact that Hattuša-^dLAMMA had become his replacement (1992: 355). Since the dating of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty has now been fixed to Hattušili III, we should assume that Hattuša-^dLAMMA, who appears alone as GAL GEŠTIN in this treaty, was older than Huršaniya. Huršaniya may have been an active military official during the reign of Hattušili III, but it is quite possible that he had a different title. Therefore, the explanation Beal gives for the appearance of two GAL GEŠTINs could be true but in the reverse order, where the older and more prominent official Hattuša-^dLAMMA retains a higher-ranking than the newcomer Huršaniya. As an alternative solution to the existence of two GAL GEŠTINs, Beal also indicates the possibility that by late in the reign of Hattušili III or during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, the enlarged army may have required two officers of GAL GEŠTIN rank (1992: 355). This was found unconvincing by Marizza (2007b: 166), indicating that in such a case one would expect the offices to be differentiated as “the Right” and “the

⁵⁴⁷ See Beal (1992: 354) on his reasoning for the restoration, and Del Monte and Tischler (1978: 46f.) on the location of Mt. Ašharpayā.

Left,” as in the case of other offices like GAL KUŠ₇, GAL UKU.UŠ, or GAL NA.GAD, but see further below in section 4.2.2.

In KBo 14.142 iv 11, a document about the cult of Tešup and Hapat of Aleppo, a person named Nuwanza, son of Huršaniya, is mentioned. The text also names Hešni and Tarhuntapiya, who also appear in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, and therefore possibly date to the reign of Hattušili III or perhaps Tudhaliya IV.⁵⁴⁸ While the context does not provide any clue as to an association with the GAL GEŠTIN Huršaniya, Marizza finds it interesting that the son has the same name as the GAL GEŠTIN of Muršili II, and considers it to be a possible example of ponymy (2007b: 167; 2010a: 93).

4.2.1.17 Armanani

Armanani appears with the GAL GEŠTIN title on two signet ring impressions in the Nišantepe archive.⁵⁴⁹ There are multiple impressions of both seals, which also carry additional titles:

Niš 47 (=BoHa 14 no. 246, BoHa 22 no.319, and *Boğazköy* III no. 11):
LUNA-FRATER₂ REX.FILIUS SCRIBA-2 MAGNUS.(BONUS₂).VITIS MAGNUS.HATTI.[DOMINUS]

Niš 48:
LUNA-FRATER₂ SCRIBA-2 MAGNUS.(BONUS₂).VITIS MAGNUS.HATTI.DOMINUS

At Nišantepe alone twenty-one further seals that bear the name Armanani have been identified, and six more are known from elsewhere.⁵⁵⁰ Among these, nine have the title REX.FILIUS, seven of which have the additional SCRIBA or SCRIBA-2 title. All seals that bear the title REX.FILIUS should belong to the same prince, who later in his career probably took the office of GAL GEŠTIN. This official kept his scribal title in almost all of the seals, which may

⁵⁴⁸ See van den Hout (1995a: 166), Hutter (2002: 188).

⁵⁴⁹ Six impressions of Niš 47 and three impressions of Niš 48. Also the seal impressions BoHa 14 no. 246, BoHa 22 no. 319, and probably *Boğazköy* III 11 all come from the same seal as Niš 47.

⁵⁵⁰ In Nišantepe, seals 29–51. Others are BoHa 22 nos. 248 and 280, nos. VIb 1.6 and 1.7 in Mora (1987: 147f. and Tav. 36), no. 6 in Beckman (1998: 84f.), and A104 in *Emar* IV: 107.

be an indication of his scribal education.⁵⁵¹ Note also that along with the GAL GEŠTIN title, on both seals he has the title MAGNUS.HATTI.DOMINUS, which is not known from elsewhere. As Hawkins notes, it may just be an honorific title (2005a: 304), which can be read as “Great Lord of Hatti.”

Despite the multitude of seals, in the cuneiform sources of Boğazköy the name is attested in only one document, KUB 18.12+, an oracle text about the festival of the god of Aleppo, where the name is spelled as ^{md}GE₆-ŠEŠ. In the text, Armanani and Piha-Tarhunta are two augurs. Marizza identifies the latter as a prince from Ugarit and Emar sources, and pointing out that a seal impression of Armanani is also attested on a tablet from Emar, deduces that the augur of KUB 18.12+ is probably also a prince and the same person as the GAL GEŠTIN, adding yet one more profession for this person (2007b: 168). This is not refutable but unlikely.⁵⁵² On the other hand, Marizza’s dating of the tablet to Hattušili III through the presence of Piha-Tarhunta, and his suggestion that the career of Armanani started under Hattušili III and extended to that of Tudhaliya IV may not be off the mark. Herbordt has created correlation groups of persons from the Nişantepe archive based on the appearance of their seals on the same bullae, which suggest overlapping careers (2005: 84f., Tab. 10). In one group, Prince Armanani appears with scribe Pihawalwi, a known scribe of cuneiform sources dating to Tudhaliya IV (Mascheroni 1983: 102–4), who possibly started his career under Hattušili III (Torri 2008: 778f.). Another bulla (Bo 91/2411) preserves the seal impressions of both Prince Armanani (Niş 41) and a person named VITA+RA/I (Niş 664), almost certainly the scribe with the same name who shares a bulla (Bo 90/714) with DOMINUS-ziti, the GAL GEŠTIN, who is also to be dated to the Hattušili III–

⁵⁵¹ Thus Herbordt (2005: 98), but contra Marizza (2007b: 168), who believes Armanani may have had a scribal position early on in his career. Many Hittite high officials probably received a scribal education (Beckman 1995a: 25 and n. 39).

⁵⁵² Later in his paper, on the basis of Armanani, Marizza (2007b: 176) indicates that the military duties of the GAL GEŠTIN may have been abolished by the end of the Empire period. It would be much less complicated to assume that the augur and the GAL GEŠTIN are not the same person. On the difficulties of this identification, see Mora (2008c: 558f. and 2010b: 174f.). See also Piha-Tarhunta in section 4.14.1.

Tudhaliya IV period (see below).

Armanani (^{md}GE₆-ŠEŠ) is also the addressee of the letter Msk. 74.734 obv. 2,⁵⁵³ where he seems to be receiving orders from the king of Karkamiš. Despite the different spelling of his name (^{md}XXX-ŠEŠ), Armanani of *Emar* VI 33:13, 18, 29 (Msk. 73.266) is likely to be the same official, before whom certain legal proceedings have been conducted. The tablet also bears the impression of his seal (*Emar* IV A104), which identifies him as a prince (REX.FILIUS). The domestic nature of the legal case may suggest that the official belongs to the court of Karkamiš, rather than the court of Hattuša.⁵⁵⁴ If so, this would also bring up the question of whether this official of Karkamiš can be identified with any of the attestations from Hattuša. Mora (2010b: 173) suggests that at least Niš 31, which was produced by a cylinder seal, is likely to belong to this official. However, unless the court of Karkamiš also had its own GAL GEŠTIN (MAGNUS.VITIS) officials, we may have to assume separate identities for these princes.

4.2.1.18 DOMINUS-ziti

DOMINUS-ziti, the GAL.GEŠTIN, is known only from a seal impression (Niš 607) on the bulla Bo 90/714 of the Nišantepe archive.⁵⁵⁵ In addition to GAL GEŠTIN, he has the “prince” (REX.FILIUS) title. The same bulla also has the impressions of the seals of Armapihami, the LÚSAG, and VITA+RA/I, the scribe.⁵⁵⁶ The cuneiform writing ^mEN.LÚ is an equivalent of the name DOMINUS-ziti,⁵⁵⁷ and is encountered only once in a 13th-century letter fragment KUB 57.5 rev. 3'.⁵⁵⁸ The find spot of the bulla is the northeast corner of room 3 of the Westbau in

⁵⁵³ Edited by Salvini and Trémouille (2003: 230–32).

⁵⁵⁴ See Mora (2010b: 173).

⁵⁵⁵ DOMINUS-VIR.zi/a MAGNUS.(BONUS₂)VITIS.

⁵⁵⁶ LUNA-pi-ha-mi EUNUCHUS₂ (Niš 56) and VITA+RA/I SCRIBA (Niš 671).

⁵⁵⁷ See Hawkins (2005a: 283).

⁵⁵⁸ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 233f.), who dates it to Hattušili III on the basis of the usage of *UL* instead of *Ú-UL*, but Hoffner (1986: 84f.) explains that the usage is not restricted to the reign of Hattušili III and may belong to any time during and after his reign.

Boğazköy, and this corner has yielded the heaviest concentration of Tudhaliya IV seals.⁵⁵⁹

Furthermore, within the above-mentioned correlation groups of Herbordt, DOMINUS-ziti is placed in the same group that also includes a seal impression of Prince Kuruntiya (Niş 184), who must be none other than the later king of Tarhuntašša.⁵⁶⁰ Therefore, it can be suggested that DOMINUS-ziti's period in office started under Hattušili III and continued into the reign of Tudhaliya IV, adding one more GAL GEŠTIN to this time frame.

4.2.2 General discussion of GAL GEŠTIN

GAL GEŠTIN	Reigning King	Title / Other Titles / Relationship
[]kiša	Hattušili I (?)	GAL GEŠTIN
Nakkilit	Hattušili I (?)	GAL GEŠTIN (?), GAL SAGI
Son of Karahnuili (?)	Hattušili I (?)	GAL GEŠTIN (?)
Pulli	Ammuna/Huzziya I/Telipinu	GAL GEŠTIN
Hattušili	Ammuna (?)/Telipinu (?)	GAL GEŠTIN
Zidanni	Telipinu (?)	GAL GEŠTIN
Muššu	Hantili II	GAL GEŠTIN
Pazzu	Huzziya II	GAL GEŠTIN
Himuili (I)	Muwatalli I	GAL GEŠTIN, GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, Son of Huzziya II (?)
Ulganu (?)	Muwatalli I (?)	GAL GEŠTIN (?)
Halpaziti	Arnuwanda I	GAL GEŠTIN/MAGNUS.VITIS, SCRIBA- <i>la</i>
Himuili (II)	Šuppiluliuma I	GAL GEŠTIN
Nuwanza	Muršili II	GAL GEŠTIN, DUMU.LUGAL
Malaziti	Muršili II (?)/Muwatalli II (?)	MAGNUS.(BONUS ₂)VITIS, REX.FILIUS
<i>pi²-mi-Šarruma</i>	Muršili III (?)	MAGNUS.(BONUS ₂)VITIS, REX.FILIUS
Hattuša- ^d LAMMA	Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV	GAL GEŠTIN/MAGNUS.VITIS
Huršaniya	Tudhaliya IV	GAL GEŠTIN, Descendant of Nuwanza (?)
Armanani	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	MAGNUS.(BONUS ₂)VITIS, REX.FILIUS, SCRIBA-2, MAGNUS.HATTI.DOMINUS
DOMINUS-ziti	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	MAGNUS.(BONUS ₂)VITIS, REX.FILIUS

Table 6. List of GAL GEŠTIN officials.

The collected attestations of the GAL GEŠTIN officials indicate that it was an important office throughout Hittite history. The origins of the title must go back at least a few centuries

⁵⁵⁹ Herbordt (2005: 14f. with Tab. 4, and Plan 1).

⁵⁶⁰ Thus Hawkins (2005a: 260).

before the founding of the Hittite state, since it is attested in level II–period tablets from Kültepe/Kaneš, albeit only once as the title of a witness in an unpublished document.⁵⁶¹

Although Erol (2007: 28) speculates that he must have been an official in charge of vineyards, wine production, and trade, there is no evidence for the responsibilities of the office during OA period Kaneš.

Table 6 gives a list of the possible GAL GEŠTINs of Hittite history; however, the ordering of the names has a lot of uncertainties. There is no concrete evidence that the nameless son of Karahnuili and Ulganu held the GAL GEŠTIN office, although both certainly would have been high officials of the court. Before the Empire period, the only names that can be confidently dated to particular kings are Muššu, Pazzu, and Himuili (I), who served during the reigns of Hantili II, Huzziya II, and Muwatalli I, respectively. For the early Empire period the matching of Halpaziti, Himuili (II), and Nuwanza with the kings Arnuwanda I, Šuppiliuma I, and Muršili II is also certain. Although normally the late Empire period is the better documented part of Hittite history, the existence of multiple GAL GEŠTINs during that time period creates a problem. For the reigns of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV, there are at least four known names. The Bronze Tablet gives us the evidence that at least two of these did hold the office at the same time, for which a suggestion has been made that this represented a transitional period between the outgoing GAL GEŠTIN and his replacement (see section 4.2.1.16). However, dating Armanani and DOMINUS-ziti to the same period complicates the matter further. There were either multiple GAL GEŠTIN officials who served short terms in succession,⁵⁶² or there were two GAL GEŠTIN officials serving at the same time. There are examples of multiple GAL-level officials

⁵⁶¹ Kt. 93/k 946, debt contract established between the Assyrians and the locals that bears the writing NA₄ KIŠIB Ši-im-nu-ma-an GAL *kà-ra-nim* on the envelope (Erol 2007: 28). For GAL GEŠTIN/*rab karāni* as “wine master” in Akkadian sources, see CAD/K: 206.

⁵⁶² Thus Marizza (2007b: 166).

for the same office, more so in the late Empire period than earlier.⁵⁶³ Although most of the known examples differentiate between them with the Right/Left distinction, there are some examples without this differentiation. One of them is in the very same Bronze Tablet, which names two GAL *KARTAPPI* officials (Abamuwa and GAL-^dU), and another is in the Aleppo Treaty of Muwatalli II (CTH 75), where two GAL ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇ are listed among the witnesses without any differentiation.⁵⁶⁴ It should be noted that, already in LhK 91, a land donation text of Arnuwanda I which predates the Aleppo Treaty, the GAL ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇ of the Right and the GAL ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇ of the Left are attested together. Therefore, it is very likely that the two officials in the Aleppo Treaty refer to the those of the Right and the Left, but these are simply not differentiated in the text. However, the GAL *GEŠTIN* and GAL *KARTAPPI* titles have never been attested with Right/Left designations. On that point, one may also note that the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* officials appear in pairs in multiple land donation texts⁵⁶⁵ without the Right or Left designations, but are attested as one of the Right or the Left in several other texts.⁵⁶⁶

The fact that both Nakkilit and his unnamed predecessor were made examples of in the Palace Chronicle along with two GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL officials may indicate the high status of the office early in Hittite history. Land donation texts also reveal a picture where the GAL *GEŠTIN*s are consistently among the few top officials prominent enough to be witnesses of the king's declarations. In general, at least during the time period that the land donation texts represent, GAL *GEŠTIN*s were ranked below the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, and seemingly on a par with the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* and the GAL *MEŠEDI*. Note however that, as will be argued later in detail (see section 6.3), within the same reign the rankings never changed. If a certain GAL

⁵⁶³ For more on dual offices, see section 6.1.

⁵⁶⁴ KBo 1.6 rev. 17'–18'; the passage is edited by Devecchi (2010: 13). See Appendix 2.

⁵⁶⁵ LhKs 29, 36, 37, 41, and probably also in LhK 45.

⁵⁶⁶ KUB 55.43 iii 24 (^{LÚ}*uriyanni* ZAG-*aš*), KUB 53.13 iv 16 (^{LÚ}*uriyanni* GÜB-*laš*), and IBoT 2.9+KUB 52.102 i 6 (^{LÚ}*uriyanni* GÜB-*laš*). However, almost all such attestations seem to be in relation to the *uriyanni*-house. See further in section 4.5 and section 6.1.

GEŠTIN was above a certain GAL *MEŠEDI*, or any other official for that matter, the relationship remained that way on every occasion that they are attested together, but a different GAL GEŠTIN could be placed below his contemporary GAL *MEŠEDI* in a different text. In the Empire period our only comparative evidence comes from the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Bronze Tablet. Although the GAL GEŠTINs are listed after a dozen or more names in each of the witness lists, almost all those who outrank them are either princes or vassal kings. Even those who are not identified with a princely title are identified as princes in other sources.⁵⁶⁷ Needless to say, the GAL GEŠTINs of these two treaties (Hattuša-^dLAMMA and Huršaniya) may also have been members of the extended royal family. It can be seen in Table 2 above that all other GAL GEŠTINs of the Empire period after Nuwanza are attested with princely titles, and that Hattuša-^dLAMMA is listed before Tarhuntapiya, the prince, in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty.

The role GAL GEŠTIN officials play in military matters is quite evident. It is well attested with Hattušili, Himuili (I), Halpaziti, Himuili (II), and Nuwanza, and Malaziti up to the end of the reign of Muršili II. Although not well documented in the late Empire period, at least the example of Huršaniya may suggest that the GAL GEŠTINs remained among the top military commanders throughout Hittite history. They were able to lead campaigns independently and command armies of their own, which were of significant size, as in the case of Nuwanza. In his analysis of the Hittite military, Beal (1992: 527) places the GAL GEŠTIN in the second tier below the king, and on a par with the *tuhkanti* and the GAL *MEŠEDI*.

The GAL GEŠTIN also plays a role in festivals and rituals. However, in comparison to that of the GAL *MEŠEDI* or GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, the role of the GAL GEŠTIN seems to be very limited, since the number of attestations in documents of religious genre is considerably

⁵⁶⁷ Exceptions to this are Abamuwa, the GAL *KARTAPPI*, and Alalimi, the GAL *UGULA LİM.MEŠ*, of the Bronze Tablet. In my opinion, this Alalimi cannot be identified with Alalimi, the GAL *SAGI* of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty. Although we lack definitive evidence, it should be strongly suspected that both Abamuwa and Alalimi of the Bronze Tablet are also princes.

less than those for the former two officials.⁵⁶⁸ In some of these, the GAL GEŠTIN actively participates, such as in the festival fragment IBoT 2.91 iii 1'–10',⁵⁶⁹ where he is performing a ritual, or during a festival for the tutelary deities (CTH 682), where he breaks open a wine container and hands a silver cup to the king, with which the king draws wine from the container.⁵⁷⁰ This may seem like a symbolic action that may have something to do with the original duties of the “Chief of Wine,” but this is a single attestation, and the same action is also performed by other officials, including the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL.⁵⁷¹ Beal also points out a section of the KI.LAM festival where it is the GAL SAGI who serves wine to the top officials referred to as “the lords” (*BĒLU^{MEŠ}-TIM*), who are listed in the text as GAL *MEŠEDI*, GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, ^{LÚ}*ABUBĪTI*, GAL GEŠTIN, GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*KUŠ*₇, as well as ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*DUGUD* (“dignitaries”) and ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ŠUKUR* (“spearmen”).⁵⁷² In several of the other texts the GAL GEŠTIN is present with other high officials, usually the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL and/or the GAL *MEŠEDI*.⁵⁷³ He is also mentioned in a fragment of a ritual from Kizzuwatna where the enemy gods are summoned to abandon their land and come to the side of the king.⁵⁷⁴ As Del Monte notes (2005: 44), such a ritual at the enemy border befits the military role of this official, recalling the episode from the Annals of Muršili where Nuwanza, the GAL GEŠTIN, was performing oracles to decide on an attack against the enemy.

The administrative duties of the office are not clearly attested, but like all top officials, the GAL GEŠTIN’s responsibilities probably extended to political matters too. For one thing, he is one of the few officials to witness documents like the land donation texts and treaties. The

⁵⁶⁸ For a list of these attestations for GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, GAL GEŠTIN, and GAL *MEŠEDI*, see under the “Ambito culturale” section of each office in Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 530–33, 536f., 549–52).

⁵⁶⁹ The passage is edited by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 536f.).

⁵⁷⁰ KUB 11.21 v 11', 16', 18' with dupl. KBo 22.89 iii 4'; edited by McMahon (1991: 92f.).

⁵⁷¹ In KUB 10.89 iii 19 (CTH 591); edited by Klinger (1996: 512f.).

⁵⁷² KUB 10.13 iv 16'–26' with dupl. KBo 25.176 l.e. 1–2; edited by Singer (1984b: 95).

⁵⁷³ IBoT 3.1 rev. 82' (CTH 609), KBo 20.81 v 12 (CTH 670), KUB 10.11 iv 29' (CTH 660), KBo 45.58 obv. 2' with dupl. KUB 44.22:5', 7' (CTH 666).

⁵⁷⁴ VBoT 67 i 6'; edited by Del Monte (2005: 30).

aforementioned letter fragment KBo 18.51, where the GAL GEŠTIN provides a report to the king, can also be seen in an administrative context. The text KUB 34.58 with the mention of a GAL GEŠTIN (see section 4.2.1.10), which is dated to Arnuwanda I, is classified as a fragment of CTH 271, the so-called dynastic succession protocol. Also, in KUB 34.45+, the GAL GEŠTIN appears to have been involved in judicial matters, since he issues some instructions regarding a court proceeding.

4.3 GAL SAGI

The title ^{LÚ}SAGI(.A), “cupbearer,” is commonly attested in Hittite sources.⁵⁷⁵ The GAL SAGI(.A) is also attested throughout Hittite history, but the attestations are much fewer than those for the GAL *MEŠEDI* or GAL GEŠTIN. As the meaning of the “cupbearer” title implies, the responsibilities of these officials seem to be mainly related to the serving of drinks, an activity often encountered in the context of festivals, rituals, and ceremonies. The GAL SAGI(.A), however, as can be observed with other GALs in the Hittite sources, is apparently a higher-ranking dignitary with responsibilities that extend beyond the traditional duties of a cupbearer. A study of this office was done by de Martino (1982), a list of attestations of the title was compiled by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 543f.), and Beal has dealt with its limited appearances in the military realm (1992: 356–69). The title GAL ^{LÚ}/^{LÚ}.MEŠ SAGI(.A) is usually translated as “Chief Cupbearer” or “Chief of the Cupbearers.”⁵⁷⁶ Equation of the hieroglyphic sign URCEUS⁵⁷⁷ with cuneiform ^{LÚ}SAGI(.A) has been confirmed by the Meskene digraph Msk. 75.9⁵⁷⁸ and on that basis MAGNUS.URCEUS equates to GAL ^{LÚ}SAGI(.A).

⁵⁷⁵ For a list of attestations of the title see Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 180–94).

⁵⁷⁶ “Chief of the Cupbearers” (Beal 1992: 357), “Grande dei coppieri” (de Martino 1982: 305), “capo dei coppieri” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 543).

⁵⁷⁷ Sign L. 345 as well as variations L. 352–54, and perhaps also *519; see Payne (2010: 185, 195).

⁵⁷⁸ See Laroche (1983: 18f. and fig.9); see also Hawkins (2005a: 310) with bibliography.

4.3.1 Known GAL SAGIs in Hittite History

4.3.1.1 Nakkilit

In the Hittite archives the earliest mention of the title occurs in the so-called Palace Chronicle (CTH 8),⁵⁷⁹ which is usually dated to the reign of Muršili I and said to narrate the events of the reign of Hattušili I.⁵⁸⁰ In this document, the GAL SAGI named Nakkilit (<^m>*Na-ak-ki-li-it*, KBo 3.34 ii 30), the Chief of the Bodyguards (GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*MEŠEDI*) named Kizzu, and the Chief of the Heralds (GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*NIMGIR*) named Huzzi are the three officers responsible for training young chariot fighters and this is the only attestation of a GAL SAGI that appears in a military context (Beal 1992: 358).

In another fragment of the Palace Chronicle (KBo 3.33 ii 6–7)⁵⁸¹ a [...] GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAGI is mentioned again with the Chief of the Heralds named ^m*Hu-zi-ia*, perhaps same person as Huzzi.

Nakkilit's name appears again in a fragmentary section of the Palace Chronicle.⁵⁸² The text describes how a certain official named Hapruzzi “stood by the king” and kept his position while two successive Chiefs of the Palace Attendants (GAL DUMU(.MEŠ).É.GAL) and a Chief of Wine (GAL ŠA GEŠTIN) were executed. Nakkilit,⁵⁸³ whose title is broken, apparently replaced the executed Chief of Wine, and if the broken text parallels the first part, perhaps he too was executed.

Nakkilit's name is commonly attested in Old Assyrian period texts from Kültepe,⁵⁸⁴ and interestingly one of them even bears the title GAL *šaqê*.⁵⁸⁵ Among the Hittite documents, however, the only other attestation is from a land donation tablet (LhK 39 rev. 12') that dates to

⁵⁷⁹ KBo 3.34 ii 30; edited by Dardano (1997: 52–53).

⁵⁸⁰ See note 410.

⁵⁸¹ Soysal (1989: 37).

⁵⁸² KBo 3.35 i 11–16' with dupl. KBo 13.45: 2–6.

⁵⁸³ ^m*Na-ak-ki-l[i-]* (KBo 3.35 I 15') and ^m*Na!-ki-li-az* (KBo 13.45: 6).

⁵⁸⁴ See under NH 851 in Laroche (1966: 126 §1).

⁵⁸⁵ POAT 40: 6; edited by Gwaltney (1983: 96–98).

the reign of Zidanta II, where a Nakkiliya with the broken title GAL LÚ.M[^{ES}] is the beneficiary.⁵⁸⁶

4.3.1.2 Inar(a) (?)

In the Telipinu Edict⁵⁸⁷ when Telipinu arrives in rebellious Lawazantiya, he enumerates first-ranking (*hantezziya-*) officers who were presumably there and were involved in a conspiracy:

“the Overseer of the Thousand, [Tarhu...], Karruwa, the Overseer of the Chamberlains, Inara, the Overseer of the Cupbearers (UGULA LÚ.MEŠ[SAGI]), Kill[a[?], ... the Overseer of the X,] Tarhumimma, the Overseer of the Staffbearers, Zinwaselli, and Lelli, (there were) many.”⁵⁸⁸

Broken sections of the passage have caused a disagreement among scholars about whether the titles precede the names or vice-versa. Since the list starts with a title, followed by a theophoric name, of which only the determinatives (^{md}[] have survived, it is possible that the rest of the titles and names go in the same order, thus making UGULA LÚ.MEŠ[SAGI] the title of Kill[a[?].⁵⁸⁹

On the other hand, in the rest of the Telipinu Edict whenever a title or designation is mentioned with a name, it consistently follows the name,⁵⁹⁰ and there is the possibility that the scribe may have reverted to this order in the broken line after the initial name. If that is the case, the title UGULA LÚ.MEŠ[SAGI] belongs to Inara (^m*I-na-ra-aš*).⁵⁹¹

A high official named Inar (*I+na-ar*) with the partially surviving title of GAL LÚ.MEŠ[appears in LhK 3 obv. 4. Although the document is published among the land donation tablets (CTH 222), as the editors Rüster and Wilhelm note (2012: 93f.), it is actually a proceeding that rejects

⁵⁸⁶ Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 178) restore the title as GAL LÚ.M[^{ES}GEŠTIN/MEŠEDI], remarking that the scope of donation suggests a high office.

⁵⁸⁷ Edited by Hoffmann (1984).

⁵⁸⁸ KBo 3.1 ii 22–25; Hoffman (1984: 28).

⁵⁸⁹ Thus Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 194), de Martino (1982: 308), Goedegebuure (2006b: 232).

⁵⁹⁰ E.g., “Har[apšili], Muršili’s Sister,” “[Hara]pšili, the queen,” “[Pišeni], son of Hantili,” “Ammuna, his son,” “Zidanta, his father,” “Zuru, the Chief of the Royal Bodyguard,” “Tahurwaili, the Man of the Gold Spear,” “Taruhšu, the courier,” “Ištapariya, his sister of first rank,” and immediately following the discussed lines, “Tanuwa, the Staffbearer.”

⁵⁹¹ Thus apparently Laroche, who does not specify the title of Inara (1973: 76, no. 454 §1), but lists Karruwa and Tarhumimma with the titles that followed their names in the text (1971: 88 no. 533 §2 and 176 no. 1260 §2), and Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 94).

the appeal of a group of five men whose property had been taken from them, and confirms that the property had been given to Inar by the father of the reigning king. The tablet is sealed with an anonymous Tabarna seal which Rüster and Wilhelm attribute to Telipinu, and they restore the title of Inar as GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}[SAGI^{??}], suggesting the possibility that he was the same person mentioned in the Telipinu Edict (2012: 94). This is strengthened by the fact that there are no other known high officials named Inar in that period, and that the partially preserved titles of the witnesses of LhK 3 are GAL DUMU.MEŠ].É.GAL, GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GEŠ]TIN, and GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MEŠED]I, thus making it less likely for the broken title of Inar to be any of these three. On the other hand, it is arguable whether the UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAGI and GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAGI are the same title.⁵⁹²

In addition to rejecting an appeal and confirming the land donation, LhK 3 also certifies the assignment of Inar as the Scribe on Wood for the House of Hattuša in Šarišša. This must be an additional function,⁵⁹³ for otherwise it would be a demotion for an official with GAL status.

4.3.1.3 Happi

LhK 40 is a land donation tablet issued for Happi, the GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAGI, of King Huzziya II.⁵⁹⁴ The document was issued in the city of Hattuša. Like Inar, Happi is the beneficiary of the donation. Nothing else is known about this official.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹² See Hawkins (2005a: 306), who indicates the interchangeability of the two, pointing out that the vast majority of UGULAs have a corresponding GAL in Pecchioli Daddi's study (1982: 626–28). Note, however, that certain titles almost never substitute UGULA for GAL, such as GAL GEŠTIN and GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL. Of the former there is only one dubious example of an UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GEŠTIN (KBo 25.176 l.e. 4); see Beal (1992: 357 n. 1352) and Marizza (2007b: 175) on doubts about its reading, and Singer (1984b: 95), who does not read it at all. A *hapax* UGULA 70 ŠA DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL is also known in KBo 5.7 rev. 54 (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 105, Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 238). See, however, Alalimi below, who may have used both UGULA and GAL with SAGI.A. See also the discussion under GAL KUŠ₇ in section 4.6, where prominent officials are attested with UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI title.

⁵⁹³ See Herboldt (2005: 382–89) for a list of various officials who combine the title scribe (SCRIBA) with other titles on their seals, including several princes (REX.FILIUS), as well as a Chief of Wine (MAGNUS.VITIS, Armanani, no. 47) and a Chief of Shepherds (MAGNUS.PASTOR, Mizramuwa, no. 247).

⁵⁹⁴ *Ha-a-ap-pi* (rev. 47, 49); the tablet bears the seal of Huzziya (II).

⁵⁹⁵ In Hittite sources the only other Happi (^m*Ha-ap-pi*) is encountered in the Old Hittite era Zalpa text (CTH 3); edited by Otten (1973).

4.3.1.4 Alalimi

Alalimi the Chief of the Cupbearers is an official from the reign of Hattušili III, of whom there are multiple attestations. In his prosopographic study, van den Hout (1995a: 138–42) suggests that Alalimi, who appears with the titles ^{LÚ}SAGI[!].A (KUB 13.34+ rev. 3), UGULA ^{LÚ}SAGI.A (KUB 21.38 obv. 32), GAL UGULA *LĪM*^{MEŠ} (Bo 86/299 iv 35), and GAL ^{LÚ}SAGI.A (KBo 4.10+ rev. 32), is one and the same person. This possibility aside, his dating of the documents needs to be reordered. Van den Hout assigns the fragmentary court proceeding KUB 13.34+,⁵⁹⁶ where Alalimi, the Cupbearer, is giving his testimony as a witness and does not yet have the “Chief” or “Overseer” position,⁵⁹⁷ to Tudhaliya IV, based on his claim that Halpaziti, who also appears in KUB 13.34+ iv 22 in a military function, did not attain this military position until the reign of Tudhaliya IV. However, with the identification of Prince Tašmi-Šarruma in KBo 4.10+⁵⁹⁸ as Tudhaliya IV, dating of this document to Hattušili III has become certain (see note 459), and in that document Halpaziti is listed among the witnesses with the military title, Commander of the UKU.UŠ Troops of the Right (GAL ^{LÚ}.MEŠUKU.UŠ ZAG-*na-aš*), invalidating van den Hout’s suggestion. Since Alalimi already had the title Chief of the Cupbearers (GAL ^{LÚ}SAGI.A) in KBo 4.10+ rev. 32, it is more reasonable to give an earlier date to KUB 13.34+. Therefore, it can be suggested that Alalimi had been a cupbearer (^{LÚ}SAGI.A) early in his career during the reign of Hattušili III.⁵⁹⁹

There is no doubt on the dating to Hattušili III of KUB 21.38,⁶⁰⁰ which is a letter of

⁵⁹⁶ Edited by Werner (1967: 37–42).

⁵⁹⁷ As has been already noted by Archi (1971: 214 n. 84), who therefore assigns the document to Hattušili III.

⁵⁹⁸ Edited by van den Hout (1995).

⁵⁹⁹ Alalimi, the Cupbearer (URCEUS), is encountered on a seal from a private collection (Poetto 2002: 274f.), and on a seal impression from Nišantepe (Niš 7).

⁶⁰⁰ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 281–90).

Puduhepa to the Egyptian king Ramses II, roughly dated to 1245 BCE.⁶⁰¹ Alalimi, the Overseer of the Cupbearers (UGULA LÚSAGI.A), is mentioned in the context of preparations for a Hittite princess to be sent to Egypt. Alalimi may have been sent to a place where he would meet his Egyptian counterparts: “And they (the bride and her party) will come down to spend the winter in Kizzuwatna ... May His Majesty (that is, Hattušili) live for my sake! If (s)he should turn, ... But Alalimi, the Overseer of the Cupbearers, came, and your rider arrived too?² Let some of them (i.e., of the marriage party³) take possession of a single town, while others [...]” (Hoffner 2009: 282f.). As mentioned above (see note 592), the distinction between UGULA and GAL is not clear. If UGULA can be seen as a lesser position, Alalimi’s status in KUB 21.38 may represent an intermediate position for him before becoming GAL. Therefore, it can be suggested that the Puduhepa letter predates KBo 4.10+ (the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty), where Alalimi appears as the Chief of the Cupbearers (GAL LÚSAGI.A) towards the end of the witness list,⁶⁰² before only the Chief of the Cooks (GAL LÚMUHALDIM) and the Chief of Litigations³ (GAL LÚMUBARRĪ).⁶⁰³

In Bo 86/299 iv 35, the Bronze Tablet of Tudhaliya IV, we see Alalimi with the rank of Chief of the Overseers of the Thousand (GAL UGULA LĪM^{MEŠ}).⁶⁰⁴ The title is not only so rare that the only other document that mentions it is the Old Hittite era Telipinu Edict,⁶⁰⁵ but also unusual for being the only title that combines GAL and UGULA (Beal 1992: 407–9). If, as was assumed by van den Hout, the bearer is the same person as Alalimi, the Chief of the Cupbearers, of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, this would represent significant advancement in the career of Alalimi, because in the Bronze Tablet he is listed somewhere in the middle of the witness list, before the kings of

⁶⁰¹ The letter concerns the marriage of Ramses II with a Hittite princess, which is known to have taken place in the Egyptian king’s 34th regnal year.

⁶⁰² KBo 4.10+ rev. 32.

⁶⁰³ On the reading of GAL LÚMUBARRĪ, see Singer (1999a: 651), also Hawkins (2005a: 300).

⁶⁰⁴ Otten (1988: 26).

⁶⁰⁵ In the edict it is written as “Chief Overseer of the Country-Thousand” (GAL UGULA LĪM.MEŠ ŠĒRI) at the end of the longest list of the high officials whom Telipinu sees as potential troublemakers; KBo 3.1 ii 70–71 with dupl. KUB 11.2+IBoT 3.84, 9–10 and KBo 12.4 iii 3–4; edited by Hoffmann (1984: 38f.).

Mira and Amurru, as well as several other officials who were listed before Alalimi, the GAL SAGI, in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty. This is not paralleled by any other example, and therefore it is much more likely that the two Alalimis were different persons.⁶⁰⁶ Alalimi, the GAL UGULA *LĪM*^{MEŠ}, was probably a high-ranking prince, since he is listed right after all of the princes and before a couple of vassal kings.

All of the documents listed by van den Hout that name an Alalimi date from the thirteenth century. Among these are also a scribe, an augur, a merchant from the city of Ura, and a governor of Kaneš (*ŠAKIN KUR*^{URU} Kaneš) and several attestations of unclear nature (van den Hout 1995a: 139, nos. 2–6). Per van den Hout there is also the possibility that Alalimi, the governor of Kaneš, mentioned in the Vow of Puduhepa to Lelwani (CTH 585),⁶⁰⁷ may also be the same person since the office is a relatively high position and possibly dates to the reign of Hattušili III. This would suggest that the same Alalimi either advanced through the palatial, administrative, and military ranks, or combined these responsibilities at certain times. However, considering the common nature of the name,⁶⁰⁸ again it seems more likely that there were two different Alalimis: a Cupbearer who eventually became the Chief of the Cupbearers during the reign of Hattušili III, and a military commander who later became a Chief of his units during the reign of Tudhaliya IV.⁶⁰⁹ While Alalimi, the governor of Kaneš, can be dated to the reign of

⁶⁰⁶ See the discussion about this also in section 6.3.

⁶⁰⁷ KUB 15.17+ ii 17 with dupls. KUB 26.63+ ii 14 and KUB 56.2+KBo 51.123(Bo 584/u) ii 12; edited by Otten and Souček (1965: 24f.).

⁶⁰⁸ In addition to cuneiform attestations, the name is encountered on quite a few seals/sealings with the hieroglyphic spelling L. 172-L. 416-*mi*. For the reading of the name as Alalimi, see Hawkins (2005a: 248, 289), where the signs are still shown with the values TA₅(L. 172) and TA₄(L. 416). See Rieken and Yakubovich (2010), who propose the new values *lá/i* (L. 172) and *la/i* (L. 319/416) at least for the Iron Age documents. In addition to the sealing with the URCEUS title mentioned in note 599, the name is attested on 8 different seals in the Nišantepe archive (Niš 3–10), which includes 18 impressions from a single seal (no. 3) belonging to Alalimi PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS with a digraphic cuneiform writing *a-la¹-li-me-eš*, and two different sealings of Alalimi EUNUCHUS₂ (=LU SAG) (Niš 4–5). Neither of these two titles can be equated with those encountered for Alalimi in the cuneiform sources. For other attestations of Alalimi on seals, see nos. 1–4 in Gelb (1965), among which no. 3 is a priest⁷ (SACERDOS); grp. 1–2 in Poetto (1992: 431–33, 439), where the seal owner is a Prince (REX.FILIUS) and Chief of Charioteers (MAGNUS.AURIGA); and BoHa 22 no. 227.

⁶⁰⁹ The Alalimi mentioned in the fragment KUB 60.102, 8' (CTH 237) with the title UGULA *LĪM* may also represent an earlier stage in Alalimi's career before becoming GAL UGULA *LĪM*.MEŠ.

Hattušili III and thus to the same time as Alalimi, the Cupbearer, it is unclear how this duty combines with the cupbearer position, which is more associated with the palace in Hattuša, unless the positions were achieved successively or if the governor position mentioned in the document was more like an honorific title that did not require presence in Kaneš. The latter possibility would also bring the question of whether such titles could be taken as any indication of administrative duties.

4.3.1.5 Zuzuli

Zuzuli the Chief Cupbearer (*Zu-zu-li* MAGNUS.URCEUS) is known only from two seal impressions from the Nişantepe archive (Niş 552–53), the date of which suggests that this official probably belongs to the thirteenth century.

The name is encountered on several other documents and seals.⁶¹⁰ A treasury official named Zuzuli is mentioned in IBoT 1.31 rev. 1, KBo 18.153 obv. 5', 22', rev. 10'[, and Bo 4965 with dupl. KUB 42.73 obv. 16, 19[', 21[,⁶¹¹ all of which are inventory documents, and in the fragment KUB 38.13, 3', 5', which is a list of clothing items and offerings. These texts should date to Hattušili III or the early Tudhaliya IV period.⁶¹² A couple of seal impressions with no title from Temple 1 of Boğazköy probably belong to this same official,⁶¹³ and perhaps also the one with the scribal title from the Haus am Hang.⁶¹⁴ Zuzuli of the inventory documents is clearly a smith (see section 5.3.1), which makes it is less likely to identify this official with the Chief Cupbearer.

A Charioteer (*KARTAPPU/AURIGA*) named Zuzuli in the service of the king of Karkamiš is

⁶¹⁰ For a treatment of Zuzul(i)i, see C. Lebrun (2014: 178–87).

⁶¹¹ All three texts are edited by Siegelová (1986: 74–85, 96–108, 292–99).

⁶¹² Walwaziti, the GAL DUB.SAR, of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Bronze Tablet, appears in the colophon of KBo 18.153 as the supervisor, and the Pupuli mentioned in KBo 18.153 is also attested as a scribe with Walwaziti. Furthermore, a Palla mentioned in KBo 18.153 may also be identified with the witness Palla, the Lord of Hurma, in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty.

⁶¹³ BoHa 14 nos. 198A and 198B. Both seals read *zu-zu-li* BONUS₂.VIR₂. In the magazine room adjacent to where no. 198B was found, a seal of Pupuli was found (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987: 67). Pupuli is another inventory official who often appears in those texts, including once with Zuzuli in IBoT 1.31 obv. 26.

⁶¹⁴ BoHa 14 no. 181.

mentioned in RS 17.371+18.20,⁶¹⁵ which also bears the seal impression of the same official. He may be identified with the Zuzulli mentioned in a letter of the king of Karkamiš addressed to the queen of Ugarit (RS 34.145:7)⁶¹⁶ and an unedited letter of a Hittite king to king Niqmaddu of Ugarit (RS 94.2375:6').⁶¹⁷ A seal impression found in Samsat that has the hieroglyphic writing *Zu-zu-li* AURIGA may belong to the same official.⁶¹⁸

There are also three seal impressions from Nişantepe (Niş 554–56) and an unprovenanced one from a Paris collection⁶¹⁹ that identify a Prince (REX.FILIUS) Zuzuli. The date of the Nişantepe archive indicates that the prince also belongs to the thirteenth century. Furthermore, all three seal impressions were found in one corner of the Room 1 of Westbau, where the seals of Urhi-Tešup and Hattušili III outnumber the others,⁶²⁰ so a dating to this period may be expected.

The name is further attested in a few other cuneiform fragments and seals.⁶²¹ There is no good evidence to provide an identity match among these multiple attestations, but given the relatively high position of GAL SAGI, perhaps an identification with the prince can be suspected.

4.3.1.6 *521-L. 461

Another Chief Cupbearer is also known from a single seal impression found in Temple 6 of Hattuša.⁶²² The name is written with the hieroglyphic signs *521-L. 461, the reading of which has not yet been determined, followed by the title MAGNUS.URCEUS. The name is

⁶¹⁵ *PRU* IV: 202f.

⁶¹⁶ *RSO* VII, no. 9.

⁶¹⁷ See Malbran-Labat (2004: 76f.) and C. Lebrun (2014: 180).

⁶¹⁸ Published by A. Dinçol (1992), who also suggests identification of this person with the identically named prince. Hawkins (2005a: 280) rejects this, saying the AURIGA title does not combine with the title of prince (REX.FILIUS).

⁶¹⁹ See no. XIIa 2.42 in Mora (1987: 294 and Tav. 89).

⁶²⁰ See bullae Bo 90/322, Bo 90/337, and Bo 90/332 (marked as 322, 337, and 332) on the plan provided by Herbordt (2005, Plan 1).

⁶²¹ The name appears in the oracle fragments KUB 16.55 iv 9' and KBo 22.29 4' and 6'. Other seals/sealings that name a Zuzuli: BoHa 14 no. 197 with the title Shepherd (PASTOR), Niş 551 with the title Priest (SACERDOS₂), and BoHa 22 no. 230 with no title.

⁶²² BoHa 22 no. 289.

encountered on three seal impressions from Nişantepe (Niş 698–700), all with scribal titles, possibly belonging to one person.⁶²³

4.3.2 General discussion of GAL SAGI

GAL SAGI	Reigning King	Other Titles
Nakkilit	Hattušili I (?)	GAL GEŠTIN (?)
Inar(a) (?)	Ammuna–Telipinu (?)	UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ} SAGI
Happi	Huzziya II	
Zuzuli	Muršili III(?)/Hattušili III(?)	REX.FILIUS(?)
Alalimi	Hattušili III	(UGULA) ^{LÚ.MEŠ} SAGI
*521-L. 461	13 th c. BCE (?)	

Table 7. List of GAL SAGI officials.

Although the known holders of the title are few, they are spread over all periods of Hittite history, suggesting that the office always remained in use. Several attestations of the Chief Cupbearer (GAL/*rab šākī*) in the Kültepe tablets (Veenhof 2008: 224, Erol 2007: 78–80) can be seen as an OA-period forerunner.

The official is best attested in the religious domain, since he appears in several rituals and festivals, including the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival (CTH 612), the *nuntarriyašha* festival (CTH 626), the KILAM festival (CTH 627), the festival of the moon and thunder (CTH 630), the thunderstorm ritual (CTH 631), and the great festival of Arinna (CTH 634),⁶²⁴ in all of which his ceremonial role involves pouring or serving drinks usually for the king, queen, or deities,

⁶²³ All three names from Nişantepe are followed by the sign L. 398, which is in the shape of a short horizontal line. The two signs also appear on further seals, although in inverted order: L. 461-*521-*a* on three seal impressions from Paris, two of them with the title “prince” (REX.FILIUS), probably both originating from the same seal, and the other with the title “Country Lord” (REGIO.DOMINUS) (see nos. XIIa 1.4, 1.7, 2.43 in Mora 1987: 280f., 295, and Tav. 80, 89). See also the commentary of Hawkins on the name (2005a: 288f.).

⁶²⁴ For a list of attestations, see Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 543f.). Some additional attestations of GAL SAGI(.A) include KBo 31.185 obv. i 5' (CTH 638), KBo 38.171 obv. 12' (CTH 448), KUB 51.50 obv. iii 10' (CTH 448), KBo 46.245 obv. i 11' (CTH 685), KBo 59.163 obv. 7' with dupl. KUB 7.11 obv. 13 (CTH 678), KUB 60.148 obv. i 16, 21 (CTH 678), KUB 58.1 obv. i 15', ii 18', 23' with dupls. KUB 58.4 rev. iii 19' and KUB 59.21+ obv. iii 16, 20 (CTH 651), and ABoT 2.174 obv. ii 5', 11' (CTH 651).

sometimes accompanied by other high officials.⁶²⁵

The involvement of a GAL SAGI in military training of cadets in the Old Hittite dated Palace Chronicle is one of the few exceptions to the usual role of the officer that is portrayed in religious ceremonies, and furthermore here he is probably the same Nakkilit who was a replacement for an executed GAL GEŠTIN in another fragment of the Palace Chronicle (see 4.2.1.1). Although the literal meanings of the titles, “Chief Cupbearer” and “Chief of Wine,” imply a similarity, previous studies have revealed a clear distinction between the offices, GAL GEŠTIN being tied to a higher and more military status.⁶²⁶ Among the solutions that Beal (1992: 358f.) offers for Nakkilit’s appearance with both the GAL SAGI and GAL GEŠTIN titles are a possible homonymy, a mistake by the scribe, and the possibility of no distinction between the two offices of GAL SAGI and GAL GEŠTIN in early Hittite history. The last alternative is also supported by Marizza (2007b: 175f.), but he also adds that the separation of the offices could not have happened much later. As was also noted by Beal, Marizza points out a passage of the KI.LAM festival, the original redaction of which is dated to the Old Hittite period, where a GAL SAGI is serving wine to top officials, including the GAL GEŠTIN.⁶²⁷ This, however, can also be used as a counterargument to indicate the distinction of the two offices already in the Old Kingdom. We should also note that, if the OA titles *rab karānim* and *rab šākī* are indeed forerunners of the GAL GEŠTIN and GAL SAGI, this would be an indication of a distinction between these offices even before the Old Kingdom.

Although a few homonyms of the identified GAL SAGI officials are encountered with the “prince” (REX.FILIUS) designation on seals, a relationship with the royal family cannot be

⁶²⁵ In the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival the GAL SAGI and GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL together serve drinks to the king and queen (Klinger 2008: 202).

⁶²⁶ Beal (1992: 356f.), Marizza (2007b), and see here under GAL GEŠTIN.

⁶²⁷ KUB 10.13 iv 16–28, transliterated by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 543). For the Old Hittite dating see Singer (1983a: 144 and n. 5).

concretely established for most of them. On the other hand, although not a “Chief” (GAL), as reported in the Telipinu Edict, Hantili (I) was a Cupbearer in the court of Muršili I and was married to the king’s sister, which emphasizes the special prestige of the office (de Martino 1982: 307f.). Like Nakkilit, Hantili also belongs to the early Old Kingdom and perhaps this is a further indication that the GAL SAGI office did have higher prestige in early Hittite history, but declined in importance in later periods.

Among the recently published collection of land donation texts (Rüster and Wilhelm 2012), which represent a period from about the reign of Ammuna at the earliest to the reign of Arnuwanda I, there are over three dozen with a partially surviving list of witnesses (Appendix 1), and in none of them can a GAL SAGI be identified (see Table 24 below). The only times a GAL SAGI is mentioned in the land donation texts are when he is the beneficiary on two occasions.⁶²⁸ Absence of the GAL SAGI official from these witness lists is an indication of the lesser prominence of this office during the late Old Kingdom.

4.4 GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL

The title GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL can be translated as “Chief of the Palace Servants.”⁶²⁹ Among the GAL-level offices of the Hittite administration, this is the most widely attested. A list of these attestations has been provided by Pecchioli Daddi in her immense study (1982: 529–35), although it may need an update to add data from the documents published since then. A detailed study of the office and its holders was done by Marizza (2006).

Attestations from all periods of Hittite history suggest that the office was an important one throughout the existence of the state. Fewer attestations from the Old Kingdom seem to be

⁶²⁸ Happi (LhK 40) and perhaps Inar (LhK 3); see above under these names.

⁶²⁹ “Capo degli impiegati di palazzo” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 529), cf. DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL as “Hofjunker, Palastangestellter” in *HZL*: 211.

proportionate to the fewer number of texts available from that period. From the late phase of the Old Kingdom to the early Empire period, our most important source for identifying some of the officials in this office is once again the land donation texts. For the late Empire period, in spite of the numerous anonymous attestations of the title, there are very few cuneiform texts that identify a particular GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL by name. However, this gap may be closed with the help of the glyptic material, especially that of the Nişantepe archive. It has been suggested that the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS title frequently attested on the seals of several high officials, especially “princes,” is the equivalent of cuneiform GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL (Hawkins 2005a: 304). If so, this not only provides the names of holders of this office in the late Empire period, but also reveals certain aspects of the office during that time. The title of MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS and its holders will be discussed further below after a prosopographic study of the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL officials.

4.4.1 Known GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GALs in Hittite history

4.4.1.1 Aškaliya and Išputahšu

The earliest known attestation of the title appears in the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8), which is dated to the Hattušili I/Muršili I era.⁶³⁰ As previously mentioned, the passage describes how an official named Hapruzzi “stood by the king,” while several officials including two successive holders of the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL office named Aškaliya and Išputahšu were killed.⁶³¹ The fragmentary passage is not entirely clear. Perhaps it is meant to make an example out of the situation, showing how Hapruzzi was able to gain the favor of the king at the expense of

⁶³⁰ See note 410 above.

⁶³¹ KBo 3.35 i 11'–16' with dupl. KBo 13.45 2'–6'; edited by Dardano (1997: 40–41).

others.⁶³²

The Aškaliya mentioned in another anecdote of the Palace Chronicle⁶³³ is probably a different person. That Aškaliya was a Lord in Hurma (^{URU}*Hurmi* EN-*aš ešta*), and is said to have died in poverty after he had been demoted to the position of ^{LÚ}AGRIG in the city of Ankuwa, presumably by Hattušili I. But the very next paragraph apparently describes another episode from the life of the same Aškaliya, the man of Hurma (^{LÚ} ^{URU}*Hurma*), who wrongfully imprisoned a potter named Išpudaš-Inara. This anecdote seems to have been added as an afterthought to explain why Aškaliya was slandered and demoted. Although no physical punishment is mentioned, we may deduce that Aškaliya had angered the king. It is interesting that both Aškaliya, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, and Aškaliya, the Lord/Man of Hurma, were ultimately punished by the Hittite king. However, since one of them was reportedly executed and the other is said to have died in poverty, they were probably different individuals.

4.4.1.2 Ilaliuma(?)

As narrated in the Šukziya episode of the Telipinu Edict, a GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL brought the news to King Hantili (I) about the death of the queen of Šukziya.⁶³⁴ Although the official's name is not mentioned in this line, he may be identified with Ilaliuma of the same text (i 55),⁶³⁵ who secretly sent out some palace attendants (DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL), giving the order to kill the queen. It should be noted, however, that in another fragment that corresponds to the beginning of the Šukziya episode, Ilaliuma's title is given as "palace attendant" (DUMU.É^{LIM}).⁶³⁶

⁶³² Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 533) apparently assumes Hapruzzi was also a GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, but there is no such indication in the text.

⁶³³ KBo 3.34 ii 8, 15–19 with dupl. KBo 3.36 obv. 16', 21'–24'; edited by Dardano (1997: 46–49).

⁶³⁴ CTH 19 i 58–60; edited by Hoffmann (1984: 22f.).

⁶³⁵ Thus Marizza (2006: 152).

⁶³⁶ KUB 3.89 13'; edited by Soysal (1990: 272–74).

4.4.1.3 Hapuwaššu

Hapuwaššu appears as the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL in several land donation texts,⁶³⁷ all of which have been attributed to Telipinu.⁶³⁸ In the first ten of these, he appears as a witness, and in all of them he is the first name in the witness list, outranking Marakui (^{LÚ}*uriyanni*), Zidanni (GAL GEŠTIN), and Haššuwaš-Inar (GAL MEŠEDI). Besides Hattuša, some of these land donation texts were issued in cities like Hanhana and Kammama, indicating that GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL traveled with the king to various locations. In LhK 20 and LhK 22, however, it is the property of Hapuwaššu and his sons that is being taken away and given to someone else.⁶³⁹ This could be an indication of the end of his services, perhaps due to retirement, but both texts still refer to him with the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL title. The preserved section of the witness lists of LhK 22 does not mention another GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, but Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 69) suspect that the second name, Da[...], with a broken title, might be the new GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL. If so, it would be necessary to assume that the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL title given here to Hapuwaššu is only used to distinguish him as the ex-holder of the office. The long list of personnel and land mentioned in LhK 22 suggests that Hapuwaššu and his family were in possession of a considerable amount of property.

Despite the numerous attestations in the land donation texts, nothing else is known about this official from other sources.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁷ LhK 4 rev. 10', LhK 5 rev. 39, LhK 6 rev. 10', LhK 11 rev. 25, LhK 12 rev. 22, LhK 13 rev. 9, LhK 14 rev. 5', LhK 17 rev. 8, LhK 18 rev. 8', LhK 19 rev. 5', LhK 20 rev. 4', LhK 22 rev. 62.

⁶³⁸ For the dating see Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 51, 58).

⁶³⁹ The beneficiary of LhK 22 is a Labarna (*la-ba-ar-na* rev. 63, 64; written without a determinative on both occasions), who is identified as a prince (DUMU.LUGAL).

⁶⁴⁰ The name is known from a cuneiform inscription (*Ha-pu-wa-ššu i-na ha-ar-pè-šū'*) written on the outer surface of a conical bulla that bears the impression of an Old Hittite style seal (SBo II 240), where Akk. *ina harpešu* may be a reference to “harvest time” (see under *harpū* in CAD/H: 106). Hapuwaššu, the waiter (^{LÚ}^{GIŠ}BANŠUR), mentioned in the Middle Hittite judicial proceeding KBo 34.45 8, 10 (Werner 1967: 50f.) must be a different person.

4.4.1.4 Šarpa

Šarpa is known as the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL of Hantili II from several land donation texts.⁶⁴¹ Like Hapuwaššu, Šarpa is listed as the first witness in all of them, consistently outranking not only Haššuili (GAL *MEŠEDI*) and Muššu (GAL *GEŠTIN*), but also four different *uriyanni* officials who appear in multiple land donation texts. None of the other attestations of Šarpa can be dated to the reign of Hantili II.⁶⁴²

4.4.1.5 Arinnel

The next known holder of this office is Arinnel. Again, all known attestations of this official come from the land donation texts. He is the second witness after Lariya, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, in three land donation texts of Huzziya II, all issued in different cities.⁶⁴³ He also appears in the witness list of LhK 44 rev. 5', as the second witness, but the preceding damaged name is clearly not Lariya, as it starts ^m*Ha*-. The seal of LhK 44 is not preserved, but we may suspect that it also dates to Huzziya II. Rüster and Wilhelm list LhK 44 after all other land donation texts of Huzziya II, to imply that it may date towards the end of his reign, possibly due to the partially preserved third witness name ^m*Mu-u*-[that may be restored as Muwa or Muwatalli. But it is also possible that this is an entirely different name, and that the text dates to the earlier part of Huzziya's reign before Lariya.

The appearance of Arinnel in LhK 46 of Muwatalli I proves that this official kept his position after the murder of Huzziya II. It can be speculated that he collaborated with Muwatalli

⁶⁴¹ LhK 28 rev. 22, LhK 29 rev. 22, LhK 30 rev. 26, LhK 36 rev. 4'. We might also restore his name in the broken lines in LhK 31 rev. 18' and LhK 34 rev. 25', which are two other land donation texts of Hantili II.

⁶⁴² Coincidentally the judicial proceeding (KBo 34.45) that names a Hapuwaššu (see note 640), also mentions a Šanda (line 7) with the title Chamberlain of the Queen (^{LU}ŠÀ.TAM ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL), who must certainly be a different person. Also the dignitary (^{LU}DUGUD) named Šanda in KUB 31.44 i 14 (CTH 260) and his namesake from Šapinuwa, who is the sender of several Mašat letters (Alp 1991b: 463), surely date to later periods.

⁶⁴³ LhK 40 issued in Hattuša, LhK 41 issued in Hanhana, and LhK 42 issued in Katapa. Although the names are not preserved, the GAL *MEŠEDI* and GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL of LhK 41 are most certainly Lariya and Arinnel too.

in this takeover. We may also note that he is listed as the first name, above even Muwa, the GAL *MEŠEDI*. Arinnel's career must have come to an end during the reign of Muwatalli I, since Himuili, the former GAL GEŠTIN, seems to have taken over the office of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL in LhK 47 of Muwatalli I.

Arinnel's unique name is not encountered in other sources.

4.4.1.6 Himuili

This GAL GEŠTIN of Huzziya II under Muwatalli I took over the position of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL after Arinnel. He has already been treated under GAL GEŠTIN in section 4.2.1.8, so the information will not be repeated here. However, it may be reiterated that despite becoming the new GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, Himuili was still listed below Muwa, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, in LhK 47, suggesting that the offices held do not necessarily have an influence on the hierarchy of officials.⁶⁴⁴

4.4.1.7 Duwa

Duwa is known from LhK 91 rev. 51 as the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL of Arnuwanda I. He is listed as the first name before Halpaziti, the GAL GEŠTIN, eight other officials, and the scribe. The presence of Tudhaliya as *tuhkanti* may indicate that LhK 91 dates from a late phase of Arnuwanda's reign (Marizza 2007a: 54). Duwa appears along with Halpaziti in a Hurrian-language prayer of Taduhepa.⁶⁴⁵ The passage also mentions a wish for a successful campaign for Tašmišarri, the princely name of Tudhaliya III. There are no titles mentioned, but if Duwa was still the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, the passage may be a rare indication of the involvement of this official in military matters. It may further indicate that Duwa's term in office continued into

⁶⁴⁴ For further discussion of hierarchy, see section 6.3.

⁶⁴⁵ KUB 32.19+ rev. iii 35 (CTH 777.8); edited by Haas (1984: 215–32). See also Singer (2002a: 43f.).

the reign of Tudhaliya III (Marizza 2007b: 159f.).⁶⁴⁶

KBo 18.66 (CTH 209) is a Middle Hittite letter fragment. The mention of Duwa (rev.[?] 13') in the second person⁶⁴⁷ may indicate that he is the recipient. The context is hard to understand but the obverse of the text seems to involve military matters and the reverse mentions a river ordeal in relation to a judicial process. It is not entirely clear whether the obverse and reverse of the text are related.

KBo 18.14 is a letter sent by Pazzu to the king, replying to the latter's inquiry about Duwa (obv. 6). In rev. 8', it is also mentioned that Duwa had been sick: "Because now Duwa has become ill, as soon as he recovers, he will drive here and ...".⁶⁴⁸ The person named Pazzu is also known from several other texts, including KBo 18.15,⁶⁴⁹ which is a letter sent by Mašhuiluwa to a Hittite king, most probably Muršili II. Based on this connection, several scholars date KBo 18.14 to the reign of Muršili II.⁶⁵⁰ However, KBo 18.14 is paleographically dated to Middle Hittite.⁶⁵¹ According to de Martino, the Pazzu of both texts can be the same person, and he also identifies Duwa of KBo 18.14 with the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL of LhK 91 (2005: 296, 317). According to his reconstruction, in KBo 18.14 Pazzu must have been early in his career, possibly during the early years of Tudhaliya III, which could also explain the sickly condition of Duwa, who would have been at an advanced age by then. In KBo 18.15, which de Martino dates to a time not before Šuppiluliuma I, Pazzu might be at an advanced age, since that text indicates he is suffering an illness (rev. 8'–12'). Therefore, this scenario too suggests a career for Duwa that extends into the reign of Tudhaliya III.

As previously discussed, Duwa's name is also mentioned in the fragment KBo 44.1 obv. 4'

⁶⁴⁶ It is also possible that at that time Tašmišarri had not yet taken the name Tudhaliya and was only a prince.

⁶⁴⁷ *t]u-uk^m Du-wa-a* [. The letter is edited by Marizza (2007a: 54–58).

⁶⁴⁸ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 88f.).

⁶⁴⁹ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 321f.).

⁶⁵⁰ Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 1, 183), Hagenbuchner (1989b: 51), Klengel (1999: 75).

⁶⁵¹ Klinger (1995: 102 and n. 110); see also MH/MS under ^(LÜ)*pitteyant-* in CHD/P: 362, and *mh.?* in *Konkordanz*.

(CTH 212) along with Halpaziti, but the preserved section of the text does not reveal anything about the context.⁶⁵²

KuT 49 from Kuşaklı/Šarišša is a letter sent by an unnamed mayor (^{LU}HAZANNU) to an unnamed GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, who is referred to as “my lord,” thus indicating the latter’s superior position. Since no names are used, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL must have known who the mayor was. The find spot indicates that at the time of the letter the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL was in the city of Šarišša and the sending official must be the mayor of Hattuša.⁶⁵³ The letter is about some oracular inquiries for the well-being of either a “son of the priestess” (DUMU MUNUS.SANGA)⁶⁵⁴ or a “daughter of the priest” (DUMU.MUNUS SANGA).⁶⁵⁵ Repeated attempts to secure a favorable reading first by means of KIN oracles and then by means of bird oracles suggest that the subject is a rather important person. It may also be noted that the name of the priest/priestess is not mentioned in the letter, which indicates that the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL must have been familiar with the person and the person’s condition. On these grounds Imparati (2003: 238f.) suggests that the priest in question might be Arnuwanda I’s son Kantuzzili,⁶⁵⁶ who is referred to as “the priest” in several documents.⁶⁵⁷ If Imparati’s hypothesis can be accepted, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL can be identified with Duwa of Arnuwanda I.⁶⁵⁸

Another Middle Hittite letter, KBo 18.95 (CTH 190),⁶⁵⁹ was sent by the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL to the GAL *MEŠEDI*, both of them again unnamed. In the opening lines,

⁶⁵² See above under Halpaziti (4.2.1.10) and note 515 about the dating of the fragment.

⁶⁵³ Almost all attestation of the *HAZANNU* office relate to Hattuša; see Otten (1964: 91–95), Pecchioli Daddi (1975), Beckman (1995a: 25 and n. 35), and Singer (1998: 169 and n. 2–3). This lessens the likelihood of the tablet being an archival copy of a letter sent by a *HAZANNU* of Šarišša. See Imparati (2003: 238 n. 40), who evaluates both possibilities.

⁶⁵⁴ Wilhelm (1998: 178f.), van den Hout (2001: 440), Hoffner (2009: 266).

⁶⁵⁵ Imparati (2003: 237f.).

⁶⁵⁶ See note 440 above.

⁶⁵⁷ For a list of these documents, see Marizza (2007a: 145). However, in all of these attestations, he is either referred to as DUMU.NITA SANGA or ^{LU}SANGA, but never simply as SANGA.

⁶⁵⁸ Thus Marizza (2007a: 62).

⁶⁵⁹ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 90f.). On the dating, see Marizza (2007a: 63 n. 67).

the sender refers to the GAL *MEŠEDI* as “my lord,” then adds his own title “your servant,” indicating the superior position of the addressee. The rest of the letter preserves only greetings and blessings for the queen and the recipient (obv. 3–5), and also for a person named ^mx-p]i-Tešup (rev. 1’–4’). For the latter name the only attested possibilities are Tuppi-Tešup and Tulpi-Tešup. Tuppi-Tešup was a king of Amurru at the time of Muršili II, while Tulpi-Tešup is known from several Middle Hittite texts⁶⁶⁰ in connection with the royal family, including KUB 27.43 obv. 12’, where he appears with Halpaziti, who is in all likelihood the GAL GEŠTIN and the contemporary of Duwa.⁶⁶¹ Therefore, a possible identification of the sender of the letter KBo 18.95 with Duwa has been suggested by Marizza (2007a: 63), who also points out that the sender addresses the GAL *MEŠEDI* as “my dear son” (obv. 4’). This should certainly be an indication of an age difference, and therefore may indicate an advanced stage in Duwa’s career, perhaps in the reign of Tudhaliya III.

The opening formula of the MH letter fragment KBo 62.29 is strikingly similar to that of KBo 18.95 in that it is also addressed to an unnamed “GAL *MEŠEDI*, my lord” by an unnamed “GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, [your] serv[ant],” followed by similar greetings. If Duwa is the sender of KBo 18.95, there is a good chance he is also the sender of KBo 62.29. However, the identity of his contemporary GAL *MEŠEDI*, who would be the resident of the so-called GAL *MEŠEDI*-house where KBo 62.29 was found (see below in 4.1.2), still remains unknown.

4.4.1.8 Lupakki

This GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL is known only from his attestation as a witness in the

⁶⁶⁰ KBo 16.97 l.e. 3a (CTH 571); KUB 45.47 i 41, ii 6, iii 27’ (CTH 494); KUB 27.43 obv. 12’ (CTH 791); KUB 34.58 ii 3[(CTH 275); KUB 36.118+119 2’[, 9’] (CTH 271).

⁶⁶¹ See under Halpaziti above in section 4.2.1.10. On Tulpi-Tešup, see Marizza (2007a: 24–33).

Aleppo Treaty of Muwatalli II.⁶⁶² The first couple of paragraphs of the treaty indicate that it is an official copy of a treaty originally issued by Muršili II, and that it replaces the lost original that belonged to the king of Aleppo.⁶⁶³ In his study of the witnesses of this treaty, Del Monte indicates that several of these officials were already in office during the reign of Muršili II, and suggests that Muwatalli II had summoned the officials who had witnessed the original document (1975: 1f.).⁶⁶⁴ In the case of Lupakki, Del Monte indicates the possibility that he was the same person as Lupakki, the UGULA 10 ŠA KARAS, ⁶⁶⁵ who was active on Šuppiluliuma's Syrian campaigns. This person is known from both Hittite⁶⁶⁶ and Egyptian sources⁶⁶⁷ to have commanded the successful Hittite attack on the Egyptian territory of Amka. According to Del Monte (1975: 7), he could have been a young officer during the reign of Šuppiluliuma, and by the time of the Aleppo Treaty had obtained the office of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL. This implies that Lupakki had a very long active career, extending from Šuppiluliuma I to Muwatalli II. Devecchi (2010: 9ff.) lessens the difficulty of this by suggesting that the witness list of the Aleppo Treaty was simply copied from the original document, thus making it more plausible chronologically to identify the official with the Lupakki of Šuppiluliuma I.⁶⁶⁸

Devecchi (2010: 19) also suggests that Lupakki, the scribe, attested on the seal impressions SBo II 54 and Niš 207 and on a bronze seal from a storehouse near Temple I (BoHa 14 no. 214), could be the same person as the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL of the Aleppo Treaty, based on their dating⁶⁶⁹ and the compatibility of the scribal title with high offices like GAL

⁶⁶² KBo 1.6 rev. 21'; edited by Devecchi (2010: 13).

⁶⁶³ See Beckman (1999: 93).

⁶⁶⁴ Thus also Balza (2008: 411).

⁶⁶⁵ On this title see Beal (1992: 409f.), who translates it as "Overseer of Ten of the Army." The title is not attested anywhere else.

⁶⁶⁶ KBo 5.6 ii 11, iii 2 with dupl. KBo 22.9 i 9; edited by Del Monte (2009: 86ff.), and KUB 31.121a ii 8'; see Singer (2002a: 67).

⁶⁶⁷ EA 170, 15; edited by Moran (1992: 257f.).

⁶⁶⁸ See Marizza (2006: 162), who rejects the identification both on chronological grounds and due to the incompatibility of duties.

⁶⁶⁹ Herboldt dates all three to the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, since Niš 207 is impressed on the same bulla that bears the impression of a seal of Izzummiziti, a known official of the Šuppiluliuma I era (2005: 46 n. 351, 77 and Abb. 301). Another seal impression

DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL. Indeed, scribal titles are sometimes used by high officials, but typically they are accompanied by primary titles. Since on none of these seals and sealings is the name accompanied by any other title, this identification remains dubious.

Another attestation of Lupakki comes from the TAŞCI inscription. Hawkins gives the following reading for the inscription (2005a: 292–93): “Manazi, daughter of Lupakki the Army-Scribe, (son of⁶⁷⁰) Zida the *MEŠEDI*-man, servant of Hattušili.”⁶⁷⁰ Suspecting that Zida might be the brother and GAL *MEŠEDI* of Šuppiluliuma I, Hawkins suggests that his son Lupakki would be a first cousin of Muršili II, and first cousin once removed of Muwatalli II and Hattušili III. As Hawkins notes, however, “the servant of Hattušili III” remark probably applies to Lupakki himself, not to his daughter Manazi (2005a: 293), which would make Lupakki a contemporary of Hattušili III. Coupled with the fact that he has the title of Army-Scribe, this person is unlikely to be the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL of the Aleppo Treaty.⁶⁷¹

Lupakki’s name has been attested in several other cuneiform and hieroglyphic sources but all probably date to later periods.⁶⁷²

4.4.1.9 Aliziti

Aliziti is the last GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL known from cuneiform sources. He appears as

of Lupakki (BoHa 22 no. 77) from Temple 6 with a very similar design and scribal title can be added to this group (Dinçols 2008b: 30). Also from Temple 6 comes a cylinder seal impression of Lupakki (BoHa 22 no. 41) with no title, but dated by Boehmer and the Dinçols to the fifteenth century (Dinçols 2008b: 25).

⁶⁷⁰ *ma-na-a-zi/a* FILIA *lu-pa-ki* EXERCITUS.SCRIBA FILIUS(?) VIR-*á* HASTARIUS MAGNUS.REX *HATTI+li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS SERVUS.

⁶⁷¹ Kohlmeyer (1983: 80) identifies this Lupakki with the *KARTAPPU* official of Hattušili III (see the next note), and Gordin (2008: 150) with the father of the scribe of the Bronze Tablet.

⁶⁷² KBo 9.81 (CTH 196) is a letter sent by Lupakki (obv. 3) to a king of Karkamiš probably dating to Hattušili III (Klengel 1999: 246, Devecchi 2010: 19 n. 76), but cf. Marizza (2009: 138), who suggests a dating to Šuppiluliuma I or Muršili II. KUB 31.68:39' (CTH 297) mentions a *KARTAPPU* official of Tudhaliya IV, who is perhaps the same person as the one attested on a seal from Korucutepe (Güterbock 1973: 142 no. 6; cf. de Martino 2010b: 112). Lupakki of the letter fragment KUB 23.44 22', which also mentions Urhi-Tešup (21'), may also be identified as the *KARTAPPU* official (Del Monte 1975: 7). KUB 31.28 2', 6' (CTH 214) is datable to Hattušili III or Tudhaliya IV based on the mention of Tattamaru (7', 8'). KBo 18.1 is a letter sent by Lupakki (rev. 2') to the queen, probably dating to Tudhaliya IV (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 4). A Lupakki is mentioned at KBo 31.52 obv. 11' (CTH 585), Puduhepa’s vow to Lelwani. On the Bronze Tablet, he appears in the colophon (iv 43) as the father of the scribe Ukkia. KUB 40.80 12, 13, 27 (CTH 297) dates to Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV (see van den Hout 1995a: 181–84). The name is further mentioned on the NS fragments KUB 8.75 iv 27 (CTH 239), KBo 18.97 l.e. 1 (CTH 190), and the seal impression Niš 208 with the title cupbearer (URCEUS).

a witness in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (KBo 4.10 rev. 31), but the Šahurunuwa Text and the Bronze Tablet do not include a GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL in their witness lists.

According to Singer (1999b: 716 n. 377) this official may be identified with the Aliziti who appears as an envoy of the Hittite king in RS 20.212:27', which is an Akkadian letter of the Hittite king to the ruler of Ugarit about urgent grain shipments.⁶⁷³ Alizi[ti], the ^(LÚ)SAG LUGAL, and another official named Kunni have been sent to supervise the affair. The ruler of Ugarit might be Niqmaddu III or Ammurapi,⁶⁷⁴ and if so, the letter should date to some time towards the end of the thirteenth century, to the middle of the reign of Tudhaliya IV or a little later. Therefore, if the Alizitis of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and RS 20.212 are identical, there should be a few decades between the two attestations. That would suggest that he served as the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL quite early in his career, and by the time of RS 20.212, he was at a mature age acting as the envoy of the Hittite king as an experienced official in state matters. Holding the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL office at a young age may seem contradictory to the status of the office, but as will be discussed below, the evidence obtained from the seals supports such a change in the status of this office during the late Empire period.

4.4.1.10 Seal evidence and MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS

The hieroglyphic title MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS is known from several seal impressions. Although its one-to-one translation corresponds to cuneiform DUMU.É.GAL (“palace attendant”), all attestations of this title on seals are combined with the title “prince” (REX.FILIUS),⁶⁷⁵ and some of these seals also carry other titles like GAL DUB.SAR that indicate a high status. On these grounds, Hawkins (2005a: 304) suggests that the title actually

⁶⁷³ *Ugar.* V: 105–7.

⁶⁷⁴ Singer (1999b: 717) suggests Ammurapi, followed by Schwemer (2006: 259), but see Bryce (2005: 331) and Collins (2007: 73), who also consider Niqmaddu III.

⁶⁷⁵ The title also appears on a broken block of hieroglyphic inscription from Karga, which reads: x MAGNUS.DOMUS.FI[LIUS] *Ta-la-hi* URBS (see Gelb 1939, pl. LV).

corresponds to cuneiform GAL DUMU.É.GAL, and that it simply avoids the repeating of the MAGNUS (= cuneiform GAL) sign, which would otherwise be *MAGNUS MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS.⁶⁷⁶

In the Nişantepe archive the title is encountered on bullae bearing the seal impressions of eight different individuals. All eight officials are also identified as “prince,” and all probably date to a time period from the reign of Hattušili III until the end of the empire. If the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS title is indeed the equivalent of GAL DUMU.É.GAL, and if the office was still occupied by only one person at a time, trying to accommodate eight (or nine, including Aliziti) different holders of this office within a relatively short period would be rather problematic. This will be evaluated further below after an analysis of the holders of this title.

4.4.1.11 Haššuwaš-Inara

The rather large and elaborately designed seal impression Niş 136 bears the name REX-CERVUS+*ra/i*, which corresponds to the cuneiform LUGAL-^dLAMMA and is probably to be read phonetically as Haššuwaš-In(n)ara.⁶⁷⁷ In addition to the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS title, he is identified as a “prince” (REX.FILIUS). The same name is known from two other seals: SBo II 74 has a similar design to Niş 136 but the damaged sides have not preserved its titles, and SBo II 230 (REX-CERVUS₂+*ra/i*[?]) is a sealing from a signet ring that also bears the title “prince.”⁶⁷⁸ Although not an uncommon motif, it may be noted that all three seals also have the double headed eagle.

⁶⁷⁶ Followed by Marizza (2006: 157), Gordin (2008: 141f.), and de Martino (2011: 32); contra Singer (2006: 244), and Dinçol and Dinçol (2008b: 210), who prefer to read it as DUMU.É.GAL.

⁶⁷⁷ Hawkins (2005a: 256, 290) suggests *Haššawaš-* for the initial part of the name. However, on account of the examples of probably the same name from Old Hittite period texts with full syllabic spelling as ^m*Ha-aš-šu-wa-aš-* (LhK 11 rev. 29 and LhK 17 rev. 11), *Haššuwaš-* might be preferred instead.

⁶⁷⁸ For an Old Hittite seal from Alacahöyük with the name REX.CERVUS₃, see above under Haššuwaš-Inar, the GAL *MEŠEDI* (4.1.1.4).

The cuneiform LUGAL-^dLAMMA is attested in several documents.⁶⁷⁹ A LUGAL-^dLAMMA appears as a witness both in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (rev. 31) of Hattušili III and in the Šahurunuwa Text (rev. 30) of Tudhaliya IV with the title GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left. On the Bronze Tablet of Tudhaliya IV the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left office has been taken by Tattamaru, who is probably the son of Šahurunuwa, the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ.⁶⁸⁰ LUGAL-^dLAMMA appears in KUB 48.119 rev. 11, 14, 17 (CTH 590)⁶⁸¹ along with Šahurunuwa in a military context, and a safe return from their campaigns is wished for them. LUGAL-^dLAMMA and Šahurunuwa, who are reportedly commanding the two halves of the army (rev. 15–18), must be the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left and GAL UKU.UŠ of the Right, respectively.⁶⁸² KUB 48.119 probably dates to the later part of the reign of Hattušili III, since the text makes appeals to the Stormgod of Nerik to heal the king’s eyes, but it should predate the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, by which time Šahurunuwa had retired from military activity and had taken the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ office.⁶⁸³ As testified by his presence in the Šahurunuwa Text, LUGAL-^dLAMMA must have been a younger person than Šahurunuwa to have continued with his military position into the reign of Tudhaliya IV. By the time of the Bronze Tablet, however, he must also have retired from that command, leaving his position to Tattamaru. If the hypothesized identification of Haššuwaš-Inara of Niš 136 with LUGAL-^dLAMMA holds, he must have served in this non-military duty of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL either before his military career during the reign of Hattušili III,⁶⁸⁴ or after it during the reign of Tudhaliya IV. On the one hand, it seems more logical to assume that he was active in the military role at a young age and took up the

⁶⁷⁹ See NH 1751; sometimes with phonetic complements such as LUGAL-*aš*-^dLAMMA-*aš* (KBo 50.103 13'). For a prosopographic study of LUGAL-^dLAMMA, see van den Hout (1995a: 215f.).

⁶⁸⁰ Thus Imparati (1974: 43) and van den Hout (1995a: 118).

⁶⁸¹ Edited by de Roos (2007a: 208–13).

⁶⁸² Šahurunuwa is known to have held the GAL UKU.UŠ title from the Šahurunuwa Text (obv. 49); see below under Šahurunuwa in section (4.7.1.2). Note, however, that “of the Right/Left” designations are not necessarily references to the wings of the army (see section 6.1).

⁶⁸³ In the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Right is Halpaziti.

⁶⁸⁴ Thus Marizza (2006: 164).

position in the palace later on, in a manner similar to the career of Šahurunuwa, who switched from the position of GAL UKU.UŠ and GAL NA.GAD to GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ. But on the other hand, there are some indications from other holders of this office, such as Aliziti (see 4.4.1.9) and Ehli-Šarruma (see 4.4.1.13), that these officials had been serving as GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL / MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS at a young age. Perhaps it was something like an entry-level position to gain experience in palace circles and the state administration. If that is the case, he may have served as GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL early in Hattušili's reign, before Aliziti.

Beal (1992: 382 and n. 1445) and Gurney (2002: 342) assume LUGAL-^dLAMMA was a son of Hattušili III, but according to the hierarchy of witness lists,⁶⁸⁵ this seems unlikely. KUB 48.119 suggests that at the time he was old enough to be in command of a significant section of the army, and for him to have retired from his military position during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, he must have been at an advanced age. Therefore, if he was a mature son of Hattušili III at the time of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, he would have been older than several princes listed there and would certainly have been older than Tattamaru, the son of Šahurunuwa. Both Tattamaru and Šahurunuwa, who were not sons of Hattušili III,⁶⁸⁶ are listed before him in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty. As the seals testify, Haššuwaš-Inara was also a “prince,” but he probably bears this title by descent from a side branch of the royal family.⁶⁸⁷

4.4.1.12 Ewri-Šarruma

Ewri-Šarruma appears with the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS title on the seal impression

⁶⁸⁵ See below in section 6.3 for an argument about the hierarchy of the witness lists.

⁶⁸⁶ Tattamaru was an in-law (see 4.7.1.5).

⁶⁸⁷ The [...] ^dLAMMA of KUB 26.18 10', who is mentioned along with other sons of Hattušili III, is probably ^dLIŠ-^dLAMMA (Šauškaruntiya). See under Šauškaruntiya in section 4.4.1.15.

Niš 134.⁶⁸⁸ The same seal also identifies him as a “prince” (REX.FILIUS). Two other seals, Niš 133 and SBo II 14, also name an Ewri-Šarruma REX.FILIUS, probably the same person as on Niš 134. The broken left side of Niš 133 may have also contained the title MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS, but it could also be an antithetic REX.FILIUS as in SBo II 14.

In cuneiform the name can be written either EN-LUGAL(-*ma*) or *Ib-ri-LUGAL(-ma)*,⁶⁸⁹ and has been encountered in sources from Boğazköy and Ras Shamra.⁶⁹⁰ In the Bronze Tablet, he is listed among the witnesses (iv 35) again with only the title of “prince” (DUMU.LUGAL). KUB 13.35+ (CTH 293) is a court proceeding about an embezzlement case dating to Hattušili III.⁶⁹¹ In the text, Ewri-Šarruma is mentioned in the testimony of two persons as the owner (iii 7) or deliverer (iv 21) of certain valuables, and he perhaps can be identified with our official.⁶⁹² His name also appears in another court proceeding fragment, KUB 26.49 rev. 9', along with Šahuruwa (rev. 10').⁶⁹³ The text reports the death of a GAJL' DUB.SAR.GIŠ (rev. 8'), which raises the question whether that person might have been the predecessor of Šahuruwa. If so, the text may be dated to Hattušili III.⁶⁹⁴

In two further documents Ewri-Šarruma is mentioned in the same line with Nerikkaili: KBo 53.107+KUB 50.72 (CTH 575) is a fragmentary snake oracle, a passage of which mentions the results of the oracle readings for Nerikkaili, Ewri-Šarruma, Šauškaruntiya, a GAL *MEŠEDI*, and a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ (iv 1'–3').⁶⁹⁵ KUB 42.51 (CTH 250) is an inventory of garments, which, besides Ewri-Šarruma and Nerik[kaili] (rev. 5'), mentions the *tuhkanti* (obv. 2') and the

⁶⁸⁸ The name is spelled *i(a)-pari-SARMA* (L. 209-L. 13-L. 80).

⁶⁸⁹ In Ugaritic alphabetic script also as *Iwrđr* and *Ibrđr*.

⁶⁹⁰ See van den Hout (1995a: 136–38) for alternative spellings and a prosopographic study of Ewri-Šarruma.

⁶⁹¹ Edited by Werner (1967: 3ff.). For the dating see van den Hout (1995a: 137f.), Klengel (1999: 250), de Martino (2011: 38).

⁶⁹² Thus van den Hout (1995a: 137f.) and Marizza (2006: 163).

⁶⁹³ The passage is edited by van den Hout (1995a: 153). According to *Konkordanz*, the unpublished fragment Bo 9073 is a recent join to KUB 26.49, which may possibly provide further information.

⁶⁹⁴ Thus Pecchioli Daddi (1978–79: 202) and Marizza (2006: 163). See van den Hout (1995a: 154), who speculates on the same question, but is hesitant to assign the text to Hattušili III.

⁶⁹⁵ Edited by Lefèvre-Novaro and Mouton (2008: 30–33), who read the name as ^mTILUGAL.

queen (obv. 6').⁶⁹⁶ Ewri-Šarruma's appearance alongside other princes and high officials may suggest an identification with the person known from the seals. Nerikkaili is almost certainly the eldest son of Hattušili III. As will be discussed below, Šauškaruntiya is probably another son of Hattušili III. The unnamed GAL *MEŠEDI* of KBo 53.107+KUB 50.72 iv 2' is either Tudhaliya or Huzziya, both sons of Hattušili. This, therefore, raises a suspicion that Ewri-Šarruma may also be a son of Hattušili III.⁶⁹⁷

These documents suggest that Ewri-Šarruma had an active career in the reigns of both Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV. Again, it is not clear at what point he may have served as MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS. Marizza (2006: 164) assumes that he served in this office in his early career, sometime during the reign of Hattušili III and that by the time of the signing of the Bronze Tablet he had given up this position.

Other documents that name an Ewri-Šarruma must involve cases of homonymy.⁶⁹⁸

4.4.1.13 Ehli-Šarruma

Three different seal impressions from the Nişantepe archive (Niş 100, 101, and 102) and SBo II 18 identify an Ehli-Šarruma as MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS and REX.FILIUS.⁶⁹⁹ A prince with this name is known from several attestations in the cuneiform sources, and he is identified as the son of the king of Išuwa, who eventually succeeded his father on the throne (see above in 3.1.7.3). The documents that identify Ehli-Šarruma as a prince suggest that he spent some time in the Hittite palace before becoming king in Išuwa. On the assumption that all of the

⁶⁹⁶ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 344f).

⁶⁹⁷ Depending on the identity of the GAL *MEŠEDI*, KBo 53.107+KUB 50.72 can be dated to either Hattušili III (Heinhold-Krahmer 2001: 194 n. 65a), or Tudhaliya IV (Marizza 2006: 167, and Gordin 2008: 173). Gordin matches the smŠag-ga-bi (iv 4') of this text with a scribe named Šakkapi active in the latter part of Tudhaliya IV's reign (2008: 174–82).

⁶⁹⁸ The “boy” (DUMU.NITA) *Ib-ri-LU*[GAL of KUB 31.52+ i 8' (CTH 585), ^mEN-LUGAL, a land owner in Ugarit (RS 16.604, 5), *Iwrdr* and *Ibrdr* of Ugaritic letters RS 11.857 and RS 18.29, 6. See van den Hout (1995a: 137f.).

⁶⁹⁹ The name is spelled *i(a)-HALA-SARMA*. SBo II 18 with the same name and titles probably comes from the same seal as Niş 102.

attestations mentioned in section 3.1.7.3 refer to the same person,⁷⁰⁰ the only time he could have served in the position of MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS would have been during his early years in Hattuša.

4.4.1.14 Kuwalanaziti

Kuwalanaziti is attested with the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS title on a single seal impression (Niš 195), which also identifies him as a “prince” (REX.FILIUS).⁷⁰¹ Several other seals that name a Kuwalanaziti with the title of “prince” are very likely to refer to the same person.⁷⁰²

The Šahuruwa Text of Tudhaliya IV reveals that Kuwalanaziti (obv. 8, 53) is the son of a woman named Tarhuntamanawa (^dU-*manawa*). Imparati (1974: 16 and 48) identifies the latter as a daughter of Šahuruwa, which makes Kuwalanaziti a grandson of this dignitary. We may note here that Šahuruwa, too, carries the “prince” title on several of his seals.⁷⁰³ In the so-called Milawata Letter, KUB 19.55+ rev. 38' and lo.e. 5 (CTH 182),⁷⁰⁴ a Kuwalanaziti⁷⁰⁵ acts as the envoy of the Hittite king in the land of Mira. There is little doubt that the sender of the letter is Tudhaliya IV, and the recipient is probably Tarkašnawa, the king of Mira, who must be the successor of the Alantalli known from the Bronze Tablet.⁷⁰⁶ Kuwalanaziti of both texts is likely

⁷⁰⁰ Thus van den Hout (1995a: 125), Hawkins (2005a: 252), and Marizza (2006: 164). The only different attestation comes from 15th-century Alalah sources (see Klengel 1963: 283).

⁷⁰¹ The name is spelled EXERCITUS-VIR.*zi/a*. For the reading see Hawkins (2005a: 292).

⁷⁰² Seals/sealings that identify Kuwalanaziti (EXERCITUS-VIR.*zi/a*) as prince: SBo II 19, SBo II 21 with an unidentified second title (L. 490), a signet ring impression from a private collection (no. X 2.4 in Mora 1987: 251 and Tav. 70), a seal impression from Tarsus (no. XIIa 2.11 in Mora 1987: 285 and Tav. 83), BoHa 14 no. 265 with an additional unrecognized title that Hawkins (2005a: 261) transliterates a PITHOS+X. On this last one, Kuwalanaziti shares the seal with another person named [x]-*hi-ti-SARMA*, whose title (if it existed) is not preserved.

The seal impressions Niš 196–198 identify a Kuwalanaziti, the scribe, who may be a different person (thus Hawkins 2005a: 261). A biconvex seal in Paris (no. XIIb 1.72 in Mora 1987: 320 and Tav. 103) identify a Kuwalanaziti with no title, and the traces on both sides of the name must be abraded BONUS₂.VIR₂ signs.

⁷⁰³ Niš 346, Niš 347, and a sealing from Tarsus (no. XIIa 2.10 in Mora 1987: 285 and Tav. 83).

⁷⁰⁴ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 313–21).

⁷⁰⁵ The name is spelled ^mKARAŠ-ZA; on its reading see Hoffner (1982: 137 n. 16).

⁷⁰⁶ Thus Hawkins (1998b: 1), followed by de Martino (2006: 171) and Hoffner (2009: 313f.).

to be the same person as the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS of Niš 195.⁷⁰⁷

Van den Hout (1995a: 91 n. 112) suggests that the Hittite “messenger” (DUMU *ŠIPRI*) named Kulaziti mentioned in two letters of Ramses II (KUB 3.34 rev. 1, 4 and KUB 3.67 obv. 9') might be the same person as Kuwalanaziti, the grandson of Šahurunuwa. Similarity of the roles of Kulana, the messenger, and the Kuwalanaziti of the Milawata Letter has also been pointed out by Marizza (2006: 166). A seal published by Poetto (1983a: 528f.) identifies a Ku(wa)lanaziti (*Ku-la-na-VIR*) with the title AURIGA, and taking into consideration the association of the AURIGA “Chariot Driver” position with messengers and diplomatic missions (see 4.8.2), he may be associated with the Kulaziti of the Ramses letters and/or the Kuwalanaziti of the Milawata Letter. However, the claim of van den Hout rests on his dating of the letters of Ramses II to the reign of Tudhaliya IV, but most scholars date them to the reign of Hattušili III.⁷⁰⁸ It would be less likely for the same person to be acting as the messenger/ambassador both during the reign of Hattušili III and towards the end of the reign of Tudhaliya IV, when the Milawata Letter must have been composed.⁷⁰⁹ As a grandson of Šahurunuwa, he may have been rather young during the drafting of the Šahurunuwa Text, early in Tudhaliya's reign, and his active career must have extended into the late years of Tudhaliya IV. There is no indication about when he may have held the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS title, but perhaps like Aliziti, he served in that office early in his career, and after gaining some experience he became an envoy of the king outside Hattuša.

The name is also attested in a few cuneiform documents. A Kuwalanaziti is mentioned in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma with the military title of GAL NA.GAD,⁷¹⁰ but since all holders of the

⁷⁰⁷ Thus Hawkins (2005a: 261), Marizza (2006: 165).

⁷⁰⁸ See Hagenbuchner (1989a: 21), Edel (1994: 260 and 274), Klengel (1999: 282), de Roos (2005b: 49).

⁷⁰⁹ Hawkins (1998b: 19).

⁷¹⁰ KBo 5.6 i 32 with dupl. KBo 14.11 4' (CTH 40). On the title GAL NA.GAD, see Beal (1992: 391–96).

MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS title appear to be from the thirteenth century, this person is unlikely to be identified with the owner of Niş 195.⁷¹¹

4.4.1.15 Šauškaruntiya

Šauškaruntiya's name (*sà+US-ka-CERVUS_{3-ti}*) is attested on quite a few seal impressions, a list of which is provided below:

Niş 373, Niş 374, Niş 375:

sà+US-ka-CERVUS_{3-ti} REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS

Niş 376, Niş 377, SBo II 30, BoHa 14 no. 241.⁷¹²

sà+US-ka-CERVUS_{3-ti} REX.FILIUS TONITRUS.URBS MAGNUS.SCRIBA
MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS

Niş 378, SBo II 8, SBo II 67.⁷¹³

sà+US-ka-CERVUS_{3-ti} REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.SCRIBA MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS

Niş 379, Niş 380:

sà+US-ka-CERVUS_{3-ti} SCRIBA

Niş 381:

sà+US-ka-CERVUS_{3-ti} URBS.DOMINUS(-*na*[?]) HATTI.URBS

Niş 381 with a simple title and stylistically different design may belong to a different individual. The scribe of Niş 379 and 380 is either a different person (Hawkins 2005a: 271), or may be Šauškaruntiya at a very early stage of his career (Gordin 2008: 164 and n. 474).⁷¹⁴

The rest of the seals certainly belong to the same “prince.” The TONITRUS.URBS designation that follows REX.FILIUS in some of the seals has been read as “Tarhuntašša” by Hawkins (2005a: 271), and this may imply a connection of this official to the branch of the Hittite family ruling at Tarhuntašša. Marizza even speculates that he may be a son of Kurunta

⁷¹¹ Hawkins (2005a: 261) and Marizza (2006: 165) also reject the identification on the grounds that the titles and roles do not match. Given the Hittite custom of ponymy, Imparati (1974: 48) suggested that the Kuwalanziti of the Deeds may be the great-grandfather of Šahuruwa's grandson. See also Marizza (2010a: 93).

⁷¹² Niş 376 and SBo II 30 may have come from one seal, and Niş 377 and BoHa 14 no. 241 from another seal.

⁷¹³ Niş 378 and SBo II 8 may belong to the same seal.

⁷¹⁴ Both Niş 379 and 380 are impressions from a signet ring, and the first syllable of his name (*sà*) is written with CAPRA₂, as opposed to CAPRA in other seals of Šauškaruntiya. Gordin points out other examples of omitted REX.FILIUS titles and alternative spellings of the names of certain persons. Another attestation of this Šauškaruntiya, the scribe, might be the hieroglyphic graffiti on a rectangular block (BOĞAZKÖY 22), which also bears the names of a couple of other scribes (Dinçol and Dinçol 2002: 209f. and Abb. 4).

(2006: 167f.). The appearance of his name on the hieroglyphic inscription KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA of Tudhaliya IV,⁷¹⁵ which has been found in southwest Anatolia, may also be seen in connection with Tarhuntašša. In this inscription, in addition to MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS and REX.FILIUS, he has the title of L. 283-DOMINUS, which may mean “army-lord” (*tuzziyaš ishaš*).⁷¹⁶ The incomplete text of KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA concerns the military campaign of Tudhaliya IV against the city of Alatarma.⁷¹⁷ This attestation of Šauškaruntiya in a military context with a military title may indicate additional functions for this official. Support for such military duties comes from the cuneiform sources. The cuneiform equivalent of his name has been recognized as ^dLIŠ-^dLAMMA.⁷¹⁸ The name appears in the oracle inquiry IBoT 1.32 obv. 11 (CTH 577), conducted to determine who would lead a campaign against the land of Azzi. The oracle inquires whether that would be “His Majesty” (obv. 1), or Šauškaruntiya (obv. 11), or the King of Tumanna (obv. 14), or Šauškaruntiya and the King of Tumanna together (obv. 17), or the King of Išuwa and the King of Karkamiš (obv. 29) (Beal 1992: 318 and n. 1217). The late-script text may be associated with Tudhaliya IV, during whose reign hostilities with Azzi are known to have occurred.⁷¹⁹ The fact that Šauškaruntiya is mentioned as the first alternative to the king, or at the least on a par with other vassal kings, not only suggests a very prominent status for him, but also highlights his military role.

Šauškaruntiya’s prominence may be due to his position within the royal family. In KUB 26.18:8’–12’ (CTH 275), Tudhaliya IV warns his subjects not to follow the other offspring of his

⁷¹⁵ Edited by Masson (1980: 109f.).

⁷¹⁶ On the reading of L. 283 as *tuzzi-* see Dinçol (2001: 93f.).

⁷¹⁷ Dated to Tudhaliya IV based on the usage of *LABARNA* (Masson 1980: 109). For the reading of the city name, see Hawkins (2006: 62), who also discusses whether the city is a reference to the one known to be in the upper Euphrates area, or a previously unattested second city by that name in the southwest Anatolia.

⁷¹⁸ Already by Laroche in NH 293. See Hawkins (2005a: 271 and 290f.) for more on the reading of his name in hieroglyphs and cuneiform.

⁷¹⁹ Azzi is counted among the enemy lands in the instructions of Tudhaliya IV to princes, lords, and the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG (KUB 26.12 ii 15, CTH 255.1).

father, namely Nerikkaili, Huzziya , and []-^dLAMMA.⁷²⁰ Although other suggestions have been made,⁷²¹ restoration of the last name as [^{md}LIŠ]-^dLAMMA seems to be a better fit for the available space.⁷²² If so, Šauškaruntiya might be another son of Hattušili III, and not a son of Kurunta. We may also note here the aforementioned snake oracle KBo 53.107+KUB 50.72 (CTH 575), which lists favorable outcomes for a number of persons including Nerikkaili, Ewri-Šarruma, Šauškaruntiya, and without any names, a GAL *MEŠEDI* and a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ (iv 1'-3'). A date to the late phase of Tudhaliya IV's reign has been suggested for KBo 53.107+KUB 50.72,⁷²³ but even if it dates to the reign of Hattušili III, the GAL *MEŠEDI* of the text can be identified with a son of Hattušili III, either Tudhaliya as a prince during the reign of Hattušili, or Huzziya during the reign of Tudhaliya. Therefore, along with Šauškaruntiya and Nerikkaili, three of the first four persons mentioned in the oracle text could be identified as sons of Hattušili,⁷²⁴ and this leads one to suspect that Ewri-Šarruma was another son (see above). However, under this scenario, there is no good explanation for Šauškaruntiya's use of Tarhuntašša in his title. Could he have been related to the Tarhuntašša branch of the family by marriage?

The name ^{md}IŠTAR-^dLAMMA, which appears in VS NF 12.125 4',⁷²⁵ is assumed to be an alternative writing for Šauškaruntiya.⁷²⁶ In this fragmentary historical text his name appears along with Maššanaura (^mDINGIR^{MEŠ}-GAL, l. 8') and a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ. Although the context does not reveal much, Gordin dates the text to the latter part of Tudhaliya IV's reign based on attestations of Maššanaura in Ugaritic sources (2008: 173).

Šauškaruntiya, the son of Hutarli (ÌR-*li*) mentioned in the court proceedings KUB 40.88 iii

⁷²⁰ The passage is edited by van den Hout (1995a: 100–103).

⁷²¹ [^{md}LAMMA or [^mLUGAL]-^dLAMMA (see Otten 1988: 8 and n. 29, and Beal 1992: 382 n. 1445).

⁷²² Suggested by van den Hout (1995a: 104), and followed by Marizza (2006: 167) and Gordin (2008: 172).

⁷²³ See note 697.

⁷²⁴ The identity of the fifth person, the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, is not certain. Van den Hout (1995a: 104) suggests an identification with Šahuruwa, who is certainly not a son of Hattušili III.

⁷²⁵ Edited by Groddek (2002c: 178).

⁷²⁶ Thus Marizza (2006: 167), Gordin (2008: 170).

19' (CTH 294),⁷²⁷ although a contemporary of our Šauškaruntiya, should be identified as a different person.⁷²⁸

Although Šauškaruntiya's attestations alongside names like Nerikkaili, Ewri-Šarruma, and Huzziya may suggest an earlier dating, his MAGNUS.SCRIBA title that appears on the same seals with MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS suggests a later dating. The MAGNUS.SCRIBA title can correspond in cuneiform to either "Chief Scribe" (GAL DUB.SAR) or "Chief Scribe on Wood" (GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ). However, as argued in section 4.9.2, Šauškaruntiya, as a prince with multiple additional titles and involvement outside the scribal activities, seems to share common characteristics with other GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ officials. Therefore his MAGNUS.SCRIBA title is more likely to stand for GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ. In either case, it is known that the GAL DUB.SAR office was occupied by Walwaziti in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty of Hattušili III, the Šahurunuwa Text, and the Bronze Tablet of Tudhaliya IV, and the GAL.DUB.SAR.GIŠ office was occupied by Šahurunuwa in both the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Bronze Tablet (see Appendix 3). If these offices were occupied by only one person at a time, the only time Šauškaruntiya could have served as MAGNUS.SCRIBA and MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS would be either before the drafting of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty during Hattušili III's reign or after the drafting of the Bronze Tablet during the late years of Tudhaliya IV. Since we already have Aliziti, Haššuwaš-Inara, and perhaps even Ewri-Šarruma and Ehli-Šarruma in this office during the reign of Hattušili III, it would be more reasonable to assume that Šauškaruntiya served as MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS sometime in the late reign of Tudhaliya IV.⁷²⁹ This also indicates

⁷²⁷ Edited by Werner (1967: 24–25).

⁷²⁸ Thus Marizza (2006: 167), who identifies the Šaggabi (iii 12') of this text with a <sup>m>Šaggabi mentioned in KBo 53.107+KUB 50.72 iv 4', and a scribe Šaggabi known from KBo 5.11 iv 26' (CTH 263), and suggests this Šauškaruntiya is the scribe known from seals Niš 379 and 380. Gordin (2008: 171 n. 515) also distinguishes this Šauškaruntiya, but according to him attestations of Šauškaruntiya, the scribe, may belong to the early career of our official (2008: 164 and n. 474). De Martino also distinguishes him (2011: 39).

⁷²⁹ Thus Marizza (2006: 167; 2010b: 40) and Gordin (2008: 173; 2010: 327).

that he could not have been at the beginning of his career during this time.

4.4.1.16 Penti-Šarruma

There are four different sealings that identify Penti-Šarruma (*pi-ti-SARMA*) with the title MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS and REX.FILIUS,⁷³⁰ and in at least three of these he also has the MAGNUS.SCRIBA title.⁷³¹ Two other seal impressions from Nišantepe that name Penti-Šarruma as MAGNUS.SCRIBA (one of them with REX.FILIUS) must also belong to the same official.⁷³² On yet another sealing from Nišantepe (Niš 327), a Penti-Šarruma is accompanied by the titles REX.FILIUS and MAGNUS.AURIGA. The princely title, the 13th-century dating, and the rarity of the name suggest he was the same person as the one known from the other seals.⁷³³

In cuneiform sources Penti-Šarruma is attested only in the letter RS 94.2523, which is a companion letter to RS 94.2530, both letters basically covering the same issues.⁷³⁴ The latter is longer and more detailed, and sent by a Hittite king, probably Šuppiluliuma II,⁷³⁵ and addressed to Ammurapi, the king of Ugarit. RS 94.2523 was sent by Penti-Šarruma and also addressed to Ammurapi. Penti-Šarruma identifies himself as a “nobleman and a dignitary of Hatti” (LÚ GAL-*u* DUGUD *ša* KUR *Ha-at-ti*), and also in the heading of the letter he has the title LÚ *tuppanura huburtinura*. This latter title apparently combines two titles. It has been suggested that the former title *tuppa(la)nura* was formed by combining the Hittite/Luwian elements *tuppala-* “scribe” and

⁷³⁰ Niš 324, 325, 326, and SBo II 17.

⁷³¹ Niš 324, 325, 326. Although not visible on the preserved section of SBo II 17, its damaged right side may have contained MAGNUS.SCRIBA or another title.

⁷³² Niš 322 and 323. Also, SBo II 68 probably comes from the same seal as Niš 322.

⁷³³ Thus Marizza (2006: 169), who suggests that he may have been promoted to the MAGNUS.AURIGA (cun. GAL *KARTAPPI*) position later in his career, pointing out that GAL *KARTAPPI* had become an important office towards the end of the empire. See Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat (2005a: 95), who also assume the same identification. Hawkins (2005a: 268) suggests that Penti-Šarruma of Niš 327 was a different individual. See also Singer (2006: 244), who is cautious about this equation. For a prosopographic study of Penti-Šarruma that also summarizes different scholarly views, see Gordin (2008: 155–60).

⁷³⁴ For a detailed treatment of the letters, see Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat (2005b: 230ff.). Another cuneiform attestation of the name may be on the tiny fragment KBo 22.21, 2', ^m*Pi-in-ti*-[(Singer 2006: 243 n. 4). There is also the hieroglyphic inscription on the ANKARA 2 silver bowl signed by a scribe (SCRIBA 2) named *Pi-ti*'-[(Hawkins 1997: 2005b). See Gordin (2008: 60 and n. 165), who suspects this Penti-[, the scribe, might be a silversmith based on his association with Palla.

⁷³⁵ Thus Singer (2006: 244).

ura/i “great,” and was, therefore, equated with the cuneiform GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) or the hieroglyphic MAGNUS.SCRIBA.⁷³⁶ The second part of the title is probably the same title known from Ugarit sources as *huburtanuru*, but it has been suggested that the word may actually be Hittite or even Hurrian with the spelling *huburtanura/i*, which also includes the combination of unknown *huburti-* and *ura/i*.⁷³⁷ If that is the case, equating the title with a GAL/MAGNUS title is very likely. It is, therefore, tempting to suggest an equation of *huburtinura* with MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS, since on three of his seals Penti-Šarruma combines it with MAGNUS.SCRIBA(=*tuppanura*).⁷³⁸ That said, however, we should also note that Ugarit Tribute Lists (Appendix 4) suggest that *huburtanuru* is a dual office (see section 6.1), whereas no such indication has been observed for MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS or GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL.

As the dating of RS 94.2523 suggests, Penti-Šarruma must have had an active career during the reign of Šuppiluliuma II. Based on this, Singer (2006: 244) suggests restoring the name of the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ who swore allegiance to Šuppiluliuma II in KUB 26.32 i 2 as [Penti]-Šarruma.⁷³⁹ In the introductory lines of the text, Šuppiluliuma mentions how he had adopted Penti-Šarruma from his parents and cared for him like a puppy (i 5–8). This must have taken place during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, since at the time of Arnuwanda III, Penti-Šarruma was already a high official (i 5–15). Therefore, Penti-Šarruma may have obtained the “prince” title through this adoption, although it is possible that he was already a relative of the royal family prior to the adoption.

⁷³⁶ See Laroche (1956b: 27f.), Arnaud (1996: 59f.), Singer (2003: 345), and Malbran-Labat (2004: 71). For various attempts to analyze it, see HEG/T: 445.

⁷³⁷ See HEG/H: 298f., HW²/H2: 749a.

⁷³⁸ Singer (2006: 244) indicates this possibility. Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat (2005a: 95) prefer equating *huburtinura* with MAGNUS.AURIGA, which appears on Niš 327, and suggest that MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS is an equivalent of LÚ GAL-*u* DUGUD. This is rejected by Singer (ibid.) on the grounds that LÚ GAL-*u* DUGUD is only an honorific, and cannot be the equivalent of MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS, which he takes as the equivalent of DUMU.É.GAL. Also equation of *huburtinura* with MAGNUS.AURIGA (cun. GAL *KARTAPPI*) is unlikely since the two titles are mentioned separately in the tribute list of CTH 48 (see Appendix 4).

⁷³⁹ The text is edited by Giorgieri (1995: 278–80).

4.4.1.17 Arnilizi/a

Arnilizi/a (*ara/i-ni-li-zi/a*)⁷⁴⁰ appears with the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS and REX.FILIUS titles on three sealings.⁷⁴¹ Three further sealings also name an Arnilizi/a with the MAGNUS.SCRIBA and REX.FILIUS titles.⁷⁴² All sealings probably come from seals that belong to the same “prince,”⁷⁴³ but this name has so far not been attested in the cuneiform sources.⁷⁴⁴ Although the MAGNUS.SCRIBA and MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS titles are not attested on the same seal, considering the examples of Šauškaruntiya and Penti-Šarruma, it is possible that he may have served in these offices simultaneously. As will be discussed below, his use of certain seals on *Tonverschlüsse* may be an indication that he was using separate seals for different functions.

It is not possible to give a certain dating for the career of Arnilizi/a. However, with the assumption that his term in office was not before Hattušili III, for the same reasons as given for Šauškaruntiya, he could not have served as MAGNUS.SCRIBA before the late reign of Tudhaliya IV. Gordin suspects that he may have taken over the MAGNUS.SCRIBA office from Penti-Šarruma (2008: 203 and Table 4.9 on 205), and if so, perhaps he served as MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS simultaneously.

4.4.1.18 L.?-tu-li

The seal Niš 702 reads L. ?-tu-li MAGNUS.DOMUS.[X] REX.FILIUS and is known from two impressions found in Nišantepe. The incomplete title is likely to be MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS, since the MAGNUS.DOMUS prefix is not encountered in any

⁷⁴⁰ For the reading of the name, see Hawkins (2005a: 250).

