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 suliyu-, 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 Wahlkönigum), 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 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," 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,5 and other scholars more specifically as that class in congress and in exercise of its political functions.6

The passage giving rise to all speculation is the introduction to the Bilingual Succession Edict of Ḫattušili I, KUB I 16,7 a document which according to its Akkadian text is spoken a-na ERINMAR na-ak-bá-ti ū a-na kab-tu-ti (i 1), while the corresponding Hittite column preserves only pa-a-[r-] (ii 1) as the designation of those addressed. It is reasonable to assume, as have all scholars who have written on the subject,8

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1 This viewpoint was presented most vigorously by A. Goetze—see already Hethitler. Charakter und Aussenpolitik (Oslo, 1936), pp. 60-62, as well as Kleinasiens 87ff., and in NHE 25-27.


3 On the entire complex of problems treated in this paper, see O. R. Gurney, CAH 4, Vol. II, Pt. 1, pp. 252-55.

4 AM 239f.

5 As in panku aggatar/hinkan, "general plague; mass death"; pa-an-ku û-š-an, KUB V 3 i 44; po-an-ku hî-in-kân, KUB XLV 79 obv. 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[nnu-], whatever its full case form might have been, is the Hittite semantic equivalent of Akkadian erínMes nakbatu, rather than of kabištu, "worthies." While Falkenstein understood nakbatu as a barbaric feminine form of nagšu, "totality," recent research has shown it to be a derivative of the root kbt employed only in reference to military forces and indicating "multitude, body of troops." 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 Abalaut by which the oblique cases take extended grade -ašu (e.g., nom./acc. sg. aššu, gen. sg. aššawas, "good"). However, the noun panku- none theless features the Abalaut (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. But since in the apparently similar case of the noun/adjective pair aššu, "good," and aššu, "goods, property," the language has generally succeeded in maintaining the morphology correct for each grammatical category, 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: [(su-ni pa-)] an-ku-un su-ri, "all those tribes," KUB XXXVII 27+; iv 9;18 pa-an-gu-ud-ša10 erínMes ıar-na-at-ta-ak-la-as, "the totality of the ration-receiving groups."12 KUB X VI 71+ ii 9; pa-an-ku-uš-ša LÖKÖR, "all of the enemy," KUB XXIII 35 iv 12; and pa-an-ku-š u URU Ha-at-tu-ša-as, "all of Ḥattuša," KUB X VI 25 i 52.21 KUB XXXVI 109:7; [pa-an-ku-uš-ša LÖMES URU Ha-at-ti]22 presents difficulties for interpretation because the singular pankuš does not accord with the plural LÖMES URU Ḥattuš, unless the latter is to be understood as a collective, a phenomenon for which we have no further evidence. From a comparison of this passage with KUB IX 1 iii 24f.: s-LÖKÖR ERINMES-HLA [pa-an-ku-š, "the p. of the enemy troops," and KUB 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 Ḥattuša." Similar is šu-an-me-eš-ma LÖMES URU Ḥat-ti pa-an-ku-š, "but you, the men of Ḥattuša, 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 ùtiz or pankuš URU Ḥattušas.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." For example, KUB XII 8 iii 1-4.

10 Sommer, KUB 3, restores the genitive pa-aš[g-a]-u-wa-aš ERINMES-ša.
11 KUB 296.
13 See Friedrich, HE I 2 §70, 73-74.
15 On this word see C. Watkins, Gedenkschrift Kronasser, forthcoming.
16 An exception is the ablative of the noun a-al-ra-u-wa-aš in KUB XIX 18 i 15.
18 With restoration from KUB XIX 18 i 5—see Glotterbuck's reconstruction of this passage, JCS 10, 1956, p. 75. pa-an-gu-ud-ša ERINMES ıar-na-at-ta-ak-la-as, "the totality of the ration-receiving groups," KUB X VI 71+ ii 9; pa-an-ku-uš-ša LÖKÖR, "all of the enemy," KUB XXIII 35 iv 12; and pa-an-ku-š u URU Ha-at-tu-ša-as, "all of Ḥattuša," KUB X VI 25 i 52.21 KUB XXXVI 109:7; [pa-an-ku-uš-ša LÖMES URU Ha-at-ti]22 presents difficulties for interpretation because the singular pankuš does not accord with the plural LÖMES URU Ḥattuš, unless the latter is to be understood as a collective, a phenomenon for which we have no further evidence. From a comparison of this passage with KUB IX 1 iii 24f.: s-LÖKÖR ERINMES-HLA [pa-an-ku-š, "the p. of the enemy troops," and KUB 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 Ḥattuša." Similar is šu-an-me-eš-ma LÖMES URU Ḥat-ti pa-an-ku-š, "but you, the men of Ḥattuša, the p.", KUB XXI 37 obv. 40.24
Then the men of T. enter. Three men wail, and the congregation sings thus:27

Cf. also KBO XIII 119 iv 12: [pa-q]n-ku-ša28 bi-ta-a-i mi'-ya-u-wa mi'-ya-u-wa, "and the [con]gregation cries 'm. m.!'" and VBO 32 i 11: [pa-an-ga]u-ša a-ku-an-na pi-an-zi, "[all present 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:

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 pedestal[al].

