

THE HITTITE ASSEMBLY*

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It has been widely held that during the earliest period of Hittite history the king was elected by the nobility, meeting in assembly for this purpose. Examination of the available attestations of the two Hittite words for political assembly, *panku-* and *tuliya-*, which differ only in their syntactic employment, demonstrates that the Hittite assembly was not the gathering of a class, but rather primarily a judicial body, subject even in this area to the will of the monarch. It is further suggested that this assembly was composed of the members of the higher state bureaucracy, and not of the nobility *per se*, although the actual relationship between the two groups remains to be elucidated. No evidence for an elective system of kingship is found.

THE CHARACTER OF THE HITTITE MONARCHY has long been debated among students of the political and social history of the Ancient Near East. A widely-held view is that during the period of the Old Kingdom, before the originally Indo-European Hittites had become politically acculturated to their new "oriental" environment, there had obtained an elective monarchy (German *Wahlkönigtum*), in which the ruler was a mere *primus inter pares*, chosen by the members of the nobility, who were referred to in this role as the *panku-*.¹ This interpretation has been strongly challenged,² however, and I feel that an effective approach

* My research on this topic was greatly facilitated by access to the lexicographic files of the Hittite Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, graciously extended by the directors of the Project: H. A. Hoffner and H. G. Güterbock. I have also profited from the comments of Hoffner and Silvin Košak on several of the issues touched upon here. Abbreviations employed are those listed in J. Friedrich/A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, 2. Aufl. (München, 1975ff.), pp. 13–33.

¹ This viewpoint was presented most vigorously by A. Goetze—see already *Hethitler, Churriter und Assyrer* (Oslo, 1936), pp. 60–62, as well as *Kleinasiens*² 87f., and in *NHF* 25–27.

² Initially by F. Sommer, *HAB* 209–11, but see also, for example, J. G. Macqueen, *The Hittites and their Contemporaries in Asia Minor* (London, 1975), p. 114. I plan to discuss elsewhere the matrilineal interpretation of the Old Hittite royal succession proposed by the Soviet scholar G. I. Dvǰialo and elaborated by K. K. Riemschneider in H. Klengel, ed., *Beiträge zur sozialen Struktur des alten Vorderasien* (Berlin, 1971), pp. 79–102.

to the question of the existence of elective kingship³ is provided by a philological examination of the word *panku-*, which is attested both as a noun of common gender and as an adjective.

As Goetze long ago demonstrated,⁴ in the singular the adjective *panku-* means "each, every; general,"⁵ and in the plural "all." Uncertainty remains, however, in regard to the noun *panku-*, which occurs only in the singular, and which Goetze came to regard as a high social class,⁶ and other scholars more specifically as that class in congress and in exercise of its political functions.⁷

The passage giving rise to all speculation is the introduction to the Bilingual Succession Edict of Ḫattušili I, *KUB* 1 16,⁸ a document which according to its Akkadian text is spoken *a-na ERÍN^{MEŠ} na-ak-bá-ti ù a-na kab-tu-ti* (i 1), while the corresponding Hittite column preserves only *pa¹-a[n-]* (ii 1) as the designation of those addressed. It is reasonable to assume, as have all scholars who have written on the subject,⁹

³ On the entire complex of problems treated in this paper, see O. R. Gurney, *CAH*³, Vol. II, Pt. 1, pp. 252–55.

⁴ *AM* 239f.

⁵ As in *panku aggar/hinkan*, "general plague; mass death": *pa-an-ku úš-an*, *KUB* v 3 i 44; *pa-an-ku hi-in-kán*, *KUB* xlv 79 obv.² 15.

⁶ See the works cited in n. 1.

⁷ See V. V. Ivanov, *CHM* 5, 1959/60, 792–97, and E. A. Hahn, *JAOS* 85, 1965, p. 300, where the earlier literature is reviewed.

⁸ Edited by F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein in *HAB*.

⁹ E.g., Hahn, *JAOS* 85, 1965, p. 300, n. 33. See also n. 12 below.

that the broken *pa[nku-]*, whatever its full case form might have been,¹⁰ is the Hittite semantic equivalent of Akkadian ERIN^{MES} *nakbatu*, rather than of *kabūit*, "worthies." While Falkenstein understood *nakbatu* as a barbaric feminine form of *nagbu*, "totality,"¹¹ recent research has shown it to be a derivative of the root *kbt* employed only in reference to military forces and indicating "multitude, host, main body of troops."¹²

Morphologically, the noun *panku-* is peculiar. Normally *u*-stem nouns show zero grade of the stem throughout their inflection (e.g., nom./acc.sg. *genu*, gen.sg. *genuwaš*, "knee"), but adjectival *u*-stems display an Ablaut by which the oblique cases take extended grade *-au-* (e.g., nom./acc.sg. *aššu*, gen.sg. *aššawaš*, "good").¹³ However, the noun *panku-* nonetheless features the Ablaut (e.g., gen.sg. *pa-an-ga-u-wa-aš*, KUB IX 34 i 30), a phenomenon which one investigator attributes to simple analogy between nominal and adjectival declensions.¹⁴ But since in the apparently similar case of the noun/adjective pair *aššu-*, "good," and *aššu-*, "goods, property,"¹⁵ the language has generally succeeded in maintaining the morphology correct for each grammatical category,¹⁶ this explanation is doubtful.