⁷⁴¹ Two bullae from the Nišantepe archive (Niš 71, Niš 73), and the two impressions of another seal, one from Temple 1 area (BoHa 14 no. 240) and another from Büyükkale (BoHa 22 no. 210).

⁷⁴² Niš 72, Niš 74, and BoHa 14 no. 239.

⁷⁴³ Thus Hawkins (2005a: 250).

⁷⁴⁴ A person named Arnili, possibly an official in the palace, is mentioned in an anecdote in KUB 13.3 iii 27 (CTH 265), which is a New Hittite script text, but may have its origins in earlier periods (see Pecchioli Daddi 2004: 455–58).

other combination.⁷⁴⁵ The reading of the first sign of the person's name is unknown, but the distinct *-tu-li* ending indicates that he is certainly a different official than the other known holders of this title. We may only speculate that the lack of information about him is perhaps an indication of his term in office towards the end of the Empire.⁷⁴⁶

4.4.2 General discussion of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL

GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	Reigning King	Other Titles / Relationship
Aškaliya	Hattušili I (?)	
Išputahšu	Hattušili I (?)	
Ilaliuma (?)	Hantili I	
Hapuwaššu	Ammuna / Huzziya I / Telipinu	
Šarpa	Hantili II	
Arinnel	Huzziya II–Muwatalli I	
Himuili	Muwatalli I	GAL GEŠTIN
Duwa	Arnuwanda I–Tudhaliya III (?)	
Lupakki	Muršili II / Muwatalli II	UGULA 10 ŠA KARAŠ (?)
Aliziti	Hattušili III	
MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS:		
Haššuwaš-Inara	Hattušili III	REX.FILIUS, GAL UKU.UŠ GÜB- <i>la</i>
Ewri-Šarruma	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV (?)	REX.FILIUS, son of Hattušili III (?)
Ehli-Šarruma	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV (?)	REX.FILIUS, future king of Išuwa, grandson of Hattušili III
Kuwalanaziti	Tudhaliya IV	REX.FILIUS
Šauškaruntiya	Late Tudhaliya IV	REX.FILIUS (TONITRUS.URBS), MAGNUS.SCRIBA, L. 283.DOMINUS, son of Hattušili III (?)
Penti-Šarruma	Arnuwanda III–Šuppiluliuma II	REX.FILIUS, MAGNUS.SCRIBA/GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, ^{LÚ} <i>tuppanura huburtinura</i> , MAGNUS.AURIGA
Arnili/a	Šuppiluliuma II (?)	REX.FILIUS, MAGNUS.SCRIBA
L. ?- <i>tu-li</i>	Late 13 th /early 12 th century (?)	REX.FILIUS

Table 8. List of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL officials.

The office of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL is one of the few top positions in the Hittite administration. Already in the Old Kingdom it is listed among the top officials, when Telipinu

⁷⁴⁵ Seals such as BoHa 22 no. 136 and no. 137, with only the MAGNUS.DOMUS (i.e., “palace”) writing and no name, are probably generic seals used by the palace personnel to seal material belonging to the palace.

⁷⁴⁶ There are few names ending with *-tu-li*. In the glyptic sources there are Samituli on Niš 348 with the title URBS.DOMINUS(?), and a biconvex seal (*x[?]-tu[?]-li*) from Çelebibağ (no. Vla 3.2 in Mora 1987: 139 and Tav. 32). In the cuneiform sources, the same onomastic element may exist in Haruwanduli in LhK 91 rev. 28 of Arnuwanda I, and Dulli in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I (KBo 14.3 iii 56).

gives a list of senior officials three separate times in his edict, who might possibly plot against the royal family.⁷⁴⁷ Inclusion of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL among them should be an indication that the holders of this office, as well as others, are members of the royal family who might claim the throne.

During the late Old Kingdom and early Empire period, as testified by the witness lists of the land donation texts, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL is always one of the top two names.⁷⁴⁸ In the MH document called Instructions for the Royal Bodyguards (CTH 262),⁷⁴⁹ which describes the rules and protocol the bodyguards must follow in the palace court and during the travels of the king, it is the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, who symbolically hands the king over to the GAL *MEŠEDI* after helping the king step into his carriage,⁷⁵⁰ and upon his return to the palace the GAL *MEŠEDI* hands the king over to the Chief of the Palace Servants (GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL).⁷⁵¹ Miller (2013: 98f.) notes that the travel of the king described in CTH 262, does not end with a return to Hattuša,⁷⁵² but rather ends in the palace of the town that was being visited. This would therefore suggest that after the ceremonial handover of the king at Hattuša, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL also travels with the group, in order to be present at the destination to receive the king. That would also explain the presence of the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL during the proceedings when the king was receiving the petitioners.⁷⁵³

The role of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL is best observed in the religious domain. The attestations of this official in documents of religious genre outnumber those of other high officials, even of the GAL *MEŠEDI*. A great number of these are festivals, but there are also

⁷⁴⁷ CTH 40 ii 62, ii 71, and iii 71 (see Hoffmann 1984: 36–39). All three times the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL is mentioned after the ^{LU.MEŠ}*ABUBĪTU(M)*, but before the GAL *GEŠTIN* and GAL *MEŠEDI*.

⁷⁴⁸ See Table 24 and Appendix 1.

⁷⁴⁹ IBoT 1.36; edited by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991), and more recently by Miller (2013: 98–121).

⁷⁵⁰ IBoT 1.36 ii 15–25.

⁷⁵¹ IBoT 1.36 iv 18–20.

⁷⁵² As was assumed by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 2).

⁷⁵³ IBoT 1.36 iii 12.

several rituals and cult-related texts.⁷⁵⁴ The most typical role this official plays in these texts is his participation by handing objects to the king during the ceremony or ritual. This is usually a piece of cloth with which the king dries his hands after he washes them, but in other cases it is an object of offering, such as bread or vessels, or symbols of royalty and power, such as a lituus (^{GIŠ}*kalmuš*), a staff (^{GIŠ}*hatalla*), or a spear (^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR).⁷⁵⁵ His frequent appearance in the religious texts, more often than other top officials, could be attributed to the fact that his administrative duties revolved around the palace and he does not seem to have had any significant military duties. As was discussed above, in a couple of texts Duwa and Haššuwaš-Inara appear in a military context but in those texts neither official is identified with the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL title, and it is certainly known that Haššuwaš-Inara did serve as the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left at some point in his career. However, during the last phase of the empire, we have clearer evidence for the involvement of these officials in military matters. In the late reign of Tudhaliya IV, Šauškaruntiya accompanied the Hittite king on at least one of his military campaigns, and Penti-Šarruma appears with the MAGNUS.AURIGA title during the reign of Šuppiluliuma II.

It may be questioned whether the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL (the Chief of the Palace Servants) was indeed in charge of all the palace attendants (DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL). There are plenty of attestations of DUMU.É.GAL,⁷⁵⁶ and like the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, the majority of these texts are of the religious genre. In many of these texts that mention the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, one or more DUMU.É.GAL also take part in the performance of similar

⁷⁵⁴ For a list of attestations see Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 530–32).

⁷⁵⁵ For a more detailed treatment of the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL in the religious domain, see Marizza (2006: 153–56).

⁷⁵⁶ See Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 91–104).

activities.⁷⁵⁷ It is therefore probable that the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL official had these personnel in his service.⁷⁵⁸ Furthermore, the role described for the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL official in the above-mentioned Instructions for the Royal Bodyguards also gives the impression that this official remained in charge of the palace. On the other hand, there is also evidence indicating that this official traveled to various parts of the land; however, in many of these texts, he is probably accompanying the king. Starting with the earlier examples, several of the land donation texts, where the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL appears as a witness, were actually issued in cities other than Hattuša.⁷⁵⁹ The recipient of the letter KuT 49, found in Kuşaklı/Şarišša, is a GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, and the letter was probably sent from Hattuša.⁷⁶⁰ In some texts of religious genre, too, this official is said to have traveled outside the capital.⁷⁶¹

The prominence of the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL office seems to have decreased towards the latter half of the Empire period. Numerous festival and ritual texts dating from various periods of the Hittite state suggest that the ceremonial functions of the office were not affected, but in the few lists of officials available from the Empire period he either stands below many other officials or he is not listed at all.⁷⁶²

If the equivalence of the hieroglyphic MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS and cuneiform GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL suggested by Hawkins (2005a: 304) is correct,⁷⁶³ we obtain the names of eight more officials, all of whom are also encountered with the “prince” designation. It is possible that Ewri-Šarruma and Šauškaruntiya were sons of Hattušili III. It is almost certain that

⁷⁵⁷ See Marizza (2006: 158–60) for a list of some of the palace employees who seem to have played important roles, as well as a brief overview of other less frequently attested titles GAL É.GAL, UGULA É.GAL, LÚ É.GAL, GAL LÚ É, and *hapax* titles LÚ É.LUGAL, LÚ.MEŠ ŠA É, UGULA 70 ŠA DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL^{TIM} LUGAL.

⁷⁵⁸ Thus Marizza (2006: 171).

⁷⁵⁹ LhK 5, 14, 22, 23, 41 in Hanhana, LhK 6, 28, 29², 30 in Kammama, and LhK 43 in Katapa.

⁷⁶⁰ See under Duwa above and the note 653.

⁷⁶¹ He travels to Zippalanda in KBo 10.20 iv 13' (see Güterbock 1997: 97).

⁷⁶² In the Aleppo Treaty of Muwatalli II and the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty of Hattušili III this official is listed towards the end of the witnesses, and in the Bronze Tablet and Šahuruwa Text of Tudhaliya IV, there is no GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL.

⁷⁶³ See above in section 4.4.1.10.

Ehli-Šarruma was a grandson of the same king, and Penti-Šarruma may have been an adopted son of Šuppiliuma II. Since all eight of the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS officials as well as Aliziti were active during the reign of Hattušili III and afterwards, we face a dilemma in accommodating reasonable office terms for each of these officials. We then have to assume either that there was more than one GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL official active during this period, or that these officials served very short terms in office.⁷⁶⁴ Unlike the two GAL GEŠTIN officials of the Bronze Tablet, or the Right/Left designations of certain offices, there is no evidence to support the existence of multiple GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL officials serving at the same time, and therefore we must assume that these officials served successively. The order of officials shown in Table 8 reflects this scenario, although the presence of several question marks reveal the uncertainties associated with it. Aliziti may have served after Haššuwaš-Inara, and it is especially unclear for Ewri-Šarruma, Ehli-Šarruma, Kuwalanaziti, and Šauškaruntiya, who may need to be fitted into the limited period of time from the late reign of Hattušili III to the late reign of Tudhaliya IV. As discussed above, Aliziti and Ehli-Šarruma must have served as GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL early in their careers, and this is also a possibility for Ewri-Šarruma and Kuwalanaziti. Therefore under the current scenario it is possible to assume that by the reign of Hattušili III, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL office had become a short-term office for young princes/officials to gain experience in the state administration. After the late reign of Tudhaliya IV, the situation may have changed somewhat again. Both Šauškaruntiya and Penti-Šarruma carry the double title of MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS and MAGNUS.SCRIBA. Furthermore, Šauškaruntiya participated in campaigns of Tudhaliya IV and bears a military title, while Penti-

⁷⁶⁴ Of course, one also has to consider the possibility that MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS is not an equivalent of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL. Besides the difficulties associated with accommodating so many officials into a short period of time, we lack attestations of a cuneiform version of the title for all of these officials, despite the fact that six of the eight officials are known from cuneiform sources.

Šarruma was involved in international correspondence.

Some information about their administrative duties may be derived from the bullae that bear their seal impressions. Both Šauškaruntiya and Arnilizi/a used their seals with the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS title on *Tonverschlüsse*, which are clay sealings that on their reverse bear the impression of either the leather or the cord that was used to tie up a container.⁷⁶⁵ The majority of the 198 *Tonverschlüsse* found at Nišantepe bear anonymous Labarna seals, but eighteen of them are sealed by particular officials. Ten of those come from the seals of six different princes, and ten of them from six different persons with scribal titles.⁷⁶⁶ Gordin (2008: 143) points out that various high officials are known to have been involved in inspecting incoming tribute or receiving tribute themselves. An example of this can be seen in RS 94.2523 18–20, where Penti-Šarruma complains about his own tribute.⁷⁶⁷ It is interesting that among the various officials who deal with inventory, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL is never mentioned.⁷⁶⁸ Nevertheless, it would not be unthinkable that the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL did on occasion inspect certain goods. Perhaps the task was normally carried out by lower-ranking employees who used the anonymous Labarna seals, and only occasionally required the presence and the seal of the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL.

As evidenced by Šauškaruntiya's presence on Tudhaliya VI's campaign to southwest Anatolia, the duties of these young and short-term holders of the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL office did not tie them to the capital. It could be suspected that the close involvement of Penti-Šarruma with Syrian affairs may have required him to take trips to the south. Both Aliziti and Kuwalanaziti appear as envoys of the king of Hatti in Ugarit and Mira, respectively, but that

⁷⁶⁵ Niš 374 of Šauškaruntiya on two separate occasions and Niš 71 of Arnilizi/a on one. About *Tonverschlüsse*, see Herbordt (2005: 32–36).

⁷⁶⁶ Taki-Šarruma bears both “prince” (REX.FILIUS) and “Chief Scribe” (MAGNUS.SCRIBA) titles on four of them. See Tab. 8 in Herbordt (2005: 36).

⁷⁶⁷ See Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat (2005b: 232 n. 45), Singer (2006: 245).

⁷⁶⁸ Noted by Marizza (2006: 159f.). About those officials, see Siegelová (1986: 287–91, 533f.).

seem to have taken place later in their careers.

Although the available evidence does not reveal a clear picture, based on the combination of glyptic and cuneiform evidence, it can be suggested that the office of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL underwent some changes in the thirteenth century. The holders of this office were among the top three or four officials before the Empire period and served in office for lengthy periods, presumably for the duration of a king's reign, sometimes extending into the reign of the new king as observed in the case of Arinnel and perhaps also Duwa. We may suspect that these officials had ties to the royal family, but they are never attested with princely titles. However, it should be kept in mind that the use of the DUMU.LUGAL designation for members of the royal family other than the sons of the kings was a practice started later, possibly during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I or Muršili II.⁷⁶⁹ Whether the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS officials were GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL or not, by the reign of Hattušili III the office did not have as high a prestige as it had held during the earlier periods.

4.5 ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*

The ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* was one of the few top officials of the Hittite administration, especially before the late Empire period. As has been seen in the treatment of other GAL-level officials, the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* was consistently listed as a witness in numerous land donation texts, more often than the GAL *MEŠEDI* or GAL *GEŠTIN* (see Table 25). The title is attested in a number of documents dating from the Old Hittite to the late Empire period, indicating its continuous use throughout the existence of the state.

Pecchioli Daddi lists all known attestations of ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* (1982: 266–68), but a few more documents have become available since that publication. Other studies of this office have been

⁷⁶⁹ See under Hutupiyanza in 3.2.1.

made by McMahon with a focus on the institution associated with the official, É^{LÚ}*uriyanni* (1991: 259–62), by Beal about the military aspects of the office (1992: 360–68), and more recently by Pecchioli Daddi (2010), who suggests identifying the title with^{LÚ}*ABUBĪTI*.

In the cuneiform sources, the word is consistently spelled with *u-* but never with *ú-*. The word is often uninflected,⁷⁷⁰ which may be seen as evidence for foreign origin (KloECKhorst 2008: 926).⁷⁷¹ The phrase *ša uriyannūtim* encountered in the Akkadian-language land donation text LhK 30:8' may be an attempt to create an Akkadian abstract noun that refers to “the office” of the *uriyanni* official.⁷⁷² In the past, various translations have been offered for the^{LÚ}*uriyanni* title,⁷⁷³ and a hieroglyphic equivalent has not yet been identified.

Although there are a dozen *uriyanni* officials known by name, most of these are attested only as witnesses to land donation texts and not much else is known about them. A study of these officials is provided below, followed by a discussion of the general aspects of the *uriyanni* office.

4.5.1 Known *uriyanni* officials in Hittite history

4.5.1.1 Pappa

The earliest known holder of the title is mentioned in one of the anecdotes of the so-called Palace Chronicle (CTH 8):⁷⁷⁴ “Pappa was the *uriyanni* official. But in [Taruk]ka² he was (fraudulently) distributing soldier-bread and *marnuwan*-beer. The *sar[ruwa²]-bread ...*] and they

⁷⁷⁰ See the few contrary examples in Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 267).

⁷⁷¹ KloECKhorst also indicates that the *uriyanni/urayanni* alternation may be an indication of foreign origin. However the *urayanni* (*u-ra-ia-an-ni*) spelling occurs only in two copies of the Vow of Puduhepa (KUB 31.61+ ii 9 with dupl. VBoT 71 10'; CTH 585), and in two festival ritual fragments, KUB 60.21 rev. 3' and KUB 58.1+2 iii 11', all of which are NS texts. Otherwise the word is consistently spelled *u-ri-(ia)-an-ni* with *i* vocalization.

⁷⁷² Thus Pecchioli Daddi (2010: 235 n. 21), contra Rüster (1993: 68f.), who considers it a plural.

⁷⁷³ Previously Friedrich suggested “Art höherer Priester oder Tempelfuntionär” (1952: 235), and Liverani equated it with^{LÚ}HAL (1975: 73f.). Otten translates it as “Küchenmeister” (1987: 31 and n. 39); Alp (1991b: 323), picking up an earlier suggestion of Laroche (1949: 71), equates the title with^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU*. Beal suggests “Chief of Storehouses” or “Quartermaster-General” (1992: 367), and CHD/P: 283 translates it as “Chief Provisioner(?)”.

⁷⁷⁴ KBo 3.34 i 5'–10' with duplicates KUB 36.104 3'–8', KBo 13.44+ 5–10, and KUB 48.77 2'–6'; edited by Dardano (1997: 30f.).

smear it over Pappa, the *uriyanni*. They poured salt in a cup of *marnuwan*-beer. And he drank it. They broke the cup on his head. But in Hattuša, he was distributing *walhi*-beer to the troops. They took a jug and smashed it on his head.” Although it is not entirely clear, this official’s duties may have involved the distribution of supplies, a position that he apparently abused and for which he was punished accordingly.

Pappa’s name appears in four other land donation texts. In LhK 1, which is technically not a land donation text,⁷⁷⁵ Pappa is identified as the son of Tuttula, who is the ^{LÚ}AGRIG of the city of Hanhana. The document forbids Pappa to make any claims against the property that was given to Tuttula’s adoptive son Zidi. LhK 1, also known as the Īnandik Tablet, is older than all the other land donation texts, and according to Wilhelm it probably dates to Telipinu, or Ammuna at the earliest (2005: 278).⁷⁷⁶ Therefore, Pappa of LhK 1 cannot be matched with the one in the Palace Chronicle, which dates to Muršili I at the latest. The other three land donation texts, LhK 22, 31 and 58, also date to later periods.⁷⁷⁷

4.5.1.2 Tiwazidi

Tiwazidi is named as ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* in LhK 1, which is dated to Telipinu, or Ammuna at the earliest.⁷⁷⁶ He is listed among the witnesses after Pulli, the GAL GEŠTIN, and Aškaliya, the prince, but before Šandamei, the UGULA 1 LI KUŠ₇. The *uriyanni* official whose name is lost in the lacuna of LhK 2 may also be Tiwazidi, since the next witness in that tablet is Šandamei, the UGULA 1 LI KUŠ₇. Other attestations of this name, including two Old Hittite–era seals with the

⁷⁷⁵ The text is a validation by the king of a private transaction in which a person transfers property to an adopted son and devotes his real son to a temple.

⁷⁷⁶ See also Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 51).

⁷⁷⁷ LhK 22 is attributed to Telipinu, and Pappa of obv. 11 is one of the household owners who are included in the donation. In LhK 31 rev. 11', 13', [Pa]ppa of the Great House (ÉTM GAL) is the beneficiary and the tablet is sealed by Huzziya II. Pappa of LhK 58 rev. 2' is again the beneficiary, and is argued to be the same person as the one in LhK 1 by Easton (1981: 7), but see Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 213) for a detailed analysis to the contrary. Other attestations of Pappa in KUB 31 44 i 4, 12 (CTH 260) and KBo 7.21 3 (CTH 237.4) also date to later periods.

hieroglyphic writing SOL-VIR.zi/a,⁷⁷⁸ cannot be identified with this official.⁷⁷⁹

4.5.1.3 Marakui

Six different land donation texts (LhK 11–14, 17–18) list Marakui, the *uriyanni*, in their witness lists. These texts bear Tabarna seals, which have been attributed to Telipinu. In all six texts Marakui is listed after Hapuwáššu, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL. Marakui's name appears in a few other texts but none can be matched with this official.⁷⁸⁰

In the witness lists of three other land donation texts (LhK 4, 5, and 19), Hapuwáššu, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, is again followed by a ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* whose name is lost in each case. According to the copy provided by Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: Tafel L), what remains of the traces at the end of the name in LhK 4 rev. 11' indicate that the sign ends with a vertical, which should exclude the possibility of Marakui.⁷⁸¹ Furthermore, the final traces of the name in LhK 19 rev. 6' also indicate that the name can be neither Marakui nor Tudhaliya (Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 137), suggesting the existence of another ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*, contemporary to Telipinu.

4.5.1.4 Tudhaliya

This person is listed as a witness in LhK 22 and 23. The tablets bear anonymous Tabarna seals which are also dated to Telipinu. They are issued in the city of Hanhana, and in both of them Tudhaliya, the *uriyanni*, is listed as the first witness.

The suggestion of Beal (1992: 362) to identify this official with the like-named military

⁷⁷⁸ On its reading see Hawkins (2005a: 276, 296).

⁷⁷⁹ There are two seals, one without any title (SBo II 124) and the other with a scribal title (no. 125 in Beran 1967: 53 and Tafel 10; for a better copy see Boehmer and Güterbock 1987: 53, Abb. 38). The seal impression Niš 465 (*Ti²-wa/i-VIR.zi/a*) may be another spelling of the same name. The name also appears in LhK 29 obv. 8, 13 of Hantili II as a palace servant and recipient of the donation, in a Mašat text (HKM 111, 26), and with the logographic writing ^{md}UTU-LÚ in two NS texts: a list of people KUB 31.59 3, 11 (CTH 233), and an oracle text KUB 49.30 rev. 12 (CTH 579).

⁷⁸⁰ As a *KARTAPPU* in a Mašat document (HKM 44 obv. 3'); in a historical fragment that also mentions "the Majesty" and the city of Ura (KBo 16.43 10), and as a dignitary (^{LÚ}DUGUD) in the Arnuwanda I dated text KUB 31.44 i 22 (CTH 260).

⁷⁸¹ Pecchioli Daddi (2010: 233), however, reads [Maraku]i and restores the same name on LhK 5 rev. 40, too.

officer mentioned in KBo 1.11 rev.¹ 17, the so-called Siege of Uršu text (CTH 7),⁷⁸² which dates to Hattušili I or Muršili I,⁷⁸³ cannot be maintained due to the later date of LhK 22–23.

The nearly contemporary fragment KUB 26.77,⁷⁸⁴ which names both Alluwamna and Harapšeki, mentions a Tudhaliya in i 17. The same text may also include the name [Tahurw]aili in the very next line, who is referred to as “the son of a prostitute” (DUMU^{MUNUS}KAR.KI[D]), but it is not clear in what respect Tudhaliya is mentioned in the text.⁷⁸⁵

4.5.1.5 Ilaliuma and Zi-[...]

Ilaliuma was an *uriyanni* official during the reign of Hantili II. He is named in three donation texts (LhK 28, 29, 36). The reign of Hantili II is when we start to see two *uriyanni* officials listed together as witnesses. While Ilaliuma is the only *uriyanni* official in LhK 28, he is paired with other *uriyanni* officials in LhK 29 and 36 and their title is written collectively as LÚ.MEŠ^{uriyanni}. This Ilaliuma certainly cannot be identified with the one named in the Telipinu Edict, who played a role in the Šukziya incident during the reign of Hantili I.⁷⁸⁶

Only the first syllable “Zi” of Ilaliuma’s partner in LhK 29 has been preserved. He may also be the *uriyanni* official along with Ilaliuma on LhK 36. Although they are collectively given the title LÚ.MEŠ^{uriyanni}, we may note that Ilaliuma is the first name in LhK 29 before Zi-, whereas the unnamed *uriyanni* official of LhK 36 is written before Ilaliuma.

4.5.1.6 Kakka’ and Taškuili’

There is evidence for the existence of two more *uriyanni* officials in LhK 37 rev. 7’–8’,

⁷⁸² Edited by Beckman (1995c: 23ff.).

⁷⁸³ *ibid.* 27 n. 16.

⁷⁸⁴ Edited by Bin-Nun (1974: 117f.), who dates the text to Telipinu. She is followed by Freu (Freu, Mazoyer, and Klock-Fontanille 2007: 149).

⁷⁸⁵ Bin-Nun, by restoring the names of [Tahurw]aili, [Taruhšu], and [Taruw]a in KUB 26.77 obv. 18–19 (1974: 117f.), implies that Tudhaliya was involved with these men, but this restoration has not found wide support. See the critique by Freu (Freu, Mazoyer, and Klock-Fontanille 2007: 149f.).

⁷⁸⁶ KUB 3.89 i 13, KBo 1.27 ii 2 (CTH 19.1). The person named [Il]aliuma of LhK 9 obv. 7, whose property is being divided, may also be the same person as the one in the Telipinu edict (Beal 1992: 361 n. 1368).

which is another land donation text that almost certainly dates to Hantili II, based on the matching identity of some of the witnesses and the scribe with those from other land donation texts of Hantili II. Although the names of the two officials have been restored as [^mKa[?]-a]k-ka and ^mTàš-k[u-i-li][?], these cannot be confirmed by any other evidence.⁷⁸⁷

4.5.1.7 Zuzzu and Marašša

Zuzzu and Marašša are apparently two equal-ranking *uriyanni* officers of Huzziya II. In their only attestation as *uriyanni* officials they are listed together in the witness lists of LhK 41 rev. 11 with the joint title ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*uriyanni*. In LhK 45 rev. 4'–5', their names appear at the beginning of two lines, but in reverse order to that of LhK 41, and the titles are lost in the broken context. If both of them were still *uriyanni* officials, their titles had to be written separately as ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* in each line. Could it be that this was done in order to differentiate them with “of the Right” and “of the Left” designations?⁷⁸⁸

In two other land donation texts of Huzziya II (LhK 40 and 42), a ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* is listed among the witnesses but the names have been lost.⁷⁸⁹ In LhK 40 rev. 56 there seems to be enough space only for a very short name, barely enough for either ^mZu-uz-zu or ^mMa-ra-aš-ša.

There are several attestations of the name Zuzzu, one of which includes the scribe of LhK 41. Another pre-Empire period attestation is the head of household named with the donated property in LhK 22:7, 9, which is dated to Telipinu. Other attestations of this name date to later

⁷⁸⁷ Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 137) note that among the names attested in Hittite sources only Taškuili and Taškuwanni match the second name, Taškuili being the more commonly attested one. A Taškuili is known from the Middle Hittite Mašat document HKM 100: 11' as one of the six household members of the “House of the Majesty” (É^dUTU^S) in Tapikka[?] (Del Monte 1995: 98). A Taškuwanni is named only once in a Middle Hittite letter, KUB 31.79 30' (Hoffner 2009: 81–84), which mentions transport of supplies by river to Šamuha. However, both of these documents probably date to Tudhaliya III. Other attestations of Taškuili include HFAC 7 5, 7[(CTH 212), possibly an early Empire period fragment of a treaty or instruction; KUB 31.68 28, 41 (CTH 297), a Tudhaliya IV period court proceeding (the so-called “Hešni conspiracy”); and probably a biconvex seal in the Ashmolean Museum (1914.168), which reads *Ta-sa-ku-li* VIR₂.SIGILLUM[?].

⁷⁸⁸ According to Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 195) this may have been adopted due to the available space on the tablet, but in all four other attestations of double *uriyanni* officials as witnesses, the joint ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*uriyanni* title was used. See further on this in the discussion below.

⁷⁸⁹ In LhK 42 only the ending of the title has survived as ^{LÚ}u]-ri-an-ni, but the available space indicates the line cannot have had two names; thus the title cannot be ^{LÚ.MEŠ}u]-ri-an-ni.

periods.⁷⁹⁰

A Marašša appears in KBo 16.61 obv. 2, 9, rev. 5, 10⁷⁹¹ as a defendant in a court proceeding. Although the text is fragmentary, it can be deduced that the case involves four minas of silver given to Marašša (obv. 1–2, 9–10), a bribe requested by Marašša (obv. 4–6), and several cattle and other animals that appear to have gone missing while under his control (rev. 2'–13'). Although no titles are mentioned, Marašša must be a high official accused of abusing his powers, who defends himself by quoting the king (obv. 10–13). Considering the association of the *uriyanni* office with provisions including animals (see discussion below), an identification of this person with the *uriyanni* official of Huzziya II may be suspected.

Marašša, the UGULA 1 LI^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇, of the Palace Chronicle,⁷⁹² and the Mara(š)ša mentioned in the Mašat text HKM 107 obv. 7⁷⁹³ are certainly different persons.

4.5.1.8 Atupalanza and Hutupalla

These two *uriyanni* officials are attested separately, only once each, in the two land donation texts of Muwatalli I. Atupalanza is the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* in LhK 46 rev. 28, while Hutupalla holds the office in LhK 47 rev. 15. The presence of Arinnel, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, in LhK 46 rev. 25 as the first witness indicates that this document predates LhK 47, in which Arinnel is no longer there and his post has been taken over by Himuili. Therefore either Atupalanza preceded Hutupalla in the *uriyanni* office, or perhaps both were *uriyanni* officials during the reign of Muwatalli, but only one was present as witness in each of the aforementioned land donation texts.

The name Atupalanza is attested only one other time in a very fragmentary Middle Hittite

⁷⁹⁰ See Zuzzu in section 4.14.1.

⁷⁹¹ Edited by Werner (1967: 60f.).

⁷⁹² KBo 3.34 ii 22, 24; edited by Dardano (1997: 50f.).

⁷⁹³ Alp (1991a: xxv).

text, KBo 32.201 rev. 54 (^mA-t]u-pa-la-an-za).⁷⁹⁴ The rarity of the name and matching time period suggest a connection but the broken context does not provide any information.⁷⁹⁵

Hutupalla is not known from any other source.

4.5.1.9 Kišnapili(?)

LhK 61 is a tiny fragment, for which the following transliteration has been provided by Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: 215):

Rev. x+1	[(a+na pani) ^m ...	GAL DUM]U.MEŠ[.É.GAL
2'	[	]^m rKi ^l -iš-n[a-pi [?] -li [?] LÚ.MEŠ ^{u-ri-an-ni}] [?]
3'	[	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GE}]ŠTIN [
4'	[	] DUB.SAR [iš-tú-ur / tur]

The only attested name in Hittite sources that starts with *Ki-iš-* and matches the following traces is Kišnapili, who is known from KUB 14.1+ obv. 60–72 (CTH 147),⁷⁹⁶ the so-called Indictment of Madduwatta text, as a commander sent by Tudhaliya I/II to the aid of Madduwatta, and who was later killed as a result of the latter's betrayal.

Rüter and Wilhelm, with reservations, restore the title of the official as ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*uriyanni*, based on the fact that the line must contain another name, and that the *uriyanni* officials usually appear as pairs. One may note the existence of a paragraph line between the first and second lines separating the witnesses. Among all of the extant witness lists of the land donation texts, this peculiar paragraph division has been observed in only three other texts: LhK 46 and 47 of Muwatalli I and another undated small fragment, LhK 60. Waršiya was the scribe of both LhK 46 and 47, and in both of these texts, as well as in LhK 60, the paragraph line was placed after

⁷⁹⁴ See Marizza (2007a: 136).

⁷⁹⁵ Otten (1994: 254) indicates the possibility of a [^lHi]-in-ti in obv. 1 of the same document, whom he identifies as queen Henti, which would therefore date the document to a later period, but there is nothing else to support the identification.

⁷⁹⁶ Beckman (1999: 156f.).

the first two witnesses. Therefore, it is possible that in LhK 61 too, there are two witnesses above the paragraph line. This unusual practice may not be enough to attribute LhK 61 to sometime around Muwatalli I, but at least chronologically that would be a close match to Kišnapili of Tudhaliya I/II. On the other hand, the Kišnapili who appears in the Madduwatta text is clearly a major military commander, a type of duty that has not been attested for *uriyanni* officials. If he could be identified with the name in LhK 61:2', it might be more reasonable to expect his title to be a military one such as GAL KUŠ₇.

4.5.1.10 [...] -li

In the treaty Muwatalli II reissued for Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo, an *uriyanni* official is listed among the witnesses (KBo 1.6 rev. 19'):⁷⁹⁷

19' ^mGa-aš-šu-ú GAL 'SANGA' ^mDu/Uš-^rša/ta'-[x x x x x x]-li ^{LÚ}u-ri-ia-an-ni

Previously Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 268) and later Beal (1992: 361) assumed the presence of a single name after GAL SANGA and before the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* title, rendering it as ^mDu-š/ta-[]-li. However, this is quite unlikely given the large gap.⁷⁹⁸ More recently Pecchioli Daddi reverted to positing two names, but suggested that both persons might be *uriyanni* officials (2010: 234). This, too, is unlikely since the *uriyanni* title is in the singular, and the gap is not enough to accommodate the ending of the first name, another ^{LÚ}*u-ri-ia-an-ni* title, and the beginning of the second name. It is more likely that the gap contains the end of *Duš/ta-*, a short title composed of two or three signs, and the beginning of the name that ends with *-li*.

As was discussed previously, it is not certain whether the witnesses of the Aleppo Treaty were still active during the reign of Muwatalli II or if their names were simply copied from a

⁷⁹⁷ See Devecchi (2010: 13).

⁷⁹⁸ Thus also Beckman (1999: 95), and Devecchi (2010: 13 n. 40).

Muršili II-era original kept in the Hittite capital.⁷⁹⁹

4.5.1.11 AMAR.MUŠEN(-i)

The last known *uriyanni* official is AMAR.MUŠEN(-i), who is also the only one known from the late Empire period. The phonetic reading of this official's name is not known, but *wannai-* has been suggested for the MUŠEN ending of the name by de Roos (2007a: 55).

AMAR.MUŠEN is listed among the witnesses of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty of Hattušili III. It is noteworthy to mention that among the twenty-two witnesses, he is listed only in seventh place, after four sons of Hattušili III and the kings of Karkamiš and Išuwa. The same official is also known from KUB 31.61+ ii 9, the text known as the Vow of Puduhepa (CTH 585), where his title is spelled ^{LÚ}*u-ra-ya-an-ni-iš*.⁸⁰⁰ In this text AMAR.MUŠEN(-i) is one of the persons who contribute personnel to be dedicated to the cult of Lelwani for the well-being of Hattušili.

There are several other attestations of this name, most of which have already been identified by van den Hout in his prosopographical study (1995a: 204–6): a *KARTAPPU* in KUB 13.35+ ii 43 (CTH 293); an augur in HFAC 75 7' (CTH 577), HFAC 76 4', 14'⁹ (CTH 573), KBo 40.374 obv. 6', 10' (CTH 577); and without any title in KUB 15.5+ i 1 (CTH 583), which is a text about dreams of kings.⁸⁰¹ According to van den Hout, the *KARTAPPU* of CTH 293 and the person mentioned in the dream text (CTH 583) are the same person as the *uriyanni* official, based on the fact that both texts name persons known from the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty.⁸⁰² For one thing, van den Hout's assumption that the *KARTAPPU* of the Hattušili III-dated CTH 293⁸⁰³ was promoted to the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* position by the time of the Tudhaliya IV-dated Ulmi-Tešup Treaty

⁷⁹⁹ See the discussion above under Lupakki in section 4.4.1.8.

⁸⁰⁰ Edited by Otten and Souček (1965: 24f.).

⁸⁰¹ Other attestations of the name are spelled with the phonetic complement *-na* and probably refer to a different person (see de Roos 2007a: 55): a carpenter in KBo 16.83 ii 10 (CTH 242), a scribe in KUB 30.38+KBo 23.1 l.e. 2 (CTH 472), and without any title in KBo 41.210:10' (CTH 577).

⁸⁰² Alalimi, Palla, and Tutu in CTH 293 and Walwaziti in CTH 583.

⁸⁰³ For this dating see Klengel 1999: 250.

cannot be maintained, since it is now known that the latter document also dates to Hattušili III. Secondly, what is known about the duties of a *KARTAPPU*, the best translation of which may be “Chariot Driver,”⁸⁰⁴ has nothing to do with what is known about the *uriyanni* official.⁸⁰⁵ As will be argued below, the order of witnesses in treaties as well as in land donation texts does indicate a certain hierarchy, and it is unlikely for the *uriyanni* official of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty to be the same person as a lowly *KARTAPPU*, and it is even less likely for a person to rise from the *KARTAPPU* position to the *uriyanni* position during the reign of the same king. Van den Hout’s suggestion (1995a: 205) of establishing a connection between the ^{LU}*uriyanni* official and the augur of the above-mentioned texts on account of a certain *urayanni*-bird that is mentioned in several oracle texts is also not very convincing.

4.5.2 General discussion of ^{LU}*uriyanni*

^{LU} <i>uriyanni</i>	Reigning King	Other Titles / Relationship
Pappa	Hattušili I (?)	
Tiwazidi	Ammuna / Huzziya I / Telipinu	
Marakui	Telipinu	
Tudhaliya	Telipinu	
Ilaliuma and Zi[...]	Hantili II	
[K ² a]kka and Tašk[ui]li ²	Hantili II	
Zuzzu and Marašša	Huzziya II	
Atupalanza	Muwatalli I	
Hutupalla	Muwatalli I	
Kišn[apili ²](?)	Muwatalli I(?) / Tudhaliya I(?)	
[...]li	Muršili II / Muwatalli II	
AMAR.MUŠEN	Hattušili III	

Table 9. List of *uriyanni* officials.

As can be seen in Table 9, the *uriyanni* office existed throughout Hittite history. Starting with the reign of Hantili II, there is evidence that there were two *uriyanni* officials at work at any

⁸⁰⁴ See Beal (1992: 159).

⁸⁰⁵ See Pecchioli Daddi (2010: 239) on this disassociation.

one time. It has been suggested that these double *uriyanni* officials might be “of the Left” and “of the Right,” just as is attested for some of the military officials. This is supported by the fact that in several texts of the religious genre there is the mention of “a house of the *uriyanni* official of the Right/Left” (É ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* ZAG/GÙB) (McMahon 1991: 262). The Right/Left designation is not used for any of the *uriyanni* officials who witnessed the land donation texts. It is used, however, in LhK 30:7’–9’, when describing the property that is being transferred “from the Uhhiwa estate of the *uriyannūtum* of the Right” (ša É ^{URU}*Uhhiwa* ša ^{LÚ}*uriyannūtum* *kunnaz*).⁸⁰⁶ This “of the Right” reference in LhK 30 of Hantili II happens to be the earliest known usage of the Right/Left designation for an office in Hittite sources. It may not be surprising that the double *uriyanni* officials appear for the first time under Hantili II. After LhK 30, the Right/Left designations are seen in LhK 46 and 47 of Muwatalli I used for GAL KUŠ₇ and GAL SIPA officials, which is the first time the designation is used directly for a person. One may note here the officials Marašša and Zuzzu of LhK 45, who are known as the joint ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*uriyanni* in LhK 41 of Huzziya II. Could the reason for their having been written in separate lines in LhK 45 be that their broken titles may have included “of the Right” and “of the Left”? The offices that are attested with Right/Left designations and their possible meanings are discussed in more detail in section 6.1.

Other information available from the attestations of this title without any personal name further indicates that the office had both administrative and cultic responsibilities. In quite a few texts, it is mentioned in relation to a building which appears to be a warehouse. In several festival texts there are references to bringing certain items from the “house of the *uriyanni* official” (É ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*). In the festival for renewing the hunting bags (CTH 683), they bring five

⁸⁰⁶ Note that the language of the land donation texts is typically Akkadian, but words, such as *kunnaz* (abl. of *kunna-*), or entire paragraphs in Hittite are sometimes utilized (see Rüter and Wilhelm 2012: 72f.). See Beal (forthcoming), who suggests that the underlying language of the land donation texts is Hittite.

vessels full of a certain item, possibly a drink, from the house of the *uriyanni* official of the Right and make libations for the deity, and in the following paragraph a sacrificial animal is brought from the house of the *uriyanni* official and sacrificed before the god.⁸⁰⁷ In the Telipinu Festival (CTH 638) taking place in the city of Hanhana, a sheep is taken from the door of the house of the *uriyanni* official and sacrificed to the Sungod of the gatehouse (*hिलाम्मार*),⁸⁰⁸ and in the same text the house of the *uriyanni* official supplies a pair of oxen to pull the chariot of the god.⁸⁰⁹ In a fragment of a festival celebrated by a prince (CTH 647), they “drive” [an animal] from the house of the *uriyanni* official, and later in the same text, they also bring three thick breads and some other items lost in the lacuna.⁸¹⁰ There are several further examples of the same nature.⁸¹¹ These examples suggest that the house of the *uriyanni* official was some kind of governmental supply house. The *uriyanni* official’s involvement in such a function had apparently existed since the early years of the state. In the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8), which mentions the *uriyanni* official named Pappa (see above), a few paragraphs later an *uriyanni* official delivers a sheep to the palace.⁸¹² We may also note that Pappa himself was said to be in charge of distributing food and drink, a responsibility he abused.

In addition, the land donation texts indicate that the house of the *uriyanni* possessed sizable real estate and numerous personnel. In LhK 91 rev. 22, the 28 IKU of meadow coming from the estate of the *uriyanni* of the Right is one of the largest holdings among all of the listed property. In LhK 47 obv. 23, although the line has some damage, it probably also describes a piece of land, perhaps including the orchard and threshing floor mentioned in the previous line.

⁸⁰⁷ KUB 55.43 iii 24’–37’; edited by McMahon (1991: 152f.).

⁸⁰⁸ See Pecchioli Daddi (2010: 237), who suggests that the gate of the *uriyanni* house and the *hिलाम्मार* may indicate the same structure.

⁸⁰⁹ KUB 53.12 rev. iv 1–2, and KUB 53.3 i 18’–22’; edited by Haas and Jacob-Rost (1984: 49f. and 55f.).

⁸¹⁰ KUB 53.49 obv. 9’–10’ and rev. 2–3, see McMahon (1991: 261).

⁸¹¹ KUB 53.13 iv 16’–19’ (CTH 647); KBo 23.91 iv 17+KBo 16.82 rev.1–2 (CTH 666); KBo 30.74 rev. 12’–13’ (CTH 678); KBo 47.92 6’–8’ (CTH 670); KBo 52.161 10’–11’ (CTH 670); IBoT 2.9+KUB 52.102 i 6–15 (CTH 667); VBoT 94 6’ (CTH 670).

⁸¹² KUB 36.104 rev. 8’; edited by Soysal (1989: 18, 87).

In the aforementioned LhK 30 obv. 6'–9', the donated property includes the shepherds (LÚSIPA.UDU^{HLA}) of the estate of (the city of) Uhiwa of the *uriyanni* of the Right.⁸¹³ We may note here also the house of the *uriyanni* official mentioned in the Telipinu Festival taking place in Hanhana. These examples further suggest that there were multiple *uriyanni* houses outside the city of Hattuša.⁸¹⁴

In most of the festival texts mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the *uriyanni* official is not mentioned in person, but rather only the institution. Nevertheless there are a few texts that name the official in the company of other officials. In KBo 30.73 iii 12–13 (CTH 670) he is mentioned with the king and the highest officials, including the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL and at least two other GAL-level officials, whose full titles have not survived.⁸¹⁵ In another festival fragment, KUB 60.21:3, he is again among several high officials, who are being served drinks.⁸¹⁶

Other than his presence and participation through the sending of various supplies to be used in ceremonies, there are no texts that indicate a direct involvement of this officer in cultic functions. The few texts of that nature that mention an *uriyanni* official are too fragmentary to give any information: a festival fragment that also names some other cultic functionaries,⁸¹⁷ two ritual fragments that involve Palaic recitations,⁸¹⁸ and a fragment of the KILAM festival.⁸¹⁹

As mentioned above, the *uriyanni* officials do not seem to have had any military role. In Beal's analysis of the military aspects of this office, the only evidence provided is his identification of Tudhaliya of LhK 22 and 23 with the Tudhaliya of the Siege of Uršu text (1992:

⁸¹³ The text adds "and Haššuii, the GAL *MEŠEDI*" (obv. 10–12), indicating that the property was shared by the *uriyanni* office and the GAL *MEŠEDI* official.

⁸¹⁴ Pecchioli Daddi points to other attestations of the house of the *uriyanni* in KBo 30.74 iv 12'–15' (CTH 678), a festival for the Stormgod of Nerik, and in KUB 53.49 obv. 11'–12' (CTH 648), where the rituals involve offerings to the Stormgod of Kaštama, as possible indicators of other *uriyanni* houses in different locations (2010: 237).

⁸¹⁵ Groddek (2002a: 103).

⁸¹⁶ Groddek (2006: 19).

⁸¹⁷ Bo 3238, transliterated by Otten and Rüter (1984: v).

⁸¹⁸ KBo 13.267 obv. 1', 14' and Bo 3689:12; edited by Carruba (1970: 34).

⁸¹⁹ KBo 20.66 3'; edited by Singer (1984b: 117).

362), but as discussed above this identification does not hold. The only other possible connection with military functions is through Kišnapili of LhK 61, of whom neither the reading of the name nor the title is certain, and even so, an identification with the Kišnapili of the Madduwatta text is not assured. Therefore, there is no evidence to indicate a military role for the *uriyanni* office.

In a few isolated cases this official is seemingly involved in missions outside the capital. KUB 23.87 is a badly preserved letter, whose correspondents are unknown.⁸²⁰ The first few lines of the surviving text indicate that an *uriyanni* official (4') was apparently sent on a mission to somewhere in western Anatolia. The context is not entirely clear, but his arrival was questioned (4'–5'), perhaps by the king of Mira, who was reportedly upset about something (21'–22'). A GAL UKU.UŠ officer indicates that the civilian captives of the palace should be taken back by the person who is given the task (11'–13'), perhaps referring to the *uriyanni* official. But if so, it is still not clear whether the GAL UKU.UŠ is the one objecting to the arrival of the *uriyanni* official, or if he is insisting that the *uriyanni* official should carry out the task.⁸²¹

Another significant document is RS 17.368, where an *uriyanni* official is assigned the task of demarcating the border between the territories of Ugarit and Siyannu, a text which is dated to Muršili II.⁸²² Pecchioli Daddi assumes this *uriyanni* official was an envoy of the Hittite king.

There is no clear evidence for the *uriyanni* official's involvement in judicial matters. However, although it may just be a coincidence, it is interesting that a ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* is mentioned in obscure content in two texts that deal with a river ordeal.⁸²³

Recently it has been proposed by Pecchioli Daddi (2010: 235ff.) that the

⁸²⁰ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 227–29).

⁸²¹ The name Pipiriya mentioned in obv. 16' of the text is a *hapax*, but ^{md}AMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA (Šanta-Kuruntiya³) of obv. 25' is also encountered with the ^{LÚ}*antu(wa)šalli* title (rev.¹ 33) in the late Empire period letter KUB 40.1 (edited by Hoffner 2009: 358–62), where he and two other officials are referred to collectively as the “border lords” (ZAG.MEŠ-aš *BĒLU*^{III.A}).

⁸²² *PRU* IV: 76–78.

⁸²³ KBo 8.41:10', edited by Soysal (1989: 36f.), is a fragment of the Palace Chronicle (CTH 9), and KBo 18.66:12', 15', 17', edited by Marizza (2007a: 54–58), is a letter fragment possibly sent to a king (2007a: 58f.).

^{LÚ(MEŠ)}ABUBĪTI/U⁸²⁴ title might be the Akkadian equivalent of the ^{LÚ(MEŠ)}uriyanni. She presents a viable argument in favor of this identification. The main points of her claim are that these titles never appear together in the same text, both titles are top-level offices, both titles are associated with an institution, both titles appear occasionally with the Right/Left designation and only in connection with an institution, and the responsibilities of the two offices seem very similar.

In the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19), a list of top officials of the state is given three separate times, and in each of them the first four titles are given as ^{LÚ(MEŠ)}ABU BĪTU(M), GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, GAL MEŠEDI, and GAL GEŠTIN.⁸²⁵ If we compare this to the most often encountered officials in the witness lists of the land donation texts (Table 24), we note GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, ^{LÚ(MEŠ)}uriyanni, GAL GEŠTIN, and GAL MEŠEDI as the top offices and the total absence of ^{LÚ(MEŠ)}ABUBĪTI.⁸²⁶ This is indeed notable, but if the two titles are equivalent, considering the fact that the language of most land donation texts is Akkadian, one may wonder why the scribes of the land donation texts not even once chose to write the ^{LÚ}uriyanni title in its Akkadian version.

There is also no evidence for a name matching any of the known ^{LÚ}uriyanni officials. The only ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI known by name is Kantuzzili of KUB 26.58 obv. 5, father of GAL-^dIM (Ura-Tarhunta[?]) and opponent of Hattušili. This Kantuzzili is probably the same person as the one who is involved in military operations in the annals of Muršili II.⁸²⁷ It is therefore interesting that the partially preserved name of the *uriyanni* official of the Muršili II/Muwatalli II era also ends

⁸²⁴ Some additional attestations of the ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI title to be added to the list given by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 517–20) are: KBo 45.193:3', KBo 41.130 i 5', KUB 51.12 obv. 3', KUB 55.5 iv 19', KUB 58.19 obv. iii 2, KUB 58.58 obv. 7, KUB 59.2 obv. 10, KUB 59.17+ rev. 2, 6, KUB 59.30 obv. 6', ABoT 2.123 obv. 2', VSNF 12.11 rev. iii 12', Bo 4097:3', 9'.

⁸²⁵ They are listed in this order all three times (ii 62, ii 70–71, iii 1–2), with the exception of the GAL MEŠEDI and the GAL GEŠTIN exchanging places in lines iii 1–2 (see Hoffmann 1984: 36–39).

⁸²⁶ Compare also the list of high officials in KUB 10.13 20'–28' with dupl. KBo 25.176 l.e. 1–2 (edited by Singer 1984b: 94f.) and KBo 30.73 rev.[?] iii 12'–17' (edited by Groddek 2002a: 103f.). In both texts, in very similar contexts, the officials are served drinks in a ceremony, where one of them lists a ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI and the other a ^{LÚ}uriyanni alongside the other high officials.

⁸²⁷ Soysal (2012: 314f. under I.A.12–13) suggests that this Kantuzzili may be a close member of the royal family. See also Marizza (2010a: 92), who on account of ponymy mentions a possible connection of this official with Kantuzzili the Priest.

in [...] *-li* (see above), but this is not enough to suggest a match.

One other distinction between these two offices is that on quite a few occasions there is mention of the “men of the palace” (LÚ.MEŠ É.GAL)⁸²⁸ or just the “palace” (É.GAL)⁸²⁹ of the (LÚ.MEŠ) *ABUBĪTI* office, whereas no “men” or “palace” have been attested in connection with the *uriyanni* office. In summary, while the similarities of the *ABUBĪTI* and *uriyanni* offices are quite remarkable, without any direct evidence it is not possible to demonstrate their equation for the moment.

4.6 GAL KUŠ₇

The GAL KUŠ₇ official is one of the top-level field commanders of the Hittite military. Among the previous studies on the title are Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 538f.), with a collection of the attestations of this title in Hittite sources, and Beal (1992: 368–78), with a detailed treatment of the office and its holders.

The Akkadian equivalent of the Sumerogram KUŠ₇ (=IŠ) is given as *kizu*, “groom, personal attendant” in CAD.⁸³⁰ It has also been suggested that the title LÚ *KARTAPPU* was an equivalent of LÚ KUŠ₇,⁸³¹ mainly based on the proposed identification of Kaššu, the GAL KUŠ₇ of the Šahurunuwa Text⁸³² with Kaššu, the MAGNUS.AURIGA (i.e., GAL *KARTAPPI*), of the seal SBo II 115. While the equation of the hieroglyphic AURIGA with the Akkadian *kartappu* is seemingly assured by the hieroglyphic and cuneiform digraphic attestations from Ras Shamra,⁸³³ equating AURIGA/*KARTAPPU* with LÚ KUŠ₇ based on a commonly attested name like Kaššu is

⁸²⁸ KUB 10.39 iii 3, KUB 12.2 i 6, KUB 12.45 10', KUB 20.33 i 10', KUB 25.22 ii 12', KUB 38.19 obv. [24', KUB 58.58 obv. 7, ABoT 1.14 iv 19', VSNF 12.11 rev. iii 12'.

⁸²⁹ KBo 10.20 i 37', KUB 22.27 iii 31' and 35', KUB 51.12 obv. 3', KUB 55.5 iv 19', KUB 59.30 obv. 6', ABoT 1.14 v 4', 6', 8', ABoT 2.123 obv. 2'.

⁸³⁰ CAD/K: 477–79.

⁸³¹ See Laroche (1956b: 29f.).

⁸³² KUB 26.43 ii 32 with dupl. KUB 26.43 ii 50.

⁸³³ See Hawkins (2005a: 301).

far from secure.⁸³⁴ Pecchioli Daddi (1977: 188f.) denies the equation on account of texts that mention both ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ and ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KARTAPPU within a few lines.⁸³⁵ To those texts we can also add the Bronze Tablet, which includes two GAL KARTAPPI (iv 34, 38) and one GAL KUŠ₇ (iv 38) officials among its witnesses. Supporting the distinction of the titles, Beal (1992: 162–72) presents an argument that the ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇ is actually the warrior in a chariot,⁸³⁶ and that the title is distinct from the “chariot driver” ^{LÚ}KARTAPPU, and offers the translation “chariot fighter.” Therefore, GAL (^{LÚ.MEŠ})KUŠ₇ may be translated as the “Chief of the Chariot Fighters” (Beal 1992a: 519).⁸³⁷

Other than the rejected equation with MAGNUS.AURIGA,⁸³⁸ there has not been any suggestion made for a possible hieroglyphic equivalent of the GAL KUŠ₇ title. However, as will be further discussed below under the officials Kantuzzili and Tudhaliya, perhaps AURIGA₂ (not AURIGA) can be an equivalent of the KUŠ₇ title. This suggestion requires the disassociation of the signs AURIGA and AURIGA₂ (see Figure 3). Laroche (1960: 150) was the first to imply their equation by listing both signs as variations of L. 289. While both hieroglyphic signs are believed to represent the “reins,” AURIGA sign has a “head,” which is lacking in AURIGA₂. Hawkins (2005a: 301f.) admits that the identification of the two signs is not secure, but on account of the association of both signs with equids,⁸³⁹ he is inclined to accept the equation. However, as I am suggesting the equation of AURIGA₂ with KUŠ₇ (“chariot fighter”), the association with equids still remains valid. If the hieroglyphic signs of both the AURIGA

⁸³⁴ For a prosopographic study of Empire period attestations of Kaššu, see van den Hout (1995a: 226–32), who admits the difficulty of identifying different individuals with this name (ibid. 228).

⁸³⁵ KBo 12.135 vi 7', 11' (CTH 664.4); edited by Beal (1992:166); KUB 31.71 iii 5, 15 (CTH 584); edited by Mouton (2007: 272f.).

⁸³⁶ Beal (1992: 162) suggests the reading ^{LÚ}ŠÜŠ instead. This title may also be rendered as ^{LÚ}IŠ in some publications.

⁸³⁷ “Chef der Wagenkämpfer” (van den Hout 1995a: 166); “capo dei combattenti su carro” (Del Monte 1995: 120).

⁸³⁸ Thus also Pecchioli Daddi (1977: 188f.; 1982: 538f. and 548), followed by van den Hout (1995a: 229), but see Hawkins (2005a: 301f.), who maintains the possibility of the equation.

⁸³⁹ AURIGA.ASINUS_{2A} on a seal in Brussels (R. Lebrun 1983: 1f.) and ASINUS_{2A}.DOMUS AURIGA₂ in SBo II 171 and BoHa 14 no. 179.

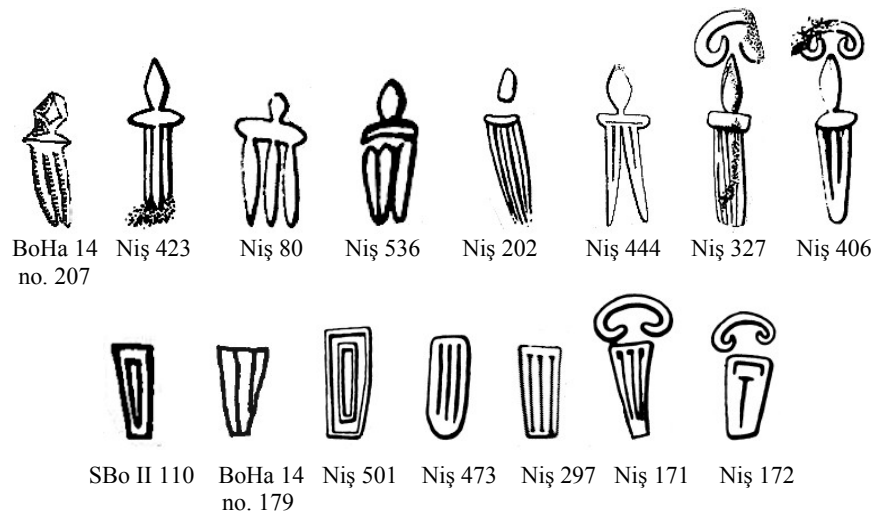


Figure 3. Examples of hieroglyphic AURIGA and AURIGA₂ signs from various sealings.

and AURIGA₂ indeed symbolize “reins,” it may not be surprising that the sign AURIGA (“chariot driver”) is distinguished from AURIGA₂ (“chariot fighter”) with the addition of a “head” at the top which may represent either the hand(s) of the driver who holds the reins or the holding apparatus itself. However, a more meaningful explanation might be that the hieroglyphic symbol of AURIGA₂ does not represent “reins” at all. It is noticeable in Figure 3, that in contrast to the AURIGA signs, none of the AURIGA₂ examples have an open end at the bottom, but rather the signs seem more like rectangular box tapered toward the bottom. It is possible that the sign actually represents a “shield,” which would be an even more meaningful symbol to represent a “chariot warrior,” who would be the one holding a shield instead of the driver. In that respect it is perhaps even more preferable to separate the AURIGA₂ sign from AURIGA, by renaming it as ESSEDARIUS.⁸⁴⁰

The only other connection remaining between AURIGA and AURIGA₂ is a possible identity match between Kulana, MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ URBS.DOMINUS attested on Niš 171⁸⁴¹

⁸⁴⁰ For the choice of Latin label ESSEDARIUS as an equivalent of KUŠ₇, see Carruba (2005: 259), although his suggestion concerns a different hieroglyphic sign.

⁸⁴¹ Also (Ku)kulana MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ on Niš 172.

and (Ku)kulana, AURIGA URBS.DOMINUS on an Ashmolean seal.⁸⁴² Admittedly the similarity is striking, especially with the additional matching title URBS.DOMINUS, and if both attestations belong to the same person, that could favor the AURIGA = AURIGA₂ equation. But it may also be a case of an official having carried both AURIGA/KARTAPPU and MAGNUS.AURIGA₂/ GAL KUŠ₇ titles at different times, and there is always the possibility that the seal and sealing do not belong to same person.⁸⁴³

The earliest attestation of the GAL KUŠ₇ title is found in LhK 40 rev. 54, which dates to the reign of Huzziya II.⁸⁴⁴ Still earlier, however, are attestations of the title UGULA 1 LI (LÚ.MEŠ)KUŠ₇, “Overseer of the Thousand Chariot Fighters,” who appear to be high-ranking officials. Since the title does not appear after the reign of Telipinu, Beal (1992: 378) suggests that this may be the same office as the GAL KUŠ₇. In addition, the few attestations of the titles GAL KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI and UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI are also borne by high-ranking officials.⁸⁴⁵ Therefore, the following analysis will include all GAL- and UGULA-level variations of the KUŠ₇ titles as well as the officials attested with MAGNUS.AURIGA₂.

4.6.1 Known GAL/UGULA KUŠ₇ (KÙ.GI) officials in Hittite history

4.6.1.1 Šuppiuman and Marašša

Šuppiuman and Marašša are named as UGULA 1 LI LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ₇ officials in an anecdote of the Palace Chronicle.⁸⁴⁶ The passage describes how the two officials sit in front of their units and oversee the training of young chariot fighters carried out by Išpudaš-Inara, the LÚ *uralla*.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴² No. 8 in Kennedy (1958: 68 and Planche II). The MAGNUS.AURIGA title indicated by Hawkins (2005a: 302) must be a mistake. The seal clearly has only AURIGA.

⁸⁴³ See more under Kulana below (4.6.1.17).

⁸⁴⁴ Hoffmann restores (GAL)]^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ in the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19 i 2), but GAL does not seem to be present in any of the fragments (see Beal 1992: 346 n. 1317).

⁸⁴⁵ For an analysis of LÚ KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI see Pecchioli Daddi (2003a: 88–92), who suggests that he was an administrative official.

⁸⁴⁶ KBo 3.34 ii 22; edited by Dardano (1997: 51)

⁸⁴⁷ See Beal (1992: 537f.) for a discussion of the term *uralla*- and the suggestion of a translation “training sargeant(?)”

Although their title does not include GAL, Šuppiuman and Marašša appear to be high-ranking officials. As mentioned above, since the GAL KUŠ₇ title is not attested in documents that date prior to Telipinu, the UGULA 1 LI KUŠ₇ may be taken as an equivalent to the same position during that time.⁸⁴⁸

That both officials have the same title may be looked at in different ways. On the one hand, it may look as if this is a lower-rank office like a “captain” or “major” that is held by multiple officers, but on the other hand it may also be considered as one of the earliest examples of dual offices, not yet distinguished by the “Right/Left” designation. As will be seen below, later attestations of the GAL KUŠ₇ officers display such a distinction.

4.6.1.2 Šandamei

Another official with the title UGULA 1 LI^{LÚ}KUŠ₇^{MEŠ} is Šandamei, who appears as a witness in LhK 1:26, the so-called Inandik tablet. He is listed as the last of the four witnesses after Pulli, the GAL MEŠEDI, Prince Aškaliya, and Tiwazidi, the^{LÚ}uriyanni. Wilhelm (2005: 278) dates LhK 1 and LhK 2 to Ammuna or Huzziya I, and in LhK 2 rev. 3', in front of the UGULA 1 LI [^{LÚ}KUŠ₇^{MEŠ}] title, he restores the name [Šandame]i, who appears as the last of the three preserved witnesses. The two witnesses preceding him are the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL and the^{LÚ}uriyanni, whose names are not preserved. As can be seen from Table 24, the officials who witness the land donation texts are typically holders of the highest offices. Therefore, this strengthens the suspicion that UGULA 1 LI KUŠ₇ is not just a low-level title. Šandamei appears in two other land donation texts, LhK 4 obv. 16 and LhK 5 obv. 13, again with the title UGULA 1 LI^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇. However, in these texts he is no longer among the witnesses. Instead, some fields and meadows of the household of Šandamei (É ša Šandamei) are among the property that

⁸⁴⁸ See Šandamei below with the same title, who ranks next to top officials.

is being transferred to “House of Hattuša in Šarišša” (É^{URU} *Hatti* ^{URU} *Šariššāi*), which may be a reference to the land held by the palace. Both LhK 4 and LhK 5 bear anonymous Tabarna seals, which are attributed to Telipinu.⁸⁴⁹ This may lead one to think that by this time Šandamei is either retired or dead. In both texts he still has the title UGULA 1 *LI* KUŠ₇, but this may have been used to indicate that he was the ex-holder of this office.⁸⁵⁰ One may speculate that he could be one of the officials of Huzziya I who fell out of favor under Telipinu. However, the property of the household of Šandamei is not the only one being transferred here, and since LhK 4 was issued in Hattuša (rev. 9') and LhK 5 in Hanhana (l. 36), the two documents were not issued at the same time.

A Šandamei appears in the Old Hittite fragment KBo 25.196 7', where his name is mentioned in a speech, but the few preserved words do not reveal any relevant information.

4.6.1.3 Lariya

The last known holder of UGULA 1 *LI*^{LÚ.MEŠ} KUŠ₇ is Lariya. He appears as the beneficiary of three separate land donation texts, all dated to Telipinu.⁸⁵¹ In LhK 11 he receives a house plot in Hattuša from the estate of Kutminaili (obv. 2–6), and in LhK 12 the property he receives is a vineyard in Tapikka that comes from the “House of Hattuša in Šarišša” (obv. 2–5), the same institution that was the beneficiary of LhK 4, LhK 5, and LhK 7. In the third land donation text that names him (LhK 13), the property description has not been preserved. All three land donation texts were issued in Hattuša, perhaps within a relatively short time period, since most of the witnesses are the same and at least LhK 11 and 12 were written by the same scribe, but certainly not all at the same time, since Haššuwaš-Inar, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, who

⁸⁴⁹ See Wilhelm (2005: 276).

⁸⁵⁰ For a similar situation, see Hapuwaššu, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, in section 4.4.1.3.

⁸⁵¹ LhK 11 obv. 8, 14; LhK 12 obv. 9; LhK 13 u.e. 2'f. The first two have anonymous Tabarna seals, which have been dated to Telipinu (Wilhelm 2005: 278; Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 51). The seal has not been preserved on LhK 13, but almost certainly it had the same type seal.

witnesses LhK 11 is not present for LhK 12.⁸⁵²

The partially preserved name ^m*La-a-r[i-* that appears on a Middle Hittite fragment KBo 50.103 rev. 14'⁸⁵³ may belong to this official on account of a Haššuwaš-Inar (rev. 13') and possibly a Zid[anni?'] (rev. 15') mentioned in the same passage.⁸⁵⁴

4.6.1.4 Ušhanda

Ušhanda is the earliest attested GAL KUŠ₇ official. He appears as a witness in the land donation text LhK 40:54,⁸⁵⁵ which bears the seal of Huzziya II. He is listed after Lariya (GAL MEŠEDI), Arinnel (GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL), but before Zidanza (GAL KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI), a *uriyanni* official whose name is not preserved, and Pazzu (GAL GEŠTIN). As with Zidanza, this is the only land donation text Ušhanda witnesses, whereas the other officials are known as witnesses in multiple texts. Ušhanda's name is not encountered in any other source.

4.6.1.5 Zidanza

As mentioned above, Zidanza, the GAL LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI,⁸⁵⁶ is listed right after Ušhanda, the GAL KUŠ₇, as a witness in LhK 40:55. With the publication of LhK 40 by Rüter and Wilhelm (2011: 180–84), Zidanza's title became the only attestation of the GAL LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI title. Previously Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 539) suggested the reading of this title in the letter fragment KBo 18.115, based on the combination of two partial attestations in rev. 12' and 16',⁸⁵⁷ but this was rejected by Beal (1992: 412 and n. 1549). Since there are plenty of

⁸⁵² The scribe's name is not preserved on LhK 13, which is broken after the third witness Zidanni. If Haššuwaš-Inar was present, he would be the fourth witness.

⁸⁵³ For a transliteration of the fragment, see Groddek (2008: 84f.).

⁸⁵⁴ See above under Haššuwaš-Inar in section 4.1.1.4.

⁸⁵⁵ ^m*Uš-ha-an-da* GAL LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ₇.

⁸⁵⁶ [^m*Zi-da-an'-za* GAL LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ₇. KÙ.GI].

⁸⁵⁷ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 133f.), who reads rev. 12': [...]^x LÚ.MEŠ KU[Š₇ ...], and rev. 16': [...^{LÚ.MEŠ}] KUŠ₇ KÙ.[...]. The x in line 12' is apparently read as GAL by Pecchioli Daddi.

attestations of ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI (“Golden Chariot-Fighter”),⁸⁵⁸ who are described as members of an elite group of chariot fighters associated with the king and stationed in Hattuša, the GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI must be taken as the commander of this group of soldiers.

A palace servant (DUMU.É.GAL) named Zidanza appears as the recipient in the land donation text LhK 50 rev. 8'. Probably the same person, again as a palace servant, is also mentioned in the land donation text LhK 47 rev. 2, in which his orchard is among the property taken away and given to Šiparta, the Chief Singer of the Queen. The latter text bears the seal of Muwatalli I, but if the property was taken away right after Muwatalli became king, the former text may belong to the reign of Huzziya II as well,⁸⁵⁹ making this Zidanza contemporary with his namesake GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI official. Nevertheless an identification between the two officials seems less likely due to the difference of titles.

Another Zidanza, the recipient of a land donation of Hantili II, must be a different individual (LhK 34:17],]13[). The few other attestations of Zidanza date to different periods.⁸⁶⁰

4.6.1.6 Gullutti

Gullutti is listed as a witness in LhK 46:29, a land donation text of Muwatalli I, with the title GAL ^{LÚ.<MEŠ>}KUŠ₇ *kunnaz*, “the Chief of the Chariot Fighters on the Right.” This is one of the earliest attestations of the “Right/Left” designation used for an official. He is listed as the last witness after Arinnel (GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL), Muwa (GAL *MEŠEDI*), Himuili (GAL GEŠTIN), and Atupalanza (^{LÚ}*uriyanni*). Although in last place, his inclusion as a witness testifies to this official’s high status. This official is not identified in any other source.⁸⁶¹

⁸⁵⁸ See Beal (1992: 173–78), and Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 125–27).

⁸⁵⁹ See Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: 207).

⁸⁶⁰ KUB 14.1 obv. 64 (CTH 147), KUB 3.20:5 (CTH 275), and KUB 31.76+ i 5, 20 (^mLÚ-*an-za*, CTH 294.1).

⁸⁶¹ Gullutti, the fuller (^{LÚ}ÁZLAG), who appears in LhK 91 obv. 19, a land donation text of Arnuwanda I, is certainly a different person.

4.6.1.7 Kantuzzili

Kantuzzili, the UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI, is listed as a witness in LhK 47 rev. 14, another land donation text of Muwatalli I. LhK 47 must post-date LhK 46 of Gullutti, since in LhK 47 the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL position has been taken over by the ex-GAL GEŠTIN Himuili.⁸⁶² Although Kantuzzili's title has UGULA, rather than GAL, his prominent status is obvious based on the fact that he is a witness, and is even listed before the *uriyanni* official and the GAL SIPA ZAG. It is quite likely that he is the same Kantuzzili, who, along with Himuili, was involved in the death of Muwatalli I.⁸⁶³ Furthermore, in KUB 23.16 iii 4'-9'⁸⁶⁴ we see a Kantuzzili, next to King Tudhaliya, fighting against Muwa. This Muwa is presumably the GAL *MEŠEDI* of Muwatalli I, which makes it likely that the Kantuzzili of this text is also the same person as the UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI of LhK 47. The use of the words “my father” by King Tudhaliya (iii 2), supported by the seal Bo 99/69, which names a “Great King Tudhaliya, son of Kantuzzili,” strongly suggests that Kantuzzili was the father of King Tudhaliya I/II. The fragment KBo 50.65,⁸⁶⁵ which mentions the phrase “my father, Kantuzzili” (*A-BU-YA Kán-[tu-zi-li]*), also names a Piyama-Kurunta (2'), who must be the ruler defeated by Tudhaliya I/II during his Aššuwa campaign. Therefore, this Kantuzzili must also be identified with the same individual (Groddek 2009: 164–68).⁸⁶⁶

Furthermore, the Kantuzzili who appears in KUB 36.113:9'⁸⁶⁷ and KBo 50.28:3',]9'⁸⁶⁸ is likely to be the same official, based on several attestations of Himuili in these passages. Along

⁸⁶² See Himuili (I) in section 4.2.1.8.

⁸⁶³ KUB 34.40 rev. 9–12; edited by Otten (1987: 27f.).

⁸⁶⁴ Edited by Carruba (1977: 162f.).

⁸⁶⁵ Edited by Groddek (2009: 164).

⁸⁶⁶ Followed by de Martino (2010: 161), and the fragment is classified under CTH 142 by Košak in *Konkordanz*, but see Soysal (2012: 315).

⁸⁶⁷ Edited by Carruba (1977: 188f.).

⁸⁶⁸ For a transliteration, see Groddek (2008: 192f.).

with KUB 23.16 mentioned above, both texts are classified as fragments of the “Succession Protocols” (CTH 271).

The glyptic evidence consists of six seals/sealings that name a Kantuzzili (Figure 4). In three of these (Bo 78/56,⁸⁶⁹ Kp 06/13,⁸⁷⁰ and SM 90/2⁸⁷¹), Kantuzzili bears the title MAGNUS.HASTARIUS (Figure 4 a-c) and therefore, all three should belong to the same individual. In two others (Bo 2002/14⁸⁷² and Bo 2004/12⁸⁷³), Kantuzzili is identified as a MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ (Figure 4 d-e) and a prince (REX.FILIUS). Combined with stylistic similarities, there is little doubt that the two seals belong to the same person. Finally, there is Bo 99/69 of Great King Tudhaliya, in the cuneiform band of which Tudhaliya is identified as the son of Kantuzzili (Figure 4 f).⁸⁷⁴

There is no consensus among scholars about the assignment these glyptic attestations to multiple Kantuzzilis known from cuneiform sources,⁸⁷⁵ but most scholars agree that the Kantuzzili mentioned in Bo 99/69 should be the father of Tudhaliya I/II.⁸⁷⁶

Among the three seals that identify Kantuzzili with the title MAGNUS.HASTARIUS (i.e., GAL MEŠEDI), Bo 78/58 additionally places him in association with a Tudhaliya, who is identified with a hapax MAGNUS.LITUUS title in hieroglyph and the restored cuneiform band is read: “S[eal of Tudha]liya (and) Kantuzzil[i], belove[d] of [the Storm]god[?].”⁸⁷⁷ There are divided opinions on whether this Kantuzzili is the same person as the father of Tudhaliya I/II,⁸⁷⁸

⁸⁶⁹ Published by A. Dinçol (2001).

⁸⁷⁰ Müller-Karpe (2009).

⁸⁷¹ Herbordt and Alkan (2000). For the *Ni-na* reading on the B side, see Soysal (2003: 41–45).

⁸⁷² Herbordt (2003: 21–24), where the title is read as MAGNUS *HATTI*, which was amended later by Hawkins (BoHa 23: 88) with the help of Bo 2004/12.

⁸⁷³ Hawkins (BoHa 23: 87f.).

⁸⁷⁴ Hieroglyphic: MONS.TU MAGNUS.REX, cuneiform: ^{NA4}KIŠIB ^m*Du-ut-ha-li-ya* LUGAL.GAL DUMU ^m*Kán-tu-zi-li*.

⁸⁷⁵ For an overview of the Kantuzzili seals, see Hawkins (BoHa 23: 87–89), and with a differing opinion, Soysal (2011; 2012: 319–21).

⁸⁷⁶ Contra Soysal (2012: 320f.), who suggests that Bo 99/69 belongs to Tudhaliya TUR (The Younger), and that he is the son of Kantuzzili, the Priest.

⁸⁷⁷ N^[A4]KIŠIB ^m*Tu-ut-ha]-li-ia* ^m*Kán-tu-zi-l[i]* NA-RA-A[M] ^d[U[?]] (Dinçol 2001: 92).

⁸⁷⁸ Pecchioli Daddi (2003a: 91), Hawkins (BoHa 23: 88f.).



Figure 4. Seal and sealings of Kantuzzili.

or the brother of Tudhaliya III (i.e., the Priest).⁸⁷⁹ As Hawkins (BoHa 23: 88) notes, in either case we have to assume a complicated scenario which requires that either the father of Tudhaliya I (Kantuzzili the Elder) or the Priest (son of Arnuwanda I) must have taken the office of GAL *MEŠEDI* sometime during their careers, yet neither official has been attested with this title in cuneiform sources. There are quite a few documents that mention Kantuzzili, the Priest,⁸⁸⁰ as well as many others from the same time period, but there is no indication of him having borne any such title. Conversely, for the time period between the death of Muwatalli I and the emergence of Tudhaliya I/II almost nothing is known. Therefore, between the two officials, as Hawkins points out (BoHa 23: 89), chances of Kantuzzili the Elder having held the office of GAL *MEŠEDI* is higher than the Priest. Furthermore, the above-mentioned fragmentary documents, particularly KUB 23.16, suggests that Kantuzzili the Elder had a strong presence alongside his son Tudhaliya,⁸⁸¹ possibly owing his powers to the fact that his son was or named to be the king, and it seems more likely that this Kantuzzili would have had his son's name mentioned on his seal, rather than Kantuzzili the Priest having his brother's name on his.

As for Kantuzzili, the MAGNUS.AURIGA₂, suggesting a later date for the style of the seals, Herbordt (2003: 24) identifies him with the Priest, while according to Soysal (2012: 320) he is more likely to be a later Kantuzzili known from the Annals of Muršili II. Hawkins does not establish a connection between the MAGNUS.HASTARIUS and MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ officials, but nevertheless is in favor of identifying both of them with the earlier Kantuzzili, the father of Tudhaliya I/II (BoHa 23: 88f.). I tend to agree with Hawkins on account of a possible identification of the MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ official of Bo 2002/14 and Bo 2004/12 with

⁸⁷⁹ Dinçol (2001: 96), followed by Müller-Karpe (2009: 112f.) and Soysal (2011).

⁸⁸⁰ See under I.A.6–11 and I.B.1–5 in Soysal (2012: 312–14, 317–19). See also here section 3.1.2.1.

⁸⁸¹ In the narrative Kantuzzili's name is mentioned before the king ("Kantuzzili and I, the king," (KUB 23.16 iii 7)), which suggests Kantuzzili had a more prominent role in the described events than his son.

Kantuzzili the Elder, who bears the UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI title during the reign of Muwatalli I. This is supported by the argument presented in section 4.6 that suggests the equation of cuneiform KUŠ₇ with hieroglyphic AURIGA₂. Although the generally accepted equivalent of hieroglyphic MAGNUS is the Sumerogram GAL, in this particular case, clearly UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI is a high-level office on a par with GAL officials.⁸⁸² Since there is no known hieroglyphic equivalent for the cuneiform UGULA, we may assume that MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ has been used as the equivalent of the same office.⁸⁸³ Under this assumption, the same Kantuzzili is to be identified with the titles UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI, MAGNUS.AURIGA₂, GAL *MEŠEDI*, and REX.FILIUS.

Furthermore, the Kantuzzili named in several royal offering lists, the so-called “king lists,”⁸⁸⁴ is probably also the father of Tudhaliya I/II. In several of these texts, his name is paired with a woman named Walanni,⁸⁸⁵ who may be his wife.⁸⁸⁶ There have been different proposals to tie Kantuzzili to previous Hittite dynasties, such as suggesting that he or his wife Walanni was the offspring of Huzziya II.⁸⁸⁷ If the identification based on glyptic analysis holds true, the REX.FILIUS designation would support Kantuzzili’s royal connections. Since prior to the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, the DUMU.LUGAL/REX.FILIUS designation does not seem to be used for individuals other than the bodily sons of kings,⁸⁸⁸ it is quite likely that Kantuzzili was the son of a former king, perhaps Huzziya II.

⁸⁸² Note the attestation of the title as GAL LÚ.MEŠ₇ KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI with Zidanza (section 4.6.1.5).

⁸⁸³ This is with the assumption that an additional hieroglyph to define KÙ.GI (“Gold/Golden”) was not felt necessary (no hieroglyphic equivalent of KÙ.GI is known). This can be compared with the usage of MAGNUS.SCRIBA for both GAL DUB.SAR and GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ titles.

⁸⁸⁴ KUB 11.8+9 v 11’] (CTH 661.5); KUB 11.10+KBo 60.303 4’] (CTH 661.4); KUB 11.7+ i 8’] (CTH 661.9), KUB 36.124 i 9’] (CTH 661.6), and KBo 60.113:3’] (CTH 661).

⁸⁸⁵ KUB 11.8+9 iii 6, rev. v 12’] (CTH 661.5); KUB 11.10 6’] (CTH 661.4); and KUB 36.124 i 10’] (CTH 661.6).

⁸⁸⁶ See Dinçol and Dinçol (2010: 37f.).

⁸⁸⁷ For an overview of this discussion with bibliography, see de Martino (2010: 186–90).

⁸⁸⁸ The earliest verifiable attestation of such a usage concerns Hutupiyanza, the son of Šuppiluliuma’s brother Zida (see section 3.2.1).

4.6.1.8 Hulla

Hulla and Tarhumima⁸⁸⁹ are the GAL KUŠ₇ officers of the Right and Left, respectively, during the reign of Arnuwanda I. They appear together as witnesses in the only extant land donation text of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal.⁸⁹⁰ Among the nine witnesses of the document, Hulla is listed in the fourth place after the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, the GAL GEŠTIN, and the LÚ^U *antuwašalli*. The fact that his name precedes that of his counterpart Tarhumima may suggest a more prominent status for Hulla.

Hulla is almost certainly the same-named official attested in several Mašat Höyük texts. In HKM 17, Hulla, Kaššu, and Zilapiya are the recipients of a letter sent by the king.⁸⁹¹ From this letter we learn that Hulla had been sent by the king to Tapikka about a year earlier (obv. 9–10). The king replies to the three officials concerning their earlier report about the activities of hostile Kaškans, and their questions as to whether they should attack certain Kaškan targets. The same letter also includes a couple of piggyback letters written by Hašammili, the scribe of the tablet. One of the piggyback letters is addressed to the trio of Hulla, Kaššu, and Zilapiya, but the lines after the greetings are very fragmentary and seem to involve personal matters. The fact that in both the main and the piggyback letters Hulla's name precedes that of Kaššu, who is certainly one of the top-level officials in Tapikka, suggests that Hulla had a more prominent status.

In HKM 25, the king is writing to Tatta and Hulla, who are apparently in Tapikka.⁸⁹² The letter is in response to reports by Pišeni about the activity of hostile Kaškans around Kašepura in groups of four hundred and six hundred (*kuwapi 4 ME kuwapi 6 ME*), who raid and reap the grain from fields. The king orders them to go to Kašepura and reap the ripened crops, and to

⁸⁸⁹ For previous studies on these officials, see Alp (1991b: 64 and 95f.), Klinger (1995: 92f. and 99), and in more detail Marizza (2007a: 77–92).

⁸⁹⁰ LhK 91 rev. 52: ^m*Hu-ul^l-la* GAL LÚ.MEŠ^UKUŠ₇ ZAG-az ^m*Tar-hu-mi-ma* GAL LÚ.MEŠ^UKUŠ₇ ṚGÙB¹-la-[az.

⁸⁹¹ Edited by Alp (1991b: 143–46), Hoffner (2009: 123–26).

⁸⁹² Edited by Alp (1991b: 164f.), Hoffner (2009: 140f.).

transport them to the threshing floor. He adds “do not let the enemy damage them” (ll. 20–21). Although the orders are about the gathering of the harvest, this is actually a military matter that involves protection from hostile activity of the Kaškan groups.

HKM 61 is a letter sent by Hulla to Tahazzili, who is a lower-rank official in Tapikka.⁸⁹³ Hulla informs him that the enemy has captured “the son of Kammamanda,⁸⁹⁴ the man of the city of Šuppiluliya,” and apparently asks him about the rescue of that son. Based on topographic clues, Marizza (2007a: 83) suggests that Hulla was writing from Šapinuwa.

Hulla is also the sender of HKM 62 to Himuili, who is known from other documents from Mašat as the *BĒL MADGALTI* official in Tapikka. In a fragmentary context he mentions fugitives (^{LÚ.MEŠ}*pittiya[ndu]š*) and people from the city of Hariya, and orders Himuili to keep watch and send certain men. Both the order of the names in the address and the context suggest that Hulla was a superior of Himuili. Hulla’s name is again mentioned (l. 12) in relation to a legal case in the piggyback letter of the same tablet sent by the scribe Tarhunmiya to Himuili, but due to damage the topic is not clear.

HKM 66 is a long letter that addresses multiple issues.⁸⁹⁵ Although the addressee’s name has not been preserved, the context makes it clear that he is Adad-bēlī, who is a scribe stationed in Tapikka. Of the sender’s name, only the first syllable *hu-* has been partially preserved, which has been restored by Alp as H[ulla].⁸⁹⁶ Marizza (2007a: 84f.) objects on the grounds that the sender addresses Adad-bēlī as an equal, which is unusual for Hulla, who is a rather high official superior even to Himuili and Kaššu,⁸⁹⁷ and suggests instead that the sender might be H[uilli]. Marizza (2007a: 84f.) also points out the contextual connection between the texts HKM 66 and

⁸⁹³ Edited by Alp (1991b: 236f.), Hoffner (2009: 213). On Tahazzili, see Alp (1991b: 94).

⁸⁹⁴ Restoration of *Ka[m-ma-am-ma-]an-d[a]ʿ* is suggested by Alp (1991b: 68).

⁸⁹⁵ The letter is edited by Alp (1991b: 244–49), Hoffner (2009: 220–22)

⁸⁹⁶ Followed by Hoffner (2009: 219)

⁸⁹⁷ See the hierarchical chart that was suggested by Beckman (1995a: 33) about Mašat/Tapikka officials.

HKM 84. The latter of these is another letter whose correspondents are not preserved, but is assigned to Hulla by Alp due to the related context. The piggyback letter on HKM 84, however, is sent by Huilli. Although the senders of most piggyback letters—typically the scribes of the main letter—are different than the senders of the main letters, there are examples of same person writing multiple letters on the same tablet.⁸⁹⁸ The similarities of content and style between the main and piggyback letters on HKM 84, such as the same type address formula, may indicate that Huilli is the author of both the main and the piggyback letters on HKM 84. This would in turn make it more likely to restore Huilli than Hulla in HKM 66.

Although Hulla is not identified by any title in the above-mentioned letters, the association of the topics with military matters does make it likely that he is the GAL KUŠ₇ official. The mention of the enemy in numbers of four to six hundred in HKM 25 can be seen as a justification for a GAL KUŠ₇ official, who must have been in command of a relatively large contingent, to be sent by the king, as revealed in HKM 17. This also leads one to think that the anonymous GAL KUŠ₇ official mentioned in letters HKM 70 and 71 and the inventory document HKM 108 may be Hulla.⁸⁹⁹ Both letters were sent by the GAL LÚ.MEŠ₇KUŠ₇ to Kaššu. In HKM 70, he refers to Kaššu as “my brother,” but otherwise does not include any extra words of greeting, and orders him to hurry up and bring certain troops. HKM 71 is a reply to a letter of Kaššu, who apparently had more than once asked this GAL KUŠ₇ officer (i.e., Hulla) to come down (to Tapikka[?]), informing him that the Kaškans had asked for the presence of the GAL KUŠ₇ officer to make peace (ll. 5–7). Hulla seems to be annoyed with Kaššu and sarcastically asks whether Kaššu is not a (great-)lord (ll. 9 and 15), and tells Kaššu to meet the envoys of the Kaška by himself (l. 13). Furthermore, with strong words Hulla orders Kaššu to bring certain troops to meet his own

⁸⁹⁸ See HKM 60 and HKM 81 from Maşat, and KBo 15.28, KBo 18.2, KBo 18.54 from Boğazköy (text nos. 63, 80, 3, 106, and 111, respectively, in Hoffner 2009).

⁸⁹⁹ Thus Marizza (2007a: 86).

troops of the Upper Land in the city of Ninišankuwa (ll. 16–31). The mention of the troops of the Upper Land ([ÉRIN].MEŠ KUR UGU) may be indicative of the large size of the body of troops under the command of the GAL KUŠ₇ officer. Hulla might have already been on the move in campaign, since in the piggyback letter, the scribe Tarhunmiya asks his counterpart Uzzu in Tapikka for a stylus to replace his lost one. Marizza (2007a: 87) points out that Tarhunmiya, who is otherwise known to be a scribe active in Hattuša,⁹⁰⁰ would not have asked for a such a common tool if he were in the capital.

HKM 108 is a list of various items such as textiles and metal objects. According to Del Monte (1995: 120f.), it is a list of booty loaded on carts, some of which belong to the GAL KUŠ₇ and the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ officials. It is likely that these two officials are Hulla and Kaššu, and the collected booty may be related to joint operations of the two mentioned in the above-cited letters (Marizza 2007a: 86 n. 46).

Since it is known from LhK 91 that there were two GAL KUŠ₇ officials during the reign of Arnuwanda I, the use of GAL LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ₇ without the Right/Left designation in HKM 70, 71, and 108, does suggest that such an identification was not strictly observed in texts.⁹⁰¹

Hulla appears in the Middle Hittite letter fragment KBo 18.69 rev.[?] 8',⁹⁰² whose correspondents are not preserved. Based on the mention of “the Priest” (rev.[?] 7'), who may very well be Kantuzzili, the son of Arnuwanda I, the letter may be dated to the reign of Arnuwanda I or Tudhaliya III.⁹⁰³ In rev.[?] 5'–8', the sender of the letter quotes the words of the king, who apparently said that both the Priest and Hulla had written to him about a certain matter. Although the context is not clear, if Klinger’s suggestion is right (1995: 93), the matter may be related to

⁹⁰⁰ See Alp (1991b: 96f.) and Hoffner (2009: 97).

⁹⁰¹ Also supported by the Aleppo Treaty, where two GAL KUŠ₇ are mentioned without differentiation (see below).

⁹⁰² *Hu-[ul-l]a*; the letter is edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 112–14) and by Marizza (2007a: 78–80).

⁹⁰³ Thus Klinger (1995: 93), followed by de Martino (2005: 299) and Marizza (2007a: 81).

what is being discussed between the Priest and Kaššu in HKM 74 about the return of certain refugees.⁹⁰⁴

The Hulla mentioned in the colophon of KUB 44.24 certainly belongs to the late Empire period, and the suggested reading of Hull]a GAL KUŠ₇ in KBo 44.1 obv. 6' does not seem to be valid.⁹⁰⁵

4.6.1.9 Tarhumi(m)ma

As mentioned above, Tarhumima appears with the title GAL KUŠ₇ of the Left after Hulla in the land donation text LhK 91 of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal. Although the name Tarhumi(m)ma appears in multiple documents from Mašat, only the one named in the letter HKM 69 u.e. 1⁹⁰⁶ may be identified with the GAL KUŠ₇ official. This letter is sent by the trio of a UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ, Tarhumima, and Pišeni, and addressed to Kaššu,⁹⁰⁷ but very little of the content has been preserved. The plain address formula without any extra greeting words does suggest that one or more of these three officials is of higher status than Kaššu. Pišeni's higher position in relation to Kaššu is already apparent from other documents such as HKM 18, where he addresses Kaššu as "my son."⁹⁰⁸ Tarhumima being named before Pišeni suggests that the former is even higher or at least on an equal level to Pišeni. On the other hand, if this Tarhumima is the GAL KUŠ₇ of the Left, he is apparently not superior to the unnamed UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ official.⁹⁰⁹ It may also be noted that Kaššu is otherwise known

⁹⁰⁴ On HKM 74 see Alp (1991b: 262f.), and Hoffner (2009: 234f.).

⁹⁰⁵ Marizza (2007a: 65) reads ^mHu-ul-l]a² GAL KUŠ₇, in KBo 44.1 obv. 6', but what is seen in the *Konkordanz* photo can hardly be a KUŠ₇ and looks more like a ŠI/IGI/LIM sign as shown in the copy. See Roszkowska-Mutschler (2007: 1), who restores it as]É¹.GAL^{LIM}.

⁹⁰⁶ Edited by Alp (1991b: 252f.).

⁹⁰⁷ HKM 69 1–2: *UMMA* UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ ^{md}U-mi-m[a] ^U^mPi-še-ni A-NA ^mKa-aš-[š]u-ú.

⁹⁰⁸ See also the hierarchical chart of Beckman (1995a: 33).

⁹⁰⁹ For an alternative explanation see Marizza (2007a: 41f.), who suggests that UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ may be the only true author of the letter and that the other names might have been added only to indicate their interest in the matter and/or presence at the location.

with the title UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ from other documents from Mašat, but it could be argued that he obtained this title at a later date than that of this letter (see section 4.12.1.3).

Two other Mašat texts mention the name Tarhumimma,⁹¹⁰ but they appear to be lower-level functionaries different from the GAL KUŠ₇.⁹¹¹ An identification with the Tarhumima attested on a small MH letter fragment, KBo 8.22 obv. 12' (^{md}U-mi-i-ma-an), has been suspected, but too little has been preserved to justify this conclusion.⁹¹²

4.6.1.10 Hannutti

The next known GAL KUŠ₇ official appears during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I. In the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma he is mentioned in two separate passages. In KBo 5.6 i 12,⁹¹³ Hannutti, the GAL ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇, is busy in Kaška territory. The passage states that while Šuppiluliuma I took the city of Almina and occupied Mt. Kuntiya, his commanders Himuili, the GAL GEŠTIN, and Hannutti, the GAL KUŠ₇, were holding positions at the River Šariya and at the city of Parparra, respectively (i 9–12). Their fortified camps came under attack by the Kaška, who broke the peace by taking advantage of a plague that had broken out in the Hittite army (i 18–24), but the lords (i.e., Himuili and Hannutti) were successful in defeating and destroying the enemy (i 25–28).

In a separate episode of the Deed of Šuppiluliuma, Hannutti appears in western Anatolia.⁹¹⁴ The partially damaged lines of the passage start with a description of Šuppiluliuma celebrating the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival, which may be the reason that he sent Hannutti, GAL ^{LÚ}.MEŠ^ŠKUŠ₇,⁹¹⁵ to deal with problems in the Lower Land. Upon Hannutti's arrival, the rebellious

⁹¹⁰ ^{md}I[M-h]u-mi-im-ma in HKM 49 obv. 3, and ^mU-mi-im-ma in HKM 65 rev. 23. Edited by Alp (1991b: 210f., 244f.).

⁹¹¹ See Beal (1992: 370 n. 1408), Klinger (1995: 99) and the detailed analysis of Marizza (2007a: 90–92).

⁹¹² For an edition of the text and analysis, see Marizza (2007a: 87–90).

⁹¹³ Edited by Del Monte (2009: 86–90).

⁹¹⁴ KUB 19.22 1'–11' with dupl. KBo 14.42 8'–16'; edited by Del Monte (2009: 55f.).

⁹¹⁵ He is mentioned with the title in KUB 19.22 4' and 8'; without the title in KUB 19.22 5' and in dupl. KBo 14.42 12', 14'.

inhabitants of Lalanda made peace. Hannutti went further into the land of Hapalla, attacked and defeated it, and brought back the booty to Hattuša.

KUB 48.91 is a small fragment which may belong to the reign of Šuppiluliuma I based on the mention of Hannutti in line 7'.⁹¹⁶ Other than the mention of the city of Marašša (l. 6'), which is known to be in the region of the Lower Land,⁹¹⁷ not much else can be deduced from the text.

The Hannutti mentioned in documents from Mišrife/Qatna⁹¹⁸ is very likely to be identified with our official, revealing further information that he acted as one of the top-level commanders on the Syrian campaigns of Šuppiluliuma I. He is attested in four letters in Akkadian,⁹¹⁹ all addressed to Idadda, the King of Qatna. Hannutti is the sender of the letter TT4, and along with Takuwa, the ruler of Niya, he is the joint sender of TT3. Idadda,⁹²⁰ the king of Qatna, was apparently in alliance with the Hittites at the time and facing an enemy threat. In both letters Hannutti relays the message of Šuppiluliuma I, who informs Idadda: “Fortify Qatna till I arrive!” (TT3: 9–12) and warns him against changing sides by reminding him of the fate of the city of Armatte, which had changed sides and been destroyed (TT3:14–19). The other two letters (TT1 and TT2) were sent by Takuwa, the king of Niya, who was also an ally of the Hittites. Hannutti must have been in close contact with Takuwa, since they are the joint senders in one letter, and in two other letters Takuwa informs the king of Qatna about the movements of Hannutti along with some civilian captives (NAM.RA.MEŠ). Although no titles are given to Hannutti in these letters, he is apparently in charge of affairs in the region of Qatna and Niya, acting as a representative of the Hittite king and relaying his messages. References to captives also indicate that he is involved in military activity. In one of the letters Hannutti says: “You (pl.) know that Mittanni is

⁹¹⁶ *mHa-an-nu-ud-d[i]*. For the dating, see Klengel (1999: 147).

⁹¹⁷ See Del Monte and Tischler (1978: 260f.) and Del Monte (1992: 102).

⁹¹⁸ For an analysis of cuneiform finds in Tell Misrife/Qatna, see Richter and Lange (2012).

⁹¹⁹ TT1(MSH02G-i0194):10, 17, TT2(MSH02G-i0276):36, 37, TT3(MSH02G-i0274) :3, TT4(MSH02G-i0193):2; edited by Richter in Richter and Lange (2012: 44–60).

⁹²⁰ Spelled as *mI-da-an-da* in the letters.

destroyed” (TT4: 34–35), which suggests that the letter dates to a time shortly after Šuppiluliuma’s defeat of Mittanni.⁹²¹

Hannutti is mentioned again in the Extended Annals of Muršili II,⁹²² this time as the governor of the Lower Land. While Muršili’s brother Arnuwanda II was sick, Hannutti went to Išhupitta, probably to deal with the Kaškans, but he died there (see more in section 3.2.5). His installation as the governor of the Lower Land and the attestation of his name in a fragment of the royal offering lists⁹²³ suggest that Hannutti was a close member of the royal family.

4.6.1.11 Halpašulupi

The reading of the name of the first witness in the Aleppo Treaty of Muršili II/Muwatalli II as Halpašulupi was first proposed by Beal (1992: 374 and n. 1420).⁹²⁴ The name is known as that of one of the sons, possibly the oldest,⁹²⁵ of Muršili II, as revealed by Hattušili III in KUB 1.1 i 9.⁹²⁶ His primary position in the witness list of the Aleppo Treaty, even before Šahuruwa, the king of Karkamiš, strengthens his identification as a son of Muršili II.⁹²⁷ Although his GAL LÚKUS₇ title is not marked with the “of the Right/Left” designation, since Tudhaliya is listed with the same title a few names after Halpašulupi, it is likely that his title actually corresponds to GAL LÚKUS₇ of the Right or Left.⁹²⁸

⁹²¹ See Richter (2012: 155–66) for a discussion of the reign of Idadda in Qatna.

⁹²² KUB 19.29 iv 11, 13 (AM 18f.).

⁹²³ ^mHa]’-an-nu¹-ut-ti in KBo 13.42 5’ (CTH 661). No other name ending with -annutti has been attested in Hittite sources, and the other attestations of this name seem to belong to a late Empire period prince (see below as Hannutti II), save ^mHa-nu-di from an Alalah text (see van den Hout 1995a: 200).

⁹²⁴ [^{mUR}]’Hal-pa-aš-šu¹-lu¹-pi GAL LÚKUS₇ in KBo 1.6 rev. 17’. See Devecchi (2010: 13) for an edition of the witness list.

⁹²⁵ Based on the order of the names in KBo 1.1:9–10: Halpašulupi, Muwatalli, and Hattušili; see Beal (1992: 374), Ünal (1995: 440), Devecchi (2010: 13).

⁹²⁶ ^mHa-al-pa-šu-lu-pi-in in KBo 1.1 rev. 9. Edited by Otten (1981: 4f.).

⁹²⁷ We may note here Muršili’s declaration in CTH 57 that only the king of Hatti and his crown prince would be greater in status than the king of Karkamiš (KBo 1.28 obv. 6–19, Beckman 1999: 169).

⁹²⁸ In most of the joint attestations of a title with both the Right and Left designations, the one of the Right is listed before the one of the Left, but the opposite is also attested in the Bronze Tablet, where GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left (iv 33) is listed before the one of the Right (iv 39). Since the Hittite word *kunna-* (right), has the same double meaning as in English of both “right (hand or side)” as well as “right, favorable, successful” (see HED/K: 245), it is reasonable to think that “of the Right” is the more preferred office (see also section 6.1).

Since Muršili II was succeeded on the throne by Muwatalli II, some scholars assume that Halpašulupi had predeceased his father.⁹²⁹ As mentioned previously, the extant version of the Aleppo Treaty is an official copy issued by Muwatalli II to replace the lost original of Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo, which had been issued by Muršili II. Therefore, those who hypothesize the early death of Halpašulupi must also assume that the witnesses of the Aleppo Treaty reflect the original version.⁹³⁰ However, if Halpašulupi was considered to be the heir to the throne, he would be expected to have the title *tuhkanti* instead of GAL KUŠ₇. Therefore, it is more likely that, as Beal (1992: 374) suggests, there was another reason for him not to be considered for the kingship. Perhaps he was not a son of Muršili II by Queen Gaššulawiya, or he may not have been the oldest son. Beal's suggestion also finds support in Glocker's suggestion that Halpašulupi was installed as the first king of the appanage kingdom of Išuwa, based on the restoration of his name in the fragment KBo 50.182 obv. 4 (see section 3.1.7.1).

The inventory fragment, HFAC 10:9' may also have the name of Halpašulupi (^mHal]-pa[?]-šu-lu-pi),⁹³¹ but the context does not provide any relevant information. Finally, a large seal impression, Niš 111, bears the name TONITRUS.HALPA-AVIS, which may be read as Halpašulupi.⁹³²

4.6.1.12 Tudhaliya

A reading of Tudhaliya (^mTù-ut-ha-li¹-ya) as the second GAL KUŠ₇ official among the witnesses of the Aleppo Treaty (KBo 1.6 rev. 18') has been suggested only recently by Jared

⁹²⁹ Thus Ünal (1995: 440), Klengel (1999: 208), Devecchi (2010: 14).

⁹³⁰ For this view see Devecchi (2010), as opposed to Del Monte (1975), who at the time suggested that Muwatalli II had summoned the surviving witnesses of the original treaty to witness the new copy.

⁹³¹ See Beckman and Hoffner (1985: 12).

⁹³² The reading of Halpašulupi for the hieroglyphic TONITRUS.HALPA-AVIS₂ has already been suggested for a late-period attestation from Karkamiš by Laroche (1952: 72). Both Herbordt (2005: 132) and Hawkins (2005a: 253f.) indicate the possibility that Niš 111 may belong to the son of Muršili II.

Miller *apud* Devecchi (2010: 12 n. 39). There are no other attestations of a GAL KUŠ₇ official by this name in cuneiform sources.

Devecchi (2010: 15–17) proposes to identify him with the Prince Tudhaliya who is depicted on a stone relief from Alalah, on account of the latter’s hieroglyphic title, which was read MAGNUS.AURIGA₂.⁹³³ As discussed in the introduction of this section (4.6) and under Kantuzzili (4.6.1.7), a possible match between the titles MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ and GAL KUŠ₇ would make this a very reasonable identification. However, a recent analysis of the relief with enhanced photography proposes to read the title as MAGNUS.SACERDOS₂,⁹³⁴ decreasing the likelihood of Devecchi’s proposal. An edict of Muršili II which mentions a Tudhaliya as a local ruler in northern Syria (KBo 3.3+, CTH 63), a letter sent by a Great King to a Tudhaliya (ATT 35), and another letter sent by a Tudhaliya to a Great king (KBo 9.83, CTH 198) are on account of geographical clues all associated with the Prince Tudhaliya of the Alalah relief (see section 3.2.3). If the proposed MAGNUS.SACERDOS₂ “Chief Priest” reading for the Alalah relief is correct, in order to identify him with the GAL KUŠ₇ official of the Aleppo treaty, we would have to assume a change of office or the simultaneous occupation of both offices.

Contra Devecchi (2010: 16f.), another Tudhaliya mentioned in the vassal treaty of Muršili II with Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya (CTH 68) is probably a better candidate to match with the GAL KUŠ₇ official. While defining the borders of Kupanta-Kurunta, it is said that “in the direction of the city of Maddunašša, the fortified camp of Tudhaliya” will be his frontier.⁹³⁵ The Tudhaliya mentioned here must be one of the field commanders of Muršili II, a position that fits very nicely with the GAL KUŠ₇ official.⁹³⁶ As in the example of Hannutti, who appears to

⁹³³ For this Tudhaliya, see section 3.2.3.

⁹³⁴ Yener, Dinçol, and Peker (2014).

⁹³⁵ KBo 5.13 i 29–30 (Beckman 1999: 76).

⁹³⁶ See above Hannutti, the GAL KUŠ₇, whose fortified camps came under enemy attack.

have campaigned in every region of the empire, it is likely that his counterpart was also active in different areas.

4.6.1.13 L. 118+*nú-ti* / Hannutti (II) (?)

A seal impression from Tarsus⁹³⁷ bears the names and titles of a couple: a princess (REX.FILIA) named Hepapiya (*Ha-pa-pi-ia*) and a MAGNUS.AURIGA₂, whose three-character name appears to be *Nú-L. 118-ti*. The second character of the husband's name (L. 118) is in the form of an animal, the reading of which has not been established. Two other sealings from Tarsus, both apparently from the same seal, also give the same person's name,⁹³⁸ and identify him as a prince (REX.FILIUS). Hapapiya also appears by herself on another seal from Tarsus, again with the princess title.⁹³⁹

The only name in cuneiform sources to match *Nú-x-ti* is Nuhati. A treasury official by that name,⁹⁴⁰ and a person who appears in a fragmentary court record,⁹⁴¹ unfortunately do not reveal anything relevant. On the other hand, it was already remarked by Gelb (1956: 249) and Laroche (1958: 255) that the sign order of this name might be *x-nú-ti*. Indeed in both versions of the official's name, the nine short lines that form the hieroglyphic *nú* character are drawn more like a ligature on L. 118 (see Figure 5). This may have been done intentionally in order to imply that L. 118 should be read by incorporating a *nu* value, in which case perhaps the proper writing of the name would be L. 118+*NÚ-ti*.⁹⁴²

⁹³⁷ No. 17 in Gelb (1956: 249 and plates 401, 405).

⁹³⁸ Nos. 45 and 53 in Gelb (1956: 251f. and plates 403, 404, 407). Here the animal is drawn in full (so L. 118₂³). These three Tarsus seals are the only known attestations of L. 118.

⁹³⁹ No. 14 in Gelb (1956: 248 and plates 401, 405).

⁹⁴⁰ [^m]Nu-ha-ti in KBo 23.26 i 6 (CTH 242.8) and probably [^mNu-]ha-ti in KUB 40.96 iv 25 (CTH 242.5).

⁹⁴¹ KUB 13.34+ iv 30 (CTH 295.2); edited by Werner (1967: 40f.).

⁹⁴² See CALF²+nu-ti in Gelb (1956: 249).

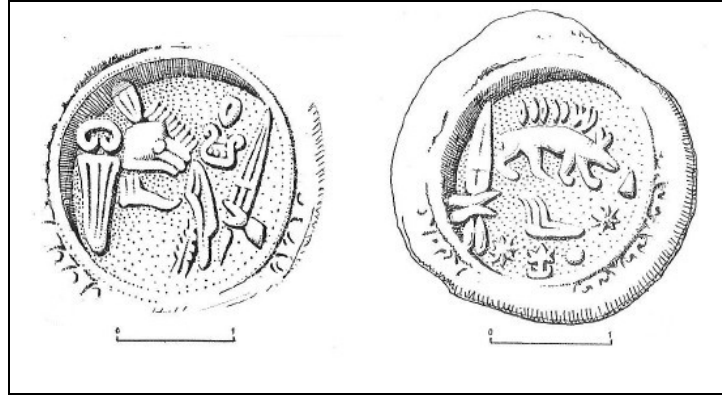


Figure 5. Tarsus seals no. 17 and no. 45.

In the Hittite onomasticon the only name that ends with *-nu-ti* is Hannutti (NH 278). There are two well-known Hannuttis: 1) a GAL KUŠ₇ official and later governor of the Lower Land from the time of Šuppiluliuma I–Muršili II,⁹⁴³ and 2) the Prince Hannutti, son of Hattušili III. Although identifying the MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ of the Tarsus sealings with the GAL KUŠ₇ of Šuppiluliuma I would seem attractive on the basis of the proposed equation between these two titles, the son of Hattušili III seems to be a better match for two reasons. First, the Tarsus sealings come from a deposit that has been dated to the time of Puduhepa (Laroche 1958: 255), and second, the princess Hapapiya of the Tarsus sealings is probably the same person known from cuneiform sources as Hepapiya, another contemporary of Hattušili III.

Hepapiya (^f*Hé-pa-SUM*) is mainly known from the dream text KUB 15.5+, where she is mentioned about thirty times in short passages.⁹⁴⁴ Although no title is given, as de Roos remarks (2007a: 58), she appears to be some sort of a priestess interpreting the dreams of the Hittite king and some officials, and allocating offerings to a deity referred to as “the great god” (DINGIR^{LIM} GAL). Her authoritative position may also be observed in passages where she calls for offerings

⁹⁴³ See Hannutti above under GAL KUŠ₇ in section 4.6.1.10.