The noun panku- thus seems to be incohesive rather than exclusive in scope. Note further that in KUB XXI 37, a proclamation is directed to DUMU.NAM.LU. ULUKI-za, "humankind," in line 7, and to šu-um-ša-ša ša-pan-ku-uš ulla ŠUM. Thus, the men of Ḥattuša, the p. as in line 40. Finally, for pa-pan-ku-ša DUMU.NAM.LU. in the difficult ritual passage KUB VII 58 16, the parallel KUB XLV 20 ii 15 has šal-li-ša ŠUM-ša-ša-ša, "great (and) small," again indicating an inclusivity for panku-.

Thus panku- is hardly a social class, let alone a high one, but rather simply "totality (of those present on a given occasion)."

The genitive phrase panguwaš e-me in KUB XXVIII 5:5: pa-pan-ku-su-ša-aš [kuc-še-rā siššum] is frequently mentioned in ritual texts among the evils to be exorcised. Most importantly in a list of undesirable EME in KUB IX 34 iv 8'[... (and duplicates)], in all but one of the occurrences of EME, "tongue," the malediction is identified as that which might have arisen within a particular social group. The resultant collection of societal categories—including even "the dead (and) the living" (GIDIM-ŠA TI-an-da-aš) in iv 14—is probably intended to be in a general way exhaustive for Hittite society. pa-an-ša-u-waš e-me-ša (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. That is, we must understand panguwaš 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 panguwaš haštatar, "offspring of the nobility," existed among the Hittites.36 No nominative form of this latter expression is attested anywhere, but only pa-an-ša-u-waš haštatar ha-an-na-aš/maštatar EME-an (KUB IX 34 iv 13' and duplicates), which Laroche correctly, if uncertainly, renders as "la langue de la famille entière."

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 Ḥattušili I and in the Proclamation of Telepinu.37 It is clear, however, that the group addressed by the monarch as ša-ša-ša-ša pa-pan-ku-uš-ša-ša-ša, "you,

31 For attestations, see CHD III/1 24, sub lala- 4.b.2'.
32 For EME = lala- as "(evil) speech," see G. Szabó, TIHEM I 64, and cf. Luwian mayališki EME (E. Laroche, DDL 65).
33 The exception is SI DIH-NEM 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 (abfallige) Äusserung der Adelsgemeinschaft," and cf. Laroche in J. Bottéro, ed., IV RAI 77. It is not even certain that this enumeration proceeds strictly in order of rank as assumed by Bossert.
36 See Götte in Bottéro, ed., IV RAI 79.
37 In Bottéro, ed., IV RAI 79. See also p. 71, n. 1.
38 Note, in light of my following comments, the presence of šal-li-ša-aš EME-an in KUB IX 34 iv 12'.
40 This simple emendation easily solves the crux presented.
Most often tuliya- is found in reference to gods summoned to witness a treaty. For example, KBo IV 10 obv. 50f.:

nu ka-a-sa a-pl-e-da-ni me-mi-ni LE-IIN DINGIR.MES
tu-li-ya ha-li-zi-yu-an-er-et
nu ut-kán-du is-ia-om-aš-kán-du ya na-at ku-ur-ru-e-
et es-a-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 i 1–6:47

SA KUB URU Ka-as-ga
DINGIR.MES ka-a-ša-as-ma-as tu-li-ya ha-li-zi-yu-en
nu u-wo-at-te-en
mu e-z-so-at-te-en e-kú-u-ši-te-en
mu ul-ša-ma-ša-as ka-a-sa di-KAM ku-ii
ar-nu-un-me-Ši na-at is-ia-om-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-so-at-ten e-ku-ši-te-en [...]
u-li-ya i-li-ten nu x [...]
u-ul-ši ha-an-ni-es-Sar pa-[n-na-at-ten]

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

and the apposition tu-li-ya-as pl-di a-SAR DUN DINGIR.MES, "(<in the) place of assembly, place of judgment of the gods,"48 KUB XXXI 121+ i' 21. On the divine

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

nu-ut-ták-kán URU a-tu-ša-as DINGIR.MES aš-tu-li-ya-[as] ši-te
URU a-tu-ša-as tu-ši-ša-ša-at [KU-as]
URU a-tu-ša-as MA-ša-pa-la-an-ša-as ša SA DUMU-KA.UR U-uri-dili.bika u-wo-an-do-ru
level, whose customs certainly reflect those of the human, the chief function of the assembly is the witnessing of agreements and the passing of judgment upon those who transgress them.