Turning for the moment to the use of the adjective *panku-* in military or political contexts, we find the word modifying several different collective designations for bodies of men or troops: [(*u-ni pa-*)] *an-ku-un su-ti*, "all those tribes,"¹⁷ KUB XXXIV 27++ iv 9';¹⁸

¹⁰ Sommer, *HAB* 3, restores the genitive *pa-a[n-ga-u-wa-aš* ERIN^{MES}-*it*].

¹¹ *HAB* 29f.

¹² See W. von Soden, *Or* ns 16, 1947, p. 78f., and *AHW* 721. Cf. Bo.Akk. KBo 1 5 ii 63f.: LÚKUR *i-na ša kur-šu i-na na-ak-bá-ti-šu ir-ru-ub*, "(if) an enemy enters his land in force," and the Hittite translation of the omen apodosis KUB VIII 1 iii 6: *za-aḫ-ḫi-ya-kán pa-an-ga-u-i ERIN^{MES}-ti-<iš>ma-uš-zi*, "you<r> troops will fall in battle *en masse*," where Hittite *mauš-* corresponds to the Akkadian *maqātu* often found with *nakbatu*.

¹³ See Friedrich, *HE* 1² §§70, 73–74.

¹⁴ See J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Hethitica* 1, 1972, p. 33.

¹⁵ On this word see C. Watkins, *Gedenkschrift Kronasser*, forthcoming.

¹⁶ An exception is the ablative of the noun *a-aš-ša-u-wa-az* in KUB XIX 18 i 15.

¹⁷ For *SUTU/I* = *lati-*, "tribe, tribal troops," as a collective, see *CHD* III/1 48, and Hoffner in O. Carruba, ed., *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata* (Pavia, 1979), Vol. 1, pp. 261–66.

¹⁸ With restoration from KUB XIX 18 i 5—see Güterbock's reconstruction of this passage, *JCS* 10, 1956, p. 75.

*pa-an-gu-uš-ša*¹⁹ ERIN^{MES} *tar-na-at-ia-at-la-aš*, "the totality of the ration-receiving groups,"²⁰ KBo XVI 71+ ii 9; *pa-an-ku-uš-ša* LÚKUR, "all of the enemy," KUB XXIII 55 iv 12; and *pa-an-ku-uš* URU *Ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš*, "all of Ḫattuša," KBo XVI 25 i 52.²¹ KUB XXXVI 109:7': [*pa-an-ku-uš-ša* LÚ^{MES} URU *Ḫa-at-ti*]²² presents difficulties for interpretation because the singular *pankuš* does not accord with the plural LÚ^{MES} URU *Ḫatti*, unless the latter is to be understood as a collective,²³ a phenomenon for which we have no further evidence. From a comparison of this passage with KUB IX 1 iii 24f.: *ša* LÚKUR ERIN^{MES}.*ḪI.A* [*pa-an-ku-uš*, "the *p.* of the enemy troops," and KBo XXIII 108 i 11: *ša* KARAS *pa-an-ga-u-wi-i*, "to the *p.* of the army (camp)," it is clear that in KUB XXXVI 109 too the noun *panku-* must be present, this time in apposition: "and the *p.*, the men of Ḫattuša." Similar is *šu-um-me-eš-ma* LÚ^{MES} URU *Ḫat-ti pa-an-ku-uš*, "but you, the men of Ḫattuša, the *p.*," KUB XXI 37 obv. 40'.²⁴

These examples demonstrate that the adjectival and nominal uses of *panku-* in this realm are very similar in meaning, and taken together with the unusual grammatical behavior of the noun *panku-* mentioned above, this suggests strongly that nominal *panku-* arose through ellipsis of an adjectival expression such as *pankuš tuzziš* or *pankuš* URU *Ḫattušaš*.²⁵ That is, "all troops" > "the all; totality."

In ritual texts, where the noun *panku-* stands alone, and not in a relation of apposition with another word, it seems to have the meaning "all present; congregation."²⁶ For example, KUB XII 8 iii 1–4:

¹⁹ So, and not *pa-an-gu-uš ša*, despite the comments of E. Neu, *SiBoT* 25, p. 40, n. 127.

²⁰ For this translation, see I. Singer, "The Hittite KILAM Festival," diss. Tel Aviv, 1978, p. 196. For ERIN^{MES} = *tuzzi-* as a collective, see Friedrich, *HW*¹ 232, and A. Kempinski/S. Košak, *WO* 5, 1970, 207f.

²¹ Restore on analogy to this line KUB XXXVI 114 ii' 18'f.: [*a[n-da-ma* LÚ^{MES} URU *Ḫa-at-ti pa-an-ku-uš* URU *Ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš*]/[o?] *a-pa-at ut-tar a-ru-ma ta-aš-nu-an ḫar-te-ā[n]*, "[Th]ereby may you, the men of Ḫattuša (and) all Ḫa[ttuša], guarantee (lit., 'hold especially strengthened') this matter!"

²² See below, p. 441, for fuller context.

²³ See Carruba, *SMEA* 14, 1971, p. 89, with n. 34.

²⁴ Ambiguous is KUB XIX 11 i 6': LÚKUR URU *Ga-aš-ga pa-an-ku-un* ERIN^{MES} *Su-ti*, since it is uncertain if *pankun* is to be taken with what precedes or what follows.

²⁵ Cf. Friedrich's remark, *ZA* 36, 1925, p. 279, n. 2, that the substantive meaning of *panku-* is "secondary."