⁹⁴⁴ Edited by de Roos (2007a: 71–88). For a separately published additional fragment see de Roos (2007b: 633f.). Hepapiya is also mentioned in another dream text fragment Merzifon 3:3' (edited by de Roos 2007a: 289f.), and in the oracle fragment KBo 41.208+ 14' (CTH 580).

to be taken back from another deity, such as Ištar of the Field, and given to the great god.⁹⁴⁵ De Roos (2007a: 33–36) concludes that the text dates to a time when Hattušili III was king of Hakpiš, most likely during the reign of Urhi-Tešup.⁹⁴⁶ Since no other person named Hepapiya is known, it is possible that she is the princess named on the Tarsus sealings, and spouse of Hannutti[?], the prince and MAGNUS.AURIGA₂. If the name on the Tarsus seal is indeed Hannutti, could he be the son of Hattušili III? It may be noted that Hattušili's wife Puduhepa was also a priestess. It may seem strange that on the Tarsus sealing no. 17, Hannutti(?) uses only the MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ title while his spouse uses the REX.FILIA, but there are several examples where a prince omits his princely title on a seal, such as Tudhaliya on Niš 468, with only the MAGNUS.HASTARIUS title.

Van den Hout's study of Hannutti (1995a: 199–203) highlights several documents, but none provides relevant information towards establishing a match with the MAGNUS.AURIGA₂/GAL KUŠ₇ official.

4.6.1.14 Upparamuwa

Prince Upparamuwa is known from both of the Tarhuntašša treaties, as well as the Šahurunuwa Text as one of the high-ranking witnesses. In addition to the DUMU.LUGAL designation, he has the title UGULA^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI in both the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty of Hattušili III (rev. 30)⁹⁴⁷ and the Šahurunuwa Text of Tudhaliya IV (rev. 30). A study of this prince was done by van den Hout (1995a: 115f.) and all attestations that were listed by him apparently belong to this prince. Two documents from Ras Shamra and one from Meskene

⁹⁴⁵ KUB 15.5+ iii 19–21, 28–29, and perhaps 39'–46'.

⁹⁴⁶ Thus also Houwink ten Cate (1994: 251; 1996: 72).

⁹⁴⁷ In this text the missing <UGULA> is clearly a scribal error, since the plural^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI makes no sense by itself.

indicate that Upparamuwa was the father of Piha-Tarhunta,⁹⁴⁸ the brother of Mizramuwa, and the son of a king,⁹⁴⁹ probably of Ini-Tešup, the king of Karkamiš.⁹⁵⁰ His other brothers were Alihešni and Tili-Šarruma (Singer 1999b: 654, Mora 2004b: 433, 438).

After Kantuzzili, Upparamuwa is the only other known holder of the title UGULA LÚ.MEŠ KUS₇ KÙ.GI. His ranking among the witnesses right after the names of the sons of the Hittite king and the vassal kings is indicative of his high status. After the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Šahurunuwa Text, he appears in the Bronze Tablet with the title LÚ *antuwašalli*. According to van den Hout (1995a: 171), this change represents a promotion. Pecchioli Daddi (1997: 177, 2003a: 91f.), however, suggests that UGULA LÚ.MEŠ KUS₇ KÙ.GI and LÚ *antuwašalli* are the same title.

A short letter from Tell Kazel⁹⁵¹ places Upparamuwa in the land of Amurru. It was sent by a king, probably that of Karkamiš, who informs the recipient Palla about the coming arrival of Upparamuwa⁹⁵² and requests that Palla honor him properly. Also, according to the reconstruction of KUB 3.43+ by Edel (1994: 26), already during the reign of Hattušili III, Upparamuwa (obv. 8') was a member of the Hittite embassy that traveled to Egypt shortly after the signing of the peace treaty. We may also note the letter of introduction RS 17.423:19–20, which presents Mizramuwa to the king of Ugarit as a brother of Upparamuwa and the son of the king of Karkamiš. The reason for the mention of Upparamuwa could be that the court of Ugarit was familiar with him due to his previous visits and/or because Upparamuwa may have been the crown prince of Karkamiš at the time (see below).

⁹⁴⁸ RS 17.148 rev. 1 (*PRU* VI: 9f.) and Msk. 73.1012 = *Emar* VI 211:24–25 (Arnaud 1986: 222f.).

⁹⁴⁹ RS 17.423 6–20 (*PRU* IV: 193).

⁹⁵⁰ Thus van den Hout (1995a: 116), Singer (1997: 420), and Mora (2004b: 438f.; 2008c: 557f.); contra Beal (1992: 393 n. 1486).

⁹⁵¹ TK 02.1; edited by Roche (2003: 126).

⁹⁵² Or perhaps the document was presented by Upparamuwa as a letter of introduction. On Tell Kazel being identified as the ancient city of Šumur in the land of Amurru, see Singer (1991: 138 n. 4).

The attestation of ^mUp-p]a-ra-A.A in a fragment of the Vow of Puduhepa (KBo 52.107a 6') probably also refers to this prince, although the text does not reveal anything specific about him.

With the assumption that the witness lists of Hittite texts reflect a certain hierarchy,⁹⁵³ it is interesting that Upparamuwa is ranked highly as a witness in the Šahurunuwa Text and the Bronze Tablet. Among the twenty-seven witnesses of the Bronze Tablet, he is in the seventh place, following three sons of Hattušili III (Nerikkaili, Huzziya, Kurakura),⁹⁵⁴ two vassal kings (his father Ini-Tešup and Mašturi of the Šeha River Land), and the crown prince of Amurru Šauškamuwa, who is identified in the text as the (brother-)in-law of Tudhaliya IV (^{LÚ}HADĀN LUGAL). Prince Ehli-Šarruma, the future king of Išuwa, is also listed two names after Upparamuwa. This would be even more striking if the GAL-^dU of both documents could be identified with Talmi-Tešup, the future king of Karkamiš. As is argued in section 1.14.8.1.6, perhaps Talmi-Tešup had not yet been named as the heir of Ini-Tešup at the time. It is possible that his high-ranking brother Upparamuwa, who is listed between two other crown princes (of Amurru and Išuwa), was next in line for the kingship of Karkamiš. The latest datable text that mentions Upparamuwa is the Bronze Tablet. Since it is known that Talmi-Tešup became king of Karkamiš sometime in the late reign of Tudhaliya IV, it could be that between the signing of the Bronze Tablet and the death of Ini-Tešup, either Upparamuwa also died or for some other reason was replaced by Talmi-Tešup as the heir of the Karkamiš king.

4.6.1.15 Kaššu

Kaššu, the GAL KUŠ₇, is attested as a witness in the Šahurunuwa Text of Tudhaliya IV. Kaššu is one of the most commonly attested names in Hittite sources, which makes it challenging

⁹⁵³ See the separate discussion in section 6.3.

⁹⁵⁴ For these three names, see van den Hout (1995a: 96–111). For Huzziya see also section 4.1.1.14.

to identify individuals. A prosopographical study of this name with an emphasis on the Empire period attestations was done by van den Hout (1995a: 226–32).⁹⁵⁵ Among those attestations, van den Hout considers a group of documents as providing plausible matches based on the connection of the texts to the palace or attestations of individuals known to have been active around the same time period. In the inventory text KUB 26.66 iii 5,⁹⁵⁶ a Kaššu is said to be in possession of certain treasury items. This may possibly indicate a high official, since in the same text a few paragraphs later, similar statements are made about the Queen (iii 10) and the *tuhkanti* (iii 17). In KUB 26.49 obv. 1 (CTH 297.6), Kaššu appears in a damaged context, on the reverse of which the text names Ewri-Šarruma and Šahuruwa, who are almost certainly the known contemporaries of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV. Therefore, the text can be dated to the same time, but otherwise it does not reveal much about Kaššu. In KBo 8.32 obv. 2',⁹⁵⁷ Kaššu appears in a court proceeding, perhaps as a testifying witness, but the small fragment does not provide any relevant information.

Two other attestations considered as plausible matches for Kaššu of the Šahuruwa Text by van den Hout are KUB 13.35+ iii 39 (CTH 293)⁹⁵⁸ and KUB 31.62 ii 14 (CTH 232.1). The first text is the court document of Ura-Tarhunta and his father Ukkura, where Kaššu is listed among the names of nineteen witnesses who take an oath that they had not pilfered anything from the inventory. However, none of the listed names seems to be a known personality,⁹⁵⁹ which makes it more likely that these are low-level employees, who happened to include a Kaššu. The second text, KUB 31.62, is a list of palace employees grouped under headings that identify their professions, but the heading of the group that includes Kaššu is not preserved.

⁹⁵⁵ A ritual fragment KBo 48.25 obv. 2 and the seal impression Niš 158 can be added to these attestations. The seal names a Kaššu as the king of a land, the name of which is not readable (see Hawkins 2005a: 258).

⁹⁵⁶ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 100–107). For the dating see van den Hout (1995a: 230).

⁹⁵⁷ Edited by Werner (1967: 58f.).

⁹⁵⁸ Edited by Werner (1967: 3–15).

⁹⁵⁹ Perhaps with the exception of Alalimi, but this is also a common name (see above Alalimi, the GAL SAGI, in section 4.3.1.4).

However, considering that the preserved headings are all lower-level functionaries, such as the cupbearers (i 2), treasurers (i 11), waiters (ii 5), and cooks (ii 11), it is very unlikely that this Kaššu is a high-level official.⁹⁶⁰

The seal impression SBo II 32, which names a Prince Kaššu (*Ká-su* REX.FILIUS), has been dismissed by van den Hout, but considering the examples of Kantuzzili, Halpašulupi, and perhaps even Hannutti and Tudhaliya, it is perfectly possible for Kaššu, the GAL KUŠ₇, to have a princely title. Needless to say, he does not need to be the son of a reigning king to bear the REX.FILIUS title on his seals, since many extended family members do so.

The augur named Kaššu known from several documents⁹⁶¹ is also not likely to be identified with our general. As was argued in the introduction of this section, since an equation of the hieroglyphic MAGNUS.AURIGA with cuneiform GAL KUŠ₇ is not convincing, *Ká-su* of SBo II 115 should also be left out. Several other attestations are uncertain to be identified with our Kaššu,⁹⁶² and a few others are either less likely or unclear, and in either case do not provide further relevant information.⁹⁶³

4.6.1.16 Zuzuhha

Zuzuhha is listed as a witness in the Bronze Tablet of Tudhaliya IV with the title GAL KUŠ₇ (iv 38). There is almost nothing else known about this official. A seal impression from

⁹⁶⁰ Most of the names in KUB 31.62 are not those of known individuals, with the exception of a treasurer named Talmi-Tešup (i 8: ^m*Tal-mi*-^dU), but it is quite unlikely that he is the crown prince of Karkamiš. The top name among the eight listed treasurers is Ur(a)-Tarhunta (i 3: ^m*Ur*-^dU). Despite the alternate spellings in this text (perhaps intentionally), both Ura-Tarhunta and Talmi-Tešup can be written with Sumerograms as GAL-^dU. Therefore, one of these two treasury officials may have been the official GAL-^dU who was prosecuted in KUB 13.35+ (CTH 293).

⁹⁶¹ Documents under 5 a-e of van den Hout (1995a: 227), to which we may possibly add KBo 48.25 obv. 2.

⁹⁶² Kaššu of the Mašat texts, the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75), and the Manapa-Tarhunta letter (CTH 191).

⁹⁶³ For a list of these attestations see van den Hout (1995a: 226–33).

Nişantepe (Niş 550) with hieroglyphic *Zu-zu-ha* must be the same name, but no title has been preserved.⁹⁶⁴

4.6.1.17 Kulana

The signet ring impression Niş 171 names a Kulana with the titles MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ and URBS.DOMINUS. On the seal impression Niş 172, a (Ku)kulana appears with the title MAGNUS.AURIGA₂. Furthermore, a seal in the Ashmolean Museum names a (Ku)kulana,⁹⁶⁵ with the titles AURIGA and URBS.DOMINUS. As mentioned previously, all three seals/sealings may belong to the same individual, and if so this may be supporting evidence for the AURIGA=AURIGA₂ equation. However, since this goes against the above-proposed identification of KUŠ₇ with AURIGA₂, but not with AURIGA, one possible explanation could be that perhaps the same individual held the AURIGA/*KARTAPPU* and MAGNUS.AURIGA₂/GAL KUŠ₇ titles at different times. This may be plausible since both titles are associated with chariotry.

It is also uncertain whether the name should be read Kulana, or whether it is an abbreviated form of Kukulana.⁹⁶⁶ Other than a Kukulanim mentioned in a Cappadocian text (NH 604.1), neither Kulana nor Kukulana is known from cuneiform sources. Kukulana is attested in two other seal impressions,⁹⁶⁷ in each case with the designation BONUS₂ VIR₂, identifying the owner as a man.⁹⁶⁸

⁹⁶⁴ The bulla that bears this impression also has the sealing of a Hilani, with the title L. 469. On this title, see Hawkins (2005a: 312f.). For an early Empire period Zuzuhha, see Süel (1995: 278).

⁹⁶⁵ No. 8 in Kennedy (1958: 68 and Planche II).

⁹⁶⁶ See the comments of Hawkins (2005a: 259). All three characters of *ku-la-na* are written antithetically on Niş 171, while on Niş 172 and the Ashmolean seal, only the *ku* signs are written antithetically above single *la-na*, so it may still be a playful way of writing Kulana.

⁹⁶⁷ Tarsus sealing no. 43b in Gelb (1956: 251 and plates 403, 407), and a seal from a private collection published by Poetto (1985: 185–87). In both cases *Ku-ku-la-na* is spelled without any antithetic writing.

⁹⁶⁸ The Tarsus bulla of Kukulana also bears the impression of a very similarly designed seal of Halpaziti, and both seal impressions include a bird sign (L. 128⁷), which may perhaps identify the owners as augurs (Laroche 1958: 259). See also van

Since two sealings that identify this official as MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ come from the Nišantepe archive, a 13th-century dating can be suggested, but otherwise nothing else is known about him.

4.6.2 General discussion of GAL/UGULA KUŠ₇ (KÙ.GI)

GAL/UGULA KUŠ ₇	Reigning King	Title / Other Titles / Relationship
Šuppiuman	Hattušili I (?)	UGULA 1 LI LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇
Marašša	Hattušili I (?)	UGULA 1 LI LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇
Šandamei	Ammuna/Huzziya I	UGULA 1 LI LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇
Lariya	Telipinu	UGULA 1 LI LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇
Ušhanda	Huzziya II	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇
Zidanza	Huzziya II	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇ KÙ.GI
Gullutti	Muwatalli I	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇ <i>kunnaz</i>
Kantuzzili	Muwatalli I–Tudhaliya I/II	UGULA LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇ KÙ.GI/MAGNUS.AURIGA ₂ , GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i> , father of Tudhaliya I/II, son of Huzziya II ⁹
Hulla	Arnuwanda I	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇ <i>ZAG-az</i>
Tarhumima	Arnuwanda I	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇ <i>GÜB-laz</i>
Hannutti (I)	Šuppiluliuma I	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇ , governor of the Lower Land
Halpašulupi	Muršili II/Muwatalli II	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇ , son of Muršili II, future king of Išuwa(?)
Tudhaliya	Muršili II/Muwatalli II	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇
Hannutti (II) (?)	Hattušili III (?)	MAGNUS.AURIGA ₂ , REX.FILIUS, son of Hattušili III (?)
Upparamuwa	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	UGULA LÚ.MEŠ ₇ KUŠ ₇ KÙ.GI, DUMU.LUGAL, LÚ <i>antuwašalli</i> , son of the king of Karkamiš
Kaššu	Tudhaliya IV	GAL KUŠ ₇ , REX.FILIUS (?)
Zuzuhha	Tudhaliya IV	GAL KUŠ ₇
Kulana	13 th century	MAGNUS.AURIGA ₂ URBS.DOMINUS

Table 10. List of GAL/UGULA KUŠ₇ (KÙ.GI) officials.

GAL/UGULA KUŠ₇ is another title attested throughout Hittite history. Until the reign of Telipinu, all four attestations of a commander of the “Chariot Fighters” (LÚ.MEŠ₇KUŠ₇) use the UGULA 1 LI LÚ.MEŠ₇KUŠ₇ title. Considering that the only other attestation of an UGULA 1 LI also comes from the OS Palace Chronicle Fragments (CTH 9),⁹⁶⁹ it may be speculated that this

den Hout (1995a: 188f.) on possibly identifying this Halpaziti with a Muršili III–Hattušili III–era augur known from cuneiform sources.

⁹⁶⁹ KBo 8.42 rev. 6 (see Soysal 1989: 34f. and Beal 1992: 379 with n. 1434).

version of the title fell into disuse in favor of GAL KUŠ₇,⁹⁷⁰ which is attested for the first time during the reign of Telipinu.⁹⁷¹ However, the use of UGULA still continues with LÚ.MEŠ₇KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI during the Empire period. The UGULA LÚ.MEŠ₇KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI is technically a separate class of official that may be translated as “Overseer of the Golden Chariot Fighters,” but these officials were apparently no less prominent than the GAL KUŠ₇ officials, as shown by the known holders Kantuzzili and Upparamuwa, both of the royal family. Zidanza of LhK 40 demonstrates that the title GAL LÚ.MEŠ₇KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI also existed, which in this case was probably the equivalent of its UGULA version.⁹⁷²

On one of the three occasions when Telipinu gives a list of top officials in his edict (CTH 40), GAL LÚ.MEŠ₇KUŠ₇ is included among them (iii 2), listed after LÚ.MEŠ₇ABUBĪTU, GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, GAL GEŠTIN, and GAL MEŠEDI, but before UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ, all of whom are collectively referred to as the “Great Men” (LÚ.MEŠ₇GAL^{TIM}) and the “Greats/Chiefs” (*šallaeš*).

The GAL KUŠ₇ title is also mentioned in the Instructions for the Royal Bodyguards (CTH 262). In the section about the hearing of law cases by the king, it is prescribed that either a GAL KUŠ₇ or an overseer of ten (UGULA 10) goes behind the GAL MEŠEDI, which must simply mean “either a high rank or low rank official” (Beal 1992: 373). In other words, the reference to the GAL KUŠ₇ in this text seems to be given as an example of a high-ranking official, but otherwise his presence was not strictly necessary.

Like the GAL MEŠEDI and the GAL GEŠTIN, GAL KUŠ₇ is mainly a military title. The military duties of the office are best observed in examples featuring Hulla and Hannutti (I).

⁹⁷⁰ There are no attestations of an UGULA (LÚ.MEŠ₇)KUŠ₇ in later periods.

⁹⁷¹ In the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19 iii 2); edited by Hoffmann (1984: 38f.). A restored [GAL LÚ₇K]UŠ₇ in the Old Hittite text KBo 3.33 ii 13' (Soysal 1989: 37f., 93f.) remains uncertain.

⁹⁷² On UGULA vs. GAL, see note 592.

However, as Beal (1995: 375) points out, there are no specific examples that tie this office exclusively to chariotry units. In the case of Hulla and his excursions into the mountainous Kaška territory, it is hard to imagine that the troops he commanded would have been made up entirely of chariotry units. Furthermore, the GAL KUŠ₇ (presumably Hulla) of HKM 70 and 71 does not specify anything about chariotry when he asks for troops (ÉRIN.MEŠ) to be brought, and when he refers to his troops of the Upper Land (ÉRIN.MEŠ KUR UGU). Therefore, despite the meaning of the title, the GAL KUŠ₇ officers were probably generals in command of mixed troops that included infantry as well as the LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ₇ soldiers.

Although not a GAL-level official, it may be worth mentioning a LÚ KUŠ₇ by the name of Pithana. Other than the well-known father of Anitta from the pre-Old Hittite period, all of the three known attestations of Pithana occur in Middle Hittite texts, which led Klinger (1995: 240) to suggest that all refer to the same person. One of those texts is the land grant LhK 46, in which Pithana (obv. 16, 18), the LÚ KUŠ₇, is given several fields by Muwatalli I. Listed among the witnesses is Gullutti, the GAL LÚ<.MEŠ> KUŠ₇, perhaps the commanding officer of Pithana. Another attestation in KBo 19.59 obv. 4'+KUB 3.16 obv. 24' (CTH 135)⁹⁷³ may suggest that Pithana did not remain an ordinary LÚ KUŠ₇. KBo 19.59+ is a fragment of a treaty established by Tudhaliya I/II⁹⁷⁴ with Lab'u of Tunip. Although the context is not entirely clear, the preserved section may belong to the historical narrative that is typically included in the treaties. According to Klinger's interpretation (1995: 240f.), Pithana was acting as a representative of the Hittite king in deciding a territorial dispute between the kings of Tunip and Alalah.⁹⁷⁵ It may be assumed that his unpreserved title was no longer just LÚ KUŠ₇.⁹⁷⁶ The other text that mentions Pithana is the

⁹⁷³ Edited by Kitchen and Lawrence (2012: 339–46).

⁹⁷⁴ For dating of the text see Klinger (1995: 240f.), Klengel (1999: 105).

⁹⁷⁵ The situation reminds me of the Muršili II-era *uriyanni* official of RS 17.368 (*PRU* IV: 76–78), who was sent to demarcate the borders between Ugarit and Siyannu.

⁹⁷⁶ If the traces of signs following his name on KUB 3.16 obv. 24' belong to his title, it is unlikely to be GAL or LÚ KUŠ₇.

MH court proceeding KBo 16.59 rev. 5,⁹⁷⁷ where his name appears in a fragmentary context within the testimony of one of the involved parties, which otherwise does not provide any relevant information about this person.

The GAL KUŠ₇ office was one of the few that was filled in pairs. Already in the Old Hittite period we have the example of two UGULA 1 LI KUŠ₇ officials observing the training of their soldiers. The Right/Left designations, however, as exemplified by Gullutti, the GAL KUŠ₇ of the Right, must have arisen in the late Old Hittite period, which appears to be the case also with the *uriyanni* officials (see section 4.5). A double office is not to be observed with the GAL/UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI officials.

As high-level military commanders, these officials also had administrative duties. The act of witnessing land donation texts itself can be seen as an administrative duty. Mašat letters indicate that the GAL KUŠ₇ had responsibilities in protecting the harvest (HKM 17 and 25), hostage negotiations (HKM 61), and dealing with fugitives (HKM 62), although all of these can also be seen as extensions of military duties. The Qatna letters reveal that Hannutti was perhaps stationed in Niya, acting on behalf of the Hittite king, and in KBo 3.43, Upparamuwa appears as a special envoy sent to Egypt. However, we do not know what the titles of Hannutti and Upparamuwa were at those times.

There is hardly any attestation of these officials in the festivals and rituals. The single relevant reference comes from a fragment of the KILAM festival, where the GAL MEŠEDI, GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI, GAL GEŠTIN, GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇, ^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUGUD, and ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GIŠŠUKUR are served drinks.⁹⁷⁸

⁹⁷⁷ Edited by Werner (1967: 53–55).

⁹⁷⁸ KUB 10.13 iv 23'–27'; edited by Singer (1984b: 95).

Although not at the level of the GAL *MEŠEDI*, the GAL/UGULA KUŠ₇ (KÙ.GI) are high-level officials mainly active in the military domain. Several of these officials are members of the royal family and the same may be suspected for others about whom there is not much evidence.

4.7 GAL UKU.UŠ

GAL UKU.UŠ is another high-ranking military title. Some of the previous studies on this office were done by Rosi (1984: 118–25) as part of her study of the UKU.UŠ and Beal (1992: 380–91) in his study of the Hittite military. A collection of references can be found in Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 546).

The earliest references to Hittite UKU.UŠ soldiers appear in Middle Hittite texts,⁹⁷⁹ but all attestations of GAL UKU.UŠ come from the Empire period (Beal 1992: 50). Beal also suggests that the UKU.UŠ soldiers, along with the *šarikuwa*- soldiers, made up the standing Hittite army, but he does not provide an English translation of the UKU.UŠ term.⁹⁸⁰ Others generally employ the term “Schwerbewaffnete,” which was originally suggested by Friedrich (1952: 271, 299), resulting in the translation “the Chief of the Heavily Armed (Troops)” for GAL UKU.UŠ.⁹⁸¹

A hieroglyphic equivalent of the term has not been determined. Based on the attestations of the hieroglyphic sign L. 490 among the titles of Šahurunuwa on two seal impressions,⁹⁸² an equation of this sign with GAL UKU.UŠ has been suggested⁹⁸³ but currently lacks further support.

⁹⁷⁹ In the Old Hittite KBo 7.14+, the title of Zukraši of the city Aleppo is given as UGULA UKU.UŠ.E.NE (obv. 14, edited by Rosi 1984: 118–20), suggesting that the type of soldier it refers to was already in existence in Syria at that time.

⁹⁸⁰ The Akkadian equivalent of the term (*rēdū*) has a broader meaning as “soldier” and had been in use since the 3rd millennium (see *rēdū* in CAD/R: 246ff.).

⁹⁸¹ “Capo degli armati pesanti” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 546), “Oberster der Schwerbewaffneten” (*HZL*: 242).

⁹⁸² A seal impression from Tarsus (No. 40 in Gelb 1956: 250 and plates 402, 406), and one from Boğazköy (Boğazköy III no. 15); see here Figure 8a-b on page 362.

⁹⁸³ See Singer (2003: 347 n. 40) and Gordin (2008: 127).

4.7.1 Known GAL UKU.UŠ officials in Hittite history

4.7.1.1 Aranhapilizzi

Aranhapilizzi, the GAL UKU.UŠ, is named several times in the Annals of Muršili II (CTH 61). In KBo 14.20+ i 22, Aranhapilizzi is mentioned with the title GAL.UKU.UŠ and designated as a prince.⁹⁸⁴ The passage states that Muršili II sent him with troops and chariotry to the city of Hūwaluša, which the commander subsequently defeated and plundered, and continued with attacks on further locations.⁹⁸⁵ The broken name of the GAL UKU.UŠ mentioned in another fragment of Muršili II's annals, KBo 16.11 4',⁹⁸⁶ may also be restored as Aranhapilizzi. This passage also mentions a GAL GEŠTIN, who may be Nuwanza, and the Kaškans. Towards the end of Muršili II's reign we see Aranhapilizzi sent out again, accompanied by Nanaziti, while Muršili is busy celebrating a festival. In the next paragraph Muršili indicates that when hostilities arose with the Kaška, he had to act with whatever soldiers he had since the bulk of the troops were with Aranhapilizzi.⁹⁸⁷

In the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75), Aranhapilizzi is listed as a witness, whose title is distinguished as one "of the Right," and he is followed by the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left, whose name is not preserved.⁹⁸⁸ Aranhapilizzi and his counterpart are the seventh and eighth names among the witnesses but they are listed before the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, the GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ, and the ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli* (see Appendix 2).

Aranhapilizzi is also known from three fragmentary letters. Two of these are addressed to the king by Aranhapilizzi,⁹⁸⁹ but too little has been preserved to give an idea about the

⁹⁸⁴ ^m*A-ra-an-ha-pi-li-iz¹-zi-en* G[AL UKU.U]Š DUMU.LUGAL.

⁹⁸⁵ KBo 14.20+ i 22–27; edited by Beal (1991: 380 n. 1439).

⁹⁸⁶ Edited by Houwink ten Cate (1966: 168, 177).

⁹⁸⁷ KUB 19.37 ii 46–iii 9 (*AM* 170–73).

⁹⁸⁸ KBo 1.6 20': ^m*A-ra-an-ha-pi-li-iz-zi* GAL [U]KU.[U]Š [*ša* ZAG] [^m...] 'GAL' UKU.UŠ *ša* GÙB; see Devecchi (2010: 13).

⁹⁸⁹ KBo 18.45 and KBo 18.47; edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 16–19).

contexts.⁹⁹⁰ The third letter is sent to Aranhapilizzi by someone whose name is lost.⁹⁹¹ The fact that the sender's name is written before that of Aranhapilizzi suggests that he is a superior. On the other hand, the sender addresses Aranhapilizzi as “my dear” (DÙG.GA-YA) and continues with the cliché “May all [be] well with my [dear ...]! May the Thousand Gods [lovingly pro]tect my dear [...]!” Hagenbuchner (1989b: 34) considers the possibility that the sender is the king. However, such lengthy greetings by the king are typically observed only when he is referring to immediate family members.⁹⁹² Either Aranhapilizzi was a very close relative of the king or otherwise the sender might be a family member of Aranhapilizzi, such as a parent or older brother, or perhaps one of the other top officials. Unfortunately almost nothing else has been preserved in the letter.

Another reference to an Aranhapilizzi ([^mA-ra-a]n-ha-pí-li-iz-zi) appears in a fragmentary context in HT 7 9', which is a prayer attributed to Urhi-Tešup.⁹⁹³ If this person can be identified with the GAL UKU.UŠ official of Muršili II, he must have attained an advanced age. Furthermore, Aranhapilizzi is mentioned a couple of times in KUB 16.66 rev.[?] 14', 28', where he is said to have brought up something, probably the statue of the Stormgod, from the city of Tarhuntašša to Hattuša.⁹⁹⁴ This may very well be a reference to the relocation of the capital and the statues of the deities back to Hattuša,⁹⁹⁵ which is believed to have taken place during the short reign of Urhi-Tešup. If we assume a 20–25 year reign for Muwatalli II, these documents suggest that Aranhapilizzi may have had an active career of roughly 30–35 years, spanning from the middle of Muršili II's reign to the early years of Urhi-Tešup, which is not unreasonable. However, he may not have remained a GAL UKU.UŠ official for the entirety of his career. In

⁹⁹⁰ KBo 18.45 l.e. 2 refers to a Lord of the Land of Pa[la], who may be Hutupiyanza (see section 3.2.1).

⁹⁹¹ KBo 18.46; edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 33f.).

⁹⁹² See a letter from the king to the queen, KBo 18.2 1–7 in Hoffner (2009: 327f.).

⁹⁹³ Edited by Houwink ten Cate (1974: 129–36). On its dating see also Houwink ten Cate (1994: 240–43).

⁹⁹⁴ See Del Monte (1991–92: 143–44, with n. 39).

⁹⁹⁵ Thus Del Monte (ibid.), van den Hout (1995a: 188), Cammarosano (2009: 181).

fact, if Hoffner's (1981: 651) restoration of his name in the small fragment KUB 48.83: 5' as ^mA-ra-an-ha-p]i-li-zi-iš EN KUR^T[^I is correct, it could be assumed that he may have been given the governorship of a certain land later in his career.⁹⁹⁶

Although the Aleppo Treaty reveals the existence of a GAL UKU.UŠ GÙB contemporaneous with Aranhapilizzi, there is no other information available about this person.

4.7.1.2 Šahuruwa

Šahuruwa is a well-known official of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV, who is attested in multiple documents.⁹⁹⁷ He is known to be a member of the royal family, based on the use of the title REX.FILIUS in almost all of his known seals (see below), but the degree of his relationship is not known. KUB 26.43 is a document called after him the Šahuruwa Text (CTH 225),⁹⁹⁸ which is a royally-decreed will of Šahuruwa, dividing his property among his children and grandchildren. In the text he is several times referred to with the title GAL NA.GAD,⁹⁹⁹ and once in obv. 49 with the triple title GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, GAL^{LÚ}UKU.UŠ, and GAL NA.GAD. It is not entirely clear whether he held all three offices at once. Among the witnesses of this document are Haššuwaš-Inara, the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left, and Mizramuwa, the GAL NA.GAD of the Left. Therefore, if Šahuruwa held these titles, they must have been those “of the Right,” although not specified explicitly. While this assumption may not be problematic for the title GAL NA.GAD, in the case of GAL UKU.UŠ, it would imply that Šahuruwa took over the position from Halpaziti sometime after the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty of Hattušili III,¹⁰⁰⁰ and had given up the position to Šaliqqa sometime before the issuing of the Bronze Tablet of Tudhaliya

⁹⁹⁶ See Aranhapilizzi in section 3.2.5.

⁹⁹⁷ For a study of this official see van den Hout (1995a: 151–54).

⁹⁹⁸ Edited by Imparati (1974: 24–39).

⁹⁹⁹ “Chief of the Herdsmen,” see Beal (1992: 391–96).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ignoring the possibility that Halpaziti may have remained as the GAL UKU.UŠ even into the reign of Tudhaliya IV; see below under Halpaziti.

IV. Furthermore, there are documents (see below) that suggest Šahurunuwa was active in military service, probably at a young age, early in the reign of Hattušili III. Also, both in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (rev. 30), which pre-dates the Šahurunuwa Text, and in the Bronze Tablet (iv 37), which post-dates it, Šahurunuwa is listed among the witnesses with the title GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ. In consideration of this, it may be more reasonable to suggest that the GAL UKU.UŠ title mentioned in rev. 49 of the Šahurunuwa Text may be in reference to a position he had previously held, while he continued to hold the GAL NA.GAD (of the Right)¹⁰⁰¹ and GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ titles.

In KUB 49.119 rev.[?] 11–18,¹⁰⁰² an appeal is made to the Stormgod of Nerik for the safe return of Šahurunuwa and Haššuwaš-Inara, who were away campaigning with their armies. The passage relates that upon their return Šahurunuwa and Haššuwaš-Inara will invoke the god, and that the lords and armies will be in two equal parts, one half following behind Šahurunuwa and the other half behind Haššuwaš-Inara. Haššuwaš-Inara being known as the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left from other documents (see below), his partner Šahurunuwa here may very well be the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Right.

In the oracle text KUB 49.103 rev. 14–15 it is asked whether Šahurunuwa and Huršaniya should go along with the *tuhkanti* on a projected campaign.¹⁰⁰³ Huršaniya is known as the GAL GEŠTIN from the Bronze Tablet. By the time of the Bronze Tablet, having already written his will (the Šahurunuwa Text, CTH 225), Šahurunuwa was probably an old man. Therefore, it may be suggested that the text dates to an earlier time in the reign of Hattušili III. Since the Ulmi-

¹⁰⁰¹ Note that other than the triple title in obv. 49, Šahurunuwa is consistently referred to only with the GAL NA.GAD title throughout the text (obv. 4, 14, 17, rev. 22 with dupl. KUB 26.50 obv. 3, 14).

¹⁰⁰² Edited by de Roos (2007a: 208–13).

¹⁰⁰³ This passage and a similar query involving Šahurunuwa earlier in the same text (rev. 8–9) are edited by Beal (1992: 320 n. 1224 and 354 n. 1345).

Tešup Treaty of Hattušili III names a different person as GAL GEŠTIN, Huršaniya probably had a different title at the time.

Šahuruwa is mentioned in the fragmentary court proceeding text KUB 26.49 rev. 10' alongside Ewri-Šarruma, in a passage where the death of a Chief Scribe (GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ) is mentioned.¹⁰⁰⁴ Through Ewri-Šarruma, and perhaps also Kaššu, who is mentioned in obv. 1 of the tablet, the text may be dated to the Hattušili III/Tudhaliya IV era. Van den Hout (1995a: 154) speculates on the possibility that the dead Chief Scribe was the predecessor of Šahuruwa.

Finally, the house of Šahuruwa mentioned in a tablet catalog text is probably a reference to this official.¹⁰⁰⁵

The glyptic evidence about Šahuruwa consists of six seal impressions:

- SBo II 78:¹⁰⁰⁶ *Sà(CAPRA₂)+hur-nú-wa/i*
SBo II 9: *Sà+hur-nú-w[a/i]* REX.FILIUS
Tarsus 40:¹⁰⁰⁷ *Sà+hur-nú-wa/i* REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.SCRIBA L. 490¹⁰⁰⁸
Boğazköy III 15: *Sà+hur-nú-wa/i* REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.SCR[IBA] L. 490
Niš 346: *Sà+hur-nú-wa/i* REX.FILIUS
Niš 347: *Sà+hur-nú-wa/i* REX.FILIUS

KUB 26.43, the Šahuruwa Text, further reveals that Tattamaru (obv. 5) and Duwattannani (obv. 5, 7) were sons of Šahuruwa, and that Tarhuntamanawa (*passim*) was his daughter, who was married to Alihešni.¹⁰⁰⁹ Also, Tulpi-Tešup and Kuwalanaziti (obv. 8, 53) were the sons of Tarhuntamanawa and therefore grandsons of Šahuruwa. A woman named Arumuwa (obv. 51, rev. 6), whose children were prohibited from making a claim on the

¹⁰⁰⁴ KUB 26.49 rev. 8'–11'; edited by van den Hout (1995a: 153).

¹⁰⁰⁵ KUB 30.54 ii 7; edited by Dardano (2006: 119–125).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Lack of titles and spelling of the name with CAPRA₂, rather than CAPRA, may cast some doubt on the identification with our official.

¹⁰⁰⁷ No. 40 in Gelb (1956: 250 and plates 402, 406).

¹⁰⁰⁸ For the suggestion that the L. 490 sign may stand for GAL UKU.UŠ, see the discussion below on page 254. See also section 4.13.9.6.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Distinct from the son of Ini-Tešup, this Alihešni is a son of another high official named Mitannamuwa; see Imparati (1974: 115), van den Hout (1995a: 177), and below under Mittannamuwa in section 4.9.1.3.

discussed property, was perhaps a secondary wife or concubine.¹⁰¹⁰ The long list of property in various parts of the country is also indicative of the extensive holdings of this official. As a witness in both the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Bronze Tablet, Šahuruwa is listed somewhere in mid-level (see Appendix 3). It may be noted that his son Tattamaru, who married into the royal family (see below), is listed several names before Šahuruwa in both lists.

The cult inventory text KUB 48.114, which has been included by van den Hout in his prosopography of Šahuruwa, should probably be removed due to the dating of its script to Middle Hittite.¹⁰¹¹

4.7.1.3 Haššuwaš-Inara

For this official refer to the analysis already presented under the office of GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL in section 4.4.1.11. It may just be summarized here that he was probably younger than Šahuruwa. He served as the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left in the reigns of both Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV, before he turned the office over to Tattamaru, the son of his ex-partner Šahuruwa. He is known to be a member of the extended royal family based on the princely title he carries on his seals, but he was probably not a son of any of the Hittite kings.

4.7.1.4 Halpaziti

Halpaziti is the next GAL UKU.UŠ official attested during the reign of Hattušili III. He is listed with the title GAL LÚ.MEŠUKU.UŠ ZAG-na-aš (“of the Right”) in rev. 29 of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty. A detailed prosopographical study of Halpaziti was done by van den Hout (1995a: 186–93). From numerous 13th-century attestations of this name, in addition to the GAL UKU.UŠ

¹⁰¹⁰ Arumura may be identified with the dream interpreter of KUB 15.5 i 11 (CTH 583) and KUB 48.126 i 13 (CTH 584), as well as the GAL MUNUŠU.GI of the inventory text KBo 16.83 iii 10 (CTH 242). See de Roos (2007: 56f.).

¹⁰¹¹ See Cammarosano (2012: 5 and n. 4).

of the Right, van den Hout identifies an augur, a priest (perhaps the same person as the augur), a king of Halpa, and at least two different scribes (1995a: 186f.).

In the historical fragment KUB 31.32 rev. 6' (CTH 214),¹⁰¹² Halpaziti is again mentioned with the title GAL LÚ.MEŠ UKU.UŠ, but without the “of the Right” designation. In the text, the speaker remarks about a dream he has seen in the city of Šamuha, and mentions Tattamaru and Halpaziti (rev.?² 5'–6'). The rest of the fragment apparently describes a conversation between Tattamaru and Halpaziti,¹⁰¹³ who may have been “partners”¹⁰¹⁴ in some venture, perhaps a campaign. What is being described may only be a dream, but it may have allusions to the real life duties of the two officials. If Tattamaru had any title in this text, it has been lost at the beginning of rev. 6'. Although he is known to have held the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left office by the time of the Bronze Tablet of Tudhaliya IV (see below), he may not have been referred to with the same title here.¹⁰¹⁵ If that was the case, we would probably expect to see the titles of the two officials differentiated with the “of the Right/Left” designation. On the other hand, if Tattamaru also carried the title of GAL UKU.UŠ here, this would certainly date the text to the reign of Tudhaliya IV, sometime between the drafting of the Šahurunuwa Text and that of the Bronze Tablet, and indicate that Halpaziti served in that position into the reign of Tudhaliya IV.

A Halpaziti makes an appearance in a fragmentary court proceeding.¹⁰¹⁶ The relevant passage starts with the testimony of Alalimi, the cupbearer (iv 3), and involves item(s) that was/were “sealed” by Halpaziti (iv 6), which may have been “opened” (iv 13), perhaps without authorization. By establishing a connection between this cupbearer Alalimi and his namesake the

¹⁰¹² Edited by Mouton (2007: 98f.).

¹⁰¹³ In rev. 8' his name is spelled ^m*Hal-wa-LÚ*. The same *-pa-/-wa-* alteration is also observed with Halpaziti, the scribe. See van den Hout (1995a: 186f.) for a list of references.

¹⁰¹⁴ The word ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ATHUTIM*, is mentioned three times in rev.?² 10', 13', 15'.

¹⁰¹⁵ Technically, Halpaziti and Tattamaru could have held the Right and the Left of the GAL UKU.UŠ office sometime between the drafting of the Šahurunuwa Text and the Bronze Tablet during the reign of Tudhaliya IV.

¹⁰¹⁶ KUB 13.34+ iv 6, 22; edited by Werner (1967: 40f.).

Chief Cupbearer from the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (rev. 32), van den Hout (1995a: 192) dates the text to the same time as our Halpaziti, and suspects a match in identity based on a reference to *šari(ku)wa*-troops (iv 20) that may be related to military affairs.

There is a reference to Halpaziti in KUB 31.68 40', the so-called “Hešni Conspiracy” text, which dates to Tudhaliya IV.¹⁰¹⁷ In addition to several mentions of Hešni, the text names Alalimi (41') and a king of Išuwa (41'), all of whom may be identified with the witnesses of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty. Furthermore, a reference to a ^rGAL¹ LÚ.MEŠ UKU.UŠ (30') makes it likely to identify this Halpaziti with the official known from the Ulmi-Tešup treaty.¹⁰¹⁸ Due to damage, the role Halpaziti plays is not entirely clear, but according to Tani (2010: 158f.) he may have been one of the targets of the conspirators.

The rest of the references to Halpaziti seem to involve other individuals identified by van den Hout (1995a: 186–93).

4.7.1.5 Tattamaru

As mentioned above, it is revealed in the Šahurunuwa Text (obv. 5) that Tattamaru was a son of Šahurunuwa, and that like his father, he served as a GAL UKU.UŠ official.¹⁰¹⁹ In the Bronze Tablet he is listed as a witness with the title GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left (iv 33). He apparently took over the position during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, since in both the earlier Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Šahurunuwa Text, Haššuwaš-Inara is listed with the same title among the witnesses. In the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, Tattamaru is listed only as a prince (rev. 30).

KUB 23.85 is a letter sent by a queen, probably Puduhepa, to Tattamaru, which reads: “Thus speaks the Queen: Say to Tattamaru: You, Tattamaru, had taken the daughter of my sister

¹⁰¹⁷ Edited by Stefanini (1962: 22–24). See Tani (2001) for a more recent analysis.

¹⁰¹⁸ Thus Beal (1992: 385 n. 1459), van den Hout (1995a: 191f.), Tani (2001: 158).

¹⁰¹⁹ A detailed study of Tattamaru is presented by van den Hout (1995a: 116–24).

in marriage. But Fate dealt you a grievous blow: she died on you! Why do they say: ‘A male in-law remains nevertheless fully an in-law, even if his wife dies’? You were my in-law, but you do not recognize my *obligation*” (Hoffner 2009: 364f.). This, therefore, reveals that Tattamaru was an in-law of the royal family through Puduhepa. Since his father Šahurunuwa is known to be a relative of the royal family, it is usual to see Tattamaru with the DUMU.LUGAL title. However, the reason for his being listed several names ahead of his father in the witness lists of both the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Bronze Tablet may have had something to do with his marriage, which probably brought him into a closer circle. Although Tattamaru’s wife (i. e., a niece of Puduhepa) apparently died at some point, Puduhepa still acknowledges him as an in-law. Van den Hout (1995a: 119f.) points out that the two oracle texts KBo 24.126 and KUB 49.14+, which mention the queen and Tattamaru several times,¹⁰²⁰ may also be seen in connection with these events.

In addition to the above-mentioned KUB 31.32, where Tattamaru is named (rev.² 5', 8') next to Halpaziti, the GAL UKU.UŠ (see above), in the oracle text KUB 49.11+ obv. 20', rev. 23' (CTH 577.1), he appears in a military context, being considered to lead an attack.¹⁰²¹

An interesting document that names Tattamaru is the letter or court deposition KUB 26.92 (CTH 209.3.B).¹⁰²² The text, which is narrated in the 1st person, includes a passage that describes how a messenger reported that Tattamaru broke a tablet that was handed to him by Bentešina to be given to the Hittite king. The latter is no doubt the king of Amurru and a contemporary of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV. The event presumably took place in Amurru and if so, Tattamaru must have been sent there on official duty. The reasons for the breaking of the tablet remain

¹⁰²⁰ KBo 24.126 rev.1', 13', 17'; for an edition of obv. 27–31, rev. 13'–15', 17', see van den Hout (1995a: 119f.); KUB 49.14+ iii 3', 4', 9', 13'; edited by Mouton (2007: 202–5).

¹⁰²¹ See Beal (1992: 387 and n. 1465).

¹⁰²² With duplicate KUB 8.79 (CTH 209.3.A) edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 398–405). For a different edition of the relevant passage (8'–17'), see van den Hout (1995a: 122f.). Houwink ten Cate (2006a: 3) suggests it is a court deposition.

vague, but it might be that the message it contained would be something unacceptable to be taken to the Hittite king.¹⁰²³ If the document dates to the reign of Hattušili III as suggested,¹⁰²⁴ this event must have taken place early in Tattamaru's career before he became GAL UKU.UŠ.

Other documents that mention a Tattamaru include the inventory text Bo 6606 rev. 2',¹⁰²⁵ which may involve a compensation payment given by him; the small fragment KUB 31.28 7', 8' (CTH 214), which names a Lupakki (2', 6') and mentions His Majesty (6'); and the list of a cult inventory KUB 38.1 i 26' (CTH 501), which mentions "servants of Tattamaru." A partially preserved ^m*Ta-ta-m[a-* in KUB 23.29:7' (CTH 214) may also be a reference to Tattamaru. If the Kuzi-Tešup (11', 13') mentioned in this text is the king of Karkamiš and grandson of Ini-Tešup, Šahuruwa's son Tattamaru would here be at a very advanced age.¹⁰²⁶

4.7.1.6 Šaliqqa

Šaliqqa appears with the title GAL UKU.UŠ of the Right on the Bronze Tablet (iv 39), which suggests that he had taken over the position from Halpaziti.¹⁰²⁷ There are only a couple of other texts where his name is attested.¹⁰²⁸ KUB 23.91+ may be part of a court proceeding, which includes a deposition by Tuttu, who describes how Šaliqqa gathered the troops and attacked certain lands. It further indicates that at some point Šaliqqa was recalled, perhaps on orders from Armaziti.¹⁰²⁹ The rest of the text is about the loss of certain utensils that had been deposited after these conflicts, and Šaliqqa probably did not have any direct involvement in this, since his name

¹⁰²³ See van den Hout (1995a: 122f.), and for a later treatment with larger implications, see Houwink ten Cate (2006a: 3–8).

¹⁰²⁴ Houwink ten Cate (2006a: 3–8) suggests that the issues mentioned in the text may be related to the return of Urhi-Tešup to Syria. In an earlier publication (1973: 255) he also indicated that the messenger Pihaddu of KUB 26.92 17' could be the messenger Pihašdu of His Majesty, who is mentioned in a letter of Bentešina to Hattušili III (KUB 8.16 obv. 6, CTH 193).

¹⁰²⁵ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 26f.).

¹⁰²⁶ Edited by Ůnal (1974b: 131).

¹⁰²⁷ That is, unless the position was occupied in between by Šahuruwa. See discussion above under Šahuruwa.

¹⁰²⁸ For a study of Šaliqqa, see van den Hout (1995a: 167f.).

¹⁰²⁹ Beal (1992: 388 n. 1467) believes Armaziti might be a higher-ranking official such as a GAL GEŠTIN, or that he may be relaying orders from the king.

is not mentioned in the rest of the preserved text.¹⁰³⁰ Beal (1992: 389) draws attention to Šaliqqa’s seemingly independent field command. It is not entirely clear whether he was subject to orders from Armaziti.

The other tablet in which Šaliqqa is mentioned is an inventory document, KUB 40.95 ii 2,¹⁰³¹ where he inspects certain goods. The text also names Taki-Šarruma (ii 4), Tarhuntapiya (ii 10), and Tarhuntamuwa (ii 12) as other inspectors.

4.7.2 General discussion of GAL UKU.UŠ

GAL UKU.UŠ	Reigning King	Title / Other Titles / Relationship
Aranhapilizzi	Muršili II–Muwatalli II–Muršili III ²	GAL UKU.UŠ (ZAG- <i>aš</i>), DUMU.LUGAL, EN KUR[...]?
[...]	Muršili II–Muwatalli II	GAL UKU.UŠ GÙB
Šahuruwuwa	Hattušili III	GAL ^{LÚ} UKU.UŠ (ZAG ²), GAL NA.GAD (ZAG ²), GAL.DUB.SAR.GIŠ, REX.FILIUS, L. 490
Haššuwaš-Inara	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	GAL UKU.UŠ GÙB- <i>aš</i> , REX.FILIUS, MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS
Halpaziti	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV ²	GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} UKU.UŠ ZAG- <i>na-aš</i>
Tattamaru	Tudhaliya IV	GAL UKU.UŠ GÙB- <i>la-aš</i> , DUMU.LUGAL, In-law of Puduhepa
Šaliqqa	Tudhaliya IV	GAL UKU.UŠ ZAG- <i>na-aš</i>

Table 11. List of GAL UKU.UŠ officials.

Unlike the previously discussed offices, the GAL UKU.UŠ office seems to have been created later in Hittite history. In his analysis of the Hittite military, Beal (1992: 50) suggests that along with the *šarikuwa*-troops, UKU.UŠ soldiers constituted the standing Hittite army, as opposed to the troops who were mobilized only in wartime. Since the earliest attestation of the ^{LÚ}UKU.UŠ comes from Middle Hittite texts, this may be seen as a development in the

¹⁰³⁰ For an edition of the passage KUB 23.91:1–11, see Beal (1992: 388 and n. 1468), and for a slightly different interpretation of lines 1–8, see van den Hout (1995a: 167f.).

¹⁰³¹ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 266–71).

organization of the Hittite army that may have started during that time.¹⁰³² The earliest identified GAL UKU.UŠ official is Aranhapilizzi from the reign of Muršili II. The unnamed GAL UKU.UŠ official, who is one of the three recipients of the letter VS NF 12.129 obv. 1,¹⁰³³ may be an even earlier attestation, if it is a Middle Hittite text as suggested by some scholars.¹⁰³⁴

A reference to another unnamed GAL UKU.UŠ official appears in the letter fragment KUB 23.87:9'.¹⁰³⁵ As discussed above under the *uriyanni* office, the poorly preserved letter involves the arrival of an *uriyanni* official, probably at a border district in western Anatolia, and a GAL UKU.UŠ officer, who is giving orders about taking back the civilian captives of the palace to Hattuša. Later in the text, the king of Mira is mentioned as being upset about an issue. One of the proper names mentioned in KUB 23.87:26' is ^{md}AMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA (Šanta-Kuruntiya[?]), who appears as an *antuwašalli* official in the late-script letter KUB 40.1 rev.¹ 33,¹⁰³⁶ which may also have been written from a border district in western Anatolia.¹⁰³⁷ On paleographic grounds the texts may be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, but otherwise not much else can be deduced for a more specific dating.

With the exception of Šahuruwa, all GAL UKU.UŠ officials listed in Table 11 are attested at least once with the “Right/Left” designations. It is very likely that Šahuruwa was the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Right. This may suggest that at least by the time of Muršili II, GAL UKU.UŠ had become a dual office. After Aranhapilizzi and his unnamed partner, we are missing the names of at least one pair of GAL UKU.UŠ officers, who must have served during the reigns of Muwatalli II and Urhi-Tešup. From Hattušili III on, it is likely that the GAL UKU.UŠ of the

¹⁰³² One may note here Arnuwanda I's request for UKU.UŠ-troops comprised entirely of “freemen” in his treaty with the people of Išmerika (KUB 23.68, CTH 133).

¹⁰³³ Edited by Hagenbuchner-Dresel (1999: 50–58), Hoffner (2009: 365–67).

¹⁰³⁴ Hagenbuchner-Dresel (1999: 50–58), followed by de Martino (2005: 308), Marizza (2007a: 124f.; 2009: 75–77), Hoffner (2009: 365); contra Groddek (2002c: 183) and Košak in *Konkordanz*, who mark it as NS.

¹⁰³⁵ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 227–30).

¹⁰³⁶ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 358–62).

¹⁰³⁷ The letter mentions the border (rev.¹ 15), the border commanders (rev.¹ 32), and the city of Ušša (l.e.4), which is known to be in the border district of the Hulaya River Land (see Del Monte and Tischler 1978: 464f.).

Right changed hands in succession from Šahuruuwa, to Halpaziti, to Šaliqqa, and that the GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left changed from Haššuwaš-Inara to Tattamaru.

Although we do not have any names from the reign of Šuppiluliuma II, it has been speculated that one of those might be Prince Ku(wa)lanaziti, based on the possible equation of the hieroglyphic sign L. 490 with GAL UKU.UŠ. This equation was suggested based on the attestations of L. 490 on two seals of Šahuruuwa,¹⁰³⁸ which also include the titles REX.FILIUS and MAGNUS.SCRIBA (i.e., GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ)). The cuneiform sources reveal that Šahuruuwa additionally had the GAL NA.GAD and GAL UKU.UŠ titles. Since cuneiform GAL NA.GAD has been equated with hieroglyphic MAGNUS.PASTOR,¹⁰³⁹ it has been suggested that the L. 490 of Šahuruuwa's seals may be indicative of his GAL UKU.UŠ title.¹⁰⁴⁰

The military role of the GAL UKU.UŠ officer is quite obvious, with multiple references for almost every one of the attested names. Mention of GAL UKU.UŠ officials in oracle texts like KUB 22.2 1', 9' or KUB 22.42 rev. 7' can also be seen as indications of their consideration for high commands.¹⁰⁴¹ Aranhapilizzi's involvement in the transfer of the capital back to Hattuša and Tattamaru's presence at the court of Bentešina could be seen as involvement in other political matters, but we may note that these events might have taken place at different times in the careers of these officials when they were not GAL UKU.UŠ officers.

Similar to the GAL KUŠ₇, the GAL UKU.UŠ officers do not seem to play any significant role in religious affairs, since they are not attested in any relevant document.

In the four extant witness lists of the Empire period,¹⁰⁴² GAL UKU.UŠ officials are listed sometimes above, sometimes below, other top generals like GAL KUŠ₇ or GAL GEŠTIN. This

¹⁰³⁸ See note 982.

¹⁰³⁹ See Hawkins (2005a: 305).

¹⁰⁴⁰ See Singer (2003: 347 n. 40) and Gordin (2008: 127).

¹⁰⁴¹ For both passages and interpretation, see Beal (1992: 390 and nn. 1472–73).

¹⁰⁴² See Appendices 2 and 3.

on the one hand suggests that the GAL UKU.UŠ officers were no less prominent than the others, and on the other hand indicates that such titles did not have any role in defining the hierarchy of the officials. Four of the six known GAL UKU.UŠ officers are also attested with princely titles, and royal connections may be suspected for the others.¹⁰⁴³

4.8 GAL KARTAPPI

All known attestations of the GAL KARTAPPI office date from the thirteenth century. The ^{LÚ}KARTAPPI is identified as a “chariot driver” (Beal 1992: 155–62). The most likely Hittite equivalent of the ^{LÚ}KARTAPPI term would be *išmeriyaš išha-*, literally “lord of the reins,” which is attested in only one MH composition (CTH 142.2),¹⁰⁴⁴ where the king reports the transportation of captured horses and chariots together with the “lords of the reins.” The context makes it clear that the term refers to the units that accompany the chariots and its literal meaning as the “person in charge of the reins” suggests that they were the drivers.¹⁰⁴⁵ Previous studies of the GAL KARTAPPI title include Pecchioli Daddi (1977), with a general treatment of the KARTAPPU title, and Beal (1992: 446–50), within his study of the Hittite military.

In cuneiform sources only two persons have been attested with the GAL KARTAPPI title, both as witnesses in the Šahurunuwa Text. The hieroglyphic equivalent of the (GAL) KARTAPPI title has been established as (MAGNUS.)AURIGA, based on the hieroglyphic seals of Takhulina and Zuzuli with cuneiform digraphs on tablets RS 16.273 and RS 18.20+17.371.¹⁰⁴⁶ This identification provides several other MAGNUS.AURIGA/GAL KARTAPPI officials from glyptic sources, all of whom will be included in the analysis below. The holders of the

¹⁰⁴³ Note that Halpaziti, who is not attested with a princely title, outranks several princes in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty.

¹⁰⁴⁴ ^{LÚ.MEŠ}_išmeriyaš BĒLU^{HIA} (KUB 23.11 ii 35), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}išmeriyaš E[N].MEŠ-uš (iii 5), and ^{LÚ.MEŠ}išmeriyaš (ii 12 with dupl. KUB 23.12 ii 2).

¹⁰⁴⁵ See Beal (1992: 153f.).

¹⁰⁴⁶ See Laroche (1956a: 140, 153). The texts are edited in *PRU* III: 44f. and *PRU* IV: 202f. See Hawkins (2005a: 301f.) for AURIGA₍₂₎ and MAGNUS.AURIGA₍₂₎.

MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ title are excluded, since as argued earlier, this title is probably the hieroglyphic equivalent of GAL KUŠ₇, not GAL *KARTAPPI*.

4.8.1 Known GAL *KARTAPPIs* in Hittite history

4.8.1.1 Kaššu

A Kaššu (hieroglyphic *Ká-su*) with the MAGNUS.AURIGA title is known from the seal impression SBo II 115. Based on an identification with Kaššu, the GAL KUŠ₇ of the Šahurunuwa Text, this particular seal impression was adduced by Laroche (1956b: 29f.) as evidence to equate the hieroglyphic (MAGNUS.)AURIGA with the cuneiform (GAL) KUŠ₇ title. However, as discussed in section 4.6, AURIGA/*KARTAPPU* and KUŠ₇ are not likely to be equivalents, and the common nature of Kaššu's name further reduces this possibility.¹⁰⁴⁷ In his study of the 13th-century attestations of Kaššu, van den Hout (1995a: 226–32) separates Kaššu, the MAGNUS.AURIGA/GAL *KARTAPPI*, from Kaššu, the GAL KUŠ₇. In addition to these two officials, van den Hout identifies several distinct individuals with the same name, including an augur, an official with the title “Lord of Hurma,” a prince,¹⁰⁴⁸ and a military official from the reign of Muwatalli II, and adds several attestations of unclear nature.

One of the documents van den Hout assigns to the Muwatalli II-era official is the Manapa-Tarhunta letter.¹⁰⁴⁹ In the letter, after describing how Piyamaradu has occupied Lazpa and detained purple-dyers, Manapa-Tarhunta continues: “And now that Kaššu has arrived [here], Kupanta-Kurunta sent to Atpa: ‘Release [the dyers] there who belong to [His Majesty]!’ He released every [last one] of the dyers who belonged [to] the gods or to Your Majesty” (Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011: 143). This Kaššu must be someone sent by the Hittite king. On the one

¹⁰⁴⁷ Thus Pecchioli Daddi (1977: 188f; 1982: 538f., 548), Beal (1992: 162–72).

¹⁰⁴⁸ It has been argued above that this prince could be the GAL KUŠ₇ official (see section 4.6.1.15).

¹⁰⁴⁹ KUB 19.5+KBo 19.79 (CTH 191); edited by Hoffner (2009: 293–96), and more recently by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011: 140–44).

hand, considering the later examples of ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU* officials going on missions, this could be seen as a similar duty. On the other hand, Kaššu's name is likely to be restored in obv. 3–4 of the letter, which reads: “[Kaššu] came (here) and brought the troops of Hatti. [And when] they went back to attack Wiluša, ...” (Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011: 141). If the restoration is correct, Kaššu must be a military commander. Since there is currently no evidence indicating that *GAL KARTAPPI* officials were field commanders, this casts some doubt on the possibility of matching this official with the owner of SBo II 15. Consequently, there is no good evidence that can be used to suggest a date for Kaššu, the *GAL KARTAPPI*.

4.8.1.2 Tami

Tami (hieroglyphic *Tà-mi*), the *MAGNUS.AURIGA*, is known only from two seal impressions from the Nišantepe archive. On the badly preserved Niš 405, *MAGNUS.AURIGA* is the only visible title, and on Niš 406, the *MAGNUS.AURIGA* is accompanied by the *REX.FILIUS* designation. The name is unattested in cuneiform sources. Tami, the scribe, on Niš 407, and Tami (*Tà-mi*), the *patili*-priest, on SBo II 149, are probably different individuals.

The bulla that bears Niš 405 (Bo 90/387) was found in a cluster by the northern wall of Room 1 in the Westbau,¹⁰⁵⁰ where the sealings of Muwatalli II and Muršili III constitute 80% of all bullae that bear a royal seal impression.¹⁰⁵¹ Therefore, statistically Tami is more likely to be an official of the Muwatalli II–Muršili III era than any other time, although on the basis of a single sealing nothing can be said confidently.

¹⁰⁵⁰ See no. 387 in Plan 1 in Herbordt (2005, Beilage).

¹⁰⁵¹ Sixty-six of the eighty-two sealings belong to the Muwatalli II–Muršili III era, while there is only one of Šuppiluliuma I, one of Muršili II, three of Hattušili III, and the remaining eleven are either anonymous Labarna sealings or unidentified (see BoHa 23: 13, Tab. 13).

4.8.1.3 Takhuli(nu)

The tablet RS 16.273 bears the signet ring impressions of an official named Takuhili (hieroglyphic *Ta-ku-hi-li*) with the title MAGNUS.AURIGA.¹⁰⁵² The Akkadian text of RS 16.273:2'–3' reads:¹⁰⁵³

- 2' [a-n]a pa-ni ^mTák-hu-li-na
3' [GAL]¹⁰⁵⁴ kar-tap-pí ša LUGAL KUR [Ka]r²-[g]a[?]-[miš].

The tablet is a small fragment of a judicial record, and other than a few lines that indicate it is being conducted before Takhulina, the GAL *KARTAPPI* of the king of Karkamiš, nothing else has been preserved.

In the document KUB 26.92, which includes the episode of smashing a tablet by Tattamaru (see section 4.7.1.5), the speaker, who may be the king of Karkamiš,¹⁰⁵⁵ indicates that he has sent several messengers to Bentešina (l. 12'). At the end of the text he further states that while his messenger Pihaddu was with Bentešina, Dakuhili and Hilanni had returned (l. 18'). It is quite likely that Dakuhili and Hilanni were two other messengers sent by the king of Karkamiš. Considering the role *KARTAPPU* officials play in diplomatic missions (see below), Dakuhili (^m*Da-ku-hi-i-li*) mentioned here may very well be Takhuli(na) known from RS 16.273.¹⁰⁵⁶ Names like Tattamaru and Bentešina secure a date to the second half of the thirteenth century, and if the tablet indeed relates to the events of Urhi-Tešup's return to Syria as claimed by

¹⁰⁵² Laroche (1956a: 140) reads the hieroglyphic sign only as AURIGA, but a MAGNUS is visible in the photo (*Ugar.* III: 44) as read by Hawkins (2005a: 302).

¹⁰⁵³ *PRU* III: 44f.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Originally restored [^{LÚ}] is emended to [GAL] by Hawkins (ibid.) due to hieroglyphic MAGNUS in the seal impression. Note also that in nom.sg. we would expect a ^{LÚ}*kartappu*, whereas after GAL it is always in the genitive as *kartappi*.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Thus Hagenbuchner (1989b: 405), van den Hout (1998: 223), Houwink ten Cate (2006a: 7).

¹⁰⁵⁶ See Klengel (1969: 221, 243 and n. 128).

Houwink ten Cate (2006a: 3–8), it can be more specifically dated to sometime in the reign of Hattušili III.¹⁰⁵⁷

In his prosopographic analysis of Takhulinu, Singer (1983b: 6–18) assigns both of the attestations in RS 16.273 and KUB 26.92 to an Ugaritic official named Takuhli/Takhulinu,¹⁰⁵⁸ who is known from several further documents as a person of high status during the reign of Ammistamru II.¹⁰⁵⁹ Singer (1983b: 6) emends the country name in RS 16.273 3' to *U^l-g[a-rit]*,¹⁰⁶⁰ and suggests that RS 16.273 and KUB 26.92 date to the early part of this official's career, when he was serving the king of Ugarit on diplomatic missions. This dating to the early reign of Ammistamru II does not contradict the suggested dating of KUB 26.92. Therefore, on account of Singer's identification, it will be best to leave Takhuli(nu) out of the list of Hittite officials.

4.8.1.4 Tarupasani/Tarupišni?

The rectangular seal impression Niš 445 with a distinct lion in its center may originally have been a Middle Assyrian seal (Herbordt 2005: 193). The hieroglyphic characters AURIGANĪ above the lion may be read as Tarupasani.¹⁰⁶¹ His name is accompanied by the title MAGNUS.AURIGA. The name must be a variation of NH 1292, which is attested as Tarupšaniya,¹⁰⁶² Tarupiššani,¹⁰⁶³ and Tarupišni.¹⁰⁶⁴ The first two are attested in two late-script

¹⁰⁵⁷ Houwink ten Cate (1973: 255) indicates that the messenger Pihaddu is probably the same person as the messenger Pihašdu mentioned in KBo 8.16 obv. 6 (edited by Hagenbuchner 1989b: 370–72), which is a letter sent by Bentešina to Hattušili III.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Takuhli is apparently a Hurrian name, which is frequently attested in documents from Alalah (Wiseman 1953: 148). The couple of attestations in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (KBo 5.6 ii 17 and KUB 26.85 obv. 5') belong to a Mittannian military official.

¹⁰⁵⁹ RS 15.114 (*PRU* III: 112f.), RS 15.126 (*PRU* III: 112), RS 16.353 (*PRU* III: 113–15), RS 16.148+254B (*PRU* III: 115f.), RS 17.383 (*PRU* IV: 221), RS 17.422 (*PRU* IV: 223), RS 18.20+17.371 (*PRU* IV: 202f.), RS 20.184 (*Ugar.* V: 97f.), and Aphek 52055/1 (Owen 1981).

¹⁰⁶⁰ The signs are not visible on the photo of the tablet (*Ugar.* III: 45, fig. 62), but the traces indicated on the autograph (ibid. Planche LXXXIX) seem more suitable for a KUR ₁Kar₁-reading.

¹⁰⁶¹ Suggested by Hawkins (2005a: 274) based on his analysis of another name (Hahlataruppasani, Niš 105–7) that incorporates the hieroglyphic AURIGA sign (2005a: 253). Hawkins (2005a: 274) also considers the possibility of reading the lion figure as hieroglyphic LEO, perhaps as part of the name. For other glyptic attestations of this name, see Tarupasani in section 4.14.2.

¹⁰⁶² ^mTa-ru-up-ša-ni-ya, KUB 22.40 iii 28 (CTH 577).

oracle texts, which do not reveal anything relevant. The text that mentions Tarupišni (KUB 40.1) is a LNS letter addressed to “His Majesty” (i.e., the Hittite king), the sender of which has not been preserved. In rev.¹ 32–33, the sender names some “border commanders” (ZAG.MEŠ-*aš* *BĒLU*^{HI.A}), one of whom is Tarupišni. The sender of the letter continues to say something about Tarupišni, who may have been sent to the region by the king (rev.¹ 34).¹⁰⁶⁵ A border commander by definition sounds more like a *BĒL MADGALTI*, but considering that the letter was written in reply to some accusations, and if Tarupišni was indeed sent by the king, his duties might have involved inspections. He can be compared with GAL-^dU, the *KARTAPPU* official of the Hittite king, who was sent to Ugarit to inspect troops (see below). On paleographic grounds Hagenbuchner (1989b: 73) assigns KUB 40.1 to around the reign of Tudhaliya IV.¹⁰⁶⁶

It is not certain whether Tarupšiya of the oracle fragment KUB 52.31 i 17 (CTH 582) and Taruppašiya of the ritual fragment KUB 54.67 rev. 9' (CTH 670) are references to the same anthroponym. Even so, the texts do not reveal further significant information.

4.8.1.5 Abamuwa

This GAL *KARTAPPI* of Tudhaliya IV has been attested only as a witness on the Bronze Tablet (iv 34). His name is listed in among several princes, suggesting that he has a high status, and is probably also a prince. The name is unattested in other cuneiform sources. The only other attestation of the name comes from a biconvex seal from Tarsus, which identifies the owner as a scribe.¹⁰⁶⁷

¹⁰⁶³ *mTa-ru-piš-ša-ni*, KUB 31.41 obv. 11' (CTH 215).

¹⁰⁶⁴ *mTa-ru-(up-)piš-ni*, KUB 40.1 rev.¹ 32, 34 (CTH 203).

¹⁰⁶⁵ The verb of the sentence at rev. 34 is not preserved. Hagenbuchner (1989b: 70) restores “send!” [*na-a-i*], and Hoffner (2009: 361) “you sent” [*na-it-ti*].

¹⁰⁶⁶ Thus also Kühne (1972: 240).

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Á-pa-* BOS+MI SCRIBA; no. 48 in Gelb (1956: 251f. and plates 403, 407).

4.8.1.6 GAL-^dU

As mentioned above, GAL-^dU is the second GAL *KARTAPPI* mentioned on the Bronze Tablet (iv 38). The GAL-^dU of the Šahurunuwa Text (rev. 31) is likely to be the same person, although his title is not preserved. The Sumerograms used in his name (GAL-^dU/IM) can be read either in Hittite as Ura-Tarhunta or in Hurrian as Talmi-Tešup. Each name is attested in several other documents,¹⁰⁶⁸ but since no phonetic complement such as *-ta* or *-up* is used in these two attestations, the reading of the name cannot be assured. Another attestation attributed to the same official is in RS 17.289:6, which is a letter sent by the king of Karkamiš to Ibiranu, the king of Ugarit.¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibiranu is ordered to gather and send troops to the Hittite king, and is informed that GAL-^dIM,¹⁰⁷⁰ the ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU* of the Hittite king, is on his way there to inspect the troops. Although van den Hout (1995a: 157, 160) assigns the text to the same official, he also points out that this cannot be a case of career advancement from ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU* to GAL *KARTAPPI*, since Ibiranu became king during the reign of Tudhaliya IV and RS 17.289 must date to a time after the Bronze Tablet. In that case, we have to assume that either for some reason his title was abbreviated/miswritten, or that he is not the same person.

A better-known GAL-^dU/IM is Talmi-Tešup, the son of Ini-Tešup, and the future king of Karkamiš. It was already suggested by Klengel (1965: 84) that the *KARTAPPU* official of RS 17.289 may be this prince. Imparati (1987: 201) finds it unlikely that the crown prince of Karkamiš would be introduced to a vassal ruler in such a manner. Van den Hout (1998: 71) agrees with Klengel and suggests that Prince Talmi-Tešup may have been acting in the capacity

¹⁰⁶⁸ See van den Hout (1995a: 157–64).

¹⁰⁶⁹ *PRU* IV: 192.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The name is rendered as Talmi-Tešup by Nougayrol (*PRU* IV: 192), but van den Hout (1995a: 160) indicates that contrary to what was suggested by Laroche (1966: 172), on the tablet there is no *-u[b]* suffix after GAL-^dIM, and that the name may very well be Ura-Tarhunta too.

of *GAL KARTAPPI* in all three documents mentioned above prior to becoming the king of Karkamiš.

The fact that on the Bronze Tablet, GAL-^dU is listed as a witness after all of the princes and many of the high officials as the nineteenth of the twenty-seven-name list may cast some doubts on the identification of him as the crown prince of Karkamiš. A resolution to this problem may be found in the argument presented in section 4.6.1.14 under Upparamuwa that perhaps the heir of the king of Karkamiš at the time of the Bronze Tablet was not Talmi-Tešup, but rather his highly-ranked brother Upparamuwa, who is listed next to other crown princes like Šauškamuwa of Ugarit and Ehli-Šarruma of Išuwa. There is no document that indicates Talmi-Tešup was the intended replacement for his father Ini-Tešup. It is known that Talmi-Tešup ascended the Karkamiš throne after the lengthy reign of his father Ini-Tešup¹⁰⁷¹ and before the reign of Tudhaliya IV was over in Hattuša. Since none of the attestations of Upparamuwa can be dated to a time after the issuance of the Bronze Tablet, it could be that by the time Ini-Tešup died, Upparamuwa was also dead or had been declared ineligible for kingship for some other reason. Therefore, it remains possible that the GAL-^dU of the above-mentioned documents may have been Talmi-Tešup as a young prince, for whom a relatively lower-ranking *GAL KARTAPPI* position would not be unreasonable.

In the oracle text KUB 16.32 ii 24–26,¹⁰⁷² it is indicated that the city of Kiuta will be taken away from GAL-^dU and given to (the cult of) the deceased, and that a person named Katapaili has been given orders (in that regard[?]). The text should date to the reign of Tudhaliya IV, and probably sometime after the drafting of the Bronze Tablet.¹⁰⁷³ The GAL-^dU of this text may be a

¹⁰⁷¹ See Cohen and d'Alfonso (2008: 25), who assign Ini-Tešup a reign of roughly fifty years that lasted until about 1220 BCE.

¹⁰⁷² Edited by van den Hout (1998: 180f.).

¹⁰⁷³ See van den Hout (1998: 36f.).

reference to Talmi-Tešup, the son of Ini-Tešup,¹⁰⁷⁴ and although no titles are given, he may have already become king at the time.

Talmi-Tešup as the king of Karkamiš is known from several cuneiform and glyptic sources.¹⁰⁷⁵ Other namesakes of GAL-^dU who should be distinguished from the GAL *KARTAPPI* official include GAL-^dU/IM, the son of Kantuzzili and antagonist of Hattušili, mentioned several times in KUB 26.58 (CTH 224);¹⁰⁷⁶ the scribe Talmi-Tešup son of Walwaziti known from multiple documents;¹⁰⁷⁷ and the treasury official GAL-^dU son of Ukkura, who was accused in the embezzlement case KUB 13.35+ (*passim*) (CTH 293).¹⁰⁷⁸

A Talmi-Tešup (^m*Tal-me-d*U-*up*) is mentioned in the fragment KBo 16.22 obv. 1.¹⁰⁷⁹ The text also mentions Urhi-Tešup and Šippaziti, who may have unsuccessfully sought help from the king of Ahhiyawa and perhaps another king, and were in the process of mobilizing some troops. Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011: 166) indicate that if Talmi-Tešup of the text was the king of Karkamiš, who ascended the throne late in Tudhaliya IV's reign, it would mean that more than thirty years after he had been deposed by Hattušili III, Urhi-Tešup was still attempting to regain his throne. The chances of both Urhi-Tešup and Šippaziti being active and trying to gain the support of neighboring kings thirty years later may not be too great. Perhaps a better possibility is that the text refers to the time of initial conflict between Urhi-Tešup and Hattušili III, when Šippaziti was known to be assisting Urhi-Tešup as reported in KUB 1.1 iv 3–6 (CTH 81). The couple of city names mentioned in the text, Hallawa and Kuššu(r)riya, are unattested elsewhere,

¹⁰⁷⁴ A few lines earlier in the same text (KUB 16.32 ii 10–11), it is indicated that when the king of Karkamiš arrives, they will send Katapaili down to him. Mention of Katapaili in both passages does place the king of Karkamiš in relation to Talmi-Tešup, but the former may still be a reference to Ini-Tešup.

¹⁰⁷⁵ See documents 5 a-d in van den Hout (1995a: 158). A seal impression from Lidar Höyük that identifies Talmi-Tešup as the father of Kuzi-Tešup (Sürenhagen 1986), and the privately owned Sarrafian seal which may have produced SBo I 110 (Singer 2010) can be added to this list.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Contra Soysal (2012: 320), who identifies the GAL-^dU/IM of KUB 26.58 (CTH 224) with his namesake GAL *KARTAPPI*.

¹⁰⁷⁷ For a detailed treatment of the scribe Talmi-Tešup, see Gordin (2008: 72–80).

¹⁰⁷⁸ He may also be one of the ^{LU}ŠĀ.TAM employees named in KUB 31.62 i 3, 8; see note 960.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Edited by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011: 164–67).

but the river ^{1D}SIG₇ of obv. 12' is otherwise known as the Hulana River,¹⁰⁸⁰ and is probably located somewhere in northwestern Anatolia, possibly the modern day Porsuk Çay.¹⁰⁸¹ This would also make it less likely to identify Talmi-Tešup as the king of Karkamiš. In that case, Talmi-Tešup of this text can perhaps be identified with the son of Kantuzzili.¹⁰⁸² Just as Šippaziti was the son of an opponent of Hattušili III, GAL-^dU's father Kantuzzili was another opponent of Hattušili III, and may have been considered a possible ally by Urhi-Tešup. But as revealed in KUB 26.58, GAL-^dU ended up siding with Hattušili III against his own father, and therefore, also against Urhi-Tešup.¹⁰⁸³

A partially preserved ^m*Tal-m*[i- in the dream and vow fragment KUB 48.123 iii 10 (CTH 590)¹⁰⁸⁴ precedes the line that mentions a statue (ALAM) of Urhi-Tešup, and was restored as Talmi-Tešup by de Roos (2007a: 218 with n. 126) on account of the above-discussed KBo 16.22, which mentions Talmi-Tešup and Urhi-Tešup together. However, KBo 16.22 refers to a time when Urhi-Tešup was alive and active, whereas the statue of Urhi-Tešup possibly implies the cult of the dead king and probably dates to a much later time. Nevertheless, that doesn't mean it cannot be Talmi-Tešup, but nothing certain can be said.

In summary, if the above made assumptions can be accepted, the GAL *KARTAPPI* official who witnessed two important documents may have been Talmi-Tešup, perhaps as a young prince before he was named as heir to the throne of Karkamiš.

¹⁰⁸⁰ See Del Monte and Tischler (1978: 548).

¹⁰⁸¹ See Forlanini (2008: 60) and Barjamovic (2011: 353f.).

¹⁰⁸² Although in secondary literature the name of Kantuzzili's son is sometimes translated as Ura-Tarhunta (e.g., under NH 1441.2), in KUB 26.58 it is always written as GAL-^dU/IM and may be read Talmi-Tešup as well as Ura-Tarhunta.

¹⁰⁸³ Urhi-Tešup's name appears in fragmentary context at KUB 26.58 obv. 5a; see Imparati (1974: 153).

¹⁰⁸⁴ Edited by de Roos (2007a: 215–24).

4.8.1.7 Penti-Šarruma

Penti-Šarruma appears with the MAGNUS.AURIGA and REX.FILIUS titles on the seal impression Niš 327, and is very likely to be the same-named official with the titles MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS and MAGNUS.SCRIBA.¹⁰⁸⁵ For a study of this official refer to section 4.4.1.16.

4.8.1.8 Alalimi

A couple of signet ring sealings from a private collection published by Poetto (1992: 431–35) identify an (A)lalimi¹⁰⁸⁶ with the title MAGNUS.AURIGA, and in one of the sealings he is designated as a prince (REX.FILIUS). Alalimi's name is commonly attested in both cuneiform¹⁰⁸⁷ and glyptic sources,¹⁰⁸⁸ but none of the bearers is known as a prince. If we had to choose one among the known Alalimis, in terms of status the most likely candidate would be the one listed as a witness next to several princes on the Bronze Tablet (iv 35). However, on the Bronze Tablet he is given the unusual title GAL UGULA LĪM^{MEŠ} (Chief of the Overseer(s) of the Thousand[?]), and furthermore, there are two more GAL KARTAPPIs listed among the witnesses. Since the signet rings are more popular in northern Syrian circles and the provenance of the sealings is not known, this Alalimi may also be a member of one of the Syrian principalities.

4.8.2 General discussion of GAL KARTAPPI

As noted previously and shown in Table 12, only Abamuwa and GAL-^dU (Talmi-Tešup[?]), are attested as GAL KARTAPPIs in cuneiform sources. Furthermore, anonymous references to

¹⁰⁸⁵ Note Hawkins (2005a: 268), who separates Niš 327 from other attestations of Penti-Šarruma.

¹⁰⁸⁶ *a-lá/i(L. 172)-la/i(L. 319)-mi; on this reading, see note 608.

¹⁰⁸⁷ For a prosopographic study of Alalimi, see van den Hout (1995a: 138–42) and see above Alalimi, the GAL SAGI, in section 4.3.1.4.

¹⁰⁸⁸ See a list of seals in note 608.

GAL <i>KARTAPPI</i>	Reigning King	Title / Other Titles / Relationship
Kaššu	Muwatalli II (??)	MAGNUS.AURIGA
Tami	Muwatalli II/Muršili III (?)	MAGNUS.AURIGA, REX.FILIUS
Tarupasani/Tarupišni [?]	Hattušili III/Tudhaliya IV (?)	MAGNUS.AURIGA, ZAG- <i>aš BĒLU</i> (?)
Abamuwa	Tudhaliya IV	GAL <i>KARTAPPI</i>
GAL- ^d U/Talmi-Tešup [?]	Tudhaliya IV	GAL <i>KARTAPPI</i> , Son of Ini-Tešup (?)
Penti-Šarruma	Arnuwanda III-Šuppiluliuma II	MAGNUS.AURIGA, ^{LÚ} <i>tuppanura huburtinura</i> , REX.FILIUS, MAGNUS.SCRIBA/GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ
Alalimi	13 th century	MAGNUS.AURIGA, REX.FILIUS

Table 12. List of GAL *KARTAPPI* officials.

GAL *KARTAPPI* are not numerous either. One such reference comes from KBo 18.4,¹⁰⁸⁹ which is a letter written by a king of Išuwa and addressed to an unnamed GAL *KARTAPPI*, to whom the king further refers as “my dear father” (*A-BI DÙG.GA-YA*). After the greetings and well wishes, the king of Išuwa asks his “dear father” to send news about the king and the queen (of Hatti). The “my dear father” phrase may be taken literally as a reference to the father of the king,¹⁰⁹⁰ but most scholars believe it is a commonly used show of respect based on age difference.¹⁰⁹¹ Various opinions have been expressed on the possible identity of the GAL *KARTAPPI* here, such as GAL-^dU (Gurney 1993: 25),¹⁰⁹² Kila’e (Pecchioli Daddi 1977: 173),¹⁰⁹³ and Lupakki (Güterbock 1973: 142 n. 24). Among these, an identification with Lupakki seems to have more support,¹⁰⁹⁴ based on the mention of Lupakki, the ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU*, in a fragmentary context in KUB 31.68 39’ (CTH 297.8), a couple of lines before the king of Išuwa, as well as on

¹⁰⁸⁹ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 331).

¹⁰⁹⁰ Rosenkranz (1973: 73), Güterbock (1973: 142 n. 24).

¹⁰⁹¹ Thus Nougayrol (*PRU* IV: 191 n.1, 214, 294), Klengel (1976: 87), Pecchioli Daddi (1977: 172), Hoffner (2009: 331), and de Martino (2010b: 115).

¹⁰⁹² If GAL-^dU is the prince Talmi-Tešup of Karkamiš as discussed above, his identification with either an older person or the father of the king of Išuwa would be out of the question.

¹⁰⁹³ Based on the assumption that Kila’e, the ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU*, of RS 17.112 (*PRU* IV: 234), was also the recipient of the letter RS 19.70 (*PRU* IV: 294) sent by the king and queen of Ugarit. The royal couple refers to Kila’e as “our father,” and contextually RS 19.70 is very similar to KBo 18.4.

¹⁰⁹⁴ See de Roos (1987: 75; 2007a: 61), Beal (1992: 447f.), Tani (2001: 158 n. 26), Marizza (2009: 159).

a seal impression from Korucutepe¹⁰⁹⁵ that places a Lupa(k)ki in the territory of Išuwa.¹⁰⁹⁶ However, the common nature of Lupakki's name¹⁰⁹⁷ makes it difficult to reach a conclusion on this identification.¹⁰⁹⁸

In RS 11.732 (CTH 48),¹⁰⁹⁹ a LÚ GAL (LÚ.MEŠ) *kartappi* is listed among the top Hittite officials who receive tribute from Ugarit. The title is listed after the king, queen, prince, chief scribe (LÚ *tuppanura*), two LÚ *huburtanuru* officials, and chief of the storehouse (LÚ EN É *abusi*), but before the vizier (LÚ SUKKAL).¹¹⁰⁰ An edict of Šuppiluliuma I for Niqmaddu II of Ugarit (CTH 48), which exists in multiple copies,¹¹⁰¹ provides a similar list, which does not include the GAL *KARTAPPI* and the chief of the storehouse, but adds a LÚ *antubšalli* at the end of the list. Due to several contextual differences, Nougayrol (*PRU* IV: 40) suggests a later date for RS 11.732, sometime in the reign of Ammistamru II.

One last attestation of GAL *KARTAPPI* comes from the fragment KBo 12.135 vi 12', which seems to be a list of certain cities “of” certain officials and certain gods. The particular passage reads: “City of Šekta, GAL *KARTAPPI*, the Stormgod, the Sungoddess, the Protective Deity, Mt. Šuryanta” (Beal 1992: 447 n. 1664). Beal (1992: 447) suggests that it might indicate the cities that belong to certain officials, and the cults for which they are responsible. This fragment is also the only evidence of any type of religious association for a GAL *KARTAPPI*

¹⁰⁹⁵ KRC 68-285; no. 6 in Güterbock (1973: 142 and Fig. 1, 2).

¹⁰⁹⁶ On the location of Korucutepe within Išuwa, see Hawkins (1998a: 281).

¹⁰⁹⁷ See entries under NH 708; see also Hawkins (2005a: 262).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Note also the comments of Hawkins (2005a: 262) on the stylistic similarity of Lupakki's seal impression from Korucutepe with the couple of sealings of Lupakki, the scribe, from Boğazköy.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *PRU* IV: 47f.

¹¹⁰⁰ See Appendix 4.

¹¹⁰¹ Ugaritic text RS 11.772+ and Akkadian texts RS 17.227, RS 17.300, RS 17.330+17.347+17.446, RS 17.372B, RS 17.373, see in *PRU* IV: 40–46. For the join of RS 17.330+17.347+17.446, see Lackenbacher (2002: 73 n. 180).

official. While several other texts do indicate the presence of ordinary ^{LÚ(MEŠ)}*KARTAPPU* in rituals and festivals,¹¹⁰² a *GAL KARTAPPI* is not attested.

There is no evidence whether *GAL KARTAPPI* officials existed prior to the thirteenth century, but there are a few attestations of the *KARTAPPU* title in Middle Hittite texts such as the Instructions for the *MEŠEDI*-guard (CTH 262),¹¹⁰³ and the Mašat letter HKM 44,¹¹⁰⁴ which names a *KARTAPPU* official named Marakui, who was dispatched to the recipient, and possibly delivered the letter too.

Unfortunately the few attestations do not reveal much about the responsibilities of *GAL KARTAPPI* officials. Since Beal's analysis suggests that the ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU* was a chariot driver (1992: 155–62), the *GAL KARTAPPI* can be literally translated as “Chief of the Chariot Drivers,” but as Beal also notes (1992: 449), there is no clear indication that the office really involved the command of chariot drivers. Other than the Bronze Tablet, among the officials listed in Table 12 only *GAL*-^dU is attested with a *KARTAPPU* title, where he was apparently on a diplomatic mission to Ugarit to inspect certain troops.

There are several other examples of ^{LÚ}*KARTAPPU* officials (without *GAL*), who also seem to be prominent officials. Some of these were sent on distant missions, such as Šunaili¹¹⁰⁵ and Nirgaili¹¹⁰⁶ to Ugarit, and Zuzu¹¹⁰⁷ to Egypt, or some were involved in judicial matters either as overseers, such as Zuzullu in the case of a dispute between the merchants of Ura and Ugarit,¹¹⁰⁸

¹¹⁰² See a list under “Ambito culturale” in Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 134). KBo 41.94 iv 8' (CTH 470); KBo 47.11 obv. 8' (CTH 670); KUB 51.71 ii 3' (CTH 644); VS NF 12.15 ii 5' are some of the additional attestations.

¹¹⁰³ IBoT 1.36 iv 24c.

¹¹⁰⁴ Edited by Alp (1991a: 196f.); Hoffner (2009: 170f.). The title is spelled *QAR-TAP-<PU>*.

¹¹⁰⁵ In RS 17.244 (*PRU* IV: 231f.), Šunaili is sent along with a Chief of the Storehouse to deliver certain servants to the king of Ugarit.

¹¹⁰⁶ RS 34.129:15 (edited by Dietrich and Loretz 1978: 54f.); Nirgaili (Nerikkaili²) is sent to bring back certain captive Sea Peoples for questioning. See Singer (1983b: 10 n. 14) for the correct reading of the name, originally read *Ni-sa-ah-i-li*.

¹¹⁰⁷ KUB 21.38 obv. 22; edited by Hoffner (2009: 281–90).

¹¹⁰⁸ RS 18.20+17.371 (*PRU* IV: 202f.).

or in some other capacities.¹¹⁰⁹ One may also add here Tabala-Tarhunta, the personal *KARTAPPU* of the Hittite king, and a relative of the queen, who was to be sent to the king of Ahhiyawa for a diplomatic exchange.¹¹¹⁰ On account of these examples, Pecchioli Daddi (1977: 187) suggests that certain *KARTAPPU* officers of the king were prominent officials entrusted with foreign missions. She is followed by Singer (1983b: 9f.), who indicates that by the thirteenth century the growing needs of the Hittite administration necessitated the use of trusted officials on foreign diplomatic missions not just as messengers, but more as deputies of the king. While these arguments may be true, Singer's (1983b: 11) comments that by that time the office of *KARTAPPU* may have lost its connection to the duties related to the use of horses and chariots cannot be correct, since examples provided by Beal (1992: 156–58) clearly indicate a connection.

Despite these examples for *KARTAPPU* officials, we do not have any evidence to say what might have been the distinctive character or functions of a *GAL KARTAPPI*, perhaps with the exception that they were one of the few top officials who collected tribute from Syrian vassals. According to Beal the title may be only an honorific (1992: 450), and in terms of their status, we may note that three of the seven names in Table 12 are attested with the prince (*REX.FILIUS*) title, and Abamuwa and *GAL-dU* were possibly also princes.

Both Abamuwa and *GAL-dU* are listed as *GAL KARTAPPI* among the witnesses of the Bronze Tablet. Like the two *GAL GEŠTIN* officials of the same list, they are not distinguished with the Right/Left designations, whereas the two *GAL UKU.UŠ* officers of the same document are marked as of the Right and the Left. None of the few other attestations of *GAL KARTAPPI*

¹¹⁰⁹ RS 17.252:21 (*PRU IV*: 233); RS 17.137:5 (*PRU IV*: 105f.).

¹¹¹⁰ KUB 14.3 ii 58–61, iii 73–76; edited by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011: 101–22).

has been marked as of the Right or the Left. Therefore the same dilemma that appears for the two GAL GEŠTINs also applies to the GAL *KARTAPPIs*.¹¹¹¹

4.9 GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ)

The offices of GAL DUB.SAR and GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ are two important civil positions of the Hittite administration. Since recent studies of these offices, namely Gordin’s dissertation with a focus on the 13th-century scribal families (2008)¹¹¹² and Marizza’s treatment of the Chief Scribe office (2010b), provide very detailed information, the following analysis is only a broad summary of these studies.

The GAL DUB.SAR and GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ titles are translated as “Chief Scribe” and “Chief Scribe on Wood.” DUB.SAR.GIŠ refers to scribes who are assumed to have written on wooden tablets. Wooden tablets (^{GIŠ}LE.U₅, GIŠ.HUR, or ^{GIŠ}*gulzattar*) are occasionally mentioned in Hittite sources, but never attested in archaeological records of the Hatti.¹¹¹³ The matter of distinction between the scribes on clay and scribes on wood has not been resolved, since in addition to the material of the media (clay vs. wood), the script (hieroglyphic vs. cuneiform) and the division of duties remain in discussion.¹¹¹⁴

The Hittite equivalent of the Chief Scribe title appears to be *tuppa(la)nura/i*,¹¹¹⁵ which might be composed from the OH gen. pl. *tuppalan* with a Hitt./Luw. suffix *ura-* “great” (Laroche 1956b: 27f.). The phonetic complement on GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUB.SAR.GIŠ-*ri* in KBo 16.58 ii 33 may be indicative of this reading. It may be noted that the term *tuppa(la)nuri* is probably the Hittite reading of both GAL DUB.SAR and GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ. This lack of differentiation applies

¹¹¹¹ See the discussion under GAL GEŠTIN in section 4.2.

¹¹¹² For a summary treatment of the Chief Scribes, see also Gordin (2010a).

¹¹¹³ Although not a Hittite artifact, the often cited specimen with a recessed space for wax covering recovered from the fourteenth-century Uluburun shipwreck may not be far different from those used in Hatti. However, it may be noted that no reference to any wax covering is attested in Hittite (van den Hout 2010: 256 n. 3; see also Waal 2011: 28–30).

¹¹¹⁴ On this topic and the use of wooden tablets, see Marazzi (1994; 2000), van den Hout (2010, 2011), and Waal (2011).

¹¹¹⁵ The title has been attested with Penti-Šarruma (see below).

also to the hieroglyphic version of the title, MAGNUS.SCRIBA.¹¹¹⁶ Šahuruwa is attested both with as cuneiform GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ and hieroglyphic MAGNUS.SCRIBA, and there is an attestation of a MAGNUS.SCRIBA named Walwaziti, who may be the well-known GAL DUB.SAR of that name.¹¹¹⁷

Evidence from seals and seal impressions provides the names of at least ten different Chief Scribes (MAGNUS.SCRIBA), several of whom are not known at all from cuneiform sources. Furthermore, since most of these officials probably belong to the thirteenth century, it is difficult to determine whether they served consecutively. This and other issues will be discussed further below after a presentation of known holders of the Chief Scribe and the Chief Scribe on Wood titles.

4.9.1 Known GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ)s in Hittite history

4.9.1.1 Hattušili (?)

Hattušili is one of the highest-level officials of the Mašat corpus and appears to accompany the king wherever he might be residing, whether in Hattuša, Šapinuwa, or elsewhere.¹¹¹⁸ He might be the scribe of three separate letters of the king (HKM 10, HKM 27, and HKM 28), since he is the sender of the piggyback letters of the same tablets, all of which he has addressed to Himuili.¹¹¹⁹ He is also the sender of the letter HKM 52 to Himuili, and the letter HKM 53 and the piggyback letter of HKM 80 to the scribe Uzzū. In HKM 52:10–18,¹¹²⁰ Hattušili demands that Himuili improve the conditions of a “house of the scribe” in Tapikka,

¹¹¹⁶ See Herbordt (2005: 98), Singer (2006: 243f.), Gordin (2008: 23 and n. 64) and Marizza (2010b: 34).

¹¹¹⁷ As mentioned above, note also Penti-Šarruma, who is known as both ^{LU}*uppanura* and MAGNUS.SCRIBA, and possibly as GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, if he is the [...]Šarruma of KBo 26.32 i 2 (CTH 124.A). Taki-Šarruma’s title on RS 17.403 has been restored as GAL ^{L^U.MES}DUB.SAR] on account of his seal impression on the same tablet with the MAGNUS.SCRIBA title (Singer 2003: 343).

¹¹¹⁸ On the location of the king relevant to the Mašat correspondence, see Imparati (1997: 201–6).

¹¹¹⁹ The king addresses Kaššu in HKM 10 and Himuili in HKM 27 and 28.

¹¹²⁰ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 191f.).

reminding him that the *šahhan* and *luzzi* obligations are not incumbent on scribes, and threatens to report him to the palace. Based on Hattušili's seemingly high status, his association with scribal duties, and his concern for scribes, it was suggested by Beckman (1995a: 25, 33) that Hattušili might be the unnamed GAL DUB.SAR, who is mentioned in some of the Mašat documents. This is supported by Houwink ten Cate (1998: 174–78), who suggests that ABoT 1.65 is a scribal letter, where Hattušili is again involved in matters related to assignment of scribes.¹¹²¹

One of the documents that mention the anonymous GAL DUB.SAR is HKM 72, which is a letter sent by this official to Kaššu, the well-attested official from Tapikka/Mašat.¹¹²² The greeting formula and the tone of the letter make it clear that the Chief Scribe, who instructs Kaššu about the construction of a bridge, is the superior of the two. Involvement of the GAL DUB.SAR with such military logistics may also find support in KBo 18.54,¹¹²³ which is a letter presumably sent by the same Kaššu to the king, in which a GAL DUB.SAR (rev. 6') appears in a fragmentary context that mentions supplies for troops.

HKM 73 is a letter written by an anonymous GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ again to Kaššu of Tapikka. The letter is similar to HKM 72 in terms of brief address formula and the authoritative style of the sender, which leads one to suspect that he may be the same person as the GAL DUB.SAR of HKM 72. If so, this would mean that either the same person held both positions, or that perhaps he was a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, but that in HKM 72 the GIŠ element was omitted for some reason. Alternatively, we would have to assume the existence of separate GAL DUB.SAR and GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ officials who were both superior to Kaššu and both involved in the

¹¹²¹ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 242–45). Although ABoT 1.65's find spot is unknown, it is generally assumed to have come from Mašat (see de Martino 2005: 307f. with bibliography).

¹¹²² See section 4.12.1.3.

¹¹²³ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 340–44).

administrative matters of the region. Similar possibilities have also been mentioned by Marizza (2010b: 35), but he remains cautious about identifying this official with Hattušili, raising objections on several points.

One of his objections is that while Hattušili is seemingly on an equal status with Himuili,¹¹²⁴ and Kaššu seems to be a superior of Himuili,¹¹²⁵ the GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) of HKM 72 and 73 is clearly someone of higher status than Kaššu (Marizza 2007a: 121; 2010b: 35). This may seem a valid argument, but it could also be a demonstration of a hierarchical structure that may have been defined by different variables. Hattušili's relationship with Himuili may have been established by certain personal interactions, but that not with Kaššu. In fact, this may even be the reason behind Hattušili's use of the GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) title while writing to Kaššu, as opposed to not using it while writing to Himuili. Marizza (2007a: 122) himself also points out that the GAL KUŠ₇ official Hulla does the same: he introduces himself as GAL KUŠ₇ when writing to Kaššu (HKM 70 and 71),¹¹²⁶ but uses only his name in his correspondence with Himuili (HKM 62).¹¹²⁷

Marizza also points out the example of the scribal supervisor Anuwana, who was a prominent scribal official, but not a Chief Scribe (2007a: 123; 2010b: 35), implying that Hattušili as a prominent scribal official does not necessarily have to be a Chief Scribe either. However, Anuwana may not be the best example to compare with Hattušili. The study of Anuwana by van den Hout (1995a: 238–42) reveals that he is a strictly scribal official,¹¹²⁸ whose only

¹¹²⁴ Based on the address formulae and the use of phrases like “my dear brother,” with the exception of HKM 52 where Hattušili seems to have been angered by Himuili's uncooperative attitude. Nevertheless it may be noted that Hattušili does not outright order Himuili to take a certain action, but rather reminds him about the favors he had been receiving and further threatens to report him to the palace, which suggests that he does not have direct authority over Himuili.

¹¹²⁵ Based on the address formulae of HKM 54 and 55.

¹¹²⁶ For the identification of the GAL KUŠ₇ official of these letters as Hulla, see section 4.6.1.8.

¹¹²⁷ In terms of this complicated hierarchy, we may also draw attention to HKM 74, where the same Kaššu disregards the demands of the Priest, who is almost certainly the brother of Tudhaliya III, and tells him to take his complaints to the palace.

¹¹²⁸ His attestations outside the colophons are either from oracles or dream texts, where it is not unusual to encounter a scribal professional. See also Anuwana in section 4.14.1.

appearance in an administrative matter is as a witness in the Šahurunuwa Text. On the other hand, the Hattušili of the Mašat texts, in addition to his scribal connections, appears to have been involved in daily administrative matters, some of which involved a judicial case (HKM 10), chariots and horses (HKM 27 and 28), crops and damaged utensils (HKM 53), and certain food supplies (HKM 80). While such matters do not seem to be typical functions of a Chief Scribe, the anonymous GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) official(s) of HKM 72 and 73 seem(s) to have been conducting even more serious matters of military logistics, such as building a bridge and supplying provisions to the troops.

Other objections of Marizza are the absence of this official in glyptic sources, as well as the lack of any cuneiform document from Hattuša that could provide a secure match. Several documents that mention an unidentified Hattušili have been proposed to refer to this official.¹¹²⁹ In his analysis of these texts, Marizza (2007a: 122–27) finds the Hattušili of KUB 15.31:31 (CTH 484.1.A) and VS NF 12.129 obv. 1 (CTH 209), based on their scribal scope, and secondarily that of KUB 36.109:8' (CTH 275) and KBo 32.224 rev. 6', 10' (CTH 215), due to their connection to the royal family, as plausible identifications.¹¹³⁰ However, beyond establishing the existence of an official named Hattušili in MH texts, neither text can provide relevant information to establish a secure date, nor can they identify him with the Hattušili of the Mašat texts, let alone as a GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ). Therefore, identification of a Chief Scribe Hattušili for the time being remains possible but unconfirmed.

¹¹²⁹ See Marizza (2007a: 122–27) with bibliography.

¹¹³⁰ A couple of other references to a Hattušili who is less likely to be identified with our official are KBo 32.145 obv. 7' (CTH 209), KBo 27.20 rev. 12' (CTH 832).

4.9.1.2 Matu

Matu is the earliest-dated Chief Scribe known from the Hittite glyptic sources. All five attestations of this official¹¹³¹ come from seal impressions found in and around Temple 8 in the upper city of Hattuša, and all bear the hieroglyphic inscription *Ma-tu* MAGNUS.SCRIBA. On all of them, the MAGNUS and SCRIBA signs are placed side by side as opposed to MAGNUS above SCRIBA, which is the way the title is displayed in pretty much all glyptic attestations of later periods.¹¹³² This could be either a specific style Matu may have preferred or an early way of writing MAGNUS.SCRIBA before MAGNUS above SCRIBA became the standard (Gordin 2008: 135).¹¹³³ His otherwise unattested name might be a hypocoristicon, but none of the possible anthroponyms provide a match.¹¹³⁴ On stylistic grounds he can be assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century (Herbordt 2006: 105f.), and Gordin (2008: 136) suggests a term of office possibly extending from Tudhaliya III to Šuppiluliuma I.

4.9.1.3 Mittannamuwa

This GAL DUB.SAR of Muršili II and Muwatalli II is mainly known from two documents: KBo 1.6 rev. 21', the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75), where he appears as a witness,¹¹³⁵ and KBo 4.12 (*passim*), a decree of Hattušili III on behalf of the sons of Mittannamuwa (CTH 87).¹¹³⁶

In the Aleppo Treaty, Mittannamuwa is listed after nine other witnesses (see Appendix 2). The only two persons listed after him are the *antuwašalli* official and the scribe.

¹¹³¹ BoHa 22 no. 52–56.

¹¹³² An exception from the thirteenth century is the seal impression of Tatta (BoHa 22 no. 207), where the MAGNUS and SCRIBA signs are also written side by side.

¹¹³³ One may note the MAGNUS signs placed to the side of HASTARIUS and AURIGA₂ in the early Empire period seal impressions Bo 78/56 and Bo 2002/14 of Kantuzzili (see Figure 4).

¹¹³⁴ See Gordin (2008: 136f.).

¹¹³⁵ The passage is edited by Devecchi (2010: 13).

¹¹³⁶ Edited by Goetze (1925: 40–45). For a recent edition of the text, see Gordin (2008: 40–44).

When Hattušili III issued the decree KBo 4.12, Mittannamuwa was probably already dead (Del Monte 1975: 6; Doğan-Alparslan 2007: 252). This decree is a very informative document since it reveals how the GAL DUB.SAR office changed hands from the reign of Muršili II until that of Hattušili III. As a man favored by Muršili II for helping his son Hattušili recover from an illness, Mittannamuwa was afforded recognition (obv. 8–12). Whether this recognition implies that Mittannamuwa was given the position of GAL DUB.SAR as a result is not clear, but as the Aleppo Treaty suggests, he was already GAL DUB.SAR before Muwatalli II became king.¹¹³⁷ The text further indicates that after Muwatalli II became king, he continued to bestow favors on Mittannamuwa and “gave” him Hattuša, which must imply assigning him as the governor of the city. Almost certainly this must have taken place when Muwatalli II had moved the administrative center of the state to Tarhuntašša.

The same document also informs us that Mittannamuwa had five sons: Purandamuwa, Alihešni, Walwaziti, Nani(n)zi (ŠEŠ-zi), and Adduwa (obv. 18, rev. 6'–7'). Two of his sons, Purandamuwa and Walwaziti, also became GAL DUB.SAR (see below), while Alihešni and Naninzi are attested as scribes. Furthermore, Alihešni is known to have married a daughter of Šahuruwuwa, the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ.¹¹³⁸

Mittannamuwa's name also appears in the small historical fragment KBo 50.180' (CTH 215) and in the ritual fragment KUB 60.81 15'–17' (CTH 470). In the latter, the lines that mention his name may be part of a genealogy in the colophon of the tablet (Gordin 2008: 55),¹¹³⁹ but otherwise neither text gives any relevant information about him. Some other texts that mention his name in the colophons are KBo 42.28 rev. 7 (CTH 616), KBo 39.43 iv 2 (CTH 628), and KBo 32.100+ (CTH 628.I). In the first text, he is the supervisor and in the other two he is

¹¹³⁷ Thus Del Monte (1975: 6); Mascheroni (1984: 160); Doğan-Alparslan (2007: 249); Gordin (2008: 46); Marizza (2010b: 35).

¹¹³⁸ See under Šahuruwuwa in section 4.7.1.2.

¹¹³⁹ Mittannamuwa's name is never attested in any colophon as a scribe or supervisor (Del Monte: 1975: 6).

named as the grandfather of the scribe. Mittannamuwa is not attested as the actual scribe of any document.

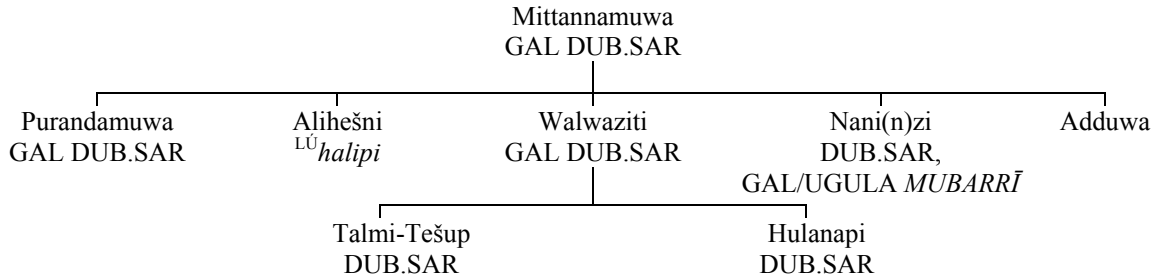


Figure 6. Family tree of Mittannamuwa.

4.9.1.4 Purandamuwa

Purandamuwa was possibly the oldest son of Mittannamuwa. In KBo 4.12 obv. 18, it is stated that Muwatalli II had assigned Purandamuwa as the GAL DUB.SAR when he installed Mittannamuwa as the governor of Hattuša. His name is not attested in any other document, which may indicate that his active service took place when Muwatalli was in Tarhuntašša.¹¹⁴⁰ KBo 4.12 further indicates that during the reign of Urhi-Tešup other men were promoted to the office of GAL DUB.SAR (obv. 23).

Like his father, Purandamuwa may have already died when Hattušili III issued KBo 4.12, since his name is not counted among the sons of Mittannamuwa in rev. 6–7 for whom Hattušili III and Puduhepa declare their protection.

4.9.1.5 Ziti

Ziti (^mLÚ), the Chief Scribe, is attested with this title as the grandfather of the scribe Hanikkuili (II) in the colophons of VBoT 24 iv 39 (CTH 393.A)¹¹⁴¹ and KBo 6.4 l.e. 2 (CTH

¹¹⁴⁰ Marizza *apud* Gordin (2008: 56).

¹¹⁴¹ VBoT 24 (edited by Bawanypeck 2005: 64f.):
iv 38 ŠU ^mHa-ni-ik-ku-DINGIR^{LIM} DUMU NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆

291.III).¹¹⁴² These two and several other colophons reveal that Ziti was a member of a scribal family active from the fifteenth century until the end of the thirteenth century.¹¹⁴³ The family tree constructed by Beckman (1983: 105) shows that the earliest known ancestor was a Babylonian scribe named Anu-šar-ilāni, who apparently made Hattuša his home. His family tree has been improved with the recognition of Ziti's name as the scribe of the Aleppo Treaty, which gives his father's name as NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ (I).¹¹⁴⁴ This is also one of the rare attestations of a Chief Scribe with an ordinary scribal position in his earlier career. Anu-šar-ilāni's son Hanikkuili¹¹⁴⁵ might be the same scribe who copied several donation texts of Hantili II.¹¹⁴⁶ Later in his career, Hanikkuili may have been promoted to the GAL NA.GAD position, with which he is listed among the ancestors of his 13th-century descendant and namesake Hanikkuili (II) in KBo 6.4. The other ancestor, Karunuwa, who was the ^{LÚ}*halipi* of the Upper Land, must have lived sometime in the early Empire period. His father NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ (I) was also a scribe as revealed in the Aleppo Treaty.