The most important sources revealing the activities of the human assembly are the previously-mentioned Bilingual Succession Edict of Ḫattušili 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, while in his Succession Edict Ḫattušili instructs his newly-designated heir Mursili (KUB 1 i 16 iii 59–63):

wo-as-du-u l ku-e-el-qa
[as]-l-[i] na-as-šu DINGIR-1L-ni ku-us-ki pi-ra-anim
wo-as-du l na-as-ma u-te-[n]ar ku-us-ki
[ku]-l-[i]-ki te-iz-zi nu-[z]a pa-an-k[u]-un EGIS-pa
pu-nu-us-ki nu EMES-1[a]-a
EGIS-pa pa-an-gue-u-pat wa-[e]-sa an-e-du
DUMU-la-as-la-an [nu-er]
ku-it kar-di nu-zu a-pa-a-at es-ši-zi

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

For you (Sun-goddess of Arinna), may Ḫattuša, the [place of assembly] of the gods, Arinna, your beloved city, (and) Nerik (and) Zippilanda, the cities of your son, be seen (i.e., be recognized as possessions)

49 For this principle, see the classic study by Jacobson, “Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia,” JNES 2, 1943, pp. 159–72 (= HSS 21, 157–70).
50 Although not referring to the gods, Ht 6 i 16 should be noted here: SÀ di-niM lu-li-ya-as EMES-ani, “tongue (i.e., speech) of the assembly of judgment.”

51 KBO III 1 70ff. (with restorations from KUB XI 2 + ISOT III 84 + KBO XIX 97: 8‘–11‘ and KBO XII 4 iii 2‘–5‘); [ma-a-an nam-ma (da-lu ku)] il ki i-y-a-zi ... [ma-a-an-EGIS zi-ti li ma-na-as (ba-an-te-iz-zi)] <Iš> Su-ma-as-la pa-an-
ku-us-an-[de ((e)-ip(-ien)), “Further, if someone does evil, ... If he is of low status (or) [if he is] of high status, you, the assembly, must seize (him)”]

52 See Sommer/Falkenstein, HAB 15–17. The fragmentary Akkadian column has only (iv 61–63); [ ... ] na-[a]-ba-[am] lu-ú (a ...); [ ... ] (na ku-[a]-lal a-na na-ak-ba-[a]-a [ ... ]; [ ... ]; [ ... ]; [ ... ]; [ ... ]; [ ... ]; [ ... ]; [ ... ]; [ ... ]; [ ... ]; [ ... ]].

53 The final sign here is to be read thus, with the copy of H. Figulla, and not -za, as transSl3erated by E. Forrer, BoTO/
WHOEVER COMMITTED EVIL AMONG HIS ROYAL BROTHERS AND SISTERS AND SETS HIS SIGNS ON (lit., “looks at”) THE HEAD OF THE KING—summon the assembly, and if his deed comes to pass, 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.

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, civil adjudication, and criminal judgment—was normally the province of the king.

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

The convening of the assembly was certainly irregular and at the initiative of the monarch. 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 assembly are the petitioning of the king by those owing dues mentioned in §55 of the Laws and kbo xxi 1:16–20 ("original" Old Hittite tablet), in which the father of the reigning king...
seemingly redresses a wrong committed by nobles(?) upon their menials.46

ma-a-an a-bi tu-li-ya-<-<a>s> 49 bal-za-i nu-ul-ma-as
gal-la-ak-ku-wa-an sa-ab-zi na-at-ta
LUGAL-<EI-SI> ST-IR-TU-KU-NU-<-U> ka-aa-za-at-ta-na
LUGAL ME-KI SI-IR-TU-KU-NU da-me-eS-kat-te-ne
ka LUGAL-<i> kar-di-mi-ya-at-tu-us pl-ik-kat-te-ne

When my father summoned40 to assembly and took vengeance upon you for displeasing activity (he said:)
"Is it not41 in regard to your provision-bearers?—
Now42 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,43 a fragment of the Middle Hittite text group known as the "protocoles de succession dynastique" (CTH 271).44 In KUB XXXVI 109:5'-7' the assembly is commanded to recog-
nize5 the newly-designated heir to the throne:56