²⁶ Gurney, *AAA* 27, 1940, p. 34f., already rendered *pa-an-ku-[uš]* in KUB XXIV 2 rev. 18' as "congregation."

nu-kán LÚ^{MES} URU^{TU}tu-ḫu-ni-ya-ra
 an-da ú-wa-an-zi nu 3 LÚ^{MES}
 da-aš-ku-pa-a-an-zi
 pa-an-ku-uš-ša ki-iš-ša-an sīr^{RU}

Then the men of T. enter. Three men wail, and the congregation sings thus:²⁷

Cf. also KBo XIII 119 iv 12': [pa-a]n-ku-ša²⁸ ḫal-za-a-i mi-ya-u-wa mi-ya-u-wa, "and the [con]gregation cries 'm. m.!', " and VBoT 32 i 11: [pa-an-g]a-u-i¹ a-ku-an-na pi-an-zi, "[all pre]sent are given something to drink." KUB XLII 100 iii 36'-38' even suggests that on occasion *panku-* might have the nuance of the Greek *hoi polloi*:

M

[U]MA LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} an-na-la-za-wa-kán
 DINGIR^{LUM} É.ŠA-ni
 [EG]IR-an e-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-an pa-an-ku-uš UL uš-git
 [k]i-nu'-un-ma-aš-kán GÍŠiš-ta-na-[ni] GUB-ri

Thus spoke the temple personnel: 'Formerly the (image of) the deity was back in the inner chamber, so that the *p.* could not see it, but now it stands on a pedest[al].'

The noun *panku-* thus seems to be inclusive rather than exclusive in scope. Note further that in KUB XXI 37, a proclamation is directed to DUMU.NAM.LÚ. UL^{LU}-za, "humankind," in line 7', and to šu-um-me-eš-ma LÚ^{MES} URU^{HAT}ti pa-an-ku-uš, "you, the men of Ḫattuša, the *p.*"²⁹ in line 40'. Finally, for *pa-an-ku-uš* DUMU.NITA^{MES}-uš in the difficult ritual passage KUB VII 58 i 16, the parallel KUB XLV 20 ii 15 has šal-li-iš am-mi-ya-an-za, "great (and) small," again indicating an inclusivity for *panku-*.³⁰ Thus *panku-* is hardly a social class, let alone a high one, but rather simply "totality (of those present on a given occasion)."

The genitival phrase *pangauwaš* EME is frequently mentioned in ritual texts among the evils to be exor-

cised,³¹ most importantly in a list of undesirable EME in KUB IX 34 iv 8'ff. (and duplicates). In all but one of the occurrences of EME, "tongue," here the malediction³² is identified as that which might have arisen within a particular social group.³³ The resultant collection of societal categories³⁴—including even "the dead (and) the living" (GIDIM-aš TI-an-da-aš) in iv 14'—is probably intended to be in a general way exhaustive for Hittite society. *pa-an-ga-u-wa-aš* EME-an (iv 8') as the initial member of this list of EME is to be interpreted as a rubric summarizing the entries which follow, rather than as the first element in a hierarchical presentation of classes.³⁵ That is, we must understand *pangauwaš* EME as "the tongue of the totality/community" i.e., "common gossip," and not as "the malediction of the nobility."

The enumeration of "tongues" in KUB IX 34 iv unfortunately also has given rise to the erroneous view that a group *pangauwaš ḫaššatar*, "offspring of the nobility," existed among the Hittites.³⁶ No nominative form of this latter expression is attested anywhere, but only *pa-an-ga-u-wa-aš ḫa-an-ša-an-na-aš*/MÁŠ^{HI.A} EME-an (KUB IX 34 iv 13' and duplicates), which Laroche correctly, if uncertainly, renders³⁷ as "langue de la Famille entière."³⁸

Having thus demonstrated that *panku-* may not be translated as "nobility," I must add that the word does indeed function at times as a technical term, particularly in the Bilingual Succession Edict of Ḫattušili I and in the Proclamation of Telepinu.³⁹ It is clear, however, that the group addressed by the monarch as *šu-me-eš-ša pa-an-ku-uš-ši-<iš>*,⁴⁰ "you,

³¹ For attestations, see CHD III/1 24, sub *lala-* 4.b.2'.

³² For EME = *lala-* as "(evil) speech," see G. Szabó, *THeth* 1, 64, and cf. Luwian *mayašši-* EME-i (E. Laroche, DLL 65).

³³ The exception is SA D-NIM EME, "speech of the legal dispute," in iv 11'.

³⁴ See CHD III/1 24, sub *lala-* 4.b.3'.

³⁵ See H. Th. Bossert, *Asia* (Istanbul, 1946), p. 101, who translates the phrase as "die (abfällige) Äusserung der Adels-gemeinschaft," and cf. Laroche in J. Bottéro, ed., *IV^e RAI* 77. It is not even certain that this enumeration proceeds strictly in order of rank as assumed by Bossert.

³⁶ See Goetze in Bottéro, ed., *IV^e RAI* 79.

³⁷ In Bottéro, ed., *IV^e RAI* 79. See also p. 71, n. 1.

³⁸ Note, in light of my following comments, the presence of *tu-li-ya-aš* EME-an in KUB IX 34 iv 12'.