The Chief Scribe Ziti has one known son, NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ (II), three grandsons, named Hanikkuili, Šauškaziti (^dŠUR-LÚ), and Ziti (II), and at least one great-grandson named Alihinni, almost all of whom were also scribes (see Figure 7).¹¹⁴⁷ Since NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ and his sons were active scribes during the reigns of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV, it is generally assumed that Ziti

39 DUMU.DUMU-ŠÚ ŠA ^mLÚ GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ

¹¹⁴² KBo 6.4 (edited by Hoffner 1997: 98):

i.e. 1 ^m*Ha-ni-ku-DINGIR^{LIM}-iš* DUB.SAR DUMU ^mNU.GIŠ.[KIRI₆]
 2 DUMU.DUMU-ŠÚ ŠA ^mLÚ GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ Ú DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-[ŠÚ]
 3 ŠA ^m*Ka-ru-nu-wa* ^{LÚ}*ha-a-li-pi* ŠA KUR.UG[U]
 4 Ú DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU-MA ŠA ^m*Ha-ni-ku-DINGIR^{LIM}* GAL NA.GAD

See Beckman (1983: 106) on the interpretation of DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ as an alternative for more commonly used ŠÀ.BAL “descendant.”

¹¹⁴³ See Beckman (1983: 103–7) and van den Hout (1995a: 148).

¹¹⁴⁴ For the reading of ^mLÚ DUB.SAR 'DUMU ^mNU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ DUB.SAR in KBo 1.6 rev. 22' and an analysis of Ziti, see Devecchi (2010: 13, 21–24).

¹¹⁴⁵ As revealed in the colophon of KBo 19.99 :

side b 1' ^m*Ha-ni-ku-i-li* DUB.SAR
 2' DUMU ^d*A-nu-LUGAL.DINGIR.MEŠ* [D]UB.SAR BAL.BI

¹¹⁴⁶ LhK 28, LhK 29, LhK 30, LhK 37, LhK 38, and possibly also LhK 34 and LhK 36.

¹¹⁴⁷ See a list in Gordin (2008: 216–21). Šauškaziti is not encountered with a scribal title. It is noticeable that certain names like Hanikkuili, NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆, and Ziti repeat within the family (on ponymy in Hittite families, see Marizza 2010a).

might be the GAL DUB.SAR who was promoted to that position by Urhi-Tešup as mentioned in KBo 4.12 obv. 23. If so, parallel to the short reign of Urhi-Tešup, Ziti may not have had a long term in office, which would also explain the dearth of attestations.

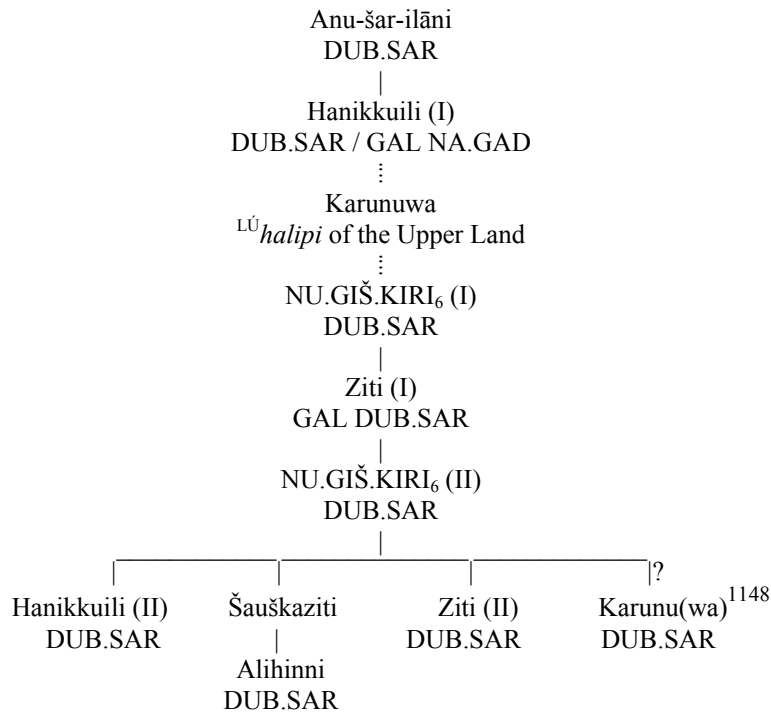


Figure 7. Family tree of Ziti.

4.9.1.6 Walwaziti

As a son of Mittannamuwa and a brother of Purandamuwa, Walwaziti was the third known member of this family to have served in the position of GAL DUB.SAR. His name is almost always written with Sumerograms as UR.MAH-LÚ.¹¹⁴⁹ As revealed in KBo 4.12 obv. 29–30, he was installed in this office perhaps even before the reign of Urhi-Tešup was over, which may

¹¹⁴⁸ There is no direct evidence about Karūnu(wa) being a son of NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ (II). This was suggested on account of papyonymy by Marizza (2010a: 88), followed by Torri (2015: 581f.).

¹¹⁴⁹ The hieroglyphic version is LEO₍₂₎-VIR.zi/a. Also the UR.MAH-za of KUB 52.44 i 14' (CTH 582) and KUB 60.102 4' (CTH 232) is likely to be the same person.

have happened as a result of Hattušili's political pressure.¹¹⁵⁰ Walwaziti's appearance as a witness with the same title in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (rev. 32), the Šahurunuwa Text (rev. 33), and the Bronze Tablet (iv 40) indicates that he remained as GAL DUB.SAR for at least the early part of Tudhaliya's reign. He is one of the best documented Hittite officials with numerous attestations, a detailed study of which was presented by van den Hout (1995a: 172–78).¹¹⁵¹ In most of these documents, his name is listed in the colophon of the tablet as the supervisor of the scribe of the text. Some of these colophons also inform us that the scribes Talmi-Tešup and Hulanapi were his sons.

Walwaziti's mention in a couple of dream texts (KUB 48.118:14 and KUB 15.30 rev. 4),¹¹⁵² and an oracular inquiry (KUB 52.44 obv. 14'),¹¹⁵³ in which he is involved in interpretations or making offerings on behalf of the royal couple, can be seen both as an indication of his knowledge extending beyond scribal duties as well as demonstrating his close association with the royal family.

Although most of Walwaziti's activities seem to have taken place in the capital, if the Walwazidu of the Ugarit text RS 17.135+ obv. 2, rev. 4'¹¹⁵⁴ and the UR.MAH of the Emar text ASJ 10/B 11¹¹⁵⁵ can be identified with this official,¹¹⁵⁶ we may conclude that he was also involved in missions to Syrian principalities. Both texts are judicial cases conducted before

¹¹⁵⁰ See Doğan-Alparslan (2007: 253), who points out that in the next line (KBo 4.12 obv. 31) Hattušili begins: “[And when I] became king...” Also de Roos (2007a: 35) indicates that Walwaziti is mentioned in a dream of the king in KUB 15.5+ ii 52' (CTH 583), which is dated to Urhi-Tešup. For the dating of KUB 15.5+ see Houwink ten Cate (1994: 251; 1996: 72) and de Roos (2007a: 33–36).

¹¹⁵¹ The only new additions to the list of attestations provided by van den Hout (1995a: 172–74) may be ASJ 10/B (see below), Niš 515 (LEO-VIR.zi/a BONUS₂ VIR₂), and perhaps BoHa 22 no. 260 (LEO₂-zi/a BONUS₂ SCRIBA). See also Gordin (2008: 57ff.).

¹¹⁵² Edited by de Roos (2007a: 123–25 and 198f.).

¹¹⁵³ Edited by Mouton (2007: 238–41).

¹¹⁵⁴ *PRU* IV: 235

¹¹⁵⁵ Edited by Tsukimoto (1988: 157–60). UR.MAH is likely to be an abbreviation or error for UR.MAH-LÚ (d'Alfonso 2005: 284); cf. UR.MAH GAL D[UB.SA]R.MEŠ on KUB 3.7 iv 32, surely a reference to the same official (Beckman 1982a: 23; van den Hout 1995a: 172).

¹¹⁵⁶ Thus d'Alfonso (2000: 284; 2005: 77) and Mora (2006: 141), followed by Gordin (2008: 58f.). Contra on RS 17.135+, van den Hout (1995a: 175), Malbran-Labat (2004: 84 n. 140).

Walwaziti. In RS 17.135+ rev. 4', he is referred to as ^{LÚ}*mākisu*, which is translated as “tax collector,”¹¹⁵⁷ and the case in the Emar text involves a payment of three mina of silver. In that respect, both texts may also coincide with some of the duties of Walwaziti as either inspector or handler of precious goods in the inventories of Hattuša.¹¹⁵⁸ It is notable that another Chief Scribe, Taki-Šarruma (see below), is also attested in similar functions in several inventory texts.

KBo 16.58 is a fragment of a court deposition, in which Walwaziti reports: “Am I not a member of the king’s house, a son-in-law to the Chief of the Wood Scribes? Formerly, when they took me away from in-law status to the Chief of the Wood Scribes, (was) he not of the Household of Labarna?” (CHD/P: 288). The statement is not entirely clear but “son-in-law” (^{LÚ}*HA-DA-NU*), can be also translated as “in-law,”¹¹⁵⁹ which may be a reference to a situation concerning the marriage of his brother Alihešni with the daughter of Šahurunuwa, the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ.¹¹⁶⁰

Walwaziti (UR.MAH-ZA) of KUB 60.102:4' (CTH 237)¹¹⁶¹ is in a fragmentary list of officials which also names Uppakkili, Tarhuntaššu (^{md}*U-aš[-šu]*), Maraššanta, Alalimi, and Hešni, some of whom are known contemporaries. If the title following Walwaziti’s name can be restored as ^{LÚ}D[UB.SAR], it would be one of the rare attestations of a GAL DUB.SAR’s early scribal career.¹¹⁶²

In glyptic sources, Walwaziti’s name is attested in three seal impressions from Boğazköy. The title on SBo II 99 (LEO₂-VIR.*zi/a*) is not well preserved,¹¹⁶³ and on Niš 515 the name is accompanied by only BONUS₂ VIR₂, which identifies him as a man. Without any title

¹¹⁵⁷ CAD/M1: 129.

¹¹⁵⁸ KBo 18.153 rev. 15' (CTH 242.2.B) and KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1 r. col. 16', 20' (CTH 242.5); edited by Siegelová (1986: 96–108 and 276–81). On Walwaziti’s role in inventories see also Siegelová (1986: 585). On Walwaziti’s role in the inventories, see also Mora (2006: 141–43).

¹¹⁵⁹ See *hatānu* “relative by marriage” in CAD/H: 148.

¹¹⁶⁰ See van den Hout (1995a: 177), followed by Gordin (2008: 82, 125) and Marizza (2010b: 33).

¹¹⁶¹ Edited by Groddek (2006: 101f.).

¹¹⁶² See Gordin (2008: 64 n. 173) with bibliography on alternative proposals for the dating of the tablet.

¹¹⁶³ Van den Hout (1995a: 177) suggests SCRIBA.

Walwaziti's name is also present on SBo II 100, which is a sealing impressed on a tablet fragment. Not much has been preserved on the tablet other than a couple of partial names, one of which is Pihamuwa, an official known from several other documents,¹¹⁶⁴ including some inventory texts just as Walwaziti. This document is likely to be a legal document since sealed tablets tend to be land grants or treaties.¹¹⁶⁵ However, since in Boğazköy almost all sealed tablets bear an impression of a royal seal, it is more likely to identify the seal owner with our high official than another, unknown, Walwaziti.¹¹⁶⁶

A more certain glyptic attestation of this official is found inscribed on a bronze spearhead which identifies him as a Chief Scribe: LEO-VIR.zi/a MAGNUS.SCRIBA-*la* (Dinçol 1989). This is also the only attestation of a MAGNUS.SCRIBA who is known as a GAL DUB.SAR from the cuneiform sources.

4.9.1.7 Šahurunuwa

Šahurunuwa was a Chief Scribe on Wood (GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ) and attested with this title in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, the Šahurunuwa Text, and the Bronze Tablet, which reveals that he served in that capacity at least from the end of Hattušili III's reign until the drafting of the Bronze Tablet during the reign of Tudhaliya IV. He is also known with the MAGNUS.SCRIBA title from two seal impressions. For a treatment of Šahurunuwa refer to section 4.7.1.2.

4.9.1.8 Tatta

Another sealing (BoHa 22 no. 207) from the upper city of Hattuša identifies a Tatta (*Tá-tá*) as MAGNUS.SCRIBA. In cuneiform sources, in two separate colophons a Tatta appears as

¹¹⁶⁴ See note 1564.

¹¹⁶⁵ For the land grants see Rüter and Wilhelm (2012). For few other type tablets, see Balza (2011), to which we can also add Bo 2006/09 (Wilhelm 2013: 345–47).

¹¹⁶⁶ Thus Mora (2006: 142) and Gordin (2008: 62). Gordin (2008: 63f.) also suggests that the hieroglyphic LEO[?] SCRIBA-*la* writing on the tablet fragment SBo II 239, and a lion drawing (LEO₂[?]) on KUB 28.4 (CTH 727.A) may be scribal signatures of Walwaziti.

the father of the scribes Pikku¹¹⁶⁷ and Pihhuniya.¹¹⁶⁸ Since the scribal profession is likely to continue within families, an identification of this person with the Chief Scribe of the seal impression may be suspected (Gordin 2010a: 328 n. 10; Marizza 2010b: 38). The work of both sons of Tatta were supervised by Anuwanza, the well-known scribal supervisor of the Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV era.¹¹⁶⁹ Therefore, the same time frame can be attributed to Tatta, with the assumption that he must have attained the position of MAGNUS.SCRIBA later in his career. Since his sons are scribes of clay tablets, it may be suspected that Tatta's MAGNUS.SCRIBA title may stand for GAL DUB.SAR, rather than GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ. Marizza (2010b: 40) suggests that he may have served in that office for a short period between Walwaziti and Mahhuzzi.

Another Tatta from 13th-century sources appears in the so-called Hešni conspiracy fragment KUB 31.68: 9' (CTH 297.8),¹¹⁷⁰ but there is not enough information to determine whether this person can be identified with the same person.¹¹⁷¹

4.9.1.9 SAG²

The colophon of KUB 44.61 indicates the presence of a scribe NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆, who was the son of a GAL DUB.SAR named SAG, as well as a pupil of Hulanapi.¹¹⁷² The name ^mSAG is a *hapax*,¹¹⁷³ and since a NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ is already known to be the son of a GAL DUB.SAR named Ziti (^mLÚ), it has been suggested by some scholars that ^mSAG might be a mistake for

¹¹⁶⁷ KUB 29.11+KBo 36.48 iv 6' (CTH 533.3.B).

¹¹⁶⁸ KUB 15.31 iv 41 (CTH 484.1.A).

¹¹⁶⁹ On Anuwanza, see van den Hout (1995a: 238–42).

¹¹⁷⁰ Perhaps also the Tatta of the fragment KUB 23.106 obv. 1' (CTH 297.4); see van den Hout (1995a: 210), who relates the text to KUB 31.68 on account of Tatta.

¹¹⁷¹ Most of the other attestations of the name Tatta belong to an Old Hittite period priest of the Stormgod (add KBo 30.37 obv. i 7' to those listed under NH 1301.1). An early Empire period official is mentioned in HKM 25 obv. 2 and possibly in some texts from Ortaköy (see Süel 1998: 552).

¹¹⁷² KUB 44.61 l.e. (edited by Burde 1974: 18–24):

l.e. 4 [ŠU] ^mNU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ DUMU ^mSAG GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ [

5 [GÁB.]ZU.ZU ŠA ^mHu-u-la-na-pi

¹¹⁷³ Gordin (2008: 121) suggests the restoration [^mS]AG for the father of [^mNU].GIŠ.KIRI₆ in the colophon of HFAC 53 obv. ? 6'–7' (CTH 825); see Marizza (2010b: 36 n. 54), who suggests that it may be the title [^{LU}]SAG.

^mLÚ.¹¹⁷⁴ On the other hand, Gordin (2008: 120; 2010: 323f.) finds it unlikely that NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ would make a mistake in writing his own father's name by mixing up distinct signs like SAG and LÚ. Gordin further argues (2008: 72, 120–23) that chronologically it would be impossible for Ziti's son NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ to be the pupil of Walwaziti's son Hulanapi. Instead, he suggests that SAG must be a later-era GAL DUB.SAR, and that the scribe NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ of KUB 44.61 must be distinguished from the son of Ziti. One could argue that Hulanapi could be a different person than the son of Walwaziti. However, the fact that all known attestations of Hulanapi apparently belong to the son of Walwaziti, as opposed to the more commonly attested NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆,¹¹⁷⁵ it seems more likely that NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆, the son of ^mSAG, is a different individual than NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆, the son of Ziti. If so, SAG should belong to the generation of Hulanapi or perhaps that of Walwaziti at the earliest, which suggest an office term during the reign of Tudhaliya IV.¹¹⁷⁶

4.9.1.10 Mahhuzzi

Mahhuzzi's name is attested in several sealings in the Nišantepe archive, four of which bear the MAGNUS.SCRIBA-*la* title. All of the sealings listed below probably belong to the same official (Hawkins 2005a: 263):

- Niš 217: *ma-hwi-zi/a* SCRIBA-*la* cun.: ...]-uz-zi [; signet ring impression
 Niš 222: *ma-hwi-zi/a* SCRIBA-*la* LIS.DOMINUS
 Niš 223: *ma-hwi-zi/a* REX.FILIUS SCRIBA-*la* ; signet ring impression
 Niš 218: *ma-hwi-zi/a* MAGNUS.SCRIBA-*la*
 Niš 219: *ma-hwi-zi/a* MAGNUS.SCRIBA-*la* LIS.DOMINUS
 Niš 220: *ma-hwi-zi/a* MAGNUS.SCRIBA-*la* LIS[.DOMINUS²]

¹¹⁷⁴ Hagenbuchner (1989b: 83f.), van den Hout (1995a: 148), Torri (2008: 779 n. 47).

¹¹⁷⁵ Other than the son of Ziti, there is an early Empire period scribe and augur attested in the MH/MS texts KUB 32.19+ iv 40 (CTH 777.8) and KBo 15.28 obv. 2, rev. 5' (CTH 195), as well as a Muwatalli II–Urhi-Tešup–era military official mentioned in KUB 31.66+ iv 13, which is dated to Urhi-Tešup (Houwink ten Cate 1994: 240–43; Cammarosano 2009: 180), but the specific passage refers to the time of Muwatalli II.

¹¹⁷⁶ See Gordin (2010a: 324), who, contrary to his earlier suggestion (2008: 122), assigns SAG to the reign of Urhi-Tešup following Hagenbuchner (1989b: 84).

In the cuneiform sources Mahhuzzi appears as a witness in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (rev. 32) with the title *GAL MUBARRĪ* and in the Šahurunuwa Text (rev. 33) with the titles *DUB.SAR* and *GAL MUBARRĪ*. Furthermore, van den Hout (1995a: 225) identifies the witness of these texts with the Mahhuzzi who is mentioned along with Halpaziti as the supervisors of the scribe Duda in the colophon of KUB 13.7 iv 4 (CTH 258.2). This official is very likely the same person known from the above-mentioned sealings (Hawkins 2005a: 263). This identification strongly suggests the equation of the hieroglyphic *LIS.DOMINUS* title with the cuneiform *GAL MUBARRĪ* (Hawkins 2005a: 299f.).¹¹⁷⁷

The first three sealings listed above have only the *SCRIBA-la* title and must belong to an earlier time in Mahhuzzi's career. His titles *SCRIBA-la* and *LIS.DOMINUS* on Niš 222 correspond exactly to the *DUB.SAR* and *GAL MUBARRĪ* titles he bears in the Šahurunuwa Text. This implies that he must have become *MAGNUS SCRIBA* sometime later in Tudhaliya IV's reign. Therefore, his absence in the Bronze Tablet cannot be due to retirement, but rather because he was not present for some other reason. We may note that Nani(n)zi of the Bronze Tablet is not listed with the title *GAL MUBARRĪ*, but rather with *UGULA MUBARRĪ*, perhaps as a junior representative of the legal office in the absence of Mahhuzzi.¹¹⁷⁸

His appearance as a scribal supervisor in KUB 13.7 and the *DUB.SAR* title he uses in the Šahurunuwa Text suggest that his *MAGNUS.SCRIBA* title corresponds to *GAL DUB.SAR* rather than *GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ*. Mahhuzzi must have served in that position after Walwaziti,

¹¹⁷⁷ *GAL MUBARRĪ* is likely to be a title related to the legal domain, for which Singer (1999a: 651) offers the translation "Lord of Litigations/Declarations." See also Hawkins (2005a: 300), who suggests the D-stem participle of *bāru*.

¹¹⁷⁸ For a prosopographical study of Nani(n)zi (ŠEŠ-*zi*), see van den Hout (1995a: 180–86), who identifies him as a known scribe and son of Mittannamuwa (see above). Nani(n)zi appears as *GAL MUBARRĪ* in the legal document RS 17.709 from Ugarit written in Hittite (edited by Salvini 1995: 144–46).

but at the moment there is no way to know whether he served before or after SAG, assuming the latter is not the same person as the Chief Scribe Ziti.

It is not certain whether the hieroglyphic attestation of Mahhuzzi (*ma-hwi[?]-zi/a*) from a biconvex seal (VA 10942), where he does not bear any title but is accompanied by another name (*la/i-wa/i[?]-zi/a*), can be identified with our official.¹¹⁷⁹ The only other attestation of Mahhuzzi comes from a court deposition,¹¹⁸⁰ but the dating of the text as Middle Hittite suggests a different individual (van den Hout 1995a: 225).

The Nişantepe seals leave no doubt that Mahhuzzi is also a “prince” and therefore must be related to the royal family. As will be discussed in section 6.3, his appearance as the only member of the royal family in the bottom half of the thirteenth-century witness lists, is an exceptional situation for the priority of the royal family members within that hierarchy. Certain other factors must have been responsible for his lower ranking.

4.9.1.11 Šauškaruntiya

Šauškaruntiya is attested with the MAGNUS.SCRIBA title on four different sealings. Like Šahuruwa, he must have served in that position later in his career. For a treatment of Šauškaruntiya refer to section 4.4.1.15.

4.9.1.12 Taki-Šarruma

This official of the late thirteenth century is known from multiple glyptic and cuneiform attestations.¹¹⁸¹ The glyptic evidence indicates the existence of at least eleven different seals of Taki-Šarruma, all of which probably refer to the same official:¹¹⁸²

¹¹⁷⁹ The seal was originally published by Gelb (1965: 226 and plate XXIX no. 10). See also no VII 5.1 in Mora (1987: 180 and Tav. 49), Singer (1999a: 252f.), and Bolatti Guzzo and Marazzi (2010: 15f., 19).

¹¹⁸⁰ KBo 16.59 obv. 5, rev. 6', 8' (CTH 295.6); edited by Werner (1967: 53–55).

¹¹⁸¹ For a study of Taki-Šarruma, see van den Hout (1995a: 132–36), Singer (2003: 341–48), and Gordin (2008: 184–92).

Niş 392:	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> [REX.FILIUS [?]] ¹¹⁸³ MAGNUS.SCRIBA	
Niş 393:	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> REX.FILIUS [?]	
Niş 394:	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.SCRIBA	
Niş 395(=396, 398, 399):	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.SCRIBA	
Niş 397:	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.SCRIBA	
Niş 400:	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.SCRIBA	
Niş 401(=402):	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.SCRIBA	
Niş 403:	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> MAGNUS.SCRIBA [?]	
BoHa 22 no. 228(=229):	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> REX.FILIUS, [MAGNUS [?]].SCRIBA	
RS 17.403: ¹¹⁸⁴	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> REX.FILIUS MAGNUS.SCRIBA	
RS 17.251: ¹¹⁸⁵	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> REX.FILIUS	; signet ring impression
Ashm.1913.247: ¹¹⁸⁶	<i>Tá-ki-SARMA</i> REX.FILIUS	; biconvex seal
BoHa 22 no. 176:	[<i>Tá</i>]- <i>ki-SARMA</i> SCRIBA- <i>la</i>	; biconvex seal

All of the first nine seals may have had both the REX.FILIUS and MAGNUS.SCRIBA titles.¹¹⁸⁷ The prince of RS 17.251 and the Ashmolean seal that originates from northern Syria¹¹⁸⁸ are almost certainly the same person.

BoHa 22 no. 176 is a half-broken biconvex seal found in Room 1 of Temple 3. It seems unlikely that it had a MAGNUS sign above the preserved SCRIBA and there is certainly no room to restore REX.FILIUS. The phonetic complement *-la* also makes it stand out among the others. The Dinçols (2008b: 43f.) find the identification unlikely, but one may also consider the possibility of a seal that belongs to an early stage in the career of the same official.

The Taki-Šarruma mentioned on the following seal and sealings is, on account of different titles, and in the case of NBC 11017, due to stylistic reasons, unlikely to be identified with our official:

Niş 391: ¹¹⁸⁹	<i>Tá-ki-SAR[MA]</i> BONUS ₂ URCEUS	
NBC 11017: ¹¹⁹⁰	<i>Tá-[ki][?]-SARMA</i>	; biconvex seal

¹¹⁸² My grouping of the seals is somewhat different from that of Mora (2004b: 438), Herbordt (2005: 82), and Gordin (2008: 185, Tab. 4.5). It should be noted that some of these impressions may have come from different sides of the same biconvex seals.

¹¹⁸³ The presence of REX.FILIUS maybe suspected on account of the similarity of this seal impression to Niş 394.

¹¹⁸⁴ See *Ugar.* III: 43, figs. 58–60, and 138f. (Laroche).

¹¹⁸⁵ See *Ugar.* III: 41–43, figs. 54–57, and 137f. (Laroche).

¹¹⁸⁶ No. XIIa 2.37 in Mora (1987: 293 and Tav. 89).

¹¹⁸⁷ Only the middle portions of Niş 392, Niş 393, and Niş 403 have been preserved. On BoHa 22 nos. 228–29, too, there is certainly room to restore MAGNUS signs above the half-preserved SCRIBA signs on both sides of the name.

¹¹⁸⁸ Ashm.1913.247 reportedly comes from Jebel Abu Gelgel (Hogarth 1920: 47), which lies to the south of Karkamiš near modern day Manbij.

¹¹⁸⁹ Both Herbordt (2005: 82) and Hawkins (2005a: 272) also disassociate him from the Chief Scribe. See also Gordin (2008: 184 and n. 550).

¹¹⁹⁰ No. 5 in Buchanan (1967).

In cuneiform sources Taki-Šarruma is not attested with the title GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ). Although Singer (2003: 343) restores the broken title of Taki-Šarruma in RS 17.403 as GAL L[Ú.MEŠ DUB.SAR], it could also be restored as GAL D[UB.SAR.GIŠ].¹¹⁹² As will be discussed further below, certain characteristics of Taki-Šarruma may suggest that he was a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, rather than a GAL DUB.SAR. The fragmentary text involves the division of border territory between the king of Ugarit and another party whose name has not been preserved. In another tablet from Ugarit (RS 17.251),¹¹⁹³ the governor of Ugarit purchases a slave from Taki-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma, who are named together as DUMU.MEŠ^m *haštanuri*. Despite the presence of the determinative ^m, the otherwise unattested term *haštanuri* has been compared to *tuppa(la)nura* and *huburtanuru*. Singer (2003: 244) follows Laroche's original analysis (*Ugar. III*: 137, 139) that it might designate the two officials as high-level members of the nobility.¹¹⁹⁴ Singer (2003: 247) also connects the Taki-Šarruma, “governor of the land” (*šākin māti*), of the letter from Tell Šeh Hamad/Dūr-Katlimmu¹¹⁹⁵ with the same official, concluding that Taki-Šarruma was a Hittite official acting as some sort of high commissioner with supervisory duties in the northern Syrian provinces. The late-script letter fragment KBo 31.69(+) rev.[?] 9' (CTH 187),¹¹⁹⁶ where Taki-Šarruma appears in the context of a border dispute between Hatti and Aššur, adds further support to the active role of this official in Syria.

¹¹⁹¹ No. 2 in Dinçol (1990: 154f. and Tafel X 5–6, XI 1–2).

¹¹⁹² Note that other than the seal impression very little has been preserved on the tablet (See *Ugar. III*: 43, figs. 58–60, and 138f. (Laroche)).

¹¹⁹³ *PRU IV*: 236f.

¹¹⁹⁴ Laroche (1958: 26f.) offers “grand des nobles.” Van den Hout (1995a: 134) suggests that the term may refer to a particular person and that Taki-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma might be brothers. See also HW²/H: 433a, which considers it a personal name.

¹¹⁹⁵ Text no. 6 in Cancik-Kirschbaum (1996: 117–22).

¹¹⁹⁶ Edited by Mora and Giorgieri (2004: 99–106).

Since Taki-Šarruma's activities in Syria appear to have taken place during the last quarter of the thirteenth century,¹¹⁹⁷ the Prince (DUMU.LUGAL) Taki-Šarruma who appears as a witness on the Bronze Tablet (iv 35) of Tudhaliya IV during the early part of this king's reign must have been at a young age. Many of the Chief Scribes are known as princes from glyptic evidence, but Taki-Šarruma is the only one attested with the cuneiform DUMU.LUGAL title. He is listed as the eleventh name in the long list of witnesses, next to other princes.

Taki-Šarruma appears in a supervisory function in the inventory texts KUB 40.95 ii 4' (CTH 242.5), KBo 31.50 iii 1' (CTH 242), and Bo 6754 r. col. 10' (CTH 242).¹¹⁹⁸

The letter KUB 57.123,¹¹⁹⁹ which was sent by Taki-Šarruma to a Hittite king, can be seen as further proof of the activities of this official outside Hattuša. The fragmentary text includes references to a scribe named Šamuhaziti, the city of Kummanni, and a princess of Babylonia. Houwink ten Cate (1996: 64f.) notes that the latter is probably a reference to the wife of Tudhaliya IV. Gordin's analysis (2008: 189f.) based on the other attestations of Šam/puhaziti is consistent with a date in the late reign of Tudhaliya IV.¹²⁰⁰

It is not certain whether Taki-Šarruma of the court proceeding KUB 40.83: 3' (CTH 295.10)¹²⁰¹ involving a case of black magic can be identified with our official.¹²⁰² Another attestation of the name from Ugarit in RS 17.319:3 as the father of a certain Alalimi probably refers to a different person.¹²⁰³

¹¹⁹⁷ On the date of the Dür-Katlimmu letter see Singer (2003: 342). On RS 17.251, see van den Hout (1995a: 132).

¹¹⁹⁸ All three texts are edited by Siegelová (1986: 266–75).

¹¹⁹⁹ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 345f.).

¹²⁰⁰ The reasons for Houwink ten Cate's (1996: 65) dating of the text to a time before Tudhaliya IV's ascent to the throne are not clear. If Taki-Šarruma is indeed the same official, such an early date would be unlikely.

¹²⁰¹ Edited by Werner (1967: 64f.).

¹²⁰² Gordin (2008: 191) speculates on the possibility and indicates that the woman mentioned in the text, *Mana-DUGUD-i*, could be the wife of Taki-Šarruma.

¹²⁰³ The Taki-Šarruma mentioned in the royal offering lists KUB 11.10+:8' (CTH 661.4) and KUB 11.9(+) v 13' (CTH 661.5) must refer to an individual from earlier periods.

4.9.1.13 Penti-Šarruma

Penti-Šarruma as a Chief Scribe is mainly known from glyptic evidence. A tablet from Ugarit with the title *tuppanura* and possibly the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ of KBo 26.32 i 2 provide further evidence.¹²⁰⁴ It is assumed that he served as GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ later in his career during the reign of Šuppiliuma II. For a treatment of Penti-Šarruma refer to section 4.4.1.16.

4.9.1.14 Arnilizi/a

Arnilizi/a is another official known only from glyptic evidence. For a study of this official, see section 4.4.1.17.

4.9.1.15 Manatta[?]-ziti

The seal impression BoHa 22 no. 225 reads: *Ma-x-VIR.zi/a* MAGNUS.SCRIBA-*la*. The same name also appears with only the SCRIBA title on BoHa 22 no. 187.¹²⁰⁵ The second character of the name is an unrecognized sign. Within the Hittite onomasticon the only possible matches for the name are Malaziti and Manattaziti, and since the sign is clearly not a *la*, the Dinçols (2008b: 45) speculate on the possibility of it standing for a *NATTA* reading. However, the single attestation of this name in a list of persons¹²⁰⁶ is not likely to belong to the Chief Scribe.

¹²⁰⁴ Singer (2006: 244) restores the partially preserved name of the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ as [Penti]-Šarruma, contrary to his earlier suggestion of [Taki]-Šarruma (2003: 345f.). Marizza (2010b: 40) maintains that he may be Taki-Šarruma.

¹²⁰⁵ As Gordin (2010a: 326 n. 44) points out, the seal impressions Niš 236–38 may possibly have the same name. All three are badly eroded, but a sign attached to *ma* is clearly visible at least on Niš 237 and 238. The photo of Niš 236 is not clear enough for a comment.

¹²⁰⁶ KUB 42.2:6 (CTH 239.4).

4.9.1.16 Muwaziti

This official appears with the MAGNUS.SCRIBA-*la* title only on Niş 273.¹²⁰⁷ The same name is also attested on BoHa 22 no. 208 from Temple 7 with only the SCRIBA title and on Niş 272 without any title.¹²⁰⁸ In cuneiform sources Muwaziti is attested only in a few MH texts¹²⁰⁹ and in one text from Ras Shamra.¹²¹⁰

4.9.1.17 Pili

This name (*Pi-li*)¹²¹¹ appears in the seal impressions SBo II 28 and 29 found in Building D of Büyükkale, perhaps both coming from the same seal. It is accompanied on the sealings by the REX.FILIUS and MAGNUS.SCRIBA titles. The name does not match any known anthroponym from Hittite sources.

4.9.1.18 Others

It has been suggested that the seal impressions Niş 419 of Tarhuntapiya, Niş 659 of TONITRUS-URBS+*LI*, and Niş 764, whose name has not been preserved, may also have MAGNUS.SCRIBA titles. However, these readings remain uncertain, and all of them have been marked by Herbordt with question marks.¹²¹²

¹²⁰⁷ Hier. BOS-VIR.*zi/a* MAGNUS.SCRIBA-*la*.

¹²⁰⁸ On Niş 272, the name is spelled BOS+*MI*-VIR without the usual *zi/a* at the end.

¹²⁰⁹ LhK 22:30 (CTH 222.22), KBo 18.69 rev. 11 (CTH 209), HKM 100 rev. 15 (CTH 236).

¹²¹⁰ In RS 17.244: 2 (*PRU* IV: 231) as the EN É *ABUSSI* official and the son of Yaraziti.

¹²¹¹ The Pili/Pi[...]li reading by Gordin (2010a: 326) and (x-)[?]pili by Marizza (2010b: 34) indicate that both scholars suspect the existence of another sign on the damaged seal impressions. However, the size and shape of the seal impressions drawn by Güterbock (1942: 66) are very similar and the tiny differences might be the result of hand drawing. If both impressions come from the same seal, there is unlikely to be another sign.

¹²¹² Niş 419 is too abraded for a confident reading, and if the rectangular shape that appears on Niş 659 is actually the corner of a SCRIBA sign as drawn by Herbordt, it would be the largest SCRIBA sign of the Nişantepe archive, which seems out of proportion with the rest of the signs on Niş 659. A drawing or photo of Niş 764 is not available, but Herbordt's reading of "tá-[...] (oder [...]tá-[...]) MAGNUS.'SCRIBA' (?)" suggests that it is not in good condition either.

4.9.1.19 Chief Scribes in Syria

A Chief Scribe named Madi-Dagan appears with this title (^{LÚ}GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ) in TSB 64:19.¹²¹³ The document is dated by d'Alfonso (2000: 282) to the reign of king Šahuruwa in Karkamiš.

Two Hittite officials, Mašamuwa and Zulanna, have been identified in documents from Emar as GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUB.SAR, both of whom may be members of the Karkamiš administration.¹²¹⁴ Mašamuwa appears with the Chief Scribe title (GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUB.SAR) as the scribe of a legal document certified by Ini-Tešup, the king of Karkamiš.¹²¹⁵ It is notable that he is the only Chief Scribe ever attested as the author of a text. His name is also attested in a couple of draft letters from Boğazköy addressed by Hittite kings to officials of Babylonia and the king of Aššur, in one of which the Hittite king refers to Mašamuwa as his messenger (DUMU.KIN-YA).¹²¹⁶ However, there is not enough evidence to suggest identification of this messenger with the Chief Scribe.

Zulanna appears with the Chief Scribe title (GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUB.SAR) as a witness on another tablet from Emar.¹²¹⁷ He is dated to a later period than Mašamuwa, at the earliest to the reign of Tudhaliya IV.¹²¹⁸

The DUB.SAR.MAH title, which is equivalent to GAL DUB.SAR, is attested in *Emar VI* 201:51–53, which is a tablet “written by Marianni and Puhišenni, the DUB.SAR.MAH, before the king.” The tablet was apparently written in Karkamiš, before king Ini-Tešup, who is

¹²¹³ Arnaud (1991: 109f.).

¹²¹⁴ On their connection to Karkamiš, see Mora (2004b: 441, 443).

¹²¹⁵ MFA 1977 .114 rev. 39; edited by Owen (1995: 573–84). Owen’s reading of GAL.UKKIN DUB.SAR seems less likely (see Cohen 2009: 111 with n. 28).

¹²¹⁶ KUB 23.103 obv. 6' and KUB 23.102 i 20; edited by Mora and Giorgieri (2004: 155–74, 184–94). His name is also attested on three seals/sealings: Niš 234 with the title AURIGA, no. 11 in Güterbock (1973: 143f. and Pl. 3) from Korucutepe, and a seal from a private collection (Poetto 1983b, no. 1).

¹²¹⁷ ^mZu-la-an-na GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUB.SAR (*Emar VI* 212: 26). A partial impression of his seal (*Emar IV* A29) on the same tablet does not display a title. The restoration Z[u]-la-na [DUB.SAR] DUMU.LUGAL in *Emar VI* 211:1 remains uncertain (see Cohen 2009: 111 with n. 31).

¹²¹⁸ See Gordin (2010a: 325) with bibliography.

identified in the opening lines. Although the DUB.SAR.MAH title is not in the plural, it may have applied to both Marianni and Puhišenni. The latter is likely to be the same Hittite official who served as UGULA.KALAM.MA in Emar.¹²¹⁹

4.9.2 General discussion of GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ)

Table 13 gives the names of seventeen possible Chief Scribes, all of whom served in the Empire period. The first attestations of both versions of the title (GAL DUB.SAR and GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ) come from early Empire period Mašat texts of possibly Arnuwanda I or Tudhaliya III, which could be an indication that the office may have emerged as a result of the reorganization of the state at the beginning of the early Empire period (Marizza 2010b: 42).¹²²⁰ As discussed above under Hattušili, the two Mašat letters, HKM 72 and 73, one sent by a GAL DUB.SAR and the other by a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, both addressing Kaššu as his superiors and both dealing with non-scribal matters, might lead one to think that the senders are the same person. However, the late Empire period attestations of both titles among the witnesses of the Ulmi-Tešup treaty and the Bronze Tablet, as well as the document KUB 38.12 (CTH 517.A), where both officials are listed by title (ii 18 and ii 21) and make separate donations to the temple of the Stormgod, clearly establish the existence of two different offices. Nevertheless, the differences between the offices of the Chief Scribe (GAL DUB.SAR) and the Chief Scribe on Wood (GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ) have not been clearly established, mainly due to lack of information about the scribes on wood. The meanings of the titles imply that both offices were associated with scribal activities, one with clay tablets, the other with wooden tablets.

¹²¹⁹ For Puhišenni and Marianni, see d'Alfonso (2000: 283f.) and Cohen (2009: 212).

¹²²⁰ The OH dating of the small fragment KBo 48.61 (CTH 832) (Groddek 2012: 46), which mentions a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ (3'), remains questionable.

GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ)	Reigning King	Title / Other Titles / Relationship
Hattušili [?]	Early 14 th century	GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) [?]
Matu	Early 14 th century	MAGNUS.SCRIBA
Mittannamuwa	Muršili II–Muwatalli II	GAL DUB.SAR, governor of Hattuša
Purandamuwa	Muwatalli II	GAL DUB.SAR, son of Mittannamuwa
Ziti	Muršili III	GAL DUB.SAR, DUB.SAR
Walwaziti	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	GAL DUB.SAR/MAGNUS.SCRIBA, ^{LÚ} <i>mākisu</i> , D[UB.SAR] [?] , son of Mittannamuwa
Šahurunuwa	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ/MAGNUS.SCRIBA, REX.FILIUS, GAL ^{LÚ} UKU.UŠ (ZAG [?]), L. 490, GAL NA.GAD (ZAG [?])
Tatta	Hattušili III [?] -Tudhaliya IV [?]	MAGNUS.SCRIBA
SAG [?]	Tudhaliya IV [?]	GAL DUB.SAR
Mahhuzzi	Tudhaliya IV	MAGNUS.SCRIBA- <i>la</i> , SCRIBA- <i>la</i> /DUB.SAR, REX.FILIUS, GAL <i>MUBARRĪ</i> /LIS.DOMINUS
Šauškaruntiya	Late Tudhaliya IV	MAGNUS.SCRIBA, REX.FILIUS, MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS, Son of Hattušili III [?]
Taki-Šarruma	Arnuwanda III–Šuppiluliuma II	MAGNUS.SCRIBA, DUMU.LUGAL/REX.FILIUS, <i>šākin māti</i> , <i>haštanuri</i> [?]
Penti-Šarruma	Šuppiluliuma II	MAGNUS.SCRIBA/GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, [?] REX.FILIUS, MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS, ^{LÚ} <i>tuppanura huburtinura</i> , MAGNUS.AURIGA
Arnilizi/a	13 th century	MAGNUS.SCRIBA, REX.FILIUS, MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS
Manatta [?] -ziti	13 th century	MAGNUS.SCRIBA
Muwaziti	13 th century	MAGNUS.SCRIBA- <i>la</i> , SCRIBA
Pili	13 th century	MAGNUS.SCRIBA

Table 13. List of GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) officials.

There is little evidence to suggest that the Chief Scribes came from a scribal background. There is a single document attributed to Ziti and the identification of Walwaziti as an ordinary scribe in KUB 60.102:4' depends both on the reading of the name (UR.MAH-ZA) and the restoration of his title (^{LÚ}D[UB.SAR]). Mahhuzzi is attested both as DUB.SAR in cuneiform and as SCRIBA on seals, and Muwaziti's name is encountered as SCRIBA on one seal, but neither is known to have authored a document, and the claim of both officials to the office of Chief Scribe depends on the meaning of MAGNUS.SCRIBA (see below). We may note, however, Mahhuzzi did supervise the writing of documents.

Furthermore, with the exception of one attestation from Syria, none of the GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) officials has ever been attested as the copyist of a tablet,¹²²¹ although a few of them (Mittannamuwa, Walwaziti, and Mahhuzzi) appear as scribal supervisors. These statistics may cause one to question how directly the office was tied to scribal activity. Texts like KBo 4.12 and genealogical information from colophons reveal that several of the GAL DUB.SAR officials (but not the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ) were actually members of two main scribal families in the thirteenth century: the family of Mittannamuwa, which included his sons Purandamuwa and Walwaziti, and the family of Ziti. Several sons and grandsons of Mittannamuwa, as well as several ancestors and descendants of Ziti, were scribes. To them we can also add the sons of Tatta and SAG. Marizza (2010b: 32) observes that almost all of the documents whose colophons mention a GAL DUB.SAR official (whether in the genealogy or as a supervisor of the scribe) are of religious genre. The scarcity of their attestation in documents of non-religious nature may suggest that these officials did not necessarily have complete control of scribal activities. On the other hand, the attestations of Walwaziti in dream texts and oracular inquiries may be seen as an extension of the scholarly duties of a GAL DUB.SAR. Additionally, Walwaziti appears to have had responsibilities related to inventory, which has also been observed with Taki-Šarruma, and perhaps with the anonymous GAL DUB.SAR of KBo 26.172:1' (CTH 530),¹²²² but this is not necessarily a duty specific to a GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ), since several different officials are encountered in inventory documents in similar context.¹²²³

¹²²¹ Hattušili, who is suspected of being a Chief Scribe, is very likely the scribe of several letters, although he is not explicitly identified with a scribal title.

¹²²² Thus Marizza (2010b: 32).

¹²²³ On personnel involved in inventory texts, see Siegelová (1986: 533f.).

For the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ officials no affiliation with a family of scribes or with scribal activity is known.¹²²⁴ In fact, the only certainly identified GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ is Šahuruwa, who is known to have held military titles like GAL UKU.UŠ and GAL NA.GAD and was presumably involved in military activities in his early career. Anonymous attestations of the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ title are also unrelated to scribal activity. The aforementioned MH letter HKM 73 was sent by a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ and concerns a legal case. The KIN oracle text KUB 52.68 iii 2, 6, 36 (CTH 572) names a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, and in the snake oracle text KBo 53.107+KUB 50.72 i 3' (CTH 575.7), a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ is named next to Nerikkaili, Šauškaruntiya, Ewri-Šarruma, and the GAL *MEŠEDI*. In the deposition fragment KUB 26.49 rev. 8' (CTH 297.6) the death of a GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ is mentioned in the testimony of someone, who also names Ewri-Šarruma, the King of Hakpiš, and Šahuruwa. In KUB 60.97+ i 5'–12' (CTH 584), a queen mentions the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ in the context of a dream she has seen, where the official is said to be present before the king along with the ^{LÚ}*ABUBĪTUM*, ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli*, and other lords (*BĒLU^{HI.A}*). Another GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ appears in the letter KBo 9.82 (CTH 197) in the context of meeting some Assyrians, traveling somewhere near Ura. Furthermore, as noted by Marizza (2010b: 33), GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ appears in quite a few religious ceremonies,¹²²⁵ while GAL DUB.SAR is nearly absent in such texts.

As can be seen in Table 13, most of the names after Šahuruwa are known as Chief Scribe only from glyptic evidence. Since the hieroglyphic MAGNUS.SCRIBA title seems to have been used for both versions of the cuneiform title, it is not easy to determine which of those officials were Chief Scribe and which were Chief Scribe on Wood. Several of them (Arnili/a,

¹²²⁴ The marriage of the son of the GAL DUB.SAR Mittannamuwa with the daughter of GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ Šahuruwa is an exception.

¹²²⁵ Some of these are: KUB 2.6 v 44 (CTH 598.1.A); KUB 10.28 i 17, 21, 22, ii 11 (CTH 598.1.C); KUB 11.21 a vi 6' (CTH 682.1.F); KUB 54.67 obv. 8' (CTH 670); KBo 9.132, KUB 55.52 obv. 2 (CTH 626); KUB 58.11 obv. 3, 11, 15, rev. 10' (CTH 678); KBo 9.132 iv 9 (CTH 650.10); KBo 13.165 ii 8' (CTH 642); KBo 30.96+KBo 39.68 iv 9' (CTH 626); KBo 39.100 Vo 4' (CTH 670); IBoT 2.94 vi 4', 7', 8' (CTH 669.9.D).

Manatta⁹-ziti, Muwaziti, and Pili)¹²²⁶ are not attested in cuneiform sources. What seems to be common among those who do appear in cuneiform sources (Šahuruwa, Mahhuzzi, Šauškaruntiya, Taki-Šarruma, Penti-Šarruma)¹²²⁷ is that, 1) they are all princes, 2) they tend to carry multiple titles, 3) they take part in missions outside the capital, and 4) they seem to be involved in a variety of activities outside the scribal domain. The only exception is Mahhuzzi, for whom the last two characteristics do not apply. These characteristics somewhat parallel what has been observed for the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ as discussed above, which may indicate that the MAGNUS.SCRIBA title of these officials is more likely to stand for GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ than GAL DUB.SAR. The exception of Mahhuzzi does not come as a surprise, since he appears to be a GAL DUB.SAR (see above). It is already known that Šahuruwa was a GAL.DUB.SAR.GIŠ, and this analysis further suggests the same title for Šauškaruntiya, Taki-Šarruma, and Penti-Šarruma.¹²²⁸ If so, and if their terms in office did not overlap (see discussion below), the expected order of their service would be: Šauškaruntiya in the later part of the reign of Tudhaliya IV, Taki-Šarruma perhaps at the end of Tudhaliya IV's reign and in the early years of Šuppiluliuma II, and Penti-Šarruma during the reign of Šuppiluliuma II.

It is generally assumed that like most of the other GAL-level officials, there was only one GAL DUB.SAR and one GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ serving at any time. The information from KBo 4.12 confirms this view, suggesting a line of GAL DUB.SARs in the order Mittannamuwa–(Ziti)¹²²⁹–Purandamuwa–Walwaziti between the reigns of Muršili II and Hattušili III. It is also known that Walwaziti continued to serve under Tudhaliya IV. Although we do not have any such

¹²²⁶ Note that the couple of attestations of the names of Manattaziti and Muwaziti are not likely to belong to these officials.

¹²²⁷ The couple of attestations of Tatta in colophons are not sufficient to include him in the argument.

¹²²⁸ Mention of a [...]Šarruma GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ in KUB 26.32 i 2 provides further evidence for either for Taki-Šarruma (Marizza 2010b: 40) or Penti-Šarruma (Singer 2006: 244; Gordin 2010a: 327). Note that Marizza (2010b: 40) identifies Penti-Šarruma and Gordin (2010a: 327) identifies Taki-Šarruma as a GAL DUB.SAR official.

¹²²⁹ KBo 4.12 does not name Ziti, but indicates the existence of a different GAL DUB.SAR during the reign of Urhi-Tešup (Muršili III), who, as discussed above, is likely to be Ziti.

information for the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ officials, it may be assumed that they too served one at a time. For the second half of the thirteenth century, the additional data coming from seals and sealings creates a complicated picture with numerous names. Table 13 displays eight different names for the time between the reigns of Tudhaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II, and four additional names, some of whom may possibly date to the same period, not to mention the other questionable attestations. Even if they are split evenly between the Chief Scribe and Chief Scribe on Wood titles, it is still difficult to accommodate all of the names in such a short period. If the MAGNUS.SCRIBA title of these officials indeed corresponds to a GAL DUB.SAR or GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ serving alone at any one time, we have to assume that some of them, particularly in the last decades of the empire, served for only short periods in succession.¹²³⁰ This is similar to the situation observed for the GAL GEŠTIN and GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL officials of the thirteenth century, for which one explanation could be the declining prestige of these offices (Marizza 2006: 173; 2007b: 176). In the case of Chief Scribes, however, the edicts issued by Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV for the families of Mittannamuwa and Šahurunuwa indicate anything but a loss of prestige. In respect to the prominence of the Chief Scribes, we may also refer to several versions of a text from Ugarit which give a list of amounts of tribute to be paid to the Hittite royal family and top officials. In three different versions of Ugarit Tribute Lists, which have been dated to the reigns of the Ugarit kings Niqmaddu II,¹²³¹ Niqmepa,¹²³² and possibly Ammistamru II,¹²³³ the Chief Scribe¹²³⁴ is listed right after the Hittite king, queen, and

¹²³⁰ Thus Marizza (2010b: 40f.).

¹²³¹ The edict of Šuppiluliuma I for Niqmaddu II (CTH 47) exists in multiple copies: Ugaritic text RS 11.772+ and Akkadian texts RS 17.227, RS 17.300, RS 17.330, RS 17.347, RS 17.372B, RS 17.373, RS 17.446 (see in *PRU* IV: 40–46).

¹²³² The edict of Muršili II for Niqmepa (CTH 65): RS 17.382+380 (*PRU* IV: 80–83). The tribute list above the Chief Scribe has not been preserved but restoration of the king, queen, and crown prince is almost certain based on the similarities of the text to the edict of Šuppiluliuma I for Niqmaddu II.

¹²³³ RS 11.732 (CTH 48; *PRU* IV: 47f.). The name of the Hittite king and the vassal have not been preserved, but on account of certain structural and contextual differences Nougayrol (*PRU* IV: 40) dates the tablet to Ammistamru II, while some others consider it to be parallel to Šuppiluliuma's edict CTH 47 (see Singer 1983b: 10; Klengel 1999: 138). See also Lackenbacher

crown prince as one of the recipients of tribute payment. Although he is listed before other officials, the amount of tribute he receives is equal to that given to the two *huburtanuru* officials, the ^{LÚ}*andubšalli*, and the ^{LÚ}EN É *abusi*.¹²³⁵

Another explanation offered by Klinger *apud* Gordin (2010a: 328) is that such a high turnover of officials might have been an intentional policy of Tudhaliya IV, who had faced several internal struggles involving Kurunta, royal women, and a conspiracy instigated by his brother Hešni, all of which may have had destabilizing effects on the loyalty of the court officials.

An alternative scenario could be that some of the attestations of MAGNUS.SCRIBA do not necessarily refer to GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) officials. Gordin (2010a: 328, 330) takes a position similar to this, saying that there was possibly more than one Chief Scribe serving at the same time, and that several of the MAGNUS.SCRIBA holders might also be GAL DUB.SAR officials who were perhaps in charge of different scribal schools. He further indicates that some of them, such as those who are repeatedly referred to with the cuneiform title (e.g., Walwaziti), could be the more prominent and permanent officials. However, the cuneiform sources do not indicate the presence of more than one GAL DUB.SAR or GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ at the same time. On the contrary, the information given in KBo 4.12 does suggest that the GAL DUB.SAR office passed from one single individual to another. The complications, on the other hand, seem to arise mainly from the numerous attestations of the hieroglyphic title MAGNUS.SCRIBA. An explanation for this could be that the MAGNUS.SCRIBA title may have had a broader meaning, applying not only to GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) officials, but perhaps also to some other prominent

(2002: 75f. n. 193), who notes that unlike all the fragments of CTH 47 which come from the South Archive of Ugarit, RS 11.732 comes from the West Archive.

¹²³⁴ Ugaritic *l tpr* and Akkadian ^{LÚ}*tupa(la)nura*.

¹²³⁵ ^{LÚ}*andubšalli* is listed only in RS 17.227 and duplicates (CTH 47), while ^{LÚ}EN É *abusi* is listed only in the other two versions (See Appendix 4).

scribal officials, such as the heads of different scribal schools, or even to non-scribal officials who may have included the MAGNUS modifier to indicate their superior levels of literacy.

Another explanation for the existence of numerous MAGNUS.SCRIBAs could be that some of the officials, who are otherwise not attested in cuneiform sources, may possibly be Chief Scribes of a different palace within the greater Hittite domain. This seems plausible particularly taking into consideration the existence of Chief Scribes in Syria as discussed above. The bullae with their seal impressions found in Boğazköy may have been attached to documents that were sent from elsewhere, or perhaps with a lesser probability, those officials may have visited the Hittite capital.

In summary, while both the GAL DUB.SAR and GAL.DUB.SAR.GIŠ titles imply an involvement with scribal activity, in the case of GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, there is hardly any textual evidence. While both are prominent officials, the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ seems to apply to more prestigious individuals who often appear as princes and with multiple additional titles. The numerous attestations of MAGNUS.SCRIBA can be explained by either inputting a broader meaning to the title or by assuming the presence of Chief Scribes from outside Hattuša.

4.10 ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli*

Although not well attested, ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli* appear to be a high-ranking title. Almost all known attestations of the title are from the Empire period.¹²³⁶ The meaning of the title has not been determined. It is also not certain whether the word is a compound, such as of *antu(wa)hha-*

¹²³⁶ Restoration of the title in the OH/NS text KBo 3.33 (CTH 9.4) as ^{LÚ}*an-tu-w[a'šal-li* (iii 13') and ^{LÚ}*a[n-tu-wa-šal-li* (iii 15') remains uncertain. In both lines the title appears immediately after GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL (see Soysal 1989: 37f.). See Beal (1992: 443 n. 1658).

“man, human” and *šalli*- “great,”¹²³⁷ or a derivative with the *-alli* suffix which might indicate a Hattic or Hurrian origin.¹²³⁸

Previously it has been suggested that ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli* might be an equivalent of EN É *ABUSSI* (Master of the Storehouse),¹²³⁹ which was based on a comparison of the different versions of a text from Ugarit that gives a list of Hittite officials receiving tribute from Ugarit (discussed further below). However, after the discovery of the Bronze Tablet, where Upparamuwa, the ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli*, and Tuttu, the EN É *ABUSSI*, are both listed among the witnesses, this equation became very insecure. More recently, Pecchioli Daddi (2003a: 91f.) suggested the identification of this title with UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI. This claim is mainly based on the fact that in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Šahurunuwa Text, both of which pre-date the Bronze Tablet, Upparamuwa appears with the UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI title. However, this equation remains unconfirmed since several officials of the thirteenth century are known to have had multiple titles.

Since a hieroglyphic equivalent of ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli* has not been identified, there is no glyptic evidence available. Most of the confirmed attestations of this title appear next to personal names which are presented below.

4.10.1 Known *antuwašalli* officials in Hittite history

4.10.1.1 Kariyaziti

In the land donation text of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal (LhK 91), Kariyaziti is listed with the *antuwašalli* title among the witnesses.¹²⁴⁰ The fact that he is the third person of the nine-

¹²³⁷ Although in KUB 40.1 rev.¹ 33, it is attested as *an-tu-GAL*, this may simply be a rebus writing of the scribe. See also Neu (1968: 111 n. 2) and Archi (1973b: 216) for the suggestion of a compound between *šalli*- “great” and *antu*- “goods.”

¹²³⁸ See *HED/A*: 84f. for different suggestions with bibliography.

¹²³⁹ Dietrich and Loretz (1966: 240).

¹²⁴⁰ *Ka-ri-ya-zi-ti*¹, LhK 91 (KBo 5.7) rev. 52.

name witness list, written right after Duwa, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, and Halpaziti, the GAL GEŠTIN,¹²⁴¹ suggests he was an important official, but his name has not been attested in any other source.

4.10.1.2 Kuruntapiya

A Kuruntapiya (^dLAMMA-SUM) appears as ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli* among the witnesses of the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75).¹²⁴² He is listed as the eleventh and last witness, before only the scribe Ziti.

Another Kuruntapiya, who may have lived around the same time, is mentioned in the colophons of KUB 33.120+ iv 30' (CTH 344.A) and KBo 13.240 rev. x+1' (CTH 470). However, the identification of this person with the *antuwašalli* official does not seem very likely, since the Kuruntapiya of these two texts is probably a scribe. The former text was written by a scribe named Ašhapala, who introduces himself as the son of Tarhuntaššu (^dU-*ta-aš-šu*), grandson of Kuruntapiya, and a descendant of Waršiya. Since the scribe Ašhapala is known to have been active during the second half of Tudhaliya IV's reign (Gordin 2008: 51f.), his grandfather Kuruntapiya could be roughly a contemporary of the Kuruntapiya of the Aleppo Treaty. Also Ašhapala's ancestor Waršiya can be identified as the scribe of several land donations texts dating to Huzziya II and Muwatalli I.¹²⁴³ Ašhapala's father Tarhuntaššu was probably also a scribe, who was the addressee of the piggyback letter KUB 18.101 (CTH 190).¹²⁴⁴ This therefore suggests that the grandfather Kuruntapiya was probably also a scribe, whose name is attested on a couple

¹²⁴¹ See Appendix 2 for the witness list of the Aleppo Treaty.

¹²⁴² His title was previously read as ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli* LUGAL DUB.SAR. It later became clear that the latter half of the title is actually ^mLÚ DUB.SAR, which is the name and the title of the scribe of the tablet (see Devecchi 2010: 13, 20).

¹²⁴³ LhK 45, 46, 47 and 48; see Appendix 1.

¹²⁴⁴ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 174f.). On identification of the document as a scribal letter, see Hagenbuchner (1989a: 12 n. 37 and 14f.).

of seal impressions with the scribal title.¹²⁴⁵ In the second text, KBo 13.240, only the final line of the colophon has been preserved as ^{l^m.^{1d}}LAMMA-SUM IŠTUR, which may also be a part of the genealogy of the scribe.

There is also no evidence to identify this *antuwašalli* official with the Kuruntapiya of KBo 41.218 rev. 7' (CTH 582), where a “dream of Kuruntapiya” is reported to an unknown Hittite king. Contra van den Hout (1995a: 240), who dates this text to Muwatalli II on account of the mention of Kuruntapiya, presence of the name Anuwanza in the previous line suggests a date during the reigns of Hattušili III or Tudhaliya IV (Gordin 2008: 48 n. 133). A Kuruntapiya is also named without a title in a list of temples and property that belong to the cult of Ištar in KBo 55.186 r. col. 32' with dupl. KUB 60.117:14' (CTH 530),¹²⁴⁶ and perhaps in the small fragment KBo 47.154 rev. 7' (CTH 832).¹²⁴⁷

4.10.1.3 Maraššanta

In KUB 60.97+31.71 i 10–11 (CTH 584),¹²⁴⁸ a reference is made to Maraššanta, the ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli*, in the description of the dream of a queen, who is probably Puduhepa.¹²⁴⁹ Maraššanta is said to be standing in the presence of the king along with other high officials, including the ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTU and the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, and to have long hair and the appearance[?] of a Babylonian. Unfortunately the subsequent lines of the texts have been lost.

The name Maraššanta appears in several documents. According to van den Hout's prosopographical study of this official (1994: 321–27), the Maraššanta who is mentioned among the fragmentary list of officials in KUB 60.102:7' may also be the same person as the *antuwašalli*

¹²⁴⁵ BoHa 22 no. 192 (CERVUS₃-ti-pi-i(a)); Tarsus no. 3 in Gelb (1956: 247 and plates 401, 405) (CERVUS₃-ti-pi). The seal impression Niš 604 from Nišantepe, which names a CERVUS₂-zi/a-pi-i(a)[?] with the titles MAGNUS.PITHOS and EUNUCHUS₂, should belong to a different person (see Hawkins 2005a: 283, for the reading of the name as Runzapiya).

¹²⁴⁶ Edited by Košak (1994: 289f.).

¹²⁴⁷ See Groddek (2011: 134f.); for the [^md]LAMMA-pi-y^a-a¹[n[?] reading see Soysal (2014: 692).

¹²⁴⁸ Edited by van den Hout (1994: 305–27), and more recently by Mouton (2007: 272–78).

¹²⁴⁹ Thus van den Hout (1994: 305), Haas (2006: 221), and Mouton (2007: 272).

official. The other names in the text are Walwaziti, Tarhuntaššu, Alalimi, and Hešni, who are known to have been active during the reigns of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV. Both the title of Walwaziti as ^{LÚ}D[UB.SAR][?] (l. 4') and the title of Alalimi as UGULA L[I-IM] (l. 8') may suggest an early period in their careers.¹²⁵⁰ Furthermore, as mentioned above under Kuruntapiya, Tarhuntaššu's son Ašhapala is known to have been an active scribe during the reign of Tudhaliya IV. Therefore, the text may be dated to the reign of Hattušili III.

The Maraššanta of KUB 12.2 i 10, 12 (CTH 511.1) is apparently a local priest active during the reign of Tudhaliya IV.¹²⁵¹ In the inventory text HT 50+ ii 9' (CTH 243.1), a Maraššanta from the city of Puhanda is mentioned as the person responsible for the delivery of wool, possibly as taxation. Puhanda is a city in the region of Kizzuwatna,¹²⁵² possibly located somewhere towards the east or northeast of the region closer to Hatti proper, since it is also listed on the Bronze Tablet (i 74) among the cities within Tarhuntašša that used to be in the possession of the king of Hatti.¹²⁵³ Siegelová (1986: 231) assumes the same identity for the Maraššanta of KUB 12.2 and HT 50+, pointing out that Armapiya (^dXXX-SUM) of HT 50+ ii 4' is also listed as a priest in KUB 12.2 i 8.¹²⁵⁴

The Maraššanta of the Bronze Tablet (i 91, 93, ii 2), who appears in the passage about the Eternal Peak Sanctuary (^{NA4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ), may also be an official with cultic duties. The Eternal Peak Sanctuary may possibly be a funeral complex associated with Muwatalli II (Otten 1986: 43). The text indicates that during the reign of Hattušili III, Maraššanta had been given a tablet and the sanctuary was placed in his possession, which apparently restricted the access of

¹²⁵⁰ Walwaziti became GAL DUB.SAR sometime during the reign of Hattušili III (see section 4.9.1.6) and Alalimi appears as GAL UGULA L^{IM} in the Bronze Tablet (see section 4.3.1.4).

¹²⁵¹ Edited by Carter (1962: 74–89); see Collins (2006: 39–48) for a more recent treatment of the text.

¹²⁵² Del Monte and Tischler (1978: 321).

¹²⁵³ See Houwink ten Cate (1992: 245).

¹²⁵⁴ Thus also van den Hout (1994: 322f.), who remarks that the Hurrian name of the deity Pentaruhši of Maraššanta in KUB 12.2 suggests identifying him with the man from Puhanda.

Kurunta to the site, but with the Bronze Tablet this restriction was lifted. It is also added that if Maraššanta should bring the original tablet (i.e., that of Hattušili III), it would not be accepted, which implies that Maraššanta was still active at the time of the issuance of the Bronze Tablet of Tudhaliya IV. Therefore, technically this Maraššanta is contemporary with the *antuwašalli* official as well as the priest and the man from Puhanda. Van den Hout (1994: 327) identifies him with the priest and the man from Puhanda, who were likewise active outside Hattuša. According to Houwink ten Cate (1992: 244f.), Puhanda might even be the place where the Eternal Peak Sanctuary was located.

Therefore, the Maraššanta of KUB 12.2, HT 50+, and the Bronze Tablet may be the same person, who was a priest, perhaps active in the city of Puhanda, where the Eternal Peak Sanctuary might be located. On the other hand, whether this person should be identified with the *antuwašalli* official of the KUB 60.97+ remains uncertain. One last clue may come from the inventory fragment Bo 6754, where Maraššanta (l. 6') is the inspector of certain items mentioned in connection with the people of Maša. The next paragraph of the text names Taki-Šarruma, possibly also as an inspector, in connection with the city of Puhanda. Taki-Šarruma is known to have been an official active particularly in the late reign of Tudhaliya IV,¹²⁵⁵ but his attestation among the witnesses of the Bronze Tablet with the title of prince indicates that he had also been present during the early reign of Tudhaliya IV. Since the text places Maraššanta in the capital and names another high official Taki-Šarruma, van den Hout (1994: 323) suggests associating this person with the official known from KUB 60.97+ and KUB 60.102, but otherwise separates him from the priest from the city of Puhanda. The appearance of the city of Puhanda in the

¹²⁵⁵ See under Taki-Šarruma in section 4.9.1.12.

paragraph after the one naming Maraššanta must be coincidental and does not necessarily indicate a connection with Maraššanta.¹²⁵⁶

In summary, the known attestations of Maraššanta suggest the existence of two contemporary officials during the reigns of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV: an *antuwašalli* official active in the capital and a priest from the city of Puhanda.

4.10.1.4 Upparamuwa

Among the known holders of the *antuwašalli* title, Upparamuwa is the most prominent. He is the only one attested as a prince (DUMU.LUGAL) and was probably the son of Ini-Tešup the king of Karkamiš. He is listed with the *antuwašalli* title in rev. 33 of the Bronze Tablet. In two other witness lists that predate the Bronze Tablet, he is designated as Prince and UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI. Although Pecchioli Daddi considers the equation of the *antuwašalli* and UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI, it was not unusual for some officials to hold multiple titles. The Bronze Tablet being one of the latest documents that mention Upparamuwa, it may also have been a position he enjoyed in his advanced career. For further analysis on Upparamuwa refer to section 4.6.1.14.

4.10.1.5 ^dAMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA

^dAMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA (Šanta-Kuruntiya[?]) appears as an *antu(wa)šalli*¹²⁵⁷ official in the LNS letter KUB 40.1 rev. [!]33,¹²⁵⁸ which was addressed to an unnamed Hittite king. The sender of the letter is also lost. The letter seems to be a reply by an official, who is defending himself against certain accusations. Later in the text, Hašduili, Tarupišni, and ^dAMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA are referred to collectively as “border commanders” (ZAG.MEŠ-*aš* BĒLU^{HI.A}), and only ^dAMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA is referred to with the additional title of ^{LÚ}*antu(wa)šalli*. The mention

¹²⁵⁶ Contra Siegelová (1986: 231).

¹²⁵⁷ His title is spelled ^{LÚ}*a-an-tu-GAL*, where GAL is assumed to stand for Hittite *šalli*.

¹²⁵⁸ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 358–62).

of border commanders and the city of Ušša (l.e. 4), which is known to have been located in the border district of the Hulaya River Land,¹²⁵⁹ may suggest a location in this region of western Anatolia.

He may be the same official who appears as the messenger (^{LÚ}ṬEMU) of the king in the letter fragment KUB 23.87:26,¹²⁶⁰ which was apparently also sent from somewhere in western Anatolia. The letter mentions the king of Mira and the transfer of civilian captives to Hattuša. On paleographic grounds both letters may be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century.

The ^dAMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA of KBo 26.178 rev. 8', who has prepared (*ha-an-da[-it]*) this cult inventory in the presence of a king, is no doubt the same person as the ^dAMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA mentioned in the scribal practice copy of another cult inventory text, KUB 46.34 ii 5'.¹²⁶¹ His Majesty Tudhaliya of the second text is almost certainly to be restored in the first text, too, and can only refer to Tudhaliya IV. Torri (2010a: 326), however, suggests that ^dAMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA, who “prepared” the inventory list of KBo 26.178, is not necessarily its scribe, and identifies him as the same person known from the above-mentioned two letters (KUB 40.1 and KUB 23.87).

4.10.2 General discussion of ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli*

All three other attestations of the *antuwašalli* title listed by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 501) are fragmentary and uncertain. In addition to the Old Hittite composition KBo 3.33 iii 13', 15' (CTH 9.4) (see note 1236), the *an-tu-wa-š[al[?]]*- of KUB 39.88 iv 18 (CTH 718.4) clearly does not have a ^{LÚ} determinative, and the alleged attestation in KUB 14.3 ii 40 (CTH 181), the so-called

¹²⁵⁹ See Del Monte and Tischler (1978: 464f.).

¹²⁶⁰ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 227–30).

¹²⁶¹ For an edition of the relevant passages of both texts, see Torri (2010a: 324f.).

Tawagalawa Letter, appears in a very fragmentary context and is read by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011: 108) as]r(-)tu-wa²1-li.

^{LU} <i>antuwašalli</i>	Reigning King	Title / Other Titles / Relationship
Kariyaziti	Arnuwanda I	^{LU} <i>antuwašalli</i>
Kuruntapiya	Muršili II–Muwatalli II	^{LU} <i>antuwašalli</i>
Maraššanta	Hattušili III	^{LU} <i>antuwašalli</i>
Upparamuwa	Tudhaliya IV	^{LU} <i>antuwašalli</i> , UGULA ^{LU} .MEŠ KUS ₇ , KÙ.GI, DUMU.LUGAL, Son of the king of Karkamiš
^d AMAR.UTU- ^d LAMMA	Tudhaliya IV [?]	^{LU} <i>antu(wa)šalli</i> , ZAG.MEŠ BĒLU, ^{LU} TEMU [?]

Table 14. List of *antuwašalli* officials.

The only other attestation of the title might be ^{LU} *antubšalli* of an Akkadian text from Ugarit, which is an edict of Šuppiluliuma I for Niqmaddu II (CTH 47).¹²⁶² At the end of the edict is a list of amounts of tribute to be paid by Ugarit to the Hittite royal family and high officials. The ^{LU} *antubšalli* is listed at the end of the list following the king, queen, crown prince, Chief Scribe (*tuppalanura*), two *huburtanuru* officials, and the vizier (see Appendix 4). Although he is listed after other officials, the amount of tribute he receives is equal to the gifts to the Chief Scribe, the *huburtanuru* officials, and the vizier (^{LU} SUKKAL).¹²⁶³ Very similar lists of tribute-receiving officials also exist in two Akkadian texts from Ugarit: an edict of Muršili II for Niqmepa (CTH 65) and another text where the name of the Hittite king and the vassal king have not been preserved (CTH 48),¹²⁶⁴ but ^{LU} *antuwašalli* is not mentioned in either text. Instead both texts list the official ^{LU} EN É *abusi* and CTH 65 also adds a ^{LU} GAL (^{LU}.MEŠ) *kartappi*, both of them before the vizier (see Appendix 4). This alternation of titles led to the suggestion of equating

¹²⁶² RS 17.227 rev. 37 and duplicates (*PRU* IV: 40–46).

¹²⁶³ One silver cup 30 shekels in weight, one linen garment, 100 shekels of blue-purple wool, and 100 shekels of red-purple wool. The missing silver cup of the vizier in RS 17.227 rev. 34 appears to be a mistake of the scribe, since it is indicated in the Ugaritic copy RS 11.772+ rev. 36' (*PRU* IV: 44–46).

¹²⁶⁴ See note 1233.

^{LÚ}*antuwašalli* with ^{LÚ}EN É *ABUSSI* (Master of the Storehouse).¹²⁶⁵ But, as has been mentioned earlier, the appearance of ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli* and EN É *ABUSSI* together among the witnesses of the Bronze Tablet lessens the probability of this equation. The suggestion of Pecchioli Daddi to equate UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI with ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli* is mainly based on the attestation of Upparamuwa with the former title in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Šahuruwa Text and with the latter title in the Bronze Tablet, but change of office is not uncommon among the high-level Hittite officials. Nevertheless, since an *antuwašalli* official is never attested alongside an UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI and the known holders of these two offices do not seem to have overlapping terms in office,¹²⁶⁶ Pecchioli Daddi's suggestion remains possible.

Whether the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*an-tu*[of the small ritual fragment KBo 60.60¹²⁶⁷ is a reference to the same official(s) remains uncertain since the *antuwašalli* official is not attested in the plural anywhere else.

Overall, the information available about the office of *antuwašalli* is quite meager. Excluding the uncertain fragmentary attestation in KBo 3.33, the earliest reference to the title comes from the reign of Arnuwanda I. Three of the five known holders of the name come from witness lists, and one of them from a dream where he is mentioned among other high officials. Although not much, most relevant information about the duties of this official concerns ^dAMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA, who is referred to as a “border commander,” which implies that these officials could be involved in such commands. The association of the title holders with high-level officials, as well as the listing of the title in the Šuppiluliuma I-era tribute list does indicate a high position for this office, but not much else can be said with confidence.

¹²⁶⁵ See Dietrich and Loretz (1966: 240).

¹²⁶⁶ Both Upparamuwa (UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI and later ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli*) and ^dAMAR.UTU-^dLAMMA (^{LÚ}*antuwašalli*) were active during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, but they may have occupied the office consecutively.

¹²⁶⁷ See HW²/A: 124a.

4.11 GAL SIPA and GAL NA.GAD

GAL SIPA and GAL NA.GAD are two other high-ranking offices of the Hittite state administration. A study of the GAL NA.GAD, which also includes a discussion of GAL SIPA, was made by Beal (1992: 391–96), and a collection of attestations was compiled by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 540f. and 544). Beckman (1988) provides a general study of herdsmen in Hittite culture.

The Sumerian terms SIPA and NA.GAD are equivalent to the Akkadian *rē'û* and *nāqīdu*, respectively, both of which are translated as “herdsman” or “shepherd.”¹²⁶⁸ Therefore, the GAL version of both titles can be translated as “Chief of the Herdsmen,” or “Chief Shepherd.”¹²⁶⁹ Due to the synonymy of the two titles, they will be treated here together, but as will be discussed further below, the two offices also display some differences.

While the Hittite equivalent of ^{LÚ}SIPA is known as *weštara-* from one attestation,¹²⁷⁰ it is not certain whether the same word applied to NA.GAD too. The opposite situation is true for the hieroglyphic script, where the equivalent of NA.GAD may possibly be MAGNUS.PASTOR (L. 438), which may or may not also stand for GAL SIPA. The identification of MAGNUS.L. 438 as GAL NA.GAD was originally suggested by Bossert (1960: 441f.), based on the equation of Mizramuwa, the GAL NA.GAD, with the owner of the seal impressions SBo II 80 and 81 (see below under Mizramuwa).¹²⁷¹ Several more attestations of the title MAGNUS.PASTOR have become available in recent years, most of which are from the Nişantepe archive, but none of them provides additional evidence for the GAL NA.GAD = MAGNUS.PASTOR equation.

¹²⁶⁸ CAD/N1: 333 and CAD/R: 303.

¹²⁶⁹ “Capo dei pastori” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 540 and 544), “Chief of the Herdsmen” (Beal 1992: 391 and 394).

¹²⁷⁰ *û-e-eš-ta-ra-aš* in KUB 6.46 iii 52 (CTH 381.B) with dupl. ^{LÚ}SIPA-*aš* in KUB 6.45 iii 13 (CTH 381.A).

¹²⁷¹ On MAGNUS.PASTOR, see Hawkins (2005a: 305).

Nevertheless, under the assumption that this identification is valid, holders of MAGNUS.PASTOR title have been included in the following prosopographic analysis.

4.11.1 Known GAL SIPAs and GAL NA.GADs in Hittite history

4.11.1.1 Hanikkuili

Hanikkuili appears with the GAL NA.GAD title in the genealogy of a late Empire period scribe with the same name. The scribe Hanikkuili introduces himself as the son of NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆, grandson of the Chief Scribe Ziti,¹²⁷² descendant of Karunuwa, and descendant of Hanikkuili, the GAL NA.GAD.¹²⁷³ The family tree constructed by Beckman (1983: 103–6) based on information from three different colophons suggests that the earlier Hanikkuili may have been a scribe in his early career, and that his father was a Babylonian scribe named Anu-šar-ilāni who had settled in Hattuša.¹²⁷⁴ This early Hanikkuili's scribal work is also known from several land donation texts,¹²⁷⁵ which places him in the reign of Hantili II.

4.11.1.2 Zuwa

The earliest GAL SIPA attested by name is Zuwa (^m*Zu-wa-a*), who is listed as a witness in the land donation text LhK 47 rev. 16 of Muwatalli I. His title GAL ^{LÚ}.MEŠ SIPA ZAG is also the earliest attestation of a Right/Left designation for a GAL SIPA or GAL NA.GAD official. Among the five witnesses of LhK 47, Zuwa is the last name, who is listed after GAL MEŠEDI, GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI and ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* (see Appendix 1).

¹²⁷² For more about Chief Scribe Ziti and his family, see section 4.9.1.5.

¹²⁷³ See note 1142.

¹²⁷⁴ For an enlarged version of the family tree, see Figure 7 in section 4.9.1.5 above. For the colophons KBo 19.99 side b 1'–2', VBoT 24 iv 38–39, and KBo 6.4 l.e. 1–4, see notes 1145, 1141, and 1142. There is no definitive evidence to identify Hanikkuili, the GAL NA.GAD, with Hanikkuili, the son of Anu-šar-ilāni, but the uncommon nature of the name makes it a reasonable assumption (Beckman 1983: 105 n. 45, followed by Miller 2004: 37 n. 63).

¹²⁷⁵ See note 1146.

Although Zuwa is a commonly attested name both in cuneiform and glyptic sources, none of those attestations can be matched with this official of Muwatalli I.¹²⁷⁶ The Zuwa mentioned in the Madduwatta text not only dates to a later period but also has the lower-ranking title of LÚ GIŠGIDRU, “staff bearer, herald.” Other MH attestations of Zuwa in the Mašat corpus also date to an even later time.¹²⁷⁷

4.11.1.3 [...š/t]aziti

This partially preserved name of the official with the title GAL LÚ.MEŠSIPA ZAG is listed among the witnesses of the land grant of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal (LhK 91 rev. 53). He is the fifth witness after GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, GAL GEŠTIN, and the pair of GAL KUŠ₇ of the Right and Left (see Appendix 1). The -š/taziti ending can be matched with several names from Hittite sources,¹²⁷⁸ but none can with certainty be identified with this official.

4.11.1.4 LUGAL-^dLAMMA¹²⁷⁹

In LhK 91 rev. 53, the witness who follows [...š/t]aziti is LUGAL-^dLAMMA, with the title GAL LÚ.MEŠSIPA GÜB. Between the two officials, it is assumed that LUGAL-^dLAMMA has the lower ranking.¹²⁸⁰ Almost all other attestations of LUGAL-^dLAMMA apparently belong to his namesake official from the thirteenth century (see 4.4.1.11),¹²⁸¹ and the one mentioned in the fragment KBo 50.103 rev. 13' might be a reference to an older official (see 4.1.1.4).

¹²⁷⁶ New attestations that can be added to those listed by Laroche (NH 1577) and Trémouille (2006) are LhK 14 rev. 10; LhK 15:12'; Or. 90/800 obv. 2; Niš 536–40; and BoHa 22 nos. 128, 145, 163, 180.

¹²⁷⁷ For MH attestations of Zuwa, see Klinger (1995: 105), and for the Empire period attestations, see Gordin (2010b: 165f.).

¹²⁷⁸ Hattušaziti (NH 347), Kurantaziti (NH 641), Manattaziti (NH 743), Šantaziti (NH 1103), Taršaziti (NH 1289), Tiwataziti (NH 1352), Tuwataziti (NH 1405), Uruwantaziti (NH 1450).

¹²⁷⁹ This name may be read as Haššuwaš-Inara, but the reading Kuruntiya for ^dLAMMA is also possible. Note that the reading of LUGAL-^dLAMMA of the Hattušili III–era official as Haššuwaš-Inara is based on glyptic evidence that supports this reading (see Hawkins 2005a: 256).

¹²⁸⁰ See note 928.

¹²⁸¹ See Marizza (2010a: 94), who speculates on the possibility of papyponymy between the two officials.

4.11.1.5 Kuwalanaziti

A GAL NA.GAD official is mentioned in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma. It is said that Šuppiluliuma had sent forth Urawanni and Kuwalanaziti, the GAL NA.GAD,¹²⁸² into the country of Kašula, which the commanders successfully conquered and returned with thousands of captives as well as cattle and sheep.

Almost all other attestations of Kuwalanaziti's name belong to his late thirteenth-century namesake,¹²⁸³ who was a grandson of another GAL NA.GAD official, Šahuruwuwa. Given the Hittite custom of ponymy, it was suggested by Imparati (1974: 48) that the earlier Kuwalanaziti might have been the great-grandfather of the later one. This could mean that Šahuruwuwa was the son or grandson of the earlier Kuwalanaziti, and if so, that would be an indication of the transfer of the GAL NA.GAD office within the same family.¹²⁸⁴

4.11.1.6 Tarhantanani

Tarhantanani (TONITRUS-FRATER₂) appears with the MAGNUS.PASTOR title in the seal impression Niš 412, where he also carries the EUNUCHUS₂ title. The cuneiform equivalent of the name is typically written as ^{md}U-ŠEŠ.¹²⁸⁵ One such attestation comes from the court proceedings of the embezzlement case KUB 13.35+ i 38 (CTH 293), which possibly dates to Hattušili III.¹²⁸⁶ While trying to give an account of missing items, one of the accused, Ura-Tarhunta, states that one of the mules had been given to Tarhantanani, the ^{LÚ}SAG. It is possible that Tarhu(anta)nani was a high official in the administration, and his matching titles (^{LÚ}SAG and

¹²⁸² ^mKu-wa-[a-na-LÚ in KBo 5.6 i 32 and ^mK]ARAŠ.LÚ[in its duplicate KBo 14.11 i 4; edited by Del Monte (2009: 86–93).

¹²⁸³ KUB 26.43 obv. 8, 53 (CTH 225); KBo 50.255:1' (CTH 225); Emar tablet BLMJ C 22:1, which also bears seal impressions of the same name (Poetto 1982); SBo II 19, 21; and Tarsus no. 54 in Gelb (1956: 252 and plates 404, 408). It is not certain whether the biconvex seal no 3. in Kennedy (1959: 148f.) with no clearly identified title belongs to the same person.

¹²⁸⁴ See Marizza (2010a: 93).

¹²⁸⁵ The reading of cuneiform ^dU/IM or hieroglyphic TONITRUS without any phonetic complements as Tarhu- or Tarhunta- remains open. For a discussion of the issue, see Hawkins (2005a: 295).

¹²⁸⁶ See note 691.

EUNUCHUS₂)¹²⁸⁷ make it likely to identify him with the owner of Niş 412 and place him during the reign of Hattušili III. It is also possible that Tarhuntanani took the MAGNUS.PASTOR title later in his career. Therefore, his term in that particular office could have been later in Hattušili III's reign or perhaps during the reign of Tudhaliya IV.

Another attestation comes from a LNS ritual fragment KUB 58.58 obv. 25,¹²⁸⁸ where his name is followed by a partially preserved GA[L, which could be restored as GA[L NA.GAD]. Mention of the Stormgod of Hakmiš and the Stormgod of Nerik in this text (obv. 1) may also suggest a date during the reign of Hattušili III or later. Tarhuntanani's name appears in the last preserved line of the obverse and he seems to be involved in supplying offerings to certain deities.

Three other seal impressions identify a Tarhuntanani as a prince (REX.FILIUS).¹²⁸⁹ Although it would not be unlikely for the GAL NA.GAD official to be a prince, since a REX.FILIUS title has never been attested with the EUNUCHUS₂ title,¹²⁹⁰ that identification is less likely.

On another seal impression from Nişantepe (Niş 411), Tarhuntanani's title is MAGNUS.L. 398. Unfortunately the reading of L. 398 so far remains unknown. Interestingly the bulla that bears this impression also has Niş 246, which shows Mizramuwa with the SCRIBA-*la* title, which may belong to the early career of Mizramuwa, the MAGNUS.PASTOR.

¹²⁸⁷ On the equation of cuneiform ^LÚSAG and hieroglyphic EUNUCHUS₂, see Hawkins (2005a: 303).

¹²⁸⁸ For a transliteration, see Trabazo and Groddek (2005: 152f.). Obv. 1–20 is edited by Alp (1983: 290–93).

¹²⁸⁹ No. 42 in Kennedy (1959: 161) (same as no. XIIa 2.45 in Mora 1987), BoHa 14 no. 242, and Kp 09/39 from Kayalıpınar (A. Müller-Karpe and V. Müller-Karpe 2009: 191f.). On the latter seal impression Prince Tarhuntanani additionally bears the title REGIO.DOMINUS.

¹²⁹⁰ In the Nişantepe archive alone, the EUNUCHUS₂ title is encountered with twenty-nine different individuals on 102 unique seal impressions, none of which combines the REX.FILIUS title. Although Herboldt (2005: 230) gives the titles of the official named VITA+*RA/I* on Niş 666 as REX.FILIUS EUNUCHUS₂, the partially preserved signs of both titles are difficult to read. For Niş 666, Hawkins (2005a: 287) suggests REX.FILIUS[?] SCRIBA[?] instead.

Other glyptic attestations of Tarhuntanani are Niš 410 with no title and a biconvex seal from the Borowski collection with the SCRIBA-*la* title.¹²⁹¹ Tarhunani (^m*Tar-hu-na-ŠEŠ*) of the MH text KBo 32.198 obv. 6 (CTH 234) is a smith (^{LÚ}SIMUG.A) and certainly a different person.

4.11.1.7 Šahuruwa

Šahuruwa is a well-known Hittite official, who was active during the reigns of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV. His GAL NA.GAD title is mentioned several times in the Šahuruwa Text (CTH 225), which dates to the reign of Tudhaliya IV. The existence of Mizramuwa with the title GAL NA.GAD of the Left among the witnesses of the Šahuruwa Text suggests that Šahuruwa's title probably implied GAL NA.GAD of the Right. He must have held this position at the same time with the GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ office, but it is not clear whether he was simultaneously a GAL UKU.UŠ officer, which is another military position he is known to have held. For a detailed treatment of Šahuruwa refer to section 4.7.1.2.

4.11.1.8 Mizramuwa

As mentioned above, Mizramuwa¹²⁹² was apparently the counterpart of Šahuruwa in the GAL NA.GAD office, appearing with the “the Left” designation of the same title among the witnesses of the Šahuruwa Text.¹²⁹³ His name is also attested on the seal impressions listed below:

SBo II 80:	<i>mi-zi/a+ra/i-BOS₂.MI MAGNUS.PASTOR SCRIBA-<i>la</i></i> , cun.: <i>mis¹-ri¹-m[u-wa]</i>
SBo II 81, Niš 248:	<i>mi-zi/a+ra/i-BOS₂.MI MAGNUS.PASTOR SCRIBA-<i>la</i></i> , cun.: <i>mis¹-r[i]-m[u-wa]</i>
Niš 247:	<i>mi-zi/a+ra/i-BOS SCRIBA MAGNUS.PASTOR</i>
Niš 243:	<i>mi-zi/a+ra/i-BOS₂.MI BONUS₂ SCRIBA</i> ; signet ring impression

¹²⁹¹ No. 3 in Poetto and Salvatori (1981: 14, 71).

¹²⁹² For previous studies on Mizramuwa, see Imparati (*RIA* 8: 316f.), van den Hout (1995a: 233–35), and C. Lebrun (2014: 112).

¹²⁹³ KUB 26.43 rev. 31 (^m*Mi-iz-ra-A.A-aš* GAL NA.GAD GÜB-*la-aš*) with dupl. KUB 26.50 rev. 24¹.

Niş 244:	<i>mi-zi/a+ra/i</i> -BOS SCRIBA
Niş 245:	<i>mi-zi/a+ra/i</i> -BOS SCRIBA
Niş 246:	<i>mi-zi/a+ra/i</i> - BOS ₂ .MI SCRIBA- <i>la ku-mi(?)</i> (x?)
Niş 242:	<i>mi-zi/a+ra/i</i> -BOS
Niş 249:	BOS ₂ .MI- <i>zi/a+ra/i</i> SCRIBA(?) ¹²⁹⁴

As previously mentioned, attestations of Mizramuwa with the MAGNUS.L. 438 title on seal impressions SBo II 80 and 81 lead to the equation of the title with cuneiform GAL NA.GAD and the identification of the hieroglyphic sign L. 438 as PASTOR, which therefore identifies the seal owner with the Mizramuwa of the Šahurunuwa Text. Niş 247 and 248 are two further seal impressions with the same name and title, the second of which appears to have come from the same seal as SBo II 81.¹²⁹⁵ On all three seals he is also identified as a scribe. Although this is not decisive evidence, the scribe of Niş 243–246 may be identified with the same person.¹²⁹⁶

It may be noted that two copies of Niş 243 and four copies of Niş 246 of Mizramuwa were found on several bullae that also bore other officials' seal impressions:

Bo 90/331 (Niş 243.1):	Niş 771	REX.FILIUS SCRIBA- <i>la</i> (no name)
Bo 90/1249 (Niş 243.3):	Niş 772	REX.FILIUS SCRIBA- <i>la</i> (no name)
Bo 91/1510 (Niş 246.1):	Niş 495.1	<i>u</i> (BOS ₂)- <i>ku+ra/i</i> AVIS ₃ +MAGNUS SCRIBA.EXERCITUS-2
Bo 91/1544 (Niş 246.2):	Niş 411	TONITRUS-FRATER ₂ MAGNUS.L. 398
Bo 91/1551 (Niş 246.3):	Niş 701.1	L. ?-TONITRUS REX.FILIUS
Bo 91/1648 (Niş 246.4):	Niş 494.2	<i>u</i> (BOS ₂)- <i>ku+ra/i</i> AVIS ₃ +MAGNUS(?) SCRIBA.[EXER]CITUS-2

¹²⁹⁴ Hawkins (2005a: 265) remarks that the seal displays a playful writing of Mizramuwa's name with the middle-placed MI sign acting as both the beginning and the end of the name.

¹²⁹⁵ Hawkins (2005a: 264f.) indicates that the cuneiform writing present on SBo II 80, 81, and Niş 248 should represent a digraphic writing of Mizramuwa's name, and reads it as *Mis¹-ri-m[u-wa]*. Based on this reading, combined with the fact that attestations of Mizri as a geographical location are predominantly written as Mizri, Hawkins (2005a: 264f.) suggests that the name should be read Mizrimuwa. On the other hand, in all three attestations of the name in cuneiform texts, it is spelled *Mi-iz-ra-*, and in all of the hieroglyphic attestations of the name the use of the *ra/i* sign allows the Mizra- reading as well as Mizri-. Therefore, without dismissing the possibility of the Mizrimuwa reading, in this work I have kept the name as Mizramuwa. Previously Güterbock (SBo II: 46) read the cuneiform legend on SBo II 80 and 81 as RUG/RIG/ŠUN/ŠEN.GI.NU.x and Carruba (1990: 243–51) as ŠEN *gi-nu-ú*.

¹²⁹⁶ Thus Herbordt (2005: 81), and for Niş 244–246, Hawkins (2005a: 265), who points out the similarity in design. Hawkins does not comment on the identity of the owner of Niş 243. The function of the hieroglyphic *ku-mi(?)* on Niş 246 is not clear. Van den Hout *apud* Hawkins (2005a: 265) suggests a phonetically-written title that may be related to Luw. *kummai-* "pure."

Furthermore, other copies of the seals of Ukkura (Niş 495.3) and L. ?-TONITRUS (Niş 701.2) were also found on another bulla (Bo 91/1978). The attestations of the impressions of two different officials' seals on the same bulla must be an indication of a joint administrative undertaking.¹²⁹⁷ An Ukkura is known from the court case KUB 13.35+ i 1, 7, 9, iv 35 (CTH 293), where he and his son Ura-Tarhunta are accused of misappropriation of goods that were entrusted to them by the queen (almost certainly Puduhepa). Although Ukkura's title in CTH 293 is given as "Overseer of Ten" (LUGULA 10), his responsibilities clearly involved the safekeeping of various goods which must have required the use of his seals on containers and documents.¹²⁹⁸ Noting that many of the bullae from Nişantepe are believed to have been used on wooden tablets or else were sealings of containers,¹²⁹⁹ we may possibly identify him with the Ukkura of the above-mentioned sealings.¹³⁰⁰ If so, perhaps the existence of Mizramuwa's seal impressions alongside those of Ukkura could indicate that the responsibilities of Mizramuwa, at least during his early career, might have included the supervision of inventory, which is a duty that has been observed for several other high officials with various titles.¹³⁰¹ His association with the Ukkura of CTH 293 also places the early career of Mizramuwa in the reign of Hattušili III,¹³⁰² which does not conflict with the GAL NA.GAD official of the Šahurunuwa Text of the early reign of Tudhaliya IV.

There are only a few other attestations of Mizramuwa in cuneiform sources. A text from Ras Shamra gives information on a more prominent individual. RS 17.423¹³⁰³ is a letter of introduction for Mizramuwa (^m*Mi-iz-ra-mu-wa*), which is addressed to king Ibiranu of Ugarit

¹²⁹⁷ For a study of the multiple impressions on bullae in Nişantepe, see Mora (2010a).

¹²⁹⁸ Note that in §1 of CTH 293 Ukkura is accused of regularly failing to indicate the goods on sealed tablets, and in §23 he states that he had sealed certain wooden tablets. His use of wood tablets is also mentioned in §2.

¹²⁹⁹ See Herbordt (2005: 33–39).

¹³⁰⁰ Thus Hawkins (2005a: 277). Note that CTH 293 also mentions Tarhantanani (TONITRUS-FRATER₂), who may be the same person who appears on a bulla with Mizramuwa.

¹³⁰¹ On officials involved in inventory texts, see Siegelová (1986: 287–91, 533–34).

¹³⁰² On the dating of KUB 13.35+ (CTH 293), see note 691.

¹³⁰³ *PRU* IV: 193.

and must have been sent by the king of Karkamiš. It announces the arrival of Mizramuwa, who is introduced as the brother of Upparamuwa¹³⁰⁴ and the son of the king of Karkamiš, and orders that he be treated properly. Unfortunately the letter does not give any information about the reasons for his visit, but apparently Mizramuwa has been sent there for an extended stay as the guest of a certain PAP-Šarruma.¹³⁰⁵ The *^mMu(sic)-iz-ra-mu-wa* mentioned in the partially preserved letter RS 20.243:8¹³⁰⁶ may be a reference to the same official. The letter is addressed to the Hittite king (6': ^dUTU^{Šr} LUGAL.GAL), possibly by the king of Ugarit, and the fragmentary lines may hint at a complaint involving Mizramuwa.¹³⁰⁷ It is possible that the Prince Mizramuwa of Karkamiš might have been the same person as the GAL NA.GAD official.¹³⁰⁸ Since Ibiranu probably became king during the early reign of Tudhaliya IV,¹³⁰⁹ overlapping dates of activity for the two persons support this identification. Further support may also be derived from the fact that, Mizramuwa, the GAL NA.GAD, in the Šahurunuwa Text is listed only a couple of names after Prince Upparamuwa. On the other hand, if all of the above-mentioned seal impressions belong to the same person, who happened to be a son of the king of Karkamiš, one would expect the use of REX.FILIUS on at least some of the seals. Could it be that the above-listed seal impressions Niš 771 and Niš 772 that bear no names but the titles REX.FILIUS SCRIBA-*la* and that were found on the same bullae with the impressions of Niš 243 of Mizramuwa also belonged to Mizramuwa? The main problem with this explanation is that it does not make sense for an official to use two different seals on the same bulla. Both Niš 771 and 772 are from signet rings and clearly there is no space on them for a name.¹³¹⁰ This may look similar

¹³⁰⁴ On Upparamuwa, see section 4.6.1.14, where it is suggested that he may have been the crown prince of Karkamiš at the time.

¹³⁰⁵ *e-nu-ma^m Mi-iz-ra-mu-wa aš-ra-nu it-ti^m PAP-^dLUGAL-ma a-ša-bi il-la-ka* (RS 17.423: 6–8).

¹³⁰⁶ *PRU V*: 104f.

¹³⁰⁷ See Nougayrol (*PRU V*: 104 n. 1) and Singer (1999a: 684).

¹³⁰⁸ Laroche (NH 811.2), Beal (1992: 393), van den Hout (1995a: 234), Mora (2010b: 173f.).

¹³⁰⁹ See Singer (1999a: 689).

¹³¹⁰ Another such seal impression is Niš 773, which is also from a signet ring.

to the use of anonymous Labarna seals, but there was only one Labarna (i.e., the Hittite king) at any given time and the use of such seals, possibly by entrusted officials, symbolized the authority of the king. It is harder to imagine the same practice with the anonymous REX.FILIUS SCRIBA-*la* seals, since they do not imply a certain person or office.

A Mizramuwa (^m*Mi-iz-ra-A.A*) mentioned in the cult inventory text KUB 13.235 i 4 (CTH 509.5) appears to be the maker of certain objects and it is not certain whether he can be associated with our official. Mizramu[wa]⁷ of KUB 6.18 obv. 8 is a woman.

4.11.1.9 Anatali

Anatali (hieroglyphic *Á-na-tà-li*) is encountered only on a single seal impression from Temple 9 of Hattuša (BoHa 22 no. 189). In addition to MAGNUS.PASTOR, he is also identified with the SCRIBA and PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS¹³¹¹ titles.

4.11.1.10 Armawalwi

The signet ring impression Niş 66 identifies a person named Armawalwi (LUNA-LEO₂) with the MAGNUS.PASTOR and EUNUCHUS₂ titles. Another partially preserved signet ring impression from Nişantepe (Niş 65), which identifies an Armawalwi (LUNA-LEO) as EUNUCHUS₂, is likely to belong to the same official.¹³¹² The bulla that bears Niş 65 also has the signet ring impression of a scribe (Niş 230), whose partially preserved name starts as Mala-¹³¹³ A third impression of an Armawalwi (LUNA-LEO) from a stamp seal (Niş 67) has a partially

¹³¹¹ Neither the meaning nor the cuneiform equivalent of the hieroglyphic PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS title is known, although it has been attested with some prominent officials. For an analysis of this title, see Hawkins (2005a: 305f.) and see here in section 4.13.9.1.

¹³¹² Both signet ring impressions also display stylistic similarities such as the use of griffons and zig-zag shaped sides of the frame.

¹³¹³ Seal impressions of scribes Malaziti and Malaruntiya have been encountered in Nişantepe. Niş 230 displays stylistic similarities to the seals of Malaruntiya (Niş 224–226), but it seems difficult to accommodate a CERVUS_{2/3-ti} below *Ma-la-* on the damaged space of Niş 230.

preserved MAGNUS sign but the remains of the sign below MAGNUS do not seem to be PASTOR. Armawalwi's name is not encountered in cuneiform sources.

4.11.1.11 Sariya

Sariya is another MAGNUS.PASTOR, who is attested with that title only on the seal impression Niš 353. Like Armawalwi and Tarhuntanani, he is also designated as a EUNUCHUS₂. In Hittite cuneiform sources the only text that mentions this name is KBo 10.10 iv 13 (CTH 235), which is a list of women that includes the wife of a Šariya, the cavalryman (^{LÚ}PITHALLU), but otherwise the text does not provide any relevant information about the person.

In the Nišantepe archive, Sariya's name appears on several other distinct seal impressions. Three of those (Niš 350–352) apparently belong to a single individual, who has the titles EUNUCHUS₂ and L. 135.2. The reading of the L. 135.2 sign is not known, but based on the shape of the sign, different suggestions were made about identifying the sign as a title for bird diviners, seers, or physicians.¹³¹⁴ Although Hawkins (2005a: 269) distinguishes the owner of Niš 350–352 from Niš 353 on account of differences in occupations, in my opinion the common EUNUCHUS₂ designations still leaves the identification possible, and the same would apply to Šariya of Niš 356 with only a EUNUCHUS₂.

Hawkins (2005a: 270) suggests that the Šariya of Niš 355 with the REX.FILIUS title¹³¹⁵ must be a different individual, probably because the EUNUCHUS₂ does not combine with

¹³¹⁴ See note 1551.

¹³¹⁵ Niš 355 is a signet ring impression which also bears the name of Huwa-Šarruma (*Hu-wa/i-SARMA*) REX.FILIUS. The only other attestation of a Huwa-Šarruma comes from a post-empire period stone inscription from Karkamiš (Hawkins 2005a: 270; for the inscription, see Hawkins 2000: 83).

REX.FILIUS (Hawkins 2005a: 287).¹³¹⁶ Finally there are Niš 354 with the title URCEUS and Niš 357 with no title, for which not much can be said.

4.11.1.12 VIR.x-zi/a

The signet ring impression SBo II 232 bears the name VIR.x-zi/a with an unrecognized sign in the middle and the title MAGNUS.PASTOR. If the reading order of the signs can be altered, this could be a name ending in -ziti (VIR.zi/a), but that is uncertain. The same bulla also bears the seal impression Niš 415 of a scribe named Tarhuntamuwa (TONITRUS-BOS₂), who is not attested in cuneiform sources.¹³¹⁷

Finally, there is also the partially preserved seal impression Niš 763 of a signet ring, which shows the title MAGNUS.PASTOR. Barely visible remains of the signs that must form the name of the seal holder are not readable and cannot be matched with any of the known MAGNUS.PASTORS.

4.11.2 General discussion of GAL SIPA and GAL NA.GAD

A simple comparison of the number of attestations for ordinary ^{LÚ}SIPA¹³¹⁸ and ^{LÚ}NA.GAD¹³¹⁹ indicates that the former is the more commonly used term for “herdsman” in Hittite sources. While ^{LÚ}SIPA is often qualified by the type of animal, such as GU₄, UDU, ANŠE.KUR.RA, the ^{LÚ}NA.GAD title is never attested with any such qualification and an association of ^{LÚ}NA.GAD with animals is only observed in festival texts (Beckman 1988: 39).

Several anonymous attestations of the GAL SIPA indicate the responsibilities of these officials in relation to animals. In KUB 30.32 i 9–10 with dupl. KBo 18.190:4'–5' (CTH 674), the

¹³¹⁶ See note 1290 above.

¹³¹⁷ In glyptic sources, Tarhuntamuwa is also attested on Niš 416 and 417.

¹³¹⁸ Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 21–25).

¹³¹⁹ Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 21).

GAL NA.GAD/SIPA	Reigning King	Title / Other Titles
Hanikkuli	Hantili II	GAL NA.GAD, DUB.SAR
Zuwa	Muwatalli I	GAL SIPA ZAG-az
[...š/t]jaziti	Arnuwanda I	GAL SIPA ZAG-az
LUGAL- ^d LAMMA	Arnuwanda I	GAL SIPA GÙB-la-az
Kuwalanaziti	Šuppiliuma I	GAL NA.GAD
Tarhuntanani	Hattušili III/Tudhaliya IV	MAGNUS.PASTOR, EUNUCHUS ₂ , MAGNUS.L. 398(?)
Šahuruwa	Tudhaliya IV	GAL NA.GAD (ZAG [?]), GAL ^{LÚ} UKU.UŠ (ZAG [?]), GAL.DUB.SAR.GIŠ, REX.FILIUS, L. 490, (Grand-)son of Kuwalanaziti(?)
Mizramuwa	Tudhaliya IV	GAL NA.GAD GÙB-la-aš/MAGNUS.PASTOR, SCRIBA(-la), ku-mi (?), REX.FILIUS(?)
Anatali	13 th century	MAGNUS.PASTOR, SCRIBA, PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS
Armawalwi	13 th century	MAGNUS.PASTOR, EUNUCHUS ₂
Sariya	13 th century	MAGNUS.PASTOR, EUNUCHUS ₂ , L. 135.2 [?]
VIR.x-zi/a	13 th century	MAGNUS.PASTOR

Table 15. List of GAL NA.GAD and GAL SIPA officials.

GAL SIPA hands over six goat hides to the overseer of the leather workers, who makes them into a hunting bag for the god.¹³²⁰ In KUB 51.1 i 3 (CTH 638.2),¹³²¹ a GAL SIPA gives 1000 sheep and 50 oxen from the house of Ankuwa for the celebration of the Telipinu festival. In a text of the cult of Zalpuwa, KUB 57.84 iii 2'–4' (CTH 667.1),¹³²² a GAL SIPA slaughters 13 oxen and 51 sheep as offerings for the gods. Contrary to the situation regarding GAL SIPA, there are no anonymous attestations of GAL NA.GAD,¹³²³ and the responsibilities of individuals who are attested with this title do not involve any direct ties to animals, nor are they attested in texts

¹³²⁰ The same role is fulfilled by the UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SIPA in KUB 25.31 obv. 11–13 (CTH 662.2). For both passages, see McMahon (1991: 252) with older bibliography.

¹³²¹ Edited by Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984: 38–47).

¹³²² Edited by Forlanini (1984: 255–58).

¹³²³ KUB 48.83:6' should probably be read as]x É.GAL ^{LÚ}NA.GAD GÙB[-la-aš (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 21, Nakamura 2002: 42), rather than]x É GAL ^{LÚ}NA.GAD GÙB[-la-aš (Hoffner 1981: 651).

of religious genre.¹³²⁴ This is interesting since almost all attestations of ^{LÚ}NA.GAD come from festival texts.¹³²⁵

In his study of GAL NA.GAD, Beal (1992: 391–96), based on the evidence concerning Kuwalanaziti, who was commanding certain forces for Šuppiluliuma I, and probably Šahuruuwa, who was apparently involved in military activities, suggests that the office involved military command. Considering that the GAL NA.GAD also comes in pairs of Right and Left, Beal groups this office with the other military commands GAL UKU.UŠ and GAL KUŠ₇, which also come in pairs. According to Beckman (1988: 39), both officials' involvement in military matters could be additional careers. At least in the case of Šahuruuwa, it is known that he also held the military title GAL UKU.UŠ, and his military activities may have taken place under this title. By the time of the Šahuruuwa Text, which must date to the last years of Šahuruuwa's career during which he was probably no longer active in the military, he appears to bear the GAL NA.GAD and GAL DUB.SAR titles simultaneously.¹³²⁶

The mention of a GAL SIPA in a late copy of the OH text KBo 8.41:11' (CTH 9.3.B) may suggest the existence of the office from the early years of the Hittite state.¹³²⁷ Beal (1992: 394) points out that while almost all attestations of GAL SIPA come from OH and MH compositions,¹³²⁸ all attestations of GAL NA.GAD date to the NH texts,¹³²⁹ and combined with

¹³²⁴ If the title of Tarhontanani of KUB 58.58 obv. 25 can be restored as GA[L NA.GAD], it would be the only such attestation.

¹³²⁵ KBo 14.142 i 64], ii 2, iii [4'] (NS, CTH 698.1); KBo 22.246 ii 15 with dupl. KUB 42.103 iv 12'], iii 9' (Akk., CTH 698); KBo 49.109:3' (NS, CTH 670); KUB 11.30 iv 15' (LNS, CTH 635.1); KUB 25.27 i 39 (Akk., CTH 629); KUB 41.26 obv. i 31' (LNS, CTH 750.2); and VSNF 12.15 ii 12' (NS, CTH 635). Exceptions are KUB 26.2 rev. 5' (NS, CTH 231.2), which is a list of ^{LÚ}AGRIGs, and KUB 48.83:6' (NS), which might be a historical or administrative fragment. The CTH 225.C⁷ designation of *Konkordanz* for KUB 48.83 is unlikely (see note 340). The dating of the texts is based on *Konkordanz*.