[ki-iu]<pa ka-aa-za ak-du>MES LUGAL is-tar-na
[<u>] x [. . .]
[LUGAL US-IZ-RI lam-ni-ir na-an-za ta MES-SU
NINHIL A.S[i]>
[pa]-an-ku-ul-<a> MES URU ya-ar-ti se-ik-kăn-<u>

Just [no] [. . .] has been named7 for kingship from
among the princes. Let his brothers, his sisters, and
the [as]sembly, the men of Hattusa, 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 ii 29-31:71

[UTU $-mo' ku-wa-pi] ak-na pu<up-ti hali-zii-hi
gU[IM-an oo ] x[i] ku-ii Ki II-yo-zi
na-[at GAM-an na] is DINOGIL<EM GAR-RU

[When I, My Majesty'] summon to assembly, if [f]
someone enters in a [. . .] manner—let th[at] be
(forgotten) [under the oath]!

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 Suppiluliuma 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

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46 See A. Archi in Florilegium Anatolicum: Mélanges
47 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 rulliya-
occurrurs nowhere else in the plural, we are probably dealing
with a scribal error for the usual rulliya halat-ai.
48 Since line 6 of this text strongly suggests that "the
father" is no longer living, halat-ai here and fahuri in line 17
should be understood as historical presents. Line 6: ka-aa-ni
LE<GU.GI-<EI-SI> NUGAL nu-ul-ma-as me-ma-i (so, and not pár-
ku-i, as read by Archi, op.cit., p. 45) A-WAT <A> MA-YA, "Is
there not at this time an old man who will tell you the word
of my father?"
49 H. A. Hoffner has pointed out to me that this text
regularly employs clause-initial natta to indicate a negative
rhetorical question.
50 ka-aa-za-at-ta-wa in line 18 is unclear—see Hoffner, BIOR
33, 1976, 335.
51 pa-an-ku-ul in the Middle Hittite contexts KUB XVI 25 i
52' and KUB XXXVI 114: 18' must be interpreted as an
adjective—see above, p. 436, and n. 21.
52 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.
53 For -aa sak-, "(legally) recognize," see Goetze, JCS 22,
1968, 7-8.
54 See Carruba, SMEA 14, 1971, 88-90, and SMEA 18,
1977, 190-91.
55 I have interpreted the 3.pl. lamn ir, which has no ex-
pressed subject, as an impersonal verb, and have accordingly
rendered it as an English passive—see H. M. Kummel,
STB 3, 28.
56 See von Schuler, HDA 27.
57 Contra the statement by Gurney, CAN (?), Vol. II, Pt. 1,
255, that the rank of is no longer found in the "later Empire."
58 This affair is known from its recounting by Muršili II in
his "First" Plague Prayer (CTH 378.1)—see Goetze, KIF I,
1927-30, 164-69.
throne of Muršili III (Urḫi-Tešub) by his uncle Ḥattušili III, as narrated in the Apology of the latter. Finally, it does not appear that the assembly was consulted by the anonymous official who established Ṣ吕布liyama II as king of Ḥatti when his brother Arnuwanda III had died without issue. Thus there is no evidence that the Hittite assembly possessed the right or the responsibility of electing the monarch. 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 IR, "slave, nor the mysterious hippara-people were likely to be present, while at the other extreme, the use of the term ṣalli haššata, "great family," 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:

\[
[(ki-nu-na ki-iz-a ud-az UR)UḪa-at-[u]-li DUḪUMES \\
.E.GAL.LUG.MES-ŠE-ŠI.LUG.MES-I.GUSKIN \\
[(LUG.MES SIḪ.LUG.MES GIL.BANŠU]R]7 LUG.MES.MU \\
LUG.MES GIŠ PA LUG.MES Șa-la-aš-ḫi-ya-aš \\
[(LUG.MES GIŠUGULA A)IM (ki-ni) u-tar Șu-ma-a-aš \\
EGIR-AN ȘE-İK-REš]8
\]

Now, from this day in Ḥattuša, may you observe this order, you palace officials, members of the guard, "golden grooms," cupbearers, wā[ti]jrs, cooks, heralds, charioeters, (and) commanders of the[ thousands].

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 Ḥatti. In other words, the assembly—in fact if not in theory—was seemingly made up of the upper echelons of the state bureaucracy.

11 See H. Otten, StBoT 24, 22–25, for the relevant portions of this text.
12 KUB XXVI 32 +—see Laroche, RA 47, 1953, 71–78.
13 I plan to treat the problem of Hittite royal succession elsewhere.
14 See Güterbock, XVII RAI 93ff.
16 See KBo III 1 i 21 and 49, and cf. KUB XI 1 iv 23 and 24. To this term cf. ṣalli peda, "great place," a circumlocution referring to the royal throne—see Arichi, SNE4 1, 1966, 79.