³⁹ This composition is not yet available in a satisfactory edition. See, for the present, E. Sturtevant/G. Bechtel, *Chrest.* 175-200, and W. Eisele, "Der Telipinus-Erlass," diss. Berlin, 1970.

⁴⁰ This simple emendation easily solves the crux presented

²⁷ Similar is KUB XXV 38: 5-6: *pa-an-ku-ša-aš-ma-[aš]/[ka]-ta-ian ki-iš-ša-an sīr^{RU}*.

²⁸ For the restoration here cf. line 10'.

²⁹ Hahn's assertion, *JAOS* 85, 1965, p. 300, that the texts differentiate sharply between the *panku-* and the people of Ḫattuša in general is shown by this and similar passages to be false.

³⁰ Cf. the *kārum šaḫer rabi* of the Old Assyrian settlement at Kaneš/Nesa. For the interpretation of this term as indicating a totality, see B. Landsberger, *ZA* 35, 1924, p. 224, and Th. Jacobsen, *HSS* 21, p. 398, n. 12.

hi<s> *panku-*," in ii 47 of the latter text (quoted after the main exemplar KBo III 1 ++) is the same as the *tu-li-ya-an*, "assembly," summoned in ii 34.⁴¹ That is, *panku-* and *tuliya-* are synonymous,⁴² or more precisely, the *panku-* is assembled in the *tuliya-*. Note in this regard the nice complementarity by which *tuliya-* is never attested in the nominative, while *panku-* only seldom appears in any oblique case. Thus *panku-*⁴³ and *tuliya-* both refer to the "assembly" of the Hittites,⁴⁴ but have become specialized in their syntactic employment.

Proceeding to the analysis of *tuliya-*, we discern that the word is employed in a number of set syntagms. These include *tuliyas peda-/ASRU*, "place of assembly" (e.g., KUB XXXVI 32:12 and KUB XXI 19 iv 25 [with Akkadogram]), *tuliyas⁴⁵/ANA PUHRI⁴⁶ halzai-*, "summon to assembly" (e.g., KBo V 3 i 40 and KUB XXVI 12 iii 29 [Akkadographic]), *tuliya dai-*, "set in assembly" (KUB VI 45 iii 12), *tuliya tiya-*, "enter into assembly" (KUB XXI 19 iv 18), and *tuliya iya-*, "go into assembly" (KUB XVII 30 iii 4). The appearance in these expressions of the frozen directive case indicates an early date for this institution.

by this line. For the history of the problem and the most extreme of the attempts to solve it, see Hahn, *JAOS* 85, 1965, p. 301ff. Note the other errors in the vicinity of this line: *ha-aš-ša-an-na-ša-«an?»-za-kán* in ii 45, *é-ri-iš-ši-«iš-ši»* in ii 54, and *<GİŠ>GEŠTIN⁴⁷HI.A.SU-NU* in ii 57.

⁴¹ The king is certainly proceeding with an uninterrupted speech here, and the clever idea of R. S. Hardy, *AJSL* 58, 1941, p. 214f., that the ruler turns from side to side while addressing two groups cannot be accepted.

⁴² The identity of the two terms is also assumed by Korošec, *XIX^e RAI* 316.

⁴³ The designation of a lot in oracle texts as the *panku-* (e.g., KUB XXII 25 obv. 22') is probably an extension of this usage.

⁴⁴ While the term *šalli aššeššar* may indeed be rendered as "Great Assembly, Congregation," it belongs in the religious, and not the political realm. Appearing only in festivals—most frequently the *nuntariyašhaš* and that of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} (for attestations and discussion see Kammenhuber, *HW²* pp. 396–99)—the *šalli aššeššar* is, as recognized by Güterbock, *XIX^e RAI* 309, n. 15, "the logical counterpart to *NAPTANU GAL*."

⁴⁵ *tuliyas halzai-*, with the accusative, a construction found only in two thirteenth-century copies of the Proclamation of Telepinu (KBo III 1 ii 34, 51, and VBoT 107:2') may be the result of a late reinterpretation of this idiom.

⁴⁶ See already Goetze, *Tunn*. p. 36, n. 77.

Most often *tuliya-* is found in reference to gods summoned to witness a treaty. For example, KBo IV 10 obv. 50f.:

nu ka-a-ša a-pi-e-da-ni me-mi-ni LI-IM DINGIR^{MES}
tu-li-ya hal-zi-ya-an-te-eš
nu uš-kán-du iš-ta-ma-aš-kán-du-ya na-at ku-ut-ru-e-
eš e-ša-an-du

Now the thousand gods are summoned to assembly in regard to this matter. Let them see and hear, and let them be witnesses!

A similar judicial gathering of deities is called in the ritual KUB IV 1 ii 1–6.⁴⁷

SA KUR URU Ka-aš-ga
DINGIR^{MES} ka-a-ša-aš-ma-aš tu-li-ya hal-zi-ya-ú-en
nu ú-wa-at-te-en
nu ez-za-at-te-en e-ku-ut-te-en
nu-uš-ma-aš-ša-an ka-a-ša D^F-NAM ku-it
ar-nu-um-me-ni na-at iš-ta-ma-aš-te-en

O gods of the Kaška, we have now summoned you to assembly! Now come, and eat, (and) drink, and such a legal question as we are now bringing to you, listen to it!