¹³²⁶ See under Šahuruuwa in section 4.7.1.2 and note 1001.

¹³²⁷ Note the existence of a *rabi rē'i/rē'im* "chief shepherd" in OA-period Kültepe tablets (see Veenhof 2008: 223 and Erol 2007: 52).

¹³²⁸ KBo 5.7 rev. 53 (MH, CTH 222.91), KBo 8.41:11' (OH/NS, CTH 9), KUB 30.32+KBo 18.190 i 9 (MH, CTH 674.1.A), KBo 32.185 rev. 16 (MH, CTH 222.47), KUB 34.130 ii 6 (MH, CTH 670), KUB 51.1 i 3 (MH, CTH 638.2.B), and KUB 57.84 iii 2' (MH⁷/NS, CTH 470). An exception to this is]x GAL ^{LÚ.MES<<GIŠ>>}SIPA.UDU ZAG-*aš* of ABoT 2.226 rev. 6' (NH, CTH 678); however, it is uncertain whether this is indeed a reference to a GAL SIPA official. In addition to the fragmentary context and extra GIŠ⁷ sign, it would be the only GAL SIPA sign with an UDU determinant. The dating of the texts is based on the *Konkordanz*.

the facts that the literal translation of both titles gives the same meaning and that both come in pairs of Right and Left, he speculates on the possibility of them being the same office. We may add that, although the ^{LÚ}SIPA title continues to be used in the Empire period, all attestations of ^{LÚ}NA.GAD date to the Empire period. Therefore, it is possible that the term NA.GAD came into use sometime between the reigns of Arnuwanda I and Šuppiluliuma I, and that GAL NA.GAD became the preferred term to refer to the head of the same office. It is also possible that this may have taken place in relation to some changes in the office, whereby the duties may have involved fewer religious but more military and administrative responsibilities. Such a development could explain the lack of attestation of GAL NA.GAD in later-period festival and ritual texts.

Although not numerous, all GAL SIPAs and GAL NA.GADs attested in cuneiform sources appear to have been important officials. Šahurunuwa and possibly Mizramuwa are identified as princes. Kuwalanaziti may possibly be the (great-)grandfather of Šahurunuwa, and Hanikkuili is a member of a prominent scribal family. On the other hand, with the exception of Mizramuwa, little is known about the hieroglyphic MAGNUS.PASTOR title holders. It is interesting that three of these (Tarhuntanani, Armawalwi, and Sariya) are attested with EUNUCHUS₂ (cuneiform ^{LÚ}SAG) titles.¹³³⁰ As mentioned above, since the EUNUCHUS₂ title does not seem to combine with REX.FILIUS, these officials are unlikely to be members of the extended royal family. This contrast somewhat weakens the suggestion of equating cuneiform GAL NA.GAD with hieroglyphic MAGNUS.PASTOR, which is based only on the possible identity of Mizramuwa with the same titles, and more evidence may be needed to make a confident claim.

¹³²⁹ Note that the reference to Hanikkuili, the GAL NA.GAD, comes from the genealogy of a late Empire period scribe.

¹³³⁰ For another possible case of the EUNUCHUS₂ and MAGNUS.PASTOR combination, see Taprammi in section 4.14.1 with note 1540.

4.12 UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ

Although not a GAL-level title, UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ is a high-ranking office apparently on a par with some of the GAL-level officials.¹³³¹ The Sumerian term NIMGIR corresponds to Akkadian *nāgīru* “herald,”¹³³² and the full title is usually translated as “Overseer of the Military Heralds” or “Overseer of the Army Inspectors.”¹³³³ The existence of a GAL *nāgīri* title in the Old Assyrian period texts from Kültepe/Kaneš,¹³³⁴ and a single attestation of a GAL^{LÚ.MEŠ}NIMGIR in the Hittite sources in the OH text KBo 3.34 ii 31 (CTH 8), may perhaps suggest that the office originally had a GAL designation. The title UGULA “Overseer” is typically a lower rank than GAL “Chief, Great,” but UGULA seems to be the preferred title to refer to the head person of certain offices, such as NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ or KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI. The earliest attestations of UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ date to the reign of Telipinu and by the late Empire period the title falls into disuse.

The NIMGIR title does not have a known equivalent in Hieroglyphic Luwian, and consequently, there is no evidence available about this office in the glyptic sources. Furthermore, as presented in the following section, with the exception of Kaššu, not much is known about the few identified holders of this office.

4.12.1 Known UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ officials in Hittite history

4.12.1.1 Huzzi(ya)

Although the title of Huzzi(ya) is GAL^{LÚ.MEŠ}NIMGIR, it is possible that this office was a precursor to the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ. He is attested with this title in KBo 3.34 ii 31,

¹³³¹ See Beal (1992: 396–407) for a study of UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ, and Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 130) for a list of attestations.

¹³³² CAD N/1: 115.

¹³³³ “Sovrintendente degli araldi delle truppe” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 130), “Anführer der Truppenaufseher” (*HZL*: 204), “Overseer of Military Heralds” (Beal 1992: 396).

¹³³⁴ See Veenhof (2008: 222).

which is a late-script copy of the so-called the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8), one of the oldest compositions of the Hittite corpus. The paragraph relates that the father of the king¹³³⁵ had assigned some of the young chariot fighters to Nakkilit, the GAL SAGI; Huzzi (^m*Hu-uz-zi-i*), the GAL NIMGIR; and Kizzu, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, and that these officials trained the cadets to improve their skills.¹³³⁶ Although such a duty does not seem to match the literal meaning of the title, the Chief of the Heralds, as we will see with the later examples, the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ was a military office. Therefore, it is possible to think that the GAL/UGULA NIMGIR title was adapted into a military title early on and that the addition of ÉRIN.MEŠ may have signified the military aspect of it.

The Huzziya (^m*Hu-zi-ya*) mentioned in a fragment of the Palace Chronicle (CTH 9) with the partially preserved title GAL ^{LÚ}.MEŠ[Š is probably a reference to the same official, since he appears again next to a GAL SAGI.¹³³⁷ Unfortunately not much can be derived from the badly damaged context, but mention of the titles ^{LÚ}SUKKAL, [GAL[?] K]UŠ₇, GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL and GAL *MEŠEDI* in the next paragraph¹³³⁸ indicates that this is probably another anecdote involving the high officials of the Hittite court.

4.12.1.2 Iškunaššu

Iškunaššu is the earliest identified UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ official. He is attested with this title as a witness in the land donation text LhK 30 rev. 28, which bears the seal of Hantili II. While most land donation texts have four or more witnesses, Šarpa, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, and Iškunaššu are the only witnesses of this land donation that was issued

¹³³⁵ Perhaps implying Hattušili I, father of Muršili I.

¹³³⁶ KBo 3.34 ii 30–35; edited by Dardano (1997: 52f.).

¹³³⁷ KBo 3.33 iii 6'–7'; edited by Soysal (1989: 37f., 93f.). The name of the GAL SAGI is not preserved.

¹³³⁸ KBo 3.33 iii 13'–15'.

in Hattuša, and whose beneficiary was Haššuli, the GAL *MEŠEDI*. Iškunaššu's unique name is not encountered in other sources.

Another land donation text from the reign of Huzziya II also lists an [UGULA] NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ among its witnesses (LhK 42 rev. 4'). He is listed as the last of the four witnesses, whose names have not been preserved.¹³³⁹ Since the reign of Huzziya II is separated from that of Hantili II by possibly two generations, it is unlikely that he can be identified with the Iškunaššu of LhK 30.

4.12.1.3 Kaššu

The best-known holder of the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ title is Kaššu, who is the most frequently attested official in the Mašat Höyük/Tapikka archive. Kaššu is mentioned in thirty-four letters in the Mašat archive and twenty of these are letters sent to him by the king.¹³⁴⁰ Kaššu's position and duties in Tapikka have been analyzed in several studies.¹³⁴¹

Kaššu's title UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ is revealed only in the letter HKM 71, which was addressed to him by Hulla, the GAL KUŠ₇. The tone of the letter clearly reveals that Hulla is the higher-ranking official, but also indicates that the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ is considered one of the great lords:

Regarding what you wrote to me, as follows: 'Lord, if only you would drive down here! The Kaška men keep saying: "If only the GAL KUŠ₇ would drive here, we would make peace!"' You keep writing to me like that! (But) are you not a lord (too)? Furthermore, they call you UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ, and I am GAL KUŠ₇. Why have you actually deferred⁹ to me? Why have you not met with their envoys? Are you not a great lord? (HKM 71: 3–15, Hoffner 2009: 227f.).

Despite being outranked by Hulla, the GAL KUŠ₇, among the officials present in Tapikka, Kaššu

¹³³⁹ See Appendix 1.

¹³⁴⁰ See a list of attestations in Alp (1991b: 459).

¹³⁴¹ See Alp (ibid. 70–75), Beal (1992: 397–406), Marizza (2007a: 93–111).

seems to have held the top position.¹³⁴² Himuili, the *BĒL MADGALTI* official in Tapikka, was apparently the top civilian authority, but was not senior to Kaššu as suggested by HKM 54 and 55, which are letters addressed by Kaššu to Himuili. In these letters Kaššu scolds Himuili for failing in his responsibilities and accuses him of mismanagement of the seed grain.

The letters reveal that Kaššu's responsibilities mainly revolved around military matters. He was responsible for defending the territory, livestock, and crops against Kaškan attacks,¹³⁴³ sending out scouts,¹³⁴⁴ attacking the enemy troops¹³⁴⁵ and sometimes even enemy settlements.¹³⁴⁶ He often sent reports about enemy movements¹³⁴⁷ and sometimes requested additional troops.¹³⁴⁸ At other times, he would be asked to lead troops elsewhere too.¹³⁴⁹ He was also responsible for retrieving fugitives and transporting captives.¹³⁵⁰ As the top official in Tapikka, Kaššu was able to engage in peace negotiations with the enemy, but he seems to have needed the approval of higher authorities to settle such questions. On one occasion, the king instructed Kaššu to send those, who sought peace—apparently local Kaška leaders—to him,¹³⁵¹ and on another occasion, as was shown in the above-quoted passage of HKM 71, Kaššu requested Hulla, the GAL KUŠ₇, to come to Tapikka, saying that the Kaškans were seeking the latter's presence in order to establish peace. Kaššu's actions in that matter actually conform to the instructions issued in KUB 13.21+ iii 5–11' with dupl. KUB 31.107+ iii 5–8' (CTH 259), where the provincial administrators are instructed to obtain the king's approval before concluding a peace negotiation with an oath.

¹³⁴² For a ranking table of Mašat/Tapikka officials, see Beckman (1995a: 33).

¹³⁴³ HKM 4, HKM 10:33–41.

¹³⁴⁴ HKM 6:17–22, HKM 7:3–26.

¹³⁴⁵ HKM 3:7–10; HKM 8:12–18, HKM 10:33–41.

¹³⁴⁶ HKM 17:13–36, and perhaps also KBo 18.54 rev. 9'–19' (Hoffner 2009: 340–43; see further below).

¹³⁴⁷ HKM 1:4–5, HKM 3:3–4, HKM 6:3–10, HKM 8:3–11, HKM 16:4–8, HKM 19:9–10, HKM 20:8–9.

¹³⁴⁸ HKM 2:4–9, HKM 9, HKM 18, HKM 19:11–17.

¹³⁴⁹ HKM 15, HKM 20, HKM 71:15–31, HKM 75:13–18.

¹³⁵⁰ HKM 9:3–5, HKM 13, HKM 14.

¹³⁵¹ HKM 10:14–16.

Other letters reveal that Kaššu was involved in administrative matters related to resource management, such as transfer of livestock (HKM 5), reporting on the status of crops and livestock (HKM 4), gathering and storing crops (HKM 18:21–28), and providing material for bridge construction (HKM 72). As mentioned above, his letters to Himuili concerning the seed grain can be seen as another example of his responsibilities reaching into non-military matters.

Notable are the overlapping areas of responsibility of Kaššu and Himuili (see under *BĒL MADGALTI* in section 3.2.7). Although Kaššu seems to have had a more primary role in military matters, his involvement in the above-mentioned areas demonstrates the lack of clearly defined division of duties among the higher-level officials of the state administration.

The reluctance of Kaššu to take the initiative as revealed in HKM 71 may be an indication of his relative inexperience as an UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ official. We may note that in another letter, the GAL KUŠ₇, who is probably Hulla, informs Kaššu about a promotion and instructs him to take over the command of certain troops: “In view of this performance of yours: Herewith the squadron is henceforth yours alone. You are herewith named to another military unit. So drive here as quickly as you can (to receive the command from me). Get a move on!” (Hoffner 2009: 226f.). Could this be a reference to the promotion of Kaššu to the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ position? In support of this we may point out that Kaššu hardly ever uses the title himself, perhaps because many of the documents date to a time before his promotion. The letter HKM 68 might be one of the rare cases of Kaššu using his title. It was sent by an anonymous UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ to the officials Palanna and Zardumanni.¹³⁵² It concerns a legal case about misappropriation of food and cattle, and relates to the above-

¹³⁵² Both Palanna and Zal/rdumanni are civilian officials in Tapikka. Palanna is apparently an older person respected even by Šarpa, who is a high official at the palace. Zal/rdumanni is probably a younger person since he receives sharply worded orders from both the king (HKM 34) and Šarpa (HKM 60).

mentioned incident involving Himuili in HKM 54 and 55.¹³⁵³ The UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ, who is apparently also blamed for the incident, is sending the letter from a different location, perhaps Šapinuwa, since he informs the recipients that he will report it to the king and have him send an investigator to their post (i.e., Tapikka). The context makes it clear that the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ had previously been present in Tapikka. This fact combined with a reference to the involvement of Himuili makes it almost certain that he should be identified as Kaššu.¹³⁵⁴

A more problematic attestation of UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ comes from HKM 69. The body of the text is not preserved but the address line of the letter reads: “Thus speak the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ, Tarhumima, and Pišeni to Kaššu” (HKM 69:1–2).¹³⁵⁵ Since there is no other Kaššu identified at Tapikka, the addressee of the letter must be our official. Therefore, the first of the trio of senders, who is identified only by his title,¹³⁵⁶ must be a different UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ official. As Beal (1992: 398f.) points out, this indicates either that there must have been more than one UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ official serving at the same time, or that at the time of this letter Kaššu was not yet holding this title. On account of the previous discussion, the second option seems more plausible.¹³⁵⁷

The letters HKM 72 and 73 indicate that the sender(s) of these letters, who is identified only by the title GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ), is also an official who outranks Kaššu.¹³⁵⁸ On the other hand, the letter HKM 74, which is addressed to Kaššu by “the Priest” (LÚ.SANGA), interestingly reveals that Kaššu had disregarded the requests of this person, who is almost certainly to be

¹³⁵³ Himuili’s appropriation of flour (ZÍD.DA) is mentioned in HKM 68:18–20.

¹³⁵⁴ Thus Alp (1991: 70–75), Beal (1992: 463 n. 1718), Marizza (2009: 66).

¹³⁵⁵ See note 907.

¹³⁵⁶ For the title to apply to Tarhumima, we would expect it to be written after his name. Furthermore, this Tarhumima is probably the GAL KUŠ₇ official known from the land donation text LhK 91 of Arnuwanda I (see 4.6.1.9).

¹³⁵⁷ Thus also Marizza (2007a: 41f. and n. 30).

¹³⁵⁸ For further discussion of the identity of the sender and the context, see Hattušili in section 4.9.1.1.

identified as Kantuzzili, the brother of Tudhaliya III, and the ruler of the appanage kingdom of Kizzuwatna. It is understood that Kantuzzili was requesting the return of twenty Kizzuwatnean subjects who had crossed over into and settled in the territory under the jurisdiction of Kaššu, but Kaššu refused to return them under his own authority, claiming that his district was a primary border district (*hantezziš auriš*), and he told Kantuzzili to report it to the palace. Kantuzzili's displeased reply indicates that he is indeed going to report it to the palace, and adds that since Kizzuwatna is also a primary border district, in the future he will not return any subjects of Kaššu, should they cross into his territory. According to Beal (1992: 404), Kaššu's refusal to comply with Kantuzzili's request may have had to do with differences in the chain of command. Marizza (2009: 50f.) remarks that this is either an indication of the true limits of the power of Kantuzzili, or risky arrogance on the part of Kaššu. The fact that Kantuzzili complies with Kaššu's suggestion about taking his complaint to the palace and that he does not threaten Kaššu with any punishment¹³⁵⁹ does indicate that there was indeed a difference in the chain of command.¹³⁶⁰

The letter KBo 18.54 might be the only attestation of this particular Kaššu outside the Mašat corpus.¹³⁶¹ This partially preserved letter is addressed by Kaššu to the king. In the first part of the letter Kaššu explains to the king a mishap involving an Akkadian letter which he and/or his scribe did not understand,¹³⁶² and the latter part explains the reasons for his and Tuttu's failure to capture the fortified enemy city they had been besieging. Van den Hout (1989: 192–93, 255) points out several similarities between KBo 18.54 and one of the fragments of the

¹³⁵⁹ Saying that he would retaliate in the same way if a similar situation occurred in his territory can hardly count as a threat of punishment. One may compare this with the harsh words of Hulla, the GAL KUŠ₇, who is clearly a direct superior of Kaššu: "Are you not a great lord? If you don't bring me the troops of Karahna, Išhupitta, and Mt. Šaktunuwa to Ninišankuwa, the men of Hatti will see how I come to you and ... you!" (HKM 71:15–23, Hoffner 2009: 228).

¹³⁶⁰ See also Marizza (2007a: 77–82 and 2009: 51f.), who builds on an idea already hinted at by Klinger (1995: 93) to suggest that the fragmentary letter KBo 18.69 which mentions "the Priest" (rev. 7') may also relate to the dispute of HKM 74.

¹³⁶¹ There are several recent editions of the letter: Marizza (2007a: 101–11 and 2009: 59–62), Singer (2008: 257–65), and Hoffner (2009: 340–44).

¹³⁶² See the slightly different interpretations by Singer (2008: 258f.) and Hoffner (2009: 240).

Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, which describes the siege of the city of Šallapa during the reign of Tudhaliya III, and suggests that both texts refer to the same event.¹³⁶³ Since Šallapa was certainly not situated near Tapikka,¹³⁶⁴ this suggests that Kaššu had been active outside Tapikka. This could be seen either as an episode from the later career of Kaššu or perhaps as a temporary assignment as part of a larger campaign. However, it may be noted that none of the other names mentioned in KBo 18.54¹³⁶⁵ are known from the Mašat documents.

4.12.2 General discussion of UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ

The office of UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ may have had its roots in the earliest periods of the Hittite state in the form of GAL NIMGIR, which was a title already extant in the Anatolian city states of the Old Assyrian period. The earliest attestation of the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ comes from the Telipinu Edict, where on one of the three occasions that Telipinu gives a list of top-level officials who might have the power to cause trouble, the UGULA

LÚ.MEŠ NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ is included, albeit in the last place after LÚ.MEŠ ABUBĪTU, GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, GAL GEŠTIN, GAL LÚ.MEŠ MEŠEDI, and GAL LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ₇.¹³⁶⁶

UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ	Reigning King	Title / Other Titles
Huzzi(ya)	Hattušili I (?)	GAL LÚ.MEŠ NIMGIR
Iškunaššu	Hantili II	UGULA LÚ.MEŠ NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ
[...]	Huzziya II	UGULA LÚ.MEŠ NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ
[...]	Arnuwanda I (?)/Tudhaliya III	UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ
Kaššu	Tudhaliya III	UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ

Table 16. List of UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ officials.

¹³⁶³ See also Singer (2008: 264).

¹³⁶⁴ See RGCT 6: 333 and Kryszewski (2012).

¹³⁶⁵ Wandapaziti (obv. 7), Tuttu (rev. 9', l.e. 2), and Zarnaziti (l.e. 5).

¹³⁶⁶ CTH 19 iii 1–2; edited by Hoffmann (1984: 38f.).

Another reference comes from the Middle Hittite Instructions for the Royal Bodyguard (CTH 262),¹³⁶⁷ where *MEŠEDI* guards are instructed on how to line up if a ^{LÚ}*HAZANNU* or *UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ* official is present.¹³⁶⁸ The same text also has several references to the *NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ*, but it is interesting that in each of these cases this official is listed after another official of *UGULA* or *GAL* rank: *UGULA 10* or *NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ* (i 21), *UGULA LĪM ŠĒRI* and *NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ* (ii 2–3, 6–7, 54, 58), *GAL* ^{LÚ}*MEŠ*ŠUKUR and *NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ* (ii 50), *UGULA 10 MEŠEDI* or *NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ* (iii 54). Since a *NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ* title without *UGULA* is not known outside this text, it is possible that the title still may imply *UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ*. It may be noted that on one of these occasions the *NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ* is to act on behalf of the *GAL MEŠEDI* in the latter’s absence,¹³⁶⁹ and on another occasion (i 21) he is referred to as a “high palace attendant” (*GAL-iš DUMU.É.GAL*), suggesting that this is not an ordinary official.

Particularly the information we have about Kaššu indicates that *UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ* is clearly a military office, but like many military officials in the Hittite administration, from time to time he is involved in administrative matters too. An attestation of this title in a *KI.LAM* festival fragment¹³⁷⁰ does indicate the presence of some cultic duties, although they may be of a limited nature.

The total absence of the title in late Empire period texts may suggest that it went into disuse during this time.

¹³⁶⁷ Edited by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991) and more recently by Miller (2013: 98–122).

¹³⁶⁸ IBoT 1.36 iii 47–50 (Güterbock and van den Hout 1991: 28f.).

¹³⁶⁹ IBoT 1.36 iii 54 (Güterbock and van den Hout 1991: 28f.): “The *GAL MEŠEDI* (or the *UGULA 10 MEŠEDI* or *NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ*) tells the king: ‘It has been completed.’” The text in parentheses has been added later and written above the line.

¹³⁷⁰ KBo 10.25 vi 34 with dupl. KBo 30.14 vi 1' and IBoT 3.66 4' (edited by Singer 1984b: 46–54). Although the fragments are late-script copies, it is known that the original composition of the *KI.LAM* festival dates to the Old Hittite period (see Singer 1983a: 144 and n. 5 with bibliography).

4.13 Other High-Level Officials

Most important offices of the Hittite administration have been treated in the previous sections. There are only a few other titles which may be considered as high-level administrative offices, and since there is not as much information about these offices, they will be treated collectively under this section, along with a study of the few names attested in association with these offices.

4.13.1 GAL SANGA

The GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA title is usually translated as the “Chief of the Priests” or “Chief Priest,”¹³⁷¹ and it is possibly one of the highest offices in the Hittite cultic institutions. It is not certain whether there was only one GAL SANGA at any given time or whether each temple institution could have a GAL SANGA. The earliest attestation of GAL SANGA comes from an OH fragment:¹³⁷²

KBo 12.19 obv.

3' *I-NA* KUR ^{URU}*Za-a-al-pu-u-wa* ^{URU}*Ha-aš-ha[-ša-at-ta*

4' [G]AL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA-ŠU ^{URU}*In-tu-uh-h[u-*

If the possessive -ŠU suffix refers to the city, “its Chief Priest,”¹³⁷³ this would imply that there could have been other GAL SANGAs in different cities.¹³⁷⁴ On the other hand, the GAL SANGA title should be distinguished from SANGA GAL (“high-ranking priest”), which

¹³⁷¹ See “capo dei sacerdoti” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 542) and “chief priest” (CHD/Š: 181b). Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 142) prefers “chief SANGA-priest,” presumably to distinguish it from other types of priests such as GUDU or LÚ É.DINGIR, although the GAL prefix has not been attested with the latter two.

¹³⁷² KBo 12.19 i 4' (CTH 3³); edited by Neu (1980: 231).

¹³⁷³ See Torri (2009: 218): “The chief of its priests ...”

¹³⁷⁴ But see “his chief priest” in CHD/Š: 183a.

certainly existed in multiple numbers even within same institution (Taggar-Cohen 2006a: 143).¹³⁷⁵

In KUB 34.61:6', 8' (CTH 459), a GAL LÚ.MEŠ SANGA is mentioned next to princes and princesses, where he is possibly involved in a ritual. A few other anonymous attestations of the title also seem to be associated with cult-related functions.¹³⁷⁶

There are four possible attestations of the GAL SANGA title with proper names. One of these is the son of Arnuwanda I, Prince Kantuzzili, who is known with the LÚ SANGA title from several documents. Kantuzzili is listed as the author of a certain ritual in the tablet catalog KUB 30.56 iii 7 (CTH 279.1),¹³⁷⁷ where his name and title have been restored as ^m*Kán-tu-uz-zi-[li* GAL LÚ.MEŠ] SANGA DUMU.LUGAL.¹³⁷⁸ Although Kantuzzili is never attested with the GAL LÚ.MEŠ SANGA title elsewhere, the existence of a partial MEŠ sign in front of SANGA and the length of the gap between Kantuzzili's name and title suggest the existence of a title prefix, and GAL seems to be the only reasonable option.¹³⁷⁹

Šuppiluliuma's son Telipinu was another prince who was installed as the "Priest" first in Kizzuwatna and later in Aleppo, and like Kantuzzili, Telipinu was often referred to with the title Priest too.¹³⁸⁰ In a dedicatory hieroglyphic inscription of Telipinu's son Talmi-Šarruma found in Aleppo (ALEPPO 1),¹³⁸¹ the latter identifies his father as "Telipinu, MAGNUS.SACERDOS₂." Hieroglyphic SACERDOS₂ sign having being identified from digraphic attestations from Ugarit

¹³⁷⁵ One instance of GAL-*iš* LÚ SANGA is treated as *šalliš šankunniš* together with SANGA GAL in CHD/Š: 183a.

¹³⁷⁶ KBo 12.140 l.e. 2 (CTH 521.7), KBo 14.21 ii 22 (CTH 565), and perhaps KBo 24.115 obv.² ii² 7' (CTH 670), if the GAL LÚ.MEŠ S[ANGA] restoration of Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 542) is correct. Another attestation comes from a list of female singers from different towns, one of whom belongs to a LÚ GAL SANGA (HT 2 i 1, CTH 235.2). The attestation in KUB 12.61 ii 9', as listed by Pecchioli Daddi, has been emended as GAL LÚ.MEŠ MU₇ (HZZL: 160).

¹³⁷⁷ Edited by Dardano (2006: 212–21).

¹³⁷⁸ See Laroche (1971: 181) and CHD/Š: 183a.

¹³⁷⁹ For more on Kantuzzili the Priest, see section 3.1.2.1.

¹³⁸⁰ For more on Telipinu, see sections 3.1.2.2.

¹³⁸¹ For the ALEPPO 1 inscription, see Meriggi (1975: 330f. no. 306).

and Emar as the equivalent of cuneiform ^{LÚ}SANGA,¹³⁸² Telipinu's title in the Aleppo inscription corresponds to cuneiform GAL SANGA.¹³⁸³ The preference for adding the MAGNUS prefix to SACERDOS₂ may be an attempt to signify the fact that Telipinu's position was different from ordinary priesthood.

Another attestation comes from the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75), where a certain Kaššu is listed among the witnesses with the title GAL ṽSANGA¹.¹³⁸⁴ This is the only attestation of an official from the religious domain as a witness in any of the land donation texts or treaties. As Devecchi (2010: 17) suggests, however, his inclusion as a witness in this particular treaty may have something to do with Aleppo's prominence as the cultic center of the Stormgod. Among the numerous attestations of Kaššu,¹³⁸⁵ the only one that can be identified as contemporary with the Aleppo Treaty is the one mentioned in the Manapa-Tarhunta letter (CTH 191),¹³⁸⁶ which dates to the reign of Muwatalli II. However, the Kaššu of the Manapa-Tarhunta letter appears to be a military official,¹³⁸⁷ and therefore is unlikely to be identified with the Chief Priest.

A fourth attestation of the title may belong to a certain Prince Tudhaliya, who is depicted on a stone relief found in Alalah with the title MAGNUS.SACERDOS₂, and proposed to be identified as a priest-ruler of a city in northern Syria.¹³⁸⁸ Finally, a recently recovered bulla from Tell Atchana, ancient Alalah, identifies the owner Pilukatuha with the title MAGNUS.SACERDOS₂.¹³⁸⁹

¹³⁸² On SACERDOS₂, see Hawkins (2005a: 307f.).

¹³⁸³ In Emar, however, SACERDOS₂ is also attested as the equivalent of cuneiform ^{LÚ}HAL "Seer," and in one case (*Emar VI* 212) a ^{LÚ}HAL named Ewri-Tešup is identified on his seal impressed on the same tablet with the title MAGNUS.SACERDOS₂.

¹³⁸⁴ See Appendix 2.

¹³⁸⁵ For a prosopographic study of Kaššu, see van den Hout (1995a: 226–32). For other officials named Kaššu who are treated in this study, see sections 4.6.1.15, 4.8.1.1, and 4.12.1.3.

¹³⁸⁶ KUB 19.5+KBo 19.79 obv. [3], 24.

¹³⁸⁷ See section 4.8.1.1.

¹³⁸⁸ For more on this Tudhaliya, see section 3.2.3.

¹³⁸⁹ Presented by Aslihan Yener at Emmanuel Laroche centennial (5th IFEA meeting) on 22 November 2014.

4.13.2 GAL ^{GIŠ}GIDRU

GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU is translated as the “Chief of the Staff-bearers” or “Chief of the Heralds.”¹³⁹⁰ Ordinary LÚ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU officials are attested quite frequently in Hittite sources, the majority of which are religious texts.¹³⁹¹ Several attestations of GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU seem to be involved in similar functions as those of the LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU. In the fragment KUB 58.4 rev. v 7'–9' (CTH 651), a GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU calls out the names of certain lands during a festival ritual, which is similar to what a LÚ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU does in VBoT 68 obv. ii 15'–16' and iii rev. iii 1–3.¹³⁹² Participation of the GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU official in rituals and festivals is also attested in the Thunderstorm ritual,¹³⁹³ the ritual of Kuwanni,¹³⁹⁴ and the festival of the city of Tuhumiyara.¹³⁹⁵

In another instance, a fragmentary instruction text mentions an ordinance (*išhiul*) relating to a GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU, as well as the Overseer of the Messengers (UGULA DUMU.KIN) and the night guards? (*HĀ'ITU*).¹³⁹⁶ On the association of this official with the messengers, we may also note the LÚ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU official named Mulliyara, whom King Arnuwanda I sent as a messenger to Madduwatta.¹³⁹⁷

A GAL ^{GIŠ}GIDRU official with the partially preserved name [...]–*ma* appears as a witness in the land donation text LhK 6:7', which is dated to the reign of Telipinu (Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 51, 58). This attestation not only indicates the existence of the GAL ^{GIŠ}GIDRU office during the Old Hittite period,¹³⁹⁸ but also indicates that the office held certain significance, since

¹³⁹⁰ See “capo degli haraldi” Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 542), and for LÚ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU “Stabträger, Herold,” see *HZL*: 175.

¹³⁹¹ See Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 172–80).

¹³⁹² For the relevant passages, see Klinger (1996: 194–96).

¹³⁹³ VSNF 12.10 obv. i 11' (CTH 631); see Groddek (2002c:17).

¹³⁹⁴ FHG 13 ii 17' and dupl. KUB 32.103 ii 7 (CTH 474); edited by Groddek (1996b: 300f.).

¹³⁹⁵ KBo 30.57+:9' (Groddek 2002a: 77) with dupl. KBo 38.51:9' (CTH 739).

¹³⁹⁶ On *HĀ'ITU*, see Beal (1992: 263) and CAD/H: 32.

¹³⁹⁷ KUB 14.1+KBo 19.38 rev. 55–56; edited by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011: 92f.).

¹³⁹⁸ Note also the existence of the title GAL *hattim* “chief staff-bearer” in OA-period Kültepe texts (see Veenhof 2008: 221 and Erol 2007: 23f.).

the witnesses of land donation texts are always top-level officials. The only other witness of this land donation text is Hapuwaššu, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL,¹³⁹⁹ whose name precedes that of the GAL ^{GIŠ}GIDRU official.

Zū (^m*Zu-u*) is the only other GAL ^{GIŠ}GIDRU official known by name, and he is mentioned as the owner of a certain female servant in an NS text that gives a list of women.¹⁴⁰⁰

Unfortunately nothing else is known about this official.¹⁴⁰¹

4.13.3 GAL *MUBARRĪ*

The GAL *MUBARRĪ* title belongs to a judicial office, and may be translated as “Chief of Litigations.”¹⁴⁰² The Akkadian term *MUBARRĪ* is the participle of either *burrû*, “to announce, usher in” (CAD/B: 331 and CAD/M2: 201), or if the plene ending is ignored, *burru* (“to legally establish, prove, convict”) of the middle weak *bâru* (Hawkins 2005a: 300). Interestingly there is no attestation of an ordinary *MUBARRĪ* official in Hittite sources, which may suggest that the responsibilities of the office probably did not involve the supervision of junior members. All four attestations of this title in cuneiform documents are accompanied by proper names, and it was based on the matching of these names in glyptic sources that the hieroglyphic equivalent of the title has been established as LIS.DOMINUS.¹⁴⁰³

Mahhuzzi, the GAL *MUBARRĪ*, is attested as a witness both in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (CTH 106.B) and the Šahurunuwa Text (CTH 225), which indicates that he served in that office for a period extending from the reign of Hattušili III to that of Tudhaliya IV. He is also known

¹³⁹⁹ For Hapuwaššu, see section 4.4.1.3.

¹⁴⁰⁰ KBo 10.10 iii-iv 10 (CTH 235).

¹⁴⁰¹ The name Zū is also attested in a tiny NS lot oracle fragment, (KBo 55.193:4', CTH 572), and as a scribe in a Mašat letter (HKM 72 rev. 74).

¹⁴⁰² It was first suggested by van den Hout (1995a: 185). For studies of this title, see Singer (1999a) and Hawkins (2005a: 299f.).

¹⁴⁰³ For a detailed discussion of the hieroglyphic evidence and identification, see Hawkins (2005a: 299f.).

with the LIS.DOMINUS title from three different seals. For a detailed treatment of this official refer to section 4.9.1.10.

Another GAL *MUBARRĪ* official is Nani(n)zi, who bears this title in a legal document in Hittite which was found in Ugarit.¹⁴⁰⁴ In the document a certain Pallariya testifies before the witnesses Tehi-Tešup and Nani(n)zi (^mŠEŠ-zi), the GAL ^{LÚ}.MEŠ *MUBARRĪ*, that the governor (^{LÚ}za-ak-ki-in-ni) has paid 800 shekels of silver to the tax collector (^{LÚ}ma-ki-is-su) named Attalli. The tablet also bears the seal impression of *Á-na-zi/a* LIS.DOMINUS SCRIBA.¹⁴⁰⁵ Although Singer (1991b: 651) attempted to amend the reading of this seal to *na-ní-zi/a*, upon close inspection Hawkins (2005a: 300) confirms the name as Ana(n)zi, and suggests instead the possibility that Nani(n)zi might have been using the seal of a previous holder of the same office, possibly a predecessor, such as his father.¹⁴⁰⁶ On account of the mention of Tehi-Tešup, Singer (1999a: 650) dates the text to the reign of Hattušili III, or perhaps shortly thereafter.

Nani(n)zi is also attested as a witness in the Bronze Tablet (CTH 106.A) with the titles ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR^{MEŠ} and UGULA *MUBARRĪ* (Bo 86/299 iv 41). It is unclear whether or not the UGULA designation indicates a junior status compared to GAL *MUBARRĪ*. We may note that, as argued in section 4.9.1.10, Mahhuzzi was probably still active as a Chief Scribe (MAGNUS.SCRIBA-*la*) during the late reign of Tudhaliya IV and at the same time held the title GAL *MUBARRĪ* (LIS.DOMINUS) as revealed by his seals. On the other hand, the tablet RS 17.109 should be at best contemporary with the Bronze Tablet, if it does not predate it. Therefore, both Mahhuzzi and Nani(n)zi must have been acting as *MUBARRĪ* officials at the same time. If that is the case, we may assume that Nani(n)zi was the lesser ranking official, and therefore his UGULA title may be a reflection of his junior status. It is also possible that when he

¹⁴⁰⁴ RS 17.109:24 (*Ugar. V*: 769–72).

¹⁴⁰⁵ See *Ugar. III*: 60, fig. 84.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Ana(n)zi (*Á-na-zi/a*) is also attested on two seals from Nišantepe (Niš 24 and 25), on one of which he is identified as a scribe.

was away from the capital in Ugarit, he was acting in the GAL-status despite the fact that he did not possess the actual title, and this might also explain the reason for his usage of a seal of his predecessor. Nani(n)zi's name is known from several other documents which were examined in a study by van den Hout (1995a: 180–86), who identifies him as a scribe¹⁴⁰⁷ and the son of the Chief Scribe Mittannamuwa,¹⁴⁰⁸ as well as an official whose name is mentioned in several court proceedings,¹⁴⁰⁹ in a prayer about Kilušhepa,¹⁴¹⁰ and possibly posthumously in an oracle inquiry.¹⁴¹¹

4.13.4 GAL MUHALDIM

The GAL (LÚ.MEŠ)MUHALDIM title is translated as “Chief of the Cooks.”¹⁴¹² Association of the ordinary LÚMUHALDIM “cook” and the UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUHALDIM “Overseer of cooks” with food-related services is quite obvious from abundant attestations,¹⁴¹³ particularly in relation to the food offerings that take place during festivals. A great majority of the attestations of the GAL MUHALDIM official also come from festivals in which he participates, such as the Monthly Festival (CTH 591),¹⁴¹⁴ Winter Festival for the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 598),¹⁴¹⁵ AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival,¹⁴¹⁶ KILAM Festival (CTH 627),¹⁴¹⁷ Festival of the Moon and Thunder (CTH 630),¹⁴¹⁸ Thunderstorm Ritual (CTH 631),¹⁴¹⁹ Great Festival of Arinna (CTH 634),¹⁴²⁰ and

¹⁴⁰⁷ As the author of KUB 20.59 l.e. (CTH 616.2) and KUB 54.4:6' (CTH 691).

¹⁴⁰⁸ KBo 4.12 rev. 7' (CTH 87). For a study of the scribe Nani(n)zi, see Gordin (2008: 100–108).

¹⁴⁰⁹ As a witness in KUB 13.35+ iii 20 (CTH 293), within testimony in KUB 31.68:42' (CTH 297.8), as the father of an unnamed woman in KUB 40.80:11 (CTH 297.11).

¹⁴¹⁰ KUB 54.1+ i 27 (CTH 389).

¹⁴¹¹ KUB 22.40+ iii 27' (CTH 577).

¹⁴¹² “capo dei cucchi” Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 539).

¹⁴¹³ For the list of attestations of LÚMUHALDIM and UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUHALDIM, see Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 64–76).

¹⁴¹⁴ IBoT 4:55:3'.

¹⁴¹⁵ KUB 10.28 i 4.

¹⁴¹⁶ KBo 21.80 i 7 (CTH 621), KBo 9.138:2', 3' (CTH 625)

¹⁴¹⁷ KBo 20.99+KBo 21.52 obv. ii 3', 7', 11', KBo 30.9 rev. iii 2', KUB 58.48 obv. iii 9' with dupl. KBo 69.43:5'.

¹⁴¹⁸ KBo 21.85+ i 42'–46', 54', iii 2', KBo 25.178 iv 6'.

¹⁴¹⁹ KBo 17.74+ obv. i 39, ii 1], KBo 17.75 i 52, 54, VSNF 12.10 rev. iv 11']², 16', 17', 19', 22'.

¹⁴²⁰ KUB 25.9 iii 20', 27', iv 2.

many more festival fragments.¹⁴²¹ Several of these documents are Middle Hittite texts,¹⁴²² but the title is not attested in any OS texts, despite numerous attestations of UGULA MUHALDIM.¹⁴²³

The only attestations of the GAL MUHALDIM title outside the religious genre come from the 13th-century witness lists, which also provide us with the only proper name associated with this title. Kammaliya, the GAL MUHALDIM, appears as a witness in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (KBo 4.10+ rev. 32), the Šahuruwa Text (KUB 26.43 rev. 33), and the Bronze Tablet (Bo 86/299 iv 41). In all three documents he is one of the last names among the witnesses, outranking only the GAL/UGULA *MUBARRĪ* and a few scribal officials (see Appendix 3). In the latter two documents, Kammaliya bears the scribe title in addition to GAL MUHALDIM. In his prosopographic study of Kammaliya, van den Hout (1995a: 178–80) suggests the identification of this person in two further documents. KUB 30.33 (CTH 401) is a ritual text, the colophon of which names a Kamma[liya] (iv 14') as the father of a scribe whose name is not preserved. Since Kammaliya, the GAL MUHALDIM, is also known as a scribe, and the scribal profession tended to stay in families, this identification is plausible (van den Hout 1995a: 179). The other document is the letter KBo 18.48 (CTH 186),¹⁴²⁴ in which Hešni is addressed by the Hittite king, who must be either Hattušili III¹⁴²⁵ or Tudhaliya IV.¹⁴²⁶ Although Kammaliya's name appears in fragmentary lines (obv. 9, rev. 16'), the context may suggest that he had been sent on a diplomatic mission abroad, possibly to Aššur.¹⁴²⁷ Since Kammaliya was a GAL MUHALDIM

¹⁴²¹ KBo 47.81+ obv. i 21' (CTH 635), KUB 58.50 rev. iv 8' (CTH 645.6), KBo 39.82+ obv. ii 8', 10', 14', 19'+KBo 21.72 ii 7', 12' (CTH 647.4); KBo 39.113+ obv. ii 22' (CTH 669.19), KUB 25.36 ii 4' (CTH 678), KBo 46.39:6' (CTH 670), IBoT 3.4 iii 17 (CTH 744).

¹⁴²² KBo 17.74, KBo 21.80, KBo 21.85.

¹⁴²³ UGULA MUHALDIM in OS texts: KBo 17.11(+) rev. iv 29 (CTH 631.1.B), KBo 17.15 obv. 8' (CTH 645.6.B), KBo 25.29 obv. ii 6' (CTH 645.6.D), KBo 25.51 obv.? i 2', 7', 14' (CTH 631), KBo 25.88+KBo 7.38 l. col. 14', 19', 21' (CTH 670), KBo 25.89 obv. ii 6' (CTH 670), KBo 25.127+ obv. ii 3', rev. iii 22', 25' (CTH 744.18), KUB 43.30 obv. ii 2'–19' (CTH 645.7.A).

¹⁴²⁴ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 7–12), Hoffner (2009: 332–34).

¹⁴²⁵ Marizza (2009: 162).

¹⁴²⁶ Houwink ten Cate (2006b: 107ff.).

¹⁴²⁷ Thus Klengel (1965: 62), Mora and Giorgieri (2004: 100), Marizza (2009: 1963). Hagenbuchner's (1989b: 7) reading of Ka[arkamiš] and Beal's (1993: 246) Ašt[ata] seem less likely.

during the reigns of both Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV, we may assume that at the time of KBo 18.48 he was GAL MUHALDIM.¹⁴²⁸ Naturally, a diplomatic role seems totally outside the responsibilities that would be expected from a GAL MUHALDIM as observed in the religious texts, which may suggest either that during the thirteenth century, the GAL MUHALDIM office may have been more of a ceremonial position with a broader range of responsibilities, or that the Kammaliya of KBo 18.48 is a different individual.¹⁴²⁹

The Kammaliya who is mentioned in a couple of inventory texts¹⁴³⁰ and an oracle¹⁴³¹ must be a different individual. Although these documents are contemporary with Kammaliya, the GAL MUHALDIM, in a couple of them his name is followed by the LÚ^{URU}Tumanna designation, which may have been intentionally added in order to distinguish him from our official (van den Hout 1995a: 179).¹⁴³²

4.13.5 GAL LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM

The GAL LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM is an administrative official. In Mesopotamia, the Sumerian term ŠÀ.TAM and its Akkadian equivalent *šatammu* are used for various types of administrative and temple officials,¹⁴³³ and there does not seem to be a commonly accepted translation of the title in Hittite sources either, since in the CHD alone several different translations have been offered: “chamberlain,” (CHD/L-N: 187a), “king’s steward” (CHD/L-N: 231a), “quartermaster” (CHD/P: 200a). Nevertheless, the ŠÀ.TAM official’s responsibilities in Hattuša seem to have revolved mainly around the supervision of the palace treasury or warehouse, since the É^{LÚ(MEŠ)}ŠÀ.TAM

¹⁴²⁸ That is unless KBo 18.48 dates to the early reign of Hattušili III and Kammaliya had not yet been assigned to the GAL MUHALDIM office at that time.

¹⁴²⁹ Note that the Hešni of KBo 18.48 is possibly a different individual than Prince Hešni (probably a son of Hattušili III), who appears as a witness in Ulmi-Tešup Treaty with Kammaliya (see de Martino 2012).

¹⁴³⁰ KBo 16.83+ ii 8 (CTH 242.8), KUB 42.11 vi 4 (CTH 241.7).

¹⁴³¹ KUB 50.84+KUB 49.98 ii 24' (CTH 578).

¹⁴³² Contra Siegelová (1986: 289), who identifies him as the same official.

¹⁴³³ See under *šatammu* in CAD/Š2: 185–92.

must be a “magazine, warehouse, storeroom” (CHD/P: 285a) or “treasury” (CHD/P: 399b).

Therefore the translation of the title as the “Chief of Treasurers” would not be unreasonable.¹⁴³⁴

Although there are quite a few attestations of the LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM official, the Chief of this office appears in only five texts. In KUB 13.34+,¹⁴³⁵ an anonymous GAL LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM (i 32) is mentioned in a court case regarding the theft of a golden seal of the king, where he may have been involved in the investigation of the incident and the interrogation of the suspect. Another attestation comes from the small inventory fragment KUB 42.63, which gives a list of quantities of colored wool.¹⁴³⁶ It is not certain whether the GAL LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM (rev. 6') that appears in the last line of a paragraph could be the title of the fragmentary name ^m*Eh-x-na-x* that appears at the end of the preceding line. As Siegelová (1986: 241) points out, it is more likely to be restored as É.]GAL LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM, which may indicate the source of the wool.

In a passage of the oracle text VS NF 12.27 (CTH 568), which is about the celebration of certain festivals, a GAL LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM official deals with something called [*ganz*]uwa- (obv. iii[?] 21). The restoration of the word *ganzuwa-* is based on its only other attestation in a passage of the *nuntarriyašha* festival, which mentions LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM officials and a GAL MUNUSŠU.GI driving *ganzuwaš* to the city of Arinna to be burned (KUB 55.5+IBoT 4.70 rev. iii 13'–15'). LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM appears to be the subject of the subsequent sentence (iii 15'–16') too, but on account of the singular verb, Nakamura (2002: 51) amends it to <GAL> LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM.¹⁴³⁷

The other two attestations of this office come from festival texts: a fragment of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival (KUB 13.169:10', CTH 625) and a MS[?] festival fragment in which GAL

¹⁴³⁴ See “capo dei tesoriери” in Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 545).

¹⁴³⁵ Edited by Werner (1967: 37–42).

¹⁴³⁶ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 240f.).

¹⁴³⁷ <GAL> LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM MUNUS.LUGAL-*ma-za* MUNUS.LUGAL É *ši-ia-an-na-aš IŠ-TU É-ŠU i-ia-zi* (rev. iii 15'–16').

LÚ.MEŠŠÀ.TAM appears next to an UGULA MUHALDIM official (KBo 47.100a+ obv. 7', CTH 670).

4.13.6 Other GAL-level officials

Although there are several other GAL-level titles encountered in Hittite sources, most of them seem to indicate relatively low-level officials. Several of these appear to be officials in charge of employees of certain trades or perhaps officials with higher levels of experience in their positions, such as “Chief of Waiters” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ GIŠ.BANŠUR), “Chief of Gardeners” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆), “Chief of Weavers” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ UŠ.BAR), “Chief of Blacksmiths” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ É.DE.A), “Chief of Tanners” (GAL LÚ.AŠGAB), “Chief of Physicians” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ A.ZU), “Chief of Augurs/Fowlers” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ MUŠEN.DÙ), “Chief of Seers” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ HAL), or others as persons in charge of certain groups of cultic functionaries such as “Chief of *hapiya*-men” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ *hapiya*-), “Chief of *harida*-men” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ *harida*-), “Chief of *zilipuriyatalla*-men” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ *zilipuriyatalla*-), “Chief of Singers” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ NAR), Chief of the Dog-men (GAL LÚ.MEŠ UR.ZÍR), some of which could be groups of females such as “Chief of *zintuhi*-women” (GAL MUNUS.MEŠ *zintuhi*-), or “Chief of the ‘Old Women’” (GAL MUNUS.MEŠŠU.GI).¹⁴³⁸

A majority of these titles exclusively, and the others predominantly, appear in texts of cultic nature. Some exceptions to the religious genre are the “Chief of the Spearmen” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ (GIŠ)ŠUKUR),¹⁴³⁹ “Chief of the Overseers of the Rural Clansmen” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ UGULA LĪM ŠĒRI),¹⁴⁴⁰ and “Chief of the *šallašha*-men (GAL LÚ.MEŠ *šallašha*-),¹⁴⁴¹ and the small number

¹⁴³⁸ For a more complete list of these titles and their attestations, see Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 521–56). Some additional titles that can be added to Pecchioli Daddi’s list are: GAL LÚ.MEŠ NI.DUH (KUB 51.50 obv. ? iii’ 11’), GAL LÚ.MEŠ AŠIRUTIM (VSNF 12.7 i 10’), GAL LÚ.MEŠ *šarmiya*- (VSNF 12.7 i 11’), GAL LÚ.MEŠ KÁ.GAL UR.GI₇ (VSNF 12.7 i 11).

¹⁴³⁹ KBo 12.4 iii 8’] with dupl. KUB 11.2:15’ [(CTH 19), IBoT 1.36 ii 50, iv 8 (CTH (262).

¹⁴⁴⁰ KBo 3.1 ii 71 with dupls. KUB 11.2+IBoT 3.82:10’ and KBo 12.4 iii 4’ [(CTH 19).

¹⁴⁴¹ IBoT 1.36 ii 23 (CTH 262).

of their attestations come from the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19) and/or the *MEŠEDI* Instructions (CTH 262).

Many of these titles are either *hapaxes* or attested very few times. A significant exception to this is the “Chief of Waiters” (GAL LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR), who is mentioned anonymously in over two dozen documents.¹⁴⁴² These documents are entirely of the religious genre, mostly festival texts and a few oracles, in which the duties of this official do not seem to be much different than those of the ordinary LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR or UGULA LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR officials, who appear even more frequently in such texts. Although UGULA LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR is attested in several OS texts,¹⁴⁴³ the GAL LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR officials start to appear only with MS texts.¹⁴⁴⁴ The fact that in some of the texts GAL LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR seemingly alternates with UGULA LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR¹⁴⁴⁵ may suggest that either the GAL and UGULA designations were used as equivalents or that the GAL official did not have much prominence over the UGULA official. Despite plenty of attestations all of them are anonymous. If the Dinçols’ (2008b: 69f.) suggestion to identify the hieroglyphic L. 402 (SCUTELLA) as an equivalent of cuneiform LÚ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR is correct, an exception might come from the seal impression SBo II 63, on which the seal owner LINGUA+CLAVUS(-)*su*¹⁴⁴⁶ bears the titles BONUS₂ SCRIBA-*la* and MAGNUS.SCUTELLA.

The only proper name attested among these less significant GAL officials is Gallullu, the GAL^{LÚ.MEŠ}IGI.MUŠEN (“Chief of Augurs”), who is known from a couple of attestations in the NS oracle texts KBo 24.126 rev. 25 (CTH 577) and KUB 49.15:6’ (CTH 572). The other three

¹⁴⁴² In addition to those cited in Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 24f.), there are numerous other attestations in documents published since then, some of which are KBo 22.189+ obv. iii 2[(CTH 682), KBo 30.58 obv. ii 7’, iii 9’ (CTH 634), KBo 30.126 obv. ii? 2[, (CTH 592), KBo 30.127 obv.?[?] iii 4’, 7’ (CTH 592), KBo 30.129 rev.?[?] iii 8’] (CTH 648), KBo 30.162+ obv. ii 31 (CTH 666), KBo 44.172:6’[(CTH 670), KUB 51.50 obv.?[?] iii? 10’ (CTH 448), and KUB 59.21+ obv. iii 12], 14[(CTH 651).

¹⁴⁴³ KUB 43.30 obv. ii 10’, 14’, 20’ (CTH 645.7.A), KBo 25.94:5’ (CTH 670), KBo 25.127+ obv. ii 9, 16, 17 (CTH 744.18).

¹⁴⁴⁴ See more in section 6.2.

¹⁴⁴⁵ See examples cited by Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 524).

¹⁴⁴⁶ For the suggested reading of the name as Hattasu, see B. Dinçol (1998b: 169–71).

known attestations of the GAL^{LÚ.MEŠ}IGI.MUŠEN title also come from oracle texts, which confirm that the responsibilities of the office largely involved divination.¹⁴⁴⁷

4.13.7 EN^{URU}GN

The Sumerian term EN, as well as its Akkadian and Hittite equivalents *BĒL* and *išha-*, is typically translated as “Lord.” When the word is used in the form of “Lord of the city of *x*,” it can either be an appellation for a deity of that city,¹⁴⁴⁸ or if the city name is Hatti or Hattuša, it can also be a generic reference to a high official.¹⁴⁴⁹ However, there are also a few other attestations with various city names, which seem to be used as titles for some high-level Hittite officials.

During the reign of Hattušili III, the title “Lord of Hurma” is attested in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty as the title of Palla among the witnesses.¹⁴⁵⁰ Palla’s name is also restored as a witness with the titles [EN^{URU}H]urme^{LÚ}DUB.SAR^{LÚ}SAG in the Šahuruwa Text,¹⁴⁵¹ which dates to the early years of the reign of Tudhaliya IV. A detailed study of this official was conducted by van den Hout (1995a: 216–25), who identifies him as the person who appears with scribal titles in three other documents,¹⁴⁵² as well as the father of another scribe named Angulli.¹⁴⁵³ We may note, however, that even if this identification is correct, his scribal activities were possibly not his main occupation, since in both the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Šahuruwa Text, Palla is listed before not only Walwaziti, the Chief Scribe, but also Kammaliya, the Chief of Cooks, and

¹⁴⁴⁷ KUB 22.27 iv 3[(CTH 568), KUB 49.28 r. col. 6' (CTH 579), KUB 49.60 i 10 (CTH 577).

¹⁴⁴⁸ E.g., ^dU EN^{URU}Hatti (KBo 1.1 rev. 40'), ^dKunyawwan EN^{URU}Lanta (KUB 6.45 ii 49–50). See other examples in Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 453, 454 n. (1)).

¹⁴⁴⁹ E.g., KUB 13.58 ii 21–26 (CTH 257): “And when the seal on the gate ‘turns’ (i.e., ‘is broken’), afterwards someone who is Lord of Hatti, or a Commander of a Thousand, or whichever Lord is on duty, they should examine together the seal ...” (Singer 1998: 171). For other attestations, see Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 453).

¹⁴⁵⁰ ^mPal-la-a EN^{URU}Hur-mi (KUB 4.10+ iv 32).

¹⁴⁵¹ ^m[Pal-la-a EN^{URU}H]ur-ur-me^{LÚ}DUB.SAR^{LÚ}SAG (KUB 26.43+ rev. 32).

¹⁴⁵² In KBo 30.144 rev. 4' (CTH 670) and VBoT 12+ :6' (CTH 560) as the scribe of the documents, and in KBo 18.6:9', 19', 26' (CTH 187) as one of the addressees of the scribal letter. The seal impression Niš 292 identifies Palla (*Pa-la*) with the title SCRIBA.

¹⁴⁵³ KUB 30.26 iv 13' (CTH 783.1) and KUB 32.133 iv 7' (CTH 482). See under Palla in section 4.14.1.

Mahhuzzi, the Chief of Litigations (see Appendix 3), suggesting that his position was one of greater importance than that of an ordinary scribe. Another group of documents about Palla apparently refer to a goldsmith,¹⁴⁵⁴ which includes a couple of oracle inquiries concerning a theft accusation against this individual.¹⁴⁵⁵ Although van den Hout (1995a: 222) considers the possibility, due to the mismatch of occupations and a possible indictment he had faced, this goldsmith is less likely to be identified with Palla, the scribe and Lord of Hurma.¹⁴⁵⁶ As discussed in section 5.3.1, the goldsmith Palla does not even appear as a supervisor in the inventory texts.

The Lord of Hurma title is also attested for a person named Kaššu in the festival fragment KUB 56.56 i 21', which is contextually dated to the reign of Tudhaliya IV.¹⁴⁵⁷ The document records the supplies needed for a festival celebration in the city of Hurma, where Kaššu, the Lord of H[urma] is named as one of the suppliers of items for the goddess Hantitaššu. The involvement of the “Lord” in the festival celebration in the city of Hurma is further demonstrated in the tablet catalog KUB 8.69 rev. iii 10–12, which reads: “Three tablets of the Spring Festival of Hurma; how the Lord (LÚEN) celebrates the festivals in Hurma.”¹⁴⁵⁸

Hurma had been a major Hittite city since the Old Assyrian period,¹⁴⁵⁹ and by the thirteenth century it was an important cult center. In prayers, the Stormgod of Hurma and Hantitaššu of Hurma were summoned alongside other deities,¹⁴⁶⁰ and it is also known that the

¹⁴⁵⁴ Inventory texts KBo 18.153 obv. 5' (CTH 242.2) and KUB 42.10+Bo 5166 rev. 1' (CTH 242.12), and the court proceeding KUB 13.35+ ii 36 (CTH 293). In the latter text, Palla has the title LÚKÜ.DÍM (“goldsmith”), and for the inventory texts, see van den Hout (1995a: 222f.).

¹⁴⁵⁵ KUB 22.70 obv. 36, 37, 72 (CTH 566) and KUB 56.24 rev. 5 (CTH 590).

¹⁴⁵⁶ Van den Hout notes that Palla, the goldsmith, may have been acquitted, and that goldsmiths could obtain high status in Hittite society (1995a: 223 and n. 412 with bibliography).

¹⁴⁵⁷ Edited by Pecchioli Daddi and Baldi (2004: 495–506). For the dating of the text, see Pecchioli Daddi and Baldi (2004: 501) and van den Hout (1995a: 231 and n. 431).

¹⁴⁵⁸ DUB III.KAM ŠA EZEN₄ hamešhandas^{URU} Hurma / INA^{URU} Hurma mahhan LÚEN EZEN₄.MEŠ ēššai. For an edition of the full text, see Dardano (2006: 59–62).

¹⁴⁵⁹ See Barjamovic (2011: 180).

¹⁴⁶⁰ See, for example, CTH 381 i 72 (Singer 2002a: 88).

city hosted the cults of several non-local deities such as the Stormgod of Aleppo, Hapat of Aleppo, and the Stormgod of Zippalanda.¹⁴⁶¹ Pecchioli Daddi (2006: 127) suggests that Hurma belonged to an important religious district in east central Anatolia, which included Karahna, Šamuha, Kummanni, and Šarišša. On that note, if Wilhelm’s (1997: 18) restoration of EN $r^{URU}_1 H[ur^? -ma^?]$ in KuSa 1.2 col.I:13’ is correct, the Lord of Hurma also participated in the Spring Festival of Šarrišša (CTH 636). Furthermore, it is interesting that the same composition also includes a couple of attestations of the title “Lord of Šarišša,” which is not known from any other document.¹⁴⁶²

Although the EN URU Hurma title is not attested in this exact form in the documents of the Old Hittite period, in the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8) there are several references to certain Hittite officials with the designation “Man of Hurma” (LÚ URU Hurma):

Nunnu, the Man of Hurma, was in the land of Arzawa.¹⁴⁶³

Šanda, the palace official, Man of Hurma, was in the city of Haššu.¹⁴⁶⁴

And Aškaliya, the Man of Hurma, took him and made him a manager in the city of Ullamma.¹⁴⁶⁵

In the case of Aškaliya, the fact that in the preceding paragraph of the same text Aškaliya is said to be “the Lord in the city of Hurma”¹⁴⁶⁶ suggests that the “Man of Hurma” designation is likely to be a title rather than an indication of the person’s hometown.¹⁴⁶⁷ In the anecdote about Nunnu, it is mentioned that the person who informed against this official was a “Man of Huntara” (LÚ URU Huntara, i 13). Also, a separate and fragmentary anecdote mentions a “Nunnu, the brother of the Man of Pakummaliya” (m Nunnun AHI LÚ URU Pakummaliya, ii 40). We cannot be sure whether the second Nunnu is the same person as the former, but this phrase by itself

¹⁴⁶¹ See Pecchioli Daddi and Baldi (2004: 505f.) and Pecchioli Daddi (2006: 125f.).

¹⁴⁶² EN URU Šarišša (KuSa 1.1 col.I:11) and BĒ[L] URU Ša[rišša] (KUB 7.25 rev. iv 4’).

¹⁴⁶³ KUR Arzawiya m Nunnu LÚ URU Hurma ēšta (CTH 8 obv. i 11).

¹⁴⁶⁴ URU Haššui m Šandaš DUMU.É.GAL LÚ URU Hurma ēšta (CTH 8 i 24).

¹⁴⁶⁵ ša=an m Aškaliyaš LÚ URU Hurma dāš ša=an INA URU Ullamma’ LÚ maniyahhatallan iyat. (CTH 8 obv. ii 15–16).

¹⁴⁶⁶ m Aškaliyaš URU Hurmi EN-aš ēšta (CTH 8 obv. ii 8).

¹⁴⁶⁷ Thus Beal (1992: 531) and Dardano (1997: 82f.).

makes it clear that LÚ^{URU} *Pakummaliya* cannot be a designation of origin, since two brothers would have been from the same town. Therefore, like Man of Hurma, the anonymous Man of Pakummaliya must also be a title, and we may generalize this to Man of Huntara as well.¹⁴⁶⁸

Pointing to the historical introduction of the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19), where the kings Labarna and Hattušili I are said to have sent each of their sons to various lands to administer them,¹⁴⁶⁹ Dardano (1997: 81–83) notes that, in its earliest phase, the administration of the kingdom was run by people belonging to the family of the king, and further suggests that the individuals named in the anecdotes of the Palace Chronicle were probably also members of the royal family, who had been trusted with the administration of various cities (See section 3.1.1). In regard to this, we may note that the anecdotes of the Palace Chronicle generally describe the misfortunes experienced by Hittite officials, who had abused their powers or misbehaved in some other fashion. The text describes punishments for each of the three “Men of Hurma”: Nunnu, as a result of his embezzlement of gold and silver payments which he was supposed to collect in Arzawa on behalf of the state, was brought to Hattuša, harnessed to a yoke, beaten, and forced to witness the execution of one of his relatives (i 11–23); Šanda was apparently involved in a military operation, and was mutilated as a result of his cowardice against the Hurrian forces (i 24–25); and Aškaliya was transferred from Hurma to Ankuwa, demoted to the LÚ^{URU} AGRIG position, and said to have died in poverty (ii 8–14).¹⁴⁷⁰ While such ill treatment does not necessarily exclude the possibility that these officials were members of the extended royal family, it is unlikely that they were close relatives. That is, however, not to say that close relatives of the royal family were not in high administrative positions.

¹⁴⁶⁸ The city of Pakummaliya is a *hapax*, but Huntara is probably a city in western Anatolia (see Otten *RLA* 4: 500).

¹⁴⁶⁹ CTH 19 i 9–12 and i 18–19.

¹⁴⁷⁰ As mentioned in section 4.4.1.1, the subsequent paragraph about Aškaliya should probably have preceded this one since it seems to describe an episode that provides the reasons why Aškaliya was punished.

In addition to the attestations of “Lord of Hurma” and “Lord of Šarišša,” a third city name that appears in this format is Nerik, which is another important cult center. One of the two documents that mention the “Lord of Nerik” title is the Šahurunuwa Text (CTH 225), where Anuwanza is listed as a witness with the titles DUB.SAR, EN^{URU}Nerik, and LÚSAG.¹⁴⁷¹ This Anuwanza is almost certainly the well-known scribal supervisor, who was active during the late reign of Hattušili III and throughout the reign of Tudhaliya IV.¹⁴⁷² His name is attested over three dozen documents, mostly in the colophons, where he occasionally bears the titles DUB.SAR or LÚSAG, but the Šahurunuwa Text is the only one that mentions the “Lord of Nerik” title. There is, however, the oracle text KUB 52.14 iii 5' (CTH 582), which names Anuwanza in broken context, and based on the mention of the Stormgod of Nerik earlier in the text (ii 20'), van den Hout (1995a: 239) remarks on a possible identification with Anuwanza, the Lord of Nerik.

The only other attestation of “Lord of Nerik” comes from the Monthly Festival of the city of Nerik (CTH 672),¹⁴⁷³ where the anonymous Lord of Nerik and priests make offerings to the Stormgod of Nerik. The introduction of the text makes it clear that the document dates to the reign of Tudhaliya IV, making it contemporary with Anuwanza.

Finally there is the single attestation of an EN^{URU}Hupišna “Lord of Hupišna,” which appears in a MH fragment of the festival of Huwaššanna of Hupišna (CTH 694).¹⁴⁷⁴ Although the title appears right after a break, context suggests that it refers to an official rather than a deity. Like the Lord of Nerik in CTH 672, the Lord of Hupišna is involved in making offerings to the deity.

¹⁴⁷¹ m Anuwanza DUB.SAR EN^{URU}Nerik LÚSAG (KUB 26.43+ rev. 34).

¹⁴⁷² For a prosopographic study of Anuwanza, see van den Hout (1995a: 238–42). See also Miller (2004: 38f.), and Torri (2008: 777). See here in section 4.14.1.

¹⁴⁷³ KUB 56.48 i 21, ii 10, iii 7', with dupls. KUB 56.49 ii 13', KBo 2.4 ii 5, iii 8'; edited by Součková (2010: 279–300).

¹⁴⁷⁴ KBo 30.160 rev. 5': JEN^{URU}Hupišna ANA DINGIR^{LIM}; edited by Groddek (2002a: 224).

When we sum up the evidence, leaving aside the appellations of deities and generic references to the lords of Hatti, the EN^{URU}GN title is attested only with the city names Hurma, Šarišša, Nerik, and Hupišna.¹⁴⁷⁵ While the “Lord of Šarišša” and perhaps the “Lord of Hupišna”—both in MH texts—are attested anonymously, the “Lord of Hurma” and the “Lord of Nerik” were in use by certain Hittite officials of the thirteenth century. Palla and Kaššu are attested with the Lord of Hurma title and Anuwanza was the Lord of Nerik. The meaning of the title implies that these officials were in charge of the administration of these cities. However, both Palla and more significantly Anuwanza, whose name is attested in the colophons of Boğazköy documents more than that of any other scribe, appear to be officials active in the city of Hattuša, which speaks against them having responsibilities as administrators in cities distant from Hattuša. Even if we assume that the “Man of Hurma” title of the Palace Chronicle may have been the forerunner of the title “Lord of Hurma,” in each of the above-quoted attestations of this OH text, Nunnu, Šanda, and Aškaliya were involved in events that took place away from the city of Hurma. While these events of the Palace Chronicle are unrelated to religious events, with the exception of Palla and Anuwanza as witnesses, the rest of the Empire period attestations of the Lords of Hurma, Šarišša, Nerik, and Hupišna come from festival texts. Combined with the fact that by the thirteenth century all four cities were important cult centers,¹⁴⁷⁶ it is more likely that the responsibilities associated with these titles had become ceremonial in nature and required the occasional travel of these officials of the capital to the cult centers in order to participate in the festivals.

¹⁴⁷⁵ It is not certain whether the fragmentary attestation in ^mKu-u[q-q]a-na-aš-wa EN^{URU}Nu[-x] of the small letter fragment KBo 12.46 rev. 4', (CTH 209) might be a title.

¹⁴⁷⁶ E.g., see Muwatalli's prayer to the assembly of gods (CTH 381), where the Stormgods of Nerik (i 68), Šarišša (i 73), Hurma (i 74), and Hupišna (ii 15) are summoned among others (Singer 2002a: 88f.).

In hieroglyphic Luwian, URBS.DOMINUS appears to be the equivalent of cuneiform EN URU^{LIM}. The title has been attested on several seals or seal impressions from Boğazköy and elsewhere:

Ku(ku)lana <i>Ku-la-na</i> <i>Ku-ku-la-na</i>	MAGNUS.AURIGA ₂ , URBS.DOMINUS AURIGA URBS.DOMINUS	Niş 171 No. 8 in Kennedy (1958), Niş 172–173
Massanaura? DEUS-MAGNUS	URBS [?] .DOMINUS [?]	RS 18.70 (<i>Ugar.</i> III, fig. 87)
Nani(y)a(n)du [?] <i>Na-ni-á-tu</i>	URBS.DOMINUS	Poetto (2010)
Samituli <i>sà-mi-tu-li</i>	URBS.'DOMINUS(?) ¹	Niş 348
Šauškamuwa <i>sà+US-ka-BOS+MI</i>	URBS.DOMINUS	SBo II 79
Šauškaruntiya <i>sà+US-ka-CERVUS₃-ti</i>	URBS.DOMINUS(-na?) HATTI.URBS	Niş 381
Tamir(a)ya [?] <i>Ta-mi-ra/i-i(a)</i>	URBS.DOMINUS	No. 1 in Poetto (2002)
Tarkasna [?] ASINUS ₂	URBS.DOMINUS	from Soli, the Dinçols (2008a)
<i>zi/a+ra/i-x-x(?)</i>	URBS.DOMINUS(?)	Niş 528
[...]-x-i(a)+ra/i	URBS.DOMINUS	Niş 559

None of these names can be matched with any known EN^{URU}GN title holder. Also, the URBS.DOMINUS title does not specify a city name, as it is simply the equivalent of EN URU^{LIM}, “Lord of the City.” An exception to this might be Šauškaruntiya of Niş 381, whose title may be read “City-Lord of the city of Hattuša.”¹⁴⁷⁷ A high official named Šauškaruntiya has been discussed in section 4.4.1.15, but this seal owner is less likely to be identified with him.

Two seal impressions (Niş 361 and 362) of a person named Sarini (SUPER-*ra/i-ni/ni*) bears the title SOL+RA/I.DOMINUS. Hawkins suggests that SOL+RA/I stands for the city name

¹⁴⁷⁷ See Hawkins (2005a: 271).

Arinna,¹⁴⁷⁸ and that combined with the DOMINUS sign it may stand for an unattested *EN^{URU} Arinna (Hawkins 2005a: 309). The name Sarini is not known from other sources.

4.13.8 EN É *ABUSSI*

The title EN É *ABUSSI* refers to a person in charge of the storehouse.¹⁴⁷⁹ During the reigns of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV, the title was borne by Tuttu, who is listed in all three important witness lists from this period.¹⁴⁸⁰ Although he is a relatively low-ranking official compared to the princes and military officers, in all three witness lists he consistently outranks the Chief Scribe (GAL DUB.SAR), the Chief of the Cooks (GAL MUHALDIM), and the Chief of Litigations (GAL *MUBARRĪ*). Inclusion of EN É *ABUSSI* among the offices listed in the tribute lists from Ugarit (see Appendix 4) may also testify to the importance of this office.¹⁴⁸¹ Tuttu also appears with the same title in the inventory text KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1 iii 18¹⁴⁸² as one of the officials who verify the inventory items. In the same text, Prince Hešni (iii 11'), Prince Ehli-Šarruma (iv 24') and Chief Scribe Walwaziti (iii 16', 20'), who accompany Tuttu in the witness lists, are also named among the officials who performs such verifications. Furthermore, Tuttu also appears with EN É *ABUSSI* title in fragmentary context in a vow text of Puduhepa concerning the illness of Hattušili's eye, where the queen pledges golden objects.¹⁴⁸³ Tuttu's involvement in the text is not clear, but his name also appears in two similar texts in association with silver statues.¹⁴⁸⁴ Although the context is not clear in either case, we may suspect that the mention of Tuttu had something to do with the fact that as the “Lord of the Storehouse” he was the person responsible

¹⁴⁷⁸ This is on account of (DEUS) SOL SOL+*RA/I* representing the Sungoddess of Arinna (see Hawkins 1995: 32).

¹⁴⁷⁹ See *abūsu* in CAD/A1: 92f.

¹⁴⁸⁰ The Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (rev. 31), the Šahuruwuwa Text (rev. 32), and the Bronze Tablet (iv 40); see Appendix 3. For a detailed study of Tuttu, see van den Hout (1995a: 169–72).

¹⁴⁸¹ In those lists the Chief Scribe is always written before EN É *ABUSSI*.

¹⁴⁸² Edited by Siegelová (1986: 276–81).

¹⁴⁸³ KUB 56.13 rev. 9' (CTH 590); edited by de Roos (2007a: 232–37).

¹⁴⁸⁴ KUB 15.27 obv. 4' and KUB 55.216+ :1' (CTH 590); both texts are edited by de Roos (2007a: 189–92 and 295–97).

for the storage of valuable items. Such an association with stored valuable material may suggest that the Tuttu who gives a testimony in the court case KUB 23.91 about certain implements that had gone missing, can also be identified with the same official.¹⁴⁸⁵

Tuttu is a common name and appears in several other documents, a comprehensive list of which has been provided by van den Hout (1992: 169f.) in his study of this official.¹⁴⁸⁶ The attestations other than those mentioned above either refer to different individuals or remain uncertain due to lack of information.

The]EN *ABUSSI*[phrase, which appears in fragmentary context in the NS festival text KUB 55.27:17¹⁴⁸⁷ in the same paragraph with the personal names Hilani, Pihamuwa, Arma-Tarhunta, and a priest, is likely to be the title of another personal name that is not preserved. There is no contextual information towards establishing a date, but if Arma-Tarhunta can be identified with the son of Zita, or if Pihamuwa is the same person who appears in the inventory text KUB 40.95 ii 4, 12 (CTH 242.4), the document could be dated to a time during the Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV period, which in turn would suggest the restoration of Tuttu in front of the title.

If the EN É *a-bu-ti* mentioned in the Akkadian document RS 17.244¹⁴⁸⁸ from Ugarit is the same title as EN É *ABUSSI*,¹⁴⁸⁹ another holder of this office can be identified as Muwaziti, who is identified as the son of Yaraziti. The document is a legal act about handing over certain individuals to the service of the king of Ugarit in the presence of Muwaziti and the *KARTAPPU* official named Šunaili, who are identified as officials of the Hittite king (^dUTU^{ŠI}). The only other attestations of Muwaziti in cuneiform sources come from a couple of MH documents, and in

¹⁴⁸⁵ KUB 23.91:1, 23, 28, 30 (CTH 297.3). For an edition of the relevant passage (1–11), see Beal (1992: 388f.), where he restores the title EN É *ABUSSI* for Tuttu.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Some new attestations of Tuttu that can be added to van den Hout's study are KBo 50.64+KBo 50.63 obv. 9'[, rev. iv 10', 12' (CTH 140); KBo 50.67 obv. ii 25'] (CTH 139); and KBo 50.70 3' (CTH 140), all of which date to the early Empire period and are unlikely to be identified with our Tuttu.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Edited by Groddek (2002b: 45).

¹⁴⁸⁸ *PRU* IV: 231f.

¹⁴⁸⁹ See *bēl abūsu* in CAD/A1: 93.

glyphic sources from three seal impressions, one of which identifies him as a Chief Scribe (see 4.9.1.16).

It appears that there were separate EN É *ABUSSI* officials at the service of the local principalities in Syria. The tablet MFA 1977, which almost certainly originates from Emar, records in Akkadian a legal proceeding heard before the king of Karkamiš Ini-Tešup.¹⁴⁹⁰ Other than the scribe, the only other named witness to the proceeding is a certain Uri-Tešup, who is identified as EN É *abussi* of king Ini-Tešup.¹⁴⁹¹ A different individual, who is likely to be a local official in Emar, appears as a witness in another legal document, *Emar* VI 212:24.¹⁴⁹²

Other attestations of the EN É *ABUSSI* title come from the oracle summary fragment KBo 18.136 obv. 5'[, rev. 14, 18'] (CTH 581),¹⁴⁹³ the *šašta*-oracle KUB 18.11 rev. 12' (CTH 576),¹⁴⁹⁴ and the substitution ritual fragment KUB 46.20 obv. 14' (CTH 420).¹⁴⁹⁵ The few attestations of the *ABUSSI*-house (É *ABUSSI*) without the EN designation do not reveal a lot of information either,¹⁴⁹⁶ but on a few occasions the *ABUSSI*-house is mentioned as the location of a *dupšahi*-ritual.¹⁴⁹⁷ Performance of rituals inside this building does suggest that it may not have been a small space. In one of these ritual compositions, which involves the setting up of a new statue of the Deity of the Night (CTH 481), the new statue is temporarily set up at the *ABUSSI*-house¹⁴⁹⁸ before it is taken to the new temple.¹⁴⁹⁹ Combined with Tuttu's association with gold and silver statues or objects in the above-mentioned texts, this may suggest that the *ABUSSI*-house was a

¹⁴⁹⁰ Published by Owen (1995).

¹⁴⁹¹ ^mÚ-ri-^dI[M] EN É *a-bu-us-sí ša* ^mI-ni-^dIM LUGAL (MFA 1977 rev. 37–38). Outside of this document Uri-Tešup is attested as the owner of a slave in *Emar* VI 366: 2.

¹⁴⁹² NA₄ KIŠIB ^mx-x-ri EN *a-bu-sí* (*Emar* VI 212: 24).

¹⁴⁹³ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 223f.).

¹⁴⁹⁴ IR^{TUM} ŠA SAG.DU EN É *A-BU-US-SÍ I-DI*.

¹⁴⁹⁵] *na-at* EN *A-BU-US-SÍ* [.

¹⁴⁹⁶ KBo 44.97 obv. ii 8 (CTH 488), IBoT 1.29 rev. 6 (CTH 633), KBo 48.147:4'[, 5' (CTH 670), and Bo 6849 rev. iv 10 (CTH 297) (see *HZL*: 190).

¹⁴⁹⁷ KBo 8.90 ii 10 (CTH 481), KBo 23.93 i 28+KBo 30.102 rev. iv 11' (CTH 495), KUB 29.4 ii 23, iii 66 (CTH 450).

¹⁴⁹⁸ KUB 29.4+ iii 66 (CTH 481); edited by Miller (2004: 273–310).

¹⁴⁹⁹ Presumably the removal of the statue from the *ABUSSI*-house takes place in the broken initial lines of the column iv, since the next time the location of the statue is mentioned it is in the new temple.

Name	Reigning King	Titles / Relationships
Nunnu	Hattušili I (?)	LÚ ^{URU} Hurma
Šanda	Hattušili I (?)	LÚ ^{URU} Hurma, DUMU.É.GAL
Aškaliya	Hattušili I (?)	LÚ ^{URU} Hurma, EN, LÚ ^{URU} AGRIG
[...]- <i>ma</i>	Telipinu	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ} GIDRU
Kantuzzili	Arnuwanda I/Tudhaliya II	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU} SANGA, LÚ ^{URU} SANGA, DUMU.LUGAL, son of Arnuwanda I
Telipinu	Šuppiluliuma I–Muršili II	MAGNUS.SACERDOS ₂ , son of Šuppiluliuma I
Tudhaliya	Muršili II	MAGNUS.SACERDOS ₂ , REX.FILIUS
Kaššu	Muršili II/Muwatali II	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU} SANGA
Ana(n)zi	13 th century (?)	LIS.DOMINUS, SCRIBA
Kammaliya	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	GAL MUHALDIM, DUB.SAR
Mahhuzzi	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	GAL <i>MUBARRĪ</i> /LIS.DOMINUS, REX.FILIUS, MAGNUS.SCRIBA- <i>la</i> , SCRIBA- <i>la</i> /DUB.SAR
Palla	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	EN ^{URU} Hurma, DUB.SAR, LÚ ^{URU} SAG
Anuwanza	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	EN ^{URU} Nerik, DUB.SAR, LÚ ^{URU} SAG
Tuttu	Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	EN É <i>ABUSSI</i>
Nani(n)zi	Tudhaliya IV	GAL/UGULA <i>MUBARRĪ</i> , DUB.SAR, son of Mittannamuwa
Kaššu	Tudhaliya IV	EN ^{URU} Hurma
Zū	13 th century	GAL LÚ ^{GIŠ} GIDRU
Gallullu	13 th century	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU} IGI.MUŠEN
Muwaziti	13 th century	EN É <i>ABUSSI</i> ² (<i>a-bu-ti</i>)

Table 17. List of other GAL and EN officials.

place where valuable items were kept. In that respect, its meaning is similar to the É LÚ.MEŠ^{URU}ŠĀ.TAM “treasury, storehouse” (see under 4.13.5), but the difference may be that what was kept in the *ABUSSI*-house had more cultic functions. Almost all attestations of the term (EN) É *ABUSSI* paleographically or contextually date to the Empire period. A single exception might be an attestation of É *ABUSSI* in fragmentary context in the *haššumaš* festival (the so-called Initiation Rite for a Hittite Prince), for which an earlier date is suspected.¹⁵⁰⁰

¹⁵⁰⁰ Both CHD and HW² mark the quoted passages of the text as MH²/MS², and so does *Konkordanz*.

4.13.9 MAGNUS and DOMINUS titles

As has been encountered in the hieroglyphic equivalents of several titles discussed in previous sections, the hieroglyphic signs MAGNUS (L. 363) and DOMINUS (L. 390) are the equivalents of cuneiform GAL and EN. There are several other compounds of these signs attested on seals and seal impressions as titles/professions. Some of these may belong to high-level offices, although they cannot be matched with the known cuneiform titles or professions with confidence.

4.13.9.1 MAGNUS.PITHOS and PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS

Due to its container-like shape, the hieroglyphic sign L. 337 has been assigned the value PITHOS. Either or both titles may correspond to a supervisory position of “pithos[?]-men,” which may possibly be a position handling commodities or storage facilities. Similarities of the sign L. 337 to L. 336 (ANNUS), L. 338 (CULTER), and L. 482 (GLADIUS[?]) cause difficulties in identification.¹⁵⁰¹ Attested individuals are:

Uku BOS ₍₂₎ -ku	EUNUCHUS ₂ , MAGNUS.PITHOS MAGNUS.PITHOS	Niş 489 Niş 490
Ananiwalwi á-na-ni-LEO	MAGNUS.PITHOS [?]	Niş 19
Runzapiya[?] CERVUS ₂ -zi/a-pi-i(a) [?]	MAGNUS.PITHOS, EUNUSHUS ₂	Niş 604
Tiwatali[?] Ti-wa-tà-li [?]	MAGNUS.PITHOS [?]	BoHa 22 no. 147
L. 26-L. 398²-LEO₂ wa- <i>la</i>	EUNUCHUS ₂ , MAGNUS.PITHOS SCRIBA-la, MAGNUS.PITHOS	BoHa 14 no. 308a no. 58 in Gelb (1956)
Alalimi¹⁵⁰² lá/i-la/i-mi / ^m A-la!-li-mi	PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS	Niş 3

¹⁵⁰¹ See the Diñcols (2008b: 70f.), Hawkins (2005a: 305f.).

¹⁵⁰² For Alalimi, see sections 4.3.1.4 and 4.8.1.8. However, there is no information to suggest an identification of the owner of Niş 3 with the other officials.

Anatali ¹⁵⁰³ <i>á-na-tà-li</i>	MAGNUS.PASTOR, SCRIBA, PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS	BoHa 22 no. 189
Kar[?]-Tešup <i>kar[?]-TESUP-pa</i>	PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS	SBo I 112
Pihamuwa <i>pi-ha-BOS.MI</i>	EUNUCHUS ₂ , PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS	Niš 299
Tiwatamuwa SOL-BOS SOL- <i>wa/i-tà</i> -BOS	PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS	Niš 460 SBo II 223
Taprammi ¹⁵⁰⁴ LEPUS ₂ + <i>ra/i-mi</i>	MAGNUS.PASTOR [?] , EUNUCHUS ₂ , PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS, SCRIBA.x	RS 17.231
Armanani LUNA-FRATER ₂	PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS	KARAHÖYÜK ¹⁵⁰⁵

Whether MAGNUS.PITHOS+*ra/i*, which has been attested only on the seal impressions of the individual named TONITRUS-URBS+*li* (Nerikkaili¹⁵⁰⁶), is a version of the same title is not certain.

4.13.9.2 MAGNUS.L. 135.2 and AVIS₃+MAGNUS

Hawkins (2005a: 311) interprets the shape of L. 135.2 as a crested bird, and speculates that along with AVIS₃, the two signs may correspond to the two bird-oracle related professions known in cuneiform as LÚ.IGI.MUŠEN, “auspex” and LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ “augur.” However, which one corresponds to which and whether they were interchangeable is not certain. Both of these cuneiform titles have been attested with GAL or UGULA attributes, and it is very likely that the hieroglyphic MAGNUS sign stands for one of these designations. The Dinçols (2008b: 67f.) interpret L. 135.2 as a snake and suggest instead an association of the sign with cuneiform

¹⁵⁰³ For this official, see section 4.11.1.9.

¹⁵⁰⁴ See Taprammi in section 4.14.1.

¹⁵⁰⁵ The KARAHÖYÜK inscription probably dates to the post-Empire period (Hawkins 2000: 288–95 and pls. 133–34). Therefore, the official is unlikely to be identified with his known namesakes from the Empire period (see section 4.2.1.17).

¹⁵⁰⁶ See above under the discussion of REGIO.DOMINUS in section 3.2.7.

LÚA.ZU “physician” and/or LÚHAL “seer,” and propose reading the sign as MEDICUS or MAGUS.

Hutupi <i>hu-tu-pi</i> <i>hu-tu-pi</i>	BONUS ₂ , MAGNUS [?] .L. 235.2 MAGNUS [?] .L. 235.2	Niş 127 BoHa 14 no. 188
Kukkulli <i>ku-ku-li</i>	MAGNUS. L. 135.2 [?]	Niş 168
Nanuwa <i>nà-nú-wa/i</i> <i>nà-nú-wa/i</i>	AVIS ₃ +MAGNUS, EUNUCHUS ₂ AVIS ₃ +MAGNUS, SCRIBA	Niş 285 Niş 286
Piha-Tarhunta ¹⁵⁰⁷ <i>pi-ha</i> -TONITRUS	AVIS ₃ +MAGNUS, EUNUCHUS ₂ , DOMINUS	Niş 306
Ukkura BOS ₂ - <i>ku-ra/i</i>	AVIS ₃ +MAGNUS, SCRIBA.EXERCITUS-2	Niş 494, Niş 495

4.13.9.3 MAGNUS.HATTI.DOMINUS

This title may be just an honorific that might be read “Great Lord of Hatti.”¹⁵⁰⁸ The closest cuneiform parallel would be EN GAL “Great Lord,” although it has not been attested with KUR URU Hatti. This title is attested only on a couple of seals of Armanani:

Armanani ¹⁵⁰⁹ LUNA-FRATER ₂	REX.FILIUS, SCRIBA-2, MAGNUS.VITIS MAGNUS.HATTI.DOMINUS	Niş 47(=BoHa 14 no. 246), Niş 48
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4.13.9.4 MAGNUS.VIR(.SUPER)

It is not certain whether MAGNUS.VIR and MAGNUS.VIR.SUPER are proper titles.¹⁵¹⁰ They may perhaps also be honorifics, a direct translation of which seems to correspond to LÚ GAL. Although speculative, the addition of SUPER (possibly equivalent to Hitt. *šarezzi-*) may imply a “higher” level official. But even so, apparently its usage on seals was not very common.

Halparuntiya TONITRUS.HALPA-CERVUS _{2/3-ti}	BONUS ₂ .SCRIBA-la, MAGNUS.VIR	Niş 108
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¹⁵⁰⁷ See Piha-Tarhunta in section 4.14.1.

¹⁵⁰⁸ For MAGNUS.HATTI.DOMINUS, see Hawkins (2005a: 304).

¹⁵⁰⁹ See section 4.2.1.17.

¹⁵¹⁰ See Hawkins (2005a: 310).

Kanisatu [?] <i>ka-ni-sa-tu</i> <i>kâ-ni-sa-tu</i>	MAGNUS.VIR.SUPER MAGNUS.VIR.SUPER	BoHa 14 no. 191 BoHa 14 no. 192
(Ku)runti(ya) [?] CERVUS ₂	BONUS ₂ .SCRIBA, MAGNUS.VIR.SUPER [?]	BoHa 22 no. 329
Tā <i>tā-a</i>	MAGNUS.VIR [?]	Niş 390
<i>x-wa/i</i>	MAGNUS.VIR.x ¹⁵¹¹	BoHa 22 no. 328

4.13.9.5 MAGNUS.L. 468/9

Other than a few attestations in post-Empire inscriptions, the hieroglyphic sign L. 468/9 is attested on a few seal impressions from Nişantepe. Among these it is combined with the MAGNUS sign only on a couple of seals of Tatili:

Tatili <i>tā-ti-li</i>	BONUS ₂ MAGNUS.L. 468/9	Niş 448, Niş 449
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Since in KUB 31.62, which is a list of various palace personnel, Tatili's name is attested as both a ^{LÚ}ŠÀ.TAM (i 5) and a ^{LÚ}MUHALDIM (ii 8), Hawkins (2005a: 313) considers the possibility that one of these cuneiform titles might be an equivalent of hieroglyphic L. 468/9. Both ^{LÚ}ŠÀ.TAM and ^{LÚ}MUHALDIM have been attested in combination with the GAL designation and a hieroglyphic equivalent is not known for either of them. If either one of the identifications is correct, Tatili's seals would have to represent a promotion to a GAL-level position. However, examples of such promotions are very scarce (see in p. 499) and it is quite possible that Tatili, the MAGNUS.L. 468/9 official, is an entirely different individual.

¹⁵¹¹ The Dinçols (2008b: 65) suggest the reading MAGNUS.VIR.PITHOS(?), but not only is this title unattested elsewhere, the third sign does not appear to be PITHOS.

4.13.9.6 Other MAGNUS titles

Two other hieroglyphic signs attested with MAGNUS are L. 398 and L. 419.¹⁵¹² Officials attested with these titles are:

Tarhuntanani TONITRUS.FRATER ₂	MAGNUS.L. 398	Niş 411
Kuruntiya [?] CERVUS ₂ -i(a)	MAGNUS.L. 419, REX.FILIUS	SBo II 7
*521-tá	MAGNUS.L. 398	Niş 695

The bulla that bears Tarhuntanani's seal impression has also been stamped by a seal of Mizramuwa. Elsewhere Tarhuntanani and Mizramuwa are attested with the MAGNUS.PASTOR title, and on account of that association, this Tarhuntanani may be identified with this namesake MAGNUS.PASTOR (section 4.11.1.6).

Another hieroglyphic sign that may represent a high office is L. 490. The shape of the sign can be interpreted as a combination of EUNUCHUS₂ and MAGNUS. On two seals of Šahuruwa (Figure 8a-b) and a seal of Kuwalanaziti (Figure 8c), the MAGNUS sign—if that is indeed what it is—appears as a ligature below the EUNUCHUS₂ sign, while on BoHa 22 no. 97 EUNUCHUS₂ and MAGNUS appear detached (Figure 8d). Hieroglyphic EUNUCHUS₂ being the equivalent of cuneiform ^{LÚ}SAG, it has been suggested that L. 490 could be the equivalent of cuneiform GAL ^{LÚ}SAG, although this combination has not been attested in cuneiform sources.¹⁵¹³ However, as discussed below in section 4.14, ^{LÚ}SAG officials do not seem to be members of the royal family, while on the seals of both Šahuruwa and Kuwalanaziti, L. 490 appears alongside the REX.FILIUS designation. Šahuruwa and Kuwalanaziti are not attested as ^{LÚ}SAG in cuneiform sources either. In that respect, it may be questioned whether the L. 490 of

¹⁵¹² For MAGNUS.L. 398 and MAGNUS.L. 419, see Hawkins (2005a: 260 and 312).

¹⁵¹³ See B. Dinçol (2001: 102) and the Dinçols (2008b: 33).

the seals of Šahurunuwa and Kuwalanaziti is the same sign as the EUNUCHUS₂.MAGNUS sign that appears on BoHa 14 no. 97, or if the combination of the two signs is an equivalent of GAL LU^USAG. As discussed on page 254, an equation of L. 490 with GAL UKU.UŠ has also been posited by others.



Figure 8. Attestations of L. 490.

Finally there is the L. 414.DOMINUS title attested with about two dozen different individuals.¹⁵¹⁵ While the meaning of L. 414 has not been determined, the presence of the DOMINUS element makes it likely that it is the equivalent of a cuneiform title that incorporates the EN “Lord” designation.¹⁵¹⁶ However, since in the majority of the attestations the seal owner is also identified as either a scribe (SCRIBA) or a courtier (EUNUCHUS₂), and never attested as a prince (REX.FILIUS), it is less likely that L. 414.DOMINUS refers to a high office.

¹⁵¹⁴ Gelb’s drawing of Tarsus no. 40 does not quite reveal the partially visible MAGNUS below the EUNUCHUS₂ sign, which has been emended by Hawkins (2001: 169 n. 17).

¹⁵¹⁵ Niš 10, 76–77, 138–40, 160, 174, 332–39, 382, 546, 593, 628, 632; BoHa 14 no. 188, BoHa 22 nos. 51, 103, 205, 313, 264, 269, 316, 331; SBo II 36 and 206; no. 40 of Kennedy (1959; no. 8 of Poetto and Salvatori (1981).

¹⁵¹⁶ See Hawkins (2005a: 312). B. Dinçol (2001: 101) and the Dinçols (2008b: 70) equate L. 414, which has the phonetic *hi* value, with cuneiform ^{NA4}*hekur*, “rock sanctuary,” and read L. 414.DOMINUS as MAUSOLEUM.DOMINUS, “Lord of the Rock Sanctuary,” which would be the equivalent of an unattested EN ^{NA4}*hekur*.

4.14 ^{LÚ}SAG

The Sumerian term ^{LÚ}SAG is known to be the equivalent of Akkadian *ša rēši*, translated literally “(he) of the head.”¹⁵¹⁷ In Mesopotamia the term has the meaning “attendant, soldier, official” as well as the secondary meaning “eunuch,” particularly in Middle and Neo-Assyrian sources.¹⁵¹⁸ The Hittite equivalent of the term is not known, since all attestations in Hittite texts are written with the Sumerian term. Digraphic attestations of the term confirm its hieroglyphic equation as EUNUCHUS₂ (L. 254).¹⁵¹⁹ Its variant EUNUCHUS (L. 474) is known only from first-millennium sources.

At the Hittite court, ^{LÚ}SAG defines a class of officials who were close and personal attendants of the king and members of the innermost circle of the state administration. Whether they were literally eunuchs has been an issue of debate.¹⁵²⁰ Some scholars prefer the term “courtier,” since it does not exclude the possibility that the courtier might be a eunuch,¹⁵²¹ and when an English translation is necessary, “courtier” will be the term used here, although in most cases it will be still referred to as ^{LÚ}SAG or EUNUCHUS₂.

Numerous proper names are attested as ^{LÚ}SAG and/or EUNUCHUS₂ in cuneiform and glyptic sources, almost all of which belong to the thirteenth century. While the names from the glyptic sources are far more numerous, we obviously obtain more information from the cuneiform sources. The following is a brief treatment of all proper names attested as ^{LÚ}SAG in

¹⁵¹⁷ For consistency I have kept the format of the term as ^{LÚ}SAG throughout this study, but as suggested by Hawkins (2002: 217f.), it is possible that in the ^{LÚ}SAG = *ša rēši* equation ^{LÚ} is not a determinative but rather the equivalent of *ša*, and therefore may not be omissible, which in turn would require the term to be written as ^{LÚ} SAG.

¹⁵¹⁸ CAD/R: 292, 296.

¹⁵¹⁹ Taprammi as ^{LÚ}*ša re-ši* on RS 17.231:8f., 15f. (*PRU* IV: 238) and EUNUCHUS₂ on his seal impression on the same tablet (*Ugar.* III: 149); and Piha-Tarhunta as ^{LÚ}SAG and EUNUCHUS₂ on Niš 305 (see Hawkins 2005a: 303). See also the ^{LÚ}SA[G] reading on digraphic Niš 162 by Soysal (2011: 331), which matches its EUNUCHUS₂. Also on Niš 281 the cuneiform lines are likely to be restored as ^m*Na-[nu-wa]* / ^{LÚ}[SAG] to match hieroglyphic CRUS₂-*nú-wa/i* EUNUCHUS₂.

¹⁵²⁰ Some of the recent discussions on the issue include Hawkins (2002), Pecchioli Daddi (2006: 121–24), Mora (2010b), Peled (2013: 785f.), and Miller (2013: 294f.).

¹⁵²¹ See Miller (2013: 294).

cuneiform sources, which includes the cuneiform legends of seals. It is followed by a list of all glyptic attestations with the EUNUCHUS₂ designation.

4.14.1 Individuals attested as ^{LÚ}SAG

Anuwanza

Other than the members of the royal family, Anuwanza is probably the most frequently attested person in the Boğazköy documents.¹⁵²² He is primarily known as a scribal supervisor who was active during the reigns of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV. He is attested more than forty times,¹⁵²³ a great majority of which are in the colophons of documents. In most of these attestations he appears as a supervisor of other scribes, often with the ^{LÚ}SAG designation. A few texts which show him with the DUB.SAR title probably date to his early career.¹⁵²⁴ The only other title he is provided with is EN^{URU}Nerik, which is accompanied by DUB.SAR and ^{LÚ}SAG in the Šahurunuwa Text,¹⁵²⁵ where he is listed as a witness.

A couple of references to family connections of Anuwanza come from colophons, which suggest the existence of son(s) of Anuwanza who were also scribes.¹⁵²⁶

KUB 43.77 rev.

- 3' [Š]U^m *Tum^{um}-ma-ni-i* DUMU^m *A-nu-wa-an-za*
 4' *PA-NI^m A-nu-wa-an-za* SAG *IŠ-ṬUR*
 5' ^r*ṬUP^v-PU^{URU} Ha-at-ti*

VAT 13019b rev. ii

- 19' [DUB.x.KAM (Ú)-U]L *QA-TI*
 20' [ŠU^m DUB.SAR DU]MU^m *A-nu-wa-an-za*
 21' [*PA-NI^m A-nu-wa-an-za* ^{LÚ}SAG[?] *IŠ-ṬUR*

¹⁵²² For previous studies on Anuwanza, see van den Hout (1995a: 238–42), and Torri (2008: 777; 2010b; 2011).

¹⁵²³ For a list of attestations, see van den Hout (1995a: 238f with n. 460), and add KBo 42.1 rev. iv 9' and KBo 34.195 rev. 2' (see Torri 2010a: 321 and 2011: 139). Also his name is likely to be restored before ^{LÚ}SAG in the colophon of KBo 34.195:3' and perhaps even in KUB 30.33 iv 15, if the last line is read ^{LÚ}[SAG *IŠ-ṬUR*].

¹⁵²⁴ KBo 40.345 rev. iv 4', KBo 45.37 vi 1', KBo 59.111:6', KUB 30.26 iv 14. On the scribal career of Anuwanza, see Torri (2008: 777 and 2010b: 388–91).

¹⁵²⁵ KUB 26.43 rev. 34 with dupl. KUB 26.50 rev. 28' (CTH 225).

¹⁵²⁶ See Torri (2010a: 320).

Although the name of the son in the second text is not preserved, on account of the differences between the handwriting of the two tablets, Torri (2010a: 320f. with n. 19) suggests the existence of at least two sons of Anuwanza. A problem with the above readings is that in both texts the DUMU sign is rather unusual, but the position of the sign in the formula of the colophon suggests that it should be DUMU.¹⁵²⁷ Otten (1971: 49 with n. 105) offers the explanation that the DUMU signs of both colophons are “archaisierend.” This may have some significance in terms of the debate on the physical state of ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG. The existence of a son of a ^{LÚ}SAG naturally contradicts the claims that ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG were eunuchs (discussed further below).

EN-tarwa

EN-tarwa is known only from his attestation as a witness in the Šahuruwa Text (KUB 26.43 rev. 32 with dupl. KUB 26.50 rev. 25'[]), where he is identified as DUB.SAR, UGULA É.GAL, and ^{LÚ}SAG. The UGULA É.GAL title, which can be translated as “Overseer of the Palace,” is not attested elsewhere, but as van den Hout (1995a: 235) remarks, it may be comparable to GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL.

Palla

Palla is attested as a witness next to EN-tarwa in the Šahuruwa Text (KUB 26.43 rev. 32) with the titles EN ^{URU}Hurme, ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR, and ^{LÚ}SAG. His broken name in this text is restored on account of his presence as a witness in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (KBo 4.10+ rev. 32), again with the Lord of Hurma title.¹⁵²⁸ The Šahuruwa Text is the only text that identifies him

¹⁵²⁷ Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 515) reads the sign as NUMUN, but that would suggest the existence of an older Anuwanza, for which there is no evidence (see van den Hout 1995a: 240). The sign-form has been listed in *HZL*: 211 as one of the variants of DUMU, apparently on account of its attestation in KUB 43.77 rev. 3. Note the doubts expressed by Hawkins *apud* Weeden (2011a: 200 n. 882).

¹⁵²⁸ See section 4.13.7 for Palla as the Lord of Hurma.

as ^{LÚ}SAG, whereas as a scribe he is attested in several documents.¹⁵²⁹ In two other colophons, a Palla is identified as the father of the scribe Angulli:

KUB 30.26 iv

13' ŠU ^mAn-gul-li ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR DUMU ^mPal-l[a-a]

14' PA-NI ^mA-nu-wa-an-za ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR ŠA É x[¹⁵³⁰

KUB 32.133 iv

7' ŠU ^m<An>-gul-li ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR DUMU ^mPal-la-a

8' PA-NI ^mA-nu-wa-an-za ŠA ^{LÚ}SAG IŠ-ṬUR

With the consideration that the scribal profession, as well as others, tended to pass from father to son within families, it is assumed by several scholars that the father of Angulli is the same person as the scribe and ^{LÚ}SAG Palla.¹⁵³¹ If so, like Anuwanza, this would be another example of the existence of a son of a ^{LÚ}SAG.

Van den Hout's (1995a: 216–25) study of Palla reveals several individuals with the same name, one of whom is a goldsmith frequently attested in inventory texts. However, contrary to van den Hout's suggestion, it is argued in section 4.13.7 that he must be a different individual than Palla, the Lord of Hurma, scribe, and ^{LÚ}SAG.

Piha-Tarhunta

Although the reading of ^{LÚ}SAG next to Piha-Tarhunta (^mPi-ha-^dU) in the court proceeding KUB 13.35+ rev. iii 13 (CTH 293) was previously uncertain, the digraphic seal impression Niš 305 of this official with both hieroglyphic EUNUCHUS₂ and cuneiform ^{LÚ}SA[G] confirms it. KUB 13.35+ is the so-called embezzlement case of Ukkura, which includes the testimony of several palace officials in regard to the whereabouts of various items. Piha-Tarhunta is

¹⁵²⁹ See note 1452.

¹⁵³⁰ Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 165) restores É.G[AL], and likewise Torri (2010b: 398f.) as É.G[AL^{LIM}], whereas Gordin (2008: 179f.) suggests É G[IŠ.KIN.TI].

¹⁵³¹ See van den Hout (1995a: 218), followed by Gordin (2008: 175) and Torri (2008: 776 n. 30).

mentioned within the testimony of one of the witnesses as the recipient of a certain number of mules.

Two other seals must belong to the same official: Niš 306 with EUNUCHUS₂, DOMINUS, and AVIS₃+MAGNUS, and an unprovenanced seal with the title L. 414.DOMINUS.¹⁵³² As discussed in section 4.13.9.2, the AVIS₃+MAGNUS title is likely to represent one of the GAL- or UGULA-level MUŠEN-professions, either that of ^{LÚ}IGI.MUŠEN, “auspex,” or ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ, “augur.”¹⁵³³ If that is the case, Piha-Tarhunta may also be identified with his namesake bird-diviner known from multiple texts,¹⁵³⁴ and possibly with the ^{LÚ}A.ZU of a couple of other texts¹⁵³⁵ due to the close association of the professions.¹⁵³⁶

On account of the fact that no prince is ever attested as ^{LÚ}SAG/EUNUCHUS₂, this official is unlikely to be identified with Prince Piha-Tarhunta, who is known from a couple of documents from Ugarit and Emar¹⁵³⁷ and some seals.¹⁵³⁸ It is uncertain whether Piha-Tarhunta, the “Lord of Tools” (EN *UNŪTI*), of the inventory document KBo 18.83+KBo 23.26 iii 1 (CTH 242) can be identified with our official.

Taprammi

This official appears with the title ^{LÚ}ša rēši ekallim on a tablet from Ras Shamra, in which he sells a slave to the queen of Ugarit.¹⁵³⁹ This tablet bears an impression of his seal, on which his name (LEPUS₂+ra/i-mi) is accompanied by multiple titles: MAGNUS.PASTOR?¹⁵⁴⁰

¹⁵³² No. 40 in Kennedy (1959).

¹⁵³³ Both titles are attested with both GAL and UGULA.

¹⁵³⁴ KUB 6.40:3 (CTH 582), KUB 16.60 iii 13 (CTH 579), KUB 18.12+ i 14, 44, 50, ii 4 (CTH 564), KUB 22.30 obv. 22 (CTH 573), KBo 40.53 obv. ii 7 (CTH 579.3).

¹⁵³⁵ KUB 22.61 iv 11 (CTH 578), KUB 48.123 i 10, ii 17 (CTH 590). The Piha-Tarhuntašša of KUB 48.118 obv. 22 (CTH 584.7) might be a different individual (see de Roos 2007a: 69 with n. 371).

¹⁵³⁶ Thus Bawanypeck (2005: 263), de Roos (2007a: 68f.), and Mora (2010b: 174).

¹⁵³⁷ See note 948.

¹⁵³⁸ Niš 307 and *Emar IV A75*.

¹⁵³⁹ RS 17.231:8, 15 (*PRU IV*: 238).

¹⁵⁴⁰ In previous studies, the sign below MAGNUS has been left as unidentified. Peled (2013: 790–92) notes the similarity of the sign to PASTOR (L. 438), but dismisses this in favor of identifying it with EUNUCHUS (L. 474). This is highly doubtful, since

SCRIBA-*la*, PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS, and EUNUCHUS₂.¹⁵⁴¹ Another document from Ras Shamra records a court case presided over by the king of Karkamiš, in which a Taprammi, probably the same individual, receives compensation from the king of Ugarit in exchange for his seized property.¹⁵⁴² Three other seal impressions and two dedicatory inscriptions on a bronze bowl and a stele base, on account of their EUNUCHUS₂ title must also belong to the same Taprammi (LEPUS₂+*ra/i-mi*):

Niš 409: EUNUCHUS₂
 BoHa 22 no. 98A: EUNUCHUS₂, SCRIBA
 SBo II 92: EUNUCHUS₂, SCRIBA
 KINIK bowl:¹⁵⁴³ DEUS.SCRIBA BONUS₂.VIR₂ EUNUCHUS₂
 BOGAZKOY 1:¹⁵⁴⁴ EUNUCHUS₂

SBo II 92 comes from an impression on the reverse of the tablet KUB 25.32+.¹⁵⁴⁵

Typically only seal impressions encountered on tablets from Boğazköy are those of the royal family, and these documents are almost always legal in nature, such as donation texts or treaties where the sealing serves as an act of certification. It is unusual not only due to the fact that SBo II 92 is one of few non-royal seal impressions from a Boğazköy tablet, but also that the subject matter of the tablet concerns cultic celebrations in the city of Karahna. Another such seal impression of an official is that of Walwaziti on Bo 9364 (SBo II 100). Since Walwaziti too was probably involved in some activities in northern Syria,¹⁵⁴⁶ this is perhaps due to influence acquired in that region where sealing of tablets by officials was quite common.¹⁵⁴⁷

L. 474 is not a sign attested in Empire period sources. Considering the abraded condition of the other signs, I would favor the reading of MAGNUS.PASTOR, which has been attested with EUNUCHUS₂ on three other occasions.

¹⁵⁴¹ This seal was published by Laroche (*Ugarit*: III: 149–52 and figs. 76–77). For the current reading, see Hawkins (2002: 225 and 2005a: 272).

¹⁵⁴² RS 17.337 (*PRU* IV: 168f.).

¹⁵⁴³ See Hawkins (1993).

¹⁵⁴⁴ See Hawkins (2002: 226 n. 67).

¹⁵⁴⁵ Edited by McMahon (1991: 53–82).

¹⁵⁴⁶ For Walwaziti's presence at Ugarit and Emar, see section 4.9.1.6.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Note that one of two other such examples of non-royal seals on tablets is KBo 62.32, which is a Syrian-style contract with cylinder seal impressions (see Wilhelm 2013: 345–47). The other is that of Prince Kurunta on 544/f (SBo II 5). See also Mora

Tarhuntanani

Like Piha-Tarhunta, in cuneiform sources Tarhuntanani (^{md}U-ŠEŠ) is known as ^{LÚ}SAG only from KUB 13.35+ rev. i 38, where his name is mentioned again within the testimony as the recipient of a mule. Niš 412, which identifies the seal owner as EUNUCHUS₂ and MAGNUS.PASTOR, must belong to the same official. A more detailed study of this official is presented in section 4.11.1.6.

...anzi-Tešup

The partially preserved name of ...anzi-Tešup (]x-an-zi-^dU-up), the ^{LÚ}SAG, appears in KUB 13.33+ iv 7, which is another court proceeding. Once again, he is mentioned within the statement of a witness regarding a theft. His name does not match any of the known names ending with Tešup.

Zuzzu

An official named Zuz(z)u (^mZu-zu), who is referred to as a ^{LÚ}KARTAPU (“chariot driver”) and ^{LÚ}SAG, is mentioned in a letter of Puduhepa to the Egyptian king Ramses II (KUB 21.38 obv. 22').¹⁵⁴⁸ He was apparently sent as a messenger to the Egyptian king. It is quite possible that the messenger Zuzzu mentioned in a letter of Ramses II to Hattušili III is the same person (KBo 28.41 obv. 8').¹⁵⁴⁹

He is likely to be distinguished from his namesake scribe of several documents,¹⁵⁵⁰ and the Zu(z)zu of the oracle text KBo 41.208+ obv. 3' (CTH 580.1), who appears to be a diviner. The

(2006: 139–43), who considers Taprammi and Walwaziti along with Tuttu to be among the few important officials involved in the supervision of inventory goods.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Edited by Hoffner (2009: 281–90).

¹⁵⁴⁹ Edited by Edel (1994: 92f.).

¹⁵⁵⁰ KUB 10.89 vi 3 (CTH 591.III.A), KUB 36.83 iv 12 (CTH 456.2.1.A), KBo 43.319 iv 19 (CTH 404.3.B2).

seal impression Niš 549 identifies a *Zu-zu* with the unclear titles CRUS[?] (L. 82) and L. 135.2.¹⁵⁵¹

Other attestations of this name belong to earlier periods.¹⁵⁵²

4.14.2 Individuals attested as EUNUCHUS₂

There are over forty names attested with the EUNUCHUS₂ designation on seals and sealings, as well as in a few hieroglyphic inscriptions. The list below provides all glyptic attestations of proper names with the EUNUCHUS₂ designation. All other glyptic attestations of each name are listed below a separator line without going into a discussion of possible identifications. However, the attestations that are unlikely to be identified with the same named courtier are marked with an asterisk. In three cases this is based on the fact that the LÚSAG/EUNUCHUS₂ designation never combines with the DUMU.LUGAL/REX.FILIUS title,¹⁵⁵³ and in one case the same is also assumed¹⁵⁵³ for the REX title. Any cuneiform attestations of the name are referred to in the notes.

Alalimi (*lá-i*(L. 172)-*la/i*(L. 416)-*mi*)¹⁵⁵⁴

Niš 4:	EUNUCHUS ₂
Niš 5:	EUNUCHUS ₂
BoHa 22 no. 227:	EUNUCHUS ₂
<hr/>	
Niš 3 (18):	PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS (Cun: ^m <i>A-la¹-li-me-eš</i>)
Niš 6, 8 [?] , 9:	(BONUS ₂ .)SCRIBA
Niš 7:	URCEUS
Niš 10 [?] :	SCRIBA, L. 414.DOMINUS ¹⁵⁵⁵
Gelb 1965 no. 1, 2, 4:	BONUS ₂ .VIR ₂
Gelb 1965 no. 3:	SACERDOS ₂
Poetto 2002 no. 2	URCEUS
* Poetto 1992 no. 1–2:	REX.FILIUS, MAGNUS [?] .AURIGA
* Poetto 1992 no. 3–6:	MAGNUS.AURIGA

¹⁵⁵¹ As discussed in section 4.13.9.2, if hieroglyphic L. 135.2 corresponds to LÚIGI.MUŠEN “auspex” or LÚMUŠEN.DÙ “augur,” the owner of Niš 549 may be identified with the diviner Zu(z)u mentioned in the oracle text KBo 41.208+ obv. 3’.

¹⁵⁵² See section 4.5.1.7.

¹⁵⁵³ See Hawkins (2005a: 287) and also note 1290 above.

¹⁵⁵⁴ For Alalimi see sections 4.3.1.4 and 4.8.1.8.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Hawkins (2005a: 248) finds the Alalimi[?] reading of Herbordt unlikely. A photo or copy of the sealing has not been provided in BoHa 19.

Ana[...] (*á-na-x³*)BoHa 14 no. 309: EUNUCHUS₂, L. 135.2**Anamu(wa)²** (*á-na-BOS²*)SBo II 201 EUNUCHUS₂²SBo II 176: BONUS₂ AURIGA (*á-na-(-ni³)-BOS+MI*)**Aniwa/ina** (*á-ni-wà/i-na*)BoHa 22 no. 245: EUNUCHUS₂ SIGILLUM**Ara/i-Inara²** (*AVIS₃-CERVUS₂+ra/i*)BoHa 22 no. 300: NEPOS.MAGNUS.REX, MAGNUS+MI², [V]IR₂.EUNUCHUS₂**Ar(a/i)li** (*AVIS₃-li*)BoHa 22 no. 330: EUNUCHUS₂**Armapihami** (*LUNA-pi-ha-mi*)¹⁵⁵⁶Niş 55: BONUS₂.EUNUCHUS₂, x¹⁵⁵⁷Niş 56: EUNUCHUS₂Niş 57: EUNUCHUS₂ VIR₂Niş 53: BONUS₂.SCRIBA

Niş 54: SCRIBA 3

Armawalwi (*LUNA-LEO₍₂₎*)¹⁵⁵⁸Niş 65: EUNUCHUS₂Niş 66: EUNUCHUS₂, MAGNUS.PASTOR

Niş 67: MAGN[US] x

(A)suta² (*su²-tà*)BoHa 22 no. 330: EUNUCHUS₂.MAGNUS**Aza-Tarhunta** (*á-zi/a-TONITRUS*)Niş 82: BONUS₂.SCRIBA, EUNUCHUS₂Niş 83, 84²: SCRIBA, EUNUCHUS₂Niş 85: EUNUCHUS₂ (=SBo II 147)

Niş 86:

Niş 87: URCEUS

BoHa 14 no. 214: SCRIBA

SBo II 146: -

* Mora XIIb-S 1.99: REX ISUWA.REGIO

Bēlu-kabar (*pa-la/i/u-ka-pa*)Emar IV C21: EUNUCHUS₂

¹⁵⁵⁶ The cuneiform equivalent of the name (^{md}*SĪN-pi-ha-mi*) is attested in two small late-script fragments: VSNF 12.133: 6' (CTH 297) and KUB 57.31:4' (CTH 237) which provide no significant information.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Herboldt (2005: 123) suggests L. 135.2(?).

¹⁵⁵⁸ For Armawalwi, see section 4.11.1.10.

In(n)arawa (CERVUS_{2/3}+ra/i-wà/i)¹⁵⁵⁹Niş 138, 139: EUNUCHUS₂, L. 414.DOMINUSNiş 140: L. 414.DOMINUS (cun. ^mrΓ-in-na-ra-wa)Niş 137: - (cun: ^mrΓ-in-na-ra-wa)**Iyatar(a)wa (i(a)-tara/i-wà/i)**BoHa 22 no. 264: EUNUCHUS₂, L. 414.DOMINUS, SACERDOS₂[?]**Iyarinu (i(a)+ra/i-nú-u)**¹⁵⁶⁰Niş 152: URCEUS, EUNUCHUS₂ (= SBo II 138)**Kizi[...] (ki-zi²-L. 201[?])**¹⁵⁶¹Niş 162: EUNUCHUS₂, VIR, SCRIBA (cun: ^mKi-z[i- / x[.]] / LÚ[SAG])**Kulazi/a (ku-la-zi/a)**Mora XIIb 1.56: SACERDOS₂, EUNUCHUS₂**Lula(ku)[?] (lu-la(-)ku[?])**¹⁵⁶²Niş 205: SCRIBA-la, EUNUCHUS₂**Ma...la (ma-L. 54-la)**SBo II 152: BONUS₂.EUNUCHUS₂.SACERDOS₂, BONUS₂.EUNUCHUS₂.L. 443**Mami..[?] (ma-mi-x²)**SBo II 215: SCRIBA, EUNUCHUS₂**Masaya (ma-sa-i(a))**Niş 232: EUNUCHUS₂Niş 233: EUNUCHUS₂, L. 135.2**Mihanti[?] (mi-FRONS)**Niş 239: EUNUCHUS₂, L. 135.2**Nanuwa (CRUS₂-nú-wa/i)**¹⁵⁶³Niş 281: EUNUCHUS₂ (cun: ^mNa-[] / LÚ[SAG[?]])Niş 283, 284, 288, 289: EUNUCHUS₂Niş 285: AVIS₃+MAGNUS, EUNUCHUS₂Niş 286: AVIS₃+MAGNUS, SCRIBA**Pa-á-G. 195**BoHa 22 no. 103: BONUS₂.EUNUCHUS₂, BONUS₂.L. 414.DOMINUS

¹⁵⁵⁹ In cuneiform documents Innawara is attested in KUB 48.105+ obv. 5', 11' (CTH 530) as a person delivering certain items to the cult. In two other fragments, KBo 53.271: 5', 8' (CTH 832) and KBo 50.58:6', 7' (CTH 85), context does not reveal much.

¹⁵⁶⁰ An Iyarinu from the city of Haršumma, who is listed as the author of a ritual in the tablet catalog KUB 30.45 ii 19' (CTH 277.4.A) and dupl. KUB 31.27(+)/KUB 30.44 ii 21' (CTH 277.4.A) (see Dardano 2006: 130f. and 152f.) should be a different individual.

¹⁵⁶¹ For the Kizi[reading rather than Kilani[?], see Soysal (2011: 331).

¹⁵⁶² Herbordt (2005: 149) and Hawkins (2005a: 262) suggest that the *ku* should be a part of the name, although its order is uncertain (*lu-la-ku* or *ku-lu-la*).

¹⁵⁶³ In cuneiform sources, this name is attested in the small fragment KBo 22.32:5', 6' (CTH 832) without any contextual information. For OA-period and first-millennium attestations, see NH 866.

Pihamuwa (*pi-ha-BOS*₂(+)*MI*)¹⁵⁶⁴Niš 299: PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS, EUNUCHUS₂Niš 300: [x][?]Niš 301^{?,1565}: -Niš 302^{?,1565}: PITHOSBoHa 14 no. 209: SC[RIBA][?]Mora VIb 1.32: BONUS₂.VIR₂**Pukana (*pu-ka-na*)¹⁵⁶⁶**Niš 332: L. 414.DOMINUS, EUNUCHUS₂Mora IX 5.1: EUNUCHUS₂

Niš 333–337: L. 414.DOMINUS

Niš 338: L. 414.DOMINUS, x[?]**Sariya (SUPER+*ra/i-i(a)*)¹⁵⁶⁷**Niš 350: EUNUCHUS₂, L. 135.2Niš 351 (14), 352 (12): EUNUCHUS₂, L. 135.2Niš 356^{?,1568}: EUNUCHUS₂, L. 135.2Niš 353: EUNUCHUS₂, MAGNUS.PASTOR

Niš 354: URCEUS

Niš 355: - (with *hu-wa-SARMA REX.FILIUS*)Niš 357[?]: []**Tā (*Tá-a*)¹⁵⁶⁹**Niš 388: EUNUCHUS₂Niš 389: EUNUCHUS₂[?], SIGILLUM[?]Niš 390: MAGNUS VIR[?] xMora XIIIa 2.51[?]: BONUS₂.VIR₂**Tarupasani[?] (*AURIGA-ni/ní(-i(a))*)¹⁵⁷⁰**Niš 444: EUNUCHUS₂

Niš 443: -

Niš 445: MAGNUS.AURIGA

Niš 446: BONUS₂.SCRIBA-*la* 3

Niš 447: SCRIBA

¹⁵⁶⁴ This name is fairly well attested in cuneiform documents. The Pihamuwa of the inventory document KUB 40.95 ii 4, ii 12 (CTH 242.4) and the “overseer of smiths” (UGULA SIMUG.A) in KUB 38.37 iii 20 (CTH 295.7.A) are likely to be same individual (see section 5.3.2). Pihamuwa is a scribe in the colophon fragment KBo 12.95:2 (CTH 825), and a member of a household in KUB 31.59 ii 10 (CTH 233). The name is attested with Hešni in ABoT 2.390:6’ (CTH 832), and with Hilani, Arma-Tarhunta, a priest, and an EN *ABUSSI* in KUB 55.27:17’ (CTH 670). See also Pihamuwa son of Kiliya in *Emar* VI 212: 29–30.

¹⁵⁶⁵ The name is spelled: BOS₂.MI-*pi-ha-BOS* (Niš 301) and BOS₂-*pi*¹[] (Niš 302).

¹⁵⁶⁶ Klengel (1974: 168f.) compares Pukana with the *pgn* of the Ugaritic letter RS 18.147 (*PRU* V: 87f.), who addresses the king of Ugarit as “my son.” See also Hawkins (2005a: 268f.).

¹⁵⁶⁷ For Sariya, see section 4.11.1.11.

¹⁵⁶⁸ The sign order is *i(a)*-SUPER+*ra/i*.

¹⁵⁶⁹ ^m*Ta-a-aš* ^{LU}KUŠ₇ of the OS text KBo 22.1:7 (CTH 272) is certainly a different individual.

¹⁵⁷⁰ For cuneiform attestations of this name, see section 4.8.1.4.

Tuwazi/a (*tu-wa/i-zi/a*)¹⁵⁷¹Niş 485: EUNUCHUS₂, SACERDOS₂BoHa 14 no. 167: BONUS₂.SCUTELLANiş 473: AURIGA₂

Mora VIb 1.21: x

* BoHa 22 no. 65: REX.FILIUS

* Mşt 74/77:¹⁵⁷² ?**Uku (BOS₍₂₎-ku)**Niş 489: EUNUCHUS₂, MAGNUS.PITHOS

Niş 490: MAGNUS.PITHOS

Niş 488: -

Zā[?] (Zi/a²-a)Niş 521: EUNUCHUS₂, VIR₂**Zuwanna (L. 285(-wa/i)-na)¹⁵⁷³**Niş 542: EUNUCHUS₂

Niş 543: SCRIBA

Zuwanni (L. 285-wa/i-ni)¹⁵⁷⁴AKPINAR 2:¹⁵⁷⁵ EUNUCHUS₂Niş 544: AURIGA₂**[...]-mi-[...]**Niş 562: EUNUCHUS₂, x[?]**AVIS_{3A}-ziti (AVIS_{3A}-VIR.ZI/A)**Niş 597: EUNUCHUS₂BoHa 14 no. 163: BONUS₂.SCRIBA, DOMINUS[?]**CERVUS₂-zi/a-pi-i(a)²¹⁵⁷⁶**Niş 604: MAGNUS.PITHOS, EUNUCHUS₂

¹⁵⁷¹ A Duwanza ^{LU}SANGA attested in KUB 51.3 obv. 6 (CTH 511) may perhaps be identified with the owner of Niş 485. A Duwazi appears as the scribe of KUB 31.49 (CTH 233.2) in its colophon. Duwazzi of the MH letter HKM 65 rev. 22 is certainly a different individual.

¹⁵⁷² An unpublished seal impression from Maşat is mentioned by Hawkins (2005a: 276), but due to its MH dating, its owner is unlikely to be identified with the owner of Niş 485.

¹⁵⁷³ In the Şahurunuwa Text (KUB 26.43 obv. 36 with dupl. KUB 26.50 obv. 30) a Zuwanna is the owner/keeper of a meadow, which is part of Şahurunuwa's property. In the court proceeding KUB 31.76+ vi 14, 15 (CTH 291.4), a Zuwanna is mentioned within the testimony of a witness as the recipient of certain goods. The name is also mentioned in two fragments that concern Muršili II's troubles with Tawananna (KBo 19.84:6' (CTH 70.2.A) and KBo 19.85:7' (CTH 70.2.B)). A Zuwana is encountered in a fragmentary court proceeding from Ugarit about the murder of some merchants (RS 17.252:20 (*PRU* IV: 232f.)), where the next line mentions "[^{LU}]kartappu of the king of Karkamiš," but it is not certain whether the title applies to Zuwana. See also ^mZuⁿwanna (IBOT 4.2 iv 3' (CTH 237)), and MH attestations HKM 66:27 and HKM 100 obv. 6, 8.

¹⁵⁷⁴ In the colophon fragment KUB 10.96:2' (CTH 825) a Zuwanni is the grandfather of the scribe Halpaziti. Zuwanni of the letter KBo 18.76 rev. 5', 7', 14' (CTH 209) is probably a messenger, who could be equated with the owner of Niş 544. A Zuwanni is also mentioned in another fragmentary letter, KBo 18.176 obv. 4' (CTH 190).

¹⁵⁷⁵ For the Zuwanni reading on AKPINAR (SPYLOS) 2, see Hawkins (2005a: 298).

¹⁵⁷⁶ Hawkins (2005a: 283) suggests reading Runzapiya[?].

LINGUA+CLAVUS-*a*¹⁵⁷⁷Niş 618: EUNUCHUS₂

Niş 614: -

Niş 615: BONUS₂.VIR₂Niş 616: BONUS₂.VIR₂, SCRIBA

Niş 617: SCRIBA

Niş 619: URCEUS

LINGUA+CLAVUS-*i(a)*¹⁵⁷⁷Niş 622: EUNUCHUS₂, SCRIBA

Niş 621: SCRIBA

* Niş 620: REX.FILIUS

MAGNUS(-)*ti*²-*mi-wa/i*BoHa 22 no. 215: EUNUCHUS₂, VIR₂***x-tá-ti***Niş 759: EUNUCHUS₂**[...]-*wa/i-x***Niş 760: EUNUCHUS₂, URCEUS**[...]**Niş 774: EUNUCHUS₂, 'SCRIBA'^{1?}**L. 26-L. 398²-LEO₂ / L. 26-L. 398²-BOS₂+*MI***¹⁵⁷⁸BoHa 14 no. 308: EUNUCHUS₂, MAGNUS.PITHOS, AVIS[?]**L. 424²**¹⁵⁷⁹Niş 775: EUNUCHUS₂, SCRIBA**4.14.3 General Discussion of ^{LÚ}SAG**

There is no evidence for the use of ^{LÚ}SAG prior to the Empire period.¹⁵⁸⁰ A fragmentary reference in the Annals of Muršili II to a ^{LÚ}SAG with a broken name is one of the earliest references.¹⁵⁸¹ The passage describes a campaign against the Kaška, where Muršili II reports that a commander named Kantuzzili and a certain ^{LÚ}SAG were sent forth with troops and chariotry.

¹⁵⁷⁷ B. Dinçol (1998b: 169f.) suggests reading LINGUA+CLAVUS as *HATA*.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Perhaps a joint seal with two names.

¹⁵⁷⁹ For a discussion of suggested readings, see Hawkins (2005a: 259).

¹⁵⁸⁰ The ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG of the late copy of *šar tamhari* (KBo 22.6 i 7' (CTH 310.5)) is almost certainly a mistake for ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UR.SAG (see Rieken 2001: 578). The "GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG" of the MS text KBo 7.28+KBo 8.92 rev. 37' (CTH 371) is used within the mythological realm as an epithet for the Sungoddess of the Netherworld (see Singer 2002a: 21–24).

¹⁵⁸¹ KBo 8.34+KBo 14.12:9' (CTH 61.II.7); edited by Houwink ten Cate (1966: 168, 177).

While the passage indicates military responsibilities for a ^{LÚ}SAG, it is the only reference of this kind, starkly contrasting with the evidence from the thirteenth century. Furthermore, even within the thirteenth century, the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG seem to have gained importance after the reign of Hattušili III, particularly during the reign of Tudhaliya IV. Most of the glyptic attestations come from the Nišantepe archive, where the royal seals of Tudhaliya IV and secondarily his father Hattušili III outnumber all others. Not only do all identified courtiers seem to be contemporaries of these two kings, it was during the reign of Tudhaliya IV that specific instructions addressed to ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG were issued for the first time.

The two instruction texts that provide important information about the ^{LÚ}SAG are CTH 255.1 and CTH 255.2, both of which date to the reign of Tudhaliya IV.¹⁵⁸² The overall theme of both compositions is ensuring the loyalty of officials to the king by placing them under oath against various possible misdeeds. The former composition (CTH 255.1) concerns all officials and nobles of Hatti, but it is divided into sections with individual paragraphs addressed to specific groups, whereas §§21–30 are probably directed exclusively to the courtiers.¹⁵⁸³ Some of the instructions in these paragraphs are typical for all officials, as we read similar clauses in other sections of the composition, such as the duty of supporting only the king and his descendants rather than any other possible royal contenders, or reporting conspiracies or anything negative they might overhear. Other paragraphs, however, reveal more information, specifically about the courtiers. From these paragraphs of CTH 255.1 as well as those of CTH 255.2, which is addressed solely to the courtiers, we learn that these officials are able to access the king's inner chamber (ŠÀ É.ŠÀ ŠA LUGAL) (1-§23), are entrusted with the king's personal matters (1-§23,

¹⁵⁸² See also section 5.1.2.

¹⁵⁸³ Courtiers are mentioned for the first time in §21, which is at the broken end of the third column of the tablet. For both compositions, the paragraph numbers follow the edition of Miller (2013: 282–307).

2-§9), are able to approach the king personally (1-§25, 2-§2¹⁵⁸⁴), are able to observe the king and some of his interactions at close range (2-§11), are sent on missions to neighboring lands (1-§23, 2-§25)—sometimes alongside princes and lords (2-§21), and can deal with matters concerning palace women (1-§30, 2-§31).

Particularly §§31–33 of CTH 255.2, which concern relations with women, have been subject to deeper analysis to prove or disprove whether the ^{LÚ}SAG were actually eunuchs. It is not contested that the initial clause of §31 clearly states that women are allowed into the houses of the ^{LÚ}SAG.¹⁵⁸⁵ The rest of §31 prohibits anyone from having an affair with any palace woman, followed by a paragraph that prohibits anyone to cover for a friend (^{LÚ}*ara-*). According to Hawkins (2002: 223), those who are prohibited from having an affair are people other than the ^{LÚ}SAG, and in the subsequent sentence the courtiers are asked to denounce their (uncastrated) “friends.” As argued by Miller (2013: 294f.), however, this interpretation deviates from the plain meaning of the paragraph, which basically prohibits the courtiers from having affairs with palace women and orders them to report any such activity of their peers.¹⁵⁸⁶ Furthermore, the line that indicates that women are allowed into the houses of the courtiers can hardly be interpreted in any way other than that courtiers have their own women. Combined with the possible evidence about the existence of sons of some courtiers like Anuwanza and Palla, it would be reasonable to conclude that not all courtiers were eunuchs.

In an oracle text regarding the king’s proposal to spend the winter in Hattuša, a series of questions are asked, and when the answer to an inquiry about whether there is anything to fear from accidents comes out unfavorable, it is asked whether giving sworn instructions to

¹⁵⁸⁴ Note the translation of Miller (2013: 297): “My Majesty is accessible to you” for ^dUTU^{ŠI}-*kán šummaš ŠU-aš*.

¹⁵⁸⁵ “Now, since women are to be let into your houses ...” (CTH 255.2 iv 29).

¹⁵⁸⁶ See also Pecchioli Daddi (2006: 122) on the interpretation of ^{LÚ}*ara-*.

LÚ.MEŠSAG and LÚ.MEŠKARTAPPU (“chariot drivers”) would make the evil disappear.¹⁵⁸⁷ A similar inquiry concerning LÚ.MEŠSAG and LÚ.MEŠKARTAPPU is also found in the lot-oracle fragment KBo 41.156 (CTH 572). These documents further confirm that the LÚ.MEŠSAG are people within the immediate circle of the king, who have close access to him, and can therefore play a role in an accident that might befall the king.

A fragmentary attestation of the phrase L]ÚSAG I-DI, “[...], the courtier, inspected (it),” in the inventory document KUB 40.96 iv 8' (CTH 245.2)¹⁵⁸⁸ indicates that some of these officials also acted in supervisory capacities in regard to palace inventories.

The extensive list of attestations given above should be an indication that there were a large number of courtiers. Again, it should be noted that all of the attestations probably date to the thirteenth century. In the Nişantepe archive alone, EUNUCHUS₂ is the third most frequently attested designation after the scribal titles and REX.FILIUS.¹⁵⁸⁹

The list also reveals that the courtiers are quite frequently attested with additional titles. In roughly two-thirds of the glyptic attestations, the EUNUCHUS₂ designation is accompanied by a title, which further indicates that the most of the courtiers were trained in various professions. The most frequently attested titles are listed in Table 18, along with their known or suspected cuneiform equivalents. MAGNUS.PITHOS and PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS are likely to be related titles.¹⁵⁹⁰ While their exact meaning is not known, on account of “pithos” one may speculate that they are GAL- or UGULA-level offices that oversee activities related to the handling of commodities/inventory. Similarly, L. 414.DOMINUS is likely to be an EN-type

¹⁵⁸⁷ KUB 5.3+ i 9 (CTH 563.1.A); the passage is edited by Archi (1982: 283–86). See also KUB 5.4+ ii 37–42 (CTH 563.2), which repeats a similar passage about giving instructions to chariot drivers concerning road accidents.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 276–81).

¹⁵⁸⁹ In the Nişantepe archive, EUNUCHUS₂ is attested on 102 seal impressions from 55 unique seals (scribal titles: 566/270 and REX.FILIUS: 208/132).

¹⁵⁹⁰ See section 4.13.9.1.

Title ¹⁵⁹¹	Number of attestations with EUNUCHUS ₂ ¹⁵⁹²	Known cuneiform equivalent
SCRIBA	8+4	LÚDUB.SAR
L. 135.2	4+2	LÚIGI.MUŠEN [?] /LÚA.ZU [?] /LÚHAL [?]
L. 414.DOMINUS	4	
SACERDOS ₂	4	LÚSANGA
MAGNUS.PASTOR	3	GAL NA.GAD [?]
MAGNUS.PITHOS	3	
PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS	2	
AVIS ₃ +MAGNUS	2	LÚMUŠEN.DÙ/LÚIGI.MUŠEN [?]
SIGILLUM	2	LÚÉ ^{NA4} KIŠIB [?] 1593
URCEUS	2	LÚSAGI

Table 18. Titles frequently attested with EUNUCHUS₂.

position on account of the DOMINUS component, which would be reasonable considering the EN^{URU}Nerik and EN^{URU}Hurma titles of the courtiers Anuwanza and Palla.¹⁵⁹⁴ Although Zuzzu is the only attestation of a courtier with the title LÚKARTAPPU/AURIGA (“chariot driver”), the oracle texts mentioned above indicate that LÚ.MEŠKARTAPPU were closely associated with the LÚSAG. That is not to say that all chariot drivers had such a status, but it rather seems to indicate that the king had several chariot drivers who served him personally on his trips, and also as messengers on missions, as in the case of Zuzzu and as indicated in the instruction texts CTH 255.1 §23, and CTH 255.2 §§21, 25.

This distribution of titles seen in Table 18 confirms what is known from the cuneiform documents—that courtiers serve in various functions, such as clerks (SCRIBA, SIGILLUM), advisors (L. 135.2, AVIS₃+MAGNUS, SACERDOS₂), attendants (URCEUS), or managers of commodities[?] (MAGNUS.PITHOS, PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS). In general, these officials do not

¹⁵⁹¹ VIR₂ is not included since it is not a profession.

¹⁵⁹² The number after a + sign indicates attestations with duplicate names, e.g., 8+4 means 12 total attestations where 8 of them are of different individuals.

¹⁵⁹³ See Hawkins (2005a: 309).

¹⁵⁹⁴ For a discussion of L. 414.DOMINUS, see Hawkins (2005a: 312). B. Dinçol (2001: 101) and the Dinçols (2008b: 70) interpret L. 414 as an equivalent of cuneiform^{NA4}hekur, suggesting that the title MAUSOLEUM.DOMINUS is the hieroglyphic equivalent of an unattested cuneiform title EN^(NA4)hekur.

seem to be related to the royal family. As noted above, the EUNUCHUS₂ title is never combined with REX.FILIUS, nor is any LÚSAG attested as DUMU.LUGAL in cuneiform texts. However, a contrary situation is to be observed on a small cylinder seal (BoHa 22 no. 300) known from multiple impressions on a couple of bullae found in Temple 3 of the upper city of Hattuša.

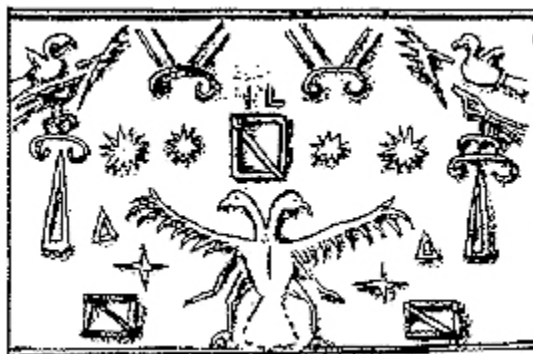


Figure 9. BoHa 22 no. 300.

The seal impression reconstructed by the Dinçols (Figure 9) prominently displays the EUNUCHUS₂ sign. The signs below the name that was read as Ara/i-Inara[?] (AVIS₃-CERVUS₂+ra/i)¹⁵⁹⁵ appears to be NEPOS (L. 45+L. 300).MAGNUS.REX, which can be translated as “grandson of the great king” or perhaps “descendant of the great king.”¹⁵⁹⁶ If this reading is correct, it would indicate that there was no strict rule about the courtiers not being related to the royal family, although we can still suggest that in general they were not. This reading further challenges the claim that the courtiers were all eunuchs, since it would be rather unlikely for a relative of the royal family to be converted into a eunuch by castration.

The overall evidence also contradicts the suggestion of Starke (1996) that LÚ.MEŠSAG was a replacement for the term LÚ.MEŠGAL, i.e., the grandees who included all the lords and princes.

Although there are a few prominently attested officials like Anuwanza and Palla, none of the

¹⁵⁹⁵ The orientation of the signs suggests the reading order CERVUS₂+ra/i-AVIS₃. However, if this is another case of a peculiarity that was observed by Hawkins (2005a: 290) in regard to names that end with CERVUS_{2/3}-ti, where the first elements of the name are typically written behind the antlers, the Dinçols’ (2008b: 61) reading as AVIS₃-CERVUS₂+ra/i may be right. It is unclear whether the MAGNUS and what appears to be a rather elongated *mi* are part of the name or a separate title.

¹⁵⁹⁶ For an analysis of the seal, see the Dinçols (2008b: 61).

courtiers are princes and there are hardly any GAL-level officials, with the exception of MAGNUS.PASTOR, the equation of which with GAL NA.GAD is not entirely secure.¹⁵⁹⁷ The importance of the courtiers is due to the fact that they form the innermost circle of the king as his advisors, confidants, and personal attendants in his day-to-day activities, and that they are among the few people who have the clearance to be physically near him. As implied in §§23–24 of CTH 255.2 (see section 5.1.2), many of them apparently accompany the king on his travels.

4.15 Hittite Military Commanders

The previous sections of this chapter have presented a survey of the GAL-level officials of the Hittite state administration. Just as for the Hittite king, the duties of several of these offices extended into religious, administrative, and judicial matters, but they mainly revolved around the military domain. Warfare being an integral aspect of not only the Hittite state but of most of the political entities of the 2nd millennium BCE in the Near East, it is not surprising that the military positions are the most prominent positions within the administrative system. In a patrimonial system tied to traditions and customs, the positions of power like military commands are typically filled by the members of the extended family of the rulers.

Although they are not abundant, we encounter several references to specific military commanders in Hittite sources.¹⁵⁹⁸ Some of these officials have already been studied under various offices in the previous sections. Among these, the GAL *MEŠEDI*, GAL *GEŠTIN*, GAL/UGULA *KUŠ*₇, GAL *UKU.UŠ*, and UGULA *NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ* are certainly military commands, and an association with military activity has also been observed for some of the GAL *KARTAPPI*, *antuwašalli*, GAL *SIPA* and GAL *NA.GAD* officials. The rest of this section surveys the attestations of other military commanders, and combining them with the above-

¹⁵⁹⁷ See section 4.11.2.

¹⁵⁹⁸ For a treatment of Hittite generals who are not identified with a title, see Beal (1992: 452–72).

mentioned officials, evaluates the available information about their ties to the royal family and their place within the bureaucratic structure of the state.

4.15.1 Old Hittite Period

References to specific commanders are particularly scarce in Old Hittite period sources. The so-called Zukraši-text (CTH 14) names two Hittite commanders named, one Lepalši and another referred to as the “son of Karahnuili.”¹⁵⁹⁹ It has been speculated that these two officials might be the GAL *MEŠEDI* and the GAL *GEŠTIN*.¹⁶⁰⁰ There is convincing evidence that the GAL *MEŠEDIs* were always close relatives of the royal family. Therefore, if his identification as the GAL *MEŠEDI* holds, the same might be suspected for Lepalši. As for the “son of Karahnuili,” the fact that the only other attestation of this name comes from a “king list” may also suggest a royal link.

Although several other officials holding military titles examined above are identified by name, most of the attestations come from non-military contexts such as the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8, 9) and the land donation texts (CTH 222). One exception to this concerns Hattušili, the GAL *GEŠTIN*, who conducts a campaign into Kaška territory. As for familial ties to the royal family, the scarcity of information does not allow much to be said with certainty. Among the GAL *MEŠEDIs*, Zuru and Haššuili may be identified as the fathers of the future kings Tahurwaili and Zidanta II. Another GAL *MEŠEDI* is Kantuzzili, who is identified as both the UGULA *KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI* official of Muwatalli I and as the father of Tudhaliya I/II. It has been suggested that Kantuzzili and Himuili, the GAL *GEŠTIN*, might be the sons of Huzziya II, but for the moment this remains speculation.¹⁶⁰¹

¹⁵⁹⁹ KBo 7.14 obv. 8 and 12. Edited by Rosi (1984: 118–20). See also Haas (2006: 46f.).

¹⁶⁰⁰ See sections 4.1.1.2 and 4.2.1.2.

¹⁶⁰¹ On Kantuzzili and Himuili, see sections 4.6.1.7 and 4.2.1.8.

There not many other names that can be identified as military commanders during the Old Hittite period. In the Siege of Uršu text of Hattušili I,¹⁶⁰² several officials are mentioned by name but none is given a title. A certain Šanda, who reports directly to the king, may be the person in command of the siege.¹⁶⁰³ It has been suggested that he may be the same person mentioned in the Palace Chronicle with the titles “palace attendant” (DUMU.É.GAL) and “Lord of Hurma,” who was punished for his cowardice before the Hurrians.¹⁶⁰⁴

4.15.2 Early Empire Period

Some of the military commanders of this period, such as Halpaziti, Duwa, Hulla, Tarhumimma, and LUGAL-^dLAMMA,¹⁶⁰⁵ have already been discussed in the previous chapters. The so-called Indictment of Madduwatta text (CTH 147)¹⁶⁰⁶ provides the names of several other Hittite commanders. One of these is named Pišeni, who was sent by Tudhaliya I/II to the aid of Madduwatta in western Anatolia (KUB 14.1 obv. 52). In the paragraph that follows, we learn that Pišeni was sent along with Puškurunuwa son of Ah[...], both of whom are referred to as “Great Lords” (^{LÚ.MEŠ}BĒLU GAL^{TIM}, obv. 58). Later in the same text, in a very fragmented context that corresponds to the reign of Arnuwanda I, there are a couple of references to a “house(hold) of Pišeni,” (rev. 66–67), one of which is followed by the words “my son” (]-wa É^mPi-še-ni am-me-el DUMU-Y[A). A study of Pišeni was made by Marizza (2007a: 34–44), who follows the suggestion of Klinger¹⁶⁰⁷ that Pišeni might be a prince, although admitting that there is no way to be certain who is the speaker in the text, or of to whom the phrase “my son” refers (Marizza 2007a: 35). Marizza also identifies him with the Pišeni mentioned in the liver oracle

¹⁶⁰² Edited by Beckman (1995c: 23ff.).

¹⁶⁰³ Thus also Beal (1992: 453).

¹⁶⁰⁴ KBo 3.34 i 24–25; edited by Dardano (1997: 36f.).

¹⁶⁰⁵ See sections 3.2.1.10, 3.4.1.7, 3.6.1.8, 3.6.1.9, and 3.11.1.4, respectively.

¹⁶⁰⁶ KUB 14.1+KBo 19.38; edited by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011: 69–100).

¹⁶⁰⁷ Klinger (1998:11) specifically suggests that Pišeni was a son of Tudhaliya I/II and that in this fragmentary passage Arnuwanda I is quoting his predecessor.

text, KBo 8.55+ obv.[?] 14', as one of the candidates to lead a campaign.¹⁶⁰⁸ A Pišeni who appears in several letters from Mašat Höyük¹⁶⁰⁹ may also be identified with the same person,¹⁶¹⁰ who must then have been in the later years of his career. In HKM 18 rev. 21–22, Pišeni addresses Kaššu and Pulli as “my dear children” (DUMU.MEŠ DÙG.GA-YA). Whether he was actually their father, this reflects the fact that Pišeni was their senior. None of the documents provide a title for Pišeni, but he was apparently active both in Hattuša and in the area of Tapikka, sometimes accompanying the king.

In the above-mentioned liver oracle that names Pišeni, one of the other possible candidates considered for leader of the military campaign is Muwatalli (KBo 8.55+ obv. 2'). This early Empire period official must certainly be a different person than either of his namesake kings. Marizza (2007a: 45) suggests that he is the same person considered to lead an attack against the city of Iyaganuena in the bird oracle KBo 16.97 obv. 3,¹⁶¹¹ which probably dates to the same period as KBo 8.55+, sometime around the reign of Tudhaliya I/II or Arnuwanda I.¹⁶¹² The fragmentary Middle Hittite letter KBo 18.8¹⁶¹³ written to the Hittite king by a Muwatalli (obv. 2) and another person, whose name is not preserved, may involve the same official.¹⁶¹⁴ The subject involves military activity in regard to problems with the inhabitants of the city of Durmitta, but otherwise the context is not entirely clear. These documents suggest that Muwatalli was a high-level military official. Not much can be said about the Muwata[lli] who appears in a very fragmentary context in a treaty of Arnuwanda I with the Kaška (KBo 16.27 iv 33') or the one mentioned in the text of Mita of Pahhuwa (KUB 23.72 rev. 32a), who appears to be a local chief.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Edited by Marizza (ibid. 35–39). It may be noted that the other attestations of this name also belong to a Hittite prince, son of Hantili I.

¹⁶⁰⁹ HKM 18 rev. 21, HKM 23 obv. 1, HKM 24 u.e. 1, HKM 25 obv. 4, rev. 22, HKM 69 obv. 2, HKM 83 obv. [1]. Texts are edited by Alp (1991b).

¹⁶¹⁰ Thus Beal (1992: 458), Beckman (1995a: 25), Klinger (1998: 110f.), Marizza (2007: 43f.).

¹⁶¹¹ Thus Marizza (2007a: 45). The text is edited by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011: 220–33).

¹⁶¹² See Miller (2004: 355 and notes 496–498).

¹⁶¹³ Edited by Hagenbuchner (1989b: 47f.).

¹⁶¹⁴ Thus Marizza (2007a: 46), following de Martino (1992: 35f.). See also de Martino (2005: 293).

Another commander named in the Indictment of Madduwatta text is Kišnapili. He was sent with a Hittite force by Tudhaliya I/II to the aid Madduwatta, against Attarišiya of Ahhiyawa, and Kišnapili caused Attarišiya to retreat and reinstalled Madduwatta as ruler (KUB 14.1 obv. 61–65). The subsequent couple of paragraphs describe how Madduwatta later lured Kišnapili into a trap and killed him and Partahulla (obv. 66–72). Partahulla is probably another Hittite officer. The passage does not mention any title for Kišnapili or Partahulla. Kišnapili’s name may perhaps be restored as one of the witnesses in a small land donation fragment LhK 61 rev. 2’, but his title is not preserved.¹⁶¹⁵ Later in the Madduwatta text Partahulla’s name is mentioned a couple of times (obv. 84–85), but the context is too fragmentary to provide a clear picture. The passage apparently refers to events when “Partahulla was alive,” perhaps when he was sent by the Hittite king to Madduwatta. This probably took place during the reign of Arnuwanda I, since in the previous passage Madduwatta is in communication with “My Majesty” (i.e., Arnuwanda I), rather than “the father of My Majesty” (i.e., Tudhaliya I/II). If that is the case, the death of Kišnapili and Partahulla must have occurred during the reign of Arnuwanda I.¹⁶¹⁶

Antahitta might be yet another commander of Arnuwanda I mentioned in the Indictment of Madduwatta (KUB 14.1 rev. 27). Only the G[AL][?] of his title has been preserved.¹⁶¹⁷ In the passage, Antahitta and the ruler of Kuwaliya (LÚ^{URU} Kuwaliya) named Mazlauwa are said to be informers against Madduwatta in regard to his treachery.

Two other Hittite officials mentioned in the Madduwatta text (CTH 147), Zuwa¹⁶¹⁸ and Mulliyara,¹⁶¹⁹ both bearing the title “Staff Bearer” (LÚ^{GIŠ} GIDRU), are probably lower-ranking

¹⁶¹⁵ See section 4.5.1.9.

¹⁶¹⁶ It makes sense that the Kišnapili episode was related in one context in the narrative, and that is why the death of Partahulla, who probably arrived later but died at the same time with Kišnapili, was mentioned earlier.

¹⁶¹⁷ The title is probably not GAL GEŠTIN, whom Madduwatta attacked as reported in the same paragraph. See note 510 under Halpaziti.

¹⁶¹⁸ KUB 14.1+KBo 19.38 rev. 51, 52.

¹⁶¹⁹ KUB 14.1+KBo 19.38 rev. 55, 56[, 62[, 66[, 84.

officials. While Mulliyara is apparently acting as a messenger, Zuwa is said to be commanding a force of 10 teams of horses (chariots[?]) and 200 infantrymen.

The first portion of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (CTH 40) refers to events during the reign of his father Tudhaliya III. Prior to the death of his father, Šuppiluliuma was leading Hittite armies by himself on several occasions. He is never referred to with a title, but since it is known that he was not the designated heir to the throne, he could not have been *tuhkanti*, the crown prince. That position was probably occupied by Tudhaliya the Younger, who eventually fell victim to the supporters of Šuppiluliuma I as revealed in Muršili II's First Plague Prayer (CTH 378.I obv. 16–22).

It is not certain whether the person named Tuttu who appears in fragments 4–6 of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma¹⁶²⁰ in a military context is a Hittite official or not. Tuttu is too common a name (NH 1390) to allow a confident identification, but it has been suggested that he might be identified with the Tuttu of KBo 18.54 rev. 9', i.e. 2,¹⁶²¹ which is a letter sent by Kaššu to the Hittite king, in which Tuttu is reported to have been sent to besiege a city.¹⁶²²

4.15.3 Empire Period

As revealed in the latter half of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, after Šuppiluliuma had become king, several of his sons actively participated in campaigns. They include the crown prince and possibly the oldest son Arnuwanda,¹⁶²³ the future king of Karkamiš, Piyaššili, who is also known by the Hurrian name Šarri-Kušuh,¹⁶²⁴ and Telipinu, who would later be installed as the Priest and

¹⁶²⁰ KUB 19.12 ii 2–11, KUB 31.33:4',8', KUB 31.34 ii 6' (Güterbock 1956: 60f.).

¹⁶²¹ Originally suggested by van den Hout (1989: 192f., 255). For a recent edition of the text, see Hoffner (2009: 340–44).

¹⁶²² These claims assume an identification of the letter's sender Kaššu with the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ official known from Mašat documentation (see section 4.12.1.3). See Del Monte (2009: 6 n. 12) with bibliography.

¹⁶²³ KBo 5.5 ii 29, 32], KBo 19.13+ iii 4.

¹⁶²⁴ As Piyaššili in KUB 19.13+ ii 7', as Šarri-Kušuh (^mLUGAL-^dXXX-*uh*) in KBo 14.12 iii 17, and anonymously by title in KUB 19.13+ ii 38 (LUGAL ^{URU}Karkamiš) and KBo 14.13 ii 17' (ŠEŠ-*YA*).

de facto king of Aleppo.¹⁶²⁵ His younger son and future king Muršili II may have served as GAL *MEŠEDI* during the reign of Arnuwanda II, a position he may have taken over from Zita, the brother of Šuppiluliuma.

Himuili, Hannutti, and Kuwalanaziti are some of the generals of Šuppiluliuma I who were covered in previous sections.¹⁶²⁶ Although we do not have definitive evidence to suggest ties to the royal family for them, this may be suspected particularly for Hannutti, who served as the governor of the Lower Land later in his career and is attested in royal offering lists.

Several other military commanders are mentioned in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma. One of those is Lupakki, who was left in charge of 600 infantry and chariotry in the city of Murmurik in Syria while the army commander Telipinu had left to meet his father Šuppiluliuma in Uda.¹⁶²⁷ The continuation of the passage indicates that Lupakki's garrison subsequently came under attack by Hurrians, but was saved by the arrival of forces under the command of Arnuwanda and Zita. Lupakki's unique title UGULA 10 ŠA KARASŠ, which may be translated as "Overseer of the Ten of the Army," has not been encountered elsewhere, but clearly could not have been an insignificant rank. Later in the text Lupakki is sent along with another commander named Tarhuntazalma (^{md}*U-za-al-ma*) to attack Egyptian territory around Amka, an undertaking which took place right around the time of the death of the Egyptian king.¹⁶²⁸ Lupakki is no doubt the same person as Lupakku, whose capture of the city of Amka is reported to Aziru, the king of Amurru, in Amarna letter EA 170: 14–18,¹⁶²⁹ which also confirms the position of Lupakki as a top-level general. It has also been suggested that this Lupakki might be identified with the GAL

¹⁶²⁵ With the title priest (^{LÚ}SANGA) in KBo 5.6 ii 10, 12, 15 and KBo 22.9 i [8].

¹⁶²⁶ See sections 4.2.1.11, 4.6.1.10, and 4.11.1.5, respectively.

¹⁶²⁷ KBo 5.6 ii 10–13.

¹⁶²⁸ KBo 5.6 iii 1–4. The attack of Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma, and the death of the Egyptian king are also mentioned in KUB 31.121a ii 6'–10'; edited by Güterbock (1960: 60).

¹⁶²⁹ For EA 170 see Moran (1992: 257f.).

DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL of the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75).¹⁶³⁰ As for Tarhuntazalma, his name is not attested in other sources.

The commander named Mammali, who was sent by Šuppiluliuma I, apparently to somewhere near Arzawa, was defeated by the enemy and barely escaped with his life.¹⁶³¹ Urawanni¹⁶³² was another general, who had accompanied Kuwalanaziti, the GAL NA.GAD, on their successful campaign in the land of Kašula.¹⁶³³ Although the text gives the singular GAL NA.GAD title only after the name of Kuwalanaziti, since this is a double office that had Right and Left pairs, we may consider the possibility that Urawanni was another GAL NA.GAD official. Unfortunately, this passage is the only attestation of Urawanni.

A person named Kantuzzili is mentioned in two fragments which have been assigned to the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (CTH 40).¹⁶³⁴ In one of these fragments (KUB 14.22) he is involved in an attack against the city of Arziya. However, it is argued in section 3.1.2.1 that the other fragment that mentions Kantuzzili may not belong to CTH 40, in which case it would also lessen the likelihood of KUB 14.22 being a part of the same composition. The Kantuzzili of the latter fragment may perhaps be associated with the general, who was active during the reign of Muršili II (see below).

Several officials with princely titles dating to the reign of Muršili II have already been treated, including Nuwanza, Malaziti, Halpašulupi, Tudhaliya, and Aranhapilizzi.¹⁶³⁵ Further information about generals of this period comes from the Annals of Muršili (CTH 61). Muršili II reports that before he had seated himself upon his father's throne, perhaps during the short reign of Arnuwanda II, Kuwalanamuwa (^mKARAŠ-*mu-ú-wa*) was sent to the aid of Šarri-Kušuh, the

¹⁶³⁰ See section 4.4.1.8.

¹⁶³¹ KBo 14.7+KBo 40.6 i 7'-14'; edited by Hoffner (1998: 36f.).

¹⁶³² KBo 5.6 i 32.

¹⁶³³ For Kašula, see RGTC 6: 196 and 6.2: 74, which may be located in the land of Tumanna to the northwest of Hatti.

¹⁶³⁴ IBoT 4.346+KUB 14.23 i 20', KUB 14.22 i 5', 11'.

¹⁶³⁵ See sections 4.2.1.12, 4.2.1.13, 4.6.1.11, 4.6.1.12, 4.7.1.1, respectively.

king of Karkamiš.¹⁶³⁶ Kuwalanamuwa's partially preserved title GAL LÚ[...] indicates that he was a high-level official. A Prince Ku(wa)lanamuwa¹⁶³⁷ is known from the Empire period rock inscriptions IMAMKULU, HANYERI, and AKPINAR (SIPYLOS).¹⁶³⁸ The hieroglyphic version of his name is also attested on the seal impressions Niş 192 and Niş 193 with the hieroglyphic REGIO.DOMINUS title and on SBo II 87 with no title. The hieroglyphic REGIO.DOMINUS corresponds to cuneiform EN KUR, literally “Lord of the Land,” and if the seal owner can be identified with the same person, this may suggest that Kuwalanamuwa served in a governorship position later in his career.¹⁶³⁹

In his third year Muršili II sent the commanders Gulla and Malaziti on a punitive mission against the land of Millawanda, which had sided with the king of Ahhiyawa.¹⁶⁴⁰ The commanders reportedly defeated the enemy and returned to Hattuša with captives and other war spoils. While Malaziti might be identified with the prince and GAL GEŠTIN known from glyptic evidence (see 3.2.1.13), nothing else is known about Gulla.

Another general of Muršili II was Kantuzzili, who was sent to Karkamiš in Muršili's seventh year in order to attack the land of Nuhašše.¹⁶⁴¹ His name is also mentioned in another fragment of Muršili's annals, again leading an army.¹⁶⁴² It is quite likely that this Kantuzzili is the *ABUBĪTI* official and father of GAL-^dIM (Ura-Tarhunta[?]), known from KUB 26.58 obv. 5 (CTH 224).¹⁶⁴³ This document is a decree by Hattušili III, who confers benefits on GAL-^dIM, apparently in return for the latter's support when he had claimed the Hittite throne, despite the

¹⁶³⁶ KUB 14.16 i 9–11 (*AM* 26f.).

¹⁶³⁷ Hieroglyphic EXERCITUS.BOS(+*M*) REX.FILIUS.

¹⁶³⁸ See Hawkins (*RIA* 6: 398).

¹⁶³⁹ Discussed further in section 3.2.7.

¹⁶⁴⁰ KUB 14.15 i 23–26 (*AM* 36–39).

¹⁶⁴¹ KUB 14.17 ii 18–26 (*AM* 86f.).

¹⁶⁴² KBo 8.34+ ii 8 (edited by Houwink ten Cate 1966: 168, 177).

¹⁶⁴³ Thus Houwink ten Cate (1973: 256), followed by van den Hout (1995a: 163), and Soysal (2012: 315).

opposition of his father Kantuzzili. Hattušili's efforts to gain the support of this family should be seen as a strong indication of their ties to Hittite royal family.

In the ninth year of the annals, Muršili sends Kurunta (^{md}LAMMA) against Nuhašše and Kadesh (Kinza). As a result of Kurunta's siege of the city, the king of Kadesh was toppled by his own son and the city returned to Hittite rule.¹⁶⁴⁴ The annals also mention a *BĒL MADGALTI* of the city of Ištahara, but his name ([...]š*i*) and the context are not well preserved.¹⁶⁴⁵

Sometime after his twentieth year Muršili II sent a commander named Tarhini against a rebelling local ruler in the land of Kalašma in northwest Anatolia.¹⁶⁴⁶ Despite the success of Tarhini, this was followed by a campaign led by Muršili II the next year, and then in the following year by a third campaign again commanded by Tarhini, who killed the rebel leader and captured the city of Lakku.¹⁶⁴⁷ Tarhini's capture of the city of Lakku is also mentioned in the letter KBo 18.35 obv. 6–8.¹⁶⁴⁸ The addressee of this letter is probably Hu[tupiyanza], the son of Šuppiluliuma's brother Zita and the governor of Pala and Tumanna. As revealed in the Annals of Muršili II right after the episode of Tarhini, it was Hutupiyanza who made another expedition against the rebellious Kalašma and after destroying several cities brought the region once again under Hittite rule.¹⁶⁴⁹

Finally, we may also mention the Prince Nanaziti, who appears to have taken part in military activities during the campaigns of Muršili II. In year 9 he was acting as a special messenger, relaying Muršili's instructions to Nuwanza, the GAL GEŠTIN,¹⁶⁵⁰ but in the later

¹⁶⁴⁴ KBo 4.4 i 39–ii 15 (*AM* 110–15).

¹⁶⁴⁵ KBo 2.5 i 11–19 (*AM* 180–83).

¹⁶⁴⁶ On the location of Kalašma, see RGTC 6: 163f.

¹⁶⁴⁷ KBo 16.17+KBo 2.5 iii 28–42 (Ottén 1955: 173f.) and KBo 2.5 iii 48–iv 10 (*AM* 190–93).

¹⁶⁴⁸ Hagenbuchner (1989b: 166f.) and Marizza (2009: 136f.).

¹⁶⁴⁹ KUB 2.5 iv 11–28 (*AM* 192–95). For more on Hutupiyanza, see section 3.2.1.

¹⁶⁵⁰ KBo 4.4 ii 52–69 (*AM* 118–21).

years of Muršili, he is attested accompanying another general, Aranhapilizzi, on a campaign.¹⁶⁵¹ Aranhapilizzi is also known to be a prince, and later in his career, possibly a governor.

For the rest of the Empire period, there are few military commanders who have not already been studied in the previous chapters. It was already mentioned in section 4.8.1.1 that the Kaššu mentioned in the Manapa-Tarhunta letter (CTH 191)¹⁶⁵² is likely to have been a military commander of Muwatalli II.

In the oracle inquiry KUB 5.1 a person named Temetti is mentioned several times in relation to a campaign in Kaška territory.¹⁶⁵³ First he is mentioned in regard to attacking certain Kaška towns (i 7), then he is considered for the command of certain troops (ii 47), and later in a series of paragraphs, it is questioned whether the command and plans of Temetti for the military operations would be acceptable while the king is returning from a campaign against the Assyrians (iii 77–93). In another oracle text that involves a military campaign to enter and restore the city of Nerik, Temetti is again mentioned and said to be in charge of certain troops (KUB 22.25 i 15).¹⁶⁵⁴ In yet another oracle text, Temetti is to lead a joint attack with Ašduwari, while from different directions Ku/Maniyaziti and Kašaluwa¹⁶⁵⁵ lead separate attacks on the same location, again in Kaška territory.¹⁶⁵⁶ It is notable that in the first two oracles Temetti, and in the last oracle Temetti, Ašduwari, Ku/Maniyaziti, and Kašaluwa are the only personal names mentioned. While these persons seem to be commanders leading the Hittite army, we may note that, with the exception of the *hapax* Ku/Maniyaziti, these names are otherwise known to be

¹⁶⁵¹ KUB 19.37 ii 48–51 (*AM* 172f.).

¹⁶⁵² KUB 19.5+KBo 19.79 obv. [3], 24.

¹⁶⁵³ Edited by Ünal (1974b: 32–102). For a more recent translation, see Beal (1999: 41–54).

¹⁶⁵⁴ Edited by van Schuler (1965: 176f.). See Beal (1992: 308f. n.1173), who discusses whether at the time Nerik was already in the possession of the Hittites. Nevertheless, on account of the mention of Temetti the text should date to a time close to the date of KUB 5.1.

¹⁶⁵⁵ The partially damaged name is read ^rmKa²-ša²1-lu-wa by Imparati (1999b: 156).

¹⁶⁵⁶ KUB 22.51 i 12'–15' with dupl. KUB 50.108:9'–11'; edited by Imparati (1999b: 153–77).

borne by Kaška personalities.¹⁶⁵⁷ Furthermore, since all oracles concern operations in Kaška territory, it is possible that they are local Kaška leaders loyal to Hittite king.¹⁶⁵⁸ The oracle texts date to the reign of either Hattušili III or Tudhaliya IV.¹⁶⁵⁹

4.15.4 General discussion of the Hittite military commanders

Name	Title ¹⁶⁶⁰	Relationship
Hattušili I		
Šanda	Lord of Hurma [?]	
Hattušili I–Muršili I		
Kizzuwa	<i>GAL MEŠEDI</i>	
Lepalši	<i>GAL MEŠEDI</i> [?]	
[...]kiša	<i>GAL GEŠTIN</i>	
Nakkilit	<i>GAL GEŠTIN</i> [?] , <i>GAL SAGI</i>	
Son of Karahnuili	<i>GAL GEŠTIN</i> [?]	Karahnuili is mentioned in a royal offering list
Šuppiuman	<i>UGULA 1 LI KUŠ</i> ₇	
Marašša	<i>UGULA 1 LI KUŠ</i> ₇	
Huzzi(ya)	<i>GAL NIMGIR</i>	
Ammuna		
Zuru	<i>GAL MEŠEDI</i>	father of Tahurwaili
Ammuna–Huzziya I–Telipinu		
Pulli	<i>GAL GEŠTIN</i>	
Hattušili	<i>GAL GEŠTIN</i>	
Haššuwaš–Inar	<i>GAL MEŠEDI</i>	
Šandamei	<i>UGULA 1 LI KUŠ</i> ₇	
Telipinu		
Zidanni	<i>GAL GEŠTIN</i>	
Lariya	<i>UGULA 1 LI KUŠ</i> ₇	
Hantili II		
Haššuili	<i>GAL MEŠEDI</i>	father of Zidanta II
Muššu	<i>GAL GEŠTIN</i>	

¹⁶⁵⁷ Temetti in MH texts KBo 8.35 ii 26 (CTH 139.1.B), KBo 50.63 rev. iv 7' (CTH 140.1.B), KBo 53.10 rev. iii 9' (CTH 375), HKM 102 obv. 2, Ašduwari in MH text HKM 58 lo.e. 15, rev. 18, and Kašaluwa in the MH text KBo 16.29+ obv. 15 (CTH 139.2). Ašduwarai mentioned in KUB 21.9 obv. 6 (CTH 101.2; edited by Ünal 1974b: 8–13) within the context of rebuilding Nerik, may possibly be the same person as in the oracle text KUB 22.51 i 14'. For other attestations of Temett(en)i refer to NH 1329, NH 1330, KUB 54.67 obv. 7 (CTH 470), and for Ašduwar(a)i, see NH 183 and KUB 56.10 iii 4 (CTH 585).

¹⁶⁵⁸ Temetti's name is also attested in broken context in the annals fragment KUB 31.18:7' (CTH 211) (see Beal 1992: 471 n. 1746).

¹⁶⁵⁹ See Beal (1992: 308f. n. 1173). Note also that KUB 21.9 (see note 1657) clearly dates to Tudhaliya IV, but the fragmentary paragraph that mentions Ašduwarai may still be a reference to the reign of Hattušili III.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Only military titles are included, and when known only the cuneiform equivalents of the hieroglyphic titles are given.

Name	Title ¹⁶⁶⁰	Relationship
Hanikkuili	GAL NA.GAD ¹⁶⁶¹	
Iškunaššu	UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ	
Huzziya II		
Lariya	GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i>	
Muwatalli I ²	GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i> ²	future king
Pazzu	GAL GEŠTIN	
Ušhanda	GAL KUŠ ₇	
Zidanza	GAL KUŠ ₇ .KÙ.GI	
Muwatalli I		
Himuili	GAL GEŠTIN	
Muwa	GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i>	
Kantuzzili	UGULA KUŠ ₇ .KÙ.GI, GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i>	prince, father of Tudhaliya I
Ulganu	GAL GEŠTIN [?]	
Gullutti	GAL KUŠ ₇ of the Right	
Zuwa	GAL SIPA of the Right	
Tudhaliya I/II		
Pišeni	<i>BĒLU GAL</i>	prince [?]
Puškurunuwa	<i>BĒLU GAL</i>	
Tudhaliya I/II–Arnuwanda I		
Muwatalli		
Kišnapili		
Partahulla		
Antahitta		
Arnuwanda I		
Halpaziti	GAL GEŠTIN	
[...š/t]aziti	GAL SIPA of the Right	
LUGAL- ^d LAMMA	GAL SIPA of the Left	
Arnuwanda I–Tudhaliya III		
Hulla	GAL KUŠ ₇ of the Right	
Tarhumima	GAL KUŠ ₇ of the Left	
Duwa		
Tudhaliya III		
Šuppiluliuma I		son of Tudhaliya III
Kaššu	UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ	
Tuttu		
Šuppiluliuma I		
Zita	GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i>	brother of Šuppiluliuma I
Arnuwanda II	<i>tuhkanti</i>	son of Šuppiluliuma I
Piyaššili	King of Karkamiš	son of Šuppiluliuma I

¹⁶⁶¹ Note that this attestation of Old Hittite period GAL NA.GAD comes from the genealogy of a thirteenth-century scribe.

Name	Title ¹⁶⁶⁰	Relationship
Telipinu	LÚSANGA of Aleppo	son of Šuppiluliuma I
Himuili	GAL GEŠTIN	
Kuwalanaziti	GAL NA.GAD	
Lupakki	UGULA 10 ŠA KARAŠ	
Tarhuntazalma		
Mammali		
Urawanni		
Šuppiluliuma I–Arnuwan. II		
Hannutti	GAL KUŠ ₇ , Governor of the Lower Land	
Arnuwanda II		
Muršili II ²	GAL MEŠEDI	son of Šuppiluliuma I
Kuwalanamuwa	GAL [...], REGIO.DOMINUS	prince
Muršili II		
Hutupiyanza	Governor of Pala and Tumanna	son of Zita, cousin of Muršili II
Nuwanza	GAL GEŠTIN	prince
Malaziti	GAL GEŠTIN	prince
Nanaziti		prince
Gulla		
Kurunta		
Tarhini		
Muršili II–Muwatalli II		
Halpašulupi	GAL KUŠ ₇	son of Muršili II
Tudhaliya	GAL KUŠ ₇	prince ²
Aranhapilizzi	GAL KUŠ ₇ , Governor of [...]	prince
Kantuzzili	ABUBĪTI	father of GAL- ^d IM
Muwatalli II		
Hattušili III	GAL MEŠEDI	brother of Muwatalli II
Kaššu	GAL KARTAPPI ²	
Muršili III		
<i>pi²-mi-Šarruma</i>	GAL GEŠTIN	prince
Hattušili III		
Tudhaliya IV	GAL MEŠEDI	son of Hattušili III
Hannutti	GAL KUŠ ₇	son of Hattušili III
Tarhuntanani	GAL NA.GAD	
Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV		
Upparamuwa	UGULA KUŠ ₇ , KÙ.GI	Son of Ini-Tešup, descendant of Šuppiluliuma I
Šahuruwa	GAL UKU.UŠ, GAL NA.GAD	prince
Haššuwaš-Inara	GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left	prince
Halpaziti	GAL UKU.UŠ of the Right	
Hattuša- ^d LAMMA	GAL GEŠTIN	

Name	Title ¹⁶⁶⁰	Relationship
Armanani	GAL GEŠTIN	prince
DOMINUS-ziti	GAL GEŠTIN	prince
Tudhaliya IV		
Huzziya	GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i>	son of Hattušili III
Huršaniya	GAL GEŠTIN	descendant of Nuwanza [?]
Kaššu	GAL KUŠ ₇	prince [?]
Zuzuhha	GAL KUŠ ₇	
Tattamaru	GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left	prince, in-law of Puduhepa
Šaliqqa	GAL UKU.UŠ of the Right	
Mizramuwa	GAL NA.GAD of the Left	prince [?]
Šauškaruntiya		prince, son of Hattušili III [?]
13th century		
Kulana	GAL KUŠ ₇ , URBS.DOMINUS	
Anatali	GAL NA.GAD	
Armawalwi	GAL NA.GAD	
Sariya	GAL NA.GAD	
VIR.x-z/a	GAL NA.GAD	

Table 19. Hittite military commanders.

A list of all possible high-ranking Hittite military commanders has been collected in Table 19, which includes a little over ninety names. It is noticeable that in regard to the first one-third of the names, which belong to the Old Hittite period, we do not have much information about the possible relationship of these individuals to the royal family. On the other hand, for the Empire period, it is significant that roughly half of the commanders can either be identified as relatives of the royal family or have been attested with a princely title, reflecting what would be expected within a patrimonial bureaucracy. Of course, it would be illogical to assume that the Hittite administrative system developed from a less patrimonial system in the Old Hittite period to a more patrimonial one in the Empire period. The absence of such information for the Old Hittite period should be attributed only to the lack of documentation, perhaps also conditioned by differences in the scribal conventions of the time, such as the usage of DUMU.LUGAL to

indicate someone's ties to the extended royal family, which seems to have become more common during the Empire period. Some of this information also comes from the glyptic sources, which are much more abundant from the Empire period. If anything, during the Old Hittite period we would expect even wider distribution of the royal family members over the administrative bureaucracy, which also included the military commands. This is perhaps best expressed in the repetitive description given by Telipinu in the historical prologue of his edict about the reigns of Labarna, Hattušili I, and Muršili I. Telipinu states that during the reigns of each of these kings "his sons, his brothers, his in-laws, his kin, and his troops were united," and that wherever they campaigned they defeated the enemy.¹⁶⁶² Later in the text Telipinu repeats the same situation as a wish for future kings as well: "In the future, who(ever) becomes king after me, let his brothers, his sons, his in-laws, his kin and his troops be united. Thereupon you will have the enemy lands defeated by force."¹⁶⁶³

In his military instructions (CTH 259), Tudhaliya I/II says: "But if I, My Majesty, do not go to campaign in person, a prince or a [high-ranking] nobleman, whom I commission for the army, will lead the troops on campaign. Because I, My Majesty, place [the matter²] in his hands, let the entire army listen to him."¹⁶⁶⁴ The sending of military forces under the command of a prince or a nobleman is a cliché in various Hittite vassal treaties from almost the entire range of the Empire period:

"If My Majesty is busy with some matter, I will send a high nobleman at the head of my military levies."
(CTH 41, Treaty of Tudhaliya III with Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna).

"Šuppiluliuma, Great King, dispatched princes and noblemen with infantry [and chariotry] to the land of Ugarit." (CTH 46, Treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Niqmaddu II of Ugarit).

¹⁶⁶² CTH 19 i 2–6, 13–16, 24–27 (Hoffmann 1984: 12–19).

¹⁶⁶³ CTH 19 ii 40–43 (Hoffmann 1984: 32f.).

¹⁶⁶⁴ KUB 13.20 i 16–18; edited by Giorgieri (1995: 146–50), more recently by Miller (2013: 144–53). See also KUB 26.17 i 11–13' (CTH 261.II) for a similar statement, which probably belongs to Tudhaliya I/II too (Miller 2013: 129–33).

“If I, My Majesty, send to you, Aziru, [to your aid], a prince or a high-ranking nobleman, [together with infantry] and chariotry.” (CTH 49, Treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Aziru of Amurru).

“If I [send] a prince or a high-ranking nobleman, together with his infantry and his chariotry, to the aid of Tette.” (CTH 53, Treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Tette of Nuhašše).

“And if [I send] to your aid, Niqmepa, [a high-ranking nobleman, together with] his [infantry and his] chariotry.” (CTH 66, Treaty of Muršili II with Niqmepa of Ugarit).

“Or if I send some nobleman to go on campaign from this land, then you must go on campaign with him also.” (CTH 76, Treaty of Muwatalli II with Alakšandu of Wiluša).

“And if [I send] a prince or a high-ranking nobleman together with his infantry and [his] chariotry [to the aid of Bentešina].” (CTH 92, Treaty of Hattušili III with Bentešina of Amurru).¹⁶⁶⁵

Oracle texts reveal that in advance of major Hittite military operations the gods were consulted to obtain information on optimal conditions. Several examples of such oracles indicate that if a campaign should be conducted by a commander other than the king, in most cases this would be another member of the royal family. In an Empire period oracle text about a campaign against Azzi, which may date to the reign of Tudhaliya IV,¹⁶⁶⁶ it is asked whether “His Majesty,” or Šauškaruntiya, or the King of Tumanna, or Šauškaruntiya and the King of Tumanna together, or the King of Išuwa and the King of Karkamiš together should lead the campaign.¹⁶⁶⁷ All of the alternative commanders considered in the oracle were probably members of the royal family.¹⁶⁶⁸ On another occasion the gods are consulted about a campaign to be led by the *tuhkanti*, and by the subordinate officials Šahuruwa and Huršaniya, both of whom are likely to be princes.¹⁶⁶⁹ There are several other oracle inquiries about military action which involve officials with titles such as the king of Karkamiš,¹⁶⁷⁰ the GAL *MEŠEDI*,¹⁶⁷¹ or GAL UKU.UŠ,¹⁶⁷² or by officials

¹⁶⁶⁵ See Beckman (1999: 22, 35, 38, 55, 65, 90, 103).

¹⁶⁶⁶ See note 719.

¹⁶⁶⁷ IBoT 1.32 obv. 1–29. For the specific passages, see Beal (1992: 318 and n. 1217).

¹⁶⁶⁸ The relationship of the kings of Karkamiš to Šuppiluliuma is already known. The king of Išuwa, whether Ari-Šarruma or his son Ehli-Šarruma, was also related by marriage (see section 4.4.1.13). Šauškaruntiya may have been a son of Hattušili III (see section 4.4.1.15).

¹⁶⁶⁹ KUB 49.103 rev. 14–15 (Beal 1992: 320 n. 1224). For Šahuruwa, the GAL UKU.UŠ, and GAL NA.GAD, see 4.7.1.2, and for Huršaniya, the GAL GEŠTIN, see 4.2.1.16.

¹⁶⁷⁰ KUB 49.25 iv 1–2 (Beal 1992: 338 n. 1291).

¹⁶⁷¹ KUB 16.56 obv. 3 (Beal 1992: 338 n.1292), KUB 16.62 rev. 3–4 (Beal 1992: 340 n. 1296), KUB 49.25 iv 3–4 (Beal 1992: 338 n. 1291), KUB 50.1 ii 7 (Beal 1992: 339 n. 1295), and KBo 44.216 (Beal 1992: 310 n. 1179).

with names such as Tattamaru.¹⁶⁷³ We may also note the oracle performance of Muršili II for the campaign of Nuwanza as reported in his annals.¹⁶⁷⁴

The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma and the Annals of Muršili II, both of which were composed during the reign of Muršili II, provide more detailed information about the military activities of a king's reign than the texts of any other Hittite king. However, at the conclusion of his Ten-Year Annals, Muršili II remarks that the conquests of the princes and noblemen had not been included in his document.¹⁶⁷⁵ This suggests that what we learn from the available documentation about Hittite military activities is probably only a fraction of the activity that the top officials were involved in. Nevertheless, what little information is available still suggests that the top layers of the Hittite military were predominantly occupied by members of the extended royal family.

¹⁶⁷² KUB 22.42 rev. 7 (Beal 1992: 390 n. 1472).

¹⁶⁷³ KUB 49.11 iii 22–24 (Beal 1992: 387 n. 1465).

¹⁶⁷⁴ KBo 4.4 ii 50–59 (*AM* 118f.).

¹⁶⁷⁵ KBo 3.4 rev. iv 46–47 (*AM* 136f.).

CHAPTER 5: Administrative Documents

Almost the entirety of Hittite textual sources in Anatolia are the product of Hittite state administration. Among these texts a majority are religious in nature, pertaining to the festivals and rituals of the state cults, but there are also numerous documents of various other genres, such as historical narratives, royal annals, state treaties, donation texts, inventory lists, laws and court records, and state correspondence. Since all of these documents, including the documents from the cultic domain, were produced as a result of the needs of the state, they reveal important information pertaining to various aspects of the administrative organization.

The prosopographic study presented in the previous chapters makes use of a multitude of such documents. From historical narratives and annals we learn about the involvement of various officials in military affairs. Correspondence often includes orders to be carried out or reports on activities that inform us about the types of tasks in which the officials were involved, and a multitude of ritual and festival texts that mention officials by title reveal their responsibilities in the cultic domain. Two other groups of texts, the so-called land donation texts (CTH 222) and the inventory documents (CTH 240–250) are technically texts of economic administration. In regard to the investigation of the offices and officials, however, the land donation texts are particularly valuable due to their incorporation of witness lists comprised of high officials of the state. The inventory lists often mention several officials either by rank or by name, and along with the land donation texts, they provide further information regarding involvement of officials in the flow and distribution of state wealth, about which there is little information elsewhere.

While the data gathered from these documents is not insignificant, providing information about the state officials is not their main purpose, and often such information remains open to speculation or interpretation. In regard to the functions and responsibilities of state officials, however, the group of documents which used to be referred to as “Instructions and Protocols,” which more properly should be called “Instructions and Oaths,”¹⁶⁷⁶ deserves even more attention. Therefore, this chapter includes a treatment of these three groups of texts: instructions and oaths, land donation texts, and inventory documents.

5.1 Instructions and Oaths and other Regulatory Documents

The common feature of these texts is that they establish rules and guidelines for state officials to follow while performing their duties and thereby ensure their loyalty towards the king. About two dozen such compositions from Boğazköy have been classified as part of this genre of documents (CTH 251–275). Some of these documents were issued for specific officials such as the mayor (CTH 257), and specify a wide range of duties in detail, while others are addressed to a more general group of officials, such as all military officers or even “all men of Hatti,” and in them the description of responsibilities can be narrow in scope, such as concerning only loyalty to the king and his safety and security. Although the extant documents are nowhere near a comprehensive archive of job descriptions, their value comes from the fact that they reveal information about the extent of the Hittite state’s bureaucratic system and what kind of an effort was put into the organization of its institutions and officials. A brief analysis of these documents with particular attention to officials and offices is provided below.

Hittite Instruction and Oath documents have been the subject of several studies. Besides numerous works on individual texts, some of the important collective treatments include

¹⁶⁷⁶ Already referred to as “Instructions and Oaths” by von Schuler (1964: 45–49). See also Giorgieri (1995: 5f.), Miller (2013).

Giorgieri (1995), Pecchioli Daddi (2002a, 2005a, 2005b), Mora (2008b), and more recently a complete new edition by Miller (2013).¹⁶⁷⁷ Hittite Instructions and Oaths as a separate genre have a distinct place within the contemporary sources of the ancient Near East. Apart from the wisdom literature and didactic writings that are only distantly related to this genre, in other cultures there are only a few isolated texts that display features of administrative instructions for state employees, most comparable examples being the fourteenth-century Nuzi documents, the Instructions of the Mayor (Maidman 2010: 30–33) and the Decree for the Palace Personnel (Roth 1995: 195f.), and the Middle Assyrian Palace Edicts which date from the 14th to 11th centuries (Roth 1995: 195–212). In respect to oaths, the eighteenth-century loyalty oaths from Mari (Durand 1988: 13–15; Charpin 2010), and—although dating to a much later period—the Neo-Assyrian Loyalty Oaths (Parpola and Watanabe 1988) can be counted as comparable. Similarities of these texts with Hittite texts, however, are too limited, in terms of both their scope and purpose, for them to be classified as belonging to the same genre.¹⁶⁷⁸ As Miller (2013: 71) suggests, it is entirely possible that the Hittite instructions were independently developed in Hatti with little or no influence from foreign traditions.

The Instructions and Oaths label is a suitable translation of the Hittite terms *išhiul* (“bond, obligation”) and *lingai-* (“oath”), which is how these texts were referred to in Hittite. In several of the extant colophons and/or incipits of these texts, the document is referred to either as an *išhiul* or a *lingai-*, and in at least one case as both *išhiul* and *lingai-*.¹⁶⁷⁹ While the *išhiul* and *lingai-* terms are typically not used together, many of these instruction texts either include an oath component, or make reference to one, or in most other cases—since for the great majority of

¹⁶⁷⁷ For a detailed list of past studies, see Miller (2013: 13–15).

¹⁶⁷⁸ See Miller (2013: 63–72) for more examples and a detailed discussion.

¹⁶⁷⁹ *išhiulaš linkiaš(š)-a*, KUB 26.10 i 3 (CTH 275). See also Giorgieri (1995: 326f.), who suggests restoring [*iš-hi-u-la-aš²*] *li-in-ki-ya-aš-š[a²]* in the colophon of KUB 31.102 rev. iv 2–3 (CTH 212.20).

these documents significant portions are not preserved¹⁶⁸⁰—may be presumed to have contained an oath component. Nevertheless there are some instruction texts like the Instructions for the Gatekeeper (CTH 257), Instructions for the Royal Bodyguard (CTH 262), Instructions of Arnuwanda I for the Frontier Governors (CTH 261.I), and perhaps Instructions for the Priests and Temple Personnel (CTH 264), that do not include an oath component. On the other hand, there are documents that are classified only as an oath (*lingai-*) since they lack detailed instructions, where the duties about protection of the king, obedience and loyalty to him and his descendants are the main duty. Due to such differences, Pecchioli Daddi (2005a, 2005b) treats the “instructions” (*išhiul*) and “oaths” (*lingai-*) as two separate genres. Contrary to such a separation, Miller (2013: 1–9) emphasizes the unity of obligations and oaths as a genre, but nevertheless admits that these texts display structural and stylistic variations, and that they incorporate one or more of eight different textual categories that he identifies as instruction, oath impositions and prescriptions, oaths, protocols, edicts or decrees, reforms, reprimands, and summoning of oath deities. Regardless of such variations, as mentioned above, the unifying element of these texts—at least for the purposes of this chapter—is that they all concern the regulation of the members of the state’s internal bureaucracy, and therefore deserve to be treated collectively.

Further it needs to be noted that Hittite scribes employed the *išhiul* and *lingai-* terms not only in documents of internal administration, but also in treaties with vassal and appanage rulers. That is because the most important elements of a treaty were its stipulations (*išhiul*) and the curses and blessings which constitute the oath (*lingai-*). In other words, from the Hittite

¹⁶⁸⁰ In his analysis of each text, Miller (2013) gives estimated proportions of the surviving texts in comparison to the originals, according to which, apart from the nearly complete CTH 264 and some of the short documents like CTH 270, none preserves more than half of the original composition. Miller (2013: 65) roughly estimates that collectively the preserved sections of these instruction texts constitute around twenty percent of the complete texts.

perspective there was no distinction between internal administrative documents and state treaties, since both were defined as obligations towards the Hittite king.¹⁶⁸¹ A vassal or appanage ruler is essentially a subordinate of the Hittite king. In practical terms, these rulers are still a part of the administrative structure of the empire,¹⁶⁸² and practically they can be considered as governors with greater independence in regard to internal matters of their regions. For the purposes of this chapter, however, the treaties will be left aside, since the obligations defined in these texts do not have a direct impact on the internal bureaucracy of the Hittite state.

There are a few documents dating to the earliest phase of the Hittite state that need to be addressed in this chapter since they also serve the purpose of regulating state officials, such as the Decree of Pimpira (CTH 24) and the Palace Chronicles (CTH 8 and 9),¹⁶⁸³ both of which date to the reign of Muršili I, and the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19). On the other hand, certain other decrees of cultic nature are left out, although they partially fit the definition of *išhiul*-texts since they contain instructions on ritual procedures for cultic personnel. Some of these will be referred to in the discussion section of the chapter.

5.1.1 Old Hittite Period Texts

CTH 24 – Decree of Pimpira

This composition survives in three separate versions and multiple duplicates, but since they are largely fragmentary, it is still quite incomplete.¹⁶⁸⁴ The speaker of the text, Pimpira, is either a son or a brother of Hattušili I,¹⁶⁸⁵ and is generally considered a regent for Muršili I during the latter's early reign, mainly based on his statement in this text: "I, Pimpira, protect the

¹⁶⁸¹ See Beckman (1999: 2) and Miller (2013: 2–4).

¹⁶⁸² Note the attestations of the kings of Karkamiš, Išuwa, Tarhuntašša, Šeha River Land, Mira, and Amurru alongside other Hittite officials in witness lists from thirteenth-century texts (Appendix 3).

¹⁶⁸³ The Palace Chronicle (CTH 8) and the Fragments of the Palace Chronicle (CTH 9) are likely made up of more than one composition, but their fragmentary nature prevents a confident analysis.

¹⁶⁸⁴ The text is edited most recently by Cammarosano (2006).

¹⁶⁸⁵ See section 3.1.1 and note 138.

king and ad[minister] you.”¹⁶⁸⁶ Therefore, the text most likely pre-dates the Palace Chronicle, in which the speaker is probably Muršili I, presumably at a mature age. The audience of the text is unclear as the pronouns move back and forth between 2nd person singular and plural. Since the frequent change between singular and plural pronouns is a phenomenon observed in other early period texts, such as KBo 22.1 (CTH 272) and KUB 13.3 (CTH 265), which are instructions addressed to plural subjects (see below), it is likely that this composition too is addressed to a group of officials. It is, however, not a true “instruction” text, since it does not issue commands to perform certain duties or prohibit certain others, but rather gives advice on moral and ethical issues like the obligation to help the poor and the sick, and not to oppress servants. In that respect the text is more similar to wisdom literature, examples of which are more common in the ancient Near East. We may bear in mind that several such wisdom texts are still considered “instructions” in a more general sense and so labeled by modern scholars. These include the “Instructions of Shuruppak” from Mesopotamia, and the “Instructions of Amenemhat” from Egypt.

CTH 8–9 – The Palace Chronicle

The so-called Palace Chronicle (CTH 8) is preserved in at least nine different copies.¹⁶⁸⁷ Almost all of these as well as the related fragments (CTH 9) are written in NH script, with the exception of KUB 36.104 and KBo 8.41, which display OH ductus, and KUB 36.105, which is in MH script.¹⁶⁸⁸ The text is composed of a number of short anecdotes describing the misconduct and resulting punishment of various workers or officials, ending with a rather fragmentary banquet scene. The text starts: “Thus (speaks) the Great King” and directly proceeds to the

¹⁶⁸⁶ KBo 3.23 rev. 11' with parallels KUB 31.115+ obv.[?] 18' and KBo 14.41 rev.[?] iv[?] 7'–8'. See also Cammarosano (2006: 38–40), who restores “io il re fa[ccio crescere (...)]” (*ú-ga-az LUGAL-un m[i-ya-hu-wa-an-ta-ah-mi]*) at KBo 3.23 rev. 13'.

¹⁶⁸⁷ CTH 8 is edited by Dardano (1997) and more recently by Gilan (2015: 115–27). Various fragments of CTH 9 are edited by Soysal (1989: 29–38, 89–94); for CTH 9.6, see also Gilan (2015: 110–15).

¹⁶⁸⁸ On assigning KUB 36.105 to MH script, see Dardano (1997: 17).

anecdotes, which apparently took place during reign of the “father of the king.” The king and his father were almost certainly Muršili I and Hattušili I.¹⁶⁸⁹

There is no consensus among scholars about the original purpose of the composition. It is not directly addressed to any person or group, and there are no instructions about doing or not doing something. Although the capacity of the anecdotes to serve as lessons for negative reinforcement is evident, evaluation of the composition as a whole has resulted in various interpretations,¹⁶⁹⁰ some of which emphasize its similarities to the genre of “instructions.”¹⁶⁹¹

Pecchioli Daddi (2002b: 262, 2005b: 600f.) considers both the Decree of Pimpira and the Palace Chronicle as precursors to the proper instruction texts that appeared later. She also coins the term “proto-*išhiul*” for these two as well as the compositions CTH 272 and CTH 269 (see below), of which the common feature is that the “deliberations are shown as a consequence of previous events” (2005b: 600). Miller, however, leaves both texts out of his treatment of the instruction texts, indicating that the similarities between these texts and the proper *išhiul*-texts are “overemphasized” and do not go beyond didactic features (2013: 12, 15f.). In that respect, he shares the views of Gilan (2015: 105–33), according to whom both the Decree of Pimpira and the Palace Chronicle belong to the genre of didactic-political literature, which includes other OH compositions like the Political Testament of Hattušili I (CTH 6) and the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19) that “focus on the required or sanctioned behavior towards the word of the king, explaining his decisions and thus hold his political wisdom on clay” (2014: 66f.).

¹⁶⁸⁹ See note 410.

¹⁶⁹⁰ On this discussion, see Pecchioli Daddi (1995), Zorman (2004), Dardano (2011), and Gilan (2015: 127–31).

¹⁶⁹¹ See Klinger (2001: 61), Pecchioli Daddi (2005b: 600).

CTH 272 – A Royal Reprimand of the Dignitaries (^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUGUD)¹⁶⁹²

This Old Hittite text has only about thirty-three lines of text preserved, not including the incipit or the colophon. Several textual features suggest a date in the early phase of the state, possibly during the reigns of Hattušili I and Muršili I.¹⁶⁹³ The audience of the text is apparently the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUGUD, who are addressed in obv. 23'. The Sumerian term DUGUD is the equivalent of Akkadian *KABTU*, which can mean “important, influential (person).”¹⁶⁹⁴ Although within a military context the ^{LÚ}DUGUD title can stand for a mid-level officer, who is often mentioned alongside the clan chief (*UGULA LIM (ŠERI)*) and translated as “commander,”¹⁶⁹⁵ in other contexts, particularly in early texts, it appears to have been used with a meaning closer to its literal translation, hence “dignitary.”¹⁶⁹⁶

In this text, the dignitaries are reprimanded for their corrupt behavior in regard to ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-men and for not upholding the word of the speaker’s father, and furthermore they are told what exemplary behavior should be. The speaker indicates that the king writes to the addressees regularly (*hatriškezzi*), and refers to a tablet and quotes from it. The text displays similarities on the one hand to the Decree of Pimpira in its criticism of exploiting the poor,¹⁶⁹⁷ on the other hand to the Palace Chronicle in its use of examples. The speaker’s frequent references to his father in the present tense, such as “when my father calls for the assembly,” “when my father allows you,” or “my father’s word” suggest that the speaker is the son of the reigning king. If the king in question is Hattušili I, the composition would be older than CTH 24 and CTH 8–9.

¹⁶⁹² This and most of the documents mentioned below are included in Miller’s edition of the instruction texts (2013) and the given lines and paragraph numbers follow his edition, unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁶⁹³ See Miller (2013: 73f.).

¹⁶⁹⁴ See CAD/K: 27 and CHD/L-N: 367.

¹⁶⁹⁵ See Beal (1992: 488–504), and see below under CTH 251 and CTH 260.

¹⁶⁹⁶ See Pecchioli Daddi (1975: 96 n. 10), Beal (1992: 500f.). See also the translation of ^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUGUD as “dignitaries” in this and some other texts in CHD/L-N: 11b, 158a, 415b and CHD/Š: 240a, 240b, 434b.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Note the similarly worded phrases “You are not avenging the blood of the poor” (KBo 22.1 rev. 24’–25’, CTH 272) and “Avenge their blood, (that of) the male and female servants!” (KBo 3.23 obv. 9, CTH 24.I.A.).

The speaker is unlikely to be Muršili I, since he must have been at a very young age at the time of Hattušili I's death.

CTH 265 – Instructions for Palace Workers

The text is addressed to various palace employees, like kitchen personnel (EN.MEŠ TU₇; literally “Lords of Soup”), the shoemakers, leather workers, and water carriers. They are addressed in the 2nd person by the king. With specific examples of improper behavior, they are told how to perform their duties and threatened with divine punishment or judgment by means of the river ordeal. Examples and duties mentioned in the preserved sections mainly concern the purity of the king, such as not serving contaminated water or food, or using only certain types of leather material. Although the text survives only in NH copies, several features suggest that the original composition dates to the Old Hittite period.¹⁶⁹⁸

CTH 269 – A Royal Decree on Social and Economic Matters

Like CTH 272, the speaker of this text appears to be a prince, since he refers to the rulings of his father. Its surviving fragments are MH and NH copies, but it is very likely that the original composition dates to Old Hittite period.¹⁶⁹⁹ It displays similarities to the Hittite Laws on the basis of listing similar prices for certain commodities as well as indicating what the price used to be “earlier” and what it is “now.” Although the preserved text is very fragmentary, the first couple of paragraphs appear to indicate a number of persons and occupations, such as the tent-man (LÚ.ZA.LAM.GAR), the city administrator (LÚ.MAŠKIM.URU^{KI}), guards? (LÚ.MEŠ₁ *haliyatalleš*), deaf men (LÚ.MEŠ₂ Ú.HÚB), *hāpi*-men of the city of Arinna (URU *Arinnaš* LÚ.MEŠ₃ *hāpiēš*), men of the city of Harharna (LÚ.MEŠ₄ <URU> *Harharna*), the *minalla*-men, and several other groups whose

¹⁶⁹⁸ Miller (2013: 78f.) suggests a date before Telipinu. Pecchioli Daddi (2004: 456–58) also points to some OH features but suggests a date in the time of Arnuwanda I.

¹⁶⁹⁹ See Miller (2013: 122) with bibliography.

designations are too fragmentary to translate. It makes reference to standard weights and scales, as well as bribery, but the context is too damaged to obtain a clear understanding.

CTH 19 – The Telipinu Edict¹⁷⁰⁰

Although a historical narrative and royal succession rules make up the first thirty paragraphs of this composition and receive the most attention, the remaining more fragmentary paragraphs have some features in the form of instructions concerning various issues like protection of cities (§§35–36), food storage (§§37–40), inheritance (§48), capital crimes (§49), and sorcery (§50). While the text contains sections addressed to Hittite nobles, the second half of the text is clearly intended as advice to “whoever becomes king in the future,” as repeated several times (§29 ii 40, §40 iii 49, §44 iii 69).¹⁷⁰¹

CTH 263 – Instructions for the Palace Gatekeeper

The colophon of this text defines its title as “Sleeping Up Above,” and as Miller (2013: 89) remarks, it could refer to the fact that the text describes the responsibilities of the palace gatekeeper (^{LÚ}Ī.DU₈) about waking up and initiating the morning routine of the palace servants and employees who sleep “up” in the palace complex—no doubt referring to the elevated location of Büyükkale in Hattuša. While the instructions are mainly about the duties of the palace gatekeeper, they also inform us about the routines of some other palace employees. Although all three copies of the text are in NH script, morphological features suggest an origin in the late Old Hittite or early Empire period.¹⁷⁰² It displays stylistic and linguistic similarities to CTH 262. Since both compositions describe duties in a routine, they are often referred to as protocols. On account of such similarities, this composition should be considered an *išhiul*-text like CTH 262, although this label is not used in its colophon.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Edited by Hoffmann (1984), and more recently by Gilan (2015: 137–58).

¹⁷⁰¹ For more on the comparison of CTH 19 with the instruction texts, see Miller (2013: 16f.).

¹⁷⁰² See Klinger (2001: 201), Pecchioli Daddi (2005b: 611), Miller (2013: 88).

CTH 262 – Instructions for the Royal Bodyguard

This Middle Hittite instruction text is sometimes referred to as a protocol since it describes the proper procedures in a given setting and lacks an oath component or any type of commands or reprimands. It describes how the bodyguard should act in the palace courtyard and during the journeys of the king. While it mainly concerns the royal bodyguard (^{LÚ.MEŠ}*MEŠEDI*), it also gives information about other personnel who are involved in the procedures, such as golden spear men (^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ŠUKUR*), gatekeeper (^{LÚ}*Ī.DU*₈), cleaner (^{LÚ}*ŠU.I*), grooms? (^{LÚ.MEŠ}*šalašheš*), *zinzinwili*-men, rural clansmen (^{LÚ.MEŠ}*LIM ŠERI*), military heralds (*NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ*), heavy-spear men (^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ŠUKUR.DUGUD*), staff-bearers (^{GIŠ}*GIDRU.HI.A-uwanteš*), performers (^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ALAM.ZU*₉), chanters (^{LÚ}*kītaš*), Hahhaeans (^{LÚ.MEŠ}^{URU}*Hahha*), as well as high officials like the Chief of the Royal Bodyguard (*GAL MEŠEDI*), the Chief of the Palace Attendants (*GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL*), the Chief of the Spear-Men (*GAL* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ŠUKUR*), the Chief of the Chariot Warriors (*GAL* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*KUŠ*₇), the Mayor (^{LÚ}*HAZANNU*), and the Chief of the Military Heralds (*UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ*). Due to its similarities to CTH 263, Miller (2013: 103) indicates that the text's origin may even go back to the late Old Hittite period.

5.1.2 Empire Period Texts

CTH 271 – Oath concerning Dynastic Succession

The fragments grouped under CTH 271 belong to at least two compositions, one concerning Tudhaliya I/II (CTH 271.A) and the other about Tudhaliya III (CTH 271.C).¹⁷⁰³ Both documents are considered to be loyalty oaths for the respective rulers. In regard to the addressees of CTH 271.C, not much can be derived from the preserved sections of the text. The former composition, CTH 271.A, is addressed in the 2nd person, but it switches between singular and

¹⁷⁰³ The manuscript designations are based on Miller's edition (2013: 154–67), who separates certain fragments as manuscript B, but considers the possibility of them belonging to the first composition (2013: 154).

plural. As already discussed in section 4.2.1.8, it is likely that the person in the singular is Tudhaliya himself, and that the plural pronoun may refer to sons of Himuili and Kantuzzili. If so, the text is apparently addressed to both parties, reciprocally advising them of proper action. It is not clear whether Tudhaliya and the king are the same person and who might be the speaker of the text. Miller (2013: 155) remarks that all texts grouped under CTH 271 are mainly concerned “with bringing a period of infighting and political upheaval to an end through assuring loyalty of the nobility to a single royal individual and his descendants.” All extant fragments seem to revolve around loyalty and oaths, and there is not much in the way of instructions specifically concerning job descriptions.

CTH 258.1 – Tudhaliya I/II’s Decree on Penal and Administrative Reform

The incipit of this decree indicates that it was issued by Tudhaliya I/II upon his return from the Aššuwa campaign to reassert the law and order that had taken a bad turn during his long absence. Since the text does not have a clearly identified recipient, Pecchioli Daddi (2005b: 599) suggests removing this text from the group of instruction and oath texts, but Miller (2013: 134f.) argues that the decree could be directed to the officials in Hattuša, who are mentioned in the incipit of the text as “people of Hatti” and said to have complained to Tudhaliya about the lack of order. Later in the text, the king refers to these officials as “you, men of the city” when he instructs them about the handling of royal grain storage, and continues in the 2nd person to issue warnings about misbehavior.¹⁷⁰⁴

¹⁷⁰⁴ Since the 2nd person pronoun is not used in the first two columns of the text, Miller (2013: 347 n. 15) considers the possibility that the tablet may be a *Sammeltablet* with separate compositions on the obverse and reverse.

CTH 258.2 – Tudhaliya I/II’s Decree on Judicial Reform

This decree of Tudhaliya I/II has several features similar to the previous one, but since the documents have different colophons, they are generally considered as separate compositions.¹⁷⁰⁵ Other than the colophon, which identifies the text as an oath, only two paragraphs are preserved. As in the previous text, there is no clearly identified audience, but likewise this text may have been directed to the “people of Hatti,” implying all officials of the state. One may note the following sentences: “And if afterwards, too, he *impedes* the king—be he a royal bodyguard, a palace servant, or a clan chief (or) a dignitary—they will drive him away” (i 10–12) and later “be he a great lord, be he the lowl[iest ...] man, he shall surely die” (i 22–23).¹⁷⁰⁶

CTH 259 – Instructions of Tudhaliya I/II[?] for All the Men

The document is both an instruction and an oath, and is referred to as such in the incipit (*linki[ya]*³) and colophon (*išhiula*). Although the identity of the Tudhaliya mentioned in the colophon is not certain, recent opinions support Tudhaliya I/II.¹⁷⁰⁷ The king dictates a series of instructions as acceptable behavior to lords (^{LÚ.MEŠ}*BĒLŪTI*) and frontier governors (*BĒL MADGALTI*) (§4). There is also mention of lower-level officials like ^{LÚ}*DUGUD* and *UGULA LIM* (§7). As the colophon identifies the text as “instructions for all the men,” the intended audience must be all high- and low-level officials. Although several of the instructions concern military matters, there are also clauses about proper handling of provincial law cases and construction-related duties.

¹⁷⁰⁵ See Miller (2013: 135), who still considers the possibility of the texts belonging to a single composition.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Miller (2013: 140–43).

¹⁷⁰⁷ See Miller (2013: 144). Some attention may be drawn to the contextual similarities between §§9–10 of this text with §§2–3 of CTH 261.II, which probably dates to the reign of Tudhaliya I/II too.

CTH 251 – Instructions and Oath for Princes, Lords, and Military Officers

Recent opinions favor identifying Tudhaliya I/II as the speaker of this text.¹⁷⁰⁸ Although it displays contextual similarities to CTH 271, the text is spoken by the king, who frequently refers to himself as “My Majesty” (^dUTU^{ŠI}), a phrase not attested in CTH 271. The instructions are mainly about military duties like mobilization of troops (§5), punishment of deserters (§§6–7), management of supplies (§§8–9), and prevention of demoralizing acts (§10). Obedience, loyalty, and recognition of the king’s designated heir are also mentioned (§§11–13). References to clan chiefs (^{LÚ}UGULA LIM), commanders (^{LÚ(MEŠ)}DUGUD), princes (DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL), and great lords (BAD GAL, *BĒLU GAL*) indicate that the instructions are directed at all high- and low-level officers, which is also suggested by the use of phrases like “whether he is a clan chief or only a commander” (§6) or “whether he is a great lord or from the army” (§27).

CTH 261.II – Instructions for Frontier Governors

The first few paragraphs of the preserved text are apparently addressed to military officials. Although they are not identified, the king’s commands about fighting the enemy and obeying the command of whomever he assigns as the head of the army make it clear that it concerns the military personnel. It is not clear whether these military officials are exclusively the frontier governors (*auriyaš išha-*) who are addressed in the remaining paragraphs concerning the treatment of fugitives. The other and more detailed instruction document for the frontier governors (CTH 261.I) does not describe such duties that concern a military campaign, but it is known from Mašat documents that the frontier governors had military responsibilities. Although the colophon of the text has not survived, the text is likely to be an *išhiul*.¹⁷⁰⁹

¹⁷⁰⁸ Pecchioli Daddi (2002b: 265f.; 2005b: 605), Giorgieri (2005: 325 n. 14), Freu (2007: 175).

¹⁷⁰⁹ Note the phrase “let the matter of ... be made an *išhiul* for ...” (KUB 26.17 ii 2’-3’).

CTH 257 – Instructions of Arnuwanda I for the Mayor

These instructions are specifically addressed to the mayor (^{LÚ}HAZANNU) concerning various duties in the city of Hattuša. These duties include the security of the gates, strengthening of city walls, repairs to buildings, handling of trash and sewage, arrangement of the guards, organization of various personnel such as water carriers, cattle herders, shepherds, carpenters, horse trainers, potters, smiths, and probably many more, since Miller (2013: 182) estimates that the extant fragments account for only about one-fifth of the original composition at best. Almost all attestations of ^{LÚ}HAZANNU in Hittite texts are concerned with Hattuša, which may suggest that the title was specifically used for the mayor of the capital.¹⁷¹⁰

CTH 260 – Loyalty Oath of Clan Chiefs and Commanders to Arnuwanda I, Ašmunikal, and Tudhaliya

This composition is spoken in the 1st person by the clan chiefs (UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}LIM) and commanders (^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUGUD), and therefore represents a proper loyalty oath. There are three versions of the text, each one concerning officials from a different region. It is therefore very likely that the same composition was copied for every region of the state, while a few copies like these were kept by scribes as reference material. It is also revealed that a copy of (presumably each) oath on a bronze tablet was placed in Hattuša before the Stormgod and the Sungoddess of Arinna, while other copies were placed before other gods in the local temples of the officials (CTH 260.3A i 24'–32'). Although all of the proper names listed are followed by the commander (^{LÚ}DUGUD) title, the incipit phrase “clan chiefs and commanders” (CTH 260.1 i 1), as well as other references like “altogether 29 commanders and their clan chiefs” (CTH 260.1 i 1) and “we,

¹⁷¹⁰ See note 653. For the letter KuT 49 sent by the ^{LÚ}HAZANNU, see section 4.4.1.7.

the clan chief (and) commander of all the troops of GN” (CTH 260.1 i 1), make it clear that the oath concerns both groups.¹⁷¹¹

CTH 270 – Oath of Ašhapala

This brief document is a proper oath spoken in the 1st person by Ašhapala and the troops that are with him. Although completely preserved, the tablet has only three more clauses after the introduction, one about the number of troops pledged from their three towns, and the other two about providing information on enemy activity. According to Giorgieri (1995: 327 n. 31), it might be a supplementary statement to a larger oath document. Miller (2013: 242) draws attention to the fact that Ašhapala is also attested as one of many commanders (^{LÚ}DUGUD) listed in CTH 260, and considers the possibility that the text may have been a summary oath for Ašhapala and his men, and that several copies of this text may have been prepared for each of the named commanders in CTH 260. Ašhapala’s tablet may have been a template copy kept by the scribes.

CTH 275 – Fragments of Instructions and Oath of Arnuwanda I

Both KUB 26.10 and KUB 26.42 preserve the opening paragraphs of two separate instruction texts spoken by Arnuwanda I. In KUB 26.10, the king addresses the recipient(s) both in the 2nd person singular and the 2nd person plural, but otherwise their identity is not clear. The incipit of the text identifies it as both an obligation and an oath. In KUB 26.42, the document is referred to as an “obligation of purity,” and the phrase “all the lords” (iii 8) that appears in fragmentary context may perhaps refer to the recipients.

CTH 261.I – Instructions of Arnuwanda I for the Frontier Governors

The composition is known from multiple copies and as clearly expressed in the introductory lines, it is a list of instructions for the frontier governors (*au(wa)riyaš išha-/BĒL*

¹⁷¹¹ It is possible that, as Beal (1992: 498) suggests, UGULA LIM may be just a first-rank ^{LÚ}DUGUD.

MADGALTI). Although the extant sections of the text account for only about half of the original composition (Miller 2013: 212), it still preserves an extensive list of duties covering military, judicial, and religious domains.

CTH 252 – Decree of Ašmunikal about a Royal Funerary Structure

This decree was issued by Arnuwanda I's queen Ašmunikal for the personnel of the royal funerary house, literally the “stone-house” (É.NA₄), which includes craftsmen, farmers, cowherds, shepherds, and cult personnel. Its opening paragraph suggests that the main purpose of the decree is exemption from tax and corvée obligations, but subsequent paragraphs clearly indicate certain regulations for the personnel, although mainly in the form of restrictions and prohibitions. The text is not an *išhiul* in the strict sense since it is not directly addressed to a specific audience, and for that reason was excluded by Pecchioli Daddi (2005b: 599).

CTH 268 – Instructions and Oath Imposition for Military Commanders of a Region?

Preserved paragraphs of this Middle Hittite composition of an unnamed Hittite king concern military instructions, which display similarities to several clauses of CTH 251 and CTH 259 (Giorgieri 1995: 251f.). The identity of the addressees is not clear. Košak's (1990: 85) suggestion that the composition might be part of the Instructions for the Royal Bodyguard (CTH 262) is appropriately rejected by Giorgieri (1995: 248–53) and Miller (2013: 102) on contextual, syntactic, and linguistic grounds. The king's directive to the addressees to come to his aid when he writes to them (obv. 23'–24') suggests that the addressees were located at a distance from the king or Hattuša. They may be military personnel stationed in border territories, but other clues allow further speculation on their identity. The phrase “whoever is my enemy shall be your enemy” (obv. 19') is typically encountered only in state treaties addressed to foreign partners. Also the leader of the group is referred to as “he who is foremost (*hantezziš*) among you” (rev.

11') rather than using a title or rank. Furthermore, Giorgieri (1995: 249) points out several contextual and lexical similarities with Šuppiliuma I's treaty with Huqqana of Hayaša (CTH 42). It is therefore possible that the addressees may be members of a regional population which had come under Hittite rule, but the fragmentary nature of the text prevents any conclusive identification.

CTH 264 – Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel

The composition survives in its entirety. Although extant copies are all in NH script, various features suggest an older composition date, possibly during the early Empire period like most other instruction texts.¹⁷¹² The colophon identifies the tablet as “Tablet 1 of the obligations of all the temple personnel, of the kitchen personnel of the deities, of the farmers of the deities, and of the cowherds of the deity (and) shepherds of the deity.”¹⁷¹³ Within the text, various members of the temple personnel are specifically addressed, such as priests (LÚ.MEŠ SANGA), senior priests (LÚ.MEŠ SANGA GAL.GAL), junior priests (LÚ.MEŠ SANGA TUR.TUR), anointed-priests (LÚ.MEŠ GUDU₁₂), “mother of god” priestesses (MUNUS.MEŠ AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}), various kitchen employees (EN.MEŠ TU₇) like cupbearers (LÚ SAGI.A), waiters (LÚ GIŠ BANŠUR), cooks (LÚ MUHALDIM), bakers (LÚ NINDA.DÙ.DÙ), beer brewers (LÚ KURUN.NA), cowherds (LÚ.MEŠ SIPAD.GU₄) and shepherds (LÚ.MEŠ SIPAD.UDU) (of the deity), as well as male and female servants. The mention of the city of Hattuša several times in the composition suggests that the temple in question is in the Hittite capital.¹⁷¹⁴ Since there is no mention of a specific deity, it can be speculated that the instructions would apply to the personnel of all temples in Hattuša. Although there is no way to know if this specific composition was also used for temples

¹⁷¹² See Taggar-Cohen (2006: 33f, 86–93), Miller (2013: 244).

¹⁷¹³ “DUB.1.KAM ŠA LÚ.MEŠ É DINGIR^{LIM} hūmandas ŠA EN.MEŠ TU₇ DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ APIN.LÁ DINGIR.MEŠ Ú ŠA LÚ.MEŠ SIPA.GUD DINGIR^{LIM} LÚ.MEŠ SIPA.UDU DINGIR^{LIM} išhiulas (CTH 264, A iv 78–81). On the usage of LÚ.MEŠ É DINGIR^{LIM} as a collective term for all priestly temple personnel, see Taggar-Cohen (2006: 309–11).

¹⁷¹⁴ See Taggar-Cohen (2006: 107f.).

outside the capital, several other texts like KUB 31.113 (CTH 275.A), KBo 2.4 (CTH 672.D), and KUB 55.21 (CTH 635), indicate that temple personnel in other locations were also subject to similar regulations.¹⁷¹⁵

CH 266 – Instructions for Supervisors

Barely three paragraphs of this text have been preserved, but it appears to be a part of a proper instruction text. Interestingly it is spoken in the 2nd person singular, as if the addressee is a particular individual, but switches between singular and plural pronouns have been observed in some of the other instruction texts too.¹⁷¹⁶ In §3, the addressee is instructed to investigate corrupt behavior of various workers when he returns to a city/town. This may indicate that the person is some sort of administrative official with supervisory duties.

CTH 267 – Instructions for the UKU.UŠ-troops

Only a single paragraph of this NH composition is preserved. It is addressed by the king to the UKU.UŠ-troops and they are instructed to participate in construction works alongside other soldiers. Both Pecchioli Daddi (2005b: 609) and Miller (2013: 280) suggest an earlier date for the composition, but since the earliest attestations of UKU.UŠ troops come from MH texts,¹⁷¹⁷ it cannot date to a time before the early Empire period.

CTH 253 – Instructions and Oath of Šuppiliuma I for Military Officers?

It is not certain whether the two fragments KUB 21.41 (CTH 253.1) and KUB 26.57 (CTH 253.2) belong to the same composition. Both texts mention the queen next to the king. In KUB 26.57, she is identified as Taduhepa, within a loyalty oath spoken in the 1st pl. to the royal couple and their descendants. Fragmentary lines display similarities to the military instructions of CTH 251, CTH 259, and CTH 268, which may suggest that they also concern military officers.

¹⁷¹⁵ See Taggar-Cohen (2006: 179–81) and below in the general discussion of this chapter.

¹⁷¹⁶ See Miller (2013: 6f.).

¹⁷¹⁷ See section 4.7.2.

CTH 254 – Oath of Hattušili III and Puduhepa

The couple of partially preserved paragraphs of this fragment display significant similarity to KUB 26.57 (CTH 253.2), with the exception of the names of the royal couple. Miller (2013: 274) remarks that the similarity may be due to scribal practices of copying from similar earlier compositions. Nevertheless, suggesting that the main body of the composition may also have contained military instructions cannot go beyond speculation.