To be noted also are the ritual passage KUB XVII 30 iii 3–5:

e-iz-za-at-ten e-ku-ut-ten [...]
tu-li-ya i-it-ten nu x [...]
nu-uš-ši ha-an-ni-eš-šar ha-a[n-na-at-ten]

(O gods,) eat (and) drink! [...] Go into assembly and [...] and jud[ge] a judgment for him!

and the apposition *tu-li-ya-aš pi-di A-SAR D^F-NI DINGIR^{MES}*, "(in the) place of assembly, place of judgment of the gods,"⁴⁸ KUB XXXI 121+ i' 21. On the divine

⁴⁷ See E. von Schuler, *Kašk.* p. 170f.

⁴⁸ According to KUB XXI 19 iv 25–28, the site of this gathering was the Hittite capital:

nu-ut-ták-kán URU Ha-at-tu-ša-aš DINGIR^{[ME]S}-aš
tu-li-ya-[aš AS-]RU
URU A-ri-in-na-aš tu-el a-aš-ši-an-za U[RU-aš]
URU Ne-ri-iq-qa-aš URU Zi-ip-pa-la-an-ā[a-aš]
SA DUMU-KA URU DIDLI.HI.A u-wa-an-da-ru

level, whose customs certainly reflect those of the human,⁴⁹ the chief function of the assembly is the witnessing of agreements and the passing of judgment⁵⁰ upon those who transgress them.

The most important sources revealing the activities of the human assembly are the previously-mentioned Bilingual Succession Edict of Hattušili I and the Proclamation of Telepinu. In these documents, too, the function of judgment is paramount for the assembly. The Proclamation of Telepinu instructs the assembly to punish any official who should plot evil,⁵¹ while in his Succession Edict Hattušili instructs his newly-designated heir Muršili (KUB I 16 iii 59–63):

wa-aš-du-ul ku-e-el-qa
 [a-u]t-ti na-aš-šu DINGIR^{LIM}-ni ku-iš-ki pí-ra-an
 wa-aš-ti na-aš-ma ut-[tar k]u-iš-ki
 [ku]i-ki te-iz-zi nu-[z]a pa-an-ku-un EGIR-pa
 pu-nu-uš-ki nu EME-[aš-ša]
 EGIR-pa pa-an-ga-u-i-pát w[a-]ha-an-za e-eš-du
 DUMU-la-ma-aš-ša-an [tu-el]
 ku-it kar-di nu-za a-pa-a-at e-iš-šit⁵²

If you [ma]rk a sin in anyone—whether he sins before a god, or speaks an (evil) wo[r]d—consult the assembly! Let an (evil) wo[r]d be referred especially to

For you (Sun-goddess of Arinna), may Hattuša, the [pl]ace of assemb[ly] of the gods, Arinna, your beloved ci[ty], (and) Nerik (and) Zippalanda, the cities of your son, be seen (i.e., be recognized as possessions⁷)!

⁴⁹ For this principle, see the classic study by Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JNES* 2, 1943, pp. 159–72 (= *HSS* 21, 157–170).

⁵⁰ Although not referring to the gods, HT 6 i 16 should be noted here: *ša d-nim tu-li-ya-aš EME-an*, "tongue (i.e., speech) of the assembly of judgment."

⁵¹ KBo III 1 70ff. (with restorations from KUB XI 2 + IBoT III 84 + KBo XIX 97: 8'–11' and KBo XII 4 iii 2'–5'): [(*ma-a-an nam-ma i-da-lu ku-*)] *iš-ki i-ya-zi . . . [(ma-a-na-aš EGIR-iz-) zi-i(š) ma-a-na-aš (ha-an-te-iz-zi)] <iš> šu-ma-aš-ša pa-an-ku-uš an-da [(e)ip-(ten)]*, "Further, if someone does evil, . . . If he is of low status (or) [if he is] of high status, you, the assembly, must sei[z]e (him)!"

⁵² See Sommer/Falkenstein, *HAB* 15–17. The fragmentary Akkadian column has only (iv 61–63): [. . . na-]ak-bá-tam lu-ú ḫa- . . .]/[i-na ku-ta-jal-li a-na na-ak-bá-a-ti [. . .]/[ša i-n]a ša-ka DUMU-ri šu-wa-a-ti lu-ú ḫe- . . .]

the assembly! But, my son, whatever is in [your] heart—that always do!

Thus, while the young ruler is urged by his adoptive father to consult with the assembly, he is nonetheless told to make up his own mind. Similarly, in the Proclamation of Telepinu ii 27ff. the assembly has condemned to death several plotters against the throne, but the king commutes this sentence to exile in the countryside.⁵³

It is obvious that the powers of the ruler are not limited by those of the assembly. Along with a tightening of the rules of succession—the eldest son of the first-rank wife, if available, is now to be the mandatory heir⁵⁴—the Proclamation of Telepinu also stipulates that a prince who should shed blood within his own family is to be responsible to the assembly (KBo III 1 ii 50–52):

ku-iš šesMES-na NINMES-na iš-tar-na i-da-a-lu
i-ya-zi nu LUGAL-wa-aš
har-aš-ša-na-aš⁵⁵ šu-wa-a-i-e-iz-zi nu tu-li-ya-an

⁵³ KBo III 1 ii 27ff.: *nu Ta-nu-wa-an Ta-ḫur-wa-i-li-in Ta-ru-uh-š[u-un-na] ú-wa-te-ir nu-uš pa-an-ku-uš pa-ra-a ḫi-in-ga-ni har-ta . . . nu-uš LUGAL-uš kar-a-p¹²-pu-un LÚ^MES APIN.LAL i-ya-nu-un*, "Then Tanuwa, Tahurwaili, [and] Taruḫšu were brought (in on charges). And the assembly held them (deserving) of death . . . But I, the king, to[ok] them up, and made them [far]mers."

⁵⁴ KBo III 1 ii 36–39 (with restorations from KBo VII 15 + KBo XII 4 ii 11'–15'):

LUGAL-uš-ša-an ha-an-te-iz-zi-ya-aš-pát DUMU.LUGAL
DUMU^{RU} ki-ik-k[(i-iš-)]ta-ru ták-ku DUMU.LUGAL
ha-an-te-iz-zi-iš NU.GÁL nu ku¹-iš ta-a-an pí-e-da-aš
DUMU^{RU} nu LUGAL-uš a-pa-a-aš
ki-ša-ru ma-a-an DUMU.LUGAL-ma DUMU.NITA NU.GÁL
nu ku-iš DUMU.SAL ha-an-te-iz-zi-iš
nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an LÚ^Uan-ti-ya-an-ta-an ap-pa-a-an-du
nu LUGAL-uš a-pa-a-aš ki-š[(a-ru)]

Let 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!

⁵⁵ The final sign here is to be read thus, with the copy of H. Figulla, and not *-za*, as transliterated by E. Forrer, *BoTU*

hal-zi-iš-ten ma-a-na-pa ut-tar-še-it pa-iz-zi
nu SAG.DU-na-az šar-ni-ik-du

Whoever commits evil among (his royal) brothers and sisters and sets his sights on (lit., "looks at") the head of the king³⁶—summon the assembly, and if his deed comes to pass⁷, then let him pay with (his) head!

This must be viewed as a reform, rather than as a return to the ancestral prerogatives of the assembly, and in any case the duty of judging a murderous junior member of the royal house is hardly equivalent to that of electing a monarch.³⁷

That the assembly was not the ordinary judicial organ in the Hittite state is indicated by an examination of the Hittite Laws (CTH 291–92). The assembly is mentioned but once in this text (§55), and there again only as the forum before which a royal ruling is proclaimed. Indeed, these texts demonstrate clearly that the law in all of its aspects—promulgation,³⁸ civil adjudication,³⁹ and criminal judgment⁴⁰—was normally the province of the king.

Thus the attested functions of the Hittite assembly, like those of its divine counterpart, are judicial,⁴¹ and

43, and followed by Sturtevant and Bechtel, *Chrest.* 190.

³⁶ For the interpretation of this phrase, see Hoffner, "The Old Hittite Legal Idiom *šuwaye-* with the Allative," *JAOS* 102 (1982) pp. 50ff.

³⁷ The only possible reference to the selection of a ruler in or by an assembly is found at KUB XXXVI 32:12: [*i*]u-li-aš pi-di DINGIR^{MES}-aš LUGAL-u-iz-za-na-na-*nā*], "in the place of assembly, for kingship of the gods." But the interpretation of this line is uncertain, and since the fragment (CTH 351) is of a myth of Hurrian background, its evidence is not compelling for the structure of Hittite society.

³⁸ See §25. For the monarch as "Gesetzgeber," see Korošec, *XIX^e RAI* pp. 315–21.

³⁹ See §71, according to which a lost animal found in the city is to be driven to the "royal gate" (LUGAL-an *aška*), while a beast discovered in the countryside is the responsibility of the elders (LÚ.MES³U.GI). See Klengel, *ZA* 57, 1965, pp. 223–36, for the role of the elders. Cf. §176A and note also that the Proclamation of Telepinu (KUB XI 1 iv pp. 22ff. and dups.) states that cases of sorcery are to be referred to the "palace gate" (KA É.GAL).

⁴⁰ See §§187, 188, 198, and 199.

⁴¹ It seems that the activities of assemblies throughout the Ancient Near East were chiefly judicial. See R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar* (Istanbul, 1975), p. 65, and M. T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies*, Mesopotamia

even here are constrained in most instances by the will of the monarch. There is no internal evidence in the Bilingual Succession Edict that the listeners are requested to advise the ruler or to ratify the choice of a new successor, but they are rather presented with the decision of the king to replace his nephew Labarna with his grandson Muršili. Since the document dwells upon the sins of the deposed heir and those around him, it can best be viewed as a "legal brief" of the old king to the proper judicial body, explaining yet another change of mind. In no way can it be interpreted as *requesting* that this choice be recognized. Similarly, the usurper Telepinu, in promulgating before the assembly a new, more strict, system of succession, justifies this measure by recourse to a long and dreary account of bloodshed within the royal family.⁴²

The convening of the assembly was certainly irregular and at the initiative of the monarch.⁴³ Its members were summoned only under extraordinary circumstances, such as those surrounding the announcements made by the rulers in the two documents discussed above. Two further occasions in the history of the Old Kingdom for which we have evidence of the meeting of the assembly⁴⁴ are the petitioning of the king by those owing dues mentioned in §55 of the Laws⁴⁵ and KBo XXII 1:16–20 ("original"⁴⁶ Old Hittite tablet), in which the father of the reigning king⁴⁷

4 (Copenhagen, 1976), pp. 173ff., who interpret similarly the role of the *puhrum* at Sippar and Kaneš, respectively. A. L. Oppenheim, *Or* ns 5, 1936, 224–28, comes to a similar conclusion on the basis of evidence from omen material.