KUB 31.113 // KUB 57.36 (CTH 275) – Instructions for Priests and Diviner

The preserved paragraphs describe duties for priests (^{LÚ}.MEŠSANGA) and a diviner (^{LÚ}HAL). The mention of obligations (*išhiul*) in its first preserved line as well as several imperative verbs, which normally do not appear in rituals, may suggest that the text is part of an instruction composition.¹⁷¹⁸ It is not certain if the location is in Hattuša or elsewhere. In §3 only one priest and one diviner are instructed to take a look around the other temples, sweep, sprinkle, and lock them down. The small number of employees may suggest that the location lay outside Hattuša, for which Nerik is suggested by Haas (1970: 130–33) on account of the mention of the Stormgod of Nerik in a fragmentary line (§4 22'). On the other hand, in §2 priests are instructed to serve the deity with daily bread brought by the king. If this is taken literally, it would imply that king would have to be somewhere nearby in order to bring or send the bread daily.¹⁷¹⁹

CTH 255.1 – Instructions and Oath of Tudhaliya IV for Lords, Princes, and Courtiers

The incipit and the colophon of this composition are not preserved, but the instructions apparently concern all Hittite nobility. In §2, Tudhaliya addresses those “who are army commanders (*BĒLU.HI.A KARASŠ.HI.A*) and “who are not army commanders,” and “he who is a high-level (*GAL*) official” and “he who is not,” and those “who are relatives of the king (*MÁŠ*

¹⁷¹⁸ See Taggar-Cohen (2006: 179) and Miller (2013: 276f.).

¹⁷¹⁹ On account of this passage, Miller (2013: 24) suggests that perhaps this text concerns priests who were directly in the service of the king.

LUGAL) .” While some paragraphs are specifically directed to the frontier governors (*BĒLU.HI.A hantezziuš auriuš*, §§10–13) or the courtiers (^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG, §§21[?]–30), in several others the king refers to his addressees as the “lords and princes” (§§14, 16, 18).¹⁷²⁰ The audience is, therefore, all officials and nobles who have a role in the state administration. The prevailing concern of the composition is to ensure the utmost loyalty to the king alone and not to any other contender for the Hittite throne. While repeating the usual instructions about protecting the king, helping him in times of trouble, and informing him about conspiracies, Tudhaliya repeatedly mentions the possibility of other royal family members, such as descendants of previous kings as well as his own brothers, conspiring against him, gives examples of several possible scenarios, and places the addressees under oath never to display any sign of disloyalty.

CTH 255.2 – Instructions and Oath of Tudhaliya IV for the Courtiers

The text is thematically very similar to CTH 255.1 in that it concerns utmost loyalty to Tudhaliya IV alone, as opposed to any royal challenger. The colophon identifies the composition as an oath (*lingai-*) issued in the city of Ūšša for the courtiers (^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG). Ūšša is a city near the border with Tarhuntašša. In §§23–24, Tudhaliya indicates that the courtiers who were immediately present were made to take an oath and that the courtiers who were not there should take an oath.¹⁷²¹ Miller (2013: 297) remarks on the urgency of the situation since the courtiers were “summoned so hurriedly that some had taken the oath even before the rest arrived,” presumably on the assumption that all courtiers would eventually come to Ūšša to take the oath. The king, however, had a multitude of courtiers, many probably remaining in the palace during the king’s travels. It is possible that the oath was imposed on them subsequently, rather than making them all travel to the presence of the king whenever such declarations were issued.

¹⁷²⁰ Giorgieri (1995: 49, 274) suggests that the text may be some sort of *Sammeltafel*, preserving the essential parts of at least two separate compositions.

¹⁷²¹ The verb *linkten* can be taken as either imperative “you shall take an oath” or preterite “you took an oath.”

CTH 256 – Instructions and Oath of Šuppiluliuma II for the Men of Hatti

This composition is referred to as the oath of Šuppiluliuma in its colophon. It starts with a lengthy plea to the gods to uphold the oath. The oath concerns “all people of Hatti,” who are referred to as LÚ.MEŠ^{URU}Hatti (§10 ii 33'), LÚ.MEŠ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR (§15 iii 21'), LÚ.MEŠ KUR.KUR^{URU}Hatti (§16 iii 23'). The fragmentary nature of the text prevents a clear analysis but §§13–15 appear to be directives about households and town dedicated to royal ancestors (GIDIM.HI.A).

5.1.3 General Discussion of the Regulatory Documents

For ease of view the documents mentioned above are listed in Table 4 in suggested chronological order. The earliest documents from the OH period lack the features of *išhiul*-texts of the Tudhaliya I/II–Arnuwanda I period. As mentioned previously, the common feature of the early texts is that they display a didactic style with anecdotal examples, warnings, and threats of punishment, and often include ethical and moral lessons that bring them more in the line with wisdom literature.

Whether the term proto-*išhiul* is suitable for these early documents as suggested by Pecchioli Daddi (2005b) or to what extent they may have affected the development of the proper *išhiul*-texts is arguable.¹⁷²² Among the texts that are identified as *išhiul*, the earliest ones are probably CTH 263 and CTH 262, the origins of which may go back to sometime in the late Old Hittite or the beginning of the early Empire period. Unlike the other texts of the Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I period, both texts are in the form of protocols, that is to say, the instructions of these compositions are described as routine in a given setting. Since none of the later texts has such features, we may consider the protocol-style descriptions as an early development in the

¹⁷²² For a discussion of this issue, see Miller (2013: 15f.).

Composition	Reign / Date	Type ¹⁷²³	Addressed to
CTH 272	Hattušili I–Muršili I ²		Dignitaries
CTH 24	Muršili I		
CTH 8–9	Muršili I		
CTH 265	Old Hittite		Palace workers
CTH 269	Old Hittite		Various tradesmen and officials [?]
CTH 19	Telipinu		Nobles, officials, and future kings
CTH 263	Late OH-Early Empire	(<i>išhiul</i>)	Palace gatekeeper
CTH 262	Late OH-Early Empire	<i>išhiul</i>	Royal bodyguards
CTH 271.A	Tudhaliya I/II ²	(<i>lingai-</i>)	Tudhaliya [?] and the nobles
CTH 258.1	Tudhaliya I/II		All officials [?] (in Hattuša)
CTH 258.2	Tudhaliya I/II	<i>lingai-</i>	All officials [?]
CTH 259	Tudhaliya I/II ²	<i>išhiul</i> (and <i>lingai-</i>)	All officials (“all the men”)
CTH 251	Tudhaliya I/II ²	(<i>išhiul</i> and <i>lingai-</i>)	All military officers
CTH 261.II	Tudhaliya I/II/Arnuwanda I ²	(<i>išhiul</i>)	Frontier governors
CTH 257	Arnuwanda I	<i>išhiul</i>	The mayor of Hattuša
CTH 260	Arnuwanda I	(<i>lingai-</i>)	Clan chiefs and town commanders
CTH 270	Arnuwanda I ²	(<i>lingai-</i>)	Ašhapala and his soldiers
KUB 26.10	Arnuwanda I	(<i>išhiul</i> and <i>lingai-</i>)	Lord(s) of ... [?]
KUB 26.42	Arnuwanda I	(<i>išhiul</i>)	All the lords [?]
CTH 261.I	Arnuwanda I	<i>išhiul</i>	Frontier governors
CTH 252	Arnuwanda I ² (Ašmunikal)		Personnel of the “Stone House”
CTH 268	Early Empire	(<i>lingai-</i>)	Military commanders in a border region [?]
CTH 264	Early Empire	<i>išhiul</i>	Priests and temple personnel
CTH 266	Early Empire/Empire [?]	(<i>išhiul</i>)	Supervisors [?]
CTH 267	Early Empire/Empire [?]	(<i>išhiul</i>)	UKU.UŠ-troops
CTH 253	Šuppiluliuma I	(<i>lingai-</i>)	Military officers [?]
CTH 254	Hattušili III	(<i>lingai-</i>)	?
KUB 31.113	Hattušili III ²	(<i>išhiul</i>)	Priests and diviner
CTH 255.1	Tudhaliya IV	(<i>lingai-</i>)	Lords, princes, and courtiers
CTH 255.2	Tudhaliya IV	<i>lingai-</i>	Courtiers
CTH 256	Šuppiluliuma II	<i>lingai-</i>	All officials (“all people of Hatti”)

Table 20. Instruction and Oath texts and other regulatory administrative documents.

formation of the instruction and oath texts as tools for the regulation of the state bureaucracy.

Both texts are written in the 3rd person, and even the king is mentioned in the 3rd person, and on that account Miller (2013: 42) suggests that the compositions may not have a royal origin but are

¹⁷²³ Identifications in parentheses are based on references within the composition or the content in general.

perhaps a product of some officials involved with the described procedures. If that was the case, one might even speculate that such texts that were composed independently by some officials for their own convenience were picked up by the governmental institutions or otherwise set the stage to be developed further as tools to organize the bureaucratic system.

As Pecchioli Daddi (2005b: 607) remarks, the development of the instruction and oath texts is an integral part of the administrative reformation of the state that took place during the reigns of Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I. Although the significance of this reformation is a matter of discussion,¹⁷²⁴ these documents are certainly the products of the central administration and are intended to provide permanent or otherwise long-lasting rules and guidelines for the employees of the state to follow. The oath component was meant to ensure that what was dictated would be followed—whether that meant performing the duties as described or simply loyalty to the king. In several of the compositions there are references to monthly repetition of the oaths,¹⁷²⁵ which was no doubt intended to keep the information fresh in mind.¹⁷²⁶ We should of course keep in mind that the instruction and oath texts and other regulatory documents are prescriptions of the central government that reflected the expected norms, but that does not mean they were applied word for word in real life.¹⁷²⁷ In the case of monthly repetitions of the oaths, for example, on the one hand we may question how literally all officials of the state, particularly the ones stationed far away from the capital would really bother to repeat the oath each month. On the other hand, just the fact that there is such a demand for monthly repetition, reflects the central government's awareness of such daily realities and constitutes an attempt to apply more efficiently its policies.

¹⁷²⁴ See Miller (2011: 8–10, 2013: 20f.).

¹⁷²⁵ CTH 265 §8, CTH 253.1 §2, CTH 260.3A §2, and possibly to be restored in CTH 254 §2.

¹⁷²⁶ This brings to mind KUB 1.1, where Hattušili I demands his instructions be read to his heir Muršili every month (iii 57). For examples of similar attestations of repetitive readings in Hittite texts, see Miller (2013: 326 n.32).

¹⁷²⁷ See d'Alfonso (2006, 2008), Miller (2013: 25).

5.1.3.1 Continuity of Usage in the Empire Period

As can be seen in Table 4, starting with Šuppiluliuma I, the emphasis in the texts switches from instructions (*išhiul*) to oaths (*lingai-*). Starke suggests (1995: 73) that the oath (*lingai-*) texts were developed only in specific political circumstances and points to the reigns of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV that followed the ousting of Urhi-Tešup. It is certainly very likely that the increased emphasis on loyalty in the texts that date to the reigns of these kings must have had something to do with concerns about their kingship and the succession of their descendants, but there is good evidence that the oath components had already been a part of the instruction texts during the reigns of Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I. According to Pecchioli Daddi (2002b: 267, 2005b: 608), after Arnuwanda I the instruction and oath texts were developed as separate genres, and while new instruction texts were not composed after the early Empire period, oaths continued to be composed until the end of the Hittite state. As mentioned previously, Miller (2011: 1–8, 2013: 19–23) rejects such a division of the genre, but rather indicates that in the late Empire period the oath component of the “Instructions and Oath” documents gained more importance, while the instruction aspect was limited to observing loyalty to the king and his successors.

Whether or not instructions and oaths should be treated as separate genres, it is clear that we do not have evidence for the composition of any new technically detailed instruction texts during the late Empire period. Assuming that the lack of evidence is not a result of coincidence, we may ask the question why such documents were no longer composed and whether the previously composed instruction texts continued to be used. Pecchioli Daddi, by remarking that the initial composition of the instruction texts during the reigns of Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I came as a result of a need to establish permanent guidelines with no time limitations (2005a:

280) and that the structure of the administrative system that was created by these kings “remained practically unchanged” into the Empire period (2005b: 607), implies that the instructions remained in use even during the late Empire period.

Most of the instruction texts exist in multiple copies, and most of those are in NH script. Instruction and oath texts were one of the genres repeatedly copied by the Hittite scribes.¹⁷²⁸ However, whether the purpose of copying was archival, scribal practice, or actual use is difficult to know. Information in the colophons of the tablets is usually not helpful, typically consisting only of the number of tablets, the label of the composition, and whether it is complete or not, sometimes accompanied with the name of the scribe and supervisor(s). In the NH copy of Tudhaliya I/II’s CTH 258.2, the scribe further notes that the tablet was rewritten because the original had been damaged.¹⁷²⁹ This suggests that the copies were well maintained, but still does not indicate for what purpose they were kept.

An analysis by Miller (2011: 197–202) of the redactional history of the instruction documents may also be of some use here. The Instructions of Arnuwanda I to the Frontier Governors (CTH 261.I) exist in multiple copies, one in MH and others in NH script. Based on his analysis, Miller suggests that the earliest versions may have been entirely in the 3rd person, while later versions were converted to the 2nd person, perhaps to be read to frontier governors who were gathered in Hattuša. Furthermore, there are several contextual differences both between the MH and NH versions, and between various NH versions. In §40 of the composition, while one copy (3.D) refers to troops in general, another (3.B) mentions the troops of particular geographic locations, as if to suggest that the latter copy had been modified specifically for

¹⁷²⁸ See van den Hout (2002: 864 and 2006: 219).

¹⁷²⁹ KUB 13.7 iv 3’–7’.

frontier governors of a certain region.¹⁷³⁰ If these and other contextual differences that can be seen in §§27, 54, and 55 were made as a result of changing circumstances in different times, rather than being copies of another older manuscript, this would be an indication of the continued use of the instruction texts. Such traces of redaction, however, are very few and so open to interpretation that it is not possible to make a firm conclusion based on them alone.¹⁷³¹

Another indication of the use of instruction texts in the late period may be obtained from an oracle text. In KUB 5.4+ and the parallel text KUB 5.3+,¹⁷³² a series of questions are asked regarding the king's proposal to spend the winter in Hattuša, and when the inquiry about the king's purity is "unfavorable," a further question is asked whether binding the kitchen personnel by obligation (*išhiulahh-*), in other words giving them "sworn instructions,"¹⁷³³ would make the evil disappear.¹⁷³⁴ In later paragraphs,¹⁷³⁵ inquiries about giving instructions are repeated for "fire" (presumably implying the palace servants responsible for fire and heating), to courtiers (^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG) and chariot drivers (^{LÚ.MEŠ}KARTAPPU)¹⁷³⁶ about accidents,¹⁷³⁷ and to chariot drivers about road accidents.¹⁷³⁸ The text does not provide any further information about the nature of such instructions, but particularly the instructing of kitchen personnel (EN.MEŠ TU₇) in regard to the purity of the king recalls the instruction text CTH 265, which is also primarily about the purity of the king and is addressed to the kitchen personnel. We may also note Arnuwanda I's "obligation of purity" (KUB 26.42) as well as parts of Tudhaliya IV's instructions to the courtiers about the king's purity (CTH 255.2 §35). On account of such

¹⁷³⁰ See Miller (2011: 201f. and 2013: 21f., 385 n. 441).

¹⁷³¹ For some other redactional clues in CTH 265 and CTH 259, see Miller (2013: 17 and 352 n. 58).

¹⁷³² Translated by Beal (*CoS* I: 207–11).

¹⁷³³ See Beal (*CoS* I: 207–11) and Taggar-Cohen (2006: 35).

¹⁷³⁴ KUB 5.4+ i 44–53. Note also that the verb *išhiulahh-* is also attested in the above-mentioned Instructions for Priests and Diviner (KUB 31.113:1').

¹⁷³⁵ KUB 5.4+ ii 8–42. See also parallel KUB 5.3+ i 30–35.

¹⁷³⁶ Courtiers and chariot drivers are mentioned only in the parallel KUB 5.3 i 9.

¹⁷³⁷ Literally "sin/misbehavior of hand" (*ŠU-aš waštul*).

¹⁷³⁸ Literally "sin/misbehavior of horse" (*HITṬUM ANŠE.KUR.RA*). On interpreting *HITṬUM* as an Akkadogram for Hitt. *waštul*, see Beal (*CoS* I: 209 n. 29).

similarity, it is possible to assume that the instructions referred to in the oracle texts are the same type of instructions.

This, however, causes us to question how regularly these instructions were used. One would expect that the personnel of the palace would receive detailed instructions about their duties, including matters related to the purity of the king, when they were employed in the first place. The oracle questions imply a situation in which the employees would receive such instructions only when there was concern about an issue such as purity or accidents. On the other hand, the oracle is about the conditions under which the king would spend the winter in Hattuša, which is something he probably did not do regularly. It is therefore possible that the palace personnel were not used to having the king around in the winters and were not particularly instructed for responsibilities that might have been somewhat different during the harsh winters of Hattuša.

The lack of evidence for the use of instructions may also be partially related to the use of certain media, such as the wooden tablets, which are a perishable material that does not survive in archaeological layers. Although it is generally assumed that the wooden tablets were primarily used for non-archival documents like economic transactions and daily records,¹⁷³⁹ in his decree about the cult of the Night Deity of Šamuha (CTH 482), Muršili II states:

When my forefather, Tudhaliya, Great King, split the Deity of the Night from the temple of the Deity of the Night in Kizzuwatna and worshipped her separately in a temple in Šamuha, those rituals and obligations (*išhiuli.HI.A*) which he determined in the temple of the Deity of the Night—it came about, however, that the wooden tablet scribes and the temple personnel began to incessantly alter them—I, Muršili, Great King, have reedited them from the tablets. And whenever in the future in the temple of the Deity of the Night of Šamuha either the king, the queen, the prince or the princess goes into the temple of the Deity of the Night of Šamuha, these rituals should be carried out.¹⁷⁴⁰

¹⁷³⁹ On the use of wooden tablets in general, see Marazzi (1994, 2000), van den Hout (2010), and Waal (2011).

¹⁷⁴⁰ KUB 32.133 obv. i 2–10; edited by Miller (2004: 312–19).

The text continues with the description of the rituals, and presumably the original obligation text that was issued by Tudhaliya was similar. Although this is not a text in the style of the Instruction and Oath texts described above, as mentioned in the introduction to this section, cultic instructions like this are technically still regulatory texts that aim to normalize the actions of the functionaries of the state cult. It is, therefore, possible to assume that some instructional texts, probably those that were issued to institutions like the temples that had their own scribal professionals, made use of wooden tablets. We should also mention CTH 260, in which the clan chiefs and town commanders speak in the 1st person as part of their oath that separate copies of the oath on bronze tablets are to be placed in the temple of Stormgod in Hattuša, in the temple of the Sungoddess in Arinna, and in the temples of their own respective towns.¹⁷⁴¹ Although bronze is a non-perishable material, its high value and ease of reuse also caused such tablets to disappear long ago.

In sum, although there is not abundant evidence, references to such texts in other documents and clues from redactional differences, combined with the fact that it would be difficult to imagine a functional bureaucratic administration in their absence, suggest that detailed *išhiul*-type texts were still in use during the late Empire period.

5.1.3.2 The Addressees of the Documents

The addressees of the royal instructions include nobles and officials from various branches of the state, whether in the military, civilian, judicial, or cultic domain. Instructions addressed to “all the people of Hatti,” or “all the men,” such as CTH 259, CTH 256, and perhaps CTH 258.1 and 258.2 must refer to all officials of the administration, rather than the entire population, since

¹⁷⁴¹ KUB 26.24+ i 22'–32'.

the described duties relate directly to those who are in the employ of the state.¹⁷⁴² In that respect CTH 269 may seem a bit exceptional since it refers to individuals from various trades and professions and concerns economic matters. However, the fragmentary nature of the text prevents us knowing if the instructions are addressed to them and whether they are employees of the state. Several texts concern military responsibilities. A couple of texts, CTH 251 and CTH 267, appear to be mainly about military officials, and CTH 259, CTH 261.I, CTH 261.II, and CTH 268 contain military duties among others. The oath text CTH 270, which might be a supplementary text to another instruction composition, also describes military responsibilities.

Several texts directly relate to the palace administration, such as CTH 265 about palace employees, CTH 263 about the palace gatekeeper, and CTH 262 about the royal bodyguards. CTH 252 also concerns the personnel of a royal funerary institution, probably in or near Hattuša. The instructions addressed to the mayor (CTH 257) are entirely about the administration of the city of Hattuša, while CTH 272, CTH 261.I and II, and CTH 266 concern administrative matters in other towns and border provinces.

Two texts of Tudhaliya I/II, CTH 258.1 and CTH 258.2, are both about judicial issues, one about criminal activities such as murder and theft and the other about legal cases. These documents do not appear to be addressed to specific judicial personnel, but rather to all officials. Some of the clauses, such as CTH 258.1 §§4–7, are worded more like the promulgation of laws. While the king's ultimate authority over legal matters is frequently referred to in several of the instruction texts,¹⁷⁴³ others have references to officials with judicial powers. In CTH 259 §14, officials in general are addressed as the judges of “law cases of the land” (*DĪNA.HI.A KUR^{TI}*), certainly a generic statement referring to all locations, wherever these officials are acting as

¹⁷⁴² See Miller (2013: 24).

¹⁷⁴³ See examples in Miller (2013: 43–46).

administrators. In CTH 261.I §§37–40, the frontier governors, the city administrators, and the city elders are referred to as the officials who resolve legal cases. This reflects the multi-functional responsibilities of various administrators whose duties are not restricted to civilian administration, but also cover judicial, as well as the military and cultic domains.

The instruction texts CTH 264 and KUB 37.113 concern specifically the cultic personnel. Miller (2013: 24 and 245f.) points out that CTH 264, despite having been recovered in its entirety, lacks any indication of oath or loyalty towards the king, but rather encourages the loyalty of the temple personnel towards the gods (§§6, 18, 19) and further notes that this is quite normal since the temple personnel were the servants of gods, not the king. While from a religious perspective this is true and may in fact be the reason for the lack of an oath towards the king, in practical terms the priests and temple personnel were definitely members of the Hittite bureaucratic system.

The involvement of the central government in matters of the cult is rather obvious from the enormous amount of documentation relating to prayers, rituals, festivals, and cult inventories.¹⁷⁴⁴ Apart from the installation of royal family members as priests of certain lands,¹⁷⁴⁵ texts also testify to the installation of regular priests. In KUB 42.100 iii 30'–35' a certain Lupakki refers to his installation as priest as the replacement for another in the temple of the Stormgod of Heaven,¹⁷⁴⁶ and KUB 38.1 i 1'–14', iv 7', 22'¹⁷⁴⁷ relates the assignment of three priests in three different towns. As mentioned previously, regulatory actions by the king of cultic personnel are further evident from several ritual and festivals, such as the above-quoted text of Muršili II concerning the cult of the Deity of the Night (CTH 482), which demonstrates that the king had

¹⁷⁴⁴ See Taggar-Cohen (2006: 203–8, 222–28, 435–37), Hazenbos (2003: 191–99).

¹⁷⁴⁵ See Kantuzzili in section 3.1.2.1, and Telipinu in 3.1.2.2. See also Tudhaliya in 3.1.5.2, although his “anointment” for priesthood is probably more of a ceremonial step towards kingship.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Edited by Hazenbos (2003: 16–24). See also Taggar-Cohen (2006: 220).

¹⁷⁴⁷ Taggar-Cohen (2006: 25f., 222).

the ultimate say over that of the priests even on matters like ritual procedures. Note also the Monthly Festival of Nerik (CTH 672), in which the king issues detailed instructions on procedures for the cult personnel about the celebration of the festival along with the statement “The word of Tabarna, Great King; no one shall alter this *išhiul!*”¹⁷⁴⁸ There is also evidence that kingly authority on these matters was delegated to administrative officials of the provinces. In CTH 261.I §§31–35 frontier governors are instructed on organizing temples and temple personnel in the towns under their jurisdiction, and even given the power to assign new priests: “For whatever deity there is no priest, ‘mother of god’-priestess (or) anointed-priest, they must immediately appoint one.”

The collection of Instructions and Oaths and other regulatory documents certainly does not constitute anything like a complete catalog of governmental regulations. Pecchioli Daddi’s study of Hittite professions and officials gives a list of more than six hundred titles attested in Hittite sources.¹⁷⁴⁹ Even when the rarely attested ones are left out, and others combined under more generic titles like “kitchen personnel” or “temple personnel,” this still amounts to a large variety of officials, for which the extant collection of instructions cannot even come close to account. Even the instruction texts that go into detail, such as the Instructions for the Mayor (CTH 257) or the Instructions for the Priests and Temple Personnel (CTH 264), certainly do not cover all duties of these officials. Miller (2013: 65) estimates—according to some very rough calculation as he admits—that the preserved sections of the extant instruction tablets combined probably represent less than twenty percent of their original compositions, and that altogether they may have been inscribed on approximately seventy tablets. He further estimates that this twenty percent may

¹⁷⁴⁸ KBo 2.4 iv 27’–28’ (CTH 672.D); edited by Haas (1970: 279–92) and more recently Součková (2010: 279–300). Another text that carries the features of an *išhiul* is KUB 55.21 with its parallel KUB 57.29, which is a festival text from Zippalanda (see Taggar-Cohen 2006: 80f.).

¹⁷⁴⁹ Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 611–28).

represent at most ten percent of the actual number of instruction texts that ever existed.

Considering that some texts go into minute detail, such as how a *MEŠEDI* guard should ask for permission to go to the bathroom (CTH 262 §§6–8), or what should be the diameter and length of the firewood stored in fortified towns (CTH 261.I §27a), if we may assume that such technically detailed and precise instructions existed for other officials as well, it would indeed be hard to imagine that what we have could amount to anything close to ten percent.

There is some evidence suggesting that at least some of the instructions were delivered to the addressees orally. One of the reasons for this is the frequent employment of the 2nd person pronoun in most of the texts,¹⁷⁵⁰ and also the use of the 1st person plural, particularly in the *lingai*-texts,¹⁷⁵¹ as if to suggest that the addressees are speaking in the presence of the king. Further indications can be observed from context. In Tudhaliya IV’s instructions and oath for the courtiers (CTH 255.2), as already pointed out above, while §23 is addressed to courtiers who were present, §24 is addressed to “those of you who are not present.” In CTH 266, which is apparently addressed to an official with some administrative authority in provincial towns, §3 starts by saying “When [you] at some point [go] back to the city,” and continues in the 2nd person with certain actions to be implemented. This implies that at the time of the delivery of the instructions, the addressees were not in their place of duty, but instead probably in the presence of the king or whatever authority was relaying the instructions. A similar situation may be the case in CTH 261.I. In §31, we read “But in whatever town the frontier governor drives back to,”¹⁷⁵² and in §40 the address to the frontier governors starts in the 2nd person, saying “In the city to which you return,” and then both paragraphs continue with a to-do list for the addressees.

¹⁷⁵⁰ The only texts written exclusively in 3rd person are CTH 8–9, CTH 263, CTH 262, CTH 258.2, and CTH 252.

¹⁷⁵¹ CTH 260, CTH 270, CTH 254, and what is preserved of CTH 253.2 (KUB 26.57).

¹⁷⁵² See Miller (2013: 26) for an argument on translating EGIR-*pa pennai* as “he drives back,” as opposed to various other translations, which originated from a different interpretation of the context.

Again, the statements suggest a scenario in which the addressed officials had been gathered in Hattuša, possibly for the oral relaying of the instructions.

On the other hand, the instructions must also have been distributed in written form, perhaps after the initial oral delivery. For one thing, if the central administration expected its officials stationed outside the capital to repeat the lengthy oaths every month, a written copy must have been made available to those units. As mentioned previously, there is in fact evidence for this in CTH 260.3A i 24'–32', where copies of the oath written on bronze tablets are to be kept in the local temples of the addressees. Furthermore, in the previously quoted passage of Muršili II's decree concerning the cult of the Deity of the Night (CTH 482), it is mentioned that certain *išhiul*-texts were kept on wooden tablets. We may also note the speaker's remark in CTH 272 §6 about a tablet that was written to the dignitaries, from which he quotes the instructions.

5.1.3.3 Summary Remarks

The few documents available from the earliest period of the Hittite state, in terms of their regulatory features, lack the sophistication that appears in documents of the *išhiul* and *lingai*-genre, the earliest of which may be traced to the late Old Hittite period. We may perhaps speculate that this development took place after the reign of Telipinu, which was a turning point in many ways. Apart from his well-known edict that provided the succession rules in writing, his reign roughly corresponds to the introduction of the genres of land donation texts¹⁷⁵³ and of state treaties,¹⁷⁵⁴ as well as the appearance of the first documents written in Hittite, as opposed to Akkadian.¹⁷⁵⁵ The paleographical division between the Old Hittite and Middle Hittite scripts of the Hittite texts is also assumed to correspond to the reign of Telipinu, roughly around the year

¹⁷⁵³ Wilhelm (2005: 278) and Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 51), assign LhK 1, the earliest of these texts, to Telipinu or perhaps to Ammuna at the earliest.

¹⁷⁵⁴ The earliest datable Hittite state treaty was concluded between Telipinu and Išputahšu of Kizzuwatna (CTH 21).

¹⁷⁵⁵ See van den Hout (2009a and 2011: 42).

1500 BCE.¹⁷⁵⁶ Another turning point is marked by the reign of Tudhaliya I/II and the start of the early Empire period. During his and his successor Arnuwanda I's reigns we see a concentrated effort of producing the most detailed technical instructions that form the best examples of the *išhiul*-texts. This genre of documentation, which may have already begun to appear in the late Old Hittite period with texts like CTH 263 and CTH 262, is indicative of a developing bureaucratic structure. Clearly identified spheres of competence and offices that are defined by job descriptions are some of the signs of a sophisticated administrative bureaucracy. Beyond the early Empire period, there is not enough evidence for the continued development of the detailed *išhiul*-type texts, although there are some indications that they remained in use. In the late Empire period the emphasis seems to have shifted to the loyalty aspect of instruction texts, in which the protection of the king and obedience to him became the foremost duty of all officials.

5.2 Land Donation Texts

Documents that are referred to as land donation texts (CTH 222) are a unique group that provides information about the economic administration of the state. As the name implies, these are royally issued grants of real estate such as farm fields, orchards, or meadows, which sometimes also include the households of tenants that live in the property as well as the associated production facilities and livestock. These documents have been the subject of several studies, which include Güterbock (1940), Riemschneider (1958), Easton (1978), Carruba (1993), and Wilhelm (2005). More recently a comprehensive study was published by Rüter and Wilhelm (2012), which not only adds several recently recovered documents of this type to the collection, but also reevaluates the previously published ones in light of the most recent data. One of the important contributions of the recent works was establishing a new dating for the

¹⁷⁵⁶ See Starke (1985: 27) and van den Hout (2009b: 72).

oldest group of land donation texts, mainly based on a stylistic analysis of their anonymous Tabarna seals.

An important aspect of the land donation texts is that they almost entirely date to the scantily documented late Old Kingdom period, the only exception being KBo 5.7 (LhK 91)¹⁷⁵⁷ of Arnuwanda I. Uncertainties about the dates of the early texts is due to their anonymous references to the Hittite king simply as Tabarna. Typically all land donation tablets bear the impression of a royal seal. However about half of the extant seal impressions on land donation texts are of the generic Tabarna type that do not mention the king's name. Although this has resulted in different opinions among scholars, the recent view favors attributing most of the land donation texts with Tabarna seals to sometime around Telipinu's reign.¹⁷⁵⁸

The language of the texts is mainly Akkadian, with occasional Hittite words. Only in the latest texts, such as LhK 91 of Arnuwanda I, do we start to see Hittite sentences, but even in those certain sections are left in their formulaic Akkadian form. The texts more or less follow the same format, which can be summarized as follows:¹⁷⁵⁹

1. ^{NA4}KIŠIB *tabarna* LUGAL.GAL
Seal of Tabarna, Great King
2. {description of property}
3. LUGAL.GAL *išši-ma ana* ^mPN ARAD-*dī-šu ana* NÍG.BA-*šu iddin*
The Great King took (it), and gave (it) as his gift to PN, his subject.
4. *urram šēram ana* ^mPN *ana* DUMU.DUMU-*šu mamman lā iraggum*
In the future no one shall raise claims against PN (and) his descendants.
5. *awāt tabarna* LUGAL.GAL *ša* AN.BAR *ša lā nadīam ša šebērim ša ušpahhu* SAG.DU-*su inakkisū*
The word of Tabarna, Great King, is made of iron, (it is) not to be discarded, not to be broken. Whoever alters (it), his head will be cut off.

¹⁷⁵⁷ See note 69.

¹⁷⁵⁸ See Wilhelm (2005) and Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: 49–57).

¹⁷⁵⁹ For details, see Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: 35–37)

6. *tuppam anniam ina* ^{URU}GN *ana pani* ^mPN₁, ..., ..., ^mPN_n DUB.SAR *ištur*
PN_n, the scribe, wrote this tablet in the city of GN, before (the witnesses) PN₁, ..., ..

As can be observed from frequent references in the previous chapters, the particular significance of these documents for this study is that they contain lists of witnesses, who are typically high-level state officials. Rüster and Wilhelm's (2012) study identifies ninety-one land donation texts. Although quite a few of these are small fragments, we have at least partially preserved witness lists in thirty-eight of them (Appendix 1). In addition to helping us identify the holders of various top offices during this period, an analysis of the frequency of attestation and the order of offices can yield to some information regarding the rules of hierarchy, which has been discussed in further detail in section 6.3.

The donations are typically issued to a single individual or in a few cases to an institution (to the "House of Hattuša in Šarišša" in LhKs 4, 5, 7 and possibly 8). A majority of the recipients of the land donations are officials of the state from various levels of the administration.¹⁷⁶⁰ There are high officials like GAL *MEŠEDI* (LhK 30), GAL SAGI (LhKs 3², 40), UGULA 1 *LI KUŠ*₇ (LhKs 11, 12, 13), ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* (LhK 87), as well as ones from lower ranks such as *MEŠEDI*-guards (LhKs 14, 54), palace servants (LhKs 9, 50), and a chariot warrior (LhK 46). In a few cases the recipients are likely to be sons of the issuing king, such as Labarna in LhK 22 (Telipinu), Hantili in LhK 26 (Alluwamna), and perhaps Zidanza in LhK 34 (Hantili II). On two occasions the recipient is a woman: a wet nurse in LhK 16 and a chambermaid in LhK 91.

The formulaic text refers to the property being transferred collectively as a "gift" (NÍG.BA), and grants the descendants of the recipient the right to inherit the property. This may imply that the lands were handed over to the recipients permanently. However, in some of the texts we see some of the high officials mentioned as the previous owners of the property that is

¹⁷⁶⁰ See the index in Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 5–7), which lists the beneficiaries.

being transferred. In LhKs 4 and 5, some of the property being transferred to the “House of Hattuša in Šarišša” was taken from Lariya, UGULA 1 LI KUŠ₇ (obv. 11–13). In LhK 22, a large amount of property is transferred from Hapuwaššu, the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, to Prince Labarna. We do not know what may have been the circumstances that caused the property to be taken away from these officials—whether they had fallen out of favor, or retired, or something else. Nevertheless, these examples suggest that the ultimate ownership of the property remained in the hands of the state (i.e., the king), and that it could be taken away and transferred to someone else.

The size of property varies greatly. For some of the better preserved texts, the beneficiary and the sum of the lands transferred are shown below:¹⁷⁶¹

LhK 3	Inar, Chief Cupbearer	47 <i>kapunu</i> 19½ IKU ¹⁷⁶²	(~ 514 ha.)
LhK 5	House of Hattuša in Šarišša	230+ <i>kapunu</i>	(~ 2484+ ha.)
LhK 22	Labarna, Prince	85 <i>kapunu</i> 22 IKU	(~ 925 ha.)
LhK 40	Happi, Chief Cupbearer	27+ <i>kapunu</i>	(~ 291+ ha.)
LhK 46	Pithana, Chariot Warrior	43 IKU	(~ 17 ha.)
LhK 47	Šiparta, Chief Singer of the Queen	15 <i>kapunu</i>	(~ 162 ha.)
LhK 91	Kuwatalla, Chamber Maid	100+ <i>kapunu</i>	(~ 1080+ ha.)

It should be noted that property is made up of multiple units of various types, and often includes people and buildings. Therefore the size alone is not necessarily sufficient for an accurate comparison. Nevertheless, it is striking that in LhK 91 of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal,

¹⁷⁶¹ Based on numbers from Rüter and Wilhelm (2013: 78–83).

¹⁷⁶² The size of a *kapunu* is not certain, but it is known that IKU is a sub-unit of *kapunu*. Since the highest numbers for IKU as a sub-unit of *kapunu* are attested at numbers like 27 (LhK 22 rev. 57), 25 (LhK 33 rev. 60), and 22 (LhK 3 rev. 6), it may be safe to assume that 1 *kapunu* = 30 IKU (On the same logic, see Klengel 1975: 191f. n. 62; however, I have updated the then suggested number of 1 *kapunu* = 20 IKU on account of new data from recently published land donation texts). If the Hittite IKU is about the same size as the Old Babylonian unit, which is around 3600 m² (see van den Hout in *RIA* 7: 522a), 1 *kapunu* should be about 10.8 ha.

a female employee (^{MUNUS}SUHUR.LAL)¹⁷⁶³ receives a large amount of land which also includes numerous personnel and livestock.

5.3 Inventory Documents

Another group of documents that relate to the economic administration of the state form a separate genre of inventory documents (CTH 240–250). The *Konkordanz* database lists well over 200 fragments under this category, the major texts of which were edited in studies by Kořak (1982) and Siegelová (1986). Categorization of the documents within the genre presents difficulties due to both the fragmentary nature of most of the texts as well as overlapping contents. Kořak’s study follows the CTH classification of Laroche, which is organized more or less according to the type of materials mentioned in the texts.¹⁷⁶⁴ Siegelová, however, presents an organization according to the particular functions, such as inventory records, purchases, levy lists, gifts, disbursements under official supervision, delivery of raw material to workshops, assignments for personal use, textiles as personal property, and transportation lists. It should be noted that the inventory documents treated in these studies do not involve “cult inventories,” which concern goods used in rituals and festivals and form a separate genre (CTH 501–530).¹⁷⁶⁵

Documents of economic administration exist mostly in single copies, since they had limited temporal usefulness and were not copied and kept for long term.¹⁷⁶⁶ As a result, almost all documents of this genre date to the late Empire period, particularly to the reigns of Hattuřili III

¹⁷⁶³ The common translation for ^{MUNUS}SUHUR.LAL is “chamber maid” (CHD/S3: 432a), “lady’s maid” (CHD/S3: 480b), or “hierodule” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 202).

¹⁷⁶⁴ Such as inventories of metalware (CTH 242), textiles (CTH 243), jewelry (CTH 245), furniture (CTH 246), but they also include chest contents (CTH 241), tribute (CTH 244), and receipts (CTH 247).

¹⁷⁶⁵ Some of the major texts were edited by Carter (1962). For a more recent discussion of this genre, see Cammarosano (2012, 2013).

¹⁷⁶⁶ See van den Hout (2002: 864 and 2006: 219).

and Tudhaliya IV.¹⁷⁶⁷ Exceptions to this dating are the administrative documents of Mašat Höyük,¹⁷⁶⁸ which date to the last years of the city of Tapikka in the early fourteenth century.¹⁷⁶⁹

The members of the state administration encountered in the inventory documents can be divided into three groups: (1) the smiths or craftsmen who work with raw materials to manufacture finished goods, (2) the supervisors who oversee the flow of material, and (3) the royal family.

5.3.1 Smiths and Craftsmen

Employment of smiths and craftsmen by the state is demonstrated by the attestations of over a dozen such individuals in the inventory texts. They are often distinguished by the phrase ŠU PN, “Hand(i)work of PN,”¹⁷⁷⁰ which is typically written after a certain commodity, or otherwise from the context, where it is indicated that certain materials are handed over to these individuals to be made into various items. Most of these individuals are smiths,¹⁷⁷¹ but craftsmen who work on other material such as gemstones,¹⁷⁷² textiles,¹⁷⁷³ and leather¹⁷⁷⁴ are also encountered. They are clearly lower-ranking employees, since none of them are attested in functions outside their trade. The name Palla is known from the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (KUB 4.10+iv 32) and the Šahurunuwa Text (KUB 26.43+ rev. 32) as a witness who bears the titles EN URU Hurme, LÚ DUB.SAR, and LÚ SAG, but he is certainly a different individual than the goldsmith

¹⁷⁶⁷ See Siegelová (1986: 535–37).

¹⁷⁶⁸ HKM 98–114; edited by Del Monte (1995: 89–138).

¹⁷⁶⁹ See also in *Konkordanz*: KBo 55.4 (MH, CTH 240?) and KBo 9.92 (MH?, CTH 250).

¹⁷⁷⁰ For the meaning of ŠU (Akk. *qātu*) as “handiwork, workmanship,” see CAD/Q: 194b.

¹⁷⁷¹ Alamuwa (Bo 4965 with dupl. KUB 42.73 obv. 22), Dunwa-Šarruma (KBo 23.26+KBo 16.83 rev. iii 2, Bo 4965 with dupl. KUB 42.73 obv. 12), Ehli-Kušuh (IBoT 1.31 rev. 2, KUB 26.66 iii 2, 4, 7, iv 14), Ku[wayanu] (KBo 18.163 obv. 1'), Mutta (Bo 5166+KUB 42.10 rev. B 8, 10), Palla (KBo 18.153(+) obv. 5', 22', Bo 5166+KUB 42.10 rev. B 11), Pupuli (Bo 5166+KUB 42.10 rev. A 11, IBoT 1.31 obv. 26'), Zuzuli (KBo 18.153(+) obv. 5', 22', rev. 10'[, Bo 4965 with dupl. KUB 42.73 obv. 16, 19'[, IBoT 1.31 rev. 1).

¹⁷⁷² Zuwali (KBo 18.161 obv. 9', 12').

¹⁷⁷³ Kapiwa (IBoT 1.31 rev. 6).

¹⁷⁷⁴ All are attested in KBo 31.51: Minzana' (obv. 4'), Kunni (obv. 5', 6', 10', 12', 17'), Urkat/papuraya (obv. 9'), Annarumiya' (rev. 3'), Wanni (rev. 7').

Palla attested in the inventory texts, as well as in a court proceeding where he is identified by the title “goldsmith” (LÚ.KÙ.DÍM).¹⁷⁷⁵

5.3.2 Supervisors

Almost all inspection activity is attested in documents concerning metals (CTH 242), such as gold, silver, and copper, and other metal items like weapons and tools. Since these materials had a higher value than items of cloth or leather, it is reasonable to suspect that they were subject to stricter supervisory regulation.

The number of supervisors encountered in these texts is even higher than that of the smiths and craftsmen. Their inspection activity is indicated by the use of the Akkadian verb *idû*, “to know.” The phrase PN *ĪDI* is typically mentioned after certain materials or goods that are being delivered by individuals or groups representing certain towns or institutions, with the understanding that “PN knew” implies that PN witnessed the delivery and checked the said items.¹⁷⁷⁶

In the MH administrative texts from Maşat Höyük, several inventory texts¹⁷⁷⁷ employ the formulaic clause: “X goods to GN, (‘behind’ PN₁); PN₂ controls (them).” In these texts, instead of Akkadian *IDI*, inspection activity is described with the Hittite verbs *hark-*¹⁷⁷⁸ and *ušk-*.¹⁷⁷⁹ These terms appear to be used with the meanings “to keep (under supervision), control” (*hark-*) and “to keep under observation” (*ušk-*).¹⁷⁸⁰ Another distinctive term in the Maşat inventory texts is *ARKI* / *EGIR*^{KI}, “behind.” In HKM 106 rev. 5' the goods are “behind” Šuplaki and Illu, who are also encountered in HKM 107 rev. 15 as inspectors. In other documents, however, as

¹⁷⁷⁵ See section 4.13.7.

¹⁷⁷⁶ See Kempinski and Kořak (1977: 88).

¹⁷⁷⁷ HKM 104–7.

¹⁷⁷⁸ HKM 106 obv. 3, 4 and HKM 107 obv. 5, rev. 16.

¹⁷⁷⁹ HKM 105 obv. 7, rev. 10.

¹⁷⁸⁰ See Siegelová (1986: 107 n. 19) and Del Monte (1995: 116–18). However, the use of *hark-* in the NH text KBo 26.66 with dupl. KBo 18.153 rev. 14, 15 (CTH 242.2) seems to suggest the possession of objects, rather than control of them.

observed by Del Monte (1995: 117f.), the officials who were said to have goods “behind” them are generally military officials, some of whom were involved with chariotry: Maraša and Zuwa, ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇ (HKM 107 obv. 7); Lupakki and Pallanza (HKM 107 rev. 14);¹⁷⁸¹ GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ (HKM 108 obv. 8); UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ (HKM 108 obv. 9); and Uškaliya (HKM 108 lo. e. 12). Del Monte is probably right in his interpretation that these officials must have been in charge of the transportation of said items to their destination. The “behind” term likely implies that the goods were loaded into carts that were dragged behind them. The GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ and UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ officials of HKM 108 probably refer to Hulla and Kaššu, respectively, who are known with these titles in the documents of Mašat archive.¹⁷⁸² The format of HKM 108 does not incorporate the above-mentioned formulaic clause and does not mention towns or inspectors. Joint military activities of Hulla and Kaššu known from other documents¹⁷⁸³ testify to their mobility, and suggest the possibility that HKM 108 is an inventory of goods that were obtained during these operations and were in the process of transportation.¹⁷⁸⁴ Like the officials in charge of transportation, the inspectors in Mašat texts sometimes appear in pairs, and the same condition is also attested several times in NH texts.¹⁷⁸⁵

Table 21 gives a list of attested inspectors in NH texts. Among them only Hešni and Pihamuwa are known from other texts with titles related to inventory administration as “Treasury Official” (^{LÚ}ŠÀ.TAM) and “Overseer of Smiths” (UGULA SIMUG). If we leave aside the fragmentary names, more than half of these officials can be recognized from other sources as members of the upper circles of the Hittite administration. In addition to officials with princely

¹⁷⁸¹ For HKM 107 rev. 13–15 see note 1785 below.

¹⁷⁸² For Hulla and Kaššu, see sections 4.6.1.8 and 4.12.1.3, respectively.

¹⁷⁸³ Letters HKM 70 and 71. See section 4.6.1.8.

¹⁷⁸⁴ See Del Monte (1995: 120f.).

¹⁷⁸⁵ Nunu and Muiri (HKM 105 obv. 7, rev. 10, HKM 107 obv. 5), Zuzu[and [...]wameti (KUB 40.95 ii 9), Walwaziti and ^mKI.^dUTU (KUB 60.1+KUB 40.96 r. col. 20'). In HKM 107 rev.13–15: *I-NA* ^{URU}*Ga-ša-ša AR-KI* ^m*Lu-pa-ak-ki* ^m*Pal-la-an-za* ^m*E]i²-lu¹-un* *Û* ^m*Su-up-la-ki-ya* [*ha*]r-kán-zi can be translated as “to Kašaša, ‘behind’ Lupakki (and) Pallanza; Illu and Šuplaki control (them).” However, depending on whom *ARKI* governs, the number of inspectors can also be three or all four of these individuals.

titles (Ehli-Šarruma, Hešmi-Šarruma, Hešni, Taki-Šarruma, Tarhuntapiya), there is an *antuwašalli* official (Maraššanda), a Chief of Chariot-Fighters (Šaliqqa), a Chief of Scribes (Walwaziti), and a Chief of the Storehouse (Tuttu).¹⁷⁸⁶ With the exception of Maraššanda, all of these names are known from the witness lists of the Tarhuntašša Treaties (CTH 106.A and B) and the Šahurunuwa Text (CTH 225).¹⁷⁸⁷ Attestations of a variety of officials from different offices suggest that the inspections were not the responsibility of a specific office, but were rather performed by whichever high official was available at the time. This may be similar to the instructions described in CTH 257 §7 about the inspection of the seal of the city gate each morning by any high official who was present:

As soon as it da[w]ns, though, [they shall] li[ft open] the door bolts [of the gate]s. And you shall [se]nd your [. . .] son or a [. . .] servant of yours, and once he turns to the seal (of) the gate—after which whatever lord of Hattuša or clan chief or whatever lord at all is present—then they shall examine together the seal of the gate, and they shall open the gate accordingly. But they must bring the door bolts back into your house, and [they shall] se[cure] (them) back in their place.¹⁷⁸⁸

Several other names, including those of some high officials, appear in the inventory texts in fragmentary context. In KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1, a GAL *ME[ŠEDI]* (and) Alipihami[(r. col. 24') may also be inspectors like several others mentioned in this text.¹⁷⁸⁹ The same is possible for Harwa[- (rev. iii 11) and Alalimi[¹⁷⁹⁰ (rev. iii 12) in KBo 23.26+KBo 16.83, but context suggests this is less likely for Piha-Tarhunta (rev. iii 1), who bears the title EN *UNŪTI* (lit. “Lord of Tools”).¹⁷⁹¹ In the same text Kurakura, who is probably a son of Hattušili, is said to have offered a silver cup to a deity. Tattamaru¹⁷⁹² is mentioned in the fragment Bo 6606 rev. 2', where he

¹⁷⁸⁶ For detailed information on some of these officials, see sections 3.1.7.3 and 4.4.1.13 (Ehli-Šarruma), 4.9.1.12 (Taki-Šarruma), 4.7.1.6 (Šaliqqa), 4.9.1.6 (Walwaziti), 4.13.8 (Tuttu).

¹⁷⁸⁷ See Appendix 3.

¹⁷⁸⁸ CTH 257 ii 18–28; edited by Miller (2013: 184f.).

¹⁷⁸⁹ Restored as such by Siegelová (1986: 280f.).

¹⁷⁹⁰ For Alalimi, see sections 4.3.1.4 and 4.8.1.8.

¹⁷⁹¹ “Signore dell’attrezzo[?], artigiano[?]” (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 36), “the storeman” (Košak 1982: 90), “Verwalter des Inventars” (Siegelová 1986: 265). KBo 23.26+KBo 16.83 is edited by Siegelová (1986: 258–65).

¹⁷⁹² See section 4.7.1.5.

appears to be the deliverer of goods, and perhaps also in Bo 6986 rev. B 3 (^m*Ta-at-ta*[]¹⁷⁹³) as the receiver.

Inspector	Title	Inventory documents	Title(s) attested elsewhere	
Ehli-Šarruma	DUMU.LUGAL	KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1 r. col. 24'	REX.FILIUS, (Future) King of Išūwa	
Hešmi-Šarruma	DUMU.LUGAL	KBo 23.26+KBo 16.83 obv. ii 5'	DUMU.LUGAL	
Hešni		KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1 r. col. 11' KBo 23.26+16.83 obv. ii 9'	LÚŠĀ.TAM	
Yarrapiya		KUB 40.95 ii 10		
Maraššanda		Bo 6754 r. col. 6'	LÚ <i>antuwašalli</i>	
Pihamuwa		KUB 40.95 (ii 4), ii 12	UGULA SIMUG	
Pihaššamuwa		KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1 r. col. 12'		
Šaliqqa		KUB 40.95 ii 2	GAL UKU.UŠ ZAG- <i>na-aš</i>	
Šaggana		KBo 23.26+KBo 16.83 ii 10', 11'		
Taki-Šarruma		DUMU.LUGAL	KUB 40.95 ii 4 KUB 31.50 rev. iii 1] (?) Bo 6754 r. col. 10'] (?)	MAGNUS.SCRIBA, DUMU.LUGAL/REX.FILIUS, <i>šākin māti, haštanuri</i> [?]
Tarhuntapiya			KUB 40.95 ii 10 KBo 23.26+KBo 16.83 rev. iii 6	DUMU.LUGAL/REX.FILIUS, SCRIBA
Tuttu		EN É <i>ABUSSI</i>	KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1 r. col. [3'] [?] , 18'	
Walwaziti		GAL DUB.SAR	KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1 r. col. 16', 20'	MAGNUS.SCRIBA, LÚ <i>mākisu</i> , D[UB.SAR] [?]
Zuzu			KUB 40.95 ii 4, 9, iii 7] [?]	
KI. ^d UTU		KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1 r. col. 9', 20', 22'] [?]		
^d U.PAP		KUB 40.95 ii 14		
[...]ili		KBo 23.26+KBo 16.83 obv. ii 3'		
[...]nu		VBoT 62:4'		
[...]walhuwa		KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1 r. col. 13'		
[...]wameti		KUB 40.95 ii 9		
[...]GAL ¹⁷⁹⁴		KBo 23.26+KBo 16.83 rev. iii 13		
[...]	LÚSAG	KUB 40.96+KUB 60.1 r. col. 13'		

Table 21. List of inspectors attested in inventory documents.

5.3.3 Royal Family

The king is mentioned only a couple of times in the inventory texts. “His Majesty” (^dUTU^{Šr}) is referred to in KUB 42.23(+)²² and dupl. KBo 18.179 obv.[?] i 10", ii 2, 7 (CTH

¹⁷⁹³ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 351–53).

¹⁷⁹⁴ It is not certain whether this is part of a name or title.

241.12),¹⁷⁹⁵ which is a list of coronation gifts for the new king and queen, who are probably Hattušili III and Puduhepa.¹⁷⁹⁶ In KBo 9.91 rev. 9–10¹⁷⁹⁷ it is stated that the king will be paying 100 shekels of silver for the celebration of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival in Arinna.

The queen, on the other hand, has a more visible presence. In IBoT 1.31 obv. 10–11,¹⁷⁹⁸ she adds a garment to the contents of a basket which had not yet been inventoried, and in the following paragraph, she states that a final tablet will be recorded when she sends the baskets to the seal-house (É^{NA4}KIŠIB). In the tribute (*MANDATTU*) inventory text KBo 26.66 with dupl. KBo 18.153 rev. 15,¹⁷⁹⁹ two minas of silver held by Walwaziti and Pupuli are said to have been previously/already (*karū*) taken up by the queen. KUB 42.66 rev. 4'–6' refers to [weight[?]]-stones (stamped) with the seal of the queen,¹⁸⁰⁰ and in KUB 42.75 obv. 8–10 certain jewelry items are said to be in her possession.¹⁸⁰¹ There are also references to various items of/for the queen: “table[-cloth]s” (KUB 42.106 obv.[?] 1),¹⁸⁰² “8 pair of golden earrings” (KUB 42.38 obv. 15'),¹⁸⁰³ “new ceremonial[?] garments” (TUG[?]NÍG.LAM.MEŠ) (KUB 42.16 rev. v[?] 6),¹⁸⁰⁴ and in a less clear context there is a reference to a “ritual of the queen” (KBo 9.91 l. e. 1).¹⁸⁰⁵ In each case she is always indicated by the MUNUS.LUGAL title and is never identified with a personal name.

KUB 42.51¹⁸⁰⁶ is a fragmentary inventory list of garments, in which the last line of each paragraph mentions a certain individual, possibly indicating the destination or the current owner of the listed goods. The crown prince (obv. 2) and queen (obv. 6) are mentioned in the first two

¹⁷⁹⁵ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 32–43).

¹⁷⁹⁶ See Siegelová (1986: 34f.).

¹⁷⁹⁷ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 329–35).

¹⁷⁹⁸ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 74–85).

¹⁷⁹⁹ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 96–108).

¹⁸⁰⁰ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 90–95).

¹⁸⁰¹ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 63–67).

¹⁸⁰² Edited by Siegelová (1986: 379–83).

¹⁸⁰³ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 455–99).

¹⁸⁰⁴ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 408f.).

¹⁸⁰⁵ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 329–35). See also KBo 18.180 obv. 2'–4' (Siegelová 1986: 87–89).

¹⁸⁰⁶ Edited by Siegelová (1986: 344f.).

paragraphs. Henti (rev. 1) and Ehli-Šarruma and Neri[kkalili][?] (rev. 5) are names from the fourth and fifth paragraphs. The crown prince is also mentioned in the above-mentioned KBo 18.153 rev. 18–20. After the statement that three minas of silver were in the possession of the Chief of Scribes (Walwaziti) and Pupuli, the text continues in the 1st person: “We took ten shekels of silver and gave them at the *kušaru*-festival into the *tuhkanti*’s lap.” Perhaps the amount silver in the possession of Walwaziti and Pupuli was short ten shekels, and the statement may have been made to clarify the whereabouts of the missing amount.

A unique text is KUB 42.48, which is a list of wool of various colors, garments, and textiles. Each paragraph of the text ends with a palace institution: “Palace, house of His Majesty” (É.GAL É ^dUTU^{ŠI}, obv. 4’), “Palace, the treasury” (É.GAL É ŠÀ.TAM, obv. 6’), “Palace, Long Seal-House” (É.GAL É ^{NA4}KIŠIB GÍD.DA, obv. 8’), “Šulupašši-house” (É.GAL Šulupašši, obv. 12’), “Queen’s palace/quarters” (É.GAL MUNUS.LUGAL, l. e.).¹⁸⁰⁷ Siegelová (2001: 206f.) suggests that the “Šulupašši-house” of this text refers to a regional palace in the city of the same name. However, considering that all other institutions mentioned in the text are probably part of the palace complex on Büyükkale, it is likely that Šulupašši-house also refers to a building in the same complex or somewhere nearby within the city of Hattuša.

Despite the lack of personal attestations of the king, the analysis above suggests that the activities related to the administration of inventory heavily involved the members of the royal family and high officials of the state. Particularly the items of higher value such as gold, silver and other metals were subject to strict controls. Although there is not abundant documentation, information from the Mašat texts suggests that such inspections were a regular activity from the early years of the Empire. They further indicate that goods must have been subject to inspection both at their originating locations, such as Tapikka, and at their destination at Hattuša. Other

¹⁸⁰⁷ Siegelová (1986: 242–45).

texts such as KBo 23.26+KBo 16.83 (CTH 242.8) indicate that both incoming and outgoing precious goods at Hattuša were inspected. The inspection of these valuable items was deemed important enough to be trusted mainly to high-level officials, many of whom were members of the extended royal family. This further demonstrates that the responsibilities of the high officials of the state did not necessarily have specific boundaries related to their offices and could be spread over various aspects of the administration.

Since the inventory texts were all found outside the main archives and do not involve large quantities of materials, Kempinski and Košak (1977: 92) raised the possibility that these may not be records of regular taxation, but perhaps lists of private presents and personal tribute sent to members of the royal family and high officials. This suggestion was also supported by Mora (2006), who points out the fact that the materials in question are often textiles, metals, and precious objects; and that as the Ugarit Tribute Lists (Appendix 4) suggest, several high officials were also recipients of tribute. It is reasonable to conclude that at least some of the inventory, particularly those that labeled IGI.DU₈.A (“gift; present; tribute”),¹⁸⁰⁸ was subject to accumulation by members of the royal family and high officials to increase their personal wealth.

¹⁸⁰⁸ All three terms have been used in CHD. On various suggestions about the meaning of the term, see Košak (1982: 8). For a comparison of the term with *MANDATTU*, see Siegelová (1986: 210–12 and 559f.).

CHAPTER 6: Collective Analysis of the Offices and Officials

6.1 Dual Offices

A number of Hittite offices are attested in pairs, most of which belong to the upper levels of the administration. There are six such high-level offices distinguished with the designations of “Right” (*kunna-/ZAG-na*) and “Left” (*GÙB-la*): GAL KUŠ₇, GAL UKU.UŠ, GAL SIPA, GAL NA.GAD, ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*, and ^{LÚ}*ABU BĪTI/U*.

One of the questions that concern the various attestations of the Right/Left designation is whether it is actually a part of the individual’s title. In the cases of the GAL KUŠ₇, GAL UKU.UŠ, GAL SIPA, and GAL NA.GAD officials, it is certain that the Right/Left designations refer to two different individuals since all such attestations of these titles are associated with proper names.¹⁸⁰⁹

^m <i>Gul-lu-ut-ti</i> GAL ^{LÚ.<MEŠ>} KUŠ ₇ <i>ku-un-na-az</i>	Bo 90/671:29 (CTH 222.46) (=LhK 46)
^m <i>Zu¹-wa-a</i> GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} SIPA ZAG- <i>az</i>	KBo 32.185 rev. 16 (CTH 222.47) (=LhK 47)
^m <i>Hu-ul¹-la</i> GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} KUŠ ₇ ZAG- <i>az</i>	KBo 5.7 rev. 52 (CTH 222.91) (=LhK 91)
^m <i>Tar-hu-mi-ma</i> GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} KUŠ ₇ GÙB- <i>la[-az]</i>	KBo 5.7 rev. 52–53 (CTH 222.91)
[^m -š/í] <i>a-zi-ti</i> GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} SIPA ZAG- <i>az</i>	KBo 5.7 rev. 53 (CTH 222.91)
^m LUGAL- ^d LAMMA GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} SIPA GÙB- <i>la-az</i>	KBo 5.7 rev. 53 (CTH 222.91)
^m <i>A-ra-an-ha-pí-li-iz-zi</i> GAL [^L]ÚUK[U.U]Š? [<i>ŠA</i> ZAG	KBo 1.6 rev. 20' (CTH 75)
[^m ...] [GAL U]KU.UŠ <i>ŠA</i> GÙB	KBo 1.6 rev. 20' (CTH 75)
^m <i>Hal-pa-LÚ</i> GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} UKU.UŠ ZAG- <i>na-aš</i>	KBo 4.10 rev. 29 (CTH 106.B)
^m LUGAL- <i>aš</i> - ^d LAMMA GAL UKU.UŠ GÙB- <i>aš</i>	KBo 4.10 rev. 31 (CTH 106.B)
^m LUGAL- ^d LAMMA GAL UKU.UŠ GÙB- <i>la(-aš)</i>	KUB 26.43 rev. 30 w/ dupl. 26.50 rev. 23' (CTH 225)

¹⁸⁰⁹ Whether]x GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ<<GIS>>}SIPA.UDU ZAG-*aš* in ABoT 2.226 rev. 6' (CTH 678) is actually such a title is uncertain (see note 1328).

^m <i>Mi-iz-ra-A.A-aš</i> GAL NA.GAD GÙB- <i>la-aš</i>	KUB 26.43 rev. 31 w/ dupl. 26.50 rev. 24' (CTH 225)
^m <i>Ta-at-ta-ma-ru</i> GAL UKU.UŠ GÙB- <i>la-aš</i>	Bo 86/299 iv 33 (CTH 106.A)
^m <i>Ša-li-iq-qa</i> GAL UKU.UŠ ZAG- <i>na-aš</i>	Bo 86/299 iv 39 (CTH 106.A)

On the other hand, all attestations of the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* and ^{LÚ}*ABUBĪTI* titles with Right/Left designations are anonymous. Furthermore, almost all such attestations of ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* and ^{LÚ}*ABUBĪTI* are associated with an institution:

<i>ša</i> É ^{URU} <i>Uhhīwa</i> <i>ša</i> ^{LÚ} <i>uriyannūtim</i> <i>kunnaz</i>	LhK 30:7'-9' (CTH 222.30)
[<i>IŠ-TU</i>] ^É ¹ ^{LÚ} <i>u-ri-an-ni-kán</i> ZAG- <i>az</i>	KBo 5.7 rev. 22 (CTH 222.91)
<i>IŠTU</i> É ^{LÚ} <i>u-ri-ya-an-ni</i> ZAG- <i>aš</i>	KUB 55.43 iii 24', 36[[?]] (CTH 683)
<i>IŠ-TU</i> É ^{LÚ} <i>uriyanni</i> GÙB- <i>la-aš</i>	KUB 53.13 iv 16 (CTH 647)
<i>IŠ-TU</i> É ^{LÚ} <i>u-ri-ya-an-ni</i> G[ÙB] [?]	KUB 53.49 obv. 9[, rev. 2] (CTH 647)
<i>IŠ-TU</i> É ^{LÚ} [<i>u-r</i>] <i>i-ya-an-ni</i> GÙB- <i>la-aš</i>	IBoT 2.9+KUB 52.102 i 6 (CTH 667)
<i>IŠ-TU</i> É ^{LÚ} <i>u-ri-ya-an-ni</i> GÙB- <i>la-aš</i>	KBo 47.92 ii 8' (CTH 670)
<i>IŠ-TU</i> É ^{LÚ} <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> ZAG- <i>a[š[?]]</i>	KUB 45.39 obv. ii 12' (CTH 615)
<i>I-NA</i> É <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> ZAG- <i>aš</i>	KUB 25.27 i 25' (CTH 629)
LÚ.MEŠ É.GAL <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> ZAG- <i>na-aš</i>	KUB 12.2 obv. i 6' (CTH 511)
[LÚ.MEŠ É.GAL <i>A-BU-B</i>] <i>I-TI</i> ZAG- <i>aš</i> GÙB- <i>la-aš</i>	KUB 38.19 obv. 24' (CTH 521)
LÚ.MEŠ É.GAL <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> GÙB- <i>la-aš</i>	ABoT 1.14+ rev. iv 19'-20' (CTH 568.A)
]É.GAL <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> ZAG- <i>na-aš</i>	ABoT 1.14+ rev. v 8' (CTH 568.A)
[<i>I-N</i>] <i>A</i> É ^{LÚ} <i>A-BU-BI-TI-ma</i> ZAG- <i>na-aš</i>	KBo 41.130 i 5' (CTH 568.L)
Š <i>A</i> É.GAL <i>A-BU-BI-T</i> [<i>I</i> GÙB-] <i>la-aš</i>	KUB 55.5 rev. iv 19'-20' (CTH 626.Ü3)
É.GAL <i>A-BU</i>]- <i>BI-TI</i> ZAG- <i>na-aš</i>	KUB 59.30 obv. 6' (CTH 667.1D)
É.GAL <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> Z[<i>A</i>] <i>G-n</i> [<i>a-aš</i>	KUB 59.17 rev. 2' (CTH 667.1D)
]É.GAL <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> ZAG- <i>na-a[š</i>	ABoT 2.123 obv. 2' (CTH 530)
<i>IŠ-TU</i> É ^{LÚ} <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> GÙB- <i>la-aš</i>	KUB 58.19 obv. iii 2 (CTH 530)
LÚ.MEŠ É.GAL <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> ZAG- <i>aš</i>	KUB 58.58 obv. 7 (CTH 670)
<i>IŠ-T</i>]U É.GAL <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> ZAG- <i>aš</i>	KUB 51.12 obv. 3' (CTH 670)
LÚ.MEŠ É.GAL <i>A-BU-BI-TI</i> ZAG- <i>aš</i>	VS NF 12.11 rev. iii 12' (CTH 670)
<i>I-NA</i> É.GAL ^{LÚ} [<i>A-BU-B</i>] <i>I-TI-ya-kán</i> ZAG- <i>na-aš</i>	KBo 10.20 i 37' (CTH 604.A)
^{LÚ} <i>A-BU-BI-TÙ</i> ZAG- <i>aš-š[a</i>	KBo 30.39+ i 23 (CTH 604.B)

In these phrases, it is possible to interpret the Right/Left designation as referring either to the house/palace or to the official. According to Houwink ten Cate (1988: 182 n. 127) and

Pecchioli Daddi (1988: 246 n. 22, 2010: 240f.) the Right/Left designations of the *uriyanni* and *ABUBĪTI* officials are topographical indicators that refer to the location of the said É or É.GAL. Houwink ten Cate bases his suggestion on his claim that “of the Right” and “of the Left (side)” may mean “of the south” and “of the north,” respectively, and he sees their origin in West Semitic circles, particularly Mari, where the *abu bītim* official is attested in several documents.¹⁸¹⁰ However, as Nakamura (2002: 44) argues, none of the attestations of *abu bītim* in Mari is accompanied by the Right/Left designation, and the association of the Right and Left with geographical directions not only in Hittite but also in second-millennium Mesopotamia is quite uncertain.

As mentioned in section 4.5.2, in the case of *uriyanni* officials, we have reason to suspect that the Right/Left designation applies to the officials themselves, due to the existence of *uriyanni* officials in pairs (without the Right/Left designations) as witnesses in several late Old Hittite period land donation texts, such as LhKs 29, 36, 37, 41, and possibly 45 (see Appendix 1).

Leaving aside the suggestion of Pecchioli Daddi that ^{LÚ}*ABUBĪTI* is the Akkadian equivalent of the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* (discussed under 4.5.2), the only proper name attested with the ^{LÚ}*ABUBĪTI* title is Kantuzzili (KUB 26.58 obv. 5). Unlike for the *uriyanni* officials, there are no attestations of the *ABUBĪTI* officials in pairs. In fact the only references to more than one *ABUBĪTI* official are in some of the copies of the Telipinu Edict, where ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ABUBĪTI* are counted among the top-level officials alongside GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, GAL *MEŠEDI*, and GAL *GEŠTIN*.¹⁸¹¹ A great majority of the attestations of ^{LÚ}*ABUBĪTI* without the Right/Left

¹⁸¹⁰ For the *abu bītim* official in Mari documents, see Marzal (1972: 359–70).

¹⁸¹¹ CTH 19 ii 62, iii 1: ^{LÚ.JMEŠ}*A-BU BI-TUM* (KBo 3.1 ii 62), and ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*A-BU É.TU*₁ (KBo 12.4+ iii 7), but singular ^{LÚ}*A-[BU-* in dupl. (KUB 11.2: 13'). At CTH 19 ii 70–71 when the same high officials are listed, this is again in the singular: ^{LÚ}*A-BU BI-TU* (KBo 3.1 ii 70) with dupl. ^{LÚ}*A-BU BI-TUM* (KUB 11.6: 4').

designation are also associated with an É or É.GAL. With or without the Right/Left designation, most of these attestations are in festival or cult-related texts which refer to taking certain items from/to the estate/palace of the ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI. Despite the numerous attestations of a house/palace of ABUBĪTI of the Right/Left, the single exception listed above (KBo 30.39+ i 23), which mentions a ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI of the Right without an É or É.GAL, indicates that the Right/Left designation with this title applies to the official rather than the institution.¹⁸¹² KBo 30.39+ (CTH 604.B) is a copy of the Outline of the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival. In other copies of this composition, as well as in related texts like CTH 568 (oracle about the celebration of a number of festivals) and CTH 629 (celebration of “regular festivals”),¹⁸¹³ which contain similar passages about the ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI, the subject of the sentences is usually the people (LÚ.MEŠ) of the estate/palace of the ABUBĪTI (of the Right/Left) or an unspecified third-person plural, which may still imply the same people. In KBo 30.39+ i 23, however, the fragmentary line is likely to be restored as:

^{LÚ}A-BU-BI-TU ZAG-aš-š[a ^{DUG}har-ši ŠA ^UURU Zi-i]p-pa-la-an-da ₁hi¹-ik₁-z[i]¹⁸¹⁴
 [An]d the ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTU of the Right send[s[?] the storage vessel of the Stormgod of Zi]ppalanda.

While the verb is a bit problematic, ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI of the Right is clearly the subject of the sentence, which finds support from the fact that a few lines later in the same text ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI (without the ZAG designation) is again the subject of the sentence:

^{LÚ}A-BU-BI-TU-ya-kán IŠ-TU ^Éhé-eš-ti-i [SAHAR.HI.A-aš a-pe-e-da-ni U]D-ti pí-e-da-i¹⁸¹⁵
 And ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTU carries off [earth] from the House of the Dead on [that d]ay.

¹⁸¹² We may also note that there is no attestation of an É(.GAL) ZAG/GÜB “house/palace of the right/left” of any official.

¹⁸¹³ On the close association of these compositions, see Houwink ten Cate (1986: 96).

¹⁸¹⁴ See Houwink ten Cate (1986: 105 n. 26).

¹⁸¹⁵ KBo 30.39+ i 28–29.

The difference in style might be due to the date of the composition, which, as was observed by Houwink ten Cate (1986: 96), is older than other late-script copies of the composition, possibly dating to the fourteenth century.

This clue, combined with the fact that Right/Left designations of all of the other aforementioned titles refer to individuals rather than locations, suggests that the same also applies to ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI. That said, however, the meaning of the Right/Left designation of the title still needs to be addressed.

In Mesopotamian sources there are a few attestations of the Right/Left designation as part of an official's title, such as *rabi šikkati kanni ša imitti/šumeli*, ^{LÚ}*turtānu imitti/šumeli*, *taššališānu ša imitti*, ^{LÚ}*māhišī ša imitti/šumeli*, ^{LÚ}*mudallihu ša imitti*.¹⁸¹⁶ One of the earlier opinions was that the designation was a reference to the wings of the army in battle formation.¹⁸¹⁷ While that could be a consideration for the GAL KUŠ₇ and GAL UKU.UŠ officials, and perhaps also for the GAL SIPA, and the GAL NA.GAD,¹⁸¹⁸ it certainly would not be appropriate for the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* and the ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI, for whom there is no trace of military involvement among their responsibilities. Furthermore, if there were an association with the wings of the army, one would expect the Right/Left designation to appear with these titles particularly in a military context, whereas in no such cases are these titles differentiated with Right or Left designation.¹⁸¹⁹

Another possibility is that the Right/Left designation may be a reference to the position of these officials in Hittite court ceremony, which might have been organized symmetrically to the

¹⁸¹⁶ See CAD/I-J: 123a, Š3: 271f.

¹⁸¹⁷ See the translations of “... of the right/left wing” given in CAD/I: 123b. See also the discussion by Nakamura (2002: 42–44).

¹⁸¹⁸ See Beal (1992: 194f).

¹⁸¹⁹ Kuwalanaziti as GAL NA.GAD and Hannutti as GAL KUŠ₇ in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, and Aranhapilizzi as GAL UKU.UŠ in the Annals of Muršili II are all mentioned specifically in military action (for each official, see sections 4.11.1.5, 4.6.1.10, 4.7.1.1, respectively). Note also the mention of Šahurunuwa and Haššuwaš-Inara as commanders of two halves of an army in KUB 48.119 (CTH 590) without any titles, yet it is quite likely that they are the two GAL UKU.UŠ officials (see section 4.7.1.3).

right and left of the king.¹⁸²⁰ This may find support in the fact that occasionally the Right/Left designation is written in the ablative (of position) (*kunnaz/ZAG-az*, *GÜB-laz*), the direct translation of which would be “at the Right/Left (side),” perhaps implying the physical side of the king. In the mythological realm, we also have the example of the two viziers of the Sungod, Bunene and Mišharu, walking on the god’s right and left sides.¹⁸²¹ Another indication of an association with court protocol may be recognized in the fact that all fourteen attestations of the Right/Left designation with proper names come from witness lists. When these officials are encountered in other documents, the Right/Left designation is not present.¹⁸²² The reason for the Right/Left designations appearing exclusively in the witness lists could not be explained as an attempt to distinguish the two officials, since on some occasions only the Right or the Left official is present among the witnesses.¹⁸²³ Yet, even this theory is not entirely problem free, since the argument presented in section 6.3 suggests that the hierarchy in court protocol seems to have been more dependent on factors like relationship to the king, rather than the title of the officials. Also, we have the presence of double GAL GEŠTIN and GAL *KARTAPPI* officials among the witnesses of the Bronze Tablet, which are two offices that are otherwise not attested as dual offices in any source, and there is no satisfactory answer as to why they were not distinguished with Right/Left designation (see below).

Goetze (1952: 4) had pointed out that in the case of the Neo-Assyrian title *turtānu*, the Right/Left designation might be the equivalent of *turtānu* and *turtānu šanû* (“second *turtānu*”)

¹⁸²⁰ See Beckman (1988: 39 n. 44), Nakamura (2002: 43).

¹⁸²¹ KUB 31.127+ i 65–67 (CTH 372), KUB 36.75+ obv. ii 5’–7’ with dupls. KBo 53.8(+) obv. ii 4’–6’ and KUB 30.11+ rev. 1’ (CTH 374); edited by Schwemer (2008). See also the Sum.-Akk. bilingual incantation to the Sungod KUB 4.11 rev. 1’ [0’]–3’ (CTH 793); edited by Schwemer (2007: 2f.).

¹⁸²² Such as Aranhapilizzi as GAL UKU.UŠ in the Annals of Muršili (see section 4.7.1.1) and Halpaziti as GAL UKU.UŠ in KUB 31.32 rev. 6’ (CTH 214, see section 4.7.1.4). The GAL KUŠ, official, who is mentioned without the Right/Left designation in HKMs 70, 71, and 108, is quite possibly Hulla (see section 4.6.1.8).

¹⁸²³ Such as Haššuwaš-^dLAMMA, GAL UKU.UŠ of the Left, and Mizramuwa, GAL NA.GAD of the Left, among the witnesses of the Šahurunuwa Text, among whom the Right counterparts of their offices are not present.

attested elsewhere.¹⁸²⁴ Lanfranchi (1983: 131) further suggests that *turtānu* is the equivalent of the *turtānu ša imitti* (of the Right) and that he is the superior of the *turtānu šanû/ša šumeli* (second/of the Left). This is comparable to modern-day military rankings like lieutenant and second lieutenant, which would indicate that the official “of the Left” is the lower ranking of the two. In the case of the Hittites, this might be true since in almost all of the joint attestations of the Right/Left designations, Right precedes Left, not to mention the fact that the “right” in Hittite (*kunna-/ZAG*) has the same positive connotation as in English.¹⁸²⁵ A confirmation of this can be seen in Anitta’s remarks about honoring the king of Puruṣhanda by having him seated on his right side.¹⁸²⁶

We may also note here that the Right/Left designation is not exclusively used for high-level officials alone. There are a few attestations of its use with the ordinary ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SIPA¹⁸²⁷ and ^{LÚ(.MEŠ)}NA.GAD,¹⁸²⁸ and in one instance with ^{LÚ(.MEŠ)}(^{GIŠ})ŠUKUR.¹⁸²⁹ It is, however, never attested with ^{LÚ(.MEŠ)}UKU.UŠ or ^{LÚ(.MEŠ)}KUŠ₇. It is assumed that these SIPA and NA.GAD of the Right/Left are references to the units that serve under the authority of the GAL SIPA/NA.GAD of the Right/Left. The attestation of ^{LÚ(.MEŠ)}(^{GIŠ})ŠUKUR is likely to be a reference to the physical position of these guards.

While not distinguished by the Right/Left designation, there are a few other offices which are attested in pairs. In several copies of the Ugarit Tribute Lists (CTH 47, 48, and 65; see Appendix 4), the title *huburtanuru* appears in pairs, and in one of the lists (CTH 47) the two are

¹⁸²⁴ See also Lanfranchi (1983: 131).

¹⁸²⁵ See note 928. Note also **kunnatar* (ZAG-*tar*) “rightness, success” versus *GÙB-latar* “leftness, adversity” (HED/K: 247).

¹⁸²⁶ Anitta Text (KBo 3.22 rev. 78–79; CTH 1).

¹⁸²⁷ HT 39 rev. 6–7 (CTH 414.3A), KUB 25.11 obv. ii 10’–11’ (CTH 414.3B), KBo 10.23 rev. vi 18–19 (CTH 627.1.a.A), IBoT 3.71 obv. i 7’ with dupl. KBo 24.107 obv. 14’ (CTH 670.279).

¹⁸²⁸ KBo 14.142 i 64, ii 2, iii 4’ (CTH 698), KUB 48.83:6’ (CTH 215’).

¹⁸²⁹ KUB 59.2 iii 10 with dupl. KUB 55.5+ iii 17’ (CTH 626).

distinguished with the addition of the suffix “2” to the second title.¹⁸³⁰ The few other attestations of this title also come from the Ugarit archives. The tablet RS 16.180 records a transaction wherein a person named Pillaza with the title *huburtanuru* of the king of Karkamiš presents a horse to the king (of Ugarit) for two hundred (shekels of) silver. According to the collation of Arnaud (1996: 60 n. 76), the addressee of the letter RS 20.200 sent by Ammistamru II is the *hubu]rtanuri*⁷ official. In this letter, the king of Ugarit addresses the official as “my lord” and refers to himself as “your servant,” suggesting that the addressee must be a high-level Hittite official, possibly a prince.¹⁸³¹ The only other attestation of this title comes from the letter RS 94.2523,¹⁸³² with the slightly different spelling *huburtinura* as the title of a Hittite official named Penti-Šarruma. This official and the possibility that the *huburtanuru* title might be an equivalent of hieroglyphic MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS are discussed in section 4.4.1.16.

Two other titles, GAL GEŠTIN and GAL *KARTAPPI*, are attested in pairs in the witness list of the Bronze Tablet of Tudhaliya IV (Appendix 3), without being distinguished by any designations. There is no other indication of these titles belonging to dual offices. On account of other pairs of officials like GAL KUŠ₇ in the Aleppo Treaty (Appendix 2) and ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* (Appendix 1) in the land donation texts, who are listed together without being distinguished with the Right/Left designation, one may speculate that the pairs of GAL GEŠTIN and GAL *KARTAPPI* offices may also be references to dual offices, but this certainly needs further evidence.¹⁸³³

A chronological analysis of the evidence for dual offices may provide some information on the development of administrative changes that took place in the state structure. Aside from the

¹⁸³⁰ For *huburtanuru/i*, see HEG/H: 298f., HW²/H2: 749a.

¹⁸³¹ See the same language in RS 20.184, which is another letter of Ammistamru II addressed to Hešmi-Tešup, a known Hittite prince (KUB 48.88 rev. 7, RS 20.22 obv. 6, *Emar* VI 19:1, and his seals *Emar* IV A4a-b with the title REX.FILIUS on *Emar* VI 19 and *Emar* VI 182).

¹⁸³² This letter is treated by Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat (2005b: 230ff.).

¹⁸³³ Double GAL GEŠTIN and GAL *KARTAPPI* officials are discussed in sections 4.2.2 and 4.8.2, respectively.

mention of *ABUBĪTI* officials in the plural in the Telipinu Edict, the earliest indication of the existence of dual offices comes from the reign of Hantili II. A land donation text of this king includes the reference to a property of “the *uriyannūtum* of the Right.” It is again during the reign of Hantili II that we encounter *uriyanni* officials in pairs for the first time (LhKs 29, 36, 37), although without the Right/Left designation. The first proper names attested with the titles bearing the Right/Left designation date to the reign of Muwatalli I (Gullutti, the GAL KUŠ₇ of the Right, and Zuwa, the GAL SIPA of the Right). These attestations, therefore, suggest that dual offices were a development that took place for the first time in the late Old Kingdom, pre-dating the administrative reforms that are believed to have been instituted during the reigns of Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I. The Empire period attestations of the pairs of GAL UKU.UŠ, GAL NA.GAD, *huburtanuru*, and perhaps even GAL GEŠTIN and GAL *KARTAPPI*, suggest that the trend to divide offices continued. On what grounds such divisions were established is not entirely clear, but a reasonable explanation would be that the growing needs of the empire may have required the distribution of the responsibilities of certain offices. Likewise, the measure would also have prevented particular officials from gaining too much power. It is particularly notable that during the Empire period the highest military commands GAL KUŠ₇, GAL UKU.UŠ, and perhaps eventually GAL GEŠTIN and GAL *KARTAPPI* became dual offices.¹⁸³⁴ The only significant exception is the office of GAL *MEŠEDI*, which must be due to the special position of this office, which was traditionally occupied by a close relative of the king, typically his brother.

¹⁸³⁴ See the chart of Beal (1992: 527), who places all four offices at Levels 2 and 3 right below the king.

6.2 Continuity and Discontinuity in Hittite Offices

Using the information obtained from the study of Hittite offices and the prosopography of the officials presented in the previous chapters, the following section introduces a chronological analysis of the top-level Hittite offices in order to examine their continuity and discontinuity throughout Hittite history, which may provide information about bureaucratic changes that took place in the administrative system.

It is necessary to point out certain factors that present difficulties in such an analysis. Contrary to their Mesopotamian counterparts, the Hittite scribes did not use any type of dating system in their documents. Consequently, unless there are contextual clues, on most occasions the chronological assignment of the attestations depends on the paleographic dating of the script as Old Hittite (OS), Middle Hittite (MS), or New Hittite (NS), which provides only broad approximations.¹⁸³⁵ On these paleographic grounds, Hittite history is divided into three periods: Old Hittite (OH, 1650–1500), Middle Hittite (MH, 1500–1350), and New Hittite (NH, 1350–1180),¹⁸³⁶ and within this division, the dates of 1500 and 1350 are assumed to correspond approximately to the reigns of Telipinu and Šuppiluliuma I, respectively. Although additional paleographic subdivisions of these periods have been suggested,¹⁸³⁷ several objections have been raised against such a detailed systematization, not to mention the criticism that even the distinction between OS and MS texts is sometimes problematic.¹⁸³⁸

It is also important to note that the script of a text may not necessarily give the date of the composition, due to the scribal practice of copying older texts. For example, a text in New Hittite

¹⁸³⁵ Unless stated otherwise, the paleographic dates given in the *Konkordanz* database have been taken as the basis of my dating.

¹⁸³⁶ See Starke (1985: 27) and van den Hout (2009b: 72).

¹⁸³⁷ See Starke (1985: 21–27) and Klinger (1996: 32–29).

¹⁸³⁸ For an evaluation of these problems, see Weeden (2011a: 42–52).

Script could be a late copy of an Old Hittite or Middle Hittite composition.¹⁸³⁹ Even when we distinguish a text in newer script as a copy of an older composition, we cannot always be certain that the terminology used in these texts accurately reflects that of the original composition, since there is always the possibility that the text may have been modernized by the copying scribe.

An additional difficulty arises from the inadequacy of the sample size. While for some offices with numerous attestations like *GAL MEŠEDI* or *GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL* it is relatively easy to establish a continuity/discontinuity, it is difficult for others which have fewer attestations. In such cases, the absence of a title in a certain period may be due simply to the limitations of the archive.

Starting from the top of the structure, throughout the history of the state the trio of the royal family—the king, the queen, and the crown prince—remained at the top of the administrative hierarchy, despite the fact that the queen’s involvement in state matters was rather limited outside the cultic domain (see section 2.2), and that in multiple instances designated crown princes did not end up on the throne (see section 2.3).

There are only a few high-level offices that are attested throughout Hittite history. Those that are attested in OS as well as MS and NS are *GAL MEŠEDI* (section 4.1), *GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL* (section 4.4), ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* (section 4.5), and *GAL SANGA* (section 4.13.1). While not attested in any OS text, we may suspect that the offices of *GAL GEŠTIN* (section 4.2) and *GAL SAGI* (section 4.3) were already in existence during the earliest phase of the Hittite state on account of their attestations in newer copies of OH compositions like the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8–9), as well as the existence of titles like *GAL karānim* and *GAL/rab šāqî* in Old Assyrian-period texts from Kaneš, which are likely to be forerunners of the Hittite offices

¹⁸³⁹ See van den Hout (2009b: 73f.).

GAL GEŠTIN and GAL SAGI, respectively.¹⁸⁴⁰ Another GAL-level title that may have been present during the early years of the state is GAL SIPA (section 4.11), which is attested in an NS copy of a fragment of the Palace Chronicle.¹⁸⁴¹

The reign of Telipinu, which may have been a turning point in terms of administrative reforms,¹⁸⁴² is when we encounter some new offices, such as GAL LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}GIDRU (section 4.13.2),^{LÚ}ABUBĪTI/U (section 6.1), and UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ (section 4.12). The GAL NIMGIR title attested in the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8) as well as in the Old Assyrian-period tablets from Kaneš is probably a forerunner of this office.¹⁸⁴³ Attestations of this title consistently as UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ in documents from later periods may be a reflection of a restructuring that took place around the reign of Telipinu. A similar development may concern the GAL MUHALDIM (section 4.13.4) and the GAL LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR (section 4.13.6) offices, which appear for the first time in MS texts. These two officials are absent from OS texts despite numerous attestations of UGULA MUHALDIM¹⁸⁴⁴ and UGULA LÚ.MEŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR.¹⁸⁴⁵ It is therefore possible that the appearance of the GAL-levels of these offices in MS and later texts may also be the result of a reorganization within the administration. We should note that the GAL-level officials of these offices do not replace the UGULA officials, who are frequently still attested in later documents too.

As discussed in section 6.2, the first indications of dual offices date to the reign of Hantili II, while the first attestations of such titles with proper names come from the reign of Muwatalli I. Between these two kings, we also encounter the transformation of the office of UGULA 1 *LI*

¹⁸⁴⁰ See sections 4.2.2 and 4.3.2.

¹⁸⁴¹ KBo 8.41:11' (CTH 9.3.B).

¹⁸⁴² See section 5.1.3.3.

¹⁸⁴³ See section 4.12.

¹⁸⁴⁴ See note 1423.

¹⁸⁴⁵ See note 1443.

KUŠ₇ to GAL KUŠ₇ (section 4.6), the earliest attestation of which comes from the reign of Huzziya II.¹⁸⁴⁶ Thereafter, the former title is no longer attested in any documents.

The reigns of Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I mark another turning point in Hittite political history. Although on paleographical grounds the texts of this period remain in the middle of MS period, the emergence of detailed regulatory documents (section 5.1) has been dated to the reigns of these kings. Attestations of new administrative offices, such as LÚ^{URU} *antuwašalli* (section 4.10),¹⁸⁴⁷ may be seen as a development that ties into the administrative reforms of the period. The earliest attestation of *BĒL MADGALTI* dates to the reign of Arnuwanda I (section 3.2.11), and the installation of his son as the priest of Kizzuwatna can be considered as the earliest attempt to establish an appanage kingdom (3.1.2.1).

More importantly, the emergence of the offices of GAL DUB.SAR and GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ (section 4.9) may also date to the early fourteenth century on account of their attestations in the Mašat corpus, which is dated to a time period from the end of the reign of Arnuwanda I to the beginning of the reign of Tudhaliya III.¹⁸⁴⁸

As discussed in sections 3.2.11 and 4.13.7, the governorship positions defined by the EN KUR^{TI} and EN^{URU} GN titles were probably derived from the LÚ^{URU} GN titles of the Old Hittite period, a development that must have taken place sometime in the early Empire period. If the MS[?] dating of the *Konkordanz* for KBo 47.100a+ (CTH 670) and IBoT 1.29 (CTH 633.A) is correct, the offices of GAL^{LÚ.MEŠŠÀ} TAM (section 4.13.5) and EN É *ABUSSI* (section 4.13.8) can also be included in this period. Otherwise all attestations of these two titles come from NS texts.

¹⁸⁴⁶ See section 4.6.1.4. For the alleged attestation of this title in the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19 i 2), see note 844.

¹⁸⁴⁷ But see note 1236, for a possible restoration of the title in an OH/NS text.

¹⁸⁴⁸ For an overview of suggestions on the date of the Mašat archive, see Stavi (2012: 311–13).

Another transformation that may have taken place towards the end of the MH period concerns GAL SIPA and GAL NA.GAD (section 4.11). As discussed in 4.11.2, the latter title might be the replacement for the former, and if so, this change must have occurred sometime after Arnuwanda I but before Šuppiluliuma I. The GAL SIPA title is not attested in any of the later sources. This is also the time when the office of UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ (section 4.12) seems to have lost its importance, since the latest datable attestation of this official is from the reign of Tudhaliya III. If the Middle Hittite date that has been suggested by several scholars for the letter VS NF 12.129 is accurate,¹⁸⁴⁹ the development of the office of GAL UKU.UŠ (section 4.7) must have also taken place around the same time. Outside of this letter, the earliest attestation of GAL UKU.UŠ comes from the reign of Muršili II. This king's reign is when there occurs the first verified attestation of the use of the DUMU.LUGAL designation for someone other than the son of a king (Hutupiyanza). Another first for the reign of Muršili II is the appearance of the ^{LÚ}SAG, although this is an isolated reference in a military setting. Otherwise, almost all evidence about ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG, the courtiers, dates to the thirteenth century, during which they seem to have served in key functions around the king as his entourage, despite the fact that they were for the most part unrelated to the royal family.

All attestations of the offices of GAL *KARTAPPI* (section 4.8) and GAL *MUBARRĪ* (section 4.13.3) belong to thirteenth-century texts, indicating that their development came about in the late Empire period. More precisely, all four attestations of GAL *MUBARRĪ* and all cuneiform attestations of GAL *KARTAPPI* date to the reign of Hattušili III and after. In fact the GAL *KARTAPPI* as well as certain other officials like GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL and GAL GEŠTIN appear very frequently in the late Empire period texts, giving rise to the speculation that

¹⁸⁴⁹ See note 1033.

Office	OS	MS	NS
GAL MEŠEDI	X	X	X
GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	X	X	X
^{LÚ} uriyanni	X	X	X
↘ ^{LÚ} uriyanni (Right/Left)	-	X	X
GAL SANGA	X	X	X
GAL GEŠTIN	x	X	X
GAL SAGI(.A)	x	X	X
UGULA 1 LI KUŠ ₇	X	X	-
↘ GAL KUŠ ₇ (Right/Left)	-	X	X
↘ GAL/UGULA KUŠ ₇ KÙ.GI	-	X	X
GAL SIPA (Right/Left – only MS)	x	X	-
↘ ² GAL NA.GAD (Right/Left)	-	-	X
GAL NIMGIR	X	-	-
↘ UGULA.NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ	-	X	-
UGULA MUHALDIM	X	X	X
↘ GAL MUHALDIM	-	X	X
UGULA ^{GIŠ} BANŠUR	X	X	X
↘ GAL ^{GIŠ} BANŠUR	-	X	X
DUMU/LÚ ^{URU} GN	X	-	-
↘ EN KUR ⁷⁷ / EN ^{URU} GN	-	X	X
↘ Appanage Kings	-	X	X
GAL ^{GIŠ} GIDRU	-	X	X
^{LÚ} ABUBĪTI (Right/Left)	-	X	X
^{LÚ} antuwašalli	-	X	X
BĒL MADGALTI	-	X	X
GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ)	-	X	X
GAL ŠĀ.TAM	-	?	X
EN É ABUSSI	-	?	X
GAL UKU.UŠ (Right/Left)	-	?	X
DUMU.LUGAL ¹⁸⁵⁰	-	-	X
^{LÚ} SAG	-	-	X
GAL KARTAPPI	-	-	X
GAL MUBARRĪ	-	-	X

Table 22. Paleographic distribution of offices.

¹⁸⁵⁰ As a designation for someone other than the son of a king.

some of these may have become dual offices, as discussed above in section 6.1.¹⁸⁵¹ By that time, these offices may have lost some prestige in comparison to their status during earlier periods of Hittite history, when they were two of the top four offices, alongside GAL *MEŠEDI* and *LÚuriyanni*.¹⁸⁵²

When evaluated together, it is not possible to point to any particular period of Hittite history as a time when a significant number of changes took place in the emergence or transformation of offices. While changes in some offices can be associated with the reigns of Telipinu and Tudhaliya I/II–Arnuwanda I, whose reigns seem to have been marked by other administrative reforms, many others took place at different times. In fact, we see constant change that seems to have taken place gradually, more or less spread evenly from the early phase of the empire until late in the thirteenth century. The general trend appears to have been the creation of new GAL-level offices. This may have taken place in some cases by bringing together a preexisting class of subordinates under a newly created GAL-level office, such as the placing of the *LÚ.MEŠ* UKU.UŠ soldiers under a GAL UKU.UŠ, and in some other cases by the conversion of an existing office to the GAL-level, such as UGULA 1 *LI* KUŠ₇ to GAL KUŠ₇.

Growth in the number of offices is not an unexpected development. As the state enlarges and endures through time, its administrative needs grow, which is reflected in an enlarged number of state officials. This growth must have taken place both horizontally with a larger staff and vertically with more layers of hierarchy, and the emergence of new high-level offices as well as the division of some posts into dual offices are natural results of this process. The growth in the number of officials and their involvement in state business is perhaps best observed in the number of witnesses that appear in official state documents in different periods. The table below

¹⁸⁵¹ See also the discussion in sections 4.2.2 and 4.4.2 for GAL GEŠTIN and GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, respectively.

¹⁸⁵² Discussed in section 6.3.

displays the average number of witnesses from these documents¹⁸⁵³ in chronological order. We see a continuous growth that more or less parallels the growth of the state. During the late Old Kingdom, witnesses are drawn entirely from officials in high offices of the central administration; by the time of the Aleppo Treaty an appanage king (of Karkamiš) appears as a witness for the first time; and by the Empire period princes, vassal rulers, and lower-level officials are added to the lists.

Period	Number of documents ¹⁸⁵⁴	Average number of witnesses
Telipinu-Alluwamna	15	3
Hantili II	7	4
Huzziya II–Muwatalli II	6	5
Arnuwanda I	1	9
Muršili II/Muwatalli II	1	11
Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV	3	23

Table 23. Average number of witnesses in official state documents.

It could be argued that the Aleppo Treaty of Muršili II/Muwatalli II and the Tarhuntašša Treaties of Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV are different in nature as more important documents than the land donation texts of the earlier periods, and that this may be the reason for the presence of a larger number of witnesses. However, even if the treaties are left out of our consideration, the number of witnesses in the land donation texts that date to the period between Telipinu and Arnuwanda I displays a steady increase. Furthermore, the Šahurunuwa Text of Tudhaliya IV, although technically not a land donation text, is a document of comparable importance, and it contains eighteen witnesses. It should also be noted that the state treaties of the earlier periods did not contain any human witnesses. In that respect, the addition of human witnesses to treaties

¹⁸⁵³ See Appendices 1, 2, 3.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Includes only the documents in which the complete number of witnesses can be counted.

of the Empire period could also be viewed as a development that resulted from the increased involvement of state officials and an enlarged bureaucracy in the state administration.

6.3 Hierarchy at the Hittite Court

Given the extensive number of titles, the size of the government, and the longevity of the state, it is reasonable to assume that the Hittite state operated with a hierarchy of definite complexity. However, beyond the obvious indicators such as determinatives of superiority like GAL (“great, chief, head”) or UGULA (“overseer, supervisor”), the few past studies on the topic have indicated that there is no clear evidence to determine the level of complexity and governing rules of the hierarchical relationships. In his analysis of the structure of Hittite provincial administration in Tapikka and Emar, Beckman (1995a: 22) points out the difficulties arising from the limitations and uncooperative nature of the ancient documents, and that creating a chart of administrative hierarchy relies on clues of various sorts, such as priority of names in greeting formulas, salutations, witness lists, and the language of letters that may suggest who gives orders to whom. In a detailed study of the Hittite military organization, Beal (1992) surveys a variety of sources and in his chart of military officials (1992: 527) he groups most of the top officials on two or three levels below the king, but several question marks testify to the associated uncertainties. Starke (1996) pays particular attention to the high officials, and pointing to various documents including the witness lists, concludes that there was no hierarchy among the high officials, and believes that in terms of their offices they were on an equal footing (1996: 151). It will be argued here that Starke is partially right about the irrelevance of the offices held for the hierarchy of the high officials, but contrary to his view it will also be demonstrated that the witness lists indeed indicate the existence of a certain hierarchy.

From the earliest part of Hittite history there are no known documents that contain witness

lists. For the late Old Kingdom to early Empire period, all such lists come from land donation texts (CTH 222), which are grants of land and other property issued by Hittite kings to various employees of the state (see section 5.2). Of the ninety-one LhKs, thirty-eight of them contain at least partially preserved witness lists (Appendix 1).¹⁸⁵⁵

From the Empire period, such witness lists are attested in only four documents, although with a higher number of witnesses: Muwatalli's Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75) lists eleven officials as witnesses (Appendix 2), and the three documents of the Hattušili III–Tudhaliya IV era—the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (CTH 106.B), the Šahurunuwa Text (CTH 225), and the Bronze Tablet (CTH 106.A)—provide an average of twenty-three witnesses each (Appendix 3). The last three documents are particularly valuable for my purposes since they all originate from a relatively short period, share multiple names, and thus enable a comparative analysis.

The land donation texts represent a period of roughly a century and half, approximately from the end of the sixteenth century through the early fourteenth century BCE, during which about nine or ten different kings ruled Hatti.¹⁸⁵⁶ It can be assumed that the officials who witness these land grants form the top tier of the Hittite administration—at least for this period of Hittite history. Table 24 gives the total number of attestations of each office, which indicates a clear prominence for four offices: GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*, GAL GEŠTIN, and GAL MEŠEDI. However, the order of these officials in the lists does not reveal a discernible pattern. In general the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL official tops the witness lists, but there are several exceptions, where he is listed after one of the other three officials.

¹⁸⁵⁵ For ease of view, the witnesses of these and other texts discussed here are displayed in the form of a list with one person per line. On the actual tablets, they are not given as a list, but rather written in sequence in one or more paragraphs.

¹⁸⁵⁶ For the dating of the land donation texts issued with the generic Tabarna title to the reign of Telipinu, see Wilhelm (2005) and Rüter and Wilhelm (2012: 49–57).

Office	Number of attestations	Land donation texts (LhK) ¹⁸⁵⁷
GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	34	2–6, 11–14, 17–19, 22 [?] –23, 28, [29], 30, [31], [34], 36, 37, 40–42, [43–45], 46–47, [48], 60–62, 91
^{LU} <i>uriyanni</i>	27	1–5, 11–13, [14], 17–19, 22–23, 28, 29*, 36*, 37*, 38, 40, 41*, 42, [45]*, 46–47, 60, [61] ^{7*1858}
GAL GEŠTIN	21	1, 3, 11–14, 17, 22–23, 28–29, [34], 36–37, 40–41, 46, [48 [?]], 60, 61, 91
GAL MEŠEDI	20	3, 4, 11–12, 17, 22–23, [26], 28, [29], 31, 38, 40–43, [44–45] [?] , 46, [47]
GAL KUŠ ₇	4	40, 46, 91 (Right and Left)
GAL SIPA	3	47, 91 (Right and Left)
UGULA 1 LI ^{LU} KUŠ ₇	2	1, 2
UGULA ^{LU.MEŠ} ÉRIN.MEŠ	2	30, 42
GAL KUŠ ₇ KÙ.GI	2	40, 47
DUMU.LUGAL	1	1
GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIS} GIDRU	1	6
<i>antuwašalli</i>	1	91
^{LU} SUKKAL	1	91
UGULA 70 ŠA DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL ^{TIM}	1	91

Table 24. Number of attestations of offices as witnesses in land donation texts.

Moving one step further, if the lists are inspected in groups that represent shorter time periods, it is possible to notice some patterns. The documents can be assigned to three groups based on the issuing kings and shared names of officials:¹⁸⁵⁹

Group 1: Tabarna (Telipinu) – LhKs 3–6, 11–14, 17–19, 22–23¹⁸⁶⁰

Group 2: Alluwamna and Hantili II – LhKs 26, 28–31, 34, 36–38

Group 3: Huzziya II and Muwatalli I – LhKs 40–48

It is noticeable that in each group, when present, the officials are for the most part listed in the following order:¹⁸⁶¹

¹⁸⁵⁷ Restored titles, which are marked with [], are after Rüster and Wilhelm (2012).

¹⁸⁵⁸ The LhKs marked with an asterisk (*) list double *uriyanni* officials. Because, unlike the GAL KUŠ₇ and GAL SIPA officials of LhK 91, they are not distinguished with Right/Left designations and for the most part jointly referred to with a plural ^{LU.MEŠ}*uriyanni* title (excluding LhK 45), they are counted as single attestations of the *uriyanni*-office.

¹⁸⁵⁹ My grouping essentially follows that of Rüster and Wilhelm (2012: 49–55). Since the issuers of LhKs 59–62 are not known, and LhK 91 is the only example from the reign of Arnuwanda I, I have left them out of the groups.

¹⁸⁶⁰ LhKs 1 and 2 are excluded since they do not share witnesses with the others and their attribution to Telipinu remains uncertain (see Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 51).

¹⁸⁶¹ Offices attested only once are not mentioned since they would not affect the order.

Group 1

GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL
^{LÚ}*uriyanni*
 GAL GEŠTIN
 UGULA 1 *LI* KUŠ₇
 GAL *MEŠEDI*

Group 2

GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL
 GAL *MEŠEDI*
^{LÚ(MEŠ)}*uriyanni*
 GAL GEŠTIN

Group 3

GAL *MEŠEDI*
 GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL
 GAL/UGULA KUŠ₇ (KÙ.GI)
^{LÚ(MEŠ)}*uriyanni*
 GAL GEŠTIN

In Group 1, 11 of the 13 lists, in Group 2, all 9 lists, and in Group 3, 7 of the 9 lists conform to the given orders. Departures from these rankings are observed in Group 1, where ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* of LhKs 22–23 is listed before GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, and in Group 3, where the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL of LhK 46 is listed before GAL *MEŠEDI*, and in the same list the *uriyanni* official is listed before the GAL KUŠ₇ official. Despite these exceptions, it may appear as if there is a certain hierarchy among these offices during the periods defined by each group, perhaps with an increasing importance of the GAL *MEŠEDI* office across the entire period.

However, it is also noticeable that each of the exceptions mentioned here occurs when the particular offices are occupied by an official distinct from the previous holder of the same office. In LhKs 22 and 23, the *uriyanni* official who is listed before the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL is named Tudhaliya, rather than Mārakui, who is the only *uriyanni* official named on the other LhKs of Group 1. Likewise in LhK 46, the GAL *MEŠEDI* named Muwā and the GAL KUŠ₇ named Gullutti are new officials in their offices, different from their previous holders. The fact that the presence of a new name in a certain office may alter the order in which officials are listed suggests that the office itself has nothing to do with the way they are listed. If so, can it be still claimed that the witness lists actually reflect a certain hierarchy?

To examine this, the analysis should be taken one further step, eliminating all of the titles and looking at only the names. In quite a few of these witness lists, the same officials appear multiple times. In almost none of these cases does the relative position of an individual in relation to a certain other individual change from one list to another. For example, Hapuwaššu is

always listed before Mārakui, and Mārakui is always listed before Zidānni, etc. In other words, a person who is listed before a second person in one document is almost never listed after that second person in another document.¹⁸⁶² This therefore suggests that there is a certain rationale behind the way officials are listed in the witness lists and that this seems to have been determined by qualities of a person other than his title. The irrelevance of the office in this hierarchy is best observed from a comparison of the witness lists of LhK 46 and 47, where there is a rare occasion of an official switching from one office to another. Himuili, who was a GAL GEŠTIN in LhK 46, is “promoted” to the GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL office in LhK 47. He apparently took over this position from Arinnel after the latter’s death or retirement. In LhK 46, Arinnel as a GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL is the first witness, followed by Muwā the GAL MEŠEDI and Himuili the GAL GEŠTIN. In LhK 47, Himuili, despite becoming GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, is still ranked below Muwā. In other words, the order of names remains the same, but the order of offices changes.

In summary, this analysis of the witness lists of the land donation texts of the late Old Kingdom indicates the existence of a certain ranking among officials, which is not tied to the office they occupy. As listed in Table 24, certain offices seem to be more prominent, but that is probably only because they are the offices preferred by the higher-ranking officials. The analysis of the Empire period witness lists presented below further confirms these findings and also produces new suggestions regarding the nature of the rules that determined their hierarchy.

As mentioned above, for the purposes of my analysis I will disregard the chronologically isolated Aleppo Treaty and use only the three witness lists from the two Tarhuntašša treaties

¹⁸⁶² A partial exception is the pair Zūzzu and Marašā, who appear in this order in LhK 41 and but as Marašša and Zuzzu in LhK 45. However, this may be a reasonable exception considering the fact that they are listed next to each other in each text, they are both *uriyanni* officials, and that in LhK 41 they are jointly referred to as ^{LÚ.MEŠ} *uriyanni*, which may suggest that they are more or less of equal status.

(CTH 106.B and CTH 106.A) and the Šahuruwa Text (CTH 225), all of which originate from a relatively short period that lasts approximately from the second half of Hattušili III's reign to first half of the reign of Tudhaliya IV. A brief survey of the titles of these officials once again indicates that the offices they occupy do not have anything to do with the order in which they are listed. The irrelevance of the offices to the presumed hierarchy is particularly evident from the attestations of pairs of GAL UKU.UŠ, GAL *KARTAPPI*, and GAL GEŠTIN officials, who are listed multiple names separately from each other. Even the “of the Right” or “of the Left” designations of the GAL UKU.UŠ officials do not make a difference, since the holders of these offices appear in reverse order in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty and the Bronze Tablet.

However, as we saw in the analysis of the land donation texts, if the titles are completely ignored, it becomes visible that the presumed hierarchy is actually a reality. Table 25 below leaves out witnesses who appear only once, and shows only the names that appear in two or all three of the witness lists without changing their order.

Ulmi-Tešup Treaty	Šahuruwa Text	Bronze Tablet
Nerikkaili	Nerikkaili	Nerikkaili
Huzziya		Huzziya
Ini-Tešup	Ini-Tešup	Ini-Tešup
Tattamaru	Upparamuwa	Upparamuwa
Upparamuwa		Tattamaru
		Alalimi
Šahuruwa		Šahuruwa
Hattuša- ^d LAMMA		Hattuša- ^d LAMMA
Haššuwaš- ^d LAMMA	Haššuwaš- ^d LAMMA	
	Ura-Tarhunta	Ura-Tarhunta
Tuttu	Tuttu	Tuttu
Palla	Palla	
Walwaziti	Walwaziti	Walwaziti
Alalimi		
Kammaliya	Kammaliya	Kammaliya
Mahhuzzi	Mahhuzzi	

Table 25. Shared witnesses of CTH 106.B, CTH 225, and CTH 106.A.

It can be seen that the relative position of the names remains the same. That is to say, the

names that appear in multiple texts seem to follow the same order in all three texts, with one small and one seemingly major exception. The small exception is that Tattamaru and Upparamuwa have exchanged places from the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty to the Bronze Tablet. This may not be significant, since in both texts there is no one else between them. It is likely that the two officials were more or less of equal status, whatever may have determined this. The major exception concerns Alalimi. However, as argued in section 4.3.1.4, the two Alalimis of the Ulmi-Tešup treaty and the Bronze Tablet should be different individuals and they should therefore not have a place in Table 25.