⁴² See the first twenty or so paragraphs of the text.

⁴³ The king is the subject of the verb in the phrase *tuliyat(n) halzai-* in every instance where it refers to the human assembly save KBo III 1 ii 50ff., quoted above on p. 439., where a usurping prince is himself to be the person judged.

⁴⁴ The fragmentary KBo XXI 8 iv 16'–19' may report the judgment by the Old Hittite assembly of a rebel against royal authority—see Carruba, *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), pp. 77–79. But since even the reading *pa-a[n²-ku-uš*] in line 18' is uncertain, it is best to leave this example aside.

⁴⁵ See above, col. 1.

⁴⁶ By this designation is meant only that the tablet displays the script characteristic of the Old Hittite period. Nothing is implied about the possible relationship of the text to an even older forerunner. See Neu, *StBoT* 25, xiv.

⁴⁷ The striking use of this indirect manner of reference for the active ruler here, as in §55 of the Hittite Laws, suggests

seemingly redresses a wrong committed by nobles(?) upon their menials:⁶⁸

*ma-a-an A-BI tu-li-ya-«aš»⁶⁹ ḫal-za-i nu-uš-ma-aš
gul-la-ak-ku-wa-an ša-aḫ-zi na-at-ta
LÚ.MES_{NA-SI} ŠI-DI-TI₆-KU-NU-Ü ka-a-ša-at-ta-wa
LÚ.MES_{NA-SI} ŠI-DI-TI₆-KU-NU da-me-eš-kat-te-ni
ta LUGAL-i kar-di-mi-ya-at-tu-uš pi-iš-kat-te-ni*

When my father summoned⁷⁰ to assembly and took vengeance upon you for displeasing activity (he said:) "Is it not⁷¹ in regard to your provision-bearers?—Now⁷² you are oppressing your provision-bearers, and you are thereby giving the king (cause for) anger."

Here again the calling of the assembly provides the occasion for the administering of justice by the king.

The activity of the assembly in the Middle Hittite period is attested in but one source,⁷³ a fragment of the Middle Hittite text group known as the "protocoles de succession dynastique" (CTH 271).⁷⁴ In KUB xxxvi 109:5'-7' the assembly is commanded to recog-

that the same individual king is meant in both instances. Cf. F. Starke, *ZA* 69, 1979, 83, n. 71.

⁶⁸ See A. Archi in *Florilegium Anatolicum: Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche* (Paris, 1979), pp. 46-47.

⁶⁹ Archi, loc.cit., interprets the form as it appears on the tablet as a dative/locative plural and translates the phrase as "Quand le père appelle aux réunions." But since *tuliya* occurs nowhere else in the plural, we are probably dealing with a scribal error for the usual *tuliya ḫalzai*.

⁷⁰ Since line 6 of this text strongly suggests that "the father" is no longer living, *ḫalzai* here and *šaḫzi* in line 17 should be understood as historical presents. Line 6: *ka-a-ni LÚŠU.GI-eš-ša NU.GÁL nu-uš-ma-aš me-ma-i* (so, and not *pár-ku-i*, as read by Archi, op.cit., p. 45) *A-WA-AT A-BI-YA*, "Is there not at this time an old man who will tell you the word of my father?"

⁷¹ H. A. Hoffner has pointed out to me that this text regularly employs clause-initial *natta* to indicate a negative rhetorical question.

⁷² *ka-a-ša-at-ta-wa* in line 18 is unclear—see Hoffner, *BiOr* 33, 1976, 335.

⁷³ *pa-an-ku-uš* in the Middle Hittite contexts KBo xvi 25 i 52' and KUB xxxvi 114: 18' must be interpreted as an adjective—see above, p. 436, and n. 21.

⁷⁴ See Carruba, *SMEA* 18, 1977, 175-95. Laroche has actually assigned KUB xxxvi 109 to CTH 275, "fragments de protocoles," but there is little doubt that it deals with the same events as CTH 271.

nize⁷⁵ the newly-designated heir to the throne.⁷⁶

*[ki-nu-]na ka-a-ša A-NA DUMU^{MES}.LUGAL iš-tar-na
x [. . .]
[LUGA]L-u-iz-ni lam-ni-ir na-an-za šES^{MES}.SU
NIN^{HI.A.}S[U]
[pa-]an-ku-uš-ša LÚ^{MES} URU Ḫa-at-ti še-ik-kán-du*

Just [no]w [. . .] has been named⁷⁷ for kingship from among the princes. Let his brothers, his sisters, and the [as]sembly, the men of Ḫattuša, recognize him!

It is important to remark here that the assembly is mentioned only after the siblings of the chosen prince.

The single reference to the human assembly in a text composed in the Empire period is found in an instruction promulgated by Tuthaliya IV, KUB xxvi 12 + vBot 82 iii 29-31:⁷⁸

*[UTU^{SI}.ma² ku-wa-p]i A-NA PU-UḪ-RI ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫi
G[IM-an o o]x-li ku-iš-ki ti-ya-zi
na-[at GAM-an NF]EŠ DINGIR^{LIM} GAR-FU*

[Whe]n I, [My] M[ajesty] summon to assembly, [if] someone enters in a [. . .] manner—let th[at] be (forbidden) [under the o]ath!