Leaving aside the reasonable exception of Tattamaru and Upparamuwa, all of the other shared names appear in exactly the same order in all three lists. It should also be noted that in all three texts there are multiple names that appear between these shared names of Table 25. Therefore, this is not simply a result of a scribe copying the names from an earlier text. If the number of these witnesses were only four or five as in the land donation texts of the earlier period, perhaps it would be possible to posit a coincidence. But without the existence of a certain hierarchy, it would be an incredible coincidence for the dozen names to end up in the same order. Clearly there was an intentional effort by the scribes of these documents to list the witnesses in a particular order.

A question that comes to mind is how the scribes possessed the knowledge to list the officials in the same order? It can be speculated that they first wrote drafts and later reorganized the names after obtaining whatever information was needed to set the order, but a more convincing explanation would be that the scribes simply wrote down the names of officials according to court protocol, that is to say, according to their physical location in whatever format they lined up in the presence of the king. There are no documents that describe the court protocol

in Hatti, but a few documents hint at the existence of such a practice. In one of the earliest texts, Anitta indicates that the king of Puruṣhanda would be seated to his right, apparently as a token of honor.¹⁸⁶³ In a similar gesture, in his treaty with Šunaššura Tudhaliya I states that when this king of Kizzuwatna visits him, all of his high officials will stand up and no one will remain seated above Šunaššura.¹⁸⁶⁴ Such statements suggest that there was a certain protocol that paid attention to seating positions at the court in terms of both the location of the officials to the right or left of the king, as well as to the height of their seats. Furthermore, the existence of documents like the “Protocol for the Royal Bodyguard” (CTH 262), which prescribes minute details such as how the bodyguard should line up in the courtyard or around the carriage of the king, how they align themselves, and how much space they leave in between,¹⁸⁶⁵ also supports the opinion that a detailed court protocol must have been observed during the gathering of officials in the presence of the king. If that is the case, it would have made the job of scribes relatively easy in listing the officials in the order that they were seated.

However, even if the witness lists were written in accordance with court protocol, that still does not explain the hierarchical rules behind the protocol. One of the obvious factors to be considered is the relationship of the officials with the royal family. After all, the top names in each list are sons of Hattušili III and several other witnesses are identified with the prince (DUMU.LUGAL) designation with no additional title. It is now generally accepted that the DUMU.LUGAL and its hieroglyphic equivalent REX.FILIUS are designations used by not only the sons of Hittite kings but also by the male extended family members who were descendants of earlier kings, as well as those who entered the family through marriage (see section 6.4). Most of the witnesses of the three documents in question are attested in numerous other sources, and the

¹⁸⁶³ KBo 3.22 rev. 78–79 (CTH 1).

¹⁸⁶⁴ KBo 1.5 i 41–43 (CTH 41.I).

¹⁸⁶⁵ See for example §§2–3, 21 in Miller (2013: 102–5, 110f.).

ones who are on any occasion attested with princely titles are marked as such in Table 26.¹⁸⁶⁶

Ulmi-Tešup Treaty		Šahuruwa Text		Bronze Tablet	
Nerikkaili	Prince	Nerikkaili	Prince	Nerikkaili	Prince
Tašmi-Šarruma	Prince	[Kurunta]	Prince	Huzziya	Prince
Hannutti	Prince	Ini-Tešup	Prince	Kurakura	Prince
Huzziya	Prince	Angurli		Ini-Tešup	(Prince)
Ini-Tešup	(Prince)	Upparamuwa	Prince	Mašturi	In-law
Ari-Šarruma	In-law	Haššuwaš- ^d LAMMA	Prince	Šauškamuwa	(Prince)
AMAR.MUŠEN		Kaššu	Prince?	Upparamuwa	Prince
Halpaziti		Mizramuwa	Prince?	Tattamaru	Prince
Hešni	Prince	GAL- ^d U		Ehli-Šarruma	Prince
Tattamaru	Prince	Tuttu		Abamuwa	
Upparamuwa	Prince	EN-tarwa		Hešmi-Šarruma	Prince
Uhhaziti	Prince	[Palla]		Taki-Šarruma	Prince
Šahuruwa	Prince	Walwaziti		Ewri-Šarruma	Prince
Hattuša- ^d LAMMA		Kammaliya		Alalimi	
Tarhuntapiya	Prince	Mahhuzzi	Prince	Alantalli	
Haššuwaš- ^d LAMMA	Prince	Šipaziti		Bentešina	In-law
Aliziti		Anuwanza		Šahuruwa	Prince
Tuttu		Akiya		Hattuša- ^d LAMMA	
Palla				GAL- ^d U	
Walwaziti				Huršaniya	
Alalimi				Zuzuhha	
Kammaliya				Šaliqqa	
Mahhuzzi	Prince			Tapaziti	
				Tuttu	
				Walwaziti	
				Kammaliya	
				Nanizi	

Table 26. Witnesses attested with princely designations.

It is evident from this display that the upper halves of the witness lists are almost entirely filled with princes, while with the exception of Mahhuzzi there are no princes in the bottom halves. This is a clear indication that relationship to the royal family was an important factor in determining the order of officials in the witness lists. Contra Starke (1996: 145), I do not think all of these officials were members of the extended royal family. Although I do not have a good explanation for the presence of Mahhuzzi in the bottom half of the lists, I do not think the general absence of princely designations in the lower ranks can be a coincidence. Several of

¹⁸⁶⁶ Attestations with either DUMU.LUGAL or REX.FILIUS are marked as “Prince.” Although never attested with a princely designation, Ini-Tešup was a great-grandson of Šuppiluliuma I, and Šauškamuwa was a grandson of Hattušili III, and thus marked as “(Prince).” Mašturi, Bentešina, and Ari-Šarruma were all married to Hittite princesses. A question mark indicates uncertainty about identifying the said individual with princely attestation(s).

these officials are attested numerous times in other sources. Walwaziti and Anuwanza are probably the most frequently attested officials outside the immediate royal family, with dozens of attestations each,¹⁸⁶⁷ yet in neither one of these instances are they identified with a princely designation. Anuwanza, EN-tarwa, and Palla are each identified as ^{LÚ}SAG, which is a designation almost never used by royal family members (section 6.4).

In other words, the late Empire period witness lists clearly present a dichotomy between royalty and non-royalty, with royal members dominating the upper halves of the hierarchy. Beyond this, however, we encounter further difficulties in determining the specific rules that establish the order within each group. The age of the witness does not seem to be a determinant in this order, since both Šauškamuwa and Tattamaru are listed well before their fathers Bentešina and Šahurunuwa, respectively. It could be argued that Tattamaru's marriage to a relative of Puduhepa may have helped him to move higher in standing,¹⁸⁶⁸ and in the case of Šauškamuwa and Bentešina, while both were married to daughters of Hattušili III and were technically both brothers-in-law of Tudhaliya IV, Šauškamuwa was half-Hittite through his mother (Bentešina's wife Gaššulawiya).¹⁸⁶⁹ Also noteworthy here is the high position of the vassal king Mašturi in the Bronze Tablet, listed several names earlier than the other vassal kings Alantalli and Bentešina. He was married to a sister of Hattušili III, and known to have been a supporter of his during the conflict with Urhi-Tešup. Therefore, beyond family ties, perhaps certain other elements of favoritism also had an effect on this hierarchy.

One of the distinctions between the witness lists of the late Old Kingdom and those of the late Empire period is the lack of attestations of princely designations in the former group. The

¹⁸⁶⁷ For Walwaziti and Anuwanza, see sections 4.9.1.6 and 4.14.1, respectively.

¹⁸⁶⁸ As implied in the letter KUB 23.85 (Hoffner 2009: 364f.).

¹⁸⁶⁹ One may recall the words of Muwatalli II in the Alakšandu Treaty (CTH 76 §14) placing emphasis on the Hittite descent of Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira through his mother, who was a daughter of Šuppiluliuma I and was married to king Mašhuliuwa of Mira. The fact that Kupanta-Kurunta was actually only an adopted son and had no Hittite blood (CTH 68 §4) underlines the importance attached to family relationships even further.

only prince attested in those witness lists is a certain Aškaliya.¹⁸⁷⁰ Although it is likely that many of those officials were close relatives of the kings, there is not much information in other sources, which are particularly scarce for the late Old Kingdom period. One of the reasons for the lack of princely designations must be due to the fact that during that period usage of the DUMU.LUGAL designation for persons other than the sons of kings was not a common practice.¹⁸⁷¹ As discussed in section 6.2, another distinction is the increased number of witnesses in later lists, which seems to have grown chronologically (Table 23).

Overall, this brief study of the witness lists of the official state documents of the Hittite administration indicates the existence of a certain hierarchy, which may have been based on court protocol. The offices of individuals did not have any relevance for this hierarchy. In certain periods particular offices appear consistently higher in the hierarchy, but that should be interpreted as the result of higher-ranking individuals' preferences for certain offices. The major factor that determines the rules of hierarchy was apparently family ties with the king. However, certain other factors such as favoritism must have also played a role beside closer ties with the family. It should also be stressed that the hierarchy of the witness lists, particularly if based on court protocol, is not necessarily a reflection of the hierarchy that stood behind the chain of command. It would be perfectly normal to see a young son of the king among the top ranks of the protocol, who would not necessarily have had any authority in state matters.

Regarding the hierarchy of the chain of command, there are no distinctly visible rules among the high officials. The king is often observed as the direct supervisor of all high officials. In all instruction and oath texts, the king requires the direct loyalty of all of his nobles and high officials to himself alone, not leaving any layers of administration in between. For the early

¹⁸⁷⁰ Nothing is known about him other than the fact that he shares the same name as the scribe of the tablet, as well as of the high official(s) mentioned in the Palace Chronicle (see 4.4.1.1). All attestations of the name date to the Old Kingdom.

¹⁸⁷¹ See under Hutupiyanza (3.2.1) and in section 6.4.

From the King to:	To the King from:
Kaššu (14)	[Kaššu [?]]
Kaššu and Zilapiya (2)	Adad-bēli (Scribe)
Kaššu and Pulli (2)	Šarla- ^D LAMMA
Kaššu and Pipappa	Mariya and Hapiri
Hulla, Kaššu, Zilapiya	Dudduši, Atiuna, Tarhumimma
Pišeni and Kaššu	Atiuna
Pišeni	Kašturrahšeli
Himuili (2)	
Himuili and [...]	
[Pipappa [?]]	
Pulli (2)	
Tatta and Hullu	
Zardumanni, ...-palla, ...-duššiya	

Table 27. Correspondents of the king in the Mašat archive.

Empire period, the Mašat letters, which may date to a period as short as a few years,¹⁸⁷² are particularly demonstrative of the fact that the king himself deals directly with numerous people on various matters. There is micro-management by the Hittite king on various matters. Table 27 shows eleven different individuals addressed by the king, and eight others who had addressed him. Although Kaššu was the king's main person of contact in Tapikka/Mašat, the letters exchanged with other officials on topics of military matters (enemy activity, troops, chariotry, scouts, defenses, attacks), agriculture and husbandry (harvest, vineyards, cattle, sheep), civilian management (settlers, fugitives), and oracles (reports, collection of birds and other animals) indicates the level of micro-management applied directly by the king, particularly considering the fact that Tapikka was only one of many similar Hittite centers that must have maintained correspondence with the king.

¹⁸⁷² See van den Hout (2007b: 396–98), who suggests a period of one to two years.

6.4 Kinship, DUMU.LUGAL, and the Rise of ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG

One of the factors that determines the complexity of bureaucracy in an administrative system is the degree of involvement of the extended family members of the ruler in the administration. The analysis presented in the previous chapters has already demonstrated that the relatives of the Hittite kings occupied various positions throughout the existence of the state, but a deeper chronological analysis of these relationships may reveal some trends that may have taken place during this period.

What little evidence we have about the Old Hittite period suggests that in its early days the Hittite state was made up of the central territory of Hattuša surrounded by conquered city-states of central Anatolia, each ruled by a Hittite prince.¹⁸⁷³ Telipinu's remarks that the early kings Labarna I, Hattušili I, and Muršili I had been united with all of their family members including their in-laws and kin (CTH 19 §§1, 5, 8), and his injunction to future kings to do the same (§29) suggest that administering the state with the involvement of the royal family was the expected practice of the time. The violent seizures of the Hittite throne described by Telipinu, including the one initiated by him, always involved relatives of the family members, whether related by blood or marriage. The fact that Telipinu issues warnings regarding princes or high officials, including ^{LÚ(.MEŠ)}ABU BĪTU(M), GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, GAL MEŠEDI, GAL GEŠTIN, GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UGULA LIM ŠERI, GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇, and UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ, as possible future troublemakers (§§31–34) suggests that the high offices of the administration were also in the hands of the members of the royal family.

This presumably loose organization of the Old Kingdom later developed into a multi-layered structure. By the Empire period, from an administrative point of view, the empire can be

¹⁸⁷³ See section 3.1.1.

divided into three components—Hatti proper, appanage kingdoms, and vassal kingdoms. Hatti proper itself was divided into governorships, some parts of which later became additional appanage kingdoms. As discussed in sections 3.1 and 3.2, the rulers of the appanage kingdoms and governorships were almost entirely drawn from the closest members of the royal family. Of the twenty-eight names listed in Table 3 (Appanage kings) and Table 4 (Governors), twenty-three are either known as a son or a relative of a Hittite king or otherwise attested with princely titles.

Although the Hittite vassal kings have been left out of this study, it is worth mentioning that establishing marriage connections with vassal rulers seems to have been a conscious Hittite policy, particularly during the Empire period. Several examples of such marriages with Anatolian and Syrian vassals are known:

Huqqana of Hayaša with a sister of Šuppiluliuma I

Mašhuiluwa of Mira-Kuwaliya with Muwatti, the daughter of Šuppiluliuma I

Šattiwaza of Mittanni with a daughter of Šuppiluliuma I

Mašturi of the Šeha River Land with Massanauizzi, the daughter of Muršili II

Bentešina of Amurru with Gaššulawiya, the daughter of Hattušili III

Šauškamuwa of Amurru with a daughter of Hattušili III¹⁸⁷⁴

Ammurapi of Ugarit with Ehli-Nikkalu, probably a daughter of Šuppiluliuma II¹⁸⁷⁵

These marriages were made with the condition that only a son procreated with the Hittite princess would ascend the throne of the vassal kingdom. This policy was no doubt aimed at strengthening the ties with the vassal rulers and establishing a line of half-Hittite vassal rulers, who were likely to be more loyal to the Hittite cause. A son-in-law was an adopted son, and a relationship established through marriage or adoption was nearly as strong as a blood relationship. As stated in the Telipinu Edict, to ascend to kingship, in the absence of an actual

¹⁸⁷⁴ Šauškamuwa was probably Bentešina's son with Gaššulawiya, which would make Šauškamuwa's wife also his aunt, or a half-aunt at best.

¹⁸⁷⁵ See Astour (1980).

son, a son-in-law (husband of a daughter) would be the first alternative over blood relatives like brothers or nephews, who are not mentioned at all. Several late Old Kingdom kings including Telipinu were related to their predecessors by marriage, and a good example from the Empire period is Arnuwanda I, who is now widely believed to be a son-in-law of his predecessor Tudhaliya I, although in documents he is always referred to as a son.¹⁸⁷⁶ In the Alakšandu Treaty, Muwatalli II had no problem referring to Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira as a descendant of the king of Hatti on his mother's side,¹⁸⁷⁷ whereas it is clearly known from the treaty of Muršili II with Kupanta-Kurunta that the latter was actually a son of the brother of Mašhuiluwa, and that with the permission of Muršili II he had been adopted as son and heir by the childless couple, Mašhuiluwa and the Hittite princess Muwatti.¹⁸⁷⁸

As for the other officials of the administration, in the prosopographic study presented in previous chapters, 138 top-level officials have been identified in various positions.¹⁸⁷⁹ The office of GAL *MEŠEDI* is clearly the most important among them, holders of which have been identified as the closest relatives of the Hittite kings. Particularly in the Empire period the office was consistently occupied either by the brother of the king or by the brother of the crown prince (i.e., the future king). Of the rest of the offices, other than the attestations of officials with princely designations, there is very little evidence that describes a relationship with the royal family. In fact the only persons about whom we have some documentary evidence are Kantuzzili (4.6.1.7), the father of Tudhaliya (perhaps also a son of Huzziya II); Tattamaru (4.7.1.5), who was apparently married to a niece of Puduhepa; and the brothers Upparamuwa (4.6.1.14) and

¹⁸⁷⁶ The fact that Arnuwanda I was married to Tudhaliya I's daughter Ašmunikal initially caused some suspicion among scholars about a possible incestuous marriage, which was certainly a taboo in Hittite society. His status as son-in-law was first suggested by Beal (1983: 115–19).

¹⁸⁷⁷ CTH 76 §14 (Beckman 1999: 90).

¹⁸⁷⁸ CTH 68 §4 (Beckman 1999: 74f.).

¹⁸⁷⁹ The number does not include officials with unknown names or any officials who are also known to have served as an appanage king (Kantuzzili, the GAL SANGA; Halpašulupi, the GAL KUŠ₇; and Ehli-Šarruma, the MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS) or a governor (Hannutti (I), the GAL KUŠ₇ and Aranhapilizzi, the GAL KUŠ₇). Officials with multiple titles are counted only once.

Mizramuwa (4.11.1.8),¹⁸⁸⁰ who were said to be the sons of a king—probably Ini-Tešup, the king of Karkamiš, which would make the brothers descendants of the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I. Also, although there is no conclusive evidence, Hannutti (4.6.1.13), Ewri-Šarruma (4.4.1.12), and Šauškaruntiya (4.4.1.15) may possibly have been sons of Hattušili III.

Despite the lack of descriptive evidence, many of these officials are attested with the designations DUMU.LUGAL and/or REX.FILIUS. It is commonly accepted that not all of these “princes” could be sons of kings, but rather that they were the descendants of previous kings, and therefore relatives of the ruling king.¹⁸⁸¹ It is quite possible that many of them were third, or greater degree cousins of the king. The princely titles were also used by the members of the cadet branches of the royal family in appanage kingdoms, as well as by the vassal rulers who had joined the royal family through marriage. The best-known side branch of the Hittite royal family is that of the kings of Karkamiš. The last known Hittite king Šuppiluliuma II and his contemporary Talmi-Tešup of Karkamiš were third cousins, sharing Šuppiluliuma I as their great-great-grandfather. Undoubtedly, over the generations the members of the extended royal family had grown to a large number,¹⁸⁸² a situation which is testified to in the words of Tudhaliya IV: “The land of Ha[titi] is full of royal progeny. In Ha[titi] the [progeny of Š]uppiluliuma, the progeny of Muwatalli, (and) the progeny of Hattušili are numerous.”¹⁸⁸³

How far back did kings and officials trace their genealogy? In the case of the Hittite kings, the Old Hittite period rulers almost never utilized titularies that incorporate genealogical

¹⁸⁸⁰ It is uncertain whether Prince Mizramuwa of Karkamiš is the same person as the GAL NA.GAD official of the Hittite court.

¹⁸⁸¹ See Imparati (1975 and 1987), Güterbock (BoHa 14: 74f.), Beal (1992: 413 n. 1550), Starke (1996: 144f.), Singer (1997: 418f.), d’Alfonso (2005: 65).

¹⁸⁸² If we assume an average number of four children reaching adulthood, by the fifth generation it would have grown to 1024 descendants.

¹⁸⁸³ KUB 26.1+KUB 23.112 i 10–13 (CTH 255.2); edited by Miller (2013: 296f.).

information.¹⁸⁸⁴ We see the first examples of such epithets in the early Empire period, but they are limited to the mention of the father, and usually appear only on seals. After Šuppiluliuma I, possibly due to a desire to be more closely associated with this successful king, all of the succeeding kings and appanage kings of Karkamiš tended to trace their genealogy back to Šuppiluliuma I. Additionally, in several of their documents, both Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV chose to include an ancestral king in their genealogy. The epithets of Hattušili III often include the reference “descendant of Hattušili, king/man of Kuššar,”¹⁸⁸⁵ no doubt a reference to Hattušili I, and Tudhaliya IV’s epithet usually includes “descendant of Tudhaliya,”¹⁸⁸⁶ which could be a reference to either the first or second of these kings.¹⁸⁸⁷ Certainly all Hittite kings were very much aware of their ancestry, as revealed by multiple references to early kings in historical introductions of documents, as well as cult documents that include offering lists mentioning not only the old kings but many queens and princes from even the earliest years of the kingdom.¹⁸⁸⁸ Noteworthy here is the so-called cruciform seal of Muršili II, which lists several former kings and queens of the Empire period as well as some of those from the earliest period, including a previously unknown Huzziya, who is presumably a predecessor of Labarna I.¹⁸⁸⁹

In the case of top officials, the only genealogical information comes from occasional mention of a few officials and their families in texts such as the decree of Hattušili III on behalf of the sons of Mittannamuwa (CTH 87) or a similar decree of Tudhaliya IV concerning Šahurunuwa (CTH 225). But even so, these texts do not mention anything beyond one or two generations. There is, however, the genealogical information about several scribes as reported in

¹⁸⁸⁴ See Gonnet (1979).

¹⁸⁸⁵ See Gonnet (1979: 34f. nos. 18, 20, 21, 22, 25).

¹⁸⁸⁶ See Gonnet (1979: 41 no. 54).

¹⁸⁸⁷ Due to Hattušili III’s usurpation of the Hittite throne, his and his son’s preference to include ancestral namesakes in their genealogy may have been propaganda attempts to display closer association with the imperial lineage.

¹⁸⁸⁸ In regards to the “historical consciousness” of the Hittite royal family, see Gilan’s (2014) analysis of CTH 610–611, the so-called royal offering lists.

¹⁸⁸⁹ See Dinçol, et al. (1993).

the colophons of documents they had written, sometimes going back several centuries. In the colophon of KBo 6.4, a late thirteenth-century scribe named Hanikkuili traces his genealogy to a namesake official, who is identified from earlier sources as a scribe active during the reign of Hantili II,¹⁸⁹⁰ which indicates a difference of about nine or ten generations.¹⁸⁹¹ In KUB 33.120+, another late thirteenth-century scribe, Ašhapala, traces his genealogy to a certain Waršiya,¹⁸⁹² who is known from other sources as the scribe of several land donation documents of Muwatalli I,¹⁸⁹³ which puts him about eight generations earlier than Ašhapala. Although these scribes are not among the top officials of the administration, the fact that even the non-royal members of the administration preserved and took pride in presenting such genealogical information makes it likely that even more family pride was present among the descendants of the Hittite kings.

Of the 138 officials mentioned above, thirty-one have been attested with a princely title, which is about 22% of these officials. If we look at these numbers for officials only from the reign of Šuppiluliuma I and after, the ratio increases to 38%, with twenty-seven princes out of seventy-two officials. However, this change is probably not due to an increase in the involvement of family members in the administration, but simply to the fact that we have more information about the officials of the late Empire period. There is also reason to believe that the usage of the DUMU.LUGAL/REX.FILIUS designation for royal family members other than the actual sons of kings was not common prior to the reign of Šuppiluliuma I. The earliest verifiable attestation of such usage pertains to Hutupiyanza, the son of Šuppiluliuma's brother Zida, who is

¹⁸⁹⁰ For the colophon of KBo 6.4 see note 1142; for a family tree of Hanikkuili see Figure 7 in section 4.9.1.5; for the earlier Hanikkuili as a GAL NA.GAD official see section 4.11.1.1.

¹⁸⁹¹ For the calculation of generations, see the chart constructed by Beckman (2000: 26).

¹⁸⁹² For the colophon of KUB 33.120+ and Ašhapala, see Gordin (2008: 48f.). For a chart of scribes with extended genealogy, see Gordin (2008: 124).

¹⁸⁹³ LhK 46, 47, and 48 (see Appendix 1).

referred to with the DUMU.LUGAL designation a couple of times in the Annals of Muršili II.¹⁸⁹⁴

In the Empire period too, the actual percentage of the top-level administrative officials related to the royal family was probably much higher than 38%. There are actually twice as many individuals attested with princely titles as those attested in high offices. Listed in Table 28 are over seventy other “princes,” who are not attested with one of the high-office titles. A great majority of these individuals date to the thirteenth century.¹⁸⁹⁵ Among them are a few prominent names like Kurakura and Hešni, who were probably sons of Hattušili III.¹⁸⁹⁶ It is noticeable that most of these princely attestations come from seals, more than half of which are from Nišantepe, which is certainly an imperial administrative archive.¹⁸⁹⁷ Although only a few bear additional titles, it is quite likely that these individuals were part of the administrative system, even if they might not have occupied high offices, which would be an indication that princely title holders, i.e., extended members of the royal family, were involved at all levels of the state administration.

Despite the heavy involvement of the royal family, there were certainly some high officials who were unrelated to this group. As discussed in section 6.3, the late Empire period witness lists clearly display a dichotomy between royal and non-royal officials. Although the lack of attestations with princely designations is not necessarily an indication of non-royalty, in the case of a few officials this non-royal status can be suggested more confidently when there are a multitude of attestations with no princely designation. That is the case with the Chief Scribes

¹⁸⁹⁴ KUB 14.29+KUB 19.3 i 17] (AM 106f.), KBo 5.8 ii 18–19 (AM 152f.). In my opinion, the prince Aškaliya of LhK 1 rev. 24 is probably a son of Telipinu or one of his predecessors, depending on the date of the tablet. Likewise, Labarna of LhK 22 rev. 63 must be a son of Telipinu (thus also Wilhelm 2009: 228 n. 16). For the REX.FILIUS title of Kantuzzili, the father of Tudhaliya I/II, see the end of section 4.6.1.7.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Exceptions are Aškaliya, Labarna, Nanaziti, and perhaps Tuwazi. The first two are contemporaries of Telipinu (see the previous note), Nanaziti was active during the reign of Muršili II (see section 4.15.3), and Tuwazi’s seal is stylistically assigned to the fourteenth century by the Dinçols (2008b: 15).

¹⁸⁹⁶ On identification of Kurakura and Hešni as sons of Hattušili III, see van den Hout (1995a: 109 and 207). See also note 1902 below.

¹⁸⁹⁷ On various opinions about the exact nature of the Nišantepe archive, see Herbordt (2005: 22f., 36–39), Mora (2007: 544f.), van den Hout (2007).

Name	Title / Other Titles	Source
Alihešni	DUMU.LUGAL ¹⁸⁹⁸	RS 15.77:1
Ananimuwa [?]	REX.FILUS	Niš 18
Anaziti	REX.FILUS	Niš 26
Armapihaya	REX.FILUS	Niš 52
Armaziti	DUMU.LUGAL/REX.FILUS	RS 17.314:1, 21 (w/ seal Mora V 5.1)
Aškaliya	DUMU.LUGAL	LhK 1 rev. 24
Ašmi-Šarruma	REX.FILIUS	Niš 75
<i>a-zi/a-ra/i-su</i>	REX.FILIUS	Niš 89
<i>á*507-na(-ni)</i>	REX.FILIUS, MAGNUS.VIR.SUPER	Niš 91–94
Ewri-Tešup	REX.FILIUS	Niš 135
Haššuii	REX.FILIUS	Niš 114
<i>ha-tu-zi/a-pa-a</i>	REX.FILIUS	Niš 120
Hešmi-Šarruma	DUMU.LUGAL	CTH 106.A iv 34, KUB 3.34 rev. 15
Hešmi-Tešup	DUMU.LUGAL/REX.FILIUS	HCCT-E 14:21, ¹⁸⁹⁹ HCCT-E 41:10, ¹⁹⁰⁰ ME 64:1, ¹⁹⁰¹ <i>Emar</i> VI 19:1, <i>Emar</i> IV A4a-b
Hešni	DUMU.LUGAL	CTH 106.B rev. 30, KUB 40.96+ r. col. 11
Hišni	DUMU.LUGAL	RS 17.403, KBo 18.48 ¹⁹⁰²
Huniniya	REX.FILIUS	Niš 125
<i>hu+ra/i²-CERVUS₃-ti²</i>	REX.FILIUS	Niš 126
Huwa-Šarruma	REX.FILIUS	Niš 355
Huzziya	REX.FILIUS, DOMINUS+ <i>MI</i> [?]	Niš 131
<i>HWI²-la-pa</i>	REX.FILIUS	Niš 560
Inimuwa	REX.FILIUS, SCRIBA-2	Niš 143–148
<i>ki²-ti-Šarruma</i>	REX.FILIUS	Niš 163
<i>ku²-la/i/u-mi</i>	REX.FILIUS	Mora X 2.1 (Tarsus)
Kuni-LINGUA+CLAVUS	REX.FILIUS	Niš 177, 179–180
Kurakura	DUMU.LUGAL	CTH 106.A iv 131
Labarna	DUMU.LUGAL	LhK 22 rev. 63
<i>ma²-x-ra/i²</i>	REX.FILIUS	Mora XIIb 1.62
Maha	REX.FILIUS	Niš 216
Mayahu	REX.FILIUS	Mora XIIa 2.17 (Ortakavıran)
Miza [?]	REX.FILIUS	Mora XIIb 1.23 (Tarsus)
Nanaziti	DUMU.LUGAL	KBo 4.4 ii 52, 58
Penti [?] -Tešup	REX.FILIUS	SBo I 111

¹⁸⁹⁸ This official was probably a son of the king of Karkamiš and certainly distinct from the like-named scribe and son of Mittannamuwa (see C. Lebrun 2014: 41–48).

¹⁸⁹⁹ Tsukimoto (1990: 183).

¹⁹⁰⁰ Tsukimoto (1991: 290).

¹⁹⁰¹ Arnaud (1991: 30).

¹⁹⁰² ^m*Hi-iš-ni-i* <DUMU.>LUGAL KUR^{URU} Kar[kamiš] in RS 17.403 (Singer 1997: 420b) and ^m*Hi-iš-ni-i* DUMU[LUGAL] in KBo 18.48 obv. 1 (van den Hout 1995a: 207). For distinguishing Hišni, the son of the king of Karkamiš, from the son of Hattušili III, see de Martino (2012).

Name	Title / Other Titles	Source
Piha-Tarhunta	REX.FILIUS	Niş 307, <i>Emar</i> IV A75
Pihawalwi	DUMU.LUGAL	RS 17.247:1
Piriyaššura	DUMU.LUGAL	RS 17.314:22
Sapala [?]	REX.FILIUS, VIR, MAGNUS.x	Niş 349
Sariya ¹⁹⁰³	REX.FILIUS	Niş 355
Sarisa	REX.FILIUS	<i>Emar</i> IV C18 and C19 ¹⁹⁰⁴
Sarparuntiya	REX.FILIUS	Niş 363
Šauškamuwa	REX.FILIUS, SCRIBA	Niş 366–367
Šauškaziti	REX.FILIUS	Mora VII 1.1 (Korucutepe)
Šinti-Tešup	REX.FILIUS	Niş 385
Šukur-Tešup	DUMU.LUGAL	RS 20.03:1
Taki-Tešup, Kuruntiya ¹⁹⁰⁵	REX.FILIUS	Niş 404
Tamipiya	REX.FILIUS	TP'09/79 (Çine-Tepecik) ¹⁹⁰⁶
Tapa'e	DUMU.LUGAL	RS 34.155:1
Tarhuntami	REX.FILIUS	HANYERĪ, <i>Emar</i> IV C18
Tarhuntanani	REX.FILIUS	BoHa 14 no. 242, Mora XIIa 2.45
Tarhuntapiya	DUMU.LUGAL/REX.FILIUS	CTH 106.B rev. 31, SBo II 23
Tašmi [?] -Šarruma	REX.FILIUS, SCRIBA- <i>la</i>	SBo II 16
Tatitami	REX.FILIUS, BONUS ₂ x	Niş 450
Tehi-Tešup	REX.FILIUS, BONUS ₂ .SCUTELLA	Niş 453, Mora V 6.2 (Ugarit)
Tili-Šarruma	DUMU.LUGAL/REX.FILIUS	Niş 456–459, SBo II 15, RS 17.28:5–6, RS 18.114:5, HCCT-E 5:1, 13 ¹⁹⁰⁷
Tiwataura	REX.FILIUS, SCRIBA	Niş 462–463
Tuwarsa [?]	REX.FILIUS, PITHOS	Niş 484
Tuwattaziti	DUMU.LUGAL	<i>Emar</i> VI 181:18
Tuwazi	REX.FILIUS	BoHa 22 no. 65
Uhhaziti	DUMU.LUGAL	CTH 106.B rev. 30
Urawalwi	REX.FILIUS	Niş 502, BoHa 14 no. 244, Mora X 1.1
<i>u-x</i> -[...]	REX.FILIUS	Mora XIIb 1.28 (Korucutepe)
Walwa/isaga	REX.FILIUS	BoHa 22 nos. 252–253
Walwa/itarupasani [?]	REX.FILIUS	Niş 612, Mora VIb 1.34
<i>zi/a-ha-pa</i>	REX.FILIUS	Mora XIIa 2.1 (Alacahöyük)
<i>Z]u[?]-la-na</i>	DUMU.LUGAL	<i>Emar</i> VI 211:1
HEROS ¹⁹⁰⁸	REX.FILIUS, SCRIBA- <i>la</i> , SACERDOS ₂	Niş 610
LINGUA+CLAVUS- <i>i(a)</i>	REX.FILIUS	Niş 620
MANDARE ₂ -Šarruma	REX.FILIUS	Niş 633

¹⁹⁰³ It is assumed that this Sariya is a different individual than the same named MAGNUS.PASTOR and courtier (see section 4.11.1.11).

¹⁹⁰⁴ On the reading of this name, see Hawkins (2010).

¹⁹⁰⁵ It is not certain whether the REX.FILIUS designation applies to one or both names on the seal.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Günel and Herboldt (2014).

¹⁹⁰⁷ Tsukimoto (1984: 65–73).

¹⁹⁰⁸ Possibly read Hastali (see Hawkins 2005a: 283).

Name	Title / Other Titles	Source
QUADRUPEDES- <i>ni</i>	REX.FILIUS	Niř 639
TONITRUS- <i>tá</i> ²	REX.FILIUS	Niř 650
VITELLUS-x- <i>li</i>	REX.FILIUS	BoHa 22 no. 152
L. 263-TONITRUS	REX.FILIUS	Niř 701
L. 322.2- <i>pa-na</i> ²	REX.FILIUS	SBo II 27
<i>x-ra/i</i> ²	REX.FILIUS	Mora XIIa 2.44
<i>x-zi/a-na</i>	REX.FILIUS, SCRIBA	Niř 524
[...]- <i>ka</i>	REX.FILIUS	SBo II 25

Table 28. Princely title holders not attested in high offices.

Mittannamuwa, Purandamuwa, and Walwaziti, who were all from the same family.¹⁹⁰⁹ We also know the names of three other brothers and two sons of Walwaziti, some of whom were also scribes.¹⁹¹⁰ All together they account for more than sixty attestations, in none of which any of them bears a princely designation, which should be an indication to safely suggest that this family did not have any royal connections.

There are a few high offices, holders of which are never attested with princely titles. Those are GAL SAGI, ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*, UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ, and LÚ/EN ^{URU}Hurma/Nerik.¹⁹¹¹ This may be partially due to the fact that most of the known officials in these offices are from the scantily documented early periods of the Hittite state. The offices of GAL SAGI, ^{LÚ}*uriyanni*, and UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ seem to have lost their significance by the late Empire period, and a couple of late-period EN ^{URU}Hurma/Nerik officials are also known as “courtiers” (^{LÚ}SAG), a group who were almost entirely from outside the royal family. Nevertheless, among the four offices, the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* particularly stands out, considering the fact that the ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* was one of the four most important officials during the late Old Kingdom along with GAL

¹⁹⁰⁹ On these officials see sections 4.9.1.3, 4.9.1.4, and 4.9.1.6, respectively.

¹⁹¹⁰ See Figure 6.

¹⁹¹¹ The GAL MUHALDIM, EN É *ABUSSI*, GAL ^{GIŠ}GIDRU, and GAL IGI.MUŠEN officials are not attested with princely titles either, but with only one or two attested names they do not represent a significant sample.

DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, GAL GEŠTIN, and GAL *MEŠEDI* (see Table 24). The only known *uriyanni* official of the Empire period is AMAR.MUŠEN (see section 4.5.1.11). Although he is not attested with a princely title, on account of the analysis presented in section 6.3, his position as a witness in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty right after the sons of Hattušili III and the kings of Karkamiš and Išuwa strongly suggests that he was a nonetheless relative of the royal family.

Another group of officials, who were almost entirely from outside the royal family, was the “courtiers” (^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG). The study of courtiers presented in section 4.14 identifies fifty-three officials with this designation. Among them only one person is suspected of being a relative of the royal family¹⁹¹² and only five of them overlap with the above-mentioned 138 officials of the top-level administration.¹⁹¹³ As discussed in section 4.14.3, the identified courtiers overwhelmingly date to the reigns of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV, and it was during Tudhaliya IV’s reign that specific loyalty instructions addressed to the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG were issued. Although not members of the royal family, the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG were apparently a privileged group of officials with personal access to the king. The position of these non-royal officials in the innermost circle of the king expressly contrasts with the above-discussed involvement of the royal family in the administration of the state. Reasons for this contrast may be found in the political developments that surrounded the succession of kings to the Hittite throne during this period.

It is already well known that Hattušili III’s usurpation of the Hittite throne by deposing his brother’s son Muršili III/Urhi-Tešup went against the established rules of the Hittite monarchy. Although Hattušili presented various reasons as a justification of his actions and ultimately tied his kingship to the will of the gods, there are several indications that he was concerned about the

¹⁹¹² Ara/i-Inara? (BoHa 22 no. 300).

¹⁹¹³ Armawalwi, Sariya, Tarhantanani, Palla, and Anuwanza. The first three are included in the discussion of the GAL NA.GAD office as holders of the MAGNUS.PASTOR title, and Palla and Anuwanza are attested with the titles EN^{URU}Hurmi and EN^{URU}Nerik, respectively. Note that Alalimi, GAL SAGI, Alalimi, MAGNUS.AURIGA, and Tarupasani, and MAGNUS.AURIGA are considered different individuals than their namesake courtiers.

stability of his throne. Externally he tried to legitimize his kingship by receiving the approval of the neighboring powers of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, with whom he tried to maintain peaceful relations. Internally he tried to eliminate a possible claim to the throne from Kurunta, the other son of Muwatalli II, by appointing him as the vassal ruler of a purposely created appanage kingdom. In fact, this concern may even have played a role in his decision to replace his older son Nerikkaili with Tudhaliya as the crown prince, since Tudhaliya had grown up with Kurunta and developed a close friendship.¹⁹¹⁴

It was under these circumstances that Tudhaliya IV ascended the Hittite throne. He was facing threats not only from the descendants of Muwatalli II and Urhi-Tešup, who claimed to be rightful heirs to the throne, but possibly also from some of his own brothers, who may not have been happy about Hattušili's late decision to elevate Tudhaliya above others. Indications of concerns regarding such threats can be observed in several documents of Tudhaliya.

In his treaty with Šauškamuwa of Amurru (CTH 105), Tudhaliya goes beyond the clichéd language about loyalty to the king and his progeny, saying: “You shall not desire anyone else as overlord from among those who are legitimate brothers of My Majesty, sons of the concubines of the father of My Majesty, or even other royal progeny who are to be regarded by you as bastards.”¹⁹¹⁵ Quite strikingly he even points out the disloyalty of the vassal king Mašturi to Urhi-Tešup as an example of treachery, despite the fact that Mašturi's action had supported the kingship of Tudhaliya's father.

In an often-quoted passage from the text CTH 255.2, a couple of lines of which have already been quoted above, Tudhaliya emphasizes the possible challenges that might come from numerous members of the royal family:

¹⁹¹⁴ A more important factor in Hattušili's decision to replace Nerikkaili with Tudhaliya was probably the influence of Puduhepa. It is very likely that Nerikkaili was not a son of Puduhepa (see Klengel 1991: 227).

¹⁹¹⁵ CTH 105 ii 10–14 (Beckman 1999: 105)

My Majesty has many brothers, and they have many fathers. The land of Ha[titi] is full of royal progeny. In Ha[titi] the [progeny of Š]uppiluliuma, the progeny of Muršili, the progeny of Muwatalli, the progeny of Hattušili are numerous, and (yet) you shall recognize no other man for the lo[rds]hip, and after (me) you must protect the sons and grandsons, the seed of Tudhaliya alone, for the lordship! And if evil e[ve]r befalls My Majesty—My Majesty (has), after all, many brothers—and perhaps you even do this: you support someone else and you speak thus: "Whomever shall we raise up (as king) for ourselves? Is that other man not in fact a son of our lord?" Such an utterance shall not be made! For the lordship protect hereafter only the progeny of My Majesty! You shall not support anyone else! [Protec]t My Maj[esty and the pro]geny of My Majesty for the lordship! But by no means [...]! You [shall not] support any [oth]er man!¹⁹¹⁶

In KUB 26.18:8'–12', which appears to be a fragment of another instruction/loyalty text, he issues a similar warning while specifically naming some of his brothers: Nerikkaili, Huzziya, and [...]-r^{d1}LAMMA.¹⁹¹⁷

The best expression of Tudhaliya's anxiety concerning the stability of his power is probably to be observed in his loyalty instructions CTH 255.1, where possible threats that may come from a brother or half-brother of his father or himself are repeatedly mentioned (§§4, 5, 7, 9, 24, 27), one of which reads:

And you shall not recognize My Majesty's full brothers, born of the queen subsequently, nor those who are sons of a secondary wife of the father of My Majesty. For the lordship you shall support only My Majesty and after (him) his sons (and) grandsons. You shall discard the oath of the person who makes you swear to the brothers of My Majesty, and you shall support only My Majesty and the sons of My Majesty for the lordship; or (if) the full brothers of My Majesty or a son of a secondary wife <has> done some wi[ck]ed thing, (e.g.,) blood(shed) or rebellion, [o]r he has foreknowledge of some wicked matter; [o]r some prince divulges a wicked matter to a courtier, or he has also already [to]ld you, but you do not report it to the king; [o]r some prince (or) brother of the king makes some

¹⁹¹⁶ KUB 26.1+KUB 23.112 i 9–29; edited by Miller (2013: 296f.).

¹⁹¹⁷ For an edition of KUB 26.18, see Giorgieri (1995: 277). For the analysis of this specific passage, see van den Hout (1995a: 100–103). See also Šauškaruntiya in section 4.4.1.15, whose name may be restored as the third brother ([^mdLIŠ-]^dLAMMA).

courtier (his) [ass]ociate, and he divulges to him some evil, [inopp]ortune [matter] regarding the king, but he does not [repo]rt it to the king: under the oath.¹⁹¹⁸

While loyalty to only the king and his descendants is a cliché in texts that incorporate allegiance clauses, no other Hittite king goes into such detail to underline the risks posed by other family members.

Besides the expression of such concerns, several favors bestowed upon family members can be interpreted as attempts to curb their ambitions. Apparently right after Tudhaliya became king he reinstated his older brother Nerikkaili as the crown prince, since the latter is attested with the *tuhkanti* title at the head of the witness list in the Šahurunuwa Text (CTH 225), which is dated to the very early years of Tudhaliya's reign. While it is possible that at that time Tudhaliya may not yet have had a son to name as the crown prince, it is also conceivable that the move was intended to keep his brother satisfied. He also granted further territory and liberties to Kurunta in Tarhuntašša, as revealed in his renewed vassal treaty (the Bronze Tablet, CTH 106.A) and through a comparison of it to the earlier version (CTH 106.B) that was established by Hattušili III.

Tudhaliya's attempts to make amends with various royal descendants can also be observed in his extensive oracle inquiry CTH 569.¹⁹¹⁹ It is the lengthiest of such texts in the Hittite corpus and its apparent object is to undo the curses of several individuals and purify the kingship of Tudhaliya IV. The common denominator of these individuals seems to be that they were all members of the royal family who had been subjected to injustice and/or persecution in the past and who were no longer alive. Besides Urhi-Tešup, included here are Arma-Tarhunta and Danuhepa. The former was in all likelihood the son of Zita, who had been an opponent of

¹⁹¹⁸ KUB 21.42+KUB 26.12 iv 16–32; edited by Miller (2013: 296f.).

¹⁹¹⁹ Edited and treated in detail by van den Hout (1998).

Hattušili III, and the latter was almost certainly the queen who was a contemporary of Muršili II, Muwatalli II, and Urhi-Tešup, and who had been subjected to exile at some point.¹⁹²⁰

Throughout the composition several references are made to the descendants of these individuals and their compensation, including grants of land.¹⁹²¹

Certain events support the belief that Tudhaliya's concerns were not exaggerations. Despite the additional favors, it is known that his cousin Kurunta, king of Tarhuntašša, did eventually rebel, going as far as declaring himself Great King (see section 3.1.6.1). Another event is the so-called "Conspiracy of Hešni," which is mainly known from the fragmentary court deposition KUB 31.68.¹⁹²² Although the context is not entirely clear due to damage, the main conspirator was apparently Hešni, who was probably another son of Hattušili III.¹⁹²³ Along with certain high dignitaries, he tried to organize an attack against the king of Hatti, who was probably Tudhaliya IV. It is reasonable to suspect that the conspiracy of Hešni took place very early in Tudhaliya's reign, before the young king had had time to consolidate his power.¹⁹²⁴ The presence of Hešni's name as a witness in the Ulmi-Tešup treaty of Hattušili III, yet its absence in the Šahurunuwa Text and the Bronze Tablet could be seen as a confirmation of this assumption. Therefore, the conspiracy of Hešni was probably an event that must have at least elevated the concerns of Tudhaliya and contributed to the adoption of the policies described above.

The conditions surrounding Tudhaliya IV as described above suggest that this Hittite king had valid reasons to surround himself with officials from outside the royal family. The analysis of the top-level officials indicates that the high offices largely remained in the hands of the royal aristocracy. The distancing of family members from the administration was probably not easy to

¹⁹²⁰ For a prosopographic analysis of the individuals involved in CTH 569, see van den Hout (1998: 41–71).

¹⁹²¹ Concerning the family of Urhi-Tešup, see the commentary for line iii 53 in van den Hout (1998: 230).

¹⁹²² Edited by Stefanini (1962: 22–24). See Tani (2001) for a more recent analysis.

¹⁹²³ See van den Hout (1995a: 207), de Martino (2012: 104).

¹⁹²⁴ Thus Tani (2001: 155).

accomplish. Their presence within the structure was almost certainly dictated by the long established traditional rules of the patrimonial structure. While the king had the power to prosecute and inflict penalties even on individual members of the royal family, as testified in his above-mentioned words there were many people to be suspicious of and he could not have enough information about the actual intentions of each and every person. The elevation of the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG to prominence is likely to have occurred under these circumstances. As discussed in section 4.14.3, the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG were probably the only officials who had personal access to the king. They ran his private affairs and assisted in his administrative activities. They became his confidants and advisors, and in the meantime formed a buffer zone around the king against threats. The only extant loyalty instructions dating to Tudhaliya's reign are CTH 255.1 and 255.2, the first of which partially and the second are addressed entirely to the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG. As mentioned in section 5.1, there are indications that CTH 255.2 had been issued in urgency, and if so, it is conceivable that the document was composed shortly after the discovery of the Hešni conspiracy. It is notable that in this composition right after the introductory paragraph, Tudhaliya's address to the courtiers starts with the statement ^dUTU^{ŠI}-kán šu-um-ma-aš ŠU-aš, literally "My Majesty is in your hands," which underlines the desperation the king must have felt concerning the loyalty of these subjects.

To what degree can we evaluate this sudden emphasis on the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG as an example of upward social mobility? In terms of the contrast of royal vs. non-royal officials, the position of the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG was not unique, since as discussed above they were not the only non-royal officials within the high-level administration. Therefore, this is not quite a case of *homines novi* or "new men." The only document that may provide some information about the comparative status of the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG to that of other officials is the Šahurunuwa Text, in which three

witnesses—EN-tarwa, Palla, and Anuwanza—bear the ^{LÚ}SAG designation (see Appendix 3). Although they are in the bottom half of the list, the fact that EN-tarwa and Palla are named before Walwaziti, the GAL DUB.SAR, Kammaliya, the GAL MUHALDIM, and Mahhuzzi, the GAL *MUBARRĪ*, suggests that at least some of the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG had a comparable status to that of other GAL-level officials. Palla is also listed in the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty of Hattušili III without the ^{LÚ}SAG designation, where his relative position to Walwaziti, Kammaliya, and Mahhuzzi is the same. It is conceivable that Palla had already been a ^{LÚ}SAG during the reign of Hattušili III, but that the need to emphasize this status in writing was not felt necessary, probably because having the ^{LÚ}SAG status did not have great significance during the reign of Hattušili III. Whether he was already a ^{LÚ}SAG or gained that status during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, his unchanged position in the two witness lists suggests that the increased emphasis the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG officials received during the reign of Tudhaliya did not provide Palla with an advantage over other officials in terms of whatever hierarchical rules determined their order in the witness lists. Of course, what we have observed for one official can hardly be enough to suggest a general rule for all officials. That said, the little information we do have is not enough to demonstrate concretely upward mobility for the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG. Furthermore, not much can be said about the status of the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG after Tudhaliya IV, since no information is available in the few documents we have from the reigns of Arnuwanda III and Šuppiluliuma II.

6.5 Hittite Administration as a Patrimonial Organization

Previous chapters presented a prosopographic study of the top-level officials of the Hittite administration and an analysis of various aspects concerning these offices and officials. This final section will be reserved for the overall assessment of this organization while discussing whether it can be defined by some of the political systems stereotyped in social studies. This

theoretical analysis will remain at a basic level and for the most part will be based on the concepts and classifications developed by Weber. Although there is certainly more to the theoretical study of political systems than Weber's work, his classification and terminology have received wide acceptance, established standards to be built upon or compared to, and typically have been the building blocks of other studies. The intention here is not to build the most accurate and detailed political model that would describe the Hittite administration, but only to present the results of this study within a basic theoretical framework that is familiar to most, and therefore enable some comparative analysis. Furthermore, the study of the Hittite administration presented here focuses particularly on its officials, while a thorough analysis of the political system would require the examination of all aspects of the society and economy of the state. As stated in the introduction, an examination of the economy of Hittite society is beyond the scope of this study, not to mention the fact that such an attempt would be rather difficult in the case of Hittites due to the almost total absence of textual information regarding the private sector, the limited corpus of its economic documents, as well as the restricted amount of relevant archaeological data coming from only a few identified settlements.

Within the confines of governmental administration, domination or authority can be defined in basic terms as the government's exercise of control over its people. Weber (1978: 215f.) defines three ideal types of legitimate authority: (1) rational or legal authority, gained through legally and rationally established rules; (2) traditional authority, based on rules established by traditions; and (3) charismatic authority, based on the belief that the authority figure possesses exceptional sanctity or character. To give some typical examples for these definitions, government of a modern-day country with a democratic organization would fall under the first, the authority of a hereditary kingship would represent traditional authority, and

the authority possessed by the prophet of a religion would be classified as charismatic authority. As Weber notes, these definitions provide useful tools for the systematic analysis of social theory, but in history they do not exist in their pure form. When inspected closely every case would display features indicating a combination of these types of authority.

It is not difficult to suggest that if one had to choose one of these three types to define the authority of the Hittite king, it would be traditional authority. As testified by several oath documents discussed in section 5.1, the relationship of the administrative officials of the state to the Hittite king is mainly determined by personal loyalty, rather than by the officials' impersonal duty. This loyalty is the result of age-old traditions that are part of the common background that dictates obedience to the king. One could even argue that the king's unique ideological position between the gods and the people as their representative and supreme priest plays a role in the legitimation of his authority, which would point to Weber's charismatic type, although it is difficult to construct the mindset of his subjects to determine how strong was the belief in the sanctity of the king in that respect. Furthermore, the bloody transitions of power and violation of succession rules that took place rather frequently in the Hittite court may seem to contradict the belief in the sanctity of the king. However, such transitions of power were never initiated by the lower ranks of the administration or the people, but rather took place among the close members of the royal family. As far as is known, all Hittite kings were members of the same royal family.¹⁹²⁵

While the commoners must have been to a large degree unaware and uninterested in any power struggle within the royal family, it is evident that the members of the upper-level administration, particularly those around the court, were not ignorant of this power struggle, and

¹⁹²⁵ Note that as discussed in section 6.4, a relationship established by marriage was considered a strong and legitimate bond to the royal family.

from time to time did not hesitate to take sides against the legitimate king. This is probably best demonstrated by the words of Muršili II in regard to the takeover of the Hittite throne by his father Šuppiluliuma I:

Since Tudhaliya the Younger was their lord in Hatti, the princes, the noblemen, the commanders of the thousands, the officers, [the corporals[?]] of Hatti and all [the infantry] and chariotry of Hatti swore an oath to him. My father also swore an oath to him. [But when my father] wronged Tudhaliya, all [the princes, the noblemen], the commanders of the thousands, and the officers of Hatti [went over] to my father. The deities by whom the oath was sworn [seized] Tudhaliya and they killed [Tudhaliya]. Furthermore, they killed those of his brothers [who stood by] him. the lords transgressed the oath [...].¹⁹²⁶

Hattušili III too indicates that during his fight against Urhi-Tešup/Muršili III, “all Hattuša stood behind” him.¹⁹²⁷ As discussed in section 6.4, in a failed attempt to overthrow Tudhaliya IV, a prince named Hešni was able to gain the support of several others within the administration, and several documents from Tudhaliya’s reign indicate that the inviolability of the king was not taken for granted. When Hittite kings express concerns about the security of the throne, they do not draw attention to others in general, but particularly point to the other members of the royal family as the source of such threats; Tudhaliya mentions the fact that there are numerous descendants of previous kings, and Telipinu points to top officials, most of whom are quite possibly relatives of the king. Overall, these examples suggest that while the sanctity of the king was not of utmost importance among his officials, it would be unthinkable for them (and for the king) that a person from outside the royal family could replace the king. The royal family’s claim to kingship was secured by traditions and the succession to the throne had been regulated by in-house rules. Although occasionally the succession rules were bent or broken, the

¹⁹²⁶ CTH 378.I obv. 12–22; translated by Singer (2002a: 61f.).

¹⁹²⁷ CTH 81 iv 28–29.

authority of the kings of the Hittite royal family and their right to rule over the people of Hatti were not questioned.

Gerontocracy, patriarchalism, and patrimonialism are the three types of traditional rulership defined by Weber (1978: 231). The first two of these are elementary types distinguished from patrimonialism by the lack of an established administrative staff. By Weber's (1978: 1025) definition, a patrimonial system can be as simple as a patriarchal household combined with a complex of manorial dependencies with their own households, where a ruler's family members form the administrative staff. Numerous titles of administrative officials encountered in the Kültepe texts¹⁹²⁸ indicate that even the principalities of Old Assyrian-period Anatolia were well organized under an administrative hierarchy. The presence of titles like Chief of Gates, Chief of the Threshing Floor, Chief Steward, Chief of Oxen, Chief of the Fullers, Chief of the Wood, Chief of Storehouses, Chief of Wine, Chief of the Gardens, Chief of Horsemen, Chief of the Stairway, and many others¹⁹²⁹ suggests that the origins of this administrative structure go back to the household organization of the patriarchal ruler. Although not as many, remnants of such an origin are also visible among the top offices in the Hittite administration, such as the Chief of Wine (GAL GEŠTIN) and Chief Cupbearer (GAL SAGI), the responsibilities of whom were no longer related to their original duties, perhaps with the exception of some ceremonial occasions.

The centrality of the Hittite king as the patrimonial ruler is a definite reality, but how well does the Hittite administration otherwise fit the ideal definition of patrimonialism? As mentioned above, the ideal definitions exist for the sake of simplicity and methodological study, and cannot be observed in their pure shape in reality. Several aspects of the Hittite administration can be

¹⁹²⁸ See Veenhof (2008: 219–33).

¹⁹²⁹ For a list of such titles, see Veenhof (2008: 220–24).

pointed out as features of a bureaucratic system. For one thing, the state had in its employ a multitude of scribes who produced thousands of documents, which have been found not only in its capital Hattuša/Boğazköy but also in several surrounding Anatolian centers, as well as in large numbers in Hittite dependencies like Ugarit and Emar. Although it has been argued that referring to these collections as “archives” may not be suitable (van den Hout 2005), it is certain that they were entirely the products of the state administration. The existence of institutions like regional palaces, storehouses, seal houses, as well as a highly active network of cultic centers, all of which were operated by the state, further indicates a level of complexity in the bureaucracy. Already during Telipinu’s reign we encounter a large network of granaries and storehouses as listed in his edict (CTH 19 §§37–38).¹⁹³⁰ However insufficient they may be, the Hittites also possessed written laws (CTH 291–292), the origins of which go back to the Old Hittite period. Although we do not have evidence of these laws being directly in use in courts, there are several documents indicating the existence of judicial proceedings (CTH 293–297).

However, are such features sufficient to suggest that the state possessed a bureaucratic administration? If we go back to the definitions of Weber (1978: 229), the features of a bureaucratic administration that should be absent in an ideal-type traditional authority (hence in a patrimonial administration) include “a clearly defined sphere of competence subject to impersonal rules; a rationally established hierarchy; a regular system of appointment on the basis of free contract, and orderly promotion; technical training as a regular requirement; (and) fixed salaries.”

It could be argued that the genre of documents referred to as “instructions” (section 5.1), which prescribes precise lists of duties for various classes of state officials, is an indication of an attempt by the state to establish impersonal rules, and has been pointed out by scholars as an

¹⁹³⁰ See Singer (1984a) for discussion of a network of storehouses administered by the AGRIG officials.

indication of the formation of a bureaucracy, at least by the late Old Kingdom or early Empire period.¹⁹³¹ More generally, Hittite documents provide us with numerous titles and professions, most of which belong to people in the employ of the state,¹⁹³² which could be seen as an indication of a high level of specialization within the administration.

As for training of officials, at least in the case of scribes we have some evidence. Beside the existence of school texts and the information from colophons that indicate the existence of individuals at various levels of proficiency (e.g., trainee, copyist, instructor, supervisor),¹⁹³³ there were apparently buildings (i.e., schools) that were dedicated to the education of scribal officials, such as the “house of the tablet” (É DUB.BA.A) and the “house of craftsmen” (É GIŠ.KIN.TI), not only in the capital but also at other Hittite centers.¹⁹³⁴ Other than for the scribes, however, we have hardly any evidence of technical training for other classes of officials. It is very likely that a master-apprentice type training existed for most professions,¹⁹³⁵ but whether any part of that was regulated by the state remains uncertain.¹⁹³⁶

The analysis presented in section 6.3 suggests that there was a hierarchy, but in the case of top officials this hierarchy was apparently irrelevant for the offices they occupied. Instead, an important determinant in their order seems to have been related to the personal ties of the officials to the royal family, which is a typical sign of a patrimonial organization. It is probable that the hierarchy of the witness list is actually a reflection of court protocol rather than a chain

¹⁹³¹ See Pecchioli Daddi (2005), d’Alfonso (2010: 72).

¹⁹³² See Pecchioli Daddi (1982), particularly pp. 91–556, which cover the titles and designations used by the personnel of the palace, state cults, administration, military, and the dignitaries.

¹⁹³³ See Gordin (2008: 21), Karasu (2001: 252–54).

¹⁹³⁴ For scribal education and schools, see Torri (2008, 2009, 2010b), Gordin (2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2011). For scribal schools outside Hattuša, see Weeden (2011b).

¹⁹³⁵ See, for example, the law §200b/86b: “If anyone gives (his) son for training (*annanu-*) either (as) a carpenter or a smith, a weaver or leather worker or a fuller, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver as (the fee) for the training. If the teacher makes him an expert, (the student’s parent) shall give to him (i.e., to his teacher) one person” (Hoffner 1997: 159), and KUB 23.108 rev. 7–8: “I gave [m...] for apprenticeship (^LU GAB.ZU.ZU-*UTTUM*), and [. . .] trained (*annanu-*) [him in] the craft of augury” (Hoffner 1997: 221).

¹⁹³⁶ Concerning this uncertainty, in the case of officials of the priestly class, see Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 436).

of command among the high officials of the administration. Nevertheless, in terms of the chain of command, the king was often the immediate supervisor of all high officials and even the relatively lower-ranking ones like the frontier governors. It may be observed in some examples that when top officials come into conflict, one threatens the other with a report to the king/palace, confirming that ultimately the direct authority over these officials is the king.¹⁹³⁷

For the lower stratum of the administration, there is nothing like the witness lists that could provide a basis for analysis. The fact that a great number of titles are also encountered with modifiers like “chief, head” (GAL) or “overseer” (UGULA)¹⁹³⁸ indicates the presence of at least a basic level of hierarchy, and given the large size of the administration and the longevity of the state, we can speculate that it was a hierarchy functioning at a certain level of efficiency.

As discussed in section 6.3, the presence of a large number of royal family members at different levels of the administration is indicative of a patrimonial character. The king is often the direct supervisor of officials with ranging levels of prominence. Instruction texts are addressed by the king directly to officials like frontier governors (*BĒL MADGALTI*), clan chiefs, or commanders (section 5.1), who are typically mid-level administrators stationed in outside locations. This finds support from the Mašat archive, which include several letters written by the king not only to Himuili, the *BĒL MADGALTI*, but also to several other officials of lower rank (see Table 27). There are some indications that at lower levels of the administration, the authority to appoint state employees was delegated to other officials, such as in CTH 261.I ii 45'–46', where the frontier governors are instructed to appoint temple personnel in the towns under their jurisdiction: “For whatever deity there is no priest, ‘mother of god’-priestess (or)

¹⁹³⁷ E.g., Hattušili (probably the GAL DUB.SAR) threatens Himuili (the *BĒL MADGALTI*) in HKM 52 (Hoffner 2009: 190–92), and the Priest (probably Kantuzzili, the son of Arnuwanda I and ruler of Kizzuwatna) threatens Kaššu (the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ in Tapikka) in HKM 74 (Hoffner 2009: 234–36). See also Kaššu and Himuili in HKM 54: 18–24 (Hoffner 2009: 199)

¹⁹³⁸ See a list of them in Pecchioli Daddi (1982: 626–28).

anointed-priest, they must immediately appoint one.” But even at that level, we do not have any evidence to suggest one way or another about the rationality of these appointments.

There are very few examples of promotion that may suggest advancement in the ranks of the administration. The only example of a GAL-level official having ever worked as an ordinary official of the same office in his early career concerns Alalimi, which has been pointed out as a case of multi-step advancement in the ranks of administration.¹⁹³⁹ However, as argued in sections 4.3.1.4 and 6.3, the cited attestations must refer to two different individuals. Nevertheless, two separate officials named Alalimi, one of whom is attested with the titles ^{LÚ}SAGI, UGULA SAGI, and GAL SAGI, and another who is attested as UGULA LIM and GAL UGULA LĪM^{MEŠ}, are both plausible examples of advancement to a GAL position.¹⁹⁴⁰

One would expect that such evidence about advancement would at least be available about the scribal officials, who are better documented than the others. Yet, even the Chief Scribes, who were presumably the heads of the scribal bureaucracy that formed the core of the administrative organization, do not appear to have come from a scribal background (see section 4.9.2). On the contrary, an edict of Hattušili III (KBo 4.12) reveals that the office was bestowed upon the favorites of the king at his own discretion:

My father placed me in the hand of Mittannamuwa the chief of scrib[es]. He invoked (a deity) for me and cured me from the illness. Whereas Mittannamuwa was (already) a man favored by my father, when he cured me from the illness, he rewarded him on my account also. ... Muwatalli, my brother, favored Mittannamuwa, promoted him, and gave Hattuša to him. Furthermore, my good will towards him was patent. He took Purandamuwa, son of Mittannamuwa, and made him the chief of scribes. ... But when Urhi-Tešup was hostile towards me, I was, nevertheless, not indifferent about the matter of

¹⁹³⁹ See Starke (1996: 157f.) and van den Hout (1995a: 138–42).

¹⁹⁴⁰ For the uncertain case of Hattušili as a scribe and Chief Scribe, see section 4.9.1.1. For Zita, the scribe of KBo 1.6, who is suspected to be the unnamed Chief Scribe of Urhi-Tešup, and a couple of others attested with both the MAGNUS.SCRIBA and SCRIBA titles, see section 4.9.2. For an argument against identifying GAL-^dU as both ^{LÚ}KARTAPPU and GAL KARTAPPI, see section 4.8.1.6.

Mittannamuwa, and spoke up on behalf of the descendants of Mittannamuwa. As for the others, who seized for themselves the office of the chief scribe, I did not extend² it for them. I installed in the place of the chief scribe Walwaziti, son of Mittannamuwa.¹⁹⁴¹

Questions regarding the scribal skills of Chief Scribes have also been raised by Marizza (2010b: 32) on account of their supervisory attestations not being homogeneously spread over different genres as well as on account of their involvement in various state matters. The passage from KBo 4.12 further illustrates that these offices tended to remain in the hands of the members of the same family. This is most clearly observed with the scribal officials, whose genealogies sometimes indicate generations of scribes in the same family (see section 6.4). Although examples of hereditary offices are not abundant in top-level offices,¹⁹⁴² it may be noted that many of these officials were members of the extended royal family. Other examples of promotion all concern princes who had been serving in top military offices like *GAL MEŠEDI*, *GAL KUŠ₇*, and *GAL UKU.UŠ* elevated into positions of power either as appanage kings (section 3.1) or governors (section 3.2), which further highlights the prevalent patrimonial structure at the top of the administration.

Compensation of officials is a matter not entirely clear, but there is reason to believe that benefices and fiefs played a major role. The system referred to as *GIŠ*TUKUL was probably operated more or less like a fief. Although its exact nature is still debated, the term *LÚ* *GIŠ*TUKUL, literally “man of the weapon/tool,” appears to have denoted a government employee, who was assigned a *GIŠ*TUKUL-field in exchange for the services he provided to the government.¹⁹⁴³ He collected the produce of the field as his pay, but he did not own the field, which could be transferred at any point to another government employee. More direct

¹⁹⁴¹ KBo 4.12 obv. 8–12, 15–19, 24–30 (CTH 87); edited by Gordin (2008: 40–44).

¹⁹⁴² Other than the above-mentioned Chief Scribes, one such example is Šahurunuwa and his son Tattamaru, both of whom were *GAL UKU.UŠ* officials. Others have only been suspected on account of possible ponymy within a family, such as Nuwanza and Huršaniya as *GAL GEŠTIN*, and Šahurunuwa and Kuwalanaziti as *GAL NA.GAD* (see Marizza 2010a: 93).

¹⁹⁴³ Treated in detail by Beal (1988); see also Imparati (1995b: 578f., 1999: 350), Marazzi (2008: 65–67).

information about assignment of land comes from the land donation texts of the late Old Kingdom and to some extent from inventory documents of the late Empire period. As discussed in section 5.2, the beneficiaries of the land donation texts are from all levels of the administration, such as high officials like GAL *MEŠEDI* and *LÚuriyanni* as well as palace servants and guards, and even female workers like a wet nurse and a chambermaid. These documents mention that the property had been taken from certain other officials and transferred to the beneficiary, which suggests that the state always retained ownership of these lands. In that respect, this property essentially served like the ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-lands. On the other hand, the property is typically referred to as “gift” (NÍG.BA) and the document often includes references to the rights of the descendants of the beneficiary, implying a long-term use. The amount of property assigned in each document can vary greatly and there does not seem to be a rational correlation with the status of the recipient. The Šahuruwa Text of the Empire period testifies to the possession of extensive amounts of real estate in the hands of a high-level state official. It is technically not a land donation text but rather more like the will of Šahuruwa, whose children are allowed by the king to inherit his estate. According to Imparati (1988), the land donation acts and the king’s involvement in the approval of such wills were part of a policy to maintain a balanced division of power, behind which lies the king’s aim of centralizing his power and preventing the rise of competing powers within the state.

Inventory documents (section 5.3) refer to large amounts of luxury goods, such as jewelry, metalware, textiles, and leather items that arrived in the Hittite capital and it has been suggested that most of these were intended for the compensation of high officials. The documents I refer to as Ugarit Tribute Lists (Appendix 4) describe specific amounts of tribute to be paid annually to both the royal family and several top-level Hittite officials.

Only at the lowest levels of the organization do we find some evidence for fixed amounts of payments. A document from Maşat Höyük (HKM 103) provides a list with specific numbers of workers from various towns, their supervisors,¹⁹⁴⁴ and their pay per day measured in certain amounts of grain.¹⁹⁴⁵ Del Monte (1995: 93f.) calculates the average pay per person as 2 *sūtu* of grain and points out that the amount exactly corresponds to the rate defined in the Hittite laws for an agricultural worker.¹⁹⁴⁶

This brief survey suggests that indications of a bureaucratic system are only visible at the lower levels of the administration. The higher we move, the more patrimonial the organization appears. The specialization within the top-level offices is blurry. Table 29 below shows the responsibilities associated with the top offices based on the information from previous chapters. Almost all of these officials are involved in activities beyond one particular domain. Furthermore, there are no “instructions” that define rules for top-level offices. Great Lords or Lords are addressed in general in several texts without defining any role for a specific office. The highest offices that seem to have had specifically described duties are the frontier governors (*BĒL MADGALTI*, CTH 261.I/II) and the mayor of Hattuša (^{LÚ}*HAZANNU*, CTH 257). Also, several top-level officials are attested in multiple offices,¹⁹⁴⁷ such as Šahuruwa as GAL UKU.UŠ, GAL NA.GAD, and GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ, Himuili as GAL GEŠTIN and GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL, Upparamuwa as UGULA KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI and ^{LÚ}*antuwašalli*, and Penti-Šarruma as GAL.DUB.SAR.GIŠ, MAGNUS.AURIGA, and MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS, just to name a few. While some of these positions were held consecutively, others were held concurrently. In either case, the ease with which the officials were able to move from one office

¹⁹⁴⁴ Another possibility is that the lists refers to soldiers and their commanding officers (Beal 1992: 129f. and 557–59). The differences in interpretation depend on how one chooses to translate ^{LÚ}DUGUD, which could apply to either a civilian dignitary or a military commander (see the discussion under CTH 272 in section 5.1.1).

¹⁹⁴⁵ Edited by Del Monte (1995: 89–96).

¹⁹⁴⁶ Law 158a/43, KUB 29.29+ obv. ii 31'–33' (Hoffner 1997: 126f.).

¹⁹⁴⁷ See Starke (1996: 157f.), B. Dinçol (2001), Herbordt (2005: 75).

Office	Administrative	Military	Cultic
GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i>	X	X	X
GAL GEŠTIN	X	X	X
GAL SAGI	X	X (OH)	X
GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	X	?	X
^{LÚ} <i>uriyanni</i>	X	-	X
GAL KUŠ ₇ (KÙ.GI)	X	X	-
GAL UKU.UŠ	X	X	-
GAL <i>KARTAPPI</i>	X	?	?
GAL DUB.SAR(.GIŠ)	X	-	X
^{LÚ} <i>antuwašalli</i>	X	?	?
GAL SIPA	X	-	X
GAL NA.GAD	X	X	-
UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ	X	X	?

Table 29. Responsibilities of top-level offices.

to another suggests that the responsibilities of these offices did not require particular specialization. The letters of the Mašat archive, which provides unique information about the inner workings of a Hittite frontier town and the activities of its Hittite officials, reveal that the areas of responsibilities of the two top officials of the town—Kaššu, the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ, and Himuili, the *BĒL MADGALTI*—were greatly overlapping and that this often caused conflicts as well (see sections 3.2.8 and 4.12.1.3).

Although this argument is raised to suggest a patrimonial structure, if we return to the issue of the maintenance of the administrative staff through benefices and fiefs, by Weberian definition this may even imply a feudal structure, particularly if these fiefs were the primary means of support for the administrative staff (Weber 1978: 235, 255ff.). However, even if we assume that ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-lands were some type of fiefs, since we still do not know to what extent they were used in compensating the officials or the exact nature of the services and limitations of the rights associated with them, it will be unnecessary here to go into a discussion of feudal features of this structure. Nevertheless, as we move away from the center of the empire towards

its edges, the territorial organization of the administration starts to appear more feudal. The central Anatolian territories of the Hittite state were surrounded by appanage kingdoms (section 3.1), which had been established by Hittite kings and ruled by their descendants, and beyond them were located the vassal territories, with their local rulers, whose alliances were often strengthened by marriages into Hittite royal family. Several Hittite treaties testify to the contractual relationships established with both the appanage and vassal rulers, by which the subordinates are bound to the provisions of the treaty with an oath.¹⁹⁴⁸ Common provisions of these treaties are loyalty, extradition of fugitives, defensive and offensive alliances, and definition of borders, but some also includes clauses like military obligations, tribute payments, recognition of heirs, and non-aggression against neighboring vassals. While the administration of these exterior domains of the empire displays feudal features, its central administration was essentially a patrimonial system with bureaucratic features visible only at the lower layers of the administration.

Another indication of the patrimonial structure of the Hittite central administration can be observed in its defensive mechanisms, which parallel Weberian descriptions. In a patrimonial organization the ruler relies on various methods to safeguard the integrity of his domain against other officials within the organization, particularly those in outside positions who are not under constant supervision (Weber 1978: 1042f.). These methods can be summarized as: (1) traveling throughout the realm frequently, (2) requiring regular attendance at the court, (3) compulsory court service for the sons of officials, (4) appointing close relatives to important offices, (5) brief tenure in office, (6) excluding officials from districts where they hold lands, (7) use of celibate officials, (8) surveillance through spies or control officials, (9) creating competing offices, and

¹⁹⁴⁸ See Beckman (1999).

(10) using officials from non-privileged strata. The following is an analysis regarding the existence of these means in the Hittite administration:

(1) There were several regional palaces which not only served as administrative institutions but also acted as royal residences during the visits of the king.¹⁹⁴⁹ Apart from frequent military campaigns, it is known that Hittite kings often traveled for cultic celebrations to various towns. In fact, the high frequency of these religious festivals causes one to wonder whether the king really had time to attend every one of them. Without a doubt, such trips served more than religious duties. Personal visits by the king kept the officials of the region in check and reminded them that the power of the highest authority was not distant.

(2) As discussed in 5.1.3.2, officials of distant regions such as the frontier governors, clan chiefs, and commanders, were apparently present before the king for the oral delivery of their instructions and oath taking. We do not know how frequently these officials made visits to the capital. Although there are references to the repetition of oaths every month, it is unlikely that all of those officials would travel to the presence of the king that frequently. Concerning the vassal rulers, several treaties indicate that Hittite kings could demand periodic visits from subordinate rulers to pay homage personally.¹⁹⁵⁰ Furthermore, late Empire period witness lists (see Appendix 3) testify that several appanage and vassal kings were frequently present before the Hittite king.

(3) It is known that several princes of the appanage kingdoms were active officials at the Hittite court, but we do not know whether this was as a result of compulsory service requirements. Some of those were from Karkamiš, such as Upparamuwa and Mizramuwa, while Ehli-Šarruma was the crown prince of Išuwa.

¹⁹⁴⁹ See Siegelová (2001).

¹⁹⁵⁰ See CTH 41 §9–10 and CTH 66 §1.

(4) It has already been stressed in section 6.4 that the royal family had an overwhelming presence at all levels of the administration. Not only all governors and appanage kings were descendants of former kings, but most top-level offices were occupied by close relatives.

(5) This is one of the methods that cannot find a parallel in the Hittite administration. Brief terms in office clearly cannot apply to appanage or vassal rulers, and most of the top-level offices do not indicate such short terms. Whether this was a method applied at lower levels of the administration is difficult to know in general, but that may not be relevant anyway, since the establishing of shorter terms in office as a defensive mechanism should concern mainly the officials in position of greater power.

(6) The description of property in the Šahurunuwa Text indicates that officials could own numerous pieces of land in various towns. Although there no indication one way or another, it may be speculated that the distribution of these properties over a wide area was an intentional policy to prevent one person gaining control over a large contiguous territory.

(7) The idea of using celibates as officials could find a parallel, if claims about the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG of the Hittite court being eunuchs were true. However, it is argued in the previous section that the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG were not eunuchs. Therefore, this method too does not find a parallel.

(8) The Mašat letters indicate that scouts and spying activity was frequently used against the enemy, but whether the king used others to spy on his officials is not known. Some of the letters relay complaints about other officials to the king, but these may be the result of frustration with these officials rather than a reflection of supervision. Nevertheless, it is clear from numerous references in the instruction documents and treaties, where the king asks to be informed immediately about any kind of negative word or activity against his person or against the state, that such information was in demand. The presence of numerous Hittite officials in the

Syrian principalities is known from both the Ugarit and Emar archives. These officials acted with the authority of the king and carried out administrative and judicial duties, and no doubt reported back any discrepancies.

(9) Several top-level offices are encountered in pairs (section 6.1). There may be various reasons behind this division, but it is notable that most of the top military positions have been split in two, which might be an indication of concern about consolidation of too much military power in these positions.

(10) A policy of using officials from non-royal background has been particularly observed for the reign of Tudhaliya IV (section 6.4). The need to use the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG officials had arisen due to security concerns of this king raised by various events, including an attempted coup by one of his brothers.

With the exception of items (5) and (7), there are parallels—although some are only speculative—for all of the described defensive mechanisms of a patrimonial state, further contributing to the opinion that particularly the upper levels of the Hittite administration fit the description of a patrimonial system as defined by Weber.

In his extensive study of Ugaritic society, Schloen (2001) also maintains that not only Ugarit, but all contemporary Near Eastern societies of the Late Bronze Age, including that of the Hittites (Schloen 2001: 311f.) fit the patrimonial household model of Weber. Schloen claims that Near Eastern states lacked rational bureaucracies, impersonal rules, abstract constitutionalism, and complex hierarchy. Schloen's study involves a detailed consideration of the social structure, in which he sees the patriarchal household as the founding unit of the society both in the rural and urban environments, and the king as the patriarch at the top of nested households. He analyzes the textual and archaeological evidence from Late Bronze Age Ugarit, and supports it

using frequent comparisons with the neighboring societies. As for the rest of the Near Eastern societies of the period, he suggests that the entire Hittite “state and its administrative apparatus was regarded as the king's ‘house’ and royal officials were the king's dependent servants or, at the highest level, his ‘sons’” (Schloen 2001: 311). “Sons,” of course, refers to the “princes” (DUMU.LUGAL), who are members of the extended royal family, and their involvement not only in the high offices, but also at other levels of the administration was extensive. Regarding this aspect, as well as everything else that has been observed from the examination of the high offices of the state administration, the present study agrees with Schloen that the Hittite government was patrimonial. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the present work does not compare with the detailed examination of textual and archaeological sources presented by Schloen for the Ugaritic society, and does not try to describe the entire Hittite social structure as a rigidly patrimonial organization.

Schloen rejects the existence of multiple sectors in the society and claims that the entire land was essentially the property of the state. He envisions a patrimonial system where all land and personnel belonged to the king, and where everyone living on the land were his dependents, granted the use of land in exchange for services they provided or rental fees they paid (Schloen 2001: 64f., 226, 230ff.), and by doing so he falls into disagreement with the feudal or two-sector models defended by other scholars.¹⁹⁵¹ Schloen’s view is actually the same as the royal ideology of not only the Hittites but also of the Late Bronze Age Near East in general, which describes the entire land as the god-given property of the king. However, whether the royal ideology was the mot-à-mot reflection of the social structure is arguable. While I agree on the patrimonial features of the government, I am not of the opinion that these features were strictly prevalent in the entire society. For one thing, unlike in Ugarit—as discussed earlier—in Hittite Anatolia we lack the

¹⁹⁵¹ In the case of Hittites, see Goetze (1964), Diakonoff (1967, 1982), Archi (1973a, 1977), Imparati (1982), Klengel (1986).

socio-economical sources to be able to analyze the social aspects properly. And even within the available sources concerning the Hittite state, there are quite a few indications that support the view that the society had multiple sectors. The Hittite Laws (CTH 291-292) as well as various other documents make a distinction between the “freeman” (^{LÚ}*ELLU*) and the “service-man” (^{LÚ}*ILKU*), to which Schloen refers (2001: 312), but on which he does not elaborate. Another group is those who are referred to as ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-men, who owed certain obligations to the state, yet were neither slaves nor the same as “freemen.”¹⁹⁵²

To summarize, comparison of the results obtained from the study of the Hittite administrative officials to Weberian definitions indicates an organization mainly patrimonial in its center. That said, I would like to reiterate the fact that the limitations of available sources directed me to focus the overall analysis on the highest offices and officials that formed the upper layers of the administration, rather than the scribes, attendants, workers, couriers, and other lower-level employees who would bear the bulk of the day-to-day operations. One may question, therefore, whether an analysis of the upper echelons of the state administration would be sufficient to define its theoretical category. It is possible that below a patrimonial upper administration, there were more rationally-organized lower layers with better functional divisions, handling routine administrative operations. After all, the signs of a bureaucratic system that was questioned in the above analysis were for the most part observed only in the lower layers of the administration, however few they might be. Presence of such rational and bureaucratic features in the deeper levels of a patrimonial administration could even lead one to define the overall organization as a patrimonial bureaucracy. However, the extent of functional divisions, rationality, and other bureaucratic features that may have existed in the lower layers of

¹⁹⁵² On ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-men, see Beal (1988). See also d’Alfonso (2010) for a discussion of the multi-layered aspects of Hittite society.

the administration remains to be determined. A deeper analysis of both textual and archaeological sources in that respect may yield better answers, but it exceeds the limitations of this study.

CHAPTER 7: Summary Conclusions

One of the objectives of this work was to present a comprehensive study of the top-level offices of the Hittite administration through a prosopographical examination of its officials. This has been completed in two parts: territorial administration (Chapter 3) and offices of the central administration (Chapter 4).

The study of the territorial administration did not yield many names beyond those of the rulers of the appanage kingdoms and a few governors, but it was helpful in portraying the overall territorial organization and observing the changes it had gone through. During the early Old Kingdom, the state was made up of small provinces, each centered around important settlements of the time and ruled by Hittite princes. Our sources from this period are too scarce to know how centralized or feudal this structure was. Starting with the early Empire period, following the permanent integration of Kizzuwatna into the Hittite domain, we see the first instances of the installation of princes as appanage kings. This continued with the expansion into northern Syria and in former kingdoms like Karkamiš and Aleppo cadet lines of the Hittite royal dynasty were established. In the meantime the internal territories were organized into governorships of various sizes under Provincial Governors and Frontier Governors. In the late Empire period, several internal provinces—i.e., Hakpiš, Tarhuntašša, Tumanna—were converted into newly established appanage kingdoms, again under the administration of close members of the royal family. Distribution of the territories to royal princes can be described as a feudal organization on the one hand, but it was also highly centralized on the other. While the appanage kings had their own

territorial responsibilities, they were often recalled to the assistance of the Great King; they occasionally led Hittite armies; they oversaw the judicial activities of their local vassals, but were frequently in need of the Great King's intervention; officials of Hattuša were often present in Syrian territories, and officials of Karkamiš, for example, were frequently seen in Hattuša.

The second part of the prosopographical study concerns the offices of the central administration. The work presented in Chapter 4 covers a total of 138 Hittite officials from over twenty different high offices of the administration, which does not include over fifty ^{LÚ}SAG officials and several military commanders identified in sections 4.14 and 4.15, and over seventy other “princes” listed in Table 28. Various aspects of these offices have been analyzed, but some of the main aspects that were paid particular attention are: extent of specialization, indicators of hierarchy, level of kinship, and diachronic changes in any feature. These and other observations were used in the collective analysis of the offices and officials in Chapter 6.

As the state expanded, its administrative organization also grew in size. Almost all high-level offices display signs of change, even those that were in existence throughout Hittite history. The *GAL MEŠEDI* was arguably the most important high official by the end of the Old Kingdom, although it was not so early on, and offices like *GAL GEŠTIN*, *GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL* and ^{LÚ}*uriyanni* apparently lost some of their prestige by the late Empire period. As summarized in Table 22, there were a growing number of offices in each period. Some were converted into different offices, others split in two as Right and Left versions of the same office, and some others were newly created. In terms of changes in these administrative offices, no particular period of Hittite history may be recognized as a time of radical transformation. Instead the changes seem to have taken place gradually throughout the state's existence. Growth in number of offices more or less parallels the growth of the state into an

empire, and therefore it is a sign of an enlarging bureaucracy, but the rationality of the structure of this growing bureaucracy is questionable as the analysis of other features suggest.

The extent of the royal family's involvement at all levels of the organization was considerably high. Beside the territorial administration that was entirely in the hands of the royal family members, offices of the central administration were also heavily occupied by those who were identified with princely designations. The usage of "prince" as an indicator of ties to the royal family become common only after the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, and during that period the number of officials who occupied high offices that were subject to this study constitutes nearly 40 percent of the total number. An additional sixty-five individuals were identified with princely attestations. These officials were not in one of the studied high offices, yet a great majority of them are known by their seals, usage of which is an indicator of their involvement in administrative matters. Almost all of these individuals date to the thirteenth century, and their high number further demonstrates the presence of the royal family within the administration.

There were certainly officials with a non-royal background, such as Walwaziti or Anuwanza, but their position within the administration was not of a comparable status to those of the royal members. For a brief period during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, there was an increased emphasis on the roles of the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG, a group of administrative officials who were not members of the royal family. This emphasis occurred as a result of unusual circumstances that led Tudhaliya IV to concerns about the security of his throne, yet even then, the lower ranking of these officials within palace protocol did not seem to have been affected.

What has been observed about the rules that govern the hierarchical order of the high offices also does not support the rationality that would be expected from a bureaucratic structure. The analysis of the witness lists of the late Old Kingdom and late Empire period reveals the

existence of a hierarchy among the individuals, but it has been shown that the offices occupied by these individuals did not have any effect on this hierarchy. Instead the most relevant factor that seems to affect this order was the personal ties of the individuals to the royal family. This is particularly visible in Table 26, which shows that the upper halves of the late Empire period witness lists were almost entirely occupied by the “princes.” A lesser factor might have been personal favoritism shown by the king, which may explain some of the discrepancies observed in this order. The hierarchy of the witness lists probably reflects the order of court protocol, which is not necessarily the same thing as the hierarchy of the chain of command. However, the king is often observed as the direct supervisor of all high officials. In all instruction and oath texts, the king requires the direct loyalty of all of his nobles and high officials to himself alone, with no layers of administration between. The Maşat letters are particularly demonstrative of the micro-management of the Hittite king regarding various trivial matters.

There is also no clearly visible division of duties among the high offices. Just as the king has responsibilities in the administrative, military, religious, and judicial domains, almost all high offices have duties in more than one domain. The scarcity of instructions specifying duties for high offices and attestations of several officials occupying multiple offices further testify to the lack of specialization.

Overall this analysis of the high offices and officials of the Hittite administration portrays it as an organization more in line with the features of a patrimonial organization as described by Weber. Contrary to what would be expected from a bureaucracy, the high offices of the administration lack a rationally established hierarchy; they do not possess well defined spheres of responsibilities; and examples of training, regulation, fixed amounts of compensation, and regular promotions are far too few and insufficient to demonstrate the existence of a properly

functioning bureaucracy. Instead the state possessed a multitude of features that are expected to be present in a system that tries to preserve its patrimonial character.

Appendix 1 – Witness Lists of Hittite Land Donation Texts (LhK)

LhK 1 (İK 174-66)	Tabarna	LhK 2 (235/p)	[Tabarna]
^m <i>Pu-ul-li</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠ[TIN]	[	GA]L DUMU.MEŠ.É.[GAL]
^m <i>A-aš-ka-li-ia</i>	DUMU.LUGAL	[	LÚ <i>u-ri-an-ni</i>
^m <i>Ti-wa-zi-di</i>	LÚ <i>u-ri-an-ni</i>	[^m <i>Ša-an-da-me-i</i>	UGULA 1 LI. [LÚ KUŠ ₇ .MEŠ]
^m <i>Ša-an-da-me-i</i>	UGULA 1 LI. LÚ KUŠ ₇ .M[EŠ]	[	DUB.SA]R
^m <i>A-aš-ka-li-ia</i>	DUB.SAR		
LhK 3 (Bo 90/722)	Tabarna	LhK 4 (1312/u)	Tabarna
[	GAL DUMU.MEŠ].É.GAL	[^m <i>Ha-p</i>]	U-wa-a-aš-šu
[	LÚ <i>u-ri-an-ni</i>	[	x
[	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠ[TIN]	[	x
[	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI]	[	x x
[	DUB.SAR]		
LhK 5 (VAT 7463)	Tabarna	LhK 6 (162/k+38/l)	[Tabarna]
[^m <i>Ha-pu-wa-aš-š</i>]	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	[^m <i>Ha-pu-w</i>]	a-aš-šu
[	LÚ <i>u-ri-an-ni</i>	[	x-ma
[	DUB.SAR	[	x
			[GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É].GAL
			GAL LÚ.MEŠ GIS ¹ GIDRU
			DUB.SAR
LhK 11 (Bo 90/729)	Tabarna	LhK 12 (Bo 90/750)	Tabarna
^m <i>Ha-pu-wa-šu</i>	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	^m <i>Ha-pu-wa-a-aš-šu</i>	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL
^m <i>Ma-a-ra-ku-i</i>	LÚ <i>u-ri-an-ni</i>	^m <i>Ma-a-ra-ku-i</i>	LÚ <i>u-ri-an-ni</i>
^m <i>Zi-da-a-an-ni</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN	^m <i>Zi-da-an-ni</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN
^m <i>Ha-aš-šu-wa-aš-I-na-ar</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI	^m <i>Hu-tar-li</i>	DUB.SAR
^m <i>Hu-tar-li</i>	DUB.SAR		
LhK 13 (680/f)	[Tabarna]	LhK 14 (Bo 91/1791)	Tabarna
^m <i>Ha-pu-wa-a-aš-šu</i>	G[AL DUMU.MEŠ.É. GAL]	^m <i>H[a-pu-wa-(a-aš-)</i>]	šu]
[^m <i>Ma-a-r</i>]	LÚ <i>u-r[i-an-ni]</i>	^m <i>Ma-a-ra-ku-i</i>	[LÚ <i>u-ri-an-ni</i>]
[^m <i>Zi-da</i>]	LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN]	^m <i>Zi-da-a-a[n-ni]</i>	GAL LÚ.MEŠ [GEŠTIN]
		^m <i>Zu-ú-wa</i>	DUB.SAR
LhK 17 (140/f)	[Tabarna]	LhK 18 (518/z)	[Tabarna]
^m <i>Ha-pu-wa-aš-š</i>]	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL]	^m <i>H[a-pu-wa--aš-šu</i>	GAL DUMU<.MEŠ>.É ¹ .GAL]
^m <i>Ma-a-ra-ku-i</i>	LÚ <i>u-r[i-an-ni]</i>	[^m <i>Ma-a-r</i>]	LÚ <i>u-ri-ri-[an-ni]</i>
^m <i>Zi-da-a-an-ni</i>	G[AL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN]	^m <i>Zi-da-a-r</i>]	a-[k-k]u-[i
^m <i>Ha-aš-šu-wa-aš-[I-na-ar</i>	G]AL LÚ.MEŠ M[E-ŠE-DI]	^m <i>Hu-tar-li</i>]	-broken-
[^m <i>Hu-tar-li</i>]	DUB.SAR]		
LhK 19 (301/z)	[Tabarna]	LhK 22 (90/732)	Tabarna
[^m <i>Ha</i> ¹ - <i>pu-wa-aš-šu</i>	GA[L DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL]	^m <i>Tu-ut-ha-li-ia</i>	LÚ <i>u-ri-an-ni</i>
[	LÚ <i>u-r[i-an-ni]</i>	^m <i>Da</i> ¹ -[...]	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL] ²
[	DUB.SA]R	^m <i>Z[i-d]</i>]	a- ^r a ¹ -an- ^r ni ¹
		[	GAL LÚ.MEŠ] ^r ME-ŠE-DI
		[	DUB.SAR]
		^m <i>Iš-pu-un-nu-u-m</i>]	a

LhK 23 (Bo 6964 = KUB 48.102) [Tabarna]	LhK 26 (Bo 82/162 = KBo 32.136) Alluwamna
[^m Tu-ut-ha-li-i]a LÚ u-ri- ^r an ¹ -ni [GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL] ^m Zi-da-a-an-ni GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN [GA]L LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI [DUB.SAR]	[] ^m Uš-ha- ^m Ha-aš-šu-[i-li GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI] ^m rIš ¹ -pu-un-n[u-u-ma DUB.SAR]
LhK 28 (Bo 90/728) Hantili II	LhK 29 (Bo 90/568+) Hantili II
^m Ša-a-ar-pa GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL ^m Ha-aš-šu-i-li GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI ^m I-la-a-li-u-ma LÚ u-ri-an-ni ^m Mu-u-uš-šu GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN ^m Ha-ni-ku-i-li DUB.SAR	^m Š[a-a-ar-pa GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL] ^m Ha-aš-šu-i-[i GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI] ^m I-la-a-li-u-ma LÚ.MEŠ u-ri-an-ni ^r ^m Zi ¹ -x-x GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN ^m Mu-u-uš-šu DUB.SAR ^m Ha-ni-ik-ku-i-li
LhK 30 (Bo 90/758) Hantili II	LhK 31 (Bo 91/1625) Hantili II
^m Ša-a-ar-pa GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL ^m Iš-ku-na-a-aš-šu UGULA LÚ.MEŠ NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ ^m Ha-ni-ik-ku-i-li DUB.SAR	[^m Ša-a-ar-pa GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL] [^m Ha-aš-šu-i-[i GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE ¹ -D[I] []x x[] -broken-
LhK 34 (Bo 91/1635) Hantili II	LhK 36 (389/f) [Hantili II]
[] GA[L DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL] [] [] GAL] LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN] [^m Ha-ni-ik-ku-i-l]i [DUB.SAR]	[^m Ša-a-a]r-pa GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL [] [^m I-la-a-li-u-ma [LÚ.MEŠ u-ri-an]-ni [^m Mu-u-uš-šu GAL] LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN [^m Ha-ni-ik-ku-i-l]i [?] DUB.SAR
LhK 37 (Bo 9131 = KUB 48.103) [Hantili II]	LhK 38 (Bo 91/2067) [Hantili II [?]]
^m Ša-a-ar-pa GA[L DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL] [^m Ka [?] -a]k-ka ^m Tāš-k[u-i-l]i [?] [LÚ.MEŠ] ^r u ¹ -ri-an-[ni] [^m Mu]- ^r u ¹ -uš-šu GA[L LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN] [^m Ha-ni-k]u-i-li [DUB.SAR]	^m Ha-aš-šu-i-[i]i [GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI] [] LÚ ^r u ¹ -[ri-an-ni] []-ka-[] GA[L LÚ.MEŠ] []-na-ah-šu GAL LÚ.MEŠ] [^m Ha-ni-ik-k]u-i-li DUB.SAR
LhK 40 (Bo 90/751) Huzziya II	LhK 41 (VAT 7436) Huzziya II
^m La-a-ri-ia GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI ^m A-ri-in-né-el GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL ^m Uš-ha-an-da GAL LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ ₇ [^m]Zi- ^r da-an ¹ -an-za GAL LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ ₇ KÙ.GI [^m] LÚ u-ri-an-ni [^m P]a-az-zu-ú GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN []x x DUB.SAR	^m La-a-ri- ^r ia ¹ GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI ^m A-ri-i[n]-né-el GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL ^m Zu-u-u[z]-zu LÚ.MEŠ u-ri-an-ni ^m Ma-ra-aš-ša-a GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN ^m Pa-zu-[ú] DUB.SAR ^m rZu ¹ -u-uz-zu
LhK 42 (231/m = KBo 8.26) Huzziya II	LhK 43 (357/n = KBo 9.72) [Huzziya II]
[^m La-a-ri-ia GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE]- ^r DI ¹ [^m A-ri-in-né-el GA]L DUMU.MEŠ.É.GA[L] [] LÚ ^r u ¹ -ri-an-ni [] UGULA LÚ.MEŠ NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ [] D]UB.SAR	^m rLa-a ¹ -a-r[i-ia [GA]L LÚ.MEŠ ME-Š[E-DI] [^m A-ri-i]n- ^r né ¹ -[el] [GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL] -broken-

LhK 44 (Bo 84/462b = KBo 32.186) [Huzziya II ²]		LhK 45 (Bo 84/479 = KBo 32.187) [Huzziya II ²]	
^m Ha-[^m A-ri-in-n[é-el ^m Mu-u-[ [	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI] [?] GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL] DUB.SAR]	^m Mu-w[a-ta-al-li ^m A-ri-in-né-e[l ^m Ma-ra-aš- ^r ša ¹ -a ^m Zu-u-uz-[zu [^m W]a-ar-š[i-ia	GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI] [?] GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL [LÚ u-ri-an-ni] [?] LÚ u-ri-an-ni] [?] DUB.SAR]
LhK 46 (Bo 90/671)	Muwatalli I	LhK 47 (Bo 84/465 = KBo 32.185)	Muwatalli I
^m A-ri-in-né-el ^m Mu-wa-a ^m Hi-mu-i-li ^m A-tu-pa-la-an-za ^m Gul-lu-ut-ti ^m Wa-ar-ši-ia	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN LÚ u-ri-ia-an-ni GAL LÚ.<MEŠ> KUŠ ₇ ku-un-na-az DUB.SAR	^m Mu-wa-a ^m Hi-mu-i-li ^m Kán-tu-u-zi- ^r li ¹ ^m Hu-u-tu-pal-la ^m Zu ¹ -wa-a ^m Wa-[a]r-ši-ia	[GAL LÚ.MEŠ ME-ŠE-DI] GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É ¹ .GAL UGULA LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ ₇ KÙ.GI LÚ u-ri-an-ni GAL [LÚ].MEŠ ^r SIPA ZAG-az ¹ DUB.'SAR ¹
LhK 48 (549/c)	[Muwatalli I ¹]	LhK 59 (Bo 91/1290)	[?]
^m H[i-mu-]ú-i-[li [^m]Ul-ga-a-nu ^m Wa-ar-ši-ia	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL] GA[L LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN] [?] [DUB.SAR]	[^m Za- ^r hu ¹ -[Ti-[^m Be-/[i-	[]]] DUB.SAR]
LhK 60 (806/b)	[?]	LhK 61 (Bo 91/1837)	[?]
[^m x x x]- ^r ú ¹ [ [ [	GAL ŠA GEŠTIN GAL DUMU].MEŠ.É.GAL LÚ u-ri-a]n-ni DUB.SAR]	[[^m Ki ¹ -iš-n[a-pi [?] -li [?] [[[GAL DUM]U.MEŠ.É.GAL LÚ.MEŠ u-ri-an-ni] [?] GAL LÚ.MEŠ GE]ŠTIN] DUB.SAR]
LhK 62 (Bo 84/71 = KBo 32.189)	[?]	LhK 91 (Bo 2004 = KBo 5.7)	Arnuwanda I
[ [	GAL LÚ.MEŠ GEŠTIN DUB.SAR]	^m Du-wa-a ^m Hal-pa-zi-ti ^m Ka-ri-ia-zi-ti ^m Hu-ul ¹ -la ^m Tar-hu-mi-ma [^m ... š/t]a-zi-ti ^m LUGAL- ^d LAMMA ^m Ne-ri-i[k-ka-i-li] ^m Nu-un-zi-ti ^m I-na-ar	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL GAL GEŠTIN an-tu-u-wa-šal-li-iš GAL LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ ₇ ZAG-az GAL LÚ.MEŠ KUŠ ₇ ^r GÙB ¹ -la-[az GAL LÚ.MEŠ SIPA ZAG-az GAL LÚ.MEŠ SIPA GÙB-la-az LÚ SUKKAL UGULA 70 ŠA ¹ DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL ^{TIM} LUGAL LÚ DUB.SAR

Appendix 2 – Witness List of CTH 75, the Aleppo Treaty

(Muršili II / Muwatalli II)

[^{mUR}] ^U <i>Hal-pa-aš-šu¹-lu¹-pi</i>	GAL LÚ ^U KUŠ ₇
^m <i>Ša-hu-ru-nu-wa</i>	LUGAL KUR ^{UR} [^U <i>Karkamiš</i>]
^r <i>Tù-ut-ha-li¹-ya</i>	GAL LÚ ^U KUŠ ₇
^m <i>Ga-aš-šu-ú</i>	GAL ^r SANGA ¹
^m <i>Du/Uš-^rša/ta¹-[...]</i>	[...]
[^m ...]- <i>li</i>	LÚ ^U <i>u-ri-ia-an-ni</i>
^m <i>A-ra-an-ha-pi-li-iz-zi</i>	GAL [U]KU.[U]Š [<i>ša</i> ZAG]
[^m ...]	^r GAL ¹ UKU.UŠ <i>ša</i> GÙB
^m <i>Lu-pa-ak-ki</i>	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL
^m <i>Mi-it-ta-an-na-mu-u-wa</i>	GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ
^{md} LAMMA-SUM	LÚ ^U <i>an-tu-wa-šal-li</i>
^m LÚ	DUB.SAR ^r DUMU ^m NU. ^{GIŠ} KIRI ₆ ¹

Appendix 3 – Witness Lists of CTH 106.B, CTH 225 and CTH 106.A

Ulmi-Tešup Treaty (CTH 106.B)	Hattušili III	Šahurunuwa Text (CTH 225)	Tudhaliya IV	Bronze Tablet (CTH 106.A)	Tudhaliya IV
Nerikkaili	^{LÚ} <i>tuhukanti</i>	Nerikkaili	DUMU.LUGAL ^{LÚ} <i>tuhukanti</i>	Nerikkaili	DUMU LUGAL
Tašmi-Šarruma	DUMU.LUGAL	[Kurunta]	LUGAL KUR ^{URU} <i>Tarhuntaša</i>	Huzziya	GAL <i>MEŠEDI</i>
Hannutti	DUMU.LUGAL	Ini-Tešup	LUGAL KUR ^{URU} <i>Karkamiš</i>	Kurakura	DUMU LUGAL
Huzziya	DUMU.LUGAL	Angurli	[]	Ini-Tešup	LUGAL KUR ^{URU} <i>Karkamiš</i>
Ini-Tešup	LUGAL KUR ^{URU} <i>Karkamiš</i>	Upparamuwa	DUMU.LUGAL,	Mašturi	LUGAL KUR ^{URU} ^{ID} <i>Šeha</i>
Ari-Šarruma	LUGAL KUR ^{URU} <i>Išuwa</i>		UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ} KUŠ ₇ KÙ.GI	Šauškamuwa	^{LÚ} <i>HADĀN</i> LUGAL
AMAR.MUŠEN	^{LÚ} <i>uriyanni</i>	LUGAL- ^d LAMMA	GAL UKU.UŠ GÙB- <i>la</i>	Upparamuwa	^{LÚ} <i>anduwāšalli</i>
Halpaziti	GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} UKU.UŠ ZAG- <i>naš</i>	Kaššu	GAL KUŠ ₇	Tattamaru	GAL UKU.UŠ GÙB- <i>laš</i>
Hešni	DUMU.LUGAL	Mizramuwa	GAL NA.GAD GÙB- <i>laš</i>	Ehli-Šarruma	DUMU LUGAL
Tattamaru	DUMU.LUGAL	GAL- ^d U	[]	Abamuwa	GAL <i>KARTAPPI</i>
Upparamuwa	DUMU.LUGAL,	Tuttu	EN É <i>ABUSSI</i>	Hešmi-Šarruma	DUMU LUGAL
	<UGULA> ^{LÚ.MEŠ} KUŠ ₇ KÙ.GI	EN-tarwa	DUB.SAR, UGULA É.GAL, ^{LÚ} SAG	Taki-Šarruma	DUMU LUGAL
Uhhaziti	DUMU.LUGAL	[Palla]	EN ^{URU} <i>Hurme</i> , ^{LÚ} DUB.SAR, ^{LÚ} SAG	Ewri-Šarruma	DUMU LUGAL
Šahurunuwa	GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} DUB.SAR.GIŠ	Walwaziti	GAL DUB.SAR ^{MEŠ}	Alalimi	GAL UGULA <i>LĪM.MEŠ</i>
Hattuša- ^d LAMMA	GAL GEŠTIN	Kammaliya	DUB.SAR, GAL ^{LÚ} <i>MUHALDIM</i>	Alantalli	LUGAL KUR ^{URU} <i>Mira</i>
Tarhuntapiya	DUMU.LUGAL	Mahhuzzi	DUB.SAR, GAL <i>MUBARRĪ</i>	Bentešina	LUGAL KUR ^{URU} <i>Amurri</i>
LUGAL-aš- ^d LAMMA	GAL UKU.UŠ GÙB- <i>aš</i>	Šipaziti	DUB.SAR	Šahurunuwa	GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ
Aliziti	GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL	Anuwanza	DUB.SAR, EN ^{URU} <i>Nerik</i> , ^{LÚ} SAG	Hattuša- ^d LAMMA	GAL GEŠTIN
Tuttu	EN <i>ABUSSI</i>	Akiya [?]	-	GAL- ^d U	GAL <i>KARTAPPI</i>
Palla	EN ^{URU} <i>Hurmi</i>			Huršaniya	GAL GEŠTIN
Walwaziti	GAL DUB.SAR			Zuzuhha	GAL KUŠ ₇
Alalimi	GAL ^{LÚ} SAG.LA			Šaliqqa	GAL UKU.UŠ ZAG- <i>naš</i>
Kammaliya	GAL ^{LÚ} <i>MUHALDIM</i>			Tapaziti	^{LÚ} ^{LÚ} UGULA 10
Mahhuzzi	GAL ^{LÚ} <i>MUBARRĪ</i>			Tuttu	EN É <i>ABUSSI</i>
				Walwaziti	GAL DUB.SAR ^{MEŠ}
				Kammaliya	^{LÚ} DUB.SAR, GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} <i>MUHALDIM</i>
				Nanizi	^{LÚ} DUB.SAR ^{MEŠ} , UGULA <i>MUBARRĪ</i>
				EN ^{MEŠ} KARAŠ <i>humandaš</i> UGULA <i>LĪM</i> ^{MEŠ} ^{LÚ.MEŠ} DUGUD	
				(ANA) MĀŠ.LUGAL <i>humanti</i>	

Appendix 4 – Ugarit Tribute Lists

CTH 47				Blue-purple	Red-purple
Šuppiluliuma I to Niqmaddu II	Gold	Cup, weight	Garment	Wool	Wool
His Majesty	12 mina 20 škl.	1 gold cup, 1 mina	4 linen garment (1 lrg.)	500 šekel	500 šekel
Queen		1 gold cup, 30 škl.	1 linen garment	100 šekel	[100 šekel]
Crown Prince		[1] gold [cup,] 30 škl.	1 linen garment	100 šekel	100 šekel
Chief Scribe		1 silver cup, 30 škl.	1 linen garment	100 šekel	100 šekel
<i>huburtanuru</i>		1 silver cup, 30 škl.	1 linen garment	100 šekel	100 šekel
<i>huburtanuru-2</i>		same			
Vizier		[1 silver cup] ^{7*}	1 linen garment	100 šekel	100 šekel
<i>andubšalli</i>		1 silver cup	1 linen garment	100 šekel	100 šekel

* 1 silver cup for the vizier is not listed in the Akkadian copies. However, there is space to restore it in the Ugaritic parallel RS 11.772+.

CTH 65			Blue-purple	Red-purple
Muršili II to Niqmepa	Cup	Garment	Wool	Wool
...				
Chief Scribe	[1 silver cup]	1 linen garment	[100 škl.]	[100 škl.]
[...]		1 linen garment	[100 škl.]	[100 škl.]
<i>huburtanuru</i>	[1 silver cup]	1 linen garment	100 škl.	[100 škl.]
<i>huburtanuru</i>	[1] silver [cup]	1 linen garment	100 škl.	[10]0 škl.
EN É <i>abusi</i>	1 silver cup	1 linen garment	100 škl.	100 škl.
Vizier	1 silver cup	1 linen garment	100 škl.	

CTH 48			Blue-purple	Red-purple
Ammistamru II (?)	Cup, weight	Garments	Wool	Wool
His Majesty	[1 gold cup,] 50 škl.	5 linen garments	500 škl.	[500 škl.]
Queen	[1] gold 1 silver cup	2 linen garments	[200 škl.]	200 škl.
Crown Prince	same	2 linen garments	2[00 škl.]	200 škl.
<i>huburtanuru</i>	same	1 linen garment	100 škl.	100 škl.
<i>huburtanuru</i>	same	1 linen garment	100 škl.	100 škl.
Chief Scribe *	same	1 linen garment	100 škl.	100 škl.
EN É <i>abusi</i>	same	[1 linen garment]	[100 škl.]	100 škl.
GAL <i>kartappi</i>	1 silver cup	[1 linen garment]	[100 škl.]	100 škl.
Vizier	1 [silver] cup	1 linen garment	100 škl.	100 škl.

* In CTH 48, metals gifts and other gifts are separated into two lists. In the list of metal gifts (cups) Chief Scribe is named after the *huburtanuru* officials, but in the list of garments and wool he is placed before them.

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