Although this passage indicates that the assembly continued to exist as an institution into the final period of Hittite history,⁷⁹ there is no reason to believe that this body took any action at the murder of Tuthaliya the Younger and his replacement on the throne by Šuppiluliuma I,⁸⁰ despite the clear contravention of the provisions of the Proclamation of Telepinu. Nor does the assembly play even a passive role in the events surrounding the usurpation of the

⁷⁵ For *-za šak-*, "(legally) recognize," see Goetze, *JCS* 22, 1968, 7-8.

⁷⁶ See Carruba, *SMEA* 14, 1971, 88-90, and *SMEA* 18, 1977, 190-91.

⁷⁷ I have interpreted the 3.pl. *lamnir*, which has no expressed subject, as an impersonal verb, and have accordingly rendered it as an English passive—see H. M. Kümmel, *StBot* 3, 28.

⁷⁸ See von Schuler, *HDA* 27.

⁷⁹ Contra the statement by Gurney, *CAH*³, Vol. II, Pt. 1, 255, that the *panku-* is no longer found in the "later Empire."

⁸⁰ This affair is known from its recounting by Muršili II in his "First" Plague Prayer (CTH 378.1)—see Goetze, *KIF* 1, 1927-30, 164-69.

throne of Muršili III (Urḫi-Tešub) by his uncle Ḫattušili III, as narrated in the *Apology* of the latter.⁸¹ Finally, it does not appear that the assembly was consulted by the anonymous official who established Šuppiluliyama II as king of Ḫatti when his brother Arnuwanda III had died without issue.⁸²

Thus there is no evidence that the Hittite assembly possessed the right or the responsibility of electing the monarch.⁸³ Rather, we have seen that where the function of this body can be discerned from the sources, it is of a judicial character, namely of witnessing agreements and royal proclamations of great importance, and of trying criminal offenders of particularly high status.

There remains only the question of the composition of the assembly. While I have demonstrated that the word *panku-* does not simply designate the Hittite ruling class, it is of course probable that entry to the assembly was in some way restricted. On the one hand, neither the persons of the lower classes referred to in the Hittite Laws by the Sumerogram 𒌦, "slave,"⁸⁴ nor the mysterious *hippara*-people⁸⁵ were likely to be present, while at the other extreme, the use of the term *šalli haššatar*, "great family,"⁸⁶ in the Proclamation of Telepinu to designate the royal clan—clearly distinct from the assembly—shows that this latter

body was not constituted only by the (extended) family of the ruler.

A clue is provided by a passage in the Proclamation of Telepinu where those listening to its provisions are addressed according to their titles:

[(*ki-nu-na ki-iz-za UD-az UR*)]^U *Ḫa-at-tu-ši DUMU*^{MES}
É.GAL LÚ^{MES} *ME-SE-DI LÚ*^{MES} *Š.GUŠKIN*
 [(*LÚ*^{MES} *SAGI*_x *LÚ*^{MES} *GIŠ*)*BANŠU*]^R *LÚ*^{MES} *MU*
LÚ^{MES} *GIŠ*_{PA} *LÚ*^{MES} *ša-la-aš-ḫi-ya-aš*
 [(*LÚ*^{MES} *GIŠ*)*UGULA L*]-*IM* (*ki-i*)] *ut-tar šu-ma-a-aš*
*EGIR-an še-ik-ten*⁸⁸

Now, from this day in Ḫattuša, may you observe this order, you palace officials, members of the guard, "golden grooms," cupbearers, wa[ite]rs?, cooks, heralds, charioteers?,⁸⁹ (and) commanders of th[ousands]!

From this it appears that those receiving the injunctions of Telepinu—and thus those composing the *panku-*—were the personal servants of the king and the civil and military officials of Ḫatti. In other words, the assembly—in fact if not in theory⁹⁰—was seemingly made up of the upper echelons of the state bureaucracy.⁹¹

⁸¹ See H. Otten, *StBoT* 24, 22–25, for the relevant portions of this text.

⁸² KUB XXVI 32 ++—see Laroche, *RA* 47, 1953, 71–78.

⁸³ I plan to treat the problem of Hittite royal succession elsewhere.

⁸⁴ See Güterbock, *XVIII^e RAI* 93ff.

⁸⁵ See Güterbock, *op.cit.*, p. 96, and I. Diakonoff, *MIO* 13, 1967, 364f.

⁸⁶ See KBo III 1 ii 31 and 49, and cf. KUB XI 1 iv 23 and 24. To this term cf. *šalli peda-*, "great place," a circumlocution referring to the royal throne—see Archi, *SMEA* 1, 1966, 79.

⁸⁷ For this restoration, see Sturtevant/Bechtel, *Chrest.* 192.

⁸⁸ KBo III 1 ii 66–68, with restorations from dups. KUB XI 3 + IBoT III 84: 1–5 and KUB XI 6 ii 13–16.

⁸⁹ For this provisional translation of *LÚ* *šalašḫa-*, see R. Werner, *StBoT* 4, 15 and 72.

⁹⁰ Both the semantics of the word *panku-* examined earlier and the addressing of the Akkadian version of the Bilingual Succession Edict to "the host of the army and the worthies"—see above, p. 435—imply a wider participation.

⁹¹ See already Korošec, *XIX^e RAI* 316. The extent to which the higher bureaucracy was coterminous with what indeed might be called the Hittite "ruling class" is a question which awaits further